

Ukrainian women emigrants in the "literature of migration": literary narratives through
a linguistic lens

by

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Abstract

This dissertation explores evaluations of Ukrainian emigration and women emigrants in works of fiction. Between 2000 and 2013, more than 20 literary works representing contemporary women's writing about Ukrainian women's emigration were published both in Ukraine and abroad. These women-authored and women-centred publications represent a new trend in Ukrainian literature, and Adelson's (2005) term "literature of migration" is proposed to describe and analyze this recent literary phenomenon. The concept "literature of migration" separates this literary corpus from the corpus of emigration (diaspora) literature of the twentieth century by placing focus on main characters and common topics, rather than genre, authors' emigration status, their ethnicity, and the language of writing.

This study aims to reveal how evaluative meanings shape the depiction of Ukrainian emigration and women emigrants in Ukrainian literature of migration by employing Appraisal Theory (Martin et al, 2005; White, 2015) and subjecting excerpts from the following five novels to an in-depth linguistic analysis: *Usi dorohy vedut' do Rymu* by Halych (2004), *Shliub iz kukhlem Pil'zens'koho pyva* by Stepovychka (2007), *Ia znaiu, shcho ty znaiesh, shcho ia znaiu* by Rozdobud'ko (2011), *Hastarbaiterky* by Doliak (2012), and *Korotka istoriia traktoriv po-ukraiins'ky* by Lewycka (2013). The authors employ various grammatical and lexical items to "transmit their assessments" (White, 2015, p.1) of the emigrant women characters and the phenomenon of emigration from Ukraine. Appraisal Theory allows to identify such linguistic realizations of evaluations and interpret "attitudes, judgement and emotive responses" (White, 2015, p.1) voiced or implied in text.

This research is significant as the first study of its kind using Appraisal Theory to analyze literary texts written in Ukrainian thus expanding the theory's reach and relevance. Additionally,

the present study draws on scholarship from the fields of migration, political science, sociology, and anthropology to contextualize Ukrainian fiction by discussing socio-political trends and tendencies in emigration and migration studies. The findings of this research contribute to the fields of literary studies, linguistics, and migration studies.

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Chapter 1. Introduction and literature overview

1.1 Preliminary thoughts on women and emigration

This interdisciplinary dissertation was inspired by my own emigration experience and a novel discovered entirely by chance. In my first year as an international graduate student at the University of Alberta, I came across a soft cover copy of Orest Berezovs'kyi's *Internaimychka: dochka chy paserbytsia Ievropy?* (2004).¹ Though I had no expectation that this would be a masterpiece, after reading the book I distinctly remember feeling disappointed, unsettled, and somewhat disgusted with the male narrator who painted a stereotypically negative picture of an illegal woman emigrant. The novel resembled cliché newspaper articles about dirty, lazy, and always promiscuous immigrants. The very title of the novel shaped the woman emigrant into “a trope that suggested that the girl’s character is immoral—the prefix ‘inter’ hints here at ‘changing hands’” (Khanenko-Friesen, 2007, p. 114). The author’s portrayal of the heroine discourages feelings of compassion or respect for the *naimychka*, a term meaning “a hired hand in someone else’s family, [which] is somewhat derogatory in the Ukrainian cultural context” (Khanenko-Friesen, 2007, p. 114). The similarities between the depictions of immoral behaviour of women emigrants in the novel and typical news coverage of immigrants in receiving countries are undeniable.

Khanenko-Friesen’s (2007) analysis of the cultural construct of the “Ukrainian labour emigrant” perfectly articulates my impressions of Berezovs'kyi’s novel: “...we are clearly dealing with an imagined migrant who is essentially victimized, oppressed and stripped of

¹ Khanenko-Friesen (2007) offers the following translation of the novel: “An (international) hired hand_{female} daughter or step-daughter of Europe?”

personal agency, whose fate depends on external circumstances but not his/her own will. Newspapers and web publications' titles reveal dramatically this kind of narrativization" (Khanenko-Friesen, 2007, p. 109). Berezovs'kyi depicts his "imagined migrant" as a bad mother and wife; spellbound by Europe and driven by greed, she relocates to Italy, leaving her husband and two children behind. As an illegal labour immigrant, the heroine first finds herself unemployed, then forced to take low-paid jobs, until eventually she falls victim to a criminal group and loses her life. Berezovs'kyi's labour emigrant is just another lost soul without a proper legal status abroad and knowledge of the language; she loses control of her own life the moment she sets foot in Italy.

My personal emigration experience did not fit the one described in the novel. Admittedly, my pursuit of graduate education in Canada is not the same as those who seek illegal employment somewhere in Europe. However, friends and acquaintances reacted rather negatively to my decision to move abroad. These reactions varied from skepticism to blunt warnings about brothels and foreigners, and reflected the still prevalent distrust of the "Western Other" and the popular myth that graduate education abroad is generally unattainable. In the early 2000s, Canada was rarely mentioned in Central Ukraine as a destination country for international students. At the time, the options for legal short- or long-term emigration for young Central Ukrainians were rather limited and included working as an au pair in Germany, summer "Work and Travel" programs, or the Fulbright Scholarship for those pursuing Master's or Doctoral degrees in the United States.

Upon landing in Toronto, I experienced gender-profiling first-hand. When picking up my study permit from an older male visa officer, I heard "Make sure you find yourself a good Canadian man you can marry and welcome to Canada." The stereotype that women emigrants

must marry foreigners persists in Ukraine as well. Moreover, it has entered academic research as common knowledge, supported by dubious statistics:

Women's success in emigration is very often being assessed not based on monetary criteria (unlike men's), but from the perspective of a successful marriage. The main business project of a woman emigrant is to build her life. However, while bohemian marriages were popular in the beginning of the 20th century, the contemporary woman emigrant aspires to build a normal traditional family. Statistically, very often, our female compatriots get married in Italy. That's one of the women emigrants' most cherished dreams. (Tsymbal, 2012, p. 268)

Tsymbal (2012) does not specify which statistics she references in this paragraph nor does she offer any evidence regarding her claim about women emigrants' dreams.

1.2 Aim of the study

The fact that I could not relate to the experiences described by Berezovs'kyi inspired me to read more Ukrainian-language fiction about women emigrants. I hoped to find at least one positive portrayal, one success story of a woman emigrant. It did not even necessarily have to be written by a woman emigrant; rather, it had to be about one. This initial, mostly intuitive search uncovered 19 literary publications predominantly written by women about women in and outside of Ukraine. These texts shape the present research and offer fertile ground for an in-depth analysis of the intersection of gender, migration status, nationality, age, class, and other categories from the perspective of the emigrants' departing country, Ukraine.

In *Colonialism/Postcolonialism*, Ania Loomba (2005) poses what are now well-trodden questions: "Is the project of recovering the 'subaltern' best served by locating separateness from dominant culture, or by highlighting the extent to which she molded even those processes and

cultures which subjugated her? And finally, can the voice of the subaltern be represented by the intellectual?" (p. 193). In my research, I further draw on Loomba's assertion that the above posed questions apply to "any scholarship concerned with recovering the histories and perspectives of marginalized people—be they women, non-whites, non-Europeans, the lower classes and oppressed castes" (Loomba, 2005, p. 193). My dissertation situates literary depictions of Ukrainian women emigrants as elements of the "subaltern" and is primarily concerned with the ways that the Ukrainian woman emigrant has been depicted and evaluated in literature. In my research, I consider Ukrainian women emigrants a marginalized group, "positioned simultaneously within several different discourses" (Loomba, 2005, p. 199), at the intersection of gender, family status, nationality, age, and class. I further analyze published literature, arguing that the very act of "speaking", or, to be precise, writing and publishing, has taken place. By making literary depictions of Ukrainian women emigrants and Ukrainian emigration the foci of the present thesis, I intend to draw attention to such literary works, to issues of emigration of women in general, and highlight the importance of women emigrants' voices uncovered in fiction.

Ukraine's national media has already contributed to negative prejudices and stereotypes about emigrants and emigration (as observed by scholars Pribytkova, 2002; Volod'ko, 2007; Khymovych, 2008; Tsymbal, 2012). My research will explore whether these negative evaluations of Ukrainian women emigrants are common in works of fiction and whether they promote (or challenge) the idea of victimhood that is common in public domain and populist discourses in Ukraine. As such, and using my own personal narrative and self-reflexivity, I also seek to shed light on both the processes and the terms of "othering" that have shaped the depiction of Ukrainian women migrants in contemporary Ukrainian literature.

1.3 Research question and methodology

My **research question** is as follows:

RQ: How do evaluative meanings shape the depiction of Ukrainian emigration and women emigrants in Ukrainian literature of migration?

To answer this research question, I use Appraisal Theory developed within the framework of Systemic Functional Linguistics. The theory's broad scope justifies its use as it is primarily concerned with:

- a. "[...] how writers/speakers approve and disapprove, enthuse and abhor, applaud and criticize, and with how they position their readers/listeners to do likewise", and
- b. "[...] the construction by texts of communities of shared feelings and values with the linguistic mechanisms for the sharing of emotions, tastes and normative assessments" (Martin & White, 2005, p. 1).

In Appraisal Theory, the overarching term "appraisal" embraces the evaluative potential of language in its entirety, including the value positions and opinions of speakers and writers. Attitudinal position is defined as one of appraisal's functions primarily concerned with "a positive or negative assessment of people, places, things, happenings and states of affairs" (White, 2015, p. 3). Another two functions of appraisal are dialogistic and intertextual positioning.² However, neither will be discussed in this study as they generally involve a discussion of the construction of interpersonal relations between speakers/writers and their intended audience. Since the present research is based on fictional literary texts, a discussion of

² In this research, the term "intertextual positioning" is adopted from Appraisal Theory and refers to those instances when "a writer/speaker chooses to quote or reference the words or thoughts of another" (White 2015, p.4) Such quotes or references may signal their relevance to the writer/speaker and the point they want to make.

intended audience and their potential responses to the author's values falls outside the purview of this investigation.

This dissertation focuses primarily on the interpersonal meaning of written texts (Martin & White, 2005, p. 7). In the course of its development, Appraisal Theory concerned itself with interpersonal meaning found in monologic texts from a variety of fields, such as "literary criticism, the print media, art criticism, administrative discourse and history discourse (...)" (Martin & White, 2005, p. 8). Appraisal Theory allows me to move past the lexicogrammatical component of evaluation and expand my analysis discourse-wide, thus enhancing the understanding of evaluative language. In their explorations, Martin & White (2005) identify discourse semantics as one of the necessary levels of abstraction, crucial for re-coding textual meanings:

This level is concerned with various aspects of discourse organization, including the question of how people, places and things are introduced in text and kept track of once there (identification); how events and states of affairs are linked to one another in terms of time, cause, contrast and similarity (conjunction); how participants are related as part to whole and sub-class to class (ideation); how turns are organized into exchanges of goods, services and information (negotiation); and how evaluation is established, amplified, targeted and sourced (appraisal). (Martin & White, 2005, p. 9)

In my analysis, I also follow the researchers' observation that appraisal is not limited to the constraints of grammatical and lexical forms, as it may be realized through a variety of grammatical and lexical categories. The language of evaluation may be expressed through verbs, adjectives, nouns, metaphors, morphological constructs, and the text itself.

Using scholarship from the fields of migration, political science, sociology, and anthropology, I review the socio-political and economic aspects of Ukrainian emigration in the early 2000s in the context of modern globalization.³ In this discussion, I address the issue of the feminization of emigration,⁴ which is characterized among others by the specific position of women workers in a European labour market that was formally established based on traditional patriarchal hierarchies in the social division of labour (Kofman, 2000). This trend in emigration reflects the global move towards a service-based economy, which is traditionally gendered and generally limits emigrant women to domestic work, nursing, and teaching (Kofman, 2000). This general migration pattern has been shaped by the forces of “acceleration, diversification, feminization and globalization” (Castles and Miller, 2003). The literature review constructs an additional framework to analyze further the selected literary texts and is used to contextualize Ukrainian fiction by discussing socio-political trends and tendencies in emigration and migration studies.

1.4 Corpus

The topic of emigration is not new to Ukrainian literature. Reflecting the social process that started in Ukraine in the late 19th century, such authors as Hryhorenko (1959), Potapenko

³ The focus of my research is Ukrainian women emigrants and emigration of women from Ukraine as depicted by Ukrainian authors between 2000 and 2013. The theoretical scholarship presented in my research similarly reflects on the aforementioned time period. While other topics pertaining to emigration in the context of modern globalization may dominate more recent publications, such as post-refugee crisis in Europe, they do not constitute the foci of my exploration. Ukrainian emigration of women in the early 2000s and the post-refugee crisis, for instance, are separated in time and space and are each defined by their own specific historical, socio-political and ideological circumstances.

⁴ It should be noted that I utilize the term “feminization of [e]migration” generally to describe increasing numbers of women emigrants from Ukraine. The term “feminization of [e]migration” is not to be confused with the limiting overgeneralization that focuses “on female-specific work such as domestic helpers, nurses, entertainers” (Yoshimura, 2007, p.1515). It is worth mentioning that there is no consensus among Ukrainian scholars regarding the use of this term. Many employ it to theorize what Fedyuk (2016) calls “a shift in academic research towards a more gender-sensitive approach to researching migration” (p.73). In subsection 2.2.3, I advocate for defining migration of women into a separate category, not merely acknowledging feminization of migration as a social trend.

(1960), Dovnar (1976, 1985), Makovii (1990), Stefanyk (2006), and many others have written about the emigration experiences of Ukrainians worldwide. Since the early 2000s, during the fourth (or fifth) wave of Ukrainian emigration,⁵ Ukrainian literary writers have shown a renewed interest in the topic. Unlike their predecessors, however, contemporary authors appear to focus their literary efforts on the lived experiences of Ukrainian emigrant women. Ukrainian women emigrants are central characters in the following literary works: *Kolektsiia prystrastei, abo pryhody molodoii ukraiinky* (Collection of passions or adventures of a young Ukrainian_{female})⁶ (2001) and *Frau Miuller ne nalashtovana platyty bil'she* (Mrs. Müller has no intentions of paying more) by Nataalka Sniadanko (2013), *Na paperti kolizeiu* (At the Coliseum's porch) by Nadiia Semenkovich (2003), *Usi dorohy vedut' do Rymu* (All roads lead to Rome) by Olesia Halych (2004), *Dushi v ekzyli* (Souls in exile) by Lesia Bilyk (2012),⁷ *Internaimychka: dochka chy paserbytsia Ievropy?* (Intermaid: Europe's daughter or stepdaughter?) by Orest Berezovs'kyi (2004), *Tsarivna ne plache: pravdyva istoriia z zhyttia ukrains'kykh zarobitchan v Itali* (Princess doesn't cry: a true story from the life of Ukrainian emigrant workers in Italy) by Halyna Dribniuk (2005), *Lysty synovi, abo lehendy Neapolitans'kykh hir* (2005) (Letters to son or legends of the Neapolitan mountains) and *Ne vyplach moieii sl'ozy* (2006) (Don't cry out my tear) by Oksana Proniuk, *Voglio un marito italiano. Dall'Est per amore?* (I want an Italian

⁵ Many researchers identify four waves of Ukrainian emigration with the fourth wave starting in the 1990s and lasting for at least 20 years (Khachatrian (2012), Kukurudza & Romashchenko (2012), Shokalo (2012), Kudlak (2013), Odynets' (2013), Demydenko (2017), Hrods'ka (2017)). Cherepanova & Davydiuk (2009), however, argue that the fourth wave of Ukrainian emigration began in the 1980s and lasted until the economic crisis of 2008. According to the same authors, the fifth wave began its formation in 2009. Borysenko & Tarasenko (2017), in their turn, pinpoint the beginning of the fifth wave in 2013 and link it to the devaluation of the hryvnia, high levels of unemployment and most importantly the unstable political situation in the Eastern Ukraine.

⁶ All translations herein are mine unless indicated otherwise. All titles are primarily translated using direct translation (word-by-word) in order to transmit their meanings accurately.

⁷ In 2004, Lesia Bilyk published the story *Usi dorohy vedut' do Rymu* separately using the pen name Olesia Halych. In 2012, she included this story as Part 1 in her novel-trilogy *Dushi v ekzyli*. In this research, I cite the 2012 publication, a copy of which I was able to obtain. However, to maintain the chronological accuracy, I also use the title and the appropriate citation of the earlier version of the text.

husband: from the East for love?) by Marina Sorina (2006), *Korotka istoriia traktoriv po-ukrains'ky* (2013)⁸ (A Short History of Tractors in Ukrainian (2005)) and *Dva furhony* (2008)⁹ (Two Caravans (2007)) by Marina Lewycka, *Shliub iz kukhlem pil'zens'koho pyva* (Marriage to a mug of Pilsner beer) by Lesia Stepovychka (2007), *Chotyry dorohy* (Four roads) by Lesia Romanchuk (2008), *Same ta* (The one_{female}) by Iosyp Salash (2008), *Trymai mene, kovzanko* (Hold me, skating rink) by Mariia Tkachivs'ka (2008), *Tvoia dytynka* (Your baby) by Irysia Lykovych (2010), *Ia znaiu, shcho ty znaiesh, shcho ia znaiu* (I know that you know that I know) by Irena Rozdobud'ko (2011), and *Hastarbaiterky* (Guest Workers_{female}) by Natalka Doliak (2012).¹⁰

Most of these literary publications are from small presses with limited print runs and represent contemporary women's writing both in Ukraine and abroad. These novels and short stories offer a variety of emigrant experiences from different perspectives and geographic locations. Even though these are works of fiction, they raise issues of performative migrant or hybrid identity, national identity negotiation, displacement, nostalgia, gendered nationalism, and woman's sacrifice, which appear to be very productive subjects for discussion in literary, sociological, and cultural studies.

The reams of published works on emigration in general and Ukrainian women emigrants in particular allows us to speak of a new trend in Ukrainian literature. Along with the novels and

⁸ Ukrainian translation was published in 2013.

⁹ Ukrainian translation was published in 2008.

¹⁰ It should be noted, that the above listed 19 publications are the ones whose paper or electronic copies I was able to obtain in the course of this research. The list is by no means exhaustive and may be limited due to my restricted access to Ukrainian publications. For those interested in further exploration of the topic, the following publications came to my attention but were not included in this study: *Z variahy v hreky, abo istoriia, nakreslena runamy* (From the Varangians to the Greeks) by Ieva Hata (2008), *Nian'ka-nen'ka. Zi shchodennyka zarobitchanky* (Nanny-Mommy. From the diary of an emigrant worker_{female}) by Oksana Drachkovs'ka (2009), *Vin: rankovyi prybyral'nyk. Vona: shosti dveri* (He: morning cleaner. She: sixth door) by Irena Rozdobud'ko (2007), *Artemida z lanniu ta inshi novely* (Artemis with a hind and other short stories) by Liudmyla Taran (2010), *Ianhol z Ukrainy. Malen'ki romany, novely* (Angel from Ukraine. Short novels, stories) by Halyna Tarasiuk (2006), *Naiada* by Mariia Yukhno (2000).

short stories that constitute the basis for the present project, the so-called genre of “emigrant folklore” and theatrical plays have prominently featured issues faced by Ukrainian emigrants. For example, the play “Naples: City of Cinderellas” by Nadia Kovalyk was first staged by the Lviv-based National Drama Theatre in 2003.

My preliminary analysis of the literary texts identified above reveals certain common elements.

Most texts

- a. are written by women and about women,
- b. see Ukrainian women emigrants travel to Italy or Germany,
- c. and end with tragic death or forced return of women emigrants to Ukraine.

Further inquiry revealed that some of the identified texts had already been studied by literary scholars and mentioned by sociologists. However, no single and unanimously accepted definition has been proposed to identify these publications as a new and distinct literary trend. I propose to use Adelson’s (2005) term “literature of migration” as a thematic and descriptive term with which to analyze the recent literary phenomenon of these women inspired and women authored texts. I reference the existing terminology about “(e)migration” and “literature” and discuss the suitability of the term “literature of migration” when discussing the concept in a Ukrainian context. This step describes my literary corpus and may ensure a certain level of consistency in future research.

In order to keep my linguistic data coherent, logical, and comparable across multiple texts, the number of novels subjected to an in-depth linguistic analysis was limited to five, applying the following selection criteria to my corpus:

- a. Ukrainian language of publication
- b. authors’ gender as I focus on women-authored publications

- c. first or third-person narration
- d. one publication per author to offer more variety.¹¹

The following five novels of the previously mentioned 19 were selected for further linguistic analysis:

1. *Usi dorohy vedut' do Rymu* (All roads lead to Rome) by Olesia Halych (2004) [*Usi dorohy*]
2. *Shliub iz kukhlem pil'zens'koho pyva* (Marriage to a mug of Pilsner beer) by Lesia Stepovychka (2007) [*Shliub*]
3. *Ia znaiu, shcho ty znaiesh, shcho ia znaiu* (I know that you know that I know) by Irena Rozdobud'ko (2011) [*Ia znaiu*]
4. *Hastarbaiterky* (Guest Workers_{female}) by Natalka Doliak (2012) [*Hastarbaiterky*]
5. *Korotka istoriia traktoriv po-ukraiins'ky* (A Short History of Tractors in Ukrainian) by Marina Lewycka (2013). [*Korotka istoriia*]

From each of the five novels, I further select short introductory chapters (self-contained excerpts) of roughly five to 15 pages that focus on separate women emigrant characters, introducing them, describing their character and/or appearance, outlining their emigration path, stating their reasons to emigrate etc. From the selected excerpts, I identify linguistic realizations of evaluation of women emigrants and emigration in general. These realizations are various grammatical and lexical items (diminutive suffixes, verbs, nouns, adjectives, noun phrases, punctuation etc) employed by the authors to “transmit their assessments” (White, 2015, p.1) of the emigrant women characters and the phenomenon of emigration from Ukraine in general. By exploring the selected excerpts and the linguistic data they yielded I examine how Ukrainian women emigrants are constructed in the opening pages of the novels. I note and colour code

¹¹ All criteria will be discussed in more details in section 2.3 and subsection 2.3.1.

identified linguistic tokens¹² containing evaluative meanings under the three categories of affect, judgement, and appreciation, and use a bottom-up approach in my analysis. I focus on specific linguistic realizations and thus re-construct the general mood of the text from individual linguistic tokens up, which allows for a more systematic analysis.

1.5 Contribution of the thesis

Though imaginary and fictitious, literary explorations of migration represent the often-missing individualized woman's voice that, if considered, could help fill scholarly lacunae in the field of migration studies. As Ukrainian academic research on the intersection of migration studies and feminism is scattered, unsystematic, and poorly framed, contemporary literary analysis offers much needed insight and a new vocabulary with which to study the imbrication of gender, ethnicity, and nationality.

While Appraisal Theory was developed and has been further enhanced over the past 20 years, to the best of my knowledge, it has not been used to analyze Ukrainian language texts. Herein lies the novelty of the present research, using the theory to frame a detailed analysis of Ukrainian emigration of women as depicted in five works of literature. Future studies could broadly explore similar themes in other Slavic-language literatures, permitting the development of unique methodologies, terminology, and analytical tools. This may further enrich Appraisal Theory and expand its use into other spheres and discourses.

Khanenko-Friesen (2007) observes that representation of labour migration is determined by the speaker, time, and place of the conversation:

¹² Separate linguistic units, i.e. words, phrases or complete sentences.

How and with what purpose did these various kinds of discourses concerning labour migration in Ukraine ‘handle’ the figure of a labour migrant her/himself? Whether she or he is seen as a beneficial investor in or as a betrayer of the nation, as an active agent of her own fate or as a (fallen) victim to global trafficking and the cause of Ukraine’s economic deterioration, or even as a prostitute who has to be erased from the nation’s memory, depends on who is doing the talking, and when and where this talk is taking place.

(Khanenko-Friesen, 2007, p. 107)

My personal narrative of migration has both empowered and enriched my dissertation. As a woman emigrant, I am not only well positioned to make sense of complicated migratory processes, I can also refract the selected corpus through the lens of my own experiences, revealing alternative readings of migrants’ stories. Mine is not only an academic viewpoint, but also the perspective of a woman whose migration path differs from the commonly depicted illegal woman migrant.

1.6 Thesis structure

In Chapter 1 of the present research, I provide an overall introduction and literature overview, sharing preliminary thoughts on women and emigration in section 1.1, stating the aim of the study in section 1.2, and the research question in section 1.3. I briefly outline used methodology in section 1.3, and describe my corpus in section 1.4 and thesis structure in section 1.6. Additionally, I highlight the contribution of this thesis and its novelty in section 1.5.

In Chapter 2 entitled “Corpus and methodology,” I discuss the term “literature of migration” and its applicability to the pool of literary texts selected for the research. The term “literature of migration” is compared to the term “*literatura emihratsii*” (literature of emigration). First, I outline the theoretical framework employed, and discuss general themes,

commonalities, and differences of the selected publications. Section 2.2 of the chapter introduces the context of Ukrainian emigration based on scholarly findings. Section 2.3 of the chapter presents a more detailed overview of the novels selected for further linguistic analysis. Section 2.4 offers a detailed overview of Appraisal Theory and data collection for the linguistic analysis.

Chapter 3 presents the findings of the linguistic analysis. In it, I include the analysis of both, selected excerpts and titles of the novels and/or excerpts, if applicable. Section 3.1 describes my analysis procedure and data. Sections 3.2 to 3.6 each focus on a separate excerpt, followed by Section 3.7, in which I offer a summary of the results of the analysis.

Evaluation of women emigrants and emigration as presented in the literary corpus is explored in Chapter 4 of the research project, entitled “Discussion.” In this chapter, I include the interpretation of the findings of the linguistic analysis in section 4.1 and answer the research question in section 4.2. I further discuss the relationship between the identified linguistic realization of evaluation, the findings of the Ukrainian migration studies, and trends in literature of migration. Section 4.3 emphasizes the value and contribution of literary publications to migration studies, whereas section 4.4 underscores the contribution of Appraisal theory to this project. Chapter 5 provides an overall conclusion to the thesis.

Appendices 1-6 contain additional information regarding analysis and coding as well as the excerpts constituting the linguistic corpus of the study.

Chapter 2. Corpus and methodology

In the past two decades, the topic of globalization has given rise to a broad discussion of such related issues as migration and multiculturalism across the humanities and social sciences. In literary studies, focus is usually placed on “migrant literature” or “marginal literature”

(Tlostanova, 2000), which explores the place and contributions of immigrant writers to the literature of receiving countries. My corpus focuses on the sending country generally and emigrants and emigration from Ukraine specifically. In section 2.1 of this chapter, I discuss several concepts describing the overlap of “literature” and “migration” in a European context. This discussion highlights the terms’ historical development and underscores the need for new terminology when dealing with the imbrication of literature and emigration in a Ukrainian context in the early 2000s. I briefly describe my selected literary texts and categorize them as a separate literary trend that emerged and developed in Ukrainian literature in the above stated time period. The nature and number of commonalities that distinguish these publications from “migrant literature” are best described by Adelson’s (2005) term “literature of migration” (discussed in greater detail below).

Additionally, I argue that including literary publications and linguistic analyses into the broader field of migration studies allows for a more comprehensive approach when exploring migration. For instance, Zaremba (2014) convincingly claims that issues surrounding migration are best explored using multidisciplinary approaches. However, Ukrainian-language scholarship on migration still remains siloed in rigid academic disciplines. Most publications discuss migration from statistical, socio-political, and historical perspectives solely, and rarely consider other factors or combinations of various factors. Zaremba describes migration studies in Ukraine as an “in-between field” that ranges from the familiar Soviet themes of the “territorial” exploration of migration patterns (with inadequate and often outdated statistics) to a handful of individual studies that attempt to link local migration practices to global trends (Zaremba, 2014, p. 40). In this respect, an article by Kukurudza and Romashchenko (2012) voices an urgent need to implement a systemic approach to migration studies, in particular labour migration, that

embraces all of its manifestations and complexities. This approach would consider economic, social, geographic, national, political, demographic, and cultural factors (Kukurudza and Romashchenko, 2012, p. 24). Section 2.2 of this chapter addresses the cultural gap in multidisciplinary studies of migration from Ukraine and provides an overview of Ukrainian scholarship on migration and gendered migration. This extant scholarship focuses on Ukrainian migration from 2000 to 2013.¹³ This overview will provide the necessary contextual framing of contemporary migratory processes and identify common migratory patterns from Ukraine. This information will be also used to frame the analysis of my literary corpus, including explicit attention to the cultural factors of migration.

It is important to review the characteristics of migratory processes from Ukraine, as defined by interdisciplinary scholarship, in order to identify not only key characteristics of, but also the “silences” in, fictional explorations of Ukrainian emigration. These “silences” may reveal authors’ hidden agendas or implicit intentions. Similarly, highlighting these “silences” can potentially contribute to a discussion of such issues as gender and national identity in the “literature of migration.” For example, H’okkhan (2015) states that one may call “intellectuality” a distinctive feature of contemporary global migration (H’okkhan, 2015, p. 24). However, none of the texts included in my corpus features the legal migration of trained professionals or “intellectuals” from Ukraine.¹⁴ Similarly, H’okkhan (2015) notes the growing popularity of student migration, but, to my knowledge, only one novel of the 19 mentioned above contains a protagonist who emigrated for education (see Rozdobud’ko, 2001). This in turn raises the following questions: could this “silence” simply reflect the low number of highly educated

¹³ Ukrainian migration after the Ukrainian Revolution of Dignity of 2014 is not considered in this research as the identified literary texts were published prior to the events that contributed to the number of both internally displaced Ukrainians and international refugees from Ukraine post-2014.

¹⁴ Here I refer to legal migration with a secured job offer in receiving country that meets emigrants’ qualifications.

Ukrainian emigrants? Or is there a risk to portray migration positively, as a personal or professional accomplishment? The outflow of Ukrainians (Ukrainian women in particular) has been widely recognized as problematic and disadvantageous to the country for a number of reasons; in Ukraine, emigration is largely associated with depopulation, “brain drain,” social orphaning of children, and family crisis among others. Positive portrayals of emigrants or emigration could be perceived as encouraging citizens to relocate, thus exacerbating what is already considered to be a crisis.

In section 2.3 of Chapter 2, I provide a brief synopsis of the five novels that constitute the data source for my linguistic analysis and highlight and contextualize the texts’ main themes and topics. I believe that including a general overview of the novels prior to the linguistic analysis ensures that readers have the necessary background to follow my analysis better. Section 2.4 offers an overview of Appraisal Theory and the methodology employed in the analysis part of this dissertation.

2.1 Theoretical framework: “Literature of migration” vs “*Literatura emihratsii*”

Representing a variety of approaches, literary theorists and critics worldwide have discussed “emigration literature” (Duffy, 1995), “marginal literature” (Tlostanova, 2000), “interkulturelle Literatur” (intercultural literature) or “interlinguale Literatur” (interlingual literature) (Chiellino, 2000), “Migrantenliteratur” (migrant’s literature), “Migrationsliteratur” (migration literature)¹⁵ (Rösch, 2004), “migration literature” (Merolla & Ponzanesi, 2005, Frank, 2010), “immigration (diaspora) literature” (Walkowitz, 2006, Curti, 2007), and “literature of

¹⁵ It is possible to translate “Migrationsliteratur” also as “literature of migration” due to the peculiar compound word formation in German. However, I choose to translate it as “migration literature” in order to demonstrate the differences between the two concepts and avoid any confusion.

migration” (Adelson, 1997, 2005).¹⁶ I choose to focus on these specific concepts (and not on more recent ones) for the following reasons. First, they allow me to demonstrate the historical development and conceptualization of literature and migration confluence in a European context. This overview is relevant to the discussion of appropriate terminology in a Ukrainian context considering the specific literary trend emerging in the country in the early 2000s. Second, my thesis focuses on writing about emigrants/emigration produced in the sending country Ukraine, which sets it apart from the concepts and perspectives on immigrant writers/writing elaborated by scholarship in receiving countries. Below, I present an overview of the above-listed concepts and their key features in conversation with Adelson’s ideas on “literature of migration” (1997, 2005). In my view, these concepts are not interchangeable, even though some studies suggest otherwise. While all of them attempt to nuance theoretical frameworks in order to categorize “hard-to-categorize” texts, they present each term as representing a distinct understanding of the “literature” and “migration” dyad that mirrors the sociocultural and political climate of the author(s)’ country of origin. As Rösch (2004) indicated in her work: “These [Migrantenliteratur, Migrationsliteratur, Interkulturelle Literatur] are working concepts elaborated to approach those texts and their authors that cannot be easily fitted in the existing categories and also indicate a new context and problematic which should be taken into consideration when analyzing and theorizing this new type of literature [literature of and about migration]” (p. 90).

I have identified three research foci in the scholarly discourse that define the theme of migration in literary texts: a. authors’ origin and biography, b. content of literary works

¹⁶ A wealth of additional and important scholarly work has since emerged on texts produced outside the boundaries of one’s nation/state. However, new perspectives and concepts of “New World Literature” (Sturm-Trigonakis, 2013), “ex(tra)territoriality” (Lassalle & Weissmann, 2014), transculturality and mobility (Dagnino, 2015), writing in-between worlds, and literature of movement (Ette, 2016; Petersen, 2020), to name just a few, reflect migratory patterns and issues that are not addressed in the texts selected for the current study.

(migration), and c. language of writing. For instance, the terms “Migrationsgeschichte” (Yano, 2000) and “Migrantenliteratur” (Rösch, 2004), “migration literature” (Merolla & Ponzanesi, 2005), and “emigration literature” (Duffy, 1995) describe literature of migrants with a varying focus on writers’ status in their countries of residence at the time of literature’s publication. The concepts “immigrant literature” (Stanišić, 2008), “Migrationsliteratur” (Rösch, 2004), “migrant literature” and “literature of migration” (Frank, 2010) define literary works that explore the topic of migration regardless of the writers’ origin and relationship to the country of literature’s publication. The terms “interkulturelle Literatur,” “interlinguale Literatur” (Rösch, 2004, Chiellino, 2000) and “diasporic literature” (Curti, 2007) highlight the importance of language of writing rather than writers’ birthplace. I present a more detailed discussion of the outlined foci and terminology below.

2.1.1 Role of authors’ origin and biography in defining migration discourse in literary texts

An authors’ origin and biography are key factors in how Yano (2000) and Rösch (2004) define migration discourses in literature. Discussing the German context of migration literature, these two researchers use the terms “Migrationsgeschichte”¹⁷ (Yano, 2000, p. 1) and “Migrantenliteratur” (Rösch, 2004, p. 89). Both recognize migration literature as literary works produced by migrants, which indicates the status of the author in the country where their work was published. Yano (2000) states that “[m]igration narratives’ of the Federal Republic of Germany include the works not only of the so-called “Gastarbeitern”, but also written by other foreigners; lately, this group also embraces repatriates, i.e., Germans from Eastern Europe” (p. 1). Rösch (2004) elaborates that “[m]igrants’ literature’ is used to describe literature written by

¹⁷ “Migration narratives”

migrants and is considered to be an offshoot of the concept ‘foreign literature’” (p. 91). The researcher finds the concept problematic “as it defines those authors who have spent the majority of their lives in Germany or were even born and raised here as foreigners or migrants” (Rösch, 2004, p. 91).

Even though both researchers use either the prefix “migrant-” or the noun “migrants” when referring to writers and their texts, each ascribes a different meaning to this category. Yano’s (2000) interpretation reflects the historic development of this type of literature in Germany, first introduced by guest workers who were later referred to as “ethnic, cultural, or language minorities” (p.1),¹⁸ demonstrating a certain political correctness.¹⁹ Regarding Rösch’s “Migrantenliteratur,” we see that “Migranten” appear to be both the so-called first-wave immigrants and their children, who are legally German citizens but who are classified as “foreigners.” Interestingly, both definitions underline the foreignness of migrants’ literature (narratives). This indicates that both “Migranten” and their “Literatur” have been excluded from typically “German” cultural spaces. Moreover, the term “Migrantenliteratur” alludes to the difficulty of classifying German-language literature written by ethnically non-German authors and speaks to our understanding of nation states as uniform and largely homogeneous ethnic formations. In this case, I find it more appropriate to use the term “immigration literature,” which potentially signals a relationship between the receiving country and the cultural and linguistic “Other.” The very definition of an “immigrant” as a “person who comes to live permanently in a *foreign* country” (Oxford dictionary; emphasis is mine) points at the extraneity of newcomers and their lived experiences. Taking into consideration the commonly negative image of

¹⁸ “ethnische, kulturelle oder sprachliche Minderheiten”

¹⁹ Referring to guest workers as “ethnic, cultural, or language minorities” demonstrates Yano’s attempt to avoid the negative connotation associated with the term “guest worker.”

immigrants in their host countries, a more general “migration literature” is less controversial though not necessarily more precise.²⁰

Referring to the wider European context of “migration literature,” Merolla and Ponzanesi (2005) identify such texts as a literary corpus produced by “artists operating beyond national parameters” (Merolla & Ponzanesi, 2005, p. 1). “Migration literature” is defined through the authors’ dislocation and/or absence from a national literary scene. This is somewhat different from the definition inspired by the German context discussed earlier, as it does not highlight the alien status of the writers within those “national parameters.” Merolla and Ponzanesi (2005) also wonder whether migrant literature can ever be studied “without having to pass via the national canon” (Merolla & Ponzanesi, 2005, p. 4). This suggests that migrant texts can serve as a separate genre within a European literary space regardless of their language or country of production.

In this first category, where research focuses on authors’ origins and biographies, I would partially include the term “emigration literature,” developed by Duffy (1995) in reference to his native Ireland. He refers to “emigration literature” as a large corpus of autobiographical literary works that include either an explicit or implicit reference to the author’s personal emigration. Unlike the previous examples from the German literary and migration context, Duffy does not refer to this type of literature as alien. The concept of “emigration literature” itself provides an opposite perspective on “literature and migration”: that of the sending country. This understanding defines “emigration literature” based on the literary traces of the authors’ personal life experiences. Duffy (1995) also argues that general fiction produced by national writers at

²⁰ Yano (2000) addresses the issue of hostility towards immigrants in twentieth century Germany in which the very presence of foreigners in the country was most frequently referred to in the media as a serious “problem” (p. 14).

home or abroad “reflects either directly or indirectly on emigration as a reality of life” and can also be characterized as “emigration literature” (Duffy, 1995, p. 21).

2.1.2 Role of content in defining migration discourse in literary texts

The content category includes a definition by Stanišić (2008), who in his discussion of “immigrant literature” defines it by the “subject matter, and in relation to the literary premises of genre, style, [and] tradition” (p.1) and not by migrant writers’ biographies and their origins. In his analysis of migrant literature myths, Stanišić argues that even though most migrant writers prefer to talk about their own migrant experiences, writing about migration is neither the only nor the exclusive topic of migrant literature. Similarly, in order to write about migration one does not need to relocate to another country.

Frank’s (2010) theses on literature and migration are based on Stanišić’s field broadening definition. He points out that the figure of the migrant first appeared in twentieth century literature, which in turn led to an increase in the number of migrant authors who shared their own migrant experiences with global audiences (Frank, 2010, pp. 41-43). This tendency further defined contemporary literary historiography, which organized texts according to “national ideas of authorial belonging” (p. 43). Urging researchers to revisit the now outdated classification of the literary/migrant corpus, Frank (2010) insists on shifting our focus from an authors’ birthplace to the “thematic and formal” levels of their writing (p. 44). “The relationship between the literary content and style” represented by these two levels offers insight into the process of hybridizing and transforming migrant identities (the thematic level) through a multitude of voices, languages, and narrative forms (the formal level) (Frank, 2010, p. 52). Disregarding authors’ ethnicity leads to another valid observation: “[i]n an age of migration all literature, written by migrants as well as non-immigrants, is potentially a literature of migration” (Frank, 2010, p. 52).

It should be noted that in his explorations of literature and migration, Frank uses the terms “migrant literature” and “literature of migration” interchangeably. While I accept both his arguments and his eagerness to review the first principles of the literary historiography of the literature of migration, precise terminology should be developed that adequately describes and classifies the literary corpus of migration. A shared scholarly vocabulary when referring to literary texts written by or about migrants will ensure consistency in research and will minimize confusion as the field of migrant/emigrant literature continues to develop.

As defined by Rösch, the term “Migrationsliteratur” is similar to Stanišić’s understanding of “(im)migrant literature” and Frank’s discussion of literature and migration:

[t]he concept ‘Migrationsliteratur’ clearly differs from ‘Migrantenliteratur’ and demonstrates that there are also immigrant and minority writers who do not produce any ‘Migrationsliteratur’. Even though the existing research focuses on the intersection of ‘Migranten-’ and ‘Migrationsliteratur’, the term ‘Migrationsliteratur’ is open to local writers who explore the topic [of migration] in their individual works thus broadening the field of ‘Migrationsliteratur’. To define a text as belonging to ‘Migrationsliteratur’ one does not need to make a reference to the author's biography, only the text and its content matter. In this respect, ‘Migrationsliteratur’ is defined as literature about migration (and its influence on individuals and society in general). (Rösch, 2004, pp. 93-94)

People in the twenty-first century continue to experience increased levels of mobility, displacement, and deracination. These global phenomena are reflected in literature when writers “migrate” across thematic and formal borders irrespective of their nationality or ethnicity. While Rösch’s (2004), Stanišić (2008), and Frank (2010) identify a separate niche for both local and foreign authors to write about migration, the terms offered by the researchers do not specify

language(s) in which this type of literature is generally published. The following subsection addresses inter- and multilinguality of migration literature.

2.1.3 Role of language of writing in defining migration discourse in literary texts

The role of language of writing in defining the literature of migration is represented by two interrelated and commonly interchangeable terms: “interkulturelle Literatur” and “interlinguale Literatur” (Rösch, 2004, Chiellino, 2000). These two concepts, similar to “Migrationsliteratur” and “migrant literature,” originate in a German context and focus on migration, and not the authors’ experience as migrants. However, these concepts stand out as they introduce language as the defining element of the “in-between” space this literature occupies: “In the more general meaning, this literature deals with cultural overlaps and a multilingual literary movement” (Chiellino, 2000, p. 51). According to Chiellino, intercultural and/or interlingual writings elaborate a number of topics, such as:

narratives with a personal pre-history, which led to emigration, exile or repatriation; travels abroad; encounters with a foreign culture, society and language; a project of developing a new, equal identity between citizens of the unknown country and newcomers; inclusion into the workplace and everyday life of the receiving country, i.e. the old and the new motherland; narrative with a political development in the sending country; gender specific observations of one’s staying in different ethnic surroundings with different priorities and life goals. (Chiellino, 2000, p. 58)

In the Italian context, the term “diasporic literature” also refers to interculturality, defined as “writings linked to the ex-colonies and those by authors from other countries, all expressing a transcultural condition” (Curti, 2007, pp. 64-65). In her discussion of the marginalization of “diasporic literature,” Curti notes that bilingualism is a characteristic feature of literature written

by migrants themselves or in creative tandem with Italian writers: “Works written in collaboration with Italians have been quite widespread in Italy due to the linguistic difficulties encountered by the first-generation migrants. This has often led to these writings being assigned to the category of inferior literature, although others see in this meeting of two authors an important cultural significance” (Portellin, 2004, quoted in Curti, 2007, p. 68).

A closer look allows us to identify two additional foci in the discussion of the topic of migration and literature:

- a. literary texts authored by migrants or about migration are discussed from the perspective of the national state. This positioning tries to establish this literature’s place and role in the national literature of each respective country
- b. second research focus represents a global aspect of migration and world literature in general. Stanišić and other authors discussed above are representatives of the “national-state” framing of migration and literature. Stanišić argues that regardless of the name, “migrant, immigrant, intercultural or multicultural literature today (...) is considered a category of literature by authors who write from a perspective refracted by at least two cultures, national identities, or languages” (Stanišić, 2008, p. 1). Stanišić acknowledges that this type of literature is represented by a great variety of migrant writers who come from and write in different cultural, social, and political contexts. He also notes that it is impossible to create a single category of “world migrant literature” because those varying experiences unavoidably will define certain topics, styles, and genres of authors’ writings unique to every country. Rösch (2004), however, argues that migration-focused literature *can* be considered the new “world literature.” What he defines as “Migrationsliteratur” can no longer be limited to narrow national criteria; this type of writing enables literatures’ participation in global processes. Indeed, “Migrationsliteratur” transforms the

topic of migration into an intercultural narrative, in which different ethnic groups, cultures, and languages are constantly interacting with each other (Rösch, 2004, p. 107). Similarly, Walkowitz (2006) asserts that the “political and social processes of immigration shape the whole literary system, the relationships among all of the works in a literary culture, and not simply the part of that system that involves books generated by immigrant populations” (p. 533).²¹ To describe this all-encompassing global approach, Walkowitz adopts Adelson’s term “literature of migration” (Adelson, 2005 cited in Walkowitz, 2006, p.533).

In her exploration of the “Turkish turn” in German literature, Adelson (2005), elaborates that “[t]he development of postnational structures in the age of globalization does not displace national frames of reference in any simple way, and those national frameworks that endure are historical formations, themselves subject to defamiliarizing change at the turn to the 21st century” (p. 8). Therefore, Adelson acknowledges the importance of the national component, while underlining its inevitable change in the age of globalization. Moreover, Adelson contends that “the literature of migration is no longer situated in any predictable sense ‘between two worlds’” (2005, p.5). In fact, she positions “literature of migration” “in contradistinction” to Chiellino’s (2000) earlier discussed “intercultural literature” (Adelson, 2005, p.23).

Rösch’s “Migrationsliteratur” resembles Adelson’s “literature of migration” in that it opines on global processes in a number of ways. Yet Adelson’s (2005) definition of the concept is more fruitful for the field of literary analysis as it considers contemporary literature from a

²¹ Walkowitz also views this kind of literature as including “all works produced in a time of migration or that can be said to reflect on migration” (Walkowitz, 2006, p. 533). Similarly, the author considers the global book printing industry and the “migration of books” as a contributing factor to discussions about the literature of migration: “Immigrant fiction suggests that literary studies will have to examine the global writing of books, in addition to their classification, design, publication, translation, anthologizing, and reception across multiple geographies. Books are no longer imagined to exist in a single literary system but may exist, now and in the future, in several literary systems, through various and uneven practices of world circulation” (Walkowitz, 2006, p. 528).

historical perspective: “Conceptualizing the field as a literature of migration allows us to keep transnational migration and its long-range cultural effects keenly in sight as historical formations, without limiting these effects to the initial influx of guest workers” (p. 23). Ideas about “literature of migration” are evolving at precisely the moment when categories of diaspora and national memory are no longer sufficient to address the changing relationships between diaspora communities and national states (Adelson, 2005, p. 27). In my research, I adopt Adelson’s (2005) interpretation of “literary structures partly in terms of their transfigurative historic significance” (p.26) and believe that “literature of migration” is an evolving trend on both national and global scales. Therefore, as a concept, “literature of migration” signifies a new historical stage in the development of writing about migration. Now more than ever, it is important to stop talking exclusively about immigrants or emigrants and their autobiographies as the main contributors to the literary corpus on migration (as the terms “Migrationsgeschichte,” “Migrantenliteratur,” “migrants’ literature,” and “emigration literature” imply). Migration has become a global fixture, influencing those who actually migrate and those who more passively observe it. Migration has opened up a number of related discussions that appear to be mostly limited to travel and trauma (“Migrant literature,” “Migrationsliteratur”). Literature of migration raises and embraces issues of hybridity, ethnicity, multilingualism, and inclusion into and exclusion from both host and home societies (“interkulturelle/interlinguale Literatur” and “diasporic literature”). All of these concepts, “diaspora (diasporic) literature,” “migrant literature,” “emigration literature,” “intercultural and interlingual literature,” represent particular national contexts (German, Irish, Italian). The concept “literature of migration,” however, has the potential to embrace both the national and the international, making it possible to talk about a global literature of migration.

2.1.4 “Literature of migration” in the Ukrainian context

In the Ukrainian context, the notion of “emigrants’ literature” refers primarily to “diaspora literature” (Kovaliv, 2007, p. 330). Scholarly attention has focused on the literary, social, and political work of four main groups of Ukrainian writers who for various reasons emigrated in the twentieth century: The “Prague School” (1920s), the MUR (*Mystets’kyi Ukrains’kyi Rukh*)²² (1945), “the New York Group” (mid-1950s), and “*Slovo*”²³ (1957). These four literary groups were and continue to be studied by Pohrebennyk (1991, 1995), Il’nyts’kyi (1992), Bahan (2005), Skoryna (2005), Kovaliv (2007), Sherekh (2012), Rewakowicz (2014), and many others.

Interestingly, Zhyrafs’ka (2008) points to the inaccuracy of the term “diaspora” when defining literature by Ukrainian authors living abroad. This reflects the field’s broader tendency to revisit and potentially revise meanings of existing terminology and its potential to reflect cogently on new features and trends. She emphasizes the need for further scholarly discussion aimed at developing more accurate terminology, and common criteria and approaches to the study of this type of literature. For example, in the Ukrainian context, scholars use at least four terms when discussing the literature of migration: “emigrant writers,” “diaspora writers,” “foreign Ukrainian writers,” and “Ukrainian writers in exile.” Similar to previous classification schemas, these concepts are constructed around the writers’ biographies. It should also be noted that this terminology was created in reference to twentieth century migration processes that may not be immediately relevant today. In the early 2000s, Ukraine witnessed either its fourth or fifth

²² The Ukrainian Art Movement

²³ Word

wave of migration (see footnote 5 on p. 8), which has since been reflected in contemporary literature.

To my knowledge, only a handful of studies explore the literary interpretation of contemporary Ukrainian migration processes. Skurtul (2011a), for example, offers a new classification of what she calls the “literature of *emigration* discourse” (italics is mine). She develops three main categories: “1) literature of emigration (literature of diaspora), 2) literature about emigration (a larger literary corpus which includes both mainland Ukrainian writings and temporary emigrants—those produced by labour, academic, political and other types of emigration), 3) literature of emigrant rhizome”²⁴ (Skurtul, 2011a, p. 197). In her categorization of contemporary writing, which I would define as a migration discourse, Skurtul deploys previous understandings of the term “emigration.” This is inherently problematic as it limits her three categories to the Ukrainian mainland’s understanding of “emigrant writers” and their “emigrant experiences.” Her use of previously conceptualized vocabulary also limits her interpretive horizons when discussing “internal emigration,” and the postmodern concept of an “emigrant rhizome.” Ultimately, her classification schema borrows from continental literary contexts and debates and is similarly too narrow to embrace the variety of contemporary writing on the topic. Additionally, Skurtul (2011b) does not consider the dominant role of the emigrant in “modern Ukrainian woman’s prose.” Instead, she attempts to identify the common themes raised by women writers in what she defines as “literary works that reflect the everyday work of Ukrainians abroad”²⁵ (Skurtul, 2011b, p. 256). No further definition of the works selected for discussion was provided, which understandably, was not the focus of her study. At the same

²⁴ According to Skurtul (2011a), “literature of emigrant rhizome” refers to texts with a motif of internal emigration, but whose plots do not represent everyday lives of emigrants; instead, they “implant emigrant rhizome” into their structure (p. 196).

²⁵ ... творах, що відображають трудові будні українців за кордоном.

time, Skurtul's perspectives on those literary works written by Ukrainian women writers on the topic of emigration would be extremely valuable given her expressed interest in and existing work on the "literature of emigration discourse."

Khanenko-Friesen (2013) explores Ukrainian fiction on the topic of *zarobichanstvo* (labour migration), focusing on the literature that appeared in the context of Ukrainian labour immigration to Italy (p. 489). She compiles an impressive annotated bibliography of publications, both prose and poetry, wherein the topic of labour migration is either central to the plot or constitutes an important component of the storyline. In 2012, the bibliography included 82 publications by first-time and established writers with and without labour migration experience. The researcher observes that most of the identified publications are authored by women and half of them are published in L'viv, Ternopil', and Ivano-Frankivs'k regions of Ukraine (Khanenko-Friesen, 2013, p. 492). She also notes that authors of the identified publications write predominantly in Ukrainian; however, several texts are written in Russian and Italian. The researcher highlights the unfolding, evolving nature of the literature on the topic of labour migration, which, over the course of ten years, between 2003 and 2013, emerged from the popular regional discourses and immigrant folklore into a separate and rather mature literary field of its own (Khanenko-Friesen, 2013). When trying to define these publications, Khanenko-Friesen (2013) opines that both terms "fiction on the topic of labour migration"²⁶ and "labour migration literature"²⁷ are too narrow to embrace the variety of discovered genres, styles, and themes (p. 491). Instead, she proposes the term "literature of post socialist folklore realism"²⁸ and describes this type of literature as a transnational phenomenon (Khanenko-Friesen, 2013, p.

²⁶ художня література на заробітчанську тематику

²⁷ заробітчанська література

²⁸ література постсоціалістичного фолькореалізму

500). I find Khanenko-Friesen's (2013) term appropriate and applicable to the 82 publications she included into the bibliography. However, while the term references the origin of this kind of literature and a specific time period (alluding to the late 1990s), it may not be applicable to future texts that explore the topic of women's emigration from Ukraine in other decades, under different social and economic circumstances.

In order to explore the Ukrainian literature of migration discourse, it is necessary to examine general and Ukraine-specific migration trends. As previously noted, the feminization of migration is not contained to Ukraine. Globally, more women have been leaving their home country in search of a better life. Ukrainian women often emigrate under the guise of work, education, spousal dependency, or foreign marriage. These aspects of the contemporary wave of Ukrainian emigration are reflected in novels by Sniadanko (2001), Semenkovich (2003), Halych (2004, 2012), Berezovs'kyi (2004), Stepovychka (2007), Rozdobud'ko (2007, 2011), and others. Although the majority of writers exploring Ukrainian women's experiences of migration currently reside and work in Ukraine (several of them had previous migration experience), two authors in particular—Lewycka (2004, 2007) and Sorina (2006)—do not easily fit into the category of *emigration* literature. Lewycka is a British writer of Ukrainian origin who lives and works in England and thus cannot be described as an emigrant per se. In her novels *A Short History of Tractors in Ukrainian* (2004), and *Two Caravans* (2007), she describes the lives of Ukrainian immigrants in England, their problems adapting to a new environment, and the ways in which they negotiate their identities, to name a few. In this respect, migration is examined through a dual perspective of two cultures, two countries, and two languages bridged by the author herself. If we consider these to be works of English literature, as the author lives in England and writes in English, then Stanišić's literature of migration discourse is analytically

appropriate. However, these novels also focus on Ukrainian immigrants. Sorina, who currently lives in Italy and attended university there, published her novel *Voglio un marito Italiano*²⁹ in 2006. While one may view Sorina as representative of a recent wave of emigration, her novel, written and published in Italy, still shares several common topics and themes with writers in Ukraine. However, it should be noted that Sorina's novel has yet to be translated into Ukrainian, thus making it more difficult to categorize.³⁰ As such, though the works of Lewycka and Sorina are still largely unknown to the vast majority of Ukrainians, they clearly belong to the new tradition of the literature of migration because of their themes, topics, languages, and the status of their writer. Moreover, I suggest we use the term "literature of migration" in order to avoid any confusion with previous Ukrainian writings on emigration.

Considering the increase in the number of literary publications about the emigration of Ukrainian women during the first decade of the 2000s, what is defined as literature of migration may also be characterized as both popular and feminine. This literature appears to be popular in Western Ukraine, where the emigration rate in the analyzed period of the early 2000s was higher than in other regions.³¹ Here, emigration of women is commonly discussed in media, literature, and the theatre. It should be also noted that in the Ukrainian context, the literature of migration is commonly understood as "popular literature" (Shostak, 2006) and only reflects one side of labor migration from Ukraine in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries in pop culture. According to Shostak: "[t]he numerous reflections on labor migration in literature, theatre, film

²⁹"I want to marry an Italian"

³⁰ The information was confirmed during the research stage of the project and may be subject to (future) change.

³¹ According to Jaroszewicz (2015), [b]efore 2014 approximately 70% of Ukrainian labour migrants came from the western part of the country, in which migration had become a widespread method of coping with poverty and low salaries" (p. 2). Additionally, the 2011 IOM Report on migration in Ukraine highlights higher geographical distribution of Ukrainian labour migrants in western regions of the country, quoting "economic disparities and asymmetric development paths between the regions (p. 4).

and the media constitute a new public discursive space in Ukraine where *zarobitchanstvo* is being constructed as a modern large-scale social drama of Ukrainian society unfolding in the imagined and lived shifting dualities of Europe's here and there" (2006, p. 2).

When defining the literature of migration as a distinct literary trend, focus is usually placed on main characters and common topics—Ukrainian women emigrants and emigration of women from Ukraine. Genre, authors' emigration status, their ethnicity, and the language of writing are acknowledged; however, none of these factors bear more importance or are more central to the final definition. The term "literature of migration" arguably allows for a broader, more inclusive approach when studying contemporary writings on emigration in general and the emigration of women in particular. Along with a focus on women and gendered perspectives on migration, the topic of women's emigration from Ukraine in the late 1990s and the first decade of the 2000s raised by literary works, and the fact that these are written in a variety of languages, demonstrate how the concept "literature of migration" allows the combination of the two: immigrant and emigrant perspective on writing.

To conclude, the literature of migration in the Ukrainian context represents a new trend in writing within migration discourses that reflects migration tendencies characteristic of the country in the specified time period as well as global developments. The "feminization"³² of this type of writing (due to the number of women writers who touch on the topic and the evolution of a new woman archetype in Ukrainian literature) is a defining feature that separates it from the corpus of emigration (diaspora) literature. I employ the term "literature of migration" in reference to the selected nineteen publications that share the following characteristics:

³² Here, the term "feminization" is used to underscore the fact that the majority of the literary works about emigration and emigrants from Ukraine are written by women and about women.

“feminization”; popularization; a disregard for the author’s emigrant/non-emigrant status (anyone can write about emigration as it is a widespread phenomenon); a variety of languages employed in writing (Ukrainian, English, Italian); and a variety of genres (immigrant folklore, short stories, novels, plays, and poetry). It should be noted that further research is needed to develop a detailed shared terminology that can be used by scholars when discussing Ukrainian literature about migration. The term “literature of migration” is only one possible suggestion that needs further interrogation and translation into Ukrainian. More comparative contemporary literary studies from a variety of contexts are needed to test the ability of the term “literature of migration” to represent a global trend.

Below, I overview scholarly publications exploring the peculiarities of Ukrainian emigration between 2000 and 2013 and focusing on sociological, economic, and geographical aspects of migration. In section 2.2, I highlight the negative assessment of emigration dominating the scholarly discourse of migration. I also discuss the scale and geography of emigration from Ukraine and suggest a clear differentiation between the terms “feminization of migration” and “migration of women.” This review offers relevant contexts necessary to frame the subsequent analysis of my corpus and linguistic data.

2.2 The contexts of Ukrainian emigration: scholarly and literary findings

Both Ukrainian scholarly publications about migration and the Ukrainian literature of migration reveal a predominately negative assessment of Ukrainian emigration. This section demonstrates that literary fiction generally addresses the peculiarities of Ukrainian social mobility and comments on many issues addressed in Ukrainian scholarship. The feminization of migration is observed in both fictional and academic works.

2.2.1 Negative assessments of migration

In Ukrainian scholarship (predominantly sociological), national migratory processes are usually viewed as a net loss for Ukraine. Khachatryan (2012), for instance, observes that Ukrainian society perceives labour migration negatively due to its national social and demographic implications (p. 6). Khachatryan (2012) appears to share the same negative sentiment regarding labour migration. The researcher deems it problematic stating that the migratory movement from Ukraine is an unwanted social phenomenon that could end once the country's economic situation has improved (Khachatryan, 2012, p. 6). H'okkhan (2015), however, suggests that certain types of emigration, such as short-term academic or professional migration, could be positive for Ukraine (pp. 26-27). He contends that for Ukrainians, temporary labour emigration is a "useful tool to seek employment, guarantee regular income, fulfil oneself, which promotes inclusion into the international labour market, middle class formation and leads to European and world integration" (H'okkhan, 2015, p. 33). In H'okkhan's opinion, long-term migration, however, continues to hurt the nation, reducing the country's intellectual and human potential. H'okkhan contends that:

the world economy wins from international labour migration since the movement of labour resources promotes their usage to the full potential, which in its turn contributes to the growth of the global social product. Freedom of migration allows people to relocate to those countries where they could contribute their largest net value to the world production and fulfil themselves. (H'okkhan, 2015, p. 28)

Although H'okkhan perceives migration on a global scale positively, he concludes that overall, it is negative for Ukraine. He cites a number of conditions that need to be met before one can speak in favour of emigration from Ukraine. Indeed, emigration at the turn of the century had a number

of negative consequences, for example the “outflow of young people, including women of reproductive age, (...) [the] decrease of population, and also (...) [the] ruined families and abandoned children” (H’okkhan, 2015, p. 28). Kukurudza & Romashchenko (2012) are even more unambiguously negative on emigration: “(...) total losses caused by emigration busts the myth that the labour emigration of Ukrainians could possibly be good” (Kukurudza & Romashchenko, 2012, p. 45). Similarly, Puio (2015) acknowledges that most labour emigrants from Ukraine do not hold legal status in receiving countries. However, the author also highlights the positive effects of both remittances and short-term emigrants’ capital accumulation on Ukraine’s economy (Puio, 2015, p. 180).

When it comes to literary explorations of the topic of migration, similarly negative evaluations of migration prevail. For instance, Berezovs’kyi, in the foreword to his novel, denies any “optimistic” or positive aspects to emigration from Ukraine. In his opinion, experiences gained from exposure to foreign culture and life are inherently negative for Ukraine as a nation, particularly for emigrant women. He states the following:

Some optimists may argue that illegal immigration of our compatriots may be positive, saying that is how our people become familiar with a better social system, get access to a market economy, identify possibilities for establishing small business, get used to a European way of life, learn how to prevent “incidental” pregnancy. The latter is especially worrying under the current critical demographic situation in Ukraine. Though how could it not be when millions of young women are forced to spend years thousands of kilometres away from their husbands. (Berezovs’kyi, 2004, p. 6)

He also notes that emigrants who spend more time abroad have an increasingly negative

attitude about Ukraine and their family members still there.³³ Emigrants, particularly those who send remittances, blame their families for their illegal emigrant position, start to despise Ukraine, and ultimately refuse to return to a country that has offered them nothing but poverty and injustice:

For those who have tasted European life, spouses left back home become men with no prospects, staying with whom would inevitably result in more foreign travels or, given a chance, permanent emigration. Disregard of moral, trust, spousal and even parental duties (children would understand it later) is hardly the biggest sacrifice so called economic emigrants make in order to stay in a foreign paradise. (Berezovs'kyi, 2004, p. 7)

Along with highlighting the major reasons for illegal emigration and difficult working conditions abroad, Berezovs'kyi refuses to endorse economic emigration. He argues that illegal emigration has created a Ukrainian national identity based on “*rabs'ka ehoetnopatiia*” (“slave egoethnic apathy”): “meaning personal and national self-disparagement, which, sadly, we are not ashamed to demonstrate publicly and brag about it self-destructively” (Berezovs'kyi, 2004, p. 7).

In the foreword to Doliak's *Hastarbaiterky* (2012), Ol'ha Khvostova paints a less depressing picture than Berezovs'kyi. However, the rhetorical questions she poses to the reader imply that nothing about emigration (more so the emigration of women) is easy or positive:

Natalka Doliak writes about Ukrainian women—devoted, hard-working, gentle, focused, beautiful, and of course unhappy each in her own way. (...) Maybe you have also thought about working abroad or even emigrating. Maybe you also find your native land sad, cold and desperate—because no person is a prophet in their own land, and only dreary prophecies come true, and trees were once taller, and water clearer, and people happier.

³³ It should be noted that Berezovskyi's perspective on emigration is characteristic of the time when his book was written and published.

And it seems, that far-far away, out of sight, —everything is different. And indeed, it IS different, but is it better? (Khvostova, 2012, p. 7)

Doliak (2012) explores familiar tragedies of poverty and unhappy family lives that pushed her heroines to seek salvation in labour abroad. All are well-educated professionals who end up working low-paid jobs to provide for loved ones back in Ukraine.

Just like Berezovs'kyi, Andrii Liubka calls Ukrainian emigration a “tragedy” in his foreword to Sniadanko’s *Frau Miuller ne nalashtovana platyty bil’she* (2013). At the same time, he acknowledges that Sniadanko dispassionately depicted something that has become a norm in Ukrainian society:

The author_{female} [Sniadanko] views the tragedy of millions of Ukrainian families without pathos: like there is nothing abnormal about the experience of working abroad—just another experience, interesting and sometimes even pleasant, because one can spend some time living in Berlin, see another world, meet new people, [and] finally change one’s boring and stagnating life. (Liubka, 2013, p. 6)

Sociological scholarly explorations of migration appear to offer a variety of evaluations, ranging from optimistic to tragic. Positive outcomes pertain mostly to immigration. When it comes to emigration, its positive depiction depends on certain conditions, including but not limited to the legal status of emigrants, their education and professional status, the duration of emigration (short-term is favourable to long-term), and the reasons for emigration, to name a few. Tragic overtones prevail the more the discussion centres on Ukraine itself, mentioning emigration from the country. The research discussed above reveals an alarming correlation: better global labour market opportunities for emigrants are directly related to Ukraine’s economic atrophy due to “brain drain.” Most scholars also note the negative implications that

emigration has on emigrants and their families left behind. Since the literary works selected for this research generally explore illegal emigration from Ukraine, they follow the same negative evaluation of emigration and primarily refer to the mobility of Ukrainians as a national tragedy.

2.2.2 Scale and geography of emigration from Ukraine in the early 2000s

Starodub (2005) highlights the fact that Ukrainian mass media, politicians, and scholars have tended to inflate the numbers of Ukrainian emigrants abroad, quoting numbers as high as seven million people. This tendency became more apparent during the Orange Revolution of 2004, when the opposition led by Viktor Iushchenko overestimated the number of potential Ukrainian voters abroad. The researcher offers a more believable and verifiable range of two to five million people (Starodub, 2005, p. 10). He further concludes that however prevalent labour emigration from Ukraine was at the time, it never reached the claimed 25% of Ukraine's working-age population. Rather, it was estimated at approximately ten to 12% (Starodub, 2005, p. 11). Starodub also debunks the widespread myth that labour migration was an exclusive characteristic of Western Ukraine, meaning that labour migrants came predominantly from this region of the country. Instead, he points out that a disproportionate number of labour migrants are from the country's Ukrainian-speaking regions. This tendency is determined by the number of emigrants, their gender, and their emigration destination (Starodub, 2005, p. 12). For example, the geographic origin of emigrants should be considered not only when determining the number of emigrants from the country, but also when enumerating emigrants' destination preferences. More emigrants from Eastern Ukraine seek temporary employment in neighbouring Russia, for example; those from the Western regions opt for western or southern European countries, such as Portugal, Spain, Italy, and Greece (Starodub, 2005, p. 13). There also appears to be a strong correlation between gender and the country to which a person chooses to emigrate. For instance,

sociological research conducted in the early 2000s revealed that more women emigrants from Ternopil' immigrated to Italy (40.7% of the total number of emigrants), whereas Portugal attracted more male emigrant workers from the same region (16.9% of the total number of emigrants). Overall, more Ukrainian women than men emigrated to Italy and Greece, while Ukrainian men chose Russia and Portugal (Starodub, 2005, p. 14).

Interestingly, not one novel of the selected nineteen focuses on Ukrainian women immigrating to Russia. This may indicate a gender correlation when it comes to both emigration and literature. Eleven of the 19 novels tell stories of women who immigrate to Italy. All of the women characters are labor emigrants with low-paid, gendered occupations in caregiving or cleaning. They also share emigration reasons that include but are not limited to financial hardships in Ukraine, loss of employment, and family problems, to name a few. Two novels combine multiple relocations to Germany and Italy (*Chotyry dorohy* by Romanchuk, 2008) and to Italy and Spain (*Trymai mene, kovzanko* by Tkachiv's'ka, 2008). The second most popular destination, chosen by contemporary Ukrainian authors, is Germany—six novels depict stories of women emigrants in big and small German cities. While their occupations are similar to those held by emigrants in Italy, I found both the tone of these novels and their women characters' emigration paths to be different (to be discussed in greater detail below). When most Ukrainian women immigrate to Germany, as depicted in the studied literary works, they become au pairs and, unlike their literary counterparts who immigrate to Italy, speak German fluently by the time of their relocation. Overall, women's reasons to emigrate are as different as their emigration experiences. Two novels by Marina Lewycka (2005 and 2007) place their Ukrainian characters in England. They highlight the peculiarities of different waves of Eastern European immigration

to the United Kingdom. Considering emigrant experiences in different emigrant waves to different destination countries could prove a fruitful avenue for future research.

Parkhomenko's (2005) article, which focuses on how Ukrainian labour emigrants view contemporary Ukrainian labour migration, presents the findings of a survey conducted in eight regions of Ukraine. Created to evaluate the scale of emigration, its direction, and citizens' awareness of employment opportunities abroad, the survey included 300 respondents, of whom 47% percent were men and 53% were women from L'viv, Zhytomyr, Ivano-Frankivs'k, Volyn', Zakarpattia, Chernivtsi, Rivne, and Ternopil' regions. The study concluded that more than half of those surveyed were between the ages of 35 and 45, the most economically active demographic group. A quarter of all participants indicated that they completed at least one post-secondary degree, and approximately 85% of respondents had prior work experience, either at state-owned organizations or private companies (Parkhomenko, 2005, pp. 23-28). The survey was extensive and consisted of 90 mostly open-ended questions divided into ten thematic blocs. They asked about the respondents' education, occupation prior to emigration, reasons for emigration, the emigration process itself, their occupation abroad, labour rights protections, the specifics of their emigrant environment, their personal evaluation of emigration, their experience after returning to Ukraine, and state politics in labour migration. The collected data also included age, sex, number of children, emigration destination, and duration of emigration (Parkhomenko, 2005, p. 27). Over half of all respondents (51.3%) indicated that emigration was an opportunity to earn a living. This number somewhat correlates with the 44.3% of those respondents who described their financial status prior to emigration as being able to make ends meet, and the 29% who considered their financial situation pre-emigration as catastrophic. Approximately 22% of respondents indicated that emigration would allow them to pay for their children's education;

20% left for work in order to purchase property in Ukraine, 5.7% emigrated to save money to buy a car, and 6.3% emigrated to accumulate capital to start a business (Parkhomenko, 2005, pp. 29-30).

All of these reasons for emigration were depicted in the selected literary works. For instance, the main heroine of Bilyk's *Dushi v ekzyli* (2012) shares her reasons to go to Italy in the opening pages of the novel: "Oh well, one can't make ends meet with a salary only. Instead of turning into a jealous hater and grey from chronic problems and a lack of money, it's better to taste that saving emigrant labour"³⁴ (Bilyk, 2012, p. 4). Another character went to Italy to save up for her son's wedding: "He's studying for the priesthood, —says proud Nastia affectionately and carries on with her favourite topic: how wise her son is, and how kind and orderly, and how he's being ordained in the fall, so he must get married"³⁵ (Bilyk, 2012, p. 161). A secondary character from Romanchuk's novel claims that having his own apartment or house is reason enough to pursue employment abroad, however legal: "To earn enough money to buy one's own place [to live in]—that's what pushes people beyond the borders of Ukraine"³⁶ (Romanchuk, 2009, p. 154). The main characters of Sniadanko's *Frau Miuller ne nalashtovana platyty bil'she* (2013) decide to look for employment elsewhere after they lose their jobs in Ukraine: "When they found out that their music school is closing, Solomiia was the first to suggest going to work abroad"³⁷ (Sniadanko, 2013, p. 40). Even entrepreneurs were mentioned in the second part of Doliak's *Hastarbaiterky* (2012): "Later it was decided that they [husband and wife] couldn't live

³⁴ Що ж, на зарплату і справді не проживеш. Ніж ставати жовчною задрісницею і сивіти від хронічних проблем та безгрошів'я, краще самій скуштувати тих рятівних заробітків.

³⁵ - Він у нас на ксьондза вчиться, - замиловано-гордо каже Настя і розгортає улюблену тему: який-то мудрий син у неї виріс, і добрий, і гречний, восени на священика мають висвячувати, то конче мусить женитися.

³⁶ Заробити грошей на житло - от воно те, що штовхає людей поза межі України.

³⁷ Коли стало відомо, що музичну школу закривають, Соломія першою подала ідею виїхати на заробітки.

like this, they had to change something. The house was unfinished, their business was not developing. And what kind of business was it after all? Five years ago, you could live thanks to it, but now—Everyone is going to Italy—and so will I. [I] [w]ill see the world... the wife was dreaming desperately”³⁸ (p. 100).

Romanchuk’s *Chotyry Dorohy* (2010) describes a rather unusual emigration journey. In her novel, the fate of the heroine Valentyna takes an interesting turn. At first, she is depicted as a successful entrepreneur taking regular trips from Ukraine to Germany to buy used cars, which she would later re-sell in Ukraine for good profit: “The truth is, everything is honkey-dory in her life—cool, great, almost perfect (...). I have everything—an apartment in Ukraine (...), an apartment in Germany (...). I have a car. (...) I have a closet full of beautiful, new brand-named and custom-made things. I have money. (...) I have my own business, [and] I can make money. Ah, I also have a husband! Almost forgot. I have a husband, a German citizen”³⁹ (Romanchuk, 2010, pp. 7-9).

In book six of the novel, after several tragic events and a business fiasco, Valentyna immigrates to Germany as the lawful wife of a German citizen: “First, Aunt Valia disappeared. One night, out of the blue. She left, and no one knows where. (...) Where is she, Valiushka? (...) Antuanetta knew [and] could imagine what it took Valia to decide to leave. She didn’t like the country, in which, according to her passport, she had to live [Ukraine]”⁴⁰ (Romanchuk, 2010, pp.

³⁸ Згодом було вирішено, що так жити більше не можна, потрібно щось змінювати. Хата недобудована, бізнес став. Та і який там бізнес за нинішніми мірками?... Років п’ять тому ще можна було на це жити, а тепер? - Усі їдуть до Італії - і я чкурну. Подивлюся світ... - відчайдушно мріяла дружина.

³⁹ А правда у тому, що все у неї “чікі” - класно, добре, майже ідеально (...). У мене є все - квартира в Україні (...), квартира в Німеччині (...). Є машина. (...) Є шафа, повна гарних, нових, фірмових і пошитих на замовлення речей. Є гроші. (...) Є своя справа, є можливість ці гроші заробити. А, є ще чоловік! Зовсім забула. Є чоловік, німець.

⁴⁰ Спершу зникла тьотя Валя. Однієї ночі, зненацька. Поїхала, ніхто не знає куди. (...) Де вона тепер, Валюшка? (...) Антуанетта знала, уявляла собі, чого коштувало Валі це рішення - поїхати. Вона так не любила країну, в якій, згідно із паспортом, мусила жити.

111, 124-125). However, regardless of her legal status, Valentyna ends up working as a cleaner in Germany and in the end returns to her much-hated Ukraine.

Returning to Parkhomenko's (2005) survey, it is worth mentioning that when asked specifics of their emigration story and their primary information sources regarding visas and future employment, 62% of respondents stated that they obtained all necessary information from friends abroad. This could also explain the popularity of Italy as the main destination for labour emigration since potential emigrants would already have a well-established network willing to share their experience and guide newcomers.

The same tendency is true for fictional narratives. Even though Doliak mentions, in the third part of *Hastarbaiterky* (2012), the availability of several sources of information regarding emigration, including newspaper advertisements, it is mostly hearsay from neighbours, colleagues, and friends that motivates people to emigrate: "Kateryna from apartment 19 says that her daughter sends enough money for her, her child, and husband. Children spend summer holidays in Italy"⁴¹ (Doliak, 2012, pp. 204-205). These knowledgeable and experienced neighbours, colleagues, friends, and even relatives, were mentioned in all novels.

Parkhomenko (2005) speculates that the high numbers associated with established networks of emigrants may indicate the scarcity of information regarding various youth exchange programs or legal emigration to other countries, for instance. This is even more surprising given the level of education and the age group of the respondents who could potentially qualify for legal scholarly or professional emigration opportunities. The survey discussed above encompassed the Western regions of Ukraine. It would be beneficial to know whether a similar lack of information regarding legal emigration holds true for the Central and

⁴¹ Катерина з дев'ятнадцятої квартири каже, дочка шле стільки, що вистачає і їй, і дитині, й чоловікові. Діти на літо до Італії їздять відпочивати.

Eastern regions. In my opinion, the overall negative description of emigration in literature, illegal emigration in particular, coupled with scarce or no information regarding legal alternatives could be deliberate. Perhaps this is intended to curtail future emigration from Ukraine? Though legal labour emigration does not necessarily imply a permanent move from Ukraine, there are multiple opportunities for legal short-term, seasonal work offered worldwide. Coupled with proper re-integration policies and a social support system, legal emigration would be a safer alternative for those wanting to seek employment abroad.

It is not surprising that 86% of respondents claimed that they faced no problems when emigrating since they followed a well-trodden path (Parkhomenko, 2005, p. 31). In fact, over a third of all participants stated that they contracted tourist firms to facilitate their visa applications. Interestingly, while one may think of tourist firms as generally legal entities, 58% of respondents mentioned that they were fully aware of their role in facilitating illegal emigration. These firms misrepresented the actual purpose of emigration and obtained tourist visas instead of work permits. Only 9% responded that they had valid work permits at the time of border crossing (Parkhomenko, 2005, p. 32).

When discussing the method of transportation that respondents took to get to their country of choice, 63.3% arrived by bus while only 10% arrived by plane (Parkhomenko, 2005, p. 34). In book five of her novel, Romanchuk (2007) describes a typical bus route from Ternopil' to Italy. Additionally, the author depicts a smuggling operation in which international bus routes are used to transport both cheap labour and cheap liquor from Ukraine: "Later there was a job for Roman as well—to drive a bus. A job worthy of a man and well paying. Zina started some kind of a tourist agency—she was looking for clients, and he was driving them. Well, clients were

more of a cover to say that the bus was for tourist transportation. In reality, the most valuable luggage was inside”⁴² (Romanchuk, 2007, pp. 59-60).

It appears that the choice of emigration destination is determined by both the availability and affordability of transport options. This would explain why Western European countries are the obvious choice for most labour emigrants; the United States of America, Canada, and other distant countries attract mostly legal emigrants who can afford airfare and the associated expenses of visas or study or work permits.

2.2.3 Feminization of (e)migration vs migration of women

In the 1980s, the migration of women became a separate field of study in Western scholarship. It focused on distinct types of migratory movement informed by gender, feminist, migratory, and human rights perspectives (Thadani & Todaro, 1979, 1984; Simon & Brettel, 1986; Donato, 1993; Guest, 1993; Jones, 1993; Lim, 1993; Singelmann, 1993; Zlotnik, 1995; Enchautegui, 1997 to name just a few). Ukrainian researchers have only recently started commenting on gendered migration as a “feature” or “tendency” of contemporary migratory processes: “A new tendency of feminization of international migration is being shaped resulting from the current changes in the world labour market and its segmentation” (Herasymenko & Pozniak, 2006, p. 46). Scholars further elaborate on this gap in Ukrainian scholarship: “as for the national scholarship, practically all research dedicated to the labour migration of women refers to human trafficking, and the successful labour migration of women was not addressed by researchers” (Herasymenko & Pozniak, 2006, p. 46). The association of Ukrainian women

⁴² Потім з’явилася справа і для нього, Романа, - ганяти бусик. Справа, достойна чоловіка, і добре оплачувана. Зіна зайнялася чимось на зразок роботи в турагенстві - шукала клієнтів, а він возив. Ну, клієнти - це для стороннього ока, бусик буцім для пасажирських перевезень. А насправді найцінніший вантаж - усередині.

emigrants with illegal migration and human trafficking holds true for the selected works of fiction. Berezovs'kyi, for instance, alludes to human trafficking in the tragic ending of his novel in which his main heroine is kidnapped, lured by the promise of better pay. Similarly, Halych (2004) depicts human trafficking in her novel, in which recent Ukrainian women emigrants to Italy are kidnapped and raped:

That same day we were taken to a hotel in the stone depth of the city. We were left at a bar table where a blonde woman was organizing everything (...). She tossed us around touching our shoulders and breasts, and then, avoiding eye contact, took us to a dark-eyed Italian woman (...) I woke up in a tiny barred room. No furniture? No, there is something in the corner...I blink to restore clear vision, but everything swims before my eyes. (...) - Liuda, I am scared! They do not talk to us—they beat us up! (Halych, 2004, pp.43-48)

These novels end tragically. In Lesia Bilyk's *Dushi v ekzyli* (2012) a character ends up in an asylum; in novels written by Sniadanko and Berezovs'kyi, characters die.

The earlier discussed study of H'okkhan (2015) avoids defining the migration of women as a separate type of migration characterized not only by the prevailing number of women migrants, but by distinct gender specific hardships associated with their migration. The researcher comments on the feminization of migration as a mere feature of Ukrainian migratory processes, which was confirmed by a statistical increase of women migrants locally and internationally in the early 2000s:

Another feature of the modern tendencies of the international migration, as it was previously mentioned, is its feminization. (...) Feminization of migration reflects an increasing role of women in interstate mobility of population. It [feminization of migration] is caused by structural changes in the world economy—rapid growth of

service industry, which today provides up to 2/3 of all jobs. Thus, in 2010 [the number of] women migrants surpassed [the number of] men migrants in Europe (52.6%), North and South Americas (50.1%), and Oceania (51.2%). In separate countries, for instance, in Italy, according to sociological research data, out of every 100 immigrants 90 are women. In Ukraine, women emigrants constitute 57.8%. (H'okkhan, 2015, pp. 27-28)

In earlier publications, Kurii (2011) and Petrova (2012) offer a similar understanding of the feminization of migration as merely another characteristic of international migratory processes. They use identical sentences to address this term: “Feminization has become one of the characteristics of the contemporary migration processes” (Kurii, 2011, p. 101 and Petrova, 2012, p. 119 correspondingly). Both authors further use the phrase “migration of women” a few times without clearly stating the differences between the “feminization of migration” and the “migration of women.” Petrova proceeds to describe Ukrainian labour migration in general as “bearing a woman’s face” (Petrova, 2012, p. 102). Elsewhere, the same researcher provides a very cursory list of the factors that motivate the migration of women. She cites poverty, demand for women’s labour elsewhere, unemployment, limited possibilities in sending countries, increased possibilities for self-growth in receiving countries, a broad category of individual factors (discrimination, violence, feminist aspirations, to name a few), and marriage prospects (Petrova, 2011, p. 102-103). She, however, appears hesitant to recognize explicitly the migration of women as a separate field of study.

Kukurudza & Romashchenko (2012) include biological sex as a factor that characterizes migration from Ukraine. However, they do not clearly refer to gendered migration as a separate type of migration and instead consider it an aspect of migration, though the authors offer the following: “Based on the sphere of its manifestation, international labour migration may be

sectorial and territorial. *Based on gender—men’s and women’s*” (Kukurudza & Romashchenko, 2012, p. 36; emphasis is mine). Later, however, the authors refer to the “intensifying” feminization of migration as “[a]nother characteristic feature of the development of migration processes” (Kukurudza & Romashchenko, 2012, p. 79). In contrast, the (il)legality of international migration continues to be referred to as a separate category: “The considerable growth of *illegal* migration is another developmental tendency of contemporary migration processes” (Kukurudza & Romashchenko, 2012, p. 80; emphasis is mine). Interestingly, those same researchers identify “bride drain” (similar to “brain drain”) as a separate type of Ukrainian emigration, defining it as the typical relocation of women to a foreign country with the purpose of creating a family with a foreign national (Kukurudza & Romashchenko, 2012, p. 232).

Burbelo (2011), who draws a logical correlation between the 80% unemployment rate for women in Ukraine and their increasing rates of emigration, is one of the very few scholars to use the term “migration of women” explicitly. She further notes that the majority of Ukrainian women labour emigrants are women with children, either married or divorced. Single women opt for marriage and educational migration, with the latter type of migration mentioned in regard to women: “labour migration of women mostly involves divorced and married women with children. Single and divorced women more often participate in marriage migration and educational migration” (Burbelo, 2011, p. 1). This observation is mirrored in my selected literary corpus. In these novels, set at the turn of the twenty-first century, mostly married (sometimes divorced) women with children leave their homes and families under the economic pressure of either losing their jobs, paying for an education, a new apartment, or other commodities, or paying off debt: “Nastia is saving for her son’s wedding”; “Mykyta [Natalka’s husband] was

regularly receiving money from Nataalka. Just as regularly he was reporting on the construction work [of their house in Ukraine]” (Bilyk, 2012, p. 90).

In their discussion of the gendered aspects of Ukrainian emigration during the 1990s and early 2000s, Herasymenko & Pozniak (2006) also highlight the social status of women emigrants. The authors state that regardless of being single or married, women generally have a higher level of education than men at the time of emigration: “[...] in the past decades, the gender composition of international labour migrants has seen a drastic change—women, both married and single, more often better educated than men, have become involved in labour migration in order to provide an adequate level of life for themselves and their families” (p. 46). This observation applies equally to my selected novels. For example, all of the women in Romanchuk’s *Chotyry Dorohy* (2008) who emigrate (however temporarily) are professionals with higher education, either teachers or medical workers. Stepovychka’s (2007) main heroine is a degree-holding linguist-translator; Khrystyna from Sniadanko’s *Frau Miuller ne nalashtovana platyty bil’she* (2013) is an educated musician. However gendered these professions may be, they require post-secondary education. Bilyk (2012) offers the following summary of the Ukrainian emigrants abroad: “Yesterday’s doctors, teachers, engineers, housewives line up in front of the low doors of caritas”⁴³ (p. 24).

In the literary texts, intellectual migration appears to be the least popular topic; only Sniadanko writes about students who emigrate independent of labour interests. What is initially portrayed as seasonal and/or temporary migration (just to save enough money to purchase a new apartment, for instance), generally turns into permanent emigration typically followed by the tragic death of the literary heroine (novels by Berezovs’kyi, Doliak, Sniadanko, Salash). While

⁴³ Caritas are charitable kitchens in Italy serving the poor and emigrants.

women emigrants seem to emigrate willingly and are rather proactive in initiating the emigration process, there are always serious economic and personal reasons that motivate them to leave home. The majority of these stories depict illegal labour emigration; re-emigration is only discussed in Romanchuk's and Lewycka's novels.

The litany of gaps and errors in contemporary Ukrainian scholarship on migration and women is exemplified by Tetiana Tsymbal's (2012) thesis exploring emigration. Her research is a testimony to the sporadic nature of Ukrainian scholarship on the issue, its abject failure to conceptualize the problem as gendered, and to fully grasp its scope and implications. Studies such as Tsymbal's indicate that the prevailing negative tendencies in Ukrainian media and culture to vilify women emigrants have been reinforced by scholarship. Tsymbal (2012) centres her discussion on the ethical aspects of emigration, among others. First, she reasonably defines emigration as a right to choose freely one's place of residence, more so, a right that should be supported by the state:

(...) emigration in an ethical aspect is the realized right to move freely (...). (...) on the state's level the problem of free mobility must be interpreted thusly: if the state cannot provide its citizens with work, opportunities for self-development, then at least it must recognize the right of an individual to emigrate. However, this is a liberal-democratic position, the position of a strong and adequate state. (Tsymbal, 2012, p. 271)

Tsymbal seemingly denies both that there are liberal-democratic views on emigration in Ukraine (a well-deserved observation, one must admit) and the existence of a "strong and adequate [Ukrainian] state." She acknowledges the widespread and persistent negative evaluation of emigration from Ukraine; however, she argues that emigration should be viewed through the prism of morality in order to shift the debate away from the rhetoric of national betrayal

(Tsymbal, 2012, p. 270). Only two pages later, Tsymbal acquires a somewhat sarcastic tone when talking about emigrants: “(...) moving abroad, emigrants often chase the bluebird of happiness; however, they are not always honest with themselves, describing their departure as ‘a heroic deed in the interest of their family’” (Tsymbal, 2012, p. 272). In her later reflections on the emigration of women, she explicitly states that the emigration of women (read “women emigrants”) is responsible for ruining not only existing families but also those of the next generation. According to Tsymbal (2012), children, whose emigrant parent(s) chose financial well-being over family ties, grow up overemphasizing the value of wealth and lose their humanity as a result. These statements coincide with the tragic tones of the earlier discussed studies by Berezovs’kyi (2004), Khachatryan (2012), and Kukurudza & Romashchenko (2012).

Tsymbal considers women emigrants narrow-minded, greedy, and selfish. While she admits that women are now the decision-makers when it comes to emigration, she equates this independence to selfishness. In her opinion, egoistic self-fulfillment fuels the emigration of women these days. She further concludes that a woman’s choice to emigrate is nothing but an attempt to escape responsibility and routine. Tsymbal appears to further devalue financial exigency, saving for children’s education, or improved material conditions as legitimate reasons for women to emigrate: “Thus, the scenario of emigration of women is rather escape than victory. Escape from family, responsibilities, household slavery, desire to hide away from problems, let others solve those. (...) A woman makes excuses for herself because she needs to pay for her children’s education; she has to buy a place to live in, trying to paint her escape as noble and sacrificial” (Tsymbal, 2012, p. 270). According to Tsymbal, the emigration of women is justifiable only when a woman strives for “professional realization and leaves the country together with her family (if she has one)” (Tsymbal, 2012, p. 270). This statement is problematic,

particularly as she does not elaborate on the meaning of “professional realization.” Based on her earlier statements, Tsymbal appears to argue that a woman’s main purpose is to be a mother, present in the lives of her children. It is also unclear whether those women who have no family (children?) are capable of “victory” in emigration rather than selfish “escape.” She suggests two extreme categories of women emigrants, victims or escapees and victors. This is a dangerously narrow-minded approach that perpetuates the same stereotypes and leaves no room for inclusivity and a variety of emigration experiences. The most surprising part of Tsymbal’s (2012) discussion of the emigration of women is her conclusion in which she states that it is possible to stop women from emigrating (supposedly as a negative phenomenon). To do so “Ukrainian women [simply] need to get rid of sociocultural marginality imposed by patriarchy and decades of totalitarian regime” (p. 271).

The growing number of researchers exploring the issues of migration and its feminization do not appear to compensate for an overall lack of consistency when it comes to the terminology used in discussions of women’s migration or the lack of sophistication when theorizing the migration of women. Ukrainian scholarship on the matter has either willfully or not disregarded the conclusions offered by Western scholarship. For instance, back in 1997, Bjerer established that women choose to migrate through a variety of streams, which are not limited to marriage or family migration. In fact, men also migrate through marriage or family reunification opportunities. The researcher underscores that labour migration opportunities are different for women and men (Bjerer, 1997, p.223).

While a thorough categorization of the migration of women from Ukraine has yet to be compiled, women emigrants depicted in fiction share a number of features. For instance, the majority of women characters from the selected literary texts work as private caregivers for

children and the elderly, as maids, or seasonal workers (for instance, Iryna in Lewycka's *Two Caravans*, comes to England as a seasonal farm hand). This reflects the earlier observation that women emigrants are employed in household services. In these stories, which depict broken families and abandoned children, emigration is portrayed tragically as children and spouses are left behind: "But Nazar didn't have time to be a child: his mother went to work to Italy" (Bilyk, 2012, p. 105); "Oh, mom! Who would keep quiet for this long? Is everything ok? Thank you for the money. Well, keep in mind, another test like this, and dad will get married..." (Bilyk, 2012, p. 105).

Negative assessments of Ukrainian emigration dominate both scholarly and literary discourses. In the literature of migration, for instance, this tendency may be explained by depictions of illegal emigration that tell tragic tales fraught with overtly pessimistic imagery, such as the negative transformation of family life caused by the emigration of women. Ukrainian women tend to be depicted as "betrayers of family, community, and homeland" (Shostak, 2006, p. 5). Such descriptors "advocate for homeland loyalty and return, and condemn the migrant's search for a kinship link with Europe" (Shostak, 2006, p. 5).

In both the scholarly research discussed above and the selected literary texts, emigrants' choice of geographic destination is influenced by the gender specific work available for men and women. Just as more women are likely to relocate to Italy (unlike men who tend to seek employment in Russia, England, or Portugal), so are most fiction stories concerning women set in various Italian cities. The feminization of the "literature of migration" appears to reflect not only the dominance of women writers addressing this topic, but a general migratory pattern of women disproportionately initializing and pursuing relocation to certain European countries, whose economies experience shortage of labour force in women-dominated industries. Thus, one

may conclude that the Ukrainian literature of migration is not only reflective of the ongoing feminization of migration, but is more consistent in defining emigration of women as a separate gender differentiated phenomenon with a number characteristics and peculiarities that differentiate it from emigration of men.

Overall, this review of Ukrainian migration studies has highlighted multiple gaps and points out serious and systemic flaws in how this topic has been studied and discussed. Very few interview-based and data-driven studies exist that either give voice to emigrants or envision a broader intellectual horizon for migration studies. It is not my intention to undervalue the hardships typical of the migration of Ukrainian women that are commonly discussed both in academic studies and fiction. Nonetheless, what appears to be an over-saturation of negative imagery in both discourses ineffectively addresses more important underlying issues.⁴⁴ In my opinion, the collation of the two discourses presented above demonstrated that migration studies in a Ukrainian context would benefit from including literary and linguistic research on the topic.

2.3 Corpus description

For the linguistic analysis, I selected five literary texts based on Ukrainian being the language of publication, the gender of the author, the structure of the novels, and their contents. These texts are authored by women and were published in Ukraine between 2004 and 2013. They focus on issues surrounding the emigration of women from Ukraine, and contain one or more women emigrant characters who are introduced in separate excerpts/parts of the text. All selected novels are written using first- or third-person narration. In order to ensure consistent and comparable linguistic data across multiple textual sources, I conducted a preliminary analysis of

⁴⁴ It should be noted that both scholarly and literary discourses on emigration from Ukraine are directly informed and influenced by public and popular discourses in the country.

the above listed novels. It revealed that only the selected five contain well-defined introductory sections, i.e., relatively short excerpts of five to 15 pages, introducing and focusing on the main women characters. These introductions are not limited to descriptions of women's appearance and/or character, but also depict their emigration path, explain the reasons behind their decision to emigrate, and include women's views on emigration in general and their own migratory experiences in particular. I employed a text-driven approach⁴⁵ (Bednarek, 2006) when identifying my data for the linguistic analysis. I read the selected excerpts closely scanning for linguistic realizations of evaluation. After identifying relevant items of evaluative nature or potential, I proceeded to categorize them. I did not apply any additional linguistic categories or features prior to identifying my data for the linguistic analysis. Thus, the identified excerpts "serve as an empirical basis" (Tognini-Bonelli, 2001, p. 84) from which I extracted the data necessary to identify and further explore linguistic realizations of the evaluation of women emigrants and emigration in general. They also allow an examination of the employed and/or constructed stereotypes that describe and depict Ukrainian women emigrants.

In subsection 2.3.1, I discuss additional factors that defined my literary corpus, which was further subjected to linguistic analysis. Subsections 2.3.2 through 2.3.6 offer brief synopses of the selected five novels in order to conceptualize the findings of the linguistic analysis and for further discussion.

⁴⁵ In my research I adopt Bednarek's (2006) definition of "text-driven" as "a methodology that is based on the manual analysis of small-scale text corpora" (p. 639). The researcher's use of the term "text-driven" is informed by Tognini-Bonelli's (2001) understanding of "corpus-driven" approach.

2.3.1 Literary corpus selection

The following factors determined my corpus selection. First, I chose to focus on the novels written by women because they constitute the majority of my literary corpus (only two novels of the 19 are written by men). Focusing on the women authored texts allows me to explore the way Ukrainian women emigrants are constructed by women writers. Second criteria for limiting my data was the language of novels—Ukrainian. I chose to include the 2013 Ukrainian translation of *A Short History of Tractors in Ukrainian* (2006) for the sake of linguistic uniformity of my corpus as well as the translation's availability to Ukrainophone reading audience.⁴⁶

Third, the structure of several literary works problematized my attempts to determine if they shared any commonalities. Works such as *Internaimychka: dochka chy paserbytsia Ievropy?* (2004) and *Tvoia dytynka* (2010) mimic correspondence between a woman emigrant and her significant other. Both texts represent non-linear dialogue-based narration. After a cursory selection of data for my linguistic analysis from the two novels, it became clear that those texts that follow conventional first- and third-person linear narration (not correspondence/dialogue-based) offer much more evaluative linguistic material. For instance, they include extensive descriptions of women emigrants' emotional states and reactions before, during, and after their relocation abroad. Therefore, my final corpus includes only novels with first- and third-person narration.

⁴⁶ One of the chosen texts is the Ukrainian-language translation. One may argue that analyzing the translation rather than the original text is problematic. However, as was discussed earlier, *Korotka istoriia traktoriv po-ukrains'ky* (Lewycka, 2013) is representative of what I define as “literature of migration” based on the main topic and characters, Ukrainian women emigrants and Ukrainian emigration of women. Since the present research is not concerned with the accuracy of translation but with the way Ukrainian women emigrants are depicted in literary texts published in Ukrainian, I consider the selection of the translation (rather than the original) relevant and appropriate for the purposes of the study.

Fourth, novels such as *Hastarbaiterky* (2012), *Dushi v ekzyli* (2012) and *Ia znaiu shcho ty znaiesh shcho ia znaiu* (2011) are comprised of separate complete stories dedicated to various characters, both men and women. Establishing clear selection criteria for these novels posed another challenge as they vary in length and content. The same holds true for *Chotyry dorohy* (2008), wherein the original novel includes nine separate books, each focusing on a different, though not necessarily emigrant character of the story. I excluded the novel *Chotyry dorohy* (2008) after a cursory review of the first three books revealed complex plot lines and scattered descriptions of women-emigrants. Instead, I chose to select a separate chapter from the novels *Hastarbaiterky* (2012) and *Ia znaiu shcho ty znaiesh shcho ia znaiu* (2011), each dedicated to an individual character of a woman emigrant.

Lastly, the content and the degree to which the emigration of women is a central theme of the novels also presented another challenge. The novels do not equally focus on issues of women emigrants or the emigration of women. For instance, Lewycka's two novels are linked together by a single character; however, they describe events and characters from three different waves of Ukrainian emigration. *Korotka istoriia traktoriv po-ukraiins'ky* (2013) combines a rather positive depiction of post-World War Two emigration with a sarcastic depiction of a post-Soviet woman emigrant "invading" a family of first-generation Ukrainian emigrants in England. While this novel provides a wealth of evaluative linguistic data, its sequel—*Dva furhony* (2008) (*Two Wagons* (2007))—has a more elaborate structure with multiple story lines and non-linear narration. To address this challenge, I selected literary texts with clear, self-contained excerpts focusing on at least one woman emigrant character, and/or describing emigration at a certain time period (rather than different emigration waves). This approach facilitated my selection of comparable linguistic data. Thus, out of the original 19 novels, I selected only five for an in-

depth analysis. These are *Usi dorohy vedut 'do Rymu* by Halych (2004), *Shliub iz kukhlem Pil'zens'koho pyva* by Stepovychka (2007), *Ia znaiu, shcho ty znaiesh, shcho ia znaiu* by Rozdobud'ko (2011), *Hastarbaiterky* by Doliak (2012), and *Korotka istoriia traktoriv po-ukrains'ky* by Lewycka (2013).

The novels *Usi dorohy*, *Shliub*, *Ia znaiu*, *Hastarbaiterky*, and *Korotka istoriia* are published in Ukrainian, authored by different women writers and have at least one woman emigrant character. These literary publications contain separate, self-contained passages introducing these emigrant characters in the first- or third-person narration form. The passages offer information regarding Ukrainian women emigrants' decisions to emigrate, emigration paths, routines while abroad, emotional states before, during and after emigration; some excerpts contain detailed descriptions of women emigrants' appearance, character, and occupation. Therefore, the selected excerpts meet the earlier outlined criteria of corpus selection that facilitates coherent and logical linguistic data, which is comparable across multiple literary texts.

Since the literary corpus identified for this dissertation may not be familiar to readers, I provide brief overviews of the five novels chosen for linguistic analysis below. These short synopses offer additional context to the linguistic analysis of the selected excerpts.

2.3.2 Emigrant wisdom, organ trafficking, insanity, and broken families in *Usi dorohy vedut' do Rymu* (2004)

The first text, Bilyk's *Usi dorohy vedut 'do Rymu*, written in a form of a woman emigrant's diary entries, was published under the pen name Olesia Halych. It presents a chaotic kaleidoscope of characters, their voices and stories, interspersed with the narrator's dreams, visions, and hallucinations. Although it is based on diary entries, no specific dates separate the excerpts. As such, the novel resembles a collection of seemingly unrelated notes, observations,

and stream of consciousness fragments, dialogues, and prayers. At times, changes in narration are abrupt and somewhat unclear. This polyglossic text without a structured plot is brought together by the story of Liudmyla, the main character and narrator, and what appears to be a mostly negative depiction of emigrant life.

Following Liudmyla's announcement to immigrate to Italy, readers briefly meet a myriad of named and unnamed characters. There is Elia, a now divorced, former emigrant living comfortably back in Ukraine; Lana, a seasoned emigrant who admits to spending more time in Italy than in Ukraine; and Anna, a benefactress from Rome who kindly explained to Liudmyla what it means to be one's "companion." Other times characters are merely referred to as "a brunette" or "a neighbour," highlighting their anonymity. Liudmyla meets them at *Ottaviano*, where Ukrainian women emigrants gather to look for work; at *Caritas*, a monastery, where Liudmyla spends her first nights; and at *Harbatella*, where the same emigrants meet bus drivers who deliver their packages and money to Ukraine.

Lesia Bilyk offers no detailed depictions of Liudmyla's appearance or her surroundings. Instead, the novel abounds with pronounced emigrant wisdom and advice. For instance, more experienced women warn newcomers of taking a job as a "*fisa*"—a relatively stable live-in caregiver position for elderly Italians. Olia describes it as "torture": "the real torture will start when you do *fisa*. You'll be under lock and key, quietly losing your mind beside a paralyzed old lady"⁴⁷ (Bilyk, 2012, p. 15). Lana also agrees that any hard cleaning job is better than the terror associated with *fisa*: "It's better to do *pulizia*"⁴⁸ from morning until night: you can't feel your

⁴⁷ Справжня мука почнеться, коли підете на фісу. Запруть вас у чотирьох стінах, і будете тихо божеволіти коло паралізованої бабки.

⁴⁸ Cleaning in Italian

legs, your arms hurt, but at least your heart does not know that horror”⁴⁹ (Bilyk, 2012, p. 15).

The multiple descriptions of emigrants’ jobs are graphic and evoke disgust. For instance, in the course of taking care of a paralyzed woman named Frada, Liudmyla endures encounters with bodily fluids and cares for a body unable to control its excretions. Living through this experience, Liudmyla quickly becomes irritated, compassionless, and ultimately unemployed.

Without a steady job, Liudmyla, often hungry, is forced to sleep in a park. Along with a few emigrants, she seeks refuge at a monastery. Yet, even in these sacred halls Ukrainian emigrants suffer, coming down with severe food poisoning. There are rumours that the food was laced with chemicals. Regardless, driven by hunger “[f]ormer doctors, teachers, engineers, [and] housekeepers line up”⁵⁰ (Bilyk, 2012, p. 24) at the monastery doors for free food.

In addition to daily struggles for food, shelter, and employment, many emigrants fearfully count the days until their visas expire. Even in those rare cases when women find legal work in Italy, they are still not immune from the racketeering that takes place on buses travelling to Ukraine: “on the road there is racketeering. Three [people] boarded the bus. The age of my eldest son. “A hundred dollars each! Another word—all your money!”⁵¹ (Bilyk, 2012, p. 21). Stefa, one of the many women characters, further explained that the bus passengers soon realized that their driver must have been involved because of his frequent telephone calls. It appears that women emigrants abroad are susceptible not only to “foreign” dangers and threats, but to their criminally inclined compatriots.

⁴⁹ Краще вже пуліцію робити з ранку до ночі: ноги відпадають, руки болять, зате серце не мліє від того жаху.

⁵⁰ [в]чорашні лікарі, вчителі, інженери, газдині встають у чергу

⁵¹ У дорозі - рекет. Зайшли до автобуса троє. Такі, як син мій старший. “По сто доларів! Ще слово - всі гроші!”

The novel describes how the heroine and her female companions fell victim to a sex and/or organ trafficking ring. Though Liudmyla, who was beaten, raped, and left for dead, managed to survive the attack, she did not know the fate of her companions: “Where are my girls? Where did that motorboat take them? To another boat, maybe... And are they alive? Are they already transplanting Stefa’s healthy kidney into a dying Italian millionaire_{female}?”⁵² (Bilyk, 2012, p. 42). The details of Liudmyla’s rape are largely omitted in the text. However, the heinous act is described as the desecration of both her body and her heart: “In a lover’s arms you acquire wings. In a rapist’s grip [you are] derided, which tortures a pure heart even more because it is the one that is being spat on, lacerated, ridiculed, and it is the one they want to destroy... Happy are those whose heart is pure! That is what the Bible says. My body does not have a pure heart: these bandits crushed it. I do not feel alive...”⁵³ (Bilyk, 2012, p. 41). This episode reveals the physical and mental trauma of rape. It also highlights the vulnerability of women emigrants to such violence. As the victims have no legal status, no legal action can be taken against the offenders. Liudmyla remains silent about her experience. She does not share the story with her compatriots or warn them of the people who offered her the “job.” Later, readers infer that Liudmyla’s husband learned of her misfortune but remained equally silent and somewhat indifferent.

Another negative trope explored by the writer is insanity. During her stay in Rome, Liudmyla meets many women emigrants, including strong women immune to drama and those who suffer from mental illness induced by circumstances encountered abroad. At Horbatella, one of the first “insane” labourers Liudmyla meets is Liuba. She is described as “[a] tall exhausted

⁵² Де мої дівчата? Куди їх везли катером? До якогось судна, мабуть... А чи живі? Може, здорову Стефину нирку вже пересаджують безнадійно хворій мільйонерші?

⁵³ ...В обіймах коханого маєш крила. В лещатах гвалтівника – тяжку наругу, від якої найбільше потерпає чисте серце, бо це на нього харкають-плюють, його роздирають бодем, з нього знущаються і його хочуть знищити... Щасливі чисті серцем! Так пише Біблія. У моєму тілі нема чистого серця: його розчавили ці бандити. Я не чую життя в собі...

woman, who busted in and out of the crowd while sobbing and swearing, was talking to everyone and to no one like a mad woman: “Oh, I can’t do this anymore. I can’t”⁵⁴ (Bilyk, 2012, p. 22). Readers are provided neither the details nor the reasons why these women went mad. Nonetheless, the asperities of migrant lives are numerous, any one of which may have contributed to their mental illness.

Along with vivid descriptions of hardships faced by emigrants, the novel alludes to questions of gender roles, both in Ukraine and abroad. Emigration appears to force Ukrainian women emigrants and their husbands to revisit traditional family and gender roles. Women emigrants, employed legally or illegally, seem to enjoy a higher status in their family hierarchy as they are now considered the heads of the households: “Oh well, the one who provides for one’s family is the head [of the family]. They are the lucky ones^{female}, the winners. [They are] beautifully dressed, confident, content”⁵⁵ (Bilyk, 2012, p. 29). Bilyk’s depiction of the success of Ukrainian women emigrants in Italy, myriad hardships and traumas notwithstanding, is contrasted starkly to that of Ukrainian emigrant men. Men are denied the opportunity to succeed and have a much lower social status compared to Ukrainian women: “How women conquered Rome! Make up, fashionable clothes. They may be copying Italian women, but [they do so] skillfully! Men here are desperate workhorses, pitiable dependants of Caritas. Those who look good are taken care of by their mother or wife, emigrant workers themselves”⁵⁶ (Bilyk, 2012, p. 30). Interestingly, the novel offers very few details that could explain these different experiences.

⁵⁴ [В]исока виснажена жінка, не перестаючи ридати і лаятись, снує у натовпі і, як божевільна, примовляє до всіх і ні до кого: “Ой, я вже не можу! Не можу.”

⁵⁵ Що ж, хто утримує родину, той і голова. Ось вони щасливиці, що перемогли. Гарно вбрані, упевнені в собі, задоволені.

⁵⁶ Як жінки Рим підкорили! Макіяж, модний одяг. Може, і мавпує італійок, але майстерно! Чоловіки ж – гурт знедолених роботяг, жалюгідні годованці карітасів. Який і кльово виглядає, то, значить, під крильцем матері або дружини – тут-таки, заробітчанок.

Along with inverting traditional gender roles, individual stories in the novel highlight Ukrainian emigrant women's predominately negative attitudes to their spouses. Husbands are absent, resented, hated, and often blamed for their wife's emigration: "Husband? – Unemployed. Husband? – Disabled. Husband? – A drunk. Husband? – Died. Passed away... Husband? – Left for someone else. Husband? – Is used to someone always telling him what to do, has always been that way. Husband? – Doesn't love [me]. Money is more important to him. Husband? – Also works abroad. Husband? – Was never legally married"⁵⁷ (Bilyk, 2012, p. 58). Sometimes these negative attitudes are the result of women becoming financial breadwinners. Women begin to view their husbands as dependents and not equal partners: "Ania cannot calm down: - I hate our Ukrainian men! They are fictitious deities! They open their mouths and wait for someone to feed them"⁵⁸ (Bilyk, 2012, p. 57). The author also claims that husbands must share some responsibility for the misfortunes that their wives face while abroad: "In a newspaper, a journalist_{female} told a story of a poor [woman], who gave birth for a childless Italian couple, and then came back home with a lot of money. And how her husband learnt about it, and how everyone turned their backs on her. And my question is: why did that husband send his wife elsewhere to earn money?"⁵⁹ (Bilyk, 2012, p. 30).

Yet, as often as Bilyk refers to the positives of emigration for women, she seemingly elides the gender of women emigrants, saying that "[w]e are now not women, but people with

⁵⁷ Чоловік? – Безробітний. Чоловік? – Інвалід. Чоловік? – П'яниця. Чоловік? – Помер. Загинув... Чоловік? – Пішов до іншої. Чоловік? – Звик, що ним має хто покерувати, і так змалку. Чоловік? – Не любить. Йому головне – гроші. Чоловік? – Теж тиняється по заробітках. Чоловік? – Не мала шлюбного.

⁵⁸ Аня не може заспокоїтися: - Ненавиджу наших українських чоловіків! Якись глиняні Іванці! Відкривають рота і чекають, аби в нього хто поклав щось.

⁵⁹ Он журналістка з таким осудом розповіла в газеті про нещасну, що бездітним італійцям дитину народила, а потім з великими грошима повернулася додому. І як про те дізнався чоловік, і як від неї всі відвернулися. А я питаю: чого той чоловік викинув свою дружину в світ заробляти гроші?

problems”⁶⁰ (Bilyk, 2012, p. 34). It is unclear whether the author limits the boundaries of womanhood to a woman’s ability to become financially stable or to portray a certain physical beauty. This would suggest that those women emigrants who fail to meet these benchmarks and establish themselves as breadwinning fashionistas cease to be women. While this is not necessarily the focus of the present discussion, the topic of emigrant’s gender identity merits separate research; the novels selected for this study could prove fruitful in this regard.

Another topic, related to gender, is the theme of motherhood and emigration. A nameless former music teacher sums up the dire situation perfectly: “Children are growing up motherless [even though] their mother is alive”⁶¹ (Bilyk, 2012, p. 31). The author references the phenomenon of “social orphanhood” and defines it thusly: “That’s when [both] father and mother are labour emigrants, and their child is fed, clothed, but has no parental care”⁶² (Bilyk, 2012, p. 70). Schools, allegedly, note those who are mostly raised by their grandparents or other close relatives as “social orphans.” Women emigrants are guilt ridden and doubt that their children will understand their sacrifices: “Will my children put their arms around me when I am back or will my suffering go unnoticed?”⁶³ (Bilyk, 2012, p. 67). In the first half of the novel, Liudmyla remains optimistic that she will “conquer” Rome and give her children a better life: “No, I will conquer you, Rome! I will stay and find a job, and will be helping my family, and will provide for the future of my children, so they can study and start their lives. I must”⁶⁴ (Bilyk, 2012, p. 48). Liudmyla’s story, however, ends tragically. She is killed by her rapists and

⁶⁰ Ми тепер не жінки, а люди з проблемами.

⁶¹ Діти сиротами при живій мамі виростають.

⁶² Це коли батько і мати на заробітках, а дитина сита, одягнена, але без батьківської опіки.

⁶³ Чи простягнуть до мене руки мої діти, як повернуся, чи непоміченими пройдуть для них мої страждання?

⁶⁴ Ні, я підкорю тебе, Риме! Я залишусь і знайду роботу, і буду допомагати своїй сім’ї, і відкрию майбутнє дітям, щоб вони мали змогу вивчитися і почати своє життя. Я мушу.

dies in the arms of Enrike, her employer and lover, far away from Ukraine, unable to see her son: “Am I going back home? No, I am leaving again... for Italy. But this time there is no way back. [I] must die and rise a different [person]... (...) “Why is the knife’s blade so hot?..”⁶⁵ (Bilyk, 2012, p. 87).

2.3.3 Short-term emigration and transnational marriage as a field trip in *Shliub iz kukhlem*

Pil’zens’koho pyva (2007)

The novel *Shliub iz kukhlem Pil’zens’koho pyva* by Lesia Stepovychka recounts events and compares lives in the mid-nineties in Kuchma’s⁶⁶ Ukraine and a reunified Germany. The author does not offer as many emigrant perspectives on life in Germany as Lesia Bilyk did for Italy. Rather, she focuses on the experiences of Mariana Shablia, who is an academic moonlighting as a translator. As the novel’s narrator, Mariana introduces herself and explains the circumstances of her travels to Germany: “Three times [I] attempted entry to the prestigious foreign languages [department], and finally graduated from the university, obtained a wonderful occupation, then graduate school, dissertation, defense, taught German studies at the same university. The Iron Curtain fell, the city opened up and I became a translator, it is prestigious back home and well-paid. [I] started going abroad (...)”⁶⁷ (Stepovychka, 2007, p. 43). Readers first meet Mariana while she is on her third stint working as a translator for Ukrainian patients being treated in Germany.

⁶⁵ Я повертаюся додому? Ні, знов їду... в Італію. Але тепер дороги назад немає. Мушу померти і воскреснути вже іншою... (...) “Чому лезо ножа таке гаряче?..”

⁶⁶ Leonid Kuchma is the second President of independent Ukraine who held office twice between 1994 and 2005. His presidency is known for numerous corruption scandals and rather unstable economy.

⁶⁷ Тричі вступала до престижного ін’язу, і таки закінчила університет, здобула чудовий фах, потім аспірантура, захист дисертації, викладала германістику на університетській кафедрі. Впала залізна завіса, відкрилося місто, і я стала перекладачкою, у нас це престижно і добре оплачується. Почала їздити “за бугор” (...)

The 35-year-old Mariana begins the story with a bright, idyllic, and vacation-like depiction of her stay abroad. Even though the plot soon changes in tone and tenor, better reflecting the familiar and depressing themes of Ukrainian emigration, several aspects of this text set it apart. Mariana's initial visit to Germany was only meant to be temporary. As a translator, she regularly makes short, work-related visits to Germany and does not initially consider permanent emigration. During a business trip to Germany, however, Mariana became better acquainted with Andreas, an owner of a local pub she frequented during her visits. The two talk openly about their childhood, complicated relationships with their mothers, and eventually develop seemingly romantic feelings for each other. When Mariana's business trip ends, Andreas makes her promise that she will come back to see him at Christmas. Readers later learn that around that time, they applied for a marriage license.

In the novel, the author raises the issue of women's national identity and examines it through the lenses of emigration and transnational marriage. These mostly cultural explorations are first developed in the dialogues and juxtaposition of two characters, Mariana and her colleague Inna. After Mariana's trip, Inna reveals that she and her children (without her husband) are emigrating to "the promised land." Citing her Jewish origin, Inna defies everything Soviet, post-Soviet, and, by association, Ukrainian (including her husband). Emigration to Israel signifies a return to her roots, re-discovering her forgotten and oppressed national identity. She uses Ukraine's unstable economy, rising crime rates, post-Chernobyl health concerns, low wages, a drunken husband, and worries that she will lose her job to justify her decision to emigrate: "It's dreadful. It's disgusting to be living in fear. To look over one's shoulder on the street in the evening, walk cringingly, tensely, expecting to be assaulted"⁶⁸ (Stepovychka, 2007,

⁶⁸ Моторошно. Бридко жити і труситися від страху. Озиратися на вечірній вулиці, йти, зіщулившись, у напрузі, очікувати, що хтось перестріне.

p. 78). Inna summarizes it succinctly: “No, I am saying, [we] need to get the hell out of here!”^{69,70} (Stepovychka, 2007, p. 78).

Like her colleague, Mariana is not immune from Ukraine’s economic calamity. Though the economic instability of Kuchma’s Ukraine does not lead her to believe that emigration is a permanent solution to her troubles, it does make her disillusioned and depressed. As a professor, she experiences a disconnect between the values she ought to teach to the new generation and the Ukrainian realities of the 1990s. She finds that the nationalist notion of “the motherland” is losing meaning for the younger generation and laments the indifference she observes in her students: “Today I am talking to the young, those patriots that only a few years ago were captivated, and [I am] hearing disappointment in their voice”⁷¹ (Stepovychka, 2007, p. 93). A few lines further she notes that the “motherland disgusts”⁷² her students (Stepovychka, 2007, p. 94).

Inna is a proponent of globalization and world citizenship, and favours emigration: “Ah, Mariana, it is the end of the twentieth century! Globalization is worldwide and you are talking about [one’s] land. Land belongs to everyone, it is the round planet, the common grave”⁷³ (Stepovychka, 2007, p. 83). Moreover, she believes that one’s motherland is not defined by geography but, rather, where one feels happy: “But I decided, and you know, the motherland is

⁶⁹ Нет, я говорю, отсюда надо рвать когти!

⁷⁰ Some characters in the novel speak Russian. The language is used for stylistic purposes. Its use also reflects the bilingual linguistic situation of Mariana’s home region of Dnipropetrovs’k region.

⁷¹ Сьогодні розмовляю з молодими, отими патріотичними, ще кілька років тому зачарованими, і чую розчарування у їхнім голосі.

⁷² батьківщина викликає у них відразу

⁷³ Ах, Марьяна, на дворе конец двадцатого века! Мировая глобализация, а ты говоришь о земле. Земля принадлежит всем, она - круглая планета, общая братская могила.

where one feels good, where one is calm and one's children are not hungry"⁷⁴ (Stepovychka, 2007, p. 84).

Just as Inna emphasizes her Jewish ancestry (whether genuinely or for emigration purposes), Mariana identifies as a Ukrainian with strong ties to her land and family. She points out to her friend that her family is and will remain in Ukraine, unlike Inna's, who would accompany her to Israel. No less important to Mariana are her ancestors: "You take everyone with you, and mine are all here, on the land and buried in it"⁷⁵ (Stepovychka, 2007, p. 83). In Mariana's opinion, emigration is not to be taken lightly as it is a life-changing decision: "To move [elsewhere] is to cut [one's] life in half"⁷⁶ (Stepovychka, 2007, p. 84).

At first, Mariana is skeptical of entering into a transnational marriage. Upon her return to Ukraine, she questions the seriousness of Andreas' intentions and wonders if the two made a rash decision. Even though she goes through with the ceremony, she considers the union more adventurous than passionate. There is no initial mention of love and later her feelings toward Andreas are characterized as brotherly. The wedding ceremony and its attendant German traditions are described prosaically. Mariana ponders the differences between the Orthodox and Catholic traditions of wearing wedding bands on different hands. She retells the story of her becoming Miriam Shubert. In a matter-of-fact way, the narrator informs readers that her husband now will be exempt from the so called "singles' tax." The description of the ceremony and post-wedding celebration is peppered with similarly quotidian details. Overall, Mariana's marriage to Andreas lacks romance. Theirs is not a literary *coup de foudre*. The groom's character is

⁷⁴ Но я решила, и знаешь, родина - там, где человеку хорошо, где спокойно и сытно твоим детям.

⁷⁵ Ти з собою забираєш усіх, а мої - усі тут, на землі й під землею.

⁷⁶ Переїхати - життя перерізати навпіл.

dehumanized⁷⁷ when the narrator mentions his middle name, Mikhael, and further comments on his bearlike embraces. The guests joke that Mariana married a bear in Berlin, a witty play on words since in German the word Berlin is a diminutive form of the word “bear.” This episode gains additional resonance in light of the novel’s title, which uses a cultural reference (void of any human characteristics)—a glass of Pilsner beer—in a phrase that normally implies an object referring to a person.

On the topic of transnational marriages, the narrator focuses primarily on Ukrainian women marrying foreigners and opines that this could even be Ukraine’s ticket into Europe proper: “Beauty is becoming a commodity, it is currently valuable. (...) Maybe, that is our doorway into Europe—through beautiful women? If beauty will save the world, does it mean it will save our poor country as well?”⁷⁸ (Stepovychka, 2007, p. 89). Mariana later hints at the adverse effects of this tendency: “Already, night clubs and brothels of the big cities and small towns of Europe are filled with our beauties”⁷⁹ (Stepovychka, 2007, p. 89).

As Mariana’s story progresses over a two-year span of her married life in Germany, readers understand the true reasons behind the couple’s decision to wed. The struggling pub owner Andreas saw Mariana as a successful interpreter from Ukraine, an economically established woman with land and property and a wage that amount to millions of hryvnias due to Ukrainian inflation: “I am a simple man who married a simple woman, even though she was a translator, who stood on her own two feet, made good money, and lived in expensive hotels in

⁷⁷ Andreas’s “dehumanization” lies in the fact that he is rarely addressed by his name and is instead called “bear,” lacking human qualities and being more of a cultural reference than a human being.

⁷⁸ Краса стає товаром, входить нині в ціну (...) Може, то наш шлях до Європи - через вродливих жінок? Якщо краса врятує світ, то значить і нашу убогу країну теж?

⁷⁹ Вже сьогодні нашими красунями заповнені нічні танцклуби і борделі великих і малих міст Європи.

Berlin”⁸⁰ (Stepovychka, 2007, p. 301). One of the couple’s friends mentions that Andreas’ decision to get married was actually inspired by his psychiatrist. Andreas later confirms that Mariana indeed cured him of depression. When Mariana learns that Andreas viewed her first as a potentially calm and stabilizing tonic, she took no offence and showed little emotion: “So I was ‘prescribed’ to Berlin as an antidepressant. (...) Is it good or bad? It must be good if the patient is feeling better”⁸¹ (Stepovychka, 2007, p. 197).

Mariana and Andreas have little to say to each other as husband and wife. Their dialogues are few, short, and increasingly hostile. This is exemplified by Mariana not telling Andreas that she wants children until two years into their marriage: “My plans include having a baby and writing a novel...Before it’s too late”⁸² (Stepovychka, 2007, p. 301). In her article exploring perception of “Ukrainiannes” abroad based on this novel by Stepovychka, Horbolic confirms that for Mariana emigration is a chance to have a family. Looking to start a family abroad is said to be provoked by a lack of parental love, a previous unhappy marriage, and the need for a strong shoulder (Horbolic, 2013, p. 91). However, to build suspense, the author keeps Mariana’s intentions secret until the end of the novel. Instead, most of the text describing her life abroad focuses on her national identity. For instance, there are multiple references to Mariana (and other Ukrainian women characters) being called Russian_{female}: “Everyone is used to this ‘Russian_{female}’ who comes every summer and stays in ‘*Spreeliebe*’ and loves to have her coffee on a sunlit balcony”⁸³ (Stepovychka, 2007, p. 8); “Pinch me someone, I am married to a Russian_{female}!”⁸⁴

⁸⁰ Я простий чоловік, і одружився з простою жінкою, хоча і з перекладачкою, яка твердо стояла на ногах, заробляла солідні гонорари, жила в дорогих берлінських готелях.

⁸¹ Отже мене “виписано” до Берліна як антидепресант. (...) Добре це чи зле? Вочевидь, добре, якщо пацієнтові полегшало.

⁸² У моїх планах - народити дитину і написати роман... Поки не пізно.

⁸³ Всі вже звикли, що ця “росіянка”, яка приїздить щоліта і зупиняється в “*Spreeliebe*”, полюбить пити каву з сонячними зайчиками на балконі.

⁸⁴ - Ущипніть мене, я - одружений з росіяною!

(Stepovychka, 2007, p. 112); “Let’s toast to the only Russian_{female} among us, to Mariana!”⁸⁵ (Stepovychka, 2007, p. 142). In an emotional outburst, Mariana finally sets the record straight and clarifies her nationality to Germans who are portrayed as ignorant with respect to the issues of post-Soviet ethnicities: “I am Ukrainian_{female}. Do you understand? Ukraine is a different country with a population of 50 million people, by the way. (...) Please understand this, and those who think I am Russian_{female} I cannot consider my friend”⁸⁶ (Stepovychka, 2007, p. 142).

In the trilingual text, Mariana lives her national identity through her consistent use of Ukrainian. Originally, from Dnipropetrovs’k, a largely Russian-speaking Ukrainian city, her linguistic persona stands in contrast to the characters of Inna and Ierofieich, a doctor accompanying Mariana during her jobs as an interpreter. Inna and Ierofieich consistently “speak” Russian in the novel. The text also contains multiple references to German geographic locations and occasional phrases recorded in German. Mariana’s references to her grandmother and Ukrainian food are also integral to her “Ukrainianess.” For Mariana, nostalgia starts with longing for her grandma’s borscht. This feeling rarely bothered Mariana in the first weeks of her business trips. On the day of her wedding, however, she could not help but make the traditional dish for her guests. She quotes the “[g]enes of hospitality, inherited from the late grandma” that “push [her] to [go to] the kitchen to take out a pot from the cupboard, pour water and tomato juice in it, add bay leaf and chicken, peel and cut potato, shred cabbage, beet, carrot and onion”⁸⁷ (Stepovychka, 2007, p. 115). Mariana is convinced she hears her grandma’s voice, “or maybe, an

⁸⁵ Вип’ємо за єдину росіянку серед нас, за Мар’яну!

⁸⁶ Я - українка. Розумієте? Україна - це інша держава, в якій живе, до речі, п’ятдесят мільйонів людей. (...) Будь ласка, зрозумійте це, і хто мене вважає росіянкою, того я не можу вважати своїм другом.

⁸⁷ Гени гостинності, успадковані мною від покійної бабуні (...) женуть мене знову на кухню діставати із шафи велику каструлю, наливати в неї води й томатного соку, кидати лавровий листок і курку, чистити і нарізати картоплю, кришити капусту, буряк, моркву і цибулю.

ancestral one, the one of Cossacks”⁸⁸ (Stepovychka, 2007, p. 115), prompting her to live to the fullest by having a traditional Ukrainian feast in a faraway land.

Later, the heroine’s nostalgia leads to another wave of depression, this time caused by her inability to provide for herself and accomplish professional self-realization. Even though Mariana’s post-secondary education from Ukraine is fully recognized in Germany, she is not allowed to seek employment in privately owned companies. This not only limits her chances of finding work in capitalist Germany, it makes it impossible. Driven by pride and a desire for independence, Mariana works illegally, doing occasional translation for the Russian embassy and tutoring. To her surprise, under the table employment leads to unpleasant encounters with those emigrants who thrive because of illegal emigration. She meets a compatriot who polices the activities of translators. Mariana’s exploitative compatriot demands a cut in return for “protection.” The same man also admits to overseeing brothels filled with young Ukrainian women. Another acquaintance from Ukraine promises Mariana a job as a translator. However, he conveniently forgets to mention that the job is in a different town and that he has already charged the client for Mariana’s services, at a rate six times higher than what Mariana would actually receive in payment. Although the main character of the novel immigrated to Germany legally, the author successfully demonstrates the instability of one’s status abroad, which can so easily shift from legal spousal emigration to illegal employment. Contrary to common misconceptions, marriage to a foreigner does not afford women emigrants a competitive advantage in foreign labour markets.

After numerous cultural clashes with Mariana’s husband Andreas and his friends, lengthy unemployment, and Andreas’s refusal to have children, Mariana decides to return to Ukraine: “I

⁸⁸ а може, то прадідівський, ще козацький

feel that I must go there [to Ukraine]. I am needed there where my education is useful and [so is] my experience, my knowledge. And I want to realize my full potential both as a woman and as a citizen”⁸⁹ (Stepovychka, 2007, p. 311). She also re-evaluates her understanding of marriage and freedom. According to Mariana, “[a]verage people need marriage for the sake of tradition, to procreate, because they fear loneliness, because of their inferiority complex that haunts them until they get married. These are average, absolutely normal people. Creative people, in order to create music, an essay, a sculpture, need thrill and original impressions, always fresh, which can’t be provided in a marriage for it is mundane.”⁹⁰ (Stepovychka, 2007, p. 308). Considering Mariana’s aspirations to write a novel, it appears reasonable to presume that she identifies with the “creative” class. She further declares that marriage robs women of freedom: “The most beautiful instinct of procreation, motherhood urges women to make sacrifices in order to lose freedom and get married.”⁹¹ (Stepovychka, 2007, p. 308). Mariana’s freedom lies in her ability to make her own choices, whether to go to Germany of her own volition or to return to Ukraine simply because that is what she wants (Stepovychka, 2007, p. 315).

Mariana eventually returns to Ukraine. Her homecoming is described as a return to her roots, a triumph over a disillusioned and depressed life abroad. Interestingly, Liudmyla’s and Mariana’s characters share experiences of financial instability and few prospects for personal and professional growth. However, for Liudmyla, these motivate her to emigrate, for Mariana, they force her to return home. Horbolis (2013), who explores perception of Ukrainian essence based

⁸⁹ І я відчуваю, що мушу їхати туди. Там я потрібна, де знадобиться моя освіта, мій досвід, мої знання. І я хочу зреалізуватися і як жінка, і як громадянка.

⁹⁰ Пересічні люди потребують шлюбу із традиції, із інстинкту продовження роду, із страху самоти, із комплексу меншовартості, який тяжіє над ними, поки вони не одружені. Це пересічні, цілком нормальні люди. Для творчої ж людини, щоб створити музику, повість, скульптуру необхідні гострі і нетривіальні враження, завжди свіжі, які шлюб не може їм дати через свою буденність.

⁹¹ Найпрекрасніший інстинкт продовження роду, материнства спонукає жінку йти на неймовірні жертви, аби втратити свободу і віддатися заміж.

on Stepovychka's novel, asserts that Mariana's homecoming was caused by personal, as a wife and mother, and professional unfulfillment. Her fear of failure was compounded by concerns of losing her individuality while in Germany (Horbolis, 2013, p. 93). The heroine found herself in a country whose values she did not share, surrounded by people who would mistake her nationality. She was unable to find a fulfilling job and was denied the opportunity to become a mother. Mariana Shablia reconciles herself to her negative emigration experiences by thinking of it as a "field trip" that led to a self-reinvention, a rediscovery of her purpose and self-identification. I personally agree with Polishchuk's⁹² description of Mariana as "complicated, delicate and at times surprising in her evaluations and revelations. And endearing in [her] openness to the world—this rare feature among Ukrainians that needs to be cultivated. She is among those who destroys cultural barriers, the Iron Curtain that still separates us from the West" (Polishchuk, 2007, p. 327)

2.3.4 Make believe and the secret lives of Frau Shultse's tenants in *Ia znaiu, shcho ty znaiesh, shcho ia znaiu* (2011)

Rozdobud'ko's novel *Ia znaiu, shcho ty znaiesh, shcho ia znaiu* consists of 11 stories, each self-contained but connected by the character of Frau Shultse. Nine of the stories are dedicated to the nine Ukrainian tenants living in Frau Shultse's boarding house in Germany. Their backgrounds, lives, and emigration experiences differ, yet all of them have secrets that unite them. According to Frau Shultse, "they are losers, who persistently pretend to be successful and happy people who finally broke loose"⁹³ (Rozdobud'ko, 2011, p. 203). Further alluding to

⁹² Iaroslav Polishchuk wrote several reviews of Stepovychka's novel. The one referenced above was included in the 2007 publication of the novel *Shliub iz kukhlem Pil'zens'koho pyva*.

⁹³ вони невдахи, котрі старанно вдають із себе успішних і щасливих людей, що нарешті вирвалися на волю.

the title of the novel, she also comments that she knows more about her tenants than they can imagine. She observes her tenants carefully and notices exactly the things they want to hide. Thus, the main themes of the novel and each individual story are characterized by pretence, lies, and performance. While all of the characters are immigrants abroad, emigration is not the focal point of the narration (except for the third story, which will be discussed later). Rather, it is an important factor that offers readers insights into the tenants' individual lives and aspirations. For instance, the first story is about Tetiana, a bar singer who has spent most of her life and career imitating Marlene Dietrich, yet has been unable to achieve the same level of fame. Her daily performances are followed by her additional duties of flirting with patrons and ensuring they order expensive drinks. The stage is not the only place where Tetiana performs. In her daily life, she maintains a glamorous image, pretending to be an actress waiting for her big break somewhere in Belgium. The story ends with a glimpse of Tetiana as her own person, not Marlene's lookalike or imitation. The night of her last performance, she takes the stage singing a Ukrainian song, savouring the almost forgotten words in her native language, and seemingly realizing that she does not need to pretend to be someone else.

The next stories of Roman Ivanovych, his wife Vira, and their daughter Maryna advance a tale of self-discovery and acceptance. In the text, their routines are compared to an ongoing and always predictable game of chess. The family is said to have immigrated to Germany because Roman was promised a tenured position at a university. Although he was never given the promised position, he continues to live the lie, pretends to go to university daily, and shares invented stories about non-existent students and colleagues. He works at a gas station. His daily performance includes costume changes and maintaining the image of a proper family. Once at the gas station, Roman diligently packs away his formal suit and changes into a branded uniform.

His private thoughts and dreams are also kept secret. His family does not know that he writes a novel on his daily commute, which he believes will one day bring security and accomplishment. Nor do they suspect that their husband and father is infatuated with a young prostitute who regularly stops at the gas station.

Vira plays her role dutifully and never asks why her husband's salary is three times lower than that of a professor. Similarly, she has her own secrets to hide. The well-crafted family breakfasts and dinners help preserve a sense of normalcy and hide the fact that she is having an affair with a German man she met at a farmer's market. She tells her family invented stories about her colleagues at an orchestra where Vira has a two-year contract to play the violin. For Vira, maintaining the image of a proper and happy family ironically becomes an escape from her affair. At the same time, this make believe life becomes tiresome and Vira eventually leaves her husband (Rozdobud'ko, 2011, p. 93).

Raised by two people who value illusion more than reality, Maryna, their daughter has started living a double life herself. To her parents, she is a perfect student. In reality, she leads a different life and has a circle of rather troubled friends. Upon moving to Germany, Maryna dreams of a glamorous life. Just like Tetiana, the young woman is said to resemble a famous actress, this time Julia Roberts. Not surprisingly, Maryna desires to marry a millionaire and lead the life portrayed by her idol in "Pretty Woman" (Rozdobud'ko, 2011, p. 125). After an unsuccessful attempt to rebel against her parents, Maryna meets Rehina, a similarly disillusioned young woman who appears to have her life figured out. According to Rehina, ambitious people like herself find it hard integrating into a country like Germany, where there are plenty of rules and laws to follow: "I need it all and at once! I realized it watching my old folks diligently comply with the local rules, like wind-up toys. They constantly see officers at the employment

agency, attend courses, take notes on norms of behaviour in order to become solid citizens”⁹⁴ (Rozdobud’ko, 2011, p. 136). Rehina has her own theories about immigration to Germany and the so-called “*emiky*” (short for “emigrants”): “So, at first *emiky* still try to seize fortune by the forelock. Ha! And that’s when the very Germans, those with good education and occupation, run away from here. The same brain drain we are having”⁹⁵ (Rozdobud’ko, 2011, p. 137). The young woman also develops her own solution to the problem, which she shares with Maryna: “So, sister, you have only one option—get used [to it all] or make money and get going [elsewhere]!”⁹⁶ (Rozdobud’ko, 2011, p. 138).

Maryna, fed up with her parents’ hypocrisy, chooses to start depending on herself and making her own money, similar to the heroine of her favourite movie. Unexpectedly, she finds herself enjoying her new “job”: “Maryna even felt some sort of a harmony between her inner and outer worlds—both were shit”⁹⁷ (Rozdobud’ko, 2011, p. 140). Roman and Vira pretend to believe their daughter’s stories of a job that sometimes requires her to stay at her friend’s overnight. Unfortunately, readers never learn whether Maryna’s resemblance to the pretty woman played by Julia Roberts leads to her marrying a millionaire. She is said to have left for the Netherlands where she continues to work with her old friend Rehina.

A separate story is dedicated to another married couple in the boarding house. They embody the traditional stereotypical family with a breadwinner husband and a homemaker wife. The stories of Sania and Sonia focus more on traditional familial gender norms and less on their

⁹⁴ Мені треба все і негайно! Я це зрозуміла одразу, дивлячись, як мої предки старанно виконують тутешні правила, мов заведені зайці! Бігають на аудієнції з чиновниками в бюро з працевлаштування, висиджують на курсах, занотовують у зошитах правила поведінки, аби стати повноцінними громадянами.

⁹⁵ Так от, еміки на перших порах ще сподіваються вхопити бога за бороду. Ха! І це в той час, коли самі німці, ті, що мають добрий фах і спеціальність, тікають звідси. Така ж плинність мізків, як і у нас.

⁹⁶ Тож, сестричко, вибір у тебе один - або звикнути, або заробити грошенят і - ноги в руки!

⁹⁷ Марині навіть здалося, що саме тепер вона відчуває деяку гармонію між внутрішнім і зовнішнім світом - і всередині, і ззовні все було лайно.

emigration experience. Sania is a successful IT specialist whose job regularly takes him abroad; Sonia simply follows her husband. Similar to the novel's other stories, this one too starts with deceit. In order to win over Sonia, who at the time was dating another young man, Sania fakes an injury. He was right in assessing the extent of Sonia's compassion; she decides to leave her boyfriend and nurse Sania back to health.

While in Germany, Sania starts an affair, while still trying to maintain an air of personal and professional propriety. He finds a woman who is much "simpler" and is the complete opposite of his wife: "[Sonia] does not work. All day long, she takes care of herself, reads books, [and] plants flowers. Another woman would be over the moon and not walking around with this surprised look on her face as if she were exiled to the moon"⁹⁸ (Rozdobud'ko, 2011, p. 159). Ironically, for Sania, it was important to be a winner and to have only the best, including women. The narrator describes Sania's type as exotic, with certain traits and talents that later could be showed off to his friends or colleagues (traits that his lover, surprisingly, does not possess). In his opinion, women are to be displayed as possessions, admired, but also quiet and compliant. The latter describes Sonia accurately. She is introverted and complacent. She lives in her own world and makes silver jewelry as a hobby. As Sonia is self-taught in both design and manufacturing, she fails to appreciate the value of her work. Likewise, Sania views his wife's "hobby" as unladylike. In a surprising twist, Frau Shultse, who was once married to a professional jeweller, appraises Sonia's work. Her laudatory evaluation propels Sonia to leave her unhappy marriage and pursue a career in jewelry design. Sonia's experience in Germany resembles Mariana Shablia's from the previously discussed novel. Both women seek creative self-fulfillment as respite from a mundane and uninspiring life abroad.

⁹⁸ Не працює, цілими днями займається собою, читає книжки, садить квіти. Інша б стрибала від щастя до стелі, а не ходила із завжди здивованим виразом обличчя, ніби її заслали на Місяць.

The next story about Maksym, another emigrant character, further develops this theme of creativity. The young man works at a hotel and spends his free time attending movie festivals and writing screenplays. Unlike Sonia who rather unconsciously follows her calling as a silversmith, Maksym deliberately pursues his dream of script writing. Eventually, he meets a famous German producer who works at Universal Studios. The meeting changes his life.

All the above-discussed stories focus on complex human relationships that are not exclusive to emigrants. Characters do not require a foreign background to be in unhappy marriages, to have unfulfilled dreams, to engage with the world creatively, or to base their lives on pretence and lies. However, the novel's foreign setting adds depth to the characters and their struggles. In the pursuit of a better life, the novel's characters engage in daily performances to maintain the appearance of good jobs and happy families. Frau Shultse gathers "[t]hey are very much alike in a way, although they desperately try to keep their distance. Their communication is superficial and they seem to regret living under the same roof"⁹⁹ (Rozdobud'ko, 2011, p. 194).

The only story in the novel to discuss overtly (woman's) emigration is Oksana's. It is the novel's third story and it provides a detailed account of her travel to Germany and her daily routine. It also ends tragically. Just like Sonia and Vira, the woman is in an unhappy marriage. She seeks employment abroad to provide for her two children. Oksana's experience resembles Liudmyla's story from *Usi dorohy vedut' do Rymu* (2004). They share the motifs of sadness. Similar to the novel's other named and unnamed characters, Oksana works in the semi-skilled service industry. She provides part-time caregiving services, cleans, and occasionally walks dogs to earn enough money to send home. While at work, she daydreams about the things her children and husband could do with her remittances. Sadly, after arriving in Germany, she does not hear

⁹⁹ Усі вони в чомусь дуже схожі поміж собою, хоча старанно намагаються тримати дистанцію. Спілкуються поверхово і, здається, шкодують, що живуть під одним дахом.

from her family; her calls and emails go unanswered and she has no way of knowing if her hard-earned money is being put to good use.

A separate story line reveals Oksana's affair with Medzhnun, an illegal Turkish emigrant. He often sneaks into her bedroom and spends the night. The man is much younger than Oksana and is said to love her. Building on the novel's theme of pretence and performance, Oksana's relationship seems to help her feel alive rather than simply make her feel happy. She does not express romantic feelings towards the Turk. Instead, she feeds him and takes care of him so she can feel needed and useful. For Oksana, Medzhnun replaces the family she left in Ukraine.

The chapter ends with Oksana's tragic death; however, her emotional and spiritual death happened the moment she left her home in Ukraine and watched her cat jump from the window to follow her. The story explores the familiar topics of self-sacrifice and guilt experienced by married women emigrants with children. Oksana's death also ends Frau Shultse's boarding house; afterwards, all tenants leave the house and proceed with their new lives.

2.3.5 Emigration and motherhood: three perspectives in *Hastarbaiterky* (2012)

Natalka Doliak's novel *Hastarbaiterky* won the fourth Award for Novels, Movie Scripts, Plays and Song Lyrics about Love called "Crowning of the Word – 2012." Five thousand copies of the novel were printed that same year. The book is structured around the stories of three different women emigrants, Halyna, Natalia, and Larysa, and the circumstances that connect them.

The non-chronological third-person narration of the first part of the novel is dedicated primarily to Halyna Man'kovych. The narration introduces several secondary women emigrant characters from Ukraine. The heroine represents a distinct type of Ukrainian woman emigrant—a woman who decides to emigrate not driven by financial hardship or in search of love, but

because she is not needed in Ukraine. Halyna is a widow and has a difficult relationship with Viktor, her married adult son. Tensions between Halyna and her son and daughter-in-law escalate when the couple has a child. Although Halyna finds happiness with Maksym, her former classmate, her son and daughter-in-law eventually force her out of her own apartment. Halyna, who harbours feelings of guilt for her son's upbringing, chooses to leave everything behind and follow Maksym to Germany. She also feels responsible for her new partner's debt, incurred during her stay with him.

Similar to Halyna, Natalia does not emigrate for work abroad in order to alleviate poverty at home. She is married, childless, and has vast experience in shuttle migration.¹⁰⁰ Her decision to go abroad is mostly inspired by boredom, a romanticized perception of abroad, and a desire to adopt a child, which requires a substantial sum of money. She also falls out of love with her husband, whom she is said to love now more like a brother. In light of these factors, she decided that a new job and a new life elsewhere could benefit her financial status and her relationship: “Once I leave, —Nata was thinking instead of sleeping. —Mykyta will be missing me and I him. Absence makes the heart grow fonder...—[she] remembered reading somewhere”¹⁰¹ (Doliak, 2012, p. 101).

The story of Larysa, the third *hastarbaiterka*, is equally tragic. As a teenager, she was raped by her gymnastics coach. As an adult, she is a struggling single mother, who decides to seek employment abroad in order to improve her financial situation: “Vasyl'ko was growing, needed vitamins, clothes and shoes, and Larysa couldn't afford essentials because her mom's

¹⁰⁰ Shuttle migration is a migratory pattern characterized by short, repetitive work-related movement of a migrant between sending and receiving countries or rural and urban areas of the same country. In the novel, Natalka engages in reselling various products bought abroad. She regularly makes trips to foreign countries to purchase items she resells upon her return to Ukraine.

¹⁰¹ От поїду, - думала Ната замість того, аби спати. – Микита за мною сумуватиме, я за ним. Розлука для кохання – вона ж як вітер для вогню...- згадала колись вичитане.

pension sufficed only to pay rent, and her own money and child benefit [was enough] to cover minimal food. (...) One day, reading a newspaper [she] came across an advertisement regarding employment abroad, indicating potential earnings...A stratospheric sum”¹⁰² (Doliak, 2012, p. 204).

The focal point of the first three parts of the novel is illegal emigration to Germany. The stories of all three women mention the familiar fears associated with coming to a foreign country without proper paperwork, the distrust of one’s compatriots, women’s susceptibility to sexual exploitation, and the limited and limiting opportunities of low-paid employment in typically female industries. For instance, in the beginning of the novel, Halyna’s illegal status is said to worry her: “In Halyna’s opinion, every German citizen knew the purpose of their trip and condemned such a disgrace”¹⁰³ (Doliak, 2012, p. 13). Later, the main heroine realizes that illegal status benefits both emigrants and those who employ them: “Halochka remembered this lie and came to understand that no one ever checks documents, and being convinced that one has all the paperwork necessary for legal employment equals having it”¹⁰⁴ (Doliak, 2012, p. 48). Natalka’s illegal employment as a janitor is laced with the same sentiment: “Since no German national was willing to do this dirty job, locals ignored the fact that the Ukrainian_{female} did not have a work permit, to be more exact, no one asked for it”¹⁰⁵ (Doliak, 2012, p. 171). Illegal emigrants not only suffer dirty, dangerous, and low paying jobs, they also have to endure dangerous

¹⁰² Василько ріс, потребував вітамінів, вбрання і взуття, а Лариса не могла дозволити собі найнеобхіднішого, бо маминої пенсії вистачало лише на оплату квартири, а її заробітку і грошей на дитину - на мінімальні харчі. (...) Яюсь, читаючи газету, натрапила на об’яву щодо працевлаштування за кордоном, де було вказано цифру можливих заробітків... Захмарну цифру.

¹⁰³ На думку Галюні, кожен німецький громадянин знав мету їхнього приїзду й засуджував сам факт такого неподобства.

¹⁰⁴ Галочка запам’ятала цей обман та затишила, що документів ніхто ніколи не перевіряє, а власне переконання, що маєш усі потрібні для влаштування на легальну роботу папери, прирівнюється до дійсного їх існування.

¹⁰⁵ Оскільки охочих виконувати таку брудну роботу серед німців не було, місцеві закривала очі на те, що українка не має дозволу на труд, точніше, про дозвіл у неї ніхто не питав.

transportation when returning to Ukraine. Larysa's return home was initially arranged with Polish long haul truck drivers who were willing to smuggle her home in a refrigerator. Fortunately, the trip was cancelled due to enhanced border security. She was forced to get help from a *providnyk* (guide), a Ukrainian version of a so-called "coyote," someone who arranges illegal emigrant border crossings for money: "Pay four hundred each and we are even. [I] will get you across... It is cheap only because today there are no illegals. Only one other poor soul"¹⁰⁶ (Doliak, 2012, p. 250).

Halyna and Maksym came to Germany with the help of another Ukrainian couple, a common procedure for illegal emigrants. The same people who arranged Halyna's move thought it would also be acceptable to exploit her sexually: "It got to the point when one of the construction workers, a forty-year-old Sashko, put his heavy hand on Halia's shoulder, and radiating erotic energy, pulled the woman towards him. (...) Guys haven't seen a woman in half a year. [They got] sad. How hard is it? They would have paid [you]..."¹⁰⁷ (Doliak, 2012, p. 54). Elsewhere, another character mentions that numerous Ukrainian emigrant women are involved in the sex trade: "Mrs. Man'kovych then heard enough stories, especially about women being sexually exploited when going to work as waitresses or dancers"¹⁰⁸ (Doliak, 2012, p. 43). Larysa's experience with her first foreign employers was somewhat similar; she promptly returned to Ukraine. When she told Natalka of the sexual harassment she endured, Natalka responded: "That's good that you had courage to run away from them because so many

¹⁰⁶ По чотириста виймайте, та й квити будемо. Переведу вас... Це дешево лише через те, що сьогодні немає перебіжчиків. Один доходяга лишень.

¹⁰⁷ Дійшло вже до того, що один із будівельників, сорокарічний Сашко, поклав Галі на плече важку долоню й, випромінюючи еротичну енергію, потяг жінку до себе. (...) Хлопці без баб півроку. Засумували. Чи тобі важко? Вони заплатили б...

¹⁰⁸ Пані Манькович тоді наслухалася всіляких розповідей, зокрема про те, як жінки потрапляють у сексуальне рабство, їдучи працювати офіціантками чи танцівницями.

[Ukrainian] women continue living in the same conditions and keep quiet”¹⁰⁹ (Doliak, 2012, p. 240).

Neither Halyna nor Natalia seem to be afraid of Germany or travelling abroad. On the contrary, Halyna is fascinated by Berlin and its culture: “The German capital surprised and amazed the Ukrainian_{female} with its modern street art. Painted sculptures of bears—symbols of Berlin, that stood in different, sometimes funny poses, along the central *Friedrichstrasse* reminded her of childhood and made her smile” (Doliak, 2012, p. 63). Natalka was generally attracted to foreign countries: “Even when [she] was still reselling carpets, Natalka thought of trying herself in the romantic role of a guest labourer. [She] listened spellbound to the numerous stories during daily evening chats with the neighbours”¹¹⁰ (Doliak, 2012, p. 101).

Halyna’s and Natalka’s overall emigration experiences are characterized by either their eventual assimilation or their decision not to go back to Ukraine. Halyna, abandoned and not needed by her own family, finds solace in the company of Frau Krage and Natalka: “And Halia was not even thinking about going back since no one was waiting for her at home”¹¹¹ (Doliak, 2012, p. 66); “Frau Elza Krage became Halyna’s family, her mother, child and friend at the same time”¹¹² (Doliak, 2012, p. 67). Natalia’s life changes when she is hired by the Shtraubes, a young professional couple expecting a child. Natalka’s initial arrangement, to assist Mrs. Shtraube with housework, evolves into full-time babysitting for little Enzo once he was born. The woman demonstrates immense dedication and love for the boy and eventually is asked to become his godmother. Overwhelmed by emotions, Natalia writes the following letter to her husband:

¹⁰⁹ Добре, що ти наважилась від них дременути, бо скільки наших баб живуть у схожих умовах - і нічирк.

¹¹⁰ Ще коли з килимами возилася, Наталка замислювалася над перспективою сьорбнути гастарбайтерської романтики. Заслуховувалася балачками, що лилися, наче водоспад, під час щовечірніх сусідських посиденьок.

¹¹¹ А Галя вже й не думала про повернення, адже ніхто її не чекав удома.

¹¹² Фрау Ельза Краге замінила Галині родину, стала матір’ю, дитиною та подругою одночасно.

“Mykyta! I have a son. I want you to be happy for me. I don’t know if that’s God leading me toward my dream, or if Enzo is not really my son? Maybe I delude myself. Of course, he has a mother. I just must be his second one... I must come back [home], so I don’t become very close to the one I’m already close to. I need a son of my own. And a daughter. Ask me to come back home, Mykyta. I will forgive you for everything. [I] know you wasted all the money. [I] know you are drinking. I don’t care. [I] want a baby. Now more than ever. Because I know what happiness it is to be holding one. Ask me to come back home!!! Ask. Your foolish Nataalka”¹¹³ (Doliak, 2012, p. 190). Mykyta was not meant to receive the letter, Natalia was not meant to return home.

One characteristic shared by the three women emigrants is worth mentioning. All three acquire different names upon their relocation abroad: Halyna becomes Khalla, Nataalka—Tasha, and Larysa—Laura. Their names are simplified, changed in order to avoid unflattering associations, or simply westernized. These aliases are also never the women’s idea, but are suggested by either fellow emigrants or foreigners. Natalia’s landlady in Germany points out a negative connotation of her Ukrainian name: “... usually, in the West, they call prostitutes Natashas”¹¹⁴ (Doliak, 2012, p. 131). In Larysa’s case, the Russian speaking family that employs her calls her Laura: “Allegedly when they look at her, they are reminded of the eternal Petrarchan sonnets” (Doliak, 2012, p. 209). Halyna addresses this tendency in her farewell letter to Natalia. She urges her to return to Ukraine and pursue her dream of having children:

¹¹³ Микито! У мене з’явився син. Хочеться, щоби ти порадів разом зі мною. Я не знаю, чи це Бог веде мене до моєї мрії, чи Енцо все ж таки не зовсім мій син? Може, я обманююсь. Авжеж, у нього є мати. А я мушу бути лише другою... Мені потрібно повертатися, аби не зріднитись із тим, з ким я вже зріднилася. Мені потрібний власний син. І донька. Поклич мене додому, Микитко. Я все тобі пробачу. Знаю, що протринькав гроші. Знаю, що п’єш. Мені це байдуже. Хочу дитину. Зараз, як ніколи раніше. Бо знаю, яке це щастя - тримати на руках маленького. Поклич мене додому!!! Поклич. Твоя дурна Наталка.

¹¹⁴ ... зазвичай Наташами на Заході кличуть повій.

“Natalochko, [you] don’t need to, [I] don’t want you to stay here forever as Tasha, what kind of name is it anyway - Tasha? Or mine - Khalla?”¹¹⁵ (Doliak, 2012, p. 245). For Halyna, reclaiming her own name becomes an integral part of reclaiming her own identity, which in this specific text is closely related to motherhood.

Two of the three characters may be described as non-mothers. Halyna failed to establish a loving relationship with her adult son. Natalia could never fulfill her motherly instinct due to biological and financial reasons. According to Halyna, a woman’s purpose lies not even in the simple act of having a child, but raising it properly: “You know, Natasha, I think that a young, strong woman like you should not be suffering here in Germany. Go home, my friend, go home. You will adopt a child from an orphanage...A boy or a girl. There is your happiness. And men are nothing. A woman must have a child, raise it properly... And that’s the essence—to raise [it] properly”¹¹⁶ (Doliak, 2012, p.245). Having realized her own child rearing errors, Halyna cautions her friend. Moreover, she chooses to give all her savings to Natalia instead of her son, so the young woman could have a chance to experience motherhood. However, the money is passed to Larysa. Natalia acknowledges her faults and thinks that the money will be put to better use by an actual mother, who is needed at home by her son: “I can’t go. I am reckless. I will give all the money to a man, if not my own, then to someone else, — [she was] hinting at Serhii.—When I fall in love, I live for him only. Plus, I won’t be able to live at home...”¹¹⁷ (Doliak, 2012, p.247). Only one *hastarbaiterka* of the three, Larysa, returns to Ukraine, and her return is made possible

¹¹⁵ Наталочко, не треба, не хочу, аби ти була до скону Ташею, ну що це за ім’я таке - Таша? Так само - яка я Халла?

¹¹⁶ Ти, знаєш, Наташо, я думаю, що тобі, молодій сильній жінці, не варто скніти тут, у Німеччині. Їдь додому, подруго, їдь додому. Візьмеш дитинку з сиротинця... Хлопчика чи дівчинку. Ось тобі і щастя. А чоловіки - то пусте. Потрібно жінці мати дитину, правильно її виховати... Правильно виховати - ось у чому сенс.

¹¹⁷ Мені не можна їхати. Я безпутна. Всі гроші віддам чоловікові, як не своєму, то чужому, - натякала на Сергія. - Я, як закохаюсь, живу лише для нього, для єдиного. До того ж не зможу я жити вдома...

because of Halyna's tragic death and Natalia's deep self-awareness. One may equally argue, however, that Natalia found her purpose in Germany as a godmother to someone else's son.

2.3.6 Post-Soviet immigration to the UK and fake marriage in *Korotka istoriia traktoriv po-ukraiins'ky* (2013)

With her first novel *Korotka istoriia traktoriv po-ukraiins'ky* (A Short History of Tractors in Ukrainian (2006))¹¹⁸ Lewycka “exploded” into British literary circles just like her flamboyant character Valentyna “burst” into the life of the Maievskis. An unexpected story line, controversial themes and topics, and a somewhat misleading title proved to be the perfect ingredients for success. According to the author, the novel initially was planned to be “profound and sad about the ‘human condition’.”¹¹⁹ Yet, in 2005, it ended up winning The Bollinger Everyman Wodehouse Prize for comic fiction at the Hay Literary Festival, the Waverton Good Read Award in 2005/2006, and was short-listed for the 2005 Orange Prize for Fiction. Published immediately after the Orange Revolution, at a time when people worldwide were following political events in Ukraine, the debut novel sparked a new interest in the country and its people, reaching 100,000 readers during its first year of publication^{120, 121}.

A Short History of Tractors in Ukrainian (2006) is a complex, mostly first-person narration told by Nadiia, a second-generation immigrant, who like Lewycka was born in a refugee camp in Germany but raised in Britain. Her story takes place in Peterborough in the

¹¹⁸ The Ukrainian translation by Oleksa Nehrebets'kyi was published in 2013.

¹¹⁹ Interview with Lewycka (<http://marinalewycka.com/tractors.html>)

¹²⁰ According to “Press Release: Penguin Group Announces Growth in 2005 Results”, Penguin Group (27 February 2006) <http://www.penguin.co.uk/static/cs/uk/0/aboutus/downloads/2005resultsUK_penguin.pdf>

¹²¹ Translated into 37 languages worldwide, the novel was highly praised everywhere except in Ukraine, whose literary circles found it offensive. In one of his interviews, Andrii Kurkov indicated that the book contributes to the existence of a “negative cliché” about Ukrainians in Britain. He found Lewycka's Ukrainian characters risible and contemptible. Interview with A. Kurkov <<https://rozmova.wordpress.com/2014/01/27/andrij-kurkov/>>

1990s and starts with a description of her father's bizarre idea to marry Valentyna, a Ukrainian divorcée, who is 50 years younger than him. Additional voices emerge as Nadiia starts looking deeper into her family's history, the circumstances of their immigration, and her relationship with her older sister Vira. There are two inserted texts in the novel: excerpts from a book on tractors written by Nadiia's eccentric father Kolia, and the story of Nadiia's parents and their lives before, during, and after the Second World War.

While Valentyna is hardly the main character of *Korotka istoriia traktoriv po-ukraiins'ky* (2013), she is definitely the most noticeable. Not only does she finally bring together the two estranged sisters, who unite in order to get rid of this not welcomed “pink grenade,”¹²² she also gives Nadiia, the primary narrator, a chance to learn about her heritage and explore her own identity as a second-generation immigrant. In the novel, Valentyna's voice is heard less than the other narrators; yet her presence in the story becomes essential when discussing other characters' values and viewpoints on a number of things, such as marriage, immigration, and motherhood. On those rare occasions when Valentyna's character “speaks,” there is never a sense of Valentyna telling her own story. It is from other characters that we learn how Valentyna came to the United Kingdom on a tourist visa and three weeks prior to its expiration arranged to be married to Mykola Maievskyy. Similarly, Valentyna's appearance, character, and behaviour are described either by the narrator or other characters: “[a] large blond woman sauntering down the garden towards us on high-heeled peep-toe mules. Her gait is lazy, contemptuous, as though she can barely be bothered to stir herself to greet us. A denim mini-skirt rides high above her knees; a pink sleeveless top stretches around voluptuous breasts that bob up and down as she walks. (...) Such a wanton expanse of dimpled, creamy flesh. Plump bordering on fat. (...) [H]er hair,

¹²² рожева граната

which tumbles Bardot-style in a tousled pony-tail over bare shoulders, is bleached, showing an inch of brown at the roots. A broad, handsome face. High cheekbones. Flared nostrils. Eyes wide set, golden brown like syrup, and outlined in black Cleopatra lines that flick up at the corners. The mouth curls into a pout that is almost a sneer, drawn in pale peach-pink lipstick that extends beyond the line of the lips, as though to exaggerate their fullness.”; “Tart. Bitch. Cheap slut. This woman who has taken the place of my mother.^{123,124} (Lewycka, 2013, p. 173).

Mykola, Nadiia’s father, romanticizes the newcomer: “But she is more like Venus. ‘Boticelli’s Venus rising from waves. Golden hair. Charming eyes. Superior breasts.’”¹²⁵ (Lewycka, 2006, p. 17). Other characters are more skeptical of Valentyna and her intentions: “Look, she’s after a passport and a work permit, and what little money he has left. That’s clear enough. And he’s just mesmerized by her boobs. He talks of nothing else”¹²⁶ (Lewycka, 2006, p.147).

Evaluations of Valentyna’s character are expressed by the two opposing voices of Mykola and Vira. For instance, Mykola, who believes he is in love with Valentyna, appears to always underline (invent) her positive features or justify her wrongdoings: “She is a cultured woman, not

¹²³ (...) велику блондинку, що поволі пливе до нас з садка в домашніх голоп’ятих туфлях на каблучці. Хо́да її лінива, пихата, ніби вона ледве себе пересилила, щоб зрушити з місця й підійти з нами привітатися. Джинсова міні-спідничка значно вище колін; рожевий топ без рукавів обтягує пишні перса, що гойдаються вгору-вниз, коли вона йде. (...) Таке буйство пухкої, рожевої плоті. Пухкості, що межує з жирністю. (...) її волосся, яке спадає розкуйовдженим хвостом у стилі Бардо на голі плечі, вибілене і від коріння на дюйм темне. Далеко розставлені очі, золотисто-карі, наче патока, і підмальовані, як у Клеопатри, чорними лініями, що задираються в куточках. Рот скривився надуто, майже зневажливо, намазаний персиковою помадою аж за край губів, мабуть, щоб здавалися ще товщими.

Повія. Сучка. Дешева лярва. Ця жінка лізе на місце моєї матері.

¹²⁴ This excerpt corresponds to the Ukrainian text found in Lewycka, 2013, pp.60-70 translated by Oleksa Nehrebets’kyi. Since the translation in Ukrainian is very close to the English original, I opted to provide quotes from the original text to preserve its accuracy and for the sake of English-speaking readers.

¹²⁵ Проте вона більше схожа на Венеру. - Венера Ботічеллі, що здійсмається з хвиль. Золоте волосся. Чарівні очі. Пишні перса.

¹²⁶ Їй потрібен тільки паспорт, дозвіл на працю, та ті копійки, що в нього ще лишилися. Це ж ясно. А він зачарований її цицьками. Більше ні про що й не говорить.

a chatterbox peasant woman. [...] She, like him, admires Constructivist art and abhors neoclassicism. They have much in common. A sound foundation for marriage”¹²⁷ (Lewycka, 2006, p. 21); “[h]e [Mykola] is her last hope, her only chance to escape persecution, destitution, prostitution. Life in Ukraine is too hard for such a delicate spirit as hers”¹²⁸ (Lewycka, 2006, p. 22); “How can he condemn a lovely woman to this?”¹²⁹ (Lewycka, 2006, p. 23). Mr. Dubov, Valentyna’s first husband, agrees with Mykola who is also in love with the woman and does not seem to be appalled by her criminal plans and schemes. Indeed, he is willing to win her over again: “Yes, for such a beautiful flower the wind in Ukraine blows very hard and cold at this moment. But it will not always be so. And where there is love, there is always enough warmth for the human soul to thrive”¹³⁰ (Lewycka, 2006, p. 534).

Vira, in turn, is the most common source of Valentyna's negative descriptions: “You see, it confirms what I always believed. She is a criminal. Not satisfied with ripping off Pappa, she is also ripping off our country”¹³¹ (Lewycka, 2006, p. 513); “Pregnant!” cries Vera.¹³² “The slut! The hussy! But listen, Nadia,¹³³ maybe this is just another ploy. I bet it's not a baby at all, just a pillow pushed up inside her jumper”¹³⁴ (Lewycka, 2006, p. 554). However, after meeting Valentyna in

¹²⁷ Вона культурна жінка, не якась там балакуча селянка. Вона, як і він, обожає конструктивістів і гидує неокласицизмом. У них багато спільного. Стійкі підвалини для шлюбу.

¹²⁸ (...) її остання надія, її останній шанс уникнути депортації, злиднів, проституції. Життя в Україні дуже важке для такої делікатної натури, як вона.

¹²⁹ Як він може прирікати гарну жінку на таке життя?

¹³⁰ Так, для такої красивої квітки вітри в Україні поки що занадто сильні й холодні. Та не завжди так буде. А там, де є любов, там завжди вистачить тепла для людської душі

¹³¹ От бачиш, це підтверджує, що я завжди казала. Вона бандитка. Їй мало, що обдерла тата, вона ще й нашу країну обдирає

¹³² Original spelling; the original text in English employs the name Vira in Russian

¹³³ Similarly, the original spelling of the Ukrainian name Nadiia in Russian; shortened version of Nadezhda

¹³⁴ Вагітна! — скрикує Віра. — Курва! Шльондра! Слухай, Надю, а може, це ще один трюк? Мабуть, там ніяка не дитина, то вона подушку запхнула під джемпер

person, Vira gives her credit for her ingenuity and bright appearance: “[B]ig Sis and Valentina¹³⁵ got on like a house on fire. Valentina admired Vera's style and panache. Vera admired Valentina's up-front sexuality and her ruthlessness. They both agreed that Father is pathetic, crazy, and contemptible”¹³⁶ (Lewycka, 2006, p. 393); “Of course she is a tart. And a criminal. But still, I had to admire her”¹³⁷ (Lewycka, 2006, p. 394); “[s]he is quite attractive, in a sluttish way. Then again, it is one thing to sleep with that kind of woman, quite another to marry her”¹³⁸ (Lewycka, 2006, p. 568).

Nadiia’s voice and evaluations of Valentyna represent a middle point between the two extreme opinions presented above. While she is not fond of this new woman in her father's life and finds the whole idea of marriage absurd, she sympathizes with Valentyna: “Now I see his energy is all redirected towards this woman and her son—they will become his substitute family. He can speak with them in his own language. Such a beautiful language that anyone can be a poet. Such a landscape—it would make anyone an artist. Blue-painted wooden houses, golden wheat fields, forests of silver birch; slow wide sliding rivers. Instead of going home to Ukraina, Ukraina will come home to him.”¹³⁹ (Lewycka, 2006, p. 68); “Painted doll. I never liked her, you know” she says in Ukrainian. “Neither did I. But I thought she would care for my father.”¹⁴⁰ (Lewycka, 2006,

¹³⁵ The original spelling of the name in the novel uses its Russian version

¹³⁶ (...) Старша Сестра і Валентина миттю сподобались одна одній. Валентину захопили Вірині стильність і хизування. А Віру — Валентинина відверта сексуальність і безжалісність. Вони обидві погодилися, що батько — жалюгідний, божевільний і вартий презирства

¹³⁷ Звісно, вона курва. І бандитка. Та все одно я нею захоплююсь

¹³⁸ (...) вона досить приваблива, по-шльондрівськи. І знову ж — одне діло з такою жінкою спати, і геть інше — на ній женитися

¹³⁹ Тепер я бачу, що його енергія спрямувалась на цю жінку та її сина — вони замінять йому сім’ю. Він зможе з ними говорити рідною мовою. Така гарна мова, що кожен може стати поетом. Такий краєвид, що кожного зробить митцем. Фарбовані синім дерев’яні хатки, золоті пшеничні поля, срібні березові гаї, широкі й повільні ріки. Хай він не поїде в Україну, зате Україна приїде до нього

¹⁴⁰ Розмальована лялька. Знаєш, вона мені ніколи не подобалась, — каже вона українською. — Мені теж. Але я думала, що вона догляне батька

p. 484); “Valentina slaving at long low-wage shifts in the nursing home, behind the bar at the Imperial Hotel, toiling in my father's bedroom. Yes, she is greedy, predatory, outrageous, but she is a victim too. A source of cheap labour.”¹⁴¹ (Lewycka, 2006, p. 600); “So why is Valentina behaving as she is?”— “Because she's desperate.”¹⁴² “Women have always gone to extremes for their children. I would do the same for Anna. I'm sure I would. Wouldn't you do the same for Alice or Lexi? Wouldn't Mother have done the same for us, Vera? If we were desperate? If there was no other way?”¹⁴³ (Lewycka, 2006, p. 349-350).

Unlike the above discussed novels, Lewycka’s text abounds with detailed descriptions of the woman emigrant’s character and appearance. One may surmise that they enhance the overall comic effect of the narration. Alternatively, it provides an additional aspect of women’s emigration worth exploring in more details—the correlation between a women’s appearance and how they are perceived socially. In the novel, Lewycka touches on the topic of migration from Ukraine in the early years of the country’s independence. After the Soviet Union dissolved, Ukrainians faced a considerable decline in living standards. A skyrocketing level of unemployment aggravated this situation. As a result of unfavourable economic conditions, the transition to a market economy in Ukraine was marked by mass migration in the 1990s, which turned into the main source of income for millions of Ukrainian families. Economic hardships, however, are not the only legacy inherited by Ukrainians after the Soviet Union’s dissolution. Living in a post-socialist state resulted in the development of complex new identities. Valentyna, for instance, is originally from Ternopil’, a

¹⁴¹ Валентина гарує за копійки в довгих змінах у центрі догляду хворих і за стойкою в “Готелі Імперіал”, мучиться в батьковій спальні. Так, вона жадібна, хижа, жорстока, проте вона жертва також. Джерело дешевої робочої сили

¹⁴² То чого Валентина так поводитьсья? — Бо вона в безнадійній ситуації

¹⁴³ Жінки готові йти на все заради дітей. Я б теж пішла заради Анни. Я в цьому впевнена. А ти б пішла заради Аліси чи Лексі? А мати заради нас хіба б не пішла на все? Якби ми були в безнадійній ситуації? Якби не було іншого виходу

city in western Ukraine. However, within a few pages, Lewycka notes that she speaks Russian: “She is coming with her son from Ukraina. Ternopil in Ukraina”¹⁴⁴ (Lewycka, 2006, p. 17); “She really said that, about returning to the graveyard?”— “In Russian. Said all in Russian”¹⁴⁵ (Lewycka, 2006, p. 305). Being born and raised in the Soviet Union, it is unsurprising that Valentyna is fluent in Russian. Moreover, this bilingualism is an accurate portrayal of Ukraine, including western Ukraine, in the 1990s. What becomes interesting is how the woman's language is linked to her identity. Mykola is the first to emphasize that Valentyna is swearing at him and uttering threats in Russian. In response to Nadiia's claim that language has nothing to do with her behaviour, Mykola retorts: “No, on the contrary, language is supremely important. In language are encapsulated not only thoughts but cultural values...”¹⁴⁶ (Lewycka, 2006, p. 306). This is further developed when Valentyna is being compared to Mykola's deceased wife Liudmyla (Milla). This time Valentyna's use of Russian is a synecdoche for cruelty: “This Valentina, she is beautiful like Milla, and like Milla she has strong spirit, but also with an element of cruelty in her nature unknown to Liudmyla, which by the way is characteristic of the Russian type”¹⁴⁷ (Lewycka, 2006, p. 369); “True, this is the defect of character which is typical, by the way, of the Russian psyche, in which there is always the tendency to believe in violence as first rather than last resort”¹⁴⁸ (Lewycka, 2006, p. 439). The interpretation of Valentyna's character as not inherently Ukrainian is also used by Mykola to explain all Valentyna's faults: “You see, Nadezhda,¹⁴⁹ she is not a bad

¹⁴⁴ Вона приїжджає зі своїм сином з України. Тернопіль в Україні

¹⁴⁵ Вона так і сказала про повернення на цвинтар? — Російською. Сказала це все російською

¹⁴⁶ Ні, навпаки, мова — це надзвичайно важливо. У мові закладені не тільки думки, а й культурні цінності...

¹⁴⁷ Валентина так само гарна, як і Міла, і, як і Міла, вона сильна духом, але в її характері є елемент жорстокості, якого не було в Людмили, а це, до речі, особливість російських типажів

¹⁴⁸ Твоя правда, це вада характеру, типова, до речі, для російської душі — схильність вдаватися до насилля в першу, а не в останню чергу

¹⁴⁹ Original spelling of the name Nadiia follows its Russian spelling

person. She has some incorrect ideas. Not her fault”¹⁵⁰ (Lewycka, 2006, p. 200).

The author depicts Valentyna’s immigration to Britain—the West—and describes her behaviour as mirroring the stereotypical values of capitalist consumerism: “Valentina has achieved the apogee of the dreams of life in the West—she is the owner of a Rolls-Royce”¹⁵¹ (Lewycka, 2006, p. 382). After Ukraine's independence and calamitous attempt at creating a market economy, it is said that a lot of Western ideas entered the post-Soviet state. Valentyna is portrayed as a distorted, simplistic reflection of those values. Upon her relocation to Britain, she denies her peasant ancestry and proclaims herself “a modern, liberated woman”¹⁵² (Lewycka, 2006, p. 24). In practice, this statement is confirmed by her refusal to cook. She heats up ready-made “modern” dinners instead: “I make modern cooking, not peasant cooking”¹⁵³ (Lewycka, 2006, p. 179). Her very presence in the kitchen is possible only if the kitchen is properly equipped, in a “modern” way: “In former Soviet Union all cookers are white. Crap cookers”¹⁵⁴ (Lewycka, 2006, p. 196); “Your wife peasant Baba. Peasant Baba, peasant cooking. For civilised person, cooker must be gas, must be brown”. She says this slowly and with emphasis, as if repeating a basic lesson to a nincompoop”¹⁵⁵ (Lewycka, 2006, p. 197). Judging by her behaviour, her primitive understanding of feminism and gender, and her desperate claims to embody the “modern,” it should be noted that Valentyna's image is constructed vis-à-vis Mykola's first wife’s, who appears to be an exotic yet backward Easterner, Baba, an odd individual, who never gave up her old ways even after so many

¹⁵⁰ Бачиш, Надіє, вона людина непогана. В неї просто неправильні уявлення. Вона не винна

¹⁵¹ Валентина нарешті здійснила свою блакитну мрію про життя на Заході — стала власницею “Ролс-Ройса”

¹⁵² сучасна, емансипована жінка

¹⁵³ Я готую по-сучасному, не по-сільському

¹⁵⁴ У Советському Союзі всі плити були білі. Гімняні плити

¹⁵⁵ Твоя жінка була сільська баба. Сільська баба по-сільському й готувала. У цивілізованої людини плита має бути газова, має бути коричнева. — Вона це каже повільно, наголошуючи, ніби повторює елементарний урок дурникові

years living in England.

As was mentioned before, the novel includes a text that initially appears to have little to do with the eccentric Valentyna. Separate chapters from Mykola's book are dedicated to the history of tractors and their engineering. Treating the novel as a coherent linguistic unity allows us to draw parallels between this technical insertion and the story of the flamboyant Ukrainian divorcée Valentyna. Indeed, the narrator hints at a possible connection between the two story lines: “He [psychiatrist] is fascinated by my father's [Mykola's] theory of the relationship between mechanical engineering as applied to tractors and the psychological engineering advocated by Stalin as applied to the human soul”¹⁵⁶ (Lewycka, 2006, p. 339). Mykola's theory is based on the negative impact that tractor engineering has had on Ukrainians and Ukrainian agriculture. Just as traditional Ukrainian life was changed by a forced and brutal industrialization (the introduction of the tractors coincides with the Soviet industrialization of agriculture and the creation of *kolkhoz*),¹⁵⁷ so was the Ukrainian mentality reshaped by Soviet ideology. On the one hand, Valentyna represents Soviet hybridity, an amalgam of Ukrainian and Russian/Soviet features. On the other hand, she is explicitly called a tractor by Mykola. In this respect I speculate that her forced “imposition” upon the Maievskis family has a similarly devastating effect on his understanding of Ukrainianness.

The novel humorously discusses a variety of issues pertaining to Ukrainian emigration in various years. However silent, Valentyna's character is rather complex and merits in-depth analysis. Having said that, I also disagree with Kurkov's rather simplistic and superficial

¹⁵⁶ Він [психіатр] захоплений батьковою теорією про відношення між технічними знаряддями, які застосовують при будівництві тракторів, та психологічними інструментами, які застосовував Сталін для впливу на людську душу

¹⁵⁷ Collective farm

understanding of Valentyna's character as only risible and contemptible and his overall critical response to the novel. In his interview with Olena Hutyk mentioned above, Kurkov (2014) described Lewycka's book as contributing to a "negative cliché" about Ukrainians in Britain. In a way, his and similarly critical responses to the above listed novels inspired the present research. An analysis of the evaluative language under Appraisal Theory will allow for a better understanding of evaluative categories and their cultural framework. This in turn has the potential to contribute greatly to the overall discussion of women's emigration from Ukraine.

2.3.7 The types of women emigrants revealed in the selected literary corpus

The brief overview of the five novels presented in this chapter has revealed a variety of characters and certain shared aspects of women's emigration from Ukraine. All five texts share several emigration related topics. For instance, three of the five novels (*Usi dorohy*, *Ia znaiu*, and *Hastarbaiterky*) describe illegal labour emigration experiences. The other two (*Shliub* and *Korotka istoriia*) highlight the fluidity of women's emigration status and its change from an initial legal visit to marriage or fictive marriage to illegal work abroad. Additionally, characters use the Ukrainian language in these two novels to signal women's national identity. Three texts (*Usi dorohy*, *Shliub*, and *Hastarbaiterky*) reference women changing their names, which also clearly relates to issues of (national) identity. Only one of the women characters remains abroad permanently (Natalka from *Hastarbaiterky*), while the rest either return home or suffer tragic fates. All five texts explore emigration of women through a prism of (non)motherhood. Thus, the selection of the above reviewed texts allows me to analyze Ukrainian women emigrants and their roles as women, mothers, spouses, professionals (pre- and post-emigration), workers (as emigrants), and Ukrainian citizens while being both legal and illegal emigrants.

2.4 Appraisal Theory: data collection and methodology

In this section, I provide an overview of Appraisal Theory, relevant terminology, and my data collection procedures and methodology. I include illustrative examples of evaluative tokens to demonstrate the corpora of the present study. I chose Appraisal Theory for this project because it provides the necessary theoretical premise and methodological tools to identify and analyze “attitudinal evaluations,” the means by which authors transmit their assessments of people, objects, and events. Moreover, it allows us to identify and interpret “attitudes, judgement and emotive responses” either explicitly voiced or implied in text (White, 2015, p. 1). For the purposes of the present research, this theory will be employed to investigate “how different [...] text types may conventionally employ different evaluative and otherwise rhetorical strategies,” and “the underlying, often covert value systems which shape and are disseminated by a speaker/writer’s utterances.” (White, 2015, p. 2). This section also includes a detailed overview of Appraisal Theory’s concepts that I use to determine the attitudinal position(s) of narrator(s) as defined by Martin et al (2005): “affect,” “judgment,” and “appreciation,” which carry attitudinal meanings and reflect the speaker’s/writer’s [narrator’s] stance (p. 43). Rather than concluding that negative depictions of Ukrainian women emigrants prevail in academic studies, the media, and fiction, the use of Appraisal Theory permits the identification of specific aspects of Ukrainian women emigration that attract discussion, criticism or praise. The theory’s broad heuristic value also allows us to answer my research question: how do evaluative meanings in the selected literary texts shape the depiction of Ukrainian emigration and women emigrants in the selected texts?

2.4.1 Appraisal Theory: overview

While appraisal itself embraces three interacting spheres: “attitude” (attitudinal positioning), “engagement” (dialogistic positioning), and “graduation” (intertextual positioning), the present research focuses on “attitude,” which is a “discourse semantic system” “concerned with our feelings, including emotional reactions, judgment of behaviour and evaluation of things”¹⁵⁸ (Martin & White, 2005, p. 58, p. 35). Attitude embraces three levels, the emotional (“affect”), the ethical (“judgement”), and the aesthetic (“appreciation”). The three categories are construed via lexicogrammatical items. The subject of the attitudinal evaluation will be considered when discussing attitude. It is important to note that I will not be discussing the author’s position, which may be aligned with either the voice of the narrator or a character. Instead, the narrator and/or character(s) who voice affect, judgement and/or appreciation will be identified as the source of the attitude, or alternatively, the appraiser. The source of the attitude serves the purpose of identifying who is judging/appreciating whom and why. According to Martin & White (2005), “[a]ffect can be coded in a framework of this kind by treating the emoter as appraiser, and the trigger of the emotion, if recoverable, as appraised. This makes sense if we interpret the appraiser as the person who is feeling something (whether emoting, judging or appreciating), and the appraised as the person, thing or activity that is being reacted to” (p. 72). Thus, the object of the attitude, or the appraised, will also be identified. In this study, the appraised is determined by my research questions and is limited to Ukrainian women emigrants and emigration in general.

¹⁵⁸ The definitions of the employed categories elaborated by Martin et al (2005) are introduced through both a number of fictitious examples and examples from different literary texts. It should be noted that all examples are of an explicit nature and are provided for demonstrative purposes only. They will neither be analyzed in detail nor in relation to the other literary texts from which they were taken.

Based on Martin et al's definition, any linguistic means that "convey a negative or positive assessment or which can be interpreted as inviting the reader to supply their own negative or positive assessments" is to be considered attitudinal (Martin et al, 2003, p. 10). Martin et al (2003) also advise us to consider "complete utterances" and "stretches of language which present a complete proposition or proposal" when identifying attitude (p. 11). The linguistic realizations for attitude will be further classified into explicit or implicit. Explicit "affect" is characterized by the lexis (vocabulary) that expresses a speaker's emotional responses; for instance: "I just loved Madonna's recent concert." Affect may also be communicated by words such as "enjoy," "hate," or "interest"; adjectives such as "sad," "joyful," "angry"; adverbs such as "sadly," "joyfully," "angrily"; and nouns such as "sadness," "anger," "joy." However, according to Martin et al., "[a]ttitudinal meanings tend to spread out and colour a phase of discourse as speakers and writers take up a stance" (White, 2015, p. 43). This implies that attitude may not necessarily be explicitly voiced in one specific text, but be present across multiple texts. When identifying affect, it is important to note any extralinguistic means of emotional expressions in the text. For example, authors may provide additional descriptions of characters' behaviour, which may indicate emotional states. Another important aspect to consider when discussing emotional lexical choices is the general context, which potentially can define the text's attitudinal meaning.

In the development of Appraisal Theory, Martin et al. (2005) proposes a classification of emotions rooted in English grammar. However, I find that the same principles (not grammatical forms of expression) may prove effective when dealing with texts in other languages, including Ukrainian. The authors outline a number of factors that must be considered when defining and classifying emotions:

- a. whether feelings are culturally construed as positive or negative;
- b. whether they are expressed through para- or extralinguistic means, or simply as an emotive state, i.e., emotional behaviour (“s/he jumped for joy”) or mental process (“s/he couldn’t stand them”);
- c. whether emotions are described as a general mood or an emotional reaction to a certain event;
- d. whether emotions vary in their intensity and suggest a gradation;
- e. whether emotions are caused by a “real” trigger or reflect a desire;
- f. or whether emotions belong to one of the following three groups, “un/happiness” (so called “affairs of the heart”), “in/security” (“ecosocial wellbeing”), and “dis/satisfaction” (“pursuit of goals”) (Martin et al, 2005, pp. 47-49).

This proposed classification is by no means exhaustive, yet serves as an effective starting point.

These factors are applicable and effective for my analysis. They prove useful at the stage of initial recognition of utterances containing linguistic realizations of emotions [factors (a) and (b)]. I apply factors (c) and (d) to identify emotional response/state of appraisers. Factors (d), (e), and (f) are invaluable in further categorizations of identified tokens into the three groups of affect, judgement, and appreciation.

2.4.2 The category of “Affect”

“Affect” is defined as the linguistic realization of emotional reactions that are generally described either as negative or positive. These emotional reactions include but are not limited to joy, sadness, fear, anxiety, and anger.¹⁵⁹ I anticipate that affect utterances in literature of

¹⁵⁹ “Affect” as a category pertaining to Appraisal Theory is not to be confused with “affect” as a pivotal concept in Affect theory (Thomkins, 1982, 2008) or similar explorations by sociological, biological, psychological, literary, and gender studies.

migration will be used when talking about or describing women emigrants' and their families' feelings. To give a short example from Berezovs'kyi's *Internaimychka*:

1. There is no need to mention love, I am left with sadness, especially when I think about my own unemployment and empty pockets¹⁶⁰ (Berezovs'kyi, 2004, p. 17).

In example one, Halyna's overall negative emotional state is defined by her unfavourable economic situation. Two emotions, "love" and "sadness" are mentioned in the excerpt. Both belong to the "un/happiness" group; however, "sadness" is expressed as a general emotive state, rather than a reaction. Interestingly, in this example, these two emotions are used as direct opposites whereas normally one expects "love" to be counterpoised to "hate." Emotional gradation appears to be absent, but the use of the intensifier "especially" will be discussed later. The sentence construction implies that the feeling was inflicted on the main character by external circumstances and has an actual trigger rather than a desire.

If taken out of context, the utterance offers various options for the interpretation of "love." For instance, one may deduce that the main heroine spurns someone's advances and shuns romantic involvement. However, when viewed in context, we see that the utterance is preceded by a reproach made by Halyna's husband. He claims that she emigrated for romantic reasons and is looking for a more successful partner. Example 1 is Halyna's response, in which she refuses to consider "love," or lack thereof, as a push factor in her decision to emigrate. She cites her deep dissatisfaction with her social and economic status as an emigrant as the main reason for her "sadness": "especially when I think about my own unemployment." The use of the word "especially" [*osoblyvo*] indicates other potential reasons for her sadness; however, the one she names appears to be the main factor. Another assumption is that Halyna financial stability over

¹⁶⁰ Про любов, звичайно, нема що і згадувати, але печаль вже маю, особливо, коли нагадаю про власне безробіття та безгрошів'я.

“love.” This outlook contributes to the overall construction of Halyna’s character, which in this case portrays her as pragmatic and driven to emigrate for financial reasons. This example also demonstrates the importance of context, as, according to Martin et al (2003), context assists with the identification of implicit attitudes and helps to resolve possible ambiguity (p. 12).

The structure of the text plays an important role in evaluation. Berezovs’kyi’s novel is a correspondence between a husband and his emigrant wife. Thus, the response in example 1 is coloured by the first person affect authored by the main heroine of the novel. Identifying the subject of attitudinal utterances is important as their evaluation may be directed either at someone or something, or be “self-inflicted,” directed at themselves through demonstrating emotions which are likely to be seen as appropriate” and “sympathy-evoking” (Martin et al, 2003, p. 16).

2.4.3 The category of “Judgement”

An utterance is classified as “judgment” when it is concerned with a negative or positive evaluation of human behaviour based on social norms, everything we criticize, praise, or condemn. Similar to affect, it can be made explicit through the choice of “judgmental” vocabulary: “The new taxation program introduced by the current government is just another corrupt scheme.” Alternatively, implicit judgement, offering assessment of one’s behaviour, is dependent on readers’ understanding of social and moral norms: “The prices of most dietary foods have doubled since last year’s introduction of new reforms.” Though the sentence offers no explicit judgment, based on the context a reader may conclude that the reforms were probably ineffective, as prices increased. As a logical consequence, the failure of the reforms may be ascribed either to the government or to executive bodies thus offering a clear negative assessment. Moreover, in this example the degree of judgment also depends on the reader; if they

need this more expensive food, they will surely view price increases more negatively than someone who does not.

Martin et al (2003) note: “the most obvious examples of judgement involve assessments by reference to systems of legality/illegality, morality/immorality or politeness/impoliteness” (p. 38). The authors further divide judgements into the following categories:

- a. those of esteem, judgements defining something either within or without the realm of normality, capacity, or tenacity;
- b. judgements of sanction, the ones defining something as either truthful or not (veracity), and appropriate or not (propriety) (Martin et al, 2005, p. 52).

Cultural aspects should also be taken into consideration when discussing behavioural evaluation. In the present research, judgement utterances are expected to focus on the political, social, and economic systems that seemingly drive women to emigrate, women’s choices to immigrate legally or illegally, the judgment of women emigrants themselves and judgements of their behaviour. For instance, we may encounter examples when motivation to emigrate is ascribed to either external reasons (economic) or to emigrants’ individual qualities, such as a constant dissatisfaction with their life, ambitious goals, or simply wanderlust, to name a few. However, the social and ideological positions of readers will colour how various words and phrases are interpreted. For instance, emigrants themselves may be prone to empathize with migrants and excuse illegal emigration, while those in law enforcement may take less generous positions.¹⁶¹

Implicit judgments are further divided into “evoked” (where a reason for a negative judgment is made through giving factual information) and “provoked” (where the judgment is

¹⁶¹ Aware of my own emigration experiences and potential biases, I will make a conscious effort to consider an alternative interpretation of ambiguous judgement utterances when possible.

hinted at through the usage of some evaluative language). Judgement is said to be evoked when “triggered by what can be viewed as simply ‘facts’, apparently unevaluated descriptions of some event or state of affairs.” (Martin et al, 2003, p. 41). For instance, an utterance: “Though he raised his voice, nobody would even listen to him” does not contain any evaluative language, yet it may lead to an inference about the speaker or their audience. Provoked judgement is evaluative in nature even though it is generally characterized by a lack of positive or negative wording. The following excerpt from the same novel by Berezovs’kyi typifies provoked judgement:

2. I can’t stand this Liuda anymore, she holds on to me like a limpet, and keeps talking me into some well-paid but shady business, and it affects my mind worse than as if she were a recruiter from an Italian brothel.¹⁶² (Berezovskyi, 2004, p. 18).

In example 2, Halyna is an appraiser who passes judgment on another woman emigrant she met in Italy. First, she gives an explicit judgment of this Liuda, labeling her as annoying and dependent (“holds on to me like a limpet”). She then elicits another association with Liuda as a dangerous woman by describing her as someone who “keeps talking me into some well-paid but shady business.” Both, the repetitive nature of the action and its association with “shady business” provokes a negative judgement of Liuda’s character.¹⁶³ Both judgements fall under the “negative propriety” subcategory, as Liuda’s behaviour is generally deemed inappropriate and condemnable. Halyna further describes Liuda’s endless offers of “well paid but shady” work as worse than a madam recruiting for a whorehouse. Halyna is clearly uncomfortable and disapproves of this lifestyle. Her judgement appraises the circumstances while offering insight into her own beliefs, which are clearly opposed to those of Liuda.

¹⁶² Я з цією Людою вже не можу витримати, бо приклеїлась до мене, як в лазні березовий листок до одного місця, та намовляє на всякі високооплачувані авантюри, чим діє на психіку гірше будь-якого вербувальника з італійського борделю.

¹⁶³ Note that it is not the “shady business” that is identified as the appraised in this instance, but Liuda’s behaviour.

Another example of a provoked judgment is found in Oleh's reply to his wife:

3. Back then you felt sorry (I thought you were joking!) you refused the fast talk of an old “but very energetic and good-looking” widower from Canada to stay with him forever¹⁶⁴ (Berezovskyi, 2004, p. 23).

Example 3 presents a situation in which Oleh reevaluates his wife's morality after she emigrated to Italy. Although the statement does not explicitly claim that Halyna would marry a foreigner for emigration purposes, it implies that she may have considered it. First, she is said to have described the potential candidate positively— “very energetic and good-looking.” Second, “you felt sorry (...) you refused” may be paraphrased as “you wish you did not refuse,” thus falling under the affect category of “positive desire.” Since the utterance is written in quotation marks, readers may perceive this information as true. Third, Oleh's past-tense insertion “(I thought you were joking!)” may indicate that he no longer thinks she was joking, a negative judgement of Halyna's character. If readers sympathize with Oleh, they may believe that Halyna seriously considered an emigration marriage, provoking readers to view her negatively. Similarly, depending on readers' impressions of Oleh, they may be inclined to think that he is merely a jealous husband, mitigating the intensity of judgement a reader may have for Halyna.

2.4.4 The category of “Appreciation”

The last category included in the linguistic analysis is “appreciation,” which involves the evaluation of things and occasionally people according to a perceived value. According to Martin et al (2003), “human participants may [...] be appreciated—in cases where the assessment does not directly focus on the correctness or incorrectness of their behaviour” (p. 55). For example, in

¹⁶⁴ Вже тоді ти жалкувала (я гадав - жартуєш!), що не згодилась на вмовляння якогось старого, але “ще дуже енергійного та симпатичного” вдівця-канадійця залишитись з ним назавжди.

the sentence “the first lady is an extremely beautiful and charismatic woman,” the woman’s appearance and personality are assessed aesthetically. Martin et al explain appreciation thusly: “With appreciation we turn to meanings construing our evaluations of “things,” especially things we make and performances we give” (Martin & White, 2005, p. 56). Appreciation is subdivided into reactions that catch our attention, the composition of things, and how they are valued. I do not anticipate that appreciation will be found when talking about emigration in general. When Ukrainian women emigrants are appreciated, they are most often categorized in terms of their valuation. When analyzing instances of appreciation, special attention will be paid to how and why women emigrants are valued. Are they appreciated for their femininity, their sexuality, their body, or other reasons? Moreover, how are the traits for which women emigrants are appreciated evaluated in these texts?

The following example demonstrates appreciation of women emigrants by the male character from Berezovs’kyi’s novel:

4. At the same time all our labour emigrants_{female} are considered to have a special aura of femininity, coupled with extraordinary intelligence (those who pursue this damn labour migration are not dumb!)¹⁶⁵ (Berezovs’kyi, 2004, p. 48).

This utterance by Oleh is an overgeneralized (“all our labour emigrants_{female}”) valuation of Ukrainian women’s appearance and intelligence. The meaning of the ambiguous “special aura of femininity” is clarified in the next sentence: “And if our woman dresses up, accentuating the appetizing silhouette of her Slavic figure, it may be enough to interpret the situation as her consent for something more than ironing [one’s clothes].”¹⁶⁶ (Berezovs’kyi, 2004, p.48). In

¹⁶⁵ Водночас вважається, що всі наші заробітчани мають особливу ауру жіночості, поєднаної з неабияким інтелектом (не дебіли ж їдуть на ці кляті заробітки!)

¹⁶⁶ А якщо наша жінка ще й одягнеться, підкресливши апетитні контури своєї слов’янської фігури, то цього може бути досить, щоб розцінити ситуацію, як її згоду на щось більше, ніж прасування білизни.

example 4, the relationship between Oleh (a male narrator) and Ukrainian women emigrants is that of an appraiser and the appraised. These two utterances are also illustrative of the appraiser's character and patriarchal values still prevalent in Ukrainian society (consider the connotation of predatory sexuality of the phrase "appetizing silhouette"). On the surface, the explicit valuation of women emigrants based on their beauty ("a special aura of femininity") and intelligence ("extraordinary intelligence") may be interpreted positively. However, a closer look at these two sentences reveals Oleh's patriarchal views of women. Even though he praises them for being both beautiful and intelligent in the first sentence, he proceeds to hold women at fault for potential sexual advances or even rape provoked by the way they choose to dress. Essentially, such victim blaming (whatever misfortunes befall Ukrainian women emigrants abroad are their fault and not of their perpetrators) is symptomatic not only of traditional patriarchal values prevalent in Ukrainian society, but of women's position as bearers (symbols) of Ukrainian national identity. In both sentences, women are referenced by an accompanying possessive pronoun "our" which may be interpreted as men's possession of "their" (as belonging to the same nation) women. Thus, example 4 reveals valuation of Ukrainian women on physical, intellectual and symbolic levels.

The following factors differentiate aspects of affect, judgement, and appreciation. Out of the three categories, affect is explicitly subjective as it is representative of "the author's [narrator's] own emotional responses and states" (Martin et al, 2003, p. 55). Conversely, both judgement and appreciation are implicitly subjective as their values reflect certain qualities or attributes assigned to objects of evaluation and exist independently of the qualities and attributes of the subjects of evaluation. According to Martin et al (2005), judgement and appreciation should be thought of as "institutionalized feelings" (p. 58).

For the purposes of the present research, I define evaluative utterances as linguistic units of various length (words, phrases, complete sentences) containing evaluative language describing or referring to Ukrainian women emigrants and the emigration of women. Such utterances are identified from the selected excerpts and not entire novels. However, the full texts of novels inform my interpretation of separate utterances. This evaluation may be realized linguistically on lexical, morphological, grammatical, syntactical, and rhetorical levels, and through the structure of the text itself. Thus, my analysis also includes titles of novels and/or, where applicable, selected excerpts. Adopted from Martin et al, the evaluative utterances extracted from the selected excerpts are classified under the following (sub)categories:

Affect	Judgement	Appreciation
Affect (desire): +/-des	Judgment (normality): +/-norm	Appreciation (reaction): +/-reac
Affect (un/happiness): +/-hap	Judgment (capacity): +/-cap	Appreciation (composition): +/-comp
Affect (in/security): +/-sec	Judgment (tenacity): +/-ten	Appreciation (valuation): +/-val
Affect (dis/satisfaction): +/-sat	Judgment (veracity): +/-ver	
	Judgment (propriety): +/-prop	

Table 1. (Sub)categories under Appraisal Theory

Texts are coded using the following components of linguistic analysis:

<i>Appraising items</i>	<i>Appraiser</i>	<i>Affect</i>	<i>Judgment</i>	<i>Appreciation</i>	<i>Appraised</i>

Table 2. Coding components of linguistic analysis

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

2.4.4 Intertextual positioning

Novels are linguistically composed in a variety of ways to give voice to thoughts and opinions. These may be direct or indirect first or third person narrations with or without quotations. Since all tokens of evaluation will be assigned an appraiser, it may be necessary to talk about intertextual positioning and how the narrator(s) may “include, and adopt a stance towards, what they represent as the words, observations, beliefs and viewpoints of other speakers” (Martin et al, 2003, p. 70). When utterances are represented as “true or reliable or convincing” (Martin et al, 2003, p. 70), they are generally considered “endorsed,” meaning that the narrator signals direct or indirect support for what is being said. “Disendorsed” utterances are characterized by a certain distance between the narrator and the given information in which no responsibility is taken for the reliability of quoted claims. Consider the following example of a disendorsed utterance: “The defendant claimed he had no knowledge of the offshore account in his name.” In this example, the writer seems to question the defendant’s veracity and his claim of

ignorance lacks credibility. Conversely, one may assume that the narrator fully endorses the following information: “New evidence clearly demonstrated that the defendant could not have been present at the crime scene at the time of the robbery.” Along with the two extremes of endorsement and disendorsement, narrators can also take a passive neutral position.

When an appraiser, the source of utterance, is identifiable, it may be useful to consider “the nature and status of the social actor from whom/which the externally sourced statements are said to derive.” (Martin et al, 2003, p. 73). According to the developers of Appraisal Theory, “[t]he type of sourcing employed by writer/speaker can be seen as having an impact on both the textual persona they construct for themselves and on the way they position their utterances with respect to likely responses from actual or potential respondents” (Martin et al, 2003, p. 74). For instance, the writer who uses personalized social actors (specific characters) rather than unnamed and generic sources of information, signals more direct involvement with their text and the transmitted information. The social status of the source is also of value; the higher the status, the higher credibility of the source of an appraisal. Martin et al. note that the use of indirect speech in text generally implies a reduced distance between the authorial voice and the quoted one because a certain level of assimilation is required to incorporate the quoted meanings into the body of an authorial text. Actual quotes and direct speech offer a clear demarcation between the authorial voice and other sources of information (Martin et al, 2003, p. 76). Intertextual positioning is discussed if deemed necessary and/or crucial to the argument.

2.4.6 Data collection: examples of evaluative categories

In the selected texts, every linguistic level produces meaning—phonetic, morphologic, lexical, grammatical, rhetorical, and discourse. This results in a complimentary layering of textual meaning. For example, consider the following example from *Hastarbaiterky*, in which I

analyze a complete sentence: “Future *Gastarbeiter* diligently pretend to be tourists because they came to Germany holding those very tourist visas.”¹⁶⁷ However, only specific evaluative tokens are included in the table to save space and offer a better visual demonstration:

<i>Appraising items</i>	<i>Appraiser</i>	<i>Affect</i>	<i>Judgment</i>	<i>Appreciation</i>	<i>Appraised</i>
<u>diligently pretend to be</u>	Narrator		- ver		Gastarbeiter - Ukrainian
<u>came to Germany holding those very tourist visas</u>			pos - prop		labour immigrants

Table 3. Sample of a coding sheet

This example contains what appear to be two different tokens of judgement. The pretence of the appraised future labour immigrants (“diligently pretend to be”) is explicit of the true reason for the Ukrainian labour immigrants to be in Germany—illegal labour immigration. Pretending to be something one is not—in this case tourists—is read as negative veracity (“- ver”). The next highlighted phrase [“came (...) holding those very tourist visas”] provides information regarding immigrants’ legal status. Since they act appropriately, in ways that accord with their official documents, the phrase is first subcategorized as positive propriety (“+ prop”). However, considering the negative veracity of the previous phrase, those Ukrainian labour immigrants who illegally work on tourist visas have created a negative impression of all Ukrainian labour immigrants, legal or illegal.¹⁶⁸ Thus, the token is noted as a “positive - propriety.” The “positive” descriptor refers to the lexicogrammatical composition of the evaluation.

¹⁶⁷ Майбутні гастарбайтери старанно вдають із себе мандрівників, бо ж приїхали до Німеччини саме за туристичними візами.

¹⁶⁸ This is an example of provoked judgement because there is an evaluative component to the phrase “diligently pretend to be”. The very word “diligently” implies a well thought out intent.

The following sentence demonstrates tokens of both affect and judgement: “Fighting a [nervous] tremour, Halyna Serhiivna responded that everything was wonderful and they are waiting to be picked up by representatives of a tourist firm.”¹⁶⁹

<i>Appraising items</i>	<i>Appraiser</i>	<i>Affect</i>	<i>Judgment</i>	<i>Appreciation</i>	<i>Appraised</i>
<u>fighting [nervous] tremour</u> responded that <u>everything was wonderful</u>	Narrator	- sec	- ver		Halyna

Table 4. Coding sheet listing tokens of affect and judgement

In this sentence, Halyna is answering police questions and is nervous. Her nervousness may be explained by her and Maksym’s intention to work in Germany illegally or by unstated previous interactions with the police. This evaluative token is subcategorized as insecurity (“- sec”).

Halyna’s nervousness is compounded because she is lying to the officer; this may evoke either sympathy or condemnation from the reader. However, the text itself offers no clear judgement.

The phrase “everything was wonderful” is subcategorized as negative veracity (“- ver”) as it clearly contradicts the general feeling of nervousness both immigrants experience when interacting with the police. Similar to the previous example, the linguistic tokens are colour-coded based on their corresponding attitudinal categories.

¹⁶⁹ Галина Сергіївна, пересилуючи тремтіння, відповіла, що все прекрасно, вони лише чекають, допоки їх заберуть представники туристичної фірми.

Below is an example of appreciation from the same text: “Gorgeous body. She carries herself wonderfully. Sculpturally perfect legs and neck. The hands deserve special attention.”
 “Mortals do not have wrists like this.”¹⁷⁰

<i>Appraising items</i>	<i>Appraiser</i>	<i>Affect</i>	<i>Judgment</i>	<i>Appreciation</i>	<i>Appraised</i>
<u>gorgeous</u> body she carries herself <u>wonderfully</u> <u>sculpturally perfect</u> legs and neck <u>mortals do not have wrists like this</u>	Halyna’s husband			+ val	Halyna’s body

Table 5. Coding sheet listing tokens of appreciation

The four evaluative tokens contain examples of appreciation as they refer to Halyna’s appearance. Her description evokes images of a sculpture, using the descriptors “gorgeous [*facturna*]”¹⁷¹, “sculpturally,” or even goddess-like, the clear opposite of a mortal. Halyna’s body and appearance are admired by her husband, and since the appreciation tokens reference proportions and physical beauty in general, the positive valuation (“+ val”) applies to them all. While the identified evaluative tokens from each novel are presented in corresponding coding sheets in Appendices 1-5, Appendix 6 includes the identified textual excerpts to provide full context.

¹⁷⁰“Фактурна будова тіла. Прекрасна постава. Скульптурно досконалі ноги та шия. Особливу увагу привертають руки.” “Таких зап’ястків у простих смертних не буває”.

¹⁷¹ The adjective was translated as “gorgeous” to transmit the positive evaluation of Halyna’s physique. If talking about a male body, a more accurate translation would be “ripped.”

2.5 Summary

To paraphrase Thompson & Hunston (2001), no textual meaning can be fully revealed without a discussion of the writer's opinion, however ambiguous and hidden it may be. The same researchers point out that "the expression of the writer's or speaker's opinion is an important feature of language; that it needs to be accounted for in a full description of the meanings of texts; and that this is not always a straightforward matter" (Thompson & Hunston, 2001, p. 3). Apart from being "an important feature of language," opinions and how they are expressed (referred to as evaluation) represent a "communal value system," which in turn contributes to an ideology that frames and shapes texts. Thompson & Hunston (2001) thus conclude that "identifying what the writer thinks reveals the ideology of the society that has produced the text" (p. 6). Revealing that ideological colouring is of particular interest when discussing emigration, immigration, emigrants, and women emigrants in particular. Following White (2015, p. 43) in that "[a]ttitudinal meanings tend to spread and colour a phase of discourse," I deliberately included section 2.2 "The contexts of Ukrainian emigration: scholarly and literary findings" and 2.3 "Corpus description" in my research. My survey of both scholarly studies and literary texts in section 2.2 already revealed a strong correlation between the findings of migration studies in Ukraine and emigration scenarios described in the identified works of fiction. Both social studies researchers and fiction writers echo what appears to be the mainstream's negative evaluation of emigration of women. Section 2.3 offered a more detailed and focused overview of the main topics and themes raised by five different women writers. Considering that only introductory parts of no more than 15 pages¹⁷² from each of the five novels constitute data samples for the

¹⁷² The authors of Appraisal Theory present their sample analyses of any given text in its entirety and logical completeness. At the same time, to the best of my knowledge, the theory has not been applied to a larger literary work, such as a novel. In this research, Appraisal Theory will be used to analyze a text written in a language other

linguistic component of this research, the above overview provides additional context and a framework necessary to reveal further textual meanings. Together these sections provide an important framework for the present research and highlight the potential contribution of linguistic analysis of a literary text to the exploration of emigration of women from Ukraine. Appraisal theory allows the identification of the ways in which Ukrainian women emigrants and emigration are depicted in contemporary fiction. The application of Appraisal theory to analyze texts written in Ukrainian may also expand our understanding of linguistic mechanisms of evaluation in the Ukrainian language.

Chapter 3 Linguistic Analysis

In this chapter, I outline the procedure of my analysis and describe the data obtained from all five excerpts in section 3.1. In sections 3.2 to 3.6, I present the results of the linguistic analysis of each of the five excerpts separately. Section 3.7 offers a brief summary of the analysis.

3.1 Procedure of analysis and data description

After I identified the five novels constituting the corpus of the present study, I selected five self-contained, introductory excerpts from each of them. The excerpts do not exceed 15 pages and introduce the main character(s) of the novels, describing their emigration paths. I closely read every sentence of the selected five excerpts to examine whether it contained any words or phrases denoting or describing emotions in regards to women emigrants or emigration in general (affect); whether it described women emigrants' behaviour (judgement) or offered a

than English; applying it to a whole novel, however short, falls outside the scope and capacity of this research project.

general appraisal of their personalities, appearance, or character (appreciation). I listed and numbered all evaluative tokens in the column “Appraising Item” of coding sheets 1–5, Appendices 1–5. Additionally, I highlighted and cross-referenced the same tokens in the excerpts provided in Appendix 6. I colour coded evaluative tokens and assigned blue to the category of affect, green to the category of judgement, and red to the category of appreciation, marking all appraising items under the respective subcategories of un/happiness, in/security, dis/satisfaction, positive/negative desire, normality, propriety, tenacity, veracity, capacity, and valuation.¹⁷³ Each appraising item was assigned an appraiser and the appraised. An appraiser is the author of the utterance containing evaluative tokens. The appraised has been previously defined by the research question of the thesis and is the character(s) of Ukrainian women emigrants and emigration.

I followed Martin et al’s (2005) classification of emotions mentioned above to identify linguistic realizations of affect. Prior to the final categorization of evaluative tokens of affect, I determined whether depicted emotions are construed as positive or negative and whether they are caused by a trigger or signify desire. I differentiated among emotional behaviour, emotive state, emotional reaction, and one’s mental process, as well as examined if evaluative tokens were demonstrative of emotional intensity and gradation (Martin et al, 2005, pp. 47-49). For instance, various grammatical forms of the noun “tears”¹⁷⁴ were generally used in the text to describe the state of sadness or despair. Thus they were categorized as negative happiness and coded as “-hap” in tokens (24) “and tears keep welling up”,¹⁷⁵ (142) “choke back tears,”¹⁷⁶ (166) “[with] a

¹⁷³ I did not encounter any tokens of composition or reaction under the category of appreciation in the selected five excerpts.

¹⁷⁴ сльози

¹⁷⁵ а сльози щораз виступають

¹⁷⁶ ковтаючи сльози

face wet from tears,”¹⁷⁷ and (229) “[with] eyes full of tears.”¹⁷⁸ Conversely, I categorized different grammatical forms and derivatives of the verb “to laugh”¹⁷⁹ as positive happiness and coded them respectively as “+ hap” in tokens (51) “[to] laugh,”¹⁸⁰ (58) “[she] laughs,”¹⁸¹ (63) “Natalia laughs,”¹⁸² (77) “laughing,”¹⁸³ (182) “[she] smiles to a new day,”¹⁸⁴ (183) “[she] smiled,” “[he] made her laugh,”¹⁸⁵ and (189) “laughing.”¹⁸⁶ The subcategory of un/happiness also includes linguistic realizations of dualities such as love/hate and joy/sadness. Descriptors of these emotions may not necessarily be explicit; instead, they may refer to corresponding emotional states and reactions, as well as their varying intensity. For example, “Oksana sighed”¹⁸⁷ (172), “suppressing... a cry”¹⁸⁸ (158), and “not a cry, but a crazy animal wail”¹⁸⁹ (159) describe emotional reactions that differ in their intensity, but fall under the same category of unhappiness, “- hap.” Context plays an important role in the process of (sub)categorization, especially when evaluative tokens are not explicit. I subcategorized the appraising item (106) “that [there is] a hole in here—huge vacuum[-like] emptiness,”¹⁹⁰ which describes the main character’s depressed emotional state, as an evaluative token of unhappiness, “- hap” based on

177 мокрим від сліз обличчям

178 повними сліз очима

179 сміятися

180 сміється

181 Наталя сміється

182 сміючись

183 усміхається новому дню

184 посміхнулася

185 змушував її посміхатися

186 сміючись

187 Оксана охнула

188 тамуючи... крик

189 не крик, а оскаженіле тваринне виття

190 що ось тут є діра—велика вакуумна порожнеча

additional descriptions from the passage. It depicts the main character's soulless and empty existence in emigration; the passage masterfully conveys the overall state of sadness.

The subcategory of dis/satisfaction deals with the dualities of likes/dislikes, respect/disrespect, and the overall "pursuit of goals" (Martin et al, 2005, p.49) which were rather explicit in the selected excerpts. Tokens (149) "love and respect...[were] gone,"¹⁹¹ (198) "[she] even liked [it],"¹⁹² (213) "who disrespect her,"¹⁹³ (241) "with even more respect,"¹⁹⁴ and (295) "blushing with satisfaction"¹⁹⁵ contain words "[to] like," "respect," or "[to be] satisfied." During the process of the initial identification of evaluative tokens and their further categorization, I came across the phrase "I feel okay"¹⁹⁶ (204), which can be also translated as "I feel like myself." It is clear from the context that the phrase refers to the main character's emotional state rather than her health. It may be subcategorized as a token of positive satisfaction (whereas "not okay"/"unwell"/"terrible" represent the opposite, negative side of emotive pair). However, I subcategorized this phrase as a token of neutral satisfaction. First, the Ukrainian phrase contains the word "normally,"¹⁹⁷ which conveys a sense of in-betweenness, one's state that can be described as neither good nor bad. Secondly, the context of the passage containing this phrase does not provide enough detail to ascribe this evaluative token to the subcategory of either positive or negative satisfaction.

The subcategory of in/security is largely represented in the texts through words, describing a state of anxiety, worry, fear, or infrequently the opposite state of calm and content,

¹⁹¹ любов і повага... проминула

¹⁹² навіть подобалося

¹⁹³ котрі її зневажають

¹⁹⁴ зі ще більшою повагою

¹⁹⁵ рум'янцем задоволення

¹⁹⁶ почуваюсь нормально

¹⁹⁷ нормально

which is exemplified by tokens (14) “beset by worry,”¹⁹⁸ (16) “inner turmoil,”¹⁹⁹ (19) “[feeling] lost,”²⁰⁰ (30) “fear [is] intensifying,”²⁰¹ (46) “cascading worry,”²⁰² (47) “chilling anxiety,”²⁰³ (68) “confusion,”²⁰⁴ (83) “feeling confident,”²⁰⁵ and (266) “suspicion was dispelled.”²⁰⁶ Some identified evaluative tokens contain word(s) that in different contexts describe different, and even opposite emotions. For instance, in excerpt 4, the main character “sighed”²⁰⁷ (200) not out of sadness, but because she was worried that she might break one of her landlady’s numerous knickknacks while cleaning. In this case, I subcategorized token (200) as insecurity, “- sec.”

The last subcategory to be discussed under the category of affect is positive/negative desire, which is commonly represented through the use of lexical choices signaling a wish/want to do or not do something. Lexical choices identified from the selected excerpts include but are not limited to words such as “protest” (25),²⁰⁸ “resist” (13),²⁰⁹ and “want” (44),²¹⁰ (64),²¹¹ (167),²¹² (230).²¹³ Similarly, this subcategory includes references to one’s dreams and

198 тисне тривогою

199 переживання

200 розгублена

201 страхи нарастають

202 каскад тривог

203 холодна тривога

204 розгубленість

205 почуття впевненості

206 підозрілість куди й поділися

207 зітхнула

208 протестує серце

209 моє серце... пручалося неймовірно

210 хочеться... постріл

211 не хочу говорити

212 хотіла зазирнути до кімнати, де спали діти

213 кортіло перекинути всю провину

conditional utterances that convey one's desire for their circumstances to be different, as in the token (102) "[she] was dreaming"²¹⁴ and (17) "if only [she] worked...in Italy."²¹⁵

Evaluative tokens of judgement generally concern one's behaviour and its compliance with social norms, rules, and laws. The subcategory of normality includes utterances describing events, states of affairs, or one's actions as either normal and/or legal or, in case of negative normality, as unusual and/or deviant. In the context of literary depiction of migration, I subcategorized dramatic and oxymoronic descriptions of emigration in military terms as negative normality in tokens (1) "voluntary mobilization,"²¹⁶ (2) "First Ukrainian [front],"²¹⁷ (3) "Second Ukrainian [front],"²¹⁸ (4) "Third Ukrainian [front],"²¹⁹ (5),²²⁰ and (23) "[there are] more fronts than during World War Two."²²¹ Another example of negative normality includes mentions of women emigrants abandoning their children, as in tokens (6) "the guardian of the hearth herself abandoned her family,"²²² (7) "three children are growing up without a mother"²²³ or women of reproductive age not having children, as in token (283) "Because [I] never gave birth!"²²⁴ Positive normality is exemplified in tokens (52) "[spending time] more there [in Italy] than

²¹⁴ мріяла

²¹⁵ працювала б... в Італії

²¹⁶ Добровільна мобілізація

²¹⁷ Перший український [фронт]

²¹⁸ Другий український [фронт]

²¹⁹ Третій український [фронт]

²²⁰ Фронтів більше, ніж у Другу світову

²²¹ службу... добровільну

²²² берегиня сама родину покинула

²²³ троє дітей виростають без мами

²²⁴ Бо не народжувала!

here,”²²⁵ (53) “[I] have a work permit,”²²⁶ (54) “the job is not hard,”²²⁷ and (55) “[I] eat as much as I want,”²²⁸ and comments on the legal immigrant status of a secondary woman character.

In the excerpt from *Korotka istoriia*, women emigrants’ behaviour, which some may construe as inappropriate, is quoted often in reference to the main character Valentyna. The selected pages abound with vivid descriptions of the woman’s predatory and condemnable actions. For instance, I subcategorized the evaluative token of judgement (337) “Ukrainian community... did not accept her”²²⁹ as negative propriety, “- prop.” The utterance states that the Ukrainian community did not recognize Valentyna as one of their own. The following passage elaborates on the rumours that Valentyna would stop at nothing to seduce “Western men.” I collocated tokens (323)²³⁰ and (324)²³¹ within the subcategory of negative positive propriety, coded as neg + prop. Taken out of context, both phrases “she would be looking after him” (323) and “[he] would share his tiny pension with her” (324) do not immediately evoke negative judgement. On the contrary, the former utterance may be even described as positive, which I acknowledge in my coding. Nevertheless, the circumstances of Valentyna’s illegal immigration and her questionable intentions to marry the much older Mykola colour both utterances as negative judgement. The subcategory of positive propriety includes evaluative tokens referencing one’s actions/behaviour as complying with societal expectations/norms. Token (264) “the couple was [acting] shy”²³² exemplifies the emigrants’ understandable timidness in their

225 більше там, ніж тут

226 маю пермессо

227 робота неважка

228 наїдаюся досхочу

229 українська громада... її не визнала

230 вона його глядітиме

231 ділитиметься з нею крихітною пенсією

232 пара соромилася

new acquaintances' house. I assigned it to the subcategory of positive propriety because feeling/acting shy and reserved in new surroundings generally receives positive appraisal; culturally, such behaviour is more welcomed than immodesty or boldness.

The subcategory of positive/negative ability is represented linguistically mostly through the use of the verbs “can,” “[to] be able to” or phrases describing skills or talent(s) of women emigrants. Tokens (37) “[I] cannot teach and raise”²³³ and (38) “[I] could not create”²³⁴ comment on the main character's inability to continue teaching and raising a new generation of students when her own values have changed drastically. I subcategorized both appraising items as tokens of negative capacity. Positive capacity is exemplified in tokens (197) “[she] was sorting instantaneously”²³⁵ and (199) “diligently and precisely,”²³⁶ which describe the main character's quick learning of unfamiliar quotidian cleaning routines in German households. When identifying instances of capacity, I found it challenging to subcategorize definitively token (316) “as soon as [she] learns English”²³⁷ expressed through a conditional sentence and referencing the main character's inability to speak English. I assigned it to the subcategory of negative capacity as it reflects the actual state of affairs where the woman emigrant does not speak proper English at the time of the utterance, and the subcategory of positive *irrealis* capacity to transmit the conditionality of the described situation. In my opinion, both subcategorizations are valid and differ only in the perspective each of them provides.

I identified multiple linguistic realizations of negative veracity that range from punctuation to extensive descriptions of events, states of affairs, or one's behaviour signaling

²³³ не можу вчити і виховувати

²³⁴ не могла створити

²³⁵ миттєво сортувала

²³⁶ старанно і чітко

²³⁷ одразу, як вивчить англійську

discrepancies with reality. For instance, in token (85) ““Russian_{female}””²³⁸ the quotation marks around the main character’s perceived (but not her actual) ethnicity signal the negative veracity of this descriptor. Tokens (116) “hidden [and] packed suitcase”²³⁹ and (117) “[she] was packing it [suitcase] when [her] children were at school and [her] husband was asleep, locked in her room”²⁴⁰ expose the secrecy surrounding the main character’s departure, likening it to an escape. Similarly, I listed tokens (151) “she fed them soup”²⁴¹ to (157) “checked children’s weekly school progress reports”²⁴² under the same subcategory of negative veracity. These seven utterances catalog the main character’s routine the day of her departure and arguably do not contain explicit lexis of veracity, i.e., noun “lies,” verb “[to] hide,” adjective “untrue,” or adverb “secretly” to name just a few. However, I opine that the main character is intentional in her actions and consciously acts as if it were just another day in her and her family’s life. Thus, the utterances convey the deceit embedded in the woman’s actions. Interestingly, I did not encounter any tokens of positive veracity in the selected five excerpts.

The last subcategory under judgement is tenacity. It includes descriptions of women emigrants’ perseverance and determination or a lack thereof. Linguistically, tenacity is realized in the selected excerpts through modal verbs of obligation, i.e. “must” (22),²⁴³ (127),²⁴⁴ “ought to” (143),²⁴⁵ (148),²⁴⁶ “have to” (185),²⁴⁷ through future tense as in tokens (138) “will eat dry

²³⁸ “росіянка”

²³⁹ захована зібрана валіза

²⁴⁰ збирала її [валізу] коли діти були в школі, а чоловік спав, зачинившись у своїй кімнаті

²⁴¹ вона нагодувала їх супом

²⁴² перевірила дитячі щоденники

²⁴³ мушу покинути

²⁴⁴ мусить втекти, щоб дати їм [дітям] життя

²⁴⁵ треба... протриматися... нічим не виказати

²⁴⁶ треба в це вірити

²⁴⁷ довелося взяти над ним опіку

bread and drink only water,”²⁴⁸ (139) “will work like an ox,”²⁴⁹ or more descriptively as in tokens (8) “[she] manages somehow and is not [doing] too bad,”²⁵⁰ (32) “[I] try not to lie,”²⁵¹ (36) “tremendous effort,”²⁵² (42) “[I] hesitate for far too long,”²⁵³ and (48) “[I] try not to lie first of all to myself.”²⁵⁴ In the selected texts, women emigrants display tenacity most often when deciding to emigrate and leave their families behind and when overcoming various difficulties associated with emigrant labour.

The only subcategory of appreciation I encountered in the five excerpts is valuation. It concerns women emigrants’ self-worth as professionals (18) “[I] feel useless,”²⁵⁵ (33) “[I] do not believe... that anyone needs my many years of work as a teacher,”²⁵⁶ (34) “[I] do not see the fruits of that labour,”²⁵⁷ (35) “[of] a mediocre backward teacher,”²⁵⁸ (90) “translator’s instinct kicks in”²⁵⁹ and human beings in general (121) “yes, she is a sleaze bag,”²⁶⁰ (135) “feel like a sleaze bag,”²⁶¹ (254) “inferiority complex,”²⁶² (257) “think of themselves as people with the lowest intelligence.”²⁶³ A few tokens of valuation reference women emigrants’ age (243) “not a

²⁴⁸ гризтиме сухарі і питиме лише воду

²⁴⁹ працюватиме як віл

²⁵⁰ якось раду дає, і непогано

²⁵¹ намагаюся не брехати

²⁵² страшних зусиль

²⁵³ надто довго вагаюся

²⁵⁴ намагаюся не брехати насамперед сама собі

²⁵⁵ почуваюся непотрібною

²⁵⁶ не вірю... що моя багаторічна робота вчителя комусь потрібна

²⁵⁷ не бачу плодів тієї праці

²⁵⁸ пересічної провінціальної вчительки

²⁵⁹ перекладацький інстинкт спрацьовує

²⁶⁰ так, вона—найостанніша тварюка

²⁶¹ почуватися останньою тварюкою

²⁶² комплексу меншовартості

²⁶³ думати про себе як про людей із наднизькими розумовими здібностями

young Ukrainian_{female},²⁶⁴ (281) “she is not as young as she seemed yesterday,”²⁶⁵ (282) “[you] look much younger.”²⁶⁶ I identified most examples of valuation commenting on woman emigrant’s appearance in the excerpt from *Korotka istoriia*. Tokens (296) “[a] dashing blonde from Ukraine,”²⁶⁷ (300) “[a] fluffy pink grenade,”²⁶⁸ (301) “rather resembles Venus”²⁶⁹(305) — “voluptuous breasts,”²⁷⁰ (307) “she is beautiful,”²⁷¹ (320) “[Mykola] caresses her superior Botticellian breasts,”²⁷² (336) “beautiful woman,”²⁷³ and (340) “[with] a beautiful woman beside [him]”²⁷⁴ portray the main character as a beautiful curvaceous woman with a wealth of hair and pretty eyes. Tokens (313) “[an] educated woman,”²⁷⁵ (326) “[a] cultured woman,”²⁷⁶ (327) “not some talkative peasant_{female},”²⁷⁷ (335) “delicate in nature,”²⁷⁸ (338) “modern, emancipated woman”²⁷⁹ expand the character’s description by referencing her education, erudition, and overall level of personal growth. It should be noted that not all of the above listed tokens of valuation are positive; however, they will be discussed in more detail in section 3.6.

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

-
- 264 не молодій українці
 265 не така вже вона молода, як здалося вчора
 266 виглядає значно молодше
 267 ефектну блондинку з України
 268 пухнаста рожева граната
 269 більше схожа на Венеру
 270 пишні перса
 271 вона прекрасна
 272 пестить її бездоганні боттічелівські перса
 273 гарну жінку
 274 красивою жінкою поруч
 275 освічена жінка
 276 культурна жінка
 277 не якась там балакуча селянка
 278 делікатної натури
 279 сучасна, емансипована жінка

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

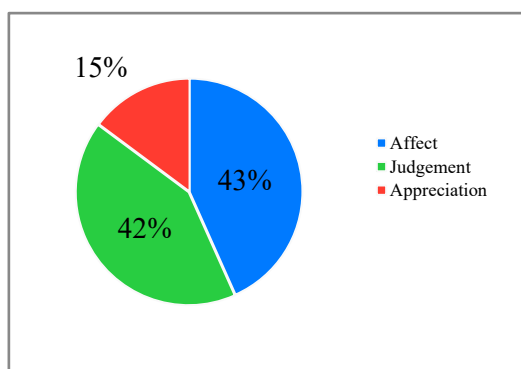


Figure 1. Distribution of evaluative tokens among the three categories of attitude (based on the data from the five excerpts)

The categories of affect and judgement are the most numerous with 43% and 42% of all tokens respectively. This signifies that the selected five introductory excerpts mostly contain linguistic realizations of emotions and judgement utterances. However, the distribution varies for each individual excerpt reflecting each author's individual style and the tone of the excerpt. For instance, in the excerpt from *Usi dorohy*, I identified 30 tokens of affect (39%), 37 tokens of judgement (49%), and only nine tokens of appreciation (12%):

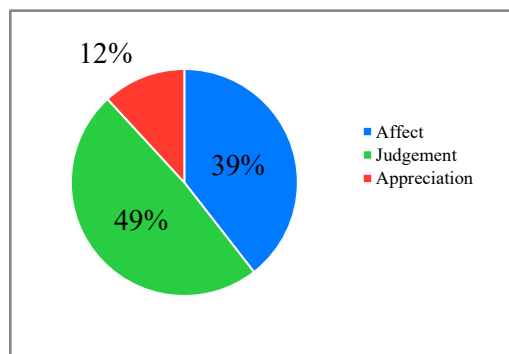


Figure 2. Distribution of evaluative tokens among the three categories of attitude (based on the data from *Usi dorohy* excerpt)

In the excerpt from *Shliub*, the categories of affect and judgement each contain 12 (43% each) evaluative tokens, whereas the category of appreciation lists only four tokens (14%):

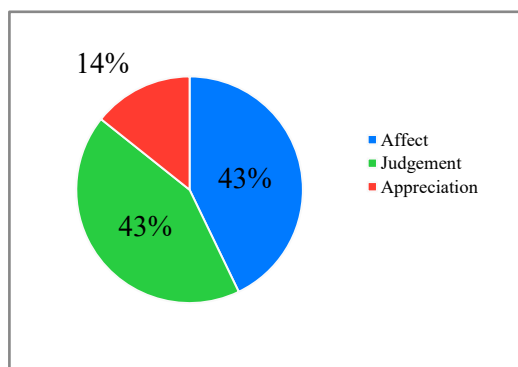


Figure 3. Distribution of evaluative tokens among the three categories of attitude (based on the data from *Shliub* excerpt)

Evaluative tokens proved to be the most prolific in the excerpt from *Ia znaiu*, yielding 57 tokens of affect (49%), 54 tokens of judgement (46%), and six tokens of appreciation (5%):

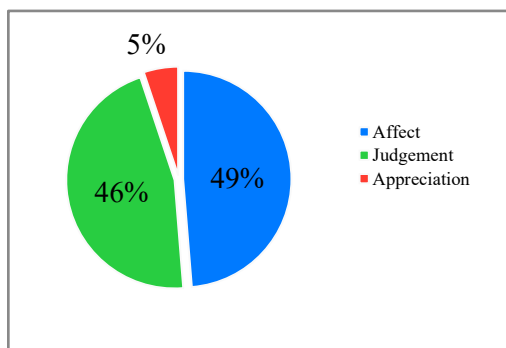


Figure 4. Distribution of evaluative tokens among the three categories of attitude (based on the data from *Ia znaiu* excerpt)

The excerpt from [*Hastarbaiterky*] employed more tokens of affect than the other two categories combined, listing 48 tokens of affect (62%), 16 tokens of judgement (21%), and 13 tokens of appreciation (17%):

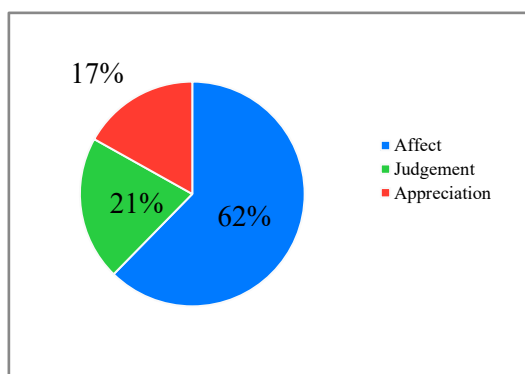


Figure 5. Distribution of evaluative tokens among the three categories of attitude (based on the data from *Hastarbaiterky* excerpt)

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

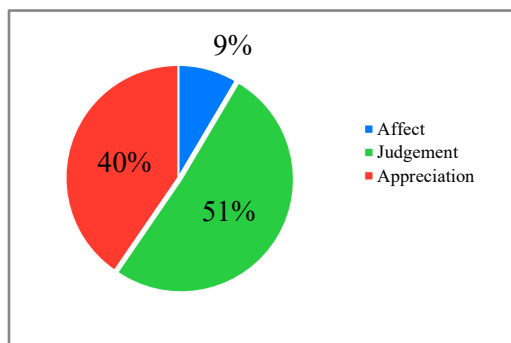


Figure 6. Distribution of evaluative tokens among the three categories of attitude (based on the data from *Korotka istoriia* excerpt)

The above presented charts 2 through 6 demonstrate that the excerpts from novels *Usi dorohy*, *Shliu*, and *Ia znai* equally rely on linguistic realizations of emotion and judgement utterances when describing Ukrainian women emigrants and emigration. These excerpts demonstrate a similar trend of almost even distribution of evaluative tokens between affect and judgement categories. Interestingly, each of the three excerpts yielded fewer than 10 evaluative tokens of appreciation. The excerpt from *Ia znai* boasts the highest number of linguistic realizations of emotions (57 tokens) and judgement utterances (54 tokens). It is followed by the excerpt from *Hastarbaiterky* which contains 48 evaluative tokens of affect and the excerpt from *Usi dorohy* which contains 37 evaluative tokens of judgement. The excerpt from *Korotka istoriia*

stands out among the five as it employs more evaluative tokens of appreciation than any other excerpt (19 tokens). It is worth noting that I did not observe any correlation between the length of any individual excerpt and the number of identified evaluative tokens. I analyze data obtained from individual excerpts in more detail in the sections below.

3.2 Linguistic analysis of the excerpt from *Usi dorohy vedut' do Rymu* (2004)

The selected excerpt from *Usi dorohy* (pages six to 14) introduces Liudmyla and provides details regarding both her decision to emigrate and the first days of her travel and life abroad. It also mentions several secondary women characters and offers a number of evaluative statements regarding Ukrainian emigration as a social phenomenon. These seven pages yielded a total of 74 appraising items; however, two of them were placed under two subcategories thus yielding 76 subcategorized evaluative tokens. Chart 2 above demonstrates that the category of judgement is the most numerous listing 49% of all tokens. Tokens of judgement are distributed among the subcategories of normality (15 tokens), propriety (10 tokens), tenacity (seven tokens), capacity (four tokens), and veracity (one token). Evaluative tokens of affect constitute 39% of evaluative data collected from this excerpt and represent the subcategories of un/happiness (16 tokens), insecurity (nine tokens), and desire (five tokens). Interestingly, this excerpt did not yield any utterances that could be subcategorized as security, “+ sec.” The category of appreciation lists only nine tokens, out of which seven are of negative valuation, one represents negative positive valuation, “neg + val” (12) “saving emigrant labour”²⁸⁰ and one represents positive negative valuation, “pos - val” (65) “weird_{female}”^{281, 282}.

²⁸⁰ рятівних заробітків

²⁸¹ неправильна

²⁸² All identified tokens are listed in Coding sheet 1 in Appendix 1 and cross-referenced in the first excerpt in Appendix 6.

A closer look at the evaluative lexis employed in this excerpt reveals that the evaluation of Ukrainian women emigrants is broadly achieved through lexical means and consists of what Zhovtobriukh (1982) identified as “words whose lexical meaning signifies feelings and emotions” (“anxiety,” “tears,” “feeling of happiness”),²⁸³ and “words suggesting emotional evaluation” (“jealous,” “not needed,” “crushed”).²⁸⁴ The narrator’s emotional state is anxious and increasingly fearful. Her self-deprecating comments and fear of not emigrating reflect her negative emotions, which are usually expressed in tears, or in one instance laughter. In the text, the chosen nouns do not convey much emotional variation. Rather, this variation is established by the use of many and varied adjectives. For instance, Liudmyla’s occupation is described as a “backward teacher,” literally a “provincial teacher.”²⁸⁵ The phrase commonly creates an association with less competent educators teaching students in villages and smaller towns. The novel’s introduction also contains a few examples of the concept of inherent evaluation, described by Nagel (2008): the words “hater” and “weirdo”²⁸⁶ are examples of people’s inner qualities and behaviours.

At the syntactic level, the title of the first novel, *Usi dorohy vedut 'do Rymu*, also bears scrutiny. Following Nagel’s (2008) observations regarding evaluation expressed through the structure of the text, the novel’s title has a double meaning and mirrors the general tone of the narration. First, it names Rome as a common place of emigration. Second, the novel’s title is an idiom signifying the inevitability of a certain outcome. This adds a rather tragic tone to the novel’s mood. For Liudmyla, emigration was not a panacea for her financial problems; her life in

283 “тривогою”, “сльози”, “відчуття щастя”

284 “жовчною”, “непотрібною”, “розтоптана”

285 “провінціальної вчительки”

286 “зздрісницею”, “дивачкою”

Ukraine faced similar financial stress as it did in Italy. The excerpt also contained syntactic evaluative expressions such as repetition (“First Ukrainian [front],” “Second Ukrainian [front],” “Third Ukrainian [front]”),²⁸⁷ inversion (“the guardian of the hearth herself the family left,”²⁸⁸ instead of a more typical “the guardian of the hearth herself left the family”),²⁸⁹ exclamatory sentences (“The stupid heart of mine from the very beginning resisted fiercely!”),²⁹⁰ rhetorical questions (“Who needs this?”),²⁹¹ modality (“Maybe I started opening the barrel with money on the wrong side?”),²⁹² and others. The latter example combines both inversion and modality in a rhetorical question.

The introductory chapter paints a somber picture of Ukrainian emigration. The main motifs are those of negative affect, reflective of unhappiness and insecurity, and negative judgement, which focuses on societal norms and their re-evaluation regarding emigration. From the opening paragraphs, emigration is compared to voluntary military mobilization. This is clearly oxymoronic as “mobilization” normally implies the presence of an organizing body, the state, and not something that people do voluntarily. The description includes explicit military lexis. For example, Ukrainian emigrants engage in “[military] service,” on typical “fronts,” or emigrant destinations, such as Poland, Italy and Spain. The author hyperbolically claims that there are more emigration fronts than battle fronts in World War Two, explicitly comparing emigration to the tragedy of war. The use of military terminology to describe peacetime emigration implies emigration’s abnormality. Interestingly, the narration also includes a scene of

²⁸⁷ “перший український [фронт]”, “другий український [фронт]”, “третій український [фронт]”

²⁸⁸ “берегиня сама родину покинула”

²⁸⁹ “берегиня сама покинула родину”

²⁹⁰ “Дурне моє серце від початку задуманого пручалося неймовірно!”

²⁹¹ “Кому це потрібно?”

²⁹² “Можливо, я не з того боку взялася відкривати діжку з грошима?”

actual military conscription. In it, a young conscript voices the popular belief that emigration may solve many of Ukraine's problems as Ukrainian labour emigrants generally earn more than their compatriots at home. Those familiar with a Ukrainian context know that one can bribe their way out of compulsory military service; though illegal, this practice is normal in modern Ukraine. Indeed, the young conscript wishes that he had an emigrant mother, like his friend Vlodko, so that he too could be saved from service. In the context of the novel, the conscription episode inverts the traditional gender role of a protector, a soldier. By referencing emigration of women, it implies that mothers are now expected to leave the country and "protect" their sons from service. The military tokens (1) — (5) and (23) provoke negative judgements of normality when it comes to social norms and gender expectations. They also create a highly emotional, negative evaluation of emigration of women as an abnormal, "war in peace" phenomenon.

Negative judgements concern not only Ukrainian emigration but also Ukrainian women emigrants. In one instance, a woman is referred to as "a guardian of the hearth"²⁹³ who abandoned her home and three children. In this example, a typically positive, sacred title acquires a negative, sarcastic tone. Thus, token (6) is a negative judgement of normality as it is contrary to the very nature of a guardian to abandon their charges. A similarly negative evaluation applies to the narrator. Her emigration results in a series of actions that characterize her as a bad mother, wife, and daughter. She has transgressed gender roles and is the object of derision: as exemplified in tokens (26) "leave her little sons," (27) "become a widow with a living husband," and (28) "abandon... home, parents."²⁹⁴ The negative evaluation comes in the form of a rhetorical question to the narrator and appears to be self-inflicted. It implies that

²⁹³ Берегиня

²⁹⁴ "покинути синочків", "овдовіти при живому чоловікові", "залишити... дім, батьків"

emigration does not necessarily question gender roles; rather, it goes against a woman's very nature.

The above-mentioned description of Ukrainian women as “guardian[s] of the hearth” [*Berehyni*] merits further discussion. Kis' (2006) explains that the image of *Berehynia* stems from the idea of sacred motherhood and is typical of patriarchal discourse that equates women's reproductive functions to their natural calling and describes women's nature as intrinsically nurturing and caring (p. 6). The image of “Mother Ukraine” became romanticized in the country after the collapse of the Soviet Union as part of its nation-building project. Subjugating women's interests to those of the nation and state, the image of *Berehynia* personifies the Ukrainian nation and demands motherly dedication from all Ukrainian women not only to their immediate families, but to the Ukrainian nation itself (Kis', 2006, pp.6-7). Pokul' (2016) observes that the patriarchal image of *Berehynia* symbolizes woman's traditional weakness, which predetermines her childrearing and housekeeping functions (p. 133). Solari (2017) attributes the “revival” of *Berehynia* to “the rise of neofamilism in post-colonial Ukraine” and defines it as “a symbol of ethnically pure, family-centred, Ukrainian womanhood” (Solari, 2017, p. 29). Naturally, women's emigration undermines this ideal image of the Ukrainian women and motherhood, thus threatening the very nation, the essence of Ukrainianness. Since *Berehynia* “is credited with preserving the Ukrainian language and national identity” (Solari, 2017, p. 36), the departure of Ukrainian women endangers the existence of those important national attributes and thus the new state itself. Evaluative tokens (6), (26), (27), and (28) reveal that Ukrainian women-emigrants depicted in this excerpt internalized the gendered values represented by the image of *Berehynia*. Logically, a women's decision to emigrate provokes an unresolved inner conflict between the idealized role of “homebound” *Berehyni* (plural for *Berehynia*), keepers of their nation, and the

actual need to provide for their families. Multiple mentions of guilt, confusion, and self-disparagement encountered in the text exemplify these conflicted feelings.

The evaluation of affect collocates mainly with the category of un/happiness and in/security. The narrator personifies her heart and soul: “heart... was crying out loud,”²⁹⁵ “soul is crying.”²⁹⁶ “Anxiety” is mentioned four times in the excerpt and is described as “cold,” “cascading,” and “heavy.” Sadness is expressed by the past tense of the verb “to cry,” the noun “tears,” and an idiom translated as to “choke back tears.”²⁹⁷ The negative mood is amplified by allusions to death in the following comparisons: in token (15) “as if I agreed to lay in a casket alive and let them bury me,”²⁹⁸ and (44) “I want a sudden gunshot to end it all.”²⁹⁹ These multiple mentions of anxiety and fear along with philosophical speculation about her self-worth as a teacher, mother, wife, and daughter, signal to the reader that the decision to emigrate is difficult. For Liudmyla, it is both an antidote to her physical and mental decay and a testament to her failure. She refuses to turn into a bitter envious woman; she does not want to end up on the street, homeless, and mentally ill. At the same time, Liudmyla hesitates to leave, judging her own tenacity and capacity respectively in token (42) “I hesitate for far too long” and token (45) “for far too long, I couldn’t muster the courage.”³⁰⁰ Two of the three examples of appreciation directed at Liudmyla are self-deprecating comments regarding her professional (un)fulfillment: “I feel not needed” (18) and “a mediocre backward teacher”³⁰¹ (35).

²⁹⁵ This evaluative token is not included in the table as it does not refer to the identified appraised items of emigration and female emigrants. It is mentioned here to demonstrate the subjectification of the narrator’s heart.

²⁹⁶ “[серце] тисне тривогою”, “серце... плакало-ридало”, “плаче душа”

²⁹⁷ “ковтаю грудку за грудкою”

²⁹⁸ “ніби погодилася живою лягти в труну і дати загреbti себе землею”

²⁹⁹ “і хочеться, щоб раптовий постріл усе зупинив”

³⁰⁰ “надто довго вагаюсь”, “надто довго не могла відважитись”

³⁰¹ “почуваюся непотрібною”, “пересічної провінціальної вчительки”

Upon closer examination, however, the seemingly negative, diminishing descriptions of Liudmyla as a professional add to the overall perception of her as a moral, decent human and ultimately provoke empathy from the reader.³⁰² Admitting that her honesty and values do not allow her to provide for her and her family, she differentiates between integrity and wealth. It appears that for Liudmyla these are mutually exclusive and that one cannot possibly be financially successful without sacrificing one's honour. As a result, she concludes that she cannot teach traditional values to children because she chose to emigrate for financial reasons (noted in token (37)). However flawed, this logic is consistent with the earlier mentioned tension between emigration and the successful fulfillment of traditional woman's roles as prescribed by Ukrainian political elite and policymakers.

Liudmyla's character is also juxtaposed to Natalia, a more experienced emigrant she meets on the bus to Italy. Unlike Liudmyla, who is filled with anxiety, fear, and sadness, Natalia laughs and gaily talks about her emigration experiences as exemplified in tokens (51) and (58). The only two unambiguously positive evaluations of affect are attributed to her. Since Natalia is legally working as a caregiver, her evaluation of emigration is not as pessimistic as the narrator's. As an appraiser, she delivers positive judgements of her labour experience abroad in tokens (53) "I have a [work] permit," (54) "the job is not hard," and (55) "I eat as much as I want."³⁰³ However, regarding Natalia's work ethic, her evaluation falls under negative judgement. She shares a story of when she bought poor quality meat for her employer at a pet store rather than at a grocery store in order to save money. The bus driver's comment implies that she pockets the price difference thus delivering a judgement of negative propriety [see

³⁰² See excerpt 1 in Appendix 6.

³⁰³ "маю пермессо", "робота неважка", "наїдаюся досхочу"

tokens (60), (61), and (62)]. Natalia seems to be neither ashamed or remorseful about her actions, nor does she deny the driver's allegations. In Natalia's opinion, it is Liudmyla who is "weird"³⁰⁴ [see token (65)] for feeling badly about emigrating. Though morphologically negative, this example of appreciation adds to Liudmyla's overall positive depiction. Natalia's character is depicted as an unreliable and untrustworthy source of appraisal, thus her characterization of Liudmyla as weird may be questioned. Additionally, it clearly shows that the two characters are polar opposites when it comes to matters of ethics and morality.

The novel starts with martial descriptions of emigration, implying that war and emigration have similar effects on families. Interestingly, the state's role in an individual's decision to seek employment abroad is not explicit; rather, it is implied by a few mentions of low wages and financial hardships. This is consistent with the academic studies that usually describe only legal labour emigration positively. Prospects of illegal emigration, on the other hand, are associated with the understandable feeling of worry and fear of the unknown. The first seven pages of the novel abound in negative judgements of women emigrants, both future and present. Mostly self-inflicted, women emigrants harbour deeply internalized guilt for abandoning their families. In this excerpt, sarcasm, realized by the use of oxymorons, intentional exaggerations, and hyperbole, plays an important part in the overall evaluation of women emigrants. Emotional evaluations are also expressed by personifications and intensified with colourful comparisons. The two most common evaluations of affect transmit overwhelming feelings of fear, insecurity, sadness, and unhappiness. Positive judgements of Liudmyla are constructed in two ways: by downplaying conventionally understood positive characteristics and by her comparisons to other more experienced women emigrants.

³⁰⁴ "неправильна"

3.3 Linguistic analysis of the excerpt from *Shliub iz kukhlem Pil'zens'koho pyva* (2007)

This excerpt comprises pages seven through 21. In it, the author depicts the main character's, Mariana's, latest stay in Germany, her routine as a temporary worker in Germany, as well as her views on both Ukrainian realities of the 1990's and life abroad. Based on my analysis, I identified 28 tokens from this excerpt, with 12 tokens each for the categories of affect and judgement, and only four tokens for the category of appreciation. Nine of the 12 evaluative tokens of affect belong to the subcategory of happiness, "+hap," and only one token is coded as negative positive happiness, "neg +hap" (100). The subcategories of security, "+sec," and positive desire, "+des," each contain one token— (83) and (102) respectively. The evaluative tokens of judgement are split among positive propriety, "+prop" (five tokens), positive negative propriety, "pos -prop" (three tokens), and negative propriety, "-prop" (two tokens). The subcategory of positive normality lists tokens (80) and (94), whereas negative veracity contains only one token (85). I placed tokens (75), (86), and (90) under the subcategory of positive valuation, "+val" and subcategorized token (76) as neutral valuation, "neut val." The coding sheet listing the evaluative tokens identified on pages 7–21 is presented in Appendix 2.

While the collected linguistic data regarding the depiction of women emigrants and emigration from Ukraine is not as numerous as in the previous text,³⁰⁵ the excerpt focuses on a different type of emigration of women—short-term and professional. Additionally, the text is interesting from the linguistic perspective as it employs three languages—Ukrainian (the main body of the text), Russian (ascribed to some secondary characters for stylistic purposes and

³⁰⁵ The excerpt from this novel yielded fewer tokens of evaluation (24 compared to 74 from the first excerpt discussed in this chapter).

representative of the linguistic situation in Dnipropetrovs'k region), and German (largely used for geographic and cultural references).

Regardless of the sample size, the linguistic realizations of evaluation appear to be consistent with those identified in the previously discussed text *Usi dorohy*. No suffixation was identified in achieving emotional colouring. Most linguistic tokens are representative of the main character's/narrator's emotional state and represent the lexical level of evaluation: "happy in the morning" (78), "a feeling of confidence" (83), "joy is bubbling up" (84),³⁰⁶ which may be translated as "joy thrilled [her heart]." The excerpt contains fewer examples of externally expressed emotions: "smile at the new day" (77) and "life is beautiful" (82).³⁰⁷ Subjective comments on her inner qualities and behaviour voiced by the narrator sometimes include negative evaluations. These evaluations varied depending on the appraiser, but focused exclusively on Mariana's (non)spending. The lexical units describing Mariana as both "stingy" and a spendthrift are given meaning based on the appraiser's attitude towards her. Syntactic expressions of evaluation (Tkachuk 2002) included sentences with modal framing ("[you] could see a woman wearing a dark-blue top with a golden bear cub"³⁰⁸), addresses ("your humble servant"³⁰⁹, though in this case "your humble narrator" would be a more appropriate translation); inversions ("With each sip of coffee the feeling of confidence is filling my body"³¹⁰ instead of

³⁰⁶ щаслива уранці, почуття впевненості, радість нуртує

³⁰⁷ усміхається новому дню, життя прекрасне

³⁰⁸ могли б побачити жінку у темно-синьому топіку з золотим ведмежатком

³⁰⁹ ваша покїрна слуга

³¹⁰ З кожним наступним ковтком кави почуття впевненості наповнює моє тіло

“The feeling of confidence is filling my body with each sip of coffee”³¹¹); exclamatory sentences (“Oh, if they studied it [language] well at school, I wouldn’t be here!”³¹²).

The title of the novel, *Shliub iz kukhlem Pil’zens’koho pyva*, hints at the spousal emigration that became central to the narration. Additionally, the introduction contains Mariana’s view on beer drinking in Germany and how it reflects the nation’s cultural peculiarities. The title thus alludes not only to the occupation of Mariana’s future spouse (Andreas is a bar owner), but covers a broader notion of assimilation, which in her case was unsuccessful.

The mood of this introductory excerpt contrasts sharply with the previous one. Most evaluations found in it are explicitly happy: “smiles to the new day” (77),³¹³ “happy in the morning” (78),³¹⁴ and “life is beautiful” (82).³¹⁵ Mariana describes herself as someone who could be mistaken for a tourist from Eastern Europe, noted in token (85) ““a Russian_{female}.””³¹⁶ This identification does not seem to bother her at this point of the narration. She also does not worry about nostalgia. Mariana considers her foreign trips a vacation, a break from Ukrainian post-Soviet realities. Moreover, she openly expresses gratitude for the confluence of circumstances that made her trip to Germany possible, for example, sick colleagues, her employer’s decision to pay for some patients’ medical treatment abroad, and patients not speaking German, thus requiring a translator.

³¹¹ Почуття впевненості наповнює моє тіло з кожним наступним ковтком кави

³¹² О, якби вони добре вивчали її в школі, мене б тут не було!

³¹³ усміхається новому дню

³¹⁴ щаслива уранці

³¹⁵ життя прекрасне

³¹⁶ “росіянка”

The excerpt contains an evaluation of Mariana both as a professional and as a woman. The selected 13 pages offer no insight into her marital or family status. Rather, her appearance and professionalism are positively appreciated by the narrator in tokens (75) “with brown wealth of hair,”³¹⁷ and (93) “I respond tactfully.”³¹⁸ The reference to Mariana’s hair was positively classified based on traditional cultural norms of beauty in Ukraine. However, Mariana’s self-described “dreamy”³¹⁹ (76) eyes reference calls for a neutral appreciation.

Three characters predominantly voice explicit judgements of Mariana: Liudka and Volodymyr, two patients in the German clinic, and the accompanying doctor Nikolai Kaluhin.³²⁰ As Liudka is an addict with physical and mental instabilities, her negative evaluations of Mariana may not be perceived as serious or trustworthy: “can’t you spare some marks?”³²¹ (87) and “you’re stingy”³²² (89). However, as Liudka requests that Mariana buys her medically unapproved pharmaceuticals, Mariana’s refusal to do so can be read as professional. Subcategorizing the above given tokens as “positive -judgement of propriety” reflects on both the negative connotation of the lexical choices and the overall positive evaluation of Mariana’s character. Contrastingly, the doctor considers Mariana a spendthrift, who indulges in excessive shopping and unnecessary gluttony as exemplified by token (95) “you’ll eat away all your allowance.”³²³ In the previous excerpt, Liudmyla’s character is juxtaposed to Natalia; here Mariana’s character is compared to Doctor Kaluhin’s. Unlike Nikolai, Mariana enjoys trying new food and buying clothes. She does not squirrel away her *per diem* by eating breakfast

³¹⁷ з пишною копицею каштанового волосся

³¹⁸ дипломатично відповідаю

³¹⁹ задумливими [очима]

³²⁰ The character bears Russian name in the original text.

³²¹ жалко тебе марок?

³²² ты жадная

³²³ проешь свои суточные

leftovers and preserves brought from Ukraine. She firmly believes that drinking beer in a German bar, for example, is a way to experience German culture firsthand.

It is worth mentioning that this excerpt is also defined by the evaluative potential of the languages used in it. The narration switches among Ukrainian, German (mostly in reference to geographical locations and foreign doctors), English (a few internationalisms), and Russian. Mariana is the only character who consistently speaks Ukrainian, unlike the Russian-speaking Doctor and Liudka. Mariana, born in Central Ukraine, knows both Russian and Ukrainian; the ease with which she speaks Ukrainian and understands Russia accurately reflects the linguistic abilities of someone from that part of the country. Mariana's linguistic choices reflect her identity as a Ukrainian first and foremost, which may foreshadow her eventual decision to return home.

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

3.4 Linguistic analysis of the excerpt from *Ia znaiu, shcho ty znaiesh, shcho ia znaiu* (2011)

In line with the earlier discussed criteria, I included the story titled "*Oksana. 'Hutsulka Ksenia'*" into my linguistic corpus, representing the novel *Ia znaiu*. Pages 59 through 76 focus exclusively on the story of Oksana, a woman emigrant from Ukraine and describe her decision to

emigrate, her days prior to emigration, the night of her departure, her experiences abroad, and her tragic death. This third-person narration abounds in colourful descriptions of Oksana's emotional state before, during and after emigration; it paints a somber picture of an unhappy marriage, inability to provide for children, and a lack of support from her spouse.

In this excerpt, I identified a total of 117 evaluative tokens. The categories of affect and judgement contain 57 and 54 evaluative tokens respectively, and the category of appreciation lists only six tokens. Affect is represented by 46 tokens of un/happiness, six tokens of insecurity, four tokens of dis/satisfaction, and one token of positive desire. Within the category of judgement, 18 tokens belong to negative veracity, 13 tokens—to propriety, 11 tokens—to tenacity, nine tokens—to capacity, and only three tokens—to normality. Appreciation lists five tokens of negative and one token of positive valuation.

The evaluative lexis found in this excerpt is comparable to the two analyzed above. The words with emotional lexical meanings and those suggestive of an emotional evaluation prevail in the data. The only two examples of emotional colouring delivered via suffixation were found in the references to the narrator herself and her pain. The word translated as “a piece of iron”³²⁴ from token (176) contains the emotionally evaluative suffix—*iak* [як]. The evaluative token reflects the narrator's inner quality, which in this case is characterized by her lack of emotional response, coldness, and what may be perceived as selfishness. Following Boiko's (2009) outline of the emotional gradation of suffixes in the Ukrainian language, this example represents disrespect. The second example of evaluation achieved through suffixation is exemplified in token (109) and may be translated as “a small lantern of pain” or alternatively as “a

³²⁴ залізякою

flashlight_{diminutive suffix} of pain”³²⁵ (or figuratively “flickering candle of pain”). Based on the context and previous mentions of Oksana’s pain, one can safely assume that this descriptor refers to the feeling’s ever-changing intensity and falls under Boiko’s (2009) category of parameter evaluative suffixes rather than emotionally evaluative suffixes.

The lexical representations of emotions in this fragment are defined by the narrator’s emotional states: most times she is “worried sick” (103)³²⁶ (literally translated as “[her] soul was not in”), rarer she is “calm_{feminine},” (141)³²⁷ and often she acts “nervously” (162).³²⁸ The development of Oksana’s emotional state occurs throughout the whole story and culminates with her self-description in token (160) as nothing but “a bloody biomass of pain.”³²⁹ External expressions of emotions are frequent and refer to tears, screams, clenched teeth, and rare smiles. Interestingly, the text is silent on Oksana’s appearance. This lack of detail may be an attempt to universalize Oksana’s story and experiences. The syntactic level of evaluative expression contains multiple rhetorical questions: “and how does one live without a soul...?”³³⁰ “how did she dare to leave?”³³¹ and “will she actually go through with this?”³³² It also contains parallelisms, for example “yes, she’s running away...yes, she’s leaving [her] children...yes, she’s a sleaze bag...yes, they will judge her.”³³³ Other markers of evaluation found in the syntax of the text are exclamatory sentences, ellipsis, sentences with modal framing, and phraseological units.

³²⁵ ліхтариком болю

³²⁶ душа була не на місці

³²⁷ спокійна

³²⁸ нервово

³²⁹ криваву біомасу болю

³³⁰ а як жити без душі

³³¹ як вона наважилась на від’їзд?

³³² невже вона це зробить?

³³³ так, вона тікає... так, вона залишає дітей... так, вона - найостанніша тварюка... так, її осудять

Apart from the main title of the novel *Ia znaiu, shcho ty znaiesh, shcho ia znaiu*, each separate story has a title of its own. The title of the novel signifies the earlier discussed theme of pretence, lies and performance developed in individual stories. All of Frau Shultse's immigrant tenants have secrets; however, none of the immigrants are good at hiding those from the landlady and other neighbours. The selected excerpt shares a title with a Ukrainian song "*Hutsul*_{female} *Ksenia*."³³⁴ The song lyrics tell of a short-lived love story, which find resonance in Oksana's relationship with her husband. The Etymological Dictionary of the Ukrainian Language (1982) lists several possible explanations of the origin of the word "*hutsul(ka)*." One of them suggests that the noun is related to the verb "*kochuvaty*"— "lead a nomad's life" or "migrate."³³⁵ Oksana's flight from Ukraine and plans to immigrate to Israel further connect the song to the title. Even though Oksana is reticent to share details of her life, her story is not unique in the emigration discourse. The untold does not necessarily mean the unknown.

The evaluative tokens identified in this excerpt resemble the linguistic data collected from the first excerpt from *Usi dorohy*. To compare, the narrator in the first excerpt often refers to anxiety, a crying soul and an aching heart. The excerpt from *Ia znaiu* employs the notion of "soulless" existence and pain that "turns on" as if connected to a light switch, which is demonstrated in tokens (104) "the soul is not coming back,"³³⁶ (105) "how does one live without a soul...?"³³⁷ (110) "the soul has flown away,"³³⁸ (111) "the pain resurfaces and disappears suddenly,"³³⁹ (113) "agonizing, lasting, piercing pain was filling her chest,"³⁴⁰ and (114) "it

³³⁴ Ksenia is a nickname for Oksana.

³³⁵ Boldyriev, R. V. *Etymolohichnyi Slovnyk Ukrainiis'koi Movy: u 7 Tomakh*. Vol. 1, Naukova Dumka, 1982, p. 630.

³³⁶ душа не повертається

³³⁷ а як жити без душі...?

³³⁸ вилетіла душа

³³⁹ біль зринає і зникає раптово

³⁴⁰ млосний, довгий, пронизливий біль наповнював груди

[memory] turns on the pain.”³⁴¹ Oksana’s soul is described as an entity with a will of its own. It is not personified per se, but represents that essential substance that makes one human.

Interestingly, Oksana does not assume responsibility for losing her soul. It is recounted as a mere fact of her existence. Both excerpts contain allusions to madness and self-destruction that would consume the women if they decide not to emigrate. Liudmyla believes she will “become an annoying weirdo,”³⁴² “end up in an asylum,”³⁴³ and “become homeless.”³⁴⁴ Oksana, in turn, is convinced she will “go mad from despair and chronic exhaustion.”³⁴⁵ Both characters describe their decision to abandon their families as a desperate measure. However, Liudmyla appears to be worried about leaving her life behind. In her own words, she is abandoning her children, husband, and parents, undermining her traditional gender role. Oksana’s departure is described as an escape, employing the verb “to run away” and intensified through its repetition in tokens (119) “yes, she is running away,”³⁴⁶ (147) “Run away. Run away. Run away.”³⁴⁷

In my opinion, the narrator in the excerpt from *Usi dorohy* successfully leads readers to empathize with Liudmyla. Oksana’s story, however, does not elicit as much empathy from readers, in part due to the “run away” references. Falling out of love with a partner, physical exhaustion, and low-grade anxiety may indeed generate empathy in readers. However, readers are left in a state of moral ambiguity as Oksana emigrates without telling her family her true motives. Oksana’s relationship with a young Turk, mentioned almost in passing, could impugn her moral virtue in the eyes of the readers.

³⁴¹ вона вмикає біль

³⁴² стану надокучливою дивачкою

³⁴³ потраплю до божевільні

³⁴⁴ забомжую

³⁴⁵ збожеволіє від відчаю і хронічної втоми

³⁴⁶ так, вона тікає

³⁴⁷ Тікати. Тікати. Тікати.

Revolving around feelings of sadness and emptiness, this excerpt's affect is primarily negative, 57 tokens out of the identified 117. The negative happiness category has the most tokens, 32 of 46. Unhappiness is intensified throughout the first pages of the non-linear narration, moving from references to pain and crying to inhumane wailing and descriptions of Oksana as nothing but a “bloody biomass of pain”³⁴⁸ in token (160). Her suffering is the most intense during the last days before her departure to Germany. While still in Ukraine, just before her escape to Germany, she is understood to be less human since her soul is missing. The night when Oksana secretly leaves her home is said to have divided her life into “before” and “after,” transformed her from a “decent woman” (174)³⁴⁹ and a “homemaker” (175)³⁵⁰ to a “piece of iron” (176)³⁵¹ devoid of morality and any feelings except an all-embracing pain. Elsewhere in the chapter, Oksana is said “to exist between life and death” (123)³⁵² though she is “unable to choose death” (125)³⁵³ while in Ukraine. According to the narrator, she “must run away to give them [her children] life” (127).³⁵⁴ These descriptions mirror Liudmyla's inner struggles, but more dramatically. In Oksana's case, tension no longer exists between culturally and socially determined propriety and materialistic wellbeing; rather, for her emigration is a matter of life and death.

The positive effects of happiness are few and fall under the category of “irrealis”—imagined, not real. They reflect on how Oksana imagines her family's future in her absence. This future is never ecstatic; rather, it falls on the lower end of the happiness spectrum. By providing

³⁴⁸ криваву біомасу болю

³⁴⁹ порядною жінкою

³⁵⁰ матір'ю сімейства

³⁵¹ стала залізякою

³⁵² існувати на межі життя і смерті

³⁵³ не може обрати смерть

³⁵⁴ мусить втікти, щоб дати їм [дітям] життя

for her family, Oksana will attain tranquility not unbridled happiness; she would be “calm_{feminine}” (141)³⁵⁵ having “a beautiful [day]” (181).³⁵⁶ These emotions, however, are rare and short-lived. Oksana experiences positive or neutral feelings when she remits money. Unfortunately, she has no communication with her family and has no idea if the money is being put to good use. Other moments of positivity, but not true happiness, are associated with Medzhnun, Oksana’s Turkish paramour. Just like her lost soul, her affair is described matter-of-factly. Oksana is moved by Medzhnun and even though “she was not going to have affairs” (184)³⁵⁷ in Germany, she “had to take guardianship” (185)³⁵⁸ over him. While some of the positive affect is reflected in hypothetical propositions, explicitly untrue statements may lead the reader to judge Oksana negatively. Phrases such as her “hidden packed luggage”³⁵⁹ in token (116) may evoke a negative evaluation. This culminates when the reader learns that she intends to lie about her trip to Israel: “she will say that she is getting married” (214),³⁶⁰ which is “almost the truth” (215)³⁶¹ because the groom is said to have offered her a “fictitious marriage” (216),³⁶² better job prospects, and a potential return to Ukraine.

Unlike Liudmyla, for whom self-deprecating comments appear to soften readers’ evaluation, for Oksana our evaluation may be described as negative. Her use of name-calling exemplified in token (121) “yes, she is a sleaze bag,”³⁶³ almost ensures a negative evaluation. The literal translation of the invective “*tvariuka*” is “the lowliest animal.” It is generally used to

355 спокійна

356 він [день] буде гарним

357 вона не збиралася заводити тут романи

358 довелося взяти над ним опіку

359 захована зібрана валіза

360 скаже, що виходить заміж

361 майже правдою

362 фіктивний шлюб

363 так, вона - найостанніша тварюка

describe someone as despicable. In this context, it may reflect soulless Oksana's lack of humanity. The few positive tokens that describe Oksana focus on her work ethic and describe her tenacity and capacity. Her perseverance is reflected by her self-sacrifice: "clench her teeth"³⁶⁴ in token (132), "will refuse herself in everything"³⁶⁵ in (136), "will eat dry bread and drink only water"³⁶⁶ in (138), and "will work like an ox"³⁶⁷ in (139). The only positive example of appreciation speaks to the woman's capacity to work: "one thing she was never afraid of is work" (218).³⁶⁸

Unlike the excerpt from *Usi dorohy*, Oksana's story in *Ia znaiu* does not reference emigration as a phenomenon. Instead, it focuses on Oksana's decision to emigrate, her emigrant life, and her tragic end.³⁶⁹ Oksana's tragedy, rather than being communal, is individual; her perspective is the only one offered. This absence of other voices, either positive or negative, commenting on her decision to emigrate and its aftermath, raises questions regarding her story. In my opinion, this lack of detail and the detached almost impersonal description of her affair add to negative judgements on her character. Oksana's catastrophic end is softened somewhat by the multiple references to her lost soul; her death, thus, becomes a foreseeable outcome tragic only in how it happened not in that it happened.

³⁶⁴ стиснути зуби

³⁶⁵ відмовить собі в усьому

³⁶⁶ гризтиме сухарі і питиме лише воду

³⁶⁷ працюватиме, як віл

³⁶⁸ праці вона ніколи не боялась

³⁶⁹ Oksana is killed when she tries to interfere and protect Medzhnun from a beating that happens on the same day she is leaving for Jerusalem.

3.5 Linguistic analysis of the excerpt from *Hastarbaiterky* (2012)

For my linguistic analysis of *Hastarbaiterky*, I chose the introductory excerpt from the first story of the novel “*Khalla z Griunevalda*” (Halla from Grünwald). On pages 11 to 24, the author depicts Halyna’s and Maksym’s arrival to Germany and their first days there. Filled with worry and awkward situations, these first pages offer numerous descriptors of the new emigrants’ emotional states and their behaviour. I identified a total of 77 evaluative tokens, out of which 48 constitute the category of affect, 16 tokens belong to the category of judgement, and 13 tokens are listed under the category of appreciation (see chart 5 above). Under the category of affect, the subcategory of insecurity lists 28 of 48 tokens, four tokens of positive security, and two tokens of positive negative security, “pos -sec.” The subcategory of un/happiness contains nine tokens, while positive desire and positive satisfaction list three and two tokens respectively.

Consistent with the linguistic findings from the previous texts, the present sample contains only a few examples of evaluation achieved through suffixation, for instance, tokens (221) ““luckies_{diminutive}””³⁷⁰ and (253) ““fresh_{diminutive} phobias.””³⁷¹ The overall negative evaluative potential of token (221) is further intensified by the use of what Nagel (2008) identifies as a suffix of rationally emotional evaluation. The diminutive suffix curtails the literal meaning of the word, and together with the quotation marks, indicates that it was used sarcastically. The same tone may be attributed to the second phrase in token (253) where a similar diminutive suffix is found in the adjective describing emotions rather than the characters. The evaluative potential found in the creation of compound nouns is also worth reiterating. In token (272), “a miserable excuse for a labour emigrant,”³⁷² (which may be also translated as a loser) the meaning of the

³⁷⁰ “щасливчики” vs “щасливці”

³⁷¹ свіженьких фобій

³⁷² горе-заробітчани

compound noun “*hore-zarobitchan*” is conveyed by the meanings of its constituent nouns, “misery” and “labour emigrants.” In Ukrainian, neither noun has a positive meaning; indeed, the new word is both a literal and figurative compound of meaning.

The emotive meanings of emotional state and emotional expression dominate the narration. Evaluative nominations generally concern profession, occupation [token (222) “‘black’ hire”³⁷³] and ethnicity [token (243) “not young Ukrainian_{female}”].³⁷⁴ The syntactic level of the excerpt, however, is not as rich in evaluative markers as previous ones. It relies mostly on phraseological units [“stand rooted to the ground” (226),³⁷⁵ “chatter of teeth” (227)³⁷⁶] and an occasional exclamatory elliptic sentence [token (283) “Because [I] never gave birth!”].³⁷⁷

The nomination “*hasterbaiterky*” (guest workers_{female}) used in the title of the novel comes from the German *Gastarbeiter*, whose original meaning referred to legal guest workers who came to West Germany in the late-1950s, 1960s, and early-1970s, and who helped sustain the country’s *Wirtschaftswunder* [economic miracle]. The word, however, is also associated with low-skilled and low-paid workers. The term entered into Ukrainian after the fall of the Soviet Union and immediately acquired negative connotations as it referred to illegal emigrants. The title echoes the narrative’s generally negative tone.

Overall, the evaluation of the selected excerpt develops from negative to positive security. The subcategory of negative security lists 28 evaluative tokens which are found throughout the excerpt. In the beginning, the mood reflects nervousness and tension, escalating

³⁷³ “чорних” найманців

³⁷⁴ не молоді українки

³⁷⁵ стоять мов укопані

³⁷⁶ цокотять зубами

³⁷⁷ Бо не народжувала!

to paralyzing fear as exemplified in tokens (224),³⁷⁸ (225),³⁷⁹ (226),³⁸⁰ (227),³⁸¹ (235),³⁸² (260),³⁸³ and (267).³⁸⁴ These emotions are understandable; the main characters Halyna and Maksym are older, have never been abroad, and most importantly are illegal labourers. Halyna and Maksym are introduced to readers as nervous wrecks. They have “taut smiles” (224), “chattering teeth from anxiety and fear” (227), and are presented as suffering from lassitude: “stand rooted to the ground” (226), “shudder to a halt” (235). After meeting with Leonid, Halyna and Maksym share feelings of distrust. They “were shy” (249), “ill at ease” (250), and constantly “looking around” (251).³⁸⁵ Their first encounter with a foreign culture only drives them into a new “corner of fresh phobias.” The woman’s fears stem from her illegal status in the country. Interestingly, their shyness can also be read positively as conscientiousness and politeness. They are “afraid of getting in trouble” (256)³⁸⁶ and are careful in their new house. This potentially positive evaluation is reinforced by the cooking and cleaning that Halyna does the next morning. However, Halyna’s “unhealthy caution”³⁸⁷ referenced in token (260) is overtaken by her “natural curiosity” (259),³⁸⁸ which merits a positive appreciation.

This text constructs a rather realistic and believable picture of first-time emigrants and their emotional state on the day of emigration. It is not as gruesome and tragic as Liudmyla’s story from *Usi dorohy* or Oksana’s from *Ia znaiu*. Indeed, it even contains a humorous episode,

³⁷⁸ напружених посмішок

³⁷⁹ знервованих заробітчан

³⁸⁰ стоять, мов укопані

³⁸¹ дрібно цокотять зубами від хвилювання і страху

³⁸² кут свіженьких фобій

³⁸³ хворобливу обережність

³⁸⁴ насторожилися

³⁸⁵ соромилися, нітилися, озиралися

³⁸⁶ боячись вскочити в халепу

³⁸⁷ хворобливу обережність

³⁸⁸ природна цікавість

which describes Halyna's worry that their new bunk bed would be unable to support weight. Her imagination painted an improbable scenario of her getting crushed by Maksym, and token (278)³⁸⁹ depicts Halyna laughing at her own irrational fears. Halyna, after becoming accustomed to her new life, admits that the new "alien life was pleasant" (289)³⁹⁰ even though it "scared [her] at the same time" (290).³⁹¹ She even manages to "fall asleep calmly and deeply" (286)³⁹² on her first night in Germany; she later takes in a few Berlin landmarks.

Unlike the first excerpt, this text does not abound in exaggerations pertaining to the subcategory of negative normality and contains few judgements in general. Those judgements and exaggerations stem from Halyna's insecurities and fall in the category of veracity. The following examples reflect on both men and women emigrants, comparing them to regular tourists: "[they] carefully pretend to be travellers" (220),³⁹³ "guest workers... pretend that they are just walking around enjoying the wonderful scenery" (223).³⁹⁴ The following token is a proposition that contains untrue information. It comes from Halyna's interaction with a German policeman, whom she managed to convince that "everything was wonderful" (238)³⁹⁵ and that they were just tourists waiting for their tour guide (239).³⁹⁶ Similarly, she refused the temptation to purchase products in a German supermarket. She was realistic about her and Maksym's financial situation, and most likely downplayed the challenges that they faced: "[she] assured

389 сміялася сама з себе

390 чуже життя тішило

391 лякало водночас

392 спокійний глибокий та світлий сон

393 старанно вдають із себе мандрівників

394 гастарбайтери... вдають, що просто прогулюються й милуються чудовими красвидами

395 ... що все прекрасно

396 вони лише чекають, доки їх заберуть представники туристичної фірми

them that they were not hungry, that they could manage, that they brought some things with them” (248).³⁹⁷

Returning to their encounter with the policeman, Halyna’s language skills receive a positive judgement of capacity and may have been crucial to the police officer not discovering their illegal status. Olha, another Ukrainian emigrant introduced on the first pages of the story, also receives a positive judgment of capacity. In Olha’s case, the comment concerns her skills in childrearing: “she was managing the kids like a skillful shepherd.”³⁹⁸

Illegal emigrants receive predominantly negative descriptions: for example, “a miserable excuse for a labour emigrant.”³⁹⁹ Readers are meant to infer negative associations about illegal emigrants also from the author’s choice of punctuation, for example the earlier mentioned token (221) “luckies.”⁴⁰⁰ The first example was attributed to negative appreciation and not the category of affect. Regardless of the explicit use of the word “misery” in the phrase, its meaning does not refer to an emotional state, but rather to emigrants’ overall success and social status. The word “luckies” was defined as a token of positive valuation reversed by the use of punctuation. In the phrase “‘black’ hire” (222)⁴⁰¹ meaning “labourer,” the word “black” is used in quotation marks and was categorized as a token of negative valuation. This reflects emigrants’ illegal status and alludes to the “black market.” Alternatively, it may refer to the unskilled, cheap labour usually performed by illegal emigrants, similar to the English word “navvy.” Illegal emigration received contradictory evaluations on the first pages of the novel. In one instance it was referred to as a

³⁹⁷ запевняла, що вони не голодні, що обійдуться, що дещо привезли з собою

³⁹⁸ як вправний пастух, керувала малими

³⁹⁹ горе-заробітчан: The actual phrase is a compound of the words for “misery” and “labour immigrant.”

⁴⁰⁰ “щасливчики”

⁴⁰¹ “чорних” найманців

“disgrace” (236),⁴⁰² possibly conveying the average German’s views on illegal emigration. A few paragraphs later, in token (245), illegal labour is described from an emigrants’ point of view as “hard, but honest.”⁴⁰³

Contrary to the previously discussed excerpts, the excerpt from *Hastarbaiterky* contains more tokens of appreciation directed at emigrants. Along with those mentioned previously, Halyna and Maksym are the subjects of two negative self-evaluations. During their first day in Germany, and suffering from culture shock, they “think of themselves as people with the lowest intelligence” (257)⁴⁰⁴ and those with “inferiority complexes” (254).⁴⁰⁵

The age of a woman emigrant is also a topic of appreciation. The first description of Halyna as a “not young Ukrainian_{female}”⁴⁰⁶ in token (243) was subcategorized as a neutral valuation, lacking an explicit evaluation. In comparison, a similar age reference about Olha in token (281) provokes a negative valuation: “she isn’t as young as she seemed yesterday.”⁴⁰⁷ The phrase almost conveys disappointment. Halyna’s seemingly positive comment in token (282), stating that Olha “looks much younger”⁴⁰⁸ than her actual age is undermined by Olha’s riposte: “Because [I] never gave birth!” (283).⁴⁰⁹ The tone of the comment is explicitly negative, which is reflected through the use of an exclamation mark and the description of Olha’s tone as “more tragic” (284).⁴¹⁰

402 неподобство

403 важку, але не дармову працю

404 думати про себе як про людей із наднизькими розумовими здібностями

405 комплексу меншовартості

406 не молоді українки

407 не така вже вона молода, як здалося вчора

408 виглядаєте значно молодше

409 Бо не народжувала!

410 трагічніше

The first ten pages of the novel provided multiple tokens of affect and appreciation, though fewer examples of judgment. The appraising items listed in Coding Sheet 4, Appendix 4 offer a variety of linguistic realizations of evaluation, including punctuation. A woman's age and her status as a mother present interesting findings when analyzing the evaluation of women emigrants. Self-deprecatory descriptors appear to be consistent with the evaluative data from the other excerpts.

3.6 Linguistic analysis of the excerpt from *Korotka istoriia traktoriv po-ukraiins'ky* (2013)

On the first 15 pages of the novel selected for the linguistic component of this research, Nadiia, the narrator, offers a first-person account of Valentyna's appearing in her father's, Mykola's, life. The excerpt includes a brief outline of Mykola's plans to get married, offered in chopped, broken sentences, colourful descriptors of Valentyna's appearance, and Nadiia's emotional response to the news of her father's marriage. This introductory section also offers a glimpse into a rather complicated relationship between Nadiia and her sister Vira, and their mother's death. All the evaluative tokens pertaining to the character of Valentyna are presented in Coding Sheet 5 in Appendix 5, while the excerpt in Ukrainian can be found in Appendix 6.

The first 15 pages of this novel yielded a total of 46 appraising items, of which 24 tokens belong to the category of judgement, 19 tokens to appreciation, and only four to affect.⁴¹¹ This excerpt does not contain lexis emotionally coloured by suffixation. Instead, words suggesting emotional evaluation are widely used when describing Valentyna: tokens (307) "she is

⁴¹¹ As discussed above, I subcategorized token (320) as both, negative propriety, coded as "-prop," and positive valuation, coded as "+val" because the utterance references not only Valentyna's behaviour, which the narrator finds unsettling, but it also comments positively on Valentyna's appearance.

beautiful”,⁴¹² (335) “delicate in nature,”⁴¹³ and (338) “modern, emancipated woman.”⁴¹⁴ Unlike data samples from excerpts analyzed above, the present text abounds in tokens of emotional attitudes and emotional evaluations. These mostly involve Valentyna and are voiced by Mykola and then repeated by his daughter. Readers are granted little insight into Valentyna’s emotional states and external expressions. This may be explained by the structure of the narration discussed above and the fact that Valentyna provides no self-evaluation in the selected excerpt.

The metaphoric evaluative lexis employed to describe Valentyna is shaped predominantly by her appearance, profession, and ethnicity. The colourful token of valuation (300) mentioned earlier — “fluffy pink grenade”—takes its source of evaluative meaning from an object, following Nagel’s (2008) classification. All components of this lexical unit have an evaluative colouring to their connotations. The first two are commenting on Valentyna’s outfit, whereas the word “grenade” refers to her unexpected intrusion into the Maievskyis family and its destructive force. The syntactic level of evaluation in the text comprises elliptical responses to questions or simple, one-noun sentences (“Passport. Visa. Work permit” (322)⁴¹⁵), ellipsis (“she [is] 36 and I [am] 84” (309)⁴¹⁶) and repetitions of questions throughout the text.

Valentyna is explicitly sexualized through multiple references to her appearance in tokens (303) “golden hair,”⁴¹⁷ (304) “wonderful eyes,”⁴¹⁸ (305) “voluptuous breasts,”⁴¹⁹ (336) and (340) “beautiful woman.”⁴²⁰ These and other descriptors voiced by Mykola are clearly positive and are

⁴¹² вона прекрасна

⁴¹³ делікатної натури

⁴¹⁴ сучасна, емансіпована жінка

⁴¹⁵ Паспорт. Віза. Дозвіл на працю.

⁴¹⁶ їй 36, а мені 84

⁴¹⁷ золоте волосся

⁴¹⁸ чарівні очі

⁴¹⁹ пишні перса

⁴²⁰ гарну жінку або красивою жінкою

valued as such. As an appraiser, Mykola evaluates exclusively through direct speech in dialogues. Since Nadiia is the primary narrator and gets to “repeat” her father’s words, even seemingly positive evaluations of Valentyna tend to be interpreted negatively. For instance, Mykola and Valentyna’s age difference, as conveyed by Nadiia, is classified as a negative judgement of propriety. The same information coming from Mykola, however, is neutralized by the explicit “so what?”⁴²¹ Mykola uses similar neutralizing devices to mitigate Nadiia’s concerns about his marrying Valentyna. Mr. Maievskiy appears to be aware of the true reasons for the marriage, but shows little concern. His one-word unemotional responses are classified as judgement of “neutral -propriety” in token (322), where “neutral” refers to his lack of emotions, and negative propriety reflects the underlying evaluation: “Passport. Visa. Work Permit.”⁴²²

Nadiia’s evaluation of Valentyna is explicitly negative. She views Valentyna as a “woman who impinges upon [her] mother’s place” (306)⁴²³. In addition, Nadiia is clearly disturbed by the image of Valentyna “sitting on [her] father’s lap and letting him fondle her breasts”⁴²⁴ in tokens (318) and (319). These tokens contribute to negative judgements of propriety.

At the beginning of the story, Valentyna is juxtaposed to Mykola’s first wife, who was originally from a Ukrainian village. When Nadiia recounts Valentyna’s seemingly positive attributes and characteristics, the reader is led to read between the lines. Valentyna is sarcastically described as “a woman of culture”⁴²⁵ in token (326) and “not some talkative

⁴²¹ То й що?

⁴²² Паспорт. Віза. Дозвіл на працю.

⁴²³ жінку, що зазіхає на мамине місце

⁴²⁴ сидить у нього на колінах і дозволяє пестити перса

⁴²⁵ культурна жінка

peasant_{female}⁴²⁶ in token (327) who is said “to agree with him [Mykola] in everything”⁴²⁷ (328). Nadiia’s sarcastic descriptions of Valentyna contribute to the negative evaluation of her as an immigrant. Conversely, according to Mykola, Valentyna is an “educated woman” (313)⁴²⁸ who “has a pharmacy diploma” (314)⁴²⁹ and “will find a well-paid job easily” (315).⁴³⁰ The evaluative tokens (313), (314), and (315) are classified as positive valuation (+val) because they are given by Mykola, a character who evaluates Valentyna positively in the selected excerpt.

Considering that Valentyna came to England on a tourist visa and is plotting to stay by arranging a fake marriage with a man 50 years her senior strongly implies that she would stop at nothing to “start a new life in the West for her and her son” (312).⁴³¹ Mykola, on the other hand, will stop at nothing to save this woman from the horrors of “deportation, poverty, [and] prostitution” (334).⁴³² Valentyna becomes his “great idea” and he is willing to alienate his friends and family for the sake of this “modern, emancipated woman” (338).⁴³³

While certain factual information does not necessarily carry negative evaluative potential, it receives negative colouring when considering context. For instance, Valentyna’s appearance in Nadiia’s family is described as an explosion. The same description containing the verb “exploded”⁴³⁴ expands on the negative effect that Valentyna’s presence has had on the Maievskiy family. Indeed, she brings to the surface some well-hidden family skeletons.

426 не якась там балакуча селянка

427 вона згодна з ним у всьому

428 освічена жінка

429 має диплом з аптекарства

430 легко знайде добре оплачувану роботу

431 почати на Заході нове життя для себе і свого сина

432 депортації, злиднів, проституції

433 сучасна, емансипована жінка

434 вибухнула

Similarly, the fact that she “cleans the house and looks after”⁴³⁵ Mykola referenced in token (317) is overshadowed by her inappropriate sexual behaviour. In her recounts of Valentyna, Nadiia introduces another appraiser of Valentyna and her character, the “Ukrainian community” of Peterborough. According to Mykola’s daughter, the community has disavowed the newcomer and spread spiteful gossip, saying that “she [Valentyna] sold her mother’s goat and cow to buy lard so she could put it on her face to seduce Western men” (339).⁴³⁶ This remark adds to Valentyna’s negative evaluation

The overall negative appraisal of Valentyna is understandable given the circumstances in which she joins the family. She is viewed as a predatory illegal immigrant, willing to go to extremes to stay in the United Kingdom. Unlike other excerpts discussed earlier no self-descriptors were found in the analyzed text. Valentyna is not given voice in the narration until much later in the story. However, the negative introduction by the angry daughter and the mentally unstable Mr. Maievskyi paints an unflattering picture of Valentyna.

3.7 Summary

As was demonstrated in the above analyses, the five excerpts studied vary in structure, narration style, mood, and tone. The topic of emigration is addressed from several various positions. Different types and stages of Ukrainian emigration of women are discussed: the initial decision to emigrate illegally and the painful hesitation of Liudmyla from *Usi dorohy*, Oksana from *Ia znaiu*, and Halyna from *Hastarbaiterky*; the legal short-term professional emigration of Mariana from *Shliub* that precedes her legal spousal emigration; the realities of illegal semi-

⁴³⁵ прибирає в домі й глядить його

⁴³⁶ вона продала материну козу й корову, щоб купити смальцю й намастити ним піку для зваблювання західних чоловіків

skilled emigration of Oksana; and Valentyna's from *Korotka istoriia* attempts to emigrate illegally through a fictitious marriage to a much older British citizen.

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

Evaluation was found to depend largely on the appraiser. Illegal emigration is viewed differently by emigrants, partial or impartial observers in Ukraine, and citizens of the receiving countries. For some, emigration is a silent personal tragedy, for others, the tragedy is a national concern. Those emigrants who establish themselves abroad are proud of their jobs and their ability to provide for their families back in Ukraine. Conversely, those emigrants who struggle to make ends meet abroad receive little sympathy from foreigners and compatriots. The personal biases of appraisers play an important role in the evaluation of characters and may add to or diminish the credibility of the narration. This affects the level of empathy the reader may experience for the appraised.

The analysis revealed that tokens of negative judgement concern social and gender norms, veracity, and less frequent references to capacity and tenacity. The negative judgements are associated with the stereotype of a "bad mother," which applies to Liudmyla, Oksana, and

Halyna (from *Usi dorohy*, *Ia znaiu*, and *Hastarbaiterky* respectively). The women characters either express deep internalized guilt for leaving their children (Liudmyla and Oksana) or are understood to experience these feelings based on their current relationship with their children (Halyna). These sentiments are closely associated with the dominant emotions of unhappiness, sadness, despair, and fear, and are largely self-inflicted. At the same time, emigration is trying on mothers and its difficulty is emphasized in the texts multiple times. It is explained as a necessary sacrifice for the greater good of the family and attests to a woman's inner strength and endurance.

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

The linguistic analysis of the selected excerpts revealed that Ukrainian women emigrants are often depicted against the national patriarchal construct of *Berehynia*, the guardian of the hearth, which is deeply rooted in the very notion of motherhood. While an explicit yet sarcastic reference to a Ukrainian woman emigrant as *berehynia* was found in the excerpt from *Usi dorohy* in token (6), the employed stereotypes of "bad mothers" and "bad wives" in the excerpts from *Usi dorohy*, *Ia znaiu*, and *Hastarbaiterky* suggest that women emigrants cease to be true

“guardians of the hearth” once they decide to emigrate. It could also explain why all three main characters from the above listed excerpts, Liudmyla, Oksana, and Halyna, suffer tragic fates. If women are symbols (mothers) of the Ukrainian nation then, logically, women who abandon their families and nation are to be erased from the national memory.

The excerpt from *Korotka istoriia* clearly conveys the stereotype of the “sexually promiscuous woman emigrant.”⁴³⁷ Readers are presented with negative external judgements of Valentyna; rarely do we hear her own thoughts about her behaviour and her situation. One may argue that these negative evaluations are understandable given the nature of her emigration and the narrator’s position vis-à-vis the character of Valentyna. Out of the five excerpts, only this one contained explicitly sexualized descriptions of a woman emigrant.

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

Untruthful statements made by illegal emigrants often colour evaluations of illegal and legal emigration. Secrecy and explicit lies surround women’s decision to emigrate, as if emigration were a shameful act. Positive judgements, in their turn, often refer to emigrants’ capacities, such as their hard-working nature and language skills. All of the women characters from the selected novels are said to be educated professionals who are not afraid of hard work. However, when it comes to language skills, women emigrants are fluent in German more

⁴³⁷ It is worth noting that such description of the woman emigrant character may be also explained by Lewycka’s sociocultural background that differs greatly from the one informing and influencing the texts of writers from Ukraine.

frequently than in other European languages. In Mariana's case, her language skills are the main factor that made her professional emigration to Germany possible. Similarly, one may argue that Halyna's decision to follow her partner to Germany could have been influenced by the fact that she is fluent in the language. Immigrants to Italy often do not know the language. This is a contributing factor to their low-paid, semi-skilled employment, lack of security, and overall negative experience. In addition, positive evaluations of Ukrainian women emigrants stem from their values and ethics. For example, Liudmyla's evaluation as a decent person is expressed through self-deprecating characterizations of her positive traits. This self-deprecation may reflect the conflict faced by women emigrants: living life by the principles of honesty and honour often means living in poverty. While positive judgements may not be as frequent as tokens of negative affect in the selected excerpts, their presence allows for a deeper analysis of the overall evaluation of Ukrainian women emigrants.

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

Chapter 4 Discussion

In this chapter, I will present the interpretation of the results of the linguistic analysis in section 4.1 and answer the research question in section 4.2. Additionally, I will highlight and

discuss the relationship between the identified linguistic realizations of evaluation, the findings of the Ukrainian migration studies, and trends in literature of migration. In section 4.3, I will discuss the value and contribution of literary publications to migration studies. I will also highlight the contribution of this dissertation to the fields of linguistics, literary studies, and migration studies in the Ukrainian context. I identify the limitations and challenges of the present study in section 4.4.

4.1 Findings of the linguistic analysis

The use of Appraisal Theory effectively allowed me to determine the textual mechanisms of evaluation. In the course of the linguistic analysis, evaluative meanings were identified on lexical, morphologic, grammatical, syntactic, and structural levels of the texts. The language of evaluation in Ukrainian (same as in English) was expressed through nouns, verbs, adjectives, metaphors, morphological constructions, punctuation, and the texts' structures. My analysis revealed that women writers employ a variety of linguistic resources to convey attitudinal evaluation; however, all five authors appear to favour lexical means of evaluation over morphologic or grammatical structures. The selection of introductory chapters yielded over 300 evaluative tokens. Most novels introduced their characters early in the story, and the five excerpts offered a variety of emigration experiences, including the initial decision-making stage, the first days after emigration, and a detailed account of women's daily routine abroad. It is worth noting that inclusion of novels' (or excerpts') titles broadened my analysis and contributed to a more comprehensive investigation of attitudinal evaluation on the structural level of the texts. The analysis also revealed that literary polyglossia, the use of multiple languages in the same text, has evaluative potential in literature of migration. Switching among various linguistic codes created additional evaluative meanings that may be an interesting topic for future research.

While the theory was used to identify attitudinal evaluations aimed at Ukrainian women emigrants and emigration in general, it allowed for a fruitful comparison of texts that had few commonalities (yet contained comparable linguistic excerpts). Identifying appraisers for all the evaluative tokens was crucial in uncovering the voice of women emigrants; limiting my focus to women emigrants and emigration proved effective in uncovering the evaluation of the two pre-selected objects of appraisal.

Overall, the use of Appraisal Theory to analyze the selected texts complicated my understandings of emigrants as promoted by such writers as Berezhovs'kyi, who positioned the migrant as “imagined migrant[s],” victimized, oppressed, and stripped of personal agency “whose fate depends on external circumstances but not his/her own will” (Khanenko-Friesen, 2007, p. 109). The linguistic analysis revealed that both legal and illegal women emigrants depicted in the excerpts are given a strong voice in the literature of migration. The analysis exposed an intense emotional response of Ukrainian women to emigration and their decision to seek employment abroad. Khanenko-Friesen (2007) observed that, in Ukrainian populist discourse, external circumstances played the deciding role in emigrants' fate, which proved to be true for the overall plots developed in the five novels. However, all five emigrant characters are portrayed as original decision makers when it comes to emigration. Thus, it is reasonable to suggest that literature of migration in the Ukrainian context has become a potential platform for women emigrants to voice their fears and aspirations, and bring to light the hardships they face on a daily basis while living abroad. This does not mean that the identified publications are exhaustive when it comes to the described types of emigration or women's experiences. Nor does it mean that the popularity of this type of narrative is purely coincidental. The stories

remain broadly focused on illegal low-skilled emigration from Ukraine; at the same time, this may be viewed as a starting point in the development of this kind of literature.

Appraisal Theory allowed me to expand my analysis of Ukrainian emigration of women discourse-wide. For instance, a thorough examination of evaluative tokens of judgement revealed that the depictions of women emigrants are reflective of the divide between women's emigration as an existing social phenomenon and the gendered nationalism discourse. Three of the five novels introduced their women emigrant characters by opposing them to *Berehynia* or the “archetypal Ukrainian_{female}” (Iurchuk, 2013) that signifies the “woman-mother,” women as “guardians of the hearth.” This concept first appeared as a response to the patriarchal society in Ukraine. *Berehynia* was originally intended as a symbol of women's power and only later as the embodiment of the Ukrainian nation (Kis', 2006; Pokul', 2016; Solari, 2010, 2014, 2017). According to Solari (2017), Ukrainian political elites and policymakers first began using the concept of *Berehynia* in reference to Ukrainianness in the 1980s and 1990s. Solari (2017) explains that after the Soviet Union's collapse, Ukraine adopted not only neoliberal capitalism but also a new national identity (different from the Soviet one) based on “ethnonationalism.” The newly independent nation is defined based on “a common ethnic heritage, language, and faith” (Solari, 2017, p. 5). Women are to play a crucial role in the making and unifying the Ukrainian nation: it is their duty to transmit language, religion and intrinsically Ukrainian values to new generations. Solari notes that “Ukrainian nation-state building hinges on... reifying young mothers” who in their role as *Berehyni* (plural for *Berehynia*) become “symbol[s] of ethnically pure, family-centred, Ukrainian womanhood” (Solari, 2017, p. 29). Thus, women's responsibilities broaden to include guardianship of both their families and the Ukrainian nation.

Ukrainian women emigrants depicted in the selected excerpts are described against the image of *Berehynia* (sometimes they are even called *Berehyni* ironically) as the national embodiment of ideal woman- and motherhood. In these portrayals, women emigrants do not demonstrate the behaviours worthy of *Berehyni*: they are not good mothers because they choose to abandon their children; they are not good wives because they do not respect their husbands taking away from them the role of breadwinners; they have loose morals because they choose to marry foreigners instead of maintaining pure Ukrainian heritage. Hence, they are now seen as “bad mothers,” “bad wives,” or simply “promiscuous.”

National identity closely tied to womanhood becomes threatened by the emigration of women, especially if the numbers of women emigrants are on the rise. Solari (2017) points out that emigration becomes equally damaging to the country’s prestige (p. 40) as it reveals to the world the economic decline and Ukraine’s inability to create economic opportunities for their citizens. In a patriarchal society, women are viewed as property of their husbands and their nation. Therefore, women who are exploited and often abused by foreigners or women who choose to marry foreigners bring humiliation to their men and the nation (Solari, 2017, p. 40). In an attempt to curtail the mass emigration of women, the Ukrainian state chooses to stigmatize emigrants, the very victims of the state’s ineffective policies. The same trend of women emigrant stigmatization was observed in the selected literary texts. Additionally, the findings of my linguistic analysis support Solari’s observation that Ukrainian political and media discourses vilify women emigrants and blame them for ruining the institution of the family, turning their children into social orphans, and even for men’s moral decay (Solari, 2017, p. 41). The researcher concludes that by constructing emigration as “a shameful social problem” “the Ukrainian state has prioritized the construction of a national identity” (Solari, 2014, p. 1817)

over women's interests and an opportunity to build an egalitarian Ukrainian society after the Soviet Union's collapse. By vilifying women emigrants, the state reinforces the nationalist narrative built around the concept of *Berehynia*. It may be reasonable to conclude that the women authors of the selected literary texts uphold the existing gendered nationalism in Ukraine by depicting women emigrants as revolting against their national identity. This may explain why most women emigrants suffer tragic deaths in the discussed literary publications, and those, who do not, redeem themselves by returning to Ukraine (Mariana from *Shliub*).

4.2 Answer to the research question

As an academic emigrant, who could not relate to the depicted experiences of illegal women emigrants, I started this project expecting that the literary depiction of Ukrainian emigration would be just as negative as that offered by Ukrainian media. I applied a multidisciplinary approach to test my hypothesis and discovered that the evaluation of emigration and women emigrants cannot be simply defined as negative or positive. Just as emotions are subject to gradation based on their intensity, duration, positivity, negativity, neutrality, and other characteristics, so too does the evaluation of emigration and those who emigrate fall on a broad spectrum. My research established that the evaluation of women emigrants and emigration depends on several variables and reflects the complexity of women's position in Ukraine. I provide the following answer to the research question posed in Chapter 1 "How do evaluative meanings in the selected excerpts shape the depiction of Ukrainian emigration and women emigrants in Ukrainian literature of migration?": the identified evaluative meanings from the selected excerpts contribute to a multi-dimensional depiction of Ukrainian women emigrants, which largely depends on the type of emigration (legal vs illegal, professional vs low-skilled labour) as well as women's marital and family status. The results of my analysis

demonstrate that the stereotypes of “bad mother,” “bad wife,” and “sexually promiscuous woman emigrant” dominate the stories about illegal emigration. On the other hands, the excerpt from *Shliub*, which describes the short-term legal emigration of a woman-translator, depicts her as a “professional,” enjoying her yearly visits to Germany. The stereotypes of “bad mother” and “bad wife” employed to describe women emigrants in excerpts from *Usi dorohy*, *Ia znaiu*, and *Hastarbaiterky* also reveal that women deeply internalized patriarchal values. Identified evaluative tokens of affect often illustrate women’s guilt associated with their inability to perform their duties as mothers and wives. Negative emotions are only intensified when these women acquire the new role of providers for their families. As decision makers and new breadwinners, women emigrants display a fundamental inner conflict provoked by these “new” functions. Besides explicitly negative evaluations of women emigrants based on their marital and family status, the selected excerpts include multiple positive evaluations of judgement regarding women’s high level of education, professionalism, (language) skills, integrity, and honesty. Only one excerpt of the selected five employs sexualized descriptors of the woman emigrant and deals with illegal emigration through a fictitious marriage.

Ukrainian women emigrants are generally depicted as complex and conflicted individuals with a strong voice/presence in the text, capable of an intense emotional response to a life changing event such as emigration. These characters are presented as decision-makers and breadwinners in their families, a role contradictory to their traditional capacity as *Berehyni* or “guardians of the hearth.” As a source of evaluation, Ukrainian women emigrants are positioned in literary texts as reliable, trustworthy, and empathetic social actors, offering first-hand accounts of their stories. The structure and genre of the novels that mimic diary entries contribute to the overall credibility of the stories.

The linguistic analysis revealed that self-representations of Ukrainian women emigrants contain evaluative meanings. Women emigrants were identified as appraisers who offered descriptions and evaluations of their own emotional states, feelings of guilt, confusions, and fears associated with emigration. I observed that self-representation of women emigrants in the excerpts sometimes took the form of self-disparagement and self-deprecation. For example, in the excerpt from *Usi dorohy*, Liudmyla describes her honesty as “stupid” in the evaluative token (20).⁴³⁸ The negative connotation of the word “stupid” does not take away from Liudmyla’s character in this example. Oksana’s self-critical name-calling in *Ia znaiu* demonstrates the woman’s self-awareness and guilt she is feeling for abandoning her family [evaluative token (121)]. Liudmyla and Oksana describe themselves negatively before they emigrate. Halyna from *Hastarbaiterky* reflects on her seeming inferiority and lower intelligence after the emigration. The heroine of *Hastarbaiterky* is depicted as a new immigrant lacking experience and new to foreign life.

I subcategorized evaluations of women emigrants taking into consideration narrator(s)’ and/or other characters’ credibility and overall trustworthiness. For instance, Mariana from *Shliub* is described as “stingy” [evaluative token (89)] by one character and a spendthrift [evaluative token (95)] by another. Such conflicting descriptors were carefully considered within a larger context. In this example, the descriptor “stingy” contributed to Mariana’s positive evaluation as a professional with strong work ethics. The unflattering evaluation was used when Mariana refused a patient’s request to obtain illegal medicine on her behalf. Similarly, Liudmyla from *Usi dorohy* was characterized by another emigrant character as “weird” [evaluative token (65)]. The word “weird” generally has negative connotation as it evokes a sense of alienation

⁴³⁸ моя дурнувата чесність (my stupid honesty)

towards something that is strange or wrong. However, given the appraiser's questionable behaviour, this evaluation of Liudmyla was categorized as positive as it alludes to her strong moral principles.

Depiction of emigration as a social phenomenon depends on its type and its stage, i.e., initial decision to emigrate vs realities of (il)legal emigration. The five excerpts analyzed above attest to women's acute awareness of their intentions to emigrate illegally and describe associated emotions of worry, fear, sadness, and despair in detail. Evaluative tokens identified in the excerpt from *Ia znaiu* present illegal emigration as a shameful act committed in secrecy, which in turn renders a negative evaluation of the main woman character. Illegal emigration is depicted as either an individual or a national tragedy in four of the five selected excerpts, while depictions of legal short-term emigration in the excerpt from *Shliub* liken it to a vacation.

The difference in depictions of legal and illegal emigration is clearly demonstrated by the categories of attitudinal positioning identified from the excerpts. Illegal emigration is largely described through emotional lexis of unhappiness and insecurity subcategories of affect. Legal emigration is represented through the happiness subcategory. The evaluative tokens referring to illegal emigration range from emotional to physical expressions of sadness, desperation, pain, concern, panic, and horror. Positive descriptions of legal emigration fall on the lower end of the happiness spectrum and generally convey the state of tranquility, relaxation, and content. Interestingly, the linguistic analysis revealed several subjunctive statements with modal framing in reference to legal emigration. These evaluative tokens are characterized by their unrealis nature, wishful thinking rather than the actual state of affairs. Legal emigration is not glorified as a way to improve women's financial status nor is it a solution to their loneliness. In the analyzed literary texts, legal emigration is evaluated positively if it is short-term and results in the

women's return to Ukraine. In Mariana's case from *Shliub*, her legal work as a translator during summer months is acceptable. Conversely, her legal but unsuccessful spousal emigration to Germany is justified as a field trip which gave Mariana the material she needed for her future book.

4.3 Contribution of literary works to migration studies

The previous chapters established that the academic scholarship in migration studies and literary publications do not necessarily discuss the same types of emigration or its impact on Ukrainian society. Overall, academic studies of migration in the Ukrainian context are statistical in nature and focus on demographic, sociological, and economic aspects of the population's mobility (Parkhomenko, 2005; Starodub, 2005; Khachatrian, 2012; Kukurudza & Romashchenko, 2012; H'okkhan, 2015; Puio, 2015). For instance, Khachatrian (2012) points at the relationship between the decline of the Ukrainian economy and the increasing number of emigrants. The researcher considers emigration problematic and suggests that improving Ukraine's economic situation could potentially resolve the outflow of Ukrainians. This ambitious project would require the state to overcome economic lethargy, eliminate corruption, lower the levels of unemployment, reduce unregistered employment, lower prices, and boost stagnant wage growth. Some studies highlight the economy boosting potential of emigration (H'okkhan, 2015; Puio, 2015). These publications positively describe remittances and capital accumulated by emigrants. The researchers approve of short-term and professional emigration. Several academic studies offer detailed reports on emigrants' gender, age, social, and marital status, referencing various push and pull factors that drive Ukrainian emigration. Many studies in Ukraine address the issue of rising number of women emigrants in the first two decades of the 2000s

(Herasymenko & Pozniak, 2006; H'okkhan, 2015; Kurii, 2011, Petrova, 2012; Kukurudza & Romashchenko, 2012).

Comparing the main areas of focus in migration scholarship to those in the analyzed literary texts led to several observations. Literary publications generally elide the state's unintentional role in emigration. Instead, the novels tend to explain emigrants' emotions and feelings, shifting the impulse to emigrate from systemic failures to personal inadequacies (Halych, 2004; Stepovychka, 2007; Rozdobud'ko, 2011; Doliak, 2012). This shift results in a certain paradox: emigration in literature is viewed simultaneously as a noble act of self-sacrifice and as the ultimate evil.

Emigration in literature is explored on the micro-level, as a separate, individual decision and experience, and as such, it is never successful. Most women emigrants depicted in literature of migration fail to find or keep their employment; many suffer tragic deaths, embodying a typical trope of "an expendable woman." This tendency promotes a multitude of individual emigrant voices. We see numerous stories of women emigrants from various backgrounds, various Ukrainian cities, emigrating to various European countries. Nevertheless, the focus on illegal emigration remains consistent throughout numerous publications and tends to dominate the literary migration discourse with overtly negative narratives. As a result, alternative stories of emigration are rarely heard.

Legal short-term professional emigration is described in literary works as a vacation, a well-deserved escape from Ukrainian reality. At the same time, these positive depictions caution readers that foreign countries, their literature, and culture are to be studied, loved, and admired, but from afar. The moment one decides to relocate abroad permanently, they are threatened by

the twin spectres of assimilation and identity loss, becoming not only less Ukrainian, but also less human.

Literature of migration often references extensive emigrant networks in certain countries, such as Italy, and access to visa offices, specializing in (il)legal employment and relocation arrangements. The selected literary texts describe these familiar emigration paths in detail. One may speculate that these factors give potential emigrants a sense of security. Stories about emigrants abroad are popular. Everyone seems to either be related to an emigrant or knows one. However, the linguistic analysis revealed a broad spectrum of negative emotions voiced by women characters even when pursuing emigration through the familiar channels of emigrant networks and trusted visa offices. Illegal emigration is logically associated with fear and anxiety. Surprisingly, visa offices and tourist agencies that are supposed to facilitate legal emigration are said to become gateways to illegal emigration instead, often taking advantage of emigrants.

Not surprisingly, the topic of academic or high-skilled professional emigration is omitted by both migration studies and literature of migration. One may speculate that this aspect of emigration has been largely eschewed because of a lack of statistics⁴³⁹ and its association with a pernicious economic and social “brain-drain.” In Ukraine, the story of skilled emigration is a vicious circle. The country can neither afford to retain ambitious, educated professionals nor offer incentives to lure them to return. At the same time, the lack of information regarding legal emigration along with its negative evaluation seems deliberate yet arguably ineffective when it comes to controlling the number of emigrants.

⁴³⁹ The first and the last official census in Ukraine was conducted in 2001. Both legal and illegal emigration from Ukraine is not well documented. Estimates of Ukrainians abroad are largely informed based on the statistics from receiving countries. For more information see: <https://www.ukrcensus.gov.ua/eng/>

The above listed observations indicate that the academic studies and literary texts approach emigration differently: scholarly publications by Parkhomenko (2005), Starodub (2005), Khachatryan (2012), Kukuridza & Romashchenko (2012), H'okkhan (2015), Puio (2015) explore the phenomenon on a macro-level, analyzing its demographic, economic, social and political consequences. Fiction, however, operates on the micro-level of individual emigrant experiences. These differing perspectives explain why emigration may be simultaneously viewed by one as both a positive boost to the economy and a tragedy. Future studies combining the macro- and micro- perspectives on migration from the academic field and literature may provide the often-missing insight into emigrants' experiences. This integrated approach to exploring emigration in general and the emigration of women in particular may lead to more productive discussions of the topic.

4.4 Research challenges and limitations

During the design and linguistic analysis stages of this research, I encountered a number of difficulties. First, the need to select comparable excerpts from a relatively large pool of publications limited the number of texts subject to analysis. Hence, one should keep in mind that the results of the linguistic analysis were determined by the criteria that limited my inquiry to a specific pool of data, my chosen topic, and the additional requirements applied to the literary texts. While the criteria and imposed limitations were necessary to obtain comparable data, it is possible that if any of those conditions were changed, the analysis would yield different results. Secondly, ideational and textual meanings may be relatively constant; however, their interpretation is informed by readers' biases, experiences, beliefs, and values. A researcher with

a different academic background or emigration and cultural experiences could offer differing interpretations of the identified evaluative tokens.⁴⁴⁰

At this point, it should be also noted that there is a considerable gap between literature of migration and academic research regarding emigration of women. The novels written by women with and without prior emigration experience from various regions of the country share a number of similarities that have been identified in this research and elsewhere. However, the feminization of Ukrainian emigration has not been widely discussed in academic publications, which lack consistency when it comes to definitions and terminology. Emigration of women has not been unanimously identified as a separate category with specific features. This discrepancy between migration studies in the Ukrainian context and contemporary literature may indicate that the two fields offer an asynchronous reflection of ongoing social changes; literature, indeed, often has a tendency to reflect on social phenomena faster and with more precision than academic scholarship.

Admittedly, an analysis of any selected novel as a whole would provide a more detailed, even though not necessarily consistent, evaluation of women emigrants. Indeed, a longer text could potentially yield a much larger though less manageable data pool. The relatively short, but focused excerpts proved sufficient and effective in testing my hypothesis, especially as this is the first study of its kind using Appraisal Theory to analyze Ukrainian language literary texts. Potential shortcomings associated with the small sample size were addressed by consistent references to the novels' plots and context.

⁴⁴⁰ Additionally, translating Ukrainian language evaluative tokens proved challenging. This was overcome by providing both, word-for-word and literary translations, accompanied by more detailed explanations when needed.

Chapter 5 Conclusion

This research examined the evaluation of Ukrainian women emigrants and emigration in fiction by employing a multidisciplinary approach that combined research and theoretical frameworks from literature (Adelson's (2005) concept "literature of migration"), socio-political and economic studies of migration and a methodological approach from linguistics (Martin & White's (2005, 2015) Appraisal Theory). I identified a literary trend exploring the topic of women's emigration from Ukraine and subjected literary depictions of Ukrainian women emigrants to linguistic analysis employing Appraisal Theory. I further enhanced my analysis by revising the socio-political and economic aspects of Ukrainian emigration outlined in the academic scholarship.

For the purposes of this study, I identified 19 literary texts published in the early 2000s. Since these publications appeared to share a number of commonalities, it was important to provide a definition of what I consider to be a new and evolving trend in Ukrainian literature at the time. Upon reviewing the existing approaches to understanding literature and migration in the European context, I argued that the commonly used terms do not necessarily reflect the peculiarities of contemporary writing on the topic of Ukrainian emigration of women. After reviewing varying approaches to the definition of literature written about emigration and/or by migrants, I determined three main foci in the scholarly discourse that pivot on authors' origins and biographies, migration being the focus of literary works, and language of writing. My overview also revealed that literary explorations of migration often represent the perspective of the receiving national state and therefore oppose this writing to the national literature of the receiving country (Duffy, 1995; Merolla & Ponzanesi, 2005; Curti, 2007; Stanišić, 2008). A

competing approach to the imbrication of literature and migration discusses migration as a global trend and in the context of world literature (Rösch, 2004; Walkowitz, 2006; Adelson, 2005).

Most of the discussed terms and concepts, such as immigration literature, emigration (diaspora) literature, intercultural literature and others, could not be applied to the identified literary corpus about emigration from Ukraine because they did not represent the perspective of the sending country. Moreover, such terminology did not account for non-migrant writers exploring the topic of migration. Hence, I proposed that Adelson's (1997, 2005) term "literature of migration" best defines the new type of writing on the migration discourse in Ukraine. The term "literature of migration" allowed me to differentiate the recent literary trend from the Ukrainian "emigrants' literature" of the twentieth century and to reflect on several distinctive features of the identified texts. For instance, contemporary writing on emigration from Ukraine is described as popular literature largely associated with *zarobitchanstvo*; it is predominantly authored by both women with and without emigration experience; this literary corpus focuses on women emigrants and their migratory experiences; several of the identified literary works are written in languages other than Ukrainian. In fact, literature of migration freely employs a number of European languages. Entire novels are either written in languages other than Ukrainian or contain multiple foreign words and phrases, which can be used as additional, often highly productive evaluative literary devices. The topic of emigration was determined to be the main criterion in identifying literary texts as literature of migration. Thus, the literature of migration in the Ukrainian context describes a sizeable literary corpus, which is fundamentally different from the corpus of emigration (diaspora) literature. While the present research investigated only literary fiction, the Ukrainian literature of migration spans a variety of genres and includes immigrant folklore, poetry, plays, and screen plays.

I addressed a lacuna in migration studies (drawing mostly on sociological, demographic, economic, geographic and political studies research) by introducing cultural aspects of women's emigration. Economic, social, geographic, political and demographic studies of contemporary emigration from Ukraine contextualized the phenomenon. The ways in which contemporary fiction treats the emigration of women mirrors the general tone of academic findings on the subject. The literature of emigration currently discusses the following kinds of emigration of women: illegal semi-skilled labour emigrants (temporary or permanent); illegal spousal emigration; legal skilled and semi-skilled labour emigrants (temporary); legal spousal emigration (temporary); and transitions from one kind of legal emigration to another, i.e., professional into spousal. It also reflects on the main reasons for emigration, the most popular emigrant destinations, the global trend of the feminization of emigration, and the negative evaluation of illegal labour emigration.

In the selected five novels, I identified comparable excerpts and subjected them to the linguistic analysis in order to investigate the depiction of Ukrainian emigration and women emigrants. This allowed me to identify linguistic realizations of evaluation concerning Ukrainian emigration and women emigrants. My analysis revealed that evaluative meanings shape the depiction of Ukrainian emigration and women emigrants in Ukrainian literature of migration in a non-binary (positive or negative), but rather nuanced way. Admittedly, most evaluative tokens identified from the five excerpts are negative. The emotions of fear, anxiety, and sadness dominate most stories. Self-judgement proved to be common in first-person narrations. Emigration was revealed to threaten the very national identity of Ukrainians, which is deeply rooted in the female imagery of the "guardian of the hearth." One may argue that Ukrainian women emigrants defy patriarchal values by the very act of emigration, by assuming the roles of

decision-makers and bread-winners for their families. However, the literary texts reflect their internalized guilt (as well as those same patriarchal values) and often offer a tragic solution to the conflict between the traditional gender values and emigration. The overall negative evaluation of emigration and utilizing the stereotypes “bad mother,” “bad wife,” and “promiscuous woman” when describing women emigrants appears to only reinforce the existing gendered narrative of Ukrainian national identity. Though literary texts give voice to different types of women emigrants and offer insight into women’s migratory experiences, the plots’ resolutions are often tragic. For instance, Liudmyla’s (*Usi dorohy*) fears and hesitation associated with her departure in the first excerpt function as an alarm, warning readers of the forthcoming tragedy. Similarly, Oksana’s (*Ia znaiu*) physical death at the end of her story was not surprising; her soulless existence in Germany foretold her physical death. Neither of the selected novels has a happy “emigration” ending. The realities of emigration experienced by each woman fell far short of their expectations. Liudmyla could not find abroad the professional fulfillment and financial independence that she longed for in Ukraine. Mariana (*Shliub*) was unable to find true love and build a happy family with a foreigner. Oksana’s dreams of providing for her family and saving it from her husband’s drinking and unemployment ended abruptly with her own death. Halyna (*Hastarbaiterky*) never fixed her relationship with her son and never returned home. Valentyna’s (*Korotka istoriia*) aspirations to give her son an Oxbridge education and have a comfortable life in the United Kingdom did not come true. All of the stories appear to share the same message: emigration solves neither personal nor financial problems. Emigration is neither a key for professional fulfillment nor financial stability. It is no guarantee that one will be able to support a family back home or maintain a sense of national identity while abroad. These five novels present one unmistakable truth, Ukrainian women emigrants simply cannot have it all. Women

emigrants engaging in illegal labour abroad are vilified and erased from the national memory; women professionals working abroad legally and on a temporary basis are tolerated and may redeem themselves only when they return to Ukraine to realize their ultimate role as *Berehyni*.

Tsymbol (2012) states that in order to stop emigration of women from Ukraine, Ukrainian women need to rid themselves of the social and cultural implications of patriarchy. While stopping emigration of women seems highly doubtful, I believe that emigration patterns of women need to be re-evaluated. It is clear from the analyzed novels that internalized patriarchy results in the self-inflicted guilt expressed by most literary characters. Emigration of women appears to threaten the very foundation of Ukrainian patriarchal culture and its view of a Ukrainian woman as the silent symbol of a national identity. As the traditional “guardian of the hearth,” Ukrainian women are denied the right to change their status from homemakers, caretakers, and mothers to breadwinners. One may argue that this prevailing negative evaluation of women’s emigration and women emigrants may be viewed as an attempt to preserve traditional patriarchal values and to save the young Ukrainian nation.

Discussions of women’s emigration can easily pivot to broader and fundamental questions of gender equality in Ukrainian society. For instance, should fathers play an equally important role in child rearing? Could both spouses exercise the right to support their families financially and be compensated for their labour equally? Why is “guarding the hearth” exclusively a woman’s role? It is important to re-assess this traditionally patriarchal narrative when it comes to women and national identity in Ukraine. In times of rising social mobility, when the very foundational myths of nations, states, and societies are being questioned, so too should the patriarchal norms upon which those nations, states, and societies are based be questioned. Employing the “archetypal Ukrainian_{female}” trope of *Berehynia* signals not only the

profound internalization of patriarchy by women (keeping in mind that most of the identified novels are written by women), but also the absence of an alternative way of speaking about and describing possible roles of Ukrainian women in the 21st century. Ukrainian society's longstanding conflation of women and nation is not productive when it comes to understanding emigration of women. Ukrainian women emigrants will continue to be stigmatized unless Ukrainian society critically engages with questions related to gender, belonging, and national identity. A social and cultural re-evaluation of these topics will ultimately lead to a re-evaluation of emigration generally and emigration of women specifically.

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

As this research is multidisciplinary in scope, its findings have relevance to the fields of literary studies, linguistics, and migration studies. My research analyzed and conceptualized a new trend in the Ukrainian literature. Furthermore, the comparison of literary and academic writings on women's emigration contextualized the ways in which emigration of women and women emigrants are evaluated. Additionally, this study contends that emigration of women is a separate field worthy of scholarly inquiry as well as literary and linguistic exploration. By successfully incorporating findings from a variety of disciplines, the present research yielded detailed and objective results. For instance, this project's linguistic analysis presented a more nuanced picture of women emigration from Ukraine than the scholarly generalizations mentioned in the introduction (Tsymbal, 2012).⁴⁴¹ This project also confirmed the applicability of Appraisal Theory to both literary texts and texts written in Ukrainian, thus expanding its reach and relevance. The above listed observations support my argument that more research is needed to uncover individualized women emigrant experiences and incorporate them into the field of migration studies, particularly with respect to the Ukrainian context. These could be identified from sociological, ethnographic, literary, or folklore studies, shaping Ukrainian migration studies into a more comprehensive multidisciplinary exploration. Additionally, employing linguistic techniques when assessing the depiction of women's emigration and its agents enriches an analysis by providing a detailed and balanced perspective.

This study may serve as an introduction to future linguistic and literary research of both Ukrainian literature of migration and Ukrainian emigration of women. Additional research is needed to properly conceptualize the term "literature of migration" in the Ukrainian context,

⁴⁴¹ Tsymbal's comment on "the woman emigrants' most cherished dream" of marrying a foreigner" does not apply to the five novels in my analysis.

which admittedly could lead to the discovery of a better term and/or expansion of the pool of literary texts. The findings of this exploration also suggest that comparative studies including men-authored novels could offer additional insight into the evaluation of women emigrants. In my opinion, the exploration of the evaluative potential of various linguistic registers used in the same text may be an interesting avenue for future research. Different texts could be selected to build on the linguistic findings of the research. Similarly, different literary and linguistic theories could be applied to explore the topic of Ukrainian emigration of women further. The composition of the present research could be used to inspire more elaborate multidisciplinary studies incorporating literary texts and/or linguistic research.

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Appendix 1 Coding sheet for excerpt 1 *Usi dorohy vedut 'do Rymu* (2004)

N	Appraising Item	Appraiser	Affect	Judgement	Appreciation	Appraised
1	Добровільна мобілізація	Narrator		- norm		Ukrainian Emigration
2	Перший український [Фронт]	Narrator		- norm		Ukrainian Emigration
3	Другий український [Фронт]	Narrator		- norm		Ukrainian Emigration
4	Третій український [Фронт]	Narrator		- norm		Ukrainian Emigration
5	Фронтів більше, ніж у Другу світову	Narrator		- norm		Ukrainian Emigration
6	берегиня сама родину покинула	Narrator		- norm		A Ukrainian woman emigrant
7	Троє дітей виростають без мами	Narrator		- norm		A Ukrainian woman emigrant
8	якось раду дає, і непогано	Narrator		+ ten		A Ukrainian woman emigrant
9	розведена молодиця... Дітей виховує бабуся	Narrator		- norm		A Ukrainian woman emigrant
10	дочка там. Залишила чоловіка і двох дітей	Narrator		- norm		A Ukrainian woman emigrant
11	аніж ставати жовчною заздріницею	Narrator		neg + cap		Narrator
12	рятівних заробітків	Narrator			neg + val	Labour migration
13	моє серце... пручалося неймовірно!	Narrator	- des			Narrator's heart
14	тисне тривогою	Narrator	- sec			Narrator's heart

15	ніби погодилася живою лягти в труну і дати загребти себе землею	Narrator	- sec			Narrator
16	переживання	Narrator	- sec			Narrator
17	працювала б... в Італії	Young conscript	+ des			Conscript's mother
18	почуваюся непотрібною	Narrator			- val	Narrator
19	розгублена	Narrator	- sec			Narrator
20	дурнувата чесність	Narrator		neg + prop		Narrator's honesty
21	розтоптана і обпльована	Narrator		- prop		Narrator's honesty
22	мушу покинути	Narrator		- ten		Narrator
23	службу... добровільну	Narrator		- norm		Ukrainian Emigration
24	А сльози щораз виступають	Narrator	- hap			Narrator
25	протестує серце	Narrator	- des			Narrator's heart
26	покинути синочків	Narrator		-prop		Narrator
27	овдовіти при живому чоловікові	Narrator		- prop		Narrator
28	залишити... дім, ...батьків	Narrator		- prop		Narrator
29	не радіє	Narrator	- hap			Narrator's heart
30	страхи наростають	Narrator	- sec			Narrator
31	нема відчуття щастя	Narrator	- hap			Narrator
32	намагаюся не брехати	Narrator		+ ten + prop		Narrator

33	Не вірю... що моя багаторічна робота вчителя комусь потрібна	Narrator			- val	Narrator
34	Не бачу плодів тієї праці	Narrator			- val	Narrator
35	пересічної провінційної вчительки	Narrator			- val	Narrator
36	страшних зусиль	Narrator		- ten		Narrator
37	не можу вчити і виховувати	Narrator		- cap		Narrator
38	не могла створити	Narrator		- cap		Narrator
39	стану надокучливою дивачкою	Narrator			- val	Narrator
40	потраплю до божевільні	Narrator			- val	Narrator
41	забомжую	Narrator			- val	Narrator
42	надто довго вагаюсь	Narrator		- ten		Narrator
43	ковтаю грудку за грудкою	Narrator	- hap			Narrator
44	хочеться... постріл	Narrator	pos - des			Narrator
45	надто довго не могла відважитись	Narrator		- cap		Narrator
46	каскад тривоги	Narrator	- sec			Narrator
47	холодна тривога	Narrator	- sec			Narrator
48	намагаюся не брехати насамперед сама собі	Narrator		+ ten + prop		Narrator
49	заплакала	Narrator	- hap			Narrator
50	схлипувала	Narrator	- hap			Narrator
51	сміється	Narrator	+ hap			Natalia

52	більше там, ніж тут	Natalia		+ norm		Ukrainian Emigration
53	маю пермессо	Natalia		+ norm		Natalia
54	робота неважка	Natalia		+ norm		Ukrainian Emigration
55	наїдаюся досхочу	Natalia		+ norm		Natalia
56	зі смітників харчувалися	Natalia		- norm		Natalia
57	не журись	Bus driver	pos - hap			Natalia
58	Наталя сміється	Narrator	+ hap			Natalia
59	навчилася користати	Natalia		- prop		Natalia
60	Дає мені гроші на м'ясо. А я на куповання йду в собачий магазин	Natalia		- prop		Natalia
61	різниця в кишені	Bus driver		- prop		Natalia
62	Головне - показати, що ти йому все приготувала по-науковому	Natalia		- ver		Natalia
63	сміючись	Narrator	+ hap			Natalia
64	не хочу говорити	Narrator	- des			Narrator
65	неправильна	Natalia			Pos - val	Narrator
66	по-космічному сумно	Narrator	- hap			Narrator
67	завила б	Narrator	- hap			Narrator
68	розгубленість	Narrator	- sec			Narrator
69	самотність	Narrator	- hap			Narrator
70	плаче душа	Narrator	- hap			Narrator's soul

71	квилить, як покинуте кошеня	Narrator	- hap			Narrator's soul
72	потребує захисту	Narrator	- sec			Narrator's soul
73	[потребує] любові		- sec			
74	перепони подолала			+ ten		Emigration process

Appendix 2 Coding sheet for excerpt 2 *Shliub iz kukhlem Pil'zens'koho pyva* (2007)

N	Appraising Item	Appraiser	Affect	Judgement	Appreciation	Appraised
75	з пишною копицею каштанового волосся	Narrator			+ val	Narrator
76	задумливими очима	Narrator			neut val	Narrator
77	усміхається новому дню	Narrator	+ hap			Narrator
78	щаслива уранці	Narrator	+ hap			Narrator
79	не сиджу гола	Narrator		+ prop		Narrator
80	не поглинаю щі дерев'яною ложкою	Narrator		+ norm		Narrator
81	ностальгія не загрожує	Narrator	+ hap			Narrator
82	життя прекрасне	Narrator	+ hap			Narrator
83	почуття впевненості	Narrator	+ sec			Narrator
84	радість нуртує	Narrator	+ hap			Narrator
85	“росіянка”	Narrator		- ver		Narrator
86	Stammgaesting - постійна гостя	Narrator			+ val	Narrator
87	жалко тебе марок?	Liudka		pos - prop		Narrator
88	я тебе не верю	Liudka		- prop		Narrator

89	ты жадная	Liudka		pos - prop		Narrator
90	перекладацький інстинкт спрацьовує	Narrator			+ val	Narrator
91	починаю вибачатися	Narrator		+ prop		Narrator
92	благаю лікарку	Narrator		+ prop		Narrator
93	дипломатично відповідаю	Narrator		+ prop		Narrator
94	Я до них [спеціальних гурманів] не належу	Narrator		+ norm		Narrator
95	проешь свои суточные	Doctor		- prop		Narrator
96	без злості посилаю я доктора	Narrator	+ hap			Narrator
97	Я дивлюся на світ чимдалі веселіше	Narrator	+ hap			Narrator
98	не перекладу її грубощі	Narrator		pos - prop		Narrator
99	щиро люблю	Narrator	+ hap			Patients
100	не просто люблю	Narrator	neg + hap			Patients
101	обожаю	Narrator	+ hap			Patients
102	мріяла	Narrator	+ des			Narrator

Appendix 3 Coding sheet for excerpt 3 *Ia znaiu, shcho ty znaiesh, shcho ia znaiu* (2011)

N	Appraising Item	Appraiser	Affect	Judgement	Appreciation	Appraised
103	душа була не на місці!	Narrator	- hap			Oksana
104	душа не повертається	Narrator	- hap			Oksana

105	а як жити без душі...?	Narrator	- hap			Oksana
106	що ось тут є діра - велика вакуумна порожнеча	Narrator	- hap			Oksana
107	виникає біль	Narrator	- hap			Oksana
108	мов жива істота, тягне із судин усі соки	Narrator	- hap			Oksana
109	ліхтарик болю запалюється	Narrator	- hap			Oksana
110	вилетіла душа	Narrator	- hap			Oksana
111	біль зринає і зникає раптово	Narrator	- hap			Oksana
112	І болить	Narrator	- hap			Oksana
113	млосний, довгий, пронизливий біль наповнював груди	Narrator	- hap			Oksana
114	вона [пам'ять] вмикає біль	Narrator	- hap			Oksana
115	[пам'ять] висмоктує з Оксани всі життєві соки	Narrator	- hap			Oksana
116	захована зібрана валіза	Narrator		- ver		Oksana
117	Збирала її [валізу] коли діти були в школі, а чоловік спав, зачинившись у своїй кімнаті	Narrator		- ver		Oksana
118	кожна клітина тіла вібривала	Narrator	- sec			Oksana
119	так, вона тікає	Narrator		- prop		Oksana
120	так, вона залишає дітей	Narrator		- prop		Oksana
121	так, вона - найостанніша тварюка	Narrator			- val	Oksana

122	так, її осудять	Narrator		pos - norm		Oksana
123	існувати на межі життя і смерті	Narrator	- sec			Oksana
124	щоденно, щохвилини думати про вибір на користь останньої	Narrator	- hap			Oksana
125	не може обрати смерть	Narrator		- cap		Oksana
126	не має на те ніякого морального права	Narrator		- prop		Oksana
127	мусить втікти, щоб дати їм [дітям] життя	Narrator		+ ten		Oksana
128	збожеволіє від відчаю і хронічної втоми	Narrator		- cap		Oksana
129	як вона наважилась на від'їзд?	Narrator		+ ten		Oksana
130	гнітило	Narrator	- hap			Oksana
131	не могла пояснити дітям, а тим більше чоловікові	Narrator		- cap		Oksana
132	стиснути зуби	Narrator		+ ten		Oksana
133	проклясти себе	Narrator		- norm		Oksana
134	тікати	Narrator		- prop		Oksana
135	почуватися останньою тварюкою	Narrator			- val	Oksana
136	відмовить собі в усьому	Narrator		+ ten		Oksana
137	абсолютно в усьому	Narrator		+ ten		Oksana
138	гризтиме сухарі і питиме лише воду	Narrator		+ ten		Oksana
139	працюватиме, як віл	Narrator		+ ten		Oksana

140	шелест валюти в руках буде для неї найкращою симфонією	Narrator	+ hap			Oksana
141	спокійна	Narrator	+ hap _{irrealis}			Oksana
142	ковтаючи сльози	Narrator	- hap			Oksana
143	треба... протриматися..., нічим не виказати...	Narrator		+ ten		Oksana
144	жаху і болю	Narrator	- hap			Oksana
145	бути такою, як завжди	Narrator		- ver		Oksana
146	Оксану ледь не знудило	Narrator	- hap			Oksana
147	Тікати. Тікати. Тікати,	Narrator		- prop		Oksana
148	треба в це вірити	Narrator		+ ten		Oksana
149	любов і повага... проминула	Narrator	- hap - sat			Oksana's husband
150	Це було витримати ще важче	Narrator		- ten		Oksana
151	Вона нагодувала їх супом	Narrator		- ver		Oksana
152	Випрасувала всі їхні речі	Narrator		- ver		Oksana
153	Поскладала всі шафки	Narrator		- ver		Oksana
154	Вимила підлогу	Narrator		- ver		Oksana
155	Повісила нові чисті фіранки	Narrator		- ver		Oksana
156	Наготувала обід і вечерю на тиждень	Narrator		- ver		Oksana

157	Перевірила дитячі щоденники	Narrator		- ver		Oksana
158	тамуючи... крик	Narrator	- hap			Oksana
159	не крик, а оскаженіле тваринне виття	Narrator	- hap			Oksana
160	криваву біомасу болю	Narrator	- hap			Oksana
161	Уночі не заснула ані на хвилину	Narrator	- sec			Oksana
162	нервово	Narrator	- sec			Oksana
163	“повідати печалі”	Narrator	- hap			Oksana
164	Оксана тихо вислизнула з ліжка	Narrator		- ver		Oksana
165	невже вона це зробить?	Narrator		+ cap _{irrealis}		Oksana
166	мокрим від сліз обличчям	Narrator	- hap			Oksana
167	хотіла зазирнути до кімнати, де спали діти	Narrator	+ des			Oksana
168	не зробить ані кроку	Narrator		- cap		Oksana
169	Тихо вислизнула в коридор	Narrator		- ver		Oksana
170	Нечутно відчинила і зачинила двері	Narrator		- ver		Oksana
171	Навіть ліфт не викликала	Narrator		- ver		Oksana
172	Оксана охнула	Narrator	- hap			Oksana
173	Завмерла і заплющила очі	Narrator	- hap			Oksana
174	була... порядною жінкою	Narrator		+ prop _{irrealis}		Oksana
175	[була]... матір'ю сімейства	Narrator		+ prop _{irrealis}		Oksana
176	стала залізкою	Narrator		- prop		Oksana
177	збілілими вустами	Narrator	- hap			Oksana

178	біль	Narrator	- hap			Oksana
179	треба... непомітно спровадити з помешкання	Narrator		- ver		Oksana
180	Вона і так ризикує	Narrator	- sec			Oksana
181	сьогодні він [день] буде гарним	Narrator	+ hap _{irrealis}			Oksana
182	посміхнулася	Narrator	+ hap			Oksana
183	змущував її посміхатися	Narrator	+ hap			Oksana
184	вона не збиралася заводити тут романи	Narrator		neg + prop		Oksana
185	довелося взяти над ним опіку	Narrator		+ ten		Oksana
186	розчулив	Narrator	+ hap			Oksana
187	розчулення	Narrator	+ hap			Oksana
188	прикрашала свою і його самотність	Narrator		pos - prop		Oksana
189	сміючись	Narrator	+ hap			Oksana
190	суворо сказала Оксана	Narrator	pos - hap			Oksana
191	стримуючи посмішку	Narrator	+ hap			Oksana
192	прибираючи суворий вигляд	Narrator	pos - hap			Oksana
193	відсахнулася від його поцілунку	Narrator		+ prop		Oksana
194	дірку в душі	Narrator	- hap			Oksana
195	старанну працю	Narrator		+ prop		Oksana
196	не могла второпати	Narrator		- cap		Oksana
197	миттєво сортувала	Narrator		+ cap		Oksana
198	навіть подобалося	Narrator	+ sat			Oksana

199	старанно і чітко	Narrator		+ cap		Oksana
200	зітхнула	Narrator	- sec			Oksana
201	Шанобливо обернулась	Narrator		+ prop		Oksana
202	не любила	Narrator	- hap			Oksana
203	зберігати посмішку, коли життя програне	Narrator	pos - hap			Oksana
204	почуваюсь нормально	Oksana	neut sat			Oksana
205	немічною	Narrator			- val	Oksana
206	у зморшках	Narrator			- val	Oksana
207	з купою болячок	Narrator			- val	Oksana
208	“ліхтариком болю”	Narrator	- hap			Oksana
209	порожнечею в грудях	Narrator	- hap			Oksana
210	останній пункт підсоложував усю важкість і гіркоту	Narrator	pos - hap			Oksana
211	заспокоював душу	Narrator	+ sec			Oksana
212	як проклята	Narrator		- norm		Oksana
213	котрі її зневажають	Other tenants	- sat			Oksana
214	скаже, що виходить заміж	Narrator		- ver		Oksana
215	майже правдою	Narrator		- ver		Oksana
216	фіктивний шлюб	Narrator		- ver		Oksana
217	зможе повернутися на батьківщину	Narrator		+ cap _{irrealis}		Oksana
218	праці вона ніколи не боялась	Narrator			+ val	Oksana

Appendix 4 Coding sheet for excerpt 4 *Hastarbaiterky* (2012)

N	Appraising Item	Appraiser	Affect	Judgement	Appreciation	Appraised
219	не вельми різняться від охоплених ейфорією мандрівок звичайних пострадянських туристів	Narrator	+ hap			Emigrants
220	старанно вдають із себе мандрівників	Narrator		- ver		Emigrants
221	“щасливчики”	Narrator			neg +val	Emigrants
222	“чорних” найманців	Narrator			- val	Emigrants
223	Гастарбайтери...вдають, що просто прогулюються й милуються чудовими краєвидами	Narrator		- ver		Emigrants
224	напружених посмішок	Narrator	- sec			Emigrants
225	знервованих заробітчанин	Narrator	- sec			Emigrants
226	стоять мов укопані	Narrator	- sec			Emigrants
227	дрібно цокотять зубами від хвилювання і страху	Narrator	- sec			Emigrants
228	шукати спокою	Narrator	- sec			Emigrants
229	повними сліз очима	Narrator	- hap			Halyna
230	кортіло перекинути всю провину	Narrator	+ des			Halyna
231	здригнулися	Narrator	- sec			Emigrants
232	нервово повідводили погляди	Narrator	- sec			Emigrants
233	відчули нутром, що ця усмішка віщує недобре	Narrator	- sec			Emigrants

234	пара напружилася	Narrator	- sec			Halyna & Maksym
235	одночасно завмерли	Narrator	- sec			Halyna & Maksym
236	неподобства	Narrator		- prop		Illegal immigration
237	пересилуючи тремтіння	Narrator	- sec			Halyna
238	відповіла, що все прекрасно	Narrator		- ver		Halyna
239	вони лише чекають, допоки їх заберуть представники туристичної фірми	Narrator		- ver		Halyna & Maksym
240	Німець... менш за все очікував бездоганної німецької вимови від людей	Policeman			- val	Emigrants
241	зі ще більшою повагою	Policeman	+ sat			Emigrants
242	мовної обізнаності	Narrator		+ cap		Halyna
243	не молодій українці	Narrator			neutral val	Halyna
244	вивів зі ступору	Narrator	- sec			Halyna
245	важку, але не дармову працю	Narrator			+ val	Emigrant labour
246	знову злякалася	Narrator	- sec			Halyna
247	запідозрила	Narrator	- sec			Halyna
248	запевняла, що вони не голодні, що обійдуться, що дещо привезли з собою	Narrator		- ver		Halyna & Maksym
249	соромилися	Narrator	- sec			Halyna & Maksym
250	нітилися	Narrator	- sec			Halyna & Maksym

251	озиралися	Narrator	- sec			Halyna & Maksym
252	їм здавалося, що представники німецької громади щохвилини слідкують за ними	Narrator	- sec			Halyna & Maksym
253	кут свіженьких фобій	Narrator	- sec			Halyna & Maksym
254	комплексу меншовартості	Narrator			- val	Halyna & Maksym
255	внутрішній неспокій	Narrator	- sec			Halyna & Maksym
256	боячись вскочити в халепу	Narrator		+ prop		Halyna & Maksym
257	думати про себе як про людей із наднизькими розумовими здібностями	Narrator			- val	Halyna & Maksym
258	сприймала його гостинність як знак бути уважною і не втрачати пильності	Narrator	- sec			Halyna
259	природна цікавість	Narrator			+ val	Halyna
260	хворобливу обережність	Narrator		- norm		Halyna
261	стрепенулися	Narrator	- sec			Halyna & Maksym
262	заметушилися	Narrator	- sec			Halyna & Maksym
263	попхали свої носи на приватну територію	Narrator		- prop		Halyna & Maksym
264	пара соромилася	Narrator		+ prop		Halyna & Maksym
265	вивели їх нарешті зі ступору	Narrator	- sec			Halyna & Maksym
266	підозрілість куди й поділися	Narrator	+ sec			Halyna & Maksym

267	насторожилися	Narrator	- sec			Halyna & Maksym
268	кортіло запитати	Narrator	+ des			Halyna
269	як вправний пастух, керувала малими	Narrator		+ cap		Olha
270	відчула якісь негаразди	Narrator	- sec			Halyna
271	вибило останній камінь надії	Narrator	- hap			Halyna & Maksym
272	горе-заробітчан	Narrator			- val	Halyna & Maksym
273	не хвилюйтесь	Khelke	pos - sec			Halyna & Maksym
274	ви добре знаєте мову	Khelke			+ val	Halyna
275	років тридцять, не більше	Maksym		- norm		Olha
276	У мові не бельмеса	Maksym			- val	Olha & Leonid
277	спокійно на душі	Narrator	+ sec			Halyna
278	сміялася сама з себе	Narrator	+ hap			Halyna
279	Не соромтеся	Olha	pos - sec			Halyna & Maksym
280	важко зітхнула	Narrator	- hap			Olha
281	не така вже вона молода, як здалося вчора	Narrator			- val	Olha
282	виглядаєте значно молодше	Halyna			+ val	Olha
283	Бо не народжувала!	Olha		- norm		Olha
284	трагічніше, ніж перший раз	Narrator	- hap			Olha
285	всміхнулася	Narrator	+ hap			Olha
286	спокійний глибокий та світлий сон	Narrator	+ sec			Halyna

287	дуже кортіло	Narrator	+ des			Halyna & Maksym
288	здавалося, що ось воно щастя	Narrator	+ hap _{irrealis}			Halyna & Maksym
289	чуже життя тішило	Narrator	+ hap			Life in emigration
290	лякало водночас	Narrator	- sec			Life in emigration
291	якби вони легально жили в Берліні	Narrator		+ prop _{irrealis}		Halyna & Maksym
292	від страху не лишилося б і сліду	Narrator	+ sec _{irrealis}			Halyna & Maksym
293	не наважилися	Narrator		- ten		Halyna & Maksym
294	переймалися, що загубляться	Narrator	- sec			Halyna & Maksym
295	рум'янцем задоволення	Narrator	+ sat			Halyna

Appendix 5 Coding sheet for excerpt 5 *Korotka istoriia traktoriv po-ukraiinsk'ky* (2013)

N	Appraising Item	Appraiser	Affect	Judgement	Appreciation	Appraised
296	ефектну блондинку з України	Nadezhda			pos - val	Valentina
297	розлучену	Nadezhda		neut prop		Valentina
298	йому було 84, а їй 36	Nadezhda		- prop		Valentina
299	вибухнула	Nadezhda	- sat			Valentina

300	пухнаста рожева граната	Nadezhda			- val	Valentina
301	більше схожа на Венеру	Nikolai			+ val	Valentina
302	Венера Боттічеллі, що здіймається з хвиль	Nikolai			+ val	Valentina
303	золоте волосся	Nikolai			+ val	Valentina
304	чарівні очі	Nikolai			+ val	Valentina
305	пишні перса	Nikolai			+ val	Valentina
306	жінку, що зазіхає на мамине місце	Nadezhda		- prop		Valentina
307	вона прекрасна	Nadezhda			pos - val	Valentina
308	набагато за тебе молодша	Nadezhda		- prop		Valentina
309	їй 36, а мені 84	Nikolai		neut -prop		Valentina
310	солідна різниця у віці	Nadezhda		- prop		Valentina
311	приїхала до нього [дядька] в гості по туристичній візі	Nadezhda		- prop		Valentina
312	хоче почати на Заході нове життя для себе і для свого сина	Nadezhda	+ des			Valentina
313	освічена жінка	Nadezhda			+ val	Valentina
314	має диплом з аптекарства	Nadezhda			+ val	Valentina
315	легко знайде добре оплачувану роботу	Nadezhda			+ val	Valentina
316	одразу, як вивчить англійську	Nadezhda		- cap (+ cap _{irrealis})		Valentina
317	прибирає в домі й глядить його	Nadezhda		neg + prop		Valentina

318	сидить у нього на колінах і дозволяє пестити перса	Nadezhda		- prop		Valentina
319	сидить у мого батька на колінах	Nadezhda		- prop		Valentina
320	пестить її бездоганні боттичелівські перса	Nadezhda		- prop	+ val	Valentina
321	чого вона хоче заміж за тебе?	Nadezhda		- prop		Valentina
322	Паспорт. Віза. Дозвіл на працю.	Nikolai		neut -prop		Valentina
323	вона його глядітима	Nadezhda		neg + prop		Valentina
324	ділитиметься з нею крихітною пенсією	Nadezhda		neg + prop		Valentina
325	вони разом говоритимуть про мистецтво, літературу, філософію	Nadezhda			neg + val	Valentina
326	культурна жінка	Nadezhda			neg + val	Valentina
327	не якась там балакуча селянка	Nadezhda			neg + val	Valentina
328	вона згодна з ним у всьому	Nadezhda		neg + prop		Valentina
329	вона, як і він, обожнює конструктивістів	Nadezhda	+ hap			Valentina
330	і гидує неокласицизмом	Nadezhda	- hap			Valentina
331	шлюб з розрахунку	Nadezhda		- prop		Valentina
332	її одішлють додому	Nadezhda		+ prop		Valentina
333	це її остання надія	Nadezhda		neg + prop		Valentina

334	її останній шанс уникнути депортації, злиднів, проституції	Nadezhda		neg + prop		Valentina
335	делікатної натури	Nadezhda			neg + val	Valentina
336	гарну жінку	Nadezhda			neg + val	Valentina
337	українська громада... її не визнала	Nadezhda		- prop		Valentina
338	сучасна, емансипована жінка	Nadezhda			neg + val	Valentina
339	Кажуть, ніби, вона продала материну козу й корову, щоб купити смальцю й намастити ним пику для зваблення західних чоловіків	Nadezhda		- prop		Valentina
340	красивою жінкою поруч	Nadezhda			neg + val	Valentina
341	як вона буде матір'ю британської дитини і жінкою британського громадянина	Nikolai		- prop _{irrealis}		Valentina

Appendix 6 Excerpts from the five novels in Ukrainian

Excerpt from *Usi dorohy vedut' do Rymu*

Олеся Галич

Усі дороги ведуть до Риму (2004) с. 6-14

Мені набридло це життя... Я їду в Італію. Вся наша вулиця спорожніла. Добровільна мобілізація (1). Перший український (2) - Польща. Другий Український (3) - Італія. Третій Український (4) - Іспанія. Фронтів більше, ніж у Другу світову (5). А є ще ж іще Португалія, Греція, США, Голландія, Корея...

У нас вся вулиця - розполовинені сім'ї. Одна берегиня сама родину покинула (6), пражиться тепер під золотим сонцем. Троє дітей виростають без мами (7). Друга, овдовівши, взяла курс на Польщу - якось раду дає, і непогано (8). Третя рушила до Португалії, рік працювала, щоб віддати борги з відсотками. А з цієї хати він - дець чи в Бельгії, чи у Санкт-Петербурзі, за нами - троє: молоде подружжя і розведена молодиця - в

Іспанії. Дітей виховує бабуся (9). Наступне подвір'я - мати кілька років попрацювала в Італії, стягнула дочку, сама повернулася, а дочка там. Залишила чоловіка і двох дітей (10). Навпроти - жінка більше п'яти років у Римі і повертатися не думає.

Деякі, одержавши право на працю, приїжджають у відпустку. З нудьгою вислухавши нарікання, мовляв, на зарплату не проживеш, а ще як не виплачують вчасно, - сідають у свої буси-НЛО і зникають уночі.

Що ж, на зарплату і справді не проживеш. Аніж ставати жовчною заздрісницею (11) і сивіти від хронічних проблем та безгрошів'я, краще самій скуштувати тих рятівних заробітків (12).

Дурне моє серце від початку задуманого пручалось неймовірно! (13) Де не піду - тисне тривогою (14), ніби погодилася живою лягти в труну і дати загребти себе землею (15). Що не побачу - накладаю на власні переживання (16).

Ось поруч кілька груп рекрутів на залізничному вокзалі. Моє дурне серце читало їх погляди і плакало-ридало. І той дощ, і байдужість людей, і ота дитяча приреченість, розгубленість, страх перед невідомим або неприємним відомим. Кололи голки сосни, шпигали суворими наказами офіцери.

Чому ви говорите російською мовою? Я ж віддаю сина в українську армію!

На каком языке хочу, на таком говорю, и уйдите отсюда, а то сейчас милицию позову!

Сутичка між молодим офіцером і добре сп'янілим батьком наростає. І вже нема Афгану, і ніхто не посилає юне життя на смерть, але ще гинуть неоперені хлоп'ята в армійських казармах і на випадкових роботах, замовлених з примхи командирів. І ніхто таку армію не сприймає патріотично. "Працювала б моя мама в Італії (17), як Влодкова, не треба було б мені йти до армії", - думає юнак, шикуючись у колону, яка більше нагадує зеківську, ніж новобранську. І переминаються хлопці з ноги на ногу, розгублені і знеохочені, потім йдуть покійно за розлученим російськомовним офіцером.

Кому це потрібно? І я у своїй державі почуваюся непотрібною (18). Я теж розгублена (19), як і ті хлоп'ята. Моя дурнувата чесність (20) розтоптана і обплъована (21) піврічними не виплатами засобів до існування. Тепер мушу покинути свою родину (22), звичне для мене життя і стати на службу, правда, добровільну (23). А сльози щораз виступають (24), і щось протестує серце (25). Отак з самоохоти покинути синочків (26), овдовіти при живому чоловікові (27), залишити без тепла і турботи свій дім, старих батьків (28)?

Йду на розмову до бувалих. Вони вже заробили і повернулися. Квартира як лялечка. Нема в ній моїх облуплених шпалер, моїх чвертьстолітніх раковин і унітазів, моїх заклепаних алюмінієм кастрюль. Картинка з виставки: м'які меблі, зручність і затишок, все під руками - таке сучасне і гарне.

У тебе теж так буде, - запевняє экс-заробітчанка Еля, кутаючись у м'який сонячний Халатик.

Але ж дурне серце і цьому не радіє (29). Страхи наростають (30). Нема відчуття щастя (31). Ти дурне, серце, ти завжди все псувало! Мертва краса? Що вигадуєш! Якась страшна пересторога в усій цій розкоші? І живий білошерстий породистий кіт Аджо здається флюоресцентним, несправжнім. Ти вигадуєш, дурне серце! Подивись лише на фото: всі усміхнені, задоволені. Море хлюпоче в їх боки.

Але поруч ще одне - розчахнутий сімейний портрет: нерівний край розлучення як самосуд. Правду відтворить уява: там, на відірваній чорно-білій половинці, був чоловік,

батько двох дітей. Тепер з пошматованого клаптика усміхається самотня мама з одним плечем.

Еля квапливо поклала ниць цього обдертого свідка сімейного драми, сховавши тривожні погляди й двох донечок.

Він тут таке без мене виробляв - розповідати не хочеться!

А де тепер? - питаю.

Живе в коханки. Та чи довго втримається? Я щось дуже сумніваюся... Потрібен він їй без мого донорства грошового...

Чим тут зарадиш? Ніяково мовчу. Еля проривається гіркотою:

Не, уявляєш? Хворі нирки, простатит, а пригод шукав, коли я там гарувала!

Нарешті Еля зручно вмощується у весь цей достаток, запрошуючи і нас присісти, та, залишивши без уваги свої приватні жалі, продовжує розповідь про заробітки. Її монолог нагадує агітацію "купців", які полюють за вступниками до неprestижних навчальних закладів. Мовляв, не пропустіть нагоди вчитися у найкращому закладі країни!

Бути лише рік навіть і не думай - мало! Настройся на три-чотири, тоді щось заробиш.

А як же без жінки? - жартує чоловік.

Нічого, треба потерпіти, - правильним тоном суворої наставниці відповідає мила Еля.

Е-е, розуме, допоможи. Я намагаюся не брехати насамперед собі (32). Так, не вірю більше, що моя багаторічна робота вчителя комусь потрібна (33). Не бачу плодів тієї праці (34).

Задоволені ті, що віддають перевагу простому і матеріальному. Тепер вони живуть краще від мене, поблажливо наділяючи вчителя співчуттям. Ті, кого тримала в найзаповітніших куточках серця, хто тонко відчував красу і писав вірші, зрадили собі, виявилися нездатними до творення земного: сім'ї їх зруйновані, душі їх спустошені, усі можливі гріхи обплутали їх паличку-підпиралочку. Отак і шкутильгають, як живий докір моїм піднебесним мріям і урокам прекрасного, доброго, вічного. Я не туди йшла усе життя. Виходить, і не те сповідувала. І моє натхнення виявилось лише ілюзією пересічної провінційної вчительки (35). Не можна, скубаючи гуску, читати Шевченка. Безглуздо, змиваючи нашвидку гній з рук, філософствувати, чому Лукаш не здатний "своїм життям до себе дорівнятись". Можна, скубаючи гуску, смакувати потім її рум'яне м'ясо і насолоджуватись життям. І ніяке воно від того не сіре і не бідне. Можна, змивши гній з рук, скочити на красеня-коня, щоб відчути вітер, і запах стайні розвіється по полю. Але буде порив волі і життєвої сили.

Який кінець мого існування і страшних зусиль (36)? Не можу вчити і виховувати (37). Я буду брехати дітям, коли день у день зватиму їх до недосяжних зір, хоч самій хотітиметься пухнастого і гарного приватного світу, який я через учительську нужденність так і не могла створити (38).

Чи наважусь закрити двері до минулого і жити у руслі звичайних людських потреб? Невже чекатиму, поки стану надокучливою дивачкою (39), потраплю до божевільні (40) чи забомжую (41), як більшість моїх, колись грізних, авторитарних чи книжно-натхненних учителів?

Я надто довго вагаюся (42). А треба їхати.

Знову задощило. Погано, що я навчилася читати підтекст у всьому. Це заважає просто жити. Мене проводжають ще й у Львові. Зчитую тривогу з очей, із звичних слів

“бережи себе”, “дзвони частіше”, “все буде добре”. Струмені дощу не дають навіть перевести подих, ковтаю грудку за грудкою (43), і хочеться, щоб раптовий постріл усе зупинив (44).

Я надто довго не могла відважитись (45). А тепер їду. Моя дорога - каскад тривоги (46). Хочу розповісти вам правду і нічого, крім...

Можливо, я не з того боку взялася відкривати діжку з грошима? Від початку, від самого задуму вилупилася холодна тривога (47), що повсякчас зростала. Я ступила на дорогу загибелі і неминучого краху? Можна що завгодно говорити про слабкість характеру, психічну невірноваженість чи неправильне виховання, яке скалічило нас, скасувавши всі можливості вижити в цьому світі. Хай тому правда! Але те, що я побачила і почула, - не фантазія хворої слабкої натури. Дивлюсь на все розплющеними од напруги очима, намагаюся не брехати насамперед собі (48).

Зворушливе прощання! Оце найтяжче пережити, - говорить жінка з легкими фарбованими кучериками, коли двері буса, плавно хитнувшись вбік, закрили миле заплакане личко мого сина. Я теж заплакала не стримуючись (49). А бус уже котився по львівській бруківці. Всі мовчали, тільки я схлипувала (50).

Уперше їдеш? - запитує сусідка зліва. - І я... Але мене чекають.

Так знайомлюся з Ланою.

А ви теж уперше? - питаю в легкокучерої.

Огхо-хо, - сміється (51). - Я більше там, ніж тут (52). Маю пермессо (53). За те уклала договір пожиттєво доглядати багатого італійця. Робота неважка (54) і наїдаюся досхочу (55). На початках всяко було, - стишила голос до тасмничого діапазону. - Ми, знаєш, навіть зі смітників харчувалися (56). А тепер - так звикла! Приїхала додому. Городу вже не маю. То я забралася до сусідки, нарвала листя з буряка, нащипала, посолонила, полила оцтом, олією і аж тоді наїлася. Італійська кухня здоровша від нашої. Син приїжджав до мене в Італію, але не хотів нічого робити. Всі з роззявленими пискками чекають на мої гроші, - зітхнула. - Тільки зять щось трохи береться, розкручує справу. Не марнує ніби.

Вона замовкає - озивається водій буса:

Нічого, Наталю, не журись (57): старий твій має понад дев'яносто анні. Помре - будеш вільна.

Помре? О, ні. Вони живуть довго, ці італійці. Так себе пильнують! 90 років! А він не є такий спрацьований, як наш хлоп. Ще сам усюди ходить, керує машиною. І пам'ятає.

О-о, нічого не пропустить, - Наталія сміється (58). - Але я все одно навчилася користати (59). Вони не дурні, ті італійці, але довірливі, як діти. Дає мені гроші на м'ясо. А я на куповання йду в собачий магазин (60). Товар такий самий якісний, але набагато дешевший, бо для псів.

І різниця в кишені (61)? - сміється бусист.

Але ж м'ясо таке саміське! Наші діти і такого не бачать. А я маю себе картати за щось?! Яка шкода моему Раджі: нажереться, перес...я - і тої самої! Головне - показати, що ти йому все приготувала по-науковому (62): у розрахунку - стільки-то калорій, зеленина, вітаміни АБЦ.

По хвилі мовчання знов:

Так уже тих старих в Італії опікають, щоб і з'їли всього по нормі, щоб процедури їм

зробити, як належить доглядом. Годинка - скляночка соку, за дві - бананчик, опівдні - йогуртик, а на вечір заздалегідь овочі відварити (цілу годину!), щоб з мансарелою і лимоном смакували.

Таке-то в них, виходить, головне, - роздумує Лана над почутим, - їсти, пити... І в ліжку лежати, - сміючись, підсумовує Наталка (63). - А я все життя отак робила: прання, кухня, городи - безкінечна крутанина, і нічо не бачила. Якось пішла на поле, сонце в'ялить, голова паморочиться! Збираю квасолю. І що мені з тої праці було? Тут, правда, теж наробишся. Але ж гроші платять!

Її на хвильку зупиняє якийсь спогад, навіяний побаченим за вікном. Дітям я вже сказала: "Якщо щось там зі мною сталося, померла б чи що, - додому не везіть, не забирайте, бо це ж витрати!"

Від тих розмов я замовкаю надовго. Не хочу говорити навіть про погоду (64).

Ти якась неправильна (65), - після тривалих спостережень підсумовує Наталка розчарованим тоном. Наче я і справді її чимось скривдила.

Неправильні теж живуть! - миттю відпасовую. І знов мовчу.

Думаю про своє, аж поки не заколисує ніч. Мені завжди по-космічному сумно (66), коли стуляються двері електрички чи автобуса, ховаючи від мене образ дорогої людини. Якби була псом, завила б (67). І не має значення, по яку сторону розлуки опиняюся - чи серед тих, що їдуть, чи серед проводжаючих. Розгубленість (68) і самотність (69). Чому плаче душа (70), коли пливе у морі зір? Така краса, а вона квилить, як покинуте кошеня (71). Пес, кошеня, поранена пташка. Хто-небудь такий, що потребує захисту (72) і любові (73).

Сірий намет неба солдатською мискою накрив нас: дощ цілу дорогу. Бачите, Україна плаче за вами, - який вже він ненав'язливий розрадник, наш бусист Дорко.

Хіба земля, але не держава, - озивається Лана.

Та воно, Лано, все у цьому світі відносно. До нас, наприклад, тікають зі Сходу. Вже кілька тисяч мігрантів є. Значить, їм тут добре. Ну, а наші на Захід тягнуться. Так-от виходить...

Бусист замовкає, а мені здається, що він і далі жебонить. Це говорить мотор: машина плавно і швидко летить по трасі.

Дивіться, а в Польщі корови такі ж як у нас! - вигукує Лана і розчаровано додає: хіба то закордон? Таке і у нас побачиш.

Ти на дороги дивись, - сміється другий шофер - Валько. - Або, ліпше, слухай. Якщо твої звивини не підскакують на вибоїнах, значить, закордон.

Я і далі мовчу. Підсумовую свої дії. Всі перепони подолала (74). На щастя, візу відкрили. На щастя, кордони перетнула. На щастя, рекет не забрав до копійки... Тільки відчуваю...

Excerpt from *Shliub iz kukhlem Pil'zens'koho pyva*

Леся Степовичка

Шлюб із кухлем Пільзенського пива (2007) с.7-21

Пансіон "Spreeliebe" та його мешканці

Якщо між восьмою і дев'ятою годинами ранку вам траплялося іти до метро “Wilmsdorferstrasse” з боку Kanstrasse, отам, де вона перетинається з Friedrichstrasse, і якщо би ви випадково задерли голову, то на балконі третього поверху пансіону “Spreeliebe” (інтригуй-душу-назва “Кохання на Шпрее”!) ви могли б побачити жінку у темно-синьому топіку з золотим ведмежатком, емблемою Берліна, у білих шортах, з пишною копицею каштанового волосся (75) і задумливими очима (76). На маленькому столику перед нею стоїть порцелянове горнятко, з якого піднімається вгору густа пахуча кавова пара. Та жінка, що роздивляється на перехожих і усміхається новому дню (77), - то Мар'яна, ваша покїрна слуга. Мені ніколи не взнати, ким я вам здаюся і чи взагалі ви помітили цю іноземку, яка щаслива уранці (78) від звичайнісіньких речей, як і кожен пересїчний берлінець - від кави, шклянки золотистого помаранчевого соку і від першої смачної зтяжки Marlboro lights.

Скорїше за все ви не помічаєте мене, тим бїльше, що я не сиджу гола (79), як сидїв Едїчка Лімонов на 52-му поверсі нью-йоркського хмарочоса, і не поглинаю, як він, щї дерев'яною ложкою (80). Був би не пхався на ПМЖ до Сполучених Стейтїв, то не сидїв би і не сьорбав капустияного московського супу, поливаючи його сльозами, харків'янин, якого заїла московська ностальгїя.

Менї ностальгїя практично не загрожує (81), бо я за бугром ненадовго. Оцї пївгодинки належать тїльки менї, цей свїжий ранок, July morning, що обїцяє обернутися на спекотний липневий день, ця гаряча духмяна кава, не бочкова, не совкова, а справжня, свїжозмелена, з вершками із крихїтної упаковочки, що так смакує з тостами, тоненько намазаними абрикосовою мармелядою. Передї мною свїжа Berliner Zeitung, яку тут подають до снїданку, просто кладуть на стїл. Із неї я дїзнаюся про останнї новини у Дойчландї.

Кидаю погляд на годинник, тридцять хвилин моєї ранкової свободи збїгли не швидко і не повільно. Вони тривали рївно стїльки, щоб дати менї відчути, що життя прекрасне (82). З кожним наступним ковтком кави почуття впевненостї наповнює моє тїло (83). Радїсть нуртує в менї (84). Ще одна тоненька мальборина довершує досконалїсть мого снїданку.

Порожня чашка залишається стояти на столику, кельнер прибере її, як і решту посуду, не розсердившись на цю мою примху. Всї вже звикли, що ця “росїянка” (85), яка приїздить щолїта і зупиняється в “Spreeliebe”, полюбляє пити каву з сонячними зайчиками на балконї. Я, що називається, Stammgästin - постїйна гостя (86), а бажання таких клїєнтїв - закон.

Однак менї вже час зустрічатися з доктором. Він вельми пунктуальний і не любить, коли ми спїзнюємося.

Ну, куда ты запропастилась, Мар'яна? - заглядає він у мою кїмнату. - Ты же знаешь, нам пора.

Ein Moment, - кажу я йому весело, і пїрнаю в шовкову спїдничку, спритно застїбаючи гудзики бїленької блузки.

Готовнїсть, як у зольдата бундесверу, п'ять хвилин і я готова.

Ми чимчикуємо до метро. Три п'ятдесят дойчмарок - в автомат, і вискакує квиток. Цак-цак - клацнув компостер, і - можна їхати. На четвертїй зупинцї - вихід із пїдземки,

пересадка в автобус, вхід на передні двері, ще одна марка, і водій видає квиток. Вихід - на задні двері. “Давай сюди свій билет”, - звично говорить доктор. Він - педант, мій колега, і я вдячна йому за його добровільне бухгалтерське занудство. За місяць відрядження назбирається ціла купа цих маленьких папірців, необхідних для фінансового звіту вдома, де всі наші витрати буде оплачено заводською бухгалтерією, тому кожен квиток - скарб. Наші щоденні службові транспортні витрати на одного складають дев'ять дойче марок, якщо по курсу помножити їх на карбованці, буде кілька сотень. У нас на таку купу грошей можна одному прожити тиждень.

Перші дні доктор відмовлявся ходити на сніданок, мовляв, він так рано не любить їсти. Поки я не дотумкала, що причина у його економності. “Ти що, дивак, сніданок же входить в оплату номера!” - сказала я йому. Відтоді доктор завів приємну звичку снідати щоранку і полишати кафе з кишеньати, повними різнокольорових розмальованих корбочок з бутербродними масами, джемами і вершками.

Уніформа кольору свіжої молоді зелені

Доктор лікує не мене. Це - не мій доктор. Це - головний лікар поліклініки великого Дніпрівградського машинобудівного заводу Николай Єрофеїч Калугін. Ми з ним тут через Людку, а ще через Вольдемара. Ми привезли їх до Берліна на лікування. Людка, за паспортом Людмила Іванівна Лугова, мешканка міста Дніпрівграда, що на Україні, вся понівечена в автокатастрофі, бідна психопатка з Амура. Амур - то один із районів нашого велетенського міста. Раніше вона була медсестрою в заводському дитсадочку. Везла якимось пробірки з аналізами в лабораторію і - машина медсанчастини потрапила під колеса великої смердючої вантажівки. Людка поламала з десяток ребер, травмувала хребет і спинний мозок, частково голову, але виявилася живучою. Після півроку, проведеного в міській лікарні, була виписана як інвалід першої групи. Її постійно лихоманить, вона схудла до дитячої ваги, в неї авітаміноз, в неї знаходять “блукливу інфекцію невідомого походження”, вона марніє на очах, і з таким таємничим діагнозом вона потрапляє в клініку Steglitz. Тридцятип'ятилітня жінка - кості й шкіра, схожа на в'язня концтабору Дахау, вона не розлучається з катетером, який стримить у неї в шиї і через який подається в кров необхідний для живлення фізіологічний розчин із пляшечки.

Вольдемар (так почав себе називати в Берліні інженер Володимир Іванович Худошавий) - субтильний, синюшний, хворий на нирки, він мочиться кров'ю, в нього тяжка стадія хронічного пієлонефриту.

Людка і Вольдемар - працівники заводу, який два роки тому обернувся на акціонерне товариство “ЗАТ Машбуд”. Генеральний заводу Віктор Миколайович Зароба з так званих “червоних директорів”, встиг уже багато поїздити по світу, надивився технічних див і впроваджує реконструкцію підприємства. Ідеологічно він уже відмежувався від червоних, нині він - аполітичний демократ-гуманіст, прибічник швидких технічних реформ. Але не тільки. Щороку він виділяє із бюджету підприємства кошти на закордонне лікування двох-трьох співробітників заводу. Злі язики говорять, що Зароба у такий спосіб піарить себе на наступні місцеві вибори, а ще зліші твердять, що він “відмиває” гроші. Як би там не було, а двійко заводчан мають щороку можливість підлікуватися у “продвинутих” німецьких ескулапів.

Людка свого імені на німецький лад не міняла, вона має свої “мухи” в голові. При поселенні в клініку в неї відібрано чималеньку картонну скриньку з пляшечками і

транквілізаторами, і вона вже тиждень як мордується без допінгу. Лікарі германської республіканської клініки Штеглітц зняли з її шиї катетера і лікують жінку без медичних препаратів, трансфузією крові, сугестією та іншими психіатричними штучками.

Людка - складніша пацієнтка, ніж Вольдемар, то ж спершу ми заходимо до неї. У великій світлій, ідеально прибраній і провітреній палаті нічим не пахне. На стінах - натюрморти з літньою тематикою, веселі карикатури в стилі Бідструпа. Просторо, всього два ліжка. На одному, що біля вікна, сидить бліда Людка, розкуйовджена, зі свіжими подряпинами на оголеній шиї і грудях. На другому - стривожена мовчазна літня фрау. Вона з жахом розглядає Russin Людку, худу, синю, з нахабними, широко роздутими ніздрями, важким диханням і каламутно-блакитним поглядом, яка розчепіреними кігтками роздирає на собі поли халата і дряпає шкіру.

Люди, а-у-у, я задыхаюсь! Если они меня не уколят, я выброшусь из окна! - кричить вона нам замість привітання і задирає коліна на підвіконня.

Ну-ка, слезь немедленно, пятый этаж! Угомонись по-хорошему, - звертається до неї Калугін.

Марьяна, ты принесла мне снотворного? - тихенько питає вона.

Кілька пігулок тазипаму полегшили б її муки, але я хитаю головою: "Ні".

Я так и знала! Жалко тебе марок, да (87)? Я бы тебе дала, но у меня нету, - заводиться вона.

Пояснюю, що в місцевих аптеках цей препарат не дають без рецепта.

Я тебе не верю (88), ты жадная (89). Я тебе дома бабло верну, не веришь? - скигнуть Людка.

Вона верещить невгамовно і знову робить рух у бік вікни. Її сусідка по палаті натискає кнопку виклику медперсоналу:

Fürterlich! Hilfe! Жах! Поможіть! - скаржиться вона, шукаючи розуміння в наших очах.

Заходять два медбрати у медичній уніформі кольору свіжої молодої зелені і спокійно, ласкаво-терпляче стягають Людку з підвіконня і вкладають у ліжку. Людку тіпає, один із молодих чоловіків залишається і заспокійливо гладить її руки. Корчі бідолашної трохі слабшають, стогони затихають.

Наступного дня сцена повторюється, і заспокоювати Людку приходить лікарка Frau Schuster.

Frau Ludmila, - починає вона з розтяжечкою. - Вам не потрібні пігулки.

Дайте мне хотя бы пирамидона! - просить фрау Людмила.

Я не знаю такого препарата, - відповідає докториця.

Куда вы меня привезли, что это за дыра, где не знают, что такое пирамидон? - вигукує Людка до нас патетично.

Доктор Шустер приносить товстий фармацевтичний довідник, терпляче гортає сторінки і знаходить таке: "Пірамідон - препарат, знятий з виробництва у 1964 році." Я сама 1964 року народження, тому й не пригадую його, - мило вибачається служниця Гіппократа в медичному халатику кольору молодої зелені.

Я починаю розуміти, що для Людки справа не тільки у заспокійливо-кайфовій функції бажаних пігулок. Над нею панує стереотип, що лікування - це насамперед ковтання пігулок. А оскільки пігулок немає, їй здається, що її не лікують, до неї байдужі.

Доктор Єрофеїч занепокоєний не менше за Людку: “Завод, понимаешь, такие деньги им платит, а они ее прогулками да сказочками забавляют. Что за чертовщина? Уколоть им что ли трудно?”

Іншим разом у палаті нашої землячки, яку трусом трясе, з’являється доктор Stojanova. Вона теж вмовляє Людку забути про пігулки:

Зрозумійте ж, Fräulein, ми прагнемо очистити ваш організм без ліків. Ви отримуете вітаміни, вам переливають кров. Повірте ж лікарям! Допоможіть нам і собі стати здоровою! Вам потрібні прогулянки в лісі, positive Lebenseinstellung, позитивне світосприйняття.

Лікарка ще не полишила палати, як Людка, одержима ломкою, випалює:

Не хочу я вашей грязной немецкой крови, вы убили моего дедушку, фашисты! Уколите меня!

Мій перекладацький рефлекс спрацьовує на “стій, раз, два” (90). Западає мовчанка.

Доктор Єрофеїч увесь немов на голках. Його лихоманить не менше від Людмили. Після останніх слів терпець йому уривається остаточно.

Теперь я скажу без перевода. А ну-ка закрой рот, красавица! - не стримує він гніву. - Тебя с иглы снимают, с тобой панькаются здесь, как с маленькой, за один день твоего лечения в клинике завод платит полтыщи немецких марок. А ей, видите ли не нравится.

Доктор Стоянова шокована почутим вельми образливим слівцем пацієнтки, яке не потребує ніякого перекладу. Вона ще стоїть на порозі палати, бліда і розгублена.

Я починаю вибачатися (91) за Людку, мотивуючи грубість її станом, благаю лікарку забути ганебну сцену (92). На щастя, фрау Стоянова - болгарка, приїхала із Софії сюди на практику. Може, нас врятувала слов’янська солідарність докториці, бо якби на її місці був інший лікар і якби сусідка Людмила по палаті не вийшла на цей час у коридор, неприємностей би не уникнути.

Слава Богу, цього разу обійшлося, - кажу я Єрофеїчу.

Наш ескулап нервується не безпідставно: не доведи Господи консилиум підніме цілком слушне питання, що ви, мовляв, привезли лікувати терапевтичну пацієнтку, а про її наркотичну залежність - в історії хвороби не згадано ані словечком.

И они будут правы, потому что терапия - это терапия, а не наркодиспансер, - говорить він.

Іншим разом до палати нашої неспокійної пацієнтки з’являється з обходом головний лікар гер професор Werner у супроводі кількох колег. Він маленький на зріст, сухуватий, очі з-під скелець окулярів світяться терпінням і добротою:

Hallo! Wie geht es unserer lieben jungen Frau Ludmila? Привіт! Як справи у нашої милої фрау Людмили? Чи вона вже визначилася з меню обіду? Що ви вибрали на гаряче, якщо це не таємниця?

Мне не хочется есть, я уже полгода ничего не кушаю, - кидає Людка збайдужіло.

Так не буває, - гне свою лінію професор. - Навіть найменші пташки щось клюють, інакше б вони не змогли літати.

Він - саме терпіння:

Люди їдять, щоб жити. Ви ж хочете жити? А літати? Нумо! Погляньмо, чим нам сьогодні пропонують підтримати наші сили?

Він бере з тумбочки меню, яке напередодні приносять кожному пацієнтові, і коментує список страв:

Та-а-ак, бачу смаженого окуня, чорняво-золотавого, булькатого, що пливе до фрау Людмили.

Я ненавижу рибу, - буркає наша принцеса на горошині.

А ось курчатко з овочевим рагу, ще вчора бігало, а сьогодні вже летить до фройляйн Людмили, - говорить професор, і - ми не віримо очам! - академік, світило європейської терапії "літає" по палаті, розставивши руки немов крильця. Він зображає для Людки апетитне курча.

Наша пацієнтка - міцний горішок. Схоже, зусилля доктора Вернера не справляють на неї ніякого ісінького враження. Єрофеїч закипає:

Будешь кочевряжиться, голуба моя, я тебе немедленно домой отправлю, - ласкаво-ядовитим тоном звертається він до Людки, не міняючи виразу обличчя.

Ладно, - в'яло погоджується Людка під дією вагомому аргументу. - Пусть будет "цыпленок жареный".

Вона послухала доктора! Що, що він їй сказав? - допитується цікавий професор Werner.

Так, дрібнички, гер професор, то наші внутрішні діалоги, - дипломатично відповідаю я (93).

Професор задоволено торкається Людмилиної щічки:

Gut! Du bist ein braves Mädchen! Молодець, дівчинко!

Після Людки ми навідуємося до Вольдемара. Учора йому зробили операцію на нирках, видалено доброякісний Tumor. Він ослаблений, виглядає кволим, сині кола під очима, але підводиться і навіть виходить з нами на балкон на сонечко. Ззаду на штанцях його піжами я бачу крихітні сліди від краплинок крові.

Вольдемаре, як ви почуваетесь?

Так себе, пока не очень, - слабо мовить він.

Його трохи морозить. Ми всідаємося в крісла на балконі. Навпроти лікарні через лісок бачимо червоні черепиці дахів приватних вілл. На них сріблясто виблискують тарілки супутникових антен, на деяких дахах стоять солярні батареї. Вольдемар з легкою заздрістю технаря говорить:

Вот немцы, уже научились использовать в домах солнечную энергию. А наши пенсионеры согревают помещение, включая газовые конфорки. Так мы скоро вылетим в газовую трубу.

Раптом він націлює свої очі-буравчики на мене і без усякого логічного переходу запитує:

А вам сколько суточных платят, Марьяна, если не секрет? Видик сможете за поездку купить? У меня вот нету марок.

Вам чогось принести, скажіть, я куплю, - відповідаю я запитанням на запитання. Да пивка бы немецкого попробовать, - мрійливо мружиться на сонечко наш прооперований.

Ну вот, еще один артист! Уважаемый, не о том ты думаешь, у тебя, брат, нынче строжайшая диета. Идем-ка отдохнем в кроватку, - говорить Єрофеїч і підставляє Вольдемарові плече.

На сьогодні все. Час і нам відпочити. Виходимо з клініки, і спекотний вечір, по контрасту з прохолодним повітрям, яке женуть кондиціонери у клініці, огортає тіло

вологою, ніби поліетиленовою плівкою. День був як день, звичайна робота. Всі говорили, а я перекладала їхні слова. Слів було тисячі, і всі вони були важливі, бо для берлінських лікарів немає дрібничок. Усе має значення. Будь-яке втручання персоналу в організм пацієнта, будь то клістир поставити чи взяти аналіз крові, чи меню на наступний день замовити, чи прийняття ліків, хід операції і можливі наслідки - все з пацієнтом неодмінно обговорюється і отримується на це його письмова згода... Наші трапези

Спека градусів у тридцять п'ять добряче виснажує. Розкішна реклама пивного ресторанчика прямо навпроти нашого готелю зазиває на кухню "Charlottenburger Pilsener". Спокуса нездоланна.

Ну що, зайдемо "До Андреаса"? - пропоную докторові без особливої надії. Він, як завжди, налаштований скептично. Я питаю трохи глузливо:

Невже тобі не кортить освіжитися справжнім пільзенським? Ну, один кухлик?

Да ты че-е? - тягне доктор. - Представь, что мне не кортит, не вижу ничего особенного в ихнем пиве. В пивбаре бокал три пятьдесят, а пиво такое самое, что и в Aldi, по девяносто пфеннишков за банку.

За дев'яносто дев'ять ти маєш "пиво перед телевізором", а за три п'ятдесят можна поспілкуватися з народом.

Ай, оставь, берлинских пьяниц мне еще не хватало. Я в клинике с нашими психами наобщался. Домой приеду, вот там и попью пивка, да с таранечкой, - віднікується доктор. І де він бачив тут пияків? От зануда, і сьогодні не розколовся! Справа в тому, що Єрофеїч страшенно економить, пфеніг до пфеніга, марочку до марочки. Він зтявся збудувати будинок у Підмосков'ї і чкурнути з Дніпрівграду на історичну "родину".

Ну, Aldi, так Aldi, - погоджуюсь я, - там ціни найнижчі. Візьмемо щось на зуб куснути, я зголодніла.

Да ты че-е, подруга, - одразу передумує доктор. - Дома есть еще продукты. На фига деньги зря тратить?

Ну, гаразд, ти йди додому, а я зараз повернуся, - кажу я і прямую до супермаркету. За півгодини повертаюся з торбинками всякої смакоти до наших трикімнатних апартаментів. У кожного з нас своя кімната, спільна територія - їдальня, а ще ми маємо кухню з електроплитою, холодильник, модерні меблі у будинку післявоєнної забудови, скрипучі старі паркетини. Телевізор з дистанційкою. Килими на підлозі, умивальники в кімнатах, окрім того ще є простора ванна кімната на поверсі, спільна для всіх мешканців. Просторість, не типова для сучасних берлінських квартир, де на обліку кожен квадратний метр. Ідеальні чистота білизни і порядок.

Можливо, саме через наявність кухні, посуду в шафах, старовинного годинника на стіні, який бомкає щогодини, відбиваючи час, в помешканні панує домашній дух. Враження, що живемо в німецькій родині, яка кудись від'їхала і здала нам свою квартиру. Кімната доктора поруч, через стінку, ми взяли цей апартамент на двох, так дешевше, ніж окремі одномісні номери.

Як уже згадувалося, в ціну номера входить європейський континентальний сніданок. Оскільки доктор до нього поставився дуже відповідально, то він, як більшість наших "за бугром", примудряється, окрім добряче попоїсти, ще прихопити непомітно безліч їстівних дрібничок, двадцятиграмових запакованих медків, мармеладиків, маслечок і сирків. Нині, ретельно вимивши руки під краном, увесь цей крам він розкладає на столі у

їдальні, як і рештки харчів із валізи - солодке печиво “Дніпровські зорі” та копчене сало із холодильника, привезене ще з Дніпрівграду.

Ну, ти збоченець, - сміюся я. - Печиво із салом - таке тутті-фрутті для спеціальних гурманів! Я до них не належу (94).

Я вивалюю на стіл із фірмової торби Aldi португальського копченого вугра, анчоуси, іспанські оливки, німецьку шинку, картопляний салат. Доктор розглядає інтернаціональні ласощі і крутить пальцем біля скроні:

Дорогуша, ты так проешь все свои суточные (95).

Скуштуй-но вугра з пивцем. Вдома такого не купиш, - кажу я.

Да ну тебя, что ты пристала ко мне со своим пивом! Ты смотри, подруга, женский алкоголизм не лечится! - схибно підморгує мені доктор.

Та пішов ти! - без злості посилаю я доктора (96), переливаючи пиво з банки у шклянку. -

Бери, якщо надумаєш, я і для тебе взяла!

У доктора якісь совкові уявлення про пиво і взагалі алкоголь. Він не врубасться, що тут все інакше. Пиво для німця - це як горілка для українця, як чай для сибіряка, як кава для парижанина. У Німеччині не запрошують на каву, тут запрошують на пиво. Пиво - не просто напій, це - щоденний ритуал, це - філософія, ментальність нації. Це як повітря. В одній лише Баварії його продукується аж п'ятсот сортів. Десять із десяти німців і німкенів після роботи розпочинають свій Feierabend з кухля пива. І то лише розминка, бо ніхто з них не зупиняється на першому. Один кухоль - це вважай що й не пив, а два кухлі - це ти тільки скуштував, - кажуть берлінці. А зібратися попиту пивця - так тільки навколо п'ятилітрової діжечки. З такою діжечкою берлінського, отою, що з краником, тут ходять до сусідів на вечірні посиденьки. Я не знаю жодного гера, який би не обожнював пива. За пивом обговорюються спортивні й політичні новини, за пивом заграють до дівчат і до хлопців, будують плани на майбутнє. Навколо кухля пива крутиться усе німецьке життя.

Перше, що спробує німець, перебуваючи за кордоном, це місцеве пиво. Не раз спостерігала, як вони смакують наше “Чернігівське” і “Оболонь”, прицмокують або кривляться, оцінюючи його смак, - хто як.

Калугін за трапезою каже між іншим:

Как тебе сегодня наша дуреха? Она нас когда-нибудь под монастырь подведет. Может, сказать все-таки профессору, что она наркоманка? Так честнее будет.

Я дивуюся на Єрофеїча: лукавить чи справді не доганяє.

Ти що ж, не розумієш, Ніколя, що вони про це здогадалися і без твоїх зізнань та моїх перекладів. Просто для нас Людка - амурська босячка і наркоманка, а для них вона - хвора, розумієш, хвора, бо наркоманія, як і алкоголізм - це хвороба. І вони лікують не окремий орган, а всю її хворобу в цілому, яка називається...

Дурь несусветная, блажь амурская, наркота - вот она как называется, - продовжує Доктор.

Вона називається депресія, небажання жити, - кажу я.

Ах, какие нежности при нашей бедности, - сердиться доктор. - Ты вот лучше-ка меня, врача, послушай, - каже Єрофеїч, налягаючи на сало з печивом. - Людка имитирует суицидный синдром, чтобы выдурить у них успокоительное.

І так, і не так. Це інші підходи. У нас дома, коли на дорозі лежить п'яний, викликають міліцію, а в Берліні - швидку допомогу. Відчуваєш різницю?

Давно відомо, що різне меню не сприяє порозумінню межі людьми, от і наші погляди з доктором розходяться дедалі дужче. Людка і Вольдемар дратують доктора, він каже, що вони придурки, які “розпоясалися за бугром”, кожен згідно зі своїм діагнозом, і не розуміють свого щастя. Я дивлюся на світ чимдалі веселіше (97), ніж доктор. Свіже пиво, навіть банкове “Jever”, найдешевше, смакує, знімає втому. Зрештою, що б Людка не молола лікарям, я не перекладу її грубощів (98), так що ситуація у нас під контролем. Головне, щоб вона не вживала небезпечних інтернаціоналізмів на кшталт “фашисти”, “ідіоти”, “садисти”, бо ці словечка розуміють усі без винятку мешканці земної кулі.

А я от щиро люблю (99) цих наших заводських нещасливих щасливців, яких ми з доктором привозимо вже третє літо підряд (щоразу інших) до клініки. Я їх не просто люблю (100), я їх обожаю (101), особливо за те, що вони не знають німецької. О, якби вони добре вивчали її в школі, мене б тут не було! А завдяки таким, як вони, завжди буде потреба в “товмачах”. Відтак, взаємна вигода - я їм допомагаю підремонтувати пошкоджений організм, а вони мені - чаруватися Берліном, блукати його вулицями, парками, пити німецьку мову, як пиво, кухлями. Скільки я мріяла студенткою про це (102)! Боже, дай здоров'я Людці і Вольдемару!

Очі в ескулапа після сала з печивом і чаю стають м'якими і мрійливими. Можу забитися під що завгодно, що тільки-но він залишиться сам на сам, як дістане свого калькулятора і додасть задоволено до свого бюджету ще й сьогоднішні півсотні дойче марок добових, які він зекономив на їжі.

По обіді я йду до себе, переодягаюся і махаю ручкою Єрофеїчу. Якщо йому так подобається, нехай собі сидить в клятву спеку в чотирьох стінах і дивиться кіно “по ящику”. І міцно тримається за свою панчошу з марками. А мені потрібна цивілізація і розкіш людського спілкування. І я рушаю слухати музику берлінських вулиць і справжнього пільзенського пива...

Excerpt from *Ia znaiu, shcho ty znaiesh, shcho ia znaiu*

Ірена Роздобудько

Я знаю, що ти знаєш, що я знаю (2011) с.59-76

с.59

Оксана. “Гуцулка Ксеня”

Душа була не на місці! (103)

Ось скажи комусь так - і стане зрозуміло: людині не по собі. І почнуть заспокоювати, мовляв, нічого страшного, час від часу це відчуває кожен. Особливо взимку і навесні. Треба попити настоянку півонії чи ехінацеї, волокординчик, більше бувати на свіжому повітрі, думати “про хороше”. Але як пояснити, що навіть після таких заходів, душа не повертається?! (104) А як жити без душі (105), хто підкаже?

Якби Оксана зустріла бодай одну людину з такою ж проблемою, їй стало би значно легше. Вони порозумілися б, допомогли б одне одному.

Просто поділилися б своїми враженнями і симптомами, як це роблять хворі з однаковим діагнозом.

Оксана обвела б пальцем довкола грудей, трохи захопивши верхню частину живота, і сказала б, що ось тут є діра - велика вакуумна порожнеча (106). І її неможливо залити настоянкою! Це невиліковна хвороба. І чим довше стриває, тим стає цікавішою для досліджень. Якби тільки він існував, такий діагноз - “душа не на місці”, Оксана могла б багато чого розповісти лікарям і, можливо, допомогла б науці. От, наприклад, хоча б такий симптом, який вона назвала “вмикання ліхтарика”.

Це коли всередині порожнечі виникає біль (107). Він не гострий, не заважає рухатися і робити повсякденні справи, але він поволі розпалюється всередині, досягає розмірів грудної клітини, тисне на стінки і, мов жива істота, тягне із судин усі соки (108).

Спочатку Оксана думала, що у неї проблеми з серцем.

Перевірилась у лікаря. Серце в порядку. Потім нарікала на шлунок, підшлункову залозу, легені, нирки. Аж доки дійшла беззаперечного висновку - цей ліхтарик болю запалюється на тому місці (109), звідки вилетіла душа (110). Якраз посередині грудей, трошки захоплюючи живіт.

А згодом, поспостерігавши за собою, зробила неабияке відкриття: цей ліхтарик вмикається рівно о десятій годині ранку і випалює організм до одинадцятої ночі. Потім згасає. Дає перепочинок на ніч. А зранку все починається знову. Біль зринає і зникає раптово (111), ніби хтось в середині клацає вимикачем: “раз” - і болить! (112) Усе мов за годинником - ані хвилиною раніше чи пізніше! - вимикач клацає вдруге: можна перепочити, передихнути.

С.61

Захоплена такою незбагненою періодичністю, Оксана провела свій експеримент: почекала, коли стрілка годинника покаже півсекунди до десятої, і сама собі сказала: “Раз!” - “ліхтарик” увімкнувся в ту мить, коли стрілка годинника вирівнялася. Щоранку Оксана чекала, що “фокус не вдасться”. Але “ліхтарик вмикався”! І млосний, довгий, пронизливий біль наповнював груди (113).

Потім вона здогадалась: усе відбувається через те, що в ній міцно застрягла пам'ять про ТОЙ день - день втечі. Це вона вмикає біль (114), не відпускає, висмоктує з Оксани всі життєві соки (115). Але звільнитися від тих спогадів Оксана не могла і не хотіла. Навпаки, щоночі, перед тим як заснути, робила таку вправу: ретельно поновлювала в уяві всі деталі свого від'їзду, намагалася при звичаїтися до цих деталей і так зробити їх буденними, звичними, “прохідними”.

Вивчаючи свою дивну хворобу, Оксана якось натрапила на поради психолога, в яких чітко говорилося: аби позбутися якоїсь проблеми, треба “подрібнити її на крихітні шматочки і проковтнути - раз і назавжди”. А ті люди, котрі штучно забороняють собі згадувати щось неприємне, ставлять дамби і запруды на шляху не вигідних спогадів - так лише заштовхують їх глибше в підсвідомість. А потім усе спливає на поверхню в найнезручніший момент. Запруда проривається страшною і нестримною повинню. Тому Оксана щодня перед сном оживлювала цю картину...

С.62

І в уяві чітко поставала її обідрана і засмальцьована димом дев'ятиповерхівка на околиці промислового містечка. Під старим, ще бабусиним ліжком, захована зібрана валіза (116). Збирала її коли діти були в школі, а чоловік спав, зачинившись у своїй кімнаті (117), захарашений порожніми пляшками. Кидала речі, майже не розбираючи - аби швидше. Довкола крутилася Маркіза. Тицяла голову в речі, тривожно муркотіла, навіть

стрибнула досередини валізи і надзюррила в один куток, дивуючись і, певно, по-котячому радіючи тому, що хазяйка на це майже не зреагувала.

Кожна клітина тіла вібривала (118). Таке враження, що ці мізерні частки, з яких зіткано організм, розбухли, загрожуючи вибухом, після якого від неї лишиться мокре місце. Попри це руки робили свою справу: пакували речі.

Усі питання вона вирішила давно і відповіла на них жорстко.

Так, вона тікає (119).

Так, вона залишає дітей (120).

Так, вона - найостанніша тварюка (121).

Так, її осудять (122).

Усі. Без винятку.

І не буде людини в цілому світі, котра зрозуміла б її. Хіба та, котра знає, що таке існувати на межі життя і смерті (123). І щоденно, щохвилинно думати про вибір на користь останньої (124). Але вона не може обрати смерть! (125) Не має на те ніякого морального права (126), тому що є діти. І вона мусить втекти, щоб дати їм життя (127).

Зараз вони тихо тліють в безпросвітній бідності. У закопчених, давно не ремонтіваних стінах, з батьком, котрий не працює третій рік, з матір'ю, що після приватних копійчаних занять з іноземної мови в різних кінцях міста, увечері падає мертвою на ліжко і дивиться у стелю, міркуючи про одне: чи вистачить зарплати хоча б до наступного тижня. Ще рік-другий і Миколка почне втікати в підземний перехід, де збиваються в зграї діти таких самих невдах, як його батьки, а Оля піде по руках заїжджих торговців бананами. А сама вона збожеволіє від відчаю і хронічної втоми (128).

Як вона наважилась на від'їзд? (129) Просто: знайшла оголошення якоїсь фірми, де їй запропонували непоганий заробіток в Італії, підготувала документи - так заради інтересу, чи вийде? Вийшло. Але трохи не так, як вона гадала: запропонували Німеччину. А коли вона почала відмовлятися, пригрозили, мовляв, треба повернути витрати фірми на квитки. Сума була неймовірною... Гнітило (130) те, що вона нічого не могла пояснити дітям, а тим більше чоловікові (131). Вони ніколи її не відпустили б. Ніколи і нізащо. Треба було ось так: стиснути зуби (132), проклясти себе (133) і тікати (134). І почуватися останньою тварюкою (135) до того часу, коли зможе зробити перший грошовий переказ. Можливо, тоді її зрозуміють. Але, божилася Оксана, таких переказів буде багато.

Вона відмовить собі в усьому (136). Абсолютно в усьому (137). Вона гризтиме сухарі і питиме лише воду (138), вона працюватиме, як віл (139), але шелест валюти в руках буде для неї найкращою симфонією (140). І вона буде спокійна (141) за те, що діти не голодують, що чоловік візьметься за розум, зможе зробити ремонт, вивозити дітей на море і купувати їм одяг, заощаджувати на навчання. А якщо вони не зрозуміють цього зараз - це не страшно. Нехай навіть зовсім не зрозуміють. Ніколи. Головним для неї буде те, що вони вивчатися, стануть людьми, не підуть ані в перехід, ані по руках. Саме так вона міркувала, ковтаючи сльози (142) і заштовхуючи зібрану валізу під ліжко.

Такі мало приїхати за нею о п'ятій ранку. Треба було протриматися вечір і ніч, нічим не виказати (143) свого жаху і болю (144), бути такою, як завжди (145). Щойно вона заховала валізу, як із сусідньої кімнати, де останнім часом мешкав чоловік, виповзаючи звідти лише поїсти, залунало:

Гуцулко Ксеню,
Я тобі на трембіті,
Лише одній в цілім світі

Розкажу про любов!

Оксану ледь не знудило (146).

Уявила, як Сергій сидить на ліжку в синіх “сімейних” трусах і, поглядаючи на себе у велике каламутне дзеркало, що стоїть навпроти, награв на баяні це танго. І картинно трясє над клавіатурою довгим, давно не митим волоссям. Але грає вправно, так само як тоді, коли вона вперше побачила його на танцмайданчику і заклала на місці. І піддалася музиці, словам, юнацькій романтиці життя, яке тільки розпочиналося і мало бути чудовим...

Тікати. Тікати. Тікати (147).

З дітьми він відчує відповідальність, візьметься за розум. Треба в це вірити (148). А якщо й не візьметься - її закордонного заробітку вистачить на всіх. Навіть якщо любов і повага до цього “першого хлопця на селі” давно проминула (149).

Потім... Потім зі школи повернулися діти. Це було витримати ще важче (150), ніж “туцулку Ксеню”. Вона нагодувала їх супом (151). Випрасувала всі їхні речі (152). Посклала всі шафки (153). Вимила підлогу (154). Повісила нові чисті фіранки (155). Наготувала обід і вечерю на тиждень (156). Перевірила дитячі щоденники, з кожним по черзі сіла робити домашнє завдання (157), весь час тамуючи всередині себе крик (158). Не крик, а оскаженіле тваринне виття (159), що переповнило не тільки груди, але й колом стояло в серці, легенях, нирках. Немов хтось вивертав її зсередини, перетворюючи на криваву біомасу болю (160), що лише зовні була вкрита шкірою і ще зберігала свою людську оболонку.

Уночі не заснула ані на хвилину (161). Маркіза, котра відчувала Оксанин настрій, мов барометр, усю ніч не злізала з її грудей. Оксана занурювала пальці в м'яку котячу шерсть, машинально нервово (162) стискаючи і розтискаючи їх - і, мабуть, завдавала кошеняті болю. Але Маркіза терпляче витримувала ці жорстокі пестощі і лише час від часу підводила на хазяйку свої дивовижно сині очі-зірочки, уважно заглядаючи в обличчя. Єдина подружка, котрій вона могла “повідати печалі”(163)...

О пів на п'яту Оксана тихо вислизнула з ліжка (164), швидко натягнула джинси. Тут же в кімнаті взулась і накинула плащ. Маркіза занявчала, забігала по розстеленому ліжку, мов навіжена. Оксана цикнула на неї. Витягла валізу. Присіла, втративши сили. Невже вона це зробить? (165) Узяла Маркізу, ткнулася їй в шерсть мокрим від сліз обличчям (166). Потім рішуче відкинула кошеня на ковдру: “Все, спи!”. Хотіла зазирнути до кімнати (167), де спали діти, і одразу зрозуміла: щойно побачить їх - не зробить ані кроку (168). Тихо вислизнула в коридор (169). Нечутно відчинила і зачинила двері (170). Підсунула ключі під гумовий килимок - вони їй більше не потрібні... Побігла сходами вниз. Навіть ліфт не викликала, аби не створювати зайвого галасу (171). Вийшла на подвір'я...

Воно дихало проходом весняного ранку. У палісаднику на деревах уже визрівало листя - ще день-другий і все тут зазеленіє, забує білим цвітом, хмільним яблуневим ароматом. Дерева в палісаднику стояли в білих гольфах, мов діти на шкільній лінійці: вчора вона сама побілила їхні стовбури від шкідників, допомагаючи двірнику. Це все, що вона могла зробити тут, де пройшло життя, востаннє.

На подвір'я нечутно вкотилося таксі. І в цю ж мить Оксана почула, як зверху з прочиненого вікна пролунало довге і голосне: “Мя-я-я!..”. Відлуння прокотилось дворі. Маркіза навіть не закінчила свою фразу - летіла, незграбно бовтаючи в повітрі лапами. Оксана охнула (172) і разом з видихом почула глухий удар маленького тіла об землю.

Завмерла і заплющила очі (173). Отямилась від незадоволеного голосу таксиста: “Ну, сідаєш, чи ні?!” Оксана поглянула в палісадник - там нерухомо лежала її кішка. Вона була ще жива і дивилась на неї - прямо в очі. Якщо зараз підхопити її і занести додому - вже ніколи звідти не вирвешся. Якщо цього не зробити - до скону бачитимеш перед собою той погляд.

У дворі стояла нестерпна тиша. Навіть пташки припинили, ніби спостерігаючи за ситуацією: підійде - не підійде? Ця довга мить і розділила її життя на “до”, де вона була порядною жінкою (174), матір'ю сімейства (175), і “після”, коли вона стала залізкою (176).

Її розірвало навпіл, мов паперову ляльку-орігамі, і одна частина полетіла за вітром... Оксана кинула останній погляд на розпластане, вивернуте тільце Маркізи, ворухнула збілілими вустами (177): “Пробач...” і швидко сіла в таксі.

Поки авто виїжджало з двору, дивилась на палісадник із заднього сидіння, вивернувши голову - майже в тій незручній позі, в якій на землі лежала кішка і дивилась їй услід.

...Оксана ворухнулася на ліжку і цей порух перекотив біль (178) до шлунка і назад - до середини грудей.

Отже, і сьогодні нічого не змінилось. Але вона вже звикла. Хоча намітився і деякий прогрес: спогад дворічної давнини вже не викликав спазмів, сприймався, мов сон. Страшний і далекий. Оксана глянула на Меджнуна, котрий лежав біля неї так тихо, ніби і не дихав. Роки нелегального життя закордоном зробили з нього боязке мишеня. За десять хвилин треба його розбудити і непомітно спроводити з помешкання (179). Вона і так ризикує (180), даючи йому притулок. Якщо це помітить фрау Шульце чи ще хтось із сусідів, проблем не оберешся!

Ніч закінчилась. Прийшов новий день. Сьогодні він буде гарним (181): після роботи вона піде на пошту і відправить додому черговий переказ. Зайде в інтернет-клуб - раптом хтось із дітей відгукнувся на її листи. Вона на це чекає всі ці два безкінченні роки. Вона напише, що зовсім скоро виїде до Ізраїлю або Італії, де зароблятиме набагато більше, і тоді Оля поїде вчитися до Києва, винайматиме квартиру, вивчиться, як мріяла, на економіста, вийде заміж. А вона скоро повернеться няньчити онуків.

Оксана посміхнулася (182), ніби вже тримала на руках маля. Звісно, у тридцять чотири думати про це зарано, але про що ще думати? Не про себе ж! І не про цього кумедного турка, що сопе поруч і часов виголошує смішні слова, щось на кшталт “О, зірка очей моїх...” - мов який-небудь бей чи паша. Почувши, що вона ворухнулася, Меджнун розплющив очі, потягнувся до неї рукою.

Тобі час! - Оксана відкинула руку, вказуючи очима на годинник. - Одягайся швиденько. Ми проспали. Доведеться спускати тебе з вікна. Униз головою!!

Меджнун перелякано поглянув на неї, не розуміючи, жартує вони чи говорить серйозно, і швидко почав натягувати джинси.

Я буду “маджнун Окс'яни...”, - промовив він з акцентом, який завжди змушував її посміхатися (183), хоч в якому б настрої вона була.

Цей кумедний азіат, мов мала дитина - наївний, із завжди здивованим виразом обличчя. Вона познайомилась з ним у кав'ярні, де він працював мийником посуду. Звісно, вона не збиралася заводити тут романи (184), але хлопець так прикипів до неї, що довелося взяти над ним опіку (185).

Спочатку він розчулив її (186) білосніжною сорочкою, котру, не маючи іншої, прав і прасував чи не щоденно. А згодом розчулення (187) дійшло того, що раз чи два на тиждень вона забирала юнака до себе на ніч, щоб той міг виспатись, адже винаймав одне помешкання разом із десятьма своїми співвітчизниками. Підгодовувала “домашнім”, прала і прасувала його речі, прикрашала свою і його самотність (188) настільки, наскільки їй дозволяла постійна втома і відсутність на місці зниклої душі...

Що це означає? - запитала вона, сміючись (189) над тим, як смішно він вимовляє її ім'я - з наголосом на останньому складі.

У східному епосі був такий собі “маджнун Лейла”, що означає - “той, що збожеволів через кохання до Лейли”...

А-а...Хіба це не ім'я? І чому “Маджнун”? Здається, ми це в школі проходили - “Лейла і Меджнун”...

Так, ім'я - Меджнун, а слово “божевільний” пишеться через “а” - “маджнун”, - серйозно почав пояснювати турок. - А насправді його звали Гаїс ібн аль-Мулаввах ібн Музахім. А вже після того, коли він збожеволів через нещасливе кохання, його прозвали “маджнуном”... От і я - “маджнун Окс'яна”...

Не заговорюй мені зуби! - суворо сказала Оксана (190), стримуючи посмішку (191) і прибираючи суворий вигляд (192). - І не сподівайся на сніданок. Ось бери цю канапку і мерщій - “цигель-цигель ай-лю-лю - ауфідерзейн!” Запізнишся на роботу. Та й мені пора прибратися у фрау. І потім ще купа справ.

Вона присіла, допомагаючи йому зав'язати кросівки. На якусь мить уявила, що збирає сина до школи... На порозі відсахнулася від його поцілунку (193), мовляв, ніч минула і скінчилися ніжності. Виглянула в коридор - нікого! Виштовхала на сходи.

Ранок починався з прибирання в кімнатах хазяйки котеджу. Потім - чотири години чергування біля ліжка гера Отто, котрого треба помити, нагодувати і перевернути з боку на бік разів зо двадцять, а потім ще по дві години прибирання у двох помешканнях. Часом до цих обов'язків додавалося (за окрему платню) вигулювання собак чи догляд за дітьми, якщо батьки вирушали до театру або на вечірку. Так щомісяця Оксана могла відсилати додому від п'ятисот до тисячі євро. Що далі робиться з цими грошима, вона не знала: ані діти, ані чоловік на листи не відповідали. І це розширювало дірку в душі (194), ніби хтось роздирав її пальцями.

Оксана визирнула у вікно, упевнилась, що Меджнун зник за хврткою, одягла фартух, гумові рукавички і почала виставляти на тацю миючі засоби, якими наводила чистоту на сходах і в двох великих кімнатах фрау Шульце.

Це була взаємовигідна умова перебування Оксани в помешканні. По-перше, з вдячності за старанну працю (195), хазяйка знайшла кілька пристойних родин, в яких Оксана і працювала, по-друге, зменшила квартирну платню, вирахувавши із загальної суми ціну Оксаниних послуг. Звісно, ці умови були вигідні перш за все самій фрау: садівнику, покоївці чи прибиральниці і взагалі будь-якій людині зі сторони, довелося б платити вдвічі чи втричі більше. Адже до вартості їхніх послуг входили податки, витрати на страхування працівника та внесок до пенсійного фонду. Якщо ж людина, котра займається господарством, проживає в тому ж будинку, податкові служби нізащо не доведуть, що тут має місце використання найманої праці. Завжди можна сказати, що квартирант з доброти душевної взявся впорядкувати садок чи допомагає старій пані вимити вікна або розвісити на них фіранки.

Уранішнє прибирання в помешканні забирало багато часу. В перші місяці на це йшло години зо три. Тепер Оксана призвичаїлась все робити за півтори. Попервах не обходилося без курйозів. Вона довго не могла второпати (196), в якого кольору контейнер викидати той чи інший різновид сміття. Цій мудрагелі вона вчилася з місяць, заглядаючи до шпаргалки, яку написала під диктовку фрау Шульце: до жовтих контейнерів треба викидати лише пластик, до синіх - папір, до зелених - “компост”: заварку, листя, лушпиння від овочів. Усе, що не належить до цих трьох категорій, скажімо, старі колготки, розбиті чашки чи вміст пілососа - потрапляє в чорні контейнери. Окремим пунктом йшли спеціальні контейнери для скла - вона також розподіляються на три групи: для білого (молочні пляшки та банки), коричневого (коньяк, пиво) і зеленого (вино), а також - баки для бляшанок. Тепер вона миттєво сотрувала сміття (197) - і їй це навіть подобалося (198).

Оксана підійшла до дверей фрау Шульце і не встигла глянути на годинник - мало бути за п'ять хвилин на сьому - як пунктуальна стара пані сама вийшла до холу з філіжанкою кави. Під час прибирання вона завжди виходила і сідала в холі, позираючи у вікно, гортаючи газету і п'ючи міцну каву.

Оксана привіталась і увійшла до кімнати. Робила все автоматично - старанно і чітко (199). Кожна річ мала стояти на своєму місці. А речей і різних дрібничок тут було багато - не дай Боже зачепити хоч одну! На нічному столику стояла велика світлина покійного чоловіка хазяйки - заможного ювеліра, завдяки якому фрау і має цей “маєток”. Оксана зітхнула (200) і ввімкнула пілосос...

Фрау Шульце підійшла тихо і стала за її спиною в той момент, коли вона задивилась на великий портрет молодої жінки, що висів над ліжком. Довкола витонченого обличчя жінки ореолом світилося біляве волосся, в руках вона тримала червону троянду. І посміхалась. Але посмішка була сумною і не пасувала до виразу великих, дивного - “з золотинкою” - кольору очей. Оксана завжди задивлялася на цей портрет, він заворожував її ось цим своїм виразом - сумні очі і ніби примусово розтягнуті в посмішку уста. Погана роботи, чи не так? - сказала фрау Шульце. - Я її ніколи не любила. І ця квітка в руках - вершина несмаку. Але так хотів чоловік.

Оксана здригнулася від несподіванки. Шанобливо обернулася (201): Ну що ви, Фрау Шульце! Мені дуже подобається. Особливо очі. Вони у вас зовсім не змінилася...

Гарна посмішка при поганій грі... - пробурмотіла стара.

Оксана знизала плечима і почала обмахувати фарфорові дрібнички пухнастою щіткою. Вона не любила, коли хазяйка спостерігає за прибиранням (202) - раптом зробить щось не так чи залишить пил у кутку підвіконня. Але фрау не йшла. Мабуть, захотіла потеревенити.

А вам доводилось зберігати посмішку, коли життя програє? - запитала вона.

Оксана зупинилась і уважно поглянула на неї.

Так (203), - сказала вона. - І дуже часто. Але звідки ви знаєте, що таке буває?

Знаю. А ще знаю, що вам ще зарано почуватися в програві.

Оксана здивовано подивилась на фрау - що вона може про неї знати?..

Я відчуваюсь нормально (204), - відповіла вона, продовжуючи обмахувати статуетки.

Тоді вибачте. Не заважатиму вам.

Фрау вийшла, припадаючи на одну ногу. Оксана ще раз поглянула на портрет: що робить з людьми час! Невже колись і вона стане такою - немічною (205), у зморшках (206), з купою болячок (207) і спогадами, які нікому не потрібні. А головне - з цим вічним “ліхтариком болю” (208) і порожнечою в грудях (209). Оксана поглянула на себе в дзеркало, розтягнула уста в посмішку - і вираз її обличчя став подібним до виразу жіночого обличчя на портреті. Так, ще рано почуватися в програші. Ще є час...

Цього дня, прибравши в кімнатах домовласниці, Оксана:

- а) посортувала і винесла три відра використаного медичного причандалля гера Отто;
- б) відскоблила підлогу під його ліжком від засохлої плями сечі - вочевидь, хворий не дочекався судна від племінника, з яким мешкав;
- в) вимила, змастила і перебинтувала ноги старого, рани на яких страшенно смерділи і сочилися білою рідиною;
- г) чотири рази прочитала йому “Послання до філіїстимлян”;
- д) зварила обід і нагодувала ним гера Отто через катетер;
- е) безрезультатно тричі висаджувала старого на судно, аж доки не зробила клізму, на що старенький зреагував надто бурхливо: довелося знову перестеляти постіль і мити підлогу;
- ж) випрала білизну, котра все одно утримувала запах старості і міазмів...

Коли алфавіт вичерпався, пішли самі “пункти”, які ще треба було виконати після чергування у хворого:

Вигуляти собак фрау і гера Шумахер.

Забрати зі школи і приглянути за дітьми фрау Моніки.

Купити і завезти продукти родині Мюллерів.

І нарешті - зайти на пошту і відправити переказ додому.

Останній пункт підсолоджував усю важкість і гіркоту сьогодення (210), надавав йому змісту, заспокоював душу (211). Зовсім скоро вона вирушить до Ізраїлю - справа майже вирішена і тоді зможе відсилати набагато більше. Розпрощається з бідолашним стариганом, з усіма цими щасливими родинами, котрих вона обслуговує, як проклята (212), з Медждуном, з мешканцями будинку фрау Шульце, котрі її зневажають (213). Їм вона скаже, що виходить заміж і житиме у власному будинку на березі Середземного моря (214). Це буде майже правдою (215): три місяці тому через Інтернет вона познайомилася з Семюелом, котрий запропонував їй фіктивний шлюб (216) і роботу на своїй автозаправці поблизу Єрусалима. Судячи з обміну листами і фотокартками, він не викликав особливої довіри - старий, тлустий і лисий, але запевняв, що її зарібок буде вдвічі більшим, а клімат - набагато кращим, ніж у Німеччині. А років через три-чотири вона зможе повернутися на батьківщину (217) чи матиме право запросити до себе дітей. І це були чудові перспективи. Заради них варто працювати. А праці вона ніколи не боялась (218).

Excerpt from *Hastarbaiterky*

Наталка Доляк

Гастарбайтерки (2012) с.11-24

Міжнародний потяг “Каштан”, сполученням Київ - Берлін, на кінцевій станції виплюнув на перон залізничного вокзалу Остбанхоф чималу порцію українських

заробітчан. Візуально вони не вельми різняться від охоплених ейфорією мандрівок звичайних пострадянських туристів (219). Майбутні гастарбайтери старанно вдають із себе мандрівників (220), бо ж приїхали до Німеччини саме за туристичними візами. Ці “щасливчики” (221) на заробітчанській віртуальній драбині стоять на декілька шаблів вище за тих, хто гарує на нескінченних полуничних плантаціях Польщі та в напівлегальних швейних майстернях Чехії, бо ж зарплатню їм обіцяють значно більшу. “Чорних” найманців (222), як, власне, і справжніх туристів, зустрічають, тицяючи кожному мало не під носа шматки нерівно нарізаного картону, де нашкрябані латиною імена прибульців.

Керівники легальних тургруп підходять до пасажирів, ручкаються. Голосно, не криючись, підкликають до себе гурт із десяти-п’ятнадцяти розпашілих мандрівників, шикують у більш-менш організовану шеренгу й ведуть у нетрі великого міста.

Незатребувані екскурсоводами гастарбайтери розсіюються по перону і вдають, що просто прогулюються й милуються чудовими красвидами (223). Не знімаючи з облич напружених посмішок (224), нишпорять очима по написах, намагаючись вгледіти свої прізвища. До знервованих заробітчан (225) час від часу підходять переважно неголені чоловіки в сонцезахисних окулярах та вилинялях бейсболках. Не виймаючи рук із кишень, вони стиха шепочуть кілька слів приїжджим, після чого ті бадьоро підхоплюють торби та сунуть за подібними на російських мафіозі чоловіками.

Галина Сергіївна Манькович та її супутник міцно тримаються за руки. Стоять мов укопані посеред платформи (226) й дрібно цокотять зубами від хвилювання і страху за своє майбутнє (227). У кожного в голові крутиться нав’язлива думка: кидатися назад до зручного комфортабельного купе, з якого щойно вийшли, шукати там батьківщини, прихистку, спокою (228).

Коли територія біля блакитного пасажирського поїзда спорожніла, жінка подивилася повними сліз очима (229) на Максима Петровича Гулякина, свого напарника, шукаючи підтримки. “Обдурили!” - пронеслося в головах обох, і, ніби на підтвердження цих здогадів, завищав потяг. Він сіпнувся, трохи похитався вперед-назад і від’їхав, звільнивши місце та оголивши пустку за межею перону.

Що далі? - запитав Максим, звертаючись переважно до себе самого.

Жінці кортіло перекинути всю провину за невдалу поїздку на Гулю (230), звинуватити коханого чоловіка, адже це він її сюди привіз, а тепер питає, що далі...

Здалеку пероном, поважно рухаючи кінцівками, сунув задоволений собою німецький поліцей, який привітно всміхався безмежному простору. Українці здригнулися (231), нервово повідводили погляди від представника влади (232). Відчули нутром, що ця усмішка віщує недобре (233) - вітчизняні-бо стражі порядку зазвичай так посміхалися, рахуючи подумки гроші потенційних порушників, які, власне, порушниками й не були, допоки не стикалися з людиною у формі “при ісполненні”. Пара напружилася (234), чоловік і жінка одночасно завмерли (235) й уявили картину арешту. Ось так безславно закінчиться, навіть не розпочавшись, їхній трудовий стаж на чужинській території. На думку Галюні, кожен німецький громадянин знав мету їхнього приїзду й засуджував сам факт такого неподобства (236). Порівнявшись із українцями, поліціант козирнув та ввічливо поцікавився ламаною англійською, чи не потрібна панам допомога. Галина Сергіївна, пересилиючи тремтіння (237), відповіла, що все прекрасно (238), вони лише чекають, допоки їх заберуть представники туристичної фірми (239). Німець, який менш за все очікував бездоганної німецької вимови від людей, котрі вийшли з потягу “Каштан”

(240), взяв під козирок зі ще більшою повагою (241) та пішов собі далі вимірювати перон. Віддаляючись, встиг відвісити ще пару компліментів щодо мовної обізнаності (242) вже не молодій українки (243).

Це до нас? - вивів зі ступору цивільну дружину Максим (244). Він хитнув головою в бік вокзалу, звідки біг якийсь чимілик та активно махав правицею.

Коли чоловіча дістався до переляканих мандрівників, вони остаточно пересвідчилися: цей - по їхні душі.

Вибачте, запізнився! Клятий убан, - відхекався.

Хто клятий? - запитав Максим, ніби зараз його понад усе хвилювала виключно тема загадкового убану.

Метро! - замість незнайомця розтлумачила Галя. - U-bahn - метро, S-bahn - автобус. Запам'ятай!

Льоня! - відрекомендувався чоловік.

З виду йому можна було дати років шістдесят, але він старанно молодився. Особливо впадала в око його футболка з зображенням яскравого мультяшного героя й підписом крученими англійськими літерами "Mickey Mouse."

Галя Сергіївна! - презентувала себе, а тоді й супутника: Максим Петрович!

- Е, ні, тут ці витребеньки викиньте відразу. Я - Льоня, а краще Леон, ти - Галя, або навіть Халла, а ти, значить, Макс.

Пан Гулякін запідозрив небезпеку, підступний обман. Насупився, бо ж за попередніми домовленостями телефоном їх мала зустрічати якась Ольга. Вони навіть обговорювали схему оплати, а тепер цей Леон намалювався. "Ой розводять нас, ой розводять," міркував Макс. Він вибачився перед новими знайомими та відвів Галю вбік. Вони ще не почали перешіптуватись, як Льоня голосно промовив, виколупуючи ключем бруд із-під нігтів:

Я - законний чоловік Олі. Міг би й паспорт показати, аби він у мене був. - Засміявся і продовжив серйозно: - Вона мене послала, бо сама зараз на роботі.

Колихалися в чистому вагоні убану, милувалися крізь шибки красвидами німецької столиці. Особливістю Берліна були будівельні крани, що повсюди височіли над містом. Леон не замовкав, аж від нього боліли вуха. Розповідав про життя тут, на чужині, про важку, але не дармову працю (245), про підступні риси характеру німців та про такі самі, притаманні нашим співвітчизникам. Говорив, не стишуючи голосу. Новеньким було навдивовижу те, що на розпашілого від балаканини Леоніда ніхто з місцевих не звертає особливої уваги. Так, глянуть, посміхнуться та й думають про своє.

Онімечений роками перебування в Берліні, українець насамперед потягнув новачків до супермаркету, аби прикупити щось попоїсти, а заразом похизуватися надбаннями капіталістичного світу. Складалося враження, що всі ці супермаркети, метро й будівництва - справа рук Леона з Бердичева.

Пані Манькович знову злякалася (246). Тепер запідозрила (247), що їх почнуть "розкручувати на гроші", ненав'язливо вимагати, аби вони робили закупівлю. Тому вона, повторюючи те саме по кілька разів, запевняла, що вони не голодні, що обійдуться, що дещо привезли з собою (248). Леонід ішов собі вздовж полиць і скидав до візка усе, на що падало око та до чого дотягувалася рука. Галя волокла за собою величезну сумку з власними речами, а Максим торохкотів по підлозі валізою на колесах. Ці двоє соромилися

(249), нітилися (250), озиралися (251), їм здавалося, що представники німецької громади щохвилини слідкують за ними (252), цікавляться планами дивних іноземців.

Та плюньте, кому ви потрібні, - завзято доводив Льоня, який розсекретив нових робітників. - Сам такий спочатку був, шугався кожної собаки.

Він голосно зареготав, намагаючись невимушеною поведінкою розслабити попутників. Але ще глибше загнав їх у кут свіженьких фобій (253) та комплексу меншовартості (254).

Тамуючи внутрішній неспокій (255) та боячись вскочити в халепу (256), дісталися Леонідового помешкання. На тихій, практично безлюдній вуличці, недалеко від станції Крумме Ланке, поміж приватних котеджів, огорожених парканами з невисоких кущиків, вирізнявся триповерховий охайний будиночок на два під'їзди. Туди Леонід і потяг гостей, пояснюючи кожен свій крок. Прагнув допомогти Галі й Максові адаптуватися. Натомість досяг того, що спонукав їх думати про себе як про людей із наднизькими розумовими здібностями (257). "Щоб зайти, потрібно натиснути код. Запам'ятовуйте. Два-сім-дев'ять... Внизу - селла, себто підвал... Нам ліфт не потрібен - перший поверх... Тут - поштові скриньки... Відчиняємо - забираємо... Йдемо далі... Нічого не чіпайте... Обережно... Відчиняємо... Халльо!" - голосно вигукнув наостанок, коли процесія вже увійшла до квартири. Гості автоматично здригнулися від крику Леоніда, а той реготнув і хвацько підморгнув.

Квартира вразила нетиповим та незвичним для українського ока плануванням. Ніяких передпокоїв: входні двері відчинилися - і гурт опинився у вітальні. Леонід запропонував зняти свої шкраби, взути капці та заходити. Сам швиденько чкурнув до кухні.

Ви обдивляйтесь, що тут, як, а я на стіл накрию! - гукнув звідти.

Галина сприймала його гостинність як знак бути уважною і не втрачати пильності (258). Максим також продовжував очікувати на якусь підлоту з боку співвітчизника. Природна цікавість Галюні (259) в якийсь момент притамувала її хворобливу обережність (260), і вона захопилася оглядом квартири. Посеред вітальні розташовувався круглий дубовий стіл кольору горіхової шкаралупи, окультурювало помешкання німецьке піаніно фірми "Geuer" впритул до стіна та два вишукані стелажі, на яких розташувалися різноманітні витребеньки - вазочки та статуетки, як сучасної роботи, так і старовинні. Стіни прикрашали майстерно виписані квіткові натюрморти та зимові пейзажі. Максим зазирнув в одну з кімнат і пошепки оголосив дружині, що там спальня. Туди не йдіть, то хазяйчине, - попередив Леонід і, замість пояснити, ще більше заплутав і Галю, і Максима.

Вони стрепенулися (261), заметушилися (262), бо ж були заскочені на місці злочину - попхали свої носи на приватну територію (263). Швидко розвертаючись, вдарилися лобами, зойкнули та відстрибнули від спальні. Трохи постоявши, рушили коридорчиком до іншого невеличкого помешкання, куди їм ходити поки не заборонялося. У цій кімнаті на підлозі лежав матрац, а біля нього були розкидані речі - косметика, спідне, шкарпетки та шматки засохлих бутербродів. Ще одна кімната з двоярусним ліжком виявилася дитячою.

Галина Сергіївна лише знизала плечима, нічого не розуміючи, й попрямувала на кухню, аби допогти хазяїну.

Де таке бачено: жінка в хаті, а чоловік біля плити пореється? - запитала удавано суворо.

Але її допомога не знадобилася, Льоня вже накрит на стіл. Повсідалися.

На найдки хазяїн не поскупився, сам наминав та гостей припрошував. Спочатку пара соромилася (264), думали: після вечері виставить рахунок, але жарти та дотепи Льоні вивели їх нарешті зі ступори (265), а після двох келишків кріпленого червоного вина незграбність і підозрілість куди й поділися (266).

Халльо! - почули з-за дверей, у яких зашкряботів ключ.

Насторожилися (267), зиркали на усміненого розпашілого Леона та одне на одного. Після слів привітання побачили так само, як Леонід, усміхнену, але чорношкіру жінку років тридцяти, яка саме увійшла до оселі.

Леонід зіскочив з місця, в один крок метнувся до молодиці, підхопив портфель, який вона тримала в руках, допоміг їй зняти жакет, запопадливо повісив його на плічка, підніс капці й запитав дуже поганою німецькою, чи буде вона вечеряти.

“Оце так-так! Це ще хто така? Може, Ольга і є?” Питання, ймовірно, вимальовувалося на обличчі Галі. Мулатка помітила це, білозубо всміхнулася, простягла витончену рожеву долоню й, силкуючись говорити російською, пробелькотіла:

Я есть Хельке. Хазяюшья.

Леонід заливисто зареготав, переклав українцям, що хотіла сказати Хельке:

Це Хельке, наша хазяйка. Це її квартира, а ми тут цей... живемо.

Галині Сергіївні кортіло запитати (268): “А ми де житимемо?”, але вона стрималася та заговорила до фрау Хельке її рідною мовою. Німкеня виявилася доволі демократичною особою, на додачу до цього говіркою й веселою. Розповіла, що страшенно любить російську культуру, характери та особливості, притаманні людям із колишнього Союзу. Тепер вона мешкає в умовно Західному Берліні, а все попереднє життя, аж до падіння Стіни, була соціалістично налаштованою. Перебравшись на капіталістичну територію, залишилася відданою колишнім політичним уподобанням.

Коли Хельке вже почала розповідати про свої негаразди з чоловіками, до квартири ввалилося галасливе кодло з трьох осіб: двійко хлопчиків - десяти й семи років - і жінка. Це Оля, - пошепки повідомив Леон Максимові.

Той передав звістку Галині. Ольга, як вправний пастух, керувала малими (269), які збиткували щосекунди. Хлопці були дітьми Хельке, але складалося враження, що вона їх не помічає. З будь-яким питанням вони зверталися до української няньки.

Приєднатися до вечері українка змогла лише тоді, коли врешті-решт загнала малих до їхньої кімнати та вигнала їм там заняття.

Ну, тепер давайте знайомитись як слід. Я - Ольга. Льоня, напевне, вам усе розповів щодо роботи. - Ольга говорила дуже швидко.

Нічого я не розповідав, - бовкнув Леонід. - Сама взялася - сама розповідай.

Галина відчула якісь негаразди (270) і, кліпаючи очима, подивилася на Максима. Той засовався на стільчику.

Справа в тому, що ті люди... які хотіли вас брати на роботу...Ну, вони... коротше кажучи... вони відмовилися.

Разюче зізнання вибило останній камінь надії (271) з-під ніг українських горе-заробітчани (272). Відразу почали фільмуватися шляхи відступу, повернення додому зовсім без грошей, машини немає, квартиру заберуть за борги... Бр-р-р!

Зачекайте, але ми так не домовлялися! - зірвався з місця Максим.

Сядь! - весело, але з металевими нотками у голосі сказав Леонід.

Розмова точилася українською. Сімейство Гнатюків (таке було прізвище Ольги й Леоніда) не зважало, що хазяйка квартири ніц не розуміє, а лише слухає й роздивляється своїх гостей.

Не треба давати хазяйці приводів для нервування. Вона думає, що ви - наші далекі родичі. - Леонід широко всміхнувся.

Розумієте, не завжди виходить так, як планується... - Ольга, щоб не відкидати Хельке на задвірки бесіди, на жахливому німецько-англо-російському суржику показово пояснила псевдородичам, що тітка Хельке, яка, власне, й мала надати роботу, тро-ошечки передумала.

Так! Так! - застрекотіла чорношкіра красуня, звертаючись виключно до Галини. - Вона така божевільна. То каже “хочу”, то “вже не хочу”. Та ви не хвилюйтесь (273), якщо я пообіцяла Ользі допомогти її родичці, - я це зроблю. Тим більше що ви добре знаєте мову (274). А Макс також говорить? - Хельке подивилася на Максима, а той, почувши своє ім'я, лише частіше закліпав повіками та пришелепувато посміхнувся у відповідь. Ні! - відповіла Галина й миттєво переклала всю тираду Хельке трьом слухачам.

Усі заспокоїлися, ще трохи випили, Ольга пішла мити невгамовних хлопчиків, Хельке одним пальцем пограла на піаніно, а Максим із Галиною вийшли на терасу, аби поговорити про події сьогоденного важкого дня.

Цій Ользі років тридцять, не більше (275), - промовляв зовсім не те, про що хотів поговорити. - А ділова, на трьох вистачить.

Як вони тут працюють так довго? У мові не бельмеса (276), і як їх Хельке розуміє, найголовніше. Діти - просто жах!

Галя глянула крізь шибку в кімнату, якою носилися голі хлопці, а за ними з піжамами Ольга. Леонід врівноважено читав привезені українцями газети й журнали, Хельке пішла до себе в кімнату. На терасі мовчки сиділи двоє українців на плетених стільчиках за невеличким столиком. Дихали на повні груди. Поодинокі перехожі, простуючи повз будинок, здоровкалися з Галиною та Максимом люб'язно й ненав'язливо. Ті відповідали: “Халль”. Галя й незчулася, як їй стало спокійно на душі (277). Здалося: нічого поганого не може статися в цій оазі, де заможна чорношкіра соціалістка дає в своїй оселі притулок незнайомим їй людям та тримає за квартирантів іноземців без дозволів на проживання й роботу. Диво, та й годі!

Хух! - увійшовши на балкон, резюмувала Оля. - Вклала бандитів. Сьогодні вони спатимуть з Хельке. Ми з Льончиком у себе, а ви йдіть до дитячої. Не соромтесь, як схочете їсти - беріть усе що заманеться. Продукти купуємо ми...

Закупівля харчів, приготування обідів, сніданків, вечерь та перекусів, витрати на електрику й опалення - все це на плечах Гнатюків. До того ж Ольга відводить до школи та забирає увечері цих невтомних потомків якогось Фріца чи Гельмута. Пере, прасує, прибирає, миє й накриває на стіл також або Ольга, або Леонід. Хельке часто-густо на тиждень-два зникає з дому у справах службових чи приватних - має-бо безліч коханців. Саме завтра на кілька днів поїде до Гамбурга. Казала, що там мешкає її сестра, яка, можливо, візьме теперішніх її гостей до своєї садиби.

Повклалися на замалі для них дитячі ліжка: Максим, як джентльмен, - на верхнє, Галя - на нижнє. Цілісіньку ніч жінці не спалося. Мучили не думки про майбутнє, а страх, що дерев'яне ліжечко не витримає ваги чоловіка й впаде на неї, розчавивши, як грушу. “Отак безглуздо піти з життя...” - думала й сміялася сама з себе (278), уявляючи, як буде

хрипіти й пускати слину посинілим ротом під чималою тушею коханого, що білітиме цнотливою піжамою на фоні закривавлених поламаних дощок і розірваних подушок.

Зранку навшпиньках до них у кімнату пробралася Ольга. Пошепки повідомила Галі, що вони з Леонідом ідуть на роботу, повернуться десь о четвертій.

Не соромтеся (279). Хельке вже поїхала, дітей не буде. Ось ключ. Це від вхідних, це від під'їзду. На холодильнику, під магнітиком із зображенням Санта Клауса, написаний код. Завчіть. Можете прогулятися Берліном, насолоджуйтеся, поки не почали гарувати. - Оля важко зітхнула (280), й Галина відзначила, що не така вже вона молода, як здалося вчора (281).

А скільки вам років? - запитала Галя, хапаючи Ольгу за руку.

Ольга, яка відвикла за довгий час, що хтось може називати її на "ви", сприйняла те звернення як таке, що стосується не лише її, а й Леоніда:

Льоні п'ятдесят вісім, а мені сорок дев'ять.

Ви виглядаєте значно молодше (282). Ну, вірніше, не ви, а ти, - виправилася Галя. Виявляється, Льоня мав саме стільки років, скільки Галя дала йому при зустрічі.

Бо не народжувала! (283) - ще трагічніше, ніж перший раз, зітхнула (284) Оля. - А може, природа така! - додала.

У цей час Максим почав ворухитися, прокидаючись. Оля приклала палець до рота, всміхнулася (285), помахала на прощання й вийшла за двері.

"Дивні люди, дивний світ!" - подумала Галя й поринула у спокійний глибокий та світлий сон (286).

Перше, що побачила, прокинувшись, - волохаті ноги чоловіка, що звисали з верхньої полиці.

Котра година? - запитала голосно й уздріла, як кінцівки здригнулися. Тоді Максим нагнувся, так що стало видно його обличчя, і прошепотів:

Одинадцять.

Довідавшись, що вони вдома самі, Максим зіскочив із ліжка й чи не вперше за останню добу заговорив нормальним голосом. Виявляється, він сидить ось так, не поворухнувшись, від дев'ятої години, боїться когось збудити. Хотів до туалету, але, переборюючи природні інстинкти, терпів. Тепер стрілою побіг туди й уже з кахельного раю розмірковував уголос про те, як вони будуть жити, що робитимуть, чи не повернуться завтра з порожніми кишнями додому.

Довго роздивлялися облаштування вбиральні. Особливо вразили пральна машина-автомат і ванна-джакузі, помитися в якій не наважився ніхто з них, хоча дуже кортіло (287). "А як щось зламаємо?" - спиняли неконтрольовані пориви реалістичними висновками. Перейшовши до кухні, почали дивуватися з новою силою. Холодильник-велетень аж під стелю, заповнений слоїчками з варенням, якимись невідомими "фруктами" - каперсами, пікулями та іншими дивовижами. Гостер - особлива іграшка, яку Максим роздивлявся мовчки й на відстані, тоді поліз під мийку й довго звідти ойкав, айкав та прицмокував, вихваляючи німецьку сантехніку. Просто, мовляв, і достойно.

Галя трохи прибрала, навіть наважались зайти до кімнати Гнатюків, щоб там навести лад. Акуратно, аби не порушити конфіденційності, застелила матрац, збрала розкидане шмаття та рівненькими стосами склала на стільчики. Витерла пилюку, помила ванну та туалет, взялася до вікон. Коли все було зроблено, зварила борщ і насмажила котлет. Лише після цього запропонувала чоловікові пройтися Берліном.

Вони йшли, взявшись попід руки. Осіннє сонце лагідно пестило обличчя, і здавалося, що ось воно, щастя - безтурботне, невловиме й омріяне (288). Дорогою траплялися німці, які й не думали накидатися на іноземців із питаннями на кшталт “Хто ти такий?” чи “Що тут робиш?”. Ніхто не запідозрив у цій парі гастарбайтерів. Німецькі діти проносилися повз на велосипедах та скейтах, замурзані й розпелехані, кричали та махали руками, бігали довкола старших. Літні городяни, акуратні та безтурботні, теревенили між собою, сидячи на лавах у парку, грали в доміно, карти чи що там, здалеку не видно. Молодь цілувалася відверто й пристрасно просто посеред вулиці. Все було інакше, ніж звикли Галина й Максим. Це чуже життя і тишило (289), й лякало водночас (290). Звичайно, якби вони легально жили в Берліні (291), у якомусь маленькому будиночку чи кімнатці, то від страху не лишилося б і сліду (292), а так...

На автобус чи у метро цього разу сідати не наважилися (293), переймалися, що загубляться (294), навіть не думали, що будь-яка людина зможе їм підказати, ба навіть підвезти до потрібного будинку. Пізнавали живий організм - Берлін і саму Німеччину - іншу, не таку, яку їм нав'язували багато років поспіль кінокартинами про війну. Галина Сергіївна відразу відзначила, що німецька, справжня німецька вимова, набагато м'якіша, співучіша й сентиментальніша, ніж навчали на факультетах іноземних мов у Союзі. “Шьон!” - повторювала вона час від часу, від чого її щоки вкривалися рум'янцем задоволення (295). Нарешті вона почула живу мову, якої навчала дітей.

Excerpt from *Kоротка istoriia traktoriv po-ukraiins'ky*

Марина Левицька

Коротка історія тракторів по-українськи (2013) с.1-15

Два телефонні дзвінки і похорон

Через два роки після матеріної смерті батько закохався в ефектну (296) розлучену (297) блондинку з України. Йому було вісімдесят чотири, а їй тридцять шість (298). Вона вибухнула в нашому житті (299) наче пухнаста рожева граната (300), скаламутивши темні води, піднявши на поверхню осад заболочених спогадів, давши родинним привидам копняка під спину.

Усе почалося з телефонного дзвінка.

Батьків голос, тремтячи з хвилювання, тріщить на лінії.

Надіє, така радість! Я женюся!

Пам'ятаю, як кров ударила мені в голову. Благаю, хай це буде жарт! Ох, він шизонується! От же дурний дід! Але йому такого я не сказала. Я сказала:

Тато, ой, як гарно.

Так, так. Вона приїжджає зі своїм сином з України. Тернопіль в Україні.

Україна: він зітхає, вдихає незабутий запах скошеного сіна та вишневого сіна та вишневого цвіту. А я внюхую відчутний синтетичний душок Нової Росії.

Її звати Валентина, каже він мені. Проте вона більше схожа на Венеру (301).

Венера Ботгічеллі, що здіймається з хвиль (302). Золоте волосся (303). Чарівні очі (304). Пишні перса (305). Коли ти її побачиш, ти зрозумієш.

Я-доросла - поблажлива. Як зворушливо - останній пізній цвіт кохання. Я-дочка - розгнівана. Зрадник! Хтивий старий звір! Мати вмерла ледве чи два роки тому! Я сердита й цікава. Не дїждуся, щоб її побачити - жінку, що заїхає на мамине місце (306).

Чую - вона прекрасна (307). Коли я з нею познайомлюсь?

Познайомишся після одруження.

Думаю, було б краще, якби ми познайомилися до нього.

Нащо тобі знайомитися? Не ти ж на ній женишся.

(Він знає - щось не так, але думає, що якимось це омине.)

Тату, а ти добре все обдумав? Це якимось так раптово. Вона, мабуть, набагато за тебе молодша (308).

Я пильно стежу за тональністю голосу, щоб не видати ознак несхвалення - так мудрі дорослі розмовляють з закоханими підлітками.

Тридцять шість. Йї тридцять шість, а мені вісімдесят чотири (309). То й що? (Він вимовляє "шо.")

В його голосі чути холод. Він передбачав це питання.

Ну, це солідна різниця у віці (310)....

Надіє, я не думав, що ти така міщанка.

Ні, ні. - Він змушує мене оборонятись. - Просто це... Можуть бути проблеми.

Не буде ніяких проблем, каже тато. Він упередив усі проблеми. Він її знає вже три місяці. Вона має дядька в Селбі і приїхала до нього в гості по туристичній візі (311). Вона хоче почати на Заході нове життя для себе і для свого сина (312) - добре життя, з доброю роботою, добрими грїшми, гарною машиною - безумовно не "Ладою" і не "Шкодою" - з доброю освітою для сина - має бути Оксфорд-Кембридж, не менше. Вона освічена жінка (313), до речі. Має диплом з аптекарства (314). Вона тут легко знайде добре оплачувану роботу (315) - одразу, як вивчить англійську (316). Тим часом він допомагає їй з англійською, а вона прибирає в домі й глядить його (317). Вона сидить у нього на колінах і дозволяє пестити перса (318). Вони щасливі разом.

Чи мені не причулося? Вона сидить у мого батька на колінах (319) і він пестить її бездоганні ботгїчелївські перса?(320)

Ну... - я говорю спокійно, проте лють вривається в моє серце, - життя повне несподіванок. Надіюсь, у вас усе складеться. Проте, знаєш, тату - (пора ставати прямолінійною) - я розумію, чого ти хочеш на ній ожентись. Та чи ти питав себе, чого вона хоче заїж за тебе? (321)

Так, так, знаю. Паспорт. Віза. Дозвіл на працю (322). То й що?

Злий, хрипкий голос.

Він усе обміркував. Вона його глядїтиме, поки він старїшає і слабшає (323). Він дасть їй дах над головою, дїлитиметься з нею крихїтною пенсїєю, поки вона знайде добре оплачувану роботу (324). Йї син - до речі, надзвичайно обдарований хлопець - генїй - грає на піанїно - здобуде англїйську освіту. Вечорами вони разом говоритимуть про мистецтво, лїтературу, фїлософїю (325). Вона культурна жїнка (326), не якась там балакуча селянка (327). До речі, він уже з'ясував її погляди на Ніцше та Шопенгауера і вона згодна з ним у всьому (328). Вона, як і він, обожнює конструктивїстів (329) і гїдує неокласицизмом (330). У них багато спїльного. Стїйкі пїдвалина для шлюбу.

Тату, а ти не вважаєш, що їй би було краще вийти за чоловіка бїльш-менш її віку? Чиновники зрозумїють, що це шлюб з розрахунку (331). Вони не дурні.

Гм.

Її одішлють додому (332).

Гм.

Він про це не думав. Це його сповільнює, проте не вибиває з колії. Розумієш, пояснює він, це її остання надія (333), її останній шанс уникнути депортації, злиднів, проституції (334). Життя в Україні дуже важке для такої делікатної натури, як вона (335). Він читав газети - новини похмурі. Нема хліба, нема туалетного паперу, нема цукру, нема каналізації, нема етики в громадському житті, а електрика буває тільки зрідка. Як він може прирікати гарну жінку (336) на таке життя? Як він може переходити на другий бік дороги?

Надіє, зрозумій, тільки я можу її спасти!

Це правда. Він утомився. Він зробив усе, що міг. Перш ніж перейти до плану оженившись на ній самому, він шукав-перешукав підхожих чоловіків. Під'їжджав до Степаненків, літньої української пари, чий самотній син і досі живе з ними. Зондував містера Грінвея, вдівця з сусіднього села, якого коли-неколи провідує нежонатий син. (Путній хлопець, до речі. Інженер. Не якийсь там простак. Добра була б пара для Валентини.) Обидва відмовилися. Бо вузьколобі. Він так їм і сказав, тільки непрямо. Тепер Степаненки й містер Грінвей з ним не балакають.

Українська громада в Пітерборо її не визнала (337). Вони теж усі вузьколобі. Їх не вразили її погляди на Ніцше та Шопенгауера. Вони прив'язані до минулого, до українського націоналізму, вони бандерівці. Вона ж - сучасна, емансипована жінка (338). Вони розпускають про неї підлі чутки. Кажуть, ніби вона продала материну козу й корову, щоб купити смальцю й намастити ним піку для зваблення західних чоловіків (339). Дурне вони балакають. У її матері є кури й свині - і ніколи не було кози чи корови. Це показує, які дурні ті пліткарі.

Він кашляє й плюється на тому кінці дроту. Він через це розбігся з усіма друзями. Якщо буде треба, відмовиться від рідних дочок. Стане самотній супроти світу - самотній, але з красивою жінкою (340) поруч. Його слова ледве втримують емоції Великої Ідеї.

Але ж, тату...

Ще одне, Надю. Не кажи Вірі.

Мало шансів, що скажу. Я не говорила з сестрою вже два роки, зі сварки після материного похорону.

Але ж, тату...

Надіє, зрозумій, що в деяких аспектах чоловіка манять до жінки інші імпульси.

Тату, прошу, позбав мене біологічного детермінізму.

Ой, та ну! Нехай навчиться на гіркому досвіді.

Може, це почалося ще до телефонного дзвінка. Може, це почалося два роки тому, в цій самій кімнаті, де він сидить тепер, де мати лежала, вмираючи, поки він міряв кроками будинок у нестямі горя.

Вікна відчинені, і вітерець, що теліпає напівзсунуті льняні штори, доносить запах лаванди з моріжка перед будинком. А ще пташиний спів, голоси перехожих з вулиці, грайливу розмову сусідської дівчини з її хлопцем коло воріт. У тьмяній чистій кімнаті моя мати годину за годиною хапала ротом повітря, поки з неї вислизало життя, а я годувала її морфієм з ложки.

Еластичне спорядження смерті - медсестринські латексні рукавички, непромокальна підстилка на ліжку, капці на губчастій подошві, упаковка гліцеринових супозиторіїв, що блищать, мов золоті набії, пересувний умивальник з функціональною накривкою і з підбитими гумою ніжками, тепер повний грудкуватої зеленової рідини.

Чи ти пам'ятаєш...? - Я знов і знов розкакую їй історії з нашого з сестрою дитинства.

Її очі то світлішають, то гаснуть. У світлу мить - її долоня в моїй - вона каже: Доглянь бідного Колю.

Коли вона вночі померла, з нею був він. Пам'ятаю рев його болю.

Мене теж! Мене теж! Візьми мене теж!

Голос у нього нерозбірливий, здушений; руки й ноги не гнуться, наче заціплені в корчах.

Вранці, після того, як забрали її тіло, він сів у задній кімнаті з зацькованим виразом на лиці. Через якусь хвилинку сказав:

Надіє, ти знаєш, що крім математичного доведення, теорема Піфагора має ще й геометричне доведення? Дивись, яке воно гарне.

На аркуші паперу він малював лінії та кути, підписані маленькими буквами, і бурмотів над ними, розв'язуючи рівняння.

Він геть з'їхав з рейок, подумала я. Бідний Коля.

За кілька тижнів до смерті мати переживала, чи правильно вона лежить на подушках лікарняного ліжка. Сполучена проводами з монітором, що реєстрував мізерне биття її серця, вона жалілася на спільну палату, де побути самій можна було тільки за пересувною ширмочкою, та на докучливе сопіння, хрпіння, кашляння старих людей. Здрігнулася під байдужими куцими пальцями молодого фельдшера, що прийшов приліпити дроти над її всохлими грудьми і навіть не подумав прикрити їх лікарняною сорочкою. Бо вона була всього лиш хвора стара жінка. Кого хвилює, що вона подумала?

Іти з життя важче, ніж ти думаєш, сказала вона. Про стільки всього треба потурбуватися, перш ніж упокоїтися з миром. Коля - хто його догляне? Не дві ж її дочки - розумні дівчата, але такі сварливі. Що з ними буде? Чи знайдуть вони щастя? Чи забезпечуватимуть їх ті приємні, але непутящі чоловіки, з якими вона пов'язали долю? І три онучки - такі гарні, а й досі незаміжні. Ще так багато всього треба владнати, а сили вже нема.

Мати написала заповіт у лікарні, поки ми з сестрою Вірою стояли над нею, бо не довіряли одна одній. Написала тремтячим почерком, а дві медсестри засвідчили. Вона дуже ослабла, хоч так багато років була сильна. Стала стара й хвора, проте її спадщина, всі її заощадження буяли повнокровним життям у кооперативному банку.

В одному вона була твердо переконана - тато не успадкує нічого. Бідний Микола, в нього нема розуму. Тільки дурнуваті плани. Краще вам обом поділити порівну.

Вона говорила своєю саморобною мовою - українською, побризканою словами на зразок гендблендера, саспендербельта, гардену.

Коли стало зрозуміло, що лікарі вже ніяк не допоможуть, її виписали додому вмирати. Сестра пробула з нею весь останній місяць життя. Я приїжджала по вихідних. Якось, як мене не було, сестра написала додаток до заповіту, котрий ділив гроші порівну між трьома онучками - моєю Анною та її Алісою і Александрою - замість між сестрою та мною. Мати додаток підписала, а двоє сусідів засвідчили.

Не переживай, - сказала я матері, поки вона була іще жива, - усе буде добре. Ми будемо сумувати, будемо за тобою скучати, але все в нас буде добре.

Однак добре в нас не було.

Її поховали на сільському цвинтарі, на новій ділянці, що межувала з чистим полем. Її могила була остання в ряду охайних нових могил.

Три онучки, Аліса, Александра та Анна, високі й біляві, кинули в могилу троянди й по жмені землі. Микола, погнутий артритом, весь посірілий, з порожніми очима, в безслізному горі вчепився в руку моєму чоловікові. Дочки, Віра й Надія, приготувались до битви за материн заповіт.

Коли гості повернулися з похорону додому, до холодних закусок і української самогонки, ми з сестрою зітнулися на кухні. Вона була вбрана в чорний костюм з шовкового трикотажу, куплений у скромній крамничці ненового одягу в Кенсінгтоні. Туфлі прикрашені маленькими золотими пряжками, в руках “Гуччі” з невеличкою золотою застібкою, а на шії - тоненький золотий ланцюжок. На мені був комплект чорних речей, який я знайшла в “Оксфамі, добротинному магазині ношеного”. Віра критично оглянула мене з голови до п’ят.

Село селом. Ясно.

Мені сорок сім років, я викладаю в університеті, проте сестрин голос негайно зменшив мене до козуленосої чотирирічної дитини.

А що в селі поганого? Мати була з села, - огризається чотирирічна.

Це точно, - відрізає Старша Сестра. Закурює. Дим здіймається вгору елегантними спіралями.

Вона нагинається, щоб сховати запальничку в сумочку “Гуччі”, і я бачу, що на її золотому ланцюжку висить медальйончик, схований за вилогами костюма. Він старомодний і не личить до стильного Віриного вбрання, наче щось недоречне. Я дивлюся. На очі навертаються сльози.

Ти носиш материн медальйон.

Це єдиний скарб з України - досить малий, і його вдалося сховати в підшитий край плаття. Це був подарунок її батька її матері на їхнє весілля. У медальйоні дві їхні фотографії вицвіло всміхаються одна одній.

Віра не відвела очей од мого пильного погляду.

Це вона мені дала. - (Я в це не повірила. Мати знала, як я люблю цей медальйон і як хотіла його одержати. Віра його, мабуть, украла. Інших пояснень я не бачу.) - То що ти хотіла сказати про заповіт?

Просто я хочу, щоб було справедливо, - скигну я. - Що в цьому поганого?

Надіє, мало того, що ти купуєш одяг у “Оксфамі” - ти ідеї теж там береш?

Ти взяла медальйон. Ти на неї натисла, щоб підписала зміни до заповіту. Поділила гроші порівну між трьома онучками, замість між двома дочками. Так ти й твої одержать удвоє більше. Зажерлива!

Надіє, знаєш, я в шоці, що ти могла так подумати, - доглянуті брови Старшої Сестри здригнулись.

Та не в такому шоці, як я була, коли довідалась, - мекає козуленоса.

Тебе ж при цьому не було, сестричко. Ти десь там займалася своїми чудовими справами. Рятувала світ. Робила кар'єру. Лишивши всю відповідальність на мене. Як завжди.

А ти її в останні дні катувала балачками про своє розлучення, про чоловікове

тиранство. Вона вмирала, а ти коло її ліжка курила одну за одною.

Старша Сестра струшує попіл з сигарети й театралью зітхає.
Бачиш, Надіє, біда вашого покоління в тому, що ви до всього ставитесь поверхово.
Мир. Любов. Робітничий контроль. Усе це ідеологічне безглуздя. Ви можете собі дозволити розкіш безвідповідальності, бо ніколи не бачили темної сторони життя.

Чого сестрина манера аристократично розтягувати слова так мене бісить? Бо я знаю, що вона фальшива. Знаю про вузьке ліжко, на якому ми спали вдвох, і про туалет у дворі, і про рвану на квадратики газету витирати гузно. Мене вона не надурить. І я теж умію її підколювати.

О, тебе мучить темна сторона життя? Чого ж ти не запишешся на консультацію? - хитро підказала я своїм професійним "будьмо розсудливі" голосом, голосом "дивіться-яка-я-доросла", голосом, яким я говорю з татом.

Надіє, прошу, не говори зі мною тоном соціального працівника.

Сходи до психотерапевта. Схопи цю темну сторону, витягни її на світло, поки вона тебе не з'їла. - (Я знаю, що це її розізлисть.)

Консультація. Психотерапевт. Поговоримо про наші проблеми. Обнімімося всі, і на полегшає. Допоможімо знедоленим. Віддаймо всі наші гроші голодуючим діткам.

Вона люто кусає канапку. Оливка порсає на підлогу.

Віро, ти пережила важку втрату й розлучення. Не дивно, що ти в стресовому станні. Тобі потрібна допомога.

Це все самообман. Усередині люди безжальні, жорстокі й дбають тільки про себе.

Ти не уявляєш, як я зневажаю соціальних працівників.

Уявляю. Але я, Віро, не соціальний працівник.

Батько теж лютий. У її смерті винуватить лікарів, сестру, Задчуків, чоловіка, що косить траву за будинком. Часом винуватить себе. Бродить по хаті й бурмоче, що якби не це, та якби не те, то моя Мілочка й досі була б жива. Наша іммігрантська сімейка, яку так довго тримали вкупі материна любов та материн борщ, почала розпадатися.

Самотній у порожньому домі, батько харчується консервами, їсть на газетці, ніби карає себе за те, що її вже не поверне.

Іноді я його провідую. Люблю сидіти на цвинтарі, де поховано матір. На могильній плиті написано:

Людмила Маєвська
Народилася 1912 р. в Україні
Люба дружина Миколи
Мати Віри й Надії
Бабуся Аліси, Александри та Анни

Каменяр ледве вмістив усі ці слова. Поряд цвіте вишня, під нею - дерев'яна лава передом до охайного квадрата трави, боком до свіжих могил, і живопліт з глоду одділяє цвинтар од пшеничного поля, що переходить в інші пшеничні поля - і так аж до самого обрію. Мати походила зі степів, їй серед цих відкритих просторів було вільно й затишно. Український прапор має смуги двох кольорів - блакитного над жовтим; жовте - це пшеничні лани, блакитне - небо. Ця широка, рівна, одноманітна місцевість нагадувала їй рідні краї. Тільки небо тут рідко буває таке блакитне.

Я сумую за матір'ю, проте починаю змиритися зі своїм горем. Я маю чоловіка, дочку і власне життя.

Батько тиняється по будинку, де вони жили разом. Це маленький, потворний, сучасний будиночок, підсипаний гравієм і з гаражем з бетонних плит збоку. По три боки від будинку - садок, де мати вирощувала троянди, лаванду, бузок, орлики, маки, братки (Джекман і Віль де Ліон), ротики, перстач, жовтофіоль, котячу м'яту, незабудки, півонії, аубреції, монбреції, сонянки, розмарин, півники, лілії та пурпурову в'юнку вістарію - все тісненько, наче їх нарізали в ботсаду.

Ще там ростуть дві яблуні, дві груші, три сливи, черешня та айва, жовті запашні плоди якої здобували призи на сільській виставці всі минулі двадцять років. Ззаду, за квітником і моріжком - три грядки, де мати вирощувала картоплю, цибулю, квасолю, кормові боби, горох, солодку кукурудзу, кабачки, моркву, часник, спаржу, салат-латук, шпинат, капусту качанну й брюсельську. Поміж овочами самі собою насіялися кріп та петрушка. По один бік - ягідна ділянка з малиною, полуницею, логановою ягодою, порічками, смородиною та вишнею, обгороджена сіткою на рамах, яку батько поставив для захисту од гладких ненажерливих пташок. Трохи полуниці й малини вилізло з-за стінки й порозросталося по краях квітника.

Ще є теплиця, де фіолетовий виноград розкошує над щедрими грядками помідорів та стручкового перцю. За теплицею - велика водяна діжка, два сарайчики, бургт компосту й купа гною - об'єкт заздрості всього села. Це жирний, пухкий, перепрілий коров'ячий гній, подарунок іншого українського городника. "Чорний шиколад", називала його мати. "Їжте, мої мансенькі, - шепотіла вона кабачкам, - їжте чорний шиколадик". Вони жерли - і росли, росли.

Щоразу, як батько виходить у садок, йому ввижається материна постать, як вона схиляється над кабачками чи тягнеться підв'язати квасолю, розмита крізь шибки теплиці. Часом її голос кличе його то з тієї, то з тієї кімнати порожнього дому. І щоразу він пригадує, що її більше немає, і рана роз'ятрується знову.

Другий дзвінок пролунав через кілька днів після першого.

Скажи, Надіє, як ти думаєш - чи може мужчина у вісімдесят чотири роки стати батьком дитини?

Бачите, як він зразу хапає бика за роги? Без підготовки. Без "Як живеш? Як Майк і Анна?". Без балачок про погоду. Ніщо дрібне йому не завада, коли його захопила Велика Ідея.

Ну, я не знаю...

Чого він мене питає? Як я можу знати? Я не хочу знати. Не хочу цього спалаху емоцій, який потягне мене назад у козуленосі дні, в часи, коли тато був моїм ідеалом і я боляче реагувала на його несхвальну думку.

А якщо може, Надіє, - торохкотить він далі, перш ніж я встигаю організувати оборону, - як думаєш, які є шанси, що воно буде розумово відстале?

Знаєш, тату, - (пауза відновити дихання, надати голосу привітності й розсудливості), - уже давно встановлено - що старша жінка, то більше в неї шансів народити дитину з синдромом Дауна. Це така неспроможність навчатися - раніше називалася "монголізм".

Гмм. - (Йому це не сподобалось.) - Гмм. А може, варто ризикнути? Бачиш, я думаю, що як вона буде матір'ю британської дитини і жінкою британського громадянина, то її ніяк не зможуть депортувати (341).

Тату, не думаю, що тобі треба необдуманно кидатися в...

Бо британське правосуддя найкраще на світі. Можна сказати, що це історична доля й історичний обов'язок...

Він завжди говорить зі мною англійською, з неправильними наголосами та артиклями, проте функціонально. Англійська інженерів. Мати говорила зі мною українською, з безмежними відтінками зменшувальних суфіксів. Материнська мова. Тату, спинись і хвилинку подумай. Воно тобі треба?

Гм. Чи воно мені треба? Звісно, бути батьком такої дитини дуже непросто. Технічно це можливо...

Від думки, що батько житиме з цією жінкою статевим життям, у мене все в животі перевертається.

Збий у тому, що гідравлічний підйомник уже не функціонує як годиться. Та, може, з Валентиною...

Як на мій смак, він занадто довго обговорює сценарій дітонародження. Дивиться на нього під різними кутами. Приміряє і сяк і так, ніби це...

... то що ти думаєш?

Тату, я не знаю, що й думати.

Я просто хочу, щоб він скоріше замовк.

Так, з Валентиною така можливість існує...

Його голос стає мрійливий. Він уявляє, як стане батьком дитини - це буде хлопчик. Він навчить його доводити теорему Піфагора, виходячи з аксіом, навчить цінувати мистецтво конструктивістів. Він говоритиме з ним про трактори. Це найбільший батьків жаль, що обидві його дитини - дочки. Розумово нижчі, але й не грайливі й не жіночні, як годиться бути жінкам, а різкі, свавільні, нешанобливі істоти. Яке нещастя для чоловіка. Він ніколи не приховував свого розчарування.

Думаю, тату, перш ніж у це вплутуватись, тобі варто порадитися з юристом. Усе може виявитись не так, як ти думаєш. Хочеш, я поговорю з адвокатом?

Так, так. Краще побалакай з адвокатом з Кембриджа. У них там є іноземці, які хочеш. Вони повинні знати про імміграцію.

У нього таксономічний підхід до людей. Він і гадки не має про расизм. Добре, тату. Я пошукаю адвоката, який спеціалізується на імміграції. Нічого не роби, поки я не приїду.

Адвокат - молодий чоловік, він практикував у бідних кварталах і свою роботу знає. Він пише:

Якщо ваш батько зібрався одружуватись, то він має подати в Міністерство внутрішніх справ прохання про дозвіл на проживання для його дружини. Щоб дозвіл дали, вона має довести таке:

Що головна мета шлюбу - це забезпечення в'їзду чи перебування в Об'єднаному Королівстві.

2. Що вони знайомі.

3. Що вони мають намір постійно жити разом як подружжя.

4. Що вони мають житло й спроможні утримувати себе без звертання по державну допомогу.

Головна проблема в тому, що Міністерство внутрішніх справ (чи посольство, якщо вона подасть заяву після відбуття з Об'єднаного Королівства) скоріше за все вирішить, зважаючи на різницю в віці і на те, що одруження відбулося незабаром перед її відбуттям з Об'єднаного Королівства, що головна мета укладання цього шлюбу - звичайна імміграція.

Я передаю листа батькові.

Адвокат також каже мені, що шанси на успіх значно зростуть, якщо шлюб протриває п'ять років, чи якщо в шлюбі народиться дитина. Цього я батькові не кажу.