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THE PATTERN OF UKRAINIAN CANADIAN WEDDINGS*

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УКРАЇНСЬКІ ВЕСІЛЛЯ В КАНАДІ

У статті автор розглядає українське весілля в Канаді протягом останніх п'ятнадцяти років. Опис ґрунтується, головним чином, на власних польових матеріалах, зібраних в Едмонтоні. Автор поділяє весілля на три етапи: передвесільний, весільний (богослужіння і прийом) і післявесільний. В кожному етапі виділяються українські елементи, зокрема символи і обряди, які виражають українську ідентичність.

Ключові слова: українські канадці, весілля, обряди, етнічна ідентичність, фольклор.

I. Introduction

Ukrainian Canadian weddings are syntheses of traditions and rituals from the ancestral homeland and the new environment. Earlier traditions were adapted in the creation of new, modified practices. Once an initial Ukrainian-Canadian structure was established, it continued to change throughout the last century. The history of the Ukrainian Canadian wedding can be divided into two time periods: before and after 1945.

Surprisingly, few systematic ethnographic studies on Ukrainian Canadian weddings of this first period have been published. In many cases, Ukrainian wedding customs were partially described in discussion of other issues. Swyripa discussed a number of sources related to Ukrainian Canadian weddings from a historian's perspective by using wedding records as a research resource¹. According to Swyripa (1993), marriage was an area where the Canadian environment had a significant impact on and joined forces with the imperatives of the Ukrainian community to affect both attitudes and practices (p. 79). The issues that would dominate discussions about Ukrainian Canadian marriages had all been raised by 1910. For example, it has been claimed that for twenty-five or thirty dollars, Ukrainian immigrants routinely "sold" their thirteen- and fourteen-year-old daughters into marriage (p. 80)². According to Swyripa, one author claimed that the problem arose from the misunderstanding of an important wedding ritual in which the groom displayed his affluence by presenting the bride's parents with a gift of money. Before 1945, Anglo-Canadians often associated Ukrainian marriage with the image of the 'child bride'. However, the average age of marriage for brides ranged from 17.3 to 18.5 years old while fourteen-year-old brides were a rarity, and seldom did one-third of the brides in any year marry at age sixteen or younger. However, Anglo-Canadians thought that Ukrainian girls in the block settlements of western Canada married too young. Swyripa (1993) assumed that this perception reflected the peculiar emigrant/immigrant experience of Ukrainian homesteaders in the Prairie provinces. According to her, in prewar Galicia, fewer than one-third of Ukrainian brides were under twenty years of age. Alberta reported roughly the same fraction of brides marrying under twenty in this period, and in the Anglo-American and Scandinavian areas of the province, comparatively prosperous and with different cultural backgrounds, the age of marriage for both brides and grooms was significantly higher than in the Vegreville bloc. Other findings warn against

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generalization even in relation to Ukrainian settlements. Swyripa assumed that decisions on marriage were influenced by local variables like the time of settlement, the quality of land, and opportunities for agricultural expansion or employment. In the early 1920s, a rapid and permanent drop in the proportion of Ukrainian Canadian brides who were sixteen or younger, from 30.0 to 4.8 per cent, increased the seventeen-to-nineteen age group in particular. By the end of the Second World War, half to three-quarters of Ukrainian Canadian brides were in their twenties (pp. 87 – 88).

Swyripa (1993) also introduced evidence suggesting that the pragmatic needs of a modernizing peasant society in an emigration/immigration situation influenced Ukrainian marriage practices. The 'Bride Wanted' advertisements appearing in *Kanadiiskyi farmer* (Canadian farmer) between 1906 and 1920 represented one response of bachelors deprived of a traditional source of potential wives in a novel and unnatural situation, particularly for men who lived away from the bloc settlements (pp. 81 – 82).

Swyripa's (1993) work also indicated the marriage patterns of the early Ukrainian immigrants. She explained that despite the tendency of kin and villagers to settle in identifiable pockets, emigration offered new choices in marriage partners and a new gene pool:

In 1908 only 13 per cent of contracting parties came from the same village; fully one-half of all marriages over the next three years involved people who came out only from different villages but also from different districts in Galicia; and by 1920, when forty of sixty-nine marriages involved partners who were both Galician born, 72.5 per cent of contracting parties came from different districts. Marriage entries also support the contention that circumstances encouraged speedy engagements, unions that stressed economic considerations ahead of love, speedy remarriage on the death of a spouse, and young brides. One young widower, for example, initiated proceedings to marry presumably his first choice in mid February but, later in the month, settled on his dead wife's seventeen year old sister. (p. 84).

According to the traditional Ukrainian wedding customs, weddings were usually set in two favoured time periods; weddings were not performed during the two great fasting periods before Easter and Christmas, so that most weddings were in November, after harvest, and in the winter months, before Lent and spring planting. This tradition has been preserved, but the mainstream idea of a June wedding became pervasive among Ukrainians by 1945. Also by 1945, the Sunday wedding tradition became irrelevant and replaced by Saturday weddings, influenced by the rhythm of the urban workweek:

In 1915 half of all weddings occurred in November, January, and February. By 1945 less than a third did so; and the summer months (June – August), perhaps reflecting adoption of the mainstream idea of the 'June bride', became the preferred season for nuptials. By 1945 weddings had also shifted from a majority on Sunday, traditionally chosen because the peasant was free from labour for the landlord, to Saturday, the off-day in North American urban industrialized society. Sunday weddings were unusual among the Ukrainians' Anglo-Canadian neighbours; in thirty-nine years, only nine of 347 marriages solemnized by ministers of the Vegreville United (Methodist) Church took place on that day. Wednesdays and Fridays, fasting days in the Greek Catholic calendar, were more popular. To farmers who ordered their lives around the natural cycles of the seasons, the rhythm of an urban work week was long irrelevant, and Saturday waited until the 1990s to triumph as the unrivalled day on which to celebrate weddings in the Vegreville bloc. (Swyripa, 1993, pp. 85 – 86).

With few exceptions, the Ukrainian Catholic bride in east-central Alberta in 1945 married within her group, and in the great majority of cases, she married within her faith. Nationwide, some three-quarters of Ukrainian-Canadian women still belonged to the Ukrainian Catholic or Orthodox Churches; over 90 percent still spoke Ukrainian as their mother tongue, and, despite a significant decline in religious endogamy, some two-thirds still married Ukrainian Catholic or Orthodox husbands. Most adult Ukrainian women who had received a formal education delayed marriage, and exposure to 'civilization' through the school and workplace remained the norm for the Ukrainian-speaking, church-going wives of Ukrainian farmers.

While Swyripa's (1993) work explained the marriage patterns of Ukrainians, Nahachewsky (1983) and Procyshyn (1983) provided valuable descriptions of Ukrainian Canadian wedding rituals in the early 20th century³. These two authors described two actual weddings in Swan Plain, Saskatchewan in 1920, and Winnipegosis, Manitoba in 1931, respectively. Nahachewsky compared his grandfather's

wedding with Kuzela's (1961) general description of traditional weddings. Nahachewsky listed 20 wedding traits under six broad categories: Commencement [*dopyty*, *svatannia*, *uhovoryny* (agreement), *rozhliadyny* (inspection of the groom's family's assets)], Preparations [licence, *vino* (dowry), *zaprosyny* (invitation of wedding guests)], *Vinkopletennia* [*vinok* (wreath), *derevtse* (wedding tree), *vykup vinochka* i *buketiv* (buying of the bride's wreath and bouquets), *vyhuliannia* (dancing with the bride), *uberannia* (dressing of the bride), *blahoslovennia* (blessing)], Church marriage [*pokhid* (wedding procession), *shliub*, bride and groom each go home, *vesillia u molodoi* (celebrations at the bride's house)], abduction [*poizd* (wedding train), *svashky's* (middle-aged women who participates in various wedding rituals) singing, *darovannia* (presentation of gifts)], and Groom's *vesillia* [*vesillia u molodoho* (celebrations at the groom's house)]. The author then analyzed the wedding elements in terms of the influence of four factors: (1) the momentum of tradition and the ideal form, (2) the personalities of the various individuals and their own desires and decisions, (3) incidental circumstances, and (4) the Canadian context. Despite some differences, the Swan Plain wedding followed the basic structure of a traditional wedding. In terms of this present study, this wedding had two interesting features. Firstly, the wedding preserved remnants of the so-called preparation or commencement rituals, such as *dopyty*, *svatannia*, *uhovoryny*, and *rozhliadyny*, which have now all disappeared. Secondly, Nahachewsky did not mention that the Swan Plain wedding included a *korovai*. According to Nahachewsky, the Swan Plain wedding was similar to the description of Galician weddings in Shubravs'ka's *Vesillia v dvokh tomakh*. Neither the Lodyn nor the Orel'tse accounts of Galician weddings include a *korovai*. However, Nahachewsky also mentioned that a particular trait might be omitted from the description of a wedding because a researcher or informant regarded it as insignificant.

Procyshyn (1983) compared three weddings that had occurred in three different years and places: 1936 (Ukraine), 1931 (Winnipegosis, Manitoba), and 1962 (Petlura, Manitoba). The second one provides a good example of the Ukrainian Canadian wedding before 1945. The author divided this wedding into four parts and explained the wedding traits of each part: Courtship and Engagement (the ritual of matchmaking), Preparation for the wedding (the invitation ritual⁴, the selection of wedding attendants⁵, the wreath-weaving ceremony⁶, the wedding tree, *korovai* and three *kolach* (ritual bread)), Wedding Day (the blessing, the couple's procession to the church⁷, walking down the aisle together, kneeling on the white embroidered towel)⁸, and the Reception (party at the bride's home, the bride's moving to the groom's home⁹, welcoming the bride, party at the groom's home, *vivat* play (verse sung in honour of the couple during *darovannia* or *perepi*), *darovannia*¹⁰)¹¹. Even though this Winnipeg wedding occurred 10 years after the Swan Plain wedding, it still included many traditional wedding traits, following the basic structure of the old wedding tradition. However, the Winnipegosis wedding also indicated the new influence of the wedding industry. The bride and groom ordered bouquets and corsages from Eaton's catalogue. The groom wore a dark suit, and the bride wore a veil and white wedding gown. Both outfits had been ordered through the catalogue.

Klymasz (1980) discussed the Ukrainian Canadian wedding after 1945. His study indicates that even though some older traditions are no longer followed in today's weddings, the Ukrainian Canadian wedding today survives as a kind of maintenance mechanism promoting a sense of ethnicity and strengthening ethnic distinctiveness among Ukrainian Canadians:

It is true, of course, that, compared with the intricate, Old Country wedding ritual complex, the Ukrainian wedding has lost most of its traditional trappings, which over the years have been reduced to the essential components: food and drink, "presentation," and music. This process of reduction, however, has been accompanied with that amplification or, as it were, hyperbolization, which in the case of the Ukrainian wedding is especially evident in the use of instrumental music as an ever-present continuum from beginning to end, linking all the varied elements, dispersed activities and the participants into one whole acoustic phenomenon. Basically, then, the Ukrainian wedding can be considered as an auditory event capable of promoting the production of a certain psychological state which its participants generally refer to as "a great time!" (pp. 87 – 88).

The Ukrainian Canadian wedding during the last 15 years

Many studies including students' essays and M.A. theses at the University of Alberta have focused on the Ukrainian Canadian wedding of this period¹². Some of these studies discussed the issue of

continuity and change in the Ukrainian wedding tradition while others focused on specific objects or rituals, such as the *korovai*, wedding costumes, *vinkopletennia*, *divych vechir* or mock wedding. Ukrainian-Canadian weddings vary from region to region and from rural to urban settings across Canada. Some of these differences result from the Ukrainians' specific immigration patterns. Others have arisen from ethnic, economic, social, geographic, and other factors which vary from place to place within Canada. Onyshkevych (1999) provided a good introduction to the different Ukrainian wedding customs in North America, especially in the New York area.

In this study, I explain the pattern of Ukrainian Canadian weddings during the last fifteen years. The description is based mainly on my fieldwork materials. I divide the Ukrainian Canadian wedding into three phases: the pre-wedding phase, the wedding day (the church service and the reception), and the post-wedding phase. For each phase, I identify the Ukrainian elements, including the symbols and rituals that can be included to express a Ukrainian identity.

II. Pre-wedding phase of Ukrainian Canadian Weddings

The decision to marry

Today, mutual affection between prospective spouses has become more important in contracting a marriage than the parents' matchmaking decision. The tradition of matchmaking seems to be long gone. None of my informants had so-called preparation or commencement rituals, such as *dopyty*, *svatannia*, *ohliadyny*, *zmovyny*, or *zaruchyny*¹³. Ukrainian Canadian parents are no longer instrumental in choosing prospective mates for their children, for young people now have a free choice in selecting whom to marry. From the parent's perspective, however, intra-ethnic (endogamous) marriage can be most desirable for their children. According to Gena and Michael, their parents never explicitly said that they wanted them to marry someone Ukrainian, but their parents believed that their children should carry on their culture. Michael thinks that every parent hopes that his or her children will marry someone similar to them. When Gena went to meet Michael's parents for the first time in Saskatoon, she stayed in Michael's parents' house. Michael's aunt came and talked to his mother in Ukrainian, saying, "Oh well, what is this girl like? Is she Ukrainian?" Then Gena came out and said in Ukrainian, "Oh, yeah, I am Ukrainian." Michael's aunt and mother were so excited that they began hugging each other.

Parental Permission / Approval

Today, some young people ask for their parents' permission to marry, as a way of respecting their parents. The parents' responses can differ depending on how much they are attached to their traditions. Some parents may ask the future bride or groom to respect their child's ethnic culture or religion while others may not care about any differences. For example, before his official engagement, Wayne, an English descendant, visited Lorraine's parents to get their permission first. Lorraine's parents, who had known Wayne for three years, were pleased to listen to Wayne's request for permission. Perhaps ceremonially, they asked him if he would support Lorraine if she wanted to keep her cultural and religious heritage. Wayne recalled, "We talked about responsibilities of maintaining the strong connections with church and with culture that were important for both [Lorraine's parents]. Certainly I had no objections for that." Wayne had been baptized and confirmed at an Anglican church, but he had not been very much involved with any church for years until he met Lorraine. Thus, he converted to Lorraine's religion rather easily. After Wayne and Lorraine became engaged, they shared the news with Wayne's parents, who were very pleased to hear about their decision.

Wedding date

Several factors can influence the decision about when to set the wedding date. First, the bride and groom's seasonal preference can be an important factor. According to an article in *The Victoria Times Colonist*, the most popular month for weddings is August, followed closely by June, July, May and September ("It's a pricey occasion, which adds to stress," 2003, C2). Secondly, the availability of a hall is a very important factor in deciding the wedding date. Because of the limited number of halls, especially in busy seasons, the availability of a hall can determine the wedding date. Lorraine made a joke about booking a hall for a wedding: "Book the hall first, and then find the bride."

The place for the wedding

Whether the bride and groom are an intra- or inter-ethnic couple, for those who are of the same religion, the decision about where to get married is easy. If the bride and groom are of different religions, but only one side is strongly religious, the decision to get married in that person's church is possible. However, if both sides are actively religious, but are of different religions, they have to decide in whose church they should hold their wedding. Currently, Ukrainian Canadians are of various religions and marry in various churches. However, a church is not the only place in which a wedding service can be held. According to their personal situations, some people who are religious can get married in some place other than a church. Others who are not religious at all often want an outdoor wedding, for example a wedding in a park, a greenhouse, their parents' house or any favorite place where the service can be held.

License

One of the wedding arrangements includes official paperwork in the form of a marriage license. This ritual results from institutional regulations. According to Canadian law, every couple is supposed to obtain a license before their wedding ceremony. A marriage license is valid for a period of three months from the date of issue. After getting this license, the bride and groom are responsible for making arrangements for a marriage ceremony of their choice.

Invitations

Shortly after the engagement is announced, typically months before the impending nuptials, the bride (sometimes with the assistance of her groom) goes to a printing company and chooses her invitations. The invitations sometimes feature a Ukrainian motif (i.e., *korovai*, *rushnyk* (embroidered cloth), icons) and may be printed bilingually. Recently, some couples have produced their own invitations by using a computer in order to save money and create their own unique symbols.

Two to four months before the wedding, the invitations are mailed out to all of the guests. Reply cards and reply envelopes are included with the invitations, for the guests to respond to the appropriate address. The use of invitation cards is a new tradition that did not exist in Ukrainian wedding traditions¹⁴. The bride and groom can express their sense of their ethnicity and/or their artistic creativity by choosing the style, design, and/or languages of their invitation cards. Such elements may indicate the importance of heritage and culture to the bride and groom and most likely will be connected with similar elements throughout the entire wedding.

For wedding invitations, the wedding industry produces pre-made templates based on commercialized tastes. However, Ukrainian Canadians sometimes attempt to change those templates to add Ukrainianness to their invitation cards. Grant and Karen, who won a prize from a radio station, had a free wedding sponsored by various companies engaged in the wedding business. Since this couple had only a week to prepare for their wedding, they could not send people their invitation cards. Thus, a printing house that was also a sponsor of their wedding event promised them to make a formal invitation card for their second wedding reception, to which Grant and Karen planned to invite a larger number of people. The printing house prepared a kind of program to give to people on the wedding day. This program had a design consisting of three stalks of wheat with a red ribbon draped around them. Grant and Karen chose this design from the samples at the printing house, but Grant did not like the red ribbon. Thus, after the wedding ceremony, he used a computer to replace the red ribbon with a *rushnyk*. They chose the wheat because it symbolizes welcoming, greetings, and prosperity in Ukrainian culture. Grant chose a *rushnyk* because he believed that it was a Ukrainian symbol of unity.

Quentin, who is a third-generation Ukrainian descendant, made his invitation card in a newspaper format. Even though he used a totally different form and content, he tried to emphasize his Ukrainianness, comically mentioning Ukrainian food and other Ukrainian elements. The following two sentences are from his invitation card: "Those invitees concerned with caloric intake would be advised to put that aside for one night as this dinner is sure to include a couple of traditional Ukrainian dishes with unintelligible names..." and "[Mr.] Chapman congratulated his daughter and future son-in-law in their upcoming nuptials. He did question if this marriage made him Ukrainian. He will consult the Queen."

Derevtse (or Hil'tse)¹⁵

The *derevtse* or *hil'tse* is a ritual wedding tree. Typically, it is a young sapling or the top of a spruce or other evergreen tree. It symbolizes the tree of life and the new family tree that is being established with the coming together of two clans in marriage. In Ukrainian traditional weddings, this tree was decorated with ribbons, coins, pinecones, candles, flowers, or berries a day before the wedding.¹⁶ It was carried by the *druzhba* (best man) and commanded a place of honour next to or, sometimes, planted into the middle of the *korovai*. Although during the early part of the twentieth century, Ukrainian weddings often included this ritual tree, it was omitted for the remainder of the century. However, a revival of the *derevtse* now seems to be occurring in some Ukrainian Canadian communities as they learn more about traditional wedding elements. Among my 32 pairs of informants, only three couples followed this tradition. Two of them were intra-ethnic couples, and the other one was a Ukrainian-English couple. Those who are involved in cultural or religious organizations or who are from a family that is strongly attached to ethnic traditions now have a greater likelihood of following this tradition.

A few days before the wedding of Bohdan and Jess, the ritual of the making *derevtse* was performed. This ritual was a part of the *vinokpletennia* and was performed in the hall where their wedding reception would be held on the wedding day. Bohdan's brother and sister-in-law played the role of *starosty* (matchmakers) and led the ritual, explaining its meaning and purpose. All family members participated in making the *derevtse*, hanging ribbons, coins, flowers, and other objects on a green tree. Since Jess's family did not know about this ritual, it was conducted under the guidance of a *starosty*. This old, but, for Jess's family, new ritual interested her brother and was included in his wedding rituals later.

Lorraine and her Shumka dancer friends performed another example of this ritual at the home of one of her closest friends as a part of the *divych vechir* a few months before her wedding. The participants prepared a small-sized spruce tree, and each one brought something to hang on it. The objects hung on the tree had symbolic or personal meanings. For example, one of Lorraine's friends, who was the Master of Ceremonies for her wedding, brought a magnet in the shape of a *pyrih* (dumpling) because she and Lorraine had had a funny experience involving *pyrohy*. Lorraine's friend hung it on the tree, telling people the story about the *pyrohy* (dumplings). Someone hung a little red boot on the tree while Lorraine's mother hung a small sewing machine on it because Lorraine's and her mother's connection to Shumka had begun with making costumes. Thus, the things hung on the tree were connected with experiences that Lorraine and the participants had shared together. Lorraine brought the tree to the reception hall and put it in front of the MC. According to Lorraine, the tradition of the *divych vechir* and decorating the tree has been popular for the last fifteen years in her dance group. The idea of making a *derevtse* came out of the old tradition, but the ritual was stylized in form and conveyed the participants' various personal meanings, so that the tree symbolized not only life but also the relationships between Lorraine and the people closest to her.

Sometimes lack of knowledge about a tradition causes people not to recognize its meaning and purpose. Luba's bridal shower included a green tree decorated with various items. She did not know its meaning, but I assume that someone might have decorated it as a wedding tree.

Korovai, kolach, and other breads

The *korovai* or *kolach* is the principle wedding bread at a Ukrainian wedding¹⁷. In some parts of Ukraine, including some parts of western regions from where most Ukrainian Canadians came, people call the wedding bread *kolach*. However, most of my informants preferred to use the term "*korovai*." Though traditionally, two wedding breads were made, one for the bride and one for the groom, this tradition was altered in the twentieth century, and now just one *korovai* or *kolach* is usually made.

However, depending on how people assign meaning to it, several wedding breads can be made in different shape. For example, Michael and Gena wanted to have four *korovai* because they wanted one for themselves, two for both parents, and a fourth, smaller one for the display on the table for the guest register. Besides the *korovai* and *kolach*, *korovaichyky* (many small *korovai*) can be prepared. The wedding *kolach* is often used for the blessing or for displaying on the registry or

dining table at the reception hall while the *korovaichyky* are prepared as a gift for the guests. A discussion of the *korovai* can be divided into three sections: first, the procedures for making the *korovai*, second, its shape, and third, its function and meaning.

In the Old Country, a collective procedure for making the *korovai* was used (Borysenko, 1988, p. 44; Chubinskii, 1876, p. 215; Pravdiuk, 1970, p. 18; Vovk, 1995, p. 244; Zdroveha, 1974, p. 78). In order to make the *korovai*, the *korovainytsi* (*korovai* makers) had to be chosen from women who could meet certain criteria. Each had to be a respected middle-aged wife with a good married life at the time of the wedding ceremony (Pravdiuk, 1970, p. 18; Vovk, 1995, p. 245; Zdroveha, 1974, p. 78). From the collecting of the ingredients to bake the *korovai*, to every step in the whole process, specific rituals were performed, accompanied by ritual songs¹⁸. Today, the procedure of making the *korovai* has become privatized and individualized. It is usually made by a single person who is sometimes chosen from among family members, neighbours, crafts people, or respected persons in the community. This person is usually paid for her artistic work.

The *korovai* can be made in various forms. Some of them follow traditional forms while others have hybrid forms and aesthetic qualities that deviate from it.

The *korovai* may be decorated with braided wreaths, "*krutsi* (swirls)," wheat plants, leaves, flowers, ribbons, periwinkle/myrtle, dough birds, or other dough symbols. In some cases, the colors of the flowers and ribbons are specially chosen to match the color scheme of the bridal party's dresses or the hall decorations.

The *korovai*'s shape is not necessarily connected with the Ukrainian regional tradition that the families of the bride and groom or their bread maker was originally related to. The bride and groom may suggest a specific design to the *korovai* maker. However, the entire procedure of making a *korovai* as well as its shape and design depends mainly on the *korovai* maker. One *korovai* maker reported that she tries to follow the tradition of *korovai* making, but sometimes attempts to change the *korovai*'s shape and design. She learned how to bake *korovai* not only from her grandmother, but also from books and her own experiences. Sometimes she has created new designs to make the *korovai* look more beautiful. One example was a *korovai* that had an arch decorated with green leaves. Even though some traditional *korovai* did have arches, she learned this design not from tradition but from modern Western objects. After she had made a *korovai* with an arch for her daughter, she received many orders to make similar ones for others.

In order to make the *korovai* more meaningful and special, parents often use their own wedding materials to decorate their children's or others' *korovai*. For example, Quentin's mother took several dried leaves from her wreath and added them to the top of her son's *korovai*. The *korovai* is used during the blessing by the parents of the bride and groom and is then displayed either on or near the head table during the reception. Some people have only *korovai* without wedding cakes. Others have both and display their *korovai* next to a wedding cake. Traditionally, the *korovai* was cut into pieces and shared by all those present at the wedding; however, in recent times, the young couple may decide to retain the *korovai* as a keepsake of their wedding. In some cases, a spray varnish or special glass case is used to preserve it. While the *korovai*'s association with communion has disappeared, the *korovai*'s artistic aspects have received more emphasis at the contemporary weddings of Ukrainian Canadians.

Bridal Shower / *vinkopletennia* or/and *divych vechir*

A bridal shower, which is a non-Ukrainian origin tradition, is somewhat reminiscent of a *vinkopletennia* or *divych vechir*¹⁹. This event is usually held a month or two prior to the wedding. It is planned and hosted by the bridesmaids or family members at one of their homes or at a rented hall as a means to honour the bride as a single woman for the last time. Invited guests, usually important women in the bride's life, commonly bring gifts such as household items and objects for the bride's own personal use. Food and beverages are usually served, and sometimes trivia games about the bride are played. The bridal shower has been Ukrainianized at some Canadian showers by following some of the traditions associated with the *divych vechir* and *vinkopletennia*. At some Ukrainianized versions of the bridal shower, one of the Ukrainian activities is the weaving of a wreath or *vinok* or the making of a *derevtse* (or *hil'tse*).

The *vinkopletennia* is the process of making a wreath from *barvinok* (periwinkle) or *mirta* (myrtle),

to be used by the bride and groom at their wedding ceremony. In Ukraine, this ritual was possible as the *vinkopletennia* usually took place the day before the wedding. Here in Canada, the bridal shower may take place months before the actual wedding day, and therefore, the wreaths made at the shower may not be used at the ceremony, for which a fresh wreath is made (McDonald, 1995, p. 2). This ritual has become an example of retaining a tradition in some ways but also of following Canadian traditions by having the shower much in advance of the wedding. For example, Bailey had a unique bridal shower, which differed from the traditional one in terms of its date, content and style. First, Bailey's bridal shower was held in her mother-in-law's home a month before the wedding. Second, her mother-in-law invited a Ukrainian fortuneteller to tell people's fortunes. Third, each participant participated in making wreaths not only for the bride and groom, but also for herself. Thus, at the end of the bridal shower, all participants could wear their own wreaths. And fourth, Bailey and her husband, Tim, did not use the wreaths at the wedding ceremony, but kept them as mementos.

The *vinkopletennia* has been revived in some communities since the 1970s, especially in urban centers (Hong & Foty, 2002, "Ukrainian weddings"). If the *vinkopletennia* is planned to take place separately from the bridal shower, it usually occurs at the bride's home a day or two before the wedding. Though men can be present, only women traditionally take an active part in the ritual. For example, on Friday, a day before the wedding, the *vinkopletennia* was held at Gena's parents' home in Edmonton. Relatives, close friends and the bridal party were invited to the ritual. *Mirta*, *barvinok* and a green tree were prepared. Also, a Ukrainian choir came to sing traditional songs. As well, a couple of elderly ladies also sang some traditional songs. During the ceremony, female participants made two wreaths, one for Gena and one for Michael. Gena and Michael's godmothers started making the wreaths. Then both mothers and the rest of women took part in making them. Once they had been made, the female participants asked Michael to buy them. He had to go and collect money from all people in the house. At first, Michael offered five dollars, but the female participants did not accept his offer and asked for more money. Negotiations continued between Michael and the female participants. Michael finally came up with 120 dollars and several gas and movie coupons. After the women said, "yes," Michael and Gena could dance together. Gena remembered that her aunt's *vinkopletennia* had been quite different from hers. At her aunt's *vinkopletennia*, only women were present at the ceremony, and the oldest women started making the wreaths, passing them down to younger women. In Gena's case, not only women but also men were present and played a role in her *vinkopletennia*, even though only women were in charge of making the wreaths.

While braiding the wreaths, the women sing specific ritual songs, which describe the action that is taking place. In recent times, because the traditional ritual songs are not generally well known, people replace them with whatever Ukrainian folk songs they may know, so the lyrics may not necessarily reflect the event. Historically, this ritual tended to be a somber and emotionally charged event, and tears were often shed. The custom may remind the participants of loved ones who have died, or it may revive the participants' sense of ethnic identity, or it may symbolize the bride's separation from her family (Hong & Foty, 2002).

While the *vinkopletennia* was the time to weave the wreaths, the *divych vechir* was more of a last night out. Borysenko (1988) described it as one of the most important pre-ceremony rituals. Borysenko also stated that the *divych vechir* had an important social and moral function as an act signaling the bride's change in status from that of an unmarried girl to that of a married woman. The *divych vechir* can be related to the Canadian tradition of a stagette, as the guests at both events are the bride's closest friends, but one element that does not match with the activities at a stagette is the *divych vechir*'s serious nature (McDonald, 1995, p. 2). This event is like a bridal shower, in that it signals a further progression in the bride's transformation from a girl into a wife.

Reception Hall decoration

The reception is the place where the wedding theme is most strongly expressed. The decorations are one of the ways of expressing this theme. An example of Ukrainian-themed decorations is the use of *rushnyky* (embroidered cloths) as table coverings, podium decorations, and table or wall decorations.

The colour theme

The reception is a setting where many comparisons between Ukrainian and other ethnic elements can be made. Most Canadian weddings follow some theme, whether it be a colour theme, a seasonal theme, or an even more exotic theme such as a historical theme (McDonald, 1995, p. 4).

Some of my informants used specific colours to represent their Ukrainian identity. Grant, who used to be an active member in a dance group, thought "orange and yellow" were traditional colours of the Transcarpathian region because he always wore an embroidered orange and yellow shirt: "We mainly tried to put a little element into our wedding... bouquets were a kind of style, they had wheat in them, they had kind of Hutsul colours in them. Orange, yellow, green, and red, those kinds of elements were put into that." He decided to have these colours as his wedding colour theme and incorporated them into his wedding flowers and decorations.

Lloyanne chose red, blue, white and yellow flowers for her bridesmaids' bouquets to incorporate a Ukrainian colour theme into her wedding: "We couldn't get poppies at that time of the year, so we used large red daisies for the red, and we had all kinds of daisies, delphiniums, bachelor buttons and sort of mixing in those reds, blues, yellows, and whites... a kind of Ukrainian colours."

Flowers and wheat

Another example of the use of flowers is the use of *barvinok* (periwinkle), which are draped in front of the table. The *barvinok* can be braided or woven together into wreaths and garlands. Occasionally, the garlands may be decorated with flowers or ribbons, usually to match the wedding colours.

Wheat is also an important symbol in Ukrainian Canadian traditions. Many Ukrainian pioneers came to Canada, worked on their farms, and grew wheat and other grains. A sheaf of wheat was a part of an autumn Ukrainian Canadian wedding, whose theme was based around the harvest. Wheat is also used in table decorations and has become increasingly popular in bouquets and corsages. Wheat has been attached to the wishing well used to hold cards from guests.

III. Wedding day

The preparation at the bride and groom's home

Today, the preparations on the wedding day are quite different from those of the 19th century in Ukraine²⁰. The bride usually sleeps at her parents' house. Sometimes she cannot sleep through the night because she has to prepare her speeches. The first thing she has to do is her hair and make-up. The bride and her bridesmaids usually go together to a hair salon. In some cases, they go separately, but before the wedding ceremony, the bride's wedding party gets together at the bride's parents' house to get ready for the ceremony

The groom's preparation is similar to the bride's, but it seems to be easier and more relaxed. The groom usually stays at his home through the night and meets his groomsmen at his house in the morning. His family often visits the groom to make sure everything is all right and then leaves for the church. In the Old Country, the groom and his entourage leave for the bride's house before the church service²¹, but, among my informants, only three grooms of the 32 went to the bride's house.

Costumes

Today, the bride and groom are usually dressed in a white wedding dress and a black suit, respectively. When the white wedding dress became popular among Ukrainian Canadians is difficult to determine. Given that at the Swan Plain wedding (1920), the bride wore a white wedding dress for the first time in the area, the white wedding dress seems to have been introduced in the early 20th century. Compared to the bride's wedding dress, the groom's suit seemed to have been more easily adapted to the Ukrainian wedding tradition.

For this study, I could not find many examples to show aspects of Ukrainianness in the costumes worn by the bride and groom. However, according to McDonald (1995), several Ukrainian features are added to the Ukrainian Canadian wedding attire. First, the wearing of a bridal headpiece in the shape of a *vinok* or wreath is a Ukrainian element. Kunda (1998) provided an example of a *vinok*, which was worn by her informant: "The wreath was purchased from a flower shop and was specially designed to contain orange blossoms and *barvinok*. The majority of this particular *vinok* was made

of orange blossom, which was one of the few small white flowers available in July. Only a small amount of *barvinok* was used in order to weave these flowers into a beautiful headpiece for the bride" (p. 4). Kunda explained that a *vinok* could also be made of daisies, poppies, and various other small flowers that are braided together.

Second, according to McDonald, a more overt example of Ukrainianness in wedding attire is the dressing up in Ukrainian costumes, mostly at the wedding reception. The groomsmen may be dressed in the style of Cossacks while the bridesmaids can wear traditional Poltavsky costumes or the participants may vary the style of attire according to different regions of Ukraine. (McDonald, 1995, p. 6).

Third, embroidery on shirts or the wedding dress can also be used as a Ukrainian symbol. The designs and objects chosen to be embroidered have some relation to Ukrainian culture. For example, poppies on the bride's dress can be considered a national flower of Ukraine, and the black detailing on the groom's coat is similar to the embroidery in the mountain regions of Ukraine (McDonald, 1995, p. 6).

Blahoslovennia (blessing)²²

This is the parents' ritual blessing of the bride and groom. It usually takes place shortly before the wedding ceremony. It may be done separately for the bride at the home of her parents, and for the groom at the home of his parents, or it may be combined. Generally, the bride and groom kneel on a *rushnyk* in front of their parents and ask them to bestow a blessing for a long, healthy, happy and prosperous life. The parents bless their children with the *korovai* or *kolach*, occasionally each having a turn lifting it to touch the heads of the young couple. Once the blessing is complete, according to each family tradition, those gathered together may sing "Mnohaia lita" (May God grant many happy years) for the bride and groom (Hong & Foty, 2002).

The method of blessing the bride and groom differs from family to family. This ritual has many variants according to each family's tradition or the situation in which the blessing is performed. Some perform this ritual in a living room while others perform it in the backyard of their home. Sometimes people speak Ukrainian, English, or both while holding icons and/or *korovai*, wrapped in *rushnyky*, on the morning of the wedding day or on the night before. In spite of the various forms of blessing, the message that the ritual conveys seems to be same as that described above.

According to Ukrainian wedding traditions, the blessing was performed in each of the bride's and groom's homes in the morning. Then the groom and his entourage left for the bride's house. The groom and bride were blessed together by the bride's parents before the church service. Walter and Sonya received their blessing at Sonya's parents' house on the morning of their wedding day. Walter and Sonya would have liked to follow the traditional customs, but in order for the photographer to be able to photograph their blessing all at once, they decided to have it in Sonya's parents' house. Thus, Walter's parents blessed their son first, and Sonya's parents blessed their daughter next. Then both parents blessed the bride and groom together.

Performing this blessing by the parents of the bride and groom before the church service is not compatible with the Canadian tradition of the bride and groom not seeing each other before the ceremony. The value placed on the Ukrainian tradition in comparison to the Canadian tradition will determine whether this ritual blessing occurs. Markiana and Yuriy, who are an intra-ethnic couple, had two separate blessings before their wedding in order to follow both the Ukrainian and Canadian traditions. Since Markiana was aware of the Canadian custom of "not seeing each other," she decided to have two blessings. In the late evening of the night before the wedding day, Markiana's parents blessed the bride and groom together. This ceremony was a kind of rehearsal for the blessing the next day. However, the ritual was performed seriously as the real blessing. Then on the next day, the groom and his party visited his parent-in-laws' house to present the wedding bread. This time, Markiana's parents blessed Yuriy first with icons and then later Markiana after Yuriy had left for the church.

The blessing ritual is also sometimes performed in interethnic marriages. Depending on how much the other side of family values the tradition, the blessing is done for both the bride and groom or only within the Ukrainian family. One interethnic couple decided to have their blessing ritual together. Cherwick (1990) described an interethnic couple's ritual blessing:

It [The blessing ritual] consisted of the parents blessing their children with two *kolachi*, obviously

on an embroidered cloth, with salt, and with a large Ukrainian family Bible. The inclusion of the Bible, though not usually a part of this ritual, was probably due to the fact that the bride's father is a priest. The groom's mother also took part in this ritual, giving her blessing in English while the bride's parents gave their blessing in both Ukrainian and English. The bride's mother remarked at how moved all those present had been: "Ours [the Ukrainians] cried, but the English ... [she imitated loud sobs] cried, the other people cried. (Cherwick, 1990, p. 5)

Quentin was blessed by his parents and his godmother in his backyard before his wedding ceremony. Quentin's family regards the blessing as one of the most important wedding rituals. All of his family came to Edmonton from Saskatoon, bringing with them not only *korovai*, but also a Ukrainian music band for the blessing ritual. Even though his grandmother could not join the wedding, she listened on the phone to the ceremony. Quentin's parents asked the bride to join the blessing ritual. However, she could not do so because her morning schedule did not allow her to participate. Without the presence of the bride, Quentin's parents and his godmother blessed him. Then following their family tradition, they danced in a circle.

Travel to the church

The tradition of the wedding procession to the church varied throughout Ukraine. In some regions, the bride and groom usually went to the church together, whereas in other regions, they went separately²³. The people might walk, ride in wagons, or go by horseback, depending on the distance to the church from the bride's home (Chubinskii, 1876, p. 262). Today, in Canada, the wedding party usually travels in a white wedding car often decorated with paper and plastic flowers. Sometimes the bride and groom separately rent limousines or other special vehicles for the occasion. They drive separately to a church or to another place for their wedding ceremony. Among my informants, only Quentin and his family walked from his home to the park where his wedding ceremony was to be held.

Marriage service at church

Pravdiuk (1970) claimed that the church ceremony was not related to the traditional rituals of the wedding (p. 22)²⁴. Ethnographic materials of the 19th and early 20th centuries contain almost no information about the church ceremony. Most information associated with the church service involves superstitions (Maruschak, 1985, p. 114). However, for the contemporary Ukrainian Canadian wedding, the wedding ceremony in a Ukrainian church is an important source for the display of Ukrainian symbols and ethnicity. Many married couples believe that their weddings were "Ukrainian" because of the church service, which includes Ukrainian elements.

In the old tradition, after the bride and groom had arrived at the church, they entered it together. The priest welcomed them in the rear vestibule of the church and blessed the wedding bands, placing them on the fingers of the bride and groom. After affirming that they were both entering this union freely and as equals, the bride and groom exchanged their rings and followed the priest to the altar for the religious ceremony.

Some changes have taken place in the church rituals. Some brides and grooms still enter the church together, but in other cases, the groom and groomsmen enter the church first and wait for the bridal party to come to the altar. The father may walk his daughter halfway down the aisle, or, occasionally, he may walk her all the way. The presence of a ring bearer and a flower girl is also an example of change in church rituals.

Most often, change does not involve the inclusion of Ukrainian aspects but the introduction of Canadian traditions into the Ukrainian church. One example is the use of the English language, a change that has occurred not only at wedding ceremonies, but at church services in general. One reason for this change was to make the church more accessible to more people. Another example is the unity candle, which symbolizes the bride and groom. The unity candle is a non-Ukrainian tradition that has been used in the traditional ceremony, whereby both families, usually the mother from each family, each light a separate candle. Then the bride and groom light a third candle from the two that their mothers lit. This action is a show of unity and of the bonding of two families into a new one.

One Ukrainian tradition that many choose not to follow, but that was initially imposed upon the bride and groom, is the wearing of the ring on the third finger of the right hand. In comparison, the

Canadian tradition involves wearing the ring on the third finger of the left hand. Many couples switch the rings after the priest puts them on the right hand or may ask that he put them on the left hand.

In Ukrainian churches, during the ceremony, the *starosty* or special icon bearers carry the icons of Jesus and the Mother of God that will be placed in the home of the married couple and serve as the spiritual centre of the household. One of the most sacred and interesting parts of the church ceremony is the Crowning. The priest places crowns or wreaths on the heads of the bride and groom to signify the dawn of a new kingdom to be ruled by the couple. Then, the bride and groom kneel or stand on a *rushnyk*, place their right hands on the Gospel book. The priest uses an embroidered cloth, a *rushnyk*, to bind the hands of the bride and groom and leads them around the *tetrapod* (small altar) three times, symbolizing that God is at the centre of their marriage.

Even though the church service is strict, each church wedding can be slightly different depending on the priest's preferences for performing the service, the options that the priest presents to the bride and groom, and the suggestions that the bride and groom make to the priest.

Each priest may use a different style to perform rituals. Some are very strict and do not allow any options. Others are flexible enough to accept variants and suggestions as long as they do not undermine the principles of the church service. Some of my informants never learned about any options from their priest. Their service was performed in Ukrainian. In some cases, the priest allowed the bride and groom to decide upon the following options; (1) the service language – Ukrainian or/and English, (2) the choir – church choir or others, (3) how the bride walks down the aisle – with father/parents or with the groom, (4) crowning – crown or/and wreath, (5) tying hands and walking around the *tetrapod* three times, (6) the bride's special blessing, (7) covering the bride's head with a kerchief, and (8) others. Sometimes the bride and groom request their priest to allow them to include options in their service. Depending on which options are included, the wedding service varies.

On rare occasions, two priests from different churches perform the service together. Tim and Bailey, who belong to different denominations, had a unique church service because two priests, one from the Ukrainian Catholic Church and one from the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, performed the ritual together. Tetyana and Steven had a Ukrainian and English bilingual service. Because Steven is not Ukrainian, Tetyana asked her priest to speak English to Steven and to speak Ukrainian to her.

Marriage services at other places

When a civil marriage service is held somewhere other than in a church, the bride and groom have more freedom to create their own ceremony. Some popular wedding locations are parks, botanic gardens, greenhouses, and ethnic community halls. To have a civil ceremony, the bride and groom have to contact a Justice of the Peace (JP). They should meet with him or her and discuss their ceremony in advance. A civil ceremony tends to be much shorter than a religious ceremony. However, in both cases, ethnic elements can be incorporated into the ceremony.

Grant and Karen, who won a radio station's contest, married in the Western-style bar that was a sponsor of the contest. Since they had to marry in a bar, they tried to make the place meaningful in terms of their Ukrainian traditions. They brought *korovai*, embroidered cloths, and a Ukrainian choir and dance group. After the groom and bride had arrived at the bar, Grant was brought out to the front by his mother, where he stood on a *rushnyk*. Then the Ukrainian choir, *Verkhovyna*, started singing, and then the bridesmaids came down the aisle one by one. Finally, the bride walked with her father down the aisle.

Michael and Kara are another couple who were not married in a church. They had no religious faith when they married. Thus, they needed to find a person who would marry them. Michael did not want a JP, so he decided to have his friend's Lutheran minister perform their wedding. However, the ceremony itself was not religious. Around a hundred people sat on the chairs in Grant MacEwan Park near the Scottish Hall in Edmonton. While a guitar played, Michael's parents walked in with a flower girl. Then the bride came in with her parents. After introducing herself and the musician, the minister welcomed the families and friends to this day of celebration, and then introduced the witness. Even though Michael and Kara were not Christians at that time, the minister read a prayer. However, instead of using the Christian term "God" or "Jesus," the minister used "Spirit of Life, your creative power." Four of Michael and Kara's friends read readings not from the Bible, but from poetry and

prose. Then the bride and groom spoke their marriage vows in turn and exchanged their rings. Finally, the minister declared Michael and Kara husband and wife: "On behalf of all gathered here, and with the authority vested in me by the Province of Alberta, I pronounce you husband and wife." The minister completed the ceremony with signing of registration forms, after the prayer and blessing. Michael and Kara were presented to family members and friends as a newly married couple and sang "Annie's song" with all the participants. After the ceremony, the bride and groom greeted and thanked people and then had some photos taken in the park.

Photographs

Practically, all couples document their marriage with photographs, a tradition that extends back a hundred years to when the practice became technologically feasible and affordable. This is evinced by many historical wedding photos in Canada and Ukraine since practically the turn of the 20th century. In most cases, special professional photographers are hired. Several factors can be considered when choosing a wedding photographer. Some people are concerned mainly about artistic quality or economic factors while others are most concerned about ethnic factors. Michael and Gena hired a Ukrainian Canadian photographer because they wanted a photographer who knew their culture and tradition. Michael explained, "The important part, is that in church he knew exactly when certain events were happening. Normally, other photographers don't know that you go around the *tetrapod* three times." After the marriage ceremony and the party, families go to scenic settings or to a studio and get formal photos taken.

Wedding Reception

After the wedding photographs have been taken, the bride, groom, and the attendants leave by car to go to the wedding reception. The reception occurs in various places, depending on individual circumstances, finances, and other factors. By the 1960s, the Ukrainian community's hall had become a popular place for the wedding reception. Besides a Ukrainian community hall, a church hall is often used for the wedding reception. Many churches have a hall or are equipped for catering in the church basement. If the number of guests is small, the wedding reception can be held in a hotel or even in a restaurant.

Receiving line and cocktail party

About thirty minutes before the wedding reception, the cocktail party begins. Both sides' parents come earlier than the guests and welcome them, standing at the entrance of the reception hall. Sometimes the bride and groom as well as the whole wedding party join the receiving line and welcome their guests. In this case, one of the old Ukrainian rituals, *darovannia*, can be omitted.

The Blessing and greeting of the newlyweds²⁵

The parents of both the bride and groom sometimes greet the couple and their wedding party by giving them bread and salt as they enter the reception hall. After the parents bless their children, they all share a toast, and the bride and groom toss some of the salt over their shoulders. However, each family performs this ritual in different ways.

Some eat a piece of ritual bread and drink a glass of vodka while other just kiss the *korovai* or *kolach*. This ritual is often performed before the bride and groom enter the hall. In some cases, the blessing ritual is done in the middle of the hall, in order that people can see the ritual. At Tim and Bailey's wedding, the bride's mother held a *korovai* while two little girls from both sides carried salt at the entrance of the hall. After the MC introduced them, they entered the hall and walked to the front. Instead of performing blessing ritual, the Master of Ceremonies explained the meaning and purpose of the rituals.

The musicians

The musicians are an essential part of a Ukrainian wedding. They are generally a violinist, an accordionist, a drummer, and a *cymbaly* (an instrument of the hammered dulcimer) player. An electronic guitarist can also join the band, replacing the *cymbaly* player. When the couple enters the hall, the musicians usually stop whatever music they are playing and begin a traditional Ukrainian wedding march. Following a signal from the musicians, the bridal couple and their attendants enter the hall and are greeted by the guests, who clap their hands. Throughout the evening, the musicians

play various kinds of music: waltzes, polkas, and rock-and-roll. Certain musicians often may the bride and groom if they want them to wear Ukrainian costumes. Sometimes, without being asked to do so, the musicians wear traditional costumes and bring Ukrainian embroidery in which their band's name is written. Traditionally, they play at the entrance to the hall. While they are playing, the guests usually give them money.

Vecheria (supper)

Before the main program begins, a large supper is served for all the participants. When a hall is booked, the food is also decided upon because a hall usually has its own caterers. The bride and groom usually choose Ukrainian food, often consisting of such items as chicken, holubtsi (cabbage rolls), kulesha, pyrohy, borshch, and broth with meat. A free bar is often provided at a Ukrainian Canadian wedding for the hundreds of guests gathered for the occasion. The food varies from hall to hall, as particular cooks and crews develop different specialties, but the food tends to be traditional and often has a symbolic connection with Ukrainian identity.

The choice of food reflects a change from typical Canadian fare to that which is much more ethnic. Many Canadians who have no relation to the Ukrainian tradition may include some of Ukrainian foods in their wedding dinner, as they have become popular among the general public. Some examples of these foods are pyrohy and holubtsi. Canadians' inclusion of these items may be based on preference over tradition, while at a Ukrainian wedding, tradition and custom may be of more importance. Other foods that are also part of Ukrainian culture and that may be served at a wedding include cornmeal and kovbasa (Ukrainian sausage). Some of my informants identified their wedding as "Ukrainian" based on the fact that it included Ukrainian food.

Official program: Speech and perepii (toast)²⁶

Toasts to the bride and groom usually take place about half way through the evening. The use of the Ukrainian language at the reception during the greeting, speeches, and toasts, etc. also indicates the depth of the couple's Ukrainianness. If the bride and/or groom cannot understand the language, then its use will be limited.

At a wedding with Ukrainian elements in it, one might hear the song "Mnohaia Lita." Although this song may not be requested by the bride and groom, it may be initiated by the audience. If the bride and groom understand that the singing of this song is a Ukrainian tradition, they may expect it to be sung.

Slideshow

Today, a slideshow in the middle of the wedding reception has become very popular. The slideshow takes place during or right after the official program, to share the personal history of the bride and groom with the guests. One or two friends of the couple select old and recent photos as well as short video clips to present the couple's life stories. In some cases, Ukrainian elements are also incorporated in the presentation. For example, Quentin's friend prepared a slideshow called "The Big Fat Ukrainian Wedding." The title was adapted from the movie *My Big Fat Greek Wedding*, which was a big box-office hit in 2002. The slideshow started with a male voice speaking Ukrainian, and then Ukrainian kolomyika music followed. The comic combination of Ukrainian and English in the title reflected the groom's mixed Ukrainian-Canadian ethnic identity.

Cake Cutting

Shortly after the formal program, a cake-cutting ritual is performed. The old tradition included a ritual of korovai cutting and distributing pieces to the guests, but today, the korovai cutting is replaced by cake cutting. However, the bride and groom incorporate Ukrainian elements into their wedding cake.

Eileen's wedding cake was made by her mother and decorated by a Ukrainian cake decorator. Eileen took a photo of her Ukrainian church in Two Hills and then asked a woman in Stony Plain to make a replica of this church out of bon glass. She then gave the replica to the cake decorator to put it on the top of the wedding cake. In order to emphasize Ukrainian religious aspects at her wedding, she wanted to have a Bible with her and her husband's names as a decoration on the bottom part of the wedding cake.

Tetyana's blue wedding cake was pentagonal in shape and had white decorative swans and

flowers. She ordered it from a Polish bread store because this store makes a homemade style of cake similar to that in Ukraine. Each layer was decorated with two swans whose backs were joined together as well as with some of the flowers from her home area. A few white orchids were put on the top, and blue orchids decorated each side of the cake.

Grant and Karen had an artificial wedding cake, incorporating Ukrainian themes on it²⁷. It had two layers supported by two pillars with Ukrainian embroidery around them. Each layer of the cake was also designed with Ukrainian embroidery. The top of the first layer was decorated with yellow flowers and a swan made of wheat, while the top of the second layer was decorated with two bells and doves in a ring also made of wheat. Grant's baba made the dough doves while his mother made the rest of the wheat ornaments. Ukrainian embroideries were purchased from the local Ukrainian bookstore. Karen's aunt, who was a cake decorator, gave Grant and Karen the basic form of a cake, and then they decorated it.

Lorraine's mother made an artificial wedding cake. It was a white wedding cake with three layers and a big flower on the top. Lorraine and her mother looked through books and chose the elements that they wanted to incorporate into her wedding cake. In order to incorporate Ukrainian elements into it, they used barvinok leaves to decorate the cake and also added flowers on the top of the middle and top layers.

First dance, social dance and stage dance

The married couple typically dances by themselves for the first dance, usually a waltz or, more recently, a slow popular love song in any meter, selected by the couple. Then, the bridal party joins in for the second dance, and the parents of both the bride and groom join for the third dance. For the first dance, some couples practice a choreographed dance with a dance teacher for one or two months. The bride and groom can choose a song that has a very special meaning for them or a song that is just easy to dance to. A Ukrainian song is often a choice not only for the first dance but also for the dance with the parents if they are Ukrainian. The choice of a Ukrainian song can express the bride and groom's respect for their parents.

After the first three dances have been completed, the dance floor is open to all of the guests for the remainder of the evening. The participants usually dance voluntarily in couples, and occasionally in threesomes for the butterfly or in foursomes for the schottische, and in larger groups for the kolomyika. Since the 1960s, a specific Canadianized form of the kolomyika has become popular. People perform this dance in a large circle, often surrounded by rings of less active participants. While most people stand and clap, a series of soloists perform various dance steps in the centre of the circle (Nahachewsky, 1991; Nahachewsky, 1994, p. 76).

Besides the social dancing, a Ukrainian stage dance is sometimes performed by a group invited to perform as a gift for the bride and groom. This dance performance provides a strong symbol of the Ukrainian community and national identity.

Darovannia (the presentation of gifts)

Around nine o'clock or later, the presentation of gifts takes place. All the guests line up to extend their best wishes and to present the bride and groom with their gifts and cash. Parents, relatives and close friends usually come forth first, and then the rest of the guests and attendants follow. Some give small gifts like towels, cups, and dishes, while others give money.

Besides the presentation of gifts from the guests to the newlyweds, another ritual has also been performed in recent years, the giving of gifts or wedding favors to the guests. The wedding favor is a symbolic memento given to friends and relatives at the reception in appreciation of their help and support during the wedding. These favors sometimes include a small card or tag with a thank-you note, and thereby replace the thank-you card that used to be mailed to the guests after the wedding. Many traditional Canadian wedding favors include chocolates or wrapped mints or almonds, and can be as elaborate as crystal or ceramic works. The Ukrainianization of these wedding favors has taken the form of refrigerator magnets in the shape of vinoks, various designs of woven wheat, small dough doves like those on the korovai, and mini korovai's.

Tossing the bouquet and garter

At approximately midnight when the festivities came to a close, the bride throws away her bouquet.

The bride and groom go up on stage. First, the bride throws away a part of her bouquet to all the single girls at the wedding, who have been asked to assemble in front of the stage. The bride turns away and throws her flowers backward over her shoulder. Whoever catches the bouquet is said to be next in line to get married. The groom takes a garter off the bride's leg and throws it to all the single men who have lined up to receive it. The lucky male who catches the garter has a good chance of being the next one to get married. By this time, the bride may be in her "going away" attire, which is a two-piece-dress and matching coat outfit. The bride and groom thank the people for attending and leave for a hotel.

Nuptial bed in a "honeymoon suite"

The reception usually ends at some point after midnight. In some instances, the bride and groom remain to celebrate until the end of the reception, and in others, they leave at an earlier time. The bride and groom commonly stay in the "honeymoon suite" of a hotel on their wedding night.

IV. The Post-Wedding Phase

Popravyny (The post-wedding party)²⁸

The post-wedding ceremonies are called popravyny in the Edmonton area. Recently, the post-wedding reception or brunch has been often prepared for a smaller number of people than those who attended the wedding itself. Close friends, relatives and guests who come to the wedding from out-of-town tend to be invited.

Unwrapping the gifts

This new custom, the ritual of unwrapping the gifts, happens on the day after the wedding, when family and friends gather at the popravyny. The main focus for some is watching the bride and groom unwrap their gifts, which range from money to household goods.

Mock Wedding²⁹

A mock wedding can take place at the popravyny. In Canada, this tradition has been maintained primarily in Saskatchewan. Some of my informants came from there, and one of them had a mock wedding in his wedding. After the gift opening, the bride and groom had a mock wedding performed by their friends. This ritual was one of Michael's family traditions. Six actors took part playing, a pregnant bride, her groom, her bridesmaid, the groom's man (usually the groom's man pretends to be an old man with a cane), the priest, and a little flower girl. The males and females changed roles and dressed up comically. The priest asked the pregnant bride such foolish questions as the following: "Will you vacuum all the floors, clean all the dishes, wash the laundry, and give six children to him?" Then the bride answered, "Ah no! I don't want to! Oh, yeah, I do." During the ceremony, the bride suddenly gave birth to a baby. Others tried to pull the baby from her and finally, she gave birth to a bunch of beets instead of a baby. Later, the bride threw a bouquet of flowers and vegetables while the groom threw a "garter" that was a rubber ring. This mock wedding ended up with the actors dancing with the real bride and groom and others. The actors spoke half Ukrainian and half English, so only Ukrainian people could laugh at some parts of the performance. Michael's mother planned it and Michael has actually done many mock weddings for other weddings.

This period of revelry and chaotic entertainment by the bridal party and/or friends and family of the young couple is meant to function as a parody of the actual wedding from the previous day. Specific incidents that occur in the actual wedding are dramatized and parodied as part of the mock wedding. Such an event is meant to "turn the world upside-down" and provide the guests with raucous improvised entertainment. In essence, it complements the traditional wedding as a "folk drama," as it commonly follows a basic formula (sometimes specific to the region or community) in an extra-ordinary, non-everyday fashion.

Abduction

This ritual can be related to pereima (interception) ceremony of the old Ukrainian wedding tradition. In Ukraine, when the groom and his entourage arrived at the bride's home for vesillia, they took part in peremia ceremony. When the groom's party approached the bride's house, the bride's male relatives and neighbours attempted to stop the groom's procession to indicate their unwillingness hand over the bride. Symbolic fighting and numerous negotiations between both sides took place

(Pravdiuk, 1970, p. 25). Only after the groom paid the price for the bride, could the groom and his party enter the bride's home. Once the groom entered the house, he had to bargain with the bride's brothers to sit beside the bride.

Several couples practiced similar rituals at their weddings. For example, after the mock wedding, Michael and Gena had an abduction ritual. Some of the groomsmen kidnapped Gena and ask Michael for ransom³⁰. This event was a tradition in Gena's family. Michael had witnessed this event several times in Saskatoon, but according to him, it was not very common there. The men who had kidnapped the bride called Michael and gave him a list of the things that they wanted. They asked him for two bottles of vodka, three rings of kovbassa, an unmarried female's underwear, and a happy meal from Macdonald's for the bride. The kidnappers did not release Gena until Michael had satisfied all their demands.

V. Conclusion

This study provided a detailed description of a Ukrainian Canadian wedding within the last fifteen years. This study divided Ukrainian Canadian wedding into three parts: pre-wedding phase, wedding day, and the post-wedding phase. As we reviewed in the previous chapters, some elements such as dress and the roles of the wedding attendants had changed drastically while the food, music and customs such as the perepii (ceremony with a toast) had been preserved and retained in close to their original forms with no or few notable changes. Even though some informants of this study believed that they had had a traditional Ukrainian wedding, their wedding included several major changes of the traditional wedding. These changes became standard in the Ukrainian Canadian weddings of the next generation. First, The average age for marriage had risen since 1960. Second, according to many informants, Saturday became the most popular day for a wedding because people did not have to work on this day. Third, summer weddings were by far the most popular because the weather at this time of year is warm. Fourth, the ritual of inviting guests in person to the wedding was not practiced any more. Specially printed wedding invitations were distributed by mail to family and friends. Fifth, new rituals such as the bridal shower were organized by the participants. Sixth, the tradition of re-braiding the bride's hair was not followed in this Ukrainian-Canadian wedding. Instead, the bride's hair was curled and cut short. Seventh, a photographer was hired to photograph the wedding. After the church service, the bride, groom, their parents, and the attendants left by car to go to take photographs. Eighth, the non-Ukrainian customs of tossing the wedding garter and bouquet were incorporated into this wedding. Ninth, the informant had a wedding cake, and also a *korovai*. At this wedding, the *korovai* was cut into pieces and eaten at the home of the bride on the day after the wedding. As data shows, even though, in some aspects, Ukrainian Canadian weddings are not traditional and shared many new traits in common with the contemporary Canadian wedding, Ukrainian Canadian weddings still illustrate ethnic culture of Ukrainians in Canada in its very essence, encompassing past, present and future.

¹ She discussed Ukrainian weddings in *Wedded to the Cause: Ukrainian-Canadian Women and Ethnic Identity 1891 – 1991* (1993) and *From sheepskin to blue jeans: A brief history of Ukrainians in Canada*. (1991). In R. B. Klymasz, R. B. (Ed.), *Art and Ethnicity: The Ukrainian Tradition in Canada*. Quebec: Canadian Museum of Civilization.

² This was the claim of a Mrs. Chisholm, addressing the Woman's Christian Temperance Union in Hamilton, Ontario, reported in *Kanadiiskyi farmer* in late 1905.

³ These materials are deposited in the Ukrainian Folklore Archives at the University of Alberta.

⁴ The bride and bridesmaids were driven around by horse and sleigh to the homes of everyone in the area. In each home, the bride bowed her head three times and said, "My father invites you and my mother invites you and I invite you to my wedding." The groom did the same in his area. About 50 to 70 neighbors and friends were asked to each wedding.

⁵ The matron of honour was the bride's cousin, and the best man was a friend of the groom's.

⁶ The ritual was performed a week before the wedding at the bride's home. The author did not use the term "*vinkopletennia*" in the article. During the wreath-weaving ceremony, the bride's "*titka*" [aunt] did the weaving, but the bridesmaids and all the women in the district attended. The wreath was made out of myrtle while the bride sat on a pillow. The wreath was placed on the bride's head. All the women unplaited the bride's hair,

combed it and sang songs. When the wreath was finished, the groom had to bid money to buy it, while the bridesmaids tried to drive a hard bargain.

⁷ The groom came to pick the bride up with his team of horses, and they both rode to the church together with the bride's two attendants.

⁸ Hardly anyone from either family came to the church service, for each family had too many things to do before the guests arrived.

⁹ Music and clapping took place, as they were welcomed into the new reception at the groom's home. Joking and merriment took place. When the bride and groom arrived at the groom's home, people hid the bride from the groom's parents and instead, dressed up an old man like a woman. The in-laws said that they did not want the bride as she was too ugly and the bride's parents kept insisting that their daughter was beautiful and that the old woman was somebody else. There was joking and singing all this time. Finally, the true bride is allowed to come forth. She kneels before her new parents and is then invited to come into the home.

¹⁰ The presentation took place before midnight. A dish was put out for presentation, and people gave change and dollar bills. Some gave small gift towels, cups and dishes. The bride and groom received seventy dollars in cash.

¹¹ The groom brought the bride and her attendants to the bride's home from the church, and they stayed at the reception in the bride's home until morning. Then they went to the groom's wedding for the whole day. When the bride arrived at the groom's home, the musicians came outside to play for them as they were coming into the house. They had to bow their heads and shake hands with everyone present. They were then led to the main place of honor at the table. Some of the foods served at the party were chicken soup, boiled chicken meat, pork, meatballs, cabbage rolls, cider, homebrew and home-made beer.

¹² Boychuk, V. (1994). *Porivnial'ne doslidzhennia dvokh ukrains'kykh vesil'*. Unpublished manuscript. University of Alberta. 14 pp., Cherwick, B. (1990). The Ukrainian Wedding: The effect of membership in Ukrainian cultural organizations on retention of Ukrainian wedding traditions. Unpublished manuscript. University of Alberta. 20 pp., Foty, N. (2000) *Canadian Vinkopletennia*. Unpublished manuscript. University of Alberta. 18 pp., Gaborak, C (1998). *Wedding Dress*. Unpublished manuscript. University of Alberta. 8pp., Garbera, W. (1986). *Ukrainian mixed marriages*. Unpublished manuscript. University of Alberta. 15 pp., Jabora, k, Christina. (1988). *Wedding Dress*. Unpublished manuscript. University of Alberta. 8pp. Martiuk, A. (1988). *Divych Vechir or Vinkopletennia*. Unpublished manuscript. University of Alberta. 12 pp., McDonald, L. (1995). *The Ukrainianization of Canadian Weddings*. Unpublished manuscript. University of Alberta. 19pp., McDonald, L. (1998). *Making Korovai*. Unpublished manuscript. University of Alberta. 9 pp., Osinchuk, L. (1998). *Vinkopletennia*. Unpublished manuscript. University of Alberta. 18pp., Robinson, G. (1985). *The Ukrainian-Canadian wedding*. Unpublished manuscript. University of Alberta. 27 pp., Shevchuk, L. (1982). *Sviato! Vesillia*. Unpublished manuscript. University of Alberta. 7 pp., Slawuta, J. *The Ukrainian Wedding*. Unpublished manuscript. University of Alberta. 15pp., Swarbrick, M. (1988). [Weddings] – Ukrainian rites of passage. Unpublished manuscript. University of Alberta. 12 pp., Teslyk, T. (2000). *Ukrainian-Canadian Weddings*. Unpublished manuscript 12 pp., Wasylciw, W. (1993). *Vesil'nyi khorovod: The birth of a ritual*. Unpublished manuscript. University of Alberta. 6pp., and Foty, N. O. (2003). *A Celebration of Folk Burlesque: Ukrainian Mock Weddings in Saskatchewan*. Unpublished master's thesis, University of Alberta, Edmonton, Alberta, Canada.

¹³ *Dopyty* was the ceremony of inquiries. Once the prospective bride had been selected, the preliminary representatives of the groom and his family were chosen and sent to the prospective bride's home to determine the acceptability of their marriage proposal. *Svatannia* was the ceremony of matchmaking. Through this rite, the bride's and the groom's families confirmed the union of two families and discussed further arrangements for the wedding. *Ohliadyny* was the custom that provided the bride's family with an opportunity to verify the groom's economic situation. *Zmovyny* was the ceremony that finalized the marriage contract and arranged the details of the wedding. *Zaruchyny* was the final pre-wedding ceremony, when the marriage agreement was publically established between the two families (Maruschak, 1985, pp. 34 – 38).

¹⁴ *Zaprosyny* (invitation rite) was separately performed a day before the wedding by the bride and groom, along with their *druzhky* and *boiary* (Shubravs'ka, 1970, p. 216; Zdoroveha, 1974, pp. 84 – 86; Chubinskii, 1876, p. 134). *Zaprosyny* followed a specific procedure. For example, the bride and her party entered a house, the bride bowed to each person in the home, and one of the *druzhky* put a ritual loaf on the table (Chubinskii, 1876, p. 134). The bride and *druzhky* then recited the invitation three times, saying, "My father and mother invite you, and I invite you for bread, salt, and to the wedding" (Vovk, 1995, p. 241). Once the invitation had been recited, gifts were given to the bride. Then the bride and her party went to the next house.

¹⁵ Various terms were used to refer to the wedding tree. According to Borysenko, *hil'tse* was used in Kyiv, Chernihiv, Zhytomyr, Kirovohrad, Odesa, Cherkassy, Voroshylovhrad, and Zaporizhia region, while *derevtse*

or *rais'ke derevtse* was used in Ivano-Frankivsk, and Chernivtsi region. Besides *hil'tse* and *derevtse*, *divuvannia* (Dnipropetrovsk and Kharkiv), *vil'tse*, *iolka*, *iol'tse*, *terentse*, *shyshka*, or *rozshynshka* (Zhytomir, Rivne, and Kherson region), and *rizka*, *sosonka*, *teremka* (L'viv and Khmelnytsky region) (Borysenko, 1988, p. 63).

¹⁶ According to Zdoroveha, the groom had the responsibility to provide the bride with a branch for the *hil'tse* (1974, p. 87). The branch was chosen from a pine, fir, cherry, apple, or pear tree (Zdoroveha, 1974, p. 87; Pravdiuk, 1970, p. 20; Chubinskii, 1876, p. 99).

¹⁷ On a Friday or Saturday, the *korovai* were prepared along with other ritual breads. For more information, see Verkhovynets', 1914, p. 220; Chubinskii, 1876, p. 215, 604; Demchenko, 1903, p. 145)

¹⁸ Among many sources, Maruschak's master's thesis (1985, pp. 64 – 74) provided detailed and extensive information related to *korovai* and other ritual breads.

¹⁹ According to Zdoroveha (1974), *divych vechir* gave the bride an opportunity to bid farewell to the youth of the village. Borysenko (1988) explained that the groom also had a similar ritual with the groom's friends.

²⁰ In the Old Country, the first rite of preparation on Sunday morning began with the ritual of unplaiting the braid. This ritual was performed with the attendance of the bride's family, *druzhka*, and neighbours to confirm that the entire community agreed to give her in marriage (Maruschak, 1985, p. 106). The bride was seated on a bench covered with a pillow, furs, or a table-cloths. Then the *starosty* blessed the bride. After the blessing, the bride's brother began to unplait the bride's braid. Once it had been unplaited, the *druzhky* combed her hair and sang songs. Then the hair was adorned with coins, bread, crumbs, and garlic cloves, which were believed to have magical power. The bride's hair was braided again and placed on her head in the form of a wreath. Once this ceremony had finished, the bride was dressed in a traditional wedding costume. More information can be obtained in the following literature: Chubinskii, 1876, pp. 251 – 252; Pravdiuk, 1970, p. 22; Zdoroveha, 1974, pp. 97 – 98.

²¹ After the groom had dressed in his wedding attire, which included the embroidered shirt given to him by the bride, he was required to take part in the *proshchi* (forgiveness ceremony). First, the groom's parents blessed him with bread, salt, and an icon. Then the *starosta* led the groom by means of a kerchief into the yard, where the groom bowed to and kissed every person present. By doing so, he received a symbolic pardon from his entire family for any past transgressions (Shcherbakivs'kyi, 1952 – 1953, p. 334; Chubinskii, 1876, p. 250; as cited in Maruschak, 1985, p. 108). Only after this ritual, could the groom and his entourage leave for the bride's house. Before they left, the groom's mother blessed the groom with holy water, while the chorus sang.

²² The procedure for this ritual varied throughout Ukraine (Zdoroveha, 1974, 98). This ritual began with the bride's and groom's families sitting on benches at the bride's house. Once seated, everyone was given a loaf of bread on his or her lap. "Then starosta recited a phrase: As these two children stand before their own mother, before their own father, before their uncles, before their godparents; maybe they took something from someone; maybe they did not listen to one of you, I ask you to forgive them and bless them" (Roshkevych, 1970, pp. 73 – 125; as cited in Maruschak, 1985, p. 109). Once the *starosta* had finished his recitation, the family members repeat "*Bih sviaty!*" (May the Holy God [forgive and bless you]) three times (Maruschak). Then the couple bowed to their parents three times and kissed their faces, hands, and feet thrice (Roshkevych, 1970, pp. 84 – 85).

²³ During the wedding procession, musicians usually played music and the entourage sang songs about the upcoming ceremony. After the church ceremony, the bride and groom went to their own homes (Zdoroveha, 1974, p. 103). In some cases, the groom went to the bride's home, had supper, and went back his home. Then he went with his entourage to the bride's house for *vesillia* (Pravdiuk, 1970, p. 23).

²⁴ Ukrainian folklorists had interest in non-official, non-elite rituals of potentially very ancient origins until the beginning of Soviet period. However, the Soviets furthered the academic tradition of ignoring religious elements because of their atheistic bias.

²⁵ In the old tradition, the ritual of greeting and blessing the bride and/or groom occurred on several occasions. When the groom and his procession arrived at the bride's home for *vesillia*, the bride's mother greeted the groom, offering him a drink of oats and water on the threshold of the bride's home. Then, the bride's and the groom's *svakhy*, who were supplied with bread, salt, and a lighted candle, placed their feet on the threshold, joined the flames of their candles, kissed, and exchanged bread (Zdoroveha, 1974, p. 112; as cited in Maruschak, 1985, p. 124). Another greeting ritual occurred when the bride and groom went to the groom's house after *vesillia*. According to Zdoroveha (1974), the groom's mother wore a sheepskin coat and held a kneading table, covered with a kerchief and grain. Shcherbakivs'kyi (1970) explained that the groom's father held bread and salt (p. 341). After the couple bowed to the parents, the father blessed the newlyweds and mother sprinkled grain behind them, wishing for the couple's wealth, health, fertility and happiness (Maruschak, 1985, p. 137). Today, these blessing and greeting rituals seemed to have been reshaped and are performed at the reception hall.

²⁶ In Ukraine, on Monday, the after the wedding day, the celebration of the consummation of the marriage continued. The bride's family was invited into the groom's house, and a supper was served in their honor. Then *perepii*, a gift-giving ceremony, took place (Vovk, 1995, p. 311; as cited in Maruschak, 1985, p. 168). The couple approached each guest to offer a drink and the guest, in turn, gave the couple a gift while drinking a toast to the couple's health (Roshkevych, 1970, p. 119). In Canada, *perepii* tends to involve offering a drink and toast while *darovannia* is for a gift-giving rite.

²⁷ It is common to have an artificial cake in western Canada. It may be because people can easily decorate the cake and also because an artificial cake is cheaper than a real cake.

²⁸ *Perezva* was the term for the post-wedding party in Ukraine. However, in Canada, *popravyny* is used for the term.

²⁹ The origin of this ritual may be traced to the *tsyhanshchyna* (Gypsy raids), which took place on Tuesday after the wedding. For the *tsyhanshchyna*, a group of men dressed up in costumes went throughout the village, stopping at the home of each wedding guest (Zdoroveha, 1974, p. 128). According to Kononenko (1999), this ritual was meant to turn the world upside-down and provide the guests with raucous improvised entertainment. Foty's (2004) master's thesis provided a detailed study of Ukrainian Canadian mock weddings in Saskatchewan.

³⁰ This is an adaptation of the tradition. At first it was the groom and his accomplices that abducted the bride.

In this study, author explains the pattern of Ukrainian Canadian weddings during the last fifteen years. The description is based mainly on my fieldwork materials in Edmonton, Canada. I divide the Ukrainian Canadian wedding into three phases: the pre-wedding phase, the wedding day (the church service and the reception), and the post-wedding phase. For each phase, I identify the Ukrainian elements, including the symbols and rituals that can be included to express a Ukrainian identity.

Key words: Ukrainian Canadians, Weddings, Rituals, Ethnic Identity, Folklore.

В статье автор рассматривает украинскую свадьбу в Канаде в течение последних пятнадцати лет. Описание основывается, главным образом, на собственных полевых материалах, собранных в Эдмонтоне. Автор разделяет свадьбу на три этапа: предсвадебный, свадебный (богослужение и прием) и послесвадебный. В каждом этапе выделяются украинские элементы, в частности символы и обряды, которые выражают украинскую идентичность.

Ключевые слова: украинские канадцы, свадьбы, обряды, этническая идентичность, фольклор.