Language Mixing in Palasa

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Abstract

We explore here several kinds of language mixing to be found in the Greek-Albanian bilingual speech community of the village of Palasa in southern Albania. Palasa is of particular interest for Greek dialect studies because it offers a window in the present day into highly localized dynamics of language contact. Among the mixing observed in Palasa is code-switching, motivated by various factors as identified by Myslín and Levy 2015, borrowing, both lexical and structural, and hybridization, at a number of levels of analysis, including phonology, morphology, and semantics. Our findings indicate that language contact is still alive and well in the Balkans at the level at least of the village dialect.

Keywords: contact; code-switching; hybridization; Greek; Albanian

1. Introduction

The small village of Palasa, located in the vicinity of Himara in southern Albania, provides a fascinating and important look at language contact. The villagers are Greek-speaking but are fully fluent in Albanian as well, so that it is possible to see the effects that contact between the two languages has had for these speakers. Especially interesting is the extent to which these bilinguals show a mixing of Greek and Albanian at various levels. Our presentation of this language mixing here is based on fieldwork in Southern Albania, specifically on work in Palasa that Brian Joseph did individually or together with Aristotle Spiro, Majlinda Spiro, Andrey Sobolev, and Alexander Novik in 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, and 2018; the material is thus on-site naturalistic data, involving recordings of conversations with and between several older Greek-Albanian bilinguals. Rexhina Ndoci provided most of the analysis, based on these recordings, assisted by Carly Dickerson.

The notion of "language mixing" we intend here should be understood in its broadest sense, i.e. referring to ways in which, in a language contact situation, elements of both language A and language B co-occur in the discourse of speakers of A and B. Language mixing for us thus takes in such well-known contact-related phenomena as code-switching and borrowing, both of a lexical nature and a structural nature, but also what we call "hybridization", in which phrases and even words show mixing of elements at different levels, especially phonology, morphology, and semantics. In what follows, we present the relevant data showing the mixing and offer our analysis of the individual instances and the more general situation they shed light on.

2. Code-switching

We start with code-switching, an outcome of language mixing with a long tradition of research (cf., e.g., Poplack 1980). We adopt the definition here of Myslín & Levy 2015:873, namely the "alternation of multiple languages within a single discourse, sentence, or constituent … by fully proficient multilinguals", and we draw on the general framework for the causes of code-switching that they articulate.

   In particular, in addressing why bilingual speakers would code-switch, Myslín & Levy 2015 offer several motivations; most relevant for the situation we observed in Palasa are the following:

(i)   Pragmatic/discourse-functional factors, especially clarification, emphasis, qualification of information and topic of discussion.[1]

(ii)   Sociocultural dynamics, especially inter-speaker accommodation

(iii)   Psycholinguistic factors, especially triggering (cf. Clyne 1991 on sound-alike "trigger words")

We illustrate these situations in what follows, but we note that there are also some switches between Greek and Albanian in Palasa that are difficult to classify and at least appear to be unprovoked.

2.1 Pragmatic/Discourse-Functional factors

Two different types of discourse-based factors for code-switching can be found in the Palasa data.

2.1.1 Clarification/Emphasis/Qualification

An example showing a speaker switching languages for clarification is given in (1), where the issue was the grammatical gender of a place referred to as [liθerí], where based on its sound shape, ending in [i], the form could in principle be neuter (with definite article *το*) or feminine (with definite article *η*): after debating for a little while with the interviewers trying to elicit the gender of the name for the area using definite articles (*το Λιθερί ή η Λιθερή* 'the(NTR) Litheri(NTR) or the(FEM) Litheri(FEM)') and locative prepositions (*στο ή στη* 'to.the(NTR) or to.the(FEM)') marked for either neuter or feminine gender, the informant resolves the ambiguity by using the feminine locative preposition *στη* and then immediately switching to Albanian (*n' gjinin femërore* 'in feminine gender') to clarify that it is a noun with feminine grammatical gender.

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[1] Note that in some cases, as illustrated later, it is not always easy to identify the exact discourse function the switches have, even more so in cases of clarification and/or emphasis.

(1)   I1[2]: το   Λιθερί   ή   η   Λιθερή;
               the(NTR) Litheri(NTR) or the(FEM)   Litheri(FEM)
               "The" Litheri or "the" Litheri?

          I2: στο   ή   στη;
              to.the(NTR)   or to.the(FEM)
              "To the" or "to the"

          M: στη   [pause] <u>(n') gjinin</u>   <u>femërore</u>[3]
              to.the(FEM)   (in) gender   feminine
              "to the" in the feminine gender

In (2), the woman is talking in Greek and gives her answer to the interviewer's question on what they used to cut the object of the discussion with (*με το μαχαίρι* 'with the knife') and then follows it immediately by the exact same answer in Albanian (*me thika* 'with the knife'). In this case it is not as easy to identify the precise pragmatics behind the switch. The speaker might be trying to make sure that the answer is clear and the researcher has understood what she has said or she might be emphasizing the object of the cutting action being discussed.

(2)   I: Και   αυτό   με   τι   τα   κόβατε;
               and   this   with   what   them   you.cut
               And what did you cut this with?

          W: Με   το   μαχαίρι,   <u>me</u>   <u>thika</u>,   ναι
              with   the   knife   with   the.knife   yes
              With the knife, with the knife, yes

          I: Με   το   μαχαίρι. Είχατε   διάφορα μαχαίρια;
               With   the   knife   you.had   various knives
              With the knife. You had various knives?

In the next example, (3), we can see an instance where code switching seems to have a clarifying and qualifying function. The speaker is talking at first in Albanian (*Gjithmonë andartin kanë qenë Palasikot* 'the Palasikotes had always been rebels') about how rebellious and strong the people from Palasa have been and then switches to Greek (*Ελέγανε οι Χειμαρραίοι, λέγανε για τους Παλασκινούς "σέρνει η βάρκα το βαπόρι"* 'the Himariotes would say about the Palasikotes that "the boat drags the ship"') to qualify this by providing more information about the claim.

(3)   <u>Gjithmonë andartin   kanë   qenë   Palasikot</u>.
             always   the.rebellion they.had been   Palasikotes
             Ελέγανε οι Χειμαρραίοι, λέγανε   για   τους Παλασκινούς
             they.said the Himariotes they.said about the   Palasikotes
             «σέρνει η   βάρκα   το   βαπόρι»
             drags   the boat   the ship

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[2] Abbreviation conventions for the examples: I=Interviewer; I2: Interviewer 2; W=Woman; M=Man etc.

[3] The passages in Albanian are underlined while the passages in Greek are in normal font.

The Palasikotes had always been rebels. The Himariotes would say about the Palasikotes that "the boat drags the ship."

2.1.2 Topic

An example in which the topic seems to motivate a code-switch can be seen in (4). In this instance, the interviewer is trying to clarify whether one of the informants is from Palasa or from Narta, another Greek village, and then moved to Palasa when she married a local. This negotiation takes place in Greek. This conversation triggers a response from Man 1 who goes on talking about the experiences of the woman's family during the Greco-Italian war. He starts his first turn in Greek (*Όχι, έχουμ πάει* 'No, we have gone'), as the language of the discussion so far has been Greek, but soon switches to Albanian in the same turn admitting that he feels more comfortable talking about this topic in Albanian *(Ta them në shqip më mirë se nuk e [?]* 'I'll tell it to you better in Albanian because I don't [?]'). Thus, this seems to be a case of topic-based shift. Between this utterance and his next utterance there is a short discussion between two other informants about how the female informant is related to another man, a passage omitted here to save space. The example continues when Man 1 gets another turn in the conversation and resumes narrating the history of the family in Albanian.

| (4) | I: | Είσαι | Ναρτιώτισσα | εσύ; | Ποια | είναι | Ναρτιώτισσα; |
| | | you.are | Nartiotissa | you | Who | is | Nartiotissa |

Are you from Narta? Who is from Narta?

W: Εγώ;   Δεν
I   not
Me? No…

M1: Όχι, έχουμ   πάει. <u>Ta</u> <u>them</u> <u>në</u> <u>shqip</u> <u>më</u> <u>mirë</u>
no   we.have gone you.it I.tell in Albanian more well
<u>se</u>   <u>nuk</u> <u>e</u> [?]
because not it
No, we have gone. I'll tell it to you better in Albanian because I don't [?]

[...][4]

M1: <u>Këta</u> <u>kanë</u>   <u>vajtur,</u> <u>i</u>   <u>morën</u> <u>që</u> <u>ktena</u> <u>dhe</u>
these they.have suffered them they.took that over.here and
These ones have suffered, they took them from over here and
<u>i</u> <u>çuar</u> <u>në</u> <u>më</u> [?] <u>në</u> <u>për</u> <u>vende</u> <u>domëthënë,</u>
them brought to more   to for places want-to-say
brought them to more [?] to (other) places, that is to say,
<u>se</u>   <u>ketu</u> <u>do</u> <u>bëhet</u>   <u>luftë.</u> <u>Siç</u> <u>bërë</u>
because here would become war   as   done
there would be war. As there were

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[4] Indicates omitted passage.

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         bombardime,    ça    do    bëshin    ato.
         bombardments,  what  would had.done  they
         bombardments, what would they have done.
   M2: Bombardime.
         bombardments
         Bombardments.
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2.2 Accommodation

Very common in cases of code-switching, and also found in Palasa, are instances in which a speaker switches in order to accommodate to the language of one's interlocutor. This is shown twice in (5) where the woman accommodates to Interviewer 1 by responding to him in Albanian (*Soi burrit. Jo babai im* 'Husband's family. Not my father') when he addresses her in Albanian (*Domethënë [soi] i burrit është prej Skrapari, ose [soi] babait?*[5] 'That is to say, the husband's family is from Skrapar, or the father's family?'). However, when Interviewer 2 enters the conversation using Greek (*Από ποιο σόι είσαι εσύ;* 'Which family are you from?'), the woman accommodates again to the language of the second interviewer and responds to him by switching to Greek (*Εγώ είμαι από το Παπά. Είχαμε τον παπάν* 'I am from the Papa family. We had the priest').

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(5)    I1: Domethënë  [soi]       i  burrit     është  prej  Skrapari,
           want-to-say the.family of the.husband is     from  Skrapar
           That is to say, the husband's family is from Skrapar, or
           ose  [soi]       babait?
           or   the.family  of.the.father
           the father's family?
       W: [soi]       burrit.        Jo  babai     im
           the.family of.the.husband no  the.father my
           Husband's family. Not my father
       I1: [soi]       babait        nga  është?
           the.family of.the.father  from is
           Where is your father's family from?
       I2: Από   ποιο   σόι    είσαι   εσύ;
           from  which  family are     you
           Which family are you from?
       W: Εγώ  είμαι  από   το   Παπά.  Είχαμε  τον  παπάν
           I    am     from  the  Papa   we.had  the  father
           I am from the Papa family. We had the priest.
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[5] W's use of *soi* is interesting here. It is in origin a Turkish word but it is one regularly used in many varieties of Greek, including Standard Modern Greek (*σόι*); we are not sure if it is used in the Albanian of Palasa, but based on the word that occurs elsewhere in Albanian for this concept, *fisi*, we might expect that instead. Thus, it is not clear if this is a switch into Greek, a borrowing from Greek into Albanian, or even a borrowing from Turkish. Hence, we give it in a phonetic form in square brackets, except for the one time it occurs in a fully Greek context (I2's question), in order to reflect this analytic ambiguity.

I: Ήταν   παπάς   ο   αυτός   ο   παλιός;
Was   priest   the   this   the   elder
Was this elder a priest?

2.3 Triggering

Psycholinguistic factors also seem to be relevant in the code-switching of the bilinguals in Palasa. Instances of switching seem to be triggered often by lexical items that sound the same in both Albanian and Greek, "trigger words" (Clyne 1991) that serve as a bridge between the two languages. Examples of this type are given in (6) and (7) where the utterances begin in Greek (*Με παίραν πάλι* 'they took me again' and *Εσύ γι' αυτή κ΄ευτή, για σένα, αλλά* 'you for her and she for you, but', respectively) and are completed in Albanian (*ekzekutiv me të gjitha* 'the executive, with all' and *mirëkuptimi* 'understanding', respectively). The use of the preposition with the pronunciation /mε/ 'with', which has the same meaning also sounds the same in Greek (orthographically *με*) and in Albanian (orthographically *me*), might be what activates Albanian into the bilinguals' minds and thus triggers the switch from Greek to Albanian.[6]

(6)   Με   παίραν   πάλι   [mε][7] ekzekutiv me të   gjitha
       Me   they.took   again   with   executive   with   [particle]   all
       They took me again with the executive, with all.

(7)   Εσύ γι' αυτή κ'   ευτή για σένα, αλλά [mε]   mirëkuptimi
       You for her   and she for you   but   with   understanding
       You for her and she for you, but with understanding.

2.4 Seemingly Unprovoked

So far we have presented instances of code-switching motivated by what we see as the sociocultural dynamics between interlocutors, discourse-functional factors, and psycholinguistic factors. There are, however, instances that seem to be unprovoked and the motivation behind the switch is unclear. Such examples can be found in examples (8) and (9) where the speakers switch momentarily — perhaps one-word switches if these are not to be treated as loans — into Albanian while speaking Greek using the Albanian lexical items *guzhina* 'kitchen' and *pika* 'drop' instead of the corresponding Greek *κουζίνα* and *σταγόνα/στάλα*; these are common, everyday words that might be unlikely candidates for borrowing.**[8]**

(8)   Τι   θέλει;   Guzhina,   καθαριότητα, σίδερο…

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[6] It must be noted, of course, that not every instance of [mε] triggers a change, suggesting that more may well be at work in the switches and the non-switches.

[7]We transcribe this phonetically because the 'with' preposition in both Albanian and Greek is pronounced the same way and, therefore, we cannot be sure which language is activated at this point.

[8] In this way, they differ from the instances of lexical borrowing we identify in §3.1.

what   he.wants the.kitchen   cleaning   ironing
What does he want? The kitchen, cleaning, ironing…

(9)   για   δε   μας   δίνετε   μια <u>pika</u> νερό, λέγω.
        because not to.us you.give one drop   water I.say
        Because you did not give us one drop of water, I said.

3. Borrowing

We use the notion of borrowing in a broad sense in this paper, referring not only to the introduction of lexical items, but also to the introduction of semantic, grammatical, and phonological material. Thus, our approach is closer to Aikhenvald's (2002) definition of borrowing as "the transfer of features of any kind from one language to another as a result of contact". Let us then proceed by looking at these types of borrowing more closely.

3.1 Lexical borrowing

Lexical borrowing in the Greek-Albanian contact situation of Palasa seems to suggest that certain lexical domains have been especially conducive to borrowing.

3.1.1 Communist-era terminology

One such domain is terminology that refers to the Albanian communist era. In (10) *partia* 'party' and in (11) *spi*[9] *kulture* 'house of culture', both mentioned in reference to the past communist regime, are borrowed from Albanian and embedded into the Greek utterances.

(10)   Όταν   εμπήκε η   <u>partia</u>   που   γίνηκε   το   σχολείο.
        When   entered the the.party   that it.became   the   school
        When the party took over (that) the school was established.

(11)   Αφού   εδώ   την εκκλησία την είχανε   <u>spi   culture,</u>
        because here the church   it   they.had house of.culture
        Because here the church was (turned into) a "house of culture"
        πώς   το   λένε.
        how   it   called
        how do you call this?

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[9] Although it is not our central point, here the informant adapts the word-initial voiceless, post-alveolar, fricative [ʃ] of the Albanian variant *shpi* /ˈʃpi/ 'house' (related in some way to *shtëpi* /ʃtəˈpi/) to the Greek voiceless, alveolar, fricative [s] that does not have the voiceless, post-alveolar, fricative in its standard phonemic inventory.

3.1.2 Official-level, academic, or bureaucratic terminology

Official terminology, involving words referring to any governmental dealings, to education, or to bureaucratic affairs, and the like, is another domain where borrowing is very common in the data. For example *biologjia* 'biology' in (12), *gjykata administrative* 'administrative court' in (13), *ushtria* 'army' in (14), and *marrëdhënie* 'relations' in (15) belong, respectively, to academic, legal, military, diplomatic fields and are all borrowed from Albanian into the Greek discourse.

(12)   Δεν ξέρω [?] <u>biologjia</u>, λέγω, και <u>kimia</u> …
          not I.know   the.biology I.say and the.chemistry
          I don't know [?], biology, I say, and chemistry…

(13)   με ρίνει ση   <u>gjykata   administrative</u>, τα [?] όλα αυτά
          me throw at.the   court   administrative the all   those
          he) throws me at the administrative court, [?] all those

(14)   Αλλά δε το χει   η   αστυνομία, μου παν   εμένα, το χει,
          But not it have the police   me they.told me   it has
          η, η   <u>ushtria</u>.
          the the army
          But the police does not have it, they told me, the army has it.

(15)   Η Ρουσία, είχαμε <u>marrëdhënie</u> με   τη   Ρουσία.
          the Russia   we.had relationships with the Russia.
          Russia, we had relations with Russia.

3.1.3 Terms related to village life

Another interesting domain where lexical borrowing is not unusual is terminology related to village life. We find it interesting because we would not expect Albanian being used here by the Greek villagers unless the village culture was originally Albanian and these borrowings are an indication that the older language in the village prevails in domains pertaining to village life. In (16) and in (17), where the discussion concerns weddings and wedding traditions in the village, we find *ftesa* 'invitations' and *vello* 'wedding dress', both borrowed from Albanian and embedded in the Greek utterances.

(16)   I: Δηλαδή ποιος τους έλεγε να   έρθουν;
             Namely who   them said   to   come
             Who asked them to come?
       W: Κάναμε   <u>ftesa</u>.
            we.made   invitations
            We made invitations
       I: <u>Ftesa</u>
            invitations
            Invitations

W: Κάναμε   χαρτί,   το   στέλναμε
we.made   letter   it   we.sent
We made a card and we sent it.

(17)   I: Εσύ ήσουν   έτοιμη,   στολισμένη
You were   ready,   adorned
You were ready, adorned

W: Και   γω   με   <u>vello</u>   και   με   όλα
And   I   with   wedding.dress   and   with   all
And I with a wedding dress and all

3.1.4 Conversationally based loans

Friedman & Joseph (2014, 2020) propose and exemplify a type of borrowing which they refer to as "ERIC" loans, an acronym standing for those "<u>E</u>ssentially <u>R</u>ooted <u>I</u>n <u>C</u>onversation". These are loans that do not necessarily fill a need or gap of any sort, are not associated with any particular cultural item, and do not reflect any prestige on the part of the donor language,[10] but instead seem to crucially derive directly from conversational interactions between speakers of the two languages. Such loans include discourse particles, address terms, affirmation, negation, and closed-class grammatical elements like pronouns, among other types of lexemes. Examples of ERIC loans in Palasa are conversational elements like the affirmative element *ναι* 'yes', used in mocking agreement in (18) as *ναι ναι* 'yes yes', and the terms of endearment *xhan* 'soul' and *jeta* 'life' in (19) and (20), respectively, that are borrowed from Albanian and embedded into Greek usage.

- Discourse elements

(18)   I: [sighs] <u>Do   përpiqem,   të   martohem</u>
           will   I.try   that   I.get.married
[sighs] I will try to get married

W: A ναι, ναι. <u>Do   përpiqesh, kur   do   përpiqesh?</u>
A yes yes will   you.try   when   will   you.try
Ah yes, yes. You will try, when will you try?

- Terms of endearment and kinship

(19)   <u>xhan</u>   της   μάνας
       soul   of.the   mother
       mother's beloved

(20)   πάρε   καρέκλα <u>jeta</u> της   μάνας

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[10] These factors are mentioned as they are the ones that form the basis for two particularly influential typologies of loans, those in Bloomfield 1933 ("cultural" versus "intimate" loans) and Hockett 1958 ("need" versus "prestige" loans).

you.take   chair   life   of.the   mother
Take a chair, mother's life

3.2 Structural Borrowing

In addition to lexical borrowing, a few cases of structural borrowing also seem to emerge in the contact between Greek and Albanian in the village of Palasa.

3.2.1 Use of Albanian *ma* ("more") for *πιο* in Greek

Very common in the Greek of the villagers was the use of the Albanian *ma* 'more' instead of its Greek correspondent *πιο* 'more' in cases where the language of communication was Greek. Example (21) is interesting as it showcases this borrowing twice in the speech of the same speaker. At first the speaker uses, in speaking Greek, *ma* with *καλύτερα*, an adverb in the comparative degree form, and a little later with *μεγάλο*, a plain (positive degree) adjective. The *ma* + comparative constructions are the most frequent in our data, but as (21) shows, *ma* + plain adjective is a possible construction in the speech of these bilinguals as well.

(21)   Να φήσει τς ανθρώπους να δλέψουν. Αν έκανε αυτός άλλα
           To let   the people   to   work   if did   he   others
           καλυτ-, <u>ma</u> καλύτερα. Μας τα χαλάν τούτα δω.
           bet-   more better   us   them they.spoil   those   here
           Το καλύβι πο 'χεις εσύ δεν το πετάς   [?].
           the   hut   that have you   not   it   you.throw
           Ένα άλλο <u>ma</u> μεγάλο. Το πετάζεις;
           one   other more big   it   you.throw
           Που θα χώσεις το κεφάλι;
           where will you.put   the head
           To let the people work. If he did other things bet-, more better. They spoil these here. The hut that you have you don't throw it (away) [?]. Another bigger one. Do you throw it? Where will you put (your) head in?

3.2.2 Adjective order

Example (22) shows another instance of structural borrowing involving a matter of syntax, specifically noun-adjective word order. The adjective *κακέα*[11] 'bad' appears after the noun it modifies, *αρρώστια* 'illness,' and not before it, which would have been the default word order in Greek. We can attribute this to structural borrowing from Albanian if we consider the Albanian word order. This construction would have been

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[11] *Κακέα* here is a regional variant of what in Standard Modern Greek is the feminine form *κακιά* 'bad'. It is transcribed as used by the informant.

sëmundje të keqe 'bad illness'[12] in Albanian where the adjective *keqe* 'bad' follows the noun *sëmundje* 'illness' that it modifies, basically what we see happening in (22) in Greek.

(22) πήρε   αρρώστια κακέα στο   μυαλό
      he.took illness   bad   in.the brain
      He had brain cancer.

4. Hybridization

In some cases, the language contact effects observed seem to go beyond borrowing in the more usual sense and instead involve what we call "hybridization" in that one and the same linguistic sign shows elements from both languages coming together to form single constituents. The resulting forms are Greek-Albanian hybrids, and they can be seen at a variety of levels of analysis.

4.1 Phonological Hybridization

An example of hybridization at the phonological level can be seen in (23). While speaking Albanian, the speaker is aiming to say the Albanian word *diplomë* 'diploma,' which has a voiced alveolar plosive /d/ in initial position in Albanian, but instead uses /ð/ (the voiced dental fricative), which is the initial segment in the equivalent Greek word *δίπλωμα* 'diploma'; the word is in all other respects Albanian as at the same time it shows the Albanian stress placement, on the penultimate syllable, and not the antepenultimate stress that the corresponding Greek word shows.[13]

(23) <u>Bënin   agurimin   e   shkollës   si   kishin   marrë</u>
      They.did inauguration of the.school as   they.had taken
      /ð/<u>iplómë   ata</u>
      diploma   they
      The had a school graduation because they had received their diplomas.

4.2 Morphological Hybridization

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[12] A very common expression in Albanian essentially referring to 'cancer'. A similar expression can be found in the region of Epirus in Greece where the locals use the compound *παλιαρρώστια* 'bad-illness'. Here the first part of the compound *παλι-* literally means 'old' but it is often used to mean 'bad' too as in *παλιάνθρωπος* 'bad-person'.

[13] See Brown and Joseph 2015 for other examples like this from the Greek of southern Albania. In a sense, one might see this as word-internal code-switching, in that the word starts out with the Greek form but switches internally to Albanian. It should be noted that Albanian has both /d/ and /ð/ in its phonemic inventory. We mark the accent here, i.e. < ó >, even though such a diacritic is not usual in Albanian orthography.

Morphological hybrids are fairly frequent in the speech of the Palasa bilinguals as well. This is illustrated in example (24). First, we have a Greek utterance where there is mention of the Greek word for 'university students' *φοιτητές,* immediately followed, via borrowing, by a mention of the Albanian word *studendες* '(university) students', with a code-switch perhaps for purposes of clarification (see §2.1.1). *Studendες*, though, as the spelling here suggests, is complicated. It is a morphological hybrid as the Albanian stem *student* 'student' is combined with the Greek plural suffix -*ες* (e.g. *φοιτητ-ές* 'students', *διευθυντ-ές* 'directors') to produce the morphologically hybrid *studendες*. Moreover, it is a phonological hybrid too as it is Albanian-like in having an intervocalic [d] without the nasal "prop" that is usual in the local Greek dialect, but at the same time it is Greek-like in that the Albanian [nt] cluster of *student* is Hellenized via voicing to [nd].

(24)   εδώ   και   κάμει   δύο   φοιτητές   <u>studend</u>ες   που   θέλαν […]
         here   and   done   two   students   students   that   wanted
         Here and done two students, two students that wanted…

4.3 Semantic hybridization

Frequent are also cases of what we call semantic hybrids or what have been referred to often in the literature as calques. In (25), the discussion is in Greek and one of the male informants comments that the female informant was *ψημένη*, literally 'baked', when she got married at 27. A monolingual Greek speaker would not make much out of this expression and would not get the inference that the woman was 'mature' when she got married at that age. What seems to be happening here is that the speaker is translating the Albanian adjective *e pjekur*, which means 'baked', 'ripened', but also 'mature', into Greek, using *ψημένη* which only carries the meaning of 'baked'; what would be expected in Greek is *ώριμη*, which has the meaning of 'mature' that the man actually intends. The result is a construction that would appear quite odd for a Greek who does not know any Albanian.

(25)   M1: Πόσο   χρονών   ήσουν;
             How.many   years   you.were
             How old were you?
         W: Εγώ ήμουν κοσι   εφτά, κοσι   εφτά, κοσι   εφτά
             I   was   twenty seven twenty seven twenty seven
             I was twenty-seven, twenty-seven, twenty-seven
         M2: Είκοσι εφτά, ψημένη
             twenty   seven baked
             Twenty-seven, mature

In (26), one of the informants is narrating how he got to be a school teacher and in his speech we find another such semantic hybrid. First, we have a momentary switch from Greek *θα δώσεις* to Albanian *gjuhë-letërsi* and back to Greek *και εσύ*. What is at focus here, however, is the use of *δώσεις*, literally 'you give', to mean 'you will teach a course' (in this particular case, *gjuhë-letërsi* 'language and literature'). In Greek, teaching a class, a course, or a lesson would be formulated with *διδάξεις* 'teach' and not with *δώσεις* 'give'. This construction in (26) makes sense, however, if we take into

account the Albanian verb *japesh*, which can have the meaning of 'you give', but also 'you drive' when the topic of discussion concerns cars and driving, and 'you teach' when the topic of discussion concerns courses and classes. Thus, the speaker in (26) seems to be transferring this meaning of 'to teach' that the Albanian *japesh*, which has 'give' as its basic meaning, to the Greek word *δώσεις* 'to give', which does not generally have such a meaning.[14] Interestingly, when speakers use a construction such as *δίνω μάθημα*, literally 'give a course', in standard Greek, they are conveying that they will take an exam or a test in that course and not teach it.

(26)   Θα   δώσεις   <u>gjuhë-letërsi</u>   και   εσύ
           Will   you.give   language-literature   and   you
           You will teach language and literature too

5. Contact-induced lexical activation

In this final section, we draw attention to instances of what we call contact-induced lexical activation. These are cases where there are two or more competing lexical items in Greek for the same concept and where the Greek-Albanian bilinguals in Palasa seem to be opting for the one that is closer to the Albanian corresponding lexical item for the same concept. For example, see (27), where the informant is talking about the livestock that the villagers used to have and comparing that situation to the present where most of the villagers have migrated to foreign lands. Greek has two options for 'foreign lands', either *ξενιτιά* [kseniˈtja] or *κουρμπέτι* [kurˈbeti]. The speaker here chooses *κουρμπέτ* instead of *ξενιτιά,* as *κουρμπέτ* is closer to the Albanian term for 'foreign lands', *kurbet* [kurˈbɛt]. Similarly, in (28) the speaker is complaining in Greek about the closing down of the factories in the nearby city of Avlona (Vlora in Albanian). Greek has two lexical items to refer to 'factories': *εργοστάσιο* [erɣoˈstasio] and *φάμπρικα* [ˈfabrika]. The informant in this example opts for *φάμπρικα* instead of *εργοστάσιο* as it is closer to the Albanian word for 'factory', *fabrikë* [faˈbrikə]. In both (27) and (28), the speakers seem to favor the Greek word that more closely matches the Albanian form.

(28)   Είχαμε   πρώτα   και   άλογα,   και   μλάρια,   και,   τώρα,   πάνε
           We.had   first   and   horses   and   mules   and   now   they.go
           στο   κουρμπέτ
           to.the   foreign.lands
           Before we had horses and mules, and, now, they go to the foreign lands.

(29)   Όλες   οι   φάμπρικες.   Που   'ναι   στον   Αυλώνα;
           All   the   factories   where they.are   in.the   Avlona
           Δεν   έχει   μια   φάμπρικα
           not   it.has   one   factory

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[14] Note that *δίνω* can be used in Istanbul Greek with the sense of 'to teach' in the same way it can in Albanian. We thank Matthew Hadodo for this information.

Where are all the factories? Where are they in Avlona? There is not one factory.

6. Summary

In summary, the data presented above show a fluidity and a seamlessness in the mixing of the languages in contact that are characteristic of fully bilingual communities. Moreover, many of the factors contributing to code-switching that have been discussed in the literature are relevant in Palasa linguistic interactions.

It must also be emphasized that not all types of language mixing are isolated events. The reality is that often the different factors converge to result in multiple types of language mixing in one utterance. For example, we see hybridization at many levels, including the somewhat underappreciated phonological hybrids.

Some questions that remain to be answered concern the extent of shared knowledge of linguistic forms. One consideration is whether what we have identified as borrowings are indeed the local standard forms. That is, the Greek-Albanian bilinguals in Palasa may not know the more standard Greek form, or at least do not use it in their local dialect. In addition, it is possible that some of the examples in this paper reflect individual usages or practices that are not shared linguistic norms among the Greek-Albanian bilingual members of the community. We leave these as open questions at this point, to be checked against further data from Palasa and environs.

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