

Bilingual Phenomena Occurring in the Speech of Albanian Native Speakers

ABSTRACT

This study aims to determine whether bilingual phenomena occur in the speech of Albanian bilingual students with high exposure to English, in an attempt to detect the influence of English on the Albanian language. Special attention is paid to bilingual aspects like code-switching, lexical borrowings, calques, and hybrid compounds. Data have been gathered through participant systematic observation: Albanian bilingual students have been observed within informal settings of Pristina international schools. Their conversations have been recorded and transcribed for further analysis. The study shows that code-switching is the most common linguistic behaviour among the students under investigation. However, in addition to code-switching, lexical borrowings and calques also play a roughly equivalent role in their speech. This research provides evidence of bilingual phenomena resulting from direct, everyday language contact between English and Albanian in Pristina international schools, which aids in understanding the sociolinguistic changes brought about by such contact.

Keywords: language contact, bilingualism, code-switching, lexical borrowing, calques

Dvojezični pojavi v govoru maternih govorcev albanščine

IZVLEČEK

Cilj raziskave je ugotoviti, ali govor albanskih dvojezičnih učencev z visoko izpostavljenostjo angleščini zaznamujejo dvojezični pojavi, s čimer bi opredelili vpliv angleščine na albanski jezik. Posebna pozornost je namenjena dvojezičnim vidikom, kot so kodno preklapljanje, leksikalne izposojenke, kalki in hibridne zloženke. Podatki so zbrani na podlagi sistematičnega opazovanja albanskih dvojezičnih učencev v neformalnem okolju mednarodnih šol v Prištini, pri čemer so njihovi pogovori posneti in transkribirani za potrebe analize. Rezultati analize pokažejo, da je med preučevanimi učenci najpogostejši dvojezični jezikovni pojav kodno preklapljanje. Vendar imajo v njihovem govoru dokaj enakovredno vlogo leksikalne izposojenke in kalki. Raziskava potrjuje prisotnost dvojezičnih pojavov kot posledice vsakodnevnega neposrednega jezikovnega stika med angleščino in albanščino v mednarodnih šolah v Prištini, kar doprinese k razumevanju sociolingvistično pogojenih sprememb, ki so posledica takšnega stika.

Ključne besede: jezikovni stik, dvojezičnost, kodno preklapljanje, leksikalne izposojenke, kalki

1 Introduction

Contacts between English and Albanian varied across periods. Until lately, there were no direct contacts between English and Albanian. From a diachronic perspective, Gërmizaj (2009) examines the contacts between English and Albanian through the analysis of bilingual English-Albanian dictionaries compiled throughout history. The first English-Albanian dictionary was published in 1915. However, it is emphasized that the first contact between Albanian and English dates back even earlier, to the beginning of the 19th century, documented through a Greek-Albanian-English dictionary of 2,100 words, and as such is considered the first Albanian-English dictionary (Gërmizaj 2009, 19). These dictionaries were compiled to serve the needs of Albanian immigrants living in the English-speaking parts of the world, and with each new edition they became more sophisticated by providing more details about words.

The English and Albanian language did not have any direct contacts until 1999, when English became more present through the mechanisms of international organizations that were deployed or established in the post-war Kosovo (Nuhui 2013; Shabani, Munishi, and Sadiku 2022). This situation is also related to the current period of globalization, during which English has become a bridge language and an official language in meetings held in Europe and beyond.

Kosovo has two official languages (Albanian and Serbian), but it is the sociolinguistic context which is more diverse (Munishi 2020). In practice, English occupies an important place in almost every sphere, although it is an unofficial language. It enjoys the status of the second most learned language in Kosovo, as knowledge of English is associated with professional achievement as well as with higher social status. People are thus motivated to learn English and have a typically positive attitude toward doing so because they are aware of how important it is to be able to communicate in this language (Gërmizaj 2013, 241). Moreover, the younger a person is, the more they are likely to learn English along with their native language.

In this newly created reality, Albanian parents encourage and support their children to start learning English at an early age either through attending language courses, or directly by enrolling them in international schools with English as the language of instruction, within and outside of the country.

Their exposure to English leads to the manifestation of code-switching¹ (henceforth: CS), borrowing,² and other contact-induced phenomena as typical features of bilingual speech. As a result of their frequent use of the two languages, the speech of Albanian students can be linguistically examined to ascertain whether and to what extent the second language affects their mother tongue.

Specifically, the main aim of this paper is to analyse the speech of Albanian bilingual students that have been highly exposed to English to determine the extent to which bilingual phenomena occur in their speech. Since the results of the analysis on CS have already been

¹ The alternate use of two or more languages among bilingual interlocutors (MacSwan 2014, 1).

² The phonological and morphological integration of a word from one language into another (MacSwan 2014, 1).

discussed (Shabani, Munishi, and Sadiku 2022), the present study focuses primarily on lexical borrowings and calques. More specifically, the degree of their adaptation is examined to determine whether the expressions from the donor language³ replace the existing expressions in the receiving language⁴ (Albanian) or whether their use is considered essential due to new connotations.

Among the most frequently occurring phenomena encountered in the speech of Albanian bilingual students in addition to code-switching is the use of established lexical borrowings and new lexical borrowings, also known as nonce borrowings. Calques or calquing – translations of borrowings, or semantic transference as defined by Clyne (2003, 90) – constitute another frequently occurring category, as well as hybrid compounds. In the remainder of the paper, the analysis and discussion focus on these categories, i.e., established/new lexical borrowings, calques/calquing and hybrid compounds.

2 Literature Review

The distinction between CS occurring as a single word within a sentence and lexical borrowing is not generally agreed upon by scholars. There are a number of researchers who distinguish lexical borrowings from CS in that the former are syntactically, morphologically, and phonologically adapted to the receiving language, whereas the latter are not (Poplack 1981; Poplack and Sankoff 1988; Poplack, Wheeler, and Westwood 1989; Poplack 2004; Milroy and Muysken 1995; Gumperz 1982, MacSwan 2000, 2005a, 2005b, 2013; MacSwan and Van Gelderen 2008). On the other hand, a number of researchers do not find such a distinction necessary (Myers-Scotton 1993, 1996, 1998, 2001, 2002, 2006, 2008; Myers-Scotton and Jake 2001, 2017; Bentahila and Davies 1991; Treffers-Daller 1991; Johanson 1999, 2002a, 2002b, among others).

In an attempt to distinguish between CS and lexical borrowing, Poplack (2018) uses the term nonce borrowing to refer to other single linguistic elements that show either morphological, syntactic, or phonological similarities with the target language. The opposite is true for established borrowings, which exhibit total linguistic integration, behave precisely the same as any other native word, and are included in monolinguals' repertoire. In a similar vein, MacSwan (2005a) in his proposed PF (phonetic form) Disjunction Theorem makes a distinction between CS and lexical borrowing depending on whether the other language stem is phonologically integrated with the affix. In the latter case, it is regarded as a *novel borrowing*, which is what Poplack (2018) refers to as *nonce borrowing*.

On the other hand, another group of researchers (cf. Myers-Scotton 1993; also, Bentahila and Davies 1991; Jake, Myers-Scotton, and Gross 2002) challenged Poplack's (1980) position by asserting that CS and lexical borrowing are undifferentiated by the bilingual user; therefore, such a distinction is deemed unnecessary. In this regard, Myers-Scotton (1993) developed the MLF (Matrix Language Frame) model according to which ML (matrix language) is the

³ Donor language – the language which is borrowed from (Campbell 2013).

⁴ Receiving language – the language which borrows (Campbell 2013). There is another term employed such as *Host language* which is defined as the most widely used language variety within the region of settlement within the host country of interest (Hirsch and Kayam 2021).

dominant language or the language of more morphemes. On the other hand, according to the author, it is the embedded language EL (embedded language) which follows the rules of ML (Myers-Scotton 1993, 1996, 2001, 2017). Therefore, both CS and lexical borrowing indicate the morphosyntax of the matrix language.

According to Myers-Scotton (1993, 243), nonce borrowing is essentially the same as CS, so there is “no motivation for introducing such a term”. As such, it is suggested that they should not be seen as two distinct phenomena, but rather as a diachronic continuum: at first new expressions enter the recipient language as CS and then eventually become integrated as loanwords (Gardner-Chloros, 1995, 2009; Haust 1995). In the Albanian language, since letters often correspond to sounds, it is important to consider phonological criteria to distinguish between lexical borrowings and code-switching.

Gumperz (1982, 68) also focuses on the distinction between CS and lexical borrowing by stating that CS is primarily a matter of conversational interpretation, thus taking into account pertinent inferential tools that affect contextual and social presuppositions, whereas lexical borrowing is regarded as a single-word and clause-level phenomenon.

2.1 Lexical Borrowings

There are a number of perspectives on how to distinguish between lexical borrowing and single-word code switching, so there are no precise distinctions (for discussion, see above). In this paper, we consider them as two distinct phenomena. The degree of adaptation the foreign word has undergone in the receiving language determines this difference. This means that, if a word is adapted according to the morphological, phonological and semantic level of the receiving language, then that word can be considered a fully assimilated lexical borrowing, also known as an established borrowing. On the other hand, if the word, phrase, or sentence is used as in the original language, it is known as CS. However, there are cases where CS occurring as single words have already taken the inflected forms of the host language, in those cases the stem of the word has also undergone phonological modifications; therefore, they are considered as nonce borrowings. They have started the journey of adaptation in the receiving language, although they may not be present or widespread in the community. Poplack (2001) asserts that nonce borrowings differ from established borrowings in that they are not necessarily recurring, nor are they widespread, or familiar to monolinguals.

To illustrate the difference, some examples that have been categorized as nonce borrowings are given below, in which mainly nouns taken over from English are inflected for case by the appropriate Albanian suffixes. In the same way, verbs from English seem to have been adapted and canalized according to the relevant conjugation in Albanian. Since the noun *sunset* in (1) made its way into Albanian through spoken English, one can notice the influence of the pronounced form of the word. Thus, the phoneme /ʌ/ is replaced with the closest Albanian phoneme /a/. However, it is treated as a nonce borrowing since the accent has changed position from the first syllable in the original word to the second syllable when adapted in the Albanian language.

- (1) *Sa bukur u duke sunset-i* [san 'seti]
'How beautiful the sunset looked!'
- (2) *Amelia: Pse bre 'recess-i* [ri'sesi] *është shumë pak kohë? Është one hour.*
'Why is recess time in school so short? It's only one hour.'
- (3) ... *merrne krejt recess-in.* [ri'sesin]
'...you can have the whole recess.'
- (4) *Where's miss?* [mɪs] *Miss-i* ['mi:si] *u hi mrena.*
'Miss went inside.'

However, in most of the cases, English nouns used in Albanian syntactic structures lack case marking. Likewise, verbs are neither conjugated according to the morphology of the Albanian language nor do they receive the English ending. Therefore, they are unassimilated in an Albanian sentence, and as such together with many other words are categorized as cases of code-switching.

- (5) *A u kry recess? Edhe pak.*
'Is recess over? Not yet.'
- (6) *E çfarë kompani janë këto që i paguni e nuk iu reimburse kur keni ma së shumti nevojë për ta?*
'What companies are these you give money to but do not reimburse when you most need them?'

It is well-known that when languages are in direct contact, they influence each other, and the most affected linguistic area is the lexicon (Nevalainen 1999; Ajeti 2005, 394; Blaku 2010, 213; Curtis 2012). The present synchronic study aims to analyse spoken data extracted from the everyday conversations of bilingual speakers in informal settings. For this reason, code-switching is their most prevalent linguistic behaviour. However, it is known that insertions from the second language, i.e., code-switching eventually leads to borrowings (Gardner-Chloros 2009, 12). Oftentimes they are embraced by the receiving language if they bring new terms and expressions. These new expressions, otherwise known as lexical borrowings, are finally adapted to the receiving language according to the morphological, phonological and semantic levels of the receiving language. Otherwise, if foreign words are unassimilated, they are identified as instances of CS. Since this is a diachronic process, only the surviving and mostly used items remain in the vocabulary of the receiving language, including their presence in the repertoire of monolinguals (Poplack 2018). With regard to the distinction between lexical borrowing and how we set the latter apart from CS or calques, CS is characterized by the speakers' simultaneous usage of elements from two different languages (example 8 below). However, when using borrowings, speakers only employ elements from a single language, meaning that any concept from the second language has already been fully incorporated into the vocabulary of the first language and adapted phonologically (see (7)):

- (7) *Jam shumë selektive* [selek'ti:ve] *me njerëz.*
'I am a very selective person.'

In contrast to the previous example, example (8) is a clear case of CS because it involves three people speaking two languages simultaneously. CS takes place between turns, and Jefferson's (2004) glossary of transcript symbols was used to transcribe the conversation into written form.

(8)

- 01 A: *Kom shanca ma t'ndhaja m'u bo me të.*
'I have better chances to be with him.'
- 02 B: *Are you complaining about it? Are you complaining?*
- 03 C: *Këqyre si s'të do ai, edhe 3.9 milion djem tjerë janë.*
'Look! If he doesn't love you, there are 3.9 million other guys out there.'
- 04 A: *but they're not like him=*
- 05 B: *=yeah, but they're better.*
- 06 C: *eh moj motra jem, me sa djalin kom fol, këqyre tash*
'Oh, my sister, you know how many guys I have talked to and am still talking.'
- 07 A: *mos rrej bre, mos rrej*
'Don't lie, please, don't lie.'
- 08 B: *you're such a love sick!*
- 09 C: *I know, she's such a hopeless one.*
- 10 C: *A e din qysh thojshë?*
'You know what you used to say?'
- 11 A: *[I KNOW ↑ but it's not that ...*
- 12 B: *she said "I don't wanna be with him at all".*

Myers-Scotton (2006, 212–15) distinguishes between two semantic types of loanwords: cultural and core loans. The first type of borrowings is related to concepts that are new to the receiving language, whereas the second type of borrowings refers to borrowings that have equivalents in the receiving language but have a new semantic connotation. According to the distinction made by Weinreich (1953, 56), cultural loans are close to prestige borrowings while core loans correspond to necessary borrowings. It can be assumed that the first type of borrowings is used by monolingual speakers due to the need to name new notions, while the second type may be related to bilingualism and CS, hence used by bilingual speakers (Matras 2009, 111). According to Van Coetsem (1988/2000) (cited in Curtis 2012, 52–53), depending on the situations of language contact, a distinction is made between borrowing and imposition. Borrowing refers to the intentional incorporation of a foreign word into the vocabulary of the native language and implies that the speaker is more proficient and dominant in his native language. While imposition is about situations when the speakers are in the process of learning the second language, and as a result of insufficient knowledge in the second language they incorporate syntactic structures from the first language into the second target language. The intensity and type of contact between communities, as well as the dominance and sociocultural pressure of one community on another, are among the variables that Thomason and Kaufman (1988, 72) highlight as being important in determining what can be borrowed. These variables are taken into account when determining the extent of

borrowing from one language to another. However, there is a common conclusion based on research findings (Muyesken 1981; Matras 2009) that content words tend to be borrowed to a greater extent even in less intense contact situations, while functional words are borrowed in those cases when contacts are more intense (cited in Curtis 2012, 56). Viewed from a diachronic context, one can understand the pragmatic context by referring to Friedman and Joseph's (2013) typology according to which loanwords are first presented by speakers of languages within conversations indicating social context. ERIC (essentially rooted in conversation) loans constitute the loans encountered in direct contact situations such as *Balkan Sprachbund* (cited in Curtis 2012, 58). Some examples of such borrowings are kinship terms, numerals, and words with grammatical value such as adjectives, prepositions, negation, complementizers, discourse particles, and so on.

The speakers in this study are native speakers of Albanian. Nonetheless, they still communicate with other Albanian native teachers in English, and at the same time are surrounded by other international teachers and students with whom the only language of communication is English. In contrast to long-term coexistence and widespread daily bilingualism between two languages, this paper analyses a situation in which there is direct contact in a particular setting. Therefore, the elements that can be borrowed are content words related to the education of students, such as lessons, names of courses, and classes, and less can be said about borrowing grammatical elements.

Over time, various authors have discussed how lexical borrowings are changed in the receiving language, with an early example being Haugen (1950, 214), who examined how the foreign word is morphologically adapted. Borrowings are classified according to the degree of morphemic substitution. Filipović (1960a, 1960b, 1968, 1980, 1981, 2002, 2018) specifically addressed the adaptation of loanwords in the receiving language when he dealt with English lexical borrowings in the Croatian language. In addition to the morphological level, Filipović also concentrated on the phonological and semantic levels of foreign word adaption. Campbell (2013) speaks of loanword adaptation in terms of morphology and phonology. By referring to a number of languages, he demonstrates how foreign words are remodelled, accommodated and adapted according to the structure of the borrowing language.

Foreign words undergo thus various stages of adaptation in terms of phonology where substitution, deletion or replacement of particular sounds take place. Additionally, loanwords are also altered to suit the morphological patterns of the borrowing language. For instance, gender is given to nouns from English that are inserted into Albanian because the latter has grammatical gender.

2.2 Calques Or Direct Translations from the Original Language

The term calque refers to cases where an expression is literally translated from the source language into the target language while preserving its meaning and structure. Thomason (2001, 260) defines calques as borrowed elements which do not appear in their integral form in the receiving language but are replaced by a corresponding term of the latter. Haugen (1950) recognizes them as loanshifts. Vinay and Darbelnet (1995, 32) define calques as “a special type of borrowing when one language borrows an expression from another, but then

literally translates each of its elements.” Calques are essentially morpheme-for-morpheme or root-for-root translations. In their study Vinay and Darbelnet (1995, 32) place particular emphasis on two categories of calques: lexical and structural. The first category of calques concerns those that follow the syntactic structure of the receiving language while presenting a new way of expression, while in the second instance, calques are used to introduce new structures into the receiving language. There are also other types of calques, such as semantic calques, phraseological calques, orthographic calques, and so on.

3 Methodology

This study is qualitative in character. Data were collected through fieldwork. Participant systematic observation was used as a means of gathering as much authentic utterances as possible to determine whether and to what degree bilingual phenomena are present in the speech of Albanian bilingual students.

3.1 Participants

The investigation was conducted on 30 students aged nine to 18 years old, all of whom have been studying in English since enrolling in Pristina international schools. The time from the students’ first enrolment in these institutions to the time of the current research varies depending on the age group under investigation. The 30 students have been further divided into three groups. The first group is made up of fifth graders in elementary school, who are between the ages of nine and 11. The second group is made up of middle-schoolers, who are between the ages of 12 and 14. The third group is made up of high school students, who are between the ages of 15 and 18.

Even though the subjects are exposed to English on a daily basis for about seven hours, they live in an Albanian-speaking community, use Albanian extensively outside the school environment, and interact with other Albanian speakers in an otherwise monolingual environment where the majority of the population speaks Albanian.

TABLE 1. Participant self-reports on language use at home/school.

Domains	Home	School	Language Proficiency
Participants	Albanian	English	English as a second language

The social environment of these children is homogeneous as they all have a similar biographical background. So they live in a monolingual society with Albanian as the dominant language in all spheres of life. However, their English language repertoire differs depending on the age of exposure to English. Overall, 21 students enrolled in Pristina international schools after pre-school or the first grade (from the ages of five to six), while the other nine students joined these schools later on. Another study on the same subjects revealed that age was a significant factor in language choice. This was demonstrated using the *chi-square test* to determine the extent to which extra-linguistic factors influence language choice, with the statistical value for language choice in the alpha table being less than .05. The earlier the children began learning English, the more often they utilize it in conversation (cf. Shabani, Munishi, and Sadiku 2022).

3.2 Data Collection

The corpus used in this study is made up of conversations between Albanian bilingual students that were recorded in Pristina international schools. The corpus, which is comprised of 16 hours and eight minutes of audiotaped conversations, forms the basis for this research. Additionally, the students' attitudes and interpretations of language use were obtained through focus groups and interviews. When observing the students, the fieldworker (the author of the paper) was a bystander and thus not involved in their conversations when recording. Over time the students saw the fieldworker as one of the teachers supervising them during recess, despite the fact that at the outset of the research consent was obtained from the school representatives, parents and the subjects, and her role as an outsider had been explained to them.

4 Results

The initial focus of the study is to establish how often Albanian bilingual students with regular exposure to English switch back and forth between languages. Nevertheless, during the course of our research we realized that the use of foreign words of English origin did not only appear in a form of CS, but some foreign words had already undergone some degree of adaptation in the target language. Examples of these bilingual aspects include lexical borrowings and calques, and the extent of their use among participants is shown in the chart below.

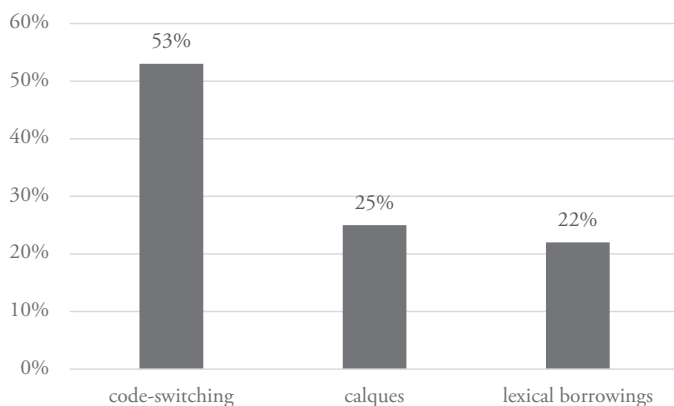


FIGURE 1. The occurrence of bilingual phenomena identified in the speech of Albanian students.

As the chart above shows, CS is more present in the speech of the Albanian students highly exposed to English in comparison with calques or lexical borrowings. Out of the 1,405 utterances that were transcribed from the speech of Albanian students, 931 instances (or 53%) were classified as CS, while the remaining 47% were made up of 222 (or 22%) lexical borrowings and 252 (or 25%) calques.

Therefore, through participant systematic observation it was found that Albanian students inserted single words and phrases from English into Albanian utterances, or even switched between two languages for longer stretches of talk. On the other hand, the monolingual speech that makes up the remaining 47% of the sample should not be disregarded because it

contains established lexical borrowings from English and calques (structural and lexical) that are replicated from English.

For the purposes of this paper, lexical borrowings and calques have been further analysed. Examples are provided to illustrate how they have undergone adaptation into the receiving language. Additionally, they have been analysed from the perspective of whether they are used to fill lexical gaps or replace the existing Albanian equivalents. This comparative and contrastive analysis is done by using reference dictionaries: *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary* (henceforth: OALD) for English and *Dictionary of Contemporary Albanian Language* (henceforth: DCAL) for Albanian.

5 Discussion

5.1 Lexical Borrowings

As the findings indicate, lexical borrowings are less present in the speech of bilinguals compared to CS. This occurs because the Albanian speakers in our study have chosen to keep the languages apart – they keep a monolingual mode, i.e., they switch between sentences, or for longer stretches of talk. Specifically, this is true for elementary school students. They frequently switch between the two languages intersententially (between sentences) rather than at the level of words or phrases within a single sentence. Below are some examples of lexical borrowings from English that have made their way into Albanian. They are adapted in terms of morphology, syntax, phonology, and semantics either fully or partially. High school students, for whom it has been observed that they use their mother tongue more frequently than the other two observed groups, when conversing informally with one another, also use lexical borrowings more frequently in comparison to the other groups (i.e., elementary or middle-school students), and thus these borrowings are encountered in monolingual discourse. Lexical borrowings are especially noticeable in the focus groups where the conversation was purposely begun in Albanian to encourage the participants to speak the language. However, there are instances of both CS and fully adapted borrowings when students attempted to explain how a typical class works or how they spend the break time, for example.

Despite the fact that many of the lexical borrowings identified in this research are frequently associated with the field of education, they also come from other fields. The forms that have been translated into Albanian are written using Albanian orthography, and the original forms in English are enclosed in brackets. English suffixes are sometimes replaced by the corresponding Albanian ones, as in the cases of (10), (17), and (24), while English words are sometimes associated with Albanian inflection in the cases of (11), (18), (22), (27), (28), and (29). Additionally, there are the derivations given in (16), (17), and (26), where the English prefix has been transferred into Albanian along with the stem, but the suffix is still in Albanian.

- (9) *Kam provu me e dhanë edhe tek ato bagazhet që i vendosin gjërat fragile (fragile) por fatkeqësisht nuk ishte e sigurt.*

‘Unfortunately, it was unsafe even though I tried to pack it in the luggage designed for fragile items.’

- (10) *Jena tu prit ma shumë participues* (participants) *edhe ma ja nisë.*
‘We are waiting for more participants to start.’
- (11) *Edhe një diçka që vlen mu cek, mesa e di për Ballkan, best library, librarinë që kemi pasë qasje na, ka qenë njona prej librarive* (libraries) *ma të mira n’Ballkan.*
‘One more thing that is worth noting, as far as I know about the Balkans, the best library, the library we had access to, was one of the best libraries in the Balkans.’
- (12) *Jam shumë selektive me njerëz.*
‘I am a very selective person.’
- (13) *Qoftë edhe përshembull të internshipeve* (internships) *ose mundësive tjera akademike që t’i ka ofru universiteti.*
‘For instance, either internships or other academic opportunities provided by the university.’
- (14) *Kjo e determinon* (determines) *punën e tyre.*
‘This determines their work.’
- (15) *Ja, ky vendim është determinant* (determinant) *për të ardhmen tonë.*
‘This decision will determine our future.’
- (16) *Në mënyrë që ta destigmatizojmë* (destigmatize) *çështjen e periodave dhe ciklit menstrual*
...
‘In order to destigmatize the issue of periods and the menstrual cycle ...’
- (17) *Një kampanjë që synon destigmatizimin* (destigmatization) *e çështjeve ...*
‘A campaign aimed at the destigmatization of issues.’
- (18) *Hand luggage i ka dimensionet strikte* (strict).
‘Hand luggage has strict dimensions.’
- (19) *Mund të aplikohet* (applied) *për prodhuesit e një programi televiziv.*
‘It can be applied to the producers of a television programme.’
- (20) *Filloi me u implementu* (implement) *kur unë jom kon n’vitin e tretë.*
‘It started to be implemented when I was in my third year.’
- (21) *Prit veç ta shoh stokun* (stock) *a kanë mbet a jo.*
‘Wait until I check the stock, to see if there are any left.’
- (22) *Shikoja asetet* (assets) *e buta qysh i tregon.*
‘Look how she exposes her soft assets.’
- (23) *Bordi* (board) *i shkollës është institucion që përfaqëson interesat tona.*
‘The school board is an institution that represents our interests.’

- (24) *Na ju sigurojmë kontinuitetin (continuity) e sukseseve tona.*
 ‘We assure you the continuity of our success.’
- (25) *Në fakt, në mu drita ka impakt (impact) në mësim.*
 ‘In fact, light has an impact on me when learning.’
- (26) *Kjo tani përkethehet në atë disbalancin (disbalance) edhe padrejtësinë që iu bohet atyne nxansave.*
 ‘If interpreted differently, this could mean that such people are victims of unequal treatment and injustice.’
- (27) *Përnime është shumë e vlefshme edhe ta jep qat’ sensin (sense) që studenti nuk është aty dud me u ndal edhe me aprovu çdo sen që ti i thu.*
 ‘As a matter of fact, it is very helpful because it gives you the sense that the student is not an idiot and does not agree with everything you say to him.’
- (28) *Megenëse vet nuk um konvenojke ashtu jo pse i influencojshe (influence) edhe tjerët po krejt ishin njëzëri që ky sistem nuk është i mirë.*
 ‘The others all agreed that this system is not good as it was not convenient for me and not because I had any influence over them.’
- (29) *Me pasë atë suportin (support) e duhur prej prindve ...*
 ‘To have the right support from parents.’
- (30) *Intervistat e fundit që i kish pasë ishin kon qaq banale, qaq me disrespekt (Albanian spelling) (disrespect) saqë prej mllëfit tha ma mirë po shkoj në Gjermani.*
 ‘The last interviews she had were so banal, so disrespectful [...] she said with bitterness, “I’d better go to Germany.”’

Example (11) is known as *a false cognate* in the literature (Lipski 2008), when in fact the word that replaces *library* in the Albanian language is *bibliotekë*. On the other hand, *librari* (bookshop) is a store where you can buy books and all other relevant school supplies.

5.2 Calques

Based on the relevant literature on the definition of calques, below there are details of the various different types that have been identified when analysing the language behaviour of the students in this study. The results show that there is a tendency from the side of the speakers to transfer the syntactic structure of English to Albanian, so we are dealing with structural or syntactic calques. However, calques that transmit the meaning from the source language are another aspect of the repertoire of bilinguals. To compare the meanings and semantic approximations, we used the dictionaries of the two respective languages, namely the OALD and DCAL. Some examples follow:

(32) *Brainwash*⁵ – *tru shpërlarje*

This compound was transferred from English as a structural calque, but as such it is not yet present in the dictionary of Albanian. Its structure indicates that it is of foreign origin since the phrase *shpërlarje e trurit* ‘washing of the brain’, albeit still considered a calque, would be a more appropriate expression in Albanian.

(33) *Share a room* – *ndaj një dhomë*

In this case we are dealing with a structural calque, a structure transferred from English. Similar cases are provided in (34–35).

(34) *Change my mind* – *ndërrroj mendje*

(35) *Merit-based* – *në baza meritore*

(36) *I made the decisions* – *i kom bo vendimet* instead of *I kam marrë vendimet*

‘I have taken the decisions.’ Given that this form is rare in Albanian, it can be concluded that there it is a direct translation from English. In Albanian, a much more idiomatic expression for English *make a decision* is *take a decision*. Therefore, in Albanian the noun *decision* collocates with the verb *take*.

(37) *Open-minded*⁶ – *mendje hapur*; also: *mendje-hapur*

There is a near equivalent in Albanian for *open-minded*: *mendjegjerë*⁷ (*broad-minded*). The antonym for the words *broad-minded* and *open-minded* in the English language is *narrow-minded*.⁸ The latter is similar to its Albanian equivalent *mendjengushtë*⁹ in meaning. It can be said that *mendje hapur* is synonymous with the existing word *mendjegjerë*, given that both compounds have similar meanings in the original language as well.

(37) *Stereotype*¹⁰ – *stereotip* instead of *paragjykim*¹¹

The English word *prejudice*¹² is more closely related to the Albanian *paragjykim* than other words with comparable meanings. Additionally, the English word *bias*¹³ conveys meanings akin to *prejudice* or *stereotype*. In the Albanian language, there is just one word that is used to convey this meaning: *paragjykim*. Therefore, it can

⁵ OALD: to force somebody to accept your ideas or beliefs, for example by repeating the same thing many times or by preventing the person from thinking clearly.

⁶ OALD: willing to listen to, think about or accept different ideas.

⁷ DCAL: who has the capacity to absorb and evaluate things in breadth, who judges things broadly and profoundly, and who is knowledgeable.

⁸ OALD: not willing to listen to new ideas or to the opinions of others.

⁹ DCAL: who perceives and judges things superficially and narrowly, who is unable to comprehend and evaluate them in depth; having little understanding, uneducated; opposite: broad-minded.

¹⁰ OALD: a fixed idea or image that many people have of a particular type of person or thing, but which is often not true in reality.

¹¹ DCAL: unfair impression that you have about someone or something before knowing one fully and that prevents you from evaluating it objectively.

¹² OALD: an unreasonable dislike of or preference for a person, group, custom, etc., especially when it is based on their race, religion, sex, etc.

¹³ OALD: a strong feeling in favour of or against one group of people, or one side in an argument, often not based on fair judgement.

be said that we are dealing with new expressions that are being introduced into the Albanian language (such as *stereotip*) as a result of the Albanian students being highly exposed to English.

- (38) *I remind myself* has been directly translated as *Po e rikujtoj veten*

However, the expression *Po ia rikujtoj vetes* is much more common in Albanian than the calque *po e rikujtoj veten*. In this instance of a structural calque, the speaker uses the cases incorrectly – the accusative is used instead of the dative.

- (39) *Library*¹⁴ – *librari*¹⁵ for *bibliotekë*¹⁶

Due to the fact that the bilingual speakers are confusing the terms, there is a structural calque in this situation. The word *librari* has a different meaning in Albanian. Although they do not have the same meaning, there is a tendency to use the Albanian counterpart interchangeably because they are similar in structure and orthography.

- (40) *Education*¹⁷ – *edukim*¹⁸ instead of *arsimim*¹⁹

The word *arsimim* seems to be semantically more related to the English word *education*. Due to the similarities in the orthography, and under the influence of English, this example is treated as a calque.

- (41) *Eventually*²⁰ – *eventualisht*²¹ for *përfundimisht*²²

Although this adverb can be linked to the adjective *eventual* in this sense in the most recent version of the Albanian dictionary, it was previously used in Albanian with an entirely different meaning, such as *ndoshta* ‘maybe’ and *mund të jetë* ‘it could be’. However, the dictionary already contains the word ‘eventualisht’ in the meaning of ‘përfundimisht’.

- (42) *General*²³ – *gjeneral*²⁴ for *i përgjithshëm*²⁵ as in *S’po besoj që ka terapist të specializum veç për gjumë, po një terapist gjeneral mundet me e trajtu këtë problem* (A general therapist would be better able to handle this issue because I don’t think there is a special type of therapist who only deals with sleep issues).

¹⁴ OALD: a building in which collections of books, newspapers, etc. and sometimes films and recorded music are kept for people to read, study or borrow.

¹⁵ DCAL: the shop where books are sold. Popular bookstore. City bookstores. Textbook library.

¹⁶ DCAL: a building or hall of an institution, which works with the collection, storage, and processing of books, magazines, and other publications, making them known to the general public and lending them out to readers temporarily for use. National Library. Scientific Library.

¹⁷ OALD: a process of teaching, training and learning, especially in schools, colleges or universities, to improve knowledge and develop skills.

¹⁸ DCAL: contribution made via conscious, methodical, ongoing work toward the general and special development of a person or group of people regarding their way of thinking, their feelings, etc.

¹⁹ DCAL: I give him education, equip him with knowledge by sending him to school.

²⁰ OALD: at the end of a period of time or a series of events.

²¹ DCAL: finally, eventually.

²² DCAL: finally; forever, once and for all: *the problem was eventually resolved; eventually gave up; eventually the decision was made.*

²³ OALD: not limited to a particular subject, use or activity.

²⁴ DCAL: senior officer rank in the armed forces of the land and air forces, which is lower than marshal and includes several ranks.

²⁵ DCAL: that is common or characteristic of a set of people, things or phenomena, that belongs to all or a large number of people, things, etc.; opposite: specific; special.

Depending on the context, this word can have a variety of meanings in English, including the only existing meaning in Albanian. So it seems that this word can expand its meaning in Albanian under the influence of English. However, the adjectives *general* and *i përgjithshëm* are synonyms when compared to one another. Therefore, its use is deemed unnecessary because it does not fill a lexical gap.

(43) *Contributor* – *kontributor* for *kontribues*

Instead of the word *kontribues*, *contributor* is translated into Albanian as *kontributor*. There are no entries for *kontributor* or *kontribues* in the Albanian dictionary. However, their related forms such as *kontribuj*, *kontribuim*, and *kontribut*, are already included in the dictionary.

(44) *Remain on hold* has been translated partially as *mbet hold* for *mbetesh në pritje*.

In this case we have a hybrid composition, where words from both languages co-exist, but again the collocational preference follows the English pattern.

(45) *Respective*²⁶ *ways* – *mënyrat respektive* for *mënyrat përkatëse*²⁷

Due to the semantic similarity between the English adjective *respective* and its Albanian counterpart *përkatëse* we conclude that the transferred and adapted adjective from English, *respective* is not necessary.

(46) *We have nothing to do today* – *Na kena asgjë me bo sot* for *Na s'kena me bë asgjë sot*.

In Albanian, double negation is a common feature of sentences, for example *we don't have nothing to do* for standard English *we don't have anything to do*. While the sentence given here speaks of structural transfer of English found in the repertoire of a nine-year-old Albanian bilingual.

(47) *Training is supposed to be*²⁸ *held online* – *Trajnimi është i supozuar me u mbajt online*

In this case we are dealing with a direct translation of the idiom from English. A similar case is given in example (48).

(48) *You are not supposed to suit the clothes. Clothes are supposed to suit you* – *Ti nuk supozohet të përshtatesh me rrobat. Rrobat supozohet të përshtaten me ty.*

(49) *Class* – *Klasë* as in *we start the Art class in February*

The word *klasë* in this context has a distinct meaning in Albanian; instead of it, the expressions *orë/mësim/lëndë* are used more frequently.

(50) *Take finals* – *I kom marrë finals*²⁹

Despite the fact that this composition is hybrid, we deal with a collocation, or a structural calque from English.

²⁶ OALD: belonging or relating separately to each of the people or things already mentioned

²⁷ DCAL: that belongs to me or to someone; related to someone or something; that complies with or corresponds to something

²⁸ OALD: to be expected or required to do/be something according to a rule, a custom, an arrangement, etc.

²⁹ OALD: the last exams taken by university students at the end of their final year.

- (51) *Ma s'pari hina n'klasë, e marrin 'attendance', e kqyrmi një 'video'* 'First we go to class, they take attendance, we watch a video /'vɪdiəʊ/.'

This is an illustration of yet another collocation with 'take', like in the aforementioned instance.

- (52) *Gain experience – fitu eksperiencë*

In Albanian, *bëj përvojë* 'make experience' is more common than *fitu eksperiencë* (gain experience). This collocation has an English-language effect.

6 Conclusion

The paper has first addressed the distinction between CS as a single word and lexical borrowing. We have treated an expression as CS if it is used precisely as it would be in the original language, i.e., without any modifications. Expressions that have undergone any kind of adaptation, for example phonological or morphological changes, have been categorized as nonce borrowings. Nonce borrowings are first used by bilinguals and may not be familiar to the general public. Some of them eventually find their way into the speech of monolinguals and are used just like any other native word. In this case, they are known as established borrowings in the literature.

Alongside CS which is a frequent linguistic behaviour among the students with high exposure to English, it can be argued that a significant number of borrowings have been found in the repertoire of the bilinguals in question. The borrowings identified in the research mostly belong to the semantic domain of education. They are expressions from the school which is their immediate environment. However, borrowings from other domains have been encountered as well. They behave like any other Albanian word in terms of structure. These words have already undergone adaptation at all levels.

Calques, or literal translations from L2 to L1, exhibit a strong English influence on Albanian. Albanian students who speak both languages frequently use calques in their speech. In fact, structural calques, in which the English syntactic order has been directly transferred into Albanian, are evident. However, there are also cases when additional meanings of the words in English are transferred in the Albanian language. The influence of English on Albanian is felt, among other things, in the case of collocations. For example, verbs are directly translated from English into Albanian and still combined with English nouns.

Additionally, bilingual speakers use direct translations of English idioms into Albanian, which, for example, would not seem natural to Albanian monolingual speakers. Due to the influence of English, it has been noted that the meaning of existing Albanian words has expanded. This necessitates the addition of new expressions borrowed from English with new meanings in order to fill lexical gaps. Nevertheless, as a result of English influence, expressions were also borrowed due to a lack of awareness about the existence of adequate Albanian equivalents.

This is a diachronic process where foreign expressions first arrive as CS and later some of them are adapted and established as lexical borrowings. Only the most commonly used words survive and are distributed among monolingual speakers in the community. In terms of

character, the study in question is regarded as a synchronic research endeavour. Accordingly, it has also been noted that CS is present and is used most frequently among Albanian bilingual students. But they also use lexical borrowings and calques, which were observed in their speech and investigated for the purposes of this paper.

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