

ды к раскрытию диаспорного вопроса в отечественной и зарубежной историографии. Освещаются и характеризуются основные этапы институционального развития украинской диаспоры в стране проживания. Анализируется политика Российской Федерации по отношению к главным украинским организациям страны. Описывается современное состояние и дальнейшие перспективы развития центральных украинских институций в России.

**Ключевые слова:** украинская диаспора, институция, Российская Федерация.

**Summary.** *Volkov V. Institutional development of the Ukrainian diaspora in Russia 1991–2010.* The article is devoted to the research and meaningful theme, named the history of Ukrainian-Russian relations, the main trends of development in modern times. Despite the existence of some scientific works, the problem of formation of the Ukrainian diaspora in Russia remains less explored. The author analyzes literature and the use the source to identify the key stages of institutional development of the Ukrainian diaspora in Russia. It is pointed out that the formation of the Ukrainian communities in Russia was entirely dependent on the political atmosphere of the country of residence. Also important is the conclusion on the gradual fading of social activity Ukrainian diaspora in Russia. This process was associated with the gradual assimilation of Ukrainian Federation, direct proof of which is a permanent reduction in their numbers in the country. The article discusses the Ukrainian diaspora in the light of the formation of its organizational structure. A quick study approaches to disclosure diaspora issues in domestic and foreign historiography. In the context of Ukrainian organizations in Russia author highlights and describes the main stages of institutional development of Ukrainian Diaspora in the country of residence. The policy of the Russian Federation in relation to the main centers of Ukrainian country is analysed. The current state and future prospects of the central Ukrainian institutions in Russia is described.

**Key words:** Ukrainian diaspora, institution, Russian Federation.

УДК 94(477.46)“1990/2000”(=19)

N. O. Berezhna

#### ARMENIAN COMMUNITY IN CHERKASSY REGION IN THE CONTEXT OF THE PROBLEM OF LANGUAGE IDENTITY (1990s – beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century)

**Анотація.** *Бережна Н.О. Вірменська громада Черкаської області в контексті проблеми мовної ідентичності (1990-і рр. – початок ХХІ ст.).* Цією статтею автор вдруге торкається проблеми мовної ідентичності вірмен, що мешкають на території Черкаської області в останню чверть століття (з кінця 1980-х рр.). Проведений аналіз засвідчує: мовні асиміляційні процеси на території Черкащини охоплюють насамперед вірмен сільської місцевості, що, між іншим, не є характерним для всієї новітньої України.

**Ключові слова:** національна меншина, вірменська громада, Черкаська область, ідентичність, мовна ідентичність.

**Problem description.** We have analyzed the historiography of the problem (as a component of modern Ukrainian Armenology) and came to conclusion that the problem wasn't made clear enough in historic science. Moreover, as it is seen in rare publications, the language identity of the representatives of national minorities (except the Russian and Jewish ones) isn't conceptually formulated. At the same time the researchers have been traditionally concentrated on the history of appearance and primary settling of Armenian national minority on the territory of modern Ukraine [1, 233].

**Analysis of latest researches and publications.** Regional ethnographers also paid little attention to this problem. The main reason for this is lack of sources, more precisely the absence of published latest population census data in Ukraine. Evidently one of the most important sources which can be used for more profound scientific research is statistical data.

**Aim of this paper.** The author has already dealt with the problem of Armenian community in Central Ukraine (in particular in Cherkassy region) in the context of language identity. In this case the author aims to clarify this phenomenon more profoundly.

**Statement of the main material.** The basis for the proposed vision of the problem is the analysis of materials from the census of the years of 1989 and 2001. That is the main statistical data which had been found by the author in the manuscript of specific ministries and departments of Ukraine (they are indicated as «personal archive»). They give us the opportunity to watch the dynamics of the number of this national minority in the regions of Ukraine, in particular in Cherkassy region. Considering the technological problems of the both census, new opportunities appear for analyzing the sex, education,

age and other differences of Armenian community. The specificity of migration processes, some circumstances of preserving, forming and transforming the language (in a more broad sense – national) identity. Moreover, the usage of these statistical data may be the basis for further profound research.

The aim of the article is to reproduce virtually and in words the general «statistical portrait» of the Armenian community of Cherkassy region on the eve of the collapse of the USSR, as well as during the first decade since the appearance on the political map of two independent states Ukraine and Republic of Armenia. Most of all the attention should be paid to the changes in language identity of the people.

As a result of the conducted statistical analysis we have official data demonstrating that from 1989 to 2001 the number of Armenians in Cherkassy region increased from 636 to 1749 (2.75 times). We have found the statistics about Armenian population distribution in districts and towns of the region. This statistics is represented in the following table (table 1). [2].

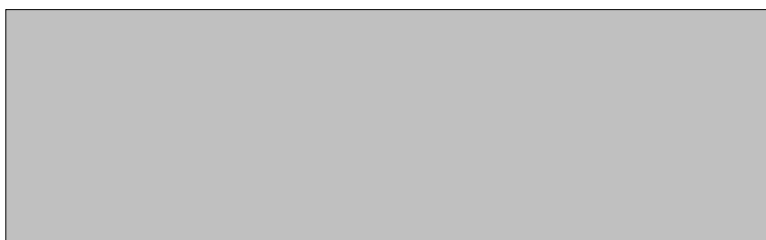
**Table 1**

*Distribution of constant population of Armenian nationality in districts and towns*

*of Cherkassy region according to sex and type of locations (2001)*

As we can see it was not possible to reproduce the whole picture of the presence and resettlement of Armenian population in the region, since out of all number (1749 persons) there are only 961 people according to the census which makes only 55% of all community. But even these data let us understand that in 2001 relatively more Armenians lived in such towns as Talne, Hrustynivka and Zhashkiv. At the same time the rural settlements of this national minority were more numerous in Horodyshchenskyi, Zolotoniskyi, Cherkaskyi and Chornobaivskyi districts.

We have also the data of the two censuses about the quantitative characteristic of Armenian population after native language. This lets us say about certain type of their identification. In 1989 the Armenian language was considered as a native language by 54,7% of the Armenians in the region, in 2001 it was 68,7%. Ukrainian-speaking and Russian-speaking Armenians made accordingly: 9,4% and 34,6% in 1989 and 11,2% and 19,2% in 2001. The tendencies of the changes are seen quite definitely. Among other things the number of Ukrainian-speaking Armenians in rural area increased. In 1989 they made 7,5% of the local Armenian community, in 2001 they made already 12,9% (table 2) [3–4].

**Table 2***Distribution of Armenian population according to the native language (1989)**Distribution of Armenian population according to the native language (2001)*

On the whole at the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century among city inhabitants of Cherkassy region 709 Armenians (63,7%) considered Armenian as their native language, 116 (10,4%) – Ukrainian, 288 (25,8%) – Russian. The Armenian population according to the native language in rural area is as follows: for 484 (78,8%) persons Armenian was native, for 81 (13,2%) – Ukrainian and only 49 Armenian (8,0%) considered Russian as their native language. The decrease of the number of Russian-speaking Armenians was well observed in the villages of the region. Despite all the modern influences they remain Ukrainian-speaking.

By the way, a similar tendency is observed in the neighbouring Kiev region where during the 12 years the number of Ukrainian-speaking Armenians in rural area increased to 5%. At the same time the number of Armenians who consider Russian as their native language decreased almost to 10%. Despite these significant changes, Russian dominates among city population in Kiev region [5]. The same is in another region of Ukraine. This is the heritage of the Soviet time.

This way the significant majority of the representatives of the Armenian community which in Cherkassy region at the beginning of 2000s made 1749 people, preserved their national, that is the Armenian language identity. Considering the fact that almost two third of the community lived in towns (64,4%) in the time of the second census (2001), another tendency became representative. Among the Armenians who went through the language assimilation and continued living in the urbanized microenvironment, relatively more numerous were those who considered Russian as their native language. We have serious assumptions to think, that this group which evidently belonged to those who lived here for a very long time as well as to those who arrived recently, overcame in their life one assimilation degree. In fact, these people preserved the degree of adaptation to the «non Armenian» environment, which they inherited from the Soviet epoch when Russian was native for almost all population of the multinational Soviet Union.

The situation with the Armenians who had to live in rural area of Cherkassy region, is a little bit different. First of all it is necessary to indicate that they made more than one third of all number – 35,6%. More or less long stay of the representatives of this ethnic group in the Ukrainian environment demonstrated its relatively «more flexible» disposition to cultural mutual influence. Preserving their loyalty to the national language identity Armenians, who were able to adopt the local language practice, were not unambiguous.

Of course «Ukrainization», mentioned above and demonstrated by the statistics, doesn't need any exaggeration. Because it concerns several dozens of people, moreover the life of each of these Armenians was tightly connected with the traditional mode of life and culture of Ukrainian village. Unfortunately we don't have any precise data about how much time the Ukrainian-speaking Armenians needed to form a new language identity.

What concerns the problem of the language identity of the Armenian population in a broader context, interesting is the fact that at the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century in a neighbouring Poltava region, unlike Cherkassy and Kiev regions, the number of Armenians who indicated Russian and Ukrainian as their native language, was almost the same.

The author thinks that the problem of language adaptation (assimilation) of the Armenian population in the Ukrainian ethnical environment, which in this case is represented by the absolute majority of city and rural localities of central regions of Ukraine, needs a more detailed analysis. In particular it would be reasonable to compare the degree and consequences of this process in the context of similar adaptation of the representatives of other national minorities, including the Russian one.

**Conclusion.** This way, according to statistical data, language assimilation processes on the territory of Cherkassy region encompass first of all the Armenians of rural area. We can see this not only in Cherkassy region but also in the neighbouring Kyiv region. At the same time this phenomena is not characteristic for the Armenian population of all Ukraine. For example, in Poltava region the mentioned tendency has significant peculiarities. In any case there are serious arguments to think that the language identity of Armenians not always and not fully coincides with the national identity. The representatives of the Armenian ethnos preserve traditionally their national identity that is they «remain Armenians», despite the fact that in a multicultural environment they quite easy start using common Russian or, to a greater degree in Cherkassy region, master the Ukrainian language.

### Literature

1. Залізник Л. Київська Русь: проукраїнська держава чи «спільний стовбур» східних слов'ян / Л. Залізник // Український історик. – 1998. – № 35. – С. 230–237.
2. Матеріали Всеукраїнської переписи населення 2001 года, табл. 5.1 «Распределение населения по национальности и родному языку» (Черкасская область в разрезе городов и районов). – Личный архив автора.
3. Населення Черкаської області (за даними Всеукраїнського перепису населення 2001 року). – Черкаси, 2013. – 44 с.
4. Матеріали Всесоюзної переписи населення 1989 года, табл. 9-с «Распределение населения по национальности, полу и родному языку» (Черкасская область). – Личный архив автора.
5. Распределение армянского населения по родному языку. – Материалы Главного управления статистики в Киевской области. – Личный архив автора.

Одержано редакцією 27.11.2014  
Прийнято до публікації 25.12.2014

**Аннотація.** *Бережная Н.О. Армянское сообщество Черкасской области в контексте проблемы языковой идентичности (1990-ые гг. – начало XXI в.). Настоящей статьей автор во второй раз касается проблемы языковой идентичности армян, которые проживают на территории Черкасской области в последнюю четверть века (с конца 1980-х гг.). Проведенный анализ доказывает: языковые ассимиляционные процессы на территории Черкащины охватывают в первую очередь армян сельской местности, что, между прочим, не является характерным для всей новейшей Украины.*

**Ключевые слова:** *национальное меньшинство, армянское сообщество, Черкасская область, идентичность, языковая идентичность.*

**Summary.** *Berezhna N. Armenian community in Cherkassy oblast in the context of the problem of language identity (1990s – beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century). The author studies the problem of language identity of Armenians who lived on the territory of Cherkassy oblast during the last decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (since the end of 1980s). The conducted analysis shows that language assimilation processes in Cherkashchyna encompassed first of all the Armenians of rural area. This was not characteristic for all Ukraine in the newest history. In a broader context it concerns the not fully studied processes of the newest adaptation and assimilation of the Armenian population in the Ukrainian ethnocultural environment. In this paper the main aspects of this problem have been described. The author did not restrict her research to Cherkassy oblast, she also made solid comparing characteristics. As a result not only regional but also some all-Ukrainian peculiarities and dynamics of language-identity transformations have been clarified (in Kiev and Poltava regions this tendency had significant peculiarities). On the whole the representatives of the Armenian community managed to preserve their national identity.*

**Key words:** *national minority, Armenian community, Cherkassy oblast, identity, language identity.*

