

THE RISE OF INVISIBLE ANGLICISMS THE CASE OF THE MACEDONIAN LANGUAGE

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ABSTRACT • The main focus of the research is to determine the criteria that will help identify invisible or partly invisible Anglicisms in the Macedonian language. The paper analyzes calques such as hate speech > *govor na omraza*, hybrids like online teaching > *onlajn nastava* and semantic loans such as cookies > *kolačinja*. The analysis is performed by contrasting grammatical and stylistic characteristics of the expressions in the source and target language and also by examining the lexical fields in which Anglicisms occur. It relies on a corpus of field-collected Anglicisms: direct borrowings, loan translations, hybrids and semantic loans. The research suggests that anglicization of the Macedonian language is to a great extent a result of the increase of the number of loan translations that prevail in the language in spite of their invisibility.

KEYWORDS • Anglicisms; Loan translation; Calques; Hybrids; Semantic loans.

1. Introduction

The presence of Anglicisms in the Macedonian language is undeniable. The widespread adoption of English words and expressions in Macedonian indicates the cultural, technological, economic and political impact of English, as well as the evolving needs and interests of the Macedonian society. The integration of Anglicisms has become so prominent across various aspects of life, particularly in the early 21st century, that their identification and classification have become necessary.

2. Motivation

The motivation for this research lies in my general perception that the Macedonian language is becoming anglicized in terms of its lexicon and lexical development, as it is overloaded with not just a huge number of direct borrowings, but also with a great number of loan translations and hybrid loans that in a way dominate the language. As Dragičević and Šipka (2024: 545) state, lexical borrowing together with derivation is the major principle of lexical development.

My initial perception was that lexical borrowings are roughly grouped in two groups. The first group contains words borrowed from English when there is no suitable existing word in Macedonian such as podcast > *podkast*, mobbing > *mobing*, bot > *bot*, or SIM (card) > *SIM (kartička)*, but it also contains borrowings that are not completely adapted or assimilated, yet are

Edited by Rania PAPAPOPOULOU, Eva SICHERL

‘barbarously’ used by younger generations, especially by teenagers or by Gen Z such as *fave* > *fejvna*, *hype* > *hajpna*, *like* > *lajkna*.

My further perception was that the second group contains a certain number of direct translations of English proverbs, sayings or clichés which are probably introduced out of prestige or out of the wish to show off with the knowledge of English phrases even though there is no need for them, such as *have a nice day* > *imajte ubav den*, *at the end of the day* > *na krajot na denot*, *out of the box* > *nadvor od kutijata*, and a great number of loan translations and hybrid loans that are borrowed from English, probably out of necessity so to meet the requirements of the modern life. These loan translations appear in all areas of public life such as social welfare, culture, politics, government, the court, the law, warfare, gastronomy, EU legislation, climate change.

Encountering all the different types of English borrowings and loan translations in both daily and professional communication, I felt tempted to try to systematize and categorize the Anglicisms and thus to scrutinize the invisible or subtle processes of anglicization of the Macedonian lexicon.

3. Aim of the paper

The paper aims to provide a comprehensive account of all the different types of invisible Anglicisms in Macedonian. Yet, the main aim will be to establish criteria that will be used as a basis for identifying and classifying invisible Anglicisms in Macedonian.

The focus of the research will be on the English phraseological borrowings in Macedonian, i.e., it will take into account calques or loan translations, hybrids or loanblends, and semantic loans.¹ The phraseological units that are going to be analyzed vary from collocations, fixed expressions, clichés, sayings, proverbs, catchphrases adapted and accommodated to Macedonian in line with the needs and interests of the Macedonian society. As Andersen (2021: 10) points out, adopting a sociolinguistic approach to phraseological borrowing is essential for identifying the associations of borrowed forms with particular speaker group or usage contexts.

4. Method of analysis

A corpus of approximately² 300 Anglicisms, which are field-collected expressions from electronic and social media or from everyday communication, serves as a base for linguistic analysis. All the Anglicisms from the corpus are manually collected. As Mansczak-Wohlfild and Witalisz (2019: 183) state, any corpus-based analysis of loans of English origin (or other) must be preceded by a manual loan identification by a language contact researcher which requires theoretical background, research experience and diachronic studies of dictionaries and language corpora of the languages in contact.

The analysis is qualitative, rather than quantitative. As an initial step, the occurrences of Anglicisms have been recorded to analyze their distribution across various categories and lexical

¹ Andresen (2020a: 50) claims that there is a shift in recent Anglicism research from the individual lexeme towards multiword expressions and phraseology.

² It is stated that the corpus contains approximately, not precisely, 300 Anglicisms, because some of the Anglicisms, especially phraseological units are adapted in Macedonian as loans, calques, or hybrids. Their meaning is the same, but the adaptation is different. For example, *gift card* is adapted as a hybrid loan as in *gift kartička* or as a calque as in *podarok kartička*. Which form is used depends on many factors such as the formality of register, the knowledge of English, and/or the age of language users.

fields. These frequency data provide a basis for further discussion, thus, assisting in identifying the Anglicisms in the Macedonian language and determining the criteria for their classification as visible or invisible ones.

The process of linguistic analysis consists of the following stages:

- Identification – manual identification of Anglicisms.
- Verification – when necessary, predefined Anglicisms are checked in English electronic and lexicographic resources and subsequently verified in Macedonian sources.
- Classification – verified Anglicisms are categorized into direct borrowings, loan translations, hybrids, and semantic loans.
- Subclassification into lexical fields – Anglicisms are further subclassified across various lexical fields because it eases the process of comparison and it helps in determining the overlaps of meaning, while at the same time it reflects the needs and interests of the society for their borrowing.
- Comparison – the invisibility of Anglicisms in Macedonian will be determined by comparing the grammatical and stylistic characteristics of borrowed expressions in the recipient language and their connection and similarity with the original phrases.

As mentioned earlier, the current research analyzes approximately 300 Anglicisms across distinct lexical fields, including IT field, social media and EU legislation, especially characteristic for the 21st century. The analysis of the corpus shows that the number of direct borrowings is 142 and calques is 140, which is approximately the same. If we compare these Anglicisms in Macedonian with the ones from the early 1990s of the 20th century that are collected and analyzed by Babamova (1993), it can be concluded that the Anglicisms analyzed in this research are new, not connected with the ones from the 20th century and their distribution through lexical fields is quite different.³

4.1. What counts as an Anglicism?

In our analysis, we rely on the classification and defining criteria for Anglicisms that are provided by Gottlieb et al. (2018: 7) for the purposes of GLAD⁴ database and by Stefanovski (2007: 212). The classification is slightly modified for the purposes of this research and it serves as a starting point for further analysis.

- Unadapted direct borrowings, including simple words, phraseological units, acronyms, initialisms,⁵ such as: share > *šerna*, vibes > *vajbovi*, hate > *hejta*;
- Adapted direct borrowings or loans,⁶ including simple words, phraseological units, acronyms, initialisms, that are phonologically, morphologically and orthographically adapted such as: to spin > *spinuva*, link > *link*, detox > *detoksifikacija*, internet providers > *internet provajderi*;
- Calques or loan translations⁷ in case when English multi word units or phraseological units are translated part by part without any formal resemblance in the recipient language. These include formulaic expressions, collocations, sayings, proverbs, idioms, catchphrases, mottos such as: case study > *studija na slučaj*, on a daily basis > *na dnevna osnova*;

³ Babamova (1993), in her linguistic analysis, focuses on direct borrowings from English in Macedonian. She analyzed approximately 1,200 direct borrowings and 30 calques.

⁴ GLAD – The Global Anglicism Database Network founded in 2014.

⁵ Bauer (2022: 87) uses the term *initialisms*.

⁶ Throughout the paper the two terms *direct borrowings* and *loans* will be used interchangeably.

⁷ Throughout the paper the two terms *calques* and *loan translation* will be used interchangeably.

- Hybrid loan translations or hybrids or loanblends⁸ in case when one element of the phraseological unit is translated and the other one is adapted from English such as: impact factor > *impakt faktor*, cyber criminal > *sajber kriminal*;
- Semantic loans, referring to domestic words or assimilated borrowings taking on English senses such as: platform > *platforma*, reflection > *refleksija*.

The main source of information about contemporary use of English is OED, both online version and hard copy, the online Merriam-Webster dictionary, and the Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA). To verify and examine Anglicisms in Macedonian, the analysis relies on the Macedonian monolingual dictionaries, English-Macedonian dictionaries and the Macedonian web corpus CLASSLA-web.mk⁹ 1.0.

The systematization and classification of Anglicisms is not an easy task as it might look like at first sight. Although definitions for all these different types of Anglicisms are precise and clear, when it comes to practice, it is rather difficult to make a clear-cut distinction. First of all, the influx of loans, calques, hybrid loans and semantic loans is high due to globalization and the fast development of technologies and social concepts, the digital era we live in, and the dominance of English as the lingua franca for more than a century. As a result some of the loan translations, hybrids and semantic loans are difficult to be identified especially when they are well entrenched in the recipient language at all levels, grammatically, semantically, and stylistically. They are almost invisible Anglicisms for ordinary language users. Second, the borrowing is an on-going process, lots of expressions entered Macedonian from English, especially American English,¹⁰ in the past decades becoming domesticated and firmly embedded in the language. Consequently, identifying well-established borrowings is difficult, because as Manczak-Wohlfeld and Witalisz (2019: 188) state, they are barely recognizable due to their formal nativeness.

5. Analysis of loan translations or calques

The primary goal of this research is to establish criteria for determining the visibility or invisibility of Anglicisms in Macedonian.

The task itself is particularly challenging because, as noted above, the phraseological units often appear indistinguishable from native expressions. It requires significant effort, knowledge and experience to distinguish between categories. Moreover, linguists must often rely on their interdisciplinary knowledge to determine whether these units are visible or invisible.

Therefore, I decided to draw a line and consider certain words such as *resources*, *manager*, *marketing*, *business*, *electronic*, as fully assimilated and domesticated borrowings in Macedonian. This decision is important as it will ease the process of identification and classification of the calques in Macedonian because many of the newly borrowed phrases, sayings or collocations contain such domesticated foreign words. Andersen (2020b: 7) states that categories are not clear cut, as for instance phrasal loan translations may be based on previously borrowed items or

⁸ Throughout the paper the three terms *hybrid loan translation*, *hybrids* or *loanblends* will be used interchangeably.

⁹ The CLASSLA-web.mk corpus is a part of the South Slavic CLASSLA-web corpus collection, which is the first collection of comparable corpora that encompasses the entire South Slavic language group.

¹⁰ American English is the dominant variety in the world today, as a consequence of the political, cultural and economic dominance of the USA (Jackson and Ze Amvela 2022: 145).

internationally shared lexemes. Manczak-Wohlfeld and Witalisz (2019: 177) claim that loan translations or calques are most difficult for identification and extraction because they are well covered by the native lexical material they are composed of.

The loan translations that constitute this corpus were manually collected and in the process of extraction I have relied on my knowledge based skills and long-term experience in teaching English Lexicology and Phraseology as documented in Lazarevska-Stanchevska (2024).¹¹ Out of approximately 300 Anglicisms, almost 140 are loan translations or calques, nearly half of the corpus. When compared with the corpus compiled by Babamova (1993), which identified 30 calques in Macedonian, it becomes evident that the current number of 140 calques represents a significant increase, especially considering that the present corpus is still incomplete.

The prevalence of loan translations probably results from the language planning policy and the language tendency to adapt loan translations and to bring them closer and make them more acceptable for the majority of the population.

5.1. How do we identify and analyze the loan translations?

First, we manually identify original English phrases on the basis of linguistic knowledge and experience. If necessary they are checked and verified in COCA. The degree of their frequency indicates if the phraseological unit is well established. Then, we check the loan translations in the Macedonian electronic corpus and mark their frequency. This is done in order to verify their existence as phraseological units. Once they are verified, we proceed towards subclassification of loan translations across lexical fields. Five lexical fields in which loan translations appear are determined: information technology – IT, science, socio-culture, business and EU law, and the miscellaneous group of proverbs, sayings, catchphrases and clichés. The classification shows that 28% of the loan translations belong to the field of business and EU law, 26% to the field of socio-culture, 24% to the field of science, 11% to the IT field and 11% to the miscellaneous group of proverbs, sayings, catchphrases and clichés.

Since there is no formal resemblance between the borrowed phrases and the translated loans, the categorization of invisible Anglicisms into lexical fields facilitates the comparison process by revealing shared meanings and areas of semantic overlap. The Macedonian examples *trgovija so vlijanie* > trading in influence, *vladeenje na pravoto* > rule of law, and *toplotna kupola* > heat dome would remain unrecognized as calques without a comparative analysis of their lexical fields in both languages.

5.1.1. Invisibility of loan translations or calques

All the 140 loan translations are verified as existing phraseological units in English and as existing loan translations in Macedonian. They are invisible for ordinary language users since they are translated word by word in Macedonian following its grammatical rules and without any formal resemblance to the English counterparts. Also, they appear in the same discourse as the original phrases which help them become well-integrated.

Out of 140 calques in the corpus, 39 are in the field of business and EU law, 36 in the socio-cultural field, 34 in the field of science, 15 in the field of information technology and 16 in the miscellaneous group of sayings, collocations and fashion terms.

¹¹ As an English Lexicology professor, my responsibility is to constantly update the corpus of modern English vocabulary including phrases, collocations, fixed expressions, etc.

- Business and EU law field
 capital investments > *kapitalni investicii*, accession negotiations > *pristapni pregovori*, enlargement process > *proces na proširivanje*, non-governmental organizations > *nevladini organizaciji*, rule of law > *vladeenje na pravoto*, negotiation framework > *ramka za pregovori pregovaračka ramka*;

- Socio-cultural field
 high season > *visoka sezona*, good practices > *dobri praktiki*, gender equality > *rodova ednakovost*, fake news > *lažni vesti*, digital democracy > *digitalna demokratija*, conspiracy theory > *teorija na zagovor*, minority rights > *malcinski prava*, soft skills > *meki veštini*;

- Scientific field
 renewable energy > *obnovljiva energija*, supplemental oxygen > *kislorodna podrška*, climate changes > *klimatski promeni*, learning outcomes > *rezultati od učenje*, lifelong learning > *doživotno učenje*, green technologies > *zeleni tehnologii*, herd immunity > *imunitet na stado*, case study > *studija na slučaj*, heatwave > *toploten bran*, global warming > *globalno zatoplivanje*, fossil fuels > *fosilni goriva*;

- Information technology field – IT
 internet browser > *internet prebaruvač*, mobile applications > *mobilni aplikacii*, digital transformations > *digitalna transformacija*, artificial intelligence > *veštačka inteligencija*, username > *korisničko ime*, network engineer > *mrežen inženjer*;

- Sayings / collocations
 politically correct > *politički korektno*, new normal > *novo normalno*, black list > *crna lista*, in the long run > *na dolgi stazi*, mission impossible > *nevozmožna misija*, red carpet > *crven kilim*, success story > *uspešna prikazna*.

The analysis of the whole corpus, first, indicates that the number of loan translations is almost the same with the number of direct borrowings. The above examples are frequently used in communication. They have a high degree of frequency which confirms that they are well entrenched in the Macedonian lexicon, and as such they are domesticated and invisible for language users. The degree of frequency of use contributes to their ossification and the high degree of invisibility.

The question is why they are so frequent and why they are invisible to Macedonian speakers?

The answers to these two questions are complex and multilayered. First, from a sociolinguistic point of view it is a superstratum influence of a culturally dominant language variety that lexically influences the non-dominant language variety in five major areas of life. The business and EU law area, socio-cultural segment, the scientific achievements and the IT field are the main pillars that underlay the Macedonian society that are further reflected in the language itself. In this context, Bergh and Ohlander (2017: 30) observe that different policies and attitudes towards language planning and maintenance clearly affect the number of direct loans and loan translations.

As an EU candidate country, the Republic of North Macedonia must harmonize its legislation with EU laws, requiring the adoption of consistent terminology. The most straightforward method is to translate phraseological units word for word and adapt them to Macedonian. Consequently, the number of invisible calques is steadily increasing, making the anglicization of the Macedonian lexicon both inevitable and undeniable.

Still, there are always exceptions “to the rule” that refer to loan translations that could be partly visible such as business angels > *biznis angeli*, business incubator > *biznis inkubator*, digital nomads > *digitalni nomadi*. These loan translations are completely adapted to the rules of Macedonian and contain words that are well entrenched in Macedonian, but they refer to concepts

completely new and unknown to most of the language users, therefore people might perceive them as visible or partly visible Anglicisms.

5.1.1.1. Some visible calques

The corpus analysis shows that a few calques are visible.

There are two different subgroups of visible loan translations.

a) Visibility is present with loan translations or calques when they are translated part by part irrespective of the morpho-syntactic rules of the Macedonian language.

- have a nice day > *imajte ubav den*;
- we have a situation > *imame situacija*;

In English, the light or bleached verb *to have* is used in constructions to denote a state of affairs and its meaning has nothing to do with ‘possession’.

In Macedonian, constructions with the light or bleached verb *ima* which is equivalent to English *have* are unnatural in cases when the verb is not followed by a deverbative noun and when there is no corresponding verb that would express the same meaning as for example “*ima bolki vs boli*”. In case of *have a nice day* or *we have a situation*, neither *day* nor *situation* are deverbative nouns.

So, the visibility of the above mentioned examples results from the inconsistencies with the Macedonian grammatical rules.

b) Visibility is present in cases of proverbs, sayings, discourse markers, clichés or even idiomatic expressions especially when there are adequate, native Macedonian expressions.

- at the end of the day > *na krajot na denot*
(the Macedonian equivalent is *na krajot na kraištata*)
- light at the end of the tunnel > *svetlo na krajot na tunelot*
(the Macedonian equivalent is *po doždoto sonce*)
- under the radar > *pod radar*
(the Macedonian equivalent is *ne e vidliv, ne e vo vidokrug*)
- on a daily basis > *na dnevna osnova*
(the Macedonian equivalent is *dnevno*)
- basically > *vo osnova*
(the Macedonian equivalent is *vo suština*)

All these above-mentioned expressions are partly visible loan translations or calques. They sound unusual and the element of foreignness is very notable and prominent especially because they do not correspond with the Macedonian equivalents that are also proverbs or sayings which represent the same meaning or concept and at the same time they reflect the common cultural fund of wisdom and knowledge. So, at this point there is a functional parallelism in the use of the original Macedonian sayings and English loan translations. Yet, the Macedonian original phrases according to the electronic corpus of Macedonian are far more frequently used than calques. For instance *na krajot na kraištata* is 3,562 times, while *na krajot na denot* is used 1,306 times. Still, these loan translations are frequently used by Macedonian speakers, not just by young people, but also by experts, politicians in public discourse probably as a result of their wish to show off with their knowledge of fashionable expressions from the fashionable British-American culture.¹² The

¹² Witalisz (2018) concludes that certain English loans in the field of fashion, leisure, and entertainment appear due to linguistic snobbery and reflect the Polish fascination with American lifestyle.

increase in frequency of their use might result in their domestication, but the time will show if these Anglicisms remain in Macedonian and if they become indispensable part of the Macedonian lexicon. As noted by Grieve et al. (2016: 112), new forms are often characterized by very infrequent use for years until they eventually emerge and see relatively widespread usage.

6. Analysis of hybrid loan translations or hybrids or loanblends

The analysis of our corpus of Anglicisms shows that their number is smaller compared to the number of direct borrowings and calques. There are approximately 30 hybrids in the corpus of 300 Anglicisms. 11 are from the IT field, 10 are from socio-culture, 7 from business and EU law, and 2 are from the field of social sciences. They are easily recognizable and visible, at least for linguists, due to the phonological and orthographical adaptation of one of the borrowed elements in the phrase, as well as because they refer to relatively new concepts, objects, or artefacts, making them relatively recent creations. They contain that borrowed element that exhibits a high degree of foreignness that can be easily spotted even by non-linguists. Such examples are:

- Information technology – IT
web tools > *web alatki*, web site > *web strana*, internet browser > *internet brauzer*, user profile > *korisnički profil*, streaming platforms > *striming platformi*, smart board > *smart tabla*, smart phone > *smart telefon*, QR code > *KJU AR kod*;
- Socio-cultural field
gay parade > *gej parada*, inclusion in the classroom > *inkluzivnost vo nastavata*, official casting > *oficijalen kasting*;
- Business and EU law field
e-banking > *e-bankarstvo*, cyber criminal > *sajber kriminal*, e-business > *e-biznis*, master plan > *master plan*, corporate capitalism > *korporativen kapitalizam*;
- Scientific field
antibiotic resistance > *antibiotska rezistencija*, organic food > *organska hrana*, micellar water > *micelarna voda*, obsessive compulsive disorder > *opsesivno kompulsivno narušuvanje*.

The phrases such as e-banking > *e-bankarstvo* and e-business > *e-biznis* are classified in the group of hybrids because of the shortened form *e-* out of *electronics*. *Electronics* is a word borrowed in Macedonian and it has been domesticated due to its long use. Yet, the shortened form *e-* is new and it is borrowed as such from English. Therefore, Macedonian phrases containing the shortened form *e-* as in the above examples are regarded as hybrids.

The corpus indicates that there is a parallel existence of some loan translations and hybrid loans with the same meaning such as internet browser > *internet prebaruvač* > *internet brauzer*, smart board > *smart tabla* > *pametna tabla*. The reason is the sociolinguistic aspect of lexical borrowings. It is the need of the speaker to adjust lexical expressions towards the formality of the situation. Depending on the level of formality and the subject matter of communication language users will use either the loan translation such as *internet prebaruvač* if the context is formal or the hybrid such as *internet brauzer* if the context is less formal. A similar situation is with euphemistic expressions and their informal counterparts such as pride parade > *parada na gordosta* vs gay parade > *gej parada* respectively.

6.1. (In)Visibility of hybrid loan translations, hybrids or loanblends

Hybrid loan translations are visible Anglicisms because they contain that one element that is directly borrowed and exhibits evident similarity and relation to the English counterpart such as in web tools > *web alatki*, online teaching > *onlajn nastava*. Additional argument for supporting

their visibility is the prevalence of the element of foreignness over native features in one of the constituents of the hybrids.

Yet, hybrid loan translations are included in this analysis out of two reasons. One is because only linguists can identify and distinguish between the visible and the invisible elements in hybrid loan translations. In fact, with some hybrid loans such as surrogate mother > *surogat majka* or corporate capitalism > *korporativen kapitalizam*, the foreign elements *surrogate* and *corporate* are borderline elements that might be perceived as foreign, as well as domesticated ones. The second reason is the combination between foreign and native elements which allows them to integrate smoothly without being perceived as overt borrowings. They retain that visible native component, yet the integrated foreign element often blends so naturally with the native component that it remains unnoticed. Thus, sometimes, they function similarly as calques regarding their invisibility.

7. Analysis of semantic loans

Semantic loans are defined as domestic or assimilated borrowings that take on the sense of the English words. As Mansczak-Wohlfild and Witalisz (2019: 184) state, the old native meaning usually co-exists with the new foreign sense that results in polysemy of the recipient language lexeme.

The number of semantic loans in our corpus is 13. Their identification requires knowledge, skills and experience in recognizing the meaning development of lexical items in a given language.

- cookies > *kolačinja* ‘candies’, ‘web data’;
- icons > *ikoni* ‘medieval religious paintings’, ‘graphic symbol on a computer’,
- ‘popular person’;
- application > *aplikacii* ‘usage’, ‘ornament’, ‘form’, ‘program’;
- panel > *panel* ‘flat board’, ‘a small group of selected people’;
- profile > *profil* ‘a human face outline’, ‘a set of data’;
- project > *proekt* ‘a specific plan or design’, ‘undertaking’;
- workshop > *rabotilnica* ‘work unit’, ‘garage’, ‘seminar’.

7.1. Invisibility of semantic loans

Semantic loans are invisible Anglicisms, as their existing meaning is subtly extended or a new meaning is added. The extended and newly added meanings are unrecognizable and invisible for ordinary language users. Since the words already exist in the language, speakers use the extended meanings without realizing their foreign influence. Only linguists can identify the network of senses of the lexical units.

The above semantic loans in Macedonian are just another proof of English socio-cultural influence over the Macedonian lexicon and consequently a source of lexical development since the meanings of the existing lexical items have been extended or modified due to the English influence.

8. Some comments on visibility of direct borrowings or loans

Unlike loan translations, direct borrowings are easily visible simply because they are newly borrowed lexical items adapted both phonologically and orthographically. There is an evident relationship with the original lexical item. The borrowed meaning remains the same as the original

one. This can be seen in the examples such as *antivaxxer* > *antivakser*, *wellness* > *velnes*, *provider* > *provajder*, *to reset* > *resetira*.

9. Concluding remarks

In general, at the beginning of the 21st century, English is still the lingua franca in the world and a source of borrowing for other languages.¹³ It still maintains its dominant position and thus influences lexically non-dominant language varieties, as is the case with Macedonian.

The spectacular developments in certain fields of science such as information technology, medicine, the major breakthrough of social and news media, and quick changes in societies and social relations are further reflected in the lexical development. As mainstream ideas, attitudes, activities and achievements still come from the mainstream of American, British and EU societies, the role of English remains unchanged. Many of the world languages, including Macedonian, borrow from English. The influx of English borrowings is undisputable and unavoidable.

Given this ongoing linguistic influence, the research has focused on establishing criteria for identifying invisible Anglicisms. The analysis shows that there is no single criterion for determining if Anglicisms are visible or invisible. There must be a group of criteria to be applied when identifying Anglicisms as visible or invisible.

The criteria that determine the visibility of Anglicisms are:

Evident relation and similarity to original English lexical forms regarding the phonology and the meaning.

Prevalence of the element of foreignness over native features. It is not measurable, but it is obvious for the current times.

The criteria that determine the invisibility of Anglicisms are:

They are translated part by part according to the grammatical rules of the Macedonian language without any formal resemblance to the original phrases.

They are used in the same lexical field as in the source language, so the meaning is the same.

They are not apparent for the ordinary language users because they are well-established in the target language and they contain predominantly native lexical material and nativized words.

There is a parallel development of the sense network of polysemous words under the influence of the source language.

In the end, it can be concluded that anglicization of the Macedonian language is not just a result of the increase in the number of direct loans, but, to a great extent, the result of an increasing number of loan translations that prevail in the language despite their invisibility.

¹³ In this context, Chesley (2010) finds that Anglicisms in French outnumber all other new borrowings combined, Mišić-Ilić (2017) documents the widespread use of English lexical items in Serbian, Robinson (2006) highlights their frequent presence in Italian newspaper discourse, and Witalisz (2015) examines the English loan translations in Polish.

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