



Education and Humanities

Volume 1 / Issue 2



E-ISSN: 2744-2373

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Education and Humanities



JOURNAL

MAP Education and Humanities

Volume 1 / Issue 2

PUBLISHER

MAP - Multidisciplinary Academic Publishing

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Humanities

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E-ISSN: 2744-2373

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REVIEW PAPER

IMPORTANCE OF INTERCULTURAL SENSITIVITY

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ABSTRACT

Due to the fast development in the domains of technology, education and research, different cultures worldwide have become interconnected and we are all considered to be living in the global village. Mutual understanding and tolerance in such a community is of crucial importance. Thus, intercultural sensitivity has become a core concept that needs to be understood and promoted worldwide among both younger and older population. The aim of this paper is to analyze the concept of intercultural sensitivity and its importance. Moreover, the paper discusses different models of intercultural sensitivity and the importance of intercultural sensitivity training programs. It is expected that the paper will raise awareness about this fundamental issue, and will contribute to its further understanding.

Keywords: intercultural sensitivity, intercultural training, diversity, culture



MAP EDUCATION
AND HUMANITIES

Volume 1 / Issue 2

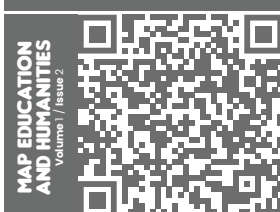
ISSN: 2744-2373 / © 2021 The Authors.
Published by MAP - Multidisciplinary
Academic Publishing.

Article Submitted: 03 September 2021
Article Accepted: 25 October 2021
Article Published: 26 October 2021



Publisher's Note: MAP stays neutral with regard to jurisdictional claims in published maps and institutional affiliations.

<https://doi.org/10.53880/2744-2373.2021.1.2.1>



HOW TO CITE THIS ARTICLE

Iqbal, T. (2021). **Importance of intercultural sensitivity**. MAP Education and Humanities, 1(2), 1-6. doi: <https://doi.org/10.53880/2744-2373.2021.1.2.1>



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Introduction

While defining culture, Godwyn and Git-tell (2011) take into consideration various aspects. They state that it is characterized by shared basic assumptions, that a given group of people invent and develop it, and that new members are expected to be taught how to behave properly within it. In almost all parts of the world, living nowadays is marked by great cultural diversity, so it is almost impossible to live in a monocultural society. All over the world cultures relate to one another partly or fully, and thanks to modern technology, even cultures at distance might be interconnected (Foley & Mirazón Lahr, 2011). Moreover, seeking better education, a better quality of life, and career opportunities, not rarely do people travel across the globe and change their residence. In all of these situations, they face many challenges (Rizvić & Bećirović, 2017; White & Rice, 2015), intercultural sensitivity, acceptance, tolerance towards diversity, being among them (Bennett, 2020).

Diversity has many useful insights over a wide range of applications (Mašić et al., 2020). Weitzman (1992) sees cultural diversity as the interconnection between people of various races and cultures. In other words, diversity means a range of differences in terms of culture, religion, skin color, language, race, gender, ethnicity, and it is believed that a variety of these differences bring numerous benefits. Tolerance towards diversity asks for more equality, intercultural communication, and collaboration and fights against segregation, discrimination, and stereotypes. Communication in an intercultural atmosphere is a vital part of the society's progress. Behaviors that are thought ethically proper are often functionally harmful to individuals and groups (Steinfatt & Millette, 2019).

Therefore, multiculturalism is a methodology that should be applied in diverse societies (Cantle, 2012). The USA is marked by a long history of multiculturalism and multicultural education for diverse ethnic groups. The intergroup education arose when African Americans and Mexican Americans were struggling for their employment, and better life opportunities in general, after WWII. They made their efforts to settle conflicts between different groups, and intercultural education was one way to achieve the goal. Hence, much work in the field of intercultural competencies can be traced back to the 1960s and some even to the 1930s in the context of the USA (Deardorff & Arasaratnam-Smith, 2017).

Interculturalism offers the appropriate framework for diversity in the modern world (Cantle, 2012). Interculturalism is a term that is used frequently in most European countries, with intercultural education being molded according to national, socio-political and educational systems. Different approaches in Europe towards intercultural education might be assigned to different national and cultural contexts since countries differ in their migration histories. For example, Belgium, Britain, the Netherlands, France, and Portugal had their history with colonial systems, while, on the other hand, Germany, Austria, Switzerland, and Luxemburg faced challenges with economic immigrants. Moreover, the countries of the Balkan peninsula, Eastern European countries, and new European Union countries have their own histories characterized by huge cultural diversity (Bećirović, 2012; Zilliacus & Holm, 2009).

However, regardless of the background, the focus of most modern societies is developing intercultural sensitivity, intercultural intelligence, and competencies among their students. The schools are required to include into their curricula the content which helps teachers to develop students' cultural sensitivity. Furthermore, instructors are expected to use a variety of methods in order to promote cultural diversity and develop intercultural competencies among students.

Although presenting a fundamental concept worldwide, cultural sensitivity still has not been fully grasped. Chen and Starosta (2020) deem that the main challenge is the confusion over three concepts: intercultural sensitivity, intercultural awareness, and intercultural communication competence. According to the authors, the three concepts, even though being connected with each other, are totally separate concepts (Chen & Starosta, 2020). The misunderstanding of the concepts makes the application of different intercultural training programs difficult. Chen and Starosta (2020) claimed that to build on a reasonable measure of intercultural sensitivity, scholars must limit the concept within the affective aspects of intercultural communication to make it differ from the above-mentioned concepts.

Why intercultural sensitivity

Intercultural sensitivity is an inevitable need in the present world, where people interact with each other, where cultures mix, where the international industry grows, international education

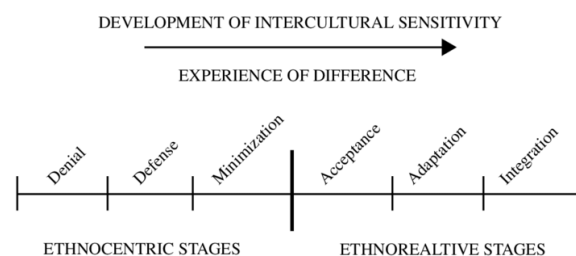
makes progress, and research is often conducted across different cultures and countries. It is totally impossible to live in today's world without communication and collaboration with individuals belonging to other nations and cultures (Ribo & Dubravac, 2021). The internet has fastened, facilitated, and enhanced communication among people located in different parts of the world. However, to maintain good relations and gain benefits from such communication, we need to be aware of the importance of intercultural sensitivity and possess intercultural competence for effective collaboration in a culturally diverse organization (Bennett, 2020). Intercultural sensitivity requires respect for all of those who are different, including exceptional individuals (Hamzć & Bećirović, 2021). It also requires respect for individuals with various socio-economic statuses (Delić & Bećirović, 2018).

The term derives its origins from the social science field of intercultural communication, i.e., the study of face-to-face interactions between culturally different people. In general terms, intercultural competence is the ability to communicate effectively in cross-cultural settings and to interact correctly in a variety of cultural contexts. Chen and Starosta (2020) conceptualize intercultural sensitivity as a person's "ability" to develop a positive emotion towards understanding and appreciating in intercultural communication. It refers to the ability of a person to integrate in a new society and in a new culture. In other words, intercultural sensitivity deals with the ways in which one responds to new challenges in a different culture. Thus, important elements or aspects of intercultural sensitivity comprise: self-esteem, self-monitoring, open-mindedness, empathy, interaction involvement and non-judgment (Chen & Starosta, 2020). There are different models that promote the intercultural development, focusing on subjective cultural differences, mutual adaptation, common humanity and common organizational goals. One of them is the Development Model of Intercultural Sensitivity (DMIS) based on a constructivist view and the communication theory (Bennett, 2017).

According to this model, developing intercultural sensitivity, one passes through different stages (Figure 1). The first three stages are ethnocentric, and they are related to one's own experience of the native culture. The first stage is the stage of Denial, when a person experiences own culture as the only reality. The second stage is Defense, when one's own culture is seen as the best one. At the following stage, the stage of Minimi-

zation, a person is ready to accept other culture's aspects that are similar to one's own culture. The following three stages are ethnorelative stages, i.e., someone's own culture is experienced in the context of another culture. In the stage of Acceptance other cultures are further experienced as similarly complicated but different in structure. In Adaptation gaining more experience from different cultural contexts, one understands the other cultures. Finally, in the stage of Integration one's experience of self is developed to involve movement in and out of various cultural worldviews (Bennett, 2020).

Figure 1:
Development of Intercultural Sensitivity



DMIS presents a grounded theory. Therefore, within this model, it is believed that the understanding of realism is based on experiences and that the more complicated experience results in more difficult involvement. DMIS coded observations about people who were showing progress in educational and commercial fields. A continuum process is followed to observe the competencies and then to apply theoretical structure that could explain the growth in terms of change through different stages (Bennett, 2017). However, although DMIS is a grounded theory, there are many quantitative measures of DMIS which have been tried or tested, the Intercultural Development Inventory (IDI) being one of them. In all the cases researchers have attempted to use Likert scaling to rate statements that assumedly reflect DMIS stages (Bennett, 2017).

Intercultural sensitivity and training programs

The importance of intercultural sensitivity in the world has forced scholars to investigate the concept from different perspectives. In practice, the concept has been unified through intercultural training programs, the basic steps that instructors have taken to develop the ability of intercultural sensitivity. Those training programs focus on "T-groups", critical incidents, case studies, role-playing and cultural orientation programs

(Chen & Starosta, 1997). They are believed to develop one's intercultural sensitivity, although the whole process is marked by variability influenced by different factors, such as one's level of tolerance, acceptance, the distance between first and second language (Yaman & Bećirović, 2016), but also the characteristics of host community members, i.e., how ready they are to accept foreigners to their community.

The aim of intercultural training is, on the one hand, to develop tolerance for cultural differences, and to promote cultural diversity, and on the other hand, to try to clear up the misunderstanding between different cultures and eliminate all forms of discrimination, segregation, xenophobia, and ethnocentrism. In fact, intercultural training increases one's intercultural sensitivity, intercultural competencies, and intercultural intelligence. They help individuals to interact with those of different cultures and use newly gained intercultural competencies as an advantage and not as a drawback (Bećirović & Podojak, 2018). Furthermore, it helps individuals to establish networks, communication, and collaboration with people from different cultures. Intercultural sensitivity training programs comprise six general categories, namely affective training, cognitive training, behavioral training, simulation training, cultural awareness training, and self-awareness training. Affective training, cognitive training, self-awareness-training, and cultural awareness training focus on the cognitive and affective understanding of one's own as well as the host culture (Graf & Mertesacker, 2009), while simulation training and behavioral training focus on the training of the specific behavior that is used as means to adjust better to a new culture (Earley & Peterson, 2004).

It is important to start with intercultural education as early as possible. In that respect, schools are very important. They should be the proper contexts through which the awareness about different forms of discrimination is raised (Kaur et al., 2017). To gain the benefits of students' intercultural competencies in higher education, we must internationalize higher education, we need to make educational institutions an environment in which students are connected to and benefit from each other (Stier, 2006). To make all this possible, much attention should be paid to teacher education (Sinanović & Bećirović, 2016). Intercultural sensitivity should be incorporated in their education and professional development, so that they are ready to promote it with younger generations (Cortina & Earl, 2020).

Moreover, teachers serve as a link between theory and practice. Working in classrooms they can provide scholars with useful information on intercultural competence among their students, and the issues they face (Dervić & Bećirović, 2020; Vogt, 2006). However, the concept of intercultural sensitivity should not be restricted to educational institutions. It should be promoted in various domains, ranging from foreign service institutes, politics, diplomacy to everyday life (Leeds-Hurwitz, 1990).

Therefore, the whole society should take this concept seriously, and try to improve it among members. Future steps that might be taken in this respect are as follows: multicultural teams should be focused on intensive training; cultural general training should continue to gain acceptance as culturally specific training; more training within cultural contexts should be demanded by the global organization; language learning should assign more importance to intercultural competence (Laličić & Dubravac, 2021); intercultural competence should become the term referring to the combination of concepts, attitudes, and the skills necessary for effective cross-cultural interaction. These suggestions can significantly help us to grow in this global village, where intercultural sensitivity and intercultural communication are an integral part of our societies.

Conclusion

In the concept of intercultural sensitivity, the most important aspect is intercultural communication competence. Intercultural sensitivity can be seen as an approach that people have towards others, their behavior, views, attitudes, emotions in the process of intercultural communication. The demand for intercultural sensitivity in today's intercultural and multicultural societies is increasing with every passing day and we cannot ignore the importance of intercultural sensitivity in our daily life. Many scholars have written on this topic but the whole concept of intercultural sensitivity has not yet been fully described and applied in different areas of life and in different geographical regions. Thus, more research should be done in this field. The aim of this paper was to contribute to further understanding of the concept. Therefore, the paper discusses the term of intercultural sensitivity, its importance, the Development Model of Intercultural Sensitivity, as well as the importance of intercultural sensitivity training programs. The paper is expected to raise awareness about the importance of tolerance towards different and different ones in all different aspects of life.

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REVIEW PAPER

JAVNA DIPLOMATIJA, PROPAGANDA I UPRAVLJANJE KOMUNIKACIJAMA

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ABSTRACT

U ovom radu analizira se koncept javne diplomacije u odnosu na pojmove tradicionalne diplomacije i propagande, te se propituje značenje ovog pojma u kontekstu primjene konceptata meke, tvrde, i pametne moći država. Također, analizira se i upravljanja procesom komuniciranja u okviru aktivnosti javne diplomacije, kao i pitanje odnosa medija i drugih komunikacijskih kanala i javne diplomacije u novom digitalnom komunikacijskom ekosistemu. Javna diplomacija ubrzano se okreće online komunikacijskim kanalima i alatima kako bi dosegla javnosti u stranim zemljama. U sve većoj mjeri prepoznaje se da tradicionalne metode i tehnike komuniciranja s javnostima gube na značaju i da uspješno obavljanje diplomatskih aktivnosti sve više podrazumijeva direktnu interakciju s ciljnim grupama. To otvara novo poglavlje u razvoju koncepta javne diplomacije, a pitanje interaktivnosti i dijaloga s novim ciljnim grupama dobija sve više na značaju.

Keywords: javna diplomacija, propaganda, diplomacija, upravljanje komunikacijama, online diplomacija



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Volume 1 / Issue 2

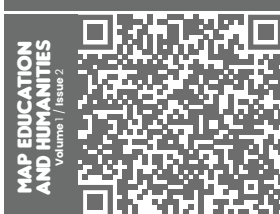
ISSN: 2744-2373 / © 2021 The Authors.
Published by MAP - Multidisciplinary
Academic Publishing.

Article Submitted: 01 October 2021
Article Accepted: 15 October 2021
Article Published: 05 November 2021



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<https://doi.org/10.53880/2744-2373.2021.1.2.7>



HOW TO CITE THIS ARTICLE

Šahinpašić, A., Džihana A. (2021). Javna diplomatija, propaganda i upravljanje komunikacijama. MAP Education and Humanities, 1(2), 7-19. doi: <https://doi.org/10.53880/2744-2373.2021.1.2.7>



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Uvod

Javna diplomacija danas predstavlja glavni instrument komuniciranja u diplomatskim arsenalima ambasada, stranih razvojnih agencija, međunarodnih organizacija, asocijacija i institucija koje žele da osvoje srca i umove javnosti u onim područjima, zemljama i teritorijama na kojima provode bilateralne i multilateralne diplomatske aktivnosti. Javnodiplomatske aktivnosti su komplementarne onima koje provodi tradicionalna diplomatija, ali su načini komunikacije, metode i ciljne javnosti različiti. Aktivnosti javne diplomatije se izvode simultano, ili uz podršku drugih, netradicionalnih diplomatskih aktivnosti, kao što su ekonomska, kulturna, medijska, sportska diplomacija, i sl.

Mediji i komunikacije su glavni elementi u javnodiplomatskom portfoliju. Mediji i komunikatori imaju dvostruku ulogu u javnoj diplomaciji: a) posredno, kao prenosnici informacija i b) izravno, kao aktivni kreatori javnog mnijenja.

U okviru ovoga rada predstavljena je geneza razvoja koncepta javne diplomacije, te su predstavljene razlike i sličnosti sa drugim diplomatskim i komunikacijskim aktivnostima. Ukazano je na poteškoće u razlikovanju ovog termina od propagandnih aktivnosti država, te je razmatrano korištenje javne diplomacije u primjeni različitih tipova moći kojima države raspolagaju. Na kraju su predstavljene i ključni aspekti online/digitalne diplomacije kao novog trenda u razvoju teorije i prakse javne diplomacije.

Geneza razvoja javne diplomacije

Pojam javne diplomacije koristi se u diplomatskoj praksi te teorijama međunarodnih odnosa i diplomacije od druge polovine 20. vijeka, ali je u različitim kontekstima korišten još u 19. vijeku. Termin javna diplomacija (eng. *public diplomacy*) prvi put se pojavio u magazinu *London Times* 1856., te potom u *New York Times*-u 1871. i 1916. godine u kontekstu *otvorene javne diplomacije*. Nakon Prvog svjetskog rata, termin je koristio i predsjednik SAD-a Woodrow Wilson u govoru pred američkim Kongresom 1918. godine kada je govorio o *prihvatanju principa javne diplomacije* (Cull, 2006). Nakon Drugog svjetskog rata, na inauguralnoj sjednici Generalne skupštine UN-a 1946. godine, prvi predsjedavajući ovog tijela, belgijski premijer i ministar vanjskih poslova, Henri Spaak, govorio je o „novom dobu javne diplomacije“. (Jelisić, 2012, p. 35-36).

Pojam javne diplomacije u savremenom značenju, prvi je upotrijebio Edmund Gullion, američki karijerni diplomata i dekan *Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy* na *Tufts univerzitetu*, u kontekstu otvaranja Edward R. Murrow Center for Public Diplomacy na toj visokoj školi 1965. godine (Wolf, Rosen, 2004; Cull, 2009; Jelisić, 2012; PDAA, 2021). U jednoj od prvih brošura tog centra navedena je i deskriptivna definicija javne diplomacije:

Javna diplomacija ... bavi se utjecajem na stavove javnosti o formiranju i izvršenju vanjske politike. To obuhvaća dimenzije međunarodnih odnosa izvan tradicionalne diplomacije; kultiviranje vlada putem javnog mnijenja u drugim zemljama; interakciju privatnih skupina i interesa u jednoj zemlji s onima u drugoj; izvještavanje o vanjskim poslovima i njihov utjecaj na politiku; komunikaciju sa onima koji se bave komunikacijom, kao i između diplomata i stranih dopisnika; te procesi interkulturalnih komunikacija. U središtu javne diplomacije je transnacionalni protok informacija i ideja. (PDAA, 2021).

Geneza razvoja može se posmatrati kroz tri modela koja je formulirao Eytan Gilboa (2008) koji predstavljaju historijski razvoj javne diplomacije od druge polovine 20. vijeka do danas:

- *Osnovni hladnoratovski model* pojavio se tokom perioda hladnog rata i najviše je bio zastupljen u javnodiplomatskim aktivnostima SAD-a i Sovjetskog Saveza, koji su ga koristili da prošire sfere utjecaja putem elektronskih medija, kao glavnih komunikacijskih kanala.
- *Nedržavni transnacionalni model* predstavlja javnodiplomatski odgovor na rast uloge i značaja nedržavnih aktera (koji ne posjeduju vlastite medije) na državnoj i međunarodnoj sceni.
- *Domaći PR model* bazira se na postavci da strana vlada angažuje domaću PR agenciju, kako bi osigurala veću legitimnost javnodiplomatskim kampanjama, i u isto vrijeme prikrila ko provodi te aktivnosti.

Masovni mediji su tokom historije imali veliku ulogu u razvoju javne diplomacije, a to se pokazalo tokom perioda tzv. „hladnog rata“, koji je počeo nakon završetka Drugog svjetskog rata 1945. godine i trajao raspada Sovjetskog saveza i pada komunizma 1991. godine. U tom periodu „komunikacijski ratnici“, s obje strane tzv. „željezne zavjese“ između Istoka i Zapada, su koristili različite strategije

mas-medijske komunikacije u javnodiplomatskim aktivnostima.

Sjedinjene Američke Države (SAD) se smatraju kolijevkom javne diplomacije i zemljom koja javnodiplomatske aktivnosti koristi kao glavni komunikacijski vanjskopolitički instrument u zemljama s kojima bilateralno surađuje, ali i na globalnom diplomatskom planu. Američko ministarstvo vanjskih poslova (eng. *The United States Department of State* ili *U.S. State Department*) koristi javnu diplomaciju kroz programe pod pokroviteljstvom vlade, kreirane s namjerom da se informira ili utiče na javno mnijenje u drugim zemljama. (U.S. Department of State, Dictionary of International Relations Terms cit. prema Wolf & Rosen, 2004). Iz ovoga se vidi da je osnovna namjera da se putem komunikacijskog menadžmenta, usmjerenog ka ciljnim publikama u stranim zemljama, doprinosi realizaciji javnodiplomatskih ciljeva. Putem strateškog upravljanja komunikacijama informiraju se određene javnosti, a u isto vrijeme se doprinosi kreiranju javnog mnijenja tako da ima pozitivne stavove o američkim diplomatskim pristupima i otvorenim vanjskopolitičkim pitanjima.

SAD su skoro pola vijeka, kao glavni javnodiplomatski instrument, koristile Američku informativnu agenciju (The United States Information Agency – USIA). Vlada SAD-a je razvila javnodiplomatski instrumentarij putem kojeg je promovirala svoje nacionalne interese. Tu su dominirali elektronski mediji – radio i TV – koji su emitovali programe na različitim jezicima, a neki su aktivni i danas, kao što su Glas Amerike (eng. *Voice of America*), Radio Slobodna Evropa (eng. *Radio Free Europe*) Radio i TV Liberty. Tokom Hladnog rata emitovani su i međunarodni satelitski TV programi kao što su Worldnet i Dialogue, a korišteni su i elektronski mediji prema ciljanim lokacijama kao što su radio i TV programi Marti, usmjereni prema Kubi. Na Istoku su pokrenuti međunarodni radijski programi, kao što su Radio Moskva i Kineski radio Internacional, koji su komunicirali drugu stranu hladnoratovske priče.

Nakon hladnog rata u SAD-u su pokrenuti i programi Radio Free Asia usmjereni prema Kini, te Radio Free Iraq za građane Iraka. Ove aktivnosti emitiranja RTV programa i medijske diplomacije odvijale se se u okviru USIA-a do 1999. godine, kada je ova agencija integrirana u State Department. Grupa zadužena za planiranje te integracije USIA dala je 1997. godine i novo tumačenje javne diplomacije u kojoj su razvidni elementi upravljanja komunikacijama: „Javna diplomacija nastoji pro-

movirati nacionalne interese SAD-a putem razumijevanja, informiranja i utjecanja na strane publike“ (PDAA, 2021). Ova definicija pokazuje značaj upravljanja komunikacijama u javnoj diplomaciji SAD-a.

Po prestanku rada USIA, u okviru State Department-a, uspostavljen je Ured za javne poslove (eng. *Bureau of Public Affairs*), na čijem čelu se nalazi državni podsekretar za javnu diplomaciju i javne poslove (eng. *Under Secretary for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs*). Taj ured je zadužen za javnu diplomaciju i komunikaciju, ali ne i za emitiranje. Za emitiranje međunarodnih RTV programa, koje sponzorira Vlada SAD-a, zadužen je Odbor direktora za radiodifuziju (eng. *Broadcasting Board of Directors*), koji je nezavisan od State Department-a, a njegov rad nadzire Odbor guvernera za radiodifuziju (eng. *Broadcasting Board of Governors -BBG*). (Vrabec-Mojzeš, 2008).

Pored SAD-a, i druge zemlje koriste javnu diplomaciju za komuniciranje sa javnostima u stranim zemljama. Pretpostavka je da sve zemlje s razvijenom diplomatskom mrežom, u svom portfoliju koriste javnodiplomatske aktivnosti za pridobijanje pažnje javnosti u zemljama s kojima održavaju diplomatske odnose na bilateralnom i multilateralnom nivou. U tom kontekstu predstaviti ćemo i poziciju Europske unije (EU), koja više od pola vijeka razvija instrumente, platforme i kanale javne diplomacije.

Tako i Europska unija (EU), više od pola vijeka razvija instrumente, platforme i kanale javne diplomacije. Javna diplomacija EU razvijala se u dvije faze koje su omeđene periodom prije i poslije potpisivanja Lisabonskog ugovora (Lisabonski ugovor, 2007).

U dokumentu o naučenim lekcijama, u okviru obilježavanja 50 godina EU i pregleda rada javne diplomacije EU, prezentiran je i način na koji je EU upravljala komunikacijama s javnostima u javnodiplomatskim aktivnostima u predlisabonskoj fazi:

Javna diplomacija bavi se utjecanjem na stavove javnosti. Ona nastoji promovirati interese EU putem razumijevanja, informiranja i utjecanja. To podrazumijeva jasno objašnjavanje EU ciljeva, politika i aktivnosti i poticanje razumijevanja tih ciljeva putem dijaloga s građanima, grupama, institucijama i medijima. (European Commission, 2007, p.13).

U Priručniku za informiranje i komuniciranje EU Delegacija u trećim zemljama i međunarodnim

organizacijama iz 2012., predstavljen je EU pristup javnoj diplomaciji u postlisabonskom periodu, koji je u osnovi još uvijek baziran na jednosmjernoj komunikaciji:

Javna diplomacija obuhvaća niz elemenata iz zagovaranja i javnog uvjeravanja, i obično je usmjerena na medije i kreatore politika, u formi pružanja osnovnih informacija putem interneta, platformi društvenih medija, publikacija, ili eksplicitnije putem seminara i konferencija, često uključujući informirane publike kao što su privatni sektor, akademska zajednica, organizirano civilno društvo i opšta javnost, odnosno građani. Zajednički nazivnik svih definicija „javne diplomacije“ je njen krajnji cilj – poboljšanje percepcije javnosti/svijesti o (zemlji ili organizaciji kao) akteru na svjetskoj sceni. (EEAS/DEVCO, 2012)

Javna diplomacija tokom svoje geneze prošla je kroz različite faze razvoja i ponovo se našla u fokusu javnosti početkom 21. vijeka. Brojni analitičari i teoretičari (Nye, 2004; Melissen 2005a; 2005b; Cull, 2009; Gygax, Snow, 2013) suglasni su da je novi koncept javne diplomacije nastao nakon terorističkih napada na Sjedinjene Američke Države 11. septembra 2001. godine (koji se često označava kao 9/11 period). Vlada SAD-a nakon napada 9/11 poduzima cijeli niz javnodiplomatskih kampanja s ciljem informiranja javnosti u različitim zemljama svijeta, i odgovora na komunikacijske izazove koje su uputili teroristi (Gregory, 2008; Hoolbroke, 2001; Nye, 2004; Sharp, 2005). Neposredno nakon napada od 9/11, u medijima i stručnoj javnosti, fluktuirali su različiti pristupi kako efiksno odgovoriti na te izazove.

Jedna grupa eksperata, kao što su William A. Rugh, Keith Reinhard i Peter G. Peterson, ukazivali su na potrebu da se ide izvan okvira javne diplomatije i operira na nivou vojnih „strateških komunikacija“. Oni su preporučivali korporativne marketinške procedure kao sredstvo da se dobije rat protiv terorizma. Bilo je i onih koji su se zalagali za integriranje javnih poslova (eng. *public affairs*) i javne diplomatije. Vojni establišment je propagirao korištenje instrumenata psiholoških operacija i psihološkog ratovanja (eng. *psychological operations/PSYOP, psychological warfare*), upravljanja percepcijom (eng. *perception management*) i strateškog uticaja (eng. *strategic influence*). Cilj je bio integrirati sve instrumente tvrde i meke moći i kreirati „totalnu diplomaciju“ koja je trebala da bude svojevrsan komunikacijski hibrid. Međutim, zagovornici javne diplomatije poput Shaun Riordan i Jan Melisse-

na bili su daleko oprezniji, i pristupili su rješavanju problema iz drugačije perspektive, te istakli nedostatke vojno-komunikacijskog pristupa, uključujući i probleme autoriteta i kontrole, kao i odgovornosti (Gygax, Snow, 2013: 21; Hoolbroke, 2001; Nye, 2004; Sharp, 2005).

Korištenje ratne retorike, jednosmjernih komunikacijskih kampanja, te javnodiplomatskih aktivnosti baziranih na nametanju samo jednog sistema vrijednosti (američkih), nije omogućilo da se „osvoje srca i misli“ ciljnih javnosti u drugim zemljama. To je ukazalo na potrebu razvoja drugačijeg javnodiplomatskog pristupa i razvoja novog koncepta javne diplomacije.

Taj koncept karakteriše otvoren pristup i dijaloška komunikacija sa javnostima u drugima zemljama, aktivnije uključivanje aktera civilnog društva u javnodiplomatski dijalog, umrežavanje, te intenzivnije korištenje novih informacijsko-komunikacijskih tehnologija baziranih na internetu, koje omogućavaju dvosmjernu interaktivnu komunikaciju. Kao rezultat tog pristupa, sada se govori o „novoj javnoj diplomaciji“.

Jan Melissen objašnjava da „novi javnodiplomatski“ pristup naglašava to da javna diplomacija više nije ograničena na slanje poruka, promotivne kampanje, ili čak direktne vladine kontakte sa stranim javnostima u inostranstvu, koje se koriste u vanjskopolitičke svrhe. Po njemu, tu se radi o izgradnji odnosa sa akterima civilnog društva u drugim zemljama i o kreiranju i održavanju mreža odnosa između nevladinih organizacija kod kuće i u inozemstvu. On smatra da će praktičari javne diplomacije sutrašnjice biti operatori u složenim transnacionalnim mrežama, te ističe da je zbog toga izgradnja povjerenja i omogućavanje prekograničnih veza civilnog društva dio njihove osnovne djelatnosti (2005b, pp. 22-23).

Uporedni prikaz upravljanja komunikacijom stare i nove javne diplomacije

Tabela 1:

Upravljanje komunikacijom - stara i nova javna diplomacija (Izvor: Cull, 2009)

Dominantne karakteristike	Stara javna diplomacija	Nova javna diplomacija
1. Identitet međunarodnih aktera	Državni	Državni i nedržavni
2. Tehničko okruženje	Kratkotalasni radio Štampa, Novine, Telefoni	Satelit, Internet, Vijesti u realnom vremenu, Mobilni telefoni
3. Medijsko okruženje	Jasna linija između domaćih i međunarodnih medijskih sfera	Zamagljena granica između domaćih i međunarodnih medijskih sfera
4. Izvor pristupa	Javna diplomacija nastala iz političkog zagovaranja i teorije propagande	Javna diplomacija nastala iz korporativnog brandinga i teorije umrežavanja
5. Terminologija	"Internacionalni imidž" "Prestizž"	"Meka moć" "Brendiranje države"
6. Struktura uloge	Od vrha prema dolje, akteri prema ljudima u stranoj zemlji	Horizontalno, facilitirano od aktera
7. Priroda uloge	Ciljano slanje poruka	Izgradnja odnosa
8. Glavni cilj	Upravljanje međunarodnim okruženjem	Upravljanje međunarodnim okruženjem

R. S. Zaharna (2010) elaborira političke i komunikacijske dinamike na međunarodnoj sceni koji se relevantni za razumijevanje „nove javne diplomacije“. Po njemu ove dinamike definisane su konfiguracijom 1) aktera i njihovih političkih ciljeva, 2) komunikacijskih tehnologija, i to iz perspektive komunikacije, i 3) načina na koji se ovi novi akteri organizuju i koriste te tehnologije da ostvare političke ciljeve. On smatra da ako je pomak od tradicionalne diplomatije ka javnoj diplomatiji bio u jednostavnom dodavanju novih elemenata, pomak od javne diplomacije ka novoj javnoj diplomatiji ogleda se u novoj dinamičnoj konfiguraciji tih elemenata (2010, p.83).

Tajna i javna diplomacija – tradicionalni i savremeni pristup diplomatskoj komunikaciji

Determiniranje pojma javne diplomacije moguće je učiniti i upoređivanjem s „klasičnom“, „tajnom“ ili tradicionalnom diplomacijom, a i tu je važno strateško upravljanje komunikacijom.

Klasična diplomacija bavi se uspostavljanjem i održavanjem vanjskopolitičkih odnosa između vlada dvaju ili više zemalja. Primarno je fokusirana na zvanične odnose među vladama tih zemalja. U tom kontekstu ambasador jedne zemlje predstavlja svoju vladu u zemlji domaćina, i zadužen je za službene relacije sa zvaničnicima zemlje domaći-

na. Obično se tradicionalne diplomatske aktivnosti odvijaju na sastancima „iza zatvorenih vrata“, bez prisustva javnosti i medija, pa se često takav vid diplomatske komunikacije naziva i „tajna diplomacija“. Javnost uglavnom dobija informacije o tim diplomatskim sastancima i aktivnostima putem saopštenja koja pripremaju uredi za odnose s javnošću ministarstava vanjskih poslova ili ambasada.

Javna diplomacija razlikuje se od tradicionalne, jer se bavi ne samo komunikacijom sa vlastima, već i sa svim relevantnim nevladinim i ne-državnim akterima (eng. *non-state actors*). Javnodiplomatske aktivnosti uključuju komunikaciju s pojedincima i organizacijama koje su relevantne za ambasadu, razvojnu agenciju ili međunarodnu organizaciju koja djeluje u zemlji domaćina. Takve aktivnosti uključuju predstavnike medija, civilnog društva, te organizacija i institucija iz oblasti kulture, sporta, biznisa, religijskih institucija i neformalnih grupa građana. Ti nedržavni akteri predstavljaju ključnu ciljnu javnost javnodiplomatskih aktivnosti, jer imaju (ili mogu imati), utjecaj na politička, ekonomska, socijalna, kulturna i druga dešavanja u svojoj zemlji.

Osim ciljnih javnosti, i *pozicije komunikatora* u tradicionalnoj i javnoj diplomaciji su različite. U tradicionalnoj diplomaciji ključni komunikatori su ambasadori, članovi diplomatskog kora, ili predstavnici institucija vlasti, dok se u javnoj diplomaciji angažuju pojedinci i organizacije iz svih sfera društvenog, kulturnog, sportskog i poslovnog miljea, koji mogu prenijeti različite poruke publikama u zemlji domaćina.

Distinkciju tradicionalne i javne diplomacije moguće je sagledati i komparativnom analizom ovih pojmova. Diplomacija predstavlja vođenje državnih vanjskopolitičkih poslova posredstvom službenih odnosa s drugim državama i međunarodnim organizacijama, smatra Safet Halilović (2012), dok je za Radovana Vukadinovića (1998) diplomacija organizirana društvena djelatnost predstavljanja države u međunarodnim odnosima i realizacija državnih vanjskopolitičkih ciljeva mirnim sredstvima. Diplomacija je, Miodragu Mitiću (1999), spoljnopolićka djelatnost države u odnosu na druge subjekte međunarodnog prava i međunarodnih odnosa (države i međunarodne organizacije).

Nicholas J. Cull (2009) posmatra diplomaciju kao neratne mehanizme koje koriste međunarodni akteri za upravljanje međunarodnim

okruženjem. U današnje vrijeme taj akter može biti država, multinacionalna korporacija, nevladina organizacija, međunarodna organizacija, teroristićka organizacija/nedržavna paravojna organizacija ili neki drugi akteri na svjetskoj pozornici. Po Cullu, tradicionalna diplomacija predstavlja pokušaj međunarodnog aktera da upravlja međunarodnim okruženjem putem angažmana s drugim međunarodnim akterom, dok je javna diplomacija pokušaj međunarodnog aktera da upravlja međunarodnim okruženjem putem angažmana sa stranim javnostima.

Jasna Jelisić određuje pojam javne diplomacije u kontekstu *aktera*: „Da bi javna diplomatija bila *diplomacija*, u aktivnosti koje ciljaju publiku u inostranstvu mora direktno ili indirektno biti involvirana vlada, a da bi bila *javna*, ta publika moraju biti građani, a ne vladine strukture ili politička elita.“ Ona navodi da „šire definicije javne diplomatije podrazumijevaju transnacionalni impakt svih vladinih i nevladinih aktivnosti u inostranstvu koje uključuju i oblasti poput kulture i mode, sporta i interneta, a što sve u konačnici ima utjecaja na pružanje podrške vanjskoj politici“ (2012, pp. 37–38).

Javna diplomacija i propaganda

U teoriji i praksi javna diplomacija se često koristila kao sinonim za neke druge diplomatske, političke, vojne i komunikacijske aktivnosti poput propagande, psihološkog ratovanja, odnosa s javnošću, javnih poslova, međunarodnih informativnih programa, i zbog toga je potrebno objasniti razlike i diferencirati te termine.

Walter Lippmann 1953. piše o diplomatama koji u isti nivo stavljaju praksu javne diplomacije i propagande, kao i psihološkog ratovanja (Jelisić 2012, p.3). Radovan Vukadinović navodi da nekada diplomatski potezi prate propagandne aktivnosti ili se diplomatski sastanci organizuju u propagandne svrhe (1998), te smatra da je propaganda uvijek u funkciji širih vanjskopolitičkih ciljeva (2005).

Amerićki diplomata Richard Hoolbrook (2001), u tekstu „Get the message out“ objavljenom u *The Washington Postu*, piše o ulozi javne diplomacije u ratu protiv terorizma: „Nazovite to javna diplomacija, ili javni poslovi, ili psihološki rat, ili ako zaista želite biti potpuno otvoreni – propaganda“. Dok Geoffu Berridge (2004) smatra da je javna diplomacija strana propaganda koju provode ili po-duzimaju diplomati.

Jedan od pionira američke javne diplomacije, John Brown (2008), postavlja pitanje da li je „javna diplomacija“ samo lijep način da se kaže „propaganda“? On navodi da postoje neki zajednički elementi, ali i vrlo bitne razlike između ovih pojmova koje polarizira tako što pravi distinkciju između javne diplomacije u najboljem svjetlu i propagande u najgorem izdanju:

Tabela 2:

Uporedni prikaz javne diplomacije i propagande (izvor: Brown, 2008; tabela Šahinpašić, 2016)

Javna diplomacija (u najboljoj formi)	Propaganda (u najgoroj formi)
Pružila publici u inozemstvu istinita, činjenična izlaganja i objašnjenja o nacionalnoj spoljnoj politici i načinu života u matičnoj zemlji	Publici u inozemstvu nameće svoje propagandne poruke, često koristeći ponavljanje i slogane
Podstiče razumijevanje na međunarodnom nivou	Propaganda koristi elemente kojim se demonizira vanjski svijet, uz tvrdnju da nacija koja se propagandom glorificira ne može pogriješiti
Aktivno sluša i uključuje se u dijalog (s javnostima u zemlji domaćina op.a.)	Kompleksna pitanja predstavlja na vrlo pojednostavljen način, uključujući i pitanja koja se odnose na historiju
Publici u inozemstvu objektivno prikazuje nacionalne uspjehe, uključujući i one ostvarene na umjetničkom planu	Pogrešno predstavlja istinu, ili čak namjerno laže

Brown smatra da i javna diplomacija i propaganda, i u svojim najboljim i najgorim formama, mogu postići kredibilitet kod publike. Međutim, po njemu, razlika je u tome što javna diplomacija postiže dugoročni kredibilitet putem pažljive prezentacije činjenica i promišljene argumentacije na pošten način, a najgora propaganda postiže kratkoročni kredibilitet falsifikovanjem i senzacionalizmom, bez otkrivanja prave svrhe, i zbog toga je nepoštena. Brown navodi da je izuzetno teško evaluirati efikasnost javne diplomacije i propagande. On ističe da je njegova distinkcija „najbolje-najgore“ bazirana na moralnim, a ne funkcionalnim argumentima. Smatra da za neke takav pristup ima malu praktičnu vrijednost, pošto po njemu, moralnost, ili poštivanje istinitosti, ima malo veze s vanjskom politikom (2008).

Javna diplomacija i koncepti „tvrde“, „meke“ i „pametne moći“

Javna diplomacija se posmatra kroz prizmu primjene tzv. „meke moći“ (eng. *soft power*), koja predstavlja instrumentarij javnodiplomatskih alatki koje mogu pomoći u rješavanju otvorenih vanjskopolitičkih pitanja na bilateralnom ili multilateral-

nom nivou diplomatskih odnosa. To se koristi kada donosioci vanjskopolitičkih odluka procijene da bi se neki diplomatski problem efikasnije riješio uz pokazivanje „meke moći“, nego korištenjem alatki iz arsenala tzv. „tvrde moći“ (eng. *hard power*) kao što su politički, vojni i ekonomski pritisci. To uključuje pokazivanje dobre volje i komunikaciju sa javnostima u drugoj zemlji, koje bi podstaknute efektima „meke moći“ trebale posredno da djeluju na promjenu stavova donosioca odluka i vlasti u svojoj zemlji.

Koncept „meke moći“ je uveo Joseph G. Nye, 90-tih godina 20. vijeka kao akademski pojam kojim objašnjava sposobnost neke države da privuče i ubijedi javnosti u drugoj državi. Po njemu „tvrda moć“, koja predstavlja sposobnost prisile, raste iz vojne ili ekonomske moći zemlje, dok „meka moć“ proizlazi iz atraktivnosti njene kulture, političkih ideala i politike koju ta zemlja vodi. „Meka moć“ može pomoći državama da odgovore na izazove terorizma i kritična globalna pitanja koja zahtijevaju saradnju na multilateralnom planu (2004).

Nye (2004) razlikuje tri oblika ponašanja meke moći i to: nametanje dnevnog reda (eng. *agenda setting*), privlačenje i ubjeđivanje (persuazija). Postoje dva modela uticaja meke moći na ciljnu javnosti: Prvi je direktni model gdje se nastoji ubijediti lidere putem predstavljanja dobrodušnosti, harizme ili vještine drugih lidera. Tu važnu ulogu imaju odnosi među elitom i mreže. Drugi model, koji se češće koristi, je dvostepeni model, u kojem se prvo utiče na javnosti u drugim zemljama, a one potom vrše uticaj na svoje lidere. U tom kontekstu, akteri poduzimaju različite aktivnosti da kreiraju

privlačnost i „meku moć“ putem programa javne diplomatije, medijskog emitovanja, te programa razmjene i pomoći (2012).

Nye (2012) je razvio i koncept „pametne moći“ (eng. *“smart power”*), koji uključuje različite alate tvrde i meke moći, poput integrisanja i umrežavanja diplomatije, odbrane i razvoja. Ernest J. Wilson (2008) definiše „pametnu moć“ kao sposobnost aktera da kombinuju različite elemente „tvrde moći“ i „meke moći“ na taj način da se njihovi efekti pojačavaju međusobnim djelovanjem, što doprinosi da se namjerama aktera pristupa uspješno i efikasno. Na taj način, hibridnom kombinacijom različitih elemenata iz arsenala „tvrde moći“ i „meke moći“, sinhronizira se djelovanje i balansiranje elemenata moći, što omogućava više uspjeha na diplomatskom planu državi koja koristi „pametnu moć“, nego onima koji koriste samo jednu vrstu moći.

To je razvidno kod primjene diplomatske taktike poznate po nazivu „mrkva i štap“ (eng. *“carrot and stick”*). Izraz „mrkva i štap“ predstavlja metaforičan izraz kojim se u međunarodnim diplomatskim i političkim odnosima želi opisati vrsta diplomatske ponude suprotnoj strani, koja uključuje kombinaciju nagrade i kazne za izazivanje željenog ponašanja. Na osnovu dobrog ponašanja ta strana može očekivati da će dobiti nagradu („mrkva“), ili će biti kažnjena („štap“) ako nisu ispunjena očekivanja drugog aktera u diplomatskim odnosima. U kontekstu diplomacije, koncept nagrade („mrkva“) predstavlja manifestaciju „meke moći“, a kazne („štap“) pokazivanja „tvrde moći“ kroz političke, vojne i ekonomske pritiske na protivničku stranu. Sinhronizirana kombinacija i balansiranje ovih elemenata se ogleda u primjeni „pametne moći“, koja uspostavlja javnodiplomatsku ravnotežu između „meke moći“ i tradicionalnog diplomatskog pritiska zasnovanog na „tvrdj moći“ zemlje pregovarača.

U kontekstu primjene „pametne moći“ u javnoj diplomaciji, upravljanje komunikacijama (eng. *“communications management”*) je ključno za balansiranje i komuniciranje elemenata „meke moći“ i „tvrde moći“ ciljnim javnostima u stranoj zemlji.

Nye (2012) predstavlja tri faze javne diplomacije koje su važne u implementaciji koncepta „meke moći“ (vidi graf 1):

1. dnevna komunikacija, gdje je fokus na objašnjavanju odluka u domaćoj i vanjskoj politici; vrijeme se mjeri satima i danima
2. strateška komunikacija, i razvoj programa

komuniciranja jednostavnih tema koji se realizuje slično kao politička ili marketinška kampanja; vrijeme se mjeri nedjeljama, mjesecima pa čak i godinama

3. razvoj dugoročnih odnosa s ključnim pojedincima putema programa kao što su stipendije, programi razmjene, obuke, seminari, konferencije i korištenje medijskih kanala; vrijeme se mjeri tokom mnogo godina pa čak i decenija.

Graf 1:

3 kruga javne diplomatije po Nye-u (2012) (adaptirao Asim Šahinpašić)



Nye (2012) ističe da svaka od ove tri faze javne diplomacije igra važnu ulogu pri pomoći vladama da stvore privlačan imidž svoje zemlje koji može popraviti njene izgleda za postizanje željenog ishoda.

Strateško i digitalno upravljanje komunikacijama u javnoj diplomaciji

Strateško upravljanje komunikacijama i odnosi s javnošću se koriste kao ključni komunikacijski instrumenti u javnoj diplomaciji. Odnosi s javnošću su u funkciji „upravljanja komunikacijom između organizacije i njenih javnosti“ (Grunig, Hunt, 1984, p.7). Po Cutlipu, Centeru i Broomu (2006, p.11), „odnosi s javnošću predstavljaju funkciju upravljanja čiji je zadatak da uspostavlja i njeguje uzajamno korisne veze između organizacije i različitih javnosti koje je okružuju, i od kojih zavisi uspjeh ili neuspjeh te organizacije.“ Zoran Tomić (2016, p.99) predstavlja odnose s javnošću kao „proces komuniciranja organizacije s njezinom unutarnjom i vanjskom javnošću u svrhu postizanja međusobnog razumijevanja, izgradnje društvene odgovornosti i ostvarivanja zajedničkih interesa.“ Na osnovu ovih

tumačenja pojmova vidi se kako se strateškim upravljanjem odnosima s javnošću ispunjava i javnodiplomatski zadatak povezivanja diplomatskih organizacija sa javnostima u zemlji domaćina.

Ključnu ulogu u uspostavi javnodiplomatskog i komunikacijskog mosta sa javnostima igraju mediji. Zrinka Vrabec-Mojzeš (2008, p.176), navodi: "Glavni instrumenti kojima se koristi javna diplomacija jesu mediji – osobito radio i televizija, filmovi, knjige, brošure, magazini, kulturna, znanstvena i obrazovna razmjena, ali i dijalog s određenim ciljnim skupinama."

Pri provođenju kampanja i strateškom komuniciranju programa javne diplomacije koriste se i druge netradicionalne forme diplomatskih aktivnosti, za pridobijanje pažnje i povjerenja javnosti u drugim zemljama. To uključuje kulturnu diplomaciju koja provodi programi kulturne i akademske razmjene, te ekonomska, sportska, medijska i digitalna diplomacija. Javna diplomacija kreira komunikacijske mostove ka srcima i umovima javnosti u zemljama domaćina, i zato je strateško komuniciranje ključni faktor razvoja i unapređenja javnodiplomatskih aktivnosti svih zemlja koje žele osnažiti svoje diplomatske pozicije na bilateralnom i multilateralnom nivou.

U novije vrijeme, javnodiplomatske aktivnosti nalaze veliku primjenu u virtualnim komunikacijskim prostorima pri uspostavi i održavanju bilateralnih i multilateralnih odnosa u globalnoj diplomatskoj areni.

Online javna diplomacija podrazumijeva korištenje online komunikacijskih platformi na internetu i informacijsko-komunikacijskih tehnologija za realizaciju javnodiplomatskih aktivnosti. U teoriji i praksi javne diplomacije, termini kao što su digitalna, ili online (javna) diplomacija, kibernetička (cyber) diplomacija, kao i e-diplomacija koriste se kao sinonimi za online javnodiplomatske aktivnosti.

U e-diplomaciji web platforme i informacijsko-komunikacijske tehnologije (IKT) pomažu u realizaciji diplomatskih ciljeva, a Hanson (2010) smatra da je u svakoj kredibilnoj javnodiplomatskoj strategiji ili kampanji potrebno uključiti i e-diplomaciju. Od aplikacije e-diplomacije koje su važne za javnu diplomaciju Hanson navodi društvene medije kao što su: Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, Digg, Flickr i Twingly, te blogove i mobilne tehnologije.

Primjena koncepta „meke“ moći ima važnu ulogu i u kontekstu online javne diplomatije. Po Nye-u (2012) paradoks korištenja javne diplomatije u svrhu stvaranja „meke“ moći u globalno informatičko doba jeste da decentralizacija i smanjena kontrola mogu biti ključne za stvaranje „meke“ moći. Po njemu, gospodarenje ovom vrstom moći je važno, ali nije uvijek lako, naročito u kibernetičkom dobu.

Berridge (2004) navodi da odjeli zaduženi za javnu diplomaciju sve češće trebaju materijal za elektroničke i online informacije usmjeravati izravno vanjskom svijetu, posebno putem stranica ministarstava vanjskih poslova. U Digitalnoj strategiji iz 2012. Ministarstvo vanjskih poslova Ujedinjenog kraljevstva (eng. *Foreign and Commonwealth Office-FCO*) navodi da želi vidjeti digitalne elemente ugrađene u svaki element vanjsko-političkih aktivnosti, što bi vodilo ka efikasnijem i otvorenijem radu Ministarstva vanjskih poslova (FCO-a) koje može u potpunosti iskoristiti sve prednosti umreženog svijeta (vidi FCO, 2012).

Po Fatiću (1999) kibernetika međunarodnih odnosa se direktno odražava na diplomatiju jer sugerira da tajnovita diplomatija nema više smisla, i da je javnost diplomatije njena najveća moć. Po njemu, tri osnovne karakteristike modela kibernetike međunarodnih odnosa su: a) *ubrzanje vremena* (reagovanje u virtualnoj stvarnosti i u virtualnom vremenu, paralelno sa vremenom stvarnog dešavanja), b) *važnost vizuelne slike ili imidža*, i c) *povjerenje*.

U ovom kontekstu važno je determinirati i javnu diplomaciju 2.0 (neki autori govore i o javnoj diplomaciji 3.0 kao višoj fazi). Javna diplomacija 2.0 se odnosi na javnodiplomatske aktivnosti koje se komuniciraju putem društvenih medija poput Facebooka, Twittera, YouTube-a i drugih 2.0 platformi. Glavna karakteristika web 2.0 društvenih medija je da omogućavaju interaktivnost s javnostima i participaciju korisnika u kreiranju online sadržaja, što predstavlja posebne javnodiplomatske izazove za organizacije koje žele da koriste ove online platforme za komunikaciju sa svojom publikom. I upravo ta mogućnost da publika može komunicirati sa pošiljaocima poruke je ono što predstavlja nove izazove za praktičare javne diplomacije.

Društvene mreže igraju sve važniju ulogu u javnoj diplomaciji. "Države u javnoj diplomaciji desetljećima koriste elektronske medije i internet, ali je posljednjih nekoliko godina naglo porasla popular-

nost društvenih mreža preko kojih se može privući pozornost ciljane publike na mnoga pitanja koja su važna za image jedne zemlje" (Glavaš Kovačić, 2013, p.62). Tu se posebno ističe Twitter, pa je i jedan od oblika online diplomacije 2.0 nazvan - *Twiplomacy*.

Nove platforme za interaktivnu, dvosmjernu, komunikaciju bazirane na digitalnim *online* tehnologijama i društvenim medijima omogućavaju i pojedincima da se uključe u javnodiplomatske aktivnosti, čime se osnažuje uloga i pozicija građana u međunarodnim odnosima. Payne, et. al, (2011) smatraju da danas svaka osoba sa internet konekcijom može pokrenuti javnodiplomatsku inicijativu putem online platformi i društvenih medija. Naravno, treba voditi računa da u takve inicijative država i ministarstva vanjskih poslova moraju biti uključeni direktno ili indirektno da bi se to moglo definirati kao aktivnost javne diplomacije.

Tradicionalne metode prezentiranja javne diplomacije gube utjecaj, smatra Nabil Ayad (2012. p.27), i sugerira diplomatama i ministarstvima vanjskih poslova da budu online, zajedno sa vladama i organizacijama, ako žele da se njihova poruka čuje, jer takav koncept omogućava direktnu interakciju i stratešku dijalošku komunikaciju s ciljnim javnostima.

Zaključak

Javna diplomacija se pojavljuje kao koncept u udžbenicima diplomacije i međunarodnih odnosa od druge polovine 20. stoljeća, a u to vrijeme se počinje koristiti i u diplomatskim praksama. Vremenom, samo značenje koncepta se mijenjalo. U *hladnoratovskom periodu* koncept je korišten kako bi se proširile sfere utjecaja korištenjem prvenstveno elektronskih medija. Porastom uloge ne-državnih aktera na nacionalnom i međunarodnom planu, koncept javne diplomacije je proširen da uključuje i aktivnosti ovih aktera. Vremenom, koncept je postao sofisticiraniji, pa su vlade često angažirale PR agencije iz zemlje u kojoj su se provodile javnodiplomatske aktivnosti, a sve kako bi se povećao kredibilitet poruka koje se odašilju i kako bi se prikrio ko, zapravo, provodi te aktivnosti. U novije vrijeme, nakon napada od 11. septembra 2001., pojavile su se dileme kod američkih teoretičara i praktičara na koji način odgovoriti na terorističke izazove i da li uopće nastaviti s praskom javne diplomacije, ili je uklopiti u širi okvir totalne diplomacije, koji uključuje korporativne marketinške procedure, psihološko ratovanje, upravljanje percepcijama i metode ostvarivanja strateškog uticaja. Nasuprot ovom pristupu, zagov-

ornici javne diplomacije istakli su nedostatke ovog vojno-komunikacijskog pristupa, uključujući i probleme autoriteta i kontrole, odgovornosti i založili se za koncept koji karakteriše otvoren pristup i dijaloška komunikacija sa javnostima u drugima zemljama, aktivnije uključivanje aktera civilnog društva u javnodiplomatski dijalog, umrežavanje, te intenzivnije korištenje novih informacijsko-komunikacijskih tehnologija baziranih na internetu.

Određivanje pojma javne diplomacije najčešće se radi putem poređenja s tradicionalnom diplomacijom. Dvije su suštinske razlike: (1) Klasična diplomacija bavi se uspostavljanjem i održavanjem vanjskopolitičkih odnosa između vlada dvaju ili više zemalja, dok javna diplomacija nastoji uspostaviti veze s javnostima u tim zemljama. Za razliku od tradicionalne diplomacije, javna diplomacija ne komunicira samo s vlastima, već i sa svim relevantnim nevladinim i ne-državnim akterima; (2) Pozicije komunikatora u tradicionalnoj i javnoj diplomaciji su različite. U tradicionalnoj diplomaciji ključno je diplomatsko osoblje, dok se u javnoj diplomaciji angažuju pojedinci i organizacije iz svih sfera društvenog, kulturnog, sportskog i poslovnog miljea.

U pogledu odnosa javne diplomacije i propagande, nije jednostavno doći do zaključka postoji li suštinska razlika između tih pojmova. S jedne strane, određen broj autora drži da javna diplomacija je, zapravo, samo jedno lice propagandnih aktivnosti, a koje provode diplomati. Nasuprot tome, drugi autori naglašavaju da postoje sličnosti, ali i bitne razlike između ova dva pojma. Razlike se ogledaju u tome da javna diplomacija nudi istinite informacije javnostima, dok se propaganda ne obazire na istinitost same poruke; zatim, da je cilj javne diplomacije podsticanje međunarodnog razumijevanja dok propaganda nastoji veličati državu i naciju iz koje potiče, istovremeno demonizirajući protivnike; i konačno, javna diplomacija nastoji potaknuti dijalog s domaćim javnostima, dok propaganda nastoji pojednostaviti stvari čineći bilo kakav dijalog izlišnim. Tako, naprimjer, EU pristup javnoj diplomaciji podrazumijeva objašnjavanje EU ciljeva, politika i aktivnosti i poticanje razumijevanja tih ciljeva putem dijaloga s građanima, grupama, institucijama i medijima. Iako se ovdje ne radi o dijalogu ravnopravnih, u kojem građani drugih zemalja mogu utjecati na ciljeve, politike i aktivnosti EU-a, ipak se može primjetiti da se ovako formuliran pristup teško može ocijeniti kao propaganda.

Javna diplomacija se posmatra kroz prizmu primjene koncepata "meke", "tvrde" i "pametne"

moći država. Posljedni od ova tri koncepta, zapravo objedinjuje prethodna dva. "Pametna" moć uključuje različite alate tvrde i meke moći, poput integrisanja i umrežavanja diplomatije, odbrane i razvoja. U kontekstu primjene "pametne moći" u javnoj diplomaciji, upravljanje komunikacijama je ključno za balansiranje i komuniciranje elemenata "meke moći" i "tvrde moći" ciljnim javnostima u stranoj zemlji. Upravljanje komunikacijama, u tom kontekstu, uključuje: redovnu, dnevnu komunikaciju u kojoj se objašnjavaju aktuelne političke odluke; stratešku komunikaciju koja stavlja fokus na određenu temu; razvoj dugoročnih odnosa korištenjem medijskih kanala, ali i uključivanjem nemedijskih aktivnosti kao što su programi stipendiranja, razmjene, različitim obuka i slično.

U novije vrijeme, javnodiplomatske aktivnosti sve više se sele u online sferu, a termini kao što su digitalna, ili online diplomacija, kibernetička diplomacija, kao i e-diplomacija koriste se kao sinonimi za online javnodiplomatske aktivnosti. U ovom kontekstu, javnodiplomatske aktivnosti su putem online alata sve više direktno usmjerene na ciljnu javnost u stranim zemljama, bez medijskih i drugih posrednika. Također, zbog prirode online komunikacijskih alata, ove aktivnosti sve više postaju i interaktivne. U ovakvim okolnostima, pojavljuju se i novi akteri u ovim aktivnostima, a to su pojedinci. Ipak, njihove aktivnosti se mogu smatrati javnodiplomatskim samo ako država, direktno ili indirektno, stoji iza ovih aktivnosti. No, sigurno je da pitanja ostvarivanja interaktivnosti, pa i sve smislenijeg dijaloga, s novim ciljnim grupama dobijaju na značaju u novom okruženju i da će koncept javne diplomacije morati odgovoriti na ove izazove ako želi da zadrži relevantnost.

Abstract

In this paper we analyze the concept of public diplomacy in relation to the ideas of traditional diplomacy and propaganda, and examine the meaning of this notion in the context of the application of the concepts of *soft*, *hard*, and *smart* power of states. Also, the management of the communication process within the activities of public diplomacy is analyzed, as well as the issue of the relationship between the media and other communication channels and public diplomacy in the new digital communication ecosystem. Public diplomacy is rapidly turning to online communication channels and tools to reach the public in foreign countries. It is increasingly recognized that traditional methods and techniques of communicating

with the public are losing importance and that the successful conduct of diplomatic activities increasingly implies direct interaction with target groups. This opens a new chapter in the development of the concept of public diplomacy, and the issues of interactivity and dialogue with new target groups is becoming increasingly important.

Keywords: *public diplomacy, propaganda, diplomacy, communications management, online diplomacy*

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ORIGINAL RESEARCH ARTICLE

THE PLURALIZATION OF MASS NOUNS IN EUROPEAN AND ASIAN ELF

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ABSTRACT

English has become a global lingua franca unlike any language before. This has led to the increased pragmatic use of English by an increasing number of non-native speakers and, consequently, English as a lingua franca (ELF) has emerged. It has become a contact language between speakers of different mother tongues which has led to the blurring of strict regulatory frameworks formerly established by native English varieties. ELF speakers use English in creative ways and influenced by their native languages and cultures and the imitation of the native speaker has been pushed to the background in favor of successful communication. In order to facilitate the examination of this new type of English, several ELF corpora have been established, two of which are used for this study. The Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English (VOICE) and the Asian Corpus of English (ACE) are both collections of spoken interactions between ELF speakers that have the same size and rely on the same coding system and search parameters, which make them readily comparable. While these corpora have already aided in the discovery of several common features of ELF in general, this study focuses on the lexico-grammatical feature of the pluralization of mass nouns by either adding the 's' or some type of quantifier in European and Asian ELF. Results show that Asian ELF speakers are less likely to pluralize mass nouns than European ELF speakers. Yet, pluralization can be found in both types of ELF and this, along with other specific, non-standard features, raises questions for English language teaching and the status of native English.

Keywords: English as a lingua franca, pluralization of mass nouns, world Englishes, European ELF, Asian ELF

MAP EDUCATION
AND HUMANITIES

Volume 1 / Issue 2

ISSN: 2744-2373 / © 2021 The Authors.
Published by MAP - Multidisciplinary
Academic Publishing.

Article Submitted: 07 November 2021
Article Accepted: 22 November 2021
Article Published: 24 November 2021



Publisher's Note: MAP stays neutral with regard to jurisdictional claims in published maps and institutional affiliations.

<https://doi.org/10.53880/2744-2373.2021.1.2.20>

HOW TO CITE THIS ARTICLE

Tinkel I., Deissl-O'Meara M. (2021). **The Pluralization of Mass Nouns in European and Asian ELF**. MAP Education and Humanities, 1(2), 20-31. doi: <https://doi.org/10.53880/2744-2373.2021.1.2.20>



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Introduction

The English language has established itself as the dominant global language. This is a development that is largely due to the initial dominance of the British Empire and the subsequent gain in power of the United States of America – both countries whose official language is English (Crystal, 2013). Never before has any other language been so important in the world (of business) as English is today (Crystal, 2003). With this rapid spread of English the language itself has developed and changed and is now considered the only “genuinely global lingua franca” (Seidlhofer, 2005a) and, hence, the research field of English as a lingua franca (ELF) was established. ELF is defined as the use of English as the only language available for communication to speakers of various first languages (L1) in order to interact with each other (Crystal, 2003). It is possible, of course, that native English speakers are part of these interactions. However, since the number of non-native English speakers worldwide is considerably higher than the number of native speakers – every fourth English user – it is very likely that ELF communication takes place between people without a common mother tongue or culture. For them English functions as a contact language (Firth, 1996 as cited in Seidlhofer, 2005). As a consequence of this widespread and diverse use of English the language has been influenced significantly by non-native speakers (Dervić & Bećirović, 2019; Crystal, 2013). This has resulted in the development of certain features that are distinctive to and common in ELF use. Generally, five categories have been proposed – phonology, lexis/lexicogrammar, grammatical features, pragmatic norms and communicative strategies (Kirkpatrick, 2010a). This research, however, focuses on one very specific feature of the lexicogrammatical area – the pluralization of mass nouns – which has been named a frequent characteristic of ELF (Jenkins et al., 2011; Kirkpatrick, 2011; Seidlhofer, 2004). By comparing two ELF corpora – the Vienna Oxford International Corpus of English (VOICE) and the Asian Corpus of English (ACE) – this research explores the question whether there is a difference in frequency of pluralization of mass nouns between European ELF speakers and Asian ELF speakers. The hypothesis is that the frequency of pluralization of mass nouns will be higher in Asian ELF than in European ELF.

English as a Global Lingua Franca

The underlying characteristic of ELF is that it is “an appropriate use of the resources of English for globalized purposes” (Widdowson & Seidlhofer, 2018). This is particularly relevant in today’s con-

nected world where globalization and internationalization have necessitated a medium for successful and efficient communication (Yaman & Bećirović, 2016) among speakers of different mother tongues. Thus, the general role of English for global communication cannot be rivaled by any other language spoken today and particularly ELF has become increasingly important (Jenkins et al., 2011; Smit, 2010). This significance can be exemplified using the case of interpretation within the European Union. Historically, interpreters and translators have long played an important role in ensuring successful communication in international relations between people of different mother tongues. Though interpreters are undoubtedly still important today, especially in the political domain, the great multitude of languages has made it difficult to always adhere to the originally established rules for interpreting. In the case of the EU this has meant that interpreters should only interpret into their native language. However, with the growth of the EU it has become very challenging and almost impossible to find qualified individuals (Sinanović & Bećirović, 2016) for all possible language combinations. Thus, the regulative framework has been adapted and now interpreters work out of their mother tongue into the second language as well. In addition, English is now frequently being used, apart from its function for direct communication between individuals of different mother tongue, as a pivot language between two interpreters. This means that interpreter 1 translates from their mother tongue into English and interpreter 2 translates from English into their native tongue – the target language (Seidlhofer, 2020). Hence, English gives specialists the ability to bridge the gap between people who do not speak a shared first language and enables successful communication and by functioning as a lingua franca (Seidlhofer, 2011). Such situations also drastically increase the significance of English as an international medium of communication as much information shared is transmitted through English (Melchers et al., 2019). The role that English has adopted is so unique that it has caused polarizing opinions regarding whether this development is desirable or not.

ELF’s Position among the World Englishes

As has been pointed out and illustrated before, ELF makes linguistic interaction between speakers of any mother tongue possible by functioning as a bridging language. This is especially supported by researchers who support the development of new forms of English. Seidlhofer (2020) states that the growth of ELF constitutes a great opportunity for innovation and development since it is a type of English that is not controlled by native

speaker norms. This implies that inner circle Englishes (Braj Kachru, 1985), which are typically defined as native varieties being used in countries such as the United States of America, the United Kingdom, Ireland, Australia, Canada and New Zealand where English is the main official language, are no longer the only standard and benchmark for competence. In the field of ELF native speakers have lost their exclusive right to call the English language their own and to determine what can be said and what cannot be said (Widdowson, 1997 as cited in Brutt-Griffler, 2002). Consequently, English is becoming increasingly significant in both outer and expanding circle countries as they exert more influence on the development of ELF. In outer circle countries English is already used in official institutions and has great importance in multilingual settings but has not yet been adopted for private communication. In expanding circle countries English is regarded as an important international language but has no official status (Braj Kachru, 1985).

Accordingly, ELF should receive more recognition and should be accepted as creative use of language for special communicative purposes and not as a defective form of native speaker English (Jenkins et al., 2011; Seidlhofer, 2001). After all, the Englishes of the inner and outer circle are perceived as separate and valid varieties influenced by the other languages and the culture they are used in (Widdowson & Seidlhofer, 2018). Linguistic differences between inner circle countries, such as Great Britain and America, are normally accepted without question and without one native speaker accusing the other of speaking defective English (McKay, 2002). Britain states that within the UK there is a wide variety of non-standard grammatical forms which "are the rule rather than the exception in spoken (British) English" (p.53 as cited in Kirkpatrick, 2010b). Likewise, ELF should be accepted as a kind of English that can coexist with accepted varieties. And, similar to inner and outer circle Englishes, ELF should be regarded as featuring various subtypes since it is a global phenomenon and, thus, subject to continuous change and development depending on socio-cultural and linguistic influences of the speakers (Jenkins et al., 2011). Hence, new varieties of English such as Singlish, Japlish or Hinglish have emerged and keep emerging, containing ever more creative features which deviate from inner circle standards (Nihalani, 2010). Brutt-Griffler (2002, p. 389) already suggested in 1998 that linguistic tolerance should be "extended to all English-using communities" as did Rubdy and Saraceni (2006, p. 13) when they stated that "importance is not given so much [...] to the application of a set of prescribed rules [...], but to tolerance for diversity and appropriacy of use in

specific sociolinguistic contexts". Yet, ELF has not yet really entered people's mindsets fully and is still often regarded defective language in comparison to native speaker English (Seidlhofer, 2011).

English is no longer exclusively shaped by native speakers but, and even more, by all others who use the language (Dervić, & Bećirović, 2020). This is sometimes regarded as problematic by inner circle societies as they feel English is their language and should remain in their hands (Saxena & Omoniyi, 2010). New varieties such as Spanish English or Indian English give rise to the question of what is actually 'real' English (Nihalani, 2010). Some experts have been indignant about the acceptance of ELF as a separate type of English and the perceived disregard for the rules of 'real' English. Medgyes (1992), for instance, takes a very firm stance and insists that ELF must not be supported as any form of English which differs from Standard English norms but must be regarded as erroneous and is, therefore, unacceptable as a part of the varieties of the English language. Resistance to ELF might also be met in business contexts such as the example of the altered EU regulative framework for interpretation mentioned previously. ELF is sometimes perceived as a threat to interpreters', or any experts', knowledge and the consequent need for their services in certain situations. The fact that English functions as a pivot language decreases the importance of native speaker English in these contexts as no English native speakers are involved in this particular process – both interpreters being natives of the required languages at either side of the interaction (Seidlhofer, 2020).

As such, ELF is not required to remain within the bounds established through inner circle Englishes, but its users will create, develop and use this kind of English as is appropriate and necessary in certain situations. Naturally, this can be challenging considering the fact that ELF speakers come from a great variety of different cultural and linguistic backgrounds. Even Widdowson, who is a supporter of ELF, states that within its application certain "maxims could be flouted" (Widdowson & Seidlhofer, 2018) due to speakers' unawareness of the, for example, pragmatic conventions of each other's native language. As a result, a statement that might have been intended as ironic could be taken seriously and cause significant confusion. Thus, ELF speakers should take care of how they use English to get their message across. This is especially true for high-stakes situations where, in some cases, the positive or negative result of an interaction might decide over life and death (Widdowson & Seidlhofer, 2018).

ELF Speakers' Position among Other English Speakers

Especially in the context of today's globalized (business) world, adult second language learners might be required to perform successful communicative acts rather than speak with native perfection (Rizvić & Bećirović, 2017). Therefore, adult learners in particular, make the conscious decision to learn a new language with a special goal in mind – and this goal might be far away from achieving linguistic perfection (Bećirović, 2017; Muñoz & Singleton, 2011; Seidlhofer, 2011). Much of the English regarded as 'correct' today is still closely tied to native speaker norms. However, this finding can and should be called into question given the global permeation of all areas of life by English (Jenkins, 2003; Seidlhofer, 2005a).

According to statistics published by Ethnologue (2021) English is spoken by 1,348,000,000 people around the globe. Of these 370,000,000 are native speakers while a striking 978,000,000 are non-native speakers. With reference to the total world population this means that approximately 12% of the world's total 7.9 billion people (United Nations, 2021) speak English as a second or foreign language and around 4.5% are native speakers. This significant difference between the number of native and non-native English speakers implies that the English language is used much more frequently as a means of communication between non-native speakers (Rubdy & Saraceni, 2006) and relatively few native speakers participate in these exchanges. Thus, the type of English spoken in ELF contexts is often relatively far removed from native speaker standards which are still deemed to be the benchmark (Muñoz & Singleton, 2011). This means that concepts such as correctness, mistakes and language authority have been called into question (Seidlhofer, 2001). Consequently, English as a global lingua franca makes it evident that this type of English concerns everyone.

Yet, frequently, ELF users are regarded with skepticism because their usage of English may differ markedly from what is prescribed by Standard English varieties. If the aim of learning English is the approximation of the native speaker, then such judgment might be understandable. However, given that it has been suggested that ELF should not be regarded as a separate language but rather as what it is – a contact language. As such it does not require any particular rule system that ensures regularity of application of native speaker rules. Seidlhofer (2020) confirms that ELF's non-standard features are motivated by the dynamics of com-

municative interaction. ELF users draw on various linguistic repertoires in order to form utterances that achieve the intended communicative purpose. It must connect people who do not have common native language or culture (Bećirović, & Podojak, 2018; Bećirović, 2012; Firth, 1996; Seidlhofer, 2006). And as such the focus cannot, as has been pointed out before, lie on correctness, but it must be put on getting the message across and thereby being efficient and economical in language use. Thus, not the prescriptive rule system of Standard English is most important but rather the ability to express oneself appropriately in various situations is crucial (Seidlhofer, 2001). Successful pragmatic interactions despite possible misunderstandings and errors when compared to Standard English (Firth, 1996) move to the foreground. When non-native speakers communicate with each other using ELF, mistakes that would be very misleading for a native speaker might not even be noticed by the interlocutors.

In addition to using various linguistic features, ELF speakers must also acquire other skills (Jenkins, 2003). Competent users of ELF, for example, understand the art of using simple language and their multilingual resources to relate to their interlocutors. This can be done by code-switching, for instance, which facilitates the projections of cultural concepts (Jenkins et al., 2011). Confirming this, it has been found that ELF speakers are far from being "inarticulate, linguistically handicapped non-native speakers incapable of holding their own in interactions with both other non-native as well as native speakers of English" (Seidlhofer, 2020, p. 399). On the contrary, they are competent users of an "agreed-upon lingua franca [...] negotiated and shaped by all its users" (Seidlhofer, 2020, p. 399).

The Countability of Nouns

Despite the rise and ever more widely spread acceptance of ELF, the dominant perspective regarding the nature of noun countability is still that of the native English varieties. Countability refers to the grammatical feature of English (and other language) where nouns are either considered countable (count nouns) or uncountable (mass nouns). In Standard Englishes countable nouns can be quantified by denominators and possess a morphologically distinct plural form. Generally, count nouns represent entities which are 'relatively clearly delineated concepts' such as 'table' or 'thought'. In contrast, mass nouns cannot take a denominator, such as an indefinite article, but they can be used with certain quantifiers like 'some' or 'much'. They are also not morphologically marked

to denote plural forms. Mass nouns, refer to concepts that are a collection of miniscule entities and have no clear delineation like 'water' or 'advice'. While such features would indicate a clear distinction between English count and mass nouns, this is not so (Schmidtke & Kuperman, 2017). Fiedler et al. (2014) state that there is no clear and transparent definition of mass and count nouns since words like 'bread' are conceptualized as solid and delineated entities but are morphologically mass nouns.

Morphologically, the plural of a noun in English is generally formed by simply adding an 's' to the singular. There are, however, several exceptions to that rule. Nouns where the singular ends in a 'consonant + y' form the plural by substituting the 'y' with 'ies'. Yet, nouns that end in a 'vowel + y' follow the basic rule of only adding the 's'. Another category of nouns whose singular forms end in either 'sh', 'ch', 's', 'x' or 'z' make the plural by adding 'es'. The same is true for several nouns ending in 'o' but nouns ending in 'vowel + o' will form the plural by the simple addition of 's'. Besides these rather complex rules for regular plural formation, there are irregular plural forms as well. Some singular words end in 'f' or an 'f' sound and, in such cases, the plural is formed by substituting the 'f' with 'ves'. Additionally, there is the category of unpredictable irregular plurals containing singular/plural combinations such as child-children, mouse-mice or foot-feet. Conversely, there are also nouns whose morphological form does not change to express plurality, e.g. fish, deer, species (Swan, 2005).

Common Features of ELF

Mostly, ELF and any English spoken in the outer and expanding circle are not standardized like inner circle Englishes but still compared to native varieties. Meaning is frequently negotiated because ELF speakers might be influenced strongly by their mother tongue and native culture. Hence, varieties emerge which contain words and expressions that are heavily dependent on knowledge of the local language to be understood correctly. Consequently, it is not surprising that EFL is characterized by several characteristic features that distinguish it from standardized varieties of English such as those spoken in the inner circle (Melchers & Shaw, 2003). In research ELF can be compared to either native varieties or other different ELF usages depending on location can be compared to each other. This latter aspect of local variation within ELF was mentioned by Kirkpatrick in 2004 when he asked "whether there is a separate and systematic variety of English that can thus legitimately be termed *Lingua Franca English* (LFE) or whether speakers use their

individual linguistic resources and communicative techniques in order to communicate/negotiate meaning through whatever variety /level of English they have at their disposal" (p. 83 as cited in Kirkpatrick, 2010b). Since grammatical patterns are most prominent in written language, it is difficult to detect them in the ELF which is mostly used for spoken interaction (Crystal, 2003). There are, however, some grammatical features that have been identified.

The areas of phonology, lexis/lexicogrammar, grammar, pragmatics and communicative strategies have been suggested to show the greatest potential for relatively consistent deviations in ELF from inner circle Englishes (Kirkpatrick, 2010a). Phonologically, the lack of standardized pronunciation rules within ELF is no great challenge or obstruction for communication – similar to the pronunciation differences between native varieties. Also, in today's globalized world it has become less important to sound native. Instead, the ability to communicate successfully has moved to the foreground and an ELF speaker's native accent might even serve as a welcome identity marker. While this low importance of native English pronunciation standards is beneficial to a large extent in that it may lower the anxiety threshold, it has been found that if no or very little attempt is made at imitating the native speaker, unintelligibility might be the consequence. This is particularly true for speakers of first languages that feature very different sounds compared to English or lack certain English sounds altogether (Saxena & Omoniyi, 2010). Details on pronunciation differences can be found in Jennifer Jenkins' work (Jenkins, 2003). In the area of the lexicon, ELF is characterized by creativity and acceptance of new word forms. This can lead to creations like 'teacher-ess' as a female counterpart to 'teacher'. While this form of creative language use does not necessarily impede communication or understanding, the usage of an inner circle English word with an entirely new meaning might do so. This may be illustrated using the case of Jamaican English where 'beverage' does not refer to drinks in general but only to one particular kind – lemonade. Another form of change in meaning might occur due to shared knowledge within a community. This is the case in Nigerian English where 'town council' refers to the department of sanitation and a 'European appointment' is a high-level white collar position (Jenkins, 2003). Constructions or words often referred to as false friends may also be employed in a meaning closer to the L1 than to the Standard English meaning. This is to say that, 'actually', meaning 'in reality' in its standard meaning, might be used to express 'current' by a German native EFL speaker because in German 'aktuell' means 'current' but looks and

sounds like 'actually' (Melchers & Shaw, 2003). Grammatical features of ELF that have been found to occur frequently are the flexible use of quantifiers such as much and many, the disappearance of the third person 's' in the present simple. In terms of tenses, the past tense also remains unmarked quite often and is expressed by time references, such as 'yesterday', only. Verbs that are usually classified as stative can have an -ing form in ELF and, thus, constructions like 'I'm not knowing this' are possible (Jenkins, 2003).

Pluralization of Mass Nouns in ELF

In recent years several ELF corpora have been established in order to facilitate the examination of this "kind of international communication" (Seidlhofer, 2006, 46). A 2017 study (Bostanci, 2017) examined formulaic language in European and Asian EFL interactions by using data of two ELF corpora – VOICE and ACE. It was found that, overall, European speakers of ELF used slightly more formulaic expressions than Asian ELF speakers. Non-standard forms were also examined and issues such as the present tense third person '-s', omission or overuse of prepositions and/or articles as well as pluralization were found to be problematic. This had already been confirmed earlier by Melchers and Shaw (2003) who stated that singular nouns are often pluralized. Thus, a word such as "luggage" can become "luggages" if the speaker is referring to more than one piece of luggage. This development is attributed to the relative complexity of expressing plurality by way of using additional words like piece or item. Just as the plural can be "overmarked", it can be entirely unmarked as in "I live here two year" (Jenkins 2003, p. 27). A related phenomenon was also examined by a small-scale qualitative study (Imperiani & Mandasari, 2020) looking at lexicogrammatical features in Indonesian ELF small talk. This study did not focus on the pluralization of mass nouns but explored how plural is expressed in general. It was discovered that, instead of overusing the typical plural marker of the 's', speakers strongly tended to use the singular form of a noun (93.75%) even though they were referring to more instances of that noun, e.g. "some of the Arabian **country**" or "one of the biggest **organization** in the world" (Imperiani & Mandasari, 2020, p. 351). Moreover, these ELF speakers did not produce any 'incorrect' irregular plural forms which the authors ascribe to the fact that ELF speakers are aware of these types of plurals and, thus, use them like Standard English would.

Studies investigating the plural expression of mass nouns in non-inner circle English varieties

have shown that the addition of the 's' is the most common strategy (Schmidtke & Kuperman, 2017). Research by Schmied (2008, p. 198) has shown that outer circle Englishes in Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania frequently use the 's' to pluralize mass nouns as in the sentence "These advices are coming because they've already studies all of us". Pluralization by use of the indefinite article was found by Cane (1994, p. 354 as cited in Schmidtke & Kuperman, 2017) in Brunei English giving the example of "And here's an advice for you all". In an extensive study using the world wide web as corpus through Google's advanced search function Hall et al. (2013) compared the pluralization of mass nouns by British English speakers to that of non-native English speakers from 14 countries of the outer and expanding circle of Englishes. Their findings showed significant differences between native British English speakers' pluralization (0.01%) and the pluralization of outer and expanding circle English speakers combined (2.22%). Additionally, the scores for the presence of pluralization of mass nouns in outer circle countries (3.43%) and expanding circle countries (1.01%) was also statistically significant.

Methodology

The present study employs a descriptive analysis of the pluralization of mass nouns by examining their occurrence in two ELF corpora – VOICE and ACE. Both corpora are fully comparable as they are built along the same guidelines established and the same software developed by the VOICE team at the University of Vienna (ACE, 2014).

The corpora

The Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English (VOICE) was created by a research team at the University of Vienna in 2009 and is the "first computer-readable corpus capturing spoken ELF interactions" (VOICE 3.0, 2021). It is an open-access resource that has been developed continuously since its inception and in September 2021 VOICE 3.0 Online was released. It contains over 1,023,082 words of "naturally-occurring, non-scripted, face-to-face" (VOICE 3.0, 2021) spoken ELF interactions between approximately 753 individual speakers of 49 different first languages. Even though EFL interactions may also involve native speakers of English the number of these included in VOICE data is very low at only 7%. VOICE is subdivided into three domains – leisure (10%), education (25%) and professional (65%) – whereby the professional domain contains the three sub-domains of business (20%), organizational (35%) and research and science (10%). Throughout all these domains nine different

speech event types are distinguished – conversation, interview, meeting, panel, press conference, question-answer session, seminar discussion, service encounter, working group discussion and workshop discussion (VOICE 3.0, 2021).

The Asian Corpus of English was created by the University of Hong Kong and completed in 2014. It includes one million words of natural spoken ELF interactions in Asia. Like VOICE it is subdivided into the domains of leisure (10%), education (25%) and professional (65%) – whereby the professional domain contains the three sub-domains of business (20%), organizational (35%) and research and science (10%). Speech event types also correspond largely to those used in the VOICE project. This similarity is due to the fact that ACE was developed using the same software as VOICE and in order to be able to compare European and Asian ELF (ACE, 2014).

In order to test the hypothesis that the frequency of pluralization of mass nouns will be higher in Asian EFL than in European EFL, VOICE and ACE were searched for occurrences of English mass nouns used as countable nouns.

The uncountable nouns included in this research were adopted from Swan's (2005, p. 129) and Hall et al.'s (2013) list of the most common uncountable nouns. The result are the following 43 search terms: accommodation, advice, applause, baggage, bread, cash, chess, chewing gum, corruption, dew, employment, equipment, evidence, feedback, fun, furniture, hardware, homework, information, jewellery, knowledge, lightning, luck, luggage, magic, money, news, permission, poetry, progress, publicity, research, rubbish, slang, software, thunder, traffic, underwear, violence, vocabulary and work.

In addition, 'people' and 'damage' which are often used with a plural 's' but, in contrast to the words featured in the list above, actually exist in that form but with an entirely different meaning to the singular version, were included in the research by the authors based on their experience as English teachers.

Data Analysis

For each noun the number of total occurrences (including 'false' plurals) was recorded. Then frequency of 'incorrectly' pluralized nouns was recorded for each term and subdivided into two categories – pluralization by using the 's' or 'ies' marker or by use of the indefinite article or any other quantifier. These numbers were used to calculate

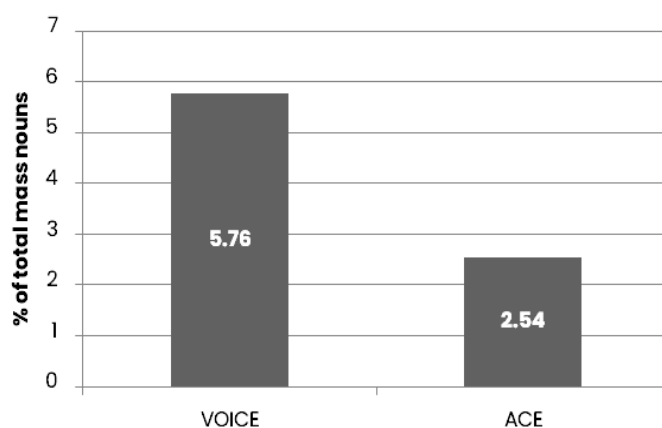
the percentage of pluralized mass nouns for each item and overall.

Results and Discussion

The analysis of the data has led to the rejection of the hypothesis. Asian ELF features fewer instances of pluralization of mass nouns compared to European ELF. Overall, European EFL speakers pluralized 5.76% of the total number (n = 2414) of all instances of the mass nouns analyzed, whereas Asian EFL speakers only pluralized 2.54% of that total number (n = 2281). This contradicts the findings of Bostanci's (2017) study comparing VOICE and ACE which found that Asian ELF featured more mass nouns that were treated as countable nouns when compared to European ELF.

Figure 1:

% of pluralized mass nouns of total occurrences



The examination of the dataset in more depth revealed that there are notable differences between the two corpora regarding the pluralization of certain words and is summarized in Table 1. Out of the 43 items checked in each corpus European ELF speakers' percentages of pluralization exceed those of Asian ELF speakers in 16 cases. However, in 10 of those cases no pluralization was found in Asian ELF but was detected in European ELF. Conversely, Asian ELF speakers pluralized a larger percentage of nouns in 10 cases, whereby 5 of these showed no pluralization in European ELF. It has to be mentioned that some of the words checked could not be found in the corpus at all.

Table 1:

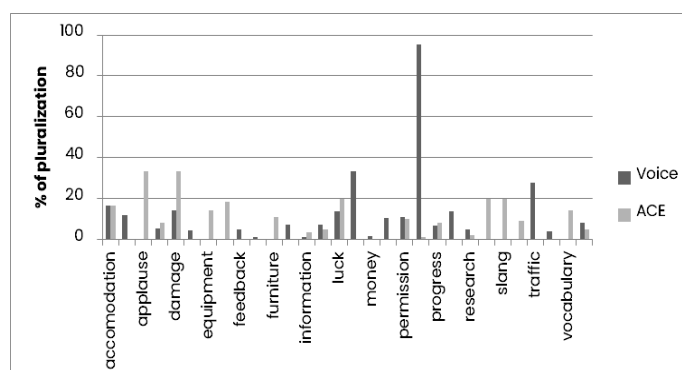
Total occurrences and % of pluralization in VOICE and ACE

	VOICE total	VOICE pluralized	ACE pluralized	ACE total
accommodation	6	16.7	16.7	6
advice	33	12.1		8
applause			33.3	6
baggage				
bread	19	5.26	8.0	25
cash	19			7
chess	2			
chewing gum				
corruption	16			9
damage	7	14.3	33.3	3
dew				
employment	88	4.55		20
equipment	8		14.3	7
evidence	26		18.5	27
feedback	58	5.17		24
fun	81	1.23		17
furniture	5		11.1	9
hardware	2			1
homework	14	7.14		11
information	400	1.25	3.77	106
jewellery	1			2
knowledge	196	7.14	5.17	58
lightning	1			
luck	29	13.8	20.0	5
luggage	6	33.3		1
magic	1			7
money	469	1.71	0.35	285
news	67	10.4		37
permission	9	11.1	10.0	10
people	21	95.2	1.21	1160
poetry				2
progress	43	6.98	8.33	12

publicity	22	13.6	0.00	1
research	233	5.15	2.08	96
rubbish	2		20.0	5
slang	2		20.0	5
software	8		9.09	11
thunder				2
traffic	18	27.8		14
underwear	2			
violence	24	4.17		11
vocabulary	9		14.3	21
work	467	8.14	4.80	250
	2414			2281

When exploring the pluralization of those items that featured in both corpora, the difference in frequency of pluralization is most striking for the word 'people'. European ELF speakers were found to pluralize 95.24% of all occurrences ($n = 21$) of the item, while Asian ELF speakers only used the item as countable noun in 1.21% of the times ($n = 1160$) it was used. European ELF also uses 'traffic' as a countable noun in 27.78% of the cases ($n = 18$), while Asian ELF does not do so at all despite the word being present in the corpus for an almost equal number of instances ($n = 14$). For 'information' it can be observed that Asian ELF speakers pluralized this word more often than European ELF speakers with 3.77% ($n = 106$) compared to 1.24% ($n = 400$). In terms of two items that can be found with similar frequency in both corpora 'equipment' and 'evidence' stand out. In both cases Asian ELF shows pluralization while European ELF does not. In the ACE 'equipment' was pluralized 14.29% ($n = 7$) and 'evidence' 18.52% ($n = 27$) while VOICE contains these items – 8 and 26 instances respectively – but does not feature any pluralization. A common understanding seems to exist between European and Asian ELF speakers regarding the non-pluralization of certain words such as 'cash', 'corruption', 'hardware', 'jewellery' and 'magic' since they are featured in both corpora but never pluralized. Figure 2 below visualizes the data given in the table excluding the items that were either not present in both corpora or where no pluralization of mass nouns could be found.

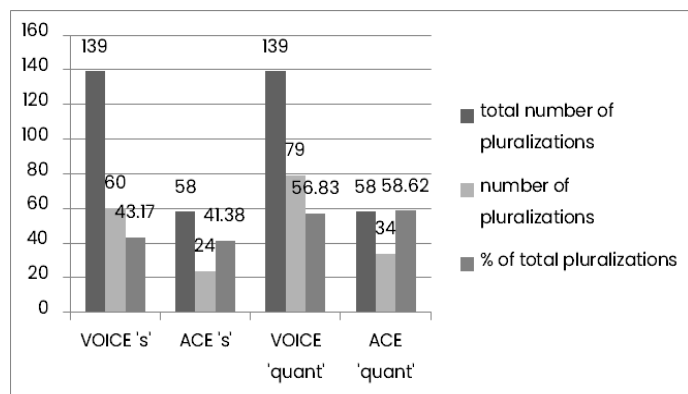
Figure 2:
% of pluralization in VOICE and ACE



In terms of the fashion of pluralization by either the addition of an 's' or by using an type of quantifier, Asian ELF speakers used the 's' to express plural in 24 cases (41.38%) out of a total of 58 cases of pluralization compared to European ELF speakers' usage of the 's' in 60 cases (43.17%) out of 139 total instances. Although the percentages are quite similar, a possible explanation of Asian ELF featuring slightly fewer 's' pluralizations may be that many Asian languages do not use inflection (Kortmann, 2010; Takeshita, 2010 as cited in Bostanci, 2017) and, thus, Asian ELF speakers might have a lower inclination to add the additions 's' to a mass noun. Asian ELF features slightly more instances of pluralization by usage of a quantifier such as the indefinite article or 'many' with 34 instances (58.62%) out of a total 58. European ELF, in contrast shows 79 cases (56.83%) of pluralization by way of quantifying out of a total of 139 instances. This would not align with

the fact that articles are absent in many Asian languages (Kortmann, 2010; Takeshita, 2010 as cited in Bostanci, 2017) which might contribute to the less frequent pluralization through articles or quantifiers.

Figure 3:
Number and % of pluralizations by 's' or 'quantifier' in VOICE and ACE



Conclusion

The results of the present study clearly show that the pluralization of mass nouns is more frequent in European EFL than Asian ELF – at least within the spoken interactions contained in VOICE and ACE and the selected set of mass nouns used. Naturally, more data and subsequent analysis would be required to confirm or refute the results. Possibilities to do so would be the inclusion of the English as a Lingua Franca in Academic Settings (ELFA) corpus developed by Anna Mauranen (2003) at the University of Helsinki. Alternatively, the present research design could be reapplied using a wider selection of mass nouns perhaps including those that only exist in a 'plural form' with the 's' as standard, such as 'scissors' or 'trousers'. Such a project would be interesting since the issue of pluralization in ELF in general has been examined (e.g. Bostanci, 2017; Schmidtke & Kuperman, 2017) and European ELF and Asian ELF have been examined using VOICE and ACE (Bostanci, 2017; Kirkpatrick, 2013), but the specific topic of differences in pluralization of mass nouns has not received much attention. Kirkpatrick (2013) lists several common features of European and Asian ELF when compared to standard varieties – the pluralization of mass nouns among them – but does not give concrete information regarding the occurrence of this feature in either VOICE or ACE.

Given the fact that ELF and its non-standard features are a reality in a globalized, connected world, it has been deemed prudent to consider changing the attitude towards it in the field of ed-

ucation. English is in great demand but learners' goals are mostly not the imitation of the native standard but the ability to communicate successfully (Delić & Bećirović, 2018). It has been suggested, therefore, that English might be viewed not as a foreign language per se any longer but recognized as a "co-existent and non-competitive addition to the learner/user's linguistic repertoire" (Seidlhofer, 2020, p. 401). This would remove English from competition with other foreign languages being learnt/taught and, thus, 'smaller' languages would no longer perceive English as a threat to their existence. Moreover, native speaker teachers might no longer be the 'be all and end all'. Kirkpatrick suggests that "the local, well-trained and culturally aware teacher whose English language proficiency is high represents the more appropriate English teacher than does the native speaker" (2013, p. 27) – a concept that is still rather uncommon but should be considered (Jenkins, 2003; Seidlhofer, 2005b) despite nativelikeness remaining the most frequent benchmark for assessment of competence (Muñoz & Singleton, 2011). However, such a change has not yet been reflected in, for instance, the documents issued by the Language Policy division of the Council of Europe. The level and skills descriptors still target the non-native speaker's ability to approximate the native speaker to a certain extent at a given stage in the learning process (Seidlhofer, 2020). Yet, non-standard uses such as the pluralization of mass nouns might and should gain more acceptance (Seidlhofer, 2001; Widdowson, 1997 as cited in Brutt-Griffler, 2002) as different language communities are creating their own versions of English and these types of English spread across the globe through international exchange (Crystal, 2013).

Conflict of interest: Isabella Tinkel and Marie Deissl-O'Meara declare that they have no conflict of interest.

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ORIGINAL RESEARCH ARTICLE

VARIETIES OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE IN LEXICAL, GRAMMATICAL AND SPELLING DOMAIN IN BOSNIAN HIGHSCHOOL CONTEXT

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ABSTRACT

Classified as a Germanic language and evidently a common language, a lingua franca of the world, after years of development, English has formed a number of varieties differing in many areas, including vocabulary, pronunciation, spelling, grammar, and in some cases, accent. As a result of its widespread, it is crucial to know which variety is used, yet preferred by learners, and observe differences between them. Therefore, the current study aimed to examine the two most commonly used, often mixed, varieties of English, namely American English and British English, in one high school in central Bosnia and Herzegovina. Moreover, we aimed, to see whether students are aware of the significant differences in spelling, vocabulary, and grammatical structure. In doing so, 50 randomly selected high school students were given a test consisting of written differences related to lexical items, spelling, as well as differences visible in grammar. The findings revealed that the majority of participants prefer British English, though they are not totally aware of the differences in the mentioned areas between these two varieties; as a result, they are frequently mixing them. Lacking knowledge about these two primary varieties of English would, undeniably in some cases, lead to misunderstanding; thus, teachers should pay more attention and give more effort to raise the learners' awareness of different varieties and their distinctive aspects.

Keywords: varieties of English, spelling, vocabulary, grammar, differences



MAP EDUCATION
AND HUMANITIES

Volume 1 / Issue 2

ISSN: 2744-2373 / © 2021 The Authors.
Published by MAP - Multidisciplinary
Academic Publishing.

Article Submitted: 03 December 2021
Article Accepted: 22 December 2021
Article Published: 24 December 2021



Publisher's Note: MAP stays neutral with regard to jurisdictional claims in published maps and institutional affiliations.

<https://doi.org/10.53880/2744-2373.2021.1.2.32>

MAP EDUCATION
AND HUMANITIES
Volume 1 / Issue 2



HOW TO CITE THIS ARTICLE

Ahmetović E. (2021). **Varieties of English language in Lexical, Grammatical and Spelling Domain in Bosnian Highschool Context**. MAP Education and Humanities, 1(2), 32-42. doi: <https://doi.org/10.53880/2744-2373.2021.1.2.32>



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Introduction

As it is known, language is unique to human beings, and most individuals are born with the capability to acquire language naturally and undemandingly, supposing that their environment provides the proper input. Moreover, it is an essential human ability used for “creative expression, face-to-face communication, the scientific inquiry” (Gelderen, 2006, p. 1) and so forth. Languages are distinguished by whether they are mutually comprehensible, though this separation gets out of focus, and numerous linguists regard a language to be “a dialect with an army (or navy)” (Gelderen, 2006, p. 1), meaning that it is a political construct. Even though it is estimated that 6,000 to 7,000 languages are spoken worldwide, yet as a result of globalization, only a few, such as English, Arabic, Spanish, Chinese, and Hindi, are spoken all over the world. Generally, English, as a number one world language, is considered Germanic in origin, though nearly half of its words come from French and Latin. As a consequence of the political strength of the Roman Empire, Latin was expanded in parts of Britain and the European continent, having a strong impact on Celtic and Germanic languages during its time.

English history dates from the year 450, and it is generally divided into three periods, specifically, Old English (450–1150), Middle English (1150–1500), and Modern English (1500–present) (Qin, 1983). Holding an unprecedentedly strong status worldwide, yet with the rise of the USA at economic, political, technological level, it has gradually become spoken in every country whether as a first, second, or additional language. English’ as a *Lingua Franca*’ (Gnutzmann, 2000; House, 1999; Jenkins, 2007) or ‘as an International Language’ (Jenkins, 2000; Widdowson, 1997) is the most widely used language in education, newspaper and book publishing, scientific publishing, international business, and telecommunications, diplomacy, etc. Also, generally, 85% of the world’s crucial film productions and dealings use English, and 90% of the published educational articles in some academic area, including linguistics, are written in English (Rao, 2019).

According to The Cambridge Encyclopedia of the English Language (2019), the high rise in the use of English can be ascribed to educational, economic or rather cultural globalization. Even being a native of the U.S., the U.K., New Zealand, South Africa, Australia, Canada with approximately over 400 million speakers, it is spoken by more

non-English speakers, globally having over one billion more speakers. According to an estimation by Bailey (1991), 15% of the world’s population regularly uses English; nonetheless, Crystal (2003) evaluates that this number has increased to 25%, or 1.5 billion. Moreover, Graddol (2006) argues that as a result of China’s decision to require English as a mandatory elementary school subject, 20 million speakers of English will be added yearly. However, it is not easy to confirm these numbers considering the lack of agreement on how much English a speaker needs to know to be counted (Gelderen, 2006).

While describing the fast spread of English, Kachru (1985) proposed three circles, as follows, 1. The Inner Circle, which covers the speakers of English as their native language, such as citizens living in countries like England, America, Australia, and New Zealand. 2. The Outer Circle including the speakers of English as a second language in countries like India, South Africa, Finland, etc. 3. The Expanding Circle referring to the speakers of English as a Foreign language, which is the case in countries like China, Japan, Russia, Turkey. Bosnia and Herzegovina belongs to this circle as well. Currently, there is a great escalation in the numbers of individuals acquiring and using English, but a more detailed investigation of motivators reveals that the increase in learning English is not as stable as it might at first seem. Concerning its extensive coverage all around the world, Graddol (2000) lists the significant international domains of English as follows:

- Working language of international organizations and conferences
- Scientific publication
- International banking, economic affairs, and trade
- Advertising for global brands
- Audio-visual cultural products (e.g., film, T.V., popular music)
- International tourism
- Tertiary education
- International safety (e.g. “Airspeak”, “Seaspeak”)
- International law as a “relay language” in interpretation and translation

- Technology transfer
- Internet communication

As a result of its widespread use, the existence of varieties of English such as British, American, Irish, Scottish, Australian, etc., is rather expectable. Doubtlessly, the most used varieties are American (AmE) and British (BrE), dispersed across all areas (Dubravac, Brdarević-Čeljo, & Bećirović, 2018), with quite a few major differences. Even though it is agreed and insisted that all languages and their varieties are equal (Wardhaugh, 1986), many individuals believe that one variety is more prestigious than others. Some educational systems require teaching British, including the Bosnian educational system, while rejecting American English as less pure. Regardless of the chosen variety, it must be suitable to facilitate communication, and learners should be aware of variations in the target language. Differences in English might occur in different areas, including lexical domain, grammatical structure, phonological, spelling differences, an accent which may be taught/learned in different societies. In order to avoid misunderstanding, it is essential for English learners to observe the use of other languages.

Literature review

According to Stern (1983), language in a social environment is closer to real life, but variations make the teaching-learning task more demanding. It is a universal characteristic of human language that speakers do not speak in the same way if they live in a different country or different territory even though they speak the same language. Crystal (2000, p. 78) states, "To have learned a language is immediately to have rights in it. You may add to it, play with it, create in it, ignore bits of it, as you will". Briefly, language is open to change, and English has changed in many ways. For example, AmE was introduced to America through British colonization in the early 17th century. Over the years, English spoken in the United States and in Britain started diverging from each other, leading to a new dialect. The primary development of AmE is the language people used in Bunyan, Milton, and Shakespeare. The Americans adopted many words from foreign languages and invented a large number of new words, developing their own variety. As Webster (1799, p. 69) wrote in his Dissertations on the English language: "The reasons for AmE being different from English English are simple: As an independent nation, our honor requires us to have a system of our

own, in language as well as in government. Great Britain, whose children we are, and whose language we speak, should no longer be our standard". For such a widespread language as English, it is quite normal to have a higher number of variations. The most well-known of these varieties are BrE and AmE which are used all over the world. BrE, or namely Received Pronunciation (R.P.), refers to standard English used in the United Kingdom, whereas AmE is General AmE which is spoken by the great majority of the American people. Countries and regions use those two representative varieties of English as their native language, second language, or one of the foreign languages. The following is a quotation ascribed to George Bernard Shaw (1912): "The England and America are two countries divided by a common language" (1). Likewise, In Oscar Wilde's popular short story *The Canterville Ghost* published in 1887, one of the characters said: "Indeed, in many respects, she was quite English, and was an excellent example of the fact that we have really everything in common with America nowadays, except, of course, language" (p. 36). This further affirms that the issue of this two varieties was popular over a century ago. As a language learner, it is vital to observe the characteristics and differences at both written and oral levels. Crystall (2002) pointed out the plurality of variations by saying, "The only safe statement is that there are far more of them than are usually recognized." (p. 264). One of the most common distinctions shows itself in spelling of the lexical items. Firstly, In AmE words ending with -er have the ending as -re in BrE. For example, in AmE words such as *theather*, *center*, *meter* are spelled as *theatre*, *centre*, *metre* in BrE. Secondly, words ending with -or in American English such as *color*, *labor*, *honor*, have ending -our in BrE, for example, *colour*, *labour*, *honour*. Thirdly, In AmE words having one consonant in BrE have two, for example, *traveller*, *waggon* are spelled as *traveler*, *wagon* in AmE. Fourthly, words ending with -se in AmE have ending -ce in BrE, such as *defence*, *licence*, *offence* whereas these words are spelled as *offense*, *deffense*, *license* in AmE. Next, in AmE words end with -ize or -yze such as *analyze*, *memorize*, *organize* but are spelled as -ise or -yse in BrE: *analyse*, *memorise*, *organise*. Also, there are other differences in spelling. For instance, in AmE words like *ax*, *check*, *draft*, *gray*, *tire* are spelled as *axe*, *cheque*, *draught*, *grey*, *tyre* in BrE.

Spelling difference are followed by different world item to express the same meaning. While BrE covers the use of lexical items like *lift*, *tap*, *flat*, *sweets*, *biscuit*, *petrol*, *film*, *underground*

AmE prefers words like *elevator, faucet, apartment, candy, cracker, gas, movie, truck, subway*. Strevens (1972) devised two contrasting world-lists in his book *British and American English*. With the development of modern telecommunication, technology and with intercommunication between the America and England those words listed above start being used interchangeable. However, it is doubtless that the difference will remain because these two varieties have many sources of word-formation. Thus, there are some word items that have different meaning, which can cause people problems in world understanding. For example, *the first floor* in BrE means the *second floor*, while in AmE it is the *ground floor*.

Besides these difference at the lexical level, there are differences in terms of grammar. Grammatical differences are generally few and insignificant. In AmE collective nouns are always followed by a singular verb (e.g. *The team is playing well*), whereas both plural and singular forms of the verb are acceptable in BrE (e.g. *The team is/are playing well*). Also, there are some preposition differences (e.g., *on the weekend* in AmE and *at the weekend* in BrE). Furthermore, Br and Am English use the phrase: "Do you have..." but with different meanings. In BrE, "Do you have..." means Do you habitually have? For instance, *Have you a Dictionary?* whereas in American English it means Do you possess at this moment at the time (e.g., *Do you have a dictionary?*). In AmE, speakers use *gotten* as its past participles, while in BrE, the verb *get* has its past participle *got*. For instance, *I wish I could have gotten here sooner. (AmE) vs. I wish I could have got here sooner. (BrE)*

Other than those differences, there are some differences related to punctuation, dates, writing letters and e-mails, and so forth. The investigation conducted by Alftberg (2009) on Swedish high school students shows that the students preferred to use AmE than BrE although they receive English classes based on the British variety. He explains this finding with the students' high exposure to the American media. Another study from the Swedish context was carried out by Hansson (2010), who investigated high school students to find out which variety students used and whether they were aware of grammatical differences between BrE and AmE. The results showed that participants were not aware of used variety nor of grammatical differences between BrE and AmE. Furthermore, the research conducted by Di Carlo (2013), who examined 50 participants of native speakers of BrE and 50 participants of AmE through social networking

sites, shows that even native speakers were not totally aware of the lexical differences between the two varieties. Also, many studies have been conducted to find out whether accents have an influence on listeners' attitudes towards speakers or not. Accent can be defined as a certain form of language spoken by a subgroup of speakers of the language by phonological features. (Homles, 1992, p. 142.). According to Ryan and Bulik (1982), variations in the accent with which a language is spoken tend to be viewed primarily vs. regional (e.g., South American vs. North American), social class (e.g., upper vs. middle vs. working class), or ethnic (e.g., Black English or Spanish-accented English vs. Standard American) (p.51). As for studies carried out within the Malaysian context, the research by Zainab Thamer (2014) aimed to reveal whether Malaysian students of University were familiar with English accents and what attitudes they had toward native and non-native English accents. The sample included 120 Malaysian University students, and they were immersed in several speech accent situations to elicit feedback on their perceptions. The Malaysian students were seen to be able to distinguish between native and non-native accents, although there was much confusion between American and British accents. Furthermore, Khatib (2018) had compered the attitudes of 260 English teachers from India and Iran as members of Outer and Expanding Circles, respectively. Using a questionnaire, this study measured cognitive, affective, and behavioral attitudes of teachers toward their own English accent. The results showed that teachers in the Outer Circle, compared to those in Expanding Circle (Kachru, 1992), were in favor of endonormativity, highly favor their local forms of English, while they were in favor of BrE. Iranian teachers had an exonormative orientation favoring native-speaker and mostly American English pronunciation. The researcher Yaman (2015) at Ondokuz Mayıs University analyzed students' awareness of the major spelling, vocabulary, pronunciation differences between Am and Br English, which constitute the most commonly used varieties of English. Forty-two randomly selected undergraduate ELT students were examined. The findings yielded by this study suggested that the participants were not totally aware of the differences in spelling, word choices, and pronunciation levels between different varieties of English.

Considering the issue of learners' and teachers' awareness of differences between different varieties of English, this study focuses on an important topic and aims to investigate the extent to which high school students are aware of the dif-

ference between American and British varieties of English. The research questions of the study are:

1. To what extent are highschool students aware of the major differences between British and American varieties of English such as word choice, spelling, and grammar structure?
2. Which variety, British or American is used more frequently?

Methodology

Participants

The investigation sample comprised 50 randomly selected participants from a high school in central Bosnia and Herzegovina. A stratified random sampling method was employed, and participants were chosen from different grade levels. There were 30 female and 20 male students. The age of selected participants ranged from 17 to 18, and all of them had been studying English for nine years.

Instruments and Procedures

After gaining permission from the school's administration and the participants themselves, the questionnaire was constructed and administered by the authors of the current study. The participation was anonymous and voluntary, and the participants were given proper clarification whenever needed. To complete the questionnaire items, the participants were politely asked to read the questionnaire carefully and to respond to all the statements without leaving any out. 30 minutes were needed to fill in the questionnaire.

The participants needed to select the preferred version of the given items, i.e. the option common to either British or American variety, which reflected their preference for one of the two most common English language varieties. They were firstly asked which version of English they preferred during writing and speaking activities to see if they were familiar with different English varieties. The first part of the questionnaire also contained some basic sociodemographic questions, including gender, age, average English language grade; years of studying English, taking private English language classes; listening to English music, and so on. Furthermore, they were also asked different questions related to whether they focused most on grammar, writing, reading, speaking or listening in their English language classes or whether the teacher insisted

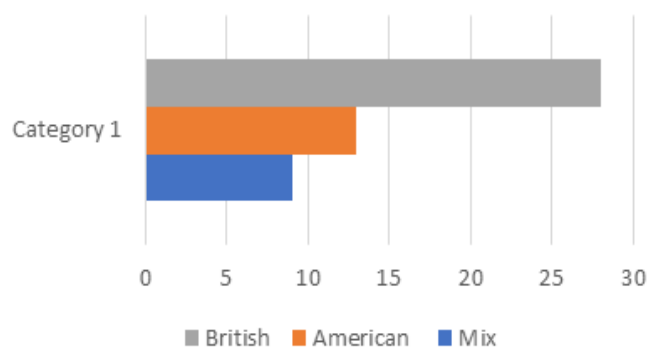
on using specifically one of these varieties (AmE or BrE). The second part of the questionnaire consisted of three subparts, the first subpart included questions related to lexical differences, the second one to spelling and the third one to variations in grammatical structures. The participants were thus asked to tick the words or sentences they used most frequently. Two versions of these words or sentences were provided, one common to BrE and the other one specific to AmE. The data collected from both parts of the questionnaire were analysed numerically through Microsoft Excel.

Results

Descriptive results

The descriptive results point to some rather interesting facts. Thus, the majority of the participants ($n=28$) stated that they preferred BrE, which is rather surprising since it is commonly believed that AmE is more represented among young people in Bosnia as they are exposed to it rather frequently, particularly in non-educational settings. Furthermore, only 13 out of 50 participants showed interest for AmE, while 9 of them reported mixing these two varieties (Figure 1).

Figure 1. Most commonly used varieties of English among the current study participants



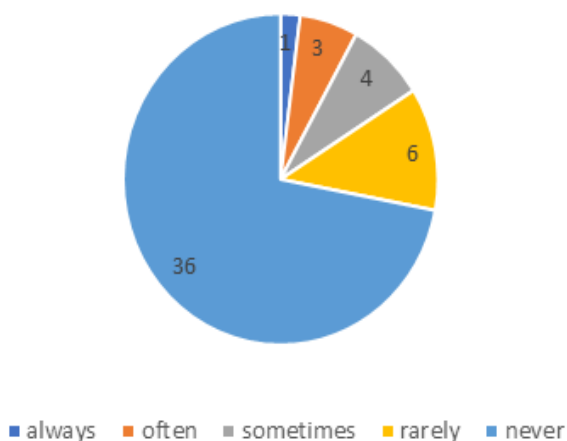
The results also point to the fact that grammar rules are frequently taught in the classes as majority of the participants reported ($41/50$), followed by speaking ($35/50$). The attention is less paid to other skills, namely listening ($21/50$), writing ($19/50$), with the reading ($15/50$) as the least frequently taught language skill (Figure 2).

Figure 2.
Representation of grammatical rules and four language skills in English language classes



For the purpose of showing whether teachers insisted on the participants' use of one or another variety, the pie chart was utilized. The majority of participants, (n=36, 72%), reported that teachers did not request the use of only one variety in the class. However, there were a few participants who said that teachers often (6%) or sometimes (8%) insisted on using one variety rather than another, while 6 participants (12%) reported that they did insist but not so frequently (Figure 3).

Figure 3.
The teacher's insistence on the usage of strictly one English language variety, British or American



Vocabulary-based differences

As far as vocabulary differences are concerned, it is not surprising that the majority of learners seemed to be more familiar with American vocabulary as the American variant was preferred in 8 and the British variant in 6 out of 14 cases. The most

frequent usage of the British variant was observed in the case of three words, namely *football*, *holiday* and *CV*, which were respectively selected by 40, 35 and 31 participants as the preferred variant. Likewise, three American variants were selected as the most frequently used by the current study participants, i.e. *pharmacy* by 38 participants, *candy* by 37 and *trash can* by 34 participants. The American variant *trunk* was also very common among the current study participants, as 31 participants selected this option rather than the British synonym *boot*. Rather interestingly, some of the participants reported the use of both variants, with the highest frequency on the side of the American and British variants *apartment/ flat* (n=15), as well as, *resume/ CV* and *sneakers/ trainers* (n=14).

Spelling-based differences

As can be observed from Table 2, the overall usage of American variants seemed to be dominant (Br, n=131; Am, n=279), yet some participants also claimed to be regularly using both spelling variants (the mixed variety, n=90). This demonstrates that both British and American ways of spelling are largely represented in this EFL context. The most frequently used American variant was *connection* (n=45), followed by *encyclopedia* (n=41) and *judgment* (n=21).

Grammar-based differences

When considering differences in grammar structure, participants demonstrated again that they were not aware of these differences since the analysis revealed that they used almost at the same degree both of these varieties and the good number of them showed that they mixed these two varieties (AmE 161; BrE 167; Mix 122). Taking into consideration each of the given sentences, it was revealed that participants would use the American version that is present tense '*I don't have a cat*', as the majority of the participants 43/50 agreed on this statement, while only two of participants reported that they would use '*I haven't got a cat*'. Further, AmE seems to be used more when it comes to prepositions such as '*She studied French in High-school*' though differences were hardly observed. In reverse, many participants, 29/50 reported the use of British participle *got* (*They've got me into trouble again*) rather than American *gotten* (*They've gotten me into trouble again*). Interestingly, a convincing number of the participants confirmed that in some cases they used both versions, as in '*to talk with*' and '*to talk to*' (25/50), and *So, you finally arrived*. (AmE), *So you've finally arrived* (BrE) (20/50).

Table 1.

Participants' preference for American or British variety in the domain of vocabulary

No	Lexical Items	AmE	BrE	Mix	Lexical Items	AmE	BrE	Mix
1	soccer-football	3	40	7	vacation-holiday	10	35	5
2	trunk-boot	31	9	10	apartment-flat	29	6	15
3	pharmacy- chemist's	38	7	5	trash can-bin	34	11	5
4	yard-garden	20	23	7	fall-autumn	27	13	10
5	elevator-lift	18	20	12	candy-sweets	37	8	5
6	garbage-rubbish	25	15	10	mail-post	29	14	7
7	sneakers- trainers	18	22	10	resume-CV	5	31	14
Total AmE: 334		Total BrE: 254			Mix: 122			

Table 2.

Participants' preference for American or British variety in the domain of spelling

No	Lexical Items	AmE	BrE	Mix	Lexical Items	AmE	BrE	Mix
1	tire-tyre	10	30	10	judgment-judgement	21	18	11
2	color-colour	17	20	13	apologize-apologise	11	25	14
3	defense-defence	12	28	10	connection-connexion	45	2	3
4	inquire-enquire	18	20	12	encyclopedia-encyclopaedia	41	5	4
5	insure-ensure	16	30	4	honor-honour	16	25	9
Total AmE: 207		Total BrE: 203			Mix: 90			

Table 3.

Grammar- based differences

No	Grammar structure	AmE	BrE	Mix
1	I don't have a cat. - I haven't got a cat	43	2	5
2	Did you do your homework yet? - Have you done your homework yet?	15	23	12
3	My team is winning the match. - My team are winning the match.	19	21	10
4	The government has made a mistake.-The government have made a mistake	10	23	17
5	So, you finally arrived.- So you've finally arrived.	17	13	20
6	I'll get you home. - I'll take you home.	15	25	10
7	to talk to -to talk with	12	13	25
8	She studied French in Highschool. - She studied French at Highschool	19	18	13
9	They've gotten me into trouble again. -They've got me into trouble again	11	29	10
Total AmE: 161		Total BrE: 167		Mix: 122

Discussion

The aim of this study was to explore the two most commonly used varieties of English, namely Am and Br, to see if participants are aware of them and which one is more preferable. As this study is about the participants' awareness concerning written differences at the lexical level, vocabulary, spelling and grammatical structure variations must be considered together. The fact that the majority of the participants reported preference for BrE is somewhat expected since the Bosnian educational system is exposed to the use of BrE as a number of books are printed by popular publishing houses like Oxford and Cambridge. On the contrary, Alftberg (2009) found that high school students, even being exposed to English classes based on the BrE, gave preference to AmE, the reason being exposure to American influence via media. He also articulates that possible change in opinion towards AmE and BrE, which was evident in the examination, might be due to the fact that BrE was no longer observed as the greater superior variety. Further, although the communicative method of teaching comes to the fore (Bećirović & Akbarov, 2015; Mašić et al., 2020), it arouses curiosity that it is reported that in classes, participants are mostly focused on grammar which means that teachers still follow the grammar-based method. Similarly, Kovačević, Brdarević-Čeljo, and Bećirović (2018) found that participants were not pleased with the teaching methods and that they would like to place attention more on speaking and reading skills rather than grammar and translation, although some of the participants would like to keep this approach. This might be due to the fact that classes are limited and not all learners' proficiency overlaps; as a result, at least grammar rules have to be memorized. This being so, it raises the question if, in any case, or to what level, the current teaching situation, considering the curriculum, material used in the classroom, suits learners' needs. The noteworthy reason why teachers do not insist on using one or another variety might be facilitating communication since differences are minor and do not cause disruptions; in general, they allow interaction to proceed without misunderstanding. Since learners in the Bosnian context generally have positive attitudes towards learning English (Ahmetović, Bećirović, & Dubravac, 2020; Bećirović, 2017; Brdarević-Čeljo, Ahmetović, & Bajić, 2021; Dubravac & Latić, 2019; Ribo & Dubravac, 2021;) educators should adjust their teaching process and integrate into most beneficial curriculum activities (Ahmetović & Dubravac, 2021) for their learners learning preference, and on the other, and make

them aware of differences in the English language. With respect to the preferred use of vocabulary, it is found that the majority of participants gave preference to AmE, which is understandable as they have been exposed to AmE in everyday life, while British vocabulary they learn only in school. Apparently, this attests that participants are not aware of the differences between these two varieties of English especially considering that the majority of the participants reported BrE as their preference. Not being aware of these differences is acceptable for high school students since, as Di Carlo (2013) in his study pointed out even native speakers are not entirely aware of the lexical differences between the two varieties. Just the opposite, Modiano (1996), in his investigation, found that most observers of English recognize the discrepancies between BrE and AmE to be found in vocabulary, spelling, and pronunciation. Due to these contrasting results, the significant rule undeniably plays English as the dominant language on the internet, which does not appear in the standard form and leads to the advent of a sheer mix of numerous English varieties with Br and Am at the fore. As a result, this exposure experienced by learners brings about real confusion. Under this framework, a particular usage can appear as part of BrE even though you consider it AmE or vice versa. However, the internet was not used previously, so this was not the case at that time, and for English speakers/learners it was easier to recognize the difference between these varieties. Further, the results yielded that American vocabulary is used almost double more than British and that should not be disregarded at this point. Thus, educators should pay attention and teach students American vocabulary every time they encounter a word in the text that is different said in AmE. Nevertheless, the influence of America and its English regions is everywhere; thus, the English learners in BiH, as in the majority of other countries, are brought into contact with American movies, songs, and many other areas in which America leads. Other than vocabulary differences, variations in grammar structure and spelling showed that participants use almost equally both variations; correspondingly, their poor performance in recognizing the differences among these varieties and their mixed usage is not a conscious one but rather a random blend. This further confirmed a general deficiency in the degree of the participants' consciousness of the two major standards in English. This study is in line with Hansson (2010), who found that high school students were not aware of which variety they used and were not conscious of grammatical variations among these two varieties, either.

As far as learners' awareness about AmE and BrE are concerned, the overall analysis shows that they are totally unaware of these varieties. According to Dubravac, Brdarević-Čeljo, and Bećirović, S. (2018), as a result of the difference in their demographic power and the educational support they get, these two varieties do not provide a balanced illustration in the peripheral year. Although most previous studies (Alftberg, 2009; Di Carlo, 2013; Hansson, 2010; Ledin, 2013) supported these results, there are studies (Modiano, 1996) that claimed different so that further investigation will be needed. Generally, it is essential to develop students' awareness of English varieties and knowledge of the differences between Br and AmE, especially when it comes to differences between its vocabulary and misunderstanding. Thus, for instance, students might be confused about some words meaning which are used so often in classes and the teacher should be equipped enough to provide satisfying answers in such circumstances. Modern technology has empowered teachers to study large sections of English differences; for example, the Collins Co-Build Dictionary is a direct tool to offer a variety of lexical items (Dervić & Bećirović, Yaman & Bećirović, 2016).

Conclusion

The current findings should help EFL teachers reflect upon variations in the English language, particularly American and British ones, as central standards, and overall teaching/learning process. In particular, the results obtained here should guide teachers to help students become familiar with English variations and teach them these differences, especially ones that might cause misunderstanding while interacting. Having comprehended the variations in language, other more relevant methods and materials should be selected and implemented to upgrade the current school textbooks with differences of both varieties included.

The investigation of the participants' responses recorded that they, even giving preference to BrE, are not totally aware of the differences between Am and Bri English in spelling, word choice, and grammatical level. Generally, it seems that learners appreciate more British, though American vocabulary is used about double more in most items, whereas only a few British words showed high frequency of use. Using almost equally both varieties in terms of grammar structure and spelling is somewhat difficult to comprehend, considering the learners' exposure to BrE in the classroom. Apparently, like most other studies, the current results

confirmed that learners were likely to lack awareness of differences between varieties of English. However, not knowing differences is, undoubtedly, not life-threatening, and many highly-educated American and British citizens may not have a good mastery of such variations. As the focus of this study was on high school students, not ordinary English language learners, it is not expected from them to know all these differences but rather to be familiar with them. Nevertheless, they are old enough, and probably their proficiency level has reached a certain level to communicate, so they should be aware of the existence of such varieties to avoid some problems in an interaction. Thus, it is part of the English language teacher's responsibility to handle such difficulties encountered by learners. The findings yielded by this study of the significant differences between different varieties of English (British and American, and if it is possible other varieties) suggested that more time should be allocated under courses like Vocabulary, Listening, Pronunciation and Grammar structure in the ELT curriculum adopted by Ministry of Education in Bosnia and Herzegovina. An elective course titled Varieties of English language can be added to the curriculum as well. Also, there is an apparent need to explore the issue from different perspectives, such as learners' awareness of grammatical, lexical, written, or oral differences between Br and Am English. Furthermore, the teaching staff in the ELT programs should take every opportunity during classes to help their students gain awareness concerning the different varieties of English and their distinctions.

Limitation of the present study

The present study is, surely, not without limitations. Consequently, the results yielded by this study conducted with the participation of a limited sampling cannot be generalized for the whole BiH high school students. Further, with an increase in the sample size, the investigation would have been more probable to invoke different results. Secondly, the questionnaire was applied to peers and not to teachers, though teachers' comprehending of these variations play a crucial role as they are the ones who help learners to become familiar with them. As teachers were not included in the current investigation, the obtained results might not be entirely representative of actuality in an EFL classroom, particularly on the subject of teachers' knowledge about these differences.

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