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The convergence process between Faroese and Faro-Danish

Hjalmar P. Petersen

The topic of this paper is convergence in an asymmetrical bilingual setting, and it will be shown that the outcome of the convergence process is different in the dominant language (L1) from what it is in the receiving language (L2). In L1, there is complication of the receiving language, while there is reduction in the syntax of the L2.

Keywords adaptation to pre-existing syntactic structures, asymmetrical bilingualism, convergence, Recipient Language agentivity, Source Language agentivity

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1. INTRODUCTION

Faroese (FA) and Danish (DA) are closely related languages. They are both part of the group of Scandinavian (or North Germanic) languages (see e.g. Haugen 1976; Harbert 2007). Syntactically, some minor differences exist between FA and DA. Faroese is most often classified as an Insular Scandinavian language (ISc) while Danish is classified as Mainland Scandinavian (MSc), although it might be better to group FA on its own as a 'Mid-Scandinavian' language, as it shows both ISc and MSc syntactic properties (Barnes & Weyhe 1994), the latter due to language contact. The term Mid-Scandinavian is meant to indicate that FA is situated geographically as well as linguistically between Icelandic and the Mainland Scandinavian languages.

The purpose of this article is to look into what happens in the syntax of asymmetrical bilinguals when the two languages are closely related. The study is based on FA and DA language contact data from the FADAC database in Hamburg (see Section 2 below). I will use van Coetsem's (2000) notion of Recipient and Source Language agentivity, as it is useful when looking at the current language situation on the Faroe Islands.

According to Hagström (1984:240), the Faroe Islands today is one of the countries with the most consistent bilingualism, as adults master two official languages, FA and DA, to an extensive degree as both a spoken and a written medium. Faroe Islanders have a high proficiency in DA, but they are asymmetrical bilinguals, with FA being the dominant language. Dominance will be addressed later in this section with reference to Weinreich (1953).

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The influence of DA on FA is described in *Orðafar*, which is the newsletter published by the Faroese Language Secretary. Here, they say that:

> In spoken Faroese – and also in written Faroese by some – there are a lot of Danish words and idioms which are more or less adapted to Faroese. These are treacherous forms of language corruption, and it is sometimes difficult to watch out for them, as Danish is so firmly established by speakers of Faroese. (*Orðafar*, No. 2, February 1987)

As the topic of this article is convergence as a general phenomenon in Recipient Language agentivity (here: borrowing from Danish to Faroese) and in Source Language agentivity (here: imposition from Faroese onto Faro-Danish), a few words are needed on these terms, also on agentivity and the agent speaker and the term Faro-Danish (FAR-DAN). By the agent speaker is meant that the same Faroese agent speaker may perform a pull-chain when speaking FA and borrow linguistic material from DA. When the same agent speaker speaks FAR-DAN, which is the special variant of DA used on the Faroe Islands as an L2, s/he performs a push-chain, and imposes linguistic material from FA onto FAR-DAN.

With regard to FAR-DAN it should be noted that it is not standard DA, but rather DA as it is spoken on the Faroe Islands as the most dominant foreign language. The Frame Language is DA, meaning that speakers generally use Danish morphology, the lexicon of Danish, and Danish syntax. Then there are cases, although not many, in which the Faroese speakers use e.g. Faroese morphemes like plural and infinitive, Faroese gender and mixed compounds such as *idrætskúlin* = [*idræt* [*skúlin*]] lit.: 'sport-school' = 'sports school'. In this particular case, the head: *-skúlin* is Faroese, and *idræt-* 'sport' is Danish (Petersen 2009, 2010). Another characteristic of FAR-DAN is that the agent speakers seem to use an intermediate pronunciation of the mid-vowels, as shown in Petersen & Rakow (2010).

Recipient Language agentivity consists of the borrowing/imitation of DA linguistic material into FA, where DA is the Source Language and FA is the Recipient Language in addition to being the dominant language. Dominance is understood as:

> [A] bilingual speaker's relative proficiency in two languages is easily measured . . . one of the languages can hence be designated as dominant by virtue of the speaker's greater proficiency in it. (Weinreich 1953:75)

Recipient Language agentivity is formalized as SL → RL (van Coetsem 2000:49ff.) and Source Language agentivity is formalized as SL → RL; the underline is used to show which language is dominant.

In Recipient Language agentivity, speakers borrow mainly open-class lexical material, but also modal and discourse particles. We see the adaptation of Danish syntactic constructions to pre-existing structures in Faroese and replication meaning

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	DA → FA RL-Agentivity SL → RL *Faroese* (Borrowing)	FA → DA SL-Agentivity SL → RL *Faro-Danish* (Imposition)
Lexicon	Much	Little
Phonology	Little	Much
Morphology	Little	Moderate

Table 1. Recipient Language (RL) and Source Language (SL) agentivity.

that new constructions do not show an excact copying of the source language constructions (Petersen 2010:165; 2011:110–117). In contrast, very little phonology or morphology is borrowed (Petersen 2010).

In Source Language agentivity (FA → FAR-DAN), the speakers of the Source Language, in our case FA, impose especially their articulatory habits onto FAR-DAN, as well as some morphological endings, but very rarely any FA lexemes. When this is in fact the case, the lexemes are in the form of nonce-borrowings, fulfilling mainly the need to describe culture-specific phenomena such as the nonce–borrowing *ræstfisk* 'fish which has developed a typical sharp and pungent taste', as is described in the Faroese–English dictionary (Skála & Mikkelsen 2007). Another way of fulfilling such needs in FAR-DAN (Source Language agentivity) is by code switching, as in *hjall* 'storehouse'. Then there are cases of code switching where need is not the driving force, but rather cognates and homophonous diamorphs such as FAR-DAN *forsetti* 'continued' (< DA *fortsatte* ~ FA. *forsetti* 'continued'). Code switching is here understood as in Myers-Scotton (2006), where she says (p. 261) that classic code switching contains mainly singly occurring words and embedded islands.

In Recipient Language agentivity (DA → FA), the unstable parts of grammar are transferred, as opposed to the stable parts of grammar, which are transferred in Source Language agentivity (FA → FAR-DAN). The transfer of linguistic material in Recipient Language agentivity and Source Language agentivity is complementary (see Table 1). In the case of syntax, transfer occurs from DA to FA and from FA to FAR-DAN. With regard to syntactic borrowing as such, there are those who believe that syntax might be borrowed between languages (Harris & Campbell 1995:120ff.). I will not address the question regarding syntactic borrowings specifically, only note that I find cases of syntactic transfer without word order change in my material and also reanalysis or replication. This means that when speakers use e.g. the borrowed de-venitive construction in FA, *kemur at* + infinitive of main verb = lit.: 'comes.FUT.3SG to.INF-MARKER' = 'is going to' ~ (DA *kommer til at* + infinitive of main verb lit.: 'comes.FUT.3SG to.PART to.INF-MARKER'), then this is a case of adaptation (without word order change) to a pre-existing structure in Faroese: *fer at* + infinitive of main verb lit.: 'comes.FUT.3SG to.INF-MARKER' + infinitive of main verb. Note that the DA construction is not borrowed in full, as the particle *til* 'to' is deleted.

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2. METHOD

The data I present come from different sources. Some data come from the FADAC database on Faroese–Danish bilingualism, as part of a project that is presently is in its final phase at the University of Hamburg, and some data come from correspondence with different speakers and searches on the Internet. The C in the abbreviation FADAC stands for 'corpus'.

The FADAC database consists of interviews in FA and FAR-DAN. There are 30 interviews in FA, which I (native Faroese speaker) conducted in 2005. The informants were equally distributed between the sexes, and came from Vágar (West-Faroese), Tórshavn (the Capital, Mid-Faroese), Eysturoy/Norðoyggjar (East- and North-Faroese), and Suðuroy (South- Faroese). There were 15 informants between the ages of 16–20 years and 15 older than 70 years. The interviews were conducted in informal conversations in which the informants spoke about different things such as the Second World War (the oldest generation), books they had read, children's games, daily matters and so forth.

The FAR-DAN data currently consist of recordings of 24 informants who spoke FAR-DAN with a native Dane, Tine Stensbjerg, in 2006. As she did not understand any FA, the informants had to speak DA to her. The informants came from different parts of the Faroe Islands, men and women between the ages of 16–20 years and older than 70 years. Many of the informants included in the Faroese interviews also participated in the Danish part, but not all, as we were unable to reestablish communication with all of them. Some had left for Denmark to study, others were on holiday and so forth. We also have interviews with the middle generation (age 40–50 years) in FA and FAR-DAN, but as these are still under preparation, I have not included them in this article. I have listened to the recordings, and can only say that the general picture I present in this article will not be altered by the data from the mid-generation; rather, these confirm the findings presented here.

I will make references to Icelandic (IC) as a kind of a 'control' language. This means that if a construction is spreading in FA and cannot be found in IC, but is relatively common in DA, I take this to be the result of an external change, especially if it did not exist in the FA prior to the spread.

3. CONVERGENCE TO THE RECEIVING LANGUAGE IN RECIPIENT AND SOURCE LANGUAGE AGENTIVITY

Convergence is always the transfer of linguistic material to a Recipient Language, which is FA in Recipient Language agentivity, and FAR-DAN in Source Language agentivity (see Figure 1).

I define convergence as follows, where I stress the process as well as the outcome:

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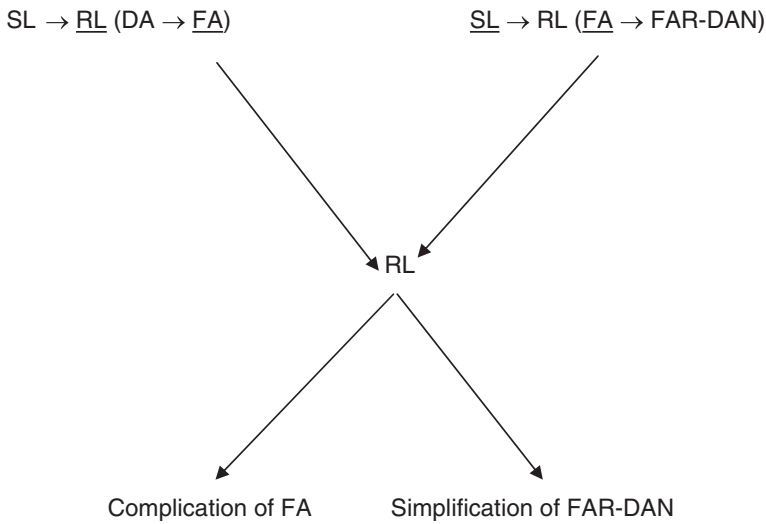


Figure 1. The outcome of convergence in Recipient Language (RL) and Source Language (SL) agentivity. Underlining shows which language is the dominant language. FA is always the dominant language.

Convergence

The transfer process of the agent speakers' use of constructions from the Source Language and the surface forms of the receiving language. The result is complication in RL agentivity and reduction/simplification in SL agentivity.

The following examples demonstrate convergence in FA (Recipient Language agentivity) and FAR-DAN (Source Language agentivity).

(1) a. **Frá** fyrsta klassa (**av**). FA
from.PP first grade.D off.PP
'From first grade onwards.'

b. **Fra** første klasse **af**. DA
from.PP first grade off.PP
'From first grade onwards.'

c. hvor meget **af** is var. FAR-DAN
where much of ice.OBL was
'where there was much ice'

d. hvor meget is der var. DA
where much ice there was
'where there was much ice'

The circumposition *frá . . . af* 'from . . . off' in (1a) is borrowed from DA (see (1b)) by Faroese speakers and adapted to FA. *Av* 'off' in (1a) is optional. But as

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the borrowing of the circumpositions enriches the FA system, so to speak, with a circumposition in addition to prepositions, the result is a complication of FA. Circumpositions are not found in IC, at least they are not mentioned in Thráinsson (2007), nor are they found in Old Norse (ON; Faarlund 2004). FA is in this specific case more complex than IC and ON, where complexity is understood simply as a system that needs a longer description (Dahl 2009:42). In (1c), a case of Source Language agentivity, the agent speaker makes his communication easier, as s/he simplifies his/her DA by using FA syntax. In this case, the speaker uses a partitive PP *af is* 'of ice', which is ungrammatical in DA, in addition to the absence of an expletive subject, which is marginally acceptable in standard DA, see the standard DA sentence in (1d).

3.1 Deontic and epistemic modality

Deontic and dynamic modality refer to events that have not been realized, events that have not yet taken place but are merely possible, and may therefore be described as 'event modality' in terms of Palmer (2001:70). In FA, deontic modality is expressed with the modal verb *at kunna* 'may'; in DA with *måtte* 'may' (Thráinsson & Vikner 1995, Thráinsson et al. 2004:306).

With epistemic modality, speakers express their judgments about the factual status of the proposition (Palmer 2001:8). An epistemic modality denoting possibility is expressed in FA with the modal verb *at kunna* 'can' and in DA with *at kunne* 'can' (Thráinsson & Vikner 1995:55; Thráinsson et al. 2004:306ff.), but note the difference between the two languages shown in Table 2. That is, in FA *kunna* is used to express deontic modality 'may', and epistemic modality 'can', whereas DA has two verbs: *matte* 'may', which is used to express deontic modality, and *kunne* 'can', which is used to express epistemic modality.

	Deontic modality, permission	Epistemic modality, possibility
FA	kunna 'may'	kunna 'can'
DA	måtte 'may'	kunne 'can'

Table 2. The difference between the use of 'may' and 'can' in FA and DA.

In the example in (2a), the speaker mentions a good-looking woman. The event the speaker refers to has not yet taken place; an event that is merely potential; that is, we are dealing with deontic modality, which is expressed with *kunna* 'may' in FA, with the past tense *kundi* 'might' (as in (2c)). The corresponding DA sentence in (2b) clearly shows that the speaker uses the DA modal system in his FA.

(2) a. Handan **mátti** gjarna kopierað fyri meg – anytime!
FA (www.nym.fo; retrieved 26/9/09)
that one.N might well copy for me.A anytime
'That one might copy for me – anytime!'

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b. Hende dér **måtte** gerne kopiere for mig – anytime! DA
that one.N might well copy for me.OBL anytime
'That one might copy for me – anytime!'

c. Handa **kundi** gjarna kopierað fyri meg – anytime! standard FA
that one.N might well copy for me.A anytime
'That one might copy for me – anytime!'

(2a) is in fact a reanalysis, as the deontic modality can now be expressed both with *kunna* 'may' and *mega* 'may' in FA.

3.2 V-to-I in embedded clauses

V-to-I movement is illustrated in (3). The assumption in the generative literature is that negation marks the left edge of the VP. If the verb follows the AdvP (which includes the negation marker *ikki* 'not'), it has not moved out of the VP. It is said that the verb remains in situ. If it is situated in front of the AdvP, it has moved to the head of the IP to check tense and agreement features. In DA, (3b), the verb has not moved out of the VP, while (3c) shows the verb's intermediate position in FA, but with preference for the 'DA' structure (Petersen 2000; Thráinsson 2000; Heycock, Sorace & Hansen 2010).

(3) a. Þetta er bréfið, sem Elín (**hefur**) **ekki** (*__hefur__) lesið. IC
this.N is letter.DEF.N that Elín.N has not has read.SUP
'This is the letter that Elín has not read.'

b. Dette er brevet, som Tove (*__har__) ikke (__har__) læst. DA
this.N is letter.DEF.N that Tove.N has not has read.SUP
'This is the letter that Tove has not read.'

c. Hetta er brævið, sum Elín (**hevur**) ikki (**hevur**) lisið. FA
this.N is letter.DEF.N that Elín.N has not has read.SUP
'This is the letter that Elín has not read.'

Heycock et al. (2010:17) show that V-to-I follows the DA pattern when the adverb is *ikki* 'not'. V-to-I is more readily accepted, however, when the adverb is a high adverb like *kanska* 'perhaps' or *ofta* 'often'. The loss of V-to-I is close to completion, they argue, and this corresponds with the findings in Petersen (2000) and Thráinsson (2000) that V-to-I is 'in general not preferred by the younger speakers of Faroese'.

The conclusion that Heycock et al. (2010:4) reach is that

> Faroese is indeed at a very late stage in the process of losing V-to-I, but that there is some evidence for an intermediate system allowing a type of 'short' verb movement.

The change is almost complete, but it should be noted that V-to-I is allowed in FA, as the following sentences from FAR-DAN show. In (4), the verb is placed in front of

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the negation. This is totally ungrammatical in standard DA. The speaker is a member of the younger generation (age 16 years) and he is from Vágar (West Faroese).

(4) [En] meget interessant mand, som mange mennesker **vil** **ikke** høre
a very interesting man.N who many people.N will not hear
om.
about
FAR-DAN
'A very interesting man who many people do not want to hear about.'
[DA target: *ikke vil* 'not will'; FA base: *vilja ikki* 'will not']

Another FAR-DAN example is in (5), where a young girl speaks about some youngsters she trains in gymnastics; she uses the string verb + adverb, in contrast to DA where the word order is adverb + verb.

(5) Man vil fortælle dem, at hvis de **vil** **virkelig**, **vil** **gerne**
one.N will tell.INF them.OBL that if they.N will really will really
være gode, så ... FAR-DAN
be good then
'One is going to tell them that if they really want, really want to become good, then ...'
[DA target: *virkelig vil, gerne vil*; FA base: *vilja veruliga, vilja gjarna* lit.: 'will really, will really']

The FAR-DAN data show that V-to-I is not totally lost in FA, but this nearly completed change is accelerated by language contact.

3.3 Future time reference

Future tenses or future time references (FTRs) are a much debated area, as 'their theoretical status has been the object of considerable controversy' (Dahl 2000a:309). I will not go into any discussion about future time references here and will only show examples of the borrowing of these constructions into FA, where especially the de-venitive construction is well integrated. A de-venitive construction is where the future is expressed with the verb *at koma* 'to come', e.g. *hann kemur at siga tað í morgin* lit.: 'he.N comes to say.INF it tomorrow' = 'he is going to say it tomorrow'.

I will follow Dahl (2000a) in using the term future time references and show which of these have been borrowed by the Faroese speakers. The future time references are all cases of convergence, where linguistic material from DA is adapted to a pre-existing structure in FA,that is to the existing future time reference, which is expressed with *fara at* lit.: 'go.FUT to.INF-MARKER' + infinitive of main verb, see (6) below. In the case of de-andative and de-volitive, there is also adaptation to pre-existing structures, that is *skula* 'shall' + infinitive and *vilja* 'will' + infinitive. De-andative is a case where the future is expressed with the verb *skula* 'shall', and the-volitive is a case where the future is expressed with the verb *vilja* 'will'. I will give examples below.

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FA usually has the telic verb of movement *fara* 'to go, to move' to express future (Andreasen & Dahl 1997:116). In using a telic verb of movement, FA is similar to most other Germanic languages (Dahl 2000a:351).

(6) Tað **fer** at regna. FA
it. N *goes.*FTR *to rain.*INF
'It will rain.'

As noted, intentions relating the future are usually expressed in FA with the motion verb *fara* 'to go, to move' + infinitive of the main verb, e.g. *Eg fari at keypa bilin* lit.: 'I.N go.FTR to buy.INF car.DEF.A' = 'I am going to buy the car'; see for example Henriksen (2000:41) and Thráinsson et al. (2004:73); see also (7).

(7) *Intentions relating the future*
Hann **fer** **at** **skriva**.
*he.N goes.*FTR *to write.*INF
'He is going to write.'

Prediction-based future time references can be seen in the sentences in (8). Note that (8c–f) can be exchanged with the usual prediction future time reference verb *at fara* 'to go, to move' + infinitive, which shows that we are dealing with FTRs. I will deal more extensively with these constructions in the individual subsections.

(8) *Predictions relating the future*
a. Tað **fer** **at** **regna**. FA
*it.N goes.*FTR *to rain.*INF
'It will rain.'
b. Tað **kemur** regn. FA
*it.N comes.*FTR *rain.N*
'It is going to rain.'
c. Tað **kemur** **at** **regna**. FA (de-venitive)
*it.N comes.*FTR *to rain.*INF
'It is going to rain.'
d. ???Tað **skal** **regna** lokkan 12.00. FA (de-andative)
*it.N shall.*FTR *rain.*INF *clock 12.00*
'It is going to rain at 12 o'clock.'
e. ???Hann sigur í Útvarpinum, at tað **skal** **regna**
*he.N says in radio.*DEF.D *that it.N shall.*FTR *rain.*INF
klokkan 12.00. FA (de-andative)
clock 12.00
'He says in the radio that it is
going to rain at 12 o'clock'.
f. ???Hann sigur í Útvarpinum, at tað **vil** **regna**
*he.N says in radio.*DEF.D *that it.N will.*FTR *rain.*INF
klokkan 12.00. FA (de-volitive)
clock 12.00
'He says in the radio that it is going to rain at 12 o'clock.'

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It will be shown below (in Section 3.3.2) that the de-venitive construction is accepted in FA, so that *at koma* 'to come' is grammaticalized and has lost its lexical meaning in this specific construction. The de-andative and de-volitive constructions are more dubious.

3.3.1 De-andative

In the case of de-andative, the future is expressed with the modal verb *skula* 'shall', see (9a) below, where the speaker expresses that s/he is going to Denmark to study for some time. (9a) is interchangeable with (9c), which is the usual way of expressing the future. The sentence in (9a) could be translated with 'be going to' in English, and this is labelled as a de-andative construction in Dahl (2000a:319); note, however, that (9a) can also be translated with 'will', expressing volition. That is, the sentence in (9a) can express an event that has not yet taken place, an event that is merely possible. The sentence in (9a) is thus ambiguously located between a pure FA construction expressing dynamic volition (Thráinsson et al. 2004:306) and a future-reading which builds on DA. Note the DA model sentence (9b) and the IC sentence in (9d). J. G. Jónsson informs me (p.c.) that it is not possible to use *skal* 'shall' in IC in the same way as in FA, that is with a future time reference. Instead, IC uses the simple present tense without an auxiliary or with the auxiliary *munu* 'may'.

(9) *Intentions relating to the future*

a. Eg **skal** til Danmarkar at lesa. FA
I.N shall.FTR to Denmark.G to study.INF
(i) 'I am going to Denmark to study.'
(ii) 'I will go to Denmark to study.'

b. Jeg **skal** til Danmark for at studere. DA
I.N shall.FTR to Denmark.OBL for.PP to study. INF
'I am going to Denmark to study.'

c. Eg **fari** til Danmarkar at lesa. FA
I.N go.FTR to Denmark.G to study INF
'I am going to Denmark to study.'

d. Ég **er að fara** til náms í Danmörku. IC
I.N am to go.INF to study.G in Denmark.D
'I am going to make a study in Denmark.'

In (10), one must imagine that the speaker asks the hearer where s/he is going after seeing him or her coming out of a travel agency. The sentence has an intentional meaning, and would normally be expressed with *fara* 'to go, to move' in FA. The sentence in (10a) is an imitation of the DA sentence in (10b); note the standard FA sentence in (10c).

(10) a. Hvagar **skalt** tú? FA
where shall you.N
'Where are you going?'

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b. Hvor **skal** du hen? DA
where shall you.N to
'Where are you going?'

c. Hvagar **fert** tú? standard FA
where goes you.N
'Where are you going?'

d. Hvert **ertu** **að fara**? IC
where are.you.N to go.INF
'Where are you going?'

In DA, it is possible to have a prediction-based reading as in (11b), but according to my consultants, this is very unlikely in FA. Only two of the consultants said that they thought that the FA sentence in (11a) is grammatical, but added that they would not use it themselves; one said, however, that he thought that 'the sentence is somehow okay', while the other added that he preferred *fer at regna* 'is going to rain', where the future is expressed with the usual verb of movement *at fara* 'to go, to move'. One informant said that he was in doubt. *Skal* is totally ruled out as a possibility in IC as shown in (11c).

(11) a. ????Hann sigur í Útvarpinum, at tað **skal** regna klokkan
he.N says in radio.DEF.D that it.N shall.FTR rain.INF clock
12.00. FA
12.00
'He says in the radio that it is going to rain at 12 o'clock.'

b. Han siger i radioen, at det **skal** regne klokkan
he.N says in radio.DEF.OBL that it.N shall.FTR rain.INF clock
12.00. DA
12.00
'He says in the radio that it is going to rain at 12 o'clock.'

c. Útvarpið segir, að það **muni** **rigna** klukkan 12.00 á
radio.DEF.N says that it.N will rain.INF clock 12.00 on
morgun. IC
tomorrow
'The radio says that it is going to rain at 12 o'clock tomorrow.'

Some of my informants said that if the context was altered a little, it would be possible to use *skula* 'shall' to express the future.

(12) a. A: Útvarpið segði, at **tað** **skuldi** **koma** regn í morgin. FA
radio.DEF.N said that it.N should come. INF rain in tomorrow
(i) 'The radio said that it will rain tomorrow.'
(ii) 'The radio said that it is going to rain tomorrow.'

b. B: **Skal** **tað** **regna** í morgin? FA
shall.FTR it.N rain.INF in tomorrow
(i) 'Will it rain tomorrow?'
(ii) 'Is it going to rain tomorrow?'

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c. A: Ja, tað **skal** tað. FA
yes it.N shall.FTR it.N
(i) 'Yes, it presumably will.'
(ii) 'Yes, it is presumably going to.'

The future time readings show a first step towards a change in the system with regard to how future might be expressed in FA. It is possible that the verb *at fara* 'to go, to move', which is used to express the future, might be replaced by the above-mentioned constructions (de-andative and de-volitive), or the *fara-* and the *skula*-constructions will exist side by side for generations.

3.3.2 De-venitive

According to Dahl (2000a:320), a de-venitive construction provides a way of expressing the future by means of the verb 'come'.

In Europe, this construction is found in the Mainland Scandinavian languages and in Romansh dialects, and has developed independently in these languages/dialects. Of the Scandinavian languages, de-venitive exists in Danish, Norwegian and Swedish (Dahl 2000b:320). The original construction was as is presented in (13).

(13) kommer til(l) at(t) [full verb]
come.INF to.PART INF-MARKER

Agent speakers of FA have borrowed the de-venitive construction and adapted it to FA.

The sentences in (14) are taken from the FADAC database. In (14a) the informant speaks about a football player who has been injured, and doubts if this player is ever going to play again. In (14b) the writer tells us what he is going to write on his blog in the future. (14c) is in FAR-DAN. The woman tells about her daughter, who was injured and paralyzed, and that the daughter thought that she would be able to walk again.

(14) a. Eg veit ikki, um hann **kemur** aftur **at spæla**. FADAC–FA
I.N know not if he.N comes.FTR again to play.INF
'I don't know if he is going to play again.'

b. Hjartaliga vælkomin á bloggin hjá mær. Her **komi** eg **at**
heartily welcome on blog.DEF.A with me.D here come.FTR I.N to
skriva eitt sindur um . . . FA
write.INF a bit.A about
(bjarni.hansen.blogspot.com; retrieved 27/10/08)
'Welcome on my blog. Here I am going to write a bit about . . . '

c. Hun troede, at hun **kom** **at gå** igen . . . FAR-DAN
she.N thought that she.N came.FTR to walk.INF again
'She thought that she would walk again . . . '

The de-venitive constructions are clearly part of Faroese. The sentences in (14) express future events that are non-controllable (Hilpert 2008:54), and show that

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the verb has lost some of its lexical meaning and now functions as an auxiliary, a construction that is grammaticalized in FA.

3.3.3 De-volitive

According to Dahl (2000a:322), 'will' is used as a future time reference marker in English (*will*), in Danish, in Norwegian Bokmål (*vil*), Faroese (*vil*), Frisian (*wal*) and Yiddish (*vel*). Note that the verb *vilja* 'will' can only be used in an intention-based reading in FA.

According to Henriksen (2000:47), a sentence like (15a) is impossible with a future tense reading. The only possible sentence is (15b), according to Henriksen (ibid.).This is largely confirmed by my five native FA-speaking consultants.

(15) a. *Tað **vil** regna. FA (Henriksen 2000:47)
it.N will.FTR rain.INF
'It will rain.'

b. Tað **fer** at regna. FA (Henriksen 2000:47)
it.N goes.FTR to rain.INF
'It will rain.'/'It is going to rain.'

The most detailed answer to *Tað vil regna í morgin?* 'It is going to rain tomorrow?' came from a woman of around 50 years of age. She said that the sentence is a 'liberal one with Danish characteristics, where *vil* is used instead of *fer at* "going to" to denote the future'. She did not regard the sentence as ungrammatical in this context.

Epistemic modality can be expressed with the modal verb *vilja* 'to want', as in *Knøini vildu fara undan henni* lit.: 'knee.the.N wanted go.INF from under her.D' = 'The knees tended to give'. Dynamic modality, expressing volition, is also expressed with *vilja* 'want' (Thráinsson et al. 2004:306). Dynamic modality refers to an event that has not yet occurred; an event that has not yet taken place and that is located outside of the person indicated as the subject (Palmer 2001:70). This is exemplified with the following sentence from the Internet, in which someone talks about not wanting to go to her parents to ask for money. She has not yet put this plan into action, hence it is a case of dynamic modality.

(16) Skilji gott, at tú **vil**[**t**] **fara** at arbeiða. Tað er ikki
understand good that you.N want go.INF to work.INF it.N is not
so stuttligt at fara til foreldrini ... FA (kvinna.fo; retrieved 23/05/07)
so pleasant to go.INF to parents.DEF.A
'I understand very well that you want to go to work. It is not pleasant to go to the parents [each time you wish to buy something].'

The following example can have a prediction-based future time reading or it can express epistemic probability, where the speaker presents his judgment of the factual status of the proposition, namely that it is probable that the potted plant will die if it

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is not watered. But as the sentence is interchangeable with the typical FTRs verb of movement *fara* + infinitive 'to go, to move', (17b), the translation 'is going to die', a FTR is also possible. The sentence in (17a) is ambiguous. It can express probability or a future time reference, though not all of the five speakers I consulted could accept (17a) with a future time reading. This only shows that a change is under way in FA as a result of the imitation of a DA structure. Again, we note that IC has simple present tense, something that is possible in FA as well.

(17) *Prediction-based future time reference*

a. Fær urtapotturin ikki vatn, **vil** hann **doyggja**. FA
*gets potted.plant.*DEF.N *not water.*A *will.*FTR *he.*N *die.*INF
'If the potted plant does not get any water, it is going to die.'

b. Fær urtapotturin ikki vatn, **fer** hann **at doyggja**. FA
*gets potted.plant.*DEF.N *not water.*A *will.*FTR *he.*N *to die.*INF
'If the potted plant does not get any water, it is going to die.'

c. Hvis potteplanten ikke får vand, **vil** den dø. DA
*if potted.plant.*DEF.N *not gets water.*OBL *will.*FTR *it die.*INF
'If the potted plant does not get any water, it is going to die'

d. Ef blómin fá ekki vatn, **deyja** þau. IC
*if flowers.*N *get not water.*A *die.*FTR *they.*N
'If the flowers do not get any water, then they are going to die.'

e. Fær urtapotturin ikki vatn, **doyr** hann. FA
*gets potted.plant.*N *not water.*A *dies.*FTR *he.*N
'If the potted plant does not get any water, it is going to die.'

The verb *at vilja* 'to want' has an intention-based reading as in *Eg **vil** doyggja av látri* lit.: 'I.N will die.INF of laughter.D' = 'I am going to die of laughter', while a prediction-based reading, as in *Tað vil regna klokkan 12 í morgin* lit.: 'it.N will.FTR rain tomorrow' = 'It will/is going to rain tomorrow' is impossible according to most informants that I consulted, as the sentence 'does not make any sense', as one says. Another says that 'it sounds like a Dane trying to speak Faroese, or a Faroe Islander who has been living in Denmark for a long time'. But one speaker accepts the sentence. He adds, however, that he would not use the sentence himself. He points out that according to older usage, the sentence would not be acceptable in Faroese; however, and this is interesting for our investigation, such a construction is not uncommon in the modern language, probably because of foreign influence.

I also sent out e-mail queries concerning: *Útvarpið sigur, at tað vil regna í morgin klokkan 12.00*, lit.: 'radio.the.N says that it.N will.FTR rain in tomorrow.A clock 12.00' = 'The radio says that it will rain tomorrow at 12 o'clock'. The reactions were the same as with *Tað vil regna* ... etc. 'It will rain ...'. One participant said, however, that he was in doubt as to whether the sentence is ungrammatical, but that he would prefer the verb of movement *fer at regna* 'will rain'. Another informant says that he thinks that the sentence is grammatical, but that he would not use it himself.

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3.3.4 Summarizing future time references in Faroese

In structural terms, there is nothing new in having a verb + infinitive marker + infinitive of main verb construction in FA. DA de-venitive constructions can therefore be easily included into and adapted to FA syntax, with or without the particle *til* 'to'. This is a new way of expressing the future and as such, we are dealing with the result of convergence. I have also shown how a construction without the particle is imposed onto FAR-DAN. With regard to the de-andative and de-volitive constructions, speakers are very reluctant to accept prediction-based readings; still, some do not find them to be totally ungrammatical, and I suspect that a grammaticalization process is taking place in precisely these constructions.

3.3.5 Possessive constructions

There are two possibilities in FA with regard to the string *possessive + head* and *head + possessive* in e.g. *iPodur mín* and *mín iPodur* 'my iPod'. Note that possessive + head is the most common construction in spoken FA, as illustrated in (18), from colloquial FA.

(18) Eg koyri sangir inn á **mín iPod**. FA (Beinta, aged 11 years)
I.N put songs in on my iPod.A
'I am loading songs onto my iPod.'

Dahl (1908:105) says that the genitive follows the noun, a view that is reiterated in Hammershaimb (1854:315) and Lockwood (1977:116); the latter says that 'the normal position of the possessive adjective is after the noun it qualifies: *skúli mín* "my school"'. Lockwood's view is repeated in Barnes & Weyhe (1994:208). The topic is more carefully investigated in Barnes (2002:65), and his conclusion is that both word orders are allowed; he refers to Hamre (1961:244–245), who performed a corpus-based study on the matter for a selection of twentieth-century prose texts and showed that 'the possessive preceded the noun in 62% of cases where the possessive was the sole modifier (the type *mín skúli* "my school"), in 92% where the noun otherwise was modified (the type *sínar seinastu dagar* "their last days")' Barnes 2002:59). Hamre (1961:244–245) further states that 'the high percentage of preceding possessives, . . . 62%, clearly indicates that this position is preferred in the written language, no doubt as a result of DA influence'; this means that (19a) is 'Danish', while (19b) is 'Faroese' (see also Barnes 2002:60).

(19) a. Eg síggi **mín bil**. FA
I.N see my car.A
'I see my car.'
b. Eg síggi **bil mín**. FA
I.N see car my.A
'I see my car.'

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Previous corpus-based studies on the word order of such constructions have been done for written FA, most often for prose texts. These, however, do not provide an accurate picture of the situation in colloquial language due to the often strong revision of written texts as a result of the purist movement's language cleansing.

I will illustrate the word order in possessive constructions using data from FADAC. This gives us a picture of the distribution different from that of previous studies, with my data strongly reflecting colloquial speech, as is also the case in the sentence in (19a).

Typical examples of possessive constructions in spoken FA are given in (20), in which the possessive follows the kinship noun (20a); (20b) is a case of a possessive pronoun *tín* 'your' and the clitic *-sa*, which expresses possession. The typical word order in spoken FA with animate and inanimate nouns is given in (20c–e), where the possessive pronoun precedes the noun. I have also included (20f), as this sentence, from the FADAC database, nicely illustrates the distribution in modern FA of kinship term + possessive; elsewhere, the order is possessive + noun, which is the unmarked word order. Another way of expressing the possessive is with the preposition *hjá* 'with', as in (20g–i); see also (Lockwood 1977:105–105; Barnes 2002:60; Thráinsson et al. 2004:118; Petersen & Adams 2009:262).

(20) *Possessive constructions in FA*
Kinship term: head + possessive pronoun

a. Hann roynir bara at umvera **pápa sín** so nógv sum
he.N tries only to avoid father.A his.G as much as
møguligt FADAC-FA
possible
'He just tries to avoid his father as much as possible.'

b. **Abba tínsa** má vera bygt fyrst. FADAC–FA
grandfather.N your.G.CLITIC must be built first
'Your grandfather's [house] must have been built before [my father's house]'

Possessive + head

c. Men so fór eg og **mín familja** inn í smiðjuna hjá
but then went I.N and my family.N in forge.DEF.A with
pápa. FADAC-FA
father.D
'But then I and my family went into my father's forge.'

d. Hetta er **mín hundur**. (Andreasen & Dahl 1997:103)
this.N is my dog.N
'This is my dog.'

e. **Mítt telefonnummar**, ella heima? Heima, har havi eg XXXX,
my telephonenumber.N or home home there have I.N XXXX
og **mítt telefonnummar** á fartelefonini … FADAC–FA
and my telephonenumber.N on mobile.telephone.DEF.D
'My telephone number? Or at home? At home I have XXXX, and my mobile phone number [is] …

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Kinship term + possessive/possessive + head

f. **Systir mín** seymaði **mín brúðarkjóla**. FADAC–FA
sister.N my.N sewed my.A wedding.dress.A
'My sister sewed my wedding dress.'

Kinship term + *hjá*

g. **Omman hjá mær** býr í Havn. FADAC–FA
grandmother.DEF.N with me.D lives in Havn.D
'My grandmother lives in Tórshavn.'

Animate/possessed + *hjá* + animate, possessor

h. Eg haldi, at **presturin hjá okkum** var eitt sindur
I.N think that priest.DEF.N with us.D was a bit
soleiðis . . . FADAC–FA
such
'I think that our priest was a bit strange . . . '

Inanimate/possessed + *hjá* + animate, possessor

i. **Framløgan hjá okkum** gekk sum so gott. FADAC–FA
presentation.DEF.N with us.D went as such well
'Our presentation was successful.'

Written FA has a preference for possessive + head, according to Hamre (1961), or a fifty–fifty distribution of possessive + head or head + possessive, according to Barnes (2002), where he says that the word order noun + possessive is the rule for kinship nouns: here *pápi mín* 'my father'.

Harris & Campbell (1995:328) point out that there are two conflicting forces in all language changes:

> [T]he new general pattern is a force towards a change; the conventional form is a force towards the status quo. While the former is stronger in most contexts and generally wins out, the latter is strong in the syntax governed by frequently occurring words or expressions, in kinship terms and sacred terms, and in fixed expressions.

Kinship terms may fail to undergo a regular change and therefore constitute an exception. They are conventional forms and encourage the use of the older constructions. This explains why kinship noun + possessive pronoun as in *pápi mín* 'my father' is the rule in FA. For the sake of curiosity, I can mention the change Harris & Campbell (1995:329) refer to between Old and Modern Georgian, where the latter has the possessor preceding the possessed in unmarked order, while in Old Georgian possessors regularly follow the possessed noun: Old Georgian *moc'ape-ni mis-ni* lit.: 'disciples.N.PL his.N.PL', Old Georgian *mam-sa šen-sa* lit.: 'father-D your-D' = 'your father', and Mod. Georgian *misi t'anisamosi* 'his clothing', but with the old word order in a few kinship terms, such as *mama-čemi* lit.: 'father-my' = 'my father'.

This is exactly the situation in modern spoken FA, where the unmarked word order is now possessive + head, as I will show later.

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	Tokens	Example
Possessive + head	29	mín bilur = my car
Head + possessive	3	bilur mín = car my
Kinship terms: Possessive + head	0	mín mamma = my mother
Kinship terms: Head + possessive	77	

Table 3. The distribution of the head + modifier and modifier + head in the FADAC database.

I counted all of the cases of possessive pronouns produced by the oldest and the youngest generation in the FADAC database as well as the *hjá* constructions. I counted only the cases where possessive + noun or noun + possessive were interchangeable (see Table 3).

The results speak for themselves. Spoken FA has the word order possessive + head with some relics of the older word order head + possessive. When the head noun is a kinship term, the word order is head + possessive, as expected. When I say 'as expected', this is because according to Harris & Campbell (1995:328), kinship terms often preserve older word order patterns.

What is, then, the origin of the possessive + head construction? Hamre (1961) points to the DA influence, which is a good candidate, but this is questioned in Barnes (2002), who writes:

> [W]hile increasing use of possessive + noun may reflect Danish influence, it is worth remembering that this order is not an exclusively Danish phenomenon. It goes back to at least Old Scandinavian, and occurs commonly enough in Faroese ballads. If it could become the norm in Danish, why should not the same happen independently in Faroese? (Barnes2002:62)

Given the long time that bilingualism has existed on the Faroe Islands, the relatively positive attitude towards Danish, the huge corpus of written Danish texts used on the islands simply in order to manage daily life (for details see e.g. Petersen 2010: 35ff.), the relatively weak purist tradition, and the fact that the Faroese speech community is a relatively open society when it comes to borrowing linguistic material, I do not think that it is possible to rule out Danish influence in the possessive construction. One cannot completely exclude DA influence only because the phenomenon modifier + head construction was present in Old Scandinavian. It is not historically realistic to assume that a contact-induced change is not potentially responsible for these changes, even though there is a pre-existing structure in the language.

3.3.6 Circumpositions

Circumpositions were not originally found in FA, and they are said to be 'un-Faroese', meaning 'bad FA' (*Orðafar*, No. 8, December 1987). They are not included in

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the grammars of FA, except for that of Petersen & Adams (2009:211–212), which mentions examples like (21a) (compare the DA model sentence in (21b)). An example from the FADAC database (21c) is also included here. All in all, I found six types and tokens with circumpositions in the FADAC database.

(21) a. Far **av** helviti **til**! FA
go.IMPERATIVE from.PP hell to.PP
'Go to hell.'

b. Gå **ad** helvede **til**! DA
go.IMPERATIVE to.PP hell to.PP
'Go to hell.'

c. Har sóu teir beinavegin, **frá** fyrsta klassa **av**. FADAC–FA
there saw they.N at.once from.PP first grade.D off.PP
'There they saw it at once, from the first grade onwards.'
[Danish base: *fra første klasse af* lit.: 'from first grade.OBL off']

Circumpositions are not found in IC; at least they are not mentioned in Thráinsson (2007), with the same holding for ON (Faarlund 2004). It is argued that circumpositions exist in English, as seen in *Decisions were communicated **from** the top **down***, in Dutch in *De fles begon haar reis **onder** de brug **door*** 'The bottle started its trip under the bridge through' (Rooryck 1996:243), and German in ***unter** der Brücke **durch*** 'under the bridge through' (Rooryck 1996:228). It is possible, even reasonable, to assume that they are borrowed from German into Danish, and they are definitely borrowed from Danish into Faroese.

In the transfer of linguistic material, it is not always the case that speakers copy the Source Language material, as illustrated with (21a). The sentence does not make any sense semantically, meaning 'go from hell to'. The agent speakers have identified the DA construction *ad*... *til* and have chosen a FA preposition that is close to DA *ad* in pronunciation, this being the preposition *av* 'from'. The speaker has avoided using the cognate FA preposition *at* 'to', which is found in e.g. *leggja at landi* (lit.: 'lay at land' = 'to put a ship in'), as direction is generally expressed with *móti* 'to; against' in the colloquial language. This *móti* 'to; against' is gradually replacing *at* 'to' due to contact with DA, *mod* 'to; against'. Thus, speakers would not usually say *Kom ikki **at málingini**!* lit.: 'come not at painting.DEF.D' = 'Do not touch the painting!' in colloquial or informal speech, as is indicated in the Faroese dictionary (Poulsen et al. 1998), but rather *Kom ikki **móti málingini**!* lit.: 'come not against painting.DEF.D'.

In order to avoid the preposition *at* 'to' in the borrowed circumposition, the speaker has imitated DA *ad* 'to' with the phonetically closest preposition, *av* 'from', and borrowed the whole chunk *ad*... *til* and replaced it with *av*... *til*, even though it does not make sense. As the DA construction makes sense, however, and people are bilingual with simultaneous online access, the phrase functions and fulfills the

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communicative needs of the speakers.[1] As such, it is a clear illustration of replication (Heine & Kuteva 2005:92), which can also be seen in the following FAR-DAN example from a woman of the youngest generation, who says:

(22) **Fra** skrot **af**. FAR-DAN
from scratch off
'Start from scratch.'

It is the English *from scratch* that underlies *fra skrot*. The standard DA sentence is *fra begyndelsen* 'from the beginning', and *skrot* 'scrap' cannot be used in DA in an expression such as that in (22). English *scratch* is transferred to the almost homophonous DA word *skrot*, and the borrowed circumposition *frá . . . av* 'from . . . of' is then imposed onto FAR-DAN, yielding (22).

3.3.7 More examples from SL agentivity

In the preceding section, the main focus has been on FA, although I have also shown parallel examples in FAR-DAN, like that involving the use of the circumposition just mentioned in (22). In this section, I present the reader with more examples of convergence from FAR-DAN, all of which show how the Faroeses agent speaker simplifies his L2 by using Faroese constructions.

The first example is of a long-distance anaphora. In the FAR-DAN sentence (23a) the reflexive pronoun at the end of the sentence refers back to the subject of the main clause *mennesker* 'people', something that is possible in FA, see (23b) and IC, but not in the MSc languages, see (23c). For more on reflexives in FA, see Barnes (1986).

(23) a. Hvorfor er **mennesker**$_i$ villige til at forandre sig$_i$
Why are people.N willing to.PART to change.INF SELF.OBL
til en helt anden person? Er det kun fordi de
to a completely different person.OBL is it.N only because they.N
ønsker, at andre skal acceptere **sig**$_i$? FAR-DAN
wish that other.N shall accept SELF.OBL

b. Hví eru **menniskju**$_i$ villug til at broyta seg$_i$ til
why are people.N willing to.PART to change.INF SELF.A to
ein fullkomiliga annan persón? Er tað bara tí tey vilja,
a completely different person.A is it.N only because they.N wish
at onnur skulu góðtaka **seg**$_i$? FA
that other.N shall accept SELF.A

c. Hvorfor er **mennesker**$_i$ villige til at forandre sig$_i$
why are people.N willing to.PART to change.INF SELF.OBL
til en helt anden person? Er det kun fordi
to a completely different person.OBL is it.N only because

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de ønsker, at andre skal acceptere
they.N wish that other.N shall accept
dem$_i$/*sig$_i$? DA
*them/*SELF.OBL*
'Why are people willing to change themselves to a completely different person? Is it only because they want that other shall accept them?'

Faroese, Norwegian and Swedish dialects in Jämtland exhibit supine attraction or supine spreading, in which an infinitive changes to a supine as the result of the supine in the preceding main verb (Sandøy 1991). I have only two examples with supine-attraction in the FADAC database, of which one is presented below.

(24) Jeg har prøvet **at arbejdet** på en café.
I.N have tried.SUP to work.SUP on a café.SUP
'I have tried to work on a café.'
[DA target: *at arbejde*; FA base: *at arbeitt* 'to work']

The final example is more complex, so to speak. Here, the agent speaker uses two FA verbal frames, verb + particle *koma fyri* lit.: 'come fore' = 'occur, happen'; and *henda seg* lit.: 'happen SELF' = 'occur, happen'. This again illustrates nicely how the Faroese agent speaker simplifies his FAR-DAN by combining two into one:

(25) a. Det **kommer for sig**. FAR-DAN
it.N comes fore SELF
[Intended meaning: 'It happens.']
b. Tað **kemur fyri**. FA
it.N comes fore.PART
'It happens.'
c. Tað **hendir seg**. FA
it.N occurs SELF
'It happens.'
d. Det **forekommer**. DA
it.N fore.comes
'It happens.'

The FAR-DAN construction *kommer for sig* 'It happens' requires more space than the proper FA examples and the DA example; still, we have simplification in the sense that the speaker conflates two verbal frames into one, thus making her online processing easier.

4. CONCLUSION

The processes discussed in this article are (i) borrowing in Recipient Language agentivity and (ii) imposition in SL agentivity, meaning that the same Faroese speaker borrows linguistic material from DA, while imposing FA linguistic material onto his/her variant of DA, which I call FAR-DAN here.

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When looking at convergence, the result is twofold, as the data show. In Recipient Language agentivity, constructions are adapted to pre-existing structures in FA where possible, resulting in the feature [+native]. In the cases under discussion, the result of the borrowing process is a complication of the Faroese syntactic system, where 'complex' simply means that it takes longer to describe something. When the same Faroese agent speaker speaks FAR-DAN, s/he simplifies his/her syntactic possessing and uses Faroese syntax, as when the verb is placed in front of the negation. Simplification is then to be understood from the point of view of the same agent speaker. Note that this does not mean that FAR-DAN in general is a simplified form of DA or anything similar. It is only in these specific cases of convergence that simplification occurs.

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NOTE

1. One anonymous reviewer points out that the pronunciation of *af* and *ad* in DA is much less than suggested by the spelling. This suggests a much more straightforward explanation of the use of *av* in FA. It must be noted here, however, that written Danish is very much used on the Faroe Islands, e.g. in school books and so forth.

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