

The borrowing scale and Danish in Faroese

Lánistigin og danskt í føroyskum

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Úrtak¹

Har tað snýr seg um málmót, kann roknast við ávirkan ímillum málini. Í hvussu er fer annað málið altíð at ávirka hitt, og sæst henda ávirkan aftur í fonologiini, morfologiini, syntaksinum og diskursinum.

Úrslitið av málmótinum er ymisk stig av lánum. Føroyskt hevur verið fyri danskari ávirkan í øðir. Tað hevur við sær, at fleiri donsk tøkuer eru í føroyskum og ymisk strukturell lán eisini. Nú á døgum kann sigast, at føroyskt liggur ímillum íslendskt og tey meginlandskandinávsku málini syntaktiskt, og at tað er eitt miðnorðurlandskt mál, hóast tað alt meira broytir seg móti teimum meginlandskandinávsku málunum.

Abstract

When two languages are in contact, we expect at least one of them to influence the other with regard to phonology, morphology, syntax and discourse.

Language contact results in different stages of borrowing. Faroese has been the subject of Danish influence for centuries, resulting in numerous loanwords and different structural borrowings. Today we can say that Faroese does not behave as a typical Insular Scandinavian language (Icelandic) or as a typical Mainland Scandinavian language (Danish, Norwegian, Swedish), falling instead in many cases in between the two as a Mid-Scandinavian language, though with a tendency to change towards the Mainland Scandinavian languages.

1 Introduction

In their book *Language Contact, Creolization and Genetic Linguistics* from 1988, S.G. Thomason and T. Kaufman set up a Borrowing Scale (BS). The scale consists of five steps (Thomason & Kaufman (1988:74 ff)), which include different stages of lexical and structural borrowings depending on language contact.

The goal of this paper is to look at the Faroese-Danish language contact situation and to investigate to what extent the BS is applicable.

Steps 2 and 3 of the scale appear to be the most promising, but as Step 2 only mentions conjunctions and adverbial particles as borrowed function words, it can be ruled out. Step 4 can also be ruled out, as it includes distinctive features of the donor language and new syllable structures.

The organization of the paper is as follows: the first section concentrates on *Methodology*, followed by the introduction of Step 3. The borrowing scale is then applied to Faroese, in which I explore Danish influence in (i) lexical borrowings, (ii) prepositions and circumpositions, (iii) conjunctions, (iv) derivational suffixes, (v) inflection.

nal suffixes, (vi) pronouns and numerals, (vii) phonemes and (viii) some syntactic changes. A final short section addresses gender in language contact, followed by a discussion and conclusion.

2. Methodology

The data presented here are partially based on a database on Faroese-Danish bilingualism that is currently being established at the *Center on Multilingualism* at the University of Hamburg. The project is labeled K8, with "K" standing for Kommunikation/Communication and is funded by the German Research Council (*Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft*).

The database is comprised of semi-formal interviews that I conducted on the Faroe Islands in November 2005. 30 informants were interviewed. Of these, 15 were between the age of 16 to 20 and 15 were over the age of 70.

When discussing prepositions, circumpositions, conjunctions, suffixes, etc., I went through *Donsk-føroysk orðabók* [Danish-Faroese dictionary] from 1995. Here I found different conjunctions that are used in modern, spoken Faroese. I then compared these findings to search results from two text-corpora: (<http://spraakbanken.gu.se/>) and <http://corp.hum.sdu.dk/cqp.fo.html>. The former contains all issues of the newspaper *Dimmalætting* from 1998, the latter all copies of the newspaper *Síðalurin* from 2004.

In some cases, I wanted to see how old certain borrowings were, for example, the prepositions *foruttan* 'without' and *íblant* 'among'. For this purpose I searched the internet and a database with the Ballad Language (1400-1800). I did not look for the

prepositions in all of the ballads but rather only in the Heroic Ballads, which I have in Word format. In addition to this I searched the internet by writing WORD site:fo.

The discussion of the -s plural is based on work that I did in collaboration with Helge Sandøy (University of Bergen) on the Faroe Islands in 2004. I interviewed 33 people from three different life-styles. 14 were primary and secondary school pupils (approximately 14 years of age), 11 had some further education and 8 had a university education.

In order to determine the plural form of *harðiskur* 'hard drive', for example, I would present the speakers with a sentence like (1). The sentence was recorded and the relevant lexical item transcribed by H. Sandøy and myself.

- (1) Teldan hjá mær hevur ein harðisk. Summar hava tveir. Ger setningin niðanfyrir lidnan:
Teldan hjá mær hevur tveir _____.
'My computer has one hard disk. Some have two. Complete the sentence below: My computer has two_____.'

The informants could answer with, for example, *harðiskar* 'hard drives' or *harðisks* 'hard drives'.

In order to find out how frequently some of the syntactic structures I discuss in this paper are used, I performed a grammaticality judgment test in March 2008 at Føroya Studentaskúli og HF-Skeið in which 36 questionnaires were distributed among the students. They could choose between four different answers: 1 'the sentence is totally grammatical', 2 'the sentence is grammatical, but I would not use it myself', 3 'the sentence is not really grammatical or un-

grammatical' and 4 'the sentence is totally ungrammatical'.

3. Step 3 and Danish borrowings

Step 3 in Thomason and Kaufman (1988:74-76) is characterized as more intense contact with a slightly larger number of structural borrowings than in Step 2.

(3) More intense contact: slightly more structural borrowing.

Lexicon:

Function words: adpositions (prepositions and postpositions). At this stage derivational affixes may be abstracted from borrowed words and added to native vocabulary; inflectional affixes may enter the borrowing language attached to, and will remain confined to, borrowed vocabulary items. Personal and demonstrative pronouns and low numerals which belong to the basic vocabulary are more likely to be borrowed at this

stage than in more casual contact situation.

Structure:

Slightly less minor structural features than in category (2). In phonology, borrowing will probably include the phonemicization, even in native vocabulary, of previously allophonic alternations. This is especially true of those that exploit distinctive features already present in the borrowing language, and also easily borrowed prosodic and syllable-structure features, such as stress rules and the addition of syllable-final consonants (in loan-words only). In syntax a complete change from, say SOV to SVO syntax will not occur here, but a few aspects of such a switch may be found, as, for example, borrowed postpositions in an otherwise prepositional language (or vice versa).

4. Lexicon

The figure below shows how many Faroese

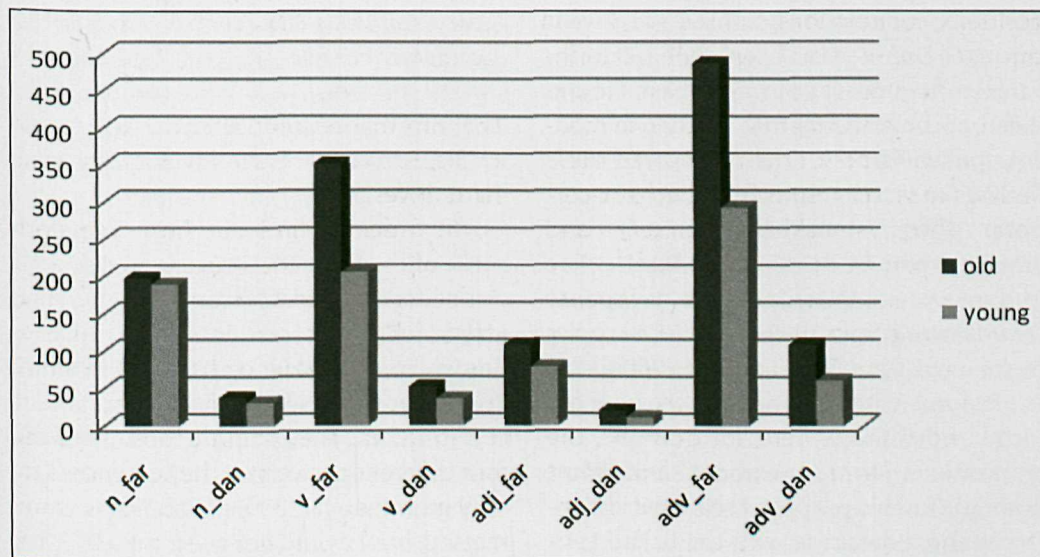


Figure 1. n = noun, far. = Faroese, dan. = Danish, v = verb, adj. = adjective, adv. = adverbs.

and Danish nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs are found in the speech of two informants in the K8 Corpus.

I have included the figure in order to give an impression of the Danish influence on colloquial spoken Faroese. It is only based on two informants, one woman of the older generation and one boy from the younger generation. Future research on the topic will hopefully provide more solid evidence and show whether any significant differences exist between the generations. As for now, it seems that the older speaker uses a larger number of Danish loans, though this result should be taken with caution, as I have mentioned above. Note that the copula is not included in the table, nor are any modal or auxiliary verbs.

5. Prepositions and circumpositions

According to Thomason & Kaufman (1988:74), we should expect to find adpositions at Stage 3. The following prepositions are borrowed from Danish into Faroese:

bak 'behind' < Dan. *bag* 'behind', (Far. *aftanfyri* 'behind' + acc.), *forbí* 'past' < Dan. *forbi* 'past' (Far. *framvið* 'past' + dat.), *foruttan* 'without' < Dan. *foruden* 'besides' (Far. *umframt* + acc. 'besides'), *íblant* 'among' < Dan. *iblandt* 'among' (Far. *ímillum* + acc. 'among'), *óansæð* 'in spite of' < Dan. *uanset* 'in spite of' (Far. *hóast, sjálvt um* 'in spite of, regardless of'), *tross* 'in spite of' < Dan. *trods* 'in spite of' (Far. *hóast* + acc.) and *pá* 'on' < Dan. *på* 'on' (Far. *á* 'on').

Note that *foruttan*, Dan. *foruden* 'in spite of', is an example of congruent lexicalization in lexical borrowings (Myusken 2000:150). The head is Faroese *-uttan* 'without', the prefix is Danish *for-* 'for'. *Foruttan* 'in spite of' is

primarily found in the Ballad Language (1400-1800), as are the examples with *íblant* 'among'. A typical example with *foruttan* is seen, for example, in the *Sjúrðarkvæði* in verse 187, *foruttan ekka* 'without fear-acc'. The meaning in Faroese is 'without' and corresponds with the Faroese preposition *uttan* 'without' and not to the meaning of the Danish preposition *foruden* 'besides'. I have been able to find 96 occurrences of *foruttan* + DP in the Heroic Ballads. When compared with the text corpora, we find that *foruttan* 'without' does not seem to exist in Modern Faroese except in one example from the internet in the magazine *Kvinna.fo* 13/01/06, accessed on April 4, 2008, in which I found *foruttan* + DP. The preposition is listed as belonging to the Ballad Language in *Føroysk orðabók* (1998), which corresponds with my findings for colloquial Faroese. The preposition *bak* 'behind' is only found in collocates as in *Indivíðið færdi kollektivið bak ljósið* www.kjak.fo/forum/viewtopic (accessed April 4, 2008), in which *bak ljósið* corresponds with the Danish collocate *bag lyset* Lit.: behind light-the = 'take somebody in'. Other borrowed collocates are seen in *pá* 'on' and *tross* < *trods* as in Far. *pá høggru hond* ~ *pá høgre hånd* Lit.: on right hand = 'to the right' and *tross alt* 'in spite of all' ~ Dan. *trods alt* 'in spite of all'. As these two prepositions do not have any free argument selection and only occur in collocates, they cannot be considered to be real borrowed prepositions. This is not the case with *forbí* 'past' < Dan. *forbi* 'past', as observed in (2a) and (2b). I cite them as they were written, including spelling errors in *ravuliga* instead of *ræðuliga* (2a) and *gingi* instead of plural *gingu* in (2b).

- 2a) ...tí hann koyrir ravuliga ofta **forbí meg**.
...because he drives very often [PP past
[DP me-acc.]]

'...because he very often drives past me.'
(Kvinna.fo. 17/01/07, accessed 15/02/09).

- 2b) Ein veninda og eg gingi **forbí ein handil**.
a friend and I walked [PP past [DP a
store-acc.]]

'Me and a friend walked past a store.'
(www.olivant.fo, 22/02/07; accessed 15/02/08).

The preposition *óansæð* 'despite' is a calque based on Danish *u-an-set* = Far. *óansæð/sætt* Lit.: 'un-on-see/seen'. It selects an accusative DP in Far., as *óansæð úrslitið* 'despite the result' (Dimma 08/13/08) and is productive, as it does not have any specific selection with regard to the following DP.

Turning now to circumpositions, they are: *frá...av* 'from...of', *av...til* 'of...to', *við...frá/fyri* 'with...on/off'.

Faroese *frá...av* is borrowed from Danish *fra...af* 'from...of' as in *han var syg fra ung af* Lit.: he was sick **from** young **of** 'he was sick from young age on'. This circumposition is borrowed into Faroese in, for example, *frá upphavi av* Lit.: from beginning-dat. of 'from the beginning' with the structure [pp frá [PP upphavi] av]], cf. German circumpositions [pp **unter** [PP der Brücke] **durch**]] Lit.: under the bridge through 'passing under the bridge' and English [pp from [PP the third floor] down]].

An example of the circumposition *við...frá* is seen in *bilurin bíðaði við motorinum frá* Lit.: car-the-nom. waited with engine-the-dat. from 'the car waited with the engine on'.

This is not a simple borrowing as with

frá...av corresponding to Danish *fra...af*. Instead, it is modeled on Danish *bilen ventede med motoren igang* Lit.: car-the-nom. waited with engine-the in going 'with the engine on', or *bilen ventede med motoren tilsluttet* 'with the engine connected' from the verb *tilslutte* 'to connect'.

Additionally, there is the circumposition *av helviti til* 'Lit.: 'from hell to' as in *far av helviti til!* Lit.: go from hell to = 'go to hell!', which does not make any sense semantically. It is modeled on the Danish collocate *ad helvede til* Lit.: to hell to = 'to hell'. In *av ...til* in Faroese, speakers seem to have taken the Faroese preposition that sounds most similar to the Danish *ad* 'to', this apparently being *av* 'from'.

To summarize, there are only two borrowed Danish prepositions that are productive in Faroese, those being *forbí* 'past' and *óansæð* 'in spite of'. Two are archaic and were only found in the Ballad Language; they are *foruttan* 'besides' and *íblant* 'among'. The prepositions *bak* 'behind', *pá* 'on' and *tross* 'in spite of' were only seen in collocates. People use three different strategies in borrowing circumpositions from Danish into Faroese. The first is the simple word-for-word translation of *fra begyndelsen af* => *frá upphavi av* Lit.: **from** beginning **of** 'from the beginning'. The second is a calque, in which *igang* Lit.: on going 'on' is translated as *frá* 'on' as the Danish past participle is *tilsluttet* 'connected', resulting in the circumpositions *við...frá* 'with...on'. This indicates that language replication is not mere copying (Heine & Kuteva 2005:81). A third and admittedly strange possibility also exists, though it is restricted to the collocate: *av helviti til* Lit.: **from** hell **to** 'to hell'.

6. Conjunctions

Conjunctions are supposed to be borrowed during Stage 2. The following conjunctions are borrowed into Faroese: *dersum* 'if', *eftirsum* 'because', *likasum* 'like' and *sosum* 'like, as'.

Eftirsum 'because' is frequently seen in written Faroese. In *Språkbanken*, I found 115 occurrences with this conjunction and none with *dersum* 'if', even though it is not uncommon in spoken Faroese. I was additionally able to find two examples of *dersum* on the internet.

87 examples of *likasum* 'like' were seen in *Språkbanken*, though none with *sosum* 'like, as'. The results of searching for this conjunction on the internet indicate that it is actually used very frequently.

7. Derivational suffixes

Thomasson and Kaufmann (1988) claim that derivational affixes can be abstracted away from the borrowed words at Stage 3 and added to the native vocabulary. This is exactly what happens with *-arí-n.* (< Dan. *-arín.*), *-heit-f.* (< Dan. *-hed-f.*) and *-ilsi-n.* (< Dan. *-else-cg.*). Note that the suffix *-else* has changed its gender to neuter in Faroese.

The *-arí* suffix has spread to native words in the following lexical items, amongst others. Note that the words below are not borrowed from Danish, which in turn shows that the suffix is productive in Faroese.

at darta 'to walk with stiff legs' => *dartari* 'restlessness', *at garta* 'to make noise' => *gartari* 'noise', *at jagla* 'to munch' => *jaglari* 'munching', *at mala* 'to gad about' *malarí* 'trissing about', *at narra* 'to fool' => *narrari* 'have fun with', *at ropa* 'to burp' => *ropari* 'burping', *at sjora* 'to speed'

=> *sjorari* 'speeding', *at sora* 'to crush' => *sorari* 'crushing', *at svika* 'to cheat' => *svikari* 'cheating'.
Donsk-føroysk orðabók (1995).

The suffix *-heit* is also productive in Faroese:

bangheit 'anxiety', *bæriligheit* 'to be considerable', *rættvorðinheit* 'normality', *sansaligheit* 'sensualism', *svinnheit* 'reservation'.

Donsk-føroysk orðabók (1995).

The suffix *-ilsi* is also productive, as seen in the noun *rimpilsí* 'nymphomania', a word that was attested in the late 18th century in the dictionary manuscripts of J. C. Svabo (1746-1824).

Some other nouns in which *-ilsi* is productive are listed below.

bangilsí 'anxiety', *bindilsí* 'constipation', *garterilsí* 'noise', *hampilsí* 'order', *illneitilsí* 'bad temper', *játtilsí* 'consent', *lammitterilsí* 'noise', *manrerilsí* 'moving about', *nøtrilsí* 'trembling', *piprilsí* 'trembling', *rokilsí* 'fuss', *skapilsí* 'form', *skepilsí* 'shape, figure', *uggilsí* 'comfort', *víðilsí* 'open field', *ørilsí* 'dizziness'.

Donsk-føroysk orðabók (1995).

8. The *-s* plural

Spoken Faroese uses the suffixes *-ar*, *-(i)r* or *-Ø* in the plural, in which *-ar* is used mainly in masculine nouns and *-ir* primarily in feminine nouns, while the zero ending is mainly restricted to neuter nouns, (Petersen 2008, Petersen and Adams 2008).

The only borrowed inflectional ending is the English plural *-s*. This suffix is presumably borrowed into Faroese from Danish, though we need to keep in mind that the influence of English in Faroese is increasing.

It should be noted that the plural end-

ing *-s* is extremely rare in Faroese and is restricted to a few loanwords (Simonsen 2006). In some cases it is even reanalyzed as part of the stem in the singular: *tons* 'a ton', *drops* 'a drop' and *tanks* 'a tank'.

I conducted a number of interviews in 2003 on the Faroe Islands with the purpose of finding out how certain English loanwords are adapted into Faroese as part of a larger project titled *Moderne importord i språka i Norden* 'Modern Importwords in the Nordic Languages' conducted by Helge Sandøy at the University of Bergen. The aim of the investigation was to find out, among other things, what plural endings are used for *harðdiskur* 'hard disk', *drink* and *airbag*. Note that the corresponding Danish nouns are all common gender nouns. We also hoped to find out whether the *-s* plural could be used in the following neuter nouns: *tip*, *clue* and *mail*. Keep in mind that *mail* can be both common gender or neuter in Danish. The results were presented in Sandøy & Petersen (2007) and the reader is referred to that article for details. The general conclusion of the study was that the plural *-s* is possible in *drinks* and *airbags* but not in *-disk*, the reason being that the simplex native noun *diskur* 'disk' blocks the *-s* ending. Neuter nouns also show a restricted use of the plural *-s* (Sandøy & Petersen 2007). As expected, *clue*, for example, generally exhibited no ending in the plural, just as neuter nouns typically have no plural endings, cf. *eitt skip* 'one ship' *fleiri skip*-Ø 'many ships'. The noun *mail* displayed the plural *-s* with a frequency of 33%.

H. Simonsen wrote her MA dissertation on loanwords on the Faroe Islands, particularly those in advertising. Portions of her

findings were published in Simonsen (2006). She was able to find seven different examples of the *-s* plural in a collection of 25 newspapers and 10 in advertising, mentioning specific examples such as *t-shirts*, *jeans* and *peanuts* (Simonsen 2006:125).

Her general conclusion was that the *-s* plural is exceptional and not generally used in Faroese. Its limited distribution confirms the claim in Thomason & Kaufmann (1988:74-76) that 'inflectional affixes may enter the borrowing language attached to, and will remain confined to, borrowed vocabulary items'.

9. Pronouns and numerals

Thomason and Kaufman claim that personal and demonstrative pronouns and low numerals are more likely to be borrowed at Stage 3 than in more casual contact situations, as more intense contact is characteristic of this stage.

There is only one impersonal pronoun borrowed into Faroese from Danish, this being *mann* 'one' (< Dan. *man* 'one'). It is widely used in spoken as well as in written Faroese. It can be spelled either as *mann* or as *man* 'one'.

The smaller numerals (below 20) are all native to Faroese. This should in fact not come as a surprise, as the lower Faroese and Danish numbers are to some extent homophonous: *fimm* (Far.) ~ *fem* (Dan.) and, of course, cognates.

The cardinal numbers starting at 20 are Danish. One example is *einogtjúgu* ~ Dan. *enogtyve* Lit.: one-and-twenty = 'twenty one'.

The Danish system was presumably introduced through Danish schools starting in 1846, when Danish schoolbooks were intro-

duced along with the schools. Faroese replaced Danish as the official school language in 1937.

One of my informants from the K8 Corpus from Kalsoy reported that he knew a man who could sing the Danish arithmetic table. This and the general school requirement of memorizing the arithmetic table seem to be the results of the introduction of the Danish number system into Faroese. I was only able to find two examples of Danish numbers in the Ballad Language (1400-1800). Both are from *Fugloyarbók* (The book from Fugloy), which was written by Hans Hansen (1764-1854). As he uses the numeral *fimm og tjúgu* '25' (Karlots kvæði, verse 80) and the cardinal *fýrs* '80' in *fýrsinstjúgu* '80' (Hemildskvæði, verse 23, 24), it might well be the case that the Danish counting system was introduced with the schools in the mid-1800s. The Danish trade monopoly must also have played a role.

10. Phonemes

Thomason and Kaufmann (1988) distinguish between Lexicon and Structure, including phonological and syntactic borrowings as structural borrowing. This will be the focus of the following two sections.

We should expect to find phonemicization in Stage 3, i.e. phonemicization in the native vocabulary of previous allophonic alternation(s).

Faroese does not show any examples of such phonemicizations, the new vowel phonemes /a:/ and /y:/ being restricted to loanwords as in *statur* /sta:^htur/ 'state' and *typa* /ty:pa/ 'type'.

A phonotactic restriction may spread to

a sentence position where it did not occur originally, as is the case in *knowhow*. It is the second part of the compound that is of interest to us.

The string -avn [avn] might be vocalized to [aun] or [avn] in Faroese, as in the noun *havn* 'harbor' to [haun] (or with an approximant [hauv], (Werner 1970)). This is the only environment in which the diphthong /au:/ is found originally, though it can now also be used in borrowings such as *knowhow* [-hauw]. The phoneme is also in other loanwords such as *aula* 'meeting-hall'.

According to Thomason and Kaufman, stress is preserved in loanwords in Stage 3. This is confirmed by the Faroese data, where loanwords exhibit the same stress patterns as they do in Danish.

11. Syntactic changes

In this section I will briefly discuss some syntactic changes in Faroese. Some are most likely the result of language contact as in the examples Impersonal Passive Constructions (3), Double Object Constructions (4b), Embedded V2 (5e), Ditransitive verbs to PP + NP (8, 9) and perhaps also in existential sentences in which an agreement exists between the expletive and the copula instead of a following plural DP, cf. (11); I will also discuss cleft sentences (12a) and benefactive constructions as seen in (14a). In addition, we expect language contact to be responsible for the use of an indefinite pronoun in Faroese as in (15a).²

There is a tendency in many linguistic writings to sweepingly regard syntactic changes as the results only of inner changes. The main justification for this view is perhaps that some researchers regard syntax as the

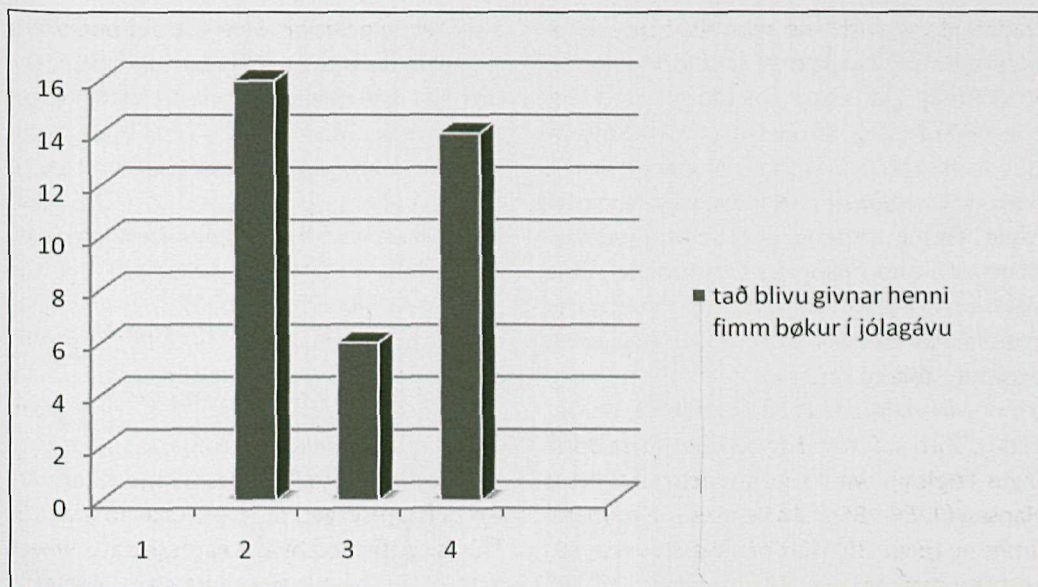


Figure 2. The figure shows the result of grammaticality judgment test of impersonal double object constructions. 1 = the sentence is grammatical. 2 = the sentence is grammatical, but I would not use it myself. 3 = the sentence is neither grammatical or ungrammatical and 4 = the sentence is totally ungrammatical.

deepest level of grammar, though more recent directions in linguistics tend to view phonology, syntax and semantic as three parallel components of grammar (Cullicover & Jackendoff 2005:18).

It is nevertheless a fact, however, that syntactic interference is just as frequent as phonological interference in language contact situations (Thomason & Kaufman 1988: 118); this is worth keeping in mind when considering the changes we present below, as is the fact that whenever changes are found in one or some of the subsystems, changes are likely to be found in other subsystems as well as the result of contact. Note also that Faroese and Danish have been in contact for centuries.

In (3), an Impersonal Passive Construc-

tion, the expletive can either be present or absent in Faroese.

- (3) Bleiv (**tað**) tosað um Ólav?
 was (there) talked-ppp about Ó.-acc.sg?
 'Did people talk about Ólavur?

Faroese is situated between the Mainland Scandinavian languages, which require the expletive, and Icelandic, where the expletive is impossible, in allowing for both possibilities. Contact is therefore an obvious possible trigger for the overt *tað* 'there'. It is natural to explain this as the result of Danish language contact, as its influence on other parts of speech is moderate to rather mixed. The Faroe Islanders are bilingual with high proficiency in Danish and are exposed daily to

Danish through television, newspapers, computer-games, magazines, schoolbooks, etc. We can say that Faroese is the selected language in language processing and that Danish is the active language. Danish has the same function as Faroese; it selects lexical items, forms sentences, generates surface structures and makes a phonetic plan, but Danish is not fed into the Articulator. For the notion of active and selected language, see de Bot (1992/2000:433).

As this is the case, its influence on the syntactic structure is not totally unexpected. The same would hold for impersonal double object constructions as in:

- (4a) Der blev givet hende tre bøger. (Dan.)
there-nom. were given-ppp her-obl. three
books-obl.
(4b) Tað blivu givnar henni trýggjar bókur. (Far.)
there-nom. were given-ppp. her-dat. three
books-acc.
'Three books were given to her'.
(4c) *Það voru gefnar henni þrjár bækur. (Icl.)
there-nom. were given-ppp her-dat. three
books-acc.
'Three books were given her'.

The judgment test shows that people do not view (4b) as marginal, as assumed in Holmberg (1994). The point I would like to make here is that (4b) has very likely come about as the result of Danish influence on Faroese. (Figure 2).

Embedded V2 constructions are among the best described constructions in Faroese (Petersen 2000, Thráinsson 2000, see also the resume in Thráinsson *et al.* (2004:438ff) and references therein).

Standard Danish does not allow for Verb + Negation after so-called bridge verbs (5a), whereas Icelandic does not allow for Negation + Verb after the same verb. Both structures are allowed in Faroese ((5b) and (5e)).

- (5a) Han spurgte, *om Jon **kendte ikke** Frida.
(Dan.)
he asked if John knew not Frida.
(5b) Hann spurdi, um Jógvan **kendi ikki** Fríðu.
(Far.)
he asked if John knew not Frida.
(5c) Hann spurði, hvort Jón **þekti ekki** Fríðu.
(Icl.)
he asked if John knew not Fríða.
(5d) ...om Jon **ikke kendte** Frida. (Dan.)
...if John not knew Frida.
(5e) ...um Jógvan **ikki kendi** Fríðu. (Far.)
... if John not knew Frida.
(5f) ...*hvort Jón **ekki þekti** Fríðu. (Icl.)
... if John not knew Frida.

Thráinsson *et al.* (2004) assume that the string Verb + Neg will gradually die out in Faroese and that Faroese has developed a system of its own, as it allows both the Mainland Scandinavian pattern and the Insular Scandinavian pattern here as well as in relative clauses, for example.

It is possible to explain the Negation + Verb string as an inner change, as this word order is allowed in topicalization:

- (6) Ikki koyrði Jógvan bilin
not drove-past John-nom. car-the-acc.
'John did not drove the car'

As Negation + Verb is possible in (6), one could assume that this triggers the Negation + Verb of younger informants in embedded V2 construction and that this change is not

due to Danish influence. But why should topicalization be the only explanation for the spread of Negation + Verb?

Danish has this structure and Faroese has, as mentioned in Thráinsson *et al.* (2004: 438 ff), developed a system of its own. This is exactly what we would expect to find in language replication (Heine and Kuteva 2005: 81, Thomason & Kaufman 1988:62, in which they claim that language replication is not a case of mere copying).

Ditransitive verbs like *geva* 'to give' have a dative benefactive and an accusative theme in Faroese and Icelandic; see for example Thráinsson (2007: 216ff), Petersen and Adams (2008: 77).

- (7) Jógvan gav konuni bókina.
 John gave woman-the-dat(benefactive)
 book-the-acc.(theme)
 'John gave the book to the woman.'

According to Sapir (1921:150-55), there is a tendency within languages to change in certain ways as a result of structural imbalances, a concept which he refers to as drift.

By looking at the Germanic languages, for example, or particularly the Scandinavian languages, it is evident that genetically related languages drift in the same direction from synthetic to analytical languages. This is what happens in the incipient change in:

- (8) Jógvan gav bókina til konuna. (Far.)
 John gave book-the-acc.(theme) to
 woman-the-acc.(benefactive)
 'John gave the book to the woman.'

The accusative theme *bókina* 'the book' has moved to the position right after the verb and the benefactive *konuna* 'the woman' is the complement of the PP *til* 'to', just as in

Danish – or for that matter English.

Using Icelandic as a control parameter, PP + DP as seen in (8) and (9) are ungrammatical (Thráinsson 2007).

Recent research has shown that Faroese allows PP + DP (Petersen 2006, Jónsson 2008). (9) is an example from the written language:

- (9) Lærarin ...gevir **prógvið til luttakarar-**
nar.
 teacher-the-nom. ... gives-3.p.sg. certifi-
 cate-the-acc. to participants-acc.pl.
 'The teacher gives the certificate to the
 participants.'

(Dimma 01/08/06)

Ditransitive constructions have also been studied by Jónsson (2008) as part of a larger Scandinavian research project into dialect-syntax called ScanDiaSyn. He and his Faroese assistants distributed questionnaires among 243 speakers on the Faroe Islands. Among the sentences in this judgment test were those with the ditransitive verbs *selja* 'to sell' and *geva* 'to give'. The results are presented in (10):

- (10a) Hann seldi [DP konuni [DP bilin]]. (81%)
 he-nom. sold-3.p.past woman-the-dat.
 car-the-acc.
 'He sold the car to the woman.'
- (10b) Hann seldi [DP húsinu [PP til [DP Jógvan]]], (93%)
 he-nom. sold-3.p.past. house-the-acc. to
 John-acc.
 'He sold John the house.'
- (10c) Hon gav [DP Turið [DP bókina]] (97,1%)
 She-nom. gave-3.p.past Turið-dat. book-
 the-acc.
 'She gave Turið the book.'

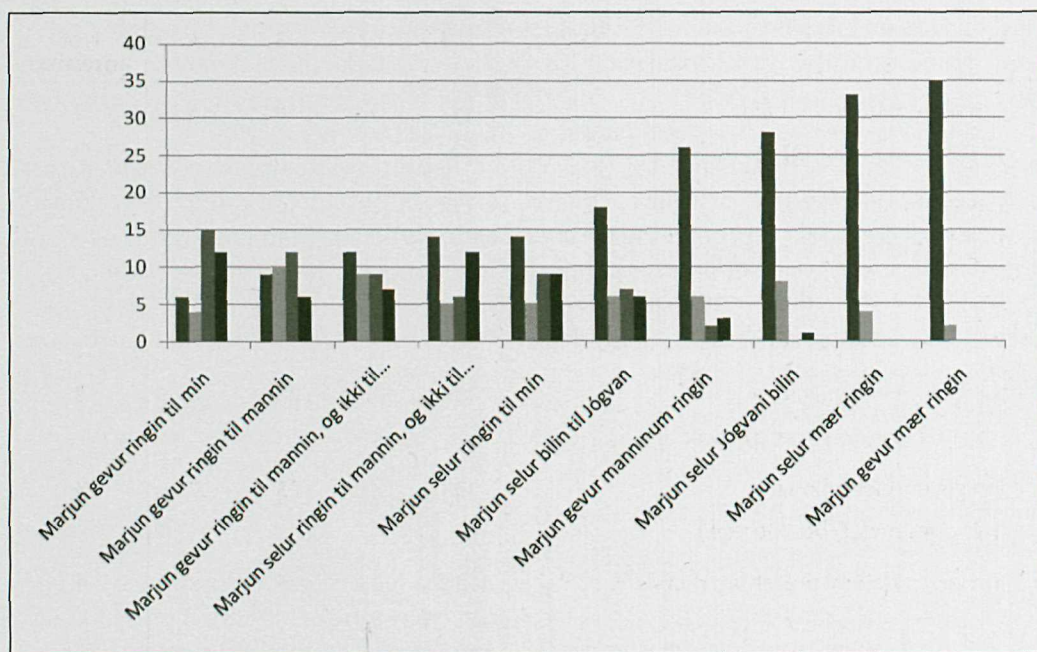


Figure 3. I have grouped the results so that the most frequent and unambiguous examples are located to the far right. The sentences – with an English word-for-word translation: *Marjun gevur ringin til mín* 'Mary gives ring-the-acc. to me-acc.', *Marjun gevur ringin til mannin* 'M. gives ring-the-acc. to man-the-acc.', *Marjun gevur ringin til mannin, og ikki til konuna* 'M. gives ring-the-acc. to man-the-acc., and not to woman-the-acc.', *Marjun selur ringin til mannin, og ikki til konuna* 'M. sells ring-the-acc. to man-the-acc., and not to woman-the-acc.', *Marjun selur ringin til mín* 'M. sells ring-the-acc. to me-acc-sg.', *Marjun selur bilin til Jógván* 'M. sells car-the-acc. to John-acc.', *Marjun gevur manninum ringin* 'M. gives man-the-dat. ring-the-acc.', *Marjun selur Jógvani bilin* 'M. sells John-dat., car-the-acc.', *Marjun selur mær ringin* 'M. sells me-dat. ring-the-acc.' and *Marjun gevur mær ringin* 'M. gives me-dat. ring-the-acc.'.

- (10d) Hon gav [DP troyggjuna [PP til [DP Mariu]]. (40%)
 she-nom.sg. gave sweater-the-acc. to Mary-acc.
 'She gave the sweater to Mary'.
 (Jónsson 2008, forthcoming)

The change is, according to Jónsson (2008), the result of language acquisition. I, however, cannot see how it is possible to completely rule out language contact as a possibility, as children learn from their surroundings.

As with the impersonal object construction, I also conducted a judgment test with *geva* 'to give' and *selja* 'to sell' but with a full NP as well as a pronoun and a focus sentence (Figure 3).

In August 2008 I did field work on the Faroe Islands together with a colleague from the Faroese University. The result of this work is that animacy plays a role in the change of argument structure with *geva* 'to give' (Figure 4).

	1	2	3	4	Not answered
Jón selur manninum bilin J(N) sells man-the(D) car-the(A)	147	32	8	5	2
Jón selur mær bókina J(N) sells me(D) book-the(A)	152	22	16	2	2
Jón gevur Frelsunarherinum klæðini J(N) gives Salvation Army-the(D) cloths-the(A)	145	29	14	6	
Jón gevur konuni bókina J(N) gives woman-the(D) book-the(A)	150	16	20	6	2
Jón gevur mær bókina J(N) gives me(D) book-the(A)	138	23	23	7	3
Jón gevur klæðini til Frelsunarherin J(N) gives cloths-the(A) to SA-the(A)	131	25	26	8	4
Jón selur bókina til mín J(N) sells book-the(A) to me(A)	75	48	32	34	5
Jón selur bilin til mannin J(N) sells car-the(A) to man-the(A)	80	35	51	26	2
Jón gevur bókina til konuna J(N) gives book-the(A) to woman-the(A)	45	37	54	57	1
Jón gevur bókina til mín J(N) gives book-the(A) to me(A)	27	32	53	78	4

Figure 4. 1 = the sentence is grammatical; 2 the sentence is grammatical, but I would not use it myself, 3 = the sentence is doubtful, 4 the sentence is ungrammatical. Note (6), (7) and (8). In (6) we have an inanimate NP *Frelsunarherin* 'The Salvation Army'. In (7) a pronoun after *selja* 'to sell', and in (8) a full NP. This corresponds roughly to the findings in Jónsson (2008) quoted above.

It is also tempting to take drift to be the only explanation behind the changes above, but as language contact is responsible for changes in other subsystems, it is definitely

also at work in the change from DP-dat. DP-acc. to DP-acc. PP + DP-acc. sentences like those above. I would say that a change like the one to PP + DP increases dramatically if

the model language has such a structure³.

Next we shall consider existential sentences such as (11). The sentence is taken from the K8 Corpus.

- (11) Tað er eini trý hol... (K8)
 there-nom.sg. is-3.p.sg. a three holes-nom.pl.
 'There are three holes....'

No agreement exists between the DP *eini trý hol*, which is in the nominative plural, and the verb *er* 'is', which is in the singular. Instead, there is agreement with the expletive *tað* 'there' and the singular of the verb.

It is possible to view language contact as a possible trigger behind this phenomenon, as Danish has *er* in the singular and the plural: *Jeg er* 'I am', *du er* 'you are', *han er* 'he is', *vi er* 'we are', *I er* 'you are' and *de er* 'they are'. Other analyses also exist such as the small clause analysis of Dikken (2001), Multiple Agreement, (Radford 2004:319, 364, 381) and the feature analysis of sentences, though admittedly not quite the same as above, like *You ones was a* by Adger (2006).

Another possible candidate that has come about as the result of language contact is a cleft sentence like the one in (12a). In (12a), the DP *ein nýggjan motor* 'a new engine' is in the accusative instead of the expected nominative *ein nýggjur motorur* 'a new engine' (12b).

The sentences in (12c) and (12d) are Danish. Case is only seen in the personal pronoun, as exhibited by (12c). Danish only allows for the oblique case in personal pronouns in clefts and not the nominative as seen in (12d).

- (12a) Tað er **ein nýggjan motor**, sum bátinum

tørvar.

it-nom. is-3.p.sg. a new engine-acc.sg. that boat-the-dat. needs-3.p.sg.

'It is a new engine that the boat needs.'

- (12b) Tað er ein **nýggjur motorur**, sum bátinum tørvar.
 it-nom. is-3.p.sg. a new engine-nom.sg. that boat-the-dat. needs-3.p.sg.
 'It is a new engine that the boat needs.'

- (12c) Det er **dig**, som Jon behøver. (Dan.)
 It is you-obl., who John needs-3.p.sg.
 'It is you, who John needs.'

- (12d) *Det er **du**, som jeg behøver (Dan.)
 it-nom. is you-nom. who John needs-3.p.sg.
 'It is you, who John needs.'

The judgment test shows that a sentence like (12a) is preferred.

Although Danish influence is possible in (12a), other possibilities also exist, one being the influence of the un-clefted sentence, in which the DP *nýggjan motor* is in the accusative.

- (13) Bátinum tørvar ein nýggjan motor
 boat-the-dat. needs-3.p.sg. a new engine-acc.sg.
 'The boat needs a new engine.'

(13) is old-fashioned and has basically become extinct in the spoken colloquial. It is replaced by a pure Danish construction, *báturin manglar ein nýggjan motor* 'boat-the-nom. needs-3p.sg. a new engine-acc.sg. 'the boat need a new engine'. Impersonal subject constructions are only found in spoken Faroese with the verb *dáma* 'like' (Petersen 2002). A change in progress is also evident here, as people say *eg dámi mjólkina* 'I-nom.

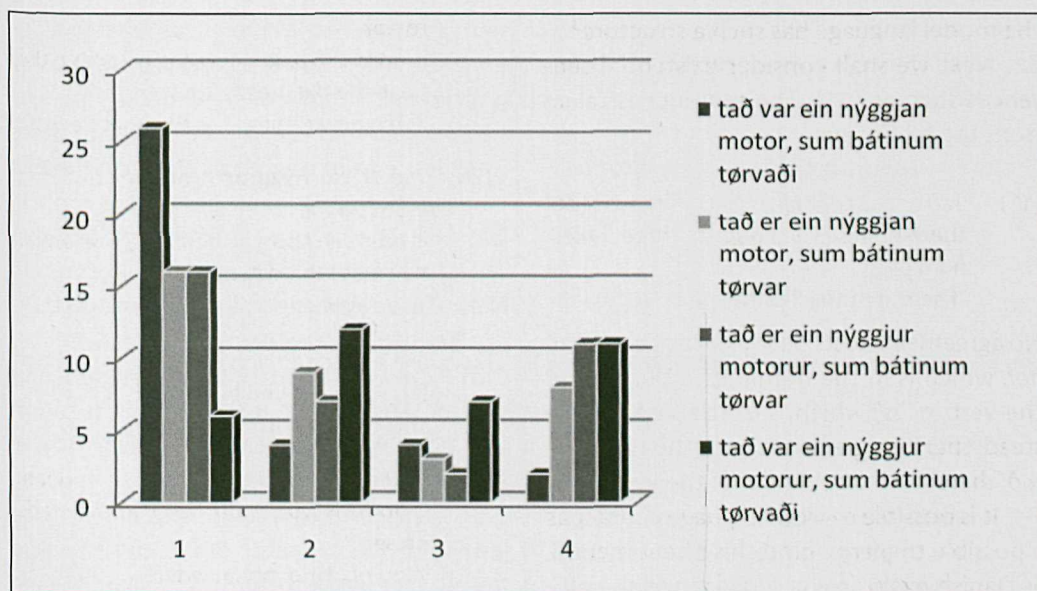


Figure 5. Cleft sentences in Faroese. Speakers prefer *tað var ein nýggjan motor, sum bátinum tørvaði* 'it-nom. was-3.p.sg. a new engine-acc.-sg., that boat-the.dat.-sg. needed. Next is *tað er ein nýggjan motor, sum bátinum tørvar* 'it is-3.p.sg.pres. a new engine-acc.sg. that boat-the-dat.sg. needs. The nominative clefts are not ungrammatical, but acc. is preferred. The nominative sentences are *tað er ein nýggjur motorur, sum bátinum tørvar* 'it-nom. is-3.p.sg. a new engine-nom.sg., that boat-the-dat. needs and *tað var ein nýggjur motorur, sum bátinum tørvaði* 'it-nom. was-3.p.sg. a new engine-nom.sg. that boat-the-dat. needed-past.

like-1.p.sg. milk-the-acc.' instead of *mær dámar mjólkina* 'me-dat.-sg. like-3-p.sg. milk-the-acc' 'I like the milk'. These changes show that place is becoming more and more important in Faroese. The subject must be in the nominative and the word or words typically found in the object position now must be in the accusative so that the nominative *ein nýggjur motorur* changes to the accusative *ein nýggjan motor*, hence the change in the cleft sentences.

Faroese behaves like Mainland Scandinavian (and English) in benefactive constructions as seen in (14). Here, the object, *Fríðu*, benefits from the action, again allow-

ing for the behavior of Faroese and Danish to be viewed as the result of language contact.

- (14a) *Eg bakaði Fríðu eina køku.* (Far.)
I-nom. baked-pp. Fridu-dat. a cake-acc.
'I baked Fríðu a cake.'
- (14b) *Jeg bagede Frida en kage.* (Dan.)
I-nom. baked Frida-obl. a cake-obl.
'I baked Frida a cake.'
- (14c) **Ég bakaði Fríðu köku.* (Icl.)
I-nom. baked-pp. Frida-dat. a cake-acc.
'I baked Fríða a cake.'

In Faroese, the indefinite pronoun *ein* 'a' developed from the numeral *ein* 'one' as in so many other languages – see for example

Heine and Kuteva (2006:97 ff). Faroese behaves like Danish and in a manner opposing Icelandic in:

- (15a) **Ein maður** kom innar. Hann var stórir. (Far.)
 a man-nom. came-3.p.sg. in. He was-3.p.sg. big.
 'A man entered. He was big.'
- (15b) **En mand** kom ind. Han var stor (Dan.)
 a man-nom. came-3.p.sg. in. He-nom. was-3.p.sg. big
 'A man entered. He was big.'
- (15c) **Maður** kom innar. Hann var stórr (Icl.)
 man-nom.sg. came in. He-nom. was-3.p.sg. big
 'A man entered. He was big.'

Some of the changes above are very likely to have come about as the result of language contact. It is not sufficient to explain them solely as inner changes; after all, how can one possibly ignore the bilingual language situation?

12. Gender

In bilingual speech, speakers maintain a separation of the gender system of L1 and L2 (see Costa *et al.* 2003). This is not particularly unexpected, as gender has a huge impact on agreement and the morphological system with its different controllers and target genders.

Danish gender has not influenced Faroese to any large extent, but there are some few changes as when the common gender – *ilse* suffix in Danish as in *en forbindelse* 'a connection' changes to the neuter *eitt forbindili* 'a connection' because of its association with

native nouns like *eitt dømi* 'an example'. In contrast, when Faroe Islanders speak Danish, a very small number of gender faults are witnessed. The most common errors are cases in which a noun might be referred to with a corresponding Faroese personal pronoun but with Danish form, as in *en mine* 'a mine': *hun* 'she', instead of *den* 'it' (K8 Corpus on Dano-Faroese).

There are other parts of the gender system, however, where Danish influence is greater. An example is the masculine plural *allir* 'all' having changed to the neuter plural *øll* 'all' when referring to people in general. The use of the masculine in Faroese was studied by Dee Hansen 2003, in which she noted that while a *teir*-m.pl. would have been used for people in general in 1986, such a word-use would be inconceivable today (Dee Hansen 2004:380), as people are more aware of gender and sex and have borrowed the Danish discourse. This became apparent in some of the interviews she conducted with different newspaper editors.

Danish influence is thus in an example like (16b):

- (16a) **De** er fá, som har købt hus i år. (Dan.)
- (16b) **Tey** eru fá, sum hava keypt hús í ár (Far.)
 they-n.pl. are few that have bought house in year
 'They are few, which have bought a house this year.'
- (16c) **Beir** eru fáir, sem hafa keypt hús í ár. (Icl.)
 they-m.pl. are few that have bought house in year
 'They are few, which have bought house this year.'

The neuter plural is used to denote people in general in Faroese as in *øll* 'all', *tey* 'they'. This being the result of contact with Danish and the increased awareness of gender and sex in language use, but assisted by the native semantic assignment rule that 'beings of both sexes are neuter' (Petersen 2008).

13. Summary and conclusion

Faroese behaves very much in line with the proposed Stage 3 of the Borrowing Scale in Thomason & Kaufman (1988:74-76). Faroese has replicated some syntactic structures from Danish and has borrowed other parts of speech as well, as we have shown in the preceeding sections. More precisely:

Lexicon:	Yes	No
Adpositions	✓	
Derv. suffixes, abstracted away from loanwords	✓	
Possible inflectional suffixes, restricted to borrowings	✓	
Personal pronouns		✓
Demonstrative pronouns		✓
Low numerals		✓
Structure:		
Phonemicization		✓
Stress rules	✓	
Syntax: few aspects	✓	

Although there are ✓'s under *no* for pronouns and numerals, we have shown that the Danish indefinite pronoun *mann* 'one' is extremely common in Faroese and that the cardinal numbers from 20 onwards are the only ones used in the spoken language. Note also that Danish discourse and the use of the neuter plural when referring to people in

general is replicated into Faroese as *øll* 'all' as opposed to the masculine plural in Icelandic, *allir* 'all'.

The language situation is summarized in the following diagram; we have concentrated on the left side in this article, which is the influence of Danish on Faroese. The other side shows how the Faroe Islanders speak Danish.

Danish ⇒ Faroese	Faroese ⇒ Danish
<i>Lexicon</i> (very) strong	extremely little
<i>Phonology</i> weak	strong
<i>Morphosyntax</i>	
moderate to fairly mixed	moderate to fairly mixed

The Danish influence on the Faroese lexicon is strong. On the other hand, there is little Faroese influence on the Danish lexicon when Faroe Islanders speak Danish, with the exception of some nonce-borrowings and code switches. The only Faroese word that has found its way into a Danish dictionary is *grind* 'pilot whale', (see for example *Politikens Etymologiske Ordbog* from 2000).

We have shown that there is little influence on the phonological system and cases in which we find such influence are restricted to loanwords such as stress and the two new vowel phonemes /a:/, /y:/ and /au:/.

Some prepositions and circumpositions are borrowed, as are conjunctions and certain productive derivational suffixes. There were no cases of the productive plural -s, which has a very restricted distribution. In addition, we have included influence in the gender system, something that was not mentioned at Stage 3 by Thomason & Kaufman 1988.

Thus, there are examples of changes that can be observed in different subsystems. As this is the case, language contact-induced changes are very likely to occur in other subsystems as well, for example in the syntax, although this is generally not accepted by many linguists who view syntax as the most fundamental level of grammar.

Evidence from language contact shows that internal factors such as markedness and drift can easily be overridden when social factors push in another direction (Thomason & Kaufman 1988:4). There is no reason for the syntactic changes above not to be regarded as potential results of language contact. The *Neg. + Verb* string in Faroese, for example, shows a typical replication pattern in which the structure of the model language is not purely copied. That is, Faroese allows both the ISc. and MSc. structures. This is also the case in the Impersonal Passive Construction, which allows both for the expletive and also for sentences with no expletives.

The change in the ditransitive verbs to PP + NP is also regarded as a contact phenomenon, though it might be assisted by drift.

Notes

¹ I would like to thank A. MacDougall for proof-reading the article.

² Danish influence is also in *mjólk-f. er gott-n.* 'milk is good'. If Icelandic is used as a point of comparison, neuter in the predicate is not possible there. I only became aware of these differences after finishing the article. Hence this note.

³ Or as it is said in Dahl (2001:1469) "In other words, while the chance that a certain morpheme or construction in a language will undergo a particular kind of grammaticalization is on the whole rather small, the probability increases dramatically if a neighbouring language undergoes the process in question". The 'neighbouring' language here being Danish.

ⁱ When Faroe Islanders speak Danish, the so-called Gøtudanskt or Dano-Faroese, the influence from the Faroese phonological system is huge, especially by the older generation(s). Here we find unvoiced *l* and *n* in front of preaspirated *p*, *t*, *k* as in *alt* 'all', preaspiration in general, Faroese vowel values, etc. In the morpho-syntax in Gøtudanskt, we find convergence, inter- and intra-sentential code-switches, nonce-borrowings, pronominal gender, etc. (Petersen and Adams 2008).

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