Eiríkur Rögnvaldsson
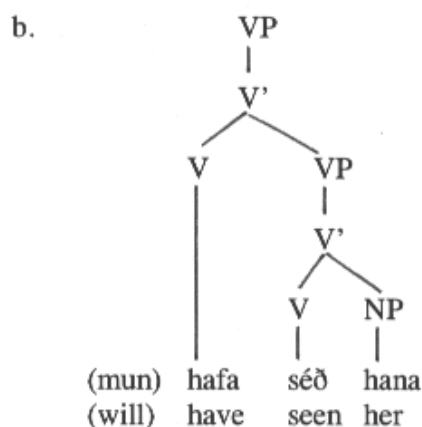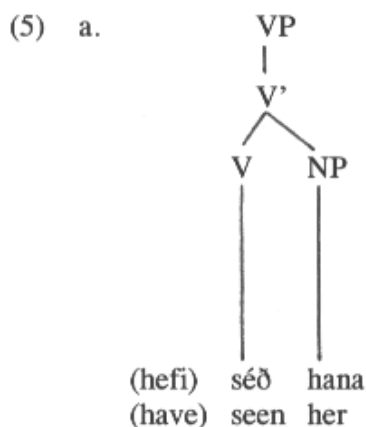University of Iceland
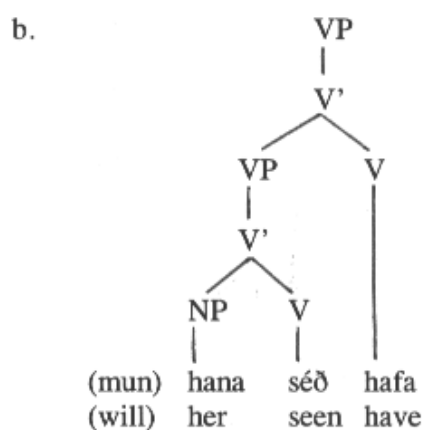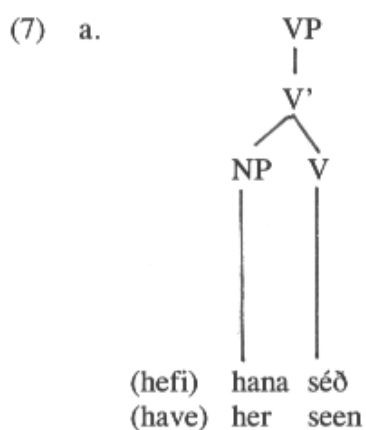and Harvard University

# Word Order Variation in the VP in Old Icelandic

## 1. Introduction

($V_{fin}$ = finite verb; $V_{aux/mod}$ = auxiliary or modal (non-finite) verb); $V_{main}$ = main (non-finite) verb; $NP_{DO}$ = direct object; $NP_{IO}$ = indirect object)

(1)  Og   er    þeir  gengið höfðu  um hríð    ...
     And  when  they  walked had    on a while
     'And when they had walked for a while ...'       *(Grettis saga Ásmundarsonar, p. 988)*

(2)  Og  eg em  Jóhannes sem  þetta  séð  og  heyrt  hefir.
     And  I am  John     who this   seen and heard  has
     'And I am John, who has both seen and heard this'       *(Nýja testamentið [1540], p. 558)*

(3)  a.  Ég mun oft    hafa lánað  Sveini        þessa  bók
         I  will often have lent   Sveinn (D) this   book (A)
     b.  (Ég mun)    *þessa bók oft hafa lánað Sveini
     c.  (Ég mun)    *oft þessa bók lánað Sveini hafa
     d.  (Ég mun)    *oft hafa þessa bók lánað Sveini
     e.  (Ég mun)    *oft hafa lánað þessa bók Sveini
     f.  (Ég mun)    *Sveini oft hafa lánað þessa bók
     g.  (Ég mun)    *oft Sveini hafa lánað þessa bók
     h.  (Ég mun)    *oft hafa Sveini lánað þessa bók
     i.  (Ég mun)    *lánað oft hafa Sveini þessa bók
     j.  (Ég mun)    *oft lánað Sveini hafa þessa bók
     k.  (Ég mun)    *hafa oft lánað Sveini þessa bók
     l.  (Ég mun)    *hafa lánað oft Sveini þessa bók

(4)  VO-order:  a.  ($V_{fin}$)  -  $V_{main}$  -  (($NP_{IO}$) -  $NP_{DO}$)
                b.  ($V_{fin}$)  -  $V_{aux/mod}$  -  $V_{main}$  -  (($NP_{IO}$) -  $NP_{DO}$)

1

(5) a.

```
          VP                              VP
          |                               |
          V'                              V'
         /  \                            /  \
        V    NP                         V    VP
        |    |                          |    |
                                             V'
                                            /  \
                                           V    NP
                                           |    |
      (hefi)  séð   hana           (mun)  hafa  séð  hana
      (have)  seen  her            (will) have  seen her
```

(6)  OV-order:  a.  $(V_{fin})$  –  $((NP_{IO})$  –  $NP_{DO})$  –  $V_{main}$
     b.  $(V_{fin})$  –  $((NP_{IO})$ –  $NP_{DO})$  –  $V_{main}$  –  $V_{aux/mod}$

(7) a.

```
          VP                              VP
          |                               |
          V'                              V'
         /  \                            /  \
        NP   V                          VP   V
        |    |                          |    |
                                        V'
                                       /  \
                                      NP   V
                                      |    |
      (hefi)  hana  séð        (mun)  hana  séð  hafa
      (have)  her   seen       (will) her   seen have
```

## 2. Old Icelandic word order

(8)  a.  Þórður hafði  ritað    bréf   til   Þorgils  ...
         Thord  had    written  letter to    Thorgils ...
         'Thord had written a letter to Thorgils ...'          (Þorgils saga skarða, p. 614)

     b.  Þorsteinn   hafði látið  gera   kirkju á   bæ    sínum.
         Thorstein   had   let    make   church on  farm  his
         'Thorstein had had a church built on his farm'(Grettis saga Ásmundarsonar, p. 1036)

     c.  ... því að   Gunnar   mun  eigi  gera  mér   mein.
         because Gunnar   will  not   do    me    harm
         'because Gunnar will not do me harm'                (Brennu-Njáls saga, p. 188)

2

d. Þá er Svein hafði verið konungur þrjá vetur í Noregi...
   when Svein had been king three winters in Norway...
   'When Svein had been the king of Norway for three years ...'

<div align="right"><em>Ólafs saga helga, p. 553)</em></div>

e. ... hann skal hafa etið mat sinn fyrir miðja nótt ...
   he shall have eaten food his before mid night
   '... he is supposed to have eaten his food before midnight'     *(Grágás, p. 34)*

(9) a. Sá einn mun það gert hafa ...
   that one will it done have ...
   'There is only one man who could have done this ...'

<div align="right"><em>(Grettis saga Ásmundarsonar, p. 987)</em></div>

b. ... og mun maðurinn satt sagt hafa.
   and will man-the truth said have
   '... and will the man have told the truth'     *(Ljósvetninga saga (C-version), p. 1680)*

c. En ekki mun eg þenna mann séð hafa.
   But not will I this man seen have
   'But I believe I have not seen this man'     *(Laxdæla saga, p. 1632)*

d. ... að Hetta tröllkona muni þetta kveðið hafa.
   that Hetta giantess will this sung have
   '... that Hetta the giantess will have sung this'     *(Bárðar saga Snæfellsáss, p. 55)*

e. ... að engi yðar mundi þetta ráð fundið hafa.
   that noone your would this solution found have
   '... that none of you would have found this solution'     *(Króka-Refs saga, p. 1529)*

(10) a. Þorgilsi hafði gefin verið öxi góð.
   Thorgils had given been axe good
   'Thorgils had been given a good axe'     *(Þorgils saga og Hafliða, p. 25)*

b. Hann kvaðst fundið hafa barn nýfætt.
   he said found have baby newborn
   'He said that he had found a newborn baby'     *(Finnboga saga ramma, p. 626)*

c. Þar muntu séð hafa Þorstein svarta ...
   there will-you seen have Thorstein black ...
   'There I guess you have seen Thorstein the black'     *(Laxdæla saga, p. 1632)*

d. ... því að    engi    mun séð    hafa    slík    svín ...
   because    noone    will    seen    have    such    pigs ...
   'because noone will have seen such pigs'          *(Finnboga saga ramma, p. 629)*

e. ... að    fáir    muni séð    hafa    rösklegra    mann.
   that    few    will    seen    have    braver    man
   'that few people will have seen a more brave man'          *(Íslendinga saga, p. 321)*

(11) a. Egill    sagði að    hann hefði    drepið    þræla    Gríms.
      Egil    said that    he    had    killed    slaves    Grimur's
      'Egil said that he had killed Grimur's slaves' *(Egils saga Skalla-Grímssonar, p. 517)*

   b. Hallfreður    sagði    sig    það    gjarna    vilja.
      Hallfred    said    REFL    it    gladly    want
      'Hallfred said that he would gladly do it' *(Hallfreðar saga vandræðaskálds, p. 1244)*

   c. Þorgils    sagði    sér    það    vel    líka.
      Thorgils    said    REFL    it    well    like
      'Thorgils said that he liked this well'          *(Þorgils saga skarða, p. 584)*

   d. Hann    sagðist    það    gert    hafa.
      he    said    it    done    have
      'He said that he had done it'          *(Eyrbyggja saga, p. 548)*

(12) Grímur    bað    hann það    fyrst    gera.
     Grimur    asked    him it    first    do
     'Grim asked that he did this first'          *(Egils saga Skalla-Grímssonar, p. 416)*

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

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

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

(16) a. $(V_{fin})$ — $V_{aux/mod}$ — $V_{main}$ — $NP_{IO}$ — $NP_{DO}$

b. $(V_{fin})$ — $V_{aux/mod}$ — $NP_{IO}$ — $V_{main}$ — $NP_{DO}$

c. $(V_{fin})$ — $V_{aux/mod}$ — $NP_{IO}$ — $NP_{DO}$ — $V_{main}$

d. $(V_{fin})$ — $V_{aux/mod}$ — $NP_{DO}$ — $V_{main}$ — $NP_{IO}$

e. $(V_{fin})$ — $V_{main}$ — $V_{aux/mod}$ — $NP_{IO}$ — $NP_{DO}$

f. $(V_{fin})$ — $V_{main}$ — $NP_{IO}$ — $V_{aux/mod}$ — $NP_{DO}$

g. $(V_{fin})$ — $V_{main}$ — $NP_{IO}$ — $NP_{DO}$ — $V_{aux/mod}$

h. $(V_{fin})$ — $V_{main}$ — $NP_{DO}$ — $V_{aux/mod}$ — $NP_{IO}$

i. $(V_{fin})$ — $NP_{IO}$ — $V_{aux/mod}$ — $V_{main}$ — $NP_{DO}$

j. $(V_{fin})$ — $NP_{IO}$ — $V_{aux/mod}$ — $NP_{DO}$ — $V_{main}$

k. $(V_{fin})$ — $NP_{IO}$ — $V_{main}$ — $V_{aux/mod}$ — $NP_{DO}$

l. $(V_{fin})$ — $NP_{IO}$ — $V_{main}$ — $NP_{DO}$ — $V_{aux/mod}$

m. $(V_{fin})$ — $NP_{IO}$ — $NP_{DO}$ — $V_{aux/mod}$ — $V_{main}$

n. $(V_{fin})$ — $NP_{IO}$ — $NP_{DO}$ — $V_{main}$ — $V_{aux/mod}$

o. $(V_{fin})$ — $NP_{DO}$ — $V_{aux/mod}$ — $V_{main}$ — $NP_{IO}$

p. $(V_{fin})$ — $NP_{DO}$ — $V_{aux/mod}$ — $NP_{IO}$ — $V_{main}$

q. $(V_{fin})$ — $NP_{DO}$ — $V_{main}$ — $V_{aux/mod}$ — $NP_{IO}$

r. $(V_{fin})$ — $NP_{DO}$ — $V_{main}$ — $NP_{IO}$ — $V_{aux/mod}$

(17) a. $(V_{fin})$ — $V_{main}$ — prt — $NP_{DO}$

b. $(V_{fin})$ — $NP_{DO}$ — prt — $V_{main}$

c. $(V_{fin})$ — prt — $V_{main}$ — $NP_{DO}$

(18) a. Eg  mun  þiggja  hrossin.
I    will   accept   horses-the
'I will accept the horses'                    *(Víga-Glúms saga, p. 1927)*

b. Faðir    minn mun  því    ráða.
father   my    will   it      decide
'My father will decide that'                  *(Víglundar saga, p. 1976)*

(19) a. Jarlinn    hafði gefið    honum skipið.
Earl-the   had    given   him     ship-the
'The earl had given him the ship'             *(Íslendinga saga, p. 263)*

b. ... og    muntu     henni   gefa moturinn ...
and   will-you   her      give cap-the    ...
'... and you will give her the cap'           *(Laxdæla saga, p. 1602)*

c. ... að    hann hefir    líf     gefið    barninu.
that   he     has     life   given   child-the
'... that he has saved the child's life'      *(Harðar saga og Hólmverja, p. 1259)*

5

d. ... því að    þú    hefir    mér    líf    gefið ...
    because  you    have     me     life   given ...
    '... because you have allowed me to live'

<div align="right">(Gísla saga Súrssonar (longer version), p. 938)</div>

(20) a. ... að    sárið       mundi hafa grandað   honum.
        that   wound-the   would have killed    him
        '... that the wound would have killed him'  (Bandamanna saga (M-version), p. 25)

    b. Nú    munu   þær       eigi hafa   því    unað    ...
       now    will    they (fem) not  have    it     tolerated ...
       'Now they will not have tolerated this ...'       (Þiðranda þáttur, p. 2255)

    c. ... og    mundi hann tekið    hafa skipið ...
       and    would he   taken    have ship-the
       '... and he would have taken the ship ...'

<div align="right">(Gísla saga Súrssonar (longer version), p. 932)</div>

    d. [No examples found]

    e. Tíðindi   mundi oss   það   hafa þótt   eina  stund.
       news      would us     it    have found  one   time
       'There have been times when we would have found this great news'

<div align="right">(Gísla saga Súrssonar (shorter version), p. 865)</div>

    f. ... og    kvaðst enginn maður þetta   gera  vilja.
       and    said   no     man   this    do    want
       '... and everybody said that they did not want to do this'

<div align="right">(Hrafnkels saga Freysgoða, p. 1407)</div>

(21) a. ... en    Eyjólfur kvaðst hafa    gefið   Bjarna sauðina.
        but    Eyjolf   said   have    given   Bjarni sheep-the
        '... but Eyjolf said that he had given Bjarni the sheep'   (Reykdæla saga, p. 1769)

    b. ... en    kveðst segja honum mundu fyrstum    tíðindin.
       but says   say    him    will   first-of-all news-the
       '... but says that he will be the first man whom he will tell the news'

<div align="right">(Brennu-Njáls saga, p. 339)</div>

    c. Gísli kveðst aldrei   mundu Kolbeini eiða  sverja.
       Gisli says   never    will   Kolbeinn oaths swear
       'Gisli says he will never swear to be faithful to Kolbeinn'
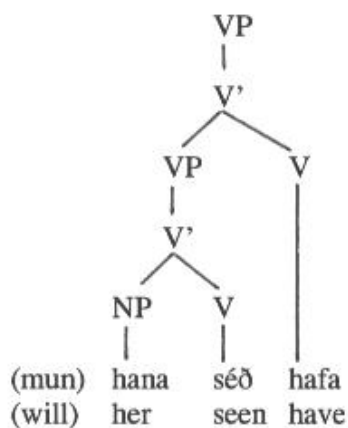
<div align="right">(Þórðar saga kakala, p. 460)</div>

d. Ófeigur ... kveðst ekki mundu mikla tillögu veita honum.
   Ofeig says not will great proposal give him
   'Ofeig says that he has no good good advice to give to him'
                                        *(Bandamanna saga (K-version), p. 26)*

e. ... en hann mundi fengið hafa henni mikinn áverka.
   ... but he would given have her great wound'
   '... but he would have hurt her badly'     *(Grettis saga Ásmundarsonar, p. 1006)*

f. [No examples found]

g. [No examples found]

h. [No examples found]

i. Ásbjörn lést honum mundu gefa fé til.
   Asbjorn said him would give money to
   'Asbjorn said that he would give him money for doing it'
                                        *(Hákonar saga herðibreiðs, p. 808)*

j. ... hví Bolli mun sér hafa þar svo staðar leitað ...
   why Bolli will REFL have there so place searched...
   '... why Bolli will have chosen himself such a place to hide'*(Laxdæla saga, p. 1613)*

k. Hallbjörn ... kveðst enn hverjum manni veitt hafa búðarrúm ...
   Hallbjorn ... says yet every man given have booth-place ...
   'Hallbjorn says that up to now, he has offered every man lodging in his booth'
                                        *(Gísla saga Súrssonar (longer version), p. 940)*

l. [No examples found]

m. Bárður kvaðst honum engi mundu segja.
   Bardur said him no would say
   'Bardur said that he would not tell him any [news]'     *(Króka-Refs saga, p. 1528)*

n. ... að þessi maður mundi honum sanna hluti sagt hafa.
   that this man would him true things said have
   '... that this man would have told him the truth'   *(Ólafs saga Tryggvasonar, p. 179)*

o. ... og sagðist hann bústað vilja reisa sér.
   and said he house want build REFL
   '... and he said that he wanted to build himself a house'
                                        *(Hrafnkels saga Freysgoða, p. 1397)*

7

p. Hann kveðst fyrir löngu það hafa honum spáð   ...
   he   says  for  long  it  have  him  foretold ...
   'He says that he has long ago foretold him this'   *(Finnboga saga ramma, p. 634)*

q. [No examples found]

r. [No examples found]

(22) a. Nú hafði einn þeirra Skrælingja tekið upp öxi eina.
       now had one of-them barbarians taken up axe one
       'Now one of the barbarians had picked up an axe'   *(Grænlendinga saga, p. 1106)*

   b. ... mun eg annað ráð upp taka.
      will I another solution up take
      'I have another solution'   *(Gísla saga Súrssonar (longer version), p. 936)*

   c. Hvenær skaltu upp taka slíkan ágætisgrip?
      when shall-you up take such marvellous thing?
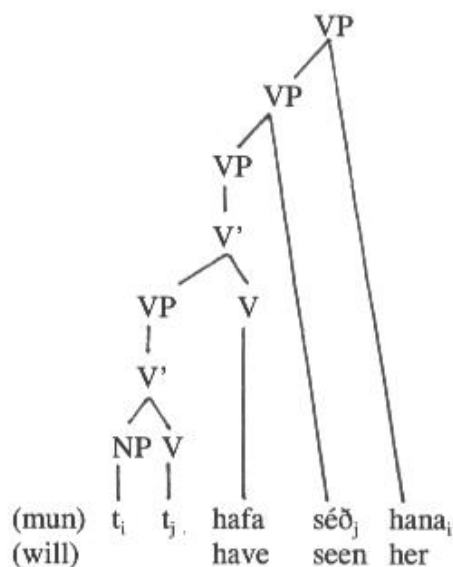      'When are you going to wear such a marvellous piece'   *(Laxdæla saga, p. 1608)*

## 3. Basic order in the VP: OV or VO?

(23) a. Old Icelandic could have had OV-order in the VP, and extensive movement (of full NPs and non-finite verbs) to the right.
   b. Old Icelandic could have had VO-order in the VP, and extensive movement (of pronominal objects and non-finite verbs) to the left.
   c. Old Icelandic could have had either OV- or VO-order in the VP, i.e., the choice could have been free.

(24) ... hvort hún vill eiga hann.
     whether she will own him
     '... whether she wants to marry him'   *(Brennu-Njáls saga, p. 142)*

(25) ... eða þættist séð hafa hann fyrr.
     or thought seen have him before
     '... or thought that (he) had seen him before'   *(Haralds saga Sigurðarsonar, p. 661)*

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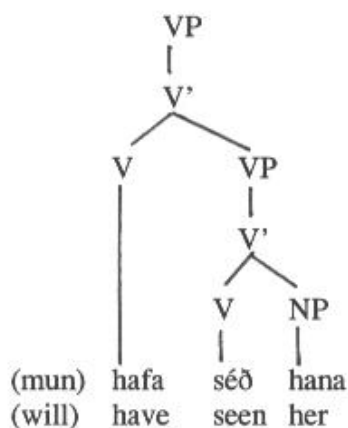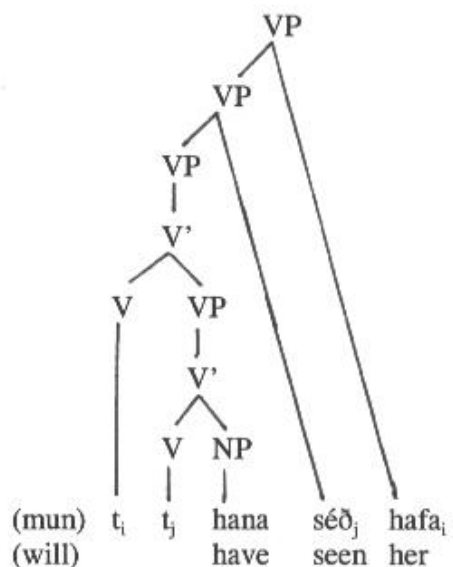        of 'O', e.g. Heavy NP-Shift)        'O')

8

(27) a.

```
            VP
            |
            V'
          /    \
        VP       V
        |        |
        V'       |
       /  \      |
     NP    V     |
     |     |     |
(mun)  hana  séð   hafa
(will)  her  seen  have
```

b.

```
                      VP
                    /    \
                  VP       \
                /   \       \
              VP     V       \
              |      |        \
              V'     |         \
             /  \    |          \
           NP   V    |           \
           |    |    |            \
(mun)      tᵢ   tⱼ   hafa   séðⱼ   hanaᵢ
(will)                have   seen   her
```

(28) a.

```
            VP
            |
            V'
          /    \
         V      VP
         |      |
         |      V'
         |     /  \
         |    V    NP
         |    |    |
(mun)  hafa  séð  hana
(will) have  seen  her
```

b.

```
                      VP
                    /    \
                  VP      \
                  |        \
                  V'        \
                 /  \        \
               V     VP       \
               |     |         \
               |     V'         \
               |    /  \         \
               |   V    NP        \
               |   |    |          \
(mun)    tᵢ   tⱼ   hana  séðⱼ   hafaᵢ
(will)              have   seen   her
```

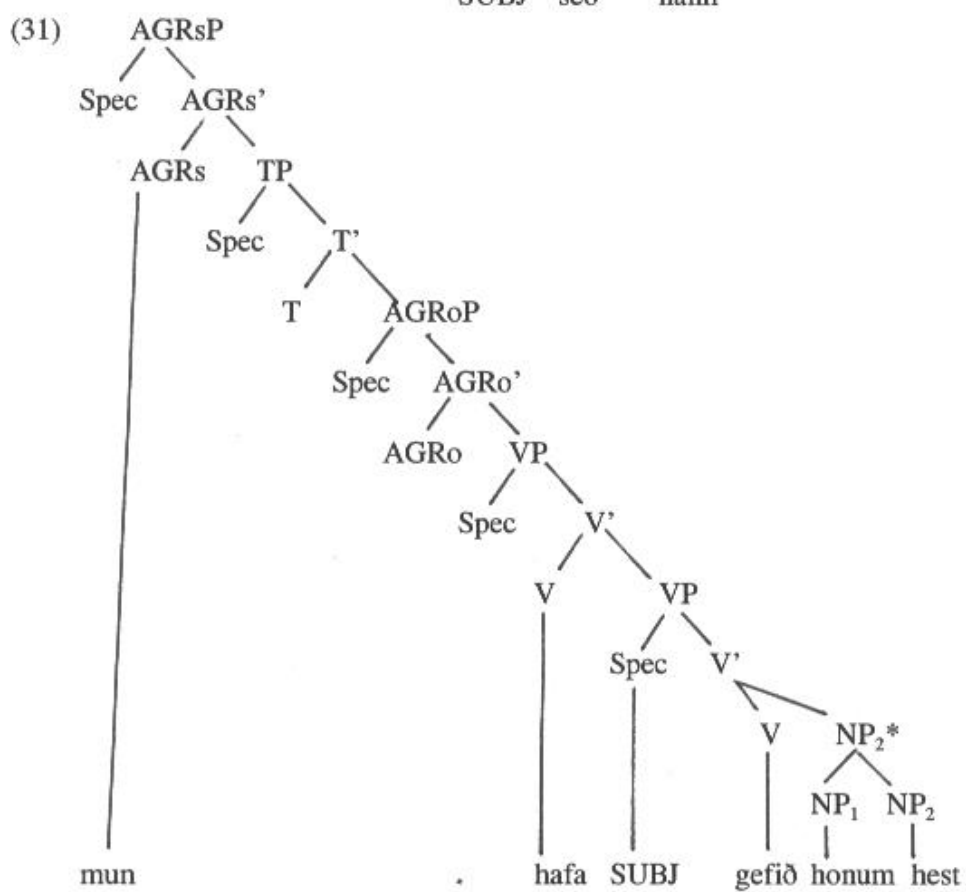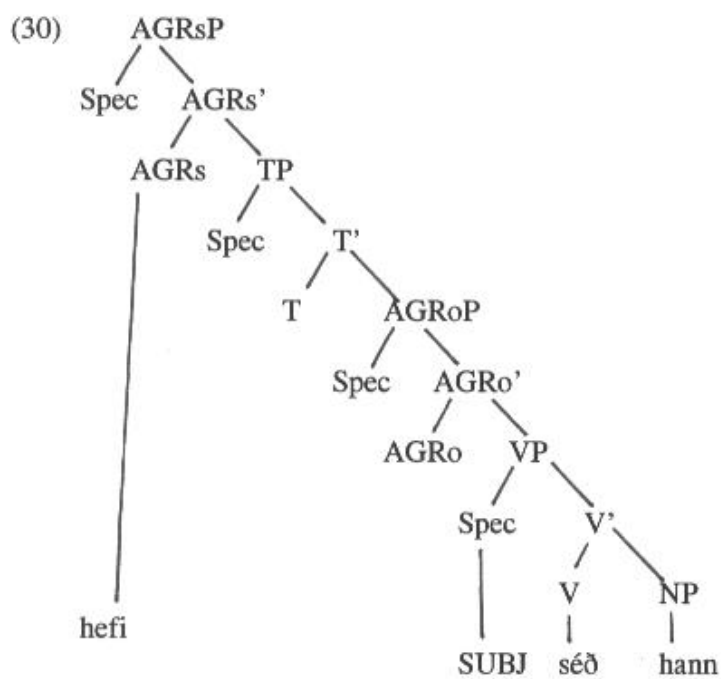(29) a. Nú    hefur  það   tvígang  stytt      verið.
        now   has    it    twice    shortened  been
        'Now it has been shortened twice'          *(18th century; from Indriðason 1987)*

     c. Hafði  hann  biskup  verið  8   vetur    og    20.
        had    he    bishop  been   8   winters  and   20
        'He had been bishop for 28 years'          *(19th century; from Indriðason 1987)*

9

(30)

```
        AGRsP
       /    \
    Spec    AGRs'
           /    \
        AGRs     TP
                /  \
             Spec   T'
                   /  \
                  T   AGRoP
                     /    \
                  Spec    AGRo'
                         /    \
                      AGRo     VP
                              /  \
                           Spec   V'
                                 /  \
                                V    NP
                                |    |
    hefi              SUBJ     séð   hann
```

(31)

```
        AGRsP
       /    \
    Spec    AGRs'
           /    \
        AGRs     TP
                /  \
             Spec   T'
                   /  \
                  T   AGRoP
                     /    \
                  Spec    AGRo'
                         /    \
                      AGRo     VP
                              /  \
                           Spec   V'
                                 /  \
                                V    VP
                                |   /  \
                                Spec   V'
                                 |    /  \
                                 |   V    NP₂*
                                 |   |   /    \
                                 |   | NP₁   NP₂
                                 |   |  |     |
    mun      .      hafa  SUBJ   gefið honum hest
```

10

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

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

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

(16)  a. $(V_{fin})$ - $V_{aux/mod}$ - $V_{main}$ - $NP_{IO}$ - $NP_{DO}$
      b. $(V_{fin})$ - $V_{aux/mod}$ - $NP_{IO}$ - $V_{main}$ - $NP_{DO}$
 (*) c. $(V_{fin})$ - $V_{aux/mod}$ - $NP_{IO}$ - $NP_{DO}$ - $V_{main}$
      d. $(V_{fin})$ - $V_{aux/mod}$ - $NP_{DO}$ - $V_{main}$ - $NP_{IO}$
 *  e. $(V_{fin})$ - $V_{main}$ - $V_{aux/mod}$ - $NP_{IO}$ - $NP_{DO}$
 *  f. $(V_{fin})$ - $V_{main}$ - $NP_{IO}$ - $V_{aux/mod}$ - $NP_{DO}$
 (*) g. $(V_{fin})$ - $V_{main}$ - $NP_{IO}$ - $NP_{DO}$ - $V_{aux/mod}$
 *  h. $(V_{fin})$ - $V_{main}$ - $NP_{DO}$ - $V_{aux/mod}$ - $NP_{IO}$
      i. $(V_{fin})$ - $NP_{IO}$ - $V_{aux/mod}$ - $V_{main}$ - $NP_{DO}$
      j. $(V_{fin})$ - $NP_{IO}$ - $V_{aux/mod}$ - $NP_{DO}$ - $V_{main}$
 *  k. $(V_{fin})$ - $NP_{IO}$ - $V_{main}$ - $V_{aux/mod}$ - $NP_{DO}$
 *  l. $(V_{fin})$ - $NP_{IO}$ - $V_{main}$ - $NP_{DO}$ - $V_{aux/mod}$
 (*) m. $(V_{fin})$ - $NP_{IO}$ - $NP_{DO}$ - $V_{aux/mod}$ - $V_{main}$
 (*) n. $(V_{fin})$ - $NP_{IO}$ - $NP_{DO}$ - $V_{main}$ - $V_{aux/mod}$
      o. $(V_{fin})$ - $NP_{DO}$ - $V_{aux/mod}$ - $V_{main}$ - $NP_{IO}$
      p. $(V_{fin})$ - $NP_{DO}$ - $V_{aux/mod}$ - $NP_{IO}$ - $V_{main}$
 *  q. $(V_{fin})$ - $NP_{DO}$ - $V_{main}$ - $V_{aux/mod}$ - $NP_{IO}$
 *  r. $(V_{fin})$ - $NP_{DO}$ - $V_{main}$ - $NP_{IO}$ - $V_{aux/mod}$

(17)  a. $(V_{fin})$ - $V_{main}$ - prt - $NP_{DO}$
      b. $(V_{fin})$ - $NP_{DO}$ - prt - $V_{main}$
 *  c. $(V_{fin})$ - prt - $V_{main}$ - $NP_{DO}$

## 4. Double base - an unspecified parameter?

(32)  a. Hann  ...  sagði Ásbirni þau tíðindi sem  *orðið*      *höfðu.*
          he         told Asbjorn the news  that  happened  had
          'He told Asbjorn what had happened'              *(Finnboga saga ramma, p. 650)*

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b. sveinninn ... heilsar þeim vel er *komnir voru.*
   boy-the           greets   them   well  that   come   was
   'The boy greets well those who had come'       (*Hænsna-Þóris saga, p. 1420*)

c. Sá    fór    er    *sendur   var  ...*
   that  went  that  sent    was  ...
   'The one who was sent went away ...'        (*Króka-Refs saga, p. 1518*)

(33) a. Hann  skal  fundið  hafa fé     sitt   ...
   he    shall  found   have sheep  REFL ...
   'He must have found his sheep ...'        (*Grágás, p. 304*)

b. ... og  hann mundi tekið  hafa   hross   þeirra.
   and  he   would taken  have   horses  their
   '... and he would have taken their horses'   (*Vatnsdæla saga, p. 1903*)

(34) a. Sagt  hefi  eg   það  er    eg   mun segja.
   said  have  I    it   that   I   will  say
   'I have already said my last word on this'   (*Svarfdæla saga, p. 1812*)

b. Vita  skyldir  þú   fyrst  hvað þú   vildir.
   know  should  you  first  what you   want
   'You should first know what you want'   (*Gunnlaugs saga ormstungu, p. 1172*)

## 5. Conclusion

(36) a. Almost any order of post-Infl constituents appears to occur in Old Icelandic.
    b. However, it is clear that the VP exists as a syntactic constituent.
    c. Because of the stability of both OV- and VO-orders, it is not convincing to assume abrupt reanalysis of phrase structure.
    d. Many of the movement rules we would have to posit to derive sentences with surface OV-order from a VO-base are otherwise unmotivated.
    e. The most natural way of accounting for all the possibilities appears to be to accept the Double base hypothesis.
    f. By assuming that the OV-VO parameter was unspecified, we can account for a great majority of all Old Icelandic sentences without positing any movement of constituents of the VP.
    g. Free word order and many instances of empty categories make it seem a reasonable assumption that children would have had difficulties in setting the OV-VO parameter.

Sources: *Íslendinga sögur (Family Sagas); Sturlunga saga; Heimskringla; Grágás.*