

The SVO/SOV-question and Verb Particles in Danish, German and Yiddish

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Abstract

I will start out by suggesting that prepositions and (separable) particles have the same structure:

[_{VP} [_{PP} P° DP]] and [_{VP} [_{PrtP} Prt° DP]].

and that the difference is that prepositions assign case, whereas particles do not. Therefore the complement DP (e.g. *the book* in *throw out the book*) will not be assigned a case. This problem has two potential solutions: **EITHER** the particle is incorporated into the verb (i.e. into V*), in which case V* (maybe via the trace in Prt°) may now assign case to the "object", **OR** the DP may move to PrtP-spec, where it can be assigned case directly by V° (as in ECM-constructions). Both of these two constructions are straightforwardly passivisable.

The picture can be extended to the Germanic SOV-languages, assuming that what differs between SVO and SOV is the ordering inside V' and inside V*, but crucially not inside V°.

I will then go on to show that the view that Yiddish is an OV-language like German and Dutch, not a VO-language like English or Danish, is supported by facts concerning verb particles. I shall argue against Diesing's (1997:383) claim that particles may not form the basis of an argument for the underlying order of Yiddish being OV.

The point is that only if Yiddish is an OV-language like German and Dutch, not a VO-language like English or Danish, can we explain why Yiddish is like German and unlike Scandinavian in allowing even such particles to occur preverbally in non-V2 constructions that do not incorporate, as seen by their not moving along with the finite verb during V2, by their requiring participial/infinitival forms with intervening *-ge-*/ *-tsu-*, and by their ability to topicalise.

1. Introduction: Prepositions and particles in SVO- and SOV-languages

1.1 The differences between prepositions and (separable) particles

One difference between prepositions (P°) and (separable) particles (Prt°) in English is that prepositions have to **precede** their DP-complement, whereas the particle may either **precede** or **follow** the object DP:

- (1) En. a. I accidentally stepped on the radio (P°)
b. *I accidentally stepped the radio on
- (2) En. a. I accidentally switched on the radio (Prt°)
b. I accidentally switched the radio on

Haegeman & Guéron (1999:250-254) mention the following other differences:

- Whereas [P° + DP] may undergo **wh-movement**, this is not possible for [Prt° + DP]:

- (3) En. a. In which hotel did the Beatles stay ____? (P°)
b. *In which door did the Stones kick ____? (Prt°)

- Whereas [P° + DP] may undergo **clefting**, this is not possible for [Prt° + DP]:

- (4) En. a. It was in this hotel that the Beatles stayed ____ (P°)
b. *It was in this door that the Stones kicked ____ (Prt°)

- Whereas [P° + DP] may be **coordinated** with another [P° + DP], [Prt° + DP] may not be coordinated with another [Prt° + DP]:

- (5) En. a. He looked up the chimney and down the stairwell (P°)
b. *She switched off the TV and on the light (Prt°)

- Whereas [P° + DP] may be **modified**, e.g. by *right* or *straight*, this is not possible for [Prt° + DP]:

- (6) En. a. The Beatles stayed right in this hotel (P°)
b. *The Stones kicked right in this door (Prt°)

- Consider finally **ellipsis**, i.e. leaving out a constituent that has already occurred in the discourse. Elision of the verb itself is only possible in the preposition case, not in the particle case:

- (7) En. a. He looked up the chimney and she looked down the stairwell (P°)
b. He looked up the chimney and she _____ down the stairwell

- (8) En. a. She switched off the TV and he switched on the light (Prt°)
b. *She switched off the TV and he _____ on the light

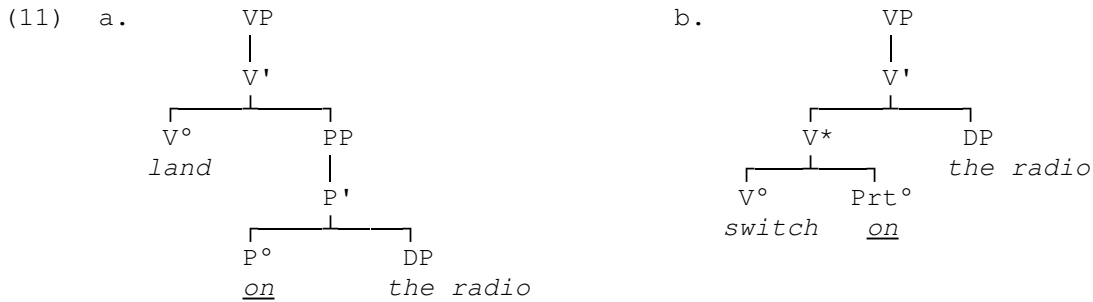
- On the other hand, the sequence V° + Prt° may undergo elision, whereas this is not possible for the sequence V° + P°:

- (9) En. a. He looked up the chimney and she looked up the stairwell (P°)
b. *He looked up the chimney and she _____ the stairwell

- (10) En. a. She switched on the TV and he switched on the light (Prt°)
b. She switched on the TV and he _____ the light

1.2 Verbs and particles in the Germanic SVO-languages

The analysis of the examples with prepositions is uncontroversial, as in (11a):



The analysis of the particle examples, however, is not uncontroversial. Consider the "single-verb hypothesis", as in (11b) above (where V* signals a "complex lexical unit", Haegeman & Guéron 1999:254, i.e. more than a V° but less than a V', cf. section 4 below and references there).

The reason why the particle and the verb do not just form a V° (i.e. the reason why the particle is not simply incorporated) is that the particle may be topicalised in e.g. both Danish and Swedish, cf. just like in the German and Yiddish examples in section 7 below.

In (11a), [P° + DP] make up a constituent, namely PP, which accounts for why [P° + DP] may undergo *wh*-movement, (3a), clefting, (4a), coordination, (5a), and modification, (6a). The verb may undergo gapping on its own, (7b), as it is a constituent, but the verb and the preposition may not undergo gapping together, (9b), as they do not form a constituent.

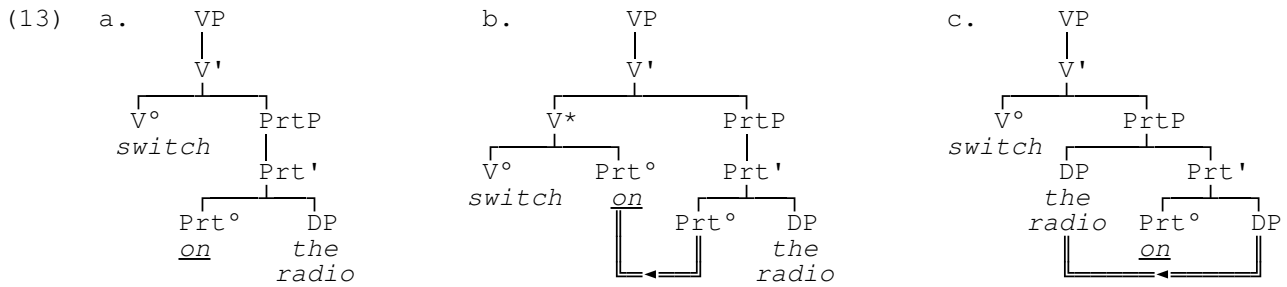
In (11b), [Prt° + DP] do not make up a constituent, which accounts for why [Prt° + DP] may not undergo *wh*-movement, (3b), clefting, (4b), or coordination, (5b). The impossibility of the modification in (6b) is caused by the impossibility of interrupting V*. The verb and the particle may undergo gapping together, (10b), as they form a constituent. (As for why the verb may not undergo gapping on its own, (8b), this is less clear, but maybe the verb on its own is too small to undergo gapping, and maybe V* is the smallest constituent that may undergo gapping.)

There are two problems with the verb and the particle forming a complex verb. One is that the inflectional endings are not attached to the right edge of this complex verb, but in the middle:

- (12) En. a. *He [switch-onned] the radio this morning
 b. He [switched on] the radio this morning
 c. *He [switch-ons] the radio every morning
 d. He [switches on] the radio every morning

The other is that the complex element does not have the same category (etc.) as its daughter on the right, as is the case in other compounds: *football* is a noun just like *ball*, *tax-free* is an adjective just like *free*, *to dry-clean* is a verb just like *to clean*, but *to switch on* is not a particle like *on*. Instead *to switch on* is a verb, just like its daughter on the left, *switch*. (It thus violates Williams' 1981 "Right Hand Head Rule").

Therefore Haegeman & Guéron (1999:257-258) suggest that the particle constructions actually have a parallel structure to the examples with prepositions:



In neither (13b) nor (13c) is Prt° part of the V° , and therefore this analysis predicts e.g. *switch on* to attach its verbal inflection to *switch* rather than to *switch on* (12), and it is also compatible with *switch on* not being a particle like *on*.

Consider now the consequences of the analysis in (13): (13a) is the basic structure, which will never make it to the surface, however - Prt° is unable to assign case, and therefore the DP would not be assigned a case.

There are two ways out of this problem:

- One is that the particle is incorporated into the verb, (13b), in which case the verb can now assign case to the DP (maybe via the trace of the particle).
- The other is that the DP moves to the specifier position of PrtP , (13c), where it may be assigned case directly from the verb, in a configuration very reminiscent of ECM (exceptional case marking). This option accounts for the possibility of the DP- Prt° order in e.g. (2b) above.

The availability of both (13b) and (13c) is still compatible with the properties discussed above: In neither (13b) nor (13c) is there a constituent [Prt° + DP], and this fact accounts for why [Prt° + DP] may not undergo movement, (3b), clefting, (4b), or coordination, (5b). The impossibility of the modification in (6b) is caused by the impossibility of interrupting V^* in (13b). The verb and the particle may undergo gapping together, (10b), as they form a constituent, V^* in (13b). As for why the verb may not undergo gapping on its own, (8b), the situation has not changed, maybe the verb on its own is too small to undergo gapping, and maybe V^* is the smallest constituent that may undergo gapping.

English and Norwegian allow both (13b) and (13c), whereas Swedish only allows (13b) and Danish (and Faroese) only allow (13c) (see e.g. Vikner 1987):¹

¹Although English (and Norwegian) allow both (13b) and (13c), this is only true for full DPs like *the radio* in (2) above. If the DP is a pronoun, this is not so, only (13c) is possible:

- (i) En. a. *While jumping, he accidentally switched on it (= (13b))
b. While jumping, he accidentally switched it on (= (13c))

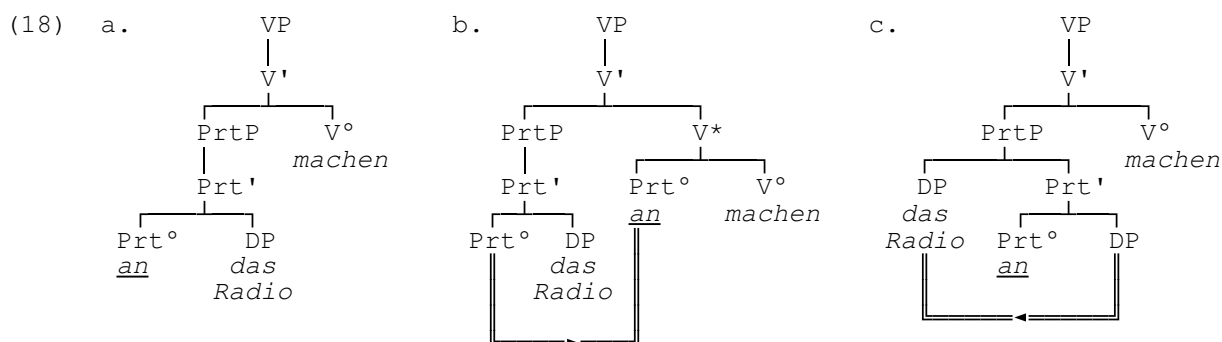
Presumably this is part of a general cross-linguistic trend where pronouns want to be as far left as possible:

- (ii) Da. a. Han læste ikke bogen (He read not the book)
b. Han læste den ikke (He read it not)
- (iii) Ge. a. Er hat gestern das Buch gelesen (He has yesterday the book read)
b. Er hat es gestern gelesen (He has it yesterday read)

- (14) En. a. Did he throw out the carpet?
b. Did he throw the carpet out ?
- (15) No. a. Kastet han bort teppet ?
b. Kastet han teppet bort ?
- (16) Sw. a. Kastade han bort mattan ?
b. *Kastade han mattan bort ?
- (17) Da. a. *Smed han ud tæppet ?
b. Smed han tæppet ud ?

1.3 Verbs and particles in the Germanic SOV-languages

Given the analysis of particle verbs in the SVO-languages in (13) above, the question now is to which extent this also applies to particle verbs in the SOV-languages. I would like to suggest that only those orders linked to V° and its complement switch (i.e. V°/V^* follows PrtP rather than precede it), whereas all other orders remain the same (*das Radio anmachen* = 'the radio on-switch'):



In other words, the ordering differences and similarities concerning particle incorporation between SVO-languages, (13), and SOV-languages, (18), are:

- The position of the not-completely incorporated **separable** particle (sister of V° and daughter of V^*), to the left or right of the verb, is a syntactic property and depends on the syntactic licensing direction of verbs in the language in question (viz. the SOV/SVO difference).
Just like the position of the complement XP (object DP or PP or PrtP), left or right of the verb, this is also a syntactic property.
- The position of the completely incorporated **inseparable** particle (sister of V° and daughter of V°), left or right of the verb, is a morphological property, and thus does not co-vary with the syntactic licensing direction of verbs (i.e. no variation across the Germanic SOV/SVO-languages).
This is just like the position of the verbal inflectional morphemes, which is also a morphological property, and which also does not vary across the Germanic SOV/SVO languages.

As was the case with, (13b,c), (18b,c) are two different ways of getting case onto the complement DP of the particle. Cf. the English and Scandinavian variation as to DP-Prt° or $\text{Prt}^\circ\text{-DP}$ order, (14)-(17).

The question why there is no variation in the SOV-languages comparable to (14)-(17) may now have an answer: Whether an SOV-language employs only (18b), only (18c), or both does not make any difference, as both (18b,c) yield the same ordering predictions (as opposed to (13b,c), which yield different predictions).

This is because (18c) is the same as in SVO, i.e. leftwards movement, whereas (18b) is different from SVO, rightwards movement (if V° is to the right of PrtP , then quasi-incorporation of Prt° into the V^* is necessarily rightwards movement). In the SOV-languages, the two movements thus have the "same" result.

I would therefore like to suggest that (13)/(18) provide the right account for the differences between English/Scandinavian on one hand and German on the other. In sections 2-7 below, I will show that if Yiddish is assumed to be SOV, the account will also explain why Yiddish particle verbs behave so very differently from English/Scandinavian ones and so much like German ones.

(It might seem feasible to allow only (18c), where there is no incorporation of the particle into V^* , as an analysis of separable particles in the SOV-languages.. However, we know from Swedish that this won't work, given that although Swedish only employs option (13b) with separable particles, they nevertheless remain separable, (16a).)

(It might seem that if the DP would adjoin to PrtP rather than move into the PrtP -spec, topicalisation of particles would receive a better analysis under (18c), i.e. then PrtP could be topicalised. However, particle topicalisation is also possible in Swedish which only allows (13b). So there is no easy analysis of particle topicalisation.)

1.4 Passives with particles and prepositions

As the DP is assigned case from the verb in either version of the particle construction, it is not surprising that this construction may be passivised:

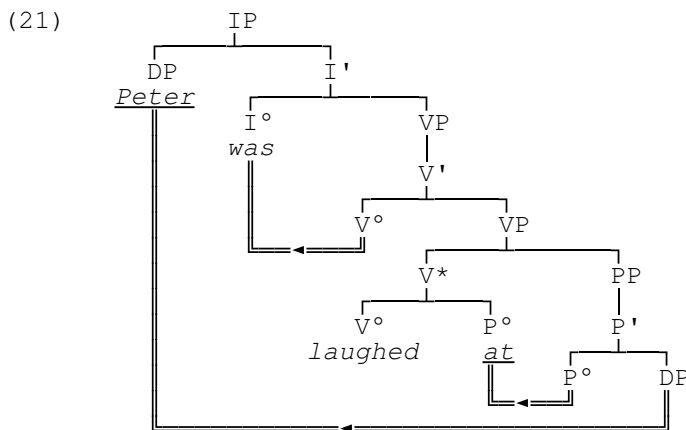
(19) En. The radio was accidentally switched on

It is more surprising that also the prepositional construction may be passivised ("pseudopassive"):

(20) En. Peter was laughed at

What is peculiar about the prepositional passive is that passivisation prevents not the verb *laugh* but the preposition *at* from assigning case, even though passivisation affects the morphology of the verb and not that of the preposition.

One possible analysis is to say that the reason why the passivisation of the verb *laugh* prevents the preposition *at* from assigning case is that the preposition in some sense ‘forms part’ of the verb:



If we assume that the preposition may also be incorporated into V^* , just like the particle in (13b), we can now account for the passivisation in (20). If the preposition is incorporated into the verb in a passive construction, the DP which is left without case, may find a case in the subject position, cf. (21).

If the preposition were to be incorporated into the verb in an active construction, the DP which would be left without case, would have nowhere to find a case, and so the construction would be impossible for independent reasons.

Furthermore, a cross-linguistic prediction is made here: Only two of the languages mentioned above (namely Danish and Faroese) did not allow incorporation into the V^* of the particle, and so we would expect that only these two languages would not allow examples like (20) which involve a parallel kind of incorporation. This prediction would seem to hold (as noted in Herslund 1984, cf. Vikner 1995:246, note 14):

(22) En. He was laughed at

(23) No. Han ble ledd av
He was laughed at

(Vinje 1987:140)

(24) Sw. Skandalen skrattades åt
Scandal-the was-laughed at

(Platzack 1998:122)

(25) Da. a. *Han blev grinet af
b. *Skandalen blev grinet af
He/Scandal-the was laughed at

(26) Da. a. Ham blev der grinet af
b. Skandalen blev der grinet af
Him/Scandal-the was (there) laughed at

2. Lexical differences between German, Yiddish, and Danish

I will now try to show that the view that Yiddish is an OV-language like German and Dutch (as advocated also in Vikner 2001 & 2003 and by many others), not a VO-language like English or Danish, is supported by facts concerning verb particles.

All the Germanic languages, including English, have both separable and non-separable verbal particles (in section 1, the focus was only on separable particles):

- (27) En. a. The patient underwent an operation
b. The ship went under after colliding with an iceberg
c. The lawyer offset his travel expenses against tax
d. The students set off in search of the secretary's office

The terminology used in the literature may be confusing: Sometimes the distinction is made between separable and non-separable particles, sometimes between separable and non-separable prefixes, and sometimes between particles (which are taken to be separable) and prefixes (which are taken to be non-separable). I shall refer to separable and non-separable particles, and I shall also refer to particle verbs, by which I mean the complex verb which is formed by a verb and a particle, e.g. *undergo* in (27a) and *go under* in (27b).

Before discussing exactly what the difference is between preverbal (non-separable) particles, (27a,c), and postverbal (separable) particles, (27b,d), I will give a brief overview of which particle verbs belong to which class.

Across the three languages **almost all possible combinatorial possibilities exist**, i.e. not only are there particle verbs which are separable in all three languages, (28), and others which are non-separable in all three languages, (35), but there are also particle verbs which are separable in one language and non-separable in the other two or vice versa, (29), (32)-(34). Only two combinations are not found, (30) and (31): There would seem to be no particle verbs which are separable in German and non-separable in Yiddish. The particle verbs which are non-separable in German and separable in Yiddish, (32) and (33), involve only five prepositions/ particles (*durch/durkh* 'through', *hinter* 'behind', *über/iber* 'above', *um/arum* 'around', and *unter* 'below', see e.g. Olsen 1997:11 ff., Zifonun et al. 1997:2088 on their special properties).

The following table only includes one example of each particle in each of the groups, and it only contains particle verbs which are clearly semantically parallel across the three languages. "+" means separable particle/prefix, "-" means non-separable particle/prefix:²

²Some, but not all, of the Danish particle verbs that I have classified here as separable also occur as non-separable particle verbs in very formal or technical usage but not in colloquial Danish (see e.g. Allan et al. 1995:327-329).

This tendency can also be observed in different examples where both the separable and non-separable variants are well-established forms. Consider German *auslaufen*, Yiddish *oysloyn* 'run out, leak, expire'. In Danish this is separable in a more concrete sense, but non-separable in a more figurative or technical sense:

- (i) Da. a. Vandet løb ud på gulvet
b. *Vandet udløb på gulvet
Water-the (out)ran (out) on floor-the
- (ii) Da. a. *Kontrakten løb ud i 1999
b. Kontrakten udløb i 1999
Contract-the (out)run (out) in 1999

(28)	German: +	Yiddish: +	Danish: +	
	a. <u>abbrennen</u>	<u>opbrenen</u>	brænde <u>af</u>	<i>burn down</i>
	b. <u>abschicken</u>	<u>avekshikn</u>	sende <u>afsted</u>	<i>send off</i>
	c. <u>aufwachsen</u>	<u>oyfvaksn</u>	vokse <u>op</u>	<i>grow up</i>
	d. <u>aushalten</u>	<u>oyshaltn</u>	holde <u>ud</u>	<i>endure, stand</i>
	e. <u>einkaufen</u>	<u>aynkoyfn</u>	købe <u>ind</u>	<i>buy, shop</i>
	f. <u>hereinkommen</u>	<u>araynkumen</u>	komme <u>ind</u>	<i>come in, enter</i>
	g. <u>(hin)ausgehen</u>	<u>aroysgeyn</u>	gå <u>ud</u>	<i>go out</i>
	h. <u>nachgeben</u>	<u>nokhgebn</u>	give <u>efter</u>	<i>give in, indulge</i>
	i. sich <u>umsehen</u>	<u>umkukn zikh</u>	se sig <u>om</u>	<i>look around</i>
	j. <u>zunageln</u>	<u>tsunoglen</u>	sømme <u>til</u>	<i>nail shut</i>
	k. <u>zurückziehen</u>	<u>tsuriktsien</u>	trække <u>tilbage</u>	<i>retract</i>
	l. <u>zusammenstoßen</u>	<u>tsunoyfshtoysn</u>	støde <u>sammen</u>	<i>clash, collide</i>
(29)	German: +	Yiddish: +	Danish: -	
	a. <u>abweichen</u>	<u>opvaikhn</u>	<u>afvige</u>	<i>deviate</i>
	b. <u>ankommen</u>	<u>onkumen</u>	<u>ankomme</u>	<i>arrive</i>
	c. <u>aufsuchen</u>	<u>oyfzukhn</u>	<u>opsøge</u>	<i>look up (a person)</i>
	d. <u>beilegen</u>	<u>bayleygn</u>	<u>vedlægge</u>	<i>append (e.g. to a letter)</i>
	e. <u>durchführen</u>	<u>durkhfirn</u>	<u>gennemføre</u>	<i>carry out</i>
	f. <u>einwenden</u>	<u>aynvendn</u>	<u>indvende</u>	<i>object</i>
	g. <u>umstoßen</u>	<u>umshtoysn</u>	<u>omstøde</u>	<i>reverse (e.g. a decision)</i>
	h. <u>zulassen</u>	<u>tsulozn</u>	<u>tillade</u>	<i>allow</i>
(30)	German: +	Yiddish: -	Danish: +	
	*			
(31)	German: +	Yiddish: -	Danish: -	
	*			
(32)	German: -	Yiddish: +	Danish: +	
	<u>überspringen</u>	<u>iberhipn</u>	springe <u>over</u>	<i>skip, pass over</i>
(33)	German: -	Yiddish: +	Danish: -	
	a. <u>durchlöchern</u>	<u>durkhlekhern</u>	<u>gennemhulle</u>	<i>make holes in</i>
	b. <u>umringen</u>	<u>arumringen</u>	<u>omringe</u>	<i>surround, encircle</i>
	c. <u>überreden</u>	<u>iberredn</u>	<u>overtale</u>	<i>persuade</i>
	d. <u>unterdrücken</u>	<u>underdrikn</u>	<u>undertrykke</u>	<i>suppress</i>
(34)	German: -	Yiddish: -	Danish: +	
	<u>zerschlagen</u>	<u>tseshlogn</u>	slå <u>itu</u>	<i>smash to pieces</i>
(35)	German: -	Yiddish: -	Danish: -	
	a. <u>bemerken</u>	<u>bamerkn</u>	<u>bemærke</u>	<i>notice</i>
	b. <u>entschuldigen</u>	<u>antshuldikn</u>	<u>undskyldte</u>	<i>apologise</i>
	c. <u>erkennen</u>	<u>derkenen</u>	<u>erkende</u>	<i>recognise</i>
	d. <u>verstehen</u>	<u>farshteyn</u>	<u>forstå</u>	<i>understand</i>

3. Syntactic differences between German, Yiddish, and Danish

Although there is a fair amount of lexical variation across the three languages, as seen above, there are clear syntactic generalisations to be made about how separable and non-separable particles behave. The examples below use the particle verbs *send off*, (28b), which is separable in all three languages, *understand*, (35d), which is non-separable in all three languages, and *arrive*, (29b), which is separable in German and Yiddish but not in Danish. Furthermore, what is said below about either type in any of the three languages (e.g. Danish separable particle verbs), holds for all verbs of that type in that language, irrespective of whether their lexical counterparts in the other two languages are separable or not.

In all three languages, it holds that **if a verb particle is preverbal (non-separate) in V2 contexts, ((36), particle verb = finite verb in main clause), then it is also preverbal (non-separate) in non-V2 ones, ((37), (38) particle verb = infinitive / past participle):**

- (36) a. Ge. *Den Brief steht er nicht ver
b. Yi. *Dem briv shteyt er nisht far
c. Da. *Brevet står han ikke for
d. Ge. Den Brief versteht er nicht
e. Yi. Dem briv farsshteyt er nisht
f. Da. Brevet forstår han ikke
The letter (under)stands he not (under)
- (37) a. Ge. *Den Brief wird er nicht stehen ver
b. Yi. *Dem briv vet er nisht shteyn far
c. Da. *Brevet vil han ikke stå for
d. Ge. Den Brief wird er nicht verstehen
e. Yi. Dem briv vet er nisht farsshteyn
f. Da. Brevet vil han ikke forstå
The letter will he not (under)st@nd (under)
- (38) a. Ge. *Den Brief hat er nicht (ge)standen ver
b. Yi. *Dem briv hot er nisht (ge)shtanen far
c. Da. *Brevet har han ikke stået for
d. Ge. Den Brief hat er nicht verstanden
e. Yi. Dem briv hot er nisht farsshtanen
f. Da. Brevet har han ikke forstået
The letter has he not (under)stood (under)

So far, I have painted the following partial pictures:

(39) Danish

Particle in V2 contexts

Particle in non-V2 contexts

preverbal/non-sep. (36) ————— preverbal/non-sep. (37), (38)

(40) German & Yiddish

Particle in V2 contexts

Particle in non-V2 contexts

preverbal/non-sep. (36) ————— preverbal/non-sep. (37), (38)

Consider now postverbal (separate) particles. If a **Danish particle is postverbal (separate) in V2 contexts, (41c)**, then it is **also postverbal (separate) in non-V2 contexts, (42c) & (43c)**. However, even when a **German or Yiddish particle is postverbal (separate) in V2 contexts, (41a,b)**, it is **still preverbal (non-separate) in non-V2 contexts, (42d,e) & (43d,e)**:

- (41) a. Ge. Den Brief schickt er ab
 b. Yi. Dem briv shikt er avek (from den Besten et al. 1986:119, (20b))
 c. Da. Brevet sender han afsted
 d. Ge. *Den Brief abschickt er
 e. Yi. *Dem briv avekshikt er
 f. Da. *Brevet afstedsender han
The letter (off)sends he (off)
- (42) a. Ge. *Den Brief wird er schicken ab
 b. Yi.??Dem briv vet er shikn avek
 c. Da. Brevet vil han sende afsted
 d. Ge. Den Brief wird er abschicken
 e. Yi. Dem briv vet er avekshikn
 f. Da. *Brevet vil han afstedsende
The letter will he (off)send (off)
- (43) a. Ge. *Den Brief hat er geschickt ab
 b. Yi.??Dem briv hot er geshikt avek
 c. Da. Brevet har han sendt afsted
 d. Ge. Den Brief hat er abgeschickt
 e. Yi. Dem briv hot er avekgeschikt
 f. Da. *Brevet har han afstedsendt
The letter has he (off)sent (off)

In other words, Yiddish and German particles that have to be postverbal (separate) under V2 still have to be preverbal in non-V2 contexts, whereas Danish particles that have to be stranded under V2 may never be preverbal in non-V2 contexts.

The full picture for German and Yiddish is thus that both those particles that are preverbal (non-separate) under V2, (36)-(38), and those particles that are postverbal (separate) under V2, (41)-(43), are preverbal in non-V2 contexts. There simply are **no German and Yiddish particles which are postverbal in non-V2 contexts**.

The full picture for **Danish** is that whereas those **particles that are preverbal (non-separate) under V2, (36)-(38)**, are **also preverbal in non-V2 contexts**, those particles that are **postverbal (separate) under V2, (41)-(43)**, are **also postverbal in non-V2 contexts**.

(44) **Danish**

Particle in V2 contexts	Particle in non-V2 contexts
preverbal/non-sep. (36) ————— preverbal/non-sep. (37) , (38)	
postverbal/separate (41) ————— postverbal/separate (42) , (43)	

(45) **German & Yiddish**

Particle in V2 contexts	Particle in non-V2 contexts
preverbal/non-sep. (36) ————— preverbal/non-sep. (37) , (38)	
postverbal/separate (41) ————— preverbal/non-sep. (42) , (43)	

A different way of illustrating this is to take the non-V2 possibilities as a starting point. If we consider particle verbs where the particle is preverbal in non-V2 contexts in all three languages, there are two options for what happens under V2: Either the particle is also preverbal in V2 contexts in all three languages, cf. *understand* in (36)-(38) above, or the particle is preverbal only in Danish but postverbal in German and Yiddish. The latter is the case with the particle verb *arrive*:

- (46)
- | | | | | | | |
|--------|----------|-------------|-----------|--------|---|-------------------------------|
| a. Ge. | Wann | kommt | der Zug | an | ? | |
| b. Yi. | Ven | kumt | der tsug | on | ? | |
| c. Da. | *Hvornår | kommer | toget | an | ? | |
| d. Ge. | *Wann | ankommt | der Zug | | ? | |
| e. Yi. | *Ven | onkumt | der tsug | | ? | |
| f. Da. | Hvornår | ankommer | toget | | ? | |
| | When | (PRT) comes | the train | (PRT)? | | (When does the train arrive?) |
- (47)
- | | | | | | | |
|--------|----------|-------|-----------|------------|--------|---|
| a. Ge. | *Wann | soll | der Zug | kommen | an | ? |
| b. Yi. | *Ven | zol | der tsug | kumen | on | ? |
| c. Da. | *Hvornår | skal | toget | komme | an | ? |
| d. Ge. | Wann | soll | der Zug | ankommen | | ? |
| e. Yi. | Ven | zol | der tsug | onkumen | | ? |
| f. Da. | Hvornår | skal | toget | ankomme | | ? |
| | When | shall | the train | (PRT) come | (PRT)? | (When is the train supposed to arrive?) |
- (48)
- | | | | | | | |
|--------|----------|-----|-----------|------------|--------|-------------------------------|
| a. Ge. | *Wann | ist | der Zug | gekommen | an | ? |
| b. Yi. | *Ven | iz | der tsug | gekumen | on | ? |
| c. Da. | *Hvornår | er | toget | kommet | an | ? |
| d. Ge. | Wann | ist | der Zug | angekommen | | ? |
| e. Yi. | Ven | iz | der tsug | ongekumen | | ? |
| f. Da. | Hvornår | er | toget | ankommet | | ? |
| | When | is | the train | (PRT) come | (PRT)? | (When has the train arrived?) |

This confirms the generalisations made above: In Yiddish and the (other) Germanic OV-languages, particle verbs whose particles are postverbal under V2 (separate) nevertheless always have preverbal particles in non-V2 contexts, whereas in the Germanic VO-languages, particle verbs whose particles have to be stranded under V2 never have preverbal particles in non-V2 contexts.

In principle, V2 is only one way of stranding a separable particle through movement of the finite verb. Another option is verb raising as found in Dutch (*opeten* and *eten* move to the right, see also van Riemsdijk & Williams 1986:53 and many others) which strands the particle *op* in (51a):³

³Also non-separable particle verbs may undergo verb raising, the only difference is that only one option is open, movement of the whole particle verb, (50a)/(iia), whereas movement only of the verb, leaving the particle behind, is excluded, (51a)/(iia):

- (i)
- | | | | | | | |
|--------|------|--------|-------|-----|-------------------|--------|
| a. Du. | *Een | tijger | heeft | hem | <u>verorberen</u> | willen |
| b. Ge. | Ein | Tiger | hat | ihn | <u>verspeisen</u> | wollen |
| | A | tiger | has | him | PRT-consume | would |
- (ii)
- | | | | | | | |
|--------|------|--------|-------|-----|--------|-------------------|
| a. Du. | Een | tijger | heeft | hem | willen | <u>verorberen</u> |
| b. Ge. | *Ein | Tiger | hat | ihn | wollen | <u>verspeisen</u> |
| | A | tiger | has | him | would | PRT-consume |
- (iii)
- | | | | | | | | |
|--------|------|--------|-------|-----|------------|--------|----------------|
| a. Du. | *Een | tijger | heeft | hem | <u>ver</u> | willen | <u>orberen</u> |
| b. Ge. | *Ein | Tiger | hat | ihn | <u>ver</u> | wollen | <u>speisen</u> |
| | A | tiger | has | him | PRT | would | consume |

- (49) a. Du. *Een tijger heeft hem opeten willen
 b. Ge. Ein Tiger hat ihn aufessen wollen
 A tiger has him up-eat would
- (50) a. Du. Een tijger heeft hem willen opeten
 b. Ge. *Ein Tiger hat ihn wollen aufessen
 A tiger has him would up-eat (Abraham 1995:354, (9a,b))
- (51) a. Du. Een tijger heeft hem op willen eten
 b. Ge. *Ein Tiger hat ihn auf wollen essen
 A tiger has him up would eat (Abraham 1995:354, (9c,d))

A similar effect can be seen in the German dialect spoken in Cologne, where the particle may optionally be left behind in the *am* plus infinitive construction which conveys a progressive aspect much like the English *be* plus *-ing*:

- (52) Ge. a. Ich ben dat jrad am opschrieve
 b. Ich ben dat jrad op am schrieve
 I am this just (up) by (up)write
 (I am just writing this down) (Bhatt & Schmidt 1993:78, (44a,b))

The fact that there are other processes than V2 under which particles may be separated from their verbs, does not change the general picture that in Yiddish and the (other) Germanic OV-languages, all particles, even those that can be postverbal under verb movement (i.e. particles that are left behind when the verb undergoes V2 or verb raising), have to be preverbal in non-V2 contexts, as opposed to the Germanic VO-languages, where verb particles that may be postverbal (may be left behind under verb movement) must always be postverbal (always separated from their verbs).

The following examples show that *opeten* and *verorberen* differ in V2 contexts, (vi) and (vii), exactly in the way we would expect: The particle in *opeten* is postverbal (separate) and the one in *verorberen* is preverbal (non-separate).

- (iv) Du. a. Een tijger heeft het vlees opgegeten
 b. *Een tijger heeft het vlees gegeten op
 A tiger has the meat (up-)eaten (up)
- (v) Du. a. Een tijger heeft het vlees verorberd
 b. *Een tijger heeft het vlees orberd ver
 A tiger has the meat (PRT-)consumed (PRT)
- (vi) Du. a. *Een tijger opat het vlees
 b. Een tijger at het vlees op
 A tiger (up-)ate the meat (up)
- (vii) Du. a. Een tijger verorberde het vlees
 b. *Een tijger orberde het vlees ver
 A tiger (PRT-)consumed the meat (PRT)

4. Different types of incorporation: V° and V^*

As already hinted at above, I would like to suggest that separable particles are not incorporated into the verb **TO THE SAME EXTENT** that non-separable particles are. If we assume that a non-separable particle and its verb (*bamerkn*, *farshiteyn*) constitute a V° , then a separable particle and its verb (*onkumen*, *avekshikn*) do not form a V° .

This does not mean that verb and separable particle may not somehow form a constituent, it only means that they may not together constitute a V° . I take it that they may form a particular syntactic constituent, and even that the result may be smaller than e.g. a V' , cf. that they are taken to form almost a head but not quite by e.g. Booij (1990) where they constitute a V^* (which is more than V° but less than V'). For further discussion, see e.g. Haegeman & Guéron (1999:254), Zeller (2001:58-69) or Haiden (2005). See also section 1.2-1.3 above on whether a given language uses the option of incorporating separable particles into V^* .

I will (continue to) use the notation V^* , but I will take it only to indicate a constituent which is larger than a V° , i.e. I have nothing to say about whether V^* is as big as V' or not (cf. Zeller's 2001:162 formulation V^n , $n > 0$). The following illustrates the analyses of the verbs used in examples (36)-(48) above:

	(inseparable)	(separable, in OV-lang.)	(separable, in VO-lang.)
(53)	$\begin{array}{c} V^\circ \\ \diagup \quad \diagdown \\ \text{Prt} \quad V^\circ \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} V^* \\ \diagup \quad \diagdown \\ \text{Prt} \quad V^\circ \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} V^* \\ \diagup \quad \diagdown \\ V^\circ \quad \text{Prt} \end{array}$
a.	Yi. <i>far shiteyn</i> Ge. <i>ver stehen</i> Da. <i>for stå</i>		
b.		Yi. <i>avek shikn</i> Ge. <i>ab schicken</i>	Da. <i>sende afsted</i>
c.	Da. <i>an komme</i>	Yi. <i>on kumen</i> Ge. <i>an kommen</i>	

This follows suggestions made by Haiden (1997:105), Wurmbrand (1998:271), and many others, namely that **verb and separable particle form a lexical unit but not necessarily also a syntactic X°-constituent**.

Verb and separable particle would have this (i.e. lexical unity without syntactic unity) in common with many other combinations of a verb plus (part of) its complement, e.g. idiomatic expressions like English *to spill the beans* (i.e. 'to reveal a secret'), Danish *stille træskoene* (literally 'to put down the wooden shoes', i.e. 'to die'), German *jemandem einen Korb geben* (literally 'to give somebody a basket', i.e. 'to say no to an offer'), and Yiddish *hakn a tshaynik* (literally 'to beat a teapot', i.e. 'to talk nonsense'). Because such expressions have a non-compositional semantics, i.e. their meaning cannot be inferred from the meaning of their parts, the entire expression, e.g. *spill the beans*, has to be listed as a separate lexical entry. However, although they thus form one lexical unit, they do not form a syntactic one, as shown e.g. by Müller (2000): Syntactic operations, e.g. passivisation or V2, can affect part of such expressions while leaving other parts unaffected, so that the different parts of the lexical unit can end up rather far apart in the syntax:

- (54) En. The beans were finally spilled by John
- (55) Da. I 1980 stillede han desværre træskoene
In 1980 put-down he unfortunately wooden-shoes-the
(In 1980, he unfortunately died)
- (56) Ge. Warum gab sie ihm gestern einen Korb ?
Why gave she him yesterday a basket?
(Why did she turn him down yesterday?)
- (57) Yi. Far vos hakt er shtendik a tshaynik?
Why beats he constantly a teapot ?
(Why does he always talk nonsense?)

This is clearly parallel to those verbs with separable particles that do not have a compositional semantics, e.g. German *aufhören*, Yiddish *oyfhern*, and Danish *høre op*, literally 'to up-hear' i.e. 'to stop'. The meaning of the particle verb cannot be computed from the meaning of its constituent parts, i.e. *hear* and *up*. Although *hear* and *up* have to be listed independently in the lexicon, the lexicon therefore also has to contain separate entries for *aufhören*, *oyfhern*, and *høre op*.

(Gold 1998:192-194 in fact argues that it follows from *oyfhern* forming a lexical unit that it must form a syntactic X°-constituent. I disagree with this conclusion, because of the data from idiomatic expressions cited above).

In this section I set out what I take to be the basic difference between separable and non-separable particle verbs, namely that only the non-separable ones form a X°-constituent (i.e. a V°) in the syntax. Separable particle verbs do not form a V°, but a constituent of a higher projection level, which I label V*.

5. Diesing (1997): Separable particles are incorporated into V°

According to Diesing (1997:385-386), neither the fact that Yiddish separable particles are preverbal in (42e) and (43e) nor the fact that Yiddish separable particles may be topicalised (to be discussed in section 7 below) necessarily show that Yiddish is an OV-language. The preverbal position of the particle *avek* in (42e) and (43e) is not the base-generated position, says Diesing, the particle (*avek*) has been incorporated into the V° (*avekshikn/avekgeshikt*). According to Diesing, this is supported by three facts, which will be discussed in turn.

I shall argue that the data do not show that all cases of preverbal particles plus their verb form a V°. If this is correct, then the fact that outside V2-contexts all separable particles occur preverbally, not postverbally, still needs an explanation. Not surprisingly, I would like to suggest that the reason is that Yiddish is an OV-language.

5.1 Modification of particles

The first of Diesing's facts is that **separable particles can be modified in postverbal position, but not in preverbal position** (*araynkumen* 'come in' behaves syntactically exactly like *avekshikn* 'send off' in (41)-(43), cf. that both belong to group (28) above):

- (58) Yi. a. Er iz gekumen glaykh arayn
b. *Er iz glaykh arayngekumen
He is (right in-)come (right in) (He came right in)
(from Diesing 1997:385, (27a), (28a))

I have not been able to reproduce this data, my informant, Marvin Herzog (editor-in-chief of *The Language and Culture Atlas of Ashkenazic Jewry*, Niemeyer, Tübingen), had exactly the opposite judgments of (58), i.e. he found (58b) better than (58a). The example may be problematic anyway, as it is not clear that *glaykh* modifies only the particle, because it may modify the entire VP (in addition to 'directly', *glaykh* may also mean 'immediately' or 'right away'). In the following example, which is inspired by an example from Wurmbrand (1998:273) given below as (60a), *in gantsn* (literally 'in the whole', i.e. 'completely, altogether') modifies only *um* ('over'), as is clear from the interpretation:

- (59) Yi. a. Zi hot im nit in gantsn umgeshtoysn
b. *Zi hot im nit geshtoysn in gantsn um
She has him not (completely over-)knocked (completely over-)
(She did not knock him over completely, i.e. he is still standing)

This is parallel to the situation in German, where a particle may also be modified when it is placed to the left of the verb:

- (60) Ge. a. Hans hat das Verkehrsschild halb umgefahren
Hans hat the traffic sign half around-driven
(Hans almost knocked down the traffic sign) (Wurmbrand 1998:273, (10a))
b. Hans hat die Tür weit aufgemacht
Hans hat the door wide up-made (Hans threw the door wide open)

I therefore disagree with this first set of data of Diesing's, in that I think that **it is possible to modify a preverbal separable particle**. This would be unexpected if particles could only be preverbal if they were incorporated.

5.2 Particle verbs and stress

Diesing's second fact is that **the combination preverbal separable particle and verb only receive one main stress** (see also Wiese 1996:94 and Wurmbrand 1998:284), whereas the combination verb and postverbal particle receive two main stresses, just like two independent elements do:

- (61) Yi. a. Ikh bin aRAYNgekumen preverbal particle: **ONE** main stress
 b. Ikh bin geKUMen aRAYN postverbal particle: **TWO** main stresses
 I am (in-)come in
 (I came in)
- c. Ikh bin NEKHtn geKUMen two elements: **TWO** main stresses
 I am yesterday come
 (I arrived yesterday)
- (from Diesing 1997:385-386, (29))

Whereas two stresses may indeed be a reliable indication that incorporation has not taken place, I am not sure that the inverse is the case, i.e. I doubt that a single main stress is only possible if incorporation has taken place. The embedded clauses in (62)/(63) have the same stress conditions: In all four of them, there is only one main stress (indicated by capitals), and yet it is highly unlikely that (62b)/(63b) have incorporation, because it would be incorporation of a PP into a V°.

- (62) Yi. a. Oyb er vet nit aRAYNkumen, ...
 If he will not in-come, ...
- b. Oyb er vet nit tsu MIR kumen, ...
 If he will not to me come, ...
- (63) Ge. a. Wenn er nicht voRANkommt, ...
 If he not ahead-comes ...
- b. Wenn er nicht zu MIR kommt, ...
 If he not to me comes ...

I therefore **do not agree** with Diesing that the possibility of **assigning only one main stress** to the combination of a preverbal separable particle and its verb **shows that the particle must have been incorporated** into the verb. That incorporation is not necessary is seen from examples like (62b)/(63b) where the combination PP and verb also only have one main stress, and yet incorporation is out of the question for theoretical (X-bar) reasons.

5.3 Further morphological processes

The **third** fact that Diesing (1997:386) cites is also cited by Gold (1998:194) in support of preverbal (separable) particles being incorporated into the verb, even if Gold (1998:192) actually assumes also separable particles to be base-generated to the left of the verb. This third fact is that **further morphological derivational processes show that the particle has been incorporated**:

- (64) Yi. a. der araynbrekher
 the.M in-break-er ('the male burglar')
- b. di araynbrekherke
 the.F in-break-er-ess ('the female burglar')
- (Diesing 1997:386, (30b))

I agree that even particles which have to be stranded/postverbal under V2 may be incorporated in further morphological processes like nominalisations, but I strongly doubt that this shows that such particles also have to be incorporated into their verb in (42e) and (43e). My doubt is based on the following data from Danish, where particles seem to be incorporated during further morphological processes:

- (65) Da. a. halmafbrænding hay-down-burn-ing burning of hay (noun)
 b. opvokset up-grow-n grown up (adj.)
 c. udholdenhed out-last-ness endurance
 d. indkøbscenter in-buy-center shopping centre
 e. eftergivenhed after-give-ness indulgence
 f. tildækning to-cover-ing cover (noun)
 g. tilbagetrækning back-pull-ing withdrawal
 h. sammenstød together-bump clash, collision

The point is that the particle verbs underlying (65) are all from the group in (28) above: They never incorporate the particle into the verb, the particle always occurs postverbally, exactly like the particle *afsted* in (41c,f), (42c,f), and (43c,f):

- (66) Da. a. *Børn bør opvokse i tryghed
 b. Børn bør vokse op i tryghed
 Children should (up)grow (up) in security
- (67) Da. a. *Jeg vil først indkøbe i morgen
 b. Jeg vil først købe ind i morgen
 I will first (in)buy in tomorrow (I won't go shopping until tomorrow)
- (68) Da. a. *De har eftergivet for presset fra udlandet
 b. De har givet efter for presset fra udlandet
 They have (after)given (after) for pressure-the from outland-the
 (They have given in to the pressure from abroad)
- (69) Da. a. *De vil tilbagetrække tropperne
 b. De vil trække tropperne tilbage
 They will (back)pull troops-the (back) (They will pull the troops back)

The examples in (66)-(69) show that the particles and their verbs do not form a V°. Therefore the kind of **incorporation during further morphological processes** seen in (64) and (65) can **not be taken to be an indication that syntactic incorporation also takes place in the particle verbs themselves**.

A similar point is made for German in Haiden (1997:104). The well-formedness of (70a) does not necessarily mean that *raucht* 'smokes' and *Zigaretten* 'cigarettes' form a V° in (70b,c):

- (70) Ge. a. Richard ist ein zigarettenrauchender Dichter
 Richard is a cigarette-smoking poet (Haiden 1997:104, (44b))
- b. Warum raucht Richard Zigaretten ?
 c. *Warum zigarettenraucht Richard ?
 Why (cigarette-)smokes Richard (cigarettes) ?
 (Why does Richard smoke cigarettes?)

This point is also valid for Yiddish. **Although the object may be incorporated into the verb in the present participle in (71a), it does not follow that the object may always be incorporated:**

- (71) Yi. a. Ruvn iz a papirosn-roykhndiker dikhter
 Ruben is a cigarette-smoking poet
- b. Far vos roykht Ruvn papirosn ?
 c. *Far vos papirosn-roykht Ruvn ?
 For what (cigarette-)smokes Ruben (cigarettes) ?
 (Why does Ruben smoke cigarettes?)

Haiden (1997:103) also gives another somewhat related argument against verb and separable particle forming an X°-constituent in the syntax of German, and as above this argument can be extended to Yiddish. Like non-separable particles, separable particles may affect the argument structure of the verb:

- (72) Ge. a. *Hans hat das Verkehrsschild gefahren
 b. Hans hat das Verkehrsschild umgefahren
 Hans has the traffic sign (around-)driven
 (Hans has knocked down the traffic sign)
 (based on Stiebels & Wunderlich 1994:952, (95), and Wurmbrand 1998:273, (10a))

- (73) Yi. a. *Dos bukh hobn mir nit geredt
 b. Dos bukh hobn mir nit arumgeredt
 The book have we not (around-)talked (This book we have not discussed)

This modification of argument structure **cannot be the effect of SYNTACTIC incorporation** of the particle into the verb (or vice versa), says Haiden (1997:103), because the syntactic incorporation (if it takes place at all) only takes place after the incorporation of tense and aspect elements like *-ge-* and *-zu/-tsu-*, but the modification of the argument structure of the verb has to precede the tense and aspectual modification of the verb. Hence the modification of the argument structure must have taken place at a stage earlier than the earliest point at which the particle may form an X°-constituent with the verb. The forming of a unit in the lexicon and the (potential) syntactic incorporation therefore have to be two independent phenomena.

5.4 Conclusion

In this section, I argued against Diesing's claim that all preverbal particles are incorporated into their verb (i.e. form a V° with their verbs), mainly by showing that the data cited by Diesing in support of her analysis are also compatible with other views.

In the following sections I will give other arguments against Diesing's analysis. Because her analysis says that all particles occurring preverbally form a V° with their verbs, it would seem to have no way of accounting for the differences between separable and non-separable particle verbs concerning e.g. the placement of the participial prefix *ge-* and the infinitival marker *tsu*.

An alternative analysis, which says that only non-separable particle verbs form a V°, is compatible with the data cited above, and it is much better suited to deal with the data discussed in the following section.

6. "Infixation" of *-ge-* and *-zu-/tsu-*

This section will discuss the position of the participial prefix *ge-* and the infinitival marker *tsu* in particle verbs.

6.1 Past participles

Yiddish has a very strict correlation between whether or not a particle has to be left behind during V2 and whether or not *ge-* occurs between the particle and the verb stem in the **past participle**. This is just like other languages which prefix their past participle with *ge-*, e.g. Afrikaans (Donaldson 1993:224), Dutch (e.g. Geerts et al. 1984:427) and German.

It may also be suggestive in itself that although there are at least two present-day OV-languages which do not form their past participles with *ge-* (namely Frisian and Low German), all the languages that have past participles with *ge-*, are OV-languages. Should Yiddish be a VO-language, it would be rather exceptional in being the only VO-language to have past participles with *ge-*.

The generalisation is that **if and only if the particle has to be left behind during V2**, (41b,e), i.e. if there is no incorporation in the present analysis, **the past participle must include *ge-*** between the particle and the verb stem:

- (74) Yi. a. *arayngekumen*, **araynkumen*, **gearaynkumen* 'come in', (28f)
b. *avekgeshikt*, **avekshikt*, **geavekshikt* 'sent off', (28b)

(*araynkumen* and *avekshikt* are both possible as finite verbs, but not as past participles).

If and only if the particle has to be carried along during V2, (36b,e), i.e. if there is incorporation even in the present analysis, **the past participle may not include *ge-*** anywhere:

- (75) Yi. a. *bamerkt*, **bagemerkt*, **gebamerkt* 'noticed', (35b)
b. *farshstanen*, **fargeshtanen*, **gefarshtanen* 'understood', (35d)

I know of only one type of exception to this rule: Even verbs that leave behind particles under V2 do not take *ge-* if they end in *-irn* in the infinitive, e.g. *oppolirn* 'polish':

- (76) Yi. *oppolirt*, **opgepolirt*, **geoppolirt* 'polished' (from Weinreich 1968:xxxiv)

This exception is not related to the particle however, cf. that the participle of *polirn* is also *polirt*, not **gepolirt* (*polirn* also means 'polish' but it is imperfective, i.e. whereas *oppolirn* implies that the polishing has been finished, *polirn* does not have such an implication). In German, the exact same class of exceptions is found, in Afrikaans these are only optional, and in Dutch the verbs are not exceptional at all: Yiddish *prubirn* and German *probieren* 'try' have the past participles *prubirt/probiert*, not **geprubirt*/**geprobiert*, whereas Dutch *proberen* 'try out' has the past participle *geprobeerd*, not **probeerd* (Geerts et al. 1984:428) and in Afrikaans the past participle of *probeer* 'try out' is "more often used without *ge-* than with it: *Ek het dit al probeer* 'I have already tried it'" (Donaldson 1993:224).

According to a.o. Stiebels & Wunderlich (1994:962, n9) and Geilfuß-Wolfgang (1998:581), *ge-* prefixation in German (and in Yiddish too, it would seem) requires the immediately following syllable to have a (main) stress, something which is incompatible with Yiddish and German (and Dutch) verbs in *-ir(n)/-ier(en)*, where *-ir-/ier-* receives the main stress. I therefore conclude that the exception in (76) is independent from the correspondence

between the occurrence of *ge-* in the participle and the leaving behind of the particle in V2-contexts^{4 5}.

6.2 Infinitives

Infinitives with *tsu* present a parallel case to the past participles with *ge-*, but without the above-mentioned exception concerning *-irn-*verbs. In some cases the infinitives may appear with the infinitival marker *tsu* 'to':

- (77) Yi. a. Er hoft iberttsulebn (He hopes to survive) (from Zaretski 1926:120)
 He hopes over-to-live
 b. Ikh pruv tsu farshteyn (from Weinreich 1971:328)
 I try to understand

The generalisation is that **if and only if the particle has to be left behind during V2**, (41b,e), i.e. if there is no incorporation in the present analysis, the *tsu*-infinitive must include *tsu* between the particle and the verb stem, cf. (77a):

- (78) Yi. a. arayntsukumen, *tsu araynkumen 'come in', (28f)
 b. avektsushikn, *tsu avekshikn 'send off', (28b)
 c. optsupolirn, *tsu oppolirn 'polish'

If and only if the particle has to be carried along during V2, (36b,e), i.e. if there is incorporation even in the present analysis, *tsu* must precede the entire particle verb, cf. (77b):

- (79) Yi. a. tsu bamerkn, *batsumerkn 'notice', (35b)
 b. tsu farshteyn, *fartsushteyn 'understand', (35d)

This too is a feature which Yiddish shares with all the (other) Germanic OV-languages, this time including Low German and Frisian.

Incidentally, Frisian (and Dutch, where the facts are comparable) illustrates how little one should rely on orthographical conventions, as here particle and verb are written together in infinitives without the infinitival marker, but apart in infinitives with the infinitival marker:

- (80) Fs. a. Hja frege om meigean te kinnen (She asked to be able to go along)
 She asked in-order-to with-go to could
 b. ... om mei te gean (from Tiersma 1985:128, 109)
 ... in-order-to with to go

⁴In so far as some variant of Yiddish may have *ge-* with *-irn-*verbs, something which does occur, we would also expect it in particle verbs. According to Lockwood (1995:78) and Weissberg (1988:145), in colloquial Yiddish we thus find not only *ge-* on *-irn-*verbs which are not particle verbs, *gerasirt* 'shaved', *geshpatsirt* 'strolled', but also *ge-* on particle *-irn-*verbs, e.g. *durkhgekontrolirt* 'checked through'.

⁵(76) has an almost exact German parallel in *ausprobieren* 'try out', which also leaves *aus* behind during V2 but nevertheless has the past participle *ausprobiert*, and not **ausgeprobiert* or **geausprobiert*. The following German verbs belong to the same class as Yiddish *oppolirn* and German *ausprobieren*: *ausagieren*, *ausbalancieren*, *ausbetonieren*, *ausdifferenzieren*, *ausdiskutieren*, *ausformulieren*, *ausklarieren*, *auskristallisieren*, *auskurieren*, *ausmanövrieren*, *ausquartieren*, *ausradieren*, *ausrangieren*, *aussondieren*, *aussortieren*, *austrainieren*, ...

In Dutch, such verbs all have *ge-* in their past participles, e.g. Dutch *uitkristalliseren* 'crystallise out' which has the past participle *uitgekristalliseerd*.

6.3 Conclusion

Summing up this section on participial and infinitival forms: **Only if the preverbal particles that are left behind under V2 are taken never to be incorporated into a V°, is it possible to explain the difference concerning the occurrence of -ge- and -tsu- between the particle and the verb stem.**

I would like to suggest that *ge-* and *tsu* can only be "prefixed" on constituents with the category V° (this is why they cannot precede separable particles, (74) & (78)).

I would also like to suggest that *tsu* prefers to be "prefixed" on the largest V°-constituent possible (this is why it prefers to precede non-separable prefixes, (79), rather than separate them from their verbs. As for why I take this only to be a preference, see Vikner (2005:99).

Then it would follow that in separable particle verbs like *araynkumen* and *avekshikn*, (74), the particle is never incorporated even when it is preverbal: If incorporation was obligatory or optionally possible, it should be possible to have -*ge-* and -*tsu-* prefixed to the entire particle verb in (74) and (78).

7. Topicalisation of particles

Wurmbrand (1998:276) argues (for German) that facts concerning topicalisation of particles also show a difference in degree of incorporation, in that **only separable particles may undergo movement in the syntax, non-separable particles (prefixes) always form a X°-constituent together with the verb.**

Particles can be topicalised, but only if they are contrastively focused (Heidolph et al. 1981:720, Diesing 1997:384, Wurmbrand 1998:274, Zeller 2001:88-99, against Stiebels & Wunderlich 1994:923). This requires not only that the particles are separable but also that they are semantically transparent, (82), as opposed to the semantically opaque ones in (84):

- (81) a. Ge. Er ist hereingekommen
b. Yi. Er iz arayngekumen
He is in-come
- (82) a. Ge. Herein ist er gekommen
b. Yi. Arayn iz er gekumen (from Diesing 1997:384, (24b))
In is he come (In he came)
- (83) a. Ge. Sie hat ihn hereingelegt
She has him in-laid (hereinlegen 'deceive', 'betray')
b. Yi. Si hot im arayngezogn
She has him in-said (araynzogn 'tell off', 'scold')
- (84) a. Ge. *Herein hat sie ihn gelegt
In has she him laid
b. Yi. *Arayn hot si im gezogn
In has she him said

The important difference is that non-separable particles, even semantically transparent ones, can never be topicalised:

- (85) Ge. a. Er soll den Lastwagen entladen, nicht beladen
He shall the lorry PRT-load, not PRT-load
(He shall unload the lorry, not load it; entladen 'unload', beladen 'load')
- b. *Ent- soll er den Lastwagen laden, nicht beladen
c. *Ent- soll er den Lastwagen laden, nicht be-
PRT shall he the lorry load, not PRT(load)
- (86) Yi. a. Di UNO zol zey antvofenen, nisht bavofenen
The UN shall them disarm, not PRT-arm
(The UN shall disarm them, not arm them; antvofenen 'disarm', bevofenen 'give weapons to')
- b. *Ant- zol di UNO zey vofenen, nisht bavofenen
c. *Ant- zol di UNO zey vofenen, nisht ba-
Dis- shall the UN them -arm, not PRT-arm

Compare this to a parallel case with a semantically transparent separable particle:

- (87) Ge. a. Er soll die Tür aufmachen, nicht zumachen
He shall the door up-make, not to-make
(He shall open the door, not close it; aufmachen 'open', zumachen 'close')
- b. Auf soll er die Tür machen, nicht zumachen
c. Auf soll er die Tür machen, nicht zu
Up shall he the door make, not to(-make)
((87c) based on Wurmbrand 1998:272, (8b))
- (88) Yi. a. Er zol arayngeyn, nit aroysgeyn
He shall in-go, not out-go
(He shall go in, not go out; arayngeyn 'go in', aroysgeyn 'go out')
- b. Arayn zol er geyn, nit aroysgeyn
c. Arayn zol er geyn, nit aroys
In shall he go, not out (go)

I would like to suggest that the fact that even semantically transparent non-separable particles cannot be topicalised may be accounted for by appealing to **the ban on traces inside X°-constituents** (Baker 1988:73), i.e. in some sense, syntax cannot reach inside X°, maybe because it is also a unit on the morphological level (even in those cases where it was built by syntax). Topicalisation of either kind of particle leaves a trace, but only in the case of non-separable particles would this trace be situated inside a V°.

(We could then also avoid an appeal to excorporation as an explanation for (41a) and (46a), i.e. V2 leaving a particle behind, which was suggested e.g. in Roberts (1991:215), and criticised in Schwartz & Vikner (1996:49), because excorporation leaves us without an explanation e.g. why clitics then have to come along when their verbs move in the Romance languages or for why there could exist a class of non-separable particles that have to come along when their verbs move in the Germanic languages.)

Wurmbrand (1998:276) observes that these data also show that separable particles may behave as phrases, which also makes it unlikely that they may incorporate into a V°.

The data discussed in this section are thus better accounted for if **only non-separable** particles (and thus **not separable** particles) form a V° together with their verb than if all particles form a V° together with their verb.

8. Conclusion

In the **introduction**, I suggested that prepositions and (separable) particles have the same structure:

[_{VP} [_{PP} P° DP]]
and
[_{VP} [_{PrtP} Prt° DP]]

the difference being that prepositions assign case, whereas particles do not. Therefore the complement DP (e.g. *the book* in *throw out the book*) will not be assigned a case. This problem has two potential solutions: **EITHER** the particle is incorporated into the verb (i.e. into V*), in which case V* (maybe via the trace in Prt°) may now assign case to the "object", **OR** the DP may move to PrtP-spec, where it can be assigned case directly by V° (as in ECM-constructions). Both of these two constructions are straightforwardly passivisable.

The picture was then extended to the Germanic SOV-languages, under the assumption that what differs between SVO and SOV is the (**syntactic**) ordering inside V' and inside V*, but crucially not the (**morphological**) ordering inside V°.

Sections 2-7 of the paper discussed particles in Yiddish as compared to Danish and German, and suggesting the following, as an alternative to Diesing's (1997) and Gold's (1998) analyses:

In **DANISH**, the base-generated position of the particle (as part of the complement of the verb) is **to the right** of the verb. The **only way for it to precede the verb is to be incorporated** into the verb, in which case it is non-separable.

As it is clearly a lexical property of a given particle verb whether the particle must, may, or may not be incorporated into the verb, it now follows that those particles that may appear preverbally in non-V2 contexts are exactly the same that may appear preverbally in V2 contexts (in both cases they are the ones that may be incorporated).

Also in an OV-language like **GERMAN**, for a particle to precede the verb in a V2 context is a clear sign of incorporation. **For a particle to precede the verb in a non-V2 context in German, however, does not indicate whether incorporation has taken place or not**, because both incorporated and non-incorporated verb particles may precede the verb in an OV-language. It is therefore possible to take separable particles not to be incorporated into the verb even when they precede the verb in non-V2 contexts, as in (42d) and (43d). Furthermore, only if separable particle verbs do not form a V°, can we accommodate the participial and infinitival data in section 6 above, and the topicalisation data in section 7 above.

If **YIDDISH** is also assumed to be an **OV-language**, we have an explanation for why particles that do not incorporate into the verb in V2 contexts, (41b) and (46b), nevertheless occur preverbally in non-V2 contexts, (42e) and (43e): **This is where they are base-generated. Had Yiddish been a VO-language, it would be a mystery** why particles that do not incorporate during V2 are possible preverbally, cf. that this is not possible in Scandinavian.

After the comparison of Yiddish not only with German but also with Danish, I would like to suggest that we have actually seen what a language looks like that has the characteristics that Diesing (1997) ascribes to Yiddish: When the particle is preverbal, it is incorporated (the whole particle verb is a V°), and when the particle is postverbal, it is not incorporated (the particle verb is not a V° , but only a V^*). This language, however, is **not Yiddish, but Danish**.

Furthermore, in Danish, whether a particle is incorporated or not is a lexical property of the particle verb, as pointed out above, irrespective of whether a given occurrence of the verb happens to be in a V2 context or not. It is also a lexical property of German and Yiddish particle verbs whether the particle is incorporated or not under V2. Only under an analysis like the one defended above is it possible to maintain the view that also in non-V2 contexts it is a lexical property of the given Yiddish or German particle verb whether the particle is incorporated or not.

SUMMING UP THE ENTIRE PAPER, I have argued against Diesing (1997:383) when she says that particles may not form the basis of an argument for the underlying order of Yiddish being OV.

If and only if Yiddish is an OV-language like German and Dutch, **not** a VO-language like English or Danish, can we explain why Yiddish is like German and unlike Scandinavian in allowing even those particles to occur preverbally in non-V2 constructions that do **not** incorporate, as seen by their not moving along with the finite verb during V2, by their requiring participial/infinitival forms with intervening *-ge-/ -tsu-*, and by their ability to topicalise.

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