Representation of National Identity on Ukrainian Business Websites: Analysis of the Website Genre

DISSERTATION

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Abstract

The goal of the proposed dissertation is twofold—first, to investigate the patterns of language usage in a previously unstudied discourse genre, the websites of Ukrainian businesses; and second, to determine the extent to which the new language policies of the post-Soviet Ukrainian state are reflected in this new genre, which is not explicitly covered by those policies. More specifically, the study will offer a detailed linguistic analysis of the genre in order to determine whether, and to what degree, linguistic identity, as shown by the choice of language(s) on the sites, correlates with other markers of Ukrainian national identity—i.e., the values that the official policies are trying to defend.
Dedication

This document is dedicated to my family.
Acknowledgments

Here I want to thank people who have contributed much to this research and who have been with me during this difficult period of my life. I am indebted to both of my advisers: Dr. Charles Gribble and Dr. Daniel Collins. I have learned a lot from these men who are both inspiring professors and wonderful people as they have worked with me during my entire course of study at The Ohio State University. Not only did their classes and lectures motivate me to pursue my academic career, but their attitude toward teaching and toward their students also set a great example of high professionalism for me. I want to thank Dr. Gribble, Dr. Collins and Dr. Brian Joseph for their valuable time and very helpful comments. I am extremely grateful to Dr. Collins for making me suffer for a while as I searched for a topic for this dissertation. I finally found one that really interested me and I truly appreciate the importance of the process. My dissertation would not exist without his great ideas as well as the amount of time, help and support that he offered me. I am grateful to Dr. Yana Hashamova for providing me with helpful materials and advising me about some issues in the research. I cannot adequately express my gratitude to my supervisors at the Hilandar Library: Dr. Predrag Matejic, Dr. Lubomira Gribble, and Helen Senecal. Without their advice, patience, understanding, care and enormous friendly support, I would not have been able to reach this point. I also want to
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**Fields of Study**

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# Table of Contents

Abstract ............................................................................................................................. ii  
Dedication ....................................................................................................................... iii  
Acknowledgments ......................................................................................................... iv  
Vita ................................................................................................................................... vi  
Table of Contents ........................................................................................................... ix  
List of Tables ................................................................................................................ xiv  
List of Illustrations ........................................................................................................ xv  

Chapter 1: Introduction ................................................................................................. 1  
1.1. Objectives of the dissertation ............................................................................. 1  
1.2. Ukrainian language policy as reflected in official documents ....................... 2  
1.3. Goals and task of the research ......................................................................... 6  
1.4. Prior research on the language situation in former socialist countries .......... 8  
1.5. Methodology and Structure of the Dissertation .............................................. 12
Chapter 2: Correlations between the Choice of Language and the Geographic Regions

2.1. Language planning as a tool in the process of nation-building ..................................................14

2.2. Analysis of the websites by geographical region.................................................................16
   2.2.1. Analysis of the Eastern Zone .................................................................21
   2.2.2. Analysis of the Central Zone.................................................................25
   2.2.3. Analysis of the Western zone .................................................................29
   2.2.4. Analysis of the Littoral Zone .................................................................33

2.3. The analysis of language of companies’ logos that have mottos.................................35

2.4. Market value of the language versus national/symbolic value ........................47

Chapter 3: Analysis of Style...........................................................................................................51

3.1. Introduction.................................................................................................................51

3.2. Methodology.............................................................................................................52

3.3. Brief overview of the discourse style of business websites .................................59

3.4. Summary of the features.........................................................................................71

Chapter 4: Analysis of Structure..........................................................................................73

4.1. Introduction...............................................................................................................73

4.2. Introductory-informational move.............................................................................74
   4.2.1. The type of the industry submove.........................................................76
   4.2.2. The establishing territory submove .....................................................81
4.2.3. The year of foundation submove ......................................................... 83
4.3. The strategy move ............................................................................. 88
4.4. The history/tradition move ................................................................. 92
4.5. The commercial move ...................................................................... 99
4.6. The feature/facet move ..................................................................... 103
  4.6.1. The number of people submove .................................................... 103
  4.6.2. The qualification submove ............................................................ 104
  4.6.3. The geographical location submove ............................................. 105
  4.6.4. The constituents submove ............................................................ 108
4.7. The record of excellence or reputation move ...................................... 113
4.8. The clientele move ........................................................................... 117
4.9. The quality control or certification move .......................................... 118
4.10. The ecology move .......................................................................... 120
4.11. The charitable activity move ............................................................ 122
4.12. Order of moves ................................................................................ 123
4.13. Conclusions .................................................................................... 129

Chapter 5: Linguistic and Extralinguistic Markers of Identity ..................... 135
  5.1. Introduction ....................................................................................... 135
  5.2. Linguistic factors .............................................................................. 136
    5.2.1 Verbal content of the discourse .................................................. 136
    5.2.2. Regionalism, nationalism, Europeanism, and globalism .......... 137
Appendix D: List of the companies in the Littoral Zone……………………………………207
List of Tables

Table 1. Eastern Zone websites……………………………………………………….21
Table 2. Type of ownership/language correspondence on sites in the Eastern Zone…..24
Table 3. Central Zone websites………………………………………………………..25
Table 4. Type of ownership/language correspondence on sites in the Central Zone…..28
Table 5. Western Zone websites………………………………………………………..29
Table 6. Type of ownership/language correspondence on sites in the Western Zone….31
Table 7. Littoral Zone websites…………………………………………………………33
Table 8. Type of ownership/language correspondence on sites in the Littoral zone…..35
Table 9. Type of website/company’ name/motto organization………………………..44
Table 10. Major linguistic features of the sites…………………………………………72
Table 11. The use of indications of region/country in the introductory-informational
    move....................................................................................................................82
Table 12. Order of moves....................................................................................125
Table 13. Frequency of moves...........................................................................130
Table 14. Frequency of tools other than language of the site to represent Ukrainian
    identity.............................................................................................................173
Table 15. The use of the Russian and Ukrainian languages on the sample
    websites............................................................................................................178
List of Illustrations

Illustration 1. Administrative division of Ukraine..................................................17
Illustration 2. Sign of the company Трансвіт ‘Transworld’.................................36
Illustration 3. Sign with the logo of the company Ольф ‘Ol’f’..................................37
Illustration 4. Sign of the company Укртатнафта ‘Ukrtnafta’............................38
Illustration 5. Logo of the company Коровай ‘Wedding bread’.........................40
Illustration 6. Sign of the company Куртаж ‘Courtage’.....................................41
Illustration 7. Slogan of the company Best ‘Best’.................................................42
Illustration 8. Sign of the company’s brand “Mineral drinking healing-table water
Kardamyovs’ka”..................................................................................................43
Illustration 9. Emblem of the company Українчика ‘Ukrainochka’.........................151
Illustration 10. Veryovka National Academic Folk Chorus performing the routine of
traditional Ukrainian dance in Tradition Ukrainian costumes.............................156
Illustration 11. Logo of Raycom...........................................................................157
Illustration 12. Motto of the company Пологівський олійноекстракційний завод
‘Pologivski oil-extraction plant’........................................................................158
Illustration 13. Motto of the company Kulindor industrial complex of bakery products’
‘Kulindor industrial complex of bakery products’.............................................159
Illustration 14. Emblem of the company Мінерал ‘Mineral’.................................160
Illustration 15. Front page of the company Запорожгидросталь
‘Zapozhhydrosteel’.................................................................161

Illustration 16. Picture on the site of the company Євроколор ‘Eurocolor’............162

Illustration 17. Template on the site of the company Укрэнерго ‘Ukrenergo’........162

Illustration 18. Picture on the website of the company Тексикиа ‘Teksika’.........165

Illustration 19. The picture of the Crimea on one of the links of the website of the
company Тексика ‘Teksika’..........................................................166

Illustration 20. The picture of the city on one of the links of the website of the company
Тексика ‘Teksika’........................................................................167

Illustration 21. The picture of the Carpathian region on one of the links of the website
of the company Тексика ‘Teksika’..................................................167

Illustration 22. Picture on the site of the company Кронос-МК ‘Kronos-MK’.......168

Illustration 23. Picture on the site of the company Капитал-Трейд ‘Kapital-Trade’..169

Illustration 24. Picture on the site of the company Тан ‘Tan’.................................169

Illustration 25. Picture on the site of the company Вимал ‘Vimal’........................170

Illustration 26. Picture on the site of the company Айсберг ‘Iceberg’.................171

Illustration 27. Picture on the site of the company Глини Донбасу ‘Donbas Clays’...172
Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1. Objectives of the dissertation

The goal of the proposed dissertation is twofold—first, to investigate the patterns of language usage in a previously unstudied discourse genre, the websites of Ukrainian businesses; and second, to determine the extent to which the new language policies of the post-Soviet Ukrainian state are reflected in this new genre, which is not explicitly covered by those policies. More specifically, the study will offer a detailed linguistic analysis of the genre in order to determine whether, and to what degree, linguistic identity, as shown by the choice of language(s) on the sites, correlates with other markers of Ukrainian national identity—i.e., the values that the official policies are trying to defend. The dissertation will analyze approximately 300 websites aimed primarily at Ukrainian customers, which represent all the major regions of Ukraine and all the major business types, both private and state-owned. The major working hypothesis is that factors independent of national identity can determine the choice of language(s), so that the market value of a language should not be conflated with the value of the language as an ethnic/national symbol, even when the targeted clientele is citizens of the given country and members of the given ethnic community. At least in this important new
genre, I predict, the choice of the language *per se* will not be a sufficient marker of identity, as Ukrainian national policy insists. Through genre analysis (Swales 1990, Bhatia 1993), the dissertation will establish that other kinds of symbolic devices—e.g., logos, slogans, and geographical references—can sufficiently perform the function of representing national identity and so make language choice irrelevant for that particular pragmatic function. These symbolic devices can be linguistic or non-linguistic; among the former type are lexical, syntactic, and sociolinguistic features, which may vary according to the region and the type of the business represented. Up to now there have been no studies of the language of Ukrainian business websites; thus, the description and analysis of the strategies selected will be a new contribution both to our knowledge of contemporary Ukrainian and to the cross-linguistic study of internet language.

1.2. Ukrainian language policy as reflected in official documents

Ukrainian is a Slavic language that shares many characteristic features with other Slavic languages both in its historical development and in its modern system. Historically, various policies intended to discourage or even ban the Ukrainian language have made it very difficult for the language to survive, at least as a written medium, at some periods of Ukrainian history. During Soviet times, Russian was used as a language of “inter-ethnic” communication, which implied its broad and extensive use in all Soviet republics, including Ukraine, where it was used at the expense of Ukrainian. In addition, for the last several centuries there has been a significant influx of Russian speakers.
These factors have caused tensions between the two languages which even now, after almost 20 years of proclamation of Ukrainian independence, have by no means eased.

Ukraine proclaimed its independence from the Soviet Union in August 1991. Following this event, in a referendum that took place in December of the same year, sovereignty was endorsed by the majority of citizens. This change in the political situation of Ukraine created a new environment for the functioning of the Ukrainian language under conditions of young statehood.

Legal documents adopted by the Ukrainian SSR (laws, proclamations, and so on) continued to be in use unless they were considered to be a danger to the country’s sovereignty. But today, 17 years later, the “rules of the game” for language use in Ukraine still remain covert and debatable. This is in part a result of the unclear language regulations provided by the state officialdom. The Constitution of Ukraine adopted at the Fifth Session of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine on 28 June 1996 makes the following statements in article 10:

- The state language of Ukraine is the Ukrainian language.
- The State ensures the comprehensive development and functioning of the Ukrainian language in all spheres of social life throughout the entire territory of Ukraine.
- In Ukraine, the free development, use and protection of Russian and other languages of national minorities of Ukraine is [sic] guaranteed.
- The State promotes the learning of languages of international communication.
- The use of languages in Ukraine is guaranteed by the Constitution of Ukraine and is determined by law.

1 [http://www.rada.gov.ua/const/conengl.htm#r1](http://www.rada.gov.ua/const/conengl.htm#r1), accessed March 10, 2009
This is not the only document that regulates language use in Ukraine. The Law of the Ukrainian Socialist Republic on Languages in the Ukrainian SSR, which remains in force, makes the following provisions in paragraph IV (The Language of Information and Communication, adopted on October 28, 1989), article 33:

- В Українській РСР мовою офіційних засобів масової інформації є українська мова ‘In the Ukrainian SSR, the language of the official mass media is Ukrainian’.
- Мовою офіційних засобів масової інформації можуть також бути мови інших національностей ‘The language of the official mass media can also be the languages of other nationalities’.
- Тексти офіційних оголошень, повідомлень, плакатів, афіш, реклами і т. ін. виконуються українською мовою. Поряд з текстом, викладеним українською мовою, може бути вміщено його переклад іншою мовою ‘The texts of official proclamations, announcements, placards, posters, commercials and so on, are promulgated in Ukrainian. Along with the text written in Ukrainian there can be a translation into another language’.

Finally, de jure one more law exists—The Law of Ukraine about Printed Mass Media in Ukraine⁴, article 4 of which states:

Друковані засоби масової інформації в Україні видаються державною мовою, а також іншими мовами ‘Printed mass media in Ukraine are published in state language, and also in other languages’.

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² http://zakon.rada.gov.ua/cgi-bin/laws/main.cgi?nreg=8312-11
³ The Russian term национальность and Ukrainian національність differ from that of the equivalent term nationality in English. While the English term relates more to the notion of citizenship, Russian and Ukrainian speaks about the ethnic origin. (Compare the definitions in the Merriam-Webster Dictionary at http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/nationality, and Большой юридический словарь ‘Big judiciary/law dictionary’ at http://slovari.yandex.ru/dict/jurid/article/jur2/jur-3721.htm.)
Finally, in accordance with the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (which Ukraine joined in 1996 and ratified in 2005), article 13, item 1, sub-item C\textsuperscript{5}, Ukraine has the obligation “to oppose practices designed to discourage the use of regional or minority languages in connection with economic or social activities.”

Taking all this legal background into consideration, D. Stepaniuk, the First Deputy Director of the State Consumer Standard, in his letter-commentary of October 13, 2004 interpreting the above-mentioned documents, concluded that the language of commercials has to be Ukrainian only if the publication which contains these advertisements is registered as all-Ukrainian. In stating this, Stepaniuk voiced the official position of his organization, which goes along with the official Ukrainian ideology in general (http://www.dtkt.com.ua/show/2cid0462.html).

However, as L. Kostenko, a consultant on legal matters in the advertising agency Central Region, states (http://www.justinian.com.ua/article.php?id=2449; accessed December 22, 2008), the language discussions that take place in Ukraine (in the Ukrainian mass media) reflect the absence of a unified legislative approach to the use of language(s) in many spheres of life, including advertising and commercial web-sites.

According to L. Kostenko, due to the fact that “The Law about Language” does not apply to the Internet, there is no censorship in this widespread type of mass media. On the other hand, in accordance with a law adopted by the State Department of Informational Policy,\footnote{http://conventions.coe.int/Treaty/EN/Treaties/Html/148.htm; accessed December 20, 2008}
TV, and Radio Broadcasting, together with the State Department of Communication and Information, information published on official sites has to be in three languages: Ukrainian, Russian and English. But this still leaves much room for interpretation whether this law applies only to governmental sites and what, in general, should be considered an ‘official site’. As will be seen below, this law does not seem to apply to the sites of the business companies (at least not yet).

1.3. Goals and task of the research

As shown in section 1.2, the situation with language planning policy and its application is rather confusing. I will underline again that the Law on Languages (or any other law) does not apply to digital mass media, i.e., the Internet. Due to this, the Ukrainian Internet represents an interesting field for research; one may say that internet mass media are a discourse which is characterized by ‘word democracy’ and show the least amount of linguistic homogeneity (or any other homogeneity) due to the absence of censorship. While conducting a pilot study for my dissertation, I was able to see a very noticeable disproportion in the tendencies of language choice/use in Ukrainian business discourse on the websites of Ukrainian business companies.

When I started the pilot study, my initial hypothesis was that the companies that are situated in the west and center of Ukraine would have Ukrainian as the prevailing language of their business discourse, following the official state position that the

http://zakon.rada.gov.ua/cgi-bin/laws/main.cgi?nreg=z1022-02)
language is a symbolic means of representing Ukrainian identity, since the majority of the population of Western Ukraine has tended to vie for Ukrainian independence and promoted Ukrainian distinctiveness. Moreover, the Ukrainian language is being promoted in all spheres of life by the state, while Russian has become marginalized or completely eliminated from official discourse. C. Stroud and L. Wee mention similar language policies and language planning in Singapore (Stroud and Wee, 2007:256): “One way in which state rulings on language contribute to nation building is by delimiting the parameters of a multilingual variety space and determining what languages should be part of this space, their ideological conception, the range of functions and practices associated with them, and who may have access to them.” Given that the Ukrainian state ruling on language was clearly intended to influence nation-building, I expected the range of functions and usage of the Ukrainian language in the Western zone to be much wider.

As it turned out in practice, many of the websites that I used for my pilot study actually have a range of language options: Russian, Ukrainian, English, German, Czech, Polish, and some others. Some sites are monolingual, with Russian prevailing (by far) in all geographical regions, even in Western Ukraine. As I will argue in the dissertation, this situation highlights the very problematic divergence between de jure declarations of Ukrainian linguistic homogeneity and de facto realities of social needs and practices that digress from the state language policy.

Accordingly, one of the tasks that I pursue in the present work is to gather business sites of companies/businesses of diverse orientations (the food, chemical, tourism industries and so on) in order to prove or disprove my first impression about the
prevalence of the Russian language in Ukrainian business discourse. I also investigate whether the type of the business influences the choice of the language(s) used on the company’s site. I elaborate on this state of affairs by trying to explain the lack of correspondence between state position and sociolinguistic reality, on the one hand, and the pragmatic interests of the Ukrainian business (middle?) class on the other.

Another goal of my dissertation is to analyze business websites as a linguistic genre. This is actually a twofold goal—first, to conduct “discourse analysis as description,” as Bhatia (1993:3) puts it, i.e., to concentrate on the linguistic aspects of the business sites text construction and its interpretation; and second, to carry out “discourse analysis as explanation” (ibid.) and “rationalize conventional aspects of genre construction, in an attempt to answer the question: Why do members of a specialist community write the way they do?” (ibid). Thus, in Chapters 3 and 4, I analyze the typical moves found on the websites that can be seen as characterizing genre—for example, statement of the Ukrainian affiliation, typical syntactic structures (for example, the preference for simple declarative sentences). In Chapter 5, I will look at the markers of Ukrainian identity other than language.

1.4. Prior research on the language situation in former socialist countries

This area of Ukrainian linguistic discourse has not been investigated to date. I was able to find only a few non-linguistic sources of information on conducting business in Ukraine or with Ukrainians: a handful of Internet sites,7 the U.S.-Ukraine Foundation

materials, and a handful of articles in international periodicals (The Economist, The Financial Times, The Wall Street Journal). As L. Bordyuk (2004), an associate professor in Lviv Polytechnic National University mentions, relevant books are also few in number: A. Jolly and N. Kettanch, Doing Business in Ukraine (1998); M. Dalton, Culture Shock! Ukraine (2000). However, what these works deal with is practical advice on how to conduct business in Ukraine; they have no interest in correlating the language planning and the language practices of the business communities that I will target. Finally, there are some general studies of lexical changes in Ukrainian in recent years (see, for example, V. Polkovsky, 2006), but none are focused on the important domain of business language.

There have been a few studies of the language situation in the former Soviet republics and in other countries that belonged to the Socialist camp. All of them deal with the consequences of Soviet language planning and language policy and investigate the sociolinguistic processes that take place in these countries in post-Soviet period. For example, Aija Priedīte, in her article “Surveying Language Attitudes and Practices in Latvia” (A. Priedīte, 2005), concentrates on the language situation in another former Soviet republic, Latvia. She investigates the development and implementation of language policy by Latvian government, the attitudes of the younger generation to bilingual education there, and attitudes of the Latvian speakers and the Russophone community towards the new language laws that promote Latvian as the state language. Gabrielle Hogan-Brun's has a number of publications devoted to the language situation in Baltic republics. In her co-authored monograph “Language Politics and Practices in the
Baltic States” (G. Hogan-Brun, 2008), she discusses, among other things, the attitudes toward bilingual and multilingual language use in multiethnic settings.

The names of Russian private businesses and linguistic and semiotic techniques that are employed in constructing this discourse are analyzed in an article by A. Yurchak, “Privatize your name: Symbolic work in a post-Soviet linguistic market” (Yurchak, 2000) and are the main topic of research in the Ohio State University dissertation by M. Whiting (2008), “Globalism vs. Nationalism: The Pragmatics of Business Naming in Tomsk, Russia”. Polish post-colonial newspeak, ideologies and policies that redefine language in Polish society are described in “Why ‘New Newspeak?: Axiological Insights into Language Ideologies and Practices in Poland” by Anna Duszak (2006). These works point out to common challenges in the linguistic situation of all post-Soviet states, including Ukraine, at least in the European context. Among the most highly disputed questions in the countries of eastern Europe are the development of the national languages, changes in the spheres of their use, the continuing role of Russian and the population's attitudes to it, and the effort to “purify” the national languages from foreign (especially English) lexical input.

The article “Odessa and Lvov or Odesa and Lviv: How Important is a Letter? Reflections on the ‘Other’ in Two Ukrainian Cities,” by A. Polese and A. Wylegala (2008), gives a detailed analysis of the ethnic composition of Ukrainian society in general and language practices in the two cities. Their conclusion is that “the aggressive linguistic measures (some would say ethnic nation building) adopted in the 1990s were not
sufficient to compel Ukrainians to speak Ukrainian beyond the façade of Ukrainianness required by official duties”.

All these works reflect a similar for all post-communist countries complicated situation and challenges to the official language policies. Language policies are one of the main tools in nation-building for young democracies looking for the ways of establishing their identity and formal markers of its representation, including notably language. You can put statements about how your work is different from the above here.

Extensive work on language planning and language policies has been done by Joshua Fishman (see the bibliography). In his articles, though he does not discuss the Ukrainian situation in particular, he targets topics that are important for present-day Ukraine such as language and nationalism, language and ethnicity. In addition, he provides theoretical background on and analysis of the interrelatedness between language and society and the role of language planning as an expression of societal ideologies, aspirations, and goals.

The linguist Lesya Chornoshyps’ka, when speaking about the language of the Ukrainian Internet in her article “Зручна” мова українських ЗМІ” (“A Convenient Language for the Ukrainian Mass Media”) states that the owners of websites believe that the newly-forming middle class chooses as its priority pragmatic interests of informativity, convenience, and universality, but not patriotism (“патріотичність”). In noting the lack of “patriotism,” she evidently means the priority that the Russian language is given in the Ukrainian Internet in general. In claiming this, Chornoshyps’ka

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8 [http://www.slezenko.com/articles_130905.htm](http://www.slezenko.com/articles_130905.htm); accessed January 10, 2009
follows the accepted official position that language has a symbolic meaning: by choosing Russian over Ukrainian, the Ukrainian business/middle class supposedly does not display its assumed Ukrainian identity. This is yet another fact that shows that Ukrainian language policy in general is out of touch with the linguistic practices of its citizens (at least according to my data in the sphere of business discourse); rather, the emphasis on language has gone into the sphere of politics, so that the actual language situation in Ukraine as well as the complicated conceptualizations of national identity are not reflected fully in the official language policies. In reality, the linguistic practices of the people form a language continuum; there are liminal spaces, so that the development of a repertoire for crossing language thresholds (Russian/Ukrainian) must be seen as a central concept for the theory of language planning in Ukraine. This is what Ukrainian language planning and language policies seem to be missing today.

1.5. Methodology and Structure of the Dissertation

For my primary sources, I use the websites of approximately 300 Ukrainian business companies which were listed on http://www.yellow.com.ua/about.aspx—a comprehensive Ukrainian catalogue of companies—in October and November 2008 and at the beginning of 2009. This corpus covers the overwhelming majority of the companies that were listed in the directory as having websites. I checked every link listed for every type of industry on the website. I chose 74 sites for the Western Zone, 97 in each category for the Central Zone, 70 in each category for the Eastern Zone, and 49 in
each category for the Littoral Zone of those that had working links at the time of access; for a total of 290 websites for all Ukraine.

My first step was to determine the choice of language(s) on the websites; in many cases, I was working with bi-, tri-, and sometimes polylingual sites. In Chapter 2, I try to establish correlations between the choice of language and the geographic region in which the business is located. For the purposes of this investigation, I divide Ukraine into four regions—Eastern, Central, Western, and Black Sea-littoral; this division is motivated by well-established historical and cultural factors. I also try to establish possible correlations between the choice of language and the type of business represented.

In Chapters 3 and 4, I conduct a genre analysis of the website, focusing primarily on the link “About Us/Company”, which is found on the vast majority of the given websites. In my genre analysis, I apply the methodology outlined by Bhatia (1993) and Swales (1990), which is considered standard in the field. In the link “About Us/Company” of 29 randomly selected websites I look at the distinctive or significant features of language that are characteristic for this particular genre and carry on my stylistic and linguistic analysis of this particular discourse. After examining the language use of the websites, I draw empirically-based conclusions about the typical features of the new genre, and I elaborate on how language choice relates to (agrees with or differs from) the official language policy of the country. In Chapter 5 I look at the expressions of identity beside the language itself. I analyze linguistic and extralinguistic markers of all 290 websites.
Chapter 2
Correlations between the Choice of Language and the Geographic Regions

2.1. Language planning as a tool in the process of nation-building

One of the cornerstones of Ukrainian nation building has been and still is language planning and language policies. The approach of the official language planners towards official language practices, mass media and educational discourse, and as a result towards communication in the family consists in limiting formerly bilingual space. The official ideology views the linguistic choices that people make as a representation and/or manifestation of their national identity, which is equated in this context with ethnic identity; this is expected to be “(pure) Ukrainian,” with the language possessing a symbolic meaning. Language planning is therefore a pervasive and immediate concern of Ukrainian officialdom.

In order to sustain Ukrainian language policy, the state has long maintained a campaign to encourage some kinds of linguistic behavior over others. As N. Bernsand (2001:39) notes, “In Ukrainian nationalist language ideology the speech community is defined in national terms, and language-based boundary-making is taking place in the cognitive framework of ethnonationalism”. By doing so, the state makes it quite obvious that from the opposition “civic vs. ethnic/blood” nationalism, it chooses the latter.
According to it, what matters is not a membership in the nation as “a matter of civic behavior”, rather “a matter of race and blood” (D. Chirot 1995: 55). In other words, the state confirms that language is the cultural depository of values and traditions for the ethnic group associated with that language, so that the language plays an important role in constructing ethnic national identity. But national and ethnic identity are technically separate concepts; it would be clearer to term the former state identity. These concepts tend to be conflated in a typical nationalistic state and seem to be undistinguishable among those in power in Ukraine. Taking into account the specificity of Ukraine—its history and diverse ethnic portions of the population (Russian, German, Jewish, Roma, and Magyar, to name a few), their languages and cultures “have rendered the search for a “pure” or fixed Ukrainian identity something of a chimera” (M. von Hagen 1995: 670).

As the language question relates to different aspects of relations in the society, state ideologists have sought to determine which language should be part of the new linguistic space, to define an ideological conception of the language, and, in particular, to legitimate the range of functions of the Ukrainian language. As the official state language of Ukraine, Ukrainian has been given a special legal status on all the territory of the country. For example, by its resolution, the Ukrainian National Council for Television and Radio obliged all national and interregional (covering at least half of Ukraine’s 25 regions) broadcasters to broadcast only in Ukrainian as of April 2004. Therefore, language planning and language policies appear to be a strategy for building a

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monolingual society by imposing mother tongue policies, which are tools in ethnolinguistic management.

The data below show the discrepancies between the official advances and the real life situation when it comes to the linguistic choices and/or preferences of the Ukrainian business class. This proves that the present-day language policies of the Ukrainian state do not reflect sociolinguistic ordering around notions of ethnicity and/or nation, as they do not fit easily with the multilingual dynamism of post-Soviet society.

For my research I gathered and analyzed the linguistic practices of Ukrainian business companies which they employ on their official websites. In my analysis, I detail some aspects of sociolinguistic dynamism; I focus on what the state intends to achieve with its official language policy and compare this with data that reveal the extent to which the intention and achievement actually diverge in the Ukrainian business web discourse. This will illustrate the drawbacks and shortcomings of the ethnolinguistically based language policy model employed by the Ukrainian language legislators as the main tool to promote Ukrainian national identity. Ultimately, I will argue that, in present-day Ukrainian society, language does not necessarily serve as an indicator of national identity.

2.2. Analysis of the websites by geographical region

There are three historically differentiated regions in Ukraine: west, center and east. I took these three geographical regions as my main basis for grouping/classification of business companies—companies of the eastern, western, and central zones. Each zone
includes a number of administrative regions. The administrative regions that belong to these zones are as follows (see Illustration 1): eastern zone—Sumy, Poltava, Dnipropetrovs’k, Zaporizhzhya, Donets’k, Luhans’k, and Kharkiv regions; central zone— Kiev/Kyyiv, Mykolayiv, Kherson, Kirovohrad, Cherkasy, and Chernihiv regions; western zone—Volyn’, Rivne, Zhytomyr, Vinnytsya, Khmel’nyts’kyy, Zakarpattya, Ternopil’, L’viv, Ivano-Frankivs’k, and Chernivtsi regions. Some of the regions could be viewed as part of two different zones; in such cases, I classified the “swing” regions according to their cultural and historical closeness to the ‘core’ regions of one or other zone.

Illustration 1: Administrative division of Ukraine

The map taken from http://ua-group.com.ua/images/map_ukraine.jpg
The eastern part of Ukraine is known for its high industrial concentrations. After Moscow’s rout of the Cossacks in 1775, and later during the rapid development and industrialization of the eastern zone in the Soviet times, there was a significant influx of Russian-speaking population. Russian has always been a dominant language of the cities, with Surzhyk\textsuperscript{11} functioning in the peripheries.

The central zone of Ukraine is famous for its highly developed and diverse agriculture. In the late fifteenth century, Northwestern and central Ukraine were absorbed into the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, which then controlled almost all of Ukraine. In this state, the Ukrainians were given a significant degree of cultural and political autonomy. The Grand Duchy of Lithuania adopted the administrative practices and the legal system of Rus’ and a state language that was Slavonic, heavily imbued with vernacular Ukrainian.\textsuperscript{12} Today, Russian is mostly spoken in the cities, the centers of regions, while Ukrainian dominates in the rural areas.

The western part of Ukraine includes the Carpathian Mountains as well as valleys used as agricultural lands and extensive areas of forests. The Halych-Volhynia Principality, situated in Western Ukraine, was the political center until it fell to Polish-Lithuanian rule in the fourteenth century. The eighteenth-century wars between Russia and Poland resulted in the partition of Ukraine. While most of the Ukraine's territory was incorporated into the Russian Empire in the third partition of Poland in 1795, Western

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{11}Surzhyk is a Ukrainian term meaning ‘impure, mixed language’; mixture of Russian and Ukrainian (among other sources, see the definition and some discussion of Surzhyk at: }\url{http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Surzhyk}, \url{http://www.fact-archive.com/encyclopedia/Surzhyk}, \url{http://www.accessmylibrary.com/article-1G1-134211366/typology-surzhyk-mixed-ukrainian.html}.
\item \textsuperscript{12}Information taken from \url{http://www.everyculture.com/To-Z/Ukraine.html}
\end{itemize}
Ukraine was annexed by the Austrian Empire. On 1 November 1918, an independent Republic of Western Ukraine was declared after the disintegration of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. By 1920, while Eastern Ukraine had been included into the Soviet Union and had become the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, most of Western Ukraine had been annexed by newly independent Poland; small areas in the west also went to Romania, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia. After World War II, all these territories were annexed by the USSR—the first time that Western Ukraine came under the control of a Russian-dominated state. For historical reasons, this region lacks an indigenous Russian-speaking tradition; the Ukrainian language has always been widely used here, and it is heavily influenced by Polish, the language not only of the neighboring country but also of a significant local minority.

For the purposes of my study, I also added one more zone, the Black Sea Littoral, which consists of two regions—Odessa Province and the Autonomous Republic of Crimea. These stand out from the other regions of Ukraine by their geographical position (proximity to the Black Sea) and by their separate historical, cultural and other traditions. In 1783 Russia, with the help of Ukrainian Cossacks, annexed Crimea, and the Crimean Tatar Khanate fell. In 1954, Crimea became an autonomous province within Ukraine. The ethnic composition of population of Crimea is different from the rest of Ukraine; it includes Tatars, Bulgarians, Greeks, Roma, Ukrainians, Russians, Armenians, and Jews. The dominant language is Russian.

The predecessor of Odessa was a small Tatar settlement. The city itself was founded by a decree of the Empress Catherine the Great in 1794 and became a free port.
Settlers of various ethnicities helped to develop the city and create a special unique culture: Ukrainians, Russians, Romanians, Belarusians, Tatars, Bulgarians, Hungarians, Poles, Jews, Greeks, and others.¹³ Russian has always dominated in the area since its annexation to the Russian Empire.

In the tables for every zone (see sections 2.2.1–2.2.4), I specify the types of industries that are available in these zones. I tried to look for the same type of industries for every zone, but this was not always possible; the numbers and types of industries differ depending on the zone, the traditional types of industries located and developed there, and the information available at the official website of the catalogue of Ukrainian businesses www.yellow.com.ua, which I used for my research.

In addition to the business type and region where it is situated, I also decided to look at the type of ownership to see if there is a correlation between the type of the ownership and language choices. Therefore, in the data tables, there is a special column Type of ownership: state/other. One of my initial predictions was that state enterprises should carry on their business discourse in a state language: Ukrainian.

As noted in section 1.3, my initial hypothesis, taking into account different historical, cultural, political, ethnic and other factors, was that the Ukrainian language would be more widely represented in the website discourse of the western companies and would compete with Russian on the sites of the central and eastern region business companies.

### 2.2.1. Analysis of the Eastern Zone

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of industry</th>
<th>Type of ownership state/other</th>
<th>R</th>
<th>U</th>
<th>E</th>
<th>G</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Mono-</th>
<th>Bi-</th>
<th>Tri-</th>
<th>Poly-Lingu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mining Industry (8)</td>
<td>3/5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1(R)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>(R/E)</td>
<td>1(R/E/U)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction Industry (6)</td>
<td>0/6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>5(R)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>(R/E)</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food Industry (18)</td>
<td>0/18</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>9(R-8, U-1)</td>
<td>5(R/E-3, R/U-2)</td>
<td>4(R/U/E)</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Light Industry (4)</td>
<td>0/4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>2(R, U)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>(R/E)</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Power Engineering Industry (6)</td>
<td>0/6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>4(R)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>(R/E)</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chemical Industry (13)</td>
<td>1/12</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1(Sp)</td>
<td>6(R)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>(R/E)</td>
<td>2(R/U/E)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pharmac./ Medical (1)</td>
<td>0/1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1(R/E)</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trade Industry (1)</td>
<td>0/1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1(R)</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Machinery Construction Industry (9)</td>
<td>0/9</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>6(R)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>(R/E)</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education (4)</td>
<td>4/0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1(R)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>(R/U, R/E)</td>
<td>1(R/U/E)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 1: Eastern Zone websites (70 sites)**

In my research, the Eastern business zone is represented by 70 sites (see Table 1). Since this is a region in which Russian has historically prevailed over Ukrainian, and

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14 The sites of the companies of the Eastern Zone were accessed January 3-7, 2009.
since the state policy of using (mostly) Ukrainian in mass media has been in implementation for more than 18 years, I predicted that Russian would be used equally with Ukrainian in the Eastern zone, with English being the third-choice language.

As one can see from the table, out of 70 sites, 34 are monolingual Russian, while only 3 are monolingual Ukrainian. Among the bilingual sites, 23 are Russian/English, 3 and Russian/Ukrainian. Eight sites are in three languages—Russian/Ukrainian/English. In general, Russian is used on 68 out of 70 sites, English on 32, and Ukrainian on 14.

It is particularly interesting to see how state language policies are reflected in the actual practice of state-owned businesses. Of the 70 enterprises, 8 are state-owned and have the word ‘State’ in the official name of their business. These include three companies in the mining industry (1a–c), one in the chemical industry (2), and four educational establishments (3a–d):

(1a) Вільногірський державний гірничо-металургійний комбінат (Vil'nohirsk State Mining-Metallurgical Complex) (http://www.zircon.net.ua);

(1b) Державне підприємство “Науково-виробничі об’єднання “Павлоградський хімічний завод” (State Enterprise “Scientific-Production Conglomerate ‘Pavlohrad Chemical Plant’”) (http://www.ric-phz.com.ua);

(1c) Державне підприємство “Донецька вугільна енергетична компанія” (State Enterprise “Donetsk Coal Energy Company”) (http://www.duek.dn.ua);

(2) Запорізьке державне підприємство “Кремнійполімер” (Zaporozhian State Enterprise “Kremnijpolimer”) (http://silic.com.ua);

(3a) Український державний хіміко-технологічний університет (Ukrainian State Chemical-Technological University) (http://www.usuce.dp.ua);

15 Here and subsequently, I transliterate Ukrainian and Russian according to the scholarly system except when the company itself provides a transliteration.
(3b) Государственный институт подготовки и переподготовки кадров промышленности (State Institute for the Qualification and Requalification of Industrial Personnel) (http://www.gipo.dp.ua);

(3c) Днепродзержинский государственный технический университет (Dniprodzerzhinsk State Technical University) (http://www.dstu.dp.ua);

(3d) Днепропетровская государственная медицинская академия (Dnipropetrovsk State Medical Academy) (http://www.dsma.dp.ua).

On the websites of the three state mining businesses, Russian is used overwhelmingly: one site is monolingual Russian (1c), one is bilingual Russian and English (1b), and one has Russian, Ukrainian, and English (1a). The site of the Zaporozhian State Enterprise “Kremnijpolimer” (2) is written in two languages, Russian and English. Of the educational establishments’ sites, one site is monolingual Russian (3d); two are bilingual—Russian/Ukrainian (3a) and Russian/English (3c); and one is trilingual Russian/Ukrainian/English (3b). In other words, Russian is present on all eight websites: every state business has its website written either in Russian only or in Russian in combination with Ukrainian and/or English. The second-choice language is actually not Ukrainian but English, which is present on five of the eight sites. Ukrainian is the third-choice language, with only three websites using it.
Table 2: Type of ownership/language correspondence on sites in the Eastern Zone

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of ownership</th>
<th>Russian</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Ukrainian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Non-state (62)</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State (8)</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As one can see from Table 2, the type of the ownership of businesses is not reflected in their linguistic choices/preferences. Even some state-owned companies fail to use Ukrainian as the main language on their website discourse. Therefore, my initial hypothesis that the prevailing language of state businesses’ discourse would be Ukrainian proved incorrect, as did my prediction that Russian and Ukrainian would be used approximately equally on the other sites. In fact, Russian firmly holds first place, regardless of the types of business or ownership; it is followed by English, while Ukrainian takes a very modest third position.
2.2.2. Analysis of the Central Zone

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Industry</th>
<th>Type of ownership state/other</th>
<th>R</th>
<th>U</th>
<th>E</th>
<th>G</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Monolingual</th>
<th>Bi-lingual</th>
<th>Tri-lingual</th>
<th>Poly-Lingual</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mining Industry (1)</td>
<td>0/1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1 (R/E)</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Power Engineering Industry (8)</td>
<td>4/4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1 (Pol)</td>
<td>2 (R-1, U-1)</td>
<td>3 (R/U-2, R/E-1)</td>
<td>2 (R/U/E)</td>
<td>1 (R/U/E/Pol)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chemical (6)</td>
<td>0/6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1 (Cz)</td>
<td>2 (R)</td>
<td>3 (R/E)</td>
<td>1 (R/E/Cz)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Machinery Construction Industry (9)</td>
<td>1/8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>3 (R)</td>
<td>3 (R/E)</td>
<td>1 (R/E/G)</td>
<td>1 (R/U/E/G)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrument Making Industry (4)</td>
<td>0/4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>4 (R)</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Light Industry (31)</td>
<td>0/31</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1 (It)</td>
<td>20 (R-17, U-3)</td>
<td>6 (R/E-4, U/E-2)</td>
<td>4 (R/U/E)</td>
<td>1 (R/E/G/It)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction Industry (2)</td>
<td>0/2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1 (R/E)</td>
<td>1 (R/U/E)</td>
<td>--</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food Industry (10)</td>
<td>0/10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>2 (R)</td>
<td>4 (R/E-1, R/U-3)</td>
<td>4 (R/U/E)</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trading Industry (6)</td>
<td>0/6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>3 (R)</td>
<td>3 (R/U-2, R/E-1)</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communication, Publishing (14)</td>
<td>1/13</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>5 (R-4, E-1)</td>
<td>5 (R/U-2, R/E-3)</td>
<td>4 (R/E/U)</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourism, Hotel Industry (6)</td>
<td>0/6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>3 (R)</td>
<td>1 (R/E)</td>
<td>2 (R/U/E)</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3: Central Zone websites (97 sites)\textsuperscript{16}

The Central Zone in my research is represented by 97 businesses (see Table 3). My initial prediction about the language use on the official sites of business companies of this geographical zone was that Russian and Ukrainian would be in competition due to its ‘threshold’ position between the linguistically pro-Russian east and linguistically pro-

\textsuperscript{16} The sites of the companies of the Central Zone were accessed January 7-10, 2009.
Ukrainian west. On the other hand, since the capital of Ukraine, Kyiv, is situated in this geographical region, and since the language reforms are adopted on the legislative level there, Kyiv should be in the vanguard in the promoting and broadening the functional significance of the Ukrainian language. Therefore, in my data analysis, I expected to see, if not the prevalence of Ukrainian, then at least an approximately equal usage of both Russian and Ukrainian in the sphere of business. I also expected the English language to be one of the main components of the Central Zone's business discourse, since Kyiv, a big administrative, cultural, economic, and political center, is home to a number of international companies or companies that provide services for international businesses and tourists.

As one can see from the table, the number of monolingual Ukrainian sites is indeed a little higher in this zone as compared to the Eastern Zone (5 vs. 3); the number of monolingual Russian sites is 39 vs. 34. The difference in the total number of sites of the Eastern and Central zones (the Central zone in my research is represented by 97 sites, the Eastern by 70) can (and I believe does) account for the slight difference in numbers here. There are 30 bilingual sites, of which 19 are Russian/English, 9 Russian/Ukrainian, and 2 Ukrainian/English. Nineteen sites are trilingual: 18 Russian/Ukrainian/English, 1 Russian/Ukrainian/Czech, and 1 Russian/Ukrainian/German. In general, Russian is used on 90 of the 97 sites, Ukrainian on 34, and English on 44.

Six of the companies investigated in the Central Zone are state-owned. They represent the power (4a–c), machine building (5a–b), and publishing industries (6):
Half of these companies—(4a), (4b), and (6)—have three languages on their websites—Russian, Ukrainian, and English. The sites of (4c) and (5b) are bilingual Russian/English. Finally, the only language on the site of (5a) is Russian. In other words, Russian is used on the sites of all six state-owned companies, English on five, and Ukrainian only on three (see Table 4).
As Table 4 shows, the type of the ownership does not seem to influence the language of communication on the sites of Ukrainian business companies in the Central Zone. Russian is the strong leader, followed by English and then by Ukrainian. Therefore, the preliminary prediction about the language choices of the businesses owners in the Central Zone proved correct about the high functionality of English, but incorrect about the close competition between Russian and Ukrainian. However, the small deviation in numbers in comparison with the Eastern Zone needs to be emphasized. Based on the data I have, there is a slight tendency to see an increase in the functionality of Ukrainian in the state-owned businesses in the Central Zone: Ukrainian is used in half of them (3 out of 6) as opposed to fewer than half in the eastern zone (3 out of 8).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of ownership</th>
<th>Russian</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Ukrainian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Non-state (91)</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State (6)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4: Type of ownership/language correspondence on sites in the Central Zone
### 2.2.3. Analysis of the Western zone

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Industry</th>
<th>Type of ownership</th>
<th>R</th>
<th>U</th>
<th>E</th>
<th>G</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Monolingual</th>
<th>Bi-lingual</th>
<th>Tri-lingual</th>
<th>Poly-lingual</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mining Industry (3)</td>
<td>0/3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>2 (R)</td>
<td>1 (U/E)</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food Industry (13)</td>
<td>1/12</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3 (It, Fr, Cz, Pol)</td>
<td>4 (R-1, U-3)</td>
<td>1 (R/E)</td>
<td>5 (R/U/E)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Light Industry (7)</td>
<td>0/7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>4 (E-1, R-1, U-2)</td>
<td>2 (R/E)</td>
<td>1 (R/U/E)</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Power Engineering Industry (3)</td>
<td>0/3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>2 (U)</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1 (R/U/E)</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chemical Industry (13)</td>
<td>0/13</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1 (Pol)</td>
<td>5 (R-3, U-2)</td>
<td>2 (R/U, E/U)</td>
<td>5 (R/U/E)</td>
<td>1 (R/E/G/P)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Machinery Construction Industry (10)</td>
<td>0/10</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>7 (R-5, U-2)</td>
<td>2 (R/E, U/E)</td>
<td>1 (R/U/E)</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education (2)</td>
<td>2/0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1 (U/E)</td>
<td>1 (R/U/E)</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woodworking Industry (1)</td>
<td>1/0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1 (R/U/E)</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrument Making Industry (4)</td>
<td>0/4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>4 (R-2, U-2)</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transportation Industry (3)</td>
<td>0/3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>2 (R/E)</td>
<td>1 (R/U/E)</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Tele)-Communication (2)</td>
<td>0/2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>2 (R)</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Financial Industry (4)</td>
<td>0/4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1 (U)</td>
<td>2 (U/E)</td>
<td>1 (R/U/E)</td>
<td>1 (R/U/E/G)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourism and Hotel Industry (9)</td>
<td>0/9</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>5 (R-4, U-1)</td>
<td>4 (R/E)</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5: Western Zone websites (74 sites)

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17 The sites of the companies of the Western Zone were accessed January 10-12, 2009.
My data include 74 websites of companies located in the Western geographical zone (see Table 5). The western part of Ukraine has always been the territory which is known for its strong linguistic preferences in favor of Ukrainian; there is a widespread perception that it exemplifies ‘clean’ or ‘pure’ Ukrainian, as opposed to the ‘dirty’, ‘Russified’ Ukrainian or ‘Surzhyk’ of the eastern parts of the country. Nationalistic, pro-Western and especially anti-Russian sentiments mostly originate in this part of the country. Accordingly, my prediction about the languages of business websites of western zone was that Ukrainian would dominate, that Polish and/or English would be the second-choice languages for historical and political reasons, and that Russian would be the last-choice language.

As Table 5 shows, monolingual websites constitute a little fewer than a half of the sites (36 out of 74). Twenty of the websites are monolingual Russian, 15 Ukrainian, and one English. Fifteen further sites are bilingual, 9 with Russian/English, 6 with Ukrainian/English, and 2 with Russian/Ukrainian. There are 17 sites that feature three languages—Russian, Ukrainian, and English. There are also two sites with four languages—one with Russian, Ukrainian, English, and Polish, and one with Russian, Ukrainian, English, and German. Overall, Russian is used on 52 out of 74 websites, Ukrainian on 41, and English on 38.

Of the 74 companies investigated, four are owned by the state—two educational institutions (7a–b), one timber business (8), and one agricultural enterprise (9):

(7a) Волинський державний університет ім. Лесі Українки (Lesya Ukrainka Volyn State University) (http://www.vdu.edu.ua);
The website of The State Enterprise “State Farm “Vynohradivs’ky” is monolingual Ukrainian; Lutsk State Technical University has website in two languages—Ukrainian and English; the last two companies—Lesya Ukrainka Volyn State University and the State Enterprise “Baraniv Timber Farm” have Russian/Ukrainian/English on their websites. The Ukrainian language is used on all four websites of state-owned businesses. English takes second place, being used on three websites while the least used language is Russian, which is used only on half (2 out of 4) sites.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of ownership/state/other</th>
<th>Russian</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Ukrainian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Non-state (70)</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State (4)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6: Type of ownership/language correspondence on sites in the Western Zone

As Table 6 shows, the type of ownership (state vs. not-state) does seem to play a role in the choice of language on websites in the Western Zone. Non-state owned businesses follow the tendency of the eastern and central geographical zones, in that
Russian predominates (48 sites). The Ukrainian language takes second place in this zone (37 sites), followed by English (35 sites). By contrast, all of the websites of the state-owned businesses include Ukrainian (4 out of 4).

With all this being said, we can see that the preliminary prediction about the dominance of Ukrainian proved right for the state-owned businesses, but definitely wrong for the non-state-owned businesses, where Russian dominates—not as much as in the Eastern or Central zones, but still considerably. However, if we look closer at the state-owned businesses, we will see that two out of four are educational establishments, which by law are supposed to promote the state language and use Ukrainian. Nevertheless, Lesya Ukrainka Volyn State University still has a Russian option on its website. As for the prediction that English would be an important language for websites in the Western zone, it proved to be right: it is used almost as often as the second-choice language, Ukrainian.
2.2.4. Analysis of the Littoral Zone

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Industry</th>
<th>Type of ownership</th>
<th>R</th>
<th>U</th>
<th>E</th>
<th>G</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Monolingual</th>
<th>Bilingual</th>
<th>Trilingual</th>
<th>Poly-Lingual</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Power Engineering Industry (3)</td>
<td>1/2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1 (R)</td>
<td>2 (R/E)</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chemical Industry (11)</td>
<td>0/11</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>5 (R)</td>
<td>6 (R/E)</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Machinery Construction Industry (11)</td>
<td>0/11</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>5 (R)</td>
<td>4 (R/E)</td>
<td>2 (R/U/E)</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food Industry (7)</td>
<td>3/4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>5 (R)</td>
<td>1 (R/U)</td>
<td>1 (R/U/E)</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourism and Hotel Industry (17)</td>
<td>0/17</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>7 (R)</td>
<td>7 (R/E-5, R/G-2)</td>
<td>1 (R/U/E)</td>
<td>2 (R/U/E/G)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7: Littoral Zone websites (49 sites)\(^{18}\)

As mentioned above, I included two coastal regions in the Littoral Zone— the Autonomous Republic of Crimea and Odessa Province. In my research, they are represented by 49 businesses (see Table 7). My preliminary hypothesis was that Russian and Ukrainian would be in a very close competition here, because of historical, cultural reasons and because these two regions of Ukraine are leaders in the tourist industry (as well as some others) and are very popular vacation destinations for the Ukrainian population as well as for people from other countries (especially Russia, Belarus, and Germany). In addition, I predicted that German and English would have a significant

\(^{18}\) The sites of the companies of the Littoral Zone were accessed January 12-14, 2009.
representation in this zone as well, due to the fact that Odessa and Crimea have large international ports.

Table 4 shows that, of the 49 business websites, 23 are monolingual, all in Russian. There are 20 bilingual sites: 17 with Russian and English, 2 with Russian and German, and one with Russian and Ukrainian. The four trilingual sites have Russian, Ukrainian, and English on them; the two sites featuring four languages have Russian, Ukrainian, English, and German. Russian is used on all 49 sites, English on 23, Ukrainian on 7, and German on 4.

The number of state-owned companies is four—one in power (10) and three in the food industry (11a–c):

(10) Государственное акционерное общество “Черноморнефтегаз” (State Joint-Stock Company “Černomornéftegaz”) (http://www.blackseagas.com);

(11a) Державне підприємство “Куліндорівський комбінат хлібопродуктів” (State Enterprise “Kulindoriv Grain Complex”) (http://www.bogumyla.odessa.ua);

(11b) Державне виробниче підприємство “Веселка” (State Production Enterprise “Rainbow”) (http://www.kardam.ukrbiz.net);

(11c) Державний науково-дослідний і проєктно-конструкторський інститут “Консервпромкомплекс” (State Research and Design Institute “Konservpromkompleks”) (http://www.eurocom.od.ua/~tehkons).

Russian is used on the websites of all four state-owned businesses. The websites of three of the companies—(10), (11b), and (11c)—are monolingual Russian, while the site of (11a) is bilingual Russian and Ukrainian. Thus Russian is the most frequently used language.
As seen in Table 8, the Littoral Zone does not show any correlation between the type of ownership and more frequent usage of Ukrainian. The preliminary prediction that Russian and Ukrainian would be used approximately equally was incorrect. In fact, Russian leads here, as in the rest of the zones; English takes a strong second place (on the websites of non-state businesses), while Ukrainian is scarcely used at all. While the prediction that English would be well represented was correct, German turned out to be used on only 4 websites.

In sum, my preliminary general prediction that Ukrainian would have more functionality on business websites in the Western zone than elsewhere proved correct. However, in my data the use of Ukrainian does not surpass that of Russian in any of the zones.

### 2.3. Language of corporate mottos

The trade signs or emblems that are used by the Ukrainian business companies deserve separate attention, as one can definitely notice some trends here too. For example, the company, Сиал Джен Україна (‘Seal Jet Ukraine’), which works in the
machine-construction industry, on its website http://www.sealjet.zp.ua (accessed January 12, 2009) has the name of the business written on Ukrainian, while the rest of the site is in Russian. Here, the word Україна reveals a Ukrainian spelling, with the letter į where Russian has у: Україна (U) vs. Украина (R). Likewise, the word 'Seal' is transliterated in Ukrainian orthography with the letter į, which is not found in Russian.

A similar case is found on the website of the company Transvit (‘Transworld’), which is engaged in the transportation industry (http://www.geocities.com/transvit; accessed January 12, 2009). Here is the corporate logo (Illustration 2).

![Illustration 2: Sign of the company Transvit ‘Transworld’](image)

This emblem is written in Ukrainian, as shown by –світ, the Ukrainian word ‘world’ (as opposed to Russian мир). The rest of the site is in Russian. (Though the site offers an English version, it did not work when visited on February 8, 2009.) The Latin-style т at the beginning suggests a Western orientation at well as a crossroads (cf. the prefix trans). The sign is rendered in the national colors, yellow and blue. (The use of the national colors in business websites will be discussed later, in Chapter 5.)

Another business, this time representing the food industry (wine-making), has the name and a slogan Котnar. Виноградний нектар кохання (‘Kotnar. Vine nectar of love’). The name of the business is in Ukrainian as shown, first, by the spelling of
Виноградний ‘vine, grapes’ (adjective), which has the Ukrainian masculine nominative singular ending –ий ‘yj’ (as opposed to Russian виноградный), and, second, by the Ukrainian word кохання ‘love’ (Russian любовь). The given company also has one more slogan, which is also in Ukrainian: Він, вона... лише тет-а-тет ‘He, she... only tête-à-tête’. As we see, this motto is written in Ukrainian (cf. the pronouns Він, вона, and the adverb лише, Russian он, она, лишь, respectively). However, the rest of the site (http://www.cotnar.com) (accessed January 12, 2009) is in Russian.

Another example (see Illustration 3) is the company Ольф ‘Ol’f’. There is nothing in the name of the business that could signal its belonging either to Russian or Ukrainian, as the name is spelt the same way in both languages. However, the motto on the logo on the website (http://www.olf.ua; accessed January 14, 2009) is in Ukrainian: Зроблено з душею ‘Made with a heart/soul’. The fact that this appears directly under the name of the corporation constrains the reader also to interpret the name of the company as Ukrainian rather than Russian, although in principle the made-up word Ольф could be in either language. The rest of the site is exclusively Russian.

Illustration 3: Sign with the logo of the company Ольф ‘Ol’f’
The same is true for the company Интерв'язь (‘Interconnection’). The information on its website (http://www.isv.com.ua; accessed January 15, 2009) is all in Russian except for the name itself, which is in Ukrainian. The word ‘connection’ in Ukrainian is зв'язок (Russian связь).

Illustration 4: Sign of the company Укртатнафта ‘Ukrtatnafta’

Illustration 4 shows the corporate logo of a company that produces petroleum, Укртатнафта ‘Ukrtatnafta’. The official website of the company (http://www.ukrtatnafta.com; accessed January 14, 2009) is entirely in Russian. Nevertheless, the name of the company contains a Ukrainian component—нафта ‘petroleum’ (Russian нефть). In addition to the name, the corporate emblem also includes the slogan Без нас нет движения, which literally means ‘There is no movement without us’; this, by contrast, is written in Russian.

Exactly the same case can be seen in a company that works in the textile industry, ТК-Специодяг (full Текстиль-Контакт-Специодяг ‘Textile-Contact-Special Garment’).
The final part of the compound name, –одяг ‘garment’, is in Ukrainian, corresponding to Russian одежда. However, the logo on the website (http://www.tkodyag.com.ua; accessed January 15, 2009) contains a motto in Russian, Комфорт и безопасность (‘Comfort and safety’), and the rest of the website is in Russian too.

Another example of a corporate website that is arranged in a similar way comes from the food industry—Україночка (‘Ukrainian’, feminine diminutive). Despite the company's nationalistic name, its website (http://www.ukrainochka.ua; accessed January 22, 2009) is entirely in Russian, including its motto Безупречность природной гармонии ‘The flawlessness of natural harmony’.

A number of companies have their names, mottos, and websites written entirely in Russian. One example of such a logo is on the website of the company Коровай (‘Wedding bread’) (http://www.korovay.lg.ua; accessed January, 20, 2009), which could be both Russian and Ukrainian with no difference in spelling (see Illustration 5).
The motto of this company, which is present on its logo, is in Russian: Мы знаем всё о хлебе (‘We know everything about bread’). Therefore, one may presume that the name is also in Russian, as well as the rest of the site.

Another example of this type is the company Атлант ‘Atlant’ (http://www.dva-atlant.com.ua; accessed January 21, 2009). Judging from the name alone, one cannot say whether it is a Russian or Ukrainian word. But since the motto on the emblem, Клей на все случаи жизни (‘Glue for all the occasions in your life’), is in Russian, one may assume that the name is also in Russian, like the rest of the site. A similar case can be seen in a textile business that produces work and sports clothing called Куртаж ‘Courtage’. The spelling of this foreign name can be either Russian or Ukrainian. On its website (http://www.courtage.com.ua; accessed January 20, 2009) the corporate logo
features the motto Комфорт в любых условиях ‘Comfort in any conditions’, which is unambiguously in Russian, and the rest of the site is in Russian as well. Thus one may assume in this case too that the company's name is in Russian (see Illustration 6).

In the case of the company called Биодизель Крым ‘Biodiesel Crimea’, there can be no doubt that the language of the name is Russian, since it contains a grapheme not found in Ukrainian (which would have Биодизель Крим). The motto is likewise in Russian: Новые технологии в Крыму уже сегодня! ‘New technologies in the Crimea already today!’ The site (http://biodiesel.crimea.ua; accessed January 25, 2009) gives the language choices Russian and English with no option for Ukrainian.

Another trend on the businesses’ websites is to use a word in English spelling in the name of the company, but with a motto in Russian. Here are some examples. The furniture company Best ‘Best’ on its website http://www.best.ua (accessed January 25, 2009) has the name Best in the Latin alphabet, while the slogan is in Cyrillic: Мы создаём комфорт и уют в доме… (‘We create comfort and coziness in (your) home…’) (see Illustration 7). The rest of the site is in Russian, and there is no English option on the website.
Another example is a shoe factory with the name *ManGo*, spelled in the Latin alphabet. Along with the name of the company, on its website ([http://www.mango.com.ua](http://www.mango.com.ua); accessed January 22, 2009) there is a Russian slogan—Выбор сильнейших ‘The choice of the strongest’. Russian is the only language of this company’s website.

I was able to find only one business that has its name, motto and website written entirely in Ukrainian—ДезоМарк ‘DesoMark’, which works in the chemical industry. Its website ([http://www.desomark.com](http://www.desomark.com); accessed January 21, 2009) also has a motto Європейська якість—український продукт ‘European quality—Ukrainian product’. It is ambiguous whether the name of the company is in Russian or Ukrainian, as the spelling of this particular word is the same in both languages, but given that the motto and the site are both in Ukrainian, without any Russian option, one can assume that the name is in Ukrainian too.

There are also a few websites which I would classify as mixed. Here belongs the company Велам ‘Velam’, which produces mattresses. The site

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19 It has an English option, but it did not work when visited on January 21 and February 8, 2009 and May 2, 2010.
(http://www.velam.com.ua; accessed January 21, 2009) has three language options—Russian, Ukrainian, and English. What is interesting about this website is that the Russian language site has the motto Мы создаём ваши сны ‘We create your dreams’. The same Russian-language motto appears on the Ukrainian version of the site, while the English version has its own motto ‘We creating [sic] your dreams’.

An English-language motto appears on the website of the company Camozzi-Украина ‘Camozzi-Ukraine’: ‘Air that moves the world’. In addition to this motto, the name of the company consists of two words, one spelled in Latin orthography, and one in Russian. The rest of the site (http://www.camozzi.ua/index.php?lang=en; accessed January 20, 2009) is entirely in Russian.

Another case that falls into the same category is the company that produces brand Минеральная питьевая лечебно-столовая вода Кардамичовська (‘Mineral drinking healing-table water Kardamychovs’ka’) (see Illustration 8).

Illustration 8: Sign of the company’s brand Минеральная питьевая лечебно-столовая вода Кардамичовська (‘Mineral drinking healing-table water Kardamychovs’ka’)

What is really interesting about this website (http://www.kardam.ukrbiz.net; accessed January 26, 2009), is the mixture of Russian and Ukrainian in the very name of the
business. All the words in the name are Russian except the last one, Кардамичовська ‘Kardamychevs’ka’, which is written in Ukrainian. The word has the Ukrainian feminine nominative singular form –a corresponding to Russian –я. Ukrainian spelling is also manifested in the usage of the soft sing b in the suffix of the word and the use of the letter u to represent the sound [y] (Russian ḳy).

The analysis of correspondences between the language of the names and mottos and the overall language(s) of the sites shows some explicit trends. Table 9 shows six configurations of corporate names and mottoes:

Table 9: Type of website/company’ name/motto organization

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lg. of the name</th>
<th>Group I</th>
<th>Group II</th>
<th>Group III</th>
<th>Group IV</th>
<th>Group V</th>
<th>Group VI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lg. of the motto</td>
<td>U</td>
<td>U</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>U</td>
<td>Mixed R/E/U</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lg. of the site</td>
<td>U</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>U</td>
<td>R/E</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The first group comprises companies that have Ukrainian names and mottos, but Russian-language sites. Here belong companies such as ‘Seal Jet Ukraine’, ‘Tranworld’, ‘Kotnar’, ‘Ol’f’, and ‘Interconnection’. The second group consists of the companies that have their names written in Ukrainian, while the mottos and sites are in Russian: ‘Ukrtatnafta’, ‘Textile-Contact-Special Garment’, ‘Ukrainian’. The third group comprises the companies that have everything–names, mottos, and sites–written in Russian: ‘Wedding Bread’, ‘Atlant’, ‘Courtage’, ‘Biodiesel Crimea’. The fourth group contains
companies that have their logos written in English, but mottos and sites in Russian: ‘Best’, ‘ManGo’. The fifth group is entirely in monolingual, with all the components written in Ukrainian: ‘DesoMark’. Finally, the sixth group is a mixed type, represented by such companies as ‘Velam’, ‘Camozzi-Ukraine’, ‘Mineral drinking healing-table water Kardamychevs’ka’.

Group III and group V are homogeneous in a sense that they use either Russian or Ukrainian consistently in their names, mottos and websites. Group I uses Ukrainian for the names and the mottos, while group II uses Ukrainian only for the names of companies, but Russian for the mottos and websites. This inconsistency, from my point of view, can be explained by pragmatic approach of the owners of the companies to advertising their businesses. In the view of the fact that Ukrainian is given preference by the government and its status as the state language is secured by the Constitution, its use is obligatory in mass media (with some exceptions, see Chapter 1). That is why a number of companies choose Ukrainian for the name of the company (the case with group II) and the motto (the case with group I) in order to have access to advertising their businesses in newspapers, magazines, radio, and/or TV.

In choosing names with hybrid spellings, the owners of the companies that belong to group IV rely heavily on consumers having some knowledge of English. For example, in picking the name ‘Best’, the owners assume that this word is familiar to or at least recognizable for their customers. English is one of the languages of pop culture in Ukraine; the positive connotation/charge of the word best, from their point of view, will do their company a good turn, as the name speaks for itself (“Simply the best”). Looking
at the name ‘ManGo’, someone with even a limited command of English can guess that
the business the company is involved in is either shoe production or shoe selling. Even if
the consumer is not proficient in English, the name is still effective. If s/he is not able to
recognize the sign ‘ManGo’ as consisting of two English words, then s/he is likely to
perceive it as ‘mango’, an exotic fruit, the Ukrainian pronunciation of which is similar to
English. Such exoticism may make the name memorable—one of the reasons why
business owners often choose exotic words for naming their businesses. Words that name
exotic things/places are popular and widely used for naming all sorts of businesses in
post-Soviet space: Дом пансион Киви ‘Holiday Hotel Kiwi’ (http://www.kiwi-sochi.ru;
accessed January 14, 2009), Интернет магазин “Колибри” ‘Internet store
“Hummingbird” (http://www.colibri.ru; accessed January 14, 2009), Кafe “Пекин”
Café “Beijing” (http://mirtesen.ru/places/110845204957; accessed January 14, 2009) and
so forth. According to M. Whiting (2008), “For many people … the use of English,
particularly in products and business names, is seen as a sign of international appeal”.
The same goes true for exotic words: they are seen as channels connecting the
company/consumers with the (better) outer-world.

The presence of English in part of the name and in the motto of the company
‘Camozzi-Ukraine’ is due to the fact that ‘Camozzi’ is a registered trade mark of a
foreign company. The English-language motto appears on the Russian-language website,
probably, because the Russian translation would sound awkward or would not have the
exact meaning as the English phrase. Thus it was just left the way it is in English, with an
assumption that their potential clientele will be sophisticated enough to understand it.
2.4. Market value of the language versus national/symbolic value

As Coulmas states (1992: 79), a variety of factors determine the market value of a language at a certain time—political, cultural, but “above all economic.” One of the main factors that Coulmas believes influences the economic or market value of a language is its “communicative range... as expressed in the demographic strength of the community using it as (a) a first and (b) a second/foreign language” (ibid.: 89). Another factor that he also considers when speaking about the economic value of a language is not the size of the speech community in general, but rather the strength of that part of the community which is “a potential target group for the product in question” (ibid.: 70). My data on language use on the websites of Ukrainian companies do not entirely conform to Coulmas’ ideas.

According to the 2001 census, the population of Ukraine is a little more than 48 million people (http://www.ukrcensus.gov.ua/rus/results/general/estimated/; accessed January 30, 2009). Ethnic Ukrainians make up 77.8% of the population, ethnic Russians 17.3%. A majority (67.5%) of the population of the country identified Ukrainian as their mother-tongue, 29.6% Russian. Among the ethnic Ukrainians, 14.8% considered Russian their mother-tongue; conversely, 3.9% of ethnic Russians named Ukrainian as their mother-tongue.

My data analysis shows that Russian is by far the prevailing language of the business discourse on Ukrainian corporate websites. It maintains a strong lead in all four geographical regions, regardless of the ethnic composition of those territories. Thus,
Coulmas’ argument that the “demographic strength” of the population is a major factor that influences the market value of a language can not be applied to the Ukrainian market and, as a result, to the market value of the Ukrainian language, as “the communicative range” (Coulmas 1992: 79) of Ukrainian used as a first and second language is significantly higher than Russian, according to the census.

Coulmas’ second argument, that the economic value of a language is determined by “a potential target group” seen as a main consumer of a given product, does not work either. In my data, a variety of types of industry are represented (see Tables 1, 3, 5, and 7). One may argue that such industries as, let us say, mining, machinery construction or power engineering are represented mostly in the Eastern zone and may be oriented to the Russian market, so that the economic value of Ukrainian would be low there, as potential customers speak Russian. My first counterargument is that even the industrial giants of the Eastern zone still value Ukrainian customers as long as they are financially reliable; business is business. As the company East-West Debt, which specializes in the recovery of receivables and emerging markets, states: “Real GDP growth reached roughly 7% in 2006-07, fueled by high global prices for steel—Ukraine's top export—and by strong domestic consumption, spurred by rising pensions and wages.”

The U.S. Energy Information Administration also reports that “Ukraine is one of Europe’s largest energy consumers, and it consumes over twice as much energy per unit of GDP than Germany.”

Second, my data do not show any correlation between the type of the industry and the language choice on a given website. There are a number of types of industry that

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20 [http://www.eastwestdebt.co.uk/index.html](http://www.eastwestdebt.co.uk/index.html); accessed May 2, 2010
21 [http://www.eia.doe.gov/emeu/cabs/Ukraine/Full.html](http://www.eia.doe.gov/emeu/cabs/Ukraine/Full.html); accessed May 2, 2010
primarily serve people living on the territory of Ukraine as their major clientele. Here belong, for example, food companies, trading firms, light industry, etc. Nevertheless, in all four regions, preference is given to the Russian language. It is hard to imagine that food or light-industry businesses are mostly oriented to the Russian-speaking part of the population and do not see speakers of Ukrainian as their target customers. Thus, two of the major factors that Coulmas believes influence the market value of a language—the “demographic strength of the community” and “a potential target group for the product in question”—do not seem to be relevant for Ukrainian business discourse.

As Khubchandani (1983: 63) mentions of language policy in general, “Language declarations, at best, can be regarded as effective indicators of the attitudes of speakers at the macro-level and of the trends of social identification at a particular point of time, and not necessarily of [the] actual interaction pattern in a population.” The linguistic domain of the Ukrainian business/middle class includes more than one language (Russian, Ukrainian, and others), but this does not mean that their Ukrainian national identity fades or disappears; the evidence suggests that language choice is not necessarily conceived as an issue of identity or ethnicity.

As I will show in Chapter V, there are other markers that can signify the Ukrainian identity of business discourse, even apart from the language.

All these points show the shortcomings of language planning and nationalistic language policies in Ukraine, which are oriented exclusively towards the construction and management of (ethno-)linguistic homogeneity. Despite this, the very way in which the policy has been conceptualized by language users has created a set of linguistic practices
that crosscut ethnically constructed orders of linguistic homogeneity in favor of a multilingual dynamics. This points to a disparity between the intention reinforced by the state and actual practice.
Chapter 3

Analysis of Style

3.1. Introduction

The main aim of this chapter is to offer an approach to the analysis of a newly created discourse type in Ukrainian—the genre of corporate websites. Such website discourse has been entirely uninvestigated up to now. This is not surprising: the genre emerged only recently (post-1991), and linguistic genre analysis is itself a young discipline, especially in Slavistics. As Bhatia (1993: preface) notes, “Although genre analysis has a long-established tradition in literature, interest in the analysis of non-literary genres has been relatively recent.”

For the purposes of my research, I will use the working definition of genre given by Swales (1990: 45-58) and Bhatia (1993: 13):

(1) a recognizable communicative event characterized by a set of communicative purpose(s) identified and mutually understood by the members of the professional or academic community in which it regularly occurs. (2) Most often it is highly structured and conventionalized (3) with constraints on allowable contributions in terms of their intent, positioning, form and functional value. (4) These constraints, however, are often exploited by the expert members of the discourse community to achieve private intentions within the framework of socially recognized purpose(s) (Bhatia 1993: 13).
Swales (1990: 46) also stresses that “a communicative event is here conceived of as comprising not only the discourse itself and its participants, but also the role of that discourse and the environment of its production and reception, including its historical and cultural associations” (italics mine).

Following these definitions, the particular focus of this chapter is to conduct an investigation of the formal linguistic aspects, i.e., the lexical, grammatical, and syntactic features that characterize this genre and to propose some sociolinguistic explanations, considering socio-political, cultural, and in some cases regional factors in the usage of particular features in particular environments. In doing this, I will ultimately argue that the choice of the language itself is not a sufficient marker for mapping Ukrainian national identity, as is widely accepted and assumed in Ukrainian state policy. Rather, there are other important signifiers that participate in the process of negotiating and constructing Ukrainian identity in business website discourse.

3.2. Methodology

In order to achieve this purpose, I will be interested primarily in the websites that have the most developed text body, which will allow us to investigate the greatest number of typical moves in the cognitive structure of the new and developing genre of business websites. This will enable us to make some conclusions about the conventionalization of this genre on the basis of the lexico-grammatical, text-patterning, and structural features that characterize this particular type of discourse. Such sociolinguistic aspects of genre analysis will help us to answer the question which Bhatia
(1993: 1) considers to be critical for this type of research: Why do members of a definite specialist community write the way they do? This question encourages the close examination of what Longacre (1983: 3) calls the "notional structure" of the discourse through the analysis of its surface structure. By the *notional structure*, Longacre means the overall purpose, or, more precisely, the communicative purpose of the discourse; while by the *surface structure* he understands the discourse’s formal characteristics. In order to reveal the notional structure, I will analyze the discourse into its constituent *moves*. I will adopt the definition of *moves* given by Bhatia (1993: 30):

> [Moves] give … the genre its typical cognitive structure. Just as each genre has a communicative purpose that it tends to serve, similarly, each move also serves a typical communicative intension which is always subservient to the overall communicative purpose of the genre.

As noted above, there have been no rigorous linguistic analyses of genres in Ukrainian or even in closely related Russian, the most studied Slavic language. Since it is impossible to analyze all the genres in these two languages that are potentially relevant for this dissertation, I will just concentrate on describing carefully one particular genre, that of business websites, which has a much shorter tradition than many others.

As mentioned above, I will focus on websites with highly developed text bodies, as they will provide the clearest picture of the genre. To illustrate what I mean by *developed text body*, here I will provide examples of the websites of three companies. A minimal text body, in which the discourse organization resembles that of traditional
genres of writing, can be seen in (1), the link O компании (“About the company”) from the website of “Агропромника” “Agropromnika”:

(1) ООО “Агропромника”
Наше предприятие создано в 2000 году.
За время своей деятельности заняло одно из лидирующих позиций среди Украинских производителей по производству отечественных экологически безопасных, высокоэффективных средств защиты растений; антисептических средств, предназначенных для защиты поверхностей различных помещений и древесины. (http://agropromnika.dp.ua; accessed February 19, 2009)

A LLC (Limited Liability Corporation) “Agropromnika”
Our enterprise was founded in the year 2000.
During the time of its activity [it] has occupied one of the leading positions among Ukrainian producers in the production of domestic, environmentally friendly, highly effective means of plant protection; antiseptics for the protection of the surfaces of different buildings and woods [here and later the translation is mine unless there otherwise noted].

Usually websites have bigger text bodies, but they do not always have texts per se, i.e., a discourse comprised of full, connected sentences in the traditional sense; rather, some just give pure enumerations of the services and/or goods they produce, in which coherence is established by a bullet structure. For example, the website of the company Пожспецмаш ‘Pozhspetsmash’ (see ex. 2) is about the equivalent of one printed page in length, but it has only the following information in the link О нас (‘About us’). (For the sake of brevity, I will just cite the first three entries from each paragraph in order to give an idea of the structure of the website):
(2) Основные направления деятельности—производство и реализация

- пожарных автоцистерн и автоцистерн термосов для питьевой воды и технических жидкостей;
- пожарных автомобилей разных модификаций и установок порошкового тушения;
- пожарных аэродромных автомобилей;

Основные виды продукции и услуг

1. Пожарные автомобили:
   - автоцистерны пожарные;
   - автомобили аэродромные пожарные;
   - автомобили порошкового тушения пожарные;
   - автоснарядные станции,
   - насосно-рукавные и рукавные автомобили.
2. Техника для тушения лесных пожаров.
3. Автоцистерны для перевозки питьевой воды.
   (http://pozhspetsmash.com.ua; accessed February 19, 2009)

Main activity—the production and realization (of)

- fire tanker trucks and tanker trucks with thermoses for drinking water and technical liquids;
- fire vehicles with different modifications and mechanisms for dry powder extinction;
- airport crash tenders;

Main types of production and services

1. Fire Vehicles:
   - fire tanker trucks;
   - airport crash tenders;
   - fire vehicles delivering dry powder extinction;
   - auto pump stations,
   - pump-hose and hose vehicles.
2. Equipment/machinery for forest-fire extinction.
3. Tanker trucks for transportation of drinking water.
A clear contrast can be seen in the website of the company called Коровай “Korovay” (http://www.korovay.lg.ua), which exemplifies a more sophisticated, developed text which has a structure in itself (see ex. 3). It has a number of subsections which I am going to analyze in further sections of my work to show its structure—move order and arrangement. (I have inserted double slashes // to mark the end of each move):

(3) Открытое акционерное общество “Коровай”:
ОАО «Коровай» является правопреемником Луганского производственного объединения хлебопекарной промышленности, созданного на Луганщине в 30-х годах XX века. // Собственно ОАО «Коровай» было образовано в феврале 1995 года. // ОАО «Коровай» сегодня—это динамичная, быстроразвивающаяся компания, ведущая активную политику на рынке хлебобулочных изделий Луганской области. // В состав компании входят 8 хлебокомбинатов, расположенных в Луганской области. Компанией создана сеть фирменных торговых точек, состоящая из 53 розничных магазинов, 10 оптовых магазинов, 76 павильонов и киосков, 7 точек выездной торговли, 7 павильонов Купава. //
Зарегистрированный товарный знак ОАО «Коровай». //
Свидетельство о регистрации выдано Государственным департаментом интеллектуальной собственности Украины, свидетельства №15775 и 15776 от 15.09.2000 г. //
Корпоративный девиз ОАО «Коровай»: "Завжди надійно, смачно, якісно!". // Качество продукции, особенно такой, как хлеб, это здоровье нации. Наши покупатели смогут почувствовать себя здоровее как физически, так и духовно, если их ежедневный рацион будет состоять из наших продуктов. //
Миссия компании: Наиболее полное удовлетворение потребностей населения Луганской области и других регионов в качественных хлебобулочных, кондитерских и других продуктах питания, получение при этом устойчивой прибыли, вознаграждение работников ОАО «Коровай» в виде достойной заработной платы, акционеров—выплаты устойчивых дивидендов. //
ОАО «Коровай» специализируется на производстве хлебобулочных изделий и мягких кондитерских изделий: тортов, пирожных, а также печенья, пряников и т.д. ОАО «Коровай» уделяет приоритетное внимание инновационной политике. Ассортимент продукции, вырабатываемой компанией, насчитывает 400 наименований. Ежегодно внедряется в производство 25-30 новых видов продукции. //
ОАО «Коровай» производит продукцию из экологически чистого натурального сырья традиционными технологиями. // Продукция компании—это продукт первой необходимости, поэтому в ОАО «Коровай» уделяют первостепенное внимание качеству. Система контроля качества начинается с контроля входящего сырья и заканчивается готовой продукцией. // На сегодняшний день большое внимание уделяется упаковке хлебобулочной продукции, выпускаемой филиалами ОАО «Коровай». Это в свою очередь позволяет потребителю убедиться в свежести и качестве приобретаемой продукции. Также упаковка не только сохраняет вкусовые качества, но и сокращает риск попадания микробов, пыли, что способствует уменьшению риска заболевания туберкулезом и др. инфекционными заболеваниями. // Политика ОАО «Коровай» в социальной сфере направлена на возрождение духовности и национальной культуры. Компания оказывает адресную благотворительную помощь целому ряду общественных организаций, среди которых Луганский областной детский дом №1, Луганский гериатрический дом интернат №1. // Избранные стратегические приоритеты позволяют компании наращивать свою долю рынка и развиваться. // (http://www.korovay.lg.ua; accessed February 19, 2009)

Open joint-stock company “Wedding Bread”: OJ-SC is the legal successor of the Lugansk Production Association of the Bread-baking Industry, which was founded in the Lugansk region in the 1930s. // OJ-SC “Wedding Bread” itself was founded in February of 1995. // Today OJ-SC “Wedding Bread” is a dynamic, fast developing company that implements an active policy in the market of bakery products in Lugansk region. // The company consists of 8 bread-baking complexes situated in the Lugansk region. The company has created a network of branded outlets, consisting of 53 retail stores, 10 wholesale stores, 76 pavilions and kiosks, 7 mobile sales vehicles, 7 Kupava-brand pavilions. //

The registered trade mark OJ-SC “Wedding Bread”. //
The certificate of registration was issued by the State Department of Intellectual Property of Ukraine, certificates #15775 and 15776 of 09/15/2000. //
The motto of the corporation OJ-SC “Wedding Bread” is “Always dependable, tasty, of high quality”22. //
The quality of production, especially of [products] like bread, is the health of the nation. Our customers will be able to feel healthier both physically and spiritually if their diet includes our products. //

Mission of the company: Complete satisfaction of the needs of the population of the Lugansk region and other regions in quality bakery, confectionery and other food products; in connection with this the receipt of stable profits; compensation

22 The motto itself is in Ukrainian.
of OJ-SC “Wedding Bread” workers with a decent salary and of share-holders with payments of stable dividends. //
OJ-SC “Wedding Bread” specializes in the production of bakery products and soft confectionery products: cakes, pastries, as well as cookies, gingerbread and so on. OJ-SC “Wedding Bread” gives priority attention to [having] innovative policies. The assortment of products produced by the company amounts to 400 items. Every year 25-30 new items are added to the production. //
OJ-SC “Wedding Bread” produces products from ecologically clean, natural raw materials with the help of traditional technologies. // The production of the company is essential products; that is why OJ-SC “Wedding Bread” gives its paramount attention to quality. The quality control system starts with the control of ingoing raw materials and finishes with the ready product. //
Today a great attention is paid to the packaging of bakery products produced by the branches of OJ-SC “Wedding Bread”. This, it its turn, allows the consumer to be sure about the freshness and quality of the production. In addition, the packaging not only preserves the flavor, but also decreases the risk of the penetration of germs [and] dust, which reduces the risk of infection by tuberculosis and other infectious diseases. //
The social policy of OJ-SC “Wedding Bread” is oriented to the rebirth of spirituality and national culture. The company offers a targeted charitable help to a number of public organizations, among which are the Lugansk Region Orphanage #1 [and] the Lugansk Nursing Home #1. //
The chosen strategic priorities allow the company to increase its portion of market and to develop itself [further]. //

As one can see, the textual organization of the site of the company “Коровай” “Korovay” differs from that of Пожспецмаш “Pozhspetsmash” in a number of moves; this, in its turn, diversifies the communicative intention(s) produced by the text.

I will start with the analysis of some examples of the websites and discuss first their linguistic lexico-grammatical features and then their structure and conventionalization. As I mentioned above, for my research I used the “About us/company” or “Home” links, which are present on the overwhelming majority of the business websites that I have in my data. Since I worked with sites in one, two, three, or even four languages, I will also examine whether there is consistency in the usage of
certain linguistic features in multilingual texts. Since my argument is that language is not the (only) marker of representation of Ukrainian identity in this particular genre, I will pay special attention to the websites that are either monolingual Russian or have Russian as one of the language choices.

3.3. Brief overview of the discourse style of business websites

As noted in Chapter 1, in order conduct a close quantitative analysis of the discourse of the business website genre, I selected 29 samples of the sites (10% of the total). Of these sites, 9 were in Russian only, and 2 in Ukrainian only; 5 included both languages, and 11 sites in addition to Russian also had other languages. (I will not discuss other languages in the present section.) I should mention here that, in the sites that have both Russian and Ukrainian, the texts in the two languages are identical in discourse structure; such bilingual sites invariably involve exact translations.

I studied specific features of the language which manifest themselves in these texts. Sets of some of these features can also characterize, for example, the genre of business documents; others can appear in websites of other types. However, this does not mean that the features cannot be viewed as characteristic of the business website genre. On the one hand, the business document genre does not have a web format; on the other hand, websites of other types do not deal primarily with business discourse. Thus, these characteristics are sufficient to distinguish the business website genre from others. Though websites are not considered business documentation per se, they definitely
represent an extension of business discourse, with some typical elements being transferred in their texts.

All 29 of the business websites display remarkable similarity in the usage of one syntactic structure—complete, extended simple (or not very often complex/compound) sentences in the form of statements. The choice of the sentences of this particular communicative type is conditioned by the communicative intention of the genre; the authors of the websites have to let a broad audience know that the companies exist, to let their potential clientele familiarize themselves with the goods or services the companies produce. In order for the audience to learn about their companies, the authors have to ‘display’ the information linguistically; some of them also choose to present information on their websites using extralinguistic means—for example, slides, pictures and so on. The best way of ‘displaying’ the information linguistically is to organize the discourse in the form of non-fiction non-narration, where sentences/statements are a default type. Longacre (1983: 7) calls this type of discourse *expository*: instead of dealing with contingent succession in a text with chronological linkage, we are dealing with logical (including topical) linkage.

According to Longacre, Expository discourse clarifies and fills in the “lack of the background on the part of those who are to hear the discourse” (ibid.: 39). This type of sentence is the most effective, time-efficient way for the customers to elicit the information from a source, and for the company to disseminate knowledge about itself. Elliptical, incomplete sentences, which are usually characteristic of oral speech (Dudyk 1973: 168; Lapteva 1985: 46), and instant messaging, which tends to imitate the syntax of
oral speech, would not be the best tool to perform this task: in such a case, the reader would have to remember what was said/written in the previous sentence/s, keep in mind too much information, which is not really easy or convenient for the quick reading that content providers assume will typically take place on the internet. On the other hand, long, extended sentences would demand a lot of attention from a reader in order to follow their complicated syntactic structures; this would again not be an optimal strategy for internet reading. The goal of the website authors is to construct the text in such a way that, wherever a prospective customer starts to read the text, every sentence should make sense, have its own communicative center, present maximum information within a minimum space.

Kay (in Blount and Sanches 1977: 21-22), who terms the style of speech that features such sentences “autonomous”, states that “it is minimally dependent upon simultaneous transmission over other channels, such as the paralinguistic, postural, and gestural, and it is minimally dependent on the contribution of background information on the part of the hearer.” In his view, this type of speech is an efficient tool for communication of unfamiliar or novel information to strangers; it best fits for conveying technical and abstract information to the unknown audience. That is why the compressed sentence/statement also characteristic for business reports is the prevailing communicative type of sentence used on business websites.

R. Lakoff (in Brugman et al. 1984: 487-88), speaking about the pragmatics of discourse structures, differentiates four major types of text organization:
1. pure parataxis, or side-by-side sentences, with nothing explicitly present to indicate any relationship between them…
2. mixed type (… mixotaxis), with the ideas of relatedness expressed via coordinating conjunction…
3. near-hypotaxis, in which one idea, or clause, is subordinated to the other: not only is the relationship between the two made explicit, but also the exact semantic nature of that relationship: temporal sequentiality, cause, condition…
4. pure hypotaxis, in which the subordinated clause loses its full sentential identity. Now, both syntactically and semantically, the relationship between the two original ideas is one of subordination…

As I will show later, “near-hypotaxis” is widely represented in the business websites that have an element of storytelling in their text bodies, while the “mixed type” with “mixotaxic” utterances prevail in the rest of them.

The same communicative goal—minimum ambiguity and maximum clarity—is reached by the use of sentences with compound nominative predicate(s), where the predicative is expressed by a noun (see ex. 4-7). In Russian-language business websites, these are usually sentences with the demonstrative adverb это or the dash that substitutes for the verb являться/быть 'be'; see examples (4–6). In Ukrainian sites, they are the equivalent demonstrative adverb це or the dash that substitutes for the verb бути 'be'; see example (7):


The Joint-Stock Company Chernihiv Khimvolokno is one of the leading chemical enterprises of Ukraine.
Основное богатство предприятия сегодня—это кадры химиков со 120-летними традициями в химическом производстве (http://www.olimp.odessa.ua; accessed March 2, 2009).

The chief asset of the enterprise today is the staff of chemists with 120-year traditions in the chemical industry.

Днепропетровская государственная медицинская академия (ДГМА)—центр образования, науки и культуры... (http://www.dsma.dp.ua; accessed February 8, 2009).

The Dnepropetrovsk State Medical Academy (DSMA) is a center of education, science, and culture...


The SwLR [Society with limited responsibility] “Sniezka-Ukraina” is a modern plant….

Some sentences have a predicative expressed by the infinitive:

Наша цель – удерживать лидирующие позиции в области производства... (http://www.chemlex.com.ua; accessed January 26, 2009) ‘Our goal is to maintain leading positions in the sphere of production…’ The reason why such sentences with compound nominative predicates and/or the demonstrative pronoun это (R)/це (U) or a dash are used is that, in this part of the website, the authors define what their companies are, i.e., they give a definition of their businesses. The use of compound nominative predicates, the demonstrative pronoun это (R)/це (U), and the verbs является/быть (R)/бути (U) is reminiscent of the traditional form of definition in Russian and Ukrainian. Cross-linguistically, such structures are characteristic of expository discourse, which is “generally quite distinct in its preference for existential
and equational clauses—often with considerable nominalization” (Longacre 1983: 8). (I will speak about nominalization later, while analyzing moves.) This type of simple sentence shows up on 20 out of the 29 sample sites in one function in particular—to name and introduce the business in question (in the introductory-informational move, which will be discussed later, in the next chapter). The remaining nine sites either have other verbs in this position—see example (8)—or do not have this part of the discourse (i.e., the introductory-informational move) at all.


The CJ-SC [Closed Joint-Stock Company] “Victoria” is among the ten biggest producers of wine in Ukraine. Today the enterprise is one of Ukraine's largest producers of still and sparkling vines. Since 1998, the production of the CJ-SC “Victoria” has come under the trade mark “Grosslibental”, and since 2007 also under the trade mark “Victoria”.

In general, out of the 497 total sentences in all 29 of the sample sites, 68 are of the “equational” type, or about 14%. In other words, the use of compound nominative predicates with the predicative element expressed either by a noun or infinitive prevails in the part of the discourse that names and introduces the business.

Since the information on the websites is presented in the form of writing, sentences elaborated with participles and deverbal adverbs are common. The usage of these parts of speech and their constructions is a characteristic feature of written,
especially business and official style in both Russian and Ukrainian. The ratio of the entire number of sentences in the text to the sentences with these constructions’ varies from site to site. The extremes that set the range are the company “Крымский Титан” “Crimean Titan” (http://www.titanexport.com; accessed January 26, 2009), where the ratio is 10:1, or 10%, and the company “Омфал” “Omphal” (http://www.omphal.dn.ua; accessed January 28, 2009), where it is 12:9, or 75%.

The prevailing tense of the discourse is present, as the information on the sites depicts the present-day situation of a company: how big it is, what kind of infrastructure it has (the kind of technology it employs, the size of the property it occupies, and so on) and what products/services it offers. The past tense in the perfective aspect takes second place. This choice is conditioned by one of the meanings of the perfective aspect with the verb in past tense: it shows resultiveness, i.e., these verbs are the ‘perfect of result’ rather than the ‘narrative past’. The combination of the perfective aspect and the past tense points to some achievement or accomplishment. In this particular genre, it is a convenient means of telling about the result/s that was/were achieved by the given company so far: сложилась ‘has formed’, смогли предложить ‘have been able to offer’ (http://www.runa.dp.ua; accessed January 15, 2009); стал ‘has become’, превратилось ‘has been transformed’, выросла ‘has grown’ (http://siveryanka.cg.ukrtel.net/rus/about/index.htm; accessed January 27, 2009); вывели ‘has introduced’, появилась ‘has appeared’ (http://www.cotnar.com; accessed January 26, 2009); and so forth. The past tense is found on 25 out of the 29 sample sites. Twenty-four sites also have predicates that convey passive meaning—‘be’ + past participles
(passive voice) or reflexive verbs with passive meaning: был сдан в эксплуатацию ‘was put into operation’ (http://www.mezpology.zp.ua; accessed January 26, 2009); or продукция завода вывозилась ‘the production of the plant was exported’ (http://www.olimp.odessa.ua/rus/about.html; accessed January 26, 2009). Such passive constructions are a characteristic feature of Russian and Ukrainian business documents (Palamar 1997: 226).

Interrogatives, imperatives, conditionals, future tense, imperfective past, negations and exclamatory sentences are negatively co-occurring patterns; they do not show up on the business websites or are very atypical. For example, I found only one interrogative sentence, which appeared on the site of the company Золота Гора ‘Golden Mountain’ when I accessed it on January 15, 2009; see example (9):


‘What is the complex? On its property are situated: a large two-storied building…’

However, when I accessed the same site on November 25, 2009, the given sentence was no longer there.

Another feature that is extended from official-business style into the texts of this genre is the highly nominal character of the discourse, which tends to feature a wide use of abstract nouns and verbal nouns. Very often the usage of the nouns, especially the verbal nouns, is in the form of enumeration. This is especially evident on the sites that
have a separate move in the text which I will call the **strategy move**. This move can have different names at the sites of different companies: ‘strategy’, ‘philosophy’, ‘mission’, ‘principles’, ‘goals’, ‘our activity/production’. (A detailed discussion of this move can be found in 2.5.2.) For example, the Joint-Stock Company Chernihiv Khimvolokno has it in a section entitled **Наша политика** ‘Our policies’ (see ex. 10). (Verbal nouns are given in bold type.)

(10) **Наша политика** заключается в достижении и поддержании такого уровня качества продукции, чтобы стабильно удовлетворять запросы заказчиков. Производство всегда готово к сотрудничеству с потребителями и рассмотрению их требований и пожеланий [boldface mine].

("Our policy is to achieve and sustain a level of production quality that will constantly satisfy the demands of [our] customers. The company is always ready to cooperate with consumers and to consider their requests and wishes.

The State Joint-Stock Company “Chernomorneftgas” (http://www.blackseagas.com/ru) places it in a section entitled Наша деятельность (“Our activity”) part:

(11) **Видами деятельности ГАО "Черноморнефтегаз" являются:**
—добыча газа, нефти и газового конденсата на украинской части шельфа Черного и Азовского морей,
—бурение поисковых, разведочных и эксплуатационных скважин на море и на суше;
—обустройство месторождений на море и на суше;
—строительство морских эксплуатационных платформ;
—прокладка подводных магистральных трубопроводов;
—фрахт23 судов технологического назначения;

23 This noun conveys an action, though it is not formally deverbal.
—разведка месторождений нефти и газа сейсмическими и другими методами;
—транспортировка природного газа магистральными газопроводами с выходом в систему Европейского газоснабжения;
—подземное хранение газа и регулирование уровня его подачи потребителям; непосредственное осуществление внешнеэкономической деятельности [boldface mine]. (http://www.blackseagas.com/ru; accessed February 5, 2009)

‘The types of activity of the State Joint-Stock Company “BlackSeaOilGas” are:
—recovery of gas, oil, and gas condensate on the Ukrainian part of the Black Sea and Sea of Azov shelf;
—drilling of research, exploratory, and operational wells in the sea and on dry land;
—development of deposits on the sea and on dry land;
—construction of marine operational platforms;
—laying of underwater main pipe-lines;
—freight of ships with technological function;
—exploration of oil and gas deposits by seismic and other methods;
—transportation of natural gas by main gas pipe-lines with access to the system of European gas-supply;
—underground storage of gas and regulation of the level of its supply to consumers; direct actualization of foreign economic activity.’

The strategy move is present on only 10 out of 29 of sample sites, but the extensive use of abstract and verbal nouns manifests itself on all of the sites to a greater or lesser extent in other moves.

The main feature that differentiates website genre discourse from the official-business style is the much greater use of descriptive quantitative adjectives and adjectives in the comparative and superlative degree. Twenty of the sample sites have such adjectival forms: с новейшими разработками ‘with the newest elaborations’ (http://www.titanexport.com; accessed February 9, 2009); на новейшем европейском

24 Official business style is known for the use of classifying (relative) adjectives, which convey the categories to which the object(s) described belong, but not for the use of qualitative adjectives, which give information about the properties of the object(s).
‘with the newest European equipment’, ‘the richest local traditions’, ‘the best wine’ (http://www.cotnar.com/winemaking.html; accessed February 10, 2009). The range of their usage varies from site to site: some have only one such adjective, others as many as five. The total number of adjectives in the comparative and/or superlative degrees found on all 29 sample sites is 40.

Descriptive qualitative adjectives show up on all 29 sample sites as well as relative adjectives. One of the main functions of descriptive qualitative adjectives is to provide more description (characterization) of the entities mentioned in a text. Thus the use of more qualitative adjectives produces the effect of descriptive richness in the text by calling up images, feelings, and tones. This feature sharply differentiates the language of business website from that of the official business style: Среди роскошной природы ‘among the sumptuous nature’, благодатного края ‘of a land of plenty’ (http://www.grosslibentale.od.ua/main; accessed February 10, 2009); истинное удовольствие ‘true pleasure’, среди живописного лесного массива ‘amidst the picturesque forested terrain’ (http://zolota-gora.com; accessed February 10, 2009); получают высокую оценку ‘get a high rating’ (http://www.dsma.dp.ua/obakademii/inform.asp; accessed February 10, 2009); and so forth. (For an explanation of their use, see the next section.) The ratio quantitative vs. relative adjectives on the 29 sample sites is 501:1055.

All 29 of the sample websites demonstrate the use of adjectives (as well as other parts of speech, such as nouns and verbs) that belong to technical or professional
vocabulary. However, the amount of technical vocabulary present on the sites varies. At the low end are sites where it is used just to indicate a company’s niche on the market. This is the case with the website of the firm “Avante” (http://www.avante.com.ua/rus/index.htm; accessed February 10, 2009), where just one sentence in the first paragraph indicates the business the company is engaged in: специализирующая на продаже и установке ветровых и солнечных источников энергии ‘[a company] that specializes in the sale and installation of wind and solar sources of energy’. On the other hand, there are also websites that are heavily ‘stuffed’ with technical vocabulary, as, for example, the website of the company “Open Joint-Stock company ”Chernigovskoye Khimvolokno” (http://www.him.com.ua/index_e.html), which gives a detailed description in technical terms of goods they produce; see example (12), where technical terms are given in bold type:

(12) Предприятие выпускает: кордные ткани [ капроновые и анидные ], полиамидные нити [ текстильные, трикотажные, технические и многокруточные для рыболовства и зашивки мешков ], полиамидные грануляты [ ПА-6 и ПА-6,6 ], полиамидные монониты (леску) и волокна, полиэпропиленовые монониты, литьевые изделия из полиамида, товары народного потребления [ сетку бытовую, упаковочную и индивидуальную, ткань рюкзачную, шнуры бытовые кручёные и плетёные, тросы буксирные лодочные и автомобильные, колготы женские, брюки спортивные, пряжу и т.д. ]—всего более 70 видов основной продукции и 100 видов товаров народного потребления. (http://www.him.com.ua/index_e.html, accessed February 4, 2009).

¹The company produces: cord fabrics [capronic and acrylon], nylon fibers [textile, woven, technical, and polywoven for fishing and stitching up sacks], nylon granulates [PA-6 and PA-6.6], nylon filaments (fishing line) and fibers, polypropylene filaments, castable products from nylon, consumer goods [netting for household use, packaging and hay-baling string, backpack fabric, twisted and braided cords for household use, boat and car tow-ropes,
women’s tights, athletic pants, yarn and so on]—all in all more than 70 types of major products and 100 types of consumer goods.’

Among the distinctive attributes of official-business style are the avoidance of personal pronouns by using passive constructions (discussed above), third-person references to the company (for example, ‘the company produces’), and first-person plural forms of verbs (підкресимо/подчеркнём U/R ‘[we] will underline’, розглянемо/рассмотрим U/R ‘[we] will examine’) (Паламар, 1997: 226). By contrast, the style of commercial advertisements displays frequent use of the first-person plural pronoun мы ‘we’ (Ukrainian/Russian) and the possessive pronoun наш/a/e/u ‘our’ (masc./fem./neut./pl.), but relatively few passives. Business websites represent a mixture of these features. Fourteen of the 29 sample sites maintain the style of official discourse by referring to the company in the third-person singular; three others refer to the company in the third person singular preceded by the possessive ‘our’; eight combine third-person singular reference with use of the personal pronoun ‘we’; and four use only the first-person plural, as in advertisements.

3.4. Summary of the features

The linguistic analysis of Ukrainian business websites allows us to make some conclusions about the linguistic features of business website discourse imposed by the constraints of the genre. The table below summarizes the major features which tend to be shared by the sample sites, in descending order of frequency:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Linguistic feature</th>
<th>Number of sample sites that display the feature</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Extended sentences in the form of statements</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present tense of verbs</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relative adjectives (of technical or professional lexis)</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sentences with non-finite forms and their constructions</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qualitative (descriptive) adjectives</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past tense in combination with perfective aspect</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Predicate in the passive voice</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjectives in comparative and/or superlative degree</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Это”-sentences or sentences with a dash</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reference to the company in 3rd person sing.</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Usage of verbal nouns in an organized move</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reference to the company in the 3rd person sing. and ‘we’</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reference to the company as ‘we’</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reference to the company in the 3rd person sing. and ‘our’</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 10: Major linguistic features of the sites

Utilizing these conclusions, we can argue, at least provisionally, that the genre of business website discourse represents a fusion of the characteristic features of the language of official-business style and the language of commercials.
Chapter 4
Analysis of Structure

4.1. Introduction

Most of the business sites show fair consistency in their language organization, which, I believe, in its turn, is defined by the communicative purpose of this genre. As Bhatia (1993: 30) was able to show in his research on academic papers, the communicative purpose of a text is accomplished through a number of rhetorical moves, which give a genre its typical cognitive structure:

Just as each genre has a communicative purpose that it tends to serve, similarly, each move also serves a typical communicative intention which is always subservient to the overall communicative purpose of the genre. In order to realize a particular communicative intention at the level of a move, an individual writer may use different rhetorical strategies.

In this chapter, I will look at the ways in which the overall message of the genre of business websites is organized from the point of view of move structure and from the point of view of the combinability of the linguistic features. For the latter purpose, I will follow the approach used by Biber (1989: 3) in his analysis of a typology of English texts, where he distinguishes sets of “lexical and syntactic features that cooccur frequently in texts, reflecting underlying shared communicative functions”. Biber calls
such sets of linguistic elements ‘dimensions’. Every group of linguistic elements, or
dimension, has its own cognitive function. According to Biber (ibid.: 8), there are five
major dimensions of textual variation: a) ‘Involved versus informational production’; b)‘Narrative versus nonnarrative concerns’; c) ‘Explicit versus situational-dependent
reference’; d) ‘Overt expression of persuasion’; and e) ‘Abstract versus nonabstract
style’. I will take it as a working hypothesis that these dimensions of textual variation are
equally applicable to Ukrainian/Russian or any other language with an extensive written
tradition.

In his study, Biber uses computer-based English text corpora and computer
programs to count the frequency of certain linguistic features. For the purpose of my
research, I will use a ‘softer’ version of Biber’s approach. As I mentioned above, I have
engaged in a close reading of 29 sample sites. As I will not apply computer programs to
count cooccurring elements, I will not identify all the co-occurring features of the business
website genre, but only the most salient ones, which are evident from the close reading.
Thus I will examine the structural and linguistic composition of Ukrainian business
website discourse on the basis of the move structure and combinability of linguistic
features that share common communicative functions in order to distinguish the
characteristic qualities of the genre of business web discourse.

4.2. Introductory-informational move

One of the main features of the discourse of the website genre is an explicit
statement about the company in question in business terms; that is, there is a sentence or
entire paragraph that indicates the full name of the company, specifies the type of the industry the company works in, and the size and/or age of the company. I will name this move introductory-informational. In the websites sampled, there is some variation concerning the elements of the sentence(s) in this move and its placement in the text. I believe this is due to the fact that, since this is a new variety of discourse, there are still no strict organizational constraints imposed by this genre on the text.

Usually, this move is the first sentence of the first paragraph or is somewhere in this paragraph (see ex. 13, 14):

(13) OAO “Мелитопольский мясокомбинат” одно из крупнейших предприятий на Украине по производству мясопродуктов. (http://www.meat.com.ua; accessed March 25, 2009)

‘OJ-SC (Open Joint-Stock Company) “Melitopol Meat-Processing Factory” is one of the biggest companies in Ukraine producing meat products.’

(14) Открытое акционерное общество “Коровай”
OAO «Коровай» является правопреемником Луганского производственного объединения хлебопекарной промышленности, созданного на Луганщине в 30-х годах XX века. (http://korovay.lg.ua; accessed March 25, 2009)

‘Open joint-stock society “Wedding Bread”
OJ-SC “Wedding Bread” is a legal successor of Lugansk production association of bread baking industry, which was founded in Lugansk region in the 30-s years of the 20th century.’

However, on a few sites, as is the case with ‘Sniezka’ (see ex. 15), it is placed somewhere in the middle or closer to the end of the entire text body, preceded by one or more of the history, record of excellence, charitable activity, quality, ecology, clientele moves and/or the year of foundation submove. (See below for description of these moves.)
4.2.1. The type of the industry submove.

The type of the industry (the company works in) submove can be given directly by naming the industry, e.g., по производству мясопродуктов ‘producing meat products’ (see ex. 13), хлебопекарной промышленности ‘bread baking industry’ (see ex. 14), or else by enumerating the goods/products the company produces to make it absolutely clear what industrial niche it belongs to, as is the case with the ‘Sniezhka’ website: виробництва водоемульсійних фарб, акрилових емалей, шпатлювальних мас, захисних та закріплюючо-грунтуючих засобів, клеїв ‘producing water-based paints, acrylic emulsions, modeling masses, protecting and tightening-priming means, glues’ (see ex. 15). The enumeration of the goods/products the company produces is done in the form of listing. According to Tannen (1989: 143), some structural parts of narrative can deploy particular strategies such as listing and naming. I think these strategies in this particular environment are used in order to give a bigger variety of products that readers/potential buyers will be able to relate to: not only does this detailed list of types of products give a sense of verisimilitude, but it also contributes to the impression that the company offers a range of products that a great many people working in the building industry can find useful. As one can see from (15), these strategies, in their turn, help create a nominal character of speech:

(15) ТЗОВ „Сніжка-Україна”—це сучасний завод з виробництва водоемульсійних фарб, акрилових емалей, шпатлювальних мас, захисних та закріплюючо-грунтуючих засобів, клеїв. (www.sniezka.ua; accessed April 12, 2009)
‘LLC (Limited Liability Company) “Snezhka-Ukraine” is a modern plant producing water-based paints, acrylic emulsions, modeling masses, protecting and tightening-priming means, glues.’

The sentences in which the subjects are expressed by the names of the companies show low agentivity. Since the predicates of the sentences are in the form of compound nominative predicates, e.g., одно из крупнейших предприятий ‘one of the biggest companies’ (see ex. 13), правопреемником ‘a legal successor’ (see ex. 14), or це… завод ‘is … a plant’ (see ex. 15), null copulas or verbs of existence (являться ‘to be’) are used on 13 of the 29 sample sites. On 4 others, past passive participles in combination with a null copula are used (see ex. 16), while 6 websites have past passive participles in combination with the past tense of the verb ‘to be’ (see ex. 17) in stating the year of foundation of a company. Four websites have simple verbal predicates expressed by lexically specific verbs (see ex. 18). Two websites do not have this move at all.


‘LLC (Limited Liability Company) “Iceblick” was founded in 1992.’

(17) Совместное украинско-американско-российское предприятие в форме общества с ограниченной ответственностью “АЙСБЕРГ” было создано в ноябре 1995 года в урочище Чизай, г. Берегово, Закарпатская область, Украина. (http://www.chizay.com; accessed March 6, 2009)

‘Joint Ukrainian-American-Russian venture in the form of Limited Liability Company “Iceberg” was founded in November 1995 in the area Chizai, town of Beregovo, Transcarpathian region, Ukraine.’

‘Our company “Kotnar” revives centuries-long traditions of winemaking of the region starting from 1996.’

A characteristic feature of the introductory-informational move is the relatively wide use of specific business vocabulary in the names of the companies that specifies the type of the ownership. The type of the company is presented in full on 4 of the sample websites, but in abbreviation only on 9 of the sites. The following abbreviations are used:

(19) ТзОВ—Товариство з Обмеженною Відповідальністю ‘Limited Liability Company (Ukrainian) LLC;
ООО—Общество с Ограниченной Ответственностью ‘Limited Liability Company (Russian) LLC;
ЗАО—Закрытое Акционерное Общество ‘Closed Joint-Stock Company’ CJ-SC;
JSC—Joint Stock Company;
TM—Торговая Марка ‘Trade Mark’;
ОАО—Открытое Акционерное Общество ‘Open Joint-Stock Company’ OJ-SC;
ГАО—Государственное Акционерное Общество ‘State Joint-Stock Company’ SJ-SC;
ДГМА25—Днепропетровская Государственная Медицинская Академия ‘Dnepropetrovsk State Medical Academy’ DSMA

On one site, the full name of the company is given as a title of the link ‘About us’, and the text starts with the introductory-informational move, including the abbreviation (see ex. 14). In other cases, the abbreviation is given not in the link “About us” but in a template of the site which shows up on every link. I will treat the title (e.g., Открытое акционерное общество “Коровай” ‘Open Joint-Stock Company “Wedding Bread”)

25 This does not really show the type of the enterprise as others.
and the template title as a single submove, as visually and logically they belong to these links; I will consider this information as belonging to the introductory-informational move, which immediately follows. On 5 of the sample sites, the type of the ownership is not specified in the introductory-informational move, though it is mentioned in other moves; 9 of the sample sites do not have the given information in this link at all.

In sum, on 15 out of 29 sample sites, information about the type of the ownership is provided in the introductory-informational move; on 5 sites it is provided in other moves; and on 9 sites it is missing altogether. Among these 9, the profiles of the companies are as follows: 4 food, 1 tourist, 1 chemical, 1 project/designing, 1 telecommunication, and one light industry. It is hard to find one common reason that would prevent these companies from making this information available on their websites. They belong to different types of industry; their years of foundation range from 1974 to 2003. Some are oriented mainly to retail sales/customers (for example, the hotel-rancho “Золота гора” ‘Golden mountain’ (www.zolota-gora.com; accessed March 10, 2009), or a company that provides refills of the drinking water “Україночка” ‘Ukrainian’fem./sing./dimin. (www.ukrainochka.ua; accessed March 10, 2009); others focus on wholesale business (for example, the chemical company “Химлекс” ‘Khimlex’, which produces can coatings and coatings for metallic containers (www.khimlex.ua; accessed March 10, 2009)).

My tentative explanation for why more than 1/3 of the sample business websites do not provide information about the type of their ownership is because of the incomplete conventionalization of the genre and because of pragmatic considerations (or absence of
such): the type of the ownership is not going to affect the way they do their business; the authors of the websites view this as information that is not important for their clients. This would be the case for companies that focus on retail business.

The next important function that the introductory-informational move performs is to convey a positive representation of the company in question in comparison with other companies of the same type. In doing this, the given business site is effectively advertising the business. Positive representation is the main strategy for any commercial; this explains the high recurrence of qualitative adjectives (sometimes in comparative or superlative degrees): одно из крупнейших предприятий на Украине ‘one of the biggest companies in Ukraine’ (see ex. 13), це сучасний завод ‘is a modern plant’ (see ex. 15). In the case of ОАО «Коровай» ‘OJ-SC “Wedding Bread” (ex. 14), by stating that it is правопреемником Луганского производственного объединения хлебопекарной промышленности ‘a legal successor of Lugansk production association of bread baking industry’ the positive connotation is still preserved; the predecessor association was well known and respected for the quality of the goods it produced; , one is expected to realize that, since ОАО «Коровай» is its legal successor (правопреемником), it will provide the same quality and should be accorded the same recognition and respect.

As one can see from the examples, this move exemplifies a regular use of abstract nouns, such as общество, предприятие, производство, объединение ‘society, enterprise, production, association’ and other. According to Chafe (1984: 1099), high involvement is characterized by “a tendency towards concreteness and imageability” (taken from Tannen 1989: 27). Conversely, we can state that low involvement, on the
contrary, will manifest itself in a relatively higher degree of abstract language and an absence of images, i.e., a lack of figurative language, descriptions, and vivid, highly associative vocabulary. A high use of nouns in written forms of the language in general is mentioned by Zemskaya (1987: 75). In spoken language, nouns tend to be replaced by pronouns or are omitted in elliptical structures.

4.2.2. The establishing territory submove

In the introductory-informational move, we can single the establishing territory submove. I look at this submove as an important strategy for asserting national identity, regardless of the language. Displaying their national/regional identity as obvious on the websites strengthens the manifestations of national identity. This is a part of the ongoing in present-day Ukraine process of negotiation of national identity; not only mass media influence and shape the idea of national identity, the opposite is true too: constructed presently national identity shapes the discourse of the mass media.

Seven of the Russian language sample sites mention the country in the introductory-informational move (see ex.13, 15) by using the adjective or noun ‘Ukraine’; 7 sites mention both the country and the region within the country; and 6 sites mention the region only. Four sites do not make any reference to either the country or the region, i.e. this submove does not show up within their introductory-informational move; there is no way to know if this is a random or intentional omission. Three other sites do not have the introductory-informational move (see Table 11; ‘R’ stands got ‘region’, ‘C’ stands for ‘country’):
From 3 Ukrainian-language sites 2 have references to Ukraine in the introductory-informational move.

If we look at the entire discourse of all 29 sample business sites, we will see that 9 of them mention Ukraine (5 Russian-language, three Ukrainian-language, and one English), 16—both region and Ukraine, 3—only region; 1 site is geographically neutral, and 1 site has a strong European-global trend (this is not reflected in Table 11). In other words, the word ‘Ukraine’ or its adjective is used on 16 sample websites in the introductory-informational move, and on 25 sample sites in the entire text body. All in all, the sample websites mention the country and/or the region 164 times. One effect of the practice of usage of the word ‘Ukraine’ or its adjective is that it underlies and displays the feature that, I believe, unifies the diverse political, regional, cultural, linguistic environment of Ukraine together. In the given context, the use of the word ‘Ukraine’ solely focuses on the status of the country as a business environment.

Table 11: The use of indications of region/country in the introductory-informational move

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lg of site/# of sites</th>
<th>Intro</th>
<th>Other moves</th>
<th># of R/C tokens on site</th>
<th>No reference in intro</th>
<th>No intro</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>R</td>
<td>R/C</td>
<td>R/C</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russian/25</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ukrainian/3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English/1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.2.3. The year of foundation submove

Another strong trend in texts of this genre is to mention the year (in some cases even the exact date) of foundation. I will single out this information as the *year of foundation submove*. I think this is an interesting fact, taking into account that history of some companies begins in the 19th century (see ex. 20):

(20) Завод основан в декабре 1885 года для производства минеральных солей и кислот. Уже в 1890 году продукция завода вывозилась в 18 городов России, экспортировалась за границу. ([http://www.olimp.odessa.ua](http://www.olimp.odessa.ua); accessed March 12, 2009)

‘The plant was founded in December of 1885 for production of mineral salts and acids. In 1890 the production of the plant was already transported to 18 cities in Russia and exported abroad.’

History of other starts in the 20th century (see ex. 21):

(21) Горнодобывающая компания "Минерал" … На рынке керамического и огнеупорного сырья более 76 лет. ([http://www.mineral.com.ua](http://www.mineral.com.ua); accessed March 12, 2009)

‘Mining company “Mineral” … has been on the market of ceramic and fireproof raw materials for more than 76 years.’

But some are very young (see ex. 22):

(22) Компания «Шторм» основана в г. Кировограде в октябре 1999 года. ([http://www.shtorm.com](http://www.shtorm.com); accessed March 12, 2009).

‘The company “Shtorm” was founded in the city of Kirovograd in October of 1999.’
I consider the mention of the date on the websites of newer companies to be one of the
constraints of the new genre. It developed, probably, due to the fact that companies with a
longer history generally try to mention this fact on their websites. The communicative
intention of doing so is to inform their customers that they have spent a respectable time
on the market serving their customers; they are not yet another ‘easy come, easy go’
company such as those that appeared in great numbers right after the fall of the Soviet
Union. The main purpose of such ‘one-day’-companies was to make a quick profit by
selling low-quality goods or services to the goods-and-services-starved people of the
former Soviet Union; after some (usually short) time, they would disappear without a
trace. So, mentioning the date of a long-established company's foundation can be seen as
a form of positive advertising.

On the other hand, in using this submove, younger companies can also be
declaring that they came after the post-Soviet boom and were not guilty in it. Since the
companies with a longer history include this structural element in their overall message,
younger companies have to construct their discourse following the constraints of the
genre and include the dates of their foundation. For young companies, this presents a
certain challenge; they have to find their way of saying, “we are young, but nevertheless
you can trust us.”

Different companies do this differently, depending on the assets they have in their
disposal. For example, Транснациональная финансово-промышленная нефтяная
компания "Укртатнафта" “The Transnational Finance-Industrial Oil Company
'Ukrтatoil’” (http://www.ukrtatnafta.com; accessed March 12, 2009), a company founded
in 1994, makes the following statement in the first sentence of the first paragraph of their website: “Транснациональная финансово-промышленная нефтяная компания 'Укртатнафта' создана в 1994 году в соответствии с указами Президентов Украины и Республики Татарстан…” ‘The Transnational Finance-Industrial Oil Company 'Ukrtatnafta' was founded in 1994 in accordance with decrees of the Presidents of Ukraine and the Republic of Tatarstan’. Mentioning the fact that the presidents of two countries were involved in the foundation of the company elevates the company to a definite level of prestige and performs the pragmatic function of categorizing the company as ‘undoubtedly trustworthy’. The company “Olimp-Krug” (http://www.olimp.odessa.ua; accessed March 12, 2009) informs the readers of its website that "ОАО «Олимп-Круг» единственный в Европейской части СНГ завод по производству медного купороса" “Olimp-Krug” is the only plant in the European part of CIS for the production of copper sulphate’. Of paramount importance in this sentence is the word единственный ‘one and only’ in combination with the phrase в Европейской части СНГ ‘in the European part of the CIS’. The fact that a number of states do not even have a plant to produce a substance widely used in different spheres of industry definitely attracts attention and is aimed at the creation of a sense of confidence and indispensability. Another young company—Омфаи ‘Omphal’(http://www.omphal.dn.ua; accessed March 12, 2009) declares: На рынке строительных материалов работает с 1995 года, когда был приобретен комплекс технологического оборудования по распиловке и полировке гранитных блоков. ‘On the market of construction materials [it] has been operating since 1995, when a set of technological equipment for the sawing
and polishing of granite blocks was purchased’. The connotations here are as follows: since a great number of Ukrainian companies work with old, inefficient equipment, and, as a result, their production is not that good and more expensive, dealing with our company will benefit you in the sense that you will get construction materials of better quality and, possibly, for lower price; and, since purchasing a set of this type of technological equipment is a pretty solid investment, the owners of the company are serious in their intention to stay in business for a long time.

Linguistically the introductory-informational move can be characterized by the following features:

- low agentivity and depersonalization of discourse, which manifests itself in a) absence of active doers of the actions, and as a result, in b) absence of personal pronouns and verbs in the 1st and 2nd person, and in c) abstract nouns being used as subjects: ТЗОВ „Снежка-Україна” ‘LLC “Snezhka-Ukraine”, ОАО «Коровой» ‘OJ-SC “Wedding Bread” and so forth, d) the introductory-informative move of 28 (out of 29) sample sites is marked for depersonalization of discourse, i.e., no personal and/or possessive pronouns show up in this part of the text (see ex 13, 14, 15).

- predominance of the null copula, past tense of the verb ‘to be’, and/or a verb of existence over lexically specific verbs, and some usage of passive constructions usually with the reference to the foundation of a company: образовано ‘founded’, было создано ‘was created’;
usage of geographical names or adjectives derived from them: на Украине ‘in Ukraine’, на Луганщине ‘In Lugansk region’ and so forth;

usage of specific business terms that state the type of ownership: ООО, ОАО and other;

nominal character of speech, which is manifested in the use of nominal predicates, and use of nouns in enumeration of produced goods or offered services: водоемульсійних фарб, акрилових емалей, шпатлювальних мас, захисних та закріплюючо-грунтуючих засобів, клеїв ‘water-based paints, acrylic emulsions, modeling masses, protecting and tightening-priming means, glues’ (see ex. 15), or вторичных каолинов, керамических и огнеупорных глин,... ‘secondary kaolin, ceramic and fireproof clays’ (http://www.mineral.com.ua; accessed April 12, 2009);

use of quantitative adjectives (sometimes in superlative degree) and/or positively ‘colored’ vocabulary in order to create a positive connotation;

frequent use of abstract nouns such as общество, предприятие, производство, объединение ‘society, enterprise, production, association’ and other, which marks a low involvement of speech.

Palamar (Паламар1997: 7) mentions that the texts in official-business style are distinguished by the use of traditional forms of sentence building, specific terms, and the lack of images and emotionality. Following Biber’s approach, we may now state that the linguistic organization of the introductory-informational move is marked by low
agentivity, depersonalization of discourse, nominal character of speech and relatively low involvement through definition-like sentence structuring, as well as specific discourse strategies, vocabulary and terms, as discussed above. The communicative function that this set of linguistic elements shares is that they a) presents the full official name of the business; b) establishes the field of activity; c) creates positive connotation and advertises through the definition-like sentence structuring, specific discourse strategies, vocabulary and terms, as discussed above.

4.3. The strategy move.

A separate strategy move present on 10 sample sites, which I mentioned above, is labeled differently on different sites: стратегия/стратегія ‘strategy’, філософія/філософія ‘philosophy’, місія/місія ‘mission’, принципи/принципи ‘principles’, ціли/цілі ‘goals’, наша діяльність/продукція ‘our activity/production’. Here are samples of the move.

(23) Company ‘Korovay’: Миссия компании: Наиболее полное удовлетворение потребностей населения Луганской области и других регионов в качественных хлебобулочных, кондитерских и других продуктах питания, получение при этом устойчивой прибыли, вознаграждение работников ОАО «Коровай» в виде достойной заработной платы, акционеров—выплаты устойчивых дивидендов. (http://www.korovay.lg.ua; accessed April 11, 2009)

‘Mission of the company: Complete satisfaction of needs of Lugansk and other regions’ population in quality bakery, confectionery and other food products; stable profit-making; compensation of OJ-SC “Wedding Bread” workers with a decent salary, share-holders with payments of stable dividends.’
It is obvious that the main objective of any business is to make money through satisfaction of the needs of the customers with quality goods or services. To accommodate the needs/interests of quality-famished Ukrainian customers, a ‘quality’-statement is an effective act, as Ukrainians in general have come to be tired of companies whose main goal is money, not concern about the quality of the goods they produce or their clients. So the information in this move has to be skillfully managed: no company can deny that profit is still its goal; at the same time, companies have to distance themselves from notoriously greedy companies. Thus, profit (if mentioned at all) has to be mentioned in a context of the quality of goods/services which the company produces and with the customer in mind.

This move is a particular example of the systematic practice of mentioning the quality of goods or services on the part of business companies in order to accommodate their discourse to the potential clientele. This is done in the spirit of Speech Accommodation Theory. As Joseph (Joseph, 2006: 43) remarks:
“…‘speaker’ and ‘hearer’ are not polarly opposed roles. For any utterance, the hearer is not merely a passive recipient, but is partly responsible for the actual form the utterance takes, since speakers normally adjust what they say to suit the socio-political reaction they anticipate from their audience. My choice of which language to speak, and of how to speak it—in the standard way, in a way marked for region, social class, education level, generation, etc.—positions me vis-à-vis my interlocutors, whether I intend for it to do so or not”.

In the case of Ukrainian business site discourse, we may now state that mentioning quality and satisfaction of a client is a calculated intent.

The strategy move shows three typical linguistic characteristics:

- first, there is minimization of agentivity. This is reflected in the use of abstract nouns as subjects, e.g., миссия ‘mission’, обеспечение ‘supply’ or наши принципи ‘our principles’, followed by the colon as a graphic signifier of the verb ‘to be’;
- second, there is depersonalization, achieved by the absence of personal and/or possessive pronouns (especially 2nd person) and as a result depersonalization of speech: население Луганской области ‘population of Lugansk region’ підхід до кожного клієнта ‘approach to every client’ (instead of ‘you’). The only exception of usage of pronoun is a first person plural possessive pronoun наш/а/е/і ‘our’ masc./fem./neut./pl. used with the word that names the move: наши принципи ‘our principles’, Наша політика ‘Our policy’ (http://www.him.com.ua; accessed February 26, 2009). Two pronouns show up in example 16: 1st person possessive нашей ‘our’ fem./sing./gen. and 1st person personal нами ‘by us’ pl./instr., but they are used in indirect cases (genitive and instrumental) which adds to the passivity/nonagentivity of the discourse;
third, the discourse is heavily nominal in character. There is a high proportion of nouns and, in particular, verbal nouns, often with arguments and embedded propositions: удовлетворение потребностей населения ‘satisfaction of needs of population’, получение при этом устойчивой прибыли ‘stable profit-making’, вознаграждение работников ‘compensation of workers’, выплаты устойчивых дивидендов ‘payments of stable dividends’, підхід до кожного клієнта ‘approach to every customer’, рівень обслуговування ‘level of service’, обеспечение высокого качества ‘securing of high quality’. Many of these nominal expressions belong to formal official-business vocabulary: потребностей населения ‘needs of the population’, найвищий рівень обслуговування ‘the highest level of service’, основным приоритетом ‘main priority’. Indeed, the nominal character of the discourse is so high that the only verb present is the verb ‘to be’ (null copular) or other verbs of existence (было и остается ‘has been and is’).

The necessary element imposed by this genre is mentioning the quality of the production (as discussed above). The word ‘quality’ (either in adjectival or nominal form) consistently shows up in this move: в качественных ... продуктах ‘in quality goods’, гарантія якості ‘quality warranty’, обеспечение высокого качества ‘assurance of high quality’ and so forth.

In general, using Biber’s term (Biber 1989: 8), this move is an example of “informational production” which, as we can now state, is characterized by minimal agentivity, depersonalization, generalization, and low involvement.
4.4. The history/tradition move.

The strategy move typically does not involve the use of adjectives in the superlative degree. The only case (see example 26) of this move that violates this statement is on the website of the wine-producing company Котнар ‘Cotnar’ ([http://www.cotnar.com](http://www.cotnar.com)), where we can see two adjectives новейшем ‘the newest’ and богатейших ‘the reachest’:

(26) Наши миссия—постоянно совершенствовать культуру рождения вина, предлагать потребителям качественный современный продукт, изготовленный на новейшем европейском оборудовании, с использованием общеевропейского опыта и богатейших местных традиций виноделия Закарпатья. ([http://www.cotnar.com](http://www.cotnar.com); accessed April 6, 2009)

‘Our mission is to constantly improve viniculture, to offer consumers a modern product of high quality, produced with the newest European equipment, using pan-European experience and the richest local traditions of Transcarpathian wine making.’

As one can see, the linguistic organization of the strategy move of this website diverges from the ones discussed above in other ways as well. The use of the metaphor рождения вина ‘birth of wine’ departs from formal official-business style, where all words tend to be used in their direct meanings. Longacre (1983: 10) notes that expository discourse in general is characterized by a low degree of vividness, which also translates into low involvement. Nevertheless, my data show that the expository discourse of some websites is, in fact, relatively ‘involved’, ‘vivid’, and ‘nonabstract’. In particular, some companies in the food industry include chunks of information in the form of story-telling on their
websites; in other words, they present some popular-historical facts or organize some parts of their discourse in the form of fairy-tales.

For example, the site of the above-mentioned company ‘Cotnar’ has five paragraphs of popular-historical narration. Here is a small part of this historical information (see ex. 27):

(27) По данным историков, начало виноделия в окрестностях Берегово относится к VIII-VI веку. Есть находки, говорящие о том, что здесь к приходу венгерских племен (IX век) жили оседло славяне, уже знакомые с виноградарством. Кроме этого, и документы подтверждают, что в районе Берегово издавна выращивают виноград и производят вино. Наиболее ранний из дошедших до нас—грамота, выданная в 1247 году венгерским королём Бейлой IV гласит, что уже, владевший тогда этими землями, выдал грамоту, в которой указывалось, что жители Берегово обязаны отдавать десятую часть винограда... (http://www.cotnar.com; accessed May 25, 2009)

‘According to the historic data, the beginning of wine making in the suburbs Beregovo refers to the VIII-VI c. There are findings that testify that the Slavs lived here before the coming of Hungarian tribes and they were acquainted with the cultivation of vine. Besides this, and documents prove it, they have cultivated the vine and have produced wine long since in the Beregov neighborhood. The earliest of the documents we have is the document issued in 1247 by the Hungarian King Beila IV says that he owned this territory by then and that the residents of Beregovo had to give him (as a tribute) one tenth of the (grown) vine.’

Similarly, while some parts of the discourse on the site of the company TM “Украиночка” ‘TM “A Ukrainian” are about the purity and flavor of the water, appealing to the desire for unpolluted nature, others look more like a fairy-tale (see example 28):
'It was so nice to our predecessors The land was virgin clean, the springs, creeks, rivers, and lakes were full of fresh non-polluted streams of tasty water which was soft, light, and desired. This water of our pra-motherland must have made people who lived here pretty and wise, talented and intelligent, the ones who loved and were loved. And it (the water) made it so strongly and deep that we, the contemporaries, got such wonderful genes.'

I will call this type of website discourse the **history/tradition move**, of which the above examples represent the **tradition submove**. Although relatively few companies (only 3 out of 29 sample sites) talk about tradition in the form of storytelling, the very fact that some food companies provide examples of texts involving popular-historical or fairy-tale-like narrative is interesting and attention-grabbing; such devices engage readers in the story and deviate from the usual surface structure of the genre. Discussing digressions in notional and surface discourse features, Longacre (1983: 10) mentions that we must “face the fact that a given notional structure type may encode in the form of a differing surface structure type.”

My explanation for this switch in discourse structures is simple. It would be hard for, let us say, a company that works in the chemical or machine-building industry to present its information in the form of a popular narrative. First, this is due to the fact that the overwhelming majority of Ukrainian companies do not have such long traditions of production as the company ‘Cotnar’, which claims to have functioned for seven or eight
centuries. Second, and more important, their website discourse deals mainly with more precise technical information due to the specifics of their production. It would be hard to make up a fairy-tale about ball bearings or steel cable.

Eight of the sample sites have the *history submove*, where a short history of the company or the reason for its creation is given (see ex. 29):

(29) Продукція «Sniezka» вперше потрапила на український ринок в середині 90-х років і швидко завоювала довіру і симпатії широкого кола споживачів, як якісна продукція за доступною ціною. Враховуючи популярність торгової марки і великий об’єм продаж в Україні засновники польської фабрики FFiL Snezka S.A. спільно з українськими партнерами вирішили відкрити власне виробництво продукції в Україні. (http://www.sniezka.ua/aboutukr/; accessed February 8, 2009)

‘The production (under the trade mark) “Snezhka” first got to the Ukrainian market in the middle of the 90s. and quickly gained confidence and sympathies of wide range of customers as quality production for reasonable price. Taking into account the popularity of the trade mark and the big volume of sales in Ukraine, the founders of the Polish factory FFiL Snezhka S.A. together with the Ukrainian partners decided to open their own manufacture of products in Ukraine.’

The linguistic dimensions of the tradition submove differ from that of the history submove. While the language of the former is that of the storytelling, the latter is written in the neutral style of traditional business language, without involved narration. However, as opposed to the informational non-narration of the strategy and introductory moves, the history submove is distinguished by the presence of narration, that is, storytelling as a form of conveying events, of something that happened before. Unlike informational non-narration, business website storytelling exemplifies agentivity. A number of sentences include some relevant facts from the life of historical personalities;
when talking about them, these sentences have animate subjects expressed either by proper names or by personal pronouns (see ex. 30):

(30) Сохранился письменный приказ коменданта Мукачевского замка 1466 года, в котором он даёт указание своим офицерам не запрашивать на вино более денег, чем оно стоит. (http://cotnar.com/winemaking.html; accessed April 2, 2009)

‘There is a preserved written order of the governor of the Mukachevo castle of 1466 in which he orders his officers not to ask more money for wine than its actual price.’

According to Tannen (1989:140), talking about real people, concrete historical facts, events and the year when they happened induces images, which in its turn, creates an involved style of narration (see ex. 31):

(31) А в 1523 году уже королева Мария запрещает новому владыке этого замка увеличивать плату за вино. (ibid.)

‘And in 1523 already the queen Maria forbids the new lord of this castle to increase the fee for wine.’

The vividness of the narration is reinforced by the frequent use of descriptive adjectives, which reveal personal attitudes towards the subject of narration, and by the use of words in indirect, figurative meanings and other “literary” devices—for example, the metaphor солнце ...наливает грозьда ‘the sun ripens the racemation’(see ex. 32, 33):

(32) Напевно, це вода нашої прабатьківщини і зробила людей, що тут мешкали, красивими і мудрими, талановитими і розумними, люблячими і коханими. (http://ukrainochka.ua/; accessed February 18, 2009)
'This water of our pra-motherland must have made people who lived here pretty and wise, talented and intelligent, the ones who loved and were loved.'

(33) Более двух веков солнце благодатного края наливает гроздья, наполняет их ароматным соком. (http://grosslibentale.od.ua; accessed February 18, 2009)

‘For more than two centuries the sun of the grateful land ripens the racemation, fills them with the flavorful juice.’

Though such storytelling is characterized by relatively high involvement, as compared with ordinary business website discourse, it differs from oral (monologic/dialogic, colloquial) speech by its syntax. Unlike spoken dialogue, which is often characterized by fragmentary, incomplete sentences (Білодід 1965: 109), storytelling discourse, especially in writing, exemplifies longer, syntactically more elaborated compound sentences with subordinate clauses: of time, attributive, object and other (see ex. 34). Labov and Waletzky (1967:13) in their analysis of narrative note that temporal clauses are the main feature that creates the prototypical narrative. Chafe and Tannen (1987: 384-385) giving an overview of the research on the relation between written and spoken language among others report studies by Harrell, Horowitz and Newman. Harrell’s study of written and oral language of 9-15-year-olds reported: “Their language was analyzed for the frequency and use of subordinate clauses, of which more were found in the written language. The writing contained more adverbial and adjectival clauses, while speaking had more nominal clauses”. Horowotz and Newman in their study of written and oral modes of speech of undergraduates also conclude that their spoken language was more “facile”. However, the language of storytelling is also different from the straightforward extended sentences of official-business style.
The earliest of the documents we have is the document issued in 1247 by the Hungarian King Beila IV says that he owned this territory by then and that the residents of Beregovo had to give him (as a tribute) one tenth of the (grown) vine.

Unlike sentences in the official-business style of the introductory move, where the null copula predominates, sentences in the tradition submove involve lexically full verbs.

The language of the tradition submove has four characteristic features:

- the first is high agentivity: the subjects of the sentences are expressed by proper names or personal pronouns;
- in addition, as noted above, it features a relatively involved, vivid style of narration created by the use of images, descriptive adjectives, figurative speech, and literary devices;
- third, it comprises sentences with relatively elaborated syntax;
- finally, the submove features the regular use of syntactically full verbs, which is characteristic of popular-historic storytelling.

According to Tannen (1989: 102-3), “Storytelling… is a means by which humans organize and understand the world, and feel connected to each other.” Undoubtedly, this storytelling submove in the discourse of some food industry companies produces a strongly involving effect. The use of the adjectives in the superlative degree in the

(34) Наиболее ранний из дошедших до нас—грамота, выданная в 1247 году венгерским королём Бейлой IV гласит, что уже, владевший тогда этими землями, выдал грамоту, в которой указывалось, что жители Берегово обязаны отдавать десятую часть винограда. (http://cotnar.com/winemaking.html; accessed May 25, 2009)
strategy move on the website of the company “Cotnar’ (see ex. 26) as well as other involvement strategies in the tradition submove may perhaps signify that the websites of food industry companies represent a different (sub)genre. This (sub)genre may be intended to appeal to individual consumers, as opposed to other companies that focus on wholesale or transactions with businesses.

4.5. The commercial move.

The strategy move may also be accompanied by a commercial move; alternatively, this can show up separately in the text, usually at the very end. It is a commercial-like sentence, which sometimes states the advantages of dealing with the company (see ex. 35):


‘We do not just provide services—we create the conditions which allow to make your business effective and profitable.’

Sometimes it tries to persuade the reader that the products/services the company offers are the best on the market (see ex. 36):


‘Our company selects for you all the best—from everything that there is on the world market of the sewing furnishing and sewing hardware goods.’
The commercial move tends to feature discourse strategies intended to create involvement in the reader. The use of devices that “persuade by creating involvement” (Tannen 1989: 28) is an effective way of attracting potential consumers. One example of an involvement strategy is the repetition of мы in parallel grammatical structures already seen in (36), which performs an emphatic function. The repetition of this pronoun ties the first part of the sentence to the second, indicating that the subjects are identical and that both actions are performed by the same agent(s).

Similarly, the use of the adverb не просто ‘not only’ helps to create a climax in the utterance; the second part of such an utterance always gets more prominence, adding some new information to the first part. (Compare the same sentence without не просто: Мы оказываем услуги, мы создаем условия ‘We provide services, we create conditions’. Here the two clauses are equal, and there is no climax.) As Tannen (1989: 50-52) notes, in such a theme and rheme structure repetition always contributes to the rheme and creates interpersonal involvement. In (36), the part найкраще—з того, що е ‘the best—from everything that there is’ also performs an emphatic function by using the particularizing phrase з того, що е ‘from everything that there is’. Without this phrase, the sentence would be grammatically correct and have the same meaning: Наша компанія вибирає для вас найкраще на світовому ринку товарів швейної фурнітури та швейного обладнання ‘Our company selects for you all the best on the world market of the sewing furnishing and sewing hardware goods.’ The only difference is that the particularizing element з того, що е ‘from everything that there is’ in the end
is redundant, and due to this it attracts attention: since grammatically and syntactically it refers to the adjective in the superlative degree найкраще, it intensifies its meaning.

The commercial move shows up on 13 of the 29 sample websites. From the point of view of linguistic organization, it differs radically from the strategy move described above:

- first of all, verbal nouns are absent;
- second, the utterances feature some agentive subjects, especially first-person plural forms like мы ‘we’ alongside first-person plural possessives (e.g., наша компания ‘our company’). In addition, the use of personal and possessive pronouns creates a strong bipolar context: we vs. you, our vs. your. This juxtaposition distinguishes ‘us’ as a firm versus ‘you’ as a potential customer; it stresses how ‘we’ can be of help to ‘you’ and how ‘you’ can benefit from ‘us’.
- next, the move features lexically specific verbs that convey positive meanings of offering, giving choices or permission, being creative: оказываем ‘provide’, создаем ‘create’, позволят ‘allow’, відбирає ‘selects’ and others. Finally, it includes phrases as не просто оказываем услуги—мы создаем условия ‘(We do) not just provide services—we create the conditions’, найкраще— з того, що ‘the best—from everything that there is’. In addition to the effects mentioned above, these help to create “involved production” by convincing the listeners that they are very helpful or just the best.
- the involved style of speech also manifests itself in the use of the capital letter with the possessive Ваш бизнес ‘Your business’. In Russian and Ukrainian, the
capitalizing of the second person plural possessive and personal pronoun in the official style serves, first of all, to indicate that the addressee is singular (as opposed to ‘addressees’ in the plural), i.e., some concrete individual (see http://www.gramota.ru/spravka/letters?rub=rubric_88). Thus it has the effect of personalizing the written discourse. Second, it serves to indicate respect to the addressee.

Therefore, the markers of the commercial-persuasive move, which is present on 12 of the 29 sample sites, are agentivity, personalization, non-abstract style, overt expression of persuasion, and relatively high involvement. Thus, the linguistic structures of the strategy and commercial moves exemplify “underlying parameters of textual variation” (Biber 1989: 3) of two different dimensions. In other words, the two moves differ in the combinability of the linguistic elements used in them. If one element of such a cluster shows up in the text, it means a) that there is a high probability of other elements of the same group will show up also, and b) that there is a low probability of usage of the elements from another group, as has shown by the above analysis of the two moves.

To sum up, we may argue that the linguistic elements of the strategy move and commercial move are roughly in complementary distribution to each other. The shared communicative function of the features in the ‘strategy’ move is to give exact information, to enlighten the potential clientele about the company. The common communicative function of the ‘commercial’ move markers is to attract the customers’ attention and to find a way to be remembered.
4.6. The feature/facet move.

One move that vividly stands out in 27 of the 29 sample sites is the one that I will call the *feature/facet move*, the communicative intention of which is to give a detailed description of the companies’ assets. This move may contain the following information: the number and/or qualifications of people working in the company, its geographical location, and the constituents of the company (if any). It may also include a description of the production process and/or the final product(s) or service(s); this can be very detailed, including heavy technical data, or very general.

4.6.1. The number of people submove

A number of websites feature a submove that states the number of people engaged in the production (see ex. 37, 38). This seems very similar to the submove 2.5.1.3 stating the age of the company discussed above. The bigger the staff, the better impression the company is likely to make, as its size speaks for its trustworthiness; a large number of workers creates confidence, as it suggests that the company is trustworthy, not a fly-by-night operation like those I mentioned above, which had a very small number of workers.


‘The number of employees is 700.’

(38) После модернизации и реконструкции численность работающих выросла до 1300 человек... ([http://siveryanka.cg.ukrtel.net](http://siveryanka.cg.ukrtel.net); accessed June 2, 2009)

‘After the modernization and reconstruction the number of workers grew up to 1300 people …’
As was the case with newer companies, if a company with a smaller number of workers still chooses to mention this fact, it has to justify it. For example, the company “Айсберг” ‘Iceberg’ does it by mentioning the high degree of automation of its technological process (see ex. 39).

(39) Благодаря высокой автоматизации технологических процессов линию обслуживает всего 30 человек. (http://chizay.com; accessed June 2, 2009)

‘Due to the high technological-process automation, the line is served by only 30 people.’

4.6.2. The qualification submove

A few websites also include a submove that provides information about the level of qualification of their people (see ex. 40-42). The specific mention of the high qualifications of their personnel without a doubt adds to the prestige of a company in the eyes of their prospective clients and advantageously singles it out in comparison to other companies in the same sphere of production.


‘Our company’s staff is highly qualified specialists in renewable energy sources who have completed professional training (“International Network for Sustainable Energy”, “Renewable Energy Agency”) and were certified as specialists.’
(41) Главным нашим достоянием является команда профессионалов, объединенных идеей создания предприятия-лидера отрасли. (http://www.titanexport.com; accessed May 28, 2009)

‘Our main assets are a team of professionals united by the idea of creation a company-leader of this sector (of economy).’

(42) В ООО «Айсблик» работают 25 кандидатов и докторов наук, 90% сотрудников имеют высшее образование. (http://www.iceblick.com; accessed June 5, 2009)

‘25 masters of sciences and PhDs work in LLC “Iceblick”, 90% of employees have bachelor’s degrees.’

Thus, mentioning the qualifications of the workers, like stating their number, yet again performs a pragmatic function of conveying positive connotations and establishing a feeling of confidence in the company.

4.6.3. The geographical location submove.

There are two motivations for the submove that specifically indicates the geographical location of company. The first is to let the prospective consumer of the services know how conveniently the company is positioned with regard to the main transportation lines. This is the case with the company “Олимп-Круг” ‘Olimp-Krug’ (see ex. 43), which, in the quest to attract more customers, shows the advantages of its location by explicitly stating that, if somebody decides to deal with the company, they will not have any problems reaching it either by railway or by sea:

(43) На заводе 9 подъездных железнодорожных путей протяжённостью 6 км, есть собственное железнодорожное депо и тепловозы. Территория
завода непосредственно примыкает к железнодорожной станции «Одесса: Застава-1».
Завод располагает действующим перегрузочным комплексом со складом площадью 11 000 квадратных метров, тремя мостовыми грейферными кранами, повышенным железнодорожным путём для разгрузки любых вагонов с сыпучими грузами. Всё это обеспечивает высокую пропускную способность грузов. Близкое расположение перегрузочного комплекса от Одесского морского порта делает его ещё более привлекательным для партнёров и заказчиков завода.

‘There are 9 railway tracks (that connect the plant with the main railway tracks) with mileage of 6 km, (we also have) our own railway depot and locomotives. The territory of the plant immediately borders railway station “Odessa: Gate-1”. The plant possesses an active transshipping complex with a storage area of 11 000 square meters, three bridge grabbing cranes, elevated railway track for unloading any carriages with bulky goods. All this assures high train-handling capacity of loads. The close disposition of transshipping complex with Odessa sea port makes it even more attractive to partners and customers.’

‘Всё это обеспечивает высокую пропускную способность грузов. Близкое расположение перегрузочного комплекса от Одесского морского порта делает его ещё более привлекательным для партнёров и заказчиков завода.’

The second motivation for mentioning the geographical position is to tie the value of the company's product/service with some location that has become well known for it. In other words, the move implies that a product or service from this location enjoys popularity among people for its good and/or original quality. For example, the company “Дашуковские бентониты” ‘Dashukovsk Bentonite’ states that it develops a unique deposit of clay that is ready for industrial use (does not require processing); it also mentions technical characteristics of the clay for specialists (see ex. 44).

(44) Наше предприятие разрабатывает Дашиковский участок уникального Черкасского месторождения бентонитовых глин, расположенное в самом сердце Украины.
Дашуковский участок Черкасского месторождения—главная минерально-сырьевая база бентонитовых глин на Украине, здесь сосредоточено более 90% общих запасов разведанных и подготовленных к промышленному использованию. Добыываемый бентонит отличается высоким содержанием...
монтмориллонита, что является важным показателем качества данного вида минерального сырья.
Месторождение состоит из пяти слоев глин разного минерального и химического состава, а также промышленной значимости. (http://dash-bent.ua; accessed June 10, 2009)

‘Our company mines the Dashukovskii site of the unique Cherkassy deposit of bentonite clays situated in the very heart of Ukraine.
The Dashukovskii site of the Cherkassy deposit is the main mineral raw base of bentonite clays in Ukraine; more than 90% of general discovered and prepared to industrial use reserves is situated here. The mined bentonite differs by a high assay of montmorillonite which is an important indicator of quality of this type of mineral raw material.
The deposit consists of five layers of clays of different mineral and chemical composition and industrial importance.’

Another company, “Айсберг” ‘Iceberg’, which produces wine, overtly explains that it was founded in that location because this place has long been known for its wine traditions (see ex. 45).

(45) ... “АЙСБЕРГ” было создано в ноябре 1995 года в урочище Чизай, г. Берегово, Закарпатьская область, Украина. Место расположения нашего завода выбрано не случайно. Закарпатье издавна славится своими винодельческими традициями, которые корнями уходят в далёкое прошлое. (http://chizay.com; accessed February 19, 2009)

‘…“Iceberg” was founded in November 1995 in the area Chizai, town of Beregovo, Transcarpathian region, Ukraine. The location area of our plant was chosen by no mere chance. The Transcarpathian region has had a reputation for its wine-making traditions for a long time; these traditions are rooted in the remote past.’
4.6.4. The constituents submove

A number of companies also have a submove that mentions that they have constituents either by giving the official name of the smaller companies directly (see ex. 46) or by naming the processes of production that they deal with (see ex. 47).

(46) Торговая марка “Нивки” известна на кондитерском рынке Украины более семи лет и объединяет в своём составе два кондитерских предприятия:
—Производственно-пищевой комбинат “Нивки” г. Чернигов;
—Производственно-кондитерский комбинат “Нивки” г. Киев;
(http://nyvky.ua/index.php?action=coop&type=ar&id=2; accessed April 7, 2009)

‘The trade mark “Nyvky” has been known on the confectionary market of Ukraine for more than seven years and (it) joins two confectionary companies:
—Food-manufacturing complex “Nyvky” city of Chernigov;
—Confectionary-manufacturing complex “Nyvky” city of Kiev;’

(47) В состав транснациональной финансово-промышленной нефтяной компании «Укртатнафта» входят структурные подразделения, объединяющие разведку, добычу, переработку нефти и сбыт нефтепродуктов. (http://www.ukrtatnafta.com/about.php; accessed April 7, 2009)

‘The transnational finance-industrial oil company “Ukrtaoil” consists of structural branches that unite oil prospecting, mining, processing and sale of petrochemicals.’

The subsubmove with the description of process of production and/or final products/services varies in size and in the amount of technical detail. For example, the website of the company “Черниговское химволокно” ‘Chernigovskoye Khimvolokno’ provides information that is oriented towards specialists (see ex. 48), in that it is full of technical, professional terms.
(48) ...выпуск капроновых нитей по расплавному методу, производство полиамидных мононитей (лески), установок непрерывной экстракции и сушики (HЭС—20М), каскадного полиамидирования (ЛКП—20), непрерывной сушки (НС), узла крашения полиамида в массе и другие. Мощность предприятия по выпуску капроновых, анидных нитей и волокон составляла 61 тыс. тонн в год. (http://www.him.com.ua; accessed February 23, 2009)

‘… production of caprone threads using the melting method, production of nylon filaments (fishing line), apparatus of continuous extraction and drying (CED—20M), cascade polyamidation (LKP—20), continuous drying (CD), block of mass polyamide dying and other. The plant’s capacity to produce nylon, anide threads and fiber is 61 thousand tons a year.’

On the other hand, the company “Крымский Титан” ‘Crimean Titan’ limits its description to some very general statements without any details (see ex. 49). The given link of its website does not mention any products; it just mentions that the company manufactures an assortment of chemical goods.

(49) Мы постоянно держим в поле зрения динамику роста объемов производства и тенденции качественного совершенствования ассортимента химической продукции, знакомимся с новейшими разработками в области технологий и оборудования… (http://www.titanexport.com/rus/profile/index.html; accessed February 23, 2009)

‘We always focus on the dynamics of increase of production volume and tendencies of quality improvement of chemical production assortment; get acquainted with the newest developments in the area of technologies and equipment.’

The fact that the business website genre has not been fully conventionalized allows some space for creativity. Thus the size of the feature/facet move can vary significantly depending on how specific or general the authors want to be. The amount of information is not arbitrary, but rather motivated. However, I think that it will gradually become standardized and conventionalized.
The linguistic organization of the feature/facet move is reminiscent of the strategy move discussed above:

- personal and/or possessive pronouns (especially 1\textsuperscript{st} person plural) show up in this move in only 4 of the 29 sample websites (see ex. 45, 49). Thus, the feature/facet move in the majority of sample sites is characterized by depersonalization of speech (see ex. 46-48);

- likewise, the move characteristically demonstrates relatively low agentivity. Subjects are often expressed by abstract nouns: Завод\textsuperscript{26} ‘plant’, расположение ‘disposition’ (see ex. 43), участок ‘site’, месторождение ‘deposit’ (see ex. 44), подразделения ‘structural branches’ (see ex. 47) and others;

- there is also a high proportion of reflexive and passive verbs: Последипломная подготовка... проводится ‘post-graduate courses are offered’ (http://www.dsma.dp.ua/?q=node/1; accessed March 21, 2009), сложилась определенная специализация ‘a definite specialization was created’ (http://runa.dp.ua/about.html; accessed March 21, 2009), реализуется программа ‘the program is realized’ (http://www.mineral.com.ua/org/history.php; accessed March 21, 2009), цеха оснащены оборудованием ‘workshops are equipped with appliances’ (http://www.meat.com.ua/about/; accessed March 21, 2009);

- cases when agentivity is present are limited to the submoves that talk about the number of people working in a company and/or the level of their qualification. In

\textsuperscript{26} Завод ‘plant’ is meant here as an institution.
this case, the nouns that refer to people are quantified by numerals or are used with nouns that have a meaning ‘a group of people’: 30 человек (see ex. 39), ’30 people’, команда профессионалов ‘team of professionals’, 25 кандидатов и докторов наук ‘25 masters of sciences and PhDs’ (see ex. 42). This, in its turn, also reduces the agentivity;

- quantification is also used in this move to describe the process of production: мясоизделий цех—мощностью 120 тн/смену ‘abattoir block with capacity of 120 tons/a shift’ (http://www.meat.com.ua/about/; accessed May 29, 2009), с привлечением более 10 млн. Евро инвестиций; завод способен производить до 30 млн. бутылок вина в год ‘with involvement of more than 10 million Euro investments; the plant is able to produce up to 30 million bottles of wine a year’ (http://www.cotnar.com/winemaking.html; accessed May 29, 2009). This adds to the informational character of the discourse;

- the move is also characterized by a relatively nominal character of discourse, with a high frequency of nouns and verbal nouns which are used to describe possessions of companies (see ex. 50 and 43):

(50) Завод располагает действующим перегрузочным комплексом со складом площадью 11 000 квадратных метров, тремя мостовыми грейферными кранами, повышенным железнодорожным путём для разгрузки любых вагонов с сыпучими грузами (http://www.olinm.odessa.ua/rus/about.html; accessed June 17, 2009)

‘The plant possesses an active transshipping complex with storage area of 11 000 square meters, three bridge grabbing cranes, elevated railway track for unloading any carriages with bulky goods.’
Or it can also speak about production process: структурные подразделения объединяющие разведку, добычу, переработку нефти и сбыт нефтепродуктов ‘structural branches that unite oil prospecting, mining, processing and sale of petrochemicals’ (see ex. 47), or final products: выпуск капроновых нитей по расплавному методу, производство полиамидных мононитей (лески), установок непрерывной экстракции и сушки (НЭС—20М), каскадного полиамидирования (ЛКП—20) ‘production of caprone threads using melting method, production of nylon filaments (fishing line), apparatus of continuous extraction and drying (CED—20M), cascade polyamidation (LKP—20)’ (see ex. 48);

- in addition to the verb ‘to be’ (null copula) and verbs of existence (является ‘to be’) there are other verbs: выросла ‘has grown’, обслуживает ‘serves’, примыкает ‘borders on’ обеспечивает ‘provides’, работают ‘work’ and so on, but they are not what Biber (1989: 8) calls “private” verbs: “Private verbs express intellectual states (e.g., believe) or nonobservabable intellectual acts (e.g. discover)” (ibid.: 242) and “... are used for the overt expression of private attitudes, thoughts, and emotions” (ibid.: 105). In other words, the verbs used in this move do not add to the involvement of the discourse; they are used with a purely informational purpose, to explain the process of functioning of a company and/or production.

In general, the feature/facet move is an example of ”informational production” which, as we can now state, is characterized by minimal agentivity, individuality,
depersonalization, quantifications, generalization, and low involvement of speech. The common communicative goal of this move is to provide objective information while being maximally efficient. This explains the interpretation of these features or “underlying dimension” as such that enlightens the listeners. This dimension is marked by “high informational density and exact informational content” (Biber 1989: 10), as is shown by the above analysis.

4.7. The record of excellence or reputation move

Twelve of the sample business websites demonstrate a move that I will call the record of excellence or reputation move. The facts presented in this move either give away some general information that the company was nominated for an award or won in some competition(s) (see ex. 51), or mention specifically the name and the year of the contest(s) and the category of the award(s) won (see ex. 52, 53).

(51) Подтверждением высокого качества продукции компании являются также многочисленные награды—медали и дипломы, полученные на выставках и дегустациях пищевой продукции в Украине и за её пределами. (http://www.yasen.com.ua; accessed May 12, 2009)

‘The multiple rewards—medals and diplomas awarded at the exhibitions and tasting tests of food products in Ukraine and beyond it are acknowledgement of high quality of company’s products.’

(52) TM “Нивки” является победителем многих конкурсов:
- победитель конкурса “Бренд года” в номинации Безупречное качество
- продукции TM “Нивки” присвоен знак качества “Высшая проба 2003”
‘TM “Nyvky” is a winner of many contests:
- a winner of the contest “Brend of the Year” in the nomination Perfect Quality
- TM “Nyvky” production was awarded with quality mark “Highest Standard 2003”
- holder of the diplomas “Sweet World” 2000, “II Festival of Culinary Art of Ukraine” 2001.’

Some companies choose to mention the positive reputation that they have enjoyed so far.

I look at this as at the realization of another constraint of the genre of business website:
since some companies mention the contests and/or awards won, other companies which
have neither, have to make up for it and fill in this gap by declaring their positive
experiences with an obligatory mention of their stand in the eyes of other companies and
customers. This is how the company ТК-Фурнітура ‘TK-Furnitura’ and the company
Кримський ТИТАН ‘Crimean Titan’ do it (see ex. 53, 54):

(53) За цей час ми розширили асортимент продукції, збільшили об’єми продажів, здобули широку відомість, досягли поваги та визнання з боку вітчизняних та зарубіжних компаній, великих виробників, малих та середніх підприємств, простих споживачів. (http://www.tk-furnitura.com.ua; accessed April 27, 2009)

‘During this period of time we have enlarged the assortment of the production, have increased the volumes of sales, have gained a broad popularity, have won the respect and acknowledgment from the domestic and foreign companies, big producers, small and middle-sized businesses, ordinary consumers.’

(54) Наш «Кримський ТИТАН» (торгова марка Кримський ТИТАН) за декілька лют сідяло то, на що уходять роки. І тепер з повністю можна сказати, що ми на піті к здійсненню зелених, динамічно розвиваючоїся компанії... (http://www.titanexport.com; accessed April 14, 2009)
'Our ‘Crimean TITAN’ (trade mark Crimean TITAN) has been able to achieve the results in a couple of years that usually require years. And now we can state with certainty that we are on our way to creating a mature, dynamically developed company.'

The linguistic characteristics of the record of excellence or reputation move show some degree of variation. In case with the companies that mention the contests and awards we see:

- nominal character of speech—usage of names of the contests, nomination and awards;
- usage of null copula and verbs of existence in present tense;
- usage of past passive participles of some limited number of verbs (вручён, награждён ‘handed, awarded’);
- low agentivity: subjects of the sentences are expressed by inanimate objects and/or abstract nouns: награды ‘awards’ (see ex. 51), ТМ “Нивки” ‘TM “Nyvky” (see ex. 52);
- depersonalization of speech: no personal or possessive pronouns.

The speech of the companies that declare their positive experience, on the other hand, linguistically is marked for:
predominantly verbal character of speech: розширили ‘have enlarged’, збільшили ‘have increased’ (see ex. 53), роботи ‘has achieved’, уходять ‘takes (years)’ (see ex. 54);

verbs are used in past tense and perfective aspect. This, in addition to the ‘positive’ vocabulary (здобули широку відомість ‘have gained a broad popularity’, досягли поваги та визнання ‘have won the respect and acknowledgment’ (see ex. 53), на пути к созданию зрелой, динамично развивающейся компании ‘on our way to creating mature, dynamically developed company’ (see ex. 54)) is aimed at creating a feeling of resultivity and performs a positive cognitive function;

(some?) agentivity of speech: the usage of the first person plural pronoun ми/мы ‘we’;

(some?) personalization of speech: usage of the first person plural possessive pronoun наш ‘our’.

Thus, depending on the information provided in the record of excellence or reputation move, its linguistic characteristics vary. More than that, now we can state that linguistic characteristics of record of excellence- and these of reputation-type move are in complementary distribution sharing a common communicative goal—that of offering proof of the nation-wide or international recognition and revealing positive references in economic terms.
4.8. The clientele move

Nineteen of the 29 sample websites present information concerning their clientele and businesses partners (see ex. 55, 56), or where their seller’s markets are situated geographically (see ex. 57). I will single out this portion of information in a separate clientele move.

(55) Заказчиками продукции резинотехники фирмы, на протяжении многих лет, являются Министерство обороны Украины, СБУ, МВД Украины, МЧС Украины, Чернобыльская, Ровенская, Ново-Украинская АЭС, АО «Черниговавтодеталь», АО «Крымавтогаз» и многие другие. (http://siveryanka.cg.ukrtel.net/rus/about/index.htm; accessed March 6, 2009)

‘The customers of the technical rubber goods production for many years have been the Ministry of Defense, SSU, MIA of Ukraine, MES of Ukraine, Chernobyl, Rovno, Novo-Ukrainian APS, J-SC “Krymavtogas”, and many others.’


‘We cooperate with more than 2000 wholesale customers of sewing products— big factories, (sewing) workshops, tailor shops or simply enthusiasts of home stitch work.’


‘CJ-SC “Mining Company “Mineral” has been exporting high quality production to Italy, Spain, Turkey, Poland, Romania, Russia, Belarus, Latvia since 1997.’
The communicative intention of incorporating into the business discourse the clientele move is another prove of company’s viability, the quality of the produced goods/services and ultimately—trust. In some cases (see ex. 55) these clients are state or big non-state trusted companies; in case with (56) their consumers are in a number of other countries; in case with (57) the number of wholesale customer is pretty impressive. The bottom line in mentioning the clientele is to show that one has to demonstrate the best quality in order to compete on the market(s) and to deal with such customers. Thus, the company is proud to have such clients and the quantity and the ‘quality’ of the clients reflects on the company.

4.9. The quality control or certification move

The *quality control or certification move* is present on 12 out of 29 sample websites. The significance of this move is that the companies demonstrate their customers that they play a ‘fair’ game. The main goal of certification of a company is to ensure constant competitive advantage through evaluation of the process of production of the company and assessment of the professional level of its employees. This move reflects to the feature/facet move in the part where it speaks about the professional level of people working in a company. For example, the company *Олимп-Круг* ‘Olimp-Krug’ just states the date of its certification (see ex. 58), while the company *Айсблик* ‘Iceblick’ gives very detailed information how the program of maintaining the quality of production is executed (see ex. 59).

‘In 2008 the plant received a certificate about quality system implementation according to the regulatory requirements of ISO 9001-2001 standard.’

Программа обеспечения качества:
- входной контроль сырья и его сортировка перед окончательной стадией очистки;
- контроль тары (баллонов, рецепиентов и криогенных ёмкостей) перед заполнением;
- контроль качества подготовки системы очистки и оборудования, контактирующего с чистыми продуктами;
- технологический газовый анализ в процессе очистки и разделения редких газов;
- сквозной контроль качества на всех этапах переработки (от получения исходного сырья до выхода товарной продукции. (http://www.iceblick.com; accessed March 12, 2009)

‘The program of quality assurance:
- incoming inspection of raw material and its assorting before the final stage of cleaning;
- container control (bulbs, receptor and cryogenic tanks) before filling;
- control of quality of preparation of cleansing system and equipment that comes into contact with clean products;
- technological gas analysis in the process of cleansing and rare gas separation;
- start-to-end quality control at all stages of processing (from getting the starting material till the commercial yield).’

The linguistic arrangement of the clientele and quality control or certification moves is pretty similar:

- nominal character of speech which is manifested in enumeration of the clients or partners of the companies (see ex. 55-57) or the process of quality control (see ex. 58, 59) which also produces effect of

- low involvement;
- use of verbs of existence and a limited number of other ‘non-private’ verbs: 
  співпрацюємо ‘cooperate’ (see ex. 56), експортирує ‘exports’ (see ex. 57);
- depersonalization of speech; the only pronoun used is мы (see ex. 56) which does not 
  really indicate a person(s), rather the company;
- low agentivity of speech;
- use of passive voice (see ex. 58) that adds to agentless as well as to the formal 
  character of speech.

The accreditation standards provide a valuable tool against which companies can 
compare the quality of their production process, goods, services, and professionalism of 
their personnel. Since Ukraine established definite standards for different branches of 
industry, the communicative intention of the quality control or certification move is to 
show that a company reflects these standards in its activity.

4.10. The ecology move

Since the memories of the Chernobyl tragedy are very strong among the 
Ukrainian population and the Ukrainian ecology still suffers the damage from this nuclear 
catastrophe, I anticipated that the move which I will call the ecology move would be more 
common. As it turned out, it manifests itself only on 6 out of the 29 sample websites. 
Here are examples from the websites of the company Сніжка-Україна ‘Snezhka-
Ukraina’ that claims that their product is ecologically clean (see ex. 60); and the company 
Крымский ТИТАН ‘Crimean Titan’. The latter is a chemical industry enterprise, and 
chemical companies are notorious for causing serious damage to the environment; thus
‘Crimean Titan’ has a third part of its entire website text body devoted to its activity in the sphere of protection of the environment (see ex. 61).

(60) Вся продукція заводу є екологічно чистою. (http://sniezka.ua; accessed February 21, 2009)

‘All the production of the plant is ecologically clean.’

(61) Экологическая деятельность: Мы уверены, что обеспечение экологической и природоохранной безопасности в условиях наращивания химического производства является неотъемлемой частью деятельности химического предприятия. В структуре ЗАО «Крымский ТИТАН» существует экологический центр, который ежегодно проводит все необходимые работы по выполнению запланированных природоохранных мероприятий. Для оценки воздействия производственной деятельности предприятия на окружающую среду проводятся исследования в системе Программы экологического мониторинга и осуществляются комплексные наблюдения. (http://www.titanexport.com; accessed February 21, 2009)

‘Ecological activity: We are sure that securing of ecological and nature protection safety in the conditions of increasing of chemical production is an integral part of chemical plant activity. In the structure of CJ-SC “Crimean TITAN” there is an ecological center which conducts all necessary operations in order to held planned nature-preserving measures. In order to assess the impact of industrial activity of the company on the environment in the system of Program of ecological monitoring the research is conducted and comprehensive observations take place.’

The communicative intention of the ecology move is to portray a company as one that has a moral duty to look after the environment and hand it on in good order to future generation, but that does not, however, mean trying to halt economic growth.

The linguistic organization of the ecology activity move is similar to that of the quality control or certification move (see above).
4.11. The charitable activity move

Another move that appears on a small number of websites—6 of the 29 sample sites—is the charitable activity move. Philanthropy is a new sphere of activity for Ukrainian business, as during Soviet times, with the planned economy, charitable activity was practically non-existent. As new, self-regulating legal institutions, private or state business companies now have the ability to impact the communities, organization, districts or regions where they are situated and operate. On the one hand, the philanthropic activity of all the companies is expressed through providing jobs and boosting the local economy. The company Снєжка-Україна ‘Sniezka-Ukraine’ explicitly mentions this on its website (see ex. 62)

(62) Чимало жителів регіону одержали роботу, а їх сім’ї—засоби для існування. Робота на такому підприємстві гарантує стабільність і віру в майбутнє. (http://sniezka.ua ; accessed February 12, 2009)

‘Many residents of the region got the jobs, and their families—means of living. The work in such a company guarantees stability and hope in the future.’

On the other hand, in addition to these obvious benefits, some companies contribute to their districts or regions in other ways, such as providing charitable or philanthropic help to the most needy—schools, hospitals, asylums—in the form of financial contributions or sponsorship. The company Коровай ‘Korovay’ states that it does its best to impact the society in general by trying to support the revival of spirituality (духовность) and national culture as well as helping the local community (see ex. 63).
The social policy of OJ-SC “Wedding Bread” is oriented on rebirth of spirituality and national culture. The company offers a targeted charity help to a number of public organizations, among which are Lugansk Region Children Asylum #1, Lugansk Geriatric Asylum #1.

The communicative goal of the charitable activity move is to show the public that profit is not the company’s only concern, that it gives back to the communities. This definitely helps to construct a positive image of the company, displays the people who work there as conscientious, not indifferent to the needs of the local community and the Ukrainian society.

The linguistic organization of the charitable activity move is similar to that of the quality control or certification move (see above).

4.12. Order of moves
The above qualitative and quantitative analysis of the Ukrainian business websites helps us to observe the tactics that the owners or creators of the websites employ to design them and the direction of conventionalization of this type of genre. The table below shows the order of the moves on the 29 sample sites. Numbers before the horizontal boxes indicate the number of moves on the site/s, while numbers in the boxes show the move and the place it occupies in the text body of the site. The moves are indicated by numbers:
1. introductory-informational move;
2. feature/facet move;
3. clientele move;
4. commercial move;
5. record of excellence or reputation move;
6. quality control or certification move;
7. history/tradition move;
8. strategy move;
9. ecology move;
10. charitable activity move.
1 move. n/a (there are no sample sites with one move).

2 moves.

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Table 12: Order of moves
As one may observe from the table, there is a tentative pattern for the order of some moves; however there are also some odd cases with the other. 24 out of 29 sample sites have the *introductory-informational* (1) move in the 1\textsuperscript{st} place, which seems to be selfexplanatory judging by the name of the move: it introduces the company by explicit statement about the company in business terms. Next member of the ‘1\textsuperscript{st} place club’ is the *history/tradition* (7) move: 3 websites employ this move to start their discourse. This also has a rational behind it: it is convenient to start talking about the company by giving up the history/chronology of its creation at the very beginning.

Two other moves that appear in the 1\textsuperscript{st} place are the *record of excellence or reputation* (5) and *strategy* (8) moves. We will call these moves *free agents* in this position. So, *record of excellence or reputation* (5) move is also a member of the 2\textsuperscript{nd} place four times, of the 3\textsuperscript{rd} place three times, and of the 4\textsuperscript{th}, 5\textsuperscript{th}, 6\textsuperscript{th}, and 7\textsuperscript{th} places one time. There is an ambiguous tendency: out of 12 times when it is used on the sample websites, it follows the *introductory-informational* (1) move four times; the rest of the times its use vary. Four times the *record of excellence or reputation* (5) move precedes the *feature/facet* (2) move. As for the *strategy* (8) move, another *free agent* in the 1\textsuperscript{st} place, it also appears four times in the 3\textsuperscript{rd} place, once in the 4\textsuperscript{th} and 6\textsuperscript{th} places, and 3 times in the 5\textsuperscript{th} place. There is a slight tendency for this move to be used right after the *feature/facet* (2) move: it follows it in four out of ten times. The fact that the *record of excellence or reputation* (5) and *strategy* (8) moves occur in the first position is odd and it seems to violate the logistics of the rest of the sites.
The **feature/facet** (2) move shows up in the 2\textsuperscript{nd} place on the thirteen websites, in the 3\textsuperscript{rd} on 7 websites, in the 4\textsuperscript{th} on nine websites, in the 5\textsuperscript{th} on three websites, in the 6\textsuperscript{th} on four websites, and in the 8\textsuperscript{th} place on one website. The fact that in more than half of the times (20 out of 37) the **feature/facet** (2) move shows up in the 2\textsuperscript{nd} place or 3\textsuperscript{rd} places, closer to the beginning, favors the intension of the companies to give a detailed description of their assets right after the introductory part. In twelve cases it immediately follows the **introductory-informational** (1) move.

The **clienteles** (3) move is another example of a **free agent**. As seen from the table, it occurs two times in the 2\textsuperscript{nd} place, two times in the 3\textsuperscript{rd} place, four times in the 4\textsuperscript{th} place, five times in the 5\textsuperscript{th} place, two times in the 6\textsuperscript{th}, and three in the 7\textsuperscript{th}. Though the move gravitates towards the use in the 4\textsuperscript{th} and 5\textsuperscript{th} places, but there is no any pattern in succeeding or preceding any moves (but for the **quality control or certification** move (6), see next paragraph). So, for example, on the sites with six moves, it occurs in the 4\textsuperscript{th} position twice. In the first case it immediately follows the **history/tradition** (7) move and precedes the **strategy** (8) move; while in the second case it goes after the **feature/facet** (2) move and before the **record of excellence or reputation** (5) move.

The **quality control or certification** move (6) is spread over the 2\textsuperscript{nd} and 8\textsuperscript{th} places. Out of the 13 cases when it is present on the websites, seven times it is used immediately after the **feature/facet** (2) move and three times it is followed by the **clienteles** (3) move.

There is a pattern in the use of the **commercial** (4) move as for it place in the text body: it shows up in the last position in 10 out 15 cases when it is used. As for its order (use before or after certain moves), there is no an apparent tendency.
The *ecology* (9) move out of six times shows up three times after the *introductory-informational* (1) move, two times after the *feature/facet* (2) move and once after the *commercial* (4) move. The fact that the *ecology* (9) move occurs five times after the two initial moves emphasizes the importance of the issue of ecologically clean production in Ukraine. Twice it is followed by the *feature/facet* (2) move, once by the *quality control or certification* (6) move and the *clientele* (3), and in one instance it is the last move of the text.

There is no a clear pattern in the use of the *charitable activity* (10) move: two times it follows the *feature/facet* (2) move and the *quality control or certification* move (6), one time the *record of excellence or reputation* (5) move and one time the *commercial* (4) move.

To sum up, we may state that there are some salient tendencies in the relative order of some moves and ambiguous situation with the other. The use of the *introductory-informational* (1) move in the 1st place and the tendency to use the *feature/facet* (2) move right after it presents an apparent pattern. Another relatively strong pattern is in the position of the *commercial* (4) move: the propensity to use it as the last move of the entire text.

As we see, there are also some less obvious tendencies. For example, the positioning of the *record of excellence or reputation* (5) move right after the *introductory-informational* (1) move four times out of 12 cases of its use. The rest of he moves to a greater extent may be called *free agents* as they do not occur in explicit position.
Thus, the pattern of positioning the moves in an order is not consistent, with just some exceptions. The inconsistency is explained by the fact that the business website genre has not been well worked out; it has not yet reached the stage of conventionalization.

4.13. Conclusions

Biber’s (1989) dimensional approach, which I adapted qualitatively for the analysis of the websites, helped me to identify the most salient linguistic features used in business web discourse. Just as Swales (1987) found that the authors of research papers in various disciplines had a similar way of organizing their introductions, my analysis of 29 websites also prompted me to distinguish some common linguistic features and regular structuring employed by the members of the business website speech community. The moves that vividly present themselves on Ukrainian business websites are as follows: introductory-informational, strategy move, commercial move, feature/facet move, record of excellence or reputation move, clientele move, quality control or certification move, history/tradition move, ecology move, charitable activity move. As I mentioned above, not all of these nine moves show up on every business website. The table below shows how many sites have a given move and how often a given move shows up on the 29 sample sites.

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27 There are some cases when a move is “split,” i.e., another move is “inserted” in it. I treated such cases of “split” moves as if separate; that is, if the introductory-informational move happens to be split by another move, I counted the former move twice.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th># of move</th>
<th>Name of move</th>
<th>Number of sites that have it</th>
<th>Move shows up on sites/times</th>
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<td>introductory-informational</td>
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<td>2.</td>
<td>feature/facet move</td>
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<td>4.</td>
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<td>5.</td>
<td>record of excellence/reputation move</td>
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<td>6.</td>
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Table 13: Frequency of moves

As Biber (1989: 6) states, shared dimensions of linguistic variation reflect shared functions. In other words, determining the dimensions, examining their linguistic features and analyzing their social purpose helps us to answer the question that Bhatia (1993: 19) considers central for any genre analysis: Why do members of what sociologists call ‘secondary cultures’ write the way they do?

Every genre has its own discoursal expectations: the anticipations of its creators and readers. These expectations are produced by the particular genre that communicates and serves the needs of the discourse community that uses it. If we look at the communicative intentions of every move discussed above, we can offer an answer to the question why members of the Ukrainian business websites speech community write the
way they do. The fact that 22 out of 29 sample business websites mention Ukraine and three mention regions in Ukraine in their website discourse suggests that the authors typically intend to represent the nation and their companies from a business perspective, to establish connections between the company and the country. The characteristic agentivity and personalized speech in the commercial move confirms and underpins this connection: it conveys the idea that business and, as a result, wealth and success are the main conditions for the prosperity of the country. This issue is especially relevant now, as Ukraine has introduced new economic relations and is struggling with economic problems. I would argue that there is a connection that the authors of business websites make between the nation and their businesses. This connection shows that the business discourse and national-identity discourse have overlapping interests, develop dependence and influence on each other. These overlapping interests and interdependence do not depend on linguistic choices (e.g., between Ukrainian and Russian) of the websites.

A noteworthy component in business website discourse is the mention of clientele—regional, national or international (including Russia and the CIS, given the unstable political relationship between Ukraine and Russia). The implication behind this move is that every client is valuable, regional, national or international, and their increase is encouraged. This indicates that the owners of companies realize that there is a direct link between prosperity and taking good care of the partner(s).

The information in the control of quality and certification move is important and also plays its role in national identity discourse, since there is a direct link between the state, its government, and national identity. Stating that a company has a thorough system
for monitoring the quality of the products implies that it complies with the norms stipulated by the state. Stating that it has a license issued by the Ukrainian government implies that the government is aware of and does not oppose to the company’s activity, that is, sees it as a rightful Ukrainian business. Thus, with the given move, the companies in part make a public declaration that they have governmental approval and credibility as legitimate agents of Ukrainian business (and, by implication, national) interests.

The positively loaded feature/facet move, which provides with details about the company’s infrastructure, convenience of location, and various technicalities, contributes to constructing an image of prosperity for the individual company and so can imply that the nation in general is a favorable business environment. This reinforces the discourse of business and prosperity conveyed by the previously discussed moves. Likewise, the record of excellence or reputation move, in addition to its positive connotational function, can serve to create a positive assessment of the company’s contribution to the Ukrainian economy and to the country in general.

As seen from the above, the common approach relevant to business website discourse is the representation of companies in business terms. Since the creators of websites make a link between business and country, underlying interdependence of their interests, business discourse speaks about the country in business terms too. The fundamental conceptualization contains two basically joined categories: the Ukrainian state business in general. “Company”, “firm”, “enterprise” and other terms concerning the economy come across exclusively in strongly positive collocations linked to the notion of their being a success story, valuable to the state. In other words, the pragmatic
goal of every move is to represent a company as prosperous entity; this implies the underlying statement: we are the group from whom economic advantage is to be gained in the country (see ex. 64).

(64) "АО "Укртатнафта" зарегистрировано на Украине и платит налоги в бюджет Украины." (http://www.ukrtatnafta.com; accessed March 25, 2009)

‘J-SC “Ukrtaoil” is registered in Ukraine and pays taxes in the budget of Ukraine.’

In terms of economy, the point that business website genre discourse underlines is that business and prosperity are the essential and unifying characteristics of Ukraine, they promote economic growth, and they are linked explicitly and consistently with Ukrainian national interests. This is consistent with the official position of (re)building the young Ukrainian state; it signals the overlapping of two kinds of discourse—Ukrainian business discourse and national discourse. Ukrainian business practices and Ukrainian national practices, inter alia, are not linguistically homogenous, as was shown in the previous chapter; nevertheless, they both participate in creating or affirming a specific national identity—that of successful national economic development resulting from strong business activity. Of course, this is not a characteristic peculiar to Ukrainian identity alone; it recognizes Ukraine as an equal participant with other countries in the process of striving for economic improvement.

From a post-Soviet perspective, representing the Ukrainian state in business terms means vying for strengthening of the young independent state using commercial tools; it fortifies the country’s competitive and viable position on the world market and strongly
supports its ambition of becoming a member of the European Union and the WTO. The common official practice of constructing and reinforcing a model of national identity based on linguistic identity, as we see, contradicts and disagrees with national interests within any country challenged to deal with bilingualism, on the one hand, and the mapping of national identity using an ethnolinguistic approach, on the other.

Finally, I have to mention that there is no divergence in the information given on the two-, tri- or poly-lingual sites: the same information and structure i.e., a single content, is presented in more than one language. This phenomenon indicates that, despite the heated discussions about the Ukrainian language as the main marker of national identity and differences in the general population's attitudes towards language policy, on the level of a business website genre the discourse is homogeneous.
5.1. Introduction

This chapter will discuss how both linguistic and extralinguistic factors present on the Ukrainian business websites are connected with the conceptualizations of national identity in contemporary Ukrainian nationalist language ideology. I have already given a short overview of the language situation in Ukraine from the Ukrainian legislative point of view in Chapters 1 and 2. My goal in this chapter is to offer an interpretation of the language situation as it appears in Ukrainian business website discourse and to analyze the extent to which it reflects the official Ukrainian nationalist ideology, which considers language a necessary and sufficient marker of Ukrainian identity. I will argue that language is not the sole, nor even necessary marker of mapping national identity, as is claimed and widely propagated by the official Ukrainian-language ideologists. No doubt, in present-day Ukraine the choice of Ukrainian signals some claim about national identity in a way that the use of Russian or English does not; it is a sufficient in and of itself. This is what Iryna Farion, a Lviv Oblast lawmaker from the right-wing Freedom Party, recently stated: “The question of language is the question of spiritual independence… If we look at it from any other view than the independence of the nation, then we
automatically lose the nation. In other words, [language] is the spiritual border of the nation” (http://www.kyivpost.com/news/nation/detail/61055/; accessed May 12, 2010). However, one should not and must not neglect the fact that there are other significant means that actively participate in this process. For this part of my research, I will look at all 290 sites that I used as my database.

5.2 Linguistic factors

5.2.1 Verbal content of the discourse

As it was already demonstrated by the analysis of the business website genre discourse in the previous chapter, the systematic practice of establishing a link between the prosperity of a company and prosperity of the country indicates the conflation of interests of the business sector and of the country in general. One of the main leitmotifs of the positive representation of a company on its business website is that the better it does, the better it is for the national interests of Ukraine.

(63) АО "Укртатнафта" зарегистрировано на Украине и платит налоги в бюджет Украины." (http://www.ukratnafta.com; accessed June 15, 2009).

‘The J-SC “Ukrtoil” is registered in Ukraine and pays taxes to the budget of Ukraine.’

(64) Как признание наших заслуг, "Украинская Инвестиционная Газета" несколько лет включает "Крымский ТИТАН" в рейтинг лучших предприятий Украины ТОП-100. (http://titanexport.com/eng/profile/index.html; accessed June 15, 2009).
‘As a recognition of our achievements, The Ukrainian Investment Newspaper has included “Crimean TITAN” in the rating of the best companies of Ukraine TOP-100 for several years.’

(65) Качество продукции, особенно такой, как хлеб, это здоровье нации. Наши покупатели смогут почувствовать себя здоровее как физически, так и духовно, если их ежедневный рацион будут составлять наши продукты. Политика ОАО «Коровай» в социальной сфере направлена на возрождение духовности и национальной культуры. (http://www.korovay.lg.ua; accessed February 19, 2009)

‘The quality of production, especially of [products] like bread, is the health of the nation. The social policy of OJ-SC “Wedding Bread” is oriented to the rebirth of spirituality and national culture.’

Long-term economic growth brings an ever-higher standard of living. Consequently, websites are able to assert a direct link between the wellbeing of the company and the wellbeing of the country, i.e., its national interests. In other words, the linguistic content of the business website genre participates in negotiating and asserting Ukrainian national identity.

5.2.2. Regionalism, nationalism, Europeanism, and globalism

As mentioned above, the majority of the business websites reveal some correlation between national and/or regional discourses. Since Ukraine does not face separatist movements in any of its regions (as, for example, Moldova does with its separatist Transdniestria region), the correlation between national and regional discourses I view as another device that companies can use for shaping national identity through envisioning themselves as entities that possess national and/or regional distinctiveness.
Thus, some companies, when speaking about their location and/or the quality of their goods or services on their websites, choose to mention either the country only, or both the country and their region (66), or just the region (67).

(66) Сегодня ГАО "Черноморнефтегаз" является единственным предприятием в Украине, которое способно комплексно решать задачи освоения нефтегазовых ресурсов шельфа и обеспечивать в будущем потребности в энергоресурсах не только Крыма, но и юга Украины. (http://blackseagas.com; accessed May 24, 2009) [boldface mine]

‘Today the SJ-SC “Blackseaoilgas” is the only company in Ukraine which is able to comprehensively solve the problems of development of oil and gas resources and in the future to meet the needs for energy resources not only in Crimea but also in the south of Ukraine.’

(67) Мы рады представить вашему вниманию отель-ранчо "Золотая гора", расположенный на возвышенности горы среди живописного лесного массива вблизи экономического, культурного и социального центра Закарпатья—города Ужгорода. (http://zolota-gora.com; accessed May 14, 2009) [boldface mine].

‘We are happy to offer to your attention hotel-ranch “The Golden Mountain” situated at the mountain elevation amidst the picturesque forested terrain near the economic, cultural and social center of the Transcarpathian region—the city of Užhorod.’

Sentence (66) is an example of what can be called the “nesting doll principle”: not only is the country mentioned в Украине ‘in Ukraine’, but also the part of the country (юга Украины ‘the South of Ukraine’), the region (Крыма ‘the Crimea’), and the company itself. This structure iconically mirrors the economic strategies of the company at all levels: from the corporation to the local, regional, and national economies. The arrangement of the discourse in this way on the company’s website exemplifies the
conflation of regional and national interests, showing directly the interconnectedness of such interests.

The number of websites that mention only the name of the region in their website discourse is relatively small. In the Ukrainian context, asserting regional identity does not, in my opinion, contradict a sense of national identity; on the contrary, it reinforces it. A parallel example of a region standing for the country exists in sports. A well-known and popular soccer club in Ukraine, Shakhtar Donetsk, is from the eastern, primarily Russian-speaking region of the country. Nevertheless, every time the club plays, national symbols are prominently displayed in the stadium, and when they play abroad the fans of other Ukrainian teams cheer for them as representatives of the nation. Even former Ukrainian President Viktor Yuschenko, known for his nationalistic, anti-Russian policies, extended his greetings to the club for winning the UEFA Cup in 2008. In his speech, he emphasized that Shakhtar's victory was a victory for all Ukraine.28

This also seems to be the opinion of the analyst Andriy Yermolayev, Director of Sofiya Center for Social Studies:

I think that we can discuss the prerequisites of nation-building prerequisites after twelve years of Ukrainian independence; above all because the divergences existing at the dawn of creating the Ukrainian nation-state (when issues addressing Ukrainian statehood and national maturation were constantly substituted by ethnic ones) have been overcome. The greatest attainment during that period (here, incidentally, lies the continuity of the issue of Ukrainian unity and its being constitutionally sealed) consists in the fact that the threats of reducing the issue to that of ethnic unity have been overcome. At present, nation

28 http://for-ua.com/ukraine/2009/05/26/125754.html. I would like to thank Dr. Stefan Niewiesk for directing my attention to the parallel of regional athletic teams serving as national emblems.
is understood as a social unity, political unity, unity of traditions, and projections of progress, as economic and social homogeneity (http://74.6.239.67/search/cache?ei=UTF-8&p=regions+and+cultural+unity+in+Ukraine&fr=yfp-t-701&u=www.day.kiev.ua/77/ &w=regions+region+cultural+unity+ukraine&d=QCRAmu_EQaD3&ip=1&.intl=us&sig=Who1nGJeKEmMRFH57H.g--; accessed March 12, 2010).

On the one hand, one can argue that the very name of the company Золотая гора ‘Golden Mountain’ clearly shows marks of regional individuality; this is emphasized in the website’s discourse—see example (67), above. Закарпатье ‘Transcarpatia’ is a region in Ukraine in the Carpathian Mountains that has a reputation of being a wonderful tourist destination because of the beauty of the local scenery. On the other hand, the website of the company Шторм “Shtorm” does not mention the name of the country either, just the region of Kyrovohrad; see example (68). However, I believe the reason for this is not to single out this company as somehow non-Ukrainian, but rather to underscore the fact that the range of the company’s activity is limited to this particular region.

(68) ИСП «Шторм», за уже более чем семилетнюю историю работы на рынке коммуникационных услуг города Кировограда и Кiroвоградской области, создал себе репутацию одного из ведущих провайдеров кировоградского региона. (http://www.shtorm.com; accessed April 26, 2009) [boldfacemine].

‘In the course of more than seven years of work experience on the market of electrical and plumbing systems services in the city of Kyrovohrad and the Kyrovohrad region, the ISP “Shtorm” has developed the reputation of being one of the leading providers in the Kyrovohrad region.’

29 There is no actual mountain with such a name.
A few companies, along with their national and/or regional character, also display a strong tendency towards Europeanism; see the examples (69–70). As defined by the inline Webster’s dictionary, Europeanism is “belief in or advocacy of political unification and economic integration among European nations” (http://74.125.113.132/search?q=cache:vQXXrkFi8x4J:www.yourdictionary.com/europeanism+europeanism&cd=3&hl=en&ct=clnk&gl=us; accessed March 13, 2010). Integration into the European space has been one of the main tasks for Ukraine since its independence. In pursuit of these interests, Ukraine was one of the first former Soviet republics to declare this intention by signing a Partnership and Cooperation Agreement with the European Union in 1994. This document was intended to support the consolidation of the Ukrainian democratic system and the development of its economy. Therefore, in signaling Europeanism, these companies can be delineating the contours of Ukrainian national identity within European boundaries.

(69) ...предлагать потребителям качественный современный продукт, изготовленный на новейшем европейском оборудовании, с использованием общеверхоличного опыта и богатейших местных традиций виноделия Закарпатья. (http://www.cotnar.com; accessed April 26, 2009) [boldface mine].

‘... to offer consumers a modern product of high quality, produced with the newest European equipment, using pan-European experience and the richest local traditions of Transcarpathian wine making.’

(70) На европейской выставке промышленных товаров, проходившей в Мадриде в ноябре 1997 года, медный купорос предприятия «Олимп-Круг» был награждён Призом за наилучшее качество в Европе. (http://www.olimp.odessa.ua; accessed April 26, 2009) [boldface mine].
At the European exhibition of manufactured goods that took place in Madrid in November 1997, the copper sulfate of the company “Olimp-Krug” was awarded the Prize for the best quality in Europe.

Such expressions of Europeanism go along with the national policy of the young Ukrainian state: to convert colonial and postcolonial Ukraine into an independent European country. As the newspaper *The Ukrainian Weekly* reports, these aspirations were voiced in New York in 2005 by the former President of Ukraine Viktor Yushchenko, the hero of the 2004 “Orange Revolution”:

(71) Viktor Yushchenko told an annual summit meeting of NATO leaders that he wants Ukraine to be a part of the European Union, NATO and Euro-Atlantic organizations. “We want to see Ukraine integrated into both the European Union and the North Atlantic alliance,” Mr. Yushchenko said following his meeting with leaders of the 26-member alliance, according to various news media. Referring to the millions of Ukrainians who stood on Ukraine's Independence Square in protest against the falsified November 21, 2004, election, Mr. Yushchenko, said the Ukrainian people rallied because they wanted to be a part of Europe. ([http://www.highbeam.com/doc/1P1-107978054.html](http://www.highbeam.com/doc/1P1-107978054.html); accessed September 25, 2009).

As shown by the results of the All-National Sociological Poll as for the Membership of Ukraine in NATO, a survey under the auspices of the European Union fund Democratic Initiatives in April 2008, the ex-President's European aspirations are supported by the majority of the population. When asked, if there were a referendum on the following Sunday on the membership of Ukraine in European Union, would they vote and how would they vote, 78% of population said they would vote, the majority (56%) stated they would support Ukraine becoming part of the European Union; 25% said that they oppose
it, while 19% indicated that they were not sure (http://dif.org.ua/uploads/HD2008-04.doc; accessed March 13, 2010).

As Philippa Runner mentions in her article “Brussels to recognise ‘European aspirations’ of post-Soviet states,” published in the EUobserver, the Ukrainian quest to be viewed as part of Europe was seconded by the European Union:

(72) The new EU policy—first floated by Poland and Sweden in May—proposes signing "Association Agreements" with Belarus, Moldova, Ukraine, Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan in the next few years and to “acknowledge the European identity and aspirations of these countries.” (http://74.125.93.132/search?q=cache:5grzcQcTw10J:euobserver.com/9/27167/%3Frk%3D1+ukraine+european+aspirations&cd=10&hl=en&ct=clnk&gl=ru; accessed September 25, 2009).

The first edition of the Responsible Business Directory Ukraine was launched in Kyiv in September 2007 within the framework of the Global Compact Initiative in Ukraine, in partnership with the Ukrainian Chamber of Commerce and Industry, the European Business Association, the American Chamber of Commerce and with the support of the Ukraine Citizen Action Network (UCAN). Ms. Raffaseder, the President of the European Business Association in Ukraine noted, “Ukrainian business is a part of European business, especially when the mutual cooperation ties become stronger, social responsible business practices and standards appear very high on the agenda” (http://www.un.org.ua/en/news/2007-09-19/; accessed March 24, 2010).

Thus, as we see, the discourse of the business websites does not contradict the national foreign policy discourse. On the contrary, it reinforces and restates it from an economic point of view. Examples (69) and (70), above, both exhibit the intention of
presenting their companies Котнар ‘Cotnar’ and Олимп-Круг ‘Olimp-Krug’, respectively, as ones that utilize European experience, stick to European quality and standards, and even are leaders (in the case of (70)) in European business space. These objectives facilitate the articulation on the corporate websites of the European motivations of Ukrainian business in general to be included into the European business elite (see example (71)).

My data also provide evidence of globalization discourse, as in examples (73) and (74).

(73) ОАО «Дашуковские бентониты»—это современное украинское предприятие, которое прошло 26-летний путь от небольшого карьера по добыче глины до крупного завода—одного из лидеров на рынке бентонитовой продукции стран СНГ и ЕС. Наши предприятие разрабатывает Дашуковский участок уникального Черкасского месторождения бентонитовых глин, расположенное в самое сердце Украины. (http://dash-bent.ua; accessed April 26, 2009) [boldface mine].

‘The OJ-SC “Dashukov Bentonites” is a modern Ukrainian company which has had a 26-year evolution from a small enterprise for clay extraction to a large-scale plant, is one of the leaders on the market of bentonite production among the countries of the CIS and the EU. Our company develops the Dashukov site of the unique Cherkassy deposit of bentonite clays situated in the very heart of Ukraine.’

(74) Является одним из старейших учебных заведений Украины... Академия проводит также стажировку студентов по проблемам усовершенствования научного процесса (Индия, Япония, Дания, Франция, США, Голландия, Китай, Испания). (http://www.dsma.dp.ua; accessed April 26, 2009) (bold italics mine)

‘(The Academy) is one of the oldest educational institutions in Ukraine... The Academy also conducts training for students from abroad on problems of the
improvement of the scientific process (India, Japan, Denmark, France, USA, Holland, China, Spain).’

Ukrainian identity is definitely asserted in both (73) (в самом сердце Украины ‘[is situated] in the very heart of Ukraine’) and (74) (Является одним из старейших учебных заведений Украины ‘[the Academy] is one of the oldest educational establishments of Ukraine’). Globalization discourse manifests itself in the linking of this national identity to the business environment and the idea of competition on a global scale.

5.2.3. Corporate names

As was shown by the analysis of the language use on Ukrainian business websites in their text bodies, names, and corporate mottos in the first chapter, the companies may be divided into six groups depending on the linguistic arrangement of their sites. Group I consists of the companies that use Russian for the text bodies and Ukrainian for both names and mottos. Group II comprises companies that use Russian for the text bodies and the mottos, but Ukrainian for the names of the businesses. Groups III and V are linguistically homogeneous in using Russian and Ukrainian respectively. Group IV has the name in English and the mottos and text bodies in Russian. Group VI has a mixture of languages for these three components—Russian, English, and Ukrainian.

According to the official ideologists in Ukraine, language is the decisive, necessary marker for constructing national identity. This idea was reinforced again on the December 9, 2009 Parliamentary Hearings on “National Identity in Ukraine under the
Conditions of Globalization Challenges,” held in the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine. The Vice-Chairman of the Verkhovna Rada, Mykola Tomenko, emphasized that “one of the most powerful instruments determining national identity is Ukrainian language and culture.”

Since my position is that there are other means to represent Ukrainian identity, in this part I will not look at the sites where Ukrainian is used consistently in business names, mottos and website discourse since they, according to the official view, by default represent a strong Ukrainian identity. Rather, I will examine the websites that have Russian either as the only language option or Russian in combination with Ukrainian and/or other languages used in their textual discourse.

As seen from Table 8, companies in groups I and II have Russian as the language of their sites, but use Ukrainian in the company names. One of the reasons for the owners of the companies to do so is to have access to the national, all-Ukrainian mass media for the purpose of advertising their businesses, as Ukrainian is the official state language. What I also wish to argue here is that this phenomenon, along with that clearly pragmatic goal, also reflects the intention to assert Ukrainian identity through its cultural, historic or socio-political aspects.

5.2.3.1. “Speaking” names.

Names are important because, as one might know, they convey a sense of identity. If we take the website of the company Славутич ‘Slavutich,’ which produces a beer that is very popular in Ukraine (http://ru.group.slavutich.com; accessed June 10, 2009), the choice of the name itself is very symbolic from the point of view of Ukrainian history. Slavutich was an old Slavic name of the Dnipro, the biggest river in Ukraine, with which a lot of political, historical, and cultural events are associated. The name is also mentioned in classical Ukrainian literature (in the works of the national poet Taras Shevchenko, for example), another major component in the creation of an image of Ukrainian national identity. Thus, the appearance of this name on the Russian version of the site signals a strong Ukrainian identity, even though the spelling of the name itself does not indicate whether it is Russian or Ukrainian, as it is spelled the same way in these two languages. To be sure, there are a number of cases when this word in Russian is spelled with the letter -ы- instead of -у-: Славутыч. For example, some businesses have their names written this way: in Lutsk there is a café with the name Славутыч; in Zaporizhia there is an insurance company Славутыч; in Kherson a Славутыч company produces combine harvesters. In some cases, this might be a calculated decision to avoid infringement of the beer company's trade mark Славутич.31 But in other cases it might be just an effort to imitate Ukrainian pronunciation with Russian spelling. Cases like that are not uncommon. For example, on one website the Russian spelling of one of the

31 The All-Ukrainian Register of Companies, which regulates among other things the naming of the enterprises, became effective July 1, 2004. Before that there were no strict rules regulating this activity (according to the on-line newspaper Mirror of the Week. Financial Press-Club http://www.dt.ua/2000/2675/47439/; accessed March 13, 2010).
Kievan metro stations is given as Вирлица, following the prescribed orthoepic norms for that language (http://www.metropoliten.kiev.ua/map.php?lang=0; accessed October 4, 2009), while another website has Вырлыця, a Russian imitation of the Ukrainian phonological form (http://klymenko.data-tec.net/Kyiv/Kyiv_Metro.htm; accessed October 4, 2009).

The website of the company Хортица (http://khortytsa.com; accessed April 10, 2009) ‘Khortytsa’ has three language options: Russian, Ukrainian, and English. The name as spelled in Ukrainian appears on the Ukrainian and Russian versions of the website, while on the English version the name is spelled in English. Khortytsa is the biggest island on the Dnipro, which is closely connected with Cossack history and culture. The Zaporozhian Cossacks were a major force in Ukrainian history and culture; in particular, they formed the nucleus of the first independent Ukrainian state in the seventeenth century. As Andreas Umland notes in his article Democratic Ukraine, Autocratic Russia: Why? (http://www.americanchronicle.com/articles/view/115334; accessed March 13, 2010):

With the rise of the Cossack Hetmanate in the 16th century, there emerged another Ukrainian proto-state playing an important role in contemporary national identity. Being armed peasants, the Cossacks formed, along the Dnipro riverbank, a military republic with a male assembly—the Rada—that chose its Hetman, a military leader, by election. The Cossack’s love of freedom and semi-democratic rule influences Ukrainian self-images until today.
Thus, Cossacks are an important, immediately recognizable symbol of Ukrainian national identity. The use of the name Хортиця instantly evokes associations with Ukrainian Cossacks, even on the Russian version of the website.

Another company, Коровай ‘Korovay’ (http://www.korovay.lg.ua, accessed April 10, 2009), has Russian as the only language of its website. Nevertheless, the name and its spelling attract attention from the point of view of Ukrainian national discourse. According to Vasmer’s Etymological Dictionary of Russian, корова́й in Russian denotes “a whole loaf of bread; a wedding cake; a party on the eve of a wedding, on which a каравай is given out”; he further notes that Ukrainian корова́й denotes “a form of cake given to the groom and bride.” According to the online version of Ušakov’s dictionary of Russian (Д.Н. Ушаков, 1935-40), the spelling of the word in Russian could be either каравай or коровай (http://slovari.yandex.ru/dict/ushakov/article/ushakov/11-1/us1147201.htm; accessed June 24, 2009). However, the online Орфографический словарь русского языка (Orthographic Dictionary of the Russian language) by V. V. Lopatin (В. Лопатин, 2004) gives the spelling каравай as the only one possible in the contemporary language (http://slovari.yandex.ru/dict/orfo; accessed June 24, 2009). By contrast, the only possible Ukrainian spelling of this word is коровай. Therefore, the choice of this word in its Ukrainian spelling does not seem accidental, given the fact that the only language of the website is Russian.

The only language choice on the sites of the companies Ярославна ‘Yaroslavna’ (http://www.delo.cn.ua/yaroslavna; accessed April 17, 2009) and София ‘Sophia’ (http://www.sophia.kiev.ua; accessed April 17, 2009) is Russian. However, both names
have deep roots in Ukrainian culture. Evidently the name of the company Yaroslavna refers to the renowned Anna Yaroslavna or Anna of Kiev, the daughter of Yaroslav the Wise, one of the greatest of the Kievan grand princes; she was Queen of France from 1051 and served as regent for her minor son for nine years (http://ru.wikipedia.org/wiki/Анна_Ярославна; accessed October 12, 2009). Another possibility is Yaroslavna, the wife of Prince Igor' of Novhorod-Sivers'kyj from the well-known literary text Слово о полку Игореве. Yaroslavna is one of the first female images depicted in Old East Slavic literary texts. The city of Novhorod-Sivers'kyi, the second most powerful town in the late twelfth century, is situated in the today’s Chernihiv region. The company Yaroslavna is from Chernihiv; it produces linen, which has always been in the domain of women, as well as other household items. That is why one may assume that the company makes a reference to this Yaroslavna, not the daughter of Yaroslav the Wise, as the latter was engaged in a traditionally male business.

The name of the company Sophia undoubtedly refers to St. Sophia Cathedral in Kiev, founded by Yaroslav the Wise in 1037; this is the oldest surviving church in Ukraine and the heart of Ukrainian Orthodox spirituality, a place of pilgrimage for many thousands every year. More than that, Saint Sophia (the personification of Holy Wisdom), along with her three daughters Faith, Hope, and Love, is considered to be the patroness of Kiev. So, both Yaroslavna and Sophia have great significance for Ukrainian identity and reflect its history and culture.

Here is yet another example of the website that presents a strong Ukrainian identity even though Russian is the only language option. It is the website of the company
Україночка ‘Ukrainochka’ (http://ukrainochka.ua, accessed April 28, 2009). This word is translated into English as ‘Ukrainian’ (feminine, diminutive). What could be a stronger marker of national identity than a word that specifically denotes Ukrainian nationality? In addition to the name itself, which is written in Ukrainian, the company has as its emblem a girl wearing a Ukrainian folk garland (see Illustration 9).

Illustration 9: Emblem of the company Україночка ‘Ukrainochka’

5.2.3.2. Corporate names that have the word ‘Ukraine’ or other local appellations

Another trend in the corporate names that also participates in the establishing of national/local/regional identity is the use of the word “Ukraine” (or its abbreviation) or other names of Ukrainian cities, regions, or districts. For example, the language options on the site of the company Укрінтеренерго ‘Ukrinterenergo’ (http://www.uie.kiev.ua; accessed April 20, 2009) are Russian and English. Nevertheless, the name of the company on the front page of the website as well as on the template through all links of the site appears consistently in Ukrainian and English, which bears already Ukrainian identification. The name itself possesses another strong marker of Ukrainian national identity: Ukr- is the stump-compound form of the word Ukraine. Another company,
Текстиль-Україна ‘Textil-Ukraina’ has a monolingual Russian website (http://www.textil.com.ua; accessed April 20, 2009), as does the company Текстиль-Контакт ‘Textil-Kontakt’ (http://www.tk.kiev.ua; accessed April 20, 2009). Of these two, the national affiliation of ‘Textil-Ukraina’ is evident from its name alone, unlike that of the company ‘Textil-Kontact’.

In my data base are a number of companies that use the word “Ukraine” to show that they are Ukrainian branches of international companies or to indicate joint enterprises. So, the company Сигма-Украина ДП ‘Sigma-Ukraina DP’ (http://www.sigma-ukr.ukrbiz.net; accessed January 25, 2009), is a branch of the Czech company ‘Sigma’, while the company Чайковский текстиль—Украина ‘Chaikovski textil—Ukraina’ (http://www.tekstil.com.ua; accessed January 24, 2009) is a joint Russian-Ukrainian company.

However, it is not only the word Ukraine that can be used to name the Ukrainian branch of an international company. The Italian company “Camozzi Spa” has a branch company in Ukraine Камоцци-пневматик-Симферополь ‘Camozzi-pnevmatik-Simferopol’ (http://www.camozzi.ua/index.php?lang=en; accessed January 24, 2009). The Ukrainian branch, as we see, uses the name of the city Simferopol, where its headquarters are situated, and so draws attention to its specifically Ukrainian regional status.

A vivid Ukrainian regional distinctiveness is manifested in corporate names that have local appellations. The companies Київський спутник ‘Kievan Sputnik’ (http://www.sputnik.kiev.ua; accessed January 29, 2009), Луцьк Фудз ‘Lutsk Foods’
(http://www.runa.com.ua/ru; accessed January 29, 2009), Uzhgorod Clothing Factory (http://www.ua-parada.com; accessed January 29, 2009) Кримський содовий завод ‘Crimean soda plant’ (http://www.cs.ua; accessed January 29, 2009), Одессакондитер ‘Odessakonditer’ (http://www.odessalux.com; accessed January 29, 2009) and others by their names declare their affiliation with Ukraine through regional names. On the one hand, it seems probable that regional names contribute to a unique regional or local identity. On the other hand, regional geographical names reflect the long history of the people who lived in these territories, their cultural and linguistic features; thus they can be used in the process of nation building, creating a national mythology. Therefore, regional names must be looked at as the common social, historic, and linguistic wealth of the country, as a part of the nation’s cultural heritage and identity. According to Petar H. Ilievski,

> What fossils are to biology, and sediments to geology, toponyms are to cultural history of a country because they reflect the various ethnic, economic, political and other changes in the past of the country.” (taken from UN group of experts on geographical names working paper at http://unstats.un.org/unsd/geoinfo/25th-GEGN-Docs/WP%20papers/WP3-GeoNames-DutchGermanDiv.pdf; accessed October 2, 2009).

Place-names also identify administrative geographical territories and so have major political and social significance. Thus the use of regional names in the titles of companies indicates the local self-awareness of their owners and their desire to appeal to clientele in the given region. At the same time, I would argue that this is also a conscious claim of the nation/state belonging to the all-Ukrainian community, an indication of participation in the structuring process of nation-building through affiliation with the local consciousness.
This rhetorical trope of metonymy, where a part of the country or people from some part of the country stands for all of Ukraine, is characteristic not only for business discourse, but also for Ukrainian pop-culture, and it manifests itself in every-day linguistic practices of people through classic Ukrainian literature. For example, the well-known and very popular (especially in the 1990s—early 2000s) pop-singer Garik Krichevsky (official website [http://krichevsky.info/]; accessed March 22, 2010) has a hit with the name Києвлянка, київлянка, київляночка ‘Kiev girl/woman (diminutive)’. This song is about a girl who lives in Kiev and with whom the character of the song happens to be in love. The chorus of the song is as follows (75):

(75) Києвлянка, київлянка, київляночка,
Не путана, не воровка, не цыганочка,
А простая украиночка красивая,
Киевлянка, киевляночка строптивая.
(http://pesenka.net/view.php?id=1; accessed March 22, 2010)

Kiev girl, Kiev girl, Kiev girl,
[You are not] a poule de luxe, not a thief, not a Gypsy,
But an ordinary pretty Ukrainian girl,
A Kiev girl, a cross-grained Kiev girl.’

In the second line there is a statement enumerating what the Kiev girl is not: not a prostitute (though the word used in the song has an ‘elevated’, ‘high class quality’ meaning), not a thief, not a Gypsy. The third line gives a summary of what the girl is—an ordinary pretty Ukrainian (girl) asserting the link between Kievan and Ukrainian identities; in this case a Kiev girl stands for, represents, and is a Ukrainian girl.
Another example of this rhetorical device can be seen in Ukrainian literary prose. The classic writer Ivan Kotlyarevsky’s play *Natalka Poltavka (Natalka from Poltava)* became the basis for the creation of the opera *Natalka Poltavka* and the development of Ukrainian national theatre. Needless to say, *Natalka* is a common Ukrainian female name. In everyday consciousness, the noun *Poltavka* has fused with the name *Natalka*, and in this form the name became a symbol of a Ukrainian girl in general. Typically, anywhere in Ukraine, if someone asks a little girl about her name and hears ‘Natalka’ back, s/he will add, “Oh, Natalka-Potavka.”

In the same connection, I can mention here the Cossacks, who are another symbol of Ukraine, the symbol of the fight for the independence of the Ukrainian state. As is well-known, Cossacks were not spread on all the territory of Ukraine. The place where they actually resided is the middle and low Dnieper reaches. Nevertheless they have become an iconic representation of all Ukraine. All boys in Ukraine often hear the word “Cossack” used in addressing them. If a young man is handsome and well-built, the compliment “a real Cossack” is paid to him. The Veryovka National Academic Folk Chorus and the Ukrainian Ballet Academy make use of traditional Cossack costumes, which are considered Ukrainian national costumes; the traditional Ukrainian dances that they perform imitate the colorful folk dances of the rural or Cossack lifestyle (http://www.bangkokcompanies.com/Dance/ukraine_dance_schools.htm; accessed March 22, 2010) (see Illustration 10).
Illustration 10: Veryovka National Academic Folk Chorus performing the routine of traditional Ukrainian dance in Tradition Ukrainian costumes.

In short, the use of a part-whole relation, represented by metonymic tropes, is a common device in constructing all-Ukrainian distinctiveness through its parts. In this respect, therefore, the regional discourse found on business websites can be seen as a constituent of national identity discourse.

5.2.3.3. Other names

A number of companies chose to use words written in Ukrainian as the names for their businesses on the Russian versions of their websites or when the only language of the site is Russian. So, the publishing house Ранок (http://www.ranock.com; accessed January 26, 2009) ‘Ranock’ has a Russian language website, but the corporate name is a Ukrainian word meaning ‘morning’ (the Russian утро). The logo of the company RayCom ВАТ "Скандинавіан Хаус" includes a transliteration of the English phrase
‘Scandinavian House’ into Ukrainian (www.scanhouse.com.ua; accessed January 26, 2009), even though the sole language of the website text is Russian. In addition to this Ukrainian transliteration, there is another strong signal of Ukrainian identity—the national yellow-blue flag.

Illustration 11: Logo of Raycom ВАТ "Скандинавіан Хаус"

The site of a shipping company, Трансвіт (http://www.geocities.com/transvit; accessed January 29, 2009) ‘Transvit’ has a Russian and English front page, while the rest of the website is in Russian; however, the company uses its overtly Ukrainian name, in the Ukrainian alphabet, consistently on both the Russian/English front page and the Russian website. (The name Transvit suggests global aspirations, since it comprises the international morpheme tran(s)- 'across' plus the Ukrainian word for the world, svit.)

The rhetoric of this type of discourse represents the companies’ opinion about language as a declared official national value. Since the name of the company is its “face”, it is going to be remembered by the customers (unlike most of the textual discourse of the given website). Therefore, the use of Ukrainian names on Russian websites or Russian versions of the websites shows that their rhetoric is in compliance with the national sociopolitical language rhetoric.
5.2.4. Corporate mottos

Companies in Group I (see Table 8), in addition to their Ukrainian names, also have Ukrainian mottos on their Russian-language websites. The monolingual Russian site of the company Пологівський олійноекстракційний завод ‘Polohivs’kyj oljinoekstraktsijnyj zavod’ ('Polohy Oil-Extraction Plant') (http://www.sunseeds.zp.ua, accessed January 27, 2009) has both its name and its motto Сонце в кожній краплині ‘The Sun in every drop’ written in Ukrainian (see Illustration 12). Likewise, the energy company Прикарпатьєобленерго ‘Prykarpattyoblenergo’, which has three language options on its website—Russian, Ukrainian and English—has a Ukrainian motto as well (http://www.oe.if.ua; accessed January 29, 2009) “З нами завжди світліше” ‘It is always brighter with us’. This appears only on Russian version of the site, and it is written in Ukrainian. The main colors present on the picture are those of the state flag: yellow and blue (see 5.3.1.).

Illustration 12: Motto of the company Пологівський олійноекстракційний завод
‘Pologivski oil-extraction plant’
Another company, *Куліндорівський комбінат хлібопродуктів* ‘Kulindor Industrial Complex of Bakery Products’ ([http://www.bogumyla.odessa.ua](http://www.bogumyla.odessa.ua); accessed January 27, 2009), has both Russian and Ukrainian language options on its website. The motto on its emblem is the Ukrainian statement “Добре борошно дім береже” ‘Good flour guards the house’ (see Illustration 13). The emblem with its Ukrainian-language motto appears on both versions of the website.\(^{32}\) (I will discuss the extralinguistic markers to represent Ukrainian identity, emblems among others, in the next section.)

![Illustration 13: Motto of the company *Куліндорівський комбінат хлібопродуктів* ‘Kulindor industrial complex of bakery products’](image)

This linguistic representation of Ukrainian national identity in business signs and web page templates also points to the fact that business website discourse falls in line with official national discourse, even when it is not consistently in Ukrainian.

\(^{32}\) This appears to be an original corporate motto rather than a Ukrainian proverb; at any rate, I was not able to find any trace of such proverb through Google and Yandex searches.
5.3. Extralinguistic factors

The extralinguistic content of website discourse can also contribute to mapping Ukrainian national identity through a variety of means.

5.3.1. National Colors used on the websites

The use of Ukrainian national colors on business websites is a very effective way of declaring national identity, and it can be done very inventively. For example, the Russian-only website of the mining company Минерал ‘Mineral’ (http://www.mineral.com.ua; accessed January 29, 2009) has an emblem in national yellow-blue colors (see Illustration 14). These are the main colors present on the website in general—the colors of the fonts, pictures, frame and so on.

Illustration 14: Emblem of the company Минерал ‘Mineral’

The website of the company Закарпацька Торгово-Промислова Палата ‘Zakarpac’ka Torhovo-Promyslova Palata’ “The Transcarpathian Chamber of Commerce and Industry” (http://www.tpp.uzhgorod.ua; accessed January 26, 2009) has a website with eight language options. The Russian version (as well as others) has a template with the map of (part of) the world in blue and the map of Ukraine marked in yellow. Another company, Запорожжидросталь ‘Zaporozhydrostal’ (‘Zapozzhydrostal’), has a
trilingual website: Russian, English, and Spanish (http://www.spktb.zaporozhye.net; accessed January 25, 2009). The website of this once all-(Soviet) Union construction site, which was heralded as one of the key industrial projects for building socialism in the USSR, now projects a clear Ukrainian distinctiveness: the front page, as well as other pages of the website, is all arranged in Ukrainian national colors (see Illustration 15).

Illustration 15: Front page of the company Запорожгидросталь ‘Zapozhhydrosteel’
The Russian language site of the company Євроколор ‘Evrokolor’ ‘Eurocolor’, in addition to its Ukrainian name on the home page of its site, has a rather unobtrusive identity marker: a picture of a girl dressed in yellow and blue garments (http://www.kraski.dnepr.net; accessed January 28, 2009) (see Illustration 16).

Illustration16: Picture on the site of the company Євроколор ‘Eurocolor’

5.3.2. Flag and other national symbols

Another tool to mark Ukrainian national identity that proves to be very effective on business websites is the use of national yellow-blue flag and/or other national symbols. The Russian version of the website of the power-supplying company Укрэнерго ‘Ukrenergo’ (http://www.ukrenergo.energy.gov.ua; accessed January 24, 2009) has a template with the Ukrainian state emblem, the trident, appearing consistently over every link of the site (see Illustration 17).

Illustration 17: Template on the site of the company Укрэнерго ‘Ukrenergo’
The national flag also performs the function of marking national identity. The website of the company Айсблик ‘Iceblick’ has Russian and English options (http://www.iceblick.com; accessed February 4, 2009). The template on both versions has a picture of the globe with the borders of Ukraine marked and the Ukrainian state flag flying in the center of the map of Ukraine.

5.3.3. Ukrainian landscape

N. Gogol, whose works helped the world to discover Ukraine and realize that Ukrainians are not Russians, that they have their own identity (distinct first of all from Russian), was a master of depicting the Ukrainian landscape. Due to Gogol’s influence and the literary archetypes created by him, a certain kind of landscape has become a stereotypical symbol of Ukrainian identity. Though Ukraine is a diverse country, the landscapes created by Gogol in his works have become a mythical evocation of an “imagined” Ukraine. Here is an excerpt from his well-known story Сорочинская ярмарка ‘Sorochintsy Fair’ where he describes a Ukrainian summer day:

Как упоителен, как роскошен летний день в Малороссии! Как томительно жарки те часы, когда полдень блещет в тишине и зное и голубой неизмеримый океан, сладострастным куполом нагнувшийся над землею, кажется, заснул, вес: потонувши в неге, обнимая и сжимая прекрасную в воз душных объятиях своих! На нем ни облака. В поле ни речи Всё как будто умерло; вверху только, в небесной глубине дрожит жаворонок, и серебряные песни летят по воздушным ступеньям на влюбленную землю, да изредка крик чайки или звонкий голос перепела отдается в степи. Лениво и бездумно, будто гуляющие без цели, стоят подоблачные дубы, и ослепительные удары солнечных лучей зажигают целые живописные массы листвьев, накидывая на другие темную, как ночь, тень, по которой только при сильном ветре прыщет золото. Изумруды, топазы, яхонты эфирных
насекомых сыплются над пестрыми огородами, осеняемыми статными подсолнечниками. Серые стога сена и золотые снопы хлеба станом располагаются в поле и кочуют по его неизмеримости. Нагнувшись от тяжести плодов широкие ветви черешен, слив, яблонь, груши; небо, его чистое зеркало — река в зеленых, гордо поднятых рамках... как полно сладострастия и неги малороссийское лето!

'How intoxicating, how magnificent is a summer day in Little Russia! How luxuriously warm the hours when midday glitters in stillness and sultry heat and the blue fathomless ocean arching like a voluptuous cupola over the plain seems to be slumbering, bathed in languor, clasping the fair earth and holding it close in its ethereal embrace! Upon it, not a cloud; in the plain, not a sound. Everything might be dead; only above in the heavenly depths a lark is trilling and from the airy heights the silvery notes drop down upon adoring earth, and from time to time the cry of a gull or the ringing note of a quail sounds in the steppe. The towering oaks stand, idle and apathetic, like aimless wayfarers, and the dazzling gleams of sunshine light up picturesque masses leaves, casting on to others a shadow black as night, only flecked with gold when the wind blows. The insects of the air flit like sparks of emerald, topaz and ruby about the gay kitchen gardens, topped by stately sunflowers. Grey haystacks and golden sheaves of corn are ranged like tents on the plain and stray over its immensity. The broad branches of cherries, of plums, apples and pears bent under their load of fruit, the sky with its pure mirror—the river in its green proudly erect frame ... how full of voluptuousness and languor is the Little Russian Summer!' (Gogol 1926:19-20)

This excerpt is full of images of a stereotypical Ukrainian landscape: роскошен летний день ‘(how) magnificent is a summer day’, голубой неизмеримый океан ‘the blue fathomless ocean’, ни облачка ‘not a cloud’, в поле ‘in the plain’, небесной глубине ‘in the heavenly depths’, ослепительные удары солнечных лучей ‘the dazzling gleams of sunshine’, золото ‘gold’, над пестрыми огородами ‘the gay kitchen gardens’, статными подсолнечниками ‘stately sunflowers’, золотые снопы хлеба ‘golden sheaves of corn’, широкие ветви черешен, слив, яблонь, груши ‘The broad branches of cherries, of plums, apples and pears’, небо, его чистое зеркало ‘the sky with its pure mirror’. 
Similar images can be found on some of the corporate websites. For example, the company Тексика ‘Teksika’ (http://www.teksika.com; accessed January 24, 2009) has a very elaborated and creative website. The homepage has a picture with a stereotypically Ukrainian landscape (see Illustration 18): white peasant houses surrounded by pear, cherry, or apple trees in the middle of a sunflower field under a cloudless light-blue sunny sky. The colors of the sunflowers and the sky—yellow and blue—remind one of the national flag of Ukraine.

Illustration 18: Picture on the website of the company Тексика ‘Teksika’

The given company, a plant that produces a variety of fabrics, is situated in downtown Kiev. The company also has a number of branches in big cities, administrative centers, all over Ukraine: Lviv, Khmelnitsky, Kharkov, Donetsk, and Simferopol. The territory of Ukraine comprises different geographical zones, due to which the landscape varies significantly. The variety of landscapes that characterizes other parts of Ukraine is also presented on the website of this company, but on other links; a different picture appears on each of the major links. For example, one can recognize Crimea by the combination of mountains, the city, and the sea (see Illustration 19); the Carpathian region by the picture of the houses covered with snow and the snow-white mountains in
the background (see Illustration 20); generic big cities by the image of the multistoried buildings characteristic of Ukrainian residential neighborhoods (see Illustration 21). These pictures taken separately will not ‘tell the Ukrainian story’: Illustration 19 could also stand for another, but non-Ukrainian (Russian or Georgian) Black Sea coast—Sochi, in particular; Illustration 20 could stand for any Ukrainian, Russian, Armenian or other city of the former Soviet Union, which all were built on a similar pattern; Illustration 21 could represent a Polish, Slovak, or even Swiss resort. Nevertheless, they do ‘tell the Ukrainian story’ when the mythical Ukrainian landscape appears first; the bell rings in one’s brain calling for images of Ukraine, and only then these pictures put together make sense.

Illustration 19: The picture of the Crimea on one of the links of the website of the company Тексика ‘Teksika’
The fact that this urban company chooses a stereotypical Ukrainian rural landscape as the picture for its homepage is significant and speaks for itself. Though the site is monolingual Russian, the owners of the company construct the company’s identity through the given image, which is marked for Ukrainian distinctiveness.

The Ukrainian flag consists of two horizontal stripes of equal width. The story behind the use of these two colors at the national flag is: “The top is blue, the bottom—yellow. Blue and yellow, the colors of the sky, mountains, streams, and golden fields…”

Illustration 20: The picture of the city on one of the links of the website of the company Тексика ‘Teksika’

Illustration 21: The picture of the Carpathian region on one of the links of the website of the company Тексика ‘Teksika’
The fields are golden because of the agricultural products which have been traditionally grown on the territory of Ukraine: wheat, rye, sunflowers, mustard, and buckwheat. The dominant colors on the picture of another example—company "Кронос-МК" ‘Kronos-MK’ (Illustration 22) (http://kronos.cg.ukrtel.net; accessed January 24, 2009) are also yellow and blue and show mustard and the sky; they also contribute to creating the image of the national standard.

Illustration 22: Picture on the site of the company "Кронос-МК" ‘Kronos-MK’

In addition to its color, the sunflower summons up Gogol’s stereotypical evocation of Ukraine, and at the same time also serves as the national flower of Ukraine. That is why the use of a picture with sunflowers also contributes to the creation of an image of Ukraine. For example, fields of sunflowers appear on the Russian versions of the sites of the companies "Капитал-Трейд" ‘Kapital-Trade’ (see Illustration 23) (http://www.interagro.biz; accessed February 14, 2009) and "Тан" ‘Tan’ (see Illustration 24) (http://www.tan.com.ua; accessed February 14, 2009). These remind one of Gogol’s
description of a Ukrainian summer day in the Ukrainian countryside, where в небесной глубине дрожит жаворонок ‘in the heavenly depth [a song of] a lark vibrates’.

Illustration 23: Picture on the site of the company Капитал-Трейд ‘Kapital-Trade’

Illustration 24: Picture on the site of the company Тан ‘Tan’

5.3.4. Ukrainian national types/people

The Ukrainian national costume is a reflection of Ukraine’s history and culture. Preserving and cherishing folk costumes is one aspect of preserving national heritage and showing awareness of national identity; it also helps to create a distinctive national character. Therefore, costumes are a big part of national culture, and underline national myths and historical memories. Thus, displaying national characters on a website is sufficient to give a clear manifestation of a company’s national self-identification.

The monolingual Russian site of the company Вимал ‘Vimal’ (http://www.vimal.ua; accessed January 18, 2009), in addition to having its name written
in Ukrainian, also has a picture of Ukrainian peasants and a Cossack in the national garments (see Illustration 25).

Illustration 25: Picture on the site of the company Вимал ‘Vimal’

The Russian version of the site of the company Куліндорівський комбінат хлібопродуктів ‘Kulindoriv Kombinat Khliboproduktiv’ ‘Kulindor Industrial Complex of Bakery Products’ (http://www.bogumyla.odessa.ua; accessed January 27, 2009) uses an image of a woman in traditional folk costume carrying a sheaf of wheat (or rye) (Illustration 13, above).

A curious case can be noticed on another website. The wine-producing company Айсберг ‘Iceberg’ (http://www.chizay.com; accessed January 26, 2009), on its homepage, uses a picture of a former Ukrainian President wearing a traditional Carpathian mantelet while visiting the company for a traditional wine-testing event (see Illustration 26). President Victor Yushchenko was known for his effort to distance Ukraine from Russia, to stress differences between the two countries and cultures, and to create a Ukrainian identity distinct from Russian. Language played the main role in this
process. However, ironically enough, the picture shows him in the city of Mukhachevo, Zakarpatskaia region, a part of western Ukraine where anti-Russian attitudes are especially strong; nevertheless, he is standing in front of the Russian-language sign Вино чистое ‘Clean wine’. Despite the language on the sign, the appearance of the President on the site without a doubt serves as a marker of Ukrainian identity.

Illustration 26: Picture on the site of the company Айсберег ‘Iceberg’

The company Глини Донбасу ‘Donbas Clays’ has a Russian-English bilingual site (http://www.clays.com.ua; accessed January 26, 2009). In its Russian version, the text is written in Russian, but the name of the company is always given in Ukrainian. More than that, the main page of both the Russian and the English versions displays a picture of Bohdan Khmelnytskyi, hetman of the Zaporozhian Cossacks (Illustration 27), one of the heroes of Ukrainian history.
As is well known, Bohdan Khmelnytskyi was a founder of the Cossack state—the Hetmanskyna—in central Ukraine in the middle of the seventeenth century. That is why the picture with his stature has a national charge and appeals to Ukrainian identity.

5.4. Russian-Ukrainian linguistic dichotomy

Over a long period of time, but especially during the last 20 years, despite and due to the political and social changes in Ukraine, a lot of attention has been given to the constructing and mapping of Ukrainian national identity. The linguistic situation of Ukraine presents multilateral dimensions; this offers a challenge to the present-day political regime in its approach to treating the Ukrainian language as a marker of Ukrainian identity. Nowadays Ukraine can be characterized by the presence of a Russian-Ukrainian linguistic dichotomy, which, in its turn creates and shapes Ukrainian identity in accordance with the linguistic needs and practices of the population of Ukraine.

In this chapter I gathered and analyzed the data from 290 business sites of Ukrainian companies. My conclusion is that there is a wide variety of means to represent Ukrainian identity, and they vary from site to site. As was demonstrated by analysis of linguistic and extralinguistic factors, language is not the sole marker of Ukrainian

Illustration 27: Picture on the site of the company Глини Донбасу ‘Donbas Clays’
identity. Among the linguistic tools other than or in addition to the choice of the language code, that vividly indicate Ukrainian identity I singled out such factors as explicit reference to Ukraine in the website’s discourse, corporate names, expressions of regionalism, nationalism, Europeanism and globalism, and corporate mottos. In addition to the linguistic factors, the extra-linguistic dimensions of the text can perform a similar function. Among extralinguistic devices that serve as indicators of Ukrainian identity on Ukrainian business sites are the use of the national colors of Ukraine, the use of flag and other national symbols, pictures of Ukrainian landscape/nature, and the images of Ukrainian national types/people.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tool for representing identity used on a website</th>
<th>Number of websites that have it</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Expressions of regionalism, nationalism, Europeanism and globalism</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corporate names</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colors</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National symbols</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mottos in Ukrainian on R language sites</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Landscape</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National types</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 14: Frequency of tools other than language of the site to represent Ukrainian identity
As Hobsbawm notes, “Historically, the coexistence of peoples of different languages and cultures is normal or, rather, nothing is less common than countries inhabited exclusively by people of a single uniform language and culture” (Hobsbawm 1996: 2). Ukraine bears this out very clearly, as it represents a language and cultural continuum; the situation in the one end of spectrum is going to differ from the situation on the other. Thus, the attitude of Ukrainian officialdom towards the linguistic situation in Ukraine displays a nationalistic and essentialist approach that relies heavily on language as the main marker of Ukrainian national identity. In the present situation, one notices a great gap between the language stances of the policy-makers and the language reflections of a large number of language users. The ‘just Ukrainian’ approach is not sufficient to give one a comprehensive picture of the expressions of Ukrainian identity. As Khubchandani (1983:51) notes, “In a multilingual interaction no single language caters to all needs of the participant.” In fact, national identity has an ample array of components, not just language. As is seen from the analysis above, all the language communities in Ukraine debate the same national issues. Linguistic diversity can manifest itself due to the economic interests, business habits or cultural differences of the participants of Ukrainian business discourse, but this does not interfere with the sovereignty of Ukraine or its right to exist as a nation and state. Furthermore, I would argue that, for Ukraine, unity should be seen in its very linguistic and cultural diversity. That is why in Ukraine, as in other bilingual countries, one should not speak about national, but rather state identity which, in the case of Ukraine, embraces both Russian
and Ukrainian linguistic identities. In other words, as was demonstrated above, linguistic identity does not necessarily overlap with state identity.

García (in García et al., 2006: 14) states that Joshua A. Fishman’s new approach to treating multilingualism has prompted psychologists, linguists and sociologists to develop different conceptualizations of how languages function in stable, widespread, intra-group bilingualism. As Fishman (1971:605, cited in García et al.) himself said, “Instead of witch-hunting for bilingual interference, modern sociolinguistics recognizes the linguistic repertoires of bilingual speech communities as an instance of the repertoires that characterize all functionally diversified speech communities.” “Witch-hunting” seems like an apt way to characterize the official language policy of the newly independent Ukrainian state. In reality, the linguistic situation in present-day Ukraine bears heavy traits of the linguistic situation in Ukraine before 1991, which exemplified an extensive, widespread bilingualism. Judging by the numbers which we presented in the second chapter, the repertoires of Ukrainian speech communities turn out to prefer Russian for use in business website discourse. What tends to be ignored by the official policymakers now is the wide spectrum of means other than language per se that actively participate in the process of constructing Ukrainian identity. This is visible not only in the content of the discourse of the business sites discussed above, but also in the ways the sites are designed and organized.
Chapter 6

6.1. Main findings

This investigation offers an approach to the stylistic and functional analysis of a newly created genre in written, non-colloquial Ukrainian discourse – the genre of business websites. Since this particular domain of Ukrainian mass media is not regulated by state normative acts, it represents an interesting field for research. The dissertation examines the language use on the websites of companies in four geographical zones of Ukraine – the Eastern, Western, Central, and Littoral. It also describes in detail how language is used in the business website environment, what tools the authors of the websites use to create this new genre of writing, and how language functions in this particular sphere. The dissertation also analyzes how linguistic features of business sites other than the choice of language as well as extralinguistic features can serve as markers of Ukrainian national identity.

My initial hypotheses were that the use of the Russian language would prevail in the Eastern zone and that Ukrainian would dominate on websites in the other zones of Ukraine. The first hypothesis about the language use in the Eastern geographical zone of Ukraine turned out to be proven by the data I gathered. In that region, Russian is indeed used as the prevailing medium of business discourse: all 70 of the websites have Russian-only websites or else give Russian as a language option. This hypothesis was grounded on the history and geography of this part of Ukraine: its closeness to the Russian border,
its strong economic connections with Russian companies, its large ethnic Russian population, etc.

However, the use of the Ukrainian language on the websites of the companies in the Central, Western and partially in the Littoral zones did not confirm my second hypothesis about the usage of Ukrainian there. Since these regions have their own reasons for the use of Ukrainian—their closeness to the capital and government, historical leaning of a large part of the population toward the West (i.e., away from Russia), etc.—I expected the use of Ukrainian to be broader. As my data prove, it is mostly Russian that caters the needs of business communication in these zones, though the use of Ukrainian is higher than in the Eastern zone. Of the 97 sample websites from the Central geographical zone, 92 have either Russian only or Russian as one of the language options. Out of the 74 sample websites of the Western zone companies, 50 have Russian only or Russian as an option. The Littoral zone mirrors the situation in the Eastern zone: all 49 sample websites have either Russian only or Russian as one of the language options.

The situation with the use of the Ukrainian language is as follows: of the 70 websites from the Eastern zone, 14 have either Ukrainian only or Ukrainian as one of the language options; of the 97 websites from the Central zone, 34 have either Ukrainian only or Ukrainian as one of the language options; of the 74 websites from the Western zone, 41 have either Ukrainian only or Ukrainian as one of the language options; and of the 49 websites from the Littoral zone, 7 have either Ukrainian only or Ukrainian as one of the language options. The use of Russian and Ukrainian by geographical zone is summarized in the Table 15.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Geographical zone</th>
<th>Number of sample websites</th>
<th>The use of Russian as the only option or one of the options</th>
<th>The use of Ukrainian as the only option or one of the options</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Eastern</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Littoral</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 15: The use of the Russian and Ukrainian languages on the sample websites

As seen from Table 15, the presence of Ukrainian in business communication is stronger in the Central zone and still stronger in the Western zone. However, these numbers do not fully confirm my initial hypothesis that Ukrainian would be in strong competition with Russian there.

This state of affairs points to the fact that in Ukrainian business discourse there is a situation which can be identified as bilingualism with predominance of Russian; in other words, Russian evidently has the highest market value in this particular environment. The market value of the Russian language can also be demonstrated by the latest official moves of the government of newly elected President of Ukraine Viktor Yanukovich. Yanukovich's vice-prime minister for humanitarian issues (and also minister of Education) D. Tabachnik has stated that 100% dubbing of Russian movies in Ukrainian, which was required by the state language acts adopted by the government of the previous President, is not economically profitable. Tabachnik stressed that dubbing of movies in Ukrainian has to be justifiable from financial and production points of view.  

A close corpus analysis of 29 sample websites (representing 10% of all the websites that I investigated) was undertaken to characterize the stylistic features, grammatical and lexical dimensions of the business websites. Genre analysis stresses the specific context of a professionally and socially recognized type of discourse; its aim is to


178
answer the question posted by Bhatia, “Why do members of a special community write the way they do?” (V. Bhatia, 1993:10). The use of definite sets of features in different parts of the website reflect different communicative intentions or “moves”; such moves, in their turn, perform different social communicative acts. In this work, I have limited my analysis to the typical writing strategies that are used in “About Us/About Company” links. Following the theories developed by M. Swales (1990), D. Biber (1989), and V. Bhatia (1993), I use analysis to discover conventionalized patterns that are engaged in the communicative events which are constructed using the norms of the (imagined) communities; then I define the preferred structures of texts that characterize different moves. The dissertation establishes that business websites use language to create a different genre, that of business websites, by altering the established style of official business documents and that of commercial advertisements.

By conducting a close analysis of the websites’ structure, I was able to single out ten characteristic moves that manifest themselves on the sample websites, though with different frequency: introductory-informational move, strategy move, commercial move, feature/facet move, record of excellence or reputation move, clientele move, quality control or certification move, history/tradition move, ecology move, and charitable activity move. These are described in detail in Chapter 4.

My analysis of the means that signal Ukrainian identity on the business websites prompted me to divide of identity markers into linguistic and extralinguistic categories. The former include

- the verbal content of the discourse. Here belong cases in which the direct link between the wellbeing of the company and the wellbeing of the country is asserted.
expressions of regionalism and nationalism. I view these as a device that companies use for shaping national identity through envisioning themselves as entities that possess national/regional distinctiveness.

expressions of Europeanism and globalism. These signal the conversion of colonial and postcolonial Ukraine into an independent European country. By doing so, companies delineate the contours of Ukrainian national identity within European boundaries, which has been the goal of Ukraine since the very first days of its creation.

corporate names. Here belong names of the companies that have “speaking” names (like Khortytsa, Slavutich which convey Ukrainian identity); names that make use of the word ‘Ukraine’ or other local appellations (cities, districts, regions); and cases when a company chooses to use Ukrainian word/words written in Ukrainian as the names for their businesses on the Russian versions of their websites or when the only language of the site is Russian.

corporate mottos. In addition to their Ukrainian names, some companies also have Ukrainian mottos on their Russian-language websites.

The extralinguistic markers include

use of the national colors on the websites;
depiction of the Ukrainian flag and other national symbols;
depiction of representative Ukrainian landscapes;
depiction of Ukrainian national types/people.
The main conclusion that I make is that, in a country like Ukraine with its intricate history and its cultural, ethnic, and linguistic diversity, the state’s ethnolinguistic policies do not seem to be working as expected. They view the linguistic choices of people as claims about national identity; in other words, language is taken as the main or exclusive marker of national identity as indicated in the state policy. It would seem that this way the state is running the risk of estranging a significant part of its population which is loyal to Ukraine, which supports Ukrainian independence, which culturally and historically belong there, and which (judging from the data discussed in Chapter 4) strive to do their best in order to bring wellbeing to the country.

As M. von Hagen (1995:670) observes, “Ukraine represents a case of a national culture with extremely permeable frontiers… [In other words,] what has been perceived as the “weakness” of Ukrainian history or its “defects” … ought to be turned into “strengths” for a new historiography.” Today’s official language policies appear to be missing the realistic situation and look at the multi-linguistic practices of people as defects rather than strengths. In the case of Ukraine, it is highly indiscreet to speak about ‘national’ identity. One should speak about ‘state’ identity or ‘national’ identity as it is understood, for example, in the United States or Great Britain.

6.2. Perspectives for future research

With the development of new ways of communication, especially Internet communication, we witness the creation of new styles practically every year. In order to better understand the needs, rules, and intentions of communicative interaction, we need to investigate communicative practices that individuals or organizations employ while pursuing definite social goals. In this sense, the Internet provides a very interesting field
for research. The analysis of new genres contributes to the general knowledge about language, how it functions in the social environment.

Recent research has examined to some extent how people are likely to construct their practices in the media setting of business websites discourse. My linguistic analysis of the business website discourse helped me to speak about some common language tactics that are being conventionalized in this new media genre. The linguistic and extralinguistic analysis of business websites suggested that there are important features other than language choice (the only option envisioned by Ukrainian state policy) that can express national identity. Future research should focus on examining other links on the business company websites and define if there is more than one genre that is present in this particular setting. Analysis of official language acts and the linguistic situation in other (both, officially monolingual and bi- or polylingual) countries will provide a basis for comparison with the situation of debating and shaping national identity in Ukraine.
References


184


Фасмер, Макс. Этимологический словарь русского языка. http://dic.academic.ru/dic.nsf/vasmer/41599/%D0%BA%D0%BE%D1%80%D0%BE%D0%B2%D0%B0%D0%B9 (accessed May 7, 2010).

Appendix A
List of the companies in the Eastern Zone

1. http://www.zircon.net.ua
   Вільногірський державний гірничо-металургійний комбінат.

   Державне підприємство "Науково-виробниче об'єднання "Павлоградський хімічний завод.

   Товариство з обмеженою відповідальністю "Беутага".

   Акціонерне товариство закритого типу "Веско".

5. http://www.duek.dn.ua
   Державне підприємство "Донецька вугільна енергетична компанія".

   Дочірнє підприємство "Каменеобробний завод "Омфал" корпорації "Укрпідшипник".

   Закрите акціонерне товариство "АТ "Глини Донбасу".

   Закрите акціонерне товариство "Мінерал".

   Кондрашевский песчаный карьер.

    *KOLMARAL*

11. http://www.bi.zp.ua
Товариство з обмеженою відповідальністю "Будіндустрія".

12. [http://www.constanta.zp.ua](http://www.constanta.zp.ua)  
Товариство з обмеженою відповідальністю "Виробничо-будівельна фірма "Константа".

Товариство з обмеженою відповідальністю "Техносервіс".

Відкрите акціонерне товариство "Спеціальне проектне і конструкторсько-технологічне бюро "Запоріжгідросталь".

"Агротон".

Дочірнє підприємство "Імідж Холдинг" АК "Імідж Холдинг АпС".

17. [http://www.sunseeds.zp.ua](http://www.sunseeds.zp.ua)  
Дочірнє підприємство "Сонячне насіння" ЗАТ "Пологівський маслоекстракційний завод.

18. [http://www.mezpology.zp.ua](http://www.mezpology.zp.ua)  
Закрите акціонерне товариство "Пологівський олійноекстракційний завод.

19. [http://www.interagro.biz](http://www.interagro.biz)  
Товариство з обмеженою відповідальністю "Аграрно-торговельна компанія "Інтерсоюз".

Товариство з обмеженою відповідальністю "Віта-Маркет".

Товариство з обмеженою відповідальністю "Компанія "Агрокосм".

22. [http://www.olf.ua](http://www.olf.ua)  
Товариство з обмеженою відповідальністю "Виробничо-комерційна фірма "Ольф".

23. [http://rpbriz.berdyansk.net](http://rpbriz.berdyansk.net)  
Товариство з обмеженою відповідальністю "Рибальське підприємство "БРИЗ".

188
24. [http://www.hlebodar.com](http://www.hlebodar.com)
   Відкрите акціонерне товариство "Запорізький хлібозавод № 3".

   Відкрите акціонерне товариство "Мелітопольський м'ясокомбінат".

   Відкрите акціонерне товариство "Пивобезалкогольний комбінат "Славутич".

27. [http://www.kronos.zp.ua](http://www.kronos.zp.ua)
   Торгово-промислова група "Кронос-Інвест.

   Приватне підприємство "Науково-виробнича компанія "Роста".

29. [http://www.korovay.lg.ua](http://www.korovay.lg.ua)
   Открытое акционерное общество «Коровай».

30. [http://www-us.mirgorodska.com](http://www-us.mirgorodska.com)
   Природно-мінеральна вода.

31. [http://www.beer.poltava.ua](http://www.beer.poltava.ua)
   Фірма “Полтавпиво”

32. [http://www.meat.poltava.ua](http://www.meat.poltava.ua)
   КП Полтавский мясокомбинат

   Открытое акционерное общество "Демитекс".

   Предприятие "ВАЛЕРИ-ТЕКС".

35. [http://www.best.ua/component/vmcchk,1/option,com_virtuemart/Itemid,27](http://www.best.ua/component/vmcchk,1/option,com_virtuemart/Itemid,27)
   ООО «Фабрика мебели «БЕСТ».

36. [http://www.poltavamebel.pl.net.ua](http://www.poltavamebel.pl.net.ua)
   ВАТ «Полтава-меблі».

37. [http://www.ukrtatnafta.com](http://www.ukrtatnafta.com)
   АО "Укртатнафта", Транснаціональна фінансово-промислова нефтяна компанія "Укртатнафта"
   Товариство з обмеженою відповідальністю "Проектно-конструкторсько-технологічне бюро "Конкорд".

39. http://www.regent.in.ua
   Товариство з обмеженою відповідальністю "Регент".

   Відкрите акціонерне товариство "Лінде Газ Україна".

   Промислово-фінансовий концерн "Гала-Капітал".

42. http://www.dnepr-desna.dp.ua
   Приватна виробниче-комерційна фірма "Дніпро-Десна".

   “Кременчугрезинотехника”.

44. http://www.kraski.dnepr.net
   Науково-виробниче об'єднання "Завод нових технологій "Євроколор".

45. http://www.polyprom.com
   Науково-виробниче підприємство "Поліпром".

46. http://runa.dp.ua
   Науково-виробниче підприємство "Руна".

47. http://www.ista.com.ua
   Національна акумуляторна корпорація "ISTA".

   Товариство з обмеженою відповідальністю "Агропромніка".

49. http://www.techservice.dp.ua
   Товариство з обмеженою відповідальністю "Науково-виробниче підприємство "Техсервіс".

   Запорізьке державне підприємство "Кремнійполімер".

190
   Товариство з обмеженою відповідальністю "Хімлекс".

   Відкрите акціонерне товариство "Азмол" (ВАТ "Азовські мастила і оливи").

   Приватне підприємство "Діапазон".

55. http://www.korrozii.net.ua
   Приватне підприємство "ЗОВ".

56. http://www.medicalglass.poltava.ua
   ОАО "Полтавський завод медичного стекла".

   Компанія "AVISMETIZ".

58. http://www.promarmatura.ua
   ЗАО "Промарматура".

   Товариство з обмеженою відповідальністю "Науково-виробниче підприємство "Електрон".

60. http://www.promscom.boom.ru
   Підприємство "Спецпромприлад".

61. http://www.ti.net.ua
   Товариство з обмеженою відповідальністю "Компанія Техінвест".

   Приватне науково-виробниче підприємство "Фірма "Сітон".

63. http://www.progress.zp.ua
   Товариство з обмеженою відповідальністю "Компанія "Прогрес".

64. http://www.sealjet.zp.ua
   Товариство з обмеженою відповідальністю "Сіал Джет Україна".

   Товариство з обмеженою відповідальністю "Техноекспорт".

66. http://www.krok-gt.zp.ua
Товариство з обмеженою відповідальністю фірма "Крок ГТ".

67. [http://www.usuce.dp.ua](http://www.usuce.dp.ua)
    Український державний хіміко-технологічний університет.

68. [http://www.gipo.dp.ua](http://www.gipo.dp.ua)
    Государственный институт подготовки и переподготовки кадров промышленности.

69. [http://www.dstu.dp.ua](http://www.dstu.dp.ua)
    Дніпродзержинський державний технічний університет.

70. [http://www.dsma.dp.ua](http://www.dsma.dp.ua)
    Дніпропетровська державна медична академія.
Appendix B
List of the companies in the Central Zone

1. www.dash-bent.ua
   Товариство з обмеженою відповідальністю "Торгівельна компанія "Дашуківські бентоніти".

   Відкрите акціонерне товариство "Енергопостачальна компанія "Чернігівобленерго".

   Державне підприємство "Національна енергетична компанія "Укренерго".

   Управління магістральних газопроводів "Київтрансгаз", філії дочірньої компанії "Укртрансгаз" НАК "Нафтогаз України".

   Фірма "Екотеп".

   Приватне підприємство "Аванте".

7. http://www.energoatom.kiev.ua
   Державне підприємство "Національна атомна енергогенеруюча компанія "Енергоатом".

   Державне підприємство зовнішньоекономічної діяльності "Укрінтеренерго".

   Державне госпрозрахункове підприємство “Сертифікаційний випробувальний центр опалювального обладнання”.

Компанія «РосКосметика».

    Бентонит, ООО "Николаев шерсть"

    ЗАО"Светловодський завод Луч”

    Закрите акціонерне товариство "Виробничо-торгова фірма "Сіверянка".

    Відкрите акціонерне товариство "Корюківська фабрика технічних паперів".

    Відкрите акціонерне товариство "Чернігівське Хімволокно".

    Державне підприємство "Прилуцький завод протиностежного і спеціального машинобудування "Пожспецмаш".

17. http://www.prown.com.ua
    Корпорація "Проун".

    Товариство з обмеженою відповідальністю "Полімаш".

    Товариство з обмеженою відповідальністю "Тан".

    Відкрите акціонерне товариство "Котельний завод "Ковінергомаш".

    Відкрите акціонерне товариство "Ніжинський механічний завод".

    Відкрите акціонерне товариство "Будмаш".

    Відкрите акціонерне товариство "Хімтекстильмаш".

Фірма "Родник".

Закрите акціонерне товариство "Науково-виробничі підприємство "Інформаційні технології та електронні комплекси" (НВП "ІТЕК")

Закрите акціонерне товариство "Тера".

27. [http://www.regmik.com](http://www.regmik.com)
Науково-виробничі підприємство "РееМік".

Товариство з обмеженою відповідальністю "Багатопрофільне підприємство "Атірос".

ООО «Велам».

Компанія "ST-grant".

ООО фірма «Куртаж».

Закрите акціонерне товариство "Камвольно-суконна компанія "Чексіл".

33. [http://www.delo.cn.ua/yaroslavna](http://www.delo.cn.ua/yaroslavna)
Закрите акціонерне товариство "Виробничо-торговельне підприємство художніх виробів "Ярославна".

Закрите акціонерне товариство "Чернігівська взуттєва фабрика "Берегіння", Chernig.

35. [http://www.gorlica.kiev.u](http://www.gorlica.kiev.u)
Закрите акціонерне товариство "Виробниче-торговельна фірма головних уборів "Горлиця".

Закрите акціонерне товариство "Центр моди "Екста".

Закрите акціонерне товариство "Чінбар".

38. [http://www.b-g.com.ua](http://www.b-g.com.ua)
Компанія "B&G".

Компанія "Тексіка".

40. [http://www.tk.kiev.ua](http://www.tk.kiev.ua)
Компанія "Текстиль-Контакт".

41. [http://www.apollo.ua](http://www.apollo.ua)
Корпорація "Тальський і Ко".

42. [http://www.textil.com.ua](http://www.textil.com.ua)
Корпорація "Текстиль-Україна".

Науково-виробнича фірма "Інтегдиф".

44. [http://www.folgoremilano.com](http://www.folgoremilano.com)
Товариство з обмеженою відповідальністю "Де мі фешн".

Товариство з обмеженою відповідальністю "МАН.ГО".

Товариство з обмеженою відповідальністю "Виробничо-керамічний центр "Трейд Лайн Лтд".

47. [http://www.tekstil.com.ua](http://www.tekstil.com.ua)
Товариство з обмеженою відповідальністю "Спільне українсько-російське підприємство "Чайковський текстиль-Україна".

Товариство з обмеженою відповідальністю "Спецшиття".

49. [http://www.talan.in.ua](http://www.talan.in.ua)
Товариство з обмеженою відповідальністю "Таланлегпром".

50. [http://www.ukrlinen.com](http://www.ukrlinen.com)
Товариство з обмеженою відповідальністю "Торговий дім "Житомирський льонокомбінат".
   Товариство з обмеженою відповідальністю "Укртекстиль".

   Підприємство "Віват".

   Спільне українсько-французьке підприємство "Фіорд - Бот".

   Спеціалізоване підприємство "Мелена".

   Українська асоціація хутровиків.

   Фірма "ТК-Фурнітура".

57. http://www.derby.ua
   Приватне підприємство "А і К".

   Приватне підприємство "БМТ-Стиль".

   Приватне підприємство "ТК-Спецодяг".

60. http://www.giprograd.com
   ЗАО «Николаевский ГИПРОГРАД».

61. http://www.ginkgo.net.ua
   Приватне підприємство "Гінкго".

   ТОВ "Апіпак".

   Компанія ООО "Золотий Век ™".

64. http://www.monomakh.com.ua/ru
   Компанія “Мономах”

65. http://www.ukrainochka.ua
   Вода “Україночка”, ООО «Просперо»
Закрите акціонерне товариство "Чернігівський пивокомбінат "Десна".

67. [http://kronos_cg.ukrtel.net](http://kronos_cg.ukrtel.net)
Товариство з обмеженою відповідальністю "Кронос-МК".

68. [http://www.yasen.com.ua](http://www.yasen.com.ua)
Відкрите акціонерне товариство "Чернігівський завод продтоварів "Ясен".

69. [http://www.nyvky.ua](http://www.nyvky.ua)
Виробнико-харчовий комбінат "Нивки".

70. [http://www.vimal.ua](http://www.vimal.ua)
Приватне багатопрофільне підприємство "Вимал".

компанія “Агро-Сивер”.

72. [http://bti.boom.ru](http://bti.boom.ru)
ООО “Белтрансинвест”.

73. [http://crystal.kiev.ua](http://crystal.kiev.ua)
Компанія ООО «СП Кристалл».

74. [http://www.cnt.ukrbiz.net](http://www.cnt.ukrbiz.net)
Компанія "Центр Нових Технологій".

75. [http://www.sante.kiev.ua](http://www.sante.kiev.ua)
Компанія "СК-Аква".

Компанія “Кодокан Дистрибьюшен”.

Компанія “Украфлора”.

78. [http://www.shtorm.com](http://www.shtorm.com)
ТОВ «ИСП Шторм».

79. [http://www.ranock.com/about.php](http://www.ranock.com/about.php)
Видавництво "Ранок".

Товариство з обмеженою відповідальністю "Інвекс Телеком".

81. www.scanhouse.com.ua
    ВАТ "СКАНДИНАВІАН ХАУС".

82. www.volia.com
    Компанія “ВОЛЯ”.

    Українсько-німецьке спільне підприємство "Інфоком".

84. http://www.it.ua
    Науково-виробниче об'єднання "Інформаційні технології".

    Товариство з обмеженою відповідальністю "Телекомунікаційна компанія "АТЕЛ".

    Товариство з обмеженою відповідальністю "Телекомунікаційна компанія "Інтерзв'язок".

    Товариство з обмеженою відповідальністю "Елан".

88. www.presa.ua
    Державне підприємство по розповсюдженню періодичних видань «Преса» (ДП «Преса»).

89. http://www.sophia.kiev.ua
    Видавництво "Софія".

90. http://www.wumag.kiev.ua
    Товариство з обмеженою відповідальністю “Редакція журналу “Міжнародний туризм”.

    Товариство з обмеженою відповідальністю "Туристична компанія "Аларіє".

    Готельно-туристичний комплекс "Придеснянський".

93. http://www.sputnik.kiev.ua
    Туристична компанія “Київський Супутник”.
Готельний комплекс "Братислава".

95. www.slt.com.ua
Закрите акціонерне товариство "Туристичне агентство "Спорт Лайн Тревел".

96. www.hotel-tourist.kiev.ua
Готельний комплекс "Турист".

97. http://www.kk.kiev.ua
Туристичне агентство “Карибський клуб”.
Appendix C  
List of the companies in the Western Zone

   ВАТ "Івано-Франківськторф"

   ОАО "Мармуровий кар'єр "Трибушани".

   Товариство з обмеженою відповідальністю "Завод "Промліт".

4. [http://www.vivat-volyn.ua](http://www.vivat-volyn.ua)  
   Державне підприємство "Луцький спиртогорілчаний комбінат".

   ВАТ «Луцьк Фуд».

6. [http://www.vinzavod.boom.ru](http://www.vinzavod.boom.ru)  
   Радгосп "Виноградівський".

   Мале приватне підприємство "Алекс".

8. [http://www.medelin.com](http://www.medelin.com)  
   ТОВ „Меделін”.

   ТОВ "Плосківський завод мінеральних вод".

10. [http://www.chizay.com](http://www.chizay.com)  
    СП "Айсберг Лтд".

11. [http://www.cotnar.com](http://www.cotnar.com)  
    Закрите акціонерне підприємство "Котnar".
Товариство з обмеженою відповідальністю "Каскад-Продакшн".

Товариство з обмеженою відповідальністю "Торговий дім "Західна молочна група".

Відкрите акціонерне товариство "Гнідавський цукровий завод".

Сільськогосподарське приватне підприємство "Злата".

Спільне українсько-чеське підприємство "Нерис".

17. http://www.ua-parada.com
Uzhgorod Clothing Factory

18. http://www.nooradamus.uzhgorod.ua
Товариство з обмеженою відповідальністю "Нострадамус Плюс".

Товариство з обмеженою відповідальністю "Селена".

Товариство з обмеженою відповідальністю "Хустська фабрика фетрових головних уборів "Хуст-Фільц".

Виробнико-торговельне підприємство "Ортекс".

Закрите акціонерне товариство "Волинський шовковий комбінат".

Приватне підприємство "АГУ".

УМГ "Прикарпаттрансгаз".

ВАТ "Прикарпаттяобленерго".
   Відкрите акціонерне товариство “Закарпаттяобленерго”.

   Закрите акціонерне товариство ЗАТ “ЛУКОР”.

    Фірма "Альпі".

29. http://www.ecolan.lviv.ua
    Корпорація «Еколо».

    Корпорація “Енергоресурс-інвест”.

    Підприємство Д.В.А."-Атлант.

    ТЗОВ “ДезОрк”.

    ТЗОВ “Ельпласт-Львів”.

34. http://www.artgos.pl
    Завод Пластмассовых Изделий АО "ArtGos".

35. www.sniezka.ua
    ТЗОВ „Снежка-Україна”.

    Відкрите акціонерне товариство "Луцькпластмас".

    Фірма “Мед”.

    ЗАТ "Коростенський завод "Янтар".

    ООО “НПП Епсима”.

    ЗАО “Оснастка-Маркет”.
    ОАО “Киверцыспецлесмаш”.

42.  http://www.kovelselmash.com
    ОАО "Ковельсельмаш".

43.  http://www.techosnastka.utel.net.ua
    ООО “Техоснастка”.

44.  http://www.pakole-ukraine.com
    Дочірнє підприємство "Паколе-Україна".

    Закрите акціонерне товариство "Єврокар".

46.  http://www.convector.info
    Завод "Конвектор".

47.  http://www.turbogaz.com
    Відкрите акціонерне товариство "Ужгородський Турбогаз".

    Відкрите акціонерне товариство "Луцький автомобільний завод".

    Відкрите акціонерне товариство "Луцький підшипниковий завод".

50.  http://www.vdu.edu.ua
    Волинський державний університет ім. Лесі Українки.

    Луцький державний технічний університет.

    Державне підприємство "Баранівське лісослівське господарство"

    Товариство з обмеженою відповідальністю "Компроф".

    Відкрите акціонерне товариство "Мукачівприлад".
Товариство з обмеженою відповідальністю "Волинькабель".

56. [http://www.etm.lutsk.ukrpack.net](http://www.etm.lutsk.ukrpack.net)
Відкрите акціонерне товариство "Електротермометрія".

Товариство з обмеженою відповідальністю "Варіант-Логістик".

58. [http://www.pacobo.com](http://www.pacobo.com)
Товариство з обмеженою відповідальністю "Пакобо".

Фірма "Трансвіт".

60. [http://www.uz.ukrpack.net](http://www.uz.ukrpack.net)
Закрите акціонерне товариство "ЗакарпатІнфоком".

61. [http://www.prokk.net](http://www.prokk.net)
Мале підприємство "ПроКК".

62. [http://www.elbank.lviv.ua](http://www.elbank.lviv.ua)
Відкрите акціонерне товариство "Електрон Банк".

63. [http://www.tpp.uzhgorod.ua](http://www.tpp.uzhgorod.ua)
Закарпатська торгово-промислова палата.

64. [http://www.inkom.lutsk.ua](http://www.inkom.lutsk.ua)
Комерційний банк "Західінкомбанк".

65. [http://www.tpp.lutsk.ua](http://www.tpp.lutsk.ua)
Волинська торгово-промислова палата.

66. [http://www.hotel-kamelot.com](http://www.hotel-kamelot.com)
Готельно-ресторанний комплекс "Камелот".

67. [http://www.voevodyno.com](http://www.voevodyno.com)
Готельний комплекс "Воєводіно".

68. [http://www.hotel-duet.com](http://www.hotel-duet.com)
Готельний комплекс "Дует".

Готельний комплекс "Карпатія".
70.  [http://www.zolota-gora.com](http://www.zolota-gora.com)
Готель-Ранчо "Золота гора".

71.  [http://www.busol.karpat.org](http://www.busol.karpat.org)
Туристична фірма "Бусоль-Вояж".

72.  [http://www.camellia-tour.com](http://www.camellia-tour.com)
Туристичне агентство "Камелія-Тур".

Приватний готель "Едуард".

74.  [http://www.voltur.ukrbiznes.com](http://www.voltur.ukrbiznes.com)
Закрите акціонерне товариство "Волиньтурист".
Appendix D
List of the companies in the Littoral Zone

1. [http://www.blackseagas.com](http://www.blackseagas.com)
   Государственное акционерное общество "Черноморнефтегаз".

2. [http://biodiesel.crimea.ua](http://biodiesel.crimea.ua)
   Фирма“Биодизель крым”.

   Відкрите акціонерне товариство "Ексімнафтопродукт".

4. [http://www.titanexport.com](http://www.titanexport.com)
   Закрытое акционерное общество "Крымский Титан”

5. [http://www.cs.ua](http://www.cs.ua)
   ОАО "Кримський содовий завод “.

   ООО “Пластполимер”

7. [http://www.markogroup.com](http://www.markogroup.com)
   Компанія "Марко Лтд".

8. [http://www.iceblick.com](http://www.iceblick.com)
   Товариство з обмеженою відповідальністю "Айсблік.

   Товариство з обмеженою відповідальністю "Полімерпласт".

    Товариство з обмеженою відповідальністю "Виробничо-комерційне підприємство "Колібрі".

11. [http://www.danke.od.ua](http://www.danke.od.ua)
    Товариство з обмеженою відповідальністю "Томак".

207
   Товариство з обмеженою відповідальністю "Укргазифікація Юг".

   Відкрите акціонерне товариство "Одеський завод гумотехнічних виробів".

   Відкрите акціонерне товариство "Олімп-Круг".

   Компанії ЗАО "Камоцци-пневматик-Симферополь".

   ООО "Консервні машинні системи".

17. http://www.selmash.strace.net
   ОАО “Симферопольській сільськогосподарський машини".

   ОАО “Фіолент”.

   ОАО “Симферопольський моторний завод”.

    "Електромашинобудівний завода "Фірма "Селма".

    Акціонерне товариство "Кислородмаш".

    Дочірнє підприємство “Сігма-Україна”.

    Компанія "Марко Лтд".

    Компанія "Южтехсервіс".

25. http://www.aft.od.ua
    Науково-виробниче підприємство "Агрофермтехнік".

Акціонерне товариство "Одесхарчокомбінат".

27. http://www.bogumyla.odessa.ua
   Державне підприємство "Куліндорівський комбінат хлібопродуктів".

   Державне виробниче підприємство "Веселка".

29. http://www.eurocom.od.ua/~tehkons
   Державний науково-дослідний і проектно-конструкторський інститут "Консервпромкомплекс".

30. http://www.grosslibentale.od.ua
    Закрите акціонерне товариство "Вікторія.

    Закрите акціонерне товариство "Одесавинпром".

    Закрите акціонерне товариство "Одесакондитер".

    Туropератор “ЯлтаТурист”.

Hotels:
34. http://salgir.com
38. http://www.artek.org
40. http://www.diamant.net.ua
41. http://krasotel.ru
42. http://www.sevil.ru
43. http://feo-tour.com

209
44. http://www.yalta-inturist.com
47. http://www.junona.crimea.ua