

## **Patterns of indirect negative evaluation: Russian mass media on Ukrainian leaders**

The purpose of this paper is to overview patterns of provoking negative judgment in relation to Ukrainian public figures. The keywords 'Yushchenko', 'Timoshenko', 'Orange/ revolution' were used as a search tool for electronic versions of the Russian newspapers 'Argumenty I Fakty' and 'Komsomol'skaia pravda' between October 2004 and June 2005. Approximately 100 articles of various genres were selected. The theoretical framework included Scott and Tribble (2006) textual patterns recognition, Martin and White (2005) appraisal theory and graded salience hypothesis of Giora (2003). My major assumption was that the creation of negative images would not require direct accusations, abusive words and overtly negative statements. Subtle means of persuasion were used such as nicknames for the leaders 'Hetman', 'Orange princess', 'Joan of Arc of Ukraine', jokes, ironic comments, hyperbole and others. Frame shifting technique and unconfirmed allegations led to foregrounding of the topics 'Yushchenko is an embodiment of the anti-Russian sentiments', 'Timoshenko—seductress and criminal', 'National treason', 'Narcissism and hypocrisy of the Orange leaders'. In terms of Giora (2003), condensing of the themes induced a salient disapproval of the Orange Revolution. In terms of Martin and White (2005), the Ukrainian leaders would get a positive evaluation on their 'tenacity' (how resolute they are) and 'normality' (how usual they are) which in turn overrides all positive assumptions on their 'capacity' (how capable they are), 'veracity' (how truthful they are) and 'propriety' (how ethical they are).