



THE STRATEGY OF EVALUATIVE ARGUMENTATION AS A MEANS OF LINGUISTIC MODELING OF THE POLICE IMAGE IN OPPOSITIONAL RUSSIAN AND AMERICAN NEWSPAPERS

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Abstract. The article is devoted to the strategy of evaluative argumentation in the Russian and American mass media discourse aimed at linguistic modeling of the Police image. The strategy of evaluative argumentation is one of the most effective communicative strategies for modeling the image of a social institution, where the addresser through appeal to the addressee's emotions creates a certain model verbalized in value components and capable of having a speech impact forming the addressee's opinion and attitude to a certain object or phenomenon. The category of assessment has the greatest speech-influencing potential due to the fact that it can replace logical argumentation in a media text, and evaluations can obtain the character of arguments themselves. The main functions of law enforcement agencies all over the world are to protect citizens' life, health, rights and freedoms, that is, the highest values. That is why the value model is of the greatest interest in the study of the Police as a social institution. The author analyzes media texts, represented in such oppositional newspapers as "Novaya Gazeta", "Kommersant", "The Washington Post" and "The New York Times" for the period from 1 to 30 January 2021. As a result of the analyses of arguments and argumentative acts from oppositional newspapers representing information about the Russian and American law enforcement agencies' activities, the author concludes that the positive image of the social institution of the Police in Russian-language and English-language media texts is actualized in such evaluative components as "morality", "ethic", "humanity", "protection", "safety", "professionalism" and "legitimacy", and the negative image is verbalized in the components "illegitimacy", "arbitrariness", "brutality", "unprofessionalism", "bias" and "threat".

Keywords: law enforcement agencies, image, mass media discourse, linguistic modeling, speech impact, evaluation, the category of evaluation, communicative strategy, argumentative act

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СТРАТЕГИЯ ОЦЕНОЧНОЙ АРГУМЕНТАЦИИ КАК СРЕДСТВО ЛИНГВИСТИЧЕСКОГО МОДЕЛИРОВАНИЯ ОБРАЗА ПОЛИЦИИ В ОППОЗИЦИОННЫХ РОССИЙСКИХ И АМЕРИКАНСКИХ ГАЗЕТАХ

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Аннотация. Статья посвящена реализации стратегии оценочной аргументации в российском и американском массмедиаальном дискурсе, направленной на лингвистическое моделирование образа полиции. Стратегия оценочной аргументации является одной из наиболее эффективных коммуникативных стратегий моделирования образа социального института, в рамках которой адресантом посредством апелляции к эмоциям адресата создаётся определённая модель, вербализованная в ценностных компонентах и способная оказывать речевое воздействие, формируя мнение и отношение адресата к тому или иному объекту или явлению. Категория оценочности обладает наибольшим речевоздействующим потенциалом в связи с тем, что способна заменить в медиатексте логическую аргументацию, а оценки сами могут приобретать характер аргументов. Основными функциями правоохранительных органов во всём мире является защита жизни, здоровья, прав и свобод граждан, то есть наивысших ценностей. В связи с этим наибольший интерес в изучении полиции как социального института представляет именно ценностная модель. Автор анализирует медиатексты, представленные в таких оппозиционных газетах, как «Новая газета», «Коммерсант», «The Washington Post» и «The New York Times» за период с 1 по 30 января 2021 года. В результате анализа аргументов и аргументативных актов, представленных в оппозиционных газетах и репрезентирующих информацию о деятельности российских и американских правоохранительных органов, автор приходит к выводу, что положительный образ социального института полиции в русскоязычных и англоязычных медиатекстах актуализируется в таких оценочных компонентах, как «мораль», «нравственность», «гуманность», «защита», «безопасность», «профессионализм» и «законность», а отрицательный образ вербализуется в компонентах «незаконность», «произвол», «жестокость», «непрофессионализм», «предвзятость» и «угроза».

Ключевые слова: правоохранительные органы, образ, массмедиаальный дискурс, лингвистическое моделирование, речевое воздействие, оценка, категория оценочности, коммуникативная стратегия, аргументативный акт

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1. INTRODUCTION

The communicative-pragmatic direction of modern linguistics considers the language not only as a means of communication but also as an instrument of speech influence capable of managing communicative processes and forming constructive value motivations, orientations and meanings. In this regard many studies (R.M. Blakar [2], T.A. van Dijk, V. Kinch [3], M.R. Zheltukhina [5], O.S. Issers [8], [9], M.V. Katynskaia [12], O.N. Parshina [14], G.G. Pocheptsov [16], N.B. Ruzhentseva [17], I.A. Sternin [18], V.E. Chernyavskaya [21], E.I. Sheigal [23] and others) are devoted to the study of speech behavior techniques, the most effective in terms of the speaker's strategies, as well as the choice of an adequate way of verbal impact on the addressee in a specific communicative situation. O.S. Issers notes that "new forms of communication have led to the emergence of new discursive practices which, being social practices, participate in the creation of the social world"¹ [8, p. 37]. Therefore, nowadays the mass media have the greatest pragmatic potential which have turned into an instrument of social power – the fourth power, capable of influencing the organization of political and social institutions activities and the formation of their image in the minds of the population as well.

According to T.G. Dobrosklonskaya, the media (print, radio, television, Internet) create a single media space in which mass media discourse, in addition to the message and distribution channel, also includes various extralinguistic factors, covering the features of creating a media message, its recipient, feedback, culture-based methods of encoding and decoding, socio-historical and political-ideological context [4]. In this regard it can be stated that there is a certain dependence of political and social processes on the linguistic characteristics of media messages.

In the media special attention is paid to highlighting the activities of social institutions, especially law enforcement agencies, which are part of the executive branch of government and, in fact, a projection of the state power. A lot of domestic and foreign studies are devoted to the study of the Police image (T.V. Agapova [1], A.I. Zolotayko [6], N.P. Kadantseva [10], D.G. Perednya [15], A.V. Tishchenko [19], I.I. Shkalov [22], R.J. Richard [24], J. Schultz [25], W.L. Wayne [26], etc.). In this regard the study of the modeling processes of the police forces' image by linguistic means in media discourse is a promising and relevant area of research.

The category of evaluation expressed in positive or negative evaluative statements and appealing to the intelligence and emotions of the addressee, has the greatest speech-influencing potential in media discourse. Therefore, in our opinion, the most effective strategy for linguistic modeling of the image of law enforcement agencies in mass media discourse is the strategy of evaluative argumentation.

The aim of the study is to analyze the argumentative acts in order to identify the evaluative components within the strategy of evaluative argumentation actualized during the process of linguistic modeling of law enforcement agencies image in the oppositional mass media discourse.

To achieve this aim the study implements the following **tasks**:

- to carry out a selection of media texts on Police activities in Russian and American opposition newspapers;
- to analyze the argumentative acts in order to identify such evaluative components as 'morality', 'ethic', 'humanity', 'protection', 'safety', 'professionalism', 'legitimacy', 'illegitimacy', 'arbitrariness', 'brutality', 'unprofessionalism', 'bias' and 'threat';
- to compare the components and speech techniques highlighted in the process of implementing the strategy of evaluative argumentation in Russian and English-language publications.

2. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The contextual analysis of linguistic material based on the interpretive approach within the strategy of evaluative argumentation is chosen as the main method for analyzing argumentation and argumentative acts in media texts representing the image of law enforcement agencies in Russian and American opposi-

¹ Translated by V. Nesterova

tion newspapers. Within this strategy the author singled out value components aimed at linguistic modeling of the image of Police as a social institution. These components, in our opinion, allow considering law enforcement structures either as defenders of certain social values or as exterminators and desecrators of the values. The study was based on the media texts taken from such Russian and American opposition newspapers as *Novaya Gazeta*, *Kommersant*, *The Washington Post* and *The New York Times*. Media texts covering Police activities in Russia and the United States were selected by the method of continuous sampling for the period of January 2021. This period was chosen due to the ongoing political events in the United States of America, the armed confrontation between the supporters of the two political parties in the Capitol, caused by the results of the presidential elections in the USA, in particular. All in all, the continuous sampling method found 187 Russian and 194 American media texts actualizing such evaluative components as 'morality', 'ethic', 'humanity', 'protection', 'safety', 'professionalism', 'legitimacy', 'illegitimacy', 'arbitrariness', 'brutality', 'unprofessionalism', 'bias' and 'threat'.

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Most researchers agree that the main category within the framework of the implementation of communication strategies and tactics is the category of evaluation where the concept of 'value' acts as a set of meanings and cultural dominants most significant for a certain culture, reflected in the valuable picture of the world and determining the perception of the people, and their mentality [11, p. 166-167].

The main way of reflecting the value system is the category of linguistic evaluation understood by linguists as a "socially fixed attitude of native speakers («good» – «bad», «legal» – «illegal», «friend» – «enemy», etc.) to an extra-linguistic object, to facts of language and speech" [20, p. 7]. All evaluations or assessments include not only approval or condemnation but also elements of rational knowledge. While assessing a particular object a linguistic personality always relies on ideal ideas about this object that can be recognized as positively valuable, negatively valuable or neutral [7].

Social institutions, including law enforcement agencies, acting as defenders or, conversely, exterminators of certain values, may be either perceived as valued or devalued by citizens and treated as aggressors and destroyers of generally accepted values and norms. Thus, in opposition newspapers news reports on the activities of law enforcement agencies are subdivided into models that 1) create a positive Police image and 2) sharply criticize the activities of Police forces through the verbalization of evaluative components that represent social and personal values.

Among the media texts that model a positive image of the Police within a strategy of evaluative argumentation one can single out argumentative acts that explicate such components as 'morality' and 'ethic', 'protection' and 'safety', 'professionalism' and 'legality'.

An example of actualization of '**morality**' and '**ethic**' components of police officers is a passage from the following media text: «Более 270 тысяч россиян привлекли к ответственности за пьяное вождение в 2020 году» [*Kommersant* from 02/01/2021]. The addresser's intentions to model the image of police officers as defenders of law and order and ethical values are achieved by using *the superlative degree of comparison* in the argument «пьянство за рулём остаётся наиболее социально опасным явлением». The perlocutionary effect is enhanced by the statistical data cited which contributes to the establishment of trust relationship with the audience through not withholding the information but by open publication of these numbers («С января по ноябрь 2020 года более 270 тысяч водителей в России привлекли к административной ответственности за вождение в состоянии опьянения. Это на 2,8% меньше, чем за аналогичный период 2019 года ... за невыполнение требований полиции о прохождении медосвидетельствования на состояние опьянения были привлечены к ответственности ещё 151,1 тысяч человек. Это на 4,6% меньше, чем за тот же период годом ранее»). This statistics is also aimed at realization of the principle of law enforcement system transparency.

In the context taken from the news report entitled "Rioters breached the Capitol as they waved pro-police flags. Police support on the right may be eroding, experts warn" [WP, from 08/01/2021] the evaluative components '**morality**', '**ethic**' and '**humanity**' are also explicated when police officers are represented as assistants who sympathize with citizens: "... several officers at the Capitol on Wednesday seemed sym-

*pathetic to the rioters. Police helps some supporters of the president wash out their eyes after being hit with chemical irritants. At the Capitol gates, some smiled and posed for photos". The perlocutionary effect is enhanced in **antithesis** "But unlike at racial justice demonstrations, where police would fire chemical munitions into areas where protesters were being treated by medics or advance on ailing protesters ..." aimed at demonstrating a contrast between different methods used by police officers and their attitude to citizens.*

The text entitled «СМИ: в Москве задержали больше 30 человек после конфликта со стрельбой» [Kommersant, from 03/01/2021] simultaneously verbalizes such components as '**security**' and '**protection**'. This context is an evaluatively unmarked argumentation, however, a positive evaluation of the police officers' actions is given through the representation of Police as defenders of life, health and peace of the population, guaranteeing safety (*Сотрудники полиции, прибывшие на место, задержали и доставили в полицию около 35 человек*) and protection of citizens from unlawful encroachments (*... жители пожаловались полиции на драку*) professionally performing their official duties (*Полиция восстановила события по камерам видеонаблюдения*).

In a fragment of a newspaper message "Police Officer Who Responded to Capitol Riot Dies Off Duty" [NYT, from 10/01/2021] the components of '**protection**' and '**safety**' are also modeled through the representation of Police as defenders of democracy and the historical heritage of the country, the life and health of the population even at the cost of their own lives: *"Four days after a violent mob stormed the Capitol, overrunning its police force, an officer who was assigned to protect the Senate during the siege died off duty, the Capitol Police announced on Sunday".* The **epithet** in *"a violent mob"* enhances the addresser's intentions to exaggerate the situation; and **references to the opinion of the authority figures and Government** constitute an argument in favor of a positive attitude towards each police officer (*"Every Capitol Police officer ..."*) as to a person who selflessly fulfills his duty (*"a patriot who dedicated his life to defending the Capitol and protecting all who serve ..."*) protecting the country and its citizens. The perlocutionary effect in the argumentative acts of Gus Papathanasiou and Nancy Pelosi is achieved by using **epithets** in the phrases: *"selfless service", "tragic day", "tragic death", "great tragedy", "terrible tragedy", "meaningful support", "real person", metaphor "temple of our democracy", euphemism "his passing". Emotionally coloured verbs in the statements "We are reeling from the death of Officer Liebengood", "... whom I mourn" and the phrase "... Officer Liebengood smiling with a handful of cookies" have an emphatic effect appealing to the recipient's feelings of pity and compassion.*

In the passage "Capitol Police Officer Dies From Injuries in Pro-Trump Rampag" [NYT, from 08/01/2021], one can also observe the explication of the '**protection**' and '**security**' components. The intentions of the addresser to form the positive attitude towards law enforcement agencies as defenders of life, health, rights and freedoms of citizens, who ensure security at the cost of their own lives, are realized in the argumentative acts of the Congress representatives Tim Ryan and Rosa DeLauro who expressed condolences on the death of a police officer. The perlocutionary effect is achieved explicitly in the phrase *"the bravery of the law enforcement who protect us every day"* and implicitly by using **epithets** in *"tragic loss", "senseless death her", the metaphor "heart breaks", the modal verb "must"*. The statement of law enforcement agencies traces an appeal to the feeling of compassion actualized by the use of **the comparative degree of the adjectives** *"deepest sympathies", euphemism – "their loss"* and the **emotionally coloured verb** *"to mourn"*.

The modeling of a positive image of the US Police and the verbalization of the component '**professionalism**' can be traced in the media text "Opinion: Prince William police shot and killed a 79-year-old man. Was it a preventable tragedy?" [WP, from 01/01/2021]. So, the reference to the authority figure, Amy Ashworth (Commonwealth Attorney), does not simply justify police actions but indicate their professionalism and the use of **the epithet** *"tragic encounter"* stands for a desperate situation for police officers performing their duties (*"... the use of deadly force "justified and reasonable under the circumstances of this tragic encounter"*). The statistics below appeal to citizens' feelings of compassion for police officers who are forced to resort to drastic measures (*"Of the nearly 1,000 fatal police shootings in the United States every year, experts estimate that about 100 of them are suicide by cop"*). The statement that the US police in their professional training take into account the psychological characteristics of individuals and use psychological techniques to eliminate such incidents also testifies to the professionalism of law enforcement

agencies. Thus, despite the negative context the addresser gives a positive assessment of the professional actions of the police officers.

An example of modeling a positive image of police officers and actualization of the 'legitimacy' component can be the newspaper report entitled «МВД возбудило уголовное дело после новогодних пожаров в лесах Сочи» [*Kommersant*, from 07/01/2021]. In this neutral context law enforcement agencies act as legal representatives of the natural values protection. The perlocutionary effect is achieved by using **legal terminology**: «возбудить уголовное дело по факту», «заводить административное дело в отношении», «умышленное уничтожение или повреждение имущества» as well as by **citing** concrete articles from **the Criminal Code** (ч. 2 ст. 167 УК РФ), **figures** (13 административных дел, личности шестерых подростков, 10 природных пожаров) and **referring to a reliable source of information** (Глава Сочи Алексей Копайгородский: «Те, кто совершает подобные действия, – преступники, и отвечать за содеянное им придётся по всей строгости закона»).

In the following argument the addresser shows the legality of the actions of the US law enforcement officials and verbalizes the 'legitimacy' component: «No doubt acting chief Phelps was correct when he said the incident underscores the dangers officers face, but one has to wonder whether sending armed police to deal with a suicidal 79-year-old is the best approach» [WP, from 01/01/2021]. **The antithesis** in the argument makes the addressee doubt the effectiveness of not every single officer who performs his duties under the law but the whole structure. This fact contributes to establishment of trust relationship with the audience and simultaneously exposes representatives of law enforcement agencies as victims and hostages of circumstances.

However, among the opposition publications representing information about law enforcement agencies one can find media texts filled with critical remarks about police officers and their actions. In general, such articles are written in the ironic tone with sarcastic remarks about police officers, thereby modeling the negative image of the entire structure by verbalizing such components as 'non-professionalism', 'brutality', 'illegality', 'arbitrariness' and 'threat'.

Thus, in a fragment of the newspaper article «Стражи гор» [NG, from 03/01/2021] such components as 'illegitimacy' and 'arbitrariness' are verbalized. The speech impact on the addressee is realized by the method of **imposing presuppositions** where the author's intentions to create the negative image of law enforcement agencies and his negative evaluation of the events are expressed in the following argumentative act: «... 14 дней митингов, блокирования промышленной техники, столкновений с «титушками» и ОМОНОм. Претерпевая атаки слезоточивым газом и дымовыми шашками. Отправляясь за решетку». Enhancing of the perlocutionary effect is achieved by **the elliptical constructions**, as well as a **common noun** 'titushko' derived from the surname of the athlete Vadim Titushko (proper name) and denoting a collective term for young people of athletic build and in tracksuits acting as provocateurs [13]. The words «титушки» and «ОМОН» standing together draw attention to the illegal actions and excessive cruelty of Police forces who attract instigators and mercenaries to help organize violent provocations, riots and other actions with the use of physical force. In the argument below, the addresser's intentions are aimed at exaggerating the situation by opposing the actions of Police acting as an antagonist to the civilian population: «... Они защитили свою культуру (шихан воспет в народных легендах), свою национальную гордость, и главное – своё право распоряжаться родной землёй». In the argument «За 14 дней жители республики показали не только местным, но и московским властям, что уничтожать своё наследие и превращать башкирские горы в деньги они не дадут», the method of **imposing presuppositions** models the negative image of Police assisting officials for whom economic values are in priority over ethical values, cultural and historical heritage. In addition, the author of the article cites monologues of the participants in order to establish trusting relations with the audience. Thus, a reference to the words of an activist, Ruzina Mukhamedzhanova, and a journalist Ramil Rakhmanov helps to establish the involvement of readers in the events through the use of the **Personal pronoun** «мы» and **the pronoun in the Objective case** «нас», **the metonymy** «техника пошла на людей», **the emphatic construction** «Да, было страшно», **the rhetorical question** «Куда нам бежать, если в опасности оказалась Родина?», **the antithesis with the opposing conjunction «а»** («На самой

горе было страшно только в один день, 15 августа, когда нас, защитников шихана, было несколько десятков, а штурмующих, в том числе силовиков, несколько сотен»).

The '**illegitimacy**' and '**arbitrariness**' components are also modeled in the article "Police Failures Spur Resignations and Complaints of Double Standards" [NYT, from 20/01/2021]. The whole argumentative act is built on the opposition of supporters and the opponents of ex-President D. Trump, that is the implementation of *the category of 'friend or foe'* where Police forces are classified as 'alien' and the officers are represented as people committing arbitrariness, pushing peaceful citizens (*peaceful protesters*) into vans without identification marks (*unmarked vans*) and showing excessive cruelty (*used pepper spray*). Such a description is inherently ironic since these actions are aimed at ensuring the protection of D. Trump who is not in danger in fact (*so that Mr. Trump could pose for photos in front of a church*). The perlocutionary effect is enhanced by **quoting** the sarcastic words of D. Trump: "When the looting starts, the shooting starts", expressing gratitude to the instigators of the rebellion in his support: "You have to go home now." He added, "We love you. You're very special". To Trump's supporters Police were not so aggressive as to their peaceful opposition according to Shenita Binns ("They (Police) stood there like statues and did not say anything back except stuff like 'Don't come up here' or 'Don't go that way'").

In the media text entitled «Мухаммад, Аиша и чеченская полиция» [NG, from 05/01/2021] the actions of law enforcement officers are sharply criticized and ridiculed by the author of the article by verbalizing the components '**illegitimacy**', '**arbitrariness**' and '**brutality**'. In the very title, one can observe such a stylistic device as the lexical semantic **zeugma**, which despite the absence of a unifying component, consists in violating the semantic homogeneity of words in the logical chain: *Muhammad* (Мухаммад) is the main prophet in Islam, *Aisha* (Аиша) is the first wife of Muhammad, but *Chechen police* (чеченская полиция) breaks out of the structure. Such violation of the semantic sequence in this phrase is used by the addresser to focus addressees' attention on the illogicality of further events and create a comic effect. In addition, the title contains *the allusion* that has a reference to the Koran, which is an appeal to the feelings of believers, people confessing Islam, in particular. The ironic tone of all further narration offends their feelings, which, in turn, enhances the perlocutionary effect in modeling the negative image of Police as a social institution destroying religious and confessional values. Next in the context is the '**brutality**' component, the «силовики» are represented as 'atheists' endowed with power and applying radical actions in relation to the «беременной» «сироте».

The '**brutality**' component of police officers is also modeled in the passage "Racial Double Standards of Capitol Police Draws Outcry" [NYT, от 07/01/2021]. Police officers in this context are represented as people who exceed their official powers without sufficient reason (*Johnetta Elzie said she was manhandled by officers; a peaceful violin vigil was disrupted when officers in riot gear charged the park and dispersed pepper spray, sending families with children fleeing*), showing extreme cruelty towards the civilian population (... *they (Police) pointed rifles at Black women who were pushing toddlers in strollers and cursed at them to turn around*) and violate human rights and freedoms (*Many times, officers used batons and chemical agents to disperse crowds*). In order to achieve the perlocutionary effect the addresser **quotes** the words of Judge Catherine D. Perry who points out the excessive brutality of Police towards people who already obey their demands ("... *one officer firing pepper spray at the people being arrested*", "*who all appear to be on the ground and complying with police commands*"). The '**brutality**' component is actualized explicitly in the argumentative act of the lawyer Javad Hazaeli ("The police made the choice to use violence").

The verbalization of the '**non-professionalism**' component is represented in the following argument: «Но главное даже не это. Если бы чеченская полиция занималась делом, а не показухой, Ислам Исаханов был бы привлечён к уголовной ответственности как минимум по 134-й статье УК РФ задолго до того, как поселил в своём доме, в котором жила его первая, беременная жена, четырёх вооружённых людей» [NG, from 05/01/2021]. The addresser's intentions to model the negative image of law enforcement agencies are achieved through the use of **inversion** «Но главное даже не это» aimed at drawing readers' attention to the problem of unprofessionalism of the Police, *the conditional mood*, and are strengthened by the use of **antithesis** with **adversative conjunctions** «а», *the colloquial word* «показуха», and *the introductory construction* «как минимум», neutralizing the actions of Police forces.

The fragment taken from “Police Failures Spur Resignations and Complaints of Double Standards” [NYT, from 20/01/2021] can also be used as an example to trace the verbalization of the ‘**non-professionalism**’ component. The perlocutionary effect in the context is achieved by contradicting the words and actions of the Capitol Police, according to a deputy Maxine Waters (“He (Chief Steven Sund) assured me that they have everything under control, that they were on top of everything. They weren’t”). By arranging the argument in the form of **questions** (*Were the rooftops secured? Would streets be blocked off? Did he know that violent groups like the Proud Boys and the Oath Keepers were vowing to stir up chaos?*) the addresser appeals to the addressee’s emotions, generating distrust of the population to law enforcement agencies and their competence, as well as causing anxiety for their safety intensified by **the adverb** “anxiously”, **the epithets** in “angry mob”, “violent groups”, “desperate calls for help”, **the metaphor** “to stir up chaos”, and **the gradation** – “...pro-Trump extremists swarmed the barricades around the Capitol on Wednesday, spraying chemical irritants and wielding lead pipes, injuring more than 50 officers”. The pejorative image of Police is enhanced by **the irony** – “they (Police) were on top of everything” aimed at mocking the lack of professionalism of law enforcement bodies and their inability to fight back against the rebels.

A fragment taken from the media text “Capitol Police Officer Dies From Injuries in Pro-Trump Rampage” [NYT, from 08/01/2021] also actualizes the ‘**non-professionalism**’ component aimed at the Capitol Police who are unable to prevent people’s death, including their own officers. In order to realize the intentions to form the negative image of Police unable to fulfill their responsibilities, to maintain public order, ensure safety, protect life and health of citizens, the addresser appeals to the addressee’s fear who is threatened by a violent crowd. The perlocutionary effect is achieved through the use of tropes such as **the epithets**: “violent mob”, “profound changes”, and “robust investigation”, and **the euphemism** – “the loss of life”.

The text entitled “Police Failures Spur Resignations and Complaints of Double Standard” [NYT, from 20/01/2021] explicates the ‘**bias**’ component. Quoting the words of the US President J. Biden about the prejudiced attitude of law enforcement agencies towards the coloured population, the addresser’s appeals to the citizens’ sense of justice and the use of negatively evaluative **metaphors** “stark contrast”, “violent phalanxes”, “the mob of thugs” are aimed at creating a negative image of Police. The officers are presented as persons treating African-Americans with prejudice and conniving at the actions of the white population. The perlocutionary effect is enhanced by the use of **the adverb** “very differently” that clearly demonstrates the selective approach of police officers to different segments of the population, which, according to the president, is unacceptable (*We all know that’s true, and it is unacceptable*).

A passage taken from a newspaper article entitled “Racial Double Standard of Capitol Police Draws Outcry” [NYT, from 07.01.2021] also highlights the biased attitude of law enforcement agencies towards various categories of citizens where the ‘**bias**’ component is actualized through the use of **irony** in the following context: “I think the police will view a leftist protester with a gas mask as more dangerous than a right-wing protester with a semiautomatic rifle,” Mr. Ellison said”. Contrasting citizens with different ideologies (*a leftist protester with a gas mask / a right-wing protester with a semiautomatic rifle*) indicates a highly politicized American society, including police officers who must remain politically neutral while performing their professional duties, however, they prefer the Republican Party despite its aggressive and paramilitary methods of fighting for leadership. The following argument stresses the police officers’ prejudice against the coloured population while the white population enjoys their respect and condescension: “Black Lives Matter activists across the country expressed outrage on Thursday at what they said was a tepid response from law enforcement officers to mostly white protesters, saying it stood in stark contrast to the aggressive tactics they have endured for years – officers in full riot gear who have used tear-gas, rubber bullets and batons. It also underscored the country’s uneven system of justice, many said, and lent credence to their insistence that Black people are devalued and viewed as inherently dangerous”. This example confirms the political preferences of law enforcement agencies and their support for radical rights, who tend to conservatism and white supremacy. The addresser’s intentions to create the negative image of Police are realized through the use of **epithets**: “tepid response”, “aggressive tactics”, “uneven system of justice”, “inherently dangerous” and **gradation** in “officers in full riot gear who have used tear-gas, rubber bullets and batons” as well.

In a news message *«Rioters breached the Capitol as they waved pro-police flags. Police support on the right may be eroding, experts warn»* [WP, from 08/01/2021] the **'threat'** component is verbalized. The author of the article uses a powerful convergence of speech techniques and tactics in order to implement the strategy of evaluative argumentation. So, in the context, the use of **the metaphor** "... a tide of anger and frustration rose", **the euphemism** "raised a middle finger", **the repetitive exclamation** "Traitors! Traitors! Traitors!" serves to enhance the negative impact on the addressee's consciousness where police officers are perceived as traitors of the people, destroyers of ethical, cultural and historical values. The perlocutionary effect on modeling the 'threat' component is enhanced by **the reference** to the words of the participants of the riot: "You should be on our side," a woman in a Trump 2020 sweatshirt called at them. "We the people' means police, too!". "Is this honoring your oath? Pushing patriots around?" another man yelled as an officer shoved him back with baton. ... "The blue does not back you," reads a message posted in a pro-Proud Boys group with more than 37,000 followers on social media app Parler. "They back the men who pay them". The use of the **modal verb** (should be), **personal** (you, we) and **possessive pronouns** (your) serves to create an opposition "people – police", thereby, realizing the evaluative category **'friend or foe'**, where Police are "alien" and pose a threat to the population. The passage "At racial justice protests over the summer, following a spate of police killing of Black men and women around the country, protesters called police 'murderers' and implored officers to join them or take a knee to express solidarity" is aimed at **exaggerating** the situation by the method of **labeling** "murderers" on police officers.

4. CONCLUSION

In conclusion it should be noted that all media texts contain additional evaluative meanings aimed at providing a manipulative effect on the addressee's consciousness through the implementation of various communicative strategies and tactics, linguistic means and techniques. One of the most effective strategies of modeling the image of the social institution of Police both in Russian and English-language publications is the strategy of evaluative argumentation based on concrete values. In order to insert the necessary image into addressees' minds, an addresser creates a certain verbal model minimizing the efforts of a recipient spent on interpreting the incoming information.

Opposition newspapers are aimed at discrediting the current government and its representatives, therefore, Police, being the executive branch of government, often become the object of sharp criticism. However, our contextual analysis of argumentative acts within the strategy of evaluative argumentation has showed that not always do news messages on the activities of law enforcement agencies pursue a pragmatic function of modeling a sharply negative image of law enforcement officers.

For example, the newspaper *Kommersant* contains various articles where Police are represented as professionals ensuring protection and safety of the population; guided by laws and Codes in fulfilling their professional duties, they defend ethical and natural values. The author's intentions to implement the positive image of law enforcement agencies are verbalized in such components as 'morality', 'ethic', 'safety', 'protection' and 'legitimacy'. The main speech techniques are the use of legal terminology and the comparative degree of adjectives.

In *Novaya Gazeta* one can trace the opposite trend aimed at modeling the sharply negative image of Police where law enforcement officers are represented as people who disregard religious and confessional values putting economic values above ethical, cultural and historical values. Such components as 'illegitimacy' and 'arbitrariness', 'brutality' and 'unprofessionalism' of police officers are actualized in media texts. The perlocutionary effect of imposing such an image is achieved through the use of such speech techniques as antithesis, rhetorical questions, introductory constructions, conditional mood, exaggeration, elliptical constructions, the use of common nouns and colloquial words, as well as through the use of tropes such as metonymy, zeugma and allusion.

American opposition newspapers also model the negative image of law enforcement agencies that are a projection of state power in fact. However, the image of separately taken police officers is not subjected to such harsh criticism. So, in *The Washington Post*, on the one hand, by verbalizing the components of 'threat' emanating from Police, officers are presented as enemies of civilians, destroyers of ethical and

historical values and, on the other hand, as sympathizing with the citizens and providing them with all possible assistance. The positive image of Police forces in the USA and Russian opposition newspapers is modeled in such components as 'morality' and 'ethic', 'professionalism' and 'legitimacy'.

The New York Times focuses on the actualization of such components as 'illegitimacy' and 'arbitrariness', 'brutality', 'unprofessionalism' and 'bias' of law enforcement agencies. However, with regard to separately taken police officers, a positive image of police officers, acting as defenders of life, health and interests of citizens, is often created. Police officers are represented as professionals ready to risk their own lives for the benefit of public safety and the restoration of order. The main speech techniques used to model the negative image of Police in the US newspapers are the evaluative category 'friend or foe', the use of exclamation constructions, modal verbs, personal and possessive pronouns, rhetorical questions, labeling, gradation and such tropes as metaphors, euphemisms and epithets.

In this study the author does not set the task of conducting a contextual analysis within the implementation of specific tactical schemes.

A prospect for further research may be the analysis of news reports representing the image of the US and Russian Police force in opposition newspapers as within the discrediting strategy.

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