
ETHNOGRAPHY

**COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE POPULAR MATERIALS AND
THE SEX-AGE GROUPS OF THE ARMENIAN-AMERICAN NARRATORS
(According to our trips to USA in 1979, 1990, 2001, 2004 and 2008)**

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Abstract

The oral tradition of the Armenian-Americans, forming a consistent part of the centuries-old folklore of the Armenian people, has been developed according to the general folkloric principles, however, along with the generalities and the similarities, it has also involved extremely distinctive features, which are attributed to the historical-political, public and psychological circumstances of their mode of life in the multi-ethnic environment of the USA.

Writing down during about 30 years the relics of the oral culture of the Armenian-Americans in the course of our periodical five trips to USA, in 1979, 1990, 2001, 2004, and 2008, an attempt has been made to elucidate the level of traditionalism of that original ethnographical group connected with the chronological and geographical displacements, historical-political conditions, sex-age features and psychological problems.

The first time in the history of Armenian folklore the bequest of the oral tradition of the Armenian-Americans with its multifarious variants is represented in scientifically systematized form.

Keywords: USA, Western Armenia, Cilicia, narrator, oral-tradition, epic folklore, lyric folklore, saying folklore, ethnography, generations.

Comparative Analysis of the Armenian-American Five Generations and Popular Materials

On the basis of certain personal data, obtained from the narrators during the recordings, investigative analyses have been carried out considering the recorded materials in the evolution of time. Attention has been paid, particularly, to the communicated materials and the birthplace of the narrators, subsequently to their places of living, giving for each individual the path of his life from his birthplace till his arrival to the USA. Such a synthesis of facts has afforded the possibility to determine the level of traditionalism of the collected popular materials. The analyses have demonstrated that the trajectory of the origin of the folkloric materials stretches till their cradle, in Western

Armenia and Cilicia, therefore, to what extent the traditional material has been preserved immaculate remaining true to its sources and to what extent it has been subjected to the influences of time and the new environment.

The carriers of the materials, the narrators, emigrating to various countries following the Armenian Genocide have reached America and have carried with them that spiritual heritage, which was written down in the densely Armenian-populated localities of the Western and Eastern Coasts of the USA, in New York, Washington, Boston, Worcester, Detroit, San Francisco, Fresno, Los Angeles with their neighboring towns.

During these observations, the remarkable correlations of the interrelationship of the **popular materials** of the Armenian-American **narrators** and their *local* (geographical), *sex* (men, women) and *age* (8-109 years, 5 generations) peculiarities, as well as their dynamics in time have been elucidated.

Assuming as a basis the **Method of Qualitative Analysis** of the Professor of the St. Petersburg and Hamburg Universities, **Isidore Levin**, we have examined the interrelation between the popular materials and the narrators¹. For that purpose, a combining table, representing the recorded materials and the specific sex-age features of the narrators, has been formed:

PRIMARY SOURCES

I. HISTORICAL PRIMARY SOURCES (106 units)

II. FOLKLORIC PRIMARY SOURCES (1004 units)

III. ETHNOGRAPHICAL PRIMARY SOURCES (14 units)

IV. MUSICAL NOTATIONS OF THE SONGS (41 units).

By the synthesis of the data brought in the table, an attempt has been made to reveal the general picture of the tendency and the persistence of the popular material and the behavior of certain sex-age groups of the narrators toward the particular species (also: subspecies) of materials.

In the horizontal rows of the table are presented the kinds of primary sources, according to their particular sections and subsections, while the vertical columns represent the generation groups according to their sex-age peculiarities.

¹ Svazlian 1984: 10-12.

**THE INTERRELATIONS BETWEEN THE MATERIALS
AND THE NARRATOR'S SEX-AGE INDEXES**

TYPE OF THE MATERIAL	NUMBER OF ITEMS	SEX OF THE NARRATOR (Woman, Man)	NARRATOR'S AGE (Years Old)										TOTAL
			5 th Generation 1980-1999	4 th Generation 1960-1979		3 rd Generation 1940-1959		2 nd Generation 1920-1939		1 st Generation 1870-1919			
				8-16	17-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-79	80-109	
I. HISTORICAL PRIMARY SOURCES (106 units)													
1. THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE IN THE HISTORICAL MEMOIRS OF THE ARMENIAN-AMERICANS (65 units)													
a. Memoir-Testimonies of the Eyewitness Survivors	37	W. M.							- 1	4 3	16 13	20 17	
b. Tale-Testimonies	28	W. M.					1 1	1 -	3 3	6 4	6 3	17 11	
2. FOLKLORIC PRIMARY SOURCES (41 units)													
Interviews with Contemporaries	41	W. M.			1 -	- 1	2 2	2 6	4 7	5 5	1 5	15 26	
II. FOLKLORIC PRIMARY SOURCES (1004 units)													
A. EPIC FOLKLORE (300 units)													
1. Legends	5	W. M.								- 1	3 1	3 2	
2. Fairy Tales	15	W. M.									10 5	10 5	
3. Fables	16	W. M.							- 4	- 4	5 3	5 11	
4. Animal Tales	9	W. M.				- 1			- 2	- 4	1 1	1 8	
5. Moral-Edifying Tales	12	W. M.					1 -	2 -			4 5	7 5	

6. Historical Tales	20	W. M.					2 -		- 2	- 13	1 2	3 17
7. Domestic Tales												
a. Armenians in the Cradle	8	W. M.					- 1			1 2	1 3	2 6
b. Armenians in the Diaspora	5	W. M.							- 1	- 2	- 2	- 5
c. Armenians in America	26	W. M.			1 -		2 -	1 2	2 6	6 2	1 3	13 13
d. Repatriates	2	W. M.						1 -	1 -			2 -
8. Ludicrous Tales												
a. The Ottoman Empire and the Armenians in Their Cradle	24	W. M.								- 24		- 24
b. The Armenians and Other Nationalities in the USA	43	W. M.						1 7	- 12	4 13	1 5	6 37
c. The New-Comers in the Soviet Fatherland	31	W. M.					- 2	1 2	- 4	1 7	- 14	2 29
d. The Armenians of Armenia in the USA	84	W. M.			- 1		4 3	4 4	3 27	18 15	1 4	30 54
B. LYRIC FOLKLORE (216 units)												
1. Historical Songs of Armenian-Americans												
a. The Armenian Genocide (1915-1923) Songs	21	W. M.							- 1	6 -	2 12	8 13
b. Orphan and Orphanage Songs	12	W. M.						3 -		- 1	7 1	10 2
c. Self-Defensive Heroic Battle Songs	8	W. M.							- 1	2 3	- 2	2 6
d. Songs of Homeland-Deprivation	4	W. M.							1 -		2 1	3 1
e. Emigration Songs	5	W. M.					- 1			1 -	3 -	4 1
f. Songs of the Rightful Demand	6	W. M.							2 -	2 -	- 2	4 2
g. Repatriation Songs	5	W. M.					2 -				- 3	2 3

2. Songs of the Armenian-American Life												
a. Childhood Songs	8	W. M.						1 -	3 -	1 -	3 -	8 -
b. Quatrains	79	W. M.						16 -	7 1		55 -	78 1
c. Love and Family Songs	23	W. M.						3 -	10 2	- 3	2 3	15 8
d. Domestic-Revelry (Kef-Time) Songs	16	W. M.						1 -	1 7		- 7	2 14
e. Odes	15	W. M.					- 1			1 -	- 13	1 14
f. Nation-Gathering and Motherland-Construction Songs	14	W. M.						3 1	- 1	1 2	1 5	5 9
C. SAYING FOLKLORE (488 units)												
1. Proverbs-Sayings	129	W. M.					5 -	6 3	3 21	15 17	37 22	66 63
2. Admonitions	143	W. M.					6 1	4 6	10 7	18 24	36 31	74 69
3. Wise Thoughts	115	W. M.				- 1	4 2	7 12	3 19	13 21	10 23	37 78
4. Riddles	25	W. M.					1 -	4 3	2 2	5 1	7 -	19 6
5. Idioms	23	W. M.						4 -	1 -	7 4	3 4	15 8
6. Loan-Words	53	W. M.	2 3		2 3	- 2	2 3	6 6	4 3	12 -	- 5	29 24
III. ETHNOGRAPHICAL PRIMARY SOURCES (14 units)												
1. Armenian-American Rituals	6	W. M.						1 -	- 2	2 -	- 1	3 3
2. Armenian-American Holidays	8	W. M.					1 -	2 -	- 2	2 1		5 3
IV. MUSICAL NOTATIONS OF SONGS (41 units)												
Musical Notations of Songs	41	W. M.					- 2	2 -	3 3	3 4	7 17	15 26
Total Number of Materials According to the Sex-Age Indexes		W. M.	2 3		4 4	1 4	21 31	76 52	63 14 1	14 5 17 1	22 6 22 1	541 624
Total	1165		5		8	5	52	128	204	316	447	1165

Total Number of Materials According to the Sex-Age Indexes and Generations		W. M.	2 3	4 4	22 35	139 193	371 392	541 624
Total	1165	W. M.	5	8	57	332	763	1165

It turned out, that the quantity of the primary sources is 1,165 units in total.

Although we have, during the recordings, applied equally to the representatives of both sexes of narrators, it is noticeable, however, that not all the kinds of materials have equally found response in the said groups. With a view to elucidating which of the two groups is more traditional toward this or that kind of material, let us consult the Table:

PRIMARY SOURCES	Units	Women	Men
I. HISTORICAL PRIMARY SOURCES			
1. THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE IN THE HISTORICAL MEMOIRS OF THE ARMENIAN-AMERICANS			
a. Testimonies of the Eye-Witness Survivors	37 units	20 women	17 men
b. Tale-Testimonies	28 units	17 women	11 men
2. INTERVIEWS WITH CONTEMPORARIES	41 units	15 women	26 men
II. FOLKLORIC PRIMARY SOURCES			
A. EPIC FOLKLORE			
1. Legends	5 units	3 women	2 men
2. Fairy Tales	15 units	10 women	5 men
3. Fables	16 units	5 women	11 men
4. Animal Tales	9 units	1 woman	8 men
5. Moral-Edifying Tales	12 units	7 women	5 men
6. Historical Tales	20 units	3 women	17 men
7. Domestic Tales			
a. Armenians in the Cradle	8 units	2 women	6 men
b. Armenians in the Diaspora	5 units	-	5 men
c. Armenians in America	26 units	13 women	13 men
d. The Repatriates	2 units	2 women	-
8. Ludicrous Tales			
a. The Ottoman Empire and the Armenians in Their Cradle	24 units	-	24 men
b. The Armenians and Other Nationalities in America	43 units	6 women	37 men
c. The Newcomers in the Soviet Fatherland	31 units	2 women	29 men
d. The Armenians of Armenia in America	84 units	30 women	54 men

B. LYRIC FOLKLORE			
1. Historical Songs of Armenian-Americans			
a. The Armenian Genocide Songs (1915-1923)	21 units	8 women	13 men
b. Orphan and Orphanage Songs	12 units	10 women	2 men
c. Self-Defensive Heroic Battle Songs	8 units	2 women	6 men
d. Songs of Homeland-Deprivation	4 units	3 women	1 man
e. Emigration Songs	5 units	4 women	1 man
f. Songs of Rightful Demand	6 units	4 women	2 men
g. Repatriation Songs	5 units	2 women	3 men
2. Songs of the Armenian-American's Life			
a. Childhood Songs	8 units	8 women	-
b. Quatrains	79 units	78 women	1 man
c. Love and Family Songs	23 units	15 women	8 men
d. Domestic-Revelry Songs	16 units	2 women	14 men
e. Odes	15 units	1 woman	14 men
f. Nation-Gathering and Motherland-Construction Songs	14 units	5 women	9 men
C. SAYING FOLKLORE			
1. Proverbs-Sayings	129 units	66 women	63 men
2. Admonitions	143 units	74 women	69 men
3. Wise Thoughts	115 units	37 women	78 men
4. Riddles	25 units	19 women	6 men
5. Idioms	23 units	15 women	8 men
6. Loan-Words	53 units	29 women	24 men
III. ETHNOGRAPHICAL PRIMARY SOURCES			
1. Armenian-American Rituals	6 units	3 women	3 men
2. Armenian-American Holidays	8 units	5 women	3 men
IV. MUSICAL NOTATIONS OF SONGS			
Total	1.165 units	541 women	624 men

It turned out, that the quantity of the primary sources was **1,165 units** in total, including: 541 units were communicated by women and 624 – by men.

Now let us discuss these sections.

It became evident, that the predominance in the Section of the **“Historical Primary Sources,”** the subsections *“Memoir-Testimonies of the Eyewitness-Survivors”* and the *“Tale-Testimonies”* (65 units) belongs to the women narrators immigrated to USA (37 units), since, in the years of the Armenian Genocide, the Armenian women and girls have endured the unspeakable grief and suffering of that pan-national tragedy, while the men, who had been drafted to the Ottoman army had been cruelly exterminated or miraculously saved, have narrated 28 units only.

In the Subsection *“Interviews with Contemporaries”* (41 units), the predominance belongs to the men (26 units) over the women (15 units).

In the Section **“Folkloric Materials Primary Sources”** – **“Epic Folkloric Materials”** (300 units), Subsections *“Legends,” “Fairy Tales”* and *“Moral-Edifying Tales”* were mainly communicated by the women, while the *“Fables,” “Animal Tales,” “Historical Tales,” “Domestic Tales”* and the *“Ludicrous Tales”* with the Subsections; *“a. The Ottoman Empire and the Armenians in their cradle,” “b. The Armenians and other Nationalities in America,” “c. The Newcomers in the Soviet Armenia,” “d. The Armenians of Armenia in America”* were predominantly (217 units) told by men (versus 83 units for the women). That circumstance is due to the ability of men to express freely their thinking and feeling, to their active participation in the public-political life and also to their attitude and life-philosophy shaped on the grounds of the historical events.

Whereas, among the **“Lyric Folklore”** Section (216 units) in the *“Historical Songs of Armenian-Americans,”* in which are included the Subsections *“The Armenian Genocide (1915-1923)”* (61 units) – *“The Derzorian Dirges,” “The Self-Defensive Heroic Battle Songs”* and the *“Repatriation Songs,”* as well as those devoted to the *“Domestic-Revelry Songs,” “Odes”* and the bold *“Nation-Gathering and Motherland-Construction Songs”* (48 units) were mainly communicated by men (19 units), including also **Gevork Kiledjian**, endowed with poetic grace.

And the greater part of *“Orphan and Orphanage Songs,” “Songs of Homeland-Deprivation,” “Emigration Songs”* and *“Songs of the Rightful Demand”* (33 units), as well as the Second Part of the same *“Lyric Folklore Section”* dedicated to the *“Songs of the Armenian-American life”* (155 units), to the *“Childhood Songs,” “Quatrains,” “Love and Family Songs”* (107 units) has fallen to the lot of women, who have also expressed their indignation by the poems created by them, such as **Ronia Terzian, Zarouhi Partamian, Eva Medzorian** and **Julietta Stepanian**. Therefore, the Table quite truly elucidates the peculiarities of the narrators’ psychological disposition, the women, emotive by nature, being directly linked with everyday worries, have more courageously responded to the petty and big troubles and events of domestic life, starting from the lullaby of the new-born child, the love and family songs and delicate ditties to the personal and public events accompanying everyday life, to the inmost feelings concealed by female bashfulness till the boundless grief and suffering of the pan-national tragedy.

In the **“Saying Folklore”** Section (488 units) the *“Proverbs-Sayings,” “Admonitions,” “Wise Thoughts,” “Riddles,” “Idioms”* and *“Loan Words”* subsections (248 units) were transmitted by men and 240 units by women.

In the section of the **“Ethnographic Primary Sources”** are included the Armenian-American *“Rituals”* and *“Holidays”* (14 units); women have communicated 8, and men – 6 units.

The **“Musical notations”** of songs (41 units); men have communicated 26 and women – 15 units.

Now, let us touch upon the data expressed in the vertical column of the Table, which give an idea about the quantitative reduction of the narrated **materials** of 206 Armenian-American narrators of various age and different **generation** groups:

- I. FIRST GENERATION** – 1870-1919 (born in the cradle - **763** units),
- II. SECOND GENERATION** – 1920-1939 (born in the Diaspora - **332** units),
- III. THIRD GENERATION** – 1940-1959 (born in the USA - **57** units),
- IV. FOURTH GENERATION** – 1960-1979 (born in the USA - **8** units),
- V. FIFTH GENERATION** – 1980-1999 (born in the USA and Armenia - **5** units).

The **synchronic** and **diachronic** analyses of the ethnographic materials we have periodically recorded during three decades (1979, 1990, 2001, 2004, 2008) from the above-mentioned five generations demonstrate that, concurrently with the generation change brought in the Table, the number of the recorded materials has significantly diminished, while the **quantitative** changes have produced also **qualitative** changes.

For instance, in the fragment of the ancient song “*Native House*”:

*“The sweet hearts of my father and mother
I won’t change them for **jewels!**”*

has become in the USA.

*“The sweet hearts of my father and mother
I won’t change them for **dollars!**” [№ 454]²*

Or, the fragment of the song:

*“Pretty girl, come here
Let me take you to **Egypt**”*

has become, under the influence of place and time:

*“Pretty girl, come here
Let me take you to **Los Angeles.**” [№ 577]³*

The characters also have undergone **qualitative** changes. If in the cradle it was the honest and simple-minded “*Armenian peasant,*” in the Diasporan colony it was the “*Arab,*” “*Greek,*” “*Jew,*” in Armenia it was the “*Comrade*” or “*Neighbor,*” then in the USA it is the “*Mexican*” or “*Foreigner.*”

In order to study the reason of that phenomenon, let us consult again the facts.

The narrators of the **FIRST GENERATION** (1870-1919) were born in the cradle, were the representatives of the senior generation miraculously rescued from the Armenian Genocide (1915-1923), who had been underage orphan boys and girls then, had moved to the USA through the patronage of American missionaries of the Near East

² Svazlian 2021, № 454, p. 555.

³ Svazlian 2021, № 577, p. 577.

Relief Committee or otherwise, had received education and training in English there, had involuntarily lost their mother tongue, however, many among them had personally written by hand in English or someone else had written down or recorded their memoir-testimonies. These memoir-testimonies have described in full detail what they had seen and felt during the turmoil of the Great Genocide, as for instance:

Helen (Heghiné) Paronian (b. 1876, Erzroom>USA) [№ 1],
 Elmas Kavoukjian (b. 1883, Harpoot>USA) [№ 2],
 Dolores Zohrap-Lipman (b. 1892, Istanbul>USA) [№ 4],
 Khanoum Baloutsian (b. 1892, Kghi>USA) [№ 5],
 Helen (Johar) Mamigonian (b. 1892, Istanbul>USA) [№ 7],
 Manassé Choogasezian (b. 1896, Sebastia>USA) [№ 8],
 Zakaria Kloyan (b. 1900, Erzroom>USA) [№ 13],
 Arshalouys Tingourian-Chookasezian (b. 1906, Sebastia>USA) [№ 16],
 Satenik Ter-Sargissian (b. 1908, Tigranakert>USA) [№ 19],
 Issahak Yenovkian (b. 1912, Berri>USA) [№ 30],
 Luther Eskijian (b. 1913, Kessab>USA) [№ 33]⁴ and others.

Whereas those same representatives of the **FIRST GENERATION**, who had a narrow escape from the Armenian Genocide, had been scattered and had persisted in the various densely Armenian-populated colonies in Syria, in Lebanon, Iraq, Egypt, France, Greece, Balkan and other countries, where, in a heterodox environment, had, in order to avoid assimilation, received an Armenian education, tried to keep immaculate not only their mother tongue, but had also preserved the historical memory of the Historic Armenia and Cilicia and the relics of the traditional folklore.

Among the representatives of the same **FIRST GENERATION** are:
 Maritsa Ohanian (b. 1887, Sebastia>Meskené>Aleppo>USA) [№ 3],
 Grigor Ajemian (b. 1895, Konia>Deir-el-Zor>Aleppo>Marseille>USA) [№ 6],
 Tagouhi Antonian (b. 1900, Bitlis>Deir-el-Zor>Aleppo>Cairo>USA) [№ 9],
 George Toutikian (b. 1900, Kessab>Meskené>Aleppo>USA) [№ 10],
 Soghomon Koukouyan (b. 1900, Harpoot>Merdin>Adana>USA) [№ 11],
 Hakob Terzian (b. 1900, Shapin-Garahissar>Istanbul>USA) [№ 12],
 Grigor Gyozealian (b. 1903, Moussa Dagħ>Paris>Beirut>Yerevan>USA) [№ 122],
 Hovhannes Kyoroghlian (b. 1904, Tigranakert>Aleppo>USA) [№ 14],
 Imastouhi Galayjian (b. 1904, Sebastia>Hekimkhané>Istanbul>USA) [№ 15],
 Haroutiun Kopoushian (b. 1906, Adana>Deir-el-Zor>Aleppo>USA) [№ 17],
 Satenik Petrossian (b. 1908, Moosh>Deir-el-Zor>Corinth>USA) [№ 18],

⁴ Svazlian 2021, №№ 1, 2, 4, 5, 7, 8, 13, 16, 19, 30, 33, pp. 279-281, 283-290, 293-303, 307-308, 312-319, 324, 342-344, 346-349.

Grigor Armenian (b. 1909, Kayseri>Cyprus>Beirut>USA) [№ 22],
 Azniv Siradeghian (b. 1909, Sebastia>Homs-Hama>Aleppo>USA) [№ 20],
 Araxi Onbashian (b. 1909, Sebastia>Surudj>Bucharest>USA) [№ 21],
 Karapet Japaghjourian (b. 1909, Balou>Deir-el-Zor>Aleppo>USA) [№ 23],
 Gevorg Chiftchian (b. 1909, Moussa Dagħ>Aynjar>Yerevan>USA) [№ 295],
 Annman Toukmanian (b. 1910, Harpoot>Mezré>Beirut>USA) [№ 24],
 Verginé Gasparian (b. 1910, Ayntap>Deir-el-Zor>Aleppo>USA) [№ 25],
 Annik Ashjian (b. 1910, Adana>Beirut>USA) [№ 39],
 Yeghissabet Shamsian (b. 1910, Harpoot>Aleppo>USA) [№ 40],
 Karapet Poponian (b. 1911, Bursa>Izmir>USA) [№ 26],
 Sargis Sarian (b. 1911, Balou>Merdin>Aleppo>USA) [№ 27],
 Gevorg Kiledjian (b. 1912, Edessa>Aleppo>USA) [№ 28],
 Marta Eoylenjian (b. 1912, Harpoot>Surudj>Urfa>USA) [№ 29],
 Marie Manoukian (b. 1912, Konia>Deir-el-Zor>Kirkuk>Montreal>USA) [№ 31],
 Robert Galenian (b. 1912, Harpoot>Aleppo>Alexandria>USA) [№ 32],
 Yester Stepanian (b. 1913, Adana>Izmir>Corfu>USA) [№ 34],
 Loussaber Demirjian (b. 1913, Kayseri>Beirut>USA) [№ 35],
 George Kaplan (b. 1913, Cairo>Marseille>San Paulo>USA) [№ 578],
 Yevniké Salipian (b. 1914, Ayntap>Beirut>Damascus>USA) [№ 36],
 Pargev Makarian (b. 1915, Ayntap>Beirut>USA) [№ 37],
 Yester Antonian (b. 1916, Marash>Beirut>USA) [№ 41],
 Alice Sharbatova (b. 1916, Istanbul>Izmir>Varna>USA) [№ 112].⁵

The greater part of these eyewitness-survivors of the Armenian Genocide were the residents of the “Ararat” nursing home, who had told in full detail what they had seen and felt.

The memoir-testimonies of the above-cited eyewitness-survivors give a direct account of their personal impressions, their thoughts and meditations with the precise and veracious reproduction of the live pictures of the fate fallen to the lot of the Western Armenians. All these eyewitness-survivors of the first generation were individualities, who had gained sagacity with their testimonies and their cruel life experience, who had also reported diverse folklore materials in Armenian. Deepest gratitude and respect to their memory!

⁵ Svazlian 2021, №№ 3, 6, 9-12, 14, 15, 17, 18, 20-29, 31, 32, 34-37, 39, 40, 41, 112, 122, 295, 578, pp. 281-283, 290-293, 303-310, 312, 319-342, 344-346, 349-351, 357, 440-441, 447, 519, 578.



Fifth from the left: Verjine Svazlian with the Armenian-American eyewitness-survivors of the Armenian Genocide – residents of the “Ararat” nursing home, in Los Angeles, 2001.
In the center: His Beatitude Mesrob II, the late Armenian Patriarch of Constantinople

The narrators of the **SECOND GENERATION** (born in 1920-1939) represent the post-genocidal generation. Their greater part was born in exile, in foreign countries, in the Armenian colonies, where the Armenian Church and the newly-created Armenian schools have spared no effort to educate them with the mother tongue and the national spirit. Nonetheless, living and working in a foreign environment had their definite influence on their reasoning and vocabulary. The quantity of materials transmitted by the narrators of the second generation is twice fewer than that communicated by the previous generation (332 units). This quantity consists partially of the popular creations traditionally inherited and memorized from the seniors, they are also newly composed in the Diaspora and foreign environment, domestic-folkloric, ludicrous, saying creations and songs, connected with the outlandish nature and fauna of those countries, with the confused state of the emigrant Armenians ignorant of the customs, foreign languages and laws of the multinational peoples of various towns, with the difficulties aroused by unemployment, as well as with the enthusiasm provoked by the mass repatriation and the subsequent disappointment.

The representatives of the **SECOND GENERATION** are:

- Ronia Terzian (b. 1920, Aleppo>Deir-el- Zor>Aleppo>USA) [№ 42],
- Hakob Ter-Poghossian (b. 1920, Istanbul>Beirut>USA) [№ 47],
- Loussin Aboussefian (b. 1920, Marash>Aleppo>Yerevan>USA) [№ 109],
- Eliza Tiratourian (b. 1920, Bucharest>USA) [№ 174],
- Yervand Poladian (b. 1920, Aleppo>Bucharest>USA) [№ 46],
- Yeghia Adoorian (b. 1925, Deir-el- Zor>Aleppo>USA) [№ 71],
- Berkrouhi Mangassarian (b. 1926, Beirut>USA) [№ 632],
- Martiros Ashekian (b. 1927, Aleppo>USA) [№ 51],

Zarouhi Partamian (b. 1929, Aleppo>Mosul>Beirut>USA) [№ 456],
 Hakob Arshakouni (b. 1932, Kokinia>USA) [№ 76],
 Varouzhan Semizian (b. 1934, Bucharest>Yerevan>USA) [№ 252],
 John Gyurjian (b. 1938, Ghamishli>USA) [№ 60],
 Father Vrtanes Archpriest Galayjian (b. 1939, Aleppo>USA) [№ 85],
 Sirarpi Galayjian (b. 1939, Beirut>Yerevan>USA) [№ 209]⁶ and others.

The skilled narrators of this **SECOND GENERATION** with their Western-Armenian flavor and their distinctive speech have reported diverse and valuable folklore materials, in which appear also foreign characters of the Diaspora: Arabs, Greeks, Turks, Jews, etc., while in the materials created in the Motherland, there are Armenians of Armenia, of Gyumri, of Artsakh, of Baku, Russians and other characters. In the materials created in the USA there are Americans, Mexicans, immigrants from various countries, also immigrants from Armenia, who are not always fluent in English and often run into domestic difficulties and have various complexes.

The greater part of this diversified, but Armenian-spirited generation is, regrettably, no longer alive, however, during our periodical trips, we have succeeded in writing down and saving from a total loss 332 units of ideologically valuable materials transmitted by them.

While those same Armenian-American narrators of the **SECOND GENERATION**, who were born in the USA from the survivors of the Genocide, had received education and training in the American institutions, had become physicians, lawyers and artists, but they had lost their mother tongue and hardly remembered Armenian words in their oral speech. They thought and expressed themselves mostly in English. However, the sorrow of the nation also tormented them. Many of them were specially gathered in Fresno, in 2008, in **Rosy Dolarian's** house in order to narrate to me about their parents' sufferings. Those expressing themselves in a half-Armenian, half-English speech were of the Second Generation:

Vazgen Maroukian (b. 1925, Connecticut>Fresno) [№ 1060],
 John (Hovhannes) Bagratouni (b. 1926, Rhode Island>Los Angeles) [№ 50],
 Margaret Minassian (b. 1929, New York>Los Angeles) [№ 52],
 Lion Shishmanian (b. 1931, Providence>Fresno) [№ 55],
 Arminé Shahnazarian-Shishmanian (b. 1933, Fresno) [№ 57],
 Rosy Dolarian (b. 1935, San Diego>Fresno) [№ 18],⁷

who expressed themselves in a half-Armenian, half-English speech and related the tragic memoirs of their eyewitness-survivor parents in the form of Tales.

⁶ Svazlian 2021, №№ 42, 46, 47, 51, 60, 71, 76, 85, 109, 174, 209, 252, 456, 632, pp. 358-360, 362-364, 371, 388, 395, 401, 438, 474, 493, 508, 556, 594.

⁷ Svazlian 2021, №№ 18, 50, 52, 55, 57, 1060, pp. 364, 366-370, 631.

The narrators of the **THIRD GENERATION** (born in 1940-1959) have transmitted only 68 units of materials. The Armenian-speaking narrators were already reduced in number and had become taciturn. The emigrants from Armenia had increased in number, but they were cautious, they did not speak much and they did not express themselves much. Some of them have related with humor about the ridiculous situations they had found themselves as a result of their ignorance of the English language; for instance, **Marie Doudaklian** (b. 1938, Moussa Dagħ>Aynjar>Beirut>Yerevan>Los Angeles) has recounted a number of autobiographical ludicrous tales of such unusual occurrences. Whereas, many of the emigrants from the Near and Middle East countries and Europe, who were fluent in English and having received education and training in the USA and even graduated from two universities, and filled higher posts and positions, had mastered the local laws and the latest techniques, were successful in the various fields of science and culture.

The representatives of this **Third Generation** are:

Rubina Peroomian (b. 1939, Tabriz>USA) [№ 83],
 John Chookasezian (b. 1939, New York>Las Vegas>Fresno) [№ 84],
 Jo (Hovsep) Daghdikian (b. 1941, Haverhill>USA) [№ 87],
 Lisa Daghdikian (b. 1941, Meshed>USA) [№ 88],
 Levon Chorbajian (b. 1942, New Jersey) [№ 89],
 Ara Gabrielian (b. 1943, New York) [№ 91],
 Barbara Chookasezian (b. 1946, San Francisco>Fresno) [№ 92],
 Ara Ghazariants (b. 1948, Boston) [№ 93],
 Tigran Tumajan (b. 1948, Aleppo>Detroit) [№ 94],
 Harout Sassounian (b. 1950, Aleppo>USA) [№ 96],
 Maggie Mangassarian-Goshin (b. 1954, Beirut>USA) [№ 99]⁸ and others.

The narrators of the **FOURTH GENERATION** (born in 1960-1979) are often the children of mixed marriages, who did not attend Armenian schools at their dwelling-places, they had their education in American institutions, hence they are practically ignorant of the Armenian language. They think and express themselves in English.

The narrators of the **FIFTH GENERATION** (born in 1980-1999) were also questioned. They were underage, four in number, among them **Stevie Dadour** (b. 1980, Los Angeles), who was 10 years old during our interview and his brother, **Scatty Dadour** (b. 1982, Los Angeles), was 8 years old. They were born in an Armenian-Egyptian immigrant family and were attending a State Public school. These two English-speaking brothers were remote from Armenian roots; they were not speaking Armenian and almost did not understand my speech. They were fascinated by the modern “Rap,” which was a music with a repeated, monotonous refrain and the computer game “Nintendo,” in which

⁸ Svazlian 2021, №№ 83, 84, 87-89, 91-94, 96, 99, pp. 399, 400, 403, 406-415, 419.

they engaged after school, at home, till late at night. They were practically indifferent and not privy to the memoirs connected to the past of their ancestors and even of their parents.

Whereas the ten-year-old **Vardan Boursalian** (b. 1980, Yerevan>Los Angeles) of the same age, emigrated from Armenia, has, on the very first day of his attendance at the school and returning worriedly with tearful eyes, said to his mother: *“Dear mother, there is not a single Armenian in the class, not a single Armenian girl and whom shall I get married to?”* And his younger brother **Davit Boursalian** (b. 1982, Yerevan>Los Angeles) attending the same Public school, who was given a test *“If you had one million dollars, what would you do?”*, the eight-year-old boy had answered: *“I would send half the sum to Armenia, to the victims of the earthquake and the other half to my parents, who have raised me up.”*⁹

The difference between the children born in a *foreign land* and in the *Motherland* is obvious.

Still, among the last, **new generations** remotely involved in Armenian matters, there appear individuals, who, feeling the negative aspects of their national identity, are often making a sharp turn and are tending toward the roots of their ancestors. After a certain age, they are starting to learn the Armenian language by means of “Teach yourself manuals” or the Internet sites, to become interested in the past stories of their Armenian grandfathers and grandmothers, to try by inquiries or by consulting books to take out of the mists of time their forgotten memoirs or to send their half-Armenian, half-foreign children to the Armenian Sunday school in order that they too study the basics of the Armenian language. Some people are starting to take part in the Armenian cultural events to have, at least, a general idea about the Armenians. Some others are starting to draw spiritually closer and to materially assist the calamity zone of Spitak struck by the earthquake or the independent Armenia or the liberated Artsakh. Some visit the sights of Armenia as tourists and make a close acquaintance of the past history and present way of living of the hospitable Armenian people, to see and appreciate personally its diligence and creative capacities, its remarkable and highly artistic culture. Some people participate, as volunteers, in the works of constructive teams, become intimate with a female partner they love each other and get married to start a family, build houses, they settle partly or permanently in Yerevan, in the provinces, also in Artsakh, Stepanakert or the border-line regions supporting the local population or make material investments, founding enterprises and creating new jobs, practically participating in the sacred duty of the reconstruction of the Motherland. I shall not mention their names, but in the course of decades, similar people and facts are known realities, since the gradually estranged, degrading new generations stepping aside from their ancestral roots are already living a gradual awakening of self-consciousness and self-esteem by an inner-incentive...

⁹ Svazlian 2021, № 102, p. 426.

Conclusion

Thus, the comparative analysis of the interrelations between the popular **materials** and the sex-age groups of the **narrators** have elucidated the **quantitative** and **qualitative** changes of the traditional folklore undergone by the influence of time and space.

Unforeseen historical, political and cultural changes are taking place in the course of time, and people are compelled to be subjected to these changes, consequently, they involuntarily become, under the constraint of the new circumstances, a multi-identity person, a globalized individual. Therefore, the Armenian-American community will not be able, despite its everyday efforts and endeavors, to guard itself from undergoing changes, from generation to generation, in their national identity, linguistic reasoning and spiritual-conscious world.

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