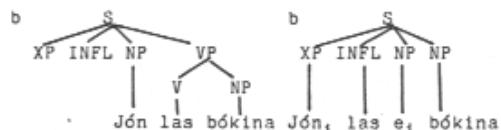


OV WORD ORDER IN ICELANDIC

(1) S --> XP INFL NP VP

(2) a Jón las bókina  
'John read the book'



(3) Að vér ... myndum þetta gert hafa  
That we ... would this done have  
'that we would have done this'

(4) Jón getur [NP ekkert]<sub>i</sub> gert \_\_\_<sub>i</sub>  
John can nothing do  
'John can't do anything'

(5) Jón hefur [NP engum]<sub>i</sub> hjálpað \_\_\_<sub>i</sub>  
John has nobody helped  
'John hasn't helped anyone'

(6) Jón mun [NP einiskis]<sub>i</sub> sakna \_\_\_<sub>i</sub>  
John will nobody miss  
'John isn't going to miss anyone'

(7) \*Jón getur gert \_\_\_  
'John can do'

(8) \*Jón hefur hjálpað \_\_\_  
'John has helped'

(9) \*Jón mun sakna \_\_\_  
'John will miss'

(10) Jeg havde ingen penge fået den dag  
I had no money got that day  
'I hadn't got any money that day'

(11) Jon har ingen romaner lest  
John has no novels read  
'John hasn't read any novels'

(12) a Ég hef engan sés  
I have nobody seen  
'I haven't seen anybody'

b ??Ég hef ekki neinn sés  
I have not anybody seen  
'I haven't seen anybody'

(13) a Ég hef engan talað við  
I have nobody talked to  
'I haven't talked to anybody'

b \*Ég hef ekki neinn talað við  
I have not anybody talked to  
'I haven't talked to anybody'

(14) a ?Ég talaði engan við  
I talked nobody to  
'I didn't talk to anybody'

b \*Ég talaði ekki neinn við  
I talked not anybody to  
'I didn't talk to anybody'

(15) Jón hefur [NP fáum]<sub>i</sub> hjálpað \_\_\_<sub>i</sub>  
John has few helped  
'John hasn't helped many people'

(16) Jón getur [NP lítið]<sub>i</sub> gert \_\_\_<sub>i</sub>  
John can little do  
'John can't do much'

(17) Jón hefur [NP ýmislegt]<sub>i</sub> þurft að þola \_\_\_<sub>i</sub>  
John has various things had to put up with  
'John has had to put up with various things'

(18) \*Jón hefur [NP þessu]<sub>i</sub> logið \_\_\_<sub>i</sub>  
John has this lied  
'John has lied this'

(19) \*Jón getur [NP þetta]<sub>i</sub> gert \_\_\_<sub>i</sub>  
John can this do  
'John can do this'

(20) \*Jón hefur [NP erfiðleika]<sub>i</sub> þurft að þola \_\_\_<sub>i</sub>  
John has difficulties had to put up with  
'John has had to put up with some difficulties'

(21) ?Jón hefur [NP ýmsa erfiðleika]<sub>i</sub> þurft að þola \_\_\_<sub>i</sub>  
John has various difficulties had to put up with  
'John has had to put up with various difficulties'

(22) ... Dálkur skal taka [NP engar batur] fyrir sig ...  
... Dálkur shall take no compensation for himself ...  
... 'Dálkur shall not take any compensation for himself'  
(Bjarnar saga Hítðlakappa)

(23) ... ég hygg hann vera [NP engan vin þinn] ...  
... I believe him to be no friend yours ...  
... 'I believe he is no friend of yours ...'  
(Egils saga Skalla-Grímssonar)

(24) Og er það undur er þú talar við [NP engan mann] nema Urðarkött  
And is it wonder that you talk to no man but Urðarköttur  
'And it is strange that you don't talk to anyone but U.'  
(Finnboga saga ramma)

(25) a Jón hefur [NP ýmislegt]<sub>i</sub> þurft að þola \_\_\_<sub>i</sub>  
John has various things had to put up with  
'John has had to put up with various things'

b Jón hefur þurft að þola [NP ýmislegt]  
John has had to put up with various things  
'John has had to put up with various things'

(26) a ?Jón hefur [NP ýmsa erfiðleika]<sub>i</sub> þurft að þola \_\_\_<sub>i</sub>  
John has various difficulties had to put up with  
'John has had to put up with various difficulties'

b Jón hefur þurft að þola [NP ýmsa erfiðleika]  
John has had to put up with various difficulties  
'John has had to put up with various difficulties'

(27) a \*Jón hefur getað lesið [NP ekkert]  
 John has could read nothing  
 'John hasn't been able to read anything'

b Jón hefur [NP ekkert]<sub>i</sub> getað lesið \_\_\_<sub>i</sub>  
 John has nothing could read  
 'John hasn't been able to read anything'

(28) a \*Jón hefur getað lesið [NP lítið]  
 John has could read little  
 'John hasn't been able to read much'

b Jón hefur [NP lítið]<sub>i</sub> getað lesið \_\_\_<sub>i</sub>  
 John has little could read  
 'John hasn't been able to read much'

(29) a Jón hefur getað lesið [NP dálítið]  
 John has could read a little  
 'John has been able to read a little'

b Jón hefur [NP dálítið]<sub>i</sub> getað lesið \_\_\_<sub>i</sub>  
 John has a little could read  
 'John has been able to read a little'

(30) a Jón hefur getað lesið [NP mikið]  
 John has could read much  
 'John has been able to read much'

b ??Jón hefur [NP mikið]<sub>i</sub> getað lesið \_\_\_<sub>i</sub>  
 John has much could sleep  
 'John has been able to sleep much'

(31) a \*Jón hefur lesið [NP engar bækur]  
 John has read no books  
 'John hasn't read any books'

b Jón hefur [NP engar bækur]<sub>i</sub> lesið \_\_\_<sub>i</sub>  
 John has no books read  
 'John hasn't read any books'

(32) a ?Jón hefur lesið [NP fáar bækur]  
 John has read few books  
 'John hasn't read many books'

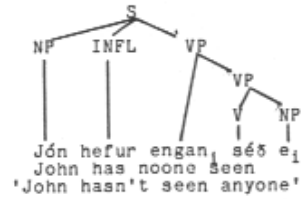
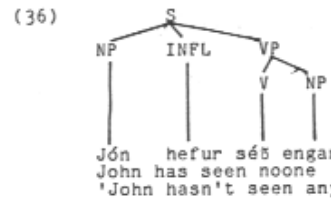
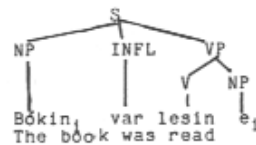
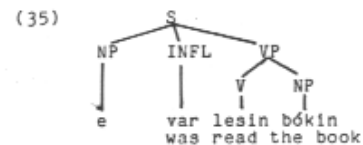
b Jón hefur [NP fáar bækur]<sub>i</sub> lesið \_\_\_<sub>i</sub>  
 John has few books read  
 'John hasn't read many books'

(33) a Jón hefur lesið [NP einhverjar bækur]  
 'John has read some books'

b ??Jón hefur [NP einhverjar bækur]<sub>i</sub> lesið \_\_\_<sub>i</sub>  
 John has some books read  
 'John has read some books'

(34) a Hefur Jón lesið [NP einhverjar bækur] í ár?  
 'Has John read any books this year?'

b Hefur Jón [NP einhverjar bækur]<sub>i</sub> lesið \_\_\_<sub>i</sub> í ár?  
 Has John any books read this year  
 'Has John read any books this year?'



(37) Adjunction is possible only to a maximal projection [...] that is a nonargument

(38) a Hann mun [NP ekkert]<sub>i</sub> hafa getað gert \_\_\_<sub>i</sub>  
 He will nothing have could done  
 '(I believe) he wasn't able to do anything'

b \*Hann mun hafa [NP ekkert]<sub>i</sub> getað gert \_\_\_<sub>i</sub>  
 He will have nothing could done  
 '(I believe) he wasn't able to do anything'

c \*Hann mun hafa getað [NP ekkert]<sub>i</sub> gert \_\_\_<sub>i</sub>  
 He will have could nothing done  
 '(I believe) he wasn't able to do anything'

(39) a Jón sagði [NP ekkert]  
 John said nothing  
 'John didn't say anything'

b \*Jón [NP ekkert] sagði \_\_\_<sub>i</sub>  
 John nothing said  
 'John didn't say anything'

(40) a Jón lýgur [NP fáu]  
 John lies few  
 'John almost never lies anything'

b \*Jón [NP fáu] lýgur \_\_\_<sub>i</sub>  
 John few lies  
 'John almost never lies anything'

(41) a \*Jón er [PP með [NP engar augabrunir]]  
 John is with no eyebrows  
 'John has no eyebrows'

b Jón er [NP engar augabrunir]<sub>i</sub> [PP með \_\_\_<sub>i</sub>]  
 Jón is no eyebrows with  
 'John has no eyebrows'

(42) a \*Jón hefur verið [PP með [NP engar augabrunir]]  
 John has been with no eyebrows  
 'John hasn't had any eyebrows'

b \*Jón hefur verið [NP engar augabrunir]<sub>i</sub> [PP með \_\_\_<sub>i</sub>]  
 John has been no eyebrows with  
 'John hasn't had any eyebrows'

c Jón hefur [NP engar augabrunir]<sub>i</sub> verið [PP með \_\_\_<sub>i</sub>]  
 John has no eyebrows been with  
 'John hasn't had any eyebrows'

(43) a \*Jón hefur sagt Sveini [NP ekkert]  
 John has said Sveinn nothing  
 'John hasn't told Sveinn anything'

- b Jón hefur [þu ekkert] sagt Sveini \_\_\_<sub>1</sub>  
John has nothing said Sveinn  
'John hasn't told Sveinn anything'
- c Jón sagði Sveini [þu ekkert]  
John said Sveinn nothing  
'John didn't tell Sveinn anything'
- d \*Jón sagði [þu ekkert] Sveini \_\_\_<sub>1</sub>  
John said nothing Sveinn  
'John didn't tell Sveinn anything'
- (44) a (að) hann keypti ekki bókina  
(that) he bought not the book  
'(that) he didn't buy the book'
- b (að) hann hefur ekki keypt bókina  
'(that) he has not bought the book'
- (45) a Hann las ekki bókina  
He read not the book  
'He didn't read the book'
- b Hann las bókina ekki  
He read the book not  
'He didn't read the book'
- (46) a Hann hefur ekki lesið bókina  
'He has not read the book'
- b \*Hann hefur lesið ekki bókina  
He has read not the book  
'He hasn't read the book'
- c \*Hann hefur lesið bókina ekki  
He has read the book not  
'He hasn't read the book'
- (47) a Hann hefur oft lánað Jóni þessa bók  
'He has often lent John this book'
- b Hann hefur lánað Jóni þessa bók oft  
He has lent John this book often  
'He has often lent John this book'
- (48) a Hann hefur nýlega lesið þessa bók  
He has lately read this book  
'He has read this book lately'
- b Hann hefur lesið þessa bók nýlega  
He has read this book lately
- (49) Ég fer ef þú ekki kemur strax  
I leave if you not come immediately  
'If you're not coming immediately, I'll leave'
- (50) a Jón lánaði honum hana oft  
John lent him it often  
'John often lent it to him'
- b ?Jón lánaði Sveini bókina oft  
John lent Sveinn the book often  
'John often lent the book to Sveinn'
- c ?Jón hefur lánað honum hana oft  
John has lent him it often  
'John has often lent it to him'
- d ??Jón hefur lánað Sveini bókina oft  
John has lent Sveinn the book often  
'John has often lent the book to Sveinn'
- (51) a ?Jón lánaði honum hana ekki  
John lent him it not  
'John didn't lend it to him'
- b ??Jón lánaði Sveini bókina ekki  
John lent Sveinn the book not  
'John didn't lend the book to Sveinn'
- c \*Jón lánaði honum hana ekki  
John lent him it not  
'John didn't lend it to him'
- d \*Jón hefur lánað Sveini bókina ekki  
John has lent Sveinn the book not  
'John hasn't lent the book to Sveinn'
- (52) a Jón hefur ekki lesið hana  
'John has not read it'
- b \*Jón hefur lesið hana ekki  
John has read it not  
'John hasn't read it'
- (53) a Jón hefur aldrei lesið hana  
'John has never read it'
- b \*Jón hefur lesið hana aldrei  
John has read it never  
'John has never read it'
- (54) a Jón hefur sjaldan lesið hana  
'John has seldom read it'
- b ??Jón hefur lesið hana sjaldan  
John has read it seldom  
'John has seldom read it'
- (55) a Jón hefur oft lesið hana  
'John has often read it'
- b Jón hefur lesið hana oft  
John has read it often  
'John has often read it'
- (56) a \*Jón sagði ekkert Sveini  
John told nothing Sveinn  
'John didn't tell Sveinn anything'
- b Jón sagði ekki Sveini neitt  
John told not Sveinn anything  
'John didn't tell Sveinn anything'