

# Germanic Verb Particle Variation

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## 1. Introduction

This paper<sup>1</sup> has two closely related goals. The more “global” one is to present an overview of the variation concerning verb particles across the Germanic languages (see e.g. den Dikken 1995; Haidou 2005; McIntyre 2007 and many others), and the more “local” one is to use some of this variation data to argue for Yiddish being an SOV-language like German and Dutch rather than an SVO-language like English and the Scandinavian languages.

I will start out from the assumption that prepositions and (separable) particles have the same structure, as suggested in e.g. Taraldsen (1983: 245), Haegeman and Guéron (1999: 250–258), and Koopman (2000: 238):



where 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, namely either that the particle is incorporated into the verb (i.e. into  $V^*$ ), in which case  $V^*$  (maybe via the trace in  $\text{Prt}^\circ$ ) may now assign case to the “object” (result: *He threw out the book*), or that the DP may move to  $\text{PrtP}$ -spec, where it can be assigned case directly by  $V^\circ$  (as in ECM-constructions) (result: *He threw the book out*).

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\* (i.e. *syntactic* ordering, which

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concerns separable particles, e.g. *go under*), but crucially not inside V° (i.e. *morphological* ordering, which concerns non-separable particles, e.g. *undergo*).

This will be shown to capture why the Mainland Scandinavian languages – which otherwise show relatively little variation – display this particular kind of word order variation concerning particles (*throw the book out* vs. *throw out the book*, cf. e.g. Hulthén 1947: 159–168; Herslund 1984; Vikner 1987; Engels and Vikner 2013, 2014; Aa 2015), whereas the Germanic SOV-languages (German, Dutch, Frisian, Low German, ...) – which otherwise show quite a lot of variation, do not have this kind of variation.

I will also argue that the view that Yiddish is an SOV-language like German and Dutch, not an SVO-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 SOV.

The point is that if Yiddish is an SOV-language like German and Dutch, not an SVO-language like English or Danish, then we can 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.

## 2. Separable particles

All the Germanic languages, including English, have both separable and non-separable verb particles:

- (2) En. a. *The patient **underwent** an operation.* non-separable  
 b. *The ship went **under** after colliding with an iceberg.* separable

- (3) Da. a. *Kontrakten **udløb** i 2013.* non-separable  
 contract-the out-ran in 2013  
 b. *Vandet løb **ud** på gulvet.* separable  
 water-the ran out on floor-the

- (4) Ge. a. *Das Auto **umfährt** den Pfosten.* non-separable  
 the car around-drives the stake  
 'The car drives around the stake.'  
 b. *Das Auto fährt den Pfosten **um**.* separable  
 the car drives the stake around  
 'The car overturns the stake.'

(Schäfer 2016: 244–245, [17b], [16b])

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 (2a) and *go under* in (2b).

In this section, I will give a somewhat simplified overview of the differences between prepositions and separable particles, whereas in section 3, I will come back to the differences between separable and non-separable particles.

## 2.1. The differences between prepositions and (separable) particles

One of the most basic differences 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 (cf. also Fraser 1976):

- (5) En. a. *I accidentally stepped **on** the radio.* P°  
           b. \**I accidentally stepped     the radio **on**.*
- (6) En. a. *I accidentally switched **on** the radio.* Prt°  
           b. *I accidentally switched     the radio **on**.*

Haegeman and Guéron (1999: 250–254) mention the following other differences, most of which date back to Fraser (1976):

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

- (7) 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]:

- (8) 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]:

- (9) 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]:

- (10) 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:

- (11) 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.*
- (12) En. a. *He switched off the TV and she switched on the light.* Prt°  
           b. \**He switched off the TV and she \_\_\_\_\_ on the light.*

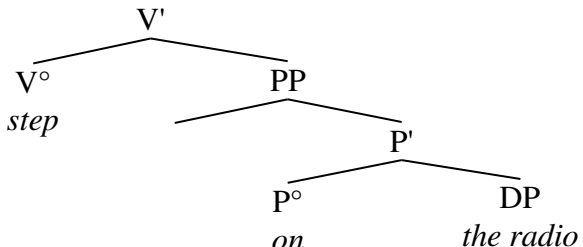
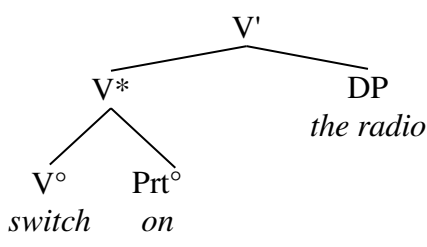
On the other hand, the sequence V°+Prt° may undergo elision, whereas this is not possible for the sequence V°+P°:

- (13) En. a. *He looked up the chimney and she looked up     the stairwell.* P°  
           b. \**He looked up the chimney and she \_\_\_\_\_ the stairwell.*

- (14) En. a. *He switched off the TV and she switched off the light.*  $\text{Prt}^\circ$   
 b. *He switched off the TV and she \_\_\_\_\_ the light.*

## 2.2. Verbs and particles in the Germanic SVO-languages

The analysis of the examples with prepositions is relatively uncontroversial, as in (15a):

- (15) a.  b. 

The analysis of the particle examples, however, is not uncontroversial. Consider the “single verb hypothesis”, as in (15b) above. The difference between (15a) and (15b) could explain the following:

In (15a),  $[\text{P}^\circ + \text{DP}]$  make up a constituent, namely PP, which would account for why  $[\text{P}^\circ + \text{DP}]$  may undergo *wh*-movement, (7a), clefting, (8a), coordination, (9a), and modification, (10a). The verb may undergo gapping on its own, (11b), as it is a constituent, but the verb and the preposition may not undergo gapping together, (13b), as they do not form a constituent.

In (15b),  $[\text{Prt}^\circ + \text{DP}]$  do not make up a constituent, which would account for why  $[\text{Prt}^\circ + \text{DP}]$  may not undergo *wh*-movement, (7b), clefting, (8b), or coordination, (9b). The impossibility of the modification in (10b) is caused by the impossibility of interrupting  $\text{V}^*$ . The verb and the particle may undergo gapping together, (14b), as they form a constituent.

The reason why the verb may not undergo gapping on its own, (12b), might be that it is not possible to gap part of a verb, and according to (15b), the verb *switched* in (12b) constitutes part of the complex verb *switched on*.

However, under closer scrutiny, “the single verb hypothesis” in (15b) (as defended e.g. in McIntyre 2013) has at least three problems:

The first problem with “the single verb hypothesis” is that if  $[\text{V}^\circ + \text{Prt}^\circ]$  constitute a verb, then we would not expect that the particle could be moved to CP-spec, but this is possible in both Swedish and Danish (actually, all Danish examples with both particles and objects would be problematic, because the object occurs between  $\text{V}^\circ$  and  $\text{Prt}^\circ$ , see e.g. (23) below):

- (16) a. Sw. *Ut kastade dom mej inte, bara ned för trappan.* (Holmberg 1999: 17)  
 b. Da. *Ud smed de mig ikke, kun ned ad trappen.*  
 out threw they me not, just down of stairs-the

- (17) Da. *Herstedvester har ladet Magnus sidde på bænken efter det gule kort, og ...*  
 Herstedvester has let Magnus sit on bench-the after the yellow card, and ...

... *ind har de sat Emre.*  
 in have they put Emre.

<http://ekstrabladet.dk/skolefodbold/nyheder/sjaellandmidt/article4596398.ece>

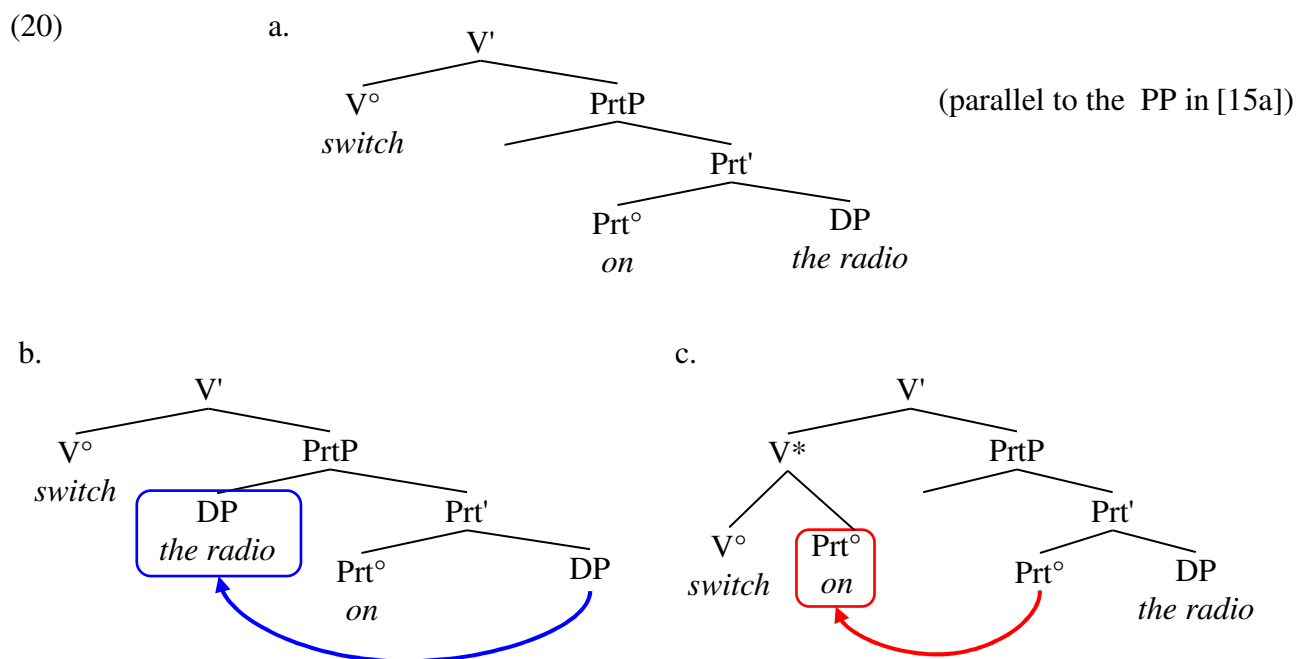
The second problem with “the single verb hypothesis” is that if  $[\text{V}^\circ + \text{Prt}^\circ]$  constitute a verb, then we would expect the inflectional endings to be attached to the right edge of this verb. This is not the case, however, as these endings occur in the middle of this “verb”:

- (18) En. a. \* *He [switch-onned] the radio this morning.*  
 b. *He [switched on] the radio this morning.*

- (19) En. a. \* *He [switch-ons ] the radio every morning.*  
 b. *He [switches on] the radio every morning.*

The third problem with “the single verb hypothesis” is that if  $[V^\circ + \text{Prt}^\circ]$  constitute a complex morphological unit, then we would expect this complex element to have the same category (etc.) as its daughter on the right, as is the case in other compounds: *dark-room* is a noun like *room* (its daughter on the right), not an adjective like *dark*, whereas *tax-free* is an adjective like *free* (its daughter on the right), not a noun like *tax*. *To switch on* however is not a particle like its right hand daughter *on*, but a verb, just like its daughter on the left, *switch*. In other words, it violates Williams’ (1981: 248) “Right Hand Head Rule”.

Therefore Taraldsen (1983: 245), Haegeman and Guéron (1999: 257–258), and Koopman (2000: 238) assume that the basic structure of particle constructions is parallel to the examples with prepositions, as in (20a). In other words, separable particles and prepositions are different variants of the same word class, which might also be supported by the fact that many prepositions and particles are identical in form.



The idea is that (20a) is the basic structure, which however will never make it to the surface.  $\text{Prt}^\circ$  is unable to assign case, and therefore the DP would not be assigned a case.

There are two ways out of this problem (as also suggested e.g. in Engels and Vikner 2013: 227): One solution is that the DP moves to the specifier position of  $\text{PrtP}$ , (20b), where it may be assigned case directly from the verb, in a configuration very reminiscent of ECM (exceptional case marking, as e.g. discussed for English in Chomsky 1981: 98 and Haegeman and Guéron 1999: 231–234 and for Danish in Vikner 2014). This option accounts for the possibility of the DP- $\text{Prt}^\circ$  order in e.g. (6b) above.

The other solution is that the particle is incorporated into the verb, (20c), forming a complex verb  $V^*$ , which is a new intermediate level, i.e. larger than a  $V^\circ$  but smaller than a  $V'$ , as suggested by e.g. Haegeman and Guéron (1999: 254) and Vikner (2005: 92), but see also section 3.2 below and the

references there). The (complex) verb can now assign case to the DP (maybe via the trace of the particle in  $\text{Prt}^\circ$ ). This option accounts for the possibility of the DP- $\text{Prt}^\circ$  order in e.g. (6a) above.

The availability of both (20b) and (20c) is still compatible with the properties discussed above: In neither (20b) nor (20c) is  $\text{Prt}^\circ$  part of the  $\text{V}^\circ$ , and therefore this analysis predicts e.g. *switch on* to attach its verbal inflection to *switch* rather than to *switch on*, (18) and (19), and the analysis is also compatible with *switch on* not being a particle like *on*.

In neither (20b) nor (20c) is there a constituent [ $\text{Prt}^\circ$ +DP], and this fact accounts for why [ $\text{Prt}^\circ$ +DP] may not undergo *wh*-movement, (7b), clefting, (8b), or coordination, (9b). The impossibility of the modification in (10b) is caused by the impossibility of interrupting  $\text{V}^*$ . The verb and the particle may undergo gapping together, (14b), as they form a constituent,  $\text{V}^*$  in (13b).

English and Norwegian allow both (20b) and (20c), whereas Danish (and Faroese) only allows (20b) and Swedish only allows (20c) (see e.g. Hulthén 1947: 159–168, Herslund 1984, Vikner 1987):<sup>2</sup>

- |      |     |    |                                     |                        |                        |
|------|-----|----|-------------------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|
| (21) | En. | a. | <i>Peter threw</i>                  | <i>out the carpet.</i> | } both (20b) and (20c) |
|      |     | b. | <i>Peter threw the carpet out.</i>  |                        |                        |
| (22) | No. | a. | <i>Petter kastet</i>                | <i>bort teppet.</i>    | }                      |
|      |     | b. | <i>Petter kastet teppet bort.</i>   |                        |                        |
| (23) | Da. | a. | * <i>Peter smed</i>                 | <i>ud tæppet.</i>      | } only (20b)           |
|      |     | b. | <i>Peter smed tæppet ud.</i>        |                        |                        |
| (24) | Sw. | a. | <i>Peter kastade</i>                | <i>bort mattan.</i>    | } only (20c)           |
|      |     | b. | * <i>Peter kastade mattan bort.</i> |                        |                        |

As also shown in Vikner (1987, 2007), Engels and Vikner (2013, 2014), among others, the pattern in (22)–(24) is exactly the same as the pattern with verbs embedded under causative *let*:

- |      |     |    |                                     |                         |                        |  |
|------|-----|----|-------------------------------------|-------------------------|------------------------|--|
| (25) | No. | a. | <i>Petter lot</i>                   | <i>støvsuge teppet.</i> | } both (20b) and (20c) | (i.e. (20b,c)<br>with VP<br>instead of $\text{PrtP}$<br>and with $\text{V}^\circ$<br>instead of $\text{Prt}^\circ$ ) |
|      |     | b. | <i>Petter lot teppet støvsuge.</i>  |                         |                        |  |
| (26) | Da. | a. | * <i>Peter lod</i>                  | <i>støvsuge tæppet.</i> | } only (20b)           |  |
|      |     | b. | <i>Peter lod tæppet støvsuge.</i>   |                         |                        |  |
| (27) | Sw. | a. | <i>Peter lät</i>                    | <i>dammsuga mattan.</i> | } only (20c)           |  |
|      |     | b. | * <i>Peter lät mattan dammsuga.</i> |                         |                        |  |
- Peter let carpet-the vacuum-clean carpet-the

As I take it that Danish/Norwegian/Swedish are SVO-languages, (25b) and (26b) must involve movement of the DP – the unacceptable alternative is that (25a) and (27a) involve movement of the infinitive, which in turn would require Norwegian and Swedish to be SOV-languages.

The parallels between (22)–(24) and (25)–(27) therefore lead me to assume that also (22b) and (23b) involve movement of the DP rather than assume that (22b) and (23b) show that particles are

<sup>2</sup> Although English (and Norwegian) allow both (20b) and (20c), this is only true for full DPs like *the radio* in (6a,b). If the DP is a pronoun, this is not so, only (20c) is possible:

- |     |     |    |   |         |
|-----|-----|----|---|---------|
| (i) | En. | a. | * <i>While jumping, he accidentally switched on it.</i> | = (20b) |
|     |     | b. | <i>While jumping, he accidentally switched it on.</i>   | = (20c) |

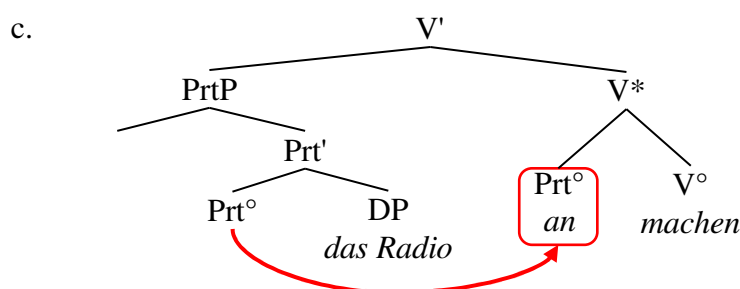
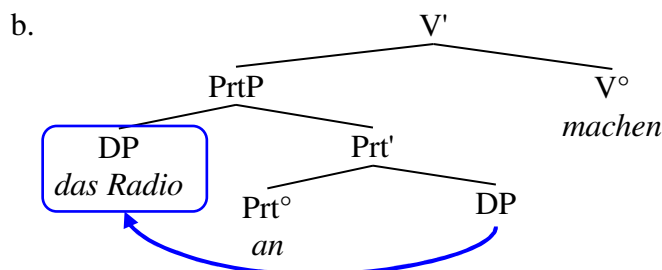
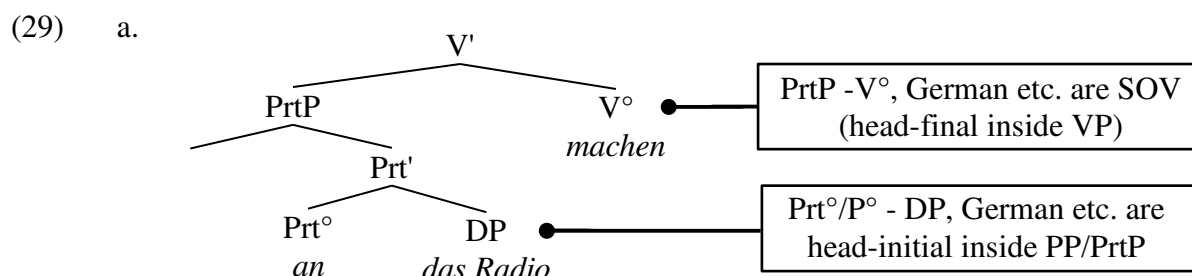
See Aa (2015) for a much more detailed discussion of the difference (22a) vs. (22b), ultimately arguing that they have different semantics.

head-final in Danish (which would not be compatible with assuming particles and prepositions to have the same basic structure, as in [15a] and [20a]).

## 2.3. Verbs and particles in the Germanic SOV-languages

If we assume the analysis of particle verbs in the SVO-languages in (20) above, the question now is to which extent it also applies to particle verbs in the SOV-languages. I would like to suggest that only those orders differ between the SVO- and the SOV-languages which are linked to  $V^\circ$  and its complement (i.e.  $V^\circ/V^*$  follows  $\text{PrtP}$  in e.g. German rather than precede  $\text{PrtP}$  as in e.g. English and Danish). All other orders are the same in the SVO- and the SOV-languages (i.e.  $P^\circ/\text{Prt}^\circ$  precedes DP in both German and English/Danish).<sup>3</sup>

- (28) a. Ge. *Peter wird das Radio anmachen.*  
 b. Du. *Pieter zal de radio aanzetten.*  
 c. Af. *Pieter sal die radio aanskakel.*  
 Peter will the radio on-switch



In other words, the ordering differences and similarities concerning particle incorporation between SVO-languages, (20), and SOV-languages, (29), are:

The position of the separable particle (regardless of whether it is the head of its own phrase,  $\text{PrtP}$ , (20b) and (29b), or it is a sister of  $V^\circ$  and a daughter of  $V^*$ , (20c) and (29c) is to the left of the verb in

<sup>3</sup> See van Riemsdijk (1978: 129) and Zwart (2011: 339–341) and references there for arguments that what might seem to be postpositions in Dutch may be analysed as prepositional.

the SOV-languages, (29), Ge. *anmachen*, but to the right of the verb in the SVO-languages, (20), En. *switch on*. It should be admitted that although such a strict correlation between V°-DP and Prt°-DP versus DP-V° and DP-Prt° is the null hypothesis, and also generally assumed in the literature, not all linguists agree, cf. e.g. Elenbaas and van Kemenade (2014).

This is a syntactic property (the separable particle is never part of V°), and it therefore depends on the sequence between a verb and its complement in the language in question (in other words, it depends on the SOV/SVO-difference, Ge. *Ich habe das Buch gelesen* vs. *Da. Jeg har læst bogen* and En. *I have read the book*).

On the other hand, the position of the non-separable particle (which is always both a sister of V° and a daughter of V°), is to the left of the verb both in the SOV-languages, Ge. *verstehen*, and in the SVO-languages, Da. *forstå*, En. *understand*.

This is a morphological property (the non-separable particle is always part of V°), and it therefore does not co-vary with the SOV/SVO-difference. 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. (Non-separable particles will be discussed in more detail in section 3 below).

As was the case with (20b,c), (29b,c) illustrate two different ways of case being assigned to the complement DP of the (separable) particle, see also the English and Scandinavian variation as to DP-Prt° or Prt°-DP order, (21)–(24) above.<sup>4 5</sup>

The question why there is no variation in the SOV-languages comparable to (21)–(24) may now be answered: Whether an SOV-language employs only (29b), only (29c), or both, would not make any difference, as both (29b,c) will yield the same ordering predictions (as opposed to [20b,c], which yield different predictions). As pointed out by an anonymous reviewer, all that can be shown is thus that each SOV-language uses (29b) or (29c) or both, but not which one of these three options is used in a given language.

This is because (29c) is the same as in SVO, i.e. movement to the left, whereas (29b) is different from SVO, movement to the right (if V° is to the right of PrtP, then quasi-incorporation of Prt° into the V\* is necessarily movement to the right). In the SOV-languages, the two movements thus have “identical” results (i.e. as far as the sequence is concerned).<sup>6</sup>

In other words, by assuming that prepositions and particles are different variants of the same word class, (20) and (29), we not only reduce the number of word classes, but we also obtain a promising account of why this particular kind of word order variation concerning particles found in Mainland Scandinavian is not found in the Germanic SOV-languages.

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<sup>4</sup> It might seem feasible to allow only (29b), 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 will not work, given that although Swedish only employs option (20c) with separable particles, these nevertheless remain separable, cf. (16a) and (24a).

<sup>5</sup> It might seem that if the DP would adjoin to PrtP rather than move into PrtP-spec, movement of particles to CP-spec would receive a better analysis under (29b), i.e. then PrtP could move to CP-spec. However, also in Swedish, particles may move to CP-spec, and Swedish only allows (20c). For a possible analysis of particles in CP-spec, see the analysis of remnant VP-topicalisation in Engels and Vikner (2013, 2014), which predicts that if the particle has a DP-complement, the particle can only end up in CP-spec on its own if the DP-complement has undergone object shift, as does *mej/mig* in (16).

<sup>6</sup> A potential problem is that in some German cases, the particle might seem to be the case assigner, e.g. *Sie ist dem Bankräuber nachgefahren* ‘She is the bank robber after-driven’, i.e. she followed the bank robber by car. Here the DP has dative case, which is exactly what *nach* assigns when it is a preposition. Furthermore, the verb *fahren*, ‘drive’, can only have the perfect auxiliary *sein*, ‘be’, here, although it would normally have *haben*, ‘have’ when it assigns a case. See e.g. McIntyre (2007: 359) for discussion and references.



In section 3 below, I will argue that if Yiddish is assumed to be SOV, such an account will also be able to account for why Yiddish particles and particle verbs behave so very differently from English/Scandinavian ones and so much like German/Dutch/Afrikaans ones.

## 2.4. 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 both versions of this construction may be passivised:

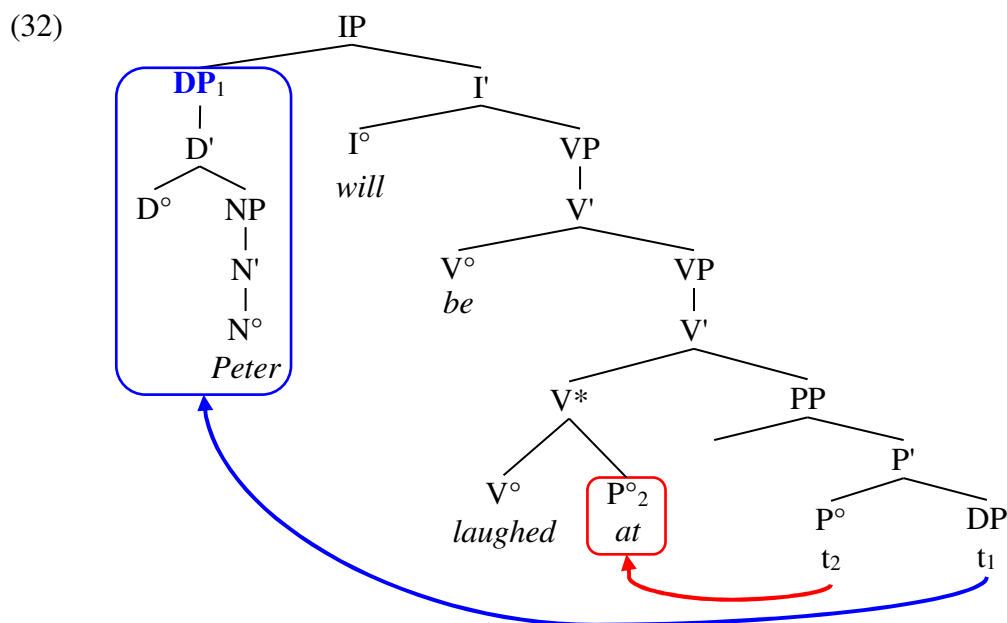
- (30) En. a. [The radio]<sub>1</sub> was accidentally switched t<sub>1</sub> on t<sub>1</sub>.  
b. [The radio]<sub>1</sub> was accidentally [switched on]<sub>2</sub> t<sub>2</sub> t<sub>1</sub>.

It is more surprising that also the prepositional construction may be passivised (“pseudo-passive”):

- (31) En. Peter<sub>1</sub> will be laughed at t<sub>1</sub>.

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 also a preposition may form a V\* together with a verb, just like the particle did in (20c), we can now account for the passivisation in (31)/(32). If the preposition is incorporated into the verb in a passive construction, the DP which is left without case will have to move to find (nominative) case in the subject position, cf. (32).<sup>7</sup>



This analysis results in a cross-linguistic prediction: Only one of the SVO-languages mentioned above (namely Danish) did not allow incorporation into the V\* of the particle, and so we would expect that

<sup>7</sup> 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.

only Danish would not allow examples like (31)/(32) which involve a parallel kind of incorporation. This prediction would seem to hold, at least approximately:<sup>8</sup>

- (33) En. *He was laughed at.*
- (34) No. *Han ble ledd av.*  
he was laughed at (Vinje 1987: 140)
- (35) Sw. *Skandalen skrattades åt.*  
scandal-the was-laughed at (Platzack 1998: 122)
- (36) Da. a. ?? *Han blev grinet af.*  
b. ?? *Skandalen blev grinet af.*  
he/scandal-the was laughed at
- (37) Da. a. *Ham blev der grinet af.*  
b. *Skandalen blev der grinet af.*  
him/scandal-the was there laughed at

In this section, the focus was mainly on separable particles. This is where the verb particle variation is, both between different types of SVO-languages and between SVO-languages and SOV-languages, and it was suggested that what differs between SVO and SOV is the ordering inside V' and inside V\* (i.e. syntactic ordering, which concerns separable particles), but crucially not inside V° (i.e. morphological ordering, which concerns non-separable particles).

We are now ready to have a more detailed look at both separable and non-separable verb particles, in particular with a view to the status of Yiddish as an SVO-language or an SOV-language.

### 3. Separable vs. non-separable particles

In this section, I will try to show that the view that Yiddish is an SOV-language like German and Dutch (as advocated in e.g. Hall 1979; Geilfuß 1991; Haider and Rosengren 1998: 78–81; Sadock 1998; Vikner 2001a, 2001b, 2003), not an SVO-language like English or Danish, is supported by the facts concerning verb particles.

#### 3.1. Yiddish: SVO or SOV?

Many linguists agree with Diesing (1997) that Yiddish syntactically is very much like e.g. German, but with the essential difference that Yiddish is SVO where German is SOV. I disagree with

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<sup>8</sup> As in Vikner (1995: 246), I here follow Herslund (1984: 70, footnote 7) in the assumption that Danish does not allow prepositional passives (“pseudo-passives”), although I admit that this is not fully supported by the data. Laanemets and Engdahl (2015: 232) thus find several examples of prepositional passive in Danish (in 0,8% of their examples with the *s*-passive and in 5,0% of their examples with the *blive*-passive). These figures, however, are clearly smaller than in both Norwegian (3,8% and 7,8% respectively) and Swedish (4,3% and 13,3% respectively). My analysis in this section thus may offer the beginning of an account for why the share of passives that consists of prepositional passives is much smaller in Danish than in Norwegian and Swedish, but the analysis has no explanation for why prepositional passives occur in Danish at all.

It should also be said that Engdahl and Laanemets (2015: 300) compute prepositional passive to be more or less equally frequent in Danish and Swedish in respect to the total number of running words in their corpora (because passive in general is less frequent in Swedish than in Danish), but here I assume that it is the difference in frequency of prepositional passives in relation to the total number of passives that is relevant.



‘Fish was put on the table’ (Santorini 1993: 231, [1a], [2a,b])

The point is that the subject would normally have occurred immediately after *hot* ‘has’ in both (41a,b). As it here occurs in the sentence-final position, it must have undergone extraposition (irrespective of whether Yiddish is SOV or SVO). As for (41c), the object *fish* would normally have occurred immediately before *derlangt* ‘put’ if Yiddish was SOV, and immediately after *derlangt* if Yiddish was SVO, so in either case it would have to have undergone extraposition to get to its actual position, the sentence-final position.

Furthermore, as shown in Vikner (1995), Yiddish does not require extraposed constituents to be particularly heavy, (59b), as opposed to English and Scandinavian, exemplified by Icelandic in (44a):

- (42) a. Ic. ... *að það hefur einhver borðað epli.*  
b. Yi. ... *as es hot emetser gegesn an epl.*  
... that there has someone eaten an apple (Vikner 1995: 189, [43b,c])
- (43) a. Ic. ... *að það hefur borðað þetta epli einhver strákur frá Danmörku.*  
... that there has eaten this apple some boy from Denmark
- b. Yi. ... *az es hot gegesn an epl a yingl fun Danmark.*  
... that there has eaten an apple a boy from Denmark  
(Vikner 1995: 200, [76], [77])
- (44) a. Ic. \* ... *að það hefur borðað epli einhver.*  
b. Yi. ... *az es hot gegesn an epl emetser.*  
... that there has eaten an apple someone (Vikner 1995: 200, [75b,c])

(42) shows that both Icelandic and Yiddish allow transitive expletives, (43) shows that both allow extraposition of a heavy subject in such a construction, and finally (44) shows that only Yiddish allows extraposition of a subject which is not heavy.

In other words, as far as the word order data is concerned, it would seem that Yiddish is compatible both with an SVO base and with an SOV base.<sup>10</sup>

### 3.2. Different types of incorporation: V° and V\*

In this subsection I repeat 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 never form a V°, but they may form a constituent of a higher projection level, the one which was labelled V\* in (20c)/(29c) above.

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

<sup>10</sup> It has been pointed out to me that there might be more than just the two commonly assumed types of Germanic languages (SOV: German/Dutch/Afrikaans/Frisian/Low German and SVO: English and the five Scandinavian languages), namely a third language type which is variable as to the SOV/SVO-distinction. As was the case with the number of word classes earlier, I think that the assumption of additional types/elements (here: the assumption of a further type of Germanic language) should be seen as an absolute last resort (cf. Occam's razor). Given the clear and independent evidence for both scrambling and extraposition in Yiddish, the assumption of an additional type of language is a last resort that we do not have to make use of.

I do not think that the discussion in this paper has any bearing on the position of I° (or T°), but to answer a question asked by an anonymous reviewer, I believe I° to be medial (to the left of VP) in all of the languages discussed here, cf. Vikner (2005), where I argued that no Germanic SOV-language has V°-to- I° movement.

particle and its verb (*understand*) constitute a  $V^\circ$ , then a separable particle and its verb (*send off*) do not form a  $V^\circ$ .

This does not mean that verb and separable particle may not somehow form a constituent, it only means that they do not together constitute a  $V^\circ$ . I take it that the closest they may get to each other is to form a syntactic constituent which is not quite as small as  $V^\circ$ , even if it may be smaller than  $V'$ , given 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  $V^\circ$  but less than  $V'$ ). For further discussion, see e.g. Haegeman and Guéron (1999: 254), Zeller (2001: 58–69), Haiden (2005), and also Booij (2008: 9, 2009: 8) on “pseudo-incorporation”/“quasi-incorporation” where  $V^*$  is analysed as  $[_V V N]$ , i.e. a VP where the object does not project any XP. See also sections 2.2 and 2.3 above on whether a given language uses the option of incorporating separable particles into  $V^*$ . In other words, a separable particle is either the head of its own phrase,  $\text{PrtP}$ , or it is a sister of  $V^\circ$  and a daughter of  $V^*$ , whereas a non-separable particle is always both a sister of  $V^\circ$  and a daughter of  $V^\circ$ .<sup>11</sup>

I will (continue to) use the notation  $V^*$ , but I will take it only to indicate a constituent which is larger than a  $V^\circ$ , i.e. I have nothing to say about whether  $V^*$  is as big as  $V'$  or not (cf. Zeller’s 2001: 162 formulation  $V_n, n>0$ ). (45) illustrates the analyses of the verbs used in the rest of this article.

This follows Haiden (1997: 105), Wurmbrand (1998: 271), and many others, in taking verb and separable particle to form a lexical unit but not necessarily also a syntactic  $X^\circ$ -constituent.

(45)	Morphology	Syntax	
	non-separable	separable (in SOV-languages)	separable (in SVO-languages)
a.	$\begin{array}{c} V^\circ \\ \swarrow \quad \searrow \\ \text{Prt}^\circ \quad V^\circ \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} V^* \\ \swarrow \quad \searrow \\ \text{Prt}^\circ \quad V^\circ \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} V^* \\ \swarrow \quad \searrow \\ V^\circ \quad \text{Prt}^\circ \end{array}$
b.	Yi. <i>farshiteyn</i> Ge. <i>verstehen</i> Da. <i>förstå</i> En. <i>understand</i>		
c.		Yi. <i>avekshikn</i> Ge. <i>abschicken</i>	Da. <i>sende afsted</i> En. <i>send off</i>

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), see also O’Grady (1998) and Nunberg, Sag, and Wasow (1994): 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:

<sup>11</sup> Ackema and Neeleman (2004: 71) suggest for particle verbs that the separable particle (syntactic compounding) is the unmarked option, and that the non-separable particles (morphological compounding) are the ones that have to be marked in the lexicon.

- (46) En. *The beans were finally **spilled** by John.*
- (47) Da. *I 1980 **stillede** han desværre **træskoene**.*  
in 1980 put-down he unfortunately wooden-shoes-the  
‘In 1980, he unfortunately died.’
- (48) Ge. *Warum **gab** sie ihm gestern **einen Korb**?*  
why gave she him yesterday a basket?  
‘Why did she turn him down yesterday?’
- (49) 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*.<sup>12</sup>

### 3.3. Lexical differences between German, Yiddish, and Danish

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, (50), and others which are non-separable in all three languages, (57), but there are also particle verbs which are separable in one language and non-separable in the other two or vice versa, (51), (54)–(56). Only two combinations are not found, (52) and (53): 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, (54) and (55), involve only five prepositions/particles (*durch/durkh* ‘through’, *hinter* ‘behind’, *über/iber* ‘above’, *um/arum* ‘around’, and *unter* ‘below’, see e.g. Olsen 1997: 11–16, Zifonun, Hoffmann, and Strecker 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. “+” indicates a separable particle, whereas “–” indicates a non-separable particle:<sup>13 14</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Gold (1998: 192–194) in fact argues that it follows from *oyfhern* forming a lexical unit that it must form a syntactic X<sup>o</sup>-constituent. I disagree with this conclusion, because of the data from idiomatic expressions cited above.

<sup>13</sup> Some, 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. Lundskær-Nielsen and Holmes 2011: 134–135).

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 *oysloyfn* ‘run out, leak, expire’. In Danish, the corresponding particle verb 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

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

(ii) Da. a. <sup>??</sup> *Kontrakten løb ud i 2013.*

b. *Kontrakten udløb i 2013.*  
contract-the (out)ran (out) in 2013

<sup>14</sup> As pointed out by a reviewer, many simplifications are made in the table in (50)–(57), e.g. in assuming parallels between Ge./Yi. *ziehen/tsien* and Da. *trække*, Ge./Yi. *schicken/shikn* and Da. *sende*, etc.

b. <i>entschuldigen</i>	<i>antshuldikn</i>	<i>undskylde</i>	apologise
c. <i>erkennen</i>	<i>derkenen</i>	<i>erkende</i>	recognise
d. <i>verstehen</i>	<i>farshteyn</i>	<i>forstå</i>	understand

### 3.4. Syntactic differences between German, Yiddish, and Danish

German, Yiddish and Danish are all V2, which means that in declarative main clauses, the finite verb must be in the second position, irrespective of whether the first position is occupied by the subject, (58), or by some other constituent, (59):

- (58) a. Ge. [*Der Junge*] **wird** *auf dem Weg* *eine Katze* *sehen*. V2  
b. Yi. [*Dos yingl*] **vet** *oyfn veg zen a kats*. V2  
c. Da. [*Drengen*] **vil** *se en kat på vejen*. V2  
the boy will (on the way) (see) a cat (on way-the) (see)
- (59) a. Ge. [*Auf dem Weg*] **wird** *der Junge eine Katze sehen*. V2  
b. Yi. [*Oyfn veg*] **vet** *dos yingl zen a kats*. V2  
c. Da. [*På vejen*] **vil** *drengen se en kat*. V2  
on the way will the boy (see) a cat (see)

If the finite verb is e.g. in the third position, the main clause is not well-formed:

- (60) a. Ge. \* [*Auf dem Weg*] [*der Junge*] **wird** *eine Katze sehen*. \*V3  
b. Yi. \* [*Oyfn veg*] [*dos yingl*] **vet** *zen a kats*. \*V3  
c. Da. \* [*På vejen*] [*drengen*] **vil** *se en kat*. \*V3  
on the way the boy will (see) a cat (see)  
([58b], [59a,b], [60a,b] are from Santorini 1992: 596–597, [1], [4])

As (59) shows, in main clauses, the finite verb moves out of the clause to a position in front of the subject position, whereas non-finite verbs do not undergo this movement, and this difference will be exploited below.

In Danish, the distinction between separable and non-separable particles can be seen both when the verb undergoes V2 and when it does not. In non-V2-contexts, the separable particle occurs after the verb, whereas the non-separable particle before the verb:

- (61) a. Da. *Brevet vil han sende afsted*. separable: right of V  
b. Da. \* *Brevet vil han afstedsende*.  
letter-the will he (off)send (off)
- (62) a. Da. \* *Brevet vil han ikke stå for*.  
b. Da. *Brevet vil han ikke forstå*. non-separable: left of V  
letter-the will he not (under)stand (under)

In V2-contexts, the separable particle is left behind when the verb moves, whereas the non-separable particle moves as part of the verb (this is, of course, the defining property for separability):

- (63) a. Da. *Brevet sender han afsted*. separable: stays behind  
b. Da. \* *Brevet afstedsender han*.  
letter-the (off)sends he (off)
- (64) a. Da. \* *Brevet står han ikke for*.



- b. Da. *Brevet forstår han ikke.* non-separable: moves along  
 letter-the (under)stands he not (under)

In parallel examples in German and Yiddish, on the other hand, the distinction between separable and non-separable particles can only be seen when the verb undergoes movement, e.g. V2. In non-V2-contexts, both the separable particle and the non-separable particle occur before the verb:

- (65) a. Ge. \* *Den Brief wird er schicken ab.*  
 b. Yi. ?? *Dem briv vet er shikn avek.*  
 c. Ge. *Den Brief wird er abschicken.* separable: left of V  
 d. Yi. *Dem briv vet er avekshikn.* separable: left of V  
 the letter will he (off)send (off)
- (66) a. Ge. \* *Den Brief wird er nicht stehen ver.*  
 b. Yi. \* *Dem briv vet er nisht shteyn far.*  
 c. Ge. *Den Brief wird er nicht verstehen.* non-separable: left of V  
 d. Yi. *Dem briv vet er nisht farshteyn.* non-separable: left of V  
 the letter will he not (under)stand (under)

In V2-contexts, the separable particle is left behind when the verb moves, whereas the non-separable particle moves as part of the verb:

- (67) a. Ge. *Den Brief schickt er ab.* separable: stays behind  
 b. Yi. *Dem briv shikt er avek.* separable: stays behind  
 c. Ge. \* *Den Brief abschickt er.*  
 d. Yi. \* *Dem briv avekshikt er.*  
 the letter (off)sends he (off)  
 ([67b] is from den Besten and Moed-van Walraven 1986: 119, [20b])
- (68) a. Ge. \* *Den Brief steht er nicht ver.*  
 b. Yi. \* *Dem briv shteyt er nisht far.*  
 c. Ge. *Den Brief versteht er nicht.* non-separable: moves along  
 d. Yi. *Dem briv farshteyt er nisht.* non-separable: moves along  
 the letter (under)stands he not (under)

This pattern is exactly as expected under the assumptions made in section 2.3 above, namely that the position of the separable particle is a syntactic property, and therefore depends on the syntactic sequence of a verb and its complement in the language in question (viz. the SOV/SVO-difference: The separable particle occurs after the verb in English/Danish, and before the verb in German), whereas the position of the non-separable particle is a morphological property, and thus does not co-vary with the syntactic sequence of a verb and its complement (the non-separable particle occurs before the verb in both Danish and German).

The fact that Yiddish behaves like German and differently from Danish is expected if Yiddish is an SOV-language, but it is highly unexpected if Yiddish was SVO.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>15</sup> For more parallels between German and Yiddish as far as verb particles are concerned, see Vikner (2001b: 40–47).

## 4. Conclusion

I started out from the suggestion that prepositions and (separable) particles have the same structure:



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 case. This problem had the two potential solutions that either the particle is incorporated into the verb (i.e. into  $V^*$ ), in which case  $V^*$  (maybe via the trace in  $\text{Prt}^\circ$ ) may now assign case to the “object”, resulting in *He threw **out** the book*, or that the DP may move to  $\text{PrtP-spec}$ , where it can be assigned case directly by  $V^\circ$  (as in ECM-constructions), resulting in *He threw the book out*.

The SVO-languages vary as to which strategy they allow, leading to variation in particle constructions across the SVO-languages (and similar variation in prepositional passives). The same strategies were then shown to have non-distinct results for the SOV-languages, explaining why the SOV-languages do not have any variation in particle constructions with separable particles similar to the one found among the SVO-languages. In other words, what varies between SVO and SOV is only the sequence between a verb and a separable particle (i.e. the syntactic sequence, English/Danish  $\neq$  German, e.g. *to send **off** ~ at sende **afsted** ~ **abzuschicken***), but not the sequence between a verb and a non-separable particle (i.e. the morphological sequence, English/Danish = German, e.g. *to **understand** ~ at **forstå** ~ zu **verstehen***).

This was used to account for why the particular kind of word order variation concerning particles found in Mainland Scandinavian (Hulthén 1947: 159–168; Herslund 1984; Vikner 1987; Engels and Vikner 2013, 2014; Aa 2015, and very many others) is not found in the Germanic SOV-languages.

In Section 3, the discussion was extended to the difference between separable and non-separable particles, and I argued that even when separable particles incorporate into the verb (which they never do in Danish, and only sometimes in English and Norwegian), they do not incorporate to the same extent as non-separable particles, in that only the latter incorporate into  $V^\circ$ .

These properties were discussed and tested with reference to whether the particle could be left behind when its verb moves (only possible with separable particles), and special attention was paid to particles in Yiddish, comparing them to Danish and German, with the following conclusion: If Yiddish is an SOV-language like German and Dutch, not an SVO-language like English or Danish, then we can account for 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).

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