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ЕЗИКОЗНАНИЕ

LINGUISTICS

“GIVING SOMEONE FREEDOM” IN OLD ICELANDIC IN MINIMALIST SYNTACTIC TERMS

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ABSTRACT: The present paper discusses the word order alternatives attested with OIce double object constructions of the type *gefa einhverjum frelsi* ‘give someone freedom’ found in the ONP (https://onp.ku.dk/onp/onp.php) within a largely *Minimalist* syntactic framework (Chomsky (1995) and beyond). Specifically, this study draws on theoretical assumptions borrowed from sources in the area of the movement approach to modified word order types in the early Germanic languages (e.g. Eythórsson (1995); Haugan (2001)). The paper starts off with an analysis of base-generated post-VP indirect object (Dat) – *frelsi* (Acc) order and proceeds to an account of modified orders derived by VP-internal *Scrambling*, short-distance *Scrambling*, and *Topicalization*, wherein the direct object *frelsi* is claimed to have moved leftwards from its base position. The author of the paper argues that leftward dislocation takes *frelsi* to various target positions, i.e. an adjunction position in the left periphery of VP (resulting from VP-internal *Scrambling*), an adjunction position in the left periphery of vP (as a result of short-distance *Scrambling*), the specifier position of CP (consequent upon *Topicalization*). The objective of the paper is to analyze the conditions, under which the above displacement operations apply, the structural configurations, derived by leftward movement and the properties of the ex-situ positions, targeted by *frelsi*.

KEYWORDS: Old Icelandic; *Scrambling; Topicalization; Minimalist* Syntax; double object constructions; movement approach; structural configurations

This paper is intended as a contribution to an overall project which will seek to develop an integrated generative syntactic analysis of *Scrambling* (aka *Object Shift*[1] or *Object Movement*) *Topicalization*, and *Heavy NP Shift* (aka *Extraposition*) based on evidence from Old English and Old Icelandic (OIce) by taking into account the semantic, information-structural and prosodic dimensions of the mentioned dislocation operations. The present paper is, however, limited to an analysis of the modified orders derived by *Scrambling* and *Topicalization* attested in OIce double object constructions of the type *gefa einhverjum* ((Dat)ive Case) *frelsi* ((Acc)usative Case) or literally ‘give someone freedom’ collected from *The Dictionary of Old Norse Prose* (Sigurðardóttir, Kjeldsen, Jacobsen, Sanders, Jóhannsson, Rode, Degnbol, Knirk, Lindholm, Arvidsson, Ellyton, Battista, Wills, Helgadóttir (2019)), available at (https://onp.ku.dk/onp/onp.php). *Scrambling* and *Topicalization* have been chosen as they can be conflated as instances of leftward movement targeting constituents whose sources are internal. The aim of the paper is to discuss and analyze the conditions, under which the above displacement operations apply, the structural configurations, derived by leftward movement and the basic properties of the source and target positions of the direct object *frelsi*. The focus of the paper comes on formal syntactic analysis in terms of the *Minimalist* syntactic framework (Chomsky (1995) and beyond), in particular it builds on theoretical assumptions borrowed from sources in the area of the movement approach to the mentioned word order alternatives (e.g. Everaert and van Riemsdijk (2005); Epstein and Seely (2006); Cheng and Corver (2013)), and this is another way in which this study is limited. Double object constructions lend themselves nicely to analyses of *Scrambling* and *Topicalization* for these are particularly sensitive to the rules that define the dislocation operations involved. The analysis of unmarked post-verbal indirect object (Dat) – direct object (Acc = *frelsi*) order

[1] The variation in certain aspects of the defining properties of *Object Shift* and *Scrambling* has oftentimes been over-scrutinized and the isomorphic correspondence between the mentioned manifestations of qualitatively the same structure-building operation has been underestimated. If *Scrambling* and *Object Shift* are analyzed in terms of *Move α* they can be subsumed as cognate syntactic operations. Moreover, *Scrambling* and *Object Shift* share an essential property, for they both can interface with information structure principles and can affect semantic interpretation, which testifies to a matching syntactic status (e.g. Hinterhölzl and Petrova (2009); Bech and Eide (2014)).

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will serve as a starting point for the ensuing discussion of presumably marked[2] modified orders derived by various types of leftward displacement, namely, VP-internal *Scrambling*, short distance *Scrambling* and *Topicalization.* The approach to syntactic structure adopted here draws on and is indebted to Chomsky (1995), (2000), (2001) and (2008), and can be described as constituency-based and explicitly derivational, whereby derivations are built from the bottom up, starting with the two structurally lowest constituents which are combined to form a new syntactic constituent in a binary branching fashion by *Merge*. The most important property of *Merge* is that of recursion, i.e. it may apply to its output, and *Move (= Copy + Merge + Delete)* is a property of the syntactic computation, whereby the displaced element is *copied* and *merged* into a new syntactic position. An empty category trace, however, still lingers in the base position of the dislocated constituent, it is a copy of the ex-situ element that is *deleted* in the phonological component, i.e. this lower null copy is not realized at P(honetic) F(orm) but is available for interpretation at L(ogical) F(orm), hence in the associated PF structure, only the highest copy will be spelled-out phonologically. *Move* then can be thought of as a composite operation, involving two suboperations: *Copy-Merge* and *Copy-Deletion*.

Couched in *Minimalist* syntactic architecture (e.g. binary *Merge*, locality of movement and case licensing, Copy Theory of movement, chain formation and trace licensing, etc.), the present analysis is informed by the movement approach to *Scrambling* phenomena and *Topicalization* (based on Eythórsson (1995); Vikner (1997); Thráinsson (2001); Hendrick (2003); Richards (2004); Epstein and Seely (2006); Broekhuis (2008); Wallenberg (2009); Josefsson (2010); Cheng and Corver (2013) among others). The central claim of the movement hypothesis is that variable surface orders of constituents are derived from one uniform base word order by reordering of constituents as a result of displacement operations, or technically speaking, constituents move out of their source positions into target positions derived by *Move*. But there is the other half of the story for modified constituent orders have as often as not been treated in terms of base-generation, whereby the main assumption of the non-movement hypothesis is that both canonical orders and alternative orders of constituents are derived through base-generation (e.g. Bošković and Takahashi (1998); Neeleman and Reinhart (1998); Neeleman and Weerman (1999); Fanselow (2001) and (2004)), which can be boiled down to the following conclusion regarding the studied reordering operations: *Scrambling* and *Topicalization* apply at PF with any variations in word order resulting from external ordering factors. By corollary, no single base word order can be postulated or, technically speaking, there is no fixed order of constituents at the level of D-structure, meaning that word order modifications are generated at the D-level. No doubt, non-movement analyses are to be credited with bringing to light and plausibly arguing a great number of the properties of structures exhibiting variable order of constituents as well as various aspects of these properties but they also leave some problems in their wake. Two of them will be mentioned here: first, the evaluation of structures indicative of base generation in a canonical position and structures indicative of base generation in a non-canonical position should be dependent on a global comparison and blocking of derivations; and then, the association of base generation in a non-canonical position with the ensuing new interpretation should rely on the same global comparison of derivations or, in a different scenario, on an LF-driven extrapolation of base positions. But what matters crucially is that the non-movement hypothesis and the movement hypothesis differ in terms of the predictions they make with relation to the grammatical properties of *Scrambling* and *Topicalization*. This paper will add convergent support to the claim that the seemingly free surface orders of constituents resultant upon *Scrambling* and *Topicalization* are derived from one underlying word order by reordering of constituents, rather than being freely generated by a variable base. Unlike *Heavy NP Shift* (which can be described as a type of rightward dislocation primarily affecting the direct object by moving it into an adjunction position to the right of VP), *Scrambling* and *Topicalization* pattern in much the same way and this similarity is rooted in the overall syntactic make-up of the two movement operations. Specifically, when double object constructions are considered, *VP-internal Scrambling* takes the direct

[2] Remarkably, Chomsky states that: "… we are sweeping under the rug questions of considerable significance, notably questions about what in the earliest EST framework were called 'surface effects' on interpretation. These are manifold, involving topic-focus and theme-rheme structures, figure-ground properties, effects of adjacency and linearity, and many others" (Chomsky, 1995, p. 220). While issues related to markedness, informedness, information structure and information packaging, etc. figure prominently in the overall project, they lie beyond the scope of this paper and will be saved for further discussion.

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object to an adjunction position in the left periphery of VP, *short-distance Scrambling* may affect both direct and indirect objects as well as adjuncts by taking them to adjunction positions in the left periphery of vP, and *Topicalization* targets the same type of constituents by moving them leftwards into the specifier position of CP.

Provided that *Topicalization* can be accounted for in terms of leftward displacement of Arguments and Adjuncts, *Topicalization* may, in informal terms, be deemed as a type of *Scrambling* (further arguments in support of such an assumption can be found in Haugan, 2001, pp. 220-228). Much in this vein, *Scrambling* and *Topicalization* phenomena can actually be viewed as reflexes of a more universal principle, requiring that clause constituents, encoding information presupposed in discourse precede clause constituents, encoding asserted, discourse-new information. In more technical terms, if VP corresponds to the focus domain and the domain above VP roughly overlaps the topical domain, non-focussed and topical constituents will have to move into the domain between VP and CP. On the other hand, analyzing *Topicalization* on a par with *Scrambling* is not meant to obscure the fact that the former is generally regarded as a device involving word order variation in the *Prefield* of the clause. Alternatively, *short-distance Scrambling* applies variably to raise internal Arguments and Adjuncts into left-phrasally-adjoined targets in the *Middlefield* of the clause, with *VP-internal Scrambling* being a special case, whereby the ex-situ direct object adjoins to a position in the left periphery of VP, or still a position following the main verb in surface structure. Before discussing the structural conditions that need to hold for *Scrambling* and *Topicalization* to apply and the structural configurations that leftward dislocation of the direct object *frelsi* will derive, I will briefly consider post-verbal indirect object (Dat) – direct object (Acc = *frelsi*) orders, for the sake of comparison. Cf.:

1) ... at ver skolom geva manne(Dat) frælsi(Acc) …
... that we shall give man freedom …
'... that we shall give a man freedom …'

Cf.: Ðat er nu þvi nest at vér skolom geva manne frælsi ár hvert her i Gula. En vér hafum þvi skipt fylkna í mellom at sitt ár skal hverr várr fa mann til frælsis. (GulKr^{I} 5^{26})

'Now, the next is this, that every year we shall give a man freedom from slavery here in Gula. And we have distributed this duty among the districts, so that each one shall in its year present a man for manumission.'

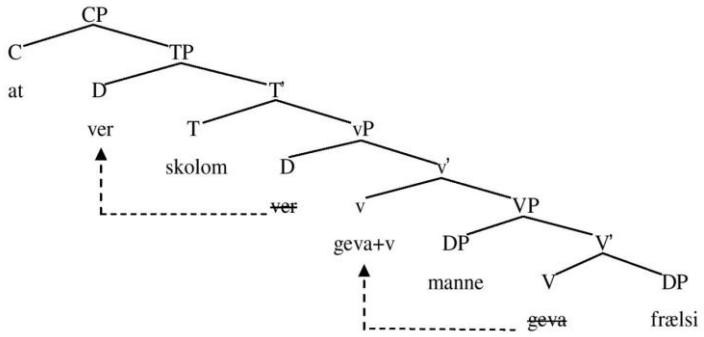
2) þá scal eigi gefa honum(Dat) frelsi(Acc) ...
then shall not give him freedom ...
'then he shall not give him freedom... '

Cf.: Ef þræll manns recr til lausnar at leysa sic. þá scal eigi gefa honum frelsi fyrr en hafi hann hálfgolldit verð sitt. En ef fyrr gefr þá scal engi maðr útlægiaz á honum nema hinn einn er frelse gaf honum. (Frost^{x} 174^{8})

'If a man's thrall asks for self-redemption in order to release himself, then he (the master) shall not give him his freedom before he should pay half of his worth. And if he gives it before that then shall no man banish him except for the one who gave him freedom.'

In terms of standard *Minimalist* assumptions, the finite subordinate clause in 1) above will be analyzed as a CP (headed by the Complementizer *at*) that can be formalized, as follows:

3)



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In 3), the pronominal subject *ver* merges in spec-vP and is then raised into spec-TP, the non-finite main verb *geva* merges in the head V position of VP and is then moving into the head v position of vP to adjoin to the functional head v, and the finite verb *skolom* merges into the head T position of TP, resulting in a V2 clause; the bare nominal indirect object *manne* is merged in spec-VP and the bare nominal direct object *frælsi* – in compl-V'. Both internal Arguments, *manne* and *frælsi* respectively, remain in situ in their base-generated positions and the V-IO(Dat)-*frælsi*(Acc) order in 1) results from the raising movement of the main verb *geva* from V – v to adjoin to the functional head 'little' v. The V-IO(Dat)-*frelsi*(Acc) order in 2) can be derived by maximazing structural symmetry with 1), i.e. the pronominal indirect object *honum* is base-generated in spec-VP and the bare nominal direct object *frelsi* – in compl-V', and both objects stay in situ as the non-finite main verb *gefa* raises from V – v to adjoin to 'little' v.

What has been tacitly assumed up to now is that OIce is characterized by VO order within the VP underlyingly and axiomatically a base-generated SVO (=SHC or Specifier-Head-Complement) order and that this basic word order correlates primarily with grammatical relations. With reference to examples like 2), Haeberli (1999) argues that double object constructions with both a nominal and a pronominal Argument in post-verbal position must be analyzed as subjacent VO orders under the assumption that pronouns cannot extrapose (undergo rightward movement) in Germanic (he cites Pintzuk (1991) for the latter claim). Based on evidence from the old Germanic languages, Haeberli extends the above analysis to take in constructions with two post-verbal nominal Arguments (such as 1) above). This study adopts Haeberli (1999)'s uniform VO-base approach to syntactic structure but also departs from it whereof the possibility of alternating orders is attributed to movement of constituents for case-checking purposes. Much in the same vein, in his extensive study of Old Norse-Icelandic word order (2001), Haugan demonstrates that the most frequent order and indeed the unmarked form of object constituents in OIce is indirect object (Dat) – direct object (Acc), both following the non-finite main verb. Haugan's account is based on thematic and information structure properties as well as language typology possibilities and is carried out within an underlyingly SVO framework (2001, pp. 155-173). That V-IO(Dat)-DO(Acc) order occurs with markedly higher frequency as compared to V-DO(Acc)-IO(Dat) order in unmarked sentence structure in OIce and is indeed base-generated has independently been confirmed by Hróarsdóttir (2001), meaning that V-DO(Acc)-IO(Dat) must be a derived order, consequent upon some displacement operation targeting the direct object. In this connection, consider the V-*frelsi*(Acc)-IO(Dat) order in the following examples:

4) Ef kona gefr frelsi(Acc) þræle sinom(Dat) ...
If woman gives freedom thrall her ...
'If a woman gives freedom to her thrall ... '

Cf.: Ef kona gefr frelsi þræle sinom til þess at hon vill ganga með honom oc eiga hann. þa er þat barn oc eigi arfgengt er þav geta. sa heitir hornungr. (Grg^{I} 224^{11})

'If a woman gives freedom to her thrall because she wants to wed him and marry him, then the child that they beget is not yet her legitimate heir. Such one is called a bastard son.'

5) ... þá gaf hann frelsi(Acc) sínum þrælum(Dat) ...
... then gave he freedom his thralls …
'... then he gave his thralls their freedom …'

Cf.: Knútr konungr gaf þá enum saxneskum þrælum at leysa sik með til frelsis. Bað þá síðan koma til sín. Þeir gerðo svá. En er þeir kómu öðru sinni aptr til Knútz konungs, þá gaf hann frelsi sínum þrælum, þeim er hann höfðo fundit. ($ÓT^{I}$ 126^{15})

'At that time King Knutur granted the Saxon thralls the right to redeem their freedom. He then asked them to come to him and they did so. And the next time when they came back to King Knutur then he gave freedom to his thralls, to those who had paid him for their redemption.'

There is a tendency across languages for indefinite noun phrase objects to resist *Scrambling* (Bowern and Evans (2014)), however, in a certain Mod(ern) Ice(landic) inverted construction the ex-situ object can be indefinite, if the in-situ object is also indefinite (Ottóson, 1991, pp. 82-84). In this context, let us analyze the conditional clause in 4) which, under a CP analysis, will be schematically represented, as follows[3]:

[3] In what follows tree diagrams are simplified by not showing explicitly those instances of movement which are not of immediate concern to the present study.

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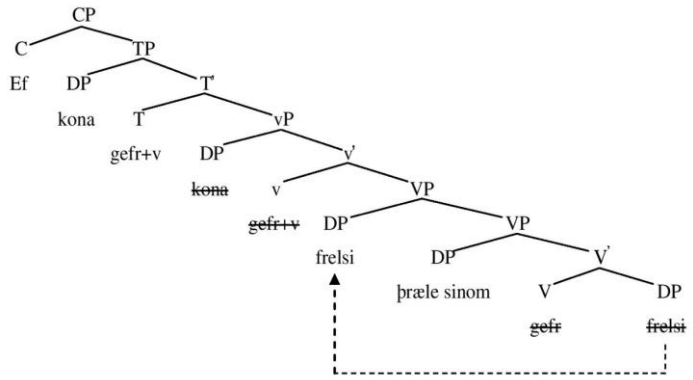
6)



In 6), the bare nominal subject *kona* raises from spec-vP – spec-TP and the finite main verb *gefr* raises from V – v – T, successively-cyclically to produce a V2 clause; the determiner phrase indirect object *þræle sinom* is merged in spec-VP, and the bare nominal direct object *frelsi* is merged in compl-VP and is then raised moving across *þræle sinom* which remains in its base position to adjoin over it. The V-*frelsi*(Acc)-IO(Dat) order in 4) results from VP-internal *Scrambling* which takes the direct object *frelsi* to a left-adjoined position in the domain between VP and vP. Specifically, this type of *Scrambling* movement extends the VP beyond the specifier level and obeys *Conservation of C-Command* (Wallenberg, 2009, p. 132). Technically speaking, the direct object *frelsi* raises from its internal complement position to become merged in a target position to the left of VP, i.e. *VP-internal Scrambling* functions as internal *Merge*, but as the landing site targeted by *frelsi* is an adjunction position, *VP-internal Scrambling* is best analyzed as a case of internal *Adjunction*. The raising movement of *frelsi* does not violate *Conservation of C-Command* - as the direct object moves leftwards, it does not cross any of the c-commanding functional heads, the closest functional head being little v. Unlike the ModIce construction discussed by Ottóson (1991), in both 4) and 5) the *scrambled* direct object is indefinite, while the unmoved indirect object is definite, the difference between the two unscrambled objects being structural, i.e. in 4) the possessive pronoun *sinom*(Dat) occurs in postposition to the noun it modifies and in 5) the possessive pronoun *sínum*(Dat) appears in prepositive function. Another way in which the derivation of the CP in 5) will differ from 6) is in terms of verb movement, i.e. the verbal head *gaf+v* will undergo subsequent T-to-C movement and thus surface in a position preceding the pronominal subject *hann* in spec-TP or, in technical terminology, *gaf+v* will raise into the head C position of CP. That *Scrambling* is not constrained by some kind of feature checking/ feature valuation mechanism and is, hence, optional in narrow syntax can be easily maintained in cases like the above but *short-distance Scrambling* poses some questions with respect to both Case and Theta-role assignment as well as regarding certain locality restrictions that will be addressed below. With *short-distance Scrambling* affecting double object constructions with one non-finite verb, four different patterns can be identified, i.e.: V_{fin}-IO(Dat)-$V_{non\text{-}fin}$-DO(Acc); V_{fin}-DO(Acc)-$V_{non\text{-}fin}$-IO(Dat); V_{fin}-IO(Dat)-DO(Acc)-$V_{non\text{-}fin}$; V_{fin}-DO(Acc)-IO(Dat)-$V_{non\text{-}fin}$, out of which only the first two options have been attested with *frelsi* as a direct object, cf.:

7) ... þá vil eg það frelsi(Acc) gefa þér(Dat) ...
... then want I that freedom give you …
'... then I want to give you that freedom …'

Cf.: Þess er mér von að þú munir verða sekur skógarmaður um áverka Þormóðar. En fyrir því að sekt þín hlýst af mér þá vil eg það frelsi gefa þér að þú skalt eigi lengur þræll vera. Þar með skaltu búa hesta fjóra á laun, tvo til reiðar en aðra tvo til klyfjaburðar undir vöru. (FóstbX 79[24])

'I expect that you will become convicted as an outlaw for injuring Thormothur. And since your outlawry derives from me I want to give you that privilege that you shall no longer be a slave. Therewith you shall get ready four horses in secret, two for riding and other two for carrying pack

8) ... enda skal þeim manni(Dat) gefa frelsi(Acc) ...
... and shall that man give freedom ...
'… and one shall give freedom to that man …'

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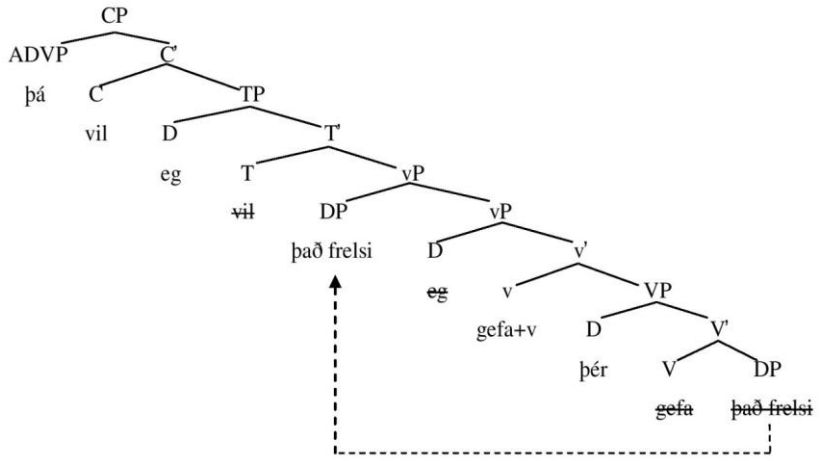
Cf.: Þat barn er ok eigi arfgengt er kvikt er orðit í kviði móðurinni áðr henni sè frelsi gefit ok er þó þat barn frjálsborit; enda skal þeim manni gefa frelsi í annat sinn; sá maðr heitir hrísúngr. En ef konunni er gefit frelsi áðr barnit er kvikt orðit í kviði henni, ok þarf eigi at gefa þeim manni frelsi. (Grg^{I} 414[18])

‘That child is not a legitimate heir who has become alive in the womb of the mother before she has been given freedom though such a child is freeborn; and in this case freedom shall be given to that man a second time; such a man is called son born of a free woman. But if the woman is given freedom before the child has become alive in her womb then it is not necessary to give freedom to that man.’

As known, pronouns in Germanic *scramble* almost obligatorily and definite noun phrases *scramble* quite consistently (e.g. Meinunger (2000); Sundquist (2002); Pintzuk and Taylor (2004); Putnam (2007); Bouma and de Hoop (2008)). In this light, consider the V2 main clause in 7) which will be derived, as follows:

9)



In 9), the subject pronoun *eg* is raised from spec-vP – spec-TP and the non-finite main verb *gefa* is raised from V – v to adjoin to the functional head little v; the finite verb *vil* raises from T into C to produce a V2 clause. The direct object DP *það frelsi* is generated in compl-VP and moves across the indirect object pronoun *þér* in spec-VP and the subject *eg* in spec-vP to surface in a left-adjoined position in the domain between vP and TP. At this point it is pending to discuss the assumed involvement of feature-checking mechanisms in *Scrambling*. Under the *Minimalist Program*, the *Case filter* is entrusted with the computational function of checking for the ordering part of the set of Arguments, while the assignment of semantic roles by heads to their Arguments is taken upon by the *Theta module* (Chomsky (1995) and beyond). The *Minimalist Program* inherited the contrast between inherent (lexical) and structural Case from earlier versions of the *Minimalist* framework and argues that inherent Case is assigned to a DP based on the properties of the verb and checked in situ, whereas structural Case is assigned to a DP based on the structure in which it merges and checked by movement to a dedicated functional projection. The OIce case system has survived almost fully intact into the modern period, meaning that Jónsson’s proposal (2000) that the structural cases in Ice are Nom(inative) on subjects and Acc on objects while the inherent cases are Dat and Gen(itive) on subjects and objects can legitimately be extended to take in OIce object case-marking. In accordance with standard practice in *Minimalism*, inherent Cases are assigned in the same domain in which Theta-roles are assigned, however, structural Cases cannot be checked in the same domain in which Theta-roles are assigned. Referring back to 9), the above claims entail that at *Merge* the verb *gefa* assigns the direct object *það frelsi* the Theta-role *Theme* and the Verb node assigns its complement accusative Case that cannot be checked in situ, meaning that *það frelsi* needs to move to spec-vP in order to get its Acc Case feature checked against the corresponding Acc feature of the little v-head (Chomsky (1995)). Raising the direct object *það frelsi* to spec-vP so that it can establish a local spec-head relation and check its accusative Case feature will put a non-Case-feature-driven analysis of *Scrambling* at stake. The present proposal will pursue a different line of analysis and suggest that: the direct object *það frelsi* carries structural accusative Case (by virtue of being merged in compl-V’) and the functional head little v carries an Acc

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Case feature (following Chomsky (1995)[4]), and as a first approximation, the little v-head can check the structural Acc feature on *það frelsi* with the direct object remaining in its base position, as the latter falls within the checking domain of the v-head[5]. It can be further assumed that the direct object *það frelsi* carries a *formal* Case feature with the value +Acc, i.e. it is base-generated along with an abstract accusative marker in Chomsky (1993)'s terminology. Abstract accusative Case may be realized by either overt or covert morphology. The noun *frelsi* is not a felicitous example for it lacks forms for the plural and is neuter gender, but still it can be cited as an instance of covert morphological case-marking with the form *frelsi* occurring in the Nom.-Acc.-Dat. Sing. N.[6] Regarding the derivation in 9), this entails that the direct object *það frelsi* need not leave its base-generated position, which lies within the checking domain of the functional head little v, in order to have its Acc case-feature checked by the accusative case feature on the v-head. *Það frelsi* having been case-checked in situ, it is not required to move for case-checking purposes either overtly or covertly. The raising movement of the direct object *það frelsi* to render a V_{fin}-*það frelsi*(Acc)-$V_{non\text{-}fin}$-IO(Dat) order in 9) above is not uncontroversial in terms of *Conservation of C-Command* (Wallenberg, 2009, p. 132) either. On its way up, *það frelsi* crosses the c-commanding functional head little v, i.e. *það frelsi* lands in a target position to the left of the composite head *gefa+v*, resulting from adjunction of the verb *gefa* to the functional head little v. Moreover, little v checks the structural Acc case-feature on *það frelsi* and it also assigns the Theta role *Agent* to the subject *eg* in its specifier, and this uncanonical behaviour of little v calls for an explanation.

Scrambling crossing the functional head little v, this might cause the derivation to crash, provided little v c-commands the VP and everything the VP dominates, and this ultimately ties in with the question of what counts as c-commanding functional heads. Thus, for instance, as far back as the late 90s, Chomsky (1995) postulates the following functional categories: C(omplementizer), T(ense), and D(eterminer). Within the framework of late *Minimalism*, Chomsky, however, states that *Move* is solely triggered by the EPP features on the functional heads C, T and little v (2000 and 2001). Compare Zeller (2005), who speculates that not only the functional heads C, T and v, but also the lexical head V, can be equipped with an EPP feature. Haegeman (2006) draws a distinction between lexical and functional categories, based on their ability for Theta-role assignment and argues that functional categories are unable to assign Theta-roles. In view of the above, the status of little v as a member of the class of functional categories is not unequivocal. Little v exhibits a heterogeneous kind of behavior (little v is credited with Theta-role assignment and it suffers leftward movement of Arguments to cross it), and it can rather be described as a hybrid functional head, conflating properties of both functional and lexical heads. By corollary, it can be argued that it is the T-head that counts as a barrier to *Scrambling* in 9), which is tantamount to claiming that *short-distance Scrambling* is prohibited by *Conservation of C-Command* from moving constituent across the functional T head. Overt movement is least economical, meaning the direct object *það frelsi* could well have remained in its base position but for information-structural considerations. A discussion of the information packaging strategies involved and the referential types of the internal Arguments attested in double object constructions with *frelsi* goes beyond the concern of this study, but this example is particularly interesting in view of the generalization that pronouns take precedence over full noun phrases in case of leftward movement (and are banned from moving rightwards in Germanic). While responding to the definiteness effect, the direct object *það frelsi* raises to a position in the left periphery of vP but the indirect object *þér* fails to obey anti-focality and remains in situ, which may be accounted for in terms of focussing strategy, by being

[4] Chomsky (1995) posits that apart from agreement features the functional head little v contains a Case feature and essentially that it has the same value as the Case feature on the direct object – Acc.

[5] Recently, van de Visser (2006) has argued that the checking of the Acc case feature takes place in situ and that it does not involve agreement. The present analysis follows van de Visser (2006) in assuming that object Arguments are licensed by structural accusative case and that object licensing does not require *movement*.

[6] The definite article (from a demonstrative pronoun) in the neuter gender marks the distinction Nom. : Acc. covertly both in the singular, with *hit* being shared by the Nom.-Acc. Sing. N., and in the plural with a Nom.-Acc. Pl. N. in *hin*. Consider now the noun *konungr* 'king' which belongs to the most common declension class of nouns in OIce (strong, masculine, a-stem). The grammatical distinction between Nom. Sing. Masc. and Acc. Sing. Masc. is realized overtly as *konungr : konung* and this contrast is maintained by an overt morphological distinction in Nom. Pl. Masc. and Acc. Pl. Masc., encoded as *konungar : konunga*. As for the definite article, it marks the above distinction by overt morphology in the plural, as in Nom. Pl. Masc. *hinir* : Acc. Pl. Masc. *hina*, however, a single form – *hinn* occurs in the Nom.-Acc. Sing. Masc.

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focussed *þér* receives a contrastive interpretation, so it can optionally stay in spec-VP. For the sake of comparison, the *scrambled* order in 8) above complies with information packaging requirements, the ex-situ object is definite, realized by the DP *þeim manni*, the in-situ direct object is indefinite, rendered by the bare nominal *frelsi* and the derived order actually serves to introduce a discourse-new referent, viz the bare nominal *hrísungur*, which occupies the default focus area. The hybrid head little v checks the structural accusative case feature on the direct object *frelsi*, with *frelsi* remaining in its base-generated position which lies within the checking domain of little v. The *scrambling* movement of the indirect object *þeim manni* to produce a V_{fin}-IO(Dat)-$V_{non\text{-}fin}$-*frelsi*(Acc) order does not violate *Conservation of C-Command* on the assumption that little v is a hybrid head that allows for leftward movement of internal Arguments extending the vP beyond the specifier level. *Þeim manni*, however, starts from a different launch position as compared to the ex-situ object *frelsi* in 7), i.e. spec-VP which is the locus of inherent dative case assignment. A rule linking the dative case on indirect objects with the Theta-role *Recipient/Beneficiary* has been postulated for ModIce (Jónsson (2000)) and the checking of the inherent dative case on *þeim manni* can be subsumed under the same line of analysis, i.e. it can be claimed that the dative is assigned to *þeim manni* by the verb *gefa* and that *þeim manni* is also assigned the θ-role *Beneficiary* at *Merge*. As *þeim manni* gets its dative case checked in situ its movement cannot have been triggered by case-checking requirements. In the following couple of examples, movement raises one of the internal Arguments of the verb *gefa* from its base position into the utmost left clausal position, cf:

10) … frelsi(Acc)$_i$ mun ek þér(Dat) gefa ok fé(Acc)$_i$ ...
… freedom shall I you give and wealth …
'… I shall give you freedom and wealth ... '

Cf.: Skaltu fylgia honum til Sauðafells á fund Þórólfs; með því at þú gerir svá sem ek býð þér, skaltu nokkut eptir taka; frelsi mun ek þér gefa ok fé þat at þú sér færr hvert er þú vill. (Laxd 39[20])

'You shall follow him to Sauthafellir to meet Thorolfur; in case that you do as I bid you, you shall take something in return; I shall give you your freedom and wealth so that you might go whithersoever you want.'

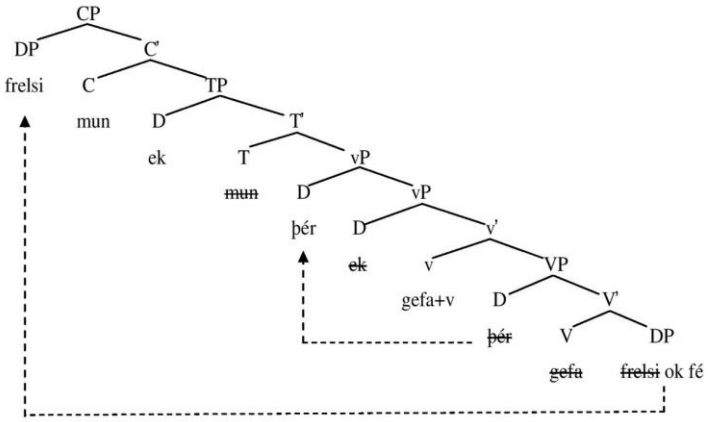
11) Öllum(Dat) hefir hann nú gefit gott frelsi(Acc) ...
All has he now given good freedom …
'Now he has given good freedom to all of them ... '

Cf.: Öllum hefir hann nú gefit gott frelsi ok sœmdir sem riddorum, öllum er frelsi gefit fyrir bœjar tökum ok konungs skyldum. Sem þeir höfðu skilt þat frelsi, ok at fyrir sakir Rollants váru þeir frjálsaðir, þá handgéngu þeir konungi ok gáfu sik almátkum guði ok hinum helga Petro postula ... (KlmA 330[26])

'Now he has given all of them good freedom and honoured them as knights, freedom is given to them all for town's dues and for king's dues. As they had forfeited that freedom and as it was for Rollant's sake that they were free, so they surrendered to the king and gave themselves to the Almighty God and the holy apostle Peter …'

The derived order in 10) is particularly interesting for it involves leftward movement in the Middlefield (short-distance *Scrambling*) paired with leftward movement in the Prefield, resulting in a CP which will be analyzed along the following lines:

12)



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In 12) the pronominal subject *ek* raises as far as spec-TP and the non-finite main verb *gefa* raises into the head position of vP to adjoin to the hybrid functional head v, and the finite verb *mun* raises as far as the head C position of CP; the pronominal indirect object *þér* is generated in spec-VP and *scrambles* to adjoin to the left of vP thus extending it beyond the specifier level; the direct object DP *frelsi ok fé* comprising two nominals conjoined by means of a coordinating conjunction is generated in compl-VP but it is only the bare nominal *frelsi* that moves into spec-CP while the bare nominal *fé* remains in situ. Under feature-checking approaches, object displacement in 10) and 11) (wherein the indirect object *öllum* surfaces in the Prefield) will be triggered by the need to check a *Topic* and/or *Focus*-feature, or an EPP-feature with the functional C head. At that point Pandora's box has been opened and the movement to spec-CP analysis has to grapple with the contrast between contexts where the *topicalized* constituent seems to be focussed (focus-driven movement or *Focus Topicalization*), and contexts where the *topicalized* constituent seems to be topical (topic-driven movement or *Topic Topicalization*). One way to capture this contrast and come up with a feasible account of the contradicting data related to *Topicalization* has been proposed by Rizzi (1997 and 2006), whose Split CP hypothesis analyzes *Topicalization* as movement of constituents to dedicated functional projections, such as TopP and FocP in the left periphery of the clause. The corresponding functional projections, with which *Top* and *Foc* features associate, can optionally project phrase structure and so instigate syntactic movement. The criteria postulated by Rizzi require that a constituent bearing some discourse-related feature, e.g. *Top, Foc,* etc, end up in a local spec-head relation with the relevant functional head, encoding a matching feature (1997 and 2006). The current author begs to disagree with Rizzi's lavishly unminimalist strong version of discourse/ informational analyses but wants to pinpoint one crucial property of *Topicalization* that can be deduced from his proposal. The Top and Foc heads will project only as a last resort, i.e. only if the clause contains a topical or a focussed constituent, respectively. The latter is tantamount to claiming that the *Top* and *Foc* features will trigger the merger of a matching constituent in the left periphery of the clause only optionally. Other ways to resolve the clash between cases in which *Topicalization* results in focussed interpretation and cases in which it does not have interpretive effect on the outcome have been suggested in terms of the weak version of semantic/ discourse/ informational analyses converging on the claim that *Top* and *Foc* are purely semantic features accessible at the syntax-semantics interface (e.g. Chomsky (1995) and (2001)), or else, in a broader, context it has been posited that *Topicalization* can affect various information structural categories (for a survey of some recent accounts q.v. (Light) 2013). The analysis in 12) above lies more in line with Chomsky (2008), where the head C with its edge position/s is a strictly *minimalist* version of Rizzi's Split CP, resulting in feature spread from one functional head. Acknowledging that *Topicalization* is presumably driven by the need to check off a feature in a spec-head relationship between a preposed constituent and the relevant functional head in the Prefield, this author abstains from entering the debate, concerning the rather complicated and by no means undisputed issue of determining the syntactic status of *Topicalization,* and in lieu of that assumes that the derived order *frelsi*$(\text{Acc})_i$-V_{fin}-S-IO(Dat)-$V_{non\text{-}fin}$-ok-DO$(\text{Acc})_i$ in 10) above results from *Scrambling* of the topical indirect object *þér* and *Topicalization* of the direct object *frelsi* which takes *frelsi* into spec-CP for the sake of feature checking to the effect that *frelsi* receives a focussed interpretation.

In what follows, some aspects in which *Topicalization* appears to function on a par with *Scrambling* in the context of OIce will be highlighted in order to demonstrate that the properties on which the two movement rules converge are as pivotal and noteworthy as those that set them apart. To begin with, both displacement operations target the same types of constituents, i.e. Internal Arguments and Adjuncts (evidence for the latter type can be found in Haugan (2001), cf. Collins and Thráinsson (1996) and van der Wurff (1999) for ModIce). The launch positions of the ex-situ constituents are case-marked and their landing positions are non-case-marked with both dislocation devices. The raising movement in both cases involves crossing of at least one non-empty Argument base position. In terms of the possibility of semantic/ interpretive effects, *Scrambling* and *Topicalization* are remarkably compatible, i.e. they both evoke a variety of information-structural/ semantic effects: either specific, topical, defocalized, or non-presupposed, contrastive, focussed interpretations can be induced (q.v. Chankova (2016) for *Scrambling*). Both operations apply optionally to raise constituents out of their base-generated positions but as a result of *Topicalization* a constituent is leftward-displaced into a specifier position in the left periphery of CP, and consequent upon *Scrambling* a constituent is leftward-

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displaced to an XP-adjoined position in the left periphery of vP. Moreover, *Scrambling* and *Topicalization* apply under different structural conditions, viz *Topicalization* triggers obligatory movement of the finite verb to C, while *Scrambling* is in no way dependent on verb movement. A fully comprehensive account of the marked points of difference between the two preposing devices can be found in Müller (1997) while this analysis is confined to briefly touching on one remaining aspect in which *Scrambling* and *Topicalization* pattern in a similar way and it will be tackled in terms of the derived order in 11) above. In 11), the indirect object QP *öllum* is *topicalized* whereas the direct object AP *gott frelsi* remains in situ to render an IO(Dat)-V_{fin}-S-Adv-$V_{non\text{-}fin}$-*gott frelsi*(Acc) order. Unlike 10), 11) illustrates *Topic Topicalization*, i.e. the ex-situ object is defocalized and conveys presupposed information, but of essential importance here is the fact that *öllum* is a quantifier, meaning that the leftward movement of *öllum* can be considered as an instance of *Quantifier Raising.* Now, *Quantifier Raising,* just like *Scrambling* raises constituents to an adjunction position in the domain between vP and TP (Beghelli and Stowell (1997); Fox and Nissenbaum (1999)) but it targets quantifying expressions[7]. Provided *Quantifier Raising* moves constituents into left phrasally-adjoined positions, the raising movement of *öllum* in 11) may hold salient implications for the analysis of *Topicalization* (more examples of *topicalized* quantifying expressions in OIce are analyzed in Chankova, 2016, pp. 63-69). A proposal that has been passed in silence up to this point identifies *Topicalization* as left-adjunction to a functional projection, most plausibly IP (= TP under the current account), based on Rochemont (1989) and Lasnik and Saito (1992). An account maximizing structural symmetry between *Scrambling* and *Topicalization* will nicely accommodate the properties they share (and leave some issues in its wake that need to be dealt with in detail, e.g. as *Topicalization* in both OIce and ModIce is dependent upon movement of the finite verb to C). In this line of reasoning, it can be tentatively suggested that *Topicalization* in OIce is left-adjunction to CP[8]. Notwithstanding how tempting such an account can be, it cannot be adopted here until compelling evidence is adduced in support of the-adjunction-in-the-left-periphery-of-CP hypothesis.

The present paper has reported on the results of a formal syntactic analysis carried out in terms of the *Minimalist* line of enquiry (Chomsky (1995) and beyond), discussing the word order alternatives attested with OIce double object constructions of the type *gefa einhverjum frelsi* ‘give someone freedom’, collected from the ONP (https://onp.ku.dk/onp/onp.php). In particular, the following types of constructions have been analyzed within a *Minimalist* syntactic framework: base-generated V-IO(Dat)-*frelsi*(Acc) order constructions; constructions with ex-situ direct object *frelsi* representative of modified orders derived by VP-internal *Scrambling* or V-*frelsi*(Acc)-IO(Dat) order, by short distance *Scrambling* or V_{fin}-*frelsi*(Acc)-$V_{non\text{-}fin}$-IO(Dat) order and by *Topicalization* + *Scrambling* or *frelsi*(Acc)-V_{fin}-IO(Dat)-$V_{non\text{-}fin}$ order. Constructions with in-situ *frelsi* illustrating *Scrambling* and *Topicalization* of the respective indirect object have also been commented upon for the sake of comparison. Having scrutinized the conditions that need to obtain for *Scrambling* and *Topicalization* to apply, the structural configurations, derived by various types of leftward movement and the properties of the launch and landing positions of *frelsi* and the affected indirect object from the perspective of constituency-based and explicitly derivational syntactic architecture, the present account lends substantial empirical support to the following claims[9]:

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[7] In this connection, consider the example of V_{fin}-IO(Dat)$_i$-DO(Acc)-$V_{non\text{-}fin}$-IO(Dat)$_i$ *scrambled* order in 13), discussed in Chankova (2016, pp. 109-112):

13) Nú skal veita svör þínu máli, að eg vil öllum yður grið gefa skipverjum.
now shall give answers your speech that I will all you mercy give shipmen. (Laxd 28[24])
‘Now I shall give answers to your request that I will give mercy to all of you, shipmen.’

In a nutshell, here, the DP direct object *grið* has been moved into the left periphery to adjoin to vP by *Scrambling*. The quantifier *öllum* along with the personal pronoun *yður* have been extracted out of the QP, resulting in a discontinuous expression. Then both *öllum* and *yður* have been raised into the left periphery by *Quantifier Raising* and the noun *skipverjum* with which they are semantically and structurally associated stayed in situ in spec-VP.

[8] A proposal to this effect needs to be argued for in terms of both theoretical and empirical grounds, and beyond the moderate space of a journal paper.

[9] These claims apply to short-distance *Scrambling* in the first place, this being the default case, although most of them hold true for the custom option of VP-internal *Scrambling* as well.

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i) The ostensibly ‘free’ surface orders of constituents concomitant upon *Scrambling* and *Topicalization* in OIce are derived from one base word order by reordering of constituents as a result of displacement operations;

ii) *Scrambling* in OIce is not triggered by attracting formal features and in this sense it is optional in narrow syntax but at the same time *Scrambling* is a case of *internal adjunction* constrained to applying locally to a certain c-command domain in the Middlefield of the clause;

iii) Conceding that *Topicalization* in OIce is assumably driven by the need to check off a *Top* and/or *Foc* feature in a spec-head relationship, it can still be thought of as an optional dislocation, on the assumption that *Top* and *Foc* may trigger merger of a constituent in the Prefield only as a last resort;

iv) Albeit applying optionally to raise constituents whose sources are internal, *Scrambling* and *Topicalization* in OIce give rise to different structural configurations, viz *Topicalization* raises a constituent into spec-CP, and *Scrambling* – into a position left-adjoined to vP;

v) Allowing that *Scrambling* and *Topicalization* apply under different structural caveats, viz *Topicalization* triggers movement of the finite verb to C, *Scrambling* is not contingent on verb movement, they pattern in much the same way and this structural symmetry is rooted in the general syntactic make-up of the two movement rules;

vi) *Scrambling* and *Topicalization* target the same types of constituents, the source positions of the ex-situ constituents are case-marked and their target positions are non-case-marked in both cases, both types of raising movement involve crossing of at least one non-empty Argument base position but most importantly both *Scrambling* and *Topicalization* have semantic/ interpretive effects on the outcome.

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