OLD NORSE
WORD ORDER AND
INFORMATION STRUCTURE

by

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To my son

Birk

Please note that the number of pages are not identical to the printed version due to format conversion. Format conversion has also caused disruption to many of the tree-structures (misinterpretation or lacking of certain signs and displacement of branches etc.), problems with indents in several tables and interlinear glosses etc. If you plan to cite or use any of the figures or tables from this thesis you should refer to the printed version to be sure it is correct.

Preface:

This project was financed through a scholarship from the Research Council of Norway (Noregs forskingsråd, NFR) [project no. 107720/520]. I am grateful to the NFR for having given me the opportunity to carry out my research project on Old Norse syntax. I would also like to thank the Faculty of Arts at the Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU) and the Department of Scandinavian Studies and Comparative Literature (INL) for help and support. Furthermore, I am grateful for the financial and moral support I got at ALLFORSK (The Arts and Science Research Foundation at NTNU) and Senter for etterutdanning (The Center for Continuing Education).

Originally I had planned to investigate only one syntactic phenomenon of Old Norse. Later, I wanted to find out more about Old Norse information structure. However, as I became familiar with the linguistic literature on Old Norse, I realized that any approach to Old Norse would be highly dependent on not only the theoretical framework, but also on the target group for the thesis. I could have chosen to write my thesis within what I call the *Norwegian (traditional) view* in chapter 1, or I could choose to write within what I call the *Icelandic (modern) view*. In my opinion, the scientific results of the Icelandic view are in many cases of much stronger explanatory value than the results of the Norwegian view. On the other hand, research on Old Norse in Norway is still strongly influenced by the traditional view and 'non-traditional' linguistic terms, such as *oblique subject*, are still not generally accepted in the Norwegian literature on Old Norse. Hence, one has to spend a great deal of energy on arguing for the modern view. As a consequence of the 'conflict' between the traditional and the modern view, this thesis is written within the modern view, whereas it has the traditional reader as its main target.

I would like to thank my main supervisor, professor Jan Terje Faarlund, for having challenged me to argue against the traditional view on many points. This was hardly the intention initially. But as time went by and the thesis took shape, my claims became more and more often in opposition to the traditional view and resulted in interesting discussions between Jan Terje and myself. Quite often I felt like a 'crusader' for the modern view, but I am glad I held out.

I also wish to thank my second supervisor, professor Jan Ragnar Hagland, first of all for his support on questions related to translation and interpretation of Old Norse data.

Thanks also to Joan Maling, Eiríkur Rögnvaldsson and Tor Anders Åfarli for comments on the 1998 manuscript of my thesis.

All in all, carrying out research on Old Norse syntax has often been a rather ‘lonesome’ task. The combination of interest in Old Norse and interest in generative syntax and functional grammar is apparently very rare. There have not been very many people to discuss certain ideas and thoughts with and I often missed a ‘soul mate’. I wish John Sundquist had come to Trondheim a little earlier, and I thank him for interesting discussions and comments on my work and my language. I also wish him good luck with his own project.

I also want to thank my research scholar colleagues at the Department of Scandinavian Studies and Comparative Literature Berit Sandnes, Bodil Aurstad and Laila Sakshaug, first of all for the mental support, but also for comments on my work. Moreover, I want to apologize for constantly having bothered them by talking linguistics in lunch breaks and at all other possible occasions.

During my research, I often felt the lack of having closer contact with Icelandic speaking people. However, there are two Icelanders I want to thank for helping me out with some minor problems: Þorbjörg Hróarsdóttir and Hermundur Sigmundsson. Speaking of Icelanders, I also want to thank Jóhanna Barðdal for comments and moral support.

I have presented parts of my work on several occasions and in several contexts, and I want to thank everyone who has commented on any of my ideas or thoughts. Apart from those I have already mentioned I want to thank especially (in alphabetic order): Nicholas Asher, John Ole Askedal, Robyn Carston, Thorstein Fretheim, Jeanette Gundel, Alice Harris, Odd Einar Haugen, Knud Lambrecht, Endre Mørck, Randi Alice Nilsen, Christer Platzack, Hanne Siri Sund, Øystein Alexander Vangsnes, Deidre Wilson, and some anonymous referees.

Since English is not my native language, I asked Nancy Lea Eik-Nes to read my manuscript. I am very thankful for her comments on my language and her interest in my work.

Last but not least, I will thank my son Birk for reminding me of the fact that life does not only consist of Old Norse syntax. - The price was too high ...

Jens Haugan
Trondheim, December 1998 / November 2000

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Abbreviations:

A/ACC = accusative
A.C.I. = accusativus cum infinitivo
ACT = active
ADV/ADVBL = adverb/adverbial
AP = adjective phrase
AGR/Agr = agreement
AUX/aux = auxiliary
BEN = Benefactive/Beneficiary
C = complementizer
COMPL = (predicate) complement
CP = complementizer phrase (clause)
D-structure = deep structure
D/DAT = dative
DET = determinator
DO = Direct Object
DOC = Double Object Construction
DP = determiner phrase
EMC = embedded clause with main clause word order
e = empty (position)
e-n = *einhvern* ACC (‘somebody’)
EPP = Extended Projection Principle
e-rr = *einnhverr* NOM (‘somebody’)
e-s= *einhvers* GEN (‘somebody/something’)
e-t = *eitthvert* ACC (‘something’)
e-u = *einhverju* DAT (‘something’)
e-m = *einhverjum* DAT (‘somebody’)
Engl. = English
EXP = Experiencer
EXPL = expletive
F = finite(ness)
FEM/f. = feminine
fn. = footnote
FOC = focus
G/GEN = genitive
GB = Government and Binding (Theory)
i, j, k ... = indexes
I[nfl] = inflection
IO = Indirect Object
IP = inflection phrase
ISc. = Insular Scandinavian
LF = Logical Form
LFG = Lexical-Functional Grammar
MASC/m. = masculine
MSc. = Mainland Scandinavian
n. = note
N/NOM = nominative
NEG = negation
NEUT/n. = neuter
NP = noun phrase
OBJ/O = object
p. = page
P/PREP = preposition
PASS = passive
PAT = Patient
p.c. = personal communication
pers. = person
PF = Phonological Form
PL = plural
PP = prepositional phrase
pres. = present (tense)
pret. = preterite (verb form)
PRT = particle
PRTCPL = participle
QP = quantifier phrase
REL = relative pronoun/word
REFL = reflexive
S = sentence/clause, cf. CP
S-structure = surface structure
S/SUBJ = subject
SA = sentence adverbial
SF = Stylistic Fronting
SG/sg. = singular
SPEC = specifier
T = tense
t = trace
th/TH = theta (θ) (role)
THM = Theme
TOP = topic
V = verb
Vfin = finite verb
Vinf = infinitive (non-finite) verb
VP = verb phrase

1 Introduction

1.1 Theoretical Foundation and Aims

The present work is a study of Old Norse word order and information structure. I am not the first one who has tried to take a closer look at Old Norse word order. To mention only a few of the earliest major works concentrating on word order in Old Norse prose, we must start way back at the end of the nineteenth century, e.g. Lund (1862) or Bernstein (1898). The most important (early) contribution to the study on Old Norse syntax is Nygaard's (1905) *Norrøn syntax*, which may still be considered a central piece of work in this particular linguistic field.

The earliest works on Old Norse syntax are first of all descriptive and they more or less lack theoretical foundation (at least compared to modern linguistic theories). With the work (on Old Danish syntax) of Diderichsen (1941), the description of Scandinavian syntax in general became more accurate. Diderichsen's topological model with so-called 'sentence fields' (see the discussion in 2.5) is still a useful tool when working with modern (Mainland) Scandinavian, however, in spite of its many limitations.[1]

The two most recent theses on Old Norse syntax that I am aware of are Christoffersen (1993a) and Kristoffersen (1996). The former is based on the Diderichsen tradition. The latter investigation of Old Norse is carried out within the framework of Lexical-Functional Grammar (LFG).[2]

In the present thesis, one approach to the syntax of Old Norse will be the theory of *Government and Binding* (GB), based on Chomsky (1981) and subsequent works by Chomsky and many other linguists. I believe that some syntactic ‘problems’, such as the question whether Old Norse is configurational or not, or whether Old Norse is SVO, SOV or both, can be satisfactorily described and explained within the framework of Government and Binding. The conception of Scandinavian syntax in a generative perspective is based to a great extent on the work of Holmberg & Platzack (1995). The most recent development within GB theory, the so-called *Minimalist Program* (e.g. Chomsky 1992, 1993, 1995), will be given minimal attention in this work.[3]

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[1] The topological model (the "sætningskema" - 'sentence scheme') is further developed in Diderichsen (1946). As I have pointed out in Haugan (1994:31, fn. 35), the 'idea' of a 'sentence scheme' or topological fields is much older, e.g. in German literature, cf. Herling (1821), Erdmann (1886), and Drach (1937). See also Höhle (1986).

[2] The most recent thesis on Old Norse (and Modern Icelandic) syntax is actually the doctoral dissertation by Þorbjörg Hróarsdóttir (1999) which is a study within the theory of minimalism. Since Hróarsdóttir's thesis was submitted after I had finished the main work on my own thesis, I have not discussed it here.

In my discussion on Old Norse syntax, I will also make use of the theory of *thematic roles* (Fillmore 1968 and later work, Jackendoff 1972 and later work) to a somewhat greater extent than common within GB theory. The mapping between argument structure and the syntactic deep-structure plays an important role in my discussion on Old Norse syntax, and I will show that, for instance, the phenomenon of so-called oblique subjects in Old Norse can be best understood on the background of thematic hierarchies determining the projection of arguments into syntactic structures. The existence of thematic hierarchies combined with contextual demands may have a great effect on surface syntax (information structure), and I will therefore supplement the formal discussion on word order with a more functional discussion, first of all based on Lambrecht (1994).[4]

Since I have chosen to approach the syntax of Old Norse from several, partly rather different viewpoints, I have been forced to study a quite large amount of linguistic literature. However, since working with this kind of doctoral thesis is time limited there was also a time to stop reading. Still, the most central works relevant in a discussion on Old Norse syntax should at least be mentioned in this dissertation. Due to the volume of my dissertation, on the other hand, I have chosen to discuss in more detail first of all those works or arguments that represent a different view than advocated by myself. In cases where I have considered a discussion more uncontroversial, I have usually only provided references to further discussions.

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[3] This fact has, of course, serious implications for the analysis of clauses and sentences in this thesis. The discussion on SOV versus SVO in chapter 2, and the analysis of *Scrambling* in chapter 4, for instance, would be different if handled within the more recent developments of generative grammar. At the time when I started to work on my thesis, minimalism was a rather new theory, while ‘traditional’ Government and Binding theory (based on Chomsky 1981 and later work) was well established. I still consider ‘traditional’ GB theory to be a useful tool when trying to investigate human language. I hope that some of my findings in this work can be adopted to newer theories at some later point in time. For now, I have tried to ‘update’ some of the discussions in this thesis by adding footnotes and minor comments.

[4] While I will refer to a rather wide range of syntactic literature, many central and important works that deal with functional syntax and pragmatics will be lacking in the reference list. This is a consequence of the dominating syntactic profile of this thesis.

There are first of all two different 'traditions' within the study of Old Norse syntax. The 'traditional' (Norwegian) view is based on the works of Nygaard and others, with Jan Terje Faarlund (1990a and elsewhere) as the most important modern exponent. Within this tradition, Old Norse is a language fundamentally distinct from Modern Icelandic (and Modern Norwegian).[5] According to the 'traditionalists', Old Norse has only nominative subjects and is (most likely) considered non-configurational, however, having SVO as the most frequent surface word order. It must also be mentioned that in Norway GB theory has not been used extensively in the investigation of Old Norse syntax.

The other view, let us call it the 'modern' (Icelandic) view,[6] looks upon Old Norse and Modern Icelandic (roughly speaking) as variants of the same language. The most central exponents of this view are Eiríkur Rögnvaldsson, Halldór Ármann Sigurðssson and Höskuldur Þráinsson.

Even though it is widely accepted that Modern Icelandic has so-called oblique subjects, according to the 'traditional' Norwegian view, Old Norse has no non-nominative subjects. While Modern Icelandic and Modern Norwegian have passive formation, it has been argued that Old Norse might not have (syntactic) passive formation. Modern Icelandic and Modern Norwegian are clearly configurational, but Old Norse is claimed to be non-configurational. The aim of this work is first of all to defend a 'modern view' of Old Norse. Some of the most central claims in this thesis may be formulated as:

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[5] Apart from the fact that Old Norse is the ancestor of both Modern Icelandic and Modern Norwegian.

[6] One could also call this view the 'generative' view.

1. Old Norse is a configurational language
2. Old Norse is a so-called SVO language, SVO being the (only) basic word order
3. Old Norse has so-called oblique subjects
4. Old Norse has passive formation
5. Old Norse has Scrambling

Those claims are first of all based on the hypothesis that the arguments of a clause are projected into deep structure syntax in accordance with a certain thematic role hierarchy. I assume that there is a deep structure argument configuration, and that this argument configuration yields an SVO word order by default. This default order is first of all due to syntactic demands, for instance, the demands of the Infl-projection.[7] So-called oblique subjects are a direct consequence of the thematic role hierarchy combined with the demand for a syntactic subject (EPP). Passive constructions, Scrambling (movement of non-subject material into the middle field), and also Topicalization, are devices that make it possible to adjust surface structure to pragmatic demands in case the default argument order and the contextually desired argument order do not correspond.

1.2 Old Norse vs. Old Icelandic - What is What?

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[7] I.e. movement of the NP with the highest thematic role to Spec-IP (unless we have insertion of *pro*/PRO), and movement of the verb to I. Subsequently, the verb may move further to C (unless C is occupied by a complementizer), and the subject to Spec-CP (unless another phrase is topicalized).

By *Old Norse* I mean the language used in the written sources from Norway and Iceland from around 1050-1350.[8] The choice of the term is very much a political choice.[9] Icelanders usually refer to Old Norse as *Old Icelandic*, while Norwegian linguists use the term *Old Norse*. Old Norse is a much more neutral term, covering both Old Icelandic and Old Norwegian there being only minor syntactic differences between those two dialects.[10] The term Old Norse corresponds roughly to the term *Altnordisch* used in the German literature on Old Norse. However, the use of the term *Altnordisch* to refer to only Old Icelandic and Old Norwegian has also been criticized (e.g. Noreen 1923:1, fn. 1; Heusler 1967:7) since *Altnordisch* is supposed to cover all the medieval Nordic languages (Old Norwegian, Old Icelandic, Old Swedish, Old Danish); more accurate is the German term *Altwestnordisch* ('Old West Nordic').[11]

In Norway, the term *norrøn(t)*[12] is usually used when referring to Old Icelandic and Old Norwegian as one language. The terms *gammalislandsk* ('Old Icelandic') and *gammalnorsk* ('Old Norwegian') are used when referring specifically to one of the two dialects. As I have suggested elsewhere (Haugan 1996), *norrøn* (or possibly written as *norroen/norron* - or *norroena/norrona*) could be introduced as a neutral international term. According to Heusler (1967:7), the Old English corresponding word is *norþerne*, while the Old High German word is *nordrôni*, both meaning 'northern' (cf. Old Norse: *nor(ð)rœnn*). The word *nordrôni* no longer exists in Modern German; the meaning of *nordrôni* is now expressed by the word *nördlich*. Modern English, on the other hand, still has the word *northern* with the meaning “of, from or situated in the north” (Hornby 1995:788), thus, the direct descendent of *norþerne* cannot be used as a term for the Old Norse language, *norroen*, on the other hand, could be a suitable choice. However, since *Old Norse* and *Old Icelandic* are used with roughly the same meaning in the linguistic literature on historical syntax written in English, and since these terms seem to be established, a ‘new’ term *norroen(a)* would not be likely to survive very long. I have thus chosen not to use the ‘term’ *norroen(a)* in the present work. Nevertheless, to conclude this argumentation, I will point out the fact that, even though the adjective *norrœn(n)* may be used to distinguish Norwegians from Icelanders as in, e.g.:[13]

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[8] The upper time limit could also be set to 1400 (e.g. Sigurðsson 1993:247, fn.1) or even 1530, i.e. the reformation (e.g. Noreen 1923:1) . See also Rögnvaldsson (1996a:59). Some 'typical' Old Norse features such as examples of overt OV word order, referential null arguments, and the lack of an expletive subject could still be observed in Icelandic as late as 1850 (cf. Hróarsdóttir 1995, 1996a). Thus, from a syntactic viewpoint, it could be justified to draw the border between Old and Modern Icelandic around 1850. Old *Norse* would then no longer be an appropriate term to use, since the language in Norway by that time had changed quite radically.

[9] See for instance the discussion between the Icelander Stefán Snævarr (1992, 1993) and the Norwegian Lars Vikør (1992, 1993).

[10] See e.g. Benediktsson (1980), Nygaard (1894) or Venås (1971). The phonological differences were probably greater, cf. also Heusler (1967:7) who states that Old Icelandic had more in common with the dialects spoken in south-west Norway (Bergen, Stavanger), compared to the other regions (Austlandet, Trondheim). These dialectal difference, thus, only reflect the differences between the dialects in Norway as a whole. Since most people who moved to Iceland came from the south-west part of Norway, there must have been one dominating dialect in Iceland at that time.

[11] *Nordic* is used as a synonym of *North Germanic*, cf. Faarlund (1990a:10).

[12] The *-t* is the neuter ending of *norrøn*, cf. *norrønt språk*$_{\text{NEUT}}$ ('Old Norse language').

(1) *Böðvar svaraði og kvað suma vera* ***íslenska*** *en suma* ***norrœna*** (VaLjó 1836)
Bodvar answered and said some being Icelandic and some Norwegian
‘Bodvar answered and said that some of them were Icelandic and some Norwegian’

the sagas refer to the language spoken in Iceland and Norway at that time as *norrœna*, cf. the following example:[14]

(2) *Og er þeir komu fyrir þenna mann þá mælti hann*
and when they came before this man then said he

til þeirra á ***norrœnu*** *og spyr hvaðan af löndum þeir*
to them on ‘norroena’ and asks where-from of land they

væru. Þeir sögðu að þeir væru flestir íslenskir (Eyrb 621)
be. They said that they were most Icelandic
‘And when they came before this man he spoke to them in norroena and asked what land they came from. They said that most of them were Icelanders’

Thus, the sagas tell about Norwegians and Icelanders as different people, and there are also passages in the sagas telling about differences and arguments between Norwegians and

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[13] Note that most of the Old Norse examples in this work have Modern Icelandic spelling - see the comments on the Old Norse text corpus in 1.3 below.

[14] From the ninth century, the Nordic dialects were also called *do,_nsk tunga* (‘Danish tongue’) (cf. e.g. Heusler 1967:7; Noreen 1923:3). This term dates probably back to the time when Danish and Norwegian vikings colonized England. The term is not used in my corpus, but there is actually one sentence that demonstrates that one was aware of the former language unity:

(i) *Ein var þá tunga á Englandi sem í Noregi og í Danmörku* (Gunnl 1175)
one was then tongue on England as in Norway and in Denmark
‘At that time, the tongue was the same in England as in Norway and in Denmark’

Icelanders.[15] However, there is no example in my corpus that uses *íslenska/íslenzka* as a name for a separate language or dialect.

Although the possible international term *norroen(a)* will not play any further role in this thesis, scholars concerned with Old Norse might want to discuss this issue at another occasion. In this work, Old Norse is considered synonymous with Old Icelandic.

1.3 The Linguistic Data

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[15] E.g. the following amusing passage from *Eyrbyggja saga*:

(i) *Þá kölluðu Austmenn af skipinu að Þorleifur skyldi matbúa og sögðu hann vera mjög íslenskan fyrir tómlæti sitt. Þá varð Þorleifi skapfátt og tók ketilinn en steypti niður grautinum Arnbjarnar og sneri á brott síðan. Arnbjörn sat eftir og hélt á þvörunni og laust með henni til Þorleifs og kom á hálsinn. Það var lítið högg en með því að grauturinn var heitur þá brann Þorleifur á hálsinum. Hann mælti: "Eigi skulu Noregsmenn að því hlæja, með því að við erum hér komnir tveir samlendir, að þeir þurfi að draga okkur í sundur sem hunda en minnast skal þessa þá er við erum á Íslandi." Arnbjörn svarar engu.* (Eyrb 585)

‘Then the Norwegians shouted from the ship that Thorleif should get on with the cooking, and they said he were very Icelandic with regard to his slowness. Then Thorleif got angry and took the kettle and poured out Arnbjorn’s porridge and went away. Arnbjorn was still holding the ladle and hit Thorleif on the neck. It was only a minor blow, but because the porridge was hot, Thorleif got burned on his neck. He said: “Since the two of us have come here from the same country (Iceland), the Norwegians shall not (get the opportunity to) laugh at this and drag us apart like (fighting) dogs, but I will remember this when we are (back) in Iceland”. Arnbjorn did not answer.’

Most of the Old Norse examples used in this work have been collected from the CD-ROM edition *Íslendinga sögur* (1996), a concordance to the sagas of the Icelanders.[16]

Eiríkur Rögnvaldsson (1996a:60) points out that the editions on the CD-ROM are “not completely reliable as sources of syntactic evidence”, but since Rögnvaldsson himself does not base any theoretical or empirical claims on only one or two examples, he finds it “extremely unlikely” that possible inaccuracies in these editions might affect any of his arguments.[17] In a few cases, especially in section 4.7, I will be dealing with constructions that are only rarely attested. I have chosen to discuss those constructions as ‘authentic’ examples even though this might be proved to be wrong by future research. I do not think that “possible inaccuracies” in the corpus have any crucial effect on the argumentation of this thesis as a whole.

The Old Norse texts are traditionally handled as if they represented one homogeneous language stage. In this work, no attempt will be made to try to detect possible variations or differences between the various texts or constructions.[18] To illustrate the traditional treatment of the Old Norse text corpus, I will quote some comments of Rögnvaldsson (1996a:59):

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[16] Such a concordance to a large corpus on Old Norse texts is of great value for the investigation of Old Norse, and I would like to take the opportunity to recognize the editors Eiríkur Rögnvaldsson, Bergljót S. Kristjánsdóttir, Guðrún Ingólfsdóttir and Örnólfur Thorsson for their great achievement.

[17] However, Rögnvaldsson (1996a:60, fn. 5) also refers to Sigurðsson (1985) for an illustration of changes made by editors of Old Norse texts.

[18] See Ottósson (1988) and Haugen (1990a) for introductions to Old Norse textual criticism. See also e.g. Penzl (1972) on Germanic in general.

> The term ‘Old Icelandic’ (or ‘Old Norse’) is usually taken to mean the language of the narrative prose texts written in Iceland in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. However, none of these texts is found in the original; most of them are only preserved in manuscripts from the fourteenth and fifteenth (and in a few cases sixteenth) centuries. This makes it extremely difficult to assess the validity of these texts as linguistic evidence, since it is often impossible to know whether a certain feature of the preserved text stems from the original or from the scribe of the preserved copy, or perhaps from the scribe of an intermediate link between the original and the preserved manuscript. It is well known that scribes often did not retain the spelling of the original when they made copies; instead, they used the spelling that they were used to. In many cases, two or more manuscripts of the same text are preserved, and usually they differ to a greater or lesser extent.
>
> However, it is usually assumed that the syntax of Old Icelandic did not change much in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Therefore, I feel justified in lumping together various narrative texts from these centuries and treating them as if they exhibit the same stage of language. In working with these texts, I have not noticed any significant syntactic differences between those that are assumed to be relatively old and preserved in older manuscripts, and those that are considered relatively young and are preserved in younger manuscripts. It is possible that future research will show that it is illegitimate to treat these texts as roughly contemporaneous; but in doing so, I follow the standard practice of traditional syntactic descriptions (see especially Nygaard 1905; Heusler 1967).

According to Modern Icelandic tradition, Old Norse texts are often published with Modern Icelandic spelling; this is also the case with the CD-ROM edition used in this thesis. When concerned with Old Norse syntax, one usually works with standardized texts, i.e. one uses editions either with ‘Old Norse’ spelling or with Modern Icelandic spelling. However, the spelling of Old Norse texts is not as homogeneous as most text editions may give the impression of. What is considered ‘Old Norse spelling’, is a standardized spelling as well. Furthermore, there may also be a few minor differences between the spelling standards used by different editors and grammarians. For instance, Nygaard (1905) uses the letters *j* and *v*, where Heusler (1967) uses *i* and *u* for the semi-vowels. Heusler additionally uses the letter *þ* (‘thorn’) medially, while this letter traditionally is represented by *ð* (‘edd’), e.g. *kueþia* (‘greeting’) versus *kveðja*. In chapter 3, I will use the traditional Old Norse spelling when giving a short description of the Old Norse inflection system.

The most important differences between the Old Norse spelling and the Modern Icelandic spelling used on the CD-ROM, are the following: use of the svarabhakti (anaptyctic) vowel *u* as in Modern Icelandic, e.g. *bátur* vs. Old Norse *bátr* (‘boat’); the Old Norse letter *o,_*, being an u-umlaut of *a*, is replaced by the Icelandic ö, while the Old Norse *œ/ø,´* is replaced by the Icelandic *æ*; furthermore, word-final *t* or a *k* may be weakened to *ð* or *g*, respectively, e.g. *þat* > *það* (‘that’), *ok* > *og* (‘and’); also, Old Norse *á* may be represented by Modern Icelandic *o*, e.g. *vár* > *vor* (‘spring’). Since this work is concerned with Old Norse syntax only, the kind of spelling that is used in the examples under discussion is irrelevant. In a few cases, I will also quote some ‘unnormalized’ Old Norse examples.

I do not expect Old Norse to be a language familiar to every linguist that may be interested in reading this work. Therefore, I will provide interlinear glosses and an idiomatic translation of each Old Norse sentence. Grammatical symbols are in most cases attached to the interlinear glosses (see the abbreviation list), e.g. *he*$_{\text{SUBJ}}$ *loves*$_{\text{V}}$ *linguistics*$_{\text{OBJ}}$. When there is a Modern English word that is etymologically related to an actual Old Norse word, I will use the related form as a gloss. For example, the Old Norse preposition *við* may be glossed *with* even when the actual contextual meaning has to be translated into *to, by* or another preposition (or no preposition at all), e.g.:

(3) *Bergþóra mælti við hann að ...* (Njála 164)
Bergthora said **with** him that ...
‘Bergthora said **to** him that ...’

In some cases, the meaning of a related word may have changed radically. I do not, however, think that this will cause any problems for the understanding since there is also the idiomatic translation. The parentheses behind the Old Norse example refer to the source from which the example is taken. In most cases, this will be a saga from the CD-ROM which is abbreviated in accordance with the abbreviations used on the CD-ROM (see the list at the end of the thesis). The number refers to the actual ‘page’ on the CD-ROM. Unfortunately, it is not possible to use this reference to find an actual example in a standard edition of the Icelandic sagas (e.g. *Íslensk fornrit*). On the other hand, given the recent development - and advantages - when it comes to electronic data sources, the CD-ROM edition might become the new standard edition. When the parentheses contain a proper name, the example is taken from the linguistic literature on Old

Norse.

One problem when working with Old Norse is the fact that we are dealing with a so-called *dead language* (this is further discussed in section 4.1.3). To compensate for the lack of negative data, I will compare with Modern Icelandic data to a greater or lesser extent. In some cases, I may be criticized for not making a sharp enough distinction between Old Norse and Modern Icelandic. However, the Modern Icelandic examples are usually used as a starting point for a discussion about an Old Norse phenomenon, or they are used to illustrate possible and impossible grammatical structures.

In this thesis, Old Norse is handled as a very close predecessor of Modern Icelandic, the most important difference being that Old Norse allowed a variety of *Scrambling* phenomena, while this is limited to *Object Shift* in Modern Icelandic (see the discussion in 4.3.2.4 and elsewhere).[19] As for oblique subjects and passive formation, I do not assume that there are any structural differences between the two language stages. In addition to the Modern Icelandic data, I will also compare Old Norse with data from Modern Norwegian and in some cases with Modern German. I do not think that research on Old Norse can make much progress without comparing it with other languages. Since the modern Germanic languages have been quite successfully investigated within the linguistic literature, I have benefitted from the works of many other linguists.

This thesis is an attempt to combine theoretical elements from different linguistic theories in order to provide an analysis of Old Norse syntax capable of explaining the variety of word order phenomena that can be observed. Hopefully, some of my ideas about how to approach the investigation of Old Norse syntax will lead to some rethinking. In particular, I believe that *Scrambling* as a linguistic phenomenon should be investigated to a much greater extent than I was able to do in this work.

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[19] Both Modern Icelandic and Old Norse have also so-called *Stylistic Fronting* (see the discussion in 4.7) which also may be considered a *Scrambling* phenomenon. This has not been investigated very much in this work. Stylistic Fronting seems to have been more frequent in Old Norse than it is in Modern Icelandic.

1.4 Organization

I have chosen to divide the thesis into two major parts. **Part 1** deals mainly with Old Norse word order from a 'technical' viewpoint (e.g. formal conditions for the establishment of syntactic structures), while **part 2** is a more functional approach (e.g. pragmatic/contextual conditions for the use and variation of certain syntactic structures). However, pragmatics and information structure will also play a role in the first part, just as the 'technical' aspect will be present in the second part.

In **chapter 2**, I will discuss Old Norse word order more generally first of all from a typological viewpoint. The central issue will be whether Old Norse can be said to have one or two basic word orders. I will claim that Old Norse has only one basic word order and that this word order is (S)VO, like the basic word order of all the modern Scandinavian languages. It will also be discussed whether Old Norse might be a so-called *non-configurational* language. I will argue that Old Norse is configurational.

In **chapter 3**, I will give a brief introduction of the grammatical features of Old Norse. Before discussing Old Norse within a generative and a functional framework, I would like to give the reader a little impression of Old Norse as a language with a rather rich agreement system. It could be argued that this chapter should have come first, or that it should have been put last as an appendix since it contains rather few discussions on the syntax of Old Norse. However, since Old Norse is not one of the most central research objects within linguistics, some readers may prefer a brief glance at the language under discussion. Also, I think that some of my claims in chapter 4 (e.g. about *Scrambling*) deserve further investigation within syntactic theory, and this brief introduction to Old Norse may serve as a starting point for other linguists. Readers familiar with Old Norse may skip this chapter.

Chapter 4 deals with Old Norse word order first of all in the light of syntactic tree structures and thematic roles. In this chapter, I will mainly be concerned with a definition of the Old Norse subject. I will claim that one should distinguish between *deep-structure subjects* and *surface-structure subjects*. The first category will normally always appear as a nominative subject, while the latter category may be an oblique (i.e. non-nominative) subject. Surface-structure subjects that are deep-structure objects are so-called *promoted* subjects. According to the theory outlined in chapter 4, promotion of arguments plays an important role in, e.g., passive and ergative constructions. In my opinion, promotion of arguments neatly explains the existence of oblique subjects in Old Norse and Modern Icelandic. When discussing the position of arguments in the Old Norse clause, I will claim that Old Norse belongs to those languages that allow *Scrambling*, here understood as movement of, for instance, internal arguments or adjuncts from their base position to a position further to the left (except for Topicalization). Scrambling as a feature of Old Norse has been mentioned only now and then by other linguists to explain Old Norse word-order variety. In the present thesis, Scrambling as a phenomenon is crucial for the understanding of Old Norse word order variety. I will discuss aspects of Scrambling in some detail, but I think that further research on Scrambling in Old Norse is still required.

In **chapter 5**, I will give a survey of Old Norse information structure based on the results achieved in chapter 4 combined with the theory of Lambrecht (1994), i.e. first of all from a functional viewpoint. In this chapter I will concentrate only on some selected topics of Old Norse information structure. These topics will, however, provide some important, significant data and may also be a starting points for further discussion. The results of chapter 5 strengthen the claims made about the basic word order of Old Norse made in the chapters 2 and 4. The discussion in this chapter also shows that functional aspects should not be left aside when discussing word order properties of a given language.

PART 1:
WORD ORDER AND GRAMMAR

2 Old Norse Word Order

2.1 Preliminaries

According to Payne (1992a:2) explanatory factors behind word order variation are to be found in studies of how the mind grammaticizes forms, processes information, and speech act theory considerations of speakers' attempts to get their hearers to build one rather than another, mental representation of incoming information. Payne (ibid.) distinguishes three important domains: a **syntactic**, a **cognitive** and a **pragmatic** domain, and she points out that in all languages each domain is likely to make some contribution towards determining the surface order of sentence elements (although the relative contribution from each domain may vary from one language to another).

According to Payne, the *syntactic* domain may briefly be defined as "a description of order phenomena in terms of syntactic categories, particular morphosyntactic constructions, hierarchical structures and head-dependent relations, and grammatical relations" (1992a:2).

The *cognitive* domain deals with the relationship between order and mental process or constraints. Payne (ibid.) states that a cognitive account would, among other things, consider the relevance of limited focal attention, the current status of certain information in the mind of the speaker, and operations concerned with comprehension and integration of information into already-existing knowledge network or developing mental representation.

The relation between order and speaker-hearer actions would be explored by the *pragmatic* account. The speaker's choice of one word order rather than another can constitute a speech act of "instruction" on the speaker's part, relative to how the hearer should integrate information into a mental, cognitive representation.

To begin with, my main concern will be the *syntactic* domain of language, keeping in mind that the order of words and phrases is, by definition, a syntactic phenomenon: it involves putting phrases together (*syn*) in certain allowable orders (*taxis*), and not in others (Payne 1992b:137).

2.2 Basic Word Order

For some time now, many linguists have assumed that it is possible to identify so-called *basic word orders* for a majority of the world's languages.[1] This basic word order, first of all the order of subject and object relative to the verb, combined with other facts of the language is considered a useful way of typologizing languages and a primary characteristic from which other features of a language can be predicted. According to Payne (1992a:1), this tradition of typologizing languages by their basic word order began in earnest with the work of Greenberg (1966), and has been continued by numerous scholars, notably Lehmann (1973), Vennemann and Harlow (1977), Malison and Blake (1981), Hawkins (1983), Nichols (1986), and Dryer (1988). Yet, Payne points out that there are some linguists who have started asking new questions about word order and typology of languages.

A different twist on the typology question was taken by Thompson (1978) (see also Payne 1990 and Payne 1992b), who suggested that the first typological division should be made between

- those languages in which main clause word order primarily correlates with pragmatic factors, and

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[1] Mithun (1992) shows that not all languages have a syntactically defined word order, and her conclusion is that basic word order is not universal; see also Hale (1992). For a discussion on the 'value' of word order typology, see e.g. Comrie (1981:86ff.); see also Whaley (1997). Within the framework of minimalism, it is now assumed that there is only one basic word order, namely SVO, while all other possible word order patterns are derived from this basic order (cf. e.g. Kayne 1994).

- those languages in which order primarily correlates with grammatical relations or other syntactic factors.

Instead of just asking for some kind of basic word order, attention has been turning to the question of: “When there are several possible order patterns in a language, what is the communicative function of one, rather than another, order?” A third important question might then be: “What historical reanalysis gives rise to observed order patterns?”

Before making any statements about the information structure of a given language, in our case Old Norse, typologizing the language by its word order seems to be necessary; or at least useful to some degree. One should obviously expect different potentialities in the ordering of information in a so-called free-word-order language than in a language with a somehow restricted word order.

2.3 Is There Any Basic Word Order in Old Norse?

What, then, is the basic word order of Old Norse? Or maybe one should ask: is there any basic word order in Old Norse at all? Let us take a quick look at a short passage, that is, a continuous text sequence, from *Hávarðar saga Ísfirðings* (HávÍs 1332).

(1) a.	*Hallgrímur*	*hafði*	*drepið*	*báða*	*þá*	*er*	*hann*	*átti*	*við*	*og*	*svo*	*Torfi.*
	Hallgrim	had	killed	both	those	which	he	fought	with	and	so	Torfi

‘Hallgrim had killed both of them he fought with, and also Torfi’

b.	*Eyólfur*	*hafði*	*drepið*	*annan*	*þann*	*er*	*hann*	*átti*	*við.*
	Eyolf	had	killed	other	this		that	he	fought with

‘Eyolf had killed the other one that he fought with’

c.	*Þórir og Oddur*	*höfðu*	*drepið*	*þrjá*	*en*	*eftir*	*var*	*einn.*
	Thori and Odd	had	killed	three	and	after/left	was	one

‘Thorir and Odd had killed three, and one survived’

d.	*Þorsteinn*	*og*	*Grímur*	*höfðu*	*fellda*	*tvo*	*en*	*einn*	*var*	*eftir.*
	Thorstein	and	Grim	had	felled	two	and	one	was	after/left

‘Thorstein and Grim had killed two, and one survived’

e.	*Þórhallur*	*hafði*	*drepið*	*þann*	*er*	*hann*	*átti*	*við.*
	Thorhall	had	killed	this	that	he		fought with

‘Thorhall had killed the one he fought with’

f.	*Húskarl*	*hafði*	*eigi*	*drepið*	*þann*	*er*	*honum*	*var*	*ætlaður.*
	countrylad	had	not	killed	this	that	him	was	meant

‘The country lad had not killed the one who was meant for him’

This short passage of six sentences exhibits more or less the same sentence construction. Each of the main sentences contains a subject, an auxiliary, a transitive main verb and a more or less complex object. Within a thematic role hierarchy, the subject of each main sentence represents an ‘Agent’ role, while the object represents a ‘Patient’ role (see e.g. the discussion in section 4.2).

This first glance at Old Norse word order gives the impression of a typical SVO language (subject - verb - object).[2] This is also the impression of Bernstein (1898), responsible for one of the first major studies on Old Norse word order. Bernstein considers the order *subject - predicate* “**the normal order**” (1898:2):

> In accordance with the Germanic and Indo-European methods, the predominant mode of expressing the relation between agency and action, stripped of any modifiers, is in the simple affirmative clause: Subject + Predicate, which, for the sake of convenience, may be styled the “*Normal Order*”.

For main sentences with other constituents than the subject in front, Bernstein formulates a rule which he calls the “**Old Norse law of inversion**” (1898:21):

> If at the beginning of the sentence there is a word or words, a phrase or phrases, a clause or clauses adverbial or objective in character, the predicate, of which these elements are locally and logically a part, follows immediately and in turn is followed by the subject.

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[2] When discussing typology, the term *object* usually includes complements of the verb, verb particles, predicative phrases, adverbs modifying verbs (cf., e.g. Sigurðsson 1988a:10).

A rule, or ‘law’, like that is, of course, rather ‘out of date’ now.[3] Old Norse is, like all of the descendants of Old Scandinavian (Modern Icelandic, Faroese, Norwegian, Swedish and Danish), what we would call a **V2 language** (see e.g. Holmberg & Platzack 1995), which means that the finite verb usually appears in second position in main clauses. The position preceding the finite verb consists of at most one constituent (Faarlund 1994:64). As I will discuss later, in a few cases ‘parts of constituents’ may also occur in the topic position of an Old Norse main clause;[4] this is a phenomenon of the so-called *discontinuous phrases*. The topic position can even be empty in main clauses, which in many cases is a consequence of the lack of an *expletive* or *dummy subject* in Old Norse. I will return to this phenomenon later, too.

In a way, one may say that the orders **S**VO and **S**OV, with the *subject* in the topic position, are first of all word orders determined by *information structure* since the first position is not primarily a subject position. Thus, the reason why the subject very often ‘ends up’ in the topic position is first of all *pragmatic*, not primarily *syntactic*.[5] However, in V1 sentences with a finite and a non-finite (main) verb, i.e. with an empty topic position, or when an adverbial phrase occupies the topic position, the subject would still be preceding the verb and the object(s) in both word order types. Therefore, the base position of the (main) verb and the object(s) is, in many ways, more important when discussing word order typology. For that reason, it is also common to speak of VO versus OV order. In my discussion, I will use SVO and SOV synonymously for VO and OV order respectively.

Marius Nygaard, in his frequently quoted *Norrøn Syntax* (1905), also considers the word order *subject - verb - object* the regular order, “naar ikke særlige hensyn gjør sig gjældende”

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[3] However, when used in a functional framework: Faarlund (1985a:375f.). See also an earlier work (Sugioka & Faarlund 1980), where Scandinavian (and German) is treated as a verb initial language with a pragmatic determined obligatory topicalization rule.

[4] The term *topic* position is reserved for the *first position* in the sentence, that is, the position before the finite verb ([Spec, CP] in a GB model). Thus, it is syntactically defined. The use of the term *topic* position includes no statements about information structure, while the term *topic* alone may be used for a part of a sentence which carries ‘given’ information (cf. ‘theme’); usually, or quite often, this information occurs in the *topic position* (see the chapter on information structure).

[5] I consider the syntactic topicalization rule an option determined by pragmatic demands. Syntactic demands only require the movement of one constituent into the topic position (in main sentences), the kind of constituent is (syntactically) more or less optional.

(1905:344), 'when no other considerations take effect'.

It is not very surprising that the placement of the subject in the topic position fits with the first of Greenberg's (1966:110) universals:

> 1. In declarative sentences with nominal subject and object, the dominant order is almost always one in which the subject precedes the object.

This has to do with the ordering of 'old' and 'new' information, where the subject of a sentence normally represents 'old' information and the object some kind of 'newer' information (Faarlund 1985a).[6]

It should be beyond any doubt that Old Norse is typologically a V2 language, cf. Rögnvaldsson (1995:5, note 2):

> Old Icelandic is a Verb-Second language just as Modern Icelandic; in a corpus which includes a great majority of the most important Old Icelandic texts [...], I have only found one sentence where the finite verb is in third position.

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[6] However, see Tomlin & Rhodes (1992) for comments on a language with the *opposite* ordering of information: "In Ojibwa, thematic information comes later in a sentence or clause than non-thematic information" (Tomlin & Rhodes 1992:117). The unmarked word order for Ojibwa is considered VOS, that is, seemingly an inverted SOV order with an inverted information structure. See also Keenan (1978).

On the other hand, verb-second and the subject in the topic position in 'normal' word order, is not necessarily the same as SVO word order. Modern German, for instance, is a V2 language with the subject in the topic position as the most frequent word order (see e.g. Engel 1972), but it is also an SOV language (cf. Holmberg & Platzack 1995:45, fn. 3; Faarlund 1990a:61).[7]

All the modern Scandinavian languages, both of the insular and the mainland type (according to Haugen 1976:23, Faarlund 1990a:13, and Holmberg & Platzack's 1995:5 classification), are SVO languages (Holmberg & Platzack 1995:73).[8] This indicates that there must have been a great majority of sentences of this type at an older stage of these languages ('frequency', cf. Croft 1990:206; Greenberg 1966).[9] On the other hand, Braunmüller (1982:139) (quoted by Faarlund 1990a:20) claims that Ancient Nordic, the language stage before Old Norse, exhibits a basic word order SVO in 2/3 of all the inscriptions, while as much as one third of the inscriptions belong to the basic word order SOV - in Braunmüller's terminology, basic word order obviously means surface word order.[10]

Making statements about a basic word order in Ancient Nordic on the basis of, after all, relatively few inscriptions (at least compared to the rather large Old Norse corpus), may be difficult.[11] However, if we take the inscriptions as indicators of word order *frequency* and assume that there might have been an overweight of SVO (surface) word order in Ancient Nordic, while there was still (or maybe rather: while there was also) a considerable amount of SOV sentences, we may ask if this would be enough to develop a (relatively) 'clean' SVO word order in Old Norse (given the assumption that word order frequency may cause basic word order change).

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[7] Holmberg & Platzack (1995:63), with regard to English and French, also show that SVO is not the same as V2.

[8] However, see Faarlund (1985a:389) who claims that "the Nordic languages have developed from SOV to SVO to VSO". See also Sugioka & Faarlund (1980:313). As we can see, different opinions on this question often depend on the theoretical presuppositions one adopts and how one defines 'basic word order' (cf. Payne 1992b:138). But note also Croft (1990:210): "SV order appears to be so dominant in the world's languages that V-initial order is rare and often alternates with SVO".

[9] See Faarlund (1983:154ff.; 1985a:366ff.; 1990a) for comments on word order change. See Whaley (1997:100ff.) for a discussion on frequency as a method for determining the basic word order of a given language. See Hróarsdóttir (1996a) for a different explanation of the word order change observed in Nordic.

[10] See, however, also Trask (1996:149) who makes the opposite claim:

> ... Northwest Germanic was still primarily an OV language. But it was not completely harmonic: it had prepositions rather than postpositions, adjectives generally followed their nouns, and genitives could either precede or follow their nouns, depending upon the type of noun. Moreover, a small proportion of sentences (less than 20 per cent) show SVO order. The impression we have is that of a formerly SOV language which is changing towards SVO order.

Note also that, according to Indriðason (1987) and Rögnvaldsson (1996a), 30-60% of all Old Norse clauses with one or more non-finite verbs show signs of OV order. Compare also to the findings of Hróarsdóttir (1995, 1996a).

[11] See Faarlund (1990a:20f.) for comments.

Even if we like to pretend that there is something like an Old Norse language, we must be aware of the fact that an Old Norse corpus, as represented by the Icelandic sagas, may reflect, at least theoretically, the language stage(s) of several hundred years (cf. the discussion in 1.3). Many sagas have been copied several times over many centuries. The original saga text often got lost and new copies were made after another copy, or even different copies/fragments. As mentioned before, the sagas in the present day layout on the CD-ROM have been reconstructed, and the spelling has been adjusted, so that they all look (more or less) like Modern Icelandic texts. Adjustment of spelling has a long tradition in text copying (cf. also Rögnvaldsson 1996a:59). We can find the spelling of a more modern stage of Old Norse (mostly Old Icelandic) in almost every one of the transcriptions, but usually the copyists seemed not to have touched the word order.[12] A reason for this could be that there might have been one person who was reading the text while others were writing it down (e.g. when one had to make more than one copy of a text).

SOV is assumed to have been the predominant and unmarked word order in most of the oldest attested Indo-European languages (Faarlund 1983:155; 1990a:22), as well as in the Proto-Germanic languages (Lehmann 1972; Hopper 1975).[13] Ancient Nordic seems to have been in a position (at least the beginning) of a change from SOV to SVO (Faarlund 1983; 1990a),[14] while Modern Scandinavian, as mentioned, is clearly SVO. From this point of view, it would be most surprising if the Old Norse corpus exhibited only sentences with SVO surface word order. And in fact it does not.

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[12] See, however, Sigurðsson (1985) for an illustration of changes made by editors of Old Norse (Old Icelandic) texts.

[13] See, however, the discussion in Sigurðsson (1988a:15ff.), e.g. (p. 17): "Thus, if we take it that [Sigurðsson's example] (24) is representative for Proto-Scandinavian up to, say, 500 A.D:, then Proto-Scandinavian was unique among old Germanic dialects in having SOV in main clauses"; (p. 18): "claiming that Proto-Germanic was 'SOV' takes more than just to say it. 'How much SOV' was it?"

[14] Cf. also Sigurðsson (1988a:1): "Old Icelandic probably exemplified a language that had recently undergone OV > VO".

2.4 Old Norse Word Order Variety

Rögnvaldsson (1996a) shows examples of VSO, SVO and SOV in Old Norse (see also Kossuth 1978a). We can disregard the VSO order at this point because there are no reasons to believe that Old Norse ever had VSO as its basic structure (Rögnvaldsson 1996a:57; see also Sigurðsson 1983).

About the following sentences (Rögnvaldsson 1996a:56):

(2) a. *Lytingur af Sámsstöðum* [$_{\text{IP}}$ *mun* [$_{\text{VP}}$ *hafa vegið hann*
Lyting of Samsstadir will have killed him

og bræður hans]].
and brothers his
‘Lyting from Samsstadir will have killed him and his brothers’

b. *En ekki* [$_{\text{IP}}$ *mun eg* [$_{\text{VP}}$ *þenna mann séð hafa*]].
But not will I this man seen have
‘But I believe I have not seen this man.’

c. *Þorgilsi* [$_{\text{IP}}$ *hafði* [$_{\text{VP}}$ *gefin verið öxi góð*]].
Thorgils (D) had given been axe good
‘Thorgils had been given a good axe.’

d. *Ekki* [$_{\text{IP}}$ *vildi eg* [$_{\text{VP}}$ *þér mein hafa gert*] ...].
not would I you harm have done
‘I wouldn´t want to do you any harm.’

Rögnvaldsson (ibid.) says that only the (a)-sentence, “with the word order *finite verb - auxiliary/modal verb - main verb - object*, could just as well be from Modern Icelandic; this is the only possible order of these elements in Modern Icelandic”. Rögnvaldsson refers to this word order as **‘pure’ VO order**.

Sentences of the (b)-type, with the word *order finite verb - object - main verb - auxiliary/modal verb* are referred to as **‘pure’ OV order**.

The (c)- and (d)-type sentences are said to represent different types of **‘mixed’ word orders**. The (c)-type has the word order *finite verb - main verb - auxiliary verb - object*. Thus, the order of the two non-finite verbs is in accordance with an OV pattern, but the object is in a final position as in a VO language. The (d)-type, in contrast, has the word order *finite verb - object - auxiliary verb - main verb*, that is, the order of the non-finite verbs is consistent with a VO base, while the object precedes the non-finite verbs as in an OV language. Rögnvaldsson points out that the types (a) - (c) are all very common, whereas the (d)-type is rare.

One may add that the type (b), with the order [*object - past participle*] - *infinitive*, seems to be most frequent with the modal verb *munu*; thus it is not "very common" in other constructions (see the discussion in chapter 4 and also 5.4). In this particular sentence, the past participle and the object seem to appear as one constituent, whereas this 'unit' never appears in the topic position. In the topic position, we find only the past participle alone.[15] I will return to this phenomenon later (section 4.7). The (b)-type looks obviously like a 'pure' OV type in the same way as, for instance, German:

(3) a. *Ich habe den Mann gesehen.*
I have [the man]$_{OBJ}$ seen$_{V}$
'I have seen the man.'

b. *... daß ich den Manngesehen habe.*
... that I [the man]$_{OBJ}$ seen$_{V}$ have
'... that I have seen the man.'

c. *Ich mag den Mann gesehen haben.*
I may [the man]$_{OBJ}$ seen$_{V}$ have
'I may have seen the man.'

An Old Norse example of this type without a modal verb would be:

(4) *... því að hann hafði það skip séð fyrr ...* (Egla 399)
... because that he had [that ship]$_{OBJ}$ seen$_{V}$ before
'... because he had seen that ship before ...'

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[15] This is taken as an argument against a VP-constituent in Faarlund (1990a:86ff.; see also 1991). Note, however, that Modern Icelandic, unlike all the modern Mainland Scandinavian languages, does not have VP-fronting either (cf. Holmberg 1997:113, fn.39; Rögnvaldsson 1995:14. See, however, Zaenen 1985; and Holmberg & Platzack 1988:32).

Rögnvaldsson's (c)-type also requires a comment. The (c)-sentence is a passive construction. What is called an *object* in Rögnvaldsson's paper, is in fact a *nominative* phrase: *öxi góð*; this phrase agrees in case and number with the past participle *gefin*. Some linguists, for instance, Faarlund (1980, 1985a, 1985b, 1987a, 1988a, 1988b, 1990a, 1994) and Mørck (1992 1994, 1995) would consider a nominative NP of this kind the *subject*, no matter if it appears before or after the main verb (cf. the 'traditional' view mentioned in the discussion in 1.1). Rögnvaldsson's view presupposes *oblique* or *quirky subjects* and *nominative objects* of the Modern Icelandic type in Old Norse (cf. the 'modern' view; see e.g. Rögnvaldsson 1991, 1996b,c; Zaenen, Maling & Þráinsson 1990). I will return to the subject-object question and the analysis of passive when presenting a generative approach to Old Norse in chapter 4, especially in 4.3.3.1.[16]

For convenience, I have summed up the possible word orders, as distinguished by Rögnvaldsson, in the table below:

finite verb	auxiliary/modal verb	main verb	object	'pure' VO
finite verb	object	main verb	auxiliary/modal verb	'pure' OV
finite verb	main verb	auxiliary	object	'mixed' (OV + VO)
finite verb	object(s)	auxiliary	main verb	'mixed' (VO + OV)

Table 1: *Word order varieties in Old Norse*

To make the situation of the mixed word order types even more confusing, one may add some examples of sentences containing two objects, IO and DO,[17] where one or both of the objects may appear either before or after the main verb (see also Rögnvaldsson 1996a:61ff.):[18]

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[16] The existence of transformational passive in Old Norse has been questioned by Dyvik (1980) - see also Kristoffersen (1994). Arguments against Dyvik are to be found in Benediktsson (1980). See also the discussions in Faarlund (1988b), Rögnvaldsson (1995:15f.) and Haugan (1998c).

[17] IO and DO meaning *Indirect* and *Direct* Object, referring to an object in the *dative* case and an object in the *accusative* case, respectively. The use of terms like Indirect and Direct Object in Old Norse may be questioned, but I will use these terms in accordance with common linguistic tradition (see chapter 4 for a discussion).

[18] Rögnvaldsson (1996a:63, fn. 7) chose to omit the patterns "where two objects are adjacent, but their order is reversed, such that the direct object precedes the indirect object. This is sometimes possible in Modern Icelandic (see Rögnvaldsson 1990[a]), and the situation appears to be similar in Old Icelandic".

(5) a. V- IO - DO: ... *þá skal eg sjálfur veita þeim lið* (Njála 269)
... then shall I myself give$_V$ them$_{IO}$ help$_{DO}$
'... then I shall help them myself'

b. V- DO - IO: ... *að eg skal hvergi í móti þér vera og*
... that I shall neither in opposition you be and

eigi veita lið óvinum þínum (Njála 266)
not give$_V$ help$_{DO}$ [enemies your]$_{IO}$
'that I shall neither be against you nor help your enemies'

c. IO - V - DO: *Gengur Ásbjörn mót þeim og ... og lætur*
goes Asbjorn towards them and ... and let

þeim veita hjálpir (Finnb 632)
them$_{IO}$ give$_V$ help$_{DO}$
'Asbjorn goes in their direction and ... and ordered to help them'

d. DO - V - IO: *Þá mátt þú nú mikið lið veita Njáli* (Njála 275)
then may you now [much help]$_{DO}$ give$_V$ Njal$_{IO}$
'Then you may give Njal a lot of help now'

e. IO - DO - V: *Svo þykir mér sem Þorsteinn vilji þér lið*
so seems me that Thorstein will you$_{IO}$ help$_{DO}$

veita (Ölkof 2074)
give$_V$
'It seems to me that Thorstein will help you'

f. DO - IO - V: *Viltu nokkurt liðsinni okkur veita?* (Hrafn 1404)[19]
will-you [some help]$_{DO}$ us$_{IO}$ give$_V$
'Will you give us some help?'

These sentences demonstrate that all possible orders regarding the two objects can be found in Old Norse. In fact, when searching for word order variety in Old Norse, almost any order of elements behind the finite verb shows up. Rögnvaldsson (1996a:64) has listed up examples of each kind and made a list of existing and non-existing word order patterns. For convenience, I will repeat the list here, but skip the examples:

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[19] A construction like this is lacking in Rögnvaldsson's (1996a:64) list (8), cf. (7) below.

(6) *Sentences with one non-finite verb and one object*[20]

a. (XP) - V_{fin} - V_{main} - NP_{DO}
b. (XP) - V_{fin} - NP_{DO} - V_{main}

(7) *Sentences with one non-finite verb and two objects*

a. (XP) - V_{fin} - V_{main} - NP_{IO} - NP_{DO}
b. (XP) - V_{fin} - NP_{IO} - V_{main} - NP_{DO}
c. (XP) - V_{fin} - NP_{DO} - V_{main} - NP_{IO}
d. (XP) - V_{fin} - NP_{IO} - NP_{DO} - V_{main}

(8) *Sentences with two non-finite verbs and one object*

a. (XP) - V_{fin} - $V_{aux/mod}$ - V_{main} - NP_{DO}
b. (XP) - V_{fin} - $V_{aux/mod}$ - NP_{DO} - V_{main}
c. (XP) - V_{fin} - V_{main} - $V_{aux/mod}$ - NP_{DO}
d. (XP) - V_{fin} - NP_{DO} - $V_{aux/mod}$ - V_{main}
e. (XP) - V_{fin} - NP_{DO} - V_{main} - $V_{aux/mod}$
f. * (XP) - V_{fin} - V_{main} - NP_{DO} - $V_{aux/mod}$

(9) *Sentences with two non-finite verbs and two objects*

a. (XP) - V_{fin} - $V_{aux/mod}$ - V_{main} - NP_{IO} - NP_{DO}
b. (XP) - V_{fin} - $V_{aux/mod}$ - NP_{IO} - V_{main} - NP_{DO}
c. (XP) - V_{fin} - $V_{aux/mod}$ - NP_{IO} - NP_{DO} - V_{main}
d. (XP) - V_{fin} - $V_{aux/mod}$ - NP_{DO} - V_{main} - NP_{IO}
e. (XP) - V_{fin} - V_{main} - $V_{aux/mod}$ - NP_{IO} - NP_{DO}
f. (XP) - V_{fin} - NP_{IO} - $V_{aux/mod}$ - V_{main} - NP_{DO}
g. (XP) - V_{fin} - NP_{IO} - $V_{aux/mod}$ - NP_{DO} - V_{main}
h. (XP) - V_{fin} - NP_{IO} - V_{main} - $V_{aux/mod}$ - NP_{DO}
i. (XP) - V_{fin} - NP_{IO} - NP_{DO} - $V_{aux/mod}$ - V_{main}
j. (XP) - V_{fin} - NP_{IO} - NP_{DO} - V_{main} - $V_{aux/mod}$
k. (XP) - V_{fin} - NP_{DO} - $V_{aux/mod}$ - V_{main} - NP_{IO}
l. (XP) - V_{fin} - NP_{DO} - $V_{aux/mod}$ - NP_{IO} - V_{main}

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[20] (XP) = initial phrase (optional); V_{fin} = finite verb; $V_{aux/mod}$ = auxiliary or modal (non-finite) verb; V_{main} = main (non-finite) verb; NP_{DO} = direct object; NP_{IO} = indirect object. The starred patterns are those that Rögnvaldsson has found no examples of. The possibility that the corpus contains isolated examples of (some of) the starred patterns can not be excluded, but according to Rögnvaldsson such examples would be extremely rare.

m. * (XP) - V_{fin} - NP_{DO} - V_{main} - $V_{aux/mod}$ - NP_{IO}
n. * (XP) - V_{fin} - V_{main} - NP_{IO} - $V_{aux/mod}$ - NP_{DO}
o. * (XP) - V_{fin} - V_{main} - NP_{IO} - NP_{DO} - $V_{aux/mod}$
p. * (XP) - V_{fin} - V_{main} - NP_{DO} - $V_{aux/mod}$ - NP_{IO}
q. * (XP) - V_{fin} - NP_{IO} - V_{main} - NP_{DO} - $V_{aux/mod}$
r. * (XP) - V_{fin} - NP_{DO} - V_{main} - NP_{IO} - $V_{aux/mod}$

According to Rögnvalddson only the (a)-patterns would be grammatical in Modern Icelandic.[21] Rögnvaldsson (1996a:65) also points out that the patterns that do exist are not all equally common. And, of course, why would Bernstein (1898), Nygaard (1905) and others consider Old Norse an SVO language, when the situation is as unclear as indicated by these discovered word order patterns?

2.5 Word Order Change from SOV to SVO

Consider Croft (1990:203):

> Languages do not occur in static or stable states. All languages exhibit some degree of grammatical variation, and they change over time - in fact, much synchronic variation represents language change in progress.

Now, imagine the situation in a language community drifting away from SOV in the direction of SVO. Consistent with the ***principle of diachronic change*** (Faarlund 1985a:367; see also Faarlund 1983:153, 1988a:24ff., and 1990a:47ff.: “principle of synchronic coexistence”) which says:

> A change from F_p to F_q cannot take place unless F_p and F_q can coexist as alternatives in a language.

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[21] Hróarsdóttir (1996a) offers an interesting explanation for some of the ungrammatical (or unattested) Old Norse examples. I will discuss this in chapter 4.

one would expect to find at least “remnants” of SOV word order (Faarlund 1990a), although the number should be decreasing in later texts.[22] A more explicit formulation of the principle of diachronic change is (Faarlund 1985a:367):

> If in a speech community whose language can be described at at least two distinct historical stages, L_l and L_n, a grammatical form F_p can be found in L_l and another grammatical form F_q in L_n, and if F_p and F_q are equivalent and no other equivalent form exists between them, then F_p and F_q must coexist at some stage L_m that lies between L_l and L_n or that overlaps one or both of them.

Having this in mind, it does not seem very surprising that Rögnvaldsson (1996a:65) notes that both patterns in (6) are frequent. The patterns in (6) are, after all, pretty simple constructions. Both patterns must have been common in Proto-Germanic and Ancient Nordic if those languages were SOV, and if there ever was an “old rule moving focus elements to the right” (Faarlund 1985a:374, 372f.; 1983:158f.; 1990a:55ff.).[23] When both constructions are frequent in Old Norse, and when they, in addition, are generated by the same speaker, then it is obvious that both constructions, at this stage, still seem to carry out somehow different pragmatic functions, cf. Faarlund (1985a:367):[24]

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[22] One would, of course, have to define what one wants to call ‘remnants of SOV’.

[23] Cf. also Croft (1990:62): “SVO was also a very common alternative order to both VSO (note Universal 6) and SOV (this is the nonrigid type)”. See Harris (1992) and Harris & Campbell (1995:218ff.) for a critique of Faarlund’s ‘focus rule’.

[24] See chapter 5 for a discussion on pragmatic demands and information structure.

> Whenever two forms with the same meaning coexist, the speaker's choice of one over the other is pragmatically determined.

Faarlund (1985a:159; also 1990a:58) makes a fine picture of the process of word order change from SOV to SVO:

> As it becomes common to move a focused element to the end of the sentence, the language develops two possible utterance forms, SOV and SVO, related by a transformation that is sensitive to pragmatic factors telling the speaker whether or not to focus the object. Because the object (which in this context means any constituent other than the subject) is the most frequently focused sentence element, the SVO order will soon be conceived of as the unmarked form, and subsequently through restructuring it also becomes the underlying form. This is the end of SOV order.

If Old Norse has reached a situation of underlying SVO, a transformation is needed to get an SOV utterance. Faarlund (1985a:159) points out that

> if there is no good pragmatic reason, e.g., if the SOV order is not required by some principle of information structure, theme-rheme order or the like, then such a transformation will disappear from the grammar, and the SOV order will disappear from the language.

As we know, the SOV order has disappeared in all the Modern Scandinavian languages (with some stylistically restricted exceptions). So, when both constructions, SOV and SVO, coexist for some time, and when the default focus position is behind the verb, then there may be two possibilities for how to use a - at this stage still available - position before the verb: either we can move an element out of the focus position to make it less focused, or, however more unlikely, we can use the position to give an element a marked focus status. This I will try to examine further when looking at the information structure of Old Norse in chapter 5.

Let us return to the list of word order varieties, (6)-(9), in Old Norse. In a language community with a somehow not completely established SVO basic word order, one would, as mentioned, not be very surprised to find both SOV and SVO in simple constructions with only one non-finite verb and one object as in (6).

When Rögnvaldsson (1996a:65) notes that the patterns in (7b), (7c) and (7d) are rare, one may imagine that a speaker with a perhaps not very ‘safe’ SVO basic word order might be able to *produce* these word order patterns, but this also suggests that this speaker might have more serious problems with *analyzing* such patterns within the ‘new’ SVO grammar. The (7d)-pattern, as the ‘clean’ SOV pattern it represents, would have been easier to generate and analyze.

When looking at the sentences in (8), we discover the same tendency. Rögnvaldsson finds that (8a), (8c) and (8e) are frequent. And, of course, these orders are much ‘easier’ to analyze: (8a) is ‘clean’ SVO, (8c) is a kind of SOV order with a focused object we could have found in Ancient Nordic; and (8e) is ‘clean’ SOV.[25]

The patterns in (9) are rare altogether, because sentences with two non-finite verbs and two objects are on the whole comparatively few (Rögnvaldsson 1996a:65). Here, (9a) is most common, and (9h) and (9j) also seem to be relatively common. The other existing patterns are very rare. And again (9a) is ‘clean’ SVO, (9h) is SOV with a ‘focused’ direct object, and (9j) is ‘clean’ SOV. Rögnvaldsson claims that the (9i)-pattern is also relatively common. But according to the regularities I have discussed here, this would seem more unlikely.

Disregarding the frequency, and only looking at the total amount of different word order patterns presented above, one may be tempted to claim, as does Faarlund (1990a:110), that Old Norse is a free-word-order language where “all syntactic evidence seems to indicate that Old Norse is a nonconfigurational language in the sense of Chomsky (1981) and Hale (1983)” (see also the conclusion in Kristoffersen 1996:61ff.). Faarlund (1990a:110) posits a schema which is meant to cover the great variety of Old Norse word order patterns:

(10) $S \rightarrow (XP) \quad V_{[+T]} \quad XP^*$

XP also includes non-finite verbs. This rule schema says that:

> the finite verb is preceded by at most one element of any category and is followed by any number of elements (including null) of any category. As in Warlpiri, discontinuous phrases occur when elements of the same category and of the same

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[25] I would emphasize that this is a discussion on an imaginary situation, i.e. ‘focused’ is here used in accordance with Faarlund’s description of language change. Since I will claim that Old Norse has a basic SVO order, I do not (in most cases) consider an object to the right as being focused.

case are inserted in different slots (Faarlund 1990a:110).

A similar suggestion, however, only in a footnote, was made by Hanssen, Mundal & Skadberg (1975:115, fn.), when discussing Old Norse word order within the “sætningsskema” (‘sentence schema’) introduced by Diderichsen (1946).[26] This schema divides a (Modern) Scandinavian sentence into three parts or ‘fields’: *Front, Middle* and *Final.*[27] The middle and the final field are introduced by the finite and the non-finite verb respectively. The Modern Norwegian version of this schema for main sentences, e.g. used in Lie (1976), looks like:

Forfelt ‘Front field’	**Midtfelt** ‘Middle field’			**Sluttfelt** ‘Final field’		
	v(erb)	**n**(ominal)	**a**(dverb)	**V**(erb)	**N**(ominal)	**A**(dverb)

Table 2: *Sentence schema for Modern Norwegian* (Lie 1976)

To make Old Norse word order fit into this schema, Hanssen, Mundal & Skadberg (1975:115) choose “en variant av skjemaet som ikke angir rekkefølge og antall av nominale og adverbiale ledd i midtfelt og sluttfelt”, that means, ‘a variant of the schema which does not define the order of nominal and adverbial constituents in the middle and the final field’:

Forfelt ‘Front field’	**Midtfelt** ‘Middle field’		**Sluttfelt** ‘Final field’	
	v(erb)	Andre setningsledd ‘other constituents’	**V**(erb)	Andre setningsledd ‘other constituents’

Table 3: *Sentence schema for Old Norse* - 1 (Hanssen, Mundal & Skadberg (1975:115)

In a footnote, then, Hanssen, Mundal & Skadberg (1975:115, fn. 3) claim that it would be more correct to use a schema which does not distinguish between a middle and a final field, and they propose the following schema:

Forfelt ‘Front field’	**Sluttfelt** ‘Final field’	
	v(erb)	Andre ledd ‘other constituents’

Table 4: *Sentence schema for Old Norse* - 2 (cf. Hanssen, Mundal & Skadberg (1975:115)

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[26] As mentioned in 1.1, the *sætningsskema* was originally developed for Old Danish (Diderichsen 1941).

[27] Other English translations for these fields are, e.g.: *Fundament - Nexus Field - Content Field* (Faarlund 1989) and *Initial - Middle - End* (Faarlund 1995b, 1995c).

This schema is in fact the same as Faarlund's "rule schema for Old Norse sentences" (1990a:110): S → (XP) $V_{[+T]}$ XP*. In a table, this schema would look just the same:

Front	**Final**	
	verb	***other constituents***
(XP)	$V_{[+T]}$	XP*

Table 5: *Sentence schema for Old Norse* - 3 (cf. Faarlund 1990a:110)

Torp (1982:90) also considers it difficult to distinguish between middle and final field. Nevertheless, a schema like this does not state anything more about Old Norse word order than the fact that Old Norse is a V2 language, and for this kind of statement one does not need a sentence schema.[28] For the same reason, I will not discuss the different sentence schemata proposed in Christoffersen (1993a).

Even though Faarlund (1990a:100) considers Old Norse a free-word-order (non-configurational) language, where "rules cannot be given for the relative position of sentence elements", he finds that "on the basis of the voluminous extant material in the language, it is possible to establish a preferred or stylistically unmarked order of elements":[29]

> First of all, the sentence can be divided into two parts, the first part being what precedes the finite verb, and the second part the rest of the sentence. The first part, the topic part, consists of at most one constituent, and it can also be empty. The second part may again be divided in two, the first consisting of the finite verb, an NP which carries given information, usually in the nominative, any other unstressed personal pronouns, and any sentence adverbial; the last part of the sentence contains the nonfinite verb unless it is topicalized, nontopicalized NPs and adverbials. The position of the nonfinite verb is typically first in the final part of the sentence. (Faarlund 1990a:100)[30]

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[28] See Dyvik's (1977:136ff.) opinion on Old Norse word order and the use of a sentence schema. For a history and developments of the sentence schema, see Heltoft & Andersen (1986).

[29] Cf. also: "Even Old Norse has of course what may be called a typical order, which is statistically predominant and stylistically unmarked" (Faarlund 1980:67). See also Christoffersen (1994:79): "I claim that the relative order of nominal constituents in the law of Magnus Lagabøter [an Old Norse law text] is fairly rigid".

[30] See also Faarlund (1994:65, 1995b:7, and 1995c:4), the latter with reference to Fourquet (1938) and Diderichsen (1941).

This unmarked word order in Old Norse is schematized in the spirit of Diderichsen (1946):[31]

FRONT	MIDDLE	FINAL
Topic	$V_{[+T]}$ $NP_{[N]}$ PRO SAdv	$V_{[-T]}$ NP* Adv*

Table 6: *The unmarked word order in Old Norse* (Faarlund 1990a:100)

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[31] The asterisk means that a category may be represented more than once.

If allowing $NP_{[N]}$ and PRO to occur in the same field, this sentence schema would correspond to the common version of Diderichsen's model with the order: *Topic - v n a - V N A*, and we would end up with an almost 'clean' SVO word order like in Modern Scandinavian.[32] And even if there are some data which can be analyzed as evidence for non-configurationality, they can also be analyzed as some kind of 'speaker's confusion', in a wide sense, in connection with language change, or the 'coexistence of two different grammars' (see the discussion below). In chapter 4, however, I will argue that there is only one SVO grammar, and that this grammar allows movement of phrases into the middle field.

At this point, we have not quite answered the question about a/the basic word order in Old Norse to our satisfaction. However, the most attractive impression so far seems to be that Old Norse is underlyingly (S)VO, with "remnants" of (S)OV (cf. Faarlund 1985a:373; see also 1983:157). But how does this agree with the great variety of word orders? And not least, how does this agree with Faarlund's claim that Old Norse is a non-configurational language?

2.6 Is Old Norse a Configurational Language?

I will not discuss at great length whether Old Norse is configurational or not. The question of configurationality has been discussed in Faarlund (1990a, also 1988b, 1991, 1995a, 1995b) with some plausible arguments for non-configurationality. However, some of Faarlund's arguments have been questioned by e.g. Platzack (1991a) and Stockwell & King (1993); see also Christensen (1994). In addition, Rögnvaldsson (1995) has discussed the problem thoroughly and argued for configurationality in Old Norse. Kristoffersen (1996:61ff.), on the other hand, still does not seem to be convinced by Rögnvaldsson's arguments.

Furthermore, Stowell (1982) has even suggested that non-configurational languages do not, in fact, exist. According to Stockwell & King (1993:63), developments in X-bar theory (Farmer 1980), the projection of arguments into structural positions (Stowell 1983, 1989; Koopman & Sportiche 1990), and the assumption that sentences are projected from the lexicon are not compatible with the notion of non-configurationality.[33] Concerning the discussion on configurationality versus non-configurationality, I would also like to quote Speas (1990:128):

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[32] Cf. Faarlund (1990a:52): "In Old Norse, the order VO is the only one in main sentences [...] and also the predominant one in subordinate clauses".

> I will be assuming throughout that, as Hale (1985) has emphasized, "the phenomenon of free word order ... is *not* criterial for nonconfigurationality, and it never has been" (p. 2). The association of the phenomenon of free word order with nonconfigurationality is something of an historical accident, and so I will simply adopt the view expressed in the previous chapter that hierarchical relations in phrase structure are independent of linear precedence relations, and that linear precedence is irrelevant to questions of configurationality.

In this work, I will treat Old Norse as a configurational language in accordance with e.g. Holmberg & Platzack (1995).[34] Possible problems with that analysis will be discussed during the investigation of Old Norse in a generative framework in chapter 4.

But before leaving this topic, I will make a short digression to *Warlpiri*, a Central Australian language. Warlpiri happens to be mentioned by Faarlund when claiming that Old Norse is non-configurational (Faarlund 1990a:110; and 85f.). As discussed above, Faarlund (1990a:100) is able to put forward a proposal for the unmarked word order in Old Norse, even though he considers Old Norse a free-word-order language.[35] According to Hale (1992:64, also 1983, 1994), Warlpiri is a free-word-order language, but of "the type for which it makes little sense to speak of any particular basic order".[36] In Warlpiri, the subject, object, and verb of a transitive sentence may appear in any relative order in relation to another, as in the examples from 64):[37]

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[33] Moreover, non-configurationality is not compatible with the minimalist view, e.g. Kayne (1994).

[34] Even though Old Norse is not the main concern of Holmberg & Platzack (1995), Old Norse is treated like the other Insular Scandinavian languages, Modern Icelandic and Faroese. See chapter 4.

[35] This is, of course, no contradiction, cf. e.g. Mithun (1992).

[36] See, however, the discussion in Speas (1990:159ff.) based on Jelinek (1984) and Laughren (1986).

[37] Examples like these are possible in Modern Greek, too; cf. Philippaki-Warburton (1985:113). Also Selayarese, an Austronesian language of the Makassar group (Grimes & Grimes 1987), from Selayar Island, South Sulawesi Indonesia, exhibits all possible permutations of verb, subject, and object in its surface word order. Still, Finer (1994) claims that it is possible to discern the basic clausal structure of the language, which is VOS, "with a hierarchical asymmetry obtaining between subject and object, i.e. the language is 'configurational'; the verb and object form a constituent which is separate from the subject" (Finer 1994:153). A sample from Selayarese is:

(11) a. *Karnta-ngku ka yarla karla-mi.*
woman-$_{\text{ERG}}$ PRES yam dig-$_{\text{NONPAST}}$
'The/a woman is digging yams.'

b. *Yarla ka karla-mi karnta-ngku.*
c. *Karla-mi ka karnta-ngku yarla.*
d. *Yarla ka karnta-ngku karla-mi.*
e. *Karla-mi ka yarla karnta-ngku.*
f. *Karnta-ngku ka karla-mi yarla.*

Of course, we do not have any native speaker of Old Norse to provide us with a sample like that. But we can try to look for the corresponding transitive verb in Old Norse: *grafa* ('dig', 'bury'). When disregarding the option of an empty topic position like

(12) *... og lét hann grafa hann hjá tóft nokkurri ...* (Flóam 745)[38]
... and _ let he$_{\text{SUBJ}}$ bury$_{\text{Vinf}}$ him$_{\text{OBJ}}$ at site some
'and he let bury him at some site'

and passive sentences like e.g.:

(13) *... þá var þar grafinn kirkjugarður* (Egla 517)
... then was there dug churchyard
'... then a churchyard was built there'

which is a presentational construction with the 'logical' subject to the right (see the discussion in chapter 4), I find only two different word order patterns in the corpus:[39]

(14) a. *Hann lét* ***grafa hann*** *hjá tóftum nokkurum ...* (FlóaV 766)
he$_{\text{SUBJ(i)}}$ let bury$_{\text{Vinf}}$ him$_{\text{OBJ(j)}}$ at site some
'he let bury him at some site'

b. *Bárður fer þegartil og lætur* ***skurðgrafa*** *...* (Krók 1529)
Bard$_{\text{SUBJ}}$ goes immediately to and let ditch$_{\text{OBJ}}$ dig$_{\text{Vinf}}$
'Bard goes there immediately and has a ditch dug ...'

(i) a. *la-alle-i doe iñjo i Baso?* (VOS)
3-take-3 money the h Baso?
'Baso? took the money.'

b. *i Baso? la-alle-i doe iñjo.* (SVO)
c. *doe iñjo la-alle(-i) i Baso?* (OVS)
d. *i Baso? doe iñjo la-alle.* (SOV)
e. *doe iñjo i Baso? la-alle-i.* (OSV)
f. *la-alle-i i Baso? doe iñjo.* (VSO)
(Finer 1994:155)

[38] The personal pronoun *hann* ('he') has the same form in the nominative as in the accusative (see chapter 3).

[39] Remember that the corpus consists of about 50 sagas, i.e. a quite large amount of text pages.

This is in accordance with (6); we find either (S)VO (=14a) or (S)OV (=14b). On the other hand, to complete the picture of word order variety in Old Norse, there is, of course, the possibility of *Topicalization*. When we do not find other types of word orders in connection with *grafa*, this may be due to pragmatic reasons.[40] Relying on our competence as ‘professional readers’ (Faarlund 1983:152), we can postulate a set of possible word orders with *grafa* (using ‘classical’ Old Norse spelling):

(15) a. *Bárðr lét grafa skurð.* ≈ Warlpiri (11f.)
Bard let dig ditch
‘Bard let a ditch be dug’

b. *Bárðr lét skurð grafa.* ≈ Warlpiri (11a.)
c. *Skurð lét Bárðr grafa.* ≈ Warlpiri (11d.)
d. *Grafa lét Barðr skurð.* ≈ Warlpiri (11c.)
e. */? *Grafa lét skurð Barðr.* ≈ Warlpiri (11e.)
f. */? *Skurð lét grafa Bárðr.* ≈ Warlpiri (11a.)

Note that the last two word order patterns would not be possible in Modern German either:[41]

(16) a. * *Graben läßt einen Graben*$_{\text{OBJ}}$ *Bard.*[42]
b. * *Einen Graben*$_{\text{OBJ}}$ *läßt graben Bard.*

Modern German, as an SOV language, does not allow (15a).[43] Old Norse, exhibiting some ‘remnants of SOV’ (if we want to use that expression), allows (15a) and (15b).[44] Neither Modern

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[40] (15c) and (15d) must be considered pragmatically highly ‘marked’. This would explain why we do not find these types in the Old Norse corpus.

[41] German has earlier been considered a non-configurational language, but this view has changed after the work of Webelhuth (1985), Fanselow (1985; 1987) and others.

[42] To make this example less confusing, one can replace the object *Graben* by *Loch* (‘hole’).

[43] German also allows:

(i) [*Einen Graben graben*] *läßt Bard.*

whereas this order, as mentioned, is not possible in Old Norse - or, at least, it is not instanced:

(ii) ?/*[*Grafa skurð*] *lét Barður.*

Cf. Faarlund (1990a:86ff.) and Rögnvaldsson (1995:13f.).

[44] In chapter 4, I will argue that the Old Norse SOV order is due to *Scrambling*. Since German is a Scrambling language too, the fact that (15a) is not possible in Modern German, may seem a little strange. However, in Modern German, an SOV language with the verb at the end, Scrambling concerns the order of elements preceding the verb, e.g.:

German nor Old Norse, however, seems to deserve the label ‘free word-order language’ when compared with a language like Warlpiri.[45]

As ‘free word-order languages’ one should only count “purely discourse-determined” clause constituent order and sometimes also free noun-phrase constituent order (Croft 1990:62; cf. also Hale 1983; Heath 1986; Mithun 1992; Payne 1987).[46] Even though there is some (overt) mixture of SVO and SOV in Old Norse (besides some other minor phenomena), in my opinion, not only claiming a stylistically unmarked (basic) word order, but also treating Old Norse as a configurational language, can be justified “on the basis of the voluminous extant material in the language” (Faarlund 1990a:100).

While discussing transitive verbs and SVO/SOV variation, we can take a look at a sentence

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(i)	*Bard*	*ließ*	*auf*	*dem*	*Friedhof*	*ein*	*Grab*	*graben.*
	Bard	let	[on	the	graveyard]$_{\text{ADVBL}}$	[a	grave]$_{\text{OBJ}}$	dig

(ii)	*Bard*	*ließ*	*ein*	*Grab*	*auf*	*dem*	*Friedhof*	*graben.*
	Bard	let	[a	grave]$_{\text{OBJ}}$	[on	the	graveyard]$_{\text{ADVBL}}$	dig

[45] Consider, for instance, also Whaley (1997:98):

> For many reasons, then, it becomes clear why Warlpiri might be best classified as a flexible constituent order language, just as it is clear that English has fixed order. It is much more problematic to determine a classification for languages that fall somewhere between the two extremes. At what point between the extremes does one consider a language to carry a flexible constituent order?

[46] See, however, Fanselow (1990:114) who claims:

> In a sense, the term “free word (constituent) order language” is misleading since there are no languages in which word order is really arbitrary. [footnote:] This seems to hold even for languages with extensive means of reordering like Dyribal or Warlpiri, cf. Dixon (1972) for the former language and Nash [1986] and the references cited therein for the latter.

where both orders appear side by side. Note the verbs *grafa* (‘bury’) and *setja* (‘set’, ‘put up’):

(17) *Þar skuluð þér* ***mig grafa*** *og* ***setja krossa*** *að höfði mér* ... (GrænS 1103)
There shall you me_{OBJ} bury_{V} and set_{V} $\text{crosses}_{\text{OBJ}}$ at head mine
‘You shall bury me there and place crosses at my head’

In the case where the object appears before the main verb *grafa*, the object is a pronoun *mig*. This sentence might be a mixture of SOV and SVO (overtly it is of course), but it can also indicate that the pronoun is cliticized (cf. e.g. Faarlund 1994:65). However, cliticization is not an attractive solution as long as there is another ‘light’ pronoun preceding the actual word. Note also that in (14a) it is the pronoun that follows the main verb, while in (14b) it is the full NP that appears before the main verb. Can such variation be due to a ‘mixed word order’ or is Old Norse really a non-configurational language?

There is, of course, the possibility that Ancient Nordic might have been a non-configurational language, although I am not aware of any such discussion.[47] But when claiming that Old Norse is non-configurational, one probably also has to claim that its predecessor, Ancient Nordic, must have been non-configurational. A change from configurationality to non-configurationality would be extremely unlikely, I would think.

Faarlund (1995b:14) talks about “a general shift towards a more hierarchical or configurational sentence structure” in Nordic as in other Germanic and Romance languages of Western Europe. On the other hand, the only fact that seems to be generally accepted is that there has been a general shift from (S)OV to (S)VO in Nordic, maybe due to some ‘focus rule’ (Faarlund 1983:158; 1985a:372).[48] At some stage during this shift, there must have been coexisting word order patterns, most likely capable of covering different pragmatic fields (Faarlund 1983:154; 1985a:372). The language could at a given point in time, then, be considered (S)VO with the possibility of generating (S)OV word order as an option. But then, after some time, the OV pattern lost its 'value' and vanished.[49] The crucial stage would be the stage of 'confusion' we may imagine. A speaker of a 'pure' SVO language, who is still exposed to both SVO and SOV, with small or no pragmatic difference between the two patterns, might have problems analyzing the older form (cf. also Rögnvaldsson 1996a:67). What may be a VP constituent VO, turns out to appear both as VO and OV. The V, then, might have been analyzed as having focus, according to the 'focus rule'.[50] A possible interpretation of this phenomenon would be a movement rule regarding *heads* of constituents. At this stage, before all the 'remnants of SOV' have vanished, we can imagine other head categories 'moving around' creating even more confusion and leading to other changes. This could be an imaginable explanation of the occurence of discontinuous phrases in Old Norse. Faarlund (1990a:94ff.) takes this phenomenon as another indication of non-configurationality. Some examples of discontinuous phrases, quoted from Faarlund (1990a:95f.), may be:[51]

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[47] However, this might be an implication of Faarlund (1987b, 1990b, forthcoming).

[48] See Harris (1992) and Harris & Campbell (1995:218ff.) for a discussion on Faarlund’s “focus rule”. See also Sigurðsson (1988a:21):

> Lightfoot (1979, p. 393) suggests that rightward movements of complements play an essential role when languages undergo a change from SOV to SVO. Two cross-linguistically well known processes of this kind are Heavy NP-Shift and Extraposition of sentential complements. There is no reason to doubt that these and other similar processes may stimulate a change in basic word order. They are clearly important sources of VO patterns in OV languages. But it seems unlikely to me that they ever constitute the “primary stimulus” of SOV > SVO. First, these processes have a rather limited range (typically applying to indefinite or heavy constituents only). Second, they are in fact rather atypical of OV languages as compared to VO languages. German, for instance, allows Heavy NP-Shift or ‘leaking’ more reluctantly than Modern Icelandic. Also, many SOV languages have a strict Verb-Final Constraint, allowing no processes of this kind (cf., e.g., Kuno 1973, p. 3; Dik 1978, p. 181).

Sigurðsson (ibid.) suggests that reordering of Infl and VP or *Infl-Shift* “must be a vitally important step in the development from SOV to SVO”. See Hróarsdóttir (1996a) for a different explanation of the change from SOV to SVO.

(18) *Væta var á mikil um daginn*
wetness-N wason great-N in day
'There was much rain during the day'

(19) *Góðan eigum vér konung*
good-A own we king-A
'We have a good king'

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[49] This is in accordance with e.g. Croft (1990:62):

> Languages with basic SVO order are the least likely to have any alternative word orders; i.e. they are the language type that is most likely to have rigid declarative clause word-order.

[50] This is only a discussion on a possible reason for language change and does not imply that I myself find it very likely that the verb might have been considered focused in all OV structures at some point in time.

[51] See also Faarlund (1991).

(20) *En á þykkir mér vera skuggi no,_kkurr manninum*
but on seems me-D be shadow some the-man-D
‘But there seems to be a shadow over the man’

Prepositions, as shown by Faarlund (1995b), have had different domains even in Old Norse. They could be both bound prefixes and ordinary prepositions. When other ‘heads are rolling’, one could imagine the possibility of moving even ordinary prepositions and causing new reanalysis, as for instance the analysis of a moved preposistion as a verbal particle, which is the subject of Faarlund’s paper (1995b) (see also Rögnvaldsson 1996a:15f.).

Of course, the separation of prepositions from their objects may be “the most remarkable kind of discontinuity in Old Norse” (Faarlund 1990a:97, also 1991), but Faarlund himself (ibid.) points out that “it is, of course, normal for prepositions to precede their objects immediately”. Considering the “numerous exceptions”, we must take this “as indicative of important syntactic phenomena in this language”, as Faarlund (1990a:97) says, but we do not necessarily need to proclaim non-configurationality for that reason.[52] Old Norse still looks pretty much like for instance Modern Icelandic, except for some more liberal movement rules and some ‘remnants of SOV word order’ (see Rögnvaldsson 1995; Sigurðsson 1988a). In chapter 4, I will try to explain both OV patterns (see especially 4.3.2.4) and instances of discontinuous phrases (4.7) by movement opposed to base generation.

Another “typical feature of non-configurational languages” may be “the possibility of zero arguments, which we find in Old Norse” (Faarlund 1995b:13, see also 1990a:102ff.). I will return to this phenomenon later (4.6). A reference to Sigurðsson (1993) who handled this topic within a configurational analysis of Old Norse may be sufficient at this point.

Thus, like Rögnvaldsson (in an earlier draft of 1996a (=1992:8)), I would like to conclude: “even though we accept a distinction between configurational and non-configurational languages, Old Icelandic [= Old Norse] could not be counted among the latter”. Chapter 4 will serve as a demonstration of the claim that Old Norse can be analyzed by means of binary branching structures.

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[52] In fact, regarding PPs, Rögnvaldsson (1995:9) has made a count using five of the most common Old Norse prepositions, where it turned out that “in more than 99% of the cases, the preposition was adjacent to its complement”. Rögnvaldsson also points out that many examples of the so-called discontinuous phrases involve *quantifier floating* or *quantifier stranding*.

2.7 Is Old Norse a 'Pure' VO Language?

As discussed above, Old Norse looks pretty much like an (S)VO language, even though there are some phenomena that might disturb the picture a little. Sigurðsson (1988a:1) finds that

> Old Icelandic had an extremely free word order in the VP, showing protypical VO and OV patterns as well as various mixed types. This raises the question whether Old Icelandic had any basic order of verbs and their complements, and, if so, how the other exemplified patterns related to the basic order.

Sigurðsson (1988a:11) also states that

> Old Icelandic did not conform regularly to any of the "pure" patterns demonstrated above. Instead, it showed an interesting mixing of OV and VO within VP. More accurately, it manifested both pure VO and pure OV within the VP as well as a mixing or a scrambling of the two.

When Sigurðsson (1988a) and Rögnvaldsson (1996a) use the terms "pure VO" or "pure OV" they refer to *surface* structure. However, since different kinds of word order patterns can be found in Old Norse, it may not make much sense to use the term "pure". On the other hand, if there is a distinction between languages that are left-branching and languages that are right-branching at deep structure, the term "pure" may be used when referring to the underlying basic word order of a given language - if there is a single basic word order. On that background, I will claim that Old Norse is a 'pure' VO language at deep structure. This will also be further investigated in chapter 4 and 5.

Sigurðsson (1988a:15) mentions the three "obvious possibilities":

> First, the language could have been underlyingly VO like Modern Icelandic. Second, it could have been OV. Third, it is at least pre-theoretically possible that it had no basic order of constituents within the VP.

Sigurðsson (1988a) discusses those three possibilities and argues that a change from SOV to SVO due to reanalysis had taken place already in the earliest Icelandic texts. Thus, Old Norse (Old Icelandic) is said to be uniformly VO in deep structure. The different surface structures are, then, due to extensive leftward movement of non-finite verb forms, objects and adverbial/prepositional phrases (cf. Sigurðsson 1988a; see also Hróarsdóttir 1996a). The reanalysis from (S)OV to (S)VO may be illustrated like:[53]

Grammar A:	>	Grammar B:
Basic OV		Basic VO
+ VO by transformations		+ OV by transformations
(V-to-I and rightward movement of 'O', e.g. Heavy NP-Shift)		(leftward movement of 'O')
(Sigurðsson 1988a:23)		

Grammar B replaces Grammar A. See also the examples in Rögnvaldsson (1996a:66):

(21) OV-base: *Eg* *mun* [$_{VP}$ *manninn* *séð* *hafa*]
(Grammar A) I will man-the seen have

b. Derived: *Eg* *mun* [$_{VP}$ t_i t_j *hafa* *séð*$_j$ *manninn*$_i$]

(22) VO-base: *Eg* *mun* [$_{VP}$ *hafa* *séð* *hana*]
(Grammar B) I will have seen her

b. Derived: *Eg mun* [$_{VP}$ *hana*$_i$ *séð*$_j$ *hafa* t_j t_i]

Thus, each grammar would be able to generate both structures by applying movement rules.

Rögnvaldsson (1996a:67, fn. 10) points out that some of the movements proposed by Sigurðsson (1988a) would not be allowed given standard conditions on movement nowadays, e.g. the analysis of the order *main verb - auxiliary/modal verb - object* (Sigurðsson 1988a:27). Sigurðsson's analysis violates Realitivized Minimality (the main verb is moved over the auxiliary) and conditions on adjunction (the main verb is adjoined to the higher VP).[54] Rögnvaldsson (1996a:76; see also 1994-1995) chooses, instead, the "third alternative". Rögnvaldsson (ibid.) finds that

> variable word order may be best accounted for by assuming synchronic variation in phrase structure, instead of postulating one single basic word order and letting extensive movement rules account for the variation.

Such an approach has also been proposed for Old English (cf. Kroch's 1989 *Double Base*

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[53] Of course, if all languages are SVO (cf. Kayne 1994), then there has never been any reanalysis related to direction of the head parameter. On the other hand, there has obviously (in some cases) been a change in surface structure from Old Norse to Modern Scandinavian which has to be explained somehow.

[54] However, see the analysis in Hróarsdóttir (1996a).

Hypothesis; Pintzuk 1991) and Yiddish (Santorini 1989, 1992). One may imagine that reanalysis was not complete, and speakers might have been able to generate sentences from both grammars. Thus, we would have a case similar to a language like Hungarian, as proposed by Holmberg & Platzack (1995:59), where [Spec, VP] can appear either to the left or to the right of V'.[55] If we assume that I can appear either to the left or to the right of IP in Old Norse, or if V could govern both to the left and to the right, we would, of course, be able to generate both OV and VO. On the other hand, an analysis like this seems rather unlikely for typological reasons (see below). Sigurðsson (1988a:15) also rejects the possibility of bidirectional government in Old Norse, among other things because it is not compatible with the parametric approach to government directionality. Furthermore, Sigurðsson (ibid.) states:

> it raises the question why verbs should have been able to govern bidirectionally in Old Icelandic as opposed to Modern Icelandic; appart from precisely the subject matter under discussion, word order in the VP, Icelandic verbal morpho-syntax (e.g., verbal agreement) has remained amazingly stable from old to modern times.

According to Rögnvaldsson (1996a:67, see also Indriðason 1987, Hróarsdóttir 1995, 1996a), OV orders were still used in Icelandic in approximately 30-50% of the sentences as late as the second half of the eighteenth century. Thus, as Rögnvaldsson (1996a:67) notes, "it seems rather unlikely that several generations of speakers using Grammar B would have continued using OV-sentences productively after reanalysis had taken place".[56] Rögnvaldsson (1996a:76) would consider it a "tough choice" if he were forced to choose either OV or VO as a base for all Old Norse sentences. Instead he assumes that Old Norse has, in fact, a variable base, i.e. two basic word orders at the same time. The 'easiest' way out of a choice between one or the other grammar is probably to choose both. On the other hand, there are many arguments against such an analysis. For instance, how should we analyze an example like:

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[55] Hungarian has also been considered to be a non-configurational language, but reconsidered by e.g., Marácz (1989) and Speas (1990).

[56] Rögnvaldsson (1996a:68, fn. 10) also points out that an OV basic order would give plausible 'explanations' for much of the rightward movement compared with Modern Icelandic, while all the leftward movement after reanalysis could not be explained just as easily.

(23) *... og muntu henni gefa moturinn að bekkjargjöf* (Laxd 1602)
... and may-you her$_{IO}$ give kerchief-the$_{DO}$ [at bench-gift]$_{ADVBL}$
'... and you may give her the kerchief as a wedding present'

If we consider this (underlyingly) an OV sentence, both the direct object *moturinn* and the adverbial *að bekkjargjöf* are supposed to be extraposed, i.e. moved to the right; this would not be an attractive assumption. If it is (underlyingly) a VO sentence, the indirect object *henni* has been moved into the middle field. Either way, one has to assume transformations. An even "tougher" choice - for typological reasons - would be to analyze the following sentence:

(24) *Þá mátt þú nú mikið lið veita Njáli* (Njála 275)
then may you now [much help]$_{DO}$ give$_{V}$ Njal$_{IO}$
'Then you may give Njal a lot of help now'

In this example, there is an indirect object to the right, while the direct object is located to the left, i.e. in the middle field. Within an OV analysis, this sentence would have to be analyzed by referring to *Heavy NP Shift*, i.e. Extraposition of the indirect object. According to Dikken (1995:195), on the other hand:

> Indirect Objects in double object constructions consistently resist undergoing Heavy NP Shift, not just in English, but in other languages as well, as the following English and Norwegian examples (from Larson 1988:sect.3.2.) show:
>
> (25) a. *I gave a book my favourite uncle from Cleveland.
> b. *Vi har lånt en bok den hyggelige gutten du kjenner.
> we have lent a book the nice boy you know

Claiming an (S)VO base structure and movement of the direct object to the left would be a much more reasonable choice. Since all Modern Scandinavian languages are clearly SVO, and since those languages also allow variants of *Object Shift*, i.e. movement of an object to the left into the middle field (see 4.3.2.4), it is most reasonable to claim that Old Norse has SVO as its one and only basic word order. If Old Norse allowed leftward movement like the Modern Scandinavian languages, there was no 'need' for two basic word orders. Furthermore, it would not be possible to determine whether the speaker actually was using the one or the other grammar in certain constructions. Typologically I also find it rather dubious that Old Norse should allow Extraposition or Heavy NP Shift of indirect objects when this is not a common phenomenon in the Germanic languages at all. Leftward movement is, on the other hand, attested both in Scandinavian and German.

Sigurðsson (1988a:33) finds the variable base analysis "rather unappealing":

> we would not be able to come up with a principled explanation of the striking

> differences of word order within the VP between Old and Modern Icelandic, nor of the fact that Icelandic has developed into a strict SVO language.

Along with Sigurðsson, the variable base analysis is also rejected by Hróarsdóttir (1996a). Hróarsdóttir chooses to adopt Kayne's (1994) anti-symmetry proposal by which all languages are claimed to be (S)VO or head-initial languages, i.e., by this approach, a double or variable base is not an alternative for theoretical reasons. Furthermore, Hróarsdóttir also states that "the data simply does not seem to demand such an analysis" (1996a:94; see also 113). Hróarsdóttir provides some promising analyses of Old(er) Icelandic overt (S)OV structures within a Minimalist framework (cf. e.g. section 4.3.2.4).

In chapter 4 and 5, I will make extensive use of data in order to show that Old Norse does not demand a double base analysis nor a non-configurational analysis. As I have discussed above, there are in addition also good arguments for rejecting the theory of a double base for typological reasons. Extrapositon of pronouns or indirect objects is, for instance, not common in the languages related to Old Norse. Leftward movement into the middle field is, on the other hand, attested in several Germanic languages. As long as one would claim that the modern Scandinavian languages have only one basic word order SVO, even though those languages also allow Object Shift, i.e leftward movement of objects (see 4.3.2.4), there should be no reason to claim that Old Norse has two basic word orders. In chapter 4, thus, I will analyze Old Norse as a 'pure' (S)VO language, meaning that all SOV surface structures are derived from SVO deep structures by leftward movement of the 'object' (i.e. a complement of the verb).

2.8 Conclusion

Rögnvaldsson (1996a:76), if forced to choose either OV or VO as a base for all Old Norse sentences, would consider this a tough choice - as a consequence he chooses both, i.e. a variable base. But on the basis of the discussion in the sections above, I will conclude here that it is most reasonable to analyze Old Norse as underlyingly SVO. This conclusion also supports the *general* opinion of Faarlund (1985a; 1990a). SVO is consistent with the intuition of most linguists who have studied Old Norse. Structures that look like 'remnants of SOV' may be explained by liberal movement rules allowing different kinds of phrases to be moved into the middle field. The choice between structures with or without such transformations seems, in most cases, to be pragmatically determined; this too is in accordance with Faarlund (1985a:367). In chapter 5, I will provide an extensive amount of data showing that accent placement seems to play an important role in the ordering of information in Old Norse. Thus, I do not assume that there are two basic word orders in Old Norse as supposed in Sigurðsson (1983) and Rögnvaldsson (1996a). Such an assumption was already rejected by Sigurðsson (1988a), and more recently by Hróarsdóttir (1996a).[57]

The discussion in this chapter has been based on a more 'traditional' view of language change, assuming that different types of basic word-order patterns may exist in different languages. Proto Germanic has commonly been considered SOV, while Ancient Nordic seemed to have been at the point of changing into SVO. Such descriptions are, of course, based on what one can observe in the surface structure of the language. Given the fact that SOV surface structure is more or less completely erased from the Modern Scandinavian grammar, Old Norse, at some point, must have reached a state of 'reanalysis', as, for instance, discussed in Sigurðsson (1988a). As Rögnvaldsson (1996a:66, fn. 9) points out: "if Kayne's (1994) anti-symmetry proposal is correct, then it follows that there never was any reanalysis". However, in the light of more modern theories, reanalysis can also be understood as a change of 'visibility' in surface structure. Thus, the (assumed) movement of complements in SVO languages is postponed until LF and is invisible in surface structure. If overt movement is due to *strong* versus *weak* features, then there might have been a period where it was difficult to determine those features, or they might have been optionally strong or weak (cf. Hróarsdóttir 1996a). In this case, one may indeed speak of unspecified parameters in Old Norse. And then one may say that reanalysis was not complete until around 1850 in Modern Icelandic (cf. Hróarsdóttir ibid.). For instance, take the phenomenon of discontinuous phrases; this and other variants of mixed word order types may give us reason to assume that there has been a period where it could have been difficult to fix the head parameter, as supposed by Rögnvaldsson (1996a). Thus, Old Norse may have looked like a mixture of SVO and SOV, and as a consequence we might have had some extent of discontinuity in phrase structure for some time, giving the impression of a non-configurational language. This phenomenon may be explained as some kind of 'speaker's confusion', that is, it might have been difficult to analyze competing structures and even worse to reach a state of fixed parameters. Thus, different/competing analyses might have caused quite liberal movement rules. However, the separate parts of discontinuous phrases are not placed at random, and they cannot appear just anywhere in the sentence either, like for instance the single words in the "free-word-order language" Warlpiri.[58] Thus, compared to languages like Warlpiri on the one hand and Modern Scandinavian on the other, Old Norse should not be considered non-configurational for the reason of discontinuous phrases. The existence of discontinuous phrases is supported by the Old Norse case and inflectional system which makes it possible to analyze the relation between the words in a sentence more or less independently of the order.[59] Modern Scandinavian allows quantifier floating and preposition stranding, but examples like (18) - (20), here repeated as (25) - (27):

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[57] Furthermore, if Kayne's (1994) universal SVO analysis is on the right track, assuming SVO as the one and only basic word order in Old Norse is definitely not very controversial.

(25) *Væta var á mikil um daginn*
wetness-N wason great-N in day
'There was much rain during the day'

(26) *Góðan eigum vér konung*
good-A own we king-A
'We have a good king'

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[58] See for instance Lødrup (1983). As Lødrup shows, many cases of discontinuity may also be explained by deletion.

[59] This is also true for Warlpiri.

(27)	*En*	*á*	*þykkir*	*mér*	*vera*	*skuggi*	*no,_kkurr*	*manninum*
	but	on	seems	me-D	be	shadow	some	the-man-D

‘But there seems to be a shadow over the man’

are impossible in Modern Scandinavian, even though the case system of, for instance, Modern Icelandic has not changed much since Old Norse.[60] Modern Icelandic has fixed parameters, and it is strictly (S)VO,[61] just like the other modern Scandinavian languages.

The main purpose of this chapter has been to discuss if it is possible or appropriate to use the term *basic word order* in the description of Old Norse. Since it has been argued within the ‘traditional’ view that Old Norse might be non-configurational (Faarlund 1990a; also 1988b, 1991, 1995a, 1995b), or that there might be two alternative basic word orders (Rögnvaldsson 1996a),[62] this was a necessary discussion before stating anything more about Old Norse syntax.[63] If Old Norse really was a non-configurational language, we would expect word order to be determined by pragmatic factors only. This is in accordance with e.g. Thompson (1978) (see also Payne 1990 and Payne 1992b), who suggested that the first typological division should be made between:

- those languages in which main clause word order primarily correlates with pragmatic factors, and

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[60] In Hróarsdóttir (1996a, 1996b) it is argued that the Modern Icelandic case system may have lost its function.

[61] Cf. also Andrews (1990:166): “Modern Icelandic is a SVO language with case marking NPs. There is considerable freedom of word order, but the basic word order is clear. There is no evidence for underlying SOV order, as there is in some Germanic languages”.

[62] Rögnvaldsson is, of course, not a representative of the ‘traditional’ view, cf. the discussion in 1.1.

[63] If one wants to commit to Kayne’s (1994) theory, on the other hand, the question of configurationality would be less interesting.

- those languages in which order primarily correlates with grammatical relations or other syntactic factors.

If Old Norse is a 'pure' SVO language (in deep structure), as I will assume, the order of the elements is first of all determined by the syntax, at least at the level of deep structure. Overt SOV structures would then be derived by movement. Since Old Norse also allows a variety of movement operations, I assume that those are determined by pragmatic factors which have to be examined further (see chapter 5). Typologically, however, I assume that Old Norse belongs to those languages in which word order primarily correlates with grammatical relations or other syntactic factors.

Before continuing the investigation of Old Norse, I will summarize the main points in this chapter:

1. Along with other linguists, I assume that it is possible to identify so-called basic word orders for the majority of the world's languages, among them Old Norse. The basic word order of Old Norse is, in my opinion, syntactically defined.
2. I assume that the basic word order of Old Norse is (S)VO; this is in accordance with most linguists who have studied Old Norse.
3. I take it that Old Norse is a configurational language.

Having discussed the basic word order of Old Norse, I will now take a short look at Old Norse grammar in general (chapter 3). The role of case and inflection may be considered important for the possibilities of word order and information structure. After this short presentation, I will discuss and suggest analyses for a variety of Old Norse syntactic structures within the theory of government and binding (chapter 4), which, finally, is extended by a more functional discussion (chapter 5).

3 Old Norse Grammar

3.1 Preliminaries

A discussion on word order and information structure would not make much sense without at least a short survey of the other grammatical features of a given language. The question of whether the language to be investigated is configurational or not (cf. chapter 2 above) may, for instance, be important to ask, because ±configurationality[1] would, of course, determine the variety of possible word order patterns and the structuring of information. After the discussion above, I consider Old Norse a **configurational** language of the **SVO** type; however, with the possibility of moving phrases into the middle field. Additionally, Old Norse may have null arguments. These phenomena are possible, among other things, because Old Norse exhibits a fairly rich system of agreement morphology as well as case morphology. Modern Icelandic is the only modern Germanic language comparable to Old Norse in this way.[2] The agreement system of Modern German, on the other hand, is relatively modest compared to Old Norse and Modern Icelandic.

The loss of agreement and case may have an effect on the variety of word order patterns in a given language, cf. the development from Old Norse to Modern Norwegian (e.g. Faarlund 1990a).[3] But word order patterns can be more restricted, even though the case and agreement system survives, cf. Modern Icelandic.

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[1] If we choose to believe that there is something like a configurationality parameter (cf. the discussion in chapter 2).

[2] However, as Hróarsdóttir (1996b) argues, the Modern Icelandic case system may have lost its function.

[3] Of course, such a development can also be explained by referring to a change from a ‘less’ configurational - or non-

I will concentrate on only a few typical features of the Old Norse inflectional system below. More thorough descriptions may be found in e.g. Andersen (1966), Ebel (1992), Faarlund (1994), Gordon (1957), Gutenbrunner (1951), Hanssen, Mundal & Skadberg (1975), Haugen (1990b, 1993), Heusler (1967), Høyland & Hellesnes (1970), Iversen (1972), Krause (1948), Larsen (1969), Munch & Unger (1847), Noreen (1923), Nygaard (1883), Ranke & Hoffmann (1988), Spurkland (1989), Valfells & Cathey (1981), Wessén (1958), Wimmer (1905) or Za_uska-Strömberg (1982).

The main purpose of this chapter is to demonstrate a selection of the rich agreement system in Old Norse. Modern Norwegian, in contrast, has lost many of these inflectional features. This indicates that a rich inflectional/agreement system also implies a certain degree of **redundancy**, i.e. some information may be expressed morphologically by several instances in a given sentence. This kind of redundancy makes, of course, a greater range of movement and deletion of arguments possible, which again may have consequences for the potential information structures of a given sentence. The chapter may also serve as a short introduction to the Old Norse language.

In the tables below, I will use the 'classical' Old Norse spelling (cf. 1.3) and not the Modern Icelandic spelling that is used in examples picked from the CD-ROM edition of the Old Norse sagas. The description of Old Norse in this chapter is pretty much in accordance with the 'traditional' view as it is found in most of the Old Norse grammars mentioned above. However, as said before, in the 'traditional' grammars, the term *subject* is reserved for nominative noun phrases only. In chapter 4, on the other hand, I will argue that this view should be revised since there are good reasons to assume that Old Norse also has non-nominative, i.e. *oblique*, subjects. In Modern Icelandic, the theory of oblique subjects has been accepted for quite a long time now (see e.g. the articles in Maling & Zaenen 1990). I will not discuss this issue in this chapter, but I will provide some comments now and then.

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configurational - language to a 'more' configurational language.

3.2 Verbal Inflection in Old Norse

Relevant features of the verbal inflectional system may be the different *verb classes* in Old Norse and their relationship to *tense, person, number*, *gender, case* (in the participle forms), *voice* and *mood*. Since the different verb classes often have different inflectional endings, we might want to take a closer look at the verbal inflection in Old Norse.

3.2.1 Verb Classes

The Old Norse verb classes can be divided into (a) **strong** verb classes, (b) **weak** verb classes, (c) a few remnants of **reduplicative** verb classes, and (d) a limited number of so-called **preterite-present** verbs.

A. Strong Verbs

As in the other Germanic languages, there are verb classes in Old Norse which express the past tense through **ablaut alternations** instead of adding a dental suffix like weak verbs do. The strong verb classes can be divided into six different ablaut series. There is no need to explain the ablaut system here (see the list of Old Norse grammars); I will just give examples of the six classes. Traditionally, strong verbs are listed in the order *infinitive* - *past tense (indicative) singular* - *past tense (ind.) plural* - *past participle.*[4]

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[4] The present singular forms regularly exhibit i-umlaut of the root vocal.

Class	Infinitive	Past tense sg.	Past tense pl.	Past participle
I	*bíta* ('bite')	*beit*	*bitu*[5]	*bitinn*[6]
II	*kjósa* ('choose')	*kaus*[7]	*kusu*	*kosinn*
III	*bresta* ('burst')	*brast*	*brustu*	*brostinn*
IV	*bera* ('bear', 'carry')	*bar*	*báru*	*borinn*
V	*gefa* ('give')	*gaf*	*gáfu*	*gefinn*
VI	*taka* ('take')	*tók*	*tóku*	*tekinn*[8]

Table 7: *Strong verb classes*

The past participle is an adjectival verb form which is also sensitive to **number**, **gender**, and **case** see below).[9] Of course, this kind of agreement provides a great extent of redundancy.

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[5] In some grammars or dictionaries, e.g. Heggstad, Hødnebø & Simensen (1975), the past tense forms are put up as **1st person** sg. and **1st person** pl.: *beit* - *bitu**m*** (the Latin model). I will use the **3rd person** in accordance with the frequency in the corpus.

[6] The presentation of the past participle may also vary in different grammars. Haugen (1993) and Spurkland (1989), for instance, use the **neuter** singular form, while others use the **masculine** sg. form of the past participle. I will use the latter variant.

[7] I will disregard dialectal variations in the verbal inflections, i.e. variants like *køra/kera; kuru/køru/keru, korinn/kørinn/kerinn*. Instead, I use one 'standard' form (see Heggstad, Hødnebø & Simensen 1975).

[8] The regular ablaut for the past participle would be an *a*, like inn *fara* - *fór* - *fóru* - *farinn* ('go'). The *e* in *tekinn* is due to the velar i-umlaut caused by the *k*.

[9] Since this form may be 'adjectival', it also has nominal features, i.e. it may appear as a predicate complement. See chapter 4.3.3.4).

B. Weak Verbs

In Old Norse, weak verbs can be divided into three or four classes, depending on what criteria one wants to use for this division. The Proto-Germanic stem suffixes were _, *ija* and _. Verbs of the *ija*-class reacted differently to the i-umlaut according to the length of their root and the presence/absence of vowels like *a* and *u*. Thus, this class may be divided into two classes: *ija* and *ja* (cf. e.g. Iversen 1972). The main characteristic of weak verbs, however, is the **dental suffix** (-*d,-ð,-t*) in the past tense forms. The traditional order of listing the weak verb forms is: *infinitive - present tense (singular) - past tense (sg.) - past participle*. Here too, some grammarians use the 1st person singular, while others use the 3rd person singular. I will use the latter variant.

Class	Infinitive	Present tense	Past tense	Past participle
_-conjugation	*kasta* ('cast')	*kastar*	*kastaði*	*kastaðr*
ija-conjugation	*telja* ('tell')	*telr*	*taldi*	*taldr*
ja-conjugation	*dœma* ('judge')	*dœmir*	*dœmdi*	*dœmdr*
_-conjugation	*spara* ('spare')	*sparir*	*sparði*	*spar(a)t*

Table 8: *Weak verb classes*

C. Reduplicative Verbs

Reduplicative verbs look more like strong verbs with vowel alternations, despite the fact that there are only two ablaut stages: infinitive and past participle vs. past tense singular and plural. On the other hand, while strong verbs consist of only one syllable in the past tense singular, reduplicative verbs had two syllables in Ancient Nordic. The second syllable was a repetition of some morphological material in the first syllable.

Reduplication is no longer an active part of the grammar in Old Norse. Due to a great extent of syncopation in the period before the stage of Old Norse (500-700 A.D.), most of the reduplicative verbs do not show the reduplicated material any more. One example of the old system may be found in class V: *róa* ('row'), past tense: ***reri***.[10] Reduplicative verbs are listed like strong verbs: *infinitive - past tense sg. - past tense pl. - past participle*.

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[10] In addition, the fifth class exhibits weak verb personal inflection.

Class	Infinitive	Past tense sg.	Past tense pl.	Past participle
I	*heita* (‘call’, ‘name’)	*hét*	*hétu*	*heitinn*
II	*auka* (‘increase’)	*jók*	*jóku*	*aukinn*
III	*falla* (‘fall’)	*fell*	*fellu*	*fallinn*
IV	*láta* (‘let’)	*lét*	*létu*	*látinn*
V	*róa* (‘row’)	*reri*	*reru*	*róinn*

Table 9: *Reduplicative verb classes*

D. Preterite-Present Verbs

Preterite-present verbs are a limited group of only ten verbs, most of them modal verbs. Their characteristic is the present tense form which looks like a strong past tense form, cf. the strong verb *bíta* (‘bite’) with the past tense *beit*, and the preterite-present verb *vita* (‘know’) with the present tense *veit*. The past tense, on the other hand, is formed by adding a dental suffix which is a characteristic of weak verbs. One can find ablaut alternations and both strong and weak personal inflections (the present tense forms are inflected like past tense strong verbs). The preterite-present verbs can be classified like strong verbs in accordance with the ablaut alternations (class II and VI are missing). Like in English, some of the verb forms may lack.[11] In a table, one will usually find both present tense singular and plural:

Class	Infinitive	Present tense sg.	Present tense pl.	Past tense sg.	Past participle
I	*vita* (‘know’)	*veit*	*vitu*	*vissi*	*vitat*
III	*kunna* (→’can’)	*kann*	*kunnu*	*kunni*	*kunnat*
IV	*skulle* (→’shall’)	*skal*	*skulu*	*skyldi*	---
V	*mega* (→’may’)	*má*	*megu*	*mátti*	---

Table 10: *Preterite-present verb classes*

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[11] The arrow refers to the corresponding English word.

3.2.2 Tense

As shown in the tables above, the Old Norse tense system has an opposition of **past** tense and **non-past** tense, i.e. present tense.

Present tense can be used to express **present** time events, **past** time events or **future** events:

Present time events:

(1) *Gísli* ***fer*** *nú* *upp* *á* *fjallið* *er* *stendur* *hjá* *bæ* *hans*
Gisli goes$_{\text{pres.}}$ now up on mountain-the which stands$_{\text{pres.}}$ at farm his

og *bindur* *sár* *sitt* (GísL 929)
and binds$_{\text{pres.}}$ wound his
‘Gisli climbs the mountain by his farm and dresses his wound’

Past time events:

(2) *Gunnar* ***fer*** *nú* *til þess* *er* *hann* *kom* *heim* (GunKe 1152)
Gunnar goes$_{\text{pres.}}$ now to this as he came$_{\text{pret.}}$ home
‘Gunnar went then until he came home’

(3) *Geitir* *fór* *til* *skips* *og* *hitti* *Þóarin* *og* ***spyrr***
Geitir went$_{\text{pret.}}$ to ship and met$_{\text{pret.}}$ Thoarin and asks$_{\text{pres.}}$

ef *hann* *ætlaði* *til* *Hofs* (Vopnf 1997)
if he intended$_{\text{pret.}}$ to Hof
‘Geitir went to the ship and met Thoarin and asked if he intended to go to Hof’

This use of present tense is also called *historical* present tense.

Future events:

(4) *... því að* *á* *morgun* ***er*** *jóladagur* *hinn* *fyrsti* (Grett 1105)
... this that on morning is$_{\text{pres.}}$ christmasday the first
‘because tomorrow is (the first) Christmas Day’

(5) *...* *til* *þess* *eg* ***kem*** *hér* *á* *morgun* (Fljót 698)
... to this I come$_{\text{pres.}}$ here on morning
‘until I come here tomorrow’

Present perfect is formed by combining a present tense form of *hafa* (‘have’) with the neuter form of the past participle of the main verb:

(6) *Það* ***hafa*** *menn* *og* ***sagt*** *að ...* (GísL 937)
this have men also said that
‘People have also said that ...’

(7) *Sjá fundur* ***hefir*** *harður* ***verið*** (LjósC 1703)
this finding has hard been
‘This meeting has been difficult’

In a few cases, the past participle may agree with the object:

(8) *Og nú hefi eg* ***sendan*** ***mann*** *af nýju suður* (Heið 1370)
and now have I sent$_{ACC}$ man$_{ACC}$ of new south
‘And I have now once more sent a man south’

In these cases, the verb *hafa* seems not to appear like a ‘pure’ auxiliary, but rather like an ‘ordinary’ transitive verb. Thus, the construction can be considered somewhat archaic.[12] On the other hand, the verb *vera* (‘be) can be used with the past participle of some intransitive (or ergative) verbs, and in these cases the participle usually agrees with the object:

(9) *Þeir sjá þá að Bersi er* ***kominn*** *á skip Þorveigar* (Korm 1478)
they see then that Bersi$_{NOM}$ is come$_{NOM}$ on ship Thorveig’s
‘They see then that Bersi had entered Thorveig’s ship’

Vera + the participle of a transitive verb usually expresses the passive (see below):

(10) *... ef Höskuldur er* ***drepinn*** (LjósC 1700)
... if Hoskuld$_{NOM}$ is killed$_{NOM}$
‘if Hoskuld has been killed’

Past perfect or *pluperfect* is formed by combining a past tense form of *hafa* or *vera* and the past participle of the main verb:

(11) *En er hann* ***hafði*** ***verið*** *einn vetur á Íslandi ...* (Egla 416)
and as he had been one winter on Island
‘And when he had stayed in Iceland for one winter ...’

(12) *Halldór* ***hafði*** ***sent*** *menn norður í Steingrímsfjörð* (Laxd 1649)
Halldor had sent men north in Steingrimsfjord
‘Halldor had sent men north to Steingrimsfjord’

And, as a curiosity, an example with agreement on the participle:

(13) Gunnar ***hafði*** ***sendan*** *mann mágum sínum* (Njála 201)
Gunnar had sent$_{ACC}$ man$_{ACC}$ brother-in-law his
‘Gunnar had a man sent to his brother-in-law’

---

[12] For instance, there are only six cases of the form *sendan* (masc. sg. acc.) in the entire corpus (two of them in poems), while there are 83 instances of the past participle *sent*.

With *vera*:

(14) *Þormóður var þá* ***kominn*** *til skipsins* (Fóstb 836)
Thormod$_{\text{NOM}}$ was then come$_{\text{NOM}}$ to ship-the
‘Thormod had by then come to the ship’

Future can be expressed by combining, for instance, the modal verb *munu* with the infinitive of the main verb:

(15) *Eg* ***mun*** *og* ***senda*** *mann í Ossabœ* (Njála 257)
I will also send man in Ossabo
‘I will also send a man to Ossabo’

Future (with some modal content) can also be expressed by combining *skulu* (→’shall’), *vilja* (→‘will/want’), *kunna* (→’can’) or *verða* (→‘become/will/shall’) with the infinitive of the main verb:

(16) *Eg* ***skal hafa*** *líf hans* (Grett 1060)
I shall have life his
‘I am going to kill him’

(17) *Um vorið segir Þorgils Ólafi að hann* ***vill fara*** *kaupferð*
in spring-the says Thorgils Olaf that he will go sales expedition

um sumarið (Flóam 737)
in sommer-the
‘In the spring time, Thorgils tells Olaf that he will go/wants to go on a sales expedition in the summer’

(18) ... *þar til er eg* ***kann*** *aftur að* ***koma*** (Kjaln 1450)
... there to as I can after to come
‘... until I can come back/until I’m coming back’

(19) ... *ella verður þú að þola harðindi og* ***verður*** *þó*
... or will you to stand hard-treatment and will still

satt að ***segja*** (Finnb 629)
true to say
‘... or you will have to stand this hard treatment and it will still be true’

Note the saying:

(20) *Svo verður að vera sem vera vill* (Svarf 1816)
so become to be as be will
‘It has to be as it has to be’

3.2.3 Person

Old Norse exhibits the following common, probably universal, three-way distinction: **first person** (the speaker), **second person** (the addressee) and **third person** (everyone and everything else), e.g.:

1st person	2nd person	3rd person
ek 'I'	*þú* 'you'	*hann, hon, þat* 'he, she, it'
vér 'we'	*(þ)ér* 'you'	*þeir, þær, þau* 'they' (masc., fem., neut.)

Table 11: *The person category in Old Norse*

In Old Norse, verb agreement is sensitive to these person features, with different types of verbs exhibiting different types of inflectional endings. The inflectional endings are added to the stem of the verb and, in the case of the weak verbs, the dental suffix, cf. the inflectional endings for the indicative:

	present tense			**past tense**	
	strong verbs, and weak verbs of the *ja*-class	weak verbs of the _-class	weak verbs of the *ija*- and the _-class	strong verbs	weak verbs
Sg. 1.	--	*a*	*i*	--	*a*
2.	*r*	*ar*	*ir*	*t*	*ir*
3.	*r*	*ar*	*ir*	--	*i*
Pl. 1.	*um*			*um*	
2.	*ið*			*uð*	
3.	*a*			*u*	

Table 12: *The personal inflection endings for the indicative in Old Norse*

E.g.:

Present tense					
	bíta 'bite'	*telja* 'tell'	*kalla* 'call'	*dœma* 'judge'	*spara* 'spare'
Sg. 1.	*bít*	*tel*	*kalla*	*dœmi*	*spari*

2.	*bítr*	*telr*	*kallar*	*dæmir*	*sparir*
3.	*bítr*	*telr*	*kallar*	*dæmir*	*sparir*
Pl. 1.	*bítum*	*teljum*[13]	*ko,_llum*[14]	*dæmum*	*spo,_rum*
2.	*bítuð*	*telið*	*kallið*	*dæmið*	*sparið*
3.	*bíta*	*telja*	*kalla*	*dæma*	*spara*

Table 13: *The personal inflection endings in the present tense indicative*

3.2.4 Number

As shown above, the verbal category is sensitive to **singular** and **plural**. The pronoun system, in addition, exhibits remnants of **dual** (see below).

3.2.5 Gender (Adjectival Inflection of the Verb)

The only verbal forms sensitive to gender are the **present participle** and the **past participle**. These are *adjectival* forms which may agree with the number, gender and case of a nominal phrase.

The ***present participle*** is formed by first adding the suffix *-and-* to the verbal stem and then adding the inflectional ending for the gender (and case), e.g. the verb *kalla* (‘call’) (divided by dashes for convenience):

Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
kall-and-i (cf.: ‘He is calling’)	*kall-and-i* (cf.: ‘She is calling’)	*kall-and-a* (cf.: ‘It is calling’)

Table 14: *The Old Norse present participle and gender agreement*

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[13] The semi vowel *j* appears before the vowels *a* and *u*, but not before *i*.

[14] The *o,_* is an u-umlaut of the short *a* (in Modern Icelandic, this umlaut appears as *ö*).

For instance:

(21) *Hann fór* ***kallandi*** *og kallaði á menn mína* (Njála 290)
he$_{\text{MASC}}$ wentcalling$_{\text{MASC}}$ and called on men mine
'He went out calling and called for my men'

The ***past participle*** is, as shown already, a little different for weak verbs and for strong verbs. Strong verbs add *-inn, -in* or *-it* to the stem, while weak verbs add *-r, -∅*(+ u-umlaut) or *-t* to the stem + the dental suffix[15], e.g. the strong verb *bíta* ('bite') and the weak verb *kalla* ('call'):

Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
bitinn (cf.: He is bitten)	*bitin* (cf.: She is bitten)	*bitit* (cf.: It is bitten)
kallaðr (cf.: He is called ...)	*ko,_lluð* (cf.: She is called ...)	*kallat* (cf.: It is called ...)

Table 15: *The Old Norse past participle and gender agreement*

The present participle and the past participle behave like ordinary adjectives, thus, they are also sensitive to number and case. A demonstration of the combination of gender and number are the following examples:

(22) ***Hann*** *var* ***kallaður Björn*** *hinn hvíti* (Dropl 349)
he$_{\text{MASC-SG}}$ was called$_{\text{MASC-SG}}$ Bjorn$_{\text{MASC-SG}}$ the white[16]
'He was called the white Bjorn ('bear')'

(23) ***Hún*** *var* ***kölluð*** ***Þorbjörg*** *digra* (Fóstb 775)
she$_{\text{FEM-SG}}$ was called$_{\text{FEM-SG}}$ Thorbjorg$_{\text{FEM-SG}}$ huge
'She was called Thorbjorg the huge one'

---

[15] Actually, there is no great difference at all. There are in fact only three inflectional endings -*r*, -∅and -*t*. Added to -*in*- and assimilated, we then get: -*inn,* -*in* and -*it.*

[16] Only the nouns themselves are tagged, but DET and ADJ, like *hinn hvíti*, also agree in number, gender and case.

(24) ***Það*** *var síðan* ***kallað*** ***Þórsnes*** (Eyrb 539)
that$_{\text{NEUT-SG}}$ was since called $_{\text{NEUT-SG}}$ Thorsnes$_{\text{NEUT-SG}}$
'Since then it has been called Thorsnes'

(25) ***Þeir*** *voru* ***kallaðir*** ***Þórörnusynir*** (Egla 396)
they$_{\text{MASC-PL}}$ were called$_{\text{MASC-PL}}$ Thororn's-sons$_{\text{MASC-PL}}$
'They were called the sons of Thororn'

(26) ***Þær*** *eru nú* ***kallaðar*** ***Bláskeggsár*** (Harð 1288)
they$_{\text{FEM-PL}}$ are now called$_{\text{FEM-PL}}$ Blaskegg's-rivers$_{\text{FEM-PL}}$
'They are now called the Blaskegg rivers'

(27) ***Þau*** ***spjót*** *voru* ***kölluð*** ***brynþvarar*** (Egla 434)
these spears$_{\text{NEUT-PL}}$ were called$_{\text{NEUT-PL}}$ coat-of-mail-borers$_{\text{NEUT-PL}}$
'These spears are called coat-of-mail-borers'

As we can see, both the subject, the past participle, and the predicate complement are marked for gender and number (and case).

The pronoun subjects in the examples above are, in fact, redundant and could easily be omitted in certain contexts.[17] From a syntactical point of view, this is no problem in a language like Old Norse. On the other hand, it is not really common to omit any phrase in this particular construction. An example might be:

(28) Lengt var nafn hans og var kallaður Þorgrímur ***prúði*** (Vígl 1960)
lengthened was name his and was [_] called$_{\text{MASC-NOM}}$ Thorgrim$_{\text{MASC-NOM}}$ pride$_{\text{MASC-NOM}}$
'His name was lengthened and he was called Thorgrim the gallant'

Of course, *Þorgrímur* could be considered the subject instead of the predicate complement which could be represented by the adjective *prúði* alone. On the other hand, a construction like this, with the subject following the past participle, would not be common in Old Norse, and the most obvious explanation would therefore be that the unstressed pronoun *hann* ('he'), which probably would not even have moved into the topic position, is omitted.

Another interesting example in this matter is the relative-clause-like construction (underlined) below. The relevant words are tagged for gender and case:

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[17] By using pronouns, the subjects are, of course, already marked for some degree of redundancy.

(29) *Helgi gaf Bessa uxa tvo, fimm vetra gamla, gráir*
Helgi gave Bessi oxes two, five winters old, grey

báðir, og stóðhest rauðan og var kallaður
both, and brood horse$_{\text{MASC-ACC}}$ red$_{\text{MASC-ACC}}$ and was called$_{\text{MASC-NOM}}$

Heiðarauður og með merar þrjár (Fljót 700)
Moor-red$_{\text{MASC-NOM}}$ and with mares three
'Helgi gave Bessi two five year old oxen, which were both grey, and a brood horse, which was called Moor-red, together with three mares'

As an ordinary relative clause, e.g.:

(30) *... er var kallaður Heiðarauður,*
'... which was called Moor-red'

This example would be unproblematic. With the conjunction *og* ('and'), on the other hand, one gets an inserted main clause lacking a surface subject. The gender *masculine* provides enough morphological information to identify the omitted subject.[18] The only possible alternative candidate would be *Bessa*$_{\text{MASC-DAT}}$, but this interpretation would be rather unlikely.

Thus, gender agreement, together, with other morphological features, may be considered of great importance for the structuring of information in Old Norse.

3.2.6 Case (Adjectival Inflection of the Verb)

The inflectional endings for case, all genders, and for both numbers are in fact the same as the endings for ordinary adjectives:[19]

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[18] In accordance with Huang's (1984) ***Generalized Control Rule***: Coindex an empty pronominal with the closest nominal element.

[19] The forms with no inflectional ending (-∅) exhibit u-umlaut; besides, u-umlaut is regularly caused by the ending

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-u-

	Present participle			**Past participle**					
	M.	**F.**	**N.**	**M.**		**F.**		**N.**	
				strong	**weak**	**strong**	**weak**	**strong**	**weak**
Sg. NOM	*i*	*i*	*a*	*inn*	*r*	*in*	*-∅*	*it*	*t*
ACC	*a*	*i*	*a*	*inn*	*an*	*ina*	*a*	*it*	*t*
GEN	*a*	*i*	*a*	*ins*	*s*	*innar*	*rar*	*ins*	*s*
DAT	*a*	*i*	*a*	*inum*	*um*	*inni*	*ri*	*inu*	*u*
Pl. NOM	*i*	*i*	*i*	*inir*	*ir*	*inar*	*ar*	*in*	*-∅*
ACC	*i*	*i*	*i*	*ina*	*a*	*inar*	*ar*	*in*	*-∅*
GEN	*i*	*i*	*i*	*inna*	*ra*	*inna*	*ra*	*inna*	*ra*
DAT	*um*	*um*	*um*	*inum*	*um*	*inum*	*um*	*inum*	*um*

Table 16: *The Old Norse present and past participle and case agreement*

E.g.:

(31) ... *sjaldan vegur* ***sofandi*** ***maður*** *sigur* (Vopn 2003)
... seldom wins sleeping$_{\text{NOM}}$ man$_{\text{NOM}}$ victory
'... a sleeping man seldom gains the victory'

(32) ... *og ger ekki það fordæðuverk að drepa* ***sofanda*** ***mann*** (Vígl 1982)
... and do not that misdeed to kill sleeping$_{\text{ACC}}$ man$_{\text{ACC}}$
'... and do not commit the misdeed to kill a sleeping man'

Other examples, regarding the past participle, were given during the discussion of gender in the previous section.

Now, let us briefly return to passive/predicate complement constructions like the ones discussed in the section above. Usually, the past participle agrees with the subject, cf. (22)-(27), in number, gender, and case, e.g.:

(33) ... *að* ***hann*** *var* ***drepinn*** (Grett 960)
... that he$_{\text{MASC-SG}}$ was killed$_{\text{MASC-SG}}$
'... that he was killed'

(34) ... *ef* ***þeir*** *eru* ***drepnir*** (Njála 232)
... if they$_{\text{MASC-PL}}$ are killed$_{\text{MASC-PL}}$
'... if they are killed'

(35) ... *og voru* ***þau*** ***drepin*** *bæði* (ÞorSH 2061)
... and were they$_{\text{NEUT-PL}}$ killed$_{\text{NEUT-PL}}$ both$_{\text{NEUT-PL}}$
'... and they were both killed'

In this case, the participle can be analyzed as a subject predicate. The same applies when the participle has status as object predicate, as in:

(36) *... og finnur* ***þá*** *við Þingvað* ***drepna*** *og hulda með*
... and finds them$_{\text{ACC-PL}}$ at Thingvad killed$_{\text{ACC-PL}}$ and hidden$_{\text{ACC-PL}}$ with

viðum (Reykd 1745)
wood
'... and finds them at Thingvad, killed and hidden with wood'

Used as an ordinary past participle (i.e. as a non-adjectival form), that means, with no nominal phrase to agree with, the verb is marked neuter:

(37) *Og hefir Björn nú* ***drepið*** *þrjá menn fyrir Þórði* (BjHít 102)
and has Bjorn now killed$_{\text{NEUT}}$ three men$_{\text{MASC}}$ for Thord
'and Bjorn has now killed three men for Thord'

Otherwise, as mentioned, the past participle agrees with the subject. This is also true when there is an NP subject predicate, as shown in for instance (25), here repeated as (38) (only the relevant morphological information is tagged):

(38) ***Þeir*** *voru* ***kallaðir*** *Þórörnusynir* (Egla 396)
they$_{\text{MASC-PL}}$ were called$_{\text{MASC-PL}}$ Thororn's-sons$_{\text{MASC-PL}}$
'They were called the sons of Thororn'

On the other hand, there are a number of examples that do not adhere to this system:

(39) *Þaðan hljóp hann með reykinum í gróf nokkura og hvíldi*
from-there ran he with smoke-the in hollow$_{\text{FEM-DAT}}$some$_{\text{FEM-DAT}}$ and rested

sig og er ***það*** *síðan kölluð Káragróf* (Njála 282)
himself and is that$_{\text{NEU-NOM}}$ since called$_{\text{FEM-NOM}}$ Kari's-grof$_{\text{FEM-NOM}}$
'He ran from there with the smoke in some hollow and rested; and since then, this (hollow) was called Kari's hollow'

(40) *En* ***það*** *voru kölluð launvíg en eigi morð ...* (GíslS 864)
and that$_{\text{NEUT-SG}}$ were$_{\text{PL}}$ called$_{\text{NEUT-PL}}$ assassination$_{\text{NEU-PL}}$ and not murder$_{\text{NEUT-PL}}$ ...
'And these incidents would be called assassinations and not murders ...'

(41) ***Þetta*** *er kölluð Einarsvarða síðan* (Hrafn 1400)
this$_{\text{NEUT}}$ is called$_{\text{FEM}}$ Einar's-cairn$_{\text{FEM}}$ since
'Since then, this (cairn) was called Einar's cairn'

In the examples (39) - (41), neither the past participle nor the predicate complement agrees with the subject (bold face) in gender, or number, cf. (40). The only stable feature seems to be the case, which is nominative for all relevant phrases in these examples. Thus, the subject appears to be less 'important' in these clauses, not only from an information structural standpoint, but also from a syntactical/morphological standpoint. The past participle agrees with the closest noun phrase,[20] which would also be the closest phrase from a logical point of view, cf. the ‘SOV’ variant:

(42)	*Hún*	*var*	***Þórdís***	***kölluð*** (Vatn 1860)
	she	was	Thordis	called

‘She was called Thordis’

Cf. also:

(43) *This is Thordis* vs. *This woman is (called) Thordis*

There are not many constructions without agreement between subject and past participle + predicative complement. Just for argument’s sake, one might claim that this is an early occurrence of the expletive *þat/það* (‘that’), cf. e.g. Modern Norwegian:[21]

(44)	***Det***	*blei*	*kalla*	*på*	*kelnaren*
	it$_{EXPL}$	was	called	on	waiter-the

‘The waiter was called’

However, Old Norse has no expletive subject; thus, either there is no overt phrase at all (a), or the *það* is referential (b):

(45)	a.	*Var*	*þá*	*kallað*	*að*	*Íslendingar*	*skyldu*	*taka*	*skip*	*sitt* (Flóam 771)
		was [_]	then	called	that	Icelanders	should	tak	ship	their

‘It was then said that the Icelanders should take their ship’

b.	***Það***	*var*	*kallað*	*að*	*hún*	*væri*	*vel*	*mennt* (Fljót 680)
	that$_i$	was	called	[that	she	be	well	brought up]$_i$

‘It was said that she was well brought up’

But, if *það* has reference, it is a ‘real’ subject. *Þetta* in (41), for instance, must have reference. Besides, as mentioned before, Old Norse is assumed not to have a dummy subject. The oldest unequivocal examples of an expletive subject are, according to Rögnvaldsson (1996a:81, fn. 21), found in stories that were translated from English around 1500. As late as in 1920, Icelandic grammarians meant that the expletive *það* should be avoided (e.g. Smári 1920:19; see also the discussion in Hróarsdóttir 1995, 1996a). Nevertheless, even though the expletive is still relatively rare in Modern Icelandic written prose, it is quite frequent in the spoken language (see Rögnvaldsson 1996a:81, 1995:24). Thus, it is imaginable (not very likely though) that there could have been an expletive *þat* in spoken Old Norse long before 1500, while 'trained' writers were trying to avoid it.

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[20] Note the similarity to Faarlund’s finding about reflexivization: “reflexivization works more or less mechanically, reflexives having as their antecedent the most immediately preceding NP” (Faarlund 1980:68).

[21] The *þat/það* is, of course, not an expletive - see below.

Compare (40) repeated as (46) with a Modern German translation (47):[22]

(46) *En það voru kölluð launvíg en eigi morð ...* (GíslS 864)
and that$_{NEU\text{-}SG}$ were$_{PL}$ called$_{NEU\text{-}PL}$ assassinations$_{NEU\text{-}PL}$ and not murders$_{NEU\text{-}PL}$ ...
'And these incidents would be called assassination(s) and not murder(s) ...'

(47) **Und es wurden Meuchelmorde und nicht Morde genannt ...*
and it$_{(SG)}$ were$_{PL}$ assassinations$_{PL}$ and not murders$_{PL}$ called ...

A sentence like this is, of course, ungrammatical. But if we add a regular subject in addition to the dummy *es*, we get:

(48) *Und es wurden diese Taten Meuchelmorde und nicht Morde*
and it$_{(SG)}$ were$_{PL}$ [these incidents]$_{PL}$ assassinations$_{PL}$ and not murders$_{PL}$

genannt ...
called ...
'And these incidents would be called assassination(s) and not murder(s) ...'

Thus, we can imagine that the 'real' subject may be omitted.[23] Another example that might be pointing in the direction of a dummy subject may be:

(49) *Þar er nú kallaðr Orustuhólmur* (Korm 1480)
there$_{ADV}$ is now called$_{MASC}$ Battle-holm$_{MASC}$
'This place is now called Battle holm'

The adverb *þar* is used as a dummy subject in, for instance, Modern Norwegian dialects (cf. English *there*). Thus, even if *þar* does not function as a dummy in this particular example, examples like this might at least be the *model* for the use of dummy subjects.[24] Anyway, there is no ‘proper’ subject in this example.

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[22] In Modern German, the past participle does not agree with a nominal phrase.

[23] In fact, in the example (40/46) *það* can also be said to refer directly to the following relative clause:

(i) *Og voru það þá kölluð launvíg en eigi morð* [*er menn létu vopn eftir í beninni standa*],

but *það* would still be singular while the verb is plural. Another explanation to this particular case would be to claim that the *það* is a somehow neutral placeholder, in the unmarked form 3rd p. sg. (Faarlund 1980:66). Without concrete content it might not trigger verb agreement in this case. Anyway, it would be a good starting point for an expletive.

Interestingly, there is a variant of (46) in another edition of *Gísla saga Súrssonar*, as seen in (50):

(50)	*Og*	*voru*	***það***	*þá*	*kölluð*	*launvíg*	*en*	*eigi*
	and	were$_{\text{PL}}$	that$_{\text{NEU-SG}}$	then$_{\text{NEU-PL}}$	called	assassinations$_{\text{NEU-PL}}$	and	not

morð (GísL 918)
murders$_{\text{NEU-PL}}$
‘And these incidents would be called assassination(s) and not murder(s) ...’

Here the *það* appears in the ordinary subject position which is not possible for the expletive *það* in Modern Icelandic (see chapter 4). It would also be difficult to interpret *þetta* (‘this’) in (41), here repeated as (51), as an expletive:

(51)	***Þetta***	*er*	*kölluð*	*Einarsvarða*	*síðan* (Hrafn 1400)
	this$_{\text{NEU}}$	is	called$_{\text{FEM}}$	Einar’s-cairn$_{\text{FEM}}$	since

‘Since then, this (cairn) is called Einar’s cairn’

The discussion about a possible expletive may seem somewhat far-fetched in this context. However, the lack of agreement is interesting. On the other hand, many languages may use a neutral form, e.g. *það/þetta* (neuter sg.), to refer to a feminine or masculine noun phrase. Such use of the neuter demonstrative is, for instance, discussed in Leira (1992) for Modern Norwegian:

> Men det som anaforisk pronomen viser ikke bare til substantiv i nøytrum. Det kan referere til infinitiver, ‘at’-setninger, adjektiv, og i det hele tatt til hvilken som helst størrelse som gjennom et pro-ord skal gjøre tjeneste som nominalledd. (Leira 1992:24)
> ‘But *det* as an anaphoric pronoun does not only point to neuter nouns. *Det* may refer to infinitives, *that*-clauses, adjectives, and generally to whatever entity that, through a pro-word, shall serve as a nominal phrase’.

A Modern Norwegian example would be the following:

(52)	*en*	*båt!*	*...*	*Det*	*er*	*politibåten* (Leira 1992:25)
	a	boat!	...	It	is	police boat-the

Leira (1992:25) notes that the anaphoric use of *det* is possible in combination with verbs like *be* or *become*, i.e. there is an identificational relation. An example like (39), repeated here as (53a), would, on the other hand, be somewhat odd in Modern Norwegian (53b):

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[24] Cf. Faarlund (1990a:70ff.).

(53) a. *Þaðan hljóp hann með reykinum í gróf nokkura og hvíldi*
from-there ran he with smoke-the in hollow$_{\text{FEM-DAT}}$some$_{\text{FEM-DAT}}$ and rested

sig og er ***það*** *síðan kölluð Káragróf* (Njála 282)
himself and is that$_{\text{NEU-NOM}}$ ever-since called$_{\text{FEM-NOM}}$ Kari's-hollow$_{\text{FEM-NOM}}$
'He ran from there with the smoke into some hollow and rested; and ever since then, this (hollow) was called Kari's hollow'

b. *#Derfrå sprang han med røyken til ei grøft*
from-threre ran he with smoke-the to a hollow$_{\text{FEM}}$

og kvilte seg, og det vert sidan kalla Kåregrøft(a)
and rested himself, and that$_{\text{NEUT}}$ is ever-since called Kåreditch-(the)$_{\text{FEM}}$

In this particular context, one should probably repeat the noun, e.g.:

(54) *... og (den) grøfta vert sidan kalla Kåregrøft(a)*
... and [(that) hollow-the] is ever-since called Kari's-hollow

Otherwise, one should use the personal pronoun (or possibly the demonstrative *den*):[25]

(55) *... og ho / (den) vert sidan kalla Kåregrøft(a)*
... and she$_{\text{FEM}}$ / (it$_{\text{FEM}}$) is ever-since called Kari's-hollow(-the)$_{\text{FEM}}$

The expletive may only appear together with a locative expression, e.g.

(56) *Det vart sidan kalla Kåregrøft(-a) der*
it was ever-since called Kari's-hollow(-the) there

In this case, *det* is not referential, and *Kåregrøft* denotes the place as a whole and not the hollow itself. In any case, Old Norse does not have an (overt) expletive subject (see the discussion in chapter 4.6 and elsewhere in chapter 4).

3.2.7 Voice

In Old Norse, one can distinguish between **active**, **passive**, and **mediopassive** (middle) constructions; the mediopassive is very close to **reflexive** constructions (see also chapter 4.3.3.1 and 4.3.3.3).

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[25] The Modern Norwegian demonstrative *den* denotes both masculine and feminine referents, e.g. ***den*** *mannen* ('the man'), ***den*** *kvinna* ('the woman'), versus ***det*** *treet* ('the tree').

The Active-Passive Correlation

The distinction between *active* and *passive* in Old Norse is not unproblematic and has been the subject for discussion for quite a long time (see first of all the discussion between Dyvik 1980 and Benediktsson 1980; see also e.g. Barðdal 1997; Barnes 1968; Faarlund 1988b; Halbe 1963; Haugan 1998c; Kristoffersen 1994; Rindal 1997a/b; Rögnvaldsson 1995:15f.). I have already discussed examples with the verbs *kalla* ('call') and *drepa* ('kill'). Consider some more examples:

(57) ... *og gaf eg honum það er þú kallar rænt* (HávÍs 1328)
... and gave I him that what you call stolen
'and I gave him that what you would call stolen'

This is an *active* sentence: in the relative clause, there are an Agent/nominative subject *þú* and a (raised) patient/accusative object *það* located in the matrix clause. A passive sentence can be formed with the past participle of the main verb, which is *kalla*, and the auxiliary *vera* ('be') or *verða* ('become'); the 'passive' of a sentence with *kalla* is usually formed with the auxiliary *vera*. Making our example look a little more neat:

(58) *þú kallar það rænt*
you$_{\text{SUBJ-NOM}}$ call that$_{\text{OBJ-ACC}}$ stolen

we expect a passive variant of this sentence to look somewhat like the following example:[26]

(59) *það er kallað rænt (af þér)*
this$_{\text{SUBJ-NOM}}$ is called stolen (by you)

The accusative *object* of the active sentence is expected to appear as the nominative *subject* of the corresponding passive sentence.[27] The *subject* of the active sentence can be omitted, or it can be expressed by an adverbial (Agent) phrase. I consider the use of an Agent phrase in the passive an option, even though it is scarcely used in Old Norse (see also the discussion on passive in chapter 4.3.3.1). The main purpose of passive constructions may be to focus more on the situation of the Patient and less on the 'logical' subject; therefore, the Agent phrase is usually omitted (at least in Old Norse). In fact, there are remarkably few examples of Agent phrases in Old Norse passive sentences compared to modern Germanic languages.

It is not very difficult to find a sentence which looks like the passive construction we expect, e.g.:

---

[26] The nominative and the accusative of *það* have the same form.

[27] Objects with lexical case, i.e. dative, genitive or lexical accusative, preserve their case even when they are promoted to subject; they become so-called *oblique* subjects. See the discussion in chapter 4.3.3.

(60) ... *en skip það var kallað Íslendingur* (Svarf 1797)
... and ship that was called Icelander
'... and that ship was called Icelander'

Consider also two more examples with *drepa* ('kill'):

(61) a. *Hann drepur Svart þegar í stað* (Flóam 745)
he kills Svart immediately in place
'He kills Svart at once'

b. *Þengill bróður ykkar er drepinn* (Krók 1523)
[Thengil brother your]$_{\text{NOM-MASC-SG}}$ is killed$_{\text{NOM-MASC-SG}}$
'Your brother Thengil has been killed'

Sentences like these look convincingly like active-passive correlations. On the other hand, when looking back at all the examples with *kalla* ('call'), we note that the predicate complement acts like the past participle with regard to agreement with the subject. The past participle is inflected just like an ordinary adjective, thus, a sentence like (61b) looks not very different from sentences like the following:

(62) *Hann var sterkur að afli* (Egla 415)
he$_{\text{NOM-MASC-SG}}$ was strong$_{\text{NOM-MASC-SG}}$ at strength
'He was strong'

(63) *Hann var ríkur maðr* (HallM 1194)
he$_{\text{NOM-MASC-SG}}$ was [rich man]$_{\text{NOM-MASC-SG}}$
'He was a rich man'

Thus, it may be argued that:

> konstruksjoner med 'vera/verða' + perfektum partisipp må analyseres som vanlige predikativkonstruksjoner. [...] Dermed later ikke gammelnorsk til å ha noen kategori 'passiv'; bare noen konstruksjoner som i visse sammenhenger kan brukes som passive motstykker til andre konstruksjoner. (Dyvik 1980:105f.)
>
> 'constructions with *vera/verða* + past participle must be analyzed as regular predicate complement constructions. [...] Thus, Old Norse does not appear to have a *passiv* category; only a few constructions which in certain cases can be used as passive oppositions to other constructions.'

See Benediktsson (1980) for some good arguments against Dyvik's view.

Somewhat interesting is, at least, the great number of **stative** passive constructions in Old Norse. Dyvik (1980:25f) points out that the dynamic copula *verða* ('become') replaces the stative copula *vera* ('be') at a later stage in the same constructions. The verb *verða* is otherwise primarily used with a **future** content. Most examples with, for instance, *drepinn* ('killed') are with *vera*, but there are also two examples (from the same text) with *verða* in the corpus:[28]

(64) *Þórir í Garði spyr nú hvar Grettir er niður kominn*
Thorir in Yard asks now where Grettir is down come

og vildi setja til eitthvert ráð að hann ***yrði*** *drepinn* (Grett 1040)
and will set to any means that he became killed
'Thorir Yard asks now where Grettir has come down and wants to take any steps to get him killed'

(65) *Setti Þórður nú mörg ráð til að Grettir* ***yrði*** *á burt komið*
sets Thord now many means to that Grettir became a-way come

eða drepinn ella (Grett 1047)
or killed else
'Thord take now many steps to make Grettir go away or otherwise get him killed'

In both examples, *verða* is used in the subjunctive and with a future and modal content. But both examples have also moved further away from the stative-like construction *vera drepinn* ('be killed'). Note that the constructions *Grettir er niður kominn* and *Grettir yrði á burt komið*, with the adverbs, differ from regular adjectival constructions (predicate complements) where we do not find this use of adverbs. Additionally, the past participle in (65), *komið*, does not agree with the subject, and thus cannot be an adjective.

There were only two single examples with *verða* and the past participle *drepinn*. Thus, normally the construction seems to be *vera drepinn*, which may seem **stative** in most cases. On the other hand, the same construction may seem **dynamic** in other contexts. Thus, there is actually no need for two different verbs to express the two different relations, as demonstrated by the following examples:

(66) *Var Þorkell leiddur út og drepinn* (Laxd 1618)
was Thorkel led out and killed
'Thorkel was led out and killed'

(67) *Þar var hann drepinn og grófu hann þar* (Flóam 772)
there was he killed and buried [they] him there
'He was/got killed there and they burried him at the same place'

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[28] The form *yrði* is past subjunctive.

(68) ... *og heitir þar síðan Valafall er hann var drepinn* (Korm 1494)
... and is-named there since Valafall where he was killed
'And the place where he was/got killed is called Valafall since then'

(69) *En ef ... þá munt þú drepinn vera her á landi* (Njála 209)
and if ... then will you killed be here on land
'And if ... then you will be/get killed in this country'

(70) ... *og vil eg bjóða þér að lifa ef þú vilt,*
... and will I offer you to live if you will,

svo gerðir þú við mig, ella vera drepinn (Hrafn 1415)
so do you with me, or be killed
'... and I will let you live if you want to, in this case you do as I tell you to, or be/get killed'

(71) *Þá stökk Þorgeir norður á Strandir og var þar drepinn* (Harð 1288)
then ran Thorgeir north on Strand and was there killed
'Then Thorgeir ran away north to Strand and was/got killed there'

(72) *Veglágur fór upp á Skotland og gerðist þar mikill*
Veglag went up on Scotland and became there much

þjófur og var þar drepinn um síðir (Fóstb 807)
thief and was there killed at last
'Veglag went up to Scotland and there he became a great thief and was/got killed in the end'

(73) ... *og muntu annaðhvort ger sekur eða drepinn* (VaLjó 1828)
... and will-you one-of-two done lawless or killed
'... and you will either be/get (sentenced) lawless or killed'

In the last example (73), we observe the use of the past participle of the verb *gera* ('do') with the adjective *sekur*; this definitely presupposes an Agent. While *sekur* is an adjective beyond any doubt, *drepinn* does not necessarily have to be considered an adjective. The form *ger* belongs to *sekur* alone; *vera* belonging to both *ger* and *drepinn* is omitted (omitting the *vera* (the infinitive) is quite common in Old Norse).[29] Thus, the sentence would look like the following:

(74) *... og muntu annaðhvort* [*vera ger sekur*] *eða* [*vera drepinn*]

The connection to an Agent is also clear in:

(75) ... *að hann mundi drepa jarlinn þó að hann væri þegar drepinn* (HallÓ 1250)
... that he would kill earl-the though that he was just killed
'... that he would kill the jarl even though he just might have been killed'

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[29] Cf. Nygaard (1905:25): "Infinitiv af *vera* udelades ofte etter *skulu, munu, mega*, samt i akk. med inf. [...] og i passive infinitivsformer". ('Infinitive of *vera* is often omitted after *skulu, munu, mega*, plus A.C.I. and in passive infinitive forms'). See also Nygaard (1878:266).

(76) *Og er hann kom að naustdyrunum leggur Refur spjótinu í gegnum*
and as he comes at boat-house doors lays Ref spear in through

hann. Þorsteinn kallar í því og mælti: ”[...] en eg
him. Thorstein calls in this and says: “[...] and I$_{\text{NOM-SG-(MASC)}}$

er lagður í gegnum.” (Krók 1523)
am layed$_{\text{NOM-SG-MASC}}$ in through.”
‘And when he comes to the doors of the boat-house, Ref puts his spear through him. Thorstein shouts then and says: “... and I am hit / bored through”’

And finally an example with an expressed Agent:

(77) Þá var hann beðinn af vinum sínum að staðfestast
then was he$_{\text{NOM-SG-MASC}}$ begged$_{\text{NOM-SG-MASC}}$ [of friends his]$_{\text{AGENT}}$ to settle

hér (BandK 27)
here
‘Then his friends asked him to settle down here’

The examples above should make it clear that there is some kind of relation between sentences with Agent roles expressed as subjects and corresponding sentences where the Agent role is not expressed at all, or where it is expressed as a *by*-phrase, i.e. an adjunct. This relation may be called an **active-passive relation**. According to Faarlund (1988b) this relation is of a lexical kind rather than a transformational kind. The transformational part of the active-passive relation will be discussed in chapter 4, especially 4.3.3.1.

Reflexive Verb Forms and the Medio Passive

In addition to the personal pronouns, Old Norse has a reflexive pronoun with an accusative, genitive, and dative form. The same three variants are used in both singular, dual and plural: *sik/sig* (ACC), *sín* (GEN) *sér* (DAT), e.g.:

(78) Hann ... tekur ofan hjálm og setur á höfuð ***sér*** *og sverð*
he ... takes from-above helmet and sets on head his and sword

í hönd ***sér,*** *setur skjöld fyrir* **sig** (Fljót 704)
in hand his, sets shield before himself
‘He takes a helmet from above and puts it on his head and takes a sword in his hand, and he places a shield in front of himself’

(79) *Hún bar* ***sig*** *þá lítt og grét allsárt* (Grett 1052)
she went-on herself then little and cried all-sorely
‘Then she went on a little and cried painfully’

(80) ***Þá signdu þau*** ***sig*** *og sveininn* (Njála 281)
then signed they themselves and boy-the
'Then they made the sign of the cross over themselves and the boy'

(81) *Björgólfur kallar til* ***sín*** *Högna bónda* (Egla 374)
Bjorgolf calls to him Hogni farmer
'Bjorgolf calls for farmer Hogni'

The subject, i.e. the antecedent, can be also omitted:

(82) *Hvíldu* [_] ***sig*** *þar og eyki* ***sína*** (Egla 487)
rested$_{PL}$ [they] themselves there and horses their
'They and their horses took a rest there'

The reflexive pronoun may even appear before its 'antecedent':[30]

(83) *Þrem mörkum silfurs skal* ***sig*** *af hólmi leysa* ***sá*** *er sár*
three marks silver's shall him$_i$ of holm loosen he$_i$ that sore

verður eða óvígur (Svarf 1790)
becomes or unfit
'Anybody that gets wounded or unfit for fight has to pay three marks of silver to be redeemed from single combat'

Old Norse also exhibits separate 'reflexive' verb forms; verb forms which came into being by cliticization of the personal pronoun *mik*, reduced to *-mk* and the reflexive pronoun *sik*, reduced to *-sk.*[31] Thus, a verb like *kalla* may have its own inflection as a reflexive *kallask*, for instance in the present and past tense indicative:

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[30] Cf. also:

(i) *Pictures of himself*$_i$ *don't bother John*$_i$. (Belletti & Rizzi 1988), quoted from Kuno & Takami (1993:155).

In the Old Norse example, the dative NP *þrem mörkum silfurs* has to be analyzed as an instrumental adverbial and not as the subject, i.e. not: *Three marks of silver shall redeem him who ...*, but: ***With*** *three marks of silver he who ... shall be redeemed ...* The subject is the phrase located to the right: *sá er sár verður eða óvígur*. Note that the right (dis-)located subject is rather complex. The 'normal' position of the subject is right in front of the reflexive *sig*. Thus, the Old Norse example is different from the English example (i) where *himself* is part of the subject, while the referential 'antecedent' follows the reflexive. In the Old Norse example, there is a 'potential' position before the reflexive, i.e. at least in deep structure the antecedent precedes the reflexive.

[31] Later *-sk* changed to *-st* or *-s*, e.g., *kallast* and *kallas* (Modern Icelandic only *-st*). A description of the historical development of st-verbs can be found in Anderson (1990:236ff.); see also, e.g. Noreen (1923:367ff.) or Nygaard (1905:154f.).

		Present tense	Past tense
Sg.	**1.**	*ko,_llumk*	*ko,_lluðumk*
	2.	*kallask*	*kallaðisk*
	3.	*kallask*	*kallaðisk*
Pl.	**1.**	*ko,_llumsk*	*ko,_lluðumsk*
	2.	*kallizk*[32]	*ko,_lluðuzk*
	3.	*kallask*	*ko,_lluðusk*

Table 17: *The inflection of Old Norse reflexive verbs*

Reflexive verb forms like these may have different functions, for instance, a **reflexive**, **reciprocal**, **inchoative** or **passive** and **medio passive** function, e.g.:

- **Reflexive** (the verbal action is pointed at the subject itself):

(84) *Þorbjörn klæðist nú skjótt og mælti ...* (Krók 1516)
Thorbjörn dressed-himself now quickly and said ...
'Thorbjörn got dressed quickly and said ...'

- **Reciprocal** (two or more persons or things have an effect on each other):

(85) *Og er þeir mættust þá mælti Gunnlaugur ...* (Gunnl 1190)
and when they met-each-other then said Gunnlaug ...
'And when they met Gunnlaug said ...'

- **Inchoative** (the subject is turning into another condition):

(86) *... því að hann mæddist mjög fyrir aldurs sakir* (Svarf 1815)
... because that he got-tired much for age's sake
'... because he got very tired because of his age'

- **Passive** (the subject is affected from outside and has a clearly objective role):

(87) *Á þessum þímum byggðist allur Breiðafjörður* (Eyrb 540)
on these times was-built all Breidafjord
'At this time the whole Breidafjord was built'

- **Medio passive** (the subject is both agentive and objective):

(88) *Einar bróðir hans lagðist niður og sofnaði* (LjósC 1692)
Einar, his brother, laid down and fell-asleep
'His brother Einar lay down and fell asleep'

Some 'technical' aspects of reflexive verb forms are discussed in chapter 4.3.3.3.

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[32] The letter *z* stands for a dental + *s*. The dental is in this case *ð*.

3.2.8 Mood

The Old Norse modal system consists of **indicative** (declarative), **subjunctive** and **imperative**.

A. Indicative

The indicative may be called the ‘unmarked’ mood; it is used first of all to express what the speaker himself believes in, or remains neutral to, the assertion, i.e. the indicative is usually used for factual situations:

(89) *Það* ***var*** *norðanveður mikið* (Eyrb 611)
that was northern-weather much
‘There was a strong north wind’

B. Subjunctive

The subjunctive is mainly used in two semantically different ways. The first use indicates the speaker’s opinion of the assertion, if it for instance might be imaginable, possible or likely (usually called ***potential subjunctive***). The second use is to express the speaker’s interest in the effect of the assertion. This applies to illocutions such as wishes, requests, invitations, commands, demands (usually called ***optative subjunctive***). Thus, the subjunctive in general is used for non-factual situations.

- **Potential**:

(90) *Það var sagt að þú* ***kynnir*** *ekki að hræðast* (Svarf 1790)
this is said that you could not to be-frightened
‘It is said about you that you cannot be frightened’

(91) *... og spurði Hallfreður hver hann* ***væri*** (HallMV 1208)
... and asked Hallfred who he was
‘and Hallfred asked him who he was’

(92) *“Ekki er það mín ætlan,” sagði hann, “að svo* ***sé****.”* (Gunnl 1167)
not is that my opinion, said he, that so be
‘I don’t think that it is like that’

- **Optative:**

(93) *Eigi vildi hann að hún* ***færi*** *til fundarins* (Harð 1287)
not wanted he that she went to meeting
‘He did not want her to go to the meeting’

(94) *Vildi eg að vér* ***tækjum*** *upp leika og* ***væri*** *nú svo vel með*
will I that we took up games and be now so well with

oss *sem* *þá* *er* *best* *hefir* *verið* (GíslS 866)
us as then when best have been
‘I want us to resume the games and I wish it would be as good between us as when it was at its best’

However, the distinction between potential and optative subjuntive is not always obvious:

(95) *“Það* ***væri*** *nú* *karlmannlegt,”* *segir* *hann,* *“að* *þú* ***réðist*** *fyrstur*
that be now manly, says he, that you ride first

upp *kleifarnar* *að* *Gísla* *og* *mundi* *þess* *lengi* *getið* *ef* *þú*
up hills at Gisli and would this long told [be] if you

yrði *skaðamaður* *hans ...”* (GísL 950)
were harm-man his
‘That would have been manly, he says, if you were the first to ride up the hills to Gisli, and that will be told about for a long time if you were Gisli’s killer’

This is, of course, an imagined, i.e. unreal, situation. Thus, we may call this use of the subjunctive *potential*, although it is also clear that the speaker wants the listener to do as proposed, which we usually refer to as *optative*.

C. Imperative

Old Norse, unlike e.g. Modern English, has specific grammatical verb forms for the imperative. The different verb classes sometimes exhibit different endings in the singular, while the plural is the same for all verbs:

	strong verbs and weak *ja*-verbs	**weak _*n*-verbs**	**weak *ija*-verbs**	**weak _-verbs**
2nd pers. sg.	-	*a*	-	*i*/-
1st pers. pl./dualis **2nd pers. pl./dualis**	*um* *ið*			

Table 18: *The Old Norse imperative endings*

In Modern Scandinavian, the subject is normally omitted in imperative sentences, e.g. Modern Norwegian:

(96) *Gå* [-].
‘Go!’

The subject may be expressed, but normally this would be to indicate *contrast*. Thus, an imperative sentence with a surface subject is normally considered marked in Modern Norwegian:

(97) *Gå* **DU**! (**EG** *har noko anna å gjere.*)
‘**YOU** go! (**I** have something else to do.)’

On the other hand, in Old Norse, imperative sentences with a surface subject are rather normal without implying emphasis/contrast (see e.g. Nygaard 1905:8ff.):

(98) *Gakk* ***þú*** *út frændi!* (LjósA 1732)[33]
go you out friend
‘Go out, kinsman’

(99) *Gangið* ***þér*** *með mér* (Njála 226)
go you with me
‘(You) go with me!’

(100) *Göngum* ***vér*** *nú heim* (Njála 273)
go we now home
‘Let us go home now!’

And, as a curiosity, some examples with the dual:

(101) *Gangið* ***þið*** *á fund hans* (Hrafn 1404)
go you-two on find his
‘(The two of you,) go and find him!’

(102) *Göngum* ***við*** *nú fyrir konung* (Njála 127)
go we-two now for king
‘Let us (two) step before the king!’

Nygaard (1905:8) states:

> Ved imperativ udelades ofte subjekt af 2den pers. ent. og flertal og fordetmeste subjekt af 1ste pers. flertal. Det gjør i regelen ingen forskel, om subjektet tilføies eller ikke, men skal personen særlig udhæves, sættes alltid pronomenet.
> ‘In imperative sentences, a subject of the 2nd person sg. and pl., and in most case of the 1st person pl., is often omitted. Normally, there is no difference if the subject is added or not, but when a person is to have special emphasis, the pronoun is always used.’

There is no doubt that the subject (pronoun) is usually unstressed, because of the tendency to cliticize it. Compare the (a)-variants to the (b)-variants without cliticization; *þ* is reduced to *ð*:

(103) a. *seg**ðu** svo konungi að ...* (Egla 372)
say-you so king that ...
‘Then tell the king that ...’

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[33] The verb form *gakk* is an assimilated form of *gang*.

b. *Seg* ***þú*** *honum* *að ...* (GunKV 1146)
say you him that ...
'Tell him that ...'

(104) a. *Haf**ðu** þetta nú ...* (GísL 946)
have-you this now
'Take this now ...'

b. *... haf* ***þú*** *nú allt saman ...* (LjósC 1681)
... have you now all together
'... you may take everything now ...'

Omitting the subject (pronoun) may perhaps be analyzed as a deletion of the same kind as other Old Norse empty argument constructions (cf. 4.6). Thus, imperative sentences with surface subjects are perhaps not formalized/grammaticalized in the same way in Old Norse as they are in Modern Scandinavian.

The imperative may not only express a command but also a request or a wish. Thus, the imperative may often be used with the same function as the subjunctive:

(105) *ver þú var um þig* (Njála 172)
be you aware of you
'be careful (about yourself)'

(106) *ver þú hvers mann níðingur ef þú þorir eigi* (Egla 445)
be you every man coward if you dare not
'you are a coward if you do not dare to'

(107) *haf þú mikla þökk fyrir* (Vopn 2002)
have you much thanks for
'I will thank you for that'

(108) *Kom heill og sæll frændi* (Njála 260)
come whole and happy friend
'Welcome, kinsman'

This will do as an outline of the most important features of the verbal inflection. I have also demonstrated elements of the adjectival inflection and will now take a short look at the nominal inflection system.

3.3 Nominal inflection in Old Norse

The nominal inflection is of major importance to the investigation of word order and information structure in Old Norse. The advanced case system, compared to, for instance, Modern English, or the Modern Mainland Scandinavian languages, allows different word order patterns that would still lead to unequivocal sentences, e.g.:

(109) a. *Maðrinn* *drap* *hestinn*
man-the$_{\text{NOM-SUBJ}}$ killed horse-the$_{\text{ACC-OBJ}}$

b. *Hestinn* *drap* *maðrinn*
horse-the$_{\text{ACC-OBJ}}$ killed man-the$_{\text{NOM-SUBJ}}$

Both sentences express the same semantic relation and there is no need to have recourse to, for instance, intonation to justify an object in the topic position for the reason of ambiguity. In the Modern Norwegian sentence:

(110) *Mannen* *drap* *hesten*
man-the killed horse-the

the default interpretation would be: *mannen* = subject and *hesten* = object. Under certain conditions, on the other hand, this sentence may express the relation of the *unmarked* word order:

(111) *Hesten* *drap* *mannen*
horse-the$_{\text{SUBJ}}$ killed man-the$_{\text{OBJ}}$

That means, in (110) *mannen* may very well be considered the object which is topicalized in order to get a special pragmatical effect like, for instance, **contrast**. Thus, a sentence like this is, in principle, ambiguous in many languages without case marking, e.g. in Modern Norwegian. But since a sentence is normally part of a broader context, this is usually not a problem.

3.3.1 Gender and stems

As shown above, the Old Norse gender category consists of the **masculine**, the **feminine**, and the **neuter**, e.g.

Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
bátr 'boat'	*dáð* 'deed'	*land* 'land'

Table 19: *The Old Norse gender category: nouns*

As we have seen, the gender of the subject determines the gender inflection of the past participle in predicate complement construction. Thus, gender is an inherent category for nouns, while participles, adjectives and determiners are inflected in accordance with a noun.

Within the gender categories, Old Norse nouns can be divided into different stem classes, each stem class exhibiting its own case endings. Consider e.g. the masculine paradigm:[34]

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[34] Such a division is usually based on the Ancient Nordic stem endings which have mostly disappeared in Old Norse.

Masculine					
	a-stem	**i-stem**	**u-stem**	**an-stem**	**consonant-stem**
Sg. NOM	*bátr*	*gestr*	*bo,_llr*	*tími*	*fótr*
ACC	*bát*	*gest*	*bo,_ll*	*tíma*	*fót*
GEN	*báts*	*gests*	*ballar*	*tíma*	*fótar*
DAT	*báti*	*gest*	*belli*	*tíma*	*fœti*
Pl. NOM	*bátar*	*gestir*	*bellir*	*tímar*	*fœtr*
ACC	*báta*	*gesti*	*bo,_llu*	*tíma*	*fœtr*
GEN	*báta*	*gesta*	*balla*	*tíma*	*fóta*
DAT	*bátum*	*gestum*	*bo,_llum*	*tímum*	*fótum*
	‘boat’	‘guest’	‘ball’	‘time’	‘foot’

Table 20: *Old Norse masculine noun stems*

Likewise, feminine and neuter nouns may have different case inflection endings. The table of the masculine stems shall do as an illustration.

3.3.2 Number

As we have seen, Old Norse nouns have a **singular** and a **plural** form, e.g.:

	Masculine	**Feminine**	**Neuter**
Sg.	*bátr* ‘boat’	*dáð* ‘deed’	*land* ‘land’
Pl.	*bátar* ‘boats’	*dáðir* ‘deeds’	*lo,_nd* ‘lands’

Table 21: *The Old Norse number category: nouns*

In addition to the common system of singular and plural, the Old Norse pronoun system, also exhibits **dual** forms (cf. the examples in the section on imperative):

Singular	**Dual**	**Plural**
ek ‘I’	*vit* ‘both of us’	*vér* ‘we’
þú ‘you’	*(þ)it* ‘the two of you’	*(þ)ér* ‘you’

Table 22: *The number category in Old Norse*

3.3.3 Case

As shown under Gender and Stems, the different noun classes exhibit a variety of inflectional case endings in the **nominative**, **accusative**, **genitive** and **dative** singular and plural. These four cases descend from a larger number of Indo-European cases.

A. Dative

Especially the Old Norse dative case seems to demonstrate a combination of several functions of older cases. Thus, the **dative** may be used as:

- **original dative** (benefactive - referring to the recipient of an action):

(112) ... *og gefur Gísli* ***honum*** *kníf og belti* (GíslS 885)
... and gives Gisli him$_{\mathrm{DAT}}$ knife and belt
'... and Gisli gives him a knife and a belt'

- **instrumental** (referring to the instrument used in an action):

(113) ... *og ber hana* ***grjóti*** *í hel* (GíslS 872)
... and beat her stone$_{\mathrm{DAT}}$ in Hell
'... and beats her to death with a stone'

- **ablative** (referring to the source of a movement):

(114) ... *að Hánefur hefir stolið frá honum* ***geldingunum*** (Reykd 1739)
... that Hanef has stolen from him castrated-horses-the$_{\mathrm{DAT}}$
'... that Hanef has stolen the castrated stallions from him'

- **locative** (referring to the place in, on or at which an action takes place):

(115) Guðmundur segir: "Það skal og vera" og settist ***öðrum***
Gudmund says: "That shall also be" and sat [other

megin (LjósA 1732)
side]$_{\mathrm{DAT}}$
'Gudmund says: "So shall also be", and sat down on the other side'

Locative dative also includes the 'place' in time:

(116) ... *að þau Helgi og Droplaug og Þorgils hefðu lengi*
... that they Helgi and Droplaug and Thorgils had long

talað ***einum degi*** (Dropl 354)
told [one day]$_{\mathrm{DAT}}$
'... that Helgi, Droplaug and Thorgils had talked to each other for a long time one day'

B. Accusative

The **accusative** case is the typical case for the so-called ‘direct’ object, but the accusative may have other functions, such as the following:

- **direct object** (patient/theme):

(117) *Þar finnur Ólafur* ***spjót sitt*** (Laxd 1570)
there finds Olaf [spear his]$_{ACC}$
‘There Olaf finds his spear”

- **measure** (in a few cases):

(118) *Hreinninn, er var* ***tvau rúm ok tuttugu*** (Iversen 1972:132)
Hreinn-the who was [two rooms and twenty]$_{ACC}$
‘(The ship) Hreinn that had twenty-two rooms’

The same construction can also be found with the dative:

(119) (*skipit*) *var 30* ***rúmum*** (Heggstad, Hødnebø & Simensen 1975:349)
(ship-the) was thirty rooms$_{DAT}$
‘The ship had thirty rooms’

- **local function** (together with verbs describing movement to express the way, the place or the direction):

(120) *... en hann fór* ***landveg*** *í Þrándheimi* (Egla 392)
... and he went land-way$_{ACC}$ in Trondheim
‘... and he went over land to Trondheim’

- **temporal function**:

(121) *Hann hafði verið* ***langan tíma*** *vinur Ólafs pá* (Laxd 1619)
he had been [long time]$_{ACC}$ friend Olaf Pa
‘He had been the friend of Olaf Pa/Peacock for a long time’

C. Genitive

Likewise, the **genitive** case has a number of different functions, the most important being the following:

- **possessive genitive**:

(122) *... að þar mundi vera Þorgerður dóttir* ***Egils*** (Laxd 1568)
... that there would be Thorgerd daughter Egil’s$_{GEN}$
‘... that Thorgerd, Egil’s daughter, would be there’

Other types may be:

- **partitive genitive**:

(123) *Einn* ***þeirra*** *hét Böðvar* (Fóstb 820)
one of-them$_{GEN}$ was-called Bödvar
‘The name of one of them was Bödvar’

- **objective genitive**:

(124) ... *og heldu þeir vestur um hafá vit* ***frænda***
... and held they west over sea on visit [friend

Bjarnar (Eyrb 538)
Björn]$_{\text{GEN}}$
'... and they went west across the sea to visit their relative Björn'

- **genitive specifying the kind**:

(125) *Eg hefi hér þrjár merkur* ***silfurs*** (Svarf 1818)
I have here three marks silver$_{\text{GEN}}$
'I have here three marks of silver'

- **genitive of description**:

(126) ... *því að Þórður er* ***mikils háttar*** *maður* (Þórð 2014)
... this that Thord is [much condition]$_{\text{GEN}}$ man
'because Thord is a man with many qualities'

- **genitive of definition**:

(127) ... *og svo að gerast* ***konungs*** *maður* (Egla 372)
... and so to become king's$_{\text{GEN}}$ man
'... to become a king's-man'

D. Nominative

The **nominative** case is primarily the case of the subject and the subject predicate.[35] Further examples should not be necessary. Nominative is furthermore also used corresponding to the **vocative** of, for instance, Latin:[36]

(128) *Þá situr þú,* ***Hermundur,*** *höfðingi mikill* (BandK 41)
then sit you, Hermund$_{\text{NOM}}$, chief great
'Sit down then, Hermund, great chief'

The nominative case can also be called the 'neutral' case, applying every time there is no element triggering another (lexical) case. Such 'elements', triggering oblique cases like accusative, genitive and dative, may be **prepositions**:

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[35] In most cases, the subject is in the nominative. However, the subject may also be in an oblique case. To avoid the problem one could say: The nominative is first of all the case of an agentive/performative subject and possibly its predicate complement. See the discussion in 4.2 and elsewhere in chapter 4.

[36] Note that the case of the subject and the person addressed (vocative) are not necessarily the same. The Old Norse 'vocative' is always nominative, while the subject may have an oblique case, eg.:

(i) *Hvað hefir þig dreymt frændi?* (Njála 197)
What$_{\text{(ACC-OBJ)}}$ has you$_{\text{SUBJ-ACC}}$ dreamt, friend$_{\text{VOC/NOM}}$

(See also the previous footnote).

(129) *Þangað fóru þeir* ***um*** *þing með allt sitt* (Harð 1280)
there went they [at thing$_{\text{ACC}}$]$_{\text{PP}}$ with all theirs
'There they went about the time of the thing/assembly with all their belongings'

(130) *Eg vil ríða* ***til*** *þings* (Njála 132)
I will ride [to thing$_{\text{GEN}}$]$_{\text{PP}}$
'I will ride to the thing'

(131) *Síðan ríða menn heim* ***af*** *þingi* (Njála 135)
since ride men home [off thing$_{\text{DAT}}$]$_{\text{PP}}$
'Later, the men ride home from the thing'

Case can also be triggered by **adjectives**:

(132) *Eg er nú átján vetra* ***gamall*** (Finnb 644)
I am now [eighteen winters]$_{\text{GEN}}$ old
'I am eighteen years old now'

(133) *Þórður var nokkuð* ***líkur*** *Gísla í ferðinni* (GísL 928)
Thord was somewhat alike Gisli$_{\text{DAT}}$ in behavior-the
'Thord behaved a little bit like Gisli'

Thus, case can be triggered by **a) function**, corresponding to separate cases in other languages, **b) prepositions**, and **c) adjectives**; other important case triggers, are of course, **d) verbs**. I will take a look at case triggered by verbs in connection with *valency*.

3.4 Valency

While, for instance, function or a preposition may subcategorize one argument/case, Old Norse verbs may be ***avalant*** (without any argument), ***monovalent*** (subcategorizing one argument), ***bivalent*** (two arguments), or even ***trivalent*** (three arguments):

A. Avalent:

(134) *Síðan* ***haustaði*** *og gaf þeim eigi byr* (LjósC 1709)
Since became-autumn and gave them not fair wind
'Then autumn came and they got no fair wind'

B. Monovalent:

With a **nominative** subject (intransitive):

(135) ***Gísli*** *gengur með honum* (GíslS 868)
'Gisli$_{\text{NOM}}$ goes with him'

With an **accusative** argument and no nominative argument:[37]

(136) *Bárður sagði að* ***hann*** *þyrsti mjög* (Egla 419)
Bard said that him$_{ACC}$ "thirsted" much
'Bard said that he was very thirsty'

With a **dative** argument and no nominative argument:[38]

(137) *Líkar* ***honum*** *nú vel* (BandM 18)
likes him$_{DAT}$ now well
'He feels well now'

The verb *líka*, and other monovalent verbs with oblique case, can also be bivalent:

(138) ***Honum*** *líkar* ***þetta*** *illa* (Flóam 761)[39]
him$_{DAT}$ likes this$_{NOM}$ ill
'He does not like this'

C. Bivalent:

With a **nominative** (subject) and an **accusative** object (transitive):

(139) *Síðan drap* ***hann þrælinn*** (Flóam 763)
since killed he$_{NOM}$ slave-the$_{ACC}$
'Later, he killed the slave'

---

[37] In 'tradional' descriptions, this is a so-called 'subjectless' construction. However, in chapter 4, the accusative argument will be analyzed as the subject.

[38] Cf. the previous footnote. Here, the dative would be the oblique subject in a generative description, cf. chapter 4.

[39] According to the analysis in chapter 4, the dative would still be the subject while the nominative argument is analyzed as an object.

With a **nominative** (subject) and a **dative** object:

(140) ***Hallfreður*** *hélt og* ***skipi sínu*** *til Niðaróss* (HallÓ 1231)
Hallfred$_{NOM}$ held also [ship his]$_{DAT}$ to Nidaros
'Hallfred also directed his ship to Nidaros'

With a **nominative** (subject) and a **genitive** object:

(141) ***Bessi Hávarsson*** *bað* ***hennar*** *og var hún honum gefin* (Dropl 348)
[Bessi Havar's-son]$_{NOM}$ begged hers$_{GEN}$ and was she him given
'Bessi Havarsson asked for her hand, and she was given to him'

In fact, there is also the possibility of **two accusative** arguments and no nominative:

(142) *... því að* ***oss*** *vantar* ***einn mann*** (HávÍs 1328)
... this that us$_{ACC}$ wants [one man]$_{ACC}$
'because we are lacking one man'

Moreover, a verb may subcategorize an **accusative** and a **genitive** argument and no nominative:

(143) *Eða* ***hvers*** *minnir* ***þig*** *um hversu mælt var með okkur?* (Laxd 1636)
or what$_{GEN}$ reminds you$_{ACC}$ about how said was with us?
'Or how do you remember our conversation?'

D. Trivalent:

With a **nominative** (subject) and an **accusative** and another **accusative** object:

(144) *... en* ***Hallfreður*** *hjó* ***hann banahögg*** (HallMV 1210)
... and Hallfred$_{NOM}$ hewed him$_{ACC}$ death stroke$_{ACC}$
'... and Hallfred gave him the death stroke'

With a **nominative** (subject) and an **accusative** and a **dative** object ('direct' and 'indirect' object):

(145) *... og gefur* ***Gísli honum kníf*** *og belti* (GíslS 885)
... and gives Gisli$_{NOM}$ him$_{DAT}$ [knife$_{ACC}$ and belt$_{ACC}$]$_{ACC}$
'... and Gisli gives him a knife and a belt'

There is also the possibility of having the relation 'thing' in the **dative** and the personal object in the **accusative**:

(146) *Leynt hefir* ***hann þessu alla menn*** (Laxd 1575)
hidden has he$_{NOM}$ this$_{DAT}$ [all men]$_{ACC}$
'He has not told this to anybody'

With a **nominative** (subject) and an **accusative** and a **genitive** object:

(147) Nú biður ***Vésteinn Gísla leyfis*** *að fara*
now begs Vestein$_{NOM}$ Gisli$_{ACC}$ allowance$_{GEN}$ to go

að hitta hann (GísL 911)
to find him
'Now Vestein asks Gisli's permission to go and find him'

With a **nominative** (subject) and an **dative** and a **genitive** object:

(148) ***Mér*** *léði* ***Leifur*** ***húsanna*** (GrænS 1107)
me$_{DAT}$ lent Leif$_{NOM}$ houses-the$_{GEN}$
'Leif lent me the houses'

In addition to case marked arguments, verbs may also have **clausal arguments**:

(149) *Þorkell biður hana* ***á brott fara*** (GísL 913)
Thorkel begs her [on way go]
'Thorkel asks her to go away'

(150) *Hann ætlar* ***að vísa oss á illmennu þessi*** (Flóam 756)
he intends [to show us on illmanthis]
'He intends to lead us to this evil man'

(151) ... *ef Þórarinn vill* ***að þú farir*** (Grett 999)
... if Thorarin will [that you go]
'... if Thorarin wants you to go'

Thus, the valency of Old Norse verbs appears to be quite interesting. And, of course, a trivalent verb may be more interesting than a bivalent one because of the greater potential variation in information structure (surface argument distribution). On the other hand, an avalent verb might be interesting in other ways. I will now investigate Old Norse within a generative framework. In particular, I will discuss the definition of the subject in Old Norse. The subject definition has crucial implications for the analysis of Old Norse word order and information structure.

4 A Generative Approach to Old Norse

4.1 Preliminaries

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss and suggest analyses of Old Norse syntax based on theta theory and a generative point of view. It will be shown that the majority of Old Norse word order patterns fits rather well into binary branching tree structures with positionally defined subjects and objects, this being a strong argument against the seemingly rather ’obstinate’ theory of non-configurationality in Old Norse discussed in chapter 2 (cf. Faarlund 1990a and elsewhere). The discussion will also show that the Old Norse subject should not be defined as being a nominative NP[1] only, since such a subject definition based on Case alone is much too restrictive and would, among other things, lead to a misunderstanding/misinterpreting of Old Norse subject properties compared to, for instance, Modern Norwegian subject properties (cf. Faarlund 1990a). Old Norse overt subjects may, in fact, be structural nominatives or lexical datives, genitives or accusatives.[2]

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[1] The term N[oun]P[phrase] will mostly be used in a wide sense in this chapter, disregarding the discussion whether NPs are actually D[eterminer]P[hrase]s (cf. e.g. Delsing 1993). NP and DP may be used alternately. The distinction between NP and DP is only important when discussing the internal structure of the NP/DP, e.g. in 4.3.3.3.

[2] This is in clear opposition to the claim that “only accusative objects can be subjects in passive sentences” (Faarlund 1990a:150); the same claim is made in Hanssen, Mundal & Skadberg (1975:150). See also the discussions against oblique subjects in Old Norse/Old Scandinavian in Kristoffersen (1991, 1994, 1996), Mørck (1992, 1994, 1995), and Sundman (1985). The notion of oblique subjects has, by the way, been generally accepted for Modern Icelandic since Andrews (1990 [=1976]) and Þráinsson (1979). See also Sigurðsson (1992a) for a thorough discussion. Arguments

In connection with this observation, it will be clear that objects may receive nominative Case.[3] Consequently, this means that grammatical functions like subject and object must be kept apart from Case properties (cf. also Sigurðsson 1993:275).

This chapter is also meant to be a basis for a discussion on Old Norse information structure, defining the available positions for arguments and non-arguments in D-structure and surface syntax. I intend to show that certain Old Norse word order patterns (like e.g. *Subject Shift/Subject in situ* - see below) are highly determined by topicality/non-topicality or definiteness/indefinitess. Topics like this will be further investigated in chapter 5.

In this chapter, I will furthermore present an alternative analysis of structures traditionally considered 'remnants of SOV' (cf. the discussion in chapter 2). Those structures are in fact, as I will show, more reasonably analyzed as derived by *Scrambling*, i.e. movement of VP-internal

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for oblique subjects in Old Norse can be found in e.g. Bernódusson (1982), Rögnvaldsson (1991, 1996c) or Barðdal (1997).

[3] This claim, too, is not compatible with the 'traditional' view on Old Norse syntax as described in 1.1.

material to the left (movement to Spec-CP is *Topicalization* and not *Scrambling*).[4] All the modern Scandinavian languages exhibit some variant of *Object Shift*, i.e. leftward movement of the object, which I consider a more restricted variant of *Scrambling* (cf. e.g. Corver & Riemsdijk 1994b).[5] I will use the term Scrambling in its ‘original’ (Ross 1967) wide sense stating that two adjacent constituents can be permuted if they are clause-mates. Some linguists (e.g. Vikner 1994) would like to distinguish between *Scrambling* and *Object Shift*, among other things, on the basis of different A/A´-properties. Object Shift is assumed to be movement to a Case position, while Scrambling (in the narrow sense) is assumed to be movement to a caseless position. Other linguists (e.g. Browning & Karimi 1994) talk about different *types* of Scrambling, *Object Shift* being one type, whereas, for instance, *clause initial Scrambling* and *long distance Scrambling* are other types. In chapter 5, I will provide functional explanations for some of the observed ‘scrambled’ word orders in Old Norse. Hence, the descriptive cover term *Scrambling*, which could be interpreted as ‘alternative non-basic word order’, will be sufficient in a discussion on Old Norse word order varieties.[6] I will discuss the possible distinction between Object Shift and Scrambling in the more restricted sense (i.e. A- versus A´-movement) further in section 4.3.2.4. Among other things, one would in many cases like to distinguish the modern Scandinavian languages with Object Shift from languages like, for instance, Old Norse and Modern German, i.e. languages that allow several Scrambling phenomena. Here, I will just mention that since all the modern Scandinavian languages exhibit some kind of object movement that seems to be movement to a Case position (Object Shift), and since there apparently is a difference between languages with Scrambling in the narrow sense, i.e. with several types of Scrambling phenomena (roughly the Germanic SOV languages),[7] and languages with Object Shift only (roughly the Germanic SVO languages, except English), Old Norse has seemingly been reanalyzed at some stage. That means, the Scrambling phenomena observed in Old Norse got restricted to Object Shift only (see e.g. the approach in Hróarsdóttir 1996a). It is, on the other hand, not very easy to investigate whether Old Norse has movement to a Case position in addition to movement to a caseless position since we lack negative data typical for a 'living' language (cf. the discussion in 4.1.3 below). My intuition is that Old Norse has different kinds of Scrambling phenomena.[8] Nevertheless, the investigation in chapter 5 shows that most Scrambling structures in Old Norse can be explained by functional arguments. Those arguments are based on the view that a certain base structure can be 'broken up' (scrambled) in Old Norse in order to be accommodated to functional/pragmatic demands/desires (which is structurally more restricted in Modern Scandinavian). This view also presupposes the existence of a functional/pragmatic language module with more or less independent rules and restrictions, which, however, has to obey syntactic rules and restrictions.

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[4] Such a ‘movement analysis’ has also been proposed by e.g. Sigurðsson (1988a) and Hróarsdóttir (1996a).

[5] See, for instance, also Fanselow (1990:113):

> Within generative grammar, there are two main traditions concerning the status of free word and constituent order phenomena. On the one hand, it has been proposed that even free word order languages have a strictly ordered base structure, plus a rule of “scrambling” permuting elements of a clause [reference to Ross (1967) and Williams (1984)]. The other mainstream assumes that free order is a phenomenon already present at base structures.

According to this view, Object Shift, if analyzed as movement, is a Scrambling phenomenon, i.e. a certain *kind* of Scrambling. Object Shift in Modern Scandinavian is by most linguists analyzed as object *movement*, i.e. Scrambling, rather than base generation (see e.g. Holmberg & Platzack 1995 or Vikner 1994). If one accepts a movement analysis of Object Shift in Modern Scandinavian, one should also accept a movement analysis of other Scrambling phenomena in Old Norse.

[6] Note that this view on Scrambling, i.e. defined as derivation of an alternative non-basic word order (first of all regarding VP-internal arguments and adjuncts), is incompatible with a double base hypothesis (cf. e.g. Rögnvaldsson 1996a). If a language is able to base generate alternative word orders, the term Scrambling would be meaningless since Scrambling implies breaking up / reordering a certain existing order. When there is no order in the fist place, nothing can be scrambled. However, one could, of course, imagine that it would be possible to scramble something that not necessarily has a certain established order. For instance, one can ‘scramble’ (shuffle) playing-cards, even though the cards have been shuffled several times before. Still, every instance of shuffling/scrambling is related to a certain previous order, even though this previous order may have been established accidentally.

As discussed in chapter 2.2, it has been suggested that the first typological division between languages should be made between:

- those languages in which main clause word order primarily correlates with pragmatic factors, and
- those languages in which order primarily correlates with grammatical relations or other

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[7] SOV languages in a 'traditional' sense.

[8] Note also that most linguists concerned with Scrambling find that Scrambling exhibits 'mixed' binding properties with regard to the A/A′-dichotomy (e.g. Webelhuth 1989, Mahajan 1990, Deprez 1994, and other contributions in Corver & Riemsdijk 1994b). That means either that typical Scrambling languages exhibit Object Shift in addition to other types of Scrambling, or that Scrambling is a phenomenon different from Object Shift, however sharing some of the properties of Object Shift. The latter situation would be much more difficult to investigate.

syntactic factors.

Given a double base hypothesis, or even a non-configurational approach to Old Norse word order, one would have to assume that Old Norse word order primarily correlates with pragmatic factors. According to the view advocated in this thesis, on the other hand, Old Norse word order primarily correlates with grammatical relations and other syntactic factors. However, compared to the modern Scandinavian languages Old Norse surface syntax allows a greater structural variety of accommodation to pragmatic demands or desires.

One purpose of this chapter is to give a picture of Old Norse argument structure and representation in syntax in order to be able to say something interesting about Old Norse information structure in chapter 5. The present chapter, then, is mainly concerned with *possible* syntax, while the next chapter is interested in *actual* syntax, even though both chapters will have to deal with both components. In the discussion below, it will be shown that Old Norse - despite the great word order variation - should be reckoned among those languages in which order **primarily** correlates with **grammatical relations or other syntactic factors**. **Secondarily**, of course, Old Norse syntax allows some **pragmatically motivated structures** that are not possible in the modern Scandinavian languages. On the other hand, Old Norse appears also to have structures that are not necessarily pragmatically motivated, e.g. Stylistic-Fronting constructions, which are also found in Modern Icelandic (see the discussion in 4.7).

However, as mentioned previously, we must always bear in mind that we are dealing with a so-called ‘dead’ language (cf. the discussions in 1.3 and 4.1.3). Hence, we will always have to assume that there might be possible syntactic structures that we will never know about because they do not exist in the written corpus. Furthermore, all statements about *possible* syntax in this chapter are, in fact, based on *actual* syntax, i.e. we will have to assume that the syntactic structures in the corpus - at least the major part of them - were grammatical at the time they were generated - an assumption that may appear to be questionable in certain cases.[9] Nevertheless, this is usually the way historical linguistics works.[10] The linguist, then, has to try to generalize from the actual data.

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[9] Another aspect of this problem is the lack of negative data. See the discussion in 4.1.3.

[10] For a general discussion on historical data, see e.g. Lass (1997, chapter 2).

One task - or challenge - of this chapter is to try to explain all of the six different structures shown in chapter 2, example (5), i.e. every possible order of two objects and the main verb (repeated here):

(1) a. V- IO - DO: *... þá skal eg sjálfur veita þeim lið* (Njála 269)
... then shall I myself give$_{V}$ them$_{IO}$ help$_{DO}$
'... then I shall help them myself'

b. V- DO - IO: *... að eg skal hvergi í móti þér vera og*
... that I shall neither in opposition you be and

eigi veita lið óvinum þínum (Njála 266)
not give$_{V}$ help$_{DO}$ enemies$_{IO}$ your
'that I shall neither be against you nor help your enemies'

c. IO - V - DO: *Gengur Ásbjörn mót þeim og ... og lætur*
goes Asbjorn towards them and ... and let

þeim veita hjálpir (Finnb 632)
them$_{IO}$ give$_{V}$ help$_{DO}$
'Asbjorn goes in their direction and ... and ordered to help them'

d. DO - V - IO: *Þá mátt þú nú mikið lið veita Njáli* (Njála 275)
then may you now [much help]$_{DO}$ give$_{V}$ Njal$_{IO}$
'Then you may give Njal a lot of help now'

e. IO - DO - V: *Svo þykir mér sem Þorsteinn vilji þér lið veita* (Ölkof 2074)
so seems me that Thorstein will you$_{IO}$ help$_{DO}$ give$_{V}$
'It seems to me that Thorstein will help you'

f. DO - IO - V: *Viltu nokkurt liðsinni okkur veita?* (Hrafn 1404)
Will-you [some help]$_{DO}$ us$_{IO}$ give$_{V}$
'Will you give us some help?'

The general assumption is that all of these examples represent possible, i.e. *grammatical*, word order patterns in Old Norse. In this chapter, then, I will show that one does not need to - and really should not - claim non-configurationality because of the observed syntactic variation in Old Norse; nor should it be necessary to operate with *different* alternative basic word orders to account for the empirical facts. But before making any suggestions for analyses of these six sentences and other constructions in Old Norse, I will discuss some aspects of the syntactic model used in this chapter.

4.1.1 Generative Grammar[11]

Describing or explaining syntactic phenomena in Old Norse can, of course, be done in several ways. One reason why I choose to use generative syntax in this chapter is because syntactic trees are usually able to describe relations between words (in phrases, clauses or sentences) more accurately than, for instance, Diderichsen's sentence scheme (cf. chapter 2) Furthermore, a generative tree structure usually also implies statements about an underlying deep structure. Hence it is possible to show where a moved element (in the surface structure) belonged *before* the movement (in the deep structure). Consider e.g. some examples with an adverbial phrase:

(2) a. *Þeir Snorri riðu heim* ***um daginn eftir*** (Eyrb 590)
they Snorri rode home [on day-the after]$_{ADVBL}$
'Snorri and the others rode home the day after'

b. *En* ***um daginn eftir*** *riðu þeir í Holt* (Njála 325)
and [on day-the after]$_i$ rode they in Holt _$_i$
'And the day after, they rode to Holt'

In (2b) the 'trace' of the moved element is indicated by an empty position _ and an index *i*. If one puts (2b) in a very simplified tree structure:

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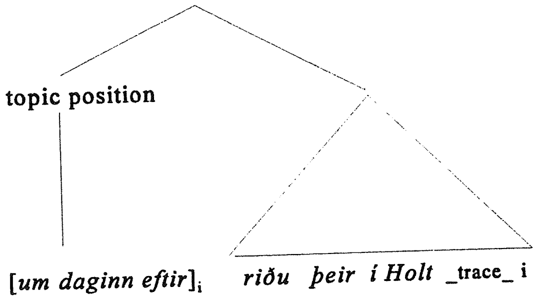
[11] **I assume that the reader has some general knowledge of 'traditional' generative grammar (GB theory), i.e. Chomsky (1981) and later work. Therefore, X-bar-theory in general will not be explained, and terms like CP, IP, VP etc. are considered familiar. The most recent version of GB theory, the so-called *Minimalist Program* (e.g. Chomsky 1992, 1993, 1995), will not be taken very much into consideration in this thesis (cf. 1.1).**

(3)



it becomes clear that the adverbial *um daginn eftir* is assumed to have moved from a position at the end of the clause to a position at the beginning of the clause. This can, of course, also be shown in (2b). However, in a generative tree structure, the base position of the adverbial is *defined* inside the tree relative to the other constituents of the clause. Thus, it is clear that it cannot be base-generated in the beginning of the clause. Furthermore (2b), as opposed to (3), makes no statements about the relation between the constituents in the clause.

While it is relatively obvious that the adverbial phrase has moved to another position in surface syntax in (2b) (for those who accept movement theory in general),[12] it is less clear that the verb and the subject are supposed to have moved, too. Consider a more complex, although still simplified, tree structure:[13]

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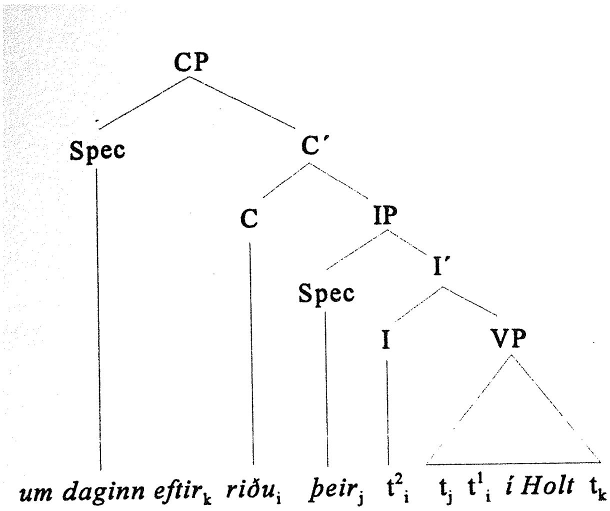
[12] See e.g. the general discussion on movement approaches versus base generation approaches in Corver & Riemsdijk (1994a) and the references there.

[13] The structure of the VP is even more simplified than it may look like. For instance, I assume that the subject has moved to [Spec, VP] from a position inside VP; see the discussion on ergative verbs in 4.3.3.2. Furthermore, I will assume a so-called *double* VP, cf. the discussion below.

(4)


CP
Spec
C′
C
IP
Spec
I′
I
VP
um daginn eftir$_k$ *riðu*$_i$ *þeir*$_j$ t^2_i t_j t^1_i *í Holt* t_k

When concerned with information structure, movement from a *base-generated* position into a (more or less) *optional* position is, of course, of main interest. There is, for instance, a significant difference between movement to [Spec, IP] (the subject position) and movement to [Spec, CP] (the topic position):[14] the first movement is first of all forced by syntactic demands and only possible for *one* candidate: the subject (deep structure subject or oblique subject). The latter movement, on the other hand, is first of all determined by topicality demands: usually there are *several* possible (or thinkable) candidates for the topic position.

However, generative syntax is often criticized for being rather complicated and abstract, and not every claimed movement is necessarily visible in the surface structure. Sometimes generative analyses can be really confusing, especially when abstract rules force movement backwards and forwards (up and down) several times without even changing the surface structure (in an observable way), for instance, covert movement to check certain 'features'. Note also an example from Kuno and Takami (1993:26):[15]

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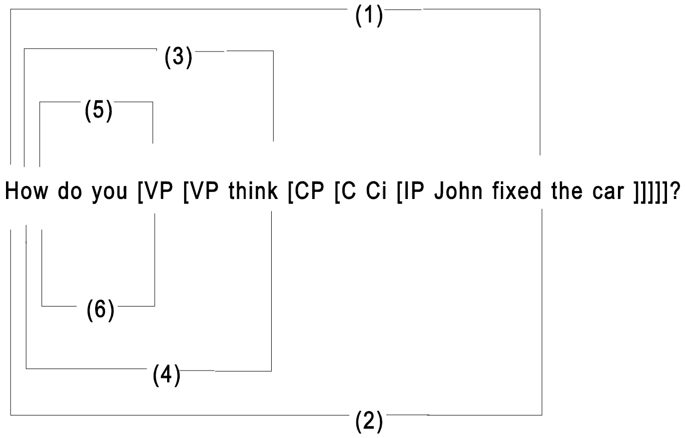
[14] As said in chapter 2, the term *topic* position is reserved for the *first position* in the sentence, that is, the position before the finite verb ([Spec, CP] in a GB model). Thus, it is syntactically defined. The use of the term *topic* position includes no statements about information structure, while the term *topic* alone may be used for a part of a sentence which carries 'given' information (cf. 'theme'); usually, or quite often, this information occurs in the *topic position* (see the chapter on information structure).

[15] Kuno & Takami (1993:26) use this example, (55) in their book, to demonstrate problems with the theory of Lasnik

(5)


(1)
(3)
(5)
How do you [VP [VP think [CP [C Ci [IP John fixed the car]]]]]?
(6)
(4)
(2)

In this analysis, six movements are claimed, while only the movement into the topic position is visible in surface syntax. Topicalization is, on the other hand, perhaps the most important movement in a word order analysis with regards to information structure.

Consider also a more ‘traditional’ tree structure for the Modern Norwegian sentence: *Kvifor sa Jens at Marit drog heim* (‘why did Jens say that Marit went home’) (Nordgård & Åfarli 1990:201):

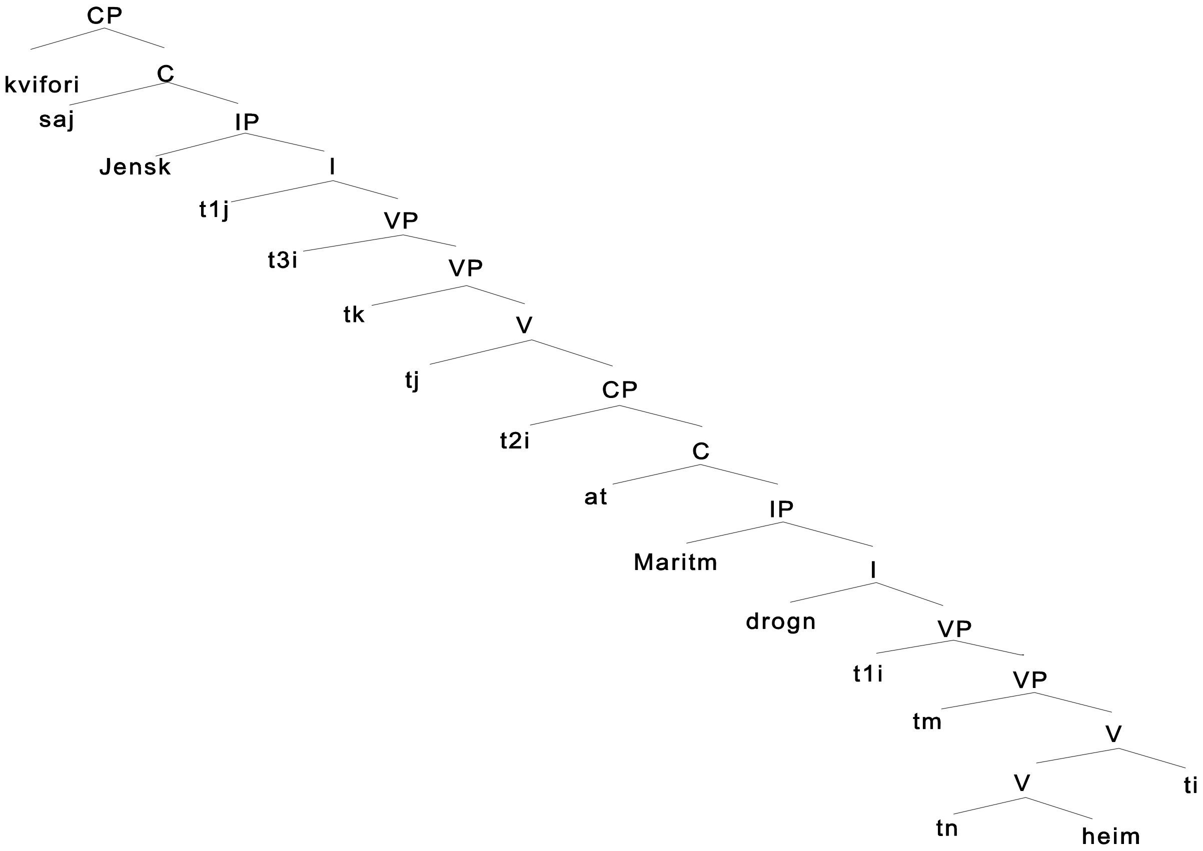
(6)

& Saito (1992), but Kuno and Takami say in a footnote:

> The back-and-forth movements described in (55) are not explicitly stated in Lasnik and Saito (1992), although they clearly were in the 1988 version of their book manuscript. In any way, however, since they adopt the principle of the strict cycle (see Lasnik & Saito 1992:103), the derivation given in (55) is the only possible one. (Kuno & Takami 1993:172, n.23)

Obviously, syntactic tree structures may be rather complicated and complex.

In this work, I will use generative syntax, first of all, to argue for certain base-generated *deep structures* in Old Norse which may be changed to different *surface structures* by *movement*. The hypothesis is that the arguments of a given clause have to obey a certain thematic hierarchy, and that those arguments are projected into syntax in accordance with the thematic hierarchy and the general X-bar model for phrase structure, i.e. specifier - head - complement, where the specifier is in a position 'higher' than the position of the complement:


CP
kvifori
C
saj
IP
Jensk
I
t1j
VP
t3i
VP
tk
V
tj
CP
t2i
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VP
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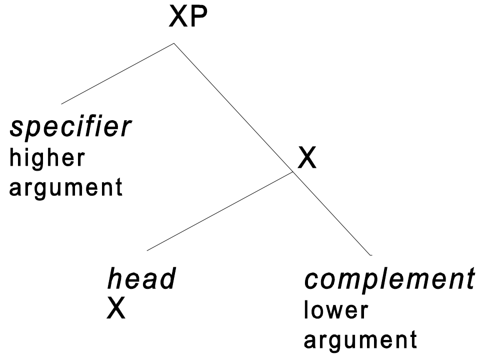
(7)



The thematic hierarchy and its projection into syntax limits any subsequent syntactic handling of the arguments. Structurally, for instance, only the highest argument has the possibility to become a surface subject once there has been established a certain deep structure.

If one wants to analyze and explain the nature of the variety of Old Norse word order patterns, i.e. certain surface structures, one needs, of course, a definition of Old Norse deep structures. However, generative grammar is not the object itself. It is not the aim of this work to solve every theory-internal problem that might occur during the discussion of Old Norse word order. I am aware of the fact that by choosing a 'classical' GB model with comparably few functional projections instead of, for instance, a Minimalist model, with a wider range of possible projections, the possibility of defining, for instance, the Scrambling position(s) is already limited. However, the most important point of the approach in this thesis is the establishment of a certain restricted deep structure, mainly based on a thematic hierarchy. My main goal is to argue for a movement approach to Old Norse, and by that *against* a theory of base generation and/or non-configurationality. In other words, I want to show that it is possible to argue for certain deep structures, and I want to show that surface structures that do not correspond to the 'result' of a default deep structure (due to *structurally required* movement, like, for instance, verb movement (V to I/C) or subject movement (Spec-VP to Spec-IP), are best accounted for by pragmatic accommodation, i.e. (structurally) *optional* movement. This can be done by showing that one rather than the other constellation of arguments (plus the verb) seems to be basic, i.e. part of a default VP structure, and by investigating possible reasons for choosing a non-basic argument constellation. Instead of searching for such reasons within the syntactic structure (e.g. movement motivated by certain functional projections), I will try to explain alternative word order patterns by pointing at functional reasons (e.g. intonation and the topic-focus distinction).

4.1.2 Old Norse and Generative Grammar

Old Norse has not been discussed very extensively within a generative framework, even though the number of contributions is increasing. But there is, to my knowledge, no complete generative description of Old Norse syntax. Nygaard's (1905) traditional approach is still one of the most relevant works on Old Norse. It is not very easy to choose a variant of generative theory to base a description of Old Norse syntax on.

Holmberg and Platzack (1995) have made a contrastive analysis of the inflectional features in the modern Scandinavian languages within a generative framework. Holmberg and Platzack do, however, not say much about Old Norse and are content with making only a few remarks. But many of their proposals about Scandinavian in general seem promising to me, and I will choose Holmberg and Platzack's *The Role of Inflection in Scandinavian Syntax* as a starting-point and basis for the discussion of Old Norse within a generative framework.

4.1.3 The Study of 'Dead' Languages

Studying a so-called 'dead' language like Old Norse is not unproblematic.[16] One major problem is the lack of negative data, as formulated by Faarlund (1990a:17):

> The most deeply felt privation of the historical syntactician is probably the lack of informants who can tell him or her "No, we can't say it that way." In some dead languages, however, the attested material is so copious that to some extent this need can be met. For some languages we are also fortunate enough to have large data collections with examples of most conceivable syntactic construction types. For Old Norse, Nygaard ([1905]) is such a collection. He went through most of the extant texts in Old Norse, and there seem to be very few construction types that have

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[16] Calling Old Norse a 'dead' language is not uncontroversial since we cannot say that there has been any "suicide", "murder", "pidginization" or "creolisation" involved (cf. McMahon 1994, chapter 11). The situation of Old Norse does not fit into the description of Dressler (1988:184), either: "Language death occurs in unstable bilingual or multilingual speech communities as a result of language shift from a regressive minority language to a dominant majority language". As mentioned below, Modern Icelandic is very much like Old Norse, hence, we may say that Old Norse is not dead in a diachronic perspective. The term 'dead' language, then, is used in a wider sense in this work, meaning a language not spoken by any native speakers - with all the problems this might cause for a linguist.

> escaped him. Lack of mention by Nygaard could then almost be said to be a kind of negative data.

However, not finding a certain construction does not necessarily mean that the construction is ungrammatical; nevertheless, it helps us formulate a theory. Such a theory will be even stronger if we can compare a certain missing construction in the dead language with the same or a corresponding construction in a descendant of this language. According to Faarlund (1990a:17), this type of negative data can be found in so-called "missed opportunities":

> If a certain syntactic form F is used regularly in a given function or type of context C in a living language L, and if F is absent in C at an earlier stage of the language, OL, then there is good reason to assume that F does not exist in OL.

There are three direct descendants of Old Norse: Modern Norwegian, Faroese, and Modern Icelandic.[17] Among these three languages, Modern Icelandic is most like its ancestor, to quote Andrews (1990:182, n. 2): "Modern Icelandic is little changed from Old Icelandic, which modern Icelanders can read without special training (excepting certain literary forms, such as skaldic verse)" (see also Crystal 1992:178). Thus, in some cases, we may feel confident about comparing some true negative data from Modern Icelandic with data from Old Icelandic to illustrate certain points. See also the discussion on the use of Modern Icelandic data in 1.3.

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[17] When disregarding Vikner's (1995) definition of Old Norse which implies that all Scandinavian languages/dialects are descendants of Old Norse.

4.1.4 Holmberg and Platzack (1995)

The theory proposed in Holmberg & Platzack (1995) is based on the **Principles-and-Parameters approach to syntax,**[18] first outlined in Chomsky (1981), and developed in subsequent works by Chomsky and many other linguists. Holmberg and Platzack themselves point out that:

> to deal with the facts we are interested in, we have to assume a particular version of this general theory of language, where some parts are widely accepted while other parts are more controversial. In this perspective the present work is an argument for a particular theory of language, within the Principles-and-Parameters framework, based on linguistic facts primarily from the Scandinavian languages. (Holmberg & Platzack 1995:4)

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[18] Cf. Holmberg & Platzack (1995:13):

> This approach attempts to characterize that part of the human language faculty which is responsible for our knowledge of the syntactic possibilities of our mother tongue. It is assumed that grammar is a module of the human mental system, and that it develops like other human mental faculties such as vision and cognition: the principles determining the outer bounds of the faculty are present in the genetic code, and the specific “knowledge” that we arrive at is determined as a combination of the inborn principles and environment. [...]
>
> To account for the variety among languages, the possibility is left open that some of these principles are parametrized, i.e. we will find examples of the principle in every human language, but the languages may differ with respect to the particular manifestation of the principle.

Holmberg and Platzack divide the Scandinavian languages in two main groups: ***Mainland Scandinavian*** (MSc.), consisting of *Modern Danish, Modern Norwegian*, and *Modern Swedish*, and ***Insular Scandinavian*** (ISc.), consisting of *Modern Icelandic* and *Modern Faroese,*[19] as well as of *all old Scandinavian languages* ("roughly the medieval variants", 1995:8), and at least one dialect on the Scandinavian mainland, which is not of interest in this work.[20]

As already mentioned, Old Norse - or any of the *old(er)* Scandinavian languages - does not get much attention in Holmberg & Platzack (1995). The old Scandinavian languages are mainly treated like Modern Icelandic (and Modern Faroese), the only major difference between Old Icelandic (Old Norse) and Modern Icelandic mentioned by Holmberg and Platzack is the existence of null subjects and objects, whereas Italian, Kru-languages, Celtic languages and Hungarian are used to demonstrate word order phenomena which may be found in Old Norse, too. Thus, Old Norse/Icelandic, or Old Scandinavian, is only mentioned to give the book a look of completeness. On the other hand, Old Scandinavian would, of course, not get the main attention in a comparative study of the inflectional features in the Scandinavian languages in general, and the authors are, therefore, not to blame for the absence of a description of possible Old Scandinavian syntactic deviations.

Holmberg and Platzack still offer a theory of Scandinavian syntax which, together with the works of other linguists, may serve my purpose to give a picture of Old Norse word order.

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[19] Holmberg and Platzack point out that the status of Faroese in this classification is not uncontroversial. See also Vikner (1995:4): "Faroese has more syntactic (as opposed to morphological) features in common with the Mainland Scandinavian languages than with Icelandic".

[20] This is a dialect spoken in Älvdalen in Dalecarlia in central Sweden. Holmberg and Platzack also point out that:

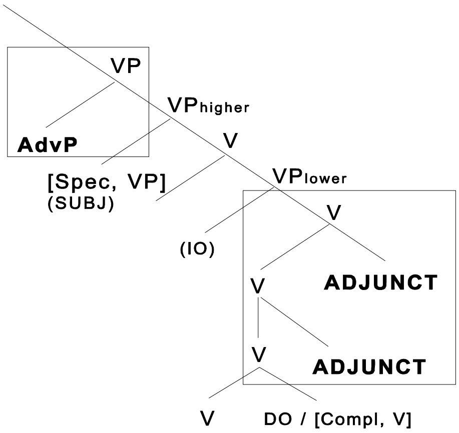
> this classification differs from the traditional one, mainly based on phonological criteria, according to which Swedish, Danish and parts of Norwegian constitute East Scandinavian, whereas other parts of Norwegian together with Faroese and Icelandic constitute West Scandinavian. There is no doubt at all that all of Norwegian (today) falls together with the other Mainland Scandinavian languages as regards syntax and morphology. (Holmberg & Platzack 1995:8, fn. 7)

4.2 The Positions of Arguments in DS

In this section, I will argue for certain deep-structure (DS) positions of arguments, among other things, to be able to refer to (more or less) concrete positions when talking about movement in surface syntax, since movement may change the ('default') information structure of a clause.

I will start by looking at the position of the **external argument** (4.2.1).[1] After that, I will investigate the deep-structure positions of **internal arguments** (4.2.2). Non-argumental phrases like sentence adverbials (SA) are considered to be adjuncts adjacent to the left of (the 'higher') VP (or to the left of a possible VP_{aux}). Other non-argumental adverbials are considered to be adjuncts adjacent to the right, inside (the 'lower') VP.[2] D-structure positions and S-structure positions of **adverbials** are discussed in 4.4. Take a first glance at the assumed structure of the VP in (1). Note the SA at the left periphery of the VP and the adjuncts/adverbials at the right periphery of the VP:

(1)



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[1] The discussion of the external argument will, of course, have to involve a discussion of internal arguments, too, in order to show that a certain kind of argument would *not* qualify as an external argument.

[2] See the discussion below for an explanation of the terms 'higher' and 'lower' VP.

The nominal argument positions (SUBJ, IO, DO) and the position of the main verb will be discussed below. When it comes to the phenomenon of Scrambling, one may say that the left periphery of the VP as a potential adjunction site is the most interesting and the most ‘powerful’ area of an Old Norse clause.

4.2.1 The Position of the External Argument (the ‘Subject’)

I will not (at least not technically) adopt the analysis proposed by Holmberg and Platzack (1995) that:

> the external argument is base-generated as a specifier in the predicate; however the position is not Spec-VP but the specifier position projected by a predicate-internal head containing information about voice, among other things. (Holmberg & Platzack 1995:16)[3]

In active sentences, this functional projecting head is **Act**, and in passive sentences, consequently, this head is **Pass** (or [-Act]), thus, we have a [±Act(ive)] distinction (Holmberg & Platzack 1995:20).

Instead of choosing the ‘Act-projection analysis’, I will use an analysis with an extended VP with two head verbs, the ‘higher’ being empty in D-structure, as, for instance, assumed by Speas (1990).[4] According to Speas (1990), following ideas of Hale and Keyser (1986), the ‘empty’ verb corresponds to an abstract predicate CAUSE which is said to be a property of the lexical representation of every transitive verb. For arguments in favor of the Act-analysis, see Holmberg & Platzack (1995:21ff.). For my purpose, it should not make any difference if one calls this projection ActP or an additional VP. In opposition to Holmberg & Platzack, however, I will assume that the ‘higher’ VP is present even in constructions that do not involve an agentive argument. I, then, assume that the D-structure of a simple transitive Old Norse clause looks like the following presentation; the VP corresponding to the ActP, I will refer to as the ‘higher’ VP, and the internal VP will be referred to as the ‘lower’ VP:

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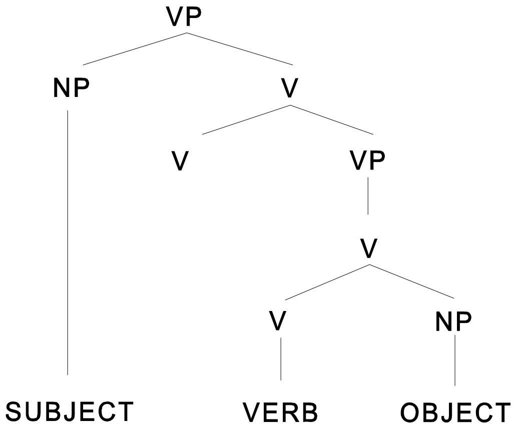
[3] See the discussion (especially of Larson 1988) and references in Speas (1990).

[4] Cf. also the structure for double object constructions in Falk (1990) and Hoekstra (1991).

(2)



As one can see, even the deep structure reflects the basic word order SVO, at least with ditransitive verbs (in a double object construction, the verb would have to move first; see below). Elements like auxiliaries and sentence adverbs (including the negation word) would appear to the left of this basic structure, as shown in (1) above.

Recall that there also seem to be instances of SOV word order in Old Norse (‘remnants of SOV’, cf. the discussion in chapter 2). Apart from a non-configurational analysis,[5] the word

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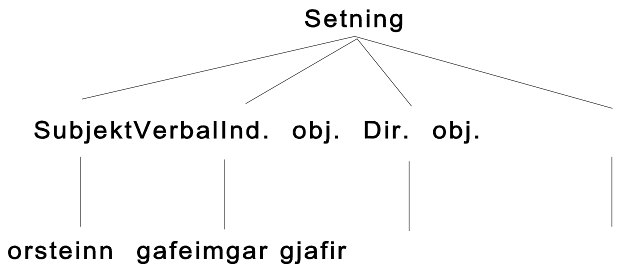
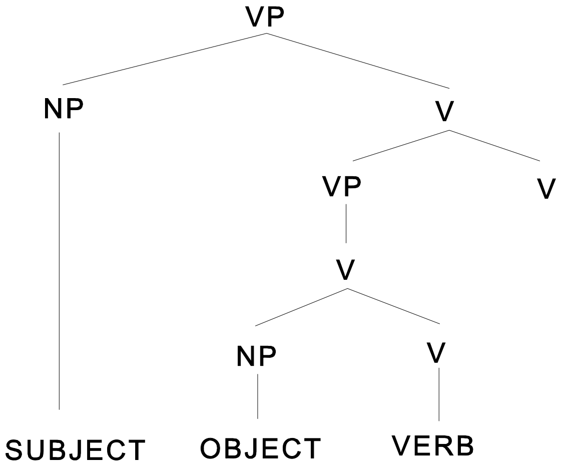
[5] See, for instance, Haugen (1993:248) (‘Thorstein gave them good gifts’):



(i)

order varieties of Old Norse may, of course, be explained by assuming that the head parameter of the VP might not be fixed, i.e. by saying that there are several possible base structures (cf. e.g. Rögnvaldsson 1996a). Even though most of the material tends to behave like modern Scandinavian structures with SVO, one may want to claim that the deep structure of a
transitive sentence, in some cases, also can have a structure like, for instance, the following:

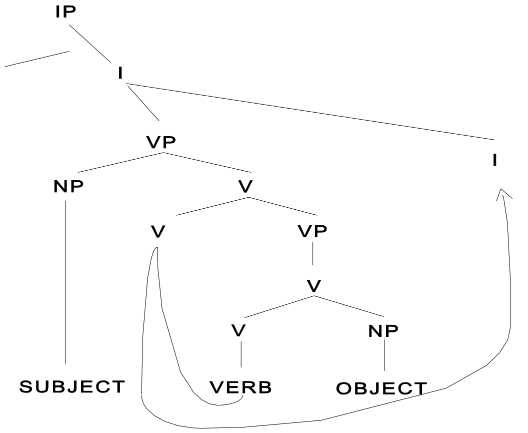
(3)



I find this analysis, however, not very promising; especially not since the verb would have to move to the right (to the ‘higher’ V) before it moves to the left to I[nfl], if one wants to maintain a double VP analysis like I do in the present theory.

Alternatively, one may try to explain some SOV structures in Old Norse by assuming that it is only the head parameter of IP that is not fixed. Hence, there could be an optional structure which is more or less clearly SOV in surface structure, e.g.:

(4)



However, this analysis would be even more problematic than the previous. Provided a double VP analysis, the verb would first have to move to the left to the 'higher' V and then to the right to I.[6] Also, the system would only work as long as the verb cannot move further to C. Sigurðsson (1988a) has argued convincingly against such a structure. Typologically, I find both alternatives, (3) and (4), rather problematic.

A third alternative would be to claim that there are not two different base structures available at all. Instead, one could try to explain the different surface structures by referring to leftward movement (cf. e.g. Sigurðsson 1988a; Hróarsdóttir 1996a). In the present chapter, I will try to do the latter (see 4.3.2.4 in particular). In the present presentation, (2) is assumed to be the only available deep structure for Old Norse clauses.

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[6] On the other hand, the Double VP Analysis may, of course, be on the wrong track, too.

At this stage, I have defined the **deep-structure subject** structurally as located in [Spec, VP] of the ‘higher’ VP.[7] For my investigation of Old Norse, it is important to make a distinction between *deep-structure subjects* and *surface-structure subjects*. Therefore, I will take a closer look at what kind of argument one would expect to find in the position of [Spec, VP].

I assume that a sentence must always have a **surface-structure subject**,[8] either represented by a lexical argument or by a grammatical form. The grammatical form may be an expletive subject or *pro*.[9] The genuine position of this surface-structure subject is always **[Spec, IP]**, meaning that if the surface-structure subject is located in [Spec, CP], there is an indexed *trace* in [Spec, IP]:

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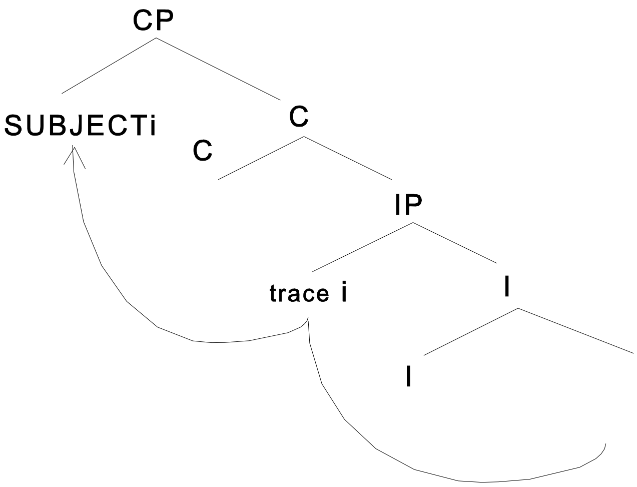
[7] Cf. also e.g. Falk (1989:45): “SPEC VP is the D-structure subject position and SPEC IP is the S-structure subject position”.

[8] Cf. the *Extended Projection Principle* (EPP) (Chomsky 1982:10). See also Pollock (1989).

[9] Also including PRO. Note that Old Norse has no overt expletive subject like, for instance, Modern Norwegian *det* (‘that/it/there’). Old Norse has, on the other hand, expletive *pro* (which may be called a covert expletive subject since we assume that *pro* is located in [Spec, IP]). See the discussion in 4.6 or Haugan (1998a).

(5)



If there is an available possible lexical subject candidate in the clause, i.e. a so-called ‘logical’ subject, whereas this subject candidate, however, for some reason is not located in [Spec, IP] or [Spec, CP], I assume that [Spec, IP] is filled by *pro* (i.e. a non-lexical grammatical form) linked to the possible positions of the lexical argument. In this case I will - unlike standard analyses of Modern Norwegian where a postverbal NP never can be a subject[10] - refer to the so-called ‘logical’ subject as the S-structure subject, first of all because Old Norse has no overt expletive subject (see the discussion below). According to the present analysis, a deep-structure *object* may, for instance, become a surface-structure *subject* by being a member of a subject chain (cf. e.g. Safir 1982, 1985, 1987):

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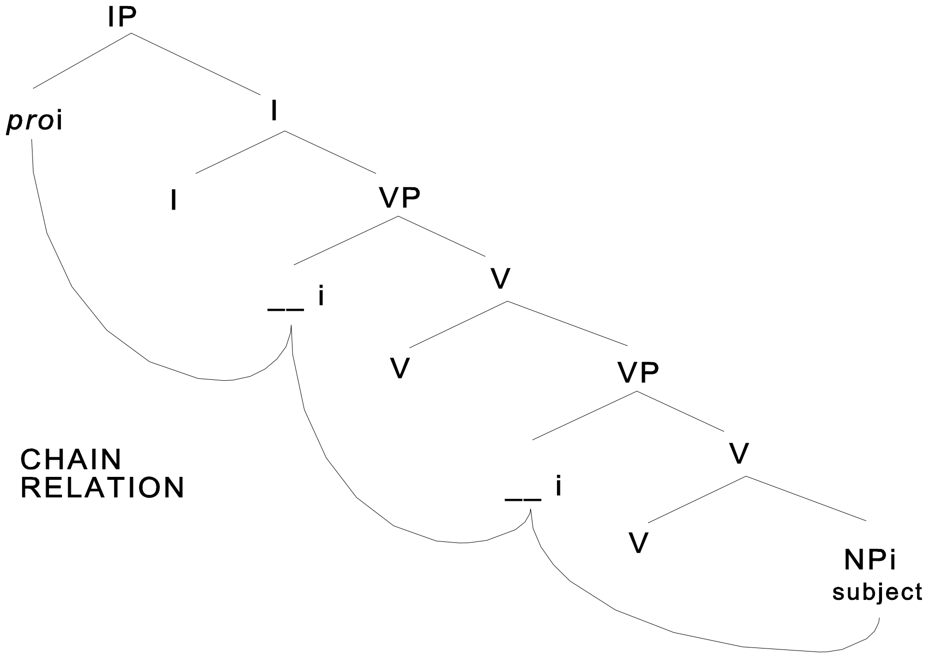
[10] In Modern Norwegian, there will usually be an expletive subject in the clause when no lexical argument has moved to [Spec, IP], hence, a possible lexical subject candidate would be analyzed as an object. In Modern Icelandic, on the other hand, the surface subject may be located in another position than [Spec, IP] (or [Spec, CP]; see e.g. Christensen (1991) or Vangsnes (1995).

(6)



One may call this a compositional surface-subject definition. The idea is that the NP becomes the surface subject not because it is structurally located in [Spec, IP] (the genuine position of the surface subject), but because it is a member of a chain linked to *pro* in [Spec, IP]. Note that at the level of deep structure the NP in (6) is clearly an object (complement of V′), i.e. in the present approach this NP would not be a *deep-structure subject*. A deep-structure object has to be *promoted* to surface-structure subject, either by movement or by a chain relation. The term *promotion* is here understood as promotion with regard to grammatical *function* and not necessarily promotion by overt movement.[11]

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[11] If we would call an operation 'physical' when a lexical argument itself moves to a higher structural position. 'Non-physical' movement of the lexical argument is assumed to imply so-called *feature movement*, i.e. at least some features of the lexical argument would move anyway.

As mentioned before, I assume that the arguments of a verb (or some other head that may have arguments) are projected into syntax obeying a *thematic hierarchy*. This hierarchy is realized in the X-bar system, i.e. a given argument is assigned a certain structural position relative to the verb (head). With *agentive* verbs, I assume the position of the **deep-structure subject** is the position of the argument we expect to be linked to the so-called **external theta-role** *th* or *TH*, namely [Spec, VP] of the 'higher' VP.[12]

According to Haegeman (1991:71f.), the theta role (θ-role) assigned to the subject is assigned compositionally: it is determined by the semantics of the verb and other VP constituents. In this view, the verb assigns an object role first (if there is a role to assign), then, the resulting verb-argument complex will assign a theta role to the subject (if there is a role to assign). Thus, "the subject argument is as if it were slotted in last" (Haegeman 1991:72; see also Grimshaw 1990:35, and Marantz 1984). Haegeman (1991:71) says:

> On the one hand, the choice of the subject argument does not affect the role of the object, and on the other hand, there exist 'object idioms' with the subject as a free argument while there are no subject idioms with a free object.[13]

Whereas an internal argument is directly theta marked, the external argument is indirectly theta marked. Within the Double-VP Analysis, it is relatively easy to understand that the verb, located in the 'lower' VP, is able to theta mark its complement directly, and subsequently its specifier, whereas it has to move to the ‘higher’ VP in order to theta mark a possible external argument in [Spec, VP] of the ‘higher VP:[14]

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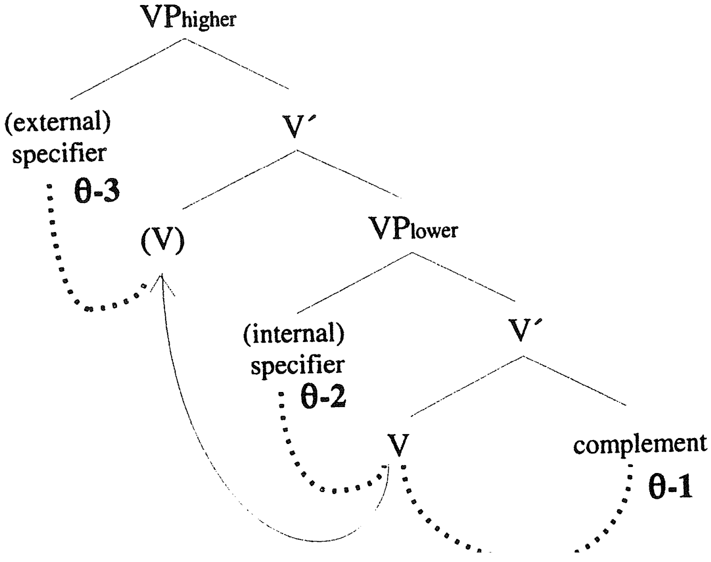
[12] This is in accordance with Williams (1981) who was the first to introduce the notion of an external argument defined as the argument that is realized outside the maximal projection of the predicate, the D-structure subject for a verb. However, we may keep in mind some questions asked by Grimshaw (1990:34): "Why should there be such a thing as an argument distinguished in this way? Why can there be only one such distinguished argument? What principles determine which argument, if any, should count as external? Why is an Agent always external if there is one?" See also the discussion in Speas (1990:98ff.).

[13] See, for instance, Marantz (1981) and a discussion of some problems raised by this approach in Bresnan (1982).

(7)



Theta marking of arguments can be explained relatively straightforwardly within this structure. The same holds for the choice of surface subject: only the highest argument can be linked to or move to [Spec, IP], i.e. if there is an argument in [Spec, VP] of the ‘higher’ VP, this will have to become the surface-structure subject, if there is no external argument, the next highest (both thematically and structurally) argument will be pointed out as the surface-subject candidate.

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[14] As mentioned before, I assume that the ranking of arguments is handled by the thematic hierarchy ‘pre-syntactically’, i.e. the ‘technical’ theta marking in syntax starts with the lowest thematic argument.

Even though the choice of surface subject is structurally determined only (each of the three possible argument positions can provide a surface subject as long as there is no higher argument), the position of the external argument is still special in many respects. Only an argument base-generated in [Spec, VP] of the 'higher' VP I will call a deep-structure *subject*, other nominal arguments will be called deep-structure *objects*. On a structural basis, my choice of reserving the term *deep-structure subject* for the external argument only may be less well motivated since the highest roll always will become the surface subject, hence, the highest role (even if it is a complement) could always be considered a deep-structure subject. On the other hand, since, for instance, Modern Norwegian may insert an expletive subject and preserve the status of an internal argument as an object only when there is no external argument present, and since the 'traditional' subject definition is very much based on Case resulting in, among other things, rejection of so-called *oblique* (non-nominative) subjects in Old Norse, I find the distinction between deep-structure subject and deep-structure object(s) in a description of Old Norse syntax useful.[15]

Theta-role assignment is somewhat similar to Case assignment: while an internal argument receives (or checks) Case in situ,[16] the external argument, in many languages, has to move out of its position to be able to get Case. Therefore, in this procedure, the external argument comes last.[17] If there is an external argument, this argument has to become the surface subject. With respect to Case, the external argument will always receive nominative Case (which is not assigned by the verb). Internal arguments, on the other hand, may have received lexical Case from the verb. An internal argument will keep the lexical Case even though it becomes a surface subject. Structural Case (accusative), however, may change to nominative, e.g. in passive formation. This nominative phrase may, on the other hand, still be an object, i.e. if there is a higher argument with lexical Case. If there is no higher argument, the nominative will, of course, be the subject, but this has nothing to do with nominative itself. I will advocate a configurational definition of the subject in Old Norse, even though, in my view, the syntactic argument configuration is the direct result of a pre-syntactic thematic hierarchy which is based on semantic criteria. In the present theory, Case is more or less irrelevant for the definition of the subject. My claims about Old Norse being an SVO language with oblique subjects (in addition to nominative subjects), syntactic passive and Scrambling follow first of all from the basis for and the consequences of the assumed double-VP configuration presented above. Subject promotion is first of all structurally motivated by the EPP, whereas functional desires/demands in certain cases (when syntactically possible) may reorder a given deep-structure argument configuration by, for instance, Topicalization, Scrambling and/or Extraposition.

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[15] Furthermore, the possibility of passive formation is directly related to the possibility of suppressing the external argument in [Spec, VP] of the 'higher' VP and thereby providing a structural promotion site. Non-agentive verbs may have an internal specifier that could host the highest argument, but they cannot passivize. See the discussion in 4.3.3.1.

[16] Unless one assumes a separate AgrO-projection where the object has to be checked (cf. e.g. Chomsky 1995).

[17] For a different view, see Speas (1990).

Many linguists now seem to agree on the importance of thematic structure for certain syntactic processes.[18] Nevertheless, the theory of thematic roles may often look a little "sketchy" (Haegeman 1991:49). According to Haegeman (ibid.), there is still no agreement about how many such specific thematic roles there are and what their labels should be.[19] However, the thematic roles discussed in Haegeman (1991:49f.) are not exactly unknown in the linguistic literature:[20]

(8) a. **AGENT/ACTOR**: the one who intentionally initiates the action expressed by the predicate.
b. **PATIENT**: the person or thing undergoing the action expressed by the predicate.
c. **THEME**: the person or thing moved by the action expressed by the predicate.

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[18] One of the first approaches was that of Gruber (1976, originally written in 1965) and, of course, Fillmore's (1968) 'case grammar' and his own revision/augmentation of the 'cases' (Fillmore 1971) (distinguishing 'cases' like: *Agent, Counter-agent, Object, Result, Instrument, Source, Goal, Experiencer*); see also Fillmore (1977).

[19] See, for instance, the discussions in Alsina (1996), Croft (1991), Grimshaw (1990), Marantz (1984), Palmer (1994), and Speas (1990), and the references therein.

[20] But see also Croft (1991:176ff.) who proposes roles like: *Agent, Patient, Experiencer, Stimulus* for the "direct thematic roles", and *Comitative, Instrument, Manner, Means, Benefactive (or "malefactive")* for the "oblique thematic roles", and additionally also *Cause, Passive agent, Result, Purpose*.

d. **EXPERIENCER**: the entity that experiences some (psychological) state expressed by the predicate.
e. **BENEFACTIVE/BENEFICIARY**: the entity that benefits from the action expressed by the predicate.
f. **GOAL**: the entity towards which the activity expressed by the predicate is directed.
g. **SOURCE**: the entity from which something is moved as a result of the activity expressed by the predicate.
h. **LOCATION**: the place in which the action or state expressed by the predicate is situated.

As mentioned, there is no general agreement on these thematic roles.[21] Besides, the identification of θ-roles is not always easy. For example, the difference between PATIENT and THEME may often be difficult to decide. Therefore, some authors handle these two roles under the one role of THEME. Haegeman (1991:50), for instance, interprets the role of the THEME as:

(9) THEME$_2$: the entity affected by the action or state expressed by the predicate.

An illustration of the thematic roles is given in Haegeman (1991:50), e.g.:

(10) a. *Galahad gave* *the detective story* *to Jane.*
AGENT THEME BENEFACTIVE/GOAL
b. *Constance rolled* *the ball* *towards Poirot.*
AGENT THEME GOAL
c. *The ball rolled* *towards the pigsty.*
THEME GOAL
d. *Madame Maigret had been cold all day.*
EXPERIENCER
e. *Maigret likes* *love stories.*
EXPERIENCER THEME
f. *Love stories please* *Maigret.*
THEME EXPERIENCER

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[21] Consider, e.g. Croft's (1991:157) discussion of GOAL:

> [...] one often finds a role called "Goal", which is intended to subsume the traditional allative, recipient, and benefactive roles. However, natural language data show that these three roles must be both distinguished from one another and related to each other as well. Consider the three major subtypes of the "goal" thematic role in English:
>
> (12) *I gave my ticket to the girl.* [recipient]
> (13) *I walked to the church.* [allative]
> (14) *Carol sewed up the pocket for me.* [benefactive]
>
> These three roles cannot be subsumed unequivocally under a single thematic role because that would not account for the preposition *for* in (14) as opposed to *to* in (12)-(13). On the other hand, these three roles are *related*: the same preposition is used in (12) and (13). The examination of other languages would confirm that these three grammatical roles are related yet distinct: for example, Russian has one case form for (12) and (14) and a distinct form for (13), while Mokilese has the same form for all three.

g. *Poirot bought* *the book* *from Maigret.*
AGENT THEME SOURCE

h. *Maigret is* *in London.*
THEME LOCATION

The relationship between the predicate and its arguments is recorded in the lexicon. It is assumed that such information is represented by means of a **thematic grid**, or **theta grid**, which is part of the lexical entry of the predicate (Haegeman 1991:51). According to the **theta criterion**, each thematic role of a predicate must be assigned, cf.:

(11) **The Theta Criterion**
Each argument is assigned one and only one theta role.
Each theta role is assigned to one and only one argument.

Now, consider again the sentences in (10). As we can see, the (surface) subject obviously may be represented by different theta roles: AGENT in (10a, b, g), EXPERIENCER in (10d, e) and THEME in (10c, f, h). For *surface* subjects, this may be true. This is also in accordance with Williams (1984:642) who claims that “any theta-role is eligible to be the external argument” - as long as one uses a ‘wide’ definition of the external argument as the argument that may become the *surface* subject.[22] In the present approach, where I will claim that the external position ([Spec, VP] of the ‘higher’ VP) at deep structure can be occupied by a certain type of argument only, however, the external argument can only be represented by the thematic role AGENT/PERFORMER. That means that the claim that “any theta-role is eligible to be the external argument” is not tenable; at least not for Old Norse (or Modern Icelandic, as shown by Sigurðsson 1992a), as long as we are referring to the external argument as the argument *base-generated* in [Spec, VP] of the ‘higher’ VP. Consider, for instance, also the *External Role Principle* as stated in Sigurðsson (1992a:214), which says:

(12) **The External Role Principle**
a. The external role is agentive (and internal roles are nonagentive)
b. The external role links to [Spec-VP] (when [Spec-VP] contains an argument in D-structure)[23]

Sigurðsson (1992a:247, fn. 24) assumes that:

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[22] Cf. also Faarlund (1990a:144): “The nominative is of course primarily the case of the Agent role [...] However, the nominative also associates with any other semantic role”.

[23] The external argument is base-generated in [NP, IP] in Sigurðsson (1992a), and there is no ‘higher’ [Spec, VP]. I have adjusted the External Role Principle to my theory.

> the External Role Principle is a universal. If it is only a parametric condition (in for instance English and the Scandinavian languages), then there would be nothing blocking agents from being internal roles (e.g. by lexical internalization) in languages where it would not apply.[24]

According to Sigurðsson (1992a), overt subjects with thematic roles other than AGENT are promoted **internal** roles, hence, deep-structure **objects**. Moreover, Sigurðsson (1992a:321) points out that the role AGENT should be defined in terms of Performers and Patients. Sigurðsson (ibid.) suggests that:

> there is an inherent relation between agentivity and patienthood: agents necessarily act upon patients, that is, there is no agent without a patient. Hence, volitional subjects of event verbs are not agents. What, then, do these subjects 'do'? Unlike involitional subjects of the same verbs, they *perform* some act (without, however, performing it on 'somebody else'). Let us therefore refer to the theta role in question as PERFORMER and to the subjects that bear it as PERFORMATIVE subjects. All agentive subjects are, of course, performative (whereas the reverse is not true). This

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[24] However, it is not certain that this principle is a universal after all. As shown in Faarlund (1993), Modern Norwegian may have constructions like:

(i)	*Det*	*arbeider*	*ei*	*jente*	*i*	*hagen*
	there	works	a	girl	in	the garden

'There is a girl working in the garden'

where the Agent (or maybe rather Performer) occurs in an object position (*det* being the syntactic surface subject).

On the other hand, there are several restrictions to such constructions, e.g. (i) does not allow an adverbial indicating intentionality on the part of the NP (see also Platzack 1983):

(ii)	**Det*	*arbeider*	*ei*	*jente*	*ivrig*	*i*	*hagen*
	there	works	a	girl	eagerly	in	the garden

giving the impression that the NP might not have an Agent role (which it has, of course). The sentence is also ungrammatical without the local adverbial:

(iii)	**Det*	*arbeider*	*ei*	*jente*
	there	works	a	girl

See Faarlund (1993) for a discussion. I am not aware of similar sentences in Old Norse, and I will stick to my assumption that Agents cannot occur inside the 'lower' VP in Old Norse. See also the discussion in 4.3.3.2 on possible structural differences between 'volitional' and 'non-volitional' motion verbs. Maybe the verb *arbeide* should be counted among those types of verbs.

suggests that there are hierarchical relations between theta-roles (cf. for instance Hellan 1986).

Hence, according to Sigurðsson (ibid.), an *Agent* is a *Performer* that acts upon a *Patient.*[25] On the basis of this distinction, the External Role Principle is slightly revised (Sigurðsson 1992a:322):

(13) **The External Role Principle**
a. The external role is performative (and internal roles are non-performative)

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[25] This approach is somewhat similar to that of Grimshaw (1990:40): "The aspectual dimension, then, is a projection of an abstract event structure (e), which always includes two subparts, an activity (act) and a state or change of state (s/soc)".

b. The external role links to [Spec-VP] (when [Spec-VP] contains an argument in D-structure)[26]

I will still use the traditional term Agent in the subsequent discussion independently of whether there is a Patient or not. By referring to the External Role Principle, one has an account for e.g. Passive Formation in Old Norse (and Modern Icelandic): it may apply to all and only those verbs that take an external role (cf. Sigurðsson 1992a:322). This principle also predicts that Agents cannot occur inside the 'lower' VP in Old Norse (at least not as arguments).[27] However, I will not claim that this principle is a universal, since my investigation concerns only Old Norse. I will also discuss some problems with the theory of the External Role Principle below.

At this stage, I will sum up the discussion by assuming a *Deep Structure Subject Condition*:

(14) **Deep Structure Subject Condition**
If the verb does not assign an agentive/performative role, there is no deep-structure subject, i.e. no external argument.

This condition can partly be deduced from the theta criterion. Beyond that, however, it implies a *structural* statement, i.e. it says that there cannot be any base-generated argument in the specifier of the 'higher' VP if the verb does not have an agentitve/performative role to assign. This condition also implies a statement about the potential semantic *content* of a possible argument base-generated in this position. An empty deep-structure subject position makes promotion of an internal argument to surface subject possible. However, as part of the structural representation of a *potential* argument structure, this position may still be associated with information about a possible Agent argument, like, for instance, the suppressed Agent argument of a passive verb. Hence, the existence of a potential external *Agent* position may be crucial in certain constructions, e.g. in order to license so-called argument adjuncts like, for instance, the by-phrase in passive constructions (see e.g. Grimshaw 1990:108ff. and the discussion in 5.3). The Deep Structure Subject Condition is directly related to the theory of a double-VP projection as opposed to an ActP that would not be present with, for instance, ergative verbs (Holmberg & Platzack

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[26] Here, too, I have adjusted the External Role Principle to my theory.

[27] See the discussion in 5.3.

1995:20ff.). If verb movement to the empty V in a/the ‘higher’ VP is only required in active/passive constructions, then the ‘higher’ VP would not be necessary for ergative verbs, i.e. only verbs assigning an Agent role would project a ‘higher’ VP (cf. Speas 1990). If there is no Agent, there is no ‘higher’ VP, with the consequence that the argument in [Spec, VP] (of the potentially lower VP) could be considered a deep-structure subject. On the other hand, if one reserves the term *deep-structure subject* for arguments base-generated in [Spec, VP] of a/the ‘higher’ VP, one would be able to predict that non-agentive verbs cannot passivize since there is no agentive argument to suppress (this is, of course, also possible with the Act-analysis mentioned above). Because of the fact that a sentence needs a surface subject, one then may say that an internal argument is promoted to surface subject via this open position, i.e. an operation more or less identical to passive formation (see 4.3.3.1). It would also be clear why a promoted argument often behaves in a different way than a ‘proper’ deep-structure subject (for instance, with respect to possible surface positions, Case or passivization), since a proper deep-structure subject has to be an Agent, while a promoted subject (i.e. deep-structure *object*), in principle, may have any other role than Agent.[28]

Instead of assuming a double VP structure for active/passive verbs only, one might just as well assume that movement of the verb to the ‘empty’ V position has something to do with predication (see e.g. Bowers 1993); i.e., the verb has to move to the ‘higher’ VP in order to create a nexus. If there is an element in [Spec, VP] of the ‘higher’ VP (the Agent), the nexus is established; if not, an internal element has to be moved there. When no argument is moved overtly (i.e. at the level of PF), or when there is no internal argument to promote (e.g. with avalent verbs), the deep-structure subject position may also be linked to a grammatical element *pro* in [Spec, IP]. In this way, then, the deep-structure subject position in its turn may be linked to an internal argument (chain relation), if there is one (cf. ‘logical’ subject). This will be discussed in further detail below.

As mentioned before, even though I will use the term *deep-structure subject* only for the argument generated in [Spec, VP] of the 'higher' VP (the Agent), I am aware of the fact that my definition also may be problematic. As will be shown below (and also as discussed further above), when there is no external agentive argument, the external argument of the 'lower' VP (the argument generated in the lower [Spec, VP]) more or less automatically becomes the surface subject. Thus, we could assume that it is a deep-structure subject, as well (cf. e.g. Ottósson 1989a, 1991a). When there is no external argument in the 'lower' VP, the complement will become the surface subject - if there is one, i.e. when the verb does not assign an Experiencer/Beneficiary role, it is also possible that the Theme/Patient argument might be generated in [Spec, VP] of the lower VP, hence could/should be considered external (I will provide arguments *against* such an analysis shortly).

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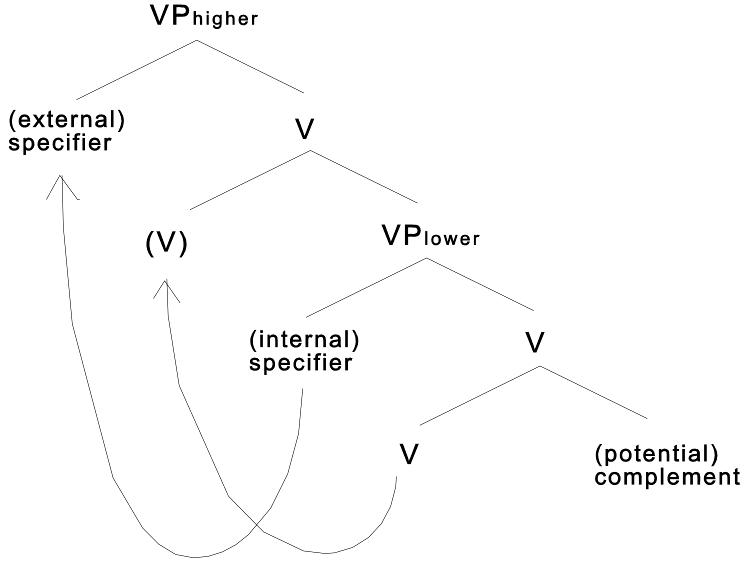
[28] Below I will have to discuss some problems with the definition of deep-structure subjects as being Agents only.

Anyway, in my opinion a double VP-projection with three possible argument positions, even when the verb assigns fewer argument roles or maybe none, will at least make it easier to refer to arguments and argument positions, given the assumption that the thematic hierarchy is reflected more or less directly in syntactic structure. When arguments are missing, their position would be open for syntactic movement for the next (highest) argument in the hierarchy.

One can never be sure that the 'making of a subject' works this way, but at least the same argument would be picked out as a subject candidate, whether it is base-generated as an external argument or it is forced to move or be linked to an open external position.

A possible argument *against* a universal double-VP structure and *for* the Act-/Cause-analysis may be the empirical fact that it would not be possible to tell if the surface subject of an ergative verb is located in [Spec, VP] of an assumed 'higher' VP (while this is possible with agentive verbs, see the discussion on *Subject in situ* below), given that the verb would have to move to the 'higher' V anyway and that the NP *could* have moved to the 'higher' specifier this operation would be yielding the same formation as before, e.g.:

(15)



This is, on the other hand, not necessarily enough reason to reject the theory of a universal double VP projection. Combined with the implications about the realization of a potential thematic argument structure in a syntactic configuration, the double VP is able to make some predictions about Old Norse syntax. Given the assumption that a potential 'maximal' argument structure would be projected into syntax as Agent = higher Spec-VP, Beneficiary = 'lower' Spec-VP, Patient = complement, and that the lower argument positions may host arguments with similar roles, i.e., for instance, Experiencer corresponding to Beneficiary, and Theme corresponding to Patient, the position of the surface subject and its base position in the following sentences can be determined. In all three cases, the same (corresponding) argument is considered the surface subject:

(16) a. *Þórður lá lengi í sárum og greru vel*
Thord lay long in sores and grew well$_{Adv}$

bringusárin (Laxd 1585)
chest-sores$_{SUBJ}$
'Thord lay wounded for a long time and the wounds in his chest healed well'

b. *... og greru* ***hans sár*** *skjótt* (GullÞ 1141)
... and grew [his sores]$_{SUBJ}$ fast$_{Adv}$
'... and his wounds healed fast'

c. ***Sár Gunnars*** *greru skjótt* (GunKe 1149)
[sores Gunnar's]$_{SUBJ}$ grew fast$_{Adv}$
'Gunnar's wounds healed fast'

In (a), the surface subject is located behind the adverbial phrase *vel*. The adverbial phrase may look like a sentence adverbial, which it is obviously not, even though it may occupy roughly the same structural position as a possible sentence adverbial due to Scrambling. If we presuppose that the subject cannot be extraposed (see, however, the discussion in 4.3.1.3 and 5.3), we have to assume that the adverbial phrase has moved to the left (Scrambling). Moving the adverbial phrase to the left of the surface subject can be motivated functionally (see the discussion in chapter 5). The adjunction site for the adverbial phrase would be to the left of VP as described in 4.2 above, hence, the surface subject *bringusárin* occupies some position within the double VP. The verb *gróa* ('grow') does not assign an Agent role (i.e. it is ergative). It follows that the external specifier position must be empty in the deep structure. As the only present argument *bringusárin* is the only surface subject candidate. As such the phrase could have moved to the deep-structure subject position. This is not possible to tell. It seems, however, that *bringusárin* has not moved to [Spec, IP], the genuine position of the surface subject. Therefore, the status as the surface subject is assumed to be established by a chain relation with *pro* in [Spec, IP]. The NP has consequently already status as the surface subject, and movement to any other position within the double VP would not change anything with regard to the subject status. The default assumption is, thus, that the phrase has not moved at all. The remaining question would be: is the argument located in the specifier position of the lower VP or in the complement position?

The argument *bringusárin* could not have the thematic role of an Experiencer or Beneficiary, it is a typical Theme. Furthermore, in, for instance, German the corresponding verb *wachsen* may take an additional dative argument with the higher role Beneficiary, e.g.:

(17) *Wer liebt,* ***dem*** *wachsen Flügel* (German movie, director: Gabriel Barylli)
who loves, him$_{\text{BEN}}$ grow wings$_{\text{THM}}$
'If you are in love, you will get wings'

(18) ***Puschkin*** *ist bekanntlich nie ein Bart gewachsen. Er litt*
Puschkin$_{\text{BEN}}$ is as known never a beard grown. He suffered

darunter sehr und beneidete Sacharjin, ***dem*** *im Gegensatz zu ihm*
with-that much and envied Sacharjin, whom$_{\text{BEN}}$ in contrast to him

der Bart anständig wuchs. (part of a poem by Daniil Charms [Daniil Iwanowitsch Juwatschows])
the beard decently grew
'As known, Pushkin never grew a beard. He suffered much with that and envied Sacharjin, who, as opposed to himself, grew a decent beard'

Even though I have no directly corresponding Old Norse data to compare with, I assume that the

Old Norse verb *gróa* can project a maximal thematic configuration with three potential argument positions (cf. the double VP). In the case of *gróa*, I assume that assigning an Agent role is impossible (as it would be in German). But I assume that there may be a potential higher argument that can be associated with the lower specifier position, typically the position of an Experiencer or Beneficiary argument. The only position left, then, is the complement position, which is the lowest position, and the typical position for the Theme argument according to the theory presented here. Even though Old Norse would not necessarily choose to realize a construction in the same way as in German, a construction with two arguments can actually be found:

(19) *Þá* *er* ***Kolfinnur*** *var* *gróinn* ***sára sinna*** *sagði hann* ... (Kjaln 1446)
then when Kolfinn$_{\text{NOM-SUBJ}}$ was grown [sores his]$_{\text{GEN-OBJ}}$ said he ...
‘Then, when Kolfinn was healed of /recovered from his sores, he said ...’

compared to:

(20) *Þá* *voru* ***sár hans*** *mjög gróin* ... (GullÞ 1141)
then were [sores his]$_{\text{NOM-SUBJ}}$ much grown
‘Then his sores had healed well’

The status of the thematic role assigned to *Kolfinnur* in (19) (Beneficiary/Experiencer or Theme) may, of course, be somewhat difficult to determine. However, this is not that important since it is clear that it is not an Agent, i.e. it must be an internal argument. It would in any case have a higher role than *sára sinna*, which I would classify as a some kind of Source, hence, thematically a lower argument. With two possible internal argument positions the distribution is structurally given. *Kolfinnur* must be located in the lower specifier position and it must become the surface subject since there is no higher (external) argument. Besides, in (19) the phrase has moved overtly to [Spec, IP], thus, the analysis is rather unproblematic (also in a traditional view since the phrase - fortunately - has nominative case, too). Analyzing *gróinn* as an adjective would not change much. In that case, there would be no external position in the first place, and the distribution of arguments would be the same apart from the fact that the head would be an adjective instead of a verb (see the discussion in 4.3.3.4). In (20), the verb (or possibly adjective) would only have one argument, and this argument would have to be a Theme, located in the complement position. Still, the argument would be chosen to become surface subject since it is the only available argument. As demonstrated, applying a potential thematic hierarchy to a double VP structure gives, in most cases, relatively straightforward syntactic analyses regarding the status of an argument as a subject or an object.

The sentences (16b) and (16c) are unproblematic. In (b) the surface subject is assumed to have moved overtly to [Spec, IP], and in (c) it has moved to [Spec, CP].[29]

As shown above, the combination of a thematic hierarchy and a double VP configuration can explain word order variation in Old Norse. Within this analysis, the following construction can be explained straightforwardly, too:

(21) *... og var þó eigi gróið* ***sár hans*** (Fóstb 830)
... and was though not grown [sore his]$_{\text{SUBJ}}$
'... though his wound was not healed'

According to the outlined VP configuration, and given the assumption that the subject (usually) cannot be extraposed (see the discussion in 4.3.1.3 and 5.3), this example clearly shows the surface subject in its base position as a deep-structure object inside the VP, i.e. as a complement of V′, the default position of a potential Theme argument. In this configuration, Extraposition would be unnecessary in any case since the argument is already the last phrase in the clause. Note that the main verb is assumed to have moved to the higher V. Regarding this movement, the double VP analysis has no advantage over a single VP configuration (i.e. ergative verbs would not project an ActP). The double VP by itself cannot 'prove' that the argument is not a deep structure specifier since the verb has moved over this specifier position and the argument would end up to the right anyway no matter whether it is located in the lower specifier or complement position.

In (16), (20) and (21) there is only one lexical argument and, therefore, only one possible surface-structure candidate (I exclude the possibility of an omitted argument, i.e. argumental *pro*; see the discussion in 4.6). Besides the fact that the surface subject in some of the constructions above appears to the right, which is not considered Extraposition but base-generation, what evidence can be found to claim that the argument is not generated as an external argument, i.e. in [Spec, VP] of the higher VP?

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[29] Theoretically, the surface subject may be located in its base position in (16b), too, i.e. corresponding to (16a) (without Scrambling of the adverbial phrase). This would, however, not be the default analysis.

As far as I have been able to see, a surface subject argument of an ergative verb with a Theme role never occurs between a sentence adverbial and the participle of the main verb, i.e. in [Spec, VP] of a 'higher' VP (when [Spec, IP] is occupied by *pro*). This we would expect if the surface subject were generated as an external argument, like e.g. an Agent subject. Thus, it is reasonable to assume that the surface subject is located in its base position in (16a), too, i.e. the complement position. Otherwise, one would have to claim that the subject is extraposed, which would not be an attractive assumption (see the discussion in 4.3.1.3 and 5.3).

Further examples of the internal status of the subject of an ergative verb can easily be found. The following examples are not necessarily clear with regard to the thematic classification of the two nominal phrases involved. The dative phrase *skógi* we would analyze as an adverbial. Even though it is a Case-marked phrase it should not be considered an argument of the verb. This question would be relevant in a discussion on whether the surface subject is base-generated in the complement position of the verb, or possibly in the lower specifier position. The adverbial would, then, either be analyzed as being located in an adjunct position or as a complement, respectively.[30] An argument referring to a location, like *(allt) Kjalarnes* in (a), however, should not qualify as an Experiencer (since it is 'non-living', i.e. not able to experience). Furthermore, the adverbial seems not to be a 'natural' part of the potential argument structure of the verb *vaxa* ('grow'). Hence, I will analyze the adverbial as an adjunct. The double VP would in any case not be able to show whether the surface subject is base-generated as a lower specifier or as a complement. It can, however, show that it is an internal argument, i.e. that it is located within the lower VP and not in the external position:

(22) a. *Þá var skógi vaxið* ***allt Kjalarnes*** (Fjaln 1438)
then was with-wood grown [all Kjalarnes]$_{\text{SUBJ}}$
'At that time, all (of) Kjalarnes was covered with forest'

b. *Skógi var vaxið* ***allt*** *um hlíðir og grænar*
with-wood was grown all$_{\text{SUBJ}}$ [over hillsides and green

---

[30] I will not necessarily exclude the possibility that the adverbial may be base-generated as a sentence adverbial. However, as a type *skógi* would not be a 'typical' SA.

brekkur (Krók 1520)
hills]$_{ADVBL}$
'Everything was covered with forest over the hillsides and green hills'

In (a), the adverbial *skógi* is assumed to be scrambled to the left; the base-generated position would be as an adjunct to the right of *allt Kjalarnes*. The surface subject *allt Kjalarnes*, on the other hand, is located in its base-position as an internal argument. Since Extraposition of the subject is not considered an alternative, analyzing the position of the surface subject as the base-position is the only reasonable explanation of the observed word order. Scrambling of the participle *vaxið* to the left over the external position could be a possibility. Based on the assumption that *vaxa* is an ergative verb with no external argument this is, however, not an attractive solution.

The example (b) is not necessarily a clear example with regard to the base-position of the surface subject since the PP *um hlíðir* ... possibly also could be analyzed as a part of the subject. However, I find an analysis with the PP as an additional adverbial more reasonable in this case, i.e. a base-generated argument order (a) instead of an alternative analysis (b):

(23) a. *var vaxið* ***allt*** *skógi um hlíðir og grænar brekkur*
was grown all with-wood$_{ADVBL}$ [over hillsides and green hills]$_{ADVBL}$

b. *?var vaxið* ***allt um hlíðir og grænar brekkur*** *skógi*
was grown [all [over hillsides and green hills]] with-wood$_{ADVBL}$

There are further possible arguments against some of my claims above. For instance, my claim that the subject should not be considered extraposed when appearing to the right at the end of the clause. I have argued above that such a word order would be able to show the *internal* status of an argument. Some of the Old Norse data may apparently represent a severe challenge to this claim when the outlined theory consisting of a thematic and a structural hierarchy is applied.

Consider, for instance, the following two examples involving the bivalent ergative verb *eiga* ('own').[31] In (a), the 'owner' appears to the right *behind* an adverbial phrase, i.e. seemingly in a typical *extra* position. In (b), the 'owner' follows behind the 'owned', i.e. seemingly to the right of an argument that intuitively should be regarded a thematically 'lower' argument.

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[31] I consider *eiga* ('own') an ergative verb since it does not assign an agentive/performative role; see also the discussion on ergative verbs in 4.3.3.2.

Extraposition could be considered a reasonable explanation for those constructions:

(24) a. *Jófríði* *hafði* *átt* *fyrr* ***Þóroddur son Tungu-Odds*** (Egla 505)
Jofrid$_{\text{OBJ/SUBJ?}}$ had owned$_{\text{V}}$ before$_{\text{ADVBL}}$ || [Thorodd, son Tungu-Odd's]$_{\text{SUBJ/OBJ?}}$
'Before that Jofrid was married to Thorodd, son of Tungu-Odd'

b. *Þorgerður* *var* *ekkja* *og* *hafði* *átt* *hana* ***Halldór***
Thorgerd was widow and had owned her$_{\text{OBJ/SUBJ?}}$ Halldor

bróðir ***Þorvarðs*** (LjósC 1705)
brother Thorvard's]$_{\text{SUBJ/OBJ?}}$
'Thorgerd was a widow and she had been married to Thorvard's brother Halldor'

However, given the assumption that Extraposition of subjects is not allowed - or at least very restricted (see the discussion in 4.3.1.3 and 5.3), there should be another explanation. According to the thematic role hierarchy assumed here, a higher thematic argument cannot be base-generated in a position below a possible lower thematic argument. This condition by itself does not necessarily disallow Extraposition. Why, then, would it be possible to extrapose a direct object but not the subject? Remember that the Germanic languages usually do not allow Extraposition (Heavy NP Shift) of an indirect object. In the analysis supposed here, an indirect object would be a 'lower' specifier, i.e. located in [Spec, VP] of the 'lower' VP. As such it cannot be moved to the right over a possible 'lower' argument, i.e. direct object. This would be one argument for assuming that Extraposition of a subject is (usually) not allowed either; neither of a higher specifier subject (external) nor of a promoted internal subject. The direct object, on the other hand, is base-generated in the complement position - as the lowest possible argument - and can, therefore, be extraposed. Assuming that there really exists a thematic hierarchy constraining the distribution of arguments in the clause, Extrapositon of a higher thematic argument could lead to misinterpretation. For instance, if the 'indirect' object (e.g. a dative argument) is moved to the right over the direct object (e.g. an accusative argument), it could be interpreted as having a lower role than the direct object. Actually, there are, in fact, constructions where the argument 'expected' to be the direct object seems to have a higher role than the argument 'expected' to be the indirect object (see the discussion on the so-called *inverted* double object construction in 4.2.2 below). Changing the basic argument structure by Topicalization or Scrambling, on the other hand, is in most cases clear with regard to grammatical function of the argument moved. Reordering the order of arguments within the VP, however, may cause difficulties with regard to interpretation. A position to the right may be a potential argument position as long as there is no intervening material. To the left of the base position of the main verb, on the other hand, there is only the external position. In most Germanic languages the external argument has to move further to the left, hence, misinterpretation is less likely. I assume that some Old Norse verbs may project alternative thematic structures, i.e. the 'default' (most frequent) order of the two internal arguments may be *inverted*.[32] For some reason, however, Case is not affected by this alternative structure. This may, of course, be a problem if one assumes that Case *always* is assigned by a certain *position*. However, if one assumes that Case properties may be a part of the lexical entry of a verb, the verb could assign Case pre-syntactically by default while syntax only checks if the argument actually has been assigned Case. I will return to a discussion on 'Extraposition' and/or possible Right Dislocation of potential subjects in 4.3.1.3 and 5.3 (cf. also Haugan 1998b). Here, I will assume that the sentences in (24) are most reasonably analyzed as inverted argument structures, i.e. I assume that the verb *eiga* may project two different thematic structures. In case the thing 'owned' may be considered more affected than a 'typical' Theme argument, it may be analyzed as an Experiencer and be base-generated in the lower specifier position, whereas the 'owner' is base-generated as a complement. As a complement, the 'owner' may be extraposed, cf. (24a). In (24b), Extraposition is not necessary since the 'owner' is base-generated below/behind the thing 'owned' already. Such an analysis can be justified by the fact that a triadic verb like e.g. *gefa* ('give') seems to allow alternative thematic structures in, for instance, Modern Icelandic (4.2.2), and by the fact that both objects of the verb *gjeve* ('give') in Modern Norwegian may become subject in passive constructions (see also 4.3.3.1 below). As mentioned before, determining the exact thematic status of an argument is not always easy. However, usually it is relatively easy to determine the status of an argument *relative* to another argument, i.e. as 'higher' or 'lower'. The subject/object status of the two arguments of the Old Norse verb *eiga* ('own') is not always clear (see also the discussion in 4.3.3.2), but the thematic hierarchy assumed here may, in most cases, account for the observed surface distribution. Example (24b), I take as an argument for a base-generated word order (the main verb has moved to the 'higher' V):

---

[32] Barðdal (1997) too suggests that some Old Norse (/ Scandinavian) verbs may have different thematic structures. Barðdal also refers to Bernódusson (1982) on Old and Modern Icelandic, and Söderwall's (1884-1918) observations about Old Swedish data. I will return to further examples later (e.g. 4.3.3.1).

(25) *hafði* *átt* *hana* ***Halldór bróðir Þorvarðs***
had owned$_{V}$ her$_{SPEC}$ _ [Halldor brother Thorvard's]$_{COMPL}$

instead of Extraposition of the 'owner' as a surface subject. The proposed structure in (25) would only allow promotion of the argument *hana* to surface subject. Given the assumption that Extraposition of the subject is not allowed - or at least very restricted, the Double VP Analysis combined with a thematic hierarchy can explain this kind of word order while a Double Base Analysis in itself could not account for this structure. A non-configurational analysis would allow the subject to appear to the right, but it would not be able to make the same predictions about the nature of a possible phrase to the right.

As shown above, there are good arguments for assuming that the arguments of a verb are projected into syntax in a certain order determined by a thematic hierarchy. In Old Norse, an internal argument (or both) may stay in its (their) base position(s) even though the argument (or one of the arguments (the higher)) is promoted to surface subject. Consider, for instance, also the following examples. Example (a) shows an active clause with the triadic verb *gefa* ('give'). In the passive clause (b), both internal arguments are located in their base positions; the higher argument (the Beneficiary) is analyzed as the surface subject. As mentioned before, subject promotion of an internal argument is not dependent on Case properties. The indirect object of the active sentence has lexical dative case and will keep its Case during passive formation even if it becomes surface subject (as long as it has a higher thematic role than the 'direct' object). The structural accusative case of the direct object, however, changes to nominative in a corresponding passive clause, independently of its status as an object or possible surface subject (if it has a higher thematic role than the dative argument):

(26) a. *... og hann hefir gefið* ***þeim*** *báðum saman*
... and he$_{SUBJ}$ has given$_{V}$ [them both together]$_{IO}$

gripina ... (GíslS 863)
things-the$_{DO}$
'... and he has given the things/gifts to them both ...'

b. *Var þar þegar inni mungát og gefið* ***þeim*** *að*
was there soon inside boozing session and given$_{V}$ them$_{SUBJ}$ [to

drekka (Egla 426)
drink]$_{OBJ}$
'Soon there was a boozing session inside and they were given something to drink'

In (b), the phrase to the right should not be analyzed as a surface subject, even though Extraposition of a subject *clause* would be possible. The phrase should be analyzed as base-generated in the complement position of the verb. The same analysis applies to the following example:

(27) *Þá var runnið eftir þeim er flóttann ráku og sagt*
then was run after them who fleeing chased and said$_{V}$

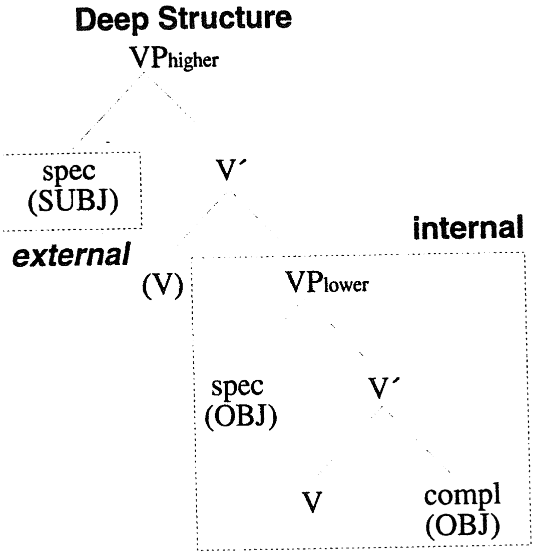
***þeim** fallið Brjáns konungs* (Njála 340)
them$_{SUBJ}$ [fall Brjan's kings]$_{OBJ}$
'Then they ran after those who chased the fleeing troops to tell them that king Brjan was dead'

The analysis is straightforward according to the thematic and structural hierarchy. The dative *þeim* would be the higher thematic argument, base-generated in a higher structural position with the consequence that it would be the only structurally possible surface subject candidate since passivization has suppressed the potential external argument.

I take examples like the ones above, i.e. with bivalent ergative verbs or passive of double object constructions, where both internal arguments appear behind the main verb as evidence for a VP structure where the verb has moved to a 'higher' V position (Double VP Projection). The two internal arguments are assumed to be base-generated as the lower specifier and the complement, respectively. When the verb moves to the higher V-position, the word order will be V - OBJ - OBJ, the first and higher object being the surface subject candidate. A verb with an external argument, i.e. a deep structure subject, would project the word order SUBJ - V - OBJ - OBJ, i.e. SVO(O). A single VP for ergative verbs (cf. the ActP analysis of Holmberg & Platzack 1995) would not be able to account for the order VOO since there is no higher V-position (in the present framework) that makes movement of the verb over its (internal) specifier possible. If the main verb always had to move to the empty V in the 'higher' VP in order to create a nexus, and if [Spec, VP] of the 'higher' VP has to be filled by an argument or be linked to an argument, then, movement of the external argument of the 'lower' VP to [Spec, VP] of the 'higher' VP could be predicted.[33]

On the background of the discussion in this section, I will refer to the arguments of ergative verbs as *internal arguments* relative to a 'potential' double VP structure. The argument generated in [Spec, VP] of the (potentially) 'higher' VP is *the* external argument, i.e. the agentive/performative deep-structure subject. The 'lower' VP also has a specifier position that could be considered *external* relative to [Compl, V′]. However, I will not consider an argument base-generated in [Spec, VP] a *deep-structure* subject, and I will refer to this position as an *internal* specifier. Thus, relative to a double VP structure, I consider any argument base-generated in the lower VP a deep-structure *object*, e.g.:

(28)



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[33] The discussion in Vikner (1991b:366) could be taken as an argument for a universal specifier of VP. (However, Vikner does not discuss a double VP structure).

The external argument (internal specifier) of the 'lower' VP usually receives lexical Case, while the external argument of the 'higher' VP never gets lexical Case.[34] As for Case properties, thus, [Spec, VP] of the 'higher' VP is a pure structural Case position (cf. e.g. Holmberg & Platzack 1995), while [Spec, VP] of the 'lower' VP may receive structural or lexical Cases. This is, however, not explored any further in this work (but see the discussion on middle constructions in 4.3.3.3).

I assume that passives and ergatives exhibit basically the same subject promotion properties: the thematically and structurally highest internal argument will always be the surface subject candidate.[35] Subject promotion of internal arguments will be discussed further in section 4.3.3.

To sum up, I will use a double VP in my description of Old Norse syntax, and I will not consider the (lower) external argument of an ergative verb a deep-structure *subject*; instead, I will call it a deep-structure *object*. The deep-structure subject is base-generated in the 'higher' VP, while deep-structure objects are base-generated in the 'lower' VP. I make this decision first of all to make it easier to refer to the arguments I talk about and to make a clear distinction between Agents and non-Agents.

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[34] In passive sentences with *gefa*-verbs ('give'), for instance, the 'indirect' object of the active sentence, i.e. the specifier argument of the 'lower' VP, will be a dative argument; this dative argument will usually become an oblique surface subject (see the discussion on passive in 4.3.3.1) . The specifier argument of many ergative verbs, on the other hand, may receive nominative Case (see 4.3.3.2)..

[35] Cf. also Sigurðsson (1992a).

Diverging from the ‘traditional’ view on (surface) subjects in Old Norse (especially in Norwegian linguistic literature; e.g. Nygaard 1905; Spurkland 1989; Faarlund 1990a[36]; Haugen 1993, and many others)[37], I claim that there is no direct relation between (surface) subjects and nominative Case in Old Norse, except the fact that agentive subjects are always nominative in Old Norse (cf. Sigurðsson 1992a:215)[38], while the opposite is not true - and, of course, the fact that Agents, by definition, are deep-structure subjects.[39] In accordance with this view, I do not support the claim that “only accusative objects can be subjects in passive sentences” (Faarlund 1990a:150)[40], which is a matter of structural and lexical Case and not of subjecthood or objecthood.[41] Note that (surface) *subjects* of passive sentences are *objects* of active sentences. This fact by itself is, in my opinion, an argument for a general distinction between deep-structure subjects and surface-structure subjects.[42]

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[36] Faarlund (1990a and other works) only accepts nominative subjects in Old Norse, nevertheless, he states “in case-marking languages, the subject need not be identified with nominative case” (Faarlund 1990a:79).

[37] Some quotations as an illustration:
Nygaard (1905:81): “I nominativ sættes subjektet” (‘In the nominative, one puts the subject’).
Spurkland (1989:141): “Subjekt og subjektspredikativ står i nominativ, samt tiltaleord. Alle andre setningsledd står i en eller annen oblik kasus” (‘Subject and subject predicate are in the nominative, and also the term of address. Every other constituent has one or another oblique case’).
Haugen (1993:258): “Nominativ er kasus for subjektet på norrønt” (‘Nominative is the case of the subject in Old Norse’).
All authors say very little about the subject in general. Iversen (1972) does not devote any space on saying anything about the nominative/subject (except about so-called ‘subjectless sentences’), and neither does Heusler (1967).

[38] Apart from constructions like the A.C.I. where an Agent argument of a small clause is assigned structural accusative by the verb of the matrix clause since the argument is located in the complement position of the matrix verb.

[39] For an explanation on why Agents never get lexical Case, see Grimshaw (1990:37f.).

[40] Recall that Faarlund defines the subject in Old Norse as being nominative only. Thus, if interpreting this statement as “only accusative objects can be nominative subjects in passive sentences”, this would be basically true, since arguments with lexical Case will not change Case. However, as I will show below, the accusative object of Old Norse double object constructions hardly ever becomes the subject in passive sentences on the assumption that the subject is defined structurally. Thus, what would be a nominative subject by Faarlund’s definition will structurally, in most cases, be a nominative *object* (in the default case, i.e. when it has a lower thematic role than the dative argument).

[41] See, for instance, also Taraldsen (1995).

[42] Cf. e.g. (Alsina 1996:35):

> While an active form and the corresponding passive, for example, may differ considerably in the syntactic functions that they take and in the semantic roles associated with their syntactic functions,

4.2.2 Internal Arguments - Object Positions

As discussed above, I will assume a double VP structure and I will refer to the argument(s) base-generated belonging to the 'lower' VP as *internal argument(s)* or *object(s)*. The 'lower' VP as a whole is considered *internal* to the 'higher' VP. The potential arguments of ergative verbs will also be called *internal*, even though an ergative verb, by definition, would not be able to assign an external role (to an argument base-generated in [Spec, VP] of the higher VP).

The argument in [Spec, VP] of the 'lower' VP is, of course, an external argument relative to the argument in [Compl, V′] of the 'lower' VP. However, the External Role Principle discussed above only refers to the external argument of a/the 'higher' VP, i.e. the position where I assume an Agent/Performer would be base-generated.

In Old Norse, I assume that the argument/object position [Compl, V′] in the configuration:

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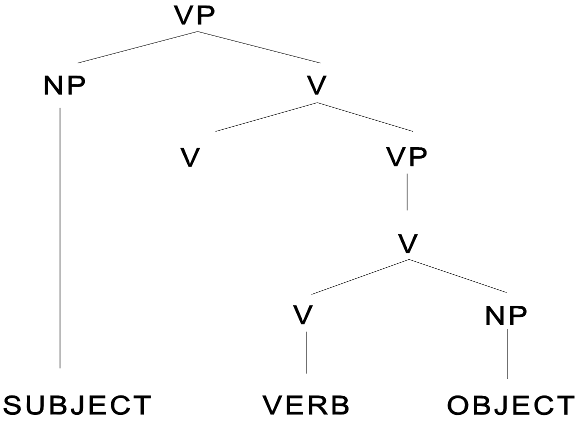
the a-structure that underlies the two forms is largely the same: the passive morphology adds a specification to one of the arguments (the one that would normally be the subject in the active form) that will prevent it from being the subject. This change in the argument structure triggers a different association of arguments to syntactic functions from the one that obtains in the active form.

(29)



is (usually) the position of the *‘Direct’ Object* (DO).[43] The *‘Indirect’ Object* (IO), on the other hand, is base-generated in [Spec, VP] of the ‘lower’ VP (cf. Holmberg & Platzack 1995, and Falk 1990; compare also Larson 1988, Speas 1990, and Johnson 1991)[44], e.g.:

(30)	*Jarl*	*gaf*	*honum*	*kaupskip* (Vatn 1897)
	earl	gave	him	merchant ship

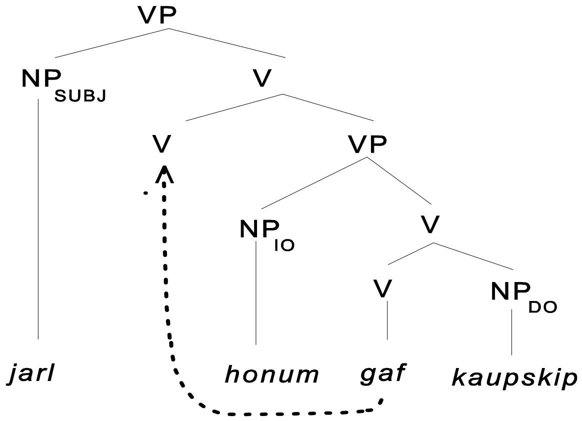
‘The earl gave him a merchant ship’

---

[43] See the discussion on the so-called *inverted* double object construction below. The terms *direct* and *indirect* object will also be discussed shortly.

[44] For different proposals, see Hoffman (1991a, 1991b, 1995), following the spirit of Kayne (1984), Pesetsky (1990) and Hale & Keyser (1992). For a comment on Larson (1988), see Jackendoff (1990) and the discussion in Speas (1990).

(31)



As mentioned before (cf. (7) in 4.2.1 above), the internal arguments, in this case, direct object and indirect object, are theta marked directly (the direct object being theta marked before the indirect object, cf. Grimshaw 1990 and the structural configuration of the double VP outlined above).[45] The so-called ***Double Object Construction*** (DOC),[46] with an argument structure *Agent - Beneficiary - Patient*, may be considered the most typical use of three-place predicates.[47] These three thematic roles are usually identified with the grammatical relations *Subject, Indirect Object/Dative* and *(Direct) Object*. According to Palmer (1994:37) such identification implies that:

> this three-term construction differs from the two-term construction solely in the addition of the third term, the Indirect Object/Dative, the other two terms, Subject and Object, being shared by both constructions.

This observation is basically true for Old Norse where the Beneficiary is usually associated with the dative, while the Patient/Theme is in the accusative case, like, for instance, in the Old Norse example (30) above, here repeated as (32):

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[45] As discussed, the indirect object is assumed to be base-generated external to the direct object within the lower VP.

[46] Cf. Holmberg & Platzack (1995:185):

> We will reserve the term 'double object construction', abbreviated DOC, specifically for this type of construction: a triadic verb followed by two DPs where the first one is the indirect object (IO) assigned an experiencer type role (recipient, benefactive, or malefactive), and the second one is the direct object (DO), assigned a theme type role.

[47] When expressed as a PP, the Beneficiary usually may be considered a Goal, thus, base-generated below the Patient/Theme (see the discussion below).

(32) *Jarl* *gaf* *honum* *kaupskip* (Vatn 1897)
earl$_{\text{NOM-SUBJ}}$ gave him$_{\text{DAT-IO}}$ merchant ship$_{\text{ACC-DO}}$
'The earl gave him a merchant ship'

The same situation is found in e.g. Latin or Modern German:

(33) *Marcus* *Fabio* *librum* *dedit* (Palmer 1994:37)
Marcus$_{\text{NOM}}$ Fabius$_{\text{DAT}}$ book$_{\text{ACC}}$ gave
'Marcus gave Fabius a book'

(34) *Marcus* *gab* *Fabius/ihm* *ein Buch*
Marcus$_{\text{NOM}}$ gave Fabius/him$_{\text{DAT}}$ a book$_{\text{ACC}}$

Palmer (1994:37), however, points out that there are languages in which it is the Beneficiary, and not the Patient, of the three-term construction that is identified grammatically with the second term of the two-term construction, which would be identified as the *(Direct) Object*. Such languages are e.g. Huichol (Comrie 1982:99, 108), Khasi/Assam (Rabel 1961:77) and Yokuts/Californina (Croft 1991:246); see also Dryer (1986:815ff.). Hence, the terms *'(Direct) Object'* and *'Indirect Object'* may be considered inappropriate. Instead, Dryer (1986) suggests, the terms ***Primary Object*** and ***Secondary Object*** should be used. *Secondary Object* refers to the Patient of the three-term construction alone, while *Primary Object* refers to both the Beneficiary of the three-term construction and the Object of the two-term system.

The distinction *Direct/Indirect Object* vs. *Primary/Secondary Object* is discussed thoroughly in Palmer (1994) (see also Croft 1990:103f.), and I will not carry on the discussion any further. In Old Norse, the terms *Indirect* and *Direct Object* are used in all the traditional grammars for the DOC, with an Agent, a Beneficiary and a Patient/Theme, and I will continue using these expressions here when referring to these two objects. Note, however, that the word order Indirect Object - Direct Object violates the *Grammatical Relations Hierarchy* as stated in Croft (1990:101):

(35) **The Grammatical Relations Hierarchy**[48]
Subject < (Direct) Object < Oblique

in Old Norse (and many other languages).[49] This problem would be accounted for when using the primary/secondary object distinction: the unmarked word order is *Primary Object - Secondary Object*, in accordance with their frequency (Croft 1990:108). Of course, one could also, instead, refer to the *Universal Theta Hierarchy*, as stated in Holmberg & Platzack (1995:196), following Speas (1990):

(36) **The Universal Theta Hierarchy**[50]
Actor > Experiencer > Theme > Adverbial

to account for this word order. In this work, I will first of all adopt the latter hierarchy.

One argument for using the *primary/secondary* distinction in Old Norse might be **passivization**. To show this, I will anticipate some points of the discussion in the sections on the positions of internal arguments in surface structure (4.3.2 and 4.3.3 below).

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[48] Croft (1991:290, n. 2) notes:

> This hierarchy was originally christened the "accessibility hierarchy" since it was used to characterize accessibility of an NP to relativization (Keenan and Comrie 1977); but its relevance for predicate-argument relations in general was recognized early (for a summary of typological evidence supporting the grammatical relations hierarchy, see Croft 1990, 5.3.2).

See also *The Causal Order Hypothesis* (Croft 1991:186):

> The grammatical relations hierarchy SBJ < OBJ < $\text{OBL}_{\text{subsequent}}$ corresponds to the order of participation in the causal chain. (Antecedent oblique case markers are used to indicate that the oblique NP does *not* "fit" in the causal chain as the hierarchy would imply.)
> *Subsequent roles*: benefactive, recipient, result.
> *Antecedent roles*: instrumental, manner, means, comitative, passive agent, ergative, cause.

[49] See also Croft (1990:107): "In general, objects also precede obliques. However, the position of the indirect object (the G argument) varies", and Faarlund (1996:46): "In most Indo-European languages the cases are ordered as follows: Nominative > Dative > Accusative > ...". Furthermore, Faarlund (1996:46) offers a different account for the order of arguments.

[50] The existence of such a thematic hierarchy was already proposed in Fillmore (1968) and Jackendoff (1972). A more detailed - and slightly different - version is the one in Alsina (1996, following Bresnan & Kanerva 1989, 1992):

(i) *agent > beneficiary > goal/experiencer > instrument > patient/theme > locative.*

See also Grimshaw (1990:8). Grimshaw (1990:175, n.1) notices that the details of this hierarchy are

> obscure and/or controversial in some places, especially with respect to the relationship between the Theme and Goal/Source/Location group and with respect to relationships within that group. For example, Carrier-Duncan (1985, 7) and Baker (1989) represent the Theme as higher than the Goal (see also Larson (1988)). [...] Note also that Barss and Lasnik (1986) discuss a number of respects in which Goal NPs in English datives behave as though they are more prominent than Themes.

Furthermore, Speas (1990:74) shows a list of different hierarchies proposed by different linguists.

According to Palmer (1994:125), it is the Patient-object (the 'direct' object) that is most commonly promoted to subject.[51] However, in the Old Norse DOC, it is usually the Beneficiary (the 'Primary Object') that is promoted to subject.[52] The huge number of sentences with a nominative NP following the non-finite main verb do definitely not look like examples of, for instance, *Subject Shift* (possible adjunction/extraposition of the 'subject' to the right, see 4.3.1.3 and 5.3) with *Object Shift/Scrambling* of the 'Indirect Object' (adjunction to the left, see 4.3.2.4), e.g.:

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[51] Palmer (1994:125) also notes that "the Beneficiary-Dative is often promoted (and it is relevant to note that the Beneficiary was often the promoted term in the Double Object constructions ...)".

[52] As mentioned before, in some cases the argument that most commonly is assigned the Patient/Theme role may be promoted to subject instead of the Beneficiary. However, this is assumed to be due to some kind of 'role switch' (see the discussion below). On the other hand, this could, of course, also indicate that Old Norse belongs to those languages "that have constructions that are best interpreted as simply having two Objects that are not distinguished as either Direct + Indirect or Primary + Secondary" (Palmer 1994:39). Still, I will argue that the 'Patient', in fact, should be analyzed as having a different (higher) thematic role (namely Experiencer) than the Beneficiary in these examples (see below). Hence, there would still be a clear hierarchical structure determining the choice of (surface) subject.

(37) ... *og* *var* ***þeim*** *gefið* ***frelsi*** (HallM 1220)
... and was them$_{DAT}$ given$_{V}$ mercy$_{NOM}$
'... and they were given mercy/amnesty'

(38) *Var* ***þeim*** *veittur* ***allgóður*** ***beini*** (Laxd 1639)
was them$_{DAT}$ given$_{V}$ [all-good help]$_{NOM}$
'They were given very much help'

(39) *Var* ***þeim*** *unninn* ***beini góður*** (Fljót 716)
was them$_{DAT}$ given$_{V}$ [help good]$_{NOM}$
'They were given much help'

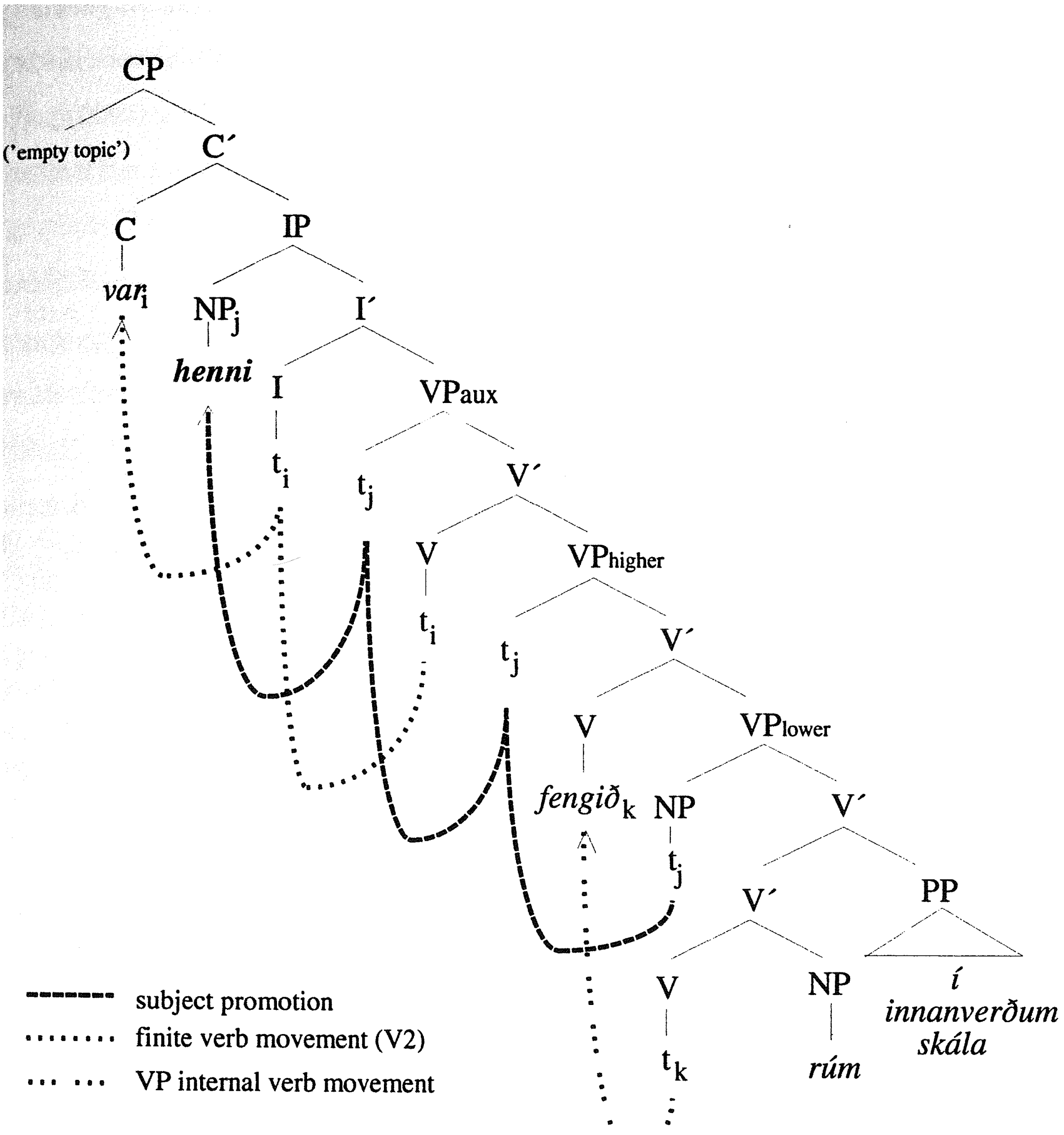
(40) *Síðan* *var* ***þeim*** *borið* ***öl*** *að* *drekka* (Egla 419)
since was them$_{DAT}$ born$_{V}$ ale$_{NOM}$ to drink
'Later, ale was put out for them'

(41) *Síðan* *var* ***henni*** *gefið* ***vatn*** *að* *drekka* (Egla 490)
since was her$_{DAT}$ given$_{V}$ water$_{NOM}$ to drink
'Later, she was given water to drink'

(42) *Var* ***henni*** *fengið* ***rúm*** *í* *innanverðum* *skála* (Eyrb 602)
was her$_{DAT}$ given$_{V}$ room$_{NOM}$ [in inner house]$_{ADVBL}$
'She was given a room in the inner house'

These sentences, I claim, are examples with overt **dative subjects** and **nominative objects** (note, for instance, example (42) where the nominative NP obviously is located in [Compl, V′] followed by an adjacent adverbial). The dative argument in the examples above is assumed to occupy [Spec, IP], i.e. the genuine position of the surface subject; whereas the second argument remains in its base-position [Compl, V′]. A syntactic tree representation of, for instance, (42) would look like:

(43)


CP
('empty topic')
C′
C
IP
var$_i$
NP$_j$
I′
henni
I
VPaux
t$_i$
t$_j$
V′
V
VPhigher
t$_i$
t$_j$
V′
V
VPlower
fengið$_k$
NP
V′
t$_j$
V′
PP
V
NP
í innanverðum skála
t$_k$
rúm
subject promotion
finite verb movement (V2)
VP internal verb movement

The present theory straightforwardly accounts for the observed surface structure. Trying to explain the position of the nominative *rúm* as a possible surface subject would be much more complicated unless Case is used as the only subject criterium. Then, the subject may, of course, be pointed out very easily; other syntactic features, however, would remain unexplained. In the syntactic model proposed here, thus, a dative NP can clearly be promoted to subject in passive sentences and not only an accusative NP.[53] This has also been shown (and is generally accepted) for Modern Icelandic, e.g. by Andrews (1985, 1990), Levin (1981), Sigurðsson (1992a), Þráinsson (1979), Zaenen, Maling & Þráinsson (1984, 1990), and Zaenen & Maling (1990) and others; and has also been argued for Old Norse, e.g. by Rögnvaldsson (1991, 1996c, and Barðdal 1997; see the discussion in 4.3.3).[54]

Promoting the Beneficiary to subject is in accordance with the *Universal Theta Hierarchy* and also the *Animacy Hierarchy Proper*, "in which humans outrank nonhuman animates, which in turn outrank inanimates" (Croft 1990:113).[55] And, not least, there is also a functional account for why one might choose to promote the Beneficiary instead of the Patient, cf. Croft (1991:151):

> Most discourse analysts agree that, when a choice for subject is involved, topicality governs the choice, and that, when a choice is not involved, the NP that is grammatically required to fill the subject slot is a "natural topic" (Hawkinson and Hyman 1974). That is, the active voice construction is used when the agent is more topical than the patient, but the passive voice construction is used when the patient is more topical than the agent (Givón 1984[a]:177). "Natural topicality" refers to the preference to assign topicality to NPs higher in the animacy hierarchy (Silverstein

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[53] The present view is in opposition to Faarlund's subject definition (1990a:167ff. and elsewhere) and the subject definition of most of the Norwegian 'traditional' grammarians (see Kristoffersen 1991, 1994, 1996 for arguments against oblique subjects in Old Norse versus Modern Icelandic). See e.g. Kakouriotis (1994) for a discussion on Greek DOCs, and Freidin & Babby (1984) for a discussion on Russian DOCs. In these languages, objects with lexical ('semantic') Case never passivize. Kakouriotis (1994, see also 1987, 1988, 1995), among other things, discusses differences between English and Modern Greek DOCs with regard to passivization. For a similar comparison between English and German in this respect, see Hawkins (1986). See Sprouse (1989) for the DOC in "selected Germanic languages"; furthermore, see Siewierska (1984) for a comparative study of passive. See also Freidin & Sprouse (1991) on lexical Case phenomena in Russian, German and Modern Icelandic (see also Sigurðsson 1988b for a discussion on lexical Case in Modern Icelandic)..

[54] For a discussion on dative subjects in some Indian languages, see Kachru, Kachru & Bhatia (1976).

[55] For further discussions on animacy hierarchies, see e.g. Croft (1990, 1991), Dixon (1979), Mondloch (1978) and Silverstein (1976).

> 1976; Dixon 1979), a ranking that includes NP type as well as animacy proper: first/second person < third-person pronoun < proper name < human common noun < animate common noun < inanimate common noun. Also, topical NPs are generally definite, as are subjects (Givón 1979:51).

The Beneficiary, when being one of two objects, is usually the NP "higher in the animacy hierarchy", hence, a "natural topic".[56] In the examples above, the Beneficiary is definite while the Patient is not,[57] thus, there are 'reasons' enough for promoting the Beneficiary in a passive construction; the Case of the highest argument is not relevant in this process.[58]

Finally, promotion of the Benefactive in passives of the DOC is, in the view proposed here, the same promotion process as observed with e.g. Experiencers (being non-Agents, hence, internal arguments,[59] see below). For instance:

(44) *Eigi líkaði honum það vel* (Egla 516)
not liked him$_{\text{DAT-SUBJ}}$ that$_{\text{NOM-OBJ}}$ well
'He did dot like that very much'

Sentences with overt dative subjects have been difficult to explain within 'traditional' approaches to Old Norse (e.g. Faarlund 1980, 1985a, 1987a, 1988a, 1988b, 1990a, 1994; Mørck 1992, 1994, 1995). The nominative has usually been the only possible candidate for overt subjects, leading to conclusions like the following:

> In Old Norse, most sentences contain a nominative NP, but this has few syntactic subject properties. This accords well with the findings of the previous section, that modern Norwegian is a configurational language, whereas Old Norse is

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[56] See also Givón's (1976:152) *Topic Selection Hierarchy*: *Agent > Dative/Benefactive > Accusative/Patient*.

[57] Note that one could also refer to the *NP-type Hierarchy*, "in which pronouns outrank common nouns" (Croft 1990:113). But it is not difficult to find examples with two common indefinite nouns, the Beneficiary still being promoted to subject, e.g.:

(i) *Klífur Helgi upp á þilið og sér að þar var manni matur deildur* (GíslS 881)
Climbs Helgi up on fence and sees that there was man$_{\text{SUBJ}}$ food$_{\text{OBJ}}$ given
'Helgi climbs onto the fence and observes that a man was given food'

[58] See, however, Keenan's (1976:324) *Promotion to Subject Hierarchy*. See also Croft's (1991:242) comments on *Application* (which I will not investigate here): "Application often is just the first step to subjectivization of an oblique via passivization (see Wunderlich 1983; and [Croft 1991:247ff.]), that is, a strategy for topicalizing a mental-level entity that normally cannot be a subject".

[59] However, as mentioned, external relative to the complement of V′.

> nonconfigurational. (Faarlund 1990a:127)[60]

Realizing that nominatives are not necessarily subjects in Old Norse, should obviously lead to more cautiousness when comparing Old Norse nominatives with, for instance, Modern Norwegian subjects (cf. Faarlund 1990a:112ff.). Basing conclusions about subjecthood in Old Norse on Case alone implies that one quite often will be comparing Old Norse nominative *objects* with Modern Norwegian overt *subjects*.[61] Most conclusions from such a comparison may, of course, not be tenable. In my opinion, too many conclusions and statements about Old Norse syntax and discourse functions are misleading or simply wrong because the subject has not been defined correctly.[62] Therefore, one even wondered "whether the term 'subject' is relevant or necessary at all in the description of a language like Old Norse" (Faarlund 1980:65).

As should be clear by now, I claim that the Old Norse surface structure subject *can* be defined positionally just like the Modern Norwegian subject, both belonging in the same position [Spec, IP].[63] However, an Old Norse overt 'subject' may seemingly also occur to the right of the non-finite main verb (see also 4.3.1.3, 5.3, and Haugan 1998b) which is not possible for a subject in Modern Norwegian.[64] In the following Old Norse example (a) from Faarlund (1990a:113), however, the subject should not be considered adjoined to the right; the phrase *maðr ok kona* is simply base-generated as an internal argument; most likely in the complement position. As the only argument of the verb:[65]

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[60] However, Faarlund (1990a:116; and 1980:68) could also have come to another conclusion when he found: "What this seems to show, then, is that either the order of NPs has nothing to do with subjecthood at all, or that NPs other than nominative phrases can be subjects." See also Faarlund (1980:73):

> If we want, then, to operate with the term 'subject' for a language like Old Norse, it is meaningful only to the extent that we are willing to abandon the rule that says that "the subject is in the nominative". That rule at best expresses a tautology, and therefore it is uninteresting as a grammatical statement. It seems, however, that it still may be fruitful to use the term 'subject' for a NP that has a particular grammatical relationship to the verb and the rest of the sentence, and that has a certain role in the information structure of the sentence. This grammatical category can then be expressed by different surface cases, as is also the case with other grammatical categories, such as adverbials and direct objects.

[61] This would be the same as comparing a syntactic subject with a 'logical subject', which is not necessarily the same phrase, at least in Modern Norwegian.

[62] For instance:

> In Old Norse, the nominative NP is not characterized by any particular pragmatic or contextual properties. In modern Norwegian, on the other hand, the subject is almost always definite in some (specifiable) sense. (Faarlund 1990a:112)

As shown above, the dative subject in passives of the DOC is usually definite just like in Modern Norwegian. Another doubtful conclusion:

> Since Old Norse is a nonconfigurational language, passive sentences cannot be derived by NP movement. (Faarlund 1990a:168; see also Faarlund 1988b)

Old Norse has, as I will argue, NP-movement and passive (see below), as has Modern Norwegian and Modern Icelandic. Regarding the definition of the Old Norse subject, I have to admit that I have been on the wrong track myself, cf. Haugan (1994, 1995).

[63] Note, however, that it is quite common to omit the IP in analyses of Modern Norwegian clauses, cf. e.g. Nordgård & Åfarli (1990:74ff.). See also Holmberg & Platzack (1988), Platzack & Holmberg (1989) and Holmberg & Platzack

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(1995) for a discussion on Modern Scandinavian in general.

[64] See e.g. Faarlund, Lie & Vannebo (1997:674ff.). In Modern Norwegian, the relevant phrase will then be analyzed as an object or possibly a 'logical' subject.

[65] See the discussion on the example (22) in 4.2.1 above. I argued that the argument of *vaxa* ('grow') should not be analyzed as an Experiencer, but as a Theme. Also, it seems that a verb like *vaxa* may potentially combine with a higher thematic argument (e.g. Benefactive) which, then, would be located in the specifier position. In the present

example the dative NP *honum* might be analyzed as such a higher argument. Then, in fact, the dative *honum* should be considered the surface subject and not *maðr ok kona*. However, it is also possible - and, in this case, more reasonable - to analyze ***honum*** as modifying the PP *undir vinstri ho,_nd* ('under left hand/arm'), corresponding to the Modern Norwegian translation *under den venstre armen hans* ('under his left arm'). Semantically, I would prefer the latter analysis. Note also that Modern German could use different formulations; one with a dative phrase (cf. (i); directly corresponding translation) and one with a possessive pronoun (ii) (cf. the Modern Norwegian translation above):

(i) *Da wuchsen ihm unter der/dem linken Hand/Arm ein Mann und eine Frau*
then grew him under the left hand/arm a man and a woman

(ii) *da wuchsen unter seinem linken Arm ein Mann und eine Frau* (Tetzner 1992:7)
then grew under his left arm a man and a woman

Simrock (1987:270) uses a combination:

(iii) *da wuchs ihm unter seinem linken Arm Mann und Weib*
then grew him under his left arm man and wife

Most likely, this translation is influenced very much by the Old Norse original. However, it shows that a dative Benefactive is possible. The following Old Norse example may justify the analysis of *honum* as a part of the PP instead of as an argument of the verb:

(iv) *Þar var fé mikið í gulli og silfri borið saman og einn kistill settur*
there was fee much in gold and silver born together and one chest sett

***undir fætur honum**, fullur af silfri* (Grett 979)

(45) a. *Þá óx undir vinstri ho,_nd honum maðr ok kona*
then grew under left hand him-D man-N and woman-N
'Then a man and a woman grew up under his left arm'

b. *Då voks det fram under den venstre armen hans ein*
then grew it out under the left arm his a

mann og ei kvinne
man and a woman

The PP *undir vinstri ho,_nd (honum)* I would analyze as scrambled (the status of *honum*, however, is not necessarily clear; *honum* may, in fact, be located in the lower specifier position and be analyzed as the surface subject; see footnote 65). In examples like these, Faarlund (1990a) compares the Modern Norwegian expletive *det* ('it/there') with Old Norse indefinite nominative NPs, concluding that the Modern Norwegian subject almost always is definite in some (specifiable sense), while the Old Norse nominative NP is not characterized by any particular pragmatic or contextual properties (Faarlund 1990a:112). Since Faarlund's formulation is about Modern Norwegian *subjects* and Old Norse *nominatives*, the conclusion is basically true. On the other hand, since his investigation is meant to compare subject properties, I think the conclusion is wrong because an Old Norse nominative is not necessarily a syntactic subject; on the contrary, in many cases it would actually be an object. The Old Norse sentence has, in fact, more or less the same structure as the Modern Norwegian sentence, the only difference being that Modern Norwegian has an overt expletive in [Spec, IP], while Old Norse has a non-referential non-lexical (hence invisible) null-subject in the same position, that is *pro* (see e.g. Sigurðsson 1992a:123ff.). The internal argument *maðr ok konu* ('man and woman') is non-topical, therefore, NP-movement, that is, (structural/overt) movement to [Spec, IP], is optional (cf. *The Definiteness-Effect* in Sigurðsson 1992a:292ff.) and, in fact, pragmatically not desired (see chapter 5). In Modern Norwegian, [Spec, IP] may not be overtly empty and has to contain an expletive subject when no lexical argument is moved there. In the analysis suggested here, in Old Norse the argument may be linked to *pro* in [Spec, IP] by a chain relation.

[under feet him], full of silver
'There a lot of money in gold and silver was collected and a chest, full of silver, was sett under his feet'

Topicality is also an important feature in passive formation. Palmer (1994:134ff.) mentions several different reasons for the use of passive in different languages, among these are:

(i) promotion of a non-Subject to Subject position to make it available as a syntactic pivot
(ii) promotion of a non-Agent for topicalization
(iii) the passive is often used, with the Agent omitted, where the Agent is unknown, non-specific or unimportant
(iv) in some languages the passive is used because there are restrictions, in terms of animacy/agency etc., on the type of entity that may function as the Subject of an active verb

There is no reason to believe that (iv) is valid in Old Norse, but (i)-(iii) are obviously important triggers of passive in many - if not most - languages.[66] Palmer (1994:136) also notes that subjects are generally topics and that promotion to subject provides a new topic. It is also as topics that subjects are deleted in coordination.

Since one function of the passive is promotion of a non-Agent for Topicalization, we would not be surprised to find Patients as subjects of passives in Old Norse (and Modern Icelandic - and

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[66] According to Trithart (1976), passives are favored in Bantu languages if they promote to subject an NP higher on a scale involving human/animate/inanimate. In opposition, according to Palmer (1994:137), a strong preference for animate subjects may block the passive in Korean, e.g. (Palmer quoting Song 1987):

(i)	*John-i,-n*	*ki,-*	*sakwa-li,-l*	*m_g-_ssta*
	John$_{\text{-TOP}}$	the	apple$_{\text{-ACC}}$	eat$_{\text{-PAST}}$

‘John ate the apple’

(ii)	**ki,-*	*sahwa-ni,-n*	*John-ege*	*m_g-hi-_ssta*
	the	apple$_{\text{-TOP}}$	John$_{\text{-DAT}}$	eat$_{\text{-PASS-PAST}}$

‘The apple was eaten by John’

many other languages).[67]

It could be argued that in cases where the Patient is more *topical* than the Beneficiary, the Patient (or *Secondary Object*) can be promoted to subject:

(46) ***Hún*** *var gefin Hákoni á Hákonarstöðum er nam Jökulsdal* (Fljót 674)
She$_{SUBJ}$ was given Hakon$_{OBJ}$ on Hakonstead who took Jokulsdale
'She was married to Hakon on Hakonstead who settled in Jokulsdal'

(47) *En* ***Ósk dóttir Þorsteins*** *var gefin breiðfirskum manni* (Laxd 1544)
And [Osk daughter Thorstein's]$_{SUBJ}$ was given ['Breidafjordish' man]$_{OBJ}$
'And Osk, Thorstein's daughter, was married to a man from Breidafjord'

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[67] For a discussion on passive in Modern Norwegian, see, e.g. Åfarli (1989) and Faarlund, Lie & Vannebo (1997:837ff.). Note the two variants of passive sentences from Modern Norwegian with a Patient subject and a Beneficiary subject, respectively (quoted from Faarlund, Lie & Vannebo 1997:838):

(i) *Jubilanten ble overrakt en medalje*
'The person celebrating his jubilee was presented with a medal'

(ii) *Medaljen ble overrakt jubilanten*
'The medal was presented to the person celebrating his jubilee'

However, as discussed above, this ‘phenomenon’ (the *dative* argument is expected to be the default surface subject candidate) is most reasonably explained by referring to an alternative argument structure where the ‘prototypical’ Patient/Theme argument is assigned a higher thematic role than the Beneficiary; alternatively that the Beneficiary is reduced to a Goal[68] (the degree of topicality would probably be rather closely connected with the type of thematic role, cf. ‘natural topic’). Note that there are two humans involved in these examples. This is definitely not the most common distribution of internal arguments with the verb *gefa* (‘give’) which most frequently combines with a *human being* as a Benefactive/Recipient of a *thing* given. In a possible ‘animacy hierarchy’ (cf. the discussion above), the two arguments in the examples above would, in fact, be equal. In opposition to an inanimate ‘thing’ given, the ‘Patient’ seems to be a bit more ‘Experiencer-like’, hence, the two objects are almost equal in most hierarchies discussed above. If the thematic hierarchy is projected directly into a double VP structure, subject promotion is explained straightforwardly. Topicality itself should, first of all, be considered a contextual feature and not a structural feature. However, as I will discuss in chapter 5, a contextual feature like Topicality would usually suggest a preferred argument structure which, as far as possible, would be structurally in accordance with the pragmatic desires.

Note also the following example, where *hennar* (‘her’) is a topicalized genitive object in the first clause whereas the same entity appears as a subject - and topic, in the coordinated clause:

(48) ***Hennar*** *bað* *Ormur* *son* *Hermundar* *Illugasonarog* *var*
hers$_{\text{GEN-OBJi}}$ asked [Ormur son Hermundur’s Illugason’s]$_{\text{SUBJ}}$ and was

hún *gefin honum* (Laxd 1653)
she$_{\text{NOM-SUBJi}}$ given him
‘Ormur, son of Hermundur Illugason, asked for her, and she was given to him’

Furthermore, consider an interesting example with the same phenomenon where the referent corresponding to the topicalized object of a preceding clause is the subject of a coordinated sentence, only there, the subject/topic is omitted:[69]

(49) ***Það*** *hafði* *Skarphéðinn* *gefið* *honum* *og* *var* [_]
that$_{\text{ACC-OBJi}}$ had Skarphedin$_{\text{NOM-SUBJ}}$ given him$_{\text{DAT-OBJ}}$ and was [that]$_{\text{NOM-SUBJi}}$

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[68] See the discussion in connection with the example (64) below.

[69] When the subject is omitted, I will indicate its surface position in [Spec, IP], i.e. behind the finite verb. However, the subject could just as well be omitted from the topic position.

hin mesta gersemi (Njála 306)
the most preciousness
‘That (spear) had Skarphedin given him, and it was a very precious thing’

At least, this example clearly shows how close topics may be related to subjects.

The same construction, i.e. passivization in order to make a topic the subject, can also be found with Beneficiaries, e.g.:

(50) *Síðan andast* ***Bárður*** *og var* ***honum*** *veittur umbúnaður* (Egla 377)
since died Bard$_{\text{NOM-SUBJ}}$ and was him$_{\text{DAT-SUBJ}}$ given burial$_{\text{NOM-OBJ}}$
‘Later, Bard died, and he was buried’

Note also the combination of a passive Patient subject with a passive Beneficiary subject:

(51) *Síðan var* ***Höskuldur*** *þangað kallaður og var* ***honum*** *sýnt*
since was Hoskuld$_{\text{NOM-SUBJ}}$ there called and was him$_{\text{DAT-SUBJ}}$ shown

barnið (Laxd 1548)
child-the$_{\text{NOM-OBJ}}$
‘Later Hoskuld was ordered to that place and they showed him the child’

The passive Beneficiary/dative subject can be omitted in coordination with a Patient/accusative subject:

(52) *Var* ***hún*** *vatni ausin og [_] nafn gefið*
was she$_{\text{NOM-SUBJ}}$ water poured and [was] [her]$_{\text{DAT-SUBJ}}$ name given

og hét [_] Ásgerður (Egla 409)
and was-named [she]$_{\text{NOM-SUBJ}}$ Asgerdur
‘She was baptized and given a name, and her name was Asgerd’

(53) ***Hann*** *var vatni ausinn og [_] nafn gefið og*
he$_{\text{NOM-SUBJ}}$ was water poured and [was] [him]$_{\text{DAT-SUBJ}}$ name given and

[-] *kallaður Helgi* (Fljót 685)
[he$_{\text{NOM-SUBJ}}$ was] called Helgi
‘He was baptized and given a name, and he was called Helgi’

Note also the combination of a dative subject with an omitted nominative subject (and omitted copula (gapping), cf. some of the examples above):

(54) ***Þeim sveini*** *var nafn gefið og [_] kallaður*
[this boy]$_{\text{DAT-SUBJ}}$ was name$_{\text{NOM-OBJ}}$ given and [was] [he]$_{\text{NOM-SUBJ}}$ called

Þorleikur (Laxd 1617)
Thorleik
‘This boy was given a name and called Thorleik’

I will return to subject promotion and passive in 4.3.3.1 below. Here, I have shown that one might operate with a *Primary/Secondary-Object* distinction in Old Norse (which also could be considered a specifier/complement distinction in the DOC) if we assume that the thematic hierarchy is projected directly into the syntactic deep structure. As long as we allow argument inversion or ‘role switch’ in the lexicon, i.e. as long as the *Primary Object* [located in [Spec, IP] of the lower VP) in the DOC is assigned the highest internal thematic role and the *Secondary Object* (located in [Compl, V´]) is assigned the lowest internal thematic role the argument order in the Old Norse examples above can be accounted for. More generally, as long as the argument with the highest internal thematic role is considered the Primary Object, the Primary/Secondary-Object distinction would make the same predictions with regard to possible subject promotion of an internal argument (i.e. when there is no external argument) as the combination of a thematic and syntactic hierarchy assumed here. For convenience, I will still use the ‘traditional’ terms *Direct Object* and *Indirect Object* since those terms seem to be well established, even though those terms may be problematic in certain constructions with thematic ‘role switch’. I will now return to a more general discussion on Old Norse constructions with two internal arguments or objects.

In chapter 3, it has been shown that there are also several other three-term constructions in Old Norse that involve different internal roles and different Case combinations (some examples from chapter 3):

(55) *Leynt hefir hann þessu alla menn* (Laxd 1575)
hidden has he$_{\text{NOM}}$ this$_{\text{DAT}}$ all men$_{\text{ACC}}$
‘He has not told this to anybody’

(56) *Nú biður Vésteinn Gísla leyfis að fara að hitta hann* (GísL 911)
now beggs Vestein$_{\text{NOM}}$ Gisli$_{\text{ACC}}$ allowance$_{\text{GEN}}$ to go to find him
‘Now Vestein asks Gisli’s permission to go and find him’

(57) *Mér léði Leifur húsanna* (GrænS 1107)
me$_{\text{DAT}}$ lent Leif$_{\text{NOM}}$ houses-the$_{\text{GEN}}$
‘Leif lent me the houses’

As shown in Palmer (1994:39, 169f.), the so-called *Indirect Object* can often be realized as a PP,[70] that is, as a ‘*to-Construction*’ (see also Holmberg & Platzack 1995:185ff.), e.g.:[71]

(58) a. *Mary gave **him** a book*
b. *Mary gave a book **to him***

Or in Modern Norwegian:

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[70] In this case, it is not considered to be a Primary *Object*.

[71] *To*-Constructions seem to be more common in languages that do not have a ‘rich’ Case system (anymore).

(59) a. *Marie gav* ***han*** *ei bok*
'Mary gave him a book'

b. *Marie gav ei bok* ***til han***
'Mary gave a book to him'

Similarly one may say (corresponding to 57):

(60) a. *Leif låner* ***meg*** *huset sitt*
'Leif lends me his house'

b. *Leif låner (ut) huset sitt* ***til meg***
'Leif lends his house to me'

However, sometimes older case constructions are represented by prepositions other than *to*.[72] For instance, a Modern Norwegian construction corresponding to (56):

(61) *Vestein ber Gisle* ***om løyve***
'Vestein begs Gisli for permission'

or, corresponding to (55):

(62) *Han har løynt dette* ***for alle mennene***
'He has hidden this from all the men'

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[72] These are usually other three-term constructions which I will not call DOC (see below).

Quite often, one of the two objects (sometimes both) may be omitted in the DOC;[73] usually, this would be the Indirect Object, e.g.:[74]

(63)	a.	*Marie*	*gav*	[_]	*ei bok*
		Mary	gave	[me]	a book
	b.	**Marie*	*gav*	*meg*	[_]
		Mary	gave	me	[a book]

Thus, one of the two arguments seems to be a little ‘closer’ to the verb than the other (cf. Grimshaw 1990 and the discussion above). This argument seems to be the direct object which is located in [Compl, V′]), whereas the indirect object, as a specifier of the lower VP, is structurally not that close to the verb. In the most frequent Old Norse DOC (the *gefa*-class type)[75], the indirect object receives lexical Case,[76] while the direct object receives structural Case (for a

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[73] See also Faarlund, Lie & Vannebo (1997:722f.).

[74] In Old Norse (and Modern Norwegian, cf. (iv)), a construction like this is possible in idiomatic expressions, e.g.:

(i)	*Þá*	*fór*	*hann*	*út*	*og*	*gaf*	*nautum*	*sínum*	(Fljót 699)
	Then	went	he	out	and	gave	cattle	his	[food/hay]

Cf. also:

(ii)	*Þar*	*var*	*fyrir*	*maður*	*og*	*bar*	*út*	*hey*	*og*	*gaf*	*hrossum*	*Bjarnar*	(BjHít 108)
	There	was	before	man	and	bore	out	hay	and	gave	horses	Bjarni’s	[it/the hay]

The reason why a construction like *gefa nautum/hrossum/* ... (‘give the cattle/horses...’) is grammatical is obvious: the number of things which possibly could/would be given to domestic animals is quite limited and can be put in one and the same category ‘food’, i.e. ‘something to eat’, cf.:

(iii) *Það var einn morgun snemma að Grettir kom til hrossahúss, lýkur upp og stóð Kengála fyrir stalli því að þótt hrossum væri fóður gefið* (Grett 970)
‘Early one morning, Grettir came to the horsehouse and opened the door; Kengala stood in front of the stable because the horses were fed (given food)’.

Since a (modern) farmer often only has either cows or pigs, it is sometimes even possible to omit both objects (Modern Norwegian):

(iv)	*Eg*	*har*	*vore*	*i*	*fjøset*	*og*	*gjeve*	(Tor Hoel, farmer, p.c.)
	I	have	been	in	barn/cow-/pighouse-the	and	given [food] [to the cows/pigs]	

[75] Holmberg & Platzack (1995:187):

> The largest class of triadic verbs, the class which includes canonical triadic verbs as *gefa* “give”, *segja* “tell”, *senda* “send”, *synja* “show”, *bjóða* “offer”, etc., have a dative IO and a (structural) accusative DO.

[76] According to Holmberg and Platzack (1995:186), the Case of the IO is checked lexically, by virtue of a lexical selection feature of the governing verb (while Mainland Scandinavian and English have a special Case licensing rule: Accusative is licit in Spec-VP). Note that the ‘prototypical’ indirect object, i.e. the argument with a Beneficiary-like role, still gets dative Case in Old Norse even though it, in certain constructions, may be base-generated as a ‘direct’

different proposal, see Speas 1990).[77] The lexical Case may possibly also be explained by an 'empty preposition',[78] which could explain why it is usually the indirect object that can be realized as a PP in modern languages without morphological Case (i.e. a possible distinction between LF prepositions and PF prepositions).

The Old Norse examples (55)-(57) belong to the so-called *skila/ræna*-class (cf. Holmberg & Platzack 1995:197) which is a minor group compared to the *gefa*-class type. In the *skila/ræna*-class, it seems that it is the direct object (the complement) and not the indirect object (the lower

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object, that is, as a complement of the verb with the accusative NP as a higher argument. Hence, the lexical Case cannot be considered assigned positionally. As for the assignment of structural Cases, nominative and accusative, it seems that an NP is picked out irrespectively of its function. If there is a subject with lexical (oblique) Case, the structural nominative is assigned to an object, and if there is an argument with lexical Case in the complement position of the verb, i.e. in the DOC the most 'typical' position of an argument with structural Case, the structural accusative may be assigned to the higher argument, i.e. the one in the specifier position. This is, first of all, relevant with respect to the variants of the protoypical DOC. In other constructions, the complement position may be the default lexical-Case position whereas the specifier position hosts the argument assigned structural Case. See Holmberg & Platzack (1995:28ff.) for a discussion on lexical versus structural Case checking.

[77] Cf. also Holmberg & Platzack (1995:186):

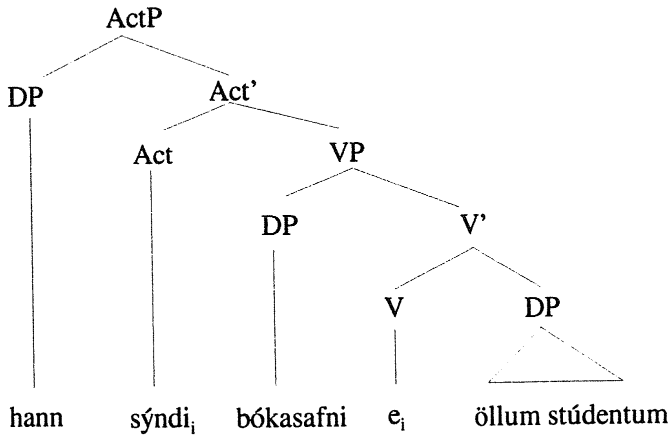
> In languages with m[orphological]-case the Case form shows which object is assigned marked Case. In Icelandic as well as in German the largest class of triadic verbs, including verbs corresponding to *give*, *send*, and *show*, etc. takes a DO with structural accusative and an IO with dative. The verbs which take two objects in M[ainland]Sc[andinavian] and English generally correspond to (and are historically related) to verbs in this class.

[78] Cf. Dikken (1995:133ff.). See also Kayne (1984:chapter 7), Czepluch (1982), Haegeman (1986), and Baker (1988). For arguments against Kayne (1984), see e.g. Hoekstra (1991:353f.). See Chomsky (1980) and Rouveret & Vergnaud (1980) for a discussion on Case theory (the so-called *Case Filter*).

specifier) that is marked with a lexical Case (cf. footnote 75).

As discussed above, I assume that the indirect object (i.e. when it is not realized as a PP) is generated in [Spec, VP] of the 'lower' VP (cf. Primary Object), while I assume that the direct object is generated as a sister of V, i.e. in [Compl, V′] (cf. Secondary Object). Hence, there is, in most cases, a c-command relation between the verb and the direct object and an m-command relation between the verb and the indirect object. However, as discussed by Holmberg and Platzack (1995:205ff.) (see also Holmberg 1991a), with verbs of the *gefa*-class, the order of DO and IO may be *inverted* in Modern Icelandic. This DOC Inversion is claimed to be base-generated (cf. the *to*-construction), a claim that is in accordance with the present theory outlined above, i.e. based on the combination of a thematic and structural hierarchy. Consider, for instance, the example from Holmberg & Platzack (1995:207) (*ActP* corresponds to the 'higher' VP in the Double VP
Analysis):

(64)



As the English translation may show:

(65) *He showed a library* **to** *all students.*

the inverted DOC may be considered a *to*-construction without a preposition (Holmberg &

Platzack 1995:207). This may seem a little strange, but there can actually be observed a difference in the thematic properties of the IO in the DOC and in the inverted DOC. According to Holmberg and Platzack (1995:208), the dative IO cannot be a "pure experiencer" in the inverted DOC.[79] It rather seems to have the same thematic properties as the PP in the Mainland Scandinavian and English *to*-construction: it need not be a 'pure' Goal, but it cannot be a 'pure' Experiencer. Consider the Modern Icelandic examples from Holmberg & Platzack (ibid.):

(66) a. *Hann gaf öllum kennurum sama tækifærið.*
he gave all teachers$_{\text{DAT}}$ (the) same chance$_{\text{ACC}}$

b. **Hann gaf sama tækifærið öllum kennurum.*
he gave (the) same chance$_{\text{ACC}}$ all teachers$_{\text{DAT}}$

(67) a. *Þetta gaf nokkrum bændum þessa hugmynd.*
this gave certain farmers$_{\text{DAT}}$ this idea$_{\text{ACC}}$

b. **Þetta gaf þessa hugmynd nokkrum bændum.*
this gave this idea$_{\text{ACC}}$ certain farmers$_{\text{DAT}}$

As one can see, the expressions *gefa tækifærið* 'give a chance' and *gefa hugmynd* 'give an idea' do not allow Inversion. According to Holmberg and Platzack, the inverted IO must be a Goal, due to the Universal Theta-Hierarchy. However, chances and ideas are not transmittable from a Source to a Goal, but are rather experienced.[80] Inversion of the DOC, thus, reflects the (hierarchic) thematic order of arguments in the syntactic structure: an IO as an Experiencer is generated in [Spec, VP], i.e. higher than the Patient, and an 'IO' as a Goal is generated in [Compl, V′], i.e. lower than the Patient. The terms DO and IO are, then, related to the most frequent realization of the DOC, or to the distribution of Case. Syntactically, of course, one would have to say that the IO is inverted to be a DO and the DO to IO.

However, the crucial condition for Inversion of the DOC is, according to Holmberg and Platzack (1995:206), that the IO should be focused and the DO consequently non-focused (i.e. be part of the presupposition) (see also Ottósson 1991b). The Modern Icelandic examples quoted from Holmberg & Platzack (1995:206) may illustrate this condition:[81]

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[79] Cf. my observations above about passive constructions corresponding to a DOC with, for instance, the verb *gefa* ('give') where the dative (contrary to expectation) is realized as an object and not as the surface subject because of a thematic role switch. See also Haugan (1998c).

[80] See also e.g. Green (1974), Oehrle (1976), Larson (1988), Pinker (1989), and Gropen et al. (1989) on differences in meaning between V NP PP sentences and their double object counterparts. See also the discussion in Speas (1990:83ff.).

(68) a. *Ég ætla að gefa bókina einhverju bókasafni.*
I will give the-book(A) some library(D)

b. *??Ég ætla að gefa bók einhverju bókasafni.*
I will give a book(A) some library(D)

c. *Ég ætla að gefa einhverja bók einhverju bókasafni.*
I will give some book(A) some library(D)

d. **Ég ætla að gefa einhverja bók bókasafninu.*
I will give some book(A) the-library(D)

e. **Ég ætla að gefa einhverja bók bókasafni.*
I will give some book(A) a-library(D)

f. *Ég ætla að gefa bókina bókasafni.*
I will give the-book(A) a-library(D)

g. **Ég ætla að gefa bókina bókasafninu.*
I will give the-book(A) the-library(D)

For further details and consequences, see Holmberg & Platzack (1995) and the references given in the discussion above.

Inversion (which, then, is not considered being Heavy NP Shift or Extraposition, see below) seems not to be possible with *skila/ræna*-verbs in Modern Icelandic (cf. Holmberg & Platzack 1995:208ff.). The same seems to the true in Old Norse. According to Holmberg and Platzack (1995:209), the absence of Inversion with *skila/ræna*-verbs follows straightforwardly from the status of the Case of the DO. The Direct Object of verbs of the *skila/ræna* class has an idiosyncratic Case, which is checked by a strict subcategorization feature, hence, it can only be assigned to a complement. According to Holmberg and Platzack (ibid.), the DO in the inverted DOC, unlike the situation in the *to*-construction, does not count as a complement, since the verb checks the Case of the IO. This is illustrated in examples from Holmberg & Platzack (1995:210):

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[81] See Czepluch (1991) for a description of corresponding German data.

(69) a. *ge*$_i$ [VP *boken* [V′ V$_i$ [PP *till något bibliotek*]]] (Swedish)

b. *gefa*$_i$ [VP *bókina* [V′ V$_i$ [DP *einhverju bókasafni*]]] (Mod. Icelandic)
‘give the book (to) some library’

In (a), according to Holmberg & Platzack (1995:210), V does not check Case in V’, hence, the argument *boken* (‘the book’) counts as a complement of the verb. In (b), on the other hand, V checks the dative Case of the inverted IO in V’, hence the argument *bókina* (‘the book’) does not count as a complement, complement defined as (Holmberg & Platzack 1995:195):[82]

(70) A is a complement of an X° head B if and only if
(a) A is a daughter of B’ (a first order projection of B), or
(b) A is a sister of B’ and B has not checked Case in B’.

The verb cannot check idiosyncratic Case on a specifier but only on a complement, hence, an inverted DOC with verbs of the *skila/ræna* class would be ill-formed, cf. (Holmberg & Platzack 1995:210):

(71) a. **skila* [VP *bókunum* [V’ V$_i$ [DP *einhverju bókasafni*]]]
return the-book(D) some library(D)

b. *skila* [VP *bókunum* [V’ V$_i$ [PP *til einhvers bókasafns*]]]
return the-book to some library

Searching verbs of the *skila/ræna* class like: *skila* (‘return’), *ræna* (‘rob’), *leyna* (‘conceal’), *spyrja* (‘ask’), *unna* (‘wish (somebody something’)) for Inversion, shows that the two objects are never inverted in Old Norse. Only with *biðja* (‘beg/ask for’) there are three examples (out of 1966) which seem to have Inversion of IO and DO. Consider for instance the following:

(72) *“Eigi mun eg í sumri út," segir Björn, "því að*
not will I in summer out says Bjorn because that

eg ætla að biðja ***orlofs Eirík jarl*** *að hann lofi*
I intend to beg permission$_{GEN}$ [Erik earl]$_{ACC}$ [that he allows

mér að fara í hernað og afla mér fjár og sæmdar
me to go in raid and get myself money and glory

---

[82] See Chomsky (1992) for a different proposal.

ef svo vill verða" (BjHít 78)
if so will be]
'I will not go out this summer, says Bjorn, because I intend to ask Earl Erik's permission to go on a raid and earn myself money and glory, if so happens'

This example seems a little strange because the Direct Object *orlofs*$_{\text{GEN}}$ ('permission'), together with the *að*-clause, is rather 'heavy', whereas it should be the Indirect Object that ought to be heavy to be able to appear to the right - if at all (see Holmberg & Platzack 1995:205).

The other two examples appear to be even stranger because they seem to have *three* nominal internal arguments:

(73) *Um vorið bað Gunnlaugur* ***konunginn sér orlofs***
in spring-the begged Gunnlaug$_{\text{NOM-SUBJ}}$ king-the$_{\text{ACC}}$ himself$_{\text{DAT}}$ permission$_{\text{GEN}}$

til brottferðar (Gunnl 1181)
to departure
'In the springtime, Gunnlaug asked the king for permission to go away'

(74) *En er veturinn leið af og sumar kom þá bað Bárður*
and when winter turned off and summer came then asked Bard$_{\text{NOM-SUBJ}}$

sér orlofs konung *að fara að vitja ráðs þess er*
himself$_{\text{DAT}}$ permission$_{\text{GEN}}$ king$_{\text{ACC}}$ to go to visit property this which

honum hafði heitið verið hið fyrra sumar (Egla 375)
him had promised been the former summer
'And when winter went by and summer came, Bard ask the king's permission to go and claim the properties he had been promised the summer before'

Since there are only three examples of Inversion(?) with *biðja* ('beg/ask for') out of nearly 2000, we should obviously be a little suspicious. Searching for occurrences of *orlof* ('permission to go') gives a more detailed picture of its use:

1. *biðja* (*einhvern*$_{\text{ACC}}$) *orlofs*$_{\text{GEN}}$ ([$_{\text{PP}}$ *til einhvers*] / [$_{\text{CP}}$ *að ...*] / [$_{\text{PP}}$ *til* [$_{\text{CP}}$ *að ...*]])
   ask (somebody('s)) permission (for something... / to/that ... / for to/that ...)
2. *biðja sér*$_{\text{DAT}}$ *orlofs*$_{\text{GEN}}$ (*til/um ... / að ...*) (*af einhverju*)[83]
   ask himself permission (for/about ... / to/that ...) (from somebody)
3. *gefa einhverju*$_{\text{DAT}}$ *orlof*$_{\text{ACC}}$ (*til ... / að ...*)
   give somebody permission (for ... / to/that ...)

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[83] I have actually not found any example with *biðja af einhverju* ('ask from somebody'). I have, however, found one example with *beiðast* ('ask for oneself') having basically the same meaning:

(i) *Beiddist Ólafur orlofs* ***af konungi*** *að fara út til Íslands um sumarið* (Laxd 1565)
'Olaf asks permission of the king to go out to Iceland in the summer'.

4. *fá orlof*$_{\text{ACC}}$ (*til ...*) (*af einhverju*)
   get permission (for ...) (from somebody)

5. *taka orlof*$_{\text{ACC}}$ (*til handa einhverju*) (*af einhverju*)
   get/ask permission (for somebody) (from somebody)

Nygaard (1905:145) considers the construction (2.) with *biðja sér* 'learned style', i.e. influenced by Latin or French.

Sentence (72) still seems difficult to explain if Inversion is not supposed to be possible with *biðja* ('beg/ask for'). But if we consider *biðja orlofs* ('ask for permission') an idiomatic expression and say that the 'Indirect Object'(?) in all cases may be represented by a PP *af einhverju* ('of somebody'), then the construction would fit into our description, if the accusative phrase has status as a PP (i.e. as an adjunct) with an invisible preposition (on the other hand, we would still have to explain the accusative Case). An explanation like this would, however, be rather doubtful.

With the addition of a reflexive in (72), the sentence would look just the same as (73) and (74):

(75)	*eg*	*ætla*	*að*	*biðja*	*mér*	*orlofs*	*Eirík*	*jarl*	*að ...*
	I	intend	to	ask	myself$_{\text{REFL}}$	permission	Erik	earl	that ...

As mentioned, Nygaard (1905:145) considers the construction *biðja sér* ('ask for oneself') 'learned style'. Nygaard (ibid.) writes *biðja sér e-tt*, i.e. with a 'direct object' in the accusative. However, I have only found *biðja sér e-s* in the corpus, that is, with a genitive. Nygaard does not mention the possibility(?) of adding a phrase in the accusative, which, on the other hand, is not surprising since there seem to be only 2 (3) examples of such a construction. Since there are so few examples, they might, of course, also be (ungrammatical?) mixtures of the constructions mentioned above. But it would seem that the construction *biðja sér*$_{\text{DAT}}$ *einhvers*$_{\text{GEN}}$ *einhvern*$_{\text{ACC}}$ ('ask for oneself a thing from somebody') needs a different analysis than *biðja einhvern*$_{\text{ACC}}$ *einhvers*$_{\text{GEN}}$ ('ask somebody for something').

In my opinion, the reflexive *sér* ('oneself') has to be considered the 'indirect object', first of all because it has the role of the Beneficiary; accordingly, the genitive is the 'direct object', because it has the role of the Patient. But what, then, is the status of the accusative phrase? There would be a (rather far-fetched) explanation if we were calling the accusative an adjacent adverbial phrase, i.e. not directly belonging to the argument structure. This adverbial, then, could be adjoined to the right (72 and 74) or to the left (73) like other adverbial phrases. However, still being suspicious, we would not find any of the explanations above very satisfying.

Turning away from the verb investigated (*biðja*), and looking for another verb with a genitive NP, it appears that these constructions could be easily explained by combining *biðja e-n e-s* ('ask somebody for something') with, for instance, *fá e-m e-s* ('give somebody something'). The two constructions would appear in the following way:

(76)	a.	*einnhverr*	*biðr*	*einhvern*	*einhvers*
		somebody$_{\text{NOM-SUBJ}}$	asks	somebody$_{\text{ACC-IO}}$	something$_{\text{GEN-DO}}$
	b.	*einnhverr*	*fœr*	*einhverjum*	*einhvers*
		somebody$_{\text{NOM-SUBJ}}$	gives	somebody$_{\text{DAT-IO}}$	something$_{\text{GEN-DO}}$

Assuming that *fá* ('give') is omitted in the three examples under investigation and calling the construction an A.C.I. (accusative and infinite), where (b) is the direct object of (a), two of the three sentences would immediately make sense:

(77)	*Um vorið bað Gunnlaugur*	*konunginn*	[_ (*fá*) *sér orlofs til brottferðar*]
	in spring-the begged Gunnlaug$_{\text{NOM-SUBJ}i}$	king-the$_{\text{IO}j}$	[_$_j$ (give) him$_{\text{DAT}i}$ permission$_{\text{GEN}}$ to departure]$_{\text{DO}}$

(78)	*... þá bað Bárður*	[_ (*fá*) *sér orlofs*]	*konung*	[*að fara ...*]
	... then asked Bard$_i$	[_$_j$ (get) him$_{\text{IO}i}$ permission$_{\text{DO}}$]$_{\text{DO}k}$	king$_{\text{IO}j}$	[to go ...]$_k$

As I see it, (77) would not be a problem anymore, and (78) could now be explained by claiming that the phrase [(*fá*) *sér orlofs*] is moved (scrambled) from the complement position over the (internal) specifier *konung* (and the empty deep structure subject position [Spec, VP]). Hence, there is no Inversion in the sense of alternative base-generation at all, cf. the following simplified illustration (in this structure, I have not considered that the *að*-clause is assumed to be extraposed before the 'rest' of the DO *(fá) sér orlofs* is scrambled to the left):[84]

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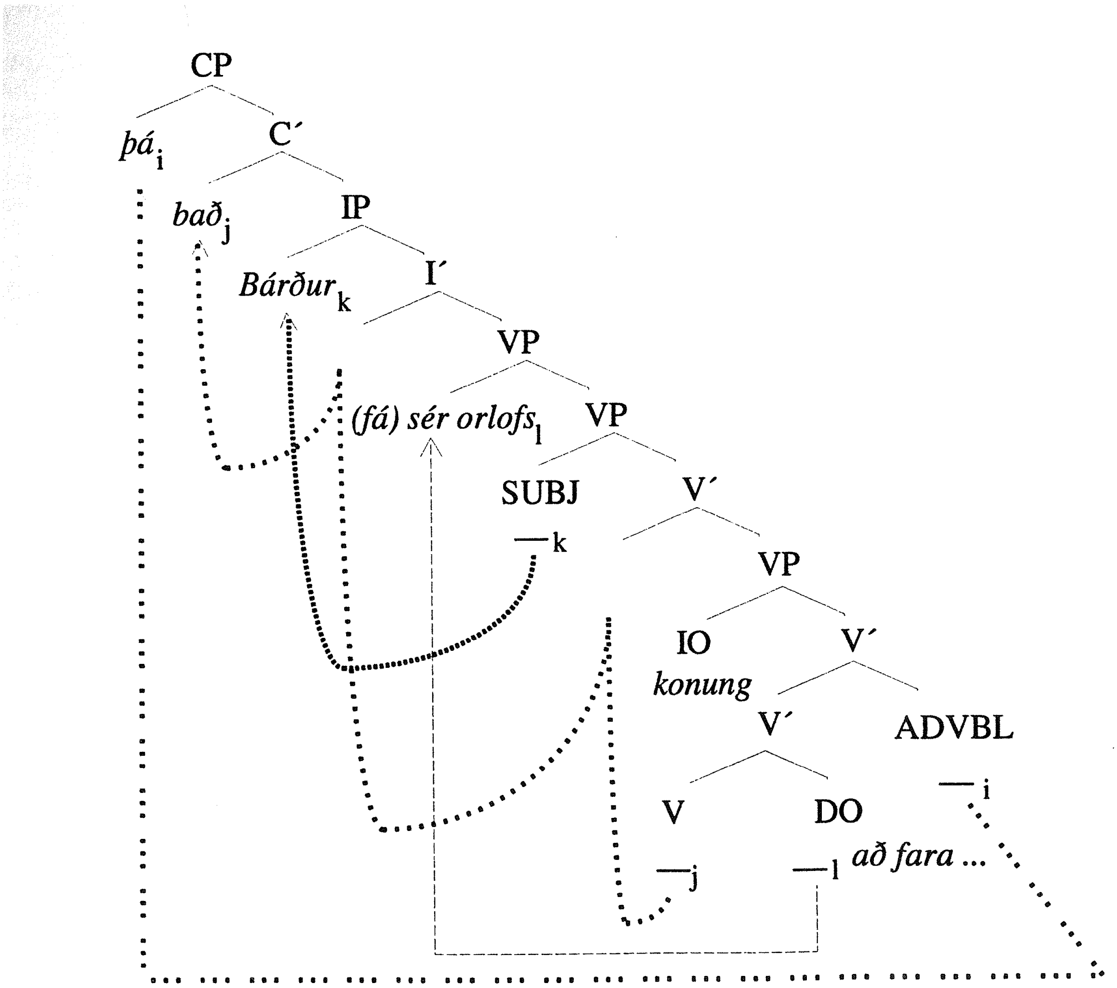
[84] See the discussion on Scrambling below (4.3.2.4).

(79)


CP
þá_i
C´
bað_j
IP
Bárður_k
I´
VP
(fá) sér orlofs_l
VP
SUBJ
—k
V´
VP
IO
konung
V´
V´
ADVBL
—i
V
DO
—j
—l
að fara ...

The third (or first) example can also be explained by referring to *Scrambling*:

(80) *... eg* *ætla* [*að biðja* [(*fá*) (*mér*) *orlofs*] *Eiríkjarl* [*að ...*]][85]
... I$_i$ intend to ask [(get) (myself$_{IO}$)$_i$ permission$_{DO}$]$_k$ [Erik earl]$_{IO}$ [$\_j$ $\_k$]$_{DO}$ || [that ...]$_k$

Here, one has to notice that there is obligatory V-to-I raising also in subordinate clauses, including control infinitivals (cf. Modern Icelandic, e.g. Þráinsson 1984, 1986a; Sigurðsson 1992a:50; Holmberg & Platzack 1995:76ff.). Hence, *að* would be located in C, and *biðja* in I, whereas *(fá sér) orlofs* is adjacent to the left of the higher VP, followed by *Eiríkjarl* in the lower specifier position, and the *að*-clause at the end is extraposed. Thus, also here, the most reasonable analysis is to assume *Scrambling* to the left of VP over the indirect object. Functionally, the two examples with Scrambling of the head material of the DO, (72) and (74), can be justified by the desire to separate the more idiomatic expression *(fá sér) orlofs* from the *að*-clause(s) containing the ‘new’ information (see chapter 5). Note that both (72) and (74) contain rather complex *að*-clauses, whereas the comparatively simple structure of the DO in (73) apparently does not qualify for Scrambling. In fact, both possible Scrambling structure would result in an unnatural information structure:

(81) a. ? *Um* *vorið* *bað* *Gunnlaugur* ***sér*** ***orlofs*** ***til brottferðar***
in spring-the begged Gunnlaug$_{NOM-SUBJ}$ [himself permission to departure]$_i$

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[85] For this example, not containing any *sér* (‘him(self)’) - or rather *mér* (‘myself’), on the other hand, we would not necessarily need to assume a small clause *fá sér einhvers*.

konunginn
king-the$_{ACC}$ __$_{i}$

b.*#/??Um vorið bað Gunnlaugur* ***sér orlofs***
in spring-the begged Gunnlaug$_{NOM-SUBJ}$ [himself permission]$_{i}$

konunginn ***til brottferðar***
king-the$_{ACC}$ [__$_{i}$ to departure]

The structure in (a) would probably - if possible - be interpreted as having contrastive focus on *konunginn* (see chapter 5), i.e. Gunnlaug asked actually the KING instead of some other person with a lower rank. Still, scrambling material as complex as the DO in this case over the higher argument would probably be avoided for the benefit of some alternative structure (given the appropriate context, the accent can, of course, easily be placed on *konunginn* instead of in the default accent position at the end of the clause). The variant in (b) could be another possible Scrambling structure. However, here the PP would be isolated at the end of the clause whereas the 'light' material (with regard to information) has been scrambled. Scrambling, in the view presented in chapter 5, is a device to provide a natural information structure with respect to contextual and intonational desires. The information structure in (b) would seem rather unnatural in almost any context. Intuitively, I would consider the structure pragmatically ill-formed even though it should (theoretically) be a possible syntactic structure.

Above, I have shown that the prediction that verbs of the *skila/ræna* class do not allow Inversion seems to be basically correct. After investigating six verbs of this class, I determined that only three examples appear to have an inverted order of the 'direct' and 'indirect' object. These sentences, however, seem to have a different structure that can be explained by Scrambling instead of alternative base-generation.

At this point, I am able to give a (preliminary) explanation for at least four of the six ('true') DOCs presented in section 4.1:

(82) a. V- IO - DO: *... þá skal eg sjálfur veita þeim lið* (Njála 269)
... then shall I myself give$_{V}$ them$_{IO}$ help$_{DO}$
'... then I shall help them myself'

b. V- DO - IO: *... að eg skal hvergi í móti þér vera*
... that I shall neither in opposition you be

og eigi veita lið óvinum þínum (Njála 266)
and not give$_{V}$ help$_{DO}$ enemies$_{IO}$ your
'that I shall neither be against you nor help your enemies'

c. IO - V - DO: *Gengur Ásbjörn mót þeim og ... og lætur*
goes Asbjorn towards them and ... and let

þeim veita hjálpir (Finnb 632)
them$_{IO}$ give$_{V}$ help$_{DO}$
'Asbjorn goes in their direction and ... and ordered to help them'

d. DO - V - IO: *Þá mátt þú nú mikið lið veita Njáli* (Njála 275)
then may you now [much help]$_{DO}$ give$_{V}$ Njal$_{IO}$
'Then you may give Njal a lot of help now'

e. IO - DO - V: *Svo þykir mér sem Þorsteinn vilji þér lið veita* (Ölkof 2074)
so seems me that Thorstein will you$_{IO}$ help$_{DO}$ give$_{V}$
'It seems to me that Thorstein will help you'

f. DO - IO - V: *Viltu nokkurt liðsinni okkur veita?* (Hrafn 1404)
will-you [some help]$_{DO}$ us$_{IO}$ give$_{V}$
'Will you give us some help?'

If one would want to claim a 'double base' for Old Norse, the order of IO and DO in (a) and (e) could be considered the unmarked word order in an SVO and an SOV basic word order, respectively.[86] The examples (b) and (f), then, seem to be representatives of the inverted DOC within both basic word order types. The object *líð(sinni)* ('help/helping men') is not something that can be 'purely experienced', thus, the thematic properties of the indirect object seem to be more like those of a Goal, e.g. 'give help to somebody'. The indirect object may also be said to be focused in both cases. In (b) there is some kind of contrast: 'I will not be against you nor help your enemies'. In (f), a person (Þorkell), after being examined about his family and relations, is asked if he would be willing to help *okkur* ('us' = Sæmur and his men). *Liðsinni* ('help') is presupposed by, for instance, the question about Thorkel's brother a little earlier:

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[86] Examples like these may be rather good arguments for a basic SOV word order (option) in Old Norse. However, as I will claim in this thesis, I find it more reasonable to explain SOV structures as having Scrambling, i.e. leftward movement. Using Scrambling as an explanation for the word order variety in Old Norse also accounts for the two remaining examples with IO V DO and DO V IO order (as discussed later).

(83) *Hversu* *margmennur* *er* *hann?* (Hrafn 1404)
how many-men is he
'How many men has he?'

There is no doubt that the order IO - DO is the unmarked order of those arguments in Old Norse. I might have missed some examples, but of approximately 300 sentences with *gefa* ('give') in the infinitive, I found only seven that were inverted, i.e. with the order V - DO - IO, and two with the order DO - IO - V. Additionally, there are some clear examples of *Scrambling*, cf. (c) and (d). The examples (c) and (d) would not be possible in an SOV language like Modern German, nor would they be possible in an SVO language like Modern Norwegian.[87] And if it is correct that indirect objects generally "resist" undergoing Heavy NP Shift (cf. footnote 87 and the discussion further above), it is not likely that any of those examples with an indirect object to the right can be explained within an SOV base. A double base hypothesis would, thus, not be able to account for those structures. Leftward movement is, on the other hand, attested both from Modern German (Scrambling) and the modern Scandinavian languages (Object Shift), as I will discuss further in 4.3.2.4. Therefore, I find it most reasonable to base the description of Old Norse syntax in this thesis on the claim that Old Norse is basically SVO.

4.2.3 Summary

The discussion so far has shown that there are certain thematic and syntactic rules involved which determine the order of arguments in deep structure (and surface structure). I have argued that the arguments of the verb obey a thematic hierarchy, and that this thematic hierarchy is projected directly into a double VP structure with three possible argument positions. Massive empirical evidence has been provided to support this claim. A result like this does obviously not correspond with a non-configurational language. Based on the discussion above, I feel rather confident about the deep-structure positions (at least the relative order) of the two objects. Furthermore, with a frequent triadic verb like *gefa* (‘give’), I have found only about ten sentences that exhibit an overt SOV order with both objects preceding the main verb (there are also ten or fifteen sentences with a fronted object which makes it difficult to ascertain the underlying order). In my opinion, SVO should be considered the (only) basic word order in Old Norse. I will provide further evidence supporting my claim during the investigation of different syntactic phenomena in the subsequent sections of this chapter and the discussion on functional motivation for (object) movement in chapter 5.

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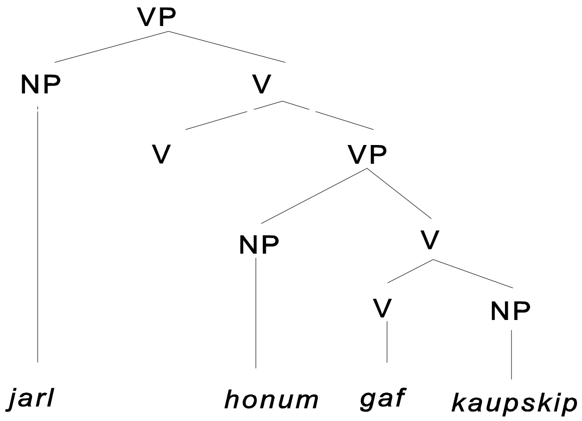
[87] One could argue that example (b) within an SVO analysis, and example (d) within an SOV analysis, may be analyzed by referring to *Heavy NP Shift*, i.e. Extraposition. However, as discussed before, according to Dikken (1995:195):

> Indirect Objects in double object constructions consistently resist undergoing Heavy NP Shift, not just in English, but in other languages as well, as the following English and Norwegian examples (from Larson 1988:sect.3.2.) show:
> (25) a. *I gave a book my favourite uncle from Cleveland.
> b. *Vi har lånt en bok den hyggelige gutten du kjenner.
> we have lent a book the nice boy you know

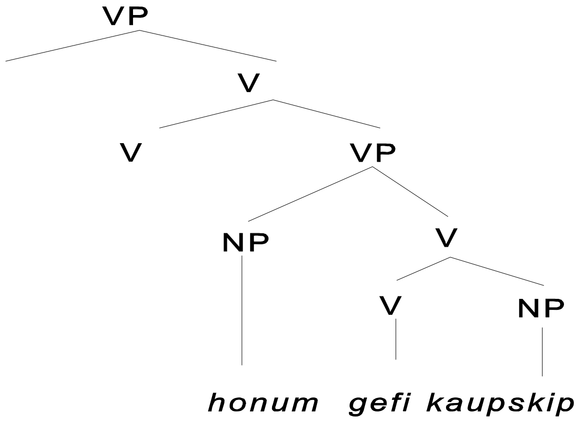
The recognition of the structural consequences of a thematic hierarchy and the possibility of Scrambling (cf. (d)) gives much more straightforward results.

The discussion above has basically been concerned with ‘true’ objects, i.e. arguments generated in a ‘lower’ VP relative to a ‘higher’ VP containing an external (Agent) argument. As mentioned above, I consider the arguments of ergative verbs internal, too, even though there could, by definition, never be an external (Agent) argument, i.e. a deep-structure subject, with this type of verbs. Ergative verbs behave very much like passive verbs, i.e. an ‘internal’ argument has to be promoted to surface subject (see the discussion in 4.3.3). However, as for passives, it is always the argument in [Spec, VP] of the ‘lower’ VP that is promoted to subject at surface structure (if there is an argument in the complement position, too). Compare the (simplified) D-structures of an active clause (84), a passive clause (85), and a clause with an ergative verb (87):

(84)



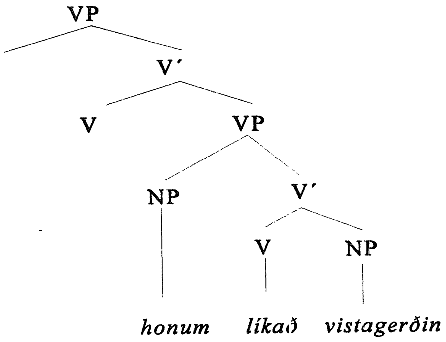
(85)


VP
V
V
VP
NP
V
V
NP
honum
gefi
kaupskip

Cf. also:

(86) *... og var þeim gefið frelsi* (HallM 1220)
... and was them$_{\text{DAT-SUBJ}}$ given$_{\text{V}}$ mercy$_{\text{NOM-OBJ}}$
'... and they were shown mercy'

(87)


VP
V′
V
VP
NP
V′
V
NP
honum
líkað
vistagerðin

Cf.:

(88) *Var hann spurður að hversu honum hefði líkað*
was he asked at what he$_{\text{DAT-SUBJ}}$ had liked$_{\text{V}}$

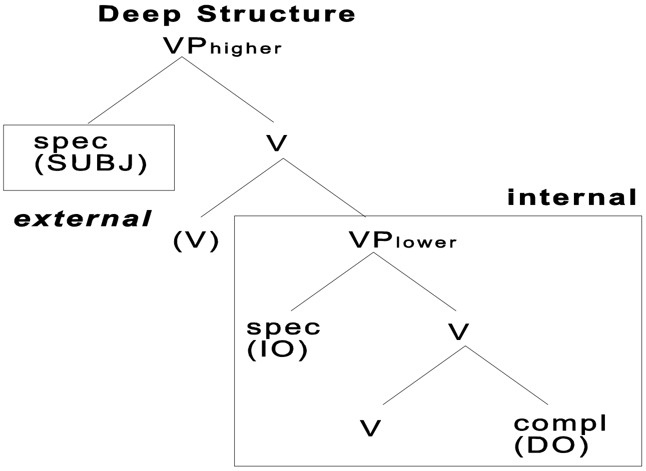
vistargerðin eða veturvistin á Reykjahólum (Grett 1031)
cooking$_{\text{NOM-OBJ}}$ or winter-stay on Reykjahol
'He was asked whether he enjoyed the cooking and the stay at Reykjahol during the winter'

In an active sentence, the two arguments of *gefa* may be referred to as *objects* of the verb, i.e. the indirect object in [Spec, VP] of the 'lower' VP and the direct object in [Compl, V´] of the 'lower' VP. The situation in a passive sentence may seem a bit less clear. In Old Norse, the argument in [Spec, VP] of the lower VP (the indirect object) will become the surface subject, if there is one. If not, the direct object will become subject (see the discussion on passive in 4.3.3.1). None of them, however, will be referred to as deep-structure *subjects*. In passive sentences, the third argument (the Agent) is suppressed. The Agent can, however, be expressed as an adjunct (*by*-phrase). What is crucial is the fact that passive sentences may have an active sentence as an alternative realization with the Agent as the subject and the internal arguments as clear objects. Ergative sentences, on the other hand, can be said to exhibit a configuration which is more like the subject - object configuration of transitive verbs, i.e. if the argument in [Spec, VP] is the 'only' external argument, it might be considered the *deep-structure subject*. As I have discussed above, however, I will not use this term for the (lower) external argument of ergative verbs, first of all, because the two (possible) external positions behave differently in relation to the verb. The 'higher' external argument (the Agent) is located in a position that receives structural Case, while the argument in the 'lower' external position quite often is assigned lexical Case. The lexical Case is assigned by the verb, while the structural Case of the Agent is assumed to be due to structural assignment. That means that the external position of the 'lower' VP is somehow 'closer' to the verb. Furthermore, the 'higher' external position is the only (base) position of an Agent, while the 'lower' external position, in principle, may be occupied by arguments with different thematic roles. Based on this background, I will refer to the arguments of ergative verbs as objects and/or internal arguments equally as to the arguments of a passive verb.

In the previous two sections, I have tried to give a picture of the *deep-structure* positions of nominal arguments in Old Norse. As mentioned, objects/internal arguments may also be moved to the right by ***Heavy NP Shift***, or to the left by ***Scrambling***. These two movements are, like

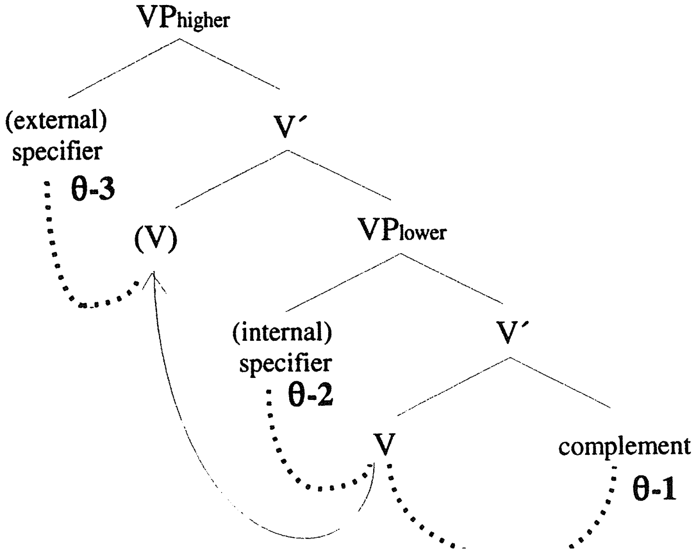
Topicalization, features of surface structure. Those and other surface phenomena will be discussed in 4.3 and the subsequent sections where the surface order of arguments is discussed relative to the following (maximal) double VP configuration (deep structure):

(89)


Deep Structure
VPhigher
spec (SUBJ)
V
external
(V)
internal
VPlower
spec (IO)
V
V
compl (DO)

The arguments are assumed to be projected into this configuration in accordance with the thematic hierarchy starting with the argument closest to the verb, i.e. the argument with the lowest thematic role:

(90)

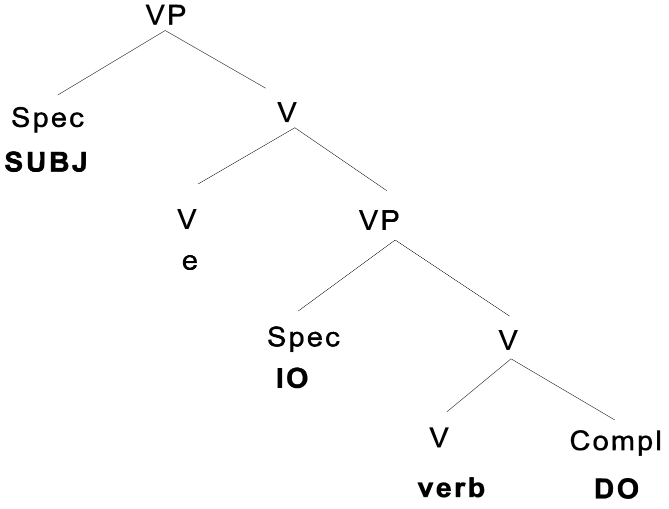

VPhigher
(external) specifier
θ-3
V′
(V)
VPlower
(internal) specifier
θ-2
V′
V
complement
θ-1

The illustration in (90) does not imply that the lowest argument has to be base-generated in the complement position. If a Theme argument is the only argument of a given verb, it is usually assumed to be generated in [Compl, V′]. If the only argument is an Experiencer, however, this is assumed to be base-generated in the lower specifier position. As an Agent, the argument would have to be base-generated in the higher specifier position. Whereas the higher specifier position only may host an Agent/Performer argument, the lower positions may host arguments with different types of thematic roles, cf. the discussion in 4.1 and 4.2 above. The thematically and structurally highest argument will be the surface-structure subject candidate, irrespectively of the position itself (and irrespectively of Case properties). Only the argument base-generated in the higher specifier position is considered a deep-structure subject in the present discussion (cf. (89)). Arguments base-generated in the lower positions are considered deep-structure objects.

4.3 Surface Structure

In accordance with the discussion in 4.2 above, I assume that a hierarchical order exists between the arguments of the verb, e.g. Agent > Benefactive > Theme / (Agent (Benefactive (Theme))) for the Double Object Construction, and that this hierarchy is reflected in D-structure in a way that the deep-structure subject is generated in [Spec, VP] of the 'higher' VP, the indirect object (when being an NP) is generated in [Spec, VP] of the 'lower' VP, and that the direct object is generated in [Compl, V′]:

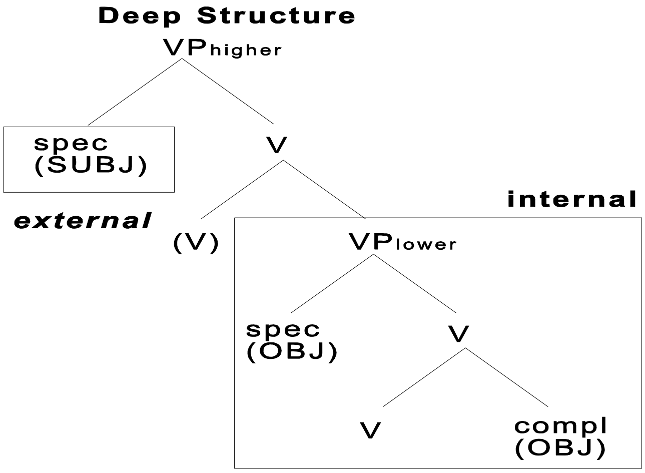
(1)



As already discussed, even though the indirect object may be said to be external relative to the direct object in this configuration, I will use the term *External Argument* only when referring to the *deep-structure subject* (which, in most cases, is a clear Agent), i.e. the external argument of the higher VP. When there is no overt indirect object, I will still assume that the direct object is generated in [Compl, V′] if the argument has a typical Theme/Patient role, and if it is possible to imagine a potential higher argument. As long as there is an empty higher position, i.e. the 'higher' specifier position or the 'lower' specifier position, a deep-structure object may be promoted to surface-structure subject (see 4.3.3).

Regarding so-called ergative verbs, i.e. verbs that do not take an Agent/Performer argument, I will assume that a/the Experiencer or Benefactive argument of an ergative verb is generated in the position corresponding to the position of the indirect object of trivalent transitive verbs, and that a/the Theme or Patient argument is generated in the position corresponding to the position of the direct object. I will refer to the Experiencer/Benefactive argument of an ergative verb as an *internal* argument relative to a double VP structure, even though the argument is external in the ‘lower’ VP (see the discussion in 4.2). A ‘maximal’ potential argument structure is, thus, assumed to be projected into the following deep structure:

(2)



4.3.1 The Positions of the External Argument in Surface Structure

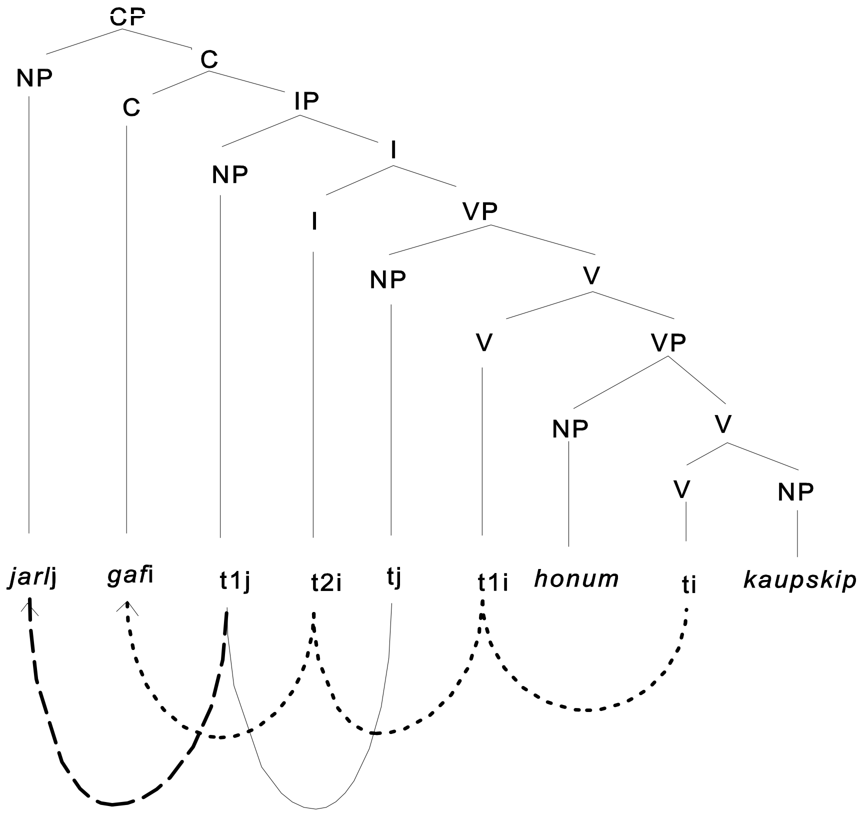
The external argument, then, is the argument generated in [Spec, VP] of the ‘higher’ VP. Surface subjects of ergative verbs will be discussed as promoted *internal* arguments in 4.3.3.

The external argument, being a deep-structure subject by definition, always becomes the surface-structure subject in active sentences. On the surface, the external argument, i.e. the subject, obviously may appear in different positions. For instance, to end up with a surface structure like:

(3) *Jarl* *gaf* *honum* *kaupskip* (Vatn 1897)
earl$_{SUBJ}$ gave him merchant ship
‘The earl gave him a merchant ship’

the verb and the subject are assumed to have moved. In this particular sentence, the subject *jarl* moves first to [Spec, IP] and then to [Spec, CP], i.e. the topic position, while the verb moves via I(NFL) to C(OMP):

(4)


CP
NP
C
C
IP
NP
I
I
VP
NP
V
V
VP
NP
V
V
NP
jarlj
gafi
t1j
t2i
tj
t1i
honum
ti
kaupskip

In the surface structure of an active sentence, there are first of all two possible positions for the NP linked to the external role: [Spec, IP] and [Spec, CP]. When the subject is located in [Spec, IP], one may call it a *Subject per se*, and when it is located in [Spec, CP], it is a *topicalized subject*.

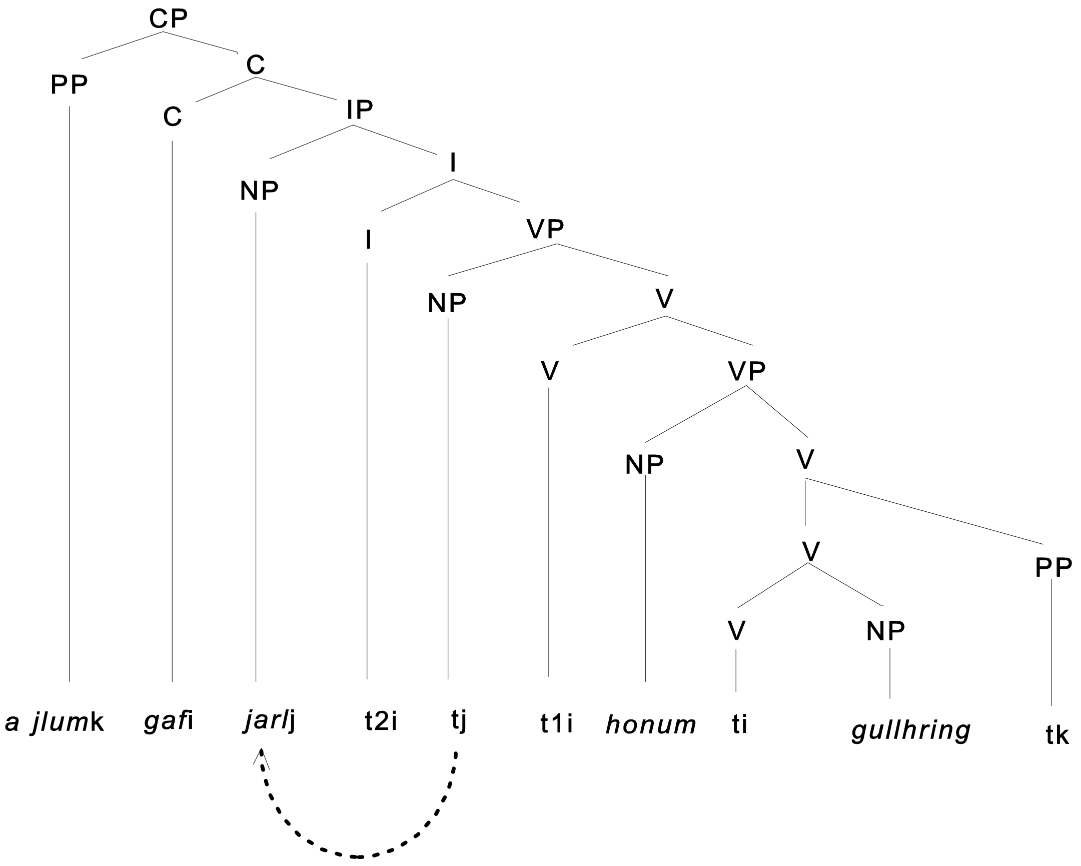
4.3.1.1 [Spec, IP] - *Subject per se*

In the following sentence, the subject is assumed to occupy [Spec, IP]:

(5) Að jólum gaf jarl honum gullhring (Njála 159)
at Christmas gave earl him gold-ring
'At Christmas the earl gave him a golden ring'

This can be shown in a tree structure:

(6)


CP
PP
C
C
IP
NP
I
I
VP
NP
V
V
VP
NP
V
V
PP
V
NP
a jlumk
gafi
jarlj
t2i
tj
t1i
honum
ti
gullhring
tk

Movement from [Spec, VP] (of the 'higher' VP) to [Spec, IP] is usually obligatory (at least for definite NPs - see below), hence, if the subject has moved to [Spec, CP], there will always be a *trace* (t) of the subject in [Spec, IP] (cf. (4)). [Spec, IP] can be said to be the surface-subject position *per se*. Both D-structure and S-structure subjects (i.e. also promoted subjects) are assumed to be 'linked' to [Spec, IP] one way or the other (cf. the *Extended Projection Principle* (EPP) as formulated in e.g. Holmberg & Platzack 1995:24, based on Chomsky 1982:10). That means, when the subject is not located in [Spec, IP] or [Spec, CP], [Spec, IP] will be filled by *pro* which is linked to the actual surface position of the subject (see the discussion in 4.6).[1]

4.3.1.2 [Spec, CP] - *Topicalization*

As discussed in chapter 2, most grammarians concerned with Old Norse consider the word order *subject - verb - object* the unmarked word order in Old Norse. Since Old Norse is a V2 language in which only one constituent may be located in the position in front of the finite verb, i.e. in the topic position, we may call this move-alpha operation *Topicalization*. The NP linked to the external role is assumed to be moved into the topic position in the same way as, for instance, an object or an adverbial phrase (compare e.g. the illustrations (4) and (6). However, a subject - deep-structure subject or promoted subject - has to move via [Spec, IP], while topicalized objects/adverbials are assumed to be moved directly into the topic position. If the syntactic structure, in some way, can be said to be physical, the distance from [Spec, IP] to [Spec, CP] would be shorter than the distance from an object position or adverbial position. This may be yet another explanation for the fact that subjects quite often are topicalized. As mentioned before, subjects can, in many respects, be considered default topics, i.e. pre-contextually the subject would be assumed to move via [Spec, IP] to [Spec, CP] by default. This is also implied in the term 'unmarked' word order (see also the discussion in chapter 5).

[Spec, IP] and [Spec, CP] are the only two possible positions for S-structure subjects in Modern Norwegian (cf. e.g. Åfarli 1997, Faarlund, Lie & Vannebo 1997, Lie 1976, Nordgård & Åfarli 1990). In Old Norse, as in Modern Icelandic, on the other hand, (indefinite) subjects sometimes can stay in place (*in situ*) or even appear to the right of the non-finite verb.[2] This apparent difference, however, is probably primarily a question of defining the surface subject.

---

[1] Cf. e.g. Safir (1985, 1987) who suggests that there is a chain relation between the expletive element and the postverbal argument.

Since Old Norse and Modern Icelandic do not have an *overt* expletive subject,[3] I will refer to the argument *linked* to [Spec, IP] as the surface subject. In Modern Norwegian, we would be talking about the same argument. However, since there is a lexical *pro*-/[Spec, IP]-marker in Modern Norwegian, this expletive element is considered the ('formal') subject, while the argument linked to it is considered an *object* (for arguments, see Platzack 1983 or Askedal 1986) - or sometimes a so-called *logical* subject (see e.g. Faarlund, Svein Lie & Vannebo 1997:678ff., 827f., 833ff., 845ff., 1014ff.; or Lie 1976:75ff.).[4]

[Spec, IP] and [Spec, CP] are the most frequent (surface) subject positions, both in Old Norse and Modern Icelandic, as well as in Modern Norwegian. In Old Norse and Modern Icelandic, there are two additional possible surface positions for the external argument which I will refer to as *Subject Shift* and *Subject in situ*.

---

[2] The status of the 'subject-like' phrase to the right is not necessarily obvious. See the discussion in the next subsection, and also 5.3.

[3] This fact that is not very surprising since there are also other languages where the expletive element "must or may be empty, e.g. in Chamorro, Chinese, Hebrew, Italian, Papiamentu, Spanish, and certain dialects of Dutch" (Reuland & Meulen 1987:2).

[4] Consider also Vangsnes (1995:96):

> [...] the expletive is a subject in Mainland Scandinavian, but a non-subject in Icelandic (Christensen 1991; Maling 1988; Platzack 1983).

According to Vangsnes, this difference may be explained by assuming *strong* or *weak* expletive features, respectively.

Askedal (1986:25) notes that Taraldsen (1982:153) refers to the indefinite postverbal NP in Modern Norwegian sentences like:

(i) *I samme øyeblikk var det kommet en mann/*mannen inn i værelset*
'At the same moment, a man had come into the room'

as "a subject in [an] 'ergative' construction". Arguing against Taraldsen, Askedal concludes that Modern Norwegian, Danish, Swedish and Finnish have in common the syntactic object status of the indefinite NP in 'existential-presentative constructions', while the indefinite NP has to be considered the subject in Modern German, Icelandic, Faroese and the Slavic languages. See also the discussion in Krogtoft (1992), Bendt (1994), Sejersted (1994), and Ottósson (1989a). Leira (1970), by the way, argues that the postnominal NP in Modern Norwegian has both subject and object properties, suggesting the term *Inject* for this ('new') category.

Old Norse, then, being more like Modern Icelandic than Modern Norwegian, seems not to have a formal subject in these constructions. The assumed - but invisible - *pro* in [Spec, IP] is only a member of a 'subject chain' in order to check grammatical features in IP.

See Hornstein (1991) for arguments against the view that Icelandic *það* is only an expletive topic.

4.3.1.3 [NP, VP][5] - *Subject Shift*

I will start the discussion by looking at some data from Modern Icelandic. Indefinite non-topical NPs, according to Sigurðsson (1992a:301), have a very high degree of positional freedom in Modern Icelandic (see also Rögnvaldsson 1984a, 1990a; Þráinsson 1986a, 1986b; and Vangsnes 1995). Sigurðsson (ibid.) points out that this is true in particular when these indefinite non-topical NPs contain lexical quantifiers like *einhver* ('some', 'somebody'), *margir* ('many'), etc. Some examples with a non-topical D-structure subject are e.g. (quoted from Sigurðsson 1992a:303):[6]

(7) a. *Það hafa einhverjir bófar kannski* [*stolið þessu*].
there have some gangsters perhaps stolen this

b. *Það hafa t kannski einhverjir bófar stolið þessu.*

c. **Það hafa t kannski stolið einhverjir bófar þessu.*

d. *Það hafa t kannski stolið þessu einhverjir bófar.*

As shown by these examples, the only position not available for the D-structure subject (i.e. the external argument) is inside the lower VP (cf. c) (see also the discussion in Rögnvaldsson 1983a, 1990a; Þráinsson 1986a; and Vangsnes 1995). Note that this observation is in line with the claims made in 4.2 about the possible deep-structure argument positions. An argument with an Agent role is not supposed to be able to be base-generated as an internal argument, nor can it be moved to an internal argument position.

Sigurðsson (1992a:303) argues that in (b), the subject is adjoined to the left of VP in a so-called "QP position".[7] In the present analysis, the subject just stays in place, that is, in [Spec, VP] of the 'higher' VP, hence, it does not move at all.[8]

Example (d) demonstrates what Sigurðsson calls *Heavy Subject Shift*: the subject is adjoined to the right, hence, this operation is different from NP-movement, which is A-movement

---

[5] **[NP, VP] here meaning adjunction of the subject NP to the right of VP (cf. 'Extraposition'). See the discussion below.**

[6] Sigurðsson has a trace (t) in his examples, but, according to Haegeman (1991) or Åfarli (1997), this kind of movement leaves no traces (see the discussion below). Anyway, the t shows the 'normal' position of the subject in theses sentences, i.e. [Spec, IP].

[7] In Sigurðsson (1992a), the D-structure subject is base-generated in [Spec, IP], thus, Sigurðsson has to claim that the subject in (b) is adjoined to the right of its base position.

[8] This claim is in accordance with a more recent work of Sigurðsson (1991); see also Vikner (1991a), and the discussion below.

(cf. Chomsky 1986a; and Haegeman 1991:293ff.). Haegeman (1991:418ff.) shows that *Heavy NP Shift*, thus, also *Heavy Subject Shift*, is *wh*-movement, that is, movement to an A'-position. The NP is moved to "a position created for it" (Haegeman 1991:420). Holmberg and Platzack (1995) call this "extraposition of the subject". Since *Heavy Subject Shift* not only applies to 'heavy' subjects alone (if this is a criterion at all - see below), but first of all to non-topical subjects (at least in Old Norse and Modern Icelandic), the term *Subject Shift* (as opposed to *Object Shift* - see below) may seem more appropriate when discussing movement of the subject to the right.[9] Haegeman (1991:422) uses the term *Extraposition* only for movement of constituents out of NPs, while Åfarli (1997:130), for instance, uses *Extraposition* for all processes that dislocate a constituent from its base position to a position to the right.[10]

Using the term *Extraposition* for all operations that move a constituent to an 'extra' position to the right may obviously be justified. On the other hand, since *Subject Shift* is not grammatical in Modern Norwegian (or in many other languages) while *Heavy NP Shift* and *Extraposition* in a narrow sense usually are grammatical, I think the operation of moving the subject to the right deserves a term of its own.[11]

Moving the subject to the right has - theoretically - the consequence that there is no trace of the subject in the base-position [Spec, VP]. *Heavy NP Shift* is supposed to leave no trace in the base position either (cf. Haegeman 1991; Åfarli 1997). Even though there is no trace of the subject in [Spec, VP], we have to assume that the subject has to be checked in [Spec, IP], one way or the other. Therefore, we have to assume that there must be a *pro* in [Spec, IP] being linked to both [Spec, VP] and the position to the right. Both the 'extra position' and [Spec, VP], then, are members of a chain linked to [Spec, IP]. On the other hand, it is also possible that the subject moves to the right after moving to [Spec, IP] first, which would, at least, leave a trace in [Spec, VP]. Such an analysis would explain why some of the right dislocated subjects behave differently with respect to the *Definiteness Effect* than subjects that have not moved at all (see the discussion below). In some cases, we may argue that a part of the subject is located to the right, while the 'rest' is left in [Spec, IP]. Since there might also be the possibility of adjunction to S (CP), however, those cases are rather difficult to analyze (see the discussion below).

---

[9] In Haugan (1998b), I refer to such subjects as *Right Dislocated Subjects*. See also the discussion in 5.3.

[10] For a discussion on extraposition from NPs, see e.g. Coopmans & Roovers (1986), Gueron (1980), and Rochemont (1985).

[11] I will still use *Extraposition* as a general term when referring to rightward movement of any kind. *Subject Shift* and *Heavy NP Shift*, then, may be considered certain subcases of Extraposition.

Extraposition, when defining it as 'extraposition from NPs', usually leaves a part of the constituent behind. With Extraposition of sentences, for instance, one often uses a *correlative* in the base position - or, when it represents a subject, it may move to [Spec, IP] or [Spec, CP], e.g.:[12]

(8) *Og* ***það*** *er* *sagt* ***að*** ***maður*** ***hét*** ***Þorljótur*** (Heið 1385)
and that$_i$ is said [that man was-called Thorljot]$_i$
'And it was told that the man was called Thorljot'

(9) *Eitt* *sumar* *er* ***það*** *sagt* ***að*** ***skip*** ***kom*** ***af*** ***hafi*** ***í Gufárós*** (Gunnl 1166)
one summer is that$_i$ said [that ship came of sea in Gufaros]$_i$
'One summer, it was told that a ship came from the sea into Gufaros'

Now, let us take a look at some Old Norse sentences which appear to exhibit *Subject Shift*:[13]

(10) *Hann gaf Brandi gripi þá sem honum hafði gefið*
he gave Brand things those that him had given

Jón Grikklandskonungur (Finnb 673)
[Jon Greeceking]$_{SUBJ?}$
'He gave Brand those things that Jon, king of Greece, had given him'

(11) *Sá maður bjó þá að Hofi í Vopnafirði er hét*
this man built then at Hof in Vopnafjord that was-named

Steinbjörn og var kallaður körtur og hafði honum þar land
Steinbjorn and was called short and had him there land

---

[12] The subjects in these examples are not Agent subjects (D-structure subjects), however, these sentences should be able to illustrate the point.

[13] The status of the extraposed NP as the *subject* is not obvious. I will discuss an alternative analysis of these examples below and in 5.3 (see also Haugan 1998b).

gefið ***Eyvindur föðurbróðir hans*** (Þorhv 2053)
given [Eyvind fatherbrother his]$_{\text{SUBJ?}}$
'This man lived then at Hof in Vopnafjord who was named Steinbjorn and was called short/immature; and there his uncle Eyvind had given him land'

In both cases, the NP to the right is not necessarily very 'heavy' (i.e. complex). However, we may at least say that it is heavier than the pronoun *honum* which has been moved to the left in both examples. On the other hand, there is also the possibility that the subject is moved to the right in order to receive the default accent (see 5.3).

The two sentences above seem to have much in common with passive sentences. Consider, for instance, the following passive construction:

(12) Þeim sveini var nafn gefið og kallaður Þorleikur (Laxd 1617)
that boy was name given and called Thorleik
'That boy was given a name, and he was called Thorleik'

Note also that, if we would add *verið* ('been') to the sentences in question and delete the Agent at the end (or turn it into an Agent phrase), the sentences would look like an ordinary passive with a dative subject:

(13) ... sem honum hafði gefnir verið (af Jón Grikklandskonungur)[14]
... that him$_{\text{SUBJ}}$ had given been (by Jon, king of Greece)

(14) ... og hafði honum þar land gefið verið (af Eyvindur föðurbróðir hans)
... and had him$_{\text{SUBJ}}$ there land given been (by Eyvind, fatherbrother his)

Compare also with a similar (authentic) passive construction:

(15) Mörður spurði hvar þeim hefði mest gefið verið (Njála 182)
Mord asked where them$_{\text{SUBJ}}$ had most given been
'Mord asked where they have gotten most'

Passive formation is assumed to suppress the 'dominating' role of the Agent to some degree; in Old Norse, for instance, there are very(!) few examples of an Agent phrase in passive sentences.[15] In (10) and (11), the Agent to the right can, functionally, be compared with the Agent phrase of a passive clause (see the discussion in 5.3). Compare, for instance, the Modern Icelandic example

(7 d) above (repeated as 16):

---

[14] Here *gefið* turns into *gefnir* because it has to agree with the nominative (plural object).

[15] Lie (1990:73) notes that in some languages, e.g. classical Arabic, passive is only possible without an Agent phrase. A similar situation is found in Turkish, according to Lie.

(16) *Það hafa kannski stolið þessu einhverjir bófar*
‘Some gangsters may have stolen this’

with a possible corresponding passive sentence:

(17) *Þetta er kannski stolið (af (til dæmis) einhverjum bófum)*
this is perhaps stolen (by (for instance) some gangsters)

A crucial difference between passive sentences, where the Agent phrase usually is optional, and the construction under discussion is the fact that the phrase to the right is not optional. On the contrary, the phrase to the right is the phrase containing the ‘new’ information, hence, it is obligatory (see chapter 5). However, it is possible that the ‘new’ information represented by the verbal action is more central than the ‘new’ information represented by the phrase to the right. Consider, for instance, also a similar sentence from Old Norse (this time with a ‘heavy’ phrase at the end):

(18) *Oddur spyr hvort hrossum Þorbjarnar höfðu stolið*
Odd asks whether horses Thorbjorn’s have stolen

útlendir menn eða utanhéraðsmenn eða nábúar hans (Eyrb 550)
[foreign men or out-of-district-men or neighbours his]$_{\text{AGENT}}$
‘Odd asks whether Thorbjorn’s horses were stolen by foreigners or men from outside the district or his neighbours’

Looking in the context of this sentence, we find the following:

(19) *Þetta haust gerðist það til tíðinda að eigi fundust hross*
this autumn made this to news that not were-found horses

Þorbjarnar og var víða leitað en haustið var heldur
Thorbjorn’s and were widely searched and autumn-the was rather

veðurhart (Eyrb 550)
weatherhard
‘That autumn it was told that Thorbjorn’s horses could not be found and many places were searched; and that autumn was very hard’

There is nothing in the context that would presuppose that the horses are *stolen* since it is said that there was very bad weather. However, since the horses could not have disappeared all by themselves, such a suggestion is likely. Example (18), then, is a question to a wise man if the horses really are stolen, with some suggestions about who might stand behind the theft. This example, with a rather complex ‘subject’, would, by the way, support the term *Heavy Subject Shift* (if the phrase to the right is analyzed as a surface subject).

A passive sentence can usually be said to correspond to a possible active sentence. The possible active counterpart would have an Agent subject, that, by default, would be assumed to be the topic (cf. the discussion above). Subjects, often being topics, are often represented by pronouns, hence, light and in most cases unstressed phrases. Topical subjects may even be omitted in Old Norse.[16] The phrase to the right in the Subject Shift construction is definitely non-topical, it could, for instance, not be represented by a pronoun. If a pronoun is considered 'light' and a full NP 'heavy', *Heavy* Subject Shift could, of course, be an appropriate term.

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[16] Subjects as topics can also be omitted in other languages by *Topic Drop* (see e.g. the discussion in 4.6).

I will return to a discussion on Subject Shift or 'Right Dislocation of subjects' in 5.3. Since Subject Shift is not possible in Modern Norwegian, and since Extraposition of the indirect object (the 'lower' specifier) is ungrammatical in most Germanic languages too (cf. the discussion in 4.2), Subject Shift is obviously a 'problematic' construction in many ways. Extraposition of subject clauses is possible because there is usually a correlative that occupies a regular subject position. In a Subject Shift construction there cannot be such an overt correlative. Since adjunction to the right leaves no trace in [Spec, IP], one could, for instance, also speculate whether it might be possible that the dative in the Old Norse examples above actually occupies the surface-subject position. This is not easy to tell from the structures above, and as long as there is an Agent subject in the sentence, we should consider [Spec, IP] blocked for promotion of other (internal) NPs. In 5.3 I will discuss more thoroughly whether it would be possible to compare constructions with an Agent to the right functionally and structurally with passive clauses, i.e. whether they can be said to be 'passive-like' in some way.[17] For instance, if suppression of the Agent argument in a passive clause is considered making promotion of an internal argument possible, and a phrase containing information about the Agent can be generated as a non-argumental adjunct to the right (Agent phrase), one may find possible explanations for the phenomenon of Subject Shift. Functionally, at least, Subject Shift constructions are special with respect to the status of the phrase containing information about the Agent. The phrase is non-topical, it appears in a non-topical position, and it seems to be less 'central' than a topical subject; instead he verbal content seems to be more 'central' than in a corresponding SVO structure. Consider, for instance, another Modern Icelandic example:

(20) *Það* *munu* [$_{\text{VP}}$ [$_{\text{VP}}$ e$_{i}$ *kaupa þessa bók*] ***margir stúdentar***$_{i}$] (Holmberg & Platzack 1995:137)
there will buy this book many students

The 'central' point seems to be that 'somebody' would *buy* the book, which, perhaps, could be reformulated as:

(21) This book will be selling well - the buyers being students

Finally, consider another example from Old Norse which clearly show that it is the verbal action and the/an internal argument (= topic) that is important, while the Agent (subject?), non-topical and right dislocated, represents some of the 'less important' information:[18]

---

[17] For a discussion on other passive-like constructions, see e.g. Palmer (1994:145ff.).

(22) En það sama haust sem Egill hafði komið til
and that same autumn that Egil had come to

Englands spurðust af Noregi þau tíðindi að Eiríkur alspakur
England was-heard of Norway those news that Eirik all-wise

var andaður en arf hans höfðu tekið ***ármenn***
was dead and inheritance his had taken [servants

konungs *og kastað á konungs eign* (Egla 464)
king's]AGENT and cast on king's own
'And that same autumn when Egil had come to England, the news was told from Norway, that Erik the wise had died and that his inheritance was taken by the king's servants and incorporated into the king's property'

Note also an example of an ordinary passive without an Agent ('they were sent'), where information about the Agent is added in the form of a new (active) sentence, but with the non-topical Agent to the right ('that had done X'):

(23) ... þá komu Kvenir til hans og sögðu að þeir
... then came Finnish-descendants to him and said that they

voru sendir til hans og það hafði gert ***Faravið konungur af***
were sent to him and that had done [Faravid king of

Kvenlandi (Egla 383)
Finnish-descendants-land]
'... then men of Finnish family came to him and said that they were sent there, and that they were sent by Faravid, king of Kvenland'

The 'Agent phrase' is 'heavy', however, the information content seems rather 'light', in the sense that it is *contextually* not very important. The discourse referent represented by this phrase has not been mentioned before and will not be mentioned again. The distribution of information would have been the same in a passive sentence. A *by*-phrase could have done the same job as the final clause. However, in most cases, a *by*-phrase refers to a participant known from the context. Given the assumption that the Subject Shift construction is motivated functionally, the construction in (23) would signal that the 'Agent phrase' should not be interpreted as part of the contextually given information, i.e. it should be regarded totally new information. Furthermore, the construction may signal that the introduced referent will not be a topic in the subsequent discourse.

---

[18] That is, less important in comparison to the verbal action and the topic.

Consider a combination where we can observe that right dislocation of the Agent/subject (first clause) seems to have the same ‘focusing function’ as a *by*-phrase may have (second clause):[19]

(24) Það hafði gefið Arinbirni ***Þórólfur Skalla-Grímsson*** *en*
that$_{\text{DO}}$ had given Arinbjorn$_{\text{IO}}$ [Thorolf Skalla-Grimsson]$_{\text{SUBJ(?)}}$ and

áður hafði Skalla-Grímur þegið ***af Þórólfi bróður sínum*** (Egla 463/464)
before had Skalla-Grim gotten [of Thorolf brother his]
‘That (sword) had Thorolf Skalla-Grimsson given to Arinbjorn, and before that Skalla-Grim had got it from Thorolf, his brother’

In these examples, I assume that the ‘Agent phrase’ to the right is accented (see chapter 5). However, the ‘receivers’ are the persons relevant in the *context*, and the topic (*það*) is the same for both clauses. The ‘Agents’, on the other hand, are non-topical and do not add important information to the following context. The *information structure* of the two clauses is clear: the most topical information comes first, followed by other old information, and the new information comes at the end. In my opinion, the argument status, or at least the grammatical status, of the Agent in the first clause is somewhat unclear. The second clause is not a passive construction but an ergative (benefactive) construction, the expression being *þiggja e-t af e-m* ‘receive something from somebody’. Functionally, on the other hand, the *af*-phrase in this construction can be compared with the possible *af*-phrase in a passive clause. In both cases, the relevant phrase is considered an adjunct, and in both cases it contains information about a possible Agent/Source. The question is whether the ‘Agent phrase’ to the right in some Subject Shift constructions can be compared structurally and thematically with a *by*-phrase. I assume the following syntactic deep structure of the second clause:

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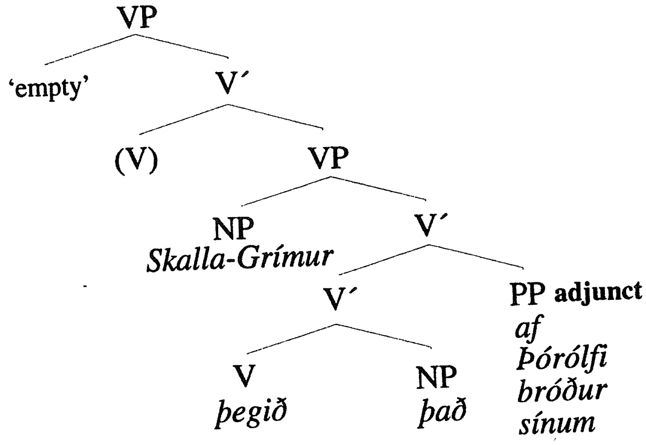
[19] ‘Focusing function’ may be understood as ‘providing an appropriate information structure in accordance with the default sentence accent’. See the discussion in chapter 5.

(25)



I will return to a discussion on Agents to the right in 5.3 where I will discuss possible analyses in further detail. At this stage, one may say that Subject Shift functionally, first of all, seems to be a strategy to maintain the order 'old' - 'new' information. In cases where the subject candidate represents the new information and the other arguments are topical, the relevant phrase may appear at the end of the clause. The 'value' of this new information for the discourse/context may vary, and the 'value' of the phrase as an argument may be questioned.

Even though Subject Shift applies to non-topical 'subjects', it has not the same properties as *Subject in situ* which I will discuss below. Subject in situ seems to exhibit the so-called Definiteness Effect, that, among other things, would force names (being definite) to move to [Spec, IP] or [Spec, CP]. As we have seen, Subject Shift often involves non-topical names (note, however, that it would not apply to pronouns). Subject in situ, on the other hand, never applies to personal names.[20]

---

[20] In Jónsson (1991:26ff) with reference to Belletti (1988), this phenomenon is explained by assuming that VP-internal subjects and so-called *inverted* subjects (what I call *Subject in situ* subjects) are assigned partitive Case which is incompatible with definite NPs. Since right dislocated subjects (*Subject-Shift* subjects), on the other hand, are adjoined to VP, they are not accessible to assignment of partitive Case. Therefore, they are unaffected by the Definiteness Effect, cf. the situation in Italian.

4.3.1.4 [Spec, VP] - *Subject in situ*

Consider an interesting example, not unlike the *Subject-Shift* constructions above. The subject appears to the right of the/an object:

(26)	*Nú*	*mælti*	*það*	***allur***	***múgur***	*að*	*þeir*	*kváðust*	*til*	*konungs*
	now	said	that$_{OBJ}$	[all	crowd]$_{SUBJ}$	[that	they	said	to	king

vilja	*yfir*	*sér*	*þann*	*er*	*líkastur*	*væri*	*Haraldi* ... (GísL 903)
want	over	themselves	that	who	most-alike	was	Harald]$_{CP}$

‘Now the peasantry said that they wanted that man as their king that was so much like Harald’

Advocates of the theory of non-configurationality may analyze this sentence as an example of a ‘flat’ structure since the object appears in a position before the subject, which may be a result of a non-hierarchic structure. A double base analysis without the possibility of Scrambling would probably not be able to explain the structure at all (even though an SOV language like Modern German actually could produce the same surface structure, precisely because of the possibility of Scrambling). In my opinion, this sentence can easily be analyzed within a binary structure. There are (at least) two possible analyses.

One may claim two adjunctions to the right, for instance, *Subject Shift* and *Extraposition* of the *að*-clause. This would, as far as I can see, be the only thinkable possibility in a non-Scrambling analysis like, for instance, a double base analysis. Two or more adjuncts to the right are, in principle, not problematic; at least not as long as they are *base-generated*. However, I assume that only one phrase can be *extraposed*, i.e. one can (normally) only have either *Extraposition, Subject Shift* or *Heavy-NP-Shift* (all these movements being instances of Extraposition in a broad sense).

It seems that another analysis would be more likely: the demonstrative *það* (the direct object) is moved to the left by *Scrambling* (see 4.3.2.4). Probably, *það* is accented. On the other hand, it may also be moved out of the default sentence accent area in order to ‘concentrate’ the accent/focus on the *að*-clause. This is not relevant here.[21] The point is that, if *það* has moved to the left it would, of course, be less complicated if the subject just stays in place instead of being moved to the right, especially since we also would have to adjoin the *að*-clause. I assume that the *að*-clause has to be extraposed in either case. In the analysis proposed here, this would be structurally necessary before the correlate *það* can be scrambled. After *Scrambling*, the base position of the subject lies to the right of the scrambled object, and adjunction further to the right would not change the linear order of *það* and *allur múgur* anyway. Thus, the only 'extraordinary' operation needed to derive the sentence above is *Scrambling,* i.e. movement of the correlative of the object clause to the left - if leaving the subject in place is a possible strategy.[22] I assume, thus, the following structure involving object movement to the left combined with Extraposition of the *að*-clause, instead of two movement operations to the right:

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[21] Since *það* (‘that’) is a demonstrative and not a weak pronoun, I do not think cliticization would be a reasonable explanation. Note that I assume that a shifted/scrambled phrase in Old Norse may be stressed/focused. My claim is, on the other hand, a violation of Grewendorf and Sternefeld’s (1990:15) 5th Generalization: “*Scrambling* cannot apply to focussed phrases”. See, however, Finer (1994) on Scrambling and focus in Selayarese. Furthermore, Grewendorf (p.c.) himself has abandoned the 5th Generalization. I will discuss Scrambling in more detail in 4.3.2.4; see also the discussion in 5.4.

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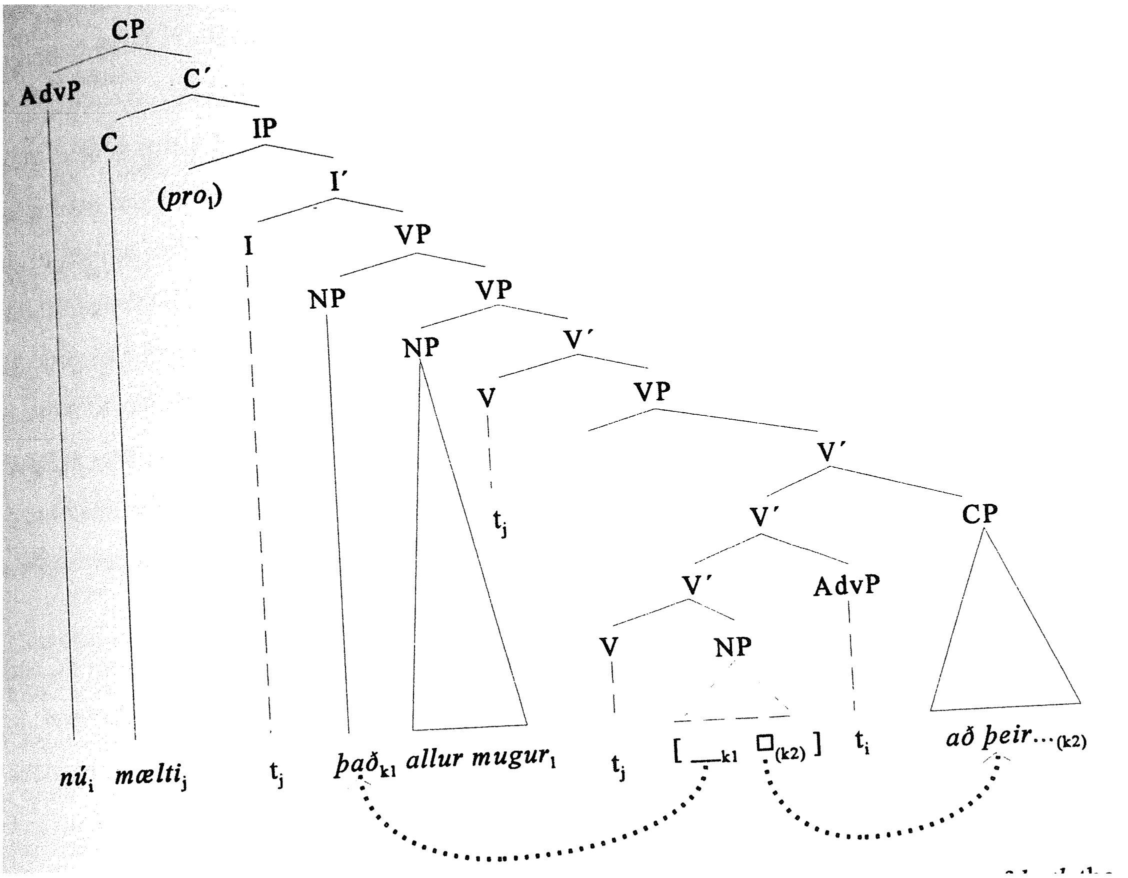
[22] Jónsson (1991:19) refers to subjects to the right of a sentence adverbial in Modern Icelandic as *inverted subjects* (i-subjects), e.g. in:

(i)	*Það*	*hafa*	*líklega*	*fáir*	*séð*	*þessa*	*mynd*
	There	have	probably	few	seen	this	movie

This, then, is supposed to be a neutral term in the discussion on whether the subject really occupies [Spec, VP] or not. I am not sure that the term 'inversion' can be considered neutral since 'inversion', in my opinion at least, involves some kind of 'switching', i.e. movement. Either the adverb is moved over the subject, or the subject is moved over the adverb. In the case of Subject in situ, this would imply either adjunction of the adverb to IP or movement of the subject from [Spec, IP] to [Spec, VP], the latter variant being a rather doubtful operation.

(27)



I find this analysis structurally superior to an analysis with Extraposition/adjunction of *both* the subject and the *að*-clause. Note that both object movement to the left (Object Shift) and Extraposition of *that*-clauses is attested in Modern Scandinavian whereas movement of the subject to the right is only attested in very limited constructions in Modern Icelandic (if those constructions are due to movement at all, see the discussion in 5.3). Furthermore, Scrambling can be functionally motivated (see chapter 5), and the subject 'to the right' in this construction also behaves differently from a typical 'subject-shifted' subject discussed in the previous subsection. Hence, there would be no functional motivation for extraposing the subject, while there would be a functional motivation for separating the correlate from the *að*-clause.

There seems to be no official grammatical term for the situation when the subject stays in its base position, and I will propose a term *Subject in situ.*[23] Sigurðsson (1992a) discusses this phenomenon together with *(Heavy) Subject Shift*, first of all because he claims that the subject is adjoined to the left of VP in a "QP position" (Sigurðsson 1992a:302).[24] In Holmberg & Platzack (1995:131), the construction is just called "Nominative in Spec-VP".

The function of leaving the subject in place or adjoining it to the right seems to be to make it less topical (or rather: leave/place it in a less topical position). The possibility of not having non-topical subjects in a topical position like [Spec, IP] or [Spec, CP] is also related to the *Definiteness Effect* (cf. e.g. Safir 1982). In Modern Norwegian, this is first of all connected with internal subject candidates, i.e. when the external position is empty and an expletive can occupy one of the topical subject positions. The deep structure subject (Agent) usually has to move at least to [Spec, IP], and Extraposition is not possible at all. In Old Norse, [Spec, IP] and [Spec, CP] are the most common surface positions for the subject. When the subject, on the other hand, appears in one of the non-topical positions to the 'right', we may differentiate between *Subject Shift* and *Subject in situ*.

In *Subject Shift*, the subject would receive the default sentence accent (see chapter 5), and in *Subject in situ*, it seems that the subject is (in most cases at least) unstressed/unfocused. In *Subject Shift*, the subject may be definite (e.g. a named person), and in *Subject in situ*, it seems that the subject has to be indefinite, usually it is also connected with some kind of lexical quantifier like 'many', 'some', etc.

Subject Shift and *Subject in situ* have to be considered to be comparatively rare, since subjects usually are topical (i.e. 'natural topics'), whereas *Subject Shift/Subject in situ* applies to non-topical subjects. To support this claim, I will give some more examples of *Subject in situ* with indefinite subjects (with lexical quantifiers), hence, typical representatives of this construction (cf. also Sigurðsson 1992a:301):

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[23] Bobaljik & Jonas (1996) claim that this is not an available position for the overt subject either (see below).

[24] Recall that this means adjunction to the right of [Spec, IP], [Spec, IP] being the base position of the subject in Sigurðsson's analysis. In Sigurðsson (1991), however, the subject is claimed to be located in [Spec, VP].

(28) Töluðu það ***sumir menn*** *að* ... (Vígl 1975)
told that$_{OBJ}$ [some men]$_{SUBJ}$ that ...

(29) Segja það ***sumir menn*** *að* ... (Harð 1278)
say that$_{OBJ}$ [some men]$_{SUBJ}$ that ...

(30) Mundu það ***sumir menn*** *mæla í mínu landi að* ... (Finnb 633)
will hat$_{OBJ}$ [some men]$_{SUBJ}$ say in my land that ...

(31) En mæla það ***sumir menn****að* ... (BandK 36)
and say that$_{OBJ}$ [some men]$_{SUBJ}$ that ...

(32) Mæla það og ***sumir menn****að* ... (BandM 16)
say that$_{OBJ}$ also$_{ADV}$ [some men]$_{SUBJ}$ that ...

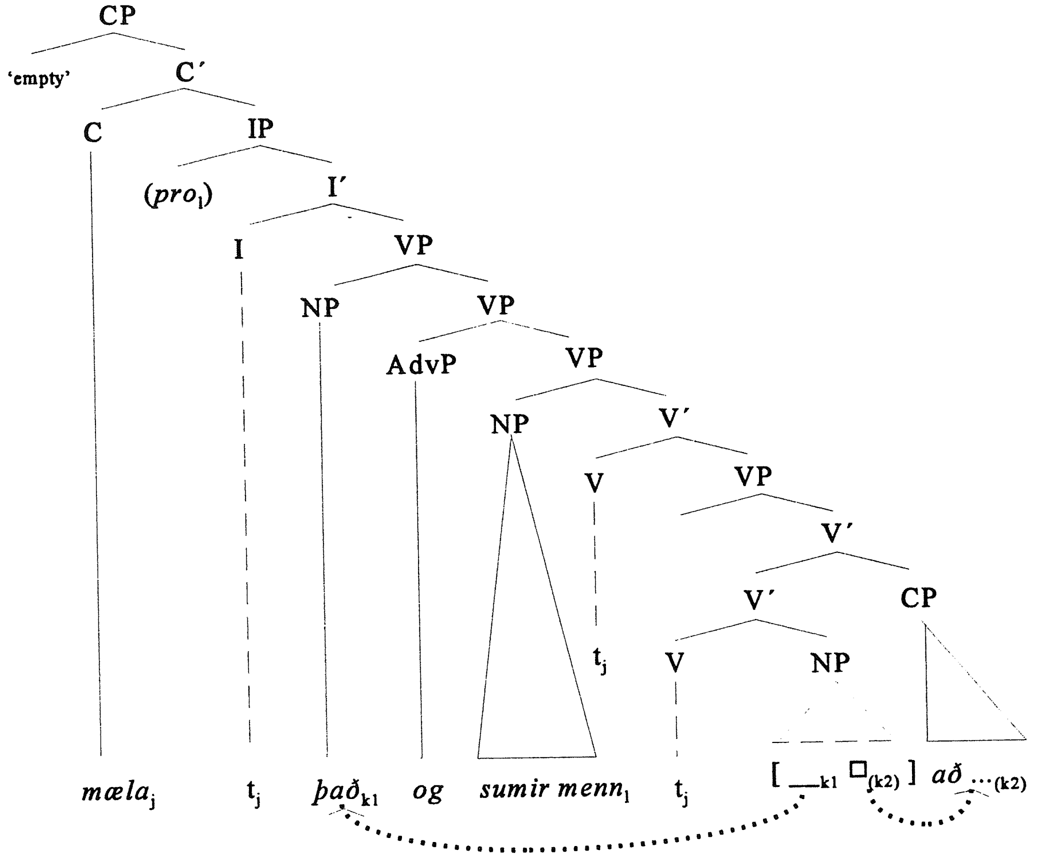
(33) "Það munu þá ***sumir menn*** *mæla," segir Höskuldur, "að* ... (Njála 255)
that will then$_{ADV}$ [some men]$_{SUBJ}$ say, says Hoskuld, that ...

(34) Mæltu það ***margir*** *að* ... (Grett 1092)
said that$_{OBJ}$ many$_{SUBJ}$ that ...

(35) Nú spyrjast tíðindin og mæltu það ***margir*** *að* ... (Njála 190)
now is-heard news-the and said that$_{OBJ}$ many$_{SUBJ}$ that ...

Note that in all cases the (scrambled) direct object (or rather the correlate) precedes the subject, and in all cases there is an (extraposed) *að*-clause. In (33), the correlate *það* is actually not scrambled but topicalized. However, the subject is located in a position behind the adverbial *þá* ('then'); I take this to be the base position of the subject. In (32), *það* is adjoined to the left of the adverbial *og* ('also'), which again is followed by the subject. (32), then, is assumed to have basically the same structure as (27), the only difference being that the adverbial is not topicalized (and that it is assumed to be base-generated in the SA-position), hence, the topic position is empty:

(36)


CP
'empty'
C′
C
IP
(pro_l)
I′
I
VP
NP
VP
AdvP
VP
NP
V′
V
VP
V′
V′
CP
tj
V
NP
mælaj
tj
þaðk1
og
sumir mennl
tj
[__k1 □(k2)] að ...(k2)

Note furthermore that (30) and (33) have a non-finite main verb which is considered to be located in the 'higher' V position. (30) has also an adverbial phrase preceding the extraposed *að*-clause. Hence, the position of the subject is relatively easy to detect, and the subject should not be considered moved to the right,[25] cf. the assumed VP-structure of (30):[26]

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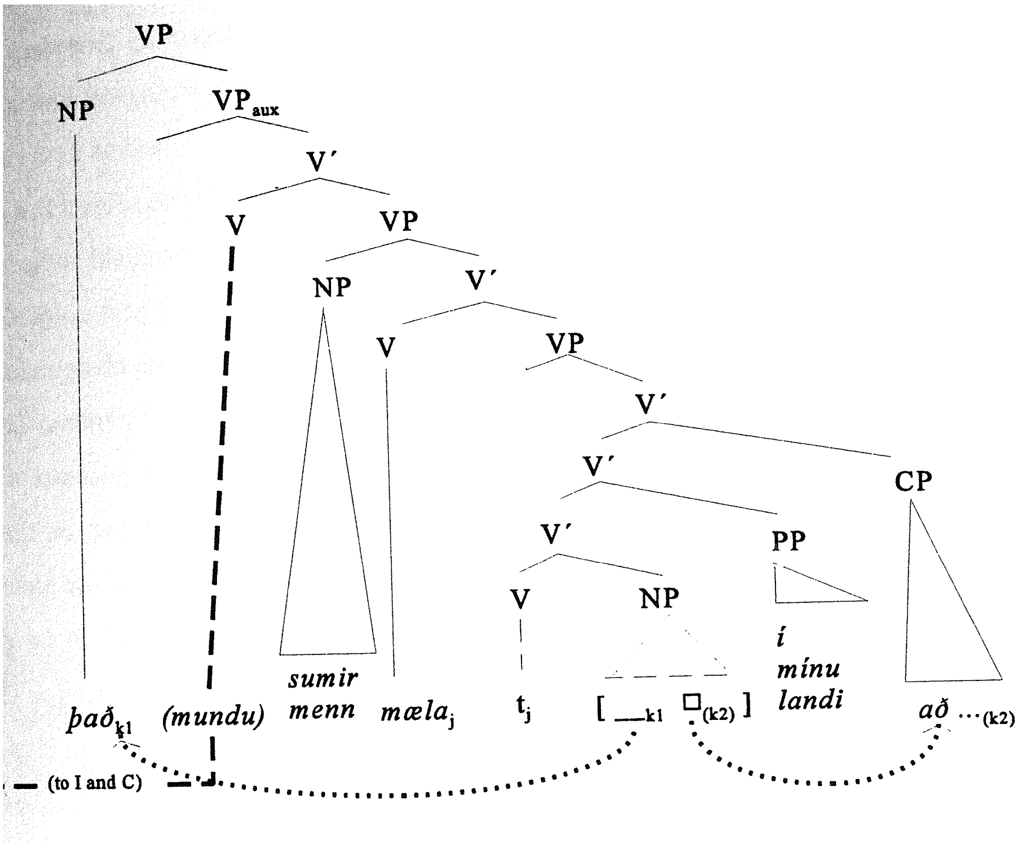
[25] In spite of the impression the examples with *Subject in situ* above may give, the non-topical subject may also move to [Spec, IP] (i), or even be topicalized (ii):

(i)	*Sögðu*	***sumir***	***menn***	*Eiríki*	*að* ... (Flóam 755)	
	said	some	men	(to) Eirik	that ...	

(ii)	*En*	***sumir***	***menn***	*segja*	*að* ... (BjHít 117)	
	and	some	men	say	that ...	

Note, however, that these two examples do not have a correlate *það* for the *að*-clause. The structure of (i) is,


VP
NP
VPaux
V′
V
VP
NP
V′
V
VP
V′
V′
CP
V′
PP
V
NP
í
mínu
landi
sumir
menn
það k1
(mundu)
mæla j
t j
[__k1 □(k2)]
að …(k2)
(to I and C)

(37)

Now compare the examples above with the same construction with a definite subject:

---

therefore, not necessarily clear. The subject could, theoretically, also be located in situ.

[26] A relevant question could be whether the subject possibly has moved to the specifier position of VP_{aux}. However, since the empirical evidence shows that the subject does not need to move in Old Norse in order to get Case, I have not considered this in the illustration. Since there is *pro* in [Spec, IP], this is not a problem.

(38)	*Og*	*hefir*	***þú***	*það*	*mælt*	*að ...* (Njála 240)
	and	have	you_{SUBJ}	that_{OBJ}	said	that ...

(39)	*En*	*sjaldan*	*hefi*	***eg***	*það*	*mælt*	*fyrir*	*þér*	*er ...* (LjósC 1675)
	and	seldom	have	I_{SUBJ}	that_{OBJ}	said	for	you	which ...

Note that the object, even though it is scrambled (i.e. it appears to the left of the main verb *mælt*), does not precede the subject in these examples, an observation supporting Grewendorf and Sternefeld's (1990:15) 6th Generalization: "*Scrambling* is not allowed to cross over a pronominal subject" (see the discussion in 4.3.2.4). Thus, the scrambled object really seems to occupy the same position to the left of [Spec, VP] in all of the examples above, while the subject has moved to [Spec, IP] in (38) and (39). Instead of saying that Scrambling over a pronominal subject is not allowed, one may, in the case of Old Norse, rather say that a pronominal subject is not allowed to stay in situ behind a scrambled object (cf. the Definiteness Effect). This observation may possibly also have consequences for the analysis of Scrambling in, for instance, Modern German, or other SOV languages with Scrambling. In German, it would not be possible to detect whether the object actually is scrambled in this case.[27] In an SVO language like Old Norse, on the other hand, it is clear that the object (correlate) is scrambled since it appears to the left of the main verb. The word order variation in constructions like these is, therefore, considered to be due to movement versus non-movement of the *subject*, cf. the following simplified illustration (I have disregarded verb movement further to I and possibly C. Furthermore, the subject in [Spec, IP] must not necessarily be definite; the subject in [Spec, VP], on the other hand, cannot be definite at all):

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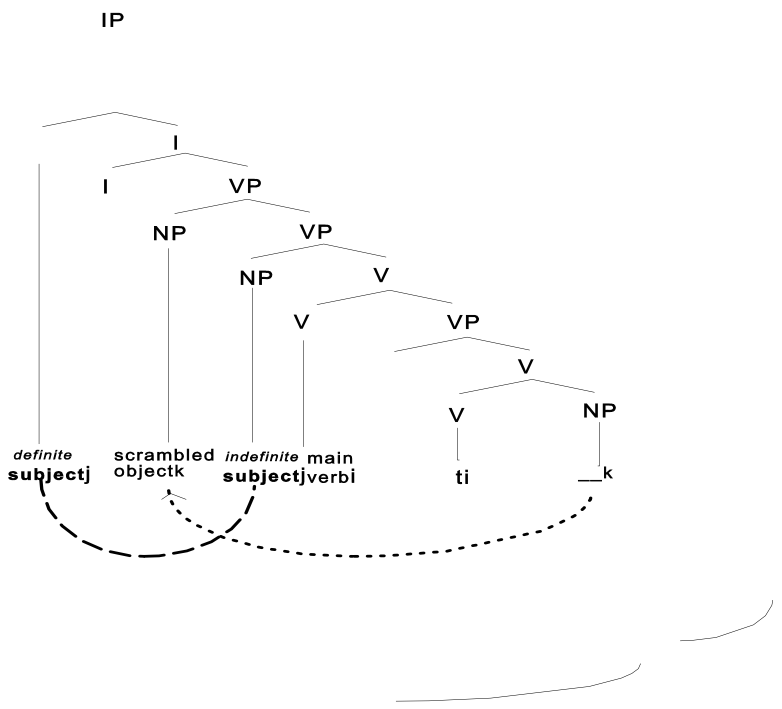
[27] Sternefeld's generalization would still be valid if one takes into consideration that the object in Modern German also could be adjoined to IP. In case Scrambling to IP is possible in Old Norse too, this would, of course, have consequences for the analyses suggested above. Based on the data I have investigated, I find it most reasonable to restrict Scrambling in Old Norse to the VP (with the exception of Stylistic Fronting, if this phenomenon is analyzed as a type of Scrambling; see 4.7). Functionally, it makes more sense to claim that the scrambled object occupies the same position in all of the examples above (28-39) since the features of the object seem to be basically the same in the examples. The features of the subject, on the other hand, are clearly different (in (38) and (39)). Hence,

(40)



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functionally it seems more reasonable to relate the word order variation to the behavior of the subject instead of the object.

Finally, consider also an example with the one part of the subject (*þeir*) in [Spec, CP] and the ‘rest’ (*báðir*) in situ [Spec, VP], preceded by the scrambled correlate *það*:[28]

(41) ***Þeir*** *mæltu* *það* ***báðir,*** *Gunnar* *og* *Njáll,* *að ...* (Njála 179)
they$_i$ said that [both, Gunnar and Njal]$_i$ that ...

The analysis supposed above can account for this word order. Thus, it seems quite clear that in some cases, i.e. with non-topical indefinite subjects, the subject may stay *in situ*. This conclusion is called “the standard conclusion” in Bobaljik & Jonas (1996),[29] who argue strongly against this view and claim that “transitive subjects may never remain internal to the VP at S-structure in languages for which the Extended Projection Principle holds” (Bobaljik & Jonas 1996:195), while “the standard conclusion that subjects in these constructions are VP-internal at S-Structure is untenable on empirical grounds” (p. 207). Even though the theoretical framework used in Bobaljik & Jonas (1996), based on Chomsky (1993), offers more projections and positions, where [Spec, T(empus)P] is claimed to be “the lowest position that the subjects of transitive verbs may occupy in the overt syntax” (Bobaljik & Jonas 1996:196), the Old Norse examples above should clearly be able to disprove this claim “on empirical grounds”. In the analysis proposed here, I assume that [Spec, IP] is filled by *pro*, hence, the Extended Projection Principle would still be valid.[30]

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[28] This is, of course, not an example of the typical *Subject-in-situ* construction, since there is a topical subject in [Spec, CP]. The example only proves that an NP or parts of an NP may remain in [Spec, VP], this being an argument against Bobaljik & Jonas (1996). Further instances of so-called *Quantifier Float* will be discussed in 4.3.3.4 and 4.7.

[29] Referring, first of all, to Sigurðsson (1991) and Vikner (1991a, 1994).

[30] Note also the differences shown in Falk (1989:46), even though they concern ergative verbs:

a.	*There is a man in the garden*	b.	**There has a man been in the garden*
	Det är en man i trädgården (Sw)		**Det har en man varit i trädgarden* (Sw)
	Það er maður í garðinum (Ic)		*Það hefur maður verið í garðinum* (Ic)

> I take the main verb *be* as an example of an ergative verb. The a-sentences show that the NP may remain in its base generated position as a verb complement in all three languages. In the b-sentences, the NP is moved to the specifier of *be*. The result is ungrammatical in English and Swedish, but grammatical in Icelandic.

The examples from Falk, thus, seem to confirm that [Spec, VP] is a possible surface-subject position in Modern Icelandic (as also shown for Old Norse). Note that *það* is not assumed to be an expletive subject in Modern Icelandic, but an expletive topic. Consider also the examples regarding intransitive and transitive verbs (Falk 1989:47):

4.3.1.5 Summary

Based on the discussion above, I find that there are four possible subject positions available for the external argument in Old Norse overt syntax, seemingly ranked by topicality. The classification behind the position is only loose and vague, and more appropriate terms will be discussed in chapter 5 even though I will not say much more about these particular constructions.[31] Here, I will refer to *topic* as the center of attention, i.e 'what' is talked about. This implies that there may be two topics in a clause, an 'old(er)' and a 'new(er)', one may also divide into primary and secondary topic. In this loose sense, the topic may also be focused.

1. [Spec, CP] → subject = continuing ('old') topic or new topic

(42)	***Hann***	*gaf*	*þeim*	*manni*	*líf*	*er*	*það*	*gerði* (Vatn 1848)
	he$_{\text{SUBJ}}$	gave	[that	man]$_{\text{IOi}}$	life$_{\text{DO}}$	[who	that	did]$_{\text{i}}$

'He let that man live who had done that'

Hann being pronominal is an old(er) topic referring to a topic/discourse referent introduced before, while a new topic/discourse referent is introduced by the indirect object further specified by the relative clause. An old(er) topic in [Spec, CP] may be considered 'unmarked', i.e. it is usually unstressed. New topics/discourse referents are usually not introduced in the topic position.[32] Consider:

Intransitive verbs:	a.	**There danced a man in the garden* *Det dansade en man i trädgården* (Sw) *Það dansaði maður í garðinum* (Ice)	b.	**There has a man danced in the garden* **Det har en man dansat i trädgarden* (Sw) *Það hefur maður dansað í garðinum* (Ic)
Transitive verbs:	a.	**There digs a woman a grave in the garden* **Det gräver en kvinna en grav i trädgården* (Sw) *Það grefur kona gröf í garðinum* (Ic)		

Falk´s (1989:48) conclusion being: "Existential constructions with transitive verbs are possible only in Icelandic. Neither in English, nor in Swedish may the external argument remain in its basegenerated position".

[31] In chapter 5, I will only discuss Subject Shift or Right Dislocated Subjects more thoroughly. The other three surface-subject positions [Spec, CP], [Spec, IP] and [Spec, VP] are, in my opinion, less problematic. The functional/pragmatic 'labeling' is meant to be a starting point for further discussion at another occasion. The classification used here may be considered problematic in several respects. However, here I only make an attempt to label the positions intuitively.

[32] However, new discourse referents are probably introduced more frequently in the topic position in Old Norse than, for instance, in Modern Norwegian or any of the other modern Scandinavian languages. Consider e.g.:

(43) ***Ólafur konungur*** *gaf mér hring þenna í morgun* (Fóstb 850)
[Olaf king]$_{SUBJ}$ gave me ring this in morning
‘King Olaf gave me this ring this morning’

Even though we may say that *Ólafur konungur* is part of the background information, it is not a part of the actual context and appears as a new discourse referent and topic in [Spec, CP]. A new topic in [Spec, CP] may be considered ‘marked’ to some degree, i.e. the subject is probably even stressed.[33] To maintain a more ‘natural’ information structure, example (43) could possibly be realized as a Subject-Shift construction where the subject would appear at the end of the clause.

2. [Spec, IP] → subject = less topical, i.e. the continuing (‘older’) topic[34]

(44) Honum gaf ***Auður*** *Vífilsdal og bjó hann þar* (Eirík 519)
him gave Aud$_{SUBJ}$ Vifilsdale and lived he there
‘Aud gave him Vifilsdal where lived since’

The central discourse referent is the indirect object represented as a pronoun. The subject is still a part of the context, although it is not the main topic itself. It is however, some kind of secondary topic.[35] In this example, both topics are ‘continuing’ topics, but *honum* is the primary topic. The primary topic in [Spec, CP] may possibly be stressed, while the subject is unstressed. Note the distribution of 1 and 2 in the following (continuous) sequence:

(45) a. ***Hundi*** *hét lausingi hennar.*
Hundi$_i$ was-called free-thrall hers.

(i) ***Bárður*** *hét maður. Hann bjó þar í Súrnadal* (GíslS 853)
Bard was-named man. He lived there in Surnadal

Old Norse does not make much use of presentational constructions such as those we have in Modern English, Modern Norwegian, or Modern German, cf. e.g.:

(ii) *There was a man named Bard; he lived in Surnadal.* (The saga of Gisli 1963:2)

(iii) *Det var en mann som het Bard og bodde i Surnadal* (Gisle Surssons saga 1985:19)
it was a man who was-named Bard$_{SUBJ}$ and lived in Surnadal

(iv) *Es war ein Mann, der hieß Bard; er wohnte auch dort im Surental.* (Heinrichs 1992:6)
it was a man who was-named Bard; he lived also there in Surnadal

[33] See Lambrecht (1994:202) for a discussion on *Accented Topic Expressions* with a topic-announcing function.

[34] The newer topic being in [Spec, CP] or to the right of [Spec, IP] (*Scrambling*).

[35] Lambrecht (1994) uses the label *primary topic* to designate such topics. See chapter 5.

b. *Hann var skoskur að ætt.*
he$_i$ was Scottish at lineage.

c. ***Honum*** *gaf hún Hundadal.*
him$_i$ gave she Houndsdale.

d. ***Vífill*** *hét þræll Unnar hinn fjórði.*
Vifil$_j$ was-called thrall Unn's the fourth.

e. *Hún gaf* ***honum*** *Vífilsdal* (Laxd 1540)
she gave him$_{jFOCUS}$ Vifilsdale
'Hundi was the name of her free thrall. He was of Scottish lineage. She gave him Hundadal. Vifil was the name of Unn's fourth thrall. She gave him Vifilsdal.

In (a), *Hundi* is introduced as a new discourse referent/topic in [Spec, CP] and continues as an older topic *hann* in [Spec, CP] of (b) (but still newer than *hún* in (c)). *Hún* being the 'oldest' topic appears in [Spec, IP] of (c),[36] while the newer topic (but object) *honum* occupies [Spec, CP] (here, we also have an instance of contrast to the next person/topic *Vífill*). *Vífill* is the next discourse referent/person introduced in (d), being another thrall of *Unn*. I assume that this thrall receives a 'marked' (i.e. stressed) contrast focus in (e), which is not in the topic position but to the right. It is possible that the focused element occupies a Scrambling position (see the discussion in 4.3.2.4).[37] Since there is no other candidate for the topic position [Spec, CP], the 'older' topic occupies this position. In cases like this, the topic position could also remain empty, cf.:

(46) Gaf hún ***honum*** *góðar gjafir og marga dýrgripi* (GunKV 1160)
gave she him$_{FOCUS?}$ good gifts and many precious things

However, it seems that not leaving the subject in the surface-subject position *per se* ([Spec, IP]), might be a procedure to give more attention (and stress) to the phrase in a following position. While the Beneficiary *honum* in (46) may be unstressed, I assume that it is stressed in (45e). A judgement like this would, however, be based on the context only. I will return to a discussion of the distribution of stressed versus unstressed phrases in chapter 5.

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[36] Recall that subjects may be considered 'natural' topics, cf. the discussion above.

[37] We may consider the contrastive focus in another position than [Spec, CP] 'marked', [Spec, CP] being a more 'natural' position for contrastive focus.

3. [Spec, VP] → subject (+quantifier) = non-topical and unstressed, i.e. non-focused

(47) *En* *mæla* *það* ***sumir*** ***menn****að ...* (BandK 36)
and say that$_{\text{OBJi}}$ [some men]$_{\text{SUBJ}}$ [that ...]$_{\text{i}}$

This is the surface position of non-topical non-definite (cf. *Definiteness Effect*) subjects, most often combined with a quantifier.

4. [NP, VP][38] → subject = non-topical, new information, accented/stressed, i.e. focused

(48) *Hann* *gaf* *Brandi* *gripi* *þá* *sem* *honum* *hafði* *gefið*
he gave Brand things those that him had given

Jón ***Grikklandskonungur*** (Finnb 673)
[Jon Greeceking]$_{\text{Agent - SUBJ?}}$
‘He gave Brand those things that Jon, king of Greece, had given him’

This is a construction where the syntactic status of the Agent (subject?) appears to be a little unclear. The ‘subject’ is often a complex phrase, but it is not obvious that ‘heaviness’ can explain the right ‘dislocation’. Rather the word order can functionally be explained by the demands of information structure: the subject is the only argument carrying new information. Since subjects usually are not focused, this construction would make focusing by default possible, cf. the default sentence accent (see the discussion in 5.3). There are reasons to believe that the Agent phrase might be base-generated as a so-called *argument adjunct* (Grimshaw 1990). This will be further discussed in 5.3.

I will now take a look at the positions of internal arguments in surface structure.

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[38] [NP, VP] here means adjunction of the ‘subject’ NP to the right of VP. This implies no statement about Extraposition versus base-generation; see the discussion in 5.3.

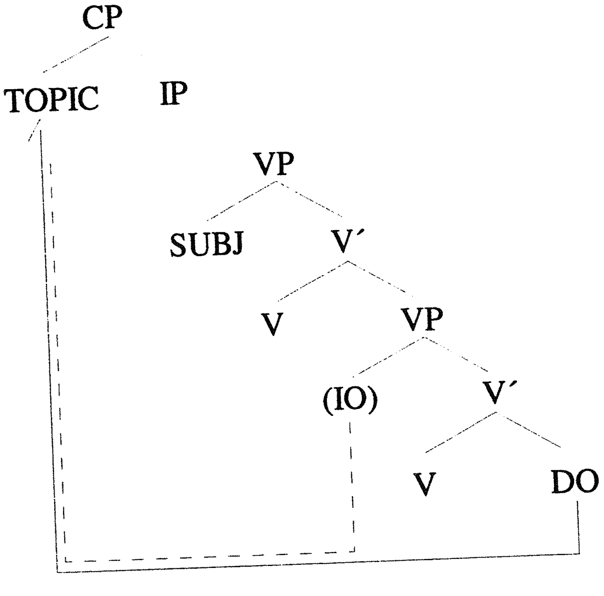
4.3.2 The Positions of Internal Arguments in Surface Structure

Through the examples and the discussion in 4.3.1 (and 4.2) above, I have already given a picture of the overt positions of internal arguments. In this section, I will try to give a more systematic overview of possible surface-structure positions of internal nominal arguments as objects in Old Norse. Promotion of an internal argument to surface subject is discussed in 4.3.3.

To start with, one may generalize that as long as there is an Agent argument, i.e. a deep-structure subject, in the sentence, the most common structures are:

- the internal argument(s) stay(s) in place (inside VP), i.e. no movement (4.3.2.1), or
- topicalization of the internal argument (or one of the internal arguments), i.e. movement to [Spec, CP] (4.3.2.2)

The following simplified structure may illustrate this:



(1)

These two possible surface structures (no movement or movement to [Spec, CP]) are also shared by all of the modern Scandinavian languages. Additionally, an internal argument may be moved to the right by Heavy NP Shift or 'Extraposition' (4.3.2.3).[1] The direct object (DO) may be extraposed, whereas an indirect object can usually not be extraposed (only a possible complement of the IO could be extraposed). Heavy NP Shift or Extraposition is here understood as right adjunction to the lower VP:

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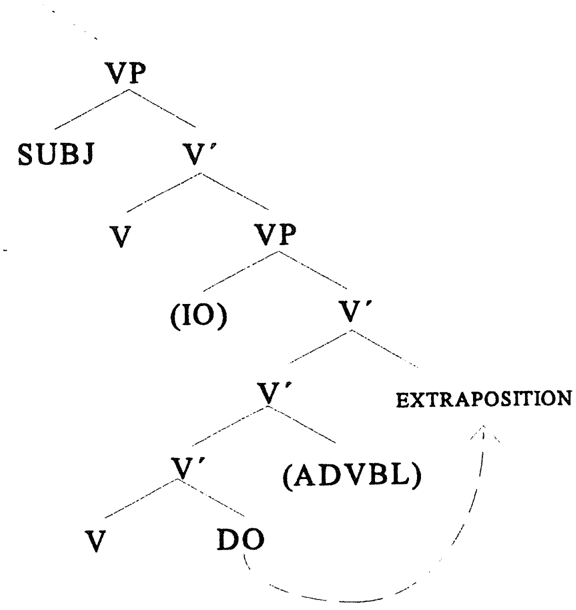
[1] Recall the discussion on the term *Extraposition* in 4.3.1 above.

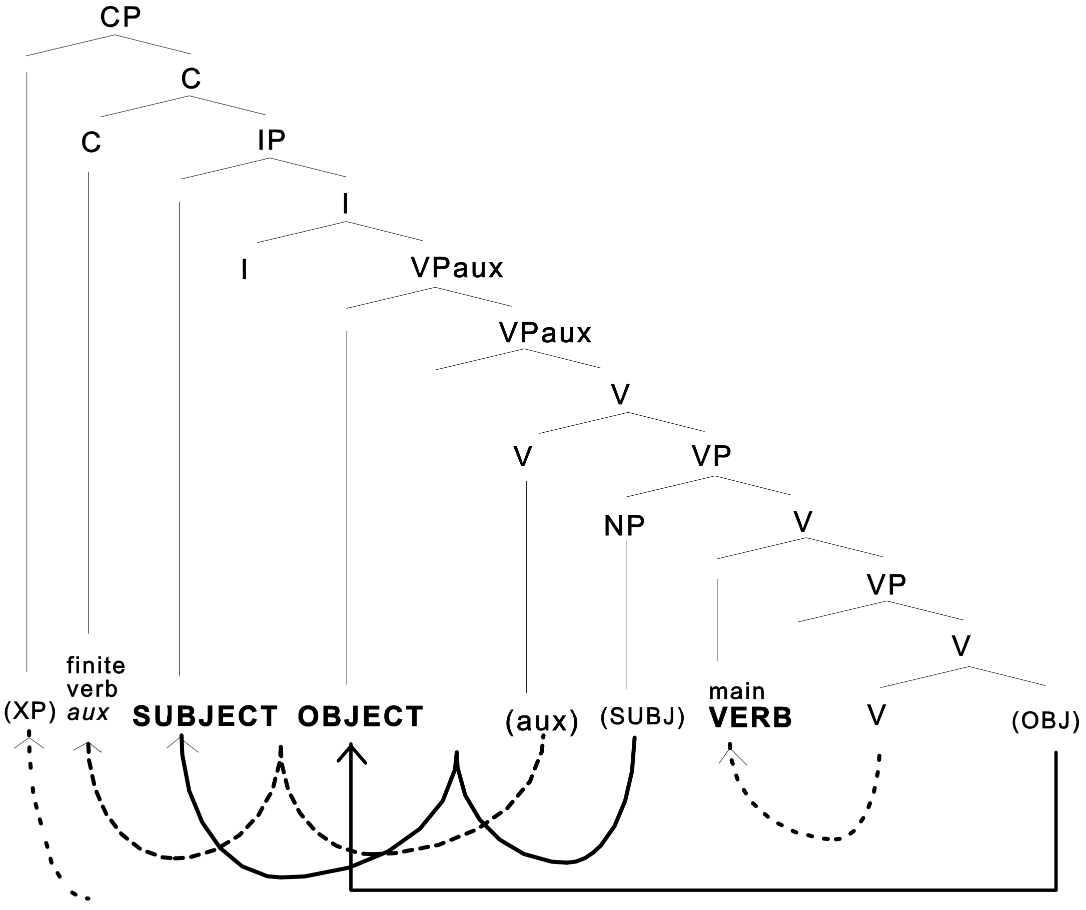


(2)

Such movement would be to the right of possible base-generated adverbial phrases.

Furthermore, an internal argument may occur in the Middle Field, i.e. to the left of the base position of the main verb. As I have mentioned before, I do not consider such structures ‘remnants of SOV’ in the sense that they are base-generated. Instead, I will suggest that this word order pattern should be analyzed as *Scrambling*, i.e. movement to the left of VP. The empirical evidence points into the direction that the most typical Scrambling processes in Old Norse should be analyzed as adjunction to the left of VP. However, I will not exclude the possibility that some Scrambling processes are movement to a certain functional projection like, for instance, AgrOP in a minimalist approach. I will discuss this further in 4.3.2.4 below. My default assumption will be that an internal argument (or possibly an adjunct) may be adjoined to the left of VP in certain cases. I assume that Scrambling in Old Norse is adjunction to VP only (or, in some cases, possibly to a head position within the VP), and not also to IP as, for instance, in Modern German (see 4.3.2.4). An illustration of a possible Old Norse SOV structure according to the analysis proposed here would be the following simplified tree structure. The main verb moves to the higher V-position, whereas the auxiliary moves to C via I. The subject moves to [Spec, IP] and possibly to [Spec, CP]; I have not defined a concrete XP for the topic position. The interesting movement is the movement of the object to the left:

(3)


CP
C
C
IP
I
I
VPaux
VPaux
V
V
VP
NP
V
VP
V
(XP)
finite verb *aux*
SUBJECT
OBJECT
(aux)
(SUBJ)
main VERB
V
(OBJ)

In Modern Scandinavian, this kind of movement would only be possible when the main verb has left the VP (Object Shift), whereas the verb is not blocking movement in Old Norse (see 4.3.2.4).

When an internal argument is promoted to subject, all the positions of the surface subject discussed in 4.3.1 above in addition to the internal base position should - in principle - be available, i.e. [Spec, VP], [Spec, IP] and [Spec, CP], and possibly the extraposed position. However, it seems that the 'higher' [Spec, VP] is not an actual surface position for promoted subjects, nor would it be very likely that an internal argument is extraposed when it functions as the surface subject.

In this section, I will discuss the positions of nominal internal arguments as objects. Promotion of an internal argument to subject is discussed in 4.3.3.

4.3.2.1 No Movement of Internal Argument(s)

I will first of all use examples with non-finite verbs to illustrate the positions of the internal argument(s) relative to the V-position inside (the 'higher') VP.[2] As discussed in chapter 2, I consider Old Norse to be an SVO language. Thus, the objects in the examples below are assumed to be located in their base positions.

A. Bivalent verbs

The (Direct) Object follows the non-finite main verb immediately, i.e. (S)VO:

(4) *Hann hafði drepið son Eiðs Skeggjasonar úr Ási* (Grett 1050)
he had killed$_{V}$ [son Eid's Skegg's son from As]$_{OBJ}$
'He had killed the son of Eid Skeggjason from As'

In this case, the Object is assumed to be located in [Compl, V′].

B. Trivalent verbs

Double Object Construction (DOC):

The most common word order is indirect object (dative) - direct object (accusative), both following the non-finite main verb, i.e. (S)VOO:

(5) *Hann hafði gefið Þórði hest góðan er Sviðgrímur hét* (Þórð 2029)
he had given$_{V}$ Thord$_{IO}$ [horse good that Svidgrim was-called]$_{DO}$
'He had given Thord a good horse that was called Svidgrim'

The Indirect Object is located in [Spec, VP] of the 'lower' VP and the Direct Object is located in [Compl, V′].

---

[2] As discussed before, I assume that the verb has to move from the 'lower' V position to the V position in the 'higher' VP. When there is an auxiliary or modal in the clause, the main verb will not move any further. Otherwise, it would have to move to I and possibly to C.

Inverted DOC:

Triadic verbs of the *gefa* (‘give’) type may in certain cases generate an alternative argument order due to an alternative thematic argument structure (cf. the discussion on inverted DOCs in 4.2 above):

(6)	*... og*	*bauð*	*Þorsteinn*	*að*	*gefa*	*þann*	*Gunnlaugi* (Gunnl 1172)
	... and	ordered	Thorstein	to	give$_{V}$	that$_{THEME}$	Gunnlaug$_{GOAL}$

‘... and Thorstein ordered to give that (horse) to Gunnlaug’

In this example, one may analyze *Gunnlaugi* as a Goal, hence, lower than the Patient/Theme in the thematic hierarchy. As a consequence the Patient/Theme is assumed to be base-generated as the specifier while the Goal is base-generated as the complement. As mentioned in 4.2.2 above, it seems that indirect objects are never involved in Heavy NP Shift, i.e. Extraposition to the right. Therefore, I assume that the ‘indirect’ object (the dative argument) is base-generated in [Compl, V′] in cases like this (inverted DOC).[3]

As discussed several times before, there are also word order patterns in Old Norse that sometimes have been referred to as ‘remnants of (S)OV’. In the following example, the direct object *mjólk* precedes the main verb *drekka,* i.e. there is an (S)OV surface structure:

(7)	*Þorfinni*	*var*	*fengin*	*fóstra*	*og*	*vill*	*hann*	*ekki*	***mjólk***
	Thorfinn$_{DAT\text{-}SUBJ}$	was	given$_{V}$	[foster mother]$_{OBJ}$	and	will	he$_{SUBJ}$	not$_{SA}$	milk$_{OBJ}$

---

[3] Note that the fact that the DO is a pronoun while the IO is a full NP is not enough to trigger this word order, cf. an example with Scrambling:

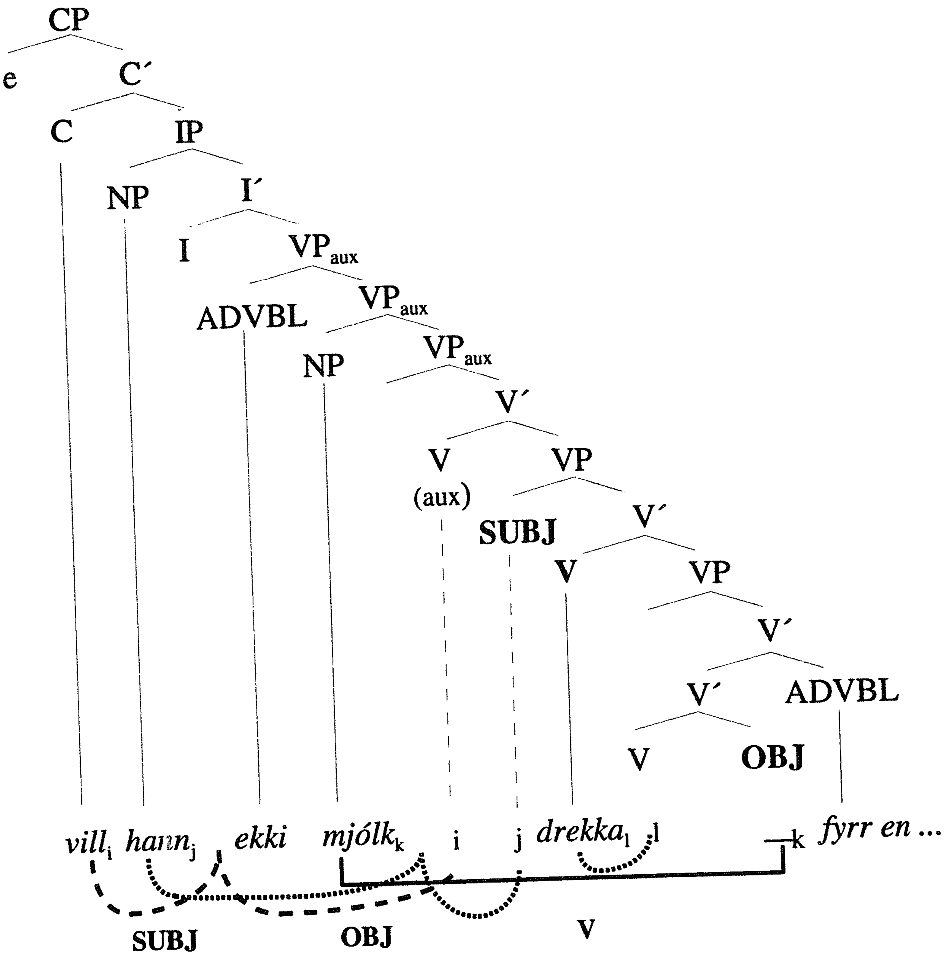
(i)	*Vil*	*eg*	*það*	*ráð*	*þér*	*gefa*	*sem*	*hverjum*	*öðrum*	*að ...* (Fljót 723)
	will	I	[that	advice]$_{ACC}$	[you]$_{DO}$	give	as	everybody	other	[that ...]$_{i}$

‘I will give you that advice, as I would anybody else, that ...’

The example (i) is not necessarily an example of an inverted DOC. An abstract argument like *það ráð* (‘that advice’) does probably not qualify as a higher argument than the dative in this case (as opposed to a concrete argument like ‘horse’ in (6); see the discussion in 4.2.2). On the other hand, it is possible that *þér* is stressed, which by Holmberg & Platzack (1995) is taken as a criterion for inversion (‘YOU - as anybody ELSE’). However, *það ráð* would equally (or more) likely be a possible accented phrase. Note that both scrambled NPs have left material behind: [*það ráð - að* ...] and [*þér - sem hverjum öðrum*]. An immediate functional explanation for Scrambling of both objects is to separate them from this ‘rest material’ (as discussed before). Most likely the *að*-clause is extraposed before *það ráð* is scrambled to the left. The phrase *sem hverjum öðrum* I would analyze as an apposition located in the base position of the dative object. A relevant question would be whether the dative is scrambled in the same way as the accusative (adjunction), or whether the dative actually occupies a position within a functional projection (e.g. AgrO). See the discussion on Scrambling in 4.3.2.4.

drekka *fyrr* *en* *myrkt* *var* (Flóam 772)
drink$_V$ before that dark was
'Thorfinn was given to his foster mother, and/but he refused to drink milk before it got dark'

In the present analysis, such word order patterns are explained by leftward movement of the object (Scrambling) instead of base-generation. Notice that the preceding clause in this example exhibits the word order (S)VO: *fenginn fóstra*, which I consider the basic word order of Old Norse.[4] From a typological view, two alternative base structures in the same sentence appear to be rather unappealing. Instead of saying that two alternative basic word orders are involved in the same sentence, I claim that the object has moved to the left in the latter clause, cf. the following simplified structure:


CP
e
C′
C
IP
NP
I′
I
VPaux
ADVBL
VPaux
NP
VPaux
V′
V
(aux)
VP
SUBJ
V′
V
VP
V′
V′
ADVBL
V
OBJ
villi
hannj
ekki
mjólkk
i
j
drekkal
l
k
fyrr en ...
SUBJ
OBJ
V

(8)

---

[4] The status of the dative phrase *Þorfinni* as the surface subject of the passive clause is discussed in 4.3.3.1.

Notice also that the object *mjólk* is assumed to be adjoined between the sentence adverbial and the non-finite verb, i.e. to the right of the negation word. Now, compare this example to the following:

(9) *Jarl vildi* ***það*** *ekki heyra* (Grett 993)
earl wanted that$_{DO}$ not$_{SA}$ hear$_{V}$
'The earl did not want to hear that / That the earl did not want to hear'

In this clause, the object appears to the left of the negation word. In my opinion, assuming adjunction (Scrambling) to the left of VP, i.e. between [Spec, VP] and IP,[5] seems to be more reasonable than operating with several 'basic' word orders. The negation word and other types of sentence adverbials seem to be adjoined to the left of VP, and when there are several sentence adverbials, the order between them may vary. If adjunction of the object to the left of VP is possible, then, this should theoretically be possible in any position relative to other adjoined elements, dependent on possible scope properties. If there were a fixed position for the negation word, and movement of the object would be considered movement to a functional projection, then, we would need *two* possible functional projections, one before the negation word, and one behind the negation word (short Scrambling vs. long Scrambling?).[6] As discussed before, in the present analysis I will assume free adjunction (cf. also 4.3.2.4).

The previous examples are not representatives of DOCs; they are, instead, 'ordinary' transitive constructions with two arguments. The purpose of discussing them is to argue for leftward movement of the object instead of alternative base-generation. The same analysis will also be used on passive sentences of DOCs (the three arguments of the active DOC being reduced to two arguments in the passive construction). The following sentence, for instance, will be analyzed as having a Beneficiary subject, i.e. a promoted (oblique) subject (see 4.3.3.1), and a scrambled Patient/Theme (nominative) object. Hence, I do not assume any underlying (S)OV order:

---

[5] VP means here one of the possible VPs, i.e. the VP containing the external argument, or possibly a VP$_{aux}$ if there is one.

[6] An alternative analysis would possibly be to assume a negation projection that may host an internal argument in its specifier position or an NP with a negation word as its specifier (see also the discussion in 5.4.2).

(10) *... og er* *honum* *mjólk* *gefin* (Flóam 772)
... and is him$_{\text{SUBJ-DAT}}$ milk$_{\text{OBJ-NOM}}$ given$_{\text{V(-NOM)}}$
'... and he got some milk'

In a traditional (Norwegian) analysis (cf. the discussion in 1.1), a sentence like this would be analyzed has having an OV word order with a dative object preceding the nominative subject.[7]

---

[7] This order, then, could be explained by (non-configurationality and) information structure, cf. Faarlund's (1990a:115f.) explanation of the word order in:

(i) *Var þeim gefinn dagverðr*

According to the theory advocated in this thesis, example (10) exhibits a structure with the oblique subject in [Spec, IP] and the nominative object in a Scrambling position to the left of the main verb, cf. the following simplified structure:

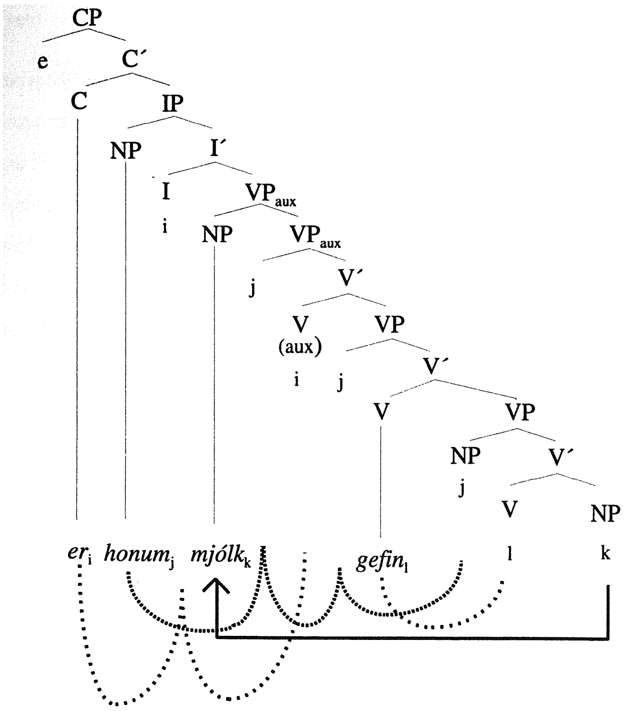
> was them-D given lunch-N
> ‘They were given lunch’ (Heimskringla)
>
> [...]
>
> The constituent order in [(i)] is, however, in accordance with the information structure: the dative phrase is an anaphoric pronoun and thus carries given information, whereas the nominative NP carries new information and comes at the end of the sentence. This is not only a question of placing pronouns before full NPs. (1990a:116)

Note Faarlund’s (ibid.) observation (which I have quoted before in a different context):

> What this seems to show, then, is that either the order of NPs has nothing to do with subjecthood at all, or that NPs other than nominatives can be subjects.

To me it is obvious that the order of NPs has something to do with subjecthood and that “NPs other than nominatives can be subjects” in Old Norse, whereas Faarlund chose to stick to his subject definition as being nominatives only. By the way, in Faarlund (1983, 1985a) sentences like (i), with a nominative following the infinite verb, were explained by referring to focusing of the nominative (‘subject’) to the right (cf. the discussion in chapter 2).

(11)



Hence, there is ordinary subject movement to [Spec, IP] from the highest argument position, which, in this case, is the lower specifier position, since there is no Agent argument in the higher specifier position. Additionally, the object has moved to the left - a phenomenon we have seen in several different constructions already. In the discussion in the sections below, I will provide further arguments both against a basic-OV analysis and the claim that passive sentences like the one above do have a nominative subject.

On the background of the observations above, I will apply the same analysis, i.e. movement instead of base-generation, to DOCs with two real/proper objects preceding the non-finite main verb, e.g.:

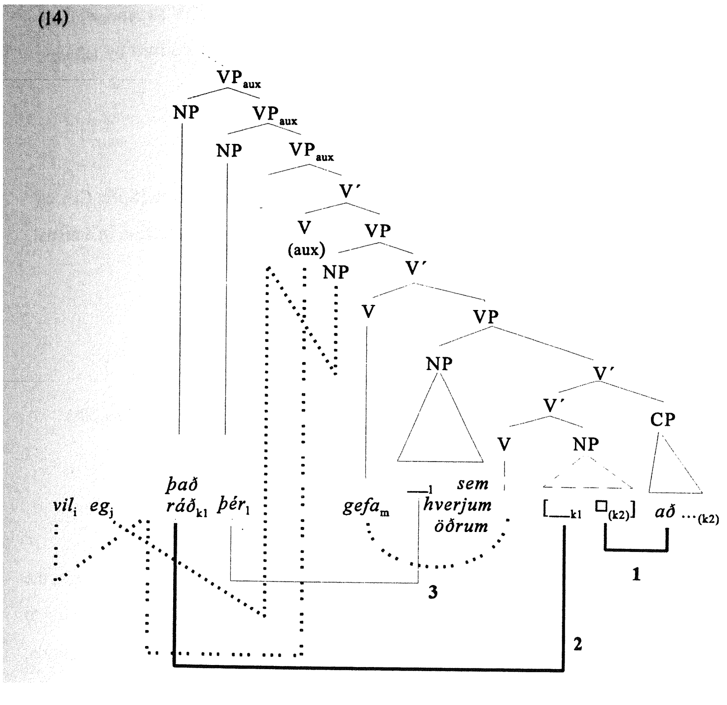
(12) *Þá mun hann þér besta raun gefa er ...* (Bárð 70)
then will he$_{\text{SUBJ}}$ you$_{\text{DAT}}$ [best experience]$_{\text{ACC}}$ give$_{\text{V}}$ who ...
'Then he, who ..., will give you the best experience'

In footnote (3) above, I discussed a similar example:

(13) *Vil eg það ráð þér gefa sem hverjum öðrum að ...* (Fljót 723)
will I [that advice]$_{\text{ACC}}$ [you]$_{\text{DO}}$ give as everybody other [that ...]$_{\text{i}}$
'I will give you that advice, as I would anybody else, that ...'

The interesting thing about these two examples is that the dative pronoun *þér* precedes the full accusative NP in (12), but not in (13). In neither case, I would consider the accusative object to be capable of being something that may be literally 'given' to somebody, i.e. an argument with the thematic role of a Goal. Hence, the dative is probably what Holmberg & Platzack (1995:205ff.) call a "pure experiencer", i.e. inversion of the DOC should not be possible. On the other hand, the object *raun* would probably be closer to be 'transferable' than *ráð*. If (12) could be analyzed as an inverted DOC, this would give a more straightforward analysis since the complement, i.e. the dative in the case of an inverted DOC, could be moved before the specifier (the accusative). Then, movement would start with the lowest NP, and the specifier argument would not have to cross over the complement argument in the scrambled position. This would be the structural analysis of (13), cf. the simplified illustration (the phrase *sem hverjum öðrum* is analyzed as an apposition, hence, the NP *þér* is assumed to be able to move freely, cf. the discussion in footnote 3 above):

(14)



Note that a discussion on the relative order of the dative and the accusative argument would be relevant in a double base analysis too. This would also be relevant in an analysis with several functional projections like e.g. AgrO and possibly AgrIO. One object would probably be located in [Spec, AgrOP] and the other in [Spec, AgrIOP] - the question would be where the objects belonged before the movement. Furthermore, one would still need an adjunction site for adverbial phrases that precede those functional object projections (see the discussion in 4.3.2.4). For the purpose of describing the empirical data, an adjunction analysis seems to be sufficient together with the functional explanations provided in chapter 5.

It must be emphasized that there are not that many examples of DOCs with this SOV (surface) structure (Scrambling of one object is more common than Scrambling of both objects), and the examples found are seemingly more frequent in direct speech.[8] SOV structures in Old Norse, I claim, are not base-generated and have to be considered being derived by leftward movement of the object(s).

4.3.2.2 *Topicalization*

Topicalization is considered movement of an XP-phrase from its base position to [Spec, CP], cf. the illustration in (1) above. In this subsection, I will demonstrate Topicalization of internal nominal arguments in Old Norse.

A. Bivalent verbs

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[8] The fact that SOV (surface) structures are more frequent in direct speech may obviously give us reason to wonder. A distribution like this could, of course, be argued to be due to the ‘saga style’ whereby the saga writer (telling the story some hundred years later) tries to make the direct speech a little more archaic (IF he could possibly have had an intuition about a former SOV base). Another possible reason could be found by turning to the process of copying older saga texts hundreds of years after they were written. IF there ever were original texts with ‘pure’ SOV word order, the copyist may have wanted to modernize the word order, while he perhaps felt that he could/should not change the word order of direct speech. On the other hand, there is no evidence of Old Norse texts with pure (consequent) SOV order, cf. the discussion in chapter 2. Furthermore, such SOV surface order was possible in more modern Icelandic up to around 1850 (cf. Hróarsdóttir 1995, 1996a). Additionally, Modern Icelandic also exhibits some SOV patterns generated by Object Shift (see the discussion in 4.3.2.4).

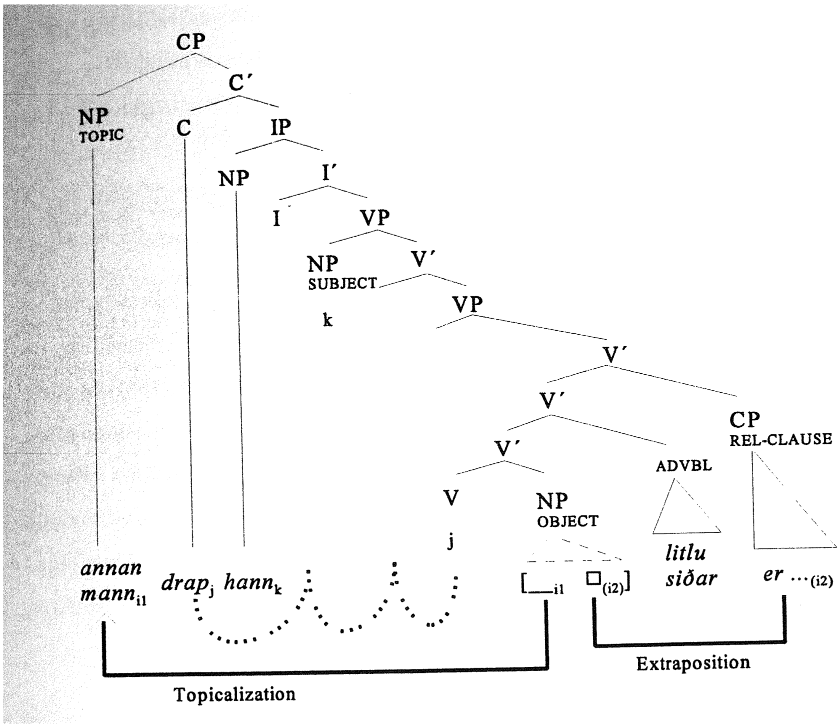
The object *annan mann* in (b) is topicalized from its base position in [Compl, V′].

(15) a. *Nú hefi eg drepið annan þræl þinn fyrir þér* (Egla 508)
now have I$_{\text{SUBJ}}$ killed$_{\text{V}}$[other thrall yours]$_{\text{OBJ}}$ for you
'Now I have killed another thrall for your'

b. ***Annan mann*** *drap hann litlu síðar er ...* (Reykd 1764)
[other man]$_{\text{OBJ}}$ killed he$_{\text{SUBJ}}$ little later that ...
'A little later, he killed the second man who ...'

Note that the *að*-clause belonging to the object is extraposed before Topicalization. Hence, the Topicalization process is similar to that of Scrambling discussed above. Instead of adjoining to VP, the object moves all the way up to the topic position, cf. the following simplified illustration:

(16)


CP
C′
NP
TOPIC
C
IP
NP
I′
I
VP
NP
SUBJECT
k
V′
VP
V′
V′
CP
REL-CLAUSE
V′
ADVBL
V
j
NP
OBJECT
litlu
síðar
annan
mann$_{i1}$
drap$_j$
hann$_k$
[__$_{i1}$ □$_{(i2)}$]
er ...$_{(i2)}$
Topicalization
Extraposition

B. Trivalent verbs

Direct Object:

In the following example (b), the direct object *þessi hross* is topicalized from its base position in [Compl, V′], whereas the indirect object occupies its base position in [Spec, VP] of the ‘lower’ VP:

(17) a. *Þorsteinn bauð að gefa Gunnlaugi hrossin* (Gunnl 1172)
Thorstein bade to give$_{V}$ Gunnlaug$_{IO}$ horses-the$_{DO}$
‘Thorstein ordered to give the horses to Gunnlaug’

b. ***Þessi hross*** *vildi Bolli gefa Kjartani* (Laxd 1604)
[this horse]$_{DO}$ wanted Bolli$_{SUBJ}$ give$_{V}$ Kjartan$_{IO}$
‘This horse Bolli wanted to give to Kjartan’

Indirect Object:

In (b) below, it is the indirect object *þér* that is topicalized from its base position in [Spec, VP] of the ‘lower’ VP, while the direct object *hring þenna er ...* stays in its base position:

(18) a. *... og er hér hringur er eg vil gefa þér* (Vígl 1970)
... and is here ring$_{i}$ that I will give$_{V}$ you$_{IO}$ _$_{i}$
‘... and here is the ring that I will give you’

b. ***Þér*** *vil eg gefa hring þenna er Illugi gaf mér* (Harð 1264)
you$_{IO}$ will I$_{SUBJ}$ give [ring this that Illugi gave me]$_{DO}$
‘To you I will give this ring that Illugi gave to me because ...’

Note that Scrambling seems to exhibit the same movement possibilities as Topicalization. As discussed above, both objects seem to be able to be scrambled independently of whether they are base-generated in the specifier position or in the complement position. Compare (18b) also to the illustration in (16) demonstrating Topicalization of the direct object after Extraposition of the relative clause. In (18b), the direct object stays behind in its base position together with the relative clause. There should be no reason for extraposing the relative clause in this case since the word order would not be changed. Topicalizing the direct object instead of the indirect object would in this example make the encoding process rather difficult: the relative word *er* would, as the first choice, probably be associated with its closest NP, the dative *þér*.[9]

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[9] A relative clause belonging to a direct object following an indirect object is, of course, structurally possible. In the example above, however, this would not seem very appropriate. I found one interesting example in the corpus with a relative clause belonging to a direct object following the dative *þér*:

4.3.2.3 *Heavy NP Shift*

Heavy NP Shift has already been discussed in connection with *Subject Shift* in 4.3.1.3 above. In a Heavy NP Shift construction, the whole NP would be moved to the right, whereas Extraposition in the narrow sense would leave a correlate to the left (in the base position, in a Scrambling position or in the topic position). Structurally both Heavy NP Shift and Extraposition in the narrow sense are here analyzed as right adjunction to V′. Heavy NP Shift applies first of all (but not necessarily) to complex phrases, and since it is possible in the modern Germanic languages, one should expect to find this construction also in Old Norse. Compare, for instance, (b) with Heavy NP Shift to (a) without Heavy NP Shift:

(19) a. *Þorgils kastaði* ***færi*** ***sínu*** *fyrir borð og dró*
Thorgils cast [fishing line his]$_{OBJ}$ [for board]$_{ADVBL}$ and drew

einn mikinn flatan fisk (Flóam 735)
one much flat fish
'Thorgils threw his fishing line overboard and caught a big halibut'

b. *Þórólfur kastaði þá fyrir borð* ***öndvegissúlum*** ***sínum,*** ***þeim***
Thorolf cast then [for board]$_{ADVBL}$ [throne posts his those

er ***staðið*** ***höfðu*** ***í*** ***hofinu*** (Eyrb 539)
that stood had in pagan temple]$_{OBJ}$
'Then Thorolf threw his throne posts overboard, those that had been in the pagan temple'

The first example (a) shows the default order in accordance with the base-generated structure, a structure without any movement of the object (only the verb and the subject have moved). Note that (b) contains a rather 'heavy', i.e. complex, object. In (b), I assume that the complex object is moved to the right of the adverbial phrase ('Extraposition'), cf. the following simplified

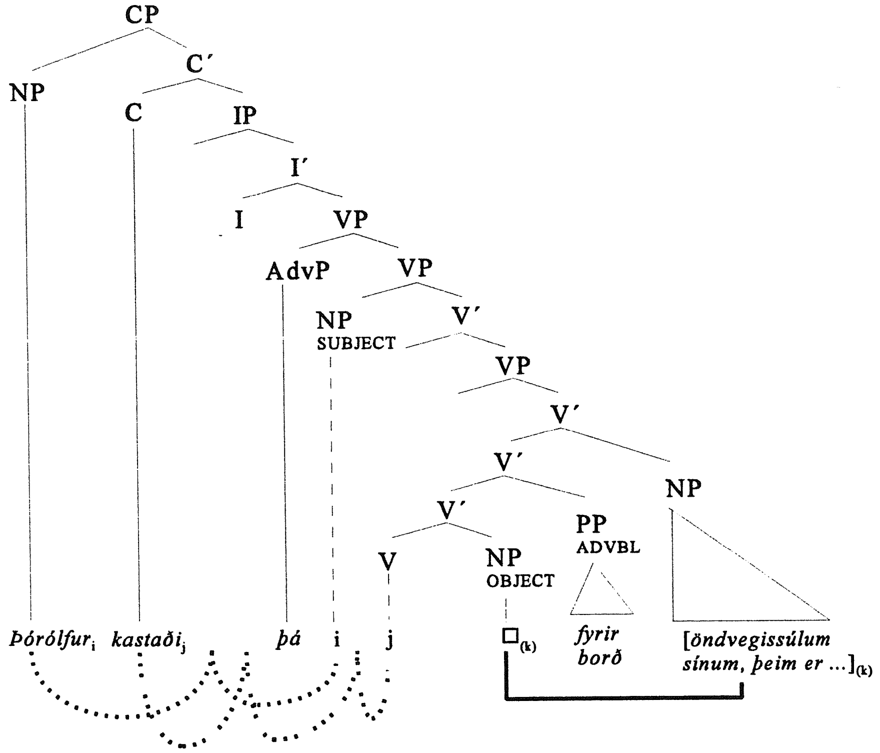
---

(i) *... og er hér hringur er eg vil gefa* ***þér*** *er faðir minn gaf mér*
... and is here ring$_i$ [that I will give you]$_i$ [that father mine gave me

í tannfé og hann vil eg gefa þér í nafnfesti (Vígl 1970)
in tooth-fee]$_i$ and him will I give you in name-giving
'... and here is a ring that I will give you, which my father gave to me when I got my first tooth, and I will give it to you in connection with your new name'

Note that *hringur* has actually two relative clauses. I assume that the first relative clause is connected to the subject *hringur*, whereas the second relative clause is connected to the trace of the object in the preceding relative clause: [*hringur*$_i$ [*er eg vil gefa þér* [_$_i$ *er faðir minn gaf mér* _$_i$ *í tannfé*]]]. An alternative analysis would possibly be to say that the first relative clause is an apposition with an omitted head: [*hringur*$_N$ [*er faðir minn ...* _$_i$]$_{CP}$]$_{NP}$ [_$_{Ni}$ [*er eg vil gefa þér* _$_i$]$_{CP}$]$_{NP}$. With such an analysis the first relative clause would have to be extraposed.

illustration:[10]



(20)

Example (19b) could alternatively possibly be analyzed as involving Scrambling of the adverbial *fyrir borð* to the left over the object. Since the main verb has moved out of the VP, this is not possible to say. A better example of Heavy NP Shift (the NP is not that heavy) would perhaps be the following example (a), compared to (b) with the base-generated order:[11]

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[10] The temporal adverbial *þá* could possibly be base-generated as an adjunct to the right of the local adverbial *fyrir borð* before its appearance in the position of the sentence adverbial to the left of VP.

[11] An expression like *kasta af sér klæð(un)um* may, on the other hand, also be idiomatic with *af sér* as a complex verbal particle. Note that the verb has moved in example (b), hence, the exact position of the NP cannot be determined. The NP *klæðum* in (b) could, therefore, also be analyzed as scrambled from a position behind *af sér*. However, I find it more reasonable to consider the order *kasta* - OBJ - PP as the base-generated order. Firstly, because the PP may be optional:

(i)	*Síðan*	*kastaði*	*hann*	*klæðunum*	*og*	*vopnunum* (Grett 1041)
	since	cast	he	clothes	and	weapons

‘Later he took of / put away (his) clothes and weapons’

Secondly, there is a similar expression with the preposition *á* (‘on’), i.e. *kasta* OBJ - *á* .... The following example

(21) a. *Þorbjörn hafði kastað af sér* ***klæðunum*** *og mælti:* (Krók 1516)
Thorbjorn had cast _$_i$ [off himself]$_{PP}$ clothes-the$_i$ and said: ...
'Thorbjorn had taken off his clothes and said: ...'

b. *Síðan settist hann niður og kastaði* ***klæðum*** *af sér* (Fóstb 850)
since sat-himself he down and cast clothes$_{OBJ}$ [off himself]$_{ADVBL}$
'Later he sat down and took off his clothes'

As discussed before, it is also possible to extrapose the relative clause alone while the NP stays in place, i.e. the 'classic' type of Extraposition. Compare the following three examples:

(22) a. *Þorgils kaupir nú* ***skip*** (Flóam 746)
Thorgils buys now ship$_{OBJ}$
'Now, Thorgils buys a ship'

b. *Hann kaupir* ***skip er uppi stóð í Döguðarnesi*** (Laxd 1591)
he buys [ship [that up stood in Dogurdarnes]$_{CP}$]$_{OBJ}$
'He buys a ship that was standing ashore in Dogurdarnes'

---

would be difficult to analyze as involving a complex verbal particle, especially since one would have to claim that it is extraposed:

(ii) *Grettir hafði kastað hetti sínum á öxl sér* (Grett 1061)
Grettir had cast [hood his]$_{OBJ}$ [on axle his]$_{ADVBL}$
'Gretti had thrown/laid his hood on his shoulder'

This expression, like the expression *kasta* - OBJ - *av sér*, may also appear with Heavy NP Shift:

(iii) *Hann kastaði á sig feldi einum* (HávÍs 1303)
he cast _$_i$ [on himself]$_{ADVBL}$ [pelt one]$_i$
'He took on a pelt'

On this background, I consider (21a) derived by Heavy NP Shift, and (21b) the base-generated order of the object and the prepositional phrase. See also the discussion on verbal particles in 4.7.

c. *Síðan* *kaupir* *Höskuldur* ***skip*** ***hálft*** *til handa* *móður sinni*
since buys Hoskuld [ship half _$_{i}$]$_{OBJ}$ [to hands mother his]$_{ADVBL}$

er ***uppi*** ***stóð*** ***í*** ***Dögurðarnesi*** (Laxd 1542)
[that up stood in Dogurdarnes]$_{i}$
'Then Hoskuld buys for his mother half a ship that was standing ashore in Dogurdarnes'

Example (a) shows the single phrase object in its base position. Example (b) demonstrates a complex object, i.e. an NP and a relative clause. I find it reasonable to assume that the relative clause is not dislocated/extraposed in (b). In other words, I assume that the whole object (NP + CP) stays in place. Hence, even though a phrase may be extended by a relative clause and therefore be complex, the relative clause does not necessarily have to be extraposed. Besides, Extraposition would not change the surface word order in this case anyway. Consider another example where it is quite clear that the whole complex object may stay in place:

(23) *Nú* *keypti* *Helgi Ásbjarnarson* ***land*** ***það*** ***er*** ***að*** ***Eiðum*** ***heitir***
now boughtHelgi Asbjorn's-son[land that which at Eidar is-called]$_{OBJ}$

út *í* *héraði* (Dropl 360)
[out in district]$_{ADBVL}$
'Now Helgi Asbjarnarson bought the land out in the district that was called Eidar'

Note that the adverbial is a complex phrase in this example, too. However, it is not as complex as the object. In (22c), thus, the relative clause is clearly extraposed.

As discussed before, the indirect object is assumed not to be able to be shifted to the right.[12] However, Extraposition in the narrow sense is possible. In the following inverted DOC, the *að*-clause of the accusative object (base-generated as a specifier argument) is apparently moved to the right over the dative (base generated as a complement). Note also the dative following the *að*-clause. This dative is probably best analyzed as an apposition:

(24) *Vil* *eg* *nú* *gefa* *leyfi* *öllum* *mönnum* *að* *fara* *til Noregs*
will I now give [permisson _$_{i}$]$_{AKK}$ [all men _$_{j}$]$_{DAT}$ [to go to Norway]$_{i}$

þeim *er* *það* *vilja* *heldur* *en* *fylgja* *mér* (Egla 476)
[those who that will rather than follow me]$_{j}$
'I will now give permisson to go to Norway to all those men who would prefer that instead of following me' / '... give permission to all men - (that is,) those who ...'

---

[12] See, however, the discussion in Holmberg & Platzack (1995:209ff.) and Ottósson (1991b).

A similar example with an 'ordinary' (specifier) dative IO would be the following:

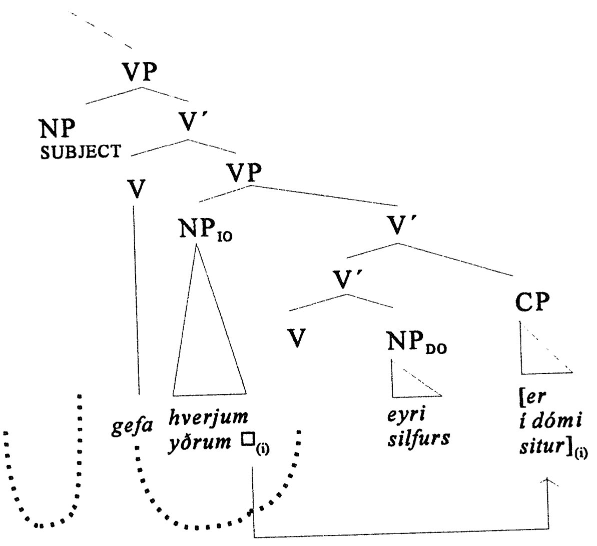
(25)	*Vil*	*eg*	*gefa*	*hverjum*	*yðrum*	*eyri*	*silfurs*	*er*
	will	I	give	[each	you $_i$]$_{IO-DAT}$	[_ mark	silvers]$_{DO-AKK}$	[who

í	*dómi*	*situr* (BandK 34)
in	doom	sits]$_i$

'I will give each of you who sits as a judge silver coins'

The assumed structure of the (main) verb projection would be the following (parallel to that of Extraposition of the relative clause out of an 'ordinary' direct object):

(26)



I have not found many examples with an extraposed relative clause belonging to a (specifier) indirect object. In most cases, it is the (accusative) direct object that appears with a relative clause. Quite often, this relative clause is extraposed while the correlate stays in place, is topicalized or possibly scrambled into the middle field of the clause.

4.3.2.4 *Scrambling* in Old Norse

Old Norse examples involving *Scrambling*, i.e. leftward movement of an internal argument or adjunct into the middle field, have already been demonstrated several times above. Structurally, I assume that Scrambling in Old Norse, in most cases, can be covered by assuming adjunction to the left of VP.[13] See, for instance, the examples (11) and (14) in the previous subsection. I do not intend to involve myself too much in 'technical' discussions on, for instance, Case or binding properties. The aim of my discussion on Scrambling is, first of all, to argue for a movement analysis of alternative word order patterns with the object (or an adjunct) preceding the position of the main verb in Old Norse instead of a base generation approach. My claim is, thus, that (S)OV patterns in Old Norse are derived by leftward movement of the object (cf. also Sigurðsson 1988). In chapter 5, I will discuss functional reasons ('triggers') for this kind of leftward movement. My interest is primarily to show that such movement processes actually can be observed, and that a movement approach is the most reasonable analysis of those phenomena. As an argument against a base-generation approach, my assumption is that if two word order patterns (in the case of Old Norse, (S)VO versus (S)OV) were equally 'basic', it would not be easy to know what would be the 'trigger' of the one or the other. In my opinion, a movement operation like, for instance, Topicalization, achieves its 'value' precisely in relation to a *basic* word order. The moved phrase receives a certain interpretation because of the fact that it does not appear in a position that is recognized as the base position. Movement, like e.g. also Topicalization, is thus considered some kind of functional marking device. Processes like Topicalization and Extraposition are in most syntactic approaches more or less uncontroversial movement operations. If one accepts a movement analysis of those phenomena in a certain language, one should also accept a movement analysis of Scrambling in the same language.

---

[13] Left of VP means to the left of the base position of a potential external argument. If there are several VPs (VP_{aux}) besides the VP containing the arguments, scrambled phrases may occur in between those VPs, for instance:

(i) *Mundi eg og eigi hafa* ***hingað*** *farið* *ef ...* (Grett 1040)
would I also not have here$_i$ went _$_i$ if ...
'I would not have come here either if ...'

In principle, Scrambling should be possible to the left of the lowest (the internal) VP, too. The question would be what potential functional effect Scrambling to a position within the internal VP could have in a language like Old Norse since the main verb is supposed to move to the the 'higher' V position anyway. The phenomenon of the so-called inverted DOC discussed above could perhaps be explained by assuming Scrambling within the internal VP (i.e. Scrambling of the accusative object to the left of the dative object). However, such an analysis is rejected by

The term *Scrambling* itself is, in the strict sense of the word, actually not compatible with a movement analysis at all. By using the term *Scrambling* one already refers to one (alternative) word order relative to another. A certain clause with Scrambling exhibits a word order pattern that is *not* considered the 'default' or canonical word order. Some phrases have been 'mixed' or 'scrambled', i.e. one or several phrases appear in so-called non-canonical surface positions, which implies that there must have been a certain previously established order. In section 4.2 above, I have tried to argue for certain deep structure positions of arguments. These deep-structure positions are considered basic, and the base-generated argument order is assumed to be due to a pre-contextual thematic and structural hierarchy. Recall my claim from chapter 2: I assume that Old Norse belongs to those languages in which word order primarily correlates with grammatical relations or other syntactic factors. This claim is supported by the discussions in 4.2 above (e.g. the assumed thematic and structural argument hierarchy), and will be further supported by the following discussions in the present chapter 4.3. A base-generation approach would refer to those languages in which word order primarily correlates with pragmatic factors. In chapter 5, I will investigate contextual (pragmatic) aspects that may lead to a change of the

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Holmberg & Platzack (1995:212) for Modern Icelandic. Furthermore, as discussed before, inverted DOCs can be explained by referring to an alternative thematic structure. Recall that Inversion is only possible with so-called *gefa*-type verbs. Thus, Inversion is restricted to a certain *type* of verb, whereas Scrambling (to the left of the 'higher' VP), in principle, should be possible with any kind of verb.

The expression "Scrambling to the left of VP" is also meant to cover Scrambling of a/the verb, for instance:

(ii)	*Finnbogi*	*kvað*	*hann*	***farið***	*hafa*		*til*	*leiks* (Finnb 663)
	Finnbodu	said	he	gone$_i$	had	_$_i$	to	game

'Finnbodi said he had gone to the games'

Note also an example with Scrambling of the verb and Scrambling of the adverbial:

(iii)	*... og*	*ætla*	*eg*	*að*	*þeir*	*Bjarni muni*	***hér***	***farið***	*hafa*			... (Vopn 2004)
	... and	think	I	that	they	Bjarni may	here$_i$	went$_j$	have	_$_j$	_$_i$	...

'... and I think Bjarni and the others may have gone here ...'

Most likely, this kind of verb movement is adjunction to a higher V-position (head movement); see also the discussion below, and the discussion on Stylistic Fronting in 4.7. However, it is also imaginable that an internal phrase, like the adverbial in (iii), can be scrambled out of the VP with subsequent Scrambling of the 'rest-VP'. Such an analysis would, on the other hand, be more controversial for examples like (ii), unless the PP *til leiks* is scrambled first, followed by Scrambling of the 'rest-VP' containing the main verb and the subject of the small clause to the left of VP$_{aux}$. Rögnvaldsson (1996a:58, fn. 4) calls a similar construction an EMC-construction, and he does not assume verb movement to I° either. If *hann farið hafa til leiks* is analyzed as an CP instead of a VP (small clause), the 'rest-VP' would only contain the verb since the subject would have moved to [Spec, IP]. The 'rest-VP' could then possibly be scrambled to the left of the VP$_{aux}$. Note that considering the scrambled main verb a maximal projection is not that controversial since the non-finite main verb (as a participle or infinitive) can be topicalized in Old Norse (which is possible in Modern German, too). See the discussion in 4.7.

base-generated argument order.[14] According to a base-generation approach, word order would be accommodated to contextual demands or desires already in deep structure. In chapter 5.1, I will return to examples of what I consider deep-structure accommodation and what I consider surface-structure accommodation to contextual/pragmatic demands or desires. Topicalization, Extraposition and Scrambling, I consider surface-structure accommodation.

A movement operation like Topicalization may, in principle, also be understood as Scrambling. Those two movement devices also have much in common. However, Scrambling is generally understood as a term involving word order variation in the middle field of the clause. Furthermore, Topicalization is found in most (if not all) languages whereas Scrambling is more restricted (see below). In the present discussion, thus, the term Scrambling does not cover Topicalization and Extraposition.

As discussed in section 4.1, I will use the term Scrambling in its 'original' (Ross 1967) wide sense stating that two adjacent constituents can be permuted if they are clause-mates. In the present discussion, the important point is that one constituent is moved to the left over another (or other) constituent(s) yielding an alternative word order. In the case of Old Norse, it is possible to detect functional reasons for this movement, and some of those reasons will be discussed in chapter 5.4.

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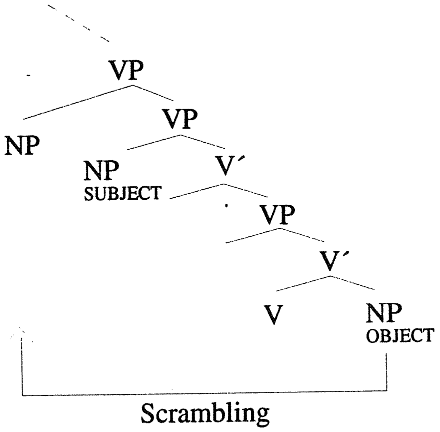
[14] Rögnvaldsson (1996a:68, fn. 11) claims that leftward movement in connection with a possible reanalysis from SOV to SVO in Old Norse was "not independently motivated on any pragmatic grounds". Instead, Rögnvaldsson chooses to base his analysis on extensive rightward movement, since Heavy NP Shift is independently motivated and frequent in Modern Icelandic. As discussed before, rightward movement analyses may be typologically questionable in many cases. Whereas Object Shift is found in Modern Scandinavian, many types of the necessary rightward movement operations would not be possible.

The nature of Scrambling is not fully understood, as can be seen from the discussions in e.g. Corver & Riemsdijk (1995b) or Grewendorf & Sternefeld (1990). One ‘problem’ in the discussions on Scrambling are, for instance, the observed ‘mixed’ properties with regard to the A/A′-distinction. Corver & Riemsdijk (1994a) state that “This paradoxical situation raises the question whether the standard A/A′-dichotomy (See Chomsky 1981) is sufficient to adequately characterize the array of properties displayed by scrambled structures”. I have not investigated Scrambling in Old Norse very much with regard to a possible A/A′-dichotomy. The crucial point in the present discussion is that word order variety due to pragmatic demands and accommodation to sentence intonation can be observed in Old Norse. This word order variation is explained by Scrambling instead of base-generation. For the structures I have investigated, I have found it most reasonable to assume adjunction of the scrambled phrase to some position to the left of VP, cf. the following simplified illustration:

(27)



The present adjunction analysis is basically the same as the analysis proposed by Sigurðsson (1988). This kind of adjunction site is generally not considered a Case position and would, therefore, be an A´-position. On the other hand, Holmberg & Platzack (1995) apply more or less the same analysis to Modern Scandinavian *Object Shift*, which is often assumed to be A-movement (see the discussion below). According to Holmberg & Platzack (1995:141ff.), the Object Shift position is Case-marked, and they say that a “possible name for the kind of position which the shifted object occupies is ‘Case-licensed A-bar position’” (ibid. p. 157). That means, also Object Shift is in some approaches considered to be movement to “a mixed position, in terms of the usual A/A-bar dichotomy” (ibid. p. 149). In Modern Scandinavian, it is assumed that I would Case-license a shifted object. Holmberg & Platzack (ibid. p. 152f.) furthermore argue that Modern Scandinavian Object Shift is not movement to [Spec, AgrOP]. Hróarsdóttir (1996a), on the other hand, explains Old Norse OV patters by movement to [Spec, AgrO] or possibly some other specifier position. Other complements (AdvPs and PPs) are assumed to be able to move to a separate Predicate-Phrase (PredP) position, following Zwart’s (1993) analysis of Dutch as an SVO language. In the syntactic model outlined in the present work, there is no AgrOP, and I will consider leftward movement of objects and leftward movement of adverbials basically the same adjunction process, namely adjunction to VP. As mentioned before, my main concern is to argue for a movement approach and, furthermore, to discuss some functional triggers of leftward movement (chapter 5). Consequences of an adjunction analysis versus an analysis involving movement to one or several functional projections may be discussed at another occasion.

As mentioned before, Rögnvaldsson (1994-1995; 1996a) claims that word order variation like VO versus OV in Old Norse is best accounted for by assuming a variable base. I have already discussed and rejected this claim in chapter 2. Hróarsdóttir (1996a) also discusses the double-base hypothesis and rejects it “mainly because the data simply does not seem to demand such an analysis (p. 94). In chapter 2, I have discussed some Old Norse structures that would be ‘difficult’ to derive given typological considerations like, for instance, the fact that indirect objects rarely shift to the right. Rögnvaldsson (1996a:71) claims that we, “in any case”, would need postposing rules for other Old Norse constructions, like e.g. the following:

(28) a. Guðny var systir hans er átti *Vermundur mjóvi*.
Gudny was sister his who owned Vermund the slim
‘His sister was Gudny, who Vermund the slim was married to.’
(Eyrbyggja saga, p. 547)

b. ... svo sem verið hafði *Egill eða Þórólfur* á hans aldri.
so as been had Egil or Thorolf on his age
'... as Egil or Thorolf had been at his age.'
(Egils saga Skalla-Grímssonar, p. 489)

c. En þenna mann hafði sent *Sturla Sighvatsson ...*
but this man had sent Sturla Sighvatsson
'But Sturla Sigvhatsson had sent this man.'
(Íslendinga saga, p. 389)

According to the approach advocated in the present work, a "postponing rule" would actually only be needed to derive (c), as discussed in 4.3.1.3 above. In (c), the Agent seems to be adjoined to the right of VP. As discussed before, according to the theory outline here, this is certainly a somewhat problematic postponing rule which I will discuss in more detail in chapter 5.3. The examples (a) and (b), on the other hand, are not assumed to be derived by any postponing rule at all. In (b), instead, the main verb has been fronted by Stylistic Fronting, i.e.:

(29) *... svo sem* ***verið*** *hafði Egill eða Þórólfur á hans aldri*
so as *pro*$_i$ been$_j$ had _$_j$ [Egil or Thorolf]$_i$ [on his age]$_{ADVBL}$

The construction is somewhat special since there is acutally a lexical subject NP linked to *pro* present, whereas Stylistic-Fronting constructions usually do not contain a lexical subject NP. However, since [Spec, IP] is overtly empty I consider the structural gap in [Spec, IP] sufficient to allow Stylistic Fronting.[15] Stylistic Fronting will be discussed more thoroughly in 4.7.The deep-structure position of the 'logical' subject *Egill eða Þórólfur* is discussed in 4.3.3.4. Since the NP is assumed to have the role of a Theme, it is assumed that it is base-generated as a complement of the verb. Hence, the NP is base-generated postverbally and postponing is not necessary. Note furthermore that the example has an adverbial adjunct. Given the assumption that the subject is postponed, one would have to assume that the adverbial is postponed too. Relating the example to Stylistic Fronting which is known from Modern Icelandic appears to be more reasonable than claiming less motivated postponing rules.

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[15] Compare also Rögnvaldsson (1996a:81, fn. 20):

> In Old Icelandic, however, we find several examples of fronted participles and infinitives in clauses with pronominal subjects. This shows either that the subject gap condition did not apply in Old Icelandic, or else the definition of subject gap has changed [...]

The example (a), on the other hand, demonstrates inversion of the default argument order ('role switch'). The process is equal to that of the inverted double object construction discussed in 4.2.2 above. Further empirical data will be provided in 4.3.3.2 showing that the verb *eiga* ('own') may appear with two alternative thematic role grids. Consequently, the argument denoting the 'owner' may actually be base-generated as a complement and postponing is not necessary.

Examples like (28) are not sufficient to reject the claim that Old Norse is an (S)VO language only. All three phenomena in the three examples above are found in Modern Icelandic, i.e. thematic role inversion with a limited number of verbs, Stylistic Fronting, and postverbal subjects (see e.g. also Rögnvaldsson 1984a). In my opinion, one should try to relate word order variety at an older stage of a given language first of all to word order variety in a descendant of the language. I find it more reasonable that the phenomena of, for instance, Scrambling (Object Shift), Stylistic Fronting and postverbal subjects in Modern Icelandic (which is considered an SVO language) are more restricted variants of exactly the same phenomena in Old Norse, which I claim is SVO just like its Modern Scandinavian descendants.[16] Claiming alternative bases in Old Norse, I consider typologically much more drastic and less motivated than claiming more liberal variants of processes found in the modern descendants, especially Modern Icelandic.

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[16] Cf. also Sigurðsson (1998:31):

> Thus, it seems rather likely that modern Object Shift is the "descendant" of the old leftward raising processes that came into being because of OV > VO. If that is correct, the natural assumption, in turn, is that the OV in [Sigurðsson's example] (46a) was derived by the "ancestor" of Object Shift, whereas the VO order in [Sigurðsson's example] (46b) was basic.

Even though Modern Icelandic, like all the other modern Scandinavian languages is an SVO language, Modern Icelandic allows leftward movement of objects, so-called *Object Shift* (cf. Holmberg 1986; see also Holmberg & Platzack 1995). Mainland Scandinavian also allows leftward movement of objects, however, this is, in most cases, restricted to pronominal objects (see e.g. Vikner 1989, 1994). Since all the modern Scandinavian languages allow some kind of leftward movement of objects, it would be reasonable to believe that Object Shift should be found in Old Norse as well.

As I will discuss below, Modern Scandinavian Object Shift is only possible if the main verb has left the VP. In Old Norse, an object may be moved to the left even though the verb has not moved out of the VP. Vikner (1994) uses the distinction between *verb movement + object movement* versus *object movement without verb movement* to discuss differences between what he calls “the Germanic SVO languages except English” and “the Germanic SOV languages” (ibid. p. 487). Vikner uses the term Scrambling only for object movement in the Germanic SOV languages. Since the modern Scandinavian languages may be considered descendants of Old Norse, and since there are many examples of object movement in constructions where the verb has moved out of the VP, it would be difficult to claim that Old Norse has *not* Object Shift of the Modern Scandinavian kind. As mentioned before, I consider Object Shift one certain restricted variant of Scrambling. I will discuss some properties of Modern Scandinavian Object Shift below. However, my point is, first of all, to show that Old Norse SOV patterns should be analyzed in the same way as Modern Scandinavian Object Shift, namely by a movement analysis. Since object movement is possible in Old Norse in constructions where the (main) verb has not left the VP, Old Norse object movement is less restricted than Modern Scandinavian object movement. On this background, it is useful to refer to Modern Scandinavian object movement as Object Shift, whereas other (unspecified) types of object movement (including Object Shift) are referred to as Scrambling. In the present discussion, using the term Object Shift is first of all relevant when one wants to refer to object movement in Modern Scandinavian relative to object movement in Old Norse. In a wide sense, both Old Norse and Modern Scandinavian exhibit Scrambling phenomena.

Holmberg and Platzack (1995:147) claim that Object Shift in Modern Scandinavian is “not a focusing or topicalizing device”. What then, we might want to ask, could be the origin of object movement into the middle field?

If the position behind the non-finite verb (i.e. the main verb) has had a focusing function at the stage when the word order possibly was dominating SOV (Ancient Nordic or earlier),[17] this focusing effect obviously would have got lost to some degree when the basic word order changed to SVO (cf. e.g. the changing process described in Sigurðsson 1988). Thus, one could imagine that the (possible) ‘old’ position to the left of the infinite verb became a new ‘marked’ position with the ability to cover this function in Old Norse. Such an explanation would be in accordance with e.g. Faarlund (1990a:49):

> In a pragmatic perspective one can furthermore assume that whenever two or more forms coexist in a language there are functional reasons for using one rather than the other. “Functional” is here taken in a wide sense, covering communicative factors such as information structure, as well as factors related to processing and memory.

However, even though Object Shift is not a focusing device in Modern Scandinavian, one cannot be sure about the function(s) of leftward movement of the object in Old Norse. I will investigate this question more thoroughly in chapter 5.4. In some cases, it seems that leftward movement of the object in Old Norse may involve focusing of the object. This focusing device may have been lost during the development from Old Norse to Modern Scandinavian. The most important function of leftward movement in Old Norse is, on the other hand, to move certain elements out of the *default* focus area at the end of the clause in order to focus an element that would not have been focused in the basic order, i.e. this would be the opposite of a focusing device, at least regarding the moved element.

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[17] Under the assumption that Ancient Nordic or older stages might have been SOV languages, and that there once may have been some ‘focusing rule’, which is not at all obvious (cf. the discussion in chapter 2).

Talking about an ‘old position to the left’ is, of course, not necessarily an exact description of the syntactic facts. After reanalysis, one would have to assume that there is no actual position to the left, rather a phrase may be *adjoined* to the left, i.e. nothing is moved to an existing position as is the case, for instance, when an NP is moved from [Spec, VP] to [Spec, IP].[18]

A shifted object in Modern Scandinavian is considered adjacent to the left of other adjoined elements like e.g. modal verbs and sentence adverbials, i.e. “it may adjoin to the VP only in such a way that the object ends up as the leftmost of the adjoined elements” (Vikner 1994:494). Compare some examples from Modern Icelandic (Vikner ibid.):

(30)
a. *Í gær las Pétur* ***bókina*** *eflaust ekki t* ***t***
b. **Í gær las Pétur eflaust* ***bókina*** *ekki t t*
c. *Í gær las Pétur eflaust ekki t* ***bókina***
Yesterday read Pétur book the doubtlessly book-the not book the

Clearly, the object cannot occupy a position between the two adverbials (or right behind them, even though this is not shown here).[19]

Examples with the object to the left of (the) sentence adverbial(s) can easily be found in Old Norse, too, e.g.:

(31) *Og vil eg gefa þér sverðið því að eg þarf* ***það*** *nú*
and will I give you sword-the that that I need$_{V}$ that$_{OBJ}$ now$_{SA}$

---

[18] Given the assumption that functional projections really ‘exist’. Within Minimalism, one could also claim that there are ‘actual’ object positions to the left, e.g. AgrO. I will, however, not be very concerned with what ‘actual’ position a scrambled phrase is located in (other than relative to more ‘excepted’ positions), and how it possibly is licensed in this position to the left. This discussion I will leave to a later occasion. In this section, I will assume *adjunction* to left of VP, disregarding any further consequences.

[19] Note that *eflaust ekki* is not considered to be one constituent. Compare also the Modern German equivalent:

(i) *Gestern las Peter (das Buch) zweifellos (das Buch) nicht (das Buch).* (cf. also Vikner 1994:493)
yesterday read Peter (the book) doubtlessly (the book) not (the book)

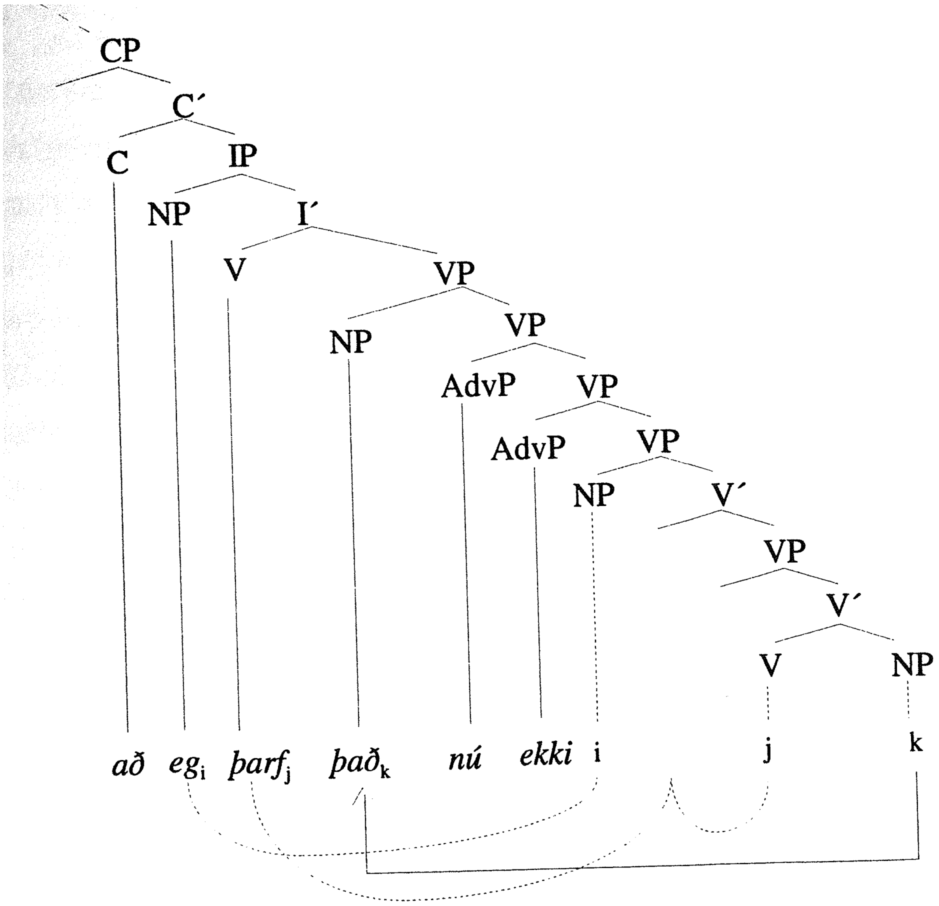
ekki (Reykd 1764)
not$_{SA}$
'And I will give you the sword because I will not need it (now)'

The classification of *nú* as a sentence adverbial may not be obvious, however, that is not the point here.[20] The pronominal object *það* clearly appears to the left of two adverbial elements. Compare an example without movement of the object:

(32) ... *því* *að* *eg* *þarf* *eigi* ***meira*** ***forverk*** (Hrafn 1398)
... that that I need$_V$ not$_{SA}$ [more working power]$_{OBJ}$
'... because I do not need more workmen'

A simplified tree illustration of the process in the *að*-clause of (31) would be the following:

(33)



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[20] See, for instance, the Modern Norwegian equivalent example (34). There, *no* ('now') would rather function as some kind of modal particle.

It is, thus, clear that Old Norse may at least move a *pronoun* to the left, cf. the modern Mainland Scandinavian Object Shift construction, as stated by Holmberg and Platzack (1995:141): "in MSc. only pronominal objects may occur in this position, while in Icelandic any definite DP object may do so".[21] A Modern Norwegian equivalent to (31) would be (34a) (the second clause being the relevant part):

(34)
a. *Eg vil gje deg sverdet, for (at) eg treng* ***det*** *(no) ikkje*
I will give you sword-the, because (that) I need it$_{OBJ}$ (now) not$_{SA}$

c. **Eg vil gje deg sverdet, for (at) eg treng* ***sverdet*** *(no) ikkje*
I will give you sword-the, because (that) I need sword-the$_{OBJ}$ (now) not$_{SA}$

d. *Eg vil gje deg sverdet, for (at) eg treng (no) ikkje* ***sverdet***
I will give you sword-the, because (that) I need (now) not$_{SA}$ sword-the$_{OBJ}$

As shown by the difference between (a) and (b), a pronoun may be shifted to the left, while a full NP can (usually) not be moved into the middle field at all in Modern Norwegian. Mainland Scandinavian, thus, has *Pronoun (Object) Shift*, while Modern Icelandic has *Full NP Object Shift.*[22]

Since Modern Icelandic and Old Norse are very much alike in several respects, among other things with respect to morphological case, we expect to find full NPs to the left in Old Norse as well (which is already demonstrated by several examples above). I have not been able to find Old Norse examples with both a sentence adverbial and a shifted (full) NP - which might be due to my searching method. However, it is clear that both an accusative object and a dative object can be shifted in, for instance, a DOC, cf.:[23]

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[21] See also Holmberg (1986) and Vikner (1989, 1994, 1995).

[22] Holmberg (1986) notices an apparent similarity between Roman clitics and Mainland Scandinavian shifted pronouns (see also Holmberg 1984 and 1991b). Deprez (1989) and Bures (1993) claim that Object Shift (or better, Pronoun Shift) in Mainland Scandinavian is best analyzed as a process of head movement or cliticization. Arguments in favor of such an analysis with regard to Swedish can be found in Josefsson (1992). However, Holmberg and Platzack (1995:153ff.) claim that Object Shift is not cliticization.

[23] The last clause (*að þú skalt* ...) also exhibits Scrambling.

Direct Object:

(35)	*En*	*fyrir*	*því*	*að*	*sekt*	*þín*	*hlýst*	*af*	*mér*	*þá*	*vil*	*eg*	***það***
	and	for	that	that	sentence	yours	lots	of	me	then	will	I	[that

frelsi	*gefa*	*þér*	*að*	*þú*	*skalt*	*eigi*	*lengur*	*þræll*	*vera* (Fóstb 798)
freedom]$_{DOi}$	give$_{V}$	you$_{IO}$	[that	you	shall	not	longer	thrall	be]$_{i}$

‘And because your sentence is due to me, I will give you your freedom and you shall not be my thrall any longer’

Note that the direct (accusative) object *það frelsi* occupies a position in front of the non-finite verb, while there are *two* phrases to the right of the non-finite verb: the indirect (dative) object *þér*, and an *að*-clause belonging to the direct object. The indirect object occupies its base position, and the *að*-clause is assumed to be extraposed before *það frelsi* is scrambled, i.e. moved to the left (cf. previous similar analyses above). Note that claiming an SOV base structure for a sentence like this would imply that one would have to move two phrases to the right, the IO and the *að*-clause. Leftward movement, thus, seems more economic and more reasonable.

Indirect Object:

Finding a shifted indirect (dative) object as a full NP appears to be rather difficult. Since the indirect object usually is both human and topical (to some degree), it seems that I have to refer to an example with a shifted pronoun:[24]

(36)	*... og*	*muntu*	***henni***	*gefa*	*moturinn*	*að*	*bekkjargjöf* (Laxd 1602)
	... and	may-you	her$_{IO}$	give$_{V}$	kerchief-the$_{DO}$	[at	bench-gift]$_{ADVBL}$

‘... and you may give her this kerchief as a wedding present’

In this example, the indirect object *henni* has moved to the left, while the direct object *moturinn* and the adverbial *að bekkjargjöf* are located in their base positions to the right of the non-finite verb. Note again that one would have to claim rightward movement of two phrases if one wants to analyze the sentence as having an underlying (S)OV structure. Note also that the subject pronoun *þú* is cliticized to the modal verb *munt* (2nd pers. sg.), i.e. *munt* + *þú* > *muntu*. Cliticization of *henni*, thus, seems not to be reasonable in this case.

The following example shows Scrambling of both objects at the same time (see the discussion related to example (13) above):

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[24] As discussed before, the verb *gefa* (‘give’) may project two different argument structures, the alternative to the most common structure *Beneficiary - Theme* being *Experiencer/(Theme?) - Goal*. In (36) I would consider the dative a Beneficiary, hence, a specifier argument. However, this would be not easy to prove.

(37)	*Vil*	*eg*	***það***	***ráð***	***þér***	*gefa*	*sem*	*hverjum*	*öðrum*	*að ...* (Fljót 723)
	will	I	[that	advice]$_{ACC}$	[you]$_{DO}$	give	as	everybody	other	[that ...]$_{i}$

‘I will give you that advice, as I would anybody else, that ...’

The discussion so far has shown that Old Norse indeed - like Modern Icelandic - allows leftward movement of both pronouns and full object NPs.[25] At this stage, then, we are able to account for the two examples with ‘mixed’ word orders (IO - V - DO and DO - V - IO) that I have mentioned several times before. I will repeat those examples here:

(38)	*Gengur*	*Ásbjörn*	*mót*	*þeim*	*og*	*... og*	*lætur*	***þeim***	*veita*	*hjálpir* (Finnb 632)
	goes	Asbjorn	towards	them	and	... and	lets	them$_{IO}$	give$_{V}$	help$_{DO}$

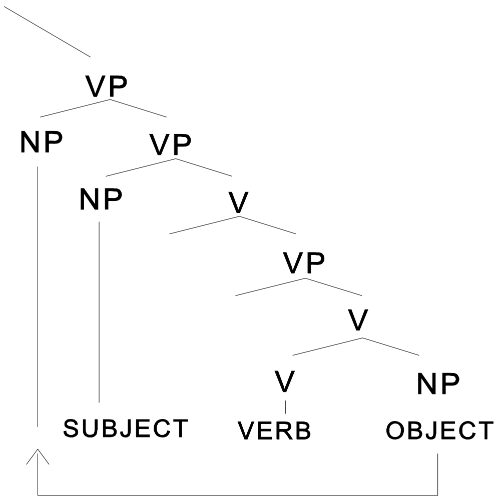
‘Asbjorn goes in their direction and ... and orders to help them’

(39)	*Þá*	*mátt*	*þú*	*nú*	***mikið***	***lið***	*veita*	*Njáli* (Njála 275)
	Then	may	you	now$_{SA}$	[much help]$_{DO}$	give$_{V}$	Njal$_{IO}$	

‘Then you may give Njal a lot of help now’

In both examples, one of the two objects has been moved out of its base position to the right of the main verb *veita* into a position to the left of the main verb. In the present approach, this position would be an adjunction site, i.e.:

(40)



Besides the fact that example (39) has object movement to the left even though the main verb remains inside the VP, there is also another difference compared to Modern Scandinavian Object Shift since the shifted object is adjoined to the right of the sentence adverbial,[26] whereas the shifted object is supposed to be adjoined to the left of other adjoined phrases (adverbials) in Modern Scandinavian Object Shift constructions (cf. the A/A´-distinction).

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[25] The observant reader may have noticed that the Old Norse examples with leftward movement of DO or IO would have been ungrammatical in Modern Icelandic since Modern Icelandic requires movement of the main verb out of the VP to allow Object Shift, a requirement not necessary in Old Norse. See the discussion below.

As mentioned above, Object Shift is found in Danish, Faroese, Icelandic, Norwegian and Swedish, that is, in all the (Modern) Scandinavian languages - or the Germanic SVO languages except English (cf. Vikner 1994). Since all the descendants of Old Norse appear to have Object Shift, if we consider Old Norse the older stage (at least a dialect) of all these languages, then, Old Norse would be very likely to have Object Shift, too. On the other hand, Old Norse Object Shift exhibits obviously different properties. First of all, object movement to the left is possible even though the main verb remains inside the VP, and object movement is possible to any position between the 'higher' VP (containing the external argument) and IP. As we know, also the Germanic SOV languages Afrikaans, Dutch, Flemish, Frisian, (High) German, Swiss German, and Yiddish[27] have object movement to the left. Since Modern Scandinavian Object Shift is more restricted, *Object Shift* is usually the only term used for the object movement observed in Modern Scandinavian. The object movement found in the Germanic SOV languages, on the other hand, is usually called *Scrambling*. As discussed before, I consider the term *Scrambling* a term covering different types of movements, whereas Object Shift is a certain type of object movement. Browning and Karimi (1994), for instance, show that Persian has Object Shift and two other types of Scrambling. Thus, languages that allow Scrambling in general, it seems, usually allow different leftward movement operations, while Modern Scandinavian only allows Object Shift, i.e. one certain type of Scrambling. The modern Scandinavian languages exhibit, thus, a subtype of object movement observed in most of the Germanic languages.

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[26] Again one could question the status of *nú* as a sentence adverbial (cf. the examples (31) and (34)), however, this is not relevant here; I still count *nú* as an adjoined element to the left of VP.

[27] As noted by Holmberg and Platzack (1995:73, fn. 4), it is not easy to determine whether Yiddish is OV or VO. See the discussions in Diesing (1997:389-410), Moed-van Walraven (1982), Besten & Moed-van Walraven (1986), and Geilfuß (1991).

The distinction between so-called SVO languages and SOV languages is, of course, interesting with respect to object movement properties, since object movement in Modern Scandinavian is much more restricted than 'general' Scrambling.

The following distribution is found (cf. also Vikner 1994:487, Bobaljik & Jonas 1996:207, and Bures 1992, 1993):[28]

SVO → Object Shift	**SOV → Scrambling**
Danish	Afrikaans
Faroese	Dutch
Icelandic	Flemish
Norwegian	Frisian
Swedish	(High) German
	Swiss German
	Yiddish

A table like this seems to show that the difference between Object Shift and 'general' Scrambling may be determined by whether a language is SVO or SOV, respectively.[29] On the other hand, the difference may also be due to Case properties. Of the modern Scandinavian languages only Modern Icelandic has a system with morphological Case. Furthermore, Modern Icelandic is the only modern Scandinavian language that allows Object Shift of *full* NPs.[30] Thus, an explanation for the difference between Object Shift and Scrambling may possibly rather be related to Case instead of word order typology.[31]

I assume that Modern Scandinavian Object Shift and object movement in Old Norse are both

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[28] Dorothee Beermann (Seminar on Scrambling in the Germanic languages, Department of linguistics, NTNU, fall 1998) uses a different classification of languages that allow Scrambling:

Head final languages:	Basque, Bengali, Hindi, Japanese, Korean
Mixed languages:	Dutch, German, Hungarian, Persian
Slavic/Balkan languages:	Albanian, Czech, Macedonian

[29] See also Vikner (1997:19) who rejects the assumption that only SOV languages have Scrambling.

[30] It has, on the other hand, also been claimed that the Case system of Modern Icelandic in fact may have lost its function (cf. Hróarsdóttir 1996a, 1996b).

[31] If 'general' Scrambling is only possible in SOV languages, this would obviously be a good argument for those who want to claim an SOV basic word order for Old Norse. However, I have demonstrated several times that SOV as the only basic word order for Old Norse would lead to serious problems.

adjunction to VP (in German, objects are also assumed to be able to adjoin to IP, cf. Vikner 1994).[32]

In Modern Scandinavian, however, nothing may intervene between the shifted object and I, whereas a sentence adverbial may precede the shifted object in Old Norse, cf. example (39). As discussed above, the properties of Scrambling with regard to the A/A´-distinction are rather unclear. Different linguists have different opinions. As mentioned before, Holmberg & Platzack (1995) would call Scandinavian Object Shift movement to a "Case-licensed A-bar position" (ibid. p. 157). Vikner (1994), on the other hand, claims that (Modern Scandinavian) Object Shift is A-movement, while (West Germanic) Scrambling is A´-movement. But arguments for considering Scrambling A-movement are found in e.g. Fanselow (1990), Moltmann (1990), Lee & Santorini (1994), and Wyngaerd (1989), furthermore Deprez (1994), Mahajan (1990, 1994), and Webelhuth (1989). It is, thus, not easy to determine the properties of different Scrambling operations. One argument for the distinction between Object Shift/A-movement and Scrambling/A´-movement is the fact that A-movement is movement into a case-marked position, whereas A´-movement is movement out of a case-marked position (cf. Vikner 1994:491f.). Thus, a PP, not being a case receiver, may be shifted by Scrambling but not by Object Shift, cf. the following examples from German and Danish (from Vikner 1994:492):[33]

(41) German:

a.	*Ich*	*habe*		*nicht*		***für das Buch***	*bezahlt*
b.	*Ich*	*habe*	***für das Buch***	*nicht*	**t**		*bezahlt*
	I	have	(for the book)	not		(for the book)	paid

(42) Danish:

a.	*Jeg*	*betalte*		*ikke*	t	***for bogen***
b.	**Jeg*	*betalte*	***for bogen***	*ikke*	t	**t**
	I	paid	(for-book-the)	not		(for-the-book)

---

[32] Bobaljik & Jonas (1996) consider both Object Shift and Scrambling movement to IP.

[33] The bold **t** is the trace of the scrambled or object-shifted object, while the first t (the non-bold t) in the Danish examples is the trace of the verb which has moved to C°.

Compare the examples above to some similar examples from Old Norse:

(43) a. *Nú er goldið* ***féið fyrir Kormák*** (Korm 1488)
now is paid [fee-the for Kormak]
'Now, the penalty for Kormak is paid'

b. *Skal* ***fé fyrir hann*** *gjalda en þó ...* (Heið 1392)
shall (I) [fee for him] pay and though ...
'I will pay money for him, though, ...'

Example (b) may look like an SOV sentence since both the object and the adverbial have been moved to the left. Since the object *fé* precedes the PP, it could still be located in a Case position. However, if the 'lower' VP has been scrambled as a whole (remember that the main verb has moved out of the 'lower' VP into the 'higher' VP), the situation would be different. In the following example (b), then, only the PP has been scrambled:[34]

(44) a. *Nú vildi eg þitt liðsinni til þiggja að sækja til*
now wanted I your help to beg to seek to

þings og verja málið ***með kappi*** *fyrir Guðmundi* (LjósC 1669)
thing and defend$_V$ case-the$_{OBJ}$ [with combat]$_{PP}$ for Gudmund
'Now, I want to ask you for your help to go to the thing and defend the case with fight against Gudmund'

b. *Nú mun eg gera þér á þessu miklu betra kost,*
now will eg do you on this much better condition

ef þú vilt ***með kappi*** *verja landið þitt* (Egla 508)
if you will [with combat]$_{PP}$ defend$_V$ [land-the yours]$_{OBJ}$
'Now, I will give you much better conditions if you are willing to defend your country with fight'

Note that an SOV language like German would not necessarily allow a structure like (b) (disregarding the fact that the finite verb would have to appear to the right in a subclause like this), and I would not consider an analysis involving Extraposition of the object very reasonable in this case. Extraposition of the object would only be possible if the object is ‘heavy’. Compare the Modern German equivalents:

---

[34] Interestingly, it seems that PPs may be 'moved' to the left in Modern Norwegian, too, e.g.:

(i) a. *... viss du vil forsvare landet ditt* ***med kamp***
... if you will defend [land-the yours]$_{OBJ}$ [with fight]$_{PP\text{-}ADVBL}$

b. *... viss du* ***med kamp*** *vil forsvare landet ditt*
... if you [with fight]$_{PP\text{-}SA}$ will defend [land-the yours]$_{OBJ}$

However, in (b) the PP would be analyzed as a *sentence adverbial* in Modern Norwegian (i.e. base-generated and not necessarily moved), cf. e.g. Åfarli (1997:47ff.). Examples like the Modern Norwegian ones may possibly have consequences for the analysis of the Old Norse sentences, too. If the PP in (44b) would have to be analyzed as a sentence adverbial, this may have an effect on the interpretation of the sentence. On the other hand, this interpretion may also be achieved by Scrambling instead of base generation. I will not speculate further about this now.

(45) a. *... wenn du dein Land mit Kampf verteidigen willst* (canonical)
... if you [your country]$_{DO}$ [with fight]$_{PP}$ defend will

b. *... wenn du mit Kampf dein Land verteidigen willst* (Scrambling of the PP)

c.*/??*... wenn du mit Kampf verteidigen willst dein Land* (Extraposition of the object)

d. *... wenn du mit Kampf verteidigen willst dein Land, das du so liebst* (Extraposition)
... if you with fight defend will your country that you so love
‘... if you want to defend your country, that you love so much, with fight’

Note that Holmberg & Platzack (1995) do not consider the Object-Shift position an A-position; the positions *may*, however, receive Case from I° (“Case-licensed A-bar position”). In Modern Scandinavian an object-shifted object is adjoined to the leftmost position of the VP, and nothing may intervene between the shifted object and I°. In Old Norse, on the other hand, scrambled elements, as we have seen, can also be adjoined further to the right, i.e. to the right of possible adverbials. Compare also to some German examples from Vikner (1994:493):

(46) *Gestern hat Peter ...*
Yesterday had Peter ...

a.	***das Buch***	*ohne Zweifel*		*nicht*	**t**	*gelesen*
b.		*ohne Zweifel*	***das Buch***	*nicht*	**t**	*gelesen*
c.		*ohne Zweifel*		*nicht*	***das Buch***	*gelesen*
	the book	without doubt	the book	not	the book	read

Consider the following Old Norse example:

(47) *... og taka meiraef hann vildi eigi* ***þetta*** *gefa honum* (Reykd 1776)
... and take more if he would not$_{SA}$ that$_{DO}$ give him$_{IO}$
‘... and take more if he would not give him that’

The Old Norse example can obviously not be considered having (S)OV as a base structure with, for instance, *Heavy NP Shift*, since the pronoun is not expected to be heavy in any way - especially not when the pronoun is referring to the subject of the matrix clause (i.e. the subject is topical, and so is the pronoun referring to it). Furthermore, as discussed before, Heavy NP Shift of the indirect object is not common in the Germanic languages and other languages as well. Rögnvaldsson (1996a:68f.) discusses sentences with a pronominal object to the right, e.g. (p. 68):

(48) ... hvort hún vill eiga hann.
whether she will own him
‘... whether she wants to marry him’ (*Brennu-Njáls saga, p. 142*)

Referring to Sigurðsson (1988:31) who writes: “I do not know of a single established case of a postponing process applying tp pronominal objects”, Rögnvaldsson takes examples like this as an argument against a uniform OV-base (“although they can not be used as arguments for a pure VO-base either” (Rögnvaldsson ibid.:69)).[35] As discussed before, Rögnvaldsson’s conclusion is that Old Norse has a variable base, i.e. Old Norse may generate both a VO and a OV base structure. However, since Rögnvaldsson seems to reject the hypothesis that objects may move to the left in Old Norse, (47) would be ungrammatical in either base. On the other hand, if it is true that pronominal objects cannot be extraposed, leftward movement of the accusative object in (47) is the only reasonable derivation. Example (47) is, thus, rather strong evidence for leftward movements of objects in Old Norse. Since leftward movement of objects is common in Modern Scandinavian, too, such an analysis is much less controversial than claiming rightward movement. In contrast to Modern Scandinavian object movement, example (47) shows that object movement is possible to a position to the right of other adjoined phrases, and it is possible even though the main verb remains inside the VP. Modern Scandinavian Object Shift is clearly not possible unless the main verb has moved to I° or C°, cf. the Danish examples from Vikner (1994:499):

(49) a. *Hvorfor skal Peter ikke købe* ***den****?*
b. **Hvorfor skal Peter* ***den*** *ikke købe* ***t****?*
Why shall Peter it not buy it?

(50) a. *Hvorfor har Peter ikke købt* ***den****?*
b. **Hvorfor har Peter* ***den*** *ikke købt* ***t****?*
Why has Peter it not bought it?

Further examples demonstrate that movement of the main verb is not required for object movement in Old Norse, cf. the (b)-sentences:

(51) a. *... að eg vil kaupa* ***land*** *að þér* (Laxd 1649)
... that I will$_{\text{Vfin}}$ buy$_{\text{V}}$ land$_{\text{OBJ}}$ at you
‘... that I want to buy land from you’

---

[35] Hróarsdóttir (1996a:109) also states:

> In [Hróarsdóttir’s example] (20a), on the other hand, the pronoun has moved to the right which is not a feasible movement because of the general condition that object pronouns, at least in the Germanic languages, do not move rightward; i.e. they do not postpone beyond an otherwise final verb as NPs can.

b. *... ef nokkurir vilji* ***land hennar*** *kaupa* (Krók 1514)
... if somebody wanted$_{\text{Vfin}}$ [land hers]$_{\text{OBJ}}$ buy$_{\text{V}}$
'... if somebody wanted to buy her land'

(52) a. *Hví skal eigi þegar drepa* ***Egil*** (Egla 457)
why shall$_{\text{Vfin}}$ (pro) not immediately kill$_{\text{V}}$ Egil$_{\text{OBJ}}$
'Why shall one not kill Egil immediately?'

b. *Atli spurði hví hann skyldi eigi* ***alla*** *drepa* (HávÍs 1332)
Atli asked why he should not all$_{\text{OBJ}}$ kill$_{\text{V}}$
'Atli asked why he should not kill all'

By referring to Scrambling one can also explain the extensive use of 'particle-like' prepositions/adverbs in Old Norse, e.g.:[36]

(53) *Þeir sáu nú að stiginn var ekki* ***upp*** *dreginn* (Grett 1078)
they saw now that ladder-the$_{\text{SUBJ}}$ was not up$_{\text{PRTi}}$ dragged $\_{}_{\text{i}}$
'Now, they saw that the ladder was not pulled up'

The word order without any movement should look like e.g.:[37]

(54) *Voru þá dregin* ***upp*** *grunnfæri þeirra* (HallÓ 1231)
were then dragged up$_{\text{PRT}}$ [anchors their]$_{\text{SUBJ}}$
'Then their anchors were raised'

The behavior of prepositions and adverbs may indicate that Scrambling to the left of the 'lower' VP may at least have been possible before the preposition/adverb got reanalyzed as a verbal particle. A preposition like *upp* could, for instance, be analyzed as taking another PP as a complement (cf. the examples (61) and (62) below):

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[36] Most likely, these prepositions/adverbs function in fact as particles; see the discussion in 4.7 below; see also Faarlund (1995b,c). That the prepositions/adverbs really are reanalyzed as verbal particles (reanalysis in the sense of Harris & Campbell 1995), is indicated by the fact that their position (behind or in front of the main verb) seems to be independent of the position of other phrases (especially the object). Note that if the basic word order of a clause with this kind of preposition/adverb + a complement always would be OBJ - PREP/ADV (+ Compl), and the complement is optional, then, scrambling the whole 'lower' VP with an omitted complement would yield the order OBJ - PREP/ADV - V. Thus, scrambling of the whole 'lower' VP could be the construction triggering reanalysis, scrambling of the object becoming optional/independent after some time.

[37] I.e. when *upp* is analyzed as a particle. When functioning as an adverb (or preposition with an empty argument), *upp* should be generated behind the (D-structure) object (which in example (54) is the surface subject linked to [Spec, IP]). In the following example, there is an object preceding *upp*.

(i) *Þeir Refur draga þegar segl* ***upp*** (Krók 1529)
they Ref drag immediately sail$_{\text{OBJ}}$ up$_{\text{ADV/PREP}}$
'Ref and his men immediately pull up the sail'

This structure may show the basic order OBJ - PREP (+empty compl). However, it is also possible that *segl* is scrambled, e.g.:

(i) *Þeir Refur draga*$_{\text{i}}$ *þegar segl*$_{\text{j}}$ $\_{}_{\text{i}}$ ***upp*** $\_{}_{\text{j}}$

i.e. *upp* can still be analyzed as a verbal particle.

(55) a. *voru þá dregin grunnfœri þeirra* [***upp*** *af sjónum*]
were then dragged$_{V}$ [anchors their]$_{OBJ}$ [up$_{P}$ of sea-the]$_{ADVBL}$

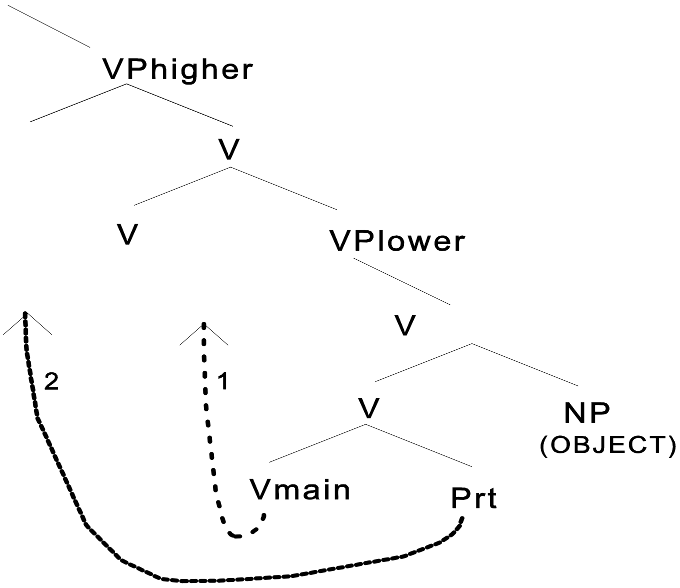
b. *voru þá dregin* [***upp*** *af sjónum*]$_{ADVBLKi}$ [*grunnfœri þeirra*]$_{OBJ}$ _$_{i}$

The same ‘effect’ may, on the other hand, be achieved by Extraposition of the ‘object’, cf.:

(56) ?*voru þá dregin* _$_{i}$ [***upp*** *af sjónum*]$_{ADVBL}$ [*grunnfœri þeirra*]$_{OBJi}$

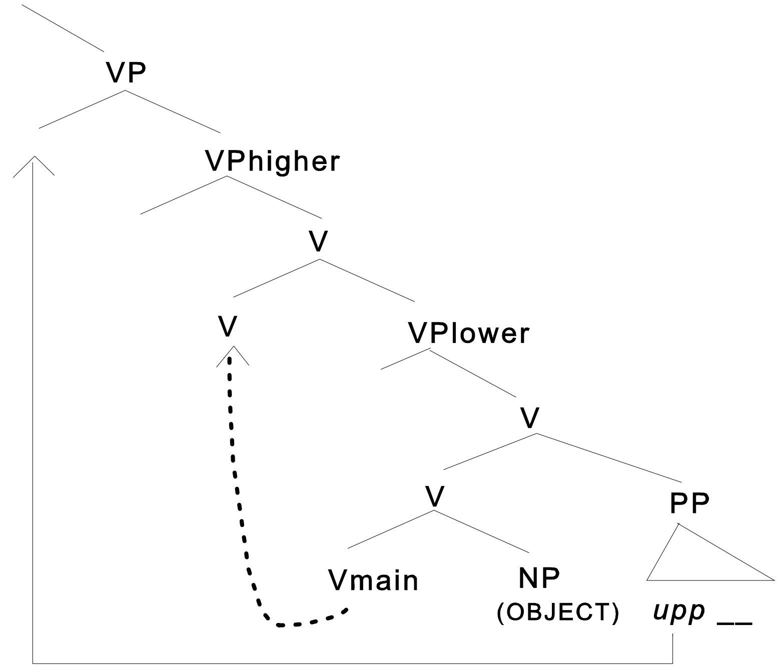
On the other hand, since *grunnfœri þeirra* is the surface subject of this construction, Extraposition would not be the most reasonable analysis in this case. When the preposition is reanalyzed as a verbal particle and base generated adjacent to the verb, movement of the particle to the left of the verb should be the ‘simplest’ form of Scrambling. A possible (simplified) illustration of the Scrambling process would be the following:

(57)



In case the potential particle is analyzed as a preposition (or adverb) with an omitted complement, the Scrambling process would involve a maximal phrase. The Scrambling process would, then, be adjunction to VP, i.e. the same process as Scrambling of an object, cf. the following (simplified) illustration (as an adverbial, the prepositional phrase would be base-generated behind a possible object):

(58)



The analysis in (58) is not necessarily compatible with the empirical facts since it, in principle, should be possible to find structures where the 'preposition' appears to the left of a scrambled object in the middle field. But according to Rögnvaldsson, such structures do not seem to exist:

(59) * (XP) - V_{fin} - PRT - NP_{DO} - V_{main} (Rögnvaldsson 1996a:75)

Rögnvaldsson (ibid.) also notes that the pattern:

(60) * (XP) - V_{fin} - NP_{DO} - V_{main} - PRT

does not seem to exist. This pattern should, however, be *structurally* grammatical since the object is assumed to be able to scramble to the left. Rögnvaldsson (ibid.), also notes that the non-existence of this pattern is not predicted given a VO-base. The explanation for why this pattern is not found in the corpus is straightforwardly accounted for by the approach in chapter 5: the default sentence accent is normally placed on the last accentable phrase in the clause. This would be the object in (60) (given that the object is base-generated to the right). I claim that Scrambling in Old Norse is a device to move phrases out of the area of the default sentence accent to make accenting another phrase possible by default. It would, on the other hand, in most cases not be natural to accent a particle. Hence, the structure in (60) is ruled out because it violates default sentence accent assignment. The only possible construction where the structure in (60) should be found would be if the particle could be assigned *contrastive* focus, i.e. if there would be a contrast like *up-down, in-out* etc.

Another Old Norse adverb/preposition that may function as a particle is, for instance, *fram* ('forward, out'). As an 'ordinary' preposition/adverb, it seems that *fram* may have a PP as a complement, e.g. [out [of something]$_{PP}$]$_{PP}$.

(61) *Sér hann að skip hafði verið dregið* ***fram*** *úr*
sees he that ship$_{SUBJ}$ had been dragged [from [out

nausti (Fóstb 834)
boat-house]]
'He obsverves that a boat had been pulled out of the boat house'

(62) ... en þó gat Glámur dregið hann ***fram*** *úr*
... and thoughgot Glam dragged him$_{OBJ}$ [from [out

skálanum (Grett 1010)
house-the]]
'... and still Glam managed to pull him out of the house'

When there is no 'concrete' local PP, *fram* may function as a particle of a complex verb *draga fram*:

(63) *Vildi hver sinn hlut* ***fram*** *draga* (Vatn 1896)
wanted both [their lot]$_{OBJ}$ out$_{PRT}$ drag$_{V}$
'They wanted both to settle this by drawing lots'

Thus, *fram* behaves just like *upp* in the examples further above. Also *upp* seems to be part of a complex verb (*draga upp*), taking a direct object, e.g. *stiga/skip/grunnfæri* etc.[38] As shown in, for instance, (53) and (54) above the object may become a surface-structure subject in passive sentences. In (54), the NP should be considered located in its base position.

Note also an example with an idiomatic expression *draga saman* (pull together = 'gather'):

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[38] Note also that *upp* appears in constructions with so-called *Stylistic Fronting* (see the discussion in 4.7):

(i) *Grettir spurði hvert kveld hvort* ***upp*** *væri dreginn* *stiginn* (Grett 1076)
Grettir asked every evening whether up$_{PRTi}$ was dragged _$_{i}$ ladder-the
'Every night Grettir asked if the ladder was pulled up'

(64) *... og hefir dregið* ***saman*** *fjölmenni til þess að ...* (Egla 509)
... and has dragged$_{V}$ together$_{PRT}$ crowd-man$_{OBJ}$ to this to ...
'... and has gathered a crowd of men to ...'

The adverb *saman* functions as a particle, and as a complex verb *draga saman* it takes a direct object. However, very often the surface position of the particle is to the left of the main verb:

(65) *En er þetta spyrja þeir Hringur og Aðils, höfðuþeir*
and when this hear they Hring and Adils, had they

saman *dregið lið mikið* (Egla 431)
together$_{PRT}$ dragged$_{V}$ [troop much]$_{OBJ}$
'And when Hring and Adils heard about this, they had a large troop gathered'

(66) *... að Glúmur hafi nú* ***saman*** *dregið marga menn* (VígGl 1922)
... that Glum has now together$_{PRT}$ dragged$_{V}$ [many menn]$_{OBJ}$
'... that Glum has gathered many men now'

On the background of examples like the ones above, it is clear that *saman* and similar 'adverbs/prepositions' should not be analyzed as, for instance, sentence adverbs when they occur to the left; neither should they be regarded as being part of so-called discontinuous phrases. They should not be analyzed as 'concrete' adverbs/prepositions at all in these cases, but as verbal particles (see also the discussion on discontinuous phrases in 4.7).

The discussion on Scrambling of verbal particles has shown that there are at least two different Scrambling processes in Old Norse: Scrambling of maximal phrases and Scrambling of head categories. The description of Scrambling as movement to the left of VP must, therefore, be understood as adjunction to VP or possibly V, dependent on the nature of the scrambled phrase. Regarding Scrambling of maximal phrases (e.g. the object), adjunction seems to be possible to different positions to the left of the 'higher' VP. A scrambled phrase may, therefore, also occur between two sentence adverbials, cf. the German examples in (46) above. Now consider a very interesting Old Norse example:

(67) *Vér höfum ekki lið þetta svo leynilega saman dregið*
we have not$_{SA}$ [troop this]$_{OBJ}$ [so secretly]$_{ADVBL}$ together$_{PRT}$ dragged$_{V}$

að ... (Vopnf 1995)
that ...
'We have not gathered the troop so secretly that ...'

In this example, there is a shifted object between two adverbial phrases. Additionally, there is also the adverb/particle *saman* to the left of the main verb. The phrase *svo leynilega* should not be analyzed as a base-generated sentence adverbial but as belonging behind the object, cf. e.g.:

(68) *Vér höfum ekki saman dregið / dregið saman* [*lið þetta*]$_{\text{OBJ}}$ [*svo leynilega að* ...]$_{\text{ADVBL}}$[39]

Hence, the phrase *svo leynilega* is apparently scrambled in the same way as the object *lið þetta*. Note that the *að*-clause belongs to *svo leynilega*. The following example represents a similar construction, only here it becomes clear that [*svo* ...] should be considered to be base-generated to the right of V, i.e. it is not a sentence adverbial:

(69) *... og hefir hann lið mikið saman dregið svo að ...* (Egla 429)
... and has he [troop much]$_{\text{OBJ}}$ together$_{\text{PRT}}$ dragged$_{\text{V}}$ [so that ...]$_{\text{ADVBL}}$
'... and he has gathered a large troop so that ...'

The Scrambling processes observed in (67) are shown in the following (simplified) tree structure:

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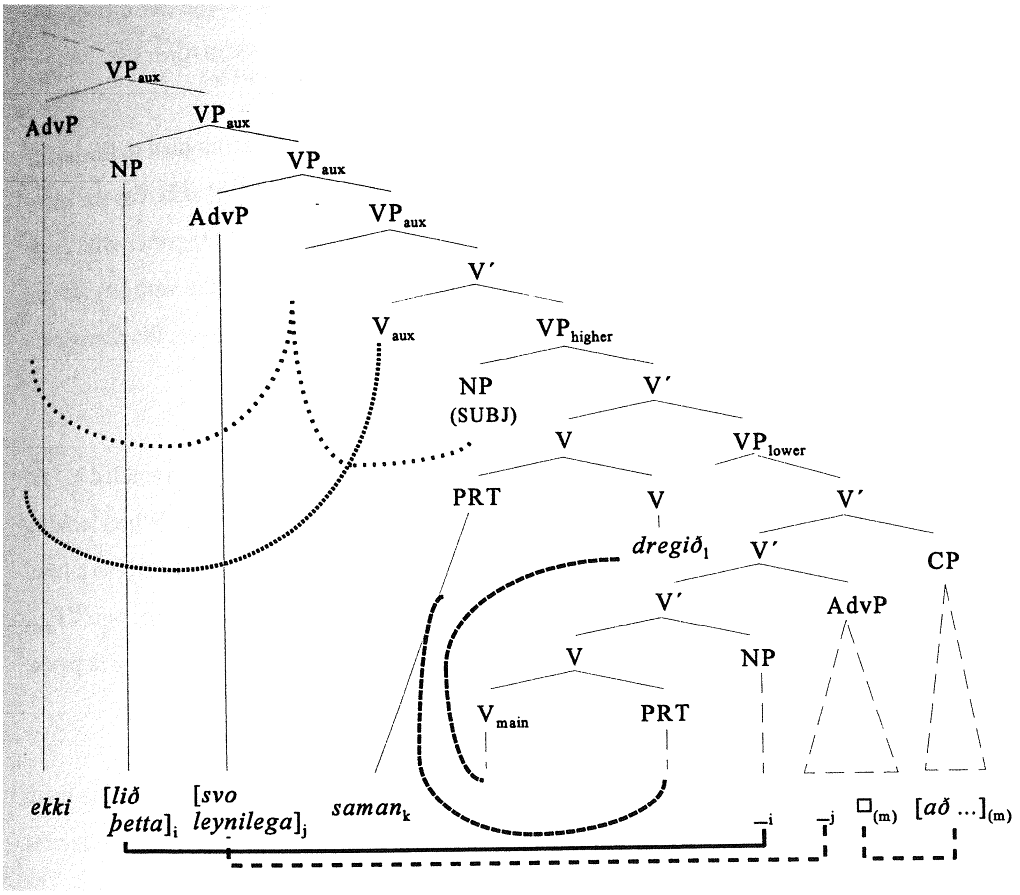
[39] There is possibly also the possibility of a construction like:

(i) *Vér höfum ekki dregið* [*lið þetta*]$_{\text{OBJ}}$ [*svo leynilega saman* [*að* ...]]$_{\text{ADVBL}}$


VP aux
AdvP
VP aux
NP
VP aux
AdvP
VP aux
V′
V aux
VP higher
NP
(SUBJ)
V′
V
VP lower
PRT
V
V′
dregið l
V′
CP
V′
AdvP
V
NP
V main
PRT
ekki
[lið þetta]i
[svo leynilega]j
saman k
_i
_j
□(m)
[að ...](m)

(70)

The *að*-clause must be extraposed before *svo leynilega* can be scrambled. A similar operation has already been discussed above connected to *að*-clauses of objects. The 'effect' of this massive Scrambling is obvious: the *að*-clause ends up as the only phrase following the main verb. In case we analyze *svo leynilega saman að ...* as one phrase following the object, Scrambling of the whole lower VP would probably be a more economical movement operation, for instance:[40]

(71) a. *Vér höfum ekki dregið*$_{\mathrm{V}}$ [*lið þetta*]$_{\mathrm{OBJ}}$ [*svo leynilega saman að* ...]
b. *Vér höfum ekki* [*lið þetta svo leynilega saman*]$_{\mathrm{i}}$ *dregið* [_$_{\mathrm{i}}$ _ $_{\mathrm{J}}$] || [*að* ...]$_{\mathrm{j}}$

It is not easy to determine whether the lower VP may be scrambled as a whole. Independent Scrambling of *several* phrases seems at least to be possible in Old Norse, cf. e.g. (see also 44a,b):

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[40] To make movement of the lower VP possible, one would have to assume that extraposed phrases are right-adjoined to VP and not to V′ as in the illustrations I have used in the present work.

(72) ... *þá mun eg* ***þetta mál*** *ekki* ***með kappi*** *verja* (Grett 996)
... then will I [this case]$_{OBJ}$ not$_{SA?}$ [with combat]$_{PP}$ defend
'... then I will not defend this case with fight'

If we analyze *ekki* as a sentence adverbial, the object *þetta mál* would be scrambled to the left of *ekki*, while the PP/adverbial *með kappi* would be scrambled to the right of *ekki*. On the other hand, if *ekki með kappi* is considered one phrase constituting the 'lower' VP together with *þetta mál*, we may claim that the lower VP has been scrambled as a whole (after the verb has moved to the 'higher' VP), an analysis that would be more economical (see, however, the discussion further below).[41]

The discussion on particles above, has shown that even head categories may be scrambled in Old Norse. The most interesting Scrambling process is perhaps Scrambling of a verb. When looking for examples with a scrambled verb, one has to take into consideration that the verb as a head category would need a host to adjoin to, i.e. a potential example would need at least two VP$_{aux}$, since the finite verb moves to I or C. With two VP$_{aux}$, the second auxiliary would stay in place, and the main verb would have the host required, for instance:

(73) ... *og mundi hann* ***tekið*** *hafa skipið frá Þorkeli*
... and would he taken$_i$ have _$_i$ ship-the from Thorkel

bróður sínum (GísL 934)
brother his
'... and he would have taken the ship from this brothre Thorkel'

The suggested analysis for examples like this would be similar to that of Scrambling of particles discussed above, cf. the following simplified illustration:

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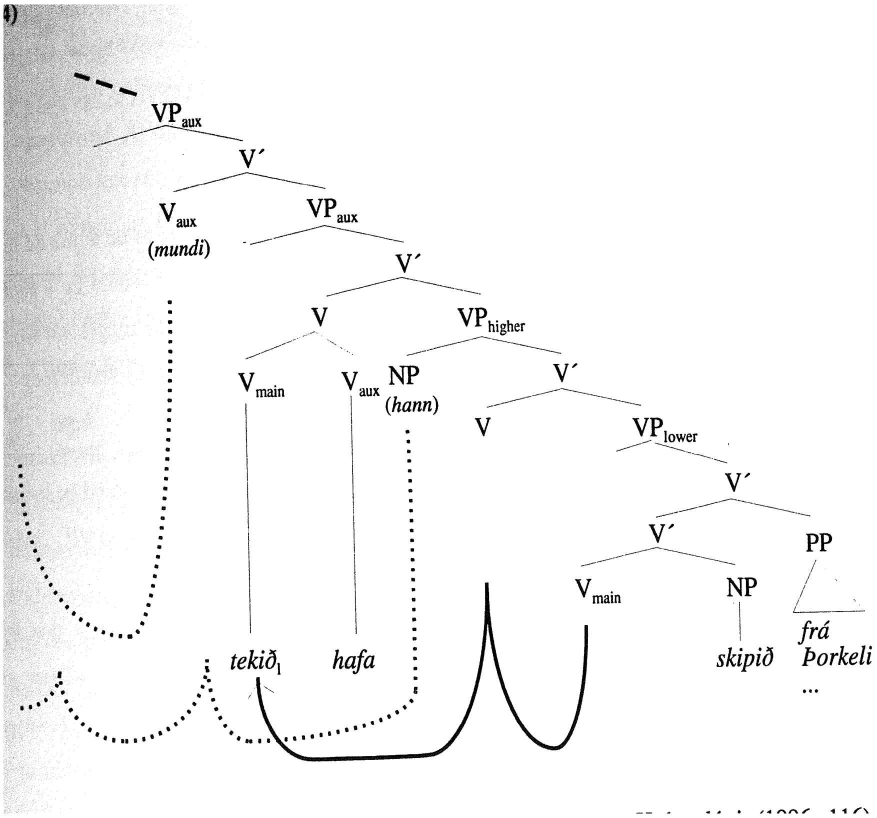
[41] Hróarsdóttir (1996a:116), discussing movement of the main verb to the left, states that:

> If it were a VP-movement, and if movement of the object is optional, then we would be unable to explain why the pattern [V$_{main}$ - O - V$_{aux}$] is absent. But by claiming that there is no VP-movement and V$_{main}$ instead adjoins to V$_{aux}$, then it follows that the pattern [V$_{main}$ - O - V$_{aux}$] is absent from the corpus because it cannot be derived without violation Relativized Minimality (cf. Rizzi 1990).

Note that Holmberg & Platzack (1995:147ff.) do not consider Object Shift in Modern Scandinavian being a violation of Relativized Minimality since the movement process is considered A-bar-movement (with mixed properties), cf. the discussion further above.



(74)

Such an analysis would be supported by the findings of, for instance, Hróarsdóttir (1996a:116) who states that: “The fact that [V$_{main}$ - V$_{aux}$] are always adjacent supports the claim made here that V$_{main}$ is adjoined to V$_{aux}$; then the complements can either move or stay in situ”. Adjunction of the main verb to the auxiliary that has not moved can be compared the process of adjunction to I known as *Stylistic Fronting*:

(75) *Ertu Þórður hreða er* ***drepið*** *hefir Orm frænda minn?* (Þórð 2042)
are-you Thord Hreda who killed$_i$ has$_{Vfin}$ _$_i$ Orm friend mine
‘Are you Thord Hreda who has killed my relative Orm?’

Stylistic Fronting is discussed in 4.7.

The analysis of examples with scrambled verbs is in most cases rather simple. But how should one analyze an example like, for instance, the following?:

(76) *Þorsteinn kvað Eystein óspilltan varning tekið hafa* (Reykd 1735)
Thorstein said Eystein$_{ACC}$ [unspilt wares]$_{OBJ\text{-}j}$ taken$_{Vmain\text{-}i}$ have$_{Vaux}$ _$_i$ _$_j$
‘Thorstein said that Eystein had taken the goods that was not destroyed’

The ‘problem’ is, first of all, that the ‘default’ analysis small clauses (A.C.I.) is to assume a VP, e.g.:

(77) *I saw* [*her standing there*]$_{VP}$

In this case, however, the scrambled object and the main verb would have to be adjoined to a position between the auxiliary and the subject of the small clause, which would be a rather unpleasant situation. I am not sure how to analyze an example like this, but my suggestion would be that there must be an omitted VP$_{aux}$ and that the actual (underlying) sentence should be:

(78)	*Þorsteinn*	*kvað*	*Eystein*	*munu*	*óspilltan*	*varning*	*tekið*	*hafa*
	Thorstein	said	Eystein$_{ACC}$	would$_{Vaux}$	[unspilt	wares]$_{OBJ}$	taken$_{Vmain}$	have$_{Vaux}$

In this example, there would be an extra VP$_{(aux)}$. The subject of the small clause would be located in [Spec, VP] belonging to *munu*, and the object would be adjoined between the two VP$_{aux}$, while the main verb is adjoined to the auxiliary *hafa*.

Even though Scrambling of the verb is interesting, some statistics may show that this Scrambling operation is not as frequent as Scrambling of, for instance, an object. There are approximately 144 occurrences of the participle *drepið* ('given') in the corpus. However, investigating the combination *drepið* + *hafa*, I have found only two instances of Scrambling of *drepið* (and five instances of Stylistic Fronting (*er/sem* + *gefið*)). There are approximately 303 occurrences of the participle *tekið* ('taken') in the corpus, but I found only nine instances of Scrambling of the participle (and three instances of Stylistic Fronting (*er/sem* + *tekið*)) when investigating the combination *tekið* + *hafa*. One reason for the low frequency of Scrambling of a participle is probably the relatively low frequency of constructions with two auxiliary verbs (compared to simpler constructions with only one auxiliary. There are, for instance, only 38 constructions with the infinitive *hafa* and the participle *tekið* and 20 with *hafa* and *drepið*). Furthermore, I found 10 occurrences of the combination *vilja taka* ('want (to) take') but only one with the order *taka vilja*. For the combination "vilja gefa" versus "gefa vilja" the situation is 4:2.

Scrambling of a verb is definitely interesting. It is, on the other hand, not *that* frequent as we have seen. It is relatively clear that the scrambled participle (or infinitive) should be analyzed as a head category. However, participles and infinitives may apparently also be *topicalized* in Old Norse, cf. the following example:

(79)	***Tekið***	*mundum*	*vér*	*hafa*	*kveðju*	*þinni*	*Höskuldur ...* (Laxd 1547)
	taken$_i$	would	we	have _$_i$	greeting	your	Hoskuld

'We would have returned your greeting, Hoskuld, ...'

It seems rather unlikely that this kind of movement should be adjunction to C. Instead it should be considered XP-movement, i.e. 'ordinary' Topicalization. The mechanism behind this movement is not easy to understand. If the object is scrambled to the left of the 'higher' VP first, the VP containing the main verb may possibly be moved. Such an analysis is, for instance, proposed for similar constructions in Modern German. Topicalization of the main verb is discussed further in 4.7. If examples like (79) exhibit Topicalization of a maximal phrase, i.e. the VP, it would probably also be possible to scramble the VP into the middle field.

I consider a Scrambling analysis superior to a variable-base analysis or an analysis of Old Norse as a non-configurational language. Old Norse is an SVO language, just like the Modern Scandinavian languages, and Old Norse has leftward movement of phrases, just like the Modern Scandinavian languages, even though the movement processes in Old Norse are much more liberal compared to those in Modern Scandinavian. The canonical word order (i.e. no movement) of an Old Norse DOC would be, for instance:

(80) *... og vil eg ekki veita þér þína bæn því að ...* (Fljót 695)
... and will I$_{SUBJ}$ not$_{SA}$ give$_{V}$ you$_{IO}$ [your request]$_{DO}$ that that ...
'... and I will not consent to your request because ...'

i.e. S - V - IO - DO. To restructure this order, we could move, for instance, the direct object to the left by Scrambling, while a part of the object stays behind (i.e. it is extraposed):[42]

(81) *... að hann vill ekki* ***annað*** *veita honum* ***en*** *...* (GísL 927)
... that he will not$_{SA?}$ other$_{DOi}$ give$_{V}$ him$_{IO}$ [_$_{i}$ than ...]$_{DO}$
'... that he will not do anything else for him but ...'

See also an example without such a complex direct object:

(82) *... og viljið ekki* ***liðsinni*** *veita okkur þá munum*
... and will not$_{SA?}$ help$_{DOi}$ give$_{V}$ us$_{IO}$ _$_{i}$ then will

við ekki tal af ykkur halda (Fljót 726)
we not tale of you hold
'... and you will not give us some help then we will not revere/worship you'

Note that Extraposition of *okkur* would be an unfeasible analysis: *occur* is both a pronoun and the indirect object, non of those categories is very likely to be extraposed.

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[42] As discussed in connection with example (72), the negation word *ekki* may possibly also be analyzed as belonging to the DO. See also below.

If the negation word *ekki* is analyzed as a sentence adverbial, it seems that both objects can be scrambled independently:[43]

(83) *"Sé eg nú," sagði Gísli, "að þú vilt* ***mér*** *ekki* ***lið*** *veita. ...”* (GíslS 878)
see I now, said Gisli, that you will me$_{IO}$ not$_{SA?}$ help$_{DO}$ give$_{V}$
‘Now I understand that you will not give me any help, said Gisli’

However, as discussed above, if it is possible to scramble the whole lower VP (after movement of the main verb to the ‘higher’ VP), this would probably be a more economical analysis. In this case, *ekki lið* would have to be considered as constituting *one* phrase, cf. e.g.:

(84) *... þá reið hann ofan* ***með ekki lið*** *til fundar við víkinga* (Egla 426)
... then rode he from-above [with no army] to meeting with vikings
‘... the he rode down without his army to meet the vikings’

Consider also:

(85) *... þá munum við ekki tal af ykkur halda* (Fljót 726)
... then will we not tale of you hold
‘... then we will not revere/worship you’

This example contains an idiomatic expression which, by the way, is considered archaic or old fashioned in Modern Icelandic (cf. Böðvarsson 1994:1030).[44] But the question is (again): are the NP *tal* and the PP *af ykkur* scrambled as separate phrases, or are they handled as one constituent? There are very few examples of this construction in the corpus. Therefore, it is not unlikely that it was archaic already in Old Norse. On this background, it is not easy to tell if it actually may be a ‘frozen’ SOV expression from former times. One of the other examples is clearly (overtly) SOV, while one cannot tell from the other two examples (which, by the way, are variants from the same saga, i.e. from different copies):

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[43] The “longer” edition of *Gísla saga* has the variant:

(i) *"Sé eg nú," kvað Gísli, "að þú vilt mér* ***eigi*** *lið veita ...”* (GísL 932)
see I now, said Gisli, that you will me not help give ...

[44] With the (only possible) order *halda tal af einhverjum.*

(86) a. *... en þó hafði Eiríkur lengi* ***tal af honum*** *haldið* (Erík 529)
.... en thoughhad Eirik long tale of him held
'... nevertheless, Eirik had respected him for some time'

b. *... og héldu landsmenn brátt* ***mikið tal af honum*** (HallÓ 1243)
... and held land's-men suddenly much tale of him
'... and suddenly, the countrymen respected him a lot'

c. *... og héldu þeir* ***mikiðtal af honum*** (HallM 1211)
... and held they much tale of him
'... and they respected him a lot'

Since this seems to be an idiomatic expression where the two phrases *(mikið) tal* and *af einhverjum* ('of somebody') should not be interpreted independently of each other, it would probably not make much sense to move only one of the phrases alone. In (83), it is more likely that the two objects are scrambled independently. According to my intuition, the structure with Scrambling of *both* objects (a) would actually be the only reasonable alternative to the non-scrambled structure (b):

(87) a. *að þú vilt* ***mér***$_{\text{IO}}$ *ekki* ***lið***$_{\text{DO}}$ *veita*$_{\text{V}}$
b. *að þú vilt ekki veita*$_{\text{V}}$ *mér*$_{\text{IO}}$ *lið*$_{\text{DO}}$

Even in Modern Scandinavian the negation word may often 'attract' an object (see e.g. the discussion in section 5.4). If the direct object is 'attracted' by *ekki* with subsequent Scrambling, the pronoun *mér* would be left as the default candidate for the sentence accent (cf. chapter 5). In this case, the pronoun would most likely be interpreted as having contrastive focus, which is not desired in this sentence. As a topical phrase, the pronoun would, then, be scrambled to a position higher than the less (or non-) topical phrase *lið*. A further consequence of these Scrambling processes is the fact that *lið veita* may be interpreted as an information unit after Scrambling, whereas non-Scrambling would leave the verb and the object separated, the object carrying the accent.[45] A further discussion of differences between SVO and SOV (surface) patterns follows in chapter 5.

The question of independent movement of single phrases versus VP-movement would be relevant for Modern Scandinavian Object Shift, too. In an approach involving functional projections like AgrOP and possibly AgrIOP (cf. e.g. Hróarsdóttir 1996a), independent movement would be a relatively straightforward analysis. In an adjunction analysis (e.g. Holmberg & Platzack 1995; and the present analysis), leftward movement of both objects in Modern Scandinavian may be more complicated. Consider, for instance, a Modern Norwegian DOC with Object Shift:

(88) a. *Han har ikkje gjeve* ***ho den***
he has not given her that

b. *Han gjev* ***ho den*** *ikkje*
he gives [her$_i$ it$_j$]$_k$ not [_$_i$ _$_j$]$_k$

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[45] The same functional explanation may be applied to examples with a scrambled main verb, for instance:

(i) *... svo að allir menn heyrðu hversu ferð hans hafði* ***ætluð verið*** (Eyrb 592)
... so that all men heard how journey his had planned$_i$ been _$_i$
'... so that all men heard how his journey had been planned'

If *ætluð* is located behind the auxiliary *verið*, the accent would lie on *ætluð* alone. Scrambling *ætluð* to the left would create an accent/information unit *ætluð verið*.

In (a), Object Shift is not possible because the main verb has not left the VP. In (b), on the other hand, both objects appear to the left of the sentence adverbial. Since there is no evidence for free independent Scrambling in Modern Norwegian as there is in Old Norse, both objects have possibly moved together as part of a "rest-VP", given an adjunction analysis.[46] Topicalization of (whole) VPs is attested in Modern Norwegian:

(89) ***Gjeveho den*** *ville han ikkje* (gjere)
[give her that]$_{VP}$ wanted he not (do)
'He did not want to give her that'

In this case, the main verb would be part of the moved VP.

I will not speculate more about Modern Scandinavian Object Shift. Since Modern Scandinavian has object movement to the left, I find it reasonable to assume that Old Scandinavian has object movement, too. I also find it reasonable to assume that complex phrases like, for instance, a "rest-VP" may be scrambled in Old Norse in some cases. I consider object movement in Modern Scandinavian and Old Norse basically the same process. However, Modern Scandinavian object movement is much more restricted than Old Norse object movement. According to Hróarsdóttir (1996a), the frequency of object movement of the Old Norse type seemingly decreased rapidly in Icelandic in the middle of the eighteenth century. At the same time, the expletive subject became more and more frequent while referential null arguments (see the discussion in 4.6) disappeared and Stylistic Fronting (see the discussion in 4.7) became less frequent.

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[46] On the other hand, this 'double object movement' may also support the claim that the two objects in the double object construction are in fact grouped together in a cluster, e.g. [NP NP]$_{NP}$, cf. e.g. Hellan (1988). In this case, the double object could be handled as one complex object.

In the present work, I am less interested in exploring the structural nature of object movement in Old Norse and Modern Scandinavian. My point is to show that overt (S)OV word order in Old Norse is most reasonably analyzed as a word order derived by movement, in the same way as Object Shift in Modern Scandinavian. Thus, if one chooses to analyze Modern Scandinavian Object Shift as movement, one should also apply the same analysis to Old Norse. In chapter 5, then, I will investigate functional reasons for this kind of object movement. The results of the functional investigation will support the hypothesis that (S)OV word order has to be interpreted relatively to a basic (S)VO order. In other words, (S)OV word order is best analyzed as being derived from (S)VO order. Due to other grammatical changes, Modern Scandinavian has lost a rather powerful device when it comes to order information units in the clause in accordance with pragmatical desires.[47]

It may very well be the case that Ancient Nordic has been an SOV language. This would be very difficult to prove because of the number and nature of the existing sources. If there ever was a change from SOV to SVO, I assume that reanalysis must have been finished by the time of classical Old Norse. In Old Norse older (S)OV patterns are, thus, functionally motivated derivations, and (S)VO word order is the only basic word order.

The example (90a), thus, exhibits the basic word order V - IO - DO (after movement of the verb), whereas both the main verb, the indirect object and the direct object are scrambled in (90b):

(90) a. *Þá sendi Hörður Helga Sigmundarson til að* ***veita honum***
then sent Hord Helgi Sigmund's-son for to give$_{V}$ him$_{DAT}$

lið (Harð 1276)
help$_{ACC}$
'Then Hord sent Helgi Sigmundarson to help him'

---

[47] Differences in information structure compared to Norwegian and German translations of Old Norse saga texts are discussed in e.g. Haugan (1995).

b. *... en kvað hann ekki* ***lið*** ***honum*** ***veita*** *vilja* (Harð 1277)
... and said he no(t) help$_{ACC}$ him$_{DAT}$ give$_{V}$ wanted$_{AUX}$
'... and said that he would not help him'

One may wonder whether there is any correlation between (a) and (b) regarding the fact that (b) is a "mirrored" version of (a). However, this seems to be rather accidently. Almost any possible Scrambling variant can be found, hence, it is most likely that the phrases are scrambled independently. The accusative object may, for instance, be scrambled alone:

(91) *... að hann vildi ekki* ***lið*** *veita honum um þetta*
... that he wanted no(t) help$_{ACC}$ give$_{V}$ him$_{DAT}$ in this

mál (Reykd 1737)
case
'... that he would not help him in this case'

Note that the dative object following the main verb *veita* is a pronoun,[48] and that there is also an adverbial following the dative object. The basic word order is (most likely)[49] V_{main} - dative - accusative - adverbial. In (91), thus, the accusative object has moved to the left over the main verb. The corresponding (default) Modern German construction would be:

(92) a. *... dass er ihm in dieser Sache nicht/keine Hilfe leisten wollte* (subordinate clause)
... that he him$_{DAT}$ [in this case]$_{ADVBL}$ not/no help$_{ACC}$ give$_{main}$ wanted

b. *Er wollte ihm in dieser Sache nicht/keine Hilfe leisten* (main clause)
he wanted him$_{DAT}$ [in this case]$_{ADVBL}$ not/no help$_{ACC}$ give$_{main}$

The only phrase that could be extraposed in an example like this would be the adverbial.

I have not found any example where the dative phrase is scrambled alone. When both objects are scrambled, both orders may appear, i.e. *dative - accusative* and *accusative - dative*. This may be due to inversion (cf. the discussion on the inverted DOC further above):

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[48] Cf. also:

(i) *... ef þú vilt nokkurt lið veita mér* (Egla 456)
... if you will some help$_{ACC}$ give$_{Vmain}$me$_{DAT}$
'... if you would give me som help'

[49] The verb *veita* may apparently, like other *gefa*-type verbs, also project an inverted DOC, for instance:

(i) *... gengu þeir út og vildu veita lið jarli* (Grett 960)
... went they out and wanted give help$_{ACC}$ earl$_{DAT}$
'... they went out and wanted to help the earl'

(93) a. *... en kvað hann ekki lið honum veita vilja* (Harð 1277) (= 90b above)
... and said he no(t) help$_{\mathrm{ACC}}$ him$_{\mathrm{DAT}}$ give$_{\mathrm{V}}$ wanted$_{\mathrm{AUX}}$
'... and said that he would not help him'

b. *... að þú vilt mér eigi lið veita ...* (GísL 932) (fn. 43)
... that you will me$_{\mathrm{DAT}}$ not help$_{\mathrm{ACC}}$ give ...
'... that you will not help me'

On the other hand, when the accusative object is scrambled, the dative object is rather frequently fronted by Stylistic Fronting (see 4.7) - when this is possible, for instance:[50]

(94) a. *Og standi þeir upp er* ***mér*** *vilja lið veita ...* (GísL 946)
and stand they up who me$_{\mathrm{DAT}}$ will$_{\mathrm{Vfin}}$ help$_{\mathrm{ACC}}$ give$_{\mathrm{Vmain}}$
'And those who will help me, may stand up'

b. *... og þeir er* ***honum*** *vildu lið veita* (BjHít 120)
... and they who hom wanted help give
'... and those who wanted to help him'

In chapter 5, I will show that certain idiomatic expressions favor Scrambling of the object. Also the presence of a negation word often triggers object movement, even in Modern Scandinavian. The most frequent order of the construction under discussion is *veita* + dative + accusative (*lið*). When there is a negation word, Scrambling of the accusative seems to be almost obligatory. But it may also be noted that, in the canonical construction, the dative separates *veita* and *lið*. By Scrambling the accusative, one would get an information unit *lið veita*. This would, however, lead to a construction where the dative is left behind as the only candidate for the default sentence accent. Since the dative argument quite often is a topical human being, this is not necessarily desired. Therefore, the dative may be moved to a more topical position.

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[50] Note also another interesting example of Stylisting Fronting:

(i) *... og spyr hver* ***honum*** *hefði* ***lið*** *veitt* (Svarf 1825)
... and asks who him$_{\mathrm{IO}}$ had help$_{\mathrm{DO}}$ given$_{\mathrm{V}}$
'... and asks who had helped him'

This example is a rather unusual candidate of Stylistic Fronting, but I base my judgement on the similarity to the Modern Norwegian equivalent:

(i) *... og spør kven som hadde gjeve han hjelp*
... and asks who that$_{\mathrm{REL}}$ had given him help

i.e. I assume that *som* marks the C-position and that [Spec, IP] is empty, which is a condition for Stylistic Fronting (see the discussion on Modern Norwegian relative clauses in Nordgård & Åfarli 1990:181ff.). If the Old Norse example does not exhibit Stylistic Fronting after all, it would still be an example of two separate movement operations.

In this section, I have discussed movement of objects and verbs. Furthermore, it is also possible to scramble adjectives, for instance, the predicate complement. In (a), the predicate complement (as an AP) and the verb is scrambled, and in (b) only the predicate complement is fronted in the relative clause, the verb staying in place (see also the discussion on copula constructions in 4.3.3.4):

(95)	... *að*	*fáir*	*eða*	*öngvir*	*muni*	***sterkari***	***verið***	*hafa*		*á*	*Íslandi*
	... that	few	or	none	would	stronger$_{A-j}$	been$_{Vmain-i}$	have	_$_{i}$ _$_{j}$	on	Iceland

þeirra	*er*	***einhamir***	*hafa*	*verið* (Finnb 661)	
of-those	who$_{REL}$	one-slough$_{A-k}$	have	been$_{Vmain}$	_$_{k}$

'... that only a few or nobody would have been stronger in Iceland of those who were not able to change into (for instance) a berserk'

However, in the relative clause, the predicate complement *einhamir* is fronted by Stylistic Fronting instead of by ('proper') Scrambling. In this case, *verið* could not have moved over the verb *hafa*. There is, thus, strong evidence for separate movement processes in Old Norse. Since the verb would have to adjoin to another head position (an auxiliary), and a maximal phrase, like, for instance, an object or a predicate complement, would be adjoined to VP, the canonical order of the VP would often be reversed or "mirrored", cf. also:[51]

(96)	a.	... *og*	*var*	*þeim*	***gefið***	***öl***	***að***	***drekka*** (Egla 467)
		... and	was	them$_{SUBJ}$	given$_{V}$	[ale	to	drink]$_{OBJ}$

'... and they were offerd beer to drink'

b.	... *að*	*þeim*	*hafði*	***heill hleifur***	***gefinn***	*verið* (Njála 182)
	... that	them$_{SUBJ}$	had	[whole loaf]$_{OBJ}$	given$_{Vmain}$	been

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[51] See 4.3.3.1 for a discussion of *þeim* as the (oblique) subject of the passive sentences.

'... that they had gotten a whole cheese'

The 'mirror effect' is, however, rather striking in the following example:

(97) *Þær sögðu að þeim hefði að Hlíðarenda mest*
they said that them$_{\text{SUBJ}}$ had [at Hlidarendi]$_{\text{PP}}$ [most]$_{\text{ADV}}$

gefið verið (Njála 182)
given$_{\text{Vmain}}$ been
'They said that they had been given the most at Hlidarendi'

The 'unscrambled' order would be:

(98) *... að þeim hefði verið gefið mest að Hlíðarenda*
... that them had been given$_{\text{Vmain}}$ most$_{\text{ADV}}$ [at Hlidarendi]$_{\text{PP}}$

i.e. the exact opposite order of phrases. This 'mirror effect' may be due to the structural hierarchy within the verb phrase. That is, the 'outermost' phrase (seen in relation to the verb) may have to move up first, then the next, and finally the verb itself. On the other hand, this would not explain why, for instance, an object may be scrambled alone in other examples. Furthermore, I assume that the order *að þeim hefði mest að Hlíðarenda gefið verið*, with *mest* preceding the PP, is possible, too.[52] Example (97) is the answer to the question:

(99) *Mörður spurði hvar þeim hefði mest gefið verið* (Njála 182)
Mord asked where them had most given been
'Mord asked where they had been given most'

That is, the question, too, exhibits Scrambling. With the canonical word order, *mest* would receive the default sentence accent (see chapter 5), e.g.:

(100) *Mörður spurði hvar þeim hefði verið gefið MEST*

This is apparently not desired. With Scrambling, there is an information unit *MEST gefið verið*. Also what is asked for is WHERE (*hvar*) and not HOW MUCH. By scrambling the content of the VP to the left, it is signalized that the attention should not be led to *mest* but to *hvar*. In the answer to this question, then, the sentence accent would be assigned by default to *að Hliðarendi* in the canonical word order. But by scrambling the phrase, this accent would be interpreted as a focus accent. Hence, both sentences would have a focus accent early in the information structure:

(101) a. *Mörður spurði* ***HVAR*** *þeim hefði* [*mest gefið verið*]
b. *Þær sögðu að þeim hefði* ***að HLÍðarenda*** [*mest gefið verið*]

---

[52] The observed 'mirroring' should probably be investigated further in a larger context; it could, for instance, be related to Baker's (1985, 1988) (morphological) *Mirror Principle*. I will leave this question without any further discussion in this work.

Functionally, thus, Scrambling is well motivated in Old Norse. Even though such structures are overt SOV structures, one should not assume an alternative SOV basic word order in Old Norse. Overt SOV order in Old Norse must be interpreted relatively to an SVO basic word order. I will return to such questions in chapter 5 where I will show more thoroughly how assignement of the default sentence accent and Scrambling is related.

4.3.2.5 Summary

If Old Norse overt SOV structures are considered as being derived by Scrambling (and possibly Stylistic Fronting), the positions of internal arguments may be summarized as:

1. No movement
The object(s) follow(s) the (non-finite) verb. In a DOC with *gefa*-type verbs, a dative object that has a thematic role lower than that of the accusative object, the dative object may be base-generated below the accusative object. In most cases, however, the order Beneficiary/dative object - Patient/Theme/accusative object is the base-generated order.

2. Topicalization
Every object can be topicalized (object clauses only marginally, if at all), i.e. be moved to [Spec, CP] depending on thematic status.

3. Heavy NP Shift
An object may be adjoined to the right (‘extraposed’) if it is complex (‘heavy’) or focused. However, Heavy NP Shift of the dative object of a DOC is normally not possible unless the dative object can be analyzed as representing the role of a Goal (i.e. base-generated as a ‘direct object’).

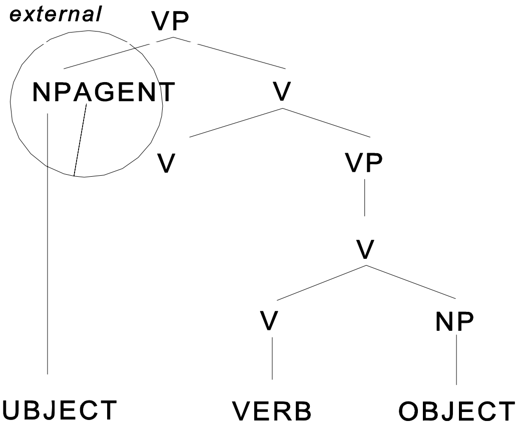
4. Scrambling
Internal arguments (and adjuncts) can be moved to the left by *Scrambling*. Seemingly, there is no fixed position between IP and [Spec, VP] where the phrase has to move (at least not in the present approach), in opposition to (Modern) Scandinavian *Object Shift* where the object has to be adjoined to the leftmost position of the VP (i.e. to the left of possible sentence adverbials).

As mentioned (and shown) before, internal arguments (objects) can also be promoted to *subject*, thus, deep-structure objects can occupy surface-structure subject positions. I will now take a closer look at the promotion of internal arguments to subject.

4.3.3 Promotion of Internal Arguments to Subject

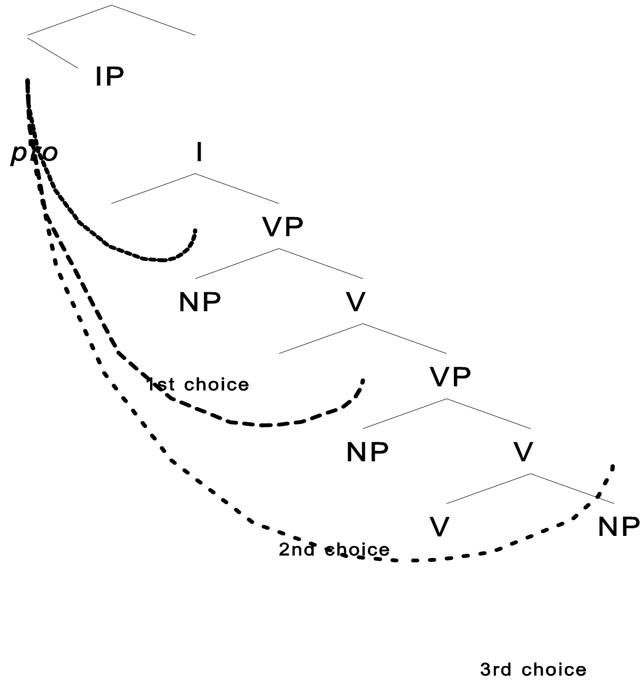
According to the deep-structure subject definition outlined in 4.3.1 above, deep-structure subjects have to be Agents/Performers. The Agent argument is assumed to be base-generated in [Spec, VP] of a/the ‘higher’ VP (cf. also the ActP analysis of Holmberg & Platzack 1995). The argument linked to this specifier position is the so-called *external* argument. Only a *base-generated* external argument is considered a deep-structure subject in the present approach:

(1) Deep Structure



The position of the *surface*-structure subject is [Spec, IP]. In Old Norse, [Spec, IP] does not have to be filled by an overt phrase. However, it is here assumed that [Spec, IP] is occupied by a *pro*-element when no lexical argument has moved overtly to [Spec, IP]. It is always the structurally (and thematically) highest argument (in the order: higher Spec-VP, lower Spec-VP, Compl-V′) that is linked to the surface-subject position [Spec, IP], either the argument has moved overtly or not:

(2) Surface Structure



The lexical argument linked to [Spec, IP] is considered the surface subject. If there is no lexical argument candidate available, *pro* is assumed to be quasi-argumental (see the discussion in 4.6).

If a verb assigns an Agent role to an argument in the higher [Spec, VP] position, no other argument can be promoted to subject, unless the Agent is suppressed as, for instance, in passive sentences (or deleted by a word formation rule).[1] The external specifier position is a position that is assigned nominative case. Therefore, all Agent arguments are nominatives, and the most 'typical' surface-structure subject is a nominative subject. If there is no Agent argument, it is here assumed that there is no deep-structure subject. According to the EPP, on the other hand, a clause demands a surface subject. If there is a another argument available, this argument (or the highest of two arguments) will, therefore, be promoted to subject (by linking to *pro* or by movement to [Spec, IP]). If a non-agentive surface-subject candidate is assigned lexical Case, the argument will be a so-called *oblique* subject. If there is a second and lower internal argument that is assigned structural Case, this will be a nominative object. For clauses without an Agent argument the following structure is, therefore, rather common in Old Norse:

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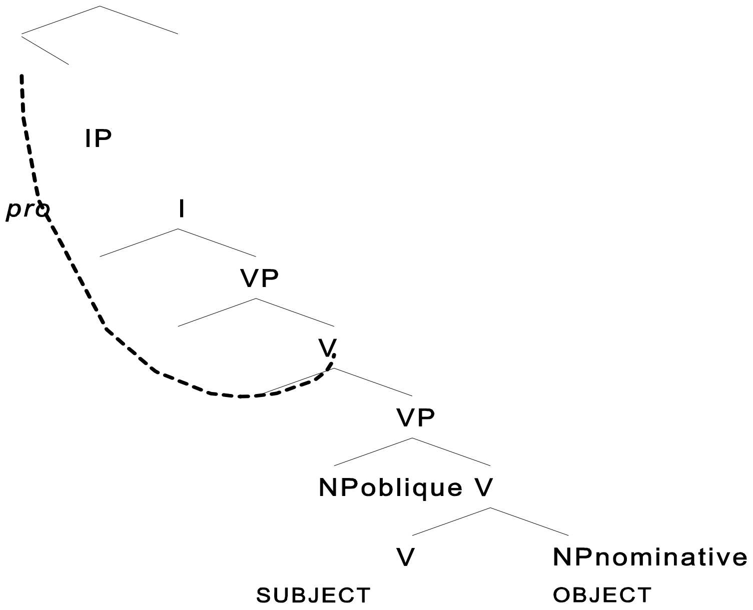
[1] Deletion of the Agent argument by a word formation rule creates a 'new' verb that does not assign an Agent role at all (more about this below).

(3)



The oblique NP may, of course, move overtly to [Spec, IP] or possibly [Spec, CP]. Since the oblique NP in a construction like this would be the structurally highest argument, it would be the only surface-subject candidate.[2] The choice of surface subject is in the present approach rather straightforward. The subject candidate is picked out structurally independently of possible Case properties. In Old Norse, thus, a subject may have an oblique Case, and an object may have nominative Case. As discussed before, such an approach is in opposition to the traditional view that defines the Old Norse subject as nominative only (e.g. Faarlund 1990a and elsewhere). As a consequence, one would have to assume non-configurationality or, alternatively, extensive rightward movement of subjects in Old Norse in order to explain nominative NPs to the right. In the present approach, Old Norse behaves just like, for instance, Modern Icelandic with regard to configurationality and oblique subjects (see e.g. Sigurðsson 1992a). The status of oblique NPs as possible surface-subject candidates follows from the thematic-structural subject definition outlined above.

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[2] As discussed before, the structural hierarchy is assumed to be based on a thematic hierarchy.

Arguments for oblique subjects in Old Norse are also put forward by, for instance, Rögnvaldsson (1991) who, naturally, refers to quirky subjects in Modern Icelandic and Sigurðsson's (1992a:209) list of subject tests for Modern Icelandic, but also Bernódusson's (1982) earlier tests for Old Norse, and Sigurðsson's (1983) earlier discussion. Rögnvaldsson finds that subject tests like *Reflexivization, Conjunction Reduction* and *Control* are more difficult to apply to Old Norse, whereas tests regarding, for instance, *AcI* or *Inversion in clauses with an auxiliary verb* work rather well also for Old Norse. Rögnvaldsson (1991:377) concludes that "there seems to be no reason for assuming that the status of quirky subjects is different in Old Icelandic than in Modern Icelandic". Rögnvaldsson returned to oblique subjects in Old Norse in another article (1996c) reaching the same conclusion after having discussed the question more thoroughly on the background of, among others, Mørck's (1992), Faarlund's (1990a), and Kristoffersen's (1991, 1994) (the traditionalist's) arguments against oblique subjects in Old Norse. Oblique subjects in Old Scandinavian are also discussed by Barðdal (1997). Barðdal chooses to follow Rögnvaldsson (1996c) in using a variety of subject tests to show that Old Scandinavian in fact had oblique subjects just like Modern Icelandic. Barðdal (1997:48) concludes that:

> The result of that comparison is that the hypothesis that OSL-NPs [Oblique subject-like NPs] were syntactic subjects in the older stages has been corroborated. My claim has been that since we assume that Oblique Subjects exist in Modern Icelandic, we should also assume that they existed in Old Scandinavian unless we have an empirical reason for not doing so. The examination here has not given us any reason to assume that OSL-NPs behave any differently in Old Scandinavian and Old English than in Modern Icelandic.

The following subsections will provide further evidence that internal oblique NPs may become surface subjects by promotion in Old Norse. Promotion of internal arguments to subject is only possible when there is no external argument in the clause. This situation is found in (1) **Passive Constructions**, (2) **Ergative Constructions**, (3) **Middle Constructions**, and (4) **Copula Constructions**. I will discuss those constructions in this order.

4.3.3.1 Passive Constructions

According to Sigurðsson (1992a:312), passive formation involves two lexical operations:[3]

(4) **Passive Formation**
a. [+V, -N] → [+V, +N]
b. Incorporate TH

While the perfect participle (the supine) has the feature [-N] with no nominal agreement, the passive participle has the feature [+N] resulting in agreement with the nominative phrase, i.e. the phrase with *structural* Case (note that this is not necessarily subject agreement), while nominal arguments with *lexical* Case do not trigger verb agreement. Compare the behavior of the perfect participle to that of the passive participle:

Perfect participle

(5)	a.	*... og*	*hann*	*hefir*	***gefið***	*mér*	*hinn*	*besta*	*grip* (Þórð 2014)
		... and	he$_{\text{NOM-SG-SUBJ}}$	has	given$_{\text{NEUT-SG}}$	me	[the	best	thing]$_{\text{ACC-SG-OBJ}}$

b.	*... að*	*faðir*	*hennar*	*hefir*	***gefið***	*mér*	*góða*	*gripi* (Fljót 696)
	... that	[father	hers]$_{\text{NOM-SG-SUBJ}}$	has	given$_{\text{NEUT-SG}}$	me	[good	things]$_{\text{ACC-PL-OBJ}}$

c.	*... og*	*marga*	*dýrgripi*	*er*	*höfðingjar*	*höfðu*	***gefið***
	... and	[many	precious things]$_{\text{NEUT-PL-OBJ}}$	that	chiefs$_{\text{NOM-PL-SUBJ}}$	had	given$_{\text{NEUT-SG}}$

honum (Laxd 1652)
him
'... and many precious things that chiefs had given him'

Note that the change between, for instance, singular and plural has no effect on the agreement of the perfect participle, whether the change concerns the subject or the (direct) object. The form of the perfect participle is unaffected, i.e. *neutral*.

Passive participle

(6)	a.	*Mikill*	*máttur*	*er*	***gefinn***	*goðum*	*vorum* (Njála 226)
		[much	might]$_{\text{MASC-NOM-SG}}$	is	given$_{\text{MASC-NOM-SG}}$	[chiefs	our]$_{\text{(DAT-PL)}}$

b.	*... og var*	*hún*	*honum*	***gefin*** (Dropl 348)
	... and was	she$_{\text{FEM-NOM-SG}}$	him$_{\text{(MASC-DAT-SG)}}$	given$_{\text{FEM-NOM-SG}}$

---

[3] See also the discussion on passive in chapter 3.2.7 and the references there.

c. *Var þá það nafn* ***gefið*** *sveininum* (Njála 194)
was then [that name]$_{\text{NEUT-NOM-SG}}$ given$_{\text{NEUT-NOM-SG}}$ boy-the$_{\text{(MASC-DAT-SG)}}$

d. *... og að lokinni voru gjafir* ***gefnar*** (Finnb 657)
... and at end-the were gifts$_{\text{FEM-NOM-PL}}$ given$_{\text{FEM-NOM-PL}}$

e. *... og voru þeim* ***gefin*** *mörg langskip* (Flóam 728)
... and were them$_{\text{(MASC-DAT-PL)}}$ given$_{\text{NEUT-NOM-PL}}$ [many longships]$_{\text{NEUT-NOM-PL}}$

f. *... og segir að þeim eru* ***gefnir*** *báðum gripirnir* (GísL 917)
... and says that them$_{\text{(DAT-PL)}}$ are given$_{\text{MASC-NOM-PL}}$ both$_{\text{(DAT-PL)}}$ things-the$_{\text{MASC-NOM-PL}}$

These examples demonstrate that the passive participle agrees with the nominative phrase.[4] As discussed before, *gefa* belongs to those (few) verbs that may project alternative thematic structures with regard to the two possible internal arguments, i.e. the dative/Beneficiary argument may be base-generated as an internal specifier or as a complement (in the latter case probably analyzed as a Goal), and the accusative/Patient argument (of the active version) may be base-generated as a complement or as a specifier. The accusative argument of the active version of *gefa* will be the nominative argument of the passive version in either case. Morphological Case has, however, nothing to do with subjecthood. In (a) - (c), the nominative NP happens to be the (surface) subject of the passive sentence, while the nominative is the case of the *object* in (e) and (f), the dative being the (surface) subject.[5]

In (b), the dative argument is base-generated as the complement. The 'higher' argument has been promoted to (nominative) subject, whereas the dative has been scrambled into the middle field. The same construction with Scrambling but with the opposite thematic argument order would also be possible, cf. the following construction:

(7) *... og var* ***honum*** *mjólk gefin* (Flóam 753)
... and was him$_{\text{DAT-SUBJ}}$ milk$_{\text{NOM-OBJ}}$ given
'... and he was given milk'

The structural difference between (6b) and (7) can be illustrated in syntactic tree structures like, for instance, (8) and (9), respectively:

---

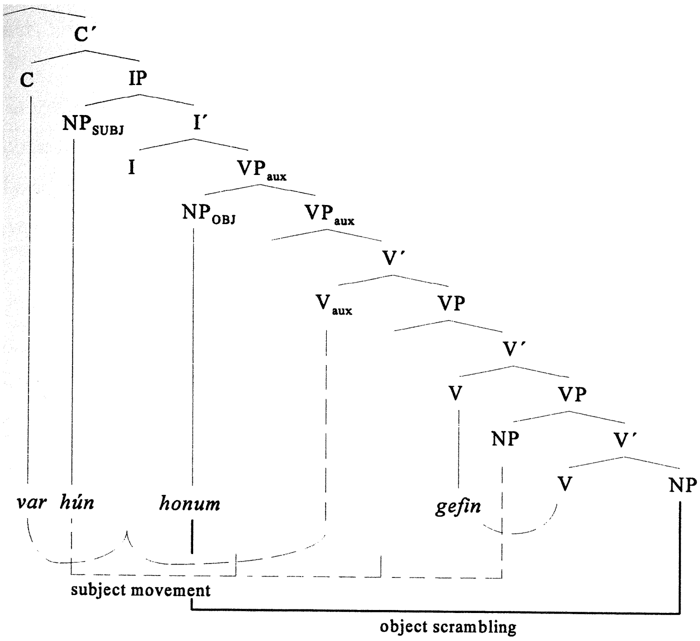
[4] Cf. also Zaenen, Maling & Þráinsson (1990:107) on Modern Icelandic:

> Verbs agree in person and number with a nominative argument; if there is no nominative NP, then the verb occurs in the third-person (neuter) singular, which we take to be the unmarked form.

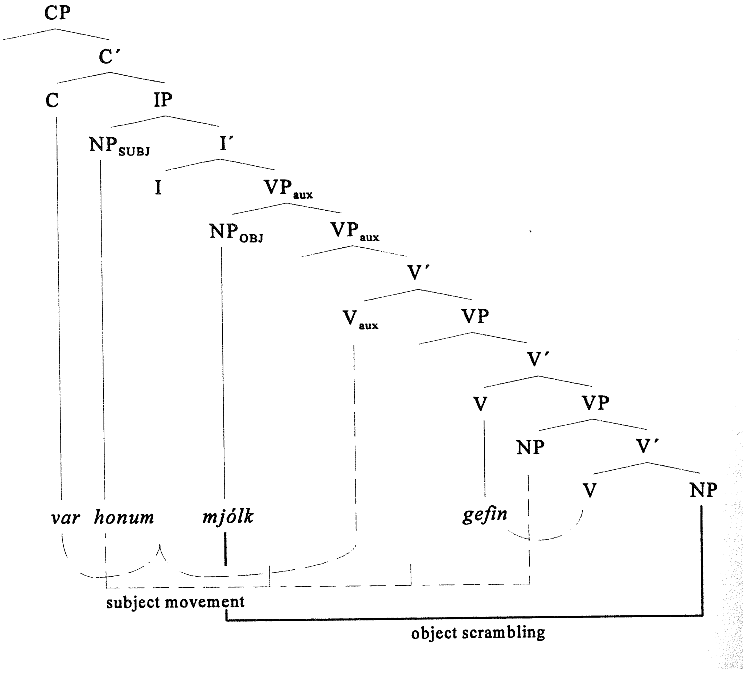
[5] Since the nominative argument is located in [Spec, CP] in (a), whereas the dative argument has not moved, the question of subjecthood is not necessarily clear.

In (d), there could be a possible dative argument referring to 'them'- or possibly 'each other', which is omitted (the following context mentions only *one* referent).

(8)


C′
C
IP
NP$_{SUBJ}$
I′
I
VP$_{aux}$
NP$_{OBJ}$
VP$_{aux}$
V′
V$_{aux}$
VP
V′
V
VP
NP
V′
V
NP
var
hún
honum
gefin
subject movement
object scrambling

(9)


CP
C′
C
IP
NP$_{SUBJ}$
I′
I
VP$_{aux}$
NP$_{OBJ}$
VP$_{aux}$
V′
V$_{aux}$
VP
V′
V
VP
NP
V′
V
NP
var
honum
mjólk
gefin
subject movement
object scrambling

The difference in word order is explained straightforwardly from the thematic hierarchy. Both sentences involve, on the other hand, exactly the same movement processes, i.e. subject movement to [Spec, IP] and Scrambling of the object. In the first example, however, the nominative is the higher argument and thus the surface-subject candidate, while the dative is the higher argument and surface-subject candidate in the latter example. In both examples, an internal argument has been promoted to subject via the empty external argument (deep-structure subject) position.

Promotion of an internal argument is only possible when there is no external argument in the clause. This is the case in passive constructions in opposition to their active counterparts. The external role (TH) of the active sentence does, however, not just 'vanish' in a passive sentence, i.e. passivization does not imply deletion of the external role.[6] Instead, the external role is considered incorporated into the passive participle,[7] hence TH cannot be assigned to [Spec, VP] of the 'higher' VP. Therefore, nothing blocks an internal argument from being promoted to subject.

Note an interesting example where the external argument of a conjoined active sentence is omitted - apparently in reference with an, in fact, unexpressed Agent phrase (corresponding to the external role) of a preceding passive sentence:

(10) *Þar var hann drepinn og grófu hann þar, fara síðan*
there was he killed (by them$_i$) and buried (they$_i$) him there, go (they$_i$) since

í burt (Flóam 772)
in way
'There he was killed; they buried him there, and later they went away'

The external role is supposed to be linked to the passive participle *drepinn*. The person who is killed is most topical, and the Agent is suppressed in the passive sentence. The Agent is also omitted in the first following (i.e. the active/transitive) clause, leaving the attention pointed to the dead person now being buried.[8] Interestingly, the 'Agent'[9] is also omitted in the subsequent, conjoined sentence where the attention returns to the men behind the murder.[10]

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[6] In opposition to, for instance, the derivation of ergative verbs from transitive verbs (cf. Sigurðsson 1992a:278ff.; Zaenen & Maling 1990). See also the discussion in 4.3.3.2 below.

[7] See also Baker (1988), Jaeggli (1986), Roberts (1987), and Baker, Johnson & Roberts (1989).

[8] This time by *pro*-drop. See the discussion on empty argument positions and *pro* in 4.6 below.

As mentioned before, in a few cases, an Agent phrase is used in Old Norse passives. Compare, for instance, the active sentence in (a) to the passive in (b):

(11) a.

Konungur	*mat*	*Kjartan*	*umfram*	*alla*	*menn*	*fyrir*	*sakir*	*ættar*
king$_{\text{AGENT}}$	measured	Kjartan	above	all	men	for	sake	family

sinnar	*og*	*atgervi* (Laxd 1598)
his	and	capability

‘The king valued Kjartan more than the other men because of his family and his skills’

b.

Svo	*var*	*Þorkell*	*mikils*	*metinn*	***af***	***konungi***	*þann*	*vetur*
so	was	Thorkel	much	measured	[by	king]$_{\text{AGENT}}$	that	winter

að ... (Laxd 1647)
that ...
‘The king valued Thorkel so much that winter that ...’

Since the external role in no case is linked to [Spec, VP] of the ‘higher VP in passive sentences, an internal argument may be promoted to subject via this open position.

As discussed before, both objects of the DOC, i.e. both the dative argument and the accusative argument, can be promoted to subject in a passive construction. Only the accusative argument of

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[9] On the status of the subject of *fara*, see the discussion on ergative (motion) verbs in the next subsection. In this particular example, it is not clear if the omitted subject of *fara* should be considered an external or an internal argument. Anyway, the omitted (surface) subject is co-referential with the Agent of the passive clause.

[10] However, it is also possible to claim that *þar* (‘there’) is some kind of topic of the whole sentence. The local adverb *þar* appears in the first two clauses, while the last clause contains the local adverbial *í burt*, i.e. ‘away (from *there*)’.

the active clause, however, will change to nominative case in the passive:

Dative → (oblique) subject:

(12)

... og var	***þeim***	*gefið öl*	*að*	*drekka* (Egla 467)
... and was	them$_{\text{SUBJ-DAT}}$	given ale$_{\text{OBJ-NOM}}$	to	drink

'... and they were given beer'

Nominative → subject:

(13)

Hennar	*bað*	*Ormur*	*son*	*Hermundar*	*Illugasonar*	*og*	*var*
hers	begged	Orm	son	Hermund's	Illugason's	and	was

hún	*gefin*	*honum* (Laxd 1653)
she$_{\text{SUBJ-NOM}}$	given	him$_{\text{OBJ-DAT}}$

'Orm son of Hermund Illugason asked for her hand, and she was given to him'

Note that both D-structure objects (internal arguments) of a DOC may become surface subject in Modern Norwegian passive constructions, too.[11] In Modern Norwegian, however, the promoted argument will always have nominative case (since Modern Norwegian has no lexical case anymore) and the passive participle agrees with the subject in either case, e.g.:[12]

(14)

a.

Dei	*har*	*gjeve*	*honum*	*øl*
they$_{\text{AGENT-SUBJ}}$	have	given	him$_{\text{IO}}$	ale$_{\text{DO}}$

b.

... fordi	***han***	*vart*	*gjeven*	*øl*	*(av dem)*
... because	he$_{\text{SUBJ-MASC-SG}}$	was	given$_{\text{MASC-SG}}$	ale$_{\text{OBJ-NEUT-SG}}$	(by them)

c.

... fordi	***øl***	*vart*	*gjeve*	*honum*	*(av dem)*
... because	ale$_{\text{SUBJ-NEUT-SG}}$		was	given$_{\text{NEUT-SG}}$ him$_{\text{OBJ}}$	(by them)

In the Modern Norwegian examples, subject and object can easily be determined by their position. The subject cannot occur behind the non-finite verb, and the object can normally not

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[11] Modern Norwegian does, on the other hand, not allow inverted DOCs. The only possibility of generating an alternative structure is to use a prepositional phrase, e.g.:

(i)

Dei	*har*	*gjeve*	*honum*	*øl*
they	have	given	him	ale

(ii)

Dei	*har*	*gjeve*	*øl*	***til honum***
they	have	given	ale	to him

[12] Cf. also:

(i)

... fordi	***dei***	*vart*	***gjevne***	*øl*
... because	he$_{\text{SUBJ-}\textbf{PL}}$	were	given$_{\textbf{PL}}$	ale$_{\text{OBJ-SG}}$

(ii)

... fordi	***fleire flasker øl***	*vart*	***gjevne***	*honum*
... because	[several bottles of ale]$_{\text{SUBJ-}\textbf{PL}}$	were	given$_{\textbf{PL}}$	him$_{\text{OBJ-SG}}$

appear in the middle field, i.e. between the finite and the non-finite verb, in these examples (i.e. with a complex verb, see 4.3.2.4). Furthermore, the surface subject has to be in the nominative, whether it is the direct object or the indirect object that is promoted (cf. the change between *han* (nominative) and *honum* (oblique) in (a) and (b)).[13]

According to the theory outlined here only the higher thematic argument, i.e. the argument base-generated in [Spec, VP] of the ‘lower’ VP, may be promoted to surface subject in passives of DOCs (and other constructions lacking an external argument). The promotion process is determined syntactically, meaning that a structurally higher argument would be blocking movement or linking to [Spec, IP], the surface subject position. The syntactic deep structure, on the other hand, is assumed to be determined by a thematic hierarchy. A limited number of verbs, of which *gefa* (‘give’) is one of the most frequent/typical, is capable of projecting alternative thematic/syntactic structures whereas the distribution of lexical and structural Case seems to be unaffected, with the consequence that the same verb may occur with different promoted surface subjects.

In absolutely the most cases of passive with *gefa*, the promoted subject would be the indirect object of the corresponding active clause (the dative/Benefactive). Still, in certain (but rather few) passive constructions, the direct object of the corresponding active clause is assigned the higher role.

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[13] The use of the morphologically marked ‘oblique’ form *honum* is in fact optional in Modern Norwegian (Nynorsk); it is also possible to use *han*. In Norwegian Bokmål, the alternative forms would be *han* and *ham*.

I assume, thus, that the choice of surface subject is strictly determined by a theta-role hierarchy, which, in turn, is reflected in syntax. This process seems to be the same in Old Norse, Modern Icelandic and Modern Norwegian.[14] In Old Norse (and Modern Icelandic), lexical Case does not change during promotion to subject, while structural accusative turns into nominative (being a structural Case, too) in surface structure. Thus, Case alone would not be sufficient to determine the subject in Old Norse - unless one chooses to call only a nominative argument the subject, leaving other aspects of subjecthood aside (cf. e.g. Faarlund 1990a).[15]

As discussed above, among others, Rögnvaldsson (1991, 1996c) and Barðdal (1997), have applied several subject tests to oblique "subject-like" NPs in Old Norse and argued that Old Norse, in fact, may have oblique subjects. Let us take a look at some more Old Norse passive constructions of DOCs in different contexts and see how the two (internal) arguments in question behave with respect to, for instance, topicality. Subject and topic are usually rather closely related. Faarlund (1990a and elsewhere) has claimed that the Old Norse subject, which he defines as being nominative only, "is not characterized by any particular pragmatic or contextual properties" (1990a:112). What result, then, would we get with respect to pragmatic and contextual properties with a *structural* definition of the subject?

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[14] For a discussion on differences between the choice of subject in English and Modern Norwegian passive constructions in an LFG perspective, see Lødrup (1991) (see also Åfarli's (1989) account focusing on Case differences between English and Norwegian). Note that English always has to use a PP to allow the 'direct' object to become surface subject in the passive, cf. the examples from Lødrup (1991:244):

(i) **The flowers were given John*
(ii) *The flowers were given to John*
(iii) *John was given the flowers*

In other words, the 'indirect' object has to be generated lower than the 'direct' object, which is easily achieved by turning the 'dative' NP into a PP, PPs always being generated lower than NPs.

[15] This would have the consequence that there would be quite a lot of 'subjectless' sentences in Old Norse, cf. also Kristoffersen (1991:61):

> Fordi norrønt manglar oblike subjekt, er (39b-c) døme på subjektlause konstruksjonar.
> 'Because Old Norse lacks oblique subjects, (39b-c) are examples of subjectless constructions'.

(39b-c) referring to:

b. *Var* *þeim* (DAT) *vel* *fagnat*
was them well welcomed
'They were welcomed'

c. *hans* (GEN) *var* *getit*
he was gotten
'he was mentioned'

Like Zaenen, Maling and Þráinsson (1990:117), I assume that:

> Icelandic does not have any impersonal verbs in the sense of "subjectless" verbs, except for those with no semantic arguments, for example, weather verbs or those with PP-complements but no arguments realized as bare NPs.

As mentioned before, I assume that the position of the subject, i.e. [Spec, IP], is occupied by (an invisible/non-overt) *pro*-element in constructions with "subjectless" verbs; see the discussion in 4.6.

In the present approach it is important to have in mind that Old Norse allows Scrambling of the object, that is, sometimes the (non-promoted) object may also appear to the left of the non-finite verb. However, usually the object would still appear to the right of the surface subject, as, for instance, in the following example:[16]

(15) Bessi Hávarsson bað hennar og var ***hún*** *honum gefin* (Dropl 348)
[Bessi Havar's-son]$_j$ begged hers$_i$ and was she$_{SUBJ\text{-}NOMi}$ him$_{OBJ\text{-}DATj}$ given
'Bessi Havarsson asked for her hand, and she was given to him'

In the second (passive) clause, *hún* is the surface subject, located in [Spec, IP], while *honum* is the scrambled object, located in an adjunct position to the left of VP (as e.g. illustrated in (8) above). I.e. *hún* is assumed to be base-generated as the lower specifier, and thereby the only possible structural surface-subject candidate, whereas *honum* is base-generated as the complement of the verb. In the first (active) clause, the subject is a new referent and topic, whereas the object *hennar* is a 'continuing' topic. In the subsequent clause, both referents are pronominal and topical. Still, *hún* is the continuing and primary topic. As such, it is also a 'natural' subject candidate. In this particular example, the subject is also the nominative argument. In this respect, one may say that the example is rather uncontroversial since there is a subject that fits both the traditional (Case) and the structural subject definition. More important, however, is that the subject seems to have the typical pragmatic and contextual properties we expect to find with subjects.

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[16] As discussed above, Scrambling is not possible in Modern Norwegian in examples like these, e.g.:

(i) **... fordi han vart øl gjeven* (... because he was ale given)
(ii) **... fordi øl vart honum gjeve* (... because ale was him given)
(iii) **I dag vart han øl gjeven* (today was he ale given)
(iv) **I dag vart øl honum gjeven* (today ale was him given)

Structurally, the previous example is rather unproblematic since it is relatively easy to determine subject and object given a configurational analysis with the possibility of Scrambling. The situation, on the other hand, be much more complicated. For instance, when one argument is topicalized while the other one is scrambled. In this case, the topicalized argument could, theoretically, be the object while the argument in the middle field could be analyzed as the subject:

(16) a. ***Þeim sveini*** *var nafn gefið og kallaður*
[this boy]$_{\text{DAT}i}$ was name$_{\text{NOM}}$ given and [he$_i$ was] called

Þorleikur (Laxd 1617)
Thorleik
'This boy was given a name and he was called Thorleik'

b. ***Hún*** *var honum gefin og fór út til Íslands*
she$_{i\text{-NOM}}$ was him$_{\text{DAT}}$ given and [she$_i$] went out to Iceland

með honum (VígGl 1911)
with him
'She was given to him and went to Iceland with him'

However, given the theoretical assumptions discussed before, the analysis would be rather straightforward: in the default case (corresponding to the default active argument order DAT - ACC), the dative argument would be the lower specifier argument, and thus the surface-subject candidate (cf. (a)). In the expression PRO$_{\text{SUBJ}}$ *vera gefin einhverjum* ('to be given/married to somebody') (b), the argument 'experiencing' the verbal action would be assigned the higher role and be base-generated as the lower specifier argument, which would make it the surface-subject candidate. If one is interested in the pragmatic and contextual properties of the argument in question, the two examples above would also yield the expected result. The topicalized NP is the topic and also the subject. As a further indication of subjecthood, the argument is also co-referential with the following (omitted) unmistakable subject in both cases. In (a), the subject is the dative phrase *þeim sveini* (corresponding to the dative object of an active clause). In (b), the subject is the nominative phrase *hún* (corresponding to the accusative object of an active clause). In both cases, the subject has the pragmatic or contextual properties we expect to find with proper subjects. The nominative in (a), on the other hand, does (of course) not exhibit those properties since it is an object. A subject definition requiring a certain case (nominative) for the subject would give different or unclear results, whereas a structural definition gives results we expect to find.

Consider another example:

(17) *Hennar* *bað* *Grímur* *og* ***hún*** *var* *honum* *gefin* (Dropl 351)
hers$_i$ asked Grim$_j$ and she$_{\text{SUBJ-NOMi}}$ was him$_{\text{OBJ-DATj}}$ given
'Grim asked for her hand and she was given to him'

This example is quite similar to (15), however, this time, *hún* is topicalized in the passive clause leaving the structural situation in the middle field unclear (cf. 16b), i.e. *honum* could, theoretically, be located in [Spec, IP] or, alternatively, in a Scrambling position adjacent to the VP. Both arguments, *hún* and *honum*, are topical (representing known information), both being pronouns. However, *hún* would be the 'continuing' topic since the referent is represented as a pronoun already in the previous clause, while the other referent was just previously introduced as a new referent (cf. (18)). The continuing topic would, in this case, be the most natural subject. The thematic constellation is the same as in (15). As mentioned before, the expression PRO$_{\text{SUBJ}}$ *vera gefin einhverjum* ('to be given/married to somebody') has a deep-structure argument order opposite to the default active order DAT - ACC. Hence, we expect *hún* to be the surface subject. Pragmatically and contextually we would, in this case, expect that the subject is unaccented and topical. In this particular example, both arguments are represented as pronouns and as such they are topical. Also it is is reasonable to claim that both arguments are unaccented. However, if *hún* were a topicalized object, the phrase would most likely be accented and interpreted as contrastive ('she instead of somebody else'). As the subject, on the other hand, the phrase would have the expected pragmatic and contextual properties. *'Hún'* is also the topic of the previous context:

(18) *Þeir* *bræður,* *Helgi* *og* *Grímur,* *fóru* *út* *í* *Tungu* *við*
they brothers, Helgi and Grim went out in Tunga with

tólfta *mann* *til* *bónda* *þess* *er* *Ingjaldur* *heitir* *og* *var*
twelfth man to farmer this who Ingjaldis-called and was

Niðgestsson. *Hann átti* ***dóttur*** *er* ***Helga*** *hét.* ***Hennar***
Nidgest's-son. He owned daughter$_i$ who Helga$_i$ was-called. Hers$_i$

bað *Grímur* *og* ***hún*** *var* *honum* *gefin* (Dropl 351)
begged Grim$_j$ and she$_i$ was him$_j$ given
'The brothers, Helgi and Grim, went out to Tunga - they were twelve men - to a farmer who was called Ingjald, he was the son of Nidgest. He had a daughter who was called Helga. Grim asked for her hand and she was given to him'

This is the story of two brothers, Helgi and Grim. The new discourse referents are Ingjald and his daughter Helga. Helga is introduced last and continues as a topic. The 'oldest' topic, Grim, returns in the last two sentences, first as a subject - but not the ('primary') topic, then as a shifted/scrambled object. Thus, the subject *hún* in the last clause clearly exhibits the pragmatic or contextual properties we expect it to have.

(Surface) subject and topic are, of course, not necessarily always identical. In the active clause of (17), for instance, the topic *hennar* is the object, whereas the subject is a ('relatively') new referent. As a topicalized pronominal object, the pronoun may often be accented, whereas we would usually not expect a topicalized subject to be accented. In (17), I assume that the topicalized object *hennar* would be accented, whereas the same referent as the topicalized subject *hún* would be unaccented.

The same would apply to the following example:

(19) *Það* *var* *honum* *veitt* *og* *settisthann* *niður* *og* *mælti:*... (BandK 34)
that$_{OBJ\text{-}NOM}$ was him$_{SUBJ\text{-}DATi}$ given and sat he$_i$ down and said: ...
'He got permission to do so and sat down and said: ...'

The topicalized *það* is the ('local'/primary) topic, and most likely accented, while *honum* is the (unaccented) subject (and secondary - but continuing topic). Consider this sentence in its context:

(20) *Nú* *gengur* *Oddur* *heim* *til* *búðar* *en* ***Ófeigur*** *fer* *upp*
now goes Odd home to booth and Ofeig$_i$ goes up

til *dómanna* *og* *gengur* *hjá* *dóminum* *Norðlendinga* *og* *spyr*
to judges-the and [_$_i$] goesto lawcourt-the Northlanders' and [_$_i$] asks

hvað *þar* *færi* *fram* *en* ***honum*** *var* *sagt* *að* *sum* *mál*
what there went on and him$_i$ was said that some lawsuits

voru *dæmd,* *sum* *búin* *til* *reifingar.* ***Ófeigur*** *segir:*
were doomed, some prepared to court proceedings. *Ófeigur$_i$* *segir:*

"Munuð	*þér*	*leyfa*	*mér*	*að*	*ganga*		*í*	*dóminn?"*		*Það*	*var*	
Will	you	allow		me$_i$	to	go		into	court-the?		That	was
honum	*veitt*	*og*	*settist*		***hann***		*niður*	*og*	*mælti*	*: ...* (BandK 34)		
him$_i$	given	and	sat		he$_i$		down	and	said	[_$_i$]: ...		

‘Now, Odd goes home to his tent and Ofeig goes up to the judges, more specifically to the lawcourt of the Northlanders, and asks what kind of lawsuits there were carried on, and he was told that some lawsuits were judged, while others were prepared for proceeding. Ofeig says: “Will you allow me to enter the court?” He was allowed to do so and sat down and said: ...’

Certainly, there is nothing strange about the behavior of the nominative topic *það* and the dative subject *honum*. The demonstrative *það* points back to the previous VP: [*leyfa mér að ganga í dóminn*]. In this context, *það* would most likely be stressed, which we would not expect the subject to be in this case. There are actually two passive clauses in this context. In both cases, Ofeig (*honum*) is the (dative/oblique) subject. *Ofeig* is clearly the topic of the whole context, as the indices indicate, and the two passive clauses (without Agent phrases) actually provide subjects where the Agent would not have been a ‘natural’ topic.

Now consider an example with the opposite situation. The (dative) subject *honum* is topicalized while the (nominative) object *sú umbúð* is scrambled. I will provide the whole context:

(21)	*Helgi*		*hét*		*son*	*Ingjalds*		*og*	*var*	*afglapi*		*sem*	*mestur*		*mátti*
	Helgi$_i$		was-called		son	Ingjald’s		and	was	mad-man		as	most		could
	vera	*og*	*fífl.*	***Honum***		*var*	*sú*	*umbúð*		*veitt*	*að*	*raufarsteinn*			*var*
	be	and	fool.	Him$_{SUBJ-DATi}$		was	[that	outfit]$_{OBJ-NOM}$		given	that	hole-stone			was
	bundinn		*við*	*hálsinn*		*og*	*beit*	*hann gras*		*úti*	*sem*	*fénaður*		*og*	
	bound		with	neck-the		and	bit	he$_i$		grass	out	like	cattle		and
	er		*kallaður*		*Ingjaldsfífl* (GíslS 880)										
	is	[_$_i$]	called		Ingjald’s-fool										

‘Helgi was the name of Ingjald’s son and he was very insane. He was rigged out in such a way that a stone with a hole was tied around his neck and he stayed outside and ate grass like the cattle; he was called Ingjald’s fool’

The verb *veita* belongs to the so-called ‘*gefa*-type verbs’. The default argument constellation in a corresponding active clause would be NOM - DAT - ACC. Passivization would promote the dative argument to surface subject, unless the thematic constellation is changed. The default analysis of the sentence in question would be that the pronominal topic *honum* is also the subject (topicalized via [Spec, IP], whereas *sú umbúð* is the (head of the) scrambled object of the clause.

I have already discussed examples where the head of an *að*-clause is scrambled (e.g. in 4.3.1.4). Scrambling of the head of an *að*-clause is very common. In this particular example, accenting the object *sú umbúð* would be natural, whereas accenting the subject/pronoun *honum* would be less natural. Again the subject would have the pragmatic and contextual properties expected.[17] If Helgi had been introduced before (a continuing discourse referent), one could probably also have the following variants:

(22) *Var honum sú umbúð veitt að ...*

with an empty topic position and a scrambled object, or:

(23) *Sú umbúð var honum veitt að ...* (cf. also 19)

with the object, in the topic position. In both cases, i.e. as a scrambled or as a topicalized object, I assume that the object, carrying the new information, would be accented, whereas the subject *honum* would not be accented (I do not consider [Spec, IP] to be a focus position).[18]

Both the oblique subject and nominative object in the example above, thus, have the typical pragmatic and contextual properties. Note that the relevant clause in (21) would be ungrammatical in Modern Icelandic, cf. the difference between (24a) and (b):

(24) a. **Honum var [sú umbúð]$_i$ veitt _$_i$ að raufarsteinn var bundinn við hálsinn ...*

b. *Honum var veitt sú umbúð að raufarsteinn var bundinn við hálsinn ...*

Object Shift is not possible in Modern Icelandic when the main verb has not moved out of VP (cf. e.g. Holmberg & Platzack 1995:143; Vikner 1989, 1994, and the discussion in 4.3.2.4). Thus, there is no doubt that *honum* is the subject in Modern Icelandic. Compare also with constructions where the (nominative) object is topicalized:

(25) a. *Sú umbúð var honum veitt að raufarsteinn var bundinn við hálsinn ...*

b. **Sú umbúð var veitt honum að raufarsteinn var bundinn við hálsinn ...*

In (a), interpreted as a Modern Icelandic sentence, the subject is clearly located in [Spec, IP], while the object is in [Spec, CP]. In (b), on the other hand, the nominative object *sú umbúð* could be interpreted as the subject since *honum* is located in its base position inside VP. Obviously this yields ungrammaticality in Modern Icelandic, because *honum* cannot be generated below *sú umbúð*, i.e. promotion of the direct object (complement) to subject is not possible. There is no reason to believe that the situation is different in Old Norse.

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[17] In this example, the pronoun *honum* could possibly also be accented (focused topic). For instance, if it is interpreted as.: ‘this very Helgi’, since Helgi has just been introduced as a new discourse referent in the previous sentence. The object *sú umbúð* would, however, also be expected to be accented.

[18] I will return to the discussion on Topic and Focus etc. in chapter 5.

Scrambling in Old Norse, as discussed before, does not depend on verb movement, cf. also:

(26) a. *Var* *þeim* *veittur* ***allgóður*** ***beini*** (Laxd 1639)
was$_{Vaux}$ them$_{SUBJ-DAT}$ given$_{Vmain}$ [all-good hospitality]$_{OBJ-NOM}$
'They were lodged very well'

b. *Eftir* *það* *er* *þeim* ***beini*** *veittur* (Laxd 1635)
after that is$_{Vaux}$ them$_{SUBJ-DAT}$ hospitality$_{OBJ-NOMi}$ given$_{Vmain}$ _$_{i}$
'After that they were lodged'

The only structural difference between (a) and (b) is the fact that the nominative object is located in its base-generated position in (a), while it is scrambled in (b). In both examples, the oblique (dative) subject has moved to [Spec, IP]. And in both cases, the subject is topical and represented by a pronoun, whereas the object is a lexical phrase representing new information.

Usually the promoted surface-subject would move at least to [Spec, IP]. It is, however, also possible that the (promoted) subject remains in its base position in Old Norse (this would correspond to so-called 'unpersonal' passive in Modern Norwegian):[19]

(27) *En* *er* *hann* *kom* *til* *konungs* *var* *þeim* *skipað* *í*
and when he comes to king was them$_{SUBJi}$ lodged in

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[19] Note also an example where the subject *þeim* has moved to [Spec, IP] while another part of the subject stays in its base position:

(i) *... og* *segir* *að* ***þeim*** *eru* *gefnir* ***báðum*** *gripirnir* (GísL 917)
... and says that them$_{SUBJi}$ are given [_$_{i}$ both]$_{(SUBJ)}$ things-the
'... and says that they were both given the things'

Cf. also Vikner (1989:146):

> If we assume the analysis of floated quantifiers of Sportiche (1988), i.e. that a floated quantifier may only occur in positions in which the quantified NP may occur (or through which the quantified NP may have moved) [...].

See also Giusti (1991a) for a discussion on the German quantifier *alles*.

gestaskála og veitt ***þeim*** *hið stórmannlegasta* (Egla 384)[20]
guest-house and [was] served them$_{SUBJi}$ the most-great-man-like
'And when he came to the king, they were lodged in the guest house and treated like great people'

The example shows the two internal arguments in their base-generated positions. In this constellation, subject promotion applies to the structurally highest argument, which would be the dative argument, i.e. an oblique phrase.

Analyzing the nominative argument as an extraposed subject in an SOV clause in a structure like the following would be rather unreasonable:

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[20] Note that the first *þeim*, being the only subject candidate for the passive of *skipa*, has moved overtly to [Spec, IP]. Actually, the second *þeim* could easily be omitted in the following passive clause. The reason why *þeim* is not omitted, might be that *veitt hið stórmannlegasta*, without any Benefactive, could be interpreted as if there were generally great hospitality at the king's place, but not necessarily (only) because of 'them'. Lexicalizing (or not omitting) *þeim* makes it clear that 'they' are the Beneficiaries of the hospitality in this case.

Actually, it is not obvious that *þeim* is located in its base position in this example. It might also be possible that *veitt* is topicalized and *þeim* is located in [Spec, IP], e.g.:

(i) *... og veitt þeim hið stórmannlegasta*
... and served$_i$ [was] them t$_i$ the most-great-man-like

But there is a similar example that would also suggest a postverbal subject as the most reasonable analysis:

(ii) *Var þar þegar inni mungát og gefið* ***þeim*** *að drekka* (Egla 426)
was there immediatetly inside home-made-beer [served] and [was] given them to drink

However, here too, it might be possible to claim that the verb *gefið* is topicalized, e.g.:

(iii) *Var þar þegar inni mungát og* ***gefið*** *þeim að drekka* (Egla 426)
was there immediatetly inside home-made-beer [served] and given$_i$ [was] them t$_i$ to drink

On the other hand, I do not find such analyses very likely.

(28)

... og var	*þeim*	*veitt*	***mungát***	*allan*	*veturinn*	*með*	*hinni*
... and was	them$_{\text{SUBJ-DAT}}$	served	home-made-beer$_{\text{OBJ-NOM}}$	[all	winter]$_{\text{ADVBL}}$	[with	the

mestu	*rausn*	*og*	*líkaði*	*Herði*	*allvel* (Harð 1275)
most	hospitality]$_{\text{ADVBL}}$	and	liked	Hord	all-well

'... and they were served home-made beer all winter with the greatest hospitality and Hord enjoyed himself very much'

In this example, the nominative argument appears postverbally, but it is additionally followed by two adverbial phrases. Of course, with a non-configurational analysis this would not necessarily be any problem. Still, the analysis would be more complicated than the present approach. The present theory accounts straightforwardly for the syntactic constellation. As we have seen above, the dative argument, in most cases, occurs in a typical 'subject position' and it also has the expected contextual subject properties, while the nominative argument (being an object) both lacks the positional characteristics and the contextual characteristics of a subject. With the passive participle of *veita*, the nominative NP never occurs in front of the dative NP in the middle field (i.e. in front of the main verb) in the corpus. On the contrary, the dative usually occurs in the middle field or in the topic position, while the nominative occurs behind the non-finite verb, i.e. in its base position. Both the subject and the object, thus, behave contextually and pragmatically as we expect.

Recall that 'giving somebody to somebody', i.e. 'marry off somebody', seems to be the only kind of DOC that allows promotion of the 'direct object' (if we want to use that term), i.e. the accusative argument of a corresponding active clause,[21] which I claim is base-generated in [Spec,

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[21] Zaenen, Maling & Þráinsson (1990:112) claim that in Modern Icelandic:

> for DAT-ACC verbs, either postverbal NP can passivize, as illustrated in (44). Note that in (44a) the retained object is nominative (rather than accusative) [...]:

44. a.

Konunginum	*voru*	*gefnar*	*ambáttir,*
the-king (DAT)	were	given (fem-pl)	slaves (NOM-fem-pl)

'The king was given maidservants.'

b.

Ambáttin	*var*	*gefin*	*konunginum.*
the-slave (NOM-sg)	was	given (fem-sg)	the-king (DAT)

'The maidservant was given to the king.'

Note that the examples from Modern Icelandic involve a human nominative NP, i.e. an argument that may be assigned a Theme/Patient role, as in (a), or an Experiencer(?) role, as in (b), that implies that in both cases structural promotion is made possible by the hierarchic configuration, as in my examples from Old Norse. All the 'subject tests' used by Zaenen et al. involve this constellation with a/the king and a/some maidservant(s). Note also that in Modern Icelandic the postverbal NP cannot be anything else but an object; see Zaenen, Maling & Þráinsson (1990) for

VP] of the 'lower' VP in this special construction (thus, we could refer to it - structurally - as the 'indirect' object), while the dative argument is base-generated in [Compl, V′] (hence, we may consider the construction some kind of 'Inverted DOC', cf. the discussion in 4.2.2). Compared to the 'default' situation where the dative argument would be promoted to surface subject, it is structurally clear that the nominative argument should be analyzed as the subject in this inverted construction. The nominative argument would, then, have the same pragmatic and contextual properties as the dative argument in the corresponding 'default' (non-inverted) constellation. Consider, for instance, the following examples:

(29) a. *Hennar* *bað* *Ormur* *son* *Hermundar* *Illugasonar og*
hers$_{i}$ asked Ormur son Hermundur's Illugason's and

var ***hún*** *gefin* *honum* (Laxd 1653)
was she$_{\text{SUBJ-NOMi}}$ given him$_{\text{OBJ-DAT}}$
'Ormur, son of Hermundur Illugason, asked for her (hand), and she was given to him'

b. *Bessi Hávarsson* *bað* *hennar* *og* *var* ***hún*** *honum* *gefin* (Dropl 348)
Bessi Havard's-son asked hers$_{i}$ and was she$_{\text{SUBJ-NOMi}}$ him$_{\text{OBJ-DAT}}$ given

In (a), the nominative subject *hún* is located in the middle field (in [Spec, IP]), while the dative object *honum* stays in its base position. In (b), the dative object *honum* is scrambled, however, it is clearly not located in the subject position where we find the nominative subject *hún*. The word order *hún honum gefin* is found eight times in the corpus, while the order *honum hún gefin* is not found at all. I take this as strong evidence for the claim that the nominative NP, in fact, is the subject in this special construction. Compare also an equivalent verb, *gifta* ('give away/marry off'). This verb always combines (of course) with two human arguments, for instance:

(30) *Frændur* *hennar* *vildu eigi* ***gifta*** ***honum*** ***hana*** *fyrr* *en*
[friends hers]$_{\text{SUBJ-NOM}}$ wanted not marry$_{\text{V}}$ him$_{\text{IO-DAT}}$ her$_{\text{DO-ACC}}$ before that

sú *stund* *væri* *liðin* *er* *á* *kveðið* *var* *með* *þeim* *Birni* (BjHít 80)
that while was passed that on agreed was with them Bjorn
'Her relatives did not want to marry her to him before the end of the period that was settled between Bjorn and them'

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arguments. See also the 'extended' discussion on non-human subjects of DOCs below.

Note the order of the dative and the accusative argument. Obviously, *honum* is located in [Spec, VP] of the 'lower' VP in this active sentence, while *hana* is located in [Compl, V′]. The order is, thus, in accordance with the thematic situation. 'He' is asking for a girl's hand, and 'he' may be considered a Benefactive/Recipient in this case. On the other hand, there is actually not a single example of a passive with the order *(var) honum hún gift* (was him$_{\text{SUBJ}}$ she$_{\text{OBJ}}$ given), which would be the expected default representation, while there are three examples with the order *og var hún honum gift* (and was she$_{\text{SUBJ}}$ him$_{\text{OBJ}}$ given). This is a rather strong argument for base-generation of the passive configuration with the nominative in [Spec, VP] of the lower VP instead of the dative. All passive sentences with the verb *gifta* appear to have a nominative subject. Thus, the passive of *gifta* seems to reflect a clear thematic change in argument structure compared to the active counterpart (as does passive of *gefa* used with the same meaning).[22]

By referring to thematic roles it is possible to explain the syntactic configuration of arguments in D-structure. From this D-structure configuration promotion to subject is explained straightforwardly: only the highest internal argument may be promoted to surface subject. In a few passive versions of DOCs it would be the nominative argument that is base-generated higher than the dative argument. The default constellation (corresponding to the most frequent argument order of the active sentence), however, would provide an oblique surface subject. In opposition to a traditional subject definition, the present approach would characterize the nominative argument as a non-default surface subject in passives of DOCs.

The configurational analysis of the passive examples above points out the argument that behaves structurally and contextually/pragmatically as a proper surface subject. Considering the subject to

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[22] Actually, I have also found two active sentences with *gefa* that have an inverted argument order (inverted DOC), e.g.:

(i)	*Mættieg*	*þá*	*gefa*	*hana*	*þeim*	*manni*	*er ...* (Krók 1515)
	might I	then	give	her$_{\text{ACC}}$	[this	man]$_{\text{DAT}}$	who ...

'Can I then marry her off to this man who ...'

(ii)	*... að*	*hann*	*vill*	*gefa*	*hana*	*slíku*	*fífli*	*og*	*glóp*	*sem*	*Þorkell*	*er?* (Finnb 653)
	... that	he	will	give	her$_{\text{ACC}}$	[such	fool	and	silly man	as	Thorkell	is?]$_{\text{DAT}}$

'... that he will marry her off to such a fool and silly man like Thorkell?'

The thematic role of the dative argument as a Goal rather than a Beneficiary seems quite obvious in these examples. Examples like these strengthen the claim that some *gefa*-type verbs may project an alternative argument structure.

be only nominative (and structurally independent, i.e. within a non-configurational analysis) would result in a subject class that, in the case of passives, would lack most of the well known subject characterizations. This explains the findings of, for instance, Faarlund (1990a and elsewhere) and Mørck (1992, 1994, 1995).

Above, it has been shown that the promoted subject (former deep-structure object) of the DOC may stay in its base positions in [Spec, VP] of the 'lower' VP. Interestingly, the promoted subject may apparently also occur in [Spec, VP] of the 'higher' VP, cf.:

(31)	*Og*	*er*	*hann*	*stóð*	*upp*	*var*	*ekki*	***Birni***	*veitt*	*lengur*	*aðsókn*	(BjHít 107)
	and	when	he$_{(i)}$	stood	up	was	not$_{SA}$	Bjorn$_{SUBJ(j)}$	given	longer	attack$_{OBJ}$	

'And when he got up, Bjorn was no longer attacked'

While an Agent subject in [Spec, VP] of the 'higher' VP usually is non-topical (cf. the discussion in 4.3.1.4), the promoted subject *Birni* is clearly topical in the example above. The adverbial/negation word *ekki* precedes the surface subject *Birni*. There is no reason to believe that there is a phrase [*ekki Birni*] in [Spec, IP], i.e. [*var* $_{IP}$[*ekki Birni*] $_{VP}$[*veitt lengur aðsókn*]]. Rather, no movement of *Birni* to [Spec, IP] leads to a construction where the whole VP comes under the scope of *ekki*, i.e. [*ekki* [*Birni veitt lengur aðsókn*]]. Note that it is assumed that there is a *pro* in [Spec, IP] when no NP has moved overtly to [Spec, IP]. The lexical surface subject is assumed to be linked to *pro* in [Spec, IP] in case it has not moved overtly, or it has not moved all the way up to [Spec, IP]. The construction above may look like an impersonal passive. Compared to Modern Norwegian, however, impersonal passive in Modern Norwegian would not be possible with a definite surface-subject candidate in the clause (cf. the Definiteness Effect). Nor would it be possible to have a lexical NP in [Spec, VP] of the 'higher' VP when there is an expletive subject in the clause since the expletive is assumed to be base-generated in [Spec, VP], cf. e.g. Nordgård & Åfarli (1990). In Modern Norwegian, it is assumed that adjunction of a sentence adverbial to a position preceding the surface subject position is possible in certain cases. Further investigation of the positions of adverbials in Old Norse would be necessary to reach the same conclusion. Note that it, structurally, would be possible to claim that *Birni* is an object located in a Scrambling position at the left branch of VP preceded by the sentence adverbial *ekki*. Such an analysis would, however, not be compatible with the theory outlined here since the argument with the highest thematic role is supposed to become the surface subject. In the clause under discussion, this argument would be *Birni*. Given the outlined theory, an analysis with adjunction of the sentence adverbial to a higher position would be more reasonable than depriving *Birni* of the status as surface subject

The discussion so far has mainly been concerned with passive of double-object constructions. Obviously, passive of DOCs is a little more 'complicated' than passive of transitive verbs, since transitive verbs have only one internal argument that can be promoted to subject which makes the choice of surface subject a little 'easier'. Compare, for instance, the passive sentences in (b) with their active counterparts in (a):

(32) a. *Hann drap* ***Atla Ásmundarson*** (Bárð 59)
he killed [Atli Asmund's-son]$_{\text{OBJ-ACC}}$
'He killed Atli Asmundarson'

b. ***Þengill bróður ykkar*** *er drepinn* (Krók 1523)
[Thengil brother your]$_{\text{SUBJ-NOM}}$ is killed
'Your brother Thengil has been killed'

(33) a. *... að hann hafði beðið* ***hennar*** (Egla 487)
... that he had begged her$_{\text{OBJ-GEN}}$
'... that he had proposed to her'

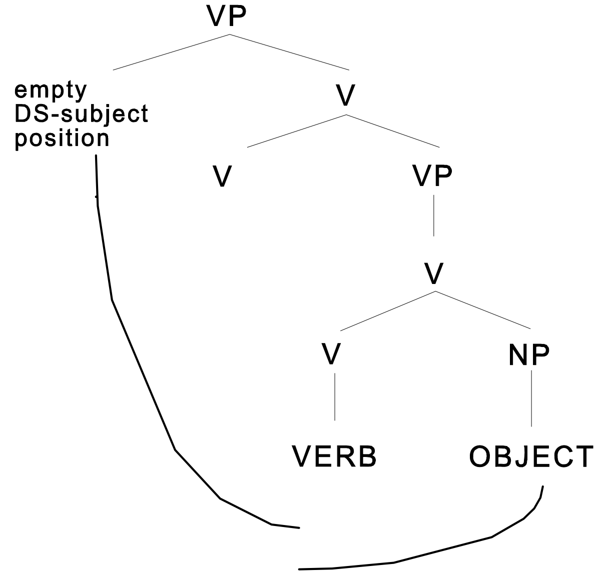
b. *Beðið hefir* ***hennar*** *víst verið vinur* (Eirík 521)
begged has her$_{\text{SUBJ-GEN}}$ certainly been, friend
'Certainly, she has been proposed to, my friend'

(34) a. *Móðir hans fagnaði* ***honum*** *vel* (Grett 1059)
motherhis welcomed him$_{\text{OBJ-DAT}}$ well
'His mother welcomed him'

b. *Var* ***honum*** *vel fagnað* (Harð 1267)
was he$_{\text{SUBJ-DAT}}$ well welcomed
'He was welcomed'

The structural promotion process is uncomplicated, cf. the following structure:

(35)



(33b) and (34b) an oblique NP is the surface subject. In (32b), the subject has moved to [Spec, CP], whereas in (33b) and (34b) the subject has moved to [Spec, IP]. Thus, the same subject promotion process is involved in all cases, and the subject has the structural, pragmatic and contextual properties we expect to find.

If the active verb has no lexical argument at all, there is, of course, no argument to promote to surface subject. Passivization of intransitive verbs will, therefore, result in an impersonal passive construction, for instance:

(36) a. *Margt fólk var komið til tíða og söng biskup messu* (GrænÞ 114)
much folk was come to service and sang bishop mass
'Many people had come to the service and the bishop sang the mass'

b. *Þar var sungið, básúnað og leikið með allra handa*
there$_{ADV}$ was sung, lured and played with all kinds

hljóðfærum er fá kunni (JökBú 1466)
instruments that get could
'People sang, blew the lure and played all kinds of instruments that were available'

Actually, in (a), *syngva* has an object (*messu*), however, in the passive example (b), the verbs *syngva*, *básuna* and *leika* do not have any (deep structure) object, with the consequence that there is no argument that could be promoted to surface subject. I assume that the passive construction is derived from the intransitive use of the active counterparts of the respective verbs. When there is no argument to promote, the subject position [Spec, IP] is assumed to be occupied by *pro* (see the discussion in 4.6 below). Old Norse, as mentioned before, has no overt expletive element. Hence, the expletive is always invisible, in opposition to, for instance, Modern Norwegian or English.

Above, I have shown that an internal argument is promoted to subject in Old Norse passive sentences, independently of lexical Case. Even though an internal argument is promoted to surface subject it may be located in its base-generated position. It may, beyond that, occupy any other position that an ordinary deep-structure (Agent) subject may occupy.[23] The 'choice' of position is determined by pragmatic/contextual demands.

The discussion on passive in Old Norse should also give reason to assume that some of the *Properties of Passivization* in Haegeman (1991:185), which first of all are based on English data, might not be considered universal:

(37) **The Properties of Passivization**
(i) the verb morphology is affected;
(ii) the external theta role of the verb is absorbed;
(iii) the structural case of the verb is absorbed;
(iv) the NP which is assigned the internal theta role of the passive verb moves to a position where it can be assigned case;
(v) the movement of the NP is obligatory in view of the case filter;
(vi) the movement of the NP is allowed because the subject position is empty.

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[23] A D-structure subject, i.e. an Agent, on the other hand, cannot occupy the position of an internal argument, cf. the discussion in 4.3.1.

Sigurðsson (1992a) and Holmberg & Platzack (1995) have given different accounts of how nominative Case can be assigned to internal arguments in Modern Icelandic. An NP that 'needs' structural Case is not forced to move in Modern Icelandic - and Old Norse. Hence, (iv) and (v) are not necessarily valid for Old Norse.[24] The points (iv) and (v) would support the claim that only (structural) accusative NPs can be promoted to subject in passive sentences. This claim should be considered disproved by the discussion above.

I have offered an explanation of Old Norse passive constructions which is in line with modern analyses of passive implying promotion of an internal argument in order to 'create' a surface-subject (cf. the EPP). The present account deviates from traditional analyses where any passive construction without a nominative argument would be considered 'subjectless'. Furthermore, giving an oblique NP status as surface subjects explains why traditional analyses fail to find typical subject properties in connection with nominative arguments, since those arguments very often would be structural objects. In the case of passive of DOCs, most passives would have an oblique surface subjects. There is, however, a small group of verbs that may project alternative argument structures. The so-called 'inverted' DOC with the accusative argument preceding the dative argument is, for instance, also known from Modern Icelandic (cf. e.g. Holmberg & Platzack 1995:205ff.). Since there are verbs that may have an alternative order of the internal arguments in active clauses, it is reasonable to claim that passive versions of the same verbs may have different surface subjects.

The assumption that there are certain verbs with different thematic structures is also supported by the findings of, for instance, Kiparsky (1997). Kiparsky (1997:473f.) adopts the idea that:

> syntactic argument structure is projected from semantic content (Dowty 1979; Givón 1984[b]:ch. 5; Jackendoff 1983; Foley & Van Valin 1984). Following Bierwisch

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[24] However, since the subject is linked to *pro* in [Spec, IP], one might say that the subject is 'represented' in the subject position to the left, even though the NP has not moved overtly.

> (1983, 1986; Bierwisch & Schreuder 1992), we assume a level of Semantic Form at which conceptual knowledge is articulated in terms of linguistically determined invariants. This level is distinct from, but interacts with, conceptual knowledge on the one hand, and syntactic structure on the other. A lexical item is represented at Semantic Form by an expression in which θ-roles are represented by lambda-abstractors over the variables in the function denoted by the predicate. The semantic role of the variable over which the lambda operator abstracts determines the semantic content of the resulting θ-role, and the variable's depth of embedding in Semantic Form determines the θ-role's rank in the θ-hierarchy. For example, three θ-roles are projected in the Semantic Form of the verbs *show*, *paint* and *put*, of which the highest θ-role (the 'Agent', defined as the first argument of CAUSE) is saturated first.

This view on the hierarchic order of arguments is not that much different from the view outlined in 4.2, even though the theory adopted in this thesis may diverge on other points.

Kiparsky offers some explanations for quirky subjects and free-word-order phenomena related to Case assignment and/or positional licensing; cf. e.g. page 479: "Thus German has 'free word order' and only nominative subjects, whereas Icelandic has fixed word order, and allows dative subjects". According to Kiparsky (ibid.), in a language where both morphological Case and positional Case are regressive, both orders of the arguments (of an Experiencer verb, e.g. 'like') would be possible - only their grammatical relations would be different: "if the dative Experiencer is in Spec position, it cannot be licensed as a subject (since neither its morphological case nor its positional case features can unify with [+HR]".[25] I have claimed that it would always be the specifier that is promoted to subject, but that is not the point here. The point is that it is assumed that different thematic relations seem to be possible with certain verbs. Kiparsky (1997:480), referring to Allen (1986, 1995), claims that Old English is a language where such change of grammatical relations is possible; the subject properties of oblique Experiencers are, for instance, found only when the Experiencer is the first argument of the clause. The arguments can be reversed, but according to Kiparsky, the Experiencer loses its subject properties and functions as a dative object. This would probably explain the 'problems' with some of the Old

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[25] See Kiparsky (1997) for an explanation of [+HR] and other theory internal terms. I will not go further into Kiparsky's theory here.

Norse Experiencer constructions discussed in the next section.

As for the *gefa*-type constructions, Kiparsky (1997:484ff.) explains the fact that both objects may passivize in e.g. Modern Icelandic by referring to the "dual character of give-type verbs" (p. 485). This dual character, then, "can be traced to a semantic ambiguity between a *recipient-oriented sense* (give$_1$ 'X causes Y to get Z') and a *transfer-oriented sense* (gives$_2$ 'X transfers Z from X to Y'). I assume that this is compatible with the explanation of the inverted DOC discussed above. According to Kiparsky, this also accounts for the dative shift alternation found in English (cf. Oehrle 1976).

So-called *give*-type verbs, thus, seem to be able to project two different deep/argument structures. The verb *gefa* in a construction meaning 'give away/marry to', still, most frequently appears in active sentences with the 'normal' order Beneficiary - Patient, whereas the passive counterpart most frequently would have a nominative subject. This fact indicates that there is no direct relation between the active and the passive construction with regard to semantic structure.

Kiparsky (1997:484) also provides a Modern Icelandic passive example with a non-human subject (b):

(38) a. *Honum voru oft gefnar bækur*
him-DAT were often given books-NOM
'He was often given books'

b. *Bókin var gefin honum*
book-the-NOM was given him-DAT
'The book was given him'

Thus, in Modern Icelandic, there is no doubt that a non-human accusative object under certain conditions may become the surface subject of a corresponding passive clause.[26] The assumption that certain verbs may undergo 'role switch' finds support in Kiparsky's approach. Therefore, the claim that it is always the highest thematic and structural argument that is promoted to surface subject can be maintained.

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[26] Note, however, that Kiparsky claims that the subject in those constructions must be obligatorily in initial position. In my opinion, this is first of all true for the 'non-expected' subject, i.e. the nominative subject. Of the following constructions, for instance:

(i) *Í gær voru honum gefnar bækur*
yesterday were him$_{SUBJ}$ given books

(ii) *Í gær var bókin gefin honum*
yesterday was book$_{SUBJ}$given him

(ii) appears to be a little 'strange' (Þórbjörg Hróarsdóttir p.c.), while there is nothing 'strange' about (i). Apparently, the 'unexpected' subject seems to have to obey stronger topic demands than the 'natural' subject candidate.

Promotion of internal arguments in passive sentences is a subcase of ergative NP-movement (cf. Sigurðsson 1992a:307). Ergative verbs do not assign an external role, hence, an internal argument may/must be promoted to subject. I will now take a look at Old Norse ergative constructions.

4.3.3.2 Ergative Constructions

To start with, it should be clear that Old Norse is not what one would call an 'ergative language'. Typical ergative languages have a different system of case marking (with e.g. Ergative and Absolutive) than, for instance, the Germanic languages (with Nominative and Accusative).[27] Since Burzio (1981, 1986, drawing on Perlmutter's (1978) Unaccusative Hypothesis), one also speaks of ergativity in nominative-accusative languages.

For the purpose of the discussion in this section, one may simplify the situation a little by focusing on the fact that ergativity in Old Norse allows (and forces) the promotion of an internal argument to surface subject in case the verb does not have a (higher) external argument. Besides of having structural Case, this surface subject may have oblique (lexical) Case, that is, it may be non-nominative.[28]

Traditionally, sentences without an NP in the nominative have been a problem and a challenge for linguists studying Old Norse syntax. Grammars on Old Norse usually devote some space to discussing the so-called 'subjectless sentences' (e.g. Haugen 1993:243, Iversen

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[27] For a discussion on ergativity, see e.g. Dixon (1994) and Manning (1994) and the references cited there. For a discussion on ergativity in German, see Grewendorf (1989).

[28] See also the discussion in Sigurðsson (1992a:211ff.).

1972:151, Nygaard 1905:8ff.), Spurkland 1989:139f., and Heusler 1967:147ff.).

There are, first of all, five types of constructions in Old Norse that may be analyzed as ‘subjectless sentences’ in tradional grammars:

1. Passive sentences without a nominative NP
2. Ergative constructions without a nominative NP
3. Copula constructions without a nominative NP
4. Active sentences with the nominative NP omitted (*pro* drop)
5. So-called ‘weather’ constructions (cf. Sigurðsson 1992a)

Since the traditional grammars on Old Norse consider only nominative NPs possible subjects, the term ‘subjectless’ is used more or less every time there is no nominative in the sentence.

The nature of **passive sentences** has already been discussed. In passive constructions, an internal argument is promoted to surface subject (when there is an internal argument).

Ergative constructions are practically like passive constructions since ergative verbs do not assign a (higher) external role. Consequently, an internal role has to be promoted to surface subject, if there is one (this will be discussed shortly in this subsection).

Copula constructions are ergative, too. Since adjectives cannot assign an agentive role, an internal argument has to be promoted to surface subject (see the discussion in 4.3.3.4 below).

In the discussion so far there have also been some examples in which the agentive (i.e D-structure) subject has been omitted. The phenomenon of (semi) ***pro*-drop** will be discussed further in 4.6.

Strictly speaking, the only constructions one might consider ‘subjectless’ in the sense that there is no *overt* subject NP present (not counting *omitted* NPs), are constructions of the so-called weather type and impersonal passives (cf. the discussion above), hence, constructions where there is no internal role to promote to subject. In this case, there is a ‘quasi-argumental’ or an expletive *pro* occupying the surface-subject position (cf. Holmberg & Platzack 1995, Rizzi 1986; see the discussion in 4.6 below).

Ergative verbs may be defined by referring to the External Role Principle discussed in 4.3.1:

(39) **The External Role Principle**

a. The external role is performative (and internal roles are non-performative)

b. The external role links to [Spec-VP] (when [Spec-VP] contains an argument in D-structure)[29]

(Sigurðsson 1992a:322)

When there is no such performative argument, the verb - or adjective - may be considered ergative. Note that by this definition, passive verbs are structurally (not semantically) also ergative since there is no base-generated argument in the higher [Spec, VP] position.[30] Subjects of ergative verbs are deep-structure objects (internal arguments) that have been promoted to surface subject. The nature of ergative subjects can be demonstrated by comparing so-called ergative pairs.[31] Consider some examples from Modern Icelandic (Sigurðsson 1992a:216f.):

(40) a1. *Stormurinn rak bátinn á land.*
the storm (N) drove the boat (A) on land
2. *Bátinn* (A) *rak á land.*

b1. *Veðrið hrakti féð.*
the weather (N) drove the sheep (A)
2. *Féð* (A) *hrakti.*

c1. *Jón lauk sögunni.*
John (N) finished the story (D)
2. *Sögunni* (D) *lauk.*

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[29] As mentioned before, the External Role Principle is adjusted to the present theory.

[30] Cf. also Grewendorf (1989:2) referring to Burzio (1981):

> [...] the idea that ergative forms occur in constructions of the following type
> (3) $[_S [_{NP}\ e] [_{VP}\ V\ NP]]$
> and that they thus have the basic form of passive constructions (whereby the "type" of empty element in the subject position should remain open) [...]

[31] In the terminology of Keyser & Roeper (1984). Burzio (1986) talks about *AVB/BV* pairs. See also Bernódusson (1982:19ff.).

d1. *María* *kitlaði* *mig*.
Mary (N) tickled me (A)
2. *Mig* (A) *kitlaði*.

e1. *Ég* *seinkaði* *úrinu*.
I (N) delayed the watch (D)
2. *Úrinu* (D) *seinkaði*.

f1. *Bóndinn* *fjölgaði* *kúnum*.
the farmer (N) augmented the cows (D)
2. *Kúnum* (D) *fjölgaði*.

g1. *Vindurinn* *svalaði* *mér*.
the wind (N) cooled me (D)
2. *Mér* (D) *svalaði*.

h1. *Ég* *hvolfdi* *bátnum*.
I (N) turned-upside-down the boat (D)
2. *Bátnum* (D) *hvolfdi*.

i1. *Ég* *fyllti* *bátinn*.
I (N) filled the boat (A)
2. *Bátinn* (A) *fyllti*.

Ergative pairs like these “strongly indicate that oblique subjects are D-structure objects” (Sigurðsson 1992a:218). Of course, not every transitive verb has an ergative counterpart and vice versa. However, the principle of (this kind of) ergativity should be clear. An internal argument is promoted to surface subject and may occupy typical surface-subject positions (cf. the discussion on passive in 4.3.3.1 above).

As further support for the analysis of oblique subjects, I will illustrate the use of the Old Norse (and Modern Icelandic) ergative verb *dreyma* *e-n*$_{\mathrm{ACC}}$ *e-t*$_{\mathrm{ACC}}$ (‘somebody dreams something’). The verb *dreyma* comes with a structural accusative (the dream) and a lexical accusative (the person dreaming). Not very surprisingly, it is the human argument that is promoted to subject, in spite of its lexical Case (cf. the discussion on passives of *gefa* with a Beneficiary and a non-human Patient in 4.3.3.1). The Theme object, on the other hand, is often the element being topicalized (because the dream is, of course, usually the ’natural’ thing to talk about).[32] Consider the following brief passage:

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[32] However, consider also a construction like:

(i) *"Dreymt hefir mig nú í nótt," segir hann* (Heið 1378) (cf. also LjósC 1704)

(41) *Kolskeggur mælti: "Dreymir* ***Gunnar*** *nú."* [...] *Kolskeggur mælti:*
Kolskegg said: Dreams Gunnar$_{ACC}$ now Kolskegg said:

"Hvað hefir ***þig*** *dreymt frændi?" "Það hefir* ***mig***
What$_{ACC}$ has you$_{ACC}$ dreamt, friend? That$_{ACC}$ has me$_{ACC}$

dreymt," segir Gunnar, "að eg mundi eigi riðið hafa úr
dreamt says Gunnar, that I would not ridden have out

Tungu svo fámennur ef ***mig*** *hefði þá þetta dreymt."* (Njála 197)
Tunga so few-men if me$_{ACC}$ had then this$_{ACC}$ dreamt

'Kolskegg said: "Gunnar is dreaming now." [...] Kolskegg said: "What have you dreamt, kinsman?" "I have dreamt in such a way", says Gunnar, "that I would not have ridden out of Tunga with so few men if I had dreamt this dream before."

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dreamt have me now in night, says he
'I have dreamt tonight, he says / I have had a dream tonight, he says'

where the content of the dream is told later and the 'action of dreaming' is the only topic. The NP *mig* would be the only present argument and the only surface-subject candidate.

In the first three cases, the person dreaming is located in the typical surface-subject position, i.e. the position immediately following the finite verb. In the fourth instance, the relevant argument occupies the same position [Spec, IP], whereas the verb has not moved over the subject since this is an embedded clause. The distribution of the surface-subject candidate is, thus, strikingly clear and stable. Note also that, even though the object *þetta* is scrambled over the non-finite main verb in the last clause, it appears behind the subject *mig* and the sentence adverbial *þá*. The only reasonable explanation for the distribution of arguments in the example is that the person dreaming is the thematically (Experiencer) and structurally highest argument base-generated in [Spec, VP] of the lower VP, whereas the dream/contend of the dream is a typical Theme argument base-generated in [Compl, V′]. The verb *dreyma*, thus, does not act any differently with respect to argument constellation and subject promotion (and possibly Scrambling) than other verbs that have been discussed before. A syntactic tree structure representing the last clause of the paragraph above would, therefore, look exactly like previously discussed tree structures with subject promotion and Scrambling, for instance:[33]

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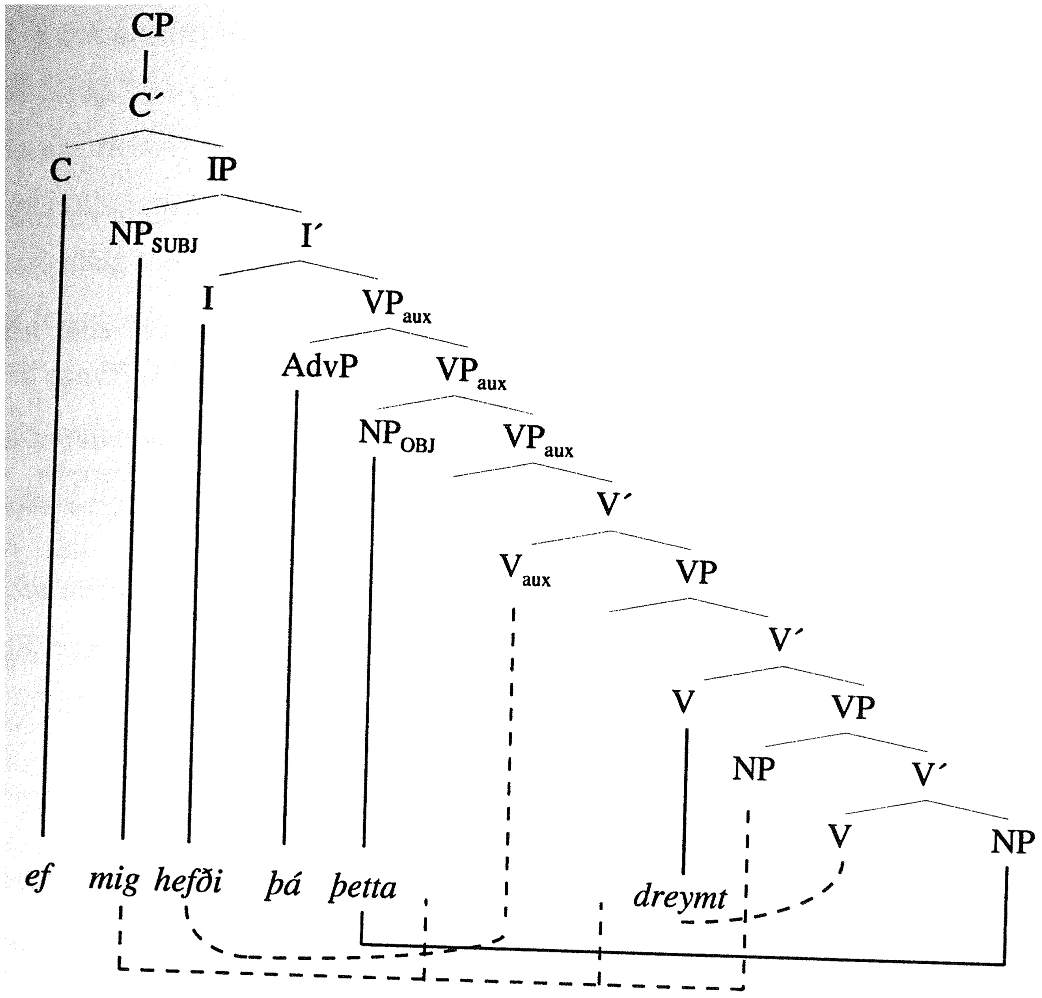
[33] The adverbial *þá* may possibly be base-generated as a VP internal adverbial with subsequent Scrambling. This is, however, not relevant here.

(42)


CP
C′
C
IP
NP$_{\text{SUBJ}}$
I′
I
VP$_{\text{aux}}$
AdvP
VP$_{\text{aux}}$
NP$_{\text{OBJ}}$
VP$_{\text{aux}}$
V′
V$_{\text{aux}}$
VP
V′
V
VP
NP
V′
V
NP
ef
mig
hefði
þá
þetta
dreymt

The surface structure is, thus, explained straightforwardly by referring to the thematic hierarchy and its projection into deep structure with subsequent subject promotion of the highest argument and Scrambling of the object (and verb movement).[34]

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[34] Consider also:

(i)	... *ef*	*mig*	*hefði*	*þvílíkan*	*draum dreymt* (Flóam 747)
	... if	me$_{\text{SUBJ}}$	had	[the-like dream]$_{\text{OBJ}}$	dreamt

'... if I had dreamt a dream like that'

Note that the object *þvílikan draum* is scrambled to the left. However, the subject *mig* is clearly located in [Spec, IP], cf. also:

(ii)	*Dreymt*	*hefir*	*mig*	*mart*	*í*	*vetur* (Laxd 1579)
	dreamt	has	me	much	in	winter

'I have dreamt a lot this winter'

where we, if analyzing *mart* as an object, would have the order *mig*$_{\text{SUBJ}}$ *mart*$_{\text{OBJ}}$.

The accusative NPs in the relevant clauses above, *hvað*, *það* and *þetta*, have actually the same form as the nominative, but it can easily be shown that they are accusatives by referring to an example with an unequivocal accusative NP:[35]

(43) *Góðan draum hefir mig enn dreymt* (Flóam 752)
[good dream]$_{ACC}$ has me another dreamt
'I have dreamt one more good dream'

However, if it is a *person* that appears to somebody in a dream, the (structural) accusative may change to nominative:

(44) *Var nokkuð sá maður með Ólafi konungi er Hallfreður hét?*
was something so man with Olaf king who Hallfred was-called?

***Hann** dreymir mig oft en þó er það ómerkilegt* (HallÓ 1237)
He$_{NOM}$ dreams me$_{ACC}$ often and though is that un-remarkable
'Was there perhaps together with king Olaf a man who was called Hallfred? I often dream about him, still, this is not strange'

It is not immediately obvious that *hann* is nominative in this example; the pronoun *hann* has, like *hvað, það, þetta* above, the same form in the nominative as in the accusative. Fortunately, however, there is a different copy of the same saga with the same sentence, but reformulated:

(45) ***Sá maður** dreymir mig jafnan en þó er það ómerkilegt*
[so man]$_{NOM}$ dreams me$_{ACC}$ evenly and though is that un-remarkable
'This man I dream of frequently, still, this is not strange' (HallM 1206)

In this example, the actual NP is clearly nominative. Not surprisingly, this nominative NP is considered the *subject* in traditional grammars on Old Norse, while the other variants are 'subjectless'. For instance, Haugen (1993:243) counts *dreyma* as part of the class of verbs without subjects. Once *dreyma* occurs with a nominative NP, then, Haugen (ibid.) explains this by referring to the empty subject position:

> Når verb i desse gruppene kan opptre med subjekt i einstaka tilfelle, helst i yngre tekster, ligg forklaringa i at dei har *ledig* plass til subjektet. På subjektplassen kan det då setjast inn eit ledd, som oftast agentivt.
> 'When verbs in these groups may appear with a subject in single cases, above all in younger texts, the explanation lies in the fact that they have an *open* space for the subject. In the subject position, then,

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[35] Versus e.g.:

(i) *Góð**ur** er draum**ur** þinn* (Flóam 769)
good$_{NOM}$ is dream$_{NOM}$ your

another phrase can be inserted, most often an agentive phrase'.

Note that Haugen seems to consider the nominative NP *agentive*. However, analyzing the nominative NP *sá maður* in the example above as being agentive, is actually not unproblematic. In a way, one might perhaps say that the person in the dream is 'acting' upon the one who is dreaming, but an interpretation like that obviously requires a certain belief in what is possible for a human being.[36] It would, on the other hand, be difficult to claim that the thematic relations have

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[36] People in the middle ages may, of course, have had such a belief. However, I find it rather doubtful that there should exist some kind of conscious act connected to the 'agentive' dreamgiver in this case, cf. the context:

(i) *Þorleifur mælti: "Var nokkur* ***sá maður*** *með konungi er Hallfreður heitir?"*
Hann svarar: "Heyrði eg ***hans*** *getið og sjaldan að góðu."*
*Þorleifur mælti: "****Sá maður*** *dreymir mig jafnan en þó er það ómerkilegt.*
'Thorleif said: Was there perhaps, together with the king, that man who is called Hallfred?
He answered: I have heard about him, but hardly every anything good.
Thorleif said: I dream about this man frequently, still, this is not strange.'

Clearly, *sá maður* is the discourse topic of the passage; the phrase might perhaps even be emphasized in this context. Maybe it is as an (expressive) topic the NP changes case, receiving nominative as the default case(?). Note also an example where there is in fact somebody 'coming' in the dream:

(ii) *Eg á draumkonur tvær og er mér önnur velviljuð og ræður jafnan heilt en önnur segir mér jafnan það er mér þykir illa og spáir mér illt, og nú dreymdi mig* ***sú hin verri konan*** (GísL 931)
'I have two dreamwomen, one of them is friendly disposed towards me and gives me good advice, and the other one frequently tells me

changed significantly compared to constructions with ‘dreaming a dream’. The change of case, however, is not easy to explain either.

Regarding the status of the nominative as a subject or an object, this question is also possible to solve by looking at other constructions. Consider, for instance, an accusative and infinitive construction (A.C.I.). The element that can be said to function as the object of the matrix clause (it gets, for instance, Case from the verb of the matrix clause) is at the same time the subject of the small clause, e.g.:[37]

(46)	*Þá*	*sá*	*Kolur*	*skipin*	*er*	*að*	*fóru*	*og*	*kvað*	***sig***	*dreymt*
	then	saw	Kol	ships-the	that	at	went	and	said	himself	dreamt

---

things I do not like and prophesizes that something bad will happen to me, and now I dreamt about the worse woman’.

Also here, the human ‘actor’ of the dream is in the nominative. Of course, one might claim that *sú hin verri konan* is extraposed by Subject Shift, however, to me it seems that the phrase is located in [Compl, V′] instead, i.e. it is an object. Hence, even though *sú hin verri konan* may be emphasized, the explanation above about the change of case does not seem to be work. One could possibly seek for an explanation in semantics, i.e. one can actually dream a dream, but one cannot dream a person, one can only dream about a person. Maybe the nominative is an (archaic) semantic Case due to the feature +human?

[37] I.e. the thematically and structurally highest argument. In small clauses, subject promotion involves linking or movement to [Spec, VP] of the higher VP instead of [Spec, IP].

hafa Hákon jarl um nóttina (Njála 218)
have Hakon earl at night
'Then, Kol saw the ships that were approaching and said that he had dreamt about earl Hakon that night'

It is as the *object* (or possibly verbal particle) of the matrix clause the subject of the small clause may be represented by the reflexive *sig*. A possible illustration could be the following:[38]

(47) a. *Kolur kvað* || *Kol/hann hefir dreymt ...*
Kol$_{\text{NOM-SUBJi}}$ said Kol/he$_{\text{SUBJi}}$ has$_{\text{Vfin}}$ dreamt ...

b. *Kolurkvað sig* _$_{\text{SUBJi}}$ *hafa dreymt ...*
Kol$_{\text{NOM-SUBJi}}$ said himself$_{\text{REFLi}}$ have$_{\text{Vinf}}$ dreamt

Since the preverbal NP of such small clauses is considered the subject, the argument of *dreyma* corresponding to *sig* must be the subject.[39] According to Haegemann (1991:251ff.), small clauses may also contain PRO. In (46), it can be argued that *sig* is co-referential with a PRO subject referring to *Kol/hann* in the small clause. Note that the main verb *dreymt* has moved over the auxiliary *hafa*. This kind of movement is another variant of Scrambling seemingly triggered by an empty subject position (cf. *Stylistic Fronting*, which will be discussed in 4.7). It is not really important if one wants to call the movement of the main verb for Scrambling or Stylistic Fronting.[40] The point is that *sig*, or possibly a PRO argument co-referential with *sig*, should be analyzed as the subject of the small clause, whereas the nominative argument should be analyzed as the object. A tree representation would show this rather clearly. To make the illustration simpler I will choose an analysis with *sig* as the subject of the small clause instead of a PRO subject:

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[38] The two 'positions' of the subject/object do not necessarily indicate that the phrase actually has moved. The 'positions' have to be understood as LF representations.

[39] See, for instance, the argumentation in Åfarli (1997:153) for why the preverbal NP of the small clause must be a subject. The expletive *det* in Modern Norwegian can never occur as an object, i.e. it must always be a subject. Therefore an example like:

(i) Vi kan høre *det regne*. (Åfarli 1997:153)
we can hear it$_{\text{EXPL-SUBJ}}$ rain

indicates that *det* must be the subject of the small clause.

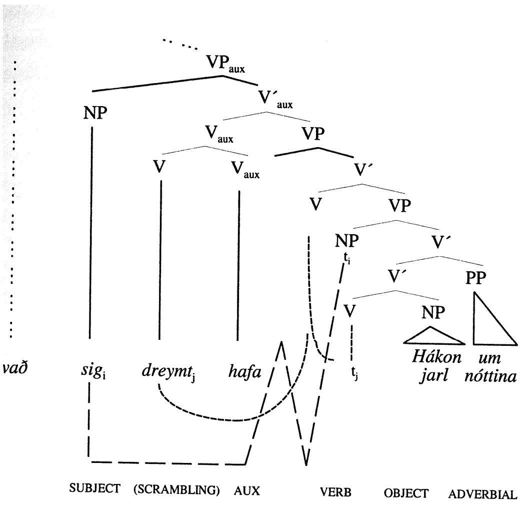
[40] As shown by Sigurðsson (1992a:86), Modern Icelandic allows Object Shift in A.C.I. constructions, for example ([v] is the trace of the matrix verb):

(i) a. Ég sá ekki [v] [Maríulesa bókina].
I saw not Mary read the book

b. Ég sá [$_{\text{VP}}$ Maríu$_i$ [$_{\text{VP}}$ *ekki* [v] [t$_i$ lesa bókina]]].
'I did not see Mary read the book.'

If we assume that *sig* in the example (46) above may be scrambled out of the small clause, there would indeed be an empty position typically found in Stylistic-Fronting constructions (see 4.7).

(48)



In this illustration it would be clear that *sig* would be the highest argument and the subject candidate, whereas *Hákon jarl* is the object located in its base-generated position [Compl, V′] followed by an adverbial *um nóttina*. There is absolutely no need to make this structure more complicated by trying to find a way to analyze *Hákon jarl* as the highest argument of *dreyma*. Structurally, this example behaves just like it is expected to according to the theory outlined here. Small clauses do not have Topicalization like a main clause. Small clauses do, on the other hand, have subject promotion like main clauses even though the small clause subject is not a [Spec, IP] subject. Instead the small clause subject must be represented in the highest possible argument position, which would be [Spec, VP] of the higher VP or a possible VP$_{aux}$. Small clauses can, therefore, be used to determine the surface subject candidate of a verb. In the example above, *sig* (or a PRO argument co-referential with *sig*) should be considered the highest argument and thereby subject candidate of *dreymt*, even though there is another human being present in the clause (whether *Hákon jarl* is nominative or accusative is not possible to determine in this particular example - however, as shown in the other examples above, it should be considered nominative). *Hákon jarl* is ‘trapped’ between the auxiliary *hafa* and the adverbial *um nóttina*.

Thus, it should not be considered extraposed, nor should it be considered the subject (nor an Agent). Notice also that:

(49) *Dreymir* *Gunnar* *nú* (Njála 197)
dreams Gunnar$_{\text{ACC-SUBJ}}$ now
'Gunnar is dreaming now'

with *dreyma* used as a monovalent verb, is perfectly grammatical. The dream, the content of the dream, or the participants/actors(?) of the dream may very well be omitted.[41] Omitting the Experiencer, on the other hand, would not be possible (other than possibly with referential *pro*-drop; see 4.6). Finally, consider an example where the nominative follows the Experiencer, i.e. the nominative object follows the accusative subject:

(50) *Þá* *dreymdi* *mig* *hin* *sama kona* *og* *fyrr* *og* *þótti*
then dreamt me$_{\text{SUBJ-ACCi}}$ [the same woman]$_{\text{OBJ-NOMj}}$ and before and seemed

mér *hún* *nú* *taka* *hrísið* *úr* *maganum ...* (Laxd 1615)
me$_{\text{SUBJ-DATi}}$ she$_{\text{OBJ-NOMj}}$ now [_$_j$] take twig out stomach ...

Note that if *hin sama kona* really was an Actor and a subject, and if all (non-complement) nominative phrases were subjects in Old Norse (cf. the traditional claim), one should expect that it would not be necessary to generate the subsequent sentence with *þykkja* ('seem'), since 'she$_i$ dreamt me and [she$_i$] took the twig', then, would be a possible combination with co-referential subjects. Instead, I claim that both (matrix) clauses have oblique subjects and nominative objects (in the latter case, the nominative object is at the same time the subject of *taka*. The last clause is an example of so-called Nominative with infinitive; see e.g. Sigurðsson 1992a).[42]

According to Haugen (1993:243), a nominative NP in constructions like this is first of all found in *younger* texts. This is then seen in connection with the fact that e.g. Modern Norwegian sentences must have a nominative subject (including the expletive). However, even though promoted oblique subjects usually changed to nominative somewhere along the change from Old Norse to Modern Norwegian (see Mørck 1992, 1995), we obviously have a different situation here: the construction *dreyma* + an ‘agentive’(?) subject is actually not valid anymore, e.g.:[43]

---

[41] Cf. e.g.:

(i) *Peter is dreaming.* / *Peter is eating.*
(ii) *Peter is dreaming a dream* / *Peter is eating pudding.*
(iii) **A dream is dreaming* / **Pudding is eating.*

[42] See also Sigurðsson (1992:95ff.) for a discussion on why the dative is the subject of the matrix clause and not the nominative.

(51) **Denne mannen drøymer meg ofte*
this man dreams me often

Hence, it is hardly a ‘younger’ construction. Neither is it the *Patient* object (or, in this case, rather the *Theme* object) that has become the subject in Modern Norwegian, e.g.:

(52) a. *Eg har drøymt ein god draum*
$\mathrm{I}_{\mathrm{SUBJ}}$ have dreamt [a god $\mathrm{dream]}_{\mathrm{OBJ}}$

b. *Ein god draum har eg drøymt*
[a good $\mathrm{dream]}_{\mathrm{OBJ}}$ have $\mathrm{I}_{\mathrm{SUBJ}}$ dreamt

c. **Ein god draum har drøymt meg*
[a good $\mathrm{dream]}_{\mathrm{SUBJ}}$ has dreamt $\mathrm{me}_{\mathrm{OBJ}}$

---

[43] In this constellation, the NP *denne mannen* cannot be interpreted as an object either. Both Norwegian and German have to use a PP, e.g. (cf. also the discussion at the end of fn. 33):

(i) *Eg drøymer ofte* ***om*** *denne mannen* (Norwegian)
$\mathrm{I}_{\mathrm{SUBJ}}$ dream often [about this $\mathrm{man]}_{\mathrm{PP}}$

(ii) *Ich träume oft* ***von*** *diesem Mann* (German)

Note that Modern Icelandic may use a bare human object NP. However, it cannot be in the nominative (anymore), i.e. it seems rather that the nominative case has changed into the ‘unmarked’ object case in this construction:

(iii) a. *Mig dreymir þann/þennan mann*
I dream (about) [that/this $\mathrm{man]}_{\mathrm{ACC}}$

b. **Mig dreymir sá maður*
I dream (about) [this $\mathrm{man]}_{\mathrm{NOM}}$

d. **Denne mannen har drøymt meg jamt*
[this man]$_{\text{SUBJ}}$ has dreamt me$_{\text{OBJ}}$ often

The same situation is found in Modern German:[44]

(53) a. *Ich habe einen guten Traum geträumt*
I$_{\text{NOM-SUBJ}}$ have [a good dream]$_{\text{ACC-OBJ}}$ dreamt

b. *Einenguten Traum habe ich geträumt*
[a good dream]$_{\text{ACC-OBJ}}$ have I$_{\text{NOM-SUBJ}}$ dreamt

c. **Ein guter Traum hat mich geträumt*
[a good dream]$_{\text{NOM}}$ has me$_{\text{ACC}}$ dreamt

d. **Dieser Mannhat mich oft geträumt*
[this man]$_{\text{NOM-SUBJ}}$ has me$_{\text{ACC-OBJ}}$ often dreamt

---

[44] Modern German also has a (‘marked’) construction *jemandem*$_{\text{DAT}}$ *träumt (von)* + clause (‘somebody dreams (of) ...’) or *jemandem*$_{\text{DAT}}$ *träumt, dass ...* (‘somebody dreams that ...’).

If the Old Norse construction with the nominative phrase really is a younger construction, and if this nominative really is the subject, it would be very strange that all the modern related languages should have chosen another (oblique) phrase to become the surface subject. Obviously, the same NP is the subject in the modern languages Norwegian and German (+ Icelandic and English) as in Old Norse, whereas an agentive subject is not possible at all with 'dream'.[45]

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[45] However, see Faarlund (1991:149) for a discussion on verbs meaning 'dream', 'remember', 'yearn', 'be sleepy', 'be thirsty', be hungry' etc.:

> Rather than considering these as exceptions, I prefer to analyze them as verbs with an understood agent, and since this agent is not expressed, no nominative phrase appears.

Cf. also Faarlund (1990a:147):

> Weather verbs and verbs like *kala, fýsa, minna* and others may still be considered verbs where an agent is understood, but never expressed.

Referring to Smirnickaja (1972) and Halbe (1963), Faarlund (ibid.) states that:

> in the cosmology of the primitive Indo-Europeans the rain and the wind certainly had an agent; there was "somebody" who gave people urges; and *minn* could be glossed 'remind' rather than 'remember'. The agent of such verbs never needed to be mentioned; there was never any doubt as to who it was.

Cf. also Iversen (1972:151) on the "mer eller mindre ubestemt oppfattet handlende person, resp. virkende kraft", i.e. 'more or less unspecified acting person or force'. See also Behagel (1924:128), Heusler (1967:147), Nygaard (1905:13). For a discussion, see also Jansen (1971:67ff.) and Westvik (1994) [Jansen is the same person as Westvik]. Note also Westvik's (1994:332) comment:

> But the most important argument against the view that sentences like OE [Old English] *me hyngreþ*, ON [Old Norse] *mik kell* are elliptical structures is to be found in their apparent semantic completeness. They seem to mean 'I am hungry' and 'I am cold'. In German, which marginally still has the structures *mich hungert* and *mich friert*, that is indubitably the case and there is good reason to believe that this was so even in Old Germanic, since nominativeless sentences of this kind are used in

Rögnvaldsson (1996c:64f.) also discusses some constructions involving the verb *dreyma* and a nominative argument in addition to the Experiencer argument in the accusative. Rögnvaldsson suggests that the nominative may be the subject. According to the discussion above, this should not be a possible analysis. There is no reason either to count the verb *dreyma* among those verbs that may ‘switch’ arguments due to an alternative argument structure.

In small clauses the highest thematic argument would end up in the highest specifier position of the highest possible VP belonging to the small clause. Small clauses would, thus, qualify as ‘subject tests’. Faarlund (1990a:123ff.) has some problems when discussing an ergative verb like e.g. *þyrsta* (‘be thirsty’) and *Raising*. Faarlund (1990a:124) ‘constructs’ a sentence (which he doubts would exist):

(54)	*Bárðr*	*sagði*	*Ólaf*	*þyrsta*	*mjók*
	Bard-N	said	Olaf-A	thirst-INF	much

‘Bard said that Olav was very thirsty’

---

translations from Greek and Latin orginals with verbs like Greek *peináo,-*, Latin *e,-surio,-* ‘am hungry’, Latin *si,-tio,-* ‘am thirsty’; these verbs whose grammatical subject corresponds to the accusative objects of the Germanic verbs, and sentences with them cannot therefore be elliptical in any relevant sense. Since we have no reason to believe that the Germanic sentences in question are incorrect or imprecise translations, it follows that they cannot be elliptical.

With a sentence like this “we would have problems determining whether *Olaf* belonged to the higher or the lower clause” (Faarlund 1990a:124). In my opinion, this clause would be equal to the example discussed above (repeated here):[46]

(55)	*Þá*	*sá*	*Kolur*	*skipin*	*er*	*að*	*fóru*	*og*	*kvað*	***sig***	*dreymt*
	then	saw	Kol$_{NOM}$	ships-the	that	at	went	and	said	himself$_{ACC}$	dreamt

	hafa	*Hákon*	*jarl*	*um*	*nóttina* (Njála 218)
	have$_{INF}$	Hakon earl	at	night	

‘Then, Kol saw the ships that were approaching and said that he had dreamt about earl Hakon that night’

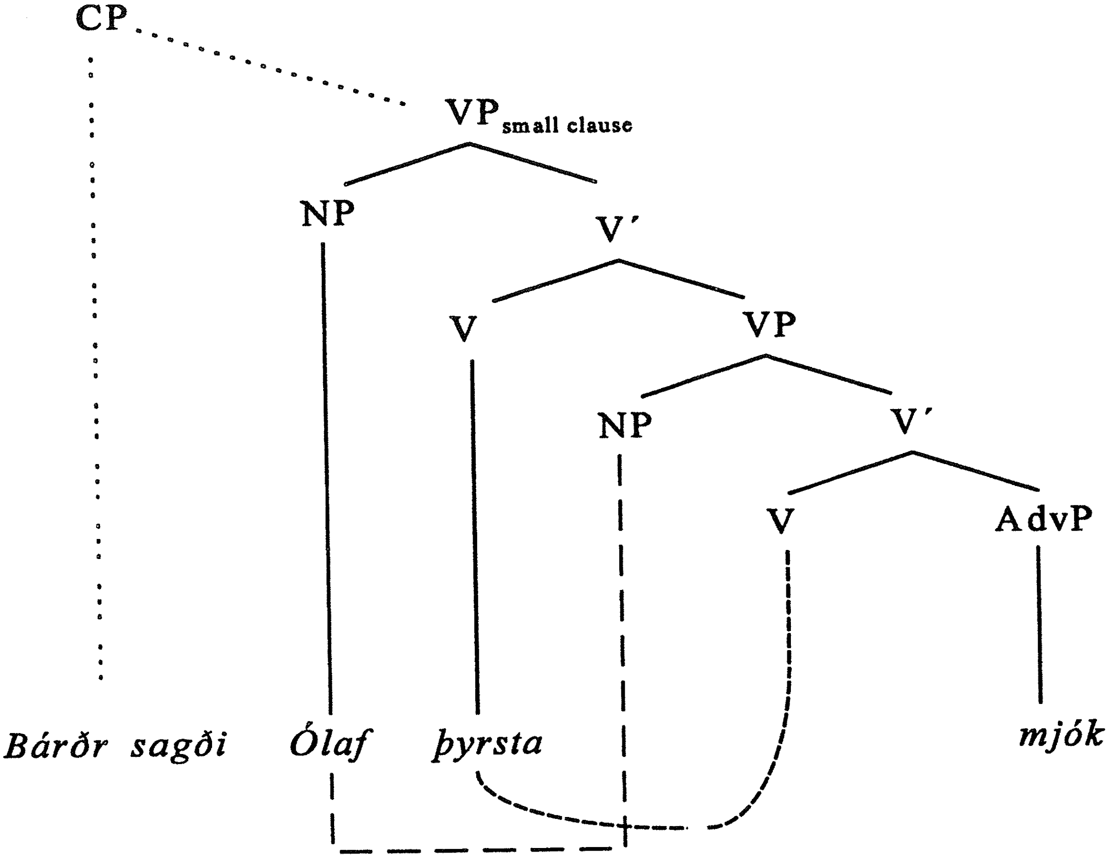
simplified: *Kolur kvað sig dreymt hafa* (‘Kol$_i$ said he$_i$ had dreamt’). *Ólaf* in (54) would be located in the highest specifier position of the small clause, which is the position of a potential surface-subject candidate. In the case of *þyrsta*, *Ólaf* would also be the only nominal argument. Hence, the choice of surface-subject candidate would not be ‘difficult’ either, even though *Ólaf* is an internal (non-agentive) argument. According to the present approach, *Bárðr sagði Ólaf þyrsta mjók* would, thus, be analyzed straightforwardly like, for instance:[47]

---

[46] The only difference would be that the reflexive *sig* could be analyzed as a verbal particle, thereby leaving a PRO in the small clause, whereas *Ólaf* could not.

[47] It could possibly be discussed whether *Ólaf* is base-generated as an internal specifier or as a complement.

(56)


CP
VP small clause
NP
V′
V
VP
NP
V′
V
AdvP
Bárðr sagði
Ólaf
þyrsta
mjók

Actually (thanks to the CD-ROM edition), we also have a single example of the kind Faarlund questions exists, with the reflexive *sig* corresponding to *Ólaf* in the example above:

(57) *... og aldregi drakksvo að eigi segði hann* ***sig*** *þyrsta* (Egla 419)
... and never drank so that not said he himself$_{\text{REFL}}$ thirst$_{\text{INF}}$
'... and never drank so much that he said he was not thirsty'

This example should also correspond to another example constructed by Faarlund (ibid.):[48]

(58) $^{?}$*Bárðr sagðist þyrsta mjo,_k*
Bard said-RFL thirst-INF much

The reflexive verb *sagðist* has come into being by cliticization of *sagði* and the reflexive pronoun *sig/sik* (cf. chapter 3 and 4.3.3.3). The reflexive *segjast* can be used with transitive verbs and with ergative verbs, seemingly without any difference, the PRO of the infinitive referring to the subject of *segjast* (compare the b-sentences to the a-sentences):[49]

Transitive:

(59) a. *Eigi mun eg* ***gifta*** *þér dóttur mína við þessa*
not will I give you daughter mine with this

meðferðina (HænsÞ 1434)
behavior
'I will not give you my daughter when you behave like that'

---

[48] Actually, Faarlund (1990a:124) claims that this sentence has the same meaning as:

(i) *Bárðr sagði, at hann þyrsti mjo,_k*
Bard said that him-A thirsted much

quoted from Jansen (1971), i.e. without any context. However, in this particular sentence *hann* is not referring to *Bárðr* but to *Egill*, cf.:

(ii) *Þá tók Egill við horni því er Bárður hafði fengið Ölvi og drakk af. Bárður sagði að hann þyrsti mjög og færði honum þegar hornið fullt og bað hann af drekka* (Egla 419)
Then, Egill took the drinking horn which Bard had given to Olvi and drank from it. Bard said that he (Egil) was very thirsty and reached him (Egil) immediately a full drinking horn and asked him to drink of that'

The referential content of the reflexive *sagðist* in the constructed example, on the other hand, may only refer to *Bárðr*, i.e. the subject.

[49] Note that Stylistic Fronting, i.e. cliticization(?) of a phrase to the left of the infinitive is quite common in these constructions. See the discussion on Stylistic Fronting in 4.7. As mentioned above, I find it reasonable to assume that this really is some kind of Stylistic Fronting. 'Ordinary' Scrambling would, of course, also be a possible analysis. Note, however, that a PRO must be involved in these *-st*-constructions. Constructions like these definitely deserve further investigation.

b. *... en jarl* ***sagðist*** *eigi mundu* ***gifta*** *honum dóttur sína* (Vígl 1961)
... and earl said$_{\text{REFL}}$ not would give him daughter his
'... but the earl said that he would not give him his daughter'

(60) a. *Þá* ***talaði*** *Þórður með Þórhall bónda og húsfreyju* (Þórð 2028)
then talked Thord with Thorhall farmer and mistress-of-the-house
'Then Thord talked with Thorhall and his wife'

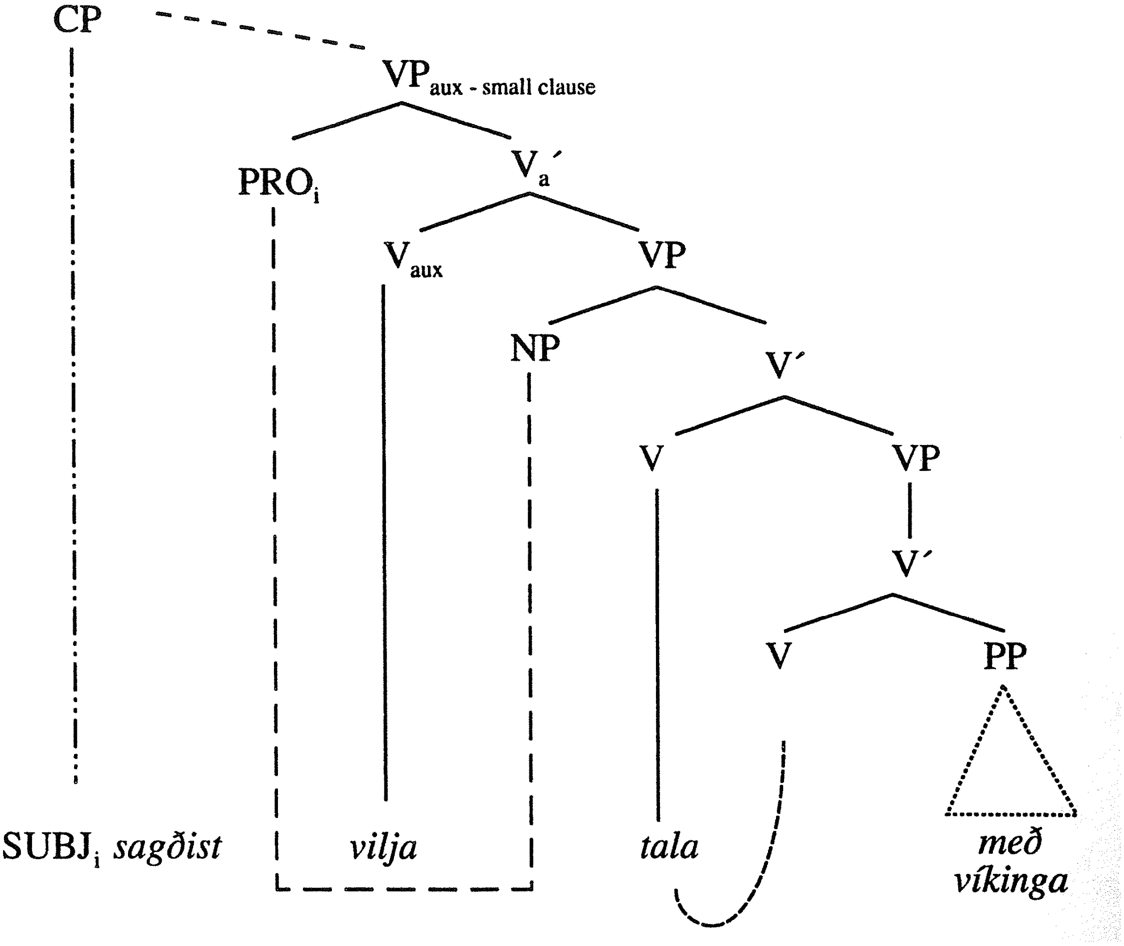
b. *... og* ***sagðist*** *vilja* ***tala*** *með víkinga* (Svarf 1784)
... and said$_{\text{REFL}}$ will talk with vikings
'... and said he wanted to talk with the vikings'

(61) a. *Hann* ***reisti*** *bæ við fjörðinn er hann kallaði Saurbæ* (Kjaln 1438)
he raised farm with fjord that he called mud-farm
'He built a farm at the fjord which he called Saurbæ'

b. *... og* ***sagðist*** *hann bústað vilja* ***reisa*** *sér* (Hrafn 1397)
... and said$_{\text{REFL}}$ he farm will raise himself
'... and said he wanted to build himself a farm'

A tree structure of the relevant part of (60b) could look like the following representation. The PRO subject of the small clause would be co-referent (cf. the index) with the surface subject of the matrix clause:

(62)


CP
VP aux - small clause
PRO i
V a ´
V aux
VP
NP
V´
V
VP
V´
V
PP
SUBJ i *sagðist*
vilja
tala
með víkinga

The situation would not be very different in ergative constructions. The PRO subject of the small clause would still be co-referential with the surface subject of the matrix clause. The only difference would be that the PRO subject is a promoted subject, i.e. an internal argument.

Ergative:[50]

(63) a. *... en sumir fóru norður í land þar er þeir* ***áttu***
‘... and some went north in land there that they owned

heimili (Egla 477)
home
‘... and some went north in the country where they had their homes’

b. *... en heimili* ***sagðist*** *hann* ***eiga*** *í Þorskafirði* (Hrafn 1404)[51]
... and home said$_{\text{REFL}}$ he own in Thorskafjord
‘... and he said he was at home/had a farm in Thorskafjord’

(64) a. *Hefi eg* ***heyrt*** *það sagt að ...* (Egla 411)
have I heard that said that ...
‘I have heard it said that ...’

b. *... en enginn* ***sagðist*** *það* ***heyrt*** *hafa* (Grett 1090)[52]
... and no one said$_{\text{REFL}}$ that heard have
‘... and no one said he had heard that’

(65) a. *"Eg* ***heiti*** *Þórður," segir hann* (Þórð 2042)
I am-called Thord, says he
‘My name is Thorbjorn, he says’

b. *Hann sagðist Þórður* ***heita*** (Þórð 2020)
he said$_{\text{REFL}}$ Thord be-called
‘He said his name was Thord’

The verb *heita* is a so-called copula verb, like also e.g. *vera* (‘be’) and *verða* (‘become’).[53]

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[50] I define the verbs in the following examples as ergatives since they do not combine with an Agent subject or involve intentionality. The verb *heita* is a so-called *copula verb* (see 4.3.3.4). Since copula verbs do not take Agent arguments either, I consider them ergatives, too.

[51] Here, the the Theme argument of *eiga*, *heimili*, is topicalized in the matrix clause.

[52] This particular example is very interesting. Seemingly, the whole VP [*það heyrt*] (with a scrambled object) is fronted by Stylistic Fronting or Scrambling (cf. the ‘Mirror Effect’ discussed in 4.3.2.4). The base-generated order would be: *hafa heyrt það*. Otherwise, it may be possible that two phrases can be fronted independently.

[53] There is also a transitive version (→’call’), a double-object version (→’promise’), and a ‘raising’ version

According to the present approach, these verbs also have ergative subject promotion. Ergative verbs do not assign an agentive role and may/must therefore promote an internal argument to subject, as also in the following examples:[54]

(66) a. *... því að hún* ***er*** *eigi hans dóttir* (Gunnl 1169)
... that that she is not his daughter
'... because she is not his daughter'

b. *Hún* ***sagðist*** *eigi hans dóttir* ***vera*** (Bárð 65)
she said$_{\text{REFL}}$ not his daughter be
'She said she was not his daughter'

In (a) *hún* is the promoted surface subject of the construction 'being his daughter, and in (b), the *hún* of the matrix clause is co-referential with the potential subject of the small clause. See the discussion on copula constructions in 4.3.3.4 below.

In raising constructions, one may also find the verb *taka* ('take'). First, notice the transitive (active) use:

(67) *Hann tekur upp spjótið úr örkinni* (GísL 922)
he takes up spear of ark
'He takes up the spear out of the chest'

Taka, then, can move away from its concrete meaning and be used with the meaning 'begin':

(68) *Nú taka þeir og gera bálið mikið í annað sinn* (GísL 906)
now take they and make fire much in other sense
'Now they make the fire big once more'

(→'command') of *heita* (cf. German *heißen*).

[54] Cf. e.g. Falk (1989:46): "I take the main verb *be* as an example of an ergative verb".

Here, nothing concrete is actually ‘taken’. With this meaning, *taka* can be used in raising constructions, e.g. with a transitive verb:[55]

(69) *Þorgils* *tekur nú* *að* **telja** *silfrið* (Laxd 1638)
Thorgils$_{NOMi}$ takes now to [PRO$_i$] count silver-the
‘Thorgils now starts to count the silver’

The subject of the matrix clause *Þorgils* controls the PRO subject of the infinitive clause, i.e. the subject of the infinitive clause and the subject of the small clause are referentially identical. This means that an infinitive clause may be a means of determining a potential surface subject of a certain verb. The same construction is, for instance, possible with the ergative *þyrsta*, too, *taka* then being ergative itself.[56] Note that the surface subject of the ergative version of *taka* is an oblique NP (compared to the previous examples with nominative). That means that the surface-subject candidate of the ergative *taka* must be base-generated as an internal argument with lexical Case. In the following example, then, both verbs have to promote an internal argument. The oblique subject of the matrix clause is co-referential with the potential oblique (PRO) subject of the infinitive clause:

(70) *Tekur* *þá* *nú* *að* ***þyrsta*** *mjög* (Flóam 752)
takes them$_{ACCi}$ now to [PRO$_i$] thirst much
‘Now, they started to become very thirsty’

---

[55] I assume that Old Norse has V-to-I raising in infinitive clauses (cf. the analysis of Modern Icelandic in Sigurðsson 1992a, or Holmberg & Platzack 1995), hence, PRO is located in [Spec, IP] behind the infinitive marker *að*, which is assumed to be located in C.

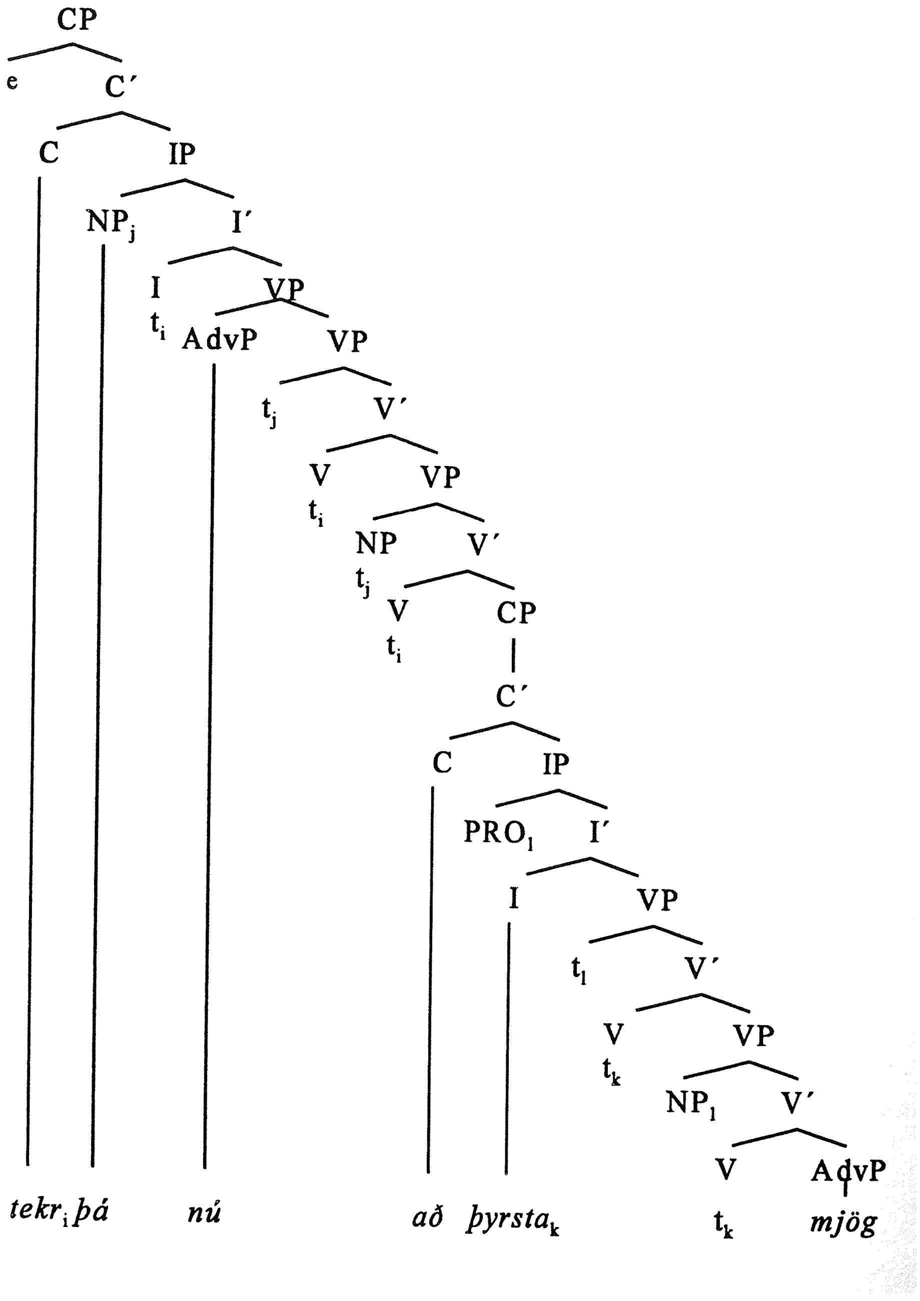
[56] Note also another interesting variation found in two different versions of *Gísla saga Súrssonar*:

(i) *Eigi* *kann* *eg* *skip* *að* *festa* *ef* *þetta* *tekur* *veður* *upp* (GíslS 870)
not can I ship to fasten if this$_{SUBJ\text{-}PATIENT}$ takes weather$_{SUBJ\text{-}AGENT}$ up
versus:
(ii) *Eigi* *kann* *eg* *skip* *að* *festa* *ef* *þetta* *tekur* *upp* (GísL 924)
not can I ship to fasten if this$_{SUBJ\text{-}THEME}$ takes weather up

The latter variant is obviously an ergative use of *taka* after e.g. a word formation rule *Eliminate* TH (cf. Sigurðsson 1992a:246). According to Jan Ragnar Hagland (p.c.), the short version of *Gísla saga Súrssonar* (cf. example (i)) is probably the younger one. What is even more interesting is the fact that *þetta* in (i) seems to be located in [Spec, IP] or, perhaps more likely, in the Stylistic-Fronting position, i.e. adjacent to the verb (see the discussion in 4.7). On the other hand, since (i) seems to be an edited version of (ii), the whole construction might, in fact, also be ungrammatical. Another explanation could be that the edited version is influenced by Low German. I am not sure that this would very reasonable, and I will not pursue this here. However, in that case, *veður* could perhaps be an interpretation of Low German *wed(d)er*, which could refer to both Modern German *Wetter* (‘weather’) or *wieder* (‘again’). Interpreted as as an adverb, one would get: *wenn dat wedder up/op geiht* (Modern German: *wenn das wieder aufgeht* (‘if that gets loose again’)). With *veður* as an adverb, the Old Norse sentence (i) would be unproblematic. On the other hand, I have not noticed any other signs that might indicate Low German influence.

It could be discussed whether the argument of the ergative *taka* would have an Experiencer role or a Theme role. If the ergative version of *taka* is more or less directly correlated to the active/transitive version of *taka*, one should expect that the internal argument has the role of a Theme. The *að*-clause would, on the other hand, also be an argument. Hence, I assume that the higher thematic argument (the Theme) would occupy the higher argument position in deep structure. The *að*-clause could, of course, not be an external argument in the present approach. Example (70) could then be illustrated in the following way in a (simplified) tree structure:

(71)


CP
e
C′
C
IP
NP$_j$
I′
I
t$_i$
VP
AdvP
VP
t$_j$
V′
V
t$_i$
VP
NP
t$_j$
V′
V
t$_i$
CP
C′
C
IP
PRO$_l$
I′
I
VP
t$_l$
V′
V
t$_k$
VP
NP$_l$
V′
V
AdvP
tekr$_i$ þá
nú
að
þyrsta$_k$
t$_k$
mjög

From a structural point of view, examples like these should be rather strong evidence for the subjecthood of (promoted) internal arguments, even though the subject may have an oblique case.

There are also ergative verbs with nominative case. There is even a nominative version with the verb *taka*. The construction still looks basically the same:

(72) *Bersi* *tekur nú* *mjög að* ***eldast*** (Korm 1493)
Bersi$_{NOM}$ takes now much to old-age
'Bersi started now growing old'

It can be argued that the human argument is more experiencer-like in this example compared to the previous example. Nevertheless, the verb *taka* may apparently assign both lexical and structural Case dependent on the thematic role of the human argument.

As discussed before, sometimes the internal (promoted) argument does not move overtly out of the VP:

(73) *Tekur* *nú* *að* *líða* ***aftanin*** *mjög og* *lægir* *sólina* (Fljót 704)
takes now to wear-on$_V$ evening$_{ACCi}$ much and lowers sun-the
'Now the night starts to come and the sun goes down'

An example like this shows rather clearly that the verb *taka* and the verb of the *að*-clause are supposed to share the same referent/argument as their surface subject. Even though there is no overt subject in the matrix clause, *aftanin* still seems to be linked to the subject position of *tekur* (i.e. probably it is raised at least at LF). The structure is, thus, assumed to be:

(74) *Tekur* [*pro*$_i$] *nú að* [PRO/*pro*$_i$] *líða* ***aftanin***$_i$ *mjög*

An interesting question regarding this example would be whether one should assume a PRO or a *pro* subject in [Spec, IP] of the infinitive clause. In any case, the NP *aftanin* is assumed to be linked to [Spec, IP]. A tree representation of this clause would look very much like (71) (*aftanin* would probably be base-generated as a complement of *liða* and not as a specifier). I consider the example under discussion strong evidence for promotion and oblique subjects.[57]

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[57] The same example could probably also be used as evidence for a so-called "underlying Agent". The verb *taka* would then have an unexpressed Agent subject which would be co-referential with an underlying Agent of the verb *líða*. The theory of an underlying Agent is, however, rejected in the present approach.

An alternative analysis of the example would be to say that the infinitive clause itself is the surface subject of *taka*. Such an analysis would, of course, not involve any referential sharing of *aftanin*.

As mentioned before, the subject of a conjoined sentence may be omitted in conjunction with an oblique surface subject of an ergative verb. The omitted subject of the conjoined sentence may also be a nominative (agentive) subject, as in the following examples with the ergative verb *líka* ('like') in combination with a transitive verb with an Agent subject:[58]

(75) *Þetta* ***líkar*** *Þórdísi* *illa* *og* ***skýtur*** *undan* *peningunum* (Korm 1493)
this likes Thordis$_{DATi}$ ill and shoots [_$_{NOMi}$] away pennies-the
'Thordis likes this badly and pushes away the money'

(76) *Þetta* ***líkar*** *þrælnum* *illa* *og* ***veitir*** *Gísla* *tilræði* (GíslS 852)
this like thrall-the$_{DATi}$ ill and gives [_$_{NOMi}$] Gisli attack
'The thrall likes this badly and attacks Gisli'

(77) *Honum* ***líkar*** *illa* *og* ***fer*** *á* *fund* *Guðmundar* *og* *segir*
him$_{DATi}$ likes ill and goes [_$_{NOMi}$] on meeting Gudmund's and says

honum (LjósA 1721)
him
'He dislikes this and goes to meet Gudmund and tells him'

And, vice versa, the surface subject of *líka* may also be omitted when it is co-referential with a preceding subject: However, this constellation does not seem to be equally frequent:

(78) ***Fara*** *þau* *Gestur* *heim* *og* ***líkar*** *allvel* (Finnb 630)
go [they Gest]$_{NOMi}$ home and like [_$_{DATi}$] all-well
'Gest and the others go home and like this a lot'

(79) ***Ríður*** *Kormákur* *og* ***líkar*** *heldur* *illa* *við* *Steingerði* *en* *verr*
rides Kormak$_{NOMi}$ and likes [_$_{DATi}$] rather ill with Steingerd and worse

við *Tintein* (Korm 1500)
with Tintein
'Kormak rides away and pretty much dislikes Steingerd, but Tintein he dislikes even more'

Note also an example without conjunction:

(80) *Hví* *viltu* *eigi* *flytja* *mig?* *Líkar* *eigi* *vel* *við* *mig?* (VígGl 1907)
why will-you$_{i}$ not move me? Like [_$_{DATi}$] not well with me?
'Why don't you want to convey me? Don't you like me?

Finally, an interesting example where only one part of the subject is omitted, namely the one being co-referential with the preceding subject:

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[58] I mark [Spec, IP] as the potential surface-subject position, although the subject might be omitted after having moved to [Spec, CP].

(81) *Þetta spurði Hrútur og líkar illa og sonum hans* (Laxd 1571)
this heard Hrut$_{i}$ and likes [_$_{DATi}$] bad [and sons his]$_{DAT}$
'Hrut heard this and dislikes it, and so do his sons'

The phrase *og sonum hans* could also be considered an apposition (or an 'afterthough', cf. Hyman 1975; Vennemann 1975). However, if the subject of *líkar* is the whole phrase *Hrútur og sonum hans*, then *og sonum hans* has either not left its base position or it has only moved to the 'higher' [Spec, VP] (the D-structure subject position).[59]

Now, consider the distribution of the two internal arguments of the bivalent ergative verb *eiga* ('own'). The thematically higher argument (the 'owner') is expected to become the surface-subject base-generated in [Spec, VP] of the lower VP, and the thematically lower argument (the 'owned') is assumed to be base-generated as a complement:

Topicalized subject; object *in situ*:

(82) ***Egill*** *hafði þá átt* ***son er Gunnar hét*** (Egla 491)
Egil$_{SUBJ}$ had then owned [son who Gunnar was-called]$_{OBJ}$
'Egil had then a son whose name was Gunnar'

Topicalized object; subject in [Spec, IP]:

(83) ***Land*** *hafði* ***hann*** *átt að Steðja* (LjósA 1722)
land$_{OBJi}$ had he$_{SUBJ}$ owned [_$_{i}$] at Stedi
'He owned land at Stedi'

Topicalized subject and scrambled object:

(84) ***Faðir þeirra*** *hafði* ***kyn*** *átt tveim megum Gautelfar.* ***Hann***
[father their]$_{SUBJ}$ had kin$_{OBJi}$ owned [_$_{i}$] [two sides Gaut-river.]$_{ADVBL}$ He$_{SUBJ}$

hafði ***bú*** *átt í Hísing og var maður stórauðigur* (Egla 387)
had farm$_{OBJi}$ owned [_$_{i}$] [in Hising]$_{ADVBL}$ and was man very-rich
'Their father had family on both sides of Gaut River. He had a farm in Hising and was a very rich man'

Topicalized object(?) with the subject(?) to the right - (see also the discussions in 4.3.1.3 above and 5.3 below)

(85) ***Það sverð*** *hafði átt* ***Ketill hængur*** *og haft í*
[that sword]$_{OBJ?}$ had owned [Ketil hæng]$_{SUBJ?}$ and had in

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[59] It might also be possible to say that *sonum hans* alone is the subject of *líka* in the sense of: 'Hrut heard this and also his sons disliked it'. However, then the context would have to make it clear that hearing the news also implies that Hrut dislikes them.

hólmgöngum og var það allra sverða bitrast (Egla 464)
single-combats and was that all swords most-biting
'This sword had belonged to Ketil Hæng who had used it in single combats; it was much sharper than other swords'

Actually, the last sentence may possibly be analyzed in - at least - six different ways:

1. the subject *Ketill hængur* may have been shifted to the right by Subject Shift (cf. the discussion in 4.3.1.3).
2. the participle *átt* may be scrambled while the subject is located in [Spec, VP] (of the 'lower' VP).
3. the participle *átt* may be scrambled while the subject is located in [Spec, VP] of the 'higher' VP (if the double VP structure is universal, cf. the discussion in 4.2).
4. the participle *átt* may have moved to the 'higher' V while the subject remains in [Spec, VP] of the 'lower' VP (if the double VP structure is universal, see above).
5. the 'subject' is not a subject but an adjunct (cf. the discussion in chapter 5.3 or Haugan 1998b)
6. the 'subject'is not a subject but a complement, i.e. an argument with a lower thematic role

I am not sure how easy analyses 2 and 3 could be maintained. Analysis 4, on the other hand, would be more reasonable on a empirical basis. The first analysis would be rather well supported by the data in 4.3.1.3. Analysis 5, then, would probably be more controversial since *eiga* does not have an Agent argument (I will discuss this further in chapter 5.3; cf. also Haugan 1998b). 'Role switch', as suggested in analysis 6, on the other hand, is also found with a verb like *gefa* ('give'), cf. the discussion on passive above. However, in this particular example, the omitted subject of the conjoined sentence is co-referential with *Ketill hængur*. Hence, one would expect *Ketill hængur* to be the surface subject of the clause. Also, it is not easy to imagine in what way *það sverð* possibly would be capable of having a higher thematic role in this particular example (as opposed to the examples with two human arguments in passive sentences of DOCs with *gefa* discussed in 4.3.3.1).

In passive sentences with *gefa* or *gifta* (meaning 'give away', 'marry to'), the promoted (nominative) argument may clearly be assigned a higher thematic role (Experiencer), i.e. it is base-generated as a *specifier*, whereas the 'Beneficiary' (dative) argument actually has to be considered a *Goal*, hence, a complement. In passives of 'typical' DOCs, i.e. when there is a human Beneficiary and a non-human Theme, on the other hand, the *Beneficiary* is usually promoted to subject. As for ergative verbs like *eiga*, the examples above indicate that the most likely subject candidate would be the owner, being some kind of Beneficiary, too. This is also clear in the next example:

(86)	*Þorgils*	*hafði og*	*átt*		*fyrr*	*Grímu*	*Hallkelsdóttur* (Heið 1390)
	Thorgils$_{SUBJ}$	had	also	owned	before	[Grima	Hallkel's-daughter]$_{OBJ}$

'Thorgils had also been married to Grima, Hallkel's daughter

Even though there are two human arguments involved, the *possessor* (cf. Lambrecht 1994:15) should to be considered the subject, while the *possessed* is the object in this particular example. Note that *Grímu Hallkelsdóttur* seems to be extraposed since the phrase follows the adverbial *fyrr*. 'Role switch' could, on the other hand, be considered a reasonable analysis in cases where *eiga* combines with two human arguments, cf., for instance, the following example:

(87)	*Hann*	*átti*	*dóttur*	*er*	*Ingibjörg*	*hét.*	***Hana***	*hafði*
	he$_{SUBJ}$	owned daughter$_{OBJ}$	who	Ingibjorg		was-called.	Her$_{OBJ\text{-}ACC}$	had
	átt	*Auðgísl*	*og*	*var*	*hinn*	*mesti*	*kvenskörungur* (HallM 1210)	
	owned	Audgisl$_{SUBJ\text{-}NOM}$	and	was	the	most	capable-woman	

'He had a daughter who was called Ingibjorg. She was married to Audgisl and was a very capable woman'

Regarding information structure strategy, the construction in the second sentence is fine. After having introduced Ingibjorg as a new discourse referent, there is nothing strange about placing the pronoun *hana* in the topic position; especially since *hana* represents the only topical discourse referent in that clause.. Ingibjorg's previous husband, *Audgísl*, is non-topical information, and this discourse referent will play no role in the subsequent context. As a non-topical subject, on could argue, that *Audgísl* has be moved to the right - if this is a possible strategy. On the other hand, if the argument could be dethematized, it could be base-generated as an argument adjunct to the right, and by this make promotion of the lower argument possible. In this particular example. The subject of the last clause (the subject of *var hinn mesti kvenskörungur*) is omitted in co-reference with the topic (and subject?) on the preceding clause. An omitted subject does not necessarily have to be co-referential with another subject in Old Norse (cf. Hjartardóttir 1993, Sigurðsson 1993), however, in by far the most cases it is. In the example above, one could, then, claim that the subject is omitted because of topic co-reference, i.e. there is first of all an empty topic and not an empty subject. On the other hand, it could also be argued that the topic *hana* is also the subject, since *Audgísl* neither has moved overtly nor is co-referential with the next subject (cf. the discussions in 4.3.1.3 and 4.3.3.1). Compare the Conjunction Reduction in (85) and (87), repeated as (88):

(88) a. *Það sverð hafði átt* ***Ketill hængur***$_{i}$ *og* [... _$_{i}$] *haft í hólmgöngum og var það allra sverða bitrast*

b. ***Hana***$_{i}$ *hafði átt Auðgísl og var* [_$_{i}$] *hinn mesti kvenskörungur*

If Conjunction Reduction can be used to argue for one rather than the other subject canidate, (b) would indicate that *hana* should be the subject of the first clause. The situation in (a), on the other hand, would be more unclear since there are actually two possible NPs that are omitted in the subsequent clause, i.e. both *það sverð* (*það*) and *Ketill hængur* (*hann*). Still, it would seem most reasonable to claim that *Ketill hængur* should be regarded the surface subject of *hafa*.

In Old Norse, an omitted subject or object may be co-referential with a discourse referent with a different grammatical function in the/some preceding clause (see the discussion in 4.6). This means that Conjunction Reduction, even though the construction behaves more or less like in Modern Scandinavian, cannot necessarily be used to identify a possible subject candidate. But this means also that the postverbal NP in the preceding clause may have another grammatical function than subject. Hence, *Ketill hængur* and *Audgísl* may actually be non-subjects if thematic 'role switch' or dethematization is a grammatical possibility.

Alternative assignment of thematic roles has been observed with the passive versions of verbs like *gefa* or *gifta*, as discussed further above. A functional interpretation of *eiga* with 'role switch' in (88b), with the 'possessed' as the surface subject instead of the 'possessor', would be something like, e.g.: 'she was owned by Audgisl'.

The constructions in (88a) and (88b) are very similar, yet different. In both cases, a potential surface-subject candidate appears to the right, seemingly in a complement or adjunct position. In (a) the NP to the right is co-referential with the subsequent (omitted) surface subject, while this is not the case in (b), where the topic (and surface subject?) is co-referential with the omitted subject of the subsequent clause. Given the fact that topical phrases may be omitted in Old Norse, Conjunction Reduction in these particular examples may be said to involve some kind of Topic Drop. In (a), it is clear that the topic (the sword) is omitted additionally to the supposed subject *Ketill hængur*, for instance:

(89) *Það sverð*$_{\text{TOP}}$ *hafði átt Ketill hængur*$_{i}$ *og* [*það (sverð)*$_{\text{TOP}}$ *hafði Ketill/hann*$_{i}$] *haft í hólmgöngum* (*og var það*$_{\text{TOP}}$ *allra sverða bitrast*)

Note that the topic (the sword) apparently has to be 'reintroduced' in the last clause. I take this as evidence for the assumption that the previous clause actually had proper subject omission, i.e.

Conjunction Reduction. Conjunction Reduction seems to be impossible when there are different subjects involved, cf. the fact that the sword seemingly has to be reintroduced in this example. The question, then, would be if (88b) involves Conjunction Reduction or ‘only’ Topic Drop, which in this case would mean subject drop:

(90) ***Hana***$_{\text{TOPi}}$ *hafði átt Auðgísl og* [_$_{\text{TOPi}}$] *var hinn mesti kvenskörungur*

In this clause, there is no other material omitted than the subject/topic. Hence, such examples can not necessarily qualify as evidence for ‘role switch’ or non-specifier subjects. Intuitively, the Beneficiary should be the only possible subject candidate given the thematic distribution of arguments. Compare, for instance, also the following Modern Norwegian examples involving the same verb *eige* (‘own’):

(91) a. *Gisle haddeått huset*
Gisle$_{\text{SUBJ}}$ had owned house-the$_{\text{OBJ}}$

b. *Huset hadde Gisleått*
House-the$_{\text{OBJ}}$ had Gisle$_{\text{SUBJ}}$ owned

c. **/#Huset haddeått Gisle*
House-the$_{\text{OBJ}}$ had owned Gisle$_{\text{SUBJ}}$

In Modern Norwegian, the example (c) can/must be interpreted as having *huset* as the subject, i.e. ‘the house had owned Gisle’, which may be an acceptable sentence in a certain context. But there is certainly no ‘role switch’ involved that still would cover the relation *Gisle*=’possessor’, *house*=’possessed’. On the other hand, let us, for argument’s sake, assume that Old Norse *eiga* may cover the meaning of ‘belong to’ as well. This meaning must be expressed by another verb in Modern Norwegian (Bokmål): *tilhøre.*[60] The subject-object distribution (and the thematic relation) is, then, converted (cf. ‘role switch’):

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[60] This verb is not valid (or rather not common) in the other official Modern Norwegian written language, Nynorsk. However, one may use the compound *høyre til* with a separate particle, e.g.:

(i) *Han høyrer ikkje til her*
he belongs not to here

with several possible meanings: ‘He does not belong in this place’ / ‘He is not a native of this place‘ / ‘He should not be here’. The verb *tilhøre* can be used with the separate particle in Bokmål, too, not necessarily including ownership:

(ii) *Dette hører til meg*
this belongs to me

If *til* can be considered a concrete preposition and not a verbal particle in this case, there is, of course, only one subject candidate: the *Theme* argument. There is also a possible variant:

(92)	a.	*Huset*	*hadde*	*tilhørt*	*Gisle*
		Huset$_{SUBJ}$	had	belonged-to	Gisle$_{OBJ}$
	b.	*Gisle*	*hadde*	*huset*	*tilhørt*
		Gisle$_{OBJ}$	had	house-the$_{SUBJ}$	owned
	c.	**Gisle*	*hadde*	*tilhørt*	*huset*
		Gisle$_{OBJ}$	had	belonged-to	house-the$_{SUBJ}$

While (a) may be considered common, (b) is rather marked (so is the example (b) with *eige* in (91) above). Thus, it seems that there is a very close relation between subject and topic in this particular construction.

Based on the Modern Norwegian examples, one could be tempted to suggest that both internal arguments of Old Norse *eiga* can become surface subject in certain constructions. However, this would presuppose that the verb *eiga* may cover two different meanings in Old Norse. A possible analysis would, then, be to assume that the ‘possessed’ is more *affected*, i.e. it is analyzed as an Experiencer, while the less affected ‘possessor’ is generated lower, i.e. as a complement. Topicality, would then a feature of the subject, but not the trigger of subjecthood itself. If Extraposition of the subject is not an alternative, examples like the following indicate that another argument than the default candidate may become the surface subject of *eiga*. Note that the NP referring to the ‘possessor’ appears in a position to the right of an adverbial (fyrr):

(iii)	*Dette*	*hører*	*meg*	*til*
	this	belongs	me	to

The judgement about (iii) varies. People I have spoken with say that (ii) and (iii) are synonymous (actually, most people said that neither (ii) nor (iii) was natural in their dialect). However (iii) seems to focus more on *meg* (cf. some Old Norse Scrambling constructions). In my opinion, (iii) must be considered a marked variant.

(93) *Þorsteinn fékk Jófríðar dóttur Gunnars Hlífarsonar. Móðir*
Thorstein$_{SUBJ}$ got [Jofrid daughter Gunnar's Hlif's-son.]$_{OBJi}$ Mother

hennar var Helga dóttir Ólafs feilans, systir Þórðar gellis.
her$_{i}$ was Helga daughter Olaf's feilan sister Thord's gelli.

Jófríði hafði átt fyrr Þóroddur son Tungu-Odds (Egla 505)
Jofrid$_{i}$ had owned/belonged-to(?) before [Thorodd son Tungu-Odd's]
'Thorstein was married to Jofrid, the daughter of Gunnar son of Hlif. Her mother was Helga, daughter of Olaf Feilan and sister of Thord Gelli. Before that, Jofrid had been married to Thorodd, the son of Tungu-Odd.'

This is the story of *Jófríðr*, who is first introduced as a new discourse referent, then is topical, but not the ('primary') topic (which is her mother), and finally the topic.[61] But is it possible that *Jófríði* is also the subject of the last clause? Almost the same story told in a different saga using the same construction with the non-topical 'possessor' in a postverbal position. *Jófriður* is clearly the topic:

(94) ***Jófríður*** *var átján vetra er Þorsteinn fékk* ***hennar****.* ***Hún*** *var*
Jofrid$_{SUBJi}$ was eighteen winters when Thorstein got her$_{i}$. She$_{SUBJi}$ was

ekkja. ***Hana*** *hafði átt fyrr Þóroddur son Tungu-Odds*
widow. Her/she$_{SUBJ?i}$ had owned/belonged-to? before [Thorodd son Tungu-Odd's]$_{OBJ?}$

og var þeirra dóttir Húngerður er þar fæddist upp að
and was their$_{(i)}$ daughter Hungerd who there fed-was up at

Borg með Þorsteini. ***Jófríður*** *var skörungur mikill* (Gunnl 1166)
Borg with Thorstein. Jofrid$_{SUBJi}$ was capable-woman much

There are a lot of examples like these, i.e. with the verb *eiga* and a postverbal NP referring to the 'possessor'. Structurally the question is what grammatical status the NP to the right actually has. Functionally it is obvious that the non-topical information is placed as far to the end of the clause as possible, whereas the topical referent behaves as if it is the subject, cf. also the following examples:

(95) *Bjarni kvongaðist og fékk* ***konu*** *þeirrar er Rannveig*
Bjarni married and got [woman$_{i}$ this who Rannveig$_{i}$

hét og var dóttir Þorgeirs Eiríkssonar úr Guðdölum.
was-called] and was daughter$_{i}$ Thorgeir's Eirik's son from Guddales

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[61] Actually, there are good reasons for analyzing *hennar* as the topic, while *móðir* is the focus, cf. the discussion in Lambrecht (1994:19). I will return to such questions/definitions in chapter 5.

***Hana**hafði átt Ingimundur Úlfsson og var þeirra*
Her/she$_{SUBJ?i}$ had owned/belonged-to? [Ingimund Ulf's-son]$_{OBJ?}$ and was their$_{(i)}$
*son Skíði hinn prúði. **Rannveig** var væn kona og vel að*
son Skidi the pride/gallant. Rannveig$_{i}$ was beautiful woman$_{i}$ and well at

*sér og hafði **hún** auð fjár* (Vopn 2000)
herself and had she$_{i}$ obtained money
'Bjarni married and got the woman who was called Rannveig and was the daughter of Thorgeir Eiriksson from Guddalir. She had been married to Ingimund Ulfsson, and their son was Skidi the gallant. Rannveig was a beautiful and good woman, and she had obtained some money'

(96) ***Katla** hét kona er bjó í Arnardal. **Hún** var ekkja.*
Katla$_{SUBJi}$ was-called woman$_{i}$ who lived in Arnadale. She$_{SUBJi}$ was widow.

***Hana** hafði átt maður sá er Glúmur hét* (Fóstb 799)
Her$_{i}$ had owned/belonged-to? [man this who Glum was-called]$_{OBJ?}$
'Katla was the name of a woman who lived in Arnadal. She was a widow. She had been married to a man who was called Glum.'

Passages like these may definitely give the impression that the Theme(?) argument can be promoted to subject, although, there does not necessarily have to be that close a connection between topic and subject. In the present approach, the surface-subject candidate would have to be assigned the highest thematic role, which would lead to base-generation in the lower specifier position. Thus, with the verb *eiga* the 'possessed' should have a thematic role higher than the 'possessor'. Theoretically, this should be possible in the examples above (see also the discussion in Kiparsky 1997; see also Allen 1986, 1995). In the case of the verb *eiga*, it is not always easy to argue for one rather than the other analysis. Consider, for instance, also the following example:

(97) *Þorgerður var ekkja og hafði átt hana Halldór*
Thorgerd$_{i}$ was widow and had owned her$_{i}$ [Halldor

bróðir Þorvarðs (LjósC 1705)
brother Thorvard's]
'Thorgerd was a widow and has been married to Halldor, the brother of Thorvard'

Given the assumption that *átt* is not scrambled, this example shows clearly that the 'possessor' may be located in a 'lower' position than the 'possessed' - at least in the surface structure. This could be achieved by Extraposition, or simply by base-generation of the 'possessed' in a higher argument position. In both cases, it could be argued that the 'possessor' is not a syntactic subject. Typical for this type of construction is the fact that the 'unexpected' NP to the right is the focus expression of the clause, i.e. non-topical. In the example above, *Halldór bróðir Þorvarðs* is not the topic of the sentence, it is not even a participant in the previous or subsequent discourse (apart from the fact that *Halldór* is related to *Þorvarður*). *Þorgerður*, on the other hand, is the topic and a proper discourse referent. The order *átt* - *hana* - *Halldór* may, thus, just as well be the basic word order of this particular construction, i.e. no element is shifted to the right. Then, *hana*, being located/base-generated in the lower [Spec, VP], can be linked to [Spec, IP], i.e. the surface-subject position, while *Halldór* would be the object in [Compl, V′].

Obviously, the constructions in question are not easy to analyze. Topicality itself is not assumed to trigger promotion of an NP to surface subject in the present approach. Rather, the topic/subject candidate (in this case the 'possessed') should be more affected by the action than the 'possessor', i.e. the thematic role hierarchy must be changed if promotion of the 'possessed' should be possible. In the default case, the 'possessor' would be the surface-subject candidate, cf. also the following example:

(98) *... og Þórður Hrafnsson er bjó að Stokkahlöðu og átti*
... and Thord Hrafn's-son who lived at Stokkahlada and owned
Vigdísi Þórisdóttur er Sigmundur hafði átt fyrr (VígGl 1937)
Vigdis Thori's-daughter who Sigmund had owned before
'... and Thord Hrafnsson who lived at Stokkhlada and was married to Vigdis Thoris' daugther who had been married to Sigmund before'

Syntactically, it is clear that *Sigmundur* must be the surface subject of the relative clause connected to *Vigdísi Þórisdóttur*, which itself is an argument inside the relative clause, i.e.:

(99) *Thord*$_{\text{SUBJ}}$ *owned* [*Vigdis*$_{\text{i}}$ *who Sigmund*$_{\text{SUBJ}}$ *had owned* _$_{\text{OBJi}}$ *before*]$_{\text{OBJ}}$

There is a similar example with a relative clause that might be possible evidence for the assumption that the 'unexpected' argument may become the surface subject after all:

(100) *... og bar Þórdís mat á borð. Eyjólfur hafði sverð það*
... and bore Thordis food on board. Eyjolf had sword that
í hendi er ***átt*** *hafði Gísli bróðir hennar* (GísL 952)
in hand that owned had [Gisli brother her]
'... and Thordis put food on the table. Eyjolf had the sword in his hand that her brother Gisli had owned'

Note that the participle *átt* has been fronted by *Stylistic Fronting* (see the discussion in 4.7 below) in the relative clause. Stylistic Fronting is assumed to demand an *empty* subject position [Spec, IP]. If the potential surface subject *Gísli bróðir hennar* is moved to the right, the subject position would indeed be empty (see the discussion in 5.3). On the other hand, if the subject would be *sverð það*, the subject position could also be empty because the phrase has been relativized out of the clause. This would be a much more common construction.

It is rather interesting that the grammatical relations in connection with one particular Old Norse verb appear to be that ‘diffuse’. Especially since this seems to be connected to the use of the participle of *eiga* only (cf. the discussion on passive of *gefa* and *gifta* in 4.3.3.1 above). It could, thus, be assumed that only the participle form of the verb may be able to assign a higher role to the ‘possessed’ than the other forms of *eiga* (and *gefa/gifta*). With *gefa* and *gifta* the change was clearly observable, with *eiga*, this is more difficult. The only clear statement one can make is that the NP under discussion (the ‘possessor’) is able to be extraposed. This can be observed in constructions with an adverb like e.g. *fyrr* (‘before’). When an argument appears after the adverb, we must assume that it is extraposed. I have already discussed two examples where the ‘possessor’ is clearly extraposed (repeated here):

(101) *Jófríði hafði átt fyrr* ***Þóroddur son Tungu-Odds*** (Egla 505)
Jofrid had owned before || Thorodd son Tunga-Odd’s
‘Jofrid had been married to Thorodd, son of Tunga-Odd, before’

(102) *Hana hafði átt fyrr* ***Þóroddur son Tungu-Odds*** (Gunnl 1166)
her had owned before || Thorodd son Tunga-Odd’s
‘She had been married to to Thorodd, son of Tunga-Odd,before’

In this case, one of the examples might be a loan from the other saga (which could make it less interesting as actual data), but the constructions may also be pure coincidences. Because of examples like these it is reasonable to assume that many of the other examples discussed above involve Extraposition even though there is no adverb in the clause. Extraposition is possible first of all for objects. But as shown in 4.3.1.3, subjects may apparently be shifted to the right in Old Norse in certain cases.[62] In a very similar construction, it is clear that the ‘possessor’ is the subject:

(103) *... Vigdísi Þórisdóttur er Sigmundur hafði átt fyrr* (VígGl 1937)
... [Vigdis Thorisdaughter]$_i$ who Sigmund$_{SUBJ}$ had owned _$_i$ before
‘... Vigdis Thoris’ daughter, who had been married to Sigmund before’

It is difficult to see that the thematic relations should be very different compared to the examples (101) and (102).

Note also that the object (when it is clearly(?) an object) may be extraposed, too, e.g.:

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[62] A formal account of why Subject Shift may be possible in Old Norse (as opposed to e.g. Modern German or Modern Norwegian) is given in chapter 5.3 (see also Haugan 1998b).

(104) ***Þorgils*** *hafði og átt fyrr* ***Grímu Hallkelsdóttur, systur***
Thorgils$_{\text{SUBJ}}$ had also owned before [Grima Hallkel's daughter, sister

Illuga hins svarta (Heið 1390)
Illugi's the black]$_{\text{OBJ}}$
'Thorgils had also been married before to Grima, daughter of Hallkel, sister of Illugi the black'

This is a rather clear case of Heavy NP Shift. It would not seem reasonable to analyze *Grímu Hallkelsdóttur* as the subject in this example. The question, then, remains if the 'possessed' in some of the cases above can be analyzed as a subject. According to Þorbjörg Hróarsdóttir (p.c.), in Modern Icelandic, a sentence like (101) would be grammatical, too. The postverbal NP would be analyzed as the subject, while the fronted NP is considered an object.

The recent discussion has concentrated on the status of an extraposed NP that is supposed to be the default surface-subject candidate. The discussion has not been conclusive regarding the verb *eiga*. In general, the discussion above has shown that surface subjects of ergative verbs are promoted internal arguments. There is no reason to maintain the definition of Old Norse subjects as being nominative only (cf. the traditional 'Norwegian' view). Ergative subjects are derived syntactically in the same way as passive subjects and vice versa. In neither case does the subject have an Agent role. Nominative subjects are subjects of verbs that assign structural Case to the highest role, while oblique subjects may become surface subjects of verbs assigning lexical Case to the highest role; Case itself has nothing to do with subjecthood or objecthood in this respect.[63]

The discussion should also have shown that surface subjects of ergative verbs occupy the same positions as agentive subjects, first of all [Spec, IP], [Spec, CP] and [Spec, VP][64]. Additionally, ergative subjects, being internal arguments, may remain in their base position, i.e. behind the non-finite verb, which is not possible for an agentive subject, being a (higher) external argument. Additionally, both ergative subjects and agentive subjects seem to be able to shift to the right (be ‘extraposed’). Concluding the discussion on extraposed subjects (but see also 5.3), I will provide an example with both an extraposed agentive subject (*Þórólfur Skalla-Grímsson*) and an extraposed ergative subject(?) (*Ketill hængur*). In the middle of the sequence, there is a sentence with an extraposed heavy subject (*Grímur ...*) and a past tense verb *(gaf)*, supporting the analysis of the other right located NPs as subjects. The topic of the whole sequence is, as so often in the sagas, a sword:

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[63] See also Sigurðsson (1993:275):

> ... verb agreement in Icelandic correlates with nominative Case assignment, and not with subjecthood. As is well known, Icelandic has both quirky subjects (in a wide variety of constructions) and nominative objects (in Dat-Nom constructions, where the dative is the subject and the nominative object gets Case from Infl), but the finite verb never agrees with quirky subjects. In the absence of a nominative argument it invariably shows up in a default form (third person singular), and in Dat-Nom constructions it (normally) agrees with the nominative object.

See also Taraldsen (1995) for a discussion on agreement and nominative objects in Modern Icelandic.

[64] In this case, [Spec, VP] of the/a 'higher' VP, cf. the discussion above. The 'lower' [Spec, VP] is never a possible position for an Agent.

(105) *Það hafði gefið Arinbirni* ***Þórólfur Skalla-Grímsson*** *en áður*
That$_{\text{DO-TOP}}$ had given Arinbjorn$_{\text{IO}}$ [Thorolf Skalla-Grimsson]$_{\text{SUBJ-AGENT}}$ and before

hafði Skalla-Grímur þegið af Þórólfi bróður sínum en
had Skalla-Grim$_{\text{SUBJ}}$ got [it]$_{\text{OBJ-TOP}}$ [of Thorolf brother his]$_{\text{PP}}$ and

Þórólfi gaf sverðið ***Grímur loðinkinni son Ketils hængs.***
Thorolf$_{\text{IO}}$ gave sword$_{\text{DO}}$ [Grim shaggy-cheek son Ketil’s salmon]$_{\text{SUBJ}}$

Það sverð hafði átt ***Ketill hængur*** *og haft í*
[That sword]$_{\text{OBJ-TOP}}$ had owned [Ketil salmon]$_{\text{SUBJ}}$ and had in
hólmgöngum og var það allra sverða bitrast (Egla 463/464)
single-combats and was that$_{\text{SUBJ-TOP}}$ all swords most-biting
‘That (sword) had Thorolf Skalla-Grimsson given Arinbjorn, and before that had Skalla-Grim gotten it from Thorolf, his brother; and Thorolf had gotten the sword from Grim Lodkinni, son of Ketil Hong. That sword had Ketil Hong owned and used in single combats, and it was much sharper than other swords’

In this sequence, the function of shifting the ‘subject’ to the right is obvious: all previous owners of this famous sword (the owners representing new information) are listed, and the ‘subjects’ are most likely accented/focused; they are also ‘heavy’ with regard to complexity.[65] Note also how smoothly the extraposed subjects fit together with *af Þórólfi bróður sínum*, being some kind of Agent-phrase (probably rather a Source), however, not due to a *suppressed* Agent role (cf. the discussion in 4.3.1.3). The last sentence, starting with *það sverð*, shows that *Ketill hængur* probably should be considered the subject. As discussed above, the subject of the following clause is omitted being co-referential with *Ketill hængur*, while the topicalized object of the previous clause also functions as the topicalized object of this clause, cf.:

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[65] Incidentally, one should also pay attention to the literary quality of this sequence. Note the artistic style in how the saga writer is able to create variation when making a simple list of the owners of the sword, shifting between active and passive and different verbs.

(106) a. [*Það sverð*]$_{\text{OBJj}}$ *hafði* _$_{i}$ *átt* _$_{j}$ *Ketill hængur*$_{\text{SUBJi}}$ *og*
that sword had (*pro*) owned || Ketill Hong || and

b. [[*það sverð*]$_{\text{OBJj}}$ *hafði* [*Ketill hængur*$_{\text{SUBJi}}$]] *haft* _$_{j}$ *í hólmgöngum*
(that sword had Ketil Hong) had in single-combats

Hence, this is an ordinary case of Conjunction Reduction and Topicalization of the object. Additionally, as mentioned before, *það sverð* is expressed overtly in the last clause *og var **það** allra sverða bitrast.* This should not be necessary in Old Norse where a previously mentioned discourse referent may be omitted (see the discussion in 4.6). However, it seems that a strategy like that would conflict with Conjunction Reduction above, i.e. omitting also the topic/subject of the last clause would make it possible to interpret the omitted elements as members of the same chain, which they obviously are not.

The syntactic variation of nominal arguments found with bivalent and trivalent verbs is, of course, very interesting. **Avalent verbs**, on the other hand, taking no argument at all, obviously cannot promote anything to subject, and therefore, the subject position is overtly empty, i.e. filled by ('quasi argumental') *pro* (see also the discussion in 4.6 below):[66]

(107) *En er haustaði sigldu þeir Þórólfur norður fyrir Noreg*
and when [*pro*] autumn-came sailed they Thorolf north for Norway

og koma fram í Fjörðum (Egla 427)
and came forth in Fjords
'And when autumn came, Thorolf and the others sailed along the north of Norway and came to Firdir'

Quasi argumental *pro*, since there is no real argument available, has to act like an argument. For instance, it may control the PRO subject of an infinitive clause just like a 'normal' argument (compare with the discussion on *taka* above, e.g. the examples (70) and (72)):

(108) *Tekur nú að hausta* (Grett 696)
takes [*pro*]$_{i}$ now to [PRO]$_{i}$ be-autumn
'It starts being autumn' (autumn starts coming?)

According to the discussion further above, there is no reason to assume an 'understood Agent'.

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[66] Sigurðsson (1992a) refers to verbs and predicates that take a *pro* subject as *impersonals*, while other Icelandic linguists use this term to refer to all ergative constructions without a nominative, cf. Smári (1920), Einarsson (1945), Þráinsson (1979), Bernódusson (1982), and Rögnvaldsson (1990b). Sigurðsson (1992a:284ff.) demonstrates that there are good reasons to distinguish between impersonals and ergatives: ergatives promote a (definite) D-structure object, while impersonals are the only predicates in Icelandic (and Old Norse) that always surface with *pro* in [Spec, IP]. This fact has also consequences for *það*-insertion in Modern Icelandic (see Sigurðsson 1992a, and Rögnvaldsson 1983b).

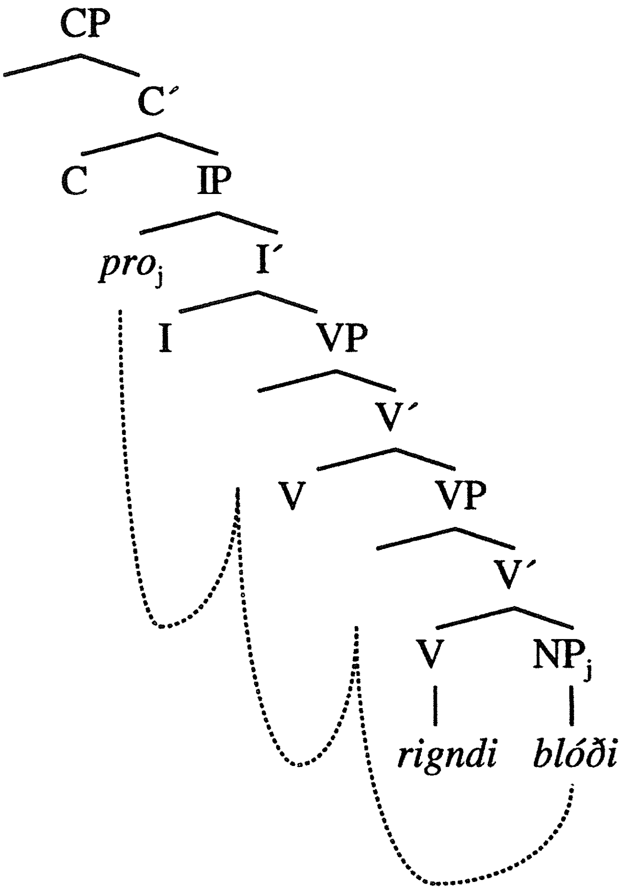
There is simply nothing but an (overtly) empty position occupied by *pro*. If there is an internal argument, this is automatically promoted to surface subject, even when it does not move overtly, i.e. then it is linked to *pro* by a chain. If anything at all may be considered 'understood' in constructions like (107) and (108), it should not be an Agent, it should actually be an internal argument. Consider, for instance, a sentence with *rigna* ('rain'), also a so-called weather verb. Usually, it rains *rain*, which we, naturally, would not have to express. But *rigna* may also combine with other things than rain/water. According to the promotion theory outlined here, this internal argument would be promoted to surface subject by a chain relation or by movement:

(109) *Þar sem* ***blóði*** *rigndi á yður þar munuð þér hella*
there if $\text{blood}_{\text{DAT-SUBJ}}$ rained on you there will you spill

út margs manns blóði, bæði yðru og annarra (Njála 338)
out many mens' blood, both yours and others
'If blood is raining on you, you will spill the blood of many men, both your own and others'

Obviously, the (oblique) surface subject *blóði* should be considered base-generated as a complement of the verb, since there is no actual Agent that 'makes it rain blood'. Since there is no Agent argument, there is no deep-structure subject, and promotion of the internal argument is possible/necessary because of the syntactic demand for a surface subject, cf. the following simplified illustration:

(110)



Promotion of the (only) internal argument to surface subject can be achieved by movement or by linking to [Spec, IP]. As other surface subjects, this argument may apparently also be shifted to the right (cf. the discussion above):

(111) *Þar með rigndi á þá* ***blóði vellanda*** (Njála 338)
there with rained [*pro*$_i$] [on them]$_{PP}$ || [blood welling]$_{SUBJ}$
'With that, welling blood rained on them'

Here, the promoted surface subject *blóði vellanda* appears to the right of the adverbial phrase *á þá*. Scrambling of *á þá* (i.e. leftward movement) and location of the subject in [Spec, VP] could possibly be an alternative analysis in this case. Then the sentence would be a clear presentational sentence, cf. Modern Norwegian:[67]

(112) *Dermed regnadet vellande blod på dei*
there-with rained [it]$_{\text{EXPL}}$ [welling blood]$_{\text{OBJ}}$ [on them]$_{\text{PP}}$
'With that, welling blood rained on them'

Ergative verbs and passive

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[67] Note that the 'logical' subject is regarded an object in Modern Norwegian (cf. also 4.6).

Ergative verbs, taking no (higher) external argument (Agent), obviously, cannot passivize (cf. e.g. Perlmutter 1978; Chomsky 1981:126; Jaeggli 1986:593; Åfarli 1992). Passivization is an operation suppressing the Agent/external role (for instance, by linking it to the passive participle) in order to make promotion of an internal argument possible (see the discussion on passive in 4.3.3.1 above). Since there is no Agent in ergative constructions in the first place, passivization would be meaningless. Naturally, one would not expect to find negative evidence in the Old Norse corpus. Therefore, one may rather take a look at some examples from Modern Icelandic (Sigurðsson 1992a:316):[68]

(113) a. *Mig langar í ís.*
me longs for icecream
'I would like to have some icecream.'

b. **Það var* [e] *langað í ís.*
was longed for icecream

(114) a. *Mér leið vel.*
me felt well

b. **Það var* [e] *liðið vel.*
was felt well

The verbs *langa* and *líða* do not take *Agent* arguments, hence, passivization is not possible.

Faarlund (1991), advocating a non-configurational analysis of Old Norse, relies on his assumption that "grammatical relations are expressed by case marking" (Faarlund 1991:148) in Old Norse. I have already shown that this claim seems not to be tenable. Faarlund (ibid. and elsewhere), furthermore, claims that passivization is not a syntactic process in Old Norse,[69] a claim I also consider disproved.[70] My explanation on why ergative verbs cannot passivize in Old Norse would not be accepted by Faarlund because:

> such a restriction cannot apply in a nonconfigurational language, since there is never

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[68] Old Norse equivalents of these sentences would, of course, not have an expletive *það*.

[69] Since Wasow (1977), it is customary to talk about *syntactic passives* (i.e. 'verbal passives') and *lexical passives* or *unpassives* (i.e. 'adjectival passives') (see also Chomsky 1981, e.g. 54f. and 117ff.).

[70] However, see the discussion on passive of double object constructions with two human arguments above. In those cases, it seems that the passive configuration of the two internal arguments does not answer to the basic order of the internal arguments in the active counterpart, i.e. the thematic hierarchy of the arguments of the passive verb should, in fact, be considered base-generated instead of being derived from an active verb.

> an external argument in a sentence. Thus all or no intransitive verbs should be able to occur in the passive. In Old Norse, the participle of any intransitive verb can occur with the copula *vera* without an argument expressed. We thus find “impersonal passives” of prototypically “unaccusative” verbs. (Faarlund 1991:153)

To prove his claim, Faarlund (ibid.) provides three examples:

(115) a. *Var þar til dura gengit*
was there to the door gone
‘He went to the door’

b. *Vóru þá sett grið ok komit á stefnu*
were then set truce and come to meeting
‘Then they made truce and started the meeting’

c. *Var þá farit upp á húsin ok riðit skálanum ok barit*
was then gone up to the-house and ridden the-halls and beaten
hælunum um þekjuna
the-heals on the-roof
‘They went up to the house and rode through the halls and tramped with their heels on the roofs’

Obviously, these three examples would represent a rather strong argument against my analysis above. The verbs *ganga* (‘go’), *koma* (‘come’), *fara* (‘go’), *ríða* (‘ride’) are usually considered “prototypically unaccusative verbs” (Faarlund 1991:153; see also Hoekstra 1984:177f.) and should therefore not be able to passivize. However, these verbs have something else in common with each other which is not compatible with the ‘traditional’ analysis of ergatives: even ‘traditional’ linguists would probably have problems with imagining an understood *Agent* in the corresponding active constructions. In fact, the best candidate for a possible *Agent* would be the omitted argument itself - it is the going person itself who is causing the motion and not some understood Agent/force.[71] Hence, the examples above do not disprove my analysis (nor do they prove non-configurationality), rather they demonstrate a special property of so-called ***motion verbs***. As I have claimed and discussed above, ‘true’ ergative verbs cannot passivize. Motion verbs and other “verbs of *volitional* (or intentional/conscious) transition” (Sigurðsson

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[71] See Jackendoff (1983, 1985, and especially 1987) who proposes that the subjects of such verbs are both Themes and Agents. For a discussion, see Sigurðsson (1992a:321f.). See also Kristoffersen (1994:48) who claims that the subject of *ganga* (‘go’/’walk’) is agentive.

1992a:320), on the other hand, enter rather freely into impersonal passives.[72] Sigurðsson (ibid.) shows that a verb like *sofna*, usually meaning involitional 'fall asleep', may passivize in Modern Icelandic when it means volitional 'go to sleep' (see also Friðjónsson 1987:11f.):[73]

(116) *Það var* [e] *alltaf sofnað snemma*
was always gone-to-sleep early

Verbs of involuntary transition, on the other hand, may never passivize (Sigurðsson 1992a:320):

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[72] Note also the interesting fact that a motion verb like *koma* combines both with 'be' and with 'have':

(i) *Ketill hafði komið vestan um haf af Írlandi* (Egla 488)
Ketil had come west on sea off Ireland

(ii) *... að Blund-Ketill var kominn úti og vildi hitta hann* (HænsÞ 1421)
... that Blund-Ketil was come outside and wanted meet him

Cf. Sigurðsson (1992a:329):

> HAVE, then, is compatible with ergative as well as impersonal, transitive, and intransitive verbs in Icelandic. BE, on the other hand, is only compatible with ergatives. Since motion verbs like **fara** and **koma** are either intransitive or ergative, [...], they are compatible with both HAVE and the impersonal passive [...], on the one hand, and this ergative BE-construction on the other hand.

See Sigurðsson (1992a:329) for constraints on these constructions.

Note also Lødrup (1987:48), stating that a Modern Norwegian verb like *komme* ('come') may have more than one subject role. According to Lødrup, *komme* may have an agentive or an objective subject, then being either unergative or unaccusative (cf. Perlmutter 1978:163f.), e.g.:

(iii) *Per kom løpende på veien*
Per came running on the road

(iv) *Pakken fra bestemor kom i dag*
The parcel from grandmother came today

As in Modern Icelandic, Modern Norwegian *komme* combines both with *vere* ('be') and *ha* ('have'). According to Lødrup (1987:49), neither unergative nor transitive verbs may take *vere*. Verbs that can be either unergative or unaccusative must be analyzed as unaccusatives when they take *vere*, e.g.:

(v) *Per er gått *rundt banen*
Per is gone around the lane

See also Faarlund, Lie & Vannebo (1997:520), showing that Modern Norwegian non-durative motion verbs may combine with *vere*, while they only may combine with *ha* when the motion is durative, e.g.

(vi) *Han er reist*
he has gone away

versus

(vii) *Han har reist mye i sitt liv*
he has travelled a lot in his life

Generally, all Modern Norwegian verbs may combine with *ha*, while only specific types of verbs also combine with *vere* (cf. also Faarlund, Lie & Vannebo 1997:520; Lødrup 1987:50). See also Lie (1972).

[73] Sigurðsson (1992a:320) mentions that *sofna* ('fall asleep/go to sleep') and *vakna* ('awake/wake up') seem to be the only Icelandic *-na*-verbs that can either be intransitive or ergative, all other *-na*-verbs exclusively being ergative. S also Lødrup's (1987:48) comments on Modern Norwegian verbs like *sove* ('sleep') and *snorke* ('snore') which are able to passivize and are (traditionally) considered intransitives/unergatives (cf. also Perlmutter 1978:162). Lødrup states that such verbs have to be handled as exceptions independently of the unaccusative hypothesis.

(117) **Það var* [e] *alltaf blánað í framan*
was always gone-blue in the face

According to Sigurðsson (ibid.):

> the same distinction is also found for 'durative' or 'situative' verbs like **sofa** 'sleep', **sitja** 'sit', etc. When they are interpreted in such a way that the described situation is understood as being volitional, they may passivize, but when the situation is involitional, they cannot.

Demonstrated by some examples from Modern Icelandic:

(118) a. *Við sátum á gólfinu allt kvöldið.*
we sat on the floor all evening

b. *Það var* [e] *setið á gólfinu allt kvöldið.*
was sat on the floor all evening

(119) a. *Við sátum í gildru allt kvöldið.*
we sat in a trap all evening

b. **Það var* [e] *setið í gildru allt kvöldið.*

As Sigurðsson (1992a:320) points out, verbs of transition and situation verbs are usually taken to be ergative.[74] Sigurðsson (ibid.) concludes that these verbs have the freedom to select an external role when the event described is volitional. When it is not volitional, the verbs select an internal role.[75] Once the verb is able to select an external role, the verb may also be subject to *Passive*

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[74] Both verbs of transition and verbs of situation are so-called *event verbs* in Jackendoff's (1983, 1987) approach.

[75] I have found seven examples of e.g. *sögunni* ('the saga') appearing behind the participle of *koma* (six of them being overtly identical), i.e. a saga can, of course, not act volitionally, hence the NP must always be generated as an internal argument. Note that *sögunni* is dative and not nominative like potential Agents (this fact could also make it possible to analyze *sögunni* as an adverbial phrase):

(i) *... er hér var komið sögunni* (Harð 1264, Vígl 1975, Þorhv 2054, VaLjó 1829, Bárð 48, GíslS 855)
... as here was come story-the$_{DAT}$
'... at this part of the story'

The seventh example is very interesting in another respect. Here we find an adverbial in front of the finite verb, but behind a topicalized PP. There seem to be two elements in the topic position, i.e. the V2 criterion is apparently violated:

(ii) *... og til þess nú er komið sögunni* (Svarf 1797)
... and [to that] now is$_{V}$ come story-the
'... and the story has now come to that incident'

I will choose not to analyze *nú* as being cliticized to C° but rather as a comment of the narrator, like:

Formation. Many 'true' ergative verbs may undergo only *Adjectival Participle Formation* (cf. Sigurðsson 1992a:322ff.). Consider a Modern Icelandic example with (unvolitional) *falla* ('fall'):

(120) a. *Laufin* *(*ó)fellu.*
the leaves (*un)fell

b. *Laufin* *voru* (*ó*)*fallin* (**af vindinum*).
were (un)fallin (*by the wind)
(Sigurðsson 1992a:330)

Passivization, then, is a reliable ergativity test: only those verbs that passivize assign an external role, whereas verbs that cannot passivize must be considered ergative.

Intransitive (passive) use of (usually) ergative verbs can be documented in Old Norse, too (as 'unvolitionally' shown by Faarlund 1991, cf. the examples above). For a comparison with the Modern Icelandic examples, consider also an Old Norse passive sentence with the verb *sitja* ('sit'):

(121) *Setið var þar á báða bekki* (Fljót 726)
sit was there on both benches
'People were sitting on both benches'

One might want to ask if the volitional-involitional distinction may have a syntactic effect on active ergative constructions, too. Consider an active sentence with *sitja* ('sit'):

(122) *... hefir hér setið* ***svala ein*** *við glugginn og klakað*
... has here sat [swallow one]$_{\text{SUBJ}}$ with window and chirped

í alla nótt (Egla 458)
in all night
'A swallow sat here by the window and chirped all night'

(iii) *And to this incident - now - the story has come*

It could be said that the sitting and singing/chirping in this example is volitional in some sense. However, *svala ein* is obviously an internal argument since it is located in a position behind the main verb (it has clearly not shifted to the right, either, cf. the order V- NP - PP). The base-generated structure should, therefore, look somewhat like the following (simplified) illustration:[76]

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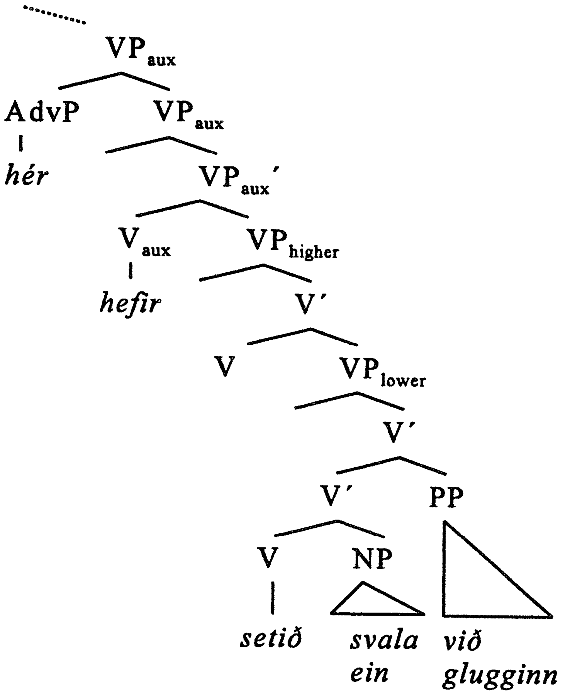
[76] The adverb *hér* (‘here’) can be analyzed as a scrambled adverbial phrase or as base-generated a sentence adverbial.

(123)


VP_{aux}
AdvP
hér
VP aux
VP aux ′
V aux
hefir
VP higher
V′
V
VP lower
V′
V′
PP
V
NP
setið
svala ein
við glugginn

The internal argument *svala ein* could, at least theoretically, also be base-generated in [Spec, VP] of the lower VP. This would not be possible to determine since the main verb would move to the higher V position anyway. An example like this might indicate that the ergative verbs in question may be subject to *Causative Formation* (cf. Sigurðsson 1992a:245ff.; 271ff.), crucially involving the word formation rule *Add TH.*[77] In the structure above, there is no base-generated argument in [Spec, VP] of the higher VP, hence, there is no Agent argument. The question is if the internal argument of *koma, sitja* and similar verbs may be linked to [Spec, VP] (the position of the external role) when the action is volitional (similarly to linking to [Spec, IP]), or if those verbs may base-generate an argument in the Agent position. A linking theory would support the suggestion of Jackendoff (1983, 1985, and especially 1987) who proposes that the subjects of such verbs are both Themes and Agents, i.e. have, in fact, two theta roles.[78] Sigurðsson (1992a:321) rejects Jackendoff's theory because it "would require a rather radical revision of the Theta-Criterion (as advocated by Jackendoff); it is also entirely unnecessary for the semantic analysis of event verbs". However, with Sigurðsson's (1992a) and my definition of the external role, this is not necessarily a problem: ergative verbs do not take an external argument; the verb *sitja*, for instance, assigns only a *Theme* role to an internal argument:

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[77] Sigurðsson (1992a) follows Aronoff (1976). See also Williams (1981) and Carrier-Duncan (1985) for a discussion on Word Formation Rules and their effect on theta structures.

[78] Note also Croft's (1991:248) description (leaning upon Barber 1975; Klaiman 1981, 1982a, 1982b, 1988):

> In the active voice, the subject is controller of the action but not affected by it; in the passive, the subject is affected by the action but not the controller of it; in the middle, the subject is both the controller of the action and affected by it.

(124) *sitja* <V th>

If this verb were to allow a Word Formation Rule *ADD TH* when the action is volitonal and the '*Actor*' refers to the same entity as the *Theme*, this would mean that the *Actor/Performer* acts/performs on himself, which is exactly the situation we find when somebody intentionally sits down or goes to bed, he moves himself, i.e. he is both an *Actor* and a *Theme/Patient*. The example above, however, shows, that the 'Actor-Patient' is not represented twice, rather it seems that the internal argument is associated with or linked to the external role as well. Still, we could say that there are two roles but only one lexical argument.[79] On the other hand, the example might also indicate that this *ADD TH* is a matter of *Logical Form* (cf. e.g. Haegeman 1991:491ff.), hence, it does not affect the overt syntax.

It is not the aim of this work to explore the nature of event verbs any further and I will not continue the discussion to investigate the 'fate' of the internal/external argument. However, I will provide some examples from Modern Icelandic to illustrate another instance of Word Formation which, hopefully, may serve as an impulse to further reflection (quoted from Sigurðsson 1992a:272f.):

(125) a. *Ég hita matinn.*
I heat the food (A)

b. *Maturinn hitnar.*
the food (N) heats

(126) a. *Ég hita henni.*
I warm her (D)

b. *Henni hitnar*
her (D) warms
'She becomes warm(er).'

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[79] Cf. the distinction between Modern Norwegian verbs with an NP particle alternatively to an NP object (see e.g. the analysis in Åfarli 1997). For instance:

(i) *Han vaska seg*
he washed himself$_{PRT}$

(ii) *Han vaska ho*
he washed her$_{OBJ}$

The particle would not be analyzed as an argument and could therefore not be assigned a theta role. See also example (130) below.

According to Sigurðsson (1992a), these verbs are (independently or separately) derived from adjectives (in this case *heitur* ‘hot’). However, there may also be a derivational relation between the different verbs: (125a) may be derived by *Causative Formation* from the adjective, whereas (125b) may be a formation from a transitive to an ergative inchoative verb. This formation, if compared to the transitive verb, seems to involve both *Eliminate* *TH* and *Externalize* *th* (cf. Sigurðsson 1992a:2653ff.). The verb *hita*, then, would have the form:

(127) *hita:* TH <V th>

while the verb *hitna* has the form:

(128) *hitna:* th <V>

The verb *hitna* in (126b), being a homonym of (125b), however, would be derived by *Eliminate* *TH* only, hence, it is a true ergative verb:

(129) *hitna:* <V th >

The internal argument *henni*, then, is promoted to surface subject keeping its lexical Case. The verb *hitna* in (125b), on the other hand, has no longer an internal argument, hence, it does not assign lexical Case, either.[80]

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[80] *Externalize th* could possibly also be a matter of LF.

The nature of the Word Formation Rule *Externalize th* might seem a little suspect on the background of the present approach.[81] It is not obvious that the externalized argument suits the definition of the external role outlined in 4.2.1.[82] However, (125b) has much in common with a 'normal' intransitive sentence. The difference in Case assignment is also interesting. As mentioned, I do not intend to solve this topic in this work (if this is possible at all), but the behavior of *sitja* and similar verbs can possibly be understood on the background of the examples above. Note also the relation between the strong verb *sitja* and the weak verb *setja* ('set/place/put'). The weak verbs of such pairs are usually assumed to be derived from the strong verbs. The transitive verb *setja*, then, could (at an earlier stage) be derived by the Word Formation Rule *ADD TH* from the ergative *sitja*. Now, consider the Modern Norwegian sentences:

(130) a. *Han sette ein vase på golvet*
he set a vase on floor-the
'He put a vase on the floor'

b. *Han sette seg på golvet*
he$_i$ sat himself$_i$ on floor-the
'He sat down on the floor'

Given an analysis of the reflexive as an object, i.e. an argument, instead of a non-argumental verbal particle, example (b) would show that the internal argument and the external argument may be co-referential. The Performer would be 'performing' on himself. The corresponding Old Norse expression is usually realized with an reflexive *-st*-verb (the reflexive pronoun *sig/sik* is incorporated; see the discussion in chapter 3 and the discussion on middles in 4.3.3.3 below). Note the combination of *setjast* and *sitja* in the following example:

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[81] See Marantz (1984:179ff.) for a discussion on 'Alternation in Argument Structure'.

[82] See also the discussion on middle constructions in 4.3.3.3 below. I will suggest that *Externalize th* only involves externalizing to the specifier of the lower VP, i.e. one does actually not get a proper external argument (Agent) at all. With respect to thematic roles, I would suggest that the Theme argument (i.e. the complement) is assigned the role of some kind of an 'Experiencer', although a 'thing', of course, cannot experience something in the same way as a human being.

(131) *Síðan settist hann niður og sat þar þann dag* (Kjaln 1444)
since sat-himself he down and sat there this day
'Later he sat down and there he sat that day'

Event verbs obviously have some properties that 'proper' ergative verbs do not have. I will end the discussion here and take a look at Middle Constructions and some other *st*-verbs.

4.3.3.3 Middle Constructions and Other -*st*-Verbs

In this subsection, I will discuss some syntactic (and thematic) differences between Old Norse -*st*-verbs (and their non-*st*-variants), -*st*-verbs meaning verbs with the ending -*st*, i.e. being a morphological description only. The headlines used below may be considered a semantic classification of -*st*-verbs. However, some -*st*-verbs have several different properties which will be discussed independently of the classifying headline. The semantic classification is not necessarily a syntactic classification as well. For instance, some verbs that are regarded as having a 'passive function' are ('true') *ergatives* (= no external role), whereas others are *middles* (= externalized internal role).

A. Middles ('Medio Passives')

In chapter 3, I already mentioned some differences between Old Norse *st*-verbs. An overview over *st*-verbs in Modern Icelandic can, for instance, be found in Sigurðsson (1992a:258ff.) (see also Anderson 1990). This overview can easily be adopted for Old Norse.

According to Sigurðsson (1992a:263), the most central function combined with -*st*-suffixing is that of *Middle Formation* (see also Ottósson 1986a, 1986b, 1989b, 1992, and Kress 1975).[83] Consider an example from Modern Icelandic (Sigurðsson ibid.):

(132) a. *Páll opnaði gluggann.*
Paul opened the window (A)

b. *Gluggin opnaðist.*
the window (N) opened

The same Case effect as with the verbs *hita* and *hitna* in 4.3.3.2 above can be noticed: after derivation ('Word Formation'), the verb does not assign lexical Case anymore.[84] Obviously, the

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[83] I used the term *Medio Passive* in chapter 3.

[84] Cf. Sigurðsson (1992a:269):

> Subjects of middle -*st*-verbs always show up in the nominative, as we expect if they are promoted

same Word Formation Rules are involved: *Eliminate TH* and *Externalize th*. Additionally, there is a phonological -*st*-Formation.

To compare with the Modern Icelandic examples above, there is one single example of the verb *opnast* in the Old Norse corpus:

(133)

"Mig	*dreymdi*	*það,"*	*segir*	*Flosi,*	*"að*	*eg*	*þóttist*	*staddur*	*að*
me	dreamt	that	says	Flosi	that	I	thought	stood	at

Lómagnúpi	*og*	*ganga*	*út*	*og*	*sjá*	*upp*	*til*	*gnúpsins.*
loon-mountain-peak	and	go	out	and	see	up	to	mountain-peak.

Og	***opnaðist***	*hann*	*og*	*gekk*	*maður*	*út*	*úr*	*gnúpinum* (Njála 290)
And	opened	it	and	went	man	out	of	mountain-peak-the

‘Flosi said: I dreamt that I thought I was standing in front of the Lomagnup and that I went and looked up at the mountain peak. It opened up and a man came out of the mountain peak’

---

already in the lexicon (the assumption being that Case assignment in the lexicon is excluded).

It seems reasonable to assume that it is not the man that opens the mountain. Rather, the mountain opens up all by itself. Hence, the internal role may be considered externalized.[85]

According to Sigurðsson (1992a:265; see also Óttosson 1986a, 1986b), only those *-st*-verbs that are subject to both *Eliminate TH* and *Externalize th* are *middle verbs* or *middles*.[86] Sigurðsson (1992a:267) states that “it seems clear that Icelandic middles do not imply an arbitrary agent. Rather, the external role of the corresponding active verb is completely eliminated”.[87] The examples above, may provide support to this view. Note also some striking evidence from Modern Icelandic:

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[85] In chapter 3, I said that the subject seemed to be both agentive and objective. See also the discussion in 4.3.3.2.

[86] For a different approach to English middles, see Keyser & Roeper (1984); see also Burzio (1981) who claims that English anticausatives (Marantz 1984) are unaccusatives/ergatives. For a discussion on German middles, see Pitz (1988), and Abraham (1986). See also the discussion in Sigurðsson (1992a:266ff.).

[87] See also the discussion in Marantz (1984:179ff.). Marantz, for instance, claims two different lexical entries (an ‘anticausative alternation’) for the verb *break* in (a) and (b):

(i) a. *Elmer broke the porcupine cage.*
b. *The porcupine cage broke.*

The entries are assumed to be:

(ii) a. ‘break 1' (*patient*), [+log sub], [+transitive]
b. ‘break 2' (*patient*), [-log sub], [-transitive]

(134) a. *Glugginn var opnaður viljandi / *af sjálfu sér.*
the window was opened intentionally / by itself

b. *Glugginn opnaðist *viljandi / af sjálfu sér.*
the window opened intentionally / by itself
(Sigurðsson 1992a:268)

The difference between the passive verb and the *-st*-verb shows cleary that the *-st*-verb does not have a proper external role (i.e. the role assigned to the argument in [Spec, VP] of the higher VP of the active verb or incorporated into the passive participle, cf. 4.3.3.1). The externalized internal role of the *-st*-verb does not fit the definition of the external role outlined in 4.2.1; on the other hand, it does not fit the definition of a Patient/Theme very well, either, since it is difficult to 'trace' a possible Agent while there still is some 'action'. One might ask if the externalized *th* is really some kind of 'bastard', being both Agent (agentive) and Patient/Theme (objective). As stated above, the original external argument, i.e. the former Agent, seems to be deleted completely by the word-formation rule *Eliminate TH* (note also that middle verbs cannot passivize). Furthermore, it is clear that a window is not capable of opening *itself*. Hence, a window cannot be a proper Agent at all in the 'real' world. Since the argument of the derived middle verb does not seem to be a proper Patient/Theme[88] either (there is some kind of 'action' involved, but since there is no Actor, there cannot be a Patient, cf. 4.2.1), I would suggest that the window is assigned the role of an Experiencer in this case. Of course, as mentioned before, a 'thing' like a window is not capable of experiencing anything either. However, this role seems to be more appropriate than any of the other thematic roles in this case. Maybe, one needs a new term for this kind of Experiencers. The status of the this role is, however, not that important in this discussion. My interest is first of all pointed at the syntactic status of the nominal argument. Take a look at some Old Norse examples, both from the same context:

(135) a. *Þá lukust upp* ***augu hans*** (Njála 252)
then opened up [eyes his]$_{SUBJ}$
'Then his eyes opened'

b. *Og er hann kom í þau hin sömu spor sem* ***augu hans***
and when he came in those the same tracks as [eyes his]$_{SUBJ}$

höfðu upp lokist þá lukust nú aftur og var
had up locked then locked [they] now after and was

---

[88] The role Theme would be a reasonable candidate. However, it seems that a Theme is most often base-generated as a complement, while I will claim that the argument in question is base-generated in [Spec, VP] of the lower VP.

hann alla ævi blindur síðan (Njála 253)
he all ever blind since
'And then, when he came to the same place where his eyes opend, they closed again, and he was blind ever since'

The person (Amund) is/was blind, hence, he is obviously not opening his eyes himself. Rather, his eyes just open by themselves (without being Agents), and the former internal role may be considered externalized.[89] *Upp* must be considered a verbal particle in these examples.[90] This is, on the other hand, of minor interest since *upp* could have been moved to the left by Scrambling as well. It is in any case not possible to tell if *augu hans* has been shifted to the right by Subject Shift, or if the NP is base-generated as a complement. In other words, *augu hans* may acutally be located in its 'base position', which would be an internal argument position. I have not found any other examples of this sort with, for instance, the subject behind a non-finite verb. This is what we would expect if *Externalize th* is a lexical rule in opposition to *ADD TH*, which obviously may involve NP movement, cf. the example with *svala* in 4.3.3.2 above, repeated here:

(136) *... hefir hér setið* ***svala ein*** *við glugginn og klakað*
... has here sat [swallow one]$_{SUBJ}$ with window and chirped

í alla nótt (Egla 458)
in all night
'A swallow was sitting here by the window and chirping all night'

In this example, the NP is obviously base-generated as a complement of the verb. However, some similarities can be observed: a promoted surface subject (i.e. a D-structure object) has not the same semantic properties as a D-structure subject, and a 'promoted' external argument cannot be expected to have the same properties as a proper external argument. I.e. in neither case, is the promoted argument an Agent. Consider another example with the verb *lúkast* (*upp*) ('open (up)'):

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[89] However, Amund is thanking *God* for this miracle:

(i) *Lofaður sért þú guð, drottinn minn. Sé eg nú hvað þú vilt* (Njála 252)
praised be you God, Lord mine. See I now what you want

In this particular case, God could, of course, play the role of an 'understood' Agent. However, we may consider syntactic facts and the belief of Amund to be two different things. A passive sentence, on the other hand, would obviously have made it clear if there had been some 'Agent' opening the eyes.

[90] Cf. the discussion in 4.7 and 4.3.2.4.

(137) *Þá laukst upp* ***fjörðurinn*** *í öðru sinni og var sá fjörður*
then opened up fjord-the in other sence and was that fjord

mjög langur (Krók 1525)
much long
'Then the fjord opened up for the second time, and that fjord was very long'

This example shows clearly that there is no 'understood' Agent involved. Nobody is actually opening the fjord, literally speaking; nor is the fjord opening itself. The fjord is just open, i.e. a *Theme* (a construction 'be open' would not involve an Agent, either).[91] Consider another example:

(138) *Síðan laukst aftur* ***haugurinn*** (Njála 215)
since locked shut/again mound-the
'Later the mound closed (again)'

Note that the man inside the mound is supposed to be dead, hence, he is really not opening the mound himself. There is another similar example (*aftur* is fronted by *Stylistic Fronting*, see 4.7):

(139) *Nú er hér eitt sverð er eg vil fá þér og stikk þú*
now is here a sword which I will give you and stick you

því í haugsbrotið og vit þá hvort aftur lykst
that in mound's-hole and know then whether shut/again locks

---

[91] It would probably not involve an Experiencer, either, cf. the discussion above. Note, however, that one could imagine a human Experiencer, e.g. 'the fjord opened up for them (as they were reaching it)'. In the case of Old Norse (or Modern German), such an Experiencer could be a dative argument and not a PP, e.g.:

(i) *Es öffneten sich ihnen alle Türen*
it opened REFL them$_{DAT}$ all doors
'All the doors were open for them' (i.e. they had all possibilities)

In this particular example, on the other hand, the dative would rather be considered a Beneficiary. The Old Norse example could probably not be used with this meaning, cf. Modern German:

(ii) *?Es öffnete sich ihnen der Fjord*
it opened REFL them$_{DAT}$ the fjord

Instead one could have said, for instance:

(iii) *Es öffnete sich vor ihnen der Fjord*
it opened REFL before them the fjord

hauguginn *eða* *eigi* (Harð 1268)
mound-the or not
'Now, here is a sword which I will give you, stick it into the hole of the mound and see if the mound closes (again)'

Clearly, it is assumed that the hole in the mound would close by itself and not through the help of some 'mysterious' Agent.

The discussion should have shown that middles are thematically quite different from passives (cf. Sigurðsson 1992a:269). I find it reasonable to assume a Word Formation Rule *Externalize th* (meaning: base-generate the argument in [Spec, VP] of the 'lower' VP), whereas ('true') ergatives and passives promote their subjects by syntactic movement or linking to [Spec, IP] from the base position (only). As opposed to ('true') ergatives and passives, middles never preserve lexical Case as can be seen from examples with transitive and ergative *lúka* ('close/end/finish') (from Sigurðsson 1992a:269):

(140) a. *Höfundurinn* *lauk* *sögunni.*
the author finished the story (D)

b. *Sögunni* *var* *lokað.*
the story (D) was finished (by someone)

b. *Sögunni* *lauk.*
the story (D) ended

versus the middle *lúkast*:[92]

(141) *... og vit* *þá* *hvort* *aftur* *lykst* ***hauguginn*** *eða* *eigi* (Harð 1268)
... and know then whether shut lockes mound-the$_{NOM}$ or not
'... and see if the mound is closing (again) or not'

Obviously, lexical promotion prevents the verb from assigning Case to the argument, hence, the NP gets structural Case, i.e. nominative.

With the ergative *lúka*, there are by far more examples where it seems that the internal argument (but surface subject) has not moved further than to [Spec, VP] - if it has moved at all, which is not possible to tell from these constructions ((138) is not a clear example either):[93]

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[92] Note also that an externalized argument seemingly has more in common with the role of an Actor than does an ordinary complement, cf.:

(i) *The mound closed by itself*
(ii) *The story ended (?/*by itself)*

---

[93] Actually, one can also find examples like (i) (still, there are rather few examples compared to the ergative variants):

(i) *Og* *lýk* ***eg*** *þar* *Finnboga* *sögu* (Finnb 673)
and close I$_{\text{SUBJ}}$ there [Finnbogi's saga]$_{\text{OBJ}}$
'And there I close/end the story of Finnbogi'

i.e., here the story-teller actually mentions himself as the one closing the story, or including the reader/hearer:

(ii) *Og* *lúkum* ***vér*** *þar* *Kjalnesinga* *sögu* (Kjaln 1459)
and close we$_{\text{SUBJ}}$ there [Kjalnesings' saga]$_{\text{OBJ}}$
'And there we close/end the story of the Kjalnesings'

Note also an even rarer variant (not using the verb *lúka*):

(iii) *Og* *gerum* ***vér*** *þar* *enda* *á* *Vatnsdœla* *sögu* (Vatn 1905)
and make we$_{\text{SUBJ}}$ there end on Vatnsdales' saga
'And there we bring the story of the Vatndols to an end'

That means that, theoretically, the 'ergative' variant might in fact be an *active* variant with an omitted unspecified subject/Actor, since the story-writer often was not known (anymore) (the 3rd person sg. *lýk**ur*** would then be a default/unmarked form). However, since the ergative use obviously exists in Modern Icelandic, cf. Sigurðsson (1992a:269), as it does in Modern Norwegian, English and German, I assume that the internal argument is promoted to surface subject. Compare also to:

(iv) *Þá* *var* *Hörður* *tólf* *vetra* *er* *hér* *var* *komið* *sögunni* (Harð 1264)
then was Hord twelve winters when here was come saga-the$_{\text{SUBJ}}$

(142) *Og lýkur hér sögunni* (BandK 45)
and locks here$_{\text{Adv}}$ story-the$_{\text{SUBJ}}$
'And here, the story ends'

(143) *Og lýkur þar nú sögunni* (Gunnl 1193)
and locks there$_{\text{Adv}}$ now$_{\text{Adv}}$ story-the$_{\text{SUBJ}}$
'And there the story ends now'

'Hord was twelve years old at the time the story has come to now'

where *sögunni* clearly must be the subject of *komið* (there being no other argument available and no reasonable 'understood' Agent, either), even though it has not moved (overtly) from the complement position (which it does not in most of the examples). Finally, compare also to a rarer variant:

(v) *Og endir þar sögu frá honum* (Laxd 1553)
and ends there [saga of him]$_{\text{SUBJ}}$
'And there the story about him ends'

Note that the adverb(s) precede the subject, i.e. no matter if the adverbs are base-generated in that position or if they have moved there by Scrambling, the position would be to the left of [Spec, VP].[94] With the middle *lúkast*, I have not been able to find examples that would indicate in any way that the surface subject is a promoted *internal* argument (complement). *Externalize th* is supposed to be a lexical rule, as proposed by Sigurðsson (1992a), hence, the 'internal' argument is assumed to be base-generated as an external argument (however, external only with respect to the 'lower' VP). If there is no nominal argument to externalize, [Spec, IP] is occupied by *pro* (cf. weather verbs; see the discussion in 4.6):

(144) *... og laukst með því að þeir Ásgrímur gengu að svo fast*
... and locked [*pro*] with that that they Asgrim went at so fast

að þeir Flosi hrukku undan (Njála 317)
that they Flosi back under
'... and it ended with Asgrim and his men going so hard against Flosi and his men that they had to retreat'

Of course, [Spec, IP] is also occupied by *pro* in the examples above where the internal argument is located in its base position. However, in those cases, the argument and *pro* are linked together (by an expletive chain, see 4.6), whereas there is no lexical argument to be linked to in avalent constructions.

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[94] Note the interesting fact that this kind of presentational construction with 'end' is possible in Old Norse and Modern German but not in Modern Norwegian, cf.:

(i) *Es endet hier nun die Saga* (German)
it ends here now the saga

(ii) **Det ender her no soga* (Norwegian)
it ends here now saga-the

B. Ergative -*st*-verbs (‘Passives’)[95]

As mentioned before, -*st*-verbs are not necessarily always middle verbs. An -*st*-verb may also be an ergative verb like, for instance, *gefast* (≈‘get’), which is seemingly derived by *Eliminate TH* (i.e. unlike Passive Formation) from the verb *gefa* (‘give’) which is used extensively in the demonstrations on Old Norse passive above. Consider the following examples:

(145) **a. active (transitive)**

*... og **gaf** Þórður henni ekki rúm í rekkjuna* (BjHít 93)
... and gave $\text{Thord}_{\text{SUBJ-AGENT}}$ $\text{her}_{\text{DAT-BEN}}$ not $\text{room}_{\text{ACC-THM}}$ in bed-the
‘... and Thord made not room for her in bed’

b. passive

*... en eigi var meira rúm **gefið** en einn maður*
... and not was [more $\text{room]}_{\text{SUBJ}}$ given [$_{\text{DAT-GOAL?}}$] [by$_{\text{-AGENT}}$] than one m

---

[95] In traditional grammars (e.g. Haugen 1993:281, Iversen 1972:149), some of the ergative -*st*-verbs discussed in this subsection, are usually considered *passives* (or as having a passive function). However, since passives always involve a (suppressed) external role (i.e. an Agent), this must be considered an incorrect term. Still, the constructions in question are not unlike passive constructions and might be said to function like passives. I will use the term *ergatives*.

mátti ganga (VígGl 1942)[96]
might go
'... and there was just enough space for one man to go' / '... that one man could/was able to pass through'

c. ergative
... og ***gafst*** *honum svo rúm fram í gegnum fylkingina* (Egla 476)
... and got him$_{\text{SUBJ}}$ so$_{\text{SA}}$ room$_{\text{OBJ}}$ forth i against battle line
'... and they made room for him through the battle line' / 'and it was made room for him ...'

When (c) is used instead of (b), I assume that the semantic content of the verb is changed. For example, in (b) the Agent is still present in the 'background', even though it is not expressed overtly. In (c), on the other hand, the Agent is 'eliminated'. This implies that we get an ergative verb with a meaning heading more in the direction of 'there was space for him' or 'space opened up for him' or the like, i.e. with 'him' as the Benefactive, hence, the highest role and accordingly the surface-subject candidate. When there is no Agent role, there cannot be any passive by definition.

Note also an example where the dative subject of the ergative *gefast* is omitted in co-reference with a nominative subject:

(146) *Bersi stóð fyrir honum og gafst eigi rúmið* (Korm 1486)
Bersi$_{\text{SUBJi}}$ stood before him and got [*pro*]$_{\text{DATi}}$ not room-the
'Bersi stood in front of him and did not get the seat'

---

[96] In this particular example, I would analyze the omitted dative, usually being a Beneficiary/Recipient, as a Goal, i.e. generated lower than the nominative Theme (cf. the 'inverted DOC'). Hence, *meira rúm* can be promoted to subject without any complications.

The ergative verb *gefast* with the meaning ‘get’ compared to the transitive *gefa* with the meaning ‘give’ demonstrates the difference between verbs assigning an external (Agent) role and verbs that do not assign a (‘higher’) external role (ergative verbs). The verb *give* presupposes a (in some way) identifiable giver (which, however, may be contextually less important or even unknown in the passive version of the verb), whereas the ergative *gefast* does not assign an external role (i.e. an Agent role) at all and promotes an internal argument to subject instead. This is an operation similar to passive promotion, with the difference that the passive variant allows association to an external role, whereas the ergative variant does not allow such association.[97] Since it is impossible to find ‘negative’ data in Old Norse/Icelandic, I will again compare with some Modern Icelandic examples to illustrate the phenomena (quoted from Sigurðsson 1992a:270, fn. 33):

(147) **a. active**

Jón	*gaf*	*mér*	*þetta*	*tækifæri.*
John	gave	me (D)	this	opportunity (A)

b. passive

Mér	*var*	*gefið*	*þetta*	*tækifæri*	(*viljandi*).
me (D)	was	given	this	opportunity (N)	(intentionally)

---

[97] Compare also to English and German translations of the same example, e.g.:

(i) *Bersi*$_{\text{SUBJi}}$ *stood in front of him and* (*he*$_{\text{SUBJi}}$) *did not get the seat*
(ii) *Bersi*$_{\text{SUBJi}}$ *stand vor ihm und* (*er*$_{\text{SUBJi}}$) *bekam den Sitz nicht*

In neither case is there an Agent involved. Even though one might add *from him/von ihm*, there is no other version of *get/bekommen*, i.e. there is no active-passive correlation.

c. ergative

Mér	*gafst*	*þetta*	*tækifæri*	(**viljandi*).
me (D)	got	this	opportunity (N)	(intentionally)

Clearly, there is no external role to associate with in the ergative construction.[98] The same relations are found with the verbs *fá* and *fást*, which may have roughly the same meaning as *gefa* and *gefast*:

(148) **a. active**

Skeggi	***fékk***	*honum*	*byrðing* (Njála 345)
Skeggi$_{\text{NOM-SUBJ-AGENT}}$	gave	him$_{\text{DAT-IO-BEN}}$	cargo-boat$_{\text{ACC-DO-PAT}}$

'Skeggi gave him a cargo boat'

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[98] However, if negated, the construction seems to be possible (as pointed out to me by Hermundur Sigmundsson, p.c.), e.g.:

(i)	*Mér*	*gafst*	*ekki*	*viljandi*	*þetta*	*tækifæri*
	me	got	not	intentionally	this	opportunity

Thus, with *ekki* it seems clear that there is 'something/somebody(?)' outside the syntactical context preventing 'I' from getting the opportunity. Hermundur Sigmundsson also accepts a sentence with the adjunct *af þeim* (cf. the examples with *get/bekommen* in the previous footnote):

(ii)	*Mér*	*gafst*	*viljandi*	*þetta*	*tækifæri*	*af*	*þeim*
	me	got	intentionally	this	opportunity	of	them

However, if the negation word is added to this construction, Hermundur is not any longer sure about his judgement:

(iii)	?*Mér*	*gafst*	*ekki*	*viljandi*	*þetta*	*tækifæri*	*af*	*þeim*
	me	got	not	intentionally	this	opportunity	of	them

This seems to indicate that *af þeim* is not an 'Agent phrase' at all, i.e. *af þeim* should rather be interpreted as 'through/from them' (Instrument/Source) and not 'by them'.

b. passive

Var henni ***fengið*** *rúm í innanverðum skála* (Eyrb 602)
was her$_{\text{DAT-SUBJ}}$ given room$_{\text{NOM-OBJ}}$ in inner house
‘Her was given a room in the inner house’

c. ergative

Fjölmennt var í búðinni og ***fékkst*** *Bersa ekki*
crowed was in booth-the and got Bersi$_{\text{DAT-SUBJ}}$ not

rúm (Korm 1486)
room$_{\text{NOM-OBJ}}$
‘There were many people in the booth and Bersi did not get a seat’

The verb *fá* (including the variant *fást*) is a verb with many different meanings, let alone a verb that seems to participate in many different deep structures. For instance, there is a variant of *fá,* also meaning ‘get’, that seems to be subject to *Externalize th*. Note the change of Case compared to the ergative *fást*:

(149) *... ef hann fær góða konu* (Laxd 1600)
... if he$_{\text{NOM-SUBJ}}$ gets good wife$_{\text{ACC-OBJ}}$
‘... if he gets a good wife’

In this context, *fá* means obviously ‘get oneself something’, i.e. oneself is providing something for oneself. It seems that the Beneficiary also has some Agent properties. However, it is not clear how much ‘action’ this construction involves, that is, if ‘he’ has to work hard to get a wife, or if he just gets a wife (for instance, implying an ‘eliminated’ or omitted father-in-law, i.e. Agent/Source). This is, on the other hand, clearer in the next example where we find a reflexive:

(150) *Hann fær sér menn og verða átta saman* (VaLjó 1836)
he$_{\text{NOMi}}$ gets himself$_{\text{DATi}}$ men and become [they] eight together
‘He gathers some men and together they count eight’

This example has the same form as the active transitive example (148a) above (‘get someone else something’). However, it has much in common with the example where the internal role of the Beneficiary is externalized: ‘he’ is both the ‘Agent’ and the Beneficiary, but, this time, there are two lexical representatives: *hann* and *sér*.

In another context, *fá* may apparently have the meaning of ‘having (gotten) something’, instead of ‘oneself making an effort to get something’:

(151) *Fékk Haraldur konungur ágætan sigur* (Korm 1497)
got Harald king praiseworthy victory
‘King Harald had a praiseworthy victory’

It is clear that this victory required some effort. However, *Haraldur* seems first of all to be a Beneficiary in this example. Obviously, there is no Agent involved in this construction either.

Then, *fá* may have the meaning of 'get somebody to do something (for oneself)'. Again, the roles of the Agent(?) and the Beneficiary are not very distinct:

(152) *Reið Gunnar þegar heim frá skipi en fékk*
rode Gunnar immediately home from ship and got [he]$_{\text{AGENT?}}$

menn til að ryðja skipið (Njála 159)
men to to clear ship-the
'Gunnar rode home straight away and got men to clear the ship'

This sentence may be interpreted as: 'he got men to clear the ship' or 'he made men clear the ship'.

Obviously, the verb *fá* (with variants) deserves a study on its own.[99] This is, however, not the aim of this work. I have demonstrated above that some verbs may have different argument structures, i.e. they are practically homonyms, a fact one has to take into consideration when analyzing word order phenomena since the surface subject might be base-generated either as a specifier or as a complement of the verb. When the specifier is an 'externalized' argument it should not be able to appear behind the participle unless it is extraposed by Subject Shift, while a proper complement apparently may easily stay in place.

Before leaving this discussion, I will draw attention to some interesting examples with *fást* (which I claimed is ergative, i.e. not involving an Agent).For instance, example (154) below might give the impression that the verb is not ergative after all. Example (153) is rather unproblematic:

(153) *Annan dag eftir gengu menn til Lögbergs. Hallur af*
other day after went men to Law-mountain. [Hall of

Síðu stóð upp og kvaddi sér hljóðs og fékkst
Sida]$_i$ stood up and requested himself$_i$ sound and got [_$_i$]

þegar (Njála 319)
immediately
'The next day, the men went to Logberg. Hall of Sida stood up and asked for the floor, and it was granted him'

Even though the context makes it clear that there is somebody (*menn*) who might be giving the permission to speak, *fást* is not supposed to be able to associate with an agentive role (which we, in this particular example, do not find syntactic evidence of, either). Now, consider the next example:

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[99] See, for instance, the discussions on Modern Norwegian *få* by Lødrup (1996) and Strøm (1996). See also Faarlund, Lie & Vannebo (1997:848ff.).

(154) *Húsfreyja bað þá vita hvað af Gretti yrði en það*
housewife$_i$ asked then know what of Gretti became and that

fékkst ekki ***af þeim*** (Grett 984)
got [_$_i$] not [of them]$_{PP}$
'The mistress of the house then wanted to know what had happened to Gretti, but that she was not able to know it from them / get it out of them'

This example is interesting in several ways: first, it may look as if there is an Agent phrase, and second, there is no (overt) Beneficiary argument. The Beneficiary subject may obviously be omitted since it is co-referential with *húsfreya*, the subject of the preceding clause.[100] The ergative verb *fást* takes a dative (Beneficiary) subject (see, however, the discussion below), hence, it does not assign an external (agentive) role. Clearly, the phrase *af þeim* cannot be considered an Agent phrase 'by somebody' related to a potential external θ-role assigned by the verb. Rather it must be analyzed as an adverbial (instrumental?) phrase 'from/through somebody' (Source). The interpretation of *af þeim* as an Agent phrase would make this look like a passive construction, which it is not, since there is no passive participle. There is also another similar example that might show the status of the *af*-phrase more clearly:

(155) *Hann venur komur sínar til Ölvis að hitta dóttur*
he$_i$ often-turns coming his to Olvi to hit/meet daughter

hans og í mót vilja frænda hennar og fékkst þó engi
his and against will relatives her and got [_$_i$] though no

forstaða ***af lítilmennsku föður hennar*** (LjósC 1655)
resistence [of cowardliness father hers]$_{PP}$
'He often cames to Olvi to visit his daughter - and this against the will of her relatives - and got, however, no resistence from the cowardliness of her father'

Here, it is not the father who does not '*give*' resistence (which would make him an Agent), but first of all a man (Sölmundur) who does not *get* resistence (i.e. he is the Beneficiary) from the father of the girl he wants to marry (against the will of the family). Obviously, an *af*-phrase can be added to these constructions not as a free adjunct like other free adverbials. Recall the discussion (cf. the referring footnote) on the Modern Icelandic example (147c) (repeated here):

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[100] It may also be possible to argue that *það* is the subject and that there is no Beneficiary at all. However, in this particular example (and the next), I do not think such an interpretation is very likely. See below for a use of *fást* where it seems that the Beneficiary is suppressed, cf. suppression of the external role in passive formation.

(156) *Mér gafst þetta tækifæri (*viljandi).*
me (D) got this opportunity (N) (intentionally)

While *viljandi* apparently is ungrammatical in this construction when there is only a Beneficiary argument and a Theme argument overtly present, the construction seems to improve a lot when the proposition is negated or when an Agent phrase(?) or Instrument/Source (*af þeim*) is added as an adjunct (see the discussion above).

The verbs under discussion, then, should not be called 'passives' since they do not associate with a potential Agent, hence, the verbs are purely ergative. Consider another example:

(157) *Engi maður veitti svör máli hans og er Þormóður sá*
no man gave answer words his and when Thormod saw

að engi fengust ráð ***af þeirra hendi*** *þá mælti*
that no got$_{\text{V-PL}}$ advice$_{\text{PL}}$ [of their hand] then said

hann:"Hví munu eigi finnast ráð til þess?" (Fóstb 846)
he:" Why would not be-found advice$_{\text{SUBJ}}$ to this?"
'... and when Thormod saw that he did not get any advice from them, he said: "Why is there no advice for this?"'

Here too, the (potential) (non-overt) Beneficiary would be co-referential with the subject of the preceding clause, hence, it could easily be omitted. However, instead of interpreting the construction as: 'he did not get any advice from them / from their hands', it can also be understood as 'there came (/was) no advice (/to get) from them', i.e. the construction is not very unlike the construction with *finnast* ('exist') with an externalized *th*, in the subsequent sentence. Note also that the verb *fengust* seems to agree with the plural NP *ráð*. Thus, the *af*-phrase should probably be analyzed as a Source, while *ráð* is, in fact, the one and only possible subject.

The verb *fást* really seems to be used with the same meaning as *finnast* in some constructions:

(158) *... og kvað það mörgum manni kunnigt vera að varla*
... and said that many men known be that hardly

fékkst *meiri ójafnaðarmaður en Þorsteinn var* (Reykd 1763)
got/existed [more uneven-man]$_{\text{SUBJ}}$ than Thorstein was
'... and said that this was known to many men that there was no man as unfair as Thorstein'

In this context, it is obviously not meant that anybody would be interested in 'getting' a man like

Thorstein. There is also another example where *fást* is used with this meaning:

(159) *... og þóttu þeir þar fyrir öllum ungum mönnum í allri*
... and thought they there before all young men in all

atferð sinni svo að þeirra jafningjar ***fengust*** *eigi* (Dropl 348)
behavior their so that [their equals]$_{\text{SUBJ-PL}}$ got/existed$_{\text{PL}}$ not
'... and they seemed to be better in all skills than all the young men, such that there was nobody equal in ability'

There seems to be no concrete Beneficiary that might have an interest in 'getting' one of those 'skillful men'. Thus, it looks like the agentive verb *fá*, which assigns three θ-roles: Agent, Beneficiary and Theme, can be reduced to an ergative bivalent verb *fást* with the roles Beneficiary and Theme, which again can be reduced to a monovalent verb *fást* where the 'external' Beneficiary is eliminated (or maybe suppressed?) and the Theme is externalized, i.e. generated as the specifier of the 'lower' VP (and not the 'higher' VP).

The Theme argument may also be externalized with the ergative verb *finnast*. Consider the following examples:[101]

(160) **a. active**
"Eg vil ***finna*** *hann," segir Karl* (Svarf 1821)
I will find him$_{\text{OBJ-THEME}}$, says Karl
'I want to meet him, says Karl'

b. passive
(i) *... ef hann verður* ***fundinn*** (Fóstb 836)
... if he$_{\text{SUBJ-THEME}}$ becomes found
'... if he is found'

(ii) *... fyrr en Þórhallur er* ***fundinn*** *son minn* (Njála 319)
... before than Thorhall$_{\text{SUBJ-THEME}}$ is found son mine
'... before my son Thorhall is found'

c. ergative/middle
Um vorið sendir Gunnar menn norður í óbyggðir
in spring sends Gunnar men north in unbuilt

að leita Refs og ***finnst*** *hann ekki* (Krók 1523)
to search Ref and finds he$_{\text{SUBJ-THEME}}$ not
'When spring came, Gunnar sent men north in the solitude to search for Ref, but he cannot be found'

Even though there is a clear semantic relation between *leita* ('search') and *finnast* ('be found'), only the passive of *finna* ('find') seems to have an external role.[102] The middle *finnast*, on the other hand, has externalized its internal role, hence, it may be considered having some kind of passive 'function'. It can, however, not combine with an Agent. *Middle*, then, seems to be an appropriate term since this construction lies 'in the middle' of proper active constructions with an external role and ergative constructions without an external role. *Hann* in (c) is, thus, probably the ***specifier*** of the 'lower' VP (i.e. promoted from complement to specifier in the lexicon), whereas *hann* and *Þórhallur* in (b) are promoted ***complements***.

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[101] It is imaginable that the active/transitive *finna* might be derived by ADD TH, i.e. the Experiencer could be turned into an Agent. See also the discussion below.

In the following example the subject of *finnast* is co-referential with the subject of leita in a passive construction:

(161) *... og finnst eigi það er leitað var* (Fóstb 805)
... and finds not that$_i$ that$_{\text{REL}}$ [_$_i$] searched was
'... and the thing that was searched for, was not found'

---

[102] Actually, I am not sure how well the role of an Agent would fit the higher argument of *finna*. Intuitively, I would say that *finna* has to be an ergative verb with an Experiencer subject. However, *finna* may obviously passivize, which would be an argument against ergativity. On the other hand, *finna* may possibly be subject to the same phenomenon observed with motion/event verbs like e.g. *koma* (as discussed further above), i.e. only when the action involves *intentionality* (cf. 160a), the verb may passivize (cf. 160b). See also the previous footnote.

Það (*er leitað var*) is the subject of *finnst*, but *það* is also the promoted passive subject of the relative clause with the verb *leitað* (this subject is, of course, not overtly expressed in the relative clause).[103] With *finnst*, I assume, *það* is a specifier, whereas with *leitað*, *það* (or rather *þess*) would be a complement. In both cases, the argument is promoted to surface subject.[104]

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[103] Note that an overt passive subject of *leitað* would be in the genitive, i.e.:

(i)	*Þess*	*var*	*leitað*
	(for) this$_{\text{GEN}}$	was	searched

the combination above being another argument for the existence of oblique subjects in Old Norse. The construction ... *það er leitað var* involves, furthermore, also Stylistic Fronting (the main verb *leitað* has moved to the left of the auxiliary verb), i.e. the subject position is supposed to be empty (see the discussion in 4.7). The corresponding main clause would be (i) above or possibly *Var þess leitað.*

[104] The *internal* character of the (lower) external argument of *finnast* with the meaning 'exist' can also be demonstrated by the behavior of the same verb in Modern Norwegian, e.g.:

(i)	*Det*	*finst*	*ikkje*	*mat*	*i*	*huset*
	it	exists	not	food	in	house-the
	'There is no food in the house'					

(ii)	*Det*	*har*	*ikkje*	*funnest*	*mat*	*i*	*huset*
	it	has	not	existed	food	in	house-the
	'There has not been any food in the house'						

As demonstrated by (ii), the NP may appear behind the main verb in a presentational construction, i.e. it must be an internal argument. Note, by the way, that (ii) would be an extremely rare expression; some people would not even

The Theme status of the argument of *finnast* is also clear when there is absolutely no (syntactic) sign of an Agent (or Experiencer):

(162) *Finnst Ljótur þar dauður undir veggnum* (Harð 1326)
finds Ljot there dead under walls
'Ljot is (found) there dead under the walls / lies there dead under the walls'

Then there are constructions where it may look as if there is a second argument involved:

(163) *... að* ***honum*** *finnst eigi* ***annar*** *líkur* (Fljót 681)
... that him$_i$ finds not other$_{SUBJ}$ [like _$_i$]
'... that there is no one (found) like him'

However, in this case, *honum* must be considered an argument of the adjective *líkur* and not of *finnast*. Still, there is also an ergative version of *finnast* which behaves like other ergative Experiencer verbs:

(164) *Finnst þeim Írum nú mikið um hversu víglegir*
finds [them Irish]$_{SUBJ\text{-}EXP}$ now much about how fighting-fit

þessir menn eru (Laxd 1564)
these men are
'The Irish pay much attention to the fact that these men are very fighting fit'

When used as an ergative, the verb is bivalent, or maybe trivalent: *finnast e-m e-t* [*um* CP] ('somebody feels something about ...'); *um* may be analyzed as a preposition with a clause as its complement or as a verbal particle. The ergative *finnast* is similar to the middle *finnast* in that the Theme is something that 'exists'. On the other hand, this Theme is 'found', i.e. experienced, by another argument (which is not present in the middle construction, maybe due to a rule *Eliminate th*). Another example is:

(165) *Og nú finnst mönnum orð um hve skrautlegur*
and now finds men$_{SUBJ\text{-}EXP}$ words$_{OBJ\text{-}THM}$ about [how fine

flokkur þeirra var (GíslS 856)
flock their was]$_{CP}$
'And now people talked about how fine their men were' /'Now, there is the word going between people ...'

---

accept this formulation. However, this is first of all due to the low frequency of participle forms of -*st*-verbs in Modern Norwegian.

It is clear that some verbs have different properties or may be considered homonyms, i.e. they may actually be different verbs. The verb *finnast*, for instance, may furthermore be used in reciprocal constructions, as shown below.

C. Reflexive and reciprocal *-st*-verbs

While the existential version of *finnast* seems to be derived by *Externalize th*, i.e. the Theme complement is generated in the specifier position, the reciprocal version of *finnast* looks like it involves *Externalize th + ADD TH*, i.e. for the reciprocal *finnast* this may imply that the Theme is an Agent at the same time (supposed this is possible in some way). The verb would, thus, be some combination of the active *finna*[105] and the ergative *finnast*, e.g.:

(166) *Og nú finnast þeir Hallur og Þorkell Geirason* (Reykd 1763)
and now finds they Hall and Thorkel Geir's-son
'And now, Hall and Thorkel Geirason meet (each other)'

Hallur and Þorkell do not just 'exist', nor are they 'located' in a special place as in, for instance:

(167) *Finnst Ljótur þar dauður undir veggnum* (Harð 1326)
finds Ljot$_{\text{THEME}}$ there dead under walls
'Ljot is (found) there dead under the walls / lies there dead under the walls'

The reciprocal *finnast* has the meaning 'to meet each other', which implies that one is trying to *find* the other. It is also possible to imagine the word formation as starting with the bivalent ergative version of the verb. The Experiencer argument may, for instance, be externalized to the 'higher' VP, while the internal Theme role is incorporated into the verb (*-st*), because it is co-referential with the externalized argument.

An alternative analysis would also be imaginable: one could, for instance, claim that the Theme argument is externalized while the Experiencer is incorporated. The difference would be something like:

(168) a. *They=ADD TH + Ext. th*$_{\text{EXPERIENCER}}$ [*find-(themselves)*$_{\text{THEME}}$]
b. *Themselves=Ext. th*$_{\text{THEME}}$ [*find-*(*they/them*)$_{\text{EXPERIENCER}}$]

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[105] As mentioned before, the active *finna* could, for instance, be derived by *Externalize th/ADD TH*, i.e. the Experiencer is turned into an Agent.

I assume that (a) is the most reasonable analysis. Note also the following difference in English:

(169) a. *I find my wife attractive* = ergative (Experiencer, Theme)

b. *I found my wife in the bookshop* = transitive (*ADD TH* and *Externalize* th_{EXP})

Recall that the external role 'created' by *ADD TH* would be different from a 'natural' Agent. The verb *finna* itself may probably be considered an Experiencer verb, hence, ergative, even though *finna* (i.e. not the *st*-version) seems not to be used as an ergative without an external role, cf. the event verbs discussed above. The second analysis with an externalized Theme, on the other hand, seems rather unlikely.

The reciprocal version of *finnast* is similar to the reflexive verb *setjast* discussed further above. Recall that *setjast* seems to be derived from the ergative *sitja* in some way at some point in time (via the verb *setja*). Reciprocals and reflexives should not be considered middles, given that the term *middle* refers to constructions that remind of passive, but without having a potential Agent role .

Reciprocals and reflexives verbs show more clearly that the Patient role is incorporated, cf., for instance, the verb *berjast* ('fight' (each other)):

(170) *Þeir börðust fjóra daga* (Korm 1467)
they fought four days
'They fought (with each other) for four days'

The Patient argument must be considered incorporated into the -*st*-verb compared to the transitive version *berja* ('beat'):

(171) *Sóttu þeir að honum og börðu* ***hann*** *með*
seaked $\text{they}_{\text{AGENT}}$ at him and beat $\text{him}_{\text{PATIENT}}$ with

járnstöngum (Barð 47)
iron bars
'The went for him and beat him with iron bars'

Note also an interesting example with the reciprocal verbs *finnast* and *berjast* side by side:

(172) *Spyr nú hvor til annars og fara orð í milli þeirra*
knows now each to other and go words in between them

og ***fundust*** *þeir sjálfir og lögðu sér orustustað*
and find they selves and made themselves battlefield

og ***börðust*** (Korm 1467)
and fought-themselves
'Now, they become aware of each other and they send messages to each other until they met (personally) and made (themselves) a battlefield and fought'

An example of a reflexive -*st*-verb is *búast* (‘prepare oneself’):

(173) *... og búast þeir til bardaga* (Fóstb 794)
... and prepared they to fight
‘... and they prepared (themselves) (for) the fight’

(174) *Og litlu síðar býst hann heim að ríða* (Finnb 655)
and little since prepares he home to ride
‘And a little later, he prepares (himself) to ride home’

This particular verb may also be used as a verb + reflexive pronoun:

(175) *... þá vinda þeir fyrst klæði sín og* ***búa sig***
... then wind they first clothes their and prepare themselves

til göngu (Laxd 1552)
to walk
‘... then they wring out their clothes and prepare for the tour’

(176) *Það var einn dag er Óspakur* ***býr sig*** *til brottferðar*
that was one day that Ospak prepares himself to departure
‘One day, Ospak prepares his departure’ (BandK 30)

Obviously, -*st*-verbs may have different properties. Some verbs are **ergatives**, i.e. they have no external argument and promote an internal argument syntactically (only) (hence they keep their lexical Case); some are **transitive or intransitive** verbs, i.e. a (former) internal role is promoted to external role in the lexicon after application of the rule *ADD TH*; and some are **middles**, i.e. the external role is deleted and an internal role is externalized and then promoted to subject. The surface subject of ergative verbs is assumed to be base-generated as an internal argument, either as a specifier (of the ‘lower’ VP) or as a complement.

In many cases, it is difficult to say what variant of a verb an -*st*-verb is derived from. This is, on the other hand, not of any particular interest in this work.

4.3.3.4 Copula Constructions

The verbs *vera* (‘be’) and *verða* (‘become’) (and a few other verbs) are not supposed to be assigners of θ-roles.[106] Adjectives - and nouns -, on the other hand, may take arguments (cf. e.g. Haegeman 1991:47ff.). The subject of copula constructions does not satisfy the demands of the definition of the external role outlined in 4.2, i.e. it is not assumed that the subject of a copula sentence is base-generated in [Spec, VP] of the ‘higher’ VP.

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[106] In Nordgård & Åfarli (1990:127) it is also assumed that copula verbs do not assign Case (this being in accordance

Adjectives and nouns have an argument structure similar to that of ergatives:[107] therefore, they do not combine with a D-structure subject and must promote an internal argument in order to create a surface subject.[108] Consider, for instance:

(1) *Hann var dauður* (Grett 1005)
he was dead

Hann is assigned a Theme role by the adjective. Being the only argument in the clause, this argument, then, is promoted to surface subject.

---

with e.g. Burzio's Generalization (Burzio 1986:178f.)). See, however, Maling & Sprouse (1995) for arguments that the copula assigns structural Case in e.g. Modern Danish, Norwegian and English. In Modern Icelandic, Swedish and German, on the other hand, the source of the nominative case is assumed to be I.

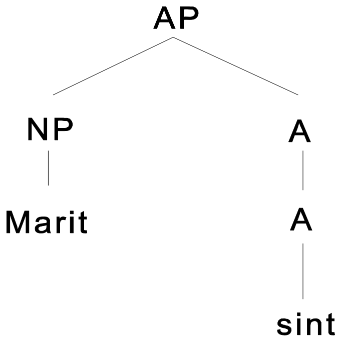
[107] Cf. also Sigurðsson (1992a:250ff.), supported by Delsing (1992:41).

[108] Cf. the Extended Projection Principle (Chomsky 1982:10):

> At every level of representation of a clause there must be an external argument position outside the domain of the verb, a position which is coindexed with a theta-marked position within VP.

In Nordgård & Åfarli (1990:126f.), it is assumed that the 'subject' (like *hann* in the example (1) above) is base-generated in the specifier position of the adjective, c.f.:[109]

(2)



The surface structure of the Modern Norwegian sentence

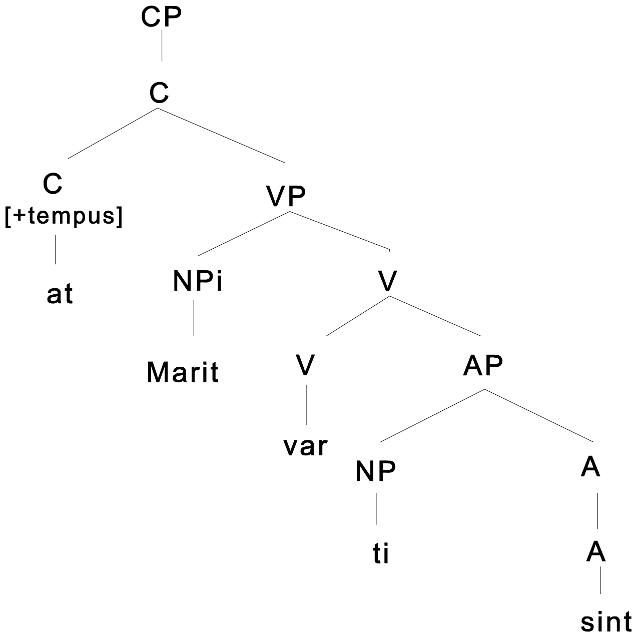
(3)	*... at Marit*	*var*	*sint*
	... that Marit	was	angry

---

[109] See Delsing (1989, 1992, 1993) for analyses of the Scandinavian DP and AP. Note, however, that Delsing generates the NP as a right hand specifier of the adjective, cf. e.g. Delsing (1993:81). My impression of the AP supports the opinion of Abney (1987; cf. also Radford 1992). For arguments against this analysis, see Delsing 1993:80f.).

is assumed to look like (Nordgård & Åfarli 1990:127):[110]

(4)



In Chomsky (1986a:20f.) (see also Stowell 1978, 1983), on the other hand, the argument of the adjective is assumed to be adjacent to AP:

(5) *they consider* [$_\alpha$ *John* [$_{AP}$ *intelligent*]]

---

[110] Modern Norwegian, as mentioned before, is not supposed to have an IP-node, or put in a more modern approach, one considers Modern Norwegian as having *weak* Agr; see e.g. Holmberg & Platzack (1995).

However, when comparing these structures to the structure of the VP discussed above, there may be several reasons to assume a similar structure for the AP:[111]

First, the Theme argument has semantic properties similar to that of the (primary/direct) object of a transitive verb, e.g.:

(6) a. *Peter made an angry face*
b. *Peter made Mary angry*
c. *Mary was angry*

In (a), there is an Agent *Peter* and a Patient/Theme *an angry face*. In (b), the Agent *Peter* acts on the Patient *Mary* with the result that *Mary*, who then perhaps could be considered a Theme (Experiencer?), is angry, cf. (c).

Second, many adjectives - like verbs - may take two (internal) arguments. Let us call the 'lower' thematic role a *Goal*:[112]

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[111] For a slightly different analysis, see Sigurðsson (1992a:256ff.).

[112] The choice of this term is somewhat arbitrary. I assume that in a construction where something is compared with another, the thing compared with can be said to function as a Goal. Anyway, it seems clear that it has a 'lower' role than the Theme. Note also the Modern Norwegian alternative constructions:

(i) *Han liknar far sin*
he looks/behaves-like [father his]$_{NP}$

(ii) *Han liknar* ***på*** *far sin*
he looks/behaves-like [on father his]$_{PP}$
'He looks/behaves like his father'

(7) *Hann* *var* *líkur* *föður sínum* (Egla 373)
he$_{\text{THEME}}$ was like [father his]$_{\text{GOAL}}$
'He was like his father'

We can also compare the adjective *líkur* ('alike') to the the verb *líkjast* ('be (a)like'):

(8) *... en þú* *munt líkjast* *föður* *þínum* (HávÍs 1324)
... and you$_{\text{THEME}}$ will be-like [father your]$_{\text{GOAL}}$
'... and you will be like your father'

Hence, there seems to be a striking structural similarity between the VP and the AP.

The question, then, is if the Theme argument, i.e. the surface-subject candidate, is base-generated as a specifier of AP or adjacent to AP as suggested by Nordgård & Åfarli (1990) and Chomsky (1986a), respectively - or if the argument is generated as a complement of the adjective, as suggested by Sigurðsson (1992a).

The underlying structure for the adjective *líkur* may also be compared to the structure of, for instance, the ergative verb *líka* (which, of course, has a different meaning). The verb *líka* promotes its highest internal argument to surface subject:

(9) *En* *það* *líkar* ***mér*** *illa* *við* *bræður* *mína* (Svarf 1806)
and that$_{\text{OBJ-THEME}}$ likes me$_{\text{SUBJ-EXP}}$ ill with brothers mine
'And/but that I dislike about my brothers'

The highest argument of *líka* is the (dative) Experiencer. In (9), the nominative object *það* is topicalized whereas the surface subject *mér* is located in [Spec, IP], as can be shown by similar

---

Consider also:

(iii) *Han* *prøvdeå* *likne* *på* *far* *sin*
he tried to look/behave-like [on father his]$_{\text{GOAL}}$
'He tried to be/become like his father'

where it is clear that the father (or rather his look/behavior) is the Goal of the 'trying'.

examples:

(10) *Vel líkar* ***mér*** *það þó að ...* (Þórð 2019)
well likes me$_{SUBJ}$ that$_{OBJ}$ though that ...
‘Though, I like that ...’

(11) *En líkar* ***mér,"*** *segir hann, "kvonfangið ...* (Reykd 1753)
and likes me$_{SUBJ}$ says he, marriage-the$_{OBJ}$ ...
‘And I like the marriage / I am satisfied with the marriage, he says’

The Experiencer argument can be said to correspond to an ‘indirect object’ (i.e. a specifier argument), whereas the Theme argument is the ‘direct object’ (i.e. complement). Consider also:

(12) *Var hann spurður að hversu honum hefði líkað*
was he asked about how he$_{SUBJ}$ had liked

vistargerðin eða veturvistin á Reykjahólum (Grett 1031)
[cooking or winter-stay on Reykjaholar]$_{OBJ}$
‘He was asked how he had liked the cooking and his stay during the winter’

In the structure of the VP, I assumed the ‘indirect object’ to be generated in [Spec, VP] of the ‘lower’ VP, hence, the deep structure would be (simplified):

(13) [$_{VP}$ *e-um* [$_{V'}$ *líkar* *e-t*]] - ‘somebody likes something’

Recall that the ‘outermost’ argument is the one that can be omitted in infinitive constructions (cf. so-called ‘dictionary entries’), e.g.:[113]

(14) a. *to* [PRO$_{AGENT}$] *give somebody*$_{BEN}$ *something*$_{THEME}$ - trivalent
b. *to* [PRO$_{EXP}$] *like somebody*$_{THEME}$ - bivalent
c. *to* [PRO$_{AGENT}$] *play* - monovalent
d. *to* [PRO$_{THEME}$] *be like somebody/something*$_{GOAL(?)}$ - bivalent

---

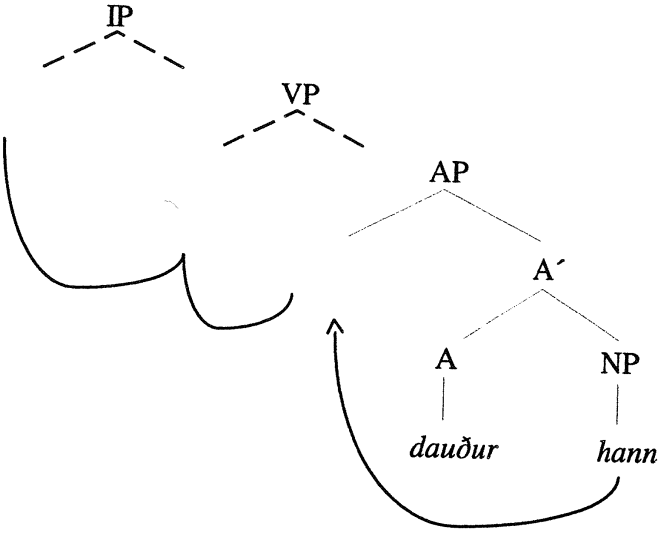
[113] Cf. the discussion in 4.2.1. See also Grimshaw (1990).

e. *to* [PRO$_{\text{THEME/EXP(?)}}$] *be angry* - monovalent[114]

Regarding a one-place adjective like *dauður*, one could assume (cf. e.g. Sigurðsson 1992a) that the Theme argument corresponds to the 'direct object' in the structure. Hence, the argument is base-generated as [Compl, A′] and promoted to surface subject via the empty specifier position of the AP, e.g.:[115]

(15) a.	*Hann*	*var*	*dauður* (Grett 1005)
	he$_{\text{THEME}}$	was	dead

b.



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[114] An adjective like *angry* can, of course, also be considered bivalent, i.e. *to* [PRO] *be angry* [*with somebody*], or Modern German: [PRO] *jemandem böse (zu) sein.*

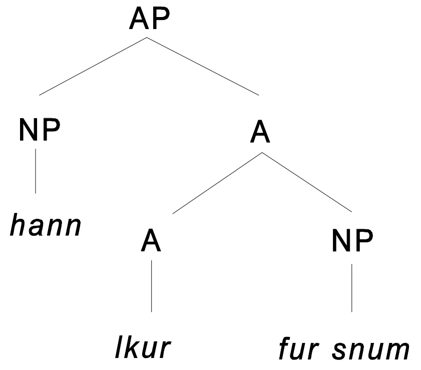
[115] In the discussion in this section, I will refer to [Spec, AP] as the external *argument* position relatively to A, i.e. I will use a rather 'simple' AP structure. However, the structure of the AP is probably much more complex, involving several functional projections. For instance, we need a position for a possible modifier, hence, the 'external' argument is probably generated in some other specifier position than [Spec, AP]. I will disregard this in my discussion where I will focus on the base position of arguments *relative* to A.

On the other hand, when there is no possible second argument, the one and only argument may possibly also be base-generated in [Spec, AP] in the first place (cf. e.g. the structure in (2)).

The two-place adjective *líkur*, then, clearly has to promote its specifier to subject, being the highest argument in the structure Theme - Goal:[116]

(16) a. *Hann* *var* *líkur* *föður* *sínum* (Egla 373)
he$_{\text{THEME}}$ was like [father his]$_{\text{GOAL}}$

b.



In sentences like:

(17) *Var* *þá* *dauður* ***Haraldur*** ***gráfeldur*** ***og*** ***Gunnhildur*** (Njála 155)
was then dead [Harald Grafeld and Gunhild]$_{\text{SUBJ}}$
'Harald Grafeld and Gunhild were dead at that time'

---

[116] In Sigurðsson (1992a:257), the dative (Goal) argument is generated as a right-hand specifier, while the Theme argument still is considered a complement. I am not convinced that Old Norse (or Modern Icelandic) has right-hand specifiers, and I will disregard such an analysis, even though it might seem appealing in some cases. See Delsing (1992:37) for arguments supporting the structure for predicative adjective phrases that I suggested here. Supposedly, one may also use what one could call the 'specifier test' in this case (e.g. used in Grimshaw 1990), i.e. one could test what argument could be omitted. The 'dictionary entry' for *lík(ur)* would be: *vera lík(ur) einhverjum*, i.e. the specifier (the subject candidate) can be omitted while the complement cannot be omitted in the same way.

(18) ... *því* *þá* *var* *dauður* ***B.*** ***digri,*** ***afi*** ***Ljótólfs*** (Svarf 1795)
... that then was dead [B. big, grandfather Ljotolf's]$_{\text{SUBJ}}$
'... because B. Digri, Ljotolf's grandfather, was dead at that time'

then, it may look as if the subject has not left its base position inside the AP. However, instead of claiming that the (non-topical) subject is located inside AP, I assume that the subject either has not moved as far as to [Spec, IP] (which, therefore, contains *pro*), while *dauður* is scrambled, - or that the subject has been shifted to the right (which might be more reasonable in this case).[117]

But, one might wonder if it - theoretically - might be possible that the subject has not left its base position inside AP. Then, we would have to allow the 'subject chain' to cross the AP node in order to pick a subject candidate, which would probably be a rather questionable assumption. However, in some examples, it might look like the chain can bind a part of the subject inside the AP when the other part has moved out of the AP:

(19) ... *að* ***hestur hennar*** *var dauður* ***hinn góði*** (Harð 1255)
... that [horse hers]$_i$ was dead [the good]$_i$
'... that her good horse was dead'

As I will show later (e.g. in 4.7), often only one part of a phrase is topicalized (or moved to [Spec, IP]) in Old Norse. In the example (19), it seems that the DP *hinn góði* has not left its base position, while the NP *hestur hennar* has been moved alone, the whole phrase being *hestur henni hinn góði* (or maybe *hinn góði hestur hennar*) ('her good horse / the good horse of hers'). However, *hinn góði* could also be analyzed as an apposition (or afterthought?) in the sense of:

(20) *... that her horse was dead - the good one*

Such an analysis could at least seem more appropriate for a sentence like:

---

[117] In both examples, the subject is a complex phrase, hence, somewhat 'heavy', which might be one reason for a Subject-Shift construction. Since these examples are possible in Modern Icelandic as well (Hermundur Sigmundsson p.c.), this would indeed be a possible analysis. See also Rögnvaldsson (1984a) on 'rightward displacement of NPs in Icelandic'.

In another interesting example, we find a combination of an 'AP subject' in [Spec, IP] and a sentence final (possibly VP internal) subject of the ergative (motion) verb *koma*:

(i) *Var Hákon jarl dauður en til ríkis kominn Ólafur konungur Tryggvason* (HallÓ 1230)
was Hakon earl dead and to kingdom come Olaf king Tryggvason

Since this seemingly is an instance of contrast (comparison), the subject of *koma* may also be considered moved to the right by Subject Shift. However, this would not be easy to prove. Besides, I have shown earlier that the subject of *koma* may stay in its base position, i.e. in [Compl, V′] (see the discussion further above).

(21) *... en* ***Þorgríma*** *bjó þá í Hvammi,* ***móðir hans,*** *en*
... and Thorgrima$_i$ lived then in Hvamm, [mother his]$_i$ and

Þorvaldur *var dauður,* ***faðir hans*** (Harð 1273)
Thorvald$_i$ was dead, [father his]$_i$
'... and Thorgrima, his mother, lived in Hvamm at that time, and Thorvald, his father, was dead'

In the first clause, we could consider *móðir hans* adjoined to the right of VP since it appears after the adverbial *í Hvammi*. The same situation could then be assumed for the clause with *dauður*. However, if we consider *Þorgríma, móðir hans* one constituent as in the following example:

(22) *... að* ***Helgi bjóla faðir þinn*** *er dauður* (Kjaln 1442)
... that [Helgi Bjola, father yours] is dead
'... that Helgi Bjola, your father, is dead'

we could also claim that *í Hvammi* in (21) is scrambled, while only *Þorgríma* has been topicalized and the rest of the phrase has not moved. Consequently, we may assume that *Þorvaldur* is topicalized, while *faðir hans* stays behind. There is plenty of evidence of such movement/non-movement with for instance quantifier phrases, as I will show below. Claiming that a phrase/or part of a phrase has not moved at all, seems often more reasonable than referring to rightward movement every time something appears to the right (cf. Faarlund 1985a and elsewhere). If the phrases to the right are analyzed as appositions, the constructions are unproblematic.[118]

In the present approach, the adjective may be scrambled itself. Thus, I do not consider the following construction as being base-generated 'SOV' (or rather SAV):[119]

(23) *Ekki mun hann* ***dauður*** *vera eða var af höfuðið?* (Njála 243)
not will he dead$_{ADJi}$ be$_V$ $\_{i}$ or was off head-the
'He is probably not dead, or was his head cut off?'

---

[118] Appositions are not bound in the same way as arguments and may appear almost anywhere in the sentence. However, 'free' appositions are first of all typical for oral speech. Obviously, one often wants to add some additional information on the way. The sentences under discussion are instances of written language, and we have to assume that the writer has sorted out how much information he wants to put into the sentence before he writes it down. This use of appositions could, on the other hand, also be a way of 'creating' an oral style.

[119] This kind of movement could possibly also be considered a variant of Stylistic Fronting (see 4.7). A condition for Stylistic Fronting (SF) is an empty subject position. In the 'common' SF-structures, this would be [Spec, IP], for instance, in relative clauses (see 4.7). In examples with a modal/auxiliary, an infinitive and an 'AP-subject' that has moved to [Spec, IP], the D-structure subject position [Spec, VP] may be considered 'empty', hence, this may perhaps license adjunction of the adjective to the main verb. The difference between a Scrambling analysis and an SF-analysis would be the status of the adjective. I.e. in a Scrambling analysis the adjective would be a maximal phrase, whereas it is not supposed to be a maximal phrase in an SF-analysis. In the present approach, I consider a Scrambling analysis the most reasonable analysis.

In a modal sentence of this kind, with, for instance, the modal auxiliary *munu* ('may, will ...'), the adjective seems to be scrambled (relatively) regularly:[120]

(24) *Nú mun faðir minn* ***dauður*** *vera* (Njála 281)
now will father mine dead$_i$ be _$_i$
'Now, my father is probably dead'

(25) *... að Grettir mundi* ***dauður*** *vera* (Grett 1057)
... that Grettir would dead$_i$ be _$_i$
'... that Grettir (probably) was dead'

---

[120] See also the comments on the verb *munu* and Scrambling in chapter 5.4.

Quite often, the verb *vera* is omitted,[121] but I suppose that we still may assume Scrambling of the adjective (even though this cannot be ‘proved’, of course):[122]

(26) *... að Grettir mundi dauður* (Grett 979)
... that Gretti would dead$_i$ [be] $\__i$
‘... that Grettir probably was dead’

(27) *... að hann mundi ekki dauður með öllu* (Njála 243)
... that he would not dead$_i$ [be] $\__i$ with all
‘.. that he maybe was not (‘totally’) dead, yet’

(28) *En er þeir hugðu að hann mundi dauður þreif Öngull*
and when they thought that he would dead$_i$ [be] $\__i$ takes Ongull

til saxins (Grett 1080)
to knife-the
‘And when they thought that he was dead, Ongull took up his knife’

Another interesting feature of *vera* is, by the way, that it is more frequently omitted as a finite verb than other verbs in a conjoined sentence (‘gapping’), even though the subjects are not the same, i.e. not even sharing the same features, as e.g. *number*:[123]

(29) *... að þeir Hofsmenn voru frændmargir en Þorgeir*
... that [they courties]$_{PL}$ were$_{PL}$ friends-many and [that] Thorgeir$_{SG}$ [was$_{SG}$]

dauður, móðurbróðir Finnboga (Finnb 664)
dead, motherbrother Finnbogi’s
‘... that the courties had many relatives and/but that Thorgeir, Finnbogi’s uncle, was dead’

Since the AP may be a constituent it may, of course, also be topicalized, for instance:

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[121] Cf. Nygaard (1905:25): “Infinitiv af *vera* udelades ofte etter *skulu, munu, mega*, samt i akk. med inf. [...] og i passive infinitivsformer”. (‘Infinitive of *vera* is often omitted after *skulu, munu, mega*, plus A.C.I. and in passive infinitive forms’). See also Nygaard (1878:266).

[122] See chapter 5.4 for a discussion on constructions that exhibit Scrambling more frequently than others. The modal *munu* is a verb that seems to trigger Scrambling rather frequently.

[123] Note, by the way, the appositional character of *móðurbróðir Finnboga*, cf. the discussion above.

(30)	***Dauður***	*er*	*hann* (Njála 139)
	dead	is	he
	'He is dead'		

(31)	***Ólíkur***	*ert*	*þú*	*þínum*	*föður* (Njála 302)
	unlike	are	you	your	father
	'You are not like your father'				

Not surprisingly, the adjective may also be topicalized together with its modifier:

(32)	***Furðu***	***líkur***	*ertu*	*þeim*	*manni*	*að*	*frásögn*
	[further	like]	are-you	that	man	at	tale/from-saying

	er	*heitir*	*Gunnar*	*og*	*er*	*kallaður*	*Þiðrandabani* (Fljót 721)
	who	is-named	Gunnar	and	is	called	Thidrandabani
	'It is said that you are very much like this man named Gunnar called Thidrandabani'						

Now, note an interesting example where the 'Goal' argument of the adjective *líkur* is topicalized together with the adjective, but - the nominal argument comes first:

(33)	***Trölli***	***líkur***	*ertu*	*Þorgrímur* (HávÍs 1331)
	[troll	like]	are-you	Thorgrim
	'You are like a troll, Thorgrim'			

If the Theme (*Þorgrímur*) is promoted to subject first, and the 'rest' of the AP is topicalized, one could claim that the dative actually must be base-generated in [Spec, AP] since it precedes the adjective. This would create a serious problem for the analysis proposed here.[124] Or, one might

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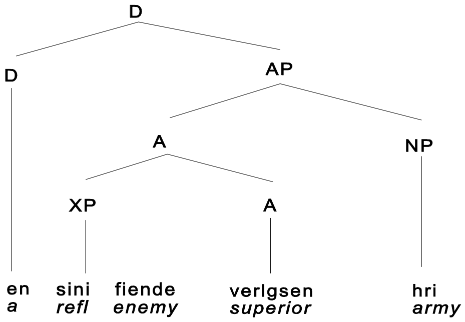

also want to use an example like this to claim a base-generated ‘SOV’/(SOA) structure (i.e. head final) like for instance in German:

(34) a. *Einem Troll ähnlich bist du, Thorgrim*
[a troll alike]$_{AP}$ are you, Thorgrim

b. *Du bist einem Troll ähnlich*
you are [a troll alike]$_{AP}$

---

[124] For a different analysis, compare for instance with the structure assumed in Delsing (1993:93). The analysis proposed by Delsing would, of course, not cause the same problems (note, however, that this is an analysis of an *attributive* AP and not a predicative AP):

However, since this is the only example of a topicalized adjective + argument I have found, it would seem more reasonable to analyze *trölli líkur* as one word (i.e. 'troll-like'), i.e. similar to ordinary adjective compounds like e.g. *karlgildr* ('good as/like a man').[125] Compare (a) to (b):

(35) a. *Svo var hún og* ***karlgild*** *að afli* (Bárð 51)
so was she also man-like at strength
'Moreover, she was also strong like a man'

b. *Þar átti Hallmundur helli stóran og dóttur*
there owned Hallmund cave big and daughter

gilda ***vexti og*** ***skörulega*** (Grett 1042)
[good growthand capable]$_{AP}$
'Hallmund had a big cave there and a well-built and capable daughter'

In (b), the argument *vexti* follows the adjective as expected.

Another explanation for the observed structure would be to claim that *trölli* is scrambled out of the AP first (for instance, in order to be focused) with subsequent Topicalization of the whole VP.[126] Note also that *Trölli líkur ertu Þorgrímur* should be considered emphatic. Anyway,

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[125] However, then we would have to find an explanation for the dative case. Note that there seem to be no other compounds with *trölli-* in Old Norse, other compounds being e.g. *trollkarl* ('male troll'), *trollmenni* ('a man like a troll'). Note also that there is actually an adjective with the meaning 'like a troll', however, with 'troll' in the genitive: *trollsligr*. Apparently, there is also a weak form of *tro,_ll/troll*, cf. Modern Icelandic *trölli*. Still, in a possible compound, it should be *trölla-* and not *trölli-*.

[126] Yet another explanation could be to analyze the dative phrase as some kind of modifier. A similar use is, for instance, found in Modern Norwegian, e.g.:

(i) *Du er* ***kjempe****lik far din*
you are giant-alike father your
'Your are very much like your father'

I believe that the base position of the 'Goal' argument should be sought behind the adjective in Old Norse, cf. the following examples:

(36) *Hann var líkur* ***föður sínum*** (Egla 373)
he was like father his
'He was like his father'

(37) *Skalla-Grímur var líkur* ***föður sínum*** *á vöxt og*
Skalla-Grim was like father his on growthand

að afli, svo og að yfirlitum og skaplyndi (Egla 390)
at strength so also at look and temper
'Skalla-Grim was like his father with respect to height and strength, and also with respect to appearance and temper'

(38) *Hann var mikill maður og sterkur og líkur* ***föður***
he was much man and strong and like father

sínum *yfirlits og svo að skaplyndi* (Laxd 1566)
his look and so at temper
'He was a big and strong man and like his father with respect to appearance and (also) temper'

It would be unreasonable to consider the dative being shifted to the right in these examples, especially since there is another phrase following it (37 and 38). The following examples, on the other hand, may give such an impression:

(39) *... að hann var ríkur maður og hlutdeilinn og líkur*
... that he was rich/mighty man and meddling and like

í mörgu lagi ***frændum sínum*** (Flóam 731)
[in much way]$_{PP}$ relatives his
'... that he was a mighty man who used to meddle with other peoples' business and was like his relatives in many ways'

The word *kjempe* has the meaning 'giant', i.e. a meaning pretty close to 'troll'. Hence, it is not unlikely that 'troll'might have been used as a modifier in Old Norse. However, if this really were the case in the Old Norse example above, there would be an argument missing, namely the 'Goal'. As far as I can see, the Old Norse sentence means concretely 'you are like a troll', i.e. the troll is actually the 'Goal' argument.

(40) *Þórólfur var þá hverjum manni meiri og sterkari og*
Thorolf was then every man more and stronger and

líkur um það ***föður sínum*** (Egla 412)
like [on that]$_{PP}$ father his
‘Thorolf was at that time bigger and stronger than all the other men and like his father in this respect’

These examples can either be analyzed by assuming that the PPs [*í mörgu lagi*] and [*um það*] are scrambled to the left, or that the dative argument is extraposed. The basic order, as claimed before, seems to be [A - NP - PP] (cf. V - NP - PP), e.g.:

(41) *Skeggi var ólíkur öðrum systkinum sínum fyrir sakir afls*
Skeggiwas unlike$_{A}$ [other brothers his]$_{NP}$ [for sake strength’s

og vaxtar (Grett 1059)
and growth’s]$_{PP}$
‘Skeggi was unlike his brothers with respect to strength and height’

(42) *... því að hann var ólíkur öðrum mönnum fyrir vaxtar*
... that that he was unlike$_{A}$ [other men]$_{NP}$ [for growth’s

sakir og þrekleika (Grett 1066)
sake and strength’s]$_{PP}$
‘... because he was unlike other men with respect to height and strength’

Note also the following examples with an extraposed clause, showing that the order [A - NP - PP] really should be considered the base generated order:

(43) Furðu líkur ertu þeim manni að frásögn er heitir
further like are-you [that man]$_{NP}$ [at tale]$_{PP}$ [who is-named

Gunnar og er kallaður Þiðrandabani (Fljót 721)
Gunnar and is called Thidrandabani]$_{CP}$
‘It is said that you are very much like that man named Gunnar and called Thidrandabani’

(44) *Ólíkur er Gísli bróðir minn öðrum mönnum að*
unlike is Gisli brother mine [other men]$_{NP}$ [at

þolinmæði sinni því að þessu mundu engir nenna,
patience his]$_{PP}$ [that that this would nobody accept

að ... (GísL 922)
that ...]$_{CP}$
‘My brother Gisli is unlike other men with respect to patience, because nobody would accept that ...’

The dative NP may also be scrambled, while a part of the phrase stays behind, e.g.:[127]

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[127] Most likely, the relative clause is extraposed, which is not easy to prove. This is, on the other hand, clear in:

(45) *... er Kári* ***engum manni*** *líkur þeim sem nú er á*
... is Kari [no man]$_{DATi}$ like [$\_{i}$ those who now are on

Íslandi (Njála 333)
Iceland]
'... Kari is not like any of those men who are on Iceland now'

Scrambling of a phrase heading a relative clause is rather frequent and has been discussed in connection with other constructions further above. The dative phrase is also scrambled in the following example:

(46) *... að hann væri* ***engum manni*** *líkur fyrir hreysti sína* (Njála 334)
... that he was [no man]$_{DAT}$ like [for capability his]$_{PP}$
'... that he was like no other man with respect to capability'

(i) *Furðu líkur ertu þeim manni að frásögn er heitir Gunnar og er*
further like are-you [that man]$_i$ [at tale]$_{PP}$ || [who is-named Gunnar and is

kallaður Þiðrandabani (Fljót 721)
called Thidrandabani]$_i$
'It is said that you are very much like this man who is named Gunnar and called Thidrandabani'

Note that both examples above involve negation which might indicate that the phrase is scrambled because it is focused.[128]

Example (45) exhibits a so-called discontinuous phrase since the correlate is scrambled and the relative clause stays behind or is extraposed [*engum manni - þeim sem nú er á Íslandi*]. Another kind of discontinuous phrase can be found when a quantifier is scrambled and the rest of the phrase stays behind, as with *öllum sínum jafnöldrum* in the following example:[129]

(47)	*... og*	*þótti*	*hann*	***öllum***	*ólíkur*		***sínum***	***jafnöldrum***	(Grett 1081)
	... and	seemed	he	all_{DATi}	unlike	[$\_{}_{\text{i}}$	his	$\text{of-the-same-age]}_{\text{DAT}}$	

‘... and he seemed to be unlike all of the others of the same age’

There is no reason to believe that *sínum jafnöldrum* is extraposed - at least not from a position to the left of the adjective. Instead, *öllum* is scrambled to the left over the adjective. One reason for Scrambling may be a desire to separate *öllum* from the rest of the phrase in order to focus it.[130]

A dative argument may, however, be considered base-generated to the left of the adjective in ‘comparative’ structures like e.g.:[131]

(48)	*Þórólfur*	*var*	*þá*	***hverjum***	***manni***	*meiri og*	*sterkari*	*og*	*líkur*
	Thorolf	was	then	[every	$\text{man]}_{\text{NP-DAT}}$	[more and	$\text{stronger]}_{\text{'A'}}$	and	like_{A}

um	*það*	*föður*	*sínum*	(Egla 412)
[on	that]_{PP}	[father	$\text{his]}_{\text{NP-DAT}}$	

‘Thorolf was at that time bigger and stronger than all the other men and like his father in this respect’

---

[128] See also the discussion on negation words like *enginn* in chapter 5.4 (examples (113)-(116)). In, for instance, Modern Norwegian, the negation word *ingen* may trigger cliticization of the object (e.g. *eg har ingenting sett* = I have nothing seen), a fact that may indicate that this kind of movement deserves a different analysis.

[129] Various types of discontinuous phrases will be discussed more thoroughly in 4.7 below.

[130] The phrase *sínum jafnöldrum* could perhaps be analyzed as an apposition (cf. the discussion on *hinn góði hestur hennar* above), for instance with an interpretation:

(i) ‘He was unlike anybody else - that is, everybody of his age.’

I find this interpretation, however, more unlikely.

[131] A comparative like *sterkari* can also combine with a PP (cf. also the structures in Modern Norwegian, English, or German):

(i)	*Hún*	*var*	*sterkari*	*en*	*hann* (Grett 1056)
	she	was	stronger	[than	him]_{PP}
	sie	war	stärker	als	er (German)

An analysis of this structure could be to claim that the argument *hverjum manni* is base-generated inside VP (and not AP) as a so-called 'free dative' (see e.g. Brøseth 1997 for an analysis of Modern Norwegian data).[132]

An adjective is not supposed to be capable of assigning an external θ-role, which is a consequence of the theory that 'the external argument' is an argument of the 'higher' VP.[133] On the other hand, it seems that the complement of A can be externalized to be the specifier of A (cf. the discussion on middle verbs in 4.3.3.3). Recall the examples from Sigurðsson (1992a:272f.):

(49) a. *Ég hita matinn.*
I heat the food (A)

b. *Maturinn hitnar.*
the food (N) heats

(50) a. *Ég hita henni.*
I warm her (D)

b. *Henni hitnar*
her (D) warms
'She becomes warm(er).'

I assumed that the Theme role of *hitna* probably was generated as a specifier in (49b), while it was generated as a complement in (50b). Now, consider an adjective like *kaldur* ('cold')

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[132] Consider, for instance, also the Modern Norwegian examples:

(i) *Han var lik* ***meg***
he was (a)like me

(ii) *Han var* ***meg*** *overlegen*
he was me superior
'He was superior to me'

[133] I assume that assigning an external (agentive) role is a unique property of verbs; cf. also Sigurðsson (1992a:256).

(Sigurðsson 1992a:251):

(51) a. *Er Páli kalt?*
D N/A.n.sg
'Is Paul freezing'

b. *Er Páll kaldur?*
N N.m.sg
'Is Paul cool (/tough)?'

Why do we find this case variation? In (a), the dative NP is clearly an Experiencer in my opinion, whereas we may consider the nominative NP in (b) a Theme.[134] Thus, we may claim, like Sigurðsson (1992a:252), that the adjective *kaldur* has three interrelated theta-grids:

(52) **kald-** a. <A>
b. <A th>
c. <A th$_D$>

A sentence corresponding to (52a), i.e. with a *pro* subject, would be, e.g.:

(53) *Þar var bæði fúlt og kalt* (Grett 1086)[135]
there was [*pro*] both rotten and cold
'It was both rotten and cold there'

Since the argument of the theta-grid (c) has to be considered an Experiencer, it cannot be an inanimate argument, cf.:[136]

(54) **Er veggnum kalt?*
D.m.sg. N/A.n.sg.
'Is the wall freezing?'
(Sigurðsson 1992a:251)

The theta-grid (b), on the other hand, usually prefers inanimate arguments, when the meaning is 'being cold'; whereas an animate argument often only can be used in a special context, cf. (51b).[137] Seemingly, the same situation is found with the verb *hitna* ('become warmer') above.

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[134] Sigurðsson (1992a:252) is of the opinion that the dative subject has a goal-like role.

[135] As in many other cases, it is also possible that the adverb *þar* ('there') has status as an argument in constructions like this (as discussed earlier).

[136] This can perhaps be considered an argument against the classification of the dative as "goal-like" (cf. Sigurðsson 1992a:252).

[137] Of course, a human being can be cold, too. Then, the person has a Theme role, whereas the 'Experiencer' may be another human being (however, of course, the 'Experiencer' of the cold would not be expressed in the argument structure of the adjective), e.g.:

(i) *Hún stígur upp í rúmið köldum fótum og vaknar hann Þorvarður við og spyr hví að hún væri svo köld og vot*

Usually, animates are not considered to be able to get warm by themselves.[138]

Even though one might assume a different structure for the AP than the one proposed here, it should be clear that the surface subject of a copula construction is derived by argument promotion. Note also the similarity to passive constructions:

(55) *Hann var mikill maður og sterkur og kallaður*
he$_{\text{THMi}}$ was much man and strong and [he]$_{\text{i}}$ [was] called

Þórarinn rammi (Korm 1491)
Thorarin strong
'He was a tall and strong man, and he was called Thorarin the strong'

Hann is the Theme subject of both the copula clause and the passive clause, and the 'making' of

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(GrænS 1108)
'She goes to bed with cold feet and Thorvard wakes up because of that and asks her why she was so cold and wet'

[138] Cf. also Modern German:

(i) *Ist ihm warm?*
is him$_{\text{DAT-EXP}}$ warm
'Is he warm / Does he feel warm?'

(ii) *Ist das Baby warm?*
is the baby$_{\text{NOM-THM}}$ warm
'Is the baby warm (does the baby have a temperature)?'

(ii) *Ist die Maschine warm?*
is the machine$_{\text{NOM-THM}}$ warm

(iii) **Ist der Maschine warm?*
is the machine warm
'Does the engine feel warm?'

the surface subject is assumed to be more or less the same process.

The situation looks basically the same for nouns and their arguments, although it is not equally obvious where the potential (surface) subject should be assumed to be generated in deep structure:

(56) *Hann* *var* *skáld* (Heið 1366)
he was skald

Compared to the structure of APs, one could expect that it is *skáld* that is assigning a thematic (Theme) role to *hann* (cf. ‘He$_i$ is [dead _$_i$]$_{AP}$’). In this case, one could imagine that the surface-subject candidate is base-generated as a complement or possibly the specifier of *skáld*. On the other hand, it is not necessarily clear that any of the lexical NPs is capable of assigning a thematic role on its own. And it is not clear that these phrases are base-generated under the same node.[139] Still, I am sceptical about the view that the two NPs/DPs are sisters (see the discussion in Haegeman 1991:123ff.). Maybe the subject candidate is generated as the specifier of a functional projection, e.g. *AgrP* (cf. Haegeman 1991:124), the predicate complement being generated as the complement of Agr. An analysis involving an Agr-projection can, of course, also be extended to include AP predicate complements (cf. Haegeman ibid.). According to the theory outlined in this thesis it is, in any case, assumed that the surface-subject candidate must be generated in a position where it can be promoted to surface subject, i.e. in a specifier position, or in a complement position when there is a potentially empty spec-position available, making promotion possible.

In a ‘predicational’ analysis (cf. e.g. Bowers 1993), it is also possible that the surface-subject candidate is generated in [Spec, VP] (of the lower VP) (see e.g. Eide 1996, Eide & Åfarli 1997 for an application of the ‘predicational’ analysis on Modern Norwegian).

This is not the place to solve the ‘problem’ of predicative NPs/DPs and their potential surface subjects, especially since there are good and reasonable arguments for all of the analyses mentioned above. One could, for instance, also refer to yet another analysis (Holmberg 1992) where the surface-subject candidate is base-generated as the specifier of a functional category: Holmberg (1992) proposes that predicative NPs involve an **nP**, i.e. "phrase headed by a nominal functional category" (Holmberg 1992:61), e.g.:

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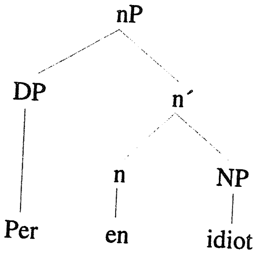
[139] In my opinion, this is much clearer with adjectives. For instance, an adjective like *faithful* requires somebody who *is* faithful and possibly somebody/something to be faithful *to*, i.e. the adjective may assign two thematic roles. There is, on the other hand, not necessarily such a requirement for a noun phrase. An NP like *linguist* might perhaps require somebody to *be* a linguist. However, in a sentence like: *The linguist is a musician too*, I do not think there is such an argument requirement in the lexicon. It would seem that this ‘requirement’ only arises when there is a copula relation.

(57) a. *Peter is* (*a*) *teacher*
b. [$_{IP}$ *Peter*$_{i}$ *is* [$_{nP}$ e$_{i}$ [$_{n'}$ *a* [*teacher*]]]]

cf. also Holmberg (1992:62):

(58)



Holmberg distinguishes between predicational sentences and identificational (equational) sentences, i.e.:

(59) a. *Peter is (a) teacher* = predicational
b. *Peter is the teacher* = identificational/equational

In identificational sentences, [Spec, nP] may contain *pro*:

(60) a. *Peter is the teacher*
b. [$_{IP}$ *Peter is* [$_{nP}$ e$_{i}$ [$_{n'}$ *the*$_{i}$ [*teacher*]]]] (e = *pro*)

I will not discuss Holmberg's analysis any further and just assume a structure where the subject candidate is located in some specifier position (at some stage of the promotion process), whereas the predicate complement candidate is the head of the phrase, i.e. parallel to the AP-structure discussed above. I will not discuss the complexity of this phrase with respect to possible functional projections.

The predicate complement may be complex, e.g.:

(61) a. *Hann* *var* ***son*** ***Sleitu*** (Fóstb 793)
he$_{NOM}$ was [son [Sleita$_{GEN}$]]$_{NOM}$
'He was the son of Sleita'

b. *Hann* *var* ***son*** ***Karls hins rauða*** (VaLjó 1827)
he$_{NOM}$ was [son [Karl's [the red]$_{GEN}$]$_{NOM}$
'He was the son of Karl the red'

In (b), the NP *son* takes a complexe genitive phrase *Karls hins rauða*. There is seemingly no limit on the number of embedded DPs/NPs, e.g.:

(62) *Hann var son Óspaks Höskuldssonar Kolssonar* (BandK 29)
he was [son$_{\text{NOM}}$ [[[Ospak's]$_{\text{GEN}}$ Hoskuld's]$_{\text{GEN}}$] Kols'-son]$_{\text{GEN}}$]]]]$_{\text{NOM}}$
'He was the son of Ospak, son of Hoskuld, son of Kol

(63) *Hann var son Ara Mássonar, Atlasonar, Úlfssonar hins skjálga,*
he was [son [Ari's Ma's-son]$_1$ [Atli's-son]$_2$ [Ulf's-son the squinting]$_3$
Högnasonar hins hvíta, Ótryggssonar, Óblauðssonar, Hjörleifssonar
[Hogn's-son the white]$_4$ [Otrygg's-son]$_5$ [Oblaud's-son]$_6$ [Hjorleif's-son

hins kvensama Hörðalandskonungs (Njála 246)
the woman-loving Hordaland's-king]$_7$]
'He was the son of Ari, son of Ma, son of Atli, son of Ulf the squinting, son of Hogn the white, son of Otrygg, son of Oblaud, son of Hjorleif, king of Hordaland, who loved women'

The predicate complement can be, and is frequently, topicalized:

(64) *Hann var son Valþjófs hins gamla.* ***Hans son*** *var Torfi* (Harð 1296)[140]
he$_{\text{SUBJ}}$ was [son Valthjof's the old]. [His son] was Torfi$_{\text{SUBJ}}$
'He was the son of Valthjof the old. His son was Torfi'

As shown above, the predicate complement may also be an AP. In cases like the following, however, the adjective is analyzed as part of a DP (see e.g. Delsing 1992), being the complement of the NP/DP *Þorvaldur*:[141]

(65) ***Þorvaldur*** *var mikill maður* (Dropl 348)
Thorvald$_{\text{SUBJ}}$ was [much man]$_{\text{COMPL}}$
'Thorvald was a tall man'

The adjective *mikill* ('big') (even as a part of an NP/DP) may also combine with another NP/DP (an adverbial), as shown before:[142]

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[140] This sentence is actually ambiguous with respect to subject and the predicate/subject complement. An unambiguous example with a topicalized predicate/subject complement would be:

(i) *Helgi hét son Snorra* (Fóstb 802)
Helgi$_{\text{COMPL}}$ was-called [son Snorri's]$_{\text{SUBJ}}$
'Snorri's son was called Helgi'

[141] Note that the other Germanic languages usually require an article in this constellation, e.g.:

(i) *Torvald var *(ein) stor mann* (Norwegian)
(ii) *Thorvald war *(ein) großer Mann* (German)
(iii) *Thorvald was *(a) big man* (English)

See e.g. Philippi (1997).

[142] As a little digression, note that this may seem somewhat 'strange'. The adverbial *vexti* has, in my opinion, an

(66) *Helgi var mikill maður* ***vexti*** (Dropl 348)
Helgi was [much man growth]
'Helgi was a tall/big man with respect to his height'

The phrase *mikill maður* may be topicalized while the adverbial *vexti* stays behind:

(67) *Mikill maður var hann* ***vexti*** (Laxd 1545)
[much man]$_i$ was he [[_$_i$] growth]
'A tall/big man he was with respect to his height'

This indicates that the adverbial is adjacent to the phrase in the same way as adverbials can be adjacent to VP (or possibly the adverbial is in fact adjacent to VP). In the same way, I assume that the adverbial is adjacent to an AP in e.g.:

(68) *Þessi maður var mikill* ***vexti*** (Bárð 63)
This man was [[much]$_{AP}$ growth$_{NP}$]$_{AP}$
'This man was tall/big (with respect to his height)'

Quite often the noun precedes the adjective(s), e.g.:

(69) *Hann var maður mikill og sterkur og bogmaður góður*
He was man$_{NP}$ [much and strong]$_{AP}$ and bowman$_{NP}$ good$_{AP}$
'He was a tall/big and strong man and a good bowman' (LjósC 1688)

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argument-like status (even though it is optional). At least it is clear that the adverbial is modifying the adjective and not the noun. Thus, one could imagine that [*Helgi - mikill maður vexti*] actually could be analyzed as an AP (see, however, the previous footnote which might represent an argument for a DP analysis). Compare:

(i) a. *Helgi var mikill vexti*
b. *Helgi var mikill maður vexti*
c. ?*Helgi var maður vexti*

Of course, (c) would work in a special context (e.g. 'Helgi is a boy, but a man with respect to his height'); (a) and (b), on the other hand, can be used in the same context. In spite of this, one could of course also claim that (a) actually should be analyzed as an NP with a redundant - and therefore deleted - N *maður*. I assume that the relation between *vexti* and *mikill* is first of all of a semantic kind.

One might wonder if the APs *mikill og sterkur* and *góður* are appositions to the NPs/DPs *maður* and *bogmaður*, respectively, or if they are part of an NP/DP, i.e. if these APs are attributive or appositional. Compare also:[143]

(70) a. *Þessi maður var ekki mikill vexti* (Finnb 668)
this man was [not [much growth]]$_{\text{AP}}$
'This man was not very tall/big'

b. *Friðgeir var maður ekki mikill, grannlegur og fríður sjónum og ekki sterkur* (Egla 468)
Fridgeir was man [not [much]]$_{\text{AP}}$, [thin]$_{\text{AP}}$ and [beautiful look]$_{\text{AP}}$ and [not [strong]]$_{\text{AP}}$
'Fridgeir was not a tall/big man, he was thin and good looking and not strong'

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[143] The negation word *ekki* ('not') can also be analyzed as a sentence adverbial, at least in (a). In (b), on the other hand, such an analysis would require ellipsis, for instance:

(i) *Friðgeir var maður, [Friðgeir var] ekki mikill, [Friðgeir var] grannlegur, og [Friðgeir var] fríður sjónum, og [Friðgeir var] ekki sterkur.*

In (a), as discussed before, I assume that the predicate complement is an AP, the subject *þessi maður* being promoted out of this AP. In (b), on the other hand, I assume there is an NP/DP complement, the AP(s) following *maður* being appositional.[144] Consider also:

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[144] One could, of course, imagine that the APs are attributive, i.e. part of an NP/DP, involving ellipsis, i.e.:

(i) *... ekki mikill (maður), grannlegur (maður) og (maður) fríður sjónum og ekki sterkur (maður)*

Note, on the other hand, that the Old Norse example would work just fine with appositional APs in Modern German:

(ii) *Fridgeir war ein Mann, nicht groß, dünn, gutaussehend und nicht (besonders) stark*
‘Fridgeir was a man, not big, thin, good looking and not (very) strong’

The ellipsis could possibly be: *Fridgeir was a man, (Fridgeir/he was) not tall, thin ...* (cf. the previous footnote). However, syntactic ellipsis of the NP in connection with an attributive adjective would require full inflection on the adjective in Modern German, i.e.:

(iii) *Fridgeir war ein Mann; kein groß**er** (Mann); ein dünn**er** (Mann); ein gutaussehend**er** und nicht besonders stark**er** (Mann).*

(71) *Hann var mikill maður og sterkur* (Njála 179)
he was much man and strong
‘He was a tall/big and strong man’

This example can be analyzed as involving ellipsis: [*mikill maður*]$_{NP}$ *og* [*sterkur (maður)*]$_{NP}$, or as a combination of an NP/DP and an AP: [*mikill maður*]$_{NP}$ *og* [*sterkur*]$_{AP}$. Analyzing *sterkur* as an AP, would probably give the phrase the character of an apposition (compare e.g. to (69) and (70b)).

As shown before, the adjective can be topicalized leaving the ‘rest’ of the predicate complement behind:

(72) ***Mikill** var hann vexti og drengilegur í ásjónu,*
much$_{i}$ was he [_$_{i}$ growth]$_{AP}$ and [manly in look]$_{AP}$

rammur að afli (Fóstb 778)
[strong at strength]$_{AP}$
‘He was tall, looked manly and was very strong’

I assume that *mikill* is topicalized as the AP itself, while *vexti* stays behind being adjacent to AP (or VP). The ‘rest’ may, of course, also be a conjoined AP:

(73) *Mikill maður var hann og sterkur* (Laxd 1544)
[much man]$_{NP/DP}$ was he and [strong]$_{AP}$
‘He was a tall man and strong’

I do not assume that there is an underlying phrase *mikill og sterkur maður* (‘tall and strong man’) in this case.

Interestingly, a modifier may be topicalized, too. Consider the adverb *mjög* (‘much’):

(74) *Son hennar var henni **mjög** líkur í skapsmunum* (Vatn 1864)
son her was her$_{i}$ [much like _$_{i}$ in temper]$_{AP}$
‘Her son was much like her with respect to his temper’

versus:

(75) ***Mjög** var Auður þá elligömul* (Grett 963)
much$_{i}$ was Aud then [_$_{i}$ very-old]
‘Aud was then very old’

(76) ***Mjög** var þar allt blóðugt / í rúminu* (Flóam769 / 749)[145]
much$_{i}$ was there all [_$_{i}$ bloody] / in bed-the
‘It was very bloody there / in the bed’

Consider also som examples with *heldur* (‘quite’/’rather’):

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[145] In this example, by the way, it seems that the surface subject *allt* is located in [Spec, VP] unless *þar* functions as an expletive subject.

(77) a. *Hann var* ***heldur*** *við aldur* (Eirík 529)
he was rather with age
'He was rather old'

b. ***Heldur*** *var hann nú við aldur* (Fljót 697)
rather was he now with age
'He was rather old now'

Examples like these may also indicate that *mjög* and *heldur* are not modifiers but rather sentence adverbials, like e.g.:[146]

(78) ***Ekki*** *var hann vinsæll* (HallM 1196)
not$_i$ was he _$_i$ well-liked
'He was not liked very well/People were not very fond of him'

On the other hand, *ekki* and *mjög* may also appear in the same clause:

(79) ***Ekki*** *var hann* ***mjög*** *vinsæll* (HallÓ 1226)
not$_i$ was he _$_i$ [much well-liked]$_{AP}$
'He was not liked very well / People were not very fond of him'

Thus, it seems to be most reasonable to analyze *mjög* as a modifier, unless we choose to analyze *ekki mjög* as a complex adverbial (which would involve new problems). But how, then, should we analyze *mjög* in an example like:

(80) *Gunnbjörn var hverjum manni meiri og vænlegri og*
Gunnbjorn was every man more and promising and

líkur ***mjög*** *föður sínum* (Finnb 662)
like much father his
'Gunnbjorn was bigger and more promising than all the other men and much like his father'

Instead of claiming that *mjög* is base-generated to the right, it seems more reasonable to assume that the adjective *líkur* is scrambled to the left leaving its modifier behind.

I will not discuss copula constructions in further detail. To bring this discussion to a conclusion, I will just mention the (copula) verb *heita* ('be named/called'). This verb behaves more or less like in, for instance, Modern Norwegian or Modern German. The following example has an NP and an AP as appositions:

(81) *Maður hét Símon, frændi Össurar, mikill maður*
man was-called Simon, [relative Ossur], [much man

---

[146] Actually, the negation word *ekki* is not necessarily a good candidate for a sentence adverbial either.

og *sterkur* (GrænS 1115)
and strong]
‘A man was called Simon, we was a relative of Ossur, (he was) a big and strong man’

Furthermore it should be mentioned that predicate complements may, of course, be represented by other phrases than NPs and APs, for instance a PP:

(82) *Voru* ***í*** ***burtu*** *allar* *kistur* *og* *svo* *menn* (Flóam 769)
were [in way]$_{\text{COMPL}}$ [all chests and so men]$_{\text{SUBJ}}$
‘All the chests were gone and so were the men’

In this example, the PP is assumed to be scrambled. The subject, at least the part *allar kistur*, should then be located in [Spec, VP].[147] However, Subject Shift should be possible, too, i.e. the subject may be extraposed.

The predicate complement may also be an AdvP:

(83) ***Þar*** *mun* *vera* *Otkell* (Njála 188)
there$_{\text{COMPL}}$ will be Otkell$_{\text{SUBJ}}$
‘Otkel will be there’

Also in this particular example, the infinitive *vera* seems to be scrambled to the left, while *Otkell* is located in [Spec, VP]. Another analysis would be to claim Subject Shift. On the other hand, Subject Shift seems not to be very common in copula constructions. A further example might be:

(84) *Eftir* *hann* *var* *konungur* *í* *Englandi* *son* *hans* *Játvarður* (Egla 430)
after him was [king in England]$_{\text{COMPL}}$ [son his Jatvard]$_{\text{SUBJ}}$
‘After him, his son Jatvard was king in England’

---

[147] Note that the subject contains a quantifier (*allar*), cf. the discussion in 4.3.1.4.

However, also in this case a Scrambling analysis would be possible. If *konungur í Englandi* is analyzed as one constituent the phrase can be scrambled after promotion of *son hans Játvarður* to surface subject. I.e. the surface subject has moved to the higher Spec-VP position, whereas *konungur í Englandi* is scrambled to the left of VP, cf. the 'standard' Scrambling analysis advocated in the present approach.[148]

In the discussion above, I have shown some features of Old Norse copula constructions. In AP constructions, it should be clear that the Theme argument (or a higher argument) of the adjective is promoted to surface subject, that is, moved to [Spec, VP], and further to [Spec, IP] or [Spec, CP]. Basically the same process applies to copula constructions with NPs. Thus, I assume that the 'making' of a surface subject in copula constructions is similar to that of verbs without an agentive role (ergative verbs), i.e. a non-agentive argument is promoted to surface subject.
the only difference being that the surface-subject candidate is not supposed to be an argument of the copula verb.

I will now take a closer look at the positions of adverbials in Old Norse.

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[148] Another possibility would be to claim that the surface-subject candidate has not moved at all and neither has the predicate complement. In this case, the surface-subject candidate would be located in its base position only being linked to [Spec, IP] similar to the situation in passive constructions where the surface-subject candidate has not moved overtly (see 4.3.3.1).

4.4 The Positions of Adverbials

The positions of adverbials have been demonstrated many times through examples during the discussion so far. The (unmarked) distribution of adverbials is: sentence adverbials appear as the leftmost phrases of (the higher) VP, while predicate adverbials are base-generated as the rightmost phrases inside (‘the lower’) VP, following possible nominal arguments (cf. the illustration in 4.2).[1] Thus, the distribution of adverbials is basically the same as in the modern Scandinavian languages, cf., for instance, the following examples with the directional/locative predicate adverbial *til þings* (‘to (the) thing/court’):

(1) *Og fara nú allir* ***til þings*** (LjósC 1658)
and go$_{V}$ now$_{SA}$ all$_{SUBJ}$ [to thing]$_{ADVBL}$
‘And all of them go to the thing now’

(2) *Og far* ***til þings*** *að sumri til fundar við mig* (Reykd 1778)
and go [to thing]$_{ADVBL}$ [at summer]$_{ADVBL}$ [to meeting with me]$_{ADVBL}$
‘And go to the thing in the summer to meet me’

The adverbial *til þings* is almost never topicalized.[2] However, there are a couple of examples that might look like they involve Topicalization since the adverbial phrase appears before the finite verb:

(3) *... er* ***til þings*** *var komið sendir Þórður menn ...* (BjHít 120)
... when [*pro*] til thing was come sends Thord men ...
‘... when everybody had come to the thing, Thord sent men ...’

(4) *Og áður* ***til þings*** *var riðið stefnir hann að sér*
and before [*pro*] to thing was ridden calls he at himself

---

[1] Here, I will assume that sentence adverbials have a more or less fixed position, as is generally assumed in most of the literature. However, there are also good reasons to believe that sentence adverbials in fact may adjoin more freely than generally assumed (cf. e.g. Åfarli 1998). It is also possible that many sentence adverbials, in fact, are base-generated as predicate adverbials.

[2] Cf. also Swan (1994:237). “these [initial time adverbials] are the most frequently topicalized adverbials in the texts I have excerpted. Locative adverbials [...] and manner adverbials [...] by contrast are found initially only infrequently”. Swan states that the same situation is found in Old English.

mönnum *um* *Dýrafjörð* (HávÍs 1330)
men around Dyrafjord
‘And before they rode to the thing, he summons the men around Dyrafjord’

Note, however, that both examples are subclauses with *pro* in [Spec, IP] (see 4.3.3.2 on motion verbs and passive). Hence, the fronting of *til þings* in these examples may be considered *Stylistic Fronting* and not Topicalization, i.e. the fronted adverbial does not necessarily have the same characteristics as an adverbial topicalized in a main clause (see the discussion on Stylistic Fronting in 4.7). Topicalization of *temporal* adverbial phrases in main clauses, on the other hand, is more frequent:

(5) *En* ***um*** ***sumarið*** *ríður* *Þorbjörn* *til* *þings* *með* *menn* *sína*
and [in summer-the] rides Thorbjorn to thing with men his

úr *Ísafirði* (HávÍs 1309)
from Isafjord
‘And in the summer, Thorbjorn rides to the thing with his men from Isafjord’

Even though local adverbials are not topicalized as frequently as temporal adverbials, the function of placing an event in time or space respectively is similar:

(6) ***Á*** ***þingi*** *fóru* *fram* *lögskil* (ÞorSH 2064)
[on thing] went on lawsuits
‘On the thing, the lawsuits went on’

(7) ***Á*** ***þingi*** *varð* *Helgi* *Ásbjarnarson* *allfjölmennur* (Dropl 354)
[on thing] became Helgi Asbjarn’s-son all-crowd-men
‘On the thing, Helgi Asbjarnarson had many men’

Note, by the way, that the allative *til þings* (‘to the thing’) in (1)-(5) is more ‘argument-like’ than the local adverbial *á þingi* (‘on the thing’), cf. e.g.:

(8) *Njáll* *ríður* ***til*** ***þings*** *um* *sumarið* (Njála 166)
Njal rides [to thing]$_{\text{PLACE}}$ [in summer-the]$_{\text{TIME}}$

(9) *Nú* *ríða* *menn* ***til*** ***þings*** *um* *sumarið* (Njála 170)
no ride men [to thing]$_{\text{PLACE}}$ [in summer-the]$_{\text{TIME}}$

(10) *Óspakur* *ríður* ***til*** ***þings*** *um* *sumarið* *með* *flokk* *manna* (BandM 4)
Ospak rides [to thing]$_{\text{PLACE}}$ [in summer-the]$_{\text{TIME}}$ [with crowd of-men]

(11) *... er* *menn* *búast* ***til*** ***þings*** *annað* *sumar* *eftir* (Reykd 1772)
... when men prepared (to go) [to thing]$_{\text{PLACE}}$ [other summer after]$_{\text{TIME}}$

I consider the order ‘ride - to some place - at some point in time’ the base-generated order, i.e. there is a closer relation between ‘ride’ and the direction/goal than between ‘ride’ and the time of the riding. The local *á þingi* (‘on the thing’), then, behaves more like a time adverbial, i.e. it is apparently a ‘free’ adverbial. Note, for instance, also the different order in the following example:[3]

(12)	*Þeir*	*höfðu*	*horfið*	*um*	*sumarið*	***á***	***þingi*** (Heið 1317)
	they	had	vanished	[in	summer-the]$_{\text{TIME}}$	[on	thing]$_{\text{PLACE}}$

‘They got lost on the thing in the summer’

The horses got lost on the thing the last summer. There are two (more or less) independent adverbial phrases telling something about the time and the place of the action. While ‘riding/going’ implies a direction, ‘vanishing’ seems not to be tied as much to a locality. Consider also:

(13)	*Eg*	*varð*	*sekur*	*í*	*sumar*	***á***	***þingi*** (Laxd 1630)
	I	was	sentenced	[in	summer]$_{\text{TIME}}$	[on	thing]$_{\text{PLACE}}$

‘I was sentenced on the thing this summer’

(14)	*Nú*	*bú*	*þú*	*til*	*málið*	*en*	*eg*	*mun*	*við*	*taka*	*í*	*sumar*
	now	prepare	you	to	case	and	I	will	with	take	[in	summer]$_{\text{TIME}}$
	á	***þingi*** (Vatn 1899)										
	[on	thing]$_{\text{PLACE}}$										

‘Now, you prepare the case and I will accept it on the thing this summer’

In these cases, the specific time is of extraordinary interest. The thing is held every year, but the action is performed *this* year. So also when the point of time is topicalized:

(15)	***Það***	***sama***	***sumar***	*varð*	*Hjalti*	*Skeggjason*	*sekur*	*á*
	[that	same	summer]	was	Hjalti	Skeggjason	sentenced	[on

---

[3] Consider also the observations in Kossuth (1978a:44):

> Similar generalizations can be made about the placement of Time Adverbs before Directional ones (OV order). Time precedes Direction when they are adjacent, but if there are more than one phrase expressing time or direction, which is common enough, then the double one tends to enclose the single one.

þingi	*um*	*goðgá* (Laxd 1599)
thing]	[on	blasphemy]

'The same summer Hjalti Skeggjason was sentenced on the thing for blasphemy'

Since the thing, on the other hand, is usually always in the summer, we often find a complex PP in the topic position where the time is bound by the place:[4]

(16)

En	***á***	***þingi***	***um***	***sumarið***	*lýsa*	*þeir*	*Gissur*	*sekt*	*Gunnars*
and	[on	thing	in	summer-the]	declare	they	Gissur	sentence	Gunnar's

að	*Lögbergi* (Njála 211)
at	Law-mountain

'And on the thing in the summer, Gissur and the others declare the sentence of Gunnar at Logbergi (the mountain of law)'

---

[4] Note Swan's (1994:240) discussion on complex initial adverbials in Old Norse:

> It should be mentioned that there are apparent exceptions to the rule that only one (or null) constituent is permitted before the finite verb. Thus there are very infrequently, in my material only three or four, sentences with two adverbials, as in [(i)-(ii)]. Such rare examples of apparent verb-third sentences may be found occasionally in Present-day Norwegian as well [...]. It would seem that both languages are equally heavily constrained in this respect and indeed obey similar constraints, for instance, constraints on combining different (semantic) types of adverbials [...]. There must either be some semantic (or pragmatic) coherence allowing the two constituents to be interpreted as one single (but complex) constituent, or, alternatively, the second constituent may be a parenthetical comment. Hawkins (1986: 167) discusses a similar phenomenon in German, claiming that such double constituents [...] "define a topic jointly" and therefore are permitted before the finite verb as one constituent.
>
> (i) *Sunnundags-morginninn, þegar er lysti, stód Olafr konungr upp ok klæddisk* (Heimskringla II 67)
> Sunday morning, as soon as became light, got Olaf king up and got dressed
>
> (ii) *Nv of morginninn aþr þeir eti dagverð fecc kerling þeim handlaug* (Morkinskinna 214)
> Now of morning before they ate breakfest [*sic*] got woman them [water for] washing

Some problems with complex initial constituents in Modern German are also discussed in Haugan (1994:51ff.).

(17) ***Á þingi um sumarið*** *var talað um gjaforð Helgu* (Flóam 760)
[on thing in summer-the] was told about marriage Helga
'On the thing in the summer, it was spoken about the marriage of Helga'

(18) ***Á þingi um sumarið*** *fann Gunnar Ólaf pá mág sinn* (Njála 195)
[on thing in summer-the] found Gunnar Olaf Pa brother-in-law his
'On the thing in the summer, Gunnar met Olaf Pa, his brother-in-law'

Not very surpringly, there is no instance of *um sumarið á þingi* in the topic position in the corpus.

Other nominal arguments (objects) usually appear before the directional adverbial *til þings*:

(19) *Vildi hann eigi hafa* ***þá*** *til þings með sér* (HávÍs 1329)
wanted he not have them$_{\text{OBJ}}$ [to thing]$_{\text{ADVBL}}$ [with himself]$_{\text{ADVBL}}$
'He did not want to take them with him to the thing'

The nominal argument may be shifted to the right by Heavy NP Shift (Extraposition):[5]

(20) *Helgi stefndi til þings* ***skóggangssök þeirri*** (Dropl 353)
Helgi took _$_{\text{i}}$ [to thing]$_{\text{ADVBL}}$ [outlaw-case their]$_{\text{OBJi}}$
'Helgi took the case to the thing'

(21) *... að hann hefir haft til þings* ***þrælsgjöld þau er vér***
... that he has had _$_{\text{i}}$ [to thing]$_{\text{ADVBL}}$ [threll's-guilt(s) those that we

tókum við fyrra sumar (Njála 167)
took with last summer]$_{\text{OBJi}}$
'... that he has taken to court the penalty for the threll that we carried last summer'

As long as there is no nominal object in the clause, the PP *til þings* usually follows the main verb. Also a temporal **NP** adverbial may, however, appear before the PP *til þings*, while a temporal **PP** is generated behind *til þings*:

(22) *Hann hafði þá riðið* ***eitt sumar*** *til þings* (Njála 259)
he had then ridden [one summer]$_{\text{ACC-TIME}}$ [to thing]$_{\text{PLACE}}$
'He had then ridden to the thing once / one summer'

(23) Þorbjörn Þjóðreksson reið ***hvert sumar*** *til þings með*
Thorbjorn Thjodreks'-son rode [every summer]$_{\text{ACC-TIME}}$ [to thing]$_{\text{PLACE}}$ [with

---

[5] In case *til þings* is focused in (20) I would analyze the example as involving Scrambling of *til þings* to the left instead of Extraposition of the object. Example (21) is clear with regard to the status of the object as extraposed.

menn sína (HávÍs 1305)
men his]$_{\text{PP}}$
'Thorbjorn, Thodreks' son, rode every summer to the thing together with his men'

versus:

(24) *Og far til þings* ***að sumri*** *til fundar við mig* (Reykd 1778)
and go [to thing]$_{\text{PLACE}}$ [at summer]$_{\text{TIME}}$ [to meeting with me]$_{\text{PP}}$
'And go to the thing in the summer to meet me'

(25) *Ólafur reið til þings* ***um sumarið*** (Laxd 1593)
Olaf rode [to thing]$_{\text{PLACE}}$ [in summer-the]$_{\text{TIME}}$
'Olaf rode to the thing in the summer'

The temporal adverbials in (22) and (23) might be focused. (23) is the first sentence in a new chapter. The whole context around Thorbjorn being:

(26) *Þorbjörn Þjóðreksson reið hvert sumar til þings með menn sína. Var hann höfðingi mikill, ættstór og frændmargur.*
'Thorbjorn, Thjodreks' son, rode every summer to the thing together with his men. He was a great chief, with a big family and many friends.'

In this context, riding to the thing *every summer* is a sign of being a great and important chief in the society. In (22), *eitt sumar* is the first summer of three, cf.:

(27) *Honum var það fyrir spáð ef hann riði þrjú sumur til þings og kæmi hann heill heim að þá mundi hann verða mestur höfðingi í ætt sinni og elstur. Hann hafði þá riðið eitt sumar til þings en nú ætlaði hann annað.*
'It was prophesied before that he would be the greatest chief in his family and the oldest if he rode three summers to the thing and returned uninjured. He had then riden to the thing once and now he planned the next tour.'

(23) could possibly be explained by Scrambling of *hvert sumar*. However, the relative order of the NP adverbial and the PP adverbial is the same in (22) and (23). Thus, if it is true that an allative adverbial like *til þings* is more closely related to *riða* than any time adverbial, it should be more reasonable to assume that *til þings* is extraposed, either because this would provide a focus effect on the time adverbial, or maybe first of all because the PP is structurally more complex than the NP.[6] Anyway, it seems that the unmarked order in constructions like these is PLACE before TIME, cf. the following example where I do not believe that one of the adverbials receives a special focus (disregarding the natural sentence accent/focus):

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[6] It is also possible that the verbs assigns Case to nominal adverbials, thus, the NP should be generated as the complement of the verb followed by other adverbials.

(28) *Þórhallur reið til þings hvert sumar* (Grett 1004)
Thorhall rode [to thing]$_{PLACE}$ [every summer]$_{TIME}$

Scrambling of an adverbial like *til þings* is, of course, possible, too. Again (as observed several times before), it seems that this is most common with modals (e.g. *munu* or *skulu*) (cf. also Scrambling of the adjective in the discussion in 4.3.3.4 above and the discussion in 5.4):

(29) *Njáll spurði Gunnar hvort hann mundi* ***til þings*** *ríða* (Njála 160)
Njal asked Gunnar whether he would [to thing]$_i$ ride [_$_i$]
'Njal asked Gunner if he would ride to the thing'

(30) *Og munum við þá báðir saman* ***til þings*** *ríða* (LjósA 1725)
and will we-two then both together [to thing]$_i$ ride [_$_i$]
'And we will then both ride to the thing together'

(31) *... en hann skyldi þegar**til þings*** *ríða á fárra*
and he should immediately [to thing]i ride [_$_i$] on few

nátta fresti (Njála 173)
nights time
'... and he should ride to the thing within a few nights'

But Scrambling is also found in other constructions, e.g.:

(32) *...en Einar var eigi* ***til þings*** *kominn* (LjósC 1679)
... and Einar was not [to thing]$_i$ come [_$_i$]
'... and Einar had not come to the thing'

(33) *Vermundur var þenna tíma* ***til þings*** *riðinn er*
Vermund was [that time]$_j$ [to thing] ridden [_$_i$] [_$_j$] when

Grettir var í Langadal (Grett 1033)
Grettir was in Langadale]
'Vermund was ridden to thing at that time when Grettir was in Langadal'

Note that *til þings* appears to the right of the sentence adverbial *eigi* in (32). In (33), one could choose to analyze *þenna tíma* as a sentence adverbial (cf. e.g. Åfarli 1997:47ff.), or we may say that both adverbials are scrambled.[7] A second directional adverbial ('ablative') may also be scrambled, *til þings* ('allative') staying behind:

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[7] Anyway, neither of these phrases should be considered base-generated in this position, while a 'proper'(?) sentence adverbial like e.g. *ekki* ('not') probably is. Note, by the way, that (33) can possibly be used as evidence for the basic order *til þings - þenna tíma*, even though it seems to be the opposite at first sight. Intuitively, I think that a sentence *Vermundur var **til þings** þenna tíma riðinn*, i.e. with the (scrambled) PP preceding the (scrambled) NP would be odd. Maybe there really is some kind of *Mirror Effect* involved when several phrases are scrambled (as discussed in 4.3.2.4) . Then, the 'innermost' phrase (i.e. the phrase base-generated closest to the verb) would be the phrase that is also in a position closest to the verb after Scrambling, whereas phrases further away from the verb would have to precede it (in their relative order).

(34) *Nú kemur að því er menn skyldu* ***heiman*** *ríða til*
now comes to that when men should [from-home]$_i$ ride [_$_i$] to

þings (Njála 296)
thing
‘Now the time comes when people prepared to leave home to ride to the thing’

The position of the **sentence adverbial** can, for instance, be observed when both [Spec, IP] and [Spec, VP] are occupied, i.e. when there is a ‘discontinuous’ subject:

(35) *Ríða* ***þeir*** *þá* ***þrír tigir manna*** *til þings* (Njála 251)
ride they$_i$ then$_{SA}$ [_$_i$ three ten man’s] [to thing]
‘Then they ride, thirty men together, to the thing’

The phrase *þrír tigir manna* may perhaps also be analyzed as an adverbial itself. However, I will consider it a part of the subject in the same way as the names in the following example:[8]

(36) ***Þeir*** *riðu og til þings* ***Húnröður og Þórólfur leikgoði*** (Vatn 1903)
they$_i$ rode also [to thing] [_$_i$ Hunrod and Thorolf game-good]
‘They, Hunrod and Thorolf Leikgodi, also rode to the thing’

---

[8] The index is just supposed to indicate the position of *þeir* before movement relative to the ‘rest’ of the phrase, i.e. in this example, I have not (necessarily) marked the base-generated position of the surface subject *þeir*. See the discussion.

I assume that *Húnröður og Þórólfur leikgoði*, as a part of the subject, may be located in [Spec, VP]. In this case, *til þings* would be scrambled. Alternatively - as a ('free') apposition - the phrase could be adjoined to the right of VP (or CP).[9] This is not possible to tell. Note, however, that the names are absolutely necessary in this example, because one would otherwise not be able to identify *þeir*, cf. the whole context, showing that there would be another possible discourse referent for *þeir*:

(37) ***Þeir Þróttólfur og Föstólfur*** *fóru til þings sem fyrr segir en maðurinn var meðan í Þjófadal og vænti að þá mundi minna fé goldið ef hann færi eigi sjálfur.* ***Þeir*** *riðu og til þings* ***Húnröður og Þórólfur leikgoði*** (Vatn 1903)
They, Throttolf and Fostolf, went to the thing, as told before, in the meantime, the man was in Thjofadal and hoped that a lower price had to be paid if he did not went himself. Hunrod and Thorolf Leikgodi went also to the thing'

Furthermore, *þeir/þær/þau* + name(s) is a very frequent combination in Old Norse and not like some 'ordinary' additional/appositional information (cf. e.g. the phrase *Þeir Þróttólfur og Föstólfur* in the example above). As a 'vocative', on the other hand, a name at the end of a sentence should be considered adjoined to VP (or CP):

(38) *Ríð þú þá til þings* ***Runólfur*** (Njála 260)
ride you then to thing || Runolf
'Then ride to the thing, Runolf'

As discussed before (see the discussion on Scrambling in 4.3.2.4 above), a scrambled element may seemingly be able to appear between two sentence adverbials:

(39) *Vér höfum ekki* ***lið þetta*** *svo leynilega saman dregið*
we have not$_{SA}$ [troop this]$_{OBJ}$ [so secretly]$_{SA}$ together$_{ADV/PART}$ dragged

að ... (Vopnf 1995)
that ...
'We have not gathered the troop so secretly that ...'

However, I find it more reasonable to assume that the whole lower VP is scrambled (*saman* should probably be analyzed as a verbal particle), i.e. *svo leynilega* is probably not a sentence adverbial in this example.[10]

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[9] Compare to the Modern Norwegian 'Right Copying Construction' discussed in chapter 5.3 (or Haugan 1998b).

[10] This example may possibly represent counter evidence against some 'Mirror Effect' (cf. the discussion in 4.3.2.4 and elsewhere), supposed that the basic word order would be *Vér höfum ekki dregið* [*saman*]$_1$ [*lið þetta*]$_2$ [*svo leynilega*]$_3$, i.e. with *so leynilega* as the 'outermost' phrase. However, note that at least the verbal particle *saman* is closest to the verb also after Scrambling. To 'save' the assumption of a 'Mirror Effect' (if there is any point in trying to save it), one could assume that *lið þetta* might be 'attracted' by some higher position. The scope of the negation

I have also discussed an example where a scrambled element seems to be adjoined both before and behind a sentence adverbial:

(40) *... þá mun eg* ***þetta mál*** *ekki* ***með kappi*** *verja* (Grett 996)
... then will I [this case]$_{\text{OBJ}}$ not$_{\text{SA}}$ [with combat]$_{\text{ADVBL}}$ defend
'... then I will not defend this case with fight'

---

word *ekki* could, for instance, determine the 'final' surface position. Also, one could assume that the structure is 'mirrored' after Extraposition of *lið þetta*. I am not sure how controversial such an assumption would be within the theory/theories of Scrambling. Personally, I think this idea should be worth following up by cross linguistic research.

However, here too, it seems more reasonable to assume Scrambling of the whole lower VP, the negation word *ekki* would then not be a sentence adverbial but belong to *með kappi*, i.e. [*ekki með kappi*].[11]

The 'adverb' *ekki* may obviously also take an argument (in the genitive) itself, *ekki* then functioning more or less as a quantifier (i.e. being +nominal):

(41) *Þar var* ***ekki manna*** *úti* (BandK 62)
there was [not man$_{\text{GEN}}$]$_{\text{SUBJ}}$ out
'There was no man / noone (none of the men) outside'

Note also the combination of a nominative NP without a quantifier and *ekki* + GEN:

(42) *Hundur hans var hjá honum en* ***ekki manna*** (Bárð 68)
[hound his]$_{\text{NOM-SUBJ}}$ was with him and [not man$_{\text{GEN}}$]$_{\text{SUBJ}}$
'His dog was with him but no man / noone else (none of the men)'

Thus, the 'negation phrase' must have nominative case. Compare this construction also with an 'ordinary' quantifier:

(43) *Síðan var hestaþingið og kom þar* ***mart manna*** (LjósC 1674)
since was horsething-the and came there [many men$_{\text{GEN}}$]$_{\text{SUBJ}}$
'Later, the horse thing was held and many men came'

The status of *ekki* as a sentence adverbial is, thus, not always obvious.

As mentioned before, I assume that a scrambled element is adjoined to the left of VP only. Also, I assume that the surface subject may be located in a position below [Spec, IP]. Sentence adverbials are assumed to be more or less fixed at the left periphery of VP. Hence in:

---

[11] This sentence may probably be an even better counter example against any 'Mirror Effect'. However, if one chooses to analyze the negation word *ekki* as a sentence adverbial after all, with a fixed position, one could claim that *þetta mál* is scrambled over *ekki* to a 'higher' position in order to be moved out of the scope of *ekki*. If one assumes that *ekki* belongs to *með kappi*, as suggested above, one would have to claim Extraposition before Scrambling to save the 'Mirror Effect' (again: if it is worth saving). Intuitively, I would say that the first scrambled phrase in both cases above is focused. If it really was extraposed before it was scrambled, this could maybe explain the observed effect.

(44)	*Var*	*þá*	*sendur*	*maður*	*til*	*þings* (Njála 181)
	was	then	sent	man$_{SUBJ}$	to	thing
	‘Then a man was sent to the thing’					

where the subject is preceded by a sentence adverbial *þá* and the infinite verb *sendur*, I do not assume Scrambling to IP. Since this is a passive sentence with only one nominal (Theme) argument, the surface subject *maður* is generated as the complement of V'.[12] This alone does, of course, not exclude Scrambling of *sendur* (and possibly movement of *maður* to [Spec, VP] of the ‘higher’ VP). However, Scrambling would not change the surface order, hence, it would be ‘uneconomical’. Furthermore, the same sentence could be generated in Modern Norwegian, which does not allow Scrambling:

(45)	*Det*	*vart*	*då*	*sendt*	*ein*	*mann*	*til*	*tinget*
	it$_{EXPL}$	was	then	sent	a	man	to	thing-the
	‘Then a man was sent to the thing’							

In Modern Norwegian *pro* is lexicalized as *det*, in Old Norse *pro* is invisible.[13] Thus, I assume that there is nothing scrambled in the Old Norse sentence. The sentence adverbial is adjoined to the left of VP, while the participle is located in V (of the ‘higher’ VP). Hence, even though there are three elements preceding the subject in the following examples, none of them is supposed to be scrambled:

(46)	*Var*	*þá*	*ekki*	*læst*	*hvílugólfið* (HávÍs 1320)[14]
	was	then$_{SA}$	not$_{SA}$	locked$_{Prtcpl}$	sleeping-room-the$_{SUBJ}$
	‘The sleeping room was not locked then’				

---

[12] See also the discussion on *pro* in 4.6.

[13] *Det* is, as mentioned before, analyzed as the subject in Modern Norwegian, whereas *ein mann* is analyzed as the object (see, however, Taraldsen 1982). See also the discussion in 4.6 below.

[14] Note that Old Norse seems not to exhibit the so-called Definiteness Effect. The Modern Norwegian equivalent with a definite subject in its base position would be ungrammatical:

(i)	**Det*	*var*	*då*	*ikkje*	*låst*	***soverommet***
	it	was	then	not	locked	sleeping-room-the

vs.

(ii)	***Soverommet***	*var*	*då*	*ikkje*	*låst*
	sleeping-room-the	was	then	not	locked

(47) *... var þar þá ekki margt manna* (Egla 475)[15]
... was there$_{SA}$ then$_{SA}$ not$_{SA}$ [much men]$_{SUBJ}$
'Then there were not many men'

As I have discussed before, in passives and ergative sentences, the surface subject - being a D-structure object - does not always move to the 'higher' VP or to [Spec, IP]. Thus, in the ergative (or possibly passive) sentence:

(48) *... og var ekki borð sakað í skipi þeirra* (Laxd 1562)
... and was not$_{SA}$ board$_{SUBJi}$ damaged [_$_{i}$] [in ship their]
'... and no board in their ship was damaged'

I assume that the surface subject *borð* has moved only one step, namely to [Spec, VP] of the 'higher' VP, but not to [Spec, IP]. The adverb *ekki* is, thus, not assumed to be adjacent to IP (another analysis would possibly be to claim that [*ekki borð*] was located in [Spec, IP] as one phrase).

As mentioned before, sentence adverbials may also be topicalized:

(49) ***Ekki*** *var Helga gift síðan* (Harð 1295)
not was Helga married since
'Helga was not married (again) since then'

Note that, in the case of *ekki* being a nominal head, one may get a 'discontinuous' phrase:

(50) *... því að* ***ekki*** *var* ***karlmanna*** *heima* (Vígl 1964)
... that that not/no was [_$_{i}$ man$_{GEN}$] home
'... because there was no man at home'

cf. also (51) where *enginn* is part of the subject (a) or the predicate complement (b), respectively:

(51) a. ***Enginn maður*** *hafði þá hníf á belti* (Fljót 716)
[no man]$_{SUBJ}$ had then knife on belt
'No man had a knife in his belt then'

---

[15] In this example, *ekki* may perhaps be a nominal, cf. the discussion above. However, one should then expect the adjective to be in the genitive, too, cf.:

(i) *... mun það verða* ***margs manns*** *bani ef þú lifir* [Grett 991]
... will that become [many mens]$_{GEN}$ dead if you live

Therefore, I assume that the adjective *mart* is the case assigning head and *ekki* is an 'ordinary' adverbial in this example.

b. ***Enginn*** *var* *Þorvaldur* ***goðorðsmaður*** (Fljót 685)
no$_i$ was Thorwald [_$_i$ chief-man]$_{SP}$
'Thorwald was no chief / not a chief'

See the discussion on discontinuous phrases in 4.7.

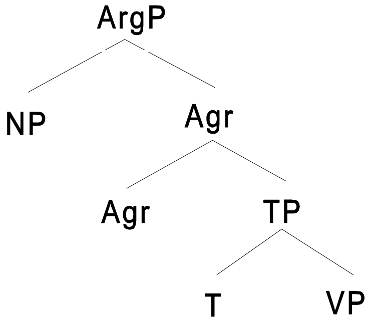
During the discussion above, I have (first of all) tried to demonstrate that sentence adverbials seem to be adjoined to the left of VP, while other adverbials are generated to the right of V/VP. The same distribution is found in the modern Scandinavian languages (and many other languages). Scrambling of other elements, however, may sometimes 'confuse' the surface structure a little.

After having looked at the positions of arguments and adjuncts in deep structure and surface structure, I will now discuss some (even) more theoretical aspects of the GB-model I am using in this work and their implications for the analysis of Old Norse word order.

4.5 Agreement and Tense

Following Holmberg & Platzack (1995), I assume that I(nfl) in Old Norse contains the features **Agreement** [Agr] and **Tense** [±T] in one way or another. I do not assume the so-called Split-I analysis (Pollock 1989) where I is split into two heads Tense and Agr, each with its own projection, for instance like the structure proposed for Romance and English in Belletti (1990):

(1)



According to Holmberg & Platzack (1995:18, fn.16), there is no direct evidence of multiple sentential positions (between C and VP) in Scandinavian corresponding to the evidence provided by French data (see Pollock 1989). For further discussion see Holmberg & Platzack (1995:19f.).[1] I will not join the discussion here and just adopt the analysis of Holmberg & Platzack.

The **finiteness** feature [±F(inite)] is of major importance for e.g. the understanding of the nature of *pro*. According to Holmberg & Platzack (1995), verb second languages, like in our case Old Norse, differ from most other languages, like for instance English, in having the feature [+F] in C separated from the abstract tense feature [±T], which is situated in I (Holmberg & Platzack 1995:53). Holmberg & Platzack also state that every occurrence of nominative Case must be governed, directly or indirectly, by the head marked with this feature. The surface structure of *jarl gaf honum kaupskip* ('the earl gave him a merchant ship') may, according to this view, look like:

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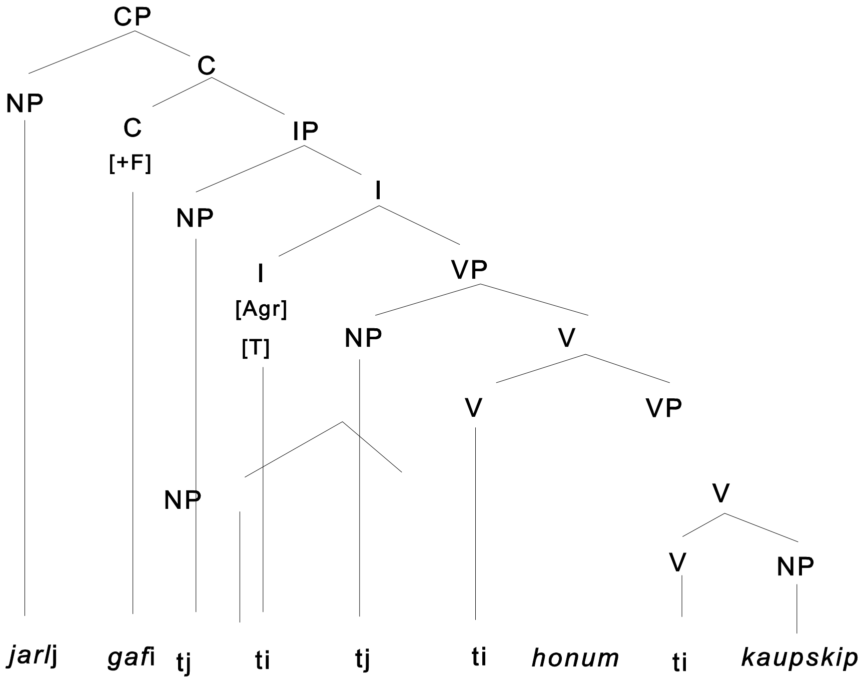
[1] For arguments against Pollock´s (1989) analysis, see Iatridou (1990).

(2)



Holmberg & Platzack (1995:44) assume furthermore that there is a 'licensing condition' applicable to the finiteness feature [+F]:

(3) ***Licensing Condition for the Finiteness Feature [+F]***
An occurrence of the feature [+F] is licit if and only if the head hosting it is lexicalized and governs a phonetically realized element bearing nominative Case, or the trace of such an element.

Holmberg & Platzack (1995:44) themselves refer to Falk (1993:139f.) who notices that this licensing condition erroneously predicts that every finite clause has a nominative, either a nominative Agr or an overt nominative DP in Spec-IP/VP. Holmberg & Platzack also quote some Swedish examples, first observed and discussed in Falk (1987), that apparently violate this prediction (Swedish is considered as having 'weak' Agr, thus, not having an inherent nominative Agr; cf. the discussion in Holmberg & Platzack 1995):

(4)	a.	*I*	*gräset*	*kan*	*finnas*	*ormar.*
		in	the-grass	may	be	snakes

b. *I Malmö dansades hela natten.*
in Malmoe was-danced whole the-night

c. *Här regnar mycket.*
here rains much

The presented theory cannot account for sentences like this. However, Holmberg & Platzack (1995:44, fn.1) notice that the omission of the expletive subject is possible only when a locative is fronted. This might indicate that there is some connection between nominative Case and locative expressions in some languages. Danish, English and Dutch, for instance, use locative adverbs as expletive subjects.[2] The licensing conditions may cause problems for the analysis of

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[2] This is possible in some Norwegian dialects, too; see e.g. Faarlund, Lie & Vannebo (1997:681ff.). See also Askedal (1986:36) who discusses the use of a fronted non-argument as a strategy to maintain the V2-constraint when the order *Argument*^{1} *- Verb - Argument*^{2} is disturbed. This alternative (Askedal calls it 'unsystematic') may, then, be assumed in sentences like:

(i) *Her kan være slanger / *slangene*
here may be snakes / the snakes

According to Askedal (ibid.), however, "such sentences are more often than not felt to be stilted, or archaic, or regional, or even deviant or outright ungrammatical". Askedal claims that "the possibility illustrated in [(i)] is not productive" in Modern Norwegian. Another alternative, then, is to insert a dummy element, represented by the use of the formal subject *det*.

This element meets the requirement that Norwegian sentences have a syntactic subject. In the context

> of word order typology it is also naturally viewed as an element that is constantly available to maintain the verb second structure of the sentence. (Askedal 1986:37)

While the locative adverb in (i) usually is considered an expletive subject in Modern Norwegian (cf. e.g. Faarlund, Lie & Vannebo 1997:681ff.), it seems that some dialects distinguish between the expletive *det* and the locative *der*, hence, using a locative really might be some kind of 'strategy', as proposed by Askedal (1986). Krogtoft (1992:16) claims, for instance, that *der* in (iii) behaves more like an expletive topic than an expletive subject. While the NP in (ii) does not trigger verb agreement, the NP in (iii) does, hence, it should be considered the subject (cf. the situation in Modern Icelandic), while the postverbal NP in (ii) is analyzed as an object:

(ii)	*Det*	*er*	*kome*	*ein*	*mann.*
	it	is	come	[a	man]$_{SG}$

languages like these because they have so-called ‘weak’ Agr which is represented as *empty* Agr, thus not inherently nominative, i.e. there are sentences with no nominative at all and the licensing condition fails.

Old Norse, on the other hand, is assumed to be a language with ‘strong’ Agr. According to Holmberg & Platzack, strong Agr is inherently nominative. Thus, if the finite verb has moved to C, i.e. the head hosting [+F] is lexicalized, the verb governs Agr and may license an empty pronominal *pro* in [Spec, IP]. This means that Old Norse avalent verbs like, for instance, *hausta* (‘become fall’) can be considered having an empty pronominal *pro* in [Spec, IP] (see the discussion on *pro* in 4.7):

(5)	*Síðan*	*haustaði*		*og*	*gaf*	*þeim*	*eigi*	*byr* (LjósC 1709)	
	since	became-autumn	[*pro*]	and	gave	them		not	fair wind

‘Then autumn came and they got no fair wind’

As discussed before, there are also sentences with an oblique subject in [Spec, IP] and no

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(iii)	*Der*	*er*	*komne*	*noen*	*menn.*
	there	is	come$_{\text{PL}}$	[some	men]$_{\text{PL}}$

The choice of example (ii) may be somewhat unfortunate since it involves an NP in the singular (agreement with *ein mann* would yield *komen* in (ii)). Example (iv), on the other hand, shows cleary that a plural NP does not trigger verb agreement (either), as opposed to (iii):

(iv)	*Det*	*er*	*kome*	*noen*	*menn.*
	it	is	come	[some	men]$_{\text{PL}}$

available position for a nominative at all, e.g.:

(6) *Bárður sagði að* ***hann*** *þyrsti mjög* (Egla 419)
Bard said that him$_{\text{SUBJ-ACC}}$ 'thirsted' much
'Bard said that he was very thirsty'

(7) *Líkar* ***honum*** *nú vel* (BandM 18)
Likes him$_{\text{SUBJ-DAT}}$ now well
'He feels well now'

(8) *... því að* ***oss*** *vantar einn mann* (HávÍs 1328)
... this that us$_{\text{SUBJ-ACC}}$ wants [one man]$_{\text{ACC}}$
'... because we lack one man'

(9) *Eða hvers minnir* ***þig*** *um hversu mælt var með okkur?* (Laxd 1636)
Or what$_{\text{GEN}}$ reminds you$_{\text{SUBJ-ACC}}$ about how said was with us?
'Or how do you remember our conversation?'

In passive constructions, for instance, there will be no nominative either when there is no (structural) accusative in the active counterpart (cf. the discussion on passive in 4.3.3.1).

Since the same constructions also occur in Modern Icelandic, Holmberg & Platzack are forced to deal with this 'problem'. Even though Modern Icelandic makes use of an overt 'expletive' (which, as mentioned before, is assumed to be an expletive *topic*) in some cases, there are also structures where an expletive is not possible (for the very reason that it is an expletive topic and not an expletive subject) (examples from Holmberg & Platzack 1995:100):[3]

(10) *Í dag hafa (*það) komið margir málvísindamenn hingað.*
today have it come many linguists here

(11) *Í gær var (*það) dansað á skipinu.*
yesterday was it danced on the-ship

(12) *Um haustið var (það) fullreynt, að hann stæli.*
in the-autumn was it clearly-proved that he stole

(13) *Rigndi (*það) í gær?*
rained it yesterday

---

[3] In Modern Norwegian, all of these examples must have an expletive subject (*det*).

Additionally, there are at least three more types of non-referential null subjects in Modern Icelandic (discussed by Sigurðsson 1992a:162ff.):[4]

(14) *Ekki er hljæjandi að þessu.*
not is laughing at this
'One cannot laugh at this.'

(15) *Ekki skal harma þetta.*
not shall deplore this
'This should not be deplored.'

(16) *Þarf að kaupa mjólk?*
needs to buy milk
'Do we (/people, etc.) need to buy milk?'
(quoted from Holmberg & Platzack 1995:101)

Sentences like (14)-(16) are not possible in the other modern Scandinavian languages, not even with an expletive (subject). Thus, in Modern Icelandic, expletive *pro* may appear in cases without any θ-role, as in existentials and impersonal passives, in cases with a 'quasi' θ-role, as with weather-verbs, and some cases with unspecified reference. In the case where the overt expletive (topic) *það* is impossible, then, the 'trace' of another argument (including *pro*) occupies the position. The example:

(17) *Í dag hafa (*það) komið margir málvísindamenn hingað*
today have it come [many linguists]$_{\text{NOM}}$ here

where the expletive (topic) *það* is not possible, shows clearly that we must consider *margir málvísindamenn* being co-indexed with *pro* in [Spec, IP], hence, *margir málvísindamenn* is the subject even though it appears as an VP-internal argument. In the Modern Norwegian equivalent:

(18) *I dag har *(det) komme mange lingvistar hit*
today have it come [many linguists] here

---

[4] Sigurðsson (1992a:163) refers to these examples as the *Impersonal Present Participle Construction*, the *Optionally Ergative Construction* and the *Impersonal Modal Construction*, respectively.

however, *mange lingvistar* has - as discussed before - status as an object, the expletive *det* being the surface subject.[5]

Old Norse has no expletive element at all, that is, if we choose not to count locative adverbs and *þat/það* referring to a sentential subject as expletives. The *það* in the Modern Icelandic example (12) must be interpreted as a demonstrative. This can be proved syntactically because the Modern Icelandic expletive can only appear in [Spec, CP] and not in [Spec, IP], in contrast to the other modern Scandinavian languages. Hence, as mentioned several times before, *það* is an expletive topic and not an expletive subject (see also the discussion in Sigurðsson 1992a) (examples quoted from Holmberg & Platzack 1995:103) :

(19) *Það hafa komið margir málvísindamenn hingað í dag.*
it have come [many linguists] here today

(20) *Það var dansað á skipinu í gær.*
it was danced on the-ship yesterday

(21) *Það var fullreynt, að hann stæli um haustið.*
it was clearly-proved that he stole in the-autumn

(22) *Það rigndi í gær?*
it rained yesterday

---

[5] *Mange lingvistar*, however, can of course become a surface subject by movement to [Spec, IP]:

(i) *I dag har (*det) mange lingvistar komme hit*

Holmberg & Platzack (1995:102) explain the possibility of using null-subjects as an automatic effect of the presence of nominative Agr in Modern Icelandic. According to the licensing condition, [+F] is licit if and only if the node that hosts it governs nominative Case. In Icelandic - and Old Norse - Agr in I is inherently nominative, thus, [+F] is always licensed by virtue of this. Hence, a nominative element in [Spec, IP] is actually never needed for the purpose of licensing [+F]. Holmberg & Platzack state that it follows that Modern Icelandic, in addition to having a nominative element in Spec-IP,[6] may have a non-nominative element there (a so-called oblique subject), or leave this position empty (i.e. filled with *pro*). The same seems to be true for Old Norse as well. I will now take a closer look at some aspects of the theory of *pro* and possible consequences for the analysis of Old Norse (and Modern Icelandic).

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[6] Holmberg & Platzack (1995:102, fn. 12) note that

> since [+F] is always licensed by nominative Agr in Icelandic, it could be asked how a nominative element in Spec-IP is licensed. [...] The answer depends on whether or not it is possible for a single head to license more than one occurrence of a case. If this is possible, a nominative in Spec-IP is directly licensed by [+F], since it is head governed by the node hosting [+F]. However, we find it more plausible to assume that there is a biunique relation between Case licensers and Case licensees (such a restriction is proposed e.g. by Rizzi & Roberts (1989)). In this case, a nominative in Spec-IP must be indirectly licensed by being head governed by I° with nominative Agr, and nominative Agr is directly licensed by the head hosting [+F].

4.6 Empty Argument Positions and the Theory of *pro*

Since words or phrases only can move to empty positions, one has to find out if a potential landing site really is empty or not, i.e. if there is no element at all or if there may be some kind of *pro*-element. On the other hand, since *pro* has no phonetic content, i.e. it is overtly not visible, it is not always easy to determine whether one should assume a *pro* or not.

In Italian, a so-called pro-drop language, one may have a sentence like:

(1) *[pro]* *ha* *scritto* (Saltarelli 1981:362)
he/she has written

In (1), there is no overt subject present. According to the Extended Projection Principle (EPP), however, there is supposed to be a subject in the clause. Also, the sentence refers to some person, he or she, even though there is no overt referring form present in the clause. Thus, there are good arguments for assuming that the subject position is occupied by some *pro*-element. In other words, there is no empty position which could be filled by some other element. Different kinds of *pro* will be discussed further below.

Following Rizzi (1986), we may say that the theory of *pro* consists of two essential parts, a formal requirement on the structural position of *pro* (a licensing condition), and an interpretive constraint on the recovery of its content (an identificational condition).[1] Rizzi (1986:524) formulates the first condition as follows:

(2) ***Licensing condition of small pro:***
Pro is Case-marked by $X°_y$, i.e. a head X° of type y.

Holmberg & Platzack (1995:107) choose to reformulate this first condition. Thus, the two conditions are then:

(3) a. ***Licensing condition of small pro:***
Pro is head governed by a Case-licensing head $X°_y$.

b. ***Identificational condition of small pro:*** (Rizzi 1986:520)
Let X be the licensing head of an occurrence of *pro*. Then *pro* has the grammatical specification of the features on X coindexed with it.

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[1] However, see Sigurðsson (1993) for a discussion on parametric variation of the identification and licensing of *pro*.

After reformulation, the licensing condition says that *pro* does not have to be Case-marked, although it must be governed by a Case-licensing head.

Holmberg & Platzack state that Modern Icelandic can have an overt DP/NP in [Spec, IP] (i.e. in the domain of direct nominative licensing) which does not have nominative Case. This is shown by an example (Holmberg & Platzack 1995:105):

(4) *Hafði*$_i$ [IP *einhverjum* *bátum*$_j$ [I° e$_i$] [VP e [V' *hvolft* e$_j$]]].
had some boats (dat) capsized
'Some boats had capsized.'

Holmberg & Platzack claim that it has been demonstrated "beyond any doubt" that oblique DPs/NPs with subject properties, like the dative *einhverjum bátum* in (4), are situated in [Spec, IP], and that Modern Icelandic allows the presence of a dative DP/NP - or *pro* - in the licensing domain of nominative Case (Holmberg & Platzack 1995:105). According to Holmberg & Platzack, it would be problematic to have nominative *pro* in [Spec, IP] in an existential version of (4):

(5) *Hafði*$_i$ *pro* [VP *hvolft* *einhverjum* *bátum* *í gær*].
had (3 sg.) capsized some boats (dat) yesterday
'Some boats had capsized yesterday.'
(Holmberg & Platzack 1995:106)

which would be identical to ordinary existentials like the following example (6) in all respects except the following ones: in ordinary existentials, the DP in VP is in the nominative Case, and the finite verb agrees with this DP/NP in number and person:

(6) *Hafa pro* [VP *komið* *margir* *málvísindamenn* *hingað* *í dag*]
have (3 pl.) come many linguists (nom) here today
'Many linguists have come here today.'
(Holmberg & Platzack 1995:106)

In cases like (5), where there is no nominative DP/NP in the clause, the finite verb is always in the 3rd pers. sg. (cf. Holmberg & Platzack 1995:106; see also the discussion on passive with oblique subjects in 4.3.3.1).

The post-verbal DP/NP in cases like (5) and (6) must be bound by *pro*. Hence, *pro* forms an *expletive chain* with the indefinite DP/NP in VP. There is only one Case for each maximal A-chain (including expletive chains), thus, according to Holmberg & Platzack, it is not possible for *pro* in (5) to bear nominative Case, because the result would be an expletive chain where the head and the foot are assigned different Cases.

Supporters of the theory of an 'understood Agent' (cf. the discussion in 4.3.3.2 above) may argue that [Spec, IP] in an example like:

(7) *Hafði* *einhverjum* *bátum* *hvolft*
had some boats capsized

hosts the *pro* of an unidentifiable Agent (cf. the Italian example (1)). If there really was an unexpressed Agent involved, one would, however, have to assume Scrambling of *einhverjum bátum* to the left of the main verb, which, as demonstrated in 4.3.2.4, is not possible in Modern Icelandic (with complex verbs). Of course, *hvelfa* ('capsize') can also be used as a transitive verb, e.g. *somebody capsized the boat*. In this case, *hvelfa* subcategorizes an internal DP/NP with lexical dative and an external (agentive) DP/NP that receives structural nominative Case. The external role cannot disappear, hence, one may say that the position of the potential subject is occupied by (unspecified) *pro*. Consequently, the dative NP/DP *bátum* could, of course, not move to [Spec, IP], because the sentence has already an ordinary subject *pro*. In this case, we would have to try to find another position to place the dative DP/NP, which is not that easy in the case of Modern Icelandic. Obviously, the theory of an understood Agent creates more problems than it solves.

Sigurðsson (1992a:271ff.) has shown convincingly that there is a relation between so-called 'ergative pairs'. Thus, *hvelfa* in (a) and *hvelfa* in (b) in the following examples should actually not be considered the same verb:[2]

(8) a. *Bátnum* *hvolfir.*
boat-the$_{\text{DAT}}$ capsizes

b. *Þeir* *hvolfa* *bátnum.*
they capsize boat-the$_{\text{DAT}}$

Here, the ergative verb (with an oblique subject) and the transitive verb (with an agentive, nominative subject) enter into a phonological null-alternation of the well-known English type *sink-sink* (Sigurðsson 1992a:278).[3] The transitive verb in (b), then, may (historically) be derived from the ergative verb by the theta operation **Add TH**:

(9) Add TH: <X (th)> → TH <X (th)>

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[2] Note that Modern Norwegian Nynorsk uses a strong and a weak version of *hvelfa*, i.e., two different verbs:

(i) *kvelve* - *kvelv* - *kvalv* - *kvolve* (strong and ergative)
(ii) *kvelve* - *kvelver* - *kvelvde* - *kvelvt* (weak and transitive)

[3] These verbs are also discussed in Zaenen & Maling (1990).

This indicates that the ergative verb really has no external role to begin with, hence, the subject position is empty and can be occupied by an oblique subject (deep structure object).[4] The lack of an external/agentive role can (as also discussed in 4.3.3.2) be observed when looking at negative data like (10b) (quoted from Zaenen & Maling 1990:139):

(10) a. *Bátnum hvolfdi.*
the-boat capsized

b. **Bátnum hvolfdi viljandi.* (Unaccusative)
the-boat capsized on-purpose

c. *Bátnum var hvolft viljandi.* (Passive)
the-boat was capsized on-purpose

Since the ergative variant has no external role, it cannot combine with the intentional adverb *viljandi*, nor can it passivize. The transitive verb, on the other hand, can passivize, even though the Agent is not (overtly) 'present' in the passive.

In other cases, it may seem more unclear if the transitive verb actually is (historically) derived from an ergative variant. Thus, for instance, the relation between transitive and ergative *brjóta* ('break') (Sigurðsson 1992a:276f.):[5]

(11) a. *Sjórinn braut bátinn í spón.*
sea-the$_{NOM}$ broke boat-the$_{ACC}$ into pieces

b. *Bátinn*$_{ACC}$ *braut í spón.*

c. *Báturinn*$_{NOM}$ *brotnaði í spón.*

In this case, it is also possible that the ergative is derived from the transitive by the theta operation **Eliminate TH**:

(12) Eliminate TH: TH <X (th)> → <X (th)>

Note, that the second ergative verb *brotna* (c), apparently derived by a Verb Formation Rule -*na*-

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[4] The behavior of ergative or unaccusative verbs with respect to the lacking external role is also discussed in e.g. Perlmutter (1978); Perlmutter and Postal (1984); Hoekstra (1984); Burzio (1986); Grimshaw (1987); Zaenen (1987a, 1987b); Van Valin (1989); and Levin and Rappaport (1989).

[5] See also the discussion on English *break* in Marantz (1984:179ff.).

V + Eliminate TH, seems not to be a Case assigner, hence the subject receives the nominative. For further differences between ergative pairs, see Sigurðsson (1992a:271ff.).

Before leaving the discussion on the ergative-transitive distinction, the reader might wish to see some 'authentic' examples from Old Norse regarding *hvelfa* and *brjóta*:

(13) a. *Skipinu hvelfir undir Kormáki og hans mönnum* (Korm 1508)
ship-the$_{\text{SUBJ-DAT}}$ capsizes under Kormak and his men

b. *... að Þormóður hvelfir bátinum undir þeim* (Fóstb 833)
... that Thormod$_{\text{SUBJ-NOM}}$ capsizes boat-the$_{\text{OBJ-DAT}}$ under them

(14) a. *... þá brutu þeir skipið í spón* (VígGl 1942)
... then broke they$_{\text{SUBJ-NOM}}$ ship-the$_{\text{OBJ-ACC}}$ in pieces
'... then they broke the ship into pieces'

b. *... en skipið braut í spón* (Laxd 1585)
... and ship-the$_{\text{SUBJ-ACC}}$ broke in pieces
'... and the shipbroke into pieces'

c. *Það brotnaði í spón* (Egla 455)
that$_{\text{SUBJ-NOM}}$ broke in pieces
'It/(the ship) broke into pieces'

Clearly, these verbs behave just the same in Old Norse as in Modern Icelandic. It would obviously be difficult to identify an external (agentive) role in (13a) and (14b, c), unless one wants to resort to some external 'force' like the sea or the weather in general (cf. e.g. Faarlund 1990a:147, with reference to Smirnickaja 1972 and Halbe 1963). Explaining the relation by referring to two different verbs in e.g. (13), one ergative without an external role and one transitive derived by add TH, on the other hand, would be more appealing. In both cases, the NP in front behaves like an ordinary surface subject. The only difference is that the subject *skipinu*$_{\text{DAT}}$ in (13a) is a deep-structure object with a Theme role, while (13b) has *Þormóðr*$_{\text{NOM}}$ as a deep-structure subject with a deep-structure subject role *Agent/Performer*. (14a) also has an Agent subject, while the Agent role is eliminated in (14b). (14c), on the other hand, has externalized its internal role (as discussed before, probably to [Spec, VP] of the 'lower' VP and not to a/the 'higher' VP).

I will leave the discussion on oblique subjects and the theory of an understood Agent. It should be clear by now that assuming oblique subjects in Old Norse (and Modern Icelandic) seems to be the only reasonable analysis for sentences like the ones presented above.

As mentioned at the top of this section, there seem to be different types of *pro*. For instance, the *pro* in the following example quoted from Holmberg & Platzack (1995:106):

(15)	*Hafði*$_i$	*pro*	[VP	*hvolft*	*einhverjum*	*bátum*	*í gær*].
	had (3 sg.)			capsized	some	boats (dat)	yesterday

'Some boats had capsized yesterday.'

is what is called a '**true expletive *pro***' (Rizzi 1986; Holmberg & Platzack 1995), cf. also Modern Norwegian where one would have to use an expletive *det* instead of the *pro* (I turn the example into a question to preserve the word order of the previous example):[6]

(16)	*Hadde*	***det***	*kvolve*	*nokre*	*båtar*	*i går?*
	had	it$_{EXPL}$	capsized	some	boats	yesterday

'Had any boats capsized yesterday?'

I have also already discussed instances of so-called '**quasi-argumental *pro***' with weather verbs (cf. also the Modern Icelandic example in 4.3.3 with *rigna* ('rain')).[7] Note another example:

(17)	*Og*	*er*	*haustar*	*fer*	*hann á*	*fjall*	(BandK 29)
	and	when [*pro*]	autumn-becomes	goes	he	on	mountain

'And when autumn has come, he climbs the mountain'

Compare to the Modern Norwegian equivalent with an overt form (cf. also Haugan 1998a:99):

(18)	*Og*	*då*	***det***	*haustar,*	*fer*	*han*	*på*	*fjellet*
	and	when	it$_{EXPL}$	autumn-becomes	goes	he	on	mountain-the

'And when autumn has come, he climbs the mountain'

According to Rizzi (1986) (see also Holmberg & Platzack 1995:107ff.), there are three kinds of *pro*, their different interpretation being dependent on which _ (*phi*)-features *pro* is associated with (Rizzi 1986:543):

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[6] See also the discussion in Haugan (1998a).

[7] There are only three instances of *rigna* in the corpus (the CD-ROM), but they all have a dative subject *blóði* ('blood'), i.e. *rigna* may also take an internal argument that, in this case, is promoted to subject. See the discussion in 4.3.3.2.

(19) a. referential *pro*: *pro* is associated with *person*.
b. quasi argumental *pro*: *pro* is associated with *number*.
c. true expletive *pro*: *pro* is associated with neither *number* nor *person*.

Example (1) above is a representative of referential *pro*, (17) has quasi-argumental *pro*, and (15) has an instance of true expletive *pro*.

As shown by Holmberg & Platzack (1995:108), German only has true expletive *pro*.[8] Modern Icelandic, on the other hand, allows both true expletive *pro* and quasi argumental *pro*, cf. (Holmberg & Platzack 1995:108, 100):[9]

(20) a. *Gestern* *wurde* pro *getanzt* (German)
yesterday was danced

b. *Í gær* *var* pro *dansað* *á skipinu* (Icelandic)
yesterday was danced on ship-the

(21) a. **Gestern* *hat* pro *geregnet* (German)
yesterday has rained

b. *Rigndi* pro *í gær?* (Icelandic)
rained yesterday

Old Norse, on the other hand, allows both true expletive *pro*, quasi argumental *pro* and referential *pro*.[10] Consider an instance of **referential** *pro*:

(22) *Þar* *var* *hann* *drepinn* *og* *grófu* *hann* *þar,* *fara*
there was he$_{1.sg.}$ killed and buried$_{3.pl.}$ [they] him there, go$_{3.pl.}$ [they]

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[8] See e.g. Abraham (1993), Lenerz (1985), and Pütz (1986).

[9] Hjartardóttir (1993; see also 1985) shows that Modern Icelandic had also referential *pro* up to around 1800. See Rögnvaldsson (1990c) on null objects in Modern Icelandic, and Creider (1985, 1986) and Åfarli & Creider (1987) on null objects in Modern Norwegian (Åfarli & Creider also discuss Old Norse data). See Wurff (1993) for a discussion on null objects in Latin, Cole (1987) for null objects in Thai and Korean, and Huang (1991) for a discussion on null objects in general.

[10] This being the only instances where one possibly may speak of an 'understood Agent'.

síðan	*í*	*burt* (Flóam 772)
since	in	way

‘There he was killed and they buried him there. Later, they go away’

The subject of *grófu* (and *fara*) is omitted. Note that the subject of the first clause is a 3rd person singular *hann,* while the verb *grófu* in the following clause has the inflection of the 3rd person plural. The omitted subject is probably a pronoun *þeir* (‘they’) referring to the persons mentioned in the context. Hence, the identification is not very problematic, even though the directly preceding sentence is only about one of ‘them’.[11] Actually one has to look at the whole paragraph to find overt reference to ‘them’:[12]

(23) *Að þrem nóttum liðnum sáu* ***þeir*** *tjald af lérefti.* ***Þeir*** *kenndu að það var tjald Þóreyjar. Fundu [**þeir**] þar brytja Þorgils og spyrja [(**þeir**)] með hverju faraldi hann þar hafði komið. Hann sagði þá kostaboð þeirra Snækolls við sig ef hann vildi eigi fara að þeir mundu drepa hann "Snækollur stakk mjóvu járni á Þóreyju."*
Þorgils svarar: "Eigi veit eg hvers þú ert af verður. En ósannleg þykir mér þín sögn og skaltu ekki lifa lengi."
*Þar var hann drepinn og grófu [**þeir**] hann þar, fara [**þeir**] síðan í burt.* (Flóam 771/772)
‘After three nights had gone by, **they** saw a tent made of linen cloth. **They** recognized that it was the tent of Thorey. There [**they**] found Thorgils’ farm hand and [(**they**)] asked him how he had come there. He told then about the conditions he had gotten from Snakoll and the others if he would not go, namely that they would kill him “Snakoll stabbed a pointed iron/knife into Thorey.” Thorgils answered: “I do not know your value; but I find your story unlikely and you shall not live long.” There he was killed and [**they**] buried him there; later [**they**] go away.’

The paragraph is obviously about Torgils and ‘them’. Theoretically, a missing ‘they’ could, of course, also refer to *þeirra Snækolls* (‘Snakoll and the others’), this is, however, less likely.

The missing subjects in (22) are, on the other hand, not necessarily instances of *pro*-drop but maybe rather of *Topic-drop* (cf. Sigurðsson 1992a, 1993; see also Þráinsson & Hjartardóttir

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[11] However, according to Sigurðsson (1993), Agr is not capable of identifying null subjects. See the discussion below.

[12] Actually, it is also possible that the omitted phrase refers to an unexpressed Agent phrase in the previous clause, e.g.:

(i)	*Þar*	*var*	*hann*	*drepinn*	[*af þeim*]	*og*	*grófu*	[*þeir*]	*hann*	*þar*
	there	was	he	killed	[by them$_i$]	and	buried	[they]$_i$	him	there

In this case, the actual contextual distance to a ‘concrete’ referent in the discourse would not be that big as otherwise indicated.

1986).[13] At this stage of the discussion, any difference between genuine *pro*-drop and Topic-drop should be of minor interest. In both types, the omitted phrase is referential, in contrast to expletive *pro* and quasi-argumental *pro* (see the discussion below).[14]

Two other examples demonstrate the most common use of referential *pro*: the omitted subject is referring to the object in the preceding sentence, either an independent sentence or a coordinated sentence:[15]

(24) *En um sumarið fæddi hún meybarn. Glúmur spurði Hallgerði*
and in summer-the gave-birth she girl-child. Glum asked Hallgerd

hvað heita skyldi (Njála 143)
what [**it/she**] be-called should
'And in the summer she gave birth to a girl child. Glum asked her what the child should be called'

(25) *Þann sama vetur fæddi Hallfríður sveinbarn og skyldi*
the same winter gave-birth Hallfrid boy-child and should [**it/he**]

heita Ásbjörn (Finnb 662)
be-called Asbjorn
'The same winter, Hallfrid gave birth to a boy and he should be called Asbjorn'

In both sentences, the subject of the verb *heita* is omitted. Compare to an equivalent sentence with no omission (compare especially to 24):

(26) *Þá spurði Gestur Syrpu hvað sveinn þeirra skyldi heita* (Finnb 627)
then asked Gest Syrpa what [boy their] should be-called
'Then Gest asked Syrpa what their boy should be called'

Note that the subject *sveinn þeirra* is a full lexical form; omitted phrases, on the other hand, are expected to be pronominal forms. However, in (24) and (25), the omitted phrase is not necessarily a 'concrete' pronoun. For instance, in (24) the omitted pronominal form could be *það*$_{\text{NEUT}}$ ('it') or *hún*$_{\text{FEM}}$ ('she'), and in (25), it could be *það*$_{\text{NEUT}}$ or *hann*$_{\text{MASC}}$ ('he'). The neuter *það* would refer grammatically to *meybarn*$_{\text{NEUT}}$ ('(girl-)child') or *sveinbarn*$_{\text{NEUT}}$ ('(boy-)child'), while *hún* and *hann* would refer to *mey*$_{\text{FEM}}$ ('girl') or *sveinn*$_{\text{MASC}}$ ('boy') respectively. Thus, the omitted phrase apparently does not refer to a certain *lexical* form.

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[13] See Huang (1984) for a discussion on Chinese and German Topic-drop (also Huang 1987, 1989). See Fries (1988a - with references to studies on English, French and Catalan; 1988b), and Önnerfors (1993) for discussions on German verb-first sentences and Topic drop.

[14] Sigurðsson (1993:247) uses the following classification of Old Norse (Old Icelandic) Argument-Drop:

(i) Topic-drop, i.e. missing arguments that do not behave like a pronominal, but like a variable bound by a null-operator
(ii) Semi pro-drop of both arbitrary and expletive subjects
(iii) Genuine pro-drop not only of subjects but also of objects of both verbs and prepositions

[15] Note that the empty subject position in (24) is made 'visible' by Stylistic Fronting (see the discussion in 4.7). Stylistic Fronting is only possible when the subject position is empty (compare to 26). In (24), the infinite verb *heita* is fronted, i.e.:

(i) *hvað* [*pro*] *heita*$_i$ *skyldi* _$_i$

Consider also a small paragraph about a little boy, first mentioned as *sveinbarn*$_{\text{NEUT}}$, then omitted twice, whereas the discourse referent appears as a masculine form *sveininum* at the end of the paragraph:[16]

(27) *Nú spyr Gunnar lát Höskuldar mágs síns. Fám nóttum síðar varð léttari Þorgerður að Grjótá, dóttir Hallgerðar en kona Þráins, og kom þar til* ***sveinbarn****. Sendi hún þá mann til móður sinnar og bað hana ráða fyrir hvort* [_] *heita skyldi eftir Glúmi föður hennar eða eftir Höskuldi móðurföður hennar. Hún bað að* [_] *Höskuldur skyldi heita. Var þá það nafn gefið* ***sveininum****.* (Njála 194)
'Now Gunnar heard that Hoskuld, his father-in-law, had died. A few nights laterThorgerd at Grjota, daughter of Hallgerd and wife of Thrain, gave birth to **a child**, and it was a boy. She then sent a man to her mother and asked her to decide whether [**it/he**] should be named after her father Glum or after her mother's father Hoskuld. She wanted that [**it/he**] should be named Hoskuld. Then that name was given **the boy**.'

Thus, the omitted form could be 'it' as well as 'he', if one should assume any 'concrete' pronominal form at all. Apparently, the omitted element refers to a discourse entity and not to some concrete lexical form.

Genuine *pro*-drop (referential *pro*) in Old Norse does not only apply to subjects (a), but also - less frequently, though - to objects of verbs (b) and prepositions (c), cf. the examples from Sigurðsson (1993:248; or 1992a:154):[17]

(28) a.

ok	*kom*	*hann*$_i$	*þangat,*	*ok*	*var*	*Hoskuldr*	*uti,*
and	came	he	there	and	was	H.	outdoors

er	$\__i$	*reið*	*í*	*tún*
when		rode	into	field

'And *he* came there, and Hoskuldr was outdoors when (*he*) rode into the field.'

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[16] Please notice that there could not be any overt subject phrases in the Old Norse examples where I have put the brackets. The brackets are only meant to indicate the potential position of a possible overt subject. In both cases where the subject is omitted, the subject gap permits *Stylistic Fronting*, i.e. in the first case *heita* has moved forward, and in the second case, *Höskuldur* has moved forward. With an overt subject, Stylistic Fronting is not supposed to be possible. See the discussion on Stylistic Fronting in the next section 4.7.

[17] Holmberg & Platzack (1995:105) state, with reference to Rizzi (1986), that in Italian, *pro* in object position is possible only if the verb is transitive.

b. *dvergrinn mælti, at sá baugr*$_i$ *skyldi vera hverjum hofuðsbani,*
the dwarf said that that ring should be to-anybody a headbane

er átti _$_i$
that possessed
'The dwarf said that *that ring* should bring death to anybody who possessed (*it*).'

c. *ætla ek, at þú nýtir eigi boga minn*$_i$ *þóttu*
believe I that you (can-)use not bow my even-if-you

spyrnir fótum í _$_i$
push with-feet in
'I believe that you cannot use *my bow* even if you push with your feet in (*it*).' (i.e. use your feet to tighten it)

This omission of arguments in Old Norse does not seem to regard Case or grammatical function. Consider some examples from Faarlund (1990a:104f.). The Case of the two identical NPs (if they were both expressed) is given in parentheses after each example sentence:[18]

(29) a. *Skarpheðinn kom fótum undir sik ok réð þegar*
Skarphedin-N came feet-D under himself and [-] tried at-once

til í annat sinn
PCL in second time (N-N)
'Skarphedin got on his feet and tried at once again a second time'

b. *Þá lét Óðinn bera inn í ho,_llina sverð, ok váru*
then let Odin bring into the-hall swords-A and [-] were

svá bjo,_rt ...
so bright (A-N)
'Then Odin had swords brought into the hall. and they were so bright that ...'

c. *Síðan fluttu þeir Þorgils líkit upp með ánni*
since moved they Thorgils-N the-corpse-A up with the-river

ok grófu þar niðr
and buried [-] there down (A-A)
'Afterwards Thorgils and his men moved the corpse up along the river and buried it there'

d. *Honum var fenginn leynilega harpa, ok sló hann*
him-D was gotten secretly harp-Nand struck he [-]

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[18] Note that in all of the examples from Faarlund the actual phrase is omitted in a clause with the conjuntion *ok* ('and').

með tánum
with the-toes (N-A)
'He was secretly given a harp, and he played it with his toes'

e. *Einarr Þambarskelfir fór með líki Magnús konungs ok*
Einar Thambarskelfi-N went with corpse-D Magnus king-G and

með honum allr þr´,øndaherr ok fluttu til Niðaróss
with him all Thronder-army-N and moved [-] to Nidaros (D-A)
'Einar Thambarskelfi brought King Magnus' corpse to Nidaros, and the whole Thronder army followed him'

According to the *identification hypothesis* (Jaeggli 1982; Sigurðsson 1993), it is assumed that the content or the *phi*-features of referential *pro* must be identified by 'rich' agreement inflection of verbs (e.g. Taraldsen 1978; Chomsky 1981, 1982; Rizzi 1982, 1986). Modern Icelandic, however, has lost genuine *pro*-drop, even though the verbal inflection is still 'rich', i.e. more or less the same as in Old Norse.[19] According to Sigurðsson (1993:249), the identification hypothesis also predicts genuine *pro*-drop to be non-existent in languages that do not have object-verb or object-preposition agreement. Obviously, this is not true for Old Norse.[20] Sigurðsson (ibid.) therefore states that one must allow for *pro*-drop of non-agreeing referential objects in Universal Grammar. According to Sigurðsson (1993:250), both genuine subject and object *pro* in Old Norse (Old Icelandic) were identified under free coindexing with an NP in the preceding discourse; Sigurðsson calls this *free discourse indexing*.[21]

As pointed out by Hjartardóttir (1985, 1993), there is a difference between Old Norse main clause null subjects and other null-arguments (objects in main clauses, subjects and objects in subordinate clauses) in that they do not need to be co-referential with a preceding NP. Sigurðsson (1993) claims that those sentences do not have *pro* but a null-topic in [Spec, CP], binding a variable in [Spec, IP] (see also the discussion in Sigurðsson 1992a). Null-topics, then, are not identified by Agr, according to Sigurðsson. The difference between Italian and Old Norse *pro*-

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[19] Holmberg & Platzack (1995:110) argue that Old Norse has a contextually determined instance of the feature *person* in C°, while Modern Icelandic does not have this feature. Also, it could be possible that the Modern Icelandic case and agreement system is different from that of Old Norse (cf. e.g. Hróarsdóttir 1996b).

[20] The prediction is apparently also incorrect for Imbabura, Thai, and Korean (cf. Cole 1987), or Chamorro (cf. Chung 1984).

[21] See also the discussions in Mørck (1992), and Nygaard (1894, 1905:8ff.), furthermore Law (1993:20ff.).

drop is explained by arguing that Old Norse Agr is *nonpronominal*, cf. Sigurðsson (1993:250):

> While pronominal Agr of the Italian type has inherent *phi*-features, which it can assign to *pro*, nonpronominal Agr of the Icelandic type has no such features of its own, and is instead assigned *phi*-features by its Case assignee. It follows that languages that have nonpronominal Agr (or no Agr) can only identify *pro* under coreference with a preceding NP, either by means of control, like Chinese, for example, or by means of free discourse indexing, like Old Icelandic. Languages that identify *pro* under free discourse indexing are expected to have genuine object *pro* as well as genuine subject *pro*.

According to Sigurðsson (1993:251f.), Null-topics are possible in Old Norse with or without an antecedent, whereas genuine (object and subject) *pro* always requires an NP antecedent in preceding discourse.[22] Note also that so-called *Pronoun Zap*, being an instance of Topic-drop, is possible in many languages that are not considered having *pro*-drop[23], e.g.:

(30) a. (*Ich*) *kennedas* *nicht.* (German)
b. (*Jag*) *känner* *det* *inte.* (Swedish)
c. (*Ég*) *þekki* *það* *ekki.* (Icelandic)
(I) recognize that not
'I don't recognize that.'
(Sigurðsson 1993:254)

(31) a. (*Das*)*kenne* *ich* *nicht.* (German)
b. (*Det*) *känner* *jag* *inte.* (Swedish)
c. (*Það*)*þekki* *ég* *ekki.* (Icelandic)
(that) recognize I not
'That I don't recognize.'
(Sigurðsson 1993:255)

According to Sigurðsson (1993:255), null-argument clauses of this sort have exactly the properties we would expect them to have if they involve an empty 'topic operator' or a null-topic (O) in [Spec, CP], which binds a variable (e) in an A-position. Consider the assumed structures for the German examples (Sigurðsson 1993:255):

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[22] Sigurðsson's (1993:252, fn. 5) comment:

> I take the liberty of using 'antecedent' in both the standard technical sense (a c-commanding, coreferential NP) and the loose, non-technical sense 'a coreferential NP in preceding discourse'.

[23] Sigurðsson (1993:254, fn. 7) notes that Pronoun Zap of objects is much more common in German than in Swedish and Icelandic.

(32) a. [$_{CP}$ O_i [$_{C'}$ *kenne* [$_{IP}$ e_i *das* *nicht*]]

b. [$_{CP}$ O_i [$_{C'}$ *kenne* [$_{IP}$ *ich* e_i *nicht*]]

Omission of the subject or the object is not possible in the examples above if [Spec, CP] is occupied by another constituent (Sigurðsson ibid.):

(33) a. **Jetzt kenne* [e] *das nicht.* (German)
b. **Nu känner* [e] *det inte.* (Swedish)
c. **Núna þekki* [e] *það ekki.* (Icelandic)
now recognize (I) that not
'I don't recognize that.'

(34) **a.** **Jetzt kenne ich* [e] *nicht.* (German)
b. **Nu känner jag* [e] *inte.* (Swedish)
c. **Núna þekki ég* [e] *ekki.* (Icelandic)
now recognize I (that) not

Sigurðsson (1993:256) shows, thus, that:

> missing arguments in German and Scandinavian differ from genuine *pro*-drop in that they cannot 'drop directly' from an A-position, but must instead be A'-bound by a zero topic in [Spec, CP].

According to Sigurðsson (ibid.), the missing subjects in *Conjunction Reduction*, then, are like the null-arguments we find with Topic-drop, assuming that many Conjunction Reduction structures in the Germanic V2 languages involve coordination of full clauses, the second conjunct having a subject gap.[24] A general structure for Topic-drop, including subject gaps in conjuncts, could be illustrated as (Sigurðsson 1993:257):

(35) (... NP_i ... coordinator) [$_{CP}$ O_i V/Agr [$_{IP}$ ... e_i ...]]

Sigurðsson calls such clauses *O-Comp clauses*.

In the modern Scandinavian languages (and e.g. English and German), Conjunction Reduction is restricted to subjects: subjects may only be omitted under identity with another subject. In Old Norse, on the other hand, Conjunction Reduction (i.e. Topic-drop in clauses introduced by a coordinator) seems also to apply to objects as we have seen in the examples from Faarlund (1990a) above. Those examples, then, are probably instances of Topic-drop. However, take a closer look at two of them:

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[24] See Rögnvaldsson (1982), Þráinsson & Hjartardóttir (1986), and Bresnan & Þráinsson (1990) on Icelandic, Sigurðsson (1992a:136ff.) on Icelandic and Swedish, and Brandner & Fanselow (1991) on German.

(36) *Síðan fluttu þeir Þorgils líkit upp með ánni*
since moved [they Thorgils]$_{SUBJi}$ the-corpse$_{OBJj}$ up with the-river

ok grófu þar niðr
and **[_]**$_{\mathbf{SUBJi}}$ buried **[_]**$_{\mathbf{OBJj}}$ there down
'Afterwards Thorgils and his men moved the corpse up along the river and [**they**] buried [**it**] there'

(37) *Einarr Þambarskelfir fór með líki Magnús konungs*
[Einar Thambarskelfi]$_{SUBJi}$ went with [corpse Magnus king]$_{OBJj}$

ok með honum allr þrœndaherr ok fluttu
and with him all Thronder-army and **[_]**$_{\mathbf{SUBJi}}$ moved **[_]**$_{\mathbf{OBJj}}$

til Niðaróss
to Nidaros
'Einar Thambarskelfi brought King Magnus' corpse to Nidaros, and the whole Thronder army followed him;

and [**they**] moved [**it**] to Nidaros'

In both of these two examples, there are actually two phrases omitted, both the subject and the object. I assume that one can only have one instance of Topic-drop, the other phrase must then be omitted by genuine *pro*-drop.[25] Another conclusion would have to be that Conjunction Reduction does not involve Topic-drop after all, and that the subject is deleted directly in [Spec, IP] instead, for instance:

(38) a. *ok grófu þar niðr*
and [TOP: that/the corpse$_i$] buried [SUBJ: they] [e$_i$] there down

b. *ok fluttu til Niðaróss*
and [TOP: that/the corpse$_i$] moved [SUBJ: they] [e$_i$] to Nidaros

Since there is reason to assume Topic-drop in Conjunction Reduction (cf. Sigurðsson 1993), it seems most likely that the subjects in these examples are deleted by Topic-drop, whereas the objects are deleted by genuine *pro*-drop. Hence, the structure would rather look like:

(39) a. *ok grófu þar niðr*
and [TOP: they$_i$] buried [e$_i$] [*pro*: it/the corpse] there down

b. *ok fluttu til Niðaróss*
and [TOP: they$_i$] moved [e$_i$] [*pro*: it/the corpse] to Nidaros

On the other hand, Sigurðsson (1993:267) discusses one example of this kind:

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[25] On the other hand, if Topic-drop could be related to topical phrases and not only to the 'topic position', i.e. the first position in the clause, there should not be any problem with a 'double topic-drop construction' as long as sufficient identification is guaranteed.

(40)

ioc	*hann*	*rici*	*Svia.*	*en*	*varði*	*_*	*harðhendilega*
enlarged	he	state	(of-)Swedes	and	defended		vigorously

'He enlarged *the state of the Swedes* and defended (*it*) vigorously.'

and claims that this example (might) involve(s) an object variable, i.e. Topic-drop of the object (see also Þrainsson & Hjartardóttir 1986:157f.), while the null-subject might be analyzed as *pro*, the structure being:

(41) ... and [$_{CP}$ O$_i$ [$_{C'}$ defended$_j$ [$_{IP}$ e v$_j$ [e]$_i$ vigorously]]]

The analysis of sentences like this is, thus, not clear. Sigurðsson (1993:267, fn. 18) mentions:

> As discussed in Rögnvaldsson (1990[c]), this type is still common in Icelandic, in contrast with all the other constructions discussed in this section. Various circumstances indicate that the second conjunct might in fact be nonclausal. Thus, it may neither contain an auxiliary nor a lexical subject. If it is nonclausal, it might perhaps be analyzed as an extraposed V-projection, without an object gap.

Sigurðsson (1993:267) also states that the object variable is not feasible in main clauses with a lexicalized CP specifier, e.g.:

(42)

ok	*er*	*Egill*	*sa*	*skipit*$_i$,	*þa*	*kendi*	*hann*	__$_i$	*þegar*
and	when	E.	saw	*the ship*	then	recognized	he		at once

'And when Egill saw *the ship*, then he recognized (*it*) at once.'

Here, the deleted object cannot be A'-bound. Hence, it cannot be a variable, i.e. be deleted by Topic-drop, and therefore, it must be considered to be an instance of genuine *pro*-drop.

The conclusion of Sigurðsson (1993) seems to be that the omission of subjects in verb-initial root clauses is (almost) always due to Topic-drop. An omitted subject can (almost) only be considered to be an instance of genuine *pro*-drop if the topic position is occupied by another phrase (i.e. in so-called XP-Comp clauses), e.g.:

(43)

er	*hann*	*kom*	*þar,*	*er*	*mest*	*var*	*brunnit*	*þvertréit*$_i$,
when	he	came	there	where	most	was	burned	the beam

þá	*brast*	_$_i$	*niðr*	*undir*	*honum*
then	broke		down	under	him

'When he came where *the beam* was most burned, then (*it*) broke under him'
(Sigurðsson 1993:262)

where [Spec, CP] contains the adverb *þá* ('then'). However, null-subjects (i.e. deleted by genuine *pro*-drop(?)) seem to be most frequent in subordinate clauses as shown above and repeated here:

(44)

ok	*kom*	*hann*$_i$	*þangat,*	*ok*	*var*	*Hoskuldr*	*uti,*
and	came	he	there	and	was	H.	outdoors

er _$_i$ *reið* *í* *tún*
when rode into field
'And *he* came there, and Hoskuldr was outdoors when (*he*) rode into the field.'
(Sigurðsson 1993:248/263)

Both genuine subject and object *pro* is thus, according to Sigurðsson, identified under free coindexing with an NP in the preceding discourse. Null-topics can also be identified in this way. Additionally, they can be identified by coindexing with a 'construed' discourse topic.

Concerning infinitivals, I do not have much to say about PRO, i.e. non-lexical infinitival subjects, which I consider basically the same phenomenon as *pro*, i.e. a nonlexical A-position and not a lexical element (cf. Borer 1989; Sigurðsson 1992a). Like *pro*, PRO gets an interpretation or features in the interpretive components of grammar, PF and LF (cf. Sigurðsson 1992a:179). As Sigurðsson (1992a:180f.) shows, PRO has the same basic possibilities as *pro*, i.e. it may be **referential**, **arbitrary** or **expletive**, cf. the Modern Icelandic examples:

(45) a. [*Að* PRO *synda*] *er* *hollt*.
to swim is healthy.

b. *Það* *er* [e] *hollt* [*að* PRO *synda*].
it is healthy to swim

(46) a. *Mér* *virðist* [PRO *vera* *leiðinlegt* *hérna*].
me seems to-be boring here
'It seems to me that it is boring here.'

b. *Páll* *reyndi* [*að* PRO *synda*].
Paul tried to swim

In (45), PRO is arbitrary, hence, it is non-referential and free. PRO is non-referential in (46a), too, PRO being expletive,[26] whereas it is referential in (46b), being bound by *Páll*.

In conclusion, I will quote some examples from Sigurðsson (1992a:189f.), showing that PRO in Modern Icelandic is Case-marked (there is no reason to assume that this is different in Old Norse):[27]

(47) a. *Þeir* *vonuðust* *til* [*að* PRO *verða* *ekki* *barðir*].
they hoped for to be not beaten
N.m.pl. N.m.pl.

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[26] As Sigurðsson (1992a:181) points out, the dative *mér* is an oblique subject, that is, the matrix clause contains no empty subject, hence no possible controller of the embedded expletive PRO.

[27] See Jónsson (1991:23) who argues that PRO/pro "in the subject position of infinitives and S[tylistic]F[ronting]-sentences is not Case-marked" in Modern Icelandic.

b. *Konan* *vonaðist* *til* [*að* PRO *verða* *ekki* *barin*].
N.f.sg. N.f.sg

(48) a. *Þeir* *vonuðust* *til* [*að* PRO *verða* *bjargað*].
saved
N.m.pl. N/A.n.sg.

b. *Konan* *vonaðist* *til* [*að* PRO *verða* *bjargað*].
N.f.sg. N/A.n.sg

Note that the participles in (48a/b) do not agree with the oblique PRO subject while they do agree with a nominative PRO subject, as shown in (47). Obviously - as mentioned before - subjecthood and agreement must be kept apart in Modern Icelandic and Old Norse.

The examples above may also serve as final proof for the claim that oblique subjects really are ordinary surface subjects just as other derived subjects with structural Case, even though they also may occur VP-internal as in:[28]

(49) *... og varð þar borgið* ***mönnum*** *en skip braut allt*
... and became there saved$_{Vmain}$ men$_{DAT-SUBJ}$ and ship broke all

í spón og fé máttu þeir ekki bjarga (Njála 334)
in pieces and fee might they not save
‘... and the men were saved there, but the ship broke into pieces and they were not able to save any goods’

As the final topics on Old Norse (theoretical) syntax in this work, I will discuss Stylistic Fronting, Topicalization and discontinuous phrases in Old Norse. Since the fronting of elements to a high degree is assumed to be influenced by pragmatic reasons, i.e. information structure (see chapter 5), an introductory discussion on the purely structural possibilities seems opportune.

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[28] Thus, [Spec-IP] contains expletive *pro* in this example.

4.7 Stylistic Fronting, Topicalization, and Discontinuous Phrases

In this section, I want to look at some fronting phenomena, as well as the phenomenon of so-called discontinuous phrases in Old Norse which have been used as an argument for the claim that Old Norse is non-configurational (e.g. Faarlund 1990a and elsewhere). The discussion in this section will provide further evidence that Old Norse is not much more 'non-configurational' than e.g. Modern Icelandic or Modern German. Even though Old Norse may allow some movement operations that are not possible in the modern Germanic languages, I do not believe that this is due to non-configurationality.

I have already discussed *Topicalization*, i.e. movement of an XP to [Spec, CP], on several occasions in this work.[1] There is another fronting phenomenon in Old Norse (and Modern Icelandic) called *Stylistic Fronting* (or Stylistic Inversion, cf. Maling 1990), which seems to regard fronting of heads (and marginally also maximal phrases, see below), typically **participles**, **adjectives**, **light adverbs** and **particles** (cf. Holmberg & Platzack 1995:115).[2] In the previous section, I mentioned two Old Norse examples involving Stylistic Fronting (from the quotation (27) in section 4.6):[3]

(1)	*... og*	*bað*	*hana*	*ráða*	*fyrir*	*hvort*	***heita***	*skyldi*	*eftir*	*Glúmi*
	... and	asked	her	decide	for	whether	(be-)named$_i$	should$_{Vfin}$	_$_i$	after Glum

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[1] Holmberg & Platzack (1995:80, fn. 16) consider Topicalization adjunction of a maximal phrase to CP, which is coindexed with an empty operator in [Spec, CP].

[2] As far as I am aware, Stylistic Fronting in Modern Icelandic was first described in Maling (1990 [=1980]). However, consider also Smári (1920:260). For a discussion on the same phenomenon in Old Swedish (labelled *kilkonstruktionen* 'the wedge construction'), see Wessén (1956:306f.).

[3] Remember that there is no overt subject in these examples, hence, the subject position is overtly empty, cf. the discussion in the previous section.

föður hennar eða eftir Höskuldi móðurföður hennar (Njála 194)
father hers or after Hoskuld mother-father hers
'... and asked her to decide whether [the boy/he] should be named after her father Glum or her mother's father Hoskuld'

(2) *Hún bað að* ***Höskuldur*** *skyldi heita* (Njála 194)
she begged that Hoskuld$_i$ should$_{Vfin}$ be-named _$_i$
'She wanted [the boy/him] to be named Hoskuld'

In these two examples, the bold phrase has moved to a position right in front of the finite verb. Here, I will adopt the view that Stylistic Fronting is adjunction to I° (cf. Holmberg & Platzack 1995), even though this analysis is not unproblematic (see below). To begin with, I will try to approach the discussion on Stylistic Fronting in Old Norse via data from Modern Icelandic, since the phenomenon has received quite a lot of attention in the linguistic literature during the recent years, and I think a formal account is a prerequisite to an investigation of the Old Norse data.

Consider some Modern Icelandic examples from Holmberg & Platzack (1995:115) demonstrating the difference between Topicalization and Stylistic Fronting:

(3) **TOPICALIZATION**

a. ***Maríu*** *hef ég aldrei hitt.*
Mary (acc.) have I never met

b. ***Í gær*** *keypti Ólafur þessa bók.*
yesterday bought Olaf (nom.) this book (acc.)

(4) **STYLISTIC FRONTING**

a. ***Fram*** *hefur komið að ...*
out has come that ...

b. *Fundurinn, sem* ***fram*** *hafði farið í Óslo, var skemmtilegur.*
the-meeting that on had gone in Olso was fun

Topicalization (and *wh*-fronting) is, as we know, also common in the other Scandinavian languages (and the Germanic languages in general). Stylistic Fronting, on the other hand, is only found in Insular Scandinavian and Old Norse.[4]

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[4] Stylistic Fronting is also found in Faroese, cf. Barnes (1986a, 1986b; 1987). Apparently, Stylistic-Fronting-like phenomena can also be found in other non-Scandinavian languages, see e.g. Holmberg (1997).

According to Holmberg & Platzack (1995), Stylistic Fronting applies strictly to X° categories.[5] Barnes (1987), on the other hand, claims that NPs and PPs can be fronted by Stylistic Fronting in Faroese (for arguments against this claim, see Holmberg & Platzack 1995:115, fn.32). Falk (1993) also reports cases from Old Swedish where Stylistic Fronting seems to involve maximal phrases.[6] This is not discussed any further by Holmberg and Platzack. On the other hand, it would not be consistent with their theory.

Jónsson (1991:13) states that Stylistic Fronting of nouns is always very marginal in Modern Icelandic, illustrated by two examples:[7]

(5)	a.	??*Sá*	*sem*	*kokkur*	*er*	*t*	*á*	*stóru skipi*	*fær*	*góð laun*
		He	who	cook	is	t	on	a big ship	gets	a good pay
	b.	??*Sá*	*sem*	*barna*	*gætir*	*t*	*má*	*ekki sofna á verðinum*		
		He	who	children	looks-after	t	must	be alert		

Jónsson assumes that the Icelandic noun phrase always has a determiner to the left at D-structure, whether it is a specifier of the noun head or a head of its own projection (cf. the DP-analysis in Abney 1987 or Delsing 1988). Given this assumption, the noun will not be adjacent to the verb in (5). Jónsson notes that violations of the adjacency requirement seem to be less severe when the intervening element is an empty category (there is no overt determiner in (5)).[8] Consider also a construction with Stylistic Fronting of an adjective with and without a specifying adverb (Jónsson ibid.):

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[5] Cf. also Jónsson (1991). See, however, Holmberg (1997).

[6] E.g. Falk (1993:181):

(i) *hanum som* ***miskund*** *hafdhe giort draparenom*
him that **mercy** had made the murderer
'him who had shown mercy to the murderer'

(ii) *the vj riddara som* ***breffuit*** *baro fram*
the six knights that **the letter** brought PRT

[7] According to Sigurðsson (1997), it helps if the DP/NP has abstract reference (cf. Holmberg 1997:84f.).

(6) *Þetta er maður sem skyldur er* [AP (**mjög*) t *Maríu*(dat.)]
This is a man that related is very t to-Mary

Obviously, an overt intervening adverb like *mjög* blocks fronting of the adjective, while fronting of an X°-category is possible when there is no intervening element.

Rögnvaldsson (1990a), and Rögnvaldsson & Þráinsson (1990), on the other hand, claim that there is no syntactic difference between Stylistic Fronting and Topicalization. I tend to agree with Jónsson (1991) and (Holmberg & Platzack 1995) that Stylistic Fronting seems to be some kind of cliticization, rather than Topicalization.

In a more recent work, Holmberg (1997) tries to explain Stylistic Fronting by means of Feature-movement theory (cf. Chomsky 1995:ch. 4), a theory I do not find easy to adjust to the present approach, which I, however, find promising, among other things because it seems to be able to explain the fact that Stylistic Fronting apparently really may involve maximal phrases, cf. e.g.:

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[8] For arguments against the analysis of Jónsson (1991), see Poole (1992) who suggests that the possibility of Stylistic Fronting has to do with the differences in the requirements on Case for overt nominals and non-overt nominals. Adjunction of a head to I° is said to deprive I° of the possibility of assigning Case, hence, Stylistic Fronting is impossible in clauses with overt subjects. For a discussion on Jónsson's (1991) and Poole's (1992) analyses, see Falk (1993:185ff.). See also the more recent discussion in Holmberg (1997).

(7) a. *Þeir sem hafa verið* ***í Óslo*** *segja að ...*
those that have been in Oslo say that ...

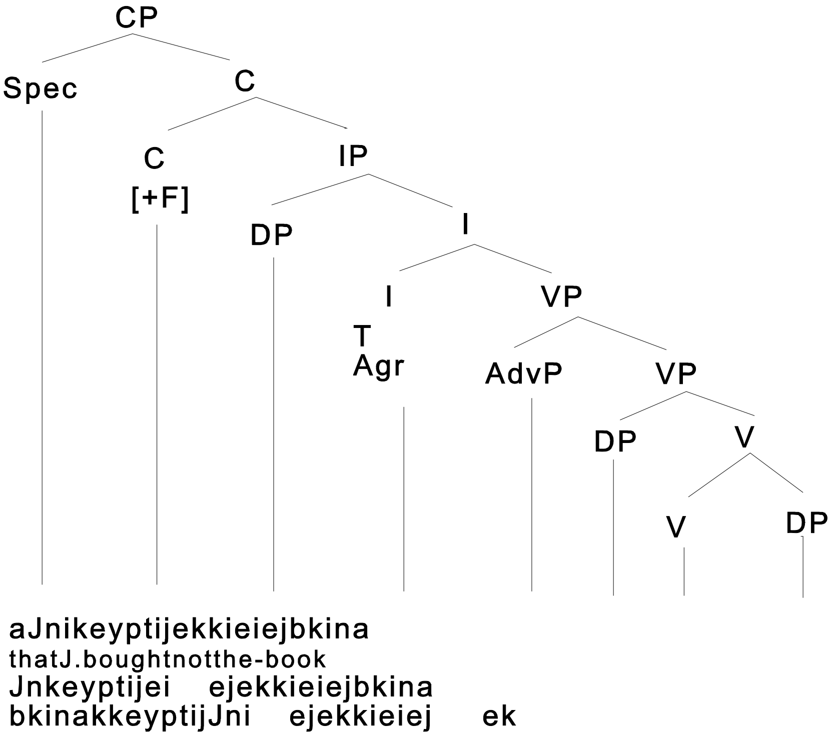
b. *Þeir sem* ***í Óslo*** *hafa verið segja að ...*
those that in Oslo have been say that ...
(Holmberg 1997:84)

According to Holmberg (1997:108), the element fronted by Stylistic Fronting is an expletive, performing the same function as the expletive pronoun does. Hence, it is located in the (surface) subject position (in Holmberg's approach [Spec, TopP], in my approach [Spec, IP]).

Independently of which analysis one prefers, the *Subject Gap Condition* (see below) is crucial in both.

Regarding Old Norse (and Modern Icelandic) embedded clauses, I have claimed that the finite verb always moves to I, hence, the finite verb always precedes the sentence adverbial, cf. the structure presented in Holmberg & Platzack (1995:75):

(8)


CP
Spec
C
C
[+F]
IP
DP
I
I
T
Agr
VP
AdvP
VP
DP
V
V
DP
aJnikeyptijekkieiejbkina
thatJ.boughtnotthe-book
Jnkeyptijei ejekkieiejbkina
bkinakkeyptijJni ejekkieiej ek

Cf. also the Old Norse examples:

(9) a. *Hann keypti land í Gautavík að Gauta* (Vígl 1975)
he bought$_V$ land in Gautavik at Gauti
'He bought land in Gautavik from Gauti'

b. *... ef hann keypti* ***eigi*** *hversu dýrar sem metnar voru* (Laxd 1582)
... if he bought$_V$ not$_{SA}$ how dear as valued were
'... if he did not buy them, however they were valued'

In (b), *ef* is located in C°, *hann* in [Spec, IP], *keypti* in I° and the sentence adverbial *eigi* is adjoined to the left of VP. Compare to the Modern Norwegian equivalent, i.e. without verb movement in embedded clauses:

(10) *... om han ikkje kjøpte ...*
... if he not$_{SA}$ bought$_V$ ...

In this example, the verb *kjøpte* has not moved over the sentence adverbial at the left branch of VP. In Modern Icelandic (and I assume in Old Norse, too), V-raising to I° is obligatory even in infinitival clauses, the infinitive marker *að* ('to') being located in C, cf. also the Modern Icelandic examples in Holmberg & Platzack (1995:117):[9]

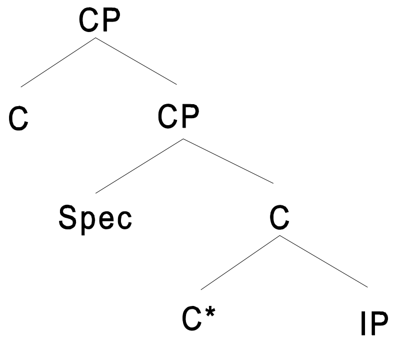
(11) *María lofaði að* (**ekki* / **alltaf*) *lesa* (*ekki* / *alltaf*) *bókina*.
Mary promised to not / always read not / always the-book

Compared to Modern Norwegian:

(12) *Maria lova å* (*ikkje*) *lese* (**ikkje*) *boka*
Mary promised to (not) read (*not) book-the

For embedded clauses with main clause word order (EMC), on the other hand, I assume the *C-recursion analysis* proposed in Holmberg & Platzack (1995:80ff.) with the general structure:[10]

(13)



Holmberg and Platzack use C* to refer to the lower C. According to this structure, verb movement to the lower C (C*) is assumed in EMC, while the complementizer is generated in the higher C and an XP is moved to [Spec, CP], cf. Holmberg & Platzack (1995:84). Note that both C-positions are assumed to be marked [+F]:

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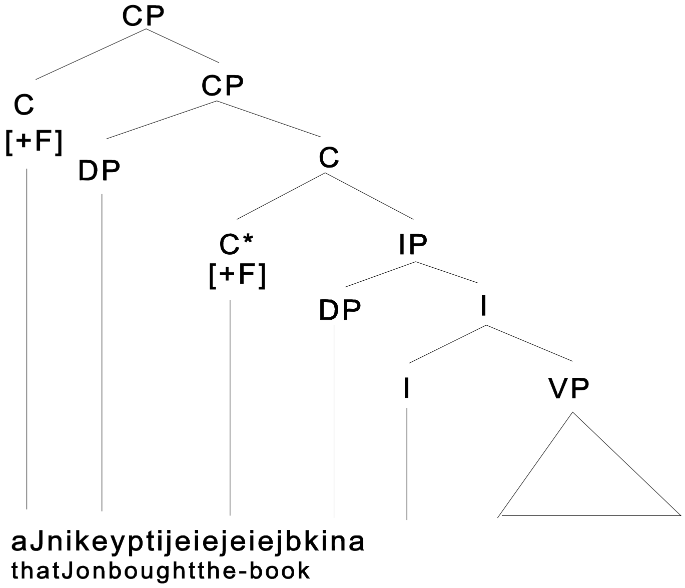
[9] The assumption that the infinitive raises to I° in Icelandic has also been discussed by e.g. Þráinsson (1984, 1986a), Holmberg (1986:154ff.), Sigurðsson (1991; 1992a:49ff.), and Hornstein (1991). For an analysis of the infinitive marker as being located in [Spec, VP] functioning as PRO in Old Norse, see Faarlund (1995d).

[10] The C-recursion analysis was, as far as I am aware, first introduced by Platzack (1986).

(14)



According to Holmberg & Platzack (1995:86), [+F] may be lexicalized in two ways: either by a verb or by a complementizer. When [+F] is lexicalized by a verb, they claim, one will have a *main clause interpretation*: “the speaker is responsible for the content of the clause; it is either expressed as a quotation, or the content of the clause is *asserted* by the speaker”. On the other hand, when [+F] is licensed in the higher C-position, i.e. the position where the complementizer is generated, Holmberg and Platzack claim, one will have a *subordinate clause interpretation*: “the speaker is not expressing responsibility for the content of the clause, i.e., the clause is not asserted”, cf. the examples from Holmberg & Platzack (1995:79) where (a) is said to be asserted and (b) is not asserted:

(15) a. *Jón sagði að þessa bók hefði ég átt að lesa.*
J. said that this book had I ought to read
J. said that I should have read this book.

b. *Jón harmar að þessa bók hefði ég átt að lesa.*
J. regrets that this book had I ought to read
J. regrets that I should have read this book.

In this respect, Topicalization is possible even in embedded clauses. However, Topicalization in *wh*-clauses is usually quite bad, cf. Holmberg & Platzack (1995:81):

(16) **Ég veit ekki hvar í gœr stóð kýrin.*
I know not where yesterday stood the-cow

The ungrammaticality of Topicalization within *wh*-questions is explainable in terms of Relativized Minimality, cf. Vikner (1991) (see also the discussion in Holmberg & Platzack 1995:81f.), the problem being that both *hvar* and *í gœr* are in A'-positions, *í gœr* interfering with the A'-chain headed by *hvar*.

Holmberg & Platzack (1995:86) also consider the following sentence from Old Swedish to have Topicalization in the embedded clause (the sentence is taken from Larsson (1931:75):[11]

(17) Þa vildi iak slikum rætti vnæ, sum **nu** *førœ* iak þær fram
then wanted I such redress get, that (rel.) now bring I you forth
"Then I would be satisfied with such redress as I now offer to you."

Note that there is an overt subject (*iak*) in the embedded clause. Now, compare this sentence to a Modern Icelandic example with Stylistic Fronting (from Holmberg & Platzack 1995:115) - this time there is no overt subject in the embedded clause:

(18) *Fundurinn, sem* ***fram*** *hafði farið í Óslo, var skemmtilegur.*
the-meeting that on had gone in Olso was fun

I will analyse *fram* as a verbal particle in this example, however, the status of verbal particles as X°- or XP-categories is not always clear.[12] The adverb *nu* in the Old Swedish example, on the other hand, can probably be analyzed as a topicalized XP-category, i.e. an AdvP, cf. also a similar example from Old Norse:

(19) *... og er meiri ábyrgðarhlutur að halda þessu fram*
... and is more responsible-thing to hold this forth

sem ***nú*** *hefur þú upp tekið* (Fljót 704)
that now$_{ADV}$ have you$_{SUBJ}$ up taken
'... and it is more responsible to continue with the case you have started now'

Both the Old Swedish example (17) and the Old Norse example (19) do have a surface subject, but according to Maling (1990:76) (see also Rögnvaldsson & Þráinsson 1990:24, and Holmberg

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[11] Holmberg & Platzack (1995:87) state that EMC does not seem to have been a common phenomenon in Old Swedish, and according to Maling (1990), it is not very common in Modern Icelandic either.

[12] Cf. e.g. Holmberg (1997:84, 105). See also the discussion on verbal particles further below.

1997:83):

(20) STYLISTIC FRONTING in an embedded clause is possible only if there is a subject gap in that clause.[13]

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[13] This subject gap requirement, by the way, seems to be yet more proof of the subjecthood of oblique subjects, cf. the examples in Maling (1990:83):

(i) a. *Hún benti á myndina sem* ***hana*** *hafði langað að selja.*
she pointed to the-picture that she (ACC) had longed to sell
b. **Hún benti á myndina sem* ***langað*** *hafði hana að selja.*

(ii) a. *Hún benti á manninn sem* ***henni*** *samdi ekki við.*
she pointed to the-man that she (DAT) got-along not with
'She pointed to the man that she didn't get along with'
b. **Hún benti á manninn sem* ***ekki*** *samdi henni við.*
c. **Hún benti á manninn sem* við *samdi henni (ekki).*

The oblique forms *hana* and *henni* are subjects, hence, Stylistic Fronting is not possible as long as the subject is overtly present. Note that the subject gap requirement is also fulfilled when the subject is not moved to [Spec, IP], as in the examples from Maling (1990:80):

(iii) a. *Þetta er bærinn þar sem margir frægir Íslendingar eru fæddir.*
this is the-town where many famous Icelanders are born
'This is the town where many famous Icelanders were born'
b. *Þetta er bærinn þar sem fæddir eru margir frægustu menn þjóðarinnar.*
this is the-town, where born are many most-famous men the-nation (GEN)
'This is the town where many of the most famous men of the nation were born.'

In (b), *margir frægustu menn þjóðarinnar* has not moved to [Spec, IP], while *fæddir* is fronted. Note that the surface

The Old Swedish and the Old Norse example, then, clearly do not involve Stylistic Fronting, but Topicalization if a subject gap is required (note that the subject is an Agent subject - see the previous footnote). The differences between Topicalization and Stylistic Fronting (Stylistic Inversion) are described by Maling (1990:76) (cf. also Holmberg & Platzack 1995:116):

(21)

Topicalization	**Stylistic Inversion**
Applies to object NPs, PPs, etc.	Applies to past participles, adjectives, some adverbs, particles, etc.
Emphasis or focus on fronted constituent	Emphasis or focus on fronted constituent not necessarily present
Uncommon in embedded Ss	Common in embedded Ss
Judgements vary on fronting in relatives, questions, etc.	Accepted by all speakers
Unbounded	Clause bounded
Subject gap not required	Subject gap required

As Maling (1990) puts it, the most obvious difference between the two fronting processes lies in the frequency of occurrence. Topicalization in embedded clauses is quite unusual in Modern Icelandic, whereas Stylistic Fronting is rather common.

According to Holmberg & Platzack (1995:117), there is no generally accepted description of Stylistic Fronting. Platzack (1987), for instance, suggests that Stylistic Fronting is the result of movement to the empty subject position, a rather problematic suggestion, as Rögnvaldsson & Þráinsson (1990) point out (see also Holmberg & Platzack 1995:117; and Jónsson 1991 - but see also Holmberg 1997). However, the description proposed by Rögnvaldsson & Þráinsson (1990) does not seem attractive either, according to Holmberg & Platzack (1995:117), since these authors advocate the so-called I-account of Modern Icelandic, where both Topicalization and Stylistic Fronting are described as movement to [Spec, IP], a position distinct from the subject position, which is taken to be adjoined to VP (see the discussion in Holmberg & Platzack 1995).

Cardinaletti & Roberts (1991), Platzack (1991b) and Jónsson (1991) argue that Stylistic Fronting should be described as adjunction of a head to the left of I° with Agr. According to

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subject is not an agentive subject, i.e. it is probably located in its base position, which is [Compl, V′].

Holmberg & Platzack (1995:118), analyzing Stylistic Fronting as head adjunction (cliticization) explains some of the properties of Stylistic Fronting pretty well. For instance:

1. since clitics and other adjoined heads cannot move out of their clause, the clause boundedness of Stylistic Fronting follows immediately.
2. Stylistic Fronting in main clauses can be explained since the verb always has to move from I° to C° in main clauses. When Stylistic Fronting has taken place, resulting in a complex I°, Holmberg & Platzack claim, this complex, then, can move to C°.
3. Cliticized elements cannot be focused, which would explain Maling's observation on the difference between Topicalization and Stylistic Fronting.
4. Nothing can intervene between a cliticized element and its host, nor can cliticized elements conjoin to each other. Both properties hold for Stylistic Fronting as well.
5. Clitics cannot be stranded when their hosts are fronted (cf. Kayne 1991). Stylistically fronted elements cannot be stranded either, as shown by the examples in Holmberg & Platzack (1995:118).

The position of *fram / hefði* in front of the negation is taken to show that these elements have been adjoined to I°:

(22) a. **Hafa*$_i$ [$_{IP}$ e [$_{I°}$ ***keypt*** e$_i$] [$_{VP}$ *ekki þessa bók margir stúdentar*]]
have bought not this book (A) many students (N)

b. **Hefur*$_i$ [$_{IP}$ e [I° ***fram*** e$_i$] [$_{VP}$ *ekki komið að ...*]]
has out not come that ...

Maling (1990:81) also posits an *Accessibility Hierarchy* for Stylistic Fronting:

> We have seen that subject gaps can be filled by past participles, predicate adjectives, verbal particles, and adverbs such as *ekki* 'not'. The obvious question is what happens if the embedded clause contains more than one of these elements. Stylistic fronting seems to be governed by the following accessibility hierarchy:

· *ekki* > predicate adjective > past participle
{ verbal particle

Modern Icelandic data in support of the hierarchy is given in Maling (1990:81), e.g.:

(23)

a.	*Þetta*	*er*	*glæpamaðurinn*	*sem*	***ekki***	*hefur*	*verið*	*dæmdur.*
	this	is	the-criminal	that	⎡ not	had	been	convicted
b.					****dæmdur***	*hefur*	*ekki*	*verið.*
c.					⎣ ****verið***	*hefur*	*ekki*	*dæmdur.*

(24)
a. *Það fór að rigna, þegar* ***búið****var að borða.*
it went to rain when ⌈ finished was to eat
b. ***ekki*** *var búið að borða.*
c. ⌊ *****búið*** *var ekki að borða.*

(25)
a. *Þetta er nokkuð, sem* ⌈ ***ekki*** *er hægt að gera við.*
this is something that not is possible to fix PRT
b. ⌊*****hægt*** *er ekki að gera við.*

(26)
a. *Fundurinn, sem* ⌈ ***ekki*** *hafði farið fram ennþá, mun fjalla um málfræði.*
the-meeting that not has gone on yet will talk about linguistics
b. ⌊ *****fram*** *hefur ekki farið ennþá*
'The meeting, which hasn't taken place yet, will be about linguistics.'

(27)
a. *Fundurinn, sem* ⌈ ***fram*** *hafði farið í Óslo var skemmtilegur.*
the-meeting that on had gone in Olso was fun
b. ⌊ ***farið*** *hafði fram í Óslo*
'The meeting that took place in Olso was fun.'

(28)
a. *Verðbólgan varð verri en* ***búist*** *hafði verið við.*
inflation became worse than ⌈ expected had been PRT
b. | ***við*** *hafði verið búist.*
c. *****við*** *hafði búist verið.*
d. ⌊*****verið*** *hafði búist við.*

Maling (1990:82) notes that the (d)-version of the last example "shows that if there is more than one past participle, only the last one can front".

Obviously, there is no similar accessibility hierarchy connected with Topicalization (cf. Holmberg & Platzack 1995:116, fn.35). As argued by Jónsson (1991), the analysis of Stylistic Fronting as adjunction to I° enables us to explain the existence of the accessibility hierarchy for Stylistic Fronting in terms of Relativized Minimality.

Stylistic Fronting in Modern Icelandic, then, affects - first of all - participles, predicate adjectives, verbal particles, and adverbs, all being X°-categories.

After this rather extensive - but still necessary - discussion on modern data, let us take a look at the situation in Old Norse.

Participles:

Participles may be fronted in main clauses (a) or in embedded clauses (b):

(29) a. ***Kominn*** *var* *Ófeigur* *til* *þings* *með* *fimm tigu*
come was [*pro*?] Ofeig to thing with five ten

manna (LjósC 1658)
men
'Ofeig had come to the thing with fifty men'

b. *Þá* *heilsar* *Katla* *þeim er* ***kominn*** *var* (Fóstb 799)
then greets Katla him$_i$ who [*pro*]$_i$ come$_j$ was _$_j$
'Then Katla welcomes the man who had come'

If one would want to analyze (a) as involving Stylistic Fronting, one would have to claim that *Ófeig* has not moved to [Spec, IP] since there has to be a subject gap in a Stylistic-Fronting construction.[14] As mentioned, movement of the subject to the right also creates a subject gap:

(30) *... því* *að* ***komið*** *munu* *hafa* *út* *hingað* *til* *Íslands*
... that that [*pro*]$_i$ come will have out here to Iceland

ekki *stærri* *skip* (Krók 1518)
[not bigger ship]$_{SUBJi}$
'... because no bigger ship may ever have come out here to Iceland before'

Stylistic Fronting is clearly not as frequent in main clauses as in embedded clauses - if it is found at all. (29a) is the only example with fronted *koma* in a main clause I have found, while there are plenty of examples of this kind in embedded clauses. According to Falk (1993), Stylistic Fronting in main clauses is not found in Old Swedish, and Holmberg (1997:88, fn. 8) assumes that Stylistic Fronting in main clauses perhaps generally is not found in old forms of Scandinavian. During the discussion below, I will claim that examples like (29a) are more reasonably analyzed as involving Topicalization rather than Stylistic Fronting.

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[14] See, however, the discussion below. It is probably more appropriate to claim that the participle in (a) is topicalized instead of fronted by Stylistic Fronting.

Fronting of the participle seems to be more frequent in direct speech. I found three instances of *hugað* ('thought') fronted in a main clause, all examples being from direct speech - and all examples do have a first person overt subject:[15]

(31) *"**Hugað** hefi eg þér verkið," segir hún* (Njála 166)
thought have I_{SUBJ} you work, says she
'I have decided on your task, she says'

*(32) ... og mælti: "**Hugað** hefi eg þér kvonfang frændi ef þú*
... and said: thought have I_{SUBJ} you wife friend if you

vilt að mínu ráði gera." (Njála 154)
will at my advice do
'... and said: I have thought of a match for you, kinsman, if you want to follow my advice'

(33) *"**Hugað** hefi eg mér ráð," segir Ásgerður, "það er hlýða*
thought have I_{SUBJ} me advice, says Asgerd, that that_{REL} help

mun en ekki sé eg fyrir þína hönd." (GíslS 860)
will but not see I for your hand
'I have thought of a plan for myself which may work, but I do not see anything that will help you, Asgerd says'

Obviously, this kind of fronting cannot be explained by Stylistic Fronting since there is clearly no subject gap. I will discuss this further below together with fronting of infinitives.

Infinitives:

Infinitives may also be fronted in Old Norse - (a) main clause, (b) embedded clause:

(34) a. ***Gefa** vil eg þér fyrst klæði* (Dropl 356)
give will I you first clothes
'I will first give you some clothes'

b. *Hrossið hleypur aftur og fram til þess að þeir eru búnir*
horse-the runs back and forth till that that they_{i} are ready

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[15] A verb like *huga* is perhaps expected to be more frequent in connection with first person direct speech since it would be most natural to tell about one's own thoughts.

sem **_fara_** *ætla* (Svarf 1817)
who [*pro*]$_i$ go$_j$ intend _$_j$
'The horse runs backwards and forwards till those who intended to leave were ready'

Fronting of infinitives (and participles - see above) in main clauses seems to be most frequent in direct speech, and **Stylistic** Fronting could perhaps be an appropriate term in this case. On the other hand, fronting of an infinitive in main clauses does apparently not require a subject gap, thus, this kind of fronting should rather be considered being Topicalization (see the discussion below). Fronting of infinitives appears most frequently together with modals, while participles do not seem to 'need' a modal:[16]

(35) a. **_Gefa_** *munum vér yður mat* (HallM 1212)
give will we you food
'We will give you food'

b. **_Gefið_**_var fé fyrir hann_ (HænsÞ 1433)
given was fee for him
'It was paid for him'

Note that Modern Norwegian, for instance, has to topicalize the whole VP, i.e. move an XP, e.g.:

(36) a. **_Gjeva_** *dykk mat vil vi*
[give you food] will we

b. **_*Gjeva_** *vil vi dykk mat*
give will we you food

Since there is no evidence of fronted VPs in Old Norse, Faarlund (1990a:82ff., 1991) claims that Old Norse has no VP constituent at all, and that Old Norse is a non-configurational language. The fact that we do not find any examples of fronted (complex) VPs in Old Norse is, in my opinion, not necessarily an argument against configurationality, and as discussed, fronting of X°-categories is, under certain conditions, possible in Modern Icelandic, too.[17] However, Old Norse seems to allow even a wider range of constructions involving fronting of X°-categories (e.g. prepositions, see below).

As mentioned above, a very interesting observation concerning fronting of infinitives and participles in main clauses in Old Norse is the fact that such fronting does not seem to require a subject gap, as also can be seen from the examples with *gefa/gefið* above.[18] This may indicate that such fronting is not Stylistic Fronting but rather a kind of Topicalization. However, it would not be compatible with Chomsky (1986a) if the infinitive really is an X°-category. It would in any case probably be problematic to consider infinitives and participles maximal phrases when there are objects in the same clause, as in the examples above (but see the discussion below).[19]

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[16] See also the discussion on auxiliaries and Stylistic Fronting in Holmberg (1997:109f.).

[17] According to Rögnvaldsson (1995:14), fronting of the VP as a whole is "at best very marginal and usually ungrammatical in Modern Icelandic too"; cf. also Holmberg (1997:113, fn.39). However, Rögnvaldsson refers to Zaenen (1985) and Holmberg & Platzack (1988:32) who represent a different opinion.

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[18] Consider also Rögnvaldsson (1996a:81, fn. 20):

> In Modern Icelandic, Stylistic Fronting is impossible unless the clause contains a 'subject gap' (cf. Maling 1990). This means that fronting of participles and infinitives is impossible if the clause has an overt definite subject. In Old Icelandic, however, we find several examples of fronted participles and infinitives in clauses with pronominal subjects. This shows that either the subject gap condition did not apply in Old Icelandic, or else the definition of subject gap has changed; in either case, the domain of Stylistic Fronting has been narrowed. This means that it became easier for children to find out the order of elements of the VP.

Another argument against analyzing this kind of fronting of infinitives as Stylistic Fronting is the fact that such fronting, apart from not requiring a subject gap, also seems to imply

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[19] Regarding the example:

(i)	***Gefa***	*munum*	*vér*	*yður*	*mat* (HallM 1212)
	give	will	we	you	food
	'We will give you food'				

one possibility could be to claim that the lower VP [*yður _ mat*]is extraposed or scrambled, while the higher VP containing *gefa* (after movement) is topicalized. In this case, there would be a maximal phrase in [Spec, CP]. The same 'operation' could be used on:

(ii)	***Gefið***	*var*	*fé*	*fyrir*	*hann* (HænsÞ 1433)
	given	was	fee	for	him
	'It was paid for him'				

i.e. [*fyrir hann*] may be extraposed (or possibly scrambled), while the higher VP is fronted. On the other hand, this example can more easily be analyzed as involving Stylistic Fronting since it is more reasonable to claim that [Spec, IP] is filled by *pro* in this case, the promoted subject *fé* being located in, for instance, [Spec, VP] or more likely [Compl, V′].

emphasis/focus in some cases.[20] Consider the following passage:

(37)

Veit	*eg*	*að*	*þið*	*eruð*	*mikils*	*háttar*	*menn,*	*bræður,*
know	I	that	you	are	much	kind	men,	brothers,

og	***veit***	*eg*	*að*	*eg*	*mun*	*nú*	*miklu*	*betur*	*gefin*	*en*	*fyrr.*	
and	know	I	that	I	will	now	much	better	given	(be)	than	before.

En	***vita***	*vil*	*eg*	*hvað*	*þér*	*hafið*	*um*	*talað*	*eða ...* (Njála 143)
And	know$_{\text{INF}}$	will	I	[what	you	have	about	talked	or ...]

‘I know that you are great men, brothers, and I know that I will be in a much better position than before. But I want to know what you have been talking about or ...’

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[20] Note, however, that a word or phrase moved by Stylistic Fronting actually can be contrastively focused, as pointed out by Sigurðsson (1997):

(i) a. *... sem hafa GERT eitthvað, en ekki bara talað.*
that have DONE something and not only talked

b. *... sem GERT hafa eitthvað, en ekki bara talað.*
that DONE have something and not only talked

See also the discussion on focus/stress features in Holmberg (1997:107).

The fronted infinitive *vita* obviously stands in a special relation to the two instances of the initial *veit* in the first clause, i.e. I assume that *vita* is focused.[21] In this example, it would be reasonable to assume Extraposition of the object clause, i.e. the infinitive would be separated from its complement. But it would not be easy to tell if there is Extraposition involved in all of the cases with a fronted infinitive. One could perhaps claim that Stylistic Fronting is a 'modern' phenomenon, i.e. Old Norse maybe allows Topicalization of XP and X° categories, while fronted X° categories in Modern Icelandic are (re-)analyzed as clitics. This would, of course, not be a very attractive claim, at least if we want to maintain the assumption that [Spec, CP] is a universal XP position.

As Tor A. Åfarli (p.c.) pointed out to me, it would be possible to analyze the infinitive as a maximal phrase after all if, we consider nominal arguments adjacent to VP. Such an analysis - and its consequences - has not been examined in this work. However, as discussed in chapter 2, if Old Norse more or less 'recently' had changed from SOV to SVO, and the new structure had come into being by Extraposition and focusing to the right, the argument(s) of the verb might perhaps be analyzed as adjuncts in Old Norse. I see, however, more problems than advantages connected to such an analysis.

Stockwell & King (1993:63) point out that the fronting of infinitives is compatible with a nested VP structure where arguments are projected in specifier positions of empty verbal heads, and the lexical verb is projected in the lowest head position. A structure like this is proposed by Larson (1988) and Sportiche (1990).

Even though fronting of infinitives in Old Norse may not seem so easy to explain, the fronted infinitive apparently can be focused, hence, it seems more reasonable to assume Topicalization than Stylistic Fronting. One could also mention that such Topicalization of non-finite verbs is possible in Modern German as well, cf. an example from Thiersch (1985:16) (quoted from Dürscheid 1989:81):

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[21] See e.g. also the discussions in Christoffersen (1993a:159ff.); Heusler (1967:180f.); and Nygaard (1905:346f, 360).

(38) *Geschlagen soll er den Hund haben*
beaten$_{PRTCPL}$ shall he the hound have
'It is said that he has beaten the dog'

This kind of Topicalization, then, is explained by Scrambling of the object out of the VP before the movement of the main verb.[22] See also the discussion in Dürscheid (1989:80ff.), Fanselow (1987:91ff.), and Besten & Webelhuth (1990).[23]

It is difficult to observe Scrambling in the Old Norse examples above (as it is also in the German examples).[24] However, the existence/grammaticality of topicalized infinitives and participles in Modern German should be a sufficient argument for assuming Topicalization of infinitives in Old Norse.[25] And the fact that Modern Icelandic does not allow Scrambling of the Old Norse type anymore would explain why fronting of infinitives and participles in main clauses

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[22] Note that the two non-finite verbs can be topicalized together when *den Hund* is scrambled (cf. Thiersch 1985:16):

(i) *Geschlagen haben soll er den Hund*
beaten have shall he the hound
'It is said that he has beaten the dog'

The infinite verb (auxiliary) *haben*, on the other hand, can not be topicalized alone:

(ii) **Haben soll er den Hund geschlagen*
have shall he the hound beaten

Compare also to an Old Norse example: the participle *verið* stays behind while *beðið* is topicalized:

(iii) *Beðið hefir hennar víst verið vinur* (Eirík 525)
begged has her$_{(SUBJ)}$ certainlybeen friend
'Certainly, she has been proposed to, my friend'

Recall that the (non-finite) auxiliary cannot be fronted in Modern Icelandic Stylistic-Fronting constructions either, as we have seen above (cf. also Holmerg 1997:109f), some exampels repeated here (Maling 1990:81):

(iv) a. *Verðbólgan varð verri en* ***búist*** *hafði verið við.*
inflation became worse than ⎡ expected had been PRT
b. { ***við*** *hafði verið búist.*
c. ****við*** *hafði búist verið.*
d. ⎣****verið*** *hafði búist við.*

[23] For arguments against Besten & Webelhuth, see Haider (1993:279ff.).

[24] The structure of the German example has to look somewhat like:

(i) *Geschlagen soll er den Hund haben*
beaten$_j$ shall he [the hound]$_i$ [_$_i$ _$_j$ have]
'It is said that he has beaten the dog'

Compare also to the base structure proposed in Thiersch (1986:13):

(ii) [er [$_A$ [$_B$ [$_C$ [$_{NP}$ den Hund] geschlagen] haben] soll]]]

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[25] As I have pointed out in Haugan (1994:157), such fronting does not seem to be common in Modern German either. In the two German editions of *Gísla saga Súrssonar* I have investigated, for instance, the participle is not fronted in the translations of the Old Norse example with fronting:

(i)	***Hugað***	*hefi*	*eg*	*mér*	*ráð ...* (GíslS 860)
	thought	have	I_{SUBJ}	me	advice ...
	'I have thought of a plan for myself ...				

which is translated as respectively:

(ii)	*Ich*	*hab*	*mir*	*schon*	*etwas*	*ausgedacht ...* (Seewald 1976:43)
	I	have	me	already	something	thought ...

(iii)	*Ich*	*weiß*	*mir*	*schon*	*einen*	*Rat ...* (Ranke 1992:16)
	I	know	me	already	some	advice

In another example, on the other hand, an infinitive is fronted, just as in the Old Norse original:

(iv)	***Gráta***	*mun*	*eg*	*Gísla*	*bróður*	*minn* (GíslS 897/GísL 952)
	cry	will	I (for)	Gisli	brother	my

(v)	***Weinen***	*werde*	*ich*	*um*	*Gísli,*	*meinen*	*Bruder* (Seewald 1976:106; Ranke 1992:66)
	cry	will	I	for	Gisli	my	brother

is not possible/grammatical anymore.[26] Fronted infinitives in main clauses, thus, should not be taken as arguments for non-configurationality in Old Norse.

Adjectives and quantifiers:

The discussion on copula constructions in 4.3.3.4 has shown that adjectives may be fronted, too. When the adjective has no complement, i.e. when the adjective clearly is a maximal phrase on its own, we may consider the fronting in main clauses Topicalization, cf.:

(39) ***Dauður*** *er* *hann* (Njála 139)
dead$_i$ is he$_{SUBJ}$ _$_i$
'He is dead'

Note that there is no subject gap involved in this example.

In embedded clauses with a subject gap, on the other hand, the fronting of an adjective should be analyzed as Stylistic Fronting:

(40) *... að hann fellur í óvit og lá sem* ***dauður*** *væri* (Vigl 1974)
... that he falls in swoon and laid as [*pro*] dead$_i$ be _$_i$
'... that he swoons and laid down as he would be dead'

(41) *... að Án settist upp er allir hugðu að* ***dauður*** *væri* (Laxd 1615)
... that An sat up who all thought that [*pro*] dead$_i$ was _$_i$
'... that An, who everyone believed was dead, sat up'

Compare these sentences to embedded clauses with an overt subject, e.g.:

(42) *Hann var kyrr sem* ***hann*** *væri grafinn niður* (Hrafn 1399)
he was still as he$_{SUBJ}$ were digged down
'He was as still as if he were stuck'

(43) *... en sumir segja að* ***hann*** *væri dauður þá þegar* (Grett 1016)
... and some say that he$_{SUBJ}$ were dead then immediately
'... and some people said that he were dead right away'

In these examples, the adjective has to follow the finite verb.

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[26] Þorbjörg Hróarsdóttir (p.c.) pointed out to me that main clauses with fronted infinitives or participles would be 'acceptable' in certain situations, i.e. when it is clear that one is using an archaic/poetic style, while those constructions are totally ungrammatical in every other context.

Recall the adjective phrases with *mikill* (‘much’, ‘big’) from the discussion on copula constructions in 4.4.3.4. When the predicate complement contains an adjective and an NP, the whole phrase has to be topicalized, e.g. (44b). When there is no NP, the adjective, of course, moves alone, e.g. (45b).[27] Note that an adjacent phrase (*vexti*) stays behind:

(44) a. *Helgi* *var* ***mikill*** ***maður*** *vexti* (Dropl 348)
Helgi was much man growth
‘Helgi was a tall/big man with respect to his height’

b. ***Mikill*** ***maður*** *var* *hann* *vexti* (Laxd 1545)
[much man]$_i$ was he _$_i$ growth
‘A tall/big man he was with respect to his height’

(45) a. *Þessi* *maður* *var* ***mikill*** *vexti* (Bárð 63)
This man was much growth
‘This man was tall (with respect to his height)’

b. ***Mikill*** *var* *hann* *vexti* (Fóstb 778)
much$_i$ was he _$_i$ growth
‘This man was tall (with respect to his height)’

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[27] There are, by the way, three examples of topicalized *mikill maður* in the corpus, while there is no instance of *maður mikill* in front.

In my opinion, there is no reason for considering this fronting anything else but Topicalization of an XP category. But what about a 'discontinuous phrase' like the following from Faarlund (1990a:95):[28]

(46) ***Væta*** *var á* ***mikil*** *um daginn*
wetness-N was on great-N in day
'There was much rain during the day'

If we consider *væta* being an NP inside an AP (which again may be a part of a DP, cf. e.g. Delsing 1993), we would have an XP category in front, and we could analyze this example as having Topicalization. It seems that the adjective itself cannot be fronted alone when there is an NP. Since *mikil væta* (or *væta mikil*) can be considered the subject of the sentence, one might also be tempted to assume some kind of Quantifier Floating, when considering *mikil* a quantifier (see, however, the discussion below). Then, *væta* can be said to have moved to [Spec, CP], while *mikil* is left behind.

If *væta* in this example were an X° category, it would be difficult to analyze the sentence as having Stylistic Fronting since *væta* itself, as mentioned, is a part of the (promoted) subject, hence there is no subject gap. On the other hand, there might possibly be an expletive *pro* in [Spec, IP]. A similar situation is, for instance, found in the next example:

(47) ***Veður*** *gerði* ***hvasst*** *og væta mikil og þoka* (Egla 401)
weather made sharp and wetness much and fog
'A tough weather with much rain and fog arose'

While *mikil* above could be considered a quantifier, this analysis would not be as appropriate for *hvasst*. Thus, Quantifier Floating is probably not the right solution in this case.

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[28] For arguments for why the adjective is not analyzed as a predicate complement in these examples, see the following discussion.

Note that example (46) contains the particle *á* following the finite verb.[29] Assuming that this particle is not located in C together with the verb but inside the VP, the adjective *mikil* would also be located inside the VP and not in [Spec, IP]. This is compatible with the view that *væta mikil / mikil væta* is a promoted subject. Consider some further examples with the particle *á*, this time with continuous subject phrases:

(48) *Jólamorgun var á* ***veður gott*** (Flóam 748)
Christmas-morning was on weather good
'On Christmas morning there was good weather'

(49) *Um kveldið var á* ***útsynningsveður*** *og snæfall* (GísL 922)
in evening-the was on south-west-weather and snowfall
'In the evening they had wind from south-west and snowfall'

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[29] I assume that *á* is a verbal particle, even though it is not difficult to see how it has come into being, i.e. it is, of course, formally a preposition, cf.:

(i) *Snjór var* ***á jörðu*** (GíslS 871)
snow was [on earth]$_{PP}$
'There was snow on the ground'

(ii) *... að dögg var* ***á grasinu*** (GrænS 1099)
... that dew was [on grass-the]$_{PP}$
'... that there was dew on the grass'

(iii) *... og logn var* ***á firðinum*** (BandK 44)
... and calm was [on fjord-the]$_{PP}$
'... and there was calm on the fjord'

One could also argue that the complement of the preposition *á* is omitted because it is unspecified or understood from the context/situation. In those cases where *á* (as a concrete preposition) precedes the subject or a part of the subject, then, we would have to assume Scrambling of the 'PP'. See also Faarlund (1995b, 1995c) on the development of Old Norse prepositions to verbal particles in Modern Norwegian.

If *á* had moved to C together with the verb, the subject could of course be located in [Spec, IP]. However, I will not investigate this possibility any further. Another analysis could involve Subject Shift, i.e. Extraposition of the subject. In my opinion, however, constructions like these are best analyzed as common presentational constructions, i.e. with expletive *pro* in [Spec, IP] and the subject in its base position as a complement of the verb. A Modern Norwegian equivalent would be:

(50) *Julemorgonen* *var* ***det*** *godt* *vêr*
Christmas-morning-the was it$_{\text{EXPL}}$ [good weather]
'On Christmas morning the weather was good'

i.e. [Spec, IP] is occupied by the formal subject *det*, whereas *godt vêr* stays behind (as an 'object')[30]. A Modern Norwegian example with a particle could be, e.g.:

(51) *Julemorgonen* *stod* ***det*** *på* *ein* *radio*
Christmas-morning-the stood it$_{\text{EXPL}}$ on$_{\text{PRT}}$ [a radio]
'On Christmas morning, a radio was turned on / ... a radio was playing'

Here, *ein radio* is an internal complement of the ergative *stå* ('stand'). The particle *på* is located in its base position next to the trace of the verb.[31] As a 'concrete' preposition, by the way, *på* would have to follow the nominal argument:

(52) *Julemorgonen* *stod* *det* *ein* *radio* ***på*** ***bordet***
Christmas-morning-the stood it a radio [on table-the]$_{\text{PP}}$
'On Christmas morning, a radio was on the table'

There are three examples with *veður* and the participle *verið* ('been') in the corpus where at least a part of the phrase/subject is located behind the participle:

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[30] The 'object analysis' of Modern Norwegian postverbal 'logical subjects' has been mentioned several times.

[31] Consider also the same sentence with the main verb as a participle:

(i) *Julemorgonen* *hadde* *det* *stått* *på* *ein* *radio*
Christmas-morning-the had it [stood$_{\text{V}}$ on$_{\text{PRT}}$] a radio
'On Christmas morning, a radio had been turned on'

For a discussion on particles and prepositions in Modern Norwegian, see e.g. Åfarli (1997:101ff.).

(53) a. *... og hafði verið* ***hvasst veður*** (LjósC 1706)
... and had been sharp weather
'... and there had been rough weather'

b. *Hafði* ***veður*** *verið* ***hart*** *um náttina* (HávÍs 1304)
had weather been hard at night-the
'the weather had been hard at night'

c. ***Veður*** *hafði á verið* ***bjart*** *og sólskin mikið* (Fóstb 824)
weather had on been bright and sunshine much
'There had been clear weather and much sunshine'

In (a), we clearly have to assume that [Spec, IP] is filled by expletive *pro*, the subject *hvasst veður* is located in its base position. Example (b), on the other hand, is a little more 'tricky'. Probably, one should interpret this sentence as 'the weather was hard' with *veður* in [Spec, IP] instead of 'there was a hard weather'.[32] Otherwise, *veður* could have moved to [Spec, VP] leaving the adjective behind. This analysis would not be as reasonable. As a third possibility, one could assume Scrambling of *veður*. However, I do not believe that the subject or part of the subject can be scrambled. Example (c), then, is equivalent to (46). Since *bjart* does not seem to be a quantifier, Quantifier Float is not an available explanation. I suppose that *veður* is topicalized, leaving the adjective behind.[33]

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[32] It is, for instance, not obvious that *mikil* in the examples below is part of a constituent *vinátta mikil*:

(i) *Vinátta var þar* ***mikil*** *í millum þeirra bræðra og Vigfúss* (VígGl 1908)
friendship was there much in between them brothers and Vigfus
'The friendship was great between the brothers and Vigfus at that time'

(ii) ***Vinátta*** *var og* ***mikil*** *með þeim Ólafi og Ósvífri* (Laxd 1592)
friendship was also much with them Olaf and Osvif
'The friendship was also great between Olaf and Osvif'

This is on the other hand clear in:

(iii) *... því að* ***vinátta mikil*** *var með þeim* (Vígl 1963)
... that that [friendship much] was with them
'... because there was a great friendship between them'

Of course, *mikil* may be located in [Spec, VP] in (i) and (ii), but most likely we have a copula construction. I consider the following example having Topicalization and not Stylistic Fronting of the adjective (there is not a subject gap either); hence, the sentence is an embedded clause with main clause word order (EMC):

(iv) *Sagt er mér að* ***mikil*** *sé* ***vinátta*** *þeirra Þorgeirs Otkelssonar og Þorgeirs Starkaðarsonar* (Njála 204)
said is me that much be friendship their Thorgeir Otkel's-son and Thorgeir Starkad's-son
'It has been told me that the friendship between Thorgeir Otkelsson and Thorgeir Skarkadarson is great'

In (v), on the other hand, we cannot be sure if we deal with a copula construction or one single constituent:

(v) *Með þeim Geiti og Brodd-Helga var* ***vinátta mikil*** *í fyrstu* (Þorhv 2060)
with them Geit and Brodd-Helgi was friendship much in first
'Between Geit and Brodd-Helge there was a great friendship in the beginning / ... the friendship was great ...

Apparently, thus, an NP can be topicalized out of an AP-NP constellation in Old Norse. On the other hand, in some cases, it seems that the AP may be topicalized, too, cf. an example from Faarlund (1990a:95):

(54) ***Góðan*** *eigum* *vér* ***konung***
good-A own we king-A
'We have a good king'

cf. also:

(55) ***Góðan*** *eigum* *vér* ***konunginn*** (Fóstb 845)
good own we king-the
'We have a good king'

---

[33] I suppose that the Old Norse example is equivalent to the German sentence:

(i) ***Strände*** *gibt* *es* *dort* ***schöne*** (Oppenrieder 1991:68, fn. 43) - my emphasizing
beaches are it there beautiful

I will discuss this further below.

an example even more special since the NP is definite.[34] But note that both examples are direct speech. There is an overt subject, and the adjective in front seems to be emphasized/focused (this is my intuition, at least). Hence, Stylistic Fronting seems not to be a possible analysis here (either). It seems that we have to assume that the AP is topicalized from a position below (or behind) the NP, e.g. also:[35]

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[34] Note also:

(i) *Þá vill Þórarinn upp standa,* ***maðurinn feitur mjög*** *og þungur á sér* (BandK 43)
then will Thorarinup stand, man-the fat much and heavy on himself
'Then, Thorain wants to stand up, being a very fat man and heavy'

where the NP is definite, whereas the adjective exhibits 'strong' inflection. Such constructions are also found in Modern Icelandic, cf. Sigurðsson (1992c:123, fn. 4):

> These exceptions involve weak adjectives with indefinite nouns in vocatives and exclamations like *Drukkni maður!* 'drunk(weak) man' and "appositional" strong adjectives with definite nouns in examples like [(ii)] (discussed in Rögnvaldsson 1984[b]):
>
> (ii) Drukkinn maðurinn stóð varla á fótunum.
> drunk(strong) man-the stood hardly on feet-the
> 'The drunk man could hardly stand on his feet.'
>
> Appositional adjectives of this sort get a non-restrictive reading, in contrast with attributive adjectives.

[35] This does not mean that the AP is base-generated below the NP, but that the NP might have moved accross the AP, before the AP is topicalized (see below). Regarding these to particular examples, a possible analysis might also be to consider the fronted AP a predicate complement of the object or an apposition, e.g.:

(i) *Vér eigum* ***konung góðan***
we own king (being / who is) good
'We have a king who is good'

As a predicate complement or apposition, then, *góðan* could be fronted as a maximal phrase. The following example might be an indication of the appositional status of the adjective:

(ii) *Atli að Bjargi átti* ***hest góðan****, móálóttan, af Kengálu kyni* (Grett 999)
Atli at Bjarg owned horse [good], [light-brown], [of Kengala family]
'Atli at Bjarg owned a horse that was good, light-brown and descended from Kengala'

Compare also to a structure where the AP(s) clearly must be appositional:

(iii) *... og tók* ***gullhring*** *af hendi sér,* ***mikinn og góðan****, og ...* (Egla 438)
... and took goldring of hand his, [mighty and good], and ...
'... and took a golden ring off his hand, big and good, and ...'

Consider also:

(iv) *En við höfum átt* ***vinskap*** *saman* ***góðan*** *síðan eg kom hingað til lands* (Fljót 694)
but we have owned friendship together good [since I came here to land]$_{CP}$
'But we have had a good friendship together ever since I came to this country'

Here, too, I would suggest that *góðan* must be analyzed as an apposition, since *vinskap* seems to be located in its base position as a complement of *átt*. Otherwise one would have to claim that *góðan* is extraposed, which would be

(56) *Starkaður átti* ***hest góðan*** (Njála 193)
Starkad owned [horse good]
'Starkad owned a good horse'

as opposed to:

(57) *Hann hafði* ***góðan hest*** (Grett 997)
he had [good horse]
'He had a good horse'

where the NP is located below/behind the AP.

I am not sure how to analyze these phrases. In Delsing's (1993:81) DP-analysis for Modern Scandinavian, the NP is generated as a right-hand specifier of the AP, a solution I do not applaud since I am not aware of any evidence of right-hand specifiers elsewhere in the Scandinavian languages. However, if it really should be the case that the Modern Scandinavian DP contains an AP with a right-hand specifier, one could assume that the direction was not fixed in Old Norse (cf. the discussion in chapter 2), hence, the noun could perhaps appear both in front of or behind the adjective. Examples (54) and (55) could, on the other hand, also be explained, if the AP is generated in [Spec, NP], then, the AP could be topicalized while the noun, being the head of the phrase, could not (even though such Topicalization from a specifier position is not possible in Modern Scandinavian (anymore?)).

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difficult, since there is also an embedded clause. My interpretation of this particular sentence would be something like e.g.: 'But we have had a friendship together, actually a good friendship, ever since I came to this country'. The possible(?) predicate complement analysis would not work for sentences like e.g.:

(v) *Ölvir tók við fénu og kvað Gunnar vera* ***dreng góðan*** (Njála 159)
Olvir took with things-the and said Gunnar be man good
'Olvir accepted the things and said that Gunnar was a good man'

In my opinion, it would be strange to assume an analysis: '... and said that he was a man, being good', i.e., I think the sentence is parallel to:

(vi) *... og kvað Þorkel munu vera* ***góðan dreng*** (Reykd 1764)
... and said Thorkel would be good man
'... and said that Thorkel was a good man'

Note also that the postnominal adjective can be fronted together with the NP, e.g.:

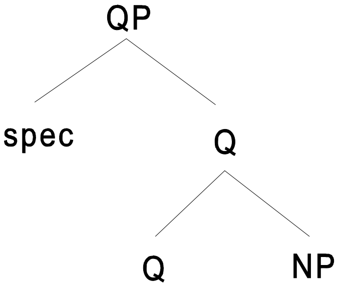
(vii) ***Einn veðurdag góðan*** *reið Grettir vestur yfir hálsa til Þóroddsstaða* (Grett 1027)
one weatherday good rode Grettir west over neck to Thorodd's places
'One beautiful day Grettir rode westward over the ridges to Thoroddsstadir'

This does, of course, not mean that *góðan* cannot be analyzed as an apposition. I will, however, assume that *einn veðurdag góðan* is one phrase, i.e., *góðan* should be analyzed as an attributive adjective.

In Sund (1997a, 1997b, 1998), it is suggested that the noun moves to D when there is no overt determiner. The AP, being generated as the specifier of a functional projection inside DP, could then be moved (topicalized) to [Spec, DP]. According to that analysis, it should also be possible to move the AP out of the DP and to [Spec, CP]. However, the question is if there is any possibility to move the NP out of this configuration.

Stockwell & King (1993:65) discuss discontinuous phrases involving quantifiers, proposing the following structure for the Old Norse QP:

(58)



Stockwell and King claim that a structure like this would explain an example like

(59) ***Engi*** *var* *han* ***hermaðr***
no-N was he soldier-N
'He was no soldier.'

from Faarlund (1990a:96). Stockwell & King (1993:64) suggest that the NP is dislocated to the right in Old Norse Quantifier-Float constructions. Since Sportiche (1988), however, it is assumed that the quantifier is moved to the left while the NP may stay behind.[36] Therefore, I find it most likely that Old Norse sentences with a topicalized quantifier have the same QP structure as assumed for English and French QPs, cf. Stockwell & King (1993:65) (see also Koopman & Sportiche 1982, May 1985, Higginbotham & May 1981):[37]

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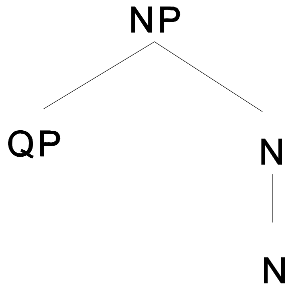
[36] So-called *Leftward Q-Movement* (or *Quantifier Raising*, cf. May 1977) in French is discussed in Kayne (1975; 1984, chap. 4), Quicoli (1976), and Pollock (1978). Leftward movement of the quantifier is also possible in Modern German as discussed in Giusti (1991a).

[37] Delsing (1993:100ff.), by the way, argues that "there is no Q-projection in-between D and N in Scandinavian, and that quantifiers belong to the categories D or A" (p. 101). Arguments for quantifiers as functional heads can be found in e.g. Bhatt (1990), Löbel (1989), and Shlonsky (1991).

(60)



If the QP is able to leave its position, an AP generated in the same position should - in principle - be able to do so, too.

Maybe (some) quantifiers are able to do both: either the quantifier occurs as a head in its own projection with an NP/DP as its complement, or the QP is generated as the specifier of an NP.[38] There are actually some arguments for assuming that there are two possible analyses of quantifiers (see below).

Obviously, some quantifiers (QPs) always have to precede the noun, as opposed to 'ordinary' adjectives, cf. the phrases *góðan hest* and *hest góðan*.[39] The (negative) quantifier *engi(nn)*, for instance, never appears to the right of the NP, the only possible structure being:

(61) *... því eg er* ***enginn hermaður*** (Svarf 1822)
... that I am no army-man
'... because I am no soldier'

With Topicalization of *enginn*:

(62) ***Enginn*** *var Þorvaldur* ***goðorðsmaður*** (Fljót 685)
no was Thorvald chief-word-man
'Thorvald was no chief'

Fronting of *engi(nn)* obviously involves emphasis/focus, and the only reasonable explanation seems to be to assume Topicalization of a maximal phrase and not Stylistic Fronting, especially since there seems to be no subject gap involved either.

Interestingly, in Modern German equivalent constructions, the NP has to be fronted leaving the *quantifier* behind. The same construction may also involve an 'ordinary' adjective. Consider e.g. the examples from Oppenrieder (1991:71f.):[40]

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[38] A similar suggestion is made by Giusti (1991b, 1991c, 1995) who proposes two structures involving quantifiers, one with the quantifier as the head Q projecting a QP and selecting a DP, the other with the quantifier analyzed as an adjective in an AP in the spec-position of AgrP between a DP and an NP. See also the discussion in e.g. Abney (1987), Bhatt (1990), Delsing (1991), Sigurðsson (1992c), and Svenonius (1992).

[39] Cf. also Giusti (1995) who divides quantifiers into three different classes at a descriptive level: those that must precede an article, those that may follow an article, and those that can neither precede nor follow an article. Maybe such a division could be made for the order Q - N / N - Q, too.

(63) a. *Linguisten haben hier nur wenige gearbeitet.*
linguists have here only few worked

b. *Linguisten haben hier nur wenige bedeutende gearbeitet.*
linguists have here only few eminent worked

c. *Linguisten haben hier nur bedeutende gearbeitet.*
linguists have here only eminent worked

However, according to Oppenrieder, it is clear that these constructions involve focus both on the topicalized NP and the quantifier/adjective to the right, while Quantifier-Float constructions are "intonationsneutral", i.e. 'intonationally neutral' (Oppenrieder 1991:71). The second focus position, i.e. the one to the right, on the other hand, does not need to be identical with the remaining part of the NP. The focus may, for instance, also be on another phrase, e.g. (Oppenrieder 1991:68, fn.43):

(64) a. *STRÄNde gibt es dort SCHÖne.*

b. *STRÄNde gibt es DORT schöne.*
beaches exist it there beautiful
'There are beautiful beaches there'

Oppenrieder assumes that the topicalized noun is a head, and the construction is called "intonatorisch markierte Topikalisierung", i.e. 'intonationally marked topicalization' or I-Topicalization (Oppenrieder 1991:54; cf. also Jacobs 1982).

I am not sure that the noun has to be analyzed as a head. The special focus condition on constructions like these, might be 'enough' to topicalize the NP out of a QP or AP in Modern German or Old Norse, Old Norse maybe also having a construction with a QP as a specifier making Topicalization of the quantifier possible.

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[40] Topicalization/Fronting of the nominal part of a so-called *split* NP in German is also discussed in e.g.: Fanselow (1987, 1988); Grewendorf (1988); Haider (1985); Kniffka (1986); Lötscher (1985), and Tappe (1989).

When, for instance, *engi(nn)* never appears to the right of the noun, this may be a speciality of negation words, i.e. they must probably always be specifiers.[41] The quantifier *allur* ('all', 'whole'), on the other hand, behaves more like an 'ordinary' adjective with respect to possible word-order variety in Old Norse:

(65) a. *... bjóst þá þegar og* ***allur herinn*** (Egla 436)
... prepared then immediately also all army
'... the whole army then prepared itself immediately'

b. *Föstudaginn fór út* ***herinn allur*** *af borginni* (Njála 339)
fast-day/friday went out army all off fort
'On Good Friday the whole army left the fort'

(66) a. *En* ***menn allir*** *voru ölærir á Sæbóli* (GíslS 869)
and men all were ale-dizzy on Sabol
'And all the men at Sabol were drunk'

b. ***Allir menn*** *á skipinu eru dauðir* (Finnb 632)
all men on ship-the are dead
'All the men on the ship are dead'

Since both variants apparently are able to occur in [Spec, CP], I assume that the variation cannot be due to Quantifier Float (or I-Topicalization),[42] but must be found inside the phrase itself, i.e. the noun could have moved to [Spec, QP] in the (a)-examples.[43] In my opinion, *menn allir* in (66a) and *allir menn* (66b) have a slightly different meaning. While (a) could be paraphrased as:

(67) ***The men*** *were* ***all*** *drunk at Sabol*

with Quantifier Float, such a paraphrase would not be as appropriate for (b):[44]

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[41] See also the comments on the examples in chapter 5.4 (118)-(121).

[42] This might be an instance of Quantifier Float in the sense of Sportiche (1988) after all if we assume that every spec-position may host an NP (Sportiche 1987; 1988:444), and that the NP is located in [Spec, QP], an anlysis I will propose below as Topicalization inside the QP/AP/DP. But I am not sure that Sportiche's analysis was meant to cover examples where the whole QP containing the quantifier is topicalized itself.

[43] A similar analysis is also supposed in Shlonsky (1991) for postponed quantifiers in Hebrew, cf. (quoted from Delsing 1993:198):

(i) $[_{QP}$ $[_{Q'}$ *kol ha-yeladim*]]
all the-boys

(ii) $[_{QP}$ *ha-yeladim*$_i$ $[_{Q'}$ *kulam* t_i]]
the-boys all-them

See also Sigurðsson (1992c). For arguments against this analysis, see Delsing (1993:198ff).

[44] I am aware of the problem that both paraphrases could be misinterpreted in English, i.e. that *all* could be

(68) ?***The men*** *on the ship are* ***all*** *dead*

(The *?* is only questioning the meaning of the example compared to the original example with a continuous phrase ‘all the men’). While (66a) refers only to the men (in this case meaning everybody who is fit to bear arms, which excludes the women on the farm), (66b) is referring to the entire crew on the ship. Also, in English (or Norwegian, or German), one could have focus on ‘men’ or on ‘all’ in the context of (66a) , but in (66b), the focus should only be on ‘all’, i.e.:

(69) a. *All the* ***MEN*** *were drunk at Sabol*
b. ***ALL*** *the men were drunk at Sabol*

(70) a. *?/#All the* ***MEN*** *on the ship are dead*
b. ***ALL*** *the men on the ship are dead* (or perhaps: ***ALL THE MEN ...***)

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considered modifying the adjective. This is, on the other hand, not a problem in the Modern Norwegian or Modern German corresponding examples, e.g.:

(i) *Mennene*$_i$ *var alle*$_i$ *fulle på Sæbol / Die Männer*$_i$ *waren alle*$_i$ *betrunken auf Säbol*

(ii) *?Mennene*$_i$ *på skipet var alle*$_i$ *døde / Die Männer*$_i$ *auf dem Schiff waren alle*$_i$ *tot*

The *?*, as mentioned before, is only questions the meaning of the sentence compared to the original and not grammaticality in general.

(70a) would be semantically ungrammatical, since there (supposedly) are only men on the ship. The different behavior of *allir* in the examples above may support Giusti's (1995) proposal that there are quantifiers and quantitative adjectives - quantifiers allowing their complement to move out leaving the quantifier, while this is not possible with quantitative adjectives being internal to the DP (or to the NP, as in my 'simpler' proposal above).[45]

The difference between *menn allir* and *allir menn* in (66) may seem relatively neatly explained if we assume that the first one involves Topicalization of *menn* to [Spec, QP], while the latter has the QP *allir* as the specifier of an NP (or DP). On the other hand, the following example is not unlike (66b), however, this time *menn* seems to be topicalized:

(71) *... og drukkna nú* ***menn allir þeir er*** *þar voru á skipinu*
... and drowned now men all they that there were on ship-the

nema einn maður (Laxd 1556)
except one man
'... and now all the men that were on the ship drowned except one'

The question is if we should assume a basic construction [*allir menn þeir er ...*] or [*allir þeir menn er ...*]. In the first variant, *þeir er ...* would have to be an apposition if we want to topicalize the noun, the second construction would allow us to topicalize *menn* while the relative clause is an apposition, e.g. QP - DP - NP - CP.[46] In opposition to (66a) and parallel to (66b), however, we should not expect focus on *menn* in (71), but on *allir* being in contrast to *einn*.[47] Supposedly, Topicalization to [Spec, QP], thus, provides only an unstressed (phrase) topic in this case. Without the relative clause, the NP should not be able to topicalize, as e.g. in:[48]

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[45] See also Delsing (1993:104) who shows that "*many/few*, numerals and *all/both* behave rather like adjectives when they are placed in-between D and N". Delsing (1993:104, fn. 30) also notes:

> In other languages there are two words meaning 'both', one used when it is preceded by the determiner, and another when it is not (see Giusti 1992 on Romanian). This supports the view that the two uses should be kept apart.

[46] Supposedly also involving some kind of functional projection. Such a QP-DP-NP-analysis has also been proposed by e.g. Shlonsky (1991), Valois (1991), Giusti (1992), and Sigurðsson (1992c), as discussed in Delsing (1993).

[47] Cf. also:

(i) ***Þorkell*** *drukknaði þar og* ***allir*** *þeir menn er með honum voru* (Laxd 1651)
Thorkel drowned there and all the men that with him were

[48] Topicalization is, however, possible in cases like:

(i) *Var þar Gunnar og bræður hans og Sigfússynir, Njáll og* ***synir hans allir*** (Njála 194)

(72) *Þar var Vésteinn mágur Gísla og* ***allir þeir Súrdœlir*** (GísL 909)
there was Vestein brother-in-law Gisli's and all they Surdales
'There was Vestein, Gisli's brother-in-law, and all the others from Surdal'

The QP supposedly occupies [Spec, DP] in this construction, hence, it is analyzed as a quantitative adjective, cf. the discussion above.

The NP may lack when the meaning is 'all the others' that are known from the context:

(73) *Flosi stóð þá upp og svo Bjarni og* ***allir þeir*** (Njála 300)
Flosi stood then up and so Bjarni and all they
'Then, Flosi stood up and likewise Bjarni and all the others'

In the following example, however, *allir* should be considered an 'ordinary' quantifier:

(74) *En síðan féllu* ***þeir allir*** *á kné* (GíslS 857)
and since fell they all on knees
'And later they all went down on their knees'

In this particular example, the DP *þeir* may be located in [Spec, QP], or in [Spec, IP] while the quantifier *allir* remains in [Spec, VP], i.e. a case of Quantifier Float resulting in a 'discontinuous' phrase.

In the following examples, then, the QP must be generated between the DP and the NP (as mentioned before: either as the specifier of a functional projection or as a separate projection):[49]

(75) *... og* ***þeir allir brœður*** (Njála 289)
... and they all brothers
'... and all the brothers'

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was there Gunnar and brothers his and Sigfus' sons, Njal and [[sons his]$_i$ [all [$\_{i}$]]$_{QP}$

(ii) *Njáll reið til þings og* ***synir hans allir*** (Njála 164)
Njal rode to thing and [[sons his]$_i$ [all [$\_{i}$]]$_{QP}$

i.e., when there is no 'blocking' DP involved.

[49] Corresponding to Modern German:

(i) *die ganzen Brüder*
[the whole brothers]
'all the brothers'

Cf. also:

(76) ***Þeir allir bræður*** *voru hermenn miklir* (Dropl 346)
they all brothers were army-men much
'All of them were great soldiers'

where the whole complex is topicalized.

Evidence for the quantitative adjective version of *allir* can be found by looking at examples with a topicalized QP, e.g. (b):

(77) a. *... og eru þar* ***allir synir hans*** *heima* (Laxd 1592)
... and are there [all sons his] home
'... and all his sons are at home there'

b. ***Allir*** *voru gervilegir* ***synir hans*** (Laxd 1559)
all$_i$ were capable [_$_i$ sons his]
'All his sons were capable'

If we do not consider *allir* a specifier in this case, we could also claim that *synir hans* is an apposition.[50] However, the example could also be analyzed as having a scrambled adjective (*gervilegir*) with the 'rest' of the subject (*synir hans*) being located in [Spec, VP], i.e. *allir* has moved alone to [Spec, CP] via [Spec, IP].[51] Movement to the right (or 'appositioning', i.e.

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[50] In some cases, it seems clear that we have to assume an apposition:

(i) *... þar til* ***allir*** *voru fallnir,* ***konu og karlar*** (JökBú 1464)
... there till all were fallen, women and men

On the other hand, the comma setting may be a valuation of the saga editor.

[51] Cf. the following example where [Spec, IP] is occupied by *þeir,* hence, the adjective is located to the right of [Spec, IP]:

(i) ***Allir*** *voru* ***þeir*** *ókvongaðir* ***synir Njáls*** (Njála 154)
all$_i$ were they unmarried sons Njal's
'Njal's sons were all unmarried'

adjunction) definitely does not apply in the next example:

(78) ***Allir*** *voru* ***synir Ásgeirs*** *vænlegir* *menn* (Laxd 1592)
all were sons Asgeir's promising men
'Asgeir's sons were all promising men'

The quantifier has to be considered a maximal phrase, and as a specifier it would be able to be topicalized like *enginn* above.

Evidently, a quantifier like *allir* is sometimes a maximal phrase in a specifier position, and sometimes it is the head of a QP selecting a DP/NP. The following example, again, involves Quantifier Float, i.e. the DP is moved out of the QP:

(79) ***Þeir*** *gengu* *með* *Gunnari* ***allir*** (Njála 185)
they went with Gunnar all
'They all went with Gunnar'

In this example, it seems more obvious that the NP (*synir Njáls*) is an apposition. See also the discussion below.

I assume that *með Gunnar* is scrambled, while the quantifier *allir* itself has not moved.[52]

Compare also:

(80) a. *Þorkell drukknaði þar og* ***allir þeir menn*** *er með*
Thorkel drowned there and [all [they men that with

honum voru (Laxd 1651)
him were]]
'There, Thorkel and all the men that were with him drowned'

b. *Og* ***þessir menn*** *er nú eru nefndir voru* ***allir*** *uppi*
and [these men that now are named]$_i$ were [all [_$_i$]] up

á einn tíma (Gunnl 1171)
on one time
'And these men, who were mentioned now, were all grown up at the same time'

In the case of the following example:

(81) ***Allir*** *voru* ***þeir*** *ókvongaðir* ***synir Njáls*** (Njála 154)
all$_i$ were they unmarried sons Njal's
'Njal's sons were all unmarried'

I assume that *synir Njáls* is an apposition, while *allir* is moved out of the DP as a maximal phrase.

Fronted adjectives and quantifiers, thus, should not count as an argument for non-configurationality in Old Norse.

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[52] Cf. also:

(i) *... og voru* ***þeir*** *heima* ***allir*** *um sumarið* (Njála 274)
... and were they home all in summer-the

where I assume that *heima* is scrambled, while *þeir* is located in [Spec, IP] and *allir* in (the 'higher') [Spec, VP].

Adverbs:

Modifying adverbs are usually regarded as specifiers (cf. e.g. Åfarli 1997). Based on the discussion above, we expect that the adverb phrase may be fronted in Old Norse if it is located in a specifier position, cf. e.g.:

(82) a. *Son hennar var henni **mjög líkur** í skapsmunum* (Vatn 1864)
son her was her [much like] in temper
'Her son was much like her with respect to temper'

b. ***Mjög** var Auður þá **elligömul*** (Grett 963)
much$_i$ was Aud then [_$_i$ very-old]
'Aud was then very old'

However, the adjective may apparently also precede the the adverb, e.g.:

(83) *Gunnbjörn var hverjum manni meiri og vænlegri*
Gunnbjorn was every man more and more-promising

*og **líkur mjög** föður sínum* (Finnb 662)
and like much father his
'Gunnbjorn was taller and more promising than all the other men and much like his father'

In the case of adverbs, it is not that obvious that one can assume two different structures as for quantifiers. Phrases like *líkur mjög* could perhaps be used as evidence for right-hand specifiers in Old Norse (which may have an effect on the analysis of quantifiers and adjectives above). On the other hand, *mjög* ('much') may also be considered a quantifier in this case. The quantifier *allur*, for instance, can also modify an adjective, e.g.:

(84) a. *... að Hrafn kæmi að honum og var **allur alblóðugur*** (Gunnl 1192)
... that Hrafn came at him and was all all-bloody
'... that Hrafn came to him and was blood-stained all over'

b. *Mér þykir hafurinn liggja hér í dælinni og er*
me thinks he-goat lying here in hollow-the and is

alblóðugur allur (Njála 172)
all-bloody all
'I think the goat is lying here in the hollow, and it is blood-stained all over'

I have not found any examples of 'clear' adverbs like e.g. *furðu* ('very') following the adjective. Hence, I assume that in this case, the adverb must always be a specifier. And as a specifier, it can obviously be topicalized, e.g. (b):[53]

(85) a. ***Furðu*** ***líkur*** *ertu* *þeim* *manni* *að* *frásögn* *er*
further like are-you that man at tale who

heitir *Gunnar* *og* *er* *kallaður* *Þiðrandabani* (Fljót 721)
is-named Gunnar and is called Thidrandabani
‘It is said that you are very much like that man named Gunnar and called Thidrandabani’

b. ***Furðu*** *var* *hann* ***illilegur*** *að* *sjá* (Bárð 72)
further was he ill to see
‘He looked very ugly’

The situation may be a little different in the following examples:

(86) a. *Hann* *var* ***heldur*** *við* *aldur* (Eirík 529)
he was rather with age
‘He was rather old’

b. ***Heldur*** *var* *hann* *nú* *við* *aldur* (Fljót 697)
rather was he now with age
‘He was rather old now’

Here, the adverb *heldur* seems to be the specifier of the PP *við aldur*, but it is also close to be a sentence adverbial, i.e. a separate constituent, cf.:

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[53] A construction like this seems to be possible in Modern Icelandic, too, cf. an example from Rögnvaldsson (1995:24, note 10):

(i) a. *Hann* *er* *ótrúlega* *stór.*
he is unbelievably big

b. *Ótrúlega* *er* *hann* *stór.*
unbelievably is he big

(87) a. *... að hann vildi* ***heldur*** *deyja en ...* (Njála 215)
... that he wanted rather die than ...
'... that he would rather die than ...'

b. *... og* ***heldur*** *vildi eg misst hafa allra sona minna* (Njála 270)
... and rather wanted I missed have all sons mine
'I would rather have lost all my sons'

In embedded clauses that cannot be considered EMCs, fronting of the adverb should be considered due to Stylistic Fronting. Note the subject gap:

(88) *... og hafði Björn viljað að* ***heldur*** *færu í brott en ...* (BjHít 92)
... and had Bjorn wanted that [*pro*] rather went in way than ...
'... and Bjorn would have preferred that they had left instead of ...'

As discussed at the top of this section, proper Topicalization allows emphasis/focus, while Stylistic Fronting (usually) does not. The example with Stylistic Fronting above is, at least in my opinion, not too clear regarding a possible non-focus status of the fronted adverb;[54] nor are many of the examples with fronted verbal particles. However, apparently fronting in main clauses is due to Topicalization, while fronting in embedded clauses is usually due to Stylistic Fronting involving a subject gap. Hence, there is no reason to assume non-configurational structures.

Adverbs as verbal particles:

Stylistic Fronting in embedded clauses is, as shown before, rather unproblematic since it (usually) involves head categories. Note the subject gap:

(89) *... og öllum gögnum þeim er* ***fram*** *eru komin* (Njála 312)
... and all proof(s) those that [*pro*] forth are come
'... and all the evidence that has been brought forward'

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[54] However, probably the focus is on *í brott*.

I found only two examples (out of 1398 sentences with *fram*) of fronting in a main clause in the corpus, both are from direct speech:[55]

(90) ***Fram*** *sóttir þú nú mjög í dag, Breiðvíkingurinn* (Eyrb 610)
forward seak you now much in day, Breidviking-the
'You are pushing forward/attacking hard today, Breidviking'

(91) ***Fram*** *hrinda þeir enn skipinu* (Njála 229)
forward push they again ship-the
'Once more, they launched the ship'

Apparently, this cannot be examples of Stylistic Fronting and must, therefore, be Topicalization. There is no subject gap, and, in my opinion, *fram* may also be considered focused.[56] Even though adverbs/particles often appear in front of the verb and later may have turned into a compound together with the verb (cf. e.g. Faarlund 1995b, 1995c), I consider this word order (ADV/PRT - V) as being due to movement (Scrambling) instead of base-generation at this stage of Old Norse.[57] In the examples above, *fram* has been topicalized. Below, we see an example without movement and an example with Scrambling of *fram* over the adverb *hart*:

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[55] I.e., as discussed before, such Topicalization seems to be somewhat 'marked', cf. the term *I-Topicalization* above.

[56] On the other hand, it may be more reasonable to assume that the fronting of *fram* is a strategy to lead the *default sentence accent* on another phrase (see the discussion in chapter 5). In a structure with a topicalized subject:

(i) *þú sóttir nú mjög* ***fram*** *í dag, Breiðvíkingurinn*
you seak now much forward$_{\text{ACCENT}}$ in day, Breidviking-the

the default sentence accent would be on *fram*. In (90), after topicalization of *fram*, the default sentence accent would be on *mjög*.

(92) a. *Styr Þorgrímsson* ***sótti*** *hart* ***fram*** *með Steinþóri frænda*
Styr Thorgrim's-son sought hard forward with Steinthor friend

sínum (Eyrb 594)
his
'Styr Thorgrimsson attacked hard together with Steinthor his relative'

b. *Þórólfur* ***sótti*** ***fram*** *hart* (Egla 437)
Thorolf sought forward hard
'Thorolf pushed forward/attacked hard'

In this case, I assume that *fram* is scrambled in order to direct the focus on *hart*, i.e. not in order to receive focus itself (cf. fn. 56).

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[57] However, more or less all the examples with *fram* and *koma* or the participle of *koma* (*kominn/komin/komið*) appear to have *fram* preceding the verb; in these cases, *fram* may be considered a particle. When *fram* follows the verb, it has to be considered a concrete adverb in most cases; it is often followed by a local PP (being a complement of the adverb):

(i) *Síðan koma menn tveir* ***fram*** ***á*** ***eyna*** *og spurðu hver skip ætti* (BjHít 82)
since came men two [forward on island-the] and asked who ship owned
'Later, two men came forward on the island and asked who owned the ship'

Out of 1905 sentences with the adverb *út* ('out'), I discovered only two exhibiting Topicalization (the second example is direct speech):[58]

(93) ***Út*** *snúa þeir undan* (Svarf 1810)
out turn they away
'They went out of there'

(94) ***Út*** *skulu þeir nú allir ganga er leyft er* (Njála 280)
out should they now all go as allowed is
'They may all go out as they are allowed to'

Compare some examples with (a) 'normal' word order,[59] (b) Scrambling, and (c) Stylistic Fronting (i.e. in an embedded clause with a subject gap):

(95) a. *Þeir ganga nú* ***út*** (Flóam 752)
they go now out
'Now, they go out'

b. *Þorkell vill eigi* ***út*** *ganga* (GíslS 879)
Thorkel will not out go
'Thorkel refuses to go outside

c. *... og gæta þess jarðhússmunnans er* ***út*** *má ganga* (HávÍS 1319)
... and watch this earth-house-opening that [*pro*] out may go
'... and watch the opening of the cellar where one may get out'

The examples with Scrambling, as mentioned before, usually also involve a modal verb like e.g. *vilja, skulu, munu*.

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[58] Out of 899 sentences with *inn* ('in', 'inside'), I found none with the adverb/particle fronted. Apart from this, *inn* behaves just the same as *út*.

[59] 'Normal' word order means here normal with respect to the (basic) order *verb - adverb*, even though there are actually more examples with the order *út ganga* in the corpus, hence, being the 'normal', i.e. most frequent, construction.

Stylistic Fronting also may apply in connection with the infinitive marker:

(96)	*Þrællinn*	*Þórður*	*liggur*	*og*	*inni*	*því*	*að*	*hann*	*þorði*
	thrall	Thord	lays	also	inside	that	that	he	dared

eigi	***út***	*að*		*ganga*	*í*	*fárviðri*	*slíku*	*sem*	*var* (GísL 917)
not	out	to	[PRO]	go	in	bad-weather	like		that was

‘The threll Thord stays also inside because he did not dare to go out in such a bad weather’

There are five examples of *út að ganga* in the corpus. Note, by the way, the similarity to Modern German *herausgehen* (‘go outside’):[60]

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[60] Note also the fronting possibilities:

(i)	***Herauszugehen***	*traute*	*er*	*sich*	*nicht*
	outside-to-go	dared	he	himself	not

(ii)	***Heraus***	*traute*	*er*	*sich*	*nicht*	*zu*	*gehen*
	outside	dared	he	himself	not	to	go

Example (ii) requires a certain context, i.e. probably this is an example of I-Topicalization with a second focus on *nicht*, cf. the discussion in Oppenrieder (1991). Some of my German informants do not accept (ii) at all, while others find it unproblematic (such speaker variation is also found in Thiersch 1986), cf. the possible contexts:

(iii) *Er lief im Haus von Zimmer zu Zimmer. Heraus traute er sich nicht zu gehen*
‘He ran from one room to the other in the house. (But) he did not dare to go outside’
(Lars Vollert, on the electronic linguist list linguistik@uni-goettingen.de, Febr. 19., 1998)

(iv) HERAUS *traute er sich bei* DIESEM *Wetter nicht zu gehen, aber* HINEIN
‘He did not dare to go outside in this weather, but inside’
(Thomas Becker, on the electronic linguist list linguistik@uni-goettingen.de, Febr. 19., 1998)

In the German DUDEN-grammar (Drosdowski 1984:719), by the way, this kind of Topicalization is called *Ausdrucksstellung* ‘expressional positioning’. The topicalized element is always stressed (cf. I-Topicalization).

(97) a. *Er geht heraus*
he goes outside

b. *Er will herausgehen*
he will go-out
'He wants to go outside'

c. *Er traute sich nicht heraus***zu***gehen*
he dared himself not out-to-go
'He did not dare to go outside'

The Old Norse examples have, of course, a subject gap, and the fronted adverb/particle seems not to be focused, nor would it be reasonable to analyze the structure as an EMC. Apparently, an element fronted by Stylistic Fronting can be cliticized to C° or I° (cf. the structure in (96)).[61] At least the discussion in this subsection shows again that Topicalization in main clauses seems to involve maximal phrases, hence, there is no need to assume non-configurationality in Old Norse.

Prepositions as verbal particles:

The behavior of fronted infinite verbs, adjectives/quantifiers and adverbs/particles is relatively easy to account for by distinguishing between Topicalization of maximal phrases and Stylistic Fronting of heads (and marginally more complex elements), even though the modern descendants of Old Norse exhibit stronger restrictions to the kind of movement discussed above.

The fronting of prepositions, on the other hand, may create more problems. A preposition does usually not represent a maximal phrase. On the contrary, a preposition is usually a head selecting a nominal argument. Together the preposition and the complement form a PP, e.g.:[62]

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[61] Example (96) may also indicate that the infinitive marker is not located in C° in Old Norse but in I°. I find this, however, more problematic.

[62] In this particular example, one might also want to consider *honum* a free dative, then *af* would be a particle, cf. Modern German:

(i) *Er haute ihm den Kopf* ***ab***
he hewed him$_{DAT}$ the head off
'He cut off his head'

In the Old Norse example above, on would have to claim Scrambling of *höfuð*. Compare also to the Modern Norwegian equivalents, (a) with a preposition, and (b) with a particle:

(ii) a. *Han hogg hovudet* ***av mannen***
he hewed head-the [off man-the]
'He cut the head off the man'

(98) *... og höggur höfuð* ***af honum*** (Svarf 1820)
... and hews head [of him$_{DAT}$]$_{PP}$
'... and cuts his head off'

In some cases, however, the preposition may be analyzed as a particle, e.g.:

(99) *Nú fer Helgi og safnar saman uxum þeim er Þormóður*
now goes Helgi and gathers together oxes those that Thormod

átti og ***höggur af*** *höfuðin og lætur þar liggja* (Vopn 1994)
owned and [hews off] heads$_{ACC}$ and let there lie
'Now Helgi collects all the axes Thormod owned and cuts off their heads and leaves them on the ground'

Of course, we may also claim that the nominal argument of *af* is omitted (e.g. *af þeim* ('off them')). Then, we would still have a preposition as the head of a PP.

The status of *af* as a preposition may be more clear in the next example (note also the interesting fact that the verb is omitted in the second conjunct):

(100) *En Gísli höggur mót og spjótið* ***af skaftinu*** (GíslS 896)
and Gisli hews against and spear-the [of shaft-the$_{DAT}$]
'And Gisle strikes back and cuts the gear of its handle'

Consider also the omission of the verb in the second conjunct below:

(101) *Og eitt högg höggur Þóroddur til Þorbjarnar og* ***af*** *fótinn*
and one strike hews Thorodd to Thorbjorn and of foot-the$_{ACC}$

í ristarliðnum (Heið 1384)
in instep-part-the
'And Thorodd strikes Thorbjorn with one strike and cuts off his foot at the instep'

Note that in (100) *af* forms a PP together with an NP: *af skaftinu*$_{DAT}$, whereas *af* should be considered functioning as a particle in (101): [*höggva af*] *fótinn*$_{ACC}$. However, we may also imagine an omitted pronoun and get a PP *af honum*$_{DAT}$, i.e. *Þóroddur högg af honum fótinn* (with Scrambling of *af honum*). When *af* is a preposition, the dative of the complement may be analyzed as a semantic ablative. Analyzed as a complex verb *höggva af*, on the other hand, the verb selects an accusative Patient, allowing a free 'beneficiary' dative. Compare also the Modern

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b. *Han* ***hogg av*** *hovudet til mannen*
he [hewed off] head-the of man-the
'He cut off the head of the man'

German examples below:

(102) a. *den Kopf*$_{\mathrm{ACC}}$ *hauen*
'beat the head'

b. *den Kopf*$_{\mathrm{ACC}}$ *abhauen*
'cut off the head'

c. *jemandem*$_{\mathrm{DAT}}$ *den Kopf*$_{\mathrm{ACC}}$ *abhauen*
'cut the head off somebody'

d. *den Kopf* [*von jemandem*]$_{\mathrm{PP}}$ *abhauen*
'cut somebody's head off / cut the head off somebody'

The preposition *von* is equivalent to Old Norse *af* in this context. Hence, *ab* in the Modern German examples above, is a verbal particle. Note also the fronting possibilities:[63]

(103) a. *Er haute ihm den Kopf ab*$_{\mathrm{PRT}}$
'He cut off his head'

b. *Ab haute er ihm den Kopf!*

c. *Der Zug ging* [*ab Hamburg*]$_{\mathrm{PP}}$
'The train went from Hamburg'

d. **Ab ging der Zug Hamburg*

Faarlund (1990a:97ff., 1995b, 1995c) also discusses discontinuous PPs. That is, Faarlund claims, in fact, that Old Norse lacks prepositional phrases as syntactic constituents.[64] This claim has already been rejected by Rögnvaldsson (1995:8ff.). Rögnvaldsson has made a count of 5 of the most common prepositions (*í, á, til, með,* and *við*) and found out that they were adjacent to their complement in 99% of the cases.

Faarlund (1990a:98) also provides one example with *af* fronted alone in a main clause:

(104)	***Af***	*hefir*	*þú*	*mik*	*ráðit*	***brekvísi***	*við*	*þik* (cf. Laxd 1582)
	from	have	you	me	taught	importunity	with	you

'You have taught me not to be importunate with you'

The first thing to notice, is the fact that this is (once more) direct speech (which is, of course, not an argument for or against anything by itself). There are 5477 occurrences of *af* in the corpus. I may, of course, have overlooked other instances of fronting, but I have only found one additional example where *af* is fronted:

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[63] Example (b) is not accepted by everyone. However, (b) is clearly 'better' than (d).

[64] Cf. Faarlund (1990a:99):

> The facts illustrated in [...] seem to point towards the conclusion that Old Norse lacks prepositional phrases as well as verb phrases as syntactic constituents.

(105) *En* **af** *verður að ráða nokkuð* ***hverju vandræði*** (LjósC 1675)
and off becomes to advise some/perhaps every fight
'And every fight should perhaps be avoided/ended'

Together with the one quoted by Faarlund, I believe that these must be about the only examples with *af* in front in the entire corpus.[65]

On the other hand, I have found approximately fifty examples with topicalized PPs with *af* as their head. A few examples shall suffice as an illustration, e.g.:

(106) a. *En* ***af Bárði*** *væntum við okkur sæmdar*
and [of Bard]$_{PP}$ wait we us honor

í alla staði (Egla 378)
in all states
'And from Bard we expect honor in any case'

b. *En* ***af tali þeirra*** *kom það upp að Styr fastnaði*
and [of tale their]$_{PP}$ came that up that Styr engaged

Snorra goða Ásdísi dóttur sína (Eyrb 570)
Snorri chief Asdis daughter his
'And it became clear from their conversation that Styr had promised Snorri godi his daughter Asdis'

---

[65] Note that this example is direct speech, too. The example is considered a *saying* in Heggstad, Hødnebø & Simensen (1975:334). Furthermore, their example contains the preposition *ór* ('out'). The preposition would select the dative *herju vandræði*, i.e. *af verðr at ráða no,_kkut* ***ór*** *hverju vandræði* 'it should perhaps be advised (*out of)/against* any fight', in Heggstad et al. glossed as 'end something / make something end'. Thus, *af* may pretty well be analyzed as a verbal particle.

Interestingly, there are two examples (one being a variant of the other) where *af* apparently is fronted by Stylistic Fronting:

(i) *en þú verður nú þetta vandræði* ***af*** *að ráða* (HallM 1198)
and you are now this fight off to [PRO] advise

(ii) *en þú átt nú* ***af*** *að ráða þessi vandræði* (HallÓ 1226)
and you must now off to [PRO] advise this fight

Since Stylistic Fronting (first of all) involves heads, these examples may perhaps be arguments against analyzing the fronting of *af* in the main clause as Topicalization. On the other hand, 'verbal particles' can often have alternative analyses, depending on their position in the clause, i.e., either as particles or as maximal phrases with a head lacking an overt complement (cf. e.g. Åfarli 1997). Another explanation would be to claim that these/this example(s) of Stylistic Fronting are/is the model for the main clause example, i.e. that the main clause example is ungrammatical (see, however, below). Note, by the way, that (i) may indicate that *þetta vandræði* is scrambled out of the PP before *af* is fronted, (i) clearly exhibiting Scrambling out of the non-finite clause. The construction is also discussed further below.

c. ***Af þeim*** *tók hann silfrið og gaf það Kolbeini* (BjHít 106)
[of them]$_{PP}$ took he silver-the and gave that Kolbein
'He took the silver from them and gave it to Kolbein'

d. ***Af stundu*** *sjá þeir að sigla að þeim fimm skip* (Flóam 730)
[of while]$_{PP}$ see they that sails at them five ships
'After a while the observe that there were five ships sailing towards them'

e. ***Af því sári*** *fékk Hörður bana* (Harð 1291)
[of this sore]$_{PP}$ got Hord dead
'Hord died because of this wound'

In no case, there is any reason to doubt that we deal with a prepositional phrase consisting of a prepositional head and a nominal complement.

Let us return to the second example where *af* is fronted (105, repeated as 107), giving the 'impression' of a discontinuous PP:

(107) *En* ***af*** *verður að ráða nokkuð* ***hverju vandræði*** (LjósC 1675)
and off becomes to advice some/perhaps every fight
'And every fight should perhaps be avoided/ended'

We should, of course, have in mind that we deal with a saying (cf. the previous footnote) since sayings often exhibit word orders that are not 'allowed' in 'natural' speech. However, there is a clear subject gap, and we may therefore assume Stylistic Fronting as in embedded clauses, cf. also the following examples:

(108) a. *Þóroddur ætli nú* ***af*** *að ráða hingaðkomur*
Thorodd intended now off to [PRO] advice here-comings

þínar (Eyrb 571)
yours
'Thorodd intended now to prevent you from coming here'

b. *En menn allir voru ölærir á Sæbóli og*
and men all were ale-dizzy on Saboland and

vissu eigi hvað ***af*** *skyldiráða* (GíslS 869)
knew not what [pro] off should do
'And all the men at Sabol were drunk and did not know what to do'

In my opinion, it seems that *af* is not used as a concrete preposition in theses examples but as a verbal particle. Hence, there would actually be no discontinuous PP at all. Further evidence for the status of *af* as a particle may be:

(109) *Ráða þeir það* ***af*** *að Egill skipar skútu* (Egla 443)
decide they that off that Egil mans ship
'They decide to let Egil man a ship

Clearly, *ráða* + the particle *af* may be used with different meanings. With modals and in passives, the particle is usually scrambled and appears to the left of the participle (or infinitive). Note that in the following (a)-example the object *það* is scrambled, too - in (b) *það* is promoted to surface subject:

(110) a. *Eigi munum við það* ***af*** *ráða* (Finnb 649)
not will we-two that off decide
'We will not decide to do that'

b. *Og var það* ***af*** *ráðið að skipa þar upp* (GunKe 1151)
and was that off decided to loose there up
'And it was agreed on loosing the ship there'

In other examples, *af* may be a preposition selecting an NP, or a particle (we may of course also analyze constructions like these as exhibiting omission of the NP). First examples with *af* functioning as a preposition with a complement:

(111) a. *... að hvorirtveggju létust búnir að ráða Arnkel*
... that each-of-them pretended ready to take Arnkel

af lífi (Eyrb 582)
[off life]$_{PP}$
'... that they both pretended being ready to put Arnkel to death'

b. *... þá skal eg þann mann ráða* ***af lífi*** *er segir*
... then shall I that man take [off life]$_{PP}$ who says

frá þessum atburðum (GrænS 1108)
from these incidents
'... then I will kill that man who talks about these incidents'

Compare to examples with *af* functioning as a particle. Note the word order variety due to Scrambling (in c):

(112) a. *Skeggi bjóst til að ráða þau* ***af*** (Bárð 51)
Skeggi prepared-himself to to kill them$_{OBJ}$ (off _)
'Skeggi prepared himself to kill them'

b. *... að þeir skyldu ráða* ***af*** *einnhvern fóstbróður*
... that they should kill (off _) [some foster-brother

hans (GullÞ 1129)
his]$_{OBJ}$
'... that they should kill one of his foster brothers'

c. *... en hann kvaðst mundu* ***af*** *ráða illmenni þessi* (Vatn 1902)
... and he said would (off _)kill [ill-man this]$_{OBJ}$
'... but he said that he would kill this evil man'

The object in these example, then, is not the object of a preposition *af* but of a complex verb *ráða af*. Consider also the following examples where the particle is scrambled. In (a), the object might be scrambled, too - another analysis would be to say that *af ráðið* is the predicate complement of the object *hann*, cf. 'get him killed'. Example (b) seems to show Stylistic Fronting of an NP:

(113) a. *... að geta hann af ráðið* (Fljót 707)
... to get him off killed
'... to get him killed'

b. *... er þenna mann gæti af ráðið* (Svarf 1788)
... who this man gets off killed
'... who would get this man killed'

As a particle, *af* obviously has a great freedom regarding its surface position.[66] The problem is that in the example from Faarlund (1990a:98), repeated here:

(114) ***Af*** *hefir þú mik ráðit* ***brekvísi*** *við þik* (cf. Laxd 1582)
from have you me taught importunity with you
'You have taught me not to be importunate with you'

af really seems to be a preposition governing *brekvísi* (unless there is a preposition *ór/úr* missing, cf. the discussion above). The D-structure word order of this sentence would thus be:

(115) *hefir þú ráðit mik* [*af brekvísi*]$_{PP}$ [*við þik*]$_{PP}$

There is no subject gap in the sentence, and intuitively, I would also consider *af* focused. In the other example where *af* is fronted, we saw that the preposition belonging to *hverju vandræði* was missing, whereas *af* was functioning as a particle (or a preposition without an overt NP). There is a possibility that *af* could, in fact, be analyzed as a particle in this example, too, cf. the Modern German etymologic equivalent *von etwas abraten* ('dissuade from something'):[67]

(116) a. *Du hast mir von der Sache* ***ab****geraten*
you have me [from the thing]$_{PP}$ (of)$_{PRT}$-dissuaded
'You have dissuaded me from that thing/case'

---

[66] As mentioned before, an explanation of the fronting possibilities would also be to assume that *af* functions as a PP without an expressed/overt NP, then we would be dealing with an XP.

[67] The German expression has a slightly different meaning. However, as discussed, Old Norse *ráða af* may also have a variety of different meanings.

b. *Du rätst mir von der Sache* ***ab***
you dissuade me [from that thing]$_{PP}$ (of)$_{PRT}$
‘You dissuade me from that thing/case’

No matter how we try to explain the fronting of *af* in the Old Norse example, it should be clear that the status of *af* is not obvious at all. If *af* really is a preposition with a complement *brekvísi*, this would be the only example where *af* is fronted leaving its complement behind.

The other example with a fronted ‘preposition’ in Faarlund (1990a:98):

(117) *En* ***á*** *þykkir mér vera skuggi no,_kkurr* ***manninum***
but on seems me-D be shadow some the-man-D
‘But there seems to me to be a shadow over the man’

has not necessarily a discontinuous PP either. Recall the discussion on adjectives above, with the examples:

(118) *Jólamorgun var* ***á*** *veður gott* (Flóam 748)
Christmas-morning was on weather good
‘On Christmas morning there was good weather’

(119) *Um kveldið var* ***á*** *útsynningsveður og snæfall* (GísL 922)
in evening-the was on south-west-weather and snowfall
‘In the evening they had wind from south-west and snowfall’

Here, *á* is clearly a verbal particle; besides, the following NP is the surface subject of the clause. But, as mentioned before, it is not difficult to see how the use as a particle has come into being, cf.:

(120) a. *Snjór var* ***á jörðu*** (GíslS 871)
snow was [on earth$_{DAT}$]$_{PP}$
‘There was snow on the ground’

b. *... að dögg var* ***á grasinu*** (GrænS 1099)
... that dew was [on grass-the$_{DAT}$]$_{PP}$
‘... that there was dew on the grass’

c. *... og logn var* ***á firðinum*** (BandK 44)
... and calm was [on fjord-the$_{DAT}$]$_{PP}$
‘... and there was calm on the fjord’

The question, then, is if *á* + *manninum* in the example from Faarlund really can be considered a PP. As can be seen from the examples above, *á* always forms a ‘concrete’ local adverbial when it combines with an NP. Maybe a ‘normalized’ sentence:

(121) *mér þykkir vera skuggi no,_kkurr* ***á manninum***
me seems be shadow some on man-the
‘But there seems to me to be a shadow over the man’

would receive the same concrete meaning, i.e. that there is a shadow ‘attached’ to the man. While the kind of shadow in question is rather something abstract, an expression for an impression, and *manninum* should be considered some kind of a 'free' dative, i.e. without a preposition, and the sentence could be normalized as:

(122) *mér þykkir* ***vera á*** *skuggi no,_kkurr manninum*
me seems be (on) shadow some man-the$_{\text{DAT}}$
'But there seems to me to be a shadow over the man'

In this case, it would even pe possible to analyze *manninum* as the (oblique) subject of the infinitive clause, e.g.:

(123) *manninum var á skuggi no,_kkurr*
man-the$_{\text{DAT}}$ was (on) shadow some
'There was a shadow over the man'

cf. the situation with adjectives taking dative subjects:

(124) *mér er kalt*
me$_{\text{DAT}}$ is cold
'I am cold'

If *á* is not a preposition governing *manninum*, we may also imagine that the particle has come into being by omitting another NP (cf. the examples with weather phenomena), i.e. the sentence could, thus, also correspond to:

(125) *En* ***á andliti(nu)*** *þykkir mér vera skuggi no,_kkurr manninum*
but [on face(-the)$_{\text{DAT}}$]$_{\text{PP}}$ seems me be shadow some man-the
'But there seems to me to be a shadow over the man's face'

The analysis of the example mentioned by Faarlund is definitely not unproblematic, and the discussion above may not have given an answer to all of the fronting phenomenon examples of this kind, but it has been shown that the verbs in question usually combine with a *particle* and not so often with a ('concrete') preposition. One fact should at least be clear, fronting of a particle/preposition alone in a main clause has to be considered extremely rare (with *af*, there is apparently only one or maybe two examples in the corpus out of 5477).

A relatively quick and inaccurate glance at the 11615 examples with *á* in the corpus, only looking for capital *Á*, resulted in one single example with *á* alone in front:[68]

(126) ***Á*** *mun eg gera kosti að þér séuð hér til fjórða*
on will I make costs that you be here till fourth

---

[68] Furthermore, there were relatively few instances of fronted PPs with *á* (maybe 40 or 50).

dags jóla (BjHít 110)
day Christmas
'I will offer you to stay here till the fourth day of Christmas'

Also this example is - not surprisingly - direct speech, and there is also a modal auxiliary in the sentence. Additionally, *á* seems to function as a particle and not as a preposition. If this is the only example out of 11615 sentences with *á*, this should absolutely not be considered a common way of fronting.[69]

The situation in the Middle Field, on the other hand, is rather different. Here, we apparently find discontinuous PPs,[70] as also shown by Faarlund (1990a:98ff.), e.g. with *af*:

(127) *Hér er mikit* ***af*** *sagt* ***burtreið þessara manna***
here is much about said joust-D these men-G
'Much is told here about these men's joust'

However, note that there is an adverb in front which also could be interpreted as referring to the (dislocated) NP to the right, cf. the German equivalent:[71]

(128) a. ***Hiervon*** *wurde viel erzählt*
here-about was much told
'About this, much has been told'

---

[69] Since I only checked on capital *Á*, there may of course exist some more examples. However, it should be obvious that fronting of the particle seems not to be very frequent.

[70] However, not very frequently, cf. the discussion above.

[71] Cf. also:

(i) *Síðan vaknaði hann og spurðu menn hvað hann hefði dreymt en hann vildi* ***þar*** *ekki* ***frá*** *segja* (Fljót 679)
since woke he and asked men what he had dreamt but he would there not from say'
'Then he woke up and the men asked what he had dreamt, but he did not want to talk about it'

vs. German:

(ii) *... aber er wollte* ***da*** *nichts* ***von*** *sagen/erzählen*
... but he wanted there nothing from say/tell
'... but he did not want to say/tell anything about it'

Also:

(iii) *Nú er* ***þar frá*** *að segja að Gunnar ríður heiman einn dag* (GunKe 1165)
now is there from to say that Gunnar rides from-home one day
'Now has to be told about that time Gunnar rode from home one day'

vs. German:

(iv) *Nun is* ***davon*** *zu erzählen, dass ...*
now is there-from to tell that ...

b.	***Hier***	*wurde*	*viel*	***von***	*erzählt*
	here	was	much	about	told

‘About this, much has been told’

Note also a Modern Norwegian equivalent with a stranded preposition and an appositional NP:[72]

(129)	***Det/den***	*vart*	*det*	*tala*	*mykje*	***om,***		*turneringa*		*til*	*desse*	*mennene*
	that$_i$		was	it$_{EXPL}$	told	much	about	_$_i$,	joust		of	these men$_i$

The NP *burtreið þessara manna* in the Old Norse example could, thus, very well also function as an apposition.

Interestingly, there are a few more examples of the kind quoted by Faarlund above, all representing the same mode of expression. Consider e.g.:

(130)	*... því*	*að*	*oss*	*er*	*þar*	*mikið*	***af***	*sagt*	***auð***	***þeim*** (BandM 14)
	... that	that	us	is	there	much	of	said	wealth	this

‘... because we have heard much about the wealth’

---

[72] See also the discussion on “right copying” in Faarlund (1992:124f.) and Haugan (1998b), and chapter 5.3.

This example has also an adverb (*þar*) like the example from Faarlund above. Again, there is the possibility that *auð þeim* is an apposition or a right dislocated NP that is represented by an adverbial proform. On the other hand, if we consider *af* being a particle and *þar* a sentence adverbial, *auð þeim* would be a direct object of a compound *segja af*. There is a Benefactive argument *oss*, hence, a good subject candidate, and *auð þeim* represents the Theme argument. In the example from Faarlund, there is no such Benefactive, as also in the following sentence.[73] Additionally, there is no local adverb either:

(131) *Er ekki* ***af*** *sagt* ***hans ferð*** *áður hann kemur einn*
is not of said his journey before he comes one

dag að kveldi á Goddastaði (Laxd 1550)
day at evening on Goddastead
'Nothing has been told about his journey before he came to Goddastadir one day in the evening'

Actually, *pro* might bind the only NP present in the sentence, which is *hans ferð*. There is no other subject candidate, and there is not necessarily any constituent *af hans ferð*. Thus, when the NP appears behind the *af*, it is not easy to tell if it is the complement of a preposition or of a complex verb:

(132) *Og er eigi sagt* ***af þeirra ferð*** *áður þeir fóru suður*
and is not said of their journey before they went south

um Valbjarnarvöllu (Eyrb 604)
to Valbjarnavall
'And nothing has been told from their jouney before they went south to Valbjarnavall'

There are also a few other examples with *af* following the verb, e.g.:

(133) *... að mér er mikið sagt* ***af stórmennsku þinni*** (Finnb 666)
... that me is much said of grace your
'... because I have heard much about your grace'

(134) *Er eg útlenskur maður en heyrt margt sagt* ***af***
I am foreign man and heard much said of

frægð yðvarri (Kjaln 1452)
reputation your
'I am a foreigner and I have heard much about your reputation'

---

[73] The Benefactive can, however, easily be omitted, cf. the discussion on passive in 4.3.3.1 and elsewhere.

On the other hand, there is also clear evidence that *af* may form a PP together with the NP, namely, when the PP is moved:

(135) *... því að mörgum var forvitni á að sjá Gretti,*
... that that many were interested in to see Gretti,

svo mikið sem ***af honum*** *var sagt* (Grett 1016)
so much as [of him] was said
'... because many were interested in seeing Gretti, since there was told so much about him'

But consider also another example:

(136) *Hann spurði hvar* ***sú kona*** *væri er þeir bræður*
he asked where [that woman] was that they brothers

höfðu honum ***af sagt*** (Vígl 1969)
had him of said
'He asked who the woman was that the brothers had told him about'

This example looks quite much like having preposition stranding of the kind we find in Modern Norwegian as discussed above, cf. also:

(137) *Han spurde kvar* ***denne kona*** *var som dei hadde*
he asked where [that woman]$_i$ was that they had

fortalt honum ***om*** _
told him about _$_i$

There is no doubt that *om* is a preposition in Modern Norwegian. But obviously, it is not very problematic to raise the NP out of the clause. Other modern Norwegian prepositions may often function as prepositions or as particles depending on the context, cf.:

(138) *Har du høyrt* ***frå lingvistane*** *i Trondheim?*
have you heard [from linguists-the]$_{PP}$ in Trondheim
'Have you heard anything from the linguists in Trondheim?'

(139) *Sei* ***frå*** *dersom det kjem lingvistar til byen*
say from$_{PRT}$ if there come linguists to town
'Tell me if there are coming any linguists to town'

Now let us take a look at some Old Norse examples with *frá*:

(140) a. *"Svo er mér* ***frá honum*** *sagt," sagði Gunnar,*
so is me [from him] said, said Gunnar,

"að ... (Njála 171)
that ...
'This has been told me about him, said Gunnar, that ...'

b. *Nú er* ***frá því*** *sagt að þeir synir Þorgauts rísa*
now is [from that] said that they sons Thorgaut's rise

upp allir (Heið 1379)
up all
'From this, then, there is told that Thorgaut's sons all rose up'

c. ***Frá því*** *er sagt eitthvert sinn að Bolli kom til*
[from this] is said some sense that Bolli came til

Helgafells (Laxd 1653)
Helgafell
'About this has it been said that Bolli once came to Helgafell'

Obviously, *frá* constitutes a PP together with the dative NP, but according to examples like:

(141) *Er mér svo* ***frá*** *sagt* ***konungi*** *að ...* (Egla 373)
is me so from said king that ...
'Me has been told about the king that ...'

the preposition may be scrambled alone over the non-finite main verb leaving the NP behind. The scrambled preposition may also be stranded in relative sentences, cf.:[74]

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[74] A similar example (with Stylistic Fronting) from Modern Icelandic (Jónsson 1991:11) would be:

(i) *Þetta eru tillögurnar* [*sem um var* t *rætt*]
"These are the proposals that about were t discussed"

According to Holmberg (1997:112), a preposition can undergo Stylistic Fronting:

> however, it can do so only if it is the only visible constituent of the PP, that is to say, in questions or relatives where the preposition has been stranded.

In the Old Norse example, the preposition(?)/particle is scrambled over the infinite verb, but not cliticized to I.

(142) *Yngvar mágur Skalla-Gríms var* ***einn af þessum***
Yngvar brother-in-law Skalla-Grim'swas [one of those

mönnum *er nú var* ***frá*** *sagt* (Egla 404)
men]$_{\text{NOM}}$ that now was from said
'Yngvar, Skalla-Grim's brother-in-law, was one of those men that were just told about'

The questions, then, might be if *frá* really is used as a preposition in constructions like this, and if it still assigns dative Case? Consider:

(143) *Það er* ***frá*** *sagt að Þorsteinn kom að máli við*
this$_{\text{NOM}}$ is from said [that Thorstein came at talk with

Guðmund og mælti ... (LjósC 1673)
Gudmund and said ...]$_{\text{CP}}$
'This has been told that Thorstein came to talk with Gudmund and said ...'

Of course, we might claim that *frá* is governing an empty position like for instance:[75]

(144) *það er* ***frá því*** *sagt að ...*
this is [from this$_{\text{DAT}}$] said that ...

But sentence (143) looks very much like having a nominative subject *það* and a verbal particle *frá*. Consider also:

(145) ***Þetta sama haust*** *sem nú var* ***frá*** *sagt kom skip*
[this same autumn]$_{\text{ACC}}$ as now was from said came ship

af hafi (Kjaln 1443)
off sea
'This same autumn, as now has been related, a ship came from the sea'

In my opinion, it seems more reasonable to claim that *frá* functions as a verbal particle and not as a preposition in constructions like these. Cf. also:

(146) *Og er hann hafði* ***frá*** *sagt sem var, þá mælti*
and when he had from said as was, then said

---

[75] Cf. e.g.:

(i) *Það er* ***frá Þóri*** *að segja að hann hleypur nú fram eftir þeim Áskatli* (Reykd 1758)
that is from Thor$_i$ to say that he$_i$ runs now forward after them Asketil
'This is to say about Thor, that he runs forward after Asketil and the others'

But note that the prepositional complement is co-referential with the subject of the *að*-clause, while it would be difficult to claim a construction:

(ii) *Það er* ***frá honum*** *sagt að Þorsteinn kom ...*
that is from him$_i$ said that Thorstein$_i$ came ...

because of thematic/referential mismatches.

Arnkell ... (Eyrb 557)
Arnkell ...
'And when he had told how it was, Arnkell said ...'

This sentence seems to be equivalent to e.g. Modern Norwegian:

(147) *Og då han hadde sagt frå (om) korleis det var, då sa Arnkell ...*
and when he ahd said from (about) how it was, then said Arnkell

Here, *frå* is clearly functioning as a particle, the relevant 'concrete' preposition would be *om*, which, however, may be omitted. Constructions like:

(148) *Nú er* ***þar frá*** *að segja að Þorgeir skorargeir reið austan með miklu liði* (Njála 297)
now is there from to say that Thorgeir Skorageir rode eastwards with much crowd
'Now, it can be told that Thorgeir Skorageir rode eastwards with a large crowd'

(149) ***Hér*** *þarftu eigi lengra* ***frá*** *að segja* (Laxd 1633)
here need-you not longer from to say
'You need no longer talk about this / You do not need to say any more'

are equal to Modern German:

(150) *Nun ist* ***davon*** *zu erzählen, dass ...*
now is there-from to tell, that ...

(151) ***Hier*** *darfst du nicht länger* ***von*** *erzählen*[76]
here must you not longer from tell

Thus, *frá* may be analyzed as part of the adverb, or possibly as a complex particle in cases like these. I will also provide some examples where *frá* is fronted by Stylistic Fronting in an embedded clause:

(152) *Brandur kvað þann nær er* ***frá*** *kunni að segja* (GrænS 1114)
Brand said the-one (be) near who [*pro*] from$_i$ could to say _$_i$
'Brand said him that could tell about that was near'

(153) *Þursarnir gera nú miklu meira óhljóð en* ***frá*** *megi*
trolls-the make now much more noise than [*pro*] from$_i$ might

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[76] It would probably be more idiomatic to use *da* instead of *hier*, e.g.:

(i) ***Da*** *darfst du nicht lenger* ***von*** *erzählen* / ***Davon*** *darfst du nicht lenger erzählen*
there must you not longer from tell / there-from must you not longer tell

segja (Bárð 66)
say $\_{i}$
'The trolls make now much more noise than one would be able to tell'

I might not have given a fully satisfying analysis of prepositions and particles in Old Norse, but I have tried to show that PPs usually appear as one constituent and that other constructions most likely should be explained by arguments other than non-configurationality.

Conclusion

I will maintain the assumption that Topicalization universally involves maximal phrases, thus, this counts for Old Norse as well. In those cases where the fronted element does not 'look' like a maximal phrase, I believe that there is either Scrambling involved, i.e. a part of the constituent is moved out before the 'rest' is topicalized (cf. the discussion on Modern German in e.g. Thiersch 1985, 1986), or, in some constructions, the fronted element should be analyzed as, for instance, a verbal particle, a category that, in some cases, is best analyzed as a head, and in other cases as a maximal phrase.

As for Stylistic Fronting, it seems that such fronting is not found in main clauses (cf. also Falk 1993). Main clauses that look like they might have a head category in the topic position most likely involve an XP after all. Such constructions are, however, not very frequent. The fronting phenomena in embedded clauses seem to behave like in Modern Icelandic.

In the discussion above, I have adopted the view that Stylistic Fronting is cliticization to I (cf. Jónsson 1991; Holmberg & Platzack 1995). In a few cases, it may seem that even maximal phrases can be cliticized (if so, this is marginally also possible in Modern Icelandic). However, the status of these phrases is not all clear. Either those phrases are not maximal after all, or they are perhaps even instances of Scrambling to IP.[77] In Holmberg (1997), the fronted elements are located in [Spec, TOP], that means, in Holmberg's analysis, the spec-position would have to handle head categories. In other words, further research on Stylistic Fronting seems to be required. However, one major difference between Topicalization and Stylistic Fronting is that fronting of elements by Stylistic Fronting in most cases is (more or less) unmarked and neutral, i.e. with no or little pragmatic effect. Topicalization, on the other hand, is an important - if not the most important - strategy in the ordering of information in a clause.

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[77] However, if this really were Scrambling to IP, we would have a problem regarding Modern Icelandic, since Modern Icelandic is not supposed to have Scrambling (other than Object Shift, cf. the discussion in 4.3.2.4).

In the discussion on so-called ‘discontinuous’ phrases, I have shown that it is reasonable that many of those phrases deserve a different analysis than previously proposed. Even though this might not be obvious in all of the cases I have discussed, it is clear that the examples discussed in e.g. Faarlund (1990a) are not very frequent and that they should not give reason to assume that Old Norse is a non-configurational language. Similar constructions can be found in e.g. Modern Icelandic, Modern Norwegian or Modern German, all languages being considered configurational.

4.8 Old Norse Word Order - Summary

In this chapter, I have investigated Old Norse word order and documented aspects of its great variety. Even though it has been claimed that Old Norse is a non-configurational language (cf. e.g. Faarlund 1990a and elsewhere), I have showed that Old Norse can be analyzed by means of **binary branching hierarchical structures**. In the present framework, there are clearly far more reasons for claiming that **Old Norse is configurational** than for the opposite.

One central topic of the discussion has been the definition of the Old Norse subject category. I have argued that, in addition to nominative subjects, we also have to accept so-called ***oblique*, i.e. non-nominative, subjects** in Old Norse in the same way as, for instance, in Modern Icelandic. This fact is, in my opinion, very important for any discussion on word order and information structure in Old Norse. Not accepting oblique subjects would force us to come up with a lot of 'explanations' for seemingly 'fronted' oblique phrases, both in the topic position and in the middle field. Such explanations would have to take into account pragmatic features to a much greater extent than subject movement and subject promotion usually would require. Hence, there is nothing 'strange' about the following Old Norse example quoted by Faarlund (1990a:115):

(1) *Var þeim gefinn dagverðr*
was them-D given lunch-N
'They were given lunch' (Heimskringla)

other than possibly that there is an empty topic position. The relative order of the pronoun (*þeim*) and the full NP *dagverðr* is, of course, "in accordance with the information structure: the dative phrase is an anaphoric pronoun and thus carries given information, whereas the nominative NP carries new information and comes at the end of the sentence" (Faarlund 1990a:116). However, no extraordinary movement operation is necessary to get the desired information structure. Of course, there is a **passive formation** suppressing the Agent and providing that the topic is also the (oblique) surface subject and that the new information appears at the end. The nominative object is, on the other hand, not *moved* to the end, on the contrary, it is located in its base position, which it the complement position of the verb. The surface subject is moved to a position at the beginning of the clause, but that position is a structural position [Spec, IP] where all surface subjects are supposed to move unless the position is filled by *pro*.[1] The surface subject *þeim* precedes the object *dagverðr* also in deep structure. Hence, no extraordinary operation is needed to achieve a certain information structure from this constellation. There is only proper subject movement to [Spec, IP] and verb movement to C (the finite verb) and the higher V position (the main verb), respectively, cf. the following tree structure:

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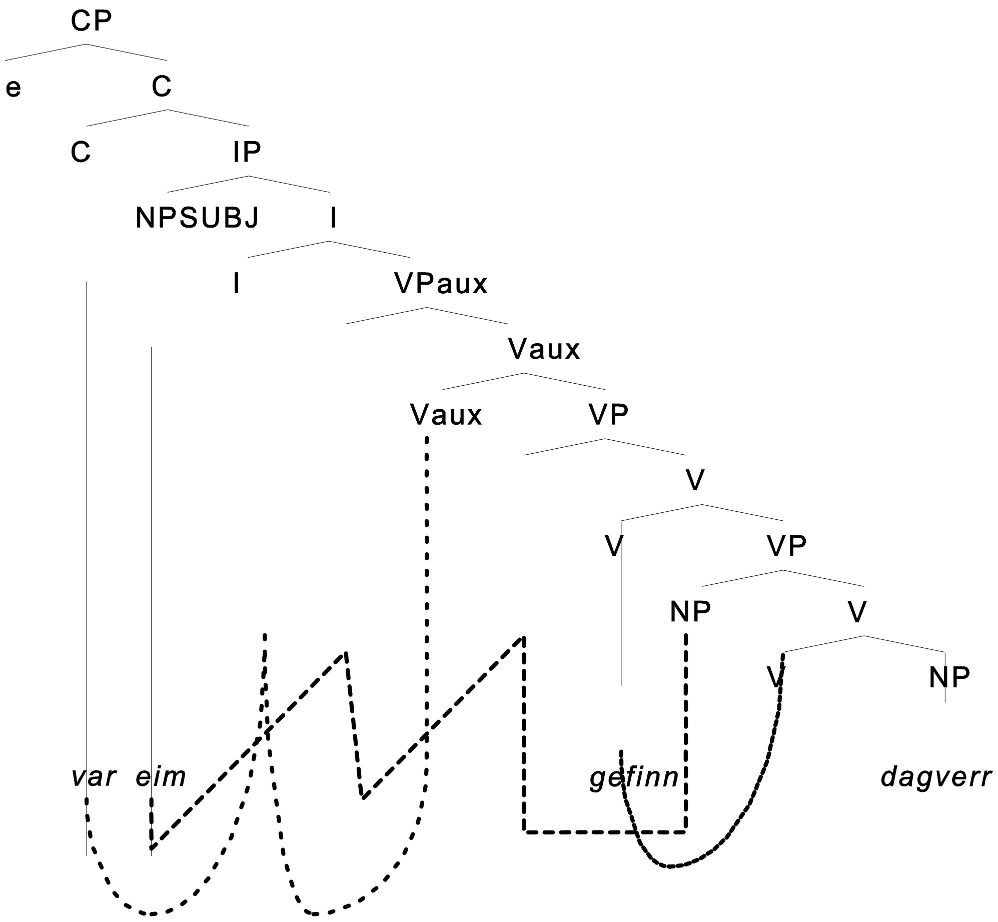
[1] After having moved to [Spec, IP], the surface subject may, of course, move further to [Spec, CP].



(1)

Claiming that the nominative phrase is the subject, on the other hand, would lead us to ‘seek’ for an explanation for the apparent ‘right dislocation’ (for instance, a ‘focus rule’, cf. e.g. Faarlund 1985a and elsewhere) and the movement of the supposed dative ‘object’ into the middle field. Of course, structural ‘dilemmas’ like this could be avoided by claiming non-configurationality. However, the situation is quite easily accounted for within the present approach as is the **passive formation**.

A second important point of the discussion has been the promotion of internal arguments to surface subject when there is no agentive subject candidate base-generated in (the higher) [Spec, VP]. The present account has been rather heavily based on **theta hierarchy**, thus, involving a *semantic* component (see e.g. 4.2). I have argued that the thematic hierarchy of the arguments is directly projected into the syntactic deep structure. One might argue that this would weaken the structural definition of argument positions. However, in most cases, the assumed thematic hierarchy appears to be able to account for the observed structures. In other cases, theta hierarchy seems, in fact, to be the only possible solution to explain ‘unexpected’ structures as, for instance, nominative subjects in passive of double object constructions. In those constructions, the nominative argument is usually the complement of the verb, whereas it is the dative specifier that is promoted to surface subject (cf. example (1) above). When the deep-structure position of the nominal arguments is identified, subject and object candidates are identified, too. What is important with respect to surface structure is the fact that the external argument (the Agent subject) cannot occupy any internal position, whereas internal arguments may occupy any possible surface-subject position when they are promoted to subject. This cannot be accounted for by theories based on pragmatic features only. Furthermore, non-configurationality by itself would not be able to predict this either. On the contrary, non-configurationality should in principle allow arguments to occur in any position.

I have argued that **Old Norse is a so-called SVO language**, i.e. (S)VO being the underlying basic word order (cf. also chapter 2). SVO is, in most cases, also the unmarked surface word order. That means, if we would consider the order OVS a marked word-order pattern (which it would be in an SOV approach, too), defining the Old Norse subject as being nominative only would lead to a great number of ‘marked’ sentences in the Old Norse corpus. It would not seem very likely that a given language could exhibit a disproportionately greater frequency of ‘marked’ word order patterns for several hundred years. Old Norse should, therefore, not be considered functionally different from the modern Scandinavian languages. Thus, the following sentence (a) exhibits SVO, and so does sentence (b). The difference is only that in (b), the subject is a dative phrase, while in (a), it is nominative:

(2)	a.	***Hrafnkell***	*elskaði*	*ei*	*annað*	*goð*	*meir*	*en*	*Frey* (Hrafn 1397)
		Hrafnkel$_{\text{SUBJ-NOM}}$	loved	not	other	god	more	than	Frey

‘Hrafnkel did not love any other god more than he loved Frey’

b. ***Þorgilsi*** *líkar illa við Eirík* (Flóam 757)
Thorgils$_{\text{SUBJ-DAT}}$ likes badly with Eirik
'Thorgils does not like Eirik very much'

Subsequently, I assume ordinary conjunction reduction in the following example, and not some kind of *pro*-drop in the strict sense:

(3) *Þetta líkar þrælnum illa og* _ *veitir Gísla tilræði* (GíslS 852)
this likes thrall$_{\text{DAT-SUBJi}}$ badly and _$_{\text{(NOM-SUBJ)i}}$ gives Gisli attack
'The thrall did not like this very much and (he) attacked Gisli'

Argument drop has also been discussed (4.6), the conclusion being that most cases of 'empty' arguments actually seem to be cases of **Topic Drop** or **Conjunction Reduction** rather than *Pro*-drop. Clear instances of ***Pro*-drop** are assumed to be licensed by free discourse indexing (cf. Sigurðsson 1993).

Another important topic of the discussion has been the claim that Old Norse allows **Scrambling** (4.3.2.4). By referring to Scrambling, most of the overt so-called 'remnants of SOV' in Old Norse are explained by means of left adjunction, i.e. movement into the middle field instead of base-generation. Other OV patters, then, may be due to **Stylistic Fronting** (4.7) as it is also found in Modern Icelandic. The following examples (b) and (c), then, exhibit Scrambling and are not really 'remnants of SOV', if SOV is understood as an alternative base-generated word order:[2]

(4) a. *Nú vildi eg þitt liðsinni til þiggja að sækja til*
now wanted I your help to beg to seek to

þings og verja málið ***með kappi*** *fyrir Guðmundi* (LjósC 1669)
thing and defend$_{\text{Vmain}}$ case-the$_{\text{OBJ}}$ [with combat]$_{\text{PP}}$ for Gudmund
'Now, I want to ask you for your help to go to the thing and defend the case with fight against Gudmund'

b. *Nú mun eg gera þér á þessu miklu betra kost,*
now will eg do you on this much better condition

ef þú vilt ***með kappi*** *verja landið þitt* (Egla 508)
if you will [with combat]$_{\text{PP}}$ defend$_{\text{Vmain}}$ [land-the yours]$_{\text{OBJ}}$
'Now, I will give you much better conditions if you are willing to defend your country with fight'

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[2] See the discussion in 4.3.2.4 for a discussion on the status of the two NPs in (c).

c. ... *þá mun eg* ***þetta mál*** ***ekki*** ***með kappi*** *verja* (Grett 996)
... then will I [this case]$_{OBJ}$ not$_{SA?}$ [with combat]$_{PP}$ defend$_{Vmain}$
'... then I will not defend this case with fight'

The phenomenon of Scrambling is a much debated issue in the linguistic literature and there is still much work to be done since there seem to be different Scrambling phenomena that might deserve different explanations (e.g. Scrambling versus the more restricted variant Object Shift, and Scrambling versus Stylistic Fronting). Old Norse, being an SVO language, is an excellent candidate for the investigation of Scrambling since the non-finite verb usually can be used as an indicator of the left VP 'edge'. I.e., in many cases, Scrambling is easier to observe than, for instance, in an SOV language like German. Also, it is natural and fruitful to compare Old Norse to Modern Icelandic as a non-scrambling (or 'semi-scrambling'?) language.

As for the distinction between languages in which "main clause word order primarily correlates with pragmatic factors" and those languages in which "order primarily correlates with grammatical relations or other syntactic factors" (cf. the discussion in section 2.2 and 4.1), the discussion in this chapter has shown that it is reasonable to assume that **Old Norse belongs to those languages in which order primarily correlates with grammatical relations or other syntactic factors**. However, Old Norse, like e.g. also Modern German, allows Scrambling, i.e. those languages have the possibility to 'reorder' the surface order of arguments to a much greater extent than, for instance, Modern Icelandic or Modern Norwegian. Scrambling in Modern German is, in most cases, considered *optional*. If Scrambling is optional, the order of arguments would not *primarily* be determined by pragmatic factors. On the other hand, the surface structure usually (of course) *correlates* with pragmatic factors. That means that any distinction between languages in which word order *correlates* with pragmatic factors on the one hand or grammatical relations and syntactic factors on the other hand, might not be a suitable distinction in the case of Old Norse (or any other language). Usually, the word order correlates both with grammatical relations/syntactic factors and pragmatic factors. On the other hand, a construction like e.g. **Subject Shift** (which is possible in Modern Icelandic too, but not in Modern German), seems to be a *pragmatically* determined structure where a non-topical Agent may appear at the end of the clause, i.e. at the opposite side of where it (usually) would be expected to be in accordance with grammatical relations and syntactic factors. As I will discuss in chapter 5 (see also Haugan 1998b), however, this particular construction might be explained by referring to 'grammatical role depriving' and syntactic factors after all (even though such a suggestion may seem rather speculative and controversial).

To the extent syntax allows for it, the **surface word order will always correlate with pragmatic factors**. This is an important feature of human language with syntax as its 'tool'. On the other hand, if it is true that Stylistic Fronting in Modern Icelandic and Old Norse has no or little influence on the actual information structure of a clause (as Modern Icelandic studies seem to show), this would indicate that syntax may 'function' *independently* of pragmatic factors, i.e. cliticization would be a purely *technical* effect and not a pragmatic effect. I take this as evidence for the claim that Old Norse word order first of all is determined by syntax. One goal for future research, then, would be to find out more about the nature of Scrambling. The minimalist approach might be on the right track by assuming PF versus LF movement to certain functional positions determined by 'weak' or 'strong' features, even though this has not been discussed in the present work. However, since human language is communicative interaction, pragmatic factors will, of course, also have to be taken into consideration when discussing word order. This will be the main topic of the next chapter.

PART 2:
WORD ORDER AND INFORMATION STRUCTURE

5 Old Norse Information Structure

5.1 Preliminaries

In the previous sections I have mainly been concerned with the syntactic component of Old Norse. In the following discussion on information structure, I will look more closely at some pragmatic factors that may determine the surface word order of Old Norse clauses. Various aspects of the information structure have already been mentioned in connection with the discussion on surface word order of arguments compared to their deep structure positions. In this chapter I will first of all concentrate on the relative order of the verb and its complements. I have argued that Old Norse is an (S)VO language and that (S)OV patterns are derived by movement (Scrambling). The following discussion aims at providing further arguments for a Scrambling account of Old Norse word-order variety based on functional/pragmatic considerations.

In section 4.8, I claimed that Old Norse belongs to those languages in which word order **primarily** correlates with grammatical relations or other syntactic factors. By that, I mean that the nominal arguments are projected into deep structure in accordance with the thematic hierarchical relations between them. For instance, *gefa*-verbs (usually) project the order Agent - Beneficiary - Theme. According to the discussions in the previous sections, this thematic deep-structure order of arguments will also be the (relative) surface argument order (after the possible movement operations demanded by the syntactic component). However, pragmatic factors may change this default order. In the present approach, this is regarded as a **secondary** correlation, On the other hand, if we assume that a clause usually, or in most cases, starts with so-called *given* or *old* information (at least in the languages regarded in this work), whereas new information tends to occur closer to the end of the clause, and if there is a relation between human and non-human arguments, where human arguments tend to be Agents and non-human arguments non-Agents (as e.g. discussed in 4.2), there will often also be an 'inherent' correlation corresponding to the pragmatic situation. It is, thus, not always easy to determine whether some word order pattern should be considered structurally motivated or pragmatically motivated. As mentioned before, syntactic factors are here regarded as the *tool* for pragmatic correlation. Correlation with pragmatic factors can be achieved in different ways by changing the structural conditions. For instance, when there is a 'mismatch' between the pragmatic and the syntactic factors regarding the relation Agent - Beneficiary - Theme, there are several possible structural ways of accommodating. According to the thematic hierarchy, there will be a straightforward distribution of the arguments, e.g.:

(1) *Ölvir* *hafði gefið Gunnari* *sverð* *gott* (Njála 156)
Olvir$_{\text{AGENT-SUBJ}}$ had given Gunnar$_{\text{BEN-IO}}$ [swordgood]$_{\text{THM-DO}}$
'Olve had given Gunnar a good sword'

The surface order of arguments in this example is in accordance with the deep-structure distribution. Nothing 'special' has 'happened' to the base structure other than the subject has moved to [Spec, CP] via [Spec, IP]. Movement of the subject to [Spec, IP] is obligatory according to syntactic factors unless a *pro*-element is inserted. Usually, a main clause also has a phrase in the so-called topic position [Spec, CP], quite often, this phrase would be the subject.

Verb-first clauses (V1 Declaratives, Narrative Inversion)

In the modern Scandinavian languages, there is a syntactic demand for a phrase in [Spec, CP] since those languages are strictly V2 (stylistically motivated exceptions are possible, though, especially in Modern Icelandic, as mentioned before). In Old Norse, there seems to be no such syntactic demand for a lexical phrase filling the topic position, i.e. there may be so-called *V1 Declaratives*, e.g.:

(2) *Vil* *eg* *nú* *gefa* *þér* *sverðið* (Grett 974)
_$_{\text{[SPEC-CP]}}$ will I$_{\text{AGENT-SUBJ}}$ now give you$_{\text{BEN-IO}}$ sword-the$_{\text{THM-DO}}$
'I will now give the sword to you'

Note that the order of arguments is still in accordance with the grammatical relations. However, intuitively, it seems that the Agent is not that much in the 'foreground' as in example (1).

Looking at the context of (2) may tell us more about the empty topic position:

(3) *Hún tók þá undan skikkju sinni sverð búið. Það var allgóður gripur. Hún mælti þá: "Sverð þetta átti Jökull föðurfaðir minn og hinir fyrri Vatnsdælir og var þeim sigursælt. Vil eg nú gefa þér sverðið og njót vel."* (Grett 974)
'Then she took a well-prepared sword from underneath her cloak. It was a very precious thing. She said then: "This sword belonged to Jokull, my grandfather and the old Vatnsdales, and they had many victories. Now I will give the sword to you; may it be of great use to you"'

According to this context, I assume that *þér* in (2) is accented, *þér* being related to the previous owners *Jökull föðurfaðir minn og hinir fyrri Vatnsdælir*. I doubt that this assumption is very controversial. But there may be a question regarding the status of the subject *eg* in this constellation. For instance, the subject might actually be accented too, e.g.:[1]

(4)		*Vil*	***EG***	*nú*	*gefa*	***ÞÉR***	*sverðið* (Grett 974)
	$\_{\text{SPEC-CP}}$	will	$\text{I}_{\text{AGENT-SUBJ}}$	now	give	$\text{you}_{\text{BEN-IO}}$	$\text{sword-the}_{\text{THM-DO}}$

'I will now give the sword to you'

That means, when the topic position [Spec, CP] remains empty and the subject stays in place in this particular example, this might indicate that this is, in some way, a 'marked' constellation where the subject is kept closer to the (main) verb and the possible default focus area.[2] On the other hand, verb-first sentences are very (not to say extremely) common in Old Norse, and one could therefore also consider them 'unmarked' (cf. e.g. Heusler 1967:173); at least the subject is probably not focused.[3] It seems that when there is a clear discourse referent for a sequence or a paragraph, this discourse referent may, when it is the subject of a clause, remain in [Spec, IP] when there is no other candidate for the topic position. Consider also the following example:

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[1] I will use capital letters to indicate accented phrases.

[2] The type of focus on the subject in this particular sentence would have to be a *Contrastive Focus* (cf. e.g. Lambrecht 1994:286ff.; also e.g. Halliday 1967:206; Chafe 1976; Schmerling 1976:ch. 4). However, there is probably no *positional* demand on Contrastive Focus.

[3] See, however the discussion on the examples (19)-(23) below. The situation may be a little different when the subject is the only nominal argument present. See also Sigurðsson (1990:47): "With respect to function and distribution in discourse, declarative V1 is clearly a marked construction. But syntactically, it is a subtype of main-clause declaratives that are not subject initial."

(5)	***Gaf***	*Þorbjörn*	*mönnum*	*gjafir*	*og*	***var***	*veislu*	*brugðið*	*eftir*
	gave$_{V}$	Thorbjorn$_{SUBJ}$	men	gifts	and	was$_{V}$	feast$_{SUBJ}$	ended	after
	þetta	*og*	***fóru***	*menn*	*heim*	*til*	*heimkynna*	*sinna*	(Eirík 522)
	this	and	went$_{V}$	men	home	to	homes	their	

‘Thorbjorn gave gifts to the men and after that, the feast was ended and the men went home’

There is no reason to believe that any of the three subjects above is accented only because of the fact that it follows the finite verb and there is no phrase in the topic position. Note that the same structure could be generated in Modern Norwegian by filling the topic position with an adverbial *så* (‘so/then’):

(6)	***Så***	*gav*	*Torbjörn*	*mennene*	*gåver,*	*og*	***så***	*vart*	*gjestebodet*
	so	gave$_{V}$	Thorbjorn$_{SUBJ}$	men-the	gifts	and	so	was	feast$_{SUBJ}$
	avslutta	*(etter*	*dette),*	*og*	***så***	*fór*	*mennene*	*heim*	*(til seg sjølve)*
	ended	(after	this)	and	so	went	men-the$_{SUBJ}$	home	(to them selves)

‘Then, Thorbjorn gave gifts to the men and after that, the feast was ended, and then the men went home’

A construction like this would probably be considered very immature language (typical for child language). However, this would be a purely *stylistic* valuation only - syntactically, there is nothing ‘wrong’ with (6). Obviously, the construction is used in continuing discourse when there is no ‘natural’ constituent for the topic position.[4]

Platzack (1985) discusses verb-first declarative clauses in Old Icelandic and finds no reason to claim any typological differences compared to the Germanic V2 languages with respect to basic word order. He states that

> the interest [for the use of VS-sentences] has not so much to do with the grammatical structure of the language as with the use of one of the structures permitted by the grammar of the language. It is in this regard that Icelandic seems to differ from the

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[4] Note e.g. Sigurðsson’s (1990:62) suggestions about a null operator in [Spec, CP]:

> It is hardly a coincidence either that I-to-C is largely confined to questions and preposing of negated constituents in English. On the assumption that V1 questions have a [+WH] null operator in [SPEC, CP], this would seem to suggest that there is some inherent relation between hosting operators in [SPEC,CP] and raising of [+Tense] to COMP, possibly such that the scope or the binding of the operator must be transmitted by a [+Tense] element that m-commands or governs it. It is unclear why I-to-C in “syntax proper” (i.e., not LF) is largely limited to constructions with operators that are marked [+WH] or [+Neg] in English, but if this is on the right track, it indicates that NI clauses in Icelandic and Yiddish have a null operator in [SPEC, CP], responsible for their special “functional semantic” (see Diesing, 1987, on Yiddish).

> other Germanic languages: the VS-order not only signals direct questions, but it may, under appropriate circumstances, also be used to express statements. (Platzack 1985:141)

Sigurðsson (1988a:6) comments that verb-first clauses (Narrative Inversion) "is typical of (written) Icelandic narrations, modern as well as old, but not common in the spoken language". In Sigurðsson (1990) Modern Icelandic verb-first clauses are investigated a little more thoroughly. However, the conclusion with respect to structural properties is the same, i.e. verb-first declaratives involve double verb raising, just like "normal" declaratives. With respect to functional properties Sigurðsson (1990:45) states that:

> Declarative V1 orders in main clauses are, in general, prompted by strong discourse cohesion (or continuity, see Kossuth, 1981). Accordingly, they cannot initiate the discourse and most common in particular cohesive texts, such as modern memories of various sorts, narrative letters and diaries, some argumentative texts, many folktales, and most of the Old Icelandic sagas.

Furthermore, Sigurðsson (ibid.) states that the term *discourse cohesion*

> seems to involve various factors, such as "presupposition," "maintained situation," "consequence," "explanation," and even "cause." For NI [Narrative Inversion], a high degree of subject topicality is important, as pointed out by some authors (e.g., Kossuth, 1980:134; 1981:97).

Even though verb-first clauses are quite interesting with respect to information structure and functional properties, I will not discuss verb-first clauses in detail in the present work (see e.g. Christoffersen 1993a/b; Heusler 1967:173ff.; Kossuth 1978b, 1980, 1981; Nygaard 1900, 1905:345ff.; Platzack 1987; Rieger 1968; Sigurðsson 1983, 1990).[5]

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[5] See e.g. also the discussion in Haugan (1994:46ff., 159ff.) and the references to Modern German declarative V1 clauses (e.g. Önnerfors 1993, or Fries 1980, 1987, 1988a/b).

Inversion (Inverted DOC)

As discussed in section 4.2, *gefa*-verbs seem to allow *Inversion* (cf. the so-called inverted DOC), i.e. what usually is expected to be the ‘direct’ object may be base-generated in a position preceding the ‘indirect’ object. This is possible when the ‘indirect’ object may be analyzed as a Goal instead of a Beneficiary. Since this would be *base-generation*, I will disregard Inversion here. Note, however, that choosing a base-generated constellation to accommodate to pragmatic desires or demands can, of course, also be considered a functional and structural strategy. In the present chapter, however, I will be most interested in movement strategies that lead to surface structures that are not allowed or common in the modern Scandinavian languages. Both verb-first structures and Inversion are well-known structures in Modern Icelandic, whereas Scrambling is not possible.

Topicalization

As discussed above, in the examples (2)-(6) the order Agent - Beneficiary - Theme is maintained (as it is in (1)) even though the topic position is empty in (2)-(5). For the examples (2)-(5), it can be argued that there is some kind of *Null Topic* in [Spec, CP].[6] The topic position could otherwise be occupied by an adverbial phrase, or marginally by a non-finite verb, as e.g. in:

(7) *... og* ***gefa*** *vil eg þér Einar sverðið Jarðhússnaut því*
... and give$_i$ will I _$_i$ you Einar sword-the Jardhus’-property that

að ... (Flóam 764)
that ...
‘... and I will give you, Einar, the sword Jardhussnaut because ...’

The relative order of the nominal arguments would still not be changed. The order of arguments may, on the other hand, be changed by *Topicalization* of one of the internal arguments, e.g.:

Indirect Object:

(8) ***Þér son minn*** *vil eg gefa sverðið konungsnaut* (HallM 1220)
[you, son mine]$_i$ will I give _$_i$ sword-the king’s-property
‘To you, my son, I will give the sword Konungsnaut’

Direct Object:

(9) ***Sverð og kyrtil*** *vil eg gefa þér* (Flóam 738)
sword$_i$ and coat will I give you _$_i$
‘A sword and a coat I will give (to) you’

Topicalization is an operation that is clearly due to *pragmatic factors*. Since Topicalization is possible in all of the modern Scandinavian languages, I will not give this phenomenon much attention in this section.

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[6] It has also been claimed that V1 clauses do not have a ‘Front Field’ ([Spec, CP] position), e.g. Dürscheid (1989:10) or Molnár (1991:82).

Heavy NP Shift

I do not intend to say much about *Heavy NP Shift* either (see the discussion in 4.3.2.3), as, for instance, in the following example:[7]

(10) *... og vil eg Einar gefa þér nú* ***sverðið Jarðhússnaut***
... and will I Einar give you now || sword-the Jardhus'-thing
því að ... (FlóaV 774)
that that ...
'... and I will give you the sword Jardhussnaut now, Einar, because ...'

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[7] As mentioned before, *nú* ('now') might not be a good phrase to use when trying to determine word order. However, in this case, I chose to interpret *nú* as a temporal adverbial following the two internal arguments with the roles Beneficiary and Theme in deep structure, thus, here the Theme is considered extraposed. Compare this variant to (7) belonging to another fragment of the same saga.

Heavy NP Shift (or Extraposition) of the direct object is possible in the modern Scandinavian languages, too. Furthermore, as mentioned before, the indirect object can normally not be extraposed/shifted to the right whereas there is no such restriction on Topicalization of the indirect object.[8] Thus, there is a crucial difference between Topicalization and Heavy NP Shift since there are more structural restrictions on Heavy NP Shift than on Topicalization. Hence, compared to Topicalization, it seems that pragmatic factors do not have as much 'access' to this movement operation.

Subject Shift

Another movement operation is the phenomenon I have called *Subject Shift* in 4.3.1.3, e.g.:[9]

(11)	*... en*	*Arinbjörn*	*gaf*	*Agli*	*sverð*	*það*	*er*	*Dragvandill*
	... and	Arinbjorn	gave	Egil	[sword	that]	that$_{\text{REL}}$	Dragvandil

	hét.	*Það*	*hafði*	*gefið*	*Arinbirni*	***Þórólfur***	***Skalla-Grímsson*** (Egla 463/464)
	was-called.	that$_{\text{THM}}$	had	given	Arinbjorn$_{\text{BEN}}$	[Thorolf	Skalla-Grims-son]$_{\text{AGENT?}}$

'... and Arinbjorn gave Egil the sword named Dragvandil. That sword had Arinbjorn gotten from Thorolf Skallagrimsson'

This particular construction is not found in the Mainland-Scandinavian languages, whereas it is possible in Modern Icelandic. I have already discussed this phenomenon, but since I find it rather

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[8] The following example, then, would have to be explained by referring to the discussion on the *inverted DOC* in 4.2:

(i)	*Nú*	*mun*	*eg*	*gefa*	*nafn*	*landinu*	*og*	*kalla*	*Helluland* (GrænS 1099)
	now	will	I	give	name$_{\text{ACC}}$	land-the$_{\text{DAT}}$	and	call	Helluland

'Now I will give the land a name and call it Helluland'

[9] *Subject Shift* may perhaps not be an appropriate term. See the discussion below.

peculiar for several reasons, I will take a closer look at it below (5.3).

Scrambling

Finally, there is the possibility of moving internal phrases into the middle field, which is considered a *Scrambling* phenomenon (see 4.3.2.4). Modern Scandinavian has a restricted variant of this operation, usually called *Object Shift*, in clauses where the main verb has moved to I. In Mainland Scandinavian, normally only pronouns can be moved to the left, whereas it is possible to move full NPs in Modern Icelandic. In Old Norse, there is a much greater variety of phrases that can be moved to the left. Furthermore, Scrambling of an internal phrase is possible independently of whether it is the main verb or an auxiliary that has moved to I. Compare e.g.:

(12) a. *Eg skal gefa Katli grið* (Njála 332)
I shall give$_{V}$ Ketil$_{DAT}$ mercy$_{ACC}$
'I shall show mercy to Ketil'

b. *... en þeir mættu* ***grið*** *gefa honum ...* (Heið 1387)
... and they must mercy$_{ACCi}$ give$_{V}$ him$_{DAT}$ _$_{i}$ ...
'... and they would have to show mercy to him ...'

c. *... að eg vil* ***öllum yður grið*** *gefa skipverjum* (Laxd 1564)
... that I will [all you]$_{DATi}$ mercy$_{ACCj}$ give$_{V}$ [_$_{i}$ ship's men] _$_{j}$
'... that I will show mercy (grant safe-conduct) to all of you sailors'

In (b), the accusative argument (the direct object) has moved into the middle field, whereas both objects have moved in (c).[10] In (c) the relative order of arguments is still in accordance with the role hierarchy, whereas the constellation in (b) has changed with respect to the order of the indirect object and the direct object; this is, however, not due to Inversion. Intuitively, I would consider (c) very little marked, while I assume that the scrambled object in (b) is focused. I find it likely that the *Default Sentence Accent* (see below) is on the direct object in (a). In order to give the direct object a 'marked' focus, one could either topicalize it or extrapose it. However, extraposing it would not change the surface word order, hence, Scrambling could be one way of marking the direct object as focused. The Scrambling constellation in (c) is possibly a little more difficult to explain. I will discuss Scrambling in further detail below (5.4).

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[10] Note that one may claim that *öllum yður skipverjum* is one constituent, i.e. then, we would have a discontinuous phrase. I do not know how this works together with possible movement of the whole lower VP. Probably, one should assume that *skipverjum* is analyzed as an apposition.

Stylistic Fronting

Consider another example with a scrambled phrase (*engi grið*):

(13) *... að* ***þeim*** *skyldi engi grið gefa ...* (Harð 1291)
... that [*pro*] them$_{\text{DAT}}$ should$_{\text{Vfin}}$ [no mercy]$_{\text{ACC}}$ give
'... that they should not show mercy to them'

Additionally to the scrambled accusative object in the middle field, the dative object *þeim* has moved to left. As discussed in 4.7, this example would have to be analyzed as exhibiting *Stylistic Fronting*. The dative *þeim* is assumed to be cliticized to the finite verb in I, hence, this is neither Topicalization nor Scrambling.[11] Stylistic Fronting is made possible by the empty subject position [Spec, IP]. I assume that this is a more 'technical' operation than Topicalization or Scrambling. I will disregard the possibility that Stylistic Fronting might be triggered by pragmatic factors.

Passive

The discussion so far should have shown that the information structure or the surface structure of a clause may be accommodated in accordance with pragmatic factors by, for instance, Topicalization, Scrambling and possibly Extraposition in case the base-generated order of arguments is not in accordance with the pragmatic situation. However, as mentioned above, I assume that syntactic factors are a *tool* for pragmatic correlation. Correlation with pragmatic factors can, for instance, be achieved by moving an element out of a base-generated position into a position where it may get a certain interpretation. This can be done by Topicalization, Scrambling and Extraposition. On the other hand, correlation with pragmatic factors can also be achieved by changing the structural conditions in general. For instance, when there is a 'mismatch' between the pragmatic and the syntactic factors regarding the relation Agent - Beneficiary - Theme, there is also the possibility of 'removing' a role/argument. This can, for instance, be done by **Passive Formation** (cf. 4.3.3.1), e.g.:

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[11] As long as the term Scrambling is reserved for movement to a position to the left of [Spec, VP] and to the right of [Spec, IP] in Old Norse. Furthermore, Stylistic Fronting demands a subject gap which is not a necessary requirement for Scrambling.

(14) a. *Eg* *skal* *gefa* *Katli* *grið* (Njála 332)
I$_{\text{AGENT-SUBJ}}$ shall give Ketil$_{\text{BEN-DAT-OBJ}}$ mercy$_{\text{THM-ACC-OBJ}}$
'I shall show mercy to Ketil'

b. *Þorsteini* *voru* *grið* *gefin* (ÞorSH 2062)
Thorstein$_{\text{BEN-SUBJ}}$ was mercy$_{\text{THM-OBJ}}$ given ([by X$_{\text{AGENT}}$])
'It was shown mercy to Thorstein'

In (b), the Agent role cannot be assigned to an argument of the verb, hence, it cannot 'demand' subject status. In this case, the next highest role, i.e. the Benefactive, can be promoted to surface subject. The passive clause in (b) is, of course, in correlation with the pragmatic factors. However, it is also the 'unmarked' (default) realization of the structure in accordance with the thematic role hierarchy and the grammatical relations after passive formation, i.e. syntax actually provides a construction that fits the pragmatic correlations 'automatically'. Whereas a possible sentence:

(15) *Þorsteini* *gaf* *jarlinn* *grið* (ÞorSH 2062)
Thorstein$_{\text{BEN-OBJi}}$ gave earl-the$_{\text{AGENT-SUBJ}}$ _$_{\text{i}}$ mercy$_{\text{THM-OBJ}}$
'The earl showed mercy to Thorstein'

in most cases would be considered 'marked' in a special way, the passive sentence would normally yield an 'unmarked' word order in accordance with the given syntactic (and thematic) constellation. As far as passive formation also can be considered *word formation*, i.e. lexical accommodation to pragmatic factors, it must be mentioned that it in many cases would also be possible to choose a construction where the pragmatic correlations are accounted for in a different way than by passive transformation. For instance, the relation 'be given something' can also be expressed as e.g. 'get something', i.e. by a different verb that has no Agent in the first place, hence, nothing has to be suppressed. Consider e.g.:

(16) a. *... og gefur Börkur* ***mörgum*** ***manni*** *góðar* *gjafir* (GísL 924)
... and gives Bork$_{\text{AGENT-SUBJ}}$ [many men]$_{\text{BEN}}$ [good gifts]$_{\text{THM}}$
'... and Bork gives many men good gifts'

b. *Gjafar eru* ***yður*** *gefnar feðgum* (Njála 176)[12]
gifts$_{\text{THM-OBJ}}$ are you$_{\text{BEN-SUBJ}}$ given father-and-sons
'Gifts are given to you, father and the sons alike'

c. *... og* ***þú*** *hefir margar góðar gjafar af mér*
... and you$_{\text{BEN-SUBJ}}$ have [many good gifts]$_{\text{THM}}$ [of me]$_{\text{ADVBL}}$

þegið ... (BandM 19)
gotten ...
'... and you have gotten/received many good gifts from me'

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[12] This is the only passive example with *gefa* and *gjafar* that I have found in the corpus. As mentioned before (see the discussion in 4.3.3.1), in some cases, it is not so easy to determine what should be considered the subject when the Theme argument is fronted. In this particular example, I consider the Benefactive the subject (which in most cases would be the 'automatic' subject candidate). Also, I assume that the sentence is 'marked' with respect to the topicalized phrase, i.e. I assume that the sentence has an 'exclamatory' character where *gjafar* is focused. This would strengthen the assumption that the Benefactive is the subject (subjects are in most cases not focused). A better example for the point I try to make here would be e.g.:

(i) *... og segir að* ***þeim*** *eru gefnir báðum gripirnir* (GísL 917)
... and says that them$_{\text{BEN-SUBJ}}$ are given both gifts-the$_{\text{THM-OBJ}}$
'... and says that the gifts had been given to both of them'

The difference between (b) and (c) is first of all that the passive participle of *gefa* ('give') has an active counterpart which would have an Agent subject, whereas the ergative verb *þiggja* ('get') assigns no Agent role in the first place (*af mér* would have to be analyzed as a Source). Apart from that, both constructions would provide a subject other than the/an Agent. In both cases, it seems that the Benefactive is promoted to surface subject. However, as discussed in 4.3.3.1 and 4.3.3.2, it looks like it might be possible to 'switch' the relation between the 'indirect' object and the 'direct' object'.[13] I.e. in some cases, it seems that the argument that in most cases would be the Theme argument is assigned a higher role than the Beneficiary. Or alternatively, that the Beneficiary is assigned a lower role than the Theme. Such apparent 'role switch' may complicate the analysis sometimes, but it seems well motivated in certain cases (for instance, in the alternation between active 'marry somebody to somebody' and passive 'be(come)/get married to somebody' discussed in 4.3.3.1 or Haugan 1988c).

In most cases, the subject will also be the (or one) topic of a clause. The first position may then be used to 'mark' that the subject is actually not the (or the main) topic, or that the topicalized phrase has a certain status, e.g. focus. To 'avoid' structural mismatches, then, alternative realizations can be chosen, as for instance, passive or a verb with different subcategorization properties.

On the background of what is said above, it appears that pragmatic correlation very often is resolved by 'inherent' syntactic factors, i.e. by choosing a base construction that more or less automatically fits the pragmatic requirements. Topicalization (of a non-subject) and Scrambling (and possibly Extraposition) would in most cases be means of overtly marking that a moved element should be interpreted in connection with pragmatic factors to a somewhat greater extent than the base-generated order of arguments would show.

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[13] I.e. specifier and complement may change place.

The aim of this work has first of all been to determine the general *syntactic* construction of Old Norse, i.e. the syntactic system that underlies actual surface realizations of grammatical relations. As long as we choose to believe that a given utterance is based on some kind of syntactic basic structure (a deep structure), determining this basic structure must be one of the first necessary steps in order to find out more about possible pragmatic factors that may influence surface word order. For instance, postulating **oblique subjects** in Old Norse is, according to the present theory, very important in a discussion on information structure in Old Norse. As I have tried to show in the previous chapter, it seems that the syntactic system handles subjects differently than objects. In most cases, a surface subject has to move at least to [Spec, IP] due to *syntactic* factors (e.g. the Extended Projection Principle). Given the assumption that 'old/given' information tends to appear relatively early in the clause (at least in the Germanic languages), the subject is 'inherently' expected to represent 'old' information. On the other hand, when the subject has not moved overtly to [Spec, IP], this would be a rather strong sign telling us that the subject does not necessarily have the expected features in a particular clause. Oblique subjects in Old Norse behave syntactically and pragmatically more or less like 'nominative' subjects in Modern Norwegian. This is what we would expect them to do. There is, on the other hand, no *syntactic* requirement for an object to move to [Spec, CP], when there is a subject in the clause (unless possibly the V2 demand).[14]

In the discussion in chapter 4, I analyzed Old Norse within the framework of Government and Binding. I believe that most word order patters in Old Norse can be accounted for within a theory with binary branching tree structures. Claiming non-configurationality would have to put much more weight on pragmatic factors, i.e. in many cases, this would yield 'undesired' results. For instance, one would probably have to claim that Stylistic Fronting is due to pragmatic factors, which it seemingly is not according to the literature on Stylistic Fronting in Modern Icelandic (see 4.7). Also, oblique subjects would have a different status in a non-configurational analysis (e.g. Faarlund 1990a and elsewhere). One conclusion may then, for instance, be that one observes differences between Modern Norwegian subjects and Old Norse subjects, cf. e.g.:

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[14] Object Shift in Modern Scandinavian may, on the other hand, be due to syntactic factors; at least when it is obligatory (see 4.3.2.4). Also Stylistic Fronting in Modern Icelandic and Old Norse seems to be a syntactic rather than a pragmatic phenomenon.

> The kind of drift we can observe in the transition from the Old Norse nonconfigurational structure to the modern Norwegian configurational structure is a drift towards a more prototypical subject category. (Faarlund 1990a:133)

According to the analysis proposed in chapter 4, there is no such drift to a more "prototypical" subject category. Old Norse has to obey the Extended Projection Principle in the same way as e.g. Modern Norwegian, the only difference being that Modern Norwegian must have an *overt* expletive subject in [Spec, IP] when the 'logical' subject has not moved overtly, whereas there is no such demand for an overt phrase in [Spec, IP] in Old Norse, hence, Old Norse is assumed to have a *pro*-expletive. As shown in chapter 4, as long as the same/corresponding phrases are compared, the discourse properties are usually the same, whereas comparing the Old Norse *nominative* with a Modern Norwegian *expletive subject* would yield an 'undesired' result (see e.g. Faarlund 1990a:112ff. and elsewhere).

My discussion on functional aspects of Old Norse word order will, thus, always be related to underlying *syntactic* factors.

Below, I will first discuss some of the terminology I will use in the discussion on Old Norse information structure (5.2). Subsequently, I will take a closer look at constructions with phrases that seemingly look like 'right dislocated subject' (5.3), and finally, I will discuss some functional aspects of Scrambling in Old Norse (5.4).

5.2 Terminology and General Discussion

During the discussion on Old Norse syntax in chapter 4, I used functional/pragmatic terms such as *Topic* and *Focus*, *Old* and *New Information* etc. rather loosely and intuitively. In order to be more specific about some possible thematic 'label' one may put on a certain phrase, those terms have to be discussed in greater detail. I have, however, not the intention to extend the discussion below to cover the whole relevant field of functional grammar, i.e. references to relevant literature and discussions will be rather limited compared to the references I provided to literature on syntax. Also, I will not always reflect very much on whether an adopted functional term or analysis is appropriate compared to the claims of other works. The theoretical base for my discussion will be the view on information structure as it is presented in Lambrecht (1994). Lambrecht's work is based on the observation that:

> the structure of a sentence reflects in systematic and theoretically interesting ways a speaker's assumptions about the hearer's state of knowledge and consciousness at the time of an utterance. This relationship between speaker assumptions and the formal structure of the sentence is taken to be governed by rules and conventions of sentence grammar, in a grammatical component which I will call INFORMATION STRUCTURE, using the term introduced by Halliday (1967). In the information-structure component of language, propositions as conceptual representations of states of affairs undergo pragmatic structuring according to the utterance contexts in which these states of affairs are to be communicated. Such PRAGMATICALLY STRUCTURED PROPOSITIONS are then expressed as formal objects with morphosyntactic and prosodic structure. (Lambrecht 1994:xiii).[15]

According to Lambrecht (1994:xiv),

> the study of information structure requires an analysis not only of the SYNTAGMATIC relations between the elements of a sentence but also, and importantly, of the ASSOCIATIVE relations between different sentence structures as they are stored in the

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[15] Lambrecht (1994:5) also defines information structure more concretely:

> INFORMATION STRUCTURE: That component of sentence grammar in which propositions as conceptual representations of states of affairs are paired with lexicogrammatical structures in accordance with the mental states of interlocutors who use and interpret these structures as units of information in given discourse contexts.

memory of speakers and hearers.

Lambrecht's account of the information-structure component of grammar involves basically an analysis of four independent but interrelated sets of categories.

The first set is that of **propositional information**. As Lambrecht (1994:5) puts it, "the information structure of a sentence is the formal expression of the pragmatic structuring of a proposition in discourse". When a proposition has undergone pragmatic structuring, it is called a *pragmatically structured proposition*, its components being **pragmatic presupposition** and **pragmatic assertion**. Propositions may thus be structured into "portions which an addressee already knows or does not yet know" (Lambrecht 1994:6), i.e. this corresponds to what commonly is referred to the structuring of propositions into **'old' and 'new' information**.

The second set of categories, according to Lambrecht, is that of **identifiability** and **activation**. These terms are connected to the speaker's assumptions about the status of the mental representations of discourse referents in the addressee's mind at the time of an utterance.

The third category is that of **topic**, which has to do with the pragmatic relation of aboutness between discourse referents and propositions in given discourse contexts.

The fourth category is that of **focus**, defined as that element in a pragmatically structured propositions whereby the assertion differs from the presupposition and which makes the utterance informative.

Topic and focus, according to Lambrecht, depend on a speaker's assessment of the relative predictability vs. unpredictability of the relations between propositions and their elements in given discourse situations. Each of the four categories or sets of categories are assumed to correlate directly with structural properties of the sentence. I will come back to a discussion on those terms below.

The following quotation from Lambrecht (1994:6) basically accords with what I have said about Old Norse syntax and possible alternative overt representation above. Furthermore, some thoughts are expressed more explicitly:

> Information structure is formally manifested in aspects of prosody, in special grammatical markers, in the form of syntactic (in particular nominal) constituents, in the position and ordering of such constituents in the sentence, in the form of complex grammatical constructions, and in certain choices between related lexical items.

> Information structure thus intervenes at all meaning-bearing levels of the grammatical system. Information-structure analysis is centered on the comparison of semantically equivalent but formally and pragmatically divergent sentence pairs, such as active vs. passive, canonical vs. topicalized, canonical vs. clefted or dislocated, subject-accented vs. predicate-accented sentences, etc. Using a term introduced by Daneš (1966), I will refer to such sentence pairs as pairs of ALLOSENTENCES. Differences in the information structure of sentences are always understood in terms of contrasts between allosentences, i.e. against the background of available but unused grammatical alternatives for expressing a given proposition.

Regarding **markedness** in information structure, during the discussion in chapter 4 (and elsewhere) I have occasionally called a certain structure ‘marked’, i.e. I assume that Old Norse has a *pragmatically unmarked constituent order*, at least for sentences with full lexical arguments. Lambrecht (1994:15) claims the same for English, French and Italian, the unmarked word order being Subject - Verb - Object, i.e. SVO (see also the discussion in chapter 2). Lambrecht (ibid.) also assumes that English, French and Italian have a *pragmatically unmarked sentence-accent position*, which is claimed to be clause-final (or near-final, if the clause contains ‘deaccented’ post-focal material). Even though Old Norse is a so-called ‘dead’ language (cf. 4.1.3), i.e. there exists no native speaker of Old Norse, I assume that the pragmatically unmarked sentence-accent position is clause-final (or near-final) in Old Norse, too. Beyond that, any comments on possible focus constituents must, of course, be assumption and speculation only. On the other hand, based on observed contextual relations, such speculation seems to be fruitful to a certain degree. Especially if the observations can be combined with theory-internal factors. For instance, if we can observe that ‘old’ information frequently precedes ‘new’ information in Old Norse, this being correlated with a clause-initial subject and a clause-final object, this would indicate that the *subject* has a **topic relation** and the *object* a **focus relation** to the proposition. The *unmarked information-structure sequence* for lexical arguments is thus **topic - focus** (cf. Lambrecht 1994:16).[16] Lambrecht (ibid.) makes it clear that assuming that languages have a pragmatically unmarked (or canonical) constituent order and an unmarked focus-accent position is not the same as saying that sentences having these formal properties are 'pragmatically neutral'. In order to justify the term ***markedness*** concerning the pragmatic markedness status of grammatical structures, Lambrecht (1994:17) states the following general rule:

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[16] The pragmatic status of non-argument constituents, in particular of the verb, is ignored - see Lambrecht (1994:16, 264ff.).

(17) given a pair of allosentences, one member is pragmatically unmarked if it serves two discourse functions while the other member serves only one of them. While the marked member is positively specified for some pragmatic feature, the unmarked member is neutral with respect to this feature.

To illustrate this rule, Lambrecht (ibid.) provides a pair of allosentences:

(18) a. *She likes GERMANS*
b. *It is GERMANS that she likes*

While the (a)-sentence is unmarked for the feature 'argument focus', the clefted counterpart is marked for this feature. According to Lambrecht, the (a)-sentence, being the 'canonical' version, may be construed with a broad (or 'normal') and with a narrow (or 'contrastive') focus reading, i.e. the sentences may be used to answer either the question 'What kind of person is she?' or a question such as 'Does she like Americans or Germans?'. The clefted allosentence, on the other hand, only permits the narrow focus reading, i.e. "while the former can be used in the reading of the latter, the latter cannot be used in one of the readings of the former" (Lambrecht, ibid.). A marked member of a given pair of allosentences may be the unmarked member of another pair (see Lambrecht, ibid.).

The constituent order SV(O) with a clause-final focus-accent position may be considered 'pragmatically unmarked' in English, French and Italian, and probably also in Old Norse. This means that "this pattern has greater DISTRIBUTIONAL FREEDOM than alternative patterns and, as a corollary, that it has greater overall frequency of occurrence" (Lambrecht 1994:17). However, Lambrecht makes it clear that by this, it is not implied that 'marked' patterns are somehow 'stylistically remarkable' or 'abnormal'. In this context, it is very interesting that Lambrecht refers to ergative/unaccusative verbs in Italian, where VS order often is perceived to be more natural than SV order, when no context is provided. This is, then, compared to English sentences with focus-initial prosody like *My CAR broke down* or *Her FATHER died*, which are considered more natural (in the absence of contextual clues) than sentences with focus-final prosody like *My car broke DOWN* or *Her father DIED*. Lambrecht (1994:18) explains this by assuming that certain propositional contents are most frequently expressed under certain pragmatic circumstances. A structure like *Her father died* is assumed to be more often used to announce the death of a previously unmentioned individual (yielding subject accentuation) than as a comment in a conversation in which the individual is already the topic under discussion (yielding predicate accentuation). This is, thus, said to have no bearing on the status of SV(O) constituent order or clause-final focus accentuation as unmarked. How, then, is the situation in Old Norse? Take a look at some Old Norse examples with the ergative verb *brotna* ('break'). The part of the phrase I consider being accented is capitalized, note the position of the subject of *brotna*:

(19) a. *Skeljungur féll og brotnaði* ***FÓTur hans*** (Bárð 57)
Skeljung fell and broke$_{V}$ [foot his]$_{SUBJ}$
'Skeljung fell and broke his foot'

b. *En Björn bregður sverðinu Þorfinns er hann hafði*
and Bjorn draws sword-the Thorfinn's which he had

heiman haft og höggur á fót Dálki svo hart að
at-home had and hews at foot$_{i}$ Dalk so hard that

fóturinn *BROTnaði en eigi beit ...* (BjHít 118)
foot-the$_{SUBJi}$ broke but not bit ...
'And Bjorn draws Thorfinn's sword which he has had at home and strikes Dalk's foot so hard that the foot broke but the sword did not bite'

What can be observed in these two examples is the fact that the *previously unmentioned* foot appears behind the verb in (a), whereas the *previously mentioned*, hence topical, foot precedes the verb in (b).

Apparently, Old Norse behaves exactly like Italian with respect to word order in this case, and like both Italian and English with respect to accent placement. On this background, my claim about subject accentuation vs. predicate accentuation in these examples seems rather uncontroversial even though this is making statements about a 'dead' language. My claim can also be supported by pretty convincing empirical evidence. The tendency is this: when the subject of *brotna* is previously unmentioned (i.e. non-topical) it follows the verb, and when it is previously mentioned (i.e. topical) it precedes the verb. In the V-S sequence, the subject is accented, in the S-V sequence, the verb/predicate is accented, e.g.:

Previously unmentioned discourse referent → V - S$_{accent}$:

(20) a. *Síðan létu þeir í haf og velktust úti lengi og komu*
since let them in sea and drifted out long and came

við Hálogaland um haustið og brotnaði ***KJÖLurinn***
with Halogaland in autumn-the and broke$_V$ keel-the$_{SUBJ}$

undan skipinu (Flóam 758)
under ship-the
'Later, they went to sea and drifted around for a long time until they came to Halogaland in the autumn and the keel broke under the ship'

b. *Þeir höfðu glímur og voru þeir jafnir Lágálfur og*
they had wrestling matches and were they even Lagalf and

Eiríkur en Eiríkur hafði áður borið af Þorkatli
Eirik and Eirik had before born off Thorkel

bundinfóta. En síðan glímdu þeir Bárður og Eiríkur
with-bound-feet. And since wrestled they Bard and Eirik

og brotnaði ***HÖND hans*** (Bárð 56)
and broke$_V$ [hand his]$_{SUBJ}$
'They had wrestling matches and Lagalf and Eirik were equally good, but Eirik had once won over Thorkel, even with tied feet. Later Bard and Eirik wrestled and his hand broke'

c. *Í því brá Ormur sverðinu og í viðbragði hans brotnaði*
in that drew Orm sword-the and in movement his broke$_V$

FÓTleggur hans (Þórð 2022)
[foot-leg his]$_{SUBJ}$
'Meanwhile, Orm drew his sword, and through this movement, he broke his shank'

Previously mentioned discourse referent → S_{topic} - V_{accent}:

(21) a. *Gestur réðst í móti bola og hjó til hans með öxi.*
Gest went in against bull and hewed to him with axe$_i$.

Boli hristi sig við en ekki beit á en ***öxin***
Bull shook himself with and not bit on and axe$_{SUBJi}$

BROTnaði (Bárð 71)
broke$_V$
'Gest turned against the bull and beat him with an axe. The bull shook himself, the axe did not bite and the axe broke'

b. *Hún deyfði fyrir Kormáki sverðið svo að ekki beit en þó*
she blunted for Kormak sword-the so that not bit and though

hjó Kormákur svo mikið högg á öxl Þorvarði að
hewed Kormak so much blow on shoulder$_i$ Thorvard's that

axlarbeinið *BROTnaði* *og* *varð* *höndin* *þegar*
shoulderbone-the$_i$ broke and became hand-the immediately

ónýt (Kórm 1506)[17]
useless
'She blunted Kormak's sword so it would not bite, but still Kormak struck so hard on Thorvard's shoulder that the shoulder-bone broke and the hand was immediately unfit for use'

c. *... hleypur að Gunnari af mikilli reiði og lagði spjóti*
... rans at Gunnar of much wrath and laid speari

í gegnum skjöldinn og svo í gegnum hönd Gunnari.
in through shield and so in though hand Gunnar.

Gunnar snaraði svo hart skjöldinn að ***spjótið*** *BROTnaði*
Gunnar twisted so hard shield-the that spear$_i$ broke

í FALnum (Njála 207)[18]
in socket-the
'... attacks Gunnar with great anger and drove the spear through the shield so it went through Gunnar's hand.. Gunnar twisted the shield so hard that the spear broke at the socket'

In the examples above, the distribution of arguments correlates rather neatly with the contextual environment. However, exceptions can be found, too, e.g. (I skip the glossing):

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[17] This example may actually also have an accented subject, since 'shoulder' and 'shoulder*bone*' not necessarily refer to (exactly) the same thing.

[18] Since there is another phrase following the verb in this particular example, this phrase would get the sentence accent. Still, I assume that *brotnaði* may be accented, too. Anyway, the point is that the *subject* is not accented.

(22) *Þeir Skrælingjar fundu og mann dauðan og lá öx*$_i$ *hjá honum. Einn þeirra tók upp öxina*$_i$ *og höggur með tré og þá hver að öðrum og þótti þeim vera gersemi og bíta vel. Síðan tók einn og hjó í stein og BROTnaði* ***öxin***$_i$ (Eirík 533)
'The Skralings also found a dead man with an axe$_i$ lying next to him. One of them picked up the axe$_i$ and struck with it into a tree, and so did each the others, and they found that it$_i$ was a precious thing and that it$_i$ bit well. Later, one of them struck (with the axe$_i$) into a stone and the axe broke'

Since the 'axe' clearly is the topic of this passage, the accent distribution of the last clause is not difficult to determine. The word order is probably due to the continuing discourse in this case (compare to example (5) above). A possible example of the opposite order/accentuation could be the alternative reading of (21b), as discussed in footnote 17. But, as mentioned above, if 'shoulder' and 'shoulderbone' are considered two different discourse referents, the accent distribution would follow. In the following example, then, the topical subject - even though it is located postverbally - cannot be accented, the sentence accent being placed on the last phrase in the clause (the verb may possibly be accented, too, cf. (20c)):

(23)	*Gunnar*	*snaraði*	*hart*	*skjöldinn*	*er*	*sverðið*	*festi*	*í*	*og*
	Gunnar	twisted	hard	shield-the	when	sword-the$_i$	stuck	in	and

brotnaði/BROTnaði	*sverðið*	*undir*	*HJÖLTunum* (Njála 157)
broke$_V$	sword-the$_i$	under	hilt(s)-the

'Gunnar twisted the shield hard when the sword got stuck and the sword broke under the hilt'

Note, by the way, that such postverbal NPs with verbs like 'break' are possible in Modern Norwegian only with non-definite NPs, definite NPs obeying the so-called Definiteness Effect, e.g.:

(24) a.	*Det*	*brakk*	***eit***	***sverd***	*under*	*hjaltet*
	it$_{EXPL}$	broke	a	sword	under	hilt-the

'A sword broke under the handle'

b.	**Det*	*brakk*	***sverdet***	*under*	*hjaltet*
	it$_{EXPL}$	broke	sword-the	under	hilt-the

c.	***Sverdet***	*brakk*	*under*	*hjaltet*
	sword-the	broke	under	hilt-the

Obviously, definiteness does not necessarily influence the word order in Old Norse. Compare also to Modern German, e.g.:

(25)	*Es*	*brach*	***ein/das***	***Schwert***	*unter*	*dem*	*Heft*
	it	broke	a/the	sword	under	the	hilt

Lambrecht (1994) uses allosentences from e.g. English and Italian. Note the position of the subject in the Italian sentences:

(26) a. *My* CAR *broke down.* (Lambrecht 1994:14)

b. *Mi si è rotta la* MACCHINA. (p. 14)
to-me itself is broken the car

(27) a. *My car broke* DOWN. (p. 19)

b. *La mia macchina si è* ROTTA. (p. 21)[19]

Lambrecht (1994:20) notes:

> the radical difference between English and Italian with respect to the way in which the INFORMATION STRUCTURE of the proposition is reflected in the SYNTAX of the sentences which expresses it. In Italian the canonical SV(O) constituent sequence in which the subject NP is a topic and the object part of the focus is changed to fit the pragmatic requirements of the utterance, by inverting the order of the subject with respect to the verb. By placing the subject after the verb, Italian respects the unmarked prosodic sequence in which the constituent carrying the main sentence accent occupies final position.

Apparently, Old Norse behaves very much like Italian with respect to the distribution of old and new information and topic and focus/accent. Further contrastive research on Old Norse and Italian would probably yield interesting results.

It is on the background of the observations discussed above, I will make claims about the accent placement in sentences like:

(28) *Skúta gekk til hests síns og reið með hlíðinni og gat nú að sjá hvar fjöldi manna reið og veit að það má honum eigi endast ef þeir fá staðið hann, leitar nú ráðs,* ***brýtur af skaftinu spjótið*** *og hefir fyrir staf, tekur af hestinum söðulinn en snýr veslinu og reið nú að sauðum og hóar fast á féið* (Reykd 1775)
'Skuta went to his horse and rode along the mountain side and saw now a troop of men riding, and he realizes that this would no end well if they stopped him, he then thinks about what to do, breaks the spear off the haft and turns it into a stick, takes the saddle off the horse and turns his coat inside out and rode now towards the sheep and hooted loud at the cattle'

i.e.:

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[19] Lambrecht (1994:21, fn. 15) states that this sentence alternatively could be realized as a "right-detachment construction", in which the (unstressed) topic NP follows the predicate:

(i) *Si è* ROTTA, *la mia macchina*

See the discussion on right-dislocated 'subjects' in Old Norse below.

(29) *brýtur af skaftinu* SPJÓT*ið*
breaks off haft-the spear-the
'(he) breaks the spear off the haft'

In this structure, I will claim that pragmatic requirements are accommodated by **Scrambling** of the phrase that otherwise would receive the sentence accent (*af skaftinu*) out of the default sentence accent area, the canonical structure being *(hann) brýtur spjótið af* SKAFT*inu*.

From this point of view, it is obvious that Old Norse word order correlates with pragmatic factors *to a greater extent* than, for instance, the word order of English, where only the accent placement is changed in the examples above. Old Norse may use a combination of accent change and word order change. In other words, it seems that the (default) accent position is the same while the order of elements is changed, thereby accent 'change' is unnecessary. If the *default* sentence-accent position is considered a part of the syntax rather than a pragmatic factor, this would *primarily* be correlation with syntax. Note also the difference between the following two sentences from English and French (Lambrecht 1994:243):

(30) a. *She doesn't have a particularly interesting* JOB.
b. *Elle n'a pas un mètier particulièrement* INTERESSANT.

According to Lambrecht (ibid.), these two sentences have the same meaning and can be used in the same discourse context to convey the same piece of information:

> In both languages, the accent which defines the focus domain falls within the object noun phrase, which is the last phrase in the sentence, and within this phrase, it falls on the last word. But while in English this last word is the head of this phrase, in French it is the adjective modifying the head. This difference is clearly not the result of a difference in communicative intentions. It is not the case that in English the noun *job* is the point of the information while in French more importance is attributed to the modifier *intéressant*. If we were to put the accent on interesting in English the result would be a different focus reading. (In French, the two readings are compatible with the same prosodic structure.) What remains constant in the two languages is not the association of the accent with a narrow semantic denotatum but its final position within the focus domain (here the verb phrase).

I take it that every sentence is supposed to have at least one accented phrase. The default position would be the last possible/accentable constituent in the clause in Old Norse (and Italian, French and English). "If sentence prosody were entirely determined by iconic considerations - the prosodic point of prominence coinciding with the pragmatic information peak" - Lambrecht (1994:244) says, "we would expect the same word to be prominent in English and in French". This is apparently not the case. As it turns out, the **sentence accent** is assigned on *structural* grounds, i.e. it falls on the last accentable constituent of the sentence (see also Halliday 1967, and Ladd 1978). As a general rule, Lambrecht (1994:247) states that "a sentence accent serves to mark the right boundary of a pragmatically construed semantic domain. This semantic domain may extend leftward towards the beginning of the sentence, i.e. its major portion may PRECEDE the accented word". This general rule is then called the GENERAL PHRASAL ACCENT PRINCIPLE, being a principle of grammar, according to Lambrecht.

Even though something like a default sentence accent seems to exist, it should not be necessary to mention that almost every element in a sentence can be accented for pragmatic purposes. Usually accenting of another phrase leads to 'deaccenting' of the default phrase (see Lambrecht 1994:248ff.).

In the discussion in the previous chapters, I have used the notion of **focus** both as marking *new information* and as having a *focal accent*, which is not necessarily the same thing. On the other hand, this use of the term *focus* is to some degree in accordance with the 'traditional' use of focus since e.g. Halliday (1967). Consider Halliday's definition of *focus* quoted from Lambrecht (1994:207):

> Information focus is one kind of emphasis, that whereby the speaker marks out a part (which may be the whole) of a message block as that which he wishes to be interpreted as informative. What is focal is "new" information; not in the sense that it cannot have been previously mentioned, although it is often the case that it has not been, but in the sense that the speaker presents it as not being recoverable from the preceding discourse ... The focus of the message, it is suggested, is that which is presented by the speaker as being new, textually (and situationally) non-derivable information (Halliday 1967:204f)

Lambrecht sees the notion of focus as a term in *pragmatic* relation, and the term is understood as shorthand for *focus of the assertion* or *focus of new information*, the definition of focus being:

(31) FOCUS: The semantic component of a pragmatically structured proposition whereby the

assertion differs from the presupposition. (Lambrecht 1994:213)

I.e. in Lambrecht's approach, there is a distinction between focus and sentence accent since it is stated that "sentence accentuation is not a focus-marking device per se but a general device for the marking of semantic portions within pragmatically structured propositions, whether focal or not. The focus construal of a proposition is determined by a number of grammatical factors, only one of which is prosodic" (Lambrecht 1994:214). In this approach, then, a semantic element may be *in focus* or *focal* independently of whether it carries an accent or not.

The terms *(pragmatic)* ***presupposition*** and *(pragmatic)* ***assertion*** contained in Lambrecht's focus definition above are defined as:

(32) PRAGMATIC PRESUPPOSITION: The set of propositions lexicogrammatically evoked in a sentence which the speaker assumes the hearer already knows or is ready to take for granted at the time the sentence is uttered.
PRAGMATIC ASSERTION: The proposition expressed by a sentence which the hearer is expected to know or take for granted as a result of hearing the sentence uttered. (Lambrecht 1994:52)

The terms ***topic*** and ***topic expression*** are defined by Lambrecht (1994:131) as:

(33) TOPIC: A referent is interpreted as the topic of a proposition if in a given situation the proposition is construed as being about this referent, i.e. as expressing information which is relevant to and which increases the addressee's knowledge of this referent.
TOPIC EXPRESSION: A constituent is a topic expression if the proposition expressed by the clause with which it is associated is pragmatically construed as being about the referent of this constituent.

The term ***(discourse) referent*** will be used without making a distinction between the 'referents of linguistic expressions' and the 'abstract representations' of these referents (cf. Lambrecht 1994:37).

The presentation of Lambrecht's (1994) terminological system above is rather limited. However, the discussion below shall only serve as a first approach to Old Norse information structure and I will limit the 'excursion' into the pragmatic component of Old Norse to a minimum. I will start by making some remarks on right dislocated 'subjects' in Old Norse and, conclude with comments on some Scrambling structures.

5.3 Right Dislocated 'Subjects'

5.3.1 Introduction

In this subsection,[20] I will take a closer look at so-called *right dislocated subjects* (RDS) in Old Norse, i.e. a construction I have referred to as Subject Shift in 4.3.1.3. According to the discussion in 4.3.3.1 and 4.3.3.2, I find it unclear whether the NP at the end of the clause actually is *dislocated* or even has status as a *subject*. Therefore, RDS has to be understood as a descriptive working term, i.e. the term does not necessarily cover the syntactic 'facts'.[21] To make the presentation more coherent, some of the arguments from the discussion in 4.3.1.3 are repeated in this section.

It may be worth mentioning that the phenomenon in question is not a very frequent construction in Old Norse. However, examples can be found, and some patterns or expressions are more frequent than others. I have already discussed some of the examples below in 4.3.1.3.

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[20] Some preliminary results of this section have been presented at the 'Thesis seminar' at NTNU in Trondheim, June 21st 1998 (cf. Haugan 1998b). I am grateful to Nicholas Asher, Bodil Aurstad, Robyn Carston, Jan Terje Faarlund, Thorstein Fretheim, Deidre Wilson, Tor A. Åfarli, and especially Jeanette Gundel and Øystein A. Vangsnes for their comments on my work. The most recent version of the presented paper also benefitted from the comments of Christer Platzack.

[21] Other terms are e.g.: *Rightward Displacement* (Rögnvaldsson 1984a), *Heavy Subject Shift* (Sigurðsson 1992a), *Post-verbal Subjects* (Saltarelli 1981), *Right-Detachment Constructions* (Lambrecht 1994). 'Post-verbal Subjects' would probably be the most neutral term. However, this term also covers VP-internal subjects like those we find in *ergative* constructions (see 4.3.3.2 and below). To be descriptive without making any assumptions about any possible underlying process, one could perhaps just speak of 'right located subjects', or, as Christer Platzack (p.c.) suggested to me, 'subjects at the right periphery'. Still, since the Old Norse NP in question 'normally' appears to the left, I will use the term 'dislocated'. (See also the references and the discussion in Lambrecht (1994:202ff.) regarding the terms: *Epexegesis*, *Inverted Word Order, Extraposition*; furthermore the labels: *De-Focused NP, Afterthought NP, Post-Predicate Constituent, Tail, Antitopic*).

Consider e.g. (the RDS is in bold face):

(34) *Hann gaf Brandi gripi þá sem honum hafði gefið*
he gave Brand things those that$_{\text{REL}}$ him$_{\text{BEN}}$ had given

Jón Grikklandskonungur (Finnb 673)
[Jon Greeceking]$_{\text{AGENT}}$
'He gave Brand those things that Jon, king of Greece, had given him'

Here, the Agent 'subject' appears to the right of the relative clause (*sem*REL ...), while the Benefactive *honum* is fronted by Stylistic Fronting.[22] According to the thematic role hierarchy discussed in section 4.2, and also according to the expected syntactic processes (the surface subject stays in place or moves to Spec-IP/Spec-CP)), this argument order is unexpected. As discussed above, I assume that the unmarked word order of an Old Norse main clause with an Agent subject, a 'direct' (Theme) object DO and an 'indirect' (Beneficiary) object IO is Agent/SUBJ - Beneficiary/IO - Theme/DO, cf. for instance:[23]

(35) *og hann hefir gefið mér hinn besta grip* (Þórð 2014)
and he$_{\text{SUBJ}}$ has given$_{\text{V}}$ [me]$_{\text{IO}}$ [the best thing]$_{\text{DO}}$

In a relative clause with the DO raised to the matrix clause (cf. 34), the most frequent word order still has the pattern Agent - Beneficiary, cf. also the following example:

(36) *... og marga dýrgripi er höfðingjar höfðu gefið*
... and [many precious-things]$_{\text{i}}$ that$_{\text{REL}}$ chiefs$_{\text{AGENT-SUBJ}}$ had given

honum (Laxd 1652)
him$_{\text{IO}}$ _$_{\text{DOi}}$

I will start my investigation by demonstrating a Modern Norwegian construction with a 'subject-like' NP to the right, showing that this NP cannot be considered the subject of the clause since the 'ordinary' subject position is occupied by a subject or subject correlate (5.3.2).

The next step will be a short reconsideration of *Heavy NP Shift*, a construction that moves syntactically heavy objects to the right, usually without leaving any overt material (cf. the discussion in 4.3.2.3). According to GB-theory, such movement does not leave any 'trace' either (5.3.3).[24]

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[22] Note that the preverbal position [Spec, IP] seems to be empty, or, in other words, that there is no possible overt subject candidate preceding the finite verb (cf. section 4.7).

[23] Note that this example has two pronominal human arguments preceding the lexical non-human argument carrying the sentence accent.

[24] I will not discuss 'Extraposition' of subject or object *clauses*.

Subsequently, I will discuss some Old Norse data and try to give both a formal (5.3.4) and a functional account (5.3.5) for the observed phenomenon. I will suggest that the 'ordinary' subject position in the Old Norse clause is occupied by *pro*, while the 'dislocated' phrase to the right seems to have status as some kind of adjunct. Functionally, the RDS construction has much in common with passive constructions.[25]

In subsection 5.3.6, the status of the RDS constellation as a 'passive-like' construction will be discussed more thoroughly, and in 5.3.7, I will demonstrate the function of RDS when 'proper' passive is not possible.[26]

My investigation is not conclusive in so far as I am not sure whether the assumption that the RDS could be considered an adjunct or an argument-adjunct holds. Functionally, I would say that Old Norse RDS constructions have much in common with passive constructions. Formally, on the other hand, this is, of course, more problematic and further cross-linguistic investigation is required.

5.3.2 Modern Norwegian 'Right Copying'

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[25] The 'formal account' will be within 'traditional' Government-and-binding theory as presented in chapter 4. Possible consequences within a minimalist framework are not considered.

[26] See, for instance, Palmer (1994) for a discussion on passive varieties and passive-like constructions in different languages.

In modern colloquial Norwegian (not in the written language), the (topical) ‘subject’ frequently additionally appears to the right of the clause, cf. some examples from Faarlund (1992:124) (my emphasis):[27]

(37) a. ***Leiligheten vår*** *låg liksom borti ein krok,* ***den***
[apartment-the our]$_{\text{SUBJi}}$ lay in-a-way over-in a corner, it$_{\text{i}}$
‘In a way, our apartment was located in a corner’

b. *Så hadde* ***gutane*** *sløyd første timen,* ***dei***
so had boys-the$_{\text{SUBJi}}$ woodwork first class, they$_{\text{i}}$
‘Then the boys had woodwork in the first class’

Faarlund (1992:124) calls this “høgrekopiering”, i.e. ‘right copying’.[28] Even though the copied element is in by far the most cases the subject (cf. e.g. Askedal 1987), ‘right copying’ may also affect topical objects (and sometimes also adverbials), e.g. (Faarlund ibid.) (my emphasis):[29]

(38) ***Den filmen*** *har eg sett,* ***den***
[that film-the]$_{\text{OBJi}}$ have I seen, that$_{\text{i}}$

According to Faarlund, constituents that are neither subject nor topic cannot be copied to the right, e.g. (Faarlund ibid.) (my emphasis):

(39) a. **Så hadde eg* ***gutane*** *i sløyd første timen,* ***dei***
so had I boys-the$_{\text{OBJi}}$ in woodwork first class, they$_{\text{i}}$
‘Then I had woodwork with the boys in the first class’

---

[27] These examples could also have the pronoun as the (clause internal) subject and the full NP to the right yielding a pragmatically slightly different construction. I will not discuss the possible differences here. However, compare example (39a) with a right dislocated object below, being ungrammatical, to the variant with the full NP to the right being totally acceptable (to most speakers I have spoken with):

(i) *Så hadde eg* ***dei*** *i sløyd første timen,* ***gutane***
so had I them in woodwork first class, boys-the

[28] Examples like these are also discussed in Lambrecht (1994:183ff.), being referred to as *right-detachment constructions* (e.g. *He lived in America, the wizard*). Lambrecht states that this construction is often used for “already active or quasi-active referents, but it can never be used in a contrastive function” (p. 183). The activation states of detached NP referents in, for instance, French are discussed in Lambrecht (1981) and Barnes (1985).

[29] Consider e.g. also Lambrecht (1994:147):

> The fact that in topicalization a non-subject becomes a topic does not entail that the subject must lose its topic status in the process. Therefore such a sentence may have two topic expressions.

b.	**Eg*	*såg*	***filmen***	*i går,*	***den***
	I	saw	film-the$_{OBJi}$	yesterday,	it$_i$
	‘I saw the film yesterday’				

Intuitively we may say that the phrase to the right in the sentences above functions as some kind of *topic marker* (see also the discussion in Askedal 1987, and Fretheim 1995). At least it is clear that the element to the right is not a syntactic constituent of the clause (see also Lambrecht 1994:192ff.), i.e. the clause itself has usually everything it ‘needs’: a subject, a verb, and possibly other constituents like objects or adverbials. For Modern Norwegian right dislocation constructions, one may say, using Lambrecht’s (1994:192) words, that:

> the detached topic NP cannot be a constituent - whether argument or adjunct - of the clause with which it is pragmatically associated. Rather it must be analyzed as a syntactically autonomous, extra-clausal element, whose relationship with the clause is not the grammatical relation of subject or object but the pragmatic relation of aboutness and relevance (see Gundel 1976, Dik 1978).

The syntactic ‘facts’ regarding this construction are more or less covered by the term ‘Right Copying’ (even though the ‘copying’ may result in a different lexical expression). For the phenomenon I am going to talk about, on the other hand, I will use the term *Right Dislocation* because it states that something is *dis*located to the right in one way or the other (at least compared to the (‘*expected*’) basic structure). This implies that the canonical or unmarked position of this element in the clause is ‘empty’. Even though a term like ‘dislocation’ implies movement, I will here concentrate on the assumption that the base position or the potential surface position to the left is *empty*. I find it, on the other hand, not unlikely that the phrase to the right actually is *base-generated* to the right as an adjunct, which means that the phrase is not necessarily moved/dislocated there (see below).

5.3.3 Heavy NP Shift

Heavy NP Shift is a ‘classical’ example of Right Dislocation in the sense the term is used here, i.e. the ‘heavy’ or complex NP is moved out of its base position and attached to the right at the end of the clause while the base position is overtly empty (cf. 4.3.2.3).[30] Consider some examples from Haegeman (1991:419):

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[30] See, however, the analysis of Heavy NP Shift by Josefsson & Platzack (1998).

(40) a. *Jeeves* [$_{V'}$ *introduced* [$_{NP}$ *the famous detective from Belgium*]] *to the guest.*

b. *Jeeves* [$_{VP}$ [$_{VP}$ [$_{V'}$ *introduced* [$_{NP}$ t$_i$ *to the guest*] [$_{NPi}$ *the famous detective from Belgium*]]].

In (b), the object is moved out of its canonical position and adjoined to right. Note that there is no overt material left in the base position of the moved NP, as opposed to the Modern Norwegian ‘Right Copying’ or ‘*Correlative* Right Dislocation’ constructions (Askedal 1987) in 5.3.2 above.

Heavy NP Shift is, as far as I am aware, found in all of the Germanic languages. Right Dislocation of ‘subjects’, i.e. non-copying adjunction, on the other hand, is usually ungrammatical in both Modern Norwegian and English. This phenomenon is, however, found in Old Norse and also in Modern Icelandic.

5.3.4 A Formal GB-Account

Let me emphasize that the right dislocated ‘subject’ discussed in 5.3.1 looks like a proper Agent subject. This is what makes the construction structurally interesting. As mentioned before, I assume that an Agent is always generated as the specifier of VP, i.e. the Agent has to be considered an external argument (see the discussion in 4.2.1; see also Grimshaw 1990). Against this background, the post-verbal ‘subject’ above cannot be explained by referring to, for instance, the so-called *Unaccusative Hypothesis* (cf. e.g. Perlmutter 1978, Burzio 1981).

According to the Unaccusative Hypothesis, non-agentive subjects are base-generated as internal arguments, i.e. in an object position (cf. the discussion in 4.3.3.2). In Old Norse, a non-agentive subject (as demonstrated before) does not necessarily have to be moved to the right in order to appear postverbally, cf.:[31]

(41)

... hefir	*hér*	*setið*	***svala***	***ein***	*við*	*glugginn*	*og*	*klakað*
... has	here	sat$_{Vmain}$	[swallow	one]$_{SUBJ}$	[with	window]$_{PP}$	and	chirped

í	*alla*	*nótt* (Egla 458)
in	all	night

‘A swallow sat by the window and chirped all night’

In this example, it is assumed that *svala ein* is located in its base position, which is [Compl, V′], i.e. VP internal.

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[31] Note, however, that non-agentive subjects also can be right dislocated (see below).

In the Modern Norwegian equivalent construction, the relevant NP would be analyzed as an *object*, while there would be a formal subject *det* occupying the surface-subject position (possibly moved to the topic position), e.g.:

(42) *Her har **det** sete ei svale ved vindauget ...*
here has it$_{SUBJ}$ sat [a swallow]$_{OBJ}$ by window-the

When the 'object' is moved out of its base position, it becomes a proper surface subject and the formal subject *det* 'disappears' (see also Haugan 1998a):

(43) *Her har **ei svale** sete ved vindauget ...*
here has [a swallow]$_{SUBJi}$ sat _$_i$ by window-the

The Unaccusative Hypothesis is capable of accounting for a post-verbal non-agentive subject like *svala ein* in the Old Norse example above. Since *svala ein* is followed by a PP *við glugginn*, it is reasonable to assume that the subject is not 'dislocated' but, in contrast, located in its base position. On the other hand, in the Old Norse example:

(44) *Hann gaf Brandi gripi þá sem honum hafði gefið*
he gave Brand [things those]$_i$ that him$_j$ had given

Jón Grikklandskonungur (Finnb 673)
_$_j$ _$_i$ || [Jon Greeceking]$_{AGENT}$
'He gave Brand those things that Jon, king of Greece, had given him'

there is no post-verbal *base position* available for an Agent subject since an Agent, according to the present theory, must be base-generated as an external argument. In example (44), there are two empty post-verbal positions with 'traces' of the direct and the indirect object, the direct object *gripi þá* being raised to the matrix clause, and the indirect object *honum* being fronted by Stylistic Fronting in the relative clause. As a subject *Jón Grikklandskonungur*, on its part, is expected to be base-generated preverbally. Nevertheless, here it appears post-verbally on the surface, which in this case means in 'Extraposition', i.e. adjoined to the right.

I assume that both in the unaccusative example and in the example with the right dislocated 'subject'/Agent, the surface subject position [Spec, IP] is filled by *pro*. Non-*pro*-drop languages like Modern Norwegian and English have to insert a dummy/expletive subject in clauses with post-verbal non-agentive 'logical subjects', while right dislocated 'subjects' are not possible at all. *Pro*-drop languages like Italian (see e.g. Saltarelli 1981) and Old Norse (semi-*pro*-drop?) do not need an overt expletive, furthermore right dislocated 'subjects' are allowed. Consider, for instance, an Italian example with *pro*-drop (a), an example with a right dislocated Agent 'subject' (b), and an example with a non-agentive post-verbal subject (c) (adapted from Saltarelli

1981:362):

(45) a. [*pro*] *ha* *scritto*
he/she has written

b. [*pro*] *ha* *scritto* *Gianni*
has writtenGianni

c. [*pro*] *è* *arrivato* *Gianni*
is arrivedGianni

Recall the discussion on *pro* in 4.6. Rizzi (1986) assumes that there are three different types of *pro*: *referential pro*, *quasi-argumental pro* and *true expletive pro*.[32] Neither Modern Icelandic nor Modern German have referential *pro* (cf. the Italian example (45a)), while Modern Icelandic has quasi-argumental *pro* (for instance with so-called ‘weather verbs’), which Modern German does not have, cf.: Holmberg and Platzack (1995:108):

(46) a. *Rigndi* *pro* *í gær?* (Icelandic)
rained yesterday

b. **Gestern* *hat* *pro* *geregnet* (German)
yesterday has rained

Due to examples like these, one could be tempted to suggest that quasi-argumental *pro* is the type of *pro* found in clauses with right dislocated ‘subjects’, since this construction is possible in Modern Icelandic (47d), cf. Sigurðsson (1992a:303) (see also Rögnvaldsson 1984a):[33]

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[32] See also the discussion in Haugan (1998a).

[33] As mentioned before, I assume, with Sigurðsson (1992a), that *það* is an expletive topic and not an expletive subject.

(47) a. *Það hafa einhverjir bófar kannski* [*stolið þessu*].
there have some gangsters perhaps stolen this

b. *Það hafa t kannski einhverjir bófar stolið þessu.*

c. **Það hafa t kannski stolið einhverjir bófar þessu.*

d. *Það hafa t kannski stolið þessu einhverjir bófar*.

Note that *einhverjir bófar* cannot be considered an internal argument, i.e. there is no VP-internal position available for the phrase (cf. the ungrammaticality of (47c)). Right dislocated 'subjects' are, on the other hand, not grammatical in Modern German, e.g.:[34]

(48) a. *Es hat dies vielleicht ein Dieb gestohlen*
it has this maybe [a thief]$_{SUBJ}$ stolen

b. **Es hat dies vielleicht gestohlen ein Dieb*

Since quasi-argumental *pro* appears first of all with 'weather verbs', i.e. verbs that do not take an Agent argument (or quite often not any argument at all), it does not seem very reasonable to assume that quasi-argumental *pro* is involved in constructions with right dislocated 'subjects'. However, maybe this assumption will not seem that far out of line after having investigated the *function* of right dislocated 'subjects'.

5.3.5 A Functional Account

Let us return to the Old Norse example with the right dislocated 'subject' *Jón Grikklandskonungur*:

(49) *Hann gaf Brandi gripi þá sem honum hafði gefið*
he gave Brand things those that him had given$_V$ ||

---

[34] Christer Platzack (p.c.) pointed out to me that the ungrammaticality of RDS in Modern German is easily accounted for within a mimimalism framework: if the OV order in Modern German is a result of movement of the object into the I-domain, like in Modern Icelandic or Old Norse, while the verb remains inside the VP in Modern German, which it does not in Modern Icelandic and Old Norse where we have verb movement, the ungrammaticality of RDS in Modern German will follow. A 'weak' position may never attract overtly, while a 'strong' position, under certain circumstances (Heavy NP Shift), may avoid attracting before Spell-Out.

Jón Grikklandskonungur (Finnb 673)
[Jon Greeceking]$_{\text{SUBJ?}}$
'He gave Brand those things that Jon king of Greece had given him'

According to GB theory, 'Extraposition' does not leave any trace in the base position (cf. e.g. Haegeman 1991, Åfarli 1997). I am not aware of any discussion on what effect this might have on the status of the extraposed phrase as an argument. Let us, for the sake of discussion, assume that the right dislocated phrase is an adjunct and not a proper argument. Now compare the example above with a passive sentence (cf. the discussion in 4.3.1.3):

(50) *Þeim sveini var nafn gefið og kallaður Þorleikur* (Laxd 1617)
that boy was name given and called Thorleik
'That boy was given a name, and he was called Thorleik'

In a passive sentence, the Agent argument, i.e. the subject of the active clause, is suppressed and may only appear (mostly optionally) as an adjunct, i.e. as a so-called Agent phrase (*by*-phrase). As discussed before, if one would add *verið* ('been') to the example with the right dislocated 'subject' and turn the 'subject' into an Agent phrase, we would get a passive sentence like:[35]

(51) *... sem honum hafði gefnir verið (af Jón Grikklandskonungur)*
... that him$_{\text{SUBJ}}$ had given been (by Jon king of Greece)

Here the dative *honum* has to be analyzed as the syntactic subject, while the Agent phrase, as mentioned, is optional and not an argument anymore.[36] Compare also another, this time 'authentic', passive sentence:

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[35] Furthermore, *gefið* (n. sg.) turns into *gefnir* (m. pl.) because the passive participle would have to agree with the nominative (object) *gripir* (m. pl.) in the passive clause (cf. 4.3.3.1 and the discussion on passive in chapter 3). Note that the nominative is raised and appears as an accusative object *gripi* in the matrix clause (cf. 49).

[36] My attempt to make the RDS construction look more alike an ordinary (structural) passive construction may seem a little far-fetched. However, the purpose of this discussion is first of all to motivate a *functional* analysis.

(52) *Mörður spurði hvar þeim hefði mest gefið verið* (Njála 182)
Mord asked where them$_{\text{SUBJ}}$ had most given been
'Mord asked where they have gotten most'

One of the functions of Passive Formation is to make an argument other than the Agent the topic, which requires some 'effort' since Agent subjects are usually preferred as topics. 'Depriving' the Agent of its argument status makes the next highest argument in the argument hierarchy available as the 'natural topic', cf. e.g. Croft (1991:151):

> Most discourse analysts agree that, when a choice for subject is involved, topicality governs the choice, and that, when a choice is not involved, the NP that is grammatically required to fill the subject slot is a "natural topic" (Hawkinson and Hyman 1974). That is, the active voice construction is used when the agent is more topical than the patient, but the passive voice construction is used when the patient is more topical than the agent (Givón 1984[a]:177). "Natural topicality" refers to the preference to assign topicality to NPs higher in the animacy hierarchy (Silverstein 1976; Dixon 1979), a ranking that includes NP type as well as animacy proper: first/second person < third-person pronoun < proper name < human common noun < animate common noun < inanimate common noun. Also, topical NPs are generally definite, as are subjects (Givón 1979:51).

It would probably be rather dubious to claim that *honum* in (49) is the syntactic subject of an active sentence with a right dislocated NP *Jón Grikklandskonungur*. On the other hand, it is not obvious that *Jón Grikklandskonungur* (alone) has status as the subject of the clause (cf. the 'right copied subjects' in 5.3.2 above). If we assume that the active version of *gefa* ('give') has to assign an Agent role, while the actual Agent candidate has been deprived of his argument status, we could imagine that the Agent role is assigned to a 'quasi argument', i.e. *pro*, which in its turn may be linked to the 'dislocated' phrase. We must also assume that the 'right dislocated' phrase is not optional, in opposition to an agentive *by*-phrase. Without the 'right dislocated' phrase, we would probably be forced to read the sentence as a passive with an omitted *verið* (however, we would expect agreement with the nominative (object), which we do not have in the actual example).[37]

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[37] Furthermore, a similar construction occasionally appears in the preterite which makes the (morphological) passive reading impossible. I have not found any examples with *gefa*, but 3 (out of 22) examples with *ráða fyrir Noregi* ('rule Norway') had the subject to the right (2 appeared as the first sentence in a new paragraph, 1 concluded a pragraph),

There is, in my opinion, no question about the status of the fronted phrase *honum* in (49) as

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e.g.:

(i)	*Þá*	*réð*	*fyrir*	*Noregi*	*Eiríkur*	*blóðöx* (Flóam 733)
	then	ruled	for	Norway	Eirik	bloodaxe

However, in cases like this, it is not possible to determine whether the subject is ‘dislocated’ or if the adverbial *fyrir Noregi* is scrambled to the left over the subject. Since Modern German has no RDS but Scrambling, analyzing (i) as involving Scrambling seems reasonable, cf. (iii):

(ii)	*Zu*	*der*	*Zeit*	*regierte*	*Eirik*	*Blutaxt*	*über*	*Norwegen*
	at	that	time	ruled	Eirik	bloodaxe	over	Norway

(iii) *Zu der Zeit regierte über Norwegen Eirik Blutaxt*

A ‘functional’ passive *interpretation* would still be possible, e.g.:

(ii) *Then/in those times, Norway was ruled by Eirik bloodaxe.*

the/a topic. Compare also with a similar example:

(53) *Sá maður bjó þá að Hofi í Vopnafirði er hét*
[this man]$_{\text{TOP}}$ built/lived then at Hof in Vopnafjord that was-named

Steinbjörn og var kallaður körtur og hafði ***honum*** *þar*
Steinbjorn and was called short and had him$_{\text{TOP}}$ there

land gefið ***Eyvindur föðurbróðir hans*** (Þorhv 2053)
land given [Eyvind fatherbrother his]$_{\text{SUBJ?}}$
'This man lived then at Hof in Vopnafjord who was named Steinbjorn and called short/immature; and his uncle Eyvind had given him land there'

What is special about this example is the fact that *honum* actually appears in a position that looks very much like the surface subject position [Spec, IP], i.e. between the finite verb *hafði* and the adverb *þar*, which I consider being left adjacent to VP. Unfortunately, it is not so easy to 'prove' what position *honum* is occupying since Scrambling could have moved the phrase to the leftmost position of VP. On the background of the discussion above, I will not suggest that *honum* is the syntactic subject.[38]

As much as there is no question about the topic, there is no question that the 'right dislocated' phrase is non-topical. It is not necessarily obvious how one should label the phrase *Eyvindur föðurbróðir hans* in accordance with the *Topic Acceptability Scale* presented in Lambrecht (1994:165):

(54) THE TOPIC ACCEPTABILITY SCALE
active most acceptable
accessible
unused

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[38] Following the analysis of Holmberg (1997), one could imagine that *honum* might in fact be occupying the subject position because [Spec, IP] is empty. This could then be analyzed as an instance of so-called *Stylistic Fronting*. I have not investigated this possibility. However, in this particular example, the verb *hafði* has moved to C, while it should be located in I in typical Stylistic-Fronting constructions. In Jónsson (1991), for instance, it is assumed that an element fronted by Stylistic Fronting is cliticized to I. According to that analysis, thus, (53) does not involve Stylistic Fronting. Anyway, since an element fronted by Stylistic Fronting is not supposed to change its syntactic status, this is not relevant in the present discussion.

brand-new anchored	|,_
brand-new unanchored	least acceptable

If the hearer would know the uncle of the just introduced man Steinbjörn, *Eyvindur föðurbróðir hans* might be accessible to some degree. However, this seems unlikely since *Steinbjörn* is just introduced as a presumably previously unknown man himself (cf. ‘there was a man living on the farm Hof in Vopnafjord whose name was Steinbjörn’[39]). *Eyvindur föðurbróðir hans* could be considered unused; the person has certainly not been used before, and he does not play any role in the following discourse either. Probably it is most opportune to consider the phrase brand-new, but anchored, i.e. the phrase is linked to the topic ‘man/Steinbjörn’ by the apposition *föðurbróðir hans*. In any case, *Eyvindur föðurbróðir hans* does not seem to be very acceptable as a *topic* according to Lambrecht’s scale.

While Modern Icelandic does not have the option of moving the object(s) in front of the non-finite (main) verb in clauses with complex verbs, Old Norse has Scrambling which allows leftward movement of objects and other phrases into the middle field (cf. 4.3.2.4). In the example above (only the relevant part being repeated here), both the IO and the DO have been moved in front of the main verb:

(55)	*og*	*hafði*	*honum*	*þar*	*land*	*gefið*	***Eyvindur föðurbróðir hans***
	and	had	him_{IO}	there	land_{DO}	given	Eyvind fatherbrother his

Note the way the information is ordered in this clause: the active topic referent *honum* comes first, followed by the accessible *land*, whereas the new information, represented by *Eyvindur föðurbróðir hans,* appears at the end. Thus, the structural options are exploited maximally to maintain the information structure ‘old - new’ (remember that the ‘normal’ word order is supposed to be as in Modern Scandinavian, i.e. SVO). The only possibility to create the same structuring of information in e.g. Modern Norwegian would be to use a passive sentence. The verb ‘give’ does not allow a presentational construction in Modern Norwegian. Hence, the Agent subject must at least be number three in the clause (i.e. following the finite verb), e.g.:

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[39] The Old Norse sentence is formally not a presentational construction in opposition to the English translation. However, I take the use of the (‘semantically’) indefinite *sá* (‘this’) to be a similar strategy, i.e. “the speaker signals her intention to add further information about the person in question” (Lambrecht 1994:83). The formally definite noun phrase *sá maður* is “semantically indefinite in the sense that it designates a not-yet-identifiable discourse referent” (Lambrecht ibid.).

(56) **active:**

a.

Hans	*onkel*	*Eyvind*	*hadde*	*gjeve*	*han*	*land*	*der*
his	uncle	Eyvind	had	given	him	land	there

b.

Der	*hadde*	*hans*	*onkel*	*Eyvind*	*gjeve*	*han*	*land*
there	had	his	uncle	Eyvind	given	him	land

c.

**Det*	*hadde*	*hans*	*onkel*	*Eyvind*	*gjeve*	*han*	*land*	*der*
it	had	his	uncle	Eyvind	given	him	land	there

d.

**Det*	*hadde*	*gjeve*	*han*	*land*	*der*	*hans*	*onkel*	*Eyvind*
it	had	given	him	land	there	his	uncle	Eyvind

(57) **passive:**

a.

Han	*var*	*blitt*	*gjeven*	*land*	*der*	*(av sin onkel Eyvind)*
he	was	been	given	land	there	(by his uncle Eyvind)

b.

Det	*var*	*blitt*	*gjeve*	*han*	*land*	*der*	*(av hans onkel Eyvind)*
it	was	been	given	him	land	there	(by his uncle Eyvind)

The difference between the Old Norse passive and the construction with the RDS is first of all the fact that an Agent phrase (*by*-phrase) is usually optional and frequently omitted (in Old Norse, as mentioned before, Agent phrases are actually very rare). This is because the ‘Agent’ is already known from the context, i.e. active/accessible, or the ‘Agent’ is totally unknown or ‘unimportant’ in the context. The RDS, on the other hand, cannot be considered optional. On the contrary, the phrase represents the rhematic/new information in the sentence and is, thus, essential, even though it usually does not play any role in the subsequent discourse (see also Rögnvaldsson 1984a).

Sigurðsson (1992a:302) refers to the ‘rightward shift’ that applies to right dislocated ‘subjects’ as *Heavy Subject Shift* being an instance of Heavy NP Shift. The following example may justify the use of this term:

(58)

Oddur	*spyr*	*hvort*	*hrossum*	*Þorbjarnar*	*höfðu*	*stolið*
Odd	asks	whether	horses	Thorbjorn’s	have	stolen
útlendir	***menn***	***eða***	***utanhéraðsmenn***	***eða***	***nábúar***	***hans*** (Eyrb 550)
[foreign	men	or	out-of-district-men	or	neighbors	his]$_{AGENT}$

‘Odd asks whether Thorbjorn’s horses were stolen by foreigners, or men from outside the district, or his neighbors’

The right dislocated NP in this particular example is obviously rather ‘heavy’, i.e. structurally complex. However, I assume that syntactic ‘weight’ is not the main reason for the choice of this information structure (if it is a reason at all).[40] The RDS is, of course, not a ‘suitable’ topic according to Lambrecht, it has to be considered the **focus** of the proposition. But even though a focal subject still would have to move to at least [Spec, IP] in e.g. an English or Modern Norwegian active equivalent to (58), this seems not to be the case in Old Norse. It is likely that the Agent could also appear to the left in Old Norse and get a focus reading. However, this is obviously not the preferred information structure in this case.

Let us return to the functions of passive. Palmer (1994:136) states that there are several different reasons for the use of the passive in different languages.

(i) It promotes a non-Subject to Subject position to make it available as a syntactic pivot.
(ii) Closely associated with this, especially with the use of pivots in coordination, is the promotion of a non-Agent for topicalization

As mentioned before, I do not assume that a non-subject argument (at DS) has become subject in the construction with a right dislocated Agent (unless we will call *pro* a non-subject). Point (ii), on the other hand, is interesting in this context.

A human Agent will always represent the typical ‘natural’ topic (cf. the discussion above; see also 4.2.1). However, if we do not ‘want’ the Agent subject to become the topic, we could either use a passive sentence or, as an option in Old Norse, we may ‘dislocate’ the natural topic/subject candidate and front the second (structurally) closest candidate (usually another human or animate argument).[41] The clearest reason for not ‘wanting’ to let an Agent subject become the topic seems to be when there is already another discourse topic and the Agent subject does not play any ‘important’ role in the context (i.e. the paragraph, chapter or the entire text). Reconsider the examples with right dislocated Agents:

(59)	a.	*Hann*	*gaf*	*Brandi*	*gripi*	*þá*	*sem*	*honum*	*hafði*	*gefið*
		he$_{\text{TOPi}}$	gave	Brand	things	those	that	him$_{\text{TOPi}}$	had	given

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[40] See e.g. Hawkins (1992) for a theory of syntactic weight as the only (?) trigger of argument/word order. See also Faarlund (1992:127ff.). Ross (1967:28) notes that:

> the whole problem area of what NP are felt to be “heavy” or “complex” borders on questions of style, and there seems to be a baffling array of dialectal, or possibly even ideolectal, variations here.

[41] Note, however, that Kossuth (1978a:45) regards “right displacement” of subjects “a type of topicalization”; cf. also the term *Antitopic* (e.g. Lambrecht 1994:202, based on Chafe 1976).

Jón Grikklandskonungur (Finnb 673)
[Jon Greeceking]$_{\text{AGENT}}$
'He gave Brand those things that Jon, king of Greece, had given him'

b. *Sá maður bjó þá að Hofi í Vopnafirði er hét*
[this man]$_{\text{TOPi}}$ lived then at Hof in Vopnafjord hat was-named

Steinbjörn og var kallaður körtur og hafði honum þar
Steinbjorn$_{\text{i}}$ and was called short and had him$_{\text{TOPi}}$ there

land gefið ***Eyvindur föðurbróðir hans*** (Þorhv 2053)
land given [Eyvind fatherbrother his]$_{\text{AGENT}}$
'This man lived then at Hof in Vopnafjord who was named Steinbjorn and was called short/immature; and there his uncle Eyvind had given him land'

c. *Oddur spyr hvort hrossum Þorbjarnar höfðu stolið*
Odd asks whether [horses Thorbjorn's]$_{\text{TOP}}$ have stolen

útlendir menneða utanhéraðsmenn eða nábúar hans (Eyrb 550)
[foreign men or out-of-district-men or neighbors his]$_{\text{AGENT}}$
'Odd asks whether Thorbjorn's horses were stolen by foreigners or men from outside the district or his neighbors'

Clearly, there is another discourse topic involved in all of the cases, and letting the Agent become the subject, which would make it the 'natural' topic, would 'disturb' the discourse to some degree, i.e. the *topic continuity* would be interrupted.

Since Old Norse passive makes use of a *by*-phrase in almost surprisingly few cases (compared to for instance Modern Norwegian), one might speculate if the constructions above represent the 'original' stage of the passive transformation, i.e. maybe the right dislocated 'subject' is still a subject, whereas it became an adjunct at a later stage? This could probably be used as an argument for a non-configurational structure. However, since I have argued that Old Norse is a configurational language, and since this would not explain why the RDS construction is still acceptable in Modern Icelandic, I will not pursue this line of thought any further here.

According to Palmer (1994:138), "English and other languages may be said to have more than one passive, of which only one is a 'true' passive, as shown by":

(60) a. *They were married on Saturday*
b. *They were married for many years*

Palmer (1994:140) also quotes Keenan (1985:252-253) who notes three types of passive in Malagasy (Madagascar):

(61) a. *a-tsanga-ko* *ny* *lai*
PASS-put up-by me the tent
‘The tent is put up by me’

b. *voa-tsangana* *ny* *lai*
PASS-put up the tent
‘The tent is put up’

c. *tafa-tsangana* *ny* *lai*
PASS-put up the tent
‘The tent is put up’

According to Palmer (ibid.):

> the first is ‘paraphrastic with the active’, i.e. the passive proper, while the second is ‘unequivocally perfective’ and, thus, perhaps, to be regarded as a stative passive. The third, however, suggests that ‘the putting up of the tent was almost spontaneous; the conscious activity of the Agent is down-played’.

The Old Norse RDS construction cannot, of course, be considered a passive construction morphologically since the verb does not get passive morphology. If we wanted to consider it some ‘type’ of passive at all, we would have to call it a ‘syntactic passive’.[42] The functions of the construction under discussion do not have as wide a range as those of the ‘passive proper’ (‘true’ passive), i.e. the morphological - or morphologically marked - passive.[43] Among other things, it does not seem that an object from an active clause becomes the subject in this ‘passive-like’ construction. Rather, the Agent is ‘dethematized/detopicalized’ and the discourse topic remains also the clause internal topic. This strategy would fit the two last conditions of Jespersen’s five point list on conditions for passive (quoted in Palmer 1994:172):

> (iv) Even if the active subject is indicated (‘converted subject’) the passive form is preferred if one takes naturally greater interest in the passive than in the active subject;
> (v) The passive may facilitate the connection of one sentence with another.

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[42] See e.g. Keenan (1975) for a discussion on passive in Relational Grammar. See also Noonan & Woock (1978) for a discussion on passive-like constructions in Lango. According to Noonan & Woock, Lango does not have a morphological passive at all.

[43] The morphological passive is a syntactic passive at the same time since it involves promotion of a non-Agent to subject.

The function of 'connecting one sentence with another' is obviously crucial here. In (59b) above, *honum* is kept as a topic by fronting the objects and 'right dislocating' the Agent. In the following example, on the other hand, the construction seems to be used to introduce a new topic (*arf hans*), which in its turn connects with another sentence (*... og kastað á konungs eign*):[44]

(62)	*En*	*það*	*sama*	*haust*	*sem*	*Egill*	*hafði*	*komið*	*til*	*Englands*
	and	that	same	autumn	that	Egil	had	come	to	England

spurðust	*af*	*Noregi*	*þau*	*tíðindi*	*að*	*Eiríkur*	*alspakur*	*var*
was-heard	of	Norway	those	news	that	Eirik	all-wise	was

andaður	*en*	*arf*	*hans*	*höfðu*	*tekið*	***ármenn***	***konungs***
dead	and	inheritance	his	had	taken	[stewards	king's]$_{\text{AGENT}}$

og	*kastað*	*á*	*konungs*	*eign* (Egla 464)
and	cast	on	king's	own

'And that same autumn when Egil had come to England, those news were told from Norway, that Erik the All-Wise had died and that his inheritance was taken by the king's stewards and incorporated to the king's property

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[44] I consider *arf hans* being an accented topic expression, cf. Lambrecht (1994:202):

> The situation is quite different with ACCENTED TOPIC EXPRESSIONS, whether lexical or pronominal. Only with these expressions can - and should - the case for initial topic position be made. Since they have the primary function of announcing a new topic or of marking a shift from one topic to another, it is cognitively speaking important for such topic expressions to occur AT THE BEGINNING OF, or preferably BEFORE, the sentence which expresses the information about their referents.

The Old Norse example can probably be (partly) compared to an English example like (Lambrecht 1994:129):

(i) *Once upon a time there was an old king who lived in a beautiful castle.*

Cf. Lambrecht's (ibid.) comment:

> The phrase *an old king* in the first clause of this sentence designates an individual which has topic status in the discourse (the fairy tale is likely to be at least in part about this king). However, at the point in the discourse where this referent is first mentioned in the form of a lexical noun phrase, this noun phrase is not a topic expression, because the clause in which it occurs cannot be said to be ABOUT the referent of this phrase; rather the clause INTRODUCES this referent in order to make it available as a topic for subsequent predication. It is only with the relative pronoun *who* in the relative clause that the referent enters an aboutness relation with the proposition, making who an topic expression in that clause.

In the Old Norse sentence:

(ii) *en* [*ARF hans*]$_{\text{TOP}}$ *höfðu tekið* [*ármenn KONungs*]$_{\text{FOC}}$ *og kastað á konungs EIGN*
and inheritance his had taken stewards king's and cast on king's property

both focal phrases are topical *null* expressions in the subsequent clause (the verb *kasta* demands an Agent and a Theme argument). The focal topic *arf hans* is prosodically marked as a new topic, the first clause being about this topic, whereas *ármenn konungs* is introduced as a new discourse referent, i.e. focus.

Consider also the combination of a 'passive proper' sentence with a 'right dislocated' variant:[45]

(63) ... *þá komu* *Kvenir* *til* *hans og* *sögðu* *að* *þeir*
... then came Finnish-descendants to him and said that they

voru sendir *til* *hans og* *það* *hafði* *gert* ***Faravið*** ***konungur***
were sent to him and that had done [Faravid king

af ***Kvenlandi*** (Egla 383)
of Finnish-descendants-land]
'... then men of Finnish family came to him and said that they were sent there, and that they were sent by Faravid, king of Kvenland'

In all cases, a morphological 'proper passive' seems to be the only alternative to keep the desired information structure.

If handled as two 'passive variants', one could perhaps also distinguished them as *foregrounding* versus *backgrounding* passives (cf. Foley & Van Valin 1984, 1985), 'foregrounding' passives permitting a non-Actor to occur as a syntactic pivot, and 'backgrounding' passives serving to remove the Actor from the core clause. However, one would have to discuss to what degree the Actor is really 'removed'.

Cross-linguistic evidence suggests that a given language may have different types of passive constructions (see e.g. Alsina 1996, Croft 1991, Palmer 1994). Thus, even though the construction under discussion is not morphologically marked as passive, 'alternative' (non-GB) approaches to language might consider this a 'passive variant' (not true passive) or a 'passive-like' construction (see also Noonan & Woock 1978).

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[45] Note that the content of the latter clause also could be expressed by a *by*-phrase.

5.3.6 A Formal Discussion on Why the Agent is Obligatory

Above, I have discussed whether the Old Norse construction with a ‘right dislocated’ Agent possibly could be considered some kind of ‘passive variant’ (referring to the terminology of functional approaches to grammar). Perlmutter & Postal (1977) (quoted in Noonan & Woock 1978:128), for instance, argue that passives cannot be given a universal characterization in terms of word order, case or verbal morphology. For argument’s sake, it would be interesting to investigate the formal conditions for considering the RDS construction some kind of ‘passive variant’. As indicated in the previous subsection, one question would, for instance, be whether the Agent could be analyzed as an adjunct rather than an argument. Formally, this is imaginable if one assumes that the subject position is filled by (quasi-argumental) *pro*. This quasi-argumental *pro* would, in this case, have to be capable of receiving the external theta role which otherwise would have to be assigned to the proper Agent. If the Agent is adjoined to the right in the same way as an Agent-phrase (*by*-phrase), it cannot receive the theta role designated for it, but it would still be possible to associate it semantically with the subject position.

One feature of the suppressed Agent of a morpho-syntactic passive sentence (the *by*-phrase) is that it is usually completely optional and sometimes even almost inappropriate. The right dislocated Agent, on the other hand, seems to be obligatory.[46] To account for this difference, one could distinguish between arguments, adjuncts and so-called *argument adjuncts* (Grimshaw 1990). According to Grimshaw (1990:109), argument adjuncts are licensed by argument structure and have an intermediate status. “They resemble arguments in their mode of licensing. Yet unlike arguments they are not theta-marked, and they do not satisfy a-structure positions”. I assume that the construction with the right dislocated Agent can always be realized with the Agent NP filling the subject position (this is also the most frequent variant). That is, in the alternative (‘true’) active construction, the NP would satisfy the argument-structure position. One reason why the right dislocated Agent cannot be optional in the construction might be because it, in an even stronger way, restricts the interpretation of the argument position it is associated with (cf. Zubizarreta 1987).

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[46] Note, however, Grimshaw’s (1990:108, fn. 1) comment on adjuncts:

> It is often assumed that adjuncts must be optional, but this is factually incorrect (Grimshaw and Vikner (1990)). The important point is that they are not regulated by a-structure, so when they are obligatory, it is for other reasons.

Grimshaw (1990:109) states that the positions that can license argument adjuncts are those that are lexically satisfied or suppressed. Now, it is generally assumed that the Agent argument is suppressed in proper passive constructions, the Agent being ‘absorbed’ by the passive participle (cf. e.g. Jaeggli 1986, Roberts 1987, Baker, Johnson & Roberts 1989). One consequence of this is that the subject position is available for promotion of a non-Agent to surface subject. For the ‘right-dislocated-Agent’ construction, on the other hand, we would have to assume that the subject position is lexically satisfied by *pro*, i.e. the Agent is not actually suppressed. So why, then, is the Agent obligatory in the right-dislocated-Agent construction?

Grimshaw (1990:133) states that “obligatory adjuncts are limited to passives, never being found with active verb forms” (if the Agent really is an adjunct, this could actually be an argument for calling the RDS construction some kind of ‘passive variant’). In Grimshaw & Vikner (1990) it is proposed that verbs that take obligatory adjuncts in the passive have a complex event structure (cf. Pustejovsky 1988), i.e. they involve an *activity* and a *state*. The RDS construction may be said to keep the attention on both the activity and the state, whereas the Actor is ‘deprived’ its function as a ‘natural’ topic. The most frequent use of passive in Old Norse, i.e. without an Agent phrase, on the other hand, would focus on the state alone.

Even though the idea of a (functional) ‘passive variant’ would not be very attractive in a generative approach to language, such an approach is possible and accepted in functional grammar. Cf. also Noonan & Woock’s (1978:138) comment on NP fronting in Lango:

> The NP-fronting construction then does not meet the criteria for a structural passive, but it does appear to meet the criterion for a functional passive. A functional passive can be defined as a clause-internal rule that changes orientation. This is what the English passive does and this is what NP-fronting does. We might suggest that any rule that did not meet the functional criterion for passive could not be considered as a structural passive, regardless of the syntactic effect of such a rule, but that the reverse is certainly possible, with Lango as a prime example.

5.3.7 The RDS Construction as a Strategy when ‘True’ Passive is not Possible

The RDS constructions discussed above involve a clear ‘Agent phrase’, i.e. a phrase that would usually be an obligatory subject (cf. Grimshaw 1990) and a ‘natural topic’. There is no doubt that the construction under discussion could have been passivized in the ‘normal’ way. However, proper Passive Formation would normally imply that the Agent is turned into an optional adjunct (*by*-phrase). In the present approach the external argument would always have to become the surface subject. As such it would also by default be interpreted as the ‘natural topic’. Apart from Topicalization (a construction that still would have the surface subject as the third constituent), Passive Formation would usually be the only alternative to change the information structure for clauses with an agentive argument. After Passive Formation, another argument than the Agent becomes the surface subject and the ‘natural topic’. Or, the other way round: the topic becomes the subject.

Passivization is generally not possible when the verb does not assign an external theta role (cf. e.g. Grimshaw 1990). Still it seems that ergative constructions in Old Norse also have a way of accommodating to pragmatic demands, namely by a construction that, on the surface, looks exactly like the RDS construction. Consider, for instance, the following example from 4.3.3.2:[47]

(64)	*Það*	*sverð*	*hafði*	*átt*	***Ketill***	***hængur***	*og*	*haft*	*í*
	[that	sword]$_{TOPi}$	had	owned	[Ketil	hæng]$_{SUBJ?}$	and	had	in

hólmgöngum	*og*	*var*	*það*	*allra*	*sverða*	*bitrast* (Egla 464)
single-combats	and	was	that$_i$	all	swords	most-biting

‘That sword had belonged to Ketil Hong who had used it in single combats; it was much sharper than other swords / it was the sharpest of swords’

As discussed before, the ‘possessor’ would, for several reasons, be expected to be base-generated in a higher argument position than the ‘possessed’. Therefore, it is also expected to be promoted to surface subject. The choice of syntactic *subject* is supposed to be determined by the theta-role hierarchy, i.e. the ‘possessor’ is (usually) the only possible (structural) subject candidate. The ‘possessor’ may very well be the surface subject in this example. It has been shown in chapter 4 that an internal argument that is promoted to surface subject actually may be located in its base-position (Spec-IP being occupied by *pro*). In (64), one could argue that *það sverð* is a topicalized object and that *Ketill hængur* is the surface subject, located in the lower Spec-VP position which is linked to Spec-IP. However, it has also been argued that the subject of such constructions actually may be the ‘possessed’. This would be possible through some kind of thematic ‘role switch’. In (64), it is rather clear that there is another discourse topic (the sword) than the owner of the sword). Also, the function of providing topic continuity is apparent. If it is true that the verb *eiga* actually may be able to ‘switch’ its roles, the ‘possessed’ would be base-generated as the specifier instead of the ‘possessor’, which may become the complement. This is perhaps also some kind of ‘role deprivation’, similar to the change from Agent to Agent phrase. On the other hand, with an ergative verb, such ‘role switch’ would be less problematic compared to a verb like *gefa* since and ergative verb has no external argument and in any way has to promote an internal argument to surface subject.

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[47] On the status of *eiga* (‘own’) as an ergative verb, see the discussion in 4.3.3.2.

With ergative verbs, the question would be if the possible ‘deprivation’ of subject properties leads to *dislocation* of the argument, or if the argument is *base-generated* as a complement. I find the base-generation approach more appealing. Nevertheless, in both cases, it seems that the subject candidate is located to the right to *avoid promotion to syntactic subject*, which would make the phrase the ‘preferred’ topic. An example from the discussion in 4.3.3 could then, for instance, be analyzed in both ways: either the ‘possessor’ is base-generated as a complement and extraposed, or it is base-generated as an argument adjunct (after ‘role deprivation’ and follows another adverbial phrase:

(65) *Jófríði hafði átt fyrr Þóroddur son Tungu-Odds* (Egla 505)
Jofrid$_i$ had owned/belonged-to(?) before [Thorodd son Tungu-Odd’s]
‘Before that, Jofrid had been married to Thorodd, the son of Tungu-Odd.’

In both cases, *Jófríði* would be analyzed as the surface subject. A third analysis would, of course, be to consider *Þóroddur* an extraposed subject (RDS).

Both Modern Norwegian and Modern English allow a *by*-phrase with the verb ‘own’ (however, one would probably have to call the construction ‘be owned by somebody’ an adjectival passive). Thus, the same information structure is possible in these languages. Old Norse, on the other hand, does not (to my knowledge) have the possibility of using a *by*-phrase as an alternative in this case.

As mentioned above, in Old Norse the *by*-phrase of a passive clause usually expresses information that is already known or at least inferable (in most cases, the *by*-phrase is omitted). The RDS, on the other hand, represents totally new information (see also Rögnvaldsson 1984a). Thus, this is the crucial difference between the two constructions. Old information can relatively easily be omitted, which, of course, would not make any sense with new information. Both constructions can be used as strategies to maintain the order old - new information and to keep or introduce a discourse referent. But while passive allows old information to the right, i.e. expressed as a pronoun (e.g. *by him/her*), the RDS may apparently never be a pronoun, which by definition would be topical, hence, violating the system old - new. Thus, the whole motivation for using the RDS construction would 'break down'. Furthermore, a proposition is supposed to convey new information. The phrase to the right, then, represents the *pragmatic assertion* in Lambrecht's model. The phrase would also receive the default sentence accent. Consider again the example:

(66) *Hann* *gaf* *Brandi* *GRIPI þá* *sem* *honum* *hafði gefið*
he$_{\text{TOPi}}$ gave Brand things those that him$_{\text{TOPi}}$ had given

Jón *GRIKKlandskonungur* (Finnb 673)
[Jon Greeceking]$_{\text{AGENT}}$
'He gave Brand those things that Jon, king of Greece, had given him'

Here, the pronoun *hann* is an established, hence 'active', discourse topic. The focus of the first clause is *gripi þá* carrying the sentence accent. Also *Brandur* (dat. *Brandi*) is an 'active' and topical discourse referent (even though this sentence alone cannot verify that).[48] The assertion of the first clause is the topic of the relative clause, *gripi þá* being raised out of this clause into the matrix clause. The pronoun *honum* refers to *Brandur*, hence, it is still topical. The discourse referents *Brandur* and *gripi þá*, therefore, belong the the *presuppositional part* of the information structure of the relative clause. The pragmatic *assertion* of the relative clause is then the ‘inactive’ *Jón Grikklandskonungur*. According to Lambrecht (1994:60 and elsewhere), “all utterances must express pragmatic assertions in order to be informative”. Since the pragmatic assertion in (66) is expressed by the Agent, this phrase must therefore be obligatory not only for syntactic reasons. The Beneficiary *Brandur* and the Theme *gripi þá* are accessible/active referent, whereas *Jon Grikklandskonungur* is an inactive referent. According to Lambrecht (1994:100), Prince (1981) and Chafe (1987) have observed different syntactic constraints on the coding of inactive and accessible referents. They state e.g. that the majority of subjects in spoken English have active or accessible but not inactive referents.

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[48] Cf. Lambrecht (1994:106):

> An ACTIVE referent is typically, but not necessarily, coded with an unaccented expression. All unaccented referential expressions have active referents, but not all active referents appear as unaccented expressions. Unaccented expressions are marked for the feature "active referent" but accented expressions are unmarked for this feature. Similarly, all pronominal expressions (free or bound pronouns, inflectional markers, null elements) have active referents, but not all active referents are expressed pronominally: they may appear as lexical noun phrases, and these lexical phrases may be definite or indefinite. Pronouns are marked as having active referents, while lexical phrases are unmarked for the active/inactive distinction. To designate an active referent, the label "active" is sufficient. An often-encountered alternative label for "active" is "given", a term which I will generally avoid because of its ambiguity.

Now to the fact that the RDS in the examples above always seems to refer to a **name** or a **person**. The person will normally always be ‘identifiable’. According to Lambrecht (1994:106), an identifiable referent is necessarily in one of the three activation states *active, inactive, accessible*. For the inactive identifiable referent, is is claimed that it is “necessarily relatively prominent prosodically” (Lambrecht 1994:107), e.g. *I saw your* BROTHER *yesterday*. In English, the inactive identifiable referent is typically coded as a definite lexical noun phrase, except in the case of generic indefinite NPs and in certain cases of deixis, where an inactive referent can appear as an accented pronoun (e.g. *I want* THAT), Lambrecht states. An inactive referent may also be referred to as *unused*. The RDS in the examples above very often play no ‘important’ role - neither in the preceding nor in the subsequent discourse (e.g. the king of Greece as the previous owner of a sword). Hence, the referent is definitely unused until the time of the actual utterance. As an identifiable referent the phrase is also *accessible*. Since the referent very often has not been mentioned before, it is not a textually accessible referent, rather it is *situationally accessible* or *inferentitially accessible* (cf. Lambrecht 1994:100). Since the inactive referent is said to necessarily appear as an accented, lexical noun phrase, the clause final sentence-accent position would be a ‘natural’ default position for such a phrase. However, this would only be true for Old Norse and other languages that allow such ‘right (dis)location’. A similar construction in English is also called an *identificational sentence* by Lambrecht (1994:122). Consider:

(67) *(Who went to school?) The* CHILDREN *went to school*. (Lambrecht 1994:121)

According to Lambrecht, the statement in the answer is not to be construed as a statement about the children, hence, the phrase is not the topic of the sentence but a particular type of *focus* *expression* (so-called *argument focus*). The communicative function is to provide the referent solicited by the word *who* in the preceding question, Lambrecht states. In the English example, as in the Old Norse RDS construction, the non-topic status of the subject is formally marked by prosodic prominence, only here the accented phrase is not in the default sentence-accent position.[49] A possible way of accommodating the English example to the pragmatic situation could be a *wh*-cleft ('pseudocleft') construction (a) or an *it*-cleft construction (b) (cf. also the examples in Lambrecht 1994:123):

(68) a. *The ones who went to school were the* CHILDREN

b. *It was the* CHILDREN *who went to school*

The Old Norse example (66), on the other hand, can only be realized in English as having the focal phrase in the beginning of the clause (a) (cf. 67) or by turning the clause into a passive clause (b), or alternatively, by using a different verb where the Agent is turned into a Source (c):

(69) a. *He gave Brand the things that* [*Jon* GREECE*king*]$_{\text{FOCUS}}$ *had given him*

b. *He gave Brand the things that were give him by* [*Jon* GREECE*king*]FOCUS

c. *He gave Brand the things that he had gotten from* [*Jon* GREECE*king*]FOCUS

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[49] Compare also the following English allosentences from Lambrecht (1994:137):

A.	*What's the matter?*	B.	*How's your neck?*
a.	*My* NECK *hurts.*	a.	*My neck* HURTS.

Note the word order of the Italian variants (Lambrecht ibid.):

b.	*Mi fa male il* COLLO.	b.	*Il collo mi fa* MALE.

Even though the Old Norse examples above could give the impression that an accented/focal subject ‘normally’ appears at the end of the clause, this is not the case. However, the distribution of clause-initial accented subjects and clause-final accented ‘subjects’ is quite neatly described along the active/inactive distinction: as discussed above, the clause-final phrase is an *inactive* referent, whereas a clause-initial accented subject would be an *active* referent, cf. e.g.:

(70) *Skeggi safnar nú mönnum að sér og ríður út til Óss. En* ***Þórður*** *var heima við hinn tíunda mann og býst til varnar þegar hann sér ferð Skeggja. Þar voru þeir bræður báðir. Allir voru þeir vel vopnaðir. Kveðst* ***Þórður*** *nú hvergi mundu vægja fyrir Skeggja, kvað nú vel að þeir reyndu með sér. Það er að segja að þenna morgun hafði Eiður farið til stóðhrossa sinna í Línakradal. Þau hafði* ***Þórður*** *gefið honum.* (Þórð 2023)

Now Skeggi gathers men to follow him and rides to Os. And Thord was at home with ten men and immediately prepared to defend himself when he saw Skeggi’s move. Both brothers were there, and everybody was well armed. Thord said then that he would not treat before Skeggi, he agreed that they should try to compete with each other. This morning, it is said that Eid had gone to his horses in Linakradal. Those had Thord given him.

In this passage, *Þórður* is an active referent, he is in fact the discourse topic of the whole passage (as well as the main character of the whole saga). In the final sentence, *Þórður* is the subject, but it is also the focus expression, and the phrase is supposed to be accented:

(71)	*Þau*	*hafði*	*ÞÓRÐUR*	*gefið*	*honum*
	those	had	Thord	given	him

The two objects are marked as being topical by the use of pronominal phrases. *Þau* refers to the previously mentioned *stóðhrossa*, while *honum* refers to *Eidur*, also mentioned in the previous sentence. *Þórður*, then, is the assertion of this clause. According to Lambrecht’s (1994:147) approach, *þau* would be the ‘secondary’ topic, while *honum* represents the ‘primary’ topic. The motivation for this distinction is the fact that the discourse referent which *honum* refers to is already established as a discourse topic. In 4.3.1.5, I have used the opposite labeling because I argued that the phrase in front would be the clause topic, therefore primary, whereas the discourse topic is the secondary clause topic (also ‘older’ or ‘continuing’ topic). In the following examples, thus, the preverbal subject is an *accented* phrase but an *active* discourse referent. I will, however, not spend space on showing that the subject in fact refers to an active discourse referent (only the relevant phrases are marked for accent):

(72)	*Neytir*	*Þórður*	*þá*	*vel*	*saxins*	*er*	*Gamli*	*KONungur*	*hafði*
	uses	Thord	then	well	sword-the	that	[Gamliking]$_{\text{FOCUS}}$		had

gefið honum (Þórð 2010)
given him
'Thord fought then well with the sword that king Gamli had given him'

(73) *Ólafur var búinn á þá leið að hann var í skarlatsklæðum*
Olaf was dressed in this way that he was in scarlet-clothes

er Haraldur KONungur hafði gefið honum. Hann hafði á
that [Harald king]$_{FOCUS}$ had given him. he had on

höfði hjálm gullroðinn og sverð búið í hendi er
head helmet gilded and sword kept in hand that

MÝRkjartan konungur hafði gefið honum. (Laxd 1568)[50]
[Myrkjartan king]$_{FOCUS}$ had given him
'Olaf was dressed like that: he wore the scarlet clothes that king Harald had given him, and on his head, he had the gilded helmet, and in his hand, he held the sword that king Myrkjartan had given him'

In the RDS construction, on the other hand, the accented phrase designates an *inactive* referent, as discussed above.

In Lambrecht's Topic Acceptability Scale reproduced in (54) above, the RDS would at least have to be considered an *unused* referent. About unused referents as topics, Lambrecht (1994:166) states:

> A borderline case of pragmatic acceptability arises when new information is expressed about an UNUSED (i.e. identifiable yet inactive) topic referent. The acceptability of sentences containing topic expressions with unused referents varies widely with the language, the type of discourse, and the speech situation. The cognitive effort required in this case is of relative "high cost" because, in addition to processing propositional information about some topic, the interpreter must determine the referent of the topic itself, which was not previously made available in the discourse. Of course, some unused referents may be easier to access than for an interlocutor than others, and the acceptability of the sentence will vary accordingly.

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[50] The suggested difference between [*Haraldur **KONungur***] and [***MÝRkjartan** konungur*] is due to contrastive focus, I assume. The focal status of the phrase as a whole would still be in accordance with what I have said above.

The claim that the subject in RDS constructions is non-topical is rather uncontroversial. Not surprisingly, Lambrecht (1994:168) states that the constraints expressed in the Topic Acceptability Scale are only meant to account for those sentences which contain topic expressions. “If a constituent has a referent which is clearly not accessible, and if the sentence is nevertheless of normal acceptability”, Lambrecht says, “there is a good chance that the constituent is not a topic expression in the sentence”. An acceptable example from English would be (Lambrecht ibid.):

(74) *... and then a* BOY *came in ...*

According to Lambrecht, acceptable sentences whose subjects have unidentifiable or otherwise highly inaccessible referents are commonly found in *thetic sentences*, in particular those of the presentational type. Since the function of presentational sentences is to introduce an individual into the text-internal world, the NP in question cannot be a topic at this stage. As mentioned before, the acceptability of sentences with initial indefinite subject NPs like in (74) varies from language to language. According to Lambrecht (1994:169), the more a language associates topic function with subject role and initial position, the less acceptable such sentences will be. As discussed above, Italian, for instance, is a language that permits post-verbal subjects; Lambrecht mentions also Spanish.[51] In French, where subject-verb inversion is syntactically constrained, the bi-clausal *avoir*-construction in which the non-topic appears as post-verbally in the first clause is often used instead (see Lambrecht 1994:13ff.). In all these languages, the position after the verb is the position normally reserved for *objects*, which are the unmarked focus constituents. According to Lambrecht (ibid.), then, “marking a subject NP syntactically as non-topical is thus tantamount to stripping it of its most important unmarked-topic feature, which is the preverbal position, by providing it with morphosyntactic and prosodic features normally found on objects” (see also Lambrecht 1987). Lambrecht (1994:176ff.) considers both presentational constructions and dislocation constructions being **topic promotion constructions**.

5.3.8 Topic Promotion

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[51] Lambrecht’s references: Wandruszka (1981) for Italian, Hatcher (1956) and Contreras (1976) for Spanish, and Wehr (1984) for Romance in general.

Some construction types can be interpreted as pragmatically motivated structural devices whose basic function is to promote referents on the Topic Acceptability Scale from non-active (i.e. brand-new, unused, or accessible) to active state in the discourse and, hence, from lexical to unaccented coding in the sentence (Lambrecht 1994:176). According to Lambrecht, the propositions expressed in presentational sentences are thetic, i.e. the basic communicative function of such sentences is not to predicate a property of an argument but to introduce a new referent into a discourse. If the discourse function of presentational clauses is to promote brand-new or unused referents to active status, this would explain the so-called Definiteness Effect, i.e. the expressions used to code the introduced/presented referents are supposed to be indefinite or definite accented lexical noun phrases (Lambrecht 1994:178). An unaccented referent is usually already topical. Also, presentational NPs may not normally be pronouns, since the referents of pronouns are already active. In most RDS examples discussed above, the phrase is a name. However, it was rather clear that the postverbal name was *inactive*, whereas the preverbal name was *active* in the discourse. In English, French, German and also Modern Norwegian presentational constructions, indefinite NPs are tolerated, whereas definite NPs may yield ungrammaticality (cf. the Definiteness Effect).[52] According to Lambrecht (1994:178), this kind of quasi-grammatical constraint is directly explainable in terms of the Topic Acceptability Scale. Given that brand-new topic referents are lowest on the scale, the need to avoid sentences having such topics is greatest, Lambrecht says. Therefore grammaticalization is most likely to arise in those cases. Presentational constructions are very often *existential*, i.e. they assert the *existence* of the referent of the postverbal NP. The RDS construction, on the other hand, is not existential. Lambrecht (1994:179) considers the term ‘existential’ somewhat misleading from the point of view of information-structure analysis, referring to an example like *Once there was a wizard*. The

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[52] See, for instance, the Modern Norwegian sentences in 5.2, example (24). Compare also:

(i) a. *Det går ein lingvist på gata*
it_{EXPL} walks a linguist on street-the

b. **Det går lingvisten på gata*
it walks linguist-the on street-the

c. **Det går John på gata*
it walks John on street-the

d. *Linguisten/John går på gata*

function of such a sentence is assumed to be that of presenting or introducing a referent into the ‘place’ or ‘scene’ of the discourse and thereby of raising it into the addressee’s consciousness, rather than of asserting its mere existence. As mentioned above, the introduced referent is quite often indefinite. However, in some languages, e.g. spoken French (Lambrecht ibid.), the ‘presented’ NP of an existential construction can be a definite description and even a proper name, i.e. an expression whose referent is not only presupposed to exist but also to be known to the addressee. “In such cases, mere assertion of the existence of the referent would be a kind of tautology” (Lambrecht 1994:179). It seems that a comparison of Romance languages with Old Norse could be a fruitful way to find out more about Old Norse. Lambrecht (1994:181) refers, for instance, also to an example that he calls ‘pseudo-agentive’ presentational sentence from Italian:

(75) Ha telefonato GIOVANNI. “GIOVANNI called”

In this example, it is not the purpose to convey information about the caller as an Agent involved in some action. If such information were intended, Lambrecht claims, the utterance would have to be of the topic-comment type, e.g.:

(76) a. *Giovanni ha TELEFONATO*
b. *Ha TELEFONATO, Giovanni*

Now, the interesting thing is, regarding the discussion on RDS, that Lambrecht says that:

> Presentational sentences sometimes contain intransitive predicates (or transitive predicates with unexpressed object arguments) whose subject arguments can be said to be agentive to a certain degree. In such cases, the agentivity of the predicate is subordinated to the presentational function of the proposition and the predicate is in fact pragmatically construed as non-agentive.

Above it was discussed whether RDS constructions pragmatically could be said to have something in common with passive constructions. Since the phrase to the right in RDS constructions obviously seems to be an Agent, a structural characterization of the RDS construction would, among other things, have to imply that the Agent argument can be associated in a different way, like e.g. in passives, where the Agent is not realized as an argument but as an adjunct. Such an analysis would be possible with an argument-adjunct approach like the one presented in Grimshaw (1990). Nevertheless, since the RDS construction has no passive morphology, it could never qualify as a ‘true’ passive. Instead of talking about terms like 'passivelike' or 'passive variant', one could also, like Lambrecht, use 'pseudo-agentive' or 'pragmatically non-agentive'. Such a characterization would be less problematic.

Lambrecht claims that agentivity in the Italian example above is 'subordinated'. Probably, the purely pragmatic description of the information structure is most appropriate since it is not that easy to account for the syntactic construction by 'reordering' argument relations. According to Lambrecht, there is a limit to the degree of agentivity a predicate can have to be exploitable as presentational and thus to be able to appear with presentational syntax or prosody. Lambrecht finds the upper limit difficult to define, but he claims that it clearly exists. For instance, Lambrecht claims that of the two examples (p. 181):

(77) a. *JOHN called*
b. *JOHN called his wife*

only (a) may be understood as presentational, whereas the transitive sentence with subject focus can only be understood as an identificational sentence, with JOHN as an 'argument focus' (see Lambrecht 1994:228ff.) and the rest of the proposition pragmatically presupposed. I find that many of the characteristics of presentational constructions fit the RDS constructions discussed above.

Lambrecht (1994:181ff.) discusses 'detachment constructions' separately, claiming that from a certain degree of pragmatic accessibility on, it is possible in many languages to code a not-yet-active topic referent in the form of a lexical noun phrase which is placed in a syntactically autonomous or 'detached'/'dislocated' position. According to Lambrecht (p. 182), this position would most commonly be to the left (left detachment/dislocation), and, less commonly to the right (right detachment/dislocation) of the the clause which contains the propositional information about the topic referent. Such detachment or dislocation structures would be of the Modern Norwegian kind discussed in 5.3.2 above. Note that the propositional information is considered being about the detached referent which, at least by the time the detached phrase is uttered, makes it a *topic expression*, even though an extra-clausal lexical NP is a 'marked' type of topic expression (Lambrecht 1994:182). In addition, Lambrecht states, there is usually an intra-clausal 'resumptive' pronoun or other unaccented pronominal which is construed as co-referential with the detached lexical constituent. Most of this fits the Modern Norwegian construction, but not the RDS constructions. Furthermore, Lambrecht (1994:184) claims that despite some possible overlap between the presentational and the detachment construction, especially in the ‘shady’ area of accessibility, “the two constructions are in complementary distribution as far as referents at the extreme ends of the Topic Accessibility Scale are concerned: active referents may not occur in presentational clauses, and brand-new referents may not occur in detachment constructions”. According to Lambrecht, this distributional difference is formally reflected in the fact that presentational NPs may not normally be pronouns and that detached NPs may not normally be indefinite.

What consequences does these claims have for the Old Norse RDS construction, then? Most of the Old Norse examples discussed above contain a name, hence, the phrase to the right is actually definite. However, consider again the Old Norse example:

(78)	*Oddur*	*spyr*	*hvort*	*hrossum*	*Þorbjarnar*	*höfðu*	*stolið*
	Odd	asks	whether	horses	Thorbjorn’s	have	stolen

útlendir	***menn***	***eða***	***utanhéraðsmenn***	***eða***	***nábúar***	***hans*** (Eyrb 550)
[foreign	men	or	out-of-district-men	or	neighbours	his]$_{\text{AGENT}}$

‘Odd asks whether Thorbjorn’s horses were stolen by foreigners, or men from outside the district, or his neighbours’

This example contains two indefinite phrases *útlendir menn* and *utanhéraðsmenn*. On the other hand, it also contains a definite phrase *nábúar hans*. Maybe it is the presence of the definite phrase in this special combination that allows the two other phrases to occur in this position; additionally, the whole phrase to the right is also rather complex. The other aspect of Lambrecht’s claim is the requirement that the right dislocated phrases cannot be a brand-new referent. As discussed above, even though the referents designating the Agent in the RDS constructions above are ‘unused’ (sometimes the referent occurs just this one time in the whole saga), the referent does not necessarily have to be considered brand-new. For instance, a person like the king of Greece would be an accessible referent in the temporal/historical extralinguistic context. On the other hand, Lambrecht himself regards the area of accessibility ‘shady’. But, all in all, the distributional facts seem to be covered. Still, according to the syntactic-semantic theory outlined in chapter 4, the Agent is not ‘expected’ to appear overtly at the end of the clause, following internal arguments and possible adjuncts. In Lambrecht’s theory, there is a functional account for this ‘mismatch’, i.e. in constructions that “cause a referential noun phrase to appear elsewhere than in the position assigned to it by the canonical sentence model, in which all arguments of a predicate appear as grammatical arguments at the level of clause structure” (p.

184). Since there obviously are non-canonical configurations that allow speakers to “separate the REFERRING function of noun phrases from the RELATIONAL role their denotata play as arguments in a proposition”, Lambrecht (1994:184) postulates the *Principle of the Separation of Reference and Role*, the communicative motivation of this principle being captured in the form of a simple pragmatic maxim: “Do not introduce a referent and talk about it in the same clause” (Lambrecht 1994:185).

Now, the problem about the detachment construction Lambrecht is concerned with, and about the Old Norse RDS construction, is that the detachment construction has a clause-internal pronominal subject (cf. the Modern Norwegian examples in 5.3.2 above), whereas the RDS construction has no overt phrase in [Spec, IP] at all. Also, the detached NP is considered to be - if not actually a topic expression - a ‘topic announcing’ NP (see Lambrecht’s 1994:188 discussion), the function of the construction being to provide a new discourse referent. The referent of the dislocated NP in the Old Norse RDS construction, on the other hand, does not usually play any role in subsequent discourse at all, thus, it is actually not even a *potential* topic expression. The RDS construction is, therefore, more like an event-reporting construction, at least from the point of view of the non-topical *subject* (there is usually a proper topic in the sentence, see above), while some detachment constructions still may fit the topic-comment description, i.e. that the proposition is ‘about’ the topic, i.e. the subject. The detached NP is usually co-indexed with an intra-clausal ‘resumptive’ pronoun or other unaccented pronominal which is construed as co-referential with the detached lexical constituent, i.e. there is a pronominal phrase that may function as an intra-clausal topic. The RDS, on the other hand, we have to assume would be co-indexed with *pro*, which, in this case, would not be a good topic candidate.

5.3.9 Conclusion

It is obviously not very easy to analyze Old Norse RDS constructions. Functionally they seem to share some properties with passive constructions. At least, agentivity seems to be pragmatically subordinated. The main function is apparently to provide topic continuity. The surface subject candidate is not necessarily structurally ‘suppressed’ as in passive proper, but it seems that the subject position may be occupied by a *pro*-element, probably similar to quasi-argumental *pro*. ‘Right dislocation’ of the subject candidate, then, could be considered a strategy to avoid theta-role assignment to the subject candidate which otherwise would make it the ‘preferred’ topic. Following such an approach, the status of the ‘right dislocated’ phrase would be that of an adjunct or argument-adjunct, most likely linked to *pro*, which would be the syntactic subject then.

5.4 Some Remarks on Scrambling in Old Norse

5.4.1 ‘Old’ vs. ‘New’ Information and Accent Placement

The discussion in the sections above has shown that Old Norse may be regarded as belonging to those languages where ‘old’ information tends to precede ‘new’ information. There is a clear tendency to order the information in the sentence in a way that the ‘new’ (hence *focal* in Lambrecht’s terms) information is located in a position where it would receive the default sentence accent. This does not imply that every sentence has a default sentence accent, or that the rightmost constituent always is the focus expression, i.e. the new information. A saga text may pretty well start with ‘new’ information (there is, of course, usually no ‘old’ information to start a new text with). Consider, for instance, the first sentence in *Laxdœla saga* (with my suggested accent marking):

(79) *Ketill FLATnefur hét maður son Bjarnar BUnu.* (Laxd 1537)
Ketil Flat-Nose was-called man son Bjorn Buna
‘There was a man called Ketil Flat-Nose, who was the son of Bjorn Buna.’ (*Laxdœla saga* 1969:47)

This construction, then, would tell the reader that Ketil Flat-Nose will be the topic of the subsequent discourse. Hence, it is some kind of topic-announcing or topic-providing construction (cf. Lambrecht 1994). As indicated by the English translation, this function is usually covered by presentational constructions in English and many other languages, i.e. a construction where the new referent would receive the accent by default (cf. the discussion above). In Old Norse, the construction in (79) is actually a very common way of introducing new discourse referents, the alternative being e.g.:

(80) *Maður hét ÞORgils og var HÖLluson* (Laxd 1623)
man was-called Thorgils and was Halla's-son
'There was a man called Thorgils Holluson' (Laxdæla saga 1969:190)

i.e. the order where the focus expression is accented by default. This variation is stylistically motivated and has, in my opinion, no implication on the general assumptions on default accent placement (see e.g. the section on *Pragmatic Accommodation* in Lambrecht 1994:195ff.). Note that a Danish translation of the Old Norse sentence in (79) has been changed in order to accent the relevant phrase by default, but without choosing a presentational construction (the translation has also incorporated the following Old Norse sentence into the same clause):

(81) *BjørnBunas søn Ketil FLADnæse var en mægtig og*
[Bjorn Buna's son [Ketil Flat-Nose]] was a mightyand

ætstor HERse i NORge (*Laxdæla saga* 1980)
familie-big chief in Norway
'Bjorn Buna's son Ketil Flat-Nose was a powerful and well-born chief in Norway'

The accented phrase is still part of the first constituent in the sentence. However, in this construction, it is 'anchored' (cf. Lambrecht 1994:165) to a phrase that is presented as if it were 'old' information (note, however, that *Bjørn Buna* would have to be inferred/accessed text-externally). The structure of the Danish translation is comparable with Lambrecht's (1994:14) example *My CAR broke down* discussed above, where 'my' represents a topic expression, while 'CAR' is a focus expression.

Now consider the first sentences of the opening of *Laxdæla saga* as the beginning of a discourse (I have marked what I assume to be the accented phrases):

(82) *Ketill FLATnefur hét maður son Bjarnar BUnu. Hann*
[Ketil Flat-Nose]$_i$ was-called man$_i$ son Bjorn Buna. he

var HERsir ríkur í Noregi[53] *og KYNstór. Hann bjó í*
was chief rich in Norway and family-big. He lived in

RAUMSdal í RAUMSdælafylki. Það er milli SUNNmærar og
Romsdal in Romsdal-province. That is between Southern-More and

NORÐmærar. Ketill flatnefur átti YNGvildi dóttur Ketils
Northern-More. Ketil Flat-Nose owned Yngvild daughter Ketil's

---

[53] Possibly *Noregi* may be accented in this clause instead of *hersir*.

VEðurs, Ágœts manns. Þeirra börn voru FIMM. Hét
Wether, respected man. Their children were five. Was-called

einn Björn hinn AUSTrœni, annar Helgi BJÓlan. ... (Laxd 1537)
one Bjorn the Easterner, other Helgi Bjolan. ...

'There was a man called Bjorn Buna. He was a rich and well-born chief in Norway. He lived in Romsdal in Romsdal Province. That lies between Sunnmore and Nordmore. Ketil Flat-Nose was married to Yngvild, daughter of Ketil Wether, a respected man. They had five children. The first was called Bjorn the Easterner, and the second was called Helgi Bjolan.'

I consider the distribution of the accented phrases (or maybe rather of the focus constituents containing accented phrases) to be more or less the same in the Old Norse passage and in the corresponding English translation. Possible differences are first of all due to structural differences. The point is that the 'new' information, i.e. the focus expression, usually occurs inside the area of the default sentence accent preceded by unaccented topic expressions. The starting point for a discussion on Scrambling in Old Norse should thus be that, very generally, the default sentence accent area is - in the unmarked case - 'expected' to contain the 'new' information.

5.4.2 Scrambling with Transitive Verbs

To start the investigation of Scrambling in Old Norse, I will take a look at examples with the participle of the transitive verb *drepa* ('kill'). I choose *drepa* because it is a rather frequent verb in the sagas, and I choose the participle form *(drepið*) because, given an SVO basis, an occurrence of the object to the left of the participle may indicate **Scrambling**. A search on the CD-ROM results in 125 occurrences of the form *drepið*. However, some of those are examples of passive clauses, some are 2nd person plural indicative or imperative/subjunctive, and some are used with a different meaning (e.g. instead of 'knock down somebody', i.e. 'kill somebody', it may mean 'knock on the door'). Still, there is quite an amount of examples with the active participle of *gefa* involving an Agent and a Patient. Interestingly, less than ten of those examples seem to involve Scrambling. Let me start by presenting the most frequent surface realization of AgentSUBJ - *drepið*V - PatientOBJ, e.g.:

(83) *Nú hefir Þórður* ***drepið þrjá menn****. Þetta sér Össur og*
now has Thord killed$_V$[three men]$_{OBJ}$. This sees Oss and

biður þá sína menn að sækja. (Þórð 2031)
begs then his men to seek
'Thord has now killed three men. Oss sees that and commands his men to attack'

(84) *Hefir hann* ***drepið alla þína boðsmenn*** *nema þá er*
has he killed$_V$ [all yor message-men]$_{OBJ}$ except those who

hér eru (Bárð 67)
here are
'He has killed all your messengers but those who are here'

(85) *Þá hafði hann* ***drepið*** *af þeim* ***þrettán menn*** *með*
then had he killed$_V$ of them [thirteen men]$_{OBJ}$ with

þeim fjórum sem hann drap við skip áður en hann var fangaður (Harð 1291)
them four that he killed with ship before that he was captured
'He had then killed thirteen of the men, together with those four he had killed by the ship, before he was captured.

So far, nothing special is to be observed. Now take a look at what I consider the most typical Scrambling structures with the verb *drepa*:

(86) *Þjóstólfur hét fóstri hennar. Hann var suðureyskur að*
Thjostolf was-called foster-father her. He was Hebridian by

ætt. Hann var styrkur maður og vígur vel og
descent. He was strong man and skilled-in -arms well and

hafði ***margan mann drepið*** *og bætti engan mann*
had [many a-man]$_{OBJ}$ killed$_V$ and paid no man

fé. (Njála 135/136)
fee
'Her foster-father was called Thjostolf. He was Hebridian by descent. He was a strong man and skilled in arms and had killed many men and paid no compensation for any man'

(87) *Kunnigt er það Hávarður að eg hefi* ***margan mann drepið.***
known is that Havard that I have [many a-man]$_{OBJ}$ killed$_V$.

Þótt menn hafi saklausa kallað þá hefi eg engan fé
Though men have groundless called then have I no fee

bættan. (HávÍs 1308/1309)
paid
'I is well known, Havard, that I have killed many men. Even though people have said that this has been without any reason, I have not paid any compensation'

(88) *... því að eg þekki lyndi jarls. Hann er öfundsjúkur,*
... that that I know dispositions earls. He is envious,

kappsamur og yfrið harður. Hann hefir ***margan mann drepið***
full-of-fight and very hard He has [many a-man]$_{\text{OBJ}}$ killedV

og fátt sér um gefið (GunKe 1161)
and little himself about cared
'... because I know the earl's disposition. He is envious, full of fight and very hard. He has killed many men and does not trouble himself about that'

I find this distribution rather striking. Note that these last examples are more like idiomatic expression. In the examples (86)-(88), the object is non-specific, while it is specific in (83)-(85). Regarding the accent, I assume that the object will be accented whether it is located before the verb or after the verb. Thus, accent is probably not relevant in this construction. I assume that the structure *drepa* - OBJ is the base-generated structure. Actually, there is also one example with *marga menn* in the basic position:

(89) *Eg hefi ratað í vandræði mikil og* ***drepið marga menn***
I have fallen in problems much and killed [many men]$_{\text{OBJ}}$

og vil eg vita hversu þú vilt vera láta (Njála 200)
and will I know how you will be let
'I have come into serious trouble and killed many men, and I want to know what you want me to do'

However, just a few paragraphs before this particular example, there is a concrete fighting situation. Hence, the men that have been killed can easily be identified/specified.

Even though there seems to be a clearly observable correlation of specificity vs. non-specificity of the object of *drepa* and the use of basic structures opposed to scrambled structures, scrambling of a specific object is possible (note that non-scrambling of a non-specific object seems to be less common). Consider the one (clear) example of a specific scrambled object I found:

(90) *Vermundur mælti: "Mjög ganga þeir fóstbræður nú af*
Vemund said: Much go they foster-brothers now off

sér er þeir drepa menn fyrir oss og mundum vér það vilja
themselves when they kill men for us and will we that want

að þeir dræpu eigi vora menn marga." Hún mælti: "Það er
that they killed not [our men many]. She said: That is

sem von er að yður sé svo um gefið en það munu sumir
as hope is that you would so about given and that will some

menn mæla að þeir hafi eigi ***þessa menn fyrir yður drepið***
men say that they have not [these men]$_{OBJ}$ [for you]$_{PP}$ killed$_{V}$

heldur má hinn veg að kveðaað þeir hafi þessi víg fyrir
rather must that way to tell that they have this murder for

yður unnið. (Fóstb 785)
you commited
'Vemund said: They cannot control themselves now, the foster-brothers, killing our men, but we will not let them kill that many of our men. She said: That is as expected, that you feel that way about it; but some people may say that they have not killed these men to harm you, rather it could be said that they have committed this murder for you / for your benefit.'

Actually, in this example two phrases are scrambled, i.e. *þessa menn* and *fyrir yður*. My assumption regarding this particular example would be that there is a contrastive accent on the verb *drepið*. Note that also the last clause has the same Scrambling structure. Hence, I assume that *drepið* is correlated with *unnið*, and that there is a certain stress pattern:

(91) a. *að þeir hafi eigi* [*þessa menn*]$_{OBJ}$ [*fyrir yður*]$_{PP}$ *DREPIÐ*
b. *að þeir hafi* [*þessi víg*]OBJ [*fyrir yður*]PP *UNNIÐ*

Scrambling of the postverbal material may in this case be explained by assuming that this makes accenting the verb more 'natural' in accordance with the assignment of the default sentence accent. By this operation the 'negative' word *drepið* ('killed') would contrast with the 'positive' word *unnið* ('won/achieved/committed'). Before looking at another verb, I will mention that there is no example of *drepið* and a scrambled pronoun *hann* ('he') (most people killed in the sagas are men). This may seem a little strange since it is often assumed that pronominal phrases tend to occur 'earlier' in a clause. On the other hand, since a pronoun by definition is specific, this goes well together with the observations above.

Since there is also another verb with the meaning 'kill', it may be interesting to investigate the order of verb and object of this verb *vega*. The results are even more striking. I found 66 occurrences of the form *vegið*. As with *drepið*, some of those forms do not represent the participle of *vega*. However, there is a rather large amount of data, the basic structure being V - OBJ. Consider, for instance, the following examples:

(92) *Segið það Flosa að Kári Sölmundarson hefir* ***vegið***
say-you that Flosi that Kari Solmundar's-son has killed$_{V}$

Kol Þorsteinsson (Njála 344)
[Kol Thorstein's-son]$_{OBJ}$
'Tell Flosi that Kari Solmundarsom has killed Kol Thorsteinsson'

(93) *Eiður segir: "Hann hefir* ***vegið tvo menn."*** (Þórð 2018)
Eid says: He has killed$_V$ [two men]$_{OBJ}$
'Eid says: He has killed two men'

(94) *Þú munt hafa* ***vegið hann*** (Njála 224)
you will have killed$_V$ him$_{OBJ}$
'You have probably killed him'

In comparison, I found only one example that clearly has Scrambling of the object. Note the context:

(95) *Glúmur segir: "Sá eg glöggt hvað títt var, barn að aldri*
Glum says: Saw I clearly what happening was, child of age

en vegið slíka hetju sem Þorvaldur var og muntu verða frægur
and killed such giant like Thorvald was and will-you become famous

af þessu verki. Af því fékk eg sóma utanlendis er eg vó
of this work. Of such got I glory abroad when I killed

berserkinn." Hann svarar: "Ekki hefi eg ***Þorvald vegið."***
berserk-the. He answers: Not have I Thorvald$_{OBJ}$ killed$_V$.

Glúmur segir: "Eigi er að dylja þessa vinur, þú
Glums says: Not is to conceal this friend, you

veittir honum banasárið. Firrst þú eigi gæfu þína." (VígGl 1940)
gave him mortal-wound. Leave you not luck your
'Glum said: I saw clearly what was about to happen, you were a child of age but killed a giant like Thorvald. You will become famous by this deed. By such a deed I got glory abroad when I killed the beserk. He answers: I did not kill Thorvald. Glum says: This cannot be concealed, my friend, you gave him the mortal wound. Do not turn away from your luck.'

The exclamatory character of the sentence *Ekki hefi eg Þorvald vegið* is obvious. I am not sure about the distribution of possible accented phrases. Probably, at least the fronted *ekki* ('not') is accented. Perhaps a non-scrambled object may get a contrastive reading when the negation word is fronted, e.g. 'I have not killed Thorvald, even though I have killed many/some other men/man'. In the Old Norse example, a contrastive reading would not be appropriate. It is also possible that Scrambling in this example favors a reading with an accent on the subject *eg*. I will not speculate more about the possible accent distribution in this particular sentence. I find it reasonable to assume that Scrambling has a special pragmatic function in this sentence, and it is obvious that the scrambled structure is not the 'normal', i.e. most frequent, structure with 'kill a certain person’, neither with *drepa* nor with *vega*.

Recall the construction *drepa margan mann / marga menn* above. I said that this construction seems to be idiomatic. As shown above, with the non-specific reading, the object is usually scrambled. Now, there is also a clearly idiomatic expression with the verb *vega*, namely *vega víg* (‘committ a murder/misdeed’) (compare to ‘dream a dream’, ‘dance a dance’ etc.). I only found five clear examples with Scrambling (two being variants of the same sentence). Still, there is one example similar to the non-specific object of the verb *drepa*, also the non-specific *víg* being scrambled, e.g.:[54]

(96)	*Eigi*	*veit*	*eg*	*hvort*	*þú*	*hefir*	*það*	*spurt*	*að*	*eg*	*hefi*	***mörg***
	not	know	I	whether	you	have	that	heard	that	I	have	[many

	víg	***vegið***	*og*	*eg*	*hefi*	*ekki*	*bætt* (Fóstb 779)
	murders]$_{\text{OBJ}}$	committed$_{\text{V}}$	and	I	have	not	paid

‘I do not know whether you have heard that I have committed many murders and that I have not paid compensation’

However, the object may apparently also be definite/specific. At least this seems to be the case in two examples (three; the third being a variant). Actually, it seems that *víg* is scrambled independently of whether it is specific or not, e.g.:

(97)	*... og*	*kunna*	*mundi*	*eg*	*mér*	*það*	*ef*	*eg*	*hefði*	***vígið***
	... and	know	would	I	myself	that	if	I	had	[murder-the]$_{\text{OBJ}}$

	vegið	*að*	*nefnast*	*annan*	*veg*	*en*	*eg*	*héti* (GísL 941)
	committed$_{\text{V}}$	to	name	other	way	than	I	be-named

‘... and I would know what to do if it were me that had committed the murder: I would call myself by another name’

(98)	*Þeir*	*spurðu*	*hví*	*Þorgeir*	*hefði*	***þetta***	***víg***	***vegið***	*eða*
	They	asked	why	Thorgeir	had	[this	murder]$_{\text{OBJ}}$	committed$_{\text{V}}$	or

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[54] In this particular example, I would say that Scrambling of *mörg víg* may indicate that the speaker does not necessarily deny that he has committed many murders. He denies, however, that he has not paid compensation. I assume that the main accent would fall on *bætt*.

hvað Þorgeir fyndi til um mann þenna (Fóstb 793)
what Thorgeir found to on man this
‘They asked why Thorgeir had committed this murder or what he had against this man’

The three examples with Scrambling of *víg* have in common that *víg* is not part of a focus expression. The examples involve ‘identifiable’ incidents of murders (96 only partly), but in (96) the point is that the speakers is accused for not having paid compensation for a murder, in (97) the speaker would have known a way out of the situation, and in (98) one wants to know why Thorgeir had committed the murder.

When *víg* is part of the focus expression, i.e. when it represents new information, it is presented in the base position (cf. the clearly specific use - or maybe rather ‘referring’ use - of *marga menn* above). There are two examples with the basic structure, and both exhibit the same ‘referring’ use:

(99) *“Eg hefi* ***vegið víg eitt,"*** *segir Hrappur. "Hvert víg er*
I have committed$_{V}$ [murder a]$_{OBJ}$ says Hrapp. What murder is

það," segir Kolbeinn [...] Hrappur svarar: "Eg hefi vegið
that, says Kolbein Hrapp answers: I have killed

Örlyg Ölvisson Hróðgeirssonar hins hvíta ... (Njála 223)
Orlyg Olvi’s-son Hrodgeir’s-son the white ...
‘I have committed a murder, Hrapp says. What murder is that, Kolbein says. Hrapp answers: I have killed Orlyg Olvisson, son of Hrodgeir the White ...’

(100) *Þórhallur kastaði honum dauðum af spjótinu. Kári*
Thorhall cast him dead off spear-the. Kari

Sölmundarson gat séð þetta og mælti við Ásgrím:
Solmund’s-son got seen this and said with Asgrim:

"Hér er kominn Þórhallur son þinn og hefir
Here is come Thorhall son your and has

vegið víg *nú þegar ...* (Njála 316)
committed$_{V}$ murder$_{OBJ}$ now immediately
‘Thorhall threw him off the spear, dead. Kari Somundarson saw this and said to Asgrim: Here your son Thorhall has come and has committed a murder already’

It has been shown that there is a relatively clear functional distinction between scrambled and unscrambled variants of the examples discussed above. The examples represent strong evidence for the claim that **Old Norse has only one basic word order**, and that **this basic word order is (S)VO**, (S)OV patterns being derived from the basic word order by Scrambling.

Before leaving the verb *vega*, it may be interesting to look at some structures with *Stylistic Fronting*. Apparently, *víg-* tends to be fronted in relative clauses. Out of six examples involving *vegið*, *víg-* and Stylistic Fronting, five (four) have *víg-* fronted (two are variants of the same saga), whereas one has fronting of the participle *vegið* (e), e.g.:[55]

(101) a. *Það fylgir og að þegar veit er **víg** er*
that follows also that immediately knows when murder$_i$ is

vegið með atgeirinum því að svo syngur
committed _$_i$ with halberd-the that that so sings

í honum áður að langt heyrir til (Njála 157)
in him before that long hears to
'This property also follows the halberd, that one immediatly knows when a murder has been committed with it, because the halberd makes such a singing noise that it can be heard far away'

b. *... en hinn hét Bergur*
... and the-other was-named Berg

*er **vígið** hafði vegið* (GísL 941)
who murder-the$_i$ had committed _$_i$
'... and the other one, the one who had committed the murder, was called Berg'

c. *... að eg vildi mennina í frið kaupa, þá*
... that I wanted men-the in free buy, those

*er **vígin** hafa vegið* (Fóstb 785)
who murders-the$_i$ have committed _$_i$
'... that I wanted to pay for the freedom of those menn who have committed the murders'

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[55] There is also a seventh example:

(i) *Féll hann þegar dauður niður og varð aldrei uppvíst hver* [*þetta víg*]$_i$ *hafði vegið* _$_i$. (Njála 319)
fell he immediately dead down and was never discovered who this murder had committed
'He fell down dead at once and it was never discovered who had committed the murder.'

d. *... allra helst er sá var sekur*
... all especially since so was sentenced

er ***vígin*** *hafði vegið* (Fóstb 792)
who murders-the$_i$ had committed _$_i$
'... especially since the one who had committed the murders was sentenced to be an outlaw'

e. *Sigurður jarl kenndi manninn þann*
Sigurd earl knew man-the the

er ***vegið*** *hafði vígið* (Njála 336)
who committed$_i$ had _$_i$ murder-the
'Earl Sigurd knew the man who had committed the murder'

Recall that Stylistic Fronting is made possible by the empty subject position [Spec, IP] in relative clauses (cf. the discussion in 4.7). Even though I consider Stylistic Fronting as not necessarily being triggered by pragmatic constraints, I find it interesting that Stylistic Fronting of *víg-* as an object is relatively frequent whereas there is not a single example of a fronted object denoting the person murdered. There is one example with Stylistic Fronting of the participle *vegið*, but the object is omitted:

(102) *... þá varð atburður sá í Borgarfirði að son Eiðs*
... then became incident so in Borgarfjord that [son Eid's

úr Ási var veginn af sonum Helgu frá Kroppi.
of As]$_i$ was killed of sons Helga from Kropp.

Hét sá Grímur er ***vegið*** *hafði en bróðir*
Was-named that Grim who killed$_j$ had _$_j$ _$_i$ and brother

hans Njáll (Laxd 1623)
his Njal
'... then it happend in Borgarfjord that the son of Eid of As was killed by the sons of Helga from Kropp. The one who had killed him was called Grim and his brother Njal'

There are also three examples with *vegið* moved into the middle field, showing that not only NPs can be scrambled (cf. also Topicalization of participles discussed in 4.7):

(103) a. *Þormóðar var saknað á þinginu. Þykjast menn nú*
Thormod was missing on thing-the. think men now
vita að HANN mun ***vegið*** *hafa Þorgrím* (Fóstb 826)
know that he$_{SUBJ}$ will killed$_i$ have _$_i$ Thorgrim$_{OBJ}$
'Thormod had not come the thing. People now tend to believe that he was the one who had killed Thorgrim'

b. *... eða hvort er líkara að GUÐbrandur muni*
... or whether is more-likely that Gudbrand$_{SUBJ}$ will

vegið *hafa* *Þorvald* *eða* *GLÚMur?* (VígGl 1941)
killed$_i$ have _$_i$ Thorvald$_{OBJ}$ or Glum$_{SUBJ}$
'... or what is more likely: that Gudbrand has killed Thorvald, or that Glum has done it?'

c. *Þessi tíðindi* *komu til* *búðar Snorra* *goða að* *Þorgils*
these news came to booth Snorri's priest's that Thorgils

Hölluson *var* *veginn.* *Snorri* *segir:* *"Eigi* *mun* *þér*
Halla'son was killed. Snorri says: Not will you

skilist *hafa.* *Þorgils* *HÖLluson* *mun* ***vegið*** *hafa* *."* (Laxd 1638)
understood have. [Thorgils Hallas'-son]$_{SUBJ}$ will killed$_i$ have _$_i$
'These news reached Snorri Priest's booth, that Thorgils Holluson was killed. Snorri says: You must have misunderstood. Thorgils Holluson must have been the one who did the killing'

There is a clearly observable pragmatic effect due to the movement of *vegið*. In all of these three examples, it is reasonable to assume that the subject is accented (so-called *argument focus*, cf. Lambrecht 1994). Apparently, the unmarked word order V-O favors an unmarked interpretation, i.e. default sentence accent = focus on the object. Whereas Scrambling, i.e. 'breaking up' the unit V-O, is a strong signal for not using the default sentence accent. It is therefore reasonable to assume that Scrambling in the examples above is due to the 'need' or demand(?) to mark that some phrase receives an accent for certain pragmatic reasons and not because of the fact that it is located in a default accent position. In these examples, it is most likely that the subject should be accented. The examples can be said to have a 'contrastive' accent (in a wide sense) on the subject, i.e. a person other than the one previously assumed has committed the murder (in (103b), there is a choice between two possible murderers). If the default sentence accent is placed close to the main verb, moving the main verb may indicate that it is not the object that shall have the accent (in (103c), the object, being unspecified, is even omitted). Probably, some of the functional/pragmatic arguments can be used on Stylistic-Fronting structures, too, even though structural conditions may be stronger(?). Consider, for instance, a sentence like:

(104) *"Ertu* *Þórður* *hreða* *er* ***drepið*** *hefir* *Orm* *frænda*
are-you Thord fight who killed has Orm 'friend'/relative
minn? (Þórð 2042)
mine
'Are you Thord Hreda who has killed Orm, my relative?

The participle is fronted in a relative clause, hence, there is a clear subject gap. Thus, all the structural conditions for Stylistic Fronting are present. However, we may also notice that *drepið* is part of the given or presupposed information. Possibly, an investigation of the distribution of given and new information may result in further knowledge about Stylistic Fronting. I will leave this investigation for another occasion.

While working with the data on *drepið* and *vegið*, I also came across an example with a scrambled phrase other than the object (I only provide an idiomatic translation) :

(105) *Finnbogi spyr hvar Ingibjörg væri. Þeir sögðu að hún væri í skemmu. Hann bað þá fylgja sér þangað. Og er hann kom þangað heilsaði hún honum og spurði hver hann væri. Hann nefndi sig og föður sinn. Hún spurði hvort hann hefði* [***á Hálogalandi***]$_i$ *drepið björninn* $\_{}_i$. *Hann kvað svo vera.* (Finnb 640)

Finnbogi asks where Ingibjorg was. They told him that she was in the little house. He asked them to follow him there. And when he came there she greeted him and asked who he was. He said his name and the name of his father. She asked whether he was the one that had killed the bear in Halogaland. He said that this was so.'

In the basic structure, the PP *á Hálogalandi* is supposed to be generated behind the object, i.e.: *hann hefði drepið björninn á Hálogalandi*. Why, then, is the PP moved out of the position where it would get the default sentence accent? Probably because it is not part of the focus expression. The man Finnbogi just arrives at Ingibjorg's place, and Ingibjorg does not know him. In the passage above, one cannot tell whether Halogaland is contextually 'old' or 'new' information, nor should it be obvious why the bear appears as a definite phrase. To understand the construction, one has to go back in the context and find possible discourse reference. This is not very difficult. Consider the following passages:

(106) a. *... eða er hann íslenskur faðir þinn?" "Nei," segir Finnbogi, "hann er héðan af Hálogalandi ættaður."* (Finnb 635)
'... or is he Icelandic, your father? No, says Finnbogi, he descends from Halogaland'

b. *Sú nýlunda varð þann vetur á Hálogalandi sem oft kann verða að björn einn gekk þar og drap niður fé manna og eigi gerði hann annars staðar meira að en á Grænmó* (Finnb 636)
'It happened that winter in Halogaland, as it often may, that a bear went around and killed the men's sheep, and he did that first of all at Gronmo, more than any other place.'

c. *Síðan sér hann að björninn er dauður. [...] Bárður mælti: "Þetta er fáheyrt bragð eða verk og hefir engi háleyskur maður þetta gert og muntu Finnbogi hafa þetta unnið."* (Finnb 637)
Later he sees that the bear is dead. [...] Bard said: This is a deed or an act one does not hear often about, and this has not done any man from Halogaland. Finnbogi must have done this.'

d. *Hver er sá maður er svo er spurull?" Finnbogi sagði til sín og föður síns. Álfur segir: "Hefir þú drepið skógarbjörninn þeirra Háleygjanna?" Hann kvað það satt.* (Finnb 638)
'Who is this man being so curious? Finnbogi told about himself and his father. Alf says: Have

you killed the (forest) bear of the people from Halogaland? He said that this was true.'

Actually, as shown by example (d), Finnbogi has heard more or less the same question before. Apparently, everybody knows about the man who has killed the sheep-killing bear in Halogaland (even though not everybody knows the identity of this man). Hence, both the place of the killing, and the bear belong to the presupposed information when Ingibjorg asks Finnbogi if he would be the man that has killed the bear.

In Lambrecht's (1994) approach, to make an assertion is to establish a relation between a presupposed set of propositions and a non-presupposed proposition (e.g. p. 57). Ingibjorg's question could be compared to what Lambrecht (1994:282) calls an *information question*, e.g.:

(107) *Who ate the COOKIE?* (Lambrecht 1994:282)

As a general rule, Lambrecht (ibid.) says, "the use of an information question is appropriate only if the open proposition resulting from removal of the question expression (the WH-expression in English) from the sentence is pragmatically presupposed in the discourse". By asking the question in (107), one assumes that the addressee can identify the particular cookie one has in mind (conjured up by the definiteness of the noun phrase), and one also presupposes that the addressee knows that some individual ate this cookie. According to Lambrecht, the sentence is the expression of a desire for the addressee to tell the speaker who that individual is.

Now, in the Old Norse sentence, a candidate for the 'individual' having killed the bear in Halogaland is already suggested by the speaker and only a verification of this suggestion is requested (*yes/no* question). Still, the content of the VP can be considered presupposed, e.g.:

(108) Pressuposition: [Somebody = X] had killed the bear in Halogaland
Assertion: X = You? (Finnbogi)
Focus: You

Hence, the pronominal subject *hann* is probably accented. However, this is not that easy to show in written text. Scrambling the phrase which otherwise would receive the default accent may be a strategy to enforce an alternative reading.

Another possible explanation for the Scrambling of the PP may also be that not scrambling it may result in an undesired interpretation of the postverbal material, e.g.: '... if he had killed [the bear in Halogaland]'. The point is that when Finnbogi tells Ingibjorg his name and where he comes from (which he presumably does when giving information about his father; cf. also (106a), and (106d) where Alf immediately talks about Halogaland after having heard about Finnbogi's father), Ingibjorg knows that Finnbogi just came from Halogaland. What Ingibjorg knows about Halogaland is the fact that somebody had killed a bear in a somewhat heroic way. Thus, Ingibjorg establishes a relation between what she knows about the killing of a bear in Halogaland and this man who just arrives from Halogaland, the man being a candidate for the *missing argument* in the abstract proposition: '[Somebody] killed the bear in Halogaland'. As mentioned above, the subject in the Old Norse sentence is probably accented, and the sentence may be said to have *argument focus* in Lambrecht's terminology.[56] In my opinion, a sentence:

(109) *#Hún spurði hvort hann hefði drepið björninn á Hálogalandi*

would not necessarily be an appropriate question after having heard the information: 'My name is Finnbogi and my father descends from Halogaland where I happen to come from right now'. Intuitively, I would interpret this question as: 'Have you killed [this BEAR in Halogaland] (everybody has heard about)?' instead of: 'Since you say you come from Halogaland, are YOU the one that has killed the bear?'. The connection between the killing of the bear in Halogaland and the man from Halogaland is obviously the place Halogaland. As the most topical phrase, it seems that it is preferrably moved further to the left. Note also that a Norwegian translation of the Old Norse sentence chooses a different syntactic construction, namely a construction where the subject is accented by *default* (cf. *it*-cleft):

(110) *Ho spurde um det var* HAN *som hadde drepe bjørnen*
she asked if it was him who had killed bear-the

paa Halogaland. (*Soga um Finnboge den Ramme* 1920:19)
in Halogaland

By choosing this construction, the focus (and accent) status of the subject becomes clear and an 'undesired' reading of the predicate is avoided.

The investigation of the Scrambling varieties with the participle of another verb, *kaupa* ('buy'), yields the same results as indicated by the verbs *drepa* and *vega*: Scrambling seems to be reserved for pragmatically determined constructions only; those structures seem - in some cases - even to be grammaticalized. For instance, there are only two examples of Scrambling of the object with *keypt*, the basic and unmarked order being:

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[56] See e.g. Lambrecht (1994:42f. and 286ff.) on accented pronouns. See also Lambrecht & Michaelis (1998).

(111) *Þorbjörn hafði nú keypt* ***land það*** *er að Sauðafelli*
Thorbjorn had now bought$_{V}$ [land that that$_{REL}$ at Saudfell

heitir (Krók 1513)
is-called]$_{OBJ}$
‘Thorbjorn had now bought the land called Saudfell’

(112) *Hafði Egill þar keypt* ***við margan*** *og lét flytja heim*
had Egil there bought$_{V}$ [wood much]$_{OBJ}$ and let transport home

á skipi (Egla 489)
on ship
‘Egil had bought much wood there and let it transport home on the ship’

The two Scrambling structures are both from the same saga text (but from different contexts):

(113) *Hér förum við með ambátt þá er þú seldir okkur*
here lead we with maid servant that that$_{REL}$ you sold us

og höfum við ***engu kaupi*** *verr keypt* (Svarf 1823)
and have we [no bargain]$_{OBJ}$ worse bought$_{V}$
‘Here we bring the maid servant that you sold to us; and this is the worst bargain we ever made’

(114) *Þá skaut þeim skelk í bringu og vildu nú*
Then shot them fear in breast and wanted now

gjarna hafa ***engu*** *keypt* (Svarf 1819)
rather have not/none$_{OBJ}$ bought$_{V}$
‘Then they became scared and wished now that they would not have made the bargain’

As with *vega víg* above, *kaupa kaup* is an idiomatic expression with an inherent object (I assume that *kaupi* is omitted in (114)). Furthermore, the object is negated. Interestingly, a similar construction is possible in Modern Norwegian, e.g.:

(115) a. *Han har ikkje kjøpt nokon ting*
he has not$_{NEG}$ bought$_{V}$ [any thing]$_{OBJ}$

b. *Han har ingenting kjøpt*
he has nothing$_{NEG+OBJ}$ boughtV

Even though many speakers would consider the (b)-example stylistically marked, the construction is fully acceptable in Modern Norwegian (cf. e.g. Faarlund, Lie & Vannebo 1997:712; 883ff.). Actually, a phrase with *ingen* (‘no’) cannot occur after the participle in Modern Norwegian at all and must, thus, be located in the middle field or be expressed by *ikkje* + *noko(n)* (‘not’ + ‘any’) (jf. Faarlund, Lie & Vannebo ibid.). Consider e.g. some examples from

Faarlund, Lie & Vannebo (1997:884):

(116) a. *Eg har ikkje sett nokon ting*
I have not seen any thing

b. **Eg har sett ingen*
I have seen none

c. *Eg har ingenting sett*
I have nothing seen

In my opinion, examples like these point in the direction that Scrambling of *engu (kaupi)* in the Old Norse examples above may be grammaticalized to some degree. Hence, Scrambling is probably not optional in those cases. However, further investigation is required. Still, it is rather clear that Scrambling with the participle of *keypt* is not very frequent and differences between scrambled and non-scrambled structures can be detected. There is only one example with *keypt* where another phrase than the object is scrambled:

(117) *Það mundi eg vilja að þau þrjú hundruð silfurs, er þú*
that would I want that those three hundred silver that$_{REL}$ you

hefir tekið til höfuðs mér, skaltu hafa ***dýrast*** *keypt* (GíslS 896)
have taken to head mine, shall-you have most-dearly bought$_V$
'By my will, you shall have paid very dearly for those three hundreds of silver that you have taken on my head'

The expression *kaupa dýrast* appears to be idiomatic, cf. the Modern German expression *etwas teuer bezahlen/erkaufen* ('to pay a very high price for something'). Also the expressive character of the utterance is clear. Hence, the structure is obviously marked in some way.

There is also other evidence that may show that idiomatic expressions tend to occur in Scrambling constructions, i.e. 'marked' constructions. For instance, there is an expression *taka við kristni* ('convert to Christianity'). Even though the construction *taka við* ('accept, meet, receive, welcome') already existed in Old Norse, *kristni*, at least, must be considered a new word and a new context. Interestingly, all four occurrences of the construction *taka við kristni* in the corpus are Scrambling structures:

(118) a. *Þorleifur vill eigi* ***við kristni*** *taka* (HallÓ 1236)
Thorleif will not [with Christianity] take$_V$
'Thorleif will not convert to Christianity'

b. *Hann vill eigi* ***við kristni*** *taka ...* (HallM 1206)
he will not [with Christianity] take$_V$

c. *Og er hann hafði* ***við kristni*** *tekið þá ...* (Flóam 745)
and when he had [with Christianity] taken$_{V}$ then ...

d. *Margir menn höfðu* ***við kristni*** *tekið í Þrándheimi*
many men had [with Christianity] taken$_{V}$ in Throndheim

en hinir voru þó miklu fleiri er í móti voru (Laxd 1595)
and those were though much more who agains were

On the other hand, there is also a construction with the same meaning, but with a genuine Old Norse word *trú* (‘belief, faith’). Of the nine expressions *taka við trú*, only one (!) has Scrambling:[57]

(119) *Kann eg og það að skilja að það mun skipshöfnum*
can I also that at understand that that will ship’s crew

skipta að ÞANN DAG *munu* ***við trú*** *taka er þú lætur*
change that that day will [with faith] take$_{V}$ when you let

ónauðigur skírast (Laxd 1596)
non-forced be-baptized
‘I can also see that it would change the view of your ship’s crew in the way that they will accept the faith the day you are baptized of your own free will’

Scrambling is in this example probably due to the focus status of *þann dag* and the following relative clause. Moving *við trú* into the middle field yields the ‘perfect’ default order VERB - FOCUS. On the other hand, it is not that interesting that there is one example with Scrambling of *við trú*. It is more interesting that the other eight examples actually do not have Scrambling, e.g. (I skip the idiomatic translations):

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[57] Actually, there is a tenth example with fronting of *við trú*. However, since this example clearly has Stylistic Fronting, I have disregarded it here:

(i) *... þeim er hans vinir vildu vera og við trú höfðu tekið* (Laxd 1596)
... those who$_{REL}$ his friends wanted be and [*pro*] [with faith] had$_{Vfin}$ taken

(120) a. *Eftir það spurði Þangbrandur ef menn vildu taka*
after that asked Thangbrand if men wanted takeV

við trú (Njála 250)
[with faith]

b. *Þá spurði Þangbrandur ef menn vildu taka*
then asked Thangbrand if men wanted takeV

við trú *en allir heiðnir menn mæltu í móti* (Njála 250)
[with faith] and all heathen men spoke against

c. *Hann skal taka* ***við þessi trú*** *og allir aðrir þeir*
he shall take$_V$ [with this faith] and all others those

er vilja ... (Vatn 1903)
who want

d. *... þá skuluð þér taka* ***við trú*** (Njála 250)
... then shall you take$_V$ [with faith]

e. *Hversu fús ertu frændi að taka* ***við trú þeirri***
how eager are-you friend to take$_V$ [with faith that]

er konungur býður? (Laxd 1595)
that$_{REL}$ king orders

f. *Þá hét Gestur á þann er skapað hafði himin*
then called Gest on him who created had heaven

og jörð að taka ***við trú*** *þeirri er Ólafur*
and earth to take$_V$ [with faith that] that$_{REL}$ Olaf

konungur boðaði ... (Bárð 73)
king ordered ...

The distribution between the two expressions *taka við kristni* and *taka við trú* seems to be rather clear. Obviously, there is some reason to mark the construction with the loan word. Either the construction represents a 'foreign' syntax (which I have found no evidence for), or, more likely, Scrambling is in many cases considered a 'marked' structure and thereby capable of marking expressions stylistically/pragmatically.

Of course, the frequency of the two more or less idiomatic expressions is rather limited in the corpus. The expression *taka við e-m* in its original use, i.e. 'welcome/meet somebody', on the other hand, is relatively frequent (there are between 100 and 150 examples with *taka* in the infinitive and the preposition *við*). What result, then, yields an investigation of those examples? Not surprisingly, by far the most examples have the basic word order, i.e. *taka við e-m*OBJ, e.g.:

(121) *Ásmundur sendi mann til Hafliða að hann skyldi*
Asmund sent man to Haflidithat he should

taka ***við Gretti*** *og sjá um með honum* (Grett 974)
take$_V$ [with Gretti] and see on with him
‘Asmund sent a man to Haflidi to welcome him and care for him’

The interesting question is therefore: what do the examples with Scrambling have in common?

I have found only about 21 examples with a structure that looks like Scrambling; as many as 11 of those examples involve the modal auxiliary *munu* (‘will’). It has been mentioned before that constructions with *munu* involve Scrambling much more often than constructions with other auxiliaries, e.g.:

(122) *Eigi mun eg* ***við henni*** *taka* (LjósC 1681)
not will I [with her] take$_V$
‘I will not take her back’

Leftward movement in connection with *munu* may look a little like Stylistic Fronting in cases where a preposition (possible particle) is moved separately to the left of the infinitive, for instance:[58]

(123) *Mundi eg og* ***við*** *taka* ***fénu*** *ef eg vissi hvar hann*
would I also with take$_V$ fee-theif I knew where he

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[58] Note that even though fronting with the auxiliary *munu* is very frequent, it is apparently not obligatory (neither is Stylistic Fronting), e.g.:

(i) *... en eg mun taka* ***við konu þessi*** (Laxd 1546)
... and I will take$_V$ [with woman this]
‘... and I will take this woman’

væri (Fljót 719)
were
‘I would also accept the payment if I knew where he was’

This type of movement is possible with other modals too, e.g. *vilja* (‘want’):[59]

(124) *... og vildi hann gjarna* ***við*** *taka* ***málinu***. [...]. *Áskell kveðst*
... and would he willingly with take$_V$ claim-the. Askell says

eigi vilja að Vémundur tæki ***við málinu*** *af Örnólfi og*
not want that Vemund takes$_V$ [with claim] of Ornolf and

bauð Áskell nú að taka ***við málinu*** *af Örnólfi á*
offered Askel no to take$_V$ [with claim] of Ornolf on

hönd Steingrími (Reykd 1755)
hand Steingrim

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[59] Examples like these, i.e. with *við* preceding *taka*, may also indicate that the construction is about to develop into a compound *við taka* (cf. modern Norwegian *vedta*(*ke*)). I have found one example that may show that *við* can occur separated from the noun phrase:

(i) *"Lítil var það gæfa," segir Helgi "að bregða trúnaði sínum við*
little was that luck says Helgi to break loyality his with

jarl en taka ***þig*** ***við***.*"* (Njála 233/234)
earl and take with you
‘That was scarcely good luck, says Helgi, to break loyality with the earl and take care of you / make friends with you (instead)’

Note furthermore that there are two Modern Norwegian constructions *motta* og *ta imot* with the meaning ‘receive’, ‘accept’, ‘welcome’, ...’), for instance:

(ii) *Eg kan ikkje motta / ta imot tilbodet hans*
I can not accept offer his

The two expressions are not necessarily synonymous in all contexts.

‘... and he would gladly take over the claim. Askell says that he does not want Vemund to take over Ornolf’s claim, and Askell offered now to take over Ornolf’s claim on Steingrim himself.’

Scrambling is also found with the other modal auxiliaries (e.g. *vilja, skulu, mega*). For instance, movement of the whole PP:

(125) a. *Ekki vil eg* ***við Gretti*** *taka því að ...* (Grett 1034)
not will I [with Gretti] take$_V$ that that ...
‘I will not receive/lodge Gretti because ...’

b. *... og vil eg* ***við þér*** *taka því að ...* (Vatn 1891)
... and will I [with you] take$_V$ that that ...
‘... and I will receive/lodge you because ...’

c. *Eftir það vildi Grettir aldrei* ***við skógarmönnum*** *taka en*
after that would Gretti never [with outlaws] take$_v$ and

þó ... (Grett 1041)
though ...
‘After that, Gretti would never receive/lodge outlaws, still ...’

d. *Skaltu þá vel* ***við honum*** *taka ...* (Kjaln 1454)
shall-you then well [with him] take$_V$
‘You shall receive him well then’

e. *Þá skal vel* ***við því*** *taka* (Kjaln 1456)
then shall well [with that] take$_V$
‘Then you shall take it well’

f. *En hver þeirra manna vildi fara í bátinn sem*
and every them men wanted go in boat-the that

þar voru, þá mátti hann eigi ***við öllum*** *taka* (Eirík 535)
there were, then could he not [with all] take$_V$
‘And all the men who were there tried to enter the boat, but there was not enough space to take them all’

Scrambling of *við e-m/e-u* is by far most frequent with the modal auxiliary *munu*. But, as shown by the examples above, this is possible with other modals too. In examples (a) and (b) (and maybe also (c)), a possible functional explanation for the fronting could be the subclause, i.e. a ‘desire’ to separate the subclause more clearly from the matrix clause. As discussed before, many examples with Scrambling involve a subclause. In (e), then, there is a subject gap which makes the construction similar to Stylistic Fronting. Beyond that, it is not easy to say what the examples above have in common other than that they all contain a modal auxiliary which may have a potential empty subject position in connection with the infinitive *taka*, i.e. the construction may possibly allow a variant of Stylistic Fronting. There is, at least, clear evidence that *við e-m* can be fronted by Stylistic Fronting, cf. (b):

(126) a. *Báðu þeir Helga af Laugabóli taka* ***við honum*** ... (Grett 1034)
begged they Helgi of Laugabol take$_V$ [with him]
'They asked Helgi of Laugabol to receive him'

b. *Þá báðu þeir Þorkel í Gervidal* ***við honum*** *að*
then begged they Thorkel in Gervidale [with him] to

taka ... (Grett 1034)
take$_V$ ...
'Then they asked Thorkel in Gervidale to receive him ...'

The distribution of Scrambling (Stylistic Fronting?) and non-Scrambling of *við e-m* is not as clear as with the examples of the idiomatic expressions *taka við kristni* and *taka við trú*. On the other hand, the examples with *taka* in the infinitive all contain a modal auxiliary, while (most of) the other investigated examples contain a perfect participle (*tekið*). Hence, it is more obvious that the examples with participles exhibit 'genuine' Scrambling, while this is more unclear with infinitives. However, even though this latter material may seem to 'confuse' the relatively clear picture of Scrambling versus non-Scrambling, it must be emphasized that there are only about 20 such examples of Scrambling with *taka* while there are between 100 and 150 examples without Scrambling, demonstrating that (S)VO should be considered the basic word order of Old Norse clauses. For instance, looking at only the combination *taka við honum* ('receive him'), there are 9 examples with the basic order, 3 examples with Stylistic Fronting (*við honum að taka*), and only 2 examples that possibly exhibit Scrambling, one with the modal *munu* and the other with the modal *skulu*. The combination *taka við þér* ('receive you'), on the other hand, occurs 5 times with the basic order and 6 times with Scrambling (5 examples involve the modal *munu* and the last example involves *vilja* followed by a subclause). Further investigation is required to decide whether direct speech (*taka við þér*) would trigger Scrambling more often than other constructions.

5.4.3 Scrambling with Ditransitive Verbs

To conclude the discussion on Scrambling in this section, I will take a look at examples with the trivalent verb *gefa* ('give'), only considering the participle *gefið*. There are 152 occurrences of the word *gefið* in the corpus. Some forms represent the second person plural, but there is a relatively large amount of data on the active sentences with *gefið* (approximately 100) and passive sentences with *gefið* (approximately 40). I will disregard expressions like *gefa um / gefa upp / gefa til* (approx. 30) and constructions with Stylistic Fronting (approx. 10).[60] There are more than 60 active sentences with the basic word order, i.e. V - O, e.g.:

(127) a. *Ölvir hafði gefið Gunnari sverð gott* (Njála 156)
Olvi$_{SUBJ}$ had given$_{Vmain}$ Gunnar$_{IO}$ [sword good]$_{DO}$
'Olvi had given Gunnar a good sword'

b. *Þórður skyldi hafa sverð það er konungur hafði*
Thord should have [sword that]$_i$ that$_{REL}$ king$_{SUBJ}$ had

gefið honum (BjHít 85)
given$_{Vmain}$ him$_{IO}$ _$_{DO}$
'Thord was to receive the sword that the king had given him'

Relative clauses like (b) are almost as frequent as canonical sentences. I have found 7 sentences exhibiting Scrambling of the direct object. Three of those examples involve a more or less idiomatic expression 'give freedom/show mercy to somebody':

(128) a. *Hvað skulum vér til segja,* [...], *hver oss hafi* ***frelsi***
what shall we to say who us has freedom$_{DO}$

gefið? (Eyrb 622)
given$_{V}$
'What shall we tell people who has given us our freedom?'

b. *En yður er það kunnigt að eg hefi* ***frelsi*** *gefið*
and you is that known that I have freedom$_{DO}$ given

þeim manni er Erpur heitir, syni Melduns
that man who Erp is-called son Meldun's

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[60] Not counting examples of Stylistic Fronting within the expressions *gefa um/upp/til*.

jarls (Laxd 1540)
earl's
'And you know that I have given freedom to the man called Erp, the son of Earl Meldun'

c. *Síðan lét Skalla-Grímur lausa fara þá menn er*
since let Skalla-Grim loose go those men who

hann hafði ***grið*** *gefið* (Egla 400)
he had mercy$_{DO}$ given$_{V}$
'Later, Skalla-Grim let those men go whom he had spared'

The expression *gefa e-m frelsi* does not appear with Scrambling very frequently, the 'normal' construction seems to be the following:

(129) *Eg mun gefa þér* ***frelsi*** *og kaupeyri svo að þú megir*
I will give$_{V}$ you$_{IO}$ freedom$_{DO}$ and merchandise so that you may

fara með öðrum mönnum þangað sem þú vilt. [...]
go with other men there where you will

Þá mun eg gefa þér ***frelsi*** *og ljá þér eða gefa þér*
then will I give$_{V}$ you$_{IO}$ freedom$_{DO}$ and lend you or give you

jörð ... (GísL 901)
earth
'I will give you freedom and merchandise such that you may go with other men as you please. [...]
Then I will give you freedom and lend you or give you land ...'

Notice that both examples involve the modal verb *munu*, i.e. a verb with (potentially) higher frequency of Scrambling. Still, none of the two examples does, in fact, exhibit Scrambling. The example (128b), then, can relatively easily be explained functionally. Firstly, *gefa e-m frelsi* is not that kind of construction that would allow an 'inverted' DOC (cf. the discussion in 4.2). Secondly, indirect objects cannot be extraposed in Old Norse (also 4.2). The indirect object in (128b), on the other hand, is rather complex and a 'typical' candidate for Extraposition. Moving the 'light' direct object into the middle field would yield an 'Extraposition effect' without this being Extraposition in a technical sense. I have also found another example exhibiting the same 'strategy'. However, this time with a simple verb construction:

(130) *Hrútur Herjólfsson gaf* ***frelsi*** *þræli sínum þeim*
Hrut Herjolf's-son gave freedom$_{DOi}$ [thrall his that

er Hrólfur hét ... (Laxd 1571)
that$_{REL}$ Hrolf was-called]$_{IO}$ _$_{i}$
'Hrut Herjolfsson gave freedom to his slave who was called Hrolf ...'

The same 'stragegy' may, by the way, be used when the object contains a clause, e.g.:

(131) *... þá vil eg* ***það frelsi*** *gefa þér að þú skalt eigi*
... then will I [that freedom] give you [that you shall not

lengur þræll vera (Fóstb 798)
longer thrall be]$_{CP}$
'... then I will give you freedom such that you no longer shall be a (/my) slave'

In this particular example, the 'content' of *frelsi* is provided by the *að*-clause, i.e. *það frelsi* functions more or less like a head.[61] As shown before, the demonstrative/head *það* is frequently scrambled in connection with *að*-clauses (see the examples (28)-(35) in 4.3.1.4). The same explanation seems to fit for an example like:

(132) *Hefi eg* ***af því*** *gefið henni gjafir að faðir hennar*
have I [of that]$_i$ given$_V$ her$_{IO}$ gifts$_{DO}$ _i [that father hers]

hefir gefið mér góða gripi (Fljót 696)
has given$_V$ me$_{IO}$ [good things]$_{DO}$]$_{CP}$
'I have given her gifts because her father had given good things to me'

Here too, it is reasonable to assume that there is a pragmatic desire to separate the demonstrative/head from the clause. Also I assume that *því* would (normally) be unaccented in its base position whereas the scrambled version yields accentuation on *því*, i.e.:

(133) a. *Hefi eg* ***af ÞVÍ*** *gefið henni gjafir að ...*

b. *Hefi eg gefið henni GJAFIR* ***af því*** *að ...*

In English, the difference may be made clear by the difference between 'for that reason' and 'because'. In the following example, for instance, I assume that *því* cannot be accented (only the relevant phrase relative to *af því* is marked for accent):

(134) *Þeir börðust lengi og varð hvorutveggi sár mjög en*
they fought long and became both sore much and

Gunnar mæddist SEINna ***af því*** *að hann var maður*
Gunnar tired more-slowly of that that he was man

yngri og beiddi Örn hvíldar (GunKe 1158)
younger and asked Orn while/rest
'They fought for a long time and both got seriously wounded, but Gunnar did not tire that fast since/because he was the younger man, and he asked Orn to take a rest'

---

[61] I assume that *það* would be accented and not *frelsi*, i.e. [ÞAÐ *frelsi*].

In the next example, then, I assume that Scrambling of *af því* also is combined with accentuation of *því*:[62]

(135) *Eigi var eg* ***af ÞVÍ*** *Ara gift að eg vildi* *ÞIG* *eigi heldur*
not was I [of that]ᵢ Ari given _ᵢ that I would you not rather

átt hafa (GíslS 852)
owned have
'I was married to Ari not because of the reason that I would not rather have been married to you'[63]

Then again, in the following example, I assume that *af því* is unaccented:

(136) *Var nesið að sjá sem* *MYKiskán* *væri* ***af því*** *að dýrin*
was headland to see like dungwere were of that [that deer-the

lágu þar um *NÆTurnar* (Eirík 533)[64]
lay there in nights-the]$_{CP}$
'The headland looked like a cake of dung because the animals used to lay down there during the night'

As for the expression in (128c) *gefa e-m grið* ('show mercy to somebody / grant safe-conduct'), it frequently exhibits Scrambling like some of the other idiomatic expressions above. Of the 13 occurrences in the corpus, 5 exhibit the basic word order (1 has Topicalization), whereas there are 7 examples with Scrambling (2 of those in passive clauses), and the last example has Stylistic Fronting. Since this construction seems to have Scrambling as its most - or at least relatively - frequent surface structure, it would instead be equally interesting to try to explain why Scrambling does not show up. In the following example, Scrambling obviously lacks because of structural reasons, e.g.:

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[62] Actually this example also exhibits Scrambling in the *að*-clause. Here I assume that *þig* is accented (argument focus). The participle *átt* is also moved to the left. This, however, may be a more 'mechanical' operation.

[63] Note also one Norwegian translation of this sentence:

(i) *Det var ikkje av den grunn eg vart gift med Are at ...* (*Soga om Gisle Sursson* 1993:37)
it was not for that reason I was married to Are that ...

[64] In this context, *dýrin* is topical. Without context, I assume *dýrin* would receive the accent.

(137) *Hann gekk fyrir jarl og bað hann gefa Hallfreði* ***GRIÐ*** (HallÓ 1250)
he went before earl and begged him$_{SUBJ}$ give$_{V}$ Hallfred$_{IO}$ mercy$_{DO}$
‘He went before the earl and asked him to show mercy to Hallfred’

Since this is an A.C.I. construction, Scrambling of one of the objects is not possible since the scrambled object would have to be adjoined to the left of the subject of the small clause.

In the next example, then, Scrambling would yield an undesired ‘Extraposition effect’ on the indirect object *Katli*. Note that the referent denoted by the indirect object is highly topical. *Grið*, on the other hand, would be the phrase receiving the accent by default:

(138) *Kári þreif Ketil höndum. Björn hljóp að þegar*
Kari grasped Ketil$_{i}$ with-hands. Bjorn ran at immediately

og vildi vega Ketil. Kári mælti: "Lát vera kyrrt. Eg
and wanted kill Ketil$_{i}$. Kari said: Let be calm. I

skal gefa Katli ***GRIÐ*** *og þó að svo verði, Ketill,*
shall give Ketil$_{i}$ mercy and though that so became, Ketil$_{i}$

oftar að eg eigi vald á lífi þínu þá skal eg þig aldrei
more-often that I have power on life your$_{i}$ then shall I you$_{i}$ never

drepa." (Njála 332)[65]
kill
'Then he grasped Ketil with his hands. Bjorn came running at once and wanted to kill Ketil. Kari said: Stay calm. I will show mercy to Ketil. And even though it should happen again, Ketil, that I have your life in my power, I will never kill you'

---

[65] Note that the subclause exhibits another example of Scrambling:

(i) *þá skal eg þig*$_i$ *ALdrei DREpa* _$_i$

In this case, I assume that the topical and unaccented pronoun *þig* is scrambled in order to move it out of the area of the two accented phrases.

Consider also the two occurrences of non-scrambled *grið* in the next example. The reason for not scrambling *grið* seems to be structural since there is an infinitive clause involved both times. In both cases, I assume that the indirect object would be the accented phrase (the first case being an instance of contrastive focus), as opposed to the previous examples. However, even if pragmatically 'desirable' in these cases, Extraposition of the indirect object is not possible and the semantics of *grið* would not allow an inverted DOC. Therefore Scrambling should definitely apply. However, here Stylistic Fronting would be the only possible construction to 'solve' this information structure 'dilemma'. Still, Stylistic Fronting does not apply either (actually, I do not think that Stylistic Fronting would be possible in the second example (*að gefa*V *þeim*IO *grið*DO)):[66]

(139) *Megið þér sjá herra að betra er að gefa EINum manni*
may you see lord that better is to give [one man]

***grið** og hafa í móti MARgra manna þökk en* ... [...] *Jarl*
mercy and have in return many mens' thanks and ... Earl

svarar: [...] *... en þó nenni eg eigi að brjóta svo*
answers: ... and though desire I not to break so

*landslögin að gefa ÞEIM **grið** sem ólífismenn eru."* (Grett 992)
land-law to give those$_i$ mercy [who murderers are]$_{CPi}$

'You will understand, my lord, that it would be better to show mercy to one man and have the gratitude of many men in return, and ... [...] The Earl answers: [...] ... still, I do not wish to break the law by showing mercy to those who are murderers'

What, then, is the nature of the clauses with Scrambling? There are 7 examples, 2 of those are passives:[67]

(140) a. *Þorsteini voru **grið** gefin og fór hann aftur*
Thorstein was mercy given and went he after

---

[66] The relative clause, on the other hand, exhibits Stylistic Fronting:

(i) *... sem ólífismenn*$_i$ *eru* _$_i$

[67] There is also a third passive sentence. However, with Stylistic Fronting instead of Scrambling:

(i) *... og er fallin voru flest húsin og menn gengu út, þeir er **grið** voru gefin, sáu þeir ...* (GullÞ 1130)
... and when fallen were most houses and men went out, they$_i$ who$_{REL}$ [pro$_i$] mercy$_j$ were given _$_j$, saw they ...

til *Orkneyja* *og* *þaðan* *til* *Noregs ...* (ÞorSH 2062)
to Orkneys and from-there to Norway ...
'Thorstein was granted safe-conduct and he went back to the Orkneys and from there to Norway'

b. *Hafur* *hét* *sá* *maður* *er* *mest* *fýsti* *að*
Haf was-called that man who most wished that
þessum *manni* *væru* ***grið*** *gefin* (Grett 1065)
this man were mercy given
'A man called Haf argued most strongly for showing mercy to this man'

In these examples, the expression behaves almost like a compound, cf. the Modern German *jmdn. freigeben* ('to release somebody') vs. *jmdm. die Freiheit geben* ('to give somebody freedom'. Compare also the following active example where also the expression 'let loose' (Modern German *loslassen/freilassen*) exhibits Scrambling:

(141) *Síðan* *lét* *Skalla-Grímur* *lausa* *fara* *þá* *menn* *er*
since let Skalla-Grim loose$_i$ go$_V$ _$_i$ those men who
hann *hafði* ***grið*** *gefið* (Egla 400)
he had mercy$_j$ given$_V$ _$_j$
'Later Skalla-Grim set free those men he had shown mercy to'

I assume that the lexical content of *grið* is somewhat weakened in the examples above. However, *grið* is scrambled also when there is an 'expressive' accent on the phrase, as e.g. in the following example (I only provide an idiomatic translation):

(142) *Nú kemur Tindur þar sem Þóroddur$_i$ lá og sér að hann$_i$ var lífs og höggur hann þegar af honum$_i$ höfuðið. Og er Illugi veit þetta þá mælti hann að hann hefir haft illt erindi, drepið þann mann$_i$ er einn var vænstur augnvottur um þetta eina í voru máli ef þeir hefðu hlaupið frá manninum$_i$ en þeir mættu **GRIÐ** gefa honum$_i$, biður hann hafa mikla óþökk fyrir.* (Heið 1387)

'Now Tind comes to the place where Thorodd$_i$ lies; he sees that he$_i$ (Thorodd) is still alive and cuts his$_i$ head off. And when Illugi gets to know this, he says that he (Tind) has acted badly by killing the man$_i$ that probably would have been the only eyewitness of this in their case if they had gone away from the man$_i$, and they should have shown mercy to him$_i$. Illugi says that he (Tind) shall have much ingratitude for that'

Since the referent of the indirect object is topical, I suppose that Scrambling of both objects would be an option, i.e. *en þeir mættu honum grið gefa*. However, to accomplish the 'extra' accentuation on *grið*, scrambling *grið* alone would possibly be a better strategy. Otherwise *grið* would be analyzed as having a default accent. Actually, there are also two examples where both objects are fronted/scrambled:

(143) *Skal hér engi maður vinna klækisverk og skal Harðbeini*
shall here no man win infamyand shall [*pro*] Hardbein$_{IO}$

grið *gefa* (Laxd 1635)
mercy$_{DO}$ give
'Nobody shall commit infamy here, and Hardbein is to be given quarter'

(144) *Nú skal veita svör þínu máli, að eg vil öllumyður*
now shall give answer your word, that I will [all your]$_{IOi}$
grið *gefa skipverjum* (Laxd 1564)
mercy$_{DO}$ give ship's-men$_{IOi}$
'Now I shall answer you that I will give you and all of your crew safe-conduct'

The assumption is that Scrambling of the direct object in (the realization of) the expression *gefa e-m grið* is 'unmarked', i.e. stylistically 'preferred'. The indirect object, on the other hand, is usually not scrambled together with the direct object. Therefore I assume that Scrambling of the indirect object is pragmatically 'marked'. There is a subject gap in (143), but it I would not say that the example involves a variant of Stylistic Fronting. The sentence preceding example (143) is:

(145) *Bolli hleypur til er hann sá þetta og bað*
Bolli runs to as he saw this and begged

eigi veita Harðbeini skaða (Laxd 1634)
not give Hardbein injury
'Bolli runs over when he saw this and said Hardbein should not be hurt'

While (145) is indirect speech, (143) is direct speech. This would explain why *Harðbeini* is used instead of a pronoun *honum*. In (143), both clauses start with an empty topic position followed by the word *skal*. I supposed that *Harðbeini* would normally be topicalized. However, in this context, the V1 structure is obviously preferred.[68] Note, on the other hand, that the subject as the 'natural' topic is omitted in (143). By this strategy, and by fronting/scrambling the indirect object, *Harðbeini* is conceived as the topic (cf. the translations in the previous footnote). If *Harðbeini* were scrambled alone leaving *grið* behind, I assume that *Harðbeini* would be interpreted as having an accent, alternatively, that *grið* would get a marked accent (as opposed to the default accent).[69] Not scrambling *Harðbeini*, I assume, would yield an interpretation were the omitted subject still would be considered the topic, whereas the omitted subject in the present construction is interpreted as not having specific reference (cf. the translations).

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[68] Both the English and the Modern Norwegian translation I have considered use a structure with Topicalization:

(i) *... og Hardbein skal ha grid* (Soga om laksdølane 1968:59)
... and Hardbein shall have mercy

(ii) *Hardbein is to be given quarter* (Laxdæla saga 1969:208)

Example (144) is particularly interesting. Here, only a part of the indirect object (*öllum yður*) is scrambled, the rest staying in its base position (*skipverjum*). Obviously, the quantifying part of the indirect object is accented. Also this Scrambling construction has topicalization features (compare, for instance, with the discontinuous phrases in 4.7, examples (54, 55)).[70] Note that the subclause has not an available topic position. Topicalization is, thus, not an option (an EMC, on the other hand, would have been an option, i.e. ... *að öllum yður vil eg grið gefa skipverjum*).[71]

In constructions, then, where Scrambling of the direct object seems to be common, searching for reasons for Scrambling of the indirect object would be the most important task. Turning back to the Scrambling examples with *gefið* in general, we find striking evidence for 'unmarked' passive sentences with Scrambling. For instance, absolutely all passive examples (12 in all) with the expression *vera gefinn nafn* ('be given a name') exhibit Scrambling, e.g.:[72]

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[69] The fact that *grið* receives an accent by default in this construction does not necessarily mean that the accent is 'only' a default accent. Compared to example (145), the accent on *grið* may be interpreted as a contrastive accent, i.e.:

(i) *og bað eigi veita Harðbeini* ***SKAða.*** [...] *og skal Harðbeini* **GRIÐ** *gefa*
and begged not give Hardbein injury and shall Hardbein mercy give

[70] Compare also to e.g.:

(i) ***Öllum*** *gaf hann góðar gjafir þeim sem hann hafði þangað boðið ...* (HávÍs 1334)
all$_i$ gave he good gifts, [those who he had there invited]$_i$
'He gave good gifts to all of those he had invited to come there'

[71] Cf. e.g.:

(i) *... því að* ***öllum*** *ynni eg ills hlutar af þessu máli nema þér einum* (BandM 15/16)
... because all wish I bad luck of this case except you alone
'... because I wish everyone harm in this case except you'

[72] This scrambled structure must obviously be the model for the Modern Norwegian compound *namngje/navngi* ('to mention by name' / 'to name' / 'to give a name'). The compound is usually not used with the meaning 'to give somebody/something a name' (the noun *namngjeving/navngiving* may, on the other hand be used in this context). The most frequent use of the verb *namngje/navngi* is probably 'to mention by name', e.g.:

(i) *Vil* ***navngi*** *korrupte politikere* (Yahoo! Norge. Nyheter [news]. Sunday, Nov. 1st 1998)
will name-give corrupt politicians
'[Grigorij Javlinski] wants to mention corrupt politicians by name'

(146) a. *Þeim sveini var* ***nafn*** *gefið og kallaður Þorleikur* (Laxd 1617)
this boy was name given and called Thorleik
'This boy was given a name and he was called Thorleik'

b. *Var hún vatni ausin og* ***nafn*** *gefið og hét*
was she water sprinkled and name given and was-called

Ásgerður (Egla 409)
Asgerd
'She was sprinkled with water and given a name, and she was called Asgerd'

In the passive, then, Scrambling of *nafn* seems to be more or less obligatory.[73] The same holds

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The participle may also be adjectival, e.g.:

(ii) *Jager* ***navngitte*** *ransmenn* (Dagbladet. Nyheter på nett [news on the net]. Tuesday, Oct. 27th 1998)
chases name-given robbery-men
'[The police] chase the named robbers'

The following sentence, for instance, cannot have the meaning 'the person was given a name':

(iii) *Høyesterett kritiserte at den omtalte person var* ***navngitt*** (http://lu62gw.sds.no/nou/1995-10/kap03.htm)
Supreme-Court criticized that the mentioned person was name-given
'The Supreme Court criticized that the person mentioned was named by name'

[73] Still, it is clear that the base-generated order of arguments should be assumed to be in accordance with the general pattern, i.e. V - IO - DO, e.g.:

(i) *Þá vil eg gefa þér nafn mitt* (Finnb 633)
then will I give$_{V}$ you$_{IO}$ [name mine]$_{DO}$

The more or less obligatory scrambled order in certain expressions is therefore never considered being-base generated.

for the expression *vera vatni ausinn* ('be sprinkled with water'). Scrambling even applies when *nafn* has specific/deictic referance, as in e.g.:

(147) a. *Hún bað að Höskuldur skyldi heita. Var þá* ***það***
she begged that Hoskuld should be-named. Was then [that

nafn *gefið sveininum* (Njála 194)
name] given boy-the
'She asked that he should be named Hoskuld. So the boy was given this name'

b. *Hana skal kalla eftir föðurmóður minni og skal*
her shall call after fathermother mine and shall

heita Þorgerður því að ... [...] *Mærin var vatni ausin*
be-named Thorger because Girl-the was water sprinkled

og ***þetta nafn*** *gefið* (Njála 143)
and [this name] given
'She shall be called after my fathermother and she shall be named Thorgerd because ... [...] The girl was sprinkled with water and given this name'

As mentioned above, *gefa e-m grið* seems to be an expression with a rather high frequency of Scrambling. Non-scrambled constructions seem to be explainable by structural reasons.

5.4.4 Summary

Even though the discussion on Scrambling above has been concentrated on a limited number of constructions, the results are rather striking. It is possible to find 'typical' Scrambling constructions (OV structures) that correlate with pragmatic features, and there are constructions that are expected to exhibit Scrambling, but where Scrambling apparently has not applied for structural reasons. I take this as a strong argument for the claim that Scrambling is not due to an alternative basic word order in Old Norse. On the background of the theory outlined in chapter 4, the investigated data supports the hypothesis that Scrambling is a movement device, first of all triggered by pragmatic and stylistic reasons. In some cases, Scrambling seems to be grammaticalized to some degree.

There is apparently not one single feature that triggers Scrambling in Old Norse. In those cases where Scrambling seems to be more or less obligatory, the expression in question seems to have idiomatic character. Or - as in the case of *taka við kristni* - the Christian loan word is more or less obligatorily (?) used in a stylistically marked construction (as opposed to *taka við trú* - see examples 118 -120 above). This does, on the other hand, not mean that the *syntactic* construction is borrowed (Scrambling is, as shown, generally a highly functional feature of Old Norse). Rather a 'marked' syntactic construction is used in a certain context. Further comparative investigations of such constructions will probably be of value for cultural studies too. Besides stylistically motivated Scrambling, the feature ±*specific* seems to play a role in many Scrambling structures. Another important trigger of Scrambling is apparently a possible mismatch between the placement of the default sentence accent and the location of the actual focus expression, i.e. Scrambling may either be used to make accent by default possible, or Scrambling may signalize that accent by default is not appropriate.

5.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have approached Old Norse from a more pragmatic perspective. I have shown that applying modern theories on information structure, like e.g. that of Lambrecht (1994), may be a fruitful tool in the investigation of a language - even if the language is considered a 'dead' language. To a certain degree (from a theoretical point of view), it is also possible to make assumptions about default and 'marked' accentuation. I am convinced that further research of the kind presented above will lead the investigation of Old Norse into a new and interesting direction, being of use both for the understanding of Old Norse syntax in general, and, for instance, for the task of translating Old Norse texts into other languages.

A very important goal in order to achieve a greater understanding of the nature of Old Norse must be to investigate Scrambling more thoroughly than I have been able to do in this chapter. In this chapter, I have chosen to study *certain types* of constructions. By doing so, I have shown that certain expressions are - at least preferably - realized as scrambled structures, while others usually are not. In previous studies, only the fact that Old Norse exhibits both VO and OV structures on the surface has been taken into consideration, but possible types of constructions have not been distinguished. Comparing certain constructions/expressions shows relatively clearly that scrambled structures should not be considered being base-generated since structural reasons may block Scrambling. Expressions that have more or less obligatory Scrambling in most constructions may occur with the basic word order when Scrambling is not possible for structural reasons. And expressions that normally occur with the basic word order may have rather few realizations with Scrambling - these realizations appear to be explainable by referring to pragmatic conditions. This is in accordance with the view that Scrambling is a marked construction; “marked” in the sense of Lambrecht (1994:17):

(148) given a pair of allosentences, one member is pragmatically unmarked if it serves two discourse functions while the other member serves only one of them. While the marked member is positively specified for some pragmatic feature, the unmarked member is neutral with respect to this feature.

This means that all Scrambling structures, theoretically, also could be realized as canonical (VO) structures, whereas the opposite is not necessarily true.

Scrambling, and also the possibility of having right dislocated subjects, are features of Old Norse that make the surface word order rather flexible and capable of relatively easily adjusting to pragmatic requirements. Still, Old Norse word order is the result of a given set of syntactic rules that normally cannot be violated by pragmatic demands. However, syntactic constructions are, of course, usually ‘chosen’ in accordance with pragmatic demands.

After the investigation of pragmatic aspects of Old Norse, the claim that Old Norse belongs to those languages in which word order primarily correlates with grammatical relations or other syntactic factors has been strengthened. Compared to languages like Modern Norwegian or English, Old Norse certainly allows a greater variety of possible surface structures, however, not to such a degree that one can speak of a non-configurational language or a language with a word order only determined by pragmatic factors.

6 Concluding Remarks

In this thesis, I have investigated some central topics of Old Norse syntax. In order to bring the research on Old Norse one step forward, I believe some general assumptions about Old Norse syntax should be more widely accepted, especially within the 'traditional' (Norwegian) research community.

In chapter 2, I have discussed the question whether Old Norse is an SVO or and SOV language from a more typological viewpoint, whereas I have demonstrated in chapter 4 that Old Norse can and should be analyzed as an SVO language. The discussion on Old Norse word order in this thesis should have provided more than enough evidence for the claim that analyzing Old Norse as a language with a double base or even as a non-configurational language is not very beneficial. According to the present theory, SOV surface order in Old Norse is, therefore, most reasonably analyzed as being derived from an SVO base (cf. also chapter 5). **Old Norse is, thus, an SVO language with Scrambling**.

A central topic of chapter 4 has been to argue that **Old Norse has so-called oblique subjects in addition to nominative subjects**. Accepting oblique subjects in Old Norse is, in my opinion, very important at almost any level in any discussion on Old Norse syntax. Otherwise, one will not be able to fully understand the syntactic system of Old Norse.

Another central topic has been to argue for the claim that **Old Norse has syntactic passive**. If one accepts that Modern Norwegian or English has syntactic passive one should also accept that Old Norse has passive constructions. In chapter 4, I have accounted for how active and passive in Old Norse are correlated, and I could not find any reason to assume that subject promotion would be different in, for instance, Modern Norwegian or English.

While the claim that Old Norse is a configurational SVO language with oblique subjects and passive has been accepted within the 'modern' (Icelandic) view for a rather long time, Scrambling in Old Norse has not been discussed very much in the literature. In my opinion, a further investigation of Scrambling in Old Norse would yield very interesting results. First of all, Old Norse as an SVO language with Scrambling would be typologically very interesting since Scrambling seems to be more common in SOV languages. Also, Old Norse would provide more ‘reliable’ data since a scrambled element is expected to precede the non-finite main verb (when there is one). Hence, SOV surface order would, in most cases, be a signal of Scrambling in Old Norse, whereas this would not be that obvious in an SOV language. Data from Old Norse will therefore be of great value for the study of Scrambling in other languages.

Finally, a further investigation of Scrambling in Old Norse - and information structure in general - will most likely be of value for anyone who would try to translate an Old Norse text into another language.

An investigation of Scrambling in Old Norse should also be compared with a study of Object Shift in Modern Scandinavian, especially Modern Icelandic. Modern Scandinavian Object Shift is obviously a more grammaticalized version of Scrambling, and comparing Old Norse Scrambling with Modern Scandinavian Object Shift should yield interesting results.

Another approach to further research on Old Norse could be the phenomenon of Stylistic Fronting. Even though Stylistic Fronting is still possible in Modern Icelandic, the phenomenon is not fully understood, this holds both for the structural and the pragmatic consequences.

In this thesis, I have touched many different aspects of Old Norse syntax. I believe that I have found reasonable answers to many questions, but there are still many unsolved questions left.

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Abbreviations: (cf. the abbreviations used on the CD-ROM)

BandM = *Bandamanna saga* (Möðruvallabók)
BandK = *Bandamanna saga (Konungsbók)*
Bárð = *Bárðar saga Snæfellsáss*
BjHít = *Bjarnar saga Hitdælakappa*
Njála = *Brennu-Njáls saga*
Dropl = *Droplaugarsona saga*
Egla = *Egils saga Skalla-Grímssonar*
Eirík = *Eiríks saga rauða*
Eyrb = *Eyrbyggja saga*
Finnb = *Finnboga saga ramma*
Ævi = *Finnboga saga ramma - Ævi Snorra goða*
Fljót = *Fljótsdæla saga*
Flóam = *Flóamanna saga*
FlóaV = *Flóamanna saga* (fragment)
Fóstb = *Fóstrbræðra saga*
GíslS = *Gísla saga Súrssonar* (short version)
GísL = *Gísla saga Súrssonar* (long version)
Grett = *Grettis saga*
GrænS = *Grænlendinga saga*
GrænÞ = *Grænlendinga þáttur*
GullÞ = *Gull-Þóris saga*
GunKe = *Gunnars saga Keldugnúpsfífls*
GunKV = *Gunnars saga Keldugnúpsfífls* (fragment)
Gunnl = *Gunnlaugs saga ormstungu*
HallM = *Hallfreðar saga* (Möðruvallbók)
HallMV = *Hallfreðar saga* (Möðruvallbók) (fragment)
HallÓ = *Hallfreðar saga* (Ólafs saga Tryggvasonar)
Harð = *Harðar saga og Hólmverja*
HarðV = *Harðar saga og Hólmverja* (fragment)
HávÍs = *Hávarðar saga Ísfirðings*
Heið = *Heiðarvíga saga*
Hrafn = *Hrafnkels saga*
HænsÞ = *Hænsna-Þóris saga*
Kjaln = *Kjalnesinga saga*
Korm = *Kormáks saga*
Krók = *Króka-Refs saga*
JökBú = *Jökuls þáttur Búasonar*
Laxd = *Laxdæla saga*
LjósA = *Ljósvetninga saga* (version A)
LjósC = *Ljósvetninga saga* (version C)
Reykd = *Reykdæla saga og Víga-Skútu*
Svarf = *Svarfdæla saga*
VaLjó = *Valla-Ljóts saga*
Vatn = *Vatnsdæla saga*
VígGl = Víga-Glúms saga
Vígl = Víglundar saga
Vopnf = Vopnfirðinga saga
Þórð = Þórðar saga hreðu
Þorhv = Þorsteins saga hvíta
ÞorSH = Þorsteins saga Síðu-Hallssonar
Ölkof = Ölkofra saga

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