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REVIEW PAPER

US SOFT POWER THROUGH HOLLYWOOD DURING COLD WAR: ROCKY IV

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ABSTRACT

Power has always been a concept around which many have been pondering, in a sense of trying to achieve it. International relations have mostly been about power, according to realism, amongst other shifts in the international politics, so it is crucial to understand it. Since the world, after the World Wars, shifted from violence and wars, a new power emerged, called soft power, which now relies more on the global influence, and not on hard means of power like. Soft power is best described as imposing influence on the other states, through different canals like movies, student exchanges, media, etc. USA, as a superpower, employed soft power as a mean of spreading their political and ideological influence, especially during the Cold War. One of the tools of soft power employed, was through pop culture of the 1980s, via Hollywood industry and creation of USA-themed big-grossing movies, with great actors and popular topics. US movie industry focused on creating plots of the movies which would indirectly exert influence on the wider masses, in Europe, USSR, and other countries. One of those movies is Rocky saga, which are the movies about a boxing US hero, who is unbeatable, and poses as a symbol of US power. This movie, with a focus on Rocky IV, is a great example of how USA employed soft power through Hollywood industry, and the acceptance of the movie in the 1980s by the global mass is a great example of how influential soft power can truly be.

Keywords: soft power, pop culture, Cold War, USA, USSR



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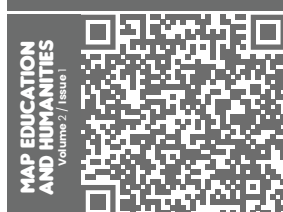
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Introduction

The world has always revolved around the word “power” and its meaning. Power was, and still remains, the main driver, for many things. States fought for power, centered their politics on the power. Starting from tribes and tribal societies, and coming to city-states, only to reach the sovereign states, the ultimate goal was power. According to Russell (1938), the power is the production of intended effects, and each person strives for as much power as possible and does not have limits, which can be transferred to the states as well. The politics has been about power, which is supported by the theory of realism, which is the oldest theory of international relations, based on the power as the ultimate goal of the state (Russell, 1938).

However, the world is changing, and the power is transferred (Bećirović & Akbarov, 2015). After the World Wars, the political atmosphere was changed, and the global politics was revolving around Cold War and power competition. Nye (1990) introduced the term soft power, stating that it is the ability to obtain wanted outcomes rather by attraction than coercion. Nye (1990) described the environment as before the 1980s, the world was about coercion and payments, but occasionally others are influenced by ideas and attraction, which set the agenda for others or make them desire what you want (Nye, 1990), and that was the driving power of politics in 1980s. The example of such is pop culture which had made a massive influence on the world politics. What is popular, how it arises, and what shape it takes have all been influenced by changing historical settings. Pop culture has reflected social, economic, and political shifts in this area. However, it has also acted as a catalyst for change, changing views, breaking down barriers, aiding upward mobility, and provoking societal clashes.

Politics and entertainment became more linked in the 1980s, yet popular culture became a political punching bag. The significance of entertainment has never been stronger. As ads, talk programs, hundreds of cable television channels, music, and other forms of popular culture flooded American life, the deluge of sights and noises reached new heights (Ashby, 2006). By the 1980s, many Americans were yearning for those perfect phrases – nostalgic locations that provided an escape from the problems that had plagued the country for over two decades. This was portrayed in the media, and was something that everyone wanted. It promoted the US lifestyle, their values, making the people want to live by US rules and traditions.

The phenomenon of pop culture escalated with its importance to an extent and becoming so socially relevant that it is being reported and embraced across boundaries of the Cold War influencing people growing up in a different ideological setting of imposed values. Pop culture is, without a doubt, the most interesting and divisive tool of American soft power (Fraser, 2015).

The example of this is the movie Rocky IV (1985), which is the highest-grossing picture in Rocky saga, according to IMDB, with a worldwide total of \$300 million. The film was intended to be a not-so-subtle metaphor for the Cold War. The movie is also a fascinating portrayal of Cold War sports competition. The Soviets are shown as cold, soulless, and only intent on triumph in the film. Drago is represented as cold and mighty character, moving robotically and saying practically nothing. Balboa is enraged by the Soviet boxer's lack of emotion after killing Apollo Creed, a response that enrages him as much as the deed itself. Drago's backers and his wife, a Russian swimmer called Ludmilla, are all uncaring and just interested in winning. Western impressions of Soviet athletics, if not Soviet residents in general, are reflected in these caricatures. Rocky IV also blames the Soviets' sporting dominance on strict training regimens and rampant steroid usage. Rocky concludes the film with a short but conciliatory statement in which he says that the only locations where Americans and Soviets should fight are boxing rings and athletic venues.

Literature review

Soft power is a concept that is deeply rooted in the liberal tradition. Soft power emphasizes the prospect of collaboration over the possibility of war; military power over the power of ideas. The study of American soft power is typically conducted through a neoliberal lens, which emphasizes the role of non-state actors and also the relevance of ideas and values in defining foreign policy. Hollywood's propagation of American ideas and lifestyles meshes quite nicely with neoliberal paradigms (Fraser, 2015). People in a democracy have a say in how the nation is run and can impose peaceful aims (Bećirović, 2012). As a result, democracies are more likely to deploy soft power rather than strong force. Furthermore, Nye (2011) claims that a democratic state will retain its soft power even if it faces challenges. When a policy is criticized, it may generate some soft power because people in other nations may regard it as a sign of authenticity and freedom of speech. Economic interconnectedness is emphasized by liberalism. The fact that it forces nations to collaborate with one another looks to be

more of a kind of compulsion than of attraction, and so this approach is closer to hard power than soft power. As a result, a free trade economy will generate soft power by attracting others to its model. The success of a liberal economy may inspire other countries to follow suit. Globalization, as well as and neoliberalism in global market relations, and current currents of power have created a space where concepts like pop culture have value and create a space for political competition, which was the case in the Cold War (Nye, 2011).

Soft power appears as a counterbalance to the so-called. Hard power, which in a capitalist system comes from economic, political or military power and is very often based on GDP, which is at the heart of this concept. Namely, there are cases when only coercion can achieve the goals that the government, in the right or wrong manner, wants to pursue (which is hard power), but other goals may only be achieved through cultural, intellectual or spiritual influence, concluding that is soft power.

Nye (2003) defines soft power as the ability to convince others that you want what you want. A state can reach the wanted results in the global politics, as other states tend to follow it, admire its values, emulate its example, strive for its level of progress and openness (Nye, 2003). Soft power cannot be equated solely with influence, although it is one of the sources of influence, because influence can be achieved through both threats and rewards. Soft power is more than persuasion or moving people by the power of arguments. Soft power represents the power to attract, and attraction generally leads to imitation. If the state manages to make its power legitimate in the eyes of others, its desires will meet with less resistance. In short, the universality of a country's culture and its ability to create institutions that govern various areas on the international stage are key sources of power (Nye, 2002). Soft power, according to Nye (2002), stems largely from certain values expressed in the culture, the policies we pursue in our country, and the way we present ourselves on the international stage.

While explaining the term, Nye (2002), in addition to culture, political values and foreign policy, most often uses a number of intangible features of states, but the paradox of the whole story lies in the fact that state power as such has no absolute control over most of these features. within the market and within civil society and are in fact grounded in the identity of the state or people. The emergence of these characteristics is encouraged, among other things, by citizens, media, companies and NGOs, in contrast to military capabilities, which are the basis of the so-called hard power.

According to Nye (1990), the whole concept of soft power consists of two diametrically different abilities. The first is the ability to persuade (attract and seduce), and it works from the outside in. The second ability refers to the establishment of assumptions (the creation of "ideology"), and is directed outward. The author explains such a claim on the example of the USA. American films and television are one of the key factors in the first of the two abilities, while democracy is a key factor in the second (Nye, 2003). From all the above, it is quite clear that soft power is largely based on the image of the state.

Although there is a small number of countries in the world that are able to use and implement means of "hard power", it is still hard to find a country that is not rich in at least some form of intangible assets, because almost every country in the world has a wide range of cultural, historical, geographical, human and intellectual capital, but did not have enough conditions, abilities, motivations, or luck to turn them into economic wealth.

It is precisely for such countries that in recent years a space has opened up on the global stage to catch up with the rich. Namely, the concept based exclusively on economic, military and political power is slowly losing its primacy and opening up space for brands that behave according to different rules. They, for example, compete more on cultural excellence than on economic strength. The global economy is majorly driven by services, intellectual property as well as "virtual" products (Dautbašić & Bećirović, 2022). The human capital of countries is becoming a key factor in its economic growth (Bećirović & Polz, 2021; Bećirović & Akbarov, 2016) and the absence of conventionally marketable resources is less of an obstacle to development in economic sector, than it has been the case previously (Anholt, 2007).

Machiavelli (2003) said that it is best for a ruler to be loved, but also for his subjects to be intimidated by him, however, since the two rarely go together, it is usually safer for a ruler to choose fear, to choose to fear him more than to love him. But is that so today? The classic "hard power" is intimidating, but "soft power" seems seductive, it still achieves more. American soft power spreads and establishes common norms, values and beliefs, and that leads to a kind of "Americanization" of other countries. They say that Stalin believed more in "hard power", in the fact that people were afraid of him and that he intimidated his associates and opponents, than in the fact that he cared about loving him (Nye, 2011).

The Americans won the “cold war” not thanks to weapons, but thanks to the complete triumph in the fight for the hearts and minds of individuals. If you disorient and discourage your opponent, thus reducing his readiness to fight and oppose you to a minimum, then you have already done a lot of work (Adamović, 2008).

Hollywood and pop culture

Little has changed in Hollywoodland since the moment its name on California’s Mt. Lee kicked out the “land” and turned it into the capital of commercial film. With some technical or stylistic innovation, Hollywood film has remained true to its established and predictable scheme, flat characters and ideology it promotes for almost a century, making it just one wheel in the machinery of popular culture. Extremely wealthy and profitable wheel, that is. However, on the other side of the American film industry, motivated by the desire to reveal the true face behind the glamor of mainstream film, gathered directors who, with an extremely small budget and independent of any major studios, made their independent films with the idea of free authorial vision: thus, changing the film landscape and the way the audience watches the films (Danesi, 2008).

Popular culture has become the foundation of contemporary culture – its expressions have become dominant over forms of high culture. The Western media society uses a multitude of popular expressions (Yaman & Bećirović, 2016) on a daily basis – from popular language, movies, technology, food, fashion, sitcoms, to sports broadcasts – while creating new popular forms according to its own needs and interests. It is both a consumer and a cultural producer of popular culture, and in the consumption and creation of its forms and expressions it finds pleasure, jouissance or plaisir (Strinati, 2005).

Popular culture is impossible to define by a simple definition because there is still debate among theorists about what it really is, whether it is contemporary American culture, what its expressions are, when it began, whether it can be equated with mass and folk culture. whether it is the culture created by the people or the culture of the dominant structures that are used by it to achieve their own ideological and material goals. That is why it is best to describe it with the help of its basic characteristics of spectacle, providing satisfaction, progressiveness and social change, contradictions, emotionality and breaking with traditional norms and values (Dumbar-Hall, 1991).

Why is it important to understand popular culture? Given that cultural expression cannot become popular if society does not accept it and does not find some satisfaction in it, it can be concluded that popular content is a mirror of aspirations, values and attitudes of the society in which they are popular, as well as a reflection of current social reality. Understanding the reasons for the popularity of a text can help us understand the social environment in which this or that text is created, giving us insight into the main trends of modern society and culture and possibly the possibility of future trends (Danesi, 2008; Rizvić & Bećirović, 2017).

Today’s world is globalized – as global capital and cultural goods circulate the world, state borders become less and less important, and time and space are compressed. This compression brings together images, meanings, ways of life, cultural practices, which would otherwise remain separated in time and space (Storey, 2003).

Rocky the “American hero”

The movie Rocky IV was premiered in 1985, during the late phase of the Cold War, and in the period when USSR underwent a political change, with Mikhail Gorbachev taking over power in the country. R. Reagan was the president of the United States at the time, and he was a tough negotiator with the Soviet Union. In February 1984, the then-leader of the Soviet Union, Y. Andropov, died of a terrible illness; he was a staunch admirer of the United States. Also, in 1984, Olympic Games were held in the USA, in Los Angeles, and USSR did not want to participate due to their relationship with the USA. We can say that amid those sports tensions and changes in the agency of the USSR, USA made a powerful move with releasing Rocky IV and spreading their soft power in the time when USSR felt most vulnerable and when Gorbachev came along and began to prepare the terrain for his new policies of glasnost and perestroika.

As time goes on, some films from the list of American classics do not fade but gain a new dimension. Sylvester Stallone as Rocky Balboa in 1976 set the definition of the American dream. It reads that if you do your best, you will make all your dreams come true. As America loses its global confidence in the nation’s strength, rule of law and democracy in recent days, Rocky celebrates forty-five years and reminds us of the timeless story of an ordinary man who reaches the top in sweat, raising the American flag with bloody fists. The majestic success of the first film is evidenced not only by its sequels, but also by seven nominations and winning

an Oscar. "Rocky" has become a new American and world hero, and in his story, there are many modern "heroes" who claim that they have achieved everything in America through their own work and commitment. So, for example, the outgoing US president posted an interesting photomontage on Twitter and Facebook three years ago, where he positioned his head on Rocky's body, insinuating that there is more to the story of the road to the top. The top of the towers offers an impressive view of the panorama of New York (Carstensen, 2019).

However, Donald Trump is much closer to those people from the margins of society, precisely those about whom Martin Scorsese's film of the same year spoke, for which "Rocky" won the Oscar in the Best Picture category. In the 1970s, it was too early for a film like *Taxi Driver*, with Robert De Niro as a taxi driver with Vietnamese syndrome, to be rewarded by the conservative American Film Academy, which tends to pay attention to motivational stories with strong affirmative messages. "Taxi Driver" was by far the best film, not only that year, but time has shown that it is one of the best films of all time. What Trump wanted to say with his announcement has not been fully clarified, except that American popular culture dominates socio-political life, and the media picture is becoming such that there no longer exists clear line between show business and reality (Abdulaev and Shomron, 2020).

The film "Rocky", which does not have any flaws, symbolizes one big ring that America has become, and in which individuals fight for survival (and stay in power) to the last drop of blood and sweat, often low blows, below the belt. Violence is what dominates mainstream American film production, and "Rocky" is a timeless classic even after forty-five years that tells us that there is nothing wrong with a bit of belligerence, ambition and desire for some title (Uysal, 2021).

Methodology

The method chosen is the desk analysis, as the focus is the content analysis of the movie Rocky IV. The movie will be analyzed by the symbols used and how each one represents what it represents, and how those symbols were used as soft power tools, by the USA, and how one popular movie, like Rocky, managed to be used politically and had so much influence on the world. There are several limitations, for example, some symbols may not be addresses towards certain ideas and meanings, there can be a lot of other symbols which are not noticed, and there can be a lot of bias in the extent of influence of Rocky IV, according to the sources and references.

The path towards choosing the movie, through selection methodology, was easy. The list was made, of 10 movies, which are directed and aired in the 1980s in the USA, with a goal to promote USA in different subjects and movies of different genre and topics. On the list of 10 movies, Rocky IV (1985) was the one which portrays in the best way, how pop culture of the 1980s influenced politics and exerted power onto wider masses. According to several film reviews, and other academic pieces about the topic, Rocky IV was most prominent of the genre, and that was confirmed after the movie was watched carefully, and analyzed.

Analysis

Rocky IV is embodiment of the context that was transposed to wider public through soft power tool box, because it is burdened with symbols and symbolics which actually is soft power in the core.

The very beginning of the movie is the two boxing gloves: one with a pattern of the US flag and the other with USSR – red with a sickle and a hammer. This immediately implies something much deeper, the clash between the two superpowers and, through boxing, this serves as the allegory and comparison of the war. War is portrayed through boxing. The US flag is shown on numerous other occasions, for example, it was the pattern of Rocky's boxing shorts, as well as Apollo's, and Rocky waved the flag in Russia, after he had won the fight. The US flag in USSR is a sign of power, because flag represents a nation, as the ability to wave it in a foreign country, in front of foreigners, is a power symbol. Waving the US flag is a national symbol that promotes unwavering allegiance as well as a rejection of national criticism and disagreement (Schatz and Lavine, 2007).

The movie is focused on event of the boxing match between Rocky and his Soviet opponent Drago, who is a government project by the USSR, and a lot of money has been invested in him, in his training ground and equipment. He is a national pride and a symbol of Russian power, cold and unbeatable. Rocky, on the other hand is an immigrant who fought to the top and still stays humble, as he comes to Russia and trains in the wilderness, in the snow, running up the mountains, using wood and rocks as weights and chops trees as his workout. This is a contrast between two sides, and shows differences between the two sides, passionate and wild-spirited Americans and cold and robotic Soviets, and it promotes the stereotypes, spreading the image of brutal Soviets. While anti-Soviet propaganda played an important part in the Cold War, it is important to remember that the West's policy

was anti-Russian in many ways at all times, and any strengthening of Russia (economic, military, or geopolitical) was viewed as a danger to the Western world (Fedorov, 2015). In *Rocky IV*, USSR and Drago are shown as bad guys and the movie is a perfect example of anti-Soviet propaganda. Over 80 films on Russia were made in Hollywood in the 1980s. Almost all of them portrayed bad aspects of the Russian and Soviet systems, terrifying spectators with malignant Soviet enemy pictures that should be eradicated, as M. Strada and H. Troper (1997) said, all of these films started with the premise that Soviet communism was a bad thing. It was not new, but it meant that peaceful coexistence was impossible and that conversations with freedom's foes were futile (Strada & Troper, 1997). When the movie shows Soviets to be the bad guys in the movie, that creates a certain perception in the eye of the public. Drago was not the bad guy per se, but he was not the side everyone cheered for. Especially as the viewers did not follow his path like Rocky's. However, *Rocky IV* does not have a main aim to show USSR as a completely bad guys, but the goal is to show US supremacy and to try to make USSR want what they have and make Soviets willing to accept their values. That is why, in the end, the whole hall in Russia cheers for Rocky, and when the fight ends, Rocky receives standing ovations even from the whole politburo.

The appeal of American soft power in the pop culture realm is heavily influenced by the underlying value systems in the places where it is distributed and received. American films have traditionally been successful and popular in Western countries, where people share liberal and secular ideas associated with individuality and democracy, while others felt threatened by these ideas (Fraser, 2015). It is important to mention that *Rocky IV* achieved tremendous success, and it was a great tool for soft power, but there is another perspective to look at. The on-screen conflict between two state systems was uneven. As practically all Soviet anti-American films were "goods for domestic use," numerous American films connected to the Soviet-themed enjoyed extensive worldwide distribution and resonance over time. Furthermore, the Hollywood Cold War was sometimes more liberal and accepting of the Soviet Union than the Soviet "ideological cinematic struggle with USA" (War, 2010). It can be said, that in the end, Soviets accepted Rocky, both the public and the politburo, especially after his speech that we can all change.

Another important scene in the movie is the speech Rocky gives in the end of the fight, when he speaks politically, saying that the Soviet mass

cheered on him and accepted him, regardless of his nationality. That was a strong symbol of resistance to the system, and an act which could have influenced a lot of people, especially since USSR started to go through reforms of the system and introduction of more freedom. The timing of the movie and a powerful speech made a lot of influence, as Rocky said "If I can change, and you can change, everybody can change" (Rocky, 1985). Even though before 1950s, Kremlin forbid Hollywood production in USSR, in the end of a decade, there was a limited number of US movies which were allowed to be premiered as they were popular and watched in USSR (Fraser, 2015). The fact that USSR allowed even a slightest glimpse of US trace in their society, opened a path and a way in which USA was able to exert influence through Hollywood and direct it towards Soviet society.

The use of music is also very influential as well. The American music industry was employed as a tool of US foreign policy during the Cold War, with pop rock being exploited by the US Information Agency to musically globalize American principles (Mirreles, 2006). First of all, the movie starts with the song "Eye of the Tiger" by the Survivor, which is very popular song and is a worldwide hit even today, let alone in the 1980s. However, there is another song by Survivor "Burning Heart", which is about the Cold War, which is seen in the lyrics "East VS West; Can any Nation stand alone?" (Papp, 1919). So, not only the plot and the symbols were about Cold War, but also the music which followed the scenes.

Conclusion

Soft power became a very important political tool in the Cold War, which is explicitly seen in the Hollywood and cinematography. The example of such is the movie *Rocky IV* (1985), which portrays US nationalism and US superiority over USSR, and the fact that it was one of the most popular movies of the time, indicate its power and acceptance of the public. It is difficult to say to what extent did *Rocky IV* influence the people around the world, as we cannot quantify the influence of the pop culture, as the effects produces cannot be measured (Fraser, 2015), but the responses to the move were vocal and seen, which is a success itself. Hollywood was just one of the ways in which USA promotes US values and lifestyle, makes everyone want to live their American Dream and just employs soft power in the true meaning of the word. This was a great tool during the Cold War, and still remains as so, from *Rocky IV*, to other US movies which hold the position of the best movies in the world, undoubtedly.

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ORIGINAL RESEARCH PAPER

CODE-SWITCHING IN SECOND LANGUAGE TEACHING OF ENGLISH: DOES IT MATTER?

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ABSTRACT

Bosnian and Herzegovinian English language instructors and ESL students widely acknowledge using more than one language code in formal classroom settings. Code-switching is caused by various factors or were specific communication goals must have been involved. This study aims to discover how ESL students view code-switching by English language instructors in secondary schools in Tuzla. For that purpose, three research questions have been defined: (1) Is there a significant difference in students' attitudes towards code-switching based on gender? (2) Is there a statistically significant difference in students' attitudes towards code-switching? and (3) Is there a statistically significant difference in students' attitudes towards code-switching based on a grade level? The study demonstrated students' attitudes, usage, and opinions toward code-switching in the classroom. Most ESL students favor code-switching, which is equally gender-based, high frequency in use and grade level incidence constant. In terms of code-switching use of mother tongue becomes, by default, a facilitator of task completion and cognitive collaboration. Code-switching is also believed to help ESL students understand the target language. The findings suggest that code-switching is required when using the first language in the classroom to help students master English.

Keywords: code-switching, frequency of codeswitching, types of CS, reasons for codeswitching



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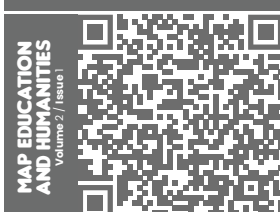
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Introduction

In linguistics, code-switching is switching between two or more languages in a conversation or an expression (Cunningham, 1999). It has been studied extensively for many years and is now considered a distinct linguistic field. Modern world migration, globalization, and the interconnection of languages and cultures contribute to this. As a result, code-switching is becoming increasingly popular these days. In the bilingual world, code-switching is an essential part of everyday life, as people switch between languages unintentionally or intentionally all the time.

Societies where different languages or dialects are spoken naturally express their thoughts and ideas through code-switching. A natural and inexorable ability to switch between codes is not an indication of linguistic incompetence. On the contrary, it indicates natural and inevitable linguistic ability. Today, many researchers view code-switching as an essential ability to switch from one language or dialect to another during communication. As discussed below, some linguists claim that code-switching is a sign of language incapacity. A bilingual world makes it inevitable to use multiple languages or dialects within a single communication process. Others argue that code-switching is a sign of linguistic ignorance and should be avoided during a conversation. This is a complex issue.

Wardhaugh (2015) defines “code” as a separate system used during inter-person communication. So, it is a dialect or language that one party occasionally uses. Code-switching uses materials from two or more languages in the same utterance or conversation. This phenomenon seems natural for people who grew up bilingual and learned two or more languages or dialects. In this sense, code-switching does not imply a lack of language ability. The ability to skillfully mix phrases or words from different languages during a conversation for various purposes will be discussed later in this paper. Thus, code-switching is natural and even necessary for some cultures and nations.

Code-switching is the production of discourse that combines two or more varieties of a person’s linguistic repertoire (Myers-Scotton, 2017). Bilinguals can use two or more languages within one utterance without interrupting the flow of speech, thus making the conversation more colorful and fuller of emotions (Saunders, 1988). This proves that code-switching helps diversify one’s speech, en-

riches the communication process, and improves mutual understanding. Thus, it should be a natural way of expressing one’s thoughts and ideas, especially in a bilingual world where people can easily switch between languages (Delić & Bećirović, 2018).

However, some scientists classify code-switching as “interference”, a concept that is both supported and disapproved. As a result, Weinreich (1953) defined interference as a deviation from the approved norms of either language in the speech of bilinguals who know more than one language or dialect. Some linguists oppose this idea, while others support it. So “interference” and “code-switching” are classified differently. Reasons for this come from researchers’ uncertainty about whether it is interference or code-switching when using some aspects of one language (Langman, 2001). Because actual interference involves assimilating certain linguistic features, code-switching is rejected as an example of interference. Adding an utterly unassimilated word or phrase from another language to one’s speech does not constitute code-switching.

Further research into code-switching necessitates discussing its primary goals. The main goal of code-switching is to maintain or remove social boundaries. Using code-switching, one can establish relationships between people from different social groups, professions, or ages. Code-switching is frequently used to avoid or reduce stressful situations in two-way communication. It is also used in speech to adapt to another person, encourage action, or draw attention. While it may appear natural, code-switching is used for purposes other than causing misunderstandings between two parties during a conversation.

Code-switching is frequently used to enhance or organize one’s speech (Adendorff, 1996). By adding phrases from another language to a conversation, code-switching can fill gaps in the speaker’s speech and compensate for the lack of appropriate expression.

Additionally, code-switching occurs in educational settings, such as in second or foreign languages classes. According to Abrams and Reaser (2011), second-language learners have two linguistic units but only one meaning unit in their brains. As a result, even though second language learners may communicate in their second language (L2), they still think in their first language (L1).

In educational contexts, code-switching is frequently regarded as L1 transfer interference. Despite the widespread belief that code-switching hinders learning a second language, some researchers now believe it can aid the process (DiCamilla & Antón, 2012).

Literature review

Using two languages in the same conversation is what Myers-Scotton (2006) means by code-switching (p. 239). When it comes to code-mixing is a similar concept to code-switching. Researchers frequently make a distinction between the two aforementioned concepts. According to Muysken (2000), code-switching is used when the two codes retain their monolingual characteristics, while code-mixing is used when the two languages begin to converge somehow. However, Myers-Scotton (1993) distinguishes between the two terms, stating that code-switching occurs when bilinguals switch back and forth between two languages during a single conversation with another bilingual person. In contrast, code-mixing uses multiple languages in the same sentence.

Types of CS

Sankoff and Poplack (1981) describe three types of CS syntactically based on their observations of numerous CS cases: tag-switching, intra-sentential switching, and inter-sentential switching. The insertion of a tag or a short-fixed phrase in one language into an utterance that is otherwise entirely in the other language is called tag-switching, emblematic switching, or extra-sentential switching. The term “inter-sentential switching” refers to the switching between two languages at the boundary of a clause or a sentence. It can occur when one speaker picks up where another has left off. A switch that occurs within a clause or sentence boundary is intra-sentential. The speaker must be fluent in both languages to use this grammatical structure.

Developing classroom CS research

According to Holmes (2013), three phases of classroom CS are explained as follows: the first phase of CS research drew attention in the 1970s and early 1980s in US bilingual education programs for linguistic minorities. These studies focused on the quantitative impact of CS in bilingual classroom communication on children’s linguistic development. Thus, they started using audio recordings and a descriptive framework to study classroom

communication. They observed how teachers and students complete tasks in two languages. Code choice values also became more significant for them.

The researchers used this approach to analyze teaching/learning situations regarding participants’ linguistic and cultural backgrounds. Zentella (1981) identified pragmatic functions of CS as easing admonition, making asides, and making meta-linguistic comments. Like Guthrie (1984), this identification does not distinguish for pedagogical or social reasons. In a study of Kenyan primary school students, Merritt et al. (1992) found that teachers switching often helped focus or regain students’ attention or clarify, enhance, or reinforce lesson material. Merritt identified a total of four syntactic CS types. The first type of code contains no additional information or instructions. As the activity of textual instruction progresses, code-switching occurs. These two types are similar to inter-sentential switching in that they involve a whole sentence or interaction. The third type involves translation or word substitution within a sentence. This list comprises interactional particles such as discourse markers, classroom management routines, and terms of address.

In addition, CS can be used in two ways, according to Auer (1998): discourse-related switching and participant-related switching. The former is helpful in the classroom for marking topic changes and other communicative acts, while the latter takes into account the listener’s linguistic preferences. This may occur when learners have difficulty understanding the teacher’s instructional language or the target language.

Classroom as a specific CS context

Many of the above studies use bilingual or multilingual classroom discourse. Language classroom communication is multi-layered and difficult to analyze (Dervić & Bećirović, 2020). Simon (2001) develops a model that includes both the social and pedagogical aspects of code-switching since the primary goal of communication in this context is to facilitate learning, mainly foreign language learning.

However, few CS studies have investigated young learners’ classrooms in China (Chen & Tsai, 2012). Codeswitching in FL classrooms for young learners may be unique. They aim to discover patterns of L1 and TL distribution in teachers’ talk and

the functions of teachers' CS in primary English.

Background

Reasons for code-switching in bilingual communities

Why do bilinguals code-switch? This is undoubtedly one of the most pressing questions about bilingualism. Previous studies have found numerous reasons for code-switching unrelated to a lack of proficiency in either of the languages. Unlike situational code-switching, metaphorical code-switching occurs when language cannot be interpreted through the context in which it is used. Changing the subject matter of the conversation is the most likely cause of code-switching. Code-switching adds meaning to the conversation even if it is done unconsciously. According to Gumperz (1982), code-switching is how the speaker changes the social distance between the interlocutors in a given interaction. He distinguishes between "us" and "them" when programming. A common characteristic of the "we-code" lingua franca is a sense of belonging and camaraderie. The colonial or matrix language, often associated with formality and stiffness, is commonly used in their code.

According to Gumperz (1982), context and a speaker's background play a role in interpreting these codes, i.e., we-code and they-code. Code-switching is distinguished from borrowing by the author. His definition of borrowing is "the introduction of single words or short, frozen, idiomatic phrases from one variety into another" (Gumperz, 1982, p. 66). Words and phrases from other languages must be adopted into one's language before being used in a sentence. On the other hand, it "relies on the meaningful juxtaposition of what speakers must process as strings formed according to two distinct grammatical systems" (Gumperz, 1982, p. 66).

Attitudes to code-switching in the classroom

Studies show that attitudes toward these communicative behaviors are shaped by factors that are either community-specific, like language status and appropriateness, or speaker-specific, like proficiency and personal judgment (Yaman & Bećirović, 2016). For example, some people accept CS/CM (code-switching/code-mixing) as an everyday occurrence in any bilingual scheme. CS/CM is recognised as a communication style and a regular speech pattern among speakers. CS/CM

as bilingual pedagogy in CLIL classrooms has been debated, with both proponents and detractors.

Creese and Blackledge (2010) describe CS/CM as a "local, pragmatic coping tactics and responses to the socio-economic dominance of English in Hong Kong, where many students from socioeconomically disadvantaged backgrounds struggled to obtain an English-medium education; for its socio-economic value" (p. 177). Arthur and Martin's (2006) found similar patterns in Brunei's content and language integrated learning (CLIL). They discovered that CS/CM is used to help students understand and learn bilingually. The study found that teachers who used CS with students proficient in the target language helped increase student inclusion, participation, and understanding in the learning process, develop relationships between participants, communicate ideas more efficiently, and complete lessons (Mašić et al., 2020).

Teachers struggle between "access to meaning and access to English" (Setati, Adler, Reed & Bapoo, 2010). While students can reformulate concepts in their native language, they must receive and produce content in English because it is the language of assessment (Dervić & Bećirović, 2019).

Using CS/CM in class may hinder students' ability to answer questions in pure English. Another disadvantage of CS/CM in the classroom is shown by Payawal-Gabriel and Reyes-Otero (2006). The study claims that math teachers using CS/CM in their lessons negatively affect student learning. Their research shows that teachers' CS/CM confused students, affecting lesson comprehension.

Bilinguals themselves have criticized the use of CS/CM in the classroom. According to Shin (2005), "bilinguals may feel embarrassed about their code-switching and attribute it to careless language habits" (p.18). However, using a local language alongside the "official" language in the lesson is well-known; it is often lambasted as "bad practice" blamed on teachers' lack of English-language competence or put aside or swept under the carpet (Creese & Blackledge, 2010, p. 1035).

Methodology

Research questions

The purpose of this study is to examine students' attitudes towards code-switching. Research questions are as follows:

1. Is there a significant difference in students' attitudes towards code-switching based on gender?
2. Is there a statistically significant difference in students' attitudes towards code-switching?
3. Is there a statistically significant difference in students' attitudes towards code-switching based on a grade level?

Participants

The examination sample consisted of 91 students from secondary schools in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The participants were pre-determined and chosen based on their ability to provide an opportunity to achieve the study's objectives. Thus, there were 58 (52.7%) first-grade students, 22 (20%) third-grade students and 11 (10%) fourth-grade students. There were 37 (40.7%) males and 54 (59.3%) females aged from 15 to 19. The participant's English language competence is essential as it may account for the instructor's language behaviour in the classroom.

The study showed that 29 students (21.9%) achieved a beginner level, 38 (81.8%) were on an intermediate level, and 24 students (26.4%) were on an advanced level as regards the CEFR.

Instruments and procedures

The instrument consisted of three parts. The first part incorporated demographic questions such as gender, age, overall GPA, grade level, nationality, and proficiency level. The second part comprised self-reported questionnaires used to gather information about students' perceptions of teachers' code-switching behavior while lecturing and their attitudes toward the language situation in the classroom. In addition, students were reminded that their responses to the questionnaire should be based on their English-language lessons from the previous weeks. El Fiki's (1999) questionnaire items were adapted for this survey. After obtaining informed consent from the administration of the schools, school instructors and students participated in an interview which was the third part.

This was done to get precise data on how students perceive teachers' code-switching. The instrument comprised 13 items divided into two subscales, namely students' attitudes towards instructors' code-switching (13 items, e.g., mixing English and L1 is a common phenomenon in the lectures I have attended in this institution); factors for

opting to code switch among students (10 items, e.g., lack of competence, filling the gap in speaking). Students and school administrators signed informed consent forms before the investigators provided the data collection instruments, which were then tailored to meet the needs of high schools. It was made clear and explained in detail that the data gathered from the Likert-type scale would be anonymous, voluntary, and confidential.

Data analysis

This data was analyzed using the IBM Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS) and three statistical methods. Students' attitudes towards instructors' code-switching and factors for determining code-switching among students were assessed using means (M) and standard deviations (SD). The effect of grade level on student interactions was also examined using a One-way ANOVA. The Independent Samples T-Test was conducted to compare differences between males and females in their attitudes towards code-switching.

Results

The Independent Samples T-Test was performed to examine whether there is a significant impact on students' attitudes towards CS based on gender.

The test results displayed in Table 1 show that gender does not significantly impact students' attitudes towards CS. There was not a significant difference in the scores for males ($M=2.35$, $SD=0.23$) and females ($M=2.27$, $SD=0.31$) conditions; $t(108)=1.37$, $p=0.173$. The result claims that students equally code-switch, and there is no significant gender difference.

There are instances of code-switching in the participants' conversations and instances of unswitched code. To detect differences in code-switching patterns, the gender of the participants is considered to be an important variable. In conversations in which only men or only women were present, women tended to code-switch more frequently than men, whereas in mixed conversations, men tended to have more instances of CS than women.

Additionally, the Independent Samples T-Test was conducted to compare differences between males and females in their attitudes towards code-switching, as shown in Table 2. There was a significant difference in the scores for males

($M=3.25$, $SD=0.81$) and females ($M=3.61$, $SD=0.79$) conditions; $t(108)=-2.34$, $p=0.21$.

Therefore, when contextual words are taken as a whole, it is reasonable to claim that there is a gender difference.

A one-way ANOVA examined grade level differences in students' attitudes towards

code-switching. As mentioned previously, the grade level included four levels.

To determine the difference among the students' attitudes toward using code-switching concerning their grade levels, an analysis of means and standard deviations score values for different students' grade levels was performed, as shown in Table 3.

Table 1.
Students' attitudes concerning their gender

Gender	N	Mean	Std. deviation	Std. error mean
Male	48	2.3510	.23316	.03365
Female	62	2.2767	.31408	.03989

Table 2.
Attitudes towards code-switching by T-test

	Levene's test for equality of variances		T-test for equality of means						
	F	T Sig.	T	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean difference	Std. error difference	95% confidence interval of the difference	
								Lower	Upper
Equal variances assumed	.061	.806	-2.346	108.000	.021	-.36310	.15475	-.66985	-.05636
Equal variances not assumed			-2.339	100.034	.021	-.36310	.15522	-.67105	-.05516

Table 3.
Mean and Standard Deviation of students' attitudes regarding their grade level

	Sum of squares	df	Mean square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	.405	4	.101	1.280	.283
Within Groups	8.316	105	.079		
Total	8.722	109			

Furthermore, the post hoc comparisons effect of grade level on attitudes towards CS, shown in Table 4, indicated that the mean score for the first-grade students, H1 ($M=2.25$, $SD=0.32$) was not significantly different than for second-grade students, H2 ($M=2.37$, $SD=0.11$). In addition, the post hoc comparisons effect of grade level on attitudes towards CS indicated that the mean score for the third-grade students, H3 ($M=2.37$, $SD=0.21$) was not significantly different than for fourth-grade students, H4 ($M=2.23$, $SD=0.13$). If we want to compare H4- and H1-graders the results are as follows: H4 ($M=2.23$, $SD=0.13$) was not significantly different than in H1 ($M=2.25$, $SD=0.32$).

Discussion

The current study's findings indicate that differences do not significantly influence differences in attitudes toward code-switching in gender or grade level. There was a noticeably high frequency of code-switching among male and female participants in the current study. The absence of gender-based differences could be attributed to the appropriate instructional environment to which these learners were exposed, and it appears that all groups experienced code-switching as an unconscious act of communication.

Furthermore, the data reveals a clear pattern of instructors' language used in the classroom.

More than half of the students claimed that both B/C/S language and English used for classroom instruction as a common practice. The interviews reveal that the mixture of B/C/S language and English was so standard in most of the lectures they attended that they were barely aware of it while they were in class. Some even asserted that it is expected to mix both languages in communication and it is common among bilingual speakers in any context of communication, regardless of the situation. However, according to Forman (2005), "generally, although not always, the students will have a common LI and share this with their teacher" (p. 70). Using students' first language in ESL classes is challenging because most are multilingual.

Students and teachers can communicate more effectively using their mother tongues as a common language. Teachers are expected to be role models and mentors for their students in the classroom (Bećirović & Akbarov, 2015). Students who have difficulty comprehending the language can be monitored to determine when to use their native tongue. In this way, using one's mother tongue is paramount.

Table 4.

Effect of grade level on attitudes towards CS

	N	Mean	Std. deviation	Std. error	95% confidence interval for mean		Minimum	Maximum
					Lower bound	Upper bound		
H1	46	2.2559	.32638	.04812	2.1589	2.3528	1.54	3.00
H2	12	2.3782	.11577	.03342	2.3046	2.4518	2.15	2.54
H3	22	2.3706	.21051	.04488	2.2773	2.4640	2.08	2.85
H4	11	2.2308	.13323	.04017	2.1413	2.3203	2.00	2.38
Total	91	2.2967	.26612	.02790	2.2413	2.3521	1.54	3.00

Macaro (2005, p. 63) supports using the mother tongue in monolingual classes. According to him, “considerable attention and discussion” are needed in any attempt to develop a “post-communicative” method of teaching English to adults and adolescents. Using one’s mother tongue can help make a task more meaningful. As a result, the students have no trouble concentrating on their work. Language learning benefits from L1 because it facilitates task completion and creates an environment conducive to social and cognitive collaboration where students can offer support and assistance throughout the task (Mahmutoğlu, 2013).

Some students admitted that the proficient instructors required students to improve their English proficiency to overcome any language barriers. However, instructors’ proficiency levels could not account for actual language use in interaction. Even proficient instructors had to resort to B/C/S to accommodate students who could not speak English. The proficient instructors frequently mixed B/C/S language and English in their speech when they perceived students who could not understand English lectures.

According to interviews, teachers were aware of the institution’s language policy. Their students and teachers’ English proficiency influenced their language choice and use. This resulted in their classroom behaviour in code-switching.

Moreover, the data revealed that students with lower English proficiency tolerated the instructors’ CS more than the more proficient group. The former group favoured the instructors’ CS behaviour because they wanted to understand the lectures. The necessity of CS was favored. They agreed that most materials and references were in English but felt their limited English proficiency hampered comprehension. Thus, the instructor’s choice of language seemed to be a practical solution. While most students agreed that using the B/C/S language helped them understand lectures better, they also agreed that English helped them learn their subjects. They were unconcerned about language usage in the classroom. In a content-based classroom, the emphasis is on meaning rather than structure (Bećirović & Polz, 2021; Bećirović & Akbarov, 2016).

On the other hand, the more talented group despised the instructors’ CS. They felt that B/C/S language should be used sparingly to expose students to English, as most references are in that lan-

guage. Change from English to B/C/S language to solve comprehension problems did not seem long-term for less proficient students.

Further, self-study comprehension issues are possible. This proficient group claimed that any English input could prepare them for self-study and future careers. Interestingly, these students claim that the instructor’s instruction can help them improve their English language skills. Moreover, they argued that using a mixture of languages to explain a concept lacked structural integrity. They had not been provided with or exposed to the proper model for explaining the concepts in English, which was necessary. If they had to write all their answers in English for exams, they would experience difficulties.

They also argued that understanding the concept was insufficient if they could not correctly answer the questions. The more proficient group felt both.

As for the study’s limitations and suggestions for further research, incorporating gender as a confounding variable in code-switching related corpus construction and experiment design could also be conducted and contribute to the study’s value. In addition to this, some other variables could also be considered, such as the impact of instructors’ CS, students’ language proficiency level and some demographic variables. Likewise, the examination sample included participants from school that offers a national curriculum taught entirely in English. Further research may incorporate the differences between students studying at different schools and backgrounds.

Conclusion

Mixing English and B/C/S languages is an expected communicative behaviour in classrooms, despite the school’s explicit language policy of using English as the medium of instruction. To determine whether to support or counterbalance existing linguistic policy and regulation, the report on speakers’ actual language use and attitudes is critical.

The findings help us understand how speakers adhere to the policy. Although attitudes towards language are challenging to measure, the study has significant implications on classroom language use. According to Kamisah (2007), any language policy regulation does not impede the speaker’s language creativity and personal choice. Language

attitudes are “invisible societal pressures” that interact with “visible” policy plans (Kachru, 1997). Thus, knowing whether or not these two forces agree can help set further plans for treating any conflicts that may arise.

The findings show that the occurrence of CS/CM is mainly due to the participant’s linguistic competence. Instructors’ English language skills are usually insufficient to deliver lectures in that language. The student’s English language skills are also inadequate. Thus, both instructors’ and students’ linguistic ineptness must be addressed. The findings show that instructors must urgently improve their English proficiency. These instructors could benefit from a series of development courses on English language proficiency and communication skills in English. Students need more EAP and ESP courses to prepare for the language demands of their studies.

The study’s findings also suggest a clear assessment of implementation. The widespread use of CS/CM in classrooms suggests that the policy has not been adequately implemented or assessed. Speakers cannot be expected to follow any policy imposed on them blindly. Thus, the policy should be continuously assessed to ensure the policy’s sustainability, students’ learning and linguistic development, and instructors’ professionalism.

There is also evidence that instructors and students do not fully understand the policy. Insufficient English language proficiency among instructors and students has been cited as a significant cause of CS/CM.

This has a big impact on their English language development. Most importantly, the findings have aided in any language training needs for instructors to teach in English effectively. As implied by the student’s responses, the language used in the classroom can impact the learning process. In order to teach students more effectively, instructors should pay closer attention to the language they use during their lectures.

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REVIEW PAPER

DRAMATISING EDUCATION IN COMEDIANS AND ARCADIA

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ABSTRACT

This paper analyses the dramatisation of education in two contemporary British plays: Trevor Griffiths's *Comedians* and Tom Stoppard's *Arcadia*. Both plays encompass different features of classrooms, pupils, teaching methodologies, types of tutors, however at the same time they dramatise the schooling process in England during different epochs. The first section of the paper deals with adults who attend a night school and aspire to be professional stand-up comedians. Griffiths's *Comedians* reflects the idea of how adult workers have to attend classes in order to enhance their employment opportunities in post-war Britain. The play also shows Mr Waters's endeavour to teach his pupils the significance of stand-up comedy and its cathartic role in life. In Stoppard's *Arcadia*, the dramatisation of education predominantly takes place in the Victorian era. It becomes apparent that Septimus is a different kind of a tutor, as he has to teach and inform young Thomasina not just about different branches of science, but also about various aspects of life and experiences which Thomasina has to face and comprehend on her own. The paper emphasises the idea that real education exists everywhere, even outside the traditional classroom setting, and thereby children and adults, as well as teachers, always remain learners who obtain different pieces of knowledge and understanding.

Keywords: Comedians, Arcadia, teacher's role, post-war Britain



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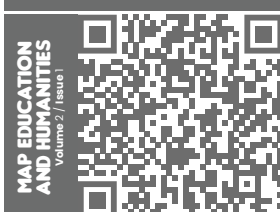
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Introduction

The main aim of this paper is to explore the dramatisation of the theme of education in comedies by Trevor Griffiths and Tom Stoppard. The paper will focus on Griffiths's play *Comedians* (1976), as well as on Tom Stoppard's *Arcadia* (1993). It will first analyse Griffiths's text and the manner in which the playwright presented several elements, such as the night school for adults, the role of the teacher, as well as the gloomy classroom environment. Secondly, the paper will discuss *Arcadia* and the theme of education as exemplified primarily through the relationship of Septimus and his young pupil Thomasina.

The first section of the paper examines the return of adults to school in *Comedians*. Namely, a group of five working-class men attend a night lecture on stand-up comedy. The chapter analyses the return of adults to school, the classroom setting, the authority and the role of their teacher Eddie Waters, as well as the manner in which Waters's students perceive their instructor. Waters also tries to teach the aspiring comedians the role of humour, however Waters attempts to educate his students about the seriousness of stand-up comedy. The play ends in a similar fashion as it begins. Namely, Griffiths shows the old school caretaker wiping an obscene joke, similarly to the way in which the caretaker sponges the children's graffiti off the blackboard at the beginning of the play. This paper has been particularly informed by Alireza Fakhkonandeh's paper "Humour As an Art of Descent and Negative Dialectics: a Deleuzian Analysis of the Functions of Humour in Trevor Griffiths' *Comedians*". Therefore, Fakhkonandeh's paper will serve as an inspiration for the analytical aspects discussed within the paper.

Finally, this paper explores Tom Stoppard's *Arcadia*. Although the play switches between the time-planes (or juxtaposes different time-planes) in its fragmented structure, thus placing next to each other two seemingly different dramatic stories, the paper focuses on only one, the one set at the turn of the centuries, involving Thomasina, the student and Septimus, her private tutor/teacher. The paper will describe the difference between the teacher who holds little authority and his bright young student Thomasina who finds mistakes in Newtonian science. Additionally, the paper will explore the manner in which Septimus tries to help Thomasina understand other, more general, life-related elements outside her garden-like classroom.

Namely, Septimus tries to scientifically help Thomasina understand the term 'carnal embrace', just as Waters helps his comedians understand the notions of respect and self-respect. It becomes apparent that education, which both Waters and Septimus provide, extends beyond the traditional notions of classroom and schooling, albeit using two very different approaches. The paper will present a theme-based analysis in which the theme and role of education will be explored through the techniques of dramatisation.

Teaching Stand-up in Griffiths's *Comedians*

Trevor Griffiths's dramatic piece *Comedians* is a play portraying five working-class individuals, all men, who want to become, as the title itself implies, comedians. The plotline is situated within: "A classroom in a secondary school in Manchester, about three miles east of the centre" (Griffiths, 1976, p. 7). The men aspire to be recognised and selected by the talent scout. They gather at the institution to attend a night-school class and enhance their skills in stand-up comedy. At the beginning, Griffiths describes the school, but also the dark and wet atmosphere. He states that: "Adults will return to school and the school will do its sullen best to accommodate them" (Griffiths, 1976, p. 7). Even the old school caretaker is present, trying to sponge the graffiti from the blackboard while he mutters: "Dirty bastards, filthy fuckers" (Griffiths, 1976, p. 7). The old caretaker's mood is obviously foul, as he uses swear words to describe the children. For this reason, the caretaker's mood and tone seem to reflect the foul atmosphere of the school itself.

The entire mise-en-scene presents the expansion of secondary education in Britain, but the post-war period of Britain also indicates why particular characters return to school. Many working-class men had to attend classes again since well-paid jobs were mostly reserved for pupils graduating from grammar schools, predominantly from the bourgeois social class. Since they could not obtain a worthwhile employment, they have to literally re-enter educational institutes, only this time it is a night school (Fakhkonandeh, 2020, pp. 119–120). Interestingly enough, classes for 'self-improvement' which are held at such institutions include comedy, but Griffiths also mentions: "Yoga, karate, cordon bleu cookery" (Griffiths, 1976, p. 7). In *Comedians*, the entire classroom setting reflects a traditional studying environment. In other words, everything is arranged to show the teacher's dominance from

the position he is supposed to stand, and where the teacher Eddie Waters actually stands. His authority over the adult pupils appears to be enhanced by his expertise on the subject he is teaching, his ability to control the group and by his overall experience. However, it seems that the most interesting element is the course itself. In this case, Waters teaches stand-up comedy (Aparicio, 2003, pp. 13–14). Waters appears to have been a capable teacher from the beginning, since he is openly praised by Price. Price explains: “Challenor reckons you could have been great ... he said you just stopped wanting it” (Griffiths, 1976, p. 63). Humour is an integral part of any good stand-up performance, thereby Waters seems to appreciate the role of humour, as observed in his lectures.

Waters values the role of humour in his tutelage and as Fakhrkonandeh explains: “To Waters, humour or comedy should fulfil a humanistically redemptive, psychologically cathartic, and ideologically demystifying function: it should be truth-oriented” (120). Hence, comedy and humour can have a cathartic role, however they ought to be, primarily, directed towards exploring the truth. Dramatic pieces, in one way or another, are connected to the truth itself. Waters’s classroom should be a testing-ground and it should be a place where students, regardless of their age, are able to make errors in the exploration of comedy, humour and truth. Moreover, they are still allowed the experience of starting anew every time they make a mistake. The classroom setting should also provide the students with a place where they could ask questions. Eddie Waters is anxious to provide his students with answers, yet not all students are willing to hear them (Aparicio, 2003, p. 15). Griffiths, therefore, shows how a classroom in his play can be a place where questions may be asked, but also answered. In *Comedians*, the classroom could be a place of revelation for discovery and self-discovery which does not necessarily have to relate to a particular field, but it can start there. It is to no surprise that Griffiths makes the classroom central throughout the play, just as the teacher is the dominant figure throughout the plotline. The working-class men first gather, then they depart from the classroom and eventually return. Griffiths’s characters who return to school again, as well as the school itself, are not two separate entities: “This theatrical image is brilliant because the settings and the actions within those settings dramatically enhance each other and express the plot, the character relationships, the concept, and the theme of the play” (“*Comedians* by Trevor Griffiths,” 2015). What is more, the school setting

does not exist just as a décor, but rather: “The settings are not simply ‘where the action takes place.’ The image we are viewing—of the schoolroom and the club stage—has a mark of inevitability that gives force to the action: here, we feel, no other action but the one we are watching could occur” (“*Comedians* by Trevor Griffiths,” 2015).

The students in *Comedians* are brought back to the education process and in such self-improvement classes they are also taught respect, seriousness and laughter. Namely, the teacher sometimes addresses his students as ‘gentlemen’ or as ‘Mr Price’ or ‘Mr Murray’, because he is prompting his students to feel a sense of respect and self-respect, however he also helps them to grasp the meaning of fundamental seriousness underpinning the joke-cracking business. Waters is sometimes quite fatherly or rather persuasive, as he addresses the comedians by their first names (Aparicio, 2003, p. 16). Evidently, Eddie Waters is a teacher who helps his adult pupils learn far more than just comedy or comedic monologues or jokes. Waters helps his students understand that the role of humour is not just to make the audience laugh, but he also wants the aspiring comedians to comprehend the essential seriousness of stand-up comedy.

In the end, the teacher and his adult pupils leave the classroom, just as children leave the school after the classes finish. Griffiths ends the play with the old caretaker from the beginning, as he arrives to scan the room with a flashlight. He observes the room, the teacher’s desk, the pupils’ desks, the blackboard and he notices one of Price’s jokes. Once he tries to wipe away the joke, he repeats the words from the beginning of the play: “The dirty buggers” (Griffiths, 1976, p. 67). Griffiths is actually “linking the children’s graffiti at the start with an adult’s mirror image of it at the end” (“*Comedians* by Trevor Griffiths,” 2015). The aspiring comedians-cum-adults seem to resemble children who attend classes, draw graffiti and complete their own secondary education in this situation. Their own re-education is in fact marked by jokes which are at times either humorous or even obscene. Trevor Griffiths’s dramatisation of education is rather different from Tom Stoppard’s own portrayal of students, teachers, classrooms and other elements which relate to schooling. The teacher’s authority, as well as the relationship which exists between a tutor and his student is particularly different in *Arcadia*.

Stoppard's Portrayal of Education in *Arcadia*

Schooling and pursuit for knowledge are some of the most prominent topics which can be analysed in Tom Stoppard's drama *Arcadia*. The theme of education is dramatised through the relationship between two characters, in this case Septimus and his young pupil Thomasina. Unlike the play *Comedians* which takes place after the events of the Second World War, Stoppard's *Arcadia* is partly set in the nineteenth century, although the play jumps from the nineteenth century to the present period: "In 1809 the daughter of the estate, Thomasina, thirteen years old and a prodigy, is being tutored in maths by Septimus Hodge. Slowly she begins to recognize cracks in the Newtonian physics she is being taught and which is the prevalent theory of the time" (Tiedemann, 2002, p. 49). Thomasina is a particularly bright, affluent young woman who is willing to explore the world around her and test some of the established axioms about nature and the world, as exemplified in her desire to question the laws of physics.

While Septimus is helping Thomasina study, she realises that as one stirs jam into pudding it dissipates, however the same action cannot be reversed as Newtonian physics predicts it could (Tiedemann, 2002, p. 49). Her tutor agrees with the statement, believing that jam, just like time itself, cannot run backwards. Septimus states: "We must stir our way onward, mixing as we go, disorder out of disorder into disorder" (Stoppard, 2008, p. 9). Through her schooling, Thomasina attempts to understand the world around her. She tries to find a relationship between mathematics and the world. However, Thomasina soon realises that such an endeavour is a difficult task, because the geometry which she is studying deals with regular shapes, while the world itself is not formed out of arcs and angles. On the other hand, Thomasina still enquires about the dissolving of jam and her contemplations actually hint towards the Second Law of Thermodynamics, which was gradually developed in the nineteenth century (Tiedemann, 2002, pp. 49–50). Stoppard obviously implements serious academic topics which greatly influenced contemporary sciences. The theme of education is not only reserved for Thomasina's musings over scientific questions, but rather Stoppard dramatises the theme of education through the teacher–pupil relationship, as well as through the dramatic scenery. In Griffiths's *Comedians*, the classroom setting suggests the authority of the teacher over his (adult) students.

On the other hand, the relationship between Septimus and Thomasina is somewhat different, albeit it should be noted that Waters has several students who want to become stand-up comedians. Septimus elaborates on the idea of authority by addressing his pupil's brother Augustus: "I do not rule here, my lord. I inspire by reverence for learning and the exaltation of knowledge whereby man may approach God" (Stoppard, 2008, p. 84). Septimus appears to be a rather uninterested or lazy teacher who does things of his own accord. His own laziness seems to be reflected within the teaching style. He is seemingly too lazy to impose rigid rules and prefers the manner in which he is not directly dominating his student. Thus, Stoppard substantiates that Septimus is more willing to inspire, rather than control or rule over his student.

Moreover, it is not only the position of the teacher which differs in *Comedians* and *Arcadia*, but also the classroom setting in which the education takes place. As examined in the previous section, the play *Comedians* predominantly takes place within a traditional classroom, during the night hours, while Septimus and Thomasina usually study in a garden, gazebo, park and so on. The garden image is the classroom in Stoppard's play, with many of its components such as the gazebo, the lawn, the lake and the trees (Aparicio, 2002, p. 13). The term 'Arcadia' in itself is usually associated with the idealised pastoral milieu. Initially it was portrayed as a mountainous region of Greece: "Sir Philip Sidney's *Arcadia* (1581–84) was a long pastoral romance written in an elaborately artful prose. (Arcadia was a mountainous region of Greece which Virgil substituted for Theocritus' Sicily as his idealized pastoral milieu)" (Abrams, 1999, pp. 202–203). Thereby, the connection which is formulated between the garden-like classroom and the nature setting becomes apparent. However, the garden itself carries a larger form of symbolic meaning. It should be noted that the garden represents the shift of eras. Namely, it portrays the transition from Classicism to Romanticism:

Since comprehending scientific concepts can sometimes be difficult, Stoppard aids his audience's understanding by paralleling the shift in the scientific paradigm to the analogous transition from Classicism to Romanticism. Here, Classicism metaphorically corresponds to Newtonian science and Romanticism to deterministic chaos. In the play, these artistic movements are embodied in the landscape gardening of the Croom family home. (Fleming, 2013, p. 7)

The authority of both teachers, as well as the classroom setting, greatly differ in *Comedians* and *Arcadia*. However, both teachers are particularly different because Waters seems to be a very confident teacher, while Septimus is described as a doubtful one. He does not lead Thomasina into any serious systematic work, as Waters does with his comedians and teaching drills. When Septimus tries to correct Thomasina's mistakes, it becomes obvious that he does not understand Thomasina's equation (Aparicio, 2003, p. 14). Thomasina may be a bright pupil, and one willing to learn and question the world, yet in her garden-like classroom, she is still relying on her mentor. At the beginning of *Arcadia* Thomasina openly explains to Septimus: "If you do not teach me the true meaning of things, who will?" (Aparicio, 2003, p. 7).

Griffiths's and Stoppard's teachers likewise differ on the notion of providing answers for their respective students. Namely, Griffiths's Eddie Waters is rather willing to provide his students with answers, while Stoppard's Septimus is constantly reluctant to give answers, if he has any, because he is either reading letters or attending to other things. Thomasina literally 'lives' in her classroom from the age of thirteen to seventeen under Septimus's tutelage. It is in the classroom that she explores elements such as Fermat's theorem, sexual enquiries, piano lessons, Latin translations and philosophical speculations (Aparicio, 2003, p. 15). Although Septimus is a reluctant teacher, he is still someone who helps Thomasina explore not just the educational process but the world itself. Just as Eddie Waters tries to teach his comedians respect and self-respect, Septimus contributes to Thomasina's 'general' education which extends beyond the traditionally prescribed roles of schooling. School and education do not serve as synonyms in Stoppard's drama. The prescribed roles of schooling are just some of the forms where education in itself is obtained. Young Thomasina enquires about the 'carnal embrace' and she is willing to actually understand the meaning behind the phrase. Septimus explains the meaning in clinical terms by explaining the following: "Carnal embrace is sexual congress, which is the insertion of the male genital organ into the female genital organ for purposes of procreation and pleasure" (Stoppard, 2008, p. 7). Such a clinical definition removes the sense of human intimacy and the mystery of human sexual relations. Thus, it becomes apparent that "whenever the characters try to fix and understand reality, whether it be through the use of language, through the use of narratives designed to control and explain their

experiences, or through the study of science, they discover that life is not so easily confined and defined" (Fleming, 2013, p. 6). Nonetheless, Septimus's explanation of the 'carnal embrace' may be overly scientific, yet it is still truthful. The pupil-teacher relationship should be based on truth. Thomasina's outburst is particularly noticeable when she realises that her tutor deceived her on the subject of the 'Cleopatra translation'. She calls him a cheat, however this can be attributed to her young age and immaturity (Aparicio, 2003, p. 14). Thomasina in tears of rage yells at Septimus: "I hope you die!" (Stoppard, 2008, p. 43). Stoppard presents childish rage and selfishness, further showing how even a brilliant and aspiring student is still a young child.

Stoppard's characters, both those in the early nineteenth century, as well as those characters placed within the contemporary setting, want to comprehend the world through education and science. Thomasina, Septimus, and Valentine pursue knowledge through science, whereas Hannah and Bernard represent the arts and humanities: "Thomasina intuits the shortcomings of the Newtonian model; Septimus is perplexed and made skeptical by her theorems; and Valentine is a working chaotician. In contrast, Hannah and Bernard are more "scientific" in their outlook and approach" (Fleming, 2013, p. 9). Hannah and Bernard portray a contemporary form of scientific research, however regardless of the period, Stoppard depicts many of his characters in their quest and strenuous effort to obtain good education, information and knowledge. The aforementioned student-teacher relationship exemplifies Stoppard's portrayal of problems, as well as benefits of learning which might be manifested on the path of achieving satisfactory erudition. In this case, the problems are represented in various ways. There are problems in acquiring knowledge and skills, problems of student-tutor relationships, but also problems which depict differences between schooling and education. Stoppard dramatises the complexities of the learning process and at the same time the playwright also shows how drama itself is able to recreate various educational issues which may arise between the student and the tutor.

Conclusion

This paper analysed the manner in which Trevor Griffiths and Tom Stoppard masterfully dramatise the theme of education in their respective plays, namely *Comedians* and *Arcadia*. In the case of *Comedians*, the topic of education revolves

around five working-class male adults who attend a course on stand-up comedy taught by Eddie Waters. In *Arcadia*, the topic of education is dramatised through the relationship between Septimus and Thomasina in the early nineteenth century. The paper addressed the roles of teachers in both dramas, as well as the manner in which both humour and science are explored and questioned respectively.

The first section of the paper focused primarily on Griffiths' *Comedians*. The section examined the return of adults to school in the post-war period in Britain. Also, the paper examined the role of Waters who tries to teach his adult students the art of stand-up comedy. The paper furthermore analysed Waters's eagerness to provide answers for his students, as well as the fact that he is perceived as a particularly skilful teacher by some of his pupils. Waters tries to teach his students far more than the art of telling jokes, because he addresses some of the more subtle aspects of humour, but in his approach Waters also helps the aspiring comedians open up to self-improvement. The deteriorating classroom is also analysed, because the classroom setting depicts the gloomy school atmosphere and because Waters's classroom is the place where the comedians spend most of their time during the play. The characters and the setting actually help the plot express itself fully.

The discussion then shifted to Stoppard's *Arcadia* and the section described education in Stoppard's play, predominantly through the prism of Septimus and his young pupil. The paper explored the manner in which the teacher and his bright student discuss science and the fact that Thomasina also discovers particular imperfections in Newtonian laws. The discussion juxtaposed Waters and Thomasina's teacher as two very different types of tutors, due to the fact that Septimus holds little authority over his own pupil. While Waters attempts to teach his students the role of humour, Septimus is also portrayed as trying to teach Thomasina the basic function of the 'carnal embrace', that is to say sexual intercourse. Lastly, the section addressed the manner in which Stoppard portrayed several characters, in different time-frames. Ergo, Hannah and Bernard present a contemporary academic discourse, while Thomasina and Septimus question scientific laws which would help develop science and education later in the future. Both plays while portraying the dramatisation of education show the reality behind the socio-economic aspect of England, particularly expressed in *Comedians*. Moreover, the two plays indicate that

the process of education touches the lives of both students and their teachers. In fact, young pupils or adult students, as well as their tutors, never actually cease to learn something new. Education entwines both sides, whereby Waters and Septimus learn a lot from their respective students and vice versa. In fact, it should be noted, that real teachers actually never stop learning, in a way, they always remain pupils of their own students. The true form of education and learning exists everywhere, even outside the traditional classroom setting, and suffice it to say, the two aforementioned plays brilliantly exemplify the meaning of education through the prism of drama and theatre.

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REVIEW PAPER

THE PAN-SLAV BROTHERHOOD: RELATIONS BETWEEN RUSSIA AND THE SOUTHERN ORTHODOX SLAVS

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ABSTRACT

The national awakening of the Southern Slavs resulted in the concurrent rise of distinct national identities, on the one hand, and the collective perception of the need for pan-Slav unity, on the other. Their distant 'kin'—tsarist Russia—was also embroiled in two opposing approaches to the issue: pro-Europeanism and pan-Slavism, of whom the latter envisaged a Russian-led pan-Slavic federation. Although of cultural characteristics, the pan-Slav movement became political as Russia sought to increase its dominance in the Balkans. By stoking a common identity, increasing groupness, and propagating rhetoric of 'us versus them,' Russia attempted to gain leverage over its Southern Slav brethren; however, the movement saw its ultimate decline with the dissolution of both Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union. Nevertheless, the question remains whether the appeals to pan-Slav symbols and ideas espouse a greater feeling of groupness among Russia and Bosnia and Herzegovina today. To answer this question, a theoretical framework of constructivism and symbolic politics theory is employed, with content analysis and review of the relevant literature as the analytical method.

Keywords: pan-Slavism; political psychology; Russia; Orthodoxy; myths and symbols



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Introduction

Often seen as a counter-argument to liberalism and realism, by challenging the very core of what the former take as given, such as the meaning of anarchy, the role of the states or agents' roles within structures, constructivism emphasizes how practices, rules, and norms constitute and reconstitute the meaning of not just the abovementioned concepts but social reality as a whole (Flockhart, 2016). Through the constructivist approach to fundamental principles in international relations (IR), such as anarchy, the balance of power, national interest, etc., one can begin to notice the additions of this theoretical paradigm to the broad field of IR. Understood by many as the absence of an overarching authority with a special ability to reinforce agreements and solve disputes—which compels states to the threat or use of force—anarchy in the international arena is redefined and reinterpreted by constructivists to become something what states make of it, as opined by Wendt (1992). As the dominant theoretical approaches of realism and liberalism were failing to properly ascertain and describe post-Cold War developments, and as argued by Flockhart (2016), constructivism brought several important insights aimed at filling the gaps of previous theories; however, one should not conflate constructivism as an inherently and merely antagonistic approach to realism and liberalism. It, in fact, acknowledges multiple aspects of both “lenses” as it properly understands that, for example, anarchy can nevertheless be conflictual or competitive, but the main difference is that it leaves space for construction and the occurrence of anarchy based on cooperation as well (Flockhart, 2016).

That is, constructivism takes into account the changing nature of the international environment, especially by placing an emphasis on actors (instead of mere structures) who can construct (shape) their realities in significant ways through the meaning they ascribe to the objects (or other actors) they interact with (Flockhart, 2016). Therefore, the meaning attributed to various objects and concepts influences the way in which those who are in the position to attribute such meanings in the first place behave (Bećirović & Akbarov, 2015). Also referred to as social constructivism, this approach allows us to view the world as being in a constant state of flux, rather than the mere fixedness of unchangeable factors—the material structure (Theys, 2018). On the contrary, the ideational structure, constructivists argue, is what gives meaning to this material reality; that is, a common understanding

or shared knowledge ascribes meaning valid in certain socially-created contexts (Theys, 2018).

Social construction, the ascription of ideational meaning to material factors, and the focus on the identity of actors in the international arena are the key components of the constructivist approach to foreign policy analysis (Barnett, 2014). What is crucial are actors' understandings of themselves and their position in the world, which is influenced by things such as symbols, language, rules, categories (Sinanović & Bećirović, 2016), and so on. It is precisely this that can explain why actors sometimes don't pursue the most rational of choices (if we measure rationality by what produces the most utility), as the same actors consider their identity and what is most coherent with it, so as not to pursue actions which would be considered as outside of 'who they are.' Thereby, actors can be a great source of change; however, at the same time, adhering to what is 'expected' of them—the reproduction of certain behavior—is what gives primacy and power to structures into which actors are socialized (Barnett, 2014).

In terms of actors' identities, Brubaker and Cooper (2000) define identity as both a practical and analytical category, which is practiced by actors on a daily basis to “make sense of themselves” and, for example, in situations when politicians try to elicit a certain way of understanding related to the identity of their constituents. Furthermore, identity is a collective phenomenon that indicates ‘sameness’ among one group, which in return, can heighten the feelings of solidarity hence a stronger inclination for collective action (Brubaker & Cooper, 2000). A more nuanced understanding of identity was required to make sense of this category; therefore, the alternatives such as commonalities, connectedness, and groupness were put forth which better explain identity as a variable on a spectrum that can be heightened or lowered through particular efforts (Brubaker & Cooper, 2000). Sharing a common attribute such as religious affiliation; relational ties among a group of people such as geographic location; as well as the sense of belonging to one group can, hereby, help understand actors' identities in a nuanced manner.

Nevertheless, as foreign policy is aimed at understanding why certain actions are pursued over others by relevant stakeholders, it is an imperative to focus on a number of factors including but not limited to the influences on the psychological and cognitive state of decision-makers (Hudson,

2014). Here, both the affect theory and symbolic politics theory (although mostly employed to describe causes of ethnic violence), can be instrumental; however, the focus is on the latter. Namely, Kaufman (2001) proposed the so-called myth-symbol complex where myths held as true by large groups of people, alongside symbols that serve as “emotionally charged shorthand reference . . .” constitute the ultimate meaning ascribed to events, identities, and concepts (Kaufman, 2001, p. 16). Here, intellectuals and elites come into the picture as those who work on this myth-symbol complex; they search for folk stories and legends which would fit the present needs around which a group of people would be organized. “. . . the point of invoking the symbol is usually to express, to communicate, or to evoke. . . emotions, such as pride or a sense of national grievance, associated with the myth” (Kaufman, 2001, p. 16). Interrelated myths and symbols form a web spun over the actors to whom they appeal.

Building on these arguments is the work of Geertz (1973), who related this web of symbols to culture. The initial point is that culture is a public phenomenon that doesn’t exist only in the heads of the people but is manifested in their public behaviors which need to be subsequently analyzed in terms of their meaning (Geertz, 1973). In this web of norms and symbols prescribed by a specific culture, humans, who are endowed with the capacity to “live a thousand lives” end up living only one (since culture is a program of behavior); it narrows down the possible ways in which a group of people views themselves and the world around them (Geertz, 1973, p. 45). This is so precisely because people internalize and self-identify with these cultural symbols and norms which include the language they speak, the music they listen to, the clothes they wear, and the gestures they make (Bećirović, 2012). Therefore, although equipped with the potential for change and action, actors are nevertheless guided by this structural component which allows them to fully function in a complex world filled with various forms of social organization.

The development of pan-Slavism

In 19th century Europe, with the rise of nationalism, a sentiment of groupness between people of similar language and approximate geographical location started to arouse in the Balkans. Following the early writings of a Ragusan chronicler, Mavro Orbini, and his thought that Southern Slavs are a “single people” with a common language, al-

beit, with different dialects, an increasing number of intellectuals and writers came to ascertain this idea more than 300 years later (Stergar, 2017). Foundations were laid down by figures such as Ljudevit Gaj and Vuk Stefanović Karadžić back in the early 1800s, who held that a common language was the main prerequisite for a nation and that linguistic understanding was of utmost importance for fellow members of one group. In light of this, an agreement between the three peoples—Slovenes, Croats, and Serbs—was signed in 1850, Vienna, thus adopting Serbo-Croatian as their language under their respective empires (Trgovčević, 2016).

Adopting the theoretical framework from above, the key moment here is that the intellectuals and elites were the ones who embraced the pan-Slav movement, both in the Balkans but also in East Europe (Poland and Russia). This is not by coincidence; rather, as Kaufman (2001) describes it, elites often have a leading role in forming ethnic nations, as they are the final profitters of such efforts (Kaufman, 2001). Oftentimes, it is them who posit themselves as the leaders of the masses with appeals to various myths, symbols, and other concepts which arouse emotions in those whom they lead, but frequently for the sake of their selfish needs. Language, as the greatest set of symbols (Dervić & Bećirović, 2019; Yaman & Bećirović, 2016), was utilized as increasing the level of groupness of Southern Slavs. Even though they had distinct self-understanding, Brubaker and Cooper (2000) would argue that, due to the external identification as part of a pan-Slav movement and, later on, a community, the people began to internalize these symbols to a point where their self-understandings of began to change. “External categorizations . . . may be decisive in determining how one is regarded and treated by others [and] in shaping one’s own understanding of oneself” (Brubaker & Cooper, 2000, p. 15).

With this in mind, among the Southern Slav groups, various undertakings for unification started to unfold: Croats aimed to unite all Croatians under one unit to be recognized by Austria and Hungary. Realizing that in the *Sabor*—the parliament of Croatia under Hungarian occupation—Hungarians were exerting their interests at the expense of the Croatian minority, the idea of commonness of Southern Slavs was set in motion by a bishop, Josip Juraj Strossmayer, and a historian, Franjo Rački, who asserted that Serbs and Croats were a common people referred to by different names (Trgovčević, 2016). On the other hand, pan-Slav ideas in Serbia were

advanced and collected by František Zach, whose work served as the inspiration for a document produced by the former Prime Minister of Serbia, Ilija Garašanin who envisaged the liberation and unification of all Serbs in *Načertanije*—the blueprint for the creation of Great Serbia (Hadžiabdić et al., 2013). In the lead-up to the Great War, there were two adversary forces among the Southern Slavs. The dominant one aimed to assert separate national identities of these people against the occupying forces, hence why the Serbs aimed at uniting all Serbs; the Croats requested the unification of the Kingdom of Dalmatia and Croatia, whilst the Slovenes went under a cultural awakening which brought Slovenian language into their schools (Hadžiabdić et al., 2013).

The other of the two forces was the pro-unification of the “same people with three names” (Trgovčević, 2016). At the proclamation of war in 1914, one of the ways in which Serbia veiled its war goals, was under the pretext of the South Slavic brotherhood of Croatia, Slavonia, Serbia, and Bosnia, which was to be subsequently liberated. Not long after that, ideas of a common state of the aforementioned ‘kin’ were found in different authors’ pieces, of which Jovan Cvijić’s *Jedinstvo Jugoslovena*, produced a geographic map of the soon-to-be Yugoslav (Yug – south) state (Trgovčević, 2016). This is another valuable moment, as the map can be interpreted as a tool that shaped the imagination of Southern Slavs, as it is a symbolic representation of “the antiquity of specific, tightly bounded territorial units” (Anderson, 1983, p. 175). The second purpose of a map is that it gives meaning to geographical features, such as rivers, mountains, and plains, which become regarded as “ours.” In the words of Benedict Anderson, the map can “penetrate[d] deep into the popular imagination, forming a powerful emblem. . .” (Anderson, 1983, p. 175).

Additionally, international efforts were made to spread the pan-Slav efforts, with their institutionalization in 1915 when representatives of the Serb and Croat communities founded the Yugoslav Committee in Paris. Although not without difficulties, their endeavor came to fruition in July 1917, when the Corfu Declaration was signed, signifying a common future—the establishment of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes—which would be a parliamentary monarchy recognizing the three peoples but also reconciling the two dominant forces: self-determination of each of the peoples (which included the equalization of the two scripts, calendars, and the three religions), and the unification of Southern Slavs (Hadžiabdić et al., 2013). The Yugoslav efforts

were seen as successful in the overall pan-Slav movement, even though such failed to encompass fellow Bulgarians, let alone establish a political unit stretching further to other ‘Slav lands’ (Dobbeleer, 2020).

The counterparts to the Southern Slavic brotherhood were the Polish and Russian pan-Slavs, although with different interpretations of how the unification of their people should come about. Whilst the former possessed the intellectual, linguistic, and cultural properties of advancing the idea of a union, the latter had an advantage in terms of the material means of exercising their vision of what a pan-Slav union (or federation) should look like. This led to the immediate clash between the two; however, it was clear that the Russian Empire posited itself as the leader and the center of pan-Slavism (Nowak, 1996). Despite the fact that it was never pursued as an official foreign policy aim by Russia, it did comprise an element of the Russian view of itself, especially as a protector of the Orthodox Slavs from the Ottomans (Kohn, 1960). This echoed in the works of famous Russian writers at the time, who discussed the bond by ‘blood’ (Slavism) and the religious bond (the Orthodox faith) between the Southern, Central, and Eastern European Slavs (Kohn, 1960).

Other authors wrote of the pan-Slavic discourse, largely driven by Russian pan-Slavists and, later, Slavophiles, who based their view of the brotherhood along the lines of cultural and religious affinity (Dialla, 2009). It is indisputable that a pan-Slav awakening was on the horizon; however, by taking on an increasingly political character without a firm base, it resulted in a less-than-widespread adoption among both the Russian and the South Slavic people. In tsarist Russia, the pan-Slav discourse remained within the circle of philosophers and authors such as Nikolai Yakovlevich Danilevskii, Fyodor Mikhailovich Dostoevskii, and such who wrote of the pan-Slav Orthodox unification, whilst Russian diplomats and foreign-policy makers saw it as misguided, favoring the preserving of the status quo (Gülseven, 2016). What was a political reality of the time, and what served as a buttress of the pan-Slavic thought, was that both the Southern Slavs and Russians were either governed by or surrounded by non-Slavic, European, and Turkish empires alike (Gülseven, 2016).

According to Dialla (2009), one faction of the Russian foreign policy stakeholders, the Slavophiles, not only framed their ambitions in a some-

what messianic discourse of supranational spiritual solidarity based on the Orthodox faith, but they also saw the management of the so-called Eastern Question—who gets to control former Ottoman territories—in pan-Slav terms. Mainly, the liberation of all Slavic peoples would come about by the ultimate fall of both the Austro-Hungarian and Ottoman empires, whose Southern European territories would come under the control of the Russian empire (Dialla, 2009). This, but also the work of Gülseven (2016), showcases that Russia's primary ambition was to proliferate its influence in the Balkans and the means of achieving its ends were, among others, the use of pan-Slavism, the Orthodox faith, and the myths, legends, and symbols of the two. It is reiterated on this occasion that the Russian pan-Slavism was a cultural phenomenon, offering a spiritual awakening for the Russian identity, juxtaposed to the material supremacy of Western Europe at the time. Gülseven (2016) states that pan-Slavism was "not a political but a purely cultural phenomenon . . . which had two fundamental aspects: Pravoslavie (Orthodox Christianity) and Slavdom (union of Slavic people)" (Gülseven, 2016, p. 335).

Furthermore, Gülseven (2016), adds that, due to a change in the Russian foreign policy approach after the defeat in the Crimean War (1853–56), pan-Slavism was advanced by the means of public diplomacy and institutionally through the Slavic Benevolent Committee. The former is related to the work of the Russian ambassador to Constantinople, N.P. Ignatiev, who adopted a novel strategy centered on reversing the losses of the 1856 Paris Treaty through informal and direct meetings with Ottoman officials (Gülseven, 2016). Even though the Russian Foreign Minister, Gorchakov, favored the Concert of Europe, Ignatiev oftentimes pursued policy contrary to the official aims of Russia, as he perceived that the Western powers were "trying to isolate Russia by forming an anti-Russian coalition" (Gülseven, 2016, p. 337). At this point, the pan-Slav efforts became strictly political, as Ignatiev saw it as fitting that the Southern Slavs should pursue a revolt according to the Russian interests, thus placing his brothers into a position of mere objects.

The institutional materialization of pan-Slavism came about by generous financial donations, exchange of students, support for newspapers disseminating pan-Slavic propaganda, and the establishment of profound connections between the intellectual elite, which allowed the Slavic Benevolent Committee (Russian handmaiden) to add to the Russian political weight in the Balkans (Gülseven,

2016). Not only were exchange students monitored in terms of their support for Russian political presence after their arrival to their home states, but the Russian language was brought among the official correspondence between the Southern Slavs and the Committee, as well. In a way, this was an attempt at Russification rather than pan-Slav unity; however, it was framed to make it seem like the latter through appeals to ancient historical myths and legends, religious affiliation, and the fact that there was a common threat to both Southern Slavs (in terms of their aspirations for self-determination), and Russians (declining power and prestige after the Crimean War losses) (Gülseven, 2016).

What is important to underline here is the combination of rationalist as well as the approaches of symbolic politics in the explanation of the directions taken by Ignatiev and his contemporaries. Namely, it was rational for Russia to preserve the status quo and focus on internal issues, such as rebuilding the economy and improving its material capabilities following the Crimean War. Nevertheless, as Kaufman (2001) asserts, rationalist approaches, in terms of pursuing security and the highest level of utility, simply cannot account for certain events. Therefore, by adding symbolic political explanations, we see that sometimes symbols and stories are used to increase the levels of groupness, following mythical narratives which claim superiority of that group over others—which was highly present in pan-Slav discourse. Furthermore, since people have unstable opinions (Rizvić & Bećirović, 2017) and, in cases where a rational decision (the conduct of a cost vs. benefit analysis) comes second, due to the prevalence of emotions aroused by the myth-symbol complex, it is relatively easy to see how actions that aren't the most rational could be pursued (Kafuman, 2001). The only caveat here is that Kaufman (2001) directs his theory towards conflict and dissolution, but the argument here is that appeals to myths, symbols, and fears can be utilized for the purposes of increasing groupness and promoting unity, although with varying degrees of success.

Pan-Slavism today

The movement saw its rise concurrent with the 19th-century European revolution and managed to proliferate across the southern and eastern parts of the continent, short of being taken upon as the official foreign policy of the self-proclaimed leader—the Russian Empire (Kohn, 1960). A

bright moment in pan-Slav history was the Yugoslav creation of a common state for the three peoples under one flag. Nonetheless, not only did the units of 'pan-Slavs' collapse at the turn of the 20th century but, during the last years of the movement, it was subsumed within a kind of 'pan-Russism' which didn't enjoy a wide audience (Kohn, 1960). The collapse of Yugoslavia itself can be attributed to the elites' pursuit of diverging narratives, symbols, and myths which cultivated stronger distinct national identities, and, once the environment was ripe for conflict, en-masse mobilization ensued; as put forth by Kaufman (2001).

In contemporary times, one simply doesn't get to hear a lot about pan-Slavism. Firstly, the languages have become increasingly impossible to be understood by the different Slavic peoples, making this argument irrelevant to any appeals to pan-Slav unity. Secondly, although the Eastern European, Slavic states share common state symbols such as their flags and coat of arms, there doesn't exist either literature or discourse aiming at the unification of the different nation-states; the movement merely saw its demise in the 20th century, and its utility can be seen in explaining the 19th-century Russo-Turkish relations, especially the Russian policy towards the Slavic subjects of the latter. Nevertheless, in today's state flags, we can observe the blue, white, and red pan-Slav colors as with Russia or Serbia (Dobbeleer, 2020). However, what has to be added is the increased use of the Christian Orthodox symbols during the conduct of official state relations as well as military parades.

For example, in Bosnia and Herzegovina (B&H), the Bosnian Serbs, adherents of the Orthodox faith, have employed religious symbols, songs, and folk stories during the celebration of Republika Srpska Day (Mišljenović & Matavulj, 2022). Proclaimed unconstitutional, the Day was celebrated and attended by top-ranking officials and politicians not just from the B&H's entity but also from other countries; most notably the Russian ambassador to B&H. Interestingly, among the attendees and those marching were other groups from Russia, carrying the Russian, Serbian, and the flag of Republika Srpska; all three colored in white, red, and blue. Religious figures and symbols were also noticeable. The patriarch Porfirije performed a liturgy on the unconstitutional Independence Day, which is considered the beginning of the 1992-1995 war in Bosnia and Herzegovina by its other two ethnonational groups (Veselinović & Katić, 2022). In contrast, this didn't stop the Bosnian Serbs and their supporters from

placing religious symbols on army vehicles, performing a mass, or singing religious songs for "the Orthodox cross" (Mišljenović & Matavulj, 2022).

Special icons were also created entailing religious and map symbols, which most certainly increased the groupness of this part of the B&H population (BL Portal, 2020). Among the pro-Russian club called Night Wolves—which has been under the eye of state institutions and the United States for corruption—were members associated with the Russian President, Vladimir Putin, who stated that they support their fellow Orthodox brothers and that, in fighting off enemies from Republika Srpska, they are ready to fight "to blood" (BIRN BIH, 2022). In their interview for another media outlet, they claimed that they respect and nurture the Orthodox faith and the freedom of the Orthodox Serbs living in B&H (RTRS, 2021); thus, it is illustrative of the power the Christian Orthodox symbols have even today if such can mobilize groups of people to travel across the continent in support of an unconstitutional ceremony. Although there are some traces of pan-Slav symbols, they have, however, been subsumed by particular ethnonational and religious symbols, which are more reflective of the recent past in the Balkans (the dissolution of Yugoslavia), which does not go against the omnipresent power of the Orthodox faith.

Conclusion

For concluding remarks, we can gauge what the pan-Slav movement has become. Simply put, it was—and it is—nothing more than an attempt of the intellectual elites to mobilize a movement that was to serve their interests, thus further propelling them into power, with an extreme emphasis on the Russophile pan-Slavs. This is an important conclusion to be made, as it proves the two-way power of symbolic politics: the myth-symbol complex and appeal to emotions can serve to increase the levels of commonness among people, but it can also be utilized to create divisions, differences, and to extrapolate them onto the wider population. It is precisely the Russian pan-Slav elites who saw it as only fair that Russia be the bearer of the movement as a whole. In this way, the broad appeals to myths, symbols, and religion served as the ultimate vehicles for their goals and, in a particular manner, an opportunity to increase the level of three variables that Brubaker and Cooper (2000) say constitute identity: groupness, commonality, and commonness. Moreover, if we are to follow Kaufman (2001),

pan-Slavism would be nothing more than a failed attempt at 19th-century nationalism, for the awakening of which, the elites and intellectuals were instrumental.

Taking this into consideration, we reach a point of certainty that one of the primary reasons why pan-Slavism, as a movement for unity stretching across Eastern, Central, and Southern Europe, didn't quite come to fruition. It is due to the lack of proper common myths and symbols to be appealed to and to be disseminated by mentioned actors. If following this technique of espousing a form of nationalism, the elites have to bridge the gap between history and mythology abundant in symbols that provide answers to current challenges and needs. This was too cumbersome for pan-Slavs as neither geography, lack of linguistic understanding, different material structures, as well as lack of evidence of a common history didn't produce enough of a spark for mobilization.

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ORIGINAL RESEARCH PAPER

THE ANALYSIS OF THE COVID-19 RELATED ANGLICISMS IN THE BOSNIAN LANGUAGE – THE STUDY OF PANDEMIJA, INFEKCIJA, LOKDAUN, KARANTIN, KLASER, SOCIJALNA DISTANCA, AND VAKCINA

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ABSTRACT

The prevalence of English as a global language has been mirrored in various domains of life. The latest testimony to its pervasive influence on other languages is finely portrayed through the case of coronavirus that blindsided the world recently. The disease has led to certain English words being used so often that they have become an integral part of everyday vocabulary in many languages and thus in the Bosnian language. The present quantitative research paper considers the frequency of usage and knowledge of the original form and meaning of English words related to the current pandemic used as Anglicisms in the Bosnian language. Respondents of different demographic backgrounds have reported infrequent use of these Anglicisms during and before the pandemic. Moreover, it has been reported that their knowledge of the English written form of these Anglicisms is more significant than their knowledge of their Bosnian translations/synonyms. The results indicated that Covid-19-related Anglicisms are characteristic of speakers of all ages, genders, and English-proficiency backgrounds.

Keywords: language, anglicisms, Coronavirus, pandemic, the Bosnian Language



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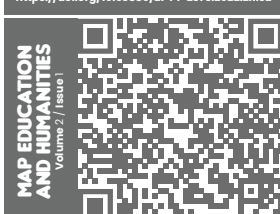
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Introduction

Since the Covid-19¹ pandemic² emerged, the world has faced colossal changes. Usual ways of working, studying, or trading have been replaced by new ones, mostly remotely or home-based, which is a shift that seems to have been successfully accepted and integrated into society. Such alterations have been traced in languages as well. New, or not earlier used, words and expressions related to the ongoing Covid-19 pandemic, such as *lockdown*, *vaccine*, or *social distance*, have become an integral part of the everyday vocabulary of languages worldwide, and new neologisms are being coined as fast as ever before. The Bosnian language, as well, is not an exception. The global disease has promoted certain English words in the Bosnian language into well-accepted, commonly used, and well-understood internationalisms that everyone understands.

The authors of this paper have noticed English-originated words explored in this study as being used frequently in the media (television programs and online and printed press) and everyday speech among the general population in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Therefore, the present research paper aims at investigating Covid-19-related Anglicisms (*pandemic*, *virus*, *vaccine*, *cluster*, *quarantine*, *infection*, *social distance*) in the Bosnian language, taking into primary consideration their frequency of usage, knowledge of their original form, and their translation into the Bosnian language. Some of the words are not necessarily new pandemic terms since they were used in the Bosnian language before the outburst of the pandemic, but it is generally believed that their popularization began with the pandemic as they were reintroduced for specific communicative/social context (Al-Salman & Haider, 2021).

Thus, drawing on the quantitative analysis of the most popular English-originated terms related to the still ongoing Covid-19 pandemic, the present study seeks to emphasize the importance of research about Anglicisms, considering contemporary issues in the field of contacts between languages. Through such an approach, the study attempts to confirm the assumption that there is a tendency of frequent occurrences of Anglicisms in the Bosnian language from various domains,

especially pandemic-related ones, and that Bosnian speakers show a significant level of knowledge and understanding of Anglicisms, as well as a positive attitude towards them. In previous research in the Bosnian language, Anglicisms have been analyzed in the field of music (Kajtažović, 2012), media (Džanić, 2019; Šehović, 2009), politics (Ajšić, 2014), IT technology (Sadiković, 2017). The present study contributes to the overall research on Anglicisms in the Bosnian language and opens up additional questions for analysis in future research.

Given the nature of the study's corpus, which consists of words belonging to the medical field or social sciences in general, it should be emphasized that the term "*Covid-19 terminology*" will not be used, for such a term indicates specialized jargon. Instead, the term "*Covid-19 related terms*" or "*Covid-19 related Anglicisms*" will be used to emphasize the contemporary nature of the analyzed words being used in this context.

Literature review

The inventory of words of one language consists of original words originated in the historical development of language and culture, and loanwords, taken from other languages, which are most often the result of scientific, technological, economic, political, and cultural connections between different nations (Rupenović, 2017). The modern large-scale processes in globalization make these connections more accessible and more prominent. These tectonic movements have also promoted specific values, occupations, and languages globally. Such promotion occurred with the English language as well.

Today, the role of the English language in a global scene is undeniable (Bećirović et al, 2021). Being the most widespread communication tool across the globe, English touches upon all segments of people's daily lives (Crystal, 2003). However, besides the usage of English for international communication, people also use English elements in their native languages. Usually, they do so to name new concepts, to sound pragmatically and economically more convincing, or to appear more sophisticated, educated or to build their image (Onysko & Winter-Froemel, 2011; Knospe, 2015; Bećirović & Akbarov, 2015). This leads to the so-called linguistic borrowing through

- 1 Covid-19 (written either in capital letters – *COVID*, or in lower case – *covid*, or with the first capital and other lower – *Covid*, as will be written here as well)
- 2 For a detailed account of the origin and use of the name Coronavirus (Covid-19) in different languages, see the paper *COVID-19: a metaphor-based neologism and its translation into Arabic* by Haddad Haddad & Montero-Martinez (2020).

which languages adopt new words and enrich and change their own. Words or expressions borrowed or taken from the English language are in linguistics called Anglicisms (Merriam-Webster, n.d.).

Goerlach (2003) defines Anglicism as “a word or idiom that is recognizably English in its form (spelling, pronunciation, morphology, or at least one of the three), but is accepted as an item in the vocabulary of the receptor language” (p. 1). The above definition is the starting point for most authors investigating this topic (Bojčić et al., 2012; Gottlieb & Furiassi, 2015; Wang & Yuan, 2020). It is generally accepted that Anglicism is any English or English-like word that has become domesticated as such in another language. As in many languages, several consequential studies approaching the topic from different perspectives have been conducted in the Bosnian language. Thus, Anglicisms in the media, politics, music, and everyday life have been recognized and studied extensively. Research of text samples from dailies that contain Anglicisms was executed by Lesjak (2013), Šehović (2007), and Šijerkić and Milak (2018). Thus, according to Lesjak (2013), there are many unadapted, original English words in the language of the Croatian media. Journalists use these words to make their articles sound more modern and attractive, and readers read such articles with greater interest, as English is the most popular language of this time. Šehović (2009) made her research on a media-based corpus, specifically on “female magazines” that write about fashion, film, and music and which contain increased use of Anglicisms. Moreover, Anglicisms in the Bosnian press were also investigated by Šijerkić and Milak (2018). Analyzing leading Bosnian electronic newspapers, the authors found out that the written news use many English words that are officially not part of the Bosnian language, concluding that “people who write news adopt English words and spell them in the way they are pronounced in the Bosnian language” (p. 36). Furthermore, Ajšić (2014) investigated Anglicisms in political discourse, while Adilović (2017) focused on Anglicisms in the legal profession. On the other hand, Kajtazović (2012) investigated Anglicisms’ appearance in the scope of music. Aiming to show that there are currently a large number of loanwords in the field of music, the author states that borrowing from the English language in the field of music is on an upward trajectory. In addition to the above, Anglicisms in the Bosnian language were also researched by Hadžić (2010), Dubravac (2016), Sadiković (2017), Skopljak and Dubravac (2019), Džanić (2019).

The topic of anglicisms was also explored through attitudes towards them. Research has shown that attitudes towards Anglicisms can be both positive and negative. The study results confirm the findings of positive attitudes towards Anglicisms on the one hand (e.g., Čirić-Duvnjak, 2013; Prantl, 2018; Šehović, 2009) and do not confirm the findings of negative attitudes on the other hand (e.g., Jódar Sánchez & Tuomainen, 2014, Schreiber, 2006, as cited in Gerwens, 2017). However, in the analysis of attitudes towards Anglicisms, it is essential to emphasize the functionalist attitude advocated by many authors (e.g., Čoralić & Šehić, 2014; Skopljak & Dubravac, 2019), which accentuates that attitudes do not have to be exclusively positive or negative, but that their analysis should look whether they are useful for the language, whether they enrich it or their use impoverishes the borrowing language.

However, research on Coronavirus disease-related terms or Corona-Anglicisms is new in this linguistic research as the pandemic itself is a recent phenomenon. However, the topic is highly relevant primarily because the globally widespread pandemic forced many daily routines, such as business, education, or trade, into an online mode, through the Internet and modern technologies (Bećirović et al, 2022). Consequently, given that the technologies and the Internet are mainly in English, it can easily be assumed that the English terms and expressions are used and exchanged as never before. In this regard, Roig-Marin (2020) names new terms related to the Coronavirus as *coroneologisms* or *coronacoinages*, referring to new lexical formations and blends such as *covidiot* (anyone who ignores health advice and cause risk), *covidials* and *coronials* (referring to babies born in the late 2020s), or *covidivores* (divorces during the present pandemic). There is also a newly introduced term *covidisms* that refers to all new words coined in the pandemic (Thorne, 2020), but not only new words and coinages are the source of Covid-19 vocabulary. Apart from the novel ones, plenty of previously existing Anglicisms in many languages have become associated with the pandemic once it started and, thus, catapulted into common usage. Such Anglicisms are *lockdown*, *social distance*, *infection*, and so on.

As stated in the introduction, the Anglicisms under the present research’s consideration have been used previously in the Bosnian language but have not been exclusively linked to this very context or the topic. However, some interesting investigations have already been conducted in various other languages delving into more detail in this particular topic. For example, in the article “Anglicisms

and Italian Equivalents in the Era of Covid- 19: A Corpus-Based Study of Lockdown, (Capuzzo, 2020), the author tackles this topic, but only through the analysis of Anglicism *lockdown*. By following Italian dailies, the author intended to check the frequency and the way of the usage of this Anglicism in comparison with its Italian equivalent and found that this Anglicism is used primarily concerning the pandemic, referring to all connotations it has in the pandemic situation, such as movement limitations and physical distancing. Apart from that work, other authors explored the topic. For example, in his paper “The linguistic landscape of the coronavirus crisis in foreign language didactics by using the example of German”, Kuše (2021) found that the pandemic has contributed to the enrichment of the vocabulary and changed linguistic landscape. Moreover, an interesting and comprehensible overview of Covid-19 neologisms was done recently by Al-Salman and Haider (2021) who investigated ten word-formation processes caused by Covid-19-related terms. Taking into consideration coinages, affixation, compounding, blending, clipping, backformation, borrowing, abbreviation, acronyms, and folk etymology the authors concluded that at all these levels Covid-19 has brought significant linguistic changes (p. 35).

Additionally, by analyzing books, social media and news, Nabila and Abdulrahman also found that 19 new English words were created during COVID-19 (2021). In addition, some authors (Lawson, 2020; Mahdawi, 2020; Thorne, 2020) have been creating news and blogs commenting on the same topic, and even an MA thesis has been written on the topic (Schiavon, 2021). Nevertheless, this topic is still in its infancy and is underrepresented apart from these works. To the authors’ best knowledge, such investigations have not been conducted yet in the Bosnian nor in the regional languages, and thus the present research is the first of such kind here, which showcases its enormous significance.

Taking into consideration that the present study includes 8 Anglicisms related to Covid-19 pandemic (those are *pandemic-pandemija*, *infection-infekcija*, *lockdown-lokdaun*, *quarantine-karantin*, *cluster-klaster*, *social distance-socijalna distanca*, and *vaccine-vakcina*), precise definitions of all of them need to be provided for the later analyses of their meanings, which is set as one of the study’s goals. Table 1 below presents definitions found in the Merriam Webster (Merriam-webster, n.d.) dictionary.

Table 1.
Definitions of Covid-19-related Anglicisms

Anglicism		Definition (Merriam-Webster)
Original	Orthographically adapted	
Pandemic	pandemija	-an outbreak of a disease that occurs over a wide geographic area (such as multiple countries or continents) and typically affects a significant proportion of the population
Infection	infekcija	-the state produced by the establishment of one or more pathogenic agents (such as a bacteria, protozoans, or viruses) in or on the body of a suitable host
Lockdown	lokdaun	-a temporary condition imposed by governmental authorities (as during the outbreak of an epidemic disease) in which people are required to stay in their homes and refrain from or limit activities outside the home involving public contact (such as dining out or attending large gatherings)
Quarantine	karantin	-the period of time during which a person or animal that has a disease or that might have a disease is kept away from others to prevent the disease from spreading
Cluster	klaster	-a larger than expected number of cases of disease (such as leukemia) occurring in a particular locality, group of people, or period of time
Social distance	socijalna distanca	-the avoidance of close contact with other people during the outbreak of a contagious disease in order to minimize exposure and reduce the transmission of infection
Vaccine	vakcina	-a preparation that is administered (as by injection) to stimulate the body’s immune response against a specific infectious agent or disease
Isolation	izolacija	

Moreover, to draw a comparison between English and Bosnian translations of these words, the Bosnian dictionary “Rječnik bosanskog jezika” (Halilović, Palić & Šehović, 2010) was consulted. Definitions of the terms from this dictionary are presented in Table 2 below.

Based on these provided definitions, the responses of the research participants will be compared and analyzed, and therefore it was crucial to present them here, as they will be used as a yardstick for the research. Moreover, alongside the selected definitions, another interesting display will be mentioned in the discussion part.

Table 2.

Bosnian translation of Covid-19-related Anglicisms

Word	Definition from the Bosnian dictionary and English translation	
Pandemija	-vrlo raširena epidemija	-a very widespread epidemic
Infekcija	-prodor zaraznih mikroorganizama u organizam, bolest nastala tim putem, zaraza	-penetration of infectious microorganisms into the organ, a disease caused in this way, infection
Lokdaun	-No entry	-
Karantin	-odvajanje, izolacija bolesnih osoba, životinja ili biljaka, boravak sportista na nekom izoliranom mjestu	-separation, isolation of sick persons, animals or plants, stay of athletes in an isolated place
Klaster	-No entry	-
Socijalna/o	-koji se odnosi na zajednicu, društvo, društveni	-relating to community, society, social
Distanca	-prostorna ili vremenska udaljenost, odmaknutost od nečega, nepristupačnost, rezervisanost, namjerno se ne zbližavati	-spatial or temporal distance, remoteness from something, inaccessibility, reticence, intentionally not getting closer
Vakcina	-sredstvo od umrtvljenih mikroorganizama koje se unosi u organizam da stvori otpornost na određenu vrstu bolesti	-a means of killing microorganisms brought into the body to create resistance to a certain type of disease
Izolacija	-odvojenost, odijeljenost od drugih ljudi, odvajanje bolesnika od zdravih osoba	-separation, separation from other people, separation of the sick from healthy people

Methodology

Participants

A hundred and eleven (111) participants, both males (65, 58.6%) and females (46, 41.4%), all from Bosnia and Herzegovina, took part in the present research. Among the participants, 52 (46.8%), were aged 15-19, 20 (18.0%) aged 20-25, 12 (10.8%) aged 26-30, 17 (15.3%) aged 31-35, and 10 (9.0%) aged above 36. The majority of the participants, precisely 88.3 %, indicated that they could use the English language in speaking and writing, while 11.7 % reported that they could not. Table 3 summarizes participant information.

Table 3.

Descriptive analysis of the participants

	Age					Gender		English proficiency	
	15-19	20-25	26-30	31-35	36 and more	Male	Female	Yes	No
N	52	20	12	17	10	65	46	98	13
%	46.8	18.0	10.8	15.3	9.0	58.6	41.4	88.3	11.7

Instruments

This quantitative study was conducted using a survey method, i.e. a questionnaire. The advantages of quantitative research are that it is “systematic, rigorous, focused, and tightly controlled, involving precise measurement and producing reliable and replicable data” (Dörnyei 2007: 34). The questionnaire consisted of 4 parts: the first part contained demographic characteristics of the participants, which included gender and age, together with an indication of their ability to use the English language in speaking and writing (self-reported proficiency);

the second part consisted of the statements on attitudes towards the English language in general while the third part consisted of the statements on attitudes towards Anglicisms in the Bosnian language; the fourth part contained questions on Anglicisms being investigated in the paper: how often do participants use them, do they know their original English written form and meaning/translation in the Bosnian language, and do they think those Anglicisms were used in the Bosnian language before the pandemic.

The questionnaire was constructed by the authors. Anglicisms were chosen based on the authors' observations of public conversations and media accounts (on-line dailies *Klix.ba*, *RadioSarajevo.ba*, *AlJazeeraBalkans.ba*) on the ongoing pandemic. The proposed Anglicisms were selected by the authors' assumptions that those Anglicisms are uncommonly used in the Bosnian language since the pandemic broke out. The web-based questionnaire was sent directly to the participants' email addresses or their private phone numbers via Viber message and was accessed through the URL.

The initial idea for the investigation is an article on the analysis of Anglicism *lockdown* in the Italian language (Capuzzo, 2020). Based on this, the authors came up with the idea to expand the number of words and consider the most commonly used words from the beginning of the pandemic, mainly concerning words closely related to the pandemic. Since the scope of the authors' research includes both linguistic and extralinguistic types of research, the idea was to analyze several parameters, such as attitudes towards English, knowledge of the original form of English, and their translation and frequency of their use. Finally, reliability and validity tests were performed before the questionnaire was delivered to the respondents.

Procedure

Given the apparent influence of the English language on languages worldwide, and thus on the Bosnian language, the present research aims to investigate the (non)obviousness of the vast influx of English terms/Anglicisms in the Bosnian language. An emphasis is put on the Covid-19-related Anglicisms since it is supposed that the terms related to this pandemic have significantly seized a vast population of Bosnians and Herzegovinians. The aim is to check whether the frequency of usage and knowledge of Anglicisms' original form and meaning is determined by the participants' knowledge and usage of the English language.

Based on the abovementioned aims of the present research, the following research questions are proposed:

RQ1: To what extent do Bosnians use Covid-19-related Anglicisms and do they know their original English form and Bosnian translation?

RQ2: Is there any statistically significant difference between Bosnians' knowledge of the original English written form and translation/explanation of Covid-19-related Anglicisms based on their age, gender, and English language proficiency?

To answer the stated research questions, the following research hypotheses are set:

H1: Bosnian speakers will report a frequent usage of Covid-19-related Anglicisms and a significant level of knowledge of their original English form and Bosnian translation.

H2: There will not be a statistically significant difference between Bosnians' knowledge of the original English written form and translation/explanation of Covid-19-related Anglicisms based on their age, gender, and English language proficiency.

Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS, v. 26) was used to analyze the collected data. The frequencies, means, and standard deviation analyses were obtained for the initial procedures of comparing the data while a one-way Anova was used to test the hypothesized assumptions of differences between the participants' characteristics and certain study goals.

Results

The first research question was concerned with the descriptive analysis of the usage of Covid-19-related Anglicisms, on the knowledge of their original English form and Bosnian translation, and the report of their usage before the Coronavirus pandemic. As for the knowledge of the original English form and Bosnian translation of those Anglicisms, the participants' written responses were checked and graded as either correct (1) or incorrect (2), while for the frequency of usage now and before the pandemic, they were given a three-point Likert scale answer option for each Anglicism. The frequency of their usage now was reported as *always* (1), *sometimes* (2), or *never* (3), while the frequency of their usage before the pandemic was

reported as yes, it was used before (1), no, it was not (2), or yes, but much less (3).

Hence, as displayed in Table 4, the most correctly written Anglicisms in the original English written form were *infekcija* (M=1.07, SD=.26) and *lokdaun* (M=1.07, SD=.46) with 103 correct and only eight incorrect reports, while the least correctly written were *klaster* (M=1.50, SD=.50) with only 56 correct reports and *karantin* (M=1.49, SD=.46) with only 57 correctly written reports. On the other hand, there are significantly fewer accurate translations into Bosnian or synonyms in Bosnian of these anglicisms. Thus, *socijalna distanca* (M=1.66, SD=.47) was reported with the most considerable number of accurate reports (79 correct and 32

incorrect), while the smallest number of accurate reports, only 38, was reported for *lokdaun* (M=1.07, SD=.26). Additionally, while more correct reports in the knowledge of the original English form than for the knowledge of translation were reported for Anglicisms *pandemija*, *infekcija*, *lokdaun*, *socijalna distanca*, *izolacija*, and *vakcina*, Anglicisms *karantin* and *klaster* had an almost equal number of correct answers in both the knowledge of the original English form and the knowledge of translation. Moreover, the biggest difference in the number of correct reports of the knowledge of the original form than for the knowledge of translation is found with Anglicism *lokdaun*. While in the knowledge of the original form, it had 103 correct reports, in the knowledge of the translation, it had only 38.

Table 4.

Descriptive analysis of the knowledge of the original form and translation of Anglicisms and frequency of their usage

	Knowledge of the original form		Knowledge of the translation		Frequency of usage			Was it used before the Covid-19 pandemic		
	Correct	Incorrect	Correct	Incorrect	Always	Sometimes	Never	Yes	No	Yes but much less
Pandemija	91	20	59	52	37	69	5	35	15	61
Mean		1.18		1.47		1.71				2.23
SD		.38		.50		.54				.90
Infekcija	103	8	77	34	49	56	6	85	6	20
Mean		1.07		1.31		1.61				1.41
SD		.46		.46		.59				.78
Lokdaun	103	8	38	73	20	69	22	11	67	33
Mean		1.07		1.66		2.02				2.20
SD		.26		.47		.61				.60
Karantin	57	54	55	56	33	67	11	31	42	38
Mean		1.49		1.50		1.80				2.06
SD		.50		.50		.60				.78
Klaster	56	55	47	64	10	43	58	14	69	28
Mean		1.50		1.58		2.43				2.13
SD		.50		.49		.65				.60
Socijalna distanca	98	13	79	32	29	64	18	25	53	33
Mean		1.12		1.29		1.90				2.07
SD		.32		.45		.64				.72
Izolacija	75	36	58	53	39	67	5	57	17	37
Mean		1.32		1.48		1.69				1.82
SD		.47		.50		.55				.90
Vakcina	87	24	45	66	61	49	1	90	6	15
Mean		1.22		1.59		1.46				1.32
SD		.41		.49		.51				.70

Furthermore, regarding the frequency of usage of these Anglicisms, it was reported that they are not used that much frequently. The most used Anglicism is *vakcina* ($M=1.46$, $SD=.51$) for which 61 respondents reported that they use it always and 49 that they use it sometimes. Contrary, the least used Anglicism is *klaster* ($M=2.43$, $SD=.65$) for which only 10 respondents reported that they use it always, 43 that they use it sometimes, and 58 that they never use it. At the same time, the same or an approximate number of respondents reported that these Anglicisms were used even before the pandemic. Thus, 90 respondents reported that *vakcina* was used before the pandemic while only 14 respondents reported that *klaster* was used before the pandemic.

Taken together, these results indicate that Bosnians know the original English written form of Covid-19 related Anglicisms more than their translation or their synonyms in the Bosnian language and that they do not use these Anglicisms much frequently and that for some of these Anglicisms they agree that they were used before

the pandemic but for some other, they do not agree. A detailed representation of the abovementioned characteristics is displayed in Table 4.

Finally, the second research question aimed to explore whether independent variables of the participants' age, gender, and English language proficiency significantly affect their knowledge of the original form and the translation or meaning of Covid-19-related Anglicisms. Firstly, a one-way ANOVA was conducted to test whether these two characteristics are affected by gender differences. There was not a significant effect of gender on the knowledge of the original form of these Anglicisms at the $p<.05$ level [$F(1, .195) = 3.016$, $p = 0.085$] since males ($M = 1.28$, $SD = .25$) and females ($M = 1.20$, $SD = .24$) reported almost equal number of correctly written Anglicisms. Additionally, there was not a significant effect of gender on the knowledge of the translation of the same Anglicisms at the $p<.05$ level [$F(1, .214) = 2.411$, $p = 0.123$] since males ($M = 1.52$, $SD = .30$) and females ($M = 1.43$, $SD = .28$) again reported almost equal mean scores.

Table 5.

A One-way ANOVA of the knowledge of the original form and translation of Anglicisms based on gender

Gender	Knowledge of the original form		Knowledge of the translation	
	M	SD	M	SD
Male	1.28	.25	1.52	.30
Female	1.20	.24	1.43	.28
Sig.	.086		.123	

Table 6.

A One-way ANOVA of the knowledge of the original form and translation of Anglicisms based on EL proficiency

Self-reported EL Proficiency	Knowledge of the original form		Knowledge of the translation	
	M	SD	M	SD
Yes	1.23	.25	1.49	.30
No	1.37	.28	1.44	.29
Sig.	.073		.594	

Furthermore, a one-way ANOVA was conducted to check the knowledge of the original form and the translation of Anglicisms are affected by the participants' English language proficiency. There was not a significant effect of the participants' English language proficiency on the knowledge of the original form of Anglicisms at the $p < .05$ level [$F(1, .212) = 3.279, p = 0.073$] where those who reported that they can use English in the spoken and written form ($M = 1.23, SD = .25$) and those who reported that they are not able to use English in the spoken and written form ($M = 1.37, SD = .28$) reported almost equal mean scores. Additionally, there was not a significant effect of the participants' English language proficiency on the knowledge of the translation of the same Anglicisms at the $p < .05$ level [$F(1, .026) = .286, p = 0.594$] since almost equal mean scores were reported by those who reported that they can use English in the spoken and written form ($M = 1.49, SD = .30$) and those who reported that they can not ($M = 1.44, SD = .29$). (Table 6)

Finally, a one-way ANOVA showed that combined dependent variables related to the knowledge of the original English written form of Anglicisms were not significantly affected by the participants' age at the $p < .05$ level [$F(4, .065) = .983, p = 0.420$] since the mean scores for the participants aged 15-19 ($M = 1.25, SD = .26$), 20-25 ($M = 1.19, SD = .20$), 26-30 ($M = 1.31, SD = .29$), 31-35 ($M = 1.18, SD = .18$), and 36 and more ($M = 1.34, SD = .37$) were quite similar. It is furtherly worth mentioning that the participants aged 31-35 reported the highest knowledge while the participants who are more than 36 age reported the lowest knowledge. Also, an insignificant effect of the participants' age was shown on the combined dependent variable of the knowledge of translation of Anglicisms at the $p < .05$ level [$F(4, .154) = 1.759, p = 0.143$] since here again the participants of all ages [15-19 ($M = 1.56, SD = .30$), 20-25 ($M = 1.41, SD = .27$), 26-30 ($M = 1.46, SD = .35$), 31-35 ($M = 1.46, SD = .29$), and 36 and more ($M = 1.34, SD = .21$)] reported similar mean scores. Table 7 below contains a numerical representation of the reported results.

Table 7.

A One-way ANOVA of the knowledge of the original form and translation of Anglicisms based on age

Age	Knowledge of the original form		Knowledge of the translation	
	M	SD	M	SD
15-19	1.25	.26	1.56	.30
20-25	1.19	.20	1.41	.27
26-30	1.31	.29	1.46	.35
31-35	1.18	.18	1.46	.29
36 and more	1.34	.37	1.34	.21
<i>p</i>	.420		.143	

Discussion

The present study was designed to examine the presence of, attitudes towards, and knowledge about the core Covid-19 vocabulary in the form of adapted loanwords in the Bosnian language. The investigation of Anglicisms in the present study has pointed out some essential aspects.

Thus, the first research hypothesis stating that Bosnian speakers will report a frequent usage of Covid-19-related Anglicisms and a significant level of knowledge of their original English written form and Bosnian translation was partially confirmed since the participants reported a pretty high knowledge of these two forms of

Anglicisms and partially rejected because the participants did not report a frequent usage of them. As for the knowledge of the original English form, more correctly written forms are obtained (where the Anglicisms *infekcija* and *lokdaun* were reported as the best known and the Anglicisms *klaster* and *karantin* as the least known), than for the knowledge of their translations or synonyms (where the Anglicism *socijalna distanca* was reported as the best known and the Anglicism *lokdaun* as the least known). Thus, the original English form of these words is known to the respondents more than their translations. As for the frequency of usage of these Anglicisms, they are in general reported as not so frequently used, but the

but the Anglicism *vakcina* was reported to be the most frequently used now and before the pandemic while the Anglicism *klaster* was reported as the most infrequently used, both now and before the pandemic.

As for the individual analysis of this part of the research, the focus will firstly be on Anglicisms *lokdaun* (lockdown) and *klaster* (cluster). Namely, these two words are the only ones that we analyze that are not included in the dictionary of the Bosnian language, so it was expected that they are less used and less known in the original English form and translation. However, the results indicate that only the Anglicism *klaster* (cluster) fits into this premise because it is marked as the least used during the pandemic and before it and is also the least accurately written in the original English written form. On the other hand, the Anglicism *lokdaun* (lockdown) had the most accurately written answers for the original English written form, while the translation form had the least accurately written options. Regarding the frequency of use of this Anglicism, most respondents believe that it was not used before the pandemic and that it is not so often used at the pandemic. So, while the Anglicism *klaster* (cluster) shows a logical sequence of the expected result, which is that one does not know the word that is not used and which is not in the dictionary, in the case of the Anglicism *lokdaun* (lockdown), this logic is not valid because, although it is not used often and although it is not in the dictionary of the Bosnian language, yet its original English written form is familiar to respondents.

There is no precise Bosnian equivalent for these two terms. It could be said “curfew” instead of “lockdown”, but that would only refer to people’s freedom of movement. However, “lockdown” includes the complete dismissal of everyday life and refers to a total break of all activities outside of one’s own home. The same is true with the word cluster. Although the words *group* or *team* could replace this word in its meaning, there is no similar word in the Bosnian language for this context, but this is not the case in some other languages. In the pilot study of this type of research, Capuzzo (2020) found out that in the case of an Anglicism *lockdown* in the Italian language, the term is used more than all its existing equivalents, with an explanation that this term is a precise technical and semantically “all-inclusive” term (p. 24). Furthermore, the author (Capuzzo, 2020) indicates that existing Italian equivalents were used instead as descriptive terms since *lockdown* had not been assimilated into Italian by then. The popularity of the term “lockdown” is

recognized as common also in Germany, where it is named as the “Anglicism of the Year 2020”. (www.ga.de). It is furthermore interesting how this word is at the same base for other derivatives related to it. Thus, according to Thorne (2020), the words *lockdowners* – individuals coping with life in conditions of isolation and *unlockdown* – the process of relaxing or ending social and physical restrictions or the period following their ending, were formed.

Furthermore, in the case of Anglicism *infekcija* (infection), we have stated that it is Anglicism whose original English written form is best known. Its use during the pandemic is every day (43.8% of respondents always use it), as was its use before the pandemic (75.9% of respondents used it before the pandemic). As for its translation, which also exists in the dictionary (*zaraza*), two-thirds of the respondents wrote it correctly, while one-third wrote an orthographically adapted form (*infekcija*). However, although there is a word “zaraza” for this term in the Bosnian dictionary, it is noticeable that this (medical) term is often used in speech, so it is not surprising that there is an excellent knowledge of its original English form. For example, we can often hear that “*rana se inficirala*” (the wound has become infected) and that we have “*infektivno odjeljenje*” (infectious ward) in hospitals (<http://www.kbze.ba>), and *infektivno oboljenje* (infectious disease) as a term (Vuković, 2015). Thus, knowledge of the original form of this Anglicism is understandable due to its frequent use, but its frequent use is not understandable and is not justified due to the existence of a synonym in the Bosnian language.

As for the construction *socijalna distanca* (social distance), the results showed that most of the correct answers are in the form of translations or explanations for this Anglicism. It is among the most accurate in the original English written form, but in the case of use, respondents do not use it often, nor was it used often even before the pandemic. Several observations need to be emphasized in the case of this Anglicism or this two-word linguistic construction. Firstly, unlike the English dictionary in which this construction is included and translated as a whole and whose translation indicates that it is “the avoidance of close contact with other people during the outbreak of a contagious disease to minimize exposure and reduce the transmission of infection” (Merriam-Webster, n.d.), in the Bosnian dictionary these two words are separated and not brought together in this construction or even in this meaning. Because of this, it is understandable why the respondents emphasized that they do not use this construction often, nor have they used it before.

Furthermore, with the appearance of the pandemic and these expressions (Dautbašić & Bećirović, 2022), criticisms of the correctness of the use of these constructions began. Specifically, some authors (Hensley, 2020; Banks, 2020; Tangermann, 2020; Anderson, 2020) point out that instead of the word *social*, *physical* should rather be used here because pandemic implicates physical distance, and people since they are social beings, should not be at a social distance, so in this regard, such vocabulary should not be used. Following such indications by linguists, the World Health Organization has officially changed the term to "physical distance" (Anderson, 2020). So, with the appearance of the pandemic, this loanword also spread among the B&H population, but its use is not so frequent. Knowledge of its written English form and its meaning or what it indicates is at a satisfactory level.

Regarding the analysis of other Anglicisms, it is important to note that the word *vaccine*, which is a purely professional medical term and is often used in everyday Bosnian language and was used according to respondents even before the pandemic, was in many cases correctly spelled in English form and that in a fairly large number of cases (slightly less than half of the respondents) a correct translation or synonym was written for it. This is especially true when considering its translation or explanation, such as in Table 2 above, that it is a means of killing microorganisms brought into the body to create resistance to a specific type of disease.

All in all, the results obtained indicate that knowledge of the original English written form of these Anglicisms is on a higher level than knowledge of their translation, meaning, or explanation. The reason for this may be their daily use in society, in the media, and everyday communications (Mašić et al., 2020) without mentioning or using their synonyms. In addition, their use is not so frequent, but it is noticeable that they are used more with the appearance of a pandemic.

Finally, the second hypothesis, which predicted that there would not be a statistically significant difference between Bosnians' knowledge of the original English written form and translation/explanation of Covid-19-related Anglicisms based on their age, gender, and their English language proficiency, was confirmed as the variance in the reported knowledge of these two forms of Anglicisms was found insignificant between the observed participants' characteristics.

Given the nature of the Anglicisms we

have researched and their more frequent use with the onset of the pandemic, the results showing no difference between genders regarding their knowledge seem expected and justified. Even when it comes to using these Anglicisms during and before the pandemic, males and females do not differ. Therefore, their equally high knowledge of the original English written form of these Anglicisms and their poor knowledge of their translations or synonyms show that these terms are equally characteristic of both genders. Even though differences in the use and knowledge of Anglicisms have been found in some research papers, they mainly relate to the type of domains of certain Anglicisms because, according to Haas (1979), males seem to be more interested in sports, politics, and business, whereas females prefer to talk about social life, health, and lifestyle. Moreover, magazines and news portals that use English words usually target female (fashion, beauty, relationships) or male (film, sports, male fashion) readers. Similarly, Heidar et al. (2017) reported that there is a relationship between the gender of their research participants and the adoption of loanwords as females showed a tendency to employ more loanwords than males in such fields as education, food, household, and clothing while males employed more loanwords in other domains including sport, profession, and I-Tech. In this regard, differences in knowledge of Anglicisms from these domains are characteristic of those who use them more. However, the Anglicisms that are the subject of this research do not fall into any of the domains that males or females prefer, so their knowledge does not differ either.

Moreover, the insignificant difference between those who use English in speech and writing (Delić & Bećirović, 2018) and those who do not use it when it comes to knowledge of the original English written form and translation of these Anglicisms indicates that even the degree of English language proficiency does not affect knowledge of these Anglicisms. However, the level of English proficiency of the respondents was self-reported as they indicated whether they could use English in speech and writing or not, and this was not necessarily their official assessment of English proficiency. Furthermore, most respondents assessed that they could use English, which is not a normally distributed difference for the analysis compared to the rest of the respondents. Regarding previous research on this topic, knowledge of English, or educational background in general, is taken to measure the use and knowledge of English. For example, Bernard (2008), Truslove (2020), and Kirvaldize (2017) generally state that the level of

education and knowledge of English is the path to better knowledge and use of English loanwords. Thus, judging by the results of this research, the difference in knowledge of English is not a prerequisite for knowledge of Covid-related English in a certain number of the Bosnian population.

Finally, additional confirmation that these Anglicisms are universal, at least during the pandemic, is the statistically insignificant difference in their knowledge between respondents of different ages. According to the results, respondents from adolescence to over 36 years of age showed the same level of knowledge of both forms of Covid-related Anglicism, contrary to the findings of previous research on this topic. Although previous research that took into account age (e.g., Luján-García, 2015; Prantl, 2018; Rautert, 2015) was mainly based on the use of Anglicisms and not their knowledge, here we can link the degree of use with knowledge because it is expected that one follows from the other. Thus, the mentioned researchers generally agree that the younger population, and especially teenagers, use and introduce more Anglicisms into the language than the older population. The younger population, according to them, tends to be one of the most important transmitters of a considerable extent of Anglicisms, especially in colloquial speech. The same is with the Bosnian language (Skopljak & Dubravac, 2019) and for languages in the region (Mišić-Ilić, 2014). Thus, one of the reasons for these results may be that these Anglicisms concern all ages. Through daily news and restrictions on movement, the global pandemic imposed this vocabulary on everyone, and young and old alike could hear and see words such as lockdown, infections, etc., often in the form of an adapted loanword and in the original English form. Furthermore, younger respondents in schools and colleges received daily notices and instructions containing some of these words, and those a little older in places where they work also received the exact instructions. These instructions were often of the same content and were available to everyone (Delić & Bećirović, 2016). Based on this assumption, it becomes clear why respondents of different ages showed the same knowledge of the original English written form and the translations of the listed Anglicisms.

Conclusion

Based on the present research findings and the similar ones in the last two years of the pandemic crisis, it can be concluded that linguistic creativity and adaptability are a crucial part of languages. The newly coined neologisms and

previously existing but not specifically used words and phrases have proven that language flexibility can help people engage with the world. Based on the current research, it should be emphasized that the terms analyzed here, such as *vaccine* or *infection*, are not new and are not previously non-existing words. However, their reuse has shown that social changes, such as the Covid-19 pandemic, not only bring new words and terms but also re-promote some older words that have gained new use and meaning in this context.

It seems that some Anglicisms in the present study are exclusive in their use and that they solely refer to Covid-19 disease. Still, their use during and before the pandemic and their knowledge of their English written form and translation into Bosnian show that these Anglicisms are not used in the Bosnian population and are not known to the same extent. Knowledge of their English written form is generally greater than knowledge of translations or synonyms in the Bosnian language. It is not affected by the participants' differences in gender, age, and English language proficiency, while their use during and before the pandemic varies from Anglicism to Anglicism.

To conclude, the research of Covid-19-inspired Anglicisms has been shown as a relevant research topic in linguistics today. For further research, similar analyses into these Anglicisms among the participants of different demographic and educational backgrounds are recommended. Also, examining these Anglicisms through the characteristics used here can be done when/if the pandemic ends to see if they will be used and known to the same extent as at the time of the pandemic.

Conflict of interests

The authors declare that they have no conflict of interests.

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