

Verb particles in OV/VO word order in Older Icelandic

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Abstract

Older Icelandic had various word order patterns with verb particles, including both pre- and postverbal particles. The most frequent patterns in the attested corpus show a preverbal particle and a postverbal direct object, or a preverbal particle and a preverbal direct object. In the earliest texts, dating from the fourteenth century, preverbal particles are preferred over postverbal particles, although both pre- and postverbal particles co-exist in the corpus for several centuries. In this paper, we will show how a small clause analysis of verb particles, together with a remnant VP movement framework (Hróarsdóttir 2000) can account for the attested orders of verb particles in the history of Icelandic.

1 Introduction

In this paper, we will focus on various word order patterns in Older Icelandic with verb particles.

Modern Icelandic has pure VO word order, as shown in (1). The word order in (1) with auxiliary verb – main verb – object - (particle) is the only possible order of these elements in Modern Icelandic (abstracting away from topicalization and stylistic fronting). The non-finite verbs and their objects must follow the negation and sentential adverbs.

(1) *Modern Icelandic*

- a. Þeir munu aldrei **hafa lesið bókina**
they will never have read book.the
‘They will never have read the book’
- b. að þeir hefðu aldrei **gefið þau út**
that they had never published them out
‘that they had never published them’

Unlike in Modern Icelandic, several orders of the non-finite verbs and objects were possible at earlier stages in the history of Icelandic, including both OV and VO word order patterns, in addition to various mixed orders (cf. Sigurðsson 1988; Rögnvaldsson 1996; Indriðason 1987; Hróarsdóttir 1996, 2000). The attested OV word order patterns were lost at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Two examples of OV word order in OI are shown in (2) below.

(2) *Pure OV word order*

- a. að hann hafði **hana drepið** (Álf)
that he had her killed
 ‘that he had killed her’
- b. að þeir hefðu **þau** aldrei **út** gefið (Morð)
that they had them never out published
 ‘that they had never published them’

Hróarsdóttir (2000) studied the frequency of OV and VO patterns in various texts dating from the fourteenth to the nineteenth centuries, in addition to personal letters dating from throughout the nineteenth century. Here, we have built on this database, making it approximately double in size from that used earlier, based on a wider extraction of the same texts. A list of the sixteen texts used for this study is given in Appendix A, together with bibliographical information. These texts are literary works, all in reliable editions based directly on the original composition. Approximately 55 pages were extracted from each text, where possible, until a corpus of approximately 8,500 sentences each containing at least one non-finite verb had been reached, exhibiting either OV or VO word order. Nineteenth century letters by 75 individuals were also studied. Bibliographical information for the nineteenth century letters are given in Appendix B, together with an explanation for the abbreviations in parentheses in the examples.

2 Empirical facts

In the attested Older Icelandic (OI) texts, the total of 653 clauses were extracted, each containing at least one non-finite verb and a verb particle. The distribution between OV and VO word order patterns is illustrated in Table 1 below, where OV means that at least the verb particle occurs preverbally.

Texts	Particles		
	OV	VO	% OV
14th century	68	19	78.2%
15th century	42	11	79.2%
16th century	32	6	84.2%
17th century	53	25	67.9%
18th century	36	18	66.7%
19th century	67	277	19.5%
	298	356	

Of all the particles found in OV word order, the particle always immediately precedes the main verb (and the infinitive marker), with only one exception, illustrated in (3) below.

(3) skal yður **inn** aptur **mælt** verða (Morð)

shall you in again spoken be

‘It will be recommended that you can go in again’

The rule of the adjacency between the preverbal particle and the main verb is otherwise independent of other constituents in the sentence, whether they are arguments of the main verb or sentence adverbs. When the sentence contains an object in addition to the preverbal particle, the object can either occur in a postverbal position or to the left of both the particle and the main verb. Consider examples (4) through (8).

(4) [particle - V_{main} - DP]

- a. að hann hafi **inndrukkið Lutheri villudóm** (Bisk)
that he has in-drunk Lutheran heresy
 ‘that he has drunk in Lutheran heresy’
- b. hefði Grundar-Helga **upp** alið **þessa Ingigerði** (Morð)
had Grundar-Helga up brought this Ingigerður
 ‘Grundar-Helga had brought up this Ingigerður’

(5) [particle - V_{main} - PP]

- a. að spá mín hefur **fram** komið **við þig** þar eystra (letters)
that prediction mine has forward come with you there in-the-east
 ‘that my prediction has come true for you there in the east’
- b. eff þesse girnd mæti **vtkastast aff ydar hiarta** (Dín)
if this lust could out-throw from your heart
 ‘if this lust could go out of your heart’

(6) [DP - particle - V_{main}]

- a. at ek skyldi eigi **fleiri born upp** ala (Finn)
that I should not more children up bring
 ‘that I shouldn’t bring up more children’
- b. að þeir hefðu **þau** aldrei **út** gefið (Morð)
that they had them never out given
 ‘that they had never published them’

(7) [PP - particle - V_{main}]

- a. Sá nýi viður var **í stóru stofu innlagður** (J.Ey)
this new wood was in large living-room in-placed
 ‘This new wood was placed in the large living room’

- b. að Óðinn og ... hafi **hér í norðurlöndum** með sér **innfært** (Munn)
that Óðinn and ... have here in Nordic-countries with themselves
in-brought
 ‘that Óðinn and ... have brought with them into the Nordic countries here’

(8) [Vaux - particle - Vmain - (DP)]

- a. at ek villda giarna **hafa vpp** fæðt (Finn)
that I wanted gladly have up brought
 ‘that I would gladly have brought up’
- b. Hann skyldi einu sinni **hafa uppvakt** uxa þann sem ... (Munn)
he should once have up-woke ox the-one that ...
 ‘It is said that once, he had woken up the ox that ...’

These patterns, though, are not all equally common in the texts. Thus, only the patterns shown in (4) and (6) are common, that is, where a DP either follows the main verb or precedes both the particle and main verb. In the former pattern, the DP was a full DP in almost all cases and only a pronoun in a single clause, shown in (9) below.

- (9) og hafði þat **framdregit hann** fyrst til Oddastadar, at ... (Esp)
and had it forward pulled him first to Oddastaðir, that ...
 ‘And it had first made him go to Oddastaðir, that ...’

In the pattern [DP - particle - Vmain], on the other hand, the DP could be either a full DP or a pronoun, with an equal frequency.

Furthermore, patterns containing a preverbal particle and no object are very common. In all the corpus studied, 171 sentences of this sort were found. Some of these examples are shown in (10) and (11).

(10) [particle - V_{main}]

- a. eða það er **niður** drepð (letters)
or it is down killed
 ‘or it is kept secret’
- b. og mætti þeir **út** ganga (Skál)
and could they out go
 ‘and they could go out’
- c. jafnódt of það hefr **níður** sýgid (letters)
as-soon as it has down sunk
 ‘as soon as it has sunk down’

(11) [sentence adverb - particle - V_{main}]

- a. að við Guðrún mín máttum **ei saman hokra** (letters)
that we Guðrún mine could not together live
 ‘that Guðrún and I were not allowed to live together’
- b. hafði hann **aldrei aftur lítið** (letters)
had he never back looked
 ‘He had never looked back’
- c. að þessi sök sé **allareiðu burt lögð** (letters)
that this accusation is already away put
 ‘that this accusation has already been deleted’

As can be seen from examples above, the particle could precede either main verbs that are past participles or infinitivals. When the infinitival main verb occurs with the infinitive marker *að* (‘to’), the particle always (immediately) precedes *að*. Consider (12).

(12) [(DP) - particle - *að* - V_{main}]

- a. ekki hirði ek þersvm smæRum hiRðzlum **wpp ath luka** (Sig)
not care I these smaller chests up to open
 ‘I don’t care to open up these smaller chests’
- b. er aungvum auðnaðist **upp að koma** (Próf)
that noone succeeded up to come
 ‘that noone succeeded in coming up’
- c. eg hafi þá engu hér **við að bæta** (letters)
I have then nothing here with to add
 ‘that I have then nothing to add here’

A single exception was found to the adjacency rule, exemplified in (13) below.

(13) Jarðarför hans á **að fram fara** 23. janúar (letters)

funeral his will to forth go 23d January

‘His funeral will take place on January 23’

In all the corpus studied, only a handful of examples were found where a DP occurs preverbally while the particle is in the postverbal position, cf. (14).

(14) [DP - V_{main} - particle]

- a. Af almennum fréttum vil eg **ekkert tína til** (letters)
of common news want I nothing gather to
 ‘I don’t want to mention anything from common news’
- b. að 10 menn geta ei **þau hafið upp** þangað (J.Ey)
that 10 men can not them lift up there
 ‘that 10 men cannot lift them up there’

The total distribution of both pre- and postverbal particles in OI is illustrated in (15) and (16), respectively.

(15) Preverbal particles

- a. [particle - V_{main}]
- b. [particle - V_{main} - DO]
- c. [particle - V_{main} - PP]
- d. [particle - V_{main} - V_{aux}]
- e. [DO - particle - V_{main}]
- f. [PP - particle - V_{main}]
- g. [DO - particle - V_{main} - IO]
- h. [DO - particle - V_{main} - PP]
- i. [V_{aux} - DO - particle - V_{main}]
- j. [V_{aux} - PP - particle - V_{main}]
- k. [V_{aux} - particle - V_{main}]
- l. [V_{aux} - particle - V_{main} - DO]

(16) Postverbal particles

- a. [V_{main} - particle]
- b. [V_{main} - particle - DO]
- c. [V_{main} - particle - PP]
- d. [V_{main} - DO - particle]
- e. [V_{aux} - V_{main} - particle]
- f. [V_{main} - IO - DO - particle]
- g. [V_{main} - IO - particle - DO]
- h. [V_{main} - DO - particle - PP]
- i. [V_{main} - particle - PP - DO]

- j. [V_{aux} - V_{main} - DO - particle]
- k. [V_{aux} - V_{main} - particle - PP]
- l. [DO - V_{main} - particle]

3 Implementation

3.1 Introduction

The existence of preverbal particles is usually assumed to be a typological feature of OV languages (see Greenberg 1966; Hawkins 1983). The position of verb particles has been used in the traditional generative literature as an argument for a uniform OV-base for many West Germanic languages, going back to Koster's (1975) discussion of the distribution of particles in Modern Dutch as strong evidence in favor of basic SOV word order, with verb-second word order in matrix clauses. The main argument is that particles are generally assumed not to be able to scramble, at least not in the West Germanic languages (cf. den Besten & Rutten 1989 for Modern Dutch and Santorini 1992 for early Yiddish). Pintzuk (1991, 1996) adopts this reasoning, claiming that the distribution of particles in Old English argues against a uniform VO-base analysis. "In particular, [particles] do not scramble leftward in Old English: In clauses with infinitive/participial main verbs, pre-verbal particles remain in their base-generated position immediately before the verb" (Pintzuk 1991:126). Therefore, Pintzuk assumes that the existence of preverbal particles lends strong support to the existence of an OV-base in Old English.

Van Kemenade (1987:29-39) applies Koster's (1975) observation to Old English as well. Rögnvaldsson (1994/1995, 1996) adopts the same reasoning for the situation in Old Icelandic, claiming that an OV-base must have existed (beside the VO-base) in the Old Icelandic VP. Finally, Kroch and Taylor (2000) and Pintzuk and Taylor (2006) use the distribution of verb particles in the history of English to argue for a competition between OV and VO grammars. They

claim that particles are prosodically light, and hence that the existence of postverbal particles must be taken as evidence for underlying VO order.

However, Roberts (1997), following Kayne (1985), assumes that the examples of preverbal particles in Old English can be treated as small clauses, optionally adjoining to the left of the verb in Old English. Diesing (1997) also proposes that the position of the particle in Yiddish does not reflect a head-complement order, but that it is a consequence of an obligatory incorporation of the prefix into the verbal head. She concludes that the preverbal particles are not phrasal, but, instead, instances of head-incorporation. Thus, they do not support the claim that Yiddish, or any other languages containing preverbal particles, necessarily have an OV word order base. Finally, Elenbaas and van Kemenade (2008) argue that particles in early Germanic are secondary predicates, and that they have literal meanings only in Old English and they are almost exclusively resultative. However, they argue that particles are not prosodically light at any stage in the history of English, as they may carry primary stress and occur in alliterating positions.

3.2 Preverbal particles

The distribution of preverbal particles in OI does not seem to pose a real challenge to the claim about a uniform VO-base, since when the particle is preverbal it always immediately precedes the main verb, independent of other constituents in the sentence, as illustrated in (17) through (19).

(17) [particle - V_{main} - DP]

- a. að hann hafí **inndrukkið** Lutheri villudóm (Bisk)
that he has in-drunk Lutheran heresy
 ‘that he has drunk in Lutheran heresy’

- b. ... hefði Grundar-Helga **upp alið** þessa Ingigerði (Morð)
 ... *had Grundar-Helga up brought this Ingigerður*
 ‘Grundar-Helga had brought up this Ingigerður’

(18) [DP - particle - V_{main}]

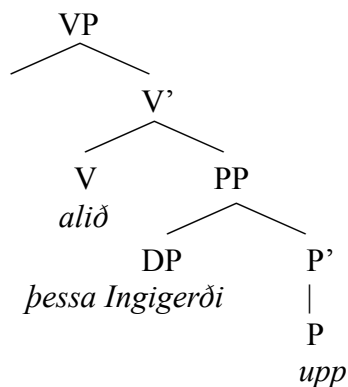
- a. at ek skyldi eigi fleiri born **upp ala** (Finn)
that I should not more children up bring
 ‘that I should not bring up more children’
- b. að þeir hefðu þau aldrei **út gefið** (Morð)
that they had them never out given
 ‘that they had never published them’

(19) *[particle - DP - V_{main}]

The verb-particle combinations in OI, as well as in Old English (cf. Pintzuk 1991; Hiltunen 1983), were sometimes written as a single word, and sometimes as two separate words. No distinction was made in this study in this respect.

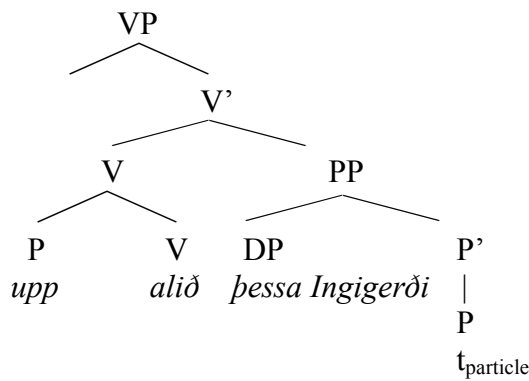
One possible way to account for the distribution of the preverbal particles is by use of the small clause analysis, as shown in (20) (cf. Kayne 1985; Svenonius 1992; den Dikken 1995, among others).

(20) Small clause analysis

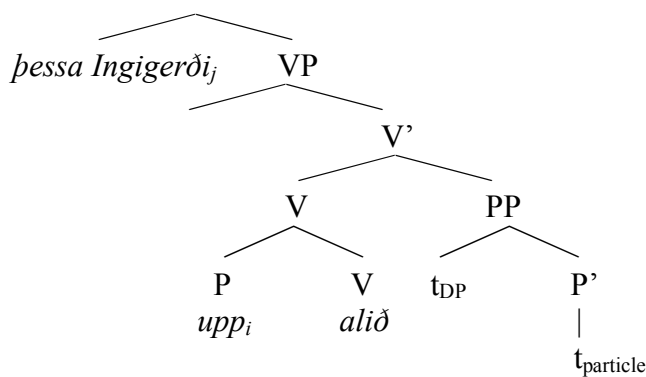


The particle movement here might either be seen as a head movement (cf. (21)) or a small clause movement. One argument in favor of the former possibility is that if the whole small clause were able to move, it might be difficult to explain why no adjuncts (or any kind of arguments) ever intervened between the particle and the verb. Following the former possibility, the particle head-moved (via adjunction) to the verb and the nominal object could either stay in situ (cf. the examples in (17) and the structure in (21)) or it could move to some position higher up (say, [Spec, AgrOP]) (cf. example (18) and the structure in (22)). A proposal for particle incorporation can also be found in van Riemsdijk (1982).

(21) particle - Vmain - DP



(22) DP - particle - Vmain



As mentioned, personal pronouns almost always preceded the particle in OI, thus they seem to have moved obligatorily, whereas the movement of a full DP object has been optional.

3.3 Preverbal particles and the infinitive marker

One problem arises regarding the distribution of the preverbal particles in OI. As mentioned, the particle was found in a preverbal position of both past participles and infinitives, but when the infinitival verb appeared with the infinitive marker *að*, the particle always immediately preceded it, as illustrated in (23).

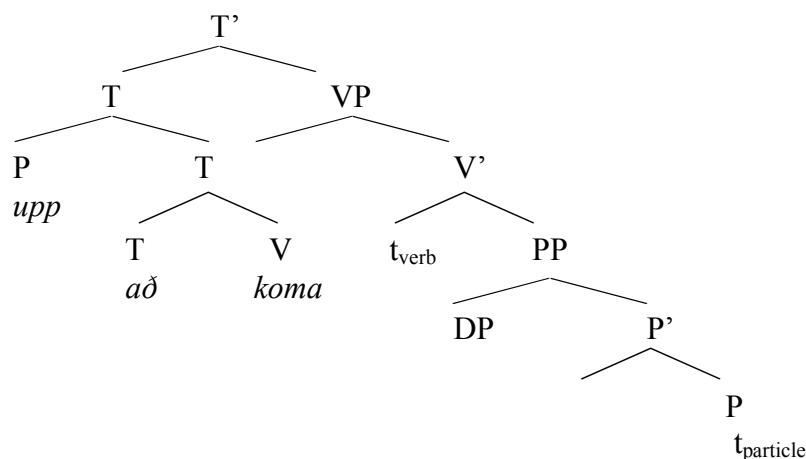
(23) [(DP) - particle - *að* - V_{main}]

- a. ekki hirði ek þersvm smæRum hiRðzlum **wpp ath luka** (Sig)
not care I these smaller chests up to open
 ‘I don’t care to open up these smaller chests’
- b. er aungvum auðnaðist **upp að koma** (Próf)
that noone succeeded up to come
 ‘that noone succeeded in coming up’
- c. so þeir kunnu aldrei héðan **út að komast** (Árm)
so they could never from-here out to come
 ‘so they could never come out of here’

Similar patterns also exist in the West Germanic languages. These facts are not easily accounted for within the framework given above; Hinterhölzl (1998), for instance, has shown with the help of the infinitival marker that the particle cannot be taken to incorporate into the verb but must undergo XP-movement. It has been suggested in the literature that the infinitive marker *að* in Icelandic is generated either in Infl or Comp (cf. e.g. Holmberg 1986; Sigurðsson 1992), or even in [Spec, CP] (cf. Kayne 1991). Thráinsson (1993) has also recently claimed that the infinitive marker occupies T in modal complements in Icelandic. Therefore, it might be possible to assume that the verb then is either incorporated or moved to the right of T, or whatever position *að* is taken to occupy (a derivation that Baker (1988) has to assume exists anyway, that is, incorporation/adjunction to the right), and only then, the particle can take off on

its usual trip and move (by adjunction) to this [*ađ*+verb] complex, as illustrated in (24) below.

(24) particle - *ađ* - V_{main}



Chomsky (1995) discusses the directionality of head-adjunction in some detail, and comes to the conclusion that it may be possible to allow both left and right adjunction of a head to another head, although right adjunction is ruled out categorically in Kayne (1994). Furthermore, multiple adjunction to T (of both the verb and the particle) is also not legitimate according to Kayne's (1994) system, where all multiple adjunction is ruled out on a principled basis.

The facts as illustrated above for the distribution of preverbal particles in OI are very similar to the picture in Dutch (cf. e.g. Zwart 1993; Neeleman 1994; den Dikken 1995; Hinterhölzl 1998). The distribution of preverbal particles is the same in Standard German as well. The distribution of the particle with respect to the infinitive marker seems to cause some problems for a complex-predicate hypothesis (as proposed, for instance, in Neeleman 1994), since we would obviously need some extra equipment to derive the right word order patterns here, ending up having two different ways of deriving particle-verb order, one with past participles and one with infinitives. Neither Neeleman (1994) nor den Dikken (1995) offer any solution to this problem in Dutch. However, Zwart (1993) discusses the problem concerning the position of the

particle against the infinitive marker in Dutch. According to standard analyses of Dutch syntax, the infinitive marker *te* is generated in Infl. Zwart (1993), on the other hand, argues that *te* is not an infinitive marker and is not generated in Infl. “*Te*, then, appears to be involved in expressing a syntactic relation rather than tense. In this respect, *te* looks like a complementizer or a preposition, more than like an inflectional element” (Zwart 1993:102). He concludes that *te* cannot be a prefix/clitic on the infinitival verb, partly based on the fact that infinitival verbs in Dutch do not always require the (overt) presence of *te*; *te* is excluded in a number of contexts (see Zwart 1993:99-100). For instance, he points out that the infinitive marker *te* in Dutch, unlike real prefixes, can be dropped under conjunction, and that this construction is subject to restrictions; both the verbs are either intransitive or have the same object/[object + particle]. This follows from the coordinate structure constraint/ATB if, on the one hand, *te* is in a functional position [F] above the VP, and, on the other hand, objects and verb particles must move to a position above *te*. Zwart (1997:111-116) further presents two reasons to believe that *te* in Dutch is not generated in Infl. First, the inflectional features of the infinitive are expressed by a suffix, which makes the association of *te* with Infl seem unmotivated. Second, the presence of *te* is dependent on the configuration in which the infinitive appears. No direct relation exists between tense and the agreement features of the infinitive and the presence of *te*, Zwart claims. Hence, *te* looks more like a complementizer than like a tense/ agreement morpheme (cf. Zwart 1997:115).

In sum, all examples where a DP object (or other complements) precede *að* must be evidence for a leftward movement of objects.

4 Remnant movement and OV/VO order

A central question in the comparison of OV and VO languages is whether the difference results from having more object movements in OV languages, or more verb movements in VO languages. Here, we agree with the original

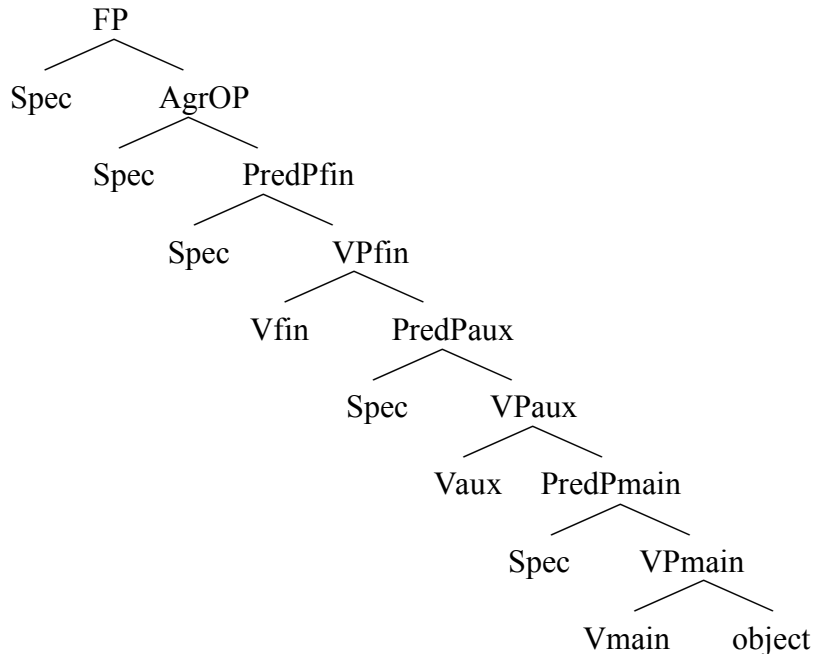
proposal of Haider (1992) that there are good reasons to assume that the verb moves more in VO languages. Haider thinks of this verb movement as head movement. However, this could also be a VP-movement, provided that the complements have first moved out of this VP. This is the path that Hinterhölzl (1997, 2006), Kayne (1998) and Hróarsdóttir (2000) take. They suggest that VO order might in some cases result from shifting a remnant VP containing the verb across complements extracted from the VP.

Hróarsdóttir (2000) makes use of remnant-movement of various kinds of predicative phrases, and the long movement associated with ‘restructuring’ phenomena, to provide an analysis of OV orders, and correspondingly, a proposal as to which aspect of Icelandic syntax must have changed when VO word order became the norm; the essential change is loss of VP-extraction from VP. Icelandic is taken to be uniformly VO where each verb has its own VP-projection and PredP-projection. In order to obtain successive cyclic application of VP-extraction resulting in intermediate structures of the form [V_{main} - V_{aux}], VP-extraction is taken to be PredP-extraction (movement to Spec, PredP). The claim is that the crucial difference between OV and VO languages is simply that OV languages lack the VP-preposing Modern English and other VO languages have. Hence, it is possible to construct a theory with a universal base that derives all the attested OV and VO word order patterns, by means of three transformations (cf. Hróarsdóttir 2000):

- obligatory and universal movement of the direct object out of the VP (to [Spec, AgrOP] in the functional domain)
- optional extraction of the embedded VP from the matrix VP in Older Icelandic
- obligatory preposing of the remnant VP, containing the finite auxiliary verb in all VO languages, including all stages of Icelandic.

Let us start by illustrating the derivation of a simple VO order.

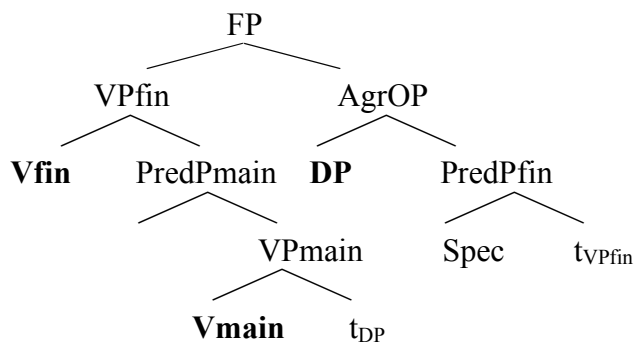
(25) *The initial structure*



(26) *VO order: [Vfin - Vmain - DP]*

First step: DP moves to Spec,AgrOP

Second step: The remnant VPfin moves to Spec,FP



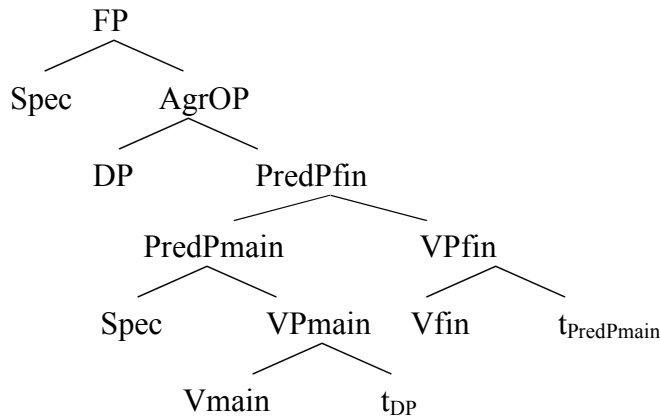
This derives the surface VO word order [Vfin - Vmain - DP].¹

¹ The above structure makes certain predictions about the placement of VP-adverbials in OI that will not be discussed further here. However, it is worth mentioning that, contra German, VP-adverbials in OI do not show mirror orders in OV and VO structures (see Hróarsdóttir 2000, 2008).

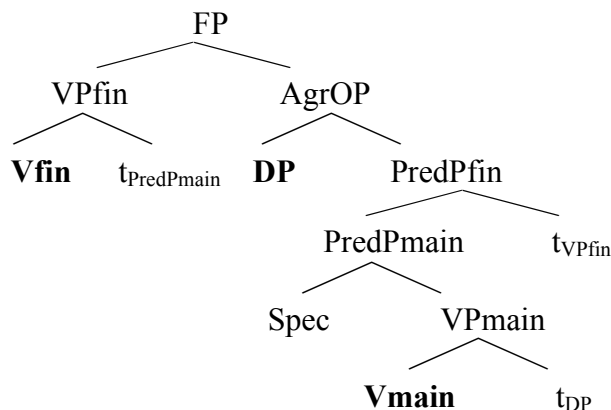
(27) OV order: [V_{fin} - DP - V_{main}]

First step: PredP_{main} moves to [Spec, PredP_{fin}] (VP-out-of-VP option)

Second step: DP moves to [Spec, AgrOP]²



Third step: VP_{fin} (remnant finite VP) moves to [Spec, FP]



This derives the OV word order [V_{fin} - DP - V_{main}].

The preposing of the remnant finite VP will always mask the object movement, deriving VO word order only, as long as the option of extracting the embedded VP from the matrix VP has not been chosen. In order to obtain successive cyclic application of VP-extraction resulting in intermediate structures of the form [[V_{main} V_{aux}] [V_{fin}...]], VP-extraction is taken to be

² In order to prevent the DP to move out-of a structure that has already been moved (PredP_{main}), the DP should be evacuated out of PredP_{main} first, then PredP_{main} moves out of PredP_{fin}, and finally, the DP raises to Spec, AgrOP.

PredP-extraction, that is, VP-extraction is to be implemented as movement to [Spec, PredP], where PredP is immediately above the VP. Hence, in order to derive the intermediate order [V_{main} V_{aux}] [V_{fin} ...], PredP_{main} must raise to [Spec, PredP_{aux}], and then, PredP_{aux} raises to PredP_{fin}. Assuming that only the VP, not the PredP, raises to [Spec, FP] (across the complements), the final step of the derivation always puts the finite verb in front of its complements. See the derivation of other word order patterns in Hróarsdóttir (2000).

The next question is whether it is possible to derive the attested word order patterns with verb particles within this framework.

5 Remnant movement and particles

The question whether the VO word order of Icelandic results from more verb-movement or more VP-movement than in OV languages is related to the behavior of verb particles in the Germanic VO and OV languages. There are two interesting facts to note in this respect as discussed in Taraldsen (2000): First, the ordering with respect to the verb is [particle - verb] in the OV languages, while it is [verb - particle] in the VO languages. Second, while the particle can precede the DP object in (most) VO languages, it invariably follows all complements in the Germanic OV languages. This is illustrated for Icelandic in (28) and Dutch in (29).

- (28) a. Hann hendir kettinum út
 he throws cat-the out
 b. Hann hendir út kettinum
 he throws out cat-the

- (29) a. Hij schakelt het licht uit
 he turns the light off

- b. *Hij schakelt uit het licht
he turns off the light
- c. omdat hij het licht uitschakelt
because he the light off-turns
- d. *omdat hij uit het licht schakelt
because he off the light turns

As Hinterhölzl (1997) and Taraldsen (2000) both mention, certain occurrences of verb particles in the Germanic languages cannot be derived by incorporation in terms of head movement, but must involve some XP-movement instead. This is actually one of the main motivations for Hinterhölzl's analysis of verb-raising in terms of an XP-movement of a VP or some bigger projection.

In Dutch, a verb particle can either precede the verb cluster (created by verb-raising), or it can become part of the verb cluster, as illustrated in (30) (examples from Hinterhölzl 1997: 9).

- (30) a. dat Jan Marie op wil bellen
that Jan Marie up wants call
- b. dat Jan Marie wil op bellen
that Jan Marie wants up call
'that Jan wants to call up Marie'

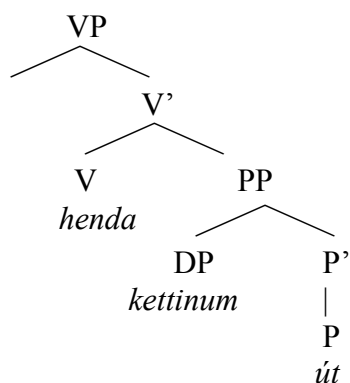
In OI, only the latter possibility is possible for preverbal particles (resulting from short particle movement in OI). "If we assume that verb-particles in Dutch are not licensed via incorporation but by XP-movement to either [Spec, PredP] or [Spec, F1P], then the cases in which a to-infinitive has been raised with its particle that are so problematic for the standard theory [...] fall in place nicely [...]" (Hinterhölzl 1997:16). This is illustrated in (31) below.

- (31) dat Jan [Marie]_{TP} probeerde [_{CP} [_{FIP} [_{PP} op] te [_{VP} bellen t_{PP}]] t_{TP}]
that Jan Marie tried up to call
 ‘that Jan tried to call up Marie’

Assuming a uniform S-H-C order of constituents, in the spirit of Kayne (1994), it not only becomes necessary for the direct object to follow the verb in base word order (regardless of whether it is a surface OV or VO language), it also becomes necessary for the verb particle to occur in a postverbal position. If we assume the particle to constitute a small clause together with the DP object, the base word order for both the OV and the VO languages must be along the lines shown in (32) and (33).

- (32) [_{VP} verb [_{SC} DP [particle]]]
- a. henda kettinum út (Icelandic)
throw cat-the out
 - b. slå lyset av (Norwegian)
turn light-the off
 - c. schakel het licht uit (Dutch)
turn the light off

(33)



Following Hróarsdóttir's (2000) framework, the first step in the derivation must

raise the direct object obligatorily out of the VP into [Spec, AgrOP] in all the languages, as illustrated for Icelandic and Dutch in (34) and (35), respectively.

(34) [AgrOP DP [VP verb [SC t_{DP} [particle]]]]

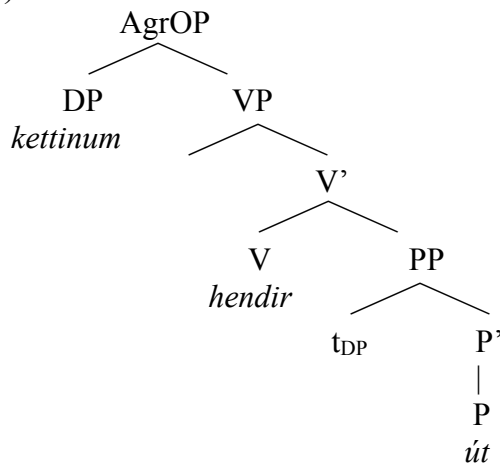
a. kettinum hendir út (Icelandic)

cat-the throws out

b. het licht schakelt uit (Dutch)

the light turns off

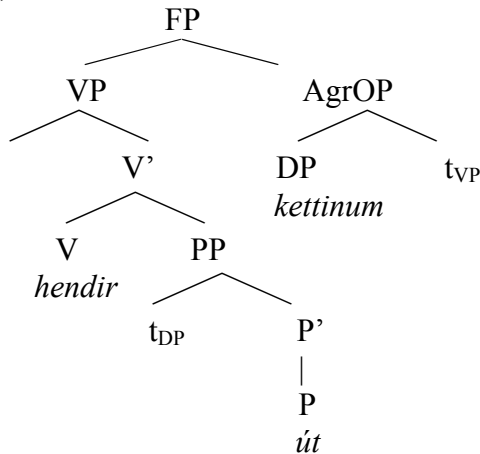
(35)



The second step in the derivation distinguishes the two languages, and OV and VO languages in general, where the remnant VP raises to [Spec, FP] above the extracted direct object. As a result, the verb is situated to the left of its complements (even in embedded non-verb-second clauses). The particle can at this point be situated inside the VP, as a result of it raising together with the verb within the remnant VP, acquiring its position to the left of the object. Assuming that no such movement applies in OV languages, the particle cannot raise across the object in OV languages. This is illustrated in (36) and (37).

- (36) [FP [VP verb [SC t_{DP} [particle]]]] [AgrOP DP t_{VP}]]
 hendir út kettinum (Icelandic; remnant VP-preposing)
throws out cat-the

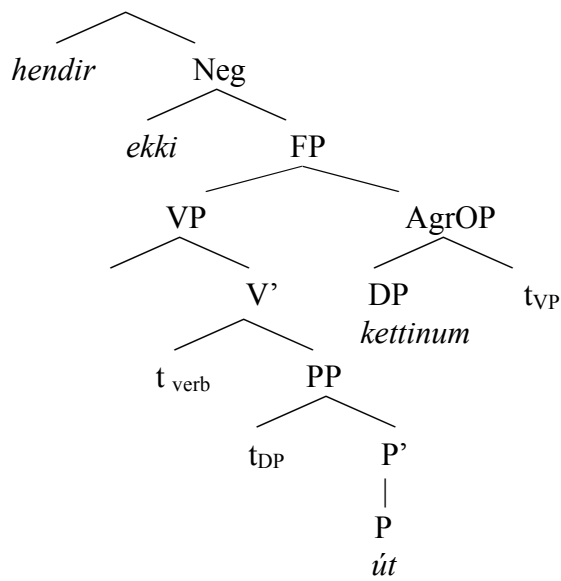
(37)



The third step in the derivation, then, raises the finite verb to the verb-second position. This movement applies in both Icelandic (both main and subordinate clauses) and in main clauses in Dutch (since Dutch is a verb-second language in main clauses), but not in English. We want to claim that the verb movement to the verb-second position is a head-movement, rather than VP-raising. This is illustrated for main clauses in (38) and (39). If the verb movement to the verb-second position is a head-movement, it follows directly that only the finite verb, and not the particle, can raise higher than the negation.

- (38) verb [FP [VP t_{verb} [SC t_{DP} [particle]]]] [AgrOP DP t_{VP}]]
- a. schakelt het licht uit
turns the light off
 - b. hendir (ekki) út kettinum
throws (not) out cat-the

(39)

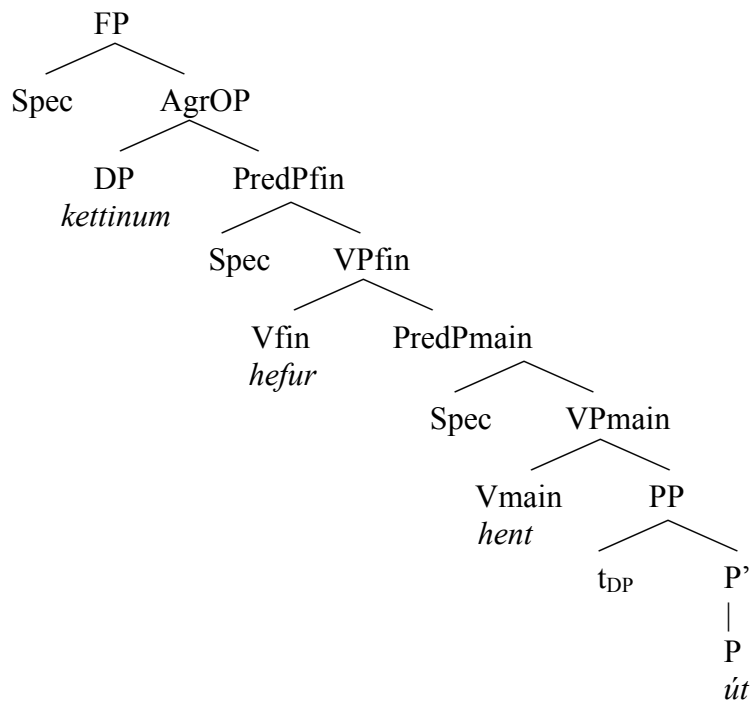


This correctly excludes the particle from preceding the DP object in Dutch and other OV languages, since they lack the remnant VP-preposing.

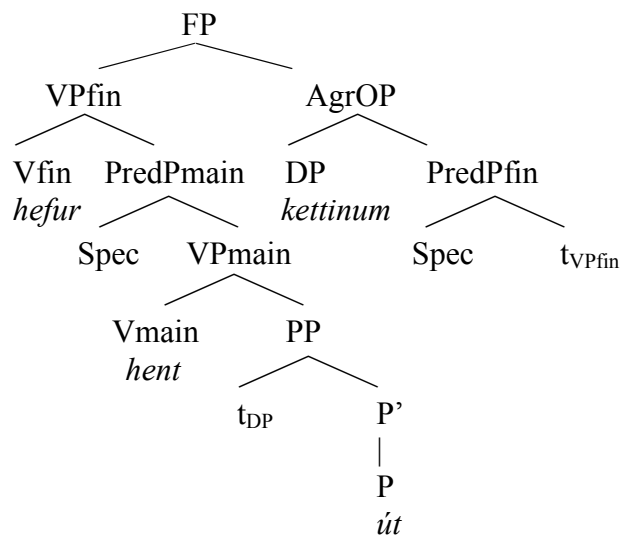
We assume that a particle can be raised across a DP object as part of the remnant VP. This is exemplified for Modern Icelandic in (40) and (41) below. In (40), the particle does not exit the VP, but moves along with VP_{fin} when it moves to [Spec, FP], while in (41), the particle exits the VP and thus stays behind when the finite VP moves.

- (40) Jón hefur hent út kettinum
John has thrown out cat-the

First step: DP movement

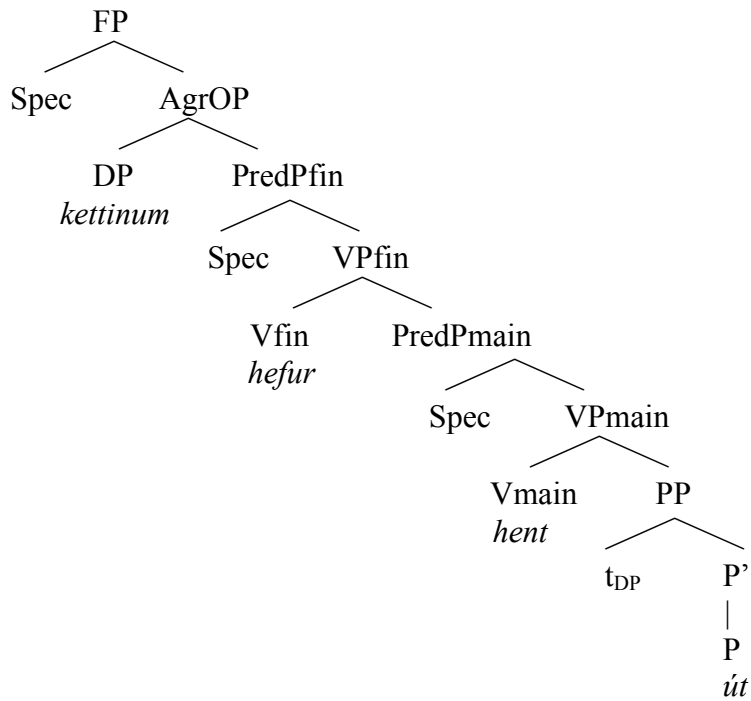


Second step: VPfin moves to F

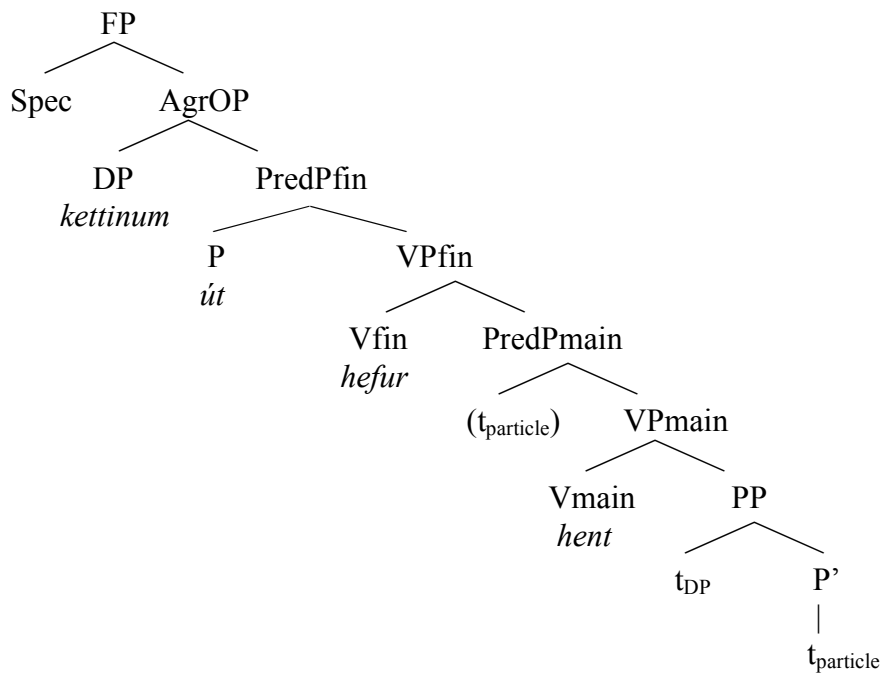


- (41) Jón hefur hent kettinum út
John has thrown cat-the out

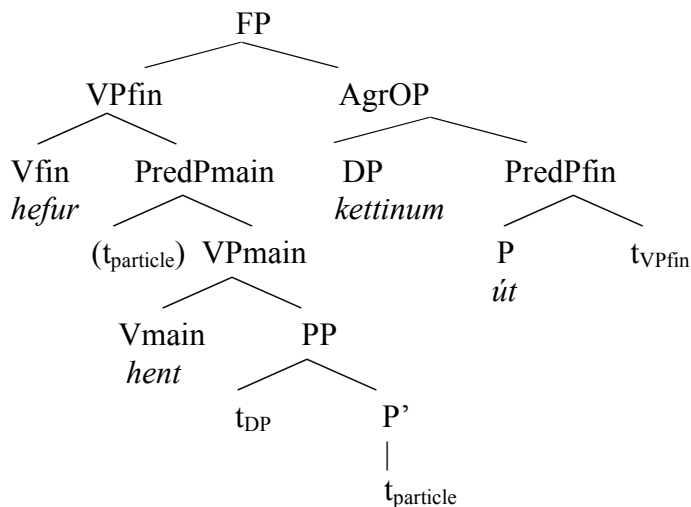
First step: DP movement



Second step: particle moves to Spec, PredPfin (via Spec, PredPmain)



Third step: VP_{fin} moves to F



In most OV languages, then, the particle movement must be obligatory, while in Icelandic and Norwegian, it is optional. This explains why particles in the Germanic OV languages must follow all complements of the verb. Since PredP is situated below AgrOP, the hypothesis correctly predicts the ungrammaticality of the pattern [particle - DP - verb] in the Germanic OV languages.

Taraldsen (2000) has shown that a variety of facts from Afrikaans, Dutch and the Scandinavian languages support this approach over an option where the particle is assumed to move as part of a complex verb. Note, for instance, the distribution of verb particles in the Scandinavian languages; while the movement is optional in Icelandic and Norwegian, as noted, it is obligatory in Danish and impossible in Swedish. Since all these languages are VO languages with obligatory VP-preposing, the differences in word order must be related to the fact that particles can be optionally stranded in Icelandic and Norwegian, while they must be stranded in Danish and, finally, must move along with the VP in Swedish. Whether or not the particle can move from the VP to PredP is presumably connected to different status of particles in the languages in question; assuming [PredP] to be a position where only full phrases can be licensed, then, verb particles in Danish and Afrikaans will always be regarded as phrases, while in Swedish they will be heads. Icelandic and Norwegian, then,

have a choice between having particles characteristic of either phrases or heads. This could further depend on whether the particle in Icelandic and Norwegian has modifiers or not; a particle with modifiers must be regarded as being a full phrase, and, thus, exit the VP.

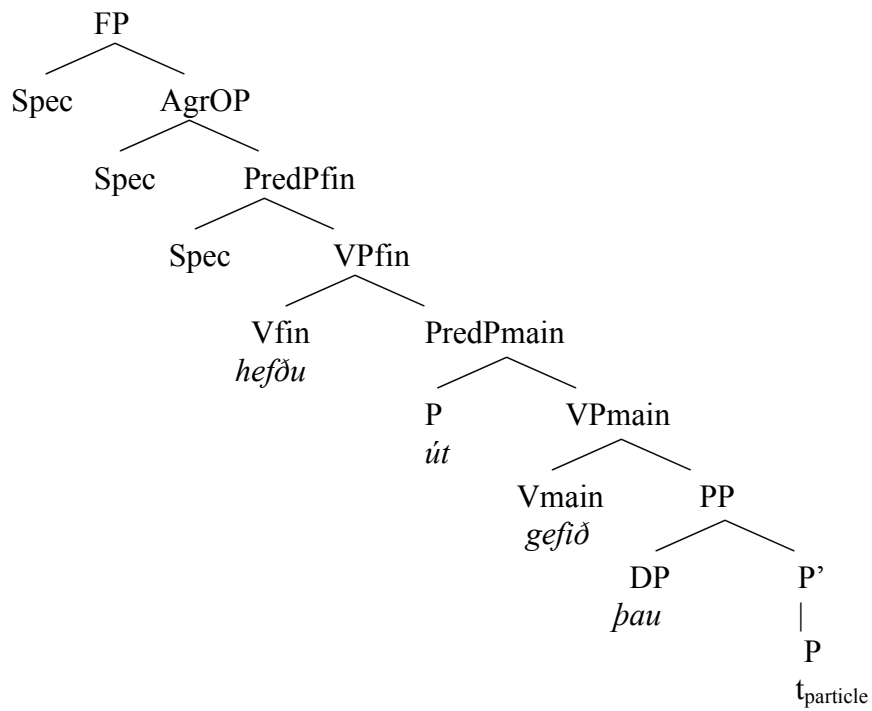
We can now revisit the preverbal particles in the OI corpus. As mentioned, the most frequent patterns show a preverbal particle and a preverbal direct object (42a), or a preverbal particle and a postverbal direct object (42b).

- (42) a. að þeir hefðu **pau** aldrei **út gefið** (Morð)
that they had them never out given
 ‘that they had never published them’
- b. en þó munum ver eigi **vpp gefa roðrinn** (Finn)
but yet will we not up give rowing.the
 ‘But yet, we will not give up rowing’

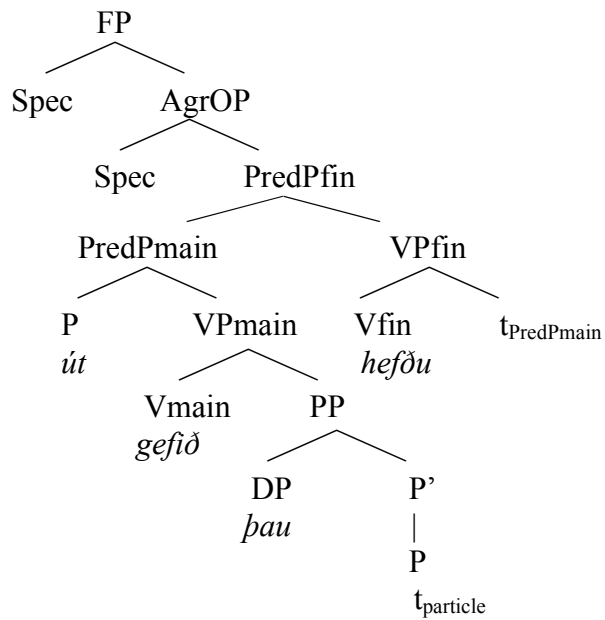
Let us start with the derivation of (42a), as illustrated in (43) below.

- (43) [V_{fin} - DP - particle - V_{main}]

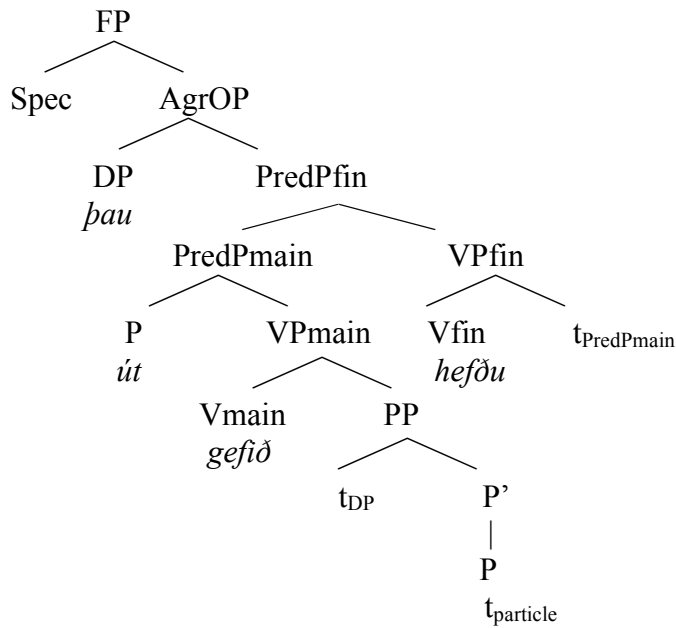
First step: particle moves to Spec, PredPmain



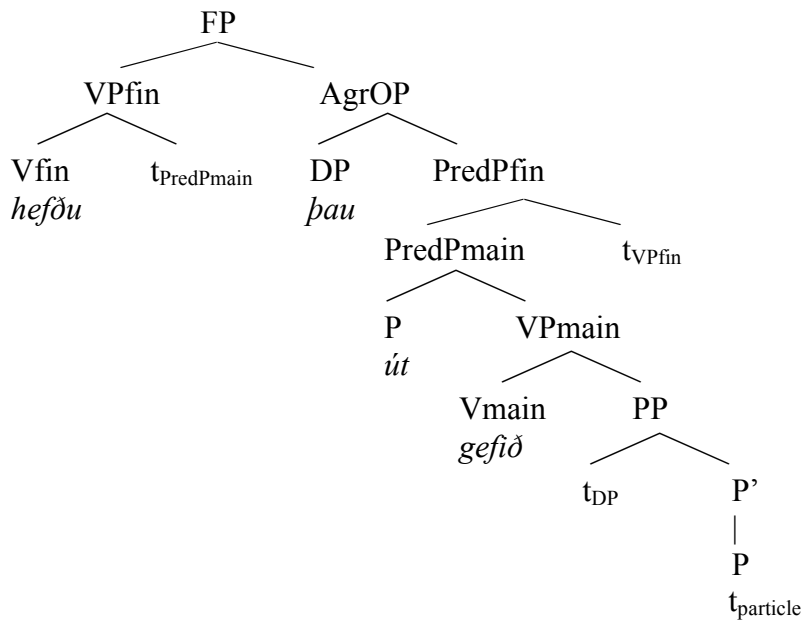
Second step: PredPmain moves to PredPfin (VP-out-of-VP option)



Third step: DP moves to [Spec, AgrOP]³



Final step: VP_{fin} (remnant finite VP) moves to [Spec, FP]



This derives the word order pattern [V_{fin} - DP - particle - V_{main}].

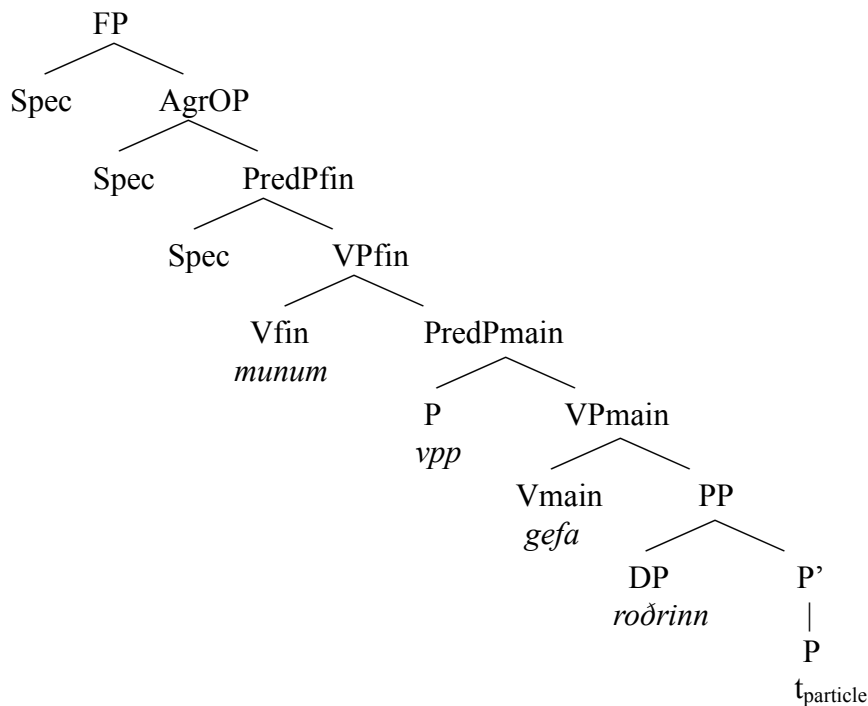
Turning to the order in (42b), [V_{fin} - particle - V_{main} - DP]. This pattern

³ Again, in order to prevent the DP to move out-of a structure that has already been moved, the DP should be evacuated first. See footnote 2. For simplification, we will not illustrate the evacuation here.

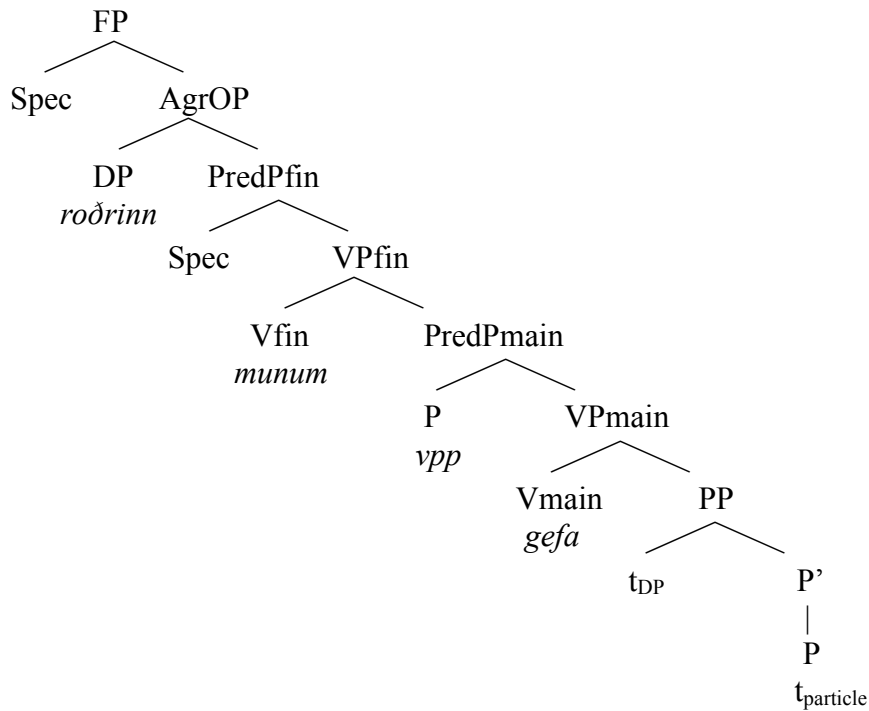
illustrates a mixed or split OV word order, where the structure is partly OV and partly VO. In the OI corpus the most frequent split word order patterns show either a direct object to the left of the main verb and an indirect object to the right, or a DP to the left of the main verb and a PP in the postverbal position (see Hróarsdóttir 2000 for further discussion of these and other split patterns in OI). Of the split word order patterns containing a verb particle and a DP, only the pattern [Vfin - particle - Vmain - DP] occurs with a significant frequency in the attested OI corpus, while the pattern [Vfin - DP - Vmain - particle] was uncommon, as already noted. The derivation of (42b) is illustrated in (44) below.

(44) [Vfin - particle - Vmain - DP]

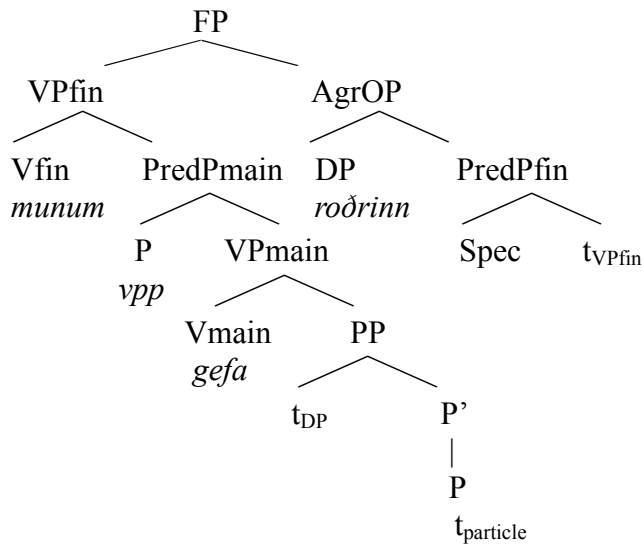
First step: particle moves to Spec, PredPmain



Second step: DP moves to [Spec, AgrOP]



Third step: VP_{fin} (remnant finite VP) moves to [Spec, FP]



This derives the word order pattern [V_{fin} - particle - V_{main} - DP].

6 Summary

Older Icelandic had various word order patterns with verb particles, including both pre- and postverbal particles. The most frequent patterns in the attested corpus show a preverbal particle and a postverbal direct object (45a), or a preverbal particle and a preverbal direct object (45b).

- (45) a. hefði Grundar-Helga **upp** alið **þessa Ingigerði** (Morð)
 had Grundar-Helga up brought this Ingigerður
 ‘Grundar-Helga had brought up this Ingigerður’
- b. að þeir hefðu **þau** aldrei **út** gefið (Morð)
 that they had them never out given
 ‘that they had never published them’

In the earliest texts, dating from the fourteenth century, preverbal particles are preferred over postverbal particles, although both pre- and postverbal particles co-exist in the corpus for several centuries.

In this paper, we have shown how a small clause analysis of verb particles, together with a remnant VP movement framework (Hróarsdóttir 2000) can account for the attested orders of verb particles in the history of Icelandic.

Appendices

Appendix A: Primary texts

- [Finn]. *Finnboga saga ramma*. Edited by Hugo Gering. Verlag der Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses, Halle, 1879. Heroic epic. Date of composition: 1330-1370.
- [Guðm]. *Saga Guðmundar Arasonar, Hóla-biskups, eptir Arngrím ábóta. Biskupa sögur*. Second volume, pp. 1-220. Hið íslenska bókmenntafélag, Copenhagen, 1878. Story of bishops. Date of composition: 1350-1365.
- [Árn]. *Árna saga biskups*. Edited by Þorleifur Hauksson. Stofnun Árna Magnússonar in Iceland, Reykjavík, 1972. Story of bishops. Date of composition: 1375-1400.
- [Dín]. *Dínus saga drambláta*. Edited by Jónas Kristjánsson. Riddarasögur I. Háskóli Íslands,

- Reykjavík, 1960. Chivalric romance. Date of composition: 1375-1400.
- [Sig]. *Sigurðar saga þögla*. Edited by M. J. Driscoll. Stofnun Árna Magnússonar in Iceland, Reykjavík, 1992. Icelandic romance. Date of composition: early fifteenth century.
- [Vikt]. *Viktors saga og Blávus*. Edited by Jónas Kristjánsson. Riddarasögur II. Handritastofnun Íslands, Reykjavík, 1964. Chivalric romance. Date of composition: ca. 1470.
- [Afs]. *Morðbréfabæklingar Guðbrands biskups Þorlákssonar, 1592, 1595 og 1608, með fylgiskjölum*. Sögufélagið, Reykjavík, 1902-1906. Afsökunarbréf Jóns Sigmundssonar. Document/formal letter. Date of composition: 1502-1506. Transcript made by Bishop Guðbrandur Þorláksson, 1592.
- [Morð]. *Morðbréfabæklingar Guðbrands biskups Þorlákssonar, 1592, 1595 og 1608, með fylgiskjölum*. Sögufélagið, Reykjavík, 1902-1906. Morðbréfa-bæklingar Guðbrands biskups. Document. Date of composition: 1592.
- [Skál]. Sögu-þáttur um Skálholts biskupa fyrir og um siðaskiptin. *Biskupa sögur*. Second volume, pp. 235-265. Hið íslenska bókmenntafélag, Copenhagen, 1878. Story of bishops. Date of composition: late seventeenth century.
- [Árm]. *Ármanns rímur eftir Jón Guðmundsson lærða (1637) og Ármanns þáttur eftir Jón Þorláksson*, pp. 91-121. Edited by Jón Helgason. Íslensk rit síðari alda, first volume. Hið íslenska bókmenntafélag, Copenhagen, 1948. A short narrative story. Date of composition: late seventeenth century.
- [Munn]. *Munnmælasögur 17. aldar*. Edited by Bjarni Einarsson. Íslensk rit síðari alda, volume 6. Hið íslenska fræðafélag í Kaupmannahöfn, Reykjavík, 1955. Folk tales, in oral tradition. Date of composition: 1686-1687.
- [J.Ey.]. *Ferðasaga úr Borgarfirði vestur að Ísafjarðardjúpi sumarið 1709, ásamt lýsingu á Vatnsfjarðarstað og kirkju*. Eftir Jón Eyjólfsson í Ási í Melasveit. Blanda II. Fróðleikur gamall og nýr, pp. 225-239. Sögufélagið, Reykjavík, 1921-1923. Travelogue; a story from a journey. Date of composition: 1709.
- [Bisk]. *Biskupasögur Jóns prófasts Haldórssonar í Hitardal*. Með viðbæti. Skálholtsbiskupar 1540-1801. Sögufélagið, Reykjavík, 1903-1910. Story of bishops. Date of composition: 1720-1730.
- [Próf]. *Æfisaga Jóns prófasts Steingrímssonar eftir sjálfan hann*. Sögufélagið, Reykjavík, 1913-1916. Biography. Date of composition: 1785-1791.
- [Álf]. *Íslenskar þjóðsögur og ævintýri*. Nýtt safn. Volume VI, pp. 1-39. Collected by Jón Árnason. Edited by Árni Böðvarsson and Bjarni Vilhjálmsson. Bókaútgáfan Þjóðsaga,

Reykjavík, 1961. Álfarit Ólafs í Purkey. Folk tale, fairy tale. Date of composition: 1820-1830.

[Esp]. *Íslands Árbækur í söguformi*. Af Jóni Espólín fyrrum Sýslumanni í Skagafjarðar Sýslu. Hið íslenska bókmenntafélag, Copenhagen, 1843. Jón Espólín. Annual stories, in epical form. Date of composition: first half of the nineteenth century.

Appendix B: Bibliographical information for the nineteenth century letters

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Frásögur um fornaldarleifar 1817-1823. First volume. Edited by Sveinbjörn Rafnsson. Stofnun Árna Magnússonar, Reykjavík, 1983.

Frásögur um fornaldarleifar 1817-1823. Second volume. Edited by Sveinbjörn Rafnsson. Stofnun Árna Magnússonar, Reykjavík, 1983.

Geir biskup góði í Vínarbréfum 1790-1823. Edited by Finnur Sigmundsson. Íslensk sendibréf VII. Bókfellsútgáfan, Reykjavík, 1966.

Gömul Reykjavíkurbref 1835-1899. Edited by Finnur Sigmundsson. Íslensk sendibréf VI. Bókfellsútgáfan, Reykjavík, 1965.

Hafnarstúdentar skrifa heim. Sendibréf 1825-1836 og 1878-1891. Edited by Finnur Sigmundsson. Íslensk sendibréf IV. Bókfellsútgáfan, Reykjavík, 1963.

Konur skrifa bréf. Sendibréf 1797-1907. Edited by Finnur Sigmundsson. Íslensk sendibréf III. Bókfellsútgáfan, Reykjavík, 1961.

Magnús Stephensen, Brjef. Edited by Hið íslenska Fræðafélag í Kaupmannahöfn. Safn Fræðafélagsins um Ísland og Íslendinga IV. Copenhagen, 1924.

Sendibréf frá íslenskum konum 1784-1900. Edited by Finnur Sigmundsson. Helgafell, Reykjavík, 1952.

Skrifarinn á Stapa. Sendibréf 1806-1877. Edited by Finnur Sigmundsson. Íslensk sendibréf I. Bókfellsútgáfan, Reykjavík, 1957.

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