

## ANGLICISMS IN THE MACEDONIAN LANGUAGE: DIRECT BORROWINGS VS LOAN TRANSLATIONS

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The significant influx of Anglicisms into the Macedonian language has become an undeniable linguistic phenomenon. Anglicisms appear in various domains such as information technology, law, business, social welfare and science. They reflect the influence of English over Macedonian as well as the interest of the Macedonian society. The analysis is qualitative and it is based on a randomly collected corpus of 300 Anglicisms that appear in the Macedonian language from the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. The research, first, focuses on the identification and classification of visible Anglicisms and criteria that verify their visibility, and then it contrasts them with the loan translations. The study also examines the patterns of borrowing Anglicisms into Macedonian, focusing on the distinction between direct lexical borrowings and calques or loan translations. It aims to determine why certain English expressions are directly incorporated into the Macedonian language, while others are translated part by part, sometimes coexisting with their original English forms. Certain tendencies are noted, based on the analysis, which indicate that socio-cultural factors play more significant role than linguistic circumstances when establishing the predictable patterns of borrowing.

**Keywords:** Anglicisms, direct borrowings, calques, domain-specific borrowings, patterns of borrowing.

## АНГЛИЗМИТЕ ВО МАКЕДОНСКИОТ ЈАЗИК: ДИРЕКТНИ ЗАЕМКИ НАСПРОТИ КАЛКИ

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Значителниот наплив на англизми во македонскиот јазик претставува неспорен јазичен феномен. Англизмите се појавуваат во различни области, како што се информациската технологија, правото, бизнисот, општествените трендови и науката. Тие го одразуваат влијанието на англискиот јазик врз македонскиот, како и интересите на македонското општество. Анализата е квалитативна и се заснова на корпус од 300 англизми, коишто се собрани по случаен избор, а се појавуваат во македонскиот јазик од почетокот на 21 век. Истражувањето, најпрвин, се фокусира на утврдување и класификација на видливите англизми, како и на критериумите што ја потврдуваат нивната видливост, а потоа се прави споредба со фразеолошките калки. Во истражувањето, исто така, се разгледуваат и се анализираат обрасците на позајмување на англизми во македонскиот јазик, со посебен осврт на разликата помеѓу директните лексички заемки и калките. Целта е да се утврди зошто одредени англиски изрази директно се преземаат во македонскиот јазик, додека други се преведуваат дел по дел, а понекогаш и коегзистираат со своите оригинални англиски форми. При утврдување на предвидливите обрасци на заемките, а врз основа на направената анализа, се забележуваат одредени тенденции што покажуваат дека општествено-културните околности имаат позначајна улога од лингвистичките фактори.

**Клучни зборови:** англизми, директни заемки, калки, заемки во специфични области, обрасци на позајмување.

## 1 Introduction

The influx of Anglicisms in the Macedonian language is indisputable. The extensive borrowing of English words and phrases in the Macedonian language reflects the cultural, technological, economic, and political influence of English over Macedonian, as well as the needs and interests of the Macedonian society. The entry of Anglicisms is so significant in all fields of life especially in the first decades of the 21<sup>st</sup> century that there is an unavoidable necessity to identify and classify them.<sup>9</sup>

The motivation for this research lies in the obvious process of borrowing words and expressions directly from English, which further results in an evident change in the lexicon of the Macedonian language. Lexical borrowing together with derivation is the major principle of lexical development as Dragičević and Šipka (2024: 545) state. The great number of borrowings reflects the English influence over Macedonian in all spheres of life such as social welfare, culture, politics, government, the court, the law, warfare, gastronomy, EU legislation, as well as climate changes.

Most of the Anglicisms enter the Macedonian language either as direct lexical borrowings such as *google* ‘гугл’, *Instagram* ‘инстаграм’, *Bluetooth* ‘блутут’, *digitalization* ‘дигитализација’, *bullying* ‘булинг’, or as calques or loan translations such as *artificial intelligence* ‘вештачка интелигенција’, *good practice* ‘добри практики’, *center of excellence* ‘центар на извонредност’, *gift card* ‘подарок картичка’, *fossil fuels* ‘фосилни горива’, etc.

The various types of English borrowings and loan translations that I have encountered in both daily and professional communication tempted me to think about why certain Anglicisms are directly borrowed and adapted in the Macedonian language and why others are translated part by part without any formal resemblance, or even more, they parallelly exist with their direct-loan counterparts.

## 2 The study

### 2.1 Aim

The present research is a follow-up study to Lazarevska-Stanchevska (forthcoming in 2025) which focused on the rise of the invisible Anglicisms in the Macedonian language and the criteria for distinguishing between visible and invisible Anglicisms.

This study aims to provide a comprehensive analysis of visible Anglicisms in Macedonian, outlining the key criteria for their identification. It primarily focuses on the factors influencing the adaptation of Anglicisms, specifically, why certain Anglicisms are adopted as direct borrowings in Macedonian, such as *podcast* ‘подкаст’, *to spin* ‘спинува’, and *provider* ‘провајдер’, and/or why certain Anglicisms are adopted as calques, such as *(pre)accession funds* ‘(пред)пристапни фондови’, *good practices* ‘добри практики’, and *sustainable development* ‘одржлив развој’. Additionally, the research tries to identify the possible reasons for the parallel co-existence of direct borrowings and native forms or direct borrowings and calques for the same expressions, for instance, *browser* ‘браузер/пребарувач’, *gift card* ‘гифт картичка/подарок картичка’, and *smart phone* ‘смарт телефон/наметен телефон’. Finally, the study aims to identify predictable patterns of

<sup>9</sup> A similar pattern emerges across languages: 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.

borrowing, determining which Anglicisms are more likely to enter Macedonian as direct loans and which tend to be adapted as loan translations based on linguistic and socio-cultural factors.<sup>10</sup>

## 2.2 Method of Analysis

The linguistic analysis is conducted on a sample of approximately <sup>11</sup> 300 Anglicisms (see Lazarevska-Stanchevska, forthcoming in 2025), which are field-collected expressions from electronic media or from everyday communication. All the Anglicisms are manually collected. As Manczak-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 with theoretical background, research experience, and knowledge of diachronic studies of dictionaries and language corpora of the languages in contact. Following this principle, the loan translations that constitute this corpus were also manually collected, and in the process of extraction I relied on my knowledge-based skills and long-term experience in teaching English Lexicology and Phraseology as evidenced in Lazarevska-Stanchevska (2024).

The analysis of Anglicisms is qualitative rather than quantitative. As an initial step, I performed a frequency count of the occurrences in order to determine their distribution across different categories and lexical fields. The frequency results are needed as a starting point for the discussions and are intended to pave the way why some Anglicisms are adapted as direct borrowings and why some are adapted as calques, or furthermore, why some direct borrowings co-exist with native forms, and why some loan translations co-exist parallelly with the direct loans.

The whole process of analysis consists of four stages. First, the Anglicisms are identified through manual extraction. Second, the predefined Anglicisms, if necessary, are checked in English electronic and lexicographic resources and then verified in the Macedonian electronic and lexicographic resources. The main source of information about the contemporary use of English is Oxford English Dictionary – OED, both online version (Oxford University Press, n.d.) and the hard copy (Soanes and Stevenson, 2005), and the Corpus of Contemporary American English – COCA (Davies, n.d.). In order to check and verify the Anglicisms in Macedonian, I relied on the Macedonian monolingual dictionaries, English-Macedonian dictionaries and the Macedonian web corpus CLASSLA-web.mk.<sup>12</sup> Third, the verified Anglicisms are subclassified into direct borrowings, loan translations, hybrids, and semantic loans. Fourth, the verified Anglicisms are further subclassified in lexical fields. The subclassification in lexical fields helps in identifying the possible reasons why Anglicisms are borrowed either as direct loans or as loan translations. Furthermore, the subclassification might even assist in identifying the possible reasons for the co-existence of direct loans and native words and direct loans and loan translations for a lengthy period of time.

## 2.3 Criteria for identifying Anglicisms

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 GLAD<sup>13</sup> database. The classification is slightly

<sup>10</sup> Andresen (2020a: 50) claims that there is a shift in recent Anglicism research from the individual lexeme towards multiword expressions and phraseology.

<sup>11</sup> It is stated that the corpus contains approximately, not precisely, 300 Anglicisms, because some of the Anglicisms, appear as single units or in collocations such as *online* ‘онлајн’, *online shopping* ‘онлајн шопинг’, *human resources* ‘човекови ресурси’, *human resources management* ‘менаџмент на човекови ресурси’. Additionally, they are adapted in Macedonian as loans, calques, or hybrids.

<sup>12</sup> 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.

<sup>13</sup> GLAD – The Global Anglicism Database Network founded in 2014.

modified for the purposes of this research. Once predefined, Anglicisms are checked and verified using lexicographic resources and corpus tools.

The following criteria are taken into account when identifying and classifying Anglicisms:

- Unadapted direct borrowings, including simple words, phraseological units, acronyms, lettered words<sup>14</sup>, such as: *like* ‘лајкна’, *hate* ‘хејта’, *cringe* ‘кринц’;<sup>15</sup>
- Adapted direct borrowings or direct loans<sup>16</sup>, including simple words, phraseological units, acronyms, lettered words, that are phonologically, morphologically and orthographically adapted, such as: *link* ‘линк’, *google* ‘гугл’, *spa* ‘спа’, *GPS* ‘ЏИПИЕС’;
- Calques or loan translations<sup>17</sup> 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, catchphrase, mottos, such as: *make money* ‘прави пари’, *gender studies* ‘родови студии’, *mission impossible* ‘невозможна мисија’;
- Hybrid loan translations or hybrids or loanblends in case when one element of the phraseological unit is translated and the other one is adapted from English, such as: *online teaching* ‘онлајн настава’, *streaming services* ‘стриминг услуги’;
- Semantic loans<sup>18</sup>, referring to domestic words or assimilated borrowings taking on English sense, such as: *icons* ‘икони’, *profile (in IT)* ‘профил’.

Although the 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, because of the significant influx of various types of Anglicisms in the Macedonian language throughout the last several decades. English words are theoretically borrowed ‘on a daily basis’ and it is difficult to distinguish precisely and to establish a clear boundary between borrowed words or phrases, on the one hand and native ones, on the other hand. Andersen (2020b: 7) states that the categories are not clear cut, as for instance phrasal loan translations may be based on previously borrowed items or internationally shared lexemes. Second, due to globalization and the fast development of technologies and social media, the digital era we live in, and the dominance of English as the lingua franca for more than a century, the influx of direct loans, calques, hybrid loans and semantic loans is high and, as Manczak-Wohlfeld and Witalisz (2019: 188) point out, they are barely recognizable due to their formal nativeness.

## 2.4 Some Background Notes

Linguistic investigations in the field of lexical borrowings from English into Macedonian were carried out in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. One of the most significant study is the unpublished PhD thesis by Babamova (1993). The thesis gives a detailed linguistic analysis of the Anglicisms in Macedonian, focusing on direct borrowings or loans, as well as on the 30 most frequent calques of English origin into Macedonian. According to Babamova (1993), the first biggest influx of Anglicisms into Macedonian was recorded in the period of WW II from 1942–1945 with the activation of radiocommunication and it intensified in the second half of the century. Babamova (1993) lists 52 semantic fields that include Anglicisms, with the field of sport and music numbering

<sup>14</sup> Bauer (2022: 87) uses the term *initialisms*.

<sup>15</sup> Gruevska-Madžovska (2021) uses the term *varvarisms* in Macedonian.

<sup>16</sup> Throughout the paper the two terms *direct borrowings* and *direct loans* are used interchangeably.

<sup>17</sup> Throughout the paper the two terms *calques* and *loan translations* are used interchangeably.

<sup>18</sup> Gruevska-Madžovska (2021) uses the term *semantic calques* for semantic loans.

the most of the Anglicisms, followed by the field of politics and socioculture, i.e., fields that were the most frequent topics in the news headlines. The final part of the thesis contains a register of the most frequent Anglicisms in Macedonian and incorporates approximately 1200 Anglicisms. Most of them are now well established words in the Macedonian vocabulary, some of them are not frequently used as they are not trendy anymore, such as *hi-fi* 'хaј-фaj', *spitfire jacket* 'спитфајерка', or some that are not used in cases when the referent of the word has become obsolete, such as *traveller's checks* 'травелерс чекови', *jukebox* 'џубокс'.

The current research includes approximately 300 Anglicisms. When compared with the Anglicisms collected in the late 1980-ies and early 1990-ies of the 20<sup>th</sup> century in Babamova (1993), it can be concluded that the Anglicisms analyzed in this research are new and not connected with those from the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Furthermore, three decades ago, music and sports were among the main fields for Anglicisms, while nowadays, it is the information technology and socio-culture.

### 3 Results

#### 3.1 Analysis of adapted direct borrowings or direct loans

The paper first addresses English direct borrowings or loans adapted in Macedonian and the lexical fields in which they most frequently appear. The analysis of the randomly collected corpus of Anglicisms shows that approximately 125 out of 300 Anglicisms are direct borrowings or loans, predominately single words (80%), then phraseological units (12%), and lettered words (8%). All of them are phonologically and orthographically transposed in Cyrillic and adapted to the Macedonian language. The analysis of the direct borrowings or loans shows that they can be checked and verified in the Macedonian electronic corpus, in the Digital Macedonian dictionary (SAM97 GmbH, n.d.) and in the English-Macedonian dictionary (Murgoski, n.d.). Unadapted borrowings used mostly by Generation Z in a corrupted and barbarous manner, such as *share* 'шерна', *hype* 'хајпна', *vibes* 'вајбови', are not analyzed in this study.

As stated in the introduction, the loans analyzed in this paper have been borrowed in Macedonian in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. The analysis shows that out of 126 loans, the majority belong to the lexical fields of socio-culture ( $n = 42$ ) and information technology ( $n = 40$ ), and the rest to business and law ( $n = 15$ ), fashion and cuisine ( $n = 15$ ), and science ( $n = 14$ ).

The figures indicate that the greatest frequency of borrowings is in the lexical field of socio-culture and information technology. This is expected due to the spectacular development of the field of information technology and communication systems in the past decades, as well as the development of the social media and consequently the development of new social trends and concepts. Since the USA is the leading economic and scientific global power where all achievements and novelties originate from, it can be assumed that American English is the source of all new words and expressions that enter Macedonian.<sup>19</sup>

The following examples show specific instances of loan words (presented in alphabetical order in each field):

- **Socio – cultural field**

*instagram* 'инстаграм', *facebook* 'фејсбук', *LGBT* 'ЛГБТ', *mobbing* 'мобинг', *bullying* 'булинг', *narrative* 'наратив', *to spin* 'спинува', *rating* 'рејтинг', *performance* 'перформанс', *predator* 'предатор', *virtual* 'виртуелно', *win-win* 'вин-вин';

<sup>19</sup> 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).

- **Information technology (IT)**

*cyber* ‘сајбер’, *database* ‘датабаза’, *digitalization* ‘дигитализација’, *download* ‘даунлодира’, *IP (address)* ‘ај пи (адреса)’, *log in* ‘логира’, *network* ‘нетворк’, *online* ‘онлајн’, *server* ‘сервер’, *URL* ‘УРЛ’, *web-hosting* ‘веб хостинг’, *wi-fi* ‘вај фај’;

- **Business and law**

*Benchmark* ‘бенчмарк’, *directives* ‘директиви’, *Eurozone* ‘еврозона’, *globalization* ‘глобализација’, *grant* ‘грант’, *hub* ‘хаб’, *leasing* ‘лизинг’, *stakeholder* ‘стејкхолдер’, *team building* ‘тим билдинг’;<sup>20</sup>

- **Science**

*detox* ‘детокс’, *drone* ‘дрон’, *impact factor* ‘импакт фактор’, *curriculum* ‘курикулум’, *implant* ‘имплант’, *nutritionist* ‘нутриционист’, *organic* ‘органско’, *probiotics* ‘пробиотик’, *saturation* ‘сатурација’, *supplements* ‘суплементи’, *webinar* ‘вебинар’;

- **Fashion and cuisine**

*Americano* ‘американо’, *dressing* ‘дресинг’, *facelift* ‘фејслифт’, *macchiato* ‘макијато’, *mainstream* ‘менистрим’, *outlet* ‘аутлет’, *red carpet* ‘ред карпет’, *smoothie* ‘смути’, *vape* ‘вејп’, *wellness* ‘велнес’, *wrap* ‘врап’;

Some of the loans fulfill the major reason of borrowing and that is to provide a word from the source language English when there is no suitable word in the target language Macedonian, such as *podcast* ‘подкаст’, *to spin* ‘спинува’, *liposuction* ‘липосукција’, *bullying* ‘булинг’, *mobbing* ‘мобинг’, *webinar* ‘вебинар’, *facebook* ‘фејсбук’, *viral* ‘вирални’, *GPS* ‘ЏИПИЕС’, *USB* ‘УСБ’, *drone* ‘дрон’, *web hosting* ‘веб хостинг’, *google* ‘гугл’, *barcode* ‘баркод’, etc.

Some of the loans are borrowed out of laziness or out of wish to show off with knowledge of English such as *spa* ‘спа’, *performance* ‘перформанс’, *account* ‘акаунт’, *download* ‘даунлод’, *copywriter* ‘копирајтер’, *influencer* ‘инфлеунсер’, *link* ‘линк’, *online shopping* ‘онлајн шопинг’, *PR* ‘ПИАР’.

### 3.2 Visibility of direct borrowings or loans

Direct borrowings or loans are easily visible simply because they are newly borrowed lexical items adapted both phonologically and orthographically. Since they are new and have been borrowed in the last two decades, they are easily connected to the original English forms. Furthermore, in case of direct borrowings the chances of radical phonological modifications are considerably small, so the relation between the original and borrowed forms is evident. So is the case with the borrowed meaning which is equivalent to the original one. When compared to the Anglicisms from the 20<sup>th</sup> century from the glossary in Babamova (1993), which are well adapted and many of them are not visible as Anglicisms, the 21<sup>st</sup> century Anglicisms demonstrate opposite tendency, i.e., they can be easily matched with their English counterparts.

The main criterion for identifying these loans as visible direct borrowings in Macedonian is their evident similarity and relation to the English counterparts. An additional argument for supporting their visibility is the prevalence of the element of foreignness over native features, as illustrated in the following examples: *antivaxxer* ‘антиваксер’, *wellness* ‘велнес’, *provider* ‘провајдер’, *narrative* ‘наратив’, *mindset* ‘мајндсет’, *smoothie* ‘смути’, *outsourcing* ‘аутсорсинг’.

<sup>20</sup> Neshkovska (2024) points out that the growing use of Anglicisms by Macedonian politicians in public discourse is a tendency that is generally perceived by the public as a positive feature.



### 3.3 Direct borrowings vs calques or loan translations

The total number of calques in the corpus is 136, i.e., bigger than the number of direct loans which is 126. This ratio between direct loans and calques does not by itself prove that the Macedonian language borrows and adapts calques more easily and more frequently than direct loans. It only shows the current state of the corpus which contains approximately 300 Anglicisms. This means that the corpus is not definite and new Anglicisms are being constantly added.

The analysis shows that the calques are evenly distributed across the lexical fields: business and law ( $n = 38$ ), socio-cultural field ( $n = 36$ ), science ( $n = 31$ ), with less calques noted in the field of information technology ( $n = 15$ ) and in the miscellaneous group of sayings, collocations and fashion terms ( $n = 16$ ). The following examples are instances for each lexical field:

- **Business and law**  
*(pre) accession funds* ‘(пред)пристапни фондови’, *strategic partnership* ‘стратешко партнерство’, *board of trustees* ‘одбор на доверители’, *investment banks* ‘инвестициона банка’, *hedge funds* ‘инвестициони фондови’, *rule of law* ‘владеење на правото’, *trading in influence* ‘тргување со влијание’, *negotiation framework* ‘рамка за преговори’, *consumer society* ‘потрошувачко општество’;
- **Socio cultural field**  
*social networks* ‘социјални мрежи’, *political suicide* ‘политичко самоубиство’, *non-governmental organizations* ‘невладини организации’, *brain wash* ‘перење мозок’, *motivational speech* ‘мотивацки говор’, *public relations* ‘односи со јавност’, *investigative journalism* ‘истражувачко новинарство’, *human rights* ‘човекови права’;
- **Scientific field**  
*climate warming* ‘климатско затоплување’, *sustainable development* ‘одржлив развој’, *distant learning* ‘учење на далечина’, *good practices* ‘добри практики’, *mental health* ‘ментално здравје’, *political discourse* ‘политички дискурс’, *career center* ‘кариерен центар’, *heat dome* ‘топлотна купола’;
- **Information technology IT**  
*information technology* ‘информациски технологии’, *artificial intelligence* ‘вештачка интелигенција’, *network engineer* ‘мрежен инженер’, *add to basket* ‘додај во кошничка’, *about us* ‘за нас’, *FAQ* ‘ЧПП’, *digital nomads* ‘дигитални номади’;
- **Sayings / collocations**  
*have a nice day* ‘имајте убав ден’, *at the end of the day* ‘на крајот на денот’, *on a daily basis* ‘на дневна основа’, *mission impossible* ‘невозможна мисија’, *red carpet* ‘црвен килим’, *success story* ‘успешна приказна’.

## 4 Discussion

### 4.1 What influences the choice of adopting the Anglicisms as direct borrowings or as calques?

There are several factors that influence the way Anglicisms are adapted in the Macedonian language, such as the lexical field and its significance for the society, the formality of the register, the knowledge of English, the age of language users, as well as the tenor. These factors operate simultaneously and (pre)determine the adaptation and use of Anglicisms as either direct loans or as



loan translations. As Andersen (2021: 32) 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.

The analysis of the corpus suggests that direct borrowings are the most frequent in the IT field due to the fact that IT terms that are highly technical, globally accepted and enable language users across the world to communicate easily with precision and consistency. In addition, it is rather difficult to translate these highly technical terms or to coin new ones, as it requires time, creativity, and persistence in their application. Besides, the chances that translations or new creations might not be accepted by language users are rather high.

Based on the corpus, calques are also as frequent in the field of business and law, especially the EU law. The major factor that influences the use of calques in the field of the law is the fact that the Republic of North Macedonia being the EU candidate country is obliged to harmonize its whole legislation with the one of the EU. This imposes the need of using the same terminology. Therefore, the easiest way is to translate phraseological units part by part and to adapt them to the Macedonian language. Thus, native speakers could more easily understand the fundamental principles and concepts that underlie the accession processes.

The analysis of the corpus shows that the number of direct borrowings and the number of calques from the socio-cultural field is approximately the same: 42 direct borrowings and 36 calques. The direct borrowings are connected with some global cultural trends and some modern social concepts, especially when the original forms are single words such as in: *influencer* ‘инфлуенсер’, *bullying* ‘булинг’, *impact* ‘импакт’, *hashtag* ‘хаштаг’, *Instagram* ‘инстаграм’, *podcast* ‘подкаст’, *spa* ‘спа’. Unlike direct borrowings, calques are equivalents of the English phraseological units and cover mostly the field of new social phenomena that dominate the modern societies, for instance: *freedom of speech* ‘слобода на говор’, *hate speech* ‘говор на омраза’, *gender studies* ‘родови студии’, *fake news* ‘лажни вести’, *moral minimum* ‘морален минимум’, *social networks* ‘социјални мрежи’, *soft power* ‘мека моќ’, *cultural heritage* ‘културно наследство’.

In the field of science, calques prevail over direct borrowings in order to make the complex scientific concepts understandable for the language users such as in: *climate changes* ‘климатски промени’, *heat dome* ‘топлоготна купола’, *case study* ‘студија на случај’, *renewable energy* ‘обновлива енергија’, *sustainable development* ‘одржлив развој’, *supplemental oxygen* ‘кислородна поддршка’, *fossil fuels* ‘фосилни горива’.

Direct borrowings are more frequent in the case of single technical or scientific terms, such as in: *drone* ‘дрон’, *curriculum* ‘курикулум’, *organic* ‘органско’, *nutritionist* ‘нутриционист’, *probiotics* ‘пробиотици’, *liposuction* ‘липосукција’.

## 4.2 Patterns of borrowing

The quantitative analysis shows that the socio-cultural field contains the highest percentage, approximately 33% of total number of direct loans in the corpus, while the IT lexical field constitute more than 32% of all direct loans, making it the second most dominant lexical field for borrowing. Calques dominate in the field of law with 28% out of the total number of calques in the corpus, followed by the socio-cultural field with approximately 26%, and the scientific terminology representing 23% of the total number.

Based on the above analysis, if we are to apply patterns of borrowing Anglicisms in the Macedonian language, we can reasonably predict that direct loans will dominate in the IT lexical field, while calques will dominate in the lexical field of law and science. The predictable patterns for the lexical field of socio-culture will be direct loans in modern social trends, while calques for conventional and well-established social values.

### 4.3 Parallelism of Anglicisms and native lexical forms

It is relevant to point out that some of the direct borrowings function parallelly with their Macedonian equivalents, for instance:

- *supplements* – ‘суплементи’ (direct loan), ‘додатоци’ (native lexical form);
- *network* – ‘нетворк’ (direct loan), ‘мрежа’ (native lexical form);
- *detox* – ‘детоксикација’ (direct loan), ‘прочистување’ (native lexical form);
- *supervisor* – ‘супервајзор’ (direct loan), ‘ментор’ (native lexical form).

Another interesting occurrence is when some calques or loan translations co-exist with the direct borrowings, such as:

- *fake news* – ‘лажни вести’ (calque), ‘фејк њуз’ (direct borrowing);
- *red carpet* – ‘црвен килим’ (calque), ‘ред карпет’ (direct borrowing);
- *shopping mall* – ‘трговски центар’ (calque), ‘шопинг мол’ (direct borrowing);
- *internet browser* – ‘интернет пребарувач’ (calque), ‘интернет браузер’ (direct borrowing);
- *smart board* – ‘паметна табла’ (calque), ‘смарт табла’ (direct borrowing).

The major reason for the co-existence of parallel forms might be prestige. Speakers have probably introduced these English phrases out of prestige or out of the wish to show off their knowledge of English, even though there is no reasonable need of them. 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.

However, as Bergh and Ohlander state (2017: 15) a direct loan and a native word may co-exist for a lengthy period of time as alternative expressions in a language although they may be used in different contexts. We could add that not only they might be used in different contexts, but they acquire different nuances in meaning. Such is the example of the English word *spa* and its Macedonian equivalents, the native word ‘бања’ and the word ‘спа’ which is directly borrowed and adapted from English. The two words ‘спа’ and бања co-exist, although Macedonian speakers use *сна* more and more frequently, since they regard it as more fashionable and refer to it as ‘a modern healthy resort’, while бања takes on the sense of ‘health rehabilitation center for elderly people’. Furthermore, the English term *performance* coexists with its Macedonian native equivalent ‘претстава’ and the direct borrowing ‘перформанс’, each carrying distinct yet related meanings. In Macedonian, *перформанс* specifically refers to ‘a visual artistic act with an emphasis on the artist’s activity’, whereas *претстава* most often denotes ‘the performance of a theatrical play’.<sup>21</sup>

According to Stefanovski (2007: 120), every lexical system does not allow absolute synonymy and has a tendency to get rid of total identity between words. One might expect that in the course of time there will be many changes in the way parallel forms are used, because when brought into competition, they might start to be used in different contexts or one member of the pair might be disregarded. Therefore, patterns of predictability seem to be difficult to establish. Grieve et al. (2016: 112) noted that new forms are often characterized by very infrequent use for years until they eventually emerge and see relatively widespread usage.

<sup>21</sup> The meaning definitions are based, yet slightly modified, on the definitions given in Murgoski (n.d) <https://zoze.mk/tolkoven/index.php>

## 5. Concluding remarks

It is important to point out that Macedonian Anglicisms in the domain of information technology, socio culture, and the law constitute a fairly large part of the corpus. This reflects the outstanding developments in information technology, science, the major breakthrough of social and news media, and consequently the rise of new social concepts and trends that are further mirrored in the lexical development. The dominance of law calques reflects the needs of the Macedonian society to harmonize its legislation with the one of EU.

A vast majority of direct borrowings are nouns their visibility is evident due to the similarity to the original English forms. Evident relation and similarity to original English lexical forms result from the phonological modifications that are considerably small and the meaning is the same. Additionally, the prevalence of the element of foreignness over native features is present which is not measurable, but it is obvious for the current times. Nevertheless, noun borrowings dominate as their major function is to refer to new objects, artefacts or concepts.

It is also important to point out that lexical fields play a significant role when establishing the patterns of predictability of direct loans or loan translations. For instance, it is highly predictable that IT terminology will continue to be adapted as direct loans. As for the predictability patterns of adapting calques, EU phraseological expressions will continue to dominate. Concepts that are part of the conventional social and cultural values will probably be adapted as calques, while modern and fashionable terms will continue to be adapted as direct borrowings.

In summary, based on the results of the present study, we might conclude that lexical borrowing as a major principle in the lexical development of one language and the borrowing patterns are primarily in correlation with the needs of the society rather than with the linguistic causes and circumstances.

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