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# Borrowing Modal Elements into American Norwegian

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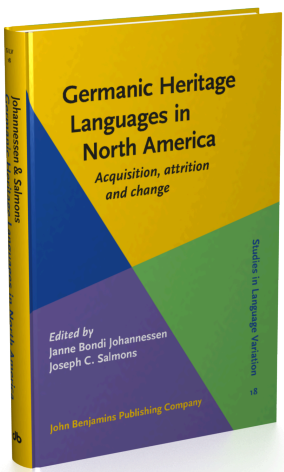


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# Borrowing modal elements into American Norwegian

## The case of *suppose(d)*

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In a corpus of more than 120 hours of recorded American Norwegian speech we find the word *spost*, which looks like a non-Norwegian item. This word appears to be in normal use, although Norwegian Americans deny using it. Apparently this is the modal structure 'be supposed to' / 'I suppose' being borrowed from English into American Norwegian. In this article we examine how these structures are used in American Norwegian, and how they are modified and incorporated into the language. Furthermore we look at the various meanings such constructions have and potential models for it in Norwegian. This study contributes to the literature on borrowing of modal expressions in contact. According to Matras and Sakel (2007), borrowing of verb-related categories, such as modality, is rarely discussed in the literature, although in reality it is quite frequent. Judging by how often modal expressions are borrowed from one language to another, modality itself stands out as category which is prone to borrowing. We also discuss how the use of *spost* in some instances can be interpreted as a discourse marker, and if it is only the item that is borrowed, or also the grammatical pattern associated with it.

**Keywords:** borrowing, epistemic modality, evidential modality, deontic modality, convergence, matter replication, pattern replication, bilingual mind

### 1. Introduction

Much of the previous research on the Norwegian language in America has focused on different aspects of English lexical material, which, to a greater or lesser degree, has been incorporated into the American-Norwegian language. The borrowing process itself, and also how these words have been incorporated into the Norwegian language system, has been in focus of many such studies, including those of the pioneers Flaten and Flom in the early 1900s (Flaten 1900–04, Flom 1900–04, 1903, 1912, 1926,

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1929, 1931). The scholar who has done the most in this area is without doubt Einar Haugen. But even if he states that "(t)he heart of our definition of borrowing is then the attempted reproduction in one language of patterns previously found in another" (Haugen 1950: 212) – which should include different kinds of transfer, it is clear in *The Norwegian Language in America* (Haugen 1953), as well as in later works, that his focus is on various aspects of lexical borrowings. Also others in recent times who have worked with language contact and borrowing in American Norwegian (Annear and Speth this volume, Johansen 1970, Hjelde 1992, 1996a, 1996b, Johannessen and Laake 2011, 2012) and in American Frisian (Ehresmann and Bousquette this volume) have focused on aspects of lexical borrowing, while structural features in grammar and word order hardly are touched upon. However, this heavy focus on loanwords is not only a defining characteristic of the study of American Norwegian but a more general tendency. Matras and Sakel (2007) point out such deficiencies in language contact research and Sakel (2007: 44) says that the literature on borrowing hardly has focused on grammatical features; borrowing of typically verb-related features, such as tense, aspect and modality, are rarely discussed.[1]

We to some extent follow the tradition of research in American Norwegian by studying elements of the vocabulary, but this time through a detailed study of one word, the English word *suppose(d)* as used in American Norwegian dialects.

[spʊːst] in its various forms is clearly an element of the modal domain. As such it can be seen as a function word, perhaps also as a discourse marker. Through an investigation of this word, we also hope to be able to shed some light on the process of borrowing of function words and functional expressions. We discuss to what extent this word can be said to be an integrated part of the American Norwegian vocabulary, we investigate its attested uses, and especially focus on modal meanings associated with *suppose(d)*.

We base this chapter on three different datasets collected over the last 25 years. The oldest of these is from 1987, documenting the *Inntrøndsk* dialect in Minnesota, North and South Dakota (Hjelde 1992). This material consists of approximately 40 hours of audio recordings of some 30 informants. Furthermore, we use material collected in Coon Valley and Westby, Wisconsin, in 1992 and 1996. This consists of 80 hours of recorded speech and documents the language of around 60 informants, most born in America with roots in the Gudbrandsdalen area in Norway. Both these collections contain a mix of interviews with the informants and conversations between multiple informants or between the informant(s) and field worker. The third set of data are observations and records done when participating in the fieldwork organized by the NorAmDiaSyn project in autumn 2010 and spring 2011. This material consists of video recordings made in some of the old Norwegian-American settlements in Minnesota, Iowa and Wisconsin. However, only small portions of these recordings are so far transcribed or analyzed in any systematic way.

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**1.** As exceptions Matras and Sakel refer to some of their own earlier work, e.g., Matras (2002). We also mention Kahan Newman (this volume).

Before proceeding, we give some relevant examples of how *suppose(d)* may be used in American Norwegian:[2]

(1) *Å så va de så rart, Arnstein, du va itj* [*spʊst*] *te å ji dæm nå*
And then it was so strange, Arnstein, you were not [spʊst] to to give them any
'And it was very strange, Arnstein, you weren't supposed to give them any

*mat, dæm ha me littegrainj. …*
food they had with a little …
food, they brought a little, …

*men æ ga dæm mat æ, du va itj* [*spʊst*] *te 'e.*
but I gave them food I, you were not [spʊst] to that
but I gave them food, I did, you were not supposed to.'
(Lac Qui Parle, MN 1987)

(2) *No fer ti'n så gifte døm se med ka som helst, no.*
Now for time.DEF.DAT then marry they REFL with anything now
'Nowadays, they will marry anything.

*Men mi, mi va'kje* [*spʊːst*] *t'å gjera det mi, veit du.*
But we, we weren't [spʊːst] to to do that we, you know
But we, we weren't supposed to do that.' (Harmony, MN 2010)

(3) *Men æ* [*spoʊs*] *dæm ha bæd vinjtjra alj åver.*
But I [spoʊs] they had bad winters all over.
'But I suppose they had bad winters all over.' (Powers Lake, ND 1987)

(4) *Å derre e* [*spoʊsa*] *å vårrå eit tre som va planjtja på heimplass'n*
And there.DEF is [spoʊsa] to be a tree that was planted on homeplace.DEF
'And that is supposed to be a tree that was planted on the home farm

*henjnjes Johanna B. som levd væstpå hen.*
her Johanna B. who lived west.on here
of Johanna B. who lived here in the west.' (Lac Qui Parle, MN 1987)

(5) *Han e* [*spʊːst*] *te å vara rikti go, han.*
He is [spʊːst] to to be right good he
'He is supposed to be quite good, he is.' (Coon Valley, WI 1992)

## 2. Degree of integration

We turn now to some of the grammatical properties associated with American Norwegian *spost* in its various forms, but first discuss whether this word can be said to be an integrated part of the American Norwegian vocabulary, and if so, to what

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**2.** We employ a simplified phonetic transcription, where *lj, tj, dj, nj* mark palatalized consonants. Our transcription does not generally distinguish between the many *l* sounds, so the apical *l*, the laminal *l* and the retroflex flap are all represented simply by *l*.

extent (Hjelde 2001). In the tradition of Shana Poplack, loanwords are often understood as words from the L2 system, transferred and incorporated into the L1 system. In this way loanwords may differ dramatically from codeswitching, which amounts to switching between two (or more) distinct language codes or systems, and such a switch can be within sentences or between sentences. Thus loanwords imply a change in the linguistic system of the recipient language, meaning that it is related to competence (cf. Myers-Scotton 1990: 85). Codeswitching, on the other hand, does not involve any such change in codes; it is related to performance, not competence. But despite the fact that loanwords and single-word codeswitching theoretically are two very different phenomena, they can also be very difficult, not to say impossible, to distinguish in a material consisting of spontaneous speech. In this article, we will nevertheless argue that [spʊːst] has the status of a loanword in American Norwegian.

There are at least two things that may weigh against the assumption that [spʊːst] is a part of the vocabulary of American Norwegian. First of all, it is not mentioned by Haugen (1953) as a loanword, which we might expect if it was in common use at that time. But it was never Haugen's intention to list every loanword he found. He documented altogether well over 3,000 loanwords, and as can be expected, he did not comment on all of them (1953: 556). The word list presented in *The Norwegian Language in America* only contains the most frequent words (documented at least 15 times in his material) or words with "special feature of interest," amounting to just over 10% of the total material he found. However, we also know that the American Norwegian language has changed since Haugen studied it, so even though Haugen did not document the use of this word, it might well be that [spʊːst] entered the language more recently.

Another issue in interpreting [spʊːst] as a loanword is that Norwegian-Americans themselves deny using it when speaking in Norwegian. During the fieldwork in 2011, several informants were asked directly about the use of [spʊːst], and all rejected it as a part of American Norwegian language, saying that this word belongs to English, not Norwegian. But one may well question the reliability of self-reporting and acceptability tests when working in a labile multilingual environment. Both Labov (1966) and Trudgill (1972) found large discrepancies between what people believe they say and what they actually do say. Poplack and Sankoff also warn against the use of acceptability tests when working with multilinguals:

> Acceptability is notoriously misleading, especially in contexts where the recipient language is socially inferior to the donor. Even in cases where neither language is stigmatized, Hasselmo documents for Swedish-English bilingualism cases where items were identified as being of English origin, yet showed low translatability, but high acceptability. (1984: 104)

Lesley Milroy (1987: 186) also noted that in a bilingual society one can often find the idea of 'pure' language as an ideal, and this is probably also the case in many Norwegian-American communities. It is not uncommon to encounter people who regret that they cannot speak Norwegian like people do in Norway. Many have also been in Norway and found that the variety spoken there is different from their own,

and they are also very aware of what is 'real Norwegian' and what is not in their vernacular. And in an interview situation, many will try to use words like *bil*, *veg* and *elv* instead of [kaːr] 'car,' [roːd] 'road' and [ˈrøveɽ] 'river.' To what extent they manage to do so, is another matter. As an example, one informant from 1992 tried to avoid the use of loanword [lɛik] 'lake,' which is the common word used in American Norwegian. Obviously he did not know what the 'proper' Norwegian term for this was, so he introduced the word [mjøːs] – derived from Mjøsa, a lake not far away from where his ancestors came from.

It has been argued that the frequency of a word in average speech can be used as an indicator of the extent to which the word is a part of the vocabulary (e.g., Poplack and Sankoff 1984, Myers-Scotton 1990). Even if we have to take such features as word class and domain into consideration, it is reasonable to acknowledge that a word which is used by many language users in the community and is frequent in speech has become an integrated part of the vocabulary. On the other hand, frequency is not a reliable indicator for identifying loanwords. Poplack et al. (1988) used a corpus of over two million words in which some 2000 loanwords were identified. But despite the fact that this corpus was very large, she found that one thousand of these loanwords were documented only once, and as few as 5% of these were documented in the speech of more than two informants (Poplack et al. 1988: 57–58). In our material we find 23 examples of [spʊːst] in different varieties used by 16 different informants. The use of this word is attested in four different communities in three states: Coon Valley and Westby, Wisconsin (1992), Powers Lake, North Dakota (1987), Lac Qui Parle (1987) and Harmony (2010) in Minnesota. Hence [spʊːst] is comparatively quite common in our material, although we will not use frequency as the sole grounds for classifying it as a loanword.

## 3. Linguistic integration

Phonetic integration is seen by many authors as a strong indication that the word is a loan, and not a code-switch (Halmari 1993, 1997). In American Norwegian, we find the stem of the word *suppose(d)* realized in different ways showing different degrees of phonetic integration. In this study we use the realization of the root vowel /o/, which in American English (AmE) usually is diphthongized to [oʊ], as a hallmark to determine to what degree this word shows phonetic integration into American Norwegian. Haugen writes that this American English vowel is often realized in three different ways in American Norwegian loanwords: as Norwegian [o]: [roːd] 'road' and [stoːv] 'stove,' as Norwegian [ʊ]: [kʊːt] 'coat' and [grʊːv] 'grove' and Norwegian [ʉ], [ˈgʉfər] 'gopher.' These three ways of substituting this AmE vowel are also found forty years later in the Norwegian *Inntrøndsk* dialect in America (Hjelde 1992: 56–57). Haugen further mentioned that especially younger informants with Eastern Norwegian backgrounds tended not to substitute this phoneme at all, they rendered it as [oʊ] (Haugen 1953: 427). In our material we find *suppose* realized with either [ʊ] or [oʊ], as [spʊːs]

or [spoʊs]. But the realization with [ʊ] is clearly the most common one, close to three-quarters of all examples feature this 'Norwegian' monophthong. Particularly in the past participle we find the pronunciation with the monophthong [spʊ(ː)st], while the present tense normally is realized without such vowel substitution, as [spoʊs]. These forms also reveal that *suppose* only partially is adapted to the Norwegian quantity system since participial [spʊːst] is most often realized with an 'over-long' syllable with long vowel followed by two consonants, [spʊːst], a syllable structure avoided in most Norwegian dialects. On the other hand, we also find several examples following 'Norwegian' rules, with a short vowel, [spʊst].

From our material it is difficult to assess to what degree *suppose* is integrated into the Norwegian morphological system as we do not have evidence for the complete paradigm; we only have *suppose* documented in present tense (*æ* [*spoʊs*] 'I suppose') and the past participle (*Han e* [*spʊːst*] *te å vara riktig god, han* 'He is supposed to be really good, (he)'). Only for one of the informants do we find evidence for the use of both present tense and past participle, which makes it impossible to reconstruct the idiolectal system of inflection for *suppose*. This one informant has [spoʊs] in the present tense and [spʊ(ː)st] in the participle, a distribution that may be regulated by the quantity as we find the diphthong before a single consonant, while we have a realization with monophthong before a consonant cluster. Haugen points out that the most common categorization of borrowed verbs is weak verbs, especially so-called *a*-verbs, such as *hepna* 'happen' and *kåvra* 'cover' (Haugen 1953: 455). The same is also found in the *Inntrøndsk* dialect in America, where almost all of these verbs fall into this class of weak verbs (Hjelde 1992: 94–96). *Suppose* does not follow this pattern since we only find it as [spoʊs] and [spʊːs] in present tense, without a formative, as expected for the first class of weak verbs. This of course can indicate a lack of integration, i.e., that *suppose* is a code-switch. But at the same time we do find several verbs in Norwegian with this form in the present tense, particularly verbs like *slåss* 'fight' and *lates* 'pretend' in *Inntrøndsk* dialects rendered as [ʃles] and [læs] in the present tense. In past participles we find forms like [spoʊːst], [spʊst], [spʊːst] and [²spʊːsa], where [spʊːst] is the most common. The example [²spʊːsa] shows that the verb can be categorized as a weak *a*-verb, although we lack documentation of the present tense for this speaker. The other three variants may well be interpreted as lack of morphological integration. But here it is also possible to interpret these forms as integrated since the formative *-t* is also used in Norwegian to mark past participles of weak verbs. Haugen (1953: 455–456) points out that although most verbs in American Norwegian are classified in the 1st class of weak verbs, there are also several examples of borrowed verbs which fall into the other verb classes. Obviously it is a problem to this analysis that we do not find any examples of the present tense consistent with such an interpretation.

When it comes to syntactic use of *suppose*, we see two different models on which the use can be based in American English. One is related to the use in the present tense, where the syntactic structure [æ spoʊs] corresponds to English *I suppose*. Here we find nothing to indicate particular syntactic integration, but nothing that would point in the opposite direction either. More interesting are the different types found

in association with the participles. It is reasonable to assume the American English construction *be supposed to* serves as a model for the use of *suppose* in American Norwegian. An indicator of syntactic integration will be the use of particles following the participle. If the structure of the American English is copied, we should expect to find American-English *to* copied and realized as either [tə] *til* or infinitive marker [o]. On the other hand, if this borrowing is syntactically integrated, we should expect that the American English particle *to* will be replaced by Norwegian [tə o] *til å*. In our material we find three variants:

(6) a. [²spoʊsa o] /[spʊːst o] (2 occurrences)
b. [spoʊst tə] (1 occurrence)
c. [spʊ(ː)st tə o] (16 occurrences)

Variants with only infinitive marker [o] can be seen as a plain copy of the American pattern *supposed to*. [spoʊst tə] is however ambiguous. We can see this as copying as well, resulting in the Norwegian preposition [tə] *til*. But we should be aware that even in some Norwegian-Norwegian dialects we do in fact find [tə] used as an infinitive marker, especially where standard Norwegian has *til å*, but also in the position where we would not otherwise find the preposition *til* (Faarlund 2003: 74–75). The most frequent construction in our material is preposition + infinitive marker, and this can hardly be explained as anything else than a syntactic integration of *suppose*.

To sum up, we have tried to show that although there are certain arguments supporting the idea that *suppose* is not an integrated part of the American-Norwegian vocabulary, there are many arguments pointing the opposite way, and we find it prudent to consider *suppose* an integrated part of the American Norwegian language.

## 4. Borrowing of functional words and grammatical features

As mentioned in the introduction, most studies of American Norwegian focused on borrowing, integration and the use of lexical loanwords. Borrowing of functional expressions and grammatical structures has traditionally attained less interest among scholars, and this neglect is typical, not only for the literature on American Norwegian, but for the linguistic literature on borrowing and language contact more generally. Sakel (2007: 44) for example claims that "[l]ittle attention has been granted in the literature to borrowing of features belonging to the domain of verbs …; reports on the borrowing of T(ense), M(odality), A(spect) markers are quite rare".

One explanation for this lack of interest could be that such borrowings of functional expressions (a category including both modal verbs and discourse markers) are very rare, and as such not found worthy of a discussion in the literature. Haugen (1956: 67) argues for example that functional words are rarely borrowed from one language to another: "function words, which only occur as parts of utterances, are seldom borrowed." However, this assertion is not supported by more recent research (e.g., Östman 1981, Salmons 1990, Matras and Sakel 2007, Boas and Weilbacher 2007,

Matras 2009, 2011). Instead, these studies claim that functional expressions are quite frequently borrowed, and Matras and Sakel (2007) report on a larger study, including some thirty languages, in which they found transfer of functional words from one language to another in all of the contact situations and in all of the languages studied.[3] And Sakel (2007: 24) argues that "function words are borrowed easily and relatively early on in contact situations."

Matras (2011: 216) presents a 'borrowing hierarchy' specifically for the different types of functional expressions, where categories universally prone to borrowability end up high in the hierarchy. Matras claims that discourse markers (including 'tags' like *I mean*, *right*, *I suppose*, etc.) top this hierarchy. According to this hierarchy, discourse markers are among the functional expressions found to be most easily borrowed in language contact situations. The fact that specifically discourse markers are easily borrowed is also confirmed by other researchers. Boas and Weilbacher (2007) cite two decades of research on the borrowing of discourse markers, like *well* and *you know* from English to bilingual communities in the United States (including German dialects in America). An early work on the topic is Salmons (1990), who investigates how typical German discourse markers (*ja, mal, wohl* and *weisst du*) gradually are replaced by an English set of discourse markers.

Much of the research in this area relates, positively or more critically, to Matras' (1998) hypothesis of a hierarchy of pragmatic separateness: Items that are primarily used for verbal gestures, as to organize the exchange of turns in communication, have little lexical content and can easily be perceived as separate from the content of that statement. *Eller hva* 'or what' and *ikke sant* 'right,' are examples of such discourse markers with the function to organize exchange of turns, and we may say that they are oriented towards the listener, for him/her to respond or to take the initiative in the conversation. Other types of discourse markers, more speaker-oriented ones, are used to express to what extent the speaker is confident about the truth of what the proposition expresses (Östman 1981, Boas and Weilbacher 2007). Examples of such markers are *antar jeg* 'I guess,' *har jeg hørt* 'I've heard,' etc. According to Matras (1998), such items are easily borrowed from one language and into another.

There exist many similarities between the latter type, speaker-oriented discourse markers, and speaker-oriented types of modality. Both speaker-oriented modality and speaker-oriented discourse markers deal with how the speaker relates to the statement. Some scholars consider these two to be almost equal; this is especially the case for speaker-oriented discourse markers and what is known as epistemic modality (see Section 6). Coates (2003: 331) writes:

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**3.** It is quite difficult to report the actual number of contact situations in this collection of languages since the compilation contains "languages with a single contemporary contact language as well as those spoken in either a multilingual setting or a linguistic area" (Matras and Sakel 2007: 10). Thus this is a matter of how to count.

> In everyday spoken interaction, epistemic modality is used to convey the speaker's attitude to the proposition, not to convey some objective truth. … Epistemic modality encompasses a wide range of linguistic forms, from the modal auxiliaries … and modal adverbs such as *perhaps, possibly* and *probably*, to discourse markers such as *I mean, I think* and *well*. Such words and phrases are sometimes referred to as 'hedges' [and…] have the effect of damping down the force of what is said [.]

According to this, there is a considerable overlap between some types of discourse markers and some types of modality, particularly speaker-oriented modality like epistemic modality:

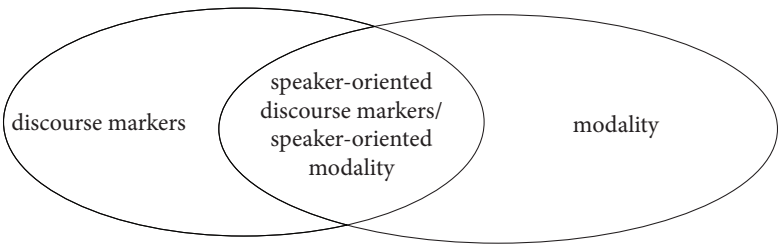


**Figure 1.**

Boas and Weilbacher (2007: 34–35) claim that the speaker-oriented discourse markers employ one of the most crucial functions of discourse markers, namely "[t]o mitigate the speaker's responsibility for the subject matter of an utterance." This is quite reminiscent of the classic definition of epistemic modality as we find it in Palmer (2001: 8): "[W]ith epistemic modality speakers express their judgments about the factual status of the proposition".

Assuming that speaker-oriented discourse markers and speaker-oriented modality belong to the same type of category, pragmatically, functionally and even semantically, it may not be surprising that modality markers are often borrowed from one language to another. In line with Matras' greater linguistic project, Matras and Sakel (2007) also establish so-called borrowing hierarchies, where they try to make generalizations about which grammatical markers are most easily borrowed. As mentioned, different types of discourse markers rank high on this hierarchy, but modality is also at the top of the list over grammatical categories particularly prone to borrowing (Matras 2007: 45):

> This picture lends itself to an interpretation in terms of the hierarchy [below], which depicts the likelihood of the respective categories to be affected by contact: modality > aspect/aktionsart > future tense > (other tenses).

Thus no grammatical categories are more or equally susceptible to borrowing in a language contact situation compared to modality. Especially when we look at the kind of borrowing Matras labels 'matter replication,' modality stands out as the most frequent (2007: 46):

> Modality shows the most widespread contact phenomena, especially as regards matter replication. Almost half of the sample languages show matter replication of modality markers ….

Just as there are different types of discourse markers, there are also many different types of modality. The term 'modality' often appears as an umbrella term for various types of grammatical categories in which some can be said to be speaker-oriented (as epistemic modality, see above), agent-oriented or subject-oriented. The latter type of modality relates to a kind of relationship between the subject and the situation described by the predicate, e.g., deontic modality, describing the types and degrees of a (social) commitment, like *should*, *must*; or permission, like *could.* Another important type is dynamic modality, describing the ability, willingness or desire of an intentional agent[4] (*could*, *would*), see Palmer (1986, 2001). Matras (2007: 45) suggests the following hierarchy for the different types of modality and their likelihood of being borrowed:[5]

> Obligation > necessity > possibility > ability > desire

Both 'necessity' and 'possibility' can include both epistemic, deontic and dynamic modality. If we use the modal verb *kunne* 'could' as an example, it has 'possibility' as its basic reading, as in *Mari kan spille piano* 'Mari can play the piano.' In addition to this basic reading, this sentence also has a potential epistemic reading ('I think that Mari is playing the piano now'), a deontic reading ('I allow for Mari to play the piano') and a dynamic reading ('One of Mari's skills is that she knows how to play the piano'). We can find similar examples for the basic reading 'necessity.' In the utterance *Jon må kaste opp* 'Jon must throw up,' the modal verb *må* 'must' has one reading implying that the speaker has a strong presumption that Jon is throwing up as we speak (epistemic reading). Another reading is that the speaker urges Jon to throw up (deontic reading), and a third reading is where the necessity is perceived by Jon himself (dynamic reading). There is no reason to believe that 'necessity' and 'possibility' in Matras' hierarchy should relate to only one particular type of modality. The null hypothesis should be rather that both epistemic and deontic necessity, as well as epistemic and deontic possibility are encompassed by this hierarchy.

In short, discourse markers and expressions of modality are both types of functional expressions. Among the verb-related grammatical markers in the domains of tense, aspect and modality, Matras' studies have shown that modality is the category

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**4.** Dynamic modality encoding ability also tolerates a non-intentional agent, e.g., *Denne nøkkelen kunne åpne alle dører* 'This key could open any door.'

**5.** "The hierarchy proceeds from the most intensive external force, to the most participant-internal dimension. It is identical to the hierarchy identified by Elšík and Matras (2006) for the borrowing of modality markers in Romani dialects: necessity > ability > (inability) > volition. The more abstract theme in this hierarchy might be described as the degree of 'speaker control,' low speaker control correlating with high borrowability" (Matras 2007: 45).

most easily borrowed from one language to another. If we look solely at the borrowing hierarchy over other types of functional expressions, we find that discourse markers are borrowed at a very early stage (Matras 2011: 216). There is also a clear pragmatic and functional overlap between speaker-oriented types of modality and speaker-oriented types of discourse markers (Coates 2003: 331). As the term indicates, the speaker-oriented types concern the speaker's attitude to what is said, especially when it concerns the speaker's judgment of the probability, reliability or credibility of a proposition. According to Coates such expressions are used with a pragmatic purpose, which is to modify the strength of the statement or to make it less categorical. And according Matras (1998, 2009, 2011) these kinds of elements, with a function quite independent of the propositional content of the statement, are the most prone to borrowing in a language contact situation.

## 5. On matter replication and pattern replication

In many of Matras' works a fundamental difference is invoked between two basic types of borrowing: matter replication and pattern replication (e.g., Matras and Sakel 2007: 4). In matter replication (MAT) the element itself is what is borrowed; in pattern replication (PAT) the pattern (e.g., syntactic pattern or concept) belonging to a certain word or element is what is borrowed. Sakel (2007: 14) describes the two notions as follows:

> We speak of MAT-borrowing when morphological material and its phonological shape from one language is replicated in another language. PAT describes the case where only the patterns of the other language are replicated, e.g., the organization, distribution and mapping of grammatical or semantic meaning, while the form itself is not borrowed.

To illustrate pattern replication as we understand it we provide the example of reflexive omission in modern Norwegian. In recent years the keen observer will have had the opportunity to note that Norwegian verbs that used to require reflexive objects (i.e., inherently reflexive verbs; Busterud 2006, 2014) now seem to be laxing this requirement such that the reflexive particle is no longer an obligatory element of the construction. Verbs of this type are *relatere (seg) til* 'relate to,' *tiltrekke (seg)* 'attract,' *restituere (seg)* 'restitute,' *sosialisere (seg)* 'socialize' and many others. Note that the verb itself is not what is borrowed at this stage, because the verb has existed in Norwegian for hundreds of years. Instead the argument structure of the verb is changing, from obligatorily overtly expressing the reflexive object to omitting this object. The very likely suspect for the source of this changing argument structure is interference from English. As you can observe in the translations of these verbs, the reflexive particle is non-obligatory in English, and for modern Norwegians who relate (!) to English on a daily basis, adopting the English argument pattern for these verbs seems a likely thing to do (Sunde 2013). In our view, this is a very clear example of pattern replication, PAT.

We find a comparable trend for the inherently reflexive verbs in Norwegian spoken in America. Especially frequent in our data is the complex verb *gifte seg* 'marry,' as in the following examples from Coon Valley and Westby (also Johannessen and Laake 2012, their example 9c) which loses its reflexive particle as well as its accompanying preposition *med* 'with.' Thus, the Norwegian source construction is *jifte seg med* 'marry REFL with,' where both particles have to give way to the simpler structural pattern seemingly borrowed from the English corresponding verb *marry*.

(7) a. *E jifta norsker*
I married Norwegian
'I married a Norwegian'
(cp. E jifta *meg* med en norsker)

b. *A Gina jifta'n Ole*.[6]
she Gina married him Ole
'Gina married Ole.'
(cp. Gina jifta *seg* med Ole)

c. *Du måtte itte jifte katolikker, da veit'u!*
you must not marry catholic then you know
'You couldn't marry a Catholic in those days, you know.'
(cp. Du måtte itte jifte *deg* med…)

Note also that the reflexive is not always omitted, and we also find examples where the reflexive does appear with the inherently reflexive verbs, as in another example of the verb *gifte seg* 'marry.'

d. *Dom jifte seg ein dag og divorsa nækste*[7]
they married REFL one day and divorced next
'They married one day and got divorced the next day.'

We find similar tendencies with many inherently reflexive verbs in American Norwegian, cf. the verbs *skynte seg* 'hurry,' *forandre seg* 'change' and *bosette seg* 'settle':

e. *Vi skunna – å fekk hestan inn i balin att*
We hurried and got the horses in the barn again
'We acted quickly and got the horses back into the barn.'
(cp. Vi skunna *oss*)

f. *Det har forandra – my*
it has changed – a-lot
'It has changed a lot.'
(cp. Det har forandra *seg*)

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**6.** The particles *a* and *n* are preproprial articles. They are obligatory with first names and some kinship terms in many Norwegian dialects.

**7.** This verb *divorsa* is obviously also borrowed from English, the corresponding Norwegian verb is *skille seg* 'separate themselves.' *Nækste* is clearly also influenced from English; the corresponding Norwegian word would be *næste*.

g. *Så bosatte dom – iblant tyske folk*
then settled they – among German people
'Then they settled among German people.'
(cp. Så bosatte dom *seg*)

In our opinion these examples constitute clear illustrations of pattern replication. According to Matras (2007: 45) when we study borrowing of modality markers, pattern replication (PAT) is not as frequent as matter replication (MAT) (cf. above). We should note however that borrowing of solely the element without borrowing one single aspect of its pattern is rarely attested in language contact literature. Especially the function of a given element is frequently borrowed along with the element itself, cf. Sakel (2007: 14, 26). As mentioned above, 'mapping of grammatical or semantic meaning' as well as 'distribution' are other important aspects of pattern replication when borrowing an element from one language to another (Sakel 2007: 14).

> In many cases of MAT-borrowing, also the function of the borrowed element is taken over, that is MAT and PAT are combined. MAT-borrowing without any PAT … is very rare and mainly occurs in the lexicon; i.e., usually MAT is taken over with at least part of its original PAT. (2007: 26)

## 6. Modality in Norwegian and English

Norwegian and English are closely related, and it comes as no big surprise that they share a lot of features in the domain of modality (cf. Eide 2005). One of these common denominators, also a common feature for Germanic languages in general, is that many markers of modality have two distinct readings: one so-called root reading (term due to Hofmann 1976), e.g., a deontic (or dynamic) reading, and one epistemic or evidential reading, the latter illustrated in (8b) and (8c) below.[8]

The deontic reading signifies that some state-of-affairs is desired, mandatory or allowed, whereas the epistemic reading encodes the speaker's evaluation of the likelihood of a given proposition. In many languages, not only Germanic ones, we find exactly these two readings in what looks like one and the same linguistic expression. This is true for modal verbs, like the Norwegian *skulle* 'be supposed to' in (8a), but also other modal constructions, like the English *be supposed to* and the Norwegian *være nødt til* 'be obliged to' in (8b) and (8c). Note especially that the two readings we find with *skulle* and *be supposed to* are exactly parallel, deontic (specifically 'intention') and evidential (specifically 'hear-say').

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**8.** In this paper we only consider evidential readings as a special case of epistemic the reading, although they are in fact quite different in nature. *Epistemic* usually implies a pure truth evaluation of a proposition, whereas *evidential* regards the speaker's source of information (Palmer 2001). For our purposes, the relevant evidential reading is the 'hear-say' reading, implying that the speaker has their information from a third party, i.e., he is referring a claim made by someone else, cf. Eide (2005).

(8) a. *Døra skal være stengt.*
door.DEF shall be closed

I. There exists an intention that the door is (kept) closed (deontic reading)
II. There exists a claim that the door is now closed (evidential reading)

b. The door is supposed to be closed.

I. There exists an intention that the door is (kept) closed (deontic reading)
II. There exists a claim that the door is now closed (evidential reading)

c. *Døra er nødt til å være stengt.*
door.DEF is needed to be closed

I. It is necessary that the door is (kept) closed (deontic reading)
II. I am almost certain that the door is now closed (evidential reading)

There are thus major similarities between the possible readings of modal verbs in Norwegian and English ('mapping from grammatical or semantic meaning') and even the inventory of modals for the most part overlaps in the two languages. There are indeed cognates in the two languages with a similar meaning and function, but there are also significant differences especially regarding the distribution of modals in Norwegian versus English. Modals have very different restrictions in the two languages regarding their possible forms, and thus also very different distribution. English employs only finite forms of modals, and for instance infinitival and past participial modals are non-occurring and ungrammatical (**to can, *have could; *to must, *have must*). This contrasts strongly with the Norwegian modals with their full paradigm of finite and non-finite forms, including the infinitive and the past participle (*å kunne* 'to can.INF,' *har kunnet* 'have could.PERF'*; å måtte* 'to must.INF,' *har måttet* 'have must.PERF'). The fact that English modals lack non-finite forms effectively blocks the possibility of stacking English modals, whereas Norwegian modals are perfectly happy appearing in a sequence of two or more modals (*Marit skal kunne spille piano* 'Marit is supposed to be able to play the piano'). In these cases the leftmost modal typically receives an epistemic or evidential reading, but this is not an absolute rule; we also find occurrences of two epistemic modals (*Dette vil kunne bli et problem* 'This will possibly be a problem'*)* or two deontic modals in a row (*Folk burde måtte ta en test før de går ut med deg* 'People ought to have to take a test before dating you').

## 7. The use of suppose(d)/[spoʊs], [spʊːst] in American Norwegian

In a language contact situation, like the one once found in 'Norwegian America' where most people are practicing bilinguals, the language user typically will try to unify the two language systems, as any language user will search for convergence, according to Matras (2009: 151, 237):

> [T]here is pressure on the bilingual to simplify the selection procedure by reducing the degree of separation between the two subsets of the repertoire [. W]e might view the replication of patterns as a kind of compromise strategy that … reduce[s] the load on the selection … mechanism by allowing patterns to converge, thus maximizing the efficiency of speech production in a bilingual situation.

The notion 'replication of patterns' is used in a variety of meanings throughout the language contact literature, and we have already quoted Haugen (1950: 212) who does indeed talk about "reproduction of patterns" from a source language to a borrowing language, whereas his research primarily is concerned with lexical borrowings. In his terminology it thus suffices to borrow the element itself to fulfill the definition of 'replication of patterns.' We adopt instead the line of Matras and Sakel who try to differentiate borrowing of matter versus borrowing of patterns (even though matter replication rarely exists without any aspect of pattern replication according to Sakel 2007: 26). Taking Matras and Sakel's view as our point of departure, we have identified three aspects of pattern replication as especially relevant to our study: distribution, mapping of grammatical or semantic meaning, and function. We discuss these in turn.

First, it seems evident that the bilingual situation in American Norwegian communities has not lead to systematic pattern replication of the distribution of English modals from the source language English into American Norwegian. If this were the case, we would expect that Norwegian non-finite forms of modals cease to appear in the bilingual's Norwegian speech, replicating the system employing solely finite modals, as in English. However, non-finite forms of modals certainly occur in our material (cf. (9a)), and in Haugen's material from the 1940s we also find attested various types non-finite forms of modals (cf. (9b)).

(9) a. *…prøvde på å sku finnje'n da veit du.*
…tried on to shall.INF find'him then you know
'…they were trying to find him, you know.'

b. *Vi kvinnfolka i bygda vår ha måtta liggje*
we women-folk in village.DEF have must.PERF lie.PERF
'Us women in our village have had to get down

*på hann å kne å skura golv.*
on hand and knee and scrubbed floor.DEF
on hands and knees and scrub the floors.'

We thus do not find systematic (or at least wholesale) borrowing of the distributional pattern of modals from English into Norwegian, hence the tendency to reduce "the degree of separation between the two subsets of the repertoire" (cf. quote above) has not resulted in such rather dramatic outcomes. Moreover, simply borrowing one modal marker ([spʊːst], [spʊʊs]) from English into Norwegian might not be likely to trigger systematic syntactic changes of this scale.

Regarding the distribution of the borrowed element [spuːst], [spoʊs] it resembles the distributional patterns of *suppose(d)* in the source language, allowing us to assume that not only the element s*upposed* [spuːst], [spoʊs] is borrowed, but also the distribution that goes with it. We need to make one important note regarding this distribution. In one of the two uses of this modal marker we find the present form and the syntactic structure [æ spoʊs] which corresponds closely to the English structure *I suppose,* and in this use there is no obvious difference between the application of this element in American Norwegian and the English source construction (cf. Section 3 above). Admittedly only 4 out of our 23 occurrences of this modal marker show this use, hence it is impossible of course to draw very clear conclusions.

(10) a. *Men æ* [*spoʊs*] *dæm ha bæd vinjtjra alj åver.*
but I suppose they had bad winters all over
'But I suppose they had bad winters all over.'

b. *Men æ* [*spoʊs*] *hain va vel ut i kailla,*
But I suppose he was well out in cold.DEF
'But I suppose he was out in the cold,

*… arbeitt tå sæ da veit du.*
…worked it off REFL then you know
…He worked it off, you know.'

c. *Æ tru kanskje dæm mått betal littegranj, fer når dæm*
I believe they must pay little-bit because when they
'I think maybe they had to pay a small amount, because when they

*pekka ut nå lannj så mått dæm gå te Mainot å sain opp paper.*
drew up some land then must they go to Mainot and sign up paper.
drew up land they had to go to Minot to sign up a paper.

*Så æ* [*spoʊs*] *dæm mått betal littegranj.*
So I suppose they must pay little-bit
So I suppose they had to pay a small amount.'

d. A: *Men Nårge tru æ fekk elæktrisitin tidlear ennj*
But Norway believe I got electricity.DEF earlier than
'But Norway, I think, got the electricity earlier than

*hen i Amerika.*
here in America
here in America.'

O: *Ja, æ* [*spoʊs*], *ja.*
yes I suppose yes
'Yes, I suppose so, yes.'

In these examples, [spoʊs] is evidently used as a discourse marker (more on this below). In such cases [spoʊs] is an active verb in the present tense (corresponding to

*I suppose*) and the distribution seems to be simply transferred from source language into recipient language.

In the remainder of the occurrences, 19 in number, we find variants of [spʊːst] used as a past participial passive. As mentioned in Section 3, there exists some variation regarding the syntactic frame of these participles, but still there are only 3 out of 19 instances where the 'English' frame accompanies the participle, with only one particle after the verb (like in the English construction *supposed to*). 16 of the 19 instances display instead the 'Norwegian' structure, patterning with *være nødt til å* 'be obliged to,' employing both the infinitival marker *å* and the preceding preposition *til* 'to' after the participle; cf. (6) above, repeated here as (11).

(11) a. [²spoʊsa o] /[spuːst o] (2 occurrences)
b. [spoʊst tə] (1 occurrence)
c. [spu(ː)st tə o] (16 occurrences)

Looking solely on this participial use one may very well ask whether all aspects of the distributional patterns carry over from source language to recipient language since the particles following the participle occur as expected from the Norwegian pattern, not from the pattern found in the source language.

In 'mapping of grammatical or semantic meaning' on the other hand the present tense use of the marker evidently displays the meaning 'I suppose so,' quite identical in American Norwegian and English. Even here, however, there are clearly Norwegian models to support this type of construction, like *æ tru* 'I believe,' *æ meine* 'I mean,' *æ antar* 'I presume' and many others, e.g., Example (10c). The readings and nuances of the participial use are clearly also parallel in American Norwegian and English; one deontic reading (of intention) and one evidential (hear-say) reading, cf. (8) above, and the adjacent discussion.

Sometimes it is clearly very difficult to distinguish whether a deontic or epistemic/evidential reading is intended (or relevant); many utterances and contexts allow for both readings. This vagueness or polysemy is acknowledged to be quite typical for modal expressions of the relevant type. Thus we find examples of such ambiguity in (12a, b), where it seems hard to determine whether we have an epistemic or evidential reading ('no one has ever told me that you are from Trondheim') or an obligation, i.e., deontic reading ('you are not allowed to (pretend that you) come from Trondheim').

(12) a. *Du må itj bynn å snakk tronjæmmer hen no,*
you must not begin to speak Trondheimer here now
'You mustn't start speaking like someone from Trondheim now;

*du e itj* [*spʊst*] *te å vårrå tronjæmmer!*
you are not supposed to to be Trondheimer
You're not supposed to be from Trondheim.'

b. *Dom e* [*spʊst*] *te å væra der, mongsan.*
they are supposed to be there, Hmongs.DEF
'The Hmongs (i.e., Chinese) are supposed to live there.'

In about half of our occurrences of [spɒːst] the deontic reading is what seems more natural.[9]

(13) a. *Vi va* [*spɒːst*] *te å lær engelskt, da veit'u.*
we were supposed to to learn English then know you
'We were supposed to learn English, you know.'

b. *Vi va* [*spɒːst*] *te å kåmmå opp hær, da veit'u.*
we were supposed to to come up here then know you
'We were supposed to ascend here, you know.'

c. *…dom e itj* [*spɒːst*] *te å vara råf hell da veit'u.*
…they are not supposed to be rough either then know you
'…They are not supposed to be rough either, you know.'

d. *Dom e* [*spɒːst*] *te å ta vækeisjn så ofte, da ma.*
they are supposed to take vacation so often then you-know
'They are supposed to take vacation so often, you know.'

e. *Hå e vi* [*spɒːst*] *te å laga på nå da?*
what are we supposed to make on now then
'What are we supposed to talk about now?'

The epistemic/evidential reading appears with roughly the same frequency. This is the more natural reading in half of the instances of [spɒːst] in our material.

(14) a. *Det va* [*səpɒːst*] *te å vara messom beste sigartobakken som va.*
it was supposed to to be sort-of best sigar-tobacco that was
'It was supposed to be about the best sigar tobacco there was.'

b. *De' ska* [*spɒːst*] *te å vara bære mjølk det, greid ei, da ma.*
it shall supposed to to be better milk that, grade A, then you-know
'That is supposed to be better milk, grade A, you know.'

c. *Å, vi e nu* [*spɒːst*] *å vårrå så fri vi, men …*
oh we are now supposed to be so free we but …
'Oh, we are supposed to be so free, we are, but…

*æ kannj no itj sjå de helljer.*
I can now not see that either
I can't really see it.'

d. *Sulphur Acid, veit'u, nei de'* [*spɒːs*] *te å vara deindjær.*
Sulphuric acid, know you, no that supposed to to be danger
'Sulphuric acid, you know, that's supposed to be dangerous.'

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**9.** In writing 'about half' we capture the fact that different readers might have found the other (epistemic or evidential) reading just as natural, even if we discussed every single example before deciding on a specific reading seemingly more natural in that specific context. Again, modal expressions are notoriously vague, and in some cases the speaker will exploit this fact more or less intentionally to underdetermine the utterance.

e. *Wæll, kjøtt e* [*spʊst*] *te å vårrå hælsi, kjæm du ihau farin min,*
Well meat is supposed to to be healthy, come you in-head dad.DEF my
'Well, meat is supposed to be so healthy, remember my dad;

*kjæm du ihau kor my hain åt kjøtt?*
come you in-head how much he ate meat
remember how much he ate meat?

In all these examples we find *supposed*/[spʊːst] as a perfect participle, and nearly always following the copula (but note the exception in (14b) where the participle follows the modal *ska* 'shall') just as the pattern predicts both in English and in the Norwegian model construction *være nødt til å* 'be obliged to.'

Since *supposed to* has an epistemic/evidential reading and a deontic reading in English (cf. the example in (8b) above) and since [spʊːst] displays exactly these readings in American Norwegian, it seems tempting to claim that this is a definite instance of pattern replication. However, this is in effect not as unequivocal as it might seem. Recall from Section 6, and particularly the discussion pertaining to the examples in (8), that English and Norwegian are exactly the same in this regard; in fact the modals in all the Germanic languages (and certain other modal expressions) are capable of both an epistemic/evidential and a deontic reading. Even though Norwegian does not have an element exactly corresponding to [spʊːst] regarding semantic aspects and syntactic distribution (since [spʊːst], unlike the real modal verbs, obligatorily appears with the copula) we still find a modal *skulle* 'shall' providing exactly the same combination of readings, i.e., evidential and deontic. In this case it is possible to argue that the language user seeks to minimize the differences between the language systems (Matras 2009: 151, 237) resulting in the same readings for [spʊːst] and *skulle.* However, it is not unambiguous that this is due to adjusting [spʊːst] to an existing Norwegian model, the modal *skulle,* or whether this ensues from importing the pattern belonging to *supposed to* in the source language.

The discussion of the distribution of [spoʊs] and [spʊːst] thus does not give unequivocal answers to whether or not this is pattern replication, and neither does the discussion of nuances of meaning. Finally, we investigate the third aspect of pattern replication on our list. In our data three functions clearly stand out.

(15) a. [spʊːst] as a marker of deontic modality
b. [spʊːst] as a marker of epistemic/evidential modality
c. [spoʊs] as a discourse marker

The function as a marker of deontic and epistemic/evidential modality is performed by the perfect participle [spʊːst], as discussed above. The purpose of the element in these cases is to encode that there exists an intention about the occurrence of a specific state of affairs, which is often interpreted as an obligation or a social commitment (cf. examples in (13) above; cf. also Sections 4 and 6); in the epistemic/evidential case the purpose is to express an assumption or an evaluation of a proposition based on third party information, i.e., hear-say (cf. the examples in (14) and Sections 4 and 6).

As mentioned above, only four of our attested instances show the use of [spoʊs] as a discourse marker, shown in (10) above and repeated here for convenience as (16):

(16) a. *Men æ* [*spoʊs*] *dæm ha bæd vinjtjra alj åver.*
but I suppose they had bad winters all over
'But I suppose they had bad winters all over.'

b. *Men æ* [*spoʊs*] *hain va vel ut i kailla,*
But I suppose he was well out in cold.DEF
'But I suppose he was out in the cold,

*… arbeitt tå sæ da veit du.*
…worked it off REFL then you know
…He worked it off, you know.'

c. *Æ tru kanskje dæm mått betal littegranj, fer når dæm*
I believe they must pay little-bit because when they
'I think maybe they had to pay a small amount, because when they

*pekka ut nå lannj så mått dæm gå te Mainot å sain opp paper.*
drew up some land then must they go to Mainot and sign up paper.
drew up land they had to go to Minot to sign up a paper.

*Så æ* [*spoʊs*] *dæm mått betal littegranj.*
So I suppose they must pay little-bit
So I suppose they had to pay a small amount.'

d. A: *Men Nårge tru æ fekk elæktrisitin tidlear ennj*
But Norway believe I got electricity.DEF earlier than
'But Norway, I think, got the electricity earlier than

*hen i Amerika.*
here in America
here in America.'

O: *Ja, æ* [*spoʊs*], *ja.*
yes I suppose yes
'Yes, I suppose so, yes.'

Observe that this use strongly resembles other types of discourse markers as described and discussed in Section 4 above, like *you know, I think, I mean,* and many others. It seems quite clear that the speaker employs [spoʊs] to encode that he is not quite certain of the truth value of the proposition asserted, but he presumes it is true, or at least is willing to admit it might be true. This aligns with the quote from Coates above, that discourse markers of this type are used to take some of the force out of the assertion. It also seems evident that this semantically and functionally corresponds to the epistemic/evidential reading of [spʊːst], easily interpreted as the passive variant of [spoʊs]; 'it is claimed/assumed/held that p' versus 'I claim/assume/hold that p.'

Let us look more closely at the example in (16c). This example is very interesting in revealing that the speaker uses *æ spous* quite identically to *æ tru* 'I believe.' Fuller (2001: 362) points out that discourse markers like English *you know* and German *weisst du* appear in the same discourse contexts, and given that such markers have quite a similar distribution, it is not surprising, according to Salmons (1990), that many bilinguals vacillate between these two. We might ascribe the same properties to bilinguals vacillating between *æ spous* and *æ tru,* since the speaker seems to be using these two interchangeably (although the material is of course much too limited to say anything about relative frequency and the like).

Example (16d) also shows quite clearly that *æ spous* can be used as a prototypical discourse marker, where the speaker acknowledges that he is willing to accept what the interlocutor is claiming in the previous utterance. This comes close to what Boas and Weilbacher (2007: 34–35) claim to be one of the most crucial tasks of discourse markers: "To mitigate the speaker's responsibility for the subject matter of an utterance."

As a discourse marker, as a marker of epistemic modality, and as a marker of deontic modality the functions of [spʊːst]/[spoʊs] seemingly correspond exactly to those of English *suppose(d)*. Hence it is a plausible interpretation of the facts that not only the element *suppose(d),*but even the function of this element has been borrowed from English into American Norwegian; in effect, this is a matter replication as well as pattern replication. One possible objection to this analysis would be that one might imagine a scenario where [spʊːst] and [spoʊs] were borrowed from English into American Norwegian as two totally separate lexemes with no internal connection to each other in the mental grammar of the user, where both lexemes have adjusted to Norwegian without carrying on the source language pattern. Obviously it would be very hard to rule out this possibility given that we have very few attested examples, i.e., in reality too few to allow us detect any sort of pattern, and especially since almost none of our informants display examples of both uses, i.e., [spʊːst] and [spoʊs]. We however remind the reader that according to Sakel (2007: 14, 26); the most common type of borrowing involves a combination of matter replication and pattern replication, and that "MAT-borrowing without any PAT … is very rare …; i.e., usually MAT is taken over with at least part of its original PAT" (cf. quotes above).

Finally, exactly this element *suppose(d)* seems to be high on a scale of borrowability, even in other contact situations where English is the donor language. It is also borrowed from English into Pennsylvania German, according to Burridge (2007: 183):

(17) *Ich bin supposed fer kumme.*
I am supposed for come
'I will come.'

Burridge lists *suppose(d)* as one of the linguistic elements from English regularly employed to express future in Pennsylvania German.[10]

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**10.** For an interesting discussion and a diachronic overview of the path travelled by *be supposed to* in its development into 'a semi-modal' in modern English, cf. Noël and van der Auwera (2009).

## 8. Summing up

The linguistic element [spʊːst]/[spoʊs] seems to be well integrated into the American Norwegian lexicon, it is quite widespread, and phonetically it is relatively well adapted to the Norwegian phonological system. Admittedly, this holds to a greater extent for the participle [*spʊːst*] and perhaps somewhat less for the present form [spoʊs], where the English diphthong is maintained, and even with the participle is may be a bit unexpected to find an overlong syllable instead of a reduced vowel.[11] This is not unprecedented in the Norwegian system, however. Morphologically, it is very hard to decide which system rules the ground, since there is convergence between the English and the Norwegian systems in the relevant respects. Syntactically the relevant construction has models in both Norwegian and English, and especially the construction *være nødt til å* 'be obliged to' emerges as a very plausible Norwegian model. We have discussed whether this is solely matter replication or whether we find pattern replication too, and we discussed aspects of pattern replication that seem relevant; distribution, meaning (i.e., 'mapping of grammatical or semantic meaning'), and function. The distribution of these elements is similar to that of the source language English but also the recipient language Norwegian, except that [spʊːst] mostly occurs with particles (preposition + infinitival marker) according to the Norwegian pattern. 'Mapping of grammatical or semantic meaning' gives no clear cut answers either, since there is substantial overlap between the system of modals in English and Norwegian as regards readings and use. What does point to an aspect of pattern replication however is the fact that the three functions displayed by [spʊːst]/[spoʊs] in American Norwegian exactly corresponds to the three functions of this element in the source language English; as a marker of evidential/epistemic modality, as a marker of deontic modality, and as a discourse marker. But even here one might object that this does not necessarily reveal a systematic relation between [spʊːst] and [spoʊs], and that these elements are instead borrowed as independent lexemes. Thus it is difficult to determine whether this is pattern replication or adaptation of borrowed elements into the models of the recipient language. Following Matras' (2009) hypothesis that the language user seeks convergence between the different systems available to him, the source of the pattern may not be as important: What is important is that the language user seeks and attains convergence.

*Suppose(d)* is evidently high on the borrowability scale in contact situations, quite expectedly, given that the word form itself, i.e., the given linguistic element, is borrowed into other contact varieties as well (cf. data from Pennsylvania German in (17) above), but also given the fact that modals expressing obligation and commitment (and other types of necessity) are among the highest ranking element types on Matras' borrowability hierarchies (2007: 45). Furthermore, modality in and by itself ranks high on the list of elements frequently borrowed from one language to another, and is

11. It is not unusual that borrowed words in American Norwegian are realized with an 'overlong' syllable, like e.g., [læːst] 'last,' [vʌːɪst] 'worst' and [²ɪæːɳʧəɪan] 'the ranchers.'

borrowed more easily than, e.g., aspect and tense elements. Discourse markers are also high-ranking elements on the same lists, and *suppose(d)* is employed even in this particular function.

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