

# Stylistic fronting and verb placement in main clauses in Insular Scandinavian

*Stílførsla og sagnorðspláss í hövuðssetningum*

*í íslenskum og færeyskum*

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## Abstract

The goal of this paper is twofold. On the one hand, it provides an overview of V1 (verb-first), V2 (verb-second), and V3 (verb-third) constructions in main clauses in Icelandic and Faroese, and it seeks to explore to what extent the two closely related languages behave the same way in that respect. The data presented here support the idea that Icelandic and Faroese have similar conditions with respect to the possibility of V1 and V3. However, some interesting exceptions are pointed out, in particular regarding the fronting of negative objects in Faroese (V3). On the other hand, special attention is given to the possibility of Stylistic Fronting (SF) as a matrix V2-phenomenon in the Insular Scandinavian languages. It has been claimed that SF is more restricted in embedded clauses in Faroese than it is in Icelandic, suggesting that Faroese is evolving in the direction

of the Mainland Scandinavian languages, where SF has all but disappeared. Based on that, one might expect that SF is also on its way out in main clauses. The comparison of stylistically fronted elements of various kinds conducted in this study shows that both languages obey similar restrictions. However, certain SF-constructions are much more restricted in Faroese than in Icelandic.

## Úrtak

Endamálið við hesi grein er tvíþýtt. Øðrumeg-in er tað at útvega eitt yvirlit yvir setningsgerðir við S1 (sagnorð-eitt), S2 (sagnorð-tvey) og S3 (sagnorð-trý) í hövuðssetningum í íslenskum og færeyskum, og roynt verður at kanna, í hvussu stóran mun tey bæði nær skyldu málini bera seg at á sama hátt í hesum sambandi. Dátarnar, ið verða lagdar fram her, stuðla hugsanini, at íslenskt og færeyskt hava líkar setningsgerðir við atlit at móguleikum

fyrir S1 og S3. Hinvegin verður víst á nokkur áhugaverð undantök, serliga í sambandi við at hava negativ ávirki fremst í føroyskum (S3). Hinumegin verður serliga hugt at møguleikum fyrir stílførslu sum S2-fyribrigdi í høvuðssetningum í íslenskum og føroyskum. Ført hevur verið fram, at stílførsla er meira avmarkað í eykasetningum í føroyskum enn hon er í íslenskum. Tað skuldi tí bent á, at føroyskt mennir seg sama veg sum danskt, norskt og svenskt, har ið stílførsla er um at vera púra burtur. Við støði í tí skuldi væntast, at stílførsla eisini er á veg út í høvuðssetningum. Samanberingar av stílførdum eindum av ymsum slag fremst í setningi, sum eru gjørdar í hesi kanning, vísa, at bæði málini geva seg undir avmarkingar av sama slag. Tó eru ávísar setningsgerðir við stílførslu munandi meira avmarkaðar í føroyskum enn í íslenskum.

## 1. Introduction

In the Insular Scandinavian languages, Icelandic and Faroese, the finite verb usually holds the second position (V2) in main clauses

as it also does in the Germanic languages in general, with the exception of English. However, whereas Icelandic is an asymmetric V2-language in Holmberg's (2015) terms, meaning that it exhibits V2 both in matrix and embedded clauses, it turns out that Faroese lies somewhere between Icelandic and Danish with respect to verb/adverb placement in embedded clauses (see for instance Thráinsson 2001, Heycock et al. 2012, Angantýsson 2018). Apparently, most scholars take it for granted that the two closely related languages have the same word order conditions in main clauses, but this has not been investigated in a systematic manner before.

The goal of this paper is twofold. On the one hand, it provides an overview of V1 (verb-first), V2 (verb-second), and V3 (verb-third) constructions in main clauses in Icelandic and Faroese, and it seeks to explore to what extent the two closely related languages behave the same way in that respect. Examples from Icelandic are shown in (1):

- |   |                           |
|---|---------------------------|
| (1) a. Veit ekki.<br>know-I not<br>'I don't know'   | (V1: subject ellipsis)    |
| b. [Refi] hef é g aldrei séð á þessum slóðum.<br>foxes have I never seen in this area<br>'I have never seen foxes in this area' | (V2: argument fronting)   |
| c. [Við] [einfaldlega] getum ekki gert þetta.<br>we simply can not do this<br>'We simply can't do this'                         | (V3: exceptional adverbs) |

The data presented here support the idea that Icelandic and Faroese have similar conditions with respect to the possibility

of V1 and V3. However, some interesting exceptions are pointed out, in particular

regarding fronting of negative objects in Faroese (V3).

On the other hand, special attention is given to the possibility of Stylistic fronting (SF) as a matrix V2-phenomenon in the In-

sular Scandinavian languages. As originally pointed out by Maling (1980), SF in Icelandic is most typically found in embedded clauses with a “subject gap”:

- (2) a. Þetta er mál sem \_\_\_ hefur verið rætt um.  
this is matter that has been discussed about  
b. Þetta er mál sem rætt hefur verið \_\_\_ um. (SF)  
this is matter that discussed has been about

In previous work (Angantýsson 2013, 2017) it has been claimed that SF is more restricted in embedded clauses in Faroese than it is in Icelandic, suggesting that Faroese is approaching the Mainland Scandinavian situation where SF has almost disappeared. Based on that, one might expect that SF is also on its way out in main clauses. The comparison of stylistically fronted elements of various kinds conducted in this study shows that both languages obey similar restrictions. However, certain SF-constructions are much more restricted in Faroese than in Icelandic. The organization of the paper is as follows. In section 2, I briefly describe the ‘core’ V2-properties of modern Icelandic in comparison with Faroese by modelling

the examples and presentation partly on Holmberg’s (2015) discussion of the V2-phenomenon. Next, in section 3, I review some well known exceptions to matrix V2 (V1 and V3) in both languages. In section 4, I explore the possibilities of matrix SF and some interesting restrictions of SF in main clauses in the Insular Scandinavian languages. Section 5 concludes the paper.

## 2. Matrix V2 constructions in Insular Scandinavian

Icelandic has all the characteristics of ‘core V2-languages’ in Holmberg’s (2015) terms. The examples in (3) present various categories that can be the first constituent in matrix V2-clauses:

- (3) a. [Ég] hefi hreinskilni sagt aldrei séð refi á þessum slóðum. (subject)  
I have honestly said never seen foxes in this area  
‘I have honestly never seen foxes in this area’  
b. [Refi] hef ég í hreinskilni sagt aldrei séð á þessum slóðum. (object)  
foxes have I honestly said never seen in this area  
c. [Í hreinskilni sagt] hef ég aldrei séð refi á þessum slóðum. (speech act adverb)  
honestly said have I never seen foxes in this area

- d. \*[Í hreinskilni sagt] ég hef aldrei séð refi á þessum slóðum. (no inversion)  
honestly said I have never seen foxes in this area
- e. [Hvað] pantaðir þú af matseðlinum? (wh-phrase)  
what ordered you from menu-the  
'What did you order from the menu?'
- f. [Gáfulegur] getur hann varla talist. (predicate)  
intelligent looking can he barely be supposed  
'One can hardly say that he is intelligent looking'
- g. [Ekki] get ég sagt að hann sé mjög gáfulegur. (negation)  
not can I say that he is very intelligent looking
- h. [Neyðarlegast af öllu] varað detta af sviðinu. (comparative adjective)  
most embarrassing of all was to fall off stage-the  
'The most embarrassing thing was falling off the stage'
- i. [Samt] vilja þeir segja upp samningnum. (conjunctive particle)  
still want they denounce contract-the  
'Still they want to denounce the contract'
- j. [Handan við hæðina] stendur lítið hús. (locative phrase)  
behind hill-the stands little house  
'Behind the hill there is a house'
- k. [Lesnar] voru bækur um vináttu. (participle)  
read were books about friendship  
'Some books about friendship were read'
- l. [Rígt] hafði alla nóttina (participle)  
rained had all night  
'It had rained all night'
- m. [Það] stendur lítið hús handan við hæðina. (expletive)  
there stands little house behind hill-the  
'There is a house behind the hill'

In (3a), the subject is in its default position while (3b-c) show argument fronting and adjunct fronting, respectively. (3d) shows that subject-verb inversion is obligatory in Icelandic in non-subject fronting. However, (3d) would be acceptable with a comma intonation. Movement of the *wh*-phrase is obligatory in questions such as (3e) in Icelandic, with the exception of echo-questions and questions like:

*And then you move where?* Examples (3g-j) include fronting of adjectives, negation, a conjunctive particle, and a prepositional phrase. In (3k-l), there are examples of stylistically fronted past participles. Finally, (3m) shows expletive insertion which is restricted to clause-initial position in Icelandic. All of these main-clause V2-phenomena have been widely discussed in the literature (for a thorough overview,



especially on topicalization, stylistic fronting and expletive insertion, see Thráinsson 2007: 341–393).

*Table 1* presents sentences comparable to (3) from Faroese (judgements from 28

native speakers, i.e. university students: Yes = a natural sentence that I could easily say; ? = an odd sentence that I could possibly say; No = an unacceptable sentence that I could not say):

	Yes	?	No
(4) Eg havi satt at siga ongantið sæð rev her um leiðir. I have honestly said never seen foxes in this area 'I have honestly never seen foxes in this area'	25	2	1
(5) Rev havi eg satt at siga ongantið sæð her um leiðir. foxes have I honestly said never seen in this area	14	9	5
(6) Satt at siga havi eg ongantið sæð rev her um leiðir. honestly said have I never seen foxes in this area	26	2	0
(7) Satt at siga eg havi ongantið sæð rev her um leiðir. honestly said I have never seen foxes in this area	2	5	21
(8) Hvat baðst tú um á matseðlinum? what ordered you from menu-the 'What did you order from the menu?'	21	5	2
(9) Evnaríkur kann hann neyvan vera. talented can he barely be 'One can hardly say that he is talented'	18	8	2
(10) Ikki fái eg sagt, at hann er serliga evnaríkur. not can I say that he is very talented	8	10	9
(11) Tað pínligasta av øllum var at detta av pallinum. most embarrassing of all was to fall off stage-the 'The most embarrassing thing was falling off the stage'	24	3	1
(12) Kortini vilja tey uppsiga sáttmálan. still want they denounce contract-the 'Still they want to denounce the contract'	17	8	3
(13) Hinumegin ána stendur eitt lítið hús. behind river-the stands a little house 'Behind the river there is a house'	24	2	2
(14) Regnað hevði alla náttina. rained had all night 'It had rained all night'	7	8	13
(15) Lisnar vórðu bókur um vinalag. read were books about friendship 'Some books about friendship were read'	9	9	10
(16) Tað stendur eitt lítið hús hinumegin ána. there stands a little house behind river-the 'There is a house behind the river'	23	3	2

*Table 1: Various types of first constituents in Faroese matrix V2 clauses*

Most of the examples in *Table 1* receive quite positive judgements, with the exception of

(7) (matrix V3). Examples (10) (negation fronting) and (14–15) (SF) are also some-

what degraded unlike their counterparts in Icelandic (3g, 3k, 3l). A possible explanation could be that the informants were asked to judge the examples with spoken language in mind, and perhaps SF of this type is mostly

restricted to relatively formal (written) registers. The reactions to the topicalization examples in (5) and (10) are also a little bit unsteadfast. However, the main pattern is very similar in both languages.

- (17)a. ?\* [Lesið] hafa margir bókina. (participle)  
read have many book-the
- b. \*[Upp] höfðu sumir nemendurnir tekið bækurnar. (particle)  
up have some students-the taken books-the
- c. \*[Bara] búa allir í Reykjavík. (V3-adverb)  
just live all in Reykjavík
- d. ?\*María vill að Jón giftist henni og [giftast henni] mun hann. (VP)  
Mary wants that John marries her and marry her will he

### 3. Restrictions and exceptions to matrix V2

Some restrictions on the fronted elements in Icelandic matrix V2-clauses are shown in (4): Examples (17a-b) show that stylistic fronting is not always an option in main clauses

in Icelandic. Fronting of V3-adverbs as in (17c) is also impossible and the same holds true for VP-fronting (17d).

*Table 2* shows comparable sentences from Faroese:

	Yes	?	No
(18) Lisið hava nógv bókina. read have many book-the	0	2	26
(19) Fram høvdu summir næmingar tikið bøkurnar. up have some students taken books-the	0	2	26
(20) Bara búgva øll í Reykjavík. just live all in Reykjavík	0	0	28
(21) María vil, at Jón giftist við henni, og giftast við henni man hann. Mary wants that John marries her and marry her will he	4	7	17

*Table 2: Restrictions on fronted elements in Faroese*

The overall score is very negative although example (21) (VP-fronting) receives better judgments than one would expect for Icelandic.

Only one category can precede the finite verb in main clauses in Icelandic:

- (22)a. \*[Á virkum dögum] [dagblöðin] les hann alltaf  
on weekdays newspapers reads he always  
b. \*[Hvers vegna] [einn] viltu ekki vera  
why alone want-you not be  
c. \*[Einn] [hvers vegna] viltu ekki vera?  
alone why want-you not be

There are well known exceptions from this in North-American Icelandic (Arnbjörnsdóttir et al. 2017). A new research on the digital language contact between Icelandic and English also reveals surprisingly high acceptance rate of topic-initial V3 in Ice-

landic (Sigurjónsdóttir and Rögnvaldsson 2018).

In (23), there is an (apparent) exception from the requirement that one constituent precede the finite verb:

- (23) [Í gær [um fimmleytið] [þegar ég kom heim úr vinnunni] hitti ég gamlan félagan.  
yesterday around five when I came home from work met I old fellow  
'Yesterday, around five, when I was on my way back from work I met an old friend of mine'

Under the assumption that these adverbials form a complex adverbial phrase with each adverbial adjoined to the next one, one can say that sentences of this type act in accordance with V2 (see the discussion on stacked circumstantial adverbials in

Holmberg 2015). Another possibility is that a cartographic analysis along the lines of Rizzi (1997 and much later work) is relevant in this context.

Table 3 shows attempts to front more than one syntactic phrase in Faroese:

	Yes	?	No
(24) Gerandisdagar dagblöðini lesur hann altíð. on weekdays newspapers reads he always	2	0	26
(25) Hví einsamallur vilt tú ikki vera? why alone want you not be	0	0	28
(26) Einsamallur hví vilt tú ikki vera? alone why want you not be	0	0	28
(27) Í gár um fimmtíðina, tá eg kom heim úr arbeiði, yesterday around five when I came home from work hitti eg ein av mínum gomlu vinum. met I one of my old fellows 'Yesterday, around five, when I was on my way back from work I met one of my old friends'	21	5	2

Table 3: Multiple fronting in Faroese

This is also consistent with our judgements for Icelandic (22–23).

Interestingly, Faroese allows certain exceptions to V2 (see the discussion in Andr-

easen and Dahl 1997, and Thráinsson et al. 2004:289). *Table 4* shows how the Faroese informants judged examples of negative fronting resulting in V3:

	Yes	?	No
(28) Vit leitaðu og leitaðu, men ongan vit funnu. we searched and searched but nobody we found	10	10	8
(29) Teir kýttu seg óført, men einki mál teir finga. they pushed selves exceedingly but no goal they got	6	10	12
(30) Hon gekk trúliga í húsini, men onga bók seldi hon. she went thoroughly to houses-the but no book sold she	8	8	12
(31) Hon gekk trúliga í húsini, men onga bók hon seldi. she went thoroughly to houses-the but no book she sold	6	10	12

*Table 4: Preposing of a negative object in Faroese*

The judgements are quite distributed here. In our view, comparable examples in Icelandic are ungrammatical, perhaps with the exception of (30) (V2). Interestingly, the

V2-order and the V3-order in (30) and (31) respectively get similar responses. Some well known exceptions showing other than V2 order in main clauses are given in (32–34):

- |  |                           |
|--|---------------------------|
| (32)a. Les hann blöðin á hverjum degi?<br>reads he newspapers-the each day<br>'Does he read the newspapers every day?' | (V1: yes/no-question)     |
| b. Farðu heim!<br>go-you home<br>'Go home!'  | (V1: imperative)          |
| c. Hringir síminn!<br>rings phone-the<br>'The phone is ringing!'   | (V1: exclamative/thetic)  |
| d. Veit ekki.<br>know-I not<br>'I don't know'  | (V1: subject ellipsis)    |
| e. Komu þeir þá að stórum helli.<br>came they then to big cave<br>'Then they came to a big cave'                       | (V1: narrative inversion) |
| f. [Æfi Jón sig] verður hann góður<br>practice-subj. John self becomes he good<br>'If John practices he will be good'  | (V1: conditional clauses) |

- (33)a. [Upphæðin], [þeir] ákváðu hana strax. (V3: left dislocation)  
amount-the they determined it immediately  
'They determined the amount immediately'
- b. [Þennan mann], [hann] hef ég ekki séð. (V3: 'contrastive' left dislocation)  
this man he have I not seen  
'I have not seen this man'
- (34)a. [Við] [einfaldlega] getum ekki gert þetta. (V3: exceptional adverbs)  
we simply can not do this  
'We simply can't do this'
- b. Ég [í kjánaskap mínum] hélt að þetta væri jarðskjálfti (V3: exceptional PP)  
I in foolishness my thought that this was earthquake  
'I thought in my foolishness that that this was an earthquake'
- c. [Kannski] [hann] komi á morgun. (V3: adverb fronting triggering V3)  
maybe he comes-subj. tomorrow  
'Maybe he will come tomorrow'

Default V1-order in yes/no-questions (32a) and imperatives (32b) is a general feature of V2-languages in addition to V1 in exclamatives (32c). Further, subject ellipsis resulting in V1 (32d) is also quite common in the Germanic V2-languages (see the overview in Holmberg 2015 and Jouitteau 2010). Declarative V1 as in (32e), so-called narrative inversion (Sigurðsson 1983, 1990), and V1 in conditional clauses without a conjunction are less common (see Thráinsson 2007:30). Icelandic also permits a left dislocation construction as in (33) which is also found in many Germanic languages

(see Thráinsson 1979 and later work). In (34a-b), there are examples of adverbs/PPs intervening between the subject and the finite verb in a matrix declarative sentence. Example (34c) presents a conjunction-like use of the adverb kannski 'maybe' (see Thráinsson 1986, Sigurðsson 1986, Thráinsson 2007: 53, 343).

Apparently, Faroese behaves in a very similar way to Icelandic, perhaps with the exception of left dislocation constructions. The examples are directly comparable to (32–34) above:

	Yes	?	No
(35) Lesur hann bløðini hvønn dag? reads he newspapers-the each day 'Does he read the newspapers every day?'	28	0	0
(36) Far heim! go-you home 'Go home!'	27	0	0

(37)	Ringir telefonin! rings phone-the 'The phone is ringing!'	10	1	15
(38)	Veit ikki. know-I not 'I don't know'	26	2	0
(39)	Komu tey tá til eitt stórt helli. came they then to a big cave 'Then they came to a big cave'	7	10	11
(40)	Venur Jón, verður hann góður. practices John becomes he good 'If John practices he will be good'	15	11	2
(41)	Upphæddin, tey avgjördu hana beinanvegin. amount-the they determined it immediately 'They determined the amount immediately'	2	5	21
(42)	Hendan mannin, hann havi eg ikki sæð. this man he have I not seen 'I have not seen this man'	10	10	8
(43)	Vit rætt og slætt kunnu ikki gera hetta. we simply can not do this 'We simply can't do this'	10	8	10
(44)	Eg í býttleika mínum helt, at hetta var ein jarðskjálvti. I in foolishness mine thought that this was earthquake 'I thought in my foolishness that that this was an earthquake'	8	9	11
(45)	Kanska hann kemur í morgin. maybe he comes tomorrow 'Maybe he will come tomorrow'	20	5	3
(46)	Kanska kemur hann í morgin. maybe comes he tomorrow 'Maybe he will come tomorrow'	27	1	0

Table 5: Matrix V1, V2 and V3 in Faroese

The question (35), the imperative (36), the subject ellipsis (38) and the examples with *kanska* in the first position (45–46) receive strikingly very positive judgements while the narrative inversion (39) and the left dislocation (41) get rather negative reactions. Again, a possible explanation could be that the word order in question is restricted to certain registers. A reviewer points out that examples like (39) might sound somewhat archaic or poetic. The judgements of the other examples vary a lot and many speakers find these exceptions from V2 doubtful.

#### 4. Stylistic fronting in main clauses in the Insular Scandinavian languages

Stylistic Fronting (SF) is “an optional fronting operation which moves an ordinarily post-verbal constituent to the preverbal domain” (Wood 2011). As originally pointed out by Maling (1980), and mentioned in section 1, SF in Icelandic is most typically found in embedded clauses with a “subject gap”:

- (47)a. Þetta er mál sem \_\_ hefur verið rætt um.  
this is matter that has been discussed about  
b. Þetta er mál sem rætt hefur verið \_\_ um. (SF)  
this is matter that discussed has been about  
c. \*Þetta er mál sem það hefur verið rætt um. (expletive insertion)  
this is matter that there has been discussed about  
'This is a matter that has been discussed.'
- (48)a. ?Ég held að \_\_ hafi verið rætt um málið á fundinum.  
I think that has been discussed about matter-the at meeting-the  
b. Ég held að rætt hafi verið \_\_ um málið  
I think that discussed has been about matter-the at meeting-the á fundinum. (SF)  
c. Ég held að það hafi verið rætt um málið á fundinum. (Expl)  
I think that there has been discussed about matter-the at meeting-the  
'I think that the matter has been discussed at the meeting.'
- (49)a. Þeir sem \_\_ hafa verið í Ósló segja að ...  
those that have been in Oslo say that  
b. Þeir sem í Ósló hafa verið segja að ... (PP-fronting)  
those that in Oslo have been say that  
c. \*Þeir sem það hafa verið í Ósló segja að ... (expletive insertion)  
those that there have been in Oslo say that

A comparison of the (a) examples indicates that some subject gaps can be left empty while others preferably need to be filled. Sentences (47b) and (48b) are typical examples of SF. The (c) examples show that expletive insertion is not always an alternative to SF. Example (49b) features SF-like movement of an XP within an embedded clause which has a subject gap, but such examples have sometimes been analyzed as SF and sometimes as Embedded Topicalization (ET) (see discussions in Rögnvaldsson and Thráinsson 1990, Jónsson 1991, Holmberg 2000, 2006, Hrafnbjargarson 2004, and Thráinsson 2007:349–393).

Angantýsson (2017) shows that there are interesting similarities and differences

between SF and related constructions in Icelandic and in Faroese. In both languages, expletive insertion is preferred over SF in complement clauses, but in Faroese, unlike in Icelandic, expletive insertion is preferred over SF in adverbial clauses and relative clauses as well. In most cases, fronting past participles is quite possible in Faroese, as it is in Icelandic, but fronting particles seems to be heavily restricted in Faroese, unlike in Icelandic.

In light of previous research, it is interesting to look at the possibilities of SF in main clauses in Icelandic and Faroese (most of the examples are modelled on Thráinsson's 2007 discussion on expletive constructions in Icelandic). In sections 2 and 3, we already

saw some attempts to front SF-candidates in main clauses in Icelandic, repeated here for convenience:

(50)a. [Lesnar] voru bækur um vináttu. read were books about friendship 'Some books about friendship were read'	(participle)
b. Rígt hafði alla nóttina rained had all night 'It had rained all night'	(participle)
(51)a. *[Lesið] hafa margir bókina. read have many book-the	(participle)
b. *[Upp] höfðu sumir nemendurnir tekið bækurnar. up have some students-the taken books-the	(particle)

All these sentences would be natural with the expletive in the first position but SF is only possible in the passive (50a) and with

the weather verb in (50b). *Table 6* shows how comparable examples were judged in the Faroese questionnaire:

	Yes	?	No
(52) Lisnar vórðu bækur um vinalag. read were books about friendship 'Some books about friendship were read'	9	9	10
(53) Regnað hevði alla náttina. rained had all night 'It had rained all night'	7	8	13
(54) Lisið hava nógv bókina. read have many book-the 'Many people have read the book'	0	2	26
(55) Fram høvdu summir næmingar tikið bøkurnar. up have some students taken books-the 'Some of the students had picked up their books'	0	2	26

*Table 6: Different types of matrix SF in Faroese*

Around one third of the informants fully accept (52–53) while comparable examples seem completely natural in Icelandic (50). Perhaps it is not surprising that the SF-examples that were doubtful in Icelandic (51) also get negative reactions in the Faroese survey, see the judgements in (54–55).

As far as we can tell, SF is relatively restricted in main clauses in Icelandic as the following examples indicate (based on Thráinsson's 2007:310–311 overview of expletive constructions in Icelandic):



(56)a. ?*Verið hafa mýs í baðkerinu.	(existential construction)
were have mice in bathtub-the	
b. (?)Komið höfðu fjórir nemendur í tímann.	(unaccusative verb)
come had four students to class-the	
c. Bráðnað hafði stórt stykki af jöklinum.	(unaccusative verb)
melted had big piece from glacier-the	
d. (?)Hlaupið höfðu þrjár rollur yfir veginn.	(unergative verb)
run had three sheep over road-the	
e. Dansað hafði verið til miðnættis.	(impersonal passive)
danced had been to midnight	
f. (?)Talað hefur verið um hann.	(impersonal passive)
talked has been about him	
g. Dregnir voru út þrír vinningar.	(passive intransitive)
drawn were out three prizes	
h. (?)Skotinn hafði verið ísbjörn í fjárhúsunum.	(passive intransitive)
shot had been icebear in sheephouse-the	
i. Veðst höfðu þrír laxar í fyrra.	(impersonal middle voice)
caught had three salmons last year	
j. *Bitið hafði maður hund á réttardansleiknum.	(passive with non-nominative case)
bit had man dog at round-up dance	
k. *Stolið hefur einhver hjólinu mínu.	(passive with non-nominative case)
stolen has someone bicycle mine	
l. ??Kaupa hefði þurft mjólk.	(impersonal modal construction)
buy had need milk	
m. Hvesst hafði um nóttina.	(weather verb)
became-stormy had during the night	
n. Spáð var vondu veðri.	(weather related verb)
forecasted was bad weather	

SF is most natural in clauses with unaccusative verbs (56b-c), an unergative verb (56d), impersonal passive (56e-f) and middle voice (56i), and with weather related verbs (56m-o). The worst sentences feature SF in an existential construction (56a) and imper-

sonal passives with a non-nominative NP in the object position (56j-k).

Judgements of comparable examples in *Table 7* indicate that SF of this type is even more difficult in main clauses in Faroese:

	Já	?	Nei
(57) Verið hava mýs í baðikarinum. were have mice in bathtub-the	1	1	26
(58) Komið høvdu fyra næmingar til tíman. come had four students to class-the	0	3	25
(59) Bráðnað var stórt stykki av jöklinum. melted was big piece from glacier-the	4	11	13
(60) Runnið høvdu trýggjar ær yvir um vegin. run had three sheep over road-the	1	4	22
(61) Dansað hevði verið til midnátt. danced had been to midnight	9	13	6
(62) Tosað hevur verið um hann. talked has been about him	18	5	5
(63) Komnir vóru fyra næmingar til tíman. come had four students to class-the	5	10	13
(64) Drignir vóru trýggir vinningar. drawn were out three prizes	17	7	4
(65) Skotin hevði verið ísbjörn í seyðahúsinum. shot had been icebear in sheephouse-the	1	0	27
(66) Fiskaðir vórðu trýggir laksar í fjør. caught had three salmon last year	2	12	14
(67) Bitið hevði maður hund í rættini. bit had man dog in fold-the	0	0	28
(68) Stolið hevur onkur súkkuluna hjá mær. stolen has someone bicycle mine	0	4	24
(69) Keypt skuldi verið mjólk. buy should been milk	1	3	24
(70) Frískað hevði hann vindin um náttina. became-stormy had he wind-the during night-the	4	5	19
(71) Boðað varð frá ringum veðri. forecasted was from bad weather	23	5	0

*Table 7: SF of past participles in matrix clauses in Faroese*

Here, SF receive positive judgements in impersonal passives (61–62), an intransitive passive (64), and in a sentence with a weather related verb (71). Examples of SF in passives with non-nominative case (67–68) get very negative responses and the same holds true for the existential construction in (57), the unaccusative in (58), and in the impersonal modal construction in (69). The

other examples get rather negative reactions. Overall, the possibility of stylistically fronted past participles in matrix clauses seems more restricted in Faroese than in Icelandic.

## 5. Concluding remarks

Like most other Germanic languages, both Icelandic and Faroese exhibit subject-initial V2 as the default word order in matrix claus-

es. Various categories can occur in the first position, including the subject, object, *wh*-phrases, negation, expletive, adverbials, and prepositional phrases. Single words and heads, including non-finite verbs, can also be fronted in main clauses (SF) but such fronting seems to be more restricted in Faroese than it is in Icelandic. These results comport with previous findings which indicate that SF is not as robust in Faroese as it still is in Icelandic. The conditions of V1 and V3 are similar in both languages. Unlike Icelandic, however, Faroese allows preposing of a negative object, resulting in V3 in certain types of conjoined main clauses.

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