Predicate fronting in Yiddish and conditions on multiple Spell-Out

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The data and puzzle

- Yiddish: Germanic, V2
- Allows verb fronting and doubling
- First **copy**: infinitival morphology
- Second **copy**: tense marking

(1) ikh red mame-loshn
I speak.1.SG mother-tongue
'I speak Yiddish.' (Davis & Prince 1986, ex. 2a)

(2) **red**-n **red** ikh mame-loshn
speak-INF speak.1.SG I mother-tongue
'As for speaking, I speak Yiddish.' (ibid., ex. 2b)

- Fronted complements are never doubled

(3) **red**-n mame-loshn **red** ikh (*mame-loshn)
speak-INF mother-tongue speak.1.SG I (*mother-tongue)
'As for speaking Yiddish, I speak it.'

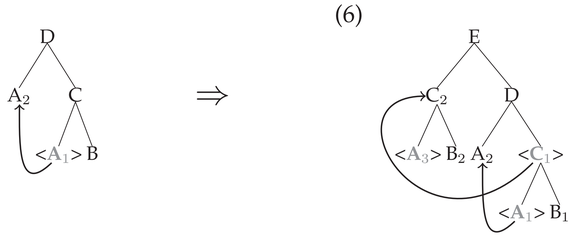
- Particles are optionally doubled under certain conditions

(4) (**oys**)-**trink**-en **trink**-t er **oys** a kos vayn
(out.PTCL)-drink-INF drink-3.SG he out.PTCL a glass wine
'As for drinking, he is drinking up a glass of wine.'

Question: What are the conditions on Spell-Out that would give rise to
(a) the non-doubling of the complement,
(b) the doubling of the verb, and
(c) the optional doubling of the particle?

A: Remnant movement

(5) (6)



(7) **Spell-Out condition for remnant movement (based on Collins & Stabler 2014, definitions 40 and 41c):**
(i) A ∈ {A,B} is final in a syntactic object SO iff there is no C contained in SO such that A ∈ C, and C contains {A,B}. Otherwise, A is non-final in SO.
(ii) If SO = {A,B} and B in SO is final but A is not, Transfer_{PF}(Phase, SO) = Transfer_{PF}(Phase, B).

Consider (5) and (6):
- A_1 is non-final (and silent) in D because $A_2 \in$ D and D contains $\{A_1,B_1\}$
- A_2 is final in D/E because no projection immediately contains an occurrence of A and also contains an occurrence of {A,C}
- A_3 is non-final in E because $A_2 \in$ D and D contains $\{A_1,B_1\}$
- According to these definitions, C_2 is final and C_1 non-final

Accordingly, fronted VPs contain a silent copy of the complement whenever the complement undergoes object shift. (See Sample Derivation.)

B: Verb doubling

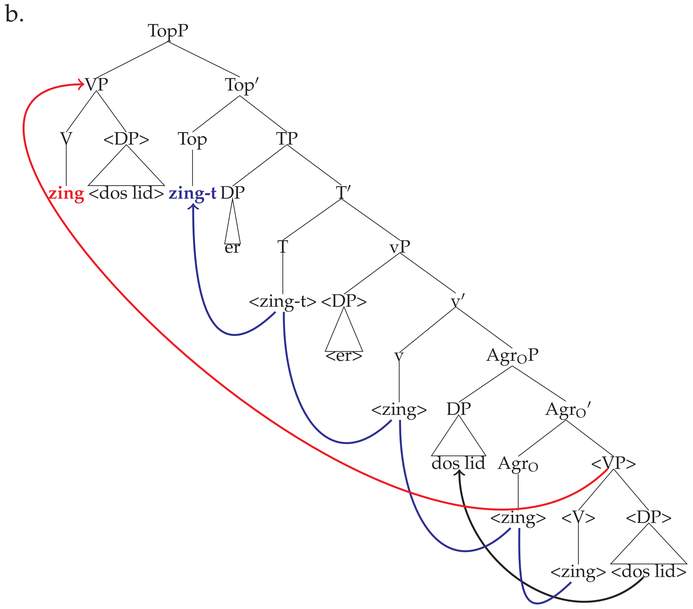
- I adopt the parallel chain approach to verb doubling outlined in Kandybowicz 2008 and Aboh & Dyakonova 2009

(8) **Proposed Spell-Out condition for parallel chains:**
(i) Two probes, A and B, form two parallel chains by simultaneously targeting the same goal, either X or its maximal projection XP.
(ii) The 'final occurrence' (see [7i]) of X is evaluated *independently* for the heads of the two chains.

B′: Sample derivation 1

(9) a. **zing**-en **zing**-t er dos lid
sing-INF sing-.3.SG he the song
'As for singing, he is singing the song.'

b.



- V *zing* is the goal of **two** probes (Top and Agr_O; the copy that raises to Agr_O undergoes successive-cyclic movement to Top head), and so **two** occurrences are final (and pronounced)
- DP *dos lid* raises to Spec,Agr_OP (Koster 1994, Collins & Thráinsson 1996), where (according to [7]) it is pronounced

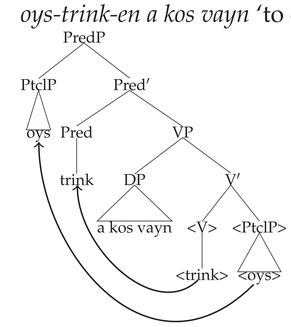
Assumption: Object shift to Spec,Agr_OP is optional (Lasnik 2001). If movement does not take place, then the DP will be pronounced in the fronted VP (as in sentence [3]).

(Ask me for ideas on how to derive the infinitival suffix -[*e*]*n*.)

C: Particle doubling

- I adopt the complex predicate approach to particle verbs (based on Zeller [2001], with Koster's [1994] PredP, situated between Agr_OP and VP)

(10) *oys-trink-en a kos vayn* 'to drink up a glass of wine'



- Movement of particle to Spec,PredP is obligatory
- The particle undergoes additional obligatory movement to a specifier position past Agr_OP and vP (let's call it Spec,Pred_2P)
  - This is needed to derive intervening material between particle and verb, i.e., the infinitival marker *tsu* and half of the past-participial circumfix *ge-* (e.g., *oys-tsu-trink-en* 'to drink up')
  - Note also that the unmarked position of the particle in present-tense sentences is immediately after the verb (and before the object):

(11) er trink-t {oys} dem kos vayn {??oys}
he drink-3.SG {out.PTCL} the.ACC glass wine {??out.PTCL}
'He is drinking up the glass of wine.'

Given these assumptions, anytime PredP is fronted it should be a remnant category with respect to particles—so why are they optionally doubled?

Proposal:
- Particle doubling repairs a PF violation (see Bošković & Nunes 2007)
- Note that preverbal particles in Yiddish attract stress away from the verbal stem: e.g., *mir fàrtik-n óys* 'we prepare PTCL (trans.)' vs. *mir veln óys-fartik-n* 'we will PTCL-prepare (trans.)' (Weinreich 1968:xxxiv)

(12) **Stress assignment of [PTCL + V] sequences:**
If Spec,PredP is filled (i.e., some element has a syntactic occurrence there) and Pred is pronounced, then stress falls on Spec,PredP.

(13) **Phonetic realization of stressed syllables:**
Stressed syllables must be pronounced.

See sentence (4) and the structure in (10). If Top targets PredP for fronting, then acc. to stress rule (12), a copy of the particle (*oys*) will be pronounced in its specifier. (It is also pronounced a second time in Spec,Pred_2P.) If Top instead selects VP as its goal, the particle is not preverbal and so the stress assignment rule does not apply; the particle will not be doubled.

Discussion and future work

- Predicate fronting and doubling presents a problem for theories of syntax that do not predict the pronunciation of multiple copies.
- This paper offers a set of formal Spell-Out conditions that accommodate the parallel chain approach to verb doubling (Kandybowicz 2008; Aboh & Dyakonova 2009) within a system that allows remnant movement.
- In ongoing work, I address a difference in the fronting behavior of semantically transparent Yiddish particle verbs (e.g., *arayn-gey-n* in.PTCL-go-INF 'to enter') and opaque ones (e.g., *on-heyb-n* on.PTCL-lift-INF 'to begin'). When opaque particle verbs are fronted along with their complements, the particle *must* be doubled.