

Prenominal Possessives in Yiddish: *mayn bruder* vs. *mayner a bruder**

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1. Introduction

The interpretation of a possessive DP (*John's book*) depends on the definiteness of the possessor itself (*John*). A definite possessor brings about a definite DP and an indefinite possessor yields an indefinite DP. This is often called Definiteness Spread and its effects become visible in contexts sensitive to definiteness:

- (1) a. * There was John's book on the table.
b. There was a man's book on the table.

According to Alexiadou (2005), Definiteness Spread is straightforward in English (but different in Hebrew and Greek). Assuming Spec-head agreement, Alexiadou proposes that the element in Spec,DP makes D and thus DP as a whole definite. This explains the contrast in (1).

In this paper I discuss data from Yiddish in this respect. There are two types of prenominal possessives in this language. The first is familiar from other languages (2). The possessor can involve a possessive pronominal (2a), a proper name (2b), or a regular DP (2c). The latter is traditionally glossed as dative (2c):¹

- (2) a. *mayn khaver*
my friend
'my friend'
b. *Moyshes feder*
Moyshes-POSS pen
'Moses' pen' (Jacobs 2005: 184)
c. *dem alt-n d'r Hershman-s zin*
the.MASC.DAT old-MASC.DAT doctor Hershman-POSS sons
'the old doctor Hershman's sons' (Birnbau 1979: 299)

The second type of prenominal possessive is less well known. Unlike (2a) above, the possessive in (3a) displays an inflection and it is followed by an indefinite article. Like in (2a), the pronominal can be replaced by a proper name or a regular DP (3b-c):

* This paper is based on presentations given at the 26th Comparative Germanic Syntax Workshop and the Germanic Linguistics Annual Conference 25. I am grateful to the reviewers and audiences of those conferences for questions and comments. I would also like to thank Neil Jacobs for encouraging me to investigate possessives in Yiddish and the following friends and colleagues for their help with Yiddish: Yael Chaver, Dovid Katz, Dov-Ber Kerler, Ben Richardson, and Meena Viswanath. I am particularly indebted to Jean Lowenstamm, who went far beyond the regular call of duty by contributing numerous insights to the discussion of Yiddish.

¹ Throughout the paper, I made some minor changes to the Romanized spellings of some of the Yiddish examples. I provided a detailed gloss only for the elements relevant to the discussion. Abbreviations are as follows: NOM = nominative, ACC = accusative, DAT = dative, GEN = genitive; PL = plural; MASC = masculine, NEUT = neuter, FEM = feminine, POSS = possessive marker.

- (3) a. *mayn-er* *a khaver*
mine-MASC.NOM a friend
‘a friend of mine’
- b. *Yitskhok-s a briv*
Isaac-POSS a letter
‘a letter of Isaac’s’ (Lockwood 1995: 110)
- c. *dem* *reb-n-s* *a nes*
the.MASC.DAT rabbi-MASC.DAT-POSS a miracle
‘a miracle of the rabbi’s’ (Olsvanger’s *L’Chayim!* p. 67)

Hoge (2018) discusses the construction in (2) in quite some detail. However, as far as I am aware, there is no systematic comparison of the two types of possessives in the literature. This includes the absence of a detailed proposal for (3). I will call these structures the FIRST CONSTRUCTION and SECOND CONSTRUCTION, respectively. As to the possessive pronominals, I will refer to the uninflected one in (2a) as POSSESSIVE DETERMINER and to the inflected one in (3a) as POSSESSIVE PRONOUN.

I will argue that the first construction adheres to Definiteness Spread. This is straightforward as definite elements are in Spec,DP. As for the second construction, basically the same types of definite elements are in prenominal position. However, the interpretation is indefinite (see section 2.3). This is reflected by the presence of the indefinite article. I will propose that the possessives in the second construction are in a position above the DP-level and that they are embedded inside a separate nominal. As such, their definiteness is not spread to the larger DP. Thus, despite appearances, the second construction adheres to Definiteness Spread as well. We may also conclude that the data discussed in this paper provide more evidence that there are syntactic positions above the DP proper.

The paper is organized as follows. First, I present more data showing that these constructions involve constituents, that possessors involving regular DPs are in the dative, and that the second construction is indeed indefinite in interpretation. Section 3 provides the basic account arguing that possessives of the first construction are in Spec,DP but that possessives of the second construction are most likely adjoined to DP or in a specifier position above the DP-level. In section 4, I extend the discussion to other cases showing that adjunction to DP has a number of advantages. Section 5 addresses some remaining issues of the account. This includes a discussion of an alternative analysis and some brief remarks on postnominal possessives in Yiddish. In the last section, I provide a conclusion.

2. Data

The first two subsections deal with some preliminary points, namely the constituency of these constructions and case on the possessors involving regular DPs. The third subsection shows that the second construction is indeed indefinite in interpretation by discussing some additional differences between the two prenominal possessive constructions.

2.1. Constituency

These two types of construction form constituents. As this is straightforward for the first construction, I will focus on the second construction. Constituency can be exemplified by the Verb-Second constraint (4a); by (asymmetric) coordination, that is, coordination of different elements (4b) (for symmetric coordination, see section 3.3); and by the construction occurring as the complement of a preposition (4c):

- (4) a. [A *furman-s* *a zun*] *hot khasene gehat*.
 a coachman-POSS a son has wedding had
 ‘A son of a coachman got married.’ (Olsvanger’s *Röyte* p. 147)
- b. *ikh un* [*mayn-e* *a khaverte*] *un mayn shvester hobn* ...
 I and mine-FEM.NOM a friend and my sister have
 ‘I and a friend of mine and my sister have...’ (Reershemius 1997: 334)
- c. *tsu* [*ir-er* *a khaverte*]
 to her-FEM.DAT a friend
 ‘to a friend of hers’ (Olsvanger’s *Röyte* p. 142)

In addition, there is also language-specific evidence for constituency. Note first that *eyner* can also precede the indefinite article (5a). Crucially, the possessive can be sandwiched between *eyner* and the indefinite article (5b). Following Lockwood (1995: 66), I translate the string *eyner a* as ‘a certain’:

- (5) a. *eyn-er* *a khaver*
 one-MASC.NOM a friend
 ‘a certain friend’
- b. *eyn-er* [*zayn-er* *a khaver*]
 one-MASC.NOM his-MASC.NOM a friend
 ‘a certain friend of his’ (Olsvanger’s *Röyte* p. 150)

This constituency is confirmed by agreement facts. To begin, elements of regular DPs agree in case, number, and gender; that is, they participate in concord sharing the same features:

- (6) a. *dem* *gants-n* *likhtik-n* *tog*
 the.MASC.ACC entire-MASC.ACC bright-MASC.ACC day.MASC.ACC
 ‘the entire bright day’ (Olsvanger’s *Röyte* p. 14)
- b. *al-e* *mayn-e* *dray elter-e* *brider*
 all-PL.NOM my-PL.NOM three older-PL.NOM brother.PL.NOM
 ‘all my three older brothers’ (Jacobs 2005: 240)

The same holds for the second construction where the possessive pronoun, the indefinite article, and the head noun must all agree in case, number, and gender. This is illustrated with elements in the masculine gender in (7a-b) (see also (5) above). Note that like in English, the indefinite article differs as regards number: it is overt in the singular but null in the plural. However, it does not show different forms depending on case or gender. Furthermore, it varies with regard to the

presence or absence of a vowel at the beginning of the following word (I turn to the discussion of plural possessives in section 5.1):

- (7) a. *zayn-er* *an amolik-er* *khaver*
 his-MASC.NOM a former-MASC.NOM friend.MASC.NOM
 ‘a former friend of his’ (Olsvanger’s *Röyte* p. 125)
 b. *zayn-em* *a gut-n* *fraynd*
 his-MASC.DAT a good-MASC.DAT friend.MASC.DAT
 ‘a good friend of mine’ (Olsvanger’s *L’Chayim!* p. 10)

Combinations of elements in the singular and plural are not possible:

- (8) a. * *mayn-er* *a khaveyrim*
 mine-MASC.NOM a friend.PL.NOM
 b. * *mayn-e* *a khaveyrim*
 mine-PL a friend.PL.NOM
 c. * *mayn-e* *a khaver*
 mine-PL a friend.MASC.NOM

It is clear then that all these elements form a constituent and that the possessive pronouns must agree with the rest of the nominal. Possessives involving regular DPs also form constituents with the lower nominal. However, as shown in the next subsection, they do not share concord features with the rest of the nominal.

2.2. Possessives Involving Regular DPs are Dative

As seen above, possessive pronouns (*mayner*) vary with regard to case, number, and gender. In contrast, possessive determiners (*mayn*) only change as regards plural (*mayne*) but not case or gender. Recall also that the singular indefinite article is invariant as regards case and gender. Thus, if an adjective is missing, morphological case cannot easily be inspected on DPs with possessive determiners or indefinite articles.² The same holds for proper name possessors, which do not change their case form in the possessive. This is different for DPs involving definite articles where case can easily be identified. Above, I followed the traditional analysis of glossing the possessors in (2c) and (3c) as dative case.

In a recent paper, Hoge (2018) argues that possessives involving DPs with a definite article should be analyzed as genitives. Focusing on the first possessive construction, she points out that if the possessor DP were indeed dative, then certain noun phrases would appear with unexpected endings on the head noun; for instance, while *der tate* ‘the father’ appears as expected in (9a), *di mame* ‘the mother’ shows up as in (9b), where the dative suffix *-n* is missing:

- (9) a. *dem* *tat-n-s*
 the.MASC.DAT father-MASC.DAT-POSS
 ‘the father’s’

² In section 4.2, we will see that adjunction indicates that possessors involving these elements are also in the dative.

- b. *der* *mame-s*
 the.FEM.DAT mother-POSS
 ‘the mother’s’

Hoge (2018: 262) argues that these cases should be analyzed as genitive case positing suffixes different from traditional assumptions (10a). This seems to be confirmed by the fact that group genitive constructions involving PPs (or relative clauses) are not possible (10b):

- (10) a. *dem* *tat-ns* *shtub*
 the.MASC.GEN father-MASC.GEN house
 ‘the father’s house’ (cf. Hoge 2018: 249)
- b. * *dem* *rov fun der ortiker shul-s* *tokhter*
 the.MASC.GEN rabbi of the local synagogue-POSS daughter (Hoge 2018: 251)

In other words, the possessive marker *-s* is not a clitic (as in English) but part of a genitive suffix. In a footnote, Hoge (2018 fn. 23) states that complex proper names take *-s* on the right edge. Presumably, these are lexicalized units and that explains the existence of possessives like *Glikl fun Hameln* ‘Glikl of Hameln’s’ (Lockwood 1995: 9), which are, on the surface, similar to the possessive of the ungrammatical (10b). Since (prenominal) possessors with postnominal modifiers are not possible, Hoge concludes that Yiddish provides no evidence that the possessive marker attaches to an element other than the head noun. Hence, it is (part of) a suffix.

However, there is clear evidence that the possessive *-s* can be separated from the possessor head noun. This includes an inflected head noun in the first construction where the suffix *-ns* is split into two separate parts (11a). The possessive *-s* can also be in a position separated from the head noun in the second construction (11b). As explicitly stated in Falkovitsh (1940: 181), only the last noun receives *-s*. As for (11c), note already here that a possessive can also follow its possessum head noun (see section 5.4) and that this entire noun phrase can form a possessive of the matrix possessum head noun. Again, the possessive *-s* is not on the noun:³

- (11) a. *mayn tat-n* *olov-hasholem-s* *bild*
 my father-MASC.DAT peace.be.with.him-POSS picture
 ‘the picture of my father peace be with him’ (Olsvanger’s *L’Chayim!* p. 103)
- b. *zayn shvester Shprintse-s* *a zun*
 his sister Shprintse-POSS a son
 ‘a son of his sister Shprintse’ (Olsvanger’s *L’Chayim!* p. 21)
- c. [*a khaver mayn-er-s*] *a tokhter iz...*
 a friend mine-MASC.NOM-POSS a daughter is
 ‘a daughter of a friend of mine is...’

³ One might claim that (11a-b) belong to (the non-standard) Dialect 1 as discussed in Hoge (2018: 264), with the qualification that *-s* has further developed toward a clitic-type element. In this dialect, the possessive marker is indeed preceded by a dative phrase. As stated by Hoge, this dialect should allow possessive forms like *der mame-n-s Noun* where the presence of *-n* would indeed indicate a dative form. Looking at the two texts in *L’Chayim!*, from which (11a-b) are taken, there were no relevant examples to confirm or disconfirm this. However, cases like (11a-b) seem to be a general feature of Yiddish. As for (11c), note that the possessor is in the nominative, which is possible in certain dialects (for dative examples, see the possessives in Lockwood 1995: 53, Birnbaum 1979: 253, also section 3).

Furthermore, the possessive marker can also appear on elements higher in the noun phrase, on adjectives (12a) and determiners (12b). This is also possible with quantificational elements (12c) including indefinite pronouns (12d):

- (12) a. *der* *ander-er-s* *tokhter*
the.FEM.DAT other-FEM.DAT-POSS daughter
'the other's daughter' (Lockwood 1995: 110)
- b. *unter dem-s* *melukhe*
under that.MASC.DAT-POSS kingdom
'under his government' (from *Jehoash*; Corpus of Modern Yiddish)
- c. *ale-men-s* *zind*
all-DAT-POSS sins
'everybody's sins' (Lockwood 1995: 150)
- d. *emets-n-s* *tayster*
somebody-MASC.DAT-POSS purse
'somebody's purse' (Mark 1978: 180)

Recall that Hoge assumes that *dem* is (also) a genitive form (10a). From this perspective, it is unclear why *dem* in (12b) has *-s*. At first glance, one might claim that this *-s* licenses the ellipsis of the lower overt material of the possessor DP. However, indefinite pronouns as in (12d) never have an overt noun and yet, they appear with *-s* in possessive contexts. In other words, indefinite pronouns do not involve ellipsis but can appear with *-s* depending on the context. Furthermore, that the general function of *-s* is not the licensing of ellipsis is also clear from the fact that possessive pronouns do not appear with this element in ellipsis contexts (see section 3). Note that we cannot simply say that *-s* is absent as the inflection on the pronoun can license ellipsis. This is so because adjectives with the same inflection still have *-s* in possessive contexts (12a). Hence, *-s* indicates possession but not ellipsis.

As far as I have been able to establish, the cases in (11) and (12) are possible quite generally (see also section 3). Now, given the fact that the possessive marker can appear on an element other than the head noun, that is, either to the left or right of it, I will continue assuming that the traditional analysis of dative case plus possessive marker is correct (for most dialects). This means that the unexpected possessive forms discussed in Hoge (2018) are in need of a different explanation.⁴ Currently, I have no interesting insights to offer. In what follows, I will focus on possessive pronouns as they exhibit concord with the lower nominal and show a clear difference to the first construction (inflection).

2.3. *The Second Possessive Constructions is Indefinite*

In the introduction, I illustrated two morpho-syntactic differences between the first and the second construction. While the former has an (uninflected) possessive determiner and no article, the latter has an (inflected) possessive pronoun and an indefinite article. Furthermore, I stated that unlike the first construction, the second construction is indefinite in interpretation. Indeed, in

⁴ This includes personal proper names, which take *-n* in the dative (and accusative) but not in the possessive.

reference books and survey articles, *mayner a khaver* is rendered as ‘a friend of mine’ or ‘one of my friends’ (Lockwood 1995: 53f, also Jacobs 2005: 184, Birnbaum 1979: 297, Wiener 1893: 66). These are indefinite meanings. Below I provide evidence that the first construction is definite and the second one is indefinite. Making this point in different ways, the following discussion will add more distinctions between the two possessive constructions showing that they are systematically different.

First, in a running text, new information, the rheme, appears in an indefinite form but old information, the theme, surfaces in a definite form. This is exactly what we find with possessives where the second construction introduces new information but the first construction is used to continue the discourse:

- (13) *Nor eyner fun zey iz geven a shnayder-s a zun...Un dem shnayder-s zun hot*
 but one of them is been a tailor-POSS a son and the.MASC.DAT tailor-POSS son has
nit gehat ...
 not had
 ‘But one of them was a son of a tailor’s... And the tailor’s son did not have...’
 (Olsvanger’s *L’Chayim!* p. 27)

Note that both the possessor and the entire nominal change from an indefinite to a definite form. Crucially, I have never seen cases where the first possessive construction occurs before the second one. I take this to mean that the (in-)definite form reflects the corresponding interpretation.

Second, both types of possessive behave differently in presentational (/existential) sentences where the DP with the possessive determiner is marked but the one with the possessive pronoun and indefinite article is not (cf. Jacobs 2005: 225; ^m = marked):

- (14) a. ^m *S’iz do dayn khaver in gortn.*
 it is there your friend in garden
 ‘There is your friend in the garden.’
 b. *S’iz do dayn-er a khaver in gortn.*
 it is there yours-MASC.NOM a friend in garden
 ‘There is a friend of yours in the garden.’

Third, it is clear that *Peter is married and Peter is not married* is contradictory if Peter is the same person. There is a difference in Yiddish when *mayn khaver* replaces both names vs. when *mayner a khaver* replaces both names. The first leads to a contradictory statement but the second is non-contradictory:

- (15) a. *Mayn khaver iz a khasene-gehater un mayn khaver iz nisht keyn khasene-gehater.*
 my friend is a married and my friend is not no married
 ‘My friend is married and my friend is not married.’
 b. *Mayn-er a khaver iz a khasene-gehater un mayn-er a khaver iz*
 mine-MASC.NOM a friend is a married and mine-MASC.NOM a friend is
nisht keyn khasene-gehater.
 not no married
 ‘A friend of mine is married and a friend of mine is not married.’

Presumably, this follows from the observation that *mayn khaver* implies uniqueness but *mayner a khaver* does not. Note now that uniqueness is part of a definiteness interpretation (Lyons 1999: 7ff).

Fourth, *khaver* has different meanings: it means both ‘boy-friend’ and ‘friend’ in the first construction but only ‘friend’ in the second construction. This is indicated in (16a) and (16b) by the respective translations:

- (16) a. *dayn khaver*
 your friend
 ‘your boy-friend’
 ‘your friend’
 b. *dayn-er a khaver*
 yours-MASC.NOM a friend
 ‘a friend of yours’

Again, this distinction follows from the fact that *dayn khaver* has a uniqueness implication, which *dayner a khaver* lacks. Given the above differences, I conclude that the first construction is definite and the second one is indeed indefinite. If this is so, then we might expect the second construction to have two types of indefinite interpretation as regards specificity. This is borne out.

Considering the data below, it is clear that (17a) describes a specific (known) friend. In contrast, contexts such as (17b) describe a more general fact. This case is unspecific as to the identity of the friend; that is, this statement could apply to any of my friends:

- (17) a. *Ikh hob khasene gehat mit mayn-em a khaver.*
 I have wedding had with mine-MASC.DAT a friend
 ‘I married a friend of mine.’
 b. *Ikh volt keyn mol nisht khasene gehat mit mayn-em a khaver.*
 I would no time not wedding had with mine-MASC.DAT a friend
 ‘I would never marry a friend of mine.’

These two types of interpretation are typical of indefinite articles or indefiniteness in general. In other words, the presence of the possessive pronoun makes no difference for the (in-)definiteness of the noun phrase as a whole.

To summarize, the second construction forms a constituent, its possessor involving a regular DP is in the dative, and it is indeed indefinite in interpretation.

3. Proposal

We know from the first construction that possessors such as possessive determiners, proper names, and definite noun phrases trigger definiteness of the entire DP. In contrast, basically the same possessors do not bring about definiteness in the second construction despite the fact that they are also in prenominal position. This seems unexpected and requires an explanation. There are two questions that any proposal needs to answer: First, how does the second type of

possessive construction fare with regard to Definiteness Spread? Second and related to the first question, where in the structure are the two types of possessive located?

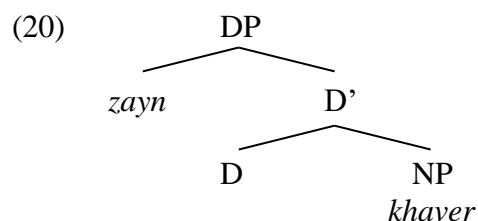
Starting with the first question, it was pointed out above that the possessive pronominals differ in inflection: possessive determiners have no inflection (in the singular) but possessive pronouns do. An inflected possessive pronoun can also occur as an argument (18b) or as a (specificational) predicate (18d):

- (18) a. *Mayn khaver iz gliklekh.*
 my friend is happy
 ‘My friend is happy.’
 b. *Mayn-er iz nisht gliklekh.*
 mine-MASC.NOM is not happy
 ‘Mine is not happy.’
 c. *Dos iz mayn khaver.*
 that is my friend
 ‘That is my friend.’
 d. *Dos iz mayn-er.*
 that is mine-MASC.NOM
 ‘That is mine.’

The generalization for the singular cases is as follows: if an (overt) noun is present, an inflection on the possessive pronominal is absent (19a); in contrast, if such a noun is absent, the inflection is present (19b). I propose then that (18b) and (18d) are elliptical constructions. For current purposes, I simply assume a null noun (e_N) for these cases (19b):

- (19) a. Possessive Determiner:
 mayn $N_{[overt]}$
 my Noun
 b. Possessive Pronoun:
 mayner e_N
 mine

With this in mind, I turn to the structure of the possessives. Beginning with the first construction, I propose that the (uninflected) possessive determiner is in Spec,DP:

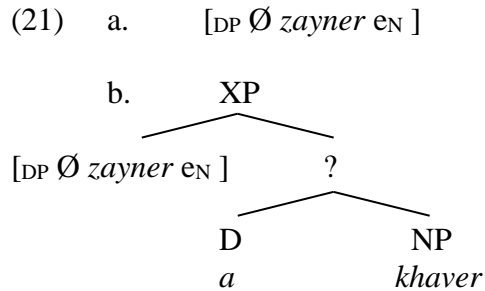


The same holds for possessors involving proper names or regular DPs.⁵

⁵ There are many different proposals as to where possessives are located: either in Spec,DP, in D, or in Spec,DP (the possessor) and in D (the possessive marker -s). This is not the place to review these different proposals. I will simply

Falkovitsh (1940: 181) and Jacobs (2005: 240) point out that the possessive cannot co-occur with a definite article. Articles, definite or indefinite, are commonly assumed to reside in D. Now, the DP-level in West Germanic usually contains only one overt element, either in Spec,DP or in D. This restriction (whatever its deeper explanation) immediately accounts for the complementary distribution between the possessive and the article in (20) (for the discussion of definite elements in this regard, see Roehrs 2019a). Making the standard assumption that the (in-)definiteness of the entire noun phrase is determined at the DP-level, an element in D or, by Spec-head agreement, in Spec,DP will yield the relevant interpretation of the DP (Alexiadou 2005). This means that *zayn* will bring about definiteness in (20). If so, we expect the presence of the indefinite article to lead to indefiniteness. We have seen in section 2.3 that the second construction is indeed indefinite in interpretation. The question arises as to why the definite possessors do not “overwrite” the indefiniteness in the second construction.

Starting with inflected *zayner*, Jacobs (2005: 242) proposes that these cases involve two separate noun phrases. Note though that he does not provide a detailed analysis. Basically following Jacobs, I take (19b) to hold for all possessive pronouns. In other words, I argue that the possessive in the second construction also involves an elliptical construction where the null noun is licensed by the inflection on the pronominal. As such, I propose that *zayner* involves its own nominal. As will become clear momentarily, I claim that this possessive is lower inside its nominal. This is indicated by \emptyset in (21a). Furthermore, I propose that the structure in (21a) is part of the matrix nominal (21b). This yields one complex nominal with two separate subparts (I turn to the identification of XP below):



Before we proceed, note that the presence of the indefinite article immediately shows that the possessive marker *-s*, present on proper names and regular DPs, is not in D.

Recall that I assume that (21a) involves an elliptical construction. There is evidence that possessives are in a lower position in elliptical contexts as they can follow a determiner in such contexts:⁶

follow Julien (2005) and Roehrs (2020) assuming that the entire possessive is in Spec,DP (for a few more remarks, see below).

⁶ Notice that (22b) is from an older variety of Yiddish (1588) and lacks the inflection on the possessive. For completeness' sake, note that possessives that are clearly adjectival (*-ik-*) also follow the definite determiner (ia). In fact, such possessives can follow indefinite elements as well (ib):

(i) a. *Ober der doktor halt zikh bay dos zaynik-e: ...*
 but the doctor holds himself by the.NEUT.ACC his-NEUT.ACC
 ‘But the doctor sticks to his opinion: ...’ (Olsvanger’s *L’Chayim!* p. 7)

b. *bay eyn-em a zeyerik-n*
 at one-MASC.DAT a their-MASC.DAT

- (22) a. *Ober ikh halt zikh bay dos mayn-e: ...*
 but I hold myself by the.NEUT.ACC mine-NEUT.ACC
 ‘But I stick to my opinion: ...’ (Olsvanger’s *Röyte* p. 179)
- b. *az du dos dayn oyf ribis host, ...*
 that you the.NEUT.ACC yours at interest have
 ‘that you have all that is yours on interest, ...’ (Kühnert & Wagner 2014: 125)

If the possessive is indeed lower inside the embedded DP as in (21a), several facts follow: *zayner* does not “overwrite” the indefiniteness of the hosting noun phrase (in fact, there is no clash in definiteness). Furthermore, there is no violation of the Backward Anaphora Constraint:

- (23) Backward Anaphora Constraint (BAC)
 Anaphoric elements may not simultaneously command and linearly precede their antecedents. (cf. Langacker 1969: 167)

With the possessive pronoun lower inside the embedded DP in (21b), it does not c-command the lower matrix nominal, its antecedent.

Thus far, it appears that Definiteness Spread can be maintained for Yiddish. In view of the structure in (20), the first construction straightforwardly yields definite DPs. Given the structure in (21b), the possessive pronoun of the second construction is compatible with indefiniteness. As for proper name and regular DP possessors, I assume that they are also lower inside the embedded DP where the possessive marker licences the null noun. In other words, while *-s* indicates possession, it can also license ellipsis similar to the inflection on the possessive pronoun. That such possessives can indeed license ellipsis is clear from the following examples (examples are taken from Falkovitsh 1940: 181):

- (24) a. *Der zhurnal iz Abramovitsh-es.*
 the journal is Abramovitsh-POSS
 ‘The journal is Abramovitsh’s.’
- b. *Di arbet iz dem khaver-s.*
 the work is the.MASC.DAT friend- POSS
 ‘The work is that of the friend.’

Other elements with possessive *-s* can also license ellipsis:

‘at a certain one of theirs’

(from Dovid Bergelson’s *In a fargrebter shtot*; Corpus of Modern Yiddish)

Finally, in very rare cases, one can find the possessive element even lower in the prenominal structure:

- (ii) *in der itstik-er undzer-er sotsyal-er lage*
 in the.FEM.DAT current-FEM.DAT our-FEM.DAT social-FEM.DAT situation

‘in our current social situation’ (from *Forverts 10/04/2009*; Corpus of Modern Yiddish)

Note though that this possessive has an inflection despite the fact that it is not in an elliptical construction. Thus, besides its syntactic distribution, it has the looks of an adjectival element as well. The example in (ii) is the only one I have come across so far.

- (25) a. *Vemen-s fatsheyle iz es? Keyn-er-s nit?*
 whom-POSS shawl is it nobody-FEM.DAT-POSS not
 ‘Whose shawl is it? Nobody’s?’ (van der Auwera & Gybels 2014: 207)
- b. *Yeder-er-s iz beser fun dayn disertatsye.*
 everyone-FEM.DAT-POSS is better than your dissertation
 ‘Everyone’s is better than your dissertation.’ (Jacobs 2005: 185)
- c. *az di tsigaretzn zaynen dem zun zayn-em-s, ...*
 that the cigarettes are the.MASC.DAT son his-MASC.DAT-POSS
 ‘that the cigarettes belong to his son, ...’
 (googled: http://yiddish415.rssing.com/chan-63808630/all_p4.html)

Note again that the possessive marker can appear on an element other than the head noun. This is particularly clear in (25c), which involves a postnominal possessive.⁷

The above possessors are phrasal in structure and thus must be in a phrasal position. Without going into too much detail, I assume they are in a Possessive Phrase (PossP), which in turn is in a specifier position above the null noun. The entire structure of the embedded possessives makes up a DP (26a). The structure of the possessive pronoun in (21a) is fleshed out in (26b):⁸

- (26) a. [DP Ø [YP [PossP DP’s] Y [NP e_N]]]
 b. [DP Ø [YP [PossP *zayner*] Y [NP e_N]]]

Next, I turn to the second question from above. After fleshing out the details of XP in (21b), I will briefly return to the issue of Definiteness Spread.

There are four options of where the above embedded DP could be located. Focussing on the possessive pronoun, the latter and the indefinite article could form a Doubly-filled DP (27a). Both of these elements could also form a complex specifier in Spec,DP (27b). Third, the possessive pronoun could be in a specifier above the DP-level (27c) where XP is interpreted as the Left Periphery Phrase (see Giusti & Iovino 2016). Finally, the possessive pronoun could be adjoined to DP (27d):

- (27) a. *Doubly-filled DP:*
 [DP *zayner* [D’ a [NP *khaver*]]]
 b. *Complex Spec,DP:*
 [DP *zayner* a [D’ Ø [NP *khaver*]]]
 c. *Split-DP:*
 [LPP *zayner* LP [DP a [NP *khaver*]]]
 d. *Adjunction to DP:*
 [DP *zayner* [DP a [NP *khaver*]]]

⁷ Postnominal possessives are also possible with the preposition *fun* ‘of’, something I will not discuss here.

⁸ To the extent that this is correct, this provides another argument that the possessive marker is not part of the extended projection line of the head noun but rather forms its own PossP that can appear in different positions of the noun phrase (for the discussion of the internal structure of possessives, see Roehrs 2020).

In what follows, I will discuss these four options in more detail showing that (27c) or (27d) are most likely to be correct.

3.1. Option 1: Doubly-filled DP

I claimed above that there is usually only one overt element in the DP-level in West Germanic. Let us assume for a moment that this is not so. As such, we could propose that the embedded DP is in Spec,DP and the indefinite article is in D. Spec-head constellations are often employed to explain cases of adjacency (e.g., the Verb-Second constraint in the Germanic languages). However, there is clear evidence that the possessive and the indefinite article can be split up by another element:

- (28) a. *undzer-e (epes) a kroyve*
 ours-FEM.NOM some a kinswoman
 ‘some kinswoman of ours’ (Mark 1978: 243)
- b. *zayn-em take a gevezen-em talmid*
 his-MASC.DAT really a former-MASC.DAT student
 ‘one of his (indeed) former students’ (Olsvanger’s *L’Chayim!* p. 29)

In some frameworks, X’ is “invisible”. If there is no adjunction to X’, or D’ specifically, this construction cannot involve a Doubly-filled DP.

3.2. Option 2: Complex Spec,DP

In this option, the embedded DP and the indefinite article form a constituent inside the specifier of DP. Yiddish exhibits discontinuous DPs (see Waletzky 1980: 260) where the lower part of the DP can be topicalized (29). Intriguingly, some speakers of Yiddish also allow the upper part of the DP to be topicalized (30). Observe though that the possessive and *eyner* are always ungrammatical when they occur as a unit; consider the (a)-examples. This is unexpected under constituency (for the discussion of *eyner*, see the next subsection):

- (29) a. * *Briv hob ikh geleyent {zayn-em / Moyshe-s} eyn-em.*
 letter have I read his-MASC.ACC / Moses-POSS one-MASC.ACC
- b. *A briv hob ikh geleyent {zayn-em / Moyshe-s}.*
 a letter have I read his-MASC.ACC / Moses-POSS
 ‘I read a letter of Moses’.
- (30) a. * *{zayn-em / Moyshe-s} eynem hob ikh geleyent briv.*
 his-MASC.ACC / Moses-POSS one-MASC.ACC have I read letter
- b. *{zayn-em / Moyshe-s} hob ikh geleyent a briv.*
 his-MASC.ACC / Moses-POSS have I read a letter
 ‘I read a letter of Moses’.

Conversely, if the possessive and the indefinite article indeed formed a complex specifier and thus a constituent, separating these two elements as in the (b)-examples should be bad, contrary

to fact. This indicates that these elements do not form a constituent and thus they are not part of a complex specifier.

3.3. Option 3 and 4: Possessive is outside of the DP proper

In this scenario, the embedded DP is above the DP-layer: either the possessive is in Spec,LPP or it is adjoined to DP. These two options fare better. First, consider ellipsis in symmetric coordination. Note that *zayer* only has the interpretation of ‘his’ and *zayner eyner* only that of ‘one of his’ (# = interpretation is not available):

- (31) a. *Mayn khaver un zayn-er kumen haynt.*
 my friend and his-MASC.NOM come today
 √‘My friend and his (friend) are coming today.’
 #‘My friend and one (friend) of his are coming today.’
 b. *Mayn-er a khaver un zayn-er eyn-er kumen haynt.*
 mine-MASC.NOM a friend and his-MASC.NOM one-MASC.NOM come today
 #‘A friend of mine and his (friend) are coming today.’
 √‘A friend of mine and one (friend) of his are coming today.’

Second, similar facts hold with ellipsis in asymmetric coordination (apparently, (32b) is hard to interpret):

- (32) a. *Mayn khaver un zayn-er eyn-er kumen haynt.*
 my friend and his-MASC.NOM one-MASC.NOM come today
 #‘My friend and his (friend) are coming today.’
 √‘My friend and one (friend) of his are coming today.’
 b. # *Mayn-er a khaver un zayn-er kumen haynt.*
 mine-MASC.NOM a friend and his-MASC.NOM come today
 ‘A friend of mine and his (friend) are coming today.’
 ‘A friend of mine and one (friend) of his are coming today.’

To be clear, the generalization about the interpretation of possessive pronominals is as follows:

- (33) a. *zayner* -> definite (‘his__’)
 b. *zayner eyner* -> indefinite (‘one of his__’)

The question arises as to how these facts can be derived. Specifically, (33b) involves *eyner* and is indefinite in interpretation (for some discussion of (33a), see footnote 13). For convenience, I repeat the different possible structures of the second construction here:

- (34) a. *Doubly-filled DP:*
 [DP *zayner* [D' *a* [NP *khaver*]]]
 b. *Complex Spec,DP:*
 [DP *zayner a* [D' Ø [NP *khaver*]]]
 c. *Split-DP:*
 [LPP *zayner* LP [DP *a* [NP *khaver*]]]

d. *Adjunction to DP*:

[_{DP} *zayner* [_{DP} *a* [_{NF} *khaver*]]]

Yiddish does not have *one*-insertion of the type found in English, e.g., *a green one* (cf. Jacobs 2005: 173). In order to explain the presence of *eyner* in (33b), we can state that in (34a), *eyner* would replace D', which, again, is "invisible" in certain frameworks. In (34b), *eyner* would replace a non-consituent. Thus, consonant with the discussion above, these two options are unlikely to be correct. As for (34c-d), *eyner* straightforwardly replaces an indefinite DP:

- (35) a. [_{LPP} *zayner* LP [*eyner*]]
 b. [_{DP} *zayner* [*eyner*]]

This is independently possible as shown by the following:

- (36) a. *A/eyn yid iz geblibn in dorf.*
 a/one Jew is remained in village
 'A/one Jew remained in the village.'
 b. *Eyn-er iz geblibn in dorf.*
 one-MASC.NOM is remained in village
 'One (guy) remained in the village' (Jacobs 2005: 184)

I return to the first question from above, namely how the second construction fares with regard to Definiteness Spread. I discuss the two options shown to be viable analyses thus far. Specifically, in (35a), the embedded possessive DP arrived at in (26) sits in the specifier position of a Left Periphery Phrase just above the DP-level. In order to explain why the entire noun phrase is indefinite, one could claim that indefiniteness is "passed up" from the DP-level to LPP or it is a default interpretation such that if definiteness is absent, the entire noun phrase is interpreted as indefinite. As for (35b), the embedded possessive DP is adjoined to the (indefinite) matrix DP. Under standard assumptions of adjunction, this would immediately explain the indefiniteness of the entire DP. This means that Definiteness Spread can be maintained for Yiddish. So far, both of these structural options fare equally well.

4. Data Indicating Adjunction

Besides the possessive and *eyner*, other elements can precede the indefinite article as well. In this section, I discuss *eyner a Noun* in more detail and add *epes a Noun* to the discussion. This will lay the foundation for arguing that the possessive in the second construction is most likely adjoined to the lower nominal.

4.1. Eyner and epes are Similar to the Inflected Possessive Pronominal

As seen in section 2.1, *eyner* can precede an indefinite article. Like *mayner*, *eyner* also agrees with the lower nominal in concord features (37a). The word *epes* can also precede an indefinite article but this element is invariant (37b):⁹

- (37) a. *tsu eyn-em a yidish-n zelner*
to one-MASC.DAT a Jewish-MASC.DAT soldier
‘to a certain Jewish soldier’ (Olsvanger’s *Röyte* p. 58)
- b. *oyf epes a modne daytshmerish-n dialekt*
in some a strangely German-like-MASC.DAT dialect
‘in some strangely German-like dialect’ (Goldberg 1993: 22)

The words *eyner* and *epes* behave like the possessive in the second construction in other respects. First, *eyner* can be separated from the indefinite article by the degree word *zeyer* ‘very’ (see also section 5.1):

- (38) a. *eyn-er zeyer a raykh-er daytsh*
one-MASC.NOM very a rich-MASC.NOM German
‘a certain very rich German’
(from Yitskhok-Leybush Perets’ *Briv un redes fun Y.L. Perets*; Corpus of Modern Yiddish)
- b. *durkh eyn-em zeyer a grob-n oder*
through one-MASC.DAT very a thick-MASC.DAT vein
‘through a certain very thick vein’
(from Yu Vagner’s *Dertseylungen vegn bale-khayim*; Corpus of Modern Yiddish)

As might be expected, *epes* can also be separated from the indefinite article, for example by the word *nokh* ‘still’ (39a), the degree word *gor* ‘very’ and negation (39b), and the degree word *zeyer* ‘very’ (39c):¹⁰

- (39) a. *mit epes nokh a goy*
with some still a gentile
‘with another (some) gentile’ (Olsvanger’s *L’Chayim!* p. 103)
- b. *epes gor keyn yidish-e tsure hot er nit...*
some very no Jewish-FEM.ACC face has he not
‘he does not have a particular Jewish face...’ (Lockwood 1995: 113-114)

⁹ The word *epes* can have other functions. Among others, it can be an indefinite pronoun meaning ‘something’, it can be a degree element interpreted as ‘somewhat’, or it can be a modal particle (for some discussion, see Roehrs 2012, also van der Auwera & Gybels 2014).

¹⁰ Note that *keyn* is the negative article, presumably consisting of abstract NEG and the indefinite article. Also, notice that the translations of these constructions into English are not always straightforward.

- c. *mit epes zeyer an eydel-n gayst*
 with some very a noble-MASC.DAT spirit
 ‘with some very noble spirit’
 (googled: <https://docplayer.ru/34417165-Zhenskaya-tema-v-evreyskoy-literature.html>)

Second, as with the second possessive construction, the lower indefinite DP can occur as *eyner*. Consider examples involving *epes*:

- (40) a. *es zol mir emets heysn; epes a baskol, epes eyn-er,*
 it should me somebody tell some a heavenly.voice, some one-MASC.NOM,
afile...
 even...
 ‘somebody should tell me; some heavenly voice, anyone, even...’
 (from Yitskhok-Leybush Perets’ *Der meshugener batlen*; Corpus of Modern Yiddish)
- b. *epes eyn-er fun di royt-e yidlekh...iz...*
 some one-MASC.NOM of the.PL.DAT red-PL.DAT Jews is
 ‘Anyone of the red Jews ... is...’
 (googled: Sholem Aleykhem’s *Mayses un fantazyes*)

As far as I know, this is not possible when *eyner* is the first element, presumably because the substitution of the lower indefinite DP would yield two identical elements (*eyner eyner*).

To sum up thus far, *eyner* and *epes* are similar to the possessive pronoun in the second construction: these elements can precede the indefinite article and they can be separated from it by other words. Furthermore and to the extent possible, they exhibit concord in features with the lower nominal (*eyner a Noun*) and the lower nominal can be substituted by *eyner* (*epes a Noun*).

4.2. Some Arguments for Adjunction

There is evidence that the possessive pronoun, *eyner*, and *epes* are adjoined to the lower DP (Option 4). There are two facts that indicate adjunction: the above elements can be stacked and they can switch positions. First, these pre-determiner elements can be stacked; for instance, *eyner* can precede the possessive (both examples from Zaretski 1929: 172):

- (41) a. *af eyn-em zayn-em a simen*
 on one-MASC.DAT his-MASC.DAT an indication
 ‘on a certain one of its properties’
- b. *tsu eyn-em ir-n a simen*
 to one-MASC.DAT hers-MASC.DAT an indication
 ‘to a certain one of its properties’

Syntactic context and agreement facts indicate clearly that these complex structures form constituents.

As might be expected, *epes* can also precede a possessive:¹¹

- (42) a. *epes ir-er a shvester-s a zun*
 some hers-FEM.DAT a sister-POSS a son
 ‘some son of a sister’s of hers’ (Olsvanger’s *L’Chayim!* p. 73)
- b. *in epes zayn-s a lid*
 in some his-S a song
 ‘in some song of his’ (from *Forverts 01/26/2007*; Corpus of Modern Yiddish)

Second, a very strong argument in favor of adjunction comes from the fact that the two elements above the indefinite article, *epes* and the possessive, can actually switch positions. Compare (42) to (43):

- (43) a. *take zayn-er epes a vayt-er korev*
 really his-MASC.NOM some a distant-MASC.NOM relative
 ‘indeed some distant relative of his’ (googled: *A pritsisher hoyf*, p. 15)
- b. *undzer-e (epes) a kroyve*
 ours-FEM.NOM some a kinswoman
 ‘some kinswoman of ours’ (Mark 1978: 243)

Again, syntactic context and agreement facts show that these are constituents. Importantly, it is unlikely that the possessive in (43a-b) is adjoined to *epes* itself. I assume that adjunction is to the entire lower nominal.

Turning to the interaction between *eyner* and *epes*, the former can precede the latter:

- (44) a. *kumt eyn-er epes a lets mit a naves*
 comes one-MASC.NOM some a prankster with a news
 ‘some prankster comes with some news’
 (googled: *Der hedger voirker* [The Headgear Worker], p. 31)
- c. *a goyish-er shrayber, eyn-er epes a Lesing, tsi...*
 a gentile-MASC.NOM writer one-MASC.NOM some a Lessing or
 ‘a gentile writer, some Lessing, or...’
 (googled: *Tsu der geshikhte fun der yidisher literatur in 19tn yorhundert*, p. 146)

As might be expected by now, both of these elements can also switch positions:¹²

¹¹ Note that (42a) involves a complex possessive that contains a second possessive. Considering (43), where *epes* follows the possessive, (42a) is potentially ambiguous: *epes* may have switched positions with either *irer* or *irer a shvesters*.

(i) a. *epes [irer] a shvesters a zun*
 b. *epes [irer a shvesters] a zun*

Finally, note that the possessive pronoun in (42b) ends in an invariant -s. This is relatively rare but possible (Falkovitsh 1940: 244 fn. 2). According to Jacobs (2005: 243), such an occurrence might indicate a change in progress. I gloss it as -s.

¹² Note that *enektrotekhniker* in (45b) could involve a typo, the correct form probably being *elektrotekhniker*. Also, notice again that English translations are not straightforward. With German closely related to Yiddish, a possible

- (45) a. *Epes eyn-er a balagole hot amol...*
 some one-MASC.NOM a coachman has once
 ‘Once, a certain coachman has...’ (Olsvanger’s *Röyte* p. 74)
- b. *... hot men arestirt epes eyn-em an enektrotekhniker*
 has one arrested some one-MASC.ACC a energy.technician
 ‘...they arrested a certain energy technician’
 (from *Yor: samlbukh far shuln 1905*; Corpus of Modern Yiddish)

Again, it is clear from the context and agreement facts that these structures involve constituents. Similar to above, I assume that *eyner* in (44) and *epes* in (45) are adjoined to the entire noun phrase. Finally, at the beginning of this subsection, I provided examples like *eyner mayner a Noun*. I have not found any examples of the type *mayner eyner a Noun*. I briefly return to this in section 5.1.

Above, I observed that it is unlikely that the possessive pronoun is adjoined to *epes* itself. There is some good indication that the first element of the stacking is indeed adjoined to the entire nominal (rather than to the second element of the stacking). Consider the following two examples. Note again that *eyner* shows concord in features with the following possessive, nominative masculine in (46a) and dative masculine in (46b):

- (46) a. [*eyn-er* [*zayn-er a khaver*]]
 one-MASC.NOM his-MASC.NOM a friend
 ‘a certain friend of his’ (Olsvanger’s *Röyte* p. 150)
- b. [*Eyn-em* [*a yeshuvnik-s*]] *a zun* hot ...
 one-MASC.DAT a farmer-POSS a son has
 ‘A son of a certain farmer has...’ (Olsvanger’s *Röyte* p. 157)

In section 2.2, we have seen that definite DP possessors are in the dative case. While not overtly marked, I assume that this is also true of indefinite DP possessors as in (46b). Assuming that adjunction involves the sharing of agreement features, the dative case on *eynem* in (46b) indicates that the latter belongs to the possessive nominal *a yeshuvniks*. Similarly, *eyner* could be in construction with the possessive pronominal in (46a). However, while I have seen hundreds of examples where *eyner* or *zayner* form a constituent with a lower indefinite DP (e.g., *a khaver*), I have never seen an example where *eyner zayner* occurs by itself (but cf. *zayner eyner* in (29b) and (30a)). I believe these cases do not exist.¹³ It appears then that *eyner zayner* is only possible

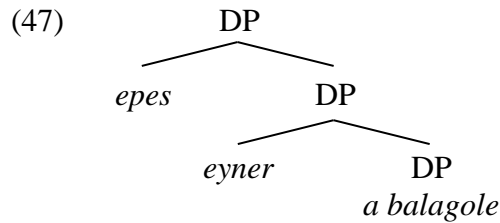
German translation for *epes eyner a* could perhaps be something like ‘irgendein gewisser’ (cf. van der Auwera & Gybels 2014: 198, who translate this string as ‘irgendein’). Finally, the word *epes* can also appear before other elements. Here are two other cases (for more discussion, see van der Auwera & Gybels 2014: 222, who anticipate the existence of (ib)):

- (i) a. *epes eynmal*
 some one.time
 ‘once’ (Olsvanger’s *Röyte* p. 39)
- b. *epes emetser*
 some somebody
 ‘anybody’ (Olsvanger’s *L’Chayim!* p. 142)

¹³ It might turn out that this point can be strengthened. *Zayner* is the pronominalization of, for instance, *zayn khaver* ‘his friend’. The latter may occur in an argument position of a verb and is definite in interpretation (section 3). As

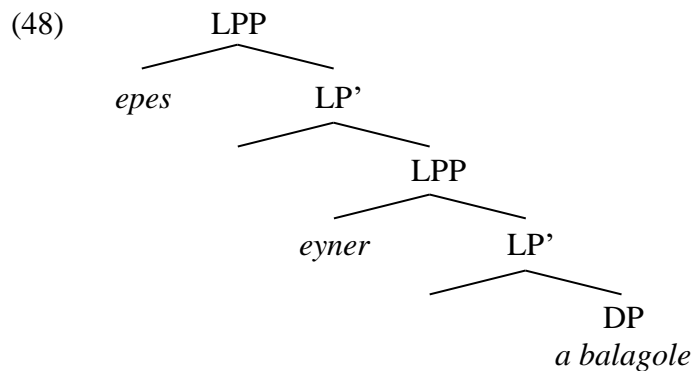
if an indefinite DP follows the two elements. I take this to mean that *eyner* is adjoined to the whole phrase *zayner a khaver* in (46a) (rather than to *zayner* itself).¹⁴ In other words, the bracketed structures in (46a-b) have the same analysis, with the qualification that *zayner* in (46a) separates the two elements. If *zayner* itself is also adjoined to the indefinite DP as proposed above, then its presence should not raise any issues.

Given this discussion of adjunction, the example in (45a) can be illustrated in a simplified way as follows:



If this is on the right track, then the data discussed in this paper provide more evidence that there are syntactic positions above the DP proper.

To explain these stackings and their different distributional options in a Split-DP (Option 3), we would have to assume that LPP is recursive:



far as I know, this DP cannot be preceded by *eyner*; that is, *eyner zayn khaver* does not exist. If so, the pronominalized form *eyner zayner* should not exist either. Given that *zayn khaver* is definite in interpretation, this implies a second structure of the possessive pronoun. In this case, *zayner* is higher inside the DP yielding the definiteness of this structure:

- (i) [_{DP} *zayner* e_N]

This in turn implies that the structure in the main text in (26) would occur as an argument of a noun but (i) as that of a verb. I will not pursue this idea here.

¹⁴ With footnote 11 in mind, it is not entirely clear where *epes* in (42a) is adjoined to, repeating the example here for convenience:

- (i) *epes ir-er a shvester-s a zun*
 some hers-FEM.DAT a sister-POSS a son
 ‘some son of a sister’s of hers’

Similar to *eyner zayner*, I have never seen an example like *epes irer* by itself. As such, *epes* could be adjoined either to the entire lower nominal (as reflected by the translation) or to the embedded nominal *irer a shvesters*, which could be rendered as something like ‘a son of some sister of hers’. Finally, I have not found cases of *eyner*-substitution with these complex nominals (e.g., *epes irer eyner* or *eyner zayner eyner*) but nothing seems to rule them out in principle.

This, however, raises other questions: for instance, what is the nature of this recursive LPP and why can the elements in the specifiers of this recursive LPP be switched? These types of questions do not arise in an account involving adjunction.

That adjunction might be on the right track is indicated by the fact that Yiddish is a language that tolerates adjunction quite freely. This can be seen by the following postnominal modifiers (also section 5.3):

- (49) a. *a yingl a takhshit*
 a boy a brat
 ‘an unruly boy / a brat of a boy’
 b. *a kind a goldn-s*
 a child a golden-NEUT.NOM
 ‘a golden child’
 c. *a shverd afile a hiltsern-s, nor a sharf-s*
 a sword even a wooden-NEUT.NOM but a sharp-NEUT.NOM
 ‘even a wooden but sharp sword’ (Neuberg 2014: 256)

These types of modifiers are presumably right-adjoined to the preceding DP.

In this section, I showed that *eyner*, *epes*, and the possessive pronoun of the second possessive construction behave in the same way. These elements seem to be adjoined to the lower DP.

5. Remaining Issues, an Alternative Analysis, and Postnominal Possessives

In this section, I discuss two remaining issues for the current account of the second construction. I show that they cannot be related to a potentially similar restriction in German. Finally, I briefly discuss and reject an alternative analysis and I make a few remarks about postnominal possessives.

5.1. Yiddish

There are some issues left unaddressed thus far. First, a possessive pronoun cannot be followed by a definite article and a noun (50a) or by a noun only (50b). Furthermore, these constructions can only be followed by an indefinite article (50c). As pointed out to me by Dovid Katz (p.c.), cases containing the singularity numeral can only involve a 19th-century spelling, where *eyn*, however, was already pronounced as *a(n)*. An attested example of that kind is given in (50d):

- (50) a. * *mayn-er der khaver*
 mine-MASC.NOM the.MASC.NOM friend
 b. * *mayn-er khaver*
 mine-MASC.NOM friend
 c. * *mayn-er eyn khaver*
 mine-MASC.NOM one friend

- d. *beshas epes ayn umglik*
 during some a misfortune
 ‘in any (least) misfortune’ (Wiener 1893: 67)

Given current assumptions, one may wonder how we can formalize the fact that a possessive pronoun can only be followed by a DP involving an indefinite article.

Second, it is well known that the Germanic languages have null indefinite articles in the plural. However, the second construction cannot be in the plural at all. As explicitly confirmed by Jean Lowenstamm (p.c.), *mayne dray khaveyrim* ‘my three friends’ does not feel at all like the plural of *mayner a khaver* ‘a friend of mine’. In other words, there is an interpretative restriction such that possessive constructions in the plural can only be interpreted as definite (51a). This means that (51a) cannot be analyzed as (51b) (\emptyset_{INDEF} = null indefinite article in the plural):¹⁵

- (51) a. *mayn-e khaveyrim*
 my-PL.NOM friends
 √‘my friends’
 #‘friends of mine’
 b. (*) *mayne* \emptyset_{INDEF} *khaveyrim*

To repeat, the second construction can only occur in the singular. This is different for postnominal possessives, which can be both indefinite and plural:

- (52) Indefinite: prenominal postnominal
 a. ‘a friend of mine’: *mayner a khaver* = *a khaver mayner*
 b. ‘friends of mine’: - *khaveyrim mayne*

Similar to the first question, one may wonder how we can formalize the fact that these prenominal possessives only occur in the singular.

Although we stated above that an analysis involving LPP is unlikely, let me start with this option. Selection could be invoked to explain why only an indefinite DP occurs in this construction. Selection is only statable if a higher head is present. Thus, we could stipulate that LP selects a DP involving the feature [INDEF]. Furthermore, we could exclude plurals by stipulating again that LP only selects a singular DP. As shown above though, all nominal elements inside the larger noun phrase participate in concord of case and phi-features including plural (cf. (6b)). These agreeing elements involve phrases (including heads) that show no restrictions as regards plural. So contrary to fact, we would presumably expect plurals to be possible under selection.

Above, I argued for adjunction. We could suggest then that adjunction in the plural is blocked by the more economical derivation of *mayn khaver* extended to the plural *mayne khaveyrim*. In other words, only a simple DP as in (20) would be projected in the plural. Depending on the internal structure of the possessive itself, this might also explain why an indefinite interpretation in the plural is not available. However, if economy of derivation holds more generally as one would expect, then one may wonder how the singular cases of the second

¹⁵ Zaretski (1929: 170) states that both the first and the second construction involve each a definite and an indefinite interpretation. Given section 2.3 and all other sources consulted, this statement is probably not correct.

construction are allowed back in. These should be blocked by the simpler derivation in (20) as well. Thus, an answer to this question is not obvious.¹⁶

We have seen that *eyner* and *epes* can precede an indefinite article (see, e.g., (37)). Interestingly, degree words such as *zeyer* / *gor* / *graylekh* ‘very’ can also precede the indefinite article but not the definite one (Jacobs 2005: 240, Lockwood 1995: 61). Consider (53a-b).¹⁷ Importantly, these degree words can follow both the indefinite and definite article (53c-d):

- (53) a. *zeyer an alt-er man*
 very an old-MASC.NOM man
 ‘a very old man’
 b. * *zeyer der alt-er man*
 very the.MASC.NOM old-MASC.NOM man
 c. *a zeyer alt-er man*
 a very old-MASC.NOM man
 ‘a very old man’
 d. *der zeyer alt-er man*
 the.MASC.NOM very old-MASC.NOM man
 ‘the very old man’

As far as I can see, we can add to this list *take* ‘really’ (28b) and *nokh* ‘still’ (39a). Furthermore, *a sakh* ‘many/much’ seems to behave in the same way (although I am not sure if this complex element can follow an article, definite or indefinite):

- (54) *a sakh a breyter-n batayt*
 a lot a broader-MASC.ACC meaning
 ‘a much broader meaning’ (Goldberg 1996: 79)

¹⁶ One could try to explain this restriction to singular in terms of the overtness vs. covertness of the indefinite articles. However, it is not obvious how to relate the (c)overtness of an element to the syntactic notion of economy of derivation. Note also that this restriction might be of a morphological nature only (see next subsection).

¹⁷ As expected, strings like (53a) can be in the complement position of a preposition:

- (i) *fun zeyer a fayn-e hoyz*
 of very a fine-NEUT.ACC? house
 ‘of a very good family’ (Olsvanger’s *Röyte* p. 39)

Surprisingly, the degree word *zeyer* ‘very’ can even precede a preposition (iia). Other elements can “switch” positions with a preposition as well (iib-c):

- (ii) a. *zeyer oyf a shlekht-n shtand*
 very in a bad-MASC.DAT position
 ‘in a very bad position’ (Wiener 1893: 54)
 b. *a tsveygele epes fun a bliend barenboyml*
 a twig some of a blooming pear.tree
 ‘a twig of some blooming pear-tree’ (Taube 2014: 242)
 c. *eyn-er gor fun di groys-e shikurim*
 one-MASC.NOM very of the big-PL.DAT drunkards
 ‘one of the (very?) big drunkards’ (Olsvanger’s *Röyte* p. 105)

Let me also point out that *fun* in (iib-c) is the grammatical preposition ‘of’, which, intriguingly, is not immediately adjacent to the higher head noun. Finally, (iic) involves a lower definite DP. It is clear that more empirical work and analysis is needed here.

With this in mind, we can state that there are restrictions in Yiddish on elements in the DP-level if something precedes them. Specifically, this is true of the indefinite article. As far as I know, only two elements can precede this article (for preceding PP possessives, see next section):¹⁸

- (55) a. [X [Y [a [...]]]]
 b. X = non-PP possessives, *epes*, *eyner*, *zeyer*, *gor*, *graylekh*, *take*, *nokh*, *a sakh*
 c. Y can be filled with X (in stacking) or remain empty

This restriction has the looks of a template (cf. Culicover & Jackendoff 2005: 29's notion of 'grammatical frame') that accommodates two predeterminer elements.¹⁹ The structure in (55) is a first approximation and I will not discuss it in much detail here. For instance, I will not investigate what all the possible and impossible combinations of X and Y are. Let me just repeat here that while I have found examples of the type in (56), I have not come across any examples of the kind in (57). This includes a fairly comprehensive search of these kinds of examples in the Modern Yiddish Corpus and on the internet:

- (56) a. *epes eyner a Noun* (= (45))
 b. *eyner epes a Noun* (= (44))
 c. *epes mayner a Noun* (= (42))
 d. *mayner epes a Noun* (= (43))
 e. *eyner mayner a Noun* (= (41))

(57) *mayner eyner a Noun*

Interestingly, like *epes* and *take*, the degree word *zeyer* 'very' can also intervene between the possessive pronominal and the indefinite article:²⁰

¹⁸ Considering (28b), (43a) could potentially be an example with three predeterminer elements. Also, note that postnominal adjuncts do not require the presence of a preceding indefinite article (section 5.3).

¹⁹ Note that this template has nothing to say as to why *mayner khaver* is ungrammatical (50b). There are at least two types of derivations to rule out. These can be phrased as two questions: (i) Why can "embedded" *mayner* (cf. (21b)) not surface in Spec,DP? (ii) Why can "unembedded" *mayn* (cf. (20)) not take an inflection? Assuming that possessives move up from a lower position, the first scenario might be excluded by suggesting that the embedded DP containing *mayner* is not specified for definiteness. As D in the matrix nominal has such a feature that needs to be checked, the embedded nominal cannot land in Spec,DP and moves in one fell swoop to its higher adjoined position. As to unembedded *mayn*, Murphy (2018) provides a detailed analysis of why this possessive cannot have an inflection (for details, see his work).

²⁰ For completeness' sake, degree words may also precede all these elements (although the data are not without problems). While I have not found any cases involving *zeyer*, there are examples containing *gor*:

- (i) a. *fun gor epes a bazunder kval*
 from very some a distinct source
 'from some very distinct source'
 (googled: *Shmuesen vegen bikher. Ershter teyl*, p. 264)
 b. *geven gor mayn-s a elter mume*
 been very mine-S an older aunt
 'was indeed? an older aunt of mine'
 (googled: <https://www.ivel.com/forum/viewtopic.php?t=32191&start=25>)
 c. *iz dokh gor zayner a fraynd*
 is indeed really? his-MASC.NOM a friend

- (58) a. ...geven *mayn-er* *zeyer a gut-er* *fraynd*
 ...been mine-MASC.NOM very a good-MASC.NOM friend
 ‘...was a very good friend of mine’
 (googled: ohd.huji.ac.il/holocaust/project12/project12pdf/12-20.pdf)
- b. *er iz oykh mayn-er* *zeyer a gut-er* *fraynd*
 he is also mine-MASC.NOM very a good-MASC.NOM friend
 ‘he is also a very good friend of mine’
 (googled: ohd.huji.ac.il/holocaust/project101/project101pdf/101-84.pdf)

Thus, let us assume that (57) is indeed not possible. Note that *epes*, *take*, and *zeyer* are invariant forms. In contrast, both *eyner* and *mayner* share concord features. Let us also assume that *epes* and *eyner* are base-generated above the DP-level but that *mayner* moves from a lower base position (see section 5.3).²¹ If so, one could speculate that *mayner* cannot cross *eyner* (perhaps because these two elements share the same features and a similar internal makeup).

5.2. German

As pointed out in Roehrs (2019b), elements in the German DP-level are also subject to restrictions if something precedes them. Among others, this can be seen with preposed PPs (data is taken from Haider 1992: 315; for (59c), see also Fortmann 1996: 22):²²

- (59) a. *aus Jena der Anruf*
 from Jena the.NOM call
 ‘the call from Jena’
- b. *aus Jena sein Anruf*
 from Jena his call
 ‘his call from Jena’
- c. * *aus Jena Peters Anruf*
 from Jena Peter’s call

The generalization is as follows:

- (60) *Generalization:*
 If a linguistic unit is in the left periphery (= above the DP-level), the determiner(-like) element must agree with the head noun.

‘is indeed a friend of his’

(googled: *Roman fun yidishen leben in rusland*, p. 500)

Note that the adjectives in (ia-b) have no inflections and the indefinite article in (ib) is *a* (rather than expected *an*). Interestingly, the fact that *gor* can occur without an adjective in (ic) raises the question if this element is indeed a degree word in these cases. Be that as it may, it is clear that *gor* can precede these elements.

²¹ Considering the example (jia) in footnote 17, it is not clear to me where *zeyer* (or *take*) is base-generated.

²² To make preposed PPs felicitous, the head noun of the PP should be stressed. The same holds for the Yiddish cases below.

Thus, in German there are also restrictions on elements in the DP-level if something precedes them. Roehrs (2020) argues that preposed PPs are in Spec,LPP. In order to account for the German restriction in (60), I argued in Roehrs (2019b) that this is a selectional requirement imposed on the DP by the head LP. Now, preposed PPs are also possible in Yiddish (61a). Similar to German though, Yiddish also allows a definite article here (61b-c):

- (61) a. [Fun Moyshe-n a bukh] hob ikh geleyent.
 of Moses-MASC.DAT a book have I read
 ‘I have read a book of Moses.’
 b. [Fun Moyshe-n dos bukh] hob ikh geleyent.
 of Moses-MASC.DAT the book have I read
 ‘I have read Moses’ book.’
 c. Un [fun di rusish-e tsionistn di kligst-e] zaynen...
 and of the.PL.DAT Russian-PL.DAT Zionists the.PL.DAT smartest-PL.DAT are...
 ‘And the smartest ones of the Russian Zionists are...’
 (Olsvanger’s *L’Chayim!* p. 113)

Given the possibility of a definite article, the restriction to the indefinite article in the second construction does not seem to be relatable to the restriction seen with German preposed PPs. As such, adjunction as discussed above seems to be more plausible for the Yiddish possessives. Given my current understanding of these issues, I would like to suggest that a template as in (55) appears to be needed for Yiddish.

With the above discussion in mind, there is one example I came across (62), which has two structural interpretations, both of which are worth mentioning here. On the one hand, (62) might be interpreted as a partitive construction. This implies a plural reference set. It is straightforward that the possessive *ire kremers* ‘its shopkeepers’ is plural.²³ However, the lower DP *a zun* ‘a son’ is obviously singular (note that *ire* ‘her/its’ refers back to feminine *di shtot* ‘the town’):

- (62) *epes eyn-em fun ir-e kremers a zun*
 some one-MASC.DAT of its-PL.DAT shopkeepers’ a son
 ‘anyone of some sons (or others) of the town’s shopkeepers’
 (from Dovid Bergelson’s *In a fargrebter shtot*; Corpus of Modern Yiddish)

It should be clear though that different shopkeepers typically have different sons. As such, it is implied that there are several, different sons. This fits well with the requirement of a partitive construction of involving a plural set. If this is on the right track, it means that the restriction of the second construction to singular is only morphological in nature and plural semantics of the second construction is possible if coerced.

The above interpretation of (62) is not entirely straightforward. Note that the noun *kremers* ‘shopkeepers’ in (62) ends in a plural *-s* and it is not marked for possession, not even by an apostrophe (all editions of this work I could access through *google* show the same). Given this

²³ While possessive pronouns in the plural are very common (e.g., *undzerer* ‘ours’), DP possessors in the plural are less frequent but seem to exist (Falkovitsh 1940: 181 provides: *di khaveyrim-s arbet* ‘the friends’ work’).

potential issue, another analysis of (62) comes to mind that immediately accounts for the singular indefinite article in (62). Rather than a partitive construction, here the possessive is a different element, the *fun*-PP, which has been topicalized above the DP. This would lead to a fairly complex structure with the *fun*-phrase in Spec,LPP and *epes* and *eyner* adjoined to LPP. Consider the alternative structure and translation:

- (63) [LPP *epes* [LPP *eyn-em* [LPP [*fun ir-e* *kremers*]_i LPP [DP *a zun* [*t_i*]]]]]
 some one-MASC.DAT of its-PL.DAT shopkeepers a son
 ‘a certain son of its shopkeepers’

This analysis would solve the issue with regard to the lack of possessive marking. However, this would be the only example where *eyner* is not directly adjoined to the indefinite DP (although such a DP is lower in the structure).

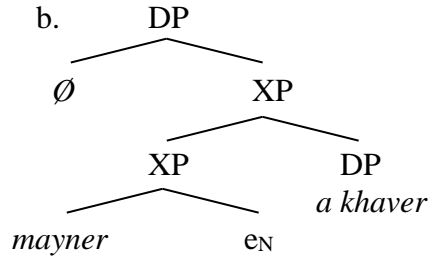
5.3. An Alternative Analysis

In the present proposal, possessives in the second constructions are left-adjoined to the lower DP. Prince (2001: 273ff) makes a different proposal for the similar *eyner-a-Noun* construction in (64a) relating it to (64b). She states that both of these cases are intoned as a single constituent with no break between the two nominals. Furthermore, the second nominal forms a restricted modifier to the first:

- (64) a. *eyn-er* *a yid*
 one-MASC.NOM a Jew
 ‘a certain Jew’
 b. *a meyd* *a sheyn-e*
 a girl a pretty-FEM.NOM
 ‘a pretty girl’

Prince does not flesh out the syntactic details of these constructions. At the end of section 4.2, I briefly suggested that post-modificational elements are right-adjoined to the preceding DP. Thus, similar to *a sheyne* in (64b), *a yid* in (64a) could presumably also be taken to be right-adjoined to its preceding element. Recalling the similarities between *eyner* and the possessive pronoun, advocates of this proposal for (64a) might extend it to the second possessive construction where (65a) is now analyzed as (65b):

- (65) a. *mayner* *a khaver*
 mine-MASC.NOM a friend
 ‘a friend of mine’



Let us make the discussion even more general. As briefly mentioned at the end of section 4.2, Yiddish also allows structures of the type *a-Noun-a-Noun*, which are very frequent in occurrence. They can be emotive (66a-b) or more matter-of-fact in tone (66c-d):

- (66) a. *a yingl a takhshit*
 a boy a brat
 ‘an unruly boy / a brat of a boy’
- b. *a meydl, a tsatske*
 a girl a doll
 ‘a doll of a girl’ (Olsvanger’s *Röyte* p. 9)
- c. *a yid a soycher*
 a Jew a merchant
 ‘a Jew a merchant’ (Olsvanger’s *Röyte* p. 159)
- d. *a yid, a vaynshenker*
 a Jew a wine.saloon.keeper
 ‘a Jew, a wine saloon keeper’ (Olsvanger’s *Röyte* p. 91)

Many of these examples do not have a comma (66a, c) but quite a few do (66b, d).²⁴ Although they appear with or without a comma, they also form one intonational phrase. Semantically, nouns are sometimes treated as predicates (Heim & Kratzer 1998). As such, they are similar to adjectives. Consequently, one could relate the string *a-Noun-a-Noun* to the one *a-Noun-a-Adjective* as in (64b).

However, there is one obvious difference between (64a) and (65a) vs. (64b) and (66): the overt head noun is part of the second nominal in (64a) and (65a) but it is in the first nominal in (64b) and the examples in (66) have even two overt nouns. In my view, this makes it unlikely that all these cases receive the same analysis; that is, that right adjunction is also involved in both (64a) and (65a).²⁵ Besides this difference in the occurrence of the noun, consider some empirical arguments against this alternative proposal.

²⁴ As far as I can tell, the commas in these instances do not indicate a systematic difference from Prince’s examples. In fact, the presence of commas seems somewhat random. In a string of three nominals, the comma can appear after every nominal (*epes a balagole, an amorets, a bur* ‘some coachman, an illiterate, an ignorant person’, *Röyte* p. 149), after the first nominal only (*zaynem a gevezenem talmid, a yid a noged* ‘one of his former students, a Jew a rich man’, *L’Chayim!* p. 28), or after the second nominal only (*eyner a yid a khazer, a kamtsn* ‘a certain Jew a pig, a miser’, *Röyte* p. 114). Importantly though, there is never a comma after the possessive pronoun, *eyner*, or *epes* in these constructions. While this has, admittedly, to do with spelling, it could be taken as evidence that the constructions of the type *mayner a Noun*, *eyner a Noun*, and *epes a Noun* are felt to be different by the speakers and consequently, have a different account.

²⁵ Note also that the possessive pronoun c-commends its antecedent in the structure in (65). This violates the BAC.

First, we have documented above that possessive pronouns, *eyner*, and *epes* have similar properties. Thus, it seems desirable to extend this proposal to *epes* as well:

- (67) a. *epes a khaver*
 some a friend
 ‘some friend’
 b. *epes eyn-er a yid*
 some one-MASC.NOM a Jew
 ‘a certain Jew’

With the following nominal right-adjoined, *epes* occurs as a separate, “complete” nominal in the alternative account. As an individual nominal element, *epes* functions as a syntactic argument meaning ‘something’ (68a). This is an element of neuter gender as can be gleaned from (68b-c):

- (68) a. *epes (gut-s)*
 something good-NEUT.NOM
 ‘something (good)’
 b. *a kind a gut-s*
 a child.NEUT a good-NEUT.NOM
 ‘a good child’
 c. *dos “epes”*
 this.NEUT.NOM something
 ‘this something’

Thus, while this indefinite pronoun is a neuter non-animate element, the second nominal in (67) is a masculine animate one. On the alternative account, this would lead to a morphological and semantic mismatch (see Roehrs 2012 for detailed discussion and more data).

Second, as pointed out by Prince (2001), these post-modificational structures can also involve definite elements (69a). Again, some authors separate the two nominals by a comma (69b):

- (69) a. *di oygn di grin-e*
 the.PL.NOM eyes the.PL.NOM green-PL.NOM
 ‘the green eyes’ (Prince 2001: 273)
 b. *der tish, der sheyn-er*
 the.MASC.NOM table the.MASC.NOM beautiful-MASC.NOM
 ‘the beautiful table’ (Lockwood 1995: 112)

However, as mentioned above, a definite DP cannot follow *mayner* and as far as I know, this is also impossible with *eyner* (and presumably *epes*). This indicates that all these structures should not receive the same type of account. Finally, the alternative account does not shed any light on the restriction of the second construction to be in the singular only (in fact, some of the proposed related constructions can be in the plural as seen in (69a)). I assume that cases like *Article-Noun-Article-Noun* and *Article-Noun-Article-Adjective* involve right adjunction of the second nominal to the first.

5.4. Postnominal Possessives

As briefly mentioned above, possessives can also occur in postnominal position. Falkovitsh (1940: 181, 244) states that possessives are put in this position if one wants to ‘accentuate’ them more (my translation, DR). This positional option is fairly frequent with possessive pronouns (70a) and is occasionally found with proper name and definite DP possessors (70b-c) (for more examples of the latter two cases, see Falkovitsh 1940: 181):²⁶

- (70) a. *di dozik-e al-e reydz zeyer-e*
 these.PL.NOM here-PL.NOM all-PL.NOM words theirs-PL.NOM
 ‘all these words of theirs’ (Lockwood 1995: 54)
- b. *eynik-e verk Ashkenazi-s*
 some-PL.NOM works Ashkenazi-POSS
 ‘some works of Ashkenazi’s’ (Lockwood 1995: 246)
- c. *finf hundert ki dem graf-s*
 five hundred cows the.MASC.DAT count-POSS
 ‘five hundred cows of the count’s’ (Waletzky 1980: 260)

It is unlikely that these possessives are right-adjoined to their preceding DP. As possessives, they receive a theta-role and they must be in an A-position at some point in the derivation. Given that these possessives are on the right side of the possessum head noun, it is more likely that they are in a low specifier position and that the head noun underwent partial N-raising (see, e.g., Julien 2005). If this is on the right track, one could speculate further that this is the position where prenominal possessives move from.

I briefly return to the possessive marker *-s*, discussed in the first part of the paper. It was pointed out there that *-s* is not possible on postnominal modifiers (71a) but it is possible on postnominal possessive pronouns, both in the second (71b) and in the first construction (71c) (note that the latter involves elided material in the plural):

- (71) a. * *dem rov fun der ortiker shul-s tokhter*
 the.MASC.DAT rabbi of the local synagogue-POSS daughter
 b. *a khaver mayn-er-s a tokhter iz...*
 a friend mine-MASC.NOM-POSS a daughter is
 ‘a daughter of a friend of mine is...’
 c. *az di tsigaretn zaynen dem zun zayn-em-s, ...*
 that the cigarettes are the.MASC.DAT son his-MASC.DAT-POSS
 ‘that the cigarettes belong to his son, ...’

Recall that we cannot claim that *-s* can only occur on the head noun of the possessive as that would immediately exclude (71b-c). With the above discussion in mind, we can observe that postnominal PPs are embedded under the head noun; that is, they are outside of the higher DP. The same holds for relative clauses under the Kaynian view. In contrast, postnominal possessives are in a low specifier of the head noun; that is, they are inside the DP. Now, if the possessive

²⁶ Note that the quantifier *ale* ‘all’ often follows the definite article in Yiddish. In fact, in (70a), *ale* follows both the definite determiner and its deictic reinforcer.

marker is sensitive to structure, we can state that it cliticizes to the rightmost element of the (higher) possessor DP but not material embedded under it.

To sum up, the second construction can only involve a lower indefinite DP in the singular. As tentatively suggested, this restriction would follow from a template. This peculiarity could not be related to some data from German, which involve definite DPs. Furthermore, *eyner a Noun*, *epes a Noun*, and the second construction should not be related to structures containing post-modifiers: the former three involve *eyner*, *epes*, and the possessive pronoun left-adjoined to an indefinite DP but the latter involves right adjunction of the second nominal to the first. Finally, postnominal possessives are most likely in a low specifier position.

6. Conclusion

There is clear evidence that there are structural positions above the DP proper in Yiddish. It appears that the second possessive construction in Yiddish involves adjunction. On the current analysis, we can maintain the claim for Yiddish that definiteness is determined at the DP-level. Thus, indefinite prenominal possessives in Yiddish are no problem for assuming Definiteness Spread in the language. Finally, strings like *eyner a Noun* and *epes a Noun* are structurally similar to the second possessive construction.

Appendix: Other Types of Adjunctions

As mentioned in the main part of the paper, Yiddish tolerates adjunction quite freely. In this appendix, I provide some other cases that might be analyzed as adjunction. Unlike the cases discussed above, these instances do not agree in definiteness (72a-b). Occasionally, these nominals do not even show concord in case (72c):

- (72) a. *di rebetsin, an alte yidene*
the wife.of.the.rabbi an old Jewish.woman
‘the wife of the rabbi, an old Jewish woman’ (Olsvanger’s *Röyte* p. 154)
- b. *a toyber yid, reb Shmule*
a deaf Jew Mr. Shmule
‘a deaf Jew, Mr. Shmule’ (Olsvanger’s *Röyte* p. 79)
- c. *dem yid-n, a gezunt-er, a shtark-er*
the.MASC.ACC Jew-MASC.ACC a healthy-MASC.NOM a strong-MASC.NOM
‘the Jew, a healthy one, a strong one’ (Olsvanger’s *Röyte* p. 62)

In the discussion of discontinuous DPs in section 3.2, we have seen that the possessive can be separated from the lower DP: the possessive can be topicalized and the lower DP stays in situ or vice versa. We find similar discontinuous patterns with postnominal modifiers as in (72a) such that the first or the second part can occur separated from the other part (both examples from Lockwood 1995: 112):

- (73) a. *der bokher iz gegangen a hungerik-er un a*
the.MASC.NOM young.man is gone a hungry-MASC.NOM and an
farshmakht-er
exhausted-MASC.NOM
‘the young man left hungry and exhausted’
- b. *a gliklekh-e hot im di froy mekabl geven*
a happy-FEM.NOM has him the.FEM.NOM woman receiving been
‘the woman was happy to receive it’

Cases like (72a) agree in case, number, and gender. Given that the examples in (73) also show agreement in those features, the two relevant nominal elements must presumably have been in a local position at some point.

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