

Topics in Comparative Scandinavian and Germanic Syntax

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2c. Verb particle variation in the Germanic languages

(Based on Vikner 2017a)

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1. Introduction

This presentation (which is based on Vikner 2017a) has two goals:

- more "global": to present an overview of the variation concerning verb particles across the Germanic languages (see e.g. Dikken 1995; McIntyre 2007; Haiden 2017 and many others), and
- more "local": 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 by suggesting that prepositions and (separable) particles have the same structure (also suggested in Taraldsen 1983, 245; Haegeman and Guéron 1999, 250–58; 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:

- **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" (result: *He threw out the book*),
- **OR** the DP may move to PrtP-spec, where it can be assigned case directly by V° (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 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, 159–68; Herslund 1984; Vikner 1987; Svenonius 1996; 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 particular kind of variation.

I will also 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.

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 2018, 238, (17b), (16b))

The terminology used in the literature may be confusing:

separable particles vs. *non-separable particles*,
separable prefixes vs. *non-separable prefixes*,
(separable) particles vs. *(non-separable) prefixes*

I will refer to separable and non-separable particles, and also 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, § 2, I will give a somewhat simplified overview of the differences between prepositions and separable particles, whereas in § 3, I will come back to the differences between separable and non-separable particles.

2.1 The differences between prepositions and (separable) particles

One basic 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 (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 & Guéron (1999, 250–54) mention the following other differences:

- 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 $[P^\circ + DP]$ may undergo **clefting**, this is not possible for $[Prt^\circ + DP]$:

- (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 $[P^\circ + DP]$ may be **coordinated** with another $[P^\circ + DP]$, $[Prt^\circ + DP]$ may not be coordinated with another $[Prt^\circ + DP]$:

- (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 $[P^\circ + DP]$ may be **modified**, e.g. by *right* or *straight*, this is not possible for $[Prt^\circ + DP]$:

- (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.

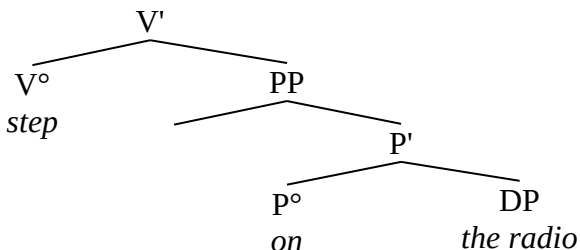
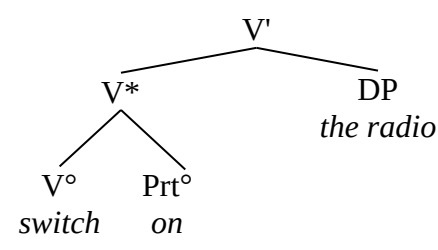
- On the other hand, the sequence $V^\circ + Prt^\circ$ may undergo elision, whereas this is not possible for the sequence $V^\circ + P^\circ$:

- (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. Prt°
 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 uncontroversial, as in (15)a:

- (15) a.  b. 

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

In (15)a, $[P^\circ + DP]$ make up a constituent, namely PP, which would account for why $[P^\circ + DP]$ may undergo *wh*-movement, (7)a, clefting, (8)a, coordination, (9)a, and modification, (10)a. The verb may

undergo gapping on its own, (11)b, as it is a constituent, but the verb and the preposition may not undergo gapping together, (13)b, as they do not form a constituent.

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

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

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

The first problem with "the single verb hypothesis" is that if [V°+Prt°] 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 for (15)b, because the object occurs between V° and Prt°, see e.g. (23) below):

- (16) 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>

- (17) 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

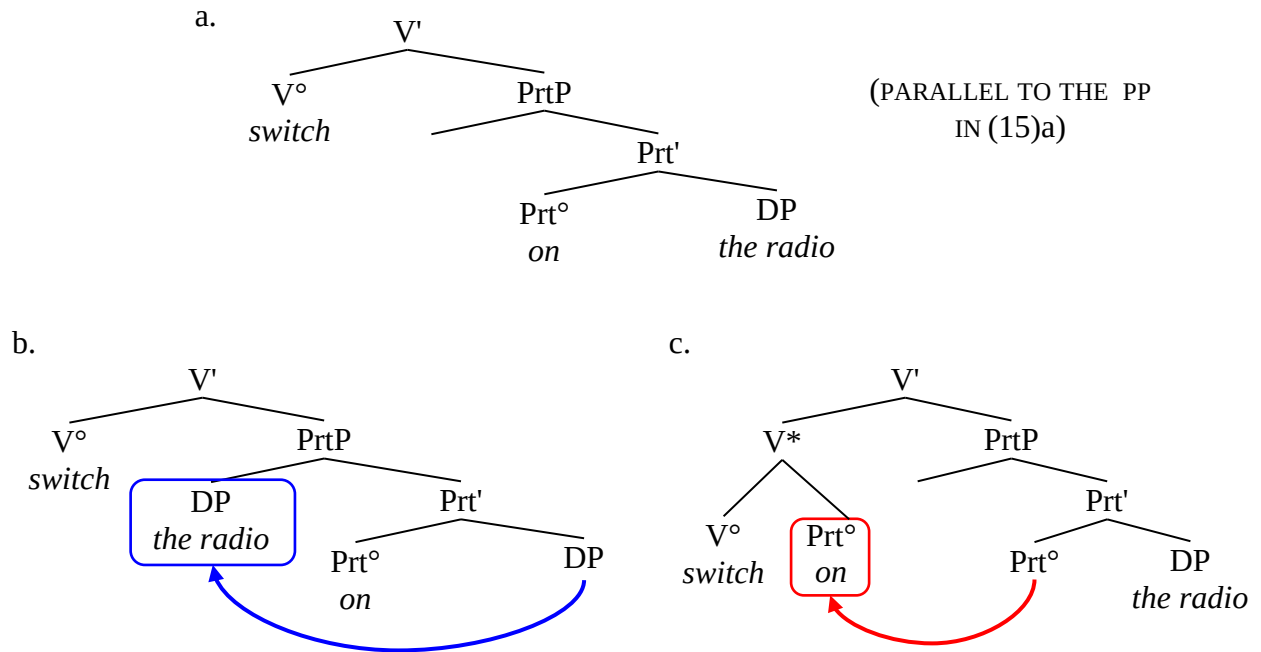
The second problem with "the single verb hypothesis" is that if [V°+Prt°] constitute a verb, then we would expect the inflectional endings to be attached to the right edge of this verb. This is not the case, however, as such endings occur in the middle of this "verb":

- (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°+Prt°] constitute a complex morphological unit, then we expect this complex element to have the same category (etc.) as its daughter on the right, as 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*. Thus it violates Williams' (1981, 248) *Right Hand Head Rule*.

Therefore Taraldsen (1983, 245), Haegeman & Guéron (1999, 257–58), and Koopman (2000, 238) (and others) assume that the basic structure of particle constructions is parallel to the examples with prepositions, as in (20)a. In other words, separable particles and prepositions are different variants of the same word class, cf. also that many prepositions and particles are identical.

(20)



Here (20)a 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 (as also suggested in e.g. Engels and Vikner 2013, 227):¹

- One is that the DP moves to PrtP -spec, (20)b, 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 & Guéron (1999, 231–34) and for Danish in Vikner (2014). This option accounts for the possibility of the DP- Prt° order in e.g. (6)b above.
- The other solution is that the particle is incorporated into the verb, (20)c, forming a complex verb V^* , which is a new intermediate level, i.e. larger than a V° but smaller than a V' , as suggested by e.g. Haegeman & Guéron (1999, 254) and Vikner (2005, 92), but see also § 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 Prt°). This option accounts for the possibility of the Prt° -DP order in e.g. (6)a.

The availability of both (20)b and (20)c is still compatible with the properties discussed above:

In neither (20)b nor (20)c 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*, (18) and (19), and it is also compatible with *switch on* not being a particle like *on*.

In neither (20)b nor (20)c is there a constituent [Prt° +DP], and this fact accounts for why [Prt° +DP] may not undergo *wh*-movement, (7)b, clefting, (8)b, or coordination, (9)b. The impossibility of the modification in (10)b is caused by the impossibility of interrupting V^* . The verb and the particle may undergo gapping together, (14)b), as they form a constituent, V^* in (15)b.

English and Norwegian allow both (20)b and (20)c, whereas Swedish only allows (20)c and Danish (and Faroese) only allow (20)b (see e.g. Hulthén 1947, 159–68; Herslund 1984; Vikner 1987):²

¹ See Aa (2015) for a much more detailed discussion of the difference (22)a vs. (22)b (which is parallel to the difference (20)a vs. (20)b), where he ultimately argues that they have different semantics.

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

- (21) En. a. Peter threw out the carpet.
b. Peter threw the carpet out. } BOTH (20)b AND (20)c
- (22) No. a. Petter kastet bort teppet.
b. Petter kastet teppet bort. }
- (23) Sw. a. Peter kastade bort mattan.
b. * Peter kastade mattan bort. } ONLY (20)c
- (24) Da. a. * Peter smed ud tæppet.
b. Peter smed tæppet ud. } ONLY (20)b

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

- (25) No. a. Petter lot støvsuge teppet.
b. Petter lot teppet støvsuge. } BOTH (20)b AND (20)c
- (26) Sw. a. Peter lät dammsuga mattan.
b. * Peter lät mattan dammsuga. } ONLY (20)c
- (27) Da. a. * Peter lod støvsuge tæppet.
b. Peter lod tæppet støvsuge. } ONLY (20)b
- (i.e. (20)b,c
WITH VP
INSTEAD OF PrtP
AND WITH V°
INSTEAD OF Prt°)
- Peter let carpet-the vacuum-clean carpet-the*

As I take it that Danish/Norwegian/Swedish are SVO-languages, (27)b must involve movement of the DP. The parallels between (22)-(24) and (25)-(27) therefore lead me to also assume that (24)b involves movement of the DP rather than assume that (24)b to show that particles are head-final in Danish.

(Head-final particles would of course also not allow assigning particles and prepositions the same structure.)

2.3 Verbs and particles in the Germanic SOV-languages

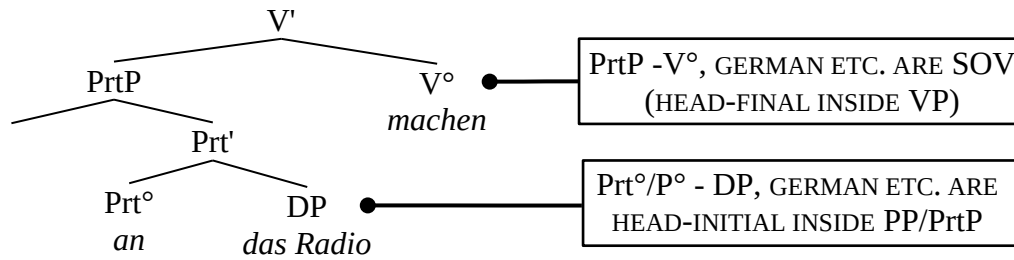
Given the analysis of particle verbs in the SVO-languages in (20) above, the question now is to which extent this also applies to particle verbs in the SOV-languages. I would like to suggest that only those orders switch which are linked to V° and its complement (i.e. V°/V* follows PrtP rather than precede it), whereas all other orders remain the same:³

- (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

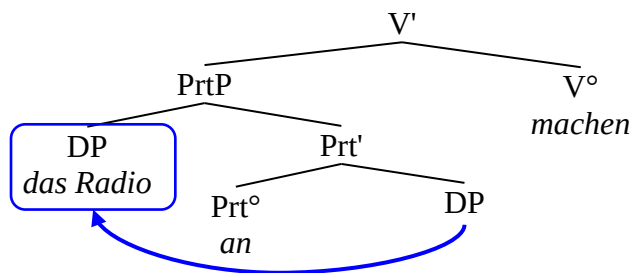
- (i) En. a.* While jumping, he accidentally switched on it. = (20)b
b. While jumping, he accidentally switched it on. = (20)c

³ See van Riemsdijk (1978, 129) and Zwart (2011, 339–41) and references there for arguments that what might seem to be postpositions in Dutch may be analysed as prepositional.

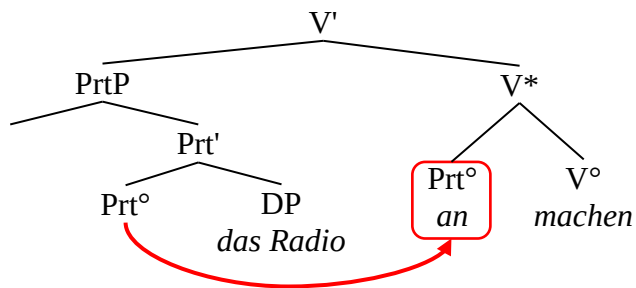
(29) a.



b.



c.



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, PrtP, (20)b and (29)b, or it is a sister of V° and a daughter of V*, (20)c and (29)c) is to the left of the verb in the OV-languages, (29), Ge. *anmachen*, but to the right of the verb in the VO-languages, (20), En. *switch on*. This is a **syntactic** property, and thus depends on the syntactic licensing direction of verbs in the language in question (viz. the SOV/SVO-difference). (Note that e.g. Elenbaas and Kemenade 2014 do not agree that V-O/O-V and Prt°-DP/DP- Prt° orders go hand in hand.)

This is just like the position of the complement XP (object DP or PP or PrtP), left or right of the verb, which is also a syntactic property, and which varies between across the Germanic SOV-languages and the Germanic SVO-languages.

- As will be discussed in more detail in § 3 below, 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 OV-languages, Ge. *verstehen*, and in the VO-languages, Da. *förstå*, En. *understand*. This is a **morphological** property, and thus does **not** co-vary with the SVO/SOV-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.

As was the case with (20)b,c, (29)b,c are two different ways of getting case onto the complement DP of the (separable) particle. Cf. the English and Scandinavian variation as to DP- Prt° or Prt° -DP order, (21)-(24) above.^{4, 5}

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 (29)b, only (29)c, or both, does not make any difference, as both (29)b,c yield the same ordering predictions (as opposed to (20)b,c, which yield different predictions).

This is because (29)c is the same as in SVO, i.e. leftwards movement, whereas (29)b 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.e. as far as the sequence is concerned).⁶

I would therefore like to suggest that (20)/(29) account for the differences between English/Scandinavian on one hand and German on the other. In § 3 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/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 this construction may be passivised:

- (30) En. a. [The radio]₁ was accidentally switched t_1 on t_1 .
b. [The radio]₁ was accidentally [switched on₂] t_2 t_1 .

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

- (31) En. Peter₁ will be laughed at t_1 .

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.

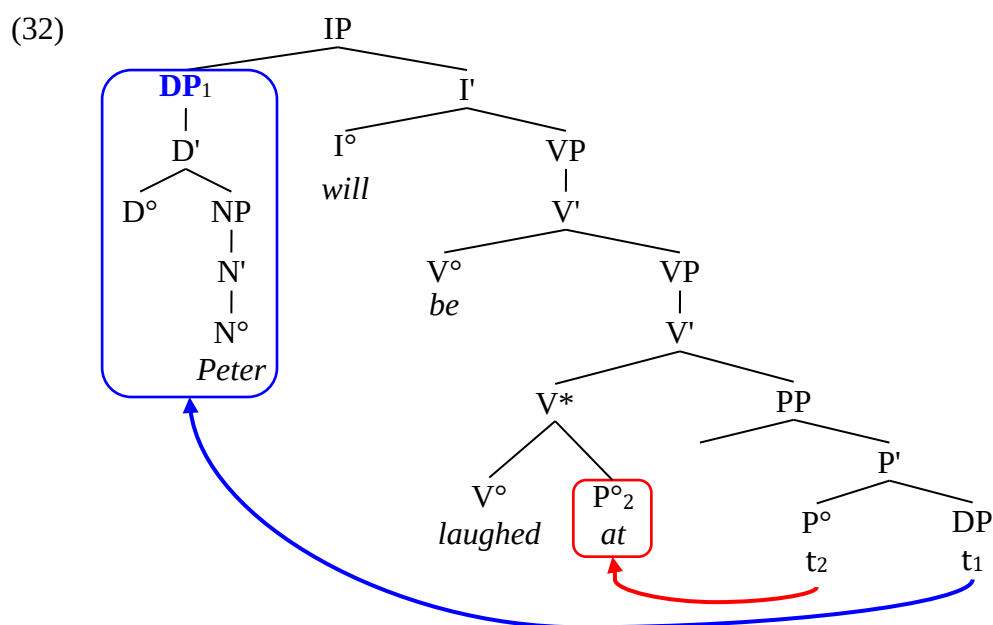
⁴ It might seem feasible to allow only (29)b, where there is no incorporation of the particle into V^* , as an analysis of separable particles in the SOV-languages. However, we know from Swedish that this will not work, given that although Swedish only employs option (20)c with separable particles, these nevertheless remain separable, (17)a, (24)a.

⁵ 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 (29)b, i.e. then PrtP could move to CP-spec. However, also in Swedish, particles may move to CP-spec, and Swedish only allows (20)c. For a possible analysis of particles in CP-spec, see the analysis of remnant VP-topicalisation in Engels & 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 (17).

⁶ 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.

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 (20)c, 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, may find a case in the subject position, cf. (32).



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 one of the languages mentioned above (namely Danish) did not allow incorporation into the V* of the particle, and so we would expect that only Danish would not allow examples like (31) which involve a parallel kind of incorporation. This prediction would seem to hold, at least approximately:⁷

(33) En. He was laughed at.

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

(Vinje 1987, 140)

⁷ As in Vikner (1995, 246), I here follow Herslund (1984, 70, fn 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 & 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 & 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.

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

(Platzack 1998, 122)

- (36) Da. a. ?? Han blev grinnet af.
b. ?? Skandalen blev grinnet af.
He/Scandal-the was laughed at

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

(This would then further imply that in a prepositional passive with a particle, e.g. *She was looked up to*, this incorporation into V* takes place twice: first *up*, then *to*!)

In this section, § 2, 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 1990; Haider and Rosengren 1998, 78–81, 2003, 253; Vikner 2001a, 2001b, 2003, 2019, etc.), not an SVO-language like English or Danish, is supported by the facts concerning verb particles.

3.1 Why Yiddish might be either SVO or SOV

3.1.1 Introduction

Let me first revisit the question whether the basic order in Yiddish is SVO or SOV. As we saw in hand-out 2a (for details, see e.g. Vikner 2019 and many others), for most Germanic languages, it may be relatively easy to determine whether they are SVO or SOV, in that they have very strong preferences for either the VO-order or the OV-order:

		<u>Verb</u>	<u>Object</u>
(38) a.	Danish	Jeg har læst	bogen.
b.	Faroese	Eg havi lisið	bókina.
c.	Icelandic	Ég hef lesið	bókina.
d.	English	I have read	the book.

		<u>Object</u>	<u>Verb</u>
(39) a.	Dutch	Ik heb het boek	gelezen.
b.	Afrikaans	Ek het die boek	gelees.
c.	Frisian	Ik ha it boekje	lêzen.
d.	German	Ich habe das Buch	gelesen.
e.	Old English	Ic habe þa boc	gereded.
		<i>I have the book</i>	<i>read</i>

For modern Yiddish (actually modern East Yiddish), determining whether it is SVO or SOV is much more complicated, as both of the above orders are possible:

- (40) Yi. a. Ikh hob gezen Moyshn.
 b. Ikh hob Moyshn gezen.
I have (Moyshe) seen (Moyshe) (den Besten and Moed-van Walraven 1986, 125, (43))

It is therefore not surprising that there are many analyses that take Yiddish to be

- mixed OV/VO (e.g. Santorini 1993; Haider 2010, 160–66, 2013, 103–5)
- VO, maybe with some remnants of OV (e.g. den Besten and Moed-van Walraven 1986, 113; Diesing 1997, 388; Sadock 1998; and Vikner 1995, 1997), and
- OV (e.g. Hall 1979; Geilfuß 1990; Haider and Rosengren 1998, 78–81, 2003, 253; Vikner 2001b, 2003, 2017a, 383–94).

The view of Diesing (1997) (and many others) is that Yiddish is syntactically very much like e.g. German, with the essential difference that Yiddish is SVO where German is SOV. I (now!) disagree with this view, as will be argued below. In fact, I think that if we are looking for an SVO-language

which has very many properties in common with German, then Danish is a very good candidate, whereas Yiddish is not.⁸

In modern Yiddish texts, the word order would seem to be VO rather than OV in the vast majority of cases: In the first 411 sentences with mono-transitive verbs in the anecdote collection *Royte pomerantsen* (by Immanuel Olsvanger, published in 1947 by Schocken, New York), Santorini (1993:238) found VO-order in 94% of the cases and OV-order only in 6% of them.

Still, the direct evidence for VO-order as the underlying order is nevertheless much less convincing for Yiddish than it is for English or for any of the Scandinavian languages, because the OV-order is not ungrammatical. In Yiddish all of (40)a-b, (41)a-b, and (42)a-e (where the objects/complements are underlined) are grammatical, whereas in English or in the Scandinavian languages, only the strict VO-versions would be possible, i.e. (40)a, (41)a, and (42)a:

- (41) Yi. a. Avram iz in Kasrilovke geven. nit gegeben Rifken dos bukh.
 b. Avram iz in Kasrilovke geven. nit gegeben dos bukh.
 Avram is (to Kasrilovke) been (to Kasrilovke) (Hall 1979, 255, (5) & (5a))
- (42) Yi. a. Maks hot Rifken dos bukh nit gegeben Rifken dos bukh.
 b. Maks hot Rifken dos bukh nit gegeben Rifken.
 c. Maks hot Rifken dos bukh nit gegeben Rifken.
 d. Maks hot dos bukh nit gegeben Rifken.
 e. Maks hot dos bukh Rifken nit gegeben.
 Max has (Rebecca) (the book) (Rebecca) not given (Rebecca) (the book)
 (Diesing 1997, 402, (57))

(In den Besten and Moed-van Walraven 1986, 126, (45), (47) an example parallel to c above is found to be ??? and an example parallel to d above is found to be ?)

If the basic order in Yiddish was VO, then (40)b, (41)b, and (42)b-e would have to involve leftwards movement of an object, i.e. what is commonly referred to as **scrambling**.

If the basic order in Yiddish was OV, then (40)a, (41)a, and (42)a,b,d would have to involve rightwards movement of an object, i.e. **extraposition** (and (42)e would still have to involve scrambling).

The two options can be illustrated as follows. If the basic order in Yiddish is VO, then the VO-order in e.g. (40)a does not require any object movement at all, and the OV-order in e.g. (40)b can be derived by means of scrambling:

- YIDDISH AS SVO**
- (43) Yi. a. Ikh hob gezen Moyshn. NO MOVEMENT, = (40)a
 b. Ikh hob Moyshn gezen. SCRAMBLING, = (40)b
 I have (Moyshn) seen (Moyshn)
- 

⁸ I still consider German and Yiddish to be much closer to each other than German and Danish, it is just that SOV vs. SVO is an essential difference between German and Danish, whereas I do not think that it a difference between German and Yiddish at all.

If, on the other hand, the basic order in Yiddish is OV, then the OV-order in e.g. (40)b does not require any object movement at all, and the VO-order in e.g. (40)a can be derived by means of extraposition:

YIDDISH AS SOV

- (44) Yi. a. Ikh hob _____ gezen Moyshn. EXTRAPOSITION, = (40)a
 b. Ikh hob Moyshn gezen. NO MOVEMENT, = (40)b
I have (Moyshn) seen (Moyshn)
- 

The problem is that it can be independently shown that Yiddish has **both** of these movements, cf. that (42)b,d could neither have been found in languages uncontroversially taken to be OV, like German, nor in languages uncontroversially taken to be VO, like English (or Danish). That Yiddish has extraposition will be shown in the next subsection, and that it has scrambling will be in the subsection after that.

3.1.2 Extraposition in Yiddish

Santorini (1993, 231, 243, n3) argues that irrespectively of whether Yiddish is OV or VO, examples like the following three all show that Yiddish has extraposition:

- (45) Yi. a. Geveyntlekh hot _____ ongehoybn esn der balebos.
Normally has begun eat the host
 (= 'Normally, the host would be the one who took the first bite')
- b. Durkh a kleyn shtetl hot _____ gedarft durkhforn der keyser.
Through a small town has must through-drive the emperor
 (= 'The emperor had to drive through a small town')
- c. Hot men _____ derlangt oyfn tish fish.
 d. Hot men derlangt _____ oyfn tish fish.
Has one served on-the table fish
 (= '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 (45)a,b. As it is here in the sentence final position, it must have undergone extraposition, irrespective of whether Yiddish is OV or VO. As for (45)c,d, the object *fish* would normally have occurred immediately before *derlangt* 'put' if Yiddish was OV and immediately after *derlangt* if Yiddish was VO, so in either case it would have to have undergone extraposition, to get to its actual sentence-final position.

Furthermore, as shown in Vikner (1995), Yiddish does not require extraposed constituents to be particularly heavy, (48)b, as opposed to English and Scandinavian, exemplified by Icelandic in (48)a:

- (46) a. Ic. ... að það hefur einhver borðað epli.
 b. Yi. ... az es hot emetser gegesn an epl.
... that there has someone eaten an apple (Vikner 1995, 189, (43b,c))
- (47) 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))

- (48) 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))

(46) shows that both Icelandic and Yiddish allow transitive expletives, (46) vs. (47) show that both allow extraposition of a heavy subject in such a construction, and finally (48) shows that only Yiddish allows extraposition of a subject which is not heavy (cf. also that in (45)c,d, the extraposed object *fish* is not heavy at all).

3.1.3 Scrambling in Yiddish

Scandinavian **object shift** moves the object out of its base position inside the VP to a position to the left of an element (e.g. negation or adverbial) which is not part of the VP, as in (49)b:

- (49) Ic. a. Af hverju las Magnús aldrei þessa bók ?
 b. Af hverju las Magnús þessa bók aldrei ?
 Why read Magnús (this book) never (this book) ?

Object shift is only possible if the verb leaves VP, which a finite main verb does in main clauses (due to V2), (49), but which a non-finite main verb normally never does, (50):

- (50) Ic. a. Af hverju hefur Magnús aldrei lesið þessa bók ?
 b. * Af hverju hefur Magnús aldrei þessa bók lesið ?
 c. * Af hverju hefur Magnús þessa bók aldrei lesið ?
 Why has Magnús (this book) never (this book) read (this book) ?

In German, it is also possible to move the object out of its base position inside the VP to a position to the left of an element (e.g. negation or adverbial) which is not part of the VP, (51)b-c. However, this movement in German is not dependent on the verb having left the VP, it is also possible with the main verb inside the VP:

- (51) Ge. a. ?? Max hat gestern gelesen dieses Buch.
 b. Max hat gestern dieses Buch gelesen.
 c. Max hat dieses Buch gestern gelesen.
 Max has (this book) yesterday (this book) read (this book)

This is different from languages with object shift, see (50)b-c, but it is just like Yiddish:

- (52) Yi. a. Maks hot nekhtn geleyent dos bukh.
 b. Maks hot nekhtn dos bukh geleyent.
 c. Maks hot dos bukh nekhtn geleyent.
 Max has (the book) yesterday (the book) read (the book)
 (based on Diesing 1997, 390, (36b), 391, (38b), 395, (46))

The fact that the object movement in German and Yiddish does not depend on movement of the main verb is the main reason why German and Yiddish (and the other Germanic OV-languages) are taken not to have object shift, but **scrambling**.

If Yiddish is an OV-language, then (52)a must be a result of extraposition, and (52)c a result of scrambling. If Yiddish is a VO-language, then (52)b,c must both be a result of scrambling.

Diesing (1997, 391) argues against an OV-analysis of Yiddish that the example with the object in the position that should be the base-generated position, (52)b, is the one with the most marked interpretation, i.e. that (52)b "does not correspond to a neutral positioning of the object, and therefore is unlikely to be the base order". This does not have to follow, however, base-generated orders do not necessarily have to be the ones with the most neutral or least marked interpretation.

Geilfuß's (1990, 176) uses this as an argument against Yiddish being SVO: If the interpretation of (52)b is so peculiar, what should motivate scrambling to this position? Given that the object in (52)b is focussed, and given that focussed phrases have been argued not to be able to undergo scrambling in German (Haider 2010, 175 and references there), then we should assume that the object in (52)b has not undergone scrambling. It therefore follows that the object in (52)b is in its base position.

Summing up: As we have seen in this section, § 3.1, Yiddish has both scrambling and extraposition, and furthermore, both these movements can be shown to take place relatively unrestrictedly in Yiddish (irrespective of what the basic order of the language is assumed to be). This means that the methods employed in hand-out 2a to show that German (and by extension also Afrikaans, Dutch, Frisian and Low German) are SOV, and that Danish and English (and by extension also Faroese, Icelandic, Norwegian, Swedish and all the Romance languages) are SVO, will not tell us whether Yiddish is SOV or SVO. All the actually occurring orders in Yiddish can be derived from either basic order by means of processes already needed to account for the grammar of Yiddish.

We can now either just give up, or if we still want to determine whether Yiddish is SVO or SOV (or maybe both) ⁹, we will have to look somewhere else than the direct ordering of the verbs and their objects. The following will argue that particle verbs is a promising place to look for such evidence (and the appendix in §5 will briefly mention another four places).

3.2 Different types of incorporation: V° and V*

In this subsection 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 was labelled V* in (20)c/(29)c 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 particle and its verb (*understand*) constitute a V°, then a separable particle and its verb (*send off*) 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 the closest they may get to each other is to form a syntactic constituent which is not quite as small as V°, even if it may be smaller than V', cf.

⁹ Of course, 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.

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), Haiden (2017), and also Booij (2009, 8) on "quasi-incorporation" where V^* is analysed as $[_V V N]$, i.e. a VP where the object does not project any XP. See also §§ 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, PrtP , or it is a sister of V° and a daughter of V^* , whereas a **non-separable** particle is always both a sister of V° and a daughter of 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. the formulation V_n , $n > 0$, in Zeller 2001, 162). (53) illustrates the analyses of the verbs used in the rest of the hand-out.

(53)	MORPHOLOGY	SYNTAX	
	NON-SEPARABLE	SEPARABLE (IN OV-LANGUAGES)	SEPARABLE (IN VO-LANGUAGES)
a.			
b.	Yi. <i>farshteyn</i> Ge. <i>verstehen</i> Da. <i>forstå</i> En. <i>understand</i>		
c.		Yi. <i>avekshikn</i> Ge. <i>abschicken</i>	Da. <i>sende afsted</i> En. <i>send off</i>

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° -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 *stillede han desværre 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 noncompositional 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.

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 et al. (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:

(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, 192–94 in fact argues that it follows from *oyfhern* forming a lexical unit that it must form a syntactic X°-constituent. I disagree because of the data from idioms cited above.)

Ackema & 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.

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, (58), and others which are non-separable in all three languages, (65), but there are also particle verbs which are separable in one language and non-separable in the other two or vice versa, (59), (62)–(64).

Only two combinations are not found, (60) and (61): 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, (62) and (63), 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; 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.^{10 11}

¹⁰ 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, 134–35).

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

(58)	German: +	Yiddish: +	Danish: +	
a.	<u>ab</u> brennen	<u>op</u> brenen	brænde <u>af</u>	<i>burn down</i>
b.	<u>abs</u> chicken	<u>avekshikn</u>	sende <u>afsted</u>	<i>send off</i>
c.	<u>auf</u> wachsen	<u>oyf</u> vaksn	vokse <u>op</u>	<i>grow up</i>
d.	<u>aush</u> alten	<u>oysh</u> altn	holde <u>ud</u>	<i>endure, stand</i>
e.	<u>eink</u> aufen	<u>aynkoyfn</u>	købe <u>ind</u>	<i>buy, shop</i>
f.	<u>herein</u> kommen	<u>araynkumen</u>	komme <u>ind</u>	<i>come in, enter</i>
g.	(<u>hin</u>) <u>aus</u> gehen	<u>aroysgeyn</u>	gå <u>ud</u>	<i>go out</i>
h.	<u>nach</u> geben	<u>nokhgebn</u>	give <u>efter</u>	<i>give in, indulge</i>
i.	sich <u>um</u> sehen	<u>umkukn zikh</u>	se sig <u>om</u>	<i>look around</i>
j.	<u>zun</u> ageln	<u>tsunoglen</u>	sømme <u>til</u>	<i>nail shut</i>
k.	<u>zurück</u> ziehen	<u>tsuriktsien</u>	trække <u>tilbage</u>	<i>retract</i>
l.	<u>zusammen</u> stoßen	<u>tsunoyfshtoysn</u>	støde <u>sammen</u>	<i>clash, collide</i>
(59)	German: +	Yiddish: +	Danish: -	
a.	<u>ab</u> weichen	<u>op</u> vaikhn	afvige	<i>deviate</i>
b.	<u>an</u> kommen	<u>on</u> kumen	<u>an</u> komme	<i>arrive</i>
c.	<u>auf</u> suchen	<u>oyf</u> zukhn	<u>opsø</u> ge	<i>look up (a person)</i>
d.	<u>bei</u> legen	<u>bayleygn</u>	<u>vedlæ</u> gge	<i>append (e.g. to a letter)</i>
e.	<u>durch</u> führen	<u>durkh</u> firm	<u>gennem</u> føre	<i>carry out</i>
f.	<u>ein</u> wenden	<u>ayn</u> vendn	<u>ind</u> vende	<i>object</i>
g.	<u>um</u> stoßen	<u>ums</u> htoysn	<u>omstø</u> de	<i>reverse (e.g. a decision)</i>
h.	<u>zu</u> lassen	<u>tsu</u> lozn	<u>till</u> ade	<i>allow</i>
(60)	German: +	Yiddish: -	Danish: +	

(61)	German: +	Yiddish: -	Danish: -	

(62)	German: -	Yiddish: +	Danish: +	
	<u>über</u> springen	<u>iber</u> hipn	springe <u>over</u>	<i>skip, pass over</i>
(63)	German: -	Yiddish: +	Danish: -	
a.	<u>durch</u> löchern	<u>durkh</u> lekhn	<u>gennem</u> hulle	<i>make holes in</i>
b.	<u>um</u> ringen	<u>arum</u> ringen	<u>om</u> ringe	<i>surround, encircle</i>
c.	<u>über</u> reden	<u>iber</u> redn	<u>overtale</u>	<i>persuade</i>
d.	<u>unter</u> drücken	<u>under</u> drikn	<u>under</u> trykke	<i>suppress</i>
(64)	German: -	Yiddish: -	Danish: +	
	<u>zer</u> schlagen	<u>tsesh</u> logn	slå <u>itu</u>	<i>smash to pieces</i>
(65)	German: -	Yiddish: -	Danish: -	
a.	<u>bem</u> erken	<u>bamerkn</u>	<u>bemær</u> ke	<i>notice</i>
b.	<u>entschuld</u> igen	<u>antshuldikn</u>	<u>undskyld</u> e	<i>apologise</i>
c.	<u>er</u> kennen	<u>der</u> kenen	<u>erkende</u>	<i>recognise</i>
d.	<u>ver</u> stehen	<u>farshteyn</u>	<u>for</u> stå	<i>understand</i>

¹¹ As pointed out by a reviewer, many simplifications are made in the table in (58)–(65), e.g. in assuming parallels between Ge./Yi. *ziehen/tsien* and Da. *trække*, Ge./Yi. *schicken/shikn* and Da. *sende*, etc.

3.4 Syntactic differences between German, Yiddish, and Danish

German, Yiddish and Danish are all V2, meaning 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, (66), or by some other constituent, (67):

- (66) 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)
- (67) 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:

- (68) 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)
 (66)b, (67)a,b, (68)a,b are from Santorini (1992, 596–97, (1), (4))

As (67) 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:

- (69) a. Da. Brevet vil han sende afsted. SEP: **RIGHT** OF V
 b. Da. * Brevet vil han afstedsende.
Letter-the will he (off)send (off)
- (70) a. Da. * Brevet vil han ikke stå for.
 b. Da. Brevet vil han ikke forstå. NON-SEP: 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):

- (71) a. Da. Brevet sender han afsted. SEP: STAYS BEHIND
 b. Da. * Brevet afstedsender han.
Letter-the (off)sends he (off)
- (72) a. Da. * Brevet står han ikke for.
 b. Da. Brevet forstår han ikke. NON-SEP: MOVES ALONG
Letter-the (under)stands he not (under)

In parallel examples in German and Yiddish, the distinction between separable and non-separable particles can only be seen when the verb undergoes V2, but not when the verb does not undergo V2. In non-V2-contexts, both the separable particle and the non-separable particle occurs before the verb:

- (73) a. Ge. * Den Brief wird er schicken ab.
 b. Yi. ?? Dem briv vet er shikn avek.
 d. Ge. Den Brief wird er abschicken. SEP: **LEFT** OF V
 e. Yi. Dem briv vet er avekshikn. SEP: **LEFT** OF V
The letter will he (off)send (off)

- (74) a. Ge. * Den Brief wird er nicht stehen ver.
 b. Yi. * Dem briv vet er nisht shteyn far.
 d. Ge. Den Brief wird er nicht verstehen. NON-SEP: LEFT OF V
 e. Yi. Dem briv vet er nisht farshteyn. NON-SEP: 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:

- (75) a. Ge. Den Brief schickt er ab. SEP: STAYS BEHIND
 b. Yi. Dem briv shikt er avek. SEP: STAYS BEHIND
 d. Ge. * Den Brief abschickt er.
 e. Yi. * Dem briv avekshikt er.
The letter (off)sends he (off)

(75)b is from den Besten et al. (1986, 119, (20b))

- (76) a. Ge. * Den Brief steht er nicht ver.
 b. Yi. * Dem briv shteyt er nisht far.
 d. Ge. Den Brief versteht er nicht. NON-SEP: MOVES ALONG
 e. Yi. Dem briv farshteyt er nisht. NON-SEP: MOVES ALONG
The letter (under)stands he not (under)

This pattern is exactly as expected under the assumptions made in § 2.3 above, namely that

- the position of the **separable** particle is a **syntactic** property, and therefore depends on the syntactic licensing direction of verbs in the language in question (viz. the SOV/SVO-difference: It occurs after the verb in Danish, and before the verb in German).
- the position of the non-**separable** particle is a **morphological** property, and thus does **not** co-vary with the syntactic licensing direction of verbs (it 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.

(For more parallels between German and Yiddish as far as verb particles are concerned, see Vikner 2001b, 38–47.)

4. Conclusion

In § 2, it was suggested 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 a case. This problem had 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", result: *He threw out the book*.
- **OR** the DP may move to PrtP-spec, where it can be assigned case directly by V° (as in ECM-constructions), result: *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 related 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 ≠ German, e.g. *to send off ~ at sende afsted ~ abzuschießen*), but not the sequence between a verb and a **non-separable** particle (i.e. the **morphological** sequence, English/Danish = German, e.g. *to under stand ~ at for stå ~ zu ver stehen*).

This was used to account for why the particular kind of word order variation concerning particles found in Mainland Scandinavian (Hulthén 1947, 159–68; Herslund 1984; Vikner 1987; Engels and Vikner 2013, 2014; Aa 2015, and very many others) is not found in the Germanic SOV-languages.

In § 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°.

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).

5. Appendix: Four other types of Yiddish SVO/SOV-evidence

§§ 1-4 above argued that given that we could not determine whether Yiddish is SVO or SOV based on the evidence concerning the direct ordering of the verbs and their objects, one of the places we could turn to instead was particle verbs. In this appendix, I want to briefly mention four other such places to turn to for potential evidence concerning whether Yiddish is SVO or SOV.

5.1 Scrambling vs. object shift

As shown in § 3.1.3 above and in Vikner (2017b), Yiddish (like the SOV-languages Afrikaans, Dutch, Frisian, German) has **scrambling**, i.e. the object can move leftwards across e.g. sentence adverbials irrespective of whether the verb is still inside the VP (as is the case e.g. with the non-finite verb in compound tenses, see (51), (52) above). This is different from the Germanic SVO-languages which at most have **object shift**, i.e. in the Scandinavian languages, the object can move leftwards across e.g. sentence adverbials only if the verb has moved out of VP (as is the case e.g. with a finite main verb in main clauses, due to V2, see (49), (50) above). English no longer has object shift but had it as late as Early Modern English (Roberts 1995).

5.2 Predicative adjectives

In Vikner (2001a) and <https://tildeweb.au.dk/au132769/handouts/vikner-ho-2011-cambridge-adj.pdf>, I show that also when it comes to adjectival inflection, Yiddish behaves like the SOV-languages Dutch, Frisian and German in having inflected attributive adjectives, but **uninflected predicative adjectives**, whereas those SVO-languages which have inflected attributive adjectives (e.g. all the Scandinavian languages and all the Romance ones) also have inflected predicative adjectives.

- (78) a. Yi. Di hayzer zaynen grin_.
 b. Ge. Die Häuser sind grün_.
 c. Da. Husene er grønne.
 d. Fr. Les maisons sont vertes.
The houses are green(.PL)

5.3 The order in sequences with two non-finite verbs

In Vikner (2001b, 66–86) and <https://tildeweb.au.dk/au132769/papers/cambridge/vikner-camb4.pdf> and hand-out 3e of this course, I argue that whereas the 'real' SVO-languages show no order variation whatsoever in sequences of two non-finite verbs, the SOV-languages vary very much. Therefore, Yiddish, which also has some variation of this kind would be rather exceptional within the SVO-group but fit very well into the picture of the SOV-group:

- (79) En. a. He will let us wait. English
 b. *He will us wait let.
- (80) Ic. a. Hann mun láta okkur bíða. Icelandic
 b. *Hann mun okkur bíða láta.
- (81) Da. a. Han vil lade os vente. Danish
 b. *Han vil os vente lade.

- (82) Yi. a. Er vet undz lozn vartn. Yiddish
b. Er vet undz vartn lozn. (Lockwood 1995, 135)
- (83) Du. a. Hij zal ons laten wachten. Standard Dutch
b. *Hij zal ons wachten laten.
- (84) WF. a. Je goad ons loaten wachten. West Flemish
b. *Je goad ons wachten loaten.
- (85) Af. a. Hy sal ons laat wag. Afrikaans
b. *Hy sal ons wag laat.
- (86) Fs. a. *Hy sil ús litte wachtsje. Frisian
b. Hy sil ús wachtsje litte.
- (87) Ge. a. *Er wird uns lassen warten. Standard German
b. Er wird uns warten lassen.
- (88) St. a. *R wird ons lassa warda. Stuttgart
b. R wird ons warda lassa.
- (89) SG. a. *Er wirt üüs loo warte. Sankt Gallen
b. Er wirt üüs warte loo.
- (90) Zü. a. Er wirt öis laa warte. Zürich
b. Er wirt öis warte laa.
- (91) Be. a. Er wirt is la warte. Bern
b. *Er wirt is warte laa.

5.4 Certain coordination constructions

A further argument (based on Sadock 1998), concerning the possibility in Yiddish of certain coordination constructions in which the second object is empty, is discussed in Vikner (2003).

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