Suzana Jurin, Daniela Kružić

Cognitive framing through political catchwords – A short assessment of Croatian media neutrality

1 Introduction

The political arena is full of different text genres, through which different political parties, politicians and their political programs try to manipulate the voters, i.e. electors. These text genres influence the public through different media, whereby the media have their own political preferences based on different economic and moral ideologies. Text genres in political campaigns communicate persuasive messages using different forms. One of the main forms of political manipulation is the cognitive framing process. Cognitive framing gives the structure and context for understanding political texts and their content. This paper researches political catchwords, a text genre which has not yet been examined properly in the theory of text linguistic analysis or the theory of communication in politics. The definition of a political catchword in our research will be based on the hypothesis that one cannot exist without an image, photograph, picture or other paralinguistic means giving it a context for the persuasive content of the catchword itself. To prove this, we examined a corpus of 14 examples of the text genre *political catchword*, taken from the left-wing newspaper *Novi list* and the right-wing newspaper *Večernji list* during the 2016 Croatian political campaign. The texts are examined at three different levels of analysis: the communication-pragmatic, thematic and language-stylistic levels. The text linguistic analysis shows that thematic and language text schemes are a successful method of political persuasion and manipulation. The analysis of the text genre *political catchword* in this work provides insights into the neutrality of the Croatian media.

2 Croatian media and politics

To understand the current situation regarding the media in Croatia we need to go back three decades. In the communist, pre-independence era there was limited media freedom in Croatia, as the one-party system highly influenced the objectivity of journalists and writers. During the 1980s, the period of political and economic instability in Yugoslavia, Croatian newspapers reached their "golden age", in which the public trusted journalists more than politicians (Krušelj, 2014, 52).

In the early 1990s, independent Croatia was established, which implied a "democratization" of the media and thus the freedom of the press suddenly expanded. This

was possible thanks to the Constitution of the Republic of Croatia that guarantees freedom of opinion and expression, bans censorship, ensures freedom to access information and the right to a correction if a right guaranteed by the Constitution is violated (Kalajžić, 2012, 100). Alaburić (2003) states the importance of the media for the functioning of democratic systems, noting they are "to serve the public, i.e. the citizens and not states, governments, political parties, leaders or private interests of their owners or journalists". The media should be "the keepers of democracy", because they "shape and reflect the public opinion and wake up the critical public opinion, exposing various undemocratic and unlawful actions and pointing to corruption, nepotism and abuse of political power and authority, as well as violations of the human rights and liberties guaranteed by the Constitution and laws" (Alaburić, 2003, 11).

The mass media have a decisive influence not only on the public's behaviour but also on the formation of culture, social values, worldview, and real-world experiences. There are four basic functions of the mass media: information, entertainment, persuasion and the transfer of cultural heritage. Some authors argue that the mass media in Croatia increasingly ignore the preferred order of their core functions and instead of informing, educating and entertaining, they now aim to entertain first, then inform and only barely educate (Skoko, 2011, 366).

Politicians use Croatian political communication not just to inform citizens about their activities and work, but also to convince them that they are worthy of their trust, and thus their support at the next elections. Moreover, there is a specific interaction between the media and politics (or politicians) in Croatia (Jantol, 2013), and thus it can be concluded that the power of the media still has a great influence on society and its (political) processes, and can have an impact on election campaigns.

3   The cognitive linguistic perspective

During communication, different knowledge about the world and language is activated. This knowledge concerns different individuals and their personalities, and the resulting differences are a consequence of the different emotional states of the communicators which arise from their social, political, educational and mental experiences. According to Jurin and Krišković (2017), a text is never understood in the same way by different individuals, although identical morphological, syntactical, semantical and lexical forms are used on macro and micro structural levels.

The abilities to differentiate and classify the various communication forms and modalities, as well as to identify different text genres and their standardized forms and structures, are directly connected with the importance and meaning of text genres to the communicators, as well as with the frequency of contacts of the communicators (Jurin and Krišković, 2017). The capacity of identification of different text genres

depends upon knowledge of the prototypical text structures (macro and micro structures) which are connected with the function, context, composition (schema) of the text and prototypical language constructions and graphics (Ivanetić, 2003, 232). This is because texts and text genres do not exist without an understanding of the context. A widely accepted thesis (van Dijk, 2000) proposes that the following elements are most important for successful communication through texts: the context of the social domain (education, politics), the area of expertise (legislation, teaching, translating), the participants and their communicative, social and professional roles, the relationship between communicators, time and location of communication with a certain text genre or text type (Jurin, Krišković, 2017), and the specific social or interactional properties of the communicational event.

While understanding this provisional meaning, language users activate already known constructs of texts and produce a new (mental) model of the text content, in order for a text genre to become meaningful or understandable. Information from already known texts (old models) and previous experiences, as well as world knowledge, which is shared socially, help the communicators to build up models, i.e. to understand unknown but prototypical texts (Jurin, Krišković, 2017). Such new "text models" are built on mental representations of the text, combined with mental representations of the "old text model" (earlier experiences) and the socially shared knowledge (world knowledge and language knowledge).

In line with this, Jurin and Krišković (2017) state that text production and text reception need to be analysed as a communicative event and form of social interaction, since the former provides a cognitive basis for the latter. Therefore, constant derivation of the meaning and function from previous or first cognitive representations is needed for text production and text reception, i.e. the cognitive framing process. For this reason, it is necessary to conduct a text analysis, in our case the analysis of the text genre *catchword*, by taking into consideration the cognitive phenomenon of framing, as it influences the production, reception, results and consequences of communication through text genres.

3.1   Cognitive framing

Frame and framing are used as important terms in different fields, including cognitive semantics (Fillmore, 1985). A frame can be defined as the background knowledge that concerns a particular aspect of the world that presents the expectations and interactions in communication and everyday life, and tends to be associated with particular lexical and grammatical choices in language. According to Entman (1993) 'framing' means to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the

item described. He shows how frames can be identified at the level of the communicator, text, receiver and culture (Entman, 1993, 52).

In cognitive linguistics, we talk about cognitive framing, conceptual integration and frame blending, as seen in Fauconnier and Turner (2002). They analyse the way in which conceptual integration can blend cognitive frames. According to Turner (2008, 13-14) frame blending is a basic mental operation for human beings and a basic topic for linguistics. When frames are blended, the operation is called double-scope conceptual integration, and the result a double-scope integration network. Double-scope integration is the most advanced form of conceptual integration. Turner states that the blending of input frames into a blended frame involves an organizing frame-level structure that includes at least some organizing structures from each of the two input frames that is not shared by the other. Sometimes the input frames to the double-scope integration network are incompatible, and if this comes from the framer then we can talk about manipulation in the sphere of cognitive framing in social areas, such as, for example, in politics.

A conceptual frame is a psychological construct, a cognitive schema involving a set of interrelated signs that guides a strategy of perception and interpretation which people rely on to understand and respond to the extra-linguistic world (Wendland, 2010, 27). They thus mentally project into/onto their experiences and circumstances. They shift frames only when some contradiction, inconsistency or change in the context of discourse calls for it. Wendland (2010) states that people only become aware of the frames that they regularly use when some necessity forces them to replace or integrate one conceptual frame with another. By inviting others to conceptualize a certain topic through the use of frames, a communicator (e.g. a politician) supplies an initial orienting mental scenario and controls the cognitive and emotive alignment of the other communicators (e.g. the public, the voters) as well as their positive or negative responses to that particular subject or issue (Wendland, 2010).

Cognitive linguistic states that language, among other things, consists of words and thoughts defined within narrative frames and conceptual metaphors. We are not born with these complex frames, but they are patterned into our cognition as a result of experience. Frame structures are gradually created with a variety of components such as neural binding circuitry, neural signatures, and event structures (Schafer, 2012, 375-6). Cognitive frames tend to structure a large amount of our consciousness of the world, both the linguistic and extra-linguistic reality. Reese (2007) states that frames are socially shared organizing principles that meaningfully structure the social world. They are a part of culture, they affect journalists and media information selection, they are manifested in media texts, and they influence the cognitions and attitudes of both the politicians and public. The value of the framing concept, as Reese (2007, 148) explains, is to deliver a model that bridges parts of the field that need to be in touch with each other: quantitative and qualitative, psychological and sociological.

Frames can be found in the strategic communications of political parties, political campaigns and campaigns of politicians, news and media contents, and the minds of media audiences. The framing process is based on several principles, i.e., there is always a competition among frames using different communication strategies; the communicators involved in communications strategies through framing do not simply adopt the frames of others, but instead select some frames over others, modify existing frames, or bring in new frames, which means that framing is a dynamic and diachronic process (Entman et al., 2009).

Competition in political communication is not always enough to neutralize the effects of political rhetoric on public opinion. Cognitive framing influences the perceived strength of political arguments, making some more persuasive than others.

The terms frame and framing are without doubt central keywords in political communications research. The framing concept is essential to describe the whole flow of communication about political issues, top down from political parties and politicians, to the journalists, and to the public and voters. The concept enables a holistic understanding of political communication processes (Entman et al., 2009, 175). In this context, it is important to know that frames are not singular persuasive messages or assertions. Conceptual frames gain their power by repeatedly invoking the same pattern of interpretation, giving people (or in political terms, voters) a chance to notice, understand, and store mental associations for future use (Entman et al., 2009). In summary, framing is an active process of creating, selecting, and shaping political opinions and decisions.

3.2   Persuasive messages as means of political framing

The media are the actual medium through which politicians communicate with their potential electors, with the help of newspapers, advertisements, PR experts, marketing efforts and so on. The aim is to change others' behaviours and attitudes using various means, most often through a combination of words and non-verbal communication. The process is called persuasion, and its objective is to influence the recipient of the message. The focus is thus on changing opinions and sentiments and not the exchange of information. Moreover, and as Lewandowski (1979, 556) explains, the goal is not to change a person's attitude in the long term, but to attain short-term objectives. This can be achieved, as Schönbach (2016) states, through the following: 1) argumentation – can be positive or negative (improvement or defamation); 2) influencing the process and/or the recipient – social mutuality, consistency, social adjustment, etc.; and 3) credibility – achieved by plausibility, evidence or logical deduction. Such actions are taken bearing in mind people's cognitive abilities and personal motives, emotions and decisions, along with the wider social impacts.

The media (in)directly shape the public and affect both the conscious and unconscious parts of an individual's personality, often leading to manipulation. To manipulate means to control or play upon by artful, unfair, or insidious means, especially to one's own advantage, and a person who can manipulate others has the power to "convince anyone to think and do anything", (Baltezarević et al., 2014, 30). Thus one of the negative trends in the media in general is, among others, the manipulation of facts. The media constantly publish "sensational" information based almost exclusively on assumptions. Words are often put in the mouths of the speakers, their words are interpreted in a false way and put in different contexts, which leads to misinterpretations and false information that the recipient receives and is then influenced by.

Manipulation is accomplished through persuasive messages by which communicators, senders or in our case text producers, try to develop arguments consistent with their goals to change beliefs, attitudes and behaviours (Atkin, Salmon, 2009) in political campaigns. This manipulation through persuasive messages contributes to the process of message framing. Message framing, according to O'Keefe and Jensen (2006), is the process by which the variation in language (and also in text and image-picture) can be used to highlight the positive or negative consequences of a behaviour. Framed messages increase the advantages of performing the recommended behaviour, and when speaking of political campaigns they increase the success of directive, commissive and declarative texts genres, which make the public vote for a certain political party or politician.

4   Text genres in political communication – political catchword

Political communication cannot be accomplished without a text. Brinker et al. (2014) defines a text as a limited and coherent set of linguistic signs that have a recognizable communication function. More specifically, text genres are units that connect cognitive, communicative and operating aspects and represent a form of social interaction (Ivanetić, 2003, 4). Text genres are global text forms, part of our everyday life and our knowledge about communication, which speakers of a language use in their language activities. Therefore, text genres in political communication are standardized structures that are to be understood according to their function, i.e. their communicative purpose. The classification of text genres is based on their dominant function, and therefore the text genres used in political communication are predominantly directive, commissive and declarative.

The text genre *catchword* is a universal instrument of political dialogue between political parties, politicians and society, with the latter representing the voters during a political campaign. It is a reflection or reaction of a political party with regard to its political goals at a national or even global level. The goals and tasks, text function and interaction of a political catchword, mechanism of influence over voters and characteristics of the

text genre have not yet been researched properly in terms of the existing text linguistic theory. The characteristics of the general and specific linguistic and extra-linguistic features of the political catchword will thus be analysed in the current work.

5 Corpus analysis

5.1 Corpus description

The definition of a political catchword in our research is based on the understanding that such a catchword is a successful text genre in political communication only if it shows a correlation with an image, photograph, picture or other paralinguistic form, with this behind the starting point for the analysis. Therefore, we analysed a corpus of 14 available examples of the text genre *political catchword* from the left-wing newspaper *Novi list* and the right-wing newspaper *Večernji list* during the 2016 Croatian political campaign. The sample consisted of the following political catchwords[1]:

> *11. rujna zaokružite 11*; *#premijer*; *Čovjek koji pokreće!*; *Drukčiji od drugih*; *Glas Kvarnera u Saboru! Ča je sigurno je sigurno!*; *Most[2] do građana*; *Odličan[3] 4*; *Osam žena za osmu jedinicu*; *Pravo na svoje*; *Promjena*; *Siguran smjer*; *Slavonac[4] zna što Slavoncu treba!*; *Stop deložacijama! Stop ovrhama!*; *Vjerodostojno[5]*.

The left-leaning *Novi list* published eight catchwords by Narodna koalicija, seven by HDZ, four by the regional options IDS, PGS, RI, three by Bandić Milan 365, two by Most and one by Nema prodaje. On the other hand, the right-leaning *Večernji list* had 10 catchwords by HDZ, eight by Narodna koalicija, four by Milan Bandić 365, three by HDSSB, two by Nema prodaje and one by Most. All the examined text examples were written in Croatian.

5.2 Analysis of the text genre political catchword

Brinker et al. (2014) and Jurin (2010) suggest the analysis of the text genre at three different levels to recognize the linguistic features and the text function of different genres: the communicative-pragmatic, thematic, and language-stylistic levels.

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1   All catchwords and examples used in this paper are in Croatian and are translated by the authors in the footnotes.
2   *Most*, meaning "bridge", is the name of a political party.
3   Ličan is a resident of the Croatian region called Lika.
4   A resident of the Croatian region called Slavonija.
5   On September 11, choose 11; #prime_minister; The person that puts things in motion!; Different from others; The voice of the Kvarner region in the Parliament! What is sure is sure!; A bridge to the citizens; Excellent 4; Eight ladies for the eighth constituency; The right to one's own; A change; A safe path; A Slavonian knows what a Slavonian needs!; Stop to evictions! Stop to foreclosures!; Trustworthy.

In general, a catchword is a word or phrase that is often repeated by, or becomes connected with, a particular organization or person. It is a short, easily remembered phrase, especially one used to advertise an idea or a product. It is a word, phrase, or sentence that expresses the principles or belief of a person, group, country or organization. Our analysis shows that for the purposes of text analysis of the text genre *political catchword*, the definition of a catchword as a word or phrase often repeated and connected with a particular organization or group, which expresses beliefs or principles, cannot be fully accepted without the political context, i.e. the visual image that accompanies and represents the meaning and function of the verbal catchword – the word or phrase expressing the main theme of the political programme of the political party or a politician.

At the thematic level, the analysis of the corpora (Jurin, 2010) indicates that the text genre *political catchword*, analysed at macro-structural level, is made up of the following frames: a political leader as a person or representative of the political party, a political leader or party and their politics or political programme, economic reforms, national welfare, international policy, domestic policy, the morality of the politician or political party, the reputation of the politician or political party, concerns about the future and welfare of young people, and so on.

The text genre *political catchword* in the context of political communication is an interactive text consisting of different text segments at the macro-structural text level. These text segments are as follows: 1) a verbal text segment, 2) a nonverbal text segment in the form of icons, indices, pictures, photographs or other images, and 3) a paralinguistic text segment represented through colours and shapes.

5.3 Verbal text segments

The verbal text segment shows a certain verbal inventory which consists of one *(Vjerodostojno)* to 65 lexical units, as shown in the images from *Novi list*, n. 22537, p. 9 and n. 22528, p. 9. In text examples consisting of verbal text segments containing more than one lexical unit, we can divide these verbal text segments into three parts: the introduction, central part and conclusion. The analysed texts show that the introduction usually starts with an introductory formula which can be a title presenting the political and moral idea of the politician whose image is presented, e.g. *Pred nama su izbori koji će promijeniti Hrvatsku*; *Biram siguran smjer* or *Glas Kvarnera u Saboru!*[6] or a statement which evokes some of the previous deeds or successes of the party, leading us into the main political promotional theme of the party e.g. *Vaših 300.000 glasova zaštitilo je hrvatske interese*[7] (Catchword *Promjena*[8], *Novi list*, n. 22550, p. 7).

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6   Elections that will change Croatia are in front of us; I choose a safe path; The voice of the Kvarner region in the Parliament.
7   Your 300,000 votes protected Croatian interests.
8   Change.

We can conclude that the introductory part of all the analysed texts begins with a strong expressive introductory formula, or a metaphorical expression which has the task of giving the reader, recipient, and voter the necessary frames for the political content presented in further reading. This part manipulates the recipient, slides into their emotions and triggers wishes for a better life, the realization of dreams and hopes. The trigger effect is created by the use of verbs followed by the noun *Hrvatska* or an adjective syntagm with the component *hrvatski* e.g.: *će promijeniti Hrvatsku* or *zaštitilo je hrvatske interese*[9].

At the macro-structural level, the second part of the verbal text segment is the central part of the text, which consists of messages that present the political idea of the party or the politician. It contains relatively long explicit dependent clauses in order to describe the political idea or programme more clearly: *Zamislite što bismo mogli s puno više* or *Siguran smjer za bolnice bez čekanja*[10]. Very often complex imperative forms occur, in order to assert the decision to vote for a certain politician: *Stop deložacijama!* or *Uvjerljivom podrškom HDZ-u osiguravate brzo formiranje i dugoročnu stabilnost vlade*[11].

The language of the central part of the text is almost poetic. The aim of such a lyrical style is to seduce and provide for individual, deeply personal framing of vivid images and beliefs which are realized through the use of emotional statements: *Mijenjajući HDZ mijenjamo Hrvatsku* or *Vašim glasom u nedjelju mijenjamo Hrvatsku!*[12] or with help of even more socially aware adjectives like *national, weak, wounded, endangered*: *Uvest ćemo nacionalnu mirovinu i skrbiti o svim ranjivim skupinama u društvu*[13]. At lexical level, these social and people-friendly phrases and words, expressive verbs and adjectives that are a statement of social and personal-emotional routines, are products of a persuasive scheme. The auxiliary verbs *will* and *shall*, along with the verbs *can, take, see, experience* and *wish* are frequently used in all texts, as well as *fill* and *fulfil* in the context of fulfilling political promises: *Vjerodostojno ćemo ispuniti izborni program* or *Vratit ću vjerodostojnost u hrvatsku politiku*[14]. Adjectives found in every text in the corpus describing the emotional or mental condition of the recipient, and their degree of satisfaction, are: *future, future-oriented, successful, promising*. Words and phrases loaded with a promising orientation, that describe the benefit of voting for a certain politician or political party, are found in the central part of the verbal text segment in 50% of the examined texts: *Siguran smjer za zapošljavanje mladih*[15].

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9   Will change Croatia; Has protected Croatian interests.
10   Imagine what we could do with much more; A safe path to hospitals without waiting lists.
11   A stop to evictions!; With solid support for HDZ you guarantee the quick formation of the government and its long-term stability.
12   By changing HDZ we change Croatia; With your vote on Sunday we change Croatia!
13   We will introduce a national pension framework and we will take care of all the vulnerable groups in society.
14   We will be trustworthy when fulfilling the electoral programme; I'll bring trust back into Croatian politics.
15   A safe path to youth employment.

The conclusion of the text is reserved for the slogan, moral lesson or an emotional and persuasive message, very often containing just a plain catchword, e.g.: *Vjerodostojno; Siguran smjer za Hrvatsku*[16], or simply the signature of the leading politician is shown, or an instruction on which list the electors should vote for.

5.4 Nonverbal text segments

A text segment in the form of icons, indices, pictures, photographs or images is almost a "must have" part of all contemporary text genres that apply a *catchword* in the political arena. The picture or image frames strongly influence the voters' opinions. The greater effect that comes with an image is explained by the fact that a verbal text paired with visuals is more memorable than the verbal text alone (Nelson et al., 1979), and thus can be more manipulative. The visual imagery and framing have the potential to influence the persuasion process, because individuals form and maintain beliefs about phenomena based on samplings of direct or indirect experience (Zillmann, 1999). The reasons for this can be found in the dual coding theory, which states that our cognition operates on the verbal and nonverbal mental systems (Paivio, 2007). Both mental systems or communication modalities need to decode and store information in interaction with the environment, whereby the verbal modality does it through decoding symbols and the nonverbal modality through non-symbolic codes, which include auditory, haptic, gustatory, emotional and visual codes. This dual coding theory suggests two means by which an image might influence beliefs, by an emotional impact on the nonverbal modality, and by supplementing the message content that is set out by the verbal system. So, in order to understand political framing and imagery, it is necessary to consider communication through both the verbal and the nonverbal modalities.

The analysis of our corpus shows that of the 14 analysed texts, 11 of them have an image (mostly of the politician) as the context for the verbal text segment of the catchword, as seen in the images from *Novi list*, n. 22537, p. 9, *Večernji list*, n. 18894, p.15 or *Novi list*, n. 22548, p.25.

5.5 Paralinguistic text segments

A paralinguistic text segment represented through colours and shapes is a very powerful framing "device". Our analysis shows that only three of the analysed texts have an interactive form including colour and the verbal text segment (Narodna koalicija, Milan Bandić and Most) without any kind of imagery.

The analysis shows that colour is not an obligatory element, but it has an attractive, attention drawing (especially red), appealing and semantic function, which enters into

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16   Trustworthy; A safe path for Croatia.

complementary relationships with the verbal component, creating in this way very strong frames for further political persuasion. The correlation between the colour and the meaning characterizes the political specificity of the political party and its programme. Therefore, the most distinctive examples in our corpus study show the political catchwords of the coalition called Narodna koalicija[17]. This was formed for the elections in 2016 and was a coalition of the SDP, HNS, HSS and HSU political parties.

Their campaign revolving around the text genre *political catchword* was a successful example of political framing. Their examples consist of very standardized text schemes, with a verbal and paralinguistic text segment. The verbal text segment always consists of an introductory part with the same formula: *Narodna koalicija* and *Siguran smjer za Hrvatsku*[18]. The central part of the verbal text segment has the same introductory formula, and in this case it became the leading motif of their political programme, *Siguran smjer*. The analysis showed that colour was used to differentiate between the political programs of different parties creating the coalition, e.g. *Za nastavak cjelovite kurikularne reforme*[19] with a red background, the colour identified with the political program of the SDP (*Novi list*, n. 22550, p.1); *Siguran smjer za nova radna mjesta*[20] with a green background indicating the correlation with the HSS (*Večernji list*, n. 18890, p.7) and *Siguran smjer za bolnice bez čekanja*[21], with a blue background correlated with HNS and HSU (Novi list, n. 22547, p.1). Every political party is linked with a colour, and the coloured backgrounds indicate the closing formulas for the conclusion of the verbal text segment in all the examined texts.

6 Conclusion

The text genre *catchword* (phrase or slogan) can be defined as an easily remembered word or short phrase often repeated and used in advertising. It usually expresses the principles or beliefs of a person, group or organization. A catchword is a universal instrument of political dialogue between political parties, politicians and society (in this case, the voter) during political campaigns. A political catchword is a specific mechanism of manipulation over voters, and it fulfils its persuasive message not just with the textual part, but also with a visual component (image, photograph, picture or other paralinguistic forms). One of the main methods of political manipulation is the cognitive framing process, which helps understand the political catchword as a communicative event in a specific context. In this paper, the text genre *catchword* has been analysed having in mind the cognitive framing process which influenced

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17   National Coalition.
18   National Coalition; A safe path for Croatia.
19   A safe path to continuing the full curricular reform.
20   A safe path to new jobs.
21   A safe path to hospitals without waiting lists.

not just the production and reception of the text, but also the consequences of communication. The analysis shows that a political catchword consists of different text segments: the verbal text segment, nonverbal text segment and paralinguistic text segment represented through colours and shapes. The texts were analysed at three levels: the communication-pragmatic, thematic and language-stylistic level. The left-leaning newspaper *Novi list* published 15 catchwords related to left-wing parties (Narodna koalicija, IDS/PGS/RI, Bandić Milan 365) and 10 related to right-wing parties (HDZ, Most, Nema prodaje, HDSSB), whereas the right-leaning *Večernji list* had 12 catchwords from left-wing parties and 16 from right-wing parties. Each newspaper published slightly more catchwords that were in line with its own political orientation (approx. 60% vs. 40%). The percentage and number of political advertisements in terms of their precise and structured political framing still depend on the political orientations of the newspapers in Croatia, which favour one or the other political option, indicating that there is a lack of political neutrality in the Croatian media arena. Therefore, we conclude that the ending of political bias in Croatian media is a priority in order to keep the democratic system functioning. As already stated in this paper, the media need to serve the public, i.e. the citizens and not the state, government, political parties, newspapers, leaders or private interests. The media should recognize the means of persuasion and political manipulation, regardless of their own political orientation, and make them known to the public in order to fulfil their role as guardians of democracy. The media must shape and reflect public opinion and enhance critical thinking in their audience by exposing various undemocratic actions and abuses of political power and authority.

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Suzana Jurin, Daniela Kružić

Cognitive framing through political catchwords – A short assessment of Croatian media neutrality

Keywords: election campaign; media neutrality; cognitive framing; text genre; political catchword.

The Croatian political scene is undergoing radical changes. Since the 2016 parliamentary election, the left-wing has gradually lost ground. One of the key roles in the political process is played by the media, which influence the voters and their choices. In this paper we analysed written texts collected during the 2016 election campaign. Among the most prominent Croatian newspapers the left-wing *Novi list* and the right-wing *Večernji list* are chosen as the focal publications. We conducted a text linguistic analysis of the political catchword (phrase, slogan) and its role in creating the political opinions of voters. The analysis provided data about the verbal, nonverbal and paraverbal text segments. These phenomena were abstracted as communicational-pragmatic and language-stylistic entities which are necessary for the successful cognitive framing of the political opinions of the public. In order to create and frame political opinions, the text producer uses subtle persuasive messages. Furthermore, at the content-related level of the text structure analysis, the communicative intention of the producer is shown, while the text function analysis shows the most common text indicators used to transmit the desired content and identifies a potential persuasive message "hidden" in the words. As a result, the number of catchwords published in line with each newspaper's own political orientation is slightly higher than that of the other option, which shows that political neutrality is lacking in the Croatian media.

Suzana Jurin, Daniela Kružić

Kognitivno okvirjanje s pomočjo političnih sloganov – kratka ocena nevtralnosti hrvaških medijev

Ključne besede: volilna kampanja; medijska nevtralnost; kognitivno okvirjanje; besedilni žanr; politični slogan.

Hrvaška politična scena doživlja korenite spremembe. Od parlamentarnih volitev 2016 politična levica postopoma izgublja svoj položaj. V tem procesu eno ključnih vlog igrajo mediji, ki vplivajo na volivce in njihovo izbiro. V prispevku smo analizirali pisna besedila, zbrana med volilno kampanjo 2016. Med najvidnejšimi hrvaškimi časopisi sta bila izbrana politično levo usmerjeni »Novi list« in politično desno usmerjeni »Večernji list«. Med različnimi besedilnimi zvrstmi smo izvedli besediloslovno analizo političnega slogana (parole, krilatice) in njegove vloge pri ustvarjanju političnih mnenj volivcev. V analizi so bili podani podatki o verbalnih, neverbalnih in paraverbalnih segmentih besedila. Te pojave smo obravnavali kot komunikacijsko-pragmatične in jezikovno-slogovne entitete, ki so potrebne za uspešno kognitivno okvirjanje političnih

mnenj javnosti. Za ustvarjanje in okvirjanje političnih mnenj tvorec besedila uporablja subtilna prepričevalna sporočila. Na vsebinski ravni analize strukture besedila je prikazan komunikacijski namen tvorca besedila, pri čemer analiza besedilne funkcije prikazuje najpogostejše kazalnike besedila, ki se uporabljajo za prenos želene vsebine, in identificira potencialno prepričevalno sporočilo, »skrito« v besedah. Raziskava pokaže, da je število političnih sloganov, objavljenih v prid prevladujoče politične usmeritve posameznega časopisa, nekoliko večje od števila krilatic za nasprotno opcijo, kar kaže, da hrvaški medijski prostor ni politično nevtralen.

O avtoricah

Suzana Jurin je izredna profesorica na Filozofski fakulteti Univerze na Reki. Njene raziskave segajo na področja besedilne lingvistike, besedilnih vrst, modelov in slogov komuniciranja, komunikacije v politiki, prototipske semantike ter kognitivne lingvistike. Doktorski naziv je pridobila na Univerzi v Zadru leta 2010. Od leta 2015 redno poučuje na interdisciplinarnem doktorskem študiju na Univerzi Andrassy v Budimpešti. Je avtorica 25 znanstvenih člankov ter znanstvene monografije.

Daniela Kružić je študirala italijanski jezik s književnostjo ter nemški jezik s književnostjo na Fakulteti za humanistične in družbene vede v Zagrebu. Del študija je opravila preko izmenjave na Univerzi v Vidmu. Kot učiteljica jezika je bila zaposlena v različnih osnovnih in srednjih šolah. V tem času je na Univerzi na Reki zaključila podiplomski specialistični študij prevajanja. Trenutno vodi tečaje poslovne italijanščine in poslovne nemščine na Ekonomski fakulteti na Reki. Vpisana je na doktorski študij jezikoslovja na Univerzi v Zadru.

About the authors

Suzana Jurin is an Associate Professor at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Department of German Language and Literature, University of Rijeka, Croatia. Her research focuses on text linguistics, text type linguistics, models and styles of communication, communication in politics, prototype semantics and cognitive linguistics. She obtained her PhD in linguistics at the Faculty of Philosophy in Zadar in 2010. Since 2015 she has been teaching at interdisciplinary doctoral studies at Andrassy University in Budapest on a regular basis. Suzana Jurin has published 25 scientific papers and a scientific monograph.

Daniela Kružić studied Italian language and literature and German language and literature at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences in Zagreb. She undertook part of her studies as an exchange student at the University of Udine. She has worked as a language teacher in different elementary and high schools. During this time, she obtained her postgraduate specialist degree in translation at the University of Rijeka. She currently teaches business Italian and business German courses at the Faculty of Economics and Business in Rijeka and is a PhD student in linguistics at the University of Zadar.