

The Loss of Verb-second in Welsh:
A Study of Syntactic Change

by

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Abstract

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This thesis gives an account of the historical development of Welsh word order from the fourteenth to nineteenth centuries in a generative (Principles and Parameters) framework. It traces the shift from Middle Welsh, where one constituent generally precedes the verb in main clauses (the so-called 'abnormal' order), to the verb-initial main clauses of Modern Welsh.

In Chapter One I present an overview of the 'abnormal' order and the widely-held view that it is primarily a literary phenomenon in Middle Welsh. In Chapter Two I introduce generative accounts of syntactic change, concentrating on the notion of 'parametric change'. In Chapter Three a syntactic analysis of the abnormal order as a verb-second phenomenon is presented. Specifically I examine conditions on adverb placement and movement restrictions. In Chapter Four I examine cases of verb-initial orders in Middle Welsh, arguing that they are closely linked with the rules for clausal coordination in the language, and that they can be integrated into an account of verb-second by postulating a null 'narrative continuity' topic operator.

In Chapter Five I examine the development of preverbal subject pronouns, arguing that they became clitics in Middle Welsh, and that this led to the spread of expletive subjects to all environments. I argue that the changes in the pronominal system reduced the evidence for a verb-second rule in acquisition. In Chapter Six I look at further changes which reduced this evidence, arguing that these resulted in the disappearance of verb-second in the sixteenth century. The result was the innovation of true verb-initial structures, and a reanalysis of the 'abnormal' order as a subject-initial rather than verb-second structure. In Chapter Seven, I examine further developments in the pronominal system, notably the development of the affirmative complementisers *mi* and *fe* in the eighteenth century.

I conclude that the loss of verb-second has all the properties of change in natural rather than literary language. Finally, I relate the results to a general account of syntactic change, arguing that parametric changes should be integrated into an account of changes in lexical features.

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List of Abbreviations

Grammatical Glosses

1P etc.	first person plural
1S etc.	first person singular
1S-GEN etc.	first person singular genitive clitic
1S-OBJ etc.	first person singular object clitic
CL	clitic
COMP	complementiser
COND	conditional (imperfect subjunctive) verb form
CONJ	conjunctive pronoun
IMPER	imperative verb form
IMPERS	impersonal verb form
IMPF	imperfect tense verb form
NEG	negative marker
PERF	perfect verb form/perfect aspect marker
PLUPERF	pluperfect
PRD	predicative particle
PROG	progressive aspect marker
PRT	preverbal particle
REDUP	reduplicated pronoun
REL	relative marker
SUBJ	present subjunctive verb form
VN	verbnoun

Verbs un glossed for tense are present. Verbs un glossed for person are third person singular.

Other Abbreviations

AdvVSO	Adverb – Verb – Subject – Object
AgrSP	Subject Agreement Phrase
AspP	Aspect Phrase
CP	Complementiser Phrase (clause)
DP	Determiner Phrase (noun phrase)
DR	Diachronic Reanalysis
DWB	<i>Dictionary of Welsh Biography</i>
ECP	Empty Category Principle
GB	Government and Binding
GPC	<i>Gefriadur Prifysgol Cymru</i>
Infl	Inflection
IP	Inflection Phrase
LF	Logical Form
ModW	Modern Welsh
MW	Middle Welsh
NegP	Negation Phrase
OV	Object – Verb
OVS	Object – Verb – Subject
OW	Old Welsh
PF	Phonetic Form
PP	Prepositional Phrase
Spec	Specifier

SVO	Subject – Verb – Object
TP	Tense Phrase
VP	Verb Phrase
VSO	Verb – Subject – Object
V1	Verb-first
V2	Verb-second
XP	Any phrase

For abbreviations of text names, see References.

Introduction

The development of word order in Welsh is one of the greatest puzzles in the study of the historical syntax of the language. In its simplest terms, the puzzle is as follows. In Contemporary Welsh, the unmarked main clause word order is Verb – Subject – Object (VSO). In Middle Welsh, on the other hand, the verb-initial order is not common. The unmarked pattern is that known to traditional Welsh grammarians as the *brawddeg annormal* ('the abnormal sentence'), in which some element precedes the verb, resulting in orders such as Subject – Verb – Object (SVO), Object – Verb – Subject (OVS), Adverb – Verb – Subject – Object and so on. When we go back further, however, to Old Welsh, the Contemporary Welsh pattern apparently re-emerges: VSO is once again dominant. The question that arises is: Can the language really have moved away from VSO and back again in the course of a thousand years? This is the puzzle that I consider in this thesis, in particular, the second part – whether (and if so how) Welsh word order moved back to VSO in the period from Middle Welsh to Contemporary Welsh. I use a Government and Binding (GB, Principles and Parameters) framework to trace the development of Welsh word order from the fourteenth to the early nineteenth century. In doing so, I shall spend considerable time on a number of issues related to word order which seem to have been overlooked in the substantial literature on the subject, in particular the development of the subject pronoun system, the emergence of a system of affirmative main-clause complementisers in Modern Welsh (the 'pre-sentential particles'), and patterns of clausal coordination.

1.1 The Welsh Language

Before we turn to a detailed presentation of the problem, it is worth looking at the place of Welsh within the Celtic family of languages, since the testimony of a number of them bears substantially on the question of word order within Welsh itself.

Welsh is a member of the Brythonic sub-group of Celtic, the other main sub-group being Goidelic (Irish, Scots Gaelic and Manx). Its sister languages within the Brythonic sub-group are Breton and Cornish. The parent language of all three is British, a language spoken across most of Britain during the first half of the first millennium A.D. and before. Languages closely related to British were spoken in Continental Europe at about the same time. Most important for the current discussion is Gaulish, a language spoken throughout France until its replacement by Vulgar Latin. It seems likely that the genetic relationship between Gaulish and British (and possibly some other Continental Celtic languages) is much closer than that between British and the Goidelic languages. In other words, the Goidelic languages and some varieties of Continental Celtic (Celtiberian) diverged from the other Celtic languages early. This view (the 'Gallo-Brythonic hypothesis'), adopted explicitly or implicitly in much of the literature on historical Celtic syntax, is justified in such works as Koch (1992) and Schmidt (1990, 1993), primarily on the basis of the evidence of the sound changes *k^w > *p and syllabic *n *m

> *an *am, common to British and Gaulish as distinct from Goidelic. For a dissenting view, see McCone (1992).

Welsh is conventionally divided into four periods: Early Welsh, from the loss of final syllables to the earliest written records i.e. 550-800; Old Welsh 800-1100; Middle Welsh 1100-1400; and Modern Welsh 1400 to the present day (D.S. Evans 1976:xvi-xxi, Jackson 1953:5-6, R.B. Jones 1979:19-22, Lewis 1931:96-108, Morris-Jones 1913:6-8). Early Modern Welsh from 1400 to 1600 is sometimes used as a subdivision of Modern Welsh. The dates are approximate and based largely on extralinguistic criteria such as manuscript and literary tradition. While the periodisation is not ideal for the current study, especially because of the lack of detail within the Modern period, the periods will be used as arbitrary but convenient labels, to be supplemented by reference to specific dates as necessary.

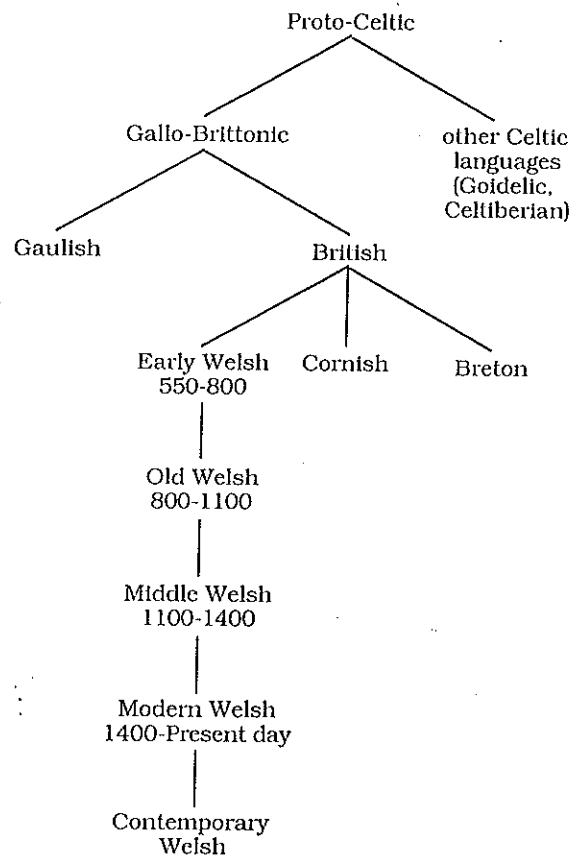


Figure 1.1. The Periodisation of Welsh and Its Position within the Celtic Languages.

The relationship between Welsh and the other Celtic languages and the periodisation assumed within Welsh are summarised in Figure 1.1.

1.2 Non-VSO Orders in Welsh

In Modern Welsh, Verb – Subject – Object is the unmarked order in main clauses as in (1). In neutral declarative main clauses, the verb may be preceded only by a closed set of 'presentential' particles (affirmative *fe* and *mi*, negative *ni(d)* and interrogative *a*) as in (2) or by certain adverbs as in (3).

- (1) Gwelodd y plentyn gefyl.
saw the child horse
'The child saw a horse.' (Williams 1980:163)
- (2) Fe welsom y tŷ newydd.
PRF saw-1P the house new
'We saw the new house.' (Richards 1938:99)
- (3) Trannoeth gwelais ef.
the-next-day saw-1S him
'The next day I saw him.' (Richards 1938:99)

The affirmative particles cause soft mutation of the initial consonant of the following verb, hence *gwelsom* 'we saw' becomes *welsom* in (2) after *fe*.¹

Despite the dominance of VSO today, until quite recently other orders were common in literary Welsh. The central problem that will be addressed in this study is the status and development of non-VSO orders in the history of Welsh from the medieval period up to the nineteenth century.

There are two types of non-VSO order in Welsh, traditionally termed the **abnormal** and **mixed** orders, although the distinction between them is far from clear-cut. Traditional grammars such as Richards (1938) and Williams (1980) make virtually no reference to any historical change within the syntax of either type, except to say that the abnormal sentence is now archaic (hence the term 'abnormal'). I shall therefore cite examples from the rather incongruous mixture of texts and examples found in such grammars, leaving aside for the moment questions of historical development.

1.2.1 The Abnormal Sentence

In the **abnormal sentence** (*brawddeg annormal*) the verb is preceded by some phrasal constituent and a preverbal particle, which varies according to the nature of the preverbal constituent. Examples are given in (4) of a preverbal subject (a.), a preverbal object (b.) and a preverbal adverbial (c.).

¹These particles are now all often omitted in speech, although their mutation effects remain (see Ball 1987/88, 1988:67-69).

- (4) a. A 'i ddisgyblion a ddaethant ato...
and his disciples PRT came-3P to-him
'And his disciples came to him...'
(Matthew 8.25 from Williams 1980:168)
- b. Eglwysi eraill a ysbeillais...
churches other PRT plundered-1S
'I plundered other churches...'
(II Corinthians 11.8 from Richards 1938:107)
- c. Am hynny y diglais wrth y genhedlaeth honno...
for that PRT grew-angry-1S at the people that
'For that reason, I grew angry at that people...'
(Hebrews 3.10 from Richards 1938:109)

There has been a tendency amongst Welsh grammarians of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries to regard this word order pattern as 'un-Welsh' and 'due to slavish imitation of the normal order of words in the English sentence, arising largely from translations' (Lewis 1942:4, cf. also D.G Jones 1988:131). Although largely erroneous (see especially section 7.10) this view has coloured the discussion of the historical development of the pattern.

1.2.2 The Mixed Sentence

A similar but distinct sentence type is that termed in traditional Welsh grammar the **mixed sentence** (*brawddeg gymysg*). In this, some contrastively-focused constituent is placed in preverbal position. The particle between this constituent and the verb is then determined in the same way as in the abnormal sentence.

- (5) a. Y plentyn a redodd adref.
the child PRT ran home
'(It was) the child (that) ran home.'
- b. Ceffyl a brynodd y dyn.
horse PRT bought the man
'(It was) a horse (that) the man bought.'
- c. Ary pren y canaf 'r aderyn.
on the tree PRT sang-IMP the bird
'(It was) on the tree (that) the bird sang.'
(Williams 1980:167)

Thus far, the mixed sentence appears to be formally identical to the abnormal sentence, with the only difference between them being a notional semantic or pragmatic one. However, a number of syntactic differences are said to exist between the two. The first is the different agreement patterns found with the two sentence types. In the abnormal sentence in (6), the verb agrees in person and number with the preverbal subject, whereas in the mixed sentence in (7), the verb remains in its default third person singular form, despite the presence of a plural preverbal subject.

- (6) ...a 'r publicanod hefyd a ddaethant i'w
and the publicans also PRT came-3P to+3P-GEN
bedyddio...
baptise-VN
'...and the publicans too came to be baptised...'
(Luke 3.12 from Richards 1938:107)
- (7) Ei weledigaethau cyfrin ar natur a dyn a wnâi
his visions secret on nature and man PRT made
ei gyd-ddynion yn oddefadwy iddo.
his fellow-men PRD bearable to-him
'(It was) his secret visions on nature and man (that) made
his fellow-men bearable to him.'
(Richards 1938:100)

Unlike the abnormal order, the mixed order is found at all periods and in all registers of Welsh.

Agreement patterns in Welsh vary considerably over time, and to some extent this undermines the neat distinction between the two sentence types according to agreement (cf. D.S. Evans 1971).

A further difference is found in negative contexts. The negative marker appears after the preverbal constituent in the abnormal sentence in (8), but in front of it in the mixed sentence in (9). Note also a difference in the form of the negative marker - always *nid* in the mixed sentence, *ni* or *nid* before a word beginning in a vowel in the abnormal sentence.

- (8) Ynfydlon ni safant yn dy olwg.
foolish-people NEG stand-3P in your sight
'The foolish shall not stand in your sight.'
(Psalms 5.5 from Richards 1938:107)
- (9) Nid yn y capel y bydd ef.
NEG in the chapel PRT will-be he
'(It is) not in the chapel (that) he'll be.'
(Williams 1980:167)

It is not at all clear that this is really a syntactic difference between the two types, since it may reflect a difference in the sorts of meanings typically expressed using the abnormal order and the mixed order. In the focus mixed order, negation is typically negation of the focused element, that is, the sentence denies the fact that the predicate is true of the particular element focused. Negation therefore has scope only over the focused element. Not surprisingly, in this situation we find constituent negation, achieved in Welsh of all periods by placing the negative marker (invariably *nid*) immediately before the negated constituent. With the abnormal order, it is typically the entire proposition that is being negated, hence negation appears in its usually preverbal position. This supposed difference between the two sentence types thus seems to reflect indirectly an entirely unrelated distinction between constituent and clausal negation.

I shall make use of the traditional distinction between the abnormal and mixed sentences at various points in this study (see esp. sections 3.6 and 6.5). However, given the reservations expressed above, and the fact that agreement patterns are considerably more variable in the history of Welsh than this simple distinction suggests, I shall not give it the prominence that it has had in traditional works. In any case, since the appearance of focused constituents in preverbal position is a constant feature of all periods of Welsh, there is relatively little to say about syntactic change in the mixed sentence. I concentrate instead on the historical development of the abnormal order.

1.2.3 'Abnormal' Orders in the Other Brythonic Languages

Before the historical evidence within Welsh is examined, it is worth noting parallels in the other Brythonic languages that need to be borne in mind when evaluating accounts of the developments within Welsh. Word order patterns in Breton and Cornish show striking similarities to the abnormal sentence in Welsh. In Breton and Cornish absolute sentence-initial verbs are virtually unknown. As in the Welsh abnormal sentence, the usual order has an arbitrary sentence-initial phrasal constituent, followed by a preverbal particle and then the verb and subject. Examples are given in (10) from Breton of SVO (a.), OVS (b.) and AdvVSO (c.).¹

- (10) a. Me a wel ar c'hazh
I PRT see the cat
'I see the cat.'
- b. Ar c'hazh a welan
the cat PRT see-1S
'I see the cat.'
- c. Amañ e welan ar c'hazh
here PRT see-1S the cat
'Here I see the cat.'

(George 1990:238)

Aside from the striking parallelism between Breton and Cornish and Middle Welsh, there is one difference. In the Breton example in (10)a. the preverbal subject in the 'abnormal' order does not cause agreement on the verb. Instead the verb appears in its default third person form. The same is true in Cornish. Contrast this with the agreement found in the abnormal but not the mixed sentence in Welsh.

Despite this difference, the general similarity between the three languages seems to suggest that some form of the abnormal order was available in the parent language. Any account of the development of Welsh word order should be consistent with the facts in these other languages.

1.3 The Rise and Fall of the Abnormal Sentence

I shall now turn to outline the evidence from Old Welsh and Modern Welsh that has caused the status of the abnormal order to be

questioned, at the same time sketching out the main proposals regarding its development.

1.3.1 The Old Welsh Evidence

Dominant word order patterns in Old Welsh are difficult to establish with any certainty. The two earliest theories regarding the origin of the abnormal sentence, those set out in Richards (1938) and Lewis (1942), both implicitly assume that the abnormal sentence is to be accounted for as an Old Welsh development which lives on in spoken Middle Welsh.

Richards (1938:104-106) claims that in Old Welsh the subject could follow the verb, as in (11)a. or precede it, as in (11)b. The pattern in (11)b. is not the same construction as the abnormal sentence, since no particle intervenes between subject and verb.

- (11) a. Aeth gŵr i'r frwydr
went man to-the battle
- b. Gŵr aeth i'r frwydr
man went to-the battle

'A man went to battle.'

(Richards 1938:105)

The language also had mixed sentences where a sentence-initial subject received contrastive focus and was followed by the particle *a*:²

- (12) Gŵr a aeth i'r frwydr
man PRT went to-the battle
'(It was) a man (who) went to battle.'

(1938:105)

Richards' argument is that (12) influenced the form of (11)b. resulting in the introduction of the particle *a* into it. This caused the appearance of the abnormal sentence. It is claimed that the same influence of the mixed sentence on the normal free word order pattern of Old Welsh must have happened also with other types of preverbal constituent, resulting in the innovation of the orders Object + *a* + Verb... and Adverb + *y(d)* + Verb...

An alternative proposal is that of Lewis (1942). He argues that since the evidence of Gaulish inscriptions suggests that it had 'free' word order, it can be assumed that its sister language British also had free word order, which it retained as it developed into Old Welsh.³

²Although not part of Richards' main suggestion, the origin of the mixed sentence is fairly clear. It develops from the loss of the copula in full cleft sentences like that in (i), a type fairly securely attested in Old Welsh (D.S. Evans 1976:140-41, Richards 1940).

(i) ...is did ciman hacl...
is day whole REL+have-2S
'...it's a whole day that you'll have...'
(Computus Fragment 256.3)

³The plausibility of this suggestion rests upon acceptance of the Gallo-Brittonic hypothesis (cf. section 1.1).

Object clitics in Old Welsh appeared following the preverb of a compound verb as in (13).

- (13) Dcus dy- -m- -gwares.
 God PREVERB me deliver-SUBJ
 'May God deliver me.' (Book of Taliesin 41.2)

If the verb was not a compound verb, or if it was not perceived to be so, a particle *a* was inserted to which the object pronoun could cliticise, as in (14).

- (14) Duw a- -m difero.
 God PRT me defend-SUBJ
 'May God defend me.' (Llawysgrif Hendregadredd 33.30)

This contrasted with the case of a full nominal object as in (15), where straightforward SVO would be observed.

- (15) Dewi differwys y eglwysseu.
 David defended his churches
 'David defended his churches.'
 (Llawysgrif Hendregadredd 205.1)

Comparison of (14) and (15) led to the introduction of the particle *a* into sentences like (15), and therefore the general introduction of the abnormal sentence into Welsh as well as Breton and Cornish.

A third proposal is that of Mac Cana (1973), who argues that the abnormal sentence develops from left-dislocation structures (*nominativus pendens*). This proposal has recently been revived in more radical form by Isaac (1996), who claims that the abnormal sentence and left-dislocation structures are in fact identical.⁴

Richards' and Lewis' accounts concentrate on the historical source of the construction. Either account produces essentially the required result, and for the purposes of this study it matters little which is preferred.⁵

More recently, the prevailing view has been that in the earliest attested stages of Welsh a rigid VSO order is observed (Watkins 1987:53-54). Watkins gives clear examples of VSO in Old Welsh texts, for instance (16), and argues that the predominance of such examples in these texts is evidence that VSO is the unmarked word order in Old Welsh.

- (16) ...printl hinnoid .iiii. aues...
 buys that four birds
 'That buys four birds...' (Oxford Glosses 234.33)

⁴See, however, sections 3.3.8 and 3.5 on the syntactic differences between the two.

⁵In some sense, however, both are inadequate in that they concentrate heavily on the origin of the SVO variant of the abnormal order. It is not at all clear that the OVS or AdvVSO manifestation of it necessarily follow from any account of why abnormal SVO was innovated. In doing so, they fail to account for the essential property of the abnormal order, namely that the verb must appear in second position. For instance, if as both accounts seem to assume the parent language had free word order, why is SOV not a possible variant of the abnormal sentence?

His principal purpose in doing so is to refute Lewis' (1942) claim that the abnormal sentence is in part a survival of earlier Celtic free word order, and it is clearly true that the evidence for free word order in Old Welsh is meagre. Evidence for such word order comes only from highly-formalised poetry.

The Old Welsh evidence nevertheless remains difficult to interpret. In Watkins' data, once examples of VSO in embedded contexts and examples in negative main clauses are removed, we are left with relatively few examples of VSO.⁶ A few examples of the abnormal order are also found in Old Welsh, for instance (17), with subject preceding the verb.

- (17) Gur dicones remedaut elbid anguorit...
 man created wonder world PRT+IP-OBJ+redeems
 'The man who created the wonder of the world redeems
 us...' (Juvencus Englynton 5a-b)

It is not the purpose of this study to examine Old Welsh word order in detail. However, it is worth noting before we begin our examination of the later period that the Old Welsh evidence is fragmentary, and that what good evidence we have offers evidence both for VSO and for the abnormal order at that period. The language was not simply VSO.⁷

Watkins and a number of other scholars have drawn the conclusion that Old Welsh is essentially VSO with little evidence of the abnormal sentence (Mac Cana 1973:113, 1991:52; Fife and King 1991:83-84). They contrast this with Middle Welsh where the abnormal sentence predominates. Given that there is very little sign of the abnormal sentence in Modern Welsh,⁸ this has created an air of mystery surrounding appearance and disappearance of the abnormal sentence which has led to the suggestion that it is a purely literary phenomenon, an issue to which we shall return presently.

1.3.2 The Contemporary Welsh Evidence

At first sight, the abnormal sentence appears to have disappeared mysteriously and completely in Contemporary Welsh. The obvious, although perhaps hasty, conclusion is that in the modern literary language from the sixteenth century onwards, and perhaps before, it was a purely literary construction, and that its downfall was due to a growing purist perception of it as being essentially an SVO word order borrowed from English. As S.J. Williams points out: "It is a construction very commonly found in literature as late as the beginning of the present century, when grammarians began to condemn it" (Williams 1980:168). We find this attitude expressed even

⁶These contexts are irrelevant for the present discussion since they have manifested dominant VSO throughout the history of Welsh.

⁷Isaac's examination of the language of *Canu Aneirin* shows SVO (including abnormal subject-initial orders) to be a significant minority order in addition to the dominant VSO there (Isaac 1996:24-25).

⁸In the course of this study, it will be seen that there is substantial evidence for a form of the abnormal sentence in non-literary Modern Welsh prior to the twentieth century (see section 7.10). However, for the moment I shall accept the assertion as given.

In nineteenth century grammars. For instance, Hugh Hughes (Tegal) (1805-1864) criticises the 1588 Bible translation because it follows English with respect to word order rather than the original Hebrew (H. Hughes n.d.:178). In J. Mendus Jones' grammar of 1847 specific reference is made to the abnormal sentence in its SVO form as 'the English order' (*y drefn Setsonig*), albeit approvingly (J.M. Jones 1847:121-22). This certainly suggests that in the nineteenth century, the abnormal order was recognised only in its SVO form, and that even in this form, it was perceived at best to be a literary variant, at worst a foreign intrusion on the language.

Nevertheless, the abnormal order survives into Modern Welsh in popular usage in three contexts, highlighted by Lewis (1942:20). Any account of the development of Welsh word order will need to be consistent with these remnants too.

The first context is in fossilised expressions in the subjunctive, specifically *Duw cato pawb* 'God preserve (us) all' and *Duw cato ni* 'God preserve us'.

The second context is illustrated by an anecdote of Henry Lewis'. He says: "...if we chanced in walking along a country road to meet straying cattle, and inquired the cause, we should as likely be told *y ffermw'r adawodd y glwyd ar agor* 'the farmer left the gate open'" (Lewis 1942:20). That is, in answer to a question of the type "What happened?" we could expect an SVO abnormal sentence as the response. Richards (1938:106) had made much the same point, saying that the abnormal sentence survives occasionally in spoken Contemporary Welsh especially in answer to a question. His example is *Sut torraist ti dy goes?* 'How did you break your leg?', answered with the SVO abnormal sentence *Fy nhroed lithrodd* 'My foot slipped'. Notice that the only form of the abnormal sentence referred to is the SVO form.

Finally, there is a small group of dialects in South-East Wales in which the abnormal sentence is said to be productive. In fact, its productivity even there is limited to one context, namely, SVO is found with pronominal subjects (Morris-Jones 1913:428, Morgan 1952:367, Thomas and Thomas 1989:76, C. Thomas 1974:119-21).⁹ The construction is noted in particular for the dialects of the Ely Valley (Phillips 1955:298-99) and Nantgarw (C. Thomas 1993:307-308). The existence of a long-established dialect division between these and other dialects of Welsh is crucial in accounts where the abnormal sentence is claimed to be a literary phenomenon.

1.3.3 Accounts of the Development of Welsh Word Order

Given the supposed contrast of the linguistic testimony of Old and Contemporary Welsh on the one hand and Middle Welsh on the other, some scholars have rejected the idea that Welsh word order could have changed so markedly between Old and Middle Welsh, and then apparently returned to its old pattern in the transition to Modern Welsh. They have developed an account of the history of Welsh word

order in which non-VSO patterns in Middle Welsh are an affectation of a literary language with little basis in speech. On this account, once the fashion abated in Modern Welsh, the written language returned to its 'natural' pattern. The evidence of Modern Welsh is taken strongly to support such a view insofar as there is little evidence for the abnormal sentence in contemporary Welsh dialects (Mac Cana 1979:185-86, but see section 1.3.2). The general feeling that in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries any continued use of the abnormal sentence has been due to literary or English influence has strengthened the instinct that the abnormal sentence could never have been a living form in Welsh. Of course, although tempting, this conclusion is by no means a necessary one.

1.3.3.1 The Abnormal Sentence as a Literary Phenomenon

This view is developed in Mac Cana (1973), Watkins (1977/78) and is given its fullest expression in Fife (1988) and Fife and King (1991). Fife argues generally that the abnormal order is a topicalisation device, allowing topic-comment order to be realised. Its widespread use in Middle Welsh is, he claims, "an exaggeration of a device already latent in the language" (Fife and King 1991:144). It is developed into a literary syntax interrupting the otherwise continuous attestation of the 'normal' VSO pattern. It is thus claimed that non-VSO orders had originally a narrowly defined base in the spoken language but were spread artificially in the literary language by a variety of means, including literary fashion and translations. The conclusion is that in medieval Wales there was a sharp contrast between a VSO spoken language and a literary language in which the use of a topicalisation device was virtually obligatory.

The loss of the abnormal sentence is then accounted for as the decline of this literary fashion. Fife claims that by the end of the Middle Welsh period:

"the effect of the overuse of the A[bnormal] S[entence] where it served no informative function may have been cloying to new generations of writers. Certainly in Morgan's Bible translation of 1588, the last bastion of the AS and which has served as sanction for would-be AS-users until today, the fronting of elements is prolific, often seemingly unrelated to any functional load it may carry. And the effect is cloying."

(Fife 1988:129, Fife and King 1991:144-45)

This view does not seem to be entirely coherent even without reference to empirical evidence. If the abnormal sentence was a topicalisation device (and the evidence that Fife presents to this effect seems to be fairly conclusive), one wonders how writers for whom the abnormal sentence was a literary (i.e. consciously learned) part of their language could have maintained thematic restrictions on its usage. How did they learn, for purposes of writing only, a quite complex rule which was entirely alien to their native language? Note that writers could not simply use SVO in literary texts - the rule required would be far more complex, requiring an awareness that

⁹See section 7.2 (esp. section 7.2.2), however, where it is argued that apparent instances of SVO in these dialects actually involve an agreeing affirmative complementiser with a postverbal null subject, and are therefore essentially VSO in structure.

constituents other than the subject could be fronted and a *conscious* awareness of the notion of 'topic'. It is hard to see how such a norm could be consciously learned, whereas topicalisation as syntactic movement must clearly be universally available as a possibility for naturally-acquired languages.

The view is also made inherently implausible by a curious and perilous reliance on 'intuitions' derived from knowledge of Contemporary Welsh. Fife says he finds the use of the abnormal sentence in the Welsh Bible 'cloying', and attributes his own intuitions to the 'new generation of writers' of Early Modern and Classical Welsh. It is important to stress here that such 'intuitions' are of no value in the study of historical syntax.

This view is very widespread in the literature on historical Welsh syntax. It goes back as far as Watkins' (1977/78) suggestion, based on and developing Mac Cana's view (1973, see below), that non-VSO orders spread in the literary language via translations from Latin and English, and that from narrative prose the abnormal order spread to the Welsh Bible, where its use is 'artificial' (Watkins 1977/78:394):

"...the point is that this 'artificial' use is as 'abnormal' in terms of native Middle Welsh as it is in terms of Contemporary Welsh. It is quite certain that what caused the use of the relative [=abnormal/mixed - DWEW] order to spread (and it was a literary spreading only) was the effect of translations from languages where the pattern Subject + Verb occurred either commonly (as in Latin) or natively (as in English)."¹⁰

(Watkins 1977/78:395)

Again, this seems to reflect the modern intuition that non-VSO in Welsh is in some sense foreign to the language. This account ignores the frequent OVS pattern in Middle Welsh which has no obvious source of import; it is not clear what the justification is for the claim that Subject-Verb order is 'general' in (Medieval) Latin; and it is difficult to see why Early Middle English, rather than perhaps Anglo-Norman, should be cited as a prestige model for Welsh.

1.3.3.2 The Southern British Dialect Hypothesis

The view described above has often been linked to the idea of a syntactic division between the Southern dialects of British, the notional parent language of Welsh, Breton and Cornish, and the other dialects of the language. The idea begins with Lewis (1942:19), who suggests that the innovation of the abnormal sentence in late British flourished in the Southern British dialects, becoming the normal order in Breton and Cornish.

¹⁰...y pwynt yw fod y defnydd 'artiffisial' hwn mor 'annormal' yn nhermau Cymraeg Canol brodorol ag ydyw yn nhermau Cymraeg Heddiw. Mae'n bur sicr mai'r hyn a achosodd i'r defnydd o'r Drefin Berthynol ledu (a llediad llenyddol yn unig ydoedd) oedd effaith cyfeithu o leithoedd lle y dligwyddaf patrwm Goddrych + Berf naill at yn gyfiredin (fel yn Lladin) neu yn gynhenid (fel yn Saesneg)."

This suggestion starts out from observations about similarities in word order between Middle Welsh and the two other Brythonic languages, Breton and Cornish. As we have seen (section 1.2.3), sentences of the 'abnormal' type are the rule in these languages, and absolute sentence-initial verbs are virtually unknown (see George 1990 on Middle Breton, Timm 1989, 1991 on Modern Breton, George 1991 on Middle Cornish). In Modern Breton, VSO appears to be somewhat more common but is still rare, and has been considered to be a recent purist innovation in imitation of Welsh (Timm 1989:361). As in Middle Welsh, any element may precede a clause-second verb in a main clause in Middle Breton and Cornish.

The evidence from Breton and Cornish shows that non-VSO patterns must have some tradition as living forms in earlier stages of Brythonic. The evidence may point to their being possible in Late British, and there is thus apparently no reason to doubt the vitality of such patterns in spoken Middle Welsh.

Mac Cana (1973) picks up on these facts. Noting the Breton and Cornish evidence and the fact that an SVO order is found with pronominal subjects in the dialects of South-East Wales (cf. section 1.3.2), he suggests tracing the syntax of all three varieties back to a common dialect within British, covering what is now Southern England and South-East Wales. He suggests that there is evidence in Old Welsh for the order Subject Pronoun - Verb, but none for Nominal Subject - Verb (Mac Cana 1973:117).¹¹ Mac Cana takes this to be the situation in British, with SVO for pronominal subjects having been borrowed from British Latin. In the South, the SVO order spread from pronominal subjects to all subjects, resulting in the innovation of the 'noun-initial' order (sic) in the Southern British dialects, the forerunners of Breton and Cornish. The original situation, he claims, survives in the South-Eastern dialects of Welsh, which allow the order Subject Pronoun - Verb but not Nominal Subject - Verb. In most of Wales, however, the preverbal subject pronoun 'tended to lose its nominal force and become a mere verbal particle' (Mac Cana 1973:118). Hence in all Welsh dialects except those of the South-East, the only remnants of the 'noun-initial' orders in British are the presentential particles *mi* and *fe* (cf. example (2) above, and section 1.3.3.4 below).

This leads him back to the claim that "one can hardly avoid the conclusion that the 'abnormal' sentence of MW is essentially a literary syntax which does not reflect the usage of spoken Welsh" (Mac Cana 1973:115-16). The use of non-VSO orders in Middle Welsh is then accounted for as the influence of the dialects of the South-East on the literary language. Thus it is claimed that the abnormal sentence existed in speech in the Middle Welsh dialects of the South-East, and that since Middle Welsh narrative prose is largely a product of the South, the abnormal order was used for it.¹² It had only ever

¹¹I do not accept this statement of word order possibilities of Old Welsh. There is evidence for preverbal full nominal subjects (cf. example (12) above). However, the evidence is clearly exceedingly debatable, and no hypothesis is likely to stand or fall on the basis of such data alone.

¹²There is, however, no reason to connect Middle Welsh narrative prose specifically with the South-East. The scenario is also curiously inconsistent with the idea that the 'original' rule of British survives in South-East Wales. Since it is the abnormal

been a spoken form in a small area of Wales. Middle Welsh poetry was mainly a product of the Northern Welsh principalities and so used VSO (Mac Cana 1973:113). From the prose tales the construction is taken up into the Bible translation and from there into the standard language. More recently, this artificial word order pattern was removed from the literary language, which was thereby brought much closer to speech and VSO order was restored.

I present in summary form what I understand to be the development postulated in Mac Cana (1973) in Figure 1.2 below.

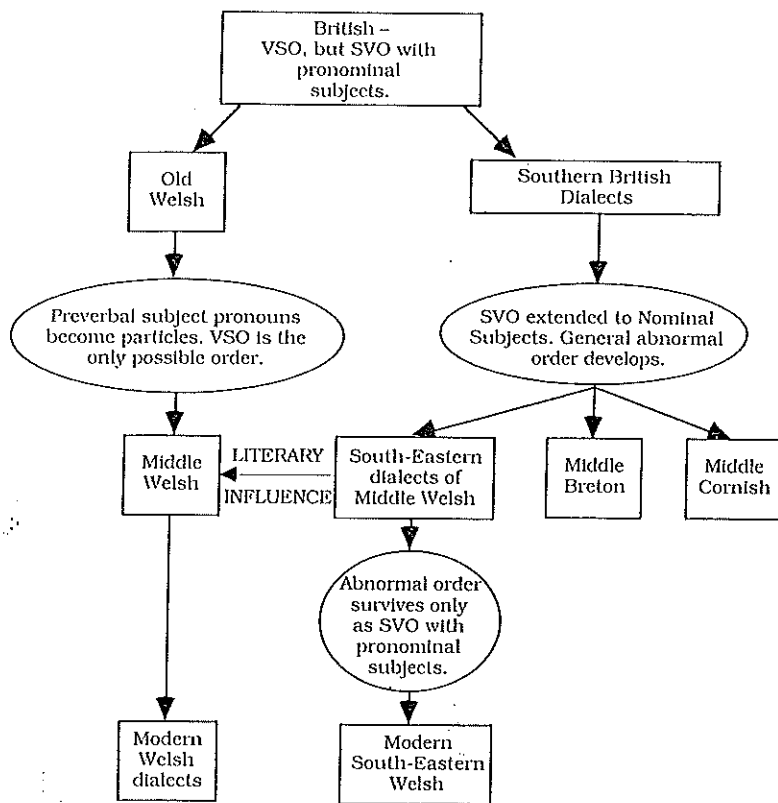


Figure 1.2. The Mac Cana-Watkins-Fife model of the Development of Welsh Word Order.

sentence in its full form which is 'loaned' into literary Middle Welsh from the dialects of the South-East under this scenario, one must surely have to suppose that these dialects developed the full form of the abnormal sentence from the British rule of SVO with pronominal subjects, but then lost it again. Clearly in that case, the fact that these dialects have SVO with pronominal subjects is not support for the claim that this was the rule in British.

1.3.3.3 Against the Mac Cana-Watkins-Fife Account

There are a number of ways in which this account could be tested. It could be rejected if it could be shown that British or Early Welsh did not show the required dialect division or patterns of word order; or if the abnormal sentence could be shown to be a spoken form in Middle Welsh; or if there is evidence that the abnormal sentence was used as a spoken form after the Middle Welsh period; or if it turned out that the presentential particles are of recent (i.e. post-twelfth century) origin.

In fact, the account has never really been put to the test. The first issue, the suggestion that a syntactic dialect split emerged in British, is simply unverifiable. However, there are plenty of sources available to come to some conclusion on the other questions. In fact, linguists working on historical Welsh syntax have generally been unnecessarily restrictive in their choice of sources of evidence. Studies are available of word order in Old Welsh (Watkins 1987); in a fairly narrow set of Middle Welsh texts, mainly the tales; some Early Modern Welsh literary texts (Fife 1991, and, in another tradition, D.S. Evans 1968), and Modern Welsh fiction (Fife 1993). There is a large gap in coverage between the Early Modern Welsh texts (sixteenth and early seventeenth century) and the Modern Welsh fiction examined (mostly twentieth century). There also seems to be an almost complete lack of interest in the post-medieval non-literary sources.

It should immediately be apparent that a major empirical test for the account will come when texts, in particular non-literary ones, from the period between Middle Welsh and Contemporary Welsh are examined. Any evidence of the abnormal order or of developments which presuppose the abnormal order as their source is evidence to refute the account. Such an examination will be the subject of Chapter Five and, in particular, Chapter Seven of this study. I aim to show that the evidence is fully consistent with step-by-step syntactic changes from a spoken language in which the abnormal sentence is fully productive, but not from a language in which the abnormal sentence is restricted to literary works. Work on developments in the dialects can also be of help in disproving the standard account. In particular, if it can be shown empirically that the syntactic dialect split between the South-East and the rest of Wales is of very recent origin, then the standard account is seriously undermined. The data presented in Chapter Seven do just this, suggesting that in the eighteenth century, the main syntactic dialect division was between North and South Wales, rather than between the South-East and the rest.

It is also possible to argue, by demonstrating intricacies in the Middle Welsh system that are in accordance with Universal Grammar, but which would be very difficult to learn consciously as a prescriptive rule, that the observed syntactic data of Middle Welsh do indeed reflect the natural speech patterns of the writers. This is one of the main aims of the earlier parts of this study.

1.3.3.4 The Presentential Particles

Another issue which seems to be very closely connected to the history of word order in Welsh is the development of the presentential particles *mi* and *fe*. These particles appear optionally in affirmative main clauses in Contemporary Welsh (cf. example (2) above). Further examples are given in (18) and (19).

- (18) *Mi get boen bol os bwyti di ormod o siwgr*
 MI get-2S ache stomach if eat-2S you too-much of sugar
 'You'll get a stomach ache if you eat too much sugar.'
 (Thorne 1993:347)

- (19) *Fe fyddwn ni gartre erbyn naw.*
 FE be-1P-FUT we home by nine
 'We shall be home by nine.'
 (King 1993:138)

It seems clear that historically they have developed from homophonous first person and masculine third person pronouns (Koch 1991:20-21, Lewis and Pedersen 1937:245, Mac Cana 1973:117-18, Morgan 1952:367). In Contemporary Welsh they never co-occur with the negative particle or with subordinating complementisers, and it therefore seems clear that they are main clause complementisers.

On Mac Cana's view the development of these particles proceeds in a very particular way. They are a survival of Old Welsh Subject Pronoun - Verb order, with 'secondary mutation' and a functional change of the pronoun to particle (Mac Cana 1973:118-19). That is, they are not a development from the abnormal sentence. The Old Welsh Subject Pronoun - Verb order is well-attested. An example is given in (20). It is clearly distinct from the abnormal order in that there is no particle *a*, and the verb does not undergo the soft mutation caused by this particle.

- (20) *Wy lledin*
 they killed-3P
 'They killed.'
 (*Canu Aneirin* 633)

This construction disappears completely in Middle Welsh. It is not entirely clear from Mac Cana (1973) what is claimed to happen next. The Subject Pronoun - Verb order is claimed to be the model for the development of the abnormal sentence. It must be lost very early in all dialects in which the abnormal order does not develop. That is, in most dialects the functional change from pronoun to particle must happen earlier than the Middle period, otherwise there is nothing to prevent the pattern Subject Pronoun - Verb from acting as the model for the innovation of the abnormal sentence in these dialects.

Again, this account can be tested against detailed textual evidence for the post-medieval period. Evidence that *mi* and *fe* are of recent origin, or that they developed out of a fully-established system using the abnormal order, is evidence to refute this account. In the course of this thesis I shall present both types of evidence.

1.3.3.5 The Evans-Koch Tradition

There is an alternative approach, alluded to in D.S. Evans (1968:336-37) and Koch (1991), but not yet developed in any detail. In many ways this continues the earlier accounts of Melville Richards and Henry Lewis. According to Evans, the Old Welsh system was completely superseded in Middle Welsh by the abnormal sentence, presumably (although this is not explicitly stated) in speech just as much as in writing. Orders other than the abnormal sentence found in Contemporary Welsh, in particular main clause VSO and presentential particle + VSO, are then assumed to be much more recent innovations.

Koch elaborates a little for the early period, suggesting that the abnormal order is a pan-Brythonic innovation which was admitted only slowly into the literary language. This accounts for the meagre evidence for it in Old Welsh, even in prose: written Old Welsh reflects an older stage of the language before the adoption of the abnormal order (Koch 1991:30).

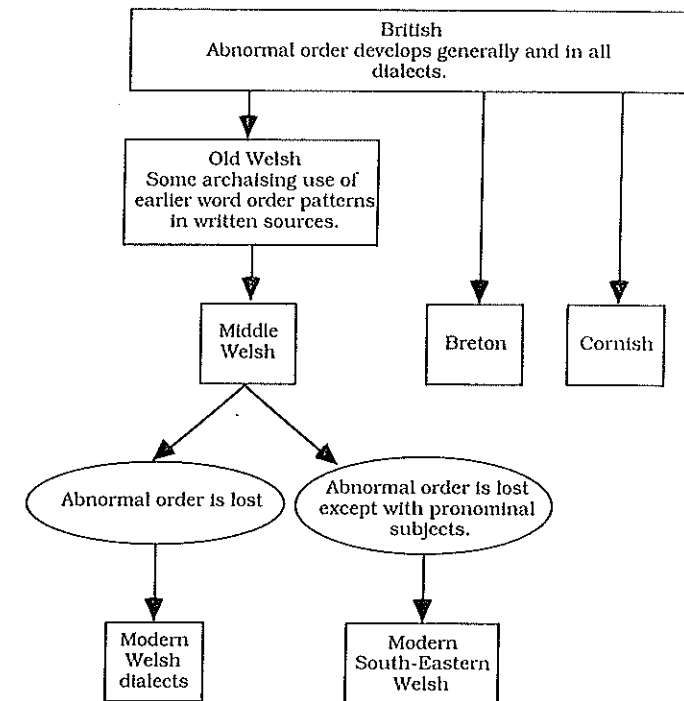


Figure 1.3. The Evans-Koch Model of Syntactic Change in the Brythonic Languages.

This view is presented in Figure 1.3. It should be immediately clear that this view is considerably simpler and involves far less 'special pleading', such as references to unverifiable developments and resort to artificial literary languages to explain away contradictory evidence, than the standard account.

1.4 The Aims and Methodology of the Present Study

It is an account along the lines of the Evans-Koch tradition that will be developed in this study. Detailed empirical evidence will be presented from Middle and Modern Welsh texts in support of the claims that the abnormal sentence pattern in Middle Welsh involved a system of rules that are rich and complex in their output but fully in conformity with Universal Grammar and phenomena found in other languages, including in particular the Germanic verb-second languages; and that a number of factors led to the loss of this rule from the language and its replacement by the Contemporary Welsh system with VSO and presentential particles.

For the Middle Welsh period I draw particularly on exhaustive searching of Jarman's anthology of tales, *Chwedlau Cymraeg Canol*, although other sources are also used extensively. For Early Modern Welsh, the anthologies of texts in the first two volumes of *Rhyddiaith Gymraeg* have been most helpful, and have been supplemented by Suggett's (1983) calendar of slander trial proceedings in Welsh courts and a number of other sources. For the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries a larger stylistically-layered corpus is used, which will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Seven. A full list of primary texts used is given in the Bibliography.

1.5 Welsh Syntax in a Generative Framework

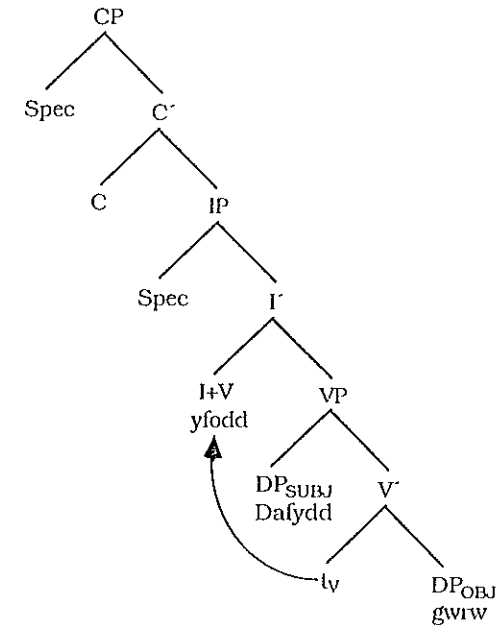
I adopt a Government and Binding (Principles and Parameters) approach in the analysis of word order change in Welsh. The application of this framework to syntactic change is discussed fully in Chapter Two. Here, I shall give a brief outline of my theoretical assumptions regarding the phrase structure of VSO in Modern Welsh.

The standard generative approach to the analysis of clause structure in Modern Welsh, going back in essence to Sproat (1985) and developed further in such works as Hendrick (1991), Koopman and Sportiche (1991), and Sadler (1988), assumes that VSO is a derived word order, the result of verb movement. The major sentence constituents are generated in an SVO configuration, with the verb raising to Infl to give morphological support to inflection.¹³ Updating to current theoretical assumptions, and ignoring minor functional projections, this assigns a structure like that in (22) to the simple VSO main clause in (21).

¹³More recently, verb-raising has been motivated by the presence of a strong V-feature on Infl/AgrS (Chomsky 1995:349).

(21) Yfodd Dafydd gwrw.
drank Dafydd beer
'Dafydd drank beer.'

(22)



Evidence in support of this analysis comes from three constructions in which the verb fails to raise and in which the underlying SVO order can be seen. First, in periphrastic constructions in which tense and agreement inflection is carried by an auxiliary rather than the lexical verb, the word order in Modern Welsh is AuxSVO, as in (23).

(23) 'Roedd Siôn yn darllen y llyfr.
was Siôn PROG read-VN the book
'Siôn was reading the book.'

(Sadler 1988:5)

This is as expected if the lexical verb raises only for morphological reasons. The non-finite verb-noun fails to raise because of the presence of the auxiliary *roedd*, leaving the subject in a position where it precedes it.

Second, the underlying SVO order surfaces in embedded non-finite clauses as in (24). In the absence of tensed Infl, the verb does not raise and remains in its non-finite form. Since these clauses lack a Case-assigning Infl, a Case-assigning preposition *i* 'to' is also inserted (see Borsley 1986, Sadler 1988:34-44, Tallerman 1993).

- (24) Disgwylodd Gwyn i Emrys weld Megan.
 expected Gwyn to Emrys see-VN Megan
 'Gwyn expected Emrys to see Megan.' (Borsley 1986:68)

Finally, in 'absolute' constructions, non-finite adjunct clauses, SVO is the only possible order. Again since these clauses are not tensed, we can assume that verb-raising induced by the presence of inflection is unnecessary and that consequently the subject appears in its underlying preverbal position:¹⁴

- (25) Mynnodd fynd i'r gwaith, a'r meddyg wedi dweud
 insisted go-VN to the work, and the doctor PERF say-VN
 wrtho am orffwys.
 to-him to rest-VN
 'He insisted on going to work, though the doctor had told him to rest.' (Williams 1980:173)

This analysis requires that subjects be base-generated in SpecVP in Welsh (Koopman and Sportiche 1991:218-21), or at least a position below the inflectional head to which the verb raises. Verb-raising to Infl is a common feature of European languages. However, the absence of subject movement to SpecIP is more surprising. Koopman and Sportiche develop a Case-based account of why subjects in a language like Welsh should remain in postverbal SpecVP position, rather than raise to SpecIP as in, say, English or French. This involves a Case-assignment parameter, according to which languages may vary according to whether Nominative Case is assigned under agreement or government. They suggest that in Welsh, Infl assigns Case only under government. Therefore SpecVP in Welsh is a Case-marked position, whereas SpecIP is not (Koopman and Sportiche 1991:231). The subject in Welsh is therefore able to receive Nominative Case in its base-position in SpecVP, and does not need to raise to SpecIP to receive Case. The same configuration appears to be found in Irish (Chung and McCloskey 1987:218-21, McCloskey 1991:262) and Breton (Schafer 1995:137).¹⁵

The analysis is complicated somewhat once aspect and negation markers are included. There is evidence that the subject in Welsh undergoes short movement from its base position, SpecVP, at least to SpecAspP.¹⁶ Postulation of this movement is motivated by the fact that in Welsh the subject must precede the aspectual particle in a

¹⁴Presumably there is some way to assign Case to the subject of these clauses in the absence of tensed Infl, either through Case-assignment by the (obligatory) coordinating conjunction, or through some default Case-assignment mechanism (cf. Chung and McCloskey 1987 on a similar construction in Irish).

¹⁵This can be recast in a minimalist framework as a weak DP feature of Infl in VSO languages, contrasting with a strong DP feature of Infl in English. In Welsh and other VSO languages raising of the subject to check Case in SpecIP would occur only covertly, whereas this movement would be overt in English (Chomsky 1995:198-99).

¹⁶I assume an aspectual projection immediately dominating VP, headed by the aspectual particles *yn* 'progressive', *wedi* 'perfective', *ar* 'prospective', *newydd* 'recent perfective' etc. For motivation see Hendrick (1991).

periphrastic construction. So, in (26), the subject *Mair* precedes the aspect marker *yn*.

- (26) Mae Mair yn canu.
 is Mair PROG sing-VN
 'Mair is singing.'

Similarly, the subject precedes the negative marker *ddim*, which can be assumed to be the specifier of a negative projection NegP (cf. Hendrick 1991:194).

- (27) Aeth hi ddim.
 went she NEG
 'She didn't go.' (Thorne 1993:221)

Given these facts, we must suppose that the subject in Welsh undergoes 'short' movement to some functional projection lower than that in languages like English and French, but higher than AspP and NegP. We are left with a structure for a main clause in Modern Welsh looking something like that in (28)a. if the verb is synthetic, and (28)b. if it is periphrastic, where XP stands for some as yet undefined maximal projection.

- (28) a. [IP V+I [XP Sub]_i t_v [NegP (*ddim*) t_v [AspP t_i t_v [VP t_i t_v]]]]
 b. [IP Aux [XP Sub]_i t_{Aux} [NegP (*ddim*) [AspP t_i [Asp *yn*] [VP t_i V]]]]

If the negative marker *ddim* is a specifier of NegP, then the subject cannot raise to SpecNegP, and must raise to a functional projection above NegP. If SpecNegP is an A'-position, then, under Relativised Minimality, A-movement of the subject across it will be legitimate. Adopting an IP split into AgrSP and TP (Pollock 1989), we can achieve the required result by having the subject raise to SpecTP, assuming that this is the lower projection of the split IP (Chomsky 1995:59-60), with the verb raising fully to AgrS. In a fully-articulated phrase structure, the rule for Nominative Case-assignment in Welsh is therefore that Case is assigned by AgrS under government to SpecTP.¹⁷ The general pattern for a Welsh main clause will be as in (29).¹⁸

¹⁷Roberts (1993b:22) assumes that SpecTP is an A'-position, and therefore rules out the possibility that subjects might raise to it to receive Case. This assumption is required to prevent inversion in affirmative main clauses in English in his analysis. If we wanted to maintain this analysis, it would be necessary to postulate an additional functional projection between AgrSP and TP to which the subject in Welsh could raise to receive case. Alternatively, *ddim* could be analysed as an adverb adjoined to AspSP, and the subject would raise to some specifier position below TP but above AspSP, say SpecNegP. For the sake of simplicity, I shall, however, proceed assuming the structure in (29)/(31).

¹⁸The short movement of subjects to SpecTP in Welsh is problematic in a minimalist framework, which allows Nominative Case to be checked (covertly or overtly) only in SpecAgrSP. If Case is checked covertly in a VSO language, and therefore Case-assignment does not motivate any overt raising, it is not clear what motivates short movement of the subject to SpecTP in these languages. By Procrastinate, the subject should remain in SpecVP. The only possible account seems to involve variation in the strength of the V or DP features of T (cf. Bobaljik and Carnie's 1996 account of

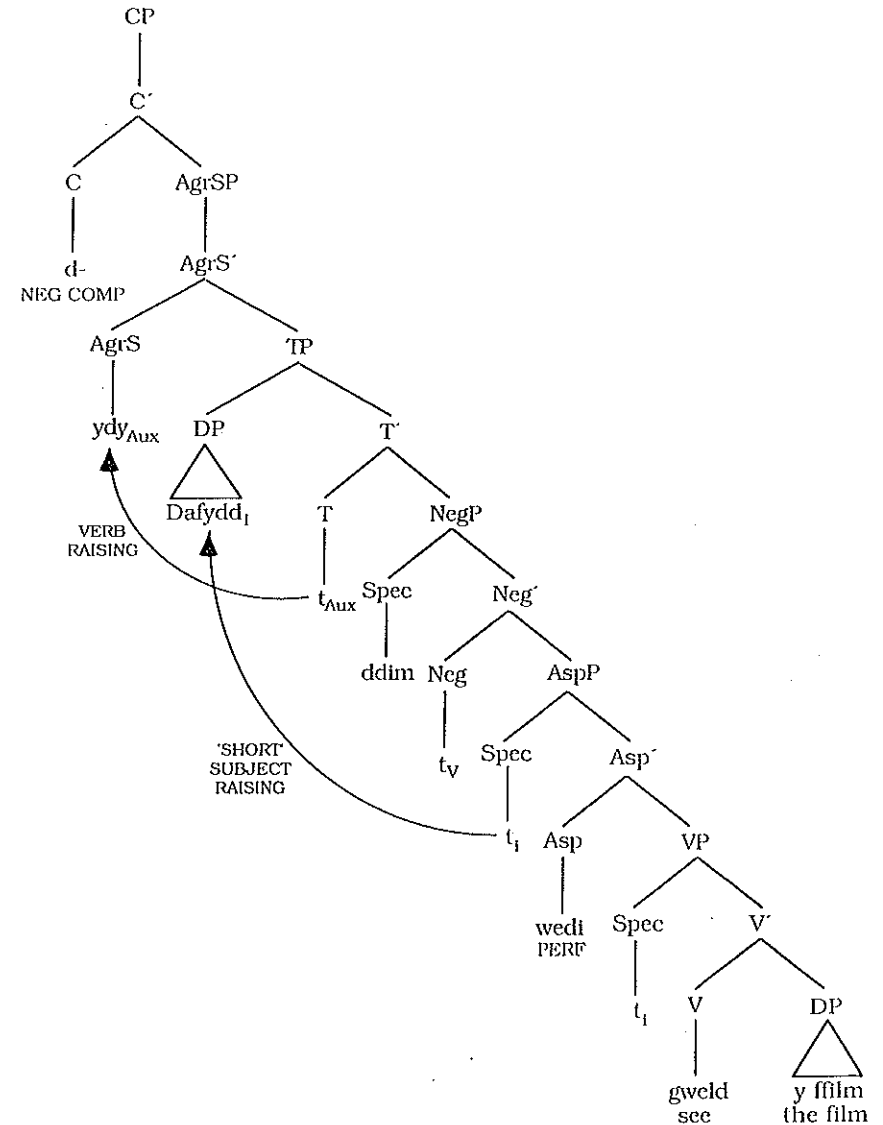
(29) [_{AgrSP} V+I [_{TP} Subj_I t_v [_{NegP} (ddim) t_v [_{AspP} t_i t_v]]]]

An example with aspectual and negative markers is given in (30), with the structure in (31).

(30) Dydy Dafydd ddim wedi gweld y ffilm.
 NEG+is Dafydd NEG PERF see-VN the film
 'Dafydd has not seen the film.'

In (31) the auxiliary carries tense and agreement features (default features are required with a full lexical subject), raising from T to AgrS to do so. AgrS can assign Nominative Case to SpecTP under government, but to no other position. The subject *Dafydd* must therefore raise to SpecTP to receive Case. This produces the correct surface order.

(31)

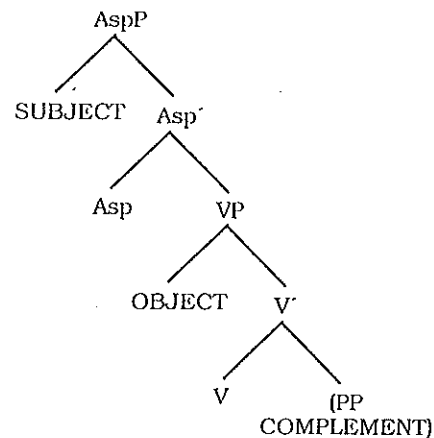


subject-raising to SpecTP in Irish; also Chomsky 1995:216 fn. 40), although this does little more than restate the problem.

I further assume, following Larson (1988), Bowers (1993) and others, that direct objects are generated as specifiers in SpecVP and subjects are generated in a higher verbal projection. For the sake of

simplicity, I shall assume this higher verbal projection to be identical with AspP. Subjects will therefore be generated in SpecAspP. The structure of the Verb Phrase is consequently that given in (32).

(32)



For most of the study, this configuration is not crucial, although it needs to be assumed for a full analysis of expletive subjects and embedded nonfinite clauses in Middle Welsh. Where it is not crucial, I show direct objects in their traditional position as complements of the verb, and subjects in their traditional position as specifiers of VP.

This is the phrase structure that I shall assume for Contemporary Welsh throughout the remainder of this study. It is the phrase structure towards which our account of the historical development of Welsh word order will lead us. In many cases, however, I shall for reasons of space and convenience amalgamate AgrSP and TP into IP, omit NegP where it is not relevant, and amalgamate AspP and VP into VP where the distinctions in question are not crucial to the point under discussion.

1.6 The Structure of this Study

Before returning to the historical data of Welsh, I examine in Chapter Two a number of issues in the literature on generative approaches to syntactic change, in particular introducing the notions of parametric and lexical change. I shall then move on in Chapter Three to present an analysis of the abnormal sentence in Middle Welsh as a verb-second rule involving A'-movement parallel to that found in relative clauses. In Chapter Four, apparent cases of VSO in Middle Welsh are examined. It is argued that they are merely a subtype of the verb-second rule, and that the language therefore has virtually no real instances of VSO. Chapter Five discusses the status of subject pronouns of Middle Welsh, arguing that they gradually acquire clitic status. A major effect of this change is the spread of an expletive

construction, which ultimately results in the innovation of the presentential particle *fe*. In Chapter Six, the instances of structural ambiguity and phonological weakening in Middle Welsh are drawn together. I argue that these allow a reanalysis of the verb-second rule as two constructions, one VSO and one SVO with A'-movement rather than A'-movement in Early Modern Welsh. Finally in Chapter Seven, developments in the eighteenth century are considered, focusing on the change in order with pronominal subjects from SVO to VSO in most dialects, and the innovation of the second presentential particle *mi* and the spread of both particles (*mi* and *fe*) as unmarked affirmative complementisers. A concluding chapter considers the main results of the inquiries undertaken in the dissertation.

Chapter Two Syntactic Change

One of the central concerns of any linguist looking at historical change must be the cause or causes of linguistic change. What aspect of the structure of a language or the environment in which it is spoken allowed a given change to take place? This is the Actuation Problem, formulated in Weinreich, Labov and Herzog (1968) in the following way:

"Why do changes in a structural feature take place in a particular language at a given time, but not in other languages with the same feature, or in the same language at other times?"
(Weinreich, Labov and Herzog 1968:102)

Actuation is essentially an internal linguistic question. It is concerned with changes in the formal structures of language, specifically in linguistic competence. These changes may be influenced by performance during language acquisition. With syntactic change, the answer to why a change takes place typically involves such notions as structural ambiguity or external factors, such as phonological erosion.

There are other related questions in which social aspects may be more important. A new linguistic form need only appear in the speech of one speaker for there to have been an innovation, but change in the language as a whole requires the new form to spread. We may examine how social factors such as prestige and social and geographical mobility influence whether a linguistic innovation spreads and if so how it spreads.

Once this second question is faced, the important distinction between actuation and diffusion of change can be made. Actuation (or innovation) is the process by which a change is begun. It occurs at the moment when a new linguistic form or structure is created. Diffusion (or implementation) on the other hand is the process by which new forms or structures are spread between different speakers or between different lexical items (Chen and Wang 1975, Milroy 1992:169-72, 1993:219-26). A linguistic change is complete when it has diffused to all members of a language or dialect community. The difficulty for the historical linguist is that, whilst the evidence for diffusion, in the form of variation between texts is often available, direct evidence for the causes of actuation is not.

Diffusion has generally been thought of in relation to the spread of new phonological variants. In application to syntax it is not nearly so clear that a purely social account of diffusion is appropriate. An intriguing question is why some changes spread rapidly through a community, whereas others spread only very slowly. For instance, English has pairs of related nouns and verbs which differ only in the position of the stress, for instance, *rébel* (noun) vs. *rebél* (verb). The linguistic change that has brought these pairs about has taken four hundred years, and is still far from completion. In 1934, there were 150 such items compared to only three in 1570 (Chen and Wang

1975). On the other hand Middle English subordinate clauses changed their order from predominantly Subject - Object - Verb to predominantly Subject - Verb - Object in a short space of time in the twelfth century (Lightfoot 1991:71). Why should such differences be found in the absence of any social explanations?

It seems reasonable to expect answers to this type of question to make reference to the type of linguistic change involved. That is, we can ask whether the method of actuation interacts with or affects the nature of diffusion (cf. Kroch 1989:200). It may be that syntactic change is different from phonology in this respect. Syntax may be different inasmuch as the diffusing linguistic structures cannot be observed directly by those acquiring them. An underlying word order is not spread directly by observation as a sound change may be. Rather with syntactic change, learners must individually abstract a syntactic structure from what they hear. Under such circumstances, it is reasonable to ask whether diffusion is best thought of as multiple instances of the actuation of the same change.

These are the sorts of issues which an account of syntactic change and indeed linguistic change generally must face. There are a number of approaches to the actuation of syntactic change in the literature. One line of inquiry has developed out of the study of typology and universals. In this model, it is claimed that word order change will be consistent with hierarchies of possible orderings ('Universal Consistency in History', see Hawkins 1983). Other researchers have worked on the notion of recurrent paths of change (Atchison 1989, Givón 1977). For instance Givón suggests that VSO languages will typically develop into SVO languages via the extension of topicalisation of the subject.¹ More recently, there has been a resurgence of interest in grammaticalisation, in its weakest form, the change in status of full lexical items to grammatical markers (Hopper and Traugott 1993, Traugott and Helme 1991). An example would be the change in status of English *go* from a verb of motion to a marker of futurity. A number of the syntactic changes in Welsh are of this nature. Inasmuch as the generative account of these changes proves satisfactory, it will become clear that the postulation of grammaticalisation as a separate field of inquiry is unnecessary.

In this chapter, I shall not discuss these approaches in any detail. Instead, the Principles and Parameters approach to the actuation problem and related issues is introduced and examined in some depth. This approach stems from the belief that a prerequisite for investigation of typological change is the explicit and detailed study of syntactic change in specific languages. Furthermore, the Principles and Parameters approach allows an explicit formulation of the role of children during the acquisition process in initiating change in the core grammar. The discussion will lead towards the

¹This has been applied to the history of Welsh. Fife and King (1991:148) claim that *typologically* Middle Welsh is a VSO-language. Fife (1993:30) further claims that topic-initial languages generally develop into SVO-languages. Therefore, if Middle Welsh had really been topic-initial it should have developed SVO. This line of argumentation, based only on tendencies of historical development, is unconvincing unless supported by detailed empirical evidence from the language under investigation.

presentation of some working assumptions with which to approach the data from the historical syntax of Welsh.

2.1 Acquisition as the Locus of Change

The essence of the generative account of language change goes back to Andersen (1973) and earlier. This account is based on the observation that "any speaker's internalized grammar is determined by the verbal output from which it has been inferred" (Andersen 1973:767). That is, the locus of change is the acquisition process. Children acquiring a language do not have direct access to its grammar but must recreate it. They make hypotheses on the basis of the data that they receive in the form of spoken utterances from parents, peers and others around them (the **input** or **trigger experience**). They then test these hypotheses against more of that input, revising them where necessary. Some incorrect hypotheses may fail to be corrected or may be corrected only by what Andersen calls adaptive rules, rules used to 'patch-up' the output of the grammar in order to make it conform to that of other speakers. Andersen suggests that speakers whose own output is produced using adaptive rules will be more sympathetic to children's failure to acquire them, and therefore will be less prone to correcting them. Children will thus be encouraged (indirectly) to acquire grammars from which even the adaptive rule has been dropped.

This view of change, summarised in Figure 2.1, is, disregarding the role of parental correction, essentially that adopted in recent generative approaches. Children establish grammars on the basis of the output of those around them. Variation and unsystematic change in the nature of that evidence may lead children to construct grammars that differ in structure from that of adults. In particular, given insufficient exposure to less frequent pieces of evidence for the nature of the adult grammar, children may construct grammars that produce a surface output containing the commonest constructions, albeit possibly assigning them different structures, but which fail to produce less frequent constructions or which introduce new constructions not attested in the input.

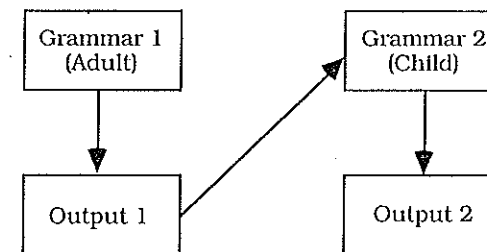


Figure 2.1. Andersen's Model of Linguistic Change.

2.2 The Principles and Parameters Model of Change

Before outlining the Principles and Parameters approach to change, it is necessary to introduce the view of human language that underlies it. It has been suggested that adult grammars are radically underdetermined by the evidence available to children while they are acquiring them (Chomsky 1980, 1981:3). As an example consider (1) and (2).

- (1) I wonder who [_ithe men_i expected to see them_i].
 (2) The men_i expected to see them_j≠_i.

In (1), *them* has the same reference as *the men*, whereas in (2) it must have different reference, despite the fact that the two sentences superficially contain the same sequence of words. Children have no difficulty in acquiring these patterns, yet there is no direct evidence for them in the trigger experience (Chomsky 1986b:7-9). Such properties of language must therefore be ascribed to innate, genetically-preconditioned principles of the language faculty, that is, Universal Grammar.

Human languages are also observed to vary significantly, but not in unconstrained ways. A well-established tradition of typological studies shows, for instance, that the position of syntactic heads with respect to their complements tends to be fairly consistent within each language (Hawkins 1983, 1988). For instance, languages like English, where the verb precedes the object, tend to have prepositions (i.e. the head precedes its complement), whereas languages like Japanese, where the object precedes the verb, tend to have postpositions (i.e. the head follows its complement).

According to the Principles and Parameters model, the competence of a native speaker can be reduced to innate universal principles of grammar, part of the genetic endowment, with a limited set of parameters. The 'principles' are the unchanging rules of each module of the grammar. An example would be the Binding Conditions, which regulate the possible interpretations of pronouns and anaphors. The 'parameters' are 'switches' which set the limits on possible variation between languages, because children are free only to set each one either positively or negatively on the basis of experience (Chomsky 1981:3-9). Since the number of parameters is highly constrained, the complexity of the child's task in learning its native language is greatly reduced. This provides an account of how acquisition is possible with limited evidence. For a full exposition see Chomsky and Lasnik (1993).

For instance, in the Principles and Parameters model, the typological observations made above about the relative position of heads and complements may be reduced to a Head Ordering Parameter, a single 'switch' set either to head-first or head-final order.

Under this account, it is anticipated that a number of surface cross-linguistic differences can be reduced to the setting of a single parameter. Each parameter is expected to be manifested in a number of exponent constructions. In the case of the Head Ordering Parameter, one would hope to develop an account according to which

the presence of prepositions in a language follows automatically once the head-first setting is established, say, on the basis of Verb - Object order in the trigger experience.

Another example of a well-established parameter with multiple exponents is the Null Subject Parameter (Jaeggli and Safir 1989, Rizzi 1982). A positive setting of this parameter determines three syntactic properties of a language, namely, the presence of null subjects and of Free Subject Inversion and the absence of *that*-trace effects. English, in (3), has none of these properties. Null subjects in a. are ungrammatical. Free inversion of the subject and verb in b. is also ill-formed. Finally, it is not possible to A'-move a *wh*-element in subject position across a filled Comp position. That is, in c., the presence of the complementiser *that* prevents movement of *who*. Under standard analyses, *that* acts as a potential governor of the trace, but fails to properly govern it. Therefore (3)c. is a violation of the Empty Category Principle (ECP) (Chomsky 1986a:47-48).

- (3) **English**
 a. *Has spoken.
 b. *Has telephoned John.
 c. *Who_i do you believe that t_i will come?

Italian, on the other hand, in (4), allows all three constructions:

- (4) **Italian**
 a. Verrà.
 will-come
 'He/she will come.'
 b. Verrà Gianni.
 will-come Gianni
 'Gianni will come.'
 c. Chi_i credi che t_i verrà?
 who believe-2S that will-come
 'Who do you believe (that) will come?' (Rizzi 1982:117)

It is claimed that all three involve a null subject. Therefore, a language like Italian which allows null subjects will allow all three, whereas a language like English which does not will lack all three.

Given a conception of the language faculty of this kind, a view of historical change emerges in which changes in these parameter settings are crucial. It is expected that changes in parameter settings will occur periodically, and that these parameter changes will affect all the constructions controlled by the parameter at approximately the same time. A central task of historical syntax is then to account for the mechanisms by which such parametric changes are possible. Accounts of syntactic change in a parametric framework have been attempted for various aspects of syntactic change in English (Kroch 1989, Lightfoot 1991, Roberts 1985, 1993b, Warner 1995), for the loss of verb-second and null subjects in French (Adams 1987, Clark and

Roberts 1993, Roberts 1993b), the loss of null subjects in Swedish (Falk 1993, Platzack 1987:396-98) and for the change from Object – Verb to Verb – Object order in Yiddish (Santorini 1992, 1995). The two most articulated accounts of how such a theory would operate are Lightfoot (1991) and Roberts (1993b). I shall examine these accounts in some detail, before moving on to discuss some of the difficulties that emerge, and establishing some working assumptions and hypotheses with which to approach the discussion of the history of Welsh phrase structure.

2.2.1 Lightfoot (1991)

In Lightfoot's (1991) model, parametric change begins with changes in the frequency with which certain constructions are chosen for use. Such changes do not of course involve a change in the grammar as such, since the set of grammatical sentences remains the same. However, frequency changes may reduce the availability of evidence for a particular parameter setting within the trigger experience, potentially to such an extent that at least some children adopt a different parameter setting from that of their parents. They then begin to produce performance with the 'incorrect' parameter setting, and therefore, through their own speech, provide additional *positive* evidence to others in support of the new parameter setting. Thus more and more children are led to set the parameter in the new way. Once a new parameter setting has been adopted, a number of other simultaneous changes in any other features linked to that parameter will follow naturally.

Lightfoot takes the example of the loss of underlying Object – Verb (OV) order in Old and Middle English. Because of a verb-second rule in Old English the underlying OV order was generally obscured in surface data. Lightfoot asks how children could have acquired the correct underlying order, investigating first how children acquire it in a similar modern language, Dutch. Dutch children, he argues, can learn that the verb moves from its base position from the evidence of verb-second main clauses like (5), where the verb and direct object are not adjacent. Complements must universally be base-generated adjacent to their heads, therefore one of them must have moved.

- (5) In Utrecht **vonden** de mensen **het idee gek**.
 in Utrecht found-3P the people the idea crazy.
 'In Utrecht people found the idea crazy.' (Lightfoot 1991:52)

Children are able to infer that the verb moves leftwards across the object in (5) from a position *following* the object from 'signposts' in Dutch which indicate the original position of the verb. These are elements like separable verbal particles and negative markers which can be expected to be base-generated adjacent to the verb. After the verb has moved, these remain behind in post-object position, indicating that the verb itself moved from a position following the object. For instance, in (6) the separable particle *op* remains in post-object position, even though the verb has moved leftwards.

- (6) Jan belt de hoogleraar op.
 Jan calls the professor up
 'Jan is calling the professor up.' (1991:53)

Similar evidence for the position of the verb is available from modal constructions in (7) where the nonfinite lexical verb occurs in the underlying clause-final position after the object.

- (7) Jan moet de hoogleraar opbellen.
 Jan must the professor up-call
 'Jan must call the professor up.' (1991:53)

According to Lightfoot, there was similar evidence in Old English. There are sentences like (8), parallel to (5), in which the verb is to the left of its complement and non-adjacent to it.

- (8) þe **gegaderode** Ælfred cyning **his fierd**
 then gathered Alfred king his army
 'Then King Alfred gathered his army.' (1991:60)

This allows the child to infer verb-raising. But how does it know the verb has moved from post-object position? The child learning Old English has access to a certain amount of evidence that may establish this. Separable verbal particles (e.g. *stand up*) appear in a number of positions in main clauses, but in some cases as in (9) they occur in the clause-final position that would indicate the base-position of the verb.

- (9) þa sticode him mon þa eagon ut.
 then stuck him someone the eyes out
 'Then someone poked his eyes out.' (1991:61)

Further evidence would come from the existence of verb-final main clauses as in (10). These would show the underlying OV order directly.²

- (10) He hine an bigspell ahsode.
 he him the parable asked
 'He asked him about the parable.' (1991:63)

Gradually, the frequency of word order patterns where the verb could not have been fronted, in particular verb-final main clauses like (10), declines. This change did not reflect a difference in the grammar, but rather an increasing propensity to choose certain options made available by the grammar rather than other possible options (67). The verb-final word order in (10) had provided good evidence for underlying OV order, and thus its decline significantly reduced the evidence for that order.

²Lightfoot in general claims Degree-0 Learnability, that is, that information from embedded contexts is not available for parameter setting by children. He therefore excludes from the discussion subordinate clause evidence, which would also have shown the OV order.

Lightfoot argues that the decline in the frequency of this type of data led to the loss of OV order. Eventually there was simply insufficient evidence for a child acquiring English to set the appropriate parameter to the OV setting: "Consequently, as matrix instances of object-verb diminished to a certain point, underlying object-verb order became unlearnable and the verb-order parameter came to be set differently" (67).

The result was a parametric change from underlying Object - Verb to Verb - Object order in English. Under the parametric account of change, it is expected that a parametric change triggers changes in other exponents of the relevant parameter, resulting either in the rapid disappearance or appearance of particular constructions, or in assignment of a new structure to constructions which are not compatible with the old grammatical setting. In this case, Lightfoot links two other rapid changes to the parametric change in the relative order of the verb and its object. First, separable verbal particles like *ut* in (9), previously generated in a parallel way to objects, were reanalysed as (postverbal) adverbs everywhere, no longer prefixing to the verb in embedded contexts. Second, the change to Verb - Object word order spread rapidly to embedded clauses, where previously only OV had been possible.

Two points should be noted with respect to the model of parametric change. First, it is claimed that a parametric change results in the **obsolescence** of particular constructions rather than mere changes in frequency. Thus it is only when the parametric change takes place that OV order in subordinate clauses dies out. Up to this point, any changes have been changes in relative frequency only.

Related to this is the point that variation in the frequency of different word order types is not in itself grammatical change, although it may be a significant factor in causing grammatical change. According to Lightfoot, "this no more reflects a difference in grammars than if some speaker were shown to use a greater number of passive or imperative sentences. Rather, it reflects the kind of accidental variation that is familiar from studies in population genetics" (67). Thus the drop in frequency of orders evidencing OV in early Middle English does not reflect a grammatical change.³ On the other hand, the parametric change itself is characterised by the sudden obsolescence of syntactic patterns that were compatible only with the old parameter setting.

This then is a paradigm case of parametric change. A series of gradual changes takes place which have no grammatical significance. Grammatical competence remains the same, but the relative frequency of the output (performance) alters because of (unspecified) external factors. This unsystematic change in relative frequencies alters children's trigger experience in such a way that some children cease to have access to enough relevant data to be able to set the parameter correctly. Once some children set a parameter differently, they contribute to the trigger experience of the next generation simply by using the language, further impoverishing the data in favour of the

old parameter setting, and perhaps introducing new constructions that provide positive evidence in favour of the new setting. Thus in the next generation, children are more likely to infer the new rather than the old parameter. The effect is a rapidly increasing propensity for children to set the parameter in the new rather than the old way.

2.2.2 Roberts (1993b)

A similar account is offered in Roberts (1993b). In this model we begin with a **step**. This is a performance phenomenon, the appearance of a new construction or a change in frequency of an old one without any change in the grammar.⁴ That is, the grammar and therefore the set of sentences generated by the grammar remain the same. A change in frequency with which certain structures are selected in performance is perfectly possible for non-syntactic reasons, and thus no change in the grammar is necessary at this stage.⁵ Essentially this part is the same as in Lightfoot's account.

Two mechanisms then operate to effect language change. Since performance is the input data for first language acquisition, a change in the frequencies of constructions may alter the way in which a new generation of children analyse their language. For instance in fifteenth-century French children were exposed to an increased frequency of the pattern Adverb - XP - Verb and this had consequences for the acquisition of the verb-second rule (148) (see below).

Why should a step cause such a change? Children had previously had to reject some 'simpler' analysis of some construction because of counterevidence in the triggering experience. However, as a consequence of the step, the aspect of the trigger experience which forced rejection of the simpler analysis becomes rarer, sufficiently so that it fails to lead the child to reject the simpler analysis. Alternatively, the evidence in favour of the new analysis becomes more frequent, and so more compelling to the child. Some children therefore adopt a new structure for a familiar construction. Roberts calls this a **Diachronic Reanalysis (DR)** (cf. Timberlake's 1977 'Reanalysis').

The nature of the reanalysis is determined by another mechanism, the **Least Effort Strategy**, similar to Lightfoot's (1979) Transparency Principle. This states that:

⁴One presumes that a new construction is introduced by a change in feature specifications for some item in the lexicon i.e. a form of lexical change. For discussion of some of the difficulties with this see section 2.3.1 below.

⁵There are plausible phonological and pragmatic reasons why this might happen. For example, phonological erosion of case endings might encourage the use of less ambiguous, unmarked word orders. A plausible pragmatic reason would be a universal tendency towards increased use of subjects as topics in topic-prominent languages. This is presumably a legitimate area for an account of language change, but one which lies outside the scope of the parametric model itself.

³Since even this is not random, there is still some explaining to do even with these changes.

- (11) Representations assigned to sentences of the input to acquisition should be such that they contain the set of the shortest possible chains (consistent with (a) principles of grammar, (b) other aspects of the trigger experience).

(Roberts 1993a:228-29, 1993b:156)

That is, all other things being equal, the child assigns to a given sentence of the input the syntactic structure involving least movement, regardless of the effect that this has on parameter settings. Essentially, this is a way of formalising the intuitive notion of 'simplicity' of structure in terms of chain positions.

In order to allow the grammar to generate the new structure assigned to the particular construction, the child may have to infer a new parameter setting. "DRs frequently create the conditions for parametric changes, by removing the structural evidence for a given parameter setting" (159).⁶ This new setting causes unexpected and sudden changes to the set of grammatical sentences. Once a child adopts a new parameter setting, the structure of a number of constructions may have to be changed in order to accommodate the new setting. That is, the parameter change triggers other Diachronic Reanalyses (160). The changed parameter may also mean that old constructions simply cannot be generated by the grammar any more, and some new ones not generated by the previous grammar may suddenly appear: "the elimination of structures is associated with parametric changes, but changes in frequency and status of structures may be the consequence of lower-level factors, typically DRs."⁷ These steps may in turn feed back into the system perpetuating syntactic change.

The most important distinction between the two accounts is the postulation of Diachronic Reanalyses as a separate phenomenon from steps and parameter changes in the Roberts model.

An example of parametric change in the Roberts model is the change in the setting of the Nominative Case Assignment Parameter in the history of French. Old French is a verb-second (V2) language, in which the verb is required to appear in second position in main clauses. Modern French is not. How can a parametric account explain the loss of verb-second?

According to Roberts, in a V2-language, C bears a feature [+Agr] which assigns Nominative Case. Nominative Case may be assigned either under government to a subject in SpecAgrP or by agreement to a subject in SpecCP, these options each being controlled by a parameter setting. The [+Agr] feature in C forces the verbal complex in Agr to raise to C to support it (52-55). Assuming further that the specifier

⁶This seems to leave the way open for the possibility that a Diachronic Reanalysis may not induce a parameter change. If so, there are some Diachronic Reanalyses which in themselves (that is without the aid of a simultaneous parametric change) alter the set of grammatical structures (although perhaps not the surface strings). Such a development must involve a change in the grammar, but one which is non-parametric. This seems to necessitate an explicit role for something like lexical change in syntax. See section 2.3.1 below.

⁷I find it hard to see how a Diachronic Reanalysis could lead to a change in frequency of construction. A more typical setting for a change in frequency would be drift in the thematic meaning of a construction e.g. heavy-element movement rules or left- and right-dislocation becoming less stylistically or pragmatically marked.

position of [+Agr] must universally be filled, in such a language some element must move to SpecCP. The result is that the verb obligatorily occupies second position in main clauses.

During the Middle French period there is a rise in the frequency of orders where the verb appears later than in second position. This happens because in Old French, as in a number of V2-languages, a limited set of adverbs, such as *sans faille* 'without fail', do not trigger V2, and this set increases in size during Middle French. This is a step.⁸ In Clark and Roberts (1993:338) the introduction of these XSVO orders is related to a phonological factor, the cliticisation of subject pronouns. Thus by the fifteenth century, children acquiring French were being exposed to significantly more occurrences of the order Adverb - XP - Verb than their predecessors (148).

This invites a Diachronic Reanalysis of the CP with an adjoined adverb as an AgrP with the main verb in Agr and the subject in SpecAgrP (150-51). Such a structure is favoured because adjunction of adverbs and complements to CP is cross-linguistically marked, but adjunction to AgrP is generally allowed. As a result of this Diachronic Reanalysis, main clauses in Middle French could be either CPs or AgrPs.⁹ AgrPs resulted in (X)SVO order (since SpecAgrP could only be a subject position) whereas CPs allowed (Adv)-XP-V-(S)-O. The AgrP option was gradually preferred. This is reflected in the increasing statistical predominance of SVO word order in the fifteenth century.¹⁰ The Diachronic Reanalysis of CPs as AgrPs is dictated by the Least Effort Strategy since it eliminates syntactic movement of the verb from Agr to C and of some other element to SpecCP.¹⁰ For this system to operate, the [+Agr] feature on C must be optional i.e. the verb is no longer obliged to raise from Agr to C (154-57).¹¹

⁸It might be argued that this itself is a syntactic change. Presumably, however, the ability of adverbs to appear in sentence-initial (CP-adjoined) position is governed by features in their lexical entries.

⁹Again, one wonders why, if adjunction to CP, is generally so bad, Middle French not only allows it to happen at all, but even allows it to spread. Presumably the universal availability of left dislocation constructions must be invoked at this point, allowing the possibility either of parametric variation in whether the option of left dislocation is taken, or more probably, of lexical features on individual adverbs overriding the prohibition on adjunction to CP. If the latter option were to be chosen, it could be argued that an increase in markedness in the peripheral grammar is eliminated by a reanalysis.

¹⁰I find it hard to accept that this can actually be a Diachronic Reanalysis at all. Two possibilities exist: either SVO order with the subject in AgrP rather than in CP had always been available, in which case this is a step, increased selection of one rather than another structure supplied by the grammar. Or, the structure where SVO order involves the subject occupying SpecAgrP is new, in which case some parametric change is required, presumably allowing the [+Agr] feature not to raise to C (see Santorini 1995:64-67 for this as a possible parametric change in Yiddish), and therefore for SpecCP to be left unoccupied. In fact, I find it hard to see how (logically) a Diachronic Reanalysis that does not lead immediately either to a parametric change or a change in lexical features can exist. Roberts hints at something like this possibility when he states (Roberts 1993b:159) that "the notion DR may also prove to be epiphenomenal", and "all DRs may turn out to be instances of Parametric Change". See section 2.3.2 below.

¹¹This seems to be tantamount to admitting to a parametric change in the distribution of [+Agr], that is:

In main clause AgrPs, Nominative Case is assigned under agreement by Agr to SpecAgrP, whereas in main clause CPs Nominative Case is assigned under government by [+Agr] in C to SpecAgrP. Reinterpreting many main clauses as AgrPs greatly increases the frequency with which Nominative Case is actually assigned by taking the agreement option rather than the government option (143).

Other Diachronic Reanalyses also weakened the trigger evidence for Nominative Case assignment under government. Consequently, during the sixteenth century, the evidence for Nominative Case under government became so weak that a parametric change excluded it from the grammar entirely. Verb-second depended crucially on this possibility, so the parametric change eliminated verb-second *entirely*, and also removed simple inversion and null subjects in French, both of which depended upon the possibility of Case-assignment under government (197).

A summary of the Roberts model of the development of the Nominative Case Assignment Parameter in French is given below.

STEP	Increase in frequency of Adverb - XP - Verb.
DIACHRONIC REANALYSIS	Some main clauses are reinterpreted as AgrPs rather than CPs. C is now only optionally [+Agr]. This option is chosen with increasing frequency reducing the evidence for Nominative Case assignment under government.
PARAMETRIC CHANGE	Nominative Case is assigned solely by agreement not under government.
OBSOLESCENCE	Of V2, simple inversion and null subjects.
DIACHRONIC REANALYSIS	Ambiguous examples are reanalysed in conformity with the new parameter setting e.g. simple inversion is reanalysed as free inversion. C becomes unable to bear [+Agr].

2.3 Some Issues in Syntactic Change

These accounts raise a number of issues that need clarification. Here I shall concentrate on three such issues. First, I shall argue that there is a need to distinguish lexical change more clearly as a category of change distinct from parametric change. Then the distinction between Diachronic Reanalyses and parametric changes will be discussed. Finally, the question is raised as to how it is that children can initiate change despite evidence against the change in their linguistic environment.

C may bear feature [+Agr]	Yes
C must bear feature [+Agr]	Yes → No

2.3.1 The Nature of 'Steps' and Lexical Change

The first issue concerns the nature of the 'step' (or its equivalent in the Lightfoot model). One aspect of the concept of a step is relatively straightforward. Steps change the frequency of constructions that are already grammatical and thereby alter the conditions for acquisition without altering the grammar itself. They are thus located firmly in performance, and constitute the means by which current performance can influence future competence.

Another aspect of steps is more problematic. They are said to be able to introduce new constructions. It is not clear how this can happen without a change in the grammar. For instance, at some point in the history of French, AdvSVO orders are introduced as a step.

Clark and Roberts (1993) offer us the following explanation: children acquiring Middle French must have tried the hypothesis that subject pronouns in their language were clitics, and as such did not count for V2. Under this hypothesis, XSV orders would have been possible if the subject was a pronoun. The introduction of AdvSVO is therefore due to the influence of the child's "ultimately unsuccessful hypothesis that these pronouns were indeed syntactic clitics" which "could ... have given rise to XSV orders at the time when the subject-pronoun system was undergoing change." (338 fn. 19). However, the hypothesis that subject pronouns were syntactic clitics is one which is supposed eventually to be rejected by children, whereas the AdvSVO orders are produced by adults who should already have rejected the hypothesis during acquisition. The only way out for this explanation would seem to claim that children in acquiring Middle French were unable to decide between clitic and full status for subject pronouns, in which case adults might treat them sometimes as clitics, sometimes as non-clitics. Yet Roberts' model of syntactic change does not allow for this kind of indeterminate parameter setting.

The only other solution seems to involve changes in the lexical entries of individual lexical items. For instance, in the case of adverbs found in AdvSVO orders, certain adverbs are licensed in their lexical entries to adjoin to CP (cf. footnotes 8 and 9 above). If this is so, then at least some steps must represent a type of true linguistic change, perhaps even of syntactic change, albeit distinct from parametric change. Other steps, for instance 'drift' towards a favourite sentence type, may fall outside this, and are presumably amenable to description only in informal, perhaps pragmatic, terms.

This suggests that we should perhaps take the notion of lexical change in syntax more seriously. This is also the conclusion that emerges from a closer examination of Lightfoot's study of syntactic change in English.

Lightfoot (1991:166-67) claims in his study of parametric change in English to have examined six new parameter settings. These are:

1. A move to an underlying verb-complement order (i.e. the move from OV to VO order discussed in section 2.2.1 above);
2. The innovation of the ability of *to* to transmit case and head-government properties of a governing verb;

3. The loss of D-structure oblique case;
4. The emergence of a reanalysis operation allowing V + P sequences to be treated as complex verbs for A'-movement as in *Who_i did you [v speak to] t_i?*
5. The recategorisation of 'premodal' verbs as modals;
6. The loss of V-to-I raising (see also Lightfoot 1993).

This gives the impression of a theory of syntactic change in which all syntactic change is parametric. However, as Hale (1994:148) points out, these do not all seem to be parametric changes, at least in the sense in which that term has usually been defined. Changes 2, 4 and 5 are not obviously linked to any recognised parameter. If a theory of change involving parameters is to have any value, the set of possible parameters must be highly constrained (cf. the role of parameters in explaining why children acquire language so easily, section 2.2). We cannot accept highly language-specific features as being controlled by parameters. In particular the properties of a single lexical item, as with *to* in Change 2 cannot possibly be controlled parametrically.¹² The recategorisation of the premodals is described by Lightfoot himself as "a change in lexical specifications" which "may have affected some items earlier than others" (Lightfoot 1991:147, cf. the criticisms in Warner 1983 of Lightfoot's 1979 account of the modals). This can only be understood as parametric if there is some parameter allowing or disallowing modals in the lexicon, a move which seems to be completely unnecessary. It seems to violate the definition of parametric change both by being lexical and by proceeding gradually. In the case of the modals, it seems entirely reasonable to treat the isolation of the modals as a class as being the result of a series of changes in lexical specifications, largely the loss of exception features.

Finally it is hard to imagine that the reanalysis operation in Change 4 is anything other than a property specific to English, rather like *do*-insertion. Inasmuch as it is a property of category sequences rather than individual lexical items, it may be a change in the peripheral (non-UG) grammar, but it can hardly be parametric.

Once again this brings us to the conclusion that we need to take more seriously the distinction between parametric and non-parametric change. A distinction that is implicit in the literature needs to be elaborated in an explicit manner. In the spirit of Lightfoot and Roberts, I shall assume that a fully-articulated hypothesis of parametric change must begin by admitting three classes of syntactic changes, namely:

1. **Performance changes** (= steps) e.g. increased frequency of a favoured word order pattern;
2. **Parametric changes** e.g. a change in the configuration for Nominative Case-assignment;
3. **Non-parametric changes:**

- (a) in the periphery (**peripheral changes**) e.g. language-specific peripheral operations such as availability of *do*-insertion or V+P reanalysis;
- (b) in the lexicon (**lexical changes**) e.g. feature changes in lexical and functional items listed in the lexicon.

These types should have distinct properties, both in terms of their effect on the grammar, and in terms of the patterns through which they are reflected in the speech community.

2.3.2 The Status of Diachronic Reanalyses

A further question is raised by the status of Diachronic Reanalyses in the Roberts model. It does not seem to be possible to maintain the distinction between a Diachronic Reanalysis and, on the one hand, a parametric shift, and, on the other, a step.

Two scenarios spring to mind: either the reanalysed structure in a DR can be generated by the (old) grammar or it cannot. In the first scenario, we must ask why the DR did not happen much earlier i.e. why it was not simply triggered by an earlier parametric change. Presumably there was evidence in the earlier trigger experience to rule out the possibility that the new structure could be generated by the grammar of the language. In the second case, the DR must itself *immediately* trigger, in fact, be part of, a parametric change.

Let us consider these possibilities in relation to V2 in Old and Middle French. As a result of various steps, the child finds the verb increasingly in third position and reanalyses CPs as AgrPs to avoid the cross-linguistically dispreferred option of adjunction to CP (Roberts 1993b:144-50):

(12) [CP Adverb [CP XP [C Verb [vp tv NP]]]]

⇒

(13) [AgrP Adverb [AgrP XP [AgrVerb [VP tv NP]]]]

Previously the verb had been required to raise to V because of the presence of a feature [+Agr] on C (97). This feature had to be compulsory in order to ensure that V2 in main clauses was compulsory. The previous grammar could thus not generate (13). Roberts posits a DR whereby (12) is reanalysed as (13). In order to do this, [+Agr] must cease to be obligatory on C. Thus (13) can be generated by the later post-DR grammar. But this goes against the claim that this is a DR independent of parametric change involving no change in the grammar (158). The grammar *has* changed in that it no longer requires the [+Agr] feature on C, and this change has to be parametric (rather than lexical change or change in the peripheral grammar). There seems to have been a hidden parametric change (cf. footnote 11). This leaves us close to Lightfoot's conclusion that a Diachronic Reanalysis is really 'a particular type of parametric shift' (Lightfoot 1994:577). In fact the change exhibits some of the other properties of parametric change. After the 'reanalysis' the XP is in

¹²Of course, in this case, one might try to use parameterisation of nonfinite Infl, but even then we are dealing only with one possible lexical instantiation of nonfinite Infl. The properties are therefore highly language-specific.

SpecAgrP, a position reserved for the subject, and so the order Adverb – Object – Verb – Subject is rendered obsolete.¹³

It is conceivable that there might be DR-like developments independent of parametric shift. Suppose that in the French example, the grammar is such that it is already capable of generating both (12) and (13), but earlier speakers in practice used only (12). That is [+Agr] is only optionally present on C. The Diachronic Reanalysis would therefore be the sudden use of the structure (13), where only (12) had been used before. Subsequently we get a gradual replacement of one of the available options (12) by the other (13), towards the end of which a parametric change is triggered.

In this case, it is hard to see how the DR differs in any way from a step – it is merely the first part of a step that applies to structures. The frequency with which an available structure is chosen rises from zero to above zero. Arguably under this scenario a DR takes place at the first point in time at which the new structure is actually chosen. That is, the fact that the grammar generates the new structure can be thought of as the pre-existing potential for a DR to take place, but it does not actually happen until the new structure is actually used in performance.

This scenario of course would be reflected by no surface changes, since it involves the replacement of one structure for a given string by another. It is therefore impossible to demonstrate, and a priori impossible to date the DR. It is also hard to see how the DR could be passed on from generation to generation unless it triggers some surface change in the form of a parametric change. Once again we are forced back to questions like: Why is the new structure not used (at least to some extent) as soon as a grammar appears (historically) which allows it? To put it another way: How can a grammar exist which generates certain structures that are never used?

Given these difficulties with the second scenario, it seems that we must adopt the first as our view of parametric change. If so, DRs become subsumed under the notion of parametric change. We might think of a parametric change as consisting of two simultaneous phenomena: the DR (the child's failure to adopt the adult structure for leading construction(s)) and the parametric shift (the child's hypothesis about parameter settings based on its assignment of new structures in these cases).¹⁴

If so, the more relevant notion in the lead-up to the parametric shift is the potential inherent in a structure produced by the grammar for reanalysis and parameter shift, specifically some notion of **acquisitional ambiguity**. In this case, a construction has two possible structures only one of which is generated by the adult grammar. The other, however, is a tempting analysis for the child but one which should ultimately be rejected for independent reasons.

¹³Arguably it can be rescued by adjoining the adverb to CP, but since the whole reanalysis was triggered by the need to avoid this, such a possibility seems unlikely.

¹⁴For the moment I leave aside the possibility that there might be lexical changes, a possibility that I shall return to below.

2.3.3 Parametric Change Violates the Input Data

Whether acquisitional ambiguity leads to syntactic (parametric) change or not depends upon the evidence available to children in favour of the conservative structure. If the quantity or quality of this evidence is insufficient to force the child to opt for the adult structure, then a DR will occur, triggering a parametric change. However, in any case, since the old parameter setting in the adult will result in instances of constructions compatible only with that parameter setting being produced in the trigger experience, Diachronic Reanalyses and parametric changes must occur despite evidence to refute them. As Lightfoot puts it:

"It is well known that certain kinds of syntactic patterns become obsolete in certain speech communities at certain times. This means that sometimes children hear a form that does not trigger any grammatical device permitting it to be generated by the grammar and thus to occur in their mature speech."
(Lightfoot 1991:14)

For instance in Roberts' French example, children must fail to establish that Nominative Case-assignment is possible under government despite the fact that they still have access to some instances of verb-second structures with postverbal subjects that provide unambiguous evidence that this is indeed the case (e.g. *einsint aama la demoisele Lancelot* 'thus loved the lady Lancelot' Roberts 1993b:85) (Lightfoot 1994:573).

Thus, one possible criticism of the approach is that it is not clear how much evidence is needed to fulfil the proviso that Diachronic Reanalyses must be 'consistent with ... other aspects of the trigger experience'. This is a problem familiar from Lightfoot's (1979) Transparency Principle, revived in contemporary form as Roberts' Least Effort Strategy. Both are only post hoc ways of 'explaining' syntactic change. It is not made explicit precisely which aspects of the trigger experience the representations must be consistent with. They do not define the point at which a Diachronic Analysis and parametric change take place. The problem of how much evidence is needed to set a parameter is, however, one that needs to be faced in language acquisition too.

On the other hand, it is too much to expect any theory of language change to have predictive power. If first language acquisition is the locus of language change, then change depends crucially on individual children responding to trigger experiences which differ from one another randomly. There is considerable extralinguistic input in the form of normative pressure against the use of certain patterns, and thus against their appearance in the trigger experience, thus retarding the appearance of parametric changes. But the extent of this and similar pressure is determined by entirely non-linguistic factors. It can reasonably be argued that the exact timing of parametric change is due to chance, but that, all other things being equal, the probability increases as the trigger evidence declines.

It seems useful, however, to distinguish between sources of evidence that are both structurally unambiguous and frequent enough

to be of use in setting parameters and those that are not. We can take the standard account of the Null Subject Parameter as an example (Rizzi 1982). Recall (from section 2.2) that three features are linked to the setting of this parameter, namely, the presence or absence of null subjects, the possibility of Free Subject Inversion, and the presence or absence of *that*-trace Effects.

The Italian child will hear instances of null subjects fairly frequently, and this will provide good ('robust') evidence that the Null Subject Parameter should be set positively. Contrast this with sentences involving the absence of *that*-trace effects. These will be fairly rare, and it seems unlikely that the child could ever use them as the basis for setting the parameter. Thus, whether the parameter continues to be set positively in Italian depends crucially on sentences with null subjects remaining frequent in performance. The frequency of the *that*-trace filter violations will always be too low to be of any significance. The place of free subject inversion in this is intermediate and would need to be the subject of empirical investigation.

If we make such distinctions, we can begin to consider what patterns of data could be expected in texts during a period of parametric change. Logically, a theory of parametric change predicts something like the following. Two types of construction can be established with respect to each parameter.

First we have those syntactic features that provide evidence for the setting of the parameter itself, for instance, the position of separable prefixes showed the base position of the verb in Old English, and so helped to set the OV/VO parameter (Lightfoot 1991:61).¹⁵ Potentially the direct output of the parameter is also the evidence for setting it e.g. null subject parameter can be set by the child hearing a sentence containing a null subject, and a positive setting for this parameter is the only way to generate null subjects. Changes in such features should be gradual. In a typical case, we expect gradual change (performance change) towards a reduction in evidence for the conservative parameter setting. Once the parameter setting itself changes, we expect sudden obsolescence of the option which provided evidence for the old parameter setting, or else its reanalysis. I shall call such a feature a **leading feature** with respect to a parametric change.

The second type of feature is directly sensitive to the setting of a parameter but does not directly provide (much) evidence for setting it. In Lightfoot's analysis of English word order change, an example of this would be subordinate clause word order in Old English. According to his Degree-0 Learnability, embedded contexts are not used in parameter-setting, so subordinate clause word order is not used to set the VO/OV parameter. However, once this parameter was reset at VO, word order in subordinate clauses changed suddenly to conform with the new parameter setting. I shall call such features

trailing features with respect to a particular parametric change.¹⁶ Such a feature need not show any signs of change until the parameter setting itself changes, since it can be fully current in performance without providing good evidence in favour of the conservative parameter setting. However, once the parameter change sets in, it should change suddenly. In this case reanalysis should not be an option, since the construction itself is not salient enough in the trigger experience to require that the child assign it a grammatical structure.

Another possible construction type is the construction which can be generated, albeit with a different structure, with both settings. Clearly such a construction provides no evidence for either setting. For instance, SVO word orders in a V2-language provide no evidence that the language is V2. The frequency of such a construction should not be affected by the parametric change. It may nevertheless be central to the parametric change in that the acquisitional ambiguity of the construction allows it to be reanalysed, thereby triggering a parametric change. Changes will, however, be observed in related constructions or in specific subtypes of the construction, which can be thought of as trailing changes themselves.

Given this view of change, we expect the observed data, inasmuch as they can be freed from sociolinguistic 'noise', to resemble the idealised situation presented in Figure 2.2.

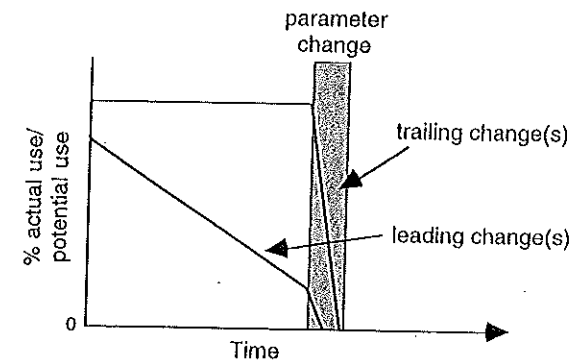


Figure 2.2. Idealised Development of a Parametric Change.

A number of factors may be expected to prevent such patterns from appearing in actual data. Typically we may find corpora of texts showing mixed usage when parametric change predicts a sudden switch from old to new. Such non-categorical usage may have a number of simple explanations that are compatible with a parametric

¹⁵Note that in this case the relationship is not reciprocal. That is, although the construction helps to set the parameter, the parameter does not dictate the presence or absence of the feature. Even if the parameter were set to VO, the separable prefix constructions could be reanalysed.

¹⁶Actually, acceptance of Degree-0 Learnability is not at all crucial to this example. The frequency of subordinate clauses in children's trigger experience can safely be assumed to be quite low, in which case subordinate word order will have little effect on setting parameters, and will be a trailing feature.

single grammar model. Several sociolinguistic factors will complicate the picture.

Non-categorical usage at a community level may be the result of variation between individuals. Aggregate statistics for texts based on the performance of a number of individuals, or for multiple texts may well show this type of pattern.

Non-categorical usage by an individual level may be the result of style-shifting. Suppose individuals have a single acquired grammar at their disposal, which may contain either the new or the old parameter setting but not both. Does this mean that they must produce categorical usage pattern consistent only with one setting? In the Andersen tradition (cf. section 2.1), the answer is clearly no. Such individuals may have learned, consciously or unconsciously, peripheral adaptive rules through which they produce the earlier pattern even though it is not native to them in the way that it was to earlier speakers. Writers will have access to a considerable body of earlier literature in their language, and to some extent will be 'quoting', consciously or unconsciously, from that body of literature, whether this be in the form of fossilised expressions or simply stylistic imitation. In literary contexts, areas of syntax covered by a (potentially implicit) norm may show high levels of usage of the conservative pattern. If the literary tradition is strong and continuous, there is no reason why the conservative pattern should not be maintained for many centuries. In speech and at lower stylistic levels, conservative usage is likely to be maintained less securely, to the extent that normative pressures are likely to be less pervasive there. Thus, in cases where there is a literary norm covering the syntactic pattern in question, non-categorical usage in literary texts cannot provide evidence against parametric shifts. However, where that norm is least pervasive, evidence should be available in their favour.

Social and stylistic variation is therefore not counterevidence to the parametric model. The sort of counterevidence required is the existence of variable usage and, in particular, gradual change with respect to a particular parameter by single individuals in a context not influenced by norms of usage.

It has been argued that even allowing for such factors, the observed data are not always compatible with a parametric model that predicts that two parameter settings cannot coexist. Santorini (1992) claims that data from the history of Yiddish provide evidence that individuals may have access to both the old and new settings for a given parameter. This is the **Double Base Hypothesis** that "children have the ability to abduce more than one grammatical system from the primary data in the course of acquisition" (Santorini 1992:619).

The argument runs as follows. Yiddish has moved from having head-final IPs (reflected in underlying Lexical Verb - Auxiliary order) to head-medial IPs (with the reverse underlying order). For instance, Early Yiddish had subordinate clauses like those in (14), where the Infl-element in bold is clause-final. In Modern Yiddish, as in (15), Infl precedes verbal adjuncts and complements.

- (14) ...ds zi droyf givarnt **vern**.
 that they thereon warned were
 '...that they might be warned about it.'
 (Santorini 1992:606, 1995:60)
- (15) ...oyb dos yingl **vet** oyfn veg zen a kats.
 whether the boy will on-the way see a cat
 '...whether the boy will see a cat on the way.'
 (Santorini 1992:597, 1995:54)

This is a change in a parameter controlling Head-Complement order in IP. Santorini extracts from her historical corpus those subordinate clauses consistent only with the old or only with the new parameter. We would expect, if each individual has only one parameter setting, that each text should contain only clauses requiring the old setting or only clauses requiring the new setting, but not both. In fact, the two co-exist in a number of texts. The necessary adaptive rules to map from one parameter setting to the other would be complex and unnatural, she argues, hence the Double Base Hypothesis is used as a way-out.¹⁷

Acceptance of the Double Base Hypothesis would have very serious consequences for the theory of syntactic change. It would mean that it would be impossible *in principle* to refute the parametric account of syntactic change on the basis of observed historical data. The observation that a change in a feature thought to be the subject of parametric variation is gradual could no longer be used against the parametric account - it could always be argued that a double base is involved. It also reduces the potential types of evidence available in favour of the parametric account, since the rate of progress of syntactic change through time becomes irrelevant. Indeed, variation in the speed of different syntactic changes becomes puzzling, since it makes one wonder why under some circumstances double bases seem to be available, whereas under other circumstances the language shifts suddenly from one parameter setting to another, without making use of the possibility of double bases, a possibility that should be freely available (cf. Traugott and Smith 1993:437, 444). Thus if such a possibility were available, it would be hard to see what the point of a parametric theory of change would be. Our starting assumption must therefore be to reject the Double Base Hypothesis unless strong evidence in its favour should emerge.

2.4 The Features of a Parametric Change

Certain of the anticipated features of a parametric change have already been mentioned, specifically abruptness and obsolescence. Let

¹⁷In fact, the data may not be so clear cut. Very few of the texts in Santorini's corpus by individuals give anything like even numbers of both. Of her East Yiddish texts (ignoring court testimony from multiple speakers), no text of reliable sample size lies in the range between 13% and 72%. The picture is also complicated by the development of literary norms in Yiddish in the period under consideration. In literary texts, strongly influenced by a norm, there is no reason to expect theories of natural language change to hold.

us now turn to examine the full range of features that has been suggested.

Lightfoot gives the following six characteristics of parametric change:

1. Each parameter change is manifested by a cluster of simultaneous surface changes;
2. Parameter changes sometimes set off 'chain reactions' in the form of other parameter changes;
3. Changes involving new parameter settings take place more rapidly than non-parametric changes;
4. New parameter settings cause the total disappearance of old constructions;
5. Any significant change in meaning is generally a by-product of a new parameter setting;
6. New parameter settings occur in response to shifts in unembedded data only.

As noted by Hale (1994:149) this set of properties is unsatisfying. The difference between Feature 1 'a cluster of simultaneous surface changes' and Feature 2 'chain reactions' is hard to maintain purely in terms of data. In fact the distinction is entirely theory-internal and should be defined as such. With Feature 5, it is unclear what would constitute a 'significant change in meaning'. Feature 6 is a hypothesis open to empirical investigation (in acquisition studies rather than historical syntax), but a priori seems rather unlikely. In any case, it can hardly be taken as a defining property of parametric change.

This leaves us with a reduced set of core features that a theory of parametric change must hypothesise. The distinction that Lightfoot makes between simultaneous surface changes and chain reactions reflects a distinction inherent in the definition of parameter. Since a parameter by definition has exponents in a number of areas of (surface) grammar, a change in parameter setting will have immediate changes in a number of areas. Other changes are possible, perhaps changes in other parameters, but these are not directly attributable to the parameter change itself. In particular, the changes brought about by the parameter change in the first place will alter the input data for the next generation of children, perhaps considerably reducing the evidence for the 'correct' setting of some other parameter. On the other hand, they may not, and in any case parametric shifts could be brought about by means other than by such chain reactions. There therefore seems to be little point in concentrating on Feature 2 of parameter changes, especially since it confuses the situation with respect to Feature 1. Feature 1, however, lies at the heart of the notion of parameter as an abstract switch with a number of surface exponents. If the switch changes, we must expect wide ranging effects on the surface.

The binary nature of parameters means that Feature 3 is also a logical necessity in such a theory. Parametric change must be swift because, assuming there are no parameter settings like 'Either' or 'Mostly' (cf. the objections to the Double Base Hypothesis above), there can be no intermediate grammars between one parameter setting

and another. Contrast the situation in historical lexical semantics where old and new meanings of a word may coexist for centuries, or in morphology where erosion of inflectional endings may proceed via many intermediate stages.

In fact, given that single parameters have multiple exponents, we can make a stronger claim. The new parameter setting as a whole 'diffuses'. It is therefore not possible, at least to the extent that usage reflects naturally acquired rather than consciously learned norms, for part of a parametric shift to be taken over – we do not expect to find a new syntactic pattern that a parameter shift introduces to spread without the other syntactic effects of the parameter shift spreading with it. Kroch (1989) argues that a given syntactic change appears simultaneously in the environments to which it will apply, but at varying initial levels of dominance. He further claims that thereafter change proceeds at a constant rate in each environment. It may be that this is the way in which we should envisage the diffusion of an entire parameter setting.¹⁸ I shall refer to this property of parametric change as **uniform diffusion**.

Finally, obsolescence should be a feature of parametric change, rather than smooth changes in frequency of use. If the core grammar changes, then the set of sentences that it generates must change also. One consequence will typically be the elimination of constructions. These constructions will have been relatively infrequent in performance, since they failed to prevent the parameter shift. Note that this does not suffice to define a parametric change: obsolescence may well be a feature of lexical change also.

2.4.1 Parameter Settings and Diffusion

A theory of parametric change also requires a modification of the notion of 'diffusion', and of the distinction between actuation and diffusion. It is clear that parameter settings themselves cannot diffuse, since children do not have direct access to them in the way that they have direct access to, say, sound changes. Diffusion of syntactic change, under the parametric model is therefore of a very different nature from diffusion of, say, phonological change (contra Hale 1994:150-51, Traugott and Smith 1993:436). Each time a new individual adopts the new parameter, it is via the same procedure as the first individual. Each speaker discovers the parameter change anew. A parametric shift spreads insofar as the change of parameter setting in one speaker or group of speakers tilts the trigger experience of children towards the new setting. That is, once one speaker shifts to the new setting, the amount of data in favour of the old parameter setting falls, whilst the amount of data in favour of the new parameter setting rises. Children exposed to speakers with the new setting are more likely to acquire that setting. The directionality of the change is thus maintained. In that sense, the spread of a syntactic change involves multiple actualisation of a change rather than diffusion. Of course, the extent to which this multiple actualisation occurs is likely to be influenced by sociolinguistic

¹⁸It is also possible that Kroch's claims are primarily relevant to non-parametric changes.

factors – the shape of social networks, the extent to which data come from speakers with social prestige and so on.¹⁹

2.5 Working Assumptions

The above discussion leads us to reject some of Lightfoot's features of a parametric change. Instead, we can concentrate on a smaller number of expected core features. If the hypothesis of parametric change is correct, it should be possible to identify parametric changes in the following setting.

First, the evidence for the conservative parameter setting declines as the result of a performance change in a leading construction, owing to non-syntactic (most likely phonological or pragmatic) factors or lexical change. Other constructions which use the old parameter setting are acquisitionally ambiguous, that is, amenable to an alternative preferred (by the Least Effort Strategy) structural analysis. The decline in evidence for the old parameter setting from the leading feature allows the ambiguous construction to be reanalysed in a way consistent only with the new parameter setting (a Diachronic Reanalysis). The parameter is then set to the new setting. The notion of reanalysis can be retained as a means of showing this, but the reanalysis is inevitably part of a parametric change. Unless the leading construction is amenable to reanalysis, it will become obsolete. Changes in trailing constructions are triggered simultaneously and are completed quickly.²⁰ Either such constructions become obsolete or they are innovated as appropriate. The surface changes should, insofar as the effects of sociolinguistic and dialectal variation allow us to tell, take effect rapidly. Diffusion of the parametric shift is indirect, via multiple (re)actualisation. Inasmuch as the new setting in one speaker's grammar reduces the frequency of leading constructions still further, the new parameter setting quickly diffuses through the community. All surface exponents of the shift will be effected to the same extent in any given dialect or sociolect.

Alongside parametric change, some grammatical change may be lexical. This may show variability between different items of the same syntactic category. On the other hand, suddenness may also be a property of this type of change, insofar as it involves features that may be set only positively or negatively in the lexicon. The exact properties of such changes will need to be the subject of further empirical investigation.

We have now established a framework in which to discuss syntactic change. In the next two chapters, I shall move away from

¹⁹This will be a factor only insofar as children are sensitive to this, paying more attention to speakers from their own social background. It may simply be that this factor reduces to network theory (L. Milroy 1987, J. Milroy 1992), with children from particular social groups socialising more with children and adults of the same social group. They would therefore be exposed to more data from their speech, and set parameters according to such input data. Stylistic variation, and possibly also a large amount even of social variation, is unconsciously learned rather than acquired, and produced via adaptive rules in the periphery of the grammar.

²⁰It is of course conceivable that a parameter in a given language may have only a single exponent.

the question of historical change to present a synchronic account of the verb-second system of Middle Welsh. However, I shall return to the question of syntactic change in the following chapters, examining how the framework developed here can be applied to word order changes and related changes in Early Modern Welsh.

Chapter Three

Verb-second in Middle Welsh

In this chapter I present word order data from Middle Welsh, developing a synchronic analysis of the abnormal sentence as a verb-second (V2) phenomenon parallel to similar phenomena in the Germanic languages and in Breton. I show that, with minor modifications to deal with adverb placement rules, the standard analysis of verb-second is applicable to Middle Welsh. Restrictions on movement justify the conclusion that in general moved preverbal constituents undergo A'-movement. With an eye to later developments in Welsh, I also explore how verb-second in Middle Welsh interacts with negation and agreement, and ask how such a system could have been acquired by children exposed to Middle Welsh as their first language. The discussion of Middle Welsh in this and the next two chapters is based on the texts in *Chwedlau Cymraeg Canol*, with additional material drawn mainly from *Brut y Tywysogyon* (Red Book Version), *Historia Gruffud vab Kenan*, *Mabinogi Iessu Grist*, *Owein*, *Pedeir Keinc y Mabinogi*, *Peredur*, *Y Bibyl Ynghymraec*, *Ystoria de Carolo Magno* and *Ystoriaeu Seint Greal*. Additional material is also taken from D.S. Evans (1976).

3.1 The Abnormal Sentence in Middle Welsh

A wide range of constituents may precede the verb in the Middle Welsh abnormal sentence. It is (virtually) obligatory for there to be at least one preverbal constituent in affirmative main clauses, and quite frequently there is more than one preverbal constituent. Some of the various possibilities are exemplified in (1). In a. the subject is preverbal, in b. the direct object, in c. an adverbial adjunct, in d. an adverbial complement, in e. the Verb Phrase complement of an auxiliary. In f. a nonfinite verb (verbnoun) is fronted from within the VP complement of an auxiliary.

- (1) a. A' r ederyn a doeth y'r ynys honn.
And the bird PRT came to the island this
'And the bird came to this island.'
(ChCC 18.22-23 = PKM 38.12-13)
- b. Ac ystryw a wnaeth y Gwydyl.
And trick PRT made the Irish
'And the Irish played a trick.'
(PKM 44.11)
- c. Yn Harlech y bydwch seith mlyned ar ginyaw...
In Harlech PRT be-FUT-2P seven years at dinner
'In Harlech you will be at dinner for seven years...'
(ChCC 21.20-21 = PKM 45.2-3)

d. *Atref y doeth Arthur...*
 homeward PRT came Arthur
 'Arthur came home...'
 (ChCC 32.22 = *Culhwch ac Olwen* 927)

c. *A chymryt y golwython a wnaethant...*
 And take-VN the steaks PRT did-3P
 'And they took the steaks...'
 (ChCC 49.4-5 = *Owein* 24)

f. *Gwyssyaw a oruc Arthur milwyr yr ynys honn...*
 summon-VN PRT did Arthur soldiers the island this
 'Arthur summoned the soldiers of this island...'
 (ChCC 32.16-17 = *Culhwch ac Olwen* 922-23)

A preverbal particle appears between the fronted constituent and the verb. This particle is *a* if the constituent is the subject or direct object of the verb as in a. or b., or the verbnoun complement of an auxiliary as in c. or f. After a fronted adjectival or nominal predicate complement of verbs like *bot* 'to be' the rule is that the verb undergoes soft mutation without any preceding particle as in (2).

(2) *A llawen vu Arthur wrth y kennadeu...*
 and happy was-PERF Arthur at the messengers
 'And Arthur was happy at the messengers...'
 (ChCC 93.32 = YSG 168)

Otherwise, that is, mostly with adverbial elements in preverbal position, the particle is *y(d)* as in the remaining examples. The particle *a* triggers soft mutation of the initial consonant of the following verb, whilst *y(d)* does not trigger any mutation at all

In the absence of any other element as topic, and indeed sometimes even with a preverbal adverb, the expletive third person singular masculine pronoun *ef* 'it' may be inserted in topic position as in (3).

(3) *Ef a doeth makwyueit a gweisson ieuenc y*
 it PRT came squires and lads young to+3SM-GEN

diarchenu...
 disrobe-VN

 'There came squires and young lads to disrobe him...'
 (PKM 4.8-9)

This construction is constrained in certain important respects which will be dealt with more fully in Chapter Five.

In negative main clauses the verb is in general in initial position, preceded only by the negative marker itself. An example is given in (4). However, exceptions to this pattern do occur, and will be discussed fully in section 3.5.

(4) *Ny welel ef y twrwf rac tywyllt y nos.*
 NEG saw-IMPV he the commotion for so-dark the night
 'He could not see the commotion because the night was so dark.'
 (PKM 22.23)

In most embedded clauses, the verb obligatorily appears immediately after the complementiser as in (5), resulting in VSO order.¹

(5) a. *A chyt archo ef yti rodi yr cil,*
 and though implore-SUBJ he to-you give-VN the second

na dyro...
 NEG give-IMPER

 'And though he implore you to give him the second, do not give (it)...'
 (PKM 3.19-20)

b. *A phan welas y brenhin hynny a barwnyeit y llys,*
 and when saw the king that and barons the court

ny bu hoff ganthunt.
 NEG was glad with-them

 'And when the king and the barons of the court saw that, they were not glad.'
 (YSG 17-18)

The relative frequency of these word order patterns in Middle Welsh has been the subject of much investigation. A summary of the findings of recent quantitative studies is shown in Table 3.1. The statistics are based, with minor variations between studies, on a count of all main affirmative declarative clauses in the texts, excluding copular structures (see for example Poppe 1989:43, 1990:445, 1991a:168). That is, the data exclude negative, interrogative and imperative clauses, and replies, for which separate word order rules apply. The table is intended to convey the general impression of how great the difference is between Middle Welsh word order and the VSO of Modern Welsh according to recent text-based studies. It can be seen that abnormal sentences form the overwhelming majority of main affirmative clauses. Absolute verb-initial clauses (V1), although attested in these texts, form only a small fraction of the proportion that we would expect in Contemporary Welsh.²

The most important fact to emerge from Table 3.1 is that in Middle Welsh texts a wide range of preverbal elements is found. Preverbal adverbial phrases and clauses, nominal and pronominal subjects, nominal objects and verbnouns and nonfinite Verb Phrases are all well-represented in Middle Welsh texts.

¹A number of complementisers are followed by main clause word order in Middle Welsh, for instance, *kanys* 'since' and *os* 'if + cleft'.

²But cf. section 4.2 where it is argued that even these figures overestimate the true extent of V1 in Middle Welsh.

Word Order Pattern Text	Abnormal Sentences (%) Clause-initial constituent					V1 (%)	
	Adv	S ^{NOM}	S ^{PRO}	O ^{NOM}	V/VP		
<i>Branwen</i>	41	17	16	8	14	4	n = 181
<i>Breuddwyd Maxen</i>	43	5	16	20	8	9	n = 154
<i>Breudwyt Ronabwy</i>	45	12	6	9	26	2	n = 139
<i>Culhwch ac Olwen</i>	25	16	12	12	26	9	n = 253
<i>Ked. Amlyd ac Amc</i>	47	5	7	6	32	3	n = 293
<i>Cyfranc Lludd a Llefelys</i>	39	24	22	4	10	0	n = 67
<i>Manawydan</i>	24	6	31	12	27	0	n = 154
<i>Pwyll</i>	38	11	22	10	17	3	n = 376

Adv Adverbial phrase/clause (incl. adverbial complement)
 S^{NOM} Nominal Subject V/VP Verbnoun/Nonfinite Verb Phrase
 S^{PRO} Pronominal Subject V1 Verb in initial position
 O^{NOM} Nominal Object

Sources: Poppe (1989, 1990, 1991a, 1991b, 1993), Watkins (1977/78, 1983/84, 1988, 1993).

Table 3.1. Distribution of Word Order Patterns in Affirmative Main Declarative Clauses in Middle Welsh.

On the basis of this and other evidence, Poppe has formulated the syntactic rule for the order of constituents in Middle Welsh main clauses as:

(6) (C₂), C₁ V (S) (O)

where,

C₁ = a fronted constituent which governs the [choice of] particle

C₂ = a second fronted constituent

V = inflected verb

S = (non-fronted) subject

O = (non-fronted) object

(Poppe 1989:51, 1990:447,
1991a:200, 1991b:18)

That is, in Middle Welsh one constituent precedes the verb in an affirmative declarative main clause. The C₂ position is required for cases of 'multiple fronting' where two constituents precede the verb (see section 3.3).

Fife (1988) convincingly proposes that preverbal constituents in Middle Welsh exhibit the thematic properties of topics.³ Poppe, whilst maintaining that all preverbal constituents are instances of fronting (topicalisation), has also suggested that the set of elements which may occupy the C₂ position is different from that which may occupy

³For further exemplification of this idea from Middle Welsh tales see also Poppe (1989:54-58, 1990:455-58, 1991a:189-99).

the C₁ position. He states that "the C₁ position is occupied by a constituent acting as topic or focus for the sentence, the C₂ position is (normally) reserved for a scene-setting adverbial or a left-dislocated constituent" (Poppe 1989:61).

In this chapter the schema in (6) and Poppe's commentary upon it will be taken as a basis for further development. It will be shown that the C₁ and C₂ positions are fundamentally different in nature, corresponding in a GB framework to the Specifier position of CP and adjunction to CP respectively. In the spirit of recent work on verb-second phenomena in the Germanic languages, it is argued that C₁ corresponds to the landing site for syntactic movement, whereas C₂ is unconnected with movement. Thus it is proper to speak of 'topicalisation' and 'fronting' with respect to position C₁ only. Adverb placement and left dislocation structures in Middle Welsh will also be investigated. It will be argued that certain types of adverb placement are independent of topicalisation, necessitating the postulation of an additional immediately preverbal syntactic position.

3.2 Verb-second Rules

The data presented above suggest that the abnormal sentence in Middle Welsh is a verb-second phenomenon like that found in most modern Germanic languages. The examples in (7) show the equivalent phenomenon in German. The verb in a main clause must occupy second position. In a. it is preceded by the subject, in b. by the direct object, and in c. by an adverb. German, like most V2-languages, shows word order asymmetries between main and subordinate clauses. In subordinate clauses with an overt complementiser the verb must appear in final position as in (8).

- (7) a. Peter hat gestern ein Auto gekauft.
Peter has yesterday a car bought
- b. Ein Auto hat Peter gestern gekauft.
a car has Peter yesterday bought
- c. Gestern hat Peter ein Auto gekauft.
yesterday has Peter a car bought
- 'Peter bought a car yesterday.'

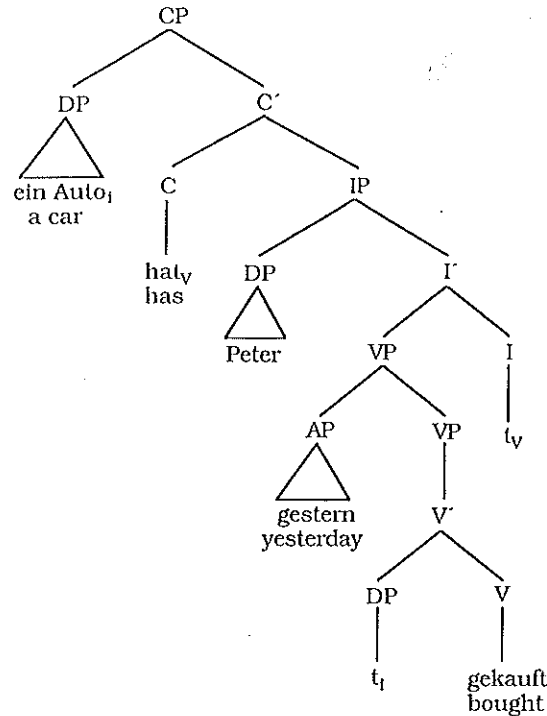
- (8) Ich weiß, daß Peter gestern ein Auto gekauft hat.
I know that Peter yesterday a car bought has
'I know that Peter bought a car yesterday.'

The verb-second phenomenon in Germanic has received much scholarly attention in recent years. It is now widely accepted that the embedded position of the verb is basic, with main clauses being derived by raising of the verb to C, and obligatory movement (topicalisation) of some phrasal constituent to SpecCP.⁴ In German, this means underlying SOV, with obligatory XVSO in main clauses.

⁴See, however, Travis (1991) where it is argued that SVO main clauses in some Germanic languages do not involve movement of the verb to C.

Accordingly, the structure of (7)b. would be that given in (9).⁵ The account is developed for German in den Besten (1983) and Halder (1986), for Danish and Faroese in Vikner (1994), for Norwegian in Taraldsen (1986) and for Swedish in Platzack (1986) and Holmberg and Platzack (1991). See also Schafer (1994, 1995) for Breton.

(9)



In (9), the auxiliary *hat* raises from I to C, licensing movement ('topicalisation') of the object *ein Auto* to SpecCP.

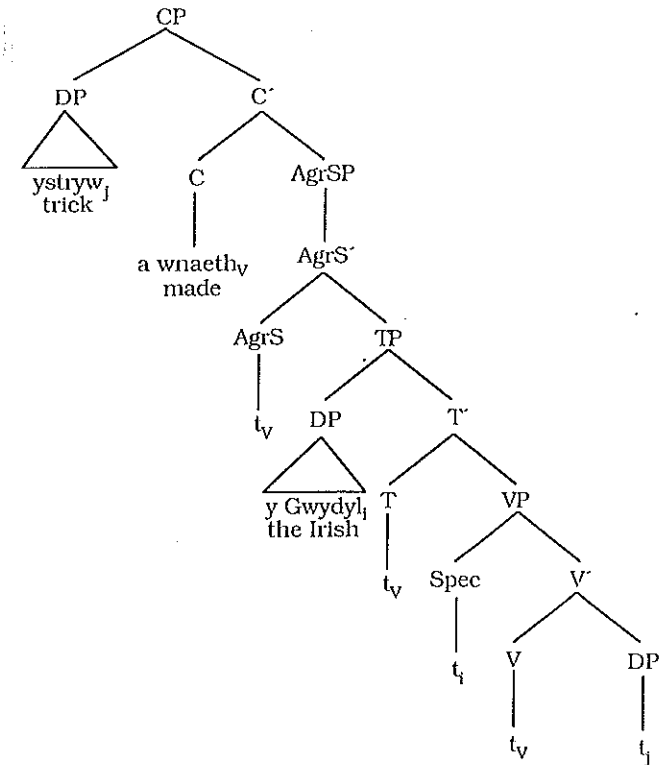
The main motivation for this analysis is the asymmetry between main and embedded clauses witnessed in German, Dutch and the Scandinavian languages.⁶ In German, verb-second does not apply in

⁵Note that IP and VP in German are head-final. Parametric variation in the position of the heads of I and V with respect to their complements and in the possibility of V-to-I raising will mean that the embedded clause order will differ considerably between German and the other V2-languages.

⁶In the so-called 'symmetric' V2-languages, Icelandic and Yiddish, matters are more complicated, since V2 is permitted in both main and subordinate clauses. This requires either CP-recursion or topicalisation to SpecIP. For full discussion see Rognvaldsson and Thráinsson (1990) on Icelandic, and den Besten and Moed-van Walraven (1986) and Diesing (1990) on Yiddish. Santorini (1994) offers a comparison of the two languages.

embedded clauses introduced by an overt complementiser, and the finite verb obligatorily appears in its underlying clause-final position. The analysis of V2 accounts for this fact naturally. The presence of a complementiser in C prevents movement of the verb from I to C, and, assuming that movement of the preverbal constituent is dependent upon this movement, that is, a tensed V in C licenses the filling of SpecCP, it also blocks V2.

(10)



Once allowance is made for the fact that Middle Welsh, unlike German, is head-initial, this account can be transferred straightforwardly to the data given for Middle Welsh above. The structure of the main constituents in (1)b. would then, assuming an articulated IP, be that given in (10). The verb raises in steps to C, and the direct object A'-moves to the topic position, SpecCP. Assuming that verb movement to C is compulsory, the verb must appear in second position. Since the position preceding the verb is not an argument position, it may freely be occupied by a constituent of any type, thus allowing for the other possibilities in (1). I assume that AgrS assigns Nominative Case under government to SpecTP, and that

it continues to do so even after it raises along with the verb to C. The subject therefore raises only as far as SpecTP, as in Modern Welsh. For motivation, see the analysis of agreement (section 3.6) and expletive subjects (section 5.2.1).

There remain questions regarding the status of the preverbal particle *a* and the movement of the verb from AgrS to C. I shall return to these in sections 3.3.2 and 3.3.6.⁷

A number of suggestions have been made suggesting how the verb-second parameter should be formulated. Most have attempted to reduce it to some more basic property of the grammar.

Rizzi (1990) suggests that in V2-languages the head of CP bears the features [+C, +I], that is, it is a hybrid category between C and I. He further assumes, following Laka (1989), that Tense must raise to c-command all [+I] categories. This forces raising of the verb to C. The hybrid category also licenses a topic constituent in its specifier position.

Platzack (1986:31, 39) adopts a Case-based approach, according to which Nominative Case in V2-languages is assigned by a [+Tense] feature in C. Assuming that Case-assigners must be lexically realised, either C must contain an overt complementiser or the finite verb must raise to it.

In the minimalist program, it could be assumed that V2 is derived from a strong feature on C which must be checked by raising of an element to SpecCP (cf. Schafer 1994:33, and the case of *wh*-raising, Chomsky 1995:232).

For present purposes it matters little which, if any, of these is correct. For fuller discussion of these and other suggestions see Vikner (1995:51-64). We can assume the existence of a V2-parameter, leaving open the question of whether this parameter itself can be derived from some other property of the grammar. Hence we assume that a V2-parameter is set as in Table 3.2. In section 3.7 the question of how these settings might be acquired will be discussed.

	Verb obligatorily raises to empty C? XP obligatorily moves to SpecCP?
Middle Welsh	Yes
German	Yes
English	No
Modern Welsh	No

Table 3.2. Setting the V2-parameter.

⁷There is also a question surrounding the movement possibilities of verbs (infinitives). Since all V2-movement under this account is to SpecCP, it is expected that only phrasal constituents may occupy the preverbal position. This creates a difficulty since Middle Welsh verbs may move to preverbal position without their complements as in (1)f. This problem of Long Head Movement recurs in a number of V2 and non-V2 languages. I shall not dwell on it here. For discussion see Borsley, Rivero and Stephens (1996) and Schafer (1994) on Breton and Rivero (1991, 1993, 1994) on Slavic and Romance. Fife (1986) discusses aspects of VP-topicalisation ('*givneud*-inversion') in Modern Welsh.

3.3 Verb-second and Adverb Placement

This account of V2 is complicated by the adverb placement rules of Middle Welsh. In the Germanic languages, with a few language-specific exceptions, an adverb is not permitted to precede the verb in a V2-structure. On the other hand, quite frequently in the Middle Welsh tales, a number of constituents precede the finite verb in a main clause. On the basis of this, Poppe speaks of 'multiple frontings' (Poppe 1991b:18-20), and at first glance, these make it appear that Middle Welsh is perhaps not verb-second at all. Poppe allows for these extra preverbal constituents to occupy the position C₂ in the schema in (6) in the case of double frontings, and he is in principle willing to allow for triple frontings if three or more constituents precede the verb by the addition of an extra C₃-position, and so on, in front of C₂ (Poppe 1989:51 fn.5). The logical conclusion is to expand the word order formula for Middle Welsh to that given in (11).

$$(11) \quad (C_n \dots C_3 C_2) C_1 V (S) (O)$$

This seems to require a radical revision of the basic analysis presented above. In particular it implies that topicalisation is recursive, and should therefore be treated in GB terms as adjunction, rather than as movement to a unique specifier position. An analysis of the abnormal sentence in this spirit, involving multiple adjunction to CP, is presented in Tallerman (1996).

However, there is evidence that topicalisation is not recursive, and that there are several qualitatively different syntactic positions that precede the verb in Middle Welsh. It appears that the standard V2-analysis can be defended with relatively minor refinements.

The 'multiple frontings' can be divided into three separate categories: pretopic adverbials, interposed adverbials and left dislocations. These will be described briefly below, and an integrated analysis of them will be attempted.

3.3.1 Pretopic Adverbs

The standard examples of 'multiple frontings' cited by Poppe involve one or more adverbials preceding a subject, object or nonfinite verb complement of an auxiliary. Typically, it is this last constituent which determines the choice of preverbal particle. The belief that it is this last element which is the real topic is implicit in the way the data in the studies cited in Table 3.1 is prepared. Typically, in such studies constituents preceding the one determining the preverbal particle are ignored for the purposes of determining the word order type.

Some of the attested sequences of 'multiple frontings' are illustrated in (12). In a. the sequence adverb + subject precedes the verb; in b. adverb + direct object; in c. adverb + VP; in d. adverb + adverb.

- (12) a. Hir bylgeint Gwydyon a gyuodes.
Early-morning Gwydyon PRT got-up
'Early next morning, Gwydyon got up.'
(ChCC 27.8-9 = PKM 82.5-6)
- b. Yr hynny pymhet ran y Iwerdon a wnaeth yn
Since that fifth part to Ireland PRT made PRD

diffeith.
desolate

'Because of that he laid waste to a fifth of Ireland.'
(ChCC 33.22-23 = *Culhiuch ac Olwen* 1069-70)
- c. Ac uelly agori y drws a oruc y gwr llwyl.
and so open-VN the door PRT did the man grey
'And so the grey man opened the door.'
(ChCC 94.24 = YSG 188)
- d. A hep ohir, o gytgyghor y wyrda y rodes
and without delay from counsel his noblemen PRT gave

ef y dvy uerched hynhaf ydau y tywysogyon yr
he his two girls eldest to-him to princes the

Alban a Chernyv...
Scotland and Cornwall

'And without delay, following his noblemen's counsel, he gave his two eldest daughters to the princes of Scotland and Cornwall...'
(ChCC 73.15-17 = *Brut y Brenhinedd*)

Examples of more than two elements preceding the verb are given in (13). In a. two adverbs precede a subject; and in b. two adverbs precede a fronted verbnoun.

- (13) a. Ac wrth hynny, hyl tra vu veu uyg kyuoeth a
and at this as-long-as was mine my riches and

gallu rodi da ohonaf, pavb a 'm carel.
power give-VN wealth of-me everyone PRT 1S-OBJ loved

'And because of this, as long as my riches and power to give were mine, everyone loved me.'
(ChCC 75.22-23 = *Brut y Brenhinedd*)
- b. Ac yn y lle eissyoed ymgynnullav a wnaethant
and in the place however gather-VN PRT did-3P

ar Vedravt y wasgaredicyon o bob man...
to Medrod the scattered-ones from every place

'And there, however, the scattered ones gathered with Medrod from all sides...'
(ChCC 88.8-10 = *Brut y Brenhinedd*)

The number of constituents that may precede the verb in this pattern appears to have no upper limit. Poppe (1991a:178, 1991b:19) cites examples of up to four preverbal adverbials plus an argument from *Brut y Brenhinedd* (cf. also Fife and King 1991:90). Indeed the observation of this pattern has served quite unjustifiably to strengthen the belief that the abnormal sentence is a literary fashion (Fife and King 1991:89-90).

Typical adverbs in this position are *yna* 'then', *am hynny* 'because of this', *wrth hynny* 'upon this', *gyelty* 'thus', and clauses headed by *guedy* 'after'. There are two important features of this pattern. First, all the preverbal constituents except the last are required to be adverbial. Second, the choice of preverbal particle is determined by this last preverbal constituent. Accordingly, the particle is *a* in (12)a.-c. after a subject, object or VP, but *y(d)* in (12)d. after an adverbial.

3.3.2 Interposed Adverbs

Although the most frequently attested pattern of 'multiple fronting' is that discussed above, another exists in which an adverb occurs immediately before the preverbal particle. It is thus possible for there to be a sequence of preverbal constituents in which one of the earlier constituents may be non-adverbial. It can be argued that the adverb in this structure is in a syntactic position distinct from that occupied by pretopic adverbials. Some of the possible sequences in this category are exemplified in (14)-(16). In the examples in (14), an adverb intervenes between the preverbal subject and the verb.⁸ In (15) the adverb intervenes between a preverbal object and the verb;⁹ and in (16) between a fronted verbnoun or VP and the finite verb.

- (14) a. A Lawnsloot yna a dywawt...
and Lancelot then PRT said
'And Lancelot then said...' (ChCC 91.21 = YSG)
- b. A 'r marchawc trwy y lit a ladawd y ki.
And the knight through his anger PRT killed the dog
'And the knight through his anger killed the dog.'
(ChCC 108.18-19 = SDR 157-58)

⁸Further examples with a nominal subject are found in BY 7.24, 14.11, 14.15, 15.9, 15.17, 20.18, 45.17; ChCC 93.17 (=YSG), 126.25, 131.2, 131.11 (=YCM), 137.17, 138.5 (=KAA); *Brut y Tywysogyon* 16.18, 22.26, 26.25, 70.5, 74.20, 98.16; HGK 3.20, 3.28, 13.23, 16.2, 17.9; MIG 210.13, 219.33; *Peredur* 16.17; PKM 17.11, 21.9; YCM 27.14; YSG 525, 608, 766, 910. For this construction with a simple pronominal subject see section 5.1.1.

⁹Further examples are found in *Brut y Tywysogyon* 40.13; BY 27.22; HGK 11.14.

- c. "Myui," heb yr Oliuer, "y dryded welth a gyghorwn
I said the Oliver the third time PRT advise-COND-1S
ganu yr Eliffant y dwyn y brenhin attam..."
sound-VN the Eliffant to bring-VN the king to-us
"I," said Oliver, "for the third time would advise sounding
the Eliffant to bring the king to us..."
(ChCC 132.4-5 = YCM 142.3-5)
- d. Gwalchmai yn teuenctit y dyd a death y dyffryn...
Gwalchmai in youth the day PRT came to valley
'Early in the day Gwalchmai came to a valley...'
(Peredur 59.9-10)
- (15) a. Hwnnw hagen a darogannwys y corr a 'r
That however PRT foretold the dwarf and the
gorres it...
dwarfess to-you
'That, however, the dwarf and dwarfess foretold for you...'
(ChCC 47.15-16 = Peredur 35.15-16)
- b. Hyn heuyt a gadarnhaei...
that also PRT confirmed
'That too he confirmed...'
(ChCC 73.11-12 = Brut y Brenhinedd)
- c. Ac nyt mi hagen a gerynt namyn uy rodyon
and not I however PRT loved-3P but my gifts
a 'm donyeu...
and my presents
'And they loved not me, however, but my gifts and my
presents...'
(ChCC 75.24-25 = Brut y Brenhinedd)
- d. Dychymic Rolant yna a ganmolawd pawb...
idea Rolant then PRT praised everyone
'Then everyone praised Roland's idea...'
(ChCC 125.11-12 = YCM 118.12)
- (16) a. Ac achuanegu y ymadrawd heuyt a oruc
and add-VN the speech also PRT did
yn y wed hon vrth y lu...
in the manner this to his forces
'And he also added a speech in this manner to his forces...'
(ChCC 89.17-19 = Brut y Brenhinedd)
- b. Ac atdeb yna a oruc Aigolant...
And answer-VN then PRT did Aigolant
'And then Aigolant answered...'
(ChCC 120.3 = YCM 21.17)

- c. Medylaw heuyt a dylyaf...
think-VN also PRT should-1S
'I should also think...'
(ChCC 139.12, also 139.9,
139.14 = KAA 576-80)

Once more, a number of adverbs may intervene between the topic and the verb, as can be seen from the examples in (17). The number of interposed adverbs again appears to have no upper limit.

- (17) a. Minneu Turpin Archesgob, o awdurdawt yr Arglwyd,
I-CONJ Turpin Archbishop, from authority the Lord
ac o 'm bendith inheu a 'm ellygedigaeth,
and from my blessing I-CONJ and my absolution
a'e rydhawn o bechodeu.
PRT+3S-OBJ release-COND-1S from sins
'I, Archbishop Turpin, from the authority of the Lord and
from my own blessing and absolution would release him
from (his) sins.'
(ChCC 116.2-4 = YCM 14.18-20)
- b. An heneiteu ni, drwy y fydd a gynhalywn, wedy
Our souls we through the faith REL uphold-1P, after
an hageu a ant y baratwys...
our death PRT go-3P to Paradise
'Our souls, through the faith that we uphold, will go after
our death to Paradise...'
(ChCC 117.27-28 = YCM 18.23-24)

The most common interposed adverbs are *heuyt* 'also', *hagen* 'however' and *yna* 'then'. However, the construction is not restricted to these adverbs and the set of potential interposed adverbs appears to be quite large. The wide range of potential adverbs in this construction can be seen in example (17)b. above, where two heavy adverbial phrases intervene between the subject and the verb.

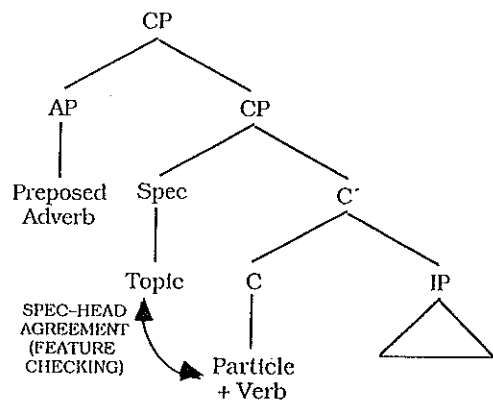
Interposed adverbs can be distinguished from pretopic adverbials as discussed in section 3.3.1 provided that the topic is defined as the element which conditions the choice between *a* and *y(d)* as preverbal particle. In that case, the topic in multiple fronting constructions is the preverbal element closest to the verb. In the interposed adverb construction in (14)-(17), however, the adverb next to the verb does not result in *y(d)* being selected. Instead, the preverbal particle is determined by some element preceding that adverb, as the examples above demonstrate.

We can analyse preposed adverbs as adverbs preceding the topic, and interposed adverbs as adverbs following the topic. This is the conclusion to which we are inevitably drawn if we want to maintain the economical assumption that the choice of preverbal particle is determined solely by the element in SpecCP. Under this approach, we must claim that this position is constant, and that there are two syntactic positions for the adverbs in question. Pretopic adverbs must occupy a recursive position preceding SpecCP. Clearly, adjunction to CP is the only possibility.

The position of the 'interposed' adverbs is less clear. Several possibilities exist, and these will be the subject of discussion in section 3.3.5 below. For the moment, I shall simply refer to this immediately preverbal position as C₀ since it follows C₂ and C₁.

We can thus begin to think of the particles *a* and *y(d)* as topic agreement marking on the verb. This is to be preferred to Poppe's schema as it stands, since otherwise there will be no way to account for the fact that, in some instances, the preverbal particle is determined by the immediately preverbal constituent (C₁), but in others by an earlier constituent (C₂ and beyond). A first approximation to the schematic structure of a main clause in Middle Welsh is then that given in (18). The preverbal particle is the head of CP. It stands in a Spec-Head configuration with a phrasal constituent in SpecCP, with which it checks for agreement (cf. the Aff-Criterion of Schafer 1995:152-53).¹⁰ 'Preposed' adverbs then appear to the left of the topic, adjoining to CP.

(18)



3.3.3 Adverb Classes

It is possible to go further in describing the possible exceptions to the rule of single compulsory topicalisation (V2-requirement). The ability of particular constituents to participate in pretopic adverbial and interposed adverbial constructions is in fact conditioned by the nature of the elements involved.

¹⁰Note that this approach might allow a lexical answer to why Middle Welsh is a V2-language. It could be suggested that the availability of lexical items, namely the preverbal particles, that check for agreement with non-*wh*-phrasal constituents in their specifier position, allows a V2-system to exist. One would of course have to claim that the overt agreement between topic and preverbal particle in Middle Welsh is matched by parallel covert agreement in other V2-languages, perhaps with a topic feature on C. I shall not pursue such an account here, but it is worth bearing in mind, especially in light of the evidence regarding the fate of the preverbal particles in sections 5.1.2 and 6.2.2 below.

In doing so, a distinction must first be made between topic and non-topic adverb. Topic adverbials like *eissyoes* 'nevertheless', *am hynny* 'as a result of that', *ar hynny* 'thereupon, next', *gan hynny* 'since this is/was so', *gwedy hynny* 'after this', *wrth hynny* 'thereupon, next', and *yr hynny* 'since then' are common discourse connectives, referring back directly to an element in the immediate context. Non-topic adverbials do not refer back in this way. As representatives of these classes we can investigate the distribution of the non-topic adverbials *hagen* 'however' and *heuyt* 'also', and that of topic adverbials of the form Preposition + *hynny* 'this'. The distinction between the types of adverbials posited is not always clear-cut, and the same adverbial may function at different times as a topic or non-topic, or as an argument adverbial. For instance, *yna* 'then' may function variously as a topic or as a non-topic adverbial. For this reason most attention will be given to those adverbials which belong clearly to one or other of these classes.

The non-topic adverbials *hagen* and *heuyt* may occur only in post-topic position, never in pre-topic position. Hence we find only examples of the type given in (19) (cf. also examples (15)a. and b., and (16)c. above).¹¹

- (19) a. *Amlyn iarll hagen a oed yn clybot yr ymadrodyon*
Amlyn earl however PRT was PROG hear-VN the phrases

megys trwy y hun...
 as-if through his sleep

'Earl Amlyn, however, was hearing the phrases as if through his sleep.'
 (ChCC 137.17-19 = KAA 533-34)

- b. *Y nos heuyt yssyd yn dyuot arnam.*
 the night also is PROG come-VN on-us
 '...Night is also coming upon us...' (YSG 1253-54)

These adverbs are never found in a position where they *alone* satisfy the V2-requirement by filling the topic position, nor do they ever precede another topic. We can thus infer the ungrammaticality of:

- (20) a. **Hagen yd oed Amlyn iarll yn clybot...*
 however PRT was Amlyn earl PROG hear-VN
 b. **Hagen Amlyn iarll a oed yn clybot...*
 however Amlyn earl PRT was PROG hear-VN
 'However, earl Amlyn was hearing...'

We can thus conclude that they are restricted to occupying the position of 'interposed' adverbs.

Topic adverbs like *am hynny* 'for this reason', *ar hynny* 'thereupon, next' never occur in this post-topic position, but

¹¹For further examples of *hagen* in post-topic position see BY 15.16, ChCC 30.18, 30.31, 31.20, 32.29 (=Culhwch ac Olwen), 45.9 (=Peredur), 126.25, 128.27 (=YCM). For examples of *heuyt* see BY 10.10, 52.8; ChCC 74.32, 89.18 (=Brut y Brenhnedd); YCM 26.9; YSG 1254, 1548, 2431, 2918.

conversely they may act as topics in their own right, alone fulfilling the V2-requirement as in (21), or they may precede another constituent which itself functions as topic as in (22).¹²

- (21) a. ...ac am hynny y cant y corn.
and for that PRT sounded the horn
'...and for that reason he sounded the horn.'
(ChCC 134.18-19 = YCM 158.15-16)
- b. Ar hynny y dywawt Arthur...
on that PRT said Arthur
'Thereupon Arthur said...' (ChCC 48.14-15 = *Owein* 13)
- c. ...a guedy hynny yd amlawys y weilgi pan
and after that PRT increased the sea that

oreskynwys y weilgi y tyrnasoed.
overran the sea the kingdoms

'...and after that the sea rose (so) that the sea overran the kingdoms.'
(ChCC 19.25-26 = *Branwen*)
- d. ...ac vrth hynny y foassant yn gewilydus...
and at that PRT fled-3P PRD shameful
'...and at that they fled shamefully...'
(ChCC 77.19 = *Brut y Brenhinedd*)
- (22) a. Am hynny ef a ellir credu idaw
for that it PRT can-IMPERS believe-VN to-him

y cwplaa petheu a vo mwy.
PRT achieves things REL be-SUBJ greater

'And for that reason it can be believed of him that he will achieve things that are greater.'
(ChCC 95.16-17 = YSG)
- b. Ac ar hynny, Oliuer a gglev twryf y pagannyeit...
and on that Oliver PRT heard commotion the Pagans
'And then, Oliver heard the commotion from the Pagans...'
(ChCC 130.12 = YCM 139.28)

- c. A gwedy hynny ti a gehy dy vrdaw yn
and after that you PRT get-2S 2S-GEN honour-VN PRD

varchawe urdawl.
knight

'And after that you will be made a knight.'
(ChCC 41.20-21 = *Peredur* 13.29-30)
- d. Ac vrth hynny, ymchuelut a wnaeth ynteu tracheuyn...
and at that return-VN PRT did he-CONJ again
'And at that he went back again...'
(ChCC 87.1 = *Brut y Brenhinedd*)

Conversely, sentences like those in (23), where the adverb intervenes between topic and verb, are not attested.

- (23) a. *Arthur ar hynny a dywat...
Arthur on that PRT said
'Arthur then said...'
- b. *Ac Oliuer ar hynny a gglev twryf y pagannyeit...
and Oliver on that PRT heard commotion the Pagans
'And Oliver then heard the commotion from the Pagans...'

This distribution appears to hold for all adverbial phrases of the form Preposition + *hynny*.¹³

Since these adverbs consist of a preposition governing a deictic Noun Phrase, they have an alternative interpretation as Preposition Phrase complements selected by a particular verb. For instance, *ar hynny* may be the indirect object of a verb such as *trigaw (ar)* 'to decide (on)'. Traditionally, in works on Middle Welsh word order, they appear to have been included in the 'adverb' category, and their restricted distribution has consequently been underemphasised.¹⁴ These argument PPs manifest a third type of distribution, distinct from both topic and non-topic adverbials. They *must* occupy the topic position, and cannot precede another topic. That is, we find in Middle Welsh sentences like those in (24).

- (24) a. Ac ar hynny y diskynysant.
and on this PRT decided-3P
'And on this they decided.'
(ChCC 18.16 = *Branwen*)

¹³An exception is:

- (i) Pwyll Penn Annwn ar hynny a gyuodes...
Pwyll Ruler Annwn on that PRT arose
'Pwyll Ruler of Annwn then arose...'
(PKM 21.9)

¹⁴Watkins (1993:137) does make a distinction between 'predicative' adverbials and 'sentential/connector' adverbials which roughly corresponds to the distinction between argument PPs and adverbs, although he does not investigate their distribution.

¹²Further examples in topic position are found in ChCC 10.11, 17.8 (=Pwyll), 53.32 (=Owein), 69.32 (=Geraint), 72.23, 74.16, 88.8 (=Brut y Brenhinedd), 136.6, 137.17 (=KAA); in pretopic position: ChCC 3.1 (=Pwyll), 18.28, 22.15 (=Branwen), 24.15, 24.23, 27.27 (=Math), 33.22 (=Culhwch ac Olwen), 37.33, 39.20 (=Peredur), 54.4, 56.17 (=Owein), 61.6, 63.3, 67.1 (=Geraint), 75.22, 75.26, 80.10, 89.26, 90.18 (=Brut y Brenhinedd), 93.26, 97.2, 98.25, 98.29, 99.6, 99.12, 99.15, 100.12, 101.17, 102.29, 104.3, 104.6 (=YSG), 119.28, 122.8, 130.25 (=YCM), 138.13, 138.21 (=KAA).

- b. Ac ar hynny y trigassant...
and on this PRT decided-3P
'And on this they decided...' (ChCC 58.28 = *Geraint*)
- c. Ac ar y kynghor hwnnw y trigwyt
and on the decision that PRT decided-IMPERS
'And on that decision they agreed...' (PKM 20.21-22)
- d. Pedair bu a phetwar vgeint aryant a telir dros
four cow and eighty silver PRT pay-IMPERS for
sarhaet teuluwr brenhin, os
legal-insult member-of-the-royal-household if
o hynny.yd ardelw.
of that PRT claims

'Four cows and eighty silver are paid for insult against a member of the royal household, if he claims it.'
(*Lyfr Blegywryd* 60.17-18)¹⁵

Here the verbs in question are *diskyn ar* 'to decide upon', *trigaw ar* 'to decide upon' and *ardelw o* 'to claim', all of which select particular prepositions. However, sentences like those in (25) are not found.

- (25) a. *Ac ar hynny y dynyon a drigassant...¹⁶
And on this the men PRT decided-3P
'And on this the men decided...'
- b. *Y dynyon ar hynny a drigassant...
the men on this PRT decided-3P
'The men decided on this...'

It is thus clear that the distribution of preverbal adverbs and adverbial phrases in Middle Welsh is by no means free. It should also be clear that the distribution is regulated by syntactic as well as pragmatic constraints.

3.3.4 A Revised Word Order Formula

It is thus possible to distinguish, on distributional grounds, two types of adverbial in Middle Welsh, which will be referred to as topic adverbials and non-topic adverbials, plus a group of argument PPs which may be identical in form to topic adverbials. Topic adverbials may occupy the topic position or precede the topic. Non-topic

¹⁵The argument PP in this example is in an embedded V2-context. However, this fact does not affect the validity of the current argument.

¹⁶This is of course only ruled out on the interpretation 'On this [plan of action] the men agreed'. It is fully acceptable with the interpretation 'Thereupon (then) the men agreed'. An exception may be:

- (i) Ac ar hynny trigaw a orugant
and on that decide-VN PRT did-3P
'And upon that they decided.'
(ChCC 67.1 = *Geraint*)

adverbials must follow the topic. Argument adverbials must occupy the topic position.

To accommodate these facts, we need two recursive syntactic positions for topic and non-topic adverbials in addition to SpecCP.

The distributional pattern is summarised in Table 3.3.

Adverbial Type	Example	Possible Positions
Topic adverbial	<i>guedy hynny</i> 'after that'	C ₂ C ₁
Non-topic adverbial	<i>hagen</i> 'however'	C ₀
Argument PP	<i>(trigaw) ar hynny</i> 'decide) on that'	C ₁

Table 3.3. The Distribution of Preverbal Adverbs and Argument PPs in Middle Welsh.

This distribution can be accounted for straightforwardly on fairly standard assumptions.

The argument PPs are selected for and theta-marked by a verb, and must therefore originate in their canonical position as complements of the verb and move to preverbal position by topicalisation. On the other hand, it is reasonable to assume that those elements which are not selected by the verb can be base-generated in a preverbal adjoined position.

The distribution of adverbials follows if we assume that SpecCP (C₁) is the unique landing-site for movement to preverbal position, that is, that movement of arguments to adjoin to CP is impossible. The element which moves to SpecCP is the element which determines the preverbal particle. Since this position can be filled *once only* by movement, it is impossible for two elements selected by the verb to precede that verb in Middle Welsh. The result of these assumptions is that argument PPs, along with subjects, direct and indirect objects, all of which must originate in a postverbal position because they are selected for by the verb, can end up in preverbal position in Middle Welsh only as the result of movement. They are generated in postverbal positions and move to occupy, and thereby saturate, the topicalisation position SpecCP (C₁). The result is that, as we have found, such elements may, in fact must, satisfy the V2-requirement alone, and may not co-occur with one another in preverbal position.

Non-arguments are free to originate in preverbal position and are able to circumvent the ban on multiple topicalisation by occupying an adjoined position other than SpecCP. Elements adjoined to CP (C₂) can receive a similar topic interpretation. This too is a topic position, but movement to it is not possible. Consequently, it may be occupied only by elements which are pragmatically topics, but which do not bear any selectional relationship with the verb. That is, it can be occupied only by topic adverbials.

In this way, topic adverbials not selected for by the verb are free to be base-generated in preverbal or postverbal position. If they originate in preverbal position, they will be adjoined to CP throughout, and will be able to co-occur with an element topicalised by movement to SpecCP. If they originate postverbally they may

optionally move to SpecCP, thereby alone satisfying the obligatory topicalisation requirement.

Finally, a third, non-topic position, must be posited (C₀). This position is neither the landing site for movement, nor associated with a topic interpretation. Once again, this position may not contain any element selected for by the verb. It is therefore necessary that the element which occupies it be neither a topic nor an argument of the verb. Thus, it may be filled only by non-topic adverbials.

We conclude that in Middle Welsh only one element selected by a verb may precede that verb¹⁷, and that, in these terms, there is no such thing as 'multiple fronting' or 'multiple topicalisation' in Middle Welsh. Topicalisation in Middle Welsh is not recursive.

3.3.5 The Position of Interposed Adverbs

There remains the question of precisely where in the structure post-topic adverbs (C₀) are to be put. If the standard analysis of V2 is to be maintained, this position must precede the verb in C, but follow the topic in SpecCP. Adjunction to C' seems the obvious possibility (the C'-analysis). Bowers (1993:605-16) develops an analysis of adverb placement in English and French in which adverbs are licensed by specific projections to adjoin at the X' level. The C'-analysis would be in the spirit of this approach – Middle Welsh would have a class of adverbs licensed by C to adjoin to C'. However, it has widely been assumed that adjunction of phrasal categories is possible only to other phrasal categories (Chomsky 1986a:4, cf. Kayne 1991:652, Rizzi and Roberts 1989:12, Vikner 1994:140). If we maintain this assumption, then such an adjunction structure must be ruled out. The C'-analysis also has apparent difficulties with cross-linguistic variation. Despite this there is compelling evidence that it must be adopted.

The obvious alternative is to adjoin the adverbs to the functional projection immediately below CP, say AgrSP, in which case the verb must fail to raise to C, and the preverbal particle must be base-generated somewhere below C in the clause. I shall call this the AgrSP-analysis.

The main evidence against the C'-analysis is the existence of cross-linguistic variation in V2-phenomena that is accounted for naturally under the AgrSP-analysis. It is unusual for adverbs to have the ability to intervene between the topic and verb in V2-languages. For instance, main clauses equivalent to the Middle Welsh ones discussed above are ungrammatical in German and Breton, as the examples in (26) demonstrate.

- (26) a. **German**
 *Johann wahrscheinlich wird spät kommen.
 Johann probably will late come
 'Johann will probably come late.' (Travis 1991:360)
- b. **Breton**
 *Maia er gegin he deus graet bara.
 Maia in-the kitchen has-3_{SP} made bread
 'Maia made bread in the kitchen.' (Schafer 1995:141)

A natural way to account for this difference would be to suggest that the verb in Middle Welsh does not raise to C, but instead remains in AgrS, whereas in the other V2-languages, the verb always raises to C. If it is then assumed that post-topic adverbs are a group of adverbs that always adjoin to AgrSP, then they will precede the verb in Middle Welsh, but not in the other V2-languages. If, on the other hand, the verb raises to C in all V2-languages, it is not clear why Middle Welsh should allow preverbal adverbs. The standard analysis of V2 depends crucially on adjunction to C' being banned (cf. Thráinsson 1994:161 fn.9) in order to rule out verb-third structures in languages like German.

There is nevertheless evidence that the availability of C'-adjunction must itself be subject to cross-linguistic variation. Instances of apparent C'-adjunction do in fact occur in some V2-languages other than Middle Welsh. For instance, the verb may appear in third position in Swedish and Icelandic with the adverb *bara* 'just', as in (27) (see also Thráinsson 1986:174-75).¹⁸

- (27) Hann bara hló að mér. (Icelandic)
 Han bara skrattade åt mig. (Swedish)
 he just laughed at me
 'He just laughed at me.' (Sigurðsson 1990:63 fn.6)

Since the verb in these languages unquestionably raises to C, it could not be hoped to extend the AgrSP-adjunction account of Middle Welsh adverb placement to these languages.

Indeed, the problem of adverb placement within CP extends beyond V2-languages. Consider the English example in (28).

- (28) What in the end did Mary decide on?

Given the standard analysis of inversion in *wh*-questions in English as involving movement of the finite verb to C, the example in (28) presents us with precisely the same problem as the interposed adverbs in Middle Welsh. If the analysis of inversion is to be maintained, then adjunction of the adverbial *in the end* to C' must be permitted.

Given such data, the only possible account of the contrast between German and Breton on the one hand, and Middle Welsh and English on the other must be to allow cross-linguistic (lexical) variation in the possible positioning of adverbials. Certain adverbials

¹⁸Platzack (1986:29) also mentions that the adverb *kanske* 'perhaps' causes the verb to appear after second position in Swedish, but he analyses this adverb as instantiating C.

¹⁷But see below where some apparent exceptions to this are analysed as left dislocation structures. This will permit grammaticality for sentences like *Myrdin i Arthur y rodes eur* 'Merlin to Arthur gave gold', and *Myrdin eur a rodes i Arthur* 'Merlin gold gave to Arthur' which are predicted to be ungrammatical under the current constraint.

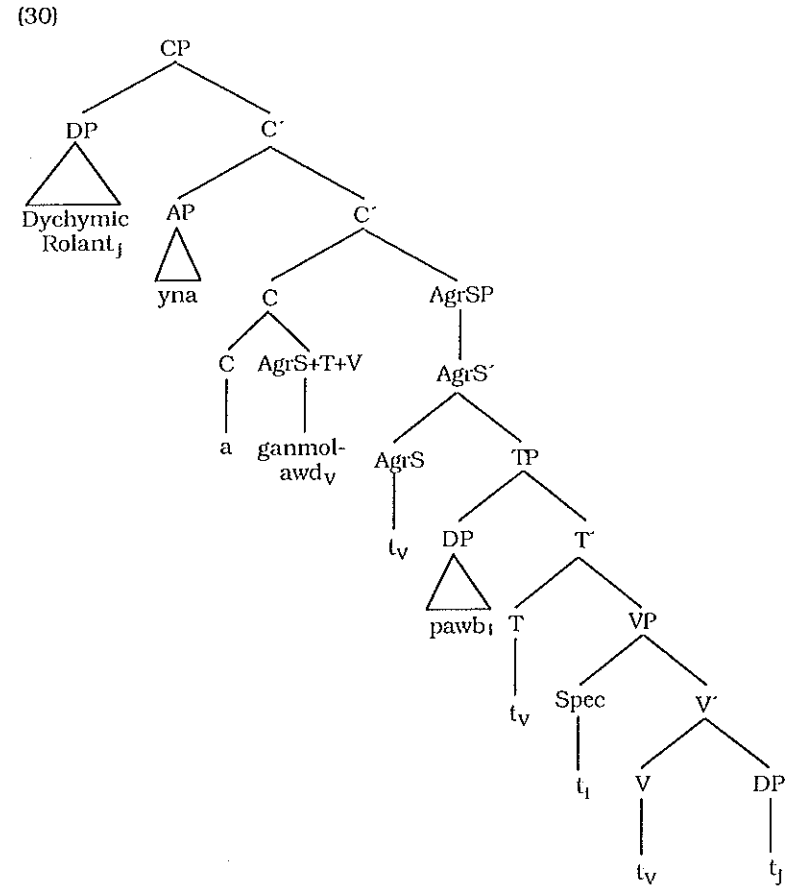
are licensed lexically to adjoin to C' in English, Swedish, Icelandic and Middle Welsh, but not in German and Breton.

Two further questions seem relevant in deciding between these two analyses, namely: What category do the preverbal particles instantiate? and What is the trigger for verb-second?

The preverbal particles *a* and *y(d)* must immediately precede the verb and follow any post-topic adverbs. If adverbs are allowed to adjoin to C', then these particles may be analysed as complementisers. If on the other hand the adverbs are required to adjoin to AgrSP, then the particles must originate in a lower position as verbal affixes. A reasonable approach would be to reinterpret the negation projection NegP as a polarity projection, ΣP, and to analyse *a* and *y(d)* as heads of this projection (Laka 1990, see Schafer 1995 for full exposition of such an analysis for the cognate particles in Breton). The verb raises through this projection on its way to AgrS, thereby picking up the particles, but does not raise to C.

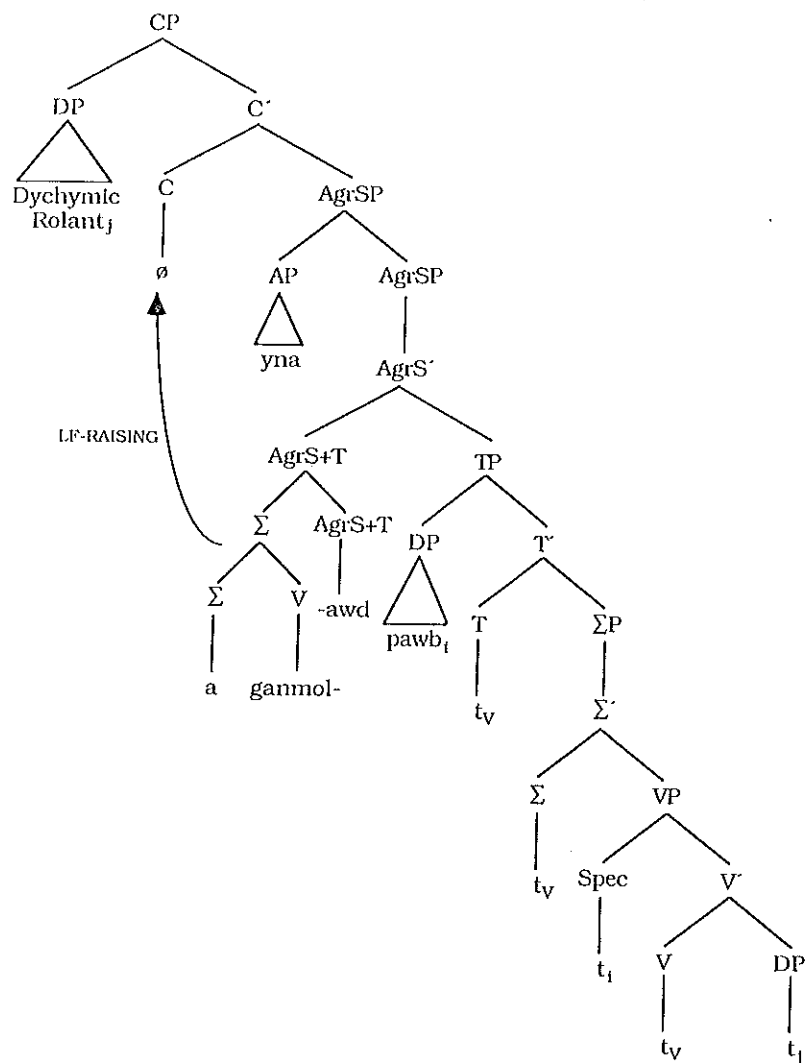
On the C'-analysis the structure of (15)d., repeated here as (29), would be as in (30), whereas on the AgrSP-analysis it would be as in (31). The preverbal particles might be either the head of C (under the C'-analysis), or the head of Σ (under the AgrSP-analysis)¹⁹. In (31) I have assumed that the particle+verb raises covertly to C at LF in order to check features with the topic in SpecCP, thereby ensuring compatibility between the particle and whatever topic is selected.

- (29) Dychymic Roland yna a ganmolawd pawb...
 Idea Roland then PRT praised everyone
 'Everyone then praised Roland's idea...'



¹⁹Actually, the C'-analysis is also consistent with the preverbal particles being heads of ΣP. Essentially all that matters with either analysis is that the verb should pass through the head position containing the preverbal particle. Thus, if the preverbal particles should turn out to be heads of Σ, the verb could pass through Σ under either analysis. However, if they are heads of C, the verb will not reach C in the AgrSP analysis, and we will have no account of why we find the order Adverb - Particle - Verb rather than the expected Particle - Adverb - Verb.

(31)



Any evidence bearing on the status of the particles would be evidence in choosing between the two analyses of adverb placement and verb-second. The AgrSP-analysis is incompatible with the particles being complementisers. If they can be shown to be complementisers, then the AgrSP-analysis must be rejected. I now turn to this evidence.

If the preverbal particles are complementisers, then we expect that they will not co-occur with other complementisers. This question

is complicated somewhat by the fact that it is not entirely clear what the other complementisers of Middle Welsh are. The preverbal particle *y(d)* can (indeed it must) follow *gyl a* 'as soon as' and optionally follows *gwedy* 'after'. Both are possible complementisers. Examples are given in (32) with *gyl a*, and in (33) with *gwedy*.

(32) A chyt ac y kigleu y marchogyon hynny...
and as-soon-as PRT heard the knights that
'And as soon as the knights heard that...'
(*Buchedd Fargred* 326.30)

(33) ...a gwedy yd elom y mywn yr ogof nyn
and after PRT go-SUBJ-1P into the cave, NEG+1P-OBJ
kels neb...
seek no one.
'After we go into the cave, no one will search for us.'
(*Ystoriya Bown de Hamtwn* 1790-92)

However, both these are also prepositions (meaning 'with' and 'after' respectively). Other prepositions in Middle Welsh subcategorise for a finite clause. For instance, *erbyn* 'towards, against' is found with a clause headed by *pan* 'when' (D.S. Evans 1976:242). It is thus reasonable to suppose that any preposition in Middle Welsh may select for a finite clause, i.e. a CP. If so, the co-occurrence of prepositions and *y(d)* would be compatible with an analysis of *y(d)* either as a complementiser or as a Σ -head.

Y(d) is also found with other complementiser-like items, namely, *hyt* 'as far as, inasmuch as', *mal/ual* 'so that', *megys* 'as, while' and *herwyd* 'insofar as'. Examples are given in (34). However, these potential complementisers, identical with or derived from nouns, can also be followed by items that clearly are complementisers or *wh*-elements, namely *kyt* 'although' as in *mal kyt* 'as though' and *megys kyt* 'as though'; *pan* 'when' in *hyt pan* 'until'; and *tra* 'while' in *hyt tra* 'as long as'. This suggests that these are not complementisers in themselves, and the fact that they co-occur with *y(d)* is therefore also not significant evidence as to the status of that particle.

(34) a. Pa arch bynnac a erchych di ymi, hyt
what request ever PRT ask-SUBJ-2S you to-me insofar-as
y gallwyf y gaffael, itti y byd.
PRT can-SUBJ-1S 3SM-GEN get-VN to-you PRT will-be.

'Whatever request you ask of me, insofar as I am able to get it, you shall have it.'
(ChCC 6.12-13 = PKM 14.5-6)

- b. ...ac cissyoos ef a venyc fford yti mal y
and nevertheless he PRT show way to-you so-that PRT
- keffych yr hyn a geissy.
find-SUBJ-2S that REL seek-2S
- '...and nevertheless he will show a way to you so that you
might find that which you seek.'
(ChCC 52.16-18 = *Owein* 115-16)
- c. A megys y bydynt wy yn eisted uelly...
and as PRT be-COND-3P they PROG sit-VN thus
'And as they were sitting there like this...'
(ChCC 103.29-30 = YSG)
- d. ...Rolant a gyvodes y vynydynt y ateb idaw
Roland PRT rose up to answer-VN to-him
- herwyd y gwydat ef.
according-to PRT knew-IMPF he.
- '...Roland got up to answer to him according to (what) he
knew.'
(ChCC 123.1-2 = YCM 115.18-19)

Ignoring complementisers that allow embedded V2, we are left with a set of finite clause complementisers comprising *kan/kan* 'y(s) 'since, because'²⁰, *kyn/kyny* 'before', *kyt/kyny* 'although', *of/t/ony(t)* 'if', *pan* 'when, whence, general subordinator'²¹, *pei/bet* 'counterfactual if', *tra* 'while' and *yny* 'until'. None of these ever co-occurs with *y(d)* in Middle Welsh. Examples of their use are given in (35).

- (35) a. 'Ie,' heb ynteu, 'can doethwyf i ar diuetha
yes said he-CONJ since come-PERF-1S I on destroy-VN
- y pryf hwnnw, mi a'e prynaf y genhyt.'
the animal that, I PRT+3S-OBJ buy-1S from-with-you
- "Yes," he said, "since I have come just as that animal is
about to be destroyed, I shall buy it from you."
(ChCC 15.20-21 = PKM 63.13-15)
- b. A chyt dywettit uot porthawr
and although say-IMPF-SUBJ-IMPERS be-VN porter
- ar lys Arthur, nyt oed yr vn.
on court Arthur NEG was the one
- 'And although it may have been said that there was a porter
at Arthur's court, there was not any.'
(ChCC 48.5-6 = *Owein* 4-5)

- c. Ac o gallaf les a gwassanaeth idaw,
and if can-1S benefit and service to-him,
- mi a'e gwnaf.
I PRT+3S-OBJ do-1S
- 'And I can (be of) benefit and service to him, I shall.'
(ChCC 43.2 = *Peregrin* 15.20-21)
- d. 'Bei na metrut hynny,' heb ef, 'ef a
if NEG be-able-IMPF-SUBJ-2S that said he it PRT
- doy am dy benn cwbyl o 'r gouut.'
come-COND on your head all of the trouble
- "If you had not done that," he said, "all of the trouble
would have come onto your head."
(ChCC 17.6-7 = PKM 64.28-65.1)

This contrasts sharply with the behaviour of *wh*-elements in SpecCP in Middle Welsh, which always co-occur with a preverbal particle (examples are from D.S. Evans 1976:74-75):

- (36) a. ...gwybydwch pwy a dylyo bot yn wyr ymi.
know-IMPER who PRT should-SUBJ be-VN PRD vassals to-me
'...know who should be vassals to me.'
(PKM 6.7)
- b. ...medyllyav a oruc pa wed y galley eu rydhau.
think-VN PRT did what way PRT could 3P-GEN free-VN
'He considered how he could free them.'
(*Brut Dingestow* 8.7-8)
- c. ...y gymryt kynghor ba tu yd arhoynt Pryderi
to take-VN counsel what side PRT wait-COND-3P Pryderi
- a guyr y Deheu.
and men the South
- '...to take counsel on what side they should await Pryderi
and the men of the South.'
(PKM 72.7-8)

It therefore seems that the preverbal particles never co-occur with true complementisers in Middle Welsh, and the two can thus be regarded as being members of the same category.

More evidence of this type comes from a comparison of the behaviour of the preverbal particles with that of the general complementiser *pan*. *Pan* usually resembles a *wh*-element, meaning (non-interrogative) 'when', as in (37). It is also found as a general complementiser as in (38), in *wh*-questions where it usually means 'whence' as in (39)a. and b. and in embedded *wh*-questions as in (40). It is also possible in replies to such questions as in (41) and (42) (D.S. Evans 1976:80).

²⁰Where two forms are given the second is the negative form of the complementiser.

²¹At first sight it looks as if *pan* should be a *wh*-element rather than a complementiser. Its status as a complementiser will be justified fully below.

- (37) A phan uu amserach kymryt hun no
and PAN was-PERF more-timely take-VN sleep than
chyuedach, y gyscu yd aethant.
feast-VN to sleep-VN PRT went-3P
'And when it was more timely to take sleep than to feast,
they went to sleep.'
(*Pwyll* 145-46)
- (38) 'Py gyfryw wr yw awch tat chwi, pan allo
what sort man is your father you PAN can-SUBJ
lleassu pawb uelly?'
kill-VN everyone thus
'What sort of man is your father, that he could kill everyone
in this way?'
(*Peredur* 43.11-12)
- (39) a. "Pan doy di, yr yscolheic?" heb ef.
PAN come-2S you the scholar said he
'"Where do you come from, scholar?" he said.'
(PKM 61.22-23)
- b. "O pa genedyl", heb ynteu, "pan wyt ti?"
from what nation said he PAN are you
'"From what nation", he said, "are you?"'
(YCM 28.10-11)
- (40) Ar hynt gofyn a wnaeth y marchawc y Peredur
in course ask-VN PRT did the knight to Peredur
py le pan deuet.
what place PAN came-IMPF
'In due course, the knight asked Peredur what place he came
from.'
(*Peredur* 21.25-26)
- (41) Pan deuaif o lys Arthur
PAN come-1S from court Arthur
'I come from Arthur's court'
(*Peredur* 21.27)
- (42) O Freinc pan wyf
from France PAN am
'I am from France.'
(*Pererindod Siarlymaen* 210.27)

Pan in all these uses has a number of consistent properties. It is always followed by a soft mutation of the verb and it never co-occurs with either preverbal particle *a* or *y(d)*. In the *wh*-question and answer uses, it co-occurs with a filled SpecCP position, as in (38)b., (39) and (40)b. In these uses it also alternates with the preverbal particle *y(d)* which can occur in the same position, although the two may not appear together.

It seems reasonable to expect a unified account of the syntactic behaviour of *pan*. If so, the only possible analysis is that *pan* is a true complementiser, rather than a *wh*-phrase. Hence it may co-occur with a filled SpecCP in *wh*-questions. In the meaning 'when', it does not itself occupy SpecCP, but heads C and licenses a null temporal

element in SpecCP (cf. the relative use of the English complementiser *that*). Its status as complementiser accounts for why it does not co-occur with the particle *y(d)* given that this is also a complementiser.

Suppose *y(d)* were analysed as a non-complementiser, say a head of Σ . In this case, in order to maintain the complementarity between it and *pan*, it would be necessary to postulate that where it alternated with *y(d)*, *pan* was also a member of this category. However, elsewhere it would have to be a complementiser. It is difficult to see how the unity of *pan* as a single head could be maintained under such an analysis.

We thus have a body of evidence that the preverbal particles must be generated as heads of C. If so, assuming a general ban on lowering rules, then we have further evidence that the post-topic adverbs must adjoin to C' rather than AgrSP. Consequently it is necessary to allow adverbs to adjoin to C' in Middle Welsh (although not in all V2-languages), and to reject the AgrSP-analysis of adverb positioning.

The availability of C'-adjunction in Middle Welsh may nevertheless have a theoretically satisfying end. C'-adjunction is highly restricted. It appears that it is available only for base-generated elements. Our account must therefore rule out movement to adjoin to C', but not adjunction to C' itself. This is compatible with the minimalist claim that intermediate projections are not visible to the computational system of human language. Under minimalist assumptions, X' is a maximal projection when it is first generated, and only becomes an intermediate projection when extra material is added above it. Base-adjunction to C' is therefore possible, but other adjunction is not (Chomsky 1995:330).

The evidence of manner adverbs (section 3.3.7) will give further support to such a view.

3.3.6 Verb-raising in Middle Welsh Verb-second

This leaves us with the question of whether the verb itself raises to adjoin to the preverbal particle in C or not. Middle Welsh shows VSO word order even in subordinate clauses where the verb cannot raise to the filled C-position and so must be in AgrS. It must be concluded that the subject follows AgrS, most plausibly occupying SpecTP. Movement of the verb from AgrS to C in main clauses will therefore be entirely string-vacuous. I shall nevertheless assume that this movement does take place, partly on the grounds that there is solid word order evidence in favour of it in all other V2-languages, and partly because the preverbal particles must always *immediately* precede the verb, a fact which suggests that there is no adjunction position between them.

3.3.7 Manner Adverbs

Manner adverbs provide another case of a clearly-differentiated pattern of distribution that bears upon an account of Middle Welsh word order, and their distribution seems to be consistent with the sort of account developed so far. As an example I now investigate the

behaviour of a typical manner adverb of the form predicative particle *yn* + adjective, *yn gyflym* 'quickly'.

Manner adverbs occur in three syntactic positions in Middle Welsh: in a far-right postverbal position, in the topic position, or preceding the topic. Examples of these three patterns are given with the adverb *yn gyflym* in (43)-(45). In (43) the adverb is postverbal, perhaps right-adjoined to V'. In (44), *yna* 'then' is in pretopic position adjoined to CP, with *yn gyflym* acting as the topic in SpecCP. In (45) the adverb co-occurs with a nonfinite verb in the topic position, and presumably is itself adjoined to CP.

(43) ...nessau a oruc attaw yn gyflym...
 approach-VN PRT did to-him quickly
 '...he approached him quickly...' (ChCC 68.18-19 = *Geraint*)

(44) Ac yna yn gyflym yd cynt am benn
 and then quickly PRT went-IMPF-3P against
 yr honn a vynynt...
 the one REL wanted-IMPF-3P

'And then quickly they attacked the one that they wanted...'
 (ChCC 110.4-5 = SDR 485-87)

(45) a. Ac yn gyulym kyuodi a wnaeth Frolo...
 and quickly arise-VN PRT did Frolo
 'And quickly Frolo arose...'
 (ChCC 82.5 = *Brut y Brenhinedd*)

b. Ac yn gyflym kyuodi a oruc yr iarll...
 and quickly arise-VN PRT did the earl
 'And quickly the earl arose...'
 (ChCC 137.25 = KAA)

c. Ac yn gyflym diskynnu a oruc Gereint...
 and quickly descend-VN PRT did Geraint
 'And quickly Geraint descended...'
 (ChCC 68.8-9 = *Geraint*)

The postverbal use in (43) is irrelevant to an account of topicalisation. In terms of the account presented above, manner adverbs are topic adverbials, and may occupy SpecCP or adjoin to CP. Crucially, we do not find *yn gyflym* adjoining to C'.

Manner adverbs are semantic modifiers of the Verb Phrase rather than the sentence, so if the spirit of the account above is carried through, they should be required to move from a postverbal position (say adjoined to V') to a preverbal position. The only admissible preverbal landing site for topicalisation is SpecCP, given that we have ruled out movement to either of the preverbal adjunction sites. The analysis thus implies that manner adverbs should act like argument adverbials and be restricted to SpecCP.

At first sight, there seem to be some apparent counterexamples with phrases resembling manner adverbs occupying the post-topic position, suggesting that they should be permitted to adjoin to C':²²

(46) a. Gruffud enteu, o 'e gnotaedic deuauf, en
 Gruffydd he-CONJ of his usual custom PRD

vudugaul a'e hemlynvs wynteu...
 victorious PRT+3P-OBJ pursued them-CONJ

'Gruffydd too, after his usual custom pursued them
 victoriously...'
 (HGK 16.2-3)

b. Ac wynteu yn vuyd a gyfarchassant well idaw
 and they-CONJ PRD obedient PRT greeted-3P to-3S

ynteu.
 him-CONJ

'And they too obediently greeted him.'
 (YSG 3021-22)

c. A 'r Gwyndyt yn llidyawc a'e hymlynawd...
 and the men-of-Gwynedd PRD angry PRT+3S-OBJ pursued
 'And the men of Gwynedd angrily pursued him...'
 (*Brut y Tywysogyon* 22.3)

d. ...a 'r Brytannyeit ynn hyuryt diergrynedic a
 and the Britons PRD pleasant unshaken PRT

amdiffynnassant eu gwlat.
 defended-3P their country

'...and the Britons completely unshaken defended their
 country.'
 (*Brut y Tywysogyon* 36.19-20)

On closer inspection, however, it seems that these are not really manner adverbs at all. For instance in (46)a., it is Gruffydd and not the event of pursuing that is victorious, and in (46)b., it is they and not the event of greeting that are obedient. Contrast this with, say, (45)a., where it is not Frolo but the event of arising that is quick. The ambiguity is parallel to that found in Modern Welsh with 'adverbs' of the form predicative particle *yn* + adjective. These can be ambiguous between a predicate reading and an adverbial reading. In a sentence like (47), the 'adverb' *balch* may be interpreted as describing either Rhodri or the event of going away.

(47) Aeth Rhodri i ffwrdd yn falch.
 went Rhodri away PRD proud
 'Rhodri went away proudly/Rhodri went away satisfied.'

Other possible exceptions (YSG 3628, 3875, 4034) seem to involve adverbs modifying the subject rather than the verb.

The appearance of manner adverbs adjoined to CP can be left aside for the moment, until full discussion of left dislocation in Middle Welsh. It is sufficient to note at present that the absence of manner adverbs in the position adjoined to C' is expected given the claims that adjunction to C' is base-adjunction only, and that manner adverbs are base-generated within VP.

²²See also *Brut y Tywysogyon* 20.30, 20.32.

3.3.8 Left Dislocation

The conception of topicalisation outlined above rules out sequences containing multiple topicalisation of arguments, since these would involve a doubly-filled SpecCP. Some of the sequences in question are given in Table 3.4.

Topic1	Topic2	Example
Subject	Direct Object	*Eur Myrdin a rodes i Arthur 'Gold Merlin gave to Arthur'
Subject	Indirect Object	*I Arthur Myrdin a rodes eur 'To Arthur Merlin gave gold'
Direct Object	Indirect Object	*I Arthur eur a rodes Myrdin 'To Arthur gold gave Merlin'
Indirect Object	Direct Object	*Eur i Arthur y rodes Myrdin 'Gold to Arthur gave Merlin'

Table 3.4. Disallowed Sequences of Topicalised Arguments in Middle Welsh.

Such sequences appear not to be attested in Middle Welsh.²³

In sentences like those in Table 3.4, both topics are verbal arguments and would therefore have to be generated in their canonical postverbal position. One would be able to move to SpecCP, but the other could not adjoin to CP or C', and so the second 'topic' could not appear preverbally.

²³Some possible exceptions to this statement, with two arguments in preverbal position, are given in (i)-(iii) below, but even here the interpretation is far from secure.

- (i) ...a blwydyn y 'r amser hwnn, ni a wnawn yr oet
and year to the time this we PRT make-1P the appointment
y dyuot y gyt...
to come-VN together
'...and a year from this time we shall make the appointment to come together...'
(PKM 19.29-20.1)
- (ii) Ynteu y mywn vn llong arall a doeth yn erbyn y vrawt.
he-CONJ into one ship other PRT came against his brother
'He came into another ship against his brother.'
(*Cyfranc Lludd a Llefelys* 64-65)
- (iii) ...ac yn y lle diogelaf a gauas yn Eryri y mywn
and in the place safest REL found in Snowdonia into
kist vaen a'e kudywys.
chest stone PRT+3S-OBJ hid
'...and in the safest place that he found in Snowdonia in a stone chest he hid it.'
(*Cyfranc Lludd a Llefelys* 133-34)

The ban on multiple topicalisation proposed above appears to rule out sequences where a direct or indirect object is topicalised along with the subject i.e. sentences of the type in Table 3.5.

Topic1	Topic2	Example
Subject	Direct Object	*Eur Myrdin a rodes i Arthur 'Gold Merlin gave to Arthur'
Subject	Indirect Object	*I Arthur Myrdin a rodes eur 'To Arthur Merlin gave gold'
Direct Object	Subject	Myrdin eur a rodes i Arthur 'Merlin gold gave to Arthur'
Indirect Object	Subject	Myrdin i Arthur y rodes eur 'Merlin to Arthur gave gold'

Table 3.5. Disallowed Sequences of Topicalised Arguments in Middle Welsh.

While this appears to be the correct prediction for the first two sequences given here, it fails on the second two. We do in fact find subjects preceding topicalised direct or indirect objects, or other elements selected for by the verb as can be seen from (48).²⁴

- (48) a. A minneu ederyn ieuanc oedwn.
and I-CONJ bird young was-1S
'And I (too) was a young bird.'
(ChCC 29.20 = *Culhwch ac Olwen* 851-52)
- b. Y llu a welch chui raccw yn avch erbyn,
the force REL see-2P you yonder against-you
o amrauel enyssid yd henynt...
from various islands PRT come-3P
'The forces that you see yonder (coming) against you come from various islands.'
(ChCC 89.20-21 = *Brut y Brenhinedd*)

There are also examples in Middle Welsh texts of objects preceding topicalised elements selected by the verb as in (49).²⁵

- (49) a. Ac a geueis, mi a'e crogaf.
and REL found-1S I PRT+3S-OBJ hang-1S
'and what I have found, I shall hang (it).'
(ChCC 13.12 = PKM 61.7)
- b. Y gymeint a wypwyf i, mi a'e dywedaf.
PRD as-much REL know-SUBJ-1S I I PRT+3S-OBJ tell-1S
'As much as I know, I shall tell (it).'
(ChCC 31.26 = *Culhwch ac Olwen* 904-905)

In such examples, however, a resumptive clitic or agreement element always appears alongside the verb, indicating that in these

²⁴Cf. also ChCC 30.26 (= *Culhwch*), 50.18 (= *Owein*), 98.10 (= *YSG*); PKM 4.9.

²⁵Also ChCC 49.1 (= *Owein*), 64.18 (= *Geraint*).

cases the position of the object is left dislocation, accompanied by contrastive intonation and so on, rather than topicalisation.²⁶ Parallel examples with preposed subject and resumptive subject pronouns are attested, but are much rarer:

- (50) a. A 'r lladron, ... wynt a doethant drachefyn
and the thieves they PRT came-3P back

tu a 'r twr.
towards the tower

'And the thieves, ... they came back towards the tower.'
(ChCC 109.10-13 = SDR 280-83)
- b. "Pwy bynnac," heb ef, "a dwyllo vnweith, ef a
whoever said he REL deceive-SUBJ once he PRT

dwyll cilweith os dichawn."
deceive a-second-time if is-able

'"Whoever," he said, "deceives once, he will deceive a second
time if he can."
(ChCC 123.3-4 = YCM 115.19-20)

There is no reason to expect an uneven distribution of sentence types, and it seems clear that the examples of preposed subjects followed by another element selected by the verb are in fact examples of subject left dislocations parallel to the examples of left dislocations of direct objects given above. Because Middle Welsh allows null subjects freely, the resumptive pronoun required in the canonical subject position can itself be null, when a subject is left-dislocated. This option is not available with left-dislocated objects, since Middle Welsh does not permit null objects without an object clitic. We can assume that such left-dislocated elements adjoin to CP. The resumptive element is required either because only base-adjunction to CP is permitted or because movement across CP is a subjacency violation. Either way adjunction of an argument to CP must result in left dislocation with a resumptive element. The fact that manner adverbs can move to adjoin to CP suggests that the latter option should be taken.

Given that we have already analysed pretopic adverbs as adjoining to CP, and given that this is the position for left-dislocated elements, we might expect problems to arise in keeping the two elements apart. However, it seems that these two positions can be treated as variant manifestations of the same position.

The most important evidence comes from ordering. If pretopic adverbs and left dislocations were separate, we would expect all left dislocations to precede pretopic adverbs. However, in fact, a left-dislocated constituent may follow a pretopic adverbial, as the examples in (51) show.

- (51) a. 'Arglwyd,' heb ynteu, 'rac guelet gwr kyuurd
lord said he-CONJ lest see-VN man of-such-rank

a thidi yn y gueith hwnnw, punt a geucis i
as you-REDUP in the act that pound REL received-1S I

o gardotta, mi a'e rodaf it...'
from beg-VN I PRT+3S-OBJ give-1S to-you

'"Lord," he said, "lest I should see a man of such rank as
you in that act, a pound that I received from begging, I shall
give (it) to you..."
(ChCC 14.12-14 = PKM 62.9-11)
- b. Pan deuthum t yma gyntaf, y cwm mawr
when came-1S I here first the valley big

a welwch glynn coet oed...
REL see-2P dale wooded was

'When I first came here, the big valley that you see, (it) was
a wooded dale...'
(ChCC 30.25-26 = *Culhwch ac Olwen* 875-76)
- c. Ac odynd, yr ymdidan goreu a wypom
and then the story best REL know-SUBJ-1P

ninneu, ni a'e dywedwn itti.
we-CONJ we PRT+3S-OBJ tell-1P to-you

'And then, the best story that we know, we shall tell you
(it).'
(ChCC 48.26-49.1 = *Owein* 20-21)
- d. Tra vych vyw, kymeint ac a edeweis i
while be-SUBJ-2S alive as-much as REL promised-1S I

yti mi a'e kywiraf.
to-you I PRT+3S-OBJ fulfil-1S

'As long as you are alive, everything that I have promised
you, I shall fulfil (it).'
(ChCC 138.26-27 = KAA)

A syntactic basis for the distinction between the left dislocation position and the pretopic adverb position might be their different behaviours with respect to resumptive elements. Left dislocations must be matched by a later resumptive element, whereas there is no such resumptive element in the case of pretopic adverbs. Topic adverbials (like *ar hynny* 'thereupon') may simply be base-generated in the CP-adjoined position, since they are not interpreted as binding a lower position in the clause. Manner adverbs, however, must clearly move from a position modifying the verb. The fact that they do not require an overt resumptive element may simply relate to their status as adverbs. That is, the position adjoined to CP may be occupied either by nominal or adverbial constituents, with only the former requiring overt resumptive elements. The intonational break that is generally found between left-dislocated elements and the clause, and which is assumed for Middle Welsh also, might appear to weigh

²⁶Isaac (1996:59-62), developing an idea of Mac Cana (1973, 1991), has recently argued that all instances of the abnormal sentence are in fact left dislocation structures. However, there seems to be good reason to maintain the traditional distinction. Cf. also the treatment of negation below (section 3.7).

against this view. However, it could easily be the case that there is also a comparable intonational break between pretopic adverbial elements and the main part of the clause.

3.3.9 Further Evidence from Imperatives

The syntactic behaviour of imperative forms of the verb in Middle Welsh provides further data supporting the distinction between the pretopic CP-adjoined position and the SpecCP topic position. Imperatives do not co-occur with either of the preverbal particles *a* and *y(d)*. The question is whether they permit topicalisation to take place over them. If the topic position SpecCP is licensed by the preverbal particles as has been claimed, it would be expected that SpecCP should be obligatorily empty with imperatives.

We find examples of subjects preceding imperatives as in (52).

- (52) Ar ny dylo elsted ar vwrđ Iessu Grist,
REL NEG has-right-SUBJ sit-VN at table Jesus Christ

act allan...
go-IMPER-3S out

'Anyone who does not have the right to sit at the table of
Jesus Christ, let him go out...' (ChCC 101.21 = YSG)

It seems reasonable, however, to treat these as containing a 'vocative' left-dislocated DP, followed by an imperative verb with a null subject. This interpretation is supported by an example such as (53), where, in a later punctuated text, a comma is inserted between the 'subject' and the imperative verb.

- (53) Y Sawl sydd gantho glŷt i wrando, gwrandawed.
the one is-REL with-him ear to listen-VN listen-IMPER-3S
'He who has an ear to listen, let him listen.'
(Morgan Llwyd, *Llyfr y Tri Aderyn* 77.18-19, 1653)

Thus, although this type is quite common in Middle Welsh texts, it does not supply any clear evidence for the topicalisation of subjects over imperatives. There are also no cases of topicalisation of objects over imperatives.

Such a finding begins to suggest that topicalisation across an imperative is simply impossible in Middle Welsh. If so, the behaviour of adverbials with respect to imperatives is significant. Certain types of adverbial may indeed precede an imperative, but the choice is not as free as it is with other forms of the verb. (54) shows typical examples of adverbs preceding an imperative:

- (54) a. Ac wrth hynny ymledvch dros avch gulat...
and for that fight-IMPER-2P for your country
'And for that reason fight for your country...'
(ChCC 79.12 = *Brut y Brenhinedd*)

- b. ...ac odynd gollyget ynteu y gwn yn ryd...
and then release-IMPER-3S he-CONJ his dogs PRD free
'...and then let him release his dogs...'
(*Llyfr Bleggywryd* 52.12-13)
- c. "Ie," heb hitheu, "os hynny a uynny, kyn uy
yes said she-CONJ if that PRT want-2S before 1S-GEN

rodi y wr arall, gwna oed a mi."
give-VN to man other make-IMPER-2S appointment with me.

"Yes," she said, "if that (is what) you want, before giving me
to another man, make an appointment with me."
(ChCC 5.9-10 = PKM 13.2-4)

(54)a. and b. contain the connectives *wrth hynny* 'for that reason' and *odynd* 'then', which unambiguously refer back to elements already mentioned, and thus have a clear claim to status as topics. Other pragmatically similar adverbs found in this position include other PPs with *hynny* as their object, such as *am hynny* 'for that reason', as well as other topic adverbs like *yna* 'there' and *yno* 'then'.²⁷ (54)c. shows an adverbial clause preceding an imperative.

All these adverbials belong to the type that, as was seen earlier, can accompany an argument topic, leading to apparent instances of 'multiple topicalisation'. It was concluded that these adverbials were not required to occupy the topic position SpecCP. In other words, the adverbials which precede imperatives are always non-argument topics, elements which may adjoin to CP in the analysis above. It therefore seems reasonable to suggest that the presence of an imperative verb inhibits a true topicalisation position and a position for non-topic adverbs. Consequently only elements which are permitted to adjoin to CP may precede an imperative verb. This provides further justification for the analysis of topicalisation presented above.

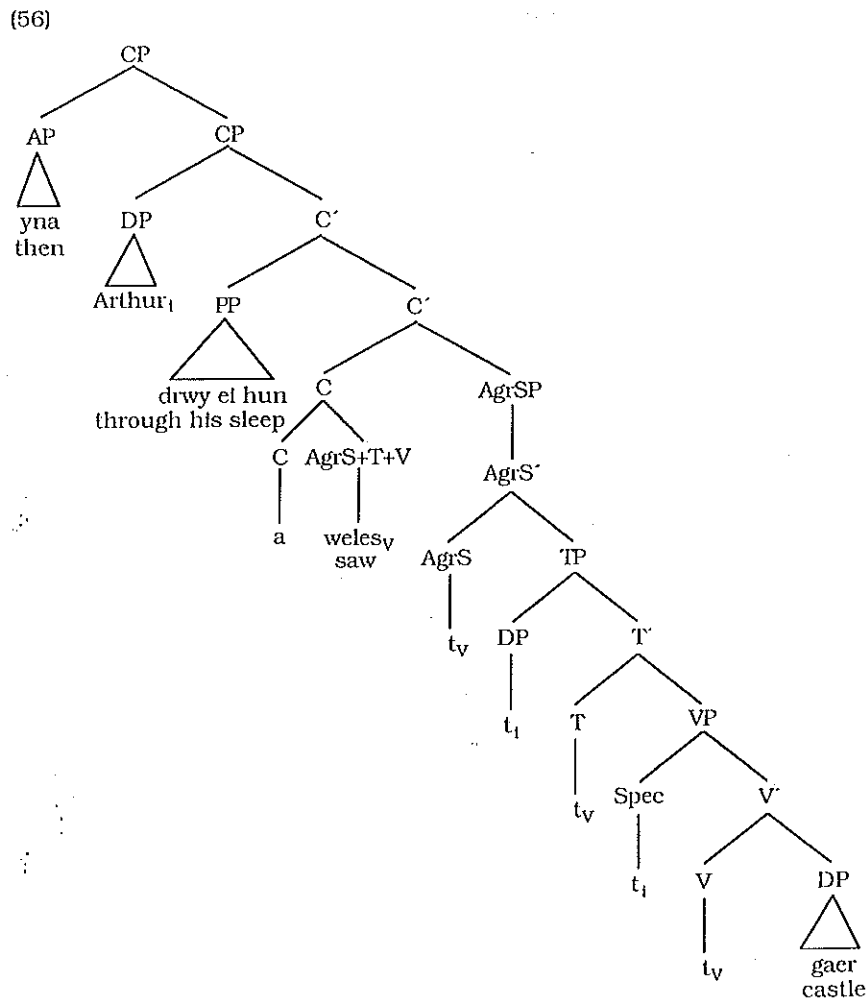
3.3.10 Conclusions about Adverb Placement

The discussion of adverb placement rules has allowed us to maintain the hypothesis that Middle Welsh is a V2-language in which the verb obligatorily raises to C in main clauses, and some other constituent moves to SpecCP. In contrast to many other V2 languages, Middle Welsh makes two other recursive preverbal positions available. One (adjunction to CP) is reserved for adverbials with a topic interpretation and left-dislocated elements. I have argued that such adverbials are in fact left-dislocated, but because of their status (as adjuncts or as adverbs) they may be base-generated in this position

²⁷For other instances of adverbs preceding imperatives see:
Phrasal adverbs: ChCC 5.12, 7.8 (=Pwyll), 79.12 (=Brut y Brenhinedd), 95.31 (=YSG), 118.3 (=YCM), 141.2 (=KAA); LIB 52.13 (*odynd* 'then'), 60.8 (*yno* 'then').
Clausal adverbs: LIB 52.14, *Llyfr Colan* 5.26 (*pa...bynhac*-clauses); ChCC 5.10 (=Pwyll), 39.17-21, 40.4 (=Peredur), 67.10 (=Geraint), 111.1 (=SDR); LIB 51.6, 51.8, 51.16, 51.18, 52.11, 52.18, 52.19, 54.12, 60.9, *Llyfr Colan* 1.3, 1.31, 1.33, 1.34, 2.19, 3.12, 3.18, 4.2, 4.11, 4.18, 4.32, 4.33, 5.2, 5.31, 6.11, 7.14, 7.26, 7.28, 8.31, 8.37, 9.12 etc. (conditional clauses); ChCC 15.33 (=PKM 63.25) (*kany*-clause); ChCC 7.10-11 (=PKM 15.2-3), *Llyfr Colan* 3.11 (*pan*-clauses); ChCC 31.29 (=Cullwch) (*mat*-clause); *Cyfreithiau Hywel Dda* 60.31 (*gwedy*-clause).

or, if moved (in the case of manner adverbs), they do not require overt resumptive elements. The other recursive preverbal position involves adjunction to C', and is reserved for adverbs with a non-topic interpretation. This latter position is invisible to movement rules, and may not therefore be occupied by arguments or any other elements (manner adverbs) that must be generated in a lower position.

- (55) Yna Arthur drwy ei hun a weles gaer.
 then Arthur through his sleep PRT saw castle
 'Then Arthur through his sleep saw a castle.'



As a summary of the analysis, (56) shows the structure of the sentence in (55), where all three preverbal positions are filled. The subject undergoes topicalisation to SpecCP, and the verb raises in steps to C. The adverb *yna* 'then' is base-generated adjointed to CP where it receives a topic interpretation. The adverb *drwy ei hun* 'through his sleep' is base-generated adjointed to C', and thus does not receive such an interpretation.

3.4 Topicalisation as A'-movement

Thus far, it has been tacitly assumed that, in parallel with verb-second topicalisation in Germanic languages, topicalisation movement to SpecCP in the Middle Welsh abnormal sentence is A'-movement. This claim can be motivated explicitly by a comparison of the properties of topicalisation constructions with other instances of A'-movement, namely in relative clauses and *wh*-questions. I shall consider in turn the possibilities for extraction from embedded clauses and from prepositional phrases.

First, however, it is necessary to take a look at the properties of A'-movement in Welsh generally. Grammars of Contemporary Welsh distinguish two relative clause formation strategies, termed **direct** and **indirect relatives** (Richards 1938:66, D.S. Evans 1976:60-67). In the former strategy, used when the relativisation site is a subject or the direct object of a synthetic verb,²⁸ and no clause boundaries are crossed, the particle *a* is used, and default agreement is found (i.e. third person subject-verb agreement in subject extractions, absence of object clitics in object extractions). Examples are given in (57). Henceforth, in all cases the gap left after movement in relative clauses or the abnormal sentence is indicated as .

- (57) a. *y dyn a werthodd y byd.*
 the man REL sold the world
 'the man who sold the world'
 b. *y llonga werthodd y dyn y.*
 the ship REL sold the man the
 'the ship that the man sold'

(Harlow 1981)

In the second 'indirect' strategy, used for all other relative clauses, the particle is *y(r)* and full agreement (i.e. object clitics, genitive clitics, full inflection on prepositions) is found. Examples are given in (58). Note the presence of agreement on the preposition *amdano* in a., and the agreement clitics in b. and c.²⁹

²⁸Marginally also when the relativisation site is the object of a preposition or object of a periphrastic verb (see Awbery 1977:201-205, Richards 1938:86-87, 96).

²⁹Full agreement occurs in general with a pronominal object/possessor in these constructions, but not with a full nominal object/possessor:

- (58) a. *y dyn y sonlais amdano* __.
the man REL spoke-1S about-3SM __.
'the man that I spoke about'
- b. *y dyn y prynais ei dŷ* __.
the man REL bought-1S 3SM-GEN house __.
'the man whose house I bought'
- c. *y dyn yr hoffwn i Wyn ei weld* __.
the man REL would-like-1S to Wyn 3SM-GEN see-VN __.
'the man who I'd like Wyn to see' (Awbery 1977:172)

Direct relatives clearly involve movement, since they obey very strict restrictions on the distance between the operator and the extraction site, in particular the restriction that no clause boundary be crossed.³⁰

On the other hand, there are two approaches to the indirect relative constructions. Awbery (1977), Sadler (1988) and others treat it as a non-movement strategy involving a (potentially non-overt) resumptive pronoun. This approach can be motivated by two pieces of evidence. First, indirect relatives do not appear to respect subjacency (Awbery 1977:173, de Freitas and Noonan 1993:53). For instance, (59) shows an indirect relative involving a violation of the Complex NP Island Constraint.³¹

- (59) *Dyna 'r car y credodd Rhodri yr adroddiad bod Ifan*
that is the car REL believed Rhodri the report be-VN Ifan
- weddi ei ddiffrodi* __.
PERF 3SM-GEN wreck-VN __.
- 'That's the car that Rhodri believed the report that Ifan wrecked (it).'

Second, in general, overt resumptive pronouns are always a possible alternative to any gap in the indirect relative, suggesting that the gap is resumptive *pro*. This is confirmed by the fact that where *pro* is not licensed, namely in the object position of a synthetic verb, an overt resumptive element is required:

(i)	<i>am Dafydd</i> about David 'about David'	<i>amdano pro/ef</i> about-3SM <i>pro/him</i> 'about him'
(ii)	<i>afalau Dafydd</i> apples David 'David's apples'	<i>ei afalau pro/ef</i> 3SM-GEN apples <i>pro/him</i> 'his apples'
(iii)	<i>gweld Dafydd</i> see-VN David 'seeing David'	<i>ei weld pro/ef</i> 3SM-GEN see-VN <i>pro/him</i> 'seeing him'

³⁰For a non-movement account see Harlow (1981, 1983).

³¹But see also Hendrick (1988:189-90) and Tallerman (1983) for some possible cases where subjacency is obeyed.

- (60) *Dyna 'r bachgen y gallwn i ddychmygu y gweli*
that-is the boy REL could-1S I imagine-VN that see-2S
- di *(ef) yn y capel.*
you him in the chapel.
- 'That's the boy that I could imagine that you'll see in chapel.'

These two facts suggest that the indirect strategy involves resumptive *pro* and therefore does not involve movement.

However, in at least one instance, overt resumptive pronouns are ruled out in indirect relatives. This might lead one to adopt a movement account of indirect relatives as suggested in Hendrick (1988). For many speakers, overt resumptive pronouns are ungrammatical in relatives formed on the object position of prepositions contained in unembedded clauses:

- (61) *Dyna 'r dyn y sonlais amdano* __/*ef.
that-is the man REL spoke-1s about-3SM __/*him
'That is the man that I spoke about.' (Awbery 1977:182)

The obligatory gap suggests that we are dealing here with *wh*-trace rather than *pro*, and therefore that some although not all indirect relatives in Contemporary Welsh do involve movement. This approach is developed by de Freitas and Noonan (1993) who treat relative clauses like (61) as involving movement. They separate this type of indirect relative clause from a last resort indirect relative strategy which (cf. (60)) really *does* use resumptive pronouns.

In an indirect movement relative like (61), movement will proceed cyclically. For instance, in (61), the operator will move from the object position of the preposition to SpecCP via SpecPP, checking for agreement morphology on the preposition via Spec-Head agreement as it goes. In the non-movement relative in (60), full agreement appears because the object is pronominal (cf. footnote 29) (de Freitas and Noonan 1993, cf. also Tallerman 1993).

In dealing with the historical data from Welsh, I shall assume an analysis of A'-movement broadly along these lines. That is, I shall assume that some indirect relatives involve movement. However, a number of details differ significantly between Contemporary and Middle Welsh.

In Middle Welsh, both the direct strategy (with particle *a*) and the indirect strategy (with particle *y(d)*) are available. Unlike in Contemporary Welsh, the direct strategy is available for relative clauses formed on positions other than the subject and direct object.

We now turn to investigate the conditions on movement in topicalisations using *a* in Middle Welsh, comparing them to the conditions on the use of the direct strategy in relative clauses. Armstrong (1987) has been invaluable as a source of data on complex relatives.

Traditional grammars of Welsh have long noticed the formal similarities between the abnormal sentence and relative clauses, specifically in the identical choice of particles used (S.J. Williams

1980:168, Armstrong 1987). It turns out that the parallelisms are even more striking, and that the conditions on the two constructions are exactly parallel, a fact which justifies the assumption that both are instances of A'-movement.

3.4.1 Topicalisation from Embedded Positions

Topicalisation from within an embedded clause is well-attested in Middle Welsh. Examples are given in (62)-(64) of topicalisation from the subject position of the nonfinite clausal complement of bridge verbs, namely *tebygu* 'to suppose' (62), *dywedut* 'to say' (63) and *gwybot* 'to know' (64).

- (62) a. Toat y neuad a tebygel y vot __ yn eur oll.
ceiling the hall PRT supposed-IMPFF 3SM be-VN __ PRD gold all
'The ceiling of the hall he supposed to be all gold.'
(*Breuddwyd Maxen* 3.3)
- b. Cant y neuad a tebygel y uot __ yn
wall the hall PRT supposed-IMPFF 3SM be-VN __ PRD
vein llywychedic gwyrtuawr ae gild [sic] ...
stones shining valuable as each-other
'The wall of the hall he supposed to be (made of) shining
gems (each) as valuable as one another.'
(*Breuddwyd Maxen* 3.3-5)
- c. Doreu y neuad a tebygel eu bot __ yn eur oll.
doors the hall PRT supposed-IMPFF 3P be-VN __ PRD gold all
'The doors of the hall he supposed to be all gold.'
(*Breuddwyd Maxen* 3.5-6)
- d. Lleithigeu eureit a debygel e uot __ endi...
couches golden PRT supposed-IMPFF 3SM be-VN __ in-it
'Golden couches he supposed to be in it and silver tables.'
(*Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch Peniarth* 16, 42.4-5
= *Breuddwyd Maxen*)
- e. A 'r llef hwnnw a debygem ni y
and the cry that PRT supposed-IMPFF-1P we 3SM
uot __ oblegyt melstyr uffern...
be-VN __ because master hell
'And that cry we supposed was because of the master of
hell.'
(*YSG* 749-50)

- f. ...a 'e ohen a 'e vryt a debygel y
and his inclination and his mind PRT supposed-IMPFF 3SM

uot __ parth a Ryt y Groes ar Hafren.
be-VN __ towards Rhyd-y-Groes on Severn

'...and his inclination and mind he supposed to be (directed)
towards Rhyd-y-Groes on the Severn.'

(*Breuddwyd Ronabwy* 3.27-28)

- (63) a. Wyth oes byl a dywedir eu bot __.
eight age world PRT say-IMPERS 3P be-VN __
'There are said to be eight ages of the world.'
(*Y Bibyl Ynghymraec* 10.3, ms. P)
- b. Oessoed heuyt y dywedir eu bot __ nyt
ages also PRT say-IMPERS 3P be-VN __ not
o achaws rif y blwydyned namyn o achaws
according-to number the years but according-to
y ryuedodeu...
the wonders
'Ages are said to exist not according to the number of years,
but according to the wonders...'
(*Y Bibyl Ynghymraec* 10.10-11, ms. P)
- c. Yr Anna honno a dywedei wyr yr Eifft
the Anna that PRT said-IMPFF men the Egypt
y bot __ yn gyfynithderw y Veir Vorwyn
3SF be-VN __ PRD niece to Mary Virgin
'That Anna the men of Egypt used to say was niece of the
Virgin Mary.'
(*Early Welsh Genealogical Tracts* 44.18-19)
- (64) Plant a wnn i y uot __ idi hl...
children PRT know-IS I 3SM be-VN __ to-3S her
'I know that she has had children...'
(*Pwyll* 497-98)

In all cases agreement marking shows up on the embedded nonfinite verb, which in all cases is *bot* 'to be', and the preverbal particle is *a*, suggesting that a direct movement strategy is involved.

Topicalisation is also found from adjunct (65)a. and complement (65)b. positions of such clauses:

- (65) a. ...ac ar hyt y bont y tebygel y vot yn
and along the bridge PRT supposed-IMPFF 3SM be-VN PROG
dyuot __ y 'r llong.
come-VN __ to the ship
'...and he thought he was coming along the bridge to the
ship.'
(*Breuddwyd Maxen* 2.14-15)

- b. Mawr y dywawt y gwr y mi y vot ef __.
big PRT said the man to me 3SM be-VN he __.
'The man said to me that he was big.'
(ChCC 52.25-26 = *Owein* 123)

Such movement is also possible from the subject, object and adjunct positions of the complement of *mynnu* 'to want':

- (66) a. Ac Arthur a Gwenhwyuar a uynhaf eu
and Arthur and Guinevere PRT want-1S 3P
bot __ yn rodyeit ar y uorwyn.
be-VN __ PRD gives-away on the maiden
'And Arthur and Guinevere I want to give the maiden away
(in marriage).'
- b. ...a hynny ol [sic] a uynaf y wneuthur __ yn un dyt.
and that all PRT want-1S 3SM do-VN __ in one day.
'...and all that I want to do in one day.'
(*Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch* 480.6-8)

- c. Ker bron y brenhin yssyd arnaf i y mynhaf
in-front-of the king is-REL on-1s me PRT want-1S
bot y gyfranc y rof i a thi __.
be-VN the combat between me and you __.
'I want the combat between me and you to be in front of the
king who rules over me.'
(*Peredur* 58.28-29)

There are also examples of topicalisation from the object (67)a. and complement (67)b. of the complement of the modals *dichon* 'is able' and *dyly* 'should':

- (67) a. Tri gwassannaeth a dyly y brenhin eu gwneuthur
Three service PRT should the king 3P do-VN
__ y 'r hebogyd y dyd y caffo whibonoglyc vynyd...
__ to the falconer the day REL get-SUBJ curlew
'The king should perform three services for the falconer the
day he catches a curlew...'
(*Llyfr Blegywryd* 13.24-26)
- b. A ssegur y digau pawb o honawch uot __...
and idle PRT can everyone of-you be-VN __...
'And every one of you can/should remain idle...'
(PKM 5.16-17)

Cases are also found of topicalisation from the nonfinite clausal complements of other verbs, such as *peri* 'to cause' (68), *damweintlaw* 'to happen' (69), *perthyn* 'to belong, be fitting' (70), *keyssyaw* 'to try' (71) and *darparu* 'to try' (72).

- (68) a. Y ty hwnnw a peris ef y adeilat __ o
the house that PRT caused he 3SM-GEN build-VN __ from
wyal gwynnyon...
sticks white
'That house he had built from white sticks...'
(*Llyfr Blegywryd* 1.9-10)
- b. ...a 'th esgyrnn a baraf y losci __.
and your bones PRT cause-1S 3SM burn-VN __.
'...and I shall have your bones burned.'
(*Buchedd Fargred* 9.327.28)
- (69) ...ac yn hynny, beichogi a danweinwys idi
and in that become-pregnant-VN PRT happened to-her
y gael __.
3SM get-VN __.
'And then she happened to become pregnant.'
(PKM 37.15-16)
- (70) Pryder plant y lladedic a perthyn y vot
care children the murder-victim PRT belongs 3SM be-VN
__ ar y ryenl...
__ on the parents
'It is right for the care of the children of the murder victim
to be the responsibility of his parents...'
(*Llyfr Blegywryd* 32.22-23, cf. 32.21-22)
- (71) A 'r rei hynny yd oet wyr Groec yn keyssyaw
and the ones these PRT was men Greek PROG try-VN
eu dwyn __ y arnav...
3P-GEN take-VN __ from-on-him
'And these ones the Greeks were trying to take from him...'
(*Brut Dingestow* 5.6-7)
- (72) ...cans holl genedyl Saesson a derpereist ti
for all nation English PRT prepared-2S you
eu dihol __ yn llvyr o 'r enys hon...
3P-GEN expel-VN __ completely from the island this
'...for you prepared to expel the whole English nation from
this island.'
(*Brut Dingestow* 203.7-8)

As far as I am aware, topicalisation is not found from within an embedded finite clause.

This is the same distribution as is found with relative clauses in Middle Welsh. Relative A'-movement is possible from nonfinite clausal complements of a wide range of verbs, as can be seen from the examples in (73)-(74). In (73) we find a relative clause formed on the

subject position of the nonfinite complement of a bridge verb, *dywedut* 'to say', cf. (62)-(64).

- (73) Y rei a dlywedy dithieu eu bot ___ oll
 the ones REL say-2S you-CONJ 3P be-VN ___ all
 ar gystlwn dy Duw...
 property your God

'The ones that you say are all the property of your God...'
 (ChCC 120.6 = YCM 21.20-21)

The same agreement marking as with topicalisation appears on the embedded verb. In (74), the relative is formed on an oblique position, namely the object position of a preposition in an embedded clause, cf. (65).

- (74) A 'r ffon hayarn a dywedassei y gwr
 and the stick iron REL said-PLUPERF the man
 vot llwyth deuwr yndi ___ ...
 be-VN load two-men in-3SF ___ ...

'And the stick that the man said contained the weight of
 two men...'
 (ChCC 52.27-28 = *Owein* 124-25)

In (75), the relative is formed on the object position of the complement of the verb *gwedu* 'to be appropriate', cf. (68)-(72).

- (75) Y ran a weda ymi y rodi...
 the part REL is-appropriate to-me 3SF give-VN
 'The part that it is appropriate for me to give...'
 (*Breudwyf Ronabwy* 5.30)

As with topicalisation, relative clauses formed on positions in embedded finite clauses are not attested. It is difficult to be sure whether the absence of topicalisation and relativisation on positions embedded in finite clauses is systematic or accidental. Embedded finite clauses are less frequent in Middle Welsh than embedded nonfinite clauses, so fewer examples would be expected even if such extractions were grammatical.

Given the restrictions common to both topicalisation and relative clause formation in Middle Welsh, it seems appropriate to regard both as instances of A'-movement. A reasonable assumption is that both involve cyclic A'-movement from the embedded clause via the embedded SpecCP position to the highest CP.

3.4.2 Topicalisation from within Prepositional Phrases

Topicalisation and relative clause formation also pattern alike with respect to the possibilities for extraction from Prepositional Phrases. Topicalisation is found freely from within a PP in Middle Welsh, as the examples in (76) demonstrate.

- (76) a. A meir a Iosep a oed arnadt ___ ouyn y bobyl.
 and Mary and Joseph PRT was on-3P ___ fear the people
 'And Mary and Joseph were afraid of the people.'
 (MIG 195.25-26)
- b. Madawc uab Maredudd a oed idaw ___ Powys yn y
 Madog ap Maredudd PRT was to-3SM ___ Powys in its
 theruynau.
 extremes
 'Madog ap Maredudd ruled Powys in its entirety.'
 (*Breudwyf Ronabwy* 1.1-2)³²
- c. Caswallawn a daroed idaw ___ wiscaw llen hut
 Caswallon PRT happened to-3S ___ put-on-VN cloak magic
 amdanaw...
 on-3S
 'Caswallon had put a magic cloak around himself...'
 (ChCC 22.29-30 = PKM 46.5-6)
- d. Eissyoes yr hwnn a oed yn eu hymlit
 however the one REL was PROG 3P-GEN pursue-VN
 wyntwy a daruu yn drwc idaw ___ ...
 them-REDUP PRT happened badly to-3S ___ ...
 'However, things went badly for the one who was pursuing
 them...'
 (YSG 2282-23)
- e. Y Tobias vry a dywetpwyf y gethiwaw
 the Tobias above REL say-IMPERS 3SM-GEN enslave-VN
 y rwng y dec llin, a vv vab ydaw ___ o Anna...
 between his ten lines PRT was son to-3S ___ from Anna
 'The Tobias of whom it was said above that he was enslaved
 between his ten lines had a son by Anna...'
 (*Y Bibyl Ynghymraec* 40.15-16)

³²Poppe (1990:453) claims that this example is ungrammatical: "Madawc uab Maredudd is left-dislocated, and the use of the relative pronoun *a* is ungrammatical here, since the fronted phrase is neither subject nor object of *oed*, but a *nominativus pendens* outside the construction of the sentence - it is taken up by the pronoun in *idaw*: 'Madog son of Maredudd, Powys belonged to him from end to end.'" Given the other parallel constructions cited in (76), there is in fact no reason to believe that this example involves anything more than straightforward topicalisation.

- f. A 'r pump wraged hynny, yn yr un kyfnot,
and the five women those in the same time
a anet udunt __ pum meib.
PRT was-born-IMPERS to-3P __ five sons
'And at the same time, five sons were born to those five women.'
(PKM 48.2-3)
- g. Y prenneu ereill a deuel firwyth arnunt __ ...
(the trees other PRT grew-IMPF fruit on-3P __ ...
'Fruit grew on the other trees...'
(YSG 4387-88)
- h. A 'r bobyl ... a vu drwc ganthunt __ y varw...
and the people PRT was bad with-3P __ 3SM die-VN
'And the people ... were sorry that he died...'
(YSG 4719-20)

Schafer (1995:142) concludes that topics in verb-second structures in Breton head A'-chains, offering Strong Crossover evidence in support. Breton also exhibits the same pattern as Middle Welsh with respect to extraction of prepositional objects, allowing extraction as in (77). This further suggests that such movement is likely to be A'-movement in Middle Welsh.

- (77) An tamm-douar-se a zeu gwintzh kaer
the piece land this PRT comes wheat good
ennañ __ beb bloaz.
in-3SM __ every year
'Good wheat comes from this piece of land every year.'
(Trépos n.d.:189)

Compare topicalisation of objects of prepositions in Middle Welsh with the behaviour of relative clauses. As expected, extraction of the object of a preposition is possible, as is shown in (78).

- (78) ...ffiol eur a anho llawn diawt y brenhin
cup gold REL is-contained-SUBJ full drink the king
yndi __ ...
in-3SM __ ...
'...a gold cup in which the king's fill of drink (shall) be contained...'
(*Llyfr Blegywryd* 3.22-23)

In both cases, the preverbal particle may be *a*, although there is some variation. Also full agreement morphology appears on the preposition after extraction.

In both cases we can posit cyclic movement of the relative operator or topic via some prepositional agreement projection (cf. above, de Freitas and Noonan 1993), which causes agreement to appear on the prepositional head. The structure of (76)g. is accordingly something like that in (79).

- (79) [CP y prenneu] [C a deueiv] [AgrSP tv [TP ffirwyth] tv
the trees PRT grew
[VP t_i tv [PP t_j arnunt t_j]
on-3P
'Fruit grew on the trees...'

More significant is the fact that in neither case are distance restrictions on movement violated. If, on the other hand, we had found for example that movement of the object of a preposition to SpecCP in a topicalisation construction violated subjacency, but parallel movement of an operator in a relative clause did not, there would have been strong reason to doubt that both were A'-movement.³³

In fact, the construction provides evidence against a possible analysis of topicalisation as A'-movement. It is difficult to be sure of the conditions on A'-movement in Middle Welsh, since reliable instances of it are rare. The usual passive (impersonal) construction does not involve movement of the underlying object. An alternative passive formed with the auxiliary *kaffael* 'to get' does involve raising of the object to subject position, but is sufficiently rare to make investigation of the conditions on movement impractical. Middle Welsh also appears to have few raising verbs and adjectives. However, a comparison with Modern Welsh is instructive. In Modern Welsh, A'-movement is possible from within a PP as in (80).

- (80) a. Pa wallau y sylwodd Dafydd arnynt __?
which mistakes PRT noticed Dafydd on-3P __?
'Which mistakes did Dafydd notice?'
- b. Doedd y gwallau y sylwodd Dafydd
NEG+was the mistakes REL noticed Dafydd
arnynt __ ddim yn ddifrifol.
on-3P __ not PRD serious.
'The mistakes that Dafydd noticed were not serious.'

However A'-movement from within a PP is not possible, as is shown in (81) with the *cael*-passive.

- (81) a. Cafodd y gwallau eu cywiro __.
got the mistakes 3P-GEN correct-VN __.
'The mistakes were corrected.'
- b. *Cafodd y gwallau (eu) sylwi arnynt __.
got the mistakes (3P-GEN) notice-VN on-3P __.
'The mistakes were noticed.'

³³I leave open the question of why extraction from within a PP (preposition-stranding) is permitted in languages like English, Welsh and Breton, but not in others, such as French and German. For a suggestion, see Kayne (1984:103-23).

In (81)a. passivisation raises the direct object of a transitive verb to subject position. This is attempted with the object of a preposition in b., but fails. If topicalisation in Middle Welsh were indeed A-movement, the fact that it is possible from prepositional phrases would at the very least be surprising.

Once again we find evidence to support the assumption that the abnormal sentence in Middle Welsh involves A'-movement. Although this conclusion is not particularly unexpected given the extensive typological parallels in the present instance, we shall see in Chapter Six that the similarities between topicalisation and relative clause formation are in fact not a feature of all periods of Welsh. Significant differences emerge which call for an explanation.

3.5 Topicalisation and Negation

The interaction of topicalisation and negation provides clues as to structure during the later development of verb-second. For this reason, the Middle Welsh facts will be mentioned here (see also D.S. Evans 1976:173-74).

In general, the negative marker *ny(t)* blocks topicalisation in Middle Welsh. The result is that most negative main clauses have the order Negative Marker - Verb - Subject - Object, as in (4) repeated here as (82).

- (82) Ny welei ef y twrwl rac tywyllt y nos.
NEG saw-IMPFF he the commotion for so-dark the night
'He could not see the commotion because the night was so dark.'
(PKM 22.23)

In a small proportion of cases, however, topicalisation is found across a negative. In the examples in (83), a subject is topicalised across the negative.

- (83) a. A hynny ny thygywys idaw.
and that NEG availed to-him
'And that didn't work for him.'
(PKM 11.2)
- b. Yr hebogyd nyt yf namyn teir gweith yn y neuad...
the falconer NEG drinks except three times in the hall
'The falconer does/shall not drink in the hall except for three times...'
(*Llyfr Blegywryd* 14.3-4)
- c. ...a Galaath nyt ymllyawd yr vn onadunt...
and Galáth NEG pursued the one-of-them
'...and Galáth did not pursue any of them...'
(YSG 1040-41)
- d. Y rei emelldigedic ny chaffant vy nhyrnas i.
the ones damned NEG receive-3P my kingdom me
'The damned ones shall not receive my kingdom.'
(*Catwn a'i Ddehongliad* 27.23)

Direct objects may also be topicalised over a negative. If they are, the negative marker may, but need not, appear with an object clitic -s.

(84) contains examples where this has not occurred. In (85) this option is chosen.³⁴

- (84) a. ...ac attep ny chauas ef genthi hi yn hynny.
and answer NEG received he with-3SF her in that.
'...and he received no answer from her in that (respect).'
(PKM 7.12-13)
- b. ...ac amgen ledyr no hwnnw ny phrynci cf...
and other leather than that NEG bought-IMPFF he
'...and he would buy no other leather than that...'
(PKM 54.13-14)
- (85) a. ...a 'r arglwydiaeth a gaussam ninheu y ulwydyn
and the government REL had-1S we-CONJ the year

honno, nys attygy y gennym, ot gwinn.
that NEG+3S-OBJ take-back-2S from with-us surely

'...and surely you will not take back from us the (good) government that we have had this year.'
(PKM 8.15-16)
- b. ...a hynny nys gallei.
and that NEG+3S-OBJ could
'...and that he could not do.'
(YSG 1780-81)

Finally, (86) shows topicalisation of a VP, again with an optional -s clitic on the negative marker.

- (86) a. Eissyoes y odiwes cf nys
however 3SM-GEN catch-up-with-VN him NEG+3S-OBJ

gallasant.
could-3P

'However, they could not catch up with him.'
(YSG 1248)
- b. ...na chlybot na gwelet nys gallei...
neither hear-VN nor see-VN NEG could
'...he could neither hear nor see...'
(YSG 5200-5201)

I assume that negative marker *ny(t)* is base-generated in C.³⁵ This assumption is motivated by the complementary distribution

³⁴Note the appearance of this construction in Old Welsh:

- (i) Grefat guetig nis minn Tutbulc haf cenetl in ols olsou.
title NEG+3S-OBJ needs Tudfwlch and-his kin in age ages
'Tudfwlch and his kin shall not need a title evermore.'
(*Surexit Memorandum* 270.10-11)

Mac Cana (1973:95, 113) and Isaac (1996:12) give this as an example of a *nominativus pendens* construction (i.e. left dislocation). In the light of the discussion below, this cannot be correct.

³⁵It is commonly assumed for all Celtic languages that the negative marker is base-generated in C. cf. Chung and McCloskey (1987:184) for Irish.

between it and the preverbal particles. There is also the fact that Middle Welsh has negative complementisers *cany(t)* 'because ... not', *kynty(t)* 'although ... not' and *ony(t)* 'if ... not'.

The simplest hypothesis would be to transfer the analysis of affirmative main clauses to negative ones, allowing merely for the optionality of movement in the latter. If V2 in affirmative clauses is triggered by a feature on the preverbal particles, it could be that this feature is simply optional on the negative particle.

There remains, however, the difficulty of the two patterns attested with movement of direct objects across the negative. If negative clauses were exactly parallel to affirmative clauses we would expect an equivalent object clitic 'i to appear in affirmative V2-structures with fronted objects, yet this does not happen.³⁶

One possibility would be to analyse the variant in (85) with the object clitic as involving left dislocation, with the object clitic licensing a null object *pro* (cf. Isaac 1996:58-59). This is indeed what the editor of (85)a. has done by inserting a comma between the fronted object and the negative marker. In this case, (85)b., for instance, would be interpreted as 'That, he couldn't do it'.

However, there is good reason to reject this suggestion. The set of possible sentence-initial elements includes non-referential quantifiers like *dim* 'anything, nothing' as can be seen from the examples in (87).

- (87) a. ...eissyoes dim o Seint Greal nys gweles ef.
 however none of Holy Greal NEG+3S-OBJ saw he
 '...however, he did not see the Holy Greal at all.'
 (YSG 1335)
- b. "Dim o 'r gennyat," heb hi, "nys keffy di."
 none of the permission said she NEG+3S-OBJ have-2S you
 "You shall not have any permission," she said.'
 (YSG 1735-36)

Non-referential quantifiers are cross-linguistically resistant to left dislocation. For instance, the example in (88) shows that in Italian *nessuno* 'no one' may not be left-dislocated. Parallel facts are found in French (Brandt and Cordin 1989:118-19, Rizzi 1986:394-97, Roberts 1993b:64).

- (88) *Nessuno, lo conosco in questa città.
 no one him-CL know-1S in this city
 'No one, I know him in this city.'
 (Intended reading: 'I know no one in this city.'
 (Rizzi 1986:395)

If sentences like (87) involved left dislocation, they would be parallel to (88), an undesirable consequence from a comparative perspective.

Another possibility is that the object topic, although in SpecCP rather than in a left dislocation position, does not undergo movement. We could claim that the negative particle in fact blocks all

movement. Instead resumptive *pro* is inserted in object position, acting as a pronominal variable bound by a topic base-generated in SpecCP. This is a standard approach to negation in relative clauses in Modern Welsh (cf. Awbery 1977, de Freitas and Noonan 1993). In SNegVO sentences this would be indistinguishable from a movement analysis – *pro* would be licensed by the verbal inflection, but the verb would have shown inflection even if movement had been possible. In ONegVS order, object *pro* would have to be licensed. The object clitic -s would suffice to do this. However, the type of sentence without the object clitic would be difficult to account for, since it is hard to see how object *pro* could possibly be licensed in this case. We must therefore reject this possibility.

This suggests that in fact, a movement analysis of negative V2 is required. We must assume that the negative marker does allow movement of a subject or object across it. In the case of the object the possibility of agreement suggests that movement is via some agreement projection, say AgrOP (cf. Kayne 1989). Such cyclic movement is perhaps forced because direct movement across the A'-specifier position SpecNegP will violate Relativised Minimality.

If movement via SpecAgrOP is required, why is the object agreement clitic only optional? This seems to be a more general property of the clitic in question. Other agreement elements in Middle Welsh appear whenever the agreement trigger is pronominal. However, -s does not appear consistently in this environment. Compare the parallel sentences in (89) with -s and (90) without.

- (89) '...nys aroaf i euo.'
 NEG+3S-OBJ wait-1S I him
 '...I shall not wait for him.'
 (Peredur 14.13-14)
- (90) Ac yr hynny hyt hedtw ny thorrels i ef.
 and since then until today NEG broke-1S I it
 'And since then until today I have not broken it.'
 (ChCC 67.25-26 = Geraint)

We conclude that V2 in negative contexts differs in two ways from the standard analysis of V2 presented above. First, movement to SpecCP is optional, perhaps owing to lexical differences between the negative and affirmative preverbal particles. Second, the presence of negation forces movement of objects to be via an object agreement projection, the result of which is the optional appearance of -s on the negative marker.

3.6 Topicalisation and Subject-Verb Agreement

I now turn to one important area where the syntax of the abnormal sentence in Middle Welsh differs from that of relative clauses, namely subject-verb agreement. The data, although difficult to assess, seem to suggest that some cases of the abnormal sentence in Middle Welsh should be analysed as involving A-movement. The suggestion is that the possibility of SpecCP acting as an A-position in Middle Welsh provided one starting point for the loss of V2-topicalisation more generally.

³⁶Variation in the form of the object clitic between -s and 'i is conditioned lexically by the host element.

As is well-known, verbs in Modern Welsh show morphological agreement with a postverbal subject only if it is pronominal (Sadler 1988:50-51, cf. also the similar Complementarity Principle devised for Breton in Stump 1984, 1989). The same is true in the main for Middle Welsh. However, if the subject is preverbal, it shows agreement in non-contrastive (abnormal) main clauses in Middle Welsh whether it is pronominal or not. Since the default agreement form is identical with the third person singular, this agreement shows up only in the third person plural and with conjoined subjects in other persons.

As was seen in sections 1.2.1-1.2.2, Welsh grammarians have traditionally made a distinction between the mixed and abnormal sentences. These are superficially very similar V2-structures. When a subject is fronted in the mixed sentence, as in (91), there is no subject agreement on the verb, whereas with a fronted subject in the abnormal sentence in (92) there is. The difference in agreement correlates with the difference in contrastive focus on the subject (cf. the Modern Welsh examples (6) and (7) in the Introduction).

(91) Mi ac heirch.
I PRT+3S-OBJ seek
'(It is) I (who) seek him.' (Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch 479.24)

(92) A 'r guyrda a doethant y gyt...
and the noblemen PRT came-3P together
'And the noblemen came together...' (PKM 21.12)

Relative clauses formed on the subject position do not show subject-verb agreement (D.S. Evans 1976:61). In this respect, the mixed sentence behaves like a relative clause, whereas the abnormal sentence does not. The question that arises is therefore how we can account for these different agreement patterns.

3.6.1 The Status of SpecCP

There seem to be a number of reasons for believing that in V2-languages, the landing site for topicalisation SpecCP may under some circumstances be an A'-position (Taraldsen 1986:17-18, Diesing 1990:47-49, Cardinaletti 1990b:82-83).

The principal motivation comes from the evidence of Yiddish stressed pronouns. In Yiddish, non-subject pronouns may precede the verb in main clauses only if they bear contrastive stress. Much the same applies to German (Travis 1991:359, Cardinaletti 1990b:82). Diesing argues that when it hosts subjects, the topic position (SpecCP in her analysis) may be an A-position, but that when it hosts non-subjects it must act as an A'-position. The topic/focus interpretation of preverbal elements is then due to their being operators in an A'-position. Subjects may occupy an A- or A'-position, so may or may not receive a topic/focus interpretation. This allows the behaviour of the pronouns to be stated as follows: a pronoun topicalised by A'-movement must be contrastively stressed.

3.6.2 An Account of Agreement

This suggests an approach to agreement differences between the abnormal sentence on the one hand and the mixed sentence and relative clauses on the other in terms of the A/A'-distinction. If SpecCP is an A-position, (A-)movement of the subject must proceed stepwise through SpecAgrSP (due to Relativised Minimality). If movement to SpecCP were direct, the trace of the moved subject in SpecAspP would fail to be A-bound within its governing category by its antecedent in SpecCP. Movement via the functional projection immediately below SpecCP is required, that is, AgrSP. So, if SpecCP is an A-position, the subject must pass through SpecAgrSP. On the assumption that subject agreement is the morphological realisation of Spec-Head agreement in AgrSP, the result is obligatory subject-verb agreement. An 'abnormal' sentence results.

On the other hand, if SpecCP is an A'-position, Binding Condition A is irrelevant, and the subject may move directly from SpecTP (where it receives Nominative Case) to SpecCP. This movement does not pass through SpecAgrSP, so there is no agreement on the verb. The result is the mixed sentence. The respective structures of (91) and (92) under this analysis are given in (93) and (94).

(93) [_{CP} A 'r guyrda_i a doethant_v [_{AgrSP} t_i t_v [_{AspP} t_i t_v y gyt]]]
and the noblemen PRT came-3P together

(94) [_{CP} Mi_i a'e heirch_v [_{AgrSP} t_v [_{AspP} t_i t_v]]]
I PRT+3S-OBJ seek

How do these structures relate to thematic interpretations? In the case of preverbal subjects it is straightforward to make a distinction between subjects in SpecCP as an A-position and those in SpecCP as an A'-position. We can argue that when SpecCP is an A-position, it is interpreted as involving no contrastive stress (the abnormal sentence), but that when it is an A'-position, there is contrastive stress (the mixed sentence).

For other possible topicalised constituents the situation is more complex. A-movement of other constituents to SpecCP seems to be ruled out by Relativised Minimality. If so, SpecCP is always an A'-position for non-subjects. Yet clearly non-subjects may appear preverbally in non-contrastive readings in Middle Welsh. We thus have to allow for SpecCP as an A'-position to be associated with a non-contrastive reading.³⁷ In fact, this seems to be a general property of V2-languages as opposed to non-V2-languages. If a language requires movement to SpecCP, then A'-movement to that position does not give a contrastive reading, whereas in a language like English where such movement is not required, constituent fronting always entails contrastive focus.

³⁷If this is true, we would expect that A'-movement of subjects would sometimes result in a non-contrastive reading i.e. in traditional terms there should be syntactically mixed sentences (i.e. with no subject-verb agreement) in Middle Welsh which are pragmatically unmarked for focus. A number of authors have noted such cases as a problem for the traditional abnormal/mixed contrast (D.S. Evans 1971, 1976:180, E. Evans 1958:5).

3.6.3 The Comparative Grammar of Agreement

At this point it is worth asking why such agreement contrasts are not found in other V2-languages. In a V2-language with underlying VSO word order, the set of Case-assigners must include AgrS, assigning Nominative Case under government. In this case, the subject is Case-marked in SpecTP, and remains Case-marked even when the verb raises to C. It is thus perfectly possible for a subject to A'-move from SpecTP to SpecCP directly. It will form an A'-chain whose base is assigned a theta-role and Nominative Case. This is the situation in Middle Welsh. In other V2-languages, however, Case may be assigned solely by a feature on C (cf. Platzack 1986). Hence a subject must raise to SpecAgrSP to receive case under all circumstances, even if it subsequently A'-moves to SpecCP. Subject-verb agreement therefore occurs whether the movement of the subject to SpecCP is A- or A'-movement.

This explains why a language like German has subject-verb agreement with all preverbal subjects, and why Middle Welsh has agreement only with A-moved ones.

There remains, however, apparently troublesome Breton data. In Breton, the verb fails to agree with any non-pronominal subject, whether it is preverbal or postverbal:

- (95) a. Ar vugale a lenn/*lennont levrioù.
the children PRT read /read-3P books
b. Levrioù a lenn/*lennont ar vugale.
books PRT read /read-3P the children

'The children are reading books.' (Stump 1984:292)

On the assumption that (95)a. has a parallel structure to that of Middle Welsh SVO, we should expect it to have A-movement to SpecCP via SpecAgrSP, and hence morphological agreement. This difference may reflect differences in the nature of agreement between the two languages. Middle Welsh seems to have subject-verb agreement in the usual sense, whereas it may be that in Breton subject-verb agreement results from incorporation of the subject pronoun into the verb (cf. Baker and Hale 1990:295). I leave the matter open for further investigation.

3.7 Learnability

The recent research on syntactic change discussed in Chapter Two has focused on what evidence children could use to acquire the grammars postulated for their language. Children have the task of producing a grammar whose output approximates to the language which they hear around them. We can therefore ask how the grammatical system developed so far might have replicated itself in Middle Welsh. Since the acquisition process is at the heart of linguistic change, an account of how a V2-system is acquired is essential for a full understanding of how and why such a system is maintained or lost historically.

3.7.1 Acquiring Germanic Verb-second

Lightfoot (1991:50-56) has suggested that Dutch and German children establish the V2-nature of their language in the following way. They first observe that sentences begin with an arbitrary phrasal category (subject, object, adverbial). Since it is a phrasal category it must either be a Specifier or a Complement. Since it is sentence-initial, it cannot be a Complement, so must be identified as a Specifier.³⁸ This specifier position has no fixed thematic or functional role, so cannot be identified as, say, IP or VP, hence it must be a higher projection, which Lightfoot labels YP (under the standard analysis, CP). The child therefore concludes that its language has obligatory topicalisation to a sentence-initial specifier position.

A number of more empirically-based studies of the acquisition of verb-second in German take a similar view. These show that German children go through an early stage of dominant SXOV word order, followed by a later stage when a verb-second rule is established (Clahsen 1988:53-54, Clahsen and Muysken 1986:97-102, Clahsen and Smolka 1986, Weissenborn 1994:219). The earliest subordinate clauses are correctly SXOV, and children do not overgeneralise main clause word order into them. This has been interpreted as meaning that children first establish underlying SOV order, producing bare VPs with the structure [vp NP_{subj} NP_{obj} V] (Weissenborn 1994:220). Then, on the basis of cases of observed XVSO word order, they establish the higher functional projections IP and CP, along with a rule moving the verb leftwards to C and topicalisation of an arbitrary constituent to SpecCP. In Clahsen and Muysken's formulation the crucial evidence for the child is essentially the observation that the dominant alternation in German is between SXOV orders and XVSO ones. The optimal grammar that gives this alternation is one in which SXOV is basic, and there is leftward movement of the verb across the subject, and of an arbitrary constituent XP to the clause-initial position (Clahsen and Muysken 1986:111-12).

As in Lightfoot's account (cf. section 2.2.1), the 'separable particles' play an important role in the establishment of underlying OV order inasmuch as verb-final order is established first with verbs with separable particles (Clahsen 1988:53, Clahsen and Muysken 1986:98, Clahsen and Smolka 1986:146-47).

3.7.2 Acquiring Middle Welsh Verb-second

In looking at the Middle Welsh system we need to establish what evidence there is parallel to that in German for the acquisition of V2.

It is difficult to be sure of what sort of input a child acquiring Middle Welsh would have received. However, the results of statistical studies on Middle Welsh prose tell us that Adverb-*y(d)*-Verb-Subject-Object was the most frequently attested order in writing, followed by Subject-*a*-Verb-Object.

³⁸This of course assumes that the child has identified CP as head-initial in Dutch/German. This is not a trivial task, given that other XPs, notably IP and VP are head-final in these languages.

Let us take the SVO order first. SVO main clauses provide the child with clear data, but they are compatible either with a V2-analysis or with subject-raising to SpecCP as in English, and are thus acquisitionally ambiguous. When confronted with such sentences, the child will be given no particular reason to opt for the more complex V2-grammar. The evidence of these clauses is therefore irrelevant. The same is true of clauses of the form AdvSVO. The adverb might be adjoined to IP, and the SVO order might simply be the result of subject raising.

The child will also come across clauses of the form Adv-*y(d)*-V-S... Even if we suppose that this order was less frequent in speech than in writing, children would still have come across it frequently. What is to stop the child analysing the adverb here as adjoining to AgrSP and the subject as occupying SpecTP? Firstly, if it does, case-assignment in Welsh would have to be bidirectional to allow for the variation between SVO and VSO orders, but this is found in other languages. Hence this cannot be ruled out on universal grounds, although it may represent a complication of the grammar. Secondly, and far more significantly, the evidence of the preverbal particles *a* and *y(d)* will confirm to the child that the preverbal position is a specifier position. The child sees that certain preverbal elements require the verb to be preceded by *a* whilst others require the verb to be preceded by *y(d)*. This is clearly an agreement process, so the element triggering agreement must be in a Spec-Head relation with the head showing agreement. Some adverbs trigger this agreement, so they must be in a Spec-Head relation with the preverbal particle. The agreeing elements are complementisers, thus the position of the adverb must be SpecCP. This also gives the child a reason why not all preverbal adverbs trigger a preverbal particle. The difference can be reduced to whether or not the adverb occupies a specifier position or an adjoined position.

The child will also come across sentences containing fronted objects, in which the subject follows the verb. This triggers the same agreeing particle *a* as a preverbal subject. The child is therefore led to infer that preverbal objects and subjects occupy the same structural position, and the grammar with preverbal elements in SpecCP is given further support.

Hence, the child can hypothesise a general agreement process between the head of C and an arbitrary XP in SpecCP. This is sufficient for the V2-parameter to be set positively.

The Middle Welsh child is at two disadvantages when compared with a child learning a typical V2-language, say German. First, Middle Welsh is not a strict V2-language. It allows preverbal adverbs to occur in positions other than SpecCP, some being adjoined to CP or C'. The evidence of the particles is therefore crucial in telling the child that when the only preverbal element is an adverb it occupies SpecCP. Without this evidence a lone preverbal adverb might be adjoined.

Second, AgrS-to-C movement is not transparent in Middle Welsh as it is in Germanic. Consider a German child who wrongly hypothesises that, in a V2-structure beginning with an adverb, the adverb occupies an IP-adjoined position, that is:

- (96) [IP Morgen [IP wird [VP Peter nach Hause kommen]]]
 tomorrow will Peter home come
 'Tomorrow Peter will come home.'

The German child has plenty of word order evidence to prove that this is wrong and that the inflected verb does not occupy I. In particular the child will come across evidence showing that IP is head-final in German, for instance embedded clauses with compound tenses:

- (97) ...[CP daß [IP Peter heute [VP nach Hause gekommen] ist]]
 that Peter today home come is
 '...that Peter came home today.'

It should therefore be clear that if the sentence in (96) really did have the structure hypothesised, the word order would be as in (98), which is not the case.

- (98) *[IP Morgen [IP [VP Peter nach Hause kommen] wird]]
 tomorrow Peter home come will
 'Tomorrow Peter will come home.'

Suppose the Welsh child makes a similar 'mistake', and hypothesises a structure like (99).

- (99) [AgrSP Yfory [AgrSP y gwely [TP Arthur_i ty [VP t_i ty y Greal]]]]
 tomorrow PRT sees Arthur the great
 'Tomorrow Arthur will see the Great.'

There is no comparable word order evidence to correct the mistake, since embedded word order is identically VSO. Once again, the only evidence to lead the child to correct the hypothesis is the agreement relationship between the adverbial and *y(d)* which suggests that they are in a Spec-Head configuration within the same XP.

Having established that some XP moves to SpecCP in an agreement relationship with a particle C-head, the child can be sure that this is generally A'-movement. For instance, the moved constituent may be an argument or non-argument, subject to Case requirements or not, and thus cannot in general be forming an A-chain, say, for Case reasons. The distance restrictions on movement discussed in section 3.4 follow from this conclusion, and do not need to be used as evidence in acquiring topicalisation as A'-movement.

3.8 Conclusion

In this chapter we have seen that Middle Welsh has a verb-second rule. The standard analysis of verb-second as (predominantly) A'-movement to SpecCP can be justified for the language on the basis of evidence from movement restrictions. Apparent complications with adverb placement make Middle Welsh a somewhat unusual verb-second language, but require relatively superficial changes to the standard analysis, involving only lexical rules on possible adverb positions. Other facets of the V2-system, involving movement restrictions, negation and agreement have been examined and integrated into such an analysis.

Finally, we have examined how Middle Welsh verb-second might have been acquired by children. The most crucial evidence seems likely to have come from variation in the form of the preverbal particles, and from the wide range of different word orders attested in the language.

Chapter Four Verb-first in Middle Welsh

Absolute verb-initial (V1, verb-first) clauses, where at most only the preverbal particle *y(d)* precedes the verb, are not common in Middle Welsh. On average the frequency of absolute V1, excluding negative clauses and other contexts where it is compulsory, is close to nil in Middle Welsh texts, and in no text which has ever been investigated does it exceed 10% (cf. Table 3.1 above).

Despite this, Fife and King (1991:89) claim that V1 is one of two non-emphatic word orders in Middle Welsh. Poppe similarly emphasises that it is a grammatical word order type in Middle Welsh (1990:454, 1993:104). In this chapter I shall claim that, far from being a basic word order type in Middle Welsh, V1 with synthetic verbs is in a certain sense almost non-existent. The examples that we do have can be viewed as special cases of verb-second found in coordinate structures and in similar narrative continuity contexts. We must therefore look to a later period (see Chapter Six) for the development of a true V1-pattern in Welsh.

4.1 The Gradualist Account of the Rise of V1

Fife (1991) suggests that there is a gradual rise in the use of verb-initial main declarative clauses in Welsh, with the sixteenth century occupying a transitional position between Middle and Modern Welsh. His study of literary texts of the sixteenth century purports to show that at this time between a fifth and a quarter of matrix clauses had the verb in absolute initial position. This contrasts with his study of Contemporary Welsh word order which suggests that the equivalent figure for verb-initial clauses is now between 50% and 66% (Fife 1993). Comparing these figures to Middle Welsh, he suggests that there has been a gradual and steady increase in the use of this order in the history of Welsh.

If such a gradualist position could be maintained, the evidence in support of it would present some difficulties for a parametric approach to syntactic change. We have posited the V2-requirement to be a parameter of Universal Grammar. A language with a positive setting of this parameter will not allow core verb-initial structures.¹ The introduction of verb-initial structures therefore requires a change in parameter setting, which in turn entails a sudden change in grammaticality of verb-initial orders as unmarked structures.

In fact, however, the evidence on which the gradualist account is based is flawed, and a closer documentation of the spread of the V1-order in the history of Welsh shows that this account needs to be amended substantially. In section 4.4, it will be shown that the statistics given in Fife (1991) suggesting a gradual rise in V1-orders are misleading. First, however, I examine V1-structures in Middle

¹Clearly there may be language-specific lexical devices which block or interfere with V2 e.g. the adverb placement rules of Middle Welsh. These might permit limited VSO in a V2-language cf. also section 4.3 below.

Welsh, arguing that they can be dealt with naturally within a V2-account of that language.

4.2 Sentential Coordination and VI in Middle Welsh

The rules for word order in Middle Welsh interact closely with those for coordination. The patterns of word order observed in the second conjuncts of pairs of conjoined clauses differ significantly from those found elsewhere. In particular virtually all of the instances of verb-initial word order are found in the second conjunct of conjoined clauses.

In a number of studies of Middle Welsh word order, difficulties have been noted with conjoined clauses, in particular, difficulties in assimilating them to the usual pattern of Topic-Verb-X. For instance, in (1), discussed by Poppe (1989:45), there appears *syntactically* to be an adverbial topic deleted under identity ('understood') in the second and subsequent clauses. This would be sufficient to account for the appearance of the particle *y(d)*, implying agreement with an adverbial topic, in the second and subsequent conjuncts.

- (1) Parth ac ynys Prydein y doethant dros vor a gwellgi.
towards Island Britain PRT came-3P over sea and ocean

Ac y goresgynnwys yr ynys ar Veli mab Manogan,
and PRT conquered the island on Beli son-of Manogan,

a 'e ueibon, ac y gyrrwys ar uor wynt, ac
and his sons, and PRT+3P-OBJ drove on sea them, and

y death racdaw hyt yn Aruon, ac yd adnabu yr
PRT came onward to Arfon and PRT recognised the

amherawdyr y wlat mal y gwelas.
emperor the land as-soon-as PRT+3S-OBJ saw.

'Towards Britain they came over sea and ocean. And he [=Emperor Macsen] conquered the island from Beli son of Manogan and his sons, and drove them into the sea, and advanced to Arfon, and the emperor recognised the land as soon as he saw it.'
(*Breuddwyd Maxen* 8.12-17)

However, semantically the topic of these clauses cannot be reconstructed as identical to the topic of the first clause, namely, *parth ac ynys Prydein* 'towards Britain' even though, since it is an adverb, this would be a syntactically-acceptable reconstruction. The required interpretation of the second clause as "Towards Britain he conquered the island..." would simply be incoherent. This leads Poppe to reject (1) as an instance of topic deletion under identity. The problem of why the particle *y(d)* appears in the second and subsequent conjuncts of course remains. A similar example from *Breudwyd Ronabwy* is given in Poppe (1990:448).

It seems that the difficulties with such clauses are part of a wider problem involving the rules of coordination and the possibilities for non-overt topics in Middle Welsh.

4.2.1 Conjoined Structures in Middle Welsh

In Middle Welsh, if a series of conjoined clauses have the same topic, the topic may be omitted in all the clauses after the first. Thus, many instances of clause-initial verbs in Middle Welsh can be construed as syntactically dependent on an adverb or some other topic in the preceding clause (Poppe 1989:45).

Consider, for instance, the examples in (2)-(5). The examples in (2) show a subject topic in the first clause followed by a second clause with a subject gap (henceforth marked as $_$) in the clause-initial topic position. The topic in the second clause must be a subject because the preverbal particle is *a*, the form required in agreement with a subject or object.²

- (2) **Subject Topic**
a. A chanyys bu, a 'y dala hi, mi a rodaf
and since was and 3SF-GEN catch-VN her, I PRT give-1S

Pryderi a Rhiannon it ac $_$ a waredaf yr hut
Pryderi and Rhiannon to-you and $_$ PRT remove-1S the spell

a 'r lletrith y ar Dyuet.
and the magic from on Dyfed.

'And since it was and she was caught, I shall give Pryderi and Rhiannon to you and remove the spell and magic from Dyfed.'
(ChCC 16.25-27 = PKM 64.18-20)

- b. Pa hyt bynnac y bydynt ar y ford, wynt a
however-long PRT were-COND-3P on the road they PRT

doethant hyt yn Llundain ac $_$ a gladyssant
came-3P as-far-as London and $_$ PRT buried-3P

y penn yn y Gwynuryn.
the head in the White Hill

'However long they might have been on the road, they reached London and buried the head in the White Hill.'
(ChCC 24.5-7 = PKM 47.19-21)

²Further examples with a pronominal subject: ChCC 21.5 (=PKM), 61.1 (=Geratn), 94.17, 100.20, 103.14, 104.11, 105.24, 106.5, 106.10 (=YSG), 117.26 (=YCM). With a nominal subject: ChCC 40.1, 44.11 (=Peredur), 50.25 (=Owein), 59.21 (=Geratn), 93.2, 94.20, 95.7, 95.26, 98.10, 102.18, 104.7, 106.32, 107.5 (=YSG), 112.23 (=SDR), 124.32, 131.3 (=YCM).

c. ...ac **wynt a welsant** y deu vackwy yn gware
and they PRT saw-3P the two lads PROG play-VN
yr wydbwyll ar y lleithic eur. **Ac** ___ a **welsant** y gwr
the chess on the couch gold and ___ PRT saw-3P the man
gwynllwyf ymon y golofyn... **ac** ___ a **welsant** y
grey-haired at-base the column and ___ PRT saw-3P the
uorwyn yn eisted y mywn cadeir o rudeau.
maiden PROG sit-VN in chair of red-gold

'...and they saw the two lads playing chess on the golden
couch. And saw the grey-haired man at the base of the
column and saw the maiden sitting in a chair of red gold.'
(*Breuddwyd Maxen* 7.10-14)

d. **Ac yna wynt a welynt** yr amser yn tywyllu
and then they PRT saw-IMPF-3P the time PROG darken-VN

ac ___ a **welynt** yr hin yn amrauael.
and ___ PRT saw-IMPF-3P the weather PROG change-VN

'And then they saw the day darkening and saw the weather
changing.'
(ChCC 101.15-16 = YSG)

(3) shows the same with an expletive subject, and (4) with a direct
object.

(3) **Expletive Subject**

a. **A gwedy** y ollwng y mywn, **ef a vuwyf** lawen
and after 3SM-GEN let-VN in it PRT was-IMPERS happy

wrthaw, **ac** ___ a **gymerwyf** y uarch o 'e
at-him and ___ PRT took-IMPERS his horse to 3SM-GEN

ystablu...
stable-VN

'And after he had been let in, people were happy towards him,
and his horse was taken to be stabled...'
(YSG 1770-71)

b. **Ac yn ol y twrwf** ef a daw cawat adoer, **ac** ___ a
and after the noise it PRT come shower very-cold and ___ PRT
vyd abreid ytti y diodef hi yn vyw...
be-FUT scarcely to-you 3SF-GEN suffer-VN it PRD alive

'And after the noise there will come a very cold shower and it
will be scarcely (possible) for you to withstand it alive...'
(ChCC 53.29-30 = *Owein* 152-53)

(4) **Direct Object**

a. ...a **gauas o achenogyon yn y holl lu a wisgwys**
REL found of needy in his whole host PRT clothed

yn hard **ac** ___ a **borthes** yn enrydedus o vwyf
beautifully and ___ PRT fed honourably of food

a diawt.
and drink.

'...those needy people that he could find in his whole host he
clothed beautifully and fed honourably with food and drink.'
(ChCC 120.17-19 = YCM 21.32-22.2)

b. **Ac y gyt a hynny yr arderchavc urenhin Arthur a**
and with that the munificent king Arthur PRT

urathvt yn agheuavl, **ac** odyno ___ a **ducvvt**
wounded-IMPERS mortally, and thence ___ PRT took-IMPERS

hyt yn Enys Auallach y yachau y weloed.
as-far-as island Avalon to heal-VN his wounds

'And with that the munificent King Arthur was mortally
wounded and thence was taken to the Isle of Avalon to heal
his wounds.'
(ChCC 90.17-20 = *Brut y Brenhinedd*)

In (5) we have an adverbial topic in the first clause. In this case the
preverbal particle in the second clause is *y(d)*, as required for
agreement with an adverbial topic. In (5)a, it is quite clear that the
adverbs *peunyf* 'every day' and *pob hanner dyf* 'every midday' in topic
position in the first clause have scope over the second, for instance
conditioning the aspect of the verb (imperfect). Uncertainties with
adverbial scope in the other examples in (5) will be returned to below.

(5) **Adverbial Topic**

a. **A gwedy bod hynny yn barawf gantunt, peunyf**
And after be-VN that PRD ready with-them, every-day

pob hanner dyf y kymerei y deu amherawdyr eu
every midday PRT took-IMPF the two emperor their

bwyl, ac ___ y peidynt ac ymlad o bop
 food and ___ PRT stopped-IMPF -3P with fight-VN from every

parth...
 side

'And after that was ready with them, every day at midday the two emperors had their food, and they stopped fighting on every front...'
 (*Breuddwyd Maxen* 11.5-8)

- b. Ac yna y kyhoedes y gyfreith yn gwbyl y 'r pobyl,
 and then PRT proclaimed the law entirely to the people

ac ___ y kadarnhawyt y awdurdawt vdunt ar y
 and ___ PRT confirmed-IMPERS his authority to-them on the

gyfreith honno, ac ___ y dodet emelltith Duw ... ar
 law that and ___ PRT put-IMPERS curse God on

y neb nys katwei...
 the anyone NEG+3S-OBJ kept-IMPF

'And then he proclaimed the law in its entirety to the people, and his authority over that law was confirmed to them and the curse of God ... was put on anyone who did not keep them...'
 (LIB 2.8-12)

- c. ...ac eno y gvastataus ac ___ y gorvu ar y
 and then PRT subjugated and ___ PRT overcame on the

Freinc o emlad, ac ___ e goresgynnvs rann vaur o
 French from fight-VN and ___ PRT conquered part large of

Freinc...
 France

'...and then he subjugated and overcame the French by fighting and conquered a large part of France...'
 (HGK 4.5-6)

- d. Ac yna yr anuonet Pompeius yn erbyn Tigranes,
 and then PRT sent-IMPERS Pompeius against Tigranes

vrenhin Armenia, ac ___ y lladawd hwnnw Scaurus...
 king Armenia and ___ PRT killed that Scaurus

'And then Pompeius was sent against Tigranes, King of Armenia, and he killed Scaurus...'
 (*Y Bibyl Ynghymraec* 46.8-9)

Certain standard assumptions are generally made with regard to coordination. First, the conjoined constituents must be of the same category and level of projection (Chomsky 1957:35-36, Dougherty 1970:864, Gazdar 1981:157). Furthermore, in Shared Constituent Coordination, as in (6), where *John* is a subject shared between both clauses, the shared element must lie outside both conjoined constituents.

- (6) [[P John [vp came in] and [vp looked around]]

Finally, if an element is extracted from one conjunct, it must also be extracted from the other conjunct (Across-the-Board extraction, Burton and Grimshaw 1992, McNally 1992, Ross 1967, Williams 1977, 1978). This accounts for the difference in grammaticality between (7)a. and b. In a. *who* is extracted from both conjuncts, whereas in b. it is extracted only from the first conjunct. Hence b. is an Across-the-Board Violation and therefore ungrammatical.

- (7) a. Who_i [t_i wrote the book] but [t_i did not produce the film]?
 b. *Who_i [t_i wrote the book] but [someone else produced the film]?

4.2.2 Against C'-coordination

The cases in (2)-(5) above can be dealt with straightforwardly without violating these hypotheses by adopting an analysis with coordination of the clauses at a level below the topic. Thus, for the case in (2)a., there would be C'-coordination with Across-the-Board extraction (topicalisation) of the identical subject in the two clauses:

- (8) [CP m_i
 I

[C: a rodaf_v [IP t_i t_v [VP t_i t_v Pryderi a Riannon it]]]
 PRT give-1S Pryderi and Riannon to-you

ac
 and

[C: a waredaf_v [IP t_i t_v [VP t_i t_v yr hut ... y ar Dyuet]]]
 PRT remove-1S the spell from on Dyfed

The apparent gap in the topic position of the second conjunct can easily be accounted for. Since the two conjuncts share a single SpecCP position, there is in fact no gap – the topic position for both clauses is filled by the extracted subject *mi*, hence the appearance of the particle *a* on both main verbs. The obligatory gap in subject position is the usual *wh*-trace left by topicalisation.

Other cases of coordination in Middle Welsh, however, present problems that cannot be handled in this way.

It is also possible to conjoin V2-clauses in Middle Welsh even if they do not share the same topic. In the most usual case, two clauses share a subject but this subject is not topicalised in the first conjunct, and hence occupies the postverbal subject position, SpecIP (=SpecTP). Examples of this construction are given in (9). Throughout, the constituent in the first clause which acts as antecedent of the topic gap in the second clause is given in bold.³

³Further examples: ChCC 39.3 (=Peredur 9.13), 39.26 (=Peredur 11.23), 100.16 (=YSG 3242); HGK 18.7; Owain 782; Peredur 51.8; YCM 20.24, 32.30; YSG 527, 695, 1127, 1359, 1640, 1739, 2843, 3115, 3169, 3253 (ms. A only).

- (9) a. *A thri ugein mlyned y bu ynteu yn y llywaw*
 And sixty years PRT was he-CONJ PROG 3SF-GEN rule-VN
hi yn vravl, ac ___ a adeilvs dinas ar auon Soram,
 it manfully and ___ PRT built city on river Soram
ac ___ a'e gelwis o 'e enw e hun Caer Llyr...
 and ___ PRT+3S-OBJ called from his name his own Leicester
 'And for sixty years he ruled it manfully, and built a city on
 the River Soram and called it from his own name Leicester...'
 (ChCC 72.2-4 = *Brut y Brenhinedd*)
- b. *A phan ymwahaneist di y wrth Galaath, y'lh gafas*
 and when parted-2S you from Galáth PRT+2S-OBJ took
y gwas drwc ac ___ a aeth ynot.
 the servant bad and ___ PRT went into-you.
 'And when you parted from Galáth the Devil took you and
 went into you.'
 (YSG 980-81)
- c. *...ac yna y kyuodes sabot ac ___ a elwis ar bown*
 and then PRT arose Sabot and ___ PRT called on Bown
ac ___ a erchis idaw talu teyrnget yr brenhin...
 and ___ PRT asked to-him pay-VN homage to-the king
 'And then Sabot arose and called on Bown and asked him to
 pay homage to the king...'
 (YBH 2825-28)⁴
- d. *Ac yna yn gyflym yd eynt [pro] am benn yr honn*
 and then quickly PRT went-IMPF-3P [pro] against the one
a vynynt ac ___ a darostyngynt hi vdunt.
 REL wanted-IMPF-3P and ___ PRT subjugated-IMPF-3P it to-them
 'And then quickly they would attack the one that they
 wanted and they would subjugate it to them.'
 (ChCC 110.4-6 = SDR 485-87)

Suppose we try to analyse this as C'-coordination, analysing (9)a. as in (10).

- (10) [*cp tri ugein mlyned*
 sixty years
lc: y bu [ip ynteu] [vp yn y llywaw ht...]]]]
 PRT was he ruling it
 ac
 and
lc: a adeilvsy [ip ?i tv [vp tv dinas ...]]]]]
 PRT built city

On the assumption that coordination requires the shared element to lie outside both conjuncts, this analysis is problematic, since the status of the subject of the second clauses, marked here with a question mark is unclear.

Furthermore, in all cases the missing topic of the second clause is its subject, as can be seen from the appearance of the preverbal particle *a*, which agrees only with topicalised subjects and objects. If we take these cases to involve C'-coordination, there is no reason to expect the particle *a* to occur, since the common SpecCP position for both clauses is filled by an adverb. Given our account of the preverbal particles as topic agreement, the subject gap in the second clause must be preverbal, and some other account must be sought.

This construction is reminiscent of so-called SLF-coordination (*Subjektllücke Finit/Frontal*) in German conjoined V2-clauses (Höhle 1990), illustrated in (11).

- (11) *In Mainz fährt Karl am Abend los und kommt am*
 in Mainz goes Karl in-the evening away and comes in-the
Morgen in Bonn an.
 morning in Bonn to.
 'Karl will leave Mainz in the evening and will arrive in Bonn
 in the morning.'
 (Heycock and Kroch 1994:258)

As in the Middle Welsh examples in (9), the two conjuncts have a shared subject, but not a shared verb. The two verbs must lie below the level of coordination, i.e. coordination must be above C. The shared subject *Karl* must occupy a position above the level of coordination. However, the subject has not topicalised in the first clause, so remains in SpecIP. Hence coordination must be below SpecIP. Clearly, it is impossible for the level of coordination to be both above C and below SpecIP.

The usual analysis of the German construction involves coordination at a subclausal level (Kathol 1992, Heycock and Kroch 1994). However, there are important differences between the German and Middle Welsh data, to which we return below and which suggest that a common analysis is not possible. The German data nevertheless turn out to be highly significant when we examine later developments in Welsh.

Similar data are also found in Breton V2-clauses. There in addition to straightforward cases of Shared Constituent Coordination

⁴Cf. Poppe (1989:45, 1993:98) and M. Watkins' edition (p. clvii), where this and parallel examples in *Breuddwyf Ronabwy* and *Kedymdeithyas Amlyn ac Amic* are treated as 'mistakes'. The parallels with other examples make it clear that the use of *a* here is in fact part of a fully-productive grammatical pattern.

below a topicalised subject (12)a. and a topicalised object (12)b., we find SLF-type coordination in (13).

(12) a. Me a yelo di hag __ a gavo an teñzor.
I PRT will-go there and __ PRT will-get the treasure.
'I will go and get the treasure.' (Press 1986:204)

b. Brezhoneg a lennan hag __ a skrivan.
Breton PRT read-1S and __ PRT write-1S
'I (can) read and write Breton (Breton I read and I write).'
(Jouin 1984:29)

(13) Me am eus gwelet un den hag __ a deue din.
I have-1S seen a man and __ PRT came to-me
'I saw a man and (he) came towards me.' (Le Clerc 1908:198)

Given these data, a number of interrelated questions arise:

1. What is the relationship between the gap in topic position in the second conjunct and its antecedent?
2. What is the nature of the gap?
3. What is the categorial status of the second conjunct?

The situation in Middle Welsh (and also in Breton) is complicated by additional information provided by the presence of the topic-agreement particle *a*.

The phenomenon in general is less restrictive in Middle Welsh than in German. Although the most usual situation is for the gap in the second conjunct in Middle Welsh to be coreferential with the subject of the first conjunct, this is not always the case. The antecedent of the gap may in fact fulfil any grammatical function in the first conjunct whatsoever. So, in (14)a., the topic in the second conjunct corresponds to the direct object of the first. In b. it corresponds to the object of a preposition in the first conjunct⁵; in c. to the subject of an embedded clause⁶; and in d. to the implicit subject of an impersonal verb.

(14) a. Ac yn yr vn wythnos ef a gyfaruu ac ef vn
And in the same week it PRT met with him one

marchawc ar bumthec, ac a uyrywys pob un,
knight on fifteen and PRT threw every one,

ac __ a doethant raddunt lys Arthur...
and __ PRT came-3P onward court Arthur

'And in the same week there met with him sixteen knights and he threw every one, and (they) came onward to Arthur's court...'
(Peredur 16.20-23)

⁵Further examples: YSG 1368, 1538, 2369, 2381, 2496, 3748, 4405, 4965, 5045.

⁶Further example: YCM 25.13.

b. A phan weles y kythreul, drwc vu ganthaw [pro],
and when saw the devil, bad was-PERF with-3S [pro]

ac __ a vedylyawd ar wneuthur iawn i'tt pan weles
and __ PRT thought on do-VN right to-you when saw

y gyflwr...
his chance

'And when the devil saw (that), he was displeased, and thought of paying you back when he saw his chance...'
(YSG 960-61)

c. Ac yna yd ysgawnhaawd y dolur ual y gallei [pro]
and then PRT eased the pain so-that PRT could [pro]

gysgu a cherdet, ac __ a dywawt...
sleep-VN and walk-VN and __ PRT said

'And then the pain eased so that he could sleep and walk, and (he) said...'
(YSG 1301-1302)

d. Ac o'r diwed efo a delit o gedernyt,
and of the end he-REDUP PRT catch-IMPF-IMPERS of force,

ac __ a 'e dugassant __ y 'r fforest.
and __ PRT 3S-OBJ took-3P __ to the forest.

'And in the end he was caught by force, and (they) took him to the forest.'
(YSG 2756-57)

It is also not necessary for the topic to correspond to any single grammatical position in the first conjunct. There are cases of split antecedents, as in (15)a.-c. and partial antecedents as in (15)d.⁷

(15) a. Iosep_i a gymerth Meir_j a phymp or guerydon_k
Joseph PRT took Mary and five of-the virgins

y gyt a hy. ac ___{i+j+k} a doethant y ty Iosep.
with her, and ___{i+j+k} PRT came-3P to house Joseph.

'Joseph took Mary and five of the virgins with her and (they) came to Joseph's house.'
(MIG 216.7-8)

⁷Similar examples: YSG 4130, 5647; and Owein 768.

- b. *Mivi*_i, ... a ymrodaf_i y gyt a *thydi*_j yn y gwassanaeth
I-CONJ PRT engage-1S with you-REDUP in the enterprise

hwmm ... ac _{i+j} a gymerwn, vi a thi, arnam heddiw
this and _{i+j} PRT take-1P I and you on-us today

gostwg syberwyt Rolond ... hyt ar dim.
reduce-VN arrogance Roland as-far-as nothing

'I ... shall engage with you in this enterprise ... and (we) shall take (it) upon ourselves today, me and you, to reduce Roland's arrogance down to nothing.'

(ChCC 130.3-6 = YCM 139.16-20)

- c. Ac yna *Peredur* a *Bwrt*_i a gymerassant y tal blaenaf
and then Peredur and Bwrt PRT took-3P the end front

y'r tabyl, a *Galath*_j ehun a gymerth y tal arall,
to-the table and Galath himself PRT took the end other

ac _{i+j} a aethant ac ef tu a 'r dref.
and _{i+j} PRT went-3P with it towards the town

'And then Peredur and Bwrt took the front end of the table, and Galath himself took the other end and (they) carried it towards the town.'
(YSG 5599-5601)

- d. A 'r *unbennes*_i a gymerth y gyt a hi prenwl
and the lady PRT took with her wood

eureit a mein mawrweirthyawc ..., ac _i a'e
gold and stone valuable and _i PRT+3P-OBJ

dodes ryngthi a 'r goryf; ac _{i+j} a
put between-her and the pommel and _{i+j} PRT

gychwynnassant raddunt o 'r castell, ac _{i+j} a
started-3P onward from the castle, and _{i+j} PRT

varchockaassant yny doethant parth a glann y mor.
rode-3P until came-3P towards shore the sea

'And the lady took with her a golden piece of wood and a valuable stone ... and (she) put them between her and the pommel and (they) started out from the castle and (they) rode until they came to the shore.'
(YSG 3981-84)

Notice that at this point the Middle Welsh and German constructions diverge sharply. In German SLF-coordination, partial and split antecedents are completely ungrammatical:

- (16) *In Berlin besprach Clinton die Krise mit Kohl
in Berlin discussed Clinton the crisis with Kohl

und fuhren dann zusammen weiter nach New York.
and went-3P then together on to New York.

'Clinton discussed the crisis with Kohl in Berlin and then (they) went on together to New York.'

This evidence emphatically confirms that in Middle Welsh the second conjunct cannot be a C' with its topic in an external shared specifier position. In fact it confirms that we are not dealing with Shared Constituent Coordination at all, since the subject of the second conjunct does not even have to be a single constituent of the first conjunct. Consequently the second conjunct must contain an empty category in topic position.⁸

Furthermore the mechanism for coindexing between the gap in topic gap and its antecedent must be pragmatic rather than syntactic, since there is no constant feature of the syntactic relationship between them. The antecedent may or may not c-command the topic gap, and it may or may not correspond to a single syntactic entity.

4.2.3 The Nature of the Empty Category

We have already seen that the coordination structures in German are more restricted than in Middle Welsh, and that this may suggest a purely syntactic Shared Constituent Coordination approach for German. This approach is not, however, appropriate for Middle Welsh. Two other languages display a system more similar to the Welsh one, namely Old French and Old Icelandic. There are two proposals for what the empty category might be, either a null operator (Sigurðsson 1993) or a null pronominal (Vance 1993). I turn first to the Old French evidence discussed by Vance, before engaging in more general discussion of the nature of the empty category, returning eventually to Sigurðsson's proposals for Old Icelandic.

4.2.3.1 Topic Gaps as *pro*

Vance (1993) discusses Old French constructions of this type as in (17). The third person plural DP in the existential construction in the first clause is the antecedent of a gap in subject position of the second clause.

⁸The counterargument to such a suggestion for German SLF-coordination involves examples like (i), where a quantified DP subject appears in the first conjunct. Given that pronouns and anaphors cannot refer back to quantified DPs, the grammaticality of (i) rules out an analysis with a *pro* subject.

- (i) Gestern ging niemand in den Wald und fing einen Hasen.
yesterday went no one into the forest and caught a hare.
'Yesterday no one went into the forest and caught a hare.'

(Kathol 1992:272)

I know of no data parallel to (i) in Middle Welsh.

(17) Et devant les paveillons avoit bien cinc cent
 and in-front-of the pavillions had well five hundred
 chevaliers ... et avoient comencié un tornoiment trop
 knights and had-3P begun a tournament very
 marvaillex.
 marvellous
 'And in front of the pavillions there were five hundred knights
 ... and (they) had begun a very marvellous tournament.'
 (Vance 1993:288)

The French construction is like Middle Welsh in allowing a split or unexpressed antecedent. Vance suggests that the empty element in the second conjunct is *pro*. The obvious approach would be to adopt an analysis of the second conjunct as a full CP with *pro* in SpecCP. This would give an account of why the second conjunct is apparently verb-initial. However, in Old French *pro* is licensed only in postverbal position. Hence Vance is led to reject this approach, adopting instead an analysis in which the second conjunct is an I'. *Pro* is licensed postverbally in SpecVP by being governed by rich Infl. The fact that the second conjunct is an I' explains why it does not manifest verb-second effects. V2 is a result of movement to the CP-level. Since this level does not exist in these clauses, the movement that leads to V2 can never occur.

It is not clear from Vance (1993) whether the second conjunct I' is intended to conjoin with the whole of the first conjunct or simply with the I' of the first conjunct. The two possible structures for (17) are shown in (18). In (18)a., CP is conjoined with I', in (18)b., I' with I'.

(18) a. [CP [CP devant les paveillons avoit_{V1} [IP *pro* [I' *tv1* ...500 chevaliers]]]]
 in front of the pavillions had 500 knights
 et
 and
 [I' avoient_{V2} [VP *pro*_i [V' comencié un tornoiment ...]]]]
 had-3P begun a tournament

b. [CP ...devant les paveillons avoit_{V1} [IP *pro*
 in front of the pavillions had
 [I' [I' *tv1* ... 500 chevaliers]
 500 knights
 et
 and
 [I' avoient_{V2} [VP *pro*_i [V' comencié un tornoiment ...]]]]]
 had-3P begun a tournament
 (adapted from Vance 1993:295)

The main objection to the structure in (18)a. is that it involves coordination of non-like constituents. A similar approach is defended for German in Heycock and Kroch (1994), but it is difficult to see how it could be constrained in the present instance. The structure in (18)b. on the other hand avoids this objection by coordinating exclusively I'.⁹ However, according to this analysis, one would expect Binding Condition B violations if *pro* in the second conjunct is bound by the subject of an unergative verb in the first conjunct. Such a configuration is shown in (19). The governing category for *pro* is IP. This contains a DP subject in SpecIP which A-binds *pro* in SpecVP, a Condition B violation.

(19) [CP XP V_{V1} [IP DP_i [I' [I' *tv1* ...]]]]
 et
 [I' V_{V2} [VP *pro*_i [V' *tv2* ...]]]]]

Even if these objections are disregarded, there are further difficulties with this approach that arise specifically from a consideration of Middle Welsh. The Welsh data in (9) and (14)-(15) appear to be very similar to the Old French data. As in Old French, preverbal *pro* is not normally licensed in Middle Welsh. This suggests that Vance's analysis should be transferable to Welsh. In Welsh, however, there are preverbal particles, the distribution of which proves that this is not possible. Indeed, since the situation in the two languages is otherwise very similar, it casts doubt on the original analysis itself. Transferred directly to Welsh, this analysis would give the structure of (14)a. as (20), ignoring for the moment the question of precisely at which level coordination takes place.

⁹An Across-the-Board Violation remains of course, since the verb in C is extracted only from the first conjunct.

- (20) $[_{CP} \text{ef}_i \text{ a } \text{uyrywys } [_{IP} \text{t}_i \text{ t}_V \text{ } [_{VP} \text{t}_i \text{ t}_V \text{ pob } \text{un }]]]$
 he PRT threw every one
 ac
 and
 $[_{I'} \text{ a } \text{doethant } [_{VP} \text{pro } \text{racdunt } \text{lys } \text{Arthur }]]$
 PRT came-3P onward court Arthur

The biggest problem with this is the preverbal particle *a*. It has been assumed so far that this particle is base-generated in C as a reflex of Spec-Head agreement within CP. The second conjunct here has no CP, so this account would have to be revised. However, even if it were revised to allow *a* to be the reflex of Spec-Head agreement within IP, the form of the particle would still fail to be predicted correctly. The particle in I of the second conjunct would agree with its Specifier position. Depending on what the second conjunct is taken to conjoin with, there is either no specifier of IP (if CP conjoins with I') or the specifier is filled by the subject of the first conjunct or its trace. In this particular example this second option happens to produce the correct particle *a* in the second conjunct in agreement with a nominal element in SpecIP.

However, the approach predicts that *y(d)* can never occur in the second conjunct, since the specifier position of the particle in the second conjunct will always be SpecIP, the subject position of the first conjunct. This is not true. We find frequent examples in Middle Welsh of sentences like those in (21), where the particle in the second conjunct is *y(d)*.

- (21) a. $\text{Dyuo} \text{ a } \text{wnaeth } \text{Gwalchmai} \text{ attaw } \text{heb } \text{arwyd}$
 come-VN PRT did Gwalchmai to-him without sign
 creulonder gantaw, ac *y* dywawt wrthaw...
 cruelty with-him and PRT said to-him
 'Gwalchmai came to him without any sign of cruelty and said to him...' (ChCC 45.25-27 = *Peredur* 33.13-15)
- b. $\text{Arthur } \text{a } \text{deuodes } \text{dala } \text{llys } \text{yg } \text{Kaer } \text{Llion}$
 Arthur PRT was-accustomed hold-vn court in Caerleon
 ar Vysc ac *y* dellis ar un tu seith Pasc a
 on Wye and PRT held consecutively seven Easters and
 phymp Nadolic.
 five Christmases
 'Arthur was accustomed to holding court at Caerleon-on-Wye and held it (there) consecutively for seven Easters and five Christmases.' (ChCC 57.1-2 = *Geraint*)

- c. $\text{Ac } \text{yna } \text{gyntaf } \text{y } \text{dywetpwy} \text{t } \text{y } \text{geir } \text{hwnnw}, \text{ ac } \text{y}$
 and then first PRT said-IMPERS the word that and PRT
 diharebir etwa ohonaw.
 use-as-proverb-IMPERS still of-it
 'And then for the first time that expression was said, and it is still used as a proverb.'
 (ChCC 21.13-14 = PKM 41.1-2)

- d. $\text{Ac } \text{yn } \text{olaf } \text{y } \text{doeth } \text{Chyarlymaen } \text{a } \text{Rolant } \text{ac}$
 and last PRT came Charlemagne and Roland and
 eu lluoed. $\text{Ac } \text{yd } \text{achubassant } \text{yr } \text{holl } \text{dayar} \dots$
 their forces and PRT saved-3P the whole earth
 'And last came Charlemagne and Roland and their forces. And they saved the whole earth...' (YCM 16.20-22)

Note that (21)c.-d. cannot be analysed like (8) above, that is, with C'-coordination and the adverb in a single SpecCP position, since the adverb clearly does not have scope over the second clause. Sentences like those in (21), parallel to our original problem example in (1), have in recent works been classified as V1. It should by now be clear that they fit into a wider phenomenon of coordination rules which are intimately bound up with the V2-constraint.

Again notice the direct parallel with coordination in Breton. In (22) the order particle - VSO appears in the second of a pair of conjoined clauses despite the fact that clause-initial VSO is not normally possible in main clauses in Breton.

- (22) $\text{He } \text{bizied } \text{a } \text{c'hoarie } \text{lentik } \text{gant } \text{va } \text{blev} \dots$
 her fingers PRT played-IMPF slowly with my hair
 Hage lavare din gerloù-mamm ha kariadez.
 and PRT spoke-IMPF to-me words-mother and love
 'Her fingers played slowly with my hair ... and (she) spoke to me mothering and loving words.' (Le Gléau 1973:79-80)

One syntactic difference between the Welsh sentences with *y(d)* in the second conjunct and those with *a* is clear. With *y(d)*, the subject in the second conjunct may be overt in postverbal position, as it is in the examples in (23), whereas postverbal subjects, with one class of exceptions to be discussed below, are not permitted if the particle in the second conjunct is *a*.

- (23) a. 'Pan deuthum i yma gyntaf, y cwm mawr a welwch
when came-1S I here first, the valley big REL see-2P

glynn coet oed, ac y deuth kenedlaeth o dynyon
dale wood was, and PRT came race of men

idaw ac y diuawyt. Ac y tyuwys
to-it and PRT+3S-OBJ destroyed-IMPERS. And PRT grew

yr eilcoet yndaw...
the second forest in-it

'When I came here first, the big valley that you see, it was a wooded dale, and a race of men came to it and it was destroyed. And the second forest grew in it...'

(ChCC 30.25-28 = *Culhwch ac Olwen* 875-77)

- b. Haralld Harfagyr ... a damgylchynus holl Ywerdon gan
Harald Harfagri PRT surrounded all Ireland with

greulonder, ... a 'e goresgyn ar hyl ac ar
cruelty and 3SF-GEN conquer-VN on length and on

llet. Ac yd adeilws enteu dinas Dilyn a llawer
breadth and PRT built he-CONJ city Dublin and many

o dinassoed eraill...
of cities other

'Harald Harfagri surrounded the whole of Ireland cruelly, and conquered it completely. And he built the city of Dublin and many other cities...'

(HGK 3.18-22)

- c. ...a Pheredur a gyfodes ac a wiscawd y arueu
and Peredur PRT arose and PRT wore his arms

yndanaw ac yndan y varch, ac ef a deuth y 'r
on-him and on his horse and he PRT came to the

weirglawd. Ac y deuth [y] wreic ohen a 'r
meadow and PRT came the woman very-old and the

vorwyn at y gwr llwyd.
maiden to the man grey

'...and Peredur arose and put his arms on himself and on his horse, and he came to the meadow. And the very old woman and the maiden came to the grey man.'

(*Peredur* 38.7-10)

- d. A thu ac yno y kyrechawd, ac y kyfaruu ac ef
and towards there PRT headed and PRT met with him

gwr prud...
man solemn

'And he headed towards there and a solemn-looking man met with him...'

(YSG 1009-10)

As already noted, the cases with *a*, on the other hand, alternate with a subject pronoun in preverbal rather than postverbal position. These facts suggest that the difference between the cases in (14)-(15) and those in (21) is that in (21) *pro* occupies (postverbal) SpecIP (Spec'IP), whereas in (14)-(15) SpecIP (Spec'IP) is filled by the trace of the subject *pro* which has topicalised to SpecCP. The structure of (21)a. and (15)a. would therefore be as in (24) and (25) respectively.

- (24) ...ac [CP y dywawtv [_{pro} t_v [VP t_i t_v wrthaw...]]]
PRT said to-him

- (25) ...ac [CP *pro*_i a doethantv [IP t_i t_v [VP t_i t_v raddunt lys Arthur]]]
PRT came-3P onward court Arthur

In (25), *pro* is topicalised to SpecCP, and the particle *a* in C agrees with it. SpecIP contains its trace, which cannot alternate with an overt DP. In (24) there is no such topicalisation, hence *pro* is postverbal and may alternate with an overt DP subject. I leave for the moment the question of how *pro* is licensed in preverbal position in (25).

This leaves us with the question of what occupies SpecCP in (24). One possibility is nothing at all. If so, we need an account of why the particle *y(d)* appears on the verb. One solution would be to redefine *y(d)* as the default particle in C, but this solution would force us to modify the otherwise strong V2-constraint for Middle Welsh requiring SpecCP to be filled.

This would also give an inadequate account of the semantics and peculiar distribution of V1-clauses, since it would imply that leaving SpecCP empty is a general possibility. We would expect general VSO. It therefore fails completely to address the question of why we should find V1-clauses in the second conjunct of pairs of conjoined clauses, when they are so rare everywhere else in the language. V1-main clauses in Middle Welsh may not begin a narrative. Fife (1988:104) notes the converse of this, namely that topic-initial structures are associated with or perhaps required at the beginning of a narrative. Why should this be?

The parallels with the symmetric Germanic V2-languages and with Breton are revealing in this respect. Of the Germanic V2-languages, Icelandic and Yiddish permit declarative verb-initial main clauses. Examples are given in (26).

(26) a. **Yiddish**

Hot men geheysn shisn.
has one ordered shoot
'They ordered to shoot.'

(Santorini 1989:61)

b. **Icelandic**

Kom Ólafur seint heim.
came Olaf late home.
'Olaf came home late.'

(Thráinsson 1986:173)

According to Diesing (1990:56 fn.14), V1 in Yiddish is possible when "the sentence has a corollary status with respect to the narrative that precedes". Sigurðsson (1990:45) gives a similar description of the function of V1-clauses in Icelandic. They indicate strong discourse cohesion, and cannot initiate a discourse. V1 is also dominant in conjoined clauses introduced by *ok* 'and' (Sigurðsson 1990:51).

In Middle Welsh, restrictions on V1 are of a similar nature. As implied above, the usual use is in the second conjunct of a pair of conjoined clauses, or in a longer sequence of conjoined clauses. A good example of this is the passage in (27). VSO clauses introduced by *y(d)* are marked in bold.

- (27) A'r marchawc a ossodes arnaw, ac nyt ysgoges ef o'r lle yr hynny. Ac ynteu Peredur a ordinawd y varch ac a'e kyrcawd yn llyyawedrut engiryawchwerw awydualch, ac a'e gwant dynawt gwenwyniclym, tostdrut, milwreiddffyrff y dan y dwyen, **ac y drechefis** o'e gyfrwy **ac y byrywawd** ergyt mawr y wrthaw. **Ac yd ymchoelawd** trachefyn **ac yd edewis** y march a'r arueu gan y gweisson mal kynt.

And the knight attacked him, but he did not move him from the place despite this. And Peredur, on the other hand, spurred his horse and attacked him angrily, ferociously and ardently, and struck him an incisive, hard, bellicose blow under his mouth, **and raised him** from his saddle **and struck him** a great blow. **And (he) turned back and left** the horse and the arms with the servants as before.

(Peredur 41.27-42.6)

The three actions performed initially by Peredur are expressed using an SVO clause, conjoined with two clauses each with an empty subject in topic position coreferential with *Peredur*. The consequence of these actions, the knight rising up from his saddle, is expressed using a verb-initial clause. Peredur's subsequent actions are also expressed using verb-initial clauses. Both actions follow on from the SVO clauses, either causally or temporally.

With the example in (27), as with those in (21)c.-d., there is no possibility that the topic of an earlier clause has scope over the V1-clause(s). In perhaps the majority of cases of V1-clauses in Middle Welsh, however, the scope of the adverb is ambiguous for the modern reader to a greater or lesser extent. The interpretation of these cases is a matter for the judgement of the researcher. A number of studies of Middle Welsh word order mention this problem (Poppe 1989:45, 49; Poppe 1990:448, 452; Watkins 1983/84:155), generally taking such

adverbs to have scope over subsequent conjuncts wherever this is semantically at all conceivable, thereby reducing the number of V1-clauses. For instance, Poppe's (1991a:163) policy is that "[s]entences in which more than one finite verb is syntactically dependent on a fronted constituent which governs the choice of relative pronoun or particle are counted as one example of a word order pattern." The same policy is applied implicitly by Watkins (1977/78, 1983/84, 1993). However, this is by no means an obvious conclusion. The typical case in Middle Welsh prose is with a first conjunct with *yna* 'then' in topic position. Examples are given in (28).

- (28) a. Ac yna y messurasant wynteu hyt nos uchet y
and then PRT measured-3P they-CONJ at night height the

gaer, **ac yd ellygasant** eu seiri y'r koet, **ac**
castle and PRT let-out-3P their carpenters to the forest and

y gwnaethpwynt yscawl y pob petwar gwyr onadunt.
PRT made-IMPERS ladder for every four men of-them

'And then by night they measured the height of the castle, and let their carpenters out into the forest and a ladder was made for every four men of them.'

(Breuddwyd Maxen 11.2-5):

- b. Ac yna y kerdawd raddaw, ac y deuth y dyffryn yr
and then PRT walked onward and PRT came to valley the

afon. **Ac y kyfaruu** ac ef nifer o wyr yn mynet
river and PRT met with him number of men PROG go-VN

y hela...
to hunt-VN

'And then he walked onward and came to the river valley. And (there) met with him a number of men going hunting...'

(Peredur 62.23-25)

- c. Ac yna y kyfaruu y llog a chreigawl garrec ... **Ac**
and then PRT met the ship with craggy rock and

y torres y llog genti yn drylleu; **ac y bodes** y
PRT broke the ship with-it in pieces and PRT drowned the

meibon a phawb o'r nifer...
sons and everyone of the company

'And then the ship came up against a craggy rock ... And the ship broke into pieces because of it; and the sons and everyone in the company drowned...'

(Brut y Tywysogyon 104.12-15)

CHAPTER FOUR

d. *Ac yna y gelwis ynteu y uerch ycuhaf idav*
and then PRT called he his daughter youngest to-him

attav, a gouyn idi hitheu pa ueint y carei ef.
to-him, and ask-VN to-3SF her how-much PRT loved him

Ac y dywawt hitheu rygaru ef eryot mal y
and PRT said she love-PERF-VN him always as PRT

dylyei uerch caru y that...
should daughter love-VN her father...

'And then he called his youngest daughter to him, and asked her how much she loved him. And she said that she had always loved him as a daughter should love her father...'

(ChCC 72.26-73.1 = *Brut y Brenhinedd*)

The examples given in (5)b.-d. as possible instances of C'-coordination below an adverb could also be included here.

There are three interpretations of the scope of the adverb in such sentences. The adverb may have scope over the two events viewed as a single action, or over each of the events individually, or over the first event only. These possibilities are given schematically in (29).

- (29) a. then (x and y)
b. then (x) and then (y)
c. then (x) and (y)

The natural assumption to make would be that these interpretations correspond to distinct syntactic representations like those in (30).

- (30) a. [*then* [[C'] and [C']]]
b. [*then*_i [[C' ...t_i...] and [C' ...t_i...]]]
c. [_{CP} *then* [C']] and [_{CP}]

The most likely semantic interpretation for the examples in (28) seems to be that in (29)c. However, with an adverb like *yna* in first position it is quite difficult to distinguish between them. The difference comes out more clearly if another time adverb is substituted, as in (31) with *tranoeth* 'on the next day'. The interpretation of this is surely "On the next day (x), and (then) (y) and (then) (z)..." rather than "On the next day (x and y and z...)". That is, in (31), there is surely no implication that the company did homage to Arthur on the same morning that they arrived at his court.

- (31) *Tranoeth y bore yd aeth y gwr llwyd a 'e*
next-day the morning PRT went the man grey and his

nifer gantaw y lys Arthur, ac y gwrhayssant
company with-him to court Arthur and PRT did-homage-3P

y Arthur ac y parawd Arthur eu beddyyaw. Ac
to Arthur and PRT caused Arthur 3P-GEN baptise-VN and

y dywawt y gwr llwyd y Arthur...
PRT said the man grey to Arthur

'The next morning the grey man went with his company to Arthur's court and did homage to Arthur and Arthur had them baptised and the grey man said to Arthur...'
(*Peredur* 39.28-40.1)

This view is supported by the independent existence of cases like (21)c. and d. where *y(d)* + VSO orders cannot be syntactically dependent on adverbial topics in preceding clauses.

Diesing (1990) posits a non-overt adverb, with a semantic interpretation roughly equivalent to 'therefore' in topic position to account for the parallel verb-initial orders in Yiddish. A similar proposal is made for Old Icelandic by Sigurðsson (1990:62, 1993:261), who suggests instead a null topic operator in SpecCP.¹⁰ Such an element would be a parallel in European languages for the discourse-licensed null operator proposed by Huang (1984) for empty subjects and objects in Chinese. This non-overt continuity adverb/operator seems to be the most satisfactory way of accounting for the interpretation of sentences like (28) and (31). It also accounts for the restrictions on their use. If such clauses require a non-overt adverb/operator, they can only be used in contexts where that adverb/operator has something appropriate to refer back to, that is, where it can be licensed by the discourse. Accordingly, I conclude that the structure of the first two clauses of (31) is as given in (32).

- (32) [_{CP} *tranoeth* [_C *yd* *aeth*v₁] [_{IP} *y gwr*t₁ [_{VP} *t*₁ [_{VP} *t*₁ [_Y *lys*]]]]]
next-day PRT went the man to court

ac
and

- [_{CP} *Op*_j [_C *y gwrhayssant*v₂] [_{IP} *pro*_K [_{VP} *t*_K [_{VP} *t*_K [_Y *Arthur*] *t*_j]]]]

Finally, in support of the non-overt adverb hypothesis, it should be noted that in many of the cases of VSO in second conjuncts the subject is highly topical (cf. for instance (28)c. and d.). It would therefore seem odd to argue that SpecCP in such clauses is empty. If it is empty, and Middle Welsh has a productive topicalisation rule, why does a topical constituent not front? If a non-overt continuity adverb occupies SpecCP, we have a (syntactic) answer. This adverb is the topic constituent par excellence, and therefore has greater topicality, and therefore a greater claim to occupy SpecCP, than even a topical subject.

¹⁰Presumably this null operator would bind a trace in an adjunct position lower in the clause.

4.2.3.2 Other V1 in Middle Welsh

We should note that not all instances of V1 in Middle Welsh are in series of conjoined clauses. Some examples are found in a clause introduced by *ac* 'and' even when there is no preceding clause with which it could be conjoined, as in (33). Both of these are immediately preceded by direct speech. A few examples are even found without *ac* at all. Since these are exceedingly rare, I have listed all the cases known to me in Middle Welsh in full in (34). As with the comparable examples in conjoined clauses, the preverbal particle is always *y(d)*. If we assume that these clauses too contain the null topic adverb/operator the presence of *y(d)* is not surprising. It follows from the general rule that *y(d)* appears as the head of C when SpecCP is occupied by an adverbial element.

- (33) a. *Ac y doethant parth a llys yr iarllles...*
and PRT came-3P towards court the countess
'And they came towards the court of the Countess...'
(*Peredur* 50.7)
- b. *Ac y gwledychwys Peredur gyt a'r amherodres*
and PRT ruled Peredur with the empress
pedefr blyned ar dec...
four years on ten
'And Peredur ruled with the empress for fourteen years...'
(*Peredur* 56.14-15)
- (34) a. *Osla Gyllellfawr, yn redec yn ol y twrch, y*
Osla Gyllellfawr, PROG run-VN after the boar PRT
dygwydwys y gyllell o 'e wein ac y kolles.
fell the knife from his sheath and PRT+3S-OBJ lost
'Osla Gyllellfawr, (as he was) running after the boar, the
knife fell from his sheath and he lost it.'
(ChCC 35.30-32 = *Culhwch ac Olwen* 1193-95)
- b. *Y dywawt ynteu...*
PRT said he-CONJ
'He said...'
(ChCC 33.29 = *Culhwch ac Olwen* 1075)
- c. *Ulkesar, amperauder Ruuein, wedy goresgyn ohonav*
Julius Caesar emperor Rome PERF conquer-VN of-him
er holl vyt a 'e wastatav o emladeu, y
the whole world and 3SM-GEN subdue-VN from battles PRT

lladaud senedwyr Ruvein ef o vrat a phuyntleu
killed senators Rome him from treachery and spears

yg Cabidylly Ruvein.
in Capitol Rome

'Julius Caesar, having conquered the whole world and
subdued it in battle, the senators of Rome killed him with
treachery and spears in the Capitol in Rome.'
(HGK 11.22-25)

- d. *Y rodet y march y 'r mab, ac y deuth hi*
PRT gave-IMPERS the horse to the son and PRT came she
at y guastrodyon ... y orchymyn synycit wrth y march...
to the grooms to order-VN attend to the horse

'The horse was given to the son and she came to the grooms
... to order (them) to attend to the horse...'
(PKM 24.4-6)¹¹

- e. *Y kymereis inheu wyntwy arnaf, yu gossymdeithaw:*
PRT took-1S I-CONJ them on-me to+3P-GEN keep-VN

y buant ulwydyn gyt a mi.
PRT were-3P year with me

'I took them in to keep them; they were with me for a year.'
(PKM 35.23-24)

- f. *E dodeis inheu ar gynghor uy gwlat beth a*
PRT put-1S I-CONJ on counsel my country what REL

wneit amdanunt.
do-COND-IMPERS about-them

'I relied on the counsel of my country (concerning) what
should be done about them.'
(PKM 36.4-5)

- g. *"E doeth im," heb ef, "y gan wr a uu y 'th*
PRT came to-me said he from man REL was-PERF in your

wlat ti."
country you

'"It came to me," he said, "from a man who had been in your
country..."
(PKM 35.3)

- h. *Yd af i yn agel y gyt ac wynt...*
PRT go-1S I PRD angel with them
'I shall become an angel with them...'

(ChCC 38.14 = *Peredur* 8.18)

¹¹The footnote in Ifor Williams' edition suggests that this is "a way of starting a sentence that was going out of use" (p. 152, "Dull o ddechrau brawddeg oedd ar fynd o arfer, cf. 35.3". The other (Red Book) manuscript has *yna y rodet* 'then was given...').

- i. **Y diolchaf y Duw** kaffel gwas kyn deccet a chyn
PRT thank-1S to God find-VN servant as fair and as
dewret a thi...
brave as you
'I thank God that I have found a servant as fair and as brave
as you...'
(*Peredur* 50.15-16)
- j. **Y dywawt y melinyd** wrth Peredur...
PRT said the miller to Peredur
'The miller said to Peredur...'
(*Peredur* 53.2-3)
- k. **Y kyuodes y marchawc** enteu...
PRT arose the knight he-CONJ
'The knight arose too...'
(ChCC 68.10 = *Geraint*)

Such examples also rule out another possible approach, namely one in which the possibility of V1 order is related to language-specific lexical properties of the coordinating conjunction *ac*, for instance, a feature marking it as optionally a subordinating complementiser.

A handful of examples of VSO where there is no preverbal particle at all are found in Middle Welsh. Note that replies to questions and responses to requests always follow this pattern in Middle and Modern Welsh. The only exceptional examples are therefore those instances of absolute VSO which do not belong to these categories. These are given in full in (35) and (36).

- (35) a. "Dygaf y Duw uyg kyffes," heb ef...
bring-1S to God my confession said he
'"I confess to God," he said...'
(ChCC 24.10 = PKM 79.4)
- b. "Dygaf y Duw vying kyffes," heb yr iarll...
bring-1S to God my confession said the earl
'"I confess to God," said the earl...'
(ChCC 138.3 = KAA)
- c. **Diolchaf inheu y Duw...**
thank-1S I-CONJ to God
'I thank God...'
(*Peredur* 39.24)
- (36) a. **Buassel well itti bei roessut.** nawd y 'r
be-COND better to-you if give-COND-2S mercy to the
maccwy kyn llad dy deu vab...
squire before kill-VN your two sons
'It would have been better for you if you had granted mercy to
the squire before your two sons were killed...'
(*Peredur* 38.30-39.1)
- b. **Archaf i oet ulwydyn...**
request-1S I delay year
'I request a year's delay...'
(*Peredur* 61.6)

- c. **Gouynnwys y gwyr y Arthur** peth oed ystyr yr hwch
asked the men to Arthur what was meaning the pig
hwnnw.
that
'The men asked Arthur what the meaning of that pig was.'
(ChCC 33.28-29 = *Culhwch ac Olwen* 1074-75)
- d. **Gwelsont hagen, or kaffel veddic y gyuanhei**
saw-3P however if found-COND doctor REL heal-COND
y ascwm ac a rwymel y gymaleu yn da, na
his bones and REL bind-COND his joints well, NEG
hanbydei waeth.
fare-COND worse
'They saw, however, that, if he found a doctor who would
heal his bones and bind his joints well, then he would not be
any the worse.'
(ChCC 44.20-22 = *Peredur* 31.28-30)
- e. **A vynnai, hagen, arbenhcrwyd clot ac**
REL want-COND however honour praise and
etmyc, gwn y lle y kaffeï.
admiration know-1S the place REL+3S-OBJ find-COND
'Anyone, however, who would like the honour of praise and
admiration, I know the place that he might find it.'
(*Peredur* 57.30-58.1)

Those in (35) appear to be formulaic, and their appearance might be related to the use of VSO in replies and responses. Those in (36) appear to be genuine violations of V2.

To summarise, we have looked at the possibility that apparent instances of V1 in conjoined clauses in Middle Welsh can be reduced to the existence of two empty categories in these clauses, namely *pro* and a null continuity adverb or operator. We can now proceed to examine whether these two elements might be united in some way, as different manifestations of the same element.

4.2.3.3 Null Operators

One possibility for uniting the two is to suggest that in Welsh conjoined clauses, the SpecCP position of the second clause is always occupied by an operator. This would be an adaptation of Sigurðsson's (1993) account of coordination in Old Icelandic. The linguistic facts are again similar to those of Middle Welsh. In an example like (37), the subject of the second clause is non-overt. It has a split antecedent corresponding to the subject plus object of the first conjunct, just as in the Middle Welsh case the gap could have a split or partial antecedent.

- (37) ...**Olaf konungr**_i hafði stefnir við **hið sitt**_j oc við
Olaf king had meeting with men his and with

böndr_k oc reðv _{-i+j+k} landraðvm.
farmers and considered-3P _{-i+j+k} land-matters

'King Olaf had a meeting with both his men and the farmers,
and (they all) considered government policy.'

(Sigurðsson 1993:252)

Sigurðsson suggests that cases like (37) involve conjunction of full clauses (CPs), with a null topic operator in the second clause binding a variable in subject position.

The crucial support for this hypothesis is that null objects are licensed in Old Icelandic coordination structures, as in (38). The gap cannot contain *pro* since null objects are not otherwise possible in the language.¹²

- (38) Honum var fengin leynileg **harpa**_i, ok sló hann _{-i}
him was given secretly harp and struck he _{-i}

með tånúm.
with toes

'He was secretly given a harp and he played (it) with his
toes.'

(Sigurðsson 1993:259)

In a language like Welsh, if we find instances of null objects in second conjuncts in contexts where null objects are not licensed normally, then this is good evidence for the existence of a null topic operator binding a variable in object position. The evaluation of this evidence is complicated somewhat by the fact that Welsh licenses null objects anyway in the presence of accusative or genitive clitics on the verb or preverbal particle. Null objects in these environments cannot be taken as evidence for a null operator. However, in the absence of these clitics, null objects are not permitted. A null object in a second conjunct in the absence of these clitics would be strong evidence for a null topic operator. Such examples are attested exceedingly rarely. One example from Middle Welsh is given in (39)a. In (39)a, there is a gap in object position of the third conjunct not licensed by an object clitic on *a* (i.e. we do not find *a'i* or *y'i*).¹³ The same is true in the second conjunct in (39)b. This example occurs in this form only in one manuscript. In the other a pronoun appears after *Duw*. This is probably a resumptive pronoun acting as a variable to indicate the extraction site, given that otherwise the sentence is ambiguous between '(he) called God' and 'God called (him)'. These are the only examples that I have found in Middle Welsh. (39)c. is a similar example from the sixteenth century.

¹²For a similar case of null objects in conjoined structures in Norwegian, see Áfarli and Creider (1987). Like Old Icelandic, Norwegian does not otherwise allow null objects.

¹³The interpretation of (39)a. with a *pro*-gap in subject position (i.e. '...and he had sent Amilald King of Babylon to make war on Charles...') is ruled out by context. It is Ffarracud who is subsequently discussed as making war.

- (39) a. Ac yna y kanhatwyt y Chyarlys bot yn Ager
And then PRT reported-IMPERS to Charles be-VN in Ager

gawr_i, Ffarracut y enw, o genedyl Goliath,
giant Ffarracut his name, from race Goliath,

ac _{-i} a dathoed ₋ o eithauoed Sirya ac
and _{-i} PRT had-come-3S ₋ from extremes Syria and

_{-i} a **anuonassei** Amilald vrenhin Babilon _{-i}, y
_{-i} PRT had-sent Amilald king Babylon _{-i} to

ryuelu ar Chyarlys ac ugein mil o'e genedyl
make-war-VN on Charles and twenty thousand of his race

gantaw.
with-him.

'And then it was reported to Charles that there was in Ager a giant named Ffarracut from the race of Goliath, and (he) had come from the ends of Syria and Amilald King of Babylon had sent (him) to make war on Charles with twenty thousand of his people with him.'

(YCM 25.12-16)

- b. Yr hynny ual kynt llawer dyn_i a drigyawd mywn
Despite that as before many man PRT dwelt in

tywyllwch pechodeu, a gwedy hynny _{-i} a **elwis** Duw
darkness sins and after that _{-i} PRT called God

ar oleuni a thrugared...
to light and mercy

'Despite that, as before, many a man dwelt in the darkness of sins and later God called (him) to light and mercy...'

(YSG 2590-91, B ms. only)

- c. ...ac fo a ddalled Ioacim_i ac _{-i} a
and it PRT caught-IMPERS Joachim and _{-i} PRT

ddyged at Nabugodonosor ynn gaeth i Vabilon...
brought-IMPERS to Nebuchadnezzar PRD captive to Babylon

'...and there was caught Joachim and was brought (him) captive to Nebuchadnezzar in Babylon...'

(RhG 2.126.5-7 = *Helynthion Caersalem*, 1589-90)

Two possible representations for (39)a. are given in (40). In (40)a., we continue the earlier analysis by generating *pro* in object position and topicalising it to SpecCP, thereby inducing *a* as the agreeing particle. However, object *pro* in the example is not licensed by rich agreement morphology in the form of object clitics, and it is hard to see how else it could be licensed. The alternative approach is that in (40)b., where a topic operator in SpecCP binds a variable in object position.

- (40) a. ...ac [CP *pro*_i a anuonasset [IP Amilald t_i y ryuelu ar Chyarlys]]
and PRT had-sent A. to make-war on C.
- b. ...ac [CP Op_i a anuonasset [IP Amilald t_i y ryuelu ar Chyarlys]]
and PRT had-sent A. to make-war on C.

Suppose the data in (39) are representative and provide evidence for (40)b. as the correct analysis of null object topics. It would obviously be uneconomical to have to posit three empty elements in topic position, namely topic *pro*, a null adverbial topic and a null operator for objects. Is it possible to generalise the null operator analysis back to the cases of subject gaps like those in (9) and (14)-(15)? For these cases, the answer would seem to be yes. We can simply replace *pro* in SpecCP with a null operator binding a trace in subject position. With the cases involving a null adverbial, as in (21), we can simply assume that this adverbial is in fact a null topic operator, a possibility that has already been entertained above. The null topic operator, just like overt operator, will have a category specification, appearing as a nominal when base-generated in subject or object position, or as an adverbial elsewhere. The correct forms of the preverbal particles will follow straightforwardly from agreement with this category specification. Accordingly, (9)a. will have the structure in (41) with the operator marked as nominal inducing *a* as the preverbal particle.

- (41) [CP t_i ugein mlyned [C y buv_i] [IP ynteu_i tv_i [vp t_i
sixty years PRT was he
yn y llywaw hi]]]
ruling it
ac
and
[CP Op_i [C a adelvs_{v2}] [IP t_j tv₂ [vp t_j tv₂ dinas...]]]
[+DP] PRT built city
'Sixty years he ruled it ... and built a city...'

Postulation of a null topic operator also provides a way out of the question posed earlier, namely, why *pro* is licensed in preverbal position in conjoined clauses in Middle Welsh (and in Old French), when it is not licensed in preverbal position elsewhere. Under the general null topic operator analysis, *pro* is not involved in the representation of these clauses, therefore questions of licensing do not arise. Instead the null topic operator is discourse-licensed in contexts of narrative continuity, but not in isolated non-conjoined clauses.

However, there is a problem for this analysis in cases where SpecCP in the second conjunct is filled by a null expletive subject. Examples of this occur in Middle Welsh, as in (42). Their distribution is exactly like that of overt expletive subjects (cf. example (3) in Chapter Three). Like overt expletive subjects (see Chapter Five), they

are rare in early texts and restricted to unaccusative contexts, whereas in later texts they are common and not restricted in this way. This confirms their status as involving an expletive subject.

- (42) a. Ti a geueist veichogl. ac __ a vyd mab
you PRT got-2S become-pregnant-VN and __ PRT will-be son
yft...
to-you
'...you have become pregnant and (there) will be a son (born) to you...'
(MIG 216.30)
- b. A guedy daruot henne, Hu yarll Caer ... a
and after happen-VN that Hugh earl Chester PRT
gynullus llynges a llu diruaur anyued y 'r wlat ...
assembled fleet and force mighty wondrous to the country
Ac __ a gytduvnvs ac ef Hu arall...
and __ PRT allied with him Hugh other
'And after that had happened, Hugh Earl of Chester assembled a fleet and a mighty, wondrous force into the country, ... And (there) became allied with him another Hugh...'
(HGK 23.10-14)
- c. ...ni a gollwn ynn kyuoeth ac __ a'n
we PRT lose-1P our lands and __ PRT+1P-OBJ
carcherir yny vom ueirw neu __ a'n
imprison-IMPERS until be-SUBJ-1P dead or __ PRT+1P-OBJ
lledir.
kill-IMPERS
'...we shall lose our lands and (we) shall be imprisoned until we die or are killed.'
(Brut y Tywysogyon 66.13-14)
- d. A 'r marchogyon urdolyon a welsant hynny
and the knights noble PRT saw-3P that
ac a'e darlleasant, ac __ a vu ryued
and PRT+3S-OBJ read-3P and __ PRT was-PERF marvellous
ganthunt hynny...
with-them that
'And the noble knights saw that and read it and it was marvellous to them...'
(ChCC 102.17-18 = YSG 5442-43)

Assuming that expletive elements cannot undergo A'-movement, being unable to form operator-variable chains (Cardinaletti 1990b:82-83), then the second conjunct of the sentences in (42) cannot involve a null operator binding a variable in subject position. This would amount to vacuous quantification ruled out by the principle of Full

Interpretation (Chomsky 1995:151-52). So it seems that we must retain the analysis with *pro* for these cases.

This difficulty is not insurmountable, however. It is part of the wider problem of the status of SpecCP raised in section 3.6.1 above. In this instance, if SpecCP is an A'-position, it is not clear why expletive elements in general should be allowed to appear there in V2-languages. This general phenomenon suggests that the topic position in V2-languages may be an A-position for (some) subjects, but an A'-position for non-subjects (Diesing 1990:48). If this is the case, a general analysis of gaps in Middle Welsh coordination as involving empty operators can be pursued. The only proviso required is that when SpecCP is an A-position, (expletive) *pro* may appear there; when it is an A'-position, empty operators are licensed there.

4.2.4 Conclusions about Coordination

If the above discussion is on the right lines, then Middle Welsh does not have verb-initial clauses in the syntax. Even if we consider only the surface ordering, we must accept that verb-initial ordering is highly marked, occurring only in contexts of narrative continuity. It is thus entirely different in nature from the neutral VSO order of Contemporary Welsh. Once we have posited a null topic operator in the topic position of apparent instances of V1, it is possible to maintain a strict V2-requirement for Middle Welsh.

The earliest reliable evidence we have for spoken Welsh provides further support for this conclusion. An examination of the depositions of witnesses in slander cases for the years 1570-1650 (Suggett 1983; the material essentially covers Denbighshire, Flintshire, Montgomeryshire, Cardiganshire, Pembrokeshire and Brecknockshire) shows no signs of V1 with full lexical verbs at all.¹⁴ The data consist almost entirely of isolated sentences reporting alleged slanderous statements verbatim.¹⁵ If VSO is limited to contexts of 'narrative continuity' with a null operator in Middle Welsh, this is precisely the result we expect.

Pursuing our general line of inquiry into the relationship between acquisition and linguistic change, we may ask how an element such as a null topic operator could be acquired. The null topic operator is a language-specific device and there is no reason to link it to any parameter setting. Instead, it can be treated as an item in the lexicon. Given strong enough evidence for a positive setting of the V2-parameter, a child is left with little option but to posit some element in the SpecCP of clauses which otherwise appear to lack anything there. The existence of agreeing preverbal particles in C would provide a further pointer to the existence of the relevant null element(s). Given a rule that *y(d)* is an agreement marker signalling an adverbial topic in SpecCP, a child who is confronted with sentences like (21) in which *y(d)* appears in clause-initial position can either reject the agreement rule or posit a non-overt adverbial in SpecCP. The former is clearly the 'simpler' option, for instance, in

¹⁴The situation is different with *bot* 'to be'. See section 4.3 below.

¹⁵For discussion of the nature of the material and analysis of some linguistic features of it see Awbrey (1988) and Awbrey, Jones and Suggett (1985).

terms of the Least Effort Strategy (cf. section 2.2.2). However, if the evidence in favour of the existence of overt agreement between the topic in SpecCP and the preverbal particle head of C is solid, as it is in Middle Welsh, the latter option will nevertheless be chosen.

4.3 Other Evidence for V1-clauses in Middle Welsh

In addition to coordination, one other factor correlates with absolute verb-initial orders in Middle Welsh tales. Verb-initial orders are very frequent with the non-copular uses of the present and imperfect tenses of the verb *bot* 'to be' (the *y mae* and *oed* paradigms). For instance, four of the eight instances of verb-initial main clause declarative statements in *Pwyll* are with the verb *bot* (Watkins 1993)¹⁶. In *Breuddwyd Maxen*, it is three out of fourteen (Poppe 1989:45).¹⁷ Examples are given from dialogue, where such examples are more frequent than in narrative,¹⁸ in (43), and from narrative passages in (44). Notice that, whereas instances of V1 with other verbs are normally in environments of 'narrative continuity' covered by the null topic operator analysis, instances of V1 with *bot* are not so restricted. This emerges clearly from the examples in (44) and in particular (43).

- (43) a. "Yd wyf," heb ynteu, "yn dyuot o edrych gwas
PRT am said he-CONJ PROG come-VN from look-VN boy

yssyd ym yn glaf yn y fforest yma."
is-REL to-me PRD ill in the forest this

"I have come," he said, "from looking at a boy who is ill in this forest."
(ChCC 98.9-10 = YSG)

- b. Yd wyt yn y lle y perthyn arnat llonydu
PRT are-2S in the place REL is-fitting on-you satisfy-VN

eirchelt a cherdoryon.
supplicants and musicians

'You are in a position where it is incumbent upon you to satisfy supplicants and musicians.'
(PKM 17.20-22)

¹⁶Watkins actually gives ten instances, but two contain an expletive subject in topic position.

¹⁷Strikingly, in the cases cited by Poppe from *Breuddwyd Maxen*, all instances of V1 with a verb other than *bot* are in conjoined clauses, whereas none of the cases of V1 with *bot* is in a conjoined clause.

¹⁸Watkins (1977/78:395) and Poppe (1990:448, 1993:107) find that the order Pronominal Subject + *a* + Verb is associated with direct speech, a fact which fits uneasily with this claim. Although it appears to be true that in the texts that they investigate the overall frequency of this pattern is considerably higher in dialogue than in narrative, this is only to be expected given the general syntactic differences between direct speech and narrative. Direct speech contains on average fewer constituents per sentence, and in particular more sentences containing only subject, verb and object. It also contains a far higher proportion of pronouns in general than does narrative. Consequently, if the syntactic rules were identical, there would be far more scope for topicalisation of subject pronouns in direct speech than in narrative.

- c. Y mac ettwa galanas y gwyr hynny heb y
PRT is still murder the men those without 3SM-GEN
dŷal.
avenge-VN
'The murder of those men is still unavenged.'
(ChCC 123.15-16 = YCM 116.4-5)
- d. "Yd oedut," hep ef, "ynn wastat ynn keissaw gennyf
PRT were-2S said he continually PROG seek-VN from-me
rann o tir y Bryttannycit. ..."
part of land the Britons
'"You were," he said, "continually seeking from me a part of
the territory of the Britons. ..."' (Brut y Tywysogyon 72.1-2)
- (44) a. Ac yd oed ynteu yn gorffowys wrth paladyr y wayw
and PRT was he-CONJ PROG lie-VN by his-spear
ac yn medylaw yr vn medwl.
and PROG think-VN the same thought
'And he was lying by the shaft of his spear and thinking the
same thought.' (ChCC 45.24-25 = *Peredur* 33.11-13)
- b. Yd oed ganthav hagen etwa o 'e lu chue guyr a
PRT was with-him however still of his force six men and
chuech canwr a thriugein mil.
six hundred-men and sixty thousand
'He still had, however, sixty thousand six hundred and six
men of his force left.' (ChCC 89.2-3 = *Brut y Brenhinedd*)
- c. Yd oed gynt yn Rufein marchawc...
PRT was once in Rome knight
'There was once a knight in Rome...' (ChCC 108.1 = SDR)
- d. Yd oed rei hagen a oed hoff ganthunt hynny...
PRT was some however REL was pleased with-them that
'There were some, however, who were pleased about that...'
(YSG 378-79)

Again the slander case evidence provides corroborating evidence that this was indeed the case even in the early spoken language. Although VSO is unattested there in the earliest period (1570-1650), verb-initial clauses are common, in fact normal, with the verb 'to be'. A selection of the earlier examples is given in (45).¹⁹

- (45) a. Yeroyte tee in cadowe ac in mentino
PRT+are-2S you PROG keep-VN and PROG maintain-VN
mortherers a lladron.
murderers and thieves
'You keep and maintain murderers and thieves.'
(Radnor Sessions 1576)
- b. Thomas ap Ieuan dwyt ti yn lliDIR...
Thomas ab Ieuan are-2S you PRD thief
'Thomas ab Ieuan, you are a thief...' (Brecon Sessions 1577)
- c. Thoyt ty yn llydyr brybor ac extorcion[or].
are-2S you PRD thief briber and extortioner
'You are a thief, a briber and an extortioner.'
(Brecon Sessions 1586)
- d. ...ag y may rhyode lledrad worth y di /e/fo...
and PRT is net stolen by his house him
'...and there is a stolen net by his house...'
(Pembroke Sessions 1608)

This seems to be an exceptional fact about the verb *bot*, rather than anything following from general principles involving verb-second in Middle Welsh. Ultimately, it may be that it follows from some other fact about the syntax or morphology of *bot*. In the present instance though, it can be assumed to be a marked lexical property of that verb.

4.4 The Gradualist Account Reconsidered

Recall from section 4.1 that a previous approach to the rise of VSO in Welsh has been to claim a kind of syntactic drift with VSO gradually increasing in frequency in the language. In this scenario, it is important that the frequency of VSO in Middle Welsh be low but not zero, with a steady rise in Early Modern Welsh through to Modern Welsh. Most of this chapter has concentrated on challenging the first part of this scenario by denying the existence of general VSO in Middle Welsh. If general VSO did not exist, then some grammatical innovation must have brought it about, and the gradualist approach begins to weaken.

We can now turn briefly to the later evidence cited in favour of the gradualist approach. This can be challenged on purely empirical grounds. Fife (1991) finds that V1 is common and growing in frequency in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century literary texts. Compare for instance the figures 16%, 15% and 20% that he gives for the frequency of V1 in Elis Gruffydd's *Castell yr Iechyd* (1540s) and Ephesians and Galatians in the 1620 Bible. Immediately we notice a contradiction between this and the absence of lexical VSO in the slander material noted above. How can the two be reconciled? One possibility would be that the literary and spoken language had diverged on the point of word order. In fact, however, a closer look at the data from the literary texts reveals a pattern fully in accord with the data from slander case depositions. Consider, for instance, the

¹⁹Also Cardigan Sessions 1610 (two depositions), 1632, 1640, 1647; Pembroke Sessions 1627, 1629, 1634.

text of Galatians. Fife (1991:255) bases his description on an examination of every finite clause in the text, categorised into those in main, relative and other subordinate clauses. He thus includes imperatives and interrogatives in his figures for V1. Once the numerous examples of these, which have always been verb-initial in Welsh and do not form part of the V2-system, are excluded, we are left with thirteen examples of absolute sentence-initial V1 in affirmative matrix declarative clauses in the text. Of these, six have main verb *bod*²⁰, and six have auxiliary *bod*²¹. The only instance of a full lexical verb in a V1 structure is that given in (46).

- (46) Eithr cydgaedd yr ysgrythur bob peth dan bechod,
 but shut-away the scripture everything under sin
 fel y rhoddid yr addewid trwy ffydd
 so-that PRF gave-IMPF-IMPERS the promise through faith
 Iesu Grist i 'r rhai sydd yn credu.
 Jesus Christ to the ones REL PROG believe-VN

'But scripture shut everything away under sin, so that the promise was given through the faith of Jesus Christ to the ones who believe.'
 (Galatians 3.22)

Fife states that the text contains 174 affirmative main clauses. Excluding imperatives and interrogatives, there turn out to be only thirteen absolute V1 clauses, forming only 7% of the total. Excluding *bod* even that percentage will fall considerably. Thus V1 is not nearly as common in what is termed 'Classical Welsh' as Fife would have us believe²². All but one of these V1 clauses begin with a form of the verb *bod*. This distribution is virtually indistinguishable from that found in the Middle Welsh tales.²³

In half of the clauses with initial *bod*, *bod* is acting as an auxiliary in the periphrastic form of the present tense. The periphrastic present is less frequent in Middle Welsh than in Modern Welsh (see Watkins 1960). The spread is apparently due to a narrowing in the semantics of the synthetic forms (see Poppe forthcoming). One consequence of the spread of this construction in Late Middle Welsh and Early Modern Welsh is necessarily an increase in the recorded frequency of absolute verb-initial clauses in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Since the periphrastic tenses were more frequently verb-initial than the synthetic tenses, an increase in their use naturally results in an increase in V1. The rest of the apparent increase in V1 in Fife's Classical Welsh texts can be attributed to the high incidence of (rhetorical) questions and exhortations in the Renaissance prose examined.

²⁰Namely 1.6, 1.22, 4.2, 4.11, 4.25, 5.10.

²¹Namely 1.11, 4.17, 4.25, 5.3, 5.9, 5.16.

²²The percentage would of course be higher if imperatives and interrogative were excluded from the total of 174, but Fife's presentation of the data does not allow this to be done easily. Nevertheless, the point remains: the frequency of absolute V1 is much lower than it at first sight appears.

²³The absolute V1 main clause in (46) does of course represent a real innovation. See Chapter Six for full discussion.

This is not to say that there was no word order change at all in Early Modern Welsh. In fact there is other evidence that true instances of verb-initial orders were about to appear. I shall return to this point in Chapter Six.

4.5 Conclusion

The above discussion suggests that the instances of apparent V1 in Middle Welsh can be considered to be the result of construction-specific phenomena. The lexicon will include a null topic operator, acquirable from particle agreement evidence. Exception features¹ on the lexical entries for certain paradigms of the verb *bod*, and on the negative marker *ny(t)* (cf. section 3.5) will allow peripheral instances of VSO in other circumstances. However, despite these lexical exceptions, the core positive parameter setting for a general verb-second can be acquired and maintained on the basis of robust data in Middle Welsh.

Chapter Five Subject Pronouns and the Expletive Construction

In this chapter I shall investigate the development of preverbal subject pronouns, arguing that in the course of Middle Welsh they became clitics. This had repercussions for the whole pronominal system, and in particular for the expletive subject construction. It is suggested that phonological reduction of preverbal subject pronouns led to a number of exceptions to the verb-second rule. At first these exceptions could be incorporated into the peripheral grammar. In Chapter Six, I shall argue that these exceptions, along with other features of the grammar beyond the pronominal system, led to a switch in the V2-parameter and the innovation of VSO word order in Modern Welsh.

5.1 The Welsh Pronominal System

Middle Welsh has three series of pronouns that may appear in preverbal subject position. Traditionally these are termed simple, conjunctive and reduplicated. Their forms are given in Table 5.1 (see D.S. Evans 1976:49).

	Simple	Conjunctive	Reduplicated
1S	mi	minneu	miui
2S	ti	titheu	tidi
3SM	ef	ynteu	efo
3SF	hi	hitheu	hihi
1P	ni	ninneu	nini
2P	chwi	chwitheu	chwichwi
3P	wy	wynteu	wyntwy

Table 5.1. The Forms of Preverbal Subject Pronouns in Middle Welsh.

Examples of the use of these pronouns as preverbal subjects are given in (1)-(3).

- (1) Mi a af ... y 'r orsedd y eisted.
 I PRT go-1S to the hillock to sit-VN
 'I shall go ... to the hillock to sit.' (ChCC 1.13-14 = *Pwyll*)

- (2) A miui a rodaf y wled y 'r teulu
 and I-REDUP PRT give-1S the feast to the retinue

a 'r niuroed...
 and the company

'And I shall give the feast to the retinue and the company...'
 (ChCC 7.4-5 = *Pwyll*)

- (3) Minheu ... a baraf ... na bydei launach
I-CONJ PRT cause-1S that+NEG would-be fuller

no chynt.
than before

'I (for my part) shall cause (it to happen) that it should not be any fuller than before.'
(ChCC 7.13-15 = *Pwyl*)

As can be seen from the translations in (1)-(3), the three series reflect distinctions of contrastive and emphatic stress. Simple pronouns are the weak pragmatically-unmarked forms. Reduplicated pronouns are their emphatically-stressed counterparts. Conjunctive pronouns are used to set the pronoun against a previous noun or pronoun (Morris-Jones 1913:273, Mac Cana 1990). For instance, the first person singular conjunctive pronoun may typically be translated as 'I on the other hand' or 'I too'.

5.1.1 Preverbal Subject Pronouns in Middle Welsh

The preverbal conjunctive and reduplicated subjects are clearly full nominal subjects in Middle Welsh. For the first part of this chapter I shall concentrate on the status of the simple series.

Standard tests for clitic status (cf. Roberts 1993b:112-17) indicate that simple preverbal subject pronouns in Middle Welsh were not clitics. This evidence suggests that they can be treated exactly as full nominal (DP) subjects, topicalising to SpecCP in the usual manner. The pronouns will therefore be heads of a complement-less DP. Evidence for this interpretation comes from the placement of adverbs and emphatic reflexives, from absolute and verbless constructions and from coordination facts. These will be discussed in turn.

The first evidence comes from the behaviour of pronouns with respect to adverb placement. Preverbal subject pronouns may be separated from the verb by interposed adverbs in the same way that a full lexical topic may be (cf. section 3.3.2). Examples are given in (4).¹

- (4) a. Ef heuyt a arvaethassel torri yr holl goedyd
he also PRT intended cut-VN the all forests

a 'r llwyneu...
and the woods

'He also intended to cut down all the forests and the woods...'
(HGK 22.14-15)

- b. Mi hagen a uydaf gyuarwyd ywch hyl lle
I however PRT will-be-1S guide to-you up-to where

y mae.
COMP IS

'I, however, shall be your guide up to where he is.'
(ChCC 31.19-20 = *Culhwch ac Olwen* 899-900)

- c. Ac ef, wedy kleuychu ohonaw, a gauas arwyd yechyl.
and he PERF fall-ill-VN of-him PRT received sign health

y gan Ysaias...
from with Isalah

'And he, having fallen ill, received a sign of health from Isalah...'
(*Y Bibyl Ynghymraec* 34.25-26)

- d. Ac ef gyntaf a werthawd yr effeiryadaeth y Jason...
and he first PRT sold the priesthood to Jason
'And he first sold the priesthood to Jason...'

(*Y Bibyl Ynghymraec* 45.6-7)

This is expected if subject pronouns may topicalise to SpecCP just like full lexical subjects. Since interposed adverbs adjoin to C, they will follow the subject, but precede the particle and verb, just as was argued to be the case with full nominal subjects in section 3.3.5. A typical property of clitic pronouns on the other hand is that no non-clitic material may intervene between them and their host.

Pronouns may furthermore be modified by emphatic elements like the emphatic reflexive *ehun* 'himself'. This reflexive may follow a simple subject pronoun, thereby intervening between it and the verb. This can be seen in (5).

- (5) a. Ac yn y lle y clywei yr awr ef ehun a
and in the place REL hear-IMPF the shout he himself PRT

gyrchawd ymlaen y vydin...
attacked in-front the army

'And in the place where he heard the shout, he himself attacked in the front of the army...'

(*Brut y Tywysogyon* 88.21-22)

- b. ...ac ef ehun a than a 'e llosges.
and he himself with fire PRT 3P-OBJ burned.
'...and he himself burned them with fire.'

(*Brut y Tywysogyon* 194.8-9)

¹For further examples from *Llyfr Blegywryd* and *Ystoria de Carolo Magno*, *Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch* and *Llyfr yr Ancr* see E. Evans (1958:26, 28-29). Also *Culhwch ac Olwen* 880; YSG 1144 (B ms. only).

- c. A gwedy marw Hisboseth **ef ehun** a wledychawd
and after die-VN Hisboseth he himself PRT ruled

yng Kaervssalem...
in Jerusalem

'And after Hisboseth died, he himself ruled in Jerusalem...'
(*Y Bibyl Ynghymraec* 28.20-21)

- d. ...ac **ef ehun** yn y priawt person a 'e gwylwys.
and he himself in his own person PRT 3S-OBJ watched
'...and he himself watched it in person...'

(*Cyfranc Ludd a Llefelys* 141-42)

For further examples see E. Evans (1958:31).

A reasonable assumption for the structural position of emphatic reflexives is that they right-adjoin to the top of DP. If so, adopting the structure of preverbal pronouns as full DPs rather than as clitics leads us to expect that emphatic reflexives will be able to adjoin to them and therefore to intervene between them and the verb.

Subject pronouns may also appear in two types of construction containing no verb. The first type is the absolute construction, illustrated in (6) (cf. example (25) in section 1.5).

- (6) a. Os arhoy ditheu efo, a thi yn varchawc, ef a 'th
If wait-2S you him and you PRD knight he PRT 2S-OBJ

edeu yn bedestyr.
leave PRD standing

'If you wait for him when you are on horseback, he will leave you on foot.'
(ChCC 54.7-8 = *Owein* 162-63)

- b. nyt ami yn uyw yd aho ef y Gernyw
not and-I PRD alive PRT go-SUBJ he to Cornwall
'He will not go to Cornwall with me alive (while I am alive).'
(*Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch* 504.3-4)

The second is their independent use in sentences like (7).

- (7) "Mi Ereint uab Erbin. ..." "Mi Edern uab Nudd."
I Geraint son-of Erbin I Edern son-of Nudd

"I am Geraint son of Erbin. ..." "I am Edern son of Nudd."
(ChCC 69.10-11 = *Geraint*)

In these cases the pronoun clearly does not require any verbal host, and hence must be a full DP.

Finally, perhaps the most convincing evidence that preverbal subject pronouns are not clitics comes from their behaviour with respect to coordination. Cross-linguistically, clitic pronouns typically

do not participate in coordinate structures at all. This is the case with French subject clitics, as shown in (8).

- (8) *Je ct tu irons à Paris.
I-CL and you-CL will-go-1P to Paris
'Me and you will go to Paris.'
(Roberts 1993b:113)

In Middle Welsh, in contrast, preverbal subject pronouns can conjoin freely, and the agreement which results is between the verb and the whole subject DP. So, in (9)a. the preverbal conjoined pronominal subject *ef a hi* 'he and she' causes third person plural agreement on the verb. In (9)b. a singular personal pronoun is conjoined with a singular lexical DP, again resulting in third person plural agreement on the verb, and so on.²

- (9) a. A phan vu barawt bwyf, ef a hi a achant y
and when was ready food he and she PRT went-3P to

eisted y gyt...
sit-VN together

'And when food was ready, he and she went to sit together...'
(YSG 3279-80)

- b. ...ac am hynny ef a Aram y vab yr hynaf a
and for that he and Aram his son the eldest PRT

diffodassant y tan...
put-out-3P the fire

'And for this reason he and Aram his eldest son put out the fire...'
(*Y Bibyl Ynghymraec* 13.5-6)

- c. Mi a thi a gaffwn ettwa digawn a gnohom
I and you PRT will-get-1P yet enough REL will-bite-1P

yndunt.
in-them

'I and you shall find enough of them that will take the bait.'
(YCM 81.7-8)

²Further examples: YCM 59.32 and *Brut y Tywysogyon* 82.30 (MRT mss. only).

d. Pwy bynhac a adefho galanas, ef a 'e genedyl
 whoever PRT admit-SUBJ murder he and his kin
 a'e talant yn gwbyl gwerth sarhaet a galanas y
 PRT+3S-OBJ pay-3P completely value blood-money the
 dyn a lather.
 man REL is-killed-SUBJ

'Whoever admits murder, he and his kin shall pay for it completely (to) the value of the blood-money of the man who has been killed.'
 (LIB 31.9-11)

Such evidence proves conclusively that simple preverbal subject pronouns are not syntactic clitics in Middle Welsh. Their behaviour can thus be assimilated to the general pattern for all preverbal subjects. This involves movement of a maximal projection to SpecCP, where the pronoun can fulfil the V2-requirement.

The acquisitional evidence for the non-clitic status of preverbal subject pronouns is presumably phonological rather than syntactic. That is, the child hears them stressed and concludes that they are not clitics. It is important to note that the syntactic evidence cited above, although crucial for the historical linguist, is not frequent enough to be of much use to a child acquiring Middle Welsh, and, given the rich phonological information, is in any case not necessary for acquisition of the correct lexical characterisation of the pronouns as non-clitics.

5.1.2 Subject Pronouns in Early Modern Welsh

By the end of the sixteenth century, the evidence on the status of preverbal subject pronouns has changed radically, and a number of pieces of evidence point to the conclusion that the pronouns had become clitics hosted by the following verb by this time. The evidence comes mostly in the form of syntactic changes in the Early Modern period which remove the constructions which were used above to confirm their independent status.

The first piece of evidence comes from adverb placement. In low-style texts of the sixteenth century, the frequency of adverbs intervening between a preverbal pronominal subject and the verb drops considerably.³ This can best be illustrated by citing 'missed

³The only example known to me from a non-religious text of the sixteenth century is the following:

(i) ...ond o herwydd i feistroleth drwy 'r amod ef ym yr vn
 but because-of his mastership through the agreement he in the same
 ffynyd a anneldlodd arno ynte i ddwyn ar ddallt mai
 way PRT gestured to-3S him-CONJ to bring-VN to understand-VN CLEFT

opportunities', examples where an intervening adverb would appear to have been a reasonable option, but where that option is not taken. For instance in (10) the necessity of placing an adverb between a simple pronominal subject and the verb is avoided by the left dislocation of a reduplicated pronoun, and then using a simple pronoun directly before the verb.

(10) Ond dydi, gan na fynni wneuthur da, Di
 but you-REDUP since NEG want-2S do-VN good you

a fedri ac a fynni wneuthur drwg.
 PRT can-2S and PRT want-2s do-VN evil

'But you, since you do not want to do good, you can and want to do evil.'

(Morgan Llwyd, *Llyfr y Tri Aderyn* 18.29-31, 1653)

This evidence is suggestive although not conclusive, since instances of adverbs following pronouns are not particularly common in Middle Welsh either. We cannot be completely sure whether the scarcity of examples in the later period is due to the loss of the construction or is merely due to chance. Taken with other evidence, however, this does suggest that something systematic is taking place.

The evidence from emphatic reflexives goes in the same direction. By the seventeenth century preverbal pronouns cease to appear in preverbal position modified by emphatic elements. So examples like those above with *ehun* 'himself' are not found. Instead the emphatic element usually follows the verb as in (11).

(11) a. Je di well dy hunan ein bôd ni yn cael
 yes you see-2S yourself 1P be-vn we PROG get-VN

agos bôb peth ar yr ydym ni yn i ofyn...
 almost everything REL PRT are we PROG 3SM-GEN ask-VN

'Yes, you yourself see that we get almost everything that we ask for...'
 (Morgan Llwyd, *Llyfr y Tri Aderyn* 22.2-3, 1653)

yr Markwess oedd wasnathwr y pryd hwnnw.
 the Marquis was servant the time that

'...but because of his mastership according to the agreement, he in the same way gestured to him to make him understand that it was the Marquis who was the servant at that time.'

(RhG 2.50-51 = *Ystoriau Digrif*, ms. 1582)

- b. Mi wn fy hun, fôd llawer o lwynogod
I know-1s myself be-VN many of foxes

cyflwys ... rhyd y gwledydd...
cunning across the lands...

'I know myself that there are many cunning foxes ... across the lands.' (Morgan Llwyd, *Llyfr y Tri Aderyn* 29.29-31, 1653)

- c. mi wn fy hyn pa beth iw wncythyd.
I know myself what to+3SM-GEN do-VN
'I know myself what to do.' (Thomas Edwards, *Interliwt Ynghylch Cain ac Abel* 85.27, c. 1758)

Again the evidence is suggestive of phonological weakening of the pronouns, but the scarcity of examples makes firm conclusions difficult to draw.

I now turn to the behaviour of pronouns in conjoined structures. Conjoined preverbal subjects containing pronouns are still found in the sixteenth century as in (12).

- (12) '...velly ti a 'th eppil a gwaad ag
thus you and your descendants PRT arise and

a fforward...'
go forward

'Thus you and your descendants will arise and go forward...'
(RhG 2.85.6-7 = *Ystoriau o Ddyfed*, ms. c. 1588)

There are three other parallel examples in the same passage (RhG 2.84.21-22, 2.84.22-24 and 2.84.26-27).

However, these seem to be amongst the last examples of this kind, and such examples do not seem to be found after the sixteenth century.

Finally, developments in the complementiser system suggest that a closer phonological relationship was developing between preverbal pronouns and their verbs. The particle *a* may not generally be omitted in Middle Welsh, except in three cases. In its use as a relative particle, *a* may be omitted before the third person singular of the verb *bot* (D.S. Evans 1976:61). There are also instances of *a* being omitted before verbs beginning with /a/ (E. Evans 1958:24). Finally, *a* is not found following a fronted predicate (cf. example (2) in Chapter Three).

In the late sixteenth century, however, we find omission of the particle in all contexts on a wide scale. In (13) early examples are given of the omission of *a* before a consonant after a simple subject pronoun.⁴

⁴Other sixteenth-century examples are RhG 1.103.16 (=Y *Marchog Crwydrad*), 117.23 (=Darn o'r *Ffestiva*), 124.17, 126.5 (=Mab y *Fforestwr*), 2.15.10 (=KL1B), 51.12 (=Ystoriau *Digrif*), 79.9 (=Ystoriau o *Ddyfed*); TWRP *Y Dioddefaint* 145, 985, 1012; YAL 281.9, 286.45.

- (13) a. chi vynwch roi gwr gwirion j varfolaeith ar y groes
you want-2P put-VN man innocent to death on the cross
'You want to put an innocent man to death on the cross.'
(TWRP *Y Dioddefaint* 122-23, ms. 1552)

- b. Chwi wyddoch yr ymadrodd a ddanuones Deo
you know-2P the words REL sent God

i plant yr Israel...
to children the Israel

'You know the words that God sent to the children of Israel...'
(RhG 2.13.24-25 [=Acts 10.36] = William Salesbury, *Kynriber Llith a Ban*, 1567)

- c. ...mi feddylais ... am wnaethyr taith...
I thought-1S about make-VN journey
'...I thought ... about making a journey...'
(RhG 1.97.7-9 = *Y Marchog Crwydrad*, c. 1575)

- d. ...ag ty ddygaist trays ar Mauld v(er)ch Morgan...
and you brought-2S violence on Maud ferch Morgan
'...and you raped Maud ferch Morgan...'
(Slander case, Brecon Sessions 1580)

The examples in (14) are equivalent cases with a reduplicated pronoun.⁵

- (14) a. ...y vo gymerth lywenydd mawr...
he took happiness great
'...he became very happy...'
(RhG 1.25.17 = *Campau Ercwlff*, c. 1530)

- b. nynl dynwn gytysav am i pyrssav yforv
we-REDUP draw-1P lots for their purses tomorrow
'We shall draw lots for their purses tomorrow.'
(TWRP *Y Dioddefaint* 295-96, ms. 1552)

- c. efo ddyw[od] lasswyre...
he-REDUP said psalms
'He said psalms...'
(TWRP *Yr Enaid a'r Corff* 145, ms. 16th c. [1500-20])

- d. ...ag myfi brifa hyn arnad ti.
and I-REDUP prove-1S that on-2S you
'...and I shall prove that of you.'
(Slander case, Brecon Sessions 1577)

Examples of omission of *a* following full lexical constituents are much rarer, but are found, for instance, RhG (?)1.14.20, (?)16.9

⁵Other sixteenth-century examples are TWRP *Yr Enaid a'r Corff* 44, 153, *Y Dioddefaint* 994.

(=*Hanes y Rhyfeintaid a'r Iddewon*), 85.16 (=Rhannau o'r *Efengylau*), 2.79.16 (=Ystorïau o *Ddyfed*).

In Contemporary Welsh *a* is not in general use in speech (cf. Morgan 1952:174), and the evidence of the sixteenth century texts suggests that this is the period to which we should relate its disappearance.

It seems reasonable to conclude that the loss of *a* begins in the position after pronominal subjects, an indication that these were becoming phonologically dependent on the following verb. The fact that reduplicated pronouns participate fully in this development alongside simple pronouns may indicate that they too were undergoing weakening, a possibility that we shall return to in section 5.2.2.1.

Further evidence for the loss of *a* comes from instances of hypercorrection. In Middle Welsh a clause-initial adjectival or nominal predicate is followed consistently by mutation of the verb, but no preverbal particle, as in the example in (15).

- (15) Llawen uu pob un wrth y gilid o honunt.
happy was-PERF every one to each other of-them
'Every one of them was happy towards each other.'
(PKM 6.17-18 = *Pwyll*)

In the sixteenth century examples are found of the modern literary usage with the preverbal particle *a* after such predicates. The most plausible explanation for this phenomenon is that *a* in environments where it was historically correct was being elided in speech, and being reinstated in writing. The most straightforward rule for reinstating this *a* would be to write it wherever the verb had undergone soft mutation. However, such a rule would wrongly result in *a* being written after predicative adjectives, and this is precisely what we find. The following examples are from literary texts of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries (D.S. Evans 1968:318 fn.1, 326-27):

- (16) Cymwys a fuasse gymeryd llwybr vniownach...
fitting PRT would-be take-VN path straighter
'It would have been fitting to take a straighter path...'
(Morris Kyffin, *Deffynniad Ffydd Eglwys Loegr* 9.28-29, 1595)

- b. Addas a fyddai i wragedd argraphu yr
appropriate PRT would-be to women imprint-VN the

ymadrodd hwn yn eu meddyllau...
expression that in their thoughts

'It would be appropriate for women to imprint that expression on their thoughts...'

(Edward James, *Llyfr y Homillau* 3.173.6, 1606
from D.S. Evans 1968:327)

- c. Canys pa amlaf y byddai 'r moddion,
for the more-abundant PRT would-be the means,

posiblach a fyddai 'r bobl i'w dysgu...
more-possible PRT would-be the people to+3P-GEN teach-VN

'For the more abundant the means would be, the easier the people would be to teach...'

(*Hen Gyflwyniadau* 27.20-21 = John Edwards,
Preface to *Madruddyn y Difnyddiaeth Diweddaraf*, 1651)

Parallel hypercorrect insertion of a particle is also found occasionally after the negative marker *ni(d)* as in (17). In this case the particle is spelled *y*, but the soft mutation indicates that this represents preverbal *a*.

- (17) Ny y ddygais i *ddim* yn lleddrad...
NEG PRT took-1S I nothing thiefishly
'I stole nothing...' (Slander case, Pembroke Sessions 1611)

Other evidence for the loss of this particle comes from an instance like (18) where the 'wrong' particle is found.

- (18) Deu wr o Ddeheubarth, a 'r naill ohany
two men from South-Wales and the one of-them

y laddasse wr o Wynedd, a ddayth ar negessau
PRT had-killed man from Gwynedd PRT came on errands

y Wynedd...
to Gwynedd

'Two men from the South, one of whom had killed a man from Gwynedd, came on business to Gwynedd...'
(RhG 2.5.6-7 = *Gair Mwys*, ?1502-1555)

The particle before *laddasse* 'had killed' is *y*, but since the verb is preceded by the subject, *a* is expected. The mutation, however, is the historically-correct soft mutation that normally follows *a*. There are two possible interpretations of this, both of which suggest a development towards the loss of the particle *a*. One possibility is again hypercorrection. The writer knows that particles that are omitted in speech must be used in writing, so adds *y* for the *a* that has been lost in his speech. Another is that we are witnessing an intermediate stage in the loss of *a*, during which it weakens to schwa, thereby merging with the other preverbal particle *y(r)*. For further examples see Morgan (1952:174).

Taken together, these various pieces of evidence mean that there is little evidence in the Welsh language around 1600 that the preverbal pronouns were any longer independent of the verb. It seems best to regard them as verbal clitics. Note that as this happens, one property of preverbal subjects remains. In Middle Welsh SVO (and indeed V2 generally) was restricted to main clauses, a fact which was

linked in Chapter Three to the presence of a filled C-position in embedded clauses which blocked movement to C and SpecCP. Even after the development of preverbal clitic pronouns, the restriction of SVO order to main clauses remains. Any analysis of the clitic phenomena must also be consistent with this fact.

We can now move on to provide an explicit formulation of this change.

5.1.3 Subject Pronouns as Clitics

There are broadly two approaches to pronominal clitics in the generative literature. The central point of disagreement concerns whether clitics are full arguments of the verb or are agreement markers.

One approach regards them as verbal agreement elements licensing an empty category (*pro*) in an argument position. This would mean that subject clitics were AgrS-heads licensing *pro* in subject position. This has been argued to be the case for subject clitics in some Italian dialects (Rizzi 1986, Brandi and Cordin 1989). The crucial evidence in favour of such an analysis is the existence of doubling constructions, that is, constructions where a subject clitic must appear even though there is another subject, as for instance in (19) from the Florentino dialect of Italian.

- (19) **Florentino**
 Te tu parl.
 you you-CL speak-2S
 'You speak.'
 (Brandi and Cordin 1989:113)

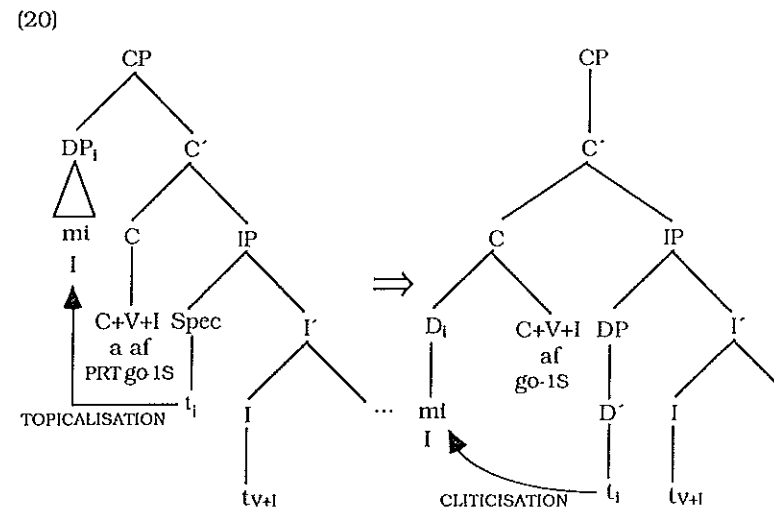
Brandi and Cordin present evidence that the non-clitic subject here is not left-dislocated, hence *it* rather than the subject clitic must occupy the subject position. If the clitic does not occupy the subject position, the obvious solution is to suggest that it is an agreement element.⁶

The other approach regards clitics as being base-generated in an argument position and subsequently moving to adjoin to (incorporate into) a verbal head, leaving a trace in the argument position (Kayne 1989, 1991, Baker and Hale 1990). Since the argument position is filled by the trace of the clitic, doubling is ruled out. Such a case is found in a number of languages, notably with object clitics in French and Standard Italian.

Although often proposed as competing analyses of clitic phenomena, the two seem to reflect two classes of clitics represented in different languages (cf. Rizzi's 1986 contrastive analysis of Italian dialects and French). One possibility is to view them as different degrees on a scale of grammaticalisation from full nominal element (DP) to reduced nominal element (D-head) to fully-grammaticalised agreement element (Agr-head). In fact, the history of Welsh seems to exemplify the full course of this possible grammaticalisation process.

⁶Another possibility which I shall not pursue here is that one of the subject pronouns is an expletive base-generated in a non-theta-marked position. This is defended for West Flemish subject clitics in Haegeman (1990). The decisive evidence there is the ability of the subject clitic to move around the clause, behaviour which would be difficult to explain if the clitic were an agreement element.

In the current instance, an analysis of sixteenth-century Welsh subject clitics as full arguments correctly generates the grammatical structures. The subject pronoun is base-generated as the head of a DP, and moves via Head Movement to incorporate into the verb (cf. Baker and Hale 1990:293). In doing so, it leaves a trace that is antecedent-governed in accordance with the Empty Category Principle. IP is not a barrier to this government under any standard definition of barrierhood.⁷ Under this approach, as the subject pronouns (diachronically) acquire the status of clitics, the structure in which they participate undergoes the Diachronic Reanalysis indicated in (20). The move to clitic status is realised in the lexicon by a change in the lexical specification of the pronouns, now marked as affixes that must adjoin to a verb in C.



⁷For instance, we can assume Baker's (1988:56) definition of barrierhood, developed for incorporation structures like this:

- (i) Let D be the smallest maximal projection containing A. Then C is a barrier between A and B iff C is a maximal projection that contains B and excludes A, and either:
- a. C is not selected, or
 - b. the head of C is distinct from the head of D and selects some WP equal to or containing B.

In (20), we need to test for the presence of a barrier between the pronominal D-head and C. The smallest maximal projection containing C is CP. We need to test whether IP is a barrier, since it contains D but excludes CP. IP is selected by C, so clause (a) fails. I does not select DP, since DP's agent theta-role is assigned to it by the verb, hence clause (b) also fails. Therefore, IP is not a barrier to government (cf. Baker 1988:61-62).

Mi (a) af
I (PRT) go-1S
'I will go.'

In the new structure, the verb raises to C, and the pronominal head raises to left-adjoin to it. This naturally has a number of consequences.

First, the pronoun is now necessarily adjacent to the verb. An adverbial adjoined to C' will now precede a pronominal clitic, rather than intervene between it and the verb.

Movement of the pronoun is incorporation into C, rather than the A'-movement of earlier Welsh, hence only the pronoun itself moves. Any modifying material remains behind in the subject DP. Hence emphatic reflexives adjoined to DP remain in postverbal position as in (11)

Analysing clitics in Early Modern Welsh as D-heads base-generated in an argument position also allows us to account for the fact that we do not find doubling of subject pronouns at this stage of the language. That is, the grammar continues to exclude the construction in (21) even though it is parallel to the grammatical Florentino example in (19).

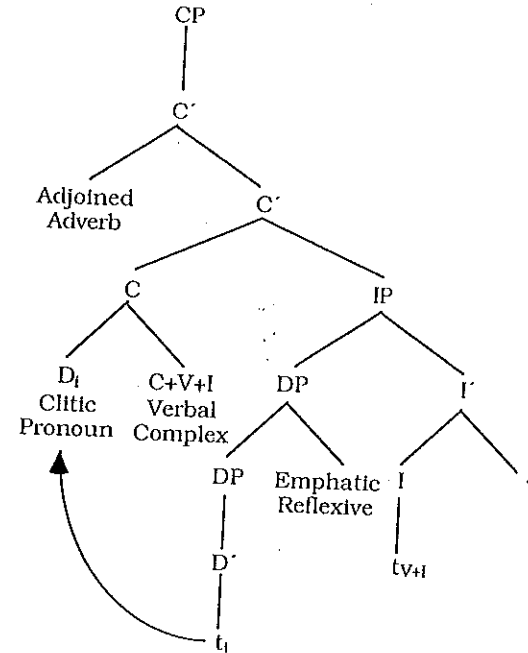
(21) *Mi feddyllais i...
I thought-1S I
'I thought...'

A (referential) pronominal subject is base-generated as an argument of the verb in SpecVP. There it is assigned a theta-role by the verb. It raises to SpecIP (SpecTP) to receive Nominative Case under government from AgrS in the verbal complex in C. It thus 'uses up' AgrS's Nominative Case and, more significantly, the verb's theta-role. Consequently, there can be no other subject position in the structure, and (21) is ruled out because there is no theta-marked position available for the second pronominal subject.

Finally, preverbal subjects still occupy a position within CP. Hence, assuming that the presence of overt material in C is sufficient to block antecedent government of the trace of the clitic by minimality, preverbal subjects cannot co-occur in subordinate clauses with an overt complementiser.

The proposed structure of main clauses with subject clitic subjects in Early Modern Welsh is given in full in (22).

(22)



If we attempt to pursue the alternative possible analysis of (subject) clitics as agreement elements, a number of problems arise. On this analysis the clitic would attach to the verb in the same way as other agreement morphology as the verb raises to C. Since this attachment is a feature of the agreement projection, there is no reason why it should be restricted to main clauses. Furthermore, such an account requires that the agreement clitic license a non-overt element in the true subject position. It would be expected that this null subject would alternate with a full subject pronoun in some cases. Doubling constructions like (21) should therefore appear. The fact that they do not is a strong piece of evidence leading us to reject such an analysis for subject clitics in sixteenth-century Welsh.

5.1.3.1 Is a Lowering Rule Necessary?

There are two difficulties with the head-movement account of Welsh clitics, either of which might suggest that clitics in sixteenth-century Welsh raise to SpecCP before cliticising onto the verb.

Before examining the evidence for such a process, we should first consider why it would be undesirable. In the first instance cliticisation of a D-head in SpecCP onto the verb in C would constitute a lowering rule. Lowering rules in general violate the ECP, since the moved element does not antecedent-govern its trace.

Furthermore, allowing clitic pronouns to raise to SpecCP before cliticisation might create difficulties for the account of the changes

above. For instance, how would it follow that the clitic pronoun must be adjacent to the verb? If clitics moved to SpecCP and then lowered onto the verb in C, the movement would presumably be a phonological process, that is, one occurring at PF rather than in the syntax. In order to account for the ungrammaticality of adverbs intervening between the clitic and the verb, we would have to require the clitic to cliticise onto the verb, and put an extra restriction on this process, stating that it is blocked by an intervening adverb or indeed any intervening material. Such a restriction would also have to account for the loss of emphatic reflexives in this position. Emphatic reflexives in postverbal position would then be the result of floating the reflexives off, i.e. moving them to right-adjoin to some maximal projection. It is, however, not clear that a cliticisation rule that is sensitive to the difference between a verb and a non-verb could be accommodated at a non-syntactic level like PF.

5.1.3.2 Cliticisation and Verb-second

The first difficulty with direct movement of the clitic to adjoin to the verb involves the verb-second rule. Even after its change to clitic status, the preverbal subject pronoun still suffices to satisfy the V2-constraint. We shall see below that there is some evidence for a move away from the use of simple pronouns, but the continued grammaticality of clauses with preverbal simple subject pronouns remains unexplained if the pronoun fails to pass through SpecCP.

The same difficulty is found in West Flemish as analysed in Haegeman (1990). West Flemish has a V2-constraint that may be satisfied by a preverbal subject clitic (Haegeman 1990:351-54). Since (23) is grammatical, the subject clitic *ze* must satisfy the constraint. Assuming that the V2-constraint directly or indirectly requires that SpecCP be filled, this suggests the clitic moves through SpecCP before adjoining to the verb in C.

- (23) Ze werkt zie.
 she-CL works she
 'She's working.' (Haegeman 1990:338)

Furthermore in West Flemish, a subject clitic prevents an adverb from appearing in preverbal position, as can be seen from the ungrammaticality of (24).

- (24) *Morgen ze werkt.
 tomorrow she-CL works
 'Tomorrow she's working.' (Haegeman 1990:354)

Preverbal adverbs in West Flemish must occupy SpecCP. This strongly suggests that the clitic passes through SpecCP.⁸ Haegeman suggests that the subject clitic satisfies the V2-constraint by topicalising to SpecCP, and cliticising and thereby receiving case at PF. The sixteenth-century Welsh case is parallel: we are faced with the

⁸Clearly, parallel evidence cannot be tested in Early Modern Welsh because it, unlike West Flemish, licenses preverbal adverbs in adjoined positions in addition to SpecCP.

problem of why a sentence where only a subject clitic precedes the verb is grammatical if the derivation of such a sentence leaves SpecCP empty.

In the Welsh case, I shall not attempt to suggest that the subject clitic in the structure in (22) actually satisfies the V2-constraint. Instead, it seems that the clitic is a marked exception to the constraint given in the peripheral grammar. In section 5.2.2 I shall present evidence that Welsh went through a stage where, as we expect with features marked as exceptional, use of the exception rule was reduced by the replacement of the clitic with elements that did satisfy the V2-constraint. However, I shall argue that the eventual loss of V2 allowed the preverbal subject clitics to survive.

5.1.3.3 Clitics and Clausal Coordination

A second problem is found in the behaviour of clitic pronouns in conjoined structures. It might be expected that, in a language with subject clitics, the clitic would have to be repeated in conjoined clauses. In (22), the verb and object do not form a single constituent, hence coordination at a level below the subject but above the verb should be ruled out.

There seems to be some cross-linguistic variation with respect to whether subject clitics must be repeated in conjoined clauses. For instance, omission of the subject clitic in the second conjunct is fully acceptable in Dutch, less so in French, and ungrammatical in Northern Italian dialects (cf. Rizzi 1986:402-407).

However, in Early Modern Welsh even after the subject pronouns become clitics, conjoined clauses involving shared subject pronouns do not require the subject to be repeated in the second conjunct. Examples from sixteenth- and seventeenth-century texts are given in (25).⁹

- (25) a. A phan welodd vorwyn dec ... ef ai herfynniodd
 and when saw maiden fair he PRT+3S-OBJ asked

ac ai duc adref at ei arglwydd ai velstyr.
 and PRT+3S-OBJ brought home to his lord and-his master

'And when he saw a fair maiden..., he asked for her and brought her home to his lord and master.'

(CHSS 118.21-22, 1574-1604)

⁹Further examples: YAL 280.30, 280.39, 282.43, 283.28, 283.35, 283.39, 283.48, 284.3, 285.3, 285.31, 285.48, 286.2, 286.20, 286.33, 287.5, 287.35; LIFA 18.30, 39.27, 74.10.

- b. Ag ef a syrthiawdd ar i linnlav geyr bronnyr
and he PRT fell on his knees before the

amherawdr ag a 'ü anydeddawdd ef.
emperor and PRT 3SM-OBJ honoured him

'And he fell on his knees before the emperor and honoured him.'
(YAL 279.30-31, ms. c. 1590 [post-1515])

- c. A hwy a gawsant wenwyn ag a'ü roesant
and they PRT took-3P poison and PRT+3S-OBJ gave-3P

yddo ef.
to-3S him

'And they took poison and gave it to him.'
(YAL 284.37, ms. c. 1590 [post-1515])

- d. nhwy a ddywedant yn dëg, ac a weddiant weddiau
they PRT say-3S fairly and PRT pray-3P prayers

hirion...
long

'They speak fairly and pray long prayers...'
(Morgan Llwyd, *Llyfr y Tri Aderyn* 21.18-19, 1653)

There are two possible views of this construction. On one view, it raises considerable difficulties. It is standardly assumed that only like constituents may conjoin. The second clause is a C', since it apparently shares its topic with the first clause in Shared Constituent Coordination. If so, we must conclude that in each case the first conjunct below the pronoun (i.e. *ai herfynniodd* 'asked for her' in (25)a.) is a C'-constituent. However, if the subject clitic *ef* raises at S-structure to left-adjoin to the verb in C, then C' includes the subject clitic. Such an analysis would require a solution along the lines of West Flemish subject clitics, involving a lowering rule at PF.

There is another possibility, however. If we continue with the analysis developed in section 4.2 and assume that the second conjunct has the ability to host a null topic operator, then conjoined structures like (25) actually involve coordination of CPs. In the second conjunct SpecCP is occupied by an operator binding a variable in subject position. This operator is coindexed with the subject of the preceding clause. The proposed structure is given in full in (26).

(26) ...[[CP [C *ef* ai herfynniodd] [IP [DP *t*] *tv* [VP *t* *tv pro*]]]
he PRT+3S-OBJ asked

ac
and

[CP Op_j [C ai duc] [IP *t_j* *tv* [VP *t_j* *tv pro* adref]]]]
PRT+3S-OBJ brought home

If this representation is correct, then the first conjunct involves only the single violation of V2 that has already been noted. Beyond this, however, there is no need for any other exceptions, whether to V2, to the clitic status of subject pronouns or to the ban on lowering rules.

Having dealt with these apparent difficulties, we can continue to maintain that pronominal subjects in Early Modern Welsh may move at S-structure to cliticise onto the verb by adjoining to C. We conclude that this is an exception to V2, and must be marked as such in the peripheral grammar.

5.2 Consequences of the Change in Status of Subject Pronouns

It seems reasonable to assume that a move to clitic status is essentially a phonological change. Children register the lack of stress generally placed on the pronouns and interpret them as being dependent upon the head to which they are habitually adjacent. The most 'robust' evidence regarding their status is thus phonological, and any syntactic indications are of marginal value at best. In this sense, all of the syntactic changes discussed so far are in fact 'trailing changes'. In other words, the disappearance of these constructions is itself a consequence of the reanalysis of the pronouns as clitics rather than a cause of it. They were dealt with above because they were useful diagnostics for clitic status. I now go on to examine other changes, also not diagnostic of clitic status, but which can be interpreted as following on from that change of status. I distinguish between the syntactic changes below and those above not for theoretical reasons, since both sets are reflections of a phonological change, but because the changes discussed so far are straightforward diagnostics of clitic status. The changes that follow involve somewhat more involved argumentation.

5.2.1 Expletive Subjects

I now turn to the development of the expletive construction in the history of Welsh, examining and evaluating the possibility that syntactic change in the restrictions on this construction can be derived from the appearance of clitic pronouns. One major cause of the spread of verb-initial word order at lower stylistic levels is the spread of the expletive construction beyond the environment to which it is restricted in the Middle Welsh tales. The construction is discussed and exemplified further in D.S. Evans (1968:328-35), from where a number of the following examples have been taken. I also draw on examples from *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru*.

Recall from section 3.1 that in V2 main clauses, Middle Welsh has the option of inserting an expletive subject *ef* in topic position. An example is (3) in Chapter Three, repeated here as (27).

(27) *Ef a doeth makwyuelf a gueisson ieuelfc y*
it PRT came squires and lads young to+3SM-GEN

diarchenu...
disrobe-VN

'There came squires and young lads to disrobe him...'
(PKM 4.8-9 = *Pwyl*)

I shall examine changes in the properties of this construction in Middle and Early Modern Welsh.

It is first necessary to justify the assumption that *ef* in sentences like (27) is an expletive subject at all. D.S. Evans (1976:172) lists this use of *ef* alongside preverbal particles whilst describing it as a personal pronoun. Lewis and Pedersen (1937:145) call it a preverbal particle. As we shall see, to call *ef a* in this construction a preverbal particle is to rely too heavily upon the status of the cognate 'presentential particle' *fe* in Contemporary Welsh. Unlike Modern Welsh *ef*, *ef a* in Middle Welsh is restricted to co-occur with third person singular verb forms, suggesting that the verb in fact agrees with it. Furthermore, it will become clear that the construction in Middle Welsh exhibits behaviour similar to that of expletive subjects in other languages.

5.2.1.1 Expletive Subjects in Middle Welsh

Middle Welsh of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries manifests a number of restrictions on the use of the expletive construction. These restrictions are paralleled by expletive constructions in other languages. The system to be described holds for *Historia Gruffud ab Kenan*, *Pedwr Keinc y Mabinogi*, *Culhwch ac Olwen*, *Peredur*, *Owein*, *Gereint*, *Brut y Tywysogyon* (Red Book Version), *Mabnogi Iessu Grist* (Peniarth 14, Part II version), *Hen Draethawd ar Hwsmonaeth* and *Chweddeu Seith Doethon Ruben*.

In these texts expletive *ef* is found exclusively in three contexts.

First, it may be used to fill the empty subject position before an unaccusative verb. Examples are found with the unaccusative verbs *bot* 'to be' (HGK 22.8; *Owein* 546), *kerdet* 'to walk' (*Peredur* 36.6), *kyuaruot* 'to meet, come across, come towards' (*Peredur* 16.21, 28.12; SDR 572), *kyuodi* 'to arise' (PKM 18.27; *Peredur* 69.6), *kyhwrd* 'to hit upon' (*Peredur* 52.21), *daruot* 'to finish, come to an end' (YCM 66.11), *dyuot* 'to come' (PKM 4.8, 65.1; *Peredur* 11.22, 26.16, 27.6, 27.21, 31.15, 41.9, 48.26, 51.8; *Owein* 152; *Culhwch ac Olwen* 6; MIG 189.12; YCM 78.14, 84.18; SDR 740, 906) and *mynet* 'to go' (ChCC 60.7 [= *Geraint*]) and *tyfu* 'to grow' (*Hen Draethawd ar Hwsmonaeth* 13.12). The following examples are typical of the environments in which the expletive subject is found in these texts:

(28) a. *Ac yn yr vn wythnos ef a gyfaruu ac ef vn*
and in the same week it PRT met with him one

marchawc ar bumthec...
knight on fifteen

'And in the same week there met with him sixteen knights...'
(*Peredur* 16.20-22)

b. *Ac yn ol y twrwl ef a daw cawat adoer...*
and after the commotion it PRT come shower very-cold
'And after the commotion there will come a very cold shower...'
(*Owein* 152-53)

c. *Ac ef a aeth un onadunt...*
and it PRT went one of-them
'And there went one of them...'
(ChCC 60.7 = *Gereint*)

d. *Ef a daw yr arglwyd ar wybren ysgawn...*
it PRT come the lord on sky light
'There will come the lord on a light sky...'
(MIG 189.12)

Second, expletive *ef* is found with impersonal verb forms, glossed below using passives, from whatever verb they are derived, as in (29).¹⁰

(29) a. *Ac ef a rodet vdunt y llog oreu a diogelaf a*
and it PRT was-given to-them the ship best and securest REL

odefel y mordonneu...
withstand-COND the sea-waves

'And there was given to them the best and securest ship that could withstand the waves...'
(*Brut y Tywysogyon* 104.8-9)

b. *Ef a dywetpwyd idaw.*
it PRT was-said to-him
'It was said to him.'
(PKM 80.9-10)

c. *...ac eissoes ef a anet meibon idaw ef...*
and yet it PRT was-born sons to-3SM him
'...and yet sons were born to him...'
(YCM 30.6-7)

d. *Ac ef a gyffryoir holl eu dwyweu...*
and it PRT is-touched all their gods
'And all their gods will be disturbed...'
(MIG 189.13)

And thirdly *ef* is found in the topic position of some main clauses containing postposed clausal arguments. Postposed clausal subjects are found with the verb *damwelnaw* 'to happen' as in (30). Postposed clausal objects are found with the verbs *dywedut* 'to say'

¹⁰Further examples: YCM 23.29, 30.8, 43.12, 55.7, 74.17, 158.6.

and *tebygu* 'to suppose', and with the present subjunctive of the verb *gwneuthur* 'to do', as in (31).¹¹

- (30) A gwedy gwascaru y llu dan y coedyd ef a
And after scatter-VN the force among the woods it PRT
damweinawd y Ywein ... kyrchu y coet...
happened to Owain attack-VN the forest
'And after scattering the force among the woods, Owain ...
happened to attack the forest...'
(*Brut y Tywysogyon* 96.28-29)

Also *Brut y Tywysogyon* 106.7 (*damweinaw*).

- (31) a. Ac ef a dywedel Wertheuyr Uendigeit ... na
and it PRT said-IMPV Gwertheif Blessed COMP+NEG
leuessynt dyuot y tir enys Prydein.
allow-PLUPERF-3P come-VN to land island Britain
'And Gwertheif the Blessed said that they would not allow
(anyone) to come to the land of the Island of Britain.'
(*Brut Dingestow* 98.3-5)
- b. Ac ef a tebygei Owein bot yr awyr yn
and it PRT supposed Owein be-VN the air PROG
edrinaw rac meint y gweidi...
reverberate-VN from amount the shouting
'And Owein supposed (it seemed to Owain) that the air was
reverberating with the noise of the shouting...'
(*Owein* 346-47)
- c. Nyt ef a wnel Duw ... tybyaw Gwenwlyd o 'e
NEG it PRT do-SUBJ God suspect-VN Gwenwlydd of 3SM-GEN
vot ynn anffydawn ymi...
be-VN PRD unfaithful to-me
'Let not God suspect Gwenwlydd of being unfaithful to me...'
(YCM 140.20-21)

Perhaps in the same category are a number of cases of expletive subjects with the verbs *gallael* 'to be able' in (32) and *pery* 'to cause' in (33).

¹¹ Also *Peredur* 45.23 and *Hen Draethawd ar Hwsmonaeth* 11.11 (*dywedut*); *Owein* 546 (*uu agos* 'was almost'); and YCM 141.10, 142.8 (*gwneuthur*). For an example of the *gwneuthur* construction outside this text, see KAA 529. On this use of the subjunctive of *gwneuthur* 'to do' to express a wish cf. also YSG 1329. On the use of *nyt ef a* for Modern Welsh *na* see also Morgan (1952:372).

- (32) a. ...ef a eill uot yn eduar gennyf gwneuthur a
it PRT can be-VN PRD sorry with-me do-VN REL
wneuthum llt.
did-1S to-you
'...I may be sorry for doing what I have to do.'
(PKM 6.1-2 = *Pwyll* 120)
- b. Ac ef a allel llawer mab colli y eneit am y
and it PRT could many son lose-VN his soul for the
dygyuor a bereisti yn y cantref hwnn heddiw.
commotion REL you-caused in the district this today
'And many a son could lose his life because of the commotion
that you have caused in this district today.'
(PKM 83.10-12)

Also YCM 31.2, 73.30.

- (33) ...ac ef a beris y brenhin enwir eu dihenydyaw.
and it PRT caused the king evil 3P-GEN execute-VN
'...and the evil king had them executed.'
(YCM 116.2-3)

Superficially, there are two counterexamples to these rules, namely the cases in (34), whereas an expletive subject appears with the transitive verbs *darogan* 'to foretell' and *gwanu* 'to strike'.

- (34) a. Ac ef a'e gwant y Sarassin ef yn y daryan
and it PRT+3S-OBJ struck the Saracen him in his shield
dynawt mawr...
blow great
'And the Saracen struck him a great blow in his shield...'
(YCM 71.21-22)
- b. Ef a'e daroganvs Merdin ef ynni val hynn...
it PRT+3S-OBJ foretold Merlin it to-us like this
'Merlin foretold it to us like this...'
(HGK 5.22-23)

Note that in both cases the direct object of the verb is a masculine third person singular pronoun. An analysis of these examples in harmony with the restrictions described above could be attempted if *ef* in topic position could be interpreted as a direct object pronoun rather than an expletive. Initially this seems to be ruled out by the presence of another object pronoun *ef* in the object position itself. However, other evidence from Middle Welsh suggests that such configurations, with a resumptive object pronoun acting as a variable A'-bound from SpecCP are possible even where the distance between the two is very short.

- b. I dag har *(det) kommet lingvister hit.
today has it come linguists here
'Today there have come linguists here.'

(Christensen 1991:141, 149)

(43) **Swedish**

- a. Det kom många studenter till mötet.
it came many students to the-meeting
'There came many students to the meeting.'

- b. Igår kom det många studenter till mötet.
yesterday came there many students to the-meeting
'Yesterday there came many students to the meeting.'

In this respect, Middle Welsh follows the German pattern. The expletive is possible neither in inversion contexts nor in subordinate clauses, and we find no sentences like (44) to parallel (27).

- (44) *Yna y doeth ef makwyueit a gweisson ieueinc
then PRT came it squires and lads young

y diarchenu...
to+3SM-GEN disrobe-VN

'Then there came squires and young lads to disrobe him...'

There is furthermore variation with respect to whether the expletive imposes an unaccusative restriction. As has been seen, Middle Welsh, along with English imposes such a restriction. German (marginally) and Icelandic (fully) allow expletives to co-occur with transitive verbs.

(45) a. **German**

- Es stieß ihn ein Soldat von der Brücke.
it pushed him a soldier from the bridge
'A soldier pushed him from the bridge.'

(Cardinaletti 1990a:139)

b. **Icelandic**

- Það hafa einhverjir stúdentar sennilega stolið smjörinu.
it have some students probably stolen the-butter
'Some students have probably stolen the butter.'

(Sigurðsson 1990:50)

The comparative data are summarised in Table 5.2.

	English	German Icelandic	Swedish Norwegian	Middle Welsh
Verb-second?	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Expletive in Inversion and Subordinate Contexts?	Yes	No	Yes	No
Expletive with Transitives?	No	Yes	No	No

Table 5.2. Cross-linguistic Properties of Expletive Constructions.

Let us first consider how the distribution of the expletives in inversion and subordinate contexts can be accounted for. Clearly in the Swedish/Norwegian-type language, the expletive is base-generated in a post-C position, say SpecIP, where it remains in embedded and inversion contexts. In other cases it moves to SpecCP. This accounts for its presence in both types of clause.

A natural way to account for the different behaviour of German *es* would be to make a difference in the lexical specification of *es*, base-generating it in SpecCP, rather than SpecIP as specified for *det* (Tomaselli 1986). In German clauses lacking inversion, as in (46)a., *es* occupies the topic position SpecCP. In an inversion context in b. the topic position is filled by an adverb, leaving SpecIP as the only position for the expletive. If the German expletive is base-generated in SpecCP, it is no surprise to find that b. is ungrammatical. Similar reasoning applies to the embedded context in c.

- (46) a. [CP *es* wurde_i [IP [VP *getantz*] t_i]]
it became danced
- b. *[CP *heute* wurde_i [IP *es* [VP *getantz*] t_i]]
today became it danced
- c. *...[CP *daß* [IP *es* [VP *getantz*] wurde]]
that it danced was

If on the other hand, *es* appears in SpecIP and then raises, the obligatory nature of this raising is not motivated. Neither b. nor c. violate any other constraint. The b. example is a perfectly well-formed verb-second clause in all respects other than the expletive. In order to rule out b. and c. whilst maintaining that expletives raise from SpecIP, some special appeal has to be made, for instance, to the Avoid Pronoun Principle (Cardinaletti 1990a, Chomsky 1981). On this account, C in German licenses (but does not identify) a null subject in SpecIP. This allows a null expletive subject in SpecIP, but nowhere else. Indeed there can be no other null subjects in German. Since a null expletive is possible in SpecIP, according to the Avoid Pronoun Principle, it must be used if it can be. Only pragmatic factors could prevent the use of a null pronoun. Since the pronoun in this case is expletive, however, pragmatic factors cannot require an overt pronoun, so the null subject must be used. However, such special pleading is not necessary on the SpecCP account. In the absence of

good evidence to the contrary, it seems reasonable to conclude that lexical differences in the base-position of the expletives provide the best account of variation in their behaviour in inversion and embedded contexts.

For an answer to the question of why there should be restrictions on the type of verb compatible with expletives in some languages, we can start from Belletti's (1988) analysis of unaccusatives. Belletti's principal aim is to derive an account of Definiteness Effects in expletive constructions. Almost all of the Germanic and Romance languages with expletive subjects show such effects: the postverbal DP may be indefinite but not definite.¹⁴ In the examples in (47) from English and German, the sentence is ungrammatical if the definite article is added.

- (47) a. **English**
There sailed (*the) two ships into the harbour.
- b. **German**
Es hat ein / *der Mann die Marie geküßt.
It has a the man the Mary kissed
'A/The man kissed Mary.' (Belletti 1988:14)

Belletti (1988) derives Definiteness Effects from an account of Case-assignment. Following the Unaccusative Hypothesis (Perlmutter 1978, Burzio 1986) she assumes that the surface subject of an unaccusative verb (*two ships* in (47)a.) is actually its internal argument, to which a theme theta-role is assigned. Traditionally it has been assumed that unaccusative verbs lack the ability to assign Accusative Case to this argument, hence it raises to subject position to receive Nominative. Belletti argues that unaccusative verbs, whilst they are unable to assign Accusative, may assign inherent Partitive case to their internal arguments. This Case carries a meaning of 'part of, any' and is thus incompatible with a definite DP. So, the English sentence in (47)a. would have a structure something like that in (48)a.

- (48) a. [CP [IP there [VP sailed two ships into the harbour]]]
- b. [CP [IP two ships [VP sailed into the harbour]]]

The verb assigns Partitive to its internal argument *two ships*, and Infl assigns Nominative to *there*. Partitive Case assignment is optional. If the option of assigning it is not taken, then the internal argument must raise to SpecIP to receive Nominative Case as in b.

Middle Welsh expletive constructions show no Definiteness Effect, although there is a 'thematic' effect, namely a requirement that the associate DP be new information in the discourse (cf. the examples in (28)). The restriction on subject type has been described in a similar way for Icelandic, as a restriction against topical subjects

¹⁴The only exception discussed in the literature is Italian, and even there Belletti claims that Definiteness Effects are observed when the expletive construction is strictly separated from instances of Free Subject Inversion (Belletti 1988:7-12).

(Sigurðsson 1990:47). In languages like Middle Welsh and Icelandic, the thematic effect associated with expletive constructions is clearly not a syntactic phenomenon, and an account in terms of Case Theory seem inappropriate. Definiteness Effects in other languages may also turn out actually to be of the same order. However, the central idea remains – namely, that unaccusative verbs may assign Case to their internal arguments, freeing them from the need to raise to receive Case. This allows an expletive to appear in the usual subject position and receive Case there. I shall ignore the question of Partitive Case here, supposing for the moment simply that unaccusative verbs assign Case (of an unspecified kind) to their internal arguments. This provides us with the basis of an account of a subset of the cross-linguistic differences in the behaviour of expletives.

Having examined the types of variation associated with expletive constructions, we can now consider how the differences can be accounted for, and see how Middle Welsh fits in to the general pattern.

Consider first the English situation in (49). English is not V2, so the expletive subject must be in the highest specifier position of IP. This is also the only position to which Nominative Case can be assigned. In an unaccusative construction, the internal argument receives Case under theta-marking from the verb. In the transitive construction, the external argument *a boy* cannot receive the Case reserved for assignment to internal arguments, nor can it raise to SpecIP to receive Nominative Case, since SpecIP is already occupied by *there*. The transitive expletive construction in b. is therefore ungrammatical.

- (49) **English**
- a. [CP [IP There [VP arrived_v a ship in the harbour]]]
- b. *[CP [IP There [VP ate [? a boy] an apple]]]

In Icelandic, transitive expletive constructions are possible. We can assume, given that it disappears in inversion contexts, that expletive *það* in Icelandic is base-generated in SpecCP (Rögnvaldsson and Thráinsson 1990:19-20). In the unaccusative construction, the internal argument receives Case directly from the verb. This leaves two possibilities for *það*. Either it receives Nominative in SpecCP (under agreement with Infl in C); or it does not require Case, and Nominative is left unassigned.¹⁵

In the transitive construction, the internal argument receives Accusative. The external argument can raise to SpecIP to receive Nominative Case from C under government (cf. Platzack 1986). Since *það* is base-generated in SpecCP, and neither it nor its trace occupies SpecIP, this raising is not blocked. The relevant structures are given in (50).

¹⁵The possibility of Nominative Case being left unassigned is clearly a marked case, since it is usually assumed that there should be a one-to-one correspondence between Case-assigners and Case-assignees. However, it may simply be that the Case Filter forces this outcome in most cases, since most DPs have only one way in which to acquire Case (cf. Lasnik 1992:393).

- (50) **Icelandic**
- a. [CP það eru [IP tv [VP komnir gestir hingað]]]
 are arrived guests here
 'There have arrived some guests.'
- b. [CP það hafav [IP einhverjir stúdentar tv [VP stolið smjörinu]]]
 have some students stolen the-butter
 'Some students have stolen the butter.'
 (examples from Sigurðsson 1990:48, 50)

There remains the question of Case-assignment to *það*. If it is assumed that *það* does not need Case, there is no problem (cf. Thráinsson 1994:158). If *það* does need Case, then it is not clear how it can be assigned to it in the transitive construction, where Nominative is assigned to the external argument of the verb. If this alternative were chosen, we would need to propose a new mechanism for Case-assignment in this configuration.

As currently formulated, the ability of the internal argument to raise to SpecIP voids any Definiteness Effects imposed by Case-assignment within the VP. A DP that raises to SpecIP receives Nominative Case, and should not therefore be subject to Definiteness Effects. If, however, these effects are not syntactic in nature, this is in fact a welcome result.

Like Icelandic, Swedish and Norwegian are V2-languages, but unlike Icelandic, they do not allow transitive expletive constructions. The expletive *det* must in any case be base-generated in SpecIP, since it, unlike the expletive subject in Icelandic and German, does not disappear in inversion contexts (cf. (41)-(43) above). If so, then when *det* appears in sentence-initial position it must have raised there from SpecIP. This allows an unaccusative expletive construction (51)a. in the usual way, with the internal argument of the verb receiving Case from the unaccusative verb in a VP-internal position.

- (51) **Swedish**
- a. [CP det_i komv [IP t_i tv [VP tv många studenter till mötet]]]
 came many students to the-meeting
 'There came many students to the meeting.'
- b. *[CP det_i köperv [IP t_i tv [VP många studenter tv böcker]]]
 buy many students books
 'There buy many students books.'
- c. *[CP igår köptev [IP det tv [VP många studenter tv böcker]]]
 yesterday bought many students books
 'Yesterday there bought many students books.'

In a transitive expletive construction, the trace of *det* in (51)b. or, in an inversion context (51)c., *det* itself prevents the external argument from raising to SpecIP. It is thus deprived of Case, resulting in ungrammaticality. It makes no difference in fact whether the expletive itself requires Case or not. If it does, the external argument could not receive Case if it raised to SpecIP. But even if *det* does not need Case,

it still prevents the external argument from raising to the only Case-marked position SpecIP.

In many respects, Middle Welsh is like Swedish. It is a V2-language in which expletive subjects are found with unaccusative verbs, but not with transitive verbs. The crucial difference is that in inversion contexts, the expletive subject disappears in Middle Welsh but not in Swedish. In Icelandic, such behaviour was attributed to the fact that the Icelandic expletive subject *það* was base-generated in SpecCP. We can generalise this to Welsh, and say that the expletive subject in Middle Welsh is base-generated in SpecCP. However, if we suggest this, we cannot argue that the expletive prevents the external argument from raising to SpecIP. Instead, we must suggest that even if it raises to SpecIP it will not be saved. This will be the case only if the expletive subject *ef* itself requires (Nominative) Case. This is a reasonable conclusion, especially given that *ef* is itself the third person singular masculine pronoun, and thus clearly a DP, rather than, say, an AP. If it is base-generated in SpecCP, it receives Nominative from Infl in C under agreement.¹⁶ Having assigned Case to SpecCP, Infl cannot assign it also to SpecIP. Therefore raising of the external argument to SpecIP will not help. The external argument in a transitive expletive construction will therefore always fail to receive Case. The structure proposed for Middle Welsh expletives is given in (52), the grammatical unaccusative structure in a., the ungrammatical transitive one in b.

- (52) a. [CP ef a-doeth [IP tv [VP tv gwr]]]
 came man
 'There came a man.'
- b. *[CP ef a-welodd [IP Arthur tv [VP tv farchawc]]]
 saw knight
 'There saw Arthur a knight.'

We can generalise our conclusions for Welsh back to Swedish, suggesting that it is preferable to analyse Swedish *det* as a Case-marked element.¹⁷

This then leaves us with the question of how Middle Welsh differs from Icelandic. We have concluded that in both languages, the expletive is base-generated in SpecCP. How then do we account for the presence of transitive expletives in Icelandic but not in Middle Welsh? In light of the two possibilities that we suggested for Icelandic above, the difference can be accounted for in one of two ways. The first possibility is that Middle Welsh *ef* is nominal, a DP requiring Case, whereas Icelandic *það* is adverbial, an AP not requiring Case. Alternatively, if both are Case-marked, then Icelandic must possess some additional case-assigning mechanism not found in Middle Welsh, with which to assign Case to *það*.¹⁸ I shall assume the first,

¹⁶The possibility of Case-assignment to SpecCP by Infl in C is implicit in any proposal that SpecCP can be an A-position (cf. section 3.6.1).

¹⁷In fact, this also has desirable theoretical consequences since it allows the account to transfer straightforwardly to an analysis with a more fully-articulated IP.

¹⁸One line of argumentation, which I shall not pursue here is that in Icelandic both C and AgrS are Nominative Case assigners, whereas in Middle Welsh all Nominative

since it requires the postulation of lexical rather than parametric differences between the two languages.

In this section I have sketched out an account of the differences in behaviour of expletive constructions in which they are derived from differences in lexical properties of the expletive elements themselves, specifically whether the expletives are DPs requiring Case or APs not requiring Case, and the structural position in which they are required to base-generate. Specifically for the Welsh case, I have argued that the Middle Welsh expletive *ef* is a DP base-generated in SpecCP. The cross-linguistic findings are summarised below:

Language	Expletive	Lexical Category Specification	Entry Base Position
Icelandic	<i>það</i>	AP	SpecCP
Middle Welsh	<i>ef</i>	DP	SpecCP
Swedish	<i>det</i>	DP	SpecIP
English	<i>there</i>	DP	SpecIP

Table 5.3. Cross-linguistic Variation in the Lexical Properties of Expletive Subjects.

This account of the unaccusative restriction on the expletive construction in Middle Welsh transfers to cases of expletive subjects with impersonal verbs. The structure of (29)a. will then be that in (53).

- (53) [CP *ef* a rodet [IP *ty* [_{VP} *ty* *vdvnt* *y* llog oreu]]]
 it PRT was-given to-them the ship best
 'There was given to them the best ship.'

The impersonal verb, like the unaccusative verb in (53), assigns Case to its internal argument, leaving Nominative Case free to be assigned to the expletive subject *ef*.

The impersonal construction provides further evidence on the nature of the Case assigned to internal arguments of unaccusative and impersonal verbs. In both Middle Welsh and Modern Literary Welsh, the pronominal internal argument of an impersonal verb appears with an accusative object clitic.¹⁹ Examples are given from Modern Literary Welsh in (54). The a. example shows the third person singular accusative clitic 'i (followed by absence of mutation) with a transitive verb. There is clitic doubling with the full pronoun *ef*, which

is not marked for case. The same accusative clitic shows up in the impersonal construction in b.

- (54) a. *Fe'i gwelais ef.*
 PRT+3S-OBJ saw-1S him
 'I saw him.'
 b. *Fe'i gwelwyd ef.*
 PRT+3S-OBJ saw-IMPERS him
 'He was seen.'

This suggests that, despite Burzio's Generalisation (Burzio 1986:178-79), impersonal verbs in Modern Literary Welsh and in earlier varieties of Welsh assign Accusative Case to their internal arguments. We conclude that the case assigned to the internal argument in (53), and presumably also in the parallel unaccusative construction is Accusative.

This leaves us only with the case of expletives in main clauses with clausal complements in (30)-(33). The ability of expletive *ef* to appear there is not particularly surprising given the analysis of the expletive that has been followed so far. Clausal arguments are not DPs and do not therefore require Case. Provided that they appear in a theta-marked position, Nominative Case is freely available to be assigned to the expletive no matter what properties the verb should have.

5.2.1.3 Expletives in Later Middle Welsh and Early Modern Welsh

Already in the early Middle Welsh period there are texts that contain the occasional counterexample to the general rules on the distribution of expletive subjects presented in section 5.2.1.1. These cases are given in (55), where an expletive subject appears in a transitive construction with *gwelet* 'to see' and *gouwyaw* 'to visit'.

- (55) a. *Ac ef a welcs yr ebestyl y henelt en wynnach*
 and it PRT saw the apostles her soul PRD whiter
 nor eiry.
 than-the snow
 'And the apostles saw her soul whiter than snow.'
 (*Gwyrthyau y Wynwydedic Veir* 10.31.5-6, c. 1250)
 b. *Ef a owynha Duw y bobyl o lau tramwy...*
 it PRT visit God his people from hand passing
 'God will visit his people with a passing hand...'
 (MIG Peniarth 5, 212.21, 1300-25)

In later texts we find many more cases of expletive subjects with transitive verbs. An early example of a text in which such constructions are found regularly is *Ystoryaeu Seint Greal* (end 14th c.). Exceptions of a similar type are found later also in *Y Bibyl Ynghymraec* (ms. P, c. 1350-1450), *Buchedd Sant Martin* (1488) and

Case assignment involves AgrS. A similar type of approach, although not explicitly involving Case, is that pursued in Vikner (1995).

¹⁹In Contemporary Spoken Welsh the accusative series of object clitics has been lost (cf. Watkins 1977).

Buchedd Collen (1536). This having been said, even in these texts the expletive construction is not particularly common. Examples of expletives in transitive constructions from the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries are given in (56).²⁰

- (56) a. "Ef a danuon Duw," heb yr Arthur, "taryan itt..."
 it PRT send God said the Arthur shield to-you
 "God will send a shield to you", said Arthur.' (YSG 247-48)
- b. ...ef a rodes Duw glaw ar y byd deugeinn niwarnawt
 it PRT put God rain on the world forty day
 a deugeinn nos...
 and forty night
 '...God put rain on the world for forty days and forty nights...'
 (*Y Bibyl Ynghymraec* 9.4-6, ms. P)
- c. Ar nos honno ef a welai Varthin drwy i
 and-the night that it PRT saw-IMPF Martin through his
 hvn yr arglwydd Iessu Grist...
 sleep the lord Jesus Christ
 'And that night Martin saw through his sleep the Lord Jesus Christ...'
 (BSM 3.19-20)
- d. A'r nos y kad Kollen ef a welai i vam
 and-the night REL was-had Collen it PRT saw-IMPF his mother
 dyrwy i hvn glomen yn yhedec tvac ati...
 through her sleep dove PROG fly-VN towards-her
 'And the night that Collen was born, his mother saw through her sleep a dove flying towards her...'
 (RhG 1.37.3 = *Buchedd Collen*, 1536)

By the sixteenth century, we find a number of innovative texts, in which the expletive subjects are not only possible with transitive verbs, but are in fact extremely common in all uses. Such texts include *Rhannau o'r Efengylau* (1575-1600), *Y Bibyl Ynghymraec* (ms. P, 1594), *Mab y Fforestur* (ms. c. 1600), the slander depositions for 1570-1630 and *Llyfr y Tri Aderyn* (1653). Consider the following examples with the verbs *dwyn* 'to steal', *creu* 'to create', *cymeryd* 'to take' and *chlywed* 'to hear':²¹

- (57) a. Fo ddygodd Lewys ap Nicholas fuch yn lledrad...
 it stole Lewis ap Nicholas cow (thievishly)
 'Lewis ap Nicholas stole a cow...'
 (Slander cases, Denbigh Sessions 1593)
- b. Ac ef a greodd Dŵ morŵeirch...
 and it PRT created God whales
 'And God created whales...'
 (*Y Bibyl Ynghymraec* 4.26-27, ms. 1594)
- c. A chwedy diweddy y wledd, ef a gymerth pawb
 and after end-VN the feast it PRT took everyone their
 kennad oddi wrth yr amherawdr...
 leave from the emperor
 'And after the feast had ended, everyone took their leave of the emperor.' (RhG 1.126.25-27 = *Mab y Fforestur*, c. 1600)
- d. Ond os dywedaf wrthyt gyfrinach, fe a glyw 'r golomen.
 but if say-1S to-you secret it PRT hear the dove
 'But if I tell you a secret, the dove will hear.'
 (Morgan Llwyd, *Llyfr y Tri Aderyn* 27.27-28, 1653)

Other texts from the same period keep to a more conservative usage. In *Ystori Alexander a Lodwig* (c. 1590), for instance, although violations of the Middle Welsh rule are found (e.g. YAL 281.20, 284.38, 288.37), the usual environment for the expletive remains the unaccusative construction. The same is true of *Ystoria Taliesin* (1540s).

In Figures 5.1 and 5.2, the pattern of data to be accounted for is shown graphically. The graphs are based on a quota of the first fifty affirmative main clauses with synthetic verb forms and full lexical subjects from thirteen Middle and Early Modern Welsh texts. They show what percentage of these clauses contain expletive subjects. Full details are given in Appendix A. Figure 5.1 shows the frequency of expletive subjects overall. Figure 5.2 includes only those examples which violate the conservative Middle Welsh rules sketched out above. For convenience, these are labelled 'transitive expletives'.

It seems that two points of change need to be accounted for. The first change is the newly-found grammatical status of transitive expletives in the fourteenth century. The second is a sudden and quite dramatic rise in the frequency of expletives at the end of the sixteenth century.

Variant forms of the expletive e.g. *fo* in (57)a. and *fe* in (57)d. are found in the later texts (*Llyfr y Tri Aderyn* and the slander cases). More will be said on these in section 5.2.2.3 below.

²⁰Further examples: BSM 8.27, 20.12, 32.24; ChCC 105.7 (=YSG 5626), 105.20 (=YSG); RhG 1.37.21 (=Buchedd Collen); YSG 48, 52, 372, 546, 675, 1178, 1289, 1397, 1513, 1898, 3168, 3245, 3363, 4077, 4188, 4303, 4869, 5185.

²¹Further examples: BY (ms. P) 3.9, 3.15, 3.22, 4.1, 4.5, 4.9, 4.16, 4.21, 4.26, 5.2; LITA 11.11, 14.1, 14.16, 15.6, 15.27, 16.5, 24.17 etc.; RhG 1.81.14, 82.31, 82.4, 83.26, 86.22 (=Rhannau o'r Efengylau), 123.3, 124.19 (=Mab y Fforestur); Slander cases, Denbigh Sessions 1604, 1626, Flint Sessions 1622, Montgomery Sessions 1619.

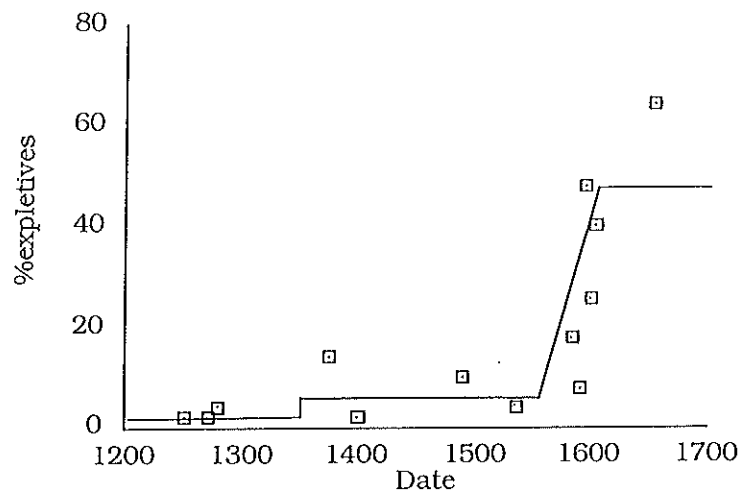


Figure 5.1. Frequency of Expletive Subject Constructions in Welsh Texts 1200-1700.

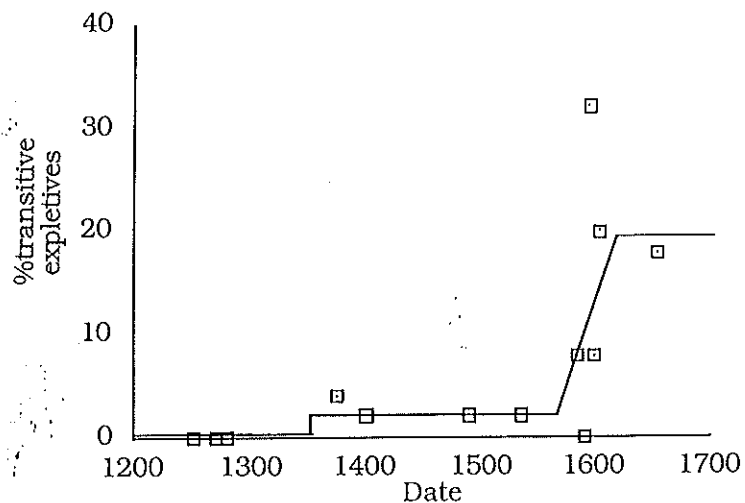


Figure 5.2. The Frequency of Transitive Expletive Constructions in Welsh Texts 1200-1700.

5.2.1.4 Clitic Pronouns and the Spread of Expletive Subjects

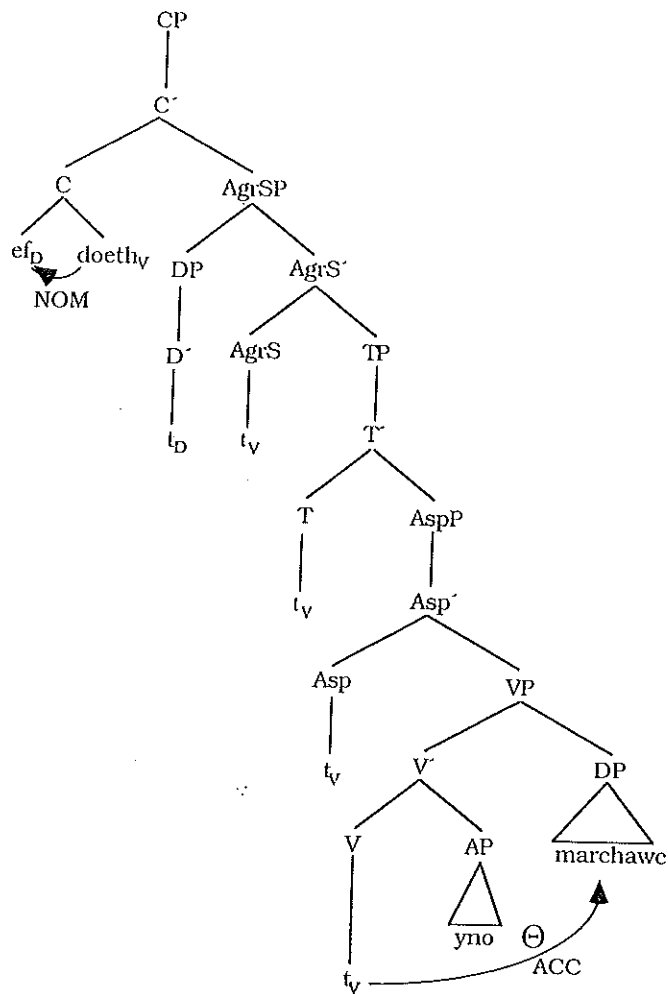
I shall first offer an account of the emergence of the transitive construction, linking it to the change in status of preverbal pronominal subjects. Intuitively, the idea is that the move to clitic status for the expletive subject *ef* permits another true subject (external argument) to appear in the clause.

Once preverbal pronouns become clitics, the expletive *ef* construction is reanalysed as (59), in conformity with the structure of all other clauses involving preverbal pronominal subjects (cf. (20)). In this structure, the expletive subject receives Nominative Case by incorporating into the verbal complex as in (59).²²

(58) *Ef ddoeth yno marchawc.*
 it came there knight
 'A knight came there.'

²²if the expletive is a clitic-head, there remains a question about where its projection is generated. In (59), I draw it in SpecAgrSP, although this would represent an innovation from its earlier Middle Welsh position of SpecCP.

(59)

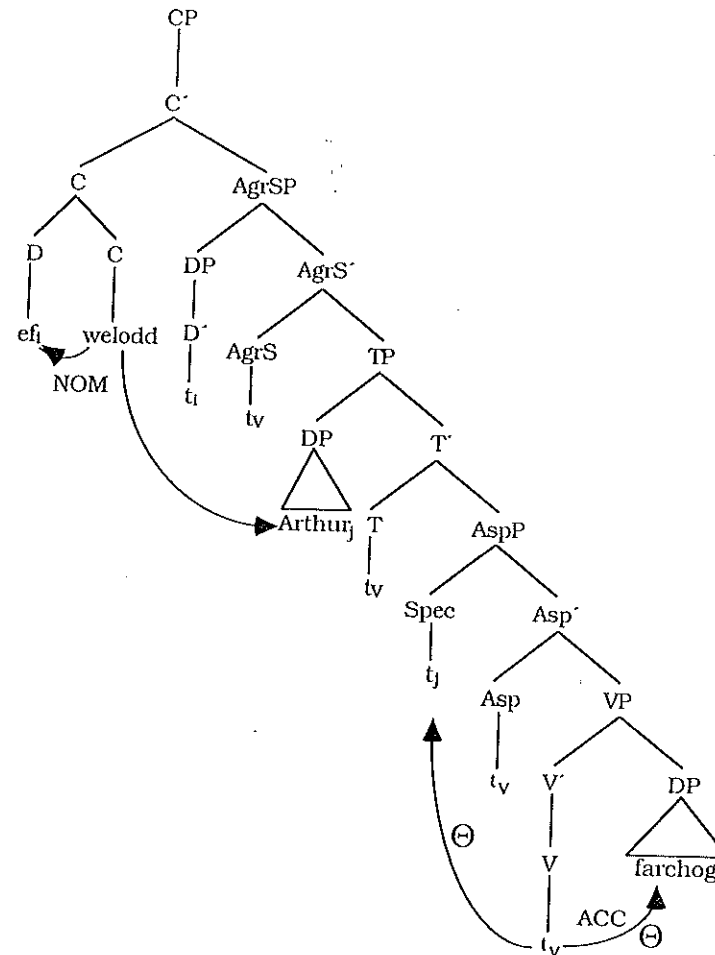


Suppose, following Rizzi and Roberts (1989:7), that the biunique relation between Case-assigners and Case-assignees holds only within each mode of Case-assignment. That is, a Case-assigner may assign Case twice provided the modes of association are different in each instance, namely, once by association of Case features with a nominal and once by incorporation. Recall that the ungrammaticality of the transitive expletive structure in (52)b. was due to the fact that the expletive subject prevents the lexical subject from receiving Nominative Case. Once preverbal subject pronouns can cliticise onto

the verb, they no longer prevent this assignment. The sentence in (52)b. can thus be assigned the structure in (60)/(61).

(60) Ef welodd Arthur farchog.
it saw Arthur knight
'Arthur saw a knight.'

(61)



The expletive subject *ef* receives Case by cliticising onto the verb. *Arthur* receives Nominative in SpecTP under government from AgrS in C. The structure therefore becomes grammatical as a result of the change in status of the preverbal subject pronouns.

Although *ef* is allowed to co-occur with another true subject from the fourteenth century onwards, the same does not happen with other personal pronouns. That is, we do not find sentences like those in (62).

- (62) a. *Mi a weleis i uarchawc.
I PRT saw-1S I knight
'I saw a knight.'
- b. *Wynt a welsant wy uarchawc.
they PRT saw-3P they knight
'They saw a knight.'

Ef is an expletive, that is, it has no phi-features and appears in a non-theta-marked position. On the other hand *mi* and *wynt* are not expletives, and must therefore be base-generated in a theta-marked position. The same is true of the postverbal pronouns in (62). Therefore, the examples in (62) are ruled out because the two pronouns cannot both receive theta-roles. They thus fail the Theta Criterion.

It is difficult to evaluate the spread of the expletive construction from unaccusative to transitive contexts with respect to the account of syntactic change discussed in Chapter Two. Clearly, the change in status of subject pronouns is lexical. It nevertheless involves the appearance of a new construction, evidence that lexical change may have some of the characteristics of parametric change. However, the data at this early period are not clear enough to make further judgements.

5.2.2 The Rise of Reduplicated Subjects

A second and interrelated consequence of the weakening of simple pronouns concerns the 'strong' reduplicated series. In part this involves the expletive construction. However, I shall first return to examine the effect of the change in status of simple subject pronouns on the V2-constraint (cf. section 5.1.3.2 above).

As was seen above, once preverbal subjects become clitics, their derivation ceases to involve the position SpecCP. If the language maintains a V2-constraint, which can be taken to mean a restriction that SpecCP be filled at S-structure, then main clauses consisting of a preverbal simple subject pronoun plus verb should be ruled out. Accordingly, a sentence like that in (63)a. should be ungrammatical because the subject pronoun is adjoined to C, leaving SpecCP empty. It is thus a violation of the V2-constraint. The grammatical alternatives which we would expect to spread would involve non-clitic pronominal forms instead. Possible alternatives are those given in (63)b. and c., neither of which violate V2, since the non-clitic preverbal pronoun occupies SpecCP.

- (63) a. Mi feddyllais.
I thought-1S
- b. Myfi feddyllais.
I-REDUP thought-1S
- c. Minnau feddyllais.
I-CONJ thought-1S
- 'I thought.'

There is some evidence that effects of this nature are attested in Late Middle and Early Modern Welsh. This is predominantly in the form of changes made during copying of manuscripts which suggest change in usage of the different pronoun series over time. In the earlier period (14th-15th centuries) there may be a move towards conjunctive forms. In the later period, reduplicated forms come to dominate in preverbal subject position. This can be interpreted as a move to maintain V2 in the earlier period, replacing the V2-violation in (63)a. with the orthodox (63)c. The development in the later period is more problematic, since it must be linked to the fact that the reduplicated pronouns themselves undergo phonological reduction. One possibility is that the spread of reduplicated pronouns begins as a way of maintaining V2, but that with their phonological reduction, and the loss of V2 generally, they too end up as preverbal subject clitics.

The first evidence comes from the manuscript history of *Brut y Tywysogyon* (Red Book Version). In this case the evidence suggests a move away from simple pronouns as preverbal subjects primarily in favour of conjunctive forms. In a number of places the earliest manuscript P (Peniarth 18), dated to the first half of the fourteenth century differs from all or some of the later manuscripts in having a simple preverbal pronominal subject where they have a conjunctive one. For instance, (64)a. in P becomes (64)b. in the T manuscript (last decade of the fourteenth century/c.1400) (datings from *Brut y Tywysogyon* xxii, xxix).

- (64) a. Mi a af y Normandi, ac o deuy di gyt a mi,
I PRT go-1S to Normandy, and if come-2S you with me
- mi a gywiraf it pop peth o'r a edewcis
I PRT arrange-1S to-you everything of-REL promised-1S
- it.
to-you
- b. Myui a af y Normandi, ac ot deuy di gyt a mi, minneu a
gywiraf it pop peth o'r a edewcis it.

'I shall go to Normandy, and if you come with me, I shall arrange for you everything that I promised you.'

(*Brut y Tywysogyon* 82.3-4)

Where the earlier manuscript has *mi* as the subject of both main clauses, the later manuscript has reduplicated *myu!* followed by conjunctive *minneu*. This is not an isolated case, but happens repeatedly in the manuscript tradition of this text. For other similar examples, see *Brul y Tywysogyon* 50.3, 54.27, 66.23, 68.14, 108.3, 126.7, 266.28.

Somewhat later, there is evidence for movement towards reduplicated pronouns in preverbal position, rather than conjunctive ones. From the very earliest slander cases available (1577), reduplicated pronouns are the most common form for preverbal pronominal subjects. Examples are given in (65). Note that in these examples there can be no question of a contrastive or cleft reading ('It is I who will prove that' etc.). This is ruled out both by the presence of subject-verb agreement, which is generally incompatible with this reading, and on general grounds of plausibility in the examples cited.

- (65) a. ...ag **my fy** a brova hynny.
and I-REDUP PRT prove-1S that
'...and I will prove that.' (Denbigh Sessions 1593)
- b. **Ty di** a osodaist arna vi ar y ffordd vavr...
you-REDUP PRT attacked-2s on-me on the road big
'You attacked me on the highway...' (Flint Sessions 1600)
- c. **Ty dy** a gai dy grogi.
you-REDUP PRT get-2s 2S-GEN hang-VN
'You will be hanged.' (Pembroke Sessions 1604)
- d. **Ty dy** a fiddy in vakrupt (sic)...
you-REDUP PRT will-be-2S bankrupt
'You will be bankrupt...' (Montgomery Sessions 1588)

Full details of the frequency of reduplicated pronouns as preverbal subjects in the slander cases up to 1650 are given in Table 5.4. The table shows the frequency of the various pronominal forms as preverbal subject pronouns. This evidence clearly suggests that by the end of the sixteenth century, the reduplicated forms were well-represented as unmarked preverbal subject pronouns in speech. Overall, unambiguously reduplicated forms account for 56% of all first person singular preverbal pronouns, 46% in the second person, and 17% in the masculine third person. One complication is the appearance of forms like *fi*, *di*, *fe* and *fo*, neither obviously simple nor reduplicated. I shall return to these below.

Evidence from other texts is less clear. A number of texts have widespread use of pragmatically-neutral preverbal reduplicated subject pronouns. Such texts include *Ystoria Tallesin* (c. 1550), *Campau Ercwlff* (c. 1530) (both by Elis Gruffydd), *Ystoriau Digrif* (1582), *Ystoriau o Ddyfed* (c. 1588) and *Three Welsh Religious Plays* (1552/16th c.). On the other hand, there is no evidence of this spread in many other texts of the sixteenth century.

Person/Number Form	1s		2s		3sm		3sf		2p		% Unambiguous Reduplicated forms	n =
	<i>mi</i>	<i>myfi</i> <i>y fi</i>	<i>ti</i>	<i>di</i> <i>tydi</i>	<i>ef</i>	<i>fo</i> <i>fo</i> <i>fo</i>	<i>fi</i>	<i>hyhi</i> <i>y hi</i>	<i>chwi</i> <i>chwi</i>	<i>chwi</i> <i>chwi</i>		
County Anglesey (1622-1627)	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	...	n = 3
Brecknockshire (1577-1628)	-	2	2	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	...	n = 6
Cardiganshire (1611-1650)	2	4	2	6	3	-	-	-	-	-	...	n = 20
Denbighshire (1593-1650)	4	3	3	3	4	-	-	-	-	-	...	n = 29
Flintshire (1592-1644)	6	2	2	10	7	2	10	2	1	-	...	n = 43
Montgomery (1588-1648)	1	7	1	1	20	-	9	7	-	-	...	n = 46
Pembrokeshire (1604-1642)	5	5	8	13	10	-	9	-	-	-	...	n = 52
%	44%	56%	19%	35%	46%	6%	78%	17%	...	...	...	n = 199
			n = 41	n = 98	n = 54	n = 5	n = 1					

Table 5.4. Reduplicated Pronouns as Preverbal Subjects in Slander Case Depositions 1570-1650.

The reverse development, apparent phonological strengthening, is found in the textual tradition of *Ystoriaeu Seint Greal*. The B manuscript (NLW 3063E, end of fifteenth to early sixteenth century) frequently has simple pronouns in preverbal subject position where the much earlier A manuscript (Peniarth 11, end 14th century) has reduplicated forms (datings from YSG xi). Examples are given in (66). In the a. example, a conjunctive form *ynteu* 'he' is replaced by a simple form *ef*, and in the b. example, a reduplicated form *efo* 'he' is replaced.²³

- (66) a. Ac **ynteu** (ms. A) a henyw o vrenhined.
 ef (ms. B)
 and he PRT is-descended from kings
 'And he is descended from kings.' (YSG 396-97)
- b. A bit dieu ytti, **Efo** (ms. A) a allei gacl y
 ef (ms. B)
 and be-IMPER doubtless to-you, he-REDUP PRT could get the
 meirch goreu, pei as mynnei.
 horses best if it wanted-COND
 'And you may be sure, he could have got the best horses if he
 had wanted it.' (YSG 3109-10)

The best explanation for this contradictory evidence may lie in the standardisation of the language, which began during the sixteenth century. By this time, the reduplicated forms of the pronouns were being 'devalued' in speech, that is, used in less marked contexts. It can only be concluded that there was normative pressure in the literary language against this use of reduplicated pronouns as neutral (non-emphatic, non-contrastive) subjects. For this reason, we lack evidence for them in many texts of the period, and in copying texts such as *Ystoriaeu Seint Greal*, copyists would tend to replace any 'non-standard' reduplicated forms in their original by standard simple ones. Of course, when these texts were first compiled, the use of the reduplicated pronouns had not been stigmatised, since they were still restricted to marked, emphatic environments. However, in some less literary texts, and in material like the slander cases, which reflect spoken usage, we find extensive use of these pronouns as preverbal subjects.

Something like this phenomenon is expected if Late Middle Welsh maintains a V2-constraint, whilst marking its preverbal simple subject pronouns as clitics. Inasmuch as the V2-rule is maintained, a full DP must occupy the initial position. Once simple pronouns become clitics, they are no longer full DPs, and cannot satisfy V2. Reduplicated and conjunctive pronouns, on the other hand, remain as DPs, and therefore can fulfil the V2-constraint when they occur as

²³Further examples of replacement of a conjunctive pronoun: YSG 1108, 1144, 2320, 2538, 3234, 4897, 5245, 5257. Examples of replacement of a reduplicative pronoun: 3356, 4597.

preverbal subjects. The reduplicated series, being emphatic but not contrastive, are preferred for this purpose, since the contrastive semantics of conjunctive series prevents them from being used on a wide scale.

5.2.2.1 Weakening of the Reduplicated Pronouns

Table 5.4 shows up one complication which has a bearing on the analysis. The commonest forms for third person masculine preverbal pronoun is *fo*, which, along with its variant *fe*, occurs in 78% of cases. This form is neither clearly simple nor reduplicated in form (the simple form is *ef*, the reduplicated *efo*). The same is true of a common second person singular form *di* (simple *ti*, and reduplicated *tydi*). This form cannot merely be the mutated form of the simple pronoun, since there is no evidence for any period of Welsh for preverbal subjects undergoing mutation.

I shall argue here that these are clitic forms of the reduplicated series of pronouns. I consider first how such a view can be integrated into an account of the development of expletives presented above. Subsequently, I turn to philological evidence that supports this view.

5.2.2.2 Reduplicated Pronouns and the Expletive Construction

There is one apparent problem for the analysis of the spread of expletive subjects that has not been mentioned so far. The problem is the appearance of the reduplicated third person singular masculine pronoun *efo* as an expletive. This usage is attested from the sixteenth century onwards. Early examples are given in (67).²⁴

- (67) a. ...ac **yvo** a ddywedir mai ynGhaer Wyrangon
 and it-REDUP PRT is-said CLEFT in-Worcester
 y mac y lili hwnw eto.
 is the lily that still
 'And it is said that (it is) in Worcester (that) that lily is still.'
 (RhG 1.39.2-4 = *Buchedd Collen*, 1536)
- b. ...**y vo** a uu y kyuriw dymesdyl ynGymhrv
 it-REDUP PRT was the such storm in-Wales
 y dethwn yma...
 the day that
 '...there was such a storm in Wales that day...'
 (RhG 1.32.16-17 = *Cronicle Elis Gruffudd*, c. 1530)

²⁴Further sixteenth-century examples: *Castell yr Iechyd* 143.8, 167.15; RhG 1.35.8 (= *Cronicle Elis Gruffudd*); TWRP *Yr Enaid a'r Corff* 124; YT 13-14, 235-37. See also [1991:256-57].

c. **efo** wyr pawb...
 it-REDUP knows everyone
 'Everyone knows...' (TWRP *Yr Enaid a'r Corff*, ms. 16th c., 46)

d. Ac **yvo** a ellir ydnabod gwaed
 and it-REDUP PRT can-IMPERS recognise-VN blood

mallinckoliws...
 melancholic

'And melancholic blood can be recognised...'
 (*Castell yr Iechyd* 143.6, 1540s
 from Fife 1991:256)

As the c. example shows, the reduplicated expletive is like the simple expletive by this period in being fully compatible with unergative verbs.

The slightly later example in (68) confirms that this does indeed reflect spoken usage of at least some parts of Wales.

(68) **Efo** ddyg dy wr di naw o wyn yn lledrad...
 it-REDUP took your husband you nine of lambs thievishly
 'Your husband stole nine lambs...'
 (Slander case, Montgomery Sessions 1619)

Given the analysis developed above that fully-productive expletive subjects were possible only once the expletive pronoun became a clitic, this seems problematic. However, if the reduplicated pronouns were themselves being reduced to the point where they became clitics, the same logic as applied to the spread of the simple pronouns as expletives would allow reduplicated pronouns to fulfil the same function.

There is both internal and cross-linguistic evidence that suggests that strong (e.g. reduplicated) pronouns could not function as expletives unless they became clitics. First, note that the parallel construction in Early Modern Welsh in (69), with the other strong pronoun series, namely *conjunctive*, is completely unattested.

(69) *Yntau welodd Arthur y gaer.
 it-CONJ saw Arthur the fortress
 'Arthur saw the fortress.'

Furthermore in other languages with both expletive subjects and a weak-strong distinction in the pronominal system, the strong pronoun cannot normally function as an expletive. For instance, in French, a strong pronoun may double a referential subject clitic subject in (70), but not an expletive subject in (71).

(70) **French**
 a. Je sais.
 I-CL know

b. Moi je sais.
 I-STRONG I-CL know

'I know.'

(71) a. Il pleut.
 it-CL rains

b. *Lui il pleut.
 it-STRONG it-CL rains

'It's raining.'

In the light of this evidence it would be odd to find the reduplicated pronoun *efo* functioning as an expletive subject if it remained a stressed pronoun. It therefore seems appropriate to try to pursue an account according to which *efo* became a clitic at the same time that it began to participate in the expletive construction. Such a change would on the evidence presented so far be dated to the sixteenth century.

5.2.2.3 *Fe* and *Fo*

The clearest evidence for such a weakening of the reduplicated pronouns is the loss of the first (unstressed) syllable in the pronoun *efo*, well-attested as *fo* from the mid-sixteenth century:²⁵

(72) a. **Vo** aeth oddiwrth yr holl gythrelled...
 he went away-from the all devils
 'He went away from all the devils...'

(TWRP *Y Dioddefaint* 777, ms.1552)

b. **vo** dyvel yn vwy ei swmp.
 it grew bigger-its size
 'It grew bigger.'

(*Testament Newydd* xlii, 1567
 from GPC:1270)

²⁵Further sixteenth-century examples: Referential *fo*: *Lives of the British Saints* iv.415 (from GPC:1270); RhG 1.96.9, 98.8 (two examples), 98.9, 104.20 (=Y *Marchog Crywdrad*), 2.126.22 (=Roger Morys, *Hanes Prydain*), 134.5 (=Siôn Conwy, *Defintad i Hennadrion*), 199.20, 200.11, 200.13, 200.17, 201.12 (=Robert Gwyn, *Cyfarchiad i'r Cymry*); TWRP *Y Dioddefaint* 941. Expletive *fo*: I Kings 22.34 (from GPC:1270); RhG 1.74.4, 74.15, 74.32 (=Dengran *Gwahaniaeth Cristnogion y Byd*), (?)98.19, 104.28 (=Y *Marchog Crywdrad*), 2.53.4 (=Letter from William Middleton to Siôn Dafydd Rhys), 125.28, 126.5, 126.17, 127.33 (=Roger Morys, *Hanes Prydain*), 132.17, 133.20, 133.22, 133.27, 134.8, 137.17, 137.21 (=Siôn Conwy, *Defintad i Hennadrion*), 198.10, 198.21, 198.26, 200.32 (=Robert Gwyn, *Cyfarchiad i'r Cymry*); Henry Perri, *Eglwyrn Phraethineb* 6 (from GPC:1270); Huw Lewys, *Pert meun Adfyd* 115.4; TWRP *Y Dioddefaint* 391, 1015.

- c. **Vo** gaiff pawb o hyn o le ar hynt glowed
it gets everyone of this of place in course hear-VN

newydd chwedley.
new tales

'Everyone from this place will in due course get to hear new tales.'
(TWRP *Yr Enaid a'r Corff* 115-16, ms. 16th c.)

- d. ...**fo** ddaeth Dam Ffolineb a Wyllys Drwg gyda hi...
it came Madam Folly with Will Bad with her
'...Madam Folly brought Bad Will with her...'
(RhG 1.102.31-103.1 = *Y Marchog Crwydrad*, ms. c. 1575)

Note that the form appears simultaneously in both referential uses in (72)a. and b. and in expletive uses in c. and d. The form is also attested in a number of slander cases for North-East Wales (Denbighshire, Flintshire and Montgomeryshire - Denbigh Sessions 1593, 1604 x2, 1626, 1631, 1633 x3; Flint Sessions 1612, 1621, 1622, 1631 x2; Montgomery Sessions 1592, 1608, 1626, 1644), for Anglesey (Anglesey Sessions 1652) and Pembrokeshire (Pembroke Sessions 1633) from the earliest records in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century.

Morgan (1952:368) points out this variation in form, and gives two quite early examples of *fo* from poetry:

- (73) a. I 'r dafarn, **fo** 'i barn y byd.
to the tavern he 3S-OBJ judges the world
'He condemns the world to the tavern.'
(*Cywyddau Dafydd ap Gwilym a'i Gyfoeswyr* 8.24)
- b. **vo(w)na** honn vy nihennydd.
it does that-one my death
'That one will cause my death.'
(*Gwaith Ieuan Deulwyn*, ms. 1527-47²⁶ [fl. 1460] 12.24)

The difference in date between composition and the manuscript of b. means that there is no compelling evidence to seek the appearance of this form any earlier than the mid-sixteenth century. The a. example is perhaps the earliest evidence for the weakening process.

At approximately the same time, the third person masculine singular pronoun appears as *fe*, along with a new full form of the reduplicated pronoun *efe*. The new form *efe* is found both as a fully referential pronoun (a. and b.), and as an expletive subject (c. and d.).²⁷

²⁶J.G. Evans (1902:996).

²⁷Further examples from the sixteenth century: referential *efe*: RhG 2.82.22 (= *Ystorïau o Ddyfed*). Seventeenth century: Referential *efe*: LITA 49.29, 53.23. Expletive *efe*: Rondl Davies, *Proffad yr Ysprydion* 103 (from GPC:1170).

- (74) a. Ag velly gwedy dibeny 'r stori a ddechressey ef
and so after finish-VN the story REL had-started he

o'r blaen, **efe** gwsgodd.
before he-REDUP slept

'And so having finished the story that he had begun before, he slept.'
(RhG 2.83.5-6 = *Ystorïau o Ddyfed*, ms. c. 1588)

- b. Wrth hynny Noe ... **efe** a ellyngodd allan gigfran...
upon this Noah he-REDUP PRT let out raven
'Upon this, Noah, ... he let out a raven...'
(CHSS 114.25-28, 1574-1604)

- c. **efe** a all Duw wneuthur hynny
it-REDUP PRT can God do-VN that
'God can do that.'
(John Davies, *Llyfr y Resolusion* 5, 1632
from GPC:1170)

- d. **efe** a ddywedir ... fal hyn
it PRT is-said like this
'It is said ... like this...'
(Siôn Trededyn, *Madruddyn y Difynyddiaeth Diweddaraf* 239, 1651
from GPC:1170)

The traditional view is that this new form was the 'invention' of William Salesbury, and was adopted by the translators of the Welsh Bible in 1588 as 'a self-imposed rule' (Morris-Jones 1913:272). Cf. Morris-Jones 1921:85). Morris-Jones cites as support for this view the fact that *efe* in the Bible translation may occur as the object of a preposition, where reduplicated pronouns are not possible in (Modern Literary) Welsh. First, E. Evans (1959) shows that the older form *efo* also occurs as the object of a preposition in Middle Welsh. The distribution of *efe* in the Bible is thus identical to that of earlier *efo* in Middle Welsh. This casts doubt on its supposed artificiality.

Furthermore, the earliest cases of *efe* in other texts cited in (74) are roughly simultaneous with the Bible translation, and it therefore seems unlikely that Bible translation was the model for these other texts. Most probably, the innovation of *efe* for *efo* is a case of natural language change.

The form *efe* undergoes similar phonological reduction to that found with *efo*. So, from the mid sixteenth century, the form *fe* is found in both referential uses (a. and b.) and expletive uses (c. and d.) of the pronoun:²⁸

²⁸Other sixteenth-century examples: Referential *fe*: Griffith Robert, *Y Drych Crstianogawl* 61.7, 61.8; RhG 2.80.13, 82.5, 83.7 (= *Ystorïau o Ddyfed*). Expletive *fe*: Huw Lewys, *Perl mewn Adfyd* 7.3; Matthew 7.7 (from GPC:1267); RhG 1.84.5, 85.29 (= *Rhannau o'r Efyngyllau*), 90.1 (= *Cyngor Aristolllys at Alecsander*), 103.28 (= *Y Marchog Crwydrad*), 2.82.3 (= *Ystorïau o Ddyfed*); TWRP *Y Dioddefaint* 396; YAL 280.35; Yny Llyoyr Hwnn [8].24.

- (75) a. **Ve** al galwe i hvn brenin gwar...
 he PRF+3S-OBJ called himself king civilised
 'He called himself a civilised king...'
 (TWRP *Y Dioddefaint* 237, ms. 1552)
- b. Ar foregwalth teg **fe** aeth alhan or fynachlog...
 on morning fair he went out of-the monastery
 'One fair morning he went out of the monastery...'
 (Griffith Robert, *Y Drych Cristianogawl* 61.5-6, 1585)
- c. **vei** gwyr pawb ar a aned
 FE+3S-OBJ knows everyone REL was-born
 'Everyone who was born knows it.'
 (TWRP *Y Dioddefaint* 466, ms. 1552)
- d. ...ag o bydd rhai yn glistwng, **fe** gyfyd rhai ereill...
 and if will-be some PROG fall, it rises ones other
 '...and if some fall, others will rise...'
 (RhG 2.85.7 = *Ystorïau o Ddyfed*, ms. c. 1588)

If it is suggested that the reduplicated pronouns undergo phonological weakening we also have a superior account of the historical origin of the particle *fe* than the traditional view which saw it as deriving historically from *ef a* (Morris-Jones 1913:428, D.S. Evans 1968:329). *Efe a* becomes *efe* by the general loss of preverbal *a*, then *efe* becomes *fe* as part of the general loss of unstressed syllables in weakened reduplicated forms. The traditional account has to rely on the postulation of ad hoc phonological changes (*ef a* > *fe*), and is even harder to understand in light of the loss of the particle *a* in the sixteenth century. Also, on the traditional account, the existence of *fe* in the same clause as the particle *a*, as in (75)a., is inexplicable (see also the examples of *fe a* given in D.S. Evans 1968:330).

Such clear evidence for the phonological weakening of the third person masculine pronouns *efo* and *efe* to *fo* and *fe* justifies the claim that the appearance of transitive expletives in Welsh is linked to the appearance of subject clitics.

It is important that all these phonological changes in the forms of the pronoun affect both referential and expletive uses simultaneously. This suggests that both uses form a single lexical item in the grammar of this period. This change is thus simply the addition of an extra phonetic form in the lexical entry for the third person singular masculine pronoun.

5.2.2.4 The Remains of *Ef*

Finally, we should note that although the weak pronouns *fo* and *fe* develop from reduplicated pronouns in the sixteenth century, the simple pronoun *ef* does not disappear. It continues in use in preverbal position both as an expletive and as a referential pronoun:²⁹

²⁹Other sixteenth-century examples of *e* as a referential pronoun: KL1B [146].5; RhG 2.15.22, 15.28 (=KL1B). Expletive *e*: *Hen Gyflwyntadau* 2.1, 2.8, 2.19, 3.25, 5.18, 5.24 (=Gruffydd Robert); Morris Kyffin, *Deffyniad Ffydd Eglwys Loegr* 85.14; RhG 1.138.15 (=Thomas Willems, *Trysawr yr Iaith Latin ar Gymraeg*), 2.11.22, 12.32 (=Gruffydd

- (76) a. Os byddai vn yn chwennychu digrifwch, **e**
 if would-be one PROG desire-VN entertainment he
 gal buror a 'i delyn i ganu mwyn bynciau...
 would-get melody with his harp to play-VN gentle tunes
 'If someone were to desire entertainment, he would get a
 melody on his harp to play gentle tunes...'
 (RhG 2.10.23-24 = Gruffydd Robert, *Gramadeg Cymraeg*, 1567)
- b. Ac **e** ddechreodd ym Moysen a 'r oll prophwti...
 and he started in Moses and the all prophets
 'And he started with Moses and all the prophets...'
 (RhG 2.15.18-19 = William Salesbury, *Kynniver Llith a Ban*, 1567)
- c. A phan scrivenont 'a Soldan', yn y fan **e** fudd
 and when write-3P-SUBJ a Soldan in the place it will-be
 y peth a fvnnont...
 the thing REL want-3P-SUBJ
 'And when they write "a Soldan", immediately there will
 appear what they want...'
 (RhG 1.74.33-75.1 = *Dengran Gwahaniaeth Cristnoglon y Byd*, 1578-85)
- d. Ac **e** vydd vn gorlan ac vn bugail.
 and he will-be PRD paddock and PRD shepherd.
 'And he will be a paddock and a shepherd.'
 (Testament Newydd 150a, 1567
 from GPC:1154)

Since the forms have entirely merged in function by this period, there are thus apparently three variant forms of the preverbal third person masculine singular pronoun, *fe*, *fo* and *e*. The referential/expletive contrast plays no part in distinguishing them.

5.2.2.5 *Di*

A similar phenomenon, without the complication of the expletive, is well-attested early on with the second person singular pronoun. The form *di* appears as a preverbal subject pronoun at the end of the sixteenth and start of the seventeenth century. Following the logic of the account developed so far, this must be a reduced form of the reduplicated pronoun *tydi*, with loss of the unstressed first syllable. The earliest example is in slander case at the Brecknockshire Sessions in 1577. First attestations in other county Courts of Sessions are: Flintshire 1604, Pembrokeshire 1607, Cardiganshire ?1611,

Robert, *Gramadeg Cymraeg*), 14.22, 16.4 (=KL1B), 19.29 (=Testament Newydd), 126.19 (=Roger Morys, *Hanes Prydain*); YAL 279.25.

Montgomeryshire 1620, Denbighshire 1626, data being absent for the rest of Wales. This means that its use cannot be associated with any particular area. The earliest examples from the slander cases are given in (77):

- (77) a. ...**di** a ddigest o slope Ph(illip)le Capp yngevenny
you PRT stole from shop Phillip Capp in-Abergavenny
- ... hatt yn lledrad...
hat thievishly
- '...you stole a hat from Phillip Capp's shop in Abergavenny...'
(Brecknock Sessions 1577)
- b. ...ag **di** a ddwygest yn lledrad bedole...
and you PRT stole-2S thievishly horseshoes
'...and you stole horseshoes...'
(Flint Sessions 1604)
- c. **Dy** gymmerest ffurth yn neved y...
you took-2S away my sheep me
'You took away my sheep...'
(Pembroke Sessions 1607)
- d. ...ag **di** a ddygalst yn lledrad fyngwregis.
and you PRT stole-2S thievishly my-belt
'...and you stole my belt.'
(Flint Sessions 1609)

Examples in literature appear slightly later, from the 1640s onwards:³⁰

- (78) a. Bett vayd ti yn kyddnabod anregton
if were-2S-IMPF-SUBJ you PROG recognise-VN gifts
- Duw ... **di** a vynnyd erchi iddaw ef ddiol...
God you PRT want-2S-COND ask-VN to-3SM him drink
- 'If you recognised God's gifts ... you would ask him for drink...'
(RhG 1.80.8-11 = *Rhannau o'r Efyngyllau*, 1575-1600)
- b. 'Noa, **di** a wyddost modd i gwnauthost...'
Noah you PRT know-2S how PRT did-2S
'Noah, you know what you did...'
(*Hanes-Gerddi Cymraeg* 12.21,
Y Wraig o Ganaan Wlad, c. 1640)
- c. **Di** wyddost (ô Gîgfran.) i'r golomen ddychwelyd yn ôl...
you know-2S (o raven) to the dove return-VN back
'You know (o Raven) that the dove returned...'
(Morgan Llwyd, *Llyfr y Tri Aderyn* 7.18-19, 1653)

³⁰Further seventeenth-century examples: LITA 8.16, 14.15, 14.23, 16.3, 18.30, 22.2, 22.20 etc.; Rees Prichard, *Gwaith* 1.21, 88.15, 129.7, 129.16; RhG 1.80.28 (= *Rhannau o'r Efyngyllau*).

- d. **Di** ae 'n unton i Baradwys...
you go-2S PRD straight to Paradise
'You shall go straight to Paradise...'
(Rees Prichard, *Gwaith* 2.4, 1672)

The obvious conclusion to draw is that like *fo*, the form *di* represents a phonological reduction of the reduplicated pronoun *tydi*. This reduction may have been a fairly general phenomenon. For the other persons, an intermediate stage with loss of only the initial consonant is attested (Morgan 1952:453). Thus, the process of phonological reduction might be a general one for all the reduplicated pronouns:

	Stage 1	Stage 2	Stage 3
1S	myfi /má'vi/	y fi /á'vi/	fi /'vi/
2S	tydi /tá'di/	y di /á'di/ ³¹	di /'di/
3SM	efo /e'vɔ/	y fo /á'vɔ/	fo /'vɔ/
3SF	hyhi /há'hi/	y hi /á'hi/	hi /'hi/
1P	nyni /ná'ni/	y ni /á'ni/	ni /'ni/
2P	chwchwi /xɔu'xwi/	y chwi /á'xwi/	chi /'xi/
3P	hwyntwy /huin'tui/	yntwy /á'nhui/	nhw /'nhu/

Only in the singular, and possibly in the third person plural form, would such a phonological reduction produce a form distinct from the simple pronoun. Note that the evidence of Table 5.4 suggests that in the singular this phonological reduction occurs most quickly in the third person masculine form, then in the second person, whilst the first person is most resistant to change.

5.2.2.6 A Paradox?

We were faced earlier with the problem that reduplicated pronouns seemed to spread because strong pronouns were needed in order to preserve V2, but the fact that *efo* was a clitic allowed it to act as a fully productive expletive subject. These two suggestions need to be reconciled with each other.

This can only be done if, as seems reasonable, the cliticisation processes were lexical and gradual. The evidence of Table 5.4 suggests that the phonological reduction of the reduplicated pronouns was more advanced in the third person in the slander cases. This may well suggest that the phonological reduction began in the third person masculine singular and spread only later to the first and second persons. If so, it could well be the case that the third person singular reduplicated pronoun *efo* spread to expletive construction when this pronoun became a clitic, whilst at the same time the first and second person singular reduplicated pronouns *myfi* and *tydi* were full pronouns satisfying the V2-constraint.

³¹As far as I am aware, this form is unattested. All the other forms given here are attested (cf. Morgan 1952:453).

5.2.2.7 The Status of Expletive *Fe*

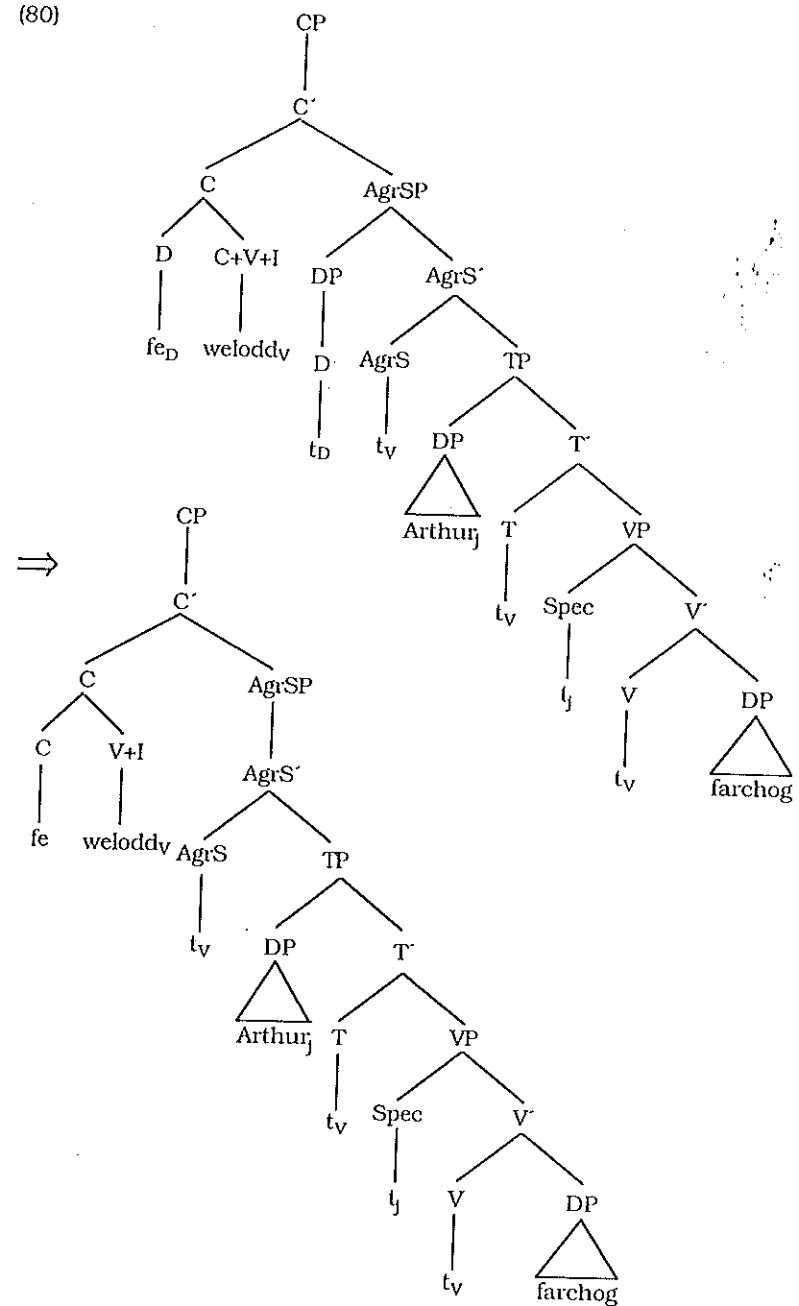
One question remains. It has been established that the spread of the expletive construction to transitive contexts can be linked to a change in a lexical entry of a personal pronoun. This accounts for the increase in use of expletive subjects in the fourteenth century (cf. Figures 5.1 and 5.2). However, the sudden increase in the use of the expletive construction in the sixteenth century has not been fully accounted for.

According to the parametric model of change, we would expect such a sudden change to reflect a parametric change. However, in this case, the only plausible candidate for a change in the grammar seems to be a lexical change rather than a parametric one. This instance seems to provide good evidence that at least some lexical changes can exhibit the properties associated with parametric change.

The possible lexical change is as follows. Once the expletive construction is available with all verbs, the expletive pronoun *fe* (along with *fo* and *e*) is liable to reanalysis as a main clause affirmative complementiser, occurring with default (non-agreeing) forms of the verb. Before this time, the fact that it is found only with unaccusative verbs, coupled with the knowledge that complementisers (universally) do not select for unaccusativity, allows the child to establish that it is an expletive element.

Consequently, the structure of the expletive construction undergoes the Diachronic Reanalysis in (79)-(80). Instead of raising from the base position for expletive subjects, SpecAgrSP, *fe* is base-generated in C, where it selects for a verb in the default third person form. Such a reanalysis is favoured because it allows a reduction in the amount of movement generated by the grammar. It can thus be motivated as a reduction in the number of chain positions in the sense of Roberts' Least Effort Strategy (cf. section 2.2.2). Before the reanalysis, there are two chains, one headed by *fe* (fe_D, t_D) and one headed by the verb ($weloddy, t_V, t_V, t_V$), with a total of six chain positions. The reanalysis reduces this to four by the elimination of the chain involving *fe*.

- (79) *Fe welodd Arthur farchog.*
 FE saw Arthur knight
 'Arthur saw a knight.'



This reanalysis has no particular repercussions in the output of the grammar, and as such it is not possible to demonstrate its effect in terms of new constructions or in obsolescence. However, it does result in a fundamental change in the status of the construction. Once *fe* is reanalysed as a complementiser, the construction in which it participates is no longer an expletive construction in any sense. We therefore expect the sorts of restrictions (for instance, in terms of discourse structure and topicality) typically found with expletive constructions to be dropped immediately. This new-found unmarked status accounts for the sudden rise in the use of the *fe*-construction in the sixteenth century.

Such a reanalysis is effected in the grammar through a change in the lexical entry for *fe* as follows:

Old Lexical Entry	→	New Lexical Entry
<i>fe</i> D [3ms]		<i>fe</i> ₁ C [___AgrS [default]]
		<i>fe</i> ₂ D [3ms]

This reduction in movement is at the cost of one additional item in the lexicon. As a result of the reanalysis the subject pronoun *fe* is split into two lexical items: a pronoun *fe* and a complementiser *fe*. As a complementiser it selects for a verb in the default form, that is, it is not compatible with pronominal subjects.

In addition to the evidence of the sudden rise in frequency of the construction, any evidence that the two lexical items subsequently develop differently is evidence in favour of the reanalysis. Such evidence does exist, and will be presented in Chapter Seven.

5.3 Conclusion

In this chapter, we have seen that the successive reductions to clitic status of the subject pronouns creates a set of exceptions to the verb-second constraint. These exceptions fall into two classes, namely exceptions due to the clitic status of preverbal pronouns, and exceptions due to the innovation of *fe* as an affirmative complementiser. We shall go on in Chapter Six to examine how this and other exceptions to the verb-second rule might have led to its abandonment in the grammar.

Chapter Six The Loss of Verb-second

The V2-system described in Chapter Three began to break down in Late Middle Welsh. Some aspects of this have already been noted – exceptions to the V2-rule with subject pronouns and the affirmative complementiser *fe*. In this chapter other sources of the loss of the V2-rule are examined. It is argued that, during the period when topicalisation was lost, the three typical V2-structures, SVO, AdvVSO and OVS, ceased to be acquired as a single, unified 'verb-second' phenomenon. Insofar as these orders were replicated in successive generations of speakers, they were generated using grammatical rules unconnected with verb-second. The V2-parameter was thus reset to a negative value and V2 was lost from the grammar. Textual evidence suggests that this change does indeed show the characteristics usually associated with parametric change. In particular, sudden changes in the output of the grammar are manifested, in this case, the sudden innovation of unmarked VSO, and the obsolescence of a number of minor syntactic structures.

6.1 Learnability and the Loss of V2

In section 3.7 a comparative account of the evidence in the trigger experience in favour of the acquisition of a positive setting for the V2-parameter was presented. Before looking at the process through which V2 was lost, it is worth recapitulating this evidence, emphasising those aspects of the trigger experience which were acquisitionally ambiguous, and therefore open to reanalysis in accordance with a parametric change.

The first source of acquisitional ambiguity derives indirectly from the fact that clause-initial adverbials in Middle Welsh may occupy more than one syntactic position. Apart from the possibility of adjunction to C', they could function as syntactic topics, occupying SpecCP, thereby fulfilling the obligatory topicalisation requirement, or they could adjoin to CP, allowing another element to move into the syntactic topic position.

This means that a child may reasonably hypothesise that all sentence-initial adverbs adjoin to CP or IP. Such a child will not use the position of adverbs as evidence in setting the V2-parameter positively. Only unambiguous independent evidence that SpecCP must be filled as a consequence of obligatory V2 forces the child to require some adverbs to occupy SpecCP.

There is similar acquisitional ambiguity in the structure of SVO clauses. These are open to analysis as verb-second structures, or as 'simpler' (in the sense of Roberts' Least Effort Strategy) English-type SVO.

In both cases, evidence other than the word order of the construction under consideration shows the child that the more complex V2-structure is the correct one. In section 3.7.2 it was suggested that some of the crucial information in the trigger experience included exposure to agreement phenomena between the

topic and the preverbal particle, and exposure to the entire paradigm of V2-structures, that is SVO, AdvVSO, and in particular OVS.

6.2 Reduction in the Evidence for V2

In Chapter Five, change in the system of pronouns and complementisers was examined. The changes discussed there had a significant effect on the quality of the trigger experience in that they reduced the frequency with which children were exposed to V2-structures and therefore the ease with which the V2-parameter could be set correctly. They also increased the number of lexical exceptions to V2. Whereas in Middle Welsh there were only two major classes of exceptions to V2, namely negative main clauses and clauses containing auxiliary and copular *bot* 'to be', by the sixteenth century there were four such classes. Both the affirmative complementiser *fe* and the subject pronoun clitics had to be acquired as lexical exceptions to V2. Since the affirmative complementiser was very frequently used, its effect in impoverishing the triggering evidence for V2 must have been particularly significant.

I now turn to two other aspects of the trigger experience which became significantly less favourable to the acquisition of a positive setting of the V2-parameter during the course of Middle Welsh. First, the status of object topicalisation in the trigger experience is considered. Second, I examine the preverbal particles.

6.2.1 The Decline of Object Topicalisation

Object topicalisation is frequent in Welsh texts of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In Contemporary Welsh, on the other hand, object topicalisation is possible only with a contrastive reading, as in English. Exposure to unmarked OVS structures gives the child evidence for a fronting rule, and, taken together with other word order possibilities, is evidence for a verb-second rule. The frequency of this evidence seems to have declined gradually in the course of Middle Welsh. It is, of course, not possible to equate the textual evidence with the trigger experience itself, since questions of narrative style interfere in the texts. However, the kind of drift away from OVS in texts is at least suggestive of a similar drift away from OVS in the trigger experience.

I shall demonstrate this effect quantitatively by looking at a number of Middle and Early Modern Welsh texts. One way to look at the development is to ask to what extent the possibility of object topicalisation was in fact utilised where it was syntactically available.

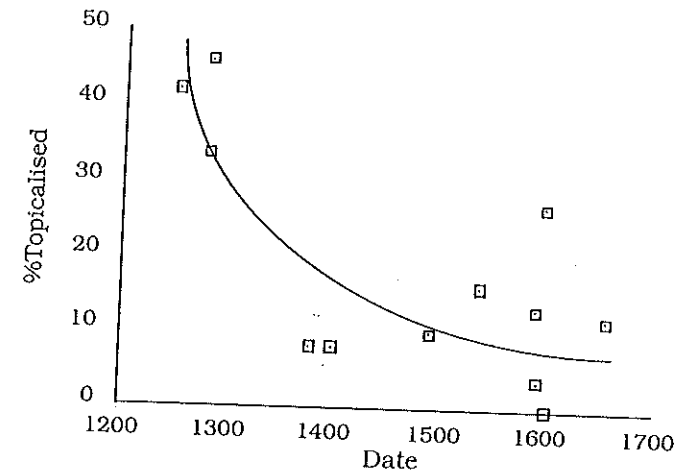


Figure 6.1. The Frequency of Object Topicalisation in Welsh Texts 1200-1700.

Figure 6.1 shows the frequency with which direct objects are topicalised in a number of texts from the thirteenth to seventeenth centuries. In each case a quota of the first fifty instances of nominal (non-clausal and non-pronominal) direct objects is considered, or the whole text if there are fewer than fifty relevant cases. Excluded are the direct objects of imperative verbs, negative verbs and nonfinite verbs, and direct objects in questions. That is, attention is focused on the direct object in a typical main clause with subject, synthetic verb and direct object. This is a standard position in which topicalisation may be expected to take place, and excludes environments which inhibit or prohibit topicalisation. Full details are given in Appendix B.

It can be seen from Figure 6.1 that object topicalisation was on the decline in the medieval period, and that it became rare quite early, perhaps as early as the fourteenth century. A closer examination of the ways in which object topicalisation is used is also supportive of such claims. In the early texts object fronting is most commonly the fronting of the direct object of a personal form of the verb. For instance, of the seventeen examples of object topicalisation in the sample from *Pwyll*, fifteen are direct objects of personal verbs, and in *Peredur* it is twenty-two out of twenty-three. Admittedly, in *Historia Gruffud vab Kenan* it is only eleven out of twenty-one, but in general in early texts it is clear that the great majority of instances of object topicalisation are with personal verbs. Data from quantitative textual studies support this. For instance, Poppe (1989:47) states that out of thirty instances of object topicalisation in *Breuddwyd Maxen*, all but two are in clauses with personal forms of the verb. In *Breudwyd Ronabwy* it is seven out of thirteen (Poppe 1990:449), and in *Branwen* nine out of twelve object topicalisations are with personal verbs (Watkins 1983/84:152).

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In the later texts, object fronting is much more frequently associated with impersonal (pseudo-passive) forms of the verb, the objects of which may have syntactic and pragmatic similarities with subjects. One of the later texts examined, *Y Bibyl Ynghymraec* (ms. A, 1594) seems to fall outside the general pattern of decreasing frequency of object topicalisation in having an unexpectedly high frequency. Yet, even in this text object topicalisation is more closely associated with impersonal forms of the verb than it is in texts of the earlier period. Only three out of the six cases of object topicalisation are with personal verbs.

Other studies also provide support for the claim that there is a marked decline in the frequency of direct object fronting in Late Middle Welsh and Early Modern Welsh. Studies of Middle Welsh word order give the frequency of clauses with topicalised objects as a percentage of all declarative main clauses at between 4% (*Cyfranc Lludd a Llefelys*, Poppe 1991a) and 20% (*Breuddwyd Maxen*, Poppe 1989), averaging out at around 10%. Data from studies of texts from later periods suggest that the frequency of object topicalisation had settled down to something approaching the low level of contrastive object fronting in Contemporary Welsh by the sixteenth century at the latest. Fife (1991) puts the frequency of nominal object topicalisation in main clauses in Elis Gruffydd's *Castell yr Iechyd* and the 1588 Bible translation at between 1% and 4%. This is close to the Contemporary Welsh situation, where object topicalisation is statistically negligible, as described in Fife (1993). Even allowing for differences in the counting procedures between studies, these data support the claim that there was a significant drop in the use of object topicalisation already in the medieval period.

D.S. Evans (1968) contains copious examples of fronting in religious texts of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. From the examples given there it is impossible to determine the frequency of object topicalisation. Certainly, there are some examples of non-contrastive direct object topics. In the main, however, the examples given there in these texts involve either a contrastively topicalised object, or the object of an impersonal verb.

The evidence discussed above points towards the general conclusion that non-contrastive direct object topicalisation, with the exception of the direct object of impersonal verbs, was rare, although not ungrammatical, by the Early Modern Welsh period. There is every reason to suppose that, in terms of the theory of syntactic change discussed in Chapter Two, this is a step, namely a performance change affecting the frequency with which a particular construction is chosen in actual use. Inasmuch as object topicalisation was good evidence for V2, this represents an impoverishment of the triggering data for the acquisition of a positive setting of the V2-parameter.

Most importantly, this gradual decline in the use of object topicalisation is not part of a wider reduction in the use of V2-structures. That is, there is no gradual drift from V2 to VSO in the medieval period, as Fife (1991) implies (cf. section 4.1). By the seventeenth century, when object topicalisation is rare, there is good evidence that subject topicalisation was still productive in all, including spoken, varieties of Welsh. For instance, there are

numerous examples of subject topicalisation in slander case records of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as shown in (1).

- (1) a. Hugh John ofynodd, "Pwy ocdden(t)."
Hugh John asked who were-3P

Dafydd atebodd...
Dafydd answered...

'Hugh John asked, "Who were they?" Dafydd answered...'
(Slander cases, Cardigan Sessions 1627)
- b. Thomas ap Madock aeth am hanner yr i yn lledraddaidd.
Thomas ap Madog went with-my heifer me thievishly
'Thomas ap Madog stole my heifer.'
(Slander cases, Brecon Sessions 1577)
- c. ...a deugen o wyr honest ai daliod [sic] ef
and forty of men honest PRT+3S-OBJ caught him

in dwyn y deved yn lledrad.
PROG take-VN the sheep thievishly

'...and forty honest men caught him stealing the sheep.'
(Slander cases, Montgomery Sessions 1591)
- d. John ap Robert a ddygodd yd Bryn yr Odyn yn lledrad.
John ap Robert PRT took grain Bryn-yr-Odyn thievishly
'John ap Robert stole the Bryn-yr-Odyn grain.'
(Slander cases, Flint Sessions 1618)

It can therefore be concluded that object topicalisation ceased to be common at a date when topicalisation of nominal subjects was still common, and that this is true even in non-literary varieties of Welsh.

On the other hand, true VSO structures, that is, those with the verb in absolute initial position not preceded by *y(d)* or *fe*, remain virtually non-existent up to the sixteenth century.

6.2.2 The Loss of the Preverbal Particles

Topic-complementiser agreement realised on the preverbal particles is a good guide to the correct placement of preverbal adverbs in SpecCP rather than in an adjoined position. Any phonological reduction of these particles will necessarily obscure a crucial piece of evidence for acquisition of V2. Some of the evidence with the particle *a* was presented in section 5.1.2. The development with *y(d)/y(r)* will therefore be the focus of this section.

6.2.2.1 The Loss of *A*

In Chapter Four, full data on the loss of the preverbal particle *a* after pronominal subjects were presented. The loss of *a* is observed with full lexical elements soon afterwards. Examples are given in (2).

- (2) a. ...a **Jessu gwnnwys** y olwc y vynydd...
and Jesus raised his look up
'And Jesus looked up.' (RhG 1.85.16-17 =
Rhannau o'r Efyngylau, 1575-1600)
- b. A chwedy kintio **mynegi wnaeth** gwraig y ty
and after dinner indicate-VN did woman the house
gwbl o'r matter y'r gwr...
whole of the matter to the husband
'And after dinner, the woman of the house indicated the
whole matter to the husband...' (RhG 2.79.15-17 =
Ystoriau o Ddyfed, ms. c.1588)

Also RhG (?)1.14.20, (?)16.9 (=Hanes y Rhufeintaid a'r Iddewon).

6.2.2.2 The Loss of Y(d)/Y(r)

From the sixteenth century *y(r)*¹ in preverbal position begins to be dropped too. D.S. Evans (1968) suggests that with this loss, the syntactic connection between the preverbal adverb and the rest of the sentence would be lost, and "the adverb would not longer be confined by the syntax of the 'abnormal order'" (D.S. Evans 1968:335). In generative terms, this can be equated with saying that the position occupied by the preverbal adverb had changed from a Specifier position to an adjoined position. This position must be modified somewhat, inasmuch as some adverbs already occupied adjoined positions even in Middle Welsh. However, it seems to be essentially correct that the loss of the particle *y(r)* is the single most important development precipitating the breakdown of verb-second.

D.S. Evans (1968:335) gives examples of omission of *y(r)* in the sequence *yma gellir* 'here it can be...' from Morris Clynog's *Athravaeth Gristnogawl* (1568). He also gives a larger number of more varied examples from Roger Smyth's *Theater du Mond (Gorsedd y Byd)* (1615).

Earlier examples of the loss of *y(r)* after a sentence-initial adverbial from the late fifteenth century and the sixteenth century are given in (3). Omission of *y(r)* after adverbs in the written language was certainly widespread by the second half of the sixteenth century.²

- (3) a. A phann oedd ddec blwydd o oedran **aeth** yr eglwys
and when was ten years of age went to-the church
o anvodd i rieni i getsio bedydd...
of disapproval his parents to seek-VN baptism
'And when he was ten years old, he went to church against
his parents' wishes to seek baptism.'
(*Buchedd Sant Martin* 1.10-11, 1488)

¹ *Y(r)* replaces *y(d)* as the form of the particle from the fourteenth century onwards (D.S. Evans 1976:169).

² Other sixteenth-century examples: RhG 1.55.20 (=Traethawd Gwallter o Hentai ar Husmonaeth), 105.11 (=Y Marchog Crwydraff), 116.3 (=Darn o'r Ffestiwl), 2.13.12 (=Cruffydd Robert, Gramadeg Cymraeg), 131.2, 131.14 (Letter by Robert Parry).

- b. Ac yma **gouynno[dd]** hi Jddo ef pa ddelw J
and then asked she to-3SM him how PRT

gollyngei ef J veisdyr ynhyrydd.
released-IMPF he his master PRD+free

'And then she asked him how he had released his master.'
(*Ystoria Taliesin* 74.9-10, 1540s)

- c. Yn vffern **peraiſt** gyffro...
in hell caused-2S commotion
'In hell you caused a commotion...'
(TWRP *Y Dioddefaint* 825, ms. 1552)

- d. ...os kwys lydan a' erddy, a gado y tir yn
if furrow broad PRT plough-2S and leave-VN the land PRD

vyw rwng y kwysay, **twyllaist** y tir a **chollaist**
alive between the furrows, deceived-2S the land and lost-2S

yr had.
the seed

'...if you plough a broad furrow, and leave the land alive in
between the furrows, you have deceived the land and you
have lost the seed.' (RhG 1.57.32-58.1 = *Traethawd Gwallter*
o Hentai ar Husmonaeth, before 1561)

6.3 A Parametric Change

It was argued in Chapter Three that there are a number of pieces of crucial evidence for a child acquiring a V2-system. The changes sketched out above represent a significant reduction in the amount of this evidence. 'Simpler' analyses of V2-structures are available to the child, which do not require a full V2-system.

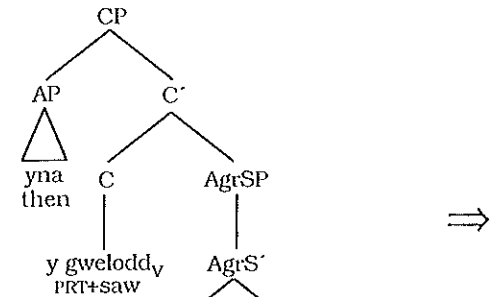
Consider first the case with an adverb in the topic position SpecCP. Preverbal adverbials had always had to be licensed, with variations according to adverb type, either in SpecCP or in an adjoined position. With the loss of the preverbal particle *y(r)*, the motivation for separating these two structural positions was lost. The possible patterns for simple sentences containing a subject, verb and non-argument adverb before and after the loss of preverbal particles are those in (4)-(6).

- | | Middle Welsh | | Early Modern Welsh |
|--------|---|------|---|
| (4) a. | Arthur a welodd gaer
Arthur PRT saw fort | → b. | Arthur welodd gaer
Arthur saw fort |
| (5) a. | Yna y gwelodd Arthur gaer
then PRT saw Arthur fort | → b. | Yna gwelodd Arthur gaer
then saw Arthur fort |
| (6) a. | Yna Arthur a welodd gaer
then Arthur PRT saw fort | → b. | Yna Arthur welodd gaer
then Arthur saw fort |

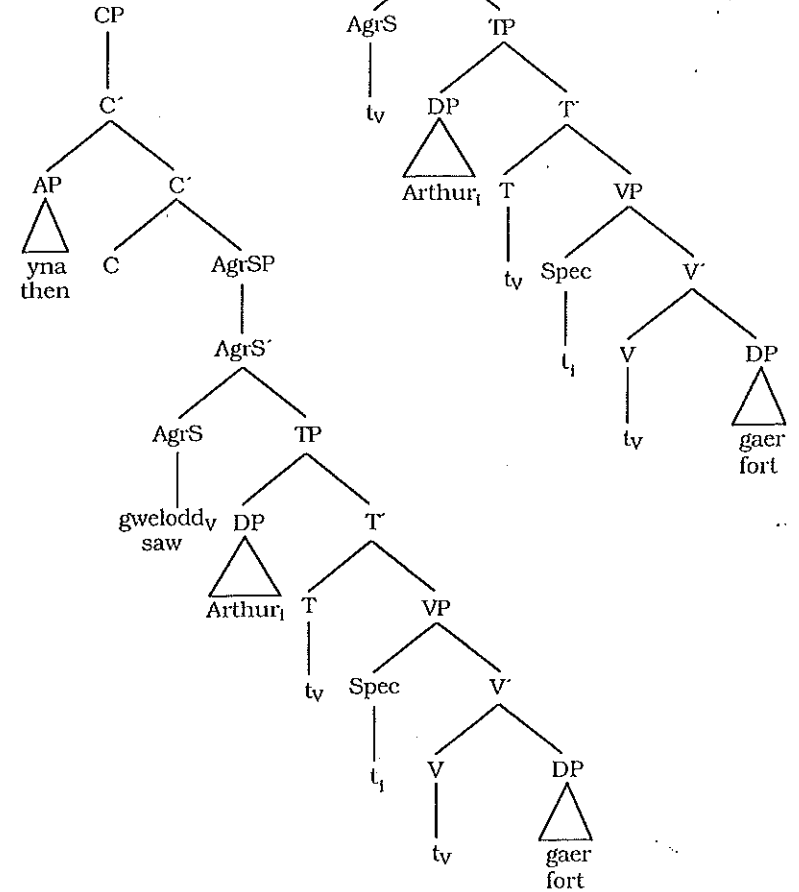
Given the knowledge that agreement is between a head and specifier position, the Middle Welsh child can easily establish from the

evidence of the preverbal particles that in (4)a. and (6)a. the subject occupies SpecCP, and that in (5)a. *yna* occupies SpecCP. The child is thus led away from adopting the same position for *yna* in both (5)a. and (6)a. With the loss of the particles in Early Modern Welsh, the child has no reason to suppose that *yna* in (5)b. occupies SpecCP. On the other hand the adverb cannot be in a specifier position in (6)b. but must be adjoined, since the specifier position is filled by the subject *Arthur*. The simplest hypothesis is therefore that *yna* always occupies an adjoined position. This hypothesis is supported by the presence in the trigger experience of instances of multiple sentence-initial adverbs (cf. the examples in (12) in Chapter Three). The child is likely to conclude that *yna* in (5)b. does not occupy SpecCP but rather some adjoined position. Furthermore, given that there is now no overt element in C, the child has no reason to infer raising of the verb to C to give support to the particle.³ The reanalysis indicated in (7) can therefore take place. The adult grammar produces representations like that in (7)a., with the preverbal particle deleted in speech. The child infers a grammar that generates the representation in (7)b., which does not contain a preverbal particle at any level. The reanalysed structure is preferred by the Least Effort Strategy because it allows the rejection of a representation with chains (*Arthur_i, t_i*) and (*gwelodd_v, t_v, t_v*) with six chain positions in favour of one with shorter chains (*Arthur, t_i*) and (*gwelodd, t_v, t_v*). For concreteness it is assumed that, in the new structure, preverbal adverbs adjoin to C'.

(7)
a.



b.

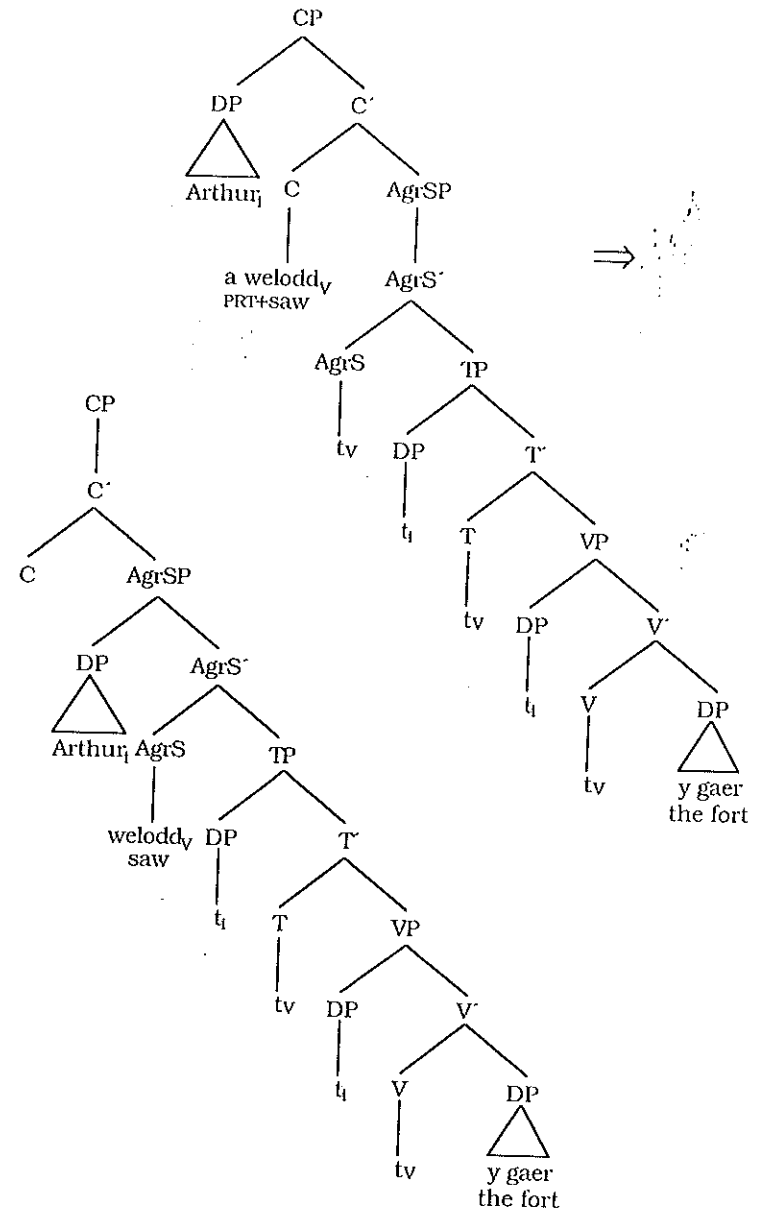


³It is not entirely clear that this movement takes place even in Middle Welsh cf. section 3.3.6.

To a child who rejects the possibility that the language is verb-second, surface SVO orders are also amenable to a non-V2 analysis, involving subject-raising to SpecAgrSP. That is, in the adult grammar, SVO orders are subsumed under general verb-second. However, they are also open to an analysis parallel to SVO in English or French, with subject raising to a preverbal position. With the loss of preverbal particles, this analysis becomes quite attractive. Thus (8), analysed in the adult grammar and by earlier generations of Welsh speakers as (9)a., can be acquired by the innovating generation of children as (9)b.

- (8) Arthur (a) welodd y gaer.
 Arthur PRT saw the fort
 'Arthur saw the castle.'

(9)
 a.



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Suppose that under normal circumstances, these analyses are ones that are adopted by children, only to be rejected later in acquisition by a full V2-system. By the sixteenth century, the evidence for the V2-system, particularly the evidence in the form of topic-complementiser agreement, is insufficient to cause the new analysis either of preverbal adverbs or of SVO structures to be rejected. As soon as the new structures are accepted, however, the evidence for V2 in the form of variation in the order of element drops virtually to nil. The language contains virtually no sentences that are being analysed as V2 or that need to be analysed as V2. Children will therefore begin to set the V2-parameter to a negative value. Whatever the precise nature of the V2-parameter, this has the effect that SpecCP is no longer obligatorily filled, and general A'-movement to SpecCP is lost.

Of course there remain some sentences in the trigger experience that are not so easily amenable to a non-V2 analysis. The relevant constructions are non-contrastive topicalisations of non-subjects and possibly instances of adverbs intervening between the subject and verb. However, none of these occurs with sufficient frequency to force rejection of the non-V2 analyses.

Let us now turn to examine the effects of the parametric change on Case-Assignment. The change in the structure assigned to SVO main clauses requires that Nominative Case be assigned by Infl (AgrS) optionally either under government or agreement. In the Middle Welsh system, Infl (AgrS) assigns Nominative Case mainly under government to SpecTP. The innovation of the affirmative complementiser *fe* did nothing to alter this. However, if our account of agreement and of expletive subjects is correct, and SpecCP can under some circumstances be an A-position (cf. sections 3.6.1 and 5.2.1), then unfocused preverbal subjects and expletive subjects must have received Case in SpecCP even in Middle Welsh, that is, under agreement from a Nominative Case-assigner in C. Some instances of Case-assignment under agreement must therefore also have existed.

Once the analysis of SVO in (9)b. is adopted, the possibilities for Case-assignment under agreement must be extended to permit general assignment of Nominative by Infl under agreement. This change in the configuration for Case-assignment may be a parametric change, although one which seems to have had little effect on the output of the grammar.

If we consider the different word order possibilities now permitted by the language, the configurations for Case-assignment become clear. Three word order possibilities are given in (10). Since no A'-chains are ever formed, it must be assumed that Nominative Case is assigned to the surface position of the subject in each instance. That is, Case may be assigned to SpecAgrSP in the AdvSVO order, but to SpecTP in the AdvVSO order. In order to allow for this, it has to be assumed that Case-assignment by Infl (AgrS) is possible under government to SpecTP and under agreement to SpecAgrSP, and that it is always entirely optional. Accordingly, for a sentence like (10)a. to be generated, the verb must fail to assign case rightwards to the subject in SpecTP, even though it could have assigned case to that position, and indeed does so in the VSO counterparts in b. and c.

- (10) a. [CP [C' yna [AgrSP Arthur_i weloddy [TP t_i tv [vp t_i tv gaer]]]]]
 then Arthur saw fort
 b. [CP [C' yna [C fe-weloddy] [AgrSP tv [TP Arthur_i tv [vp t_i tv gaer]]]]]
 then PRT-saw Arthur fort
 c. [CP [C' yna [AgrSP gweloddy [TP Arthur_i tv [vp t_i tv gaer]]]]]
 then saw Arthur fort

'Then Arthur saw a fort.'

Given the subsequent historical preference for structures like those in b. and c., it may be that this possibility should be allowed for. However, it is worth noting that under minimalist assumptions, the structure in (10)a. involving the unnecessary raising of the subject violates Procrastinate (Chomsky 1995:198). The presence of the complementiser *fe* may be sufficient to cause a. and b. to involve distinct derivations, involving distinct numerations in the sense of Chomsky (1995:227). However, it is hard to see how this could be the case with a. and c. which seem to differ solely in the fact that the subject has raised above the verb in a. but not in c.

I shall, however, assume that Nominative Case may be assigned by Infl (AgrS) either under government or agreement after the loss of V2 in Welsh.

If the presence of topic-complementiser agreement was so crucial for the retention of V2 in Middle Welsh, it is reasonable to ask why other V2-languages, most of which lack an equivalent for the preverbal particles of Welsh, have not lost V2 also. There are three reasons: first, strict V2-languages like German do not allow preverbal adverbs that do not count for V2, that is, they do not license C'-adjunction at all, and do not freely license CP-adjunction. Consequently, a child learning a language like German will never be exposed to sentences like the Welsh one in (6), which confirms the possibility of adjoining an adverb to CP. Given this, the optimal hypothesis for the structure of a sentence parallel to (5)b. in German will always be with the adverb in SpecCP.

Secondly, other word order evidence, notably object and VP-topicalisation supports a V2-analysis in these languages. This had originally also been the case for Middle Welsh children. They would encounter instances of OVS order in main clauses, and from this would have to infer the existence of a preverbal A'-position to which topicalisation may take place. The frequency with which this piece of evidence is encountered falls in Late Middle Welsh, and the child is thus unable to use it to construct a grammar containing A'-topicalisation to SpecCP.

Finally, there is word order evidence for AgrS-to-C movement in most V2-languages, for instance, in asymmetries between main and subordinate clauses or between synthetic and periphrastic verb construction. No such evidence for AgrS-to-C movement ever existed in Welsh.

6.4 Consequences of the Parametric Change

If a parametric change is posited, it is reasonable to ask what changes it produced in the output of the grammar in terms of 'trailing' changes. In the case of the resetting of the V2-parameter, changes are manifested in one new word order type, namely true VSO, and also in obsolescence of a number of other structures. I now turn to these changes.

6.4.1 The Null Topic Operator and True VSO

The loss of the positive setting for the V2-parameter creates serious difficulties for the acquisition of the null topic operator posited for Middle Welsh surface VSO main clauses in Chapter Four. Since the null topic operator has no phonological exponent, it cannot be acquired directly from the trigger experience. Instead it has to be acquired using indirect evidence.

The child must infer a null element in these clauses by generalising from the standard cases of V2 with overt elements. A null operator had to be posited in VSO conjoined clauses like (11)a. because of the presence of the particle *y(d)* which required its specifier position to have an appropriate agreeing constituent. The loss of *y(r)* creates acquisitional ambiguity with conjoined clauses. Once it is lost, these clauses contain no evidence in favour of general V2, and can be analysed quite satisfactorily as pure VSO. They thus appear to give the child firm evidence that VSO is in fact generally possible. The adult grammar analyses (11)a. as (12). A child hearing (11)b. no longer has any reason to reject the analysis in (13). In the course of this reanalysis the null topic operator necessarily fails to be acquired in the child's lexicon.

(11) a. Arthur a ddaeth ac y gwelodd ef gaer.
Arthur PRT came and PRT saw he fort →

b. Arthur ddaeth a gwelodd ef gaer.
Arthur came and saw he fort
'Arthur came and saw a fort.'

(12) [CP Arthur₁ a ddaeth_{V1} [IP t₁ tv₁]]
ac

[CP Op_j y gwelodd_{V2} [IP ef tv₂ gaer] t_j]

(13) [CP [IP Arthur₁ ddaeth_{V1} [VP t₁ tv₁]]]

a

[CP [IP gwelodd_{V2} [VP ef tv₂ gaer]]]

With the loss of V2, the null topic operator should therefore drop out of the language. It is difficult to find reliable data to prove this with reference to conjoined clauses in the sixteenth and seventeenth

centuries. Better data are available from the eighteenth century corpus. Discussion of these is deferred until consideration of the eighteenth-century material in Chapter Seven (section 7.9).

The more important case however is the one in non-conjoined clauses. The null topic operator was restricted to conjoined clauses and similar contexts because of a requirement that it be discourse-licensed. Once the contexts in which it was formerly used are analysed in a different way, there is no reason for this discourse requirement to continue. To look at it another way, since the core grammar no longer requires movement of some element to SpecCP, cases should appear quite generally where such movement has not taken place. If, as a result of the new negative setting of the V2-parameter, SpecCP is permitted to be actually empty (rather than apparently empty but filled by a null topic operator), then it should be possible for there to be no complementiser at all in C. Furthermore, assuming that movement of the verb to C is motivated solely to give morphological support to the complementiser, the verb itself should also now be free to remain in AgrS. It is therefore expected that structures of the type in (14) will become possible. This is a major departure from the Middle Welsh system, but is precisely the structure that has been assumed for VSO in Modern Welsh (cf. (22), (29) and (31) in Chapter One).

(14) [CP [AgrSP verb_v [TP subject_t tv [VP t₁ tv object]]]]

It is thus expected that the parametric change will lead to the introduction into the language of unmarked absolute verb-initial sentences, without the particle *y(r)* and without the need for the null operator. A few examples of these were given for Middle Welsh in (34)-(35) in Chapter Four, but these were only isolated, and often formulaic, examples. They appear on a wide scale only from the second half of the sixteenth century. Early examples are given in (15).⁴

(15) a. **Gorvïost** ar dy elynlon...
overcame-2S on your enemies
'You overcame your enemies...' (RhG 1.22.28-29 =
Hystoria Gweryddon yr Almaen, c. 1514)

b. **Gellwch** wybod yn hysbys am bob peth y fo
can-2P know-VN publicly about everything REL be-SUBJ

kyflownys na wnafl i yn erbyn ych wlyys.
just COMP+NEG will-do-1S I against your will

'You may know publicly that, regarding everything that is just, I shall not act against your will.'

(TWRP *Yr Enaid a'r Corff* 139-41, ms. 16th c.)

⁴Other sixteenth-century examples: RhG 2.4.5 (=Yny Llyuyr Humn); TWRP *Y Dioddefaint* 421, 639, 814, 847, 872, 987.

- c. **Credaf** y Dduw Dad holhalhyawc...
believe-1S to God Father allmighty
'I believe in God the Almighty Father...'
(RhG 2.3.19 = *Yny Lhyuyr Hwnn*, 1546)
- d. Jessu **dywedaist** di dy vod yn vrenin ar yn defod.
Jesus said-2S you 2S-GEN be-VN PRD king on our custom
'Jesus, you said that you were king according to our custom.'
(*TWRP Y Dioddefaint* 197-98, ms. 1552)
- e. A ffan ddaythion hwy yll tay allan, y dywat y gwr
and when came-3P they both out PRT said the man

y laddassei gaar yddy lletywr yn ddig wrth
REL had-killed kinsman to-his host angrily to

y gyveillt y govynne...
his friend and asked-IMPF

'And when they both came out, the man who had killed his
host's relative spoke angrily to his friend and asked...'
(RhG 2.5.16-18 = *Gair Mwys*, 1530s-1555)
- f. **Gofynnasoch** ym ... ae i briodi Mrs.
asked-2P to-me whether-CLEFT to marry-VN Mrs.

Watkins y doethwn...
Watkins PRT had-come-1S

'You asked me ... whether it was to marry Mrs. Watkins that
I had come...'
(RhG 2.52.17-18 = *Letter by William
Middleton to Siôn Dafydd Rhys*, 1582/3)

This change shows all the signs of being parametric in origin. Specifically, the discourse-marked VSO construction of Middle Welsh is replaced in the sixteenth century by general unmarked VSO. As was suggested in section 4.4, it is therefore possible to reject the idea (Fife 1991) that there was a gradual drift towards VSO order. Instead, we find little evidence for true VSO up to the sixteenth century, but rapid innovation during the century. The conservative pattern is maintained in some sixteenth-century texts, specifically in the 1588 Bible translation which paradoxically Fife uses as evidence for the drift to VSO.

6.4.2 The Loss of Minor Topicalisation Types

In sections 3.4.1-3.4.2, the presence of minor topicalisation types was used to justify the claim that V2 in Middle Welsh involved A'-movement. Specifically, these types involved topicalisation from embedded non-finite clauses and from Preposition Phrases. It is clear that, unlike, say, object topicalisation, these would never have been sufficiently frequent to have provided acquisitional evidence in favour of V2. However, once V2 is lost, these types should disappear silently

from the language.⁵ Their disappearance is thus a change in a trailing feature (cf. section 2.3.3).

First, let us consider topicalisation of the object of a preposition, an unmarked construction in Middle Welsh. Some examples of this can still be found in sixteenth-century texts.

- (16) a. Gwr o 'r Deheubarth Cymrû a latratesit dwy
man from the South Wales PRT was-stolen-IMPERS two

hepher y arnaw _...
heifer from on-3S _...

'Two heifers were stolen from a man from the South of
Wales...'
(RhG 2.183.8-9 = *Ffraelhebbion*, ms. c. 1600)
- b. ...a hwnnw a hapiodd iddo _ glefychy a marw.
and that-one PRT happened to-3SM _ fall-ill-VN and die-VN
'...and he happened to fall ill and die.'
(*Darn o'r Ffestival* 21 from YAL 290)
- c. ...a 'r brenin a fu drist ganddo _.
and the king PRT was-PERF sad with-3SM _.
'...and the king became sad.'
(Matthew 14.9, 1588 from Richards 1938:109)

However, these seem to be some of the last examples of this construction. The disappearance of this construction is to be expected if unmarked topicalisation is reanalysed as A-movement, and therefore restricted to subjects.

Similarly, topicalisation from embedded positions had been quite possible in fourteenth-century texts. In Early Modern Welsh literary texts topicalisations from positions which might be considered to be embedded are still attested. D.S. Evans (1968) gives some examples with topicalisation of objects across modals (*dyl* 'should' and *gallael* 'to be able') and the verbs *darfod* 'to happen, finish', *mynnu* 'to want', and *gorfod* 'to have to' in religious texts of the later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. There are no examples anywhere, however, of topicalisation from complement clause with overt subjects, for instance, from complements of verbs of saying, thinking or knowing, the typical case in Middle Welsh. It is reasonable to suppose that in the literary language topicalisation remained as a feature of high style. Outside literary texts, such topicalisations are very rare and also restricted to the same sorts of verbs, for instance, RhG 1.24.28, (?)1.25.32 (= *Campau Ercwl(f)*, 130.4 (= *Mab y Fforestwr*)).

⁵Of course, if A'-movement in V2 is lost, the expectation is that all non-subject topicalisations must be lost too. However, the claim here is less strong than this: A'-movement is replaced by A-movement in topicalisation structures and is therefore restricted to subjects. Instances of A'-movement must remain in contrastive frontings (the mixed sentence), which remain grammatical in Modern Welsh. Claims about the disappearance of non-subject topicalisation must be understood in this spirit. The crucial fact about the constructions under discussion here is that they are used as unmarked structures in Middle Welsh, and therefore cannot be saved by being generated as contrastive frontings in the later period (cf. the discussion of residual V2 in section 6.5).

I conclude that the topicalisations that are attested reflect a literary phenomenon. The fact that such constructions were no longer possible in the core grammar is shown by the complete absence of unmarked topicalisations from complement clauses with overt subjects. It is therefore possible to view the absence of unmarked topicalisation from embedded contexts as a consequence of the loss of V2.

6.4.3 Topicalisation across Negation

Topicalisation of a subject across a negative continues to be attested in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Examples are given in (17).⁶

- (17) a. A 'r Thare hwnnw ny allawd diodef sarhaeddeu
and the Thare that NEG could stand insults
gwyr Chaldea...
men Chaldea
'And that Thare could not withstand the insults of the men
of Chaldea...' (Y Biblyl Ynghymraec 13.3-4, 15th c.)
- b. A Chollen nid aeth.
and Collen NEG went
'And Collen did not go.'
(RhG 1.39.28 = *Buchedd Collen*, 1536)
- c. kanys yntwy ni wyddant beth i maent yn
for they-CONJ NEG know-3P what PRT are PROG
i wnythyr.
3SM-GEN do-VN
'...for they do not know what they are doing.'
(IWRP Y Dioddefaint 327-28, ms. 1552)
- d. Ynte ni ddoe.
he-CONJ NEG came-IMPF
'He (on the other hand) did not come'
(RhG 2.49.10-11 = *Ystorïau Digrif*, ms. 1582)

D.S. Evans (1968:322) cites a number of examples from texts of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, although the texts are all highly literary, and as such of dubious value as to the status of this construction in the spoken language of the time. In particular, these texts contain a number of examples of topicalisation across *nid yw*, *nid ydynt* and *nid ynt* 'is/are not', forms which do not allow topicalisation over them (even in the affirmative) in Middle Welsh. Such cases point to hypercorrect literary usage in these texts, suggesting that their testimony is in fact not relevant to the question of spoken usage on this point.

⁶Further examples: BY 40.2-3, 40.12-14; BSM 3.11, 10.2; RhG 1.15.10 (= *Hanes y Rhuſfeiniad a'r Iddewon*), 19.19 (= *Hanes Gweryddon yr Almaen*), 2.49.12 (= *Ystorïau Digrif*); YAL 283.14.

Topicalisation of a direct object over a negative is attested in these same texts (D.S. Evans 1968:323) and also in the 1588 Bible translation (Richards 1938:107), but not elsewhere in the sixteenth century.⁷ It is difficult to be sure whether this reflects the general decline in the frequency of object topicalisation, or is a development specific to the negative. I shall assume the former on the grounds that the latter interpretation is not especially well supported by the evidence, and would involve an unnecessary complication of the analysis.

Most importantly, however, topicalisation of any kind across a negative is not attested in non-literary texts from around 1600 onwards, even though preverbal subjects are well-attested in affirmative main clauses at this period.

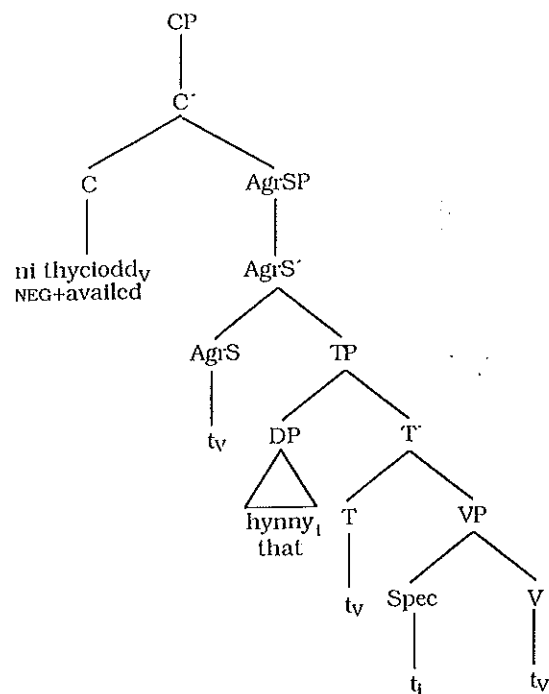
This is no surprise given the analysis of negation presented in section 3.5 and the changes in topicalisation suggested above. If the negative marker *ni(d)* is base-generated in C, then given a rule of topicalisation that consists of A'-movement to SpecCP, the grammar will permit strings of the form [_{CP} XP_i Neg+V [_{IP} ... t_i ...]]. This is the case in the earlier period. However, once topicalisation is reanalysed as Subject-raising to SpecAgrSP, the negated verb in C will necessarily precede the subject. Assuming that the negative marker still attracts the verb to C for morphological reasons, the required structure for a negative clause like (18) will be that in (19).

- (18) NI thyciodd hynny.
NEG availed that
'That did not work.'

It makes no difference to the word order whether the subject occupies SpecAgrSP or SpecTP. The subject must always follow the verb. Raising to SpecCP is not possible either given that V2 is no longer available.

⁷There is one exceptional example, namely RhG 1.19.14 (= *Hystorïa Gweryddon yr Almaen*).

(19)



6.4.4 Embedded Clauses

One might expect from the fact that the CP-projection is no longer involved in the derivation of SVO structures in Early Modern Welsh that SVO should spread to embedded clauses. That is, we expect structures of the type in (20).

(20) [CP Comp [AgrSP Subject_t Verby [TP t_i tv [vp t_i tv Object]]]

In general this does not occur, except with complementisers like *cany*s 'since' that already allowed V2 in Middle Welsh. That this does not in general happen may be attributed to the fact that almost all complementisers are clitics on the verb. One may surmise that the cliticisation process is disrupted by the presence of an intervening subject.

However, one change in the structure of embedded clauses is suggestive in this respect, although doubt as to the status of the complementiser involved makes it unclear precisely what conclusions should be drawn. The change is in the syntax of *os* 'if'. Richards (1938:181) and Williams (1980:159) note, citing examples mainly from the Bible translation, that unmarked SVO order with agreement (the

abnormal order) can be found after this complementiser. In Contemporary Welsh the construction is archaic at best. Examples are given in (21).⁸

- (21) a. ...os ti ai hesceulusi...
if you PRT+3S-OBJ neglect-2S
'...if you neglect it...'
(Morgan Llwyd, *Llyfr y Tri Aderyn* 74.29, 1653)
- b. ...os y ni a ddychwelwn atto ef a gwir ofid.
if we-CONJ PRT return-1P to him with true fear
'...if we return to him with true fear.'
(John Langford, *Holl Ddeddwydd Dyn* 13, 1672
from GPC:2604)
- c. ...os ni a wrandawn ar S. Paul...
if we PRT listen-1P to St. Paul
'...if we listen to St. Paul...'
(RhG 2.213.24-25 =
Edward James, *Llyfr yr Homiliau*, 1606)
- d. Ac os myfi a af ... mi a ddeuaf drachefn...
and if I-CONJ PRT go-1S I PRT come-1S back
'And if I go ..., I shall come back...'
(John 14.3,
from Williams 1980:159)

Since *os* is independent of the verb in Contemporary Welsh, it is possible that in this construction the verb remains in AgrSP, and allows the subject to raise to SpecAgrSP, thereby instantiating the structure in (20).

6.5 Residual V2 in Contemporary Welsh

Despite what has been said so far about the loss of V2 in Early Modern Welsh, some instances of V2, involving a filled SpecCP position and a particle in C, nevertheless survive into Modern Welsh. Residual V2 is a phenomenon common in other languages that have lost a verb-second system (cf. Rizzi 1990, Vikner 1995:48-51). The contexts in which V2 survives in Contemporary Welsh parallel what is found in these languages.

Mostly these involve contrastive focus in the mixed sentence. (22)a. shows a Modern Welsh example with contrastively focused subject; b. has contrastively focused object; and c. a contrastively focused adjunct.

- (22) a. Afon Teifi a orlifodd ei glannau.
river Teifi PRT overflowed its banks
'(It was) the River Teifi (that) overflowed its banks.'
- b. Ci a welodd y ffermwr.
dog PRT saw the farmer
'(It was) a dog (that) the farmer saw.'

⁸A further example is John Davies, *Llyfr y Resolusion* 69.4.

- c. Y prynhawn yma y byddaf fi'n mynd.
 the afternoon this PRT will-be-1S I PROG go-VN
 '(It's) this afternoon (that) I'll go.' (Thorne 1993:370-73)

I assume that these are instances of V2. Although as ever in Welsh, verb-raising to C is not visible, the presence of a particle agreeing with the preverbal element is evidence enough that a Spec-Head relationship is formed between the head of C and a fronted constituent in SpecCP (cf. Tallerman's 1996 analysis of the mixed sentence as A'-movement to SpecCP).

Wh-questions in Contemporary Welsh are formed in the same way, in (23).

- (23) a. Beth a barodd iddo greu 'r fath effaith?
 what PRT caused to-it create-VN the sort effect
 'What caused it to create such an effect?'
 b. Pa effaith gafodd dy bregeth di?
 what effect had your sermon you
 'What effect did your sermon have?'
 c. Sut y gwyddoch chi hynny?
 how PRT know-2P you that
 'How do you know that?' (Thorne 1993:187-89)

The particle in C agrees with the *wh*-element in SpecCP.

Clearly the loss of the positive setting of the V2-parameter must not be allowed to rule out such structures. We should therefore envisage the shift in the V2-parameter to be from a situation where fronting is virtually although decreasingly obligatory to one where it is merely permitted, presumably triggered by features of a more specific nature. Any movement must remain A'-movement, and the mechanisms for it (preverbal particles, agreement patterns) remain the same. In a language in which such movement is not syntactically required, it must be associated with some marked stylistic effect. This is in fact simply the situation required for languages like English which have fronting of *wh*-elements and contrastively focused constituents.

We can assume a structure for (22)b. as in (24).

- (24) [CP cij [C a weloddv] [AgrSP tv [TP y ffermwri tv [vp t_i tv t_j]]]
 dog PRT saw the farmer
 '(It was) a dog (that) the farmer saw.'

Since the movement in question is identical to A'-movement in relative clauses and in *wh*-questions, there is no reason why the lexical mechanisms that accompany it, namely the agreeing forms of the preverbal particles on the verb in C, cannot be acquired easily by children even after the loss of V2.

A second type of residual V2 occurs with a fixed set of modal adverbs, including in Contemporary Welsh *braidd* 'scarcely', *diamau* 'certainly', *diau* 'certainly', *dichon* 'perhaps', *esallai* 'perhaps', *gobeithio* 'hopefully', *hwyrach* 'probably', *odid* 'probably not, can hardly' and

prin 'hardly' (cf. Richards 1938:103-104, King 1993:260-62). These are all modal adverbs modifying the sentence as a whole.

These adverbs must be analysed as occupying SpecCP rather than adjoining to C' or CP. Compare their distribution to that of a C'-adverb like *yfory* 'tomorrow'. This can appear in sentence-initial position either before a bare verb as in (25)a. or before a presentential particle *mi* or *fe* in b. Its use before the particle *y(r)* is marginal.⁹

- (25) a. Yfory (?y) bydd Ifan yn mynd adref.
 Tomorrow (PRT) will-be Ifan PROG go-VN home
 b. Yfory fe fydd Ifan yn mynd adref.
 tomorrow PRT will-be Ifan PROG go-VN home
 'Tomorrow Ifan will be going home.'

This follows if *yfory* adjoins to C'. *Y(r)* needs to be in a Spec-head relationship with an agreeing phrasal constituent in SpecCP. An adverb adjoined to C' does not fulfil this requirement. On the other hand, if C is base-generated empty or with an affirmative presentential particle *mi* or *fe*, there is no such agreement requirement, and adjunction of the adverb to C' makes no difference to the grammaticality of the sentence.

The behaviour of residual V2-adverbs is strikingly different, and suggests a typical V2-scenario with a phrasal constituent in SpecCP and V-to-C movement. In (26), *hwyrach* 'probably' may appear before the particle *y(r)* or before a bare verb but not before the particles *mi* or *fe*.

- (26) a. Hwyrach (y) bydd Ifan yn mynd adref yfory.
 probably (PRT) will-be Ifan PROG go-VN home tomorrow.
 b. *Hwyrach fe fydd Ifan yn mynd adref yfory.
 probably PRT will-be Ifan PROG go-VN home tomorrow.
 'Ifan will probably be going home tomorrow.'

This follows if *hwyrach* is base-generated in SpecCP. An element in SpecCP needs to be in a Spec-Head relationship with an appropriate element in C. The only appropriate element is the particle *y(r)*, which is optionally (although generally) deleted in speech. *Mi* and *fe* are ruled out because they are inappropriate agreeing elements for a filled SpecCP.

Similar sets of adverbs triggering residual V2 are found in English and French, and the Welsh particle data are paralleled in those languages by differences in the position of the verb. For instance, obligatory V2 (i.e. with auxiliary-raising to C) is found with clause-initial negative adverbs in English, as in (27).

- (27) [CP Never had [IP Mary seen such a mess]]

⁹Cases of such forms are probably hypercorrections, cf. Watkins (1991:348).

CHAPTER SIX

Both can be seen as consequences of the presence or absence of a feature on the adverb in SpecCP. This feature must be in an agreement configuration with a matching element in C. In Welsh this element is an agreeing preverbal particle; in French and English there is presumably an equivalent non-overt element which forces verb-raising to C (cf. Rizzi 1990, Roberts 1993b:201, Vikner 1995:48-51).

How and why such elements survive as V2-triggers even after the loss of V2 is not entirely clear. However, the parallelisms in the class of adverbs that trigger residual V2 in Modern Welsh, English and French are sufficiently striking to suggest that the maintenance in the lexicon of such a class of adverbs with a V2-feature is a normal part of the loss of V2.

Two other instances of residual V2 in Modern Welsh are worth mentioning. We find unemphatic fronting of the complements of verbs of motion as in (28) with the structure in (29).

(28) I 'w waith yr/*fe aeth.
to his work PRT went
'To work he went.' (Thorne 1993:371)¹⁰

(29) [CP [I'w waith]_j yr aeth_v [_{AgRSP} t_v [_{TP} p_{ro}_i [_{VP} t_i t_v t_j]]]]

Again this has a direct parallel in a non-V2 language, English, as the translation of (28) shows. The fronted constituent must be base-generated as a complement of the verb, and then raise. Assuming that movement is possible only to SpecCP (rather than, say, to a C'-adjoined position), the obligatory presence of *y(r)* rather than *mi* or *fe* follows in the same way as for V2-adverbs.

We also find non-focus fronting of the VP complements of auxiliaries, in (30).

(30) a. ...digwydd trol i'r Swyddfa wnes i...
happen-VN turn-VN to the office did-1S I
'...I happened to turn into the office...' (Watkins 1991:344)

b. Disgrifio bywyd yn America a wna'r llyfr sydd
describe-VN life in America PRT does the book be-REL

o'm blaen.
in-front-of-me

'The book in front of me describes life in America.'
(Watkins 1991:347)

Again the parallel English case in (30) (albeit without inversion) suggests that such clauses can be generated without requiring a positive setting of the V2-parameter.

(31) Steven wanted to finish in time and finish in time he did.

¹⁰Thorne describes this and examples with *prin* 'rarely' as involving an emphasised adverb, that is, parallel to the cases of contrastive focus in the mixed sentence above. It is hard to see how either is emphasised and in any case *i'w waith* 'to work' is a complement of the verb *mynd* 'to go', not an adverb.

I shall leave open the question of the precise nature of the V2-trigger in sentences like (30).

To summarise, residual V2 in Modern Welsh is triggered by movement of phrasal constituents to SpecCP, particularly in focus constructions and *wh*-questions, and by a closed class of adverbial triggers base-generated in SpecCP. This behaviour is typical of languages that have lost V2. The V2-parameter must therefore be taken as representing a choice between global V2, forced by some feature requiring C and SpecCP to be lexically-filled, and the lack of any such requirement. Languages which have a negative setting for the V2 parameter may nevertheless have residual V2-structures triggered in other ways. After the loss of general V2, Welsh retains a number of such structures.

6.6 Conclusion

In this chapter a historical development has been presented and justified for Welsh word order patterns. It has been argued that the evidence in the trigger experience for the correct acquisition of the V2-rule was gradually eroded by a number of processes, specifically the gradual evolution of a marked status for object topicalisation; the relaxation of the constraints on expletive topics to a point where a non-V2 general complementiser *fe* is introduced into the lexicon; the development of subject clitics; and in particular the phonological erosion of the preverbal particles. This reduction of evidence reached such a point in the seventeenth century that verb-second failed to be acquired by children learning Welsh. Instead they reanalysed the language as being VSO with optional raising of subjects to preverbal position and free placement of adverbs in a preverbal adjoined position. SVO and AdvVSO order were sufficiently common in the trigger experience that a new grammatical structure had to be assigned to them. Other minor syntactic structures on the other hand could be ignored, and were dropped from the language. As in other former V2-languages, some cases of residual V2, many of them lexically specific, survive the loss.

By this stage, it is fair to characterise Welsh as a VSO language. However, SVO structures appear far more frequently in the Welsh of the seventeenth century than in that of the twentieth. In the next chapter, I turn to those syntactic innovations of the eighteenth century which removed the remaining instances of SVO from the language, concentrating specifically on grammaticalisation in the pronominal system.

Chapter Seven

Pronouns and Complementisers

The focus of discussion now returns to the status of the preverbal subject pronouns. During the eighteenth century, a series of changes in the syntax of these pronouns takes place. In this chapter I show that these changes represent a shift away from SVO orders in Welsh, and help to ensure the dominance of the VSO pattern in Contemporary Welsh. In order to do this, I look at a substantial body of texts from the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. For the first time in this study, it will be possible to distinguish sharply the separate development of the literary language and the vernacular, and also the emergence of regional syntactic variation within the vernacular. In presenting the divergent evidence of the different stylistic levels, I concentrate on the developments in the dialects rather than the literary language, in the belief that these allow an investigation into the mechanisms of natural linguistic change in a way that changes in the essentially artificial literary language do not.

Before looking at the syntactic changes in detail, I shall begin by discussing the sources of evidence in general, and the texts used in this chapter in particular.

7.1 Sources of Linguistic Evidence

Sources of evidence for the historical development of the Welsh language are significantly richer and more diverse in the eighteenth century than earlier. This is reflected in both published and manuscript sources. The potential audience for books in Welsh had increased substantially as a result of increased literacy produced by the Circulating Schools, reflected, for instance, in the growth in the 1750s in the number of people from lower social classes on Lists of Subscribers (Richards 1966/71). The spread of subjects on which books are published in Welsh increases, and in particular several types of more populist works begin to appear on a large scale. These developments inevitably have an effect on the nature of the evidence available for linguistic change, introducing a number of new types of potential sources, which can be put together to build up a more reliable picture of the state of the language at this period.

The discussion of syntactic change in this chapter uses a corpus of texts selected from a number of the available genres in the period 1760-1825. The total size of the corpus is approximately 300,000 words. For convenience, the corpus is divided into six sections, namely Interludes, Political Texts, Personal Letters, Ballads, Trial Proceedings and Miscellaneous Texts. I now discuss the texts in each of these sections, giving available biographical information about their authors. Unless otherwise stated, biographical details derive from the *Dictionary of Welsh Biography*.

7.1.1 Interludes

Interludes, popular plays in verse, are an important source of information about informal Welsh, extant from the start of the seventeenth century. They are described by Bishop Percy in a letter of 1762 to Evan Evans (Ieuan Fardd) as "Dramatic Pieces, on Scripture and Moral Subjects, which are even yet acted by the vulgar at wakes and festivals on Stages, &c." (Panton ms. 74, Watkin-Jones 1928:108). Evans' reply that they "deserve only the attention of clowns and rustics" is typical of the dismissive attitude of the literati, and, in part this represents a dislike of their language, which differs radically from the literary language. From the early eighteenth century, interludes appear in abundance, in the first half of the century mostly in manuscript. With increased general literacy, an interlude could be made more profitable by publishing it once the performing company had finished touring (G.G. Evans 1950, Watkin-Jones 1928). The earliest datable printed interlude is William Roberts' *Ffrewyll y Methodistiaid* 'The Scourge of the Methodists' (1745), the height of production being reached between 1765 and 1790.

Five interludes are included in the corpus, namely Edward Thomas' *Cwyp Dyn* ('The Fall of Man', c. 1767-8), Ellis Roberts' *Gras a Natur* ('Grace and Nature', 1769), Hugh Jones' *Protestant a Neilltuwr* ('A Protestant and a Non-conformist', 1783), Thomas Edwards' *Tri Chryfion Byd* ('The Three Strongmen of the World', ?1789) and *Ystori Richard Whittington* ('The Story of Richard Whittington', 1812).

The authors of all these texts are, or appear to be, from the North-East. This reflects the general concentration of interlude-production in the Vales of Conwy and Clwyd. Of Edward Thomas, very little is known - his home is given on the frontispiece of *Cwyp Dyn* as Rhydwen, Flintshire. Ellis Roberts (d. 1789), as well as writing seven extant interludes, was a prolific writer of ballads and religious 'Letters'. He was sexton at Llanddoged, Denbighshire, (Watkin-Jones 1926) although in one of his ballads he implies that he had originally come from Bala. Hugh Jones, a farm labourer of Llangwm, Denbighshire, and author of *Protestant a Neilltuwr*, was similarly a prominent figure in the popular literature of the period, writing two other interludes and many ballads, and editing two collections of poetry *Dewisol Ganiadau yr Oes Hon* ('Selected Verses of This Age', 1759) and *Diddanwch Teuluaidd* ('Family Entertainment', 1763). Thomas Edwards (Twm o'r Nant) (1739-1810) was born at Llanefydd, Denbighshire, although he worked for most of his life as a haulier in Denbigh, and spent several years in South Wales at Llandeilo, Carmarthenshire. He is the author of eight surviving interludes, as well as numerous ballads and an autobiography.

Ystori Richard Whittington poses several textual difficulties which need to be borne in mind when using it as evidence. Although the author is not named directly, he identifies himself as "R. a P." towards the end (YRW 70.20). Although the work was published in 1812, the author also gives the date of composition as "un mil a saith can mlwydd, //Tri deg sydd yn dygwydd, //Yn wych, heblaw chwe' blwydd, Am oedran yr Arglwydd" (YRW 70.23-26), that is, 1736. The initials and date suggest that the author is quite likely to be Richard

Parry, author of a manuscript interlude *Cyndrigolton y Deyrnas Hon* (1737) and of the lost *Hypocrisia* upon which Twm o'r Nant based one of his own interludes (G.G. Evans 1950:90). According to Watkin-Jones, Richard Parry was from Dyserth, Flintshire, apparently basing this on the frontispiece of Thomas Edwards' reworking of *Hypocrisia* (Watkin-Jones 1928:107, 110). The text itself was published in Carmarthen in 1812, and consequently might include some Southern linguistic features introduced by the printer.

7.1.2 Political Texts

The eighteenth century sees the first writings of an explicitly political nature and the first periodicals in Welsh. The earliest Welsh periodicals are Lewis Morris' short-lived *Thysau yr Hen Oesoedd* ('Jewels of the Former Ages', 1735), and *Trysorfa Gwybodaeth / Eurgrawn Cymraeg* ('The Treasury of Knowledge' / 'The Welsh Magazine', 1770) (see I. Jones 1902, T.L. Jones 1932, Phillips 1937). A particularly vigorous period of activity is the 1790s, when a number of radically-minded journals come and go in the wake of the French Revolution - *Y Cylchgrawn Cymraeg* ('The Welsh Magazine', 1793-4), *Y Drysorfa Gymmysgedig* ('The Miscellaneous Treasury', 1795) and *Y Geirgrawn* ('The Magazine', 1796) (see G.A. Williams 1988). A number of political pamphlets appear at about the same time debating the ideas of the Revolution.

The corpus contains seven political texts: William Richards' *Cwyn y Cystuddiedig* ('The Complaint of the Afflicted', 1798), extracts from *Y Cylchgrawn Cymraeg*, Thomas Jones' *Gair yn ei Amser* ('A Word in Time', 1798), *Meddyllau yr Esgob Watson* ('Thoughts of Bishop Watson', 1793), Walter Davies' *Rhyddid* ('Freedom', 1791), John Jones' *Seren tan Gwmwl* ('Cloud-hidden Star', 1795) and *Toriad y Dydd* ('The Break of Day', 1797).

Cwyn y Cystuddiedig is a report of the trial of two Pembrokehire Non-conformists acquitted of conspiring with the French attack near Fishguard in February 1797 (see J.J. Evans 1928:177-78, Davies 1926:231-35, Salmon 1937).

Cylchgrawn Cymraeg is a political periodical, first published in February 1793 in Trefeca. Possibly as a result of government persecution, publication was soon moved in August 1793 to Machynlleth, then in November to Carmarthen. Five issues were published in total (see J.J. Evans 1928:73, Davies 1926:29-40, D.O. Thomas 1989:70-79). The editor was Morgan John Rhys (1760-1804), minister and native of Llanfabon (DWB) or Llanbradach (Stephens 1986), Glamorgan. The extracts in the corpus consist mainly of news reports, plus Rhys' translation of parts of Volney's *Ruins of Empires*.

Rev. Thomas Jones' *Gair yn ei Amser* is a quietist response to the radical anti-government pamphlets of the 1790s. The author was a native of Denbigh (see J.J. Evans 1928:180-82, Davies 1926:84-90, J. Jones 1897).

Meddyllau yr Esgob Watson is a translation of Bishop Watson's Visitation Charge promoting greater religious tolerance, delivered at Llandaf in June 1791. J.J. Evans (1928:58-59) reports Thomas Shankland as claiming that Morgan John Rhys was the translator, but a note in the copy in the Cardiff Free Library says that "Timothy

Davis has in J.D. Lewis's (Llandysul), copy written that the Translation was done by his father", that is Rev. David Davies (Castellhywel, Cardiganshire) (1745-1827) (J.J. Evans 1935:125, Davies 1926:74-75). The English version was published in London 1792, and the Welsh is a translation of this.

The essay entitled *Rhyddid* by Walter Davies (Gwallter Mechain) (1761-1849) won the essay prize at the eisteddfod held by the Gwyneddigion society at Llanellwyr in 1790 (Davies 1926:194). It is highly conservative in outlook. The author was from Llanfechain, Montgomeryshire.

John Jones (Jac Glan-y-Gors) (1766-1821), from Cerrigydrudion, Denbighshire, was the leading radical writer in Welsh of the 1790s. The corpus contains two of his works *Seren tan Gwmwl* (1795) and *Toriad y Dydd* (1797). *Seren tan Gwmwl* is based on Tom Paine's *Rights of Man*, aiming, as its subtitle 'written for the monolingual Welsh'¹ indicates, to make it accessible to a Welsh audience. *Toriad y Dydd* additionally shows the influence of Theophilus Evans' history of the Welsh people *Drych y Prif Oesoedd*. In the discussion which followed the publication of his first work, Jones was criticised by 'Antagonist' (Edward Charles, according to I. Jones and Davies) in the periodical *Y Geirgrawn* for his ignorance of the classics and his unpolished style. In *Toriad y Dydd* the need to know the classics is specifically rejected (TD 15.22-16.27). However, the other criticism seems to have been accepted, resulting in a more polished style (J.J. Evans 1928:154, Davies 1926:186). For general discussion of John Jones' work, see J.J. Evans (1928:148-61), Davies (1926:148-86), Poulkes (1883), A.E. Jones (1967), D.O. Thomas (1989:82-89).

7.1.3 Letters

Literary activity and political discussion were also fostered by the various literary societies founded in London. The earliest Welsh society in London was the *Society of Ancient Britons* (1714), but flourishing literary and political activity came only later, with the founding of the Cymmrodorion (1751), and especially of the Gwyneddigion (1770) and Cymreigyddion (1794). In particular, the Gwyneddigion promoted Welsh culture and poetry by holding a series of eisteddfodau in the 1790s, notably at Corwen (1789), Bala (1789), St. Asaph (1790) and Llanrwst (1791) (see I. Jones 1902).

Much of the correspondence of the literary figures involved in the societies survives, and in general much more personal correspondence is available than from the seventeenth century. Although much of this is from highly literate individuals associated with the literary societies (the Morris brothers, Goronwy Owen and others), there is also a small number of letters from non-literary individuals.

This literary activity provides the bulk of the personal letters included in the corpus, namely letters relating to the eisteddfodau of the Gwyneddigion society, and collections of letters by hymnwriter Ann Griffiths (1776-1805, Llanfihangel-yng-Ngwynfa, Mont.), poets

¹wedi ei ysgrifennu er mwyn y Cymru uniaith'.

David Thomas (Dafydd Ddu Eryri, 1759-1822, Waunfawr, Caerns.) and Evan Evans (Ieuan Fardd, 1731-1788, Lledrod, Cards.), political pamphleteer and balladeer John Jones (see above), and interlude-writer and balladeer Thomas Edwards (see above).

In presenting the data from the letters relating to the eisteddfodau, I have split them into groups according to author. The most substantial body of data in fact consists of letters by Thomas Jones (Corwen). Data for other writers are used where there is sufficient material.

Non-literary letters are a particularly valuable source of information about change in the spoken language. Two groups of letters relating to Welsh settlers in the United States have therefore been included. The A group relates to settlers from South Merionethshire, the B group to settlers from South-West Carmarthenshire. For translations, summaries and background information on these letters see Conway (1961:55-63) and Dodd (1955). There are also two miscellaneous letters from Caernarfonshire.

Each of the settlers' letters and miscellaneous letters has been treated as an individual text except in one instance, where there are several letters in the B group by the same individual, namely, Samuel Thomas. This approach creates difficulties because the amount of data for each writer is small, but it allows us to see differences between speakers. In some cases, the amount of data is so small that, although undesirable, it has been necessary to amalgamate each group of letters into a single text. The letters are extremely valuable sources of information about the language of less well-educated speakers, and it is vital to include them in the corpus despite the difficulties.

7.1.4 Ballads

Printed ballads are also an important new source of evidence (see Watkin-Jones 1926) appearing at about the same time as the printed interludes. Again, these were despised in literary circles, partly for their linguistic form. Although a useful source for non-literary forms of Welsh, these often have the disadvantage that unless internal evidence, for instance references to real events, is available, they are difficult to date with any accuracy. In some cases, even authorship is difficult to establish, and even where the author of a ballad is identified, other biographical details needed for a full interpretation of the evidence (e.g. date of birth, place of origin) may be lacking.

Three collections of ballads are included, all by authors well-known in other fields, Ellis Roberts, Hugh Jones (Llangwm) and John Jones (Jac Glan-y-gors). For biographical details, see above.

7.1.5 Trial Proceedings

The records of witnesses' depositions in slander cases have already been used extensively. These continue in abundance in the eighteenth century. Included in the corpus are all the depositions in Welsh in slander cases in Wales in Suggett (1983). The biggest quantities of material are from the Bangor Consistory Court, the Caernarfon Sessions, the Denbigh Sessions, Flint Sessions, Glamorgan Sessions

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and Pembroke Sessions. Small amounts are available also from the Anglesey Sessions, the Archdeaconry of Brecon and St. David's Ecclesiastical Court. Coverage is thus better for North Wales than for South Wales, and the slander cases provide virtually no information for most of the Midlands, including Merionethshire, Cardiganshire, Montgomeryshire and Radnorshire.

7.1.6 Miscellaneous Texts

Finally, there are a number of miscellaneous texts, including almanacs, mixed religious prose, historiography and autobiography.

Late in the seventeenth century, we find the first almanac in Welsh, *Y Cyfreithlawn Almanac Cymraeg* (published from 1680) (Watkin-Jones 1926:191). During the next century, almanacs in Welsh containing varying amounts of literary, non-literary and astronomical material were being produced on a fairly regular basis, with three or four appearing each year by the second half of the century. The corpus contains the prose sections of a selection of almanacs by two prominent almanac-writers, Mathew Williams (1732-1819, of Llangadog and Llandeilo, Carmarthen) and John Prys (1739?-86?, of Bryneglwys, Denbs.).

The first original novels in Welsh do not appear until the mid-nineteenth century, but by the start of the nineteenth century, translations of English novels have already appeared. A Welsh translation of *Robinson Crusoe* appears in Wrexham in 1795, with further editions in Carmarthen in 1810 and 1816. Three novels by Legh Richmond appear somewhat later in Welsh: *Crefydd mewn Bwthyn* ('Faith in a Cottage') (Bala 1819, second edition Bala 1829), *Hanes Merch y Llaethwr* ('The Tale of the Dairyman's Daughter') (Bala 1821) and *Hanes y Bachgen Du* ('The Tale of the Black Boy') (Bala 1821). *Crefydd mewn Bwthyn* is included in the corpus.

The other miscellaneous texts are Ellis Roberts' *All Lythyr Hen Bechadur* ('The Second Letter of an Old Sinner', 1772), a populist religious work; Robert Jones' (Rhos-lan, Caerns.) (1745-1829) *Drych yr Amseroedd* 'Mirror of the Times', a history of the Methodist Revival in North Wales; the autobiography of Thomas Edwards (Twm o'r Nant) (*Hanes Twm o'r Nant*, 1805); and Mathew Williams' *Hanes Holl Grefyddau'r Byd* ('The History of All the Religions of the World', 1799).

7.2 Preverbal Pronouns as Agreement Markers

The corpus texts having been introduced, we can now return to the linguistic developments. Recall from Chapter Five that preverbal subject pronouns were preverbal clitics by the sixteenth century. In the eighteenth century, they undergo further syntactic changes which lead towards the loss of SVO as a productive pattern in Welsh. We can now investigate these changes, using in particular the evidence of the corpus.

7.2.1 Pronoun Doubling

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, new syntactic patterns are found with overt pronominal subjects. Let us consider the first person singular pronoun *mi* to begin with. In main clauses with the preverbal pronoun *mi*, a postverbal pronoun appears optionally for the first time. The two earliest examples are given in (1).

- (1) a. *Mi wn fi* mai gwell gan Noah faddcu i vn
I know-1S I CLEFT better with Noah forgive-VN to one

a edifarhao na difa cant.
REL repent-SUBJ than destroy-VN hundred.

'I know that Noah prefers to forgive one who might repent than to destroy a hundred.'
(Morgan Llwyd, *Llyfr y Tri Aderyn* 38.21-22, 1653)

- b. *mi fynne fi* ei chrogi hi
I want-1S I 3SF-GEN hang-VN her
'I want her hanged' (Caernarfon Sessions 1730)

The earliest attestation is an example from Morgan Llwyd's *Llyfr y Tri Aderyn* of 1653. The example is dubious in that the postverbal pronoun appears inexplicably in the form *fi*, rather than the *i* to be expected after a verb form ending in a consonant.² Furthermore, the example is suspiciously early, given that the next earliest example, that in b., appears only in 1730.

Examples are relatively frequent in the interludes of the early part of the eighteenth century. Examples from seven eighteenth-century interludes are given in (2).³

²This having been said, there are several similar cases with *fi* for expected *i* in the late eighteenth-century Welsh corpus:

- (i) *Miwn fi'n ddi gwestlwn ei fod e'n bur gostus.*
I know-1S I PRD without-doubt 3SM-GEN be-VN he PRD very costly
'I know without doubt that he's very costly.' (TChB 22.40)

- (ii) *Mi 'ch leiclwn fi chwyl yn 'wyllysgar, O flaen un ferch*
I 2P-OBJ like-COND-1S I you willingly in-front of any girl

ar wyneb datar...
on face earth

'I would willingly prefer you to any girl on the face of the earth.' (YRW 57.26-27)

- (iii) *Mi ddysges fi goglo hylldod...*
I learnt-1S I cheat-VN a-lot
'I learnt to cheat a lot...' (PN 4.21)

The pattern is unknown in Contemporary Welsh.

³Other examples from the early interludes: *Cyndrigolton y Deyrnas Hon* 45.19, 53.17, 55.15; *Y Dywysoges Genefetha* 47.24, 48.3; *Ffrewyll y Methodistiaid* 16.15, 16.29, 17.23, 24.5, 43.10, 53.24; *Ffrecerick Brenin Denmark* 28.6, 29.8; *Y Brenin Llyr* 10.15.

- (2) a. **Mi â** fi tu ag adre...
I go-1S I towards home
'I shall go homeward...'
(Richard Parry, *Cyndrigolion y Deyrnas* Hon 42.13, 1737)
- b. **Mi af** fi 'n feichiau trosti
I go-1S I PRD surety for-her
'I shall act as surety for her.'
(Jonathan Hughes, *Y Dywysoges Genefetha* 50.6,
18th c. [1744])
- c. **Mi wna** fi eitha ngallu...
I do-1S I extreme my-power
'I shall do everything in my power...'
(William Roberts, *Ifrewyll y Methodistiaid* 22.13, 1745)
- d. **Mi ddo** fi rowan iw fferodi...
I come-1S I now to-3SF marry
'I shall come now to marry her...'
(*Fredrick Brenin Denmark* 29.3, ?c. 1700-50)
- e. **mi dewes** i fy spectol gartre
I left-1S I my glasses at-home
'I left my glasses at home.' (*Y Brenin Llyr* 8.22, c. 1700-50)
- f. **mi daria** fi yma rai mynude
I stay-1S I here a-few minutes
'I shall stay here for a few minutes.'
(?Thomas Edwards, *Interllyt Ynghylch*
Cain ac Abel, 88.12, ?c. 1758)
- g. **Mi bydra** fi bob Oedran
I pollute-1S I every age
'I shall pollute every age.' (Hugh Jones and John Cadwaladr,
Y Brenin Dafydd 5.22, c. 1765)

By the time of the late-eighteenth-century corpus this pattern is found relatively frequently. Table 7.1 gives the frequency of patterns like *mi welats i* with a first-person postposed pronoun in addition to preverbal *mi*. This is given as a percentage of the total affirmative main declarative clauses with first person singular synthetic verbs. Only texts containing ten or more tokens are listed. For full details see Appendix C.

In addition to the incidence in the texts given above, there is also one example in *Meddylliau yr Esgob Watson*.

It can be seen from Table 7.1 that the innovation is found in all the interludes, in the letters of about half of the Welsh settlers in the United States, two out of the three sets of ballads, the slander cases

for all of Wales except the South-East, and in a number of other texts.

	<i>mi (a) welats i</i> as % of 1s main clauses	
<i>Cylchgrawn Cymraeg</i>	0	n = 11
<i>Rhyddid</i>	0	n = 17
Letters of Ann Griffiths	0	n = 48
Letters of David Thomas	0	n = 96
Letters of Evan Evans	0	n = 46
Letters of John Jones	0	n = 12
Letters of Samuel Thomas (B settler)	0	n = 14
Ballads of Hugh Jones	0	n = 22
Almanacs of Mathew Williams	0	n = 13
<i>Creffydd mewn Bwthyn</i>	0	n = 84
<i>Drych yr Amseroedd</i>	0	n = 24
<i>Hanes Twm o'r Nant</i>	0	n = 127
Slander Cases (South East)	0	n = 24
<hr/>		
<i>Gras a Natur</i>	3	n = 153
Letters of Thomas Edwards	3	n = 74
Ballads of John Jones	3	n = 30
Total B Settlers	4	n = 28
<i>Cwmp Dyn</i>	5	n = 155
<i>Ystori Richard Whittington</i>	5	n = 121
Ballads of Ellis Roberts	5	n = 21
Letters of Thomas Jones	7	n = 44
Letters of Owen Jones	8	n = 12
<i>Seren tan Gwmwl</i>	8	n = 13
<i>Protestant a Neillhuwr</i>	9	n = 144
<i>Tri Chryfion Byd</i>	14	n = 93
Slander Cases (South West)	21	n = 19
Slander Cases (North West)	23	n = 30
Slander Cases (North East)	26	n = 23
Total A Settlers	28	n = 32
Settlers' letters (A2)	38	n = 21

Table 7.1. Pronoun Doubling in the First Person Singular 1760-1825.

Pronoun doubling of this kind is not restricted to the first person singular, although it is much more common there than in any other person. Exhaustive listing of examples in other persons from the corpus is given below. There are no examples in the third person plural.

- (3) **Second person singular**
- a. **Ti elli** di fyn'd lle gwelech di 'n dda.
you can-2S you go where see-2S-SUBJ you PRD good
'You can go where you please.'
(PN 13.19)

26.11, 33.19, 71.23; *Interllyt Ynghylch Cain ac Abel* 79.10, 81.7, 87.3, 87.28, 88.9; *Y Brenin Dafydd* 13.13.

- b. **Di gei di** wel'd y boreu foru, Y rhai'n
you shall-2S you see-VN the morning tomorrow those

yn gwplws tan dy gablu.
PRD pair under GEN-2S curse-VN

'You shall see those tomorrow morning in a pair cursing
you.' (YRW 13.24-25)

- c. **Di fedri di** 'n porthi Duw anwyl da ini
you can-2S you GEN-1P feed-VN God dear good to-us
'You can feed us, dear God (so) good to us.' (BER 2.4.23)

- d. **Ti haeddit ti** bregethau am bluo mamau
you deserve-COND-2S you sermons for pluck-VN mothers

plant...
children

'You'd deserve sermons for plucking children's mothers.'
(BHJ 7.3.27-28)

- e. **di ddysgest [sic] di a minneu** ddigon o bechod
you brought-2S you and I-CONJ enough of sin

hefo ni ir bŷd ini edifarhau ei blegid...
with us to-the world to-us repent-VN 3SM-GEN because-of

'You and I brought enough sin with us to the world for us to
repent of...' (ALHB 8.3-4)

(4) **Third person singular**

- a. **fo gaiff ef eu** gwerthu a derbyn arian am danynt,
he can he 3P-GEN sell-VN and receive-VN money for-them

os na wêl y *Subscribers* yn dda
if NEG see the subscribers PRD good

'He can sell them and receive money for them if the
subscribers don't approve.' (LEE 253.12-13)

- b. **Fe fu Ef** ddwy flyned a hanner yn lled afiach...
he was-PERF he two years and half PRD quite ill
'He was quite ill for two-and-a-half years.' (LUSS B2.1.14-15)

- c. Ond y'mhen ennyd **fe gadd ef** fyned yn *fankrupt*...
but after while he was-able he go-VN PRD bankrupt
'But after a while he was able to go bankrupt...'
(HTN 24.33-34)

- d. nid oedd ei ewyrth yn ei ddwyn o on'd fesul y
NEG was his uncle PROG 3S-GEN steal-VN it but by the

pecced, on'd **fe aeth o i 'w** ddwyn o o fesul
peck but he went he to 3S-GEN steal-VN it by

yr hobbet.
the hobbet

'His uncle only stole it by the peck, but he went to steal it by
the hobbet.' (Flint Sessions 1767)

(5) **First person plural**

Ni ddawn i rhawgi ben a henwi, faint mac
we come-1P we soon to end with name-VN how-many is

natur yn i goll...
nature PROG 3SM-GEN lose-VN

'We shall soon manage to name how many nature is
losing...' (GN 32.36-37)

(6) **Second person plural**

Beth gaf innau am eu cario, Siwr chwi rowch
what get-1S I-CONJ for 3P-GEN carry-VN, certainly you give-2P

chwi ran o 'ch cinio.
you part of your dinner

'What shall I get for carrying them? Certainly, you'll give (me)
part of your dinner.' (YRW 53.9-10)

The geographical distribution of pronoun doubling is plotted on Figure 7.1, where it is clear that although primarily a feature of Northern dialects, pronoun doubling is found also in the South. Note in particular its presence in low-style texts from parts of the South: the B group of settlers' letters from South-West Carmarthenshire; slander cases from Pembrokeshire; and the Letters of Evan Evans and *Meddyltau yr Esgob Watson* from Cardiganshire. However, the evidence for the South-East, particularly the slander cases, suggests that the innovation did not happen in or spread to this part of Wales.

What change in the grammar could have brought about this innovation? Before the appearance of pronoun doubling, a pronominal subject was generated in the same position as any other subject and cliticised to the left of the verb, leaving a postverbal trace (cf. section 5.1.3). This trace left no position empty for a second subject pronoun, hence we find no alternation between a null element and a full pronoun. On the other hand, we can take the alternation between a null element and a full pronoun to indicate that the null element is the null pronominal *pro*, rather than a trace.



Figure 7.1. Distribution of Pronoun Doubling 1760-1825.

If this is so, then these examples reflect a reanalysis of the status of the preverbal pronoun from a subject which raises to left-adjoin to the verb into some kind of agreement marker. In other words, the pronoun is reanalysed from being a D-head into the head of some other functional category.

The question remains as to which functional category the preverbal 'pronoun' instantiates. The obvious possibilities are C and AgrS. The fact that pronoun doubling is essentially an agreement process initially suggests that the agreeing element might be the head of an agreement phrase, say AgrSP (cf. the analysis of pronoun doubling in Italian dialects by Brandi and Cordin 1989 and Rizzi 1986, section 5.1.3). However, the other facts about the distribution of pronoun doubling seem to point to CP as the phrase that the agreeing pronoun heads. That is, the preverbal element in a pronoun doubling construction is a complementiser which agrees with the subject of its clause.

Three facts about the distribution of pronoun doubling provide evidence on this question. First, pronoun doubling, just like topicalisation before it, is, with the minor exception of a well-defined group of conjunctions that allow general SVO, restricted to main clauses. Furthermore, it is always optional, that is the alternative pattern Verb + Pronoun is always available. Finally, we should prefer an analysis that treats the preverbal element in the pronoun doubling construction and *fe* in *fe* + verb + NP subject orders as parallel. I shall now deal with each of these in turn.

Pronoun doubling is not possible in embedded clauses. We do not find the innovation of sentences like (8)b. alongside the innovation of pronoun doubling in (7).

- (7) *Mi weles i Dafydd.*
I saw-1S I David.
'I saw Dafydd.'
- (8) a. *Mi wn y gweles i Dafydd.*
I know-1S COMP saw-1S I Dafydd
- b. **Mi wn (y) mi weles i Dafydd.*
I know-1S (COMP) I saw-1S I Dafydd.
- 'I know that I saw Dafydd.'

That is, the presence of an overt complementiser prevents the preverbal element from appearing. This suggests that both are members of the same category, namely C.

The preverbal element (*mi* etc.) is never required. Accordingly, alongside the pronoun doubling construction in (9)a. it is equally possible to have a lone verb or a verb plus postverbal pronoun sequence as in b. or c.

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- (9) a. Mi wn i.
I know-1S I
- b. Gwn.
know-1S
- c. Gwn i.
know-1S I
- 'I know.'

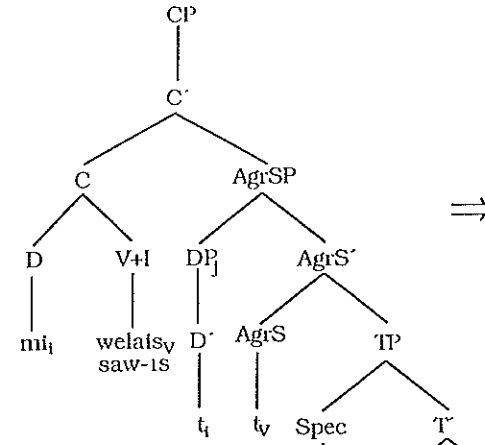
These facts again suggest that we are not dealing with a standard subject-verb agreement phenomenon. Such agreement is not usually optional in languages which have it. If *mi* were an instantiation of AgrS, we would have no account of why the sentences in (9) should be equally well-formed with or without this agreement. On the other hand, complementisers are frequently optional. If *mi* were to be a complementiser, it would be analogous to the English subordinator *that*, which is optional in sentences like *I know (that) Mary will arrive soon*.

Finally we have analysed *fe* as an instantiation of C, marked as occurring solely with verbs in the default third person singular form (section 5.2.2.7). The language thus already has a main-clause complementiser restricted in its distribution by an agreement requirement. The creation of other items in the same category and with the same type of distribution seems intuitively to be entirely reasonable.

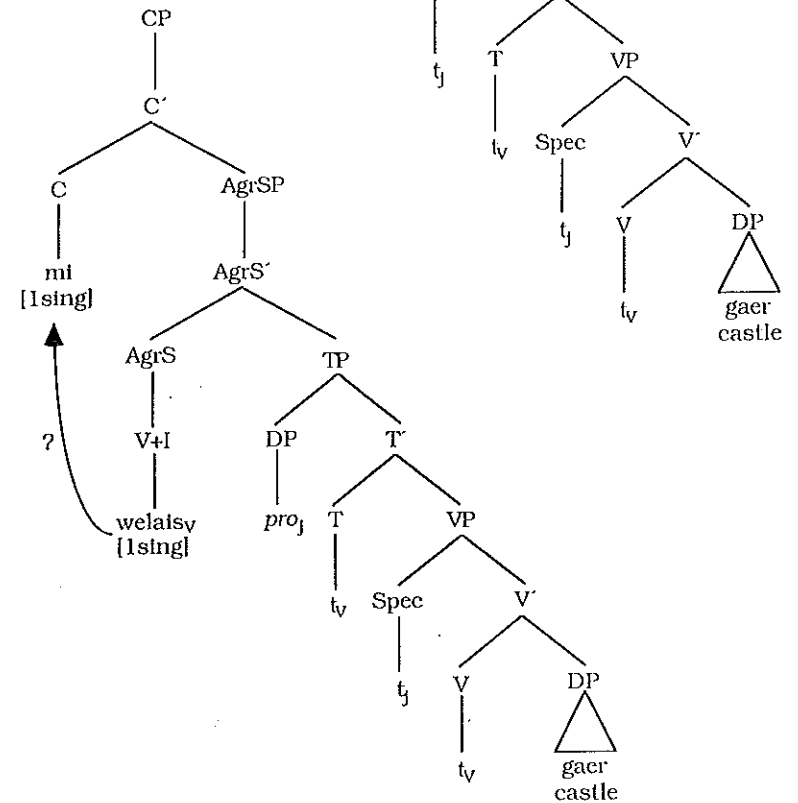
If this is the case, then the preverbal subject clitics are reanalysed as a series of main clause complementisers around 1730. The reanalysis is given below in (11), representing the structure of (10).

- (10) Mi welais gaer.
MI saw-1S castle
'I saw a castle'.

(11) a.



b.



Before the change preverbal pronouns are base-generated in the usual subject position SpecVP, and raise and then cliticise onto the verb. After the change, they are base-generated in C. I shall assume that agreement between the complementiser and the verb is enforced by selectional restrictions imposed by the lexical entry for each of the complementisers. That is, in their lexical entry, each of the complementisers selects for an IP (AgrSP) headed by person and number features of the required type. It is unclear whether raising of the verb to C to adjoin to the complementiser takes place, since this has no effect on word order possibilities.

Once the subject position in clauses of the *mi welais* type is occupied by *pro*, overt pronouns may follow the verb, resulting in pronoun doubling structures. In the data above, we must conclude that even where the *mi welais* pattern remains, *mi* is always a complementiser rather than a pronoun.

Cross-linguistically, complementisers of this kind are found in a number of languages. For instance, in West Flemish the subordinating complementiser *da* 'that' agrees with the subject of its clause (Haegeman 1990:334, Shlonsky 1994).

As a consequence of this change the preverbal *mi* ceases to occupy a subject position at any stage in the derivation, and thus a new postverbal subject position is created. Given that early eighteenth-century Welsh allows null subjects freely, the result is in most cases superficially the same as before, since the newly-licensed postverbal subject will in most cases be non-overt *pro*. However, the change will reveal itself when an overt pronoun is used as subject.

How does this reanalysis interact with our conception of syntactic change? In terms of the contrast between parametric and lexical change, it is hard to see how the change can be parametric. There is no plausible candidate for the changed parameter. It is hard to believe that Universal Grammar could contain a parameter choosing between the possibilities of a language having pronominal D-head or agreeing C-heads. The change is instead lexical. A number of lexical items which at one stage in the language were pronouns are reanalysed as complementisers, albeit complementisers of a specific kind. This represents a change in the lexical entry for the items in question. Essentially we are dealing with a case of grammaticalisation.

	Old Lexical Entry		New Lexical Entry
<i>mi</i>	D [1sing]	→	C [1sing]
<i>di</i>	D [2sing]	→	C [2sing]
			(etc.)

Why should this reanalysis have taken place? In acquisitional terms, the analysis of *mi* as a complementiser was attractive because it meant that it could be assimilated to a pre-existing class of presentential particles. In particular *mi* etc. could be seen as the affirmative counterpart of the negative complementiser *ni*, and as a pronominal counterpart to the affirmative complementiser *fe*.

As with earlier reanalyses, note that this reanalysis reduces the amount of movement in the derivation. For instance, in (11) above,

three chain positions are removed by base-generating *mi* in C, rather than having it raise there from subject position.

If such an analysis was so attractive, what had prevented earlier generations of children from adopting it? Children had three sources of relevant data.

First, as long as the particle *a* was present in speech, children had to hypothesise an agreement process which required *mi* to be a DP in a specifier position. Second, as long as pronouns were not clitics, examples with material intervening between the pronoun and the verb indicated that the pronoun did not adjoin to C. Finally, it may be supposed that a positive setting of the V2-parameter forced the child to choose analyses of data which do not violate that parameter setting. That is, children will avoid language-specific devices wherever possible. To choose to analyse *mi* etc. as complementisers will inevitably result in a marked violation of V2. Accordingly, as long as a V2-rule is maintained, children must prefer the lesser violation of V2 that arises if they analyse *mi* etc. as a pronouns. Once V2 is lost, the more attractive analysis of the preverbal pronoun clitics as complementisers will, in time, be chosen.

Note that this case also suggests that indirect negative evidence (Chomsky 1981:8-9) is not relevant in syntactic change. Children could have established that the analysis of *mi* as a complementiser was incorrect simply by the absence of sequences like *mi welais t* with pronoun doubling. This should have been a fairly common pattern if *mi* was a complementiser. Its absence, however, clearly did not alert children to the fact that *mi* was a pronoun.

7.2.2 Doubling with Conjunctive Pronouns

A natural consequence of this reanalysis is a change in the distribution of the contrastive series of conjunctive pronouns (*minnau* etc.). In the earlier grammar, the preverbal position is occupied by a full phrasal head, whereas in the later grammar the preverbal position is occupied merely by an inflected complementiser. It can be assumed that conjunctive pronouns are full D-heads throughout, and that they are not liable to undergo reanalysis as inflecting complementisers. Once the new grammar is installed, preverbal pronouns are no longer possible, and conjunctive pronouns will automatically begin to occupy the postverbal position where the new pronominal subject surfaces. The new structure is given in (12).⁴

(12) [CP *mi* [AgrSP verb [TP *innau* tv [VP t_i tv]]]]
I-CONJ

Evidence for this development appears already in the early eighteenth century. The traditional pattern is illustrated from a literary text in (13). In certain interludes of this period, examples of this older pattern with preverbal conjunctive pronoun remain,

⁴It is still necessary to prevent raising of the conjunctive pronoun to SpecAgrSP. One possibility is that the verb in fact raises to C to adjoin to the (clitic) complementiser. Another is that the presence of a subject in SpecAgrSP would interfere with the PF-cliticisation process between the complementiser and verb.

suggesting that at this time it was indeed the living form. Examples are given in (14).

- (13) a. *pettwn perchen traed a dwylo fel y bŷm,*
if-I-were owner feet and hands as PRT was-1S

minneu awn i garu neu addoli y rhain.
I-CONJ go-COND-1S to love-VN or worship-VN the these

'If I were the owner of feet and hands as I was, I too would go to court or worship these.' (GBC 10.27-29, 1703)
- b. *Felly nineu aethom i weled y 'Lecstwn.*
so we-CONJ went-IP to see-VN the election
'So we too went to see the election. (GBC 20.7-8, 1703)
- (14) a. *Ac fel yr adwaenai Solomon ddall y ddaiar, minneu*
and as PRT recognised Solomon leaves the earth, I-CONJ

adwaen y Danadl Poethlon, sy 'n tyfu
recognise-1S the nettles hot be-REL PROG grow-VN

yn y Muriau...
in the walls

'And as Solomon recognised the leaves of the earth, I too recognise the stinging nettles that grow in the walls...' (William Roberts, *Ffrewyll y Methodistiaid* 56.14-16, 1745)
- b. *...mine a fyddwn drwu bur wllus yn rhoi*
I-CONJ PRT would-be-1S through pure will PROG give-VN

rhoddion ir angenus.
gifts to-the needy

'...I would be giving gifts entirely voluntarily to the needy.' (Y *Brenin Llyr* 15.15-16, c. 1700-50)
- c. *fina dora ngwallt hir felun...*
I-CONJ cut-1S my-hair long blond...
'I shall cut my long blond hair...' (Y *Brenin Llyr* 15.21-22)
- d. *fine addownsia n ddigon slonk*
I-CONJ PRT+dance-1S PRD enough nimble
'I shall dance nimbly enough.' (Y *Brenin Llyr* 25.18)
- e. *...a mine arhosa yma i orffwyso*
and I-CONJ stay-1S here to rest-VN
'...and I shall stay here to rest.' (Anonymous, *Ffiederick Brenin Denmark* 9.4, ?c. 1700-50)

The more usual pattern even at this date in the interludes is that shown in the examples in (15), where an agreeing complementiser precedes the verb, and the conjunctive subject pronoun follows.⁵

- (15) a. *Mith fri^own inc dithe oni*
MI+2S-OBJ wound-COND-1S I-CONJ you-CONJ if-not

bae rhag ofn dy gledde...
be-IMP-F-SUBJ for fear your sword

'I (too) would wound you if it weren't for fear of your sword...' (Richard Parry, *Cyndrigolton y Deyrnas Hon* 51.8-9, 1737)
- b. *Mi af innau 'n felchiau sadlon syth Na*
MI go-1S I-CONJ PRD surety steadfast straight NEG-COMP

thalith hi byth mor arian
will-pay she ever NEG+the money

'I will act as guarantor against her never paying the money.' (Jonathan Hughes, *Y Dywysoges Genefetha* 49.20-21, 1744)
- c. *...Mi dynga finne...*
MI swear-1S I-CONJ
'...I swear...' (William Roberts, *Ffrewyll y Methodistiaid* 52.7-8, 1745)
- d. *mi dora fine ngalon*
MI break-1S I-CONJ my-heart
'I shall break my heart.' (Y *Brenin Llyr* 53.20, c. 1700-50)
- e. *ir mynydd draw mi af ine ar gerdded*
to-the mountain yonder MI go-1S I-CONJ on walk-VN
'To the mountain yonder I shall go on foot.' (Thomas Edwards, *Interlwt Ynghylch Cain ac Abel*, 88.9, ?c. 1758)
- f. *Mi eis inne yno yn sydyn*
MI went-1S I-CONJ there suddenly
'I went there suddenly.' (Hugh Jones and John Cadwaladr, *Y Brenin Dafydd* 5.17, c. 1765)

The same development is attested also outside the interludes. The examples in (16) are from *Hanes-Gerddi Cynwaeg*, and include the earliest example of this order, dating from 1716.

⁵Other examples from the early eighteenth-century interludes: Y *Brenin Dafydd* 32.20, 34.24, 34.27; *Cyndrigolton y Deyrnas Hon* 55.17, 89.14; *Ffrewyll y Methodistiaid* 19.11, 33.32.

- (16) a. Os lleddis i fy mab fy hun **Mi af inne** i run
if killed-1S I my son my own MI go-1S I-COMJ to the-same

ddihenudd.
death

'If I killed my own son, I (too) shall go to the same death.'
(*Hanes-Gerddi Cymraeg* 35.19-20, c. 1716)

- b. ...Ag ar ei ol **mi gofiais inne.**
and after-him MI remembered-1S I-COMJ
'And after him, I (in turn) remembered.'

(*Hanes-Gerddi Cymraeg* 42.28, 1750)

The development is clearest in the first person singular, but as the examples in (17) demonstrate, it is found in other persons *simultaneously*.

- (17) a. **Di grogit dithe** y rhan fwy Sydd
you hang-COND-2S you-COMJ the part largest be-REL

yn y gwledydd yma...
in the lands here

'You (on the other hand) would hang most of those who are
in these lands...'
(Richard Parry, *Cyndrigolton y Deyrnas Hon* 32.21-22, 18th c. [1737])

- b. Ped fel ti 'n darllen yr un Llyfrau ... **DI**
if be-IMPF-SUBJ-2S you PROG read-VN the same books DI

ddwedit titheu ... yr un pethau.
say-COND-2S you-COMJ the same things

'If you were to read the same books ..., you (too) would say
the same things.'
(William Roberts, *Ffrewyll y Methodistiaid* 8.17-20, 1745)

- c. Ac yno **di gei dithe** ddechre pregethu...
and then DI may-2S you-COMJ begin-VN preach-VN
'And then you may begin to preach...'

(William Roberts, *Ffrewyll y Methodistiaid* 33.19)

- d. **Fe a gaiff yntau** ... Yn yr hidill ddal yr adar
FE PRT will-be-able he-COMJ in the sieve catch-VN the birds
'He will be able to catch the birds in the sieve.'
(Jonathan Hughes, *Y Dywysoges Genefetha* 31.10, 18th c. [1744])

Data from the late eighteenth-century corpus clearly show the innovative construction in an overwhelmingly dominant position in colloquial texts. Abstracting away from the issue of the presence or

absence of preverbal *a*, there are four possible syntactic patterns in a main clause with a conjunctive subject and finite verb:

- A. Conjunctive Pronoun + Verb
- B. Agreeing Simple Pronoun/Complementiser + Verb +
Conjunctive Pronoun
- C. Other Particle + Verb + Conjunctive Pronoun
- D. Verb + Conjunctive Pronoun

In pattern A the subject precedes. In all the other patterns it follows the verb. In B preverbal *mi* agrees with the postverbal subject *finhau*; in C preverbal *fe* shows no agreement with the subject (see below, section 7.4). In D there is no preverbal element. Once the preverbal pronouns are reanalysed as complementisers, B should replace A. Pattern C requires another syntactic innovation which will be discussed below, but is otherwise compatible with the new grammar, but not with the old. D is compatible with either grammar. Thus the presence of pattern A in the text is indicative of the old grammar still being in place, whereas the appearance of B or C indicates the introduction of the new grammar.

The main difficulty in investigating the distribution of these patterns in the late eighteenth century is the lack of examples of conjunctive pronouns generally. Most texts in the corpus give either no examples at all or just a handful of them. This must be borne in mind in the analysis of the results.

Table 7.2 shows the extent to which the innovation described above is found in the corpus. It shows the B and C patterns as a percentage of the total instances of the A, B and C patterns. That is, taking only those sentence types which differ in grammaticality between the old and new grammar, it shows the percentage of cases compatible with the new grammar but not the old. All texts containing one or more tokens are listed in the table. In view of the small number of examples, data for all persons are given together, although in the vast majority of cases, the subject is first person singular.

The innovating pattern with preverbal agreement marker and postverbal conjunctive pronoun is found in ten texts, including all of the interludes and five sets of letters. The lack of good data limits the conclusions that can be drawn. However, it is clear that in four of the five interludes, the innovating pattern forms an overwhelming majority of the examples. In the more literary texts, the pattern is exceedingly rare.

These data suggest that outside the literary language, postverbal conjunctive subject pronouns ousted preverbal ones very quickly. They are first attested in the 1710s. By the time of the corpus, conjunctive subject pronouns are postverbal in virtually all cases in colloquial texts. However, there seems to have been strong pressure against the pattern in the literary language.

CHAPTER SEVEN

	Patterns B+C as % of Pattern A+B+C.	n =
Letters of Ann Griffiths	0	n = 1
<i>Crefydd mewn Buwthyn</i>	0	n = 1
<i>Cylchgrawon Cymnraeg</i>	0	n = 1
Letters of David Thomas	0	n = 1
<i>Drych yr Amseroedd</i>	0	n = 9
<i>Hanes Twm o'r Nant</i>	0	n = 32
<i>Rhyddid</i>	0	n = 3
<i>Seren tan Gwmwl</i>	0	n = 1
<i>Tri Chryfion Byd</i>	25	n = 4
Letters of Edward Evans	33	n = 3
Letters of Thomas Edwards	33	n = 3
Letters of John Jones	50	n = 2
<i>Ystori Richard Whittington</i>	90	n = 10
<i>Protestant a Neilltuwr</i>	93	n = 15
<i>Cwyp Dyn</i>	100	n = 3
<i>Gras a Natur</i>	100	n = 1
Letters of Samuel Thomas (B Settler)	100	n = 2
Letters of Thomas Jones	100	n = 1

Table 7.2. The Position of Conjunctive Pronoun Subjects.

Some twentieth-century dialects of South Wales seem to have reached this stage of development and gone no further. In particular, the dialects usually characterised as retaining the abnormal sentence in the form of SVO with pronominal subjects actually seem to have agreeing affirmative complementiser rather than real preverbal subjects. This can be seen clearly from the fact that in addition to preverbal subject markers, all such dialects seem to exhibit pronoun doubling and postverbal conjunctive pronouns. Examples are given from the Ely Valley dialect (Glamorgan) in (18)a. (pronoun doubling) and b. (postverbal conjunctive pronouns).

(18) a. nu e*öön nu ta öre we*tm
 they went-3P they home then
 'They went home then.'

b. nu æan nuntΛ
 they will-go-3P they-CONJ
 'They (too) will go.' (Phillips 1955:301, 303)

The same applies to the dialects of Nantgarw (C. Thomas 1993:2.44, 2.309) and possibly also Cwm-ann (Brake 1981:365, 564).

7.2.3 Discrete and Gradual Innovation

We have argued that the introduction of pronoun doubling reflects a change in the status of the preverbal pronominal subject clitics from D-heads to C-heads.

The most salient characteristic of the change is the discrete nature of the innovation. This is clearest in the development with the conjunctive pronouns. There are few texts where the old and new patterns exist side by side. The pattern with preverbal conjunctive pronoun disappears in low-style texts almost as soon as the innovation begins.

This is already apparent in the data for the interludes of the earlier part of the eighteenth century. Whilst we find a number of attestations of the older pattern concentrated in one interlude, namely *Y Brenin Llyr*, where it appears to be the dominant pattern, elsewhere we find ample evidence of the new pattern (cf. examples (13)-(17)). There are no intermediate or transitional texts, that is, texts where both old and new patterns are well-represented.

The same is also broadly true within the corpus. Furthermore, the two innovations have virtually parallel distribution in the corpus (cf. the notion of uniform diffusion of change in section 2.4). If a text allows one of them, the other will also be permitted. This can be seen from the table below, summarising the data presented above.

Text	Pronoun doubling?	Postverbal Conjunctive Pronouns?
<i>Cylchgrawon Cymnraeg</i>	—	—
<i>Rhyddid</i>	—	—
Letters of Ann Griffiths	—	—
Letters of David Thomas	—	—
Letters of Evan Evans	—	(+)
Letters of John Jones	—	(+)
Settlers' Letters (B, Samuel Thomas)	—	+
<i>Crefydd mewn Buwthyn</i>	—	—
<i>Drych yr Amseroedd</i>	—	—
<i>Hanes Twm o'r Nant</i>	—	—
<hr/>		
<i>Gras a Natur</i>	+	+
Letters of Thomas Edwards	+	(+)
<i>Cwyp Dyn</i>	+	+
<i>Ystori Richard Whittington</i>	+	+
<i>Seren tan Gwmwl</i>	+	—
<i>Protestant a Neilltuwr</i>	+	+
<i>Tri Chryfion Byd</i>	+	(+)
<hr/>		
+	Feature attested.	
—	Absence of feature attested.	
(+)	Conjunctive subject pronouns may be postverbal, but preverbal ones are also attested.	

Table 7.3. The Correlation between Pronoun Doubling and Postverbal Conjunctive Pronoun Subjects.

The parallel distribution of the changes reinforces our conclusion above that they reflect a single change in the lexical entry of the pronouns.

Furthermore, the discrete nature of the change and the lack of the two patterns coexisting suggest that the new grammar replaces the old grammar – the two do not coexist for a while. In any given text, preverbal elements like *mi* are either treated as C-heads or as D-heads, but not as both.

In terms of the distinction between parametric and lexical change, the change must be regarded as lexical. Yet, the implied hypothesis from the parametric account of change was that lexical

change should be gradual, whereas parametric change would be sudden. Why should this lexical change be so sudden? An answer may lie in the nature of the grammatical change itself. The change is an instance of grammaticalisation from the category of pronoun (D-head) to that of complementiser, categories that do not appear to have any features in common. It is hard to see how any lexical item could be both a pronoun and a complementiser, or unspecified between them. Hence, once the pronouns become complementisers, constructions compatible only with their status as pronouns disappear. We are thus led to modify somewhat our view of the distinction between lexical and parametric change.

7.3 The Spread of *Mi* before Non-first Person Singular Verbs

From the middle of the eighteenth century, somewhat later than the appearance of pronoun doubling, we find the first person singular complementiser ('pronoun') *mi* being used before verbs other than those in the first person singular. Some of the earliest examples are given in (19).⁶

- (19) a. oni buasae hi efa 'r gwas yn llofft y gwair
unless be-COND she with the servant in loft the hay

mi fuase heb blant etto
MI be-COND without children still

'If she hadn't been with the servant in the hayloft, she'd be
childless still.'
(Flint Sessions 1754)

- b. **Mi welen** yno ffenest...

MI saw-3P there window

'They saw there a window...'

(Ellis Roberts, *Dwy o Gerddi Newyddion*, 1759,
from D.M. Lloyd 1937:98)

- c. **Mi ddylen** gyd gofio 'r amser aeth heibio

MI should-1P all remember-VN the time (REL) went past

'We should all remember the time which has gone by'

(W Ballads 71B, 6 from GPC:1267)

- d. **Mi awn** drwu ffansi gwall gyfeillach, Un iw faes

MI go-1P through fancy false friendship one to-his field

ar llall iw fasnach
and-the other to-his market

'We shall go through the fancy of false friendship, one to his
field and the other to his market-place'

(W Ballads 106, 6 from GPC:1267)

⁶Also: Thomas Edwards, *Interlwt Ynghylch Cain ac Abel* 79.10, ?c. 1758.

It seems to be reasonably secure that this occurs later than and separate from the emergence of pronoun doubling described above. Whereas pronoun doubling is extremely common in the interludes of the first half of the eighteenth century, the use of *mi* beyond the first person singular does not seem to be attested there. The fact that the two securely dated examples in (19) are from the 1750s whereas there are numerous cases of pronoun doubling from the 1730s and 40s suggests that the two changes are separated in time by about one generation.

A reasonable question to ask at this point is whether the use of *mi* spreads from the first person singular to other persons and numbers one by one or whether it spreads indiscriminately to all persons and numbers. The evidence points to the latter conclusion. *Mi* is well-attested before non-third person synthetic verbs of all persons in a number of texts in the corpus. The data that follow are based on an examination of all main, affirmative declarative clauses containing synthetic verb forms (including *bydd*, *byddai*, *bu*, *buasai*, excluding *mae*, *oedd* paradigms of *bod* 'to be'). Texts that are not listed contain no instances of *mi*. Full details can be found in Appendices D-I.

In the second person singular *mi* is found in the slander cases for the North-East and North-West, and in no other text. This is perhaps disappointing, but it is worth bearing in mind that the total number of second person singular verbs is in any case not large. The distribution is given in Table 7.4 with examples in (20).⁷

	%mi	
Slander Cases (North-East)	25	n = 16
Slander Cases (North-West)	40	n = 20

Table 7.4. *Mi* before Second Person Singular Verbs.

- (20) a. Lladrones wyt ti, **mi a ddygaist** fy nghaws i.
thief are you MI PRT stole-2S my cheese me
'You are a thief, you stole my cheese.' (Flint Sessions 1779)

- b. Lleider cheater, **mi gogiaist** fi am drigian gini.
thief cheater MI cheated-2S me for sixty guinea
'Thief, cheater, you cheated me out of sixty guineas.'
(Caernarfon Sessions 1779)

In texts where *mi* is found before a third person singular verb with pronominal subject, the percentage frequencies are as given in Table 7.5. Clauses with the perfective auxiliary *ddaru* are excluded, since these have an ambiguous structure (see section 7.5 below). Examples are given in (21).⁸

⁷Other examples: Flint Sessions 1779, 1782 (two depositions); Caernarfon Sessions 1787, 1797 (x3), 1814, 1825 (x2).

⁸Further examples: StG 16.15, 16.17, 16.20, 16.24, 28.12, 41.16, 41.19 and in *ohenydd*-clauses 4.7 and 22.10; Eist B1.113.15; LUSS A2.7.32; BIER 9.5.10; Slander Cases, Anglesey Sessions 1761, Bangor Consistory Court 1782, Caernarfon Sessions 1779 x6, 1793, 1811 x8, Denbigh Sessions 1769, Flint Sessions 1760, 1775, 1794 x2.

	%mi	n
Ballads of Ellis Roberts	2	n = 43
Letters of Thomas Jones	13	n = 8
<i>Seren tan Gwmwl / Toriad y Dydd</i>	24	n = 37
Slander Cases (North-East)	28	n = 18
Settlers' Letters (A2)	40	n = 5
Slander Cases (North-West)	63	n = 27

Table 7.5. *Mi* before Third Person Singular Verbs with Pronominal Subjects.

- (21) a. **Mi eill** hefyd ollwng y lleidr a'r ysbeiliwr mwyaf
MI can also release-VN the thief and the plunderer most

digywilydd yn rhydd...
shameless PRD free

'He can also turn the most shameless thief and plunderer free...'
(SIG 22.15-16)

- b. **Mi gostiodd** am fvud o gwmpas 10 punt i bôb un
MI cost for food about ten pounds for every one

ohonom...
of-us

'It cost about ten pounds for each one of us for food...'
(LUSS A2.7.12-13)

Mi also appears before the perfective auxiliary *darfod* in slander cases from both the North-East (Flint Sessions 1760, 1786 x2, 1794, 1802, 1812 x2) and the North-West (Bangor Consistory Court 1782; Caernarfon Sessions 1774, 1802 x2, 1803 x3, 1811, 1814 x3, 1822, 1825 x2). For further discussion of the syntax of *darfod*, see section 7.5.

In texts where *mi* is found before a verb with a full lexical NP subject, the frequency is as follows:

	%mi	n
Ballads of John Jones	1	n = 91
<i>Gras a Natur</i>	1	n = 118
Slander Cases (North-West)	13	n = 8
Total A Settlers	16	n = 25
Settlers' Letters (A4)	25	n = 4
Settlers' Letters (A2)	40	n = 5
Slander Cases (North-East)	43	n = 7
Settlers' Letters (A1)	50	n = 2
<i>Seren tan Gwmwl</i>	58	n = 45

Table 7.6. *Mi* before Default Third Person Singular Verbs with Full Lexical Subjects.

Examples are given in (22).⁹

⁹Further examples: GN 43.33; StG 6.12, 6.14, 12.9, 12.15, 13.20, 18.26, 20.4, 20.29, 25.13, 25.14, 26.16, 29.29, 30.5, 32.5, 32.20, 32.28, 35.20, 37.15, 39.3, 39.15, 41.26,

- (22) a. **Mi fu** 'r hen *Jacob* addfwyn, ... Yn gorwedd gyda
MI was-PERF the old Jacob mature PROG lie-VN with

ci forwyn...
his maid

'Old mature Jacob lay with his maid...'
(BJJ 5.1.19)

- b. **mi Nai** William Lewis i ffortiwn loc iawn
MI make William Lewis his fortune soon very
'William Lewis will make his fortune very soon.'

(LUSS A2.7.32)

With a first person plural subject, the frequency of *mi* in texts in which it is attested is as in Table 7.7, with examples in (23).¹⁰

	%mi	n
<i>Cwmp Dyn</i>	7	n = 14
<i>Gras a Natur</i>	9	n = 11
Total A Settlers	43	n = 7
<i>Seren tan Gwmwl</i>	50	n = 2
Settlers' Letters (A1)	50	n = 6

Table 7.7. *Mi* before First Person Plural Verbs.

- (23) a. Wel natur cyn ymado, **Mi ganwn** benill eto.
well Nature before leave-VN MI sing-1P verse again
'Well, Nature, before leaving, we shall sing another verse.'

(GN 53.20-21)

- b. ...ar ol prynu y tir **mi Brynson** bar o ychain...
after buy-VN the land MI bought-1P pair of oxen
'...after buying the land we bought a pair of oxen and cows...'
(LUSS A1.3.1)

With a second person plural subject, the frequency of *mi* in texts in which it is attested is given in Table 7.8 with examples in (24).¹¹

	%mi	n
<i>Gras a Natur</i>	4	n = 27
Letters of Thomas Jones	14	n = 7
Slander Cases (North-East)	33	n = 3
Slander Cases (North-West)	40	n = 5

Table 7.8. *Mi* before Second Person Plural Verbs.

41.27, 42.2, 42.11, 42.19, 44.2; LUSS A1.3.7, A2.6.26; Slander Cases: Bangor Consistory Court 1776, Denbigh Sessions 1774 x2, Flint Sessions 1801; in *oherwydd*-clauses StG 35.18, 36.13, 42.8, LUSS A4.6.13; in *canyf*-clauses StG 40.11.

¹⁰Further examples: CD 14.35; StG 28.8; LUSS A1.2.18, A1.3.2.

¹¹Further examples: GN 22.30; Caernarfon Sessions 1825 (x2).

- (24) a. **Mi gewoch** etto Lythyr oddiwrtha I pan ddelo
 MI receive-2P again letter from-1S me when comes-SUBJ
 atteb iml oddiwrth y Gwyneddigion...
 answer to-me from the Gwyneddigion
 'You'll receive another letter from me when an answer comes
 to me from the Gwyneddigion...' (Eist A3.34.30-31)
- b. ...ag am hynny **mi haeddech** eich crogi...
 and for that MI deserve-COND-2P 2P-GEN hang-VN
 '...and for that you'd deserve to be hanged...' (Flint Sessions 1794)

With a third person plural pronominal subject, the frequency of *mi* in texts in which it is attested are as follows:¹²

	%mi	
Seren tan Gumwl	36	n = 11
Total A Settlers	38	n = 8
Settlers' Letters (A2)	100	n = 3

Table 7.9. *Mi* before Third Person Plural Verbs.

- (25) a. ...neu **mi ddallent** ychydig sylw ar y geiriau...
 or MI pay-COND-3P a-little attention to the words
 '...or they'd pay a little attention to the words...' (StG 11.22-23)
- b. **mi gant** bôb chawre [sic] tég ag sudd bosibl...
 MI get-3P every play fair as is possible
 'They'll get every possible fair play...' (LUSS A2.8.19-20)

Table 7.10 summarises the percentage use of *mi* in each person in the contexts in which it is possible. As before, absence of a text in the list indicates that *mi* is not attested before a non-first person singular verb in that text.

	2S	3S	NP	1P	2P	3P
Cwmp Dyn	0	0	0	7	0	(0)
Gras a Natur	0	0	1	9	4	0
Seren tan Gumwl	...	24	58	(50)	(14)	36
Letters of Thomas Jones	...	(13)	0	...	(14)	(0)
Settlers' letters (A1)	...	(0)	50	(50)	(0)	(0)
Settlers' letters (A2)	...	(40)	40	(0)	...	(100)
Settlers' letters (A4)	...	...	25	...	...	...
Ballads of Ellis Roberts	0	2	0	0	(0)	0
Ballads of John Jones	...	0	1	(0)	0	(0)
Slander Cases (North East)	25	28	43	...	(33)	...
Slander Cases (North West)	40	63	13	...	(40)	...

Table 7.10. Percentage Use of *Mi* by Person and Number of the Subject.

¹²Further examples: StG 8.19, 25.20; LUSS A2.4.37, A2.6.24.

Parentheses indicate that a given percentage is based on a sample size of less than ten tokens. Dots indicate the absence of data.

From the table, it can be seen there are no significant differences between persons. The variation that we do find between different persons is entirely random.

What change in the grammar do these data reflect? It was suggested in section 7.2.1 that the preverbal 'pronouns' in the pronoun doubling constructions are in fact various forms of an agreeing complementiser. Let us assume, as suggested there, that this is enforced by selectional restrictions imposed by the complementiser heads.

What seems to be happening is that the selectional restrictions of the complementiser *mi* fail to be acquired by a generation of children learning Welsh in the mid-eighteenth century.¹³ The loss of the feature in the lexical entry for *mi* is consistent with the pattern of data found. The selectional restriction is either present or absent, hence we expect that *mi* should either be confined to first person singular verbs, or should be freely available as a general complementiser. The system of selectional restrictions envisaged does not allow for the possibility of intermediate stages. The other (agreeing) complementisers, *di*, *hi*, *ni* etc. would of course remain in the lexicon and their grammaticality would remain unchanged. Unlike the case with preverbal conjunctive pronouns, we do not therefore expect the agreeing complementisers to become obsolete as soon as the innovation appears. However, since they have to 'compete' with the new general complementiser *mi*, their actual frequency in performance will drop. Note that on the assumption that the acquisition of these complementisers depends upon their frequency of use, this is potentially the first step towards their disappearance in Contemporary Welsh.

The data suggest that the introduction of *mi* is sudden in the sense that as soon as *mi* spreads beyond the first person singular, it acquires the status of general complementiser without regard to person or number. On the other hand, the change is gradual in the sense that *mi* does not immediately oust the agreeing forms. This pattern of data follows naturally from the account of the change given here.

Unlike person-number variation, geographical variation in the use of *mi* is very much in evidence. It was seen above that *mi* is found in pronoun doubling structures in the first person singular everywhere except the South-East. Figure 7.2 shows the geographical distribution of *mi* before non-first person singular verbs, based on the corpus data. Slander cases are plotted according to the place of the dispute. Other texts are plotted according to the birthplace of the author or best other information about the provenance of the author if this is lacking. The distribution in Figure 7.2 is strikingly clear. *Mi* is found in texts from the whole of North Wales. This suggests that the modern distribution of *mi*, characteristic of northern speech (King 1993:138), was already well-established by the start of the nineteenth century.

¹³For a suggestion as to why this might happen, see the discussion of the *darfod*-construction in section 7.5 below.

I shall return to an account of the dialect variation below. First, however, it is necessary to look at other changes in the complementiser system.

7.4 The Spread of *Fe*

At approximately the same time as *mi* appears in all persons, the third person singular pronoun *fe*, previously restricted (apart from its use as a default complementiser) to appear before third person masculine singular verbs, spreads to all the other persons. The earliest examples are from the 1740s to 1760s, that is, marginally earlier than the generalisation of *mi*, in interludes and ballads. Examples from each person-number combination are given in (26).¹⁴

- (26) a. **Fe fydda** **fi** bôb Boreu yn gorfod gwelldi...
 FE will-be-1S I every morning PROG have-to-VN shout-VN
 'Every morning I shall have to shout...'
 (Hugh Jones and John Cadwaladr, *Y Brenin Dafydd* 16.25-26, c. 1765)
- b. ...**Fe a geit** wisgo cyrfat o gowarch...
 FE PRT be-allowed-2S wear-VN cravat of hemp
 '...You shall be allowed to wear a cravat of hemp...'
 (YDG 38.21-22, 1744)
- c. Ond **fe gawn** ymladd ar Cristnogion Etlo
 but FE be-allowed-1P fight-VN with-the Christians again
 yn ymyl tre Ifiangon (?)...
 near town I.
 'But we shall have the opportunity to fight again with the Christians near the town of Ifiangon (?)... (YDG 37.23-24)
- d. **Fe wnaethoch** chware cas a nynti.
 FE made-2P game evil with us-CONJ.
 'You played an evil game with us.'
 (W Ballads 77B, 6, 1760 from GPC:1267)
- e. ...**fe lyncañ'** amy cynta'r byd yma'n damaid...
 FE swallow-3P for the first the world this PRD mouthful
 '...they'll race to be first to swallow this world in a mouthful...'
 (Hugh Jones, *Daeargryn Lisbon* 67.25, after 1755)

Even in the third person singular, there is evidence in the corpus for a change in the status of *fe* at about this time. In a number of cases, *fe* occurs before a verb whose subject is a feminine pronoun, either null or overt.

¹⁴Further examples YDG 73.10; *Y Brenin Dafydd* 12.19, 18.6, 39.13, 39.22, 88.17.



Figure 7.2. Distribution of *mi* before Non-first Person Singular Verbs 1760-1825.

The examples are rare, but give firm evidence of the change. In the two cases in (27), *fe* occurs before a verb with an overt feminine pronoun as subject.

(27) a. ...**Fe sugne** hi mer nhw am arian.
FE suck-COND she bone-marrow them for money
'...she'd suck their bone-marrow for money.' (GN 45.15)

b. Pan ddeuen iw holl **fe wadodd hi**
when came-COND-3P to+3S-GEN ask-VN FE denied she

wedi...
afterwards

'When they came to ask her, she denied it afterwards...'
(BER 5.3.5-6)

In the four other cases given in (28), *fe* appears where context shows the subject to be feminine.

(28) a. A **fe yfiff** Dea a Choffi Jyst 'run fath a Dyfrgi...
and FE drink-FUT tea and coffee just the-same sort as otter
'And she'll drink tea and coffee just the same as an otter...'
(CD 18.25-26)

b. **Fe ddygodd** Fenad o Wŷa Hwŷad...
FE stole cartful of eggs ducks
'She stole a cartful of duck eggs...'
(CD 62.3)

c. Mi ês i gadw Morwyn **fe gostiodd im** Arian
MI went-1S to keep-VN maid FE cost to-me money
'I went to keep a maid, she [?] cost me money' (TChB 22.34)

d. **Fe gafodd hir** lwyddiant...
FE had long success
'It (fem.) had long success...'
(BER 1.3.14-16)

The subject in c. might be interpreted as referring to the act of keeping a maid rather than the maid herself, in which case the verb could be third person masculine, and the use of *fe* would be entirely appropriate even with if agreement between *fe* and the verb were being maintained. In d. the subject of the verb is a ship referred to in the immediate context using the feminine noun *llong*. The use of *fe* rather than feminine *hi* *gafodd* clearly does reflect an innovation in its use in this case. It is thus clear that in these cases, *fe* is no longer acting as a pronoun.

As with *mi*, it seems reasonable to investigate whether the loss of agreement proceeds in stages, or whether *fe* spreads to all person-number combinations simultaneously. The relative frequency by person is given below in Tables 7.11-7.15, with examples in (29)-(33).

First Person Singular

	% <i>fe</i>	
<i>Cwmp Dyn</i>	6	n = 155
<i>Gras a Natur</i>	1	n = 153
<i>Crefydd meun Duwlyn</i>	1	n = 84

Table 7.11. *Fe* before First Person Singular Verbs.

(29) a. **Fe ddweyda** i chwi ... Pwy ydi ymhedair Nain
FE say-1S to you ... who is my-four grandmothers

yn union.
exactly

'I shall tell you exactly who my four grandmothers are.'
(CD 61.9-10)

b. Yn wir, Syr, **fe feddyllais** lawer am y pethau hyn
indeed sir FE thought-1S much about the things these

yn ddiwddar.
recently

'Indeed, Sir, I have thought much about these things recently.'
(CmB 19.8-9)

Further examples: CD 8.31, 10.10, 12.15, 18.9, 19.21, 44.4 (?), 59.4, 65.18, 66.9; GN 23.16.

Second Person Singular

	% <i>fe</i>	
<i>Cwmp Dyn</i>	4	n = 24
Slander Cases (North-East)	13	n = 16

Table 7.12. *Fe* before Second Person Singular Verbs.

(30) a. Ti dorraist y ddeg Gorchymryn: Ag **fe a'u**
you broke-2S the ten commandments and FE PRT+3P-OBJ

lygraist bod ag un...
defiled-2S every one

'You broke the Ten Commandments, and you defiled them every one.'
(CD 13.17-18)

b. Leidr, **fe ddygest** y gwair o'ng cae i
thief FE stole-2S the hay from-my field me
'Thief, you stole the hay from my field.'

(Flint Sessions 1809, two depositions)

First Person Plural

	% <i>fe</i>	n
<i>Cwmp Dyn</i>	14	n = 14
Ballads of Hugh Jones	13	n = 8

Table 7.13. *Fe* before First Person Plural Verbs.

- (31) a. ...**Fe ddoethan** i chware yn fawr ein Chwys...
 FE came-1P to act-VN PRD great our sweat
 '...We have come to act with great exertion.' (CD 71.7-9)
- b. **Fe ddylen** godi i'w gadw 'n loew lân,
 FE should-1P arise-VN to+3S-GEN keep-VN PRD shining pure
 Trwy ddarlain ei orch'mynlon...
 through read-VN his commandments
 'We should arise to keep it pure by reading His
 commandments...' (BHJ 4.15.29-30)

Also CD 70.13 (?).

Second Person Plural

	% <i>fe</i>	n
<i>Gras a Natur</i>	26	n = 27
<i>Protestant a Neilltuwr</i>	3	n = 29
Ballads of John Jones	9	n = 11

Table 7.14. *Fe* before Second Person Plural Verbs.

- (32) a. **Fe glawsoch** bersonied ar y sulle, Ymron chwdu wrth
 FE heard-2P parsons on the Sundays almost vomit-VN at
 son am bechode...
 talk-VN about sins
 'You have heard parsons on Sundays almost vomiting when
 talking about sins...' (GN 11.10-11)
- b. **'E wyddoch chwi** bu son a si Yn amryw fannau
 FE know-2P you was-PERF talk and gossip in various places
 am danaf fi...
 about-1S me
 'You know that there has been talk and gossip about me in
 various places...' (BJJ 55.7-8)

Also GN 4.22, 22.1, 23.1, 35.31, 51.33, 63.7; PN 9.4.

Third Person Plural

	% <i>fe</i>	n
<i>Cwmp Dyn</i>	67	n = 3
<i>Gras a Natur</i>	4	n = 24
Ballads of Hugh Jones	33	n = 6

Table 7.15. *Fe* before Third Person Plural Verbs.

- (33) a. Py rhoe rhain eu Pennau ynghŷd, **Fe a**
 If put-COND those-ones their heads together FE PRF
gyrran y Bŷd yn Bowdwr.
 drive-COND-3P the world PRD powder
 'If they put their heads together, they would turn the world to
 powder.' (CD 71.25-26)
- b. Cyn pen tri munud croeswch nhw, **Fe fedran**
 before end three minutes cross-2P them FE be-able-3P

rol Llw anfeidrol.
 give-VN oath monstrous

'Before the end of three minutes (after) you come across
 them, they'll be likely to release a monstrous oath.'

(GN 46.28-29)

Also CD 51.11, BHJ 4.16.25, 4.17.6.

In the texts in which it is found outside the third person masculine, the use of *fe* is not associated with any particular person-number combination. Its distribution seems to be entirely random. We can therefore say, as with *mi*, that once the restriction on agreement is broken, *fe* spreads to all persons simultaneously – there are no intermediate restrictions, nor any environment based on person or number which favours or inhibits the spread of *fe*. A summary of the frequency of use in the texts in which non-agreeing *fe* is found is given below.

	1S	2S	1P	2P	3P
<i>Cwmp Dyn</i>	6	4	14	0	(67)
<i>Gras a Natur</i>	1	0	0	26	4
<i>Protestant a Neilltuwr</i>	0	0	0	3	0
Ballads of Hugh Jones	0	(0)	(13)	(0)	(33)
Ballads of John Jones	0	...	(0)	9	(0)
<i>Crefydd mewn Bwthyn</i>	1	(0)	(0)	...	(0)
Slander Cases (North East)	0	13	...	(0)	...

Parentheses indicate that a given percentage is based on a sample size of less than ten tokens. Dots indicate the absence of data.

Table 7.16. Percentage Use of *Fe* by Person and Number of the Subject.



Figure 7.3. Distribution of *fe* as a Pre-sentential Particle outside the Third Person Singular (pronominal subjects only) 1760-1825.

There seems to be no reason not to extend our account of *mi* to cover the change associated with *fe*. That is, we can claim that the selectional feature in the lexical entry for *fe*, requiring it to co-occur with a third person singular masculine verb, fails to be acquired, and that this change shows up in the mid-eighteenth century.

The geographical distribution of *fe* before non-third person verbs deserves comment. In modern Welsh, *fe* is associated with southern dialects (King 1993:138). Figure 7.3 shows that the situation in the eighteenth century is considerably different. The only evidence for the use of non-agreeing *fe* comes from the North-East, where its use is well-entrenched. Its absence in the South is surprising. One possibility is that we simply do not have access to appropriate texts from the South in which to find evidence for *fe*. However, the corpus does contain a number of texts from the South of a non-literary nature, and other texts in which non-standard variants are attested. Particularly important in this respect are the letters from settlers from Carmarthenshire and the slander case depositions. Neither of these sources provides any evidence for *fe* in the relevant contexts. This leads one to conclude, albeit tentatively, that in the latter part of the eighteenth century, *fe* outside of the third person is restricted to the North-East, and that it is in this region of Wales that one should look for its origins.

7.5 The Cause of the Loss of Complementiser Agreement

It has been suggested that children may have failed to acquire the person and number features associated with the agreeing complementisers *mi* and *fe*. However, it is not yet clear that there was any confusion in the input data which might have caused children difficulty in acquiring what was otherwise a perfectly straightforward agreement rule. We shall now turn to some evidence from the syntax of the verb *darfod* to suggest that confusion was possible.

The contemporary dialects of North Wales have a perfective auxiliary *ddaru*, shown in (34) (for discussion see Tallerman 1993). This auxiliary is entirely defective – it does not conjugate for person, number or tense. In the dialects in which it occurs, it is the unmarked way of expressing the preterite.

- (34) Ddaru mi/ti/o gollt 'r trên.
 DDARU I/you/he lose-VN the train
 'I/you/he missed the train.'

This auxiliary is a fossilised form of the third person singular past tense of the verb *darfod* 'to happen, finish'. The use of the construction as an unmarked past tense in main clauses goes back in speech at least as far as the seventeenth century. Examples of its use in the seventeenth century are given from the slander case depositions in (35).

- (35) a. *Fo ddarfu iddi hi ai gwr kynta a*
 it happened to-3SF her and her husband first and
ghymdeithion eraill ddwyn yn lledrad gwgh gwenyn...
 companions other take-VN thievishly hive bee
 'She and her husband and (some) other companions stole a
 beehive.' (Flint Sessions 1612)
- b. *Fo a ddarfu yt ti dyngu yn annudo[n]*
 it PRT happened to you swear-VN false-oath
 'You perjured yourself.' (Denbigh Sessions 1633)
- c. *Fo ddarfu i Joan Vaughan o Tredderwen yn ysbeillio*
 it happened to Joan Vaughan of Tredderwen IP-GEN rob-VN
ni...
 us
 'Joan Vaughan of Tredderwen robbed us...'
 (Montgomery Sessions 1644)
- d. *...ag fo ddarfy iddo fo dwyn keffyl John ap*
 and it happened to-3MS him steal-VN horse John ap
 William David...
 William David
 '...and he stole John ap William David's horse...'
 (Anglesey Sessions 1652)

In its earliest form, that found in (35), the verb *darfod* selects for a Prepositional Phrase headed by *i* 'to', the agent being the object of the preposition. At this stage, there is an expletive subject, *fo* in the examples in (35), although *fe* is also found. This expletive subject is a masculine singular pronoun with which the verb agrees.

By the mid-eighteenth century at the very latest, phonological erosion had set in, and the *i* is omitted in a large number of cases. Examples of this omission of *i* are given in (36) from corpus texts.¹⁵ Once the *i* is deleted in adult speech, there is no longer any reason for children to analyse the structure as involving a PP. Consequently the structure changes. With a full lexical agent, erosion of the preposition makes it appear as though this were the subject, inviting a reanalysis of *darfod* as an auxiliary with a referential subject. The *fe/fo* could easily be made to fit in to this analysis by treating it as a complementiser, rather than as an expletive pronoun.

- (36) a. **Fe ddarfu rhyw un, ... lygad-dynnu 'r Cybydd.**
 FE DDARFU someone bewitch-VN the Miser
 'Someone bewitched the Miser.' (PN 55.34)
- b. **Ni ddarfu 'r gyn'lleidfa a wnaeth reolau a chyfreithiau**
 NEG DDARFU the group REL made rules and laws
 llywodraeth America, ddim gwneuthur cyfraith i godi
 government America NEG make-VN law to raise-VN
 degymau...
 tithes
 'The group that made the rules and laws of the American
 government didn't make any law to raise tithes...'
 (SIG 38.15-18)
- c. **fe ddarfu rheini ddanfon llawer iawn o anwired.**
 FE DDARFU those-ones send-VN many very of untruth
 'Those ones sent very many lies.' (LUSS A4.5.12-13)
- d. **Ydw, fe ddarfu hi ddwyn y blawd.**
 am FE DDARFU she steal-VN the flour
 'Yes, she stole the flour.' (Denbigh Sessions 1760)

Note that this is already a syntactic change and cannot by this time simply be phonological reduction, as the form of the pronoun in the d. example shows. Under the conservative system, an inflected form of the preposition, namely *iddi*, would have been required. The form that appears here, namely *hi*, must actually be a subject pronoun, it cannot be a reduced form of this inflected preposition.

Other evidence supports the view that such a reanalysis had already occurred by the second half of the eighteenth century.

First, since Welsh has subject-verb agreement between pronominal subjects and verbs, speakers who allow *darfod* to have a referential subject should make the auxiliary agree with this subject. Evidence for such agreement is impossible to find insofar as the verb *darfod* is defective. However, some writers use new conjugated forms of the verb which do show such agreement, creating a new first person singular form *darfŷm* and a second person plural form *darfych*:

- (37) a. **Fe ddarfy'm I heddiw siarad am Gadair Newydd...**
 FE DDARFU-1S I today talk-VN about chair new
 'I talked today about a New Chair...' (Eist B1.113.14)

¹⁵Further examples: PN 57.18; TChB 9.70, 43.18, 55.2; StG 27.8; LUSS A4.6.15; Slander Cases: Caernarfon Sessions 1801, Denbigh Sessions 1760 x2, 1765; CmB 6.20; HTN 18.4.

- b. ...o herwyld **ni ddarfym** I ddim meddwl fod hynna yn
because NEG DDARFU-1S I NEG think-VN be-VN that PRD

niwaid yn y byd...
harm at-all

'...because I didn't think that that would do any harm...'
(Eist B2.114.25)

- c. **Y ddarfych** Srefenny yn byr Heleth.
FE [?] DDARFU-2P write-VN PRD quite extensive
'You wrote quite extensively.'
(LUSS B5.2.27)

- d. **Ni ddarfych** Son am farlys am cyrch yn ych
NEG DDARFU-2P talk-VN about barley about oats in your

Llythyr.
letter

'You didn't talk about barley or oats in your letter.'
(LUSS B5.3.21)

Moreover, if the postverbal DP is indeed a subject, we expect it to display other subject-like behaviour. In eighteenth-century Welsh, subjects may move freely to preverbal position. The subject of *ddarfu* is no exception to this;¹⁶

- (38) a. **Fo ddarfu** eln cloi gwn dan y Cledd...
he DDARFU 1P-GEN lock-VN I-know under the sword
'He locked us in using the sword...'
(CD 16.5)
- b. **Yr Arglwydd a ddarfu** eu gwranddo...
the lord PRD DDARFU 3P-GEN listen-VN
'The Lord listened to them...'
(BHI 3.4.6)
- c. **Hi ddarfu** eu gadael nhw 'i gyd...
she DDARFU 3P-GEN leave-VN them all
'She left them all...'
(BJJ 65.22)

This suggests that by the mid-eighteenth century, *darfod* had developed into a perfective auxiliary which could take a referential subject. In the generation that makes the leap between the expletive subject analysis of *darfod* and the referential subject analysis, a change in the lexical entry for the complementiser *fe* will occur. Consider the structure of a standard case of the *darfod*-construction with a pronominal subject in (39).

- (39) **Fe ddar(f)u (i)chwi** ddwyn fy nefaid.
FE DDARFU (to)-you steal-VN my sheep
'You stole my sheep.'

The adult structure will be as in (40)a. before preverbal subject pronouns are reanalysed as clitics, and (40)b. afterwards. In a. *fe* is the expletive subject of *darfu*, and the verb agrees with it. In b. *fe* is a third person singular masculine complementiser which requires a verb in the same form. The subject is postverbal expletive *pro*. It is assumed that *ddwyn fy nefaid* 'steal my sheep' is in both cases a clausal subject which obligatorily extraposes.

Adult structure

- (40) a. [CP *fe* ddarfuy [IP t_i tv [VP t_j tv [PP (i)chwi]
it happened to-you

[CP ddwyn fy nefaid]_j]]]
steal-VN my sheep

- b. [CP *fe* ddarfuy [IP *pro* tv [VP t_j tv [PP (i)chwi]
it happened to-you

[CP ddwyn fy nefaid]_j]]]
steal-VN my sheep

Child structure

- (41) [CP *fe* ddarfuy [IP chw_i t_i [VP t_i ddwyn fy nefaid]]]
FE DDARFU you steal-VN my sheep

- (42) [CP *fe* ddarfych_i [IP chw_i t_i [VP t_i ddwyn fy nefaid]]]
FE DDARFU-2P you steal-VN my sheep

For the child, *fe* is a complementiser as in the adult grammar of (40)b., but the subject is *chw_i*. In the adult grammar the complementiser *fe* is marked as being restricted to co-occurring with verbs in the default third person form or with verbs marked as third person masculine. For the adult, this fact poses no problem, since the subject is a third person masculine expletive. However, for the child, (39) contains an auxiliary agreeing, whether overtly as in (42), or owing to morphological deficiency covertly as in (41), with a second person plural subject. If the child hypothesises that *fe* is marked as occurring only with default verbs, the structures in (41) and (42) will be ruled out. The only option is to reject such a restriction, and acquire *fe* as a general non-agreeing complementiser. The other conceivable alternative, a return to the adult grammar, is presumably not available if the preposition is elided on a regular basis in the trigger experience.

The change in lexical entry is shown below.

¹⁶Similar examples: BHI 3.3.26, 3.3.28; Slander Cases, Flint Sessions 1772.

	Adult Lexical Entry	Child Lexical Entry
<i>fe</i> ₁	C [default]	C
<i>fe</i> ₂	C [3SM]	

Once *fe* is generalised, the necessity for distinct lexical entries for *fe*₁ and *fe*₂ (cf. section 5.2.2.7) is eliminated. The existence of a main clause complementiser unmarked for person then provides support for the reanalysis of *mi* along the same lines.

If the reinterpretation of *fe* as a general complementiser was indeed driven by the reanalysis of the perfective *darfod*-construction, then we have an account of why the affirmative complementisers should initially appear only in northern dialects of Welsh. Since the perfective auxiliary occurs only in the North, the basis for the reanalysis is present only there. Inasmuch as *fe* in particular appears at a later period also in southern dialects, its use there must be the result of diffusion from more northerly dialects.

7.6 *Mi* and *Ffe* before Forms of *Bod* 'To Be'

In Middle Welsh, there is a restriction that topicalisation is not possible across the present and imperfect tenses of *bod* 'to be'. This means that the sequence Pronoun + Present/Imperfect of *bod* is not possible (cf. section 4.3). This restriction is maintained into Early Modern Welsh.

What happens when these pronouns are reinterpreted as complementisers? The evidence of the corpus is clear. There are a number of cases where both *mi* and *fe* occur before these forms of the verb. Some of the earliest corpus examples of *mi* are from the Letters of Thomas Jones. All the examples given in (43) are from letters dated 1789. Note that person seems to be irrelevant to the possibility of *mi* in this environment. (43) includes examples both in the first person (a. and b.) and in the third person (c. and d.).¹⁷

- (43) a. **Mi** 'rwyf fi ar fy ngorau ... yn ceisio rhwy[s]tro 'r Tân
MI am I on my best PROG try-VN stop-VN the fire

ddiffodd.
go-out-VN

'I'm trying my best to stop the fire from going out.'
(Eist A3.34.15)

¹⁷Further examples: Eist A3.34.21, A3.35.1, B9.120.26, B9.120.29; (*oblegid*-clause) Eist B9.121.25.

- b. ...**mi rwi** yn gobeithlo nad oes 'r un Aelod or
MI am PROG hope-VN COMP+NEG is the one member of-the

Gymdeithas yn ddig wrthaf or achos.
society PRD angry at-me because-of-this

'...I hope that no member of the Society is angry at me
because of this...'
(Eist A4.38.10-11)

- c. ...ac yn wir **mi roedd** yn bur fawr gan i weled 'r hen
and indeed MI was PRD very big with me see-VN the old

wr yn wylo...
man PROG cry-VN

'...indeed it was very pleasing for me to see the old man
crying...'
(Eist A5.37.7-8)

- d. ...ac os oeddwn i yn gloff, **mi roedd** yr Argraphwyr
and if was-1S I PRD lame, MI was the printers

yn gloffach...
PRD lamer...

'...and if I was lame, the printers were lamer...'
(Eist A5.38.8)

More examples at a somewhat later date are found in the letters of the settlers from Merionethshire. The examples in (44) come from three different writers from the area.¹⁸

- (44) a. ...ag **mi rydw i** yn meddwl na budd fy
and MI am I PROG think-VN COMP+NEG will-be my

siwrna i ddim yn ofar.
journey me NEG in-vain.

'...and I think that my journey will not be in vain.'
(LUSS A2.4.2, 1817)

- b. ...**mi rwufi** yn gobeithio y cewch chwli ... fy
MI am-I PROG hope-VN COMP be-able-2P you 1S-GEN

ngwled [sic] i er ich cysur.
see-VN me for your comfort

'...I hope that you will be able ... to see me for your comfort.'
(LUSS A2.4.30, 1817)

¹⁸Further examples: LUSS A2.4.13, A2.7.12, A2.7.14.

- c. **mi roedd** ganthom y llynedd o'ddeutu 20 Tynell o wair...
 MI was with-us last-year around 20 tons of corn
 'Last year we had around twenty tons of corn...'
 (LUSS A1.3.6, 1816)

- d. ...ac **mi roedd o** yn edrych yn hên ac yn sâl...
 and MI was he PROG look-VN PRD old and PRD ill
 '...and he was looking old and ill...'
 (LUSS A4.6.14, 1818)

Finally, *mi* before present and imperfect forms of *bod* is attested in the slander cases for Gwynedd. These cases include the earliest attestation of the development, namely (45)a., dating from 1778.¹⁹

- (45) a. **Mi roedd hi** yn discwyl iddo fo ei chymeryd
 MI was she PROG expect-VN to-3SM him 3SF-GEN take-vn

hi...
 her

'She was expecting him to take her...'
 (Bangor Consistory Court 1778)

- b. ...**mi rydych** yn lleidr...
 MI are-2P PRD thief
 '...you're a thief...'
 (Caernarfon Sessions 1825, two depositions)

It is not clear whether the spread to the third person singular form *mae*, morphologically distinct from the rest of the paradigm, occurs at this time or later. There are no examples in the corpus. I know of no other example earlier than the following one in the late nineteenth century:

- (46) **mi mae yn** awal galad iawn ac yn law mawr iawn.
 MI is PRD wind harsh very and PRD rain big very
 'There's a very harsh wind and a great deal of rain.'
 (John Evans, Letter 153.11-13, 1873)

Is the spread of *mi* to co-occur with *bod* a separate development or does it follow automatically from the reanalysis of *mi* as a particle? The distribution of the construction clearly suggests the former.

The earliest attestations of *mi* as a particle were in the 1730s-50s. The earliest attestation we have for *mi* before forms of the verb *bod* is from 1778. It might be the case that paucity of evidence for the intervening period meant that cases of the particle before *bod* would not come to light anyway. However, it seems reasonable, if *mi* had spread to the position before *bod*, to expect examples to appear in the early eighteenth-century interludes, and even in the slander cases, although the relevant forms of *bod* are less common there.

Second, even within the corpus, there are a number of texts where *mi* is attested as a particle, but where it never occurs before

bod. As the table below shows, the presence of *mi* before *bod* implies general use of *mi* as a particle, but the reverse does not hold.

Text	particle <i>mi</i> ?	<i>mi</i> before present/ imperfect of <i>bod</i> ?
<i>Cwmp Dyn</i>	+	-
<i>Gras a Natur</i>	+	-
<i>Seren tan Gwmwl</i>	+	-
Letters of Thomas Jones	+	+
Settlers' letters (A1)	+	+
Settlers' letters (A2)	+	+
Settlers' letters (A4)	+	+
Ballads of Ellis Roberts	+	-
Ballads of John Jones	+	-
Slander Cases (North-East)	+	-
Slander Cases (North-West)	+	+

Table 7.17. Distribution of *Mi* as an Affirmative Complementiser before *Bod* 'To Be' and Other Verbs.

Accordingly, it seems reasonable to suppose that the generalisation of *mi* to all positions is a development separate from and subsequent to the reanalysis of the pronoun as a particle. The evidence dealt with here suggests that this innovation had taken place by the late 1770s. We shall return below to examine precisely the nature of the development.

Much the same development happens with *fe*. Once again there appears to be no evidence earlier than the corpus texts. The only text in which *fe* is firmly attested before present and imperfect forms of *bod* is the interlude *Cwmp Dyn*. It is not linked to the original person of the pronoun. Examples are found both in (a. and b.) and outside (c. and d.) the third person singular.²⁰

- (47) a. **Fe roedd Twm Bithel** ac **Wmfyre Gabrel** Yn byw
 FE was Twm Bithel and Wmfyre Gabrel PROG live-VN

mewn Cenal Ci...
 in kennal dog

'Twm Bithel and Wmfyre Gabrel were living in a dog-kennel.'
 (CD 61.29-30)

- b. Ac Ymrîg y Pren, ...**Fe roedd Mâb** bychan newydd eni...
 and at-top the tree FE was son little new born
 'And at the top of the tree, ... there was a new-born little boy.'
 (CD 64.5-6)

²⁰Further examples: CD 6.29, 34.13, 52.21, 61.21; and 8.22 in an *o ran* ('because') clause.

¹⁹Further examples: Bangor Consistory Court 1791, Caernarfon Sessions 1814.

- c. O achos hyn **fe** rydwi yn gla'...
 because this FE am PRD ill
 'Because of this I am ill...' (CD 15.34)
- d. Yn fy ol ni ddoi **fe** rydwi yn credu...
 after-me NEG come-3S FE am PROG believe-VN
 'He won't come after me, I think...' (CD 49.31)

Outside this text, examples are scarce. One clear example comes from Thomas Edwards in *Tri Chryfion Byd*:

- (48) ...Ac **fe** roedd cyhoeddus weddus wâdd, ... i ladd,
 and FE was public fitting invitation to kill-VN
 a bwytta.
 and eat-VN
 '...And there was a public fitting invitation ... to kill and eat.'
 (TChB 6.35-36)

An unclear example comes from his letters with *e* occurring before a present tense form of *bod*. This *e* might be a reduced form of *fe*, but it is difficult to be certain.

- (49) ...ond **e** rwi 'n coelio na chawswn
 but FE am PROG think-VN COMP+NEG found-PLUPERF-1S
 gynnorthwy...
 support
 '...but I think that I wouldn't have found support...'
 (LTE B5.11.1-2)

Finally there is one example each in the letters of Thomas Jones and in the slander material for Pembrokeshire:

- (50) a. ...**fe** roedd gan Clio wyr purpasol [sic] yw ddanfon
 FE was with Clio men special to+3SM-GEN send-VN
 ar frys i Eisteddfod Bacchus.
 on haste to eisteddfod Bacchus
 '...Clio had men especially to send quickly to Bacchus'
 eisteddfod.' (Eist A5.39.29-30)
- b. **Fe** mae yn lleidr.
 FE is PRD thief
 'He's a thief.' (Pembrokeshire Sessions 1806)

Apart from the very last example, all these instances are in texts from Flintshire and eastern Denbighshire.²¹ This fact may help to explain the contrast between the eighteenth-century situation and the modern one. In modern Welsh dialects, *mi* is found in the North before all the present and imperfect forms, but in those Southern dialects where *fe* occurs, it may not precede the relevant forms of *bod* (Thomas and Thomas 1989:77, King 1993:138, Thorne 1993:348²²).

7.7 A Summary of the Development of *Mi* and *Fe*

It has been argued so far in this chapter that the syntactic changes in the status and distribution of weak pronouns (later complementisers) in the eighteenth century can be reduced to changes in the category and feature specifications of pronouns and related items. A number of stages have been identified. First, by 1730 at the latest, preverbal clitic pronouns (Stage I below) become agreeing complementisers in all dialects except the South-East. This results in the introduction of pronoun doubling structures with simple and conjunctive pronouns, and the obsolescence of preverbal conjunctive pronouns (Stage II). Next, two of the agreeing complementisers, namely *mi* and *fe* lose their feature specifications and become general main clause complementisers (Stage III). I have suggested that this change was triggered by the reanalysis of the *darfod*-construction, and supported by the existence already of a main clause affirmative complementiser for use with nominal subjects (*fe*) and other negative and interrogative complementisers. These changes occur in the 1740s and 1750s, with the results varying from dialect to dialect. Subsequently, these affirmative complementisers are used from the 1770s with all verbs, losing a restriction against their use with certain forms of *bod* 'to be'. Again the results vary substantially from dialect to dialect. Stage IV represents the Contemporary situation for most dialects, which, although not evidenced in the corpus, is worth noting. The non-agreeing complementisers (*mi* and *fe*) have ousted the agreeing ones completely. It seems reasonable to suppose that the increased use of the particles *mi* and *fe* was a gradual one during the nineteenth century (a step in terms of the theory of syntactic change) mediated by the usual sociolinguistic factors.

A summary of the changes in lexical entries postulated is given below:

²¹In this last example, *fe* may be a left-dislocated pronoun rather than a particle. The sentence would then be interpreted as 'Him, he's a thief'. If this is true, the generalisation about dialect would hold completely.

²²Thorne adds the proviso, directly contradicted by the examples given in Thomas and Thomas, that *mi* never occurs before the third person present tense forms *mae* and *maen(t)*.

Lexical Item	Stage I	Stage II	Stage III	Stage IV
<i>mi</i>	D [1sing] [+cl]	C [1sing]	C	C
<i>ti/di</i>	D [2sing] [+cl]	C [2sing]	C [2sing]	—
<i>fe</i> ₁	D [3SM] [+cl]	C [3SM]	C	C
<i>fe</i> ₂	C [default]	C [default]	C	C
<i>hi</i> etc.	D [3SF] [+cl]	C [3SF]	C [3SF]	—

By the late eighteenth century, four dialect patterns are discernible. The most conservative dialects are in the South-East. In these dialects, none of the postulated changes occurs – Subject – Verb order is found with pronominal subjects and there is no pronoun doubling. In the South-West, pronoun doubling is found, but agreement between the preverbal complementiser and the verb is strictly maintained. In the North complementiser-verb agreement is only sporadically maintained. In the North-West the general main clause complementiser is *mi*. In the North-East there is alternation between *mi* and *fe* in this function.

7.8 Variant Pronoun Forms

The eighteenth century gives us our first real opportunity to examine the distribution of a number of variant pronominal forms. As well as allowing an account of the stylistic and geographical patterns of variation, this information offers another opportunity to test the account of phonological erosion of the stronger pronominal forms set out in Chapter Five (section 5.2.2). It was suggested there that in Late Middle Welsh the reduplicated pronouns spread as a way of maintaining V2, and subsequently underwent phonological erosion at the same time that V2 was lost. Given this account, we would expect some evidence to remain in the language of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. An examination of the variant forms of the pronouns also provides support for the claim made there (section 5.2.2.7) that the complementiser and pronominal uses of *fe* were distinct lexical items by the seventeenth century.

In this section, I review this evidence, concentrating on the development of the reduplicated and simple series of pronouns. I consider first the variation in the second person singular between *ti* and *di*, familiar from Chapter Five. Subsequently I turn to variation in the first person singular, which is attested much later. Finally, I return to the most significant case of variation in the form of the third person singular pronoun and complementiser *fe/fo*.

7.8.1 *Ti* and *Di*

As was seen in section 5.2.2.4, *di*, a reduced form of the second person singular reduplicated pronoun *tydi* appears in preverbal environments from the sixteenth century onwards. If the development suggested for the sixteenth century is correct, some remains of this

variation would be expected in the eighteenth century. This is indeed what we find in the corpus. Three forms coexist, *ti*, *di* and *tydi*. Examples are given in (51).

- (51) a. **Ti** gel gymdeithion glân, cwrw, a thwrw, a than
 you have-2S companions fine beer and noise and fire
 'You shall have fine companions, beer, and noise, and a fire.'
 (BHG 7.2.4)
- b. O Enaint anwyl **di** am llygadynaist...
 O ointment dear you PRT+1S-OBJ bewitched-2S
 'O dear Ointment, you have bewitched me...'
 (GN 34.28)
- c. ...a **tydi** at dygaist...
 and you-REDUP PRT+3S-OBJ stole-2S
 '...and you stole it...'
 (Caernarfon Sessions 1797)

The table below gives the relative frequency of these forms in the corpus as preverbal subjects. Texts not listed contain no instances of the subject pronoun in preverbal position.

	% di	% tydi	
Ballads of Hugh Jones	0	0	n = 4
<i>Cwmp Dyn</i>	0	0	n = 11
<i>Protestant a Neilltuwr</i>	0	0	n = 7
<i>Rhyddid</i>	0	0	n = 2
Slander Cases (North East)	0	0	n = 9
Slander Cases (South East)	25	13	n = 8
Slander Cases (North West)	30	10	n = 10
Slander Cases (South West)	57	0	n = 7
Ballads of Ellis Roberts	86	0	n = 14
<i>All Lythyr Hen Bechadur</i>	100	0	n = 3
<i>Gras a Natur</i>	100	0	n = 4
<i>Ystori Richard Whittington</i>	100	0	n = 6

Table 7.18. Variant Forms of the Second Person Singular Preverbal Pronoun/Complementiser.

Three of the texts in the table are by Ellis Roberts (ballads, *All Lythyr Hen Bechadur* and *Gras a Natur*). They all consistently use *di*, and so show no evidence of style-shifting between them. The two by Hugh Jones both have *ti* consistently. There is virtually no variation within texts. With the exception of the slander cases, which do not reflect the output of any individual speaker, all other texts except the ballads of Ellis Roberts have only *di* or only *ti*.

How can this pattern be interpreted? The problem is to know to what extent the distribution reflects dialectal or stylistic differences. The variation cannot be entirely geographic. The slander cases for most of Wales show sporadic use of *di*. On the other hand it cannot be entirely stylistic. We can assume that the interludes, part of a tightly-defined and conscious genre, are all of approximately the same stylistic level, yet two of the four listed (*Gras a Natur* and *Ystori Richard Whittington*) have only *di* whilst the other two (*Cwmp Dyn*

and *Protestant a Neilltuwr*) have only *ti*. Yet all these texts are from approximately the same part of Wales.

The evidence of modern dialect studies may be relevant in this respect too. C. Thomas (1993) deals with the dialect of Nantgarw (Glamorgan), in which, as we saw early, a form of SVO is still (partially) maintained with subject pronouns. Her work contains examples of the second person singular pronoun in this position. In all cases, its form is *di*.²³ Supporting evidence comes from Thorne (1993:370).

(52) a. *di gluasd am ani*
 DI heard-2s about this
 'You heard about this.' (C. Thomas 1993:2.44)

b. *di aid di tru r knid a deuis a pren*
 DI go-2s you through the trees and choose-VN the wood

Kama...
 most-warped

'You'll go through the trees and choose the most warped wood...' (1.176)

c. *...di briotud ruu en deklun diolwg, di'sit...*
 DI marry-2s some old type ugly untidy
 '...you'll marry some old ugly untidy type...' (1.177)

The most plausible conclusion seems to be that in most cases, *ti* is the standard variant and *di* the non-standard form across most of Wales. However, the presence of *ti* even in certain low-style texts suggests that it was the usual form in some dialects. *Ti* seems to have been usual in the North East, as the evidence of the slander cases for the area and the usage of two of the authors (Hugh Jones from Denbighshire, and Edward Thomas from Flintshire) suggests. The evidence of the slander cases suggest that *ti* was found sporadically elsewhere in Wales too. The exact nature of the variation must be left open.

The conclusion that *di* was a common form in Welsh dialects of the eighteenth century is surprising given that, with the exception of South-East Glamorgan, it is virtually unknown in Welsh dialects of the present day. However, it seems to fit well with the conclusions about the early development of the pronominal system (cf. Chapter Four). If *di* is indeed a common form in Welsh dialects of the eighteenth century, then the survival of a form clearly derived historically from a reduplicated pronoun provides strong support for the argument presented earlier that the verb-second rule was

²³Here, as below, the examples from C. Thomas (1993) do not appear to be taken directly from native informants, and as such need to be viewed with some caution. The grammatical description states (2.44) that the form of the independent pronoun (including the preverbal subject pronoun) is *ti*. However, this conforms neither to the examples given in the grammatical description, nor to the dialect texts given, where the form in the preverbal environment is *di*.

maintained in late Middle Welsh by the spread of the reduplicated forms.

7.8.2 *Mi* and *Fi*

By the eighteenth century we find a first person counterpart to the reduced forms of the reduplicated pronouns of the second and third person, *di* and *fe/fo*. The reduced form of reduplicated *myfi* appears as *fi*, used as a straightforward variant to the more common *mi*.

Confirmation that this is indeed a phonologically reduced form of the reduplicated pronoun may be provided by at least one case of an intermediate form, in the example in (53) *n'fi*, repeated in two depositions, from a slander case arising from a dispute at Newton Nofltag, Glamorgan.

(53) *Lleidir yw William Philly an fi y prova fe o elman Jane*
 thief is William Philly and+I PRF prove it of elm Jane
 Jones.
 Jones
 'William Philly is a thief, and I'll prove it of Jane Jones' elm tree.'
 (Glamorgan Sessions 1760)

Table 7.19 below gives the frequency of both *fi* and *myfi* in preverbal subject position as a percentage of the total number of main clauses containing a preverbal first person singular subject pronoun. Texts that are not listed contain only *mi*.

In the corpus, *fi* occurs as a preverbal subject pronoun in the Almanacs of John Prys and in the slander cases for the South-East and South-West. In the South-West it is found in only a single example.

	% <i>fi</i>	% <i>myfi</i> ²⁴	
<i>Gras a Natur</i>	0	1	n = 76
Letters of Thomas Edwards	0	1	n = 69
<i>Protestant a Neilltuwr</i>	0	1	n = 113
<i>Tri Chryffion Byd</i>	0	1	n = 77
Total A Settlers	0	3	n = 30
<i>Ystori Richard Whittington</i>	0	5	n = 92
Ballads of Hugh Jones	0	6	n = 16
Letters of David Thomas	0	6	n = 17
Slander Cases (North-West)	0	7	n = 29
<i>Crefydd mewn Bwthyn</i>	0	8	n = 13
Letters of Ann Griffiths	0	13	n = 16
Slander Cases (North-East)	0	22	n = 23
Letters of Evan Evans	0	47	n = 43
<i>Drych yr Amseroedd</i>	0	67	n = 3
Slander Cases (South-West)	6	29	n = 17
Slander Cases (South-East)	46	8	n = 24
Almanacs of John Prys	50	0	n = 4

Table 7.19. Variant Forms of the First Person Singular Preverbal Pronoun/Complementiser.

²⁴Intermediate forms (e.g. *n'fi*) are included under *myfi*.

Examples of its use in the almanacs are given in (54). Those in (55) are from slander cases from the Glamorgan Sessions and St. David's Ecclesiastical Court. The evidence of the slander cases suggests very strongly that the use of *fi* is a dialect feature of the South-East. Why this variant should be found in the work of John Prys, a native of the North-East, is not entirely clear.

- (54) a. Ond weithan **fi** **Draethaf** yn nes at 'n Gwlad ein
but now **fi** discuss-1S PRD nearer to our country our
hunain...
own
'But now I shall discuss (matters) closer to our own
country...'
(AJP 4.38-39)
- b. Yn nesaf **fi** **eglluraf** pa fath ryw o ddamwainiau sydd
PRD next **fi** explain-1S what sort sort of events is
i ddeilliaw oddiwrth effaith y Diffig hwn...
to issue-VN from effect the eclipse this
'Next I shall explain what sort of events are to issue from the
effect of this eclipse...'
(AJP 5.18)
- (55) a. ...ag **fu** 'wn ble mae'r tu.
and **fi** know-1S where is the house
'...and I know where the house it.'
(Glamorgan Sessions 1762)
- b. ... a **fi** **croga** fe cyn bliwyddyn ei nawr.
and **fi** hang-1S him before year to now
'...and I'll hang him before the end of a year.'
(Glamorgan Sessions 1767)
- c. ...ac **fy** **prova** fe.
and **fi** prove-1S it
'...and I'll prove it.'
(Glamorgan Sessions 1768)
- d. Putain yn gwr i iw dy gwraig ti **fy** dwnga
whore my husband me is your wife you **fi** swear-1S
'Your wife is my husband's whore, I swear.'
(St. David's Ecclesiastical Court 1791)

Further suggestive evidence that *fi* might be associated in particular with the South-East comes the modern Nantgarw (Glamorgan) dialect (C. Thomas 1993). In this dialect, one of the few in Wales to retain agreeing preverbal pronouns/complementisers at all, the form of the first person singular pronoun preverbally is *fi* (cf. also C. Thomas 1993:1.177, 1.180):

- (56) a. Vi eBb ano
fi went-1S there
'I went there.'
(2.44)
- b. ...ond vi welas rai gwirð evið.
but **fi** saw-1S ones green too
'...but I saw some green ones too.'
(1.186)

The same form is reported for the Ely Valley (Glamorgan) by Phillips (1955:298).

Howell's (1902) remarks on the Welsh of Aberdare (Glamorgan) seem to confirm this. He gives the following example with *fi* rather than *mi* before a first person singular verb, albeit in a pronoun doubling context:

- (57) **Fi** welas i ddyn yn' myn'd i lan sha Byrdâr acha
fi saw-1S I man PROG go-VN up towards Aberdare on
ceffyl y bore 'mal
horse the morning this
'I saw a man going up towards Aberdare on horseback this
morning!'
(Howell 1902:270)

7.8.3 *Fo* and *Fe*

The nature of the variant forms in the third person is somewhat different from the first and second person. In both these other persons, direct descendants of the Middle Welsh simple pronouns survive into Modern Welsh as preverbal pronouns, that is, MW *mi* a + verb > ModW *mi* + verb and MW *ti* a + verb > ModW *ti* + verb. However, the direct descendent in the third person masculine, MW *ef* a + verb > ModW *e* + verb had virtually died out by the eighteenth century. Instead both main variants are descended from reduplicated pronouns. The older *efo* a + verb gives *fo* + verb, whilst the later innovation *efe* a + verb gives *fe* + verb.

In Chapter Five (sections 5.2.2.3 and 5.2.2.7), it was suggested that the expletive use of *ef* a, *efe* a and *efo* a resulted in the development of a main clause complementiser *fe/fo*. It was also suggested there that this complementiser should be treated as a separate lexical item from the pronoun *fe/fo* from the sixteenth century. The variation in form between *fe* and *fo* was said to have been the result of phonological developments prior to the split into two lexical items. If this is the case, it is expected that prior to the split, the variation between the forms will not be conditioned systematically by the distinction between expletive and referential uses. This is indeed what was found to be the case in the sixteenth century. After the split, however, it is expected that developments in the form of one of the items will not necessarily be shared by the other. Insofar as later developments show this to be the case, our account of the split into two lexical items in the sixteenth century is supported. I present here a summary of the distribution of these forms in the corpus. This evidence supports the idea that the two underwent separate

development. Full details of the distribution of the two forms are given in Appendix J.

In the eighteenth-century corpus both forms *fe* and *fo* are well attested in contexts where they could be analysed as preverbal pronouns rather than complementisers. Examples of *fe* are given in (58), and of *fo* in (59).

- (58) a. Pan ocdd y Publican yn cwyno, Fe aeth i'r
when was the publican PROG lament-VN FE went to the

eglwys i weddio...
church to pray-VN

'When the publican was lamenting, he went to the church to pray...'
(PN 17.33-34)

- b. Os daw fy Mrawd Hugh drosodd yn y Gwanwyn fe all
if comes my brother Hugh over in the spring FE can

ei chael.
3SF-GEN have-VN

'If my brother Hugh comes over in the spring, he can have it.'
(LUSS A3.3.35-36)

- (59) a. Fo huda yn Nhâd i dorri yr Gyfireth...
FO enchanted-3S-IMPF my father to break-VN the law
'He enchanted my father to break the law...'
(CD 29.9)

- b. ...ag fo fydd yn disgwyl cael rhyw ateb
and FO will-be PROG expect-VN receive-VN some answer

ynghylch y dosbarthiad.
about the distribution

'...and he'll be expecting to get some answer about the distribution.'
(LEE 257.8)

Fo is found as a pronoun in the interludes *Cwymp Dyn*, *Gras a Natur*, the Letters of Evan Evans, the Ballads of Ellis Roberts and Hugh Jones and in slander cases from the North East. With one exception, all the texts in which *fo* is found are from the North-East of Wales. The Letters of Evan Evans, a native of Cardiganshire, are the only exception.

Although *fo* is found frequently in a referential function, its use as an expletive is extremely rare. There are only three examples in the entire corpus, all in the Letters of Evan Evans.²⁵

It seems that *fo* is restricted to function as a pronoun. This view is reinforced by the fact that it is not found in pronoun doubling

contexts (except once in the Letters of Evan Evans), nor where the subject is a non-overt feminine pronoun.

This suggests that the North-Eastern dialect must by this time have already begun to make a distinction between the referential use of the third person singular pronoun and its expletive use. This supports the attempt in Chapter Five to relate the increase in the use of *fe/fo* in the sixteenth century to the splitting apart of the expletive and referential uses of the pronoun into two separate lexical items. Morgan (1952:367 fn.) suggests that Edward Samuel (1674-1748) already makes a fairly consistent distinction between the form of the pronoun and that of the particle in his *Holl Ddyledswydd Dyn* (1718).

It can be concluded that, at an earlier stage, as suggested in Chapter Five, the referential pronoun split from the expletive pronoun, which was reanalysed as a complementiser. In the North-Eastern dialect, the form of the complementiser changes to *fe* only, whereas variation in the form of the pronoun between *fe* and *fo* remains. Since they have separate historical developments it can be concluded that they are distinct lexical items.

7.9 Coordination

The eighteenth-century data also give us the opportunity to test the analysis of coordination presented in Chapter Four. By the eighteenth century, the possible patterns of clause-level coordination had been reduced considerably. The new restrictions can be linked to the loss of the null topic operator strategy. Since the null topic operator could be acquired only on the basis of gaps in the V2-system, the breakdown of that system would necessarily mean that it would fail to be acquired by the next generation. I shall now examine the types of coordination found in the eighteenth-century corpus, presenting a syntactic analysis which accounts for these restrictions and showing how the possibilities are limited by the settings of the V2 and case assignment parameters at the time.

Clausal coordination with a gap is restricted virtually entirely to three types by the eighteenth century. The gap in the second conjunct, identified as the subject by the presence of the preverbal particle *a*, is nearly always coreferential with the subject of the first conjunct.

The first type can be accounted for fairly trivially. This is Shared Constituent Coordination with a raised nominal subject as the shared constituent, the type of coordination familiar from English and other SVO languages. This is illustrated in (60).²⁶

²⁶Further examples: CD 7.4; PN 8.17; TChB 15.12; YRW 30.23; MEW 3.44, 15.28; Clg 171.30, 175.39, 175.42, 176.4; Cwyc 5.21; GA 53.25; Rhy 23.19, 31.7, 39.24, 44.5; StG 6.27, 7.2, 7.8, 8.27, 12.20; TD 25.10; LAG 40.16; BIER 3.3.24; BHJ 6.5.11; AJP 4.7 (impersonal); AMW 1.33.31, 2.22.33; DA 5.25, 6.34, 7.29, 12.13; IHHB 33.29; HTN 4.5, 4.16, 9.2, 9.37, 9.38, 16.2, 16.28, 26.19, 26.28, 15.26.

²⁵There are two examples of *fo* in the *darfod*-construction, where its use may be referential, but as we have seen this case is ambiguous.

- (60) a. ...Griffith y Pandu₁ aeth ar ei ol e ac ₁ a ddaeth
Griffith y Pandu₁ went after-him and ₁ PRT came
i hyd ir gwartheg.
as-far-as-the cattle
'Griffith y Pandu went after him and found the cattle.'
(Caernarfon Sessions 1824, two depositions)
- b. [Y Wraig a roddaist etto atta]₁ A wnaeth i mi yn
[the woman REL gave-2S again to-me]₁ PRT made to me PRD
ddifatter fwyta: Ag ₁ a ddweydodd gwnn ar Goedd,
unconcerned eat-VN and ₁ PRT said indeed on public
Mae Siwgwr oedd y Seigia.
CLEFT sugar was the dishes
'The woman that you gave to me made me eat unconcernedly
and said indeed in public that the dishes were sugar.'
(CD 12.8-11)
- c. ...yna 'r gwr₁ yn lled lidiog a daflodd ben mawnen at
then the man PRD quite angry PRT threw lump peat at
y wraig, ac ₁ a ddywedodd na allei fe aros...
the woman and ₁ PRT said COMP+NEG could he stay-VN
'...then the man quite angrily threw a lump of peat at the
woman and said that he could not stay...' (LTE A.74.12-13)
- d. ...Ar gwyddel₁ a dynodd ei gyllell ag ₁ a
and+the Irishman PRT pulled his knife and ₁ PRT
laddodd y wraig...
killed the woman...
'And the Irishman pulled out his knife and killed the
woman...' (BHJ 6.5.9)

This type is expected from standard assumptions about coordination. Assuming that raised subjects by this time occupy SpecIP (or SpecAgrSP in a fully-articulated Phrase Structure), it involves coordination at the I'-level (or AgrS'), with the subject having been extracted Across-the-Board from both conjuncts:

- (61) [IP Griffith₁ [I' aethv₁ [AspP t₁ tv₁ ar ei ol e]]]
went after-him
ac
and
[I' a ddaethv₂ [AspP t₁ tv₂ i hyd ir gwartheg]]
came as-far-as the cattle
The same construction is found with a pronominal subject as
the shared constituent:²⁷
- (62) a. Ti a ddygaist heffer ac ai gwerthaist hi imi.
you PRT stole-2S heifer and PRT+3S-OBJ sold-2S it to-me
'You stole a heifer and sold it to me.'
(Caernarfon Sessions 1773)
- b. Fe ddygodd Glamp o Gosyn, A deuddeg Pwys o Ymenyn:
he stole big-thing of cheese and twelve pound of butter
Ac aeth i ffwrdd yn fawr ei Fâr...
and went away PRD big his anger...
'He stole a big cheese and twelve pounds of butter, and went
away angrily...' (CD 56.11-13)
- c. fe aeth yn Glaf ar Plurys ag a fu yn
he went PRD ill with-the palsy and PRT was-PERF PRD
debig lawn yn ngolwg dinion i ymadel ar byd hwn...
likely very in sight men to leave-VN with-the world this
'He became very ill with the palsy and was very likely in the
eyes of men to leave this world...' (LUSS B2.2.1)
- d. Yna mi aethum yn lled ddi-fatter am Gaer, ac
then I went-1S PRD quite unconcerned to Chester and
â drôlais i gârlo coed.
PRT turned-1S to carry-VN wood.
'Then I went quite unconcernedly to Chester and turned to
carrying wood.' (HTN 14.27)

²⁷Further examples: CD 13.26, 46.12, 63.8, 56.15, 67.31; GN 11.16, 11.19, 45.1; PN 24.36, 46.36, TChB 49.21, 51.20, 51.22, 29.11, 45.4; Cwyc 9.25; GA 54.23; Rhy 16.6, 16.12, 17.25, 24.4; TD 26.1, 26.18, 27.24; Elst B1.113.11, B9.120.28; LAG 43.22; LDT 29.59; LEE 243.8; LTE A.64.15, A.76.9; LUSS B2.1.19, B2.1.18; Slander Cases: Caernarfon Sessions 1797; Denbigh Sessions 1760, 1776 (x2), 1782 (x2); Flint Sessions 1779, 1781, 1788 (x2); Pembroke Sessions 1796 (x4); CMB 14.34, 22.23, 24.3, 24.6, 24.9, 26.27; HTN 5.16, 9.36, 12.11, 12.20, 12.25, 13.30, 14.8, 14.27, 17.9, 17.27, 19.14, 19.33, 20.2, 22.5, 23.13, 24.29, 25.18, 25.25, 26.2.

In a grammar in which these are still pronouns, the structure of this, apart from the cliticisation process, is identical with that found in Early Modern Welsh (for discussion see section 5.1.3.3). The structure is more complicated once the preverbal pronouns have been reanalysed as complementisers, since the true subject will actually be postverbal *pro*.

However, this will make them identical in structure to the third type, illustrated in (63).²⁸

(63) a. Lladrones wytti, mi a ddoist *pro*_i im ty i
thief are-you, MI PRT came-2S *pro*_i to-my house me

ag a ddygaist fy nghaws i.
and PRT stole-2S my cheese me

'You are a thief, you came to my house and stole my cheese.'
(Flint Sessions 1779)

b. ...wrth ddwad adre mi groesodd *pro*_i y ffordd yngulch yr
by come-VN home MI crossed *pro*_i the road around the

un fan ag a neidiodd i ffrwyn fy ngheffyl...
same place and PRT jumped to reins my horse

'...coming home he crossed the road around the same place
and jumped onto the reins of my horse...'
(Denbigh Sessions 1769)

c. Yr wyt ty yn lleidar ac a dugaist tools dy dad.
PRT are you PRD thief and PRT stole-2S tools your father
'You're a thief and (you) stole your father's tools.'

(Denbigh Sessions 1775)

d. ...mi aeth y dyn ddwy filltir oddiyma ac ai
PRT went the man two miles from-here and PRT+3P-OBJ

cymerodd oddiarnoeh
took from-you

'...the man went two miles from here and took them from
you.'
(Flint Sessions 1801)

Here, the gap in the second conjunct is again coreferential with the subject of the first conjunct. However, the shared subject occupies

a position in the first conjunct which is below a non-shared element, namely the first verb.

In late eighteenth-century and nineteenth-century written Welsh, a similar construction is used as a relative clause, with *ac* *a* as the relative marker (Richards 1938:80). I take this to represent a misunderstanding and imitation of the coordinate construction that was becoming obsolete. Note that in most cases the examples given here of the coordinate construction cannot reasonably be interpreted as relative clauses. It is therefore not possible to argue that there are actually no coordination facts to account for.

Compare the coordination facts of eighteenth-century Welsh to those of Middle Welsh. In the eighteenth century the two clauses must share a common subject, whether that subject is preverbal in the first conjunct as in the examples in (60) and in the conservative analysis of (62), or postverbal as in the innovative analysis of (62) or as in (63). Other configurations are found only exceedingly rarely. This is a dramatic reduction in the possible types from Middle Welsh, where the antecedent of the gap in the second conjunct could fulfil any or no grammatical function in the first conjunct. Notice that this change results in the coordination possibilities in eighteenth-century Welsh being identical to those in Modern German (cf. section 4.2.2). The main question that we have to deal with is why by the eighteenth century clausal coordination with a gap should require identical subjects when previously this had not been a requirement.

First, however, we also have to account for the appearance of the preverbal particle *a* in the second conjunct. This particle normally occurs only following a subject. We have assumed that this *a* is the result of agreement of the head of a functional projection (C) with a specifier position (SpecCP). Assume that after the reanalysis of subject-initial V2-structures as SVO, this process, if it takes place productively at all, operates as a Spec-Head agreement relationship in AgrSP.

In the examples in (62), and potentially also those in (61), the subject in the first conjunct is postverbal, and apparently the absence of a subject in the second conjunct is licensed only by this subject. We can rule out the possibility that the second conjunct contains preverbal *pro*. First, preverbal *pro* is not otherwise licensed. Second, it should be possible for *pro* to have any antecedent, not simply the subject of the preceding clause. Hypothesising postverbal *pro* fares just as badly, avoiding the licensing problem, but creating new difficulty in accounting for the appearance of the particle *a*, and still not accounting for the requirement that the subject be an antecedent.

The solution is to suggest that these sentences involve coordination at a level immediately below the subject of the first clause. On one interpretation, in a fully-articulated Phrase Structure, this would be T'-coordination. The structure of (63)d. would then be (64).

²⁸Further examples: CD 18.24, 32.25, 50.13, 56.1, 56.9; GN 45.22; PN 20.38, 31.20, 35.27; YRW 33.27, 48.32; Clg 172.10, 172.38, 173.3, 173.4, 173.8, 173.9, 174.11, 235.45, 236.4; Cwyc 23.26, 33.18; StG 7.10, 7.13, 12.10, 16.29, 26.18, 44.3; TD 21.10; Eist B1.113.4, B6.117.4; LDT 35.16, 45.7, 45.15, 48.23; LEE 248.26; LJJ 86.19; LTE A.76.2; LUSS A2.5.1, B2.2.9; BER 12.3.2; BHJ 6.6.10; BJJ 52.12; Slander Cases: Flint Sessions 1760, 1783; AMW 2.24.19; CmB 8.2, 25.4; DA 12.34, 23.17; HHGB 35.23; HIN 5.19, 5.23, 8.14, 9.27, 17.2, 17.19, 26.23.

- (64) [CP m_i [AgrSP aethv₁ [TP y dyn_i
PRT went the man
[T' tv₁ [VP t₁ tv₁ ddwy filltir oddlyma]]
two miles away
ac
and
[T' a'u cymeroddv₂ [VP t₁ tv₂ oddiarnochoch]]]]
PRT+3P-OBJ took from-you

The subject raises across the board from SpecVP to SpecTP in each of the conjuncts. The particle *a* appears in the second conjunct as a result of Spec-head agreement between the verb in T, and its subject in SpecTP.

This presents one difficulty, namely that in the second conjunct *a* appears in T, whereas the analysis of SVO assumes that the particle and verb end up in AgrS. It appears that this obliges us to revise the conditions under which *a* appears to include Spec-head agreement in TP. The structure may also present problems with regard to agreement. Alternatively it forces us to allow coordination of non-like projections. We could for instance claim that the second conjunct is an AgrS', coordinating with a T'. The particle *a* would then head AgrSP rather than TP in the usual way, and agreement processes operating in AgrSP would not be affected. Heycock and Kroch (1994) propose that in German coordination structures of this type (SLF-coordination) the structure assigned to a sentence like (65) is that in (66).

- (65) Das Gepäck ließ er fallen und rannte zum Ausgang.
the luggage let he fall and ran to-the exit
'He dropped the luggage and ran to the exit.'
(Heycock and Kroch 1994:258)

- (66) [CP Das Gepäck_i [C' ließv₁ [IP er_i
the luggage let he
[T' t₁ fallen t₁]
fall
und
and
[C'/T' ranntev₂ [VP zum Ausgang tv₂]]]]]
ran to-the exit

(Heycock and Kroch 1994:264)

They argue that traces that are not needed to satisfy any licensing relations are deleted. So in (66) IP deletes because it contains two traces neither of which are required for case or theta-role assignment, leaving behind a hybrid category CP/IP which can coordinate with CP.

The structure for eighteenth-century Welsh in (67) is simply a more articulated version of this idea. The traces in TP do not satisfy any licensing relations themselves – Nominative Case is assigned in AgrSP, and Accusative Case and theta-roles are assigned in VP. Therefore the traces in TP delete, causing TP to delete with them, thereby creating a hybrid category AgrSP/TP. The coordination is therefore coordination between T' and AgrS'/T', which counts as coordination of like categories.

- (67) [CP m_i [Agrp aethv₁ [TP y dyn_i
PRT went the man
[T' tv₁ [VP t₁ tv₁ ddwy filltir oddlyma]]
two miles away
ac
and
Agr'/T' a'u cymeroddv₂ [TP-t₁-tv₂ [VP t₁ tv₂ oddiarnochoch]]]]
PRT+3P-OBJ took from-you

The grammaticality of this construction in a non-V2 language depends crucially on the rules of Case-assignment.²⁹ Let us assume that Across-the-Board extraction entails that the moved element fulfil any Case requirements with respect to both conjuncts. With respect to the first conjunct, the subject is assigned Nominative Case under government from the verb in AgrS. With respect to the second conjunct, it is in the specifier position of the AgrSP/TP. It can therefore receive Case under agreement from the second verb in AgrS/T. This possibility does not therefore depend on V2, but rather the possibility of Case-assignment either under agreement or under government.

None of the clausal coordination structures in eighteenth-century Welsh discussed in this section requires the postulation of the null topic operator that was needed for earlier varieties of Welsh. This is a welcome result, given that it was argued in section 6.4.1 that such a null operator could not be acquired outside a V2-system. It also allows us to relate the narrowing of possibilities for clausal coordination in eighteenth-century Welsh as compared to Middle Welsh to the loss of the V2-rule. The types of clausal coordination that remain can be generated by a non-V2 grammar. On the other hand, the types of coordination that are lost involve a discourse-bound gap that could only be generated using a null topic operator in a V2-language. It is therefore not surprising that the more restricted form of coordination should survive the loss of V2, as long as assignment of case to preverbal subjects remains a possibility, whereas the less restrictive coordination structure should not.

²⁹In a V2-language like German, Case-assignment is not crucial, since movement of the subject to a preverbal position is A'-movement, hence it is the trace in each conjunct which must be licensed. This condition can be fulfilled even if Case-assignment is exclusively under government.

7.10 Word Order Change Since the Eighteenth Century

Our account of the development of Welsh word order has almost reached the stage of Contemporary Welsh. However, there is one way in which the word order patterns found in the corpus differ substantially from those found in Contemporary Welsh. Synthetic verbs with full nominal subjects are found frequently in both SVO and VSO orders in eighteenth-century Welsh, whereas only VSO is found in unmarked contexts in Contemporary Welsh. I shall outline the sort of variation found in the corpus, and suggest a possible way in which the differences in word order and in coordination possibilities between eighteenth-century Welsh and Contemporary Welsh may be accounted for. Full details can be found in Appendix I.

	%SVO	n
Letters of Ann Griffiths	93	n = 15
Almanacs of Mathew Williams	69	n = 13
<i>Rhyddid</i>	69	n = 114
<i>Meddylliau yr Esgob Watson</i>	60	n = 15
Ballads of Hugh Jones	54	n = 54
<i>Gair yn ei Amser</i>	50	n = 12
Ballads of John Jones	51	n = 95
<i>Cwymp Dyn</i>	43	n = 92
Letters of Thomas Jones	42	n = 26
<i>Toriad y Dydd</i>	42	n = 36
Slander Cases (All)	39	n = 36
<i>Ystori Richard Whittington</i>	39	n = 72
Ballads of Ellis Roberts	38	n = 97
<i>Gras a Natur</i>	38	n = 128
<i>Tri Chryffon Byd</i>	38	n = 80
<i>Protestant a Neilltuwr</i>	38	n = 133
Letters of Thomas Edwards	37	n = 30
<i>Hanes Tom o'r Nant</i>	34	n = 58
Letters of David Thomas	34	n = 38
Slander Cases (South-West)	33	n = 15
<i>Cylchgrawn Cynnraeg</i>	32	n = 93
Letters of Owen Jones	23	n = 13
Letters of Evan Evans	18	n = 11
Slander Cases (North-East)	18	n = 11
<i>Drych yr Amseroedd</i>	16	n = 120
<i>Seren tan Gwmwl</i>	16	n = 45
<i>Crefydd mewn Bwthyn</i>	15	n = 34
<i>Cwyn y Cystuddiedig</i>	10	n = 52
Settlers' Letters (A group)	8	n = 25
Settlers' Letters (A3)	0	n = 12

Table 7.20. The Frequency of SVO Word Order in Eighteenth-century Welsh.

Table 7.20 gives the frequency of SVO as a percentage of affirmative declarative main clauses with synthetic verbs with full nominal subjects. As usual, texts with less than ten tokens are excluded.

Clearly, there is a very wide range of usage. Here, I shall limit myself to a few suggestions as to how this variation should be interpreted, concentrating on what conclusions can be drawn about the non-literary language, and the implications of the data for syntactic change.

Consider first what is happening in the literary language. There is a great deal of variation. A number of quite literary texts have very high frequency of SVO: the Letters of Ann Griffiths (93%), *Rhyddid* (69%), *Meddylliau yr Esgob Watson* (60%), *Gair yn ei Amser* (50%). On the other hand other literary texts have a very low incidence of SVO: *Cylchgrawn Cynnraeg* (32%), the Letters of Owen Jones (23%) and Evan Evans (18%), *Drych yr Amseroedd* (16%), *Seren tan Gwmwl* (16%), *Crefydd mewn Bwthyn* (15%) and *Cwyn y Cystuddiedig* (10%).

A possibility worth considering is that there are two literary norms. The first norm has a high proportion of SVO clauses. The works which subscribe to this norm can be classified into two groups which may reflect the way in which the norm is transmitted. Some are highly conservative works, religious in outlook if not in content. Into this category fall the Letters of Ann Griffiths, and two conservative political works, *Rhyddid* and *Gair yn ei Amser*. The remainder are populist and technical works of types not traditionally written in Welsh, and as such heavily dependent on English sources. This is particularly the case with the almanacs and the translated work *Meddylliau yr Esgob Watson*. These texts are all in effect translated, whether directly or indirectly, from English. These have high levels of SVO too, and this may naturally be attributed to interference from the source language. In short, conservative and religious works adhere to an SVO-norm, maintained through the reading of the Bible, and are joined for different reasons by English-influenced texts.

Another competing norm uses predominantly VSO. The texts in this category can be seen more clearly from Table 7.21 which, using the same context as before, gives the frequency of absolute VSO clauses, that is those without the particles *fe* or *mi*.

A number of literary texts have very high levels of VSO: *Cwyn y Cystuddiedig* (85%), *Drych yr Amseroedd* (80%), *Crefydd mewn Bwthyn* (74%), the Letters of David Thomas (55%), *Toriad y Dydd* (53%) and *Cylchgrawn Cynnraeg* (51%). The texts in question are either politically radical (in the case of the three political publications *Cwyn y Cystuddiedig*, *Toriad y Dydd* and *Cylchgrawn Cynnraeg*) or late in the period (*Crefydd mewn Bwthyn* 1819, *Drych yr Amseroedd* 1820). A tempting conclusion is that in the last years of the eighteenth-century, a VSO norm was competing with an SVO norm upheld by Biblical usage. Writers who rejected traditional values were more likely to use the VSO norm. By the early years of the nineteenth century, the VSO norm had established itself for general use.

Compare this to non-literary usage. Most of the evidence in Table 7.20 points to fairly frequent but not overwhelming use of SVO order in colloquial texts. The interludes show remarkably consistent frequency of SVO at between 35% and 45%. The ballads are less consistent as a group, but still indicate that a good half of all affirmative main clauses with synthetic verbs are SVO. This evidence is confirmed by the prose of the slander material, where the total of 39% SVO is as expected.

	%VSO	
<i>Cwyt y Cystuddledig</i>	85	
<i>Drych yr Amseroedd</i>	80	n = 52
<i>Crefydd mewn Bwthyn</i>	74	n = 120
Letters of David Thomas	55	n = 34
<i>Toriad y Dydd</i>	53	n = 38
<i>Cylchgrawn Cynnraeg</i>	49	n = 38
<i>Gras a Natur</i>	45	n = 93
Ballads of Ellis Roberts	45	n = 128
<i>Ystori Richard Whittington</i>	36	n = 97
Ballads of Hugh Jones	35	n = 72
Ballads of John Jones	31	n = 54
<i>Rhyddid</i>	29	n = 95
<i>Seren tan Gwmwl</i>	27	n = 114
<i>Protestant a Neilltuwr</i>	26	n = 45
<i>Tri Chryfion Byd</i>	25	n = 133
Letters of Owen Jones	23	n = 80
<i>Cwyt Dyn</i>	23	n = 13
Letters of Thomas Jones	23	n = 92
Slander Cases (South-West)	20	n = 26
<i>Gair yn ei Amser</i>	17	n = 15
Settlers' Letters (A group)	16	n = 12
Letters of Evan Evans	9	n = 25
Almanacs of Mathew Williams	8	n = 11
Settlers' Letters (A3)	8	n = 13
Slander Cases (All)	8	n = 12
Letters of Thomas Edwards	7	n = 36
<i>Hanes Twm o'r Nant</i>	3	n = 30
Letters of Ann Griffiths	0	n = 58
<i>Meddylliau yr Esgob Watson</i>	0	n = 15
Slander Cases (North-East)	0	n = 15
		n = 11

Table 7.21. The Frequency of 'Absolute' VSO Word Order in Eighteenth-century Welsh.

The only inconsistency in the non-literary material comes in the settlers' letters. In the letters of the A group of settlers SVO accounts for only 8% of the clauses in question. The little evidence that we have from the B group is of the same order. In fact the dominant pattern is *fe* + VSO. The somewhat later date of the settlers' letters compared to the other non-literary material may be significant in this regard.

In fact the most significant feature of colloquial texts seems to be a high frequency of the affirmative complementisers *mi* and *fe*. This is illustrated in Table 7.22, which shows the frequency of these complementisers in the texts, on the same basis as with the tables above. The interludes, settlers' letters and slander case depositions use the complementisers with a frequency that is generally higher than 30%.³⁰

³⁰Note the special and perhaps revealing case of John Jones' political works. The earlier one, *Seren tan Gwmwl* (1795) has a high level of *mi* and *fe*, and seems to be adhering to the colloquial norm. In the later work, *Toriad y Dydd* (1797), *mi* is removed entirely and the frequency of *fe* is drastically reduced. In the discussion which followed publication of the first pamphlet, Jones was attacked for the quality of his prose (J.J. Evans 1928:154). The linguistic differences between the two pamphlets seem to reflect a conscious move away from colloquial usage towards the VSO norm.

	% <i>fe</i> / <i>mi</i>	
<i>Cwyt y Cystuddledig</i>	2	
<i>Rhyddid</i>	2	n = 52
<i>Drych yr Amseroedd</i>	3	n = 114
Letters of David Thomas	3	n = 120
<i>Toriad y Dydd</i>	3	n = 38
Ballads of Hugh Jones	3	n = 36
<i>Gras a Natur</i>	4	n = 54
Letters of Ann Griffiths	6	n = 128
Ballads of Ellis Roberts	7	n = 15
<i>Crefydd mewn Bwthyn</i>	9	n = 97
Ballads of John Jones	12	n = 34
<i>Cylchgrawn Cynnraeg</i>	15	n = 95
<i>Ystori Richard Whittington</i>	16	n = 93
Almanacs of Mathew Williams	19	n = 72
<i>Gair yn ei Amser</i>	23	n = 13
<i>Cwyt Dyn</i>	25	n = 12
<i>Tri Chryfion Byd</i>	28	n = 92
Letters of Thomas Jones	30	n = 80
<i>Protestant a Neilltuwr</i>	31	n = 26
<i>Meddylliau yr Esgob Watson</i>	31	n = 133
Slander Cases (All)	33	n = 15
Slander Cases (North-East)	39	n = 36
Letters of Owen Jones	44	n = 11
Slander Cases (South-West)	46	n = 13
Letters of Thomas Edwards	47	n = 15
<i>Seren tan Gwmwl</i>	50	n = 30
<i>Hanes Twm o'r Nant</i>	58	n = 45
Settlers' Letters (Total A group)	59	n = 58
Letters of Evan Evans	60	n = 25
Settlers' Letters (A3)	64	n = 11
	92	n = 12

Table 7.22. The Frequency of the *Fe* and *Mi* with Nominal Subjects in Eighteenth-century Welsh.

It can be concluded that SVO was still a productive pattern in colloquial Welsh of the late eighteenth century.³¹ It had to compete, however, with 'absolute' VSO and in particular with the increasingly frequent use of *fe*/*mi* + VSO. Contrast this with the situation in Contemporary Welsh, where preverbal non-contrastive subjects, as in (68), are at best marginal.

- (68) *?Siôn aeth i Lundain.
Siôn went to London
'Siôn went to London.'

As was suggested in section 6.3, once the non-V2 analysis of such sentences becomes established, the SVO pattern is derived from the VSO one by raising of the subject. This movement rule had to be justified there by claiming that Case-assignment by AgrS under government to the subject position in VSO structures, namely SpecTP, was optional. A subject in this position could therefore raise to SpecAgrSP in order to receive Nominative Case. However, this movement is more costly in the sense that it involves an extra chain

³¹Lewis' and Richards' examples of SVO in (early) twentieth-century Welsh (Lewis 1942:20 and Richards 1938:106, see section 1.3.2) may be seen as a relic of this usage.

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position, and it is difficult to see why such a system should be permitted.

This led to a situation, which presumably continued into the nineteenth century, where the SVO pattern competed with the more 'economical' VSO patterns. Under such circumstances it is reasonable to suppose that SVO would gradually be used less frequently in performance. Eventually the drop in frequency would be so great that the aspect of the grammar allowing SVO, namely the possibility of Case-assignment to SpecAgrSP was lost, and unmarked SVO became obsolete in Contemporary Welsh. This is the development that must be hypothesised as separating eighteenth-century Welsh from Contemporary Welsh.

The loss of Case-assignment by AgrS under agreement has interesting implications for the analysis of clausal coordination. The differences in coordination rules between eighteenth-century Welsh and Contemporary Welsh seem to support the idea that a change in the configuration for Case-assignment is involved.

Coordination rules in Contemporary Welsh are considerably more restrictive than even eighteenth-century Welsh. Shared Constituent Coordination with a shared subject in postverbal position in the first conjunct in (69)a. is now completely ungrammatical. The only possibilities for sentence-level coordination involve full CPs in (69)b. and c.

- (69) a. *Daeth Siôn i'r siop ac a brynodd gaws.
 came Siôn to-the shop and PRT bought cheese
- b. Daeth Siôn i'r siop ac mi brynodd (e) gaws.
 came Siôn to-the shop and PRT bought (he) cheese
- c. Daeth Siôn i'r siop a prynodd (e) gaws.
 came Siôn to-the shop and bought (he) cheese
- 'Siôn came to the shop and bought cheese.'

The loss of the construction in (69)a. reduces to the loss of the possibility of Case-assignment by AgrS under agreement. The b. and c. alternatives both involve coordination of full CPs. In both cases the subject in the second conjunct is postverbal, as shown by the possibility of an overt pronoun there, and there is no Shared Constituent Coordination at all. In examples like (69)a., the shared subject is extracted from both clauses. It is reasonable to assume that it must be case-marked with respect to both clauses. This was the case in eighteenth-century Welsh, where Nominative Case could be assigned either under agreement or under government. However, in Contemporary Welsh with Nominative Case assigned only under government, (69)a. is ungrammatical because the shared subject cannot receive case with respect to the second conjunct (see (67) for the syntactic structure).

The result of the loss of Case-assignment under agreement is that Shared Constituent Coordination with a shared subject is ungrammatical under all conditions in Contemporary Welsh.

7.11 Conclusion

In this chapter I have traced the development of Welsh word order from the loss of V2 up to the start of the nineteenth century, and offered some suggestions as to how its further development up to the present day is likely to have proceeded. The developments posited led to a decrease in the frequency of SVO structures in the language, and led ultimately to the complete loss of such orders. The data of this chapter have also provided us with more information about the mechanisms of syntactic change generally. Whilst the changes examined in the preceding chapter were thought of primarily as being parametric in nature, those examined here have been mostly lexical. As we have seen, the hypothesised differences between parametric and lexical change have not always conformed with the patterns found in actual historical cases.

Conclusion

This study has attempted to contribute to the understanding of a group of related questions in historical Welsh syntax, whilst at the same time investigating the ways in which syntactic change may universally operate. I shall now consider the main results of these inquiries.

8.1 Verb-second in Middle Welsh

We first return to the question with which the investigation began: Has Welsh word order really moved back from V2 (the abnormal sentence) to VSO since Middle Welsh? We are now in a position to judge the merits of the two accounts of the development of Welsh word order outlined there. Under the standard account of Mac Cana (1973), Watkins (1977/78) and Fife (1988), verb-second in Middle Welsh was a literary device introduced from an archaic form of the South-Eastern dialects. Never a feature of the spoken language, it disappeared from the written language when the fashion for it abated in Early Modern Welsh (sections 1.3.3.1-1.3.3.3). The alternative account treated the written evidence for Middle Welsh as essentially reliable. According to this account, the abnormal sentence was lost as a result of natural language change in the transition between (spoken) Middle and Early Modern Welsh.

The evidence presented in the course of this study allows us confidently to conclude that a verb-second (the abnormal sentence) was fully-operative in spoken Middle Welsh. Evidence has been presented from three sources to support this view: from the internal structure of Middle Welsh itself, from comparative evidence both from the other Celtic languages and beyond, and from the subsequent historical development of Welsh syntax.

First, there is a substantial body of internal linguistic evidence from Middle Welsh itself to support this conclusion. The analysis of V2-structures in Middle Welsh in Chapters Three and Four showed that the V2-rule was manifested in a number of constructions. It was seen that V2 incorporated rules of adverb placement in a natural way, distinguishing between several different classes of adverbs. The rules regulating the distance between the landing site of the topic and its base position exactly parallel those attested for a standard instance of A'-movement in Middle Welsh, namely relative clauses. Specifically, topicalisation from within embedded clauses and from within prepositional phrases is freely attested in both constructions. Finally, V2 was 'suspended' in contexts of narrative continuity, particularly in conjoined clauses. We can conclude that the abnormal sentence in Middle Welsh was a complex and fully developed V2-system, which interacted in a number of ways with other parts of the grammar. This is precisely the sort of behaviour that is expected if V2 was a naturally-acquired part of the grammar of Middle Welsh. If, on the other hand, V2 was a consciously-learned literary rule, it is hard to see how these complex interactions could have been devised or maintained.

CONCLUSION

The internal evidence of Middle Welsh is reinforced by the comparisons that we have made with other languages. We have seen that the rules for topicalisation from Prepositional Phrases and coordination as they relate to V2 in Middle Welsh exactly parallel those found in Breton (see sections 3.4.2, and 4.2.1 and 4.2.3.1). There is no reason to expect this if V2 was an imported literary addition in Middle Welsh prose. If, however, the connection between V2 in Middle Welsh and V2 in Breton is a natural genetic one, these similarities of detail are entirely to be expected. Similarities in detail have also been noted between Middle Welsh and languages where the V2-phenomenon is not genetically connected to that in Middle Welsh. Specifically, the limited use of V1-structures in Middle Welsh parallels V1 in Icelandic and Yiddish (section 4.2.3.1). Furthermore, the interaction between V2 and coordination in Middle Welsh is virtually identical to that found in Old Icelandic and Old French, and shows parallels with coordination structures in German and Norwegian (sections 4.2.2, 4.2.3.1, and 4.2.3.3). These similarities suggest that V2 in Middle Welsh makes use of a number of universally-available options, and is therefore a natural linguistic pattern rather than a literary device.

The subsequent development of Welsh syntax points to the same conclusion. It has been shown that there is a substantial amount of evidence that remnants of the abnormal sentence survived into Modern Welsh. Certainly in the eighteenth century, SVO order is well attested in non-literary texts. This can only be interpreted as a residual form of the abnormal sentence. Similarly, residual V2 in Contemporary Welsh can only be accounted for if earlier stages of the language were verb-second.

Detailed evidence has also been presented regarding the development of the main clause affirmative complementisers *mi* and *fe*. These must have developed from preverbal pronouns in the spoken language. Even without documentary evidence for Middle Welsh, we would on the basis of their development be forced to reconstruct the possibility of preverbal subject pronouns in Middle Welsh.

All this evidence points to V2 as a fully-productive spoken pattern in Middle Welsh.

Finally, one of the central planks of the standard account, the Southern British Dialect Hypothesis, has been seriously undermined. According to this hypothesis, it is suggested that there was a major syntactic dialect split between the Southern dialects of British, ancestors of Breton, Cornish and South-Eastern dialects of Welsh, and Northern dialects of British, ancestors of the remaining Welsh dialects. The main evidence was the existence of SVO in the former, but not the latter. We have seen (section 7.2.2) that SVO in the South-Eastern dialects of Welsh actually involves preverbal agreeing complementisers rather than true subjects. It therefore has little in common with the SVO found in Breton and Cornish, which is true topicalisation as part of a full V2-system. In any case, the syntactic division between South-Eastern Welsh and the other dialects seems likely to be of very recent origin, going back at most to the eighteenth century. In the light of this evidence, the Southern British Dialect Hypothesis cannot be maintained in any form, and a major part of

the account of so-called literary word order in Middle Welsh disintegrates.

8.2 How Did Welsh Lose Verb-second?

A related question that has been investigated is the question of how the verb-second rule came to be lost in the history of Welsh. Having established that verb-second was a rule of spoken Middle Welsh, we expect the answer to such a question to involve processes of natural language change, rather than for example recourse to explanations in terms of standardisation or normative pressure. An account of the loss of verb-second in Welsh has been developed which focuses on the role of language acquisition and the nature of the trigger experience required to ensure transmission of the V2-rule from generation to generation. This account emphasises that the main evidence allowing children to acquire V2 in Welsh was the presence of preverbal particles. These particles were the manifestation of an agreement rule between a head and a non-argument specifier position. This strongly suggested to children that movement of an arbitrary element to SpecCP was a part of their language. Additional evidence came from the alternation between the main variants of V2, namely SVO, OVS and AdvVSO word orders. On the other hand, children acquiring Middle Welsh V2 were hampered by the adverb placement rules of their language, which created substantial potential for structural ambiguity (acquisitional ambiguity). Furthermore, unlike children acquiring Germanic V2, for example, they were not helped by a difference in position between a verb participating in V2 and one not participating in V2 (e.g. a nonfinite auxiliary or a verb in an embedded context). Whereas in German, raising of the verb from I to C creates alternations between SOV and XV(S)(O) orders, such raising in Middle Welsh made no difference to the position of the verb relative to the subject. In both cases the verb would precede the subject. The evidence allowing a child to acquire the V2-rule correctly in Middle Welsh was therefore noticeably different from that allowing the acquisition of V2 in Germanic.

It has been concluded that the crucial trigger for the loss of V2 in the sixteenth century was the phonological erosion of the preverbal particles. This, coupled with the presence of preverbal adverbs in V2-structures, obscured the evidence for V2, with the result that SVO patterns in the trigger experience were (re)analysed as non-V2 as in English, and AdvVSO patterns were (re)analysed as part of a general VSO rule that incorporated the freedom to place adverbs in a preverbal position. The OVS pattern, which might have provided the crucial evidence to maintain V2, had long since ceased to be a common feature of the language.

8.3 Syntactic Change

As well as examining the historical syntax of Welsh, this study has provided a testing ground for a number of ideas in the theoretical study of syntactic change in general. Accounts of a number of syntactic changes have been presented in terms of the conditions of acquisition. Formal changes in the grammar have been related to

changes in the trigger experience, the input available to the child during language acquisition.

The evidence of these changes forces us to revise aspects of the parametric model of syntactic change presented in Chapter Two, although in other ways it gives it support. I now turn to consider the implications of this evidence.

We shall first review the properties of the main syntactic changes proposed in the history of Welsh, concentrating specifically on their properties with respect to the theoretical notions of syntactic change raised in Chapter Two. Before doing so, however, it is worth clarifying the terms 'sudden' and 'gradual', since the notion of parametric change depends crucially upon defining a change as one or the other. These terms can be used in two ways. First there is an intuitive sense: a change is sudden if the innovating syntactic pattern replaces the conservative pattern quickly, otherwise it is gradual. Second, in a more technical sense, a change is sudden if the patterns of data observed are consistent with the grammar having only either the old or the new setting of the feature undergoing change. It is gradual if the patterns of data require both old and new settings to be available for a considerable period of time. To avoid confusion, I shall use the terms **discrete** and **non-discrete** for the more technical sense, reserving **sudden** and **gradual** for the intuitive one.

The first major change that was noted in the development of Welsh syntax was a change in the status of preverbal pronouns from full elements to clitics (section 5.1 esp. 5.1.2). In every sense this appeared to be gradual and non-discrete, taking several hundred years, and operating at different rates in different pronouns. The gradual nature of the change is probably connected to the fact that the feature to which it relates, namely $\{\pm\text{clitic}\}$, is phonologically gradual, in the sense that the ability of a pronoun to bear stress may vary by degree. The change had multiple effects, including the loss of various constructions where elements intervened between the pronoun and the verb, and the spread of expletive subject construction from unaccusative to transitive verbs. However, these were largely gradual in nature. Slow reductions were found in the frequency with which the non-clitic system was attested.

Somewhat later, we noted the reanalysis of the expletive subject, *ef*, *fe* or *fo* from pronoun (D-head) to a default complementiser (C-head, section 5.2 esp. 5.2.2.7). This change is clearly lexical in that it represents a change in the category of a single word in the language. However, when the pronoun became a complementiser, the marked focus interpretation usually associated with expletive constructions was lost, and a sudden increase in the use of *fe* was observed in the sixteenth century. The change therefore exhibits the suddenness (and discreteness) associated with a parametric change, despite being lexical in nature.

The first parametric change to be observed was the resetting of the V2-parameter to a negative value, triggered in the first instance by the erosion of preverbal particles, and decline of object topicalisation (section 6.2.1), both gradual changes ('steps'). The loss of V2 led to a number of trailing changes, including the sudden innovation of VSO as an unmarked pattern in Early Modern Welsh. Additionally it resulted in the obsolescence of some minor topicalisation types

(section 6.4.2) and topicalisation across negation (section 6.4.3), and a reduction in the possible types of clausal coordination (section 7.9). The patterns of data, insofar as the relevant detail was available, were consistent with this change being discrete. In particular, frequent use of unmarked VSO orders appears in sixteenth-century texts. There is therefore every reason to believe it to be in accord with a parametric account of syntactic change.

In the early eighteenth century, preverbal subject pronoun clitics (*mi*, *ti/di*, *fe/fo*, *hi* etc.) were reanalysed as agreeing complementisers (section 7.2.1). This was clearly a lexical change, since it involved a change in the categorial status of the relevant items from pronouns (determiners) to complementisers. It was primarily reflected in the appearance of pronoun doubling. This was gradual in the sense that the non-doubling pattern survived. However, since the non-doubling pattern could be generated even if the preverbal element was a complementiser, this gradualness does nothing to prevent the change from being discrete. Additionally, the change had the striking effect that, within the space of a generation, preverbal conjunctive pronouns were lost completely from the colloquial language of most of Wales (section 7.2.2). This sudden aspect of the syntactic change suggests strongly that it was discrete. Again, this is slightly surprising given that this is clearly a change in a lexical feature rather than a parameter, and that our initial hypothesis was that a defining property of parametric changes was their discreteness.

Slightly later in the eighteenth century, two of the agreeing complementisers, namely *mi* and *fe*, spread from their initial environments (first person singular and third person masculine singular respectively) to other environments. These changes were found to be sudden in that the complementisers spread to all persons and numbers simultaneously, but gradual in the sense that non-agreeing *mi* or *fe* did not immediately replace the agreeing complementisers *ti/di*, *hi* etc. The two 'compete' for a while before the Contemporary Welsh situation in which (in virtually all dialects) only *mi* and *fe* are found. Again, however, these data are compatible with the change being discrete. Suppose that the change was discrete in that it involved the removal of features of the lexical entry for *mi* and *fe* which required them to co-occur with particular forms of the verb. If so, the change would result in *mi* and *fe* spreading immediately to all persons and numbers. However, they will not replace the agreeing complementisers immediately, since the separate lexical entries for these complementiser survive unaffected by the change. This is exactly what seems to have happened. Therefore, as before, a change which is clearly lexical seems to have discrete properties.

Finally, we must conclude that the loss of unmarked SVO entirely from the language has occurred since the end of the eighteenth century. This was linked to a parametric change, namely the loss of the possibility of Nominative Case assignment by AgrS under agreement (section 7.10). The change results in the obsolescence of the one remaining class of clausal coordination structures, and therefore shows the 'cluster' property associated with parametric change. Although detailed data for this are lacking, there is every reason to believe that the change proceeded in the usual

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parametric manner. SVO orders lost ground in performance to VSO orders, which involved less movement in their structural representation (a 'step'). Eventually they were so rare as to be unacquirable, and the Case-assignment parameter changed. This led to the loss of the residual coordination types (a trailing change).

The two parametric changes proposed, namely the loss of V2 and the loss of Case-assignment under agreement seem, insofar as it is possible to judge, to exhibit the hypothesised properties of parametric change, namely the properties of being discrete, of having a number of surface exponents and of involving obsolescence (section 2.4). The investigation of them therefore tends to support the notion of parametric change as a useful concept in historical syntax.

Consideration of these various patterns of syntactic change also leads us to conclude that a number of changes which must be viewed as lexical (i.e. non-parametric) exhibit discrete patterns of data in much the same way as parametric changes. This should not really be surprising. It is reasonable to assume that most of the features under consideration are binary and discrete e.g. the feature requiring *mi* to co-occur with a first person singular verb may be either present or absent, but not 'slightly present'. Syntactic change that involves such features is likely to be discrete, even if it is not considered to involve a parameter. The best example of this is the reanalysis of preverbal subject clitics as complementisers, which results in the sudden introduction of two new syntactic patterns (pronoun doubling and postverbal conjunctive pronouns), and the sudden obsolescence of another (preverbal conjunctive pronouns, section 7.2).

On the other hand there are changes in lexical entries in natural language which are entirely gradual and non-discrete. Changes in lexical semantics often appear to be gradual, as do some changes in the subcategorisation frames of verbs. In the present study this also seems to be the case with the weakening of subject pronouns to clitics in Late Middle Welsh.

The question then arises as to how the two types of change, discrete and non-discrete can be kept apart. Clearly the distinction between parametric and non-parametric change will not suffice. One possibility worth pursuing is that change in the lexical entries of functional categories (determiners, complementisers, inflectional markers and so on) may be discrete, whereas change in the lexical entry of lexical categories (primarily verbs and nouns) may generally be non-discrete.¹ For instance, the preverbal elements in eighteenth-century Welsh may be pronouns (determiners) or complementisers but not some intermediate category. Verbs on the other hand may list a number of different subcategorisation frames in their lexical entry. Changes in frequency of one or its loss entirely has no effect on the existing possibilities.

It is clear that a number of instances of lexical change in functional categories show patterns of development indistinguishable from those hypothesised for parametric change. There is thus every reason to conflate the two categories into a single category of discrete syntactic change.

¹Clearly, allowance must be made for the fact that syntactic features linked to phonology, such as the clitic/non-clitic distinction are likely to be gradual.

Under a minimalist syntactic theory, this is in fact a fairly natural development. Chomsky (1995) has argued that parameters do not have independent existence, rather they are essentially the lexical features of functional categories:

"It has been suggested that parameters of UG relate, not to the computational system, but only to the lexicon. We might take this to mean that each parameter refers to properties of specific elements of the lexicon or to categories of lexical items - canonical government, for example. ... If substantive elements (verbs, nouns etc.) are drawn from an invariant universal vocabulary, then only functional elements will be parameterized." (Chomsky 1995:131)

In doing so, he reinterprets a number of well-established parameters as features on functional categories. For instance, a positive setting of the V2-parameter is interpreted as a strong DP-feature on C, VSO is interpreted as a weak DP-feature on T (198-99, cf. also 160).²

Under this conception of a parameter, parametric change would be the change in some feature of a functional category. For instance the loss of V2 would be a change in the strength of the DP-feature on the lexical entry for C from strong to weak. An explanation is therefore available for why parametric change and lexical change in the pronoun/complementiser system should exhibit patterns of data that are so similar. They are both specific instances of a more general kind of syntactic change, involving changes in the features of the lexical entries of functional categories.

8.4 Conclusion

In this thesis I have aimed at presenting a full and coherent account of the development of word order in Welsh from the fourteenth to the nineteenth century. A re-examination of the testimony of the medieval period and the introduction of previously unstudied material from the Modern period has led us to challenge the most widely-held view of the development of the 'abnormal sentence'. The development of Welsh syntax remains a complex area, and the results presented here will need to be supplemented and confirmed by further research. Particular emphasis needs to be placed on the further investigation of the complex patterns of data observed during the loss of V2 in the sixteenth century, and of the evidence of non-literary sources in the Modern period. However, I hope that this study has shown that these are both feasible and profitable areas of inquiry.

This study has also attempted to make a contribution to linguistic theory on a more general level. The account of the history of Welsh syntax has been comparative in nature, drawing on parallels with a number of other languages. Where appropriate, the patterns of data found in the history of Welsh have been integrated into this

²It is not clear that all parameters can be reformulated in this way. Obvious difficulties seem to arise with the Null Subject Parameter and Bounding Node parameters.

wider picture. Many of these parallels are far from obvious features of language, and investigation of them can provide valuable information about the properties of possible human languages.

Finally, I hope that this study has contributed towards a more articulated account of syntactic change. In doing so, it has extended the number of languages to which a parametric model of change has profitably been applied. At the same time, it has attempted to clarify some problems posed by lexical change to the parametric account of syntactic change. It is only through continued research along these lines that a full account of syntactic change can be developed.

APPENDIX A. THE FREQUENCY OF EXPLETIVE SUBJECTS
IN MIDDLE AND EARLY MODERN WELSH.

Text	Date	%expletive subjects	%transitive expletives	
Historia Gruffud vab Kenan	c. 1250	2	0	n = 50
Pwyll	end 13th c.	2	0	n = 50
Peredur	end 13th c.	4	0	n = 50
Ystoriaeu Seint Greal	end 14th c.	14	4	n = 50
Y Bibyl Ynghymraec (ms. P)	c. 1350-1450	2	2	n = 50
Buchedd Sant Martin	1488	10	2	n = 50
Buchedd Collen	1536	4	2	n = 50
Rhannau o'r Efengylau	1575-1600	18	8	n = 50
Ystori Alexander a Lodwig	c. 1590	8	0	n = 50
Y Bibyl Ynghymraec (ms. A)	1594	44	32	n = 50
Mab y Fforestwr	c. 1600	26	8	n = 50
Slander cases	1577-1631	40	20	n = 25
Llyfr y Tri Aderyn	1653	64	18	n = 50

% expletive subjects gives the percentage of main affirmative clauses with full lexical subjects that contain expletive subjects. % transitive expletives gives the percentage of these clauses that contain expletive subjects in transitive constructions. Impersonal verbs are included throughout. Questions, commands and replies are excluded, as are clauses containing *bot* 'to be', *pleu* 'belong to' and focus (*sef*) constructions.

The date given is the approximate date of the base manuscript used in the edition, generally the oldest extant, except for *Llyfr y Tri Aderyn*, where it is the date of first publication.

APPENDIX B. THE FREQUENCY OF OBJECT TOPICALISATION
IN MIDDLE AND EARLY MODERN WELSH.

Text	Date	%objects topicalised	
Historia Gruffud vab Kenau	c. 1250	42	n = 50
Pwyll	end 13th c.	34	n = 50
Peredur	end 13th c.	46	n = 50
Ystoryaeu Seint Greal	end 14th c.	8	n = 50
Y Bibyl Ynghymracc (ms. P)	c. 1350-1450	8	n = 50
Buchedd Sant Martin	1488	10	n = 50
Buchedd Collen	1536	16	n = 25
Rhannau o'r Efengylau	1575-1600	13	n = 15
Ystori Alexander a Loctwig	c. 1590	4	n = 50
Y Bibyl Ynghymracc (ms. A)	1594	27	n = 22
Mab y Fforestwr	c. 1600	0	n = 50
Llyfr y Tri Aderyn	1653	12	n = 50

The table shows the percentage of direct objects in topicalisation position in main affirmative declarative clauses. For details of exceptions and dating, see Appendix A.

APPENDIX C. THE SYNTAX OF FIRST PERSON SINGULAR VERBS IN THE
EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

Text	ml (a) V	ml (a) V i	fe V (i)	V (i)	Others	
Interludes						
Cwmp Dyn	42%	5%	6%	43%	5%	n = 154
Gras a Natur	47%	3%	1%	46%	3%	n = 153
Protestant a Neilltuwr	69%	9%	0%	17%	5%	n = 144
Tri Chryflon Byd	69%	14%	0%	13%	4%	n = 93
Yst. Richard Whittington	70%	5%	0%	21%	3%	n = 122
Political Texts						
Cylchgrawn Cynmraeg	36%	0%	0%	64%	0%	n = 11
Cwyn y Cystuddiedig	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	n = 7
Gair yn ei Amser	71%	0%	0%	29%	0%	n = 7
Meddyllau yr Esgob Watson	80%	20%	0%	0%	0%	n = 5
Rhyddid	24%	0%	0%	65%	12%	n = 17
Seren tan Gwmwl	0%	8%	0%	92%	0%	n = 13
Torlad y Dydd	0%	0%	0%	67%	33%	n = 3
Letters						
Jonathan Hughes	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	n = 2
Owen Jones	58%	8%	0%	33%	0%	n = 12
Walter Davies	0%	0%	0%	83%	17%	n = 6
Thomas Jones	57%	7%	0%	36%	0%	n = 44
William Owen-Pughe	0%	0%	0%	88%	13%	n = 8
William Jones (Llangadfan)	50%	0%	0%	50%	0%	n = 4
Ann Griffiths	33%	0%	0%	63%	4%	n = 48
David Thomas	18%	0%	0%	78%	4%	n = 96
Evan Evans	93%	0%	0%	4%	2%	n = 46
John Jones	17%	0%	0%	83%	0%	n = 12
Thomas Edwards	91%	3%	0%	5%	1%	n = 74
Misc:A1	25%	0%	0%	75%	0%	n = 8
Misc:B1	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	n = 1
Settlers' Letters						
A1	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	n = 2
A2	62%	38%	0%	0%	0%	n = 21
A3	83%	17%	0%	0%	0%	n = 6
A4	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n = 0
A5	33%	0%	0%	67%	0%	n = 3
B1	67%	0%	0%	33%	0%	n = 6
B2	86%	14%	0%	0%	0%	n = 7
Samuel Thomas	86%	0%	0%	7%	7%	n = 14
B6	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	n = 1
Total A Settlers	66%	28%	0%	6%	0%	n = 32
Total B Settlers	82%	4%	0%	11%	4%	n = 28

Text	ml (a) V	ml (a) V I	fe V (I)	V (I)	Others	
Ballads						
Ellis Roberts	67%	5%	0%	10%	19%	n = 21
Hugh Jones	73%	0%	0%	23%	5%	n = 22
John Jones	57%	3%	0%	33%	7%	n = 30
Miscellaneous						
All Lythyr Hen Bechadur	25%	0%	0%	75%	0%	n = 4
Almanacs of John Prys	80%	0%	0%	20%	0%	n = 5
Almanacs of Mathew Williams	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	n = 13
Crefydd mewn Bwthyn	15%	0%	1%	83%	0%	n = 84
Drych yr Amseroedd	13%	0%	0%	88%	0%	n = 24
Hanes Twm o'r Nant	76%	0%	0%	19%	6%	n = 127
Hanes Holl Grefyddau'r Byd	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n = 0
Slander Cases						
North-West	73%	23%	0%	3%	0%	n = 30
North-East	74%	26%	0%	0%	0%	n = 23
South-West	68%	21%	0%	11%	0%	n = 19
South-East	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	n = 24

The Table shows the frequency of different syntactic patterns with first person singular affirmative synthetic verbs (including the *byddwn*, *buaswn*, *bydd* and *bu* paradigms of *bod* 'to be') in main clauses. The category "Others" includes sentences containing topicalised objects and predicates, and fronted non-finite verbs.

APPENDIX D. THE SYNTAX OF SECOND PERSON SINGULAR VERBS IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

Text	tl (a) V	tl (a) V dl	ml V (dl)	fe V (dl)	V (dl)	Others	
Interludes							
Cwypyn Dyn	46%	0%	0%	4%	29%	21%	n = 24
Gras a Natur	22%	0%	0%	0%	67%	11%	n = 18
Protestant a Neilltuwr	43%	7%	0%	0%	50%	0%	n = 14
Tri Chryfion Byd	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%	0%	n = 1
Yst. Richard Whittington	63%	13%	0%	0%	25%	0%	n = 8
Political Texts							
Cylchgrawn Cynnraeg	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%	n = 1
Cwyn y Cystuddedig	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n = 0
Gair yn ei Amser	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%	0%	n = 1
Meddyllau yr Esgob Watson	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n = 0
Rhyddid	33%	0%	0%	0%	67%	0%	n = 6
Seren tan Gwmwl	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n = 0
Tortlad y Dydd	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n = 0
Letters							
Jonathan Hughes	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n = 0
Owen Jones	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n = 0
Walter Davies	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n = 0
Thomas Jones	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n = 0
William Owen-Pughe	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n = 0
William Jones (Llangadfan)	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n = 0
Ann Griffiths	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n = 0
David Thomas	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%	0%	n = 1
Evan Evans	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n = 0
John Jones	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n = 0
Thomas Edwards	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n = 0
Misc:A1	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n = 0
Misc:B1	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n = 0
Settlers' Letters							
A1	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n = 0
A2	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n = 0
A3	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n = 0
A4	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n = 0
A5	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%	0%	n = 1
B1	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n = 0
B2	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n = 0
Samuel Thomas	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n = 0
B6	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n = 0
Total A Settlers	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%	0%	n = 1
Total B Settlers	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n = 0

Text	tt (a) V	tt (a) V dt	ml V (dl)	fc V (dl)	V (dl)	Others	
Ballads							
Ellis Roberts	43%	3%	0%	0%	53%	0%	n = 30
Hugh Jones	33%	11%	0%	0%	56%	0%	n = 9
John Jones	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n = 0
Miscellaneous							
All Lythyr Hen Bechadur	22%	11%	0%	0%	67%	0%	n = 9
Almanacs of John Prys	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n = 0
Almanacs of Mathew Williams	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n = 0
Crefydd mewn Bwthyn	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%	0%	n = 1
Drych yr Amseroedd	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%	0%	n = 1
Hanes Twm o'r Nant	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n = 0
Hanes Holl Grefyddau'r Byd	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n = 0
Slander Cases							
North-West	50%	0%	40%	0%	10%	0%	n = 20
North-East	56%	0%	25%	13%	6%	0%	n = 16
South-West	88%	0%	0%	0%	13%	0%	n = 8
South-East	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	n = 8

The variant form of the preverbal pronoun *dt* is included under *tt*. Conventions as with the first person singular (Appendix C).

APPENDIX E. THE SYNTAX OF THIRD PERSON SINGULAR VERBS WITH PRONOMINAL SUBJECTS IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

Text	fc/hl (a) V	fc/hl (a) V cf/hl	Particle V (cf/hl)	V (cf/hl)	Others		
Interludes							
Cwypm Dyn	54%	0%	3%	32%	10%	n = 59	
Gras a Natur	30%	0%	0%	59%	11%	n = 71	
Protestant a Neilltuwr	51%	0%	0%	39%	10%	n = 69	
Tri Chryflon Byd	55%	0%	3%	32%	10%	n = 31	
Yst. Richard Whittington	50%	2%	0%	38%	11%	n = 64	
Political Texts							
Cychgrawn Cynnraeg	18%	0%	0%	47%	35%	n = 17	
Gwyn y Cystuddledig	0%	0%	0%	76%	24%	n = 25	
Gair yn el Amser	50%	0%	0%	0%	50%	n = 4	
Meddyllau yr Esgob Watson	75%	0%	0%	0%	25%	n = 4	
Rhyddid	43%	0%	0%	40%	17%	n = 35	
Seren tan Gwmwl/TD	14%	0%	24%	35%	27%	n = 37	
	SG		4	3	1	n = 18	
	TD	2	4	12	6	n = 19	
Letters							
Gwyneddigion	0%	0%	0%	100%	0%	n = 2	
Jonathan Hughes	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n = 0	
Owen Jones	67%	0%	0%	0%	33%	n = 3	
Walter Davies	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n = 0	
Thomas Jones	25%	0%	13%	63%	0%	n = 8	
William Owen-Pughe	0%	0%	0%	50%	50%	n = 2	
William Jones (Llangadfan)	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	n = 1	
Ann Griffiths	13%	0%	0%	88%	0%	n = 8	
David Thomas	4%	0%	0%	83%	13%	n = 24	
Evan Evans	31%	8%	0%	31%	31%	n = 13	
John Jones	0%	0%	0%	100%	0%	n = 6	
Thomas Edwards	63%	0%	0%	26%	11%	n = 27	
Misc:A1	0%	0%	0%	100%	0%	n = 2	
Misc:B1	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	n = 1	
Settlers' Letters							
A1	33%	0%	0%	33%	33%	n = 3	
A2	40%	0%	40%	0%	20%	n = 5	
A3	67%	0%	0%	33%	0%	n = 3	
A4	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n = 0	
A5	0%	0%	0%	100%	0%	n = 8	
B1	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n = 0	
B2	75%	25%	0%	0%	0%	n = 4	
Samuel Thomas	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	n = 1	
B6	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n = 0	
Total A Settlers	26%	0%	11%	53%	11%	n = 19	
Total B Settlers	80%	20%	0%	0%	0%	n = 5	

Text	fe/hi (a) V	fe/hi (a) V cf/hi	Particle V (cf/hi)	V (cf/hi)	Others	
Ballads						
Ellis Roberts	45%	0%	7%	38%	10%	n = 42
Hugh Jones	35%	0%	0%	53%	12%	n = 43
John Jones	35%	0%	0%	58%	7%	n = 72
Miscellaneous						
All Lythyr Hen Bechadur	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	n = 3
Almanacs of John Prys	0%	0%	0%	100%	0%	n = 2
Almanacs of M. Williams	67%	0%	0%	33%	0%	n = 3
Crefydd mewn Bwthyn	39%	0%	0%	59%	2%	n = 44
Drych yr Amserocdd	2%	0%	0%	97%	2%	n = 117
Hanes Twm o'r Nant	59%	2%	0%	20%	18%	n = 44
Hanes Holl Grefyddau'r Byd	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	n = 3
Slander Cases						
North-West	37%	0%	63%	0%	0%	n = 27
North-East	61%	6%	28%	0%	6%	n = 18
South-West	82%	0%	0%	12%	6%	n = 17
South-East	80%	0%	0%	20%	0%	n = 5

The Table shows the syntactic patterns found with third person singular verb with pronominal subjects. "Particle" includes all instances of *ni*, plus instances of *fe* where the subject is feminine. All figures include non-referential subjects, but exclude constructions with the auxiliary *darfod*. Variant forms of *fe* and *ef* are not distinguished.

APPENDIX F. THE SYNTAX OF FIRST PERSON PLURAL VERBS IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

Text	ni (a) V	ni (a) V ni	ni V (ni)	fe V (ni)	V (ni)	Others	
Interludes							
Cwmp Dyn	0%	0%	7%	14%	43%	36%	n = 14
Gras a Natur	36%	9%	9%	0%	36%	9%	n = 11
Protestant a Neilltuwr	55%	0%	0%	0%	27%	18%	n = 11
Tri Chryflon Byd	43%	0%	0%	0%	57%	0%	n = 7
Yst. Richard Whittington	39%	0%	0%	0%	56%	6%	n = 18
Political Texts							
Cylchgrawn Cynmraeg	62%	0%	0%	0%	31%	8%	n = 13
Cwyn y Cystuddiedig	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n = 0
Gair yn ei Amser	50%	0%	0%	0%	50%	0%	n = 2
Meddyllau yr Esgob Watson	67%	0%	0%	0%	33%	0%	n = 3
Rhyddid	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%	0%	n = 3
Seren tan Gwmwl	0%	0%	50%	0%	50%	0%	n = 2
Toriad y Dydd	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%	0%	n = 1
Letters							
Gwyneddigion	50%	0%	0%	0%	50%	0%	n = 2
Jonathan Hughes	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%	0%	n = 2
Owen Jones	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n = 0
Walter Davies	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n = 0
Thomas Jones	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n = 0
William Owen-Pughe	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n = 0
William Jones (Llangadfan)	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n = 0
Ann Griffiths	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%	0%	n = 1
David Thomas	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%	0%	n = 4
Evan Evans	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n = 0
John Jones	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n = 0
Thomas Edwards	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n = 0
Misc:A1	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n = 0
Misc:B1	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n = 0
Settlers' Letters							
A1	33%	0%	50%	0%	17%	0%	n = 6
A2	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	n = 1
A3	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n = 0
A4	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n = 0
A5	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n = 0
B1	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n = 0
B2	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n = 0
Samuel Thomas	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n = 0
B6	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n = 0
Total A Settlers	43%	0%	43%	0%	14%	0%	n = 7
Total B Settlers	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n = 0

Text	nl (a) V	nl (a) V nl	nl V (nl)	fc V (nl)	V (nl)	Others	
Ballads							
Ellis Roberts	64%	0%	0%	0%	27%	9%	n = 11
Hugh Jones	25%	0%	0%	13%	50%	13%	n = 8
John Jones	57%	0%	0%	0%	0%	43%	n = 7
Miscellaneous							
All Lythyr Hen Bechadur	83%	0%	0%	0%	17%	0%	n = 6
Almanacs of John Prys	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n = 0
Almanacs of Mathew Williams	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	n = 3
Crefydd mewn Bwthyn	50%	0%	0%	0%	50%	0%	n = 4
Drych yr Amseroedd	50%	0%	0%	0%	50%	0%	n = 2
Hanes Twm o'r Nant	75%	0%	0%	0%	13%	13%	n = 16
Hanes Holl Grefyddau'r Byd	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	n = 3
Slander							
North-West	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n = 0
North-East	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n = 0
South-West	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n = 0
South-East	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n = 0

APPENDIX G. THE SYNTAX OF SECOND PERSON PLURAL VERBS IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

Text	chwl (a) V	chwl (a) V chwl	nl V (chwl)	fc V (chwl)	V (chwl)	Others	
Interludes							
Cwynp Dyn	32%	0%	0%	0%	21%	47%	n = 19
Gras a Natur	0%	0%	4%	26%	48%	22%	n = 27
Protestant a Neilltuwr	24%	0%	0%	3%	59%	14%	n = 29
Tri Chryfion Byd	78%	0%	0%	0%	22%	0%	n = 9
Yst. Richard Whittington	63%	4%	0%	0%	26%	7%	n = 27
Political Texts							
Cylchgrawn Cynnraeg	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	n = 1
Cwyn y Cystuddledig	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	n = 2
Gair yn ei Amser	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n = 0
Meddyllau yr Esgob Watson	83%	0%	0%	0%	17%	0%	n = 6
Rhyddid	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	n = 1
Seren tan Gwmwl	33%	0%	0%	0%	67%	0%	n = 3
Toriad y Dydd	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n = 0
Letters							
Gwyneddigion	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n = 0
Jonathan Hughes	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%	0%	n = 1
Owen Jones	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	n = 3
Walter Davies	50%	0%	0%	0%	50%	0%	n = 2
Thomas Jones	57%	0%	14%	0%	29%	0%	n = 7
William Owen-Pughe	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%	0%	n = 1
William Jones (Llangadfan)	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n = 0
Ann Griffiths	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	n = 1
David Thomas	25%	0%	0%	0%	58%	17%	n = 12
Evan Evans	80%	0%	0%	0%	20%	0%	n = 10
John Jones	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n = 0
Thomas Edwards	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	n = 4
Misc:A1	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	n = 1
Misc:B1	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	n = 1
Settlers' Letters							
A1	50%	0%	0%	0%	50%	0%	n = 2
A2	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n = 0
A3	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n = 0
A4	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n = 0
A5	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%	0%	n = 1
B1	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	n = 2
B2	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%	0%	n = 1
Samuel Thomas	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	n = 1
B6	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n = 0
Total A Settlers	33%	0%	0%	0%	67%	0%	n = 3
Total B Settlers	75%	0%	0%	0%	25%	0%	n = 4

Text	chwl (a) V	chwl (a) V chwl	ml V (chwl)	fe V (chwl)	V (chwl)	Others	
Ballads							
Ellis Roberts	33%	0%	0%	0%	67%	0%	n = 3
Hugh Jones	67%	0%	0%	0%	33%	0%	n = 3
John Jones	18%	0%	0%	9%	73%	0%	n = 11
Miscellaneous							
All Lythyr Hen Bechadur	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n = 0
Almanacs of John Prys	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n = 0
Almanacs of Mathew Williams	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	n = 1
Crefydd mewn Bwthyn	86%	0%	0%	0%	14%	0%	n = 7
Drych yr Amseroedd	25%	0%	0%	0%	75%	0%	n = 4
Hanes Twm o'r Nant	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n = 0
Hanes Holl Grefyddau'r Byd	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n = 0
Slander Cases							
North-West	67%	0%	33%	0%	0%	0%	n = 3
North-East	0%	0%	40%	0%	20%	40%	n = 5
South-West	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n = 0
South-East	67%	0%	0%	0%	17%	17%	n = 6

APPENDIX H. THE SYNTAX OF THIRD PERSON PLURAL VERBS WITH PRONOMINAL SUBJECTS IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

Text	hwy (a) V	hwy (a) V hwy	ml V (hwy)	fe V (hwy)	V (hwy)	Others	
Interludes							
Cwmp Dyn	0%	0%	0%	67%	33%	0%	n = 3
Gras a Natur	29%	0%	0%	4%	58%	8%	n = 24
Protestant a Neilltuwr	63%	0%	0%	0%	38%	0%	n = 16
Tri Chryllon Byd	52%	0%	0%	0%	43%	4%	n = 23
Yst. Richard Whittington	47%	0%	0%	0%	47%	7%	n = 15
Political Texts							
Cylchgrawn Cynmraeg	21%	0%	0%	0%	74%	5%	n = 19
Cwyn y Cystuddiedig	33%	0%	0%	0%	67%	0%	n = 27
Gair yn ei Amser	75%	0%	0%	0%	17%	8%	n = 12
Meddyllau yr Esgob Watson	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n = 0
Rhyddid	6%	0%	0%	0%	88%	6%	n = 17
Seren tan Gwnwl	0%	0%	36%	0%	64%	0%	n = 11
Toriad y Dydd	17%	0%	0%	0%	83%	0%	n = 6
Letters							
Gwyneddigion	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n = 0
Jonathan Hughes	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%	0%	n = 1
Owen Jones	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n = 0
Walter Davies	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%	0%	n = 1
Thomas Jones	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%	0%	n = 2
William Owen-Pughe	33%	0%	0%	0%	67%	0%	n = 3
William Jones (Llangadfan)	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n = 0
Ann Griffiths	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n = 0
David Thomas	25%	0%	0%	0%	75%	0%	n = 4
Evan Evans	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n = 0
John Jones	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%	0%	n = 3
Thomas Edwards	67%	0%	0%	0%	33%	0%	n = 3
Misc:A1	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%	0%	n = 1
Misc:B1	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n = 0
Settlers' Letters							
A1	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%	0%	n = 1
A2	0%	0%	100%	0%	0%	0%	n = 3
A3	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	n = 4
A4	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n = 0
A5	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n = 0
B1	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n = 0
B2	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	n = 2
Samuel Thomas	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n = 0
B6	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n = 0
Total A Settlers	50%	0%	38%	0%	13%	0%	n = 8
Total B Settlers	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	n = 2

APPENDICES

Text	hwy (a) V	hwy (a) V hwy	ni V (hwy)	fe V (hwy)	V (hwy)	Others	
Ballads							
Ellis Roberts	38%	0%	0%	0%	38%	23%	n = 13
Hugh Jones	0%	0%	0%	33%	67%	0%	n = 6
John Jones	75%	0%	0%	0%	25%	0%	n = 4
Miscellaneous							
All Lythyr Hen Bechadur	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%	0%	n = 2
Almanacs of John Prys	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%	0%	n = 1
Almanacs of Mathew Williams	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	n = 2
Crefydd mewn Bwthyn	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	n = 2
Drych yr Amserocdd	0%	0%	0%	0%	93%	7%	n = 15
Hanes Twn o'r Nant	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	n = 5
Hanes Holl Grefyddau'r Byd	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	n = 2
Slander Cases							
North-West	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n = 0
North-East	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n = 0
South-West	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n = 0
South-East	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n = 0

Variation in the form of the pronoun (*hwy*, *nhw* etc.) is ignored.

APPENDIX I. THE SYNTAX OF VERBS WITH FULL NOMINAL SUBJECTS IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

Text	Subj (a) V	Fe V Subj	MI V Subj	V Subj	Others	
Interludes						
Cwmp Dyn	43%	28%	0%	23%	5%	n = 92
Gras a Natur	38%	5%	1%	49%	8%	n = 128
Protestant a Neilltwr	38%	31%	0%	26%	5%	n = 133
Tri Chryflon Byd	38%	30%	0%	25%	8%	n = 80
Yst. Richard Whittington	39%	19%	0%	36%	6%	n = 72
Political Texts						
Cylchgrawn Cynmraeg	32%	16%	0%	51%	1%	n = 93
Cwyn y Cystuddiedig	10%	2%	0%	85%	4%	n = 52
Gair yn ei Amser	50%	25%	0%	17%	8%	n = 12
Meddyllau yr Esgob Watson	60%	33%	0%	0%	7%	n = 15
Rhyddid	69%	2%	0%	29%	0%	n = 114
Seren tan Gwmwl	16%	0%	58%	27%	0%	n = 45
Toriad y Dydd	42%	3%	0%	53%	3%	n = 36
Letters						
Gwyneddigion	50%	17%	0%	17%	17%	n = 6
Jonathan Hughes	17%	0%	0%	67%	17%	n = 6
Owen Jones	23%	46%	0%	23%	8%	n = 13
Walter Davies	0%	0%	0%	100%	0%	n = 1
Thomas Jones	42%	31%	0%	23%	4%	n = 26
William Owen-Pughe	50%	0%	0%	50%	0%	n = 8
William Jones (Llangadfan)	50%	50%	0%	0%	0%	n = 2
Ann Griffiths	93%	7%	0%	0%	0%	n = 15
David Thomas	34%	3%	0%	55%	8%	n = 38
Evan Evans	18%	64%	0%	9%	9%	n = 11
John Jones	60%	0%	0%	40%	0%	n = 5
Thomas Edwards	37%	50%	0%	7%	7%	n = 30
Misc:A1	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n = 0
Misc:B1	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n = 0
Settlers' Letters						
A1	0%	50%	50%	0%	0%	n = 2
A2	40%	0%	40%	20%	0%	n = 5
A3	0%	92%	0%	8%	0%	n = 12
A4	0%	75%	25%	0%	0%	n = 4
A5	0%	0%	0%	100%	0%	n = 2
B1	0%	100%	0%	0%	0%	n = 2
B2	0%	100%	0%	0%	0%	n = 2
Samuel Thomas	25%	50%	0%	0%	25%	n = 4
B6	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n = 0
Total A Settlers	8%	60%	16%	16%	0%	n = 25
Total B Settlers	13%	75%	0%	0%	13%	n = 8

Text	Subj (a) V	Fe V Subj	Mi V Subj	V Subj	Others	
Ballads						
Ellis Roberts	38%	9%	0%	45%	7%	n = 97
Hugh Jones	54%	4%	0%	35%	7%	n = 54
John Jones	51%	14%	1%	31%	4%	n = 95
Miscellaneous						
All Lythyr Hen Bechadur	50%	13%	0%	38%	0%	n = 8
Almanacs of John Prys	75%	0%	0%	25%	0%	n = 4
Almanacs of Mathew Williams	69%	23%	0%	8%	0%	n = 13
Crefydd mewn Bwthyn	15%	12%	0%	74%	0%	n = 34
Drych yr Amcroedd	16%	3%	0%	80%	1%	n = 120
Hanes Twm o'r Nant	34%	59%	0%	3%	3%	n = 58
Hanes Holl Grefyddau'r Byd	67%	33%	0%	0%	0%	n = 9
Slander						
North-West	75%	13%	13%	0%	0%	n = 8
North-East	18%	18%	27%	0%	36%	n = 11
South-West	33%	47%	0%	20%	0%	n = 15
South-East	50%	0%	0%	0%	50%	n = 2

For conventions see first person singular (Appendix C).

APPENDIX J. VARIANT FORMS OF FE.

Text	Pronoun				Complementiser			
	e(fe)	fe	fo		e(fe)	fe	fo	
Interludes								
Cwmp Dyn	4%	76%	20%	n = 25	0%	100%	0%	n = 41
Gras a Natur	0%	35%	65%	n = 17	0%	100%	0%	n = 16
Protestant a Neilltuwr	14%	86%	0%	n = 28	0%	100%	0%	n = 42
Tri Chryflon Byd	0%	100%	0%	n = 11	0%	100%	0%	n = 27
Yst. Richard Whittington	4%	96%	0%	n = 25	0%	100%	0%	n = 14
Political Texts								
Cylchgrawn Cynmraeg	40%	60%	0%	n = 5	0%	100%	0%	n = 13
Cwyn y Cystuddiedig	100%	0%	0%	n = 2	0%	100%	0%	n = 1
Gair yn ei Amser	0%	100%	0%	n = 2	0%	100%	0%	n = 4
Meddyliau yr Esgob Watson	0%	100%	0%	n = 1	0%	100%	0%	n = 5
Rhyddid	22%	78%	0%	n = 18	0%	100%	0%	n = 2
Seren tan Gwmwl	80%	20%	0%	n = 5	100%	0%	0%	n = 1
Toriad y Dydd	0%	100%	0%	n = 4	n/a	n/a	n/a	n = 0
Letters								
Gwyneddigion	n/a	n/a	n/a	n = 0	50%	50%	0%	n = 2
Owen Jones	100%	0%	0%	n = 2	100%	0%	0%	n = 6
Thomas Jones	0%	100%	0%	n = 2	0%	100%	0%	n = 8
William Jones (Llangadfan)	0%	100%	0%	n = 1	n/a	n/a	n/a	n = 0
Ann Griffiths	100%	0%	0%	n = 1	0%	100%	0%	n = 1
David Thomas	100%	0%	0%	n = 2	100%	0%	0%	n = 1
Evan Evans	25%	25%	50%	n = 4	43%	0%	57%	n = 7
Thomas Edwards	11%	89%	0%	n = 19	0%	100%	0%	n = 15
Misc:B1	0%	100%	0%	n = 1	n/a	n/a	n/a	n = 0
Settlers' Letters								
A1	0%	100%	0%	n = 1	0%	100%	0%	n = 1
A2	0%	100%	0%	n = 2	n/a	n/a	n/a	n = 0
A3	0%	100%	0%	n = 2	0%	100%	0%	n = 11
A4	n/a	n/a	n/a	n = 0	0%	100%	0%	n = 3
B1	n/a	n/a	n/a	n = 0	0%	100%	0%	n = 2
B2	0%	100%	0%	n = 3	0%	100%	0%	n = 3
Samuel Thomas	0%	100%	0%	n = 1	0%	100%	0%	n = 2
Total A Settlers	0%	100%	0%	n = 5	0%	100%	0%	n = 15
Total B Settlers	0%	100%	0%	n = 4	0%	100%	0%	n = 7
Ballads								
Ellis Roberts	0%	57%	43%	n = 14	0%	100%	0%	n = 11
Hugh Jones	0%	69%	31%	n = 13	0%	100%	0%	n = 5
John Jones	16%	84%	0%	n = 19	14%	86%	0%	n = 14

Text	Pronoun			n	Complementiser			n
	efe	fe	fo		efe	fc	fo	
Miscellaneous								
All Lythyr Hen Bechadur	0%	100%	0%	n = 3	0%	100%	0%	n = 2
Almanacs of Mathew Williams	0%	100%	0%	n = 2	0%	100%	0%	n = 4
Crefydd mewn Bwthyn	0%	100%	0%	n = 6	0%	100%	0%	n = 5
Drych yr Amseroedd	0%	100%	0%	n = 2	0%	100%	0%	n = 4
Hanes Twn o'r Nant	0%	100%	0%	n = 22	0%	100%	0%	n = 34
Hanes Holl Grefyddlau'r Byd	0%	100%	0%	n = 3	0%	100%	0%	n = 3
Slander Cases								
North-West	63%	38%	0%	n = 16	0%	100%	0%	n = 1
North-East	14%	50%	36%	n = 14	0%	100%	0%	n = 5
South-West	18%	82%	0%	n = 17	0%	100%	0%	n = 7
South-East	56%	44%	0%	n = 9	n/a	n/a	n/a	n = 0

The Table shows the form of *fe* before synthetic personal verb forms, according to whether *fe* can be considered to be a pronoun or a complementiser. *Fe* is considered to be a pronoun wherever it is the only overt subject in its clause, and the subject is clearly understood as being third person masculine singular or expletive. *Fe* is considered to be a complementiser wherever there is another overt subject in the clause, or where the subject is understood to be something other than third person masculine singular. All clauses with the auxiliary *darfod* are excluded (see section 5.7 on the ambiguous structure of this verb), as are instances of the fossilised expression *efallai* 'perhaps, it may be'.

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- LTE Letters by Thomas Edwards (Twm o'r Nant). 1789, 1799-1806. Ed. Glyn M. Ashton. 1948. *Hunangofiant a Llythyrau Twm o'r Nant*. Caerdydd: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru. pp. 53-77; and ed. J. Jones (Myrddin Fardd). 1883. *Adgof uwch Anghof: Llythyrau Lluaws o Brif Enwogion Cymru, Hen a Diweddar*. Pen-y-Groes: G. Lewis. pp. 6-11.
- LUSS Letters from Welsh settlers in the United States:
- A. Letters by settlers from Merionethshire, NLW 2722E.
1. From Hugh and Catherine Thomas (Trenton, Oneida, NY) to their daughter and son-in-law, Mr. and Mrs. J.W. Zachariah (Gwastad Coed, Dolgellau, Mer.), 25 September 1816;

2. From David Jones (David Shone Harry) (joiner of Albany, NY, formerly of Llwyngwril, Mer.) to his wife, 14 October 1817;
 3. From John Richards (of Johnsbury, Warren County, NY, formerly of Llanuwchllyn, Mer.), 3 November 1817;
 4. From William Thomas (of Utica, NY, formerly of Rhyd-y-Main, Llanfachraeth, Mer.) to his family, 17 August 1818;
 5. From David Richard to his brother, 11 December 1818.
- B.
1. Letters by and to settlers from Carmarthenshire, NLW 14873E. From [?Samuel Thomas] to Theophilus Rees (Beulah, PA), 28 May 1801;
 2. From John D. Evans (Beulah, PA) to Theophilus Rees (Selotha, Ohio), 5 May 1807;
 3. Item about Theophilus Rees;
 4. From Samuel Thomas;
 5. From Samuel Thomas to his brother and sister, 18 December 1797;
 6. From Moses David (of Trelech), 4 June 1800;
 7. From Samuel Thomas to Theophilus Rees (Beulah, PA), 25 June 1800.
- Misc
- A. Miscellaneous Letters from Caernarfonshire
Griffith, Hannah (of Aberdaron, Caerns.). 1804. Ed. Trefor M. Owen. 1959. 'Hen Lythyr Caru o Lŷn'. *Transactions of the Caernarfonshire Historical Society* 20:105-107.
- B. From William and Alice Griffith (of Drws-y-Coed, Caerns.) to their children, 10 June 1777, NLW 16098E.

IV. Ballads

- BER Ballads by Ellis Roberts (Y Cowper).
1. Roberts, Ellis and Robert Gruffudd. 1782. *Dwy o Gerddi Newyddion. I. O Drymder Galarus am Royal George yr Hon a Suddodd yn ei Harbwr, Gyda Mil o Bobl oedd Arni Lle yr Aeth Tri Chant o Ferched i'r Gwaelod a Phlant Gyda Nhw* [by E. Roberts"]. II. *O Fawl i Ferch* [by Robert Gruffudd]. Trefriw: Dafydd Jones. First ballad and englynion by Ellis Roberts only.
 2. Roberts, Ellis. 1782. *Dwy o Gerddi Newyddion. I. I Ddetsyf ar Dduw am Drugaredd, at Raglunfaeth i'n Porthi y Flwyddyn Ddiweddar Hon Drwy Erfyn Arno Roddi Ei Fendith ar yr Ychydig Lintfaeth at Ein Porthi*. [by Ellis Roberts] II. *O Ychydig o Hanes y Fattel a Fu'n Gibraltar y Modd y Cynnorthwyodd Duw Ychydig o Wŷr Brydain ym mhen Llauer o Elynton* [Anon]. Trefriw: Dafydd Jones. First ballad only.
 - 3./4. Roberts, Ellis. 1783. *Dwy o Gerddi Newyddion. I O Hanes Dychryn Ofnadwy a Fu yn yn [sic] yr Italia Modd y Darfu i Dduw Singlo Tri Chan o Drefydd, a Thair o Drefydd Caerog; ac Nid Oes Yno Ddim ond Llyn o Ddŵr Dŵr-waelod. II. Ymddiddan Rhwng Gwr Ifangc at Gartad, Bob yn Ail Penill*. Trefriw: Dafydd Jones.
 5. Roberts, Ellis. 1784. *Dwy o Gerddi Newyddion. I. Yn Rhoi Byrr Hanes Dynes a Wnaeth Weithred Ofnadwy Ymhlwy Llansantffraid Glyn Conwy, Sef Diheunyddio Ffrwyth ei Brŷ at Ado fe Rhwng Bwystfilod y Ddaear* [by Ellis Roberts]. II. *Cerdd ar Ddiodejaint Crist, wedi ei Throi or Groeg i'r Cymraeg* [by Ston ap Howell]. Trefriw: Dafydd Jones. First ballad only.
 6. Roberts, Ellis. 1783. *Tair o Gerddi Newyddion. I. Ymddiddan Rhwng Gwr Ifangc at Gartad Bob yn Eil Odl. II. Cwynfan Merch Ifangc am Garu'n Feddal, III. Clôd i'r Lord Pasedd, or plâs Newydd Sir Fôn*. Trefriw: Dafydd Jones. Third ballad only.
 7. Roberts, Ellis. n.d. *Dwy o Gerddi Newyddion I. I'n Cestlon Gosod Allan am y Llywydd Sydd yn y Nefoedd, ar Gwynfyd ar Hapusrwydd Sydd i'r Sawl ai Cafodd* [by Ellis Roberts] II. *Ymddiddan Rhwng Dŷn a'i Cydwybod, Bob yn Ail Odl*. Trefriw: Dafydd Jones. First ballad and englynion by Ellis Roberts only.
 8. Roberts, Ellis. n.d. *Tair o Ganeuau Newyddion Yn Gyntaf, Garol i'w ganu Nos Basg, ar Susanna, o Waith Ellis Roberts y Cowper, ag mae'n Debygol ma'i Dyma'r Diwaetha a Wnaeth ef i'r Purpas Hwnnw. Yna Ail, Cyngor i Ferchaid Ifangc* [by Thomas Edwards]. *Yn Drydydd, Deisyfiad Gwr Ifangc at ei Gartad* [Anon]. Trefriw: n.p. First ballad only.
 9. Roberts, Ellis. n.d. *Tair o Gerddi Newyddion. Yn Gyntaf, Cerdd er Dwyn ar Gôf i Ddynion Ddyll y Poennau y mae'r Enaid Colledig yn i Ddtodde yn Uffern Gida Dysystad ar Ddynion Antwiol Ddychwelyd att Dduw ...* [by Hugh Roberts (Llanllyfn)]. *Yn Ail, Dechre Cerdd ar Loath y Part [sic] y Ffordd Hwyaŷ o Ymddiddan Rhwng Dynn ai Gydwybod ...* [by Ellis Roberts]. *Yn Drydydd, Cerd [sic] i'w Channu ar Susan Lygad-ddy neu Black-Eye Susi* [by "Dyn Gwirion"]. Caerlleon: Elizabeth Adams. Second ballad only.
 - 10./11. Roberts, Ellis. 1776. *Dwy o Gerddi Newyddion, Y Gyntaf ar Ddull o Ymddiddan Rhwng y Prydydd a'r Swedydd, neu Un o'r Philosophyddion, am yr Arwyddion a'r Rhyfeddodau Wybrennol, Sydd y Dyddiau Yma. Yr ail Gwahoddiad i Gloddo ym Maes yr Efengyl am y Perl Gwerthfawr. O waith Ellis Roberts Cuiper Llanddodged*. Trefriw: Dafydd Jones.
 - 12./13. Roberts, Ellis. 1779. *Dwy o Gerddi Newyddion y Gyntaf Ynghylch Rhyfeddode a Welwyd yn y Cwmmyle, sef Llân Dŷn a Chledde yn ei Law ai Hett yn Dair Gwalc, ai Wyneb at y Dŵyrain; ar Naill Droed o Flaen y Llall, fel Un am Gochwyn; ai Liw oedd yn Gôch. Yn Ail o Gwynfan am Un ar-ddêg o Longwyr y Bermo a Dolgeleey [sic] Sydd yn Garcharorton yn Ffraingc dan Dwylo eu Gelynton*. Trefriw: Dafydd Jones.
 - 14./15. Roberts, Ellis. 1783. *Dwy o Gerddi Newyddion. I Ymddiddanion Ston yr Haidd, ai Gyfaill, sef, Morgan*

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Rondol. II O Ymddiddantion rhwng y Dyn ar Wenol Bob yn Ail Penill. Trefriw: Dafydd Jones.

BHJ Ballads by Hugh Jones (Llangwm).

- 1./2. Jones, Hugh. 1813. *Dwy o Gerddi Diddanol, Y Gyntaf fel y Digwyddodd i'r Prydydd fod mewn Tŷ Tafarn pan Ddaeth Ysgowl-wraig Flin i Nôl y Gŵr Adre; a'r Ymddiddan a Fu Rhyngddynt: ar Lân Medd-dod Mwyn. Yn Ail. Cwyrnfan Merch Ieuangc gwedi Colli ei Chariad, i'w Chanu ar Galar Dôn.* Trefriw: I. Davies.
 3. Jones, Hugh. n.d. *Dwy o Gerddi Newyddion. I Cerdd Newydd ym Mherthynas y Rhyfel Presennol yn America; yn Gosod Allan mae Oferedd yw Daroganau a Brudiau, ac yn Dangos mae Ordinhad Duw yw'r Cwbl; Yw Chanu ar. Gwel yr Adeilad [by Hugh Jones]. II. Cerdd ar Ddyll Ymddiddan rhwng y Mr. Tir a'r Tenant, bob yn Ail Pennill: Ar Fesur a Elwir, God Save the King, neu Duw gadwo'r Brenhin [Anon].* Gwreccsam: R; Marsh. First ballad only.
 4. Jones, Hugh. 1763. *Cyngor Difrifol i Gadw Dydd yr Arglwydd.* Llundain: W. Roberts. pp. 14-19 [=ballad entitled *Ychydig o Gynghorion i Gadw'r Sabbath yn Ddithalog; yr Rhain a Gentr ar Fesur Greece and Troy*].
 - 5./6. Jones, Hugh. post-1775. *Dwy o Gerddi Newyddion. Cerdd Newydd o Glod Haeddedigol i'r Anrhydeddus Foneddigion Sir Fon y Rhain oedd yn Rhoi eu Voteu au Interest Gyda'r Arglwydd Bwclew o'r Barn-Hill, yr Hon a Gentr ar y Foes. Yn Ail Cerdd Dosturus fel yr oedd Gwraig Fethtog yn Trafaelio tros Fynydd yn Sir Faesyfed, ag Hi Gyflychodd ar yr Ffordd, a Gwyddel Dall a Llang yn ei Dwyso a Ddaeth att, a Hi Roes Swilt i'r Llang am Fynd i Nol Gwagedd att, ar Gwyddel a Ofynodd i'r Llang Beth a Gowse, ar Llang ar Frys Aeth Ymatth, ar Gwyddel a Dynodd ei Gyllell ag a Laddodd y Wraig, a Gwas Gur Bonheddig a Ddaeth i'r Fann ag ai Cymerodd Ef ag fe a'i Danfonwyd i Garchar Maesyfed ac Condemnitwyd, Crogwyd ag y Sbedwyd Ef yn y Flwyddyn 1775, ai Gysaddefiad, mae'r Chweched oedd Hon iddo i'w Ladd. Y Gerdd a Gentr a'r y Fedle Fawr.* Gwreccsam: R. Marsh.
 7. Jones, Hugh. n.d. *Cerdd o Ymddiddan rhwng yr Ofer-ddyn a'r Dafarn-wraig. I'w Chanu ar "Doriad y Dydd".* Caernarfon: P. Evans.
- BJJ Ballads by John Jones (Jac Glan-y-Gors). References are to 1905 edition except for item 5.
1. Jones, John (Jac Glan-y-Gors). *Gwaith Glan y Gors.* Ed. Richard Griffith (Carneddog). 1905, Llanuwchllyn: ab Owen. pp. 17-34, 37-39, 43-50, 55-60, 63-64, 68-81.
 2. Jones, John. c. 1815 [1790?]. *Can Hynod Iawn o Hanes Offeiriad wedi Meddwi.* Casnewydd: Evan Lewis. [=Griffith (1905):35-36]

3. Jones, John. c. 1815. *Cerdd Hanstol [sic] yn Dangos Mor Ddediwydd oedd y Cymry yn Byw yn Amser y Frenhines Bess.* Caerdydd: J.D. Bird. [=Griffith (1905):40-42]
4. Jones, John. c. 1815. *Cerdd Dic Shon Dafydd.* Caesnewydd: Evan Lewis. [=Griffith (1905):51-54]
5. Jones, John. n.d. *Cerdd o Hanes E.J. a Gwenno Bach. Ar Fesur, Mentra Gwen, yr Hen Ffordd.* No imprint. [=Griffith (1905):61-62]
6. Jones, John. c. 1815. *Cerdd Betti o Lansantffraid.* Newport: Evan Lewis. [=Griffith (1905):65-68]

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VI. Miscellaneous Texts

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- AJP Almanac by John Prys.
Prys, John. 1763. *Dehonglydd y Sêr neu Almanac Newydd am y Flwyddyn o Oedran y Byd 5713 Crist 1764.* Caerfyrddin: I. Ross.
- AMW Almanacs by Mathew Williams.
1. Williams, Mathew. 1793. *Britannus Meritnus Liberatus: sef, Amgylchadau Tymhorol ac Wybrennol: neu, Almanac ac Ephemeris o Symmuadau'r Planedau ... 1794 ...* Caerfyrddin: I. Ross. pp. 30-34.
2. Williams, Mathew. 1806. *Britannus Merlinus Liberatus ... 1807.* Aberhonddu: G. North. pp. 2, 21-24.
3. Williams, Mathew. 1810. *Britannus Merlinus Liberatus ... 1811.* Aberhonddu: G. North. pp. 2, 24-27.
- CmB Richmond, Legh. 1819. *Crefydd mewn Bwthyn; neu, Hanes Jane Bach, yn Dangos y Buddioldeb o Eguyddori Plant.* Bala: R. Saunderson. pp. 1-34.
- DA Jones, Robert (Rhos-lan). 1820. *Drych yr Amseroedd.* Ed. Glyn M. Ashton. 1958. Caerdydd: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru. pp. xxxi-23.
- HHGB Williams, Mathew. 1799. *Hanes Holl Grefyddau'r Byd, yn Enwedig y Grefydd Grist'nogol etc.* Caerfyrddin: I. Daniel. pp. 30-58.
- HTN Edwards, Thomas (Twm o'r Nant). 1814 [1805]. *Hanes Bywyd Twm o'r Nant, yr Hwn yn gyffredin â Elwir Twm o'r Nant, Prydydd...* Aberystwyth: S. Williams.

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- FfM Roberts, William. [1745]. *Fjfrewyll y Methodistiaid neu Butlein-glum Siencyn ac Ynfydog*. No imprint.
- GBC *Frederick Brenin Denmark*. c. 1700-50. Cwrtmawr ms. 490A.
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