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VARIATION AND CHANGE IN YIDDISH SUBORDINATE CLAUSE WORD ORDER*

Early Yiddish exhibited a root-subordinate asymmetry with respect to the verb-second (V2) phenomenon, whereas modern Yiddish does so no longer. A quantitative investigation of early and modern Yiddish texts reveals that the generalization of the V2 phenomenon in the history of Yiddish can be described as the result of two syntactic changes: (1) a change from INFL-final to INFL-medial phrase structure, and (2) a change in the locus of the finiteness operator [+F] that affects nominative case assignment and allows non-subjects as well as subjects to occupy the clause-initial position Spec(IP). Specifically, the quantitative investigation provides evidence that the phrase structure change progressed via synchronic grammatical variation in the usage of individual speakers. It is further proposed that modern Icelandic, like early Yiddish, exhibits synchronic variation with respect to the locus of [+F].

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. *General Background*

The verb-second (V2) constraint is one of the most striking syntactic phenomena in the Germanic languages. As is well known, this word order constraint requires the inflected verb to be the second overt constituent of a clause – regardless of whether the first constituent is the subject. The

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difference between languages that exhibit the V2 phenomenon and ones that do not is best appreciated by considering sentences in which the first constituent is not the subject. In a V2 language like German, the subject of such sentences obligatorily follows the inflected verb.¹

- (1)a. Auf dem Weg **wird** der Junge eine Katze sehen.

on the way will the boy a cat see

On the way, the boy will see a cat.

- b. *Auf dem Weg der Junge **wird** eine Katze sehen

on the way the boy will a cat see

On the way, the boy will see a cat.

By contrast, in a language like English, which does not exhibit the V2 phenomenon, the presence of a clause-initial non-subject does not (in general) affect the order of the subject and the auxiliary or inflected verb.

- (2)a. *On the way **will** the boy see a cat.

- b. On the way, the boy **will** see a cat.

The V2 phenomenon is common to all the Germanic languages except modern English,² but most varieties of Germanic exhibit it only in root clauses, not in formally subordinate clauses (that is, in subordinate clauses introduced by a *wh*-phrase or an overt complementizer). In German, for instance, the inflected verb in formally subordinate clauses is final in its clause.

- (3)a. daß der Junge auf dem Weg eine Katze sehen **wird**

that the boy on the way a cat see will

that on the way, the boy will see a cat

- b. *daß der Junge **wird** auf dem Weg eine Katze sehen

that the boy will on the way a cat see

that the boy will see a cat on the way

¹ Here and throughout, I use the term 'V2' in its traditional descriptive sense to refer to the obligatory inversion phenomenon illustrated in (1) – see Section 1.4.

² The V2 phenomenon is also attested in medieval Romance (Adams (1987a), Adams (1987b), Adams (1987c), Dupuis (1989), Vance (1988)) and is still found in certain Romance dialects spoken in Switzerland (Benincà (1986)).

- (3)c. *daß auf dem Weg **wird** der Junge eine Katze sehen
that on the way will the boy a cat see
 that on the way, the boy will see a cat

Early Yiddish exhibits the same root-subordinate asymmetry as modern German. Modern Yiddish, on the other hand, no longer exhibits a (syntactic) asymmetry with regard to the position of the inflected verb or the type of phrase that can occupy clause-initial position.^{3,4,5}

- (4)a. Dos yingl **vet** oyfn veg zen a kats.
the boy will on-the way see a cat
 The boy will see a cat on the way.
- b. Oyfn veg **vet** dos yingl zen a kats.
on-the way will the boy see a cat
 On the way, the boy will see a cat.
- c. *Oyfn veg dos yingl **vet** zen a kats.
on-the way the boy will see a cat
 On the way, the boy will see a cat.
- (5)a. oyb dos yingl **vet** oyfn veg zen a kats
whether the boy will on-the way see a cat
 whether the boy will see a cat on the way
- b. oyb oyfn veg **vet** dos yingl zen a kats
whether on-the way will the boy see a cat
 whether on the way, the boy will see a cat

³ This is uncontroversial in the case of [-wh] subordinate clauses (den Besten and Moed-van Walraven (1986, pp. 112, 115, 131); Birnbaum (1979, p. 92); Diesing (1990, p. 44); Lowenstamm (1977, p. 209); Maling and Zaenen (1981, p. 255); Travis (1984, pp. 115, 165); Waletzky (1980, p. 305); Zaretski (1929, p. 253, para. 782)). While clause-initial thematic non-subjects do not occur as frequently in [+wh] subordinate clauses, this appears to be due to discourse rather than syntactic factors (Diesing (1990, pp. 64–67); contra Lowenstamm (1977, p. 211)).

⁴ For the distinction between early and modern Yiddish, see Section 1.2.

⁵ Yiddish examples from after 1900 are romanized according to the standard system developed by the YIVO Institute for Jewish Research (Weinreich (1954, p. vi)). In examples from Olsvanger (1947), the romanization has been modified to be in accordance with the YIVO standard. Examples from before 1900 are romanized according to the system described in Santorini (1989, pp. 15–17), except that I have added vowels to unvocalized forms for readability and expanded abbreviations; my additions are indicated by square brackets.

- (5)c. *oyb oyfn veg dos yingl vet zen a kats
 whether on-the way the boy will see a cat
 whether on the way, the boy will see a cat

This paper analyzes the generalization of the V2 phenomenon from root to subordinate clauses that took place in the history of Yiddish. The analysis is based on a quantitative investigation of over 2,200 subordinate clauses from about forty Yiddish texts dating from the early 1400's to the mid-1900's (details concerning the texts in the corpus and the sampling procedure are given in Appendices A and B).

The paper is organized as follows. The remainder of the introduction gives some background information on Yiddish, lays out my theoretical assumptions and introduces some terminological conventions. The body of the paper argues that the generalization of the V2 phenomenon in Yiddish can be described as the result of two syntactic changes: (1) a change in phrase structure from INFL-final to INFL-medial, and (2) a change in nominative case assignment, which allows Spec(IP) to be occupied by subjects and non-subjects alike. Section 2 discusses the phrase structure change.⁶ Relying on distributional arguments proposed by others in analyses of modern Yiddish and other Germanic languages as well as on arguments of my own, I present evidence that early Yiddish exhibited both INFL-final and INFL-medial phrase structure, and I argue that this variation reflects synchronic competition between two phrase structure options in the usage of individual speakers. Section 3 discusses the change in nominative case assignment and its consequences for Spec(IP). In the earliest Yiddish texts, only subjects (whether thematic subjects, overt expletives or empty expletives) are attested in Spec(IP). This did not change in West Yiddish, but early East Yiddish began to also allow non-subjects in Spec(IP). Modern Yiddish, the descendant of early East Yiddish, no longer allows empty expletive subjects in Spec(IP). I attribute the development in East Yiddish to a change in the locus of the feature that assigns nominative case, the finiteness operator [+F]; specifically, I maintain that the locus of [+F] changes from COMP to INFL via a transition period during which it can be either. Finally, Section 4 briefly addresses the possibility of a relationship between the changes.

⁶ Yiddish phrase structure also appears to have changed from OV to VO. An investigation of this further change, which is likely to have played a role in the change of the phrase structure position of INFL, is beyond the scope of the present paper, but is the subject of work in progress.

1.2. *Background on the History of Yiddish*

Yiddish is the language of the Jews of central and eastern Europe. Genetically, it is descended from medieval German, but Hebrew, the ritual and liturgical language of Judaism, and the Slavic languages have played important roles in its history as well. There are two main dialects: West Yiddish, which was spoken on German-speaking territory and in transition areas in contact with Slavic, and East Yiddish, originally spoken on Slavic-speaking territory only. The oldest West Yiddish texts that are more extensive than glosses or isolated sentences date back to the late 1300's. West Yiddish died out as a written language in the course of the 1700's, when the Jews of central Europe had both increased opportunities and incentives to turn to standard German as a literary medium, but it continues to be spoken in relic areas in Alsace and Switzerland. East Yiddish texts do not go back as far as West Yiddish ones; the oldest ones that I have examined date from the early 1500's. Because many speakers of East Yiddish lost contact with German and instead became bilingual in the coteritorial Slavic (and Baltic) languages, East Yiddish developed along substantially different lines than West Yiddish. This is most apparent in its lexicon and phonology, but is true of its syntax as well, as we will see below. East Yiddish continues to be spoken today both in eastern Europe and by the descendants of eastern European Jews who migrated abroad, particularly to North and South America. Besides the two dialects, I distinguish two major periods in the history of the language: 'early Yiddish', from the earliest texts until 1800, and 'modern Yiddish', after 1800. I will generally refer to modern East Yiddish simply as 'modern Yiddish'.

1.3. *Theoretical Background*

1.3.1. *Phrase Structure*

Following much recent work based on an idea originally due to Fillmore (1968) and McCawley (1970), I adopt the VP-Internal Subject Hypothesis (Déprez (1989), Diesing (1990), Fukui (1986), Fukui and Speas (1986), Huang (1990), Kitagawa (1986), Koopman and Sportiche (1991), Kuroda (1988), Manzini (1988), Platzack and Holmberg (1990), Rögnvaldsson and Thráinsson (1990), Santorini (1989), Sportiche (1988)). Several different variants of this hypothesis have been proposed, with some authors arguing that subjects originate in Spec(VP) and others treating all subjects as originating in an adjoined position structurally parallel to the subjects of small clause constructions. For present purposes, all that is required is that subjects are not generated in Spec(IP), but rather in a position domin-

ated by the verb's maximal projection (the subject's 'underlying' position). I assume further that a Spec(IP) position is generated for reasons concerning predication in all clauses, regardless of the case licensing properties of INFL and the thematic properties of the verb (Rothstein (1989), Heycock (1991); contra Fukui (1986), Fukui and Speas (1986), von Stechow (1990)). The common underlying structure of the subordinate clauses in (5a) and (5b) is thus as in (6).

- (6) Underlying structure for (5a) and (5b):
 [CP oyb [IP *e* [INFL *e*] [VP dos yingl vet zen a kats oyfn veg]]]

The derived structures of (5a) and (5b) result from two instances of movement. First, the highest verb moves from its underlying position within VP to INFL. Second, some phrasal projection moves into Spec(IP). The resulting structures, which are derived by moving the subject and a non-subject, respectively, are shown in (7).

- (7)a. Derived structure of (5a):
 [CP oyb [IP [dos yingl]_{*i*} [INFL vet]_{*j*}] [VP *t_i* *t_j* zen a kats oyfn veg]]]
 b. Derived structure of (5b):
 [CP oyb [IP [oyfn veg]_{*i*} [INFL vet]_{*j*}] [VP dos yingl *t_j* zen a kats *t_i*]]]

1.3.2. *Parameters of Nominative Case Assignment*

The question arises as to how the subject in a structure like (7b) receives nominative case in its underlying position.⁷ Following Platzack and Holmberg (1990), I assume that nominative case is assigned by a head containing the finiteness operator [+F] (cf. Pollock (1989)). According to Platzack and Holmberg (1990, p. 2), the position of [+F] correlates with whether a language exhibits the V2 phenomenon: [+F] is in COMP in V2 languages and in INFL in non-V2 languages. By contrast, I will take the position of [+F] to correlate with whether a language exhibits a root-subordinate clause asymmetry with regard to the V2 phenomenon: [+F] is in COMP in languages with such an asymmetry, but in INFL in languages without it – regardless of whether these languages exhibit the V2

⁷ The discussion to follow is not intended as an exhaustive analysis of nominative case assignment. In particular, my focus is on nominative case assignment to the subject's underlying position and to its derived position in Spec(IP); I leave aside questions concerning nominative case assignment to the complement position of V or to other postverbal positions. Moreover, the analysis that I present – like many others – does not extend to nominative case assignment to PRO in non-finite clauses in Icelandic (see Sigurðsson (1991) for detailed discussion of this phenomenon).

phenomenon or not.⁸ [+F] assigns nominative case under head-government, which is defined as in (8).

- (8) Definition of head-government:
 X head-governs Y iff
 (i) X is a lexical head or contains [+F],
 (ii) X c-commands Y,
 (iii) no barrier intervenes between X and Y, and
 (iv) minimality is respected.

I adopt a first branching node definition of c-command, as in (9).

- (9) Definition of c-command:
 X c-commands Y iff the node immediately dominating X dominates Y.

The definition of head-government in (8) is similar to that proposed by Platzack and Holmberg (1990, p. 7, (9)),⁹ but differs from it in an important respect. Platzack and Holmberg follow Rizzi (1990, p. 6, (13)) in defining head-government in terms of m-command. The definition in (8) in terms of c-command is thus stricter than Platzack and Holmberg's and is essentially identical to the notion of proper head-government proposed by Rizzi (1990, pp. 30–32); cf. also the definition of head-government in Koopman and Sportiche (1991, p. 229f). The m-command and the c-command definitions disagree as to whether heads head-govern the specifiers of their maximal projections: they do according to the m-command definition, but not according to the c-command definition. This difference turns out to have no consequences for the assignment of nominative case to overt noun phrases; however, as we will see below, only the c-command definition correctly describes the distribution of empty expletives in Yiddish.

Platzack and Holmberg (1990, p. 6; p. 35, fn. 11) further propose to distinguish between two types of AGR: a type that is [+N] and inherently

⁸ As in Platzack and Holmberg's analysis, locating [+F] in COMP is intended to express the relation between the presence of an overt complementizer and the position of the finite verb in (some) V2 languages. Based on the distribution of the overt expletive *pað* in Icelandic, Kosmeijer (1991) independently proposes that [+F] is in INFL in declarative clauses in that language.

⁹ According to Platzack and Holmberg, who follow Rizzi (1990) in this regard, head-government respects relativized minimality. I have omitted reference to relativized minimality in (8) because the distinction between relativized and rigid minimality is not relevant for present purposes.

nominative, and a type that is categorially neutral.¹⁰ I adopt the distinction between nominative and neutral AGR, but in contrast to Platzack and Holmberg (1990, pp. 22–28), who attempt to relate it to features of subject-verb agreement morphology, I will pursue an alternative approach – inspired by Holmberg (1986), Holmberg and Platzack (1988), Trosterud (1989) and Haider (1989) – according to which the morphological correlate of the distinction between nominative and neutral AGR is the presence of overt case-marking morphology on full noun phrases. Specifically, I take AGR to be inherently nominative in languages that make an overt morphological distinction between nominative and oblique case on full noun phrases, and neutral in languages that do not. Given the distinction between inherently nominative and neutral AGR, the distribution of subjects can then be stated in terms of the licensing condition in (10).

- (10) Licensing condition on AGR:
AGR must be identified as nominative at S-structure.

In languages with inherently nominative AGR, the licensing condition in (10) is met trivially; in languages with neutral AGR, on the other hand, AGR must be identified under antecedent-government (by being locally c-commanded by an overt antecedent bearing nominative case).¹¹

Let us now consider the consequences of the above assumptions for the types of constituents that can occupy Spec(IP). There are four cases to consider, depending on whether AGR is nominative or neutral and on whether [+F] is in COMP or in INFL. First, in languages like English or French, where AGR is neutral and [+F] is in INFL, subjects are assigned nominative case in their underlying position by [+F], but unless they move to Spec(IP), AGR is not identified. As a result, Spec(IP) is restricted to subjects. Second, in Dutch or the modern mainland Scandinavian languages, where AGR is neutral and [+F] is in COMP, subjects must move from their underlying position into Spec(IP) for two reasons: (1) just as in English and French, neutral AGR must be identified, and (2) if subjects were to remain in their underlying position, considerations of minimality would prevent nominative case from being assigned since INFL, a potential host for [+F], is a closer potential head-governor than COMP, the actual host. As a result, the clause would fail to meet a well-formedness

¹⁰ The distinction between nominative and neutral AGR is (roughly) equivalent in empirical coverage to the distinction made by Koopman and Sportiche (1991) between nominative case assignment under Spec-head agreement and under head-government.

¹¹ The identification of AGR as nominative in languages with neutral AGR is not circular since the identifying noun phrase is assigned nominative case not by AGR, but by [+F].

condition requiring a one-to-one relation between case assigners and case receivers (Platzack and Holmberg (1990, p. 8); Rizzi and Roberts (1989)). This well-formedness condition is only satisfied if Spec(IP) is occupied by a subject. Third, suppose that [+F] is in COMP and AGR is inherently nominative, as in German. Even though subjects in such languages need not move from their underlying position in order to identify AGR, they are forced to move by the considerations of minimality just discussed. Finally, consider the case where AGR is inherently nominative and [+F] is in INFL, as in Yiddish. This is the only case in which subjects are able to remain in their underlying position, since they are assigned nominative case there and do not need to move to Spec(IP) in order to identify AGR. Such languages, then, are the only ones to allow non-subjects in Spec(IP).

To judge from the discussion so far, the status of AGR plays no role in languages with [+F] in COMP: Spec(IP) is restricted to subjects regardless of whether AGR is nominative, as in German, or neutral, as in Dutch or the modern mainland Scandinavian languages. However, the distinction between the two types of AGR correlates with the availability of empty expletive subjects in these languages.¹² Specifically, I assume that expletive subjects (whether lexical or not) are generated in the underlying subject position, where they are licensed by predication (cf. Heycock (1991, Chapter 2) and references cited there). In languages with [+F] in COMP, expletive subjects – like subjects in general – must move to Spec(IP) in order to be assigned nominative case. German permits empty expletive subjects in Spec(IP) because AGR, being inherently nominative, need not be identified by an overt antecedent. In Dutch and the modern mainland Scandinavian languages, on the other hand, I assume that empty expletives are unable to identify neutral AGR. Thus, despite the fact that Dutch shares overt subject-verb agreement morphology with German, it patterns with the modern mainland Scandinavian languages, which have completely lost agreement morphology, in requiring overt expletive subjects in Spec(IP). This is shown in the impersonal constructions in (11) (the examples are from Haider (1989, pp. 203–204)).¹³

¹² The discussion of expletives below is restricted to what Travis (1984, p. 216) refers to as 'T-type' expletives – corresponding to English *there*.

¹³ In addition to moving to Spec(IP) to be assigned nominative case, subjects in German can also remain in their underlying position if they form part of a (non-movement) CHAIN headed by a coindexed empty expletive in Spec(IP) (for the concept of CHAIN, see Chomsky (1986b, p. 132)). Such CHAINS are ruled out in Dutch and the mainland Scandinavian languages by the licensing condition on AGR. If the analysis presented in the text is correct, certain exceptional cases in Dutch in which Spec(IP) appears to be filled by a dative argument (den Besten (1985, pp. 39–41)) or by a locative PP must be analyzed as involving adjunction to IP. Given the INFL-final phrase structure of Dutch, conclusive evidence concerning the

- (11)a. dat er/*e gedanst werd (Dutch)
 that expl danced was
- b. at det/*e ble danset (Norwegian)
 that expl was danced
- c. daß e/*es getanzt wurde (German)
 that expl danced was

The final assumption I will make is that empty expletives obey the licensing condition in (12) (cf. Safir (1985, p. 206); Rizzi (1986, p. 524); Platzack and Holmberg (1990, p. 21)).

- (12) Licensing condition on empty expletives:
 Empty expletives must be head-governed.

This condition has an interesting consequence: since [+F] is located in INFL rather than in COMP in modern Yiddish, empty expletives are expected to be restricted to the underlying subject position. This is because Spec(IP) is head-governed by neither COMP nor INFL (recall that COMP is not a head-governor in the absence of [+F] and that INFL does not head-govern its specifier according to the definition in (8)), whereas the underlying subject position *is* head-governed by INFL. As shown in (13), this expectation is borne out; (13b) is completely unacceptable in modern Yiddish (Santorini (1989, p. 51)).¹⁴

- (13)a. oyb in shtub iz e varem
 whether in room is warm
 whether it is warm in the room
- b. *oyb e iz varem in shtub
 whether is warm in room
 whether it is warm in the room

structural position of clause-initial constituents is very difficult to come by; specifically, the *was für/wat voor* split, on the basis of which den Besten (1985) argues that nominative arguments in the dative-nominative construction occupy object position, turns out not to be reliable (Heycock (1991, pp. 118–120)).

¹⁴ Platzack and Holmberg (1990) fail to note the contrast in (13). According to them, (13b) should be acceptable since Spec(IP) is head-governed by INFL under their definition and the empty expletive is identified by overt subject-verb agreement.

TABLE I

Parameters governing type of constituents allowed in Spec(IP) in various European languages

Type of AGR	Locus of [+F]	Languages	Constituents allowed in Spec(IP)		
			Thematic subjects (Su)	Non-subjects (XP)	Empty expletives (e)
Neutral	INFL	English, French	Yes	No	No
Neutral	COMP	Dutch, modern mainland Scandinavian	Yes	No	No
Nominative	INFL	Modern Yiddish	Yes	Yes	No
Nominative	COMP	German	Yes	No	Yes

Table I briefly summarizes the above discussion. As is evident, the parameters that I propose do not allow for a grammatical system that permits Spec(IP) to be occupied by subjects, non-subjects and empty expletives alike. I discuss the fact that early East Yiddish (as well as modern Icelandic) appear to reflect just such a system in Section 3.3, where I will propose that the usage in these languages reflects the union of two grammatical systems – a system with [+F] in COMP and one with [+F] in INFL.

1.4. Terminological Conventions

I adopt the following terminological conventions. Subordinate clauses that must be derived from an underlying phrase structure in which INFL precedes VP are '(unambiguously) INFL-medial', whereas ones that must be derived from an underlying structure in which INFL follows VP are '(unambiguously) INFL-final'. Subordinate clauses whose word order is consistent with either INFL-medial or an INFL-final phrase structure are 'ambiguous'. I refer to nominative case assignment in a grammatical system in which [+F] is underlyingly in COMP as 'COMP-assignment', and to nominative case assignment in a system in which [+F] is underlyingly in INFL as 'INFL-assignment'.

In statements concerning superficial word order, the abbreviations 'Su', 'e' and 'XP' refer to thematic subjects, empty expletive subjects and (thematic) non-subjects, respectively. 'Vf' refers to the finite verb, and 'Y' refers to a (non-null) string whose syntactic structure is of no concern. So, for instance, a language with [+F] in INFL with nominative AGR allows subordinate clauses with Su-Vf-Y or XP-Vf-Y word order, but not e-Vf-Y word order. I use 'Vf-second' as a convenient cover term for any

of the three word order types Su-Vf-Y, e-Vf-Y or XP-Vf-Y. Finally, I use the term 'V2' in its traditional descriptive sense to refer to (declarative) clauses with the following two properties: (1) the inflected verb is the second constituent, and (2) if the first constituent is not the subject, then subject-verb inversion is obligatory. As I use the term in this paper, it is intended neither to refer simply to the linear position of the inflected verb in its clause (in contrast to 'Vf-second'), nor to be prejudiced in favor of any of the particular analyses of the phenomenon that have been proposed in the literature (such as verb movement to COMP).

2. FROM INFL-FINAL TO INFL-MEDIAL PHRASE STRUCTURE

In this section, I establish that early Yiddish exhibited INFL-medial phrase structure in addition to the INFL-final phrase structure that it inherited from German,¹⁵ and argue further that the two phrase structure options were in synchronic variation in the usage of individual speakers.

2.1. Evidence for INFL-final Phrase Structure in Early Yiddish

Unlike modern Yiddish but like German throughout its history, early Yiddish allowed INFL-final phrase structure. In the simplest case, more than one constituent precedes an inflected verb in absolute clause-final position, as shown in (14).¹⁶

- (14)a. d[a]s zi droyf givarnt vern (Bovo 39.6; 1507)
that they there-on warned were
 that they might be warned about it
- b. ven der vatr nurt doytsh leyan kan (Anshel 11; ca. 1534)
if the father only German read can
 provided only that the father can read German
- (14)c. vas er zeyn tag fun zeynm r[ebe] gilernt hat
what he his day from his rabbi learned has

¹⁵ The question whether INFL-medial phrase structure is already attested in medieval German is beyond the scope of the present paper, but the subject of work in progress.

¹⁶ The first and second numbers following each reference indicate the page, verse or line number and the year of the text, respectively. Where no page number is available, I indicate this by 'n.p.'; where the exact date is unknown, I give my best estimate on the basis of the secondary literature or my own research. The abbreviations 'WY' and 'EY' stand for 'West Yiddish' and 'East Yiddish.'

(Preface to Shir ha-shirim 2; 1579)

what he learned from his rabbi in his day

- d. *veyl d[a]z al[e]s fun daz menshn vegn bish[a]fn v[o]rdn iz*
because that all from the human behalf created been is
 (Lev tov 41; 1620)

because all of that was created on behalf of human beings

The inflected verb in unambiguously INFL-final subordinate clauses can also occur before absolute clause-final (though after second) position. Such word orders are the result of various syntactic processes that are well established in West Germanic, including PP extraposition, heavy NP shift, subject postposing, verb raising (Evers (1975), Zaenen (1979)) – a process which permutes the order of auxiliary verbs and their infinitival complements – and verb projection raising (Lötscher (1978), den Besten and Edmondson (1983), Haegeman and van Riemsdijk (1986)) – a variant of verb raising which affects verb projections rather than bare infinitives. Each of these processes is illustrated in (15).

- (15)a. PP extraposition:

d[a]z ikh reyn verde [PP fun der ashin]

that I clean become from the ash

(Purim-shpil 1004; 1697)

that I may become clean of the ash

- b. Heavy NP shift:

ven er nit veys [NP eyn guti veyd] (Sam hayyim 41; 1590)

it he not knows a good pasture

if he does not know a good pasture

- c. Subject proposing:

d[a]z es nit esin [NP di rabin] (Purim-shpil 1374; 1697)

that it not eat the ravens

lest the ravens eat it

- d. Verb raising:

dr veyl es gimeyniklikh iz [V giv[o]rdn] (Anshel 1r, ca. 1534)

because it common is become

because it has become common

- (15)e. Verb projection raising:
 z[o] ikh den livn **het** [_V vas fun ir shpeyz ginumn]
so I the lions had what of their food taken
 (Preface to Shir ha-shirim 2; 1579)
 as if I had taken some of the lions' food

2.2. Evidence for INFL-medial Phrase Structure in Early Yiddish

In addition to unambiguously INFL-final subordinate clauses, early Yiddish also exhibited Vf-second subordinate clauses like (16).

- (16) d[a]z zi **verdn** b[e]shirmt fun ir[e] bitr[e] peyn
that they become protected from their bitter pain
 (Purim-shpil 876; 1697)
 that they might be protected from their bitter pain

Such clauses are ambiguous between an INFL-final and an INFL-medial analysis. Given an INFL-final phrase structure, the Vf-second position of the inflected verb is the result of independently motivated rightward movement processes – in this case, verb raising and PP extraposition (cf. (15a,d)), whereas given an INFL-medial phrase structure, the inflected verb's position reflects the underlying clause-medial position of INFL. The two alternative derived phrase structures are illustrated schematically in (17) (for simplicity, I assume OV and VO phrase structure in (17a) and (17b), respectively).

- (17)a. INFL-final phrase structure+verb raising + PP extraposition:
 d[a]z zi *t_i* *t_j* [_{INFL} **verdn**] [_V b[e]shirmt]_j [_{PP} fun ir[e] bitr[e] peyn]_i
- b. INFL-medial phrase structure:
 d[a]z zi [_{INFL} **verdn**] b[e]shirmt fun ir[e] bitr[e] peyn

Although the majority of Vf-second clauses in early Yiddish are structurally ambiguous, some are unambiguously INFL-medial. This conclusion is based on two types of evidence. First, Travis (1984, p. 114) and den Besten and Moed-van Walraven (1986, pp. 116–128) have provided compelling evidence for modern Yiddish that the inflected verb raises from its underlying position within the VP into a clause-medial INFL node. Their arguments are based on the distribution of certain diagnostic elements, which always precede uninflected main verbs, but are obligatorily

stranded after inflected main verbs. As I will show, these arguments extend straightforwardly to early Yiddish. Second, I will argue that certain apparent instances of verb projection raising should be analyzed as INFL-medial and that a verb projection raising analysis of them is inconsistent with language-internal evidence from early Yiddish as well as with comparative evidence from other varieties of West Germanic.

2.2.1. *Stranding*

Throughout the history of Yiddish, particles precede uninflected verbs.¹⁷ This is illustrated for early Yiddish in (18).

- (18)a. *da zi gut ... hat lib gih[a]t*
since them God has dear had
 (Preface to Shir ha-shirim 5; 1579)
since God ... loved them
- b. *biz di n[e]sh[o]m[e] iz im oys gig[a]ngin*
until the soul is him out gone
 (Court testimony 189 (EY); 1639)
until his soul departed from him
- c. *ven eyn[e]r fun uns tuht irn veyn an rirn*
if one of us does their wine on touch
 (Purim-shpil 383; 1697)
if one of us touches their wine

Like particles, a number of other diagnostic elements, including *loshn koydesh* elements,¹⁸ sentence adverbs and unstressed object pronouns also always precede uninflected verbs.¹⁹ I give examples with *loshn koydesh*

¹⁷ Exceptions to this generalization occur in my corpus twice out of a total of 367 potential instances (0.5%). According to detailed quantitative work of my own and others, well-established generalizations in a language are violated in naturally-occurring usage at a low, relatively constant rate of about 1%. For instance, the relative frequency of resumptive pronouns in English in non-island environments is approx. 1% (Anthony Kroch, pers. comm.).

¹⁸ *Loshn koydesh*, Hebrew for 'language of holiness,' is the traditional Yiddish name for Hebrew and Aramaic. *Loshn koydesh* elements are indeclinable Hebrew or Aramaic elements (formally usually participles) which combine with the verb 'be' or 'become' to form quasi-lexical compounds.

¹⁹ In my corpus, unstressed pronouns follow an uninflected verb three times out of 459 potential instances (0.7%). *Loshn koydesh* elements and sentence adverbs never do.

elements and sentence adverbs in (19) and (20). The distribution of unstressed object pronouns is illustrated in (18a, b), (19a, c) and (20a).

- (19)a. i ikh mikh h[a]b **tubl** **givezin**
before I REFL have ritually-immersed been
 (Court testimony 227 (WY); 1650–1670)
 before I ritually immersed myself
- b. d[a]z ikh h[a]b den rekhtn s[o]d nit **m[e]g[a]l[e]** **givezin**
that I have the true secret not disclose been
 (Court testimony 232 (WY); 1661)
 that I didn't disclose the true secret
- c. vi ikh mikh hab **n[oye]g g[i]vezn** in meyn[e] tagin
how I REFL have wont been in my days
 (Moses 51; ca. 1750)
 how I behaved in my day
- (20)a. d[a]z mir yusf di h' zhubim **nit gebn vil**
that me Joseph the five guilders not give wants
 (Court testimony 58 (WY); 1463)
 that Joseph doesn't want to give me the five guilders
- b. ver da **nit vil lernn** (Megilat Ester 2; 1589)
who there not wants learn
 whoever doesn't want to learn
- c. der veyl d[a]z der mensh y[a] **nit kan zeyn [o]n gesn**
since that the human PART not can be without eaten
 (Lev tov 51, 1620)
 since people just cannot exist without eating

The distribution of particles, *loshn koydesh* elements, sentence adverbs and unstressed object pronouns with respect to uninflected verbs shows that they do not undergo rightward movement. Hence, if these diagnostic elements follow an inflected verb, we may conclude, following Travis (1984) and den Besten and Moed-van Walraven (1986), that this is the result of the inflected verb having moved leftward from its underlying position immediately following the diagnostic element into a clause-medial

INFL node. Examples of stranding as in (21)–(24) therefore provide evidence that early Yiddish allowed INFL-medial phrase structure.

- (21)a. d[a]z der mensh **git** erst **oyf** in di hikh
that the human goes first up in the height
 (Preface to Shir ha-shirim 6; 1579)
 that people first grow in height
- b. ven m[a]n **hibt** shm[a] isral **an**
when one lifts Shma Israel on
 (Ashkenaz un polak 141; ca. 1675)
 when one begins to recite Shma Israel (the Jewish creed)
- c. di da **habin lib** iri leybr (Ellush n.p.; 1704)
who there have dear their bodies
 who love their bodies
- (22)a. gleykh az m[a]n **iz m[e]k[a]r[e]v** eyn k[o]rbn t[o]y[r]e
same as one is befriend a martyr Torah
 (Vilna 218; 1692)
 as if one befriends a victim of anti-Semitic persecution
- b. vi der ben adam **iz zikh n[oye]g** mit dem menshn
how the son of-man is REFL wont with the human
 (Ellush n.p.; 1704)
 how the son of man behaves with people
- (23)a. d[a]z ez **iz nit** az andri shlekhti bikhr
that it is not like other bad books
 (Preface to Megilat Ester 2; 1589)
 that it isn't like other bad books
- b. d[a]z der mensh **bidarf nit** tsu zukhn eyn m[a]gid
that the human needs not to seek a preacher
 (Preface to Sefer ha-magid 4b; 1623–1627)
 that people don't need to look for a preacher

- (24) vi es **izt mir** zu k[a]lt (Purim-shpil 424; 1697)
how it is me so cold
 how I feel so cold

2.2.2. Apparent Instances of Verb Projection Raising

The second type of evidence that early Yiddish allowed INFL-medial phrase structure is based on subordinate clauses like (25), where an object pronoun intervenes between a modal and its infinitival complement.

- (25) az ihudim habin **mir** gizagt
that Jews have me told
 (Court testimony 150 (EY); 1625–1640)
 that people told me

At first glance, the word order in such clauses appears to be consistent with either INFL-final or INFL-medial phrase structure. Given an INFL-final analysis, the pronoun would come to follow the inflected verb as a result of the independently motivated process of verb projection raising (cf. (15e)), whereas given an INFL-medial analysis, the order of the inflected verb and the pronoun would directly reflect the underlying position of INFL. The two alternative derivations are illustrated schematically in (26).

- (26)a. INFL-final phrase structure + verb projection raising:
 az ihudim t_i [_{INFL} **haben**] [_{VP} mir gizagt]_i
 b. INFL-medial phrase structure:
 az ihudim [_{INFL} **haben**] [_{VP} mir gizagt]

However, the apparently available verb projection analysis of (25) given in (26a) cannot be maintained, since pronouns in early Yiddish are never included in unambiguous instances of verb projection raising (that is, in instances of verb projection raising where more than one constituent precedes the inflected verb).²⁰ In this respect, early Yiddish behaves just like other varieties of West Germanic. In both Swiss German and West Flemish, which are INFL-final and allow the raising of verb projections containing full NP's, it is unacceptable to include pronouns in the raised verb projection, and pronouns must scramble out of the verb projection before verb projection raising takes place (Kathrin Cooper, Liliane Haeghe-

²⁰ Exceptions to this generalization occur once out of 207 potential instances (0.5%).

man and Manuela Schönenberger, pers. comm.). This is illustrated for Zurich German in (27).

- (27)a. ?*das er t_i törf [_{VP} en is Huus bringe]_i
that he may him into-the house bring
 that he is allowed to bring him into the house
- (27)b. das er en_i t_j törf [_{VP} t_i is Huus bringe]_j
that he him may into-the house bring
 that he is allowed to bring into the house

Thus, language-internal evidence from early Yiddish and comparative evidence from other varieties of West Germanic converge to indicate that subordinate clauses like (25) reflect INFL-medial rather than INFL-final phrase structure.

A parallel argument can be made on the basis of subordinate clauses like those in (28), where sentence negation intervenes between an inflected modal and its infinitival complement.²¹

- (28)a. ven shun mir kanin **nit** vern ginezin (Vilna 218; 1692)
even though we can not become recovered
 even if we are not able to recover
- b. az unzre kindr zaln **nit** vern fun unz f[e]ryagt
that our children shall not become from us driven-away
 (Sarah 85; 1700–1750)
 that our children shall not be driven away from us
- c. dz keynr zul zikh **nit** dr vegn (Ellush n.p.; 1704)
that no-one shall REFL not dare
 that no-one shall dare
- d. az di n[e]sh[o]m[e] zal **nit** oys gin (Ellush n.p.; 1704)
that the soul shall not out go
 that the soul shall not depart

²¹ The construction of unaccusative verbs like ‘recover’ with the passive auxiliary in (28a) is presumably due to the contact of Yiddish with Lithuanian, a language that permits passives of unaccusative verbs (Baker (1988, p. 329)). This usage remains characteristic of Yiddish speakers from Lithuania to the present day (Ellen Prince, pers. comm.). Note also that (28c) is an instance of negative concord – that is, the negative element *nit* ‘not’ does not cancel the negative force of the subject. Negative concord has become obligatory in modern Yiddish.

As in the case of pronouns, the word order in such subordinate clauses appears to be consistent with either INFL-final or INFL-medial phrase structure, as illustrated for (28a) in (29).

- (29)a. INFL-final phrase structure + verb projection raising:
 ven shun mir t_i [_{INFL} **kanin**] [_{VP} nit vern ginezin]_i
- (29)b. INFL-medial phrase structure:
 ven shun mir [_{INFL} **kanin**] [_{VP} nit vern ginezin]

Again, however, there is evidence that the verb projection raising analysis of the apparently ambiguous (28a) should be rejected. It is a striking and well-established fact that when negation is included in verb projection raising in Swiss German and West Flemish, the raised projection forms a scope island – that is, negation cannot be interpreted as sentential negation, and its scope is restricted to the raised infinitive (Haegeman and van Riemsdijk (1986, pp. 442–444); cf. also Lötscher (1978, p. 9)). Under the reasonable assumption that early Yiddish does not differ in this respect from other varieties of West Germanic, the only reading of (28a) that is consistent with the verb projection raising analysis in (29a) would be the one where negation takes narrow scope with respect to the modal: ‘even though we are able not to recover’. However, the only reading of (28a) that is consistent with the context in which it occurs is the one where negation takes wide scope with respect to the modal, as indicated in the gloss, and the same is true of the remaining sentences in (28) and those like them in the corpus. From this, I conclude that clauses like those in (28) reflect INFL-medial rather than INFL-final phrase structure.

2.3. *More Evidence for INFL-final Phrase Structure*

It might be argued (as does a reviewer of an earlier version of this paper) that subordinate clauses like those in (14) and (15), in which the inflected verb occurs after the second position, are only apparently INFL-final and that their word order already reflects the modern INFL-medial phrase structure together with leftward movement of constituents across the inflected verb. Evidence against this view comes from the distribution of particles and predicate nominals – elements that do not move leftward in early Yiddish, or in West Germanic more generally (cf. den Besten and Rutten (1989) for modern Dutch).

As noted in Section 2.2, particles immediately precede uninflected verbs throughout the history of Yiddish; in particular, they do not move leftward

from their underlying position.²² If (apparently) INFL-final subordinate clauses were derived from a uniformly INFL-medial base in early Yiddish, we would not expect to find subordinate clauses in which a particle precedes the inflected verb, since such clauses would have to be derived by moving the particle leftward. Contrary to this expectation, however, particles precede inflected verbs in 54 out of 70 potential instances (77%). Some examples are given in (30).

- (30)a. *vi zi mit di yudn um gingu tsu*
how they with the Jews around went in
m[i]tsr[ay]im (Megilat Ester 4; 1589)
Mitsrayim
how they treated the Jews in Egypt
- b. *d[a]z der mensh eyn biz v[o]rt tsu zeynm mund hroys lazt*
that the person a bad word to his mouth out lets
(Lev tov 6l; 1620)
that a person lets a bad word escape out of his mouth
- c. *ven du mir meyn kop ab shneydst*
if you me my head off cut
(Magen Abraham 2; 1624)
if you cut my head off

A parallel argument can be made based on the distribution of predicate nominals (including predicate adjectives), which also never move leftward in clauses containing uninflected verbs.²³ Again, if (apparently) INFL-final subordinate clauses in early Yiddish reflected uniformly INFL-medial phrase structure, predicate nominals should not precede inflected verbs, since the predicate nominal would have had to move leftward. But in fact, predicate nominals precede an inflected verb in 44 out of 175 potential instances (25%). Some examples are given in (31); cf. also (15a, d).

- (31)a. *ven d[a]z di figl dirstig zeyn (Megilat Ester 6; 1589)*
when that the birds thirsty are
when the birds are thirsty

²² Exceptions to this generalization occur three times out of 367 potential instances (0.8%).

²³ There are no exceptions to this generalization in the corpus, out of 85 potential instances.

- (31)b. d[a]z das **zeyn bart iz**
that that his beard is
 (Court testimony 177 (EY); 1600–1648)
 that that is his beard
- c. ven eyn mensh **shvakh iz** (Lev tov 5l; 1620)
if a person weak is
 if a person is weak

2.4. *Phrase Structure Variation in Early Yiddish*

Having established that early Yiddish allowed both INFL-final and INFL-medial subordinate clauses, I will argue in this section that the change from INFL-final to INFL-medial phrase structure in the history of the language progressed via variation between two alternative phrase structure options in the usage of individual speakers – a view that I will refer to as the ‘double base hypothesis’.

2.4.1. *Variation at the Level of the Speech Community?*

Following a view advanced by Halle (1962) and elaborated by Andersen (1973), most generative discussions assume that the matrix of linguistic change is first-language acquisition – the process whereby children, on the basis of experience (a set of primary data) and innate knowledge (universal grammar), infer a series of grammars for the primary data that they are exposed to. In the usual case, children eventually settle on a grammar (roughly) identical to that of their elders, whereas grammatical change takes place when children abduce a new grammar that differs from that of their elders. In communities whose language is undergoing change, some children abduce the old grammar and others, the new grammar, and the change is held to progress as more and more children abduce the new grammar. It is further commonly assumed that children are constrained to abduce a single grammar from the primary data. Given this assumption – which I will refer to as the ‘single base hypothesis’ – the synchronic coexistence of INFL-final and INFL-medial subordinate clauses in early Yiddish texts must be conceived of as grammatical variation in the usage of the speech community rather than in the usage of individuals.

However, when the historical Yiddish data are examined in detail, we find that they provide evidence that syntactic change can progress via synchronic variation between two grammatical systems in the usage of

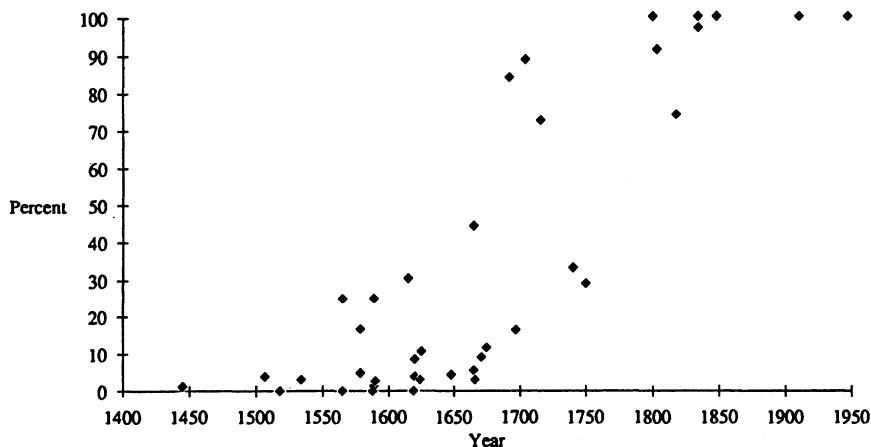


Fig. 1. Percentage of INFL-medial subordinate clauses in Yiddish texts.

individuals.²⁴ For each text in my corpus, I determined f (the number of subordinate clauses that are unambiguously INFL-final by the criteria in Section 2.1) and m (the number of subordinate clauses that are unambiguously INFL-medial by the criteria in Section 2.2) and calculated $m/(f + m)$ (the relative frequency of unambiguously INFL-medial subordinate clauses with respect to the total number of structurally unambiguous subordinate clauses). If the phrase structure variation in early Yiddish were restricted to the level of the usage of the speech community, then the resulting relative frequency in each individual text should be either 0% or 100%, depending on whether the author of the text had in the course of acquisition abduced the old INFL-final or the new INFL-medial base. The change from INFL-final to INFL-medial phrase structure in the history of Yiddish would then be reflected in a decline over time in the number of texts with a score of 0% and a concomitant rise in the number of texts with a score of 100%. Figure 1 shows the actual relative frequency of the INFL-medial subordinate clauses for each text.²⁵ As is readily apparent, the data are not consistent with the view that phrase structure

²⁴ Synchronic variation between two grammatical systems is not the only vehicle of syntactic change. For instance, according to Kroch (1989b, pp. 210–215), the loss of the V2 phenomenon in French involved competition between two sentence types that were both consistent with a single V2 grammar.

²⁵ The raw numbers on which Figure 1 is based are given in Appendix C; I have plotted points only for texts containing more than five unambiguous subordinate clauses. The percentages for vernacular data reflect aggregate data from more than one speaker; however, this does not affect the point being made, since the usage of these speakers turns out to reflect phrase structure variation, just like that of authors of literary texts.

variation in early Yiddish is restricted to the level of the speech community. Rather, many of the individual texts themselves exhibit variation.

2.4.2. *Variation at the Level of the Individual*

The fact that actual historical data are inconsistent with the single base hypothesis, as demonstrated in Figure 1, is generally accommodated in discussions of linguistic change by postulating the existence of so-called adaptive rules, which give rise to a superficial convergence in the performance of speakers with different grammars (Andersen (1973, p. 773); Adams (1987b, p. 229)). However, I will argue that appealing to adaptive rules to describe the early Yiddish data is methodologically more problematic than the alternative of adopting the double base hypothesis. Consider the specific adaptive rules that would need to be formulated. For speakers of early Yiddish who are assumed to have an INFL-medial grammar, subordinate clauses with more than one constituent preceding the inflected verb would have to be derived by an adaptive rule of leftward movement. In the case of subordinate clauses with a particle or predicate nominal preceding the inflected verb, this rule would contradict the generalization – otherwise observed by the very same speakers – that these elements do not undergo movement. Alternatively, an adaptive rule might be postulated that moves the inflected verb rightward, but then it is unclear how principled constraints on such a rule might be formulated to prevent the verb from landing before non-extraposable constituents. Conversely, for speakers of early Yiddish who are assumed to have an INFL-final grammar, Vf-second clauses containing stranded constituents would have to be derived by an adaptive rule that moves such constituents to the position immediately following the inflected verb. Since the rule would apply not to the inflected verb, but to the class of strandable constituents, it is again unclear how its application could be constrained in a principled way to yield only Vf-second word orders, but not word orders in which more than one constituent precedes the inflected verb and the stranded constituent. In short, the adaptive rules required to describe the facts of early Yiddish would be highly idiosyncratic devices, overriding the descriptive generalizations that form the empirical underpinnings of structural analysis in just the right subset of clauses, at the same time that they redundantly mimic the output of phrase structure options provided by universal grammar. For this reason, I reject an appeal to adaptive rules as conceptually undesirable and empirically unnecessary – at least in the present case of syntactic change.

Let us now consider the alternative to adaptive rules: the double base

hypothesis. This hypothesis is based on the assumption that children have the ability to abduce more than one grammatical system from the primary data in the course of acquisition – an ability for which the phenomena of multilingualism, diglossia and intrasentential code-switching provide independent and incontrovertible evidence. According to the double base hypothesis, speakers of early Yiddish had competence with regard to both an INFL-medial and an INFL-final base, and the results in Figure 1 reflect variation in the frequency with which different speakers of early Yiddish put the separate components of their competence to use in producing subordinate clauses. In this view, the diachronic change in Yiddish subordinate clause word order reflects a gradual rise over time in the frequency with which Yiddish speakers exercised the INFL-medial component of their competence in performance. I take the competence of early Yiddish speakers who produced both INFL-final and INFL-medial subordinate clauses to be of precisely the same sort from the point of view of mental representation as the competence of (not necessarily balanced) bilingual speakers of, say, INFL-final German and INFL-medial English. As in any situation where speakers have the choice between various options provided by their grammar(s), both linguistic and extralinguistic considerations influenced usage; some relevant factors are discussed in Santorini (1989, Chapter 4).²⁶ Finally, the intriguing but extremely difficult questions of how the INFL-medial phrase structure option arose in Yiddish and why the frequency of INFL-medial subordinate clauses should have changed over time rather than remaining stable cannot be answered on the basis of purely structural considerations and are hence beyond the scope of the present paper; it should, however, be noted explicitly that such issues are independent of the correctness of the double base hypothesis. For discussion concerning the question of the mechanism of syntactic change, see Adams (1987b, Chapter 5), Kroch (1989a) and Kroch (1989b).

Objections to the double base hypothesis appear to be rooted in three methodological concerns: (1) that it is incompatible with rigorous structural analysis, (2) that it illegitimately complicates the analysis of linguistic phenomena, and (3) that it contradicts the spirit of generative inquiry. None of these objections can be maintained, however. (1) In the case at

²⁶ While it is true, as a reviewer points out, that a theory of how various components of linguistic competence are reflected in performance remains to be developed, it is equally true that the absence of such a theory cannot be construed as an *a priori* objection against the double base hypothesis. The reason is simply that an appeal to adaptive rules – or any other comparable device – to describe historical facts of the type presented here is subject to the same methodological caveats as an appeal to the double base hypothesis.

hand, it is precisely the reliance on statements of distribution of the sort that are standardly used in the literature as diagnostics of syntactic structure that leads us to entertain the double base hypothesis. (2) In linguistics, as in any other domain of empirical inquiry, what is illegitimate is to assume that the relationship between particular phenomena and the theoretical principles governing them is necessarily simple. Rather, the data of linguistic usage are like the pattern of waves that might attract our attention on the surface of a lake. If the pattern that we observe is a simple series of concentric circles, we would conclude that it was the result of dropping a single spherical rock into the water. We might explain a less regular and more complex pattern as the result of dropping a single eccentrically shaped object into the lake. But we would reject attempts to explain a complex wave pattern as the result of dropping a single object into the lake if such attempts required us to give up physical laws that we have good reason to believe hold in the case of simple wave patterns. In such a case, we would prefer an explanation according to which the wave pattern is the result of dropping more one rock into the lake at different locations (and perhaps at different times). Far from objecting to such an explanation on the grounds that it is more complicated than the first because it assumes more than one perturbation and hence fails to capture the unitary phenomenal character of the wave pattern in our pretheoretic experience, we prefer it precisely on the grounds that it is *less* complicated at the level of the theoretical principles that it assumes. Finally, if there were particular wave patterns for which we could not determine on empirical grounds whether they were the result of one or more perturbations, considerations of methodological parsimony would enjoin us to prefer the class of explanations that assumes a single perturbation. Similarly, joint considerations of empirical adequacy and theoretical consistency may lead us to propose analyses of linguistic variation in terms of the interaction of more than one grammatical system, but unless forced to adopt such analyses by the linguistic evidence – as we are in the present case – we will prefer ones based on the assumption that a speaker's performance reflects a single grammatical system. (3) That linguistic variation might arise from the interaction of more than one grammatical system is expected given the distinction between E(xternalized)-language and I(nternalized)-language that is at the heart of the generative paradigm (Chomsky (1986a); see also Pollock (1989, p. 420, fn. 49)). The changing patterns of linguistic variation that we observe in the historical data, which I have likened to the various states in the fluctuating surface of a lake, are phenomena of E-language. From a perspective that focuses on I-language, we study these patterns in order to deduce the principles of I-language governing them.

Conversely, when respect for established generalizations concerning I-language (like the statements of linguistic distribution that I have relied upon above) yields empirically adequate, theoretically simple analyses of pretheoretically complex phenomena like those in Figure 1, then these phenomena themselves can be taken to provide support for the distinction between E-language and I-language.

3. FROM COMP-ASSIGNMENT TO INFL-ASSIGNMENT

In this section, I discuss the syntactic changes that took place with regard to the Spec(IP) position in Yiddish, focusing on Vf-second clauses. Su-Vf-Y subordinate clauses have always been acceptable throughout the recorded history of the language. But whereas *e*-Vf-Y subordinate clauses are attested in early Yiddish, they have become unacceptable in modern Yiddish (cf. (13b)). Conversely, whereas XP-Vf-Y subordinate clauses are not attested in West Yiddish and the earliest forms of East Yiddish, they have become acceptable in modern Yiddish (cf. (5b), (13a)). I will argue that both of these word order changes reflect a single parametric shift in the locus of [+F] from COMP to INFL in the history of East Yiddish. An apparent difficulty for this approach is that a number of East Yiddish texts from the late early Yiddish period exhibit both *e*-Vf-Y and XP-Vf-Y subordinate clauses. I propose to analyze East Yiddish usage during this transition period as reflecting [+F] in either COMP or INFL and conclude the section by putting the case of early East Yiddish in cross-linguistic perspective.

3.1. *e*-Vf-Y Word Order

Early Yiddish allowed *e*-Vf-Y word order in subordinate clauses, as shown for impersonal and subject postposing constructions in (32) and (33), respectively.

- (32) d[a]z *e* iz mir y[e]due d[a]z . . .
 that is me-DAT known that
 (Court testimony 197 (EY); ca. 1643)
 that it is known to me that . . .

- (33)a. vi *e* zeynn da avek kumn eyn par yungi leyt
 how are there away come a couple young people
 how a couple of young people disappeared there

- (33)b. d[a]z *e* zoyln zikh dran kern manin un' veybr
that shall REFL thereon turn men and women
 (Duties n.p.; 1704)
 that men and women shall take heed of this

By contrast, *e*-Vf-Y word order in subordinate clauses is completely ruled out in modern Yiddish, as noted in connection with (13b). Some further examples are given for impersonal and subject postposing constructions in (34) and (35), respectively.^{27,28}

- (34)a. *az *e* iz geven fintster-khoyshekh in shtub
that is been dark-pitch in room
 that it was pitch-dark in the room
- b. *... volt er gepaskent vi *e* iz gut far got
would he decided how is good for God
 ... he would decide in God's favor
- (35)a. *az *e* iz gekumen in zayn shtot a groyser magid
that is come in his town a great teacher
 that a great teacher came into his town

²⁷ The (un)acceptability of all modern Yiddish examples has been confirmed with Mascha Benya-Matz, David Braun and Itsik Gotesman. Benya-Matz was born and grew up in Lithuania; Braun and Gotesman were born and grew up as Yiddish/English bilinguals in the United States.

²⁸ Word order variants of (34) and (35) in which the clause-initial position is filled by an overt constituent are completely acceptable, as shown in (i) and (ii).

- (i)a. az in shtub iz *e* geven fintster-khoyshekh (Olsvanger (1947, p. 29))
that in room is been dark-pitch
 that it was pitch-dark in the room
- b. ... volt er gepaskent vi far got iz *e* gut (Olsvanger (1947, p. 169))
would he decided how for God is good
 ... he would decide in God's favor (i.e. as is good for God)
- (ii)a. az in zayn shtot iz *e* gekumen a groyser magid (Olsvanger (1947, p. 90))
that in his town is come a great teacher
 that a great teacher came into his town
- b. az dem briv hot *e* geshribn an amorets (Olsvanger (1947, p. 147))
that the letter has written an illiterate
 that the letter was written by an illiterate

- (35)b. *az e hot geshribn dem briv an amoretz
 that has written the letter an illiterate
 that the letter was written by an illiterate

As discussed in Section 1.3.2, the unacceptability of the *e-Vf-Y* subordinate clauses in (34) and (35) follows from the assumption that [+F] in modern Yiddish is in INFL: since COMP does not contain [+F] it is not a head-governor, and the empty expletive in Spec(IP) violates the licensing condition in (12), which requires empty expletives to be head-governed. We can account for the acceptability of *e-Vf-Y* subordinate clauses like (32) and (33) in early Yiddish by assuming that [+F] is in COMP (as in German) rather than in INFL. Under the reasonable assumption that AGR in early Yiddish is nominative (as it is in German and continues to be in modern Yiddish), empty expletives in Spec(IP) are then expected to be possible, since COMP head-governs the empty expletive in Spec(IP) and AGR need not be identified by an overt antecedent. According to this analysis, the loss of *e-Vf-Y* subordinate clauses in the transition from early to modern Yiddish reflects a change in the locus of [+F] from COMP to INFL.

3.2. *XP-Vf-Y Subordinate Clauses*

Let us now consider subordinate clauses with *XP-Vf-Y* word order. Such clauses are never attested in West Yiddish (0 instances out of 392 *Vf*-second subordinate clauses). In East Yiddish, *XP-Vf-Y* word order emerges in the second quarter of the 1600's (interestingly, the earliest reports of phonological differences between West and East Yiddish also date back to the early 1600's (Weinreich (1980, pp. 722–726))). Some early examples are given in (36).

- (36)a. di al ir tag habi[n] zikh nit vi gitan
 who all their day have REFL not than done
 tsu lernn kh[o]khm[es] fun d[e]r t[oy]r[e]
 to learn wisdom-PL from the Torah

(Preface to Sefer ha-Magid 4a; 1623–1627)

who all the days of their lives have done nothing but learn
 wisdom from the Torah

- (36)b. d[a]s **da** hut n[e]bukh[a]d n[e]trs giv[o]rfn in klikh uvn
that there has Nebuchadnezzar thrown into-the furnace
 that Nebuchadnezzar there threw into the furnace
- c. das **in zeyn her tsihn** iz eyn goy[e] tsu ihm
that in his here pulling is a Gentile-FEM to him
 gikumin (Court testimony (EY) 174, 1600–1648)
come
 that in his wanderings a non-Jewish woman came up to him

Given the analysis of the loss of *e-Vf-Y* subordinate clauses just presented, the emergence of *XP-Vf-Y* subordinate clauses in the course of the history of Yiddish is expected. As long as [+F] is in COMP, Spec(IP) must be occupied by a subject so that nominative case can be assigned without violating minimality, but as soon as the locus of [+F] shifts to INFL, nominative case is assigned to subjects in their underlying position and Spec(IP) is free to be occupied by non-subjects.

3.3. Variation Between COMP-assignment and INFL-assignment

3.3.1. Early East Yiddish

As noted in Section 1.3.2, the parameters of nominative case assignment and licensing of AGR that I propose rule out a grammatical system that permits Spec(IP) to be occupied by thematic subjects, empty expletive subjects and non-subjects alike. An apparent dilemma for the proposed analysis is therefore the cooccurrence during the 1600's of *e-Vf-Y* and *XP-Vf-Y* subordinate clauses in early East Yiddish, at times in the same texts (see Appendix C for details). Just as in the case of the phrase structure change discussed in Section 2, I propose to analyze the usage in such texts as reflecting not a single grammatical system, but rather the overlap resulting from the transition between two 'pure' grammatical systems – the outgoing system with [+F] in COMP and the incoming one with [+F] in INFL. (For related proposals concerning variability in the locus of [+F], though without an explicit historical perspective, see Platzack and Holmberg (1990, p. 24) and Kosmeijer (1991).)

3.3.2. *Icelandic*

A contemporary instance of the state of affairs encountered in early East Yiddish is Icelandic.²⁹ On the one hand, it allows XP-Vf-Y subordinate clauses (Maling and Zaenen (1981, pp. 255–256); Rögnvaldsson (1984, pp. 6–9); Thráinsson (1986, pp. 179, 186); Maling (1980/1990, pp. 71–72, 175–176); Rögnvaldsson and Thráinsson (1990, pp. 22–29)). This is illustrated in (37) ((37a)=Rögnvaldsson's (11), (37b)=Thráinsson's (28b)).

- (37)a. Kennari sem slíkan þvætting ber á borð
a-teacher who such nonsense lays on the-table
 fyrir nemendur er til alls vís.
before students is to all capable
 A teacher who tells students such nonsense is capable of anything.
- b. Ég spurði hvar henni hefðu flestir aðdáendur gefið blóm.
I asked where her had most fans given flowers
 I asked where the most fans had given her flowers.

On the other hand, Icelandic is also reported to allow *e*-Vf-Y subordinate clauses (Maling (1980/1990, pp. 84–86, 188–190); Sigurðsson (1990, pp. 51–56)), as shown in (38) ((38a)=Maling's (41), (38b)=Sigurðsson's (27a)).³⁰

- (38)a. Hann spurði hvar *e* væri ennþá ekið vinstra megin.
he asked where were still driven left side
 He asked where people still drove on the left side.
- b. Ég vissi ekki að *e* færu svona mörg skip til Grænlands.
I knew not that went so many ships to Greenland
 I didn't know that so many ships went to Greenland.

As in the case of early East Yiddish, I propose to account for (37) and

²⁹ Medieval Scandinavian reflects the same variation between XP-Vf-Y and *e*-Vf-Y subordinate clause word order as Icelandic. For detailed discussion of the relevant facts of medieval Scandinavian, see Platzack (1985), Platzack (1987a), Platzack (1987b), and Platzack and Holmberg (1990).

³⁰ Clause-initial empty expletives are more acceptable in relative clauses, indirect questions and comparatives than in *that*-clauses (Maling (1980/1990, pp. 84–86/188–190)) and when the verb is in the subjunctive rather than in the indicative mood (Eiríkur Rögnvaldsson, pers. comm.).

(38) by assuming that there is variation in Icelandic between a grammatical system with [+F] in COMP and one with [+F] in INFL.³¹ In this connection, it is interesting to note that the landing site of the inflected verb in Icelandic has been a point of some controversy among students of Icelandic syntax over the past decade, with some maintaining that the inflected verb moves to COMP in all Icelandic root clauses (Holmberg (1986, pp. 121–123); Platzack (1986a, pp. 224–227); Sigurðsson (1990, p. 44) for XP-Vf root clauses) and others arguing that it moves only to INFL, at least in declarative root clauses (Rögnvaldsson (1984, pp. 10–11); Thráinsson (1986, p. 177); Rögnvaldsson and Thráinsson (1990, pp. 8–11); Kosmeijer (1991); Sigurðsson (1990, p. 44) for Su-Vf root clauses). Assuming that [+F] triggers movement of the finite verb, the hypothesis that the site of [+F] can be either in COMP or in INFL in Icelandic declarative clauses provides a possible approach to resolving the controversy in the literature.

4. CONCLUSION

In this paper, I have analyzed the generalization of the V2 phenomenon in the history of Yiddish as the result of two syntactic changes. First, INFL-final phrase structure was in variation with INFL-medial phrase structure in both West and East Yiddish, with the change from INFL-final to INFL-medial phrase structure going to completion in East Yiddish. Second, a change in the location of the finiteness operator [+F] from COMP to INFL in East Yiddish led to a loss of *e*-Vf-Y word order and a concomitant emergence in XP-Vf-Y word order. An interesting question that arises is whether the phrase structure change and the change in the locus of [+F] are independent of one another or whether they should be treated as aspects of a single, more comprehensive change. This question is difficult to answer because most languages with INFL-medial phrase structure exhibit morphological properties (specifically, the absence of case and agreement morphology) which themselves are implicated in having effects on what constituents can occupy Spec(IP). The temporal coincidence of the two changes in East Yiddish and the morphosyntactic affinity between Icelandic and modern Yiddish suggest a relationship between the two changes. However, on the basis of the facts of West Yiddish, I conclude that the two changes are independent of one another: West

³¹ It is worth noting explicitly that this analysis does not imply that Icelandic is currently undergoing syntactic change with respect to the locus of [+F], since we know of cases in which synchronic linguistic variation has remained stable over centuries.

Yiddish productively exhibits INFL-medial phrase structure during its late stages, yet in contrast to East Yiddish gives no evidence whatsoever of allowing non-subjects in Spec(IP). It is possible that colonial varieties of German in contact with Romance or Slavic developed INFL-medial phrase structure while retaining appropriate morphology. If records of such varieties of German exist, a detailed investigation of them might shed further light on whether the changes that I have described for Yiddish should in fact be regarded as related.

A. TEXTS AND PHILOLOGICAL REFERENCES

A.1. Abbreviations

- C** Cowley, A. E.: 1929, *A Concise Catalogue of the Hebrew Printed Books in the Bodleian Library*, Oxford.
- DL** Dinse, Helmut and Sol Liptzin: 1978, *Einführung in die jiddische Literatur* (Sammlung Metzler M 165, Abteilung D, Literaturgeschichte), Metzler, Stuttgart.
- E** Erik, Max: 1928 (reprinted 1979), *Di geshikhte fun der yidisher literatur* (The history of Yiddish literature), Congress for Jewish Culture, New York.
- IDC** Catalog of Inter Documentation Company AG, Poststrasse 14, 6300 Zug, Switzerland.
- St** Steinschneider, Moritz: 1852–1860 (reprinted 1964), *Catalogus librorum Hebraeorum in Bibliotheca Bodleiana*, Berlin.
- Ze** Zedner, J.: 1867, *Catalogue of the Hebrew Books in the British Museum*.
- Zi7** Zinberg, Israel: 1975, *A History of Jewish Literature. Volume 7: Old Yiddish Literature from its Origins to the Haskalah Period*, Hebrew Union College Press, Cincinnati and KTAV Publishing House, New York.
- Zi9** Zinberg, Israel: 1976, *A history of Jewish literature. Volume 9: Hasidism and Enlightenment (1780–1820)*, Hebrew Union College Press, Cincinnati and KTAV Publishing House, New York.

A.2. Texts in Chronological Order

Format of information, if known, for each source (uncertain information enclosed in square brackets): Short title. Date of composition and/or publication. Author. Full title and/or contents. Place of publication. Sec-

ondary sources, bibliographical information, additional comments. Dialect (Bohemian/Moravian and Cracow are subdialects of West Yiddish) and style (literary or vernacular).

Court testimony. Ca. 1400 to ca. 1700. Various speakers. Court testimony.

Originally published in various Hebrew works on questions of law and ethics. Rubashov (1929). Various dialects, vernacular.

Mints. Third quarter of the 1400's. Moses Mints. *Responsum*. Cracow.

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West Yiddish, literary.

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Elia Bakhur, Elia Levita). *Bovo bukh*. Isny im Allgäu. Joffe (1949),

vol. 1. Smith (1968), vol. 1, pp. 96–317a. C 171. St 4960. Zi7 67. West

Yiddish, literary.

Götz. 1518. Götz von Fiderholtz. Complaint to the Jewish community of

Regensburg. Unpublished. Birnbaum (1979, pp. 159–160). West Yid-

dish, literary.

Anshel. Ca. 1534. Anshel ben Joseph (alias Asher Leml). Preface to

Mirkevet ha-mishneh (also known as *Sefer shel Rabbi Anshel*). [Cracow].

Excerpt in Birnbaum (1979, p. 169). C 40. DL 30. IDC 91. St 4423.

Zi7 49. Cracow, literary.

Meineket Rivkah. Ca. 1550 (first published 1607 (Erika Timm, pers.

comm.) or 1609 (Zi)). Rebecca (Rivke) bath Meir of Tiktin. *Meineket*

Rivkah. Very brief excerpt in Assaf (1942, p. 45). Zi7 241, 374. East

Yiddish, literary.

Preface to Shir ha-shirim. 1579. Isaac ben Aaron Prossnitz. Preface to

Sefer shir ha-shirim (Song of songs). Cracow. C 115, 276. DL 33. IDC

95. St 1212; 5432. Zi7 121. Cracow, literary.

Shir ha-shirim. 1579. Isaac Sulkes. *Sefer shir ha-shirim* (Song of songs).

Cracow. C 115, 276. DL 33. IDC 95. St 1212; 5432. Zi7 121. Cracow,

literary.

Officials. 1588. Community officials of Cracow. Letter from the officials

of the community to absent community leaders. Unpublished. Excerpt

in Birnbaum (1979, p. 170). Weinryb (1937, pp. 43–67). Cracow, liter-

ary.

Preface to Megilat Ester. 1589. Isaac ben Aaron Prossnitz. Preface to

Megilat Ester (Book of Esther). Cracow. C 83. DL 29. IDC 90. St 287;

1225. Zi7 126. Cracow, literary.

Megilat Ester. 1589. Leib bar Moses Melir. *Megilat Ester* (Book of

Esther). Cracow. C 83. DL 29. IDC 90. St 287; 1225. Zi7 124. Cracow,

literary.

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- Preface to Ha-magid. 1623–1627. Jacob ben Isaac Rabbino Ashkenazi. Preface to *Sefer ha-magid* (The book of the preacher). Lublin. Excerpt in Birnbaum (1979, p. 170). C 87, 297. DL 34. IDC 85. St 447; 5545,1. Ze 301. Zi7 130. East Yiddish, literary.
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- Kine. 1648. Joseph ben Eliezer (Eleazar) Lippmann Ashkenazi of Prosnitz. *Kinh el gzirut hkhilut dk''k akreyni*. Lament concerning the Chmielnitzki persecutions of 1648–1649. [Prague]. M. Weinreich (1928, pp. 198–211). C 329. St 5912. Zi7 279. Moravian, literary.
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B. SAMPLING PROCEDURE

My sampling procedure was simple: for each of the texts at my disposal, I extracted 100 subordinate clauses according to the criteria given below, or as many as the text contained. (For some texts, I inadvertently extracted more than 100 subordinate clauses; these clauses are included in the results reported in the paper.) Two texts (*Anshel*, *Sam hayyim*) proved to be extremely difficult to decipher, and I broke off extracting tokens before reaching the end of the text or the one-hundredth token because the increase in statistical confidence to be gained from proceeding did not promise to justify the effort involved.

I included only clauses that were introduced by an overt complementizer or *wh*-word and that were clearly subordinate from the point of view of both syntax and semantics. In particular, I excluded the following types of clauses:

Governed root clauses without an overt complementizer.

Conjoined subordinate clauses other than the first conjunct, since they tend to exhibit root clause word order.

Clauses that are ambiguous between a root clause and a relative clause reading due to the use of the demonstrative pronoun as a relative marker (cf. Ebert 1986, p. 158 for the corresponding phenomenon in German).

Asyndetic relative clauses parallel to the English *the man I saw* (cf. Ebert 1986, p. 157 for the corresponding phenomenon in German).

TABLE II
Raw figures

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
West Yiddish – vernacular					
Court testimony, 1440–1489	80	1 (1%)	6	0	0
Total: 1440–1489	80	1 (1%)	6	0	0
Court testimony, 1540–1589	20	1 (0%)	10	0	0
Total: 1540–1589	20	0 (0%)	10	0	0
Court testimony, 1590–1639	1	0 (0%)	3	0	0
Letters, 1619	19	0 (0%)	3	0	0
Total: 1590–1639	20	0 (0%)	6	0	0
Court testimony, 1640–1689	67	4 (6%)	39	0	0
Total: 1640–1689	67	4 (6%)	39	0	0
West Yiddish – literary					
Mints, third quarter of 1400's	3	1 (25%)	3	0	0
Total: 1440–1489	3	1 (25%)	3	0	0
Bovo, 1507	73	3 (4%)	21	0	0
Goetz, 1518	15	0 (0%)	4	0	0
Anshel, ca. 1534	32	1 (3%)	6	0	0
Total: 1490–1539	120	4 (3%)	31	0	0
Preface, Shir ha-shirim, 1579	35	7 (17%)	33	0	0
Shir ha-shirim, 1579	77	4 (5%)	54	0	0
Officials, 1588	10	0 (0%)	7	0	0
Preface, Megilat Ester, 1589	9	3 (25%)	12	0	0
Megilat Ester, 1589	68	1 (1%)	33	0	0
Total: 1540–1589	199	15 (7%)	139	0	0
Kine, 1648	22	1 (4%)	14	1	0
Messiah, 1666	32	1 (3%)	19	0	0
Witzenhausen, 1677	4	0 (0%)	4	0	0
Total: 1640–1689	58	2 (3%)	37	1	0
Purim-shpil, 1697	66	13 (17%)	70	0	0
Total: 1690–1739	66	13 (17%)	70	0	0
Zeeb, 1740	4	2 (33%)	6	0	0
Moses, ca. 1750	22	9 (29%)	44	0	0
Total: 1740–1789	26	11 (30%)	50	0	0
East Yiddish – vernacular					
Court testimony, 1540–1589	6	2 (25%)	8	0	0
Total: 1540–1589	6	2 (25%)	8	0	0
Court testimony, 1590–1639	25	11 (31%)	64	1	0
Total: 1590–1639	25	11 (31%)	64	1	0
Court testimony, 1640–1689	10	8 (44%)	46	1	1
Total: 1640–1689	10	8 (44%)	46	1	1
East Yiddish – literary					
Meinekhet Rivkah, ca. 1550	1	1 (50%)	1	0	0
Total: 1540–1589	1	1 (50%)	1	0	0

TABLE II. Continued.

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Sam Hayyim, 1590	35	1 (3%)	15	0	0
Preface, Lev Tov, 1620	32	3 (9%)	14	0	0
Lev Tov, 1620	74	3 (4%)	42	0	0
Preface, Ha-magid, 1623–1627	25	3 (11%)	11	0	1
Magen Abraham, 1624	32	1 (3%)	13	1	2
Total: 1590–1639	198	11 (5%)	95	1	3
Vaad, 1671	10	1 (9%)	9	0	0
Ashkenaz un Polak, ca. 1675	38	5 (12%)	18	1	2
Total: 1640–1689	48	6 (11%)	27	1	2
Vilna, 1692	3	16 (84%)	31	0	0
Sarah, first half of 1700's	0	5 (100%)	16	0	0
Ellush, 1704	1	8 (89%)	15	0	0
Duties, 1716	3	8 (73%)	13	1	0
Poznan, 1717	1	4 (80%)	9	0	0
Total: 1690–1739	8	41 (84%)	84	1	0
Nakhman, ca. 1800	0	31 (100%)	50	0	5
Naphthali, 1803	3	32 (91%)	61	0	0
Geography, 1818	7	20 (74%)	52	0	4
Ukraine, 1834	1	34 (97%)	93	0	1
El Male Rakhamim, 1834	0	11 (100%)	31	0	2
Total: 1790–1839	11	128 (92%)	287	0	12
Judah, 1848	0	27 (100%)	64	0	0
Grine Felder, ca. 1910	0	42 (100%)	91	0	4
Royte Pomerantsen, 1947	0	52 (100%)	116	0	4
Total: 1840–present	0	121 (100%)	271	0	8

Clauses introduced by *ven*, which is either a coordinating conjunction meaning 'since' or a subordinating conjunction meaning 'if, when', unless a root clause reading was clearly ruled out by the context in which the token occurred.

In addition, I also excluded subordinate clauses with the following properties:

1. The inflected verb is simultaneously the second and the last constituent of the clause.

- (39) oyb ir man lebt (Court testimony 261 (EY), 1652)
whether her man lives
 whether her husband is alive

2. The inflected verb is simultaneously the second and the next-to-last constituent of the clause when the position of the inflected verb might be the result of verb raising.

- (40) daz eyn yungr man fun kraka iz
that a young man from Cracow is
 g[e]s[h]t[o]rbn (Court testimony 124 (EY), 1629)
died
 that a young man from Cracow died

3. Movement obscures the structural significance of the superficial position of the inflected verb. For instance, the word order of the subordinate clause in (41) is ambiguous between the two derived structures schematically illustrated in (42).

- (41) ver das k[o]l hat oyf gibrakht
who the voice has up brought
 (Court testimony 89 (EY), 1572)
 who brought up the rumor
- (42)a. INFL-final phrase structure + verb raising:
 ver das k[o]l t_i hat [oyf gibrakht] $_i$
- b. INFL-medial phrase structure + movement of XP into Spec(IP):
 ver [das k[o]l] $_i$ hat t_i oyf gibrakht

In a parallel way, the word order of the subordinate clause in (43), where the subject is postposed, is ambiguous between the structures in (44).

- (43) d[a]z fer unz iz kumn r[e]be n[e]kh[a]mi[a]h b[e]n raubn
that before us is come Rabbi Nekhamiah ben Reuben
 that Rabbi Nekhamiah ben Reuben has come before us
- (44)a. INFL-final phrase structure + verb raising + subject postposing:
 d[a]z t_i fer unz t_j iz kumn $_j$ [r[e]be n[e]kh[a]mi[a]h b[e]n raubn] $_i$
- b. INFL-medial phrase structure + movement of XP into Spec(IP) + subject postposing:
 d[a]z [fer unz] $_i$ iz t_j t_i kumn [r[e]be n[e]kh[a]mi[a]h b[e]n raubn] $_j$

C. RAW FIGURES

This appendix gives raw statistics on some syntactic properties of the subordinate clauses in my corpus. For each text (or group of texts), the

columns list the number of subordinate clauses with the following properties: (1) unambiguously INFL-final (more than one constituent precedes the inflected verb), (2) unambiguously INFL-medial (instances of stranding or apparent verb projection raising), (3) Su-Vf-Y word order, (4) e-Vf-Y word order, (5) XP-Vf-Y word order. The number of subordinate clauses in a text with unambiguous phrase structure is the sum of (1) and (2), the number of Vf-second subordinate clauses is the sum of (3)–(5), and the total number of subordinate clauses considered for each text is the sum of (1), (3), (4) and (5). The percentage of (2) over the sum of (1) and (2), upon which Figure 1 is based, is given between columns (2) and (3) (figures are rounded to the nearest percentage point).

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