



## *Field Report*

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### 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 & 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 Myslin & 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.<sup>1</sup>
- (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 [liθeri], 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.

- (1) I1:  *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””

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.

M: στη [pause] (n') *gjinin femërore*<sup>3</sup>  
 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, *me thika*, 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 Παλασκιούς “σέρνει η βάρκα το βαπόρι”* 'the Himariotes would say, would say about the Palasikotes “the boat drags the ship”') to qualify this by providing more information about the claim.

(3) *Gjithmonë andartin kanë qenë Palasikot. Ελέγανε οι*  
 always the.rebellion they.had been Palasikotes they.said the  
*Χειμαρραίοι λέγανε για τους Παλασκιούς “σέρνει η βάρκα το*  
 Himariotes they.said about the Palasikotes drags the boat the

3 The passages in Albanian are in bold while the passages in Greek are in Greek letters.

■ "underlined" changed to "in bold", ok?



βαπόρι”

ship

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, έχουμε 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? Not ...’

M1: *Όχι έχουμε πάει. Τα them në shqip më mirë se*  
no we.have gone you.it I.tell in Albanian more well because  
*nuk e[?]*  
not it  
‘No, we have gone. I’ll tell it to you better in Albanian because I don’t  
[?]’

[...]⁴

4 Indicates omitted passage.

M1: *Këta kanë vajtur i morën që ktena dhe*  
 these they.have suffered them they.took the ver.here and  
*i çuar në më [?] në për vende domethënë, se*  
 those brought to more to for places want-to-say because  
*ketu do bëhet luftë. Siç bërë bombardime, ça*  
 here would become war as done bombardments, what  
*do bëshin ato.*  
 would had.done they  
 ‘These ones have suffered, they took them from over here and those  
 brought to more [?] to (other) places, that is to say, there would be  
 war. As there were bombardments, what would they have done.’

M2: *Bombardime*  
 bombardments  
 ‘Bombardments’

## 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?*<sup>5</sup> ‘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’).

- (5) I1: *Domethënë [soi] i burrit është prej Skrapari, ose*  
 want-to-say the.family of the.husband is from Skrapar or  
*[soi] babait?*  
 the.family of.the.father  
 ‘That is to say, the husband’s family is from Skrapar, the father’s family?’

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,

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.'

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", in the terminology of 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 and also sounds the same in Greek (orthographically με) and in Albanian (orthographically me), might be what activates Albanian in the bilinguals' minds and thus triggers the switch from Greek to Albanian.<sup>6</sup>

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.

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

- (6) *Με παίρναν πάλι [με]<sup>7</sup> 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 [με] 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 so that the motivation behind the switch is unclear. Such cases 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.<sup>8</sup>

- (8) *Τι θέλει; Guzhina, καθαριότητα, σίδερο ...*  
 what he.wants the.kitchen cleaning ironing  
 ‘What does he want? The kitchen, cleaning, ironing ...’
- (9) *για δε μας δίνετε μια pika 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 here, 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

<sup>7</sup> 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.

<sup>8</sup> In this way, they differ from the instances of lexical borrowing we identify in § 3.1.



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 shows 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*<sup>9</sup> *kulture* 'house of culture', both mentioned in reference to the past communist regime, are borrowed from Albanian and embedded into Greek utterances.

- (10) Όταν εμπήκε η *partia* που γίνθηκε 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 *spi kulture*, πώς το  
because here the church it they.had house of.culture how it  
λένε.  
called  
'Because here the church was (turned into) a "house of culture" how do you call this?'

#### 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.

9 Although it is not our central point, we note that here the informant adapts the word-initial voiceless, post-alveolar, fricative [ʃ] of the Albanian form *shpi* /'ʃpi/ 'house' (related in some way to *shtëpi* /ʃtə'pi/ 'house') to the Greek voiceless, alveolar, fricative [s], presumably because Greek, in the standard language at least, does not have /ʃ/ in its phonemic inventory. Alternatively, this could be a hybrid, with Greek phonology but an Albanian form; see footnote 13.

- (12) Δεν ξέρω [?] *biologjia*, λέγω, και *kimia* ...  
 not I.know the.biology I.say and the.chemistry  
 'I don't know [?], biology, I say, and chemistry ...'
- (13) με ρίνει ση *gjykata administrative*, 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, η, η  
 But not it have the police me they.told me it has the the  
*ushtria*.  
 army  
 'But the police does not have it, they told me, the army has it.'
- (15) Η Ρουσία, είχαμε *marrëdhënie* 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 *ftesa*.  
 we.made invitations  
 'We made invitations'

I: *Ftesa*  
 invitations  
 'Invitations'



– Terms of endearment and kinship

- (19) *xhan* της μάνας  
soul of.the mother  
'mother's beloved'

- (20) πάρε καρέκλα *jeta* της μάνας  
you.take chair life of.the mother  
'Take a chair, mother's life'

### 3.2 Grammatical and structural borrowing

In addition to lexical borrowing, a few cases of borrowing of grammatical items as well as of structure can be seen in the contact between Greek and Albanian in Palasa.

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

Very common in the Greek of the villagers was the use, in cases where the language of communication was Greek, of the Albanian *ma* 'more' to signal comparative degree in adjectives, instead of its Greek correspondent *πιο* 'more'. 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 τα ανθρώπους να δλέψουν. Αν έκανε αυτός άλλα  
that one.lets the people that they.work If did he others  
καλυτ-, ma καλύτερα. Μας τα χαλάν τούτα δω. Το καλύβι  
bet- more better us them they.spoil those here the hut  
πο χεις εσύ δεν το πετάς[?]. Ένα άλλο ma μεγάλο. Το  
that have you not it you.throw one other more big it  
πετάξεις; Που θα χώσεις το κεφάλι;  
you.throw where FUT 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 an instance of the borrowing of structure involving a matter of syntax, specifically noun-adjective word order. The adjective *κακέα*<sup>11</sup> ‘bad’ appears after the noun it modifies, *αρρώστια* ‘illness,’ and not before it, which would be 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 *sëmundje të keqe* ‘bad illness’<sup>12</sup> in Albanian, where the adjective *keqe* ‘bad’ follows the noun *sëmundje* ‘illness’ that it modifies, thus a model for 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 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.<sup>13</sup>

11 *Κακέα* here is a regional variant of what in Standard Modern Greek is the feminine form *κακιά* ‘bad’. It is transcribed as given by the speaker.

12 This is 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 & Joseph 2017 for other examples like this from the Greek of southern Alba-

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

#### 4.2 Morphological hybridization

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 *studentes* ‘(university) students’, with a code-switch perhaps for purposes of clarification (see § 2.1.1). *Studentes*, 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 *-es* (e.g. φοιτητ-ές ‘students’, διευθυντ-ές ‘directors’) to produce the morphologically hybrid *studentes*. Moreover, it is a phonological hybrid too (see § 4.1), 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 studentes 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 or isosemy. 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 otherwise only carries the meaning of ‘baked’; what



nia. 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. ⟨ό⟩, even though such a diacritic is not usual in Albanian orthography.

would be expected in Greek is *ώριμη*, which has the meaning ‘mature’ that the speaker 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 speakers 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) appears to have transferred 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.<sup>14</sup> 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 gjuhë-letërsi και εσύ*  
FUT you.give language-literature and you  
‘You will teach language and literature too’

<sup>14</sup> 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.

## 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 opt for the one that is closer to the corresponding Albanian lexical item for the same concept. For example, in (27), the speaker is talking about the livestock that the villagers used to have and compares that situation to the present where most of the villagers have migrated to foreign lands. Greek has two options for ‘foreign lands’, either *ξενιτιά* [kseni'tja] or *κουρμπέτι* [kur'beti]. The speaker here chooses *κουρμπέτι* instead of *ξενιτιά*, because, we hypothesize, *κουρμπέτι* is closer to the Albanian term for ‘foreign lands’, *kurbet* [kur'bet]. 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* [erɣo'stasio] and *φάμπρικα* [ˈfabrika]. The informant in this example opts for *φάμπρικα* instead of *εργοστάσιο* because, we suggest, it is closer to the Albanian word for ‘factory’, *fabrikë* [fa'brikə]. That is, 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 στο*  
 we.had first and horses and mules and now they.go to.the  
*κουρμπέτι*  
 foreign.lands  
 ‘Before we had horses and mules, and, now, they go to the foreign lands.’

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



ing 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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