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Auxiliary Selection in Yiddish Dialects

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The variation of the two past tense auxiliaries (HAVE and BE) is a well-studied phenomenon in European languages, especially in the West Germanic varieties. So far, however, the situation in Eastern Yiddish has not been examined. This paper focuses on auxiliary selection in these Yiddish dialects based on data from the *Language and Culture Archive of Ashkenazic Jewry*, which were collected in the 1960s. Like most of the current works on this topic, the following analysis uses and discusses Sorace's (1993, 2000) Auxiliary Selection Hierarchy, which allows to examine the Yiddish structures in light of historical and diatopic evidence from other Germanic varieties, particularly German and Dutch. The main focus is on intransitive verbs that show a high degree of variation—state verbs, controlled and uncontrolled motional process verbs, and change-of-state verbs. However, the Auxiliary Selection Hierarchy also has weaknesses, as is demonstrated in the following.[*]

Keywords: past tense formation, Yiddish, dialectology, Aktionsart, aspect

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1. Introduction.

This paper analyzes the choice of the perfect auxiliary in Yiddish dialects of the 20th century. I examine the geographic distribution of *zayn* and *hobn* and show that in many cases, auxiliary selection depends on the region: Some regions prefer *zayn*, while others prefer *hobn*. As innovations spread across regions, synchronous geographical data provide an insight into historical developments. If an area shows a clear variation, it is reasonable to assume that one of the two forms is an innovation. Yet the coexistence of the two auxiliaries may also be systemic. To account for the use of *zayn* and *hobn* in the latter case, I apply Sorace's Auxiliary Selection Hierarchy (ASH), which proves to be a useful tool to describe variation across varieties based on semantic categories.

It has been repeatedly claimed that many morphosyntactic structures in Yiddish were borrowed from the Slavic languages and that Eastern Yiddish is, beneath the Germanic lexical surface, a Slavic language (for example, Wexler 1991, Geller 1999). Structures such as multiple negation, relative particles, and even analytic tense and mood constructions, have been declared "Slavic" although these structures are also known from Germanic varieties. The linguistic issue with such a view of Yiddish structures is that many scholars tend to ignore the strength of internal language change and are only focused on contact-induced changes. In the phenomenon of auxiliary selection discussed here, an influence of Slavic contact languages can be ruled out. Thus, this contribution shows, on the one hand, how developments in Eastern Yiddish dialects fit into the continental West Germanic continuum, and, on the other, how the present findings help one understand how language change can happen without external influences.

The data analyzed come from the *Language and Culture Archive of Ashkenazic Jewry* (LCAAJ). The LCAAJ is, in a sense, a still unfinished atlas project launched by Uriel and Bina Weinreich. It started in the early 1960s with interviews of over 600 Jewish immigrants born in central and eastern Europe around 1900. These interviews are based on a 200-page question book, which includes over 300 translations of full sentences into Yiddish. The LCAAJ is the largest source of data from the European Yiddish dialects spoken before the Holocaust that no longer exist. In addition to the sound recordings, the answers of the informants are documented in systematic notes the interviewers took during the interview. The interviewers used a form for their notes that orders the

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individual questions and applies a special transcription that aims to cover phonological subtleties (see Herzog et al. 1995:1–28). These field notes have been available online since 2018.

The LCAAJ material provides important evidence for the linguistic history of Yiddish. The speech of the informants reflects the state of the Yiddish dialects spoken around 1900 in Europe, where the informants were born and grew up (apart from 3 speakers who were born in Palestine).[1] Thus, the collected data can be mapped based on the birthplaces of the informants, as shown in figure 1.[2]

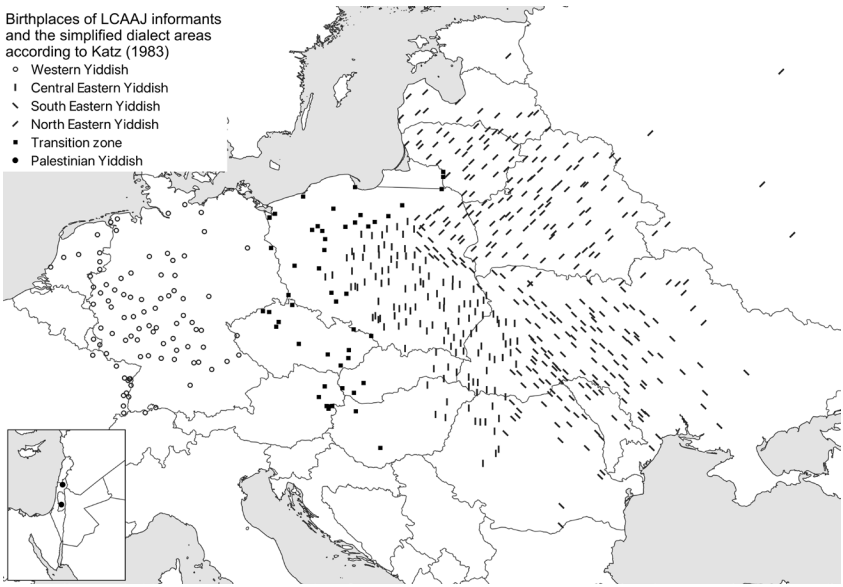


Figure 1. Basemap of the LCAAJ informants.

Since very few speakers passed their dialects on to their children, many of the varieties have already died out or merged with other dialects. The material primarily provides data on the Eastern Yiddish

[1] These special varieties of the early emigrants are not considered in the following as the aim is to describe the old European dialects.

[2] This and all following maps show the political boundaries of early 2022 for better orientation. On the geopolitical aspects of Yiddish dialect divisions, see Schäfer (2022).

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dialects; Western Yiddish, which was in contact with the German varieties, was largely abandoned in the course of the 19th century. In the middle of the 20th century, there were still a few speakers of Western Yiddish only in Alsace, and interviews with some of them are found in the LCAAJ. Thus, the LCAAJ does provide some data from this small area. The project *Syntax of Eastern Yiddish Dialects* (SEYD 2017–2022) evaluates the LCAAJ translation tasks regarding syntactic and morpho-syntactic structures, based on the field notes the interviewers took during the interviews (see Schäfer 2019, 2020a). These field notes also served as the main source for the present investigation.

Following this short introduction to the topic, section 2 briefly discusses the development of the past tense auxiliaries in Yiddish and other Germanic languages and introduces the ASH. Section 3 describes the data used in the study and presents individual analyses of different verbs in the context of the ASH. Section 4 focuses on factors relevant for auxiliary selection in change-of-state verbs. Section 5 compares the findings of the present study with results obtained for other West Germanic varieties. Section 6 is a conclusion.

2. Germanic *BE/HAVE* and Auxiliary Selection Hierarchy.

Due to phonological changes such as unstressed vowel reduction to schwa and to a wider trend in the European *Sprachbund*, the Germanic languages developed analytical constructions to express tense, mode (modality), and aspect. A common development is the loss of a synthetic simple past leading to an analytic perfect construction. Initially, BE was the only past tense auxiliary, with HAVE developing later. Eventually, Yiddish inherited both auxiliaries—*zayn* 'be' and *hobn* 'have'—from Middle High German (henceforth MHG).

While Modern Standard German has retained both BE (*sein*) and HAVE (*haben*), with their use being determined by syntax and semantics (see, among others, Roehm et al. 2013), Modern Standard English, Swedish, and some Norwegian varieties have given up BE, and so HAVE is now the only auxiliary in these languages (see Haugen 1976:80, Bandle et al. 2005:1592, Harbert 2007:304). According to Jacobs (2005:70), the Northeastern Yiddish dialects belong to this latter category and have "generalized use of *hobn* 'have' as the sole auxiliary for past tense formation":

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(1) a. Ix **hob** gəšribn—ix **hob** gəzesn Northeastern Yiddish
I have written—I have sat

b. ix **hob** gəšribn—ix **bin** gəzesn Standard Yiddish
I have written—I am sat

'I wrote'—'I sat' (Jacobs 2005:70)

Jacobs' claim is based on Herzog (1965:147 and maps, p. 148), who states, on the basis of the past tense forms of three verbs (*shlofn* 'sleep', *geyn* 'go', *zitsn* 'sit'), that *zayn* "has been almost completely eliminated" in the Yiddish of northern Poland.

The remaining Yiddish varieties, however, still use both auxiliaries, *hobn* and *zayn*. Yet, until today there has been no research on what governs the choice between *hobn* and *zayn* in these dialects. It is possible that the selection is driven by semantics and syntax, as it is in Modern German, where transitive verbs always occur with *haben*, while intransitive verbs vary between *sein* and *haben* (see Paul 1902:182, Grewendorf 1989, Roehm et al. 2013). However, the situation in German is not that simple either: For example, there is regional variation in the use of auxiliary with stative verbs, as in *Ich bin/habe gestanden* 'I stood'. This variation reflects an opposition that was originally based on (im)perfectivity: In MHG, HAVE used to express imperfectivity, as in 2a, while BE used to express perfectivity, as in 2b (see Paul 1902:172, 2007:287–316). The examples in 2 are from MHG, cited in Szczepaniak 2011:138–139.

(2) a. ich **hân** vür wâr hiegesezzen manec jâr imperfective
I have for true here=sat many year
'I've truly been sitting here for many years.' (Pz 563, 20)

b. und als er **was** gesezzen perfective
and as he was sat
'when he sat down' (Er 6359)

In modern continental West Germanic languages, a systematic distinction between perfective and imperfective aspect no longer exists. Reflexes of the old systematic expression of im/perfectivity via auxiliary, however, still echo, as is evident from the data from the old Yiddish dialects.

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Another unlikely explanation that has been discussed for the *hobn*/*zayn* variation in the Yiddish dialects is their contact with Slavic languages. This idea is held by Geller (1999:75). Modern Slavic languages are characterized by a synthetic simple past, where the past tense morpheme developed from an older analytic construction with the auxiliary *bye* 'to be'. Geller's idea is that the older analytical structure was borrowed from Yiddish. However, this historical development from the 15th century was not transparent for the emigrating Jews and could not have had any influence on Yiddish. It is therefore much more likely that Yiddish inherited analytical tense constructions (as well as mode and aspect constructions) from German: For example, perfect constructions with HAVE and BE are common already in Old High German and Old Saxon (Gillmann 2016).

In this paper, I propose accounting for auxiliary selection in Yiddish dialects in terms of Sorace's (2000) Auxiliary Selection Hierarchy (ASH). This hierarchy is based on her findings from Romance and Germanic languages, as well as other non-Indo-European languages, such as Japanese (for a summary, see Sorace 2000 and Keller & Sorace 2003). The ASH is a hierarchy of semantic verb classes that captures "the differential susceptibility of (monadic) intransitive verbs to gradient syntactic behavior" (Keller & Sorace 2003:60):

> Verbs at the BE end of the Auxiliary Selection Hierarchy are core unaccusatives and denote telic change; verbs at the HAVE end are core unergatives and denote agentive activity in which the subject is unaffected. Intermediate verbs between the two extremes incorporate telicity and agentivity to lesser degrees, and tend to have a less specified (basically stative) event structure.
>
> (Keller & Sorace 2003:60)

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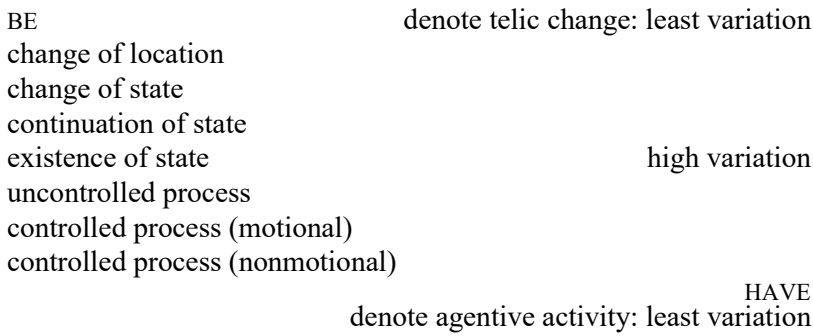


Figure 2. The ASH (Sorace 1993, 2000).

Thus, the ASH predicts that the degree of telicity determines auxiliary selection: A higher degree of telicity makes it more likely for the verb to select BE and a lower degree of telicity makes it more likely for the verb to prefer HAVE. Moreover, individual verbs within the same verb class encode telicity to variable degrees, which leads to variation within verb classes (especially within change-of-state verbs, as I show below; Sorace 2000:867).

The aim of this paper is to demonstrate that the Yiddish dialects fit in with the ASH: Whenever a choice is available between *zayn* and *hobn*, telic verbs tend to select *zayn*, whereas atelic verbs tend to select *hobn*. I also compare the Yiddish data on auxiliary selection with existing data from two other continental West Germanic languages, namely, German and Dutch. This comparison shows that Yiddish fits into the continental West Germanic continuum.

It should be noted that there are a number of other theories and models that have been developed specifically for Germanic languages (usually German; for example, Perlmutter 1978, Grewendorf 1989, Shannon 1989, Gillmann 2015, 2016; see also Kailuweit & Rosemeyer 2015). These, however, rely on additional assumptions that the ASH does not need (for example, form=function; broader concepts of ergativity and aspect). For purposes of this study, the ASH is the most neutral and practical tool. It allows to make fine-grained descriptive distinctions between verbs and can be applied across modern languages as well as diachronically, thus making data comparable (see Sapp 2011:31). Yet, as discussed in section 3.4, in some respects the ASH is not fine-grained enough either.

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3. The Yiddish Data.

The LCAAJ material contains many contexts with intransitive verbs in the past tense. For the present investigation, the following 17 translation tasks were analyzed in detail (the numbers refer to the page number in the questionnaire followed by the question number):

(3) a. 008-120 something happened along the way
b. 023-060 the child yelled
c. 035-030 when the child had vomited, [it calmed down]
d. 039-100 he ran outside naked
e. 064-020 we sat on the bench
f. 065-101 he slept in a small bed
g. 065-039 he just came home
h. 069-100 the thief ran away with everything
i. 129-040 she should have asked for advice
j. 152-010 I have never ridden a horse
k. 156-050 I lived with grandfather
l. 160-160 the child fell asleep
m. 163-040 he grew fast
n. 163-060 the children lay in their beds
o. 177-040 the violin broke
p. 172-110 (up to bar micve) I went to xéjder
q. 183-090 when I was born my grandfather had already died [pluperfect context]

Since the questions were not designed for this purpose, the LCAAJ data do not allow precise statements about the influence of the context on the auxiliary selection. Only controlled questions in which the same verb is tested in different contexts affected by different factors (such as animation) could yield results bearing on this. The LCAAJ data can only be used as a rough compass to determine which class of verbs prefers which auxiliary. For finer results, finer data are needed.

The selection of the specific auxiliaries in the sentences in 3 fits quite well with the ASH. As in other languages, in Yiddish there are core verbs that show categorical auxiliary selection behavior: *zayn* is used with change-of-location verbs, while *hobn* is used with controlled nonmotional process verbs. At the same time, as to be expected under Sorace's (2000) analysis, there is a vast array of variation (indicated

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throughout by #) among verbs located in the middle of the hierarchy. This variation is analyzed in more detail in the following sections. An overview of the variation found in examples from the field notes is provided in Appendix.[3]

3.1. Existence-of-State Verbs (Positional).

State verbs are atelic, and so according to the ASH they are expected to select HAVE as their auxiliary. However, in Yiddish, as in Southern German varieties, existence-of-state verbs mostly use *zayn* for past tense formation, as shown in 4. Yet there is a small region in the northern area, where Yiddish dialects do use *hobn*, as shown in 5.

(4) a. DI K1ND3R ZAN1N G1LEG+ 1N DI BET+
di kinder **zanin** gilegn in di betn
the children are lain in the beds
'the children lay in their beds' (57401 Yaroslavl, Russia)

b. MIR ZAJN7 G3ZESN AFM7 BAN7K
Mir **zajn** gezesn af=m bank
we are sat on=the bench
'we sat on the bench' (57212 Piltene, Latvia)

c. ER1Z G1S+LUFN
Er=**iz** gišlufn
he=is slept
'he slept' (47298 Balta, Ukraine)

(5) a. DI KIND3R HOB+ G3LEG+ 1N ZEJ3R3 BET+
di kinder **hobn** gelegn in zejere betn
the children have lay in their beds
'the children lay in their beds' (53291 Babruysk, Belarus)

b. MIR OB+ G81ZESN AF A BAJ/-/NK
Mir **obn** gizesn af a bajnk
we have sat on a bench
'we sat on the bench' (53225 Trzcianne, Poland)

[3] The LCAAJ transcription system is described in detail in Herzog et al. 1995:20–24. Here, I give a transliteration of the LCAAJ transcription following the system described in Schäfer 2020a.

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c. EROT G81S+LOFM7
er=**ot** gišlofm
He=has slept
'he slept' (50329 Dmytrivka, Ukraine)

The variation exemplified in 4 and 5 shows a clear geographic pattern, as shown in maps in figures 3 and 4. Figure 3 maps the auxiliary selection in German dialects spoken in late 19th century and in the Yiddish dialects as recorded in the LCAAJ. The German data were elicited by Georg Wenker (1852–1911) using a dialect survey. Figure 3 reflects translations of sentence 24 in the survey, *...da lagen die Anderen schon zu Bett...* 'the others were already lying in bed'.[4] The Yiddish data come from translations of LCAAJ question 163-060 (see 3n above).

[4] The data have been provided by Jürg Fleischer and come from the project *Morphosyntaktische Auswertung der Wenkersätze* (Morphosyntactic evaluation of the Wenker sentences); due to the loss of the preterite, corresponding data from the north of the language area are not available. The data have not (yet) been published and the book on the project is still in preparation.

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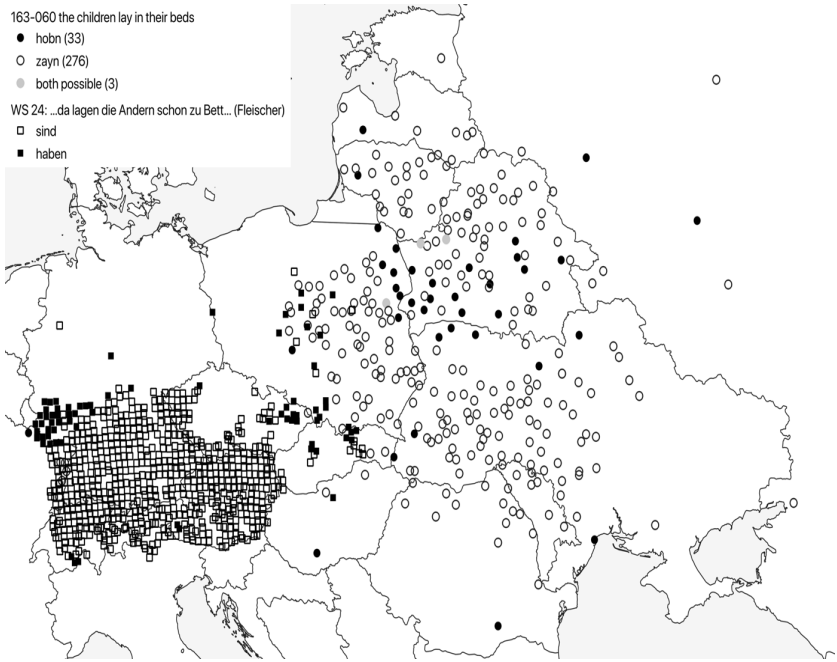


Figure 3. Auxiliary selection in *[the children/they] lay in bed* in 19th century German dialects and in Eastern Yiddish dialects.

Figure 4 maps the auxiliary selection in contemporary German and in Yiddish dialects. The German data come from lay judgments of contemporary speakers presented with a sentence from *Atlas zur deutschen Alltagssprache* (Atlas of Everyday German), *ich habe/bin gesessen* 'I sat'.[5] The Yiddish data come from translations of LCAAJ question 064-020 (see 3e above). From the language use of German dialects in the 1880s (see Appendix) and acceptability judgments of contemporary colloquial German speakers a pattern emerges: While the southern dialects (of Yiddish and German) tend to prefer BE, some of the northern dialects prefer HAVE. This can be interpreted as a reflex of a West-Germanic dialect continuum that crosses language borders.

[5] The map is available at http://www.atlas-alltagssprache.de/wp-content/uploads/2012/05/habe-bin-gesessen.jpg, last accessed on January 20, 2020. The project works with layman's judgments and consists entirely of individual maps.

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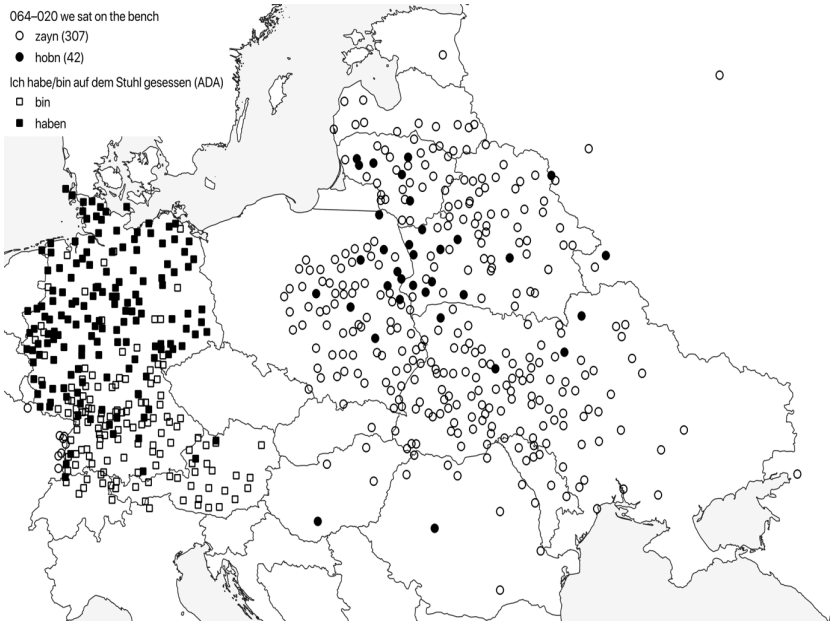


Figure 4. Auxiliary selection in *[we/I] sat* in contemporary German and Eastern Yiddish dialects.

As figures 3 and 4 show, variation in auxiliary selection follows clear dialect boundaries. However, one also finds evidence for free variation within dialects. Figure 5 demonstrates the choice of auxiliary for the atelic verb *shlofn* 'sleep' while translating *he slept in a small bed* (see 3f above). From figure 6 it is obvious that *shlofn* is much more often used with *hobn* than *lign* 'lie' and *zitsn* 'sit'—the other two verbs that can be clearly assigned to the existence-of-state semantic class. This could be due to the more atelic meaning of *shlofn*, especially in the context of sentence no. 065-101. From an aspectual perspective, this sentence can describe an imperfective, habitual situation. The progressive reading of the auxiliary HAVE when it appears with imperfective verbs is attested as early as MHG (Zeman 2010:195).

This idea is supported by the fact that question 065-101 was often translated as 'he used to sleep in a small bed' using the habitual construction *flegn* + infinitive 'used to (V)'. It expresses a "habitual past action" (Jacobs 2005:222) and is attested in the southern dialects (an

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example is given in Appendix). In this sense, the construction is expected to be used with continuation-of-state verbs. Under Sorace's (2000) approach, they constitute a separate verb class and are more perfective than existence-of-state verbs. Thieroff (2000:296–297) notes that many languages in Western and Southern Europe mark habitual aspect. Thus, Eastern Yiddish fits in very well with this *Sprachbund*.

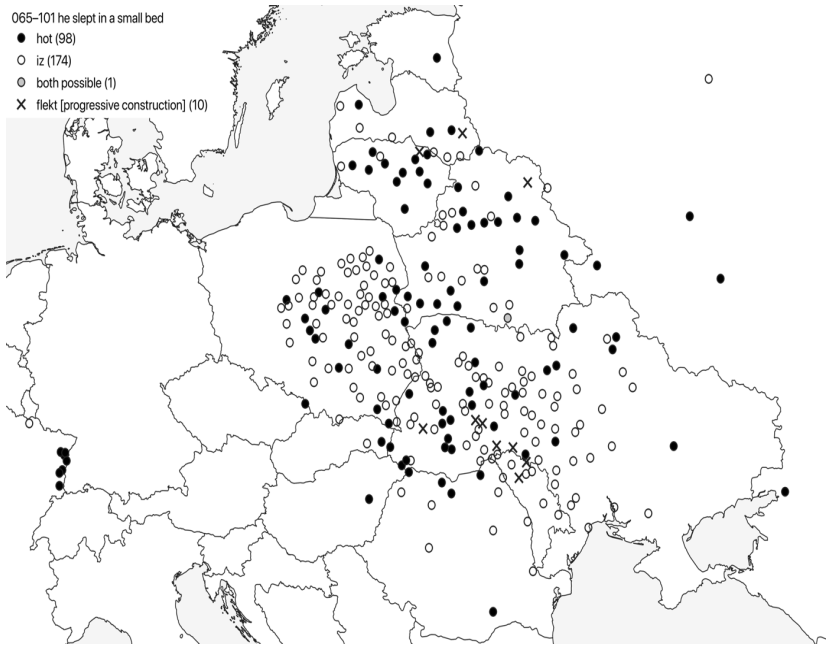


Figure 5. Auxiliary selection in LCAAJ question no. 065-101.

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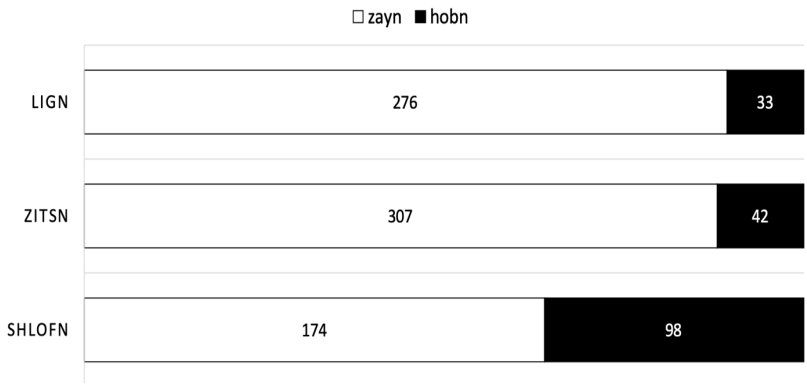


Figure 6. Auxiliary selection with *(to) lie*, *(to) sit*, and *(to) sleep* in the LCAAJ.

It should be noted that *(to) sleep* is not listed in Sorace's list of intransitives, unlike *(to) sit* and *(to) lie*, as an existence-of-state verb. In fact, *(to) sleep* seems to be a problematic verb for the ASH. There are several possible classifications of this verb. For example, Perlmutter (1978:162–163) classifies *(to) sleep* together with *(to) cough* and *(to) sneeze* as verbs expressing "involuntary body processes", which would correspond to Sorace's class of uncontrolled process verbs. This could be an explanation why the preference for *hobn* is higher with *shlofn* '(to) sleep' than with the two remaining existence-of-state verbs in the Yiddish dialects. In contrast, Aranovich (2007:14) and Sapp (2011:38) classify it as a continuation-of-state verb. Continuation-of-state verbs in Yiddish usually appear in the *flegn*-construction, as can be seen in some translations of 065-101 (*he slept in a small bed*). I conclude that *shlofn* as used in translations of 065-101 should be classified as a continuation-of-state verb. However, there are no further contexts in the LCAAJ material that would allow to make stronger statements about continuation-of-state verbs in Yiddish. On the basis of this single example—and considering that the *flegn*-construction might alter the verb's semantics—no generalizations on the auxiliary selection by continuation-of-state verbs can be made.

3.2. Controlled Motional Process Verbs.

Another class of verbs that show regional variation in auxiliary selection is controlled motional process verbs. Here, the southeastern Yiddish

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dialects prefer *zayn*, as in 6, while the northern dialects prefer *hobn*, as in 7.

(6) a. I BIN KEJMOL N1S+ G3F0RN AF A FERD
i **bin** kejnmol niš geforn af a ferd
I am not.once not ridden on a horse
'I have never ridden on a horse'
(53261A Lyakhavichy, Belarus)

b. B1S C1 BARM1CV1 B1N 3X G1GONG1+ 1N XEJD3R
bis ci barmicvi **bin** ex gigongin in xejder
up to bar.mitzvah am I went in xeyder
'up to bar mitzvah I went to xeyder' (45284 Galaţi, Romania)

(7) a. XOP KEJMOL NI GERIT+ AF A FERT2
x=hob kejnmol niš geforn af a ferd
I=have not.once not ridden on a horse
'I have never ridden a horse' (56274A Rezekne, Latvia)

b. B1Z BARM1CV3 OB 1R G1GANG1N 1N XEJD3R
biz barmicve ob ir gigangin in xejder
until bar=mitzvah have I went in xeyder
'up to bar mitzvah I went to xeyder'
(52256 Cieliachany, Belarus)

Note that this pattern is the opposite of the one found in German. In their discussion of controlled process verbs (motional), Keller & Sorace (2003:87) report a significantly stronger preference for the auxiliary *sein* 'be' ($p<.01$) among speakers from northern Germany, while speakers from the very south did not show any significant preference for either auxiliary.

Keller & Sorace 2003 followed by Gillmann (2011:212) differ from older works that report a preference for *sein* in the south (Upper German). It is proposed that this Upper German preference for *sein* is an aftereffect of different shifts in the grammaticalization of the two auxiliaries between High German and Low German, in their respective historical language stages: In High German, the auxiliary *sein* developed earlier than *hobn*, whereas in Low German, *sein* developed later than *hobn*. However, these grammaticalization processes are of lesser relevance for Yiddish, which, as

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a daughter language of High German, remained unaffected by Low German developments.

These data demonstrate that auxiliary selection in Yiddish may not have resulted from language contact. The southern Yiddish dialects behave surprisingly less like the southern German varieties (Upper and Middle German): The Yiddish dialects prefer *zayn*, whereas the High German varieties show no preference. Instead, the southern Yiddish dialects are closer to the system of German speakers from the north in that they both prefer the auxiliary *zayn*. By the same token, the northern Yiddish varieties behave differently from the northern varieties of German in that they prefer *hobn*. These observations exclude a contact-induced change and are indicative of polygenetic developments.

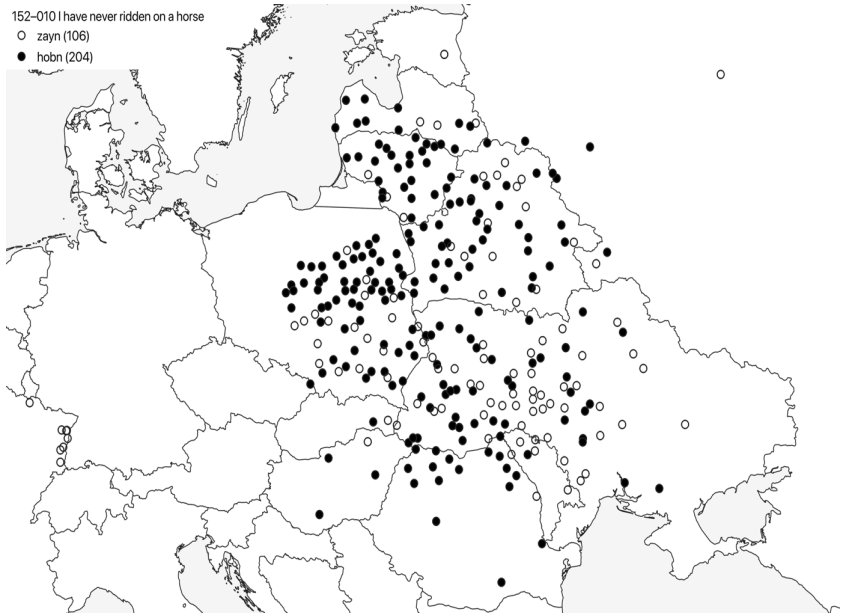


Figure 7. Auxiliary selection in LCAAJ question no. 152-010.

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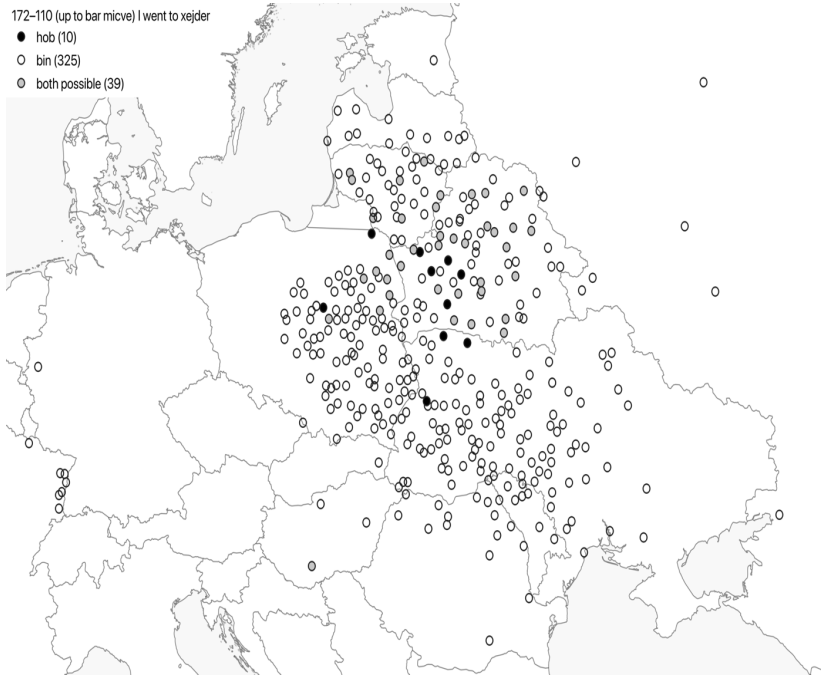


Figure 8. Auxiliary selection in LCAAJ question no. 172-110.

The data in figures 7 and 8 shed light on what may determine the choice of auxiliary in Yiddish. From the comparison of the translations of the LCAAJ sentences *I have never ridden a horse* (152-010 in 3j above) and *(up to bar micve) I went to xéjder* (172-110 in 3p above) a pattern emerges: Although they both contain controlled motional process predicates, that is, *ride a horse* and *go to xéjder*, Yiddish speakers from the north show a clear preference for different auxiliaries, *hobn* and *zayn*, respectively. This pattern suggests that a fine semantic distinction is at play here. *Ride a horse* is an atelic predicate, that is, there is no specified end point. In contrast, *go to xéjder* in this case is arguably a telic predicate, with the end point specified by *up to bar micve*. Thus, *hobn* is preferred with atelic predicates, whereas *zayn* is preferred with telic ones. These data show that the choice of auxiliary—at least, in the northern dialects of Yiddish—is governed by the telic/atelic distinction, independent of the semantic verb class.

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3.3. Uncontrolled Process Verbs.

The LCAAJ material contains only a few examples of uncontrolled process verbs. In the present study, two of them were analyzed: *vomit* in *the child had vomited* (035-030 in 3c above) and *happen* in *something happened along the way* (008-030 in 3a above). Translations of sentence no. 035-030 (past perfect) systematically use *hobn* as the only possible auxiliary in the Yiddish dialects, as shown in figure 9.

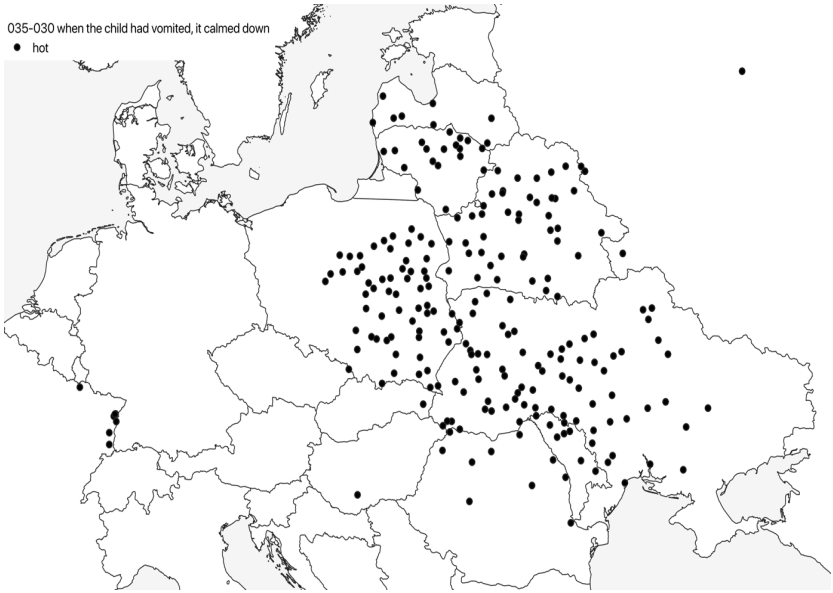


Figure 9. Auxiliary selection in LCAAJ question no. 035-030.

In contrast, translations of sentence no. 008-120 (simple past), *something happened along the way*, show dialectal variation with respect to auxiliary selection. As table 1 shows, in most cases the auxiliary *hobn* is used (208/256), with *zayn* being mainly used in the western part of the southeastern dialects, as shown in figure 10. It is possible that there are particular verbs in Yiddish that do allow only *zayn* (like German *taumeln* 'to stagger'), but these verbs are absent in the material (see Keller & Sorace 2003:45).

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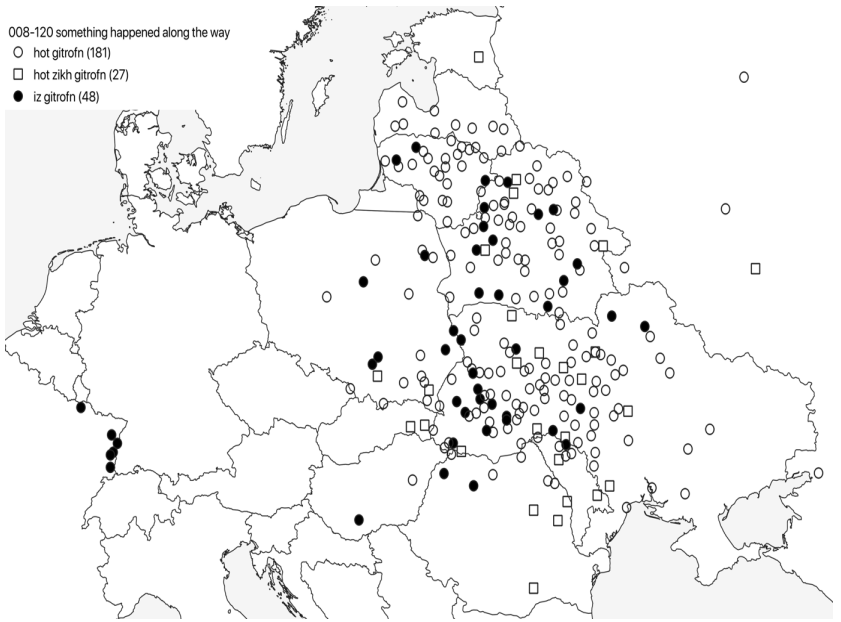


Figure 10. Auxiliary selection in LCAAJ question no. 008-120.

Note that the verb *happen* can be rendered by three different verbs in Yiddish. As table 1 shows, the *zayn/hobn* variation appears to depend on the lexical verb: *gesheyn* prefers *zayn*, whereas *pasirt* and *getrofn* prefer *hobn*. However, this lexical variation is geographically motivated: The verb *gesheyn*, which is mainly used with *zayn*, is limited to the western region of southeastern Yiddish (today it is Western Ukraine), while the other two lexemes show free variation all over the language area. Thus, the choice of auxiliary is determined not by which of the three verbs is used, but by geography.

p=< 0.001, Cramér's V=0.5502	HOBN (208)	ZAYN (48)
gesheyn	8	23
pasirt	73	10
getrofn	120	12
no verb form given	(7)	(3)

Table 1. $\chi 2$ testing a correlation between the usage of lexeme for *happened* and the past tense auxiliary.

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Interestingly, in sentence 035-030 (see figure 9), there is no variation in the choice of auxiliary, although there are forms with verb particles (for example, *oys=gebrokhn* lit. 'out=break', *op=gebrokhn* lit. 'off=broke') and forms without.

3.4. Change-of-State Verbs.

The situation with Yiddish change-of-state verbs appears to be more complex. These verbs show the most variation in auxiliary selection. The choice between *zayn* and *hobn* seems to be affected not only by telicity but also by voice. In addition, in some contexts Yiddish seems to have preserved the (im)perfective opposition of MHG, which is also conveyed by the auxiliaries. In what follows, I examine five change-of-state verbs found in the LCAAJ: *aynshlofn* 'to fall asleep', *(oyf-)vaksn* 'to grow', *tsebrekhn* 'break (in two)', *shtarbn* 'to die', and *geboyren vern* 'to be born'. In most cases, these verbs appear with *zayn*. However, in some contexts (see, for example, 160-160 in 3l above) *hobn* is used, which needs to be explained.

The first verb, the telic verb *aynshlofn* 'fall asleep', is used in the translations of the sentence *the child fell asleep* (160-160 in 3l above). The auxiliaries *hobn* and zayn show a slight diatopic distribution: Overall, all dialects widely prefer *zayn*. However, as shown in figure 11, in the north both auxiliaries are used; in addition, two informants use both auxiliaries in the same context. This suggests that there might be semantic factors that govern the choice between *hobn* and *zayn* in this region.

As predicted by the ASH, the choice of auxiliary does appear to depend on telicity. In the case of change-of-state verbs, particles play a role: The same verb shows slightly different preference for the auxiliary *zayn* depending on the particle it combines with. For example, as shown in table 2, the verb *ant-shlofn* was used only with *zayn* and never with *hobn* (33/33); the verb *ayn-(ge)shlofn* was *mostly* used with *zayn* (88/18), and *an-(ge)shlofn* almost exclusively with *zayn* (144/1). Note, however, that the distribution of the particles *ant-* and *ayn-* has a geographic dimension. In particular, *ant-* is only used in the western area of Central and Southern Eastern Yiddish and is nearly absent from the northern dialects.

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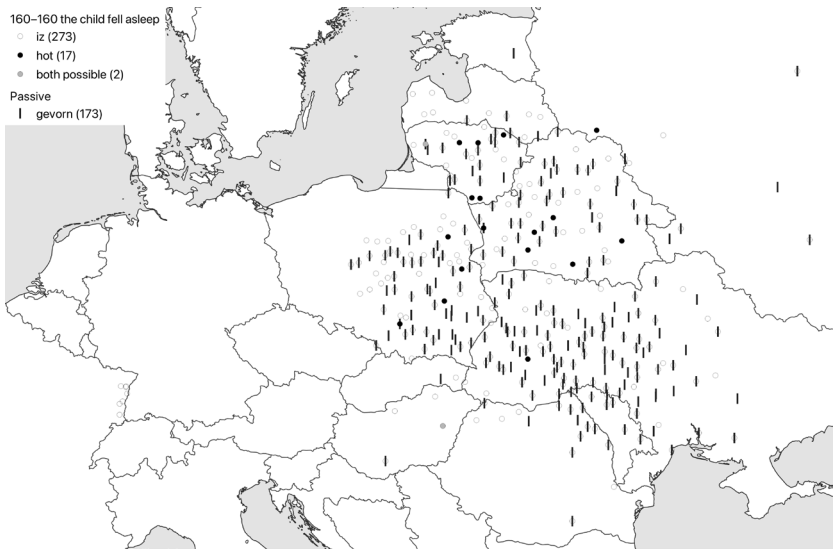


Figure 11. Auxiliary selection in LCAAJ question no. 160-160.

particle	HOBN (19)	ZAYN (265)
ant-shlofn	—	33
ayn-(ge)shlofn	18	88
a(n)-(ge)shlofn	1	144

Table 2. Correlation between particle and auxiliary (p=<.0001, Cramér's V=0.3179).

In 8, the atelic verb *shlofn* 'sleep' appears with a particle, which makes it more telic, 'fall asleep' (on the event structure of *(to) sleep* and *(to) fall asleep*, see Teuber 2005:103). From the aspectual point of view, *hobn* in 8a conveys the imperfective meaning, whereas *zayn* in 8b makes the predicate perfective.

(8) a. der kind **hot** **ayn**=gishlofn imperfective
the child has PTCL=slept
'the child **was in the process** of falling asleep'

b. de kind **iz** **ant**=shlofn (givorn) perfective
the child is PTCL=slept (become)
'the child **fell asleep**; it started to sleep'

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It is possible that Yiddish inherited the ability to mark the perfective/imperfective opposition using auxiliaries from older stages of German. As mentioned in section 2 (see the examples in 2), MHG marked the opposition between imperfective and perfective with HAVE (*haben/hebben*) and BE (*sein/zijn*), respectively. The auxiliaries convey the (im)perfective contrast in New High German (NHG) as well, as shown in 9.

(9) a. Die Wäsche **hat** getrocknet imperfective
the laundry has dried
'The laundry was drying (The laundry had time to dry).'

b. Die Wäsche **ist** getrocknet perfective
the laundry is dried
'The laundry has dried (The laundry is definitely dry now).'

This old (im)perfective distinction is still visible in change-of-state verbs such as *trocknen/drogen* 'to dry' and *rotten* 'to rot' (see Gillmann 2015:340).

Another factor that seems to determine the choice of auxiliary is voice. The statistics shows that there is a significant correlation between the use of *zayn* and rendering the sentence *the child fell asleep* as a passive with the auxiliary *gevorn* 'become', although the effect strength (Cramér's V) is only minimal. As shown in table 3, out of 290 translations, 175 were passive constructions with *gevorn*, and only two of them contained *hobn*. In the remaining 115 translations, the passive without *gevorn* was used, and 15 of those translations contained *hobn*.

p=.000024, Cramér's V=0.2478	HOBN (17)	ZAYN (273)
+ gevorn (passive)	2	173
– gevorn (passive)	15	100

Table 3. $\chi 2$ testing a correlation between
the usage of passive auxiliary and past tense auxiliary.

It appears from table 3 that at least for the verb *aynshlofn*, passive voice has more influence on auxiliary selection in periphrastic tense than the semantic properties of this verb captured by the ASH.

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The next verb is *vaksn* '(to) grow'. Figure 12 demonstrates that the variation between *hobn* and *zayn* when used with *vaksn* shows nearly no geographic effect: Although there is a slight accumulation of *hobn* in the south, generally, *hobn* is possible everywhere alongside *zayn*. Ten informants gave both options, but without any further explanation of the difference. As it was the case with *aynshlofn*, it is precisely these answers that provide both variants that suggest that the sentence may have two possible readings—the change-of-state reading and the uncontrolled process reading, and that the choice of auxiliary depends on the reading the verb receives in each given case. However, the distinction between the semantics of change-of-state and uncontrolled process is not always easy to make. The question is how to interpret the semantics of *vaksn* in the translations of the sentence *he grew fast* (163-040 in 3m above). Is it necessarily a change-of-state verb or can it be an uncontrolled process verb? The manner adverb *fast*, in particular, could trigger an uncontrolled process reading that highlights an ingressive act (see Alexeyenko 2022).

The English intransitive verb *grow* in the original sentence can be either telic or atelic, that is, it can be used to describe a change of state or a change in progress. Since according to the principles of ASH telicity matters for auxiliary selection, it is reasonable to suppose that the interpretation of English *grow* would determine the use of auxiliary in translation: Under the atelic reading, the translated sentence would contain *hobn* and under the telic reading it would contain *zayn*. However, there is no way of knowing whether the informants interpreted *grow* in the original English sentence as telic or atelic, and so in this case, it is impossible to use their translations as evidence for the role of telicity in auxiliary selection. This is where the limitations of the LCAAJ data become apparent.

The fact that certain verbs are too semantically vague to be assigned to one (and only one) verb class shows a weakness of Sorace's model; accordingly, the verb classes used by Sorace are not to be seen as absolute categories, and they were not thought of as such by Sorace. Each verb class can be further divided into subclasses since several readings are possible. Interestingly, the verbs in the center of the ASH are the verbs that allow the most variability. They are more sensitive to the influence of different kinds of semantic factors compared to the verbs at the two end points of the scale. The choice of the auxiliary is

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modulated gradually by semantic features of the verb and of the predicate in which it appears (telic/atelic). Moreover, when selecting an auxiliary, unergatives are also sensitive to the animacy degree of their agent (Vernice & Sorace 2018). In other words, the choice of an auxiliary is determined by where the verb is located along the continuum. Process verbs are especially sensitive to these factors when it comes to auxiliary selection (Vernice & Sorace 2018:14).

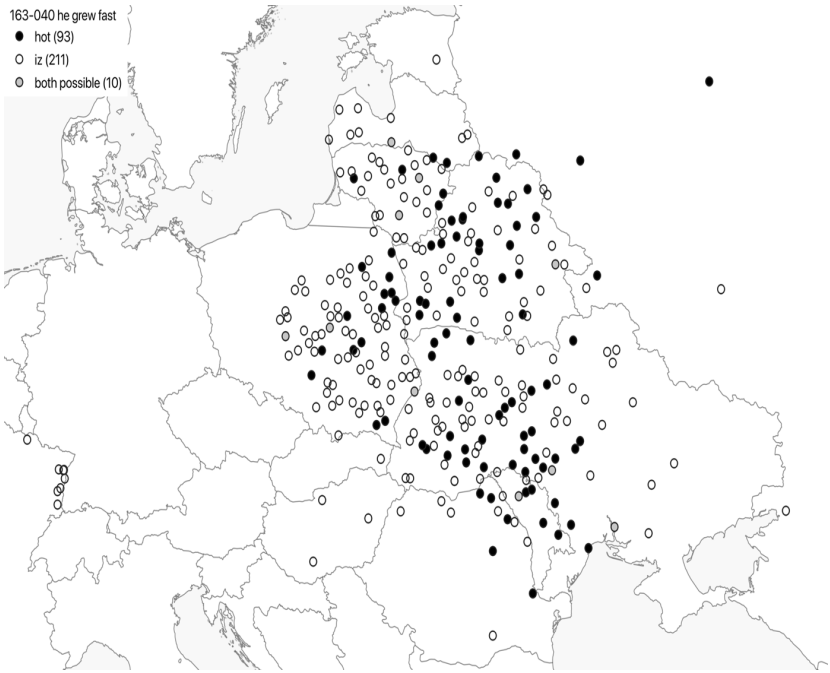


Figure 12. Auxiliary selection in LCAAJ question no. 163-040.

Apart from the (a)telic properties of English *grow*, what could have influenced the choice of auxiliary in the translations is the history of Yiddish *vaksn* itself. Yiddish is a daughter language of High German, which, in turn, is based on MHG and Early New High German (ENHG). In the latter, *wachsen* 'to grow' was often used with HAVE, as shown in 10.

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(10) a. Der Sohn Gottes ist im Leibe der Jungfrawen
the son God's is in flesh the virgin's

empfangen nach dem Fleisch /
received after the flesh

vnd **hat gewachsen** nach der Menschlichen Natur
and has grown after the human nature

'The Son of God is received in the body of the virgin on the flesh / and has grown on the human nature'

(Kirchner, Timotheus: Widerlegung aller Lästerungen und Kalumnien. Magdeburg, 1592)

b. Der Jüngling Samuel ist gesessen zu den Füssen
the youngster Samuel is sat to the feet

deß Hohenpriesters Eli/ vnd **hat gewachsen**
the high-priest's Eli and has grown

vnd zugenommen/ an Alter vnd Weißheit
and increased in age and wisdom

'The young man Samuel sat at the feet of the high priest Eli and grew and increased in age and wisdom'

(Gregorius, Daniel: Studenten Predigt. Marburg, 1615)

Furthermore, according to Verdam (1911:241), in Middle Dutch—another continental West Germanic language—*groeyen* 'to grow' could also form its perfect tense with *hebben*, as in 11a. De Rooij (1988) shows that there was a change from *hebben* to *zijn* in the Dutch dialects in the 20th century, as the Modern Standard Dutch example in 11b shows.

(11) a. Die (mangelwortelen) hebbe nie mēer gegroeid
the (mangle-roots) have never more grown

(de Bont 1962 "Dialekt van Kempenland", 433)

b. […] zijn niet meer gegroeid
[…] are not more grown
'[Those (mangle roots)] have not grown any more'

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The examples in 10 and 11 suggest that the Yiddish dialects could have preserved an older stage, in which the verb *grow* had a wider range of meanings. This would explain the observed variation in auxiliary use.

The LCAAJ translations also show uses of *vaksn* with the particle *oys-* '(to) grow up' (with no regional bias). Note that this particle triggers a perfective reading, as shown in 12b. In the examples in 12, either auxiliary is possible, and what determines the aspectual interpretation is the particle.

(12) a. er **hot/iz** gevaksn imperfective
he has/is grow.PTCP
'he has been growing (and may continue to grow)'

b. er **hot/iz** oys-gevaksn perfective
he has/is PTCL-grow.PTCP
'he has (fully) grown'

Based on the percentage values alone, it looks like there is no correlation between the use of the particle and the auxiliary. However, the χ^2-test suggests a significant distribution of the feature ±*particle* and the choice of auxiliary; but again, the effect is not very strong, as shown in table 4: Overall, *zayn* appears in 211 translations, with 48 of them containing the particle *oys-*; *hobn* appears in 93 translations, with 10 of them containing the particle.

p=.014171 Cramér's *V*=.2478	gevaksn	**oys**gevaksn	TOTAL
ZAYN	163	48 (22.75%)	211
HOBN	83	10 (20.43%)	93

Table 4. Correlation between the particle *oys-* and auxiliary selection.

The next verb on the list is *tsebrekhn* '(to) break'. In translations of the sentence *the violin broke* (in 3o, 177-040), a completely different spatial distribution can be recognized: New formations with *hobn* are especially frequent in the east, while *zayn* is frequent in the west, as shown in figure 13.

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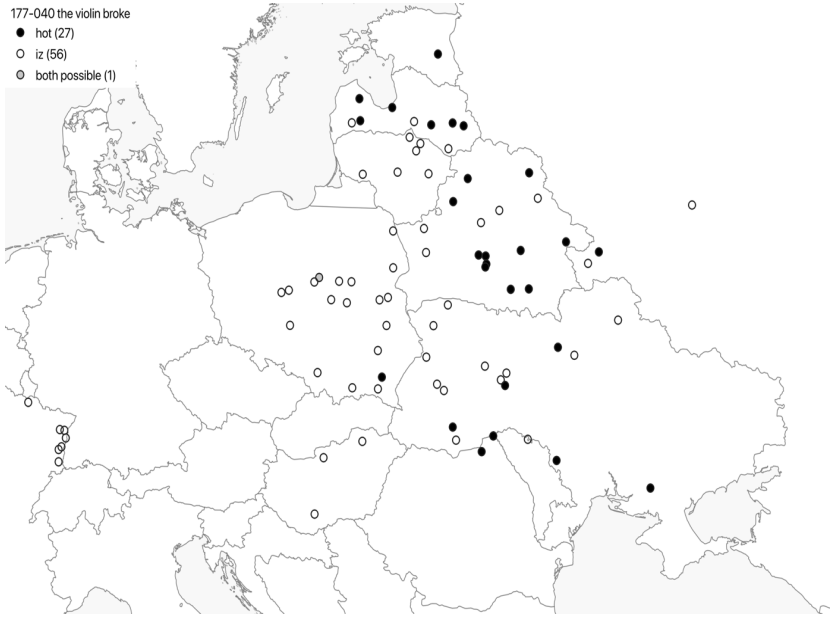


Figure 13. Auxiliary selection in LCAAJ question no. 177-040.

However, there are alternative constructions with *tsebrekhn*, such as constructions with the reflexive *zikh*, for example, *di fidl hot/#is zikh tsebrokhn*, and passive constructions, as in *di fidl iz/#hot (zikh) tsebrokhn gevorn*, that are not captured in figure 13. In the reflexive constructions, *hobn* is used (see figure 14). There is also only one case of passivization, *hot tsebrokhn gevorn* (in Northeastern Yiddish). This passivization construction is discussed in more detail below.

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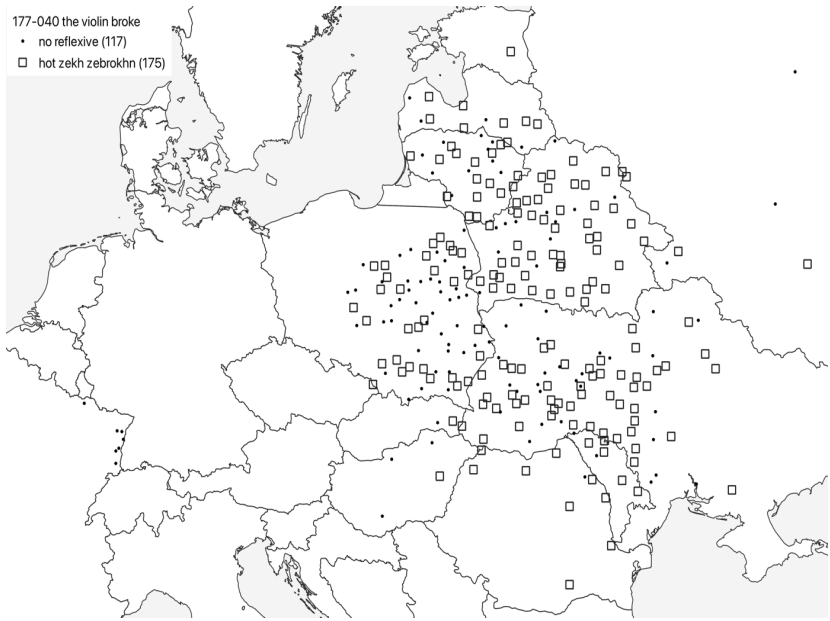


Figure 14. Auxiliary selection in reflexive constructions in LCAAJ question no. 177-040.

The two final verbs are *shtarbn* '(to) die' and *geboyren vern* '(to) be born'. These two change-of-state verbs were used in the translations of the sentence *when I was born my grandfather had already died* (3r, 183-090). The verb *shtarbn* was used 308 times with *zayn* and only 12 times with *hobn*, with absolutely no geographic preference. Note that *shtarbn* is used in the pluperfect, which could have influenced the choice of auxiliary: As discussed earlier in this section, passive structures have an overwhelming preference for *zayn* as well, regardless of the semantic properties of the main verb. It is possible that the pluperfect tense works in a similar way, that is, the marking of tense using a particular auxiliary is more important than the grammatical expression of telicity. The verb *geboyren* is part of a fixed passive structure in Yiddish, that is, *geboyren vern*, which in the entire data set is formed exclusively with *zayn*. The results on *shtarbn* and *geboyren vern* are provided in figure 15.

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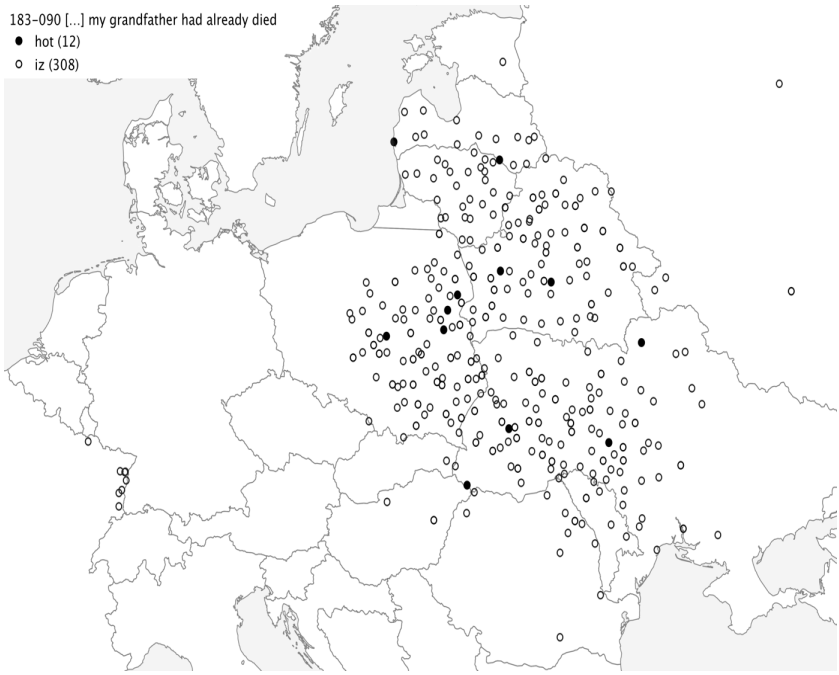


Figure 15. Auxiliary selection in LCAAJ question no. 183-090.

To sum up the discussion so far, in section 3 perfect tense contexts from the LCAAJ material were investigated. I examined auxiliary selection among Yiddish intransitive verbs that belong to the following semantic classes: existence-of-state verbs, controlled process verbs, uncontrolled process verbs, and change-of-state verbs. According to Sorace (2000), verbs that belong to these semantic classes occupy different locations along the ASH, which predicts their behavior with respect to auxiliary selection. It turns out that the Yiddish dialects vary, sometimes significantly, when it comes to auxiliary selection among these verbs. Most notably, change-of-state verbs exhibit significant variation depending on the context of use, although geographic variation is also observed. In the next section, I analyze Yiddish change-of-state verbs in more detail to gain a better understanding of what actually governs this variation.

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4. Auxiliary Selection Factors in Change-of-State Verbs.
Yiddish change-of-state verbs show most variability with respect to auxiliary selection compared to the other verb classes examined in this study. Their auxiliary selection depends not only on telicity, but also on voice and perfectivity. This section contains a more detailed discussion of the factors that influence auxiliary selection in case of the change-of-state verbs *geboyren* '(to) be born', *aynshlofn* '(to) fall asleep', *tsebrekhn* '(to) break', *vaksn* '(to) grow', and *shtarbn* '(to) die'. The questions that emerge from the LCAAJ data are as follows:

(i) What is the influence of passivization?
(ii) What role does telicity play?
(iii) What is the impact of (im)perfectivity?
(iv) Can systems (and even system areas) be identified?

First, it is well known that voice and valency matter for auxiliary selection in general (Keller & Sorace 2003, Plank & Lahiri 2015). It is reasonable to suppose, therefore, that in Yiddish, the auxiliary might change when the construction is passivized. In my data, three of the change-of-state verbs are frequently used in their passive forms. In the Yiddish dialects, passivization seems to trigger the use of *zayn*. Yet the data do not show a statistical effect for a correlation between auxiliary selection and the passivization of the verbs *aynshlofn* and *tsebrekhn* (p=0.7083, Cramér's V=0.0184). This result may be related to the size of the sample. If the data on *geboyren vern*, which is never used with *hobn*, are included, one is tempted to simply say that passivization boosts the use of *zayn*. However, this preference for *zayn* can also be caused by the semantics of the verb class (change of state).

p=<.0001 Cramér's V=.3204	*geboyren gevorn* 'been born'	*ayngeshlofn gevorn* 'fallen asleep'	*tsebrokhn gevorn* 'broken'
zayn	301	173	61
hobn	0	2	1
	geboyren (without *gevorn*) 'been born'	*ayngehlufn* (without *gevorn*) 'fallen asleep'	*tsebrokhn* (without *gevorn*) 'broken'
zayn	32	100	56 [+REFL *zikh* 5]
hobn	0	17	27 [+REFL *zikh*124]

Table 5. Auxiliary selection and passivization.

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Moving on to telicity, to test its role in auxiliary selection one needs to examine the first and most important factor, that is, the particle. It is known that particles affect the telicity of the predicate, at least in the case of morphologically simple atelic verbs: The addition of a particle tends to make such verbs telic (see van Hout 1996, 2000). If telicity plays a role in auxiliary selection, then particle verbs in Yiddish are expected to show preference for the same auxiliary. The LCAAJ data suggest that this is indeed the case: Two particle verbs, ***oys****vaksn* and ***ayn****shlofn*, behave in the same way with respect to auxiliary selection. They show a strong tendency to appear with *zayn*, although there are still about 15% of cases when *hobn* is used (see table 6). The particle verb ***tse****brekhn*, in contrast, shows a different behavior and appears with *hobn* more frequently. This may be because the simple verb *brekhn* is telic, whereas the verbs *vaksn* or *shlofn* are atelic (or at least can have an atelic reading in the case of *vaksn*).[6] Thus, the telicity effect of the particle *tse-* in ***tse****brekhn* is less transparent than that of the particles *oys-* and *ayn-* in ***oys****vaksn* and ***ayn****shlofn*, respectively.[7] Overall, the data show that in Yiddish, the auxiliary *zayn* is used more frequently with telic verbs—with or without a particle—than *hobn*, as shown in table 6.

[6] The Yiddish Wenker material (there are only 3 Yiddish answer sheets altogether) provides the translation of sentence no. 4 *Der gute alte Mann ist mit dem Pferde durch´s Eis gebrochen und in das kalte Wasser gefallen* 'The good old man broke through the ice with his horse and fell into the cold water'. The answer sheets give simple *brekhn* only once (in Kobylagora, Poland; Wenkersheet no. 09746); *tsbrekhn*, *falln* are used in the Burgenland (Wenkersheet no. 42663, duplicate 300447), and in the most eastern Yiddish Wenkersheet from Warsaw (no. 54895/54896), the passive form *tsebrekhn gevorn* is used in addition to *arayngefaln* where, simple *brekhn* is not possible: *ḏęr ġitęr aḷtęr mãn iṷ mi ◡ḏęm pfę̄rd auf dəm ais gərĭdṉ ĭn dəs ais iṷ dsubrǫxṉ gęwǫrən* (*'mit dem Pferd durchs Eis brechen' kann nur durch diese Umschreibung wiedergegeben werden!*) in *◡ḗr ◡iṷ ◡ərqi˙ngəfaləṉ in kaltṉ wasər* (see Fleischer & Schäfer 2014, Schäfer 2017, 2020b).

[7] If telicity affects auxiliary selection and particles make predicates telic, then morphologically simple atelic verbs in Yiddish should change their preferred auxiliary with the addition of a particle. At this point, more research is needed to verify this hypothesis.

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Change-of-state verbs	ZAYN	HOBN (%)	TOTAL
geboyren vern '(to) be born'	333	0	333
shtarbn '(to) die'	308	12 (3.75%)	320
aynshlofn '(to) fall asleep'	100	17 (14.5%)	117
oysvaksn '(to) be full-grown'	48	10 (17.2%)	58
tserbrekhn '(to) breake (into pieces)'	56	27 (32.5%)	83
vaksn '(to) grow'	163	83 (33.7%)	246

Table 6. Auxiliary selection and change-of-state verbs.

The third factor that may determine auxiliary selection in change-of-state verbs is (im)perfectivity. As mentioned earlier, I assume perfectivity to be a matter of degree (by analogy with transitivity or telicity; see Hopper & Thompson 1980), which is determined by the semantic properties of the verb, and in particular, the nature of the change the verb denotes. For example, I consider a verb such as *shtarbn* 'die' to be more perfective than a verb such as *vaksn* 'grow'. The verb *shtarbn* denotes an unambiguous and irreversible change: Someone is either dead or not, and when someone dies they remain dead. In contrast, the verb *vaksn* denotes a change that is a matter of degree: One can grow fast or slow, one can stop growing, be more grown, etc. The verb *tsebrokhn* 'break' can also have different interpretations: For example, the degree of perfectivity of *broken* in *the violin is broken* depends on whether or not the violin could be repaired.

The morphologically simple verbs in figure 16 are ordered along a range of perfectivity based on their inherent semantics. A look at their auxiliary selection shows that the principle known from MHG is still slightly at work here: Verbs with a more perfective meaning require *zayn* and verbs with a more imperfective tendency show a higher number of *hobn*. Overall, it appears that the MHG (im)perfectivity principle still continues to operate in the 20th-century Yiddish dialects. However, the LCAAJ survey method and the context of the sentences are not designed to capture these semantic nuances clearly and without fault. This methodological limitation may also be the reason why the areal distribution of *hobn* with change-of-state verbs appears not to be systematic.

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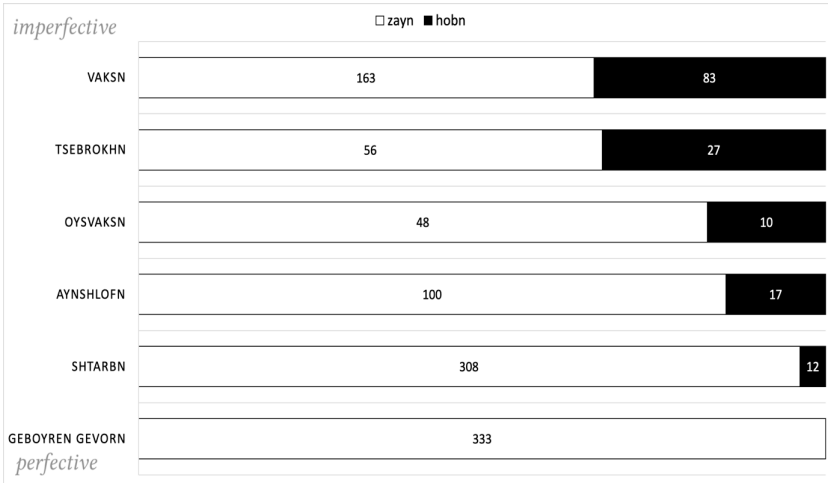


Figure 16. *Zayn/hobn* with change-of-state verbs (excluding passive forms other than *geboyren gevorn*).

This brings me to the last question, namely, whether any system areas can be identified. As the maps in figures 17 and 18 show, *hobn* and *zayn* can be used everywhere in the Eastern Yiddish dialects with change-of-state verbs.[8] The auxiliary selection is neither location- nor speaker-specific. Only a slightly higher frequency of *hobn* in the eastern part of the language area can be seen, in particular in the southern and northern regions. This is, in a way, a more conservative area, which is not that much influenced by Modern German. In contrast to the dialects of the eastern language area, the more western dialects were in closer contact with Modern German. It is possible that in the conservative regions, the MHG perfective/imperfective distinction was still maintained at the time of the survey. An important result is that no interview shows an exclusive use of *hobn* with all of the verbs examined; *zayn* is the most frequent auxiliary with change-of-state verbs. This is to be expected, according to the ASH.

[8] Figures 17 and 18 show all contexts in which one of the two auxiliaries occurs regardless of particles or passivization; answers where both auxiliaries are possible appear in both maps.

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Figure 17. *Hobn* as an auxiliary with change-of-state verbs.

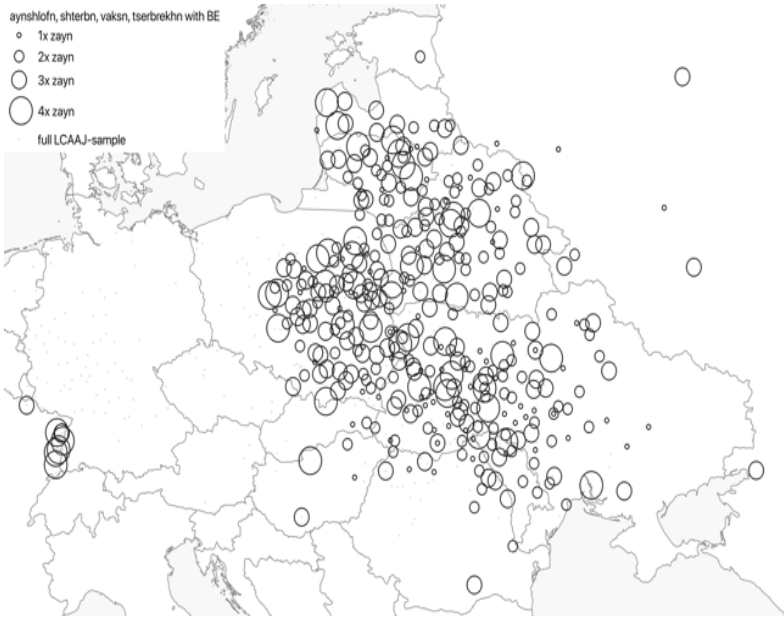


Figure 18. *Zayn* as an auxiliary with change-of-state verbs.

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To account for the high variability in auxiliary selection among Yiddish change-of-state verbs, I propose an interpretation of the ASH as a self-similar structure. In a self-similar structure, the structure of any of its parts is similar to the structure of the whole. In the context of the ASH, this means that the general principle to place telic verbs on one end and atelic ones on the other would apply to any portion of the hierarchy, including its central part. Under this view, change-of-state verbs are placed in the middle, with the most telic ones occurring at one end of the central part and the most atelic ones occurring at the other end. Accordingly, the most telic change-of-state verbs select the auxiliary *zayn*, whereas the atelic ones select *hobn*. At the same time, these verbs still belong to the same semantic class, which creates the variability effect. This proposal can be easily tested in detailed studies on other verb classes and, of course, in other languages.

5. Yiddish and Other Germanic Languages.

The auxiliary use with intransitive verbs in the LCAAJ data is consistent with the ASH, and in most cases, the Yiddish dialects function like related varieties. The ASH has already been tested on a broad typological basis and is flexible enough to allow for language-specific assumptions. I have shown that in the Yiddish dialects, the use of auxiliaries with controlled motional process verbs and existence-of-state verbs shows a geographic distribution. Yet these results do not suggest a geographic continuum of the West Germanic languages, but rather a systemic continuum. Although the Yiddish dialects have followed their own development path, from the microtypological perspective, their auxiliary selection pattern fits perfectly into the general system of continental West Germanic languages (see table 7 below). In existence-of-state verbs and controlled motional process verbs, Yiddish, unlike other modern Germanic varieties, seems to maintain the perfective/imperfective opposition marked by the auxiliaries *zayn* and *hobn*, respectively. This means that the variation in auxiliary selection in the Yiddish dialects could be system-related: In some dialects, the MHG (im)perfectivity contrast is more robust in some verb classes than in others.

Focusing on the diatopic variation in the findings, two variation patterns stand out. First, one auxiliary is preferred over the other in a relatively clearly defined geographical area—namely, the western Northeastern and the eastern Central East dialects prefer the auxiliary *hobn*

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slightly more often than the dialects spoken in the rest of the language area. This preference for *hobn* is especially noticeable with existence-of-state verbs and some controlled process motional verbs. However, there is no variety in those regions that uses *hobn* exclusively.

Second, there is general, geographically uncoordinated, or so-called fuzzy variation between *zayn* and *hobn*, which is found in all the other regions. The second variation pattern is only exhibited by verbs from the middle of the ASH, that is, verbs that are more flexible with respect to (a)telic/(im)perfective interpretation. This observation suggests two possible explanations. First, it is possible that at the time of the survey the language was undergoing a change, and so there was variation among speakers with respect to interpretation of different verbs. As a result, one and the same verb could occupy different positions along the ASH, depending on the meaning assigned by a particular speaker. This would explain the coexistence of forms, that is, the use of both *zayn* and *hobn* in the same context. This hypothesis could be tested with new surveys, but since the dialects no longer exist in this form, a direct comparison with dialects of modern Yiddish would not be valid: The new dialects represent a mixture of the old dialects and are very much influenced by new contact languages.

An alternative explanation proposed at the end of section 4 is to understand the ASH as a self-similar structure. This view of the ASH makes it flexible enough to accommodate the verbs in the center, which allow for either telic or atelic reading. Each speaker applies the principle of the ASH—that is, telic verbs on one end and atelic ones on the other—to the central portion of the ASH, and assigns an auxiliary based on where any given verb is placed within the central portion.

The present study has provided evidence for a more nuanced semantic system that controls the usage of the two auxiliaries, in particular, with change-of-state verbs. This evidence is consistent with the ASH and is one of the contributions of this paper. In my opinion, a finer differentiation within the change-of-state class is necessary to capture the variation in the West Germanic varieties. Overall, however, the validity of the ASH could be confirmed once again (now with data from Yiddish dialects). The findings also undermine earlier statements that there are dialects in the north where *hobn* has become the only past tense auxiliary. Such a Yiddish dialect, with *hobn* as the sole perfect tense auxiliary, could not be found in the LCAAJ.

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Comparing the data from Yiddish dialects and Standard German from the 20th century with ENHG data (Sapp 2011), it is noticeable that German and Yiddish have not developed differently in principle, as shown in table 7. At least early ENHG still had a very strong influence on Yiddish, and so in a certain sense it is reasonable to consider ENHG a donor language for Yiddish (see Timm 2005). Sapp (2011:40–41) concludes that German has remained relatively stable diachronically compared to other (Germanic) languages, and so has Yiddish.

AHS (Sorace 2000)	Dutch (Gillmann 2015:338)	German (Keller & Sorace 2003)	ENHG (Sapp 2011:40)	Yiddish (LCAAJ)
Change of location	BE	BE	BE	BE
Change of state	BE	BE/HAVE	BE	BE/HAVE
Continuation of state	BE/HAVE	HAVE/#BE	HAVE	(flegn/BE/ HAVE)
Existence of state	HAVE/BE	HAVE/#BE	BE (HAVE)	BE/#HAVE
Uncontrolled process	HAVE	HAVE/BE	HAVE	HAVE/#BE
Motional process	HAVE/BE	BE/#HAVE	?	HAVE/#BE
Nonmotional process	HAVE	HAVE	HAVE	HAVE

Table 7. The ASH in Germanic languages (#=dialectal variation).

The synchronic and microtypological (that is, inner Germanic) variation in Yiddish dialects may shed light on diachronic developments: It is reasonable to suppose that synchronic and micro-typological vari-ables are more involved in diachronic processes than linguistic features that appear stable. Under this approach, language change would be expected to occur primarily in verbs at the center of the ASH and less so at the "stable" edges. The strong variation in the verb classes in the middle of the ASH indicates that in Yiddish, auxiliary selection is hardly done via lexicalized constructions, as is the case, for example, in the standard Germanic languages. Yet, in Yiddish, (a)telicity and (im)per-fectivity are still at work as it was in MHG and later in ENHG (Sapp 2011:38).

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6. Conclusion.

In the present analysis of data from the LCAAJ, I demonstrated that Yiddish dialects show clear variation geographically and systemically in the choice of their perfect auxiliary, as is also the case in other Germanic varieties. Yiddish thus fits into the Continental West Germanic dialect continuum. Particularly regarding change-of-state verbs, I have proposed to understand the ASH as a gradual and self-similar structured scale. However, it also became clear that there is interaction between various analytic elements that convey telicity and mark tense, mood, aspect, and voice, which needs to be investigated in more detail. Here, the limits of the LCAAJ are encountered. The LCAAJ material provides large-scale data; due to the limited and semantically not always well-balanced contexts, however, stronger statements about auxiliary selection in the old Yiddish dialects are not possible. Yet, the results obtained here can serve as a starting point for more detailed surveys, conducted, for example, among speakers of the modern Yiddish dialects.

APPENDIX
Evidence from the LCAAJ and the ASH

ZAYN

change of location:

039-100 'he ran outside naked'
er iz arojz gilofm ojs=aj nakit
he is outside run as=a naked
(54253 Traby, Lithuania)

065-039 'he just came home'
er iz iršt gikimin a=hejm
he is just came at=home (50268 Tuczyn, Ukraine)

172-110 'I went to xeyder (religious school) up to bar mitzvah'
I bin gongen in xejder bis barmicve
I am went to xeyder up bar.mitzvah
(47302 Zhovten, Ukraine)

change of state:

183-090 'when I was born my grandfather had died' [pluperfect]
ven ix bin gebojrn gevorn **iz** man zajdi geštorbn
when I am born become is my Grandfather died
(51232 Chełm, Poland)

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ven ix bin giborn **hot** majn zejde geštorbn
when I am born has my grandfather died
(55281 Kublichi, Belarus)

163-040 'he grew fast'
er=**i** šnel givaksn
he=is fast grown (58265A Tartu, Estonia)

er **ot** gevaksn zejer šnel
he has grown very fast (54297 Chashniki, Belarus)

160-160 'the child fell asleep'
di kind iz ajnišlofm
the child is asleep (55328 Bely, Russia)

di kind hot ajn=gešlofn
the child has PTCL=sleep (55248 Panėvežys, Lithuania)

177-040 'the violin broke'
di fidl i cu=broxn
the fiddle is PTCL=broken (56254 Jaunjelgava, Latvia)

der fidl hot zex ci=broxn
the fiddle has REFL PTCL=broken (47295 Flora, Ukraine)

continuation of state:
065-101 'he slept' [existence of state also possible]
er flejg šlufn
he used-to sleep (49261 Sataniv, Ukraine)

existence of state (positional):
163-060 'the children lay in their beds'
di kindr zajn gelign in zeri betlex
the children are lain in their bed.DIM.PL
(50304A Hostomel, Ukraine)

di kinder om gilegn in di betn
the children have lain in the beds
(53262 Nesvizh, Belarus)

064-020 'we sat on the bench'
mir zajni gizesn af=n benkl
we are sat on=the bench (53289 Berazino, Belarus)

mir obn gezesn af=n bajnk
we have sat on=the bench

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(52236 Kamyanyets, Belarus)

065-101 'he slept' [continuation of state also possible]
er iz gišlofm
he is slept (56244 Janiszlei, Latvia)

er hot gišlofm
he has slept (56223 Kurszany, Lithuania)

uncontrolled process:

008-120 'something happened along the way'
epis hot pasirt af=n veg
something has happened on=the way
(50304A Hostomel, Ukraine)

035-030 'when the child had vomited it calmed down'
ven dos kind ot op=gebroxn hot er zex berujikt
when the child has PTCL=vomited has he REFL calmed
(52307A Streshyn, Belarus)

controlled process (motional):

152-010 'I have never ridden on a horse'
x=op kejnmul=niš geritn of ka fejert
I=have not.once=not ridden on no horse
(51232A Chełm, Poland)

ix bin kejmol=niž giforn af kin ferd
I am not.once=not ridden on no horse
(52327 Klintsv, Russia)

controlled process (non-motional):

023-060 'the child yelled'
dis kind od gišrign
the child has yelled (48232 Bushtvno, Ukraine)

129-040 'she should have asked for advice'
Zi=d gedarft fregn an ejce
she=has permitted ask a advice
(56244 Janiszlei, Latvia)

156-050 'I lived with grandfather'
ixo=b givojnt mi dem zejdn
I=have lived with the grandfather
(50285 Chemyakhov, Ukraine)

HOBN

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