

Code-switching to avoid paradigm gaps: Verb integration in Austrian BCMS

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The BCMS of Bosnia, Croatia, Montenegro and Serbia has two productive patterns of loan verb integration: *-a-* is the main verbaliser in the west, while *-ova-* is more common in the east.

(1)	West	East	West	East
	lajk- <u>a</u> -ti	lajk- <u>ova</u> -ti	invajt- <u>a</u> -ti	invajt- <u>ova</u> -ti
	like- <i>a</i> -INF	like- <i>ova</i> -INF	invite- <i>a</i> -INF	invite- <i>ova</i> -INF

BCMS speakers who recently moved to Austria (henceforth homeland BCMS speakers) apply the same mechanisms to German verbs, isolating the stem and applying the same verbalisers.

(2)	German	Homeland BCMS	Homeland BCMS
	anpass-en	anpas- <u>a</u> -ti	anpas- <u>ova</u> -ti
	adapt-INF	adapt- <i>a</i> -INF	invite- <i>ova</i> -INF

However, heritage BCMS speakers from Austria use a different integration strategy, which employs the full infinitive form of the German verb, to which one of the native verbalisers: *-i-* is added. This verbalizer is absent from loanword integration in homeland BCMS.

(4)	German	Heritage BCMS
	anpass-en	anpasen- <u>i</u> -ti
	adapt-INF	adapt- <i>i</i> -INF

While the *ati* and *ovati* patterns induce no stem allomorphy, the *eniti* pattern causes stem allomorphy in the passive participle forms. In Homeland BCMS, all verbs in *eniti* (e.g. *zameniti* 'replace') have the passive participle in *e[n]en* (e.g. *zame[n]en*). The selection of the *eniti* pattern as the integration strategy hence contradicts the claim from Simonović (2015) that the loanword integration pattern is selected from patterns that involve the least possible amount of stem allomorphy. He claims that the borrowing mechanism is especially sensitive to the allomorphy in the portion of the stem that is incorporated from another language (in this case *anmelden*).

It is plausibly for this reason that in Heritage BCMS the passive participle forms of the German-origin verbs are blocked, even for speakers who report only using the *eniti* pattern in all other forms. Instead, the generally preferred strategy, especially in spontaneous production, is to use the German passive participle form. Other strategies given in (5): applying the Homeland BCMS incorporating patterns to the German infinitive or the German stem are acceptable only to some speakers.

(5) Svi studenti su bili uredno angemeldet / ^(%)anmeldenovani / ^(%)anmeldovani / ^(%)anmeldani / ^(%)anmeldenani *anmelde[n]eni.

'All students were registered regularly.'

Both the phonetics and the morphology of the passive participle are fully German, so there is no doubt that this form is a code-switch. A code-switch between an auxiliary and a participle is predicted to be ungrammatical by all syntactic theories of code-switching we are aware of (see López et al. 2017 for an overview).

López et al. (2017) argue for a theory of code switching in terms of phase theory. The main idea is that bilingual speakers have two separate PFs and that every chunk of material gets sent to one of the PFs, where it gets pronounced. This predicts that phase heads which send their complements to one of the PFs will determine the possible loci of code-switching.

Our account adopts the tools proposed by López et al. (2017), extending the model to cases where the unity of phases at the Spellout to PF conflicts with Lexical Conservatism (Steriade 1997, Simonović 2015). Lexical Conservatism blocks the winner of the phonological computation of the passive participle form (the form with a consonant alternation **anmelde[n]en*)

because this winner introduces an additional segmental allomorph of the verbal stem (**anmelde[n]*).

The LC-effect leads to ineffability. In a monolingual situation, this would in turn lead to a paradigm gap and a synonymous verb or paraphrase would be used. However, in a bilingual situation the problematic chunk of structure can be sent to the other PF. The unity of the phase is compromised: not the whole phase complement sent to the BCMS PF is returned/redirectioned, but only the part whose Spellout was unsuccessful, in this case the passive participle. The resultant paradigm is presented in (6) with the German forms in bold.

(6)

Heritage BCMS paradigm of *anmeldeniti* ‘register’

Finite

Present			Imperative		
	Sg	Pl			
1	anmelden-i-m	anmelden-i-mo	1		anmelden-i-mo
2	anmelden-i-š	anmelden-i-te	2	anmelden-i	anmelden-i-te
3	anmelden-i	anmelden-e	3		

Non-finite

Infinitive					
anmeld-en-i-ti					
Past Participle			Passive Participle		
Masculine Sg	Feminine Sg	Neuter Sg	Masculine Sg	Feminine Sg	Neuter Sg
anmeld-en-i-o	anmeld-en-i-la	anmeld-en-i-lo	angemeldet *anmeldenjen	angemeldet *anmeldenjena	angemeldet *anmeldenjeno
Masculine	Feminine	Neuter	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
anmeld-en-i-li	anmeld-en-i-le	anmeld-en-i-la	angemeldet *anmeldenjeni	angemeldet *anmeldenjene	angemeldet *anmeldenjena

References

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