

Non-canonical syntax: a presentative clause in Welsh

Bob Morris Jones
bmj@aber.ac.uk

In descriptions of Romance languages, the term presentative is used to indicate the semantics of a variety of forms and patterns. In this study¹, the expression presentative clause is restricted to referring to clauses which have particular syntax. In some European languages, such as English, they have an initial locative, meaning ‘here’ or ‘there’, and so-called subject-verb inversion, as in *here’s the bus* and *there goes the train*. Other European languages have one or more distinct presentative forms such as French *voici* and *voilà* as in *voici / voilà Jean* ‘here / there’s John’, Italian *ecco* as in *ecco (quì) Giovanni* ‘here’s John’, Romanian *uite* and *iată* as in *uite-l pe Ion* ‘here/there’s John’ or *iată-l pe Ion* ‘here/there’s John’, and Serbian *evo* and *eno* as in *evo / eno autobusa* ‘here / there’s the bus’.² This study concentrates on presentative clauses in Welsh, which, like the Romance languages and Serbian, has distinct forms, namely, *dyma* ‘here is’, *dyna* ‘there is’, and *dacw* ‘yonder is’. The overall aim is to discuss whether the Welsh presentative clauses have typical clausal syntax or whether their syntax is atypical for a clause. The study first introduces descriptive data about the Welsh words and the clauses in which they occur, and makes, in places, brief comparisons with French and Italian. It then considers three explanations of the Welsh data: an etymologically-based account, a finite clause analysis, and a presentative phrase analysis. The study closes with an assessment of the strengths and weaknesses of the three approaches, and suggestions about the general properties of presentative clauses which contain a distinct presentative clause like Welsh and the Romance languages.

1 Data

We shall use the label d-word to refer to *dyma* ‘here is’, *dyna* ‘there is’, or *dacw* ‘yonder is’, and d-clause to refer to the clause in which they occur. In informal Welsh, d-words can lose their initial consonant and vowel to give the shortened forms *’ma* from *dyma* ‘here is’, *’na* from *dyna* ‘there is’, and *’cw* from *dacw* ‘yonder is’. The shortened form *’co* is typically found in southern dialects. Apart from contraction, d-words are invariant.

1.1 Basic linear syntax

The d-words occur initially, and are followed by one of the following: a determiner phrase, as in (1a); a sequence of determiner phrase and other phrases, as in (1b–d), in which we have an aspect phrase, a prepositional phrase, and a predicative phrase, respectively; a *wh*-clause, as

in (1e); a copular clause in (1f); an adjective phrase as (1g); a fronted ascriptive copular clause as in (1h); and an infinitival phrase made up of verb and determiner phrase, as in (1i).

- 1 a. *dyma 'r arian.*
 here-is the money
 'here's the money.'
- b. *dyma rywun yn dod.*
 here-is someone PROG come
 'here comes someone / here's someone coming.'
- c. *dacw Siôn ar y bont.*
 yonder-is Siôn on the bridge
 'there's Siôn on the bridge.'
- d. *dyma Mair yn flin.*
 here-is Mair PRED cross
 here's Mair cross.'
- e. *dyna beth dw i 'n 'i feddwl.*
 there-is what be.PRES.3SG I PROG CL.3SG.M think
 'that's what I think.'
- f. *dyma fydd ymweliad cyntaf Siân â Berlin.*
 here-is be.FUT.3SG visit first Siân with Berlin
 'this is Siân's first visit to Berlin.'
- g. *dyna ofnadwy.*
 there-is awful
 'that's awful.'
- h. *dyna bert wyt ti.*
 there-is pretty be.PRES.2SG you.SG
 'that's pretty you are.'
- i. *dyna gau 'r drws.*
 there-is close the door
 'the door closes.' [historic present]

- j. **dyma* / *dyna* / *dacw*.
 here-is there-is yonder-is
 ‘here’s / there’s / yonder is.’
- k. ‘*co!*’
 yonder-is.
 ‘look.’

Examples (1h–i) are based on Thomas (1996: 421–422). The d-words *dyma*, *dyna*, and *dacw* cannot stand alone as the illustration in (1j) shows. But ‘*co*’ with imperative meaning can stand alone, as in (1k). More detailed syntactic analyses of all these patterns are given in sections 2.2 and 2.3. But we shall make additional descriptive points here about the *wh*-clauses in examples like (1e) and the copular clause in examples like (1f).

The *wh*-word *beth* ‘what’ is commonly reduced to *be* in informal Welsh, but it can also be omitted in d-clauses:

- 2 a. *dyna* (*beth*) *dw* *i* ‘*n* ‘*i* *feddwl*.
 there-is what be.PRES.1SG I PROG CL.3SG.M think
 ‘that’s what I think / what I am thinking.’
- b. *dyna* (*beth*) ‘*dy* ‘*r* *gore*.
 there-is what be.PRES.3SG the best
 ‘that’s the best.’
- c. *dyna* (*beth*) *sy* ‘*n* *dda*.
 there-is what be.PRES.3SG PRED good
 ‘that’s what is good.’
- d. *dyna* (*beth*) *oedd* *y* *broblem*.
 there-is what be.IMPF.3SG the problem
 ‘that was the problem.’

The resumptive clitic and mutation in (2a) can be retained when the *wh*-word is omitted. The omission of *beth* is not unique to d-clauses. A wider descriptive account of its omission is available in Williams (1959: 69).

The copular clause in (1f) is made up of a finite copular form and a determiner phrase, [Copula[*fydd*] + DP[*ymweliad cyntaf Siân â Berlin*]]. Such patterns do not occur in other contexts, in which an initial constituent must occur, such as [DP + Finite Copula + DP], as in examples (3a–b). But in d-clauses, only [Finite Copula + DP] occurs, as in (1f) which is repeated here as (3c):

- 3 a. **(hon) fydd ymweliad cyntaf Siân â Berlin.*
 this be.FUT.3SG visit first Siân with Berlin
 ‘this will be Siân’s first visit to Berlin.’
- b. *mae ’n amlwg *(hon) fydd ymweliad cyntaf Siân*
 be.PRES.3SG PRED obvious this be.FUT.3SG visit first Siân
â Berlin.
 with Berlin
 ‘it’s obvious that *(this) will be Siân’s first visit to Berlin.’
- c. *dyma *(hon) fydd ymweliad cyntaf Siân â Berlin.*
 here-is this be.FUT.3SG visit first Siân with Berlin
 ‘this is Siân’s first visit to Berlin.’

However, we can consider whether the copular patterns in examples like (1f) are *wh*-clauses in which the *wh*-word *beth* ‘what’ has been omitted, like the examples in (2). If so, it should be possible to restore the *wh*-word, but this is questionable or, perhaps for some speakers, not possible, as in (4a). But *pryd* ‘when’ is a more reasonable possibility as in (4b).

- 4 a. *dyma (?/*beth) fydd ymweliad cyntaf Siân â Berlin.*
 here-is what be.FUT.3SG visit first Siân with Berlin
 ‘this is Siân’s first visit to Berlin.’
- b. *dyna pryd oedd tro cyntaf i Osian gystadlu yn yr Eisteddfod.*
 here-is when be.IMPF.3SG time first to Osian compete in the Eisteddfod
 ‘that was Osian’s first time to compete in the Eisteddfod.’
- c. *gwn *(pryd) oedd tro cyntaf i Osian gystadlu yn yr*
 know.PRES.1SG when be.IMPF.3SG time first to Osian compete in the
Eisteddfod.
 Eisteddfod
 ‘I know *(when) Osian’s first time to compete in the Eisteddfod was.’

But *pryd* ‘when’ is not a *wh*-word which can be deleted in other contexts, as (4c) shows. On the basis of the general constraint that *pryd* ‘when’ cannot be omitted, we can claim that (1f) is not derived from a *wh*-clause in which *pryd* is omitted but is a clause which lacks an initial constituent. We would appear to have an incomplete equative (or identificatory) copular sentence in d-clauses like (1f), and some speakers prefer examples like (3a). We shall return to these matters in 2.2.

We can briefly compare the linear syntax of Welsh d-clauses with French clauses which contain *voici* and *voilà*, as outlined by Morin (1985: 799–802), and Italian clauses which

contain *ecco*, as outlined in Renzi, Salvi, and Cardinaletti (2001: 85). In Welsh and the Romance languages, DPs and *wh*-clauses can occur. But French *voici* and *voilà* and Italian *ecco*, unlike Welsh d-words, can be followed by complement clauses as in (5a), relative clauses as in (5b), and infinitival phrases which are made up of non-finite verb and subject as in (5c):

5 a. *voici que Pierre arrive.*

‘now comes Pierre.’

ecco che arriva Mair.

‘here comes Mair.’

**dyma bod Pierre yn dod.*

here-is be Pierre PROG come

‘here comes Pierre.’

b. *voici Pierre qui vient.*

‘here comes Pierre.’

ecco Maria che arriva.

‘here comes Maria.’

**dyma Pierre sy 'n dod.*

here-is Pierre be.PRES.3SG PROG come

‘here comes Pierre.’

c. *voici venir Pierre.*

‘here comes Pierre.’

ecco arrivare Maria.

‘here comes Maria.’

**dyma ddod Pierre.*

here-is come Pierre

‘here comes Pierre.’

We see from example (1i) that an infinitive phrase can occur in a d-clause. But the Welsh infinitival phrase is made up of a verb and its complement, and not a subject and its verb. Further, the Welsh infinitival phrase is confined to the description of past-time situations and not present-time situations as in French and Italian (see section 1.2). Finally, as (1j) shows, Welsh *dyma*, *dyna*, and *dacw* cannot occur by themselves but French *voilà* and Italian *ecco* can:

6 *voilà! / ecco!*

‘there!’

But Welsh *'co* with imperative meaning can occur alone in southern dialects.

1.2 Semantics

We shall only briefly outline the semantics of the d-clauses. Semantic distinctions are relevant to the discussion of focus particles in 1.7. First, a d-clause can make ostensive reference to an entity or situation which can be directly perceived by the speaker and addressee. The entity or situation is described in the sequence which follows the d-word. This function is conveyed by *dacw* and *dyma*, and examples can be seen in (1a–c). But we can note that some speakers may use *dyna* to make ostensive reference, in place of *dacw*. This is the same function which traditional accounts of French, as in L’Huillier (1999: 36–37) and Brunot and Bruneau (1969: 210–212), assign to *voici* and *voilà* under ‘les présentatifs’ — forms which present something or someone in the perceivable situation. Maiden and Robustelli (2000: 100) also refer to Italian *ecco* as the “presentative particle”. The term presentative is a convenient labelling device for d-clauses and their equivalents in other languages. But other forms and patterns also figure under presentatives in descriptions of the Romance languages, and d-clauses have other functions in addition to ostensive presentation, as outlined as follows.

Second, d-clauses can have an equative or attributive function. The description in the sequence which follows the d-word is equated or attributed to something, S, which is mentioned in the discourse or is present in the perceivable situation. S itself is not ostensively presented by the d-clause but is described in equative or attributive terms. This equative or attributive function is conveyed by *dyma* and *dyna*, and examples can be seen in (1e–i). Further examples are the following, which can relate to something already said in the discourse:

- 7 a. *dyma 'r broblem.*
 here-is the problem
 ‘this is the problem.’
- b. *dyna pam dw i ddim yn aros.*
 there-is why be.PRES.1SG I NEG PROG stay
 ‘that’s why I’m not staying.’

In the case of *dyna*, the textual location of S is anaphoric, but in the case of *dyma* it can be cataphoric and anaphoric.³

Third, *dyma* and, more rarely, *dyna* in informal spoken Welsh can be used as a historic present to describe a past-time situation. Examples are given in (1d, i) and (1b) can also be interpreted as a historic present. Others are as follows:

- 8 a. *dyma hi 'n codi ac yn mynd o 'r stafell heb ddeud gair.*
 here-is she PROG rise and PROG go from the room without say word
 'she gets up and leaves the room without saying a word.'
- b. *dyma fo 'n cydio yn y morthwyl ac yn 'i daflu trwy 'r ffenest.*
 here-is he PROG grasp in the hammer and PROG 3SG.M throw through the window
 'he gets hold of the hammer and throws it through the window.'
- c. *dyna rywun yn agor y drws*
 there-is someone PROG open the door
a dyma drwyn hir yn ymddangos.
 and here-is nose long PROG appear
 'someone opens the door and a long nose appears.'

Example (3c) is from Thomas (1996: 422). The historic present function would appear to be the only semantic context in which an infinitival phrase can follow a d-word, as in example (1i).

Fourth, in some southern dialects, *'co* is used where verbs of vision can be used as imperatives in various dialects:

- 9 a. *'co Mererid.*
 yonder-is Mererid
 'look (at) Mererid.'
- b. *drycha / sbia / yli / shgwl Mererid.*
 look.IMPV.2SG look.IMPV.2SG see.IMPV.2SG look.IMPV.2SG Mererid
 'look (at) Mererid.'

In (4b), second person singular forms have been used. But second person plural forms are also equivalents of the imperative use of *'co*. Further comments on mood in d-clauses are given in section 2.1.

Fifth, and last, as King (2003: 255–266) notes, d-clauses involving *dyma* and, especially, *dyna* can have interactive discourse functions. *Dyna* can be used to maintain speaker-addressee relationships by agreeing with, confirming, or acknowledging what the previous speaker is saying. In this use, *dyna* is followed by a pronoun *ti / chi* 'you', *ni* 'we', or *fo / fe*

‘it’. Examples are given in (10d–e). In the case of *ti / chi* ‘you’, and *ni* ‘we’, the d-clause does not ostensibly present the referents of the pronouns, nor does it establish equative or attributive relationships with other entities. Examples with third person pronouns, as in (10e), can have presentative, equative or attributive functions, but they can also have interactive discourse functions. The pronouns *ti / chi* ‘you’, and *ni* ‘we’ are further discussed under intervening pronouns in section 1.3.

At a greater level of abstraction, it might be possible to conflate some or all of the above meanings. But we shall not pursue this matter here.

The d-words also involve deictic distinctions. *Dyma* conveys ‘nearness’ in relation to an assumed standpoint, typically the speaker’s standpoint, while *dyna* ‘here is’ or *dacw* ‘yonder is’ convey ‘farness’ (we have already noted that some speakers use *dyna* in place of *dacw*). The distance does not have to be actual. It can be subjective, conveying the speaker’s sense of nearness or farness from an entity. In those cases where the d-words share one or more of the previous functions, they can be distinguished in terms of deixis. Unlike Welsh, French has a two-way distinction with proximal *voici* ‘here’ and distal *voilà* ‘there’. Serbian, too, may have a third form, *eto*, in addition to *evo* ‘here’ and *eno* ‘there’, to produce a three-way distinction (proximal-medial-distal) — *evo* ‘here’, *eto* ‘there’, and *eno* ‘yonder’.⁴

1.3 Intervening pronouns and locatives

With at least some of the examples of d-clauses, it is possible to have a personal pronoun between the d-word and the material which follows the d-word, as in (10a–c):

- 10 a. *dyma ti 'r arian.*
 here-is you.SG the money
 ‘here’s [you] the money.’
- b. *dyma ni 'r bws yn dod.*
 here-is we the bus PROG come
 ‘here’s [us] the bus coming.’
- c. *dyna chi bert.*
 there-is you.PL pretty
 ‘that’s [you] pretty.’

- d. *dyna ti / chi / ni.*
 there-is you.SG you.PL we
 ‘there you / we are.’
- e. *dyna fo.*
 there-is he
 ‘there it is / that’s it.’

It is difficult to account for the pronouns in some translations. Quite literal renderings are given, with the pronouns enclosed in square brackets. There are two constraints on the occurrences of intervening pronouns (this expression serves expository convenience only). One is that they are always addressee-linked, and are therefore limited to the second person and the first person plural inclusive. Unlike typical finite clauses, we do not find the first person singular or the third person pronouns ⁵:

- 11 a. *dyma (*fi) 'r arian.*
 here-is I the money
 ‘here’s me the money.’
- b. *dyma (*nhw) 'r bws yn dod.*
 here-is they the bus PROG come
 here’s them the bus coming.’
- c. *dyna (*hi) bert.*
 here-is she pretty
 ‘that’s her pretty.’

Finite imperatives have only second person pronouns, but we claim in 2.1 that d-clauses are not imperatives (with the exception of southern *'co*). The other constraint is that not all d-clauses can contain the appropriate pronouns. The examples in (12) are starred. But judgements may vary and some speakers may find that some are uncertain or even acceptable.

- 12 a. *dacw (*ti) 'r ferch sydd wedi cael y swydd.*
 yonder-is you.SG the girl be.PRES.3SG PERF have the post
 ‘there’s the girl who has got the job.’
- b. *dacw (*ni) Siôn ar y bont.*
 yonder-is we Siôn on the bridge
 ‘there’s Siôn on the bridge.’
- c. *dyna (*ni) bert wyt ti.*
 there-is we pretty be.PRES.2SG you.SG
 ‘that’s pretty you are.’

- d. *dyma (*chi) fydd ymweliad cyntaf Siân â Berlin.*
 here-is you.PL be.FUT.3SG visit first Siân with Berlin
 ‘this is Siân’s first visit to Berlin.’

It is not clear what the bases of these constraints are.

The example in (10d) shows that the addressee-linked pronouns can also occur alone with d-words. The example in (10e) also shows a third person pronoun standing alone with a d-word, but this pronoun stands in place of one of the expressions which follow the d-word in the examples in (1) and is not an intervening pronoun. With the exception of *'co*, it can be concluded that d-words must be followed by one of the sequences in (1a–i), or one of the addressee-linked pronouns in (10d), or both as in (10a–c). Detailed discussion of the syntax of d-clauses which contain intervening pronouns is given in sections 2.2 and 2.3.

The following examples show that the locative words *yna* ‘there’ and *yma* ‘here’ can also occur between the d-word *dyma* and phrases which follow the d-word:

- 13 a. *dyma (y)na ddyn yn dod i 'r drws.*
 here-is there man PROG come to the door.
 ‘here’s [there] a man coming to the door / there comes a man to the door.’
- b. *dyma yma ddau blisman jyst yn cerdded drwy 'r stafell.*
 here-is here two policeman just PROG walk through the room
 here’s [here] two policemen walking through the room.’
- c. **dyma yna / yma.*
 here-is there here
 ‘here’s [there / here]

Unlike the intervening pronouns, the locatives cannot stand alone with the d-word, as (13c) shows. Instances of *dyma (y)na* are much more common than *dyma yma*. It is not clear whether the locative words can follow *dyna* and *dacw* as well as *dyma*. There are grounds for analysing *yna* ‘there’ as an expletive subject. In a canonical finite clause, the latter only occurs where an indefinite subject would otherwise occur, as the following examples illustrate:

- 14 a. *mae (yna) ffôn wrth y drws.*
 be.PRES.3SG there phone by the door
 ‘there’s a phone by the door.’

- b. *mae* (**yna*) *y ffôn wrth y drws*.
 be.PRES.3SG there the man by the door
 ‘there’s a phone by the door.’

The same restriction applies to the intervening locatives in d-clauses:

- 15 a. *dyma* (*yna*) *awyren yn dod*.
 here-is there airplane PROG come
 ‘here’s [there] an airplane coming.’
 b. *dyma* (**yna*) *yr awyren yn dod*.
 here-is there the airplane PROG come
 ‘here’s [there] the airplane coming.’

However, an expletive interpretation cannot be made for *yma* ‘here’, as this locative word does not occur as an expletive in canonical finite clauses in informal Welsh:

- 16 *mae* (**yma*) *afalau ar y goeden*.
 be.PRES.3SG here apples on the tree
 ‘here are apples on the tree.’

A more detailed account of the intervening locatives is given in sections 2.2 and 2.3.

1.4 Mutation

The word which immediately follows the d-word undergoes soft mutation.⁶ In examples (1b, h, i) the forms *rywun*, *bert*, and *gau* are soft-mutated versions of *rhywun*, *pert*, and *cau*.⁷ The words are also soft-mutated after the intervening pronouns, as in example (10c) where *pert* is mutated to *bert*, and also after the intervening locative words, as in examples (13a–b) in which *dyn* and *plisman* are respectively mutated to *ddyn* and *blisman*. Borsley, Tallerman, and Willis (2010: 19–26, 223–254) provide an outline of existing analyses of the triggers of mutations. They are caused either by an individual lexeme or by an aspect of syntax. In terms of the latter, triggers are accounted for either as phrases or as grammatical case (abstract case in respect of Welsh). We shall not consider case as a trigger in this study. Borsley and Tallerman (1996) and Tallerman (2006) refer to the phrasal account as the XP trigger hypothesis (XPTH), whereby any phrase (XP) can mutate an immediately following word. Mutations apply under two conditions. The trigger must always immediately precede the mutated word (the adjacency requirement), and, if the trigger is a phrase, the latter must c-command the phrase in which the mutated word occurs. It follows from all this that mutations

have consequences for the analysis of the syntax of *d*-clauses. We shall discuss these issues in greater detail in sections 2.2 and 2.3. Mutations are not noted in the interlinear glosses in the examples, but we shall draw attention to them when they are relevant to the discussion.

1.5 Clausal modifications

Regular finite clauses like the one in (17a) are subject to a range of clausal modifications (this expression serves expositional convenience only). They can be negated with the adverbial negator *ddim* as in (17b); they can occur as *wh*-interrogatives as in (17c); they allow fronting as in (17d); they can occur as relative clauses as in (17e); they can occur in an adverbial clause such as one headed by *pan* ‘when’ as in (17f); and they can occur in all types of complement clauses — *wh*-clauses as in (17g) and plain ones as in (17h).

- 17 a. *fydd yr hogan yn mynd.*
 be.FUT.3SG the girl PROG go
 ‘the girl will be going.’
- b. *fydd yr hogan ddim yn mynd.*
 be.FUT.3SG the girl NEG PROG go
 ‘the girl will not be going.’
- c. *pwy fydd yn mynd?*
 who be.FUT.3SG PROG go
 ‘who will be going?’
- d. *yr hogan fydd yn mynd.*
 the girl be.FUT.3SG PROG go
 ‘it’s the girl who will be going.’
- e. *dw i ’n nabod yr hogan fydd yn mynd.*
 be.PRES.1SG I PROG know the girl be.FUT.3SG PROG go
 ‘I know the girl who will be going.’
- f. *pan fydd yr hogan yn mynd ...*
 when be.FUT.3SG the girl PROG go
 ‘when the girl will be going ...’
- g. *dw i ’n gw’bod lle bydd yr hogan yn mynd.*
 be.PRES.1SG I PROG know where be.FUT.3SG the girl PROG go
 ‘I know where the girl will be going.’
- h. *dw i ’n gw’bod (y) bydd yr hogan yn mynd.*
 be.PRES.1SG I PROG know COMP be.FUT.3SG the girl PROG go
 ‘I know (that) the girl will be going.’

None of these are possible with a d-clause, such as the one in (18a). They do not generally allow the adverbial negator *ddim* as in (18b) — we shall qualify this constraint below; they do not form *wh*-interrogative as in (18c); they do not allow fronting as in (18d); they do not occur as relative clauses as in (18e); they do not occur in adverbial clauses such as one headed by *pan* ‘when’ as in (18f); and they do not generally occur in complement clauses, including those which have an initial *wh*-word as in (18g) and plain complement clauses as in (18h) — but we shall qualify the latter constraint.

- 18 a. *dyma 'r hogan yn mynd.*
 here-is the girl PROG go
 ‘here’s the girl going.’
- b. **dyma 'r hogan ddim yn mynd.*
 here-is the girl NEG PROG go
 ‘here’s the girl not going.’
- c. **pwy dyma yn mynd?*
 who here-is PROG go
 ‘who here’s going?’
- d. **yr hogan dyma yn mynd.*
 the girl here-is PROG go
 ‘it’s the girl who here’s going.’
- e. **dw i 'n nabod yr hogan dyma yn mynd.*
 be.PRES.1SGI PROG know the girl here-is PROG go
 ‘I know the girl who here’s going.’
- f. **pan dyma 'r hogan yn mynd ...*
 when here-is the girl PROG go
 ‘when here’s the girl going ...’
- g. **dw i 'n gw'bod lle dacw yr hogan yn mynd.*
 be.PRES.1SGI PROG know where yonder-is the girl PROG go
 ‘I know where there’s the girl going.’
- h. **dw i 'n gw'bod (y) dacw yr hogan yn mynd.*
 be.PRES.1SGI PROG know COMP yonder-is the girl PROG go
 ‘I know where there’s the girl going.’

There are counter examples to the claim that d-clauses cannot contain the adverbial negator *ddim*. But they only occur in conditions of special discourse effects. This happens where a d-clause is given by one speaker in good faith but it is clear to an addressee that the description

given in the clause cannot be verified by a perceptible state of affairs. In this case, the addressee can, perhaps playing with language and discourse, contradict the original speaker:

- 19 Speaker1 *dyma 'r bws yn dod.* [hearing but not seeing a bus]
 here+is the bus PROG come
 'here's the bus coming.'
- Speaker2 *dyma 'r bws ddim yn dod!* [seeing no bus]
 here+is the bus NEG PROG come
 'here isn't the bus coming!'

Outside this special discourse context, the negative adverbial *ddim* does not occur in a d-clause. We have also said that d-clauses do not generally occur as complement clauses. However, we see in example (27d) that attributive d-clauses can occur as complement clauses. But other semantic types of d-clauses do not occur as complement clauses, and no d-clause occurs as a *wh*-complement clause.

Some of the constraints on Welsh presentative clauses do not apply to French *voici* and *voilà*. Morin (1985: 788–789) shows that French *voici* and *voilà* occur more extensively in complement clauses, those with initial *que* and those with other *wh*-words:

- 20 a. *Tu es sûr que voilà la bonne?*
 'Are you sure that this is the right one?'
wyt ti 'n siwr mai dyma 'r un iawn? [as equative]
 be.PRES.2SG you.SG PRED sure AFF here+is the one right
 'are you sure that this is the right one?'
- b. *Sais-tu vraiment où te voilà rendu?*
 'Do you really know where you now stand?'
 **wyt ti 'n gw'bod yn iawn lle dyma ti 'n*
 be.PRES.2SG you.SG PROG know ADV right where here+is you.SG PROG
sefyll?
 stand
 'do you really know where you stand?'

Morin (1985: 788–789) shows that the French presentative forms can occur in relative clauses, unlike the Welsh d-words:

- 21 *Reconnaîtrais-tu la personne dont voici la photo?*
 ‘Would you recognize the person whose picture this is?’
 **fasat ti 'n nabod y person dyma ei lun?*
 be.CNTF.2SG you.SG PROG recognise the person here-is CL.3SG.M photo
 ‘would you recognize the person whose photo this is?’

We have also seen that Welsh presentative clauses cannot typically undergo clausal negation with the adverbial negator *ddim*. But Morin (1985: 803) shows that French *voici* and *voilà* are different, as both can occur with bipartite negative patterns such as *ne ... pas* ‘not’, *ne ... plus* ‘no more’, and *ne ... guère* ‘not much’:

- 22 a. *Et-ce que ne voilà pas une réponse admirable?*
 ‘Isn’t that a marvellous answer?’
 No d-clause equivalent
- b. *Ne voilà plus que ça.*
 ‘That does it.’
 No d-clause equivalent
- c. *Ne voilà guère de quoi nous réjouissons.*
 ‘This is hardly something we can rejoice.’
 No d-clause equivalent

It is difficult to produce Welsh d-clauses for the French negatives, even allowing for ill-formed Welsh d-clauses.

1.6 Verb phrases and *i*-clauses

The copula and verbs can occur as a non-finite verb in VPs and *i*-clauses. The following examples illustrate the copula (the VPs and *i*-clauses are enclosed in square brackets):

- 23 a. *mae Siôn yn disgwyl [bod ar y bont].*
 be.PRES.3SG Siôn PROG expect be on the bridge
 ‘Sion expects [to be on the bridge].’
- b. *mae pawb yn disgwyl [i Siôn fod ar y bont].*
 be.PRES.3SG everyone PROG expect for Siôn be on the bridge
 ‘everyone expects [Siôn to be on the bridge].’

This does not happen with a d-clause. We do not have versions of (1c) *dacw Siôn ar y bont* ‘there’s Siôn on the bridge’ in VPs and *i*-clauses:

- 24 a. **mae* *Siôn yn disgwyl* [*dacw ar y bont*].
 be.PRES.3SG *Siôn* PROG expect yonder-is on the bridge
 ‘Sion expects [there-is on the bridge].’
- b. **mae* *pawb yn disgwyl* [*i Siôn dacw ar y bont*].
 be.PRES.3SG everyone PROG expect for *Siôn* yonder-is on the bridge
 ‘everyone expects [*Siôn* there-is on the bridge].’

D-words are thus different to the copula and other verbs, which can occur in VPs and *i*-clauses.

1.7 Focus particles and preverbal particles

The occurrence of focus particles and preverbal particles are different in regular finite clauses and *d*-clauses. In informal Welsh, the focus particles are: interrogative *ai / efe / ø*; negative *nid / dim / nage*; and, in complement clauses only, declarative *ma(i) / taw / na / ø*. In informal Welsh, the productive preverbal particles are *mi / fe / ø*, which are positive and declarative and which occur only in main clauses. In all cases, the choices represent dialect alternatives, and the zero sign indicates that a particle can be omitted. The preverbal particles trigger the soft mutation, which can be retained when they are omitted. The occurrences of focus particles and preverbal particles in a regular finite clause can be illustrated as follows:

- 25 a. *mi / fe / ø fydd* *Siôn yn canu*.
 AFF be.FUT.3SG *Siôn* PROG sing
 ‘*Siôn* will be singing.’
- b. (**ai / efe*) *bydd* *Siôn yn canu?*
 Q be.FUT.3SG *Siôn* PROG sing
 ‘will *Siôn* be singing?’
- c. (**nid / dim / nage*) *bydd* *Siôn yn canu*.
 NEG be.FUT.3SG *Siôn* PROG sing
 ‘*Siôn* will not singing.’
- d. *dw* *i 'n gw'bod* (**ma' / taw / na*) *bydd* *Siôn yn canu*.
 be.PRES.1SG I PROG know AFF be.FUT.3SG *Siôn* PROG sing
 ‘I know that *Sion* will be singing.’
- 26 a. (**mi / fe*) *Siôn fydd* *yn canu*.
 NEG *Siôn* be.FUT.3SG PROG sing
 ‘it's not *Siôn* who will be singing.’

- b. *nid / dim / nage Siôn fydd yn canu.*
 NEG Siôn be.FUT.3SG PROG sing
 ‘it’s not Siôn who will be singing.’
- c. *ai / efe / ø Siôn fydd yn canu?*
 Q Siôn be.FUT.3SG PROG sing
 ‘is it Siôn who will be singing?’
- d. *dw i ’n gw’bod ma’ / taw / na / ø Siôn fydd yn canu.*
 be.PRES.1SG I PROG know AFF Siôn be.FUT.3SG PROG sing
 ‘I know that it’s Sion who will be singing.’

Comparing examples (25a) and (26a), we can see that the preverbal particles *mi / fe* can occur before the finite verb in normal-order clauses but not before a fronted phrase in fronted-order clauses. Comparing examples (25b–d) and (26b–d), we can see that focus particles can occur before a fronted phrase in a fronted-order clause but not before the finite verb in a normal-order clause. In d-clauses, only focus particles can precede a d-word and not the preverbal particles, *mi / fe*:

- 27 a. *(*mi / fe) dyna ’r ateb.*
 AFF there-is the answer
 ‘that’s not the answer.’
- b. *nid / dim / nage dyna ’r ateb.*
 NEG there-is the answer
 ‘that’s not the answer.’
- c. *ai / efe / ø dyna beth na’th e?*
 Q there-is what do.PERV.3SG he
 ‘is that what he did?’
- d. *dw i ’n gw’bod ma’ / taw / na / ø dyna ’r ateb.*
 be.PRES.1SG I PROG know AFF there-is the answer
 ‘I know that that is the answer.’

Superficially, d-clauses appear to behave like fronted clauses, but we shall challenge this view in sections 2.2 and 2.3.

Focus particles also show that there are further restrictions on d-clauses in addition to the ones which are outlined in sections 1.5 and 1.6. Focus particles occur in d-clauses which have an equative function as in (27). But they do not occur in d-clauses which have other functions — attributive in (28), ostensive in (29), and historic present in (30):

- 28 a. **nid / dim / nage dyna ofnadwy.*
 NEG there-is awful
 ‘that’s not awful.’
- b. **eife / ai / ie / ø dyna bert wyt ti?*
 Q here-is pretty be.PRES.2SG you.SG
 ‘is that pretty you are?’
- c. **dw i ’n gw’bod ma’ / taw / na / ø dyna dda.*
 be.PRES.1SGI PROG know AFF here’s good
 ‘I know that it’s Sion who was singing.’
- 29 a. **nid / dim / nage dacw ’r ferch sydd wedi cael y swydd.*
 NEG yonder-is the girl be.PRES.3SG PERF have the post
 ‘there’s not the girl who has got the job.’
- b. **eife / ai / ie / ø dyma Siôn yn dod?*
 Q here-is Siôn PROG come
 ‘comes here Siôn / is here Siôn coming?’
- c. **dw i ’n gw’bod ma’ / taw / na / ø dacw Siôn ar y bont.*
 be.PRES.1SGI PROG know AFF here-is Siôn on the bridge
 ‘I know that there’s Siôn on the bridge.’
- 30 a. **nid / dim / nage dyma Mair yn flin.*
 NEG here-is Mair PRED cross
 ‘here’s not Mair cross.’
- b. **nid / dim / nage dyna agor y drws.*
 NEG here-is open the door
 ‘the door open doesn’t.’

Our main interest in this study is in those examples which allow focus particles. More detailed analyses of preverbal particles and focus particles are given in sections 2.2 and 2.3.

2 Analyses

Explanations of the syntax of d-clauses must be able to account for the empirical observations which are outlined above, namely: (i) linearity, including the occurrence of the intervening pronouns and locative words, (ii) mutation, (iii) clausal modifications, (iv) VPs and *i*-clauses, and (v) focus particles and preverbal particles. In the following sections, we shall consider three approaches to these data: an etymologically-based analysis, a finite clause analysis, and a presentative phrase analysis. We shall compare the advantages and disadvantages of these three approaches in section 3.

2.1 The etymological source

Contemporary linguistics does not commonly use diachronic data to explain synchronic data. But there is a suggestion in Richards (1938: 25–26) that d-clauses in modern Welsh can be explained in terms of their etymological source. We shall first outline the latter, and then assess Richards’ account.

Standard reference grammars of Welsh, such as Morris-Jones (1913: 440, 452), Morgan (1952: 434), and Thomas (1996: 421), say that d-words are historically derived from a finite sentence, as follows (spelled here in contemporary orthography):

31 *a weli di {yma / yna / acw} Siôn?*
 Q see.PRES.2SG you.SG here there yonder Siôn
 ‘do you see {here / there / yonder} Sion?’

We have a finite verb *gweld* ‘see’ which is inflected for the present tense, a pronominal second person subject, *di* ‘you’, a locative adjunct *yma / yna / acw* ‘here / there / yonder’, and an object, *Siôn*.⁸ The locative adjuncts have the same deictic properties as those outlined for the d-words earlier. The phonetic realization of (31) is reduced to produce a d-clause, as follows:

32 *(weli) d(i) {yma / yna / acw} Siôn?*
 see.PRES.2SG you.SG here there yonder Siôn
 ‘do you see {here / there / yonder} Siôn?’

The finite verb is ellipsed, and the pronoun is reduced and coalesced with the adjunct to create the new forms *dyma*, *dyna*, and *dacw*.⁹ Brunot and Bruneau (1969: 211–212) record that *voici* and *voilà* are also derived historically from expressions which include the present tense of *voir* ‘see’, namely, *(tu) vois (i)ci* and *(tu) vois là*. Likewise, Romanian *uite* has developed from an expression which involves a verb meaning ‘to see’ (Iliescu 2301, 2009, 2010). Italian *ecco*, Romanian *iată*, and Serbian *evo* and *eno*¹⁰ are examples of forms which we can label as presentative particles but which are not historically derived from a verb meaning ‘see’.

The changes in (31) are not the only changes which have occurred. The historical accounts illustrate the original clauses in examples which are either imperative or interrogative. Anwyl (1899: 175) illustrates the imperative, *wel di yma / yna / acw* ‘see thou here / there / yonder’. The glosses and punctuation in Morris-Jones (1913: 440) suggest the interrogative, and Morgan (1952: 434) refers to examples like *a wely di yma*, in which the preverbal particle and

verb morphology also suggest the interrogative. The examples of today's Welsh in (1, 2, 7, 8) are clearly not interrogative, and we also see in section 1.7 that there are constraints on contemporary d-clauses as interrogatives. The example in (4a) shows that the use of *'co* can have strong imperative force. But there is no clear imperative meaning to the examples of the other d-words in examples (1, 2, 7, 8). A listener can react to the presentative meaning which is based on ostensive reference by seeking out the situation which is described by the d-clause, as in the cases of examples (1a–c). But this can happen with canonical declarative clauses such as those in (37). We shall argue that contemporary d-clauses have declarative force, with the exception of the imperative use of *'co*, which is illustrated in (9). It would thus appear that the historical development of d-clauses has also involved a change of mood features as well as syntax. But it may be the case that *'co* has retained an earlier imperative function.

Richards (1938: 25–26) holds that in contemporary d-clauses the verb *gweli* 'you see' is understood, and this implies that contemporary d-clauses can be derived from examples like (31). There are problems with this approach as a synchronic account. First, in contemporary Welsh, the adjunct would typically be in clause-final position:

- 33 a *weli* *di* *Siôn* { *yma* / *yna* / *acw* }?
 Q see.PRES.2SG you.SG *Siôn* here there yonder
 'do you see *Siôn* {here / there / yonder}?'

In order to derive a d-clause in a synchronic analysis, we would have to claim that a movement rule results in the object being in clause-final position. Such movements are discussed under *sangiad* in conventional Welsh grammars, as in Morgan (1952: 425–435), but they are not productive in contemporary vernacular Welsh (with the exception of heavy-NP shift). Second, the verb *gweld* 'to see' in (31) is glossed as present tense and, whereas some speakers today can use *gweld* as a present tense, the main way of conveying this tense today is to use a so-called compound tense pattern, thus:

- 34 *wyt* *ti* *'n* *gweld* *Siôn* { *yma* / *yna* / *acw* }?
 be.PRES.2SG you.SG PROG see *Siôn* here there yonder
 'can / do you see *Sion* here / there / yonder?'

D-clauses cannot be derived from such clauses. Third, examples like (1g–i) are problematic, and would have to be derived from:

- 35 *weli di {ofnadwy/ bert wyt ti / agor y drws} yna?*
 see.PRES.2SG you.SG awful pretty be.PRES.2SG you.SG open the door there
 ‘do you see there open the door?’

There are no contemporary examples of these patterns which can provide a source for the occurrence of these phrases in this post-subject position. Fourth, the phonological processes which produce the d-words are not available to contemporary speakers. It is not unusual to have extensive phonological ellipsis and coalescence in contemporary Welsh, as in the following notable illustrations (the first member in each pair of examples gives the full form, and the second the contracted form):

- 36 a. *dw i ddim yn gw’bod.*
 be.PRES.1SG I NEG PROG know
 ‘I don’t know.’
’m ’bo’.
 NEG know
 ‘dunno.’
- b. *faswn i ddim wedi deud wrthot ti.*
 be.COUNT.1SG I NEG PERF tell to.2SG you.SG
 ‘I would not have told you.’
swn i ’m ’di deu’ ’tho’ ti.
 be.COUNT.1SG I NEG PERF tell to.2SG you.SG
 ‘I wouldn’t ’ve told you.’
- c. *does yna ddim siwgr.*
 NEG.be.PRES there NEG sugar
 ‘there’s no sugar.’
’s ’na ’m siwgr.
 be.PRES there NEG sugar
 ‘there’s no sugar.’

In the three cases, the full forms are recoverable. But in the case of contemporary d-clauses, the lost structure is not recoverable, and we cannot say that the phonological processes in (32) apply today. Taking all these points into consideration, contemporary speakers, especially young children who are acquiring Welsh, have no access to the historical data as the source for d-clauses. We shall not adopt examples like (31) as an analysis of d-clauses in contemporary Welsh. It is more appropriate to see (31) and (32) as the historical grammaticalization which has produced the d-words and d-clauses.

2.2 Finite clause analysis

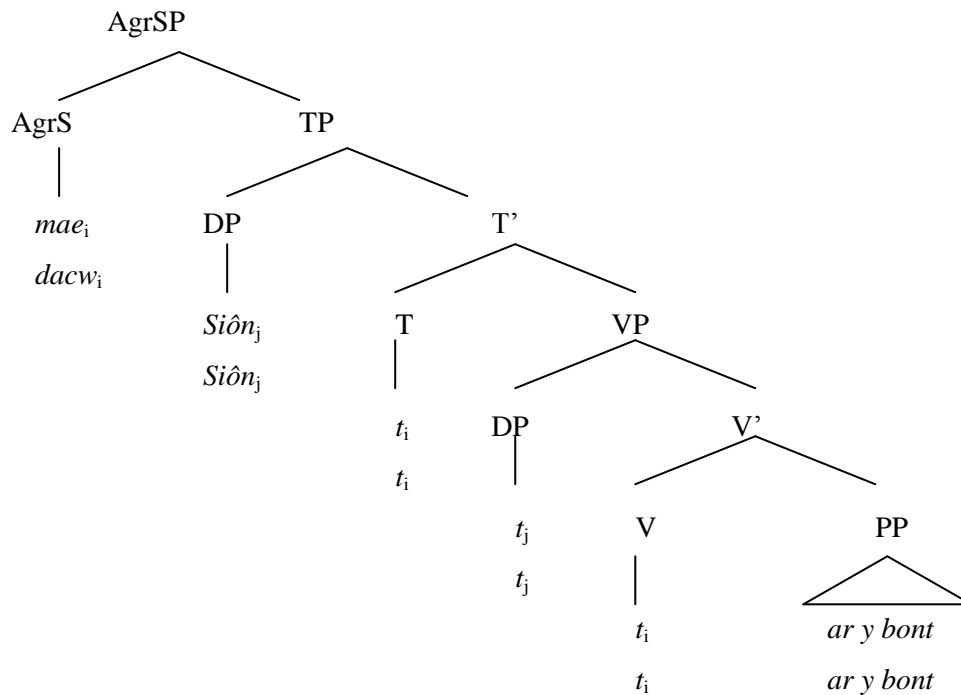
D-clauses occur as independent clauses. The latter in languages are typically finite clauses, and accounting for d-clauses as finite clauses would preserve this generalization. We shall first consider whether d-clauses, as finite clauses, either contain or lack a subject. We shall argue for a subjectless analysis, and then consider whether such an analysis can account for the syntactic data in section 1.

Morin (1985) and Renzi *et al* (2001: 86) respectively analyse French and Italian presentative clauses as finite clauses in which the presentative words are verbs, but they claim that presentative clauses lack a subject. In the case of the Romance languages, which are SVO languages, no expressions occur before *voici / voila* and *ecco*, which provides grounds for claiming that presentative clauses lack a subject. But Welsh is a VSO language, and, if the d-words are verbs, they come first in the clause and any subjects come second. In these terms, there are preliminary grounds for the view that Welsh presentatives contain a subject. As noted by Thomas (1996: 423), the flat, linear structure of some d-clauses is very similar to that of some contemporary clauses which contain a finite form of *bod* ‘be’. Examples (1b–d) are like the following clauses:

- 37 a. *ma' rhywun yn dod.*
 be.PRES.3SG someone PROG come
 ‘someone is coming.’
- b. *mae Siôn ar y bont.*
 be.PRES.3SG Siôn on the bridge
 ‘there’s Siôn on the bridge.’
- c. *ma' Mair yn flin.*
 be.PRES.3SG Mair PRED cross
 ‘Mair is cross.’

In the examples in (37), the constituents are ordered [Finite Verb + DP + XP], in which the DP is the subject and the XP is a progressive phrase in (37a), a prepositional phrase in (37b), and a predicational phrase in (37c). The d-clauses in (1b–d) have a very similar linear sequence, [D-word + DP + XP], which we can initially claim is also [Finite Verb + DP + XP] in which the DP is again the subject and the XP is again a progressive phrase, a prepositional phrase, or a predicational phrase. Following Roberts (2003: 43), an analysis of a regular finite clause such as (36b) is illustrated by the first line of data in (38):

38



Following the VP-internal subject hypothesis, the subject, *Siôn*, originates in the specifier of the VP and is moved to the specifier of TP. The finite verb originates in VP and rises to T to acquire tense features and then to AgrS to acquire verb-subject agreement features, where it occurs as *mae* 'is'. These movements produce the verb-first order of Welsh. As illustrated in the second line of data in (38), if d-clauses are finite clauses, the subject originates in Spec VP and moves to Spec TP. The d-word originates in VP and moves first to T and then to AgrS. But, apart from contraction, d-words are invariant and have no morphology to indicate tense and agreement features. In order to maintain the finite clause analysis, it can be claimed that d-words behave syntactically like a finite verb but have defective morphology. Thomas (1996: 420–424) also holds that the d-words are defective verbs, along with other forms in Welsh. Morin (1985) also argues that the French presentative forms *voici* and *voilà* are morphologically defective verbs which nevertheless are present and indicative, and Renzi *et al* (2001: 86) attribute verbal behaviour to the Italian presentative form *ecco*.

However, there are four problems with the claim that d-clauses have subjects. First, it is not possible to apply diagnostic tests which can demonstrate that the DP which immediately follows the d-word is a canonical subject in Welsh. In canonical clauses, agreement features and characteristics of fronting can help to identify a subject. In Welsh, a finite verb agrees with subjects which are pronouns, as in (39a), and is third singular in the case of subjects which are singular and plural DPs, as in (39b).

- 39 a. *dw i / wyt ti / mae o /*
 be.PRES.1SG I be.PRES.2SG you.SG be.PRES.3SG he
 ‘I am / you are / he is’
dyn ni / dach chi / maen nhw
 be.PRES.1PL we / be.PRES.2PL you.PL be.PRES.3PL they
 ‘we are / you are / they are’
- b. *mae ’r dyn / mae ’r dynion*
 be.PRES.3SG the man be.PRES.3SG the men
 ‘the man is / the men are’

But this test cannot be applied to d-clauses as d-words are invariant. Fronting demonstrates a subject in two ways. One is that in the case of the present tense of the copula, the form *sydd* occurs when the subject is fronted, and in the case of all other copular forms, the preverbal particle *a* can occur (although very rare in informal Welsh):

- 40 a. *Siôn sydd — yn canu.*
 Siôn be.PRES.3SG PROG sing
 ‘it’s Siôn who is singing.’
- b. *Siôn (a) oedd — yn canu.*
 Siôn PRT be.IMPF.3SG PROG sing
 ‘it’s Siôn who was singing.’

But these tests cannot apply to d-clauses as d-words are invariant, and also fronted phrases and preverbal particles do not occur, as we see in 1.5 and 1.7. In summary, these data show that the presence of a subject cannot be demonstrated by conventional diagnostic tests. We cannot necessarily conclude from this that there is no canonical subject in d-clauses, but it would strengthen the claim for a subject if diagnostic tests could be successfully applied. Second, if the subject originates in the VP in which the d-word is the head, then the latter should assign a theta-role to DP subjects. But it is difficult to suggest what theta-roles would be assigned. In the case of examples like (1b), it is more reasonable to claim that the DPs are assigned a theta-role by the verb-noun which is in the progressive phrase. This suggests that the DP originates in another VP which is lower in the configurations in (38) and (43). We return to theta-roles in greater detail in the discussion of intervening pronouns later. Third, not all d-clauses are similar to clauses which contain a finite form of *bod* ‘be’. The examples of d-clauses in (1a, e–f) are [D-word + XP] and there are no equivalent canonical copular clauses which are [Finite Verb + XP]:

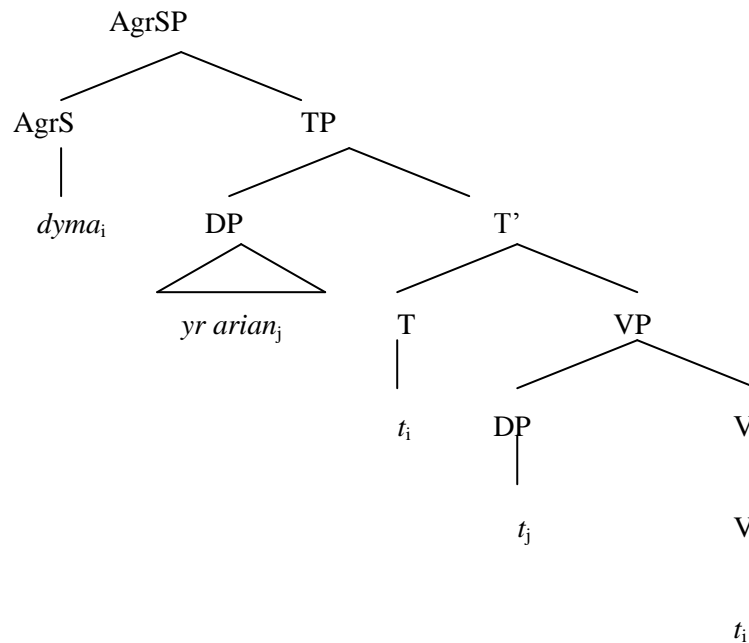
- 41 a. **ma'* *'r llyfr.*
 be.PRES.3SGthe book
 'the book is.'
- b. **ma'* *beth dw* *i 'n* *'i* *feddwl.*
 be.PRES.3SGwhat be.PRES.1SG I PROG CL.3SG.M think
 'what I think / am thinking is.'
- c. **ma'* *ofnadwy.*
 be.PRES.3SGawful
 'awful is.'
- d. **mae* *pert* *wyt* *ti.*
 be.PRES.3SGpretty be.PRES.2SG you.SG
 'pretty you are is.'
- e. **mae* *agor y drws.*
 be.PRES.3SGopen the door
 'open the door is.'

Copular sentences which contain only a subject occur with existential meaning, and the subject must be indefinite (and generic):

- 42 a. *ma'* *ysbrydion.*
 be.PRES.3SG ghosts
 'there are ghosts.'
- b. *ma'* *bydoedd eraill.*
 be.PRES.3SG worlds other
 'there are other worlds.'

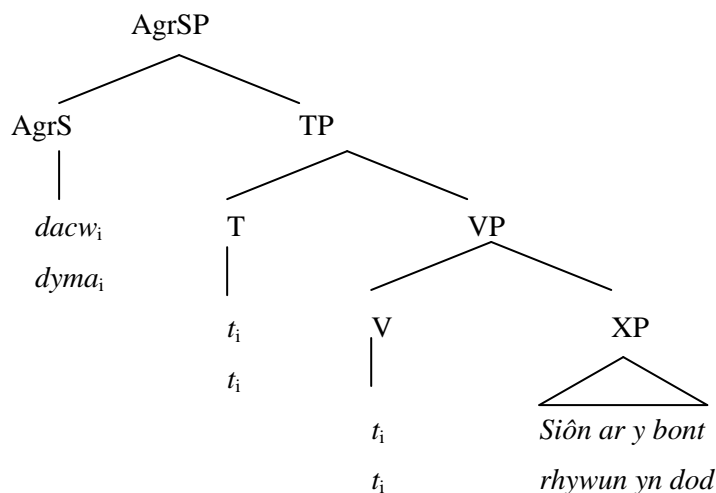
But the examples of the d-clauses in (1a, e–f) are not existential sentences. In order to maintain a canonical finite clause analysis, we would have to assume that [D-word + XP] is [Finite Verb + Subject]:

43



But some of the XPs which follow the d-word do not typically occur as subjects in canonical clauses. It is unusual to have an adjective phrase as a subject, as in (1g), and also a fronted ascriptive copular clause as a subject, as in (1h). Fourth, having two analyses in (38) and (43) makes the selectional properties of d-words seem complex: sometimes they select a complement and sometimes they do not.

As already mentioned, following Morin (1985) and Renzi *et al* (2001: 86), there is an alternative account of d-clauses as finite clauses which lack a subject. The subjectless finite clause analysis can address the problematic issues which we have identified above. In the subjectless analysis, we can assume that all the material which follows the presentative word is a single phrase which is the complement of the presentative word. Adopting this approach, we can account for d-clauses as subjectless finite clauses as follows:



Again, the d-word originates in V and is moved first to T and then to AgrS, like a canonical finite verb, but lacks canonical verb morphology. The distinctive characteristic of the analysis of d-clauses in (43) is that Spec TP and Spec VP are not generated, as no subject occurs in these positions. The phrases which we have taken to be the subjects in Spec TP in the analyses in (38) and (43) are now in the complement XPs. It may then seem unnecessary to have AgrS for verb-subject agreement features. But there are other grounds for having AgrS, as we shall see shortly. The subjectless version avoids the difficulties which arise with the version which assumes a canonical subject. The problems of demonstrating with diagnostic tests that a canonical subject occurs in Spec TP do not now arise. No unusual phrases now occur as subject. The matter of assigning theta-roles to a subject of a d-word does not now arise, as any theta-roles will now be determined in the complements of the d-word: in the case of (1b), the theta-role of *rhywun* ‘someone’ is determined by the verb *dod* ‘come’. The selectional properties of d-words are simplified, as they now all consistently select a complement (with the exception of imperative ‘*co*’). But the question now is whether a subjectless finite clause analysis can account for the data in section 1. We shall see that it can account for some of them. But we shall also see that there is evidence which shows that d-clauses do not have the typical grammatical properties of finite clauses, and that a finite clause analysis has to be extensively constrained.

A subjectless finite clause analysis can account for the basic linear syntax of d-clauses, exemplified in (1a–i). The subjectless version of the finite clause analysis is based on a head-complement relationship, and the d-words can be given selectional properties which allow them to variously select as their complements the expressions which follow the d-words in (1a–i). That the XPs which follow d-words are complements can be justified on the grounds that example (1j) shows that they cannot be omitted, a conventional test for complements. The following are variously selected by d-words:

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|-------------|
| 45 a. Determiner Phrase or Pronoun | e.g. (1a) |
| b. Small clause | e.g. (1b–d) |
| c. <i>Wh</i> -clause | e.g. (1e) |
| d. Copular clause | e.g. (1f) |
| e. Adjective Phrase | e.g. (1g) |
| f. Fronted ascriptive copular clause | e.g. (1h) |
| g. Verb Phrase | e.g. (1i) |

The subjects in the examples in (1b–d) are now subjects of the small clauses, that is, phrases which lack a finite verb and which have a subject in their specifiers, such as a progressive phrase in (1b), a prepositional phrase as in (1c), and a predicational phrase in (1d). However, although this account gives a simple explanation of basic linear syntax, there are four aspects of the complement selections in (45) which cannot be accounted for by typical rules of Welsh complementation. One problem relates to examples like (1h), which contain an ascriptive copular clause. Typically, ascriptive copulars can occur as normal-order clauses and fronted-order clauses as in (46a) and (46b):

- 46 a. *dw i 'n meddwl dy fod ti 'n bert.*
 be.PRES.1SG I PROG think CL.2SG be you.SG PRED pretty
 ‘I think that Mair is cross.’
- b. *dw i 'n meddwl mai pert wyt ti.*
 be.PRES.1SG I PROG think AFF pretty be.PRES.2SG you.SG
 ‘I think that pretty you are.’

There are other matters in the data in (46) which we shall not pursue here. But when an ascriptive copular occurs as the complement to a *d*-word, only fronted order is possible as in (1h) and not normal order as (47) shows:

- 47 **dyna dy fod ti 'n bert.*
 there-is CL.2SG be you.SG PRED pretty
 ‘that’s you are pretty.’

To maintain the complement analysis, we shall establish a constraint, the ascriptive copular constraint, which ensures a fronted-order ascriptive copular and prevents a normal-order ascriptive copular. Anticipating the analysis of fronted clauses in (57b), the AP of an ascriptive copular compulsorily occurs not in a complement predicational phrase but in the specifier of CP2.¹¹ A second problem also relates to examples like (1h). When a fronted clause occurs as a complement in canonical clauses, it can be preceded by a focus particle, as

in (48a). But this does not happen with a fronted ascriptive copular which is in a d-clause, as (48b) shows:

- 48 a. *dw i 'n gw'bod ma' / taw / na pert wyt ti.*
 be.PRES.1SG I PROG know AFF pretty be.PRES.3SG you. SG
 'I know that it's pretty that you are.'
- b. *dyna (*ma' / taw / na) pert wyt ti.*
 here-is AFF pretty be.PRES.2SG you.SG
 'that's pretty you are.'

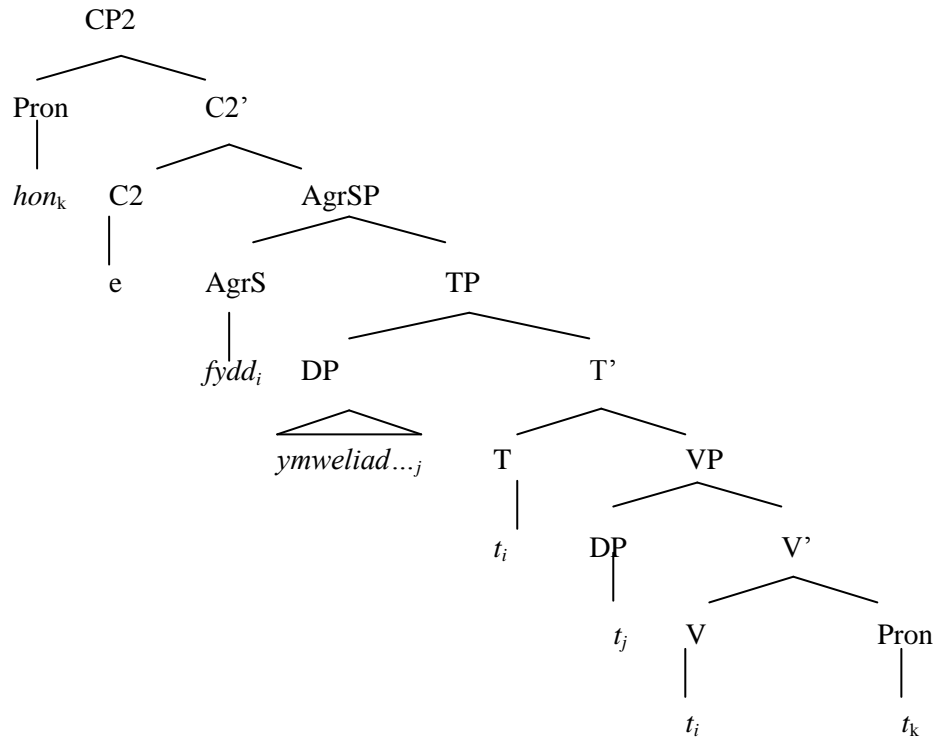
The data in (48b) raises doubts as to whether the copular clause is a complement. But to maintain the complement analysis, we shall attribute the constraint in (48b) to the selectional properties of the d-word. We shall claim that they include a fronted ascriptive copular clause but not the focus particles which can precede fronted clauses (focus particles are discussed below). Anticipating the analysis of fronted clauses in (57c), d-words can select CP2, which contains a fronted phrase, but not CP1, which contains a focus particle. D-words are thus unlike other categories which can occur with clausal complements and which can select a focus particle when a fronted phrase occurs, such as a verb as in (48a). It is unclear why d-words are different.¹² A third contentious issue involves the occurrence of adjective phrases as in (1g). When adjectives occur in canonical complements in Welsh, they occur in predicational phrases which are headed by the predicational particle *yn*, as in (1d) and (37c). But this does not happen in d-clauses:

- 49 *dyna (*yn) ofnadwy.*
 there-is PRED awful
 'that's awful.'

But, as example (1h) shows, an adjective phrase can occur as a fronted phrase in an ascriptive copular. We can therefore overcome this problem by claiming that the adjective phrase in d-clauses is a reduced version of a fronted ascriptive copular. Thus, an example like (1g) can be derived from *dyna ofnadwy [ydy hi]*. A fourth problem arises with examples like (1f) in which the complement appears to be an incomplete copular clause. It will be recalled from the discussion in section 1.1 that examples like these have an equative meaning in which the DP in the d-clause is equated with something in the situation or, in this case, in the previous discourse. The copular complement is thus based on an equative (or identificatory) copular clause whose canonical linear syntax is typically [DP + Finite Copula + DP] (other phrases can also occur). But in the case of d-clauses the initially-placed DP is absent, giving [Finite Copula + DP]. As we have seen in 1.1, in other contexts, [DP + Finite Copula + DP] must

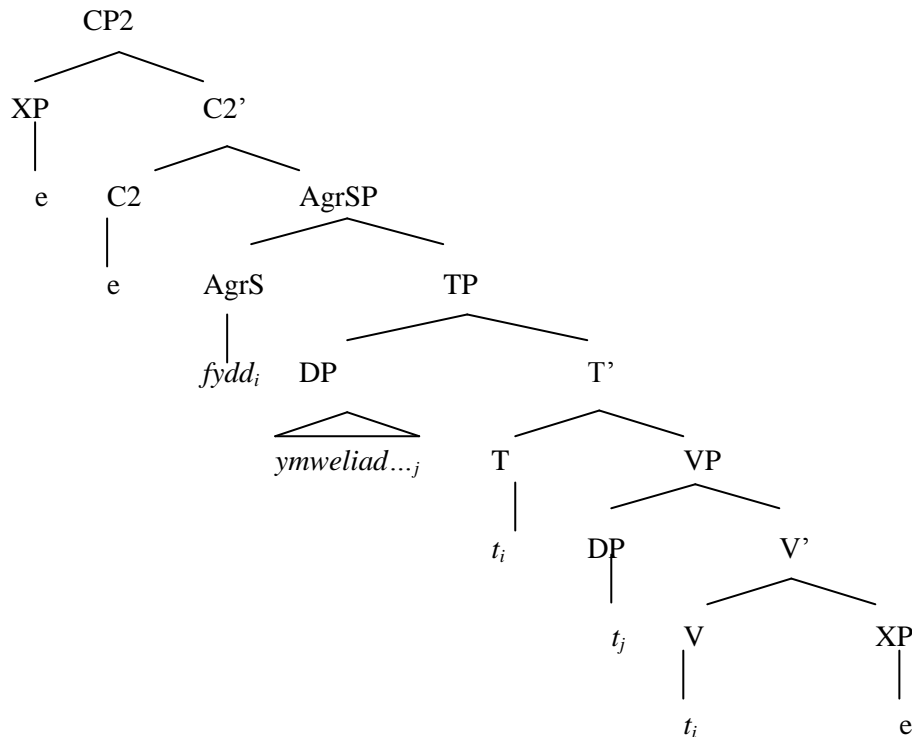
occur, as in examples (3a–b), but in d-clauses only [Finite Copula + DP] occurs, as (3c) shows. We have also seen in 1.1 that the copular clause in (1f) is not a *wh*-clause with a missing *wh*-word. Canonical equative copulars can be analysed as follows:

50



The movements of the verb and the subject take place as previously described. Anticipating the analysis of the complementizer system in (57), the complement phrase in the VP is also moved to the specifier of CP2. But this configuration produces an ungrammatical clause in the case of d-clauses. Consequently, we shall set up a constraint, the equative copular constraint: when a d-clause has equative meaning, the complement phrase in an equative copular remains empty in its basic VP position and its fronted position:

51



The referent of the phrase which would typically occur in Spec CP2 (and which is equated with the referent of the subject phrase) is provided anaphorically or exophorically. This justifies having empty complement phrases whose referents can be understood pragmatically. In contrast, it can be noted that fronting an overt phrase is allowed in an ascriptive copular in d-clauses as (1h) shows. In summary, the problematic issues which arise with the complements in d-clauses are accounted for as follows: the ungrammaticality of normal-order ascriptive copulars is avoided by the ascriptive copular constraint; the ungrammaticality of the occurrences of focus particles is accounted for by the selectional properties of d-words; a sole adjective phrase is accounted for as a reduced fronted ascriptive copular; and an incomplete equative copular is accounted for by the equative copular constraint.

We turn now to consider the syntax of intervening pronouns. They can be given one of three possible grammatical functions, namely, subject, complement, or adjunct. We shall consider first whether the pronouns are adjuncts. Two reasons can be given. First, the pronouns are optionally introduced into the clause, a conventional characteristic adjuncts. That is, we can omit the pronouns as in (1a, b, g) or we can include the pronouns as in (10a, b, c). Second, the pronouns can be assigned a function which is more like that of an adjunct rather than a subject or a complement. We shall claim that the function of the pronouns is to ensure that the addressee's attention, involvement, or interest is gained. We can note, too, that the pronoun does not come under the functions of the d-clauses which are outlined in 1.2: the referents of the pronouns are not ostensibly presented; and they are not equated or attributed with

something which is said or perceived. We can also note that the pronoun in (10c) is not described as pretty (the adjective ascribes this attribute to something else in the discourse or the situation).¹³

There are problems with the subject interpretation of the pronouns. First, we have already seen that diagnostic tests cannot be applied to d-clauses to demonstrate this grammatical function. Second, if the pronouns are proper subjects, they should have a theta-role. Common theta-roles for subjects are agent as in *daflodd Gwyn garreg* ‘Gwyn threw a stone’, patient as in *syrthiodd Gwyn o’r gwely* ‘Gwyn fell out of bed’, recipient as in *gafodd Gwyn gerdyn gan Gwenan* ‘Gwyn got a card from Gwenan’, instrument as in *agorodd yr allwedd y drws* ‘the key opened the door’, and experiencer as in *glywodd Gwyn y gloch* ‘Gwyn heard the bell’. We can rule out all of these with the exception of experiencer: it could be claimed that the pronoun in subject position in a d-clause experiences the description which is given in the complement. But, in this sense, all addressees can experience descriptions in sentences, as in the case of the examples in (37). We can therefore argue that this experience arises because of the discourse role of the addressee and is not a theta-role which is lexically-assigned. As we have seen, this discourse role can be accounted for by the adjunct interpretation of the pronouns. Third, if the pronouns are subjects, the question arises why they are not always present. It could be argued that little *pro* occurs in those examples in which they are absent. But *pro*-drop occurs in Welsh in an agreement context, which is not the case in d-clauses.

The third possibility is that the pronouns are indirect objects in a double-object construction. There are two reasons against this possibility. First, in Welsh, indirect objects occur in a prepositional phrase which is headed by *i* ‘to, for’ and which occurs immediately after the direct object:

- 52 a. *mae Siôn yn rhoi llyfr i Mair.*
 be.PRES.3SG Siôn PROG give book to Mair
 ‘Siôn is giving a book to Mair.’
- b. *mae Siôn yn prynu llyfr i Mair.*
 be.PRES.3SG Siôn PROG buy book for Mair
 ‘Siôn is buying a book for Mair.’

The only positional variant is to place the prepositional phrase of the direct object in a position immediately after the indirect object. This is more typical of formal Welsh, as in example (53a), but can occur in informal Welsh if heavy-NP shift applies, as in (53b):

- 53 a. *mae Siôn yn rhoi i Mair lyfr.*
 be.PRES.3SG Siôn PROG give to Mair book
 ‘Siôn is giving to Mair a book.’
- b. *mae Siôn yn rhoi i Mair yr holl arian oedd wedi cael
 ei gasglu ar gyfer atgyweirio ’r hen neuadd.*
 3SG.M collect on count refurbish the old hall
 ‘Siôn is giving to Mair all the money which was collected for refurbishing the old hall.’

To achieve the ordering in the examples in (10a–c), the indirect object would have to occur as a pronoun phrase immediately before the direct object. But the indirect object in Welsh does not occur in a DP which occurs immediately before the direct object:

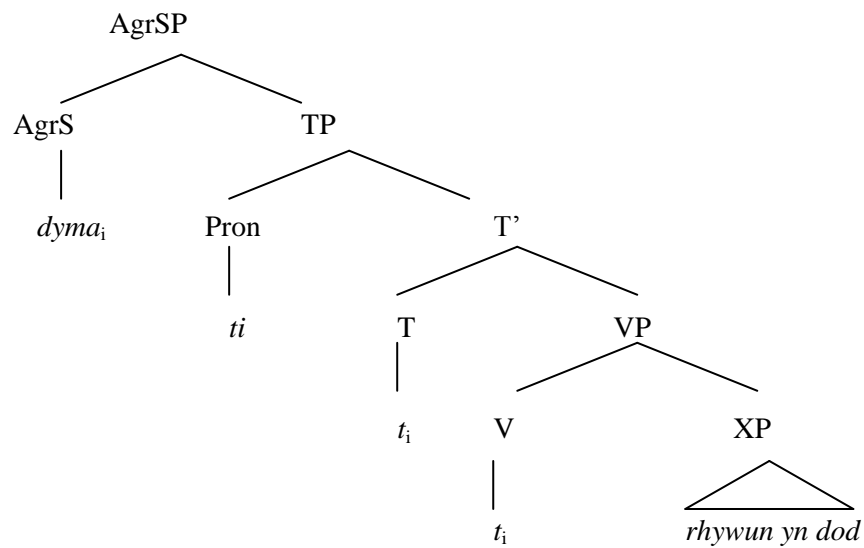
- 54 a. **mae Siôn yn rhoi Mair lyfr.*
 be.PRES.3SG Siôn PROG give Mair book
 ‘Siôn is giving Mair a book.’
- b. **mae Siôn yn prynu Mair lyfr.*
 be.PRES.3SG Siôn PROG buy Mair book
 ‘Siôn is buying Mair a book.’

The d-clauses do not show any of the typical configurations of indirect objects in Welsh, and offer no syntactic grounds for claiming that the intervening pronouns are indirect objects. Second, indirect objects typically have the theta-roles of recipient, as in (52a) or benefactee, possibly as in (52b). The example in (10a) would seem to illustrate these roles, as it can be used in a context in which the money is given to the addressee. But it is not the case that the addressee is necessarily given the money. The pronoun can capture the addressee’s attention or interest, without the addressee receiving the money. It is not possible to read the other examples in (10b–c) such that the intervening pronouns are recipients or benefactees. Third, we have seen that the pronouns are confined to addressee-linked pronouns, but indirect objects generally are not subject to this restriction. In summary, there are no reasonable grounds for claiming that the pronouns are indirect objects in double-object constructions.

The adjunct interpretation comes out as the strongest possibility: (i) it best conforms with diagnostic tests; (ii) it allows a meaning which is appropriate for an adjunct; and (iii) the adjunctival meaning explains why only addressee-linked pronouns occur. We shall therefore adopt the adjunctival position of the intervening pronouns.

Adjuncts can be configured through adjunction. But the finite clause analysis in (44) has no canonical subject, and we can claim that Spec TP can be generated to locate the pronouns:

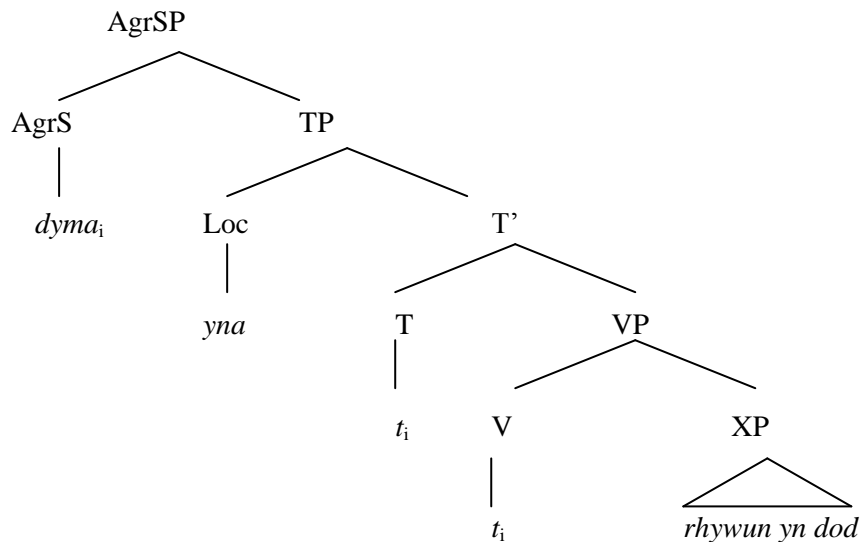
55



As the pronouns are adjuncts and not proper subjects, we can argue that they do not originate in Spec VP and are not moved from there into Spec TP. They are inserted directly into Spec TP, and this avoids assigning subject theta-roles. The adjunctival function is limited to addressee-linked pronouns and no other pronouns can be inserted directly into Spec TP. Overall, the intervening pronouns can be located in canonical subject position but, in terms of grammatical function, they are adjuncts and not canonical subjects.

We turn now to consider the intervening locatives. We see from comparing examples (14) and (15) that there are grounds for analysing *yna* ‘there’ as an expletive subject. In a canonical finite clause, the latter only occurs where an indefinite subject would otherwise occur. The finite clause analysis in (44) can provide a subject position in Spec TP where an expletive subject can be located, as shown in (56).

56



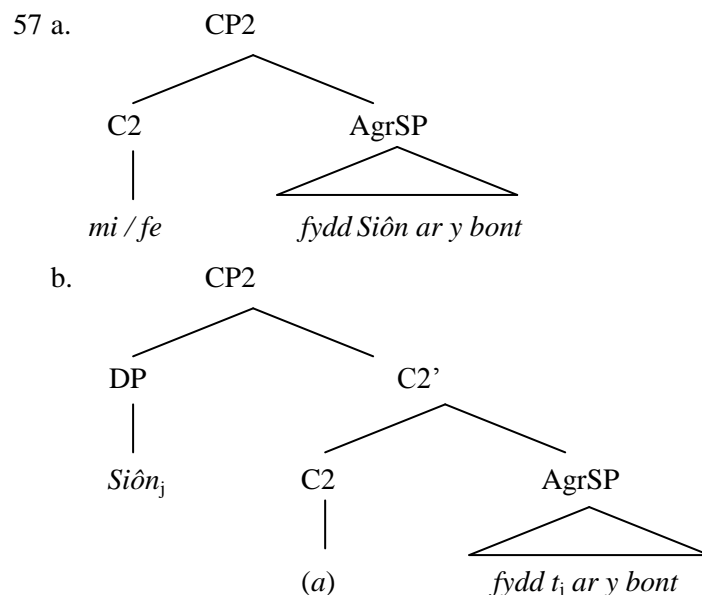
However, there are problematic issues with an expletive interpretation. First, if it is argued that *yna* is an expletive subject in (13a), which occurs in order to satisfy the Extended Projection Principle (EPP) (Chomsky 1982), then it follows that Spec TP should be occupied by a subject when *yna* is not present. It is not consistent to argue that the EPP is satisfied by the insertion of *yna* ‘there’ in examples like (13a) but is not satisfied by the examples in (1a–i). We are arguing that the phrases which follow the d-words are in the complements of the latter. We could therefore claim that *yna* in (13a) is not a proper expletive which occurs to satisfy the EPP but is a quasi-expletive which occurs by analogy with examples which contain a proper expletive subject like *mae yna rywun yn dod* ‘there’s someone coming’. Second, *yma* ‘here’ cannot be interpreted as an expletive subject as this locative word does not typically occur as such in canonical finite clauses, as example (16) shows. An alternative explanation of *yma* in examples like (13b) is that it is an adjunct which reinforces the deictic properties of the d-word. In which case, *yna* could also be re-assessed as an adjunct, although it does not share the same deictic features of *dyma* in an example like (13a). A special plea could be made that *dyma* is not incompatible with *yna* as the former can refer to distant objects which are subjectively viewed as being, or coming, nearer. In summary, there is uncertainty about the function of the locatives — expletives, quasi-expletives, or adjuncts. However, whatever their function, Spec TP can be used to account for the location of the locatives. It can now be seen why AgrSP is necessary. Placing the d-word in AgrS and the pronouns or locatives in Spec TP achieves the linear order which is seen in examples (10a–c) and (13a–b).

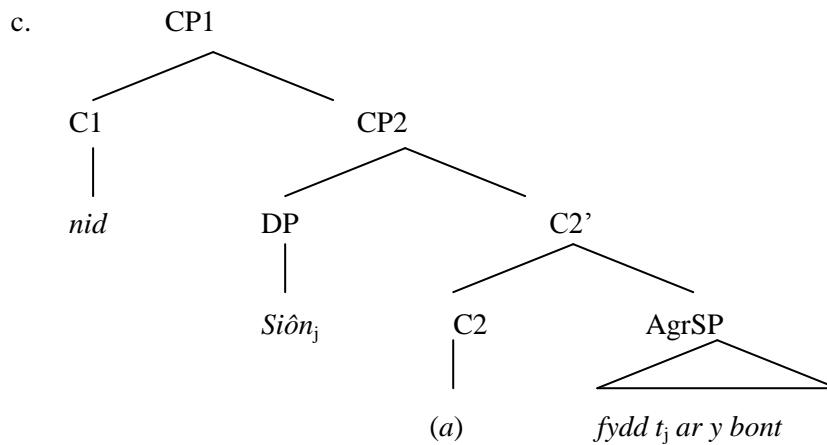
The analyses in (44), (55), and (56) can account for the mutations. In the case of (44), we can claim that d-words are lexical triggers, to account for examples like (1b, h, i) in which the d-words immediately precede the mutated word. The lexical trigger explanation is also found in reference grammars of Welsh. In the cases of (55) and (56), the intervening pronouns and the

intervening locatives are one-word phrases, which we can claim are the phrasal triggers for the mutations, in examples like (10c) and (13a–b). In the analyses in (44), (55), and (56), the triggers c-command the phrases in which the mutated words occur. However, in all three cases, traces of the movement of the verb come between the triggers and the mutated words. Following Borsley *et al* (2007: 228–229, 251), we can say that this type of trace does not block mutations. But they also note that an analysis which allows traces is problematic for an account of mutations which is subject to the adjacency requirement.

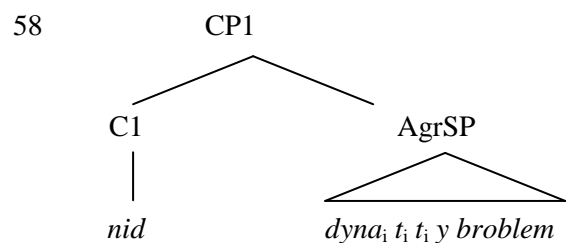
The subjectless finite clause analysis is less effective in accounting for other data in section 1. We have seen in section 1.5 that finite clauses can undergo various clausal modifications and can also occur in VPs and *i*-clauses. The analyses in (44) and (55–56) account for d-clauses as finite clauses, and they must therefore be constrained to prevent ungrammatical examples like those in (18) and (24). We shall not try to present a detailed account of how these constraints are formulated.

Preverbal particles and, especially, focus particles also present problems for the finite clause analysis, and constraints are again necessary. Tallerman (1996) and Roberts (2005: 122–123) propose a split-CP which can account for focus particles and preverbal particles. Using Tallerman's labels, an analysis of a regular finite clause for the purposes of this study is as in (57a) for normal-order clauses and (57b) for fronted-order clauses¹⁴:





The analysis in (57a) shows that the preverbal particles, *mi / fe* as in (25a), occur as the head of CP2 and select AgrS. But preverbal particles do not occur in d-clauses and a constraint is needed, the preverbal particle constraint, which prevents preverbal particles in C2 selecting AgrSP when a d-word occurs in AgrS. Without this constraint, we would have ungrammatical examples like the one in (26a). The specifier position in CP2 is also the location of fronted phrases as in (57b). But another complementizer phrase, CP1, is needed above CP2 to account for focus particles, as in the analysis in (57c).¹⁵ CP1 would also therefore be needed to account for focus particles in some d-clauses. The problem is that CP1 canonically selects CP2, as in (57c). But neither preverbal particles nor fronted phrases occur in d-clauses, and generating CP2 would produce vacuous syntax. We could claim that, as focus particles typically occur before a fronted phrase, the d-word has been moved to Spec CP2. But this would involve moving a head to a specifier position, which contradicts the convention that a constituent is moved to a site where the same type of constituent occurs (head to head, etc). In order to account for focus particles in d-clauses, we shall claim that their selectional properties include not only CP2 in canonical finite clauses as in (57c) but also AgrSP in d-clauses, as in (58).



But a constraint is needed, the focus particle constraint, which ensures that a focus particle in C1 only selects AgrSP when a d-word occurs in AgrS. Without this constraint, we would have ungrammatical examples like those in (25b–d).

The above account of d-clauses can be summarised as follows:

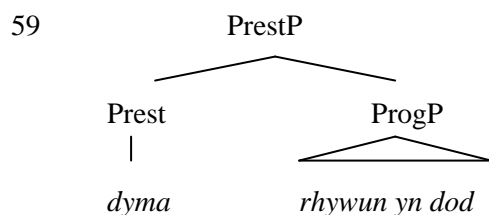
- The analysis is based on a subjectless finite clause in which the d-word is a defective verb, namely, AgrSP[AgrS[*d-word*_i] TP[T[*t*_i] VP[V[*t*_i] XP]]].
 - The basic linear syntax in examples (1a–i) is accounted for as a head-complement relationship in which the d-word is a verb which is the head of a VP and the expressions which follow the d-word are a range of XPs which are its complements.
 - The intervening pronouns and locatives are syntactically accounted for as optionally occurring in Spec TP, namely, AgrSP[AgrS[*d-word*_i] TP[Pron/Loc[*pronoun/locative*] T'[T[*t*_i] VP[V[*t*_i] XP]]]]. The pronouns are adjuncts and not proper subjects, and are inserted directly into Spec TP. It is not clear whether the locatives are expletive subjects, quasi-expletives, or adjuncts.
 - The trigger for the mutations is accounted for as a lexical trigger when a d-word precedes the mutated word, or a phrasal trigger when an intervening pronoun or locative precedes the mutated word.
 - Although d-clauses are analysed as finite clauses, various constraints are needed to prevent them from behaving like canonical finite clauses.
 - Some of the complements of a d-word are not typical of finite clauses: (i) the ascriptive copular constraint ensures that only a fronted-order ascriptive occurs and avoids ungrammatical examples like (47); (ii) the selectional properties of d-words ensure that focus particles do not occur before a fronted ascriptive copular, which avoids ungrammatical examples like (48b); (iii) extensive deletion of a fronted ascriptive accounts for the occurrence of APs as a complement, which avoids ungrammatical examples like (49); (iv) the equative copular constraint prevents a fully filled equative copular and avoids ungrammatical examples like (3c) and doubtful examples like (4a).
 - Constraints on clausal modifications avoid ungrammatical d-clauses like those in (18), and constraints on VPs and *i*-clauses avoid ungrammatical d-clauses like those in (24).
 - The preverbal particle constraint avoids ungrammatical examples like (27a).
 - The focus particle constraint limits the selection of AgrSP by a focus particle to d-clauses, and avoids ungrammatical canonical finite clauses like those in (25).
- Collectively, all these constraints can be referred to as the d-word constraints as they are all triggered by the presence of a d-word in AgrS.

The subjectless finite clause analysis has to be heavily constrained to prevent d-clauses from behaving like canonical finite clauses. We shall now consider whether it is possible to provide another analysis which has fewer constraints.

2.3 Presentative phrase analysis

We shall consider two versions of an analysis which we label the presentative phrase analysis. The two versions depend on whether the d-word, when it mutates the following word, is a lexical trigger or a phrasal trigger.

If we adopt the lexical trigger explanation, then this allows us to claim that the d-word is the head of a phrase, and that all the material which follows the d-word is its complement. For this analysis, we shall establish a new category, presentative, (Prest), for the d-words. We shall claim that presentative words head a presentative phrase (PrestP), and that they take a single phrase as their complement, PrestP[Prest[d-word] XP]. Thus, example (1b), for instance, is analysed as follows:

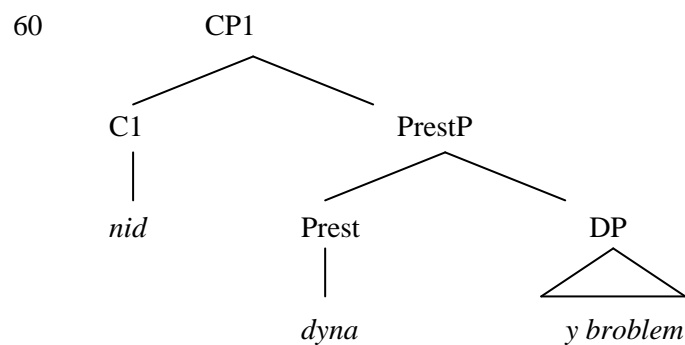


The general configuration in (59) is the same as that in the VP in the subjectless finite clause analysis in (44), namely, head-complement. The major difference is that AgrSP and TP do not occur, and by this analysis d-clauses are not finite clauses. The presentative phrase analysis can provide simple and adequate explanations of some of the data in section 1 but is less effective with other aspects of the data.

The analysis in (59) can account for the basic linear syntax of d-clauses in examples (1a–i): all the expressions which follow the d-words are their complements, as listed in (45). It has the same problems relating to complements as the subjectless finite clause analysis and the same solutions can be used: (i) normal-order ascriptive copulars are avoided by the ascriptive clause constraint; (ii) the occurrence of focus particles before a fronted ascriptive copular is avoided by the selectional properties of d-words; (iii) AP complements are reduced fronted ascriptive clauses; and (iv) an initial DP in equative copulars is prevented by the equative copular constraint.

The analysis in (59) can also account for mutations when the d-word immediately precedes the mutated word. We can simply claim that d-words are lexical triggers which soft mutate the immediately following word. More significantly, the presentative phrase analysis has the advantage that the d-word is now adjacent to the mutated word without intervening traces. But accounting for the mutations which follow the intervening pronouns and locatives is more challenging, as we shall see below.

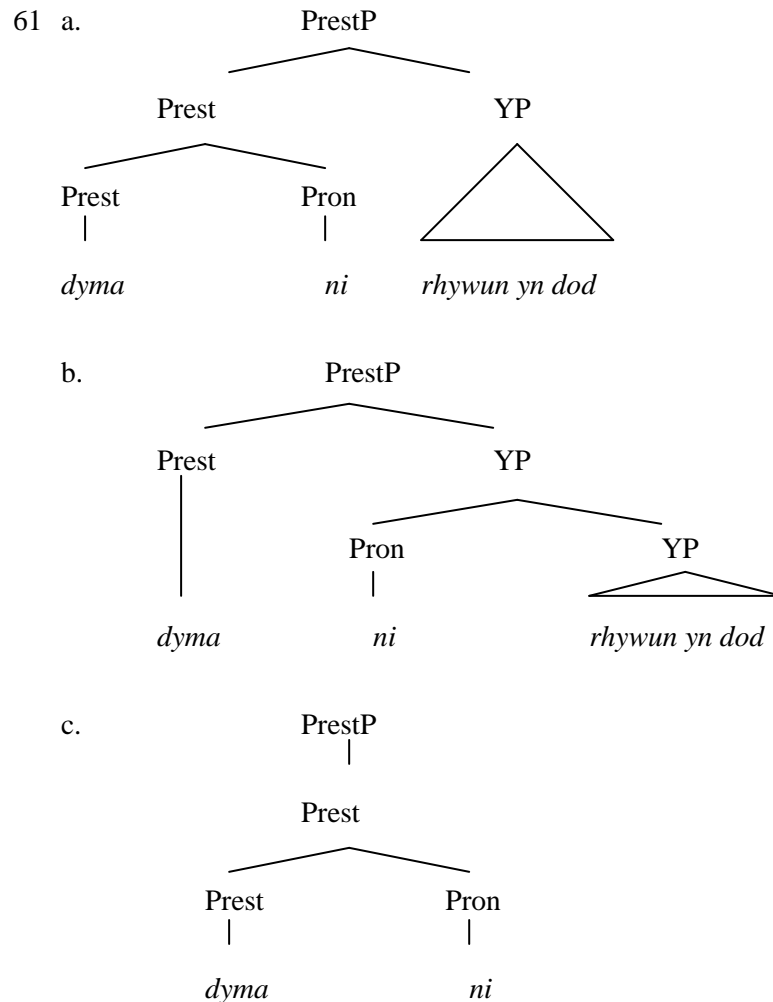
The presentative phrase analysis gives a far simpler account of the data which is illustrated in sections 1.5 to 1.7. The constraints which are required to maintain the finite clause analysis are not needed for the presentative phrase analysis. The clausal modifications constraints are not necessary as d-clauses are not analysed as finite clauses. Constraints on the occurrence of d-words in VPs and *i*-clauses are not necessary as d-words are not analysed as verbs. The preverbal particle constraint is not needed as d-words are not finite verbs. Explaining the occurrence of focus particles is also straightforward. We shall say that the selectional range of a focus particle includes PrestP:



The analysis in (60) is broadly similar to the finite clause analysis in (58), in which C1 selects AgrSP. But the presentative phrase analysis provides a simpler account. It will be recalled that the focus particle constraint, which is required in the finite clause analysis, limits the selection of AgrSP to clauses which contain a d-word. The selection of PrestP does not affect canonical finite clauses and no further constraint is necessary.

Accounting for the intervening pronouns and locatives is more difficult within the presentative phrase analysis. We must be able to account for: (i) their positioning in a d-clause, (ii) the fact that mutations occur after these items, and (iii) the fact that the pronouns can occur without any following complements, as in (10d). More structure is needed to locate the intervening items between the d-word and its complements. The specifier position of the complement phrases cannot be used as it is needed for the subjects which occur in the small clauses. One way of developing structure in (59) is through adjunction.

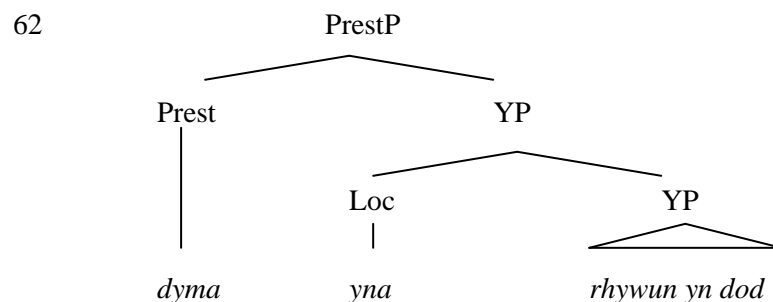
Consider first the intervening pronouns in examples like (10a–c). In terms of the configuration in (59), we can achieve the appropriate position of the pronouns either by claiming that they are right-adjoined to the d-word in Prest as in (61a) or left-adjoined to the complement phrase as in (61b). Both approaches have strengths and weaknesses.



We can justify right-adjoining the pronouns to Prest in (61a) by reference to the omission of the complement, as in (10d). The complement phrase, YP, can be omitted without affecting the pronouns, giving (61c). But the intervening pronouns are (one word) phrases, and the configuration in (61a) does not comply with accounts of phrasal triggers of mutations. They claim that the phrasal trigger must not only be adjacent to the mutated word but must also c-command the phrase in which the object word occurs. The adjunct in (61a) does not c-command the phrase in which the mutation occurs.¹⁶ In the case of (61b), in which the adjunct is left-adjoined to the complement phrase, the conditions of adjacency and c-command are both met. But (61b) does not easily account for examples like (10d) in which the adjunct can occur without the complement. If the complement phrase is omitted there is no phrase to which the adjunct can be adjoined. We shall therefore say that there are two positions for

adjunction. One is left-adjunction to the complement phrase when the latter occurs, and the other is right-adjunction to *Prest* when the complement is omitted. The latter also produces a configuration like (61c). In summary, we shall adopt (61b) and (61c) to account for intervening pronouns with complements and intervening pronouns without complements. This approach fails to provide a uniform account of the location of the adjunction. But it accounts for the linear syntax in section 1.3 and the phrasal mutational triggers which are described in section 1.2.

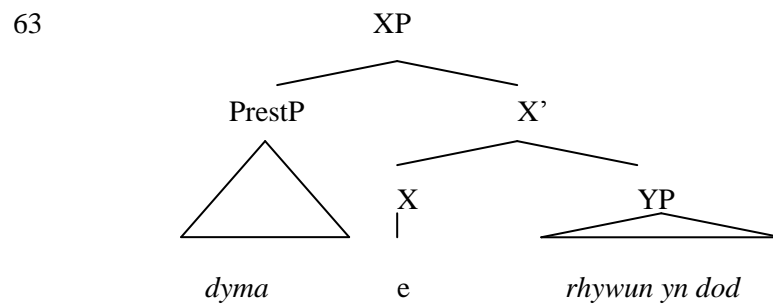
The intervening locative words, as in examples (13a–b), can also be analysed like (61b):



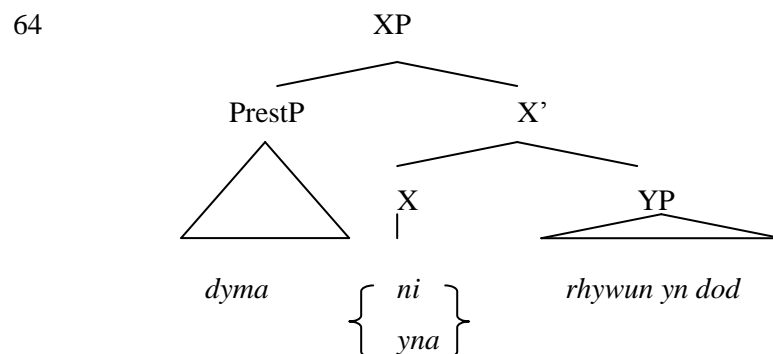
In their case we do not need to consider the omission of the complement as they do not stand alone with d-words, as shown in (13c). This analysis accounts for the linear syntax of d-clauses. It also satisfies the requirements for a phrasal mutational trigger: the locatives are adjacent to the mutated word and also c-command the phrase in which the mutated word occurs. The problem with this analysis is that it cannot account for the possibility that *yna* ‘there’ may be an expletive subject. But, following the discussion in 2.2, *yna* ‘there’ may be a quasi-expletive, by analogy with expletives in copular sentences such as *mae yna rywun yn dod* ‘there’s someone coming’. Further, the expletive interpretation is less likely with *yma* ‘here’. We have also already discussed an alternative interpretation, namely, that the locative words are adjuncts which reinforce the deictic meanings of the d-word. In summary, we shall adopt the analysis in (62) but leave open the question as to whether the locatives are quasi-expletives or adjuncts.

We shall consider another analysis which assumes that the d-word is a phrasal mutational trigger. By this approach, the d-word is a single-word phrase (which we shall still label as a presentative phrase), and must therefore occur in a position where phrases can occur. We also consider the material which follows the d-word as a phrase, YP, and this, too, must occur where phrases can occur. In terms of X-bar syntax, an analysis of the d-word as a phrasal mutational trigger is as in (63). The d-word as a single-word phrase is in the specifier

position, and the material which follows the d-word is in the complement position. The head of the whole phrase, XP, is unoccupied.



The phrasal trigger analysis in (63) has one advantage, namely, that it allows a uniform account of focus particles. We see in examples (26b–d) and the analysis in (57c) that focus particles occur before clause-initial phrases. In (63) and (64), the d-word is a clause-initial phrase. There might appear to be another advantage in that this analysis has an empty constituent, which can conveniently provide a location for the intervening pronouns and locatives:



But locating these items in a head position means that they cannot now be phrases and cannot therefore be phrasal triggers of the mutations. It is not feasible to treat them as lexemes which can trigger mutations as they are not lexical triggers in other contexts. There are other disadvantages to the analysis in (63). One is that it provides a more complex analysis: it has an empty head while the analysis in (59) is based on a regular head and complement configuration which satisfies normal conventions about projection. Another is that the analysis in (63) raises contentious issues in respect of empty constituents which come between the trigger and the mutated word (discussion of empty categories and mutation is available in Borsley *et al* 2005: 251–253). The analysis in (59) is preferred to the analysis in (63).

The presentative phrase account of d-clauses can be summarised as follows:

- The analysis is based on interpreting d-words as members of the category *Prest*, which heads the phrase *PrestP*[*Prest*[*d-word*] *XP*].
- The basic linear syntax in examples (1a–i) is accounted for as a head-complement relationship in which the d-word is the head of a *PrestP* and the d-words variously select a range of *XPs* which are its complements.
- The intervening pronouns and locatives are accounted for as adjuncts in the complement phrases. But pronouns which occur alone are adjoined to the head, *Prest*.
- The mutational triggers are either lexical when a d-word precedes the mutated word or phrasal when an intervening pronoun or locative precedes the mutated word. No traces or empty categories occur between the trigger and the mutation.
- The constraints which are needed are considerably simplified. Atypical complements are accounted for by constraints and selectional possibilities, like the finite clause analysis. But no other constraints are needed. The fact that focus particles can precede d-clauses are accounted for by selectional properties like the finite clause analysis, but, unlike the latter, no further constraint is required to limit the selection. Unlike the finite clause analysis, no constraints are needed in respect of clausal modifications, VPs, *i*-clauses, and preverbal particles — d-words are not finite verbs and d-clauses are not finite clauses.

The presentative phrase analysis does not need to be constrained to the same extent as the finite clause analysis.

3 Summary and conclusions

We have considered three analyses of the data in section 1: an etymologically-based analysis, a finite clause analysis, and a presentative phrase analysis. We can reject the etymological approach on the grounds that it is based on diachronic data which are not representative of today's Welsh. We have considered two versions of the finite clause analysis and two versions of the presentative phrase analysis. We shall concentrate on the subjectless finite clause analysis and the presentative phrase analysis in which the d-word is the head of the phrase, which are repeated here in bracketing format for convenience:

- 65 a. AgrSP[AgrS TP[T VP[V[*d-word*] *XP*]]]
 b. *PrestP*[*Prest*[*d-word*] *XP*]

Both analyses have strengths and weaknesses. But we shall attempt to establish which analysis, on balance, offers the most effective account.

There is no difference in the way that the two analyses account for the basic linear syntax of d-clauses in examples (1a–i). Both offer a head-complement relationship, and both analyses have the same selectional possibilities by the head. Both analyses have the same solutions to the non-canonical aspects of complements in presentative clauses. But the configuration in the presentative phrase analysis is simpler than the finite clause analysis. In the latter, a movement rule raises the d-word from V to AgrS and there are also traces. This is standard in an X-bar account of finite clauses, but nevertheless the finite phrase analysis is more complex than the presentative phrase analysis.

Differences emerge in the way that both analyses account for the intervening pronouns in (10a–c) and intervening locatives as in (13a–b). The more complex configuration of the finite clause analysis proves now to be advantageous: it provides a single position, Spec TP, which can locate the intervening items. The presentative phrase analysis uses adjunction to locate the intervening items, and in the case of the pronouns two places of adjunction are needed: one for when a complement phrase is present and one for when it is absent. Further, if it can be argued that the locatives are expletive subjects, then the finite phrase analysis has the advantage that it can provide a subject position. The finite clause analysis thus provides a simpler account of the syntax of the intervening items.

Both analyses can account for the triggers of the mutation either as a lexical trigger when the d-words immediately precede the mutated word or as a phrasal trigger when the intervening pronouns or locatives precede the mutated word. In the case of the latter, the requirement of c-command is met by the Spec TP position in the finite clause analysis and left-adjunction to the complement phrase in the case of the presentative phrase analysis. The presentative phrase analysis has the advantage that no traces come between the trigger and the mutated word.

Considerable differences arise in the account of the clausal modifications, VPs, and *i*-clauses. The finite clause analysis must be constrained to prevent the d-clauses behaving like canonical finite clauses and the d-words from behaving like canonical finite verbs. The presentative phrase analysis does not need to be constrained: d-clauses are not finite clauses and d-words are not verbs, and therefore do not behave like finite clauses and verbs. The presentative phrase analysis considerably simplifies the explanation of d-clauses in respect of clausal modifications, VPs, and *i*-clauses.

Differences are also seen in the ways that both analyses account for the fact that preverbal particles do not occur in d-clauses. The finite clause analysis of d-clauses is only possible if the canonical selection of AgrSP by the preverbal particle in C2 is prevented when a d-word

is in AgrS. In the case of the presentative phrase analysis, the preverbal particles do not select PrestP, and no constraint is needed. Again, the presentative phrase account is simpler.

Both analyses account for the occurrences of focus particles by including d-clauses in their selections. In the case of the finite clause analysis, this means that the focus particle in C1 can select AgrSP, but a constraint is necessary to ensure that this selection only happens when a d-word is in AgrS. In the case of the presentative phrase analysis, the focus particle selects PrestP, and no constraint is necessary, which again is a simpler account.

On balance, the presentative phrase analysis provides a simpler account. It is based on a simpler configuration. It shares with the finite clause analysis the requirement to account for atypical complements. But unlike the finite clause analysis, it does not require the constraints which are needed to prevent d-clauses from behaving like canonical finite clauses.

We must also consider how both analyses comply with the EPP (Chomsky 1982). The subjectless version of the finite clause analysis has a finite verb but no subject, and does not comply with the EPP. The presentative phrase analysis has neither a finite verb nor subject, and is clearly counter to the EPP. But Chomsky (1981: 8) also distinguishes between core grammar and peripheral grammar. We shall claim that the historical processes of grammaticalization outlined in section 2.1 have developed a pattern which is part of peripheral grammar and which is not subject to EPP. However, although d-clauses are configured atypically for an independent clause, their syntax is canonical in that it is based on a head-complement relationship. This work, added to other studies on non-canonical aspects of Welsh syntax by Jones (2006, 2008), supports the views of Culicover (1999) and Culicover and Jackendoff (1999) that provision for peripheral grammar may be more extensive than may have been originally thought.

The analyses of Welsh, which are discussed here, and of French and Italian respectively by Morin (1985) Renzi *et al* (2001) suggest that presentative clauses which involve distinct presentative forms are based on a head-complement relationship. But it may be that such presentative clauses do not have uniform syntactic characteristics in other respects. We are not concerned with general parametric variation which applies to all clauses — for instance, whether or not a language has small clauses or predicational phrases. We are concerned with differences which apply only to presentative clauses. In this latter sense, Welsh presentative clauses can be shown to be different to the French and Italian presentatives. We have seen in section 1.1 that the selectional properties of the Welsh d-words are different to the selectional properties of French *voici* and *voilà* and Italian *ecco*. We have seen in section 1.5 that constraints on Welsh presentative clauses do not apply to French *voici* and *voilà*. Whereas

Welsh d-words and French *voici* and *voilà* have a similar historical source, the new forms which have come about through a process of grammaticalization have developed different syntactic properties in the two languages. Given the data in (5–6, 20–22), there are grounds for the view that the Romance presentatives are more like finite clauses than are the Welsh presentatives, and that for them a (subjectless) finite clause may be more appropriate.

References

- Anwyl, E. (1899). *A Welsh Grammar for Schools, Part II — Syntax*, London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. Ltd..
- Borsley, Robert D. and Maggie Tallerman (1996). ‘Phrases and soft mutation in Welsh’, *Journal of Celtic Linguistics* 5: 1–49.
- Borsley, Robert D., Maggie Tallerman, and David Willis (2007). *The Syntax of Welsh*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Brunot, F. and C. Bruneau (1969). *Précis de Grammaire Historique de la Langue Française*, Masson et Cie.
- Chomsky, Noam (1981). *Lectures on Government and Binding*, Foris: Dordrecht.
- Chomsky, Noam (1982). *Some Concepts and Consequences of the Theory of Government and Binding*, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- Culicover, P.W. (1999). *Syntactic Nuts: Hard Cases, Syntactic Theory, and Language Acquisition*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Culicover, P.W. and R.S. Jackendoff (1999). ‘The View from the Periphery: the English comparative correlative’, *Linguistic Inquiry*, 30: 543–571.
- Iliescu, Maria (2001). ‘Les marqueurs d’appel en français et en roumain (en allemand et en anglais)’ in *Studien zum romanisch-deutschen und interromanischen Sprachvergleich*, Bern: Peter Lang.
- Iliescu, Maria (2009). ‘Marqueurs discursifs d’appel’, in Gabriele Blaikner-Hohenwart *et al* (eds.), *Ladinometria, Festschrift für Hans Goebel zum 65. Geburtstag*, Istitut Cultural Latin “majon di Fascegn”, Val di Fassa, 141–158.
- Iliescu, Maria (2010). ‘Observations sur les présentatifs français *voici* et *voilà* et leurs correspondants roumains’, in Christiane Maaß and Angela Schrott, *Wenn Deiktika nicht zeigen*, Berlin: LitVerlag, 205–255.
- Jones, B.M. (2006). ‘The syntax of Welsh *piau* clauses’, *Journal of Celtic Linguistics* 10: 17–84.
- Jones, B.M. (2008). ‘The core and the periphery: the syntax of the Welsh ‘genitive of respect’, *Journal of Celtic Linguistics* 12: 39–86.

- King, Gareth (2003). *Modern Welsh: a comprehensive grammar*, second edition, London: Routledge.
- L’Huillier, Monique (1999). *Advanced French Grammar*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Maiden, Martin and Cecilia Robustelli (2000). *A Reference Grammar of Modern Italian*, London: Arnold.
- Morgan, T.J. (1952). *Y Treigladau a’u Cystrawen*, Caerdydd: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru.
- Morin, Yves-Charles (1985). ‘On the two French subjectless verbs *voici* and *voilà*’, *Language* volume 61, number 4, pp. 777–820.
- Morris-Jones, John (1913). *A Welsh Grammar, Historical and Comparative: Phonology and Accidence*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Renzi, Lorenzo, Giampaolo Salvi, and Anna Cardinaletti (2001). *Grande Grammatica Italiana di Consultazione I*, nuova ed., Bologna: Il Mulino.
- Richards, Melville (1938). *Cystrawen y Frawddeg Gymraeg*, Caerdydd: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru.
- Roberts, Ian (2005). *Principles and Parameters in a VSO Language: a case study in Welsh*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Tallerman, Maggie (1996). ‘Fronting constructions in Welsh’, in Robert D. Borsley and Ian G. Roberts (eds.), *The Syntax of the Celtic Languages*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 97–124.
- Tallerman, Maggie (2006). ‘The syntax of ‘direct object mutation’ revisited’, *Lingua* 116: 1750–76.
- Thomas, Peter Wyn (1996). *Gramadeg y Gymraeg*, Caerdydd: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru.
- Williams, Stephen J. (1959). *Elfennau Gramadeg Cymraeg*, Caerdydd: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru.

¹ Earlier versions of this study were presented at the Fourteenth and Eighteenth Welsh Syntax Seminars, which were held at Gregynog, Newtown, Wales, July 2007 and July 2011. I am grateful to all who commented on the presentation. I am especially indebted to Bob Borsley, who has offered very helpful comments on a subsequent draft which have resulted in significant revisions. I am also grateful to Bleddyn Hughes and Emyr Davies for their judgements on aspects of the data. All weaknesses are entirely my own work.

² I am very grateful to Adriano Vincentelli and Maria Iliescu who kindly discussed the Italian and Romanian data respectively. I am also indebted to Bojana Prcic, Tvrtko Prcic, and Jasmina Grkovic Major who discussed the Serbian data. I am thankful to Mair Parry for

recommending that I contact Paola Benincà, who has informed me that most Italian dialects have substituted *ecco* with imperative forms of *vedere* ‘to see’. I am entirely responsible for any errors in the presentation of the Romance and Serbian data.

³ Equative and attributive d-clauses are semantically similar to equative and ascriptive copular sentences like, respectively:

- i a. *hwanna ydy 'r broblem.*
 that be.PRES.3SG the problem
 ‘that is the problem.’
- b. *mae hwanna 'n ofnadwy.*
 be.PRES.3SG that PRED awful
 ‘that’s awful.’

We shall not pursue these comparisons here. But in all examples of the attributive/equative function, it is more appropriate to translate *dyma* as ‘this is’ rather than ‘here is’, and *dyna* as ‘that is’ rather than ‘there is’ (the latter produces conservative and partly stereotypical examples of Welsh English as in *there’s awful*).

⁴ I am grateful to Tvrtko Prcic and Jasmina Grkovic Major for discussing the deictic properties of the Serbian forms. *Eto* may be obsolete for some speakers or it may have attitudinal meanings, but other speakers may be able to use it with the deictic contrasts which are described in the main text. I am entirely responsible for any weaknesses in the presentation here. See also basic-croatian.blogspot.com/2010/04/65.html (visited 7th March, 2011), which suggests that a three-way distinction may also exist in Croatian.

⁵ We exclude here pronouns which are in an appositional relationship with the following determiner phrase:

- i a. *dyma fo Siôn yn dod.*
 here-is he Siôn PROG come
 ‘here’s him Siôn coming.’
- b. *dacw hi Siân ar y bont.*
 yonder-is she Siôn on the bridge
 ‘here’s her Siân on the bridge.’

⁶ Mutations are phonological changes to initial consonants of words, which are triggered by certain words or by syntactic context. We shall not present all the details here. But we can note that there are three mutations: so-called soft mutation as in *dy ben* ‘your head’ where *dy* mutates *pen* ‘head’ to *ben*; so-called aspirate mutation as in *ei phen* ‘her head’ where *ei* mutates *pen* to *phen*; and so-called nasal mutation as in *fy mhen* ‘my head’ where *fy* mutates *pen* to *mhen*.

⁷ In some dialects, initial *rh* is replaced by initial *r* in the radical, and *rywun* is not then a soft-mutated form of *rhywun*.

⁸ Morris-Jones (1913: 440) lists data which suggest that other forms have been involved in similar historical process: for example, *llyma*, *llyna* from *syll yma* ‘see here’ and *syll yna* ‘see there’; *ducho*, *diso* from *wel(y) dy ucho* ‘see up above’ and *weldiso* ‘see below’. But these innovations have not survived like *dyma*, *dyna*, and *dacw*. Morgan (1952: 434) challenges Morris-Jones’ interpretation of *llyna* with the possibility that it has developed from *lyna* < (*a we*)*ly yna*.

⁹ There are observations in conventional reference grammars which suggest that the change from a canonical finite clause like (30) has gone through intermediate stages. Morris-Jones (1913: 440) notes, for instance, the existence of examples like *weldyma* in late middle Welsh.

¹⁰ I am grateful to Jasmina Grkovic Major who explained to me the historical sources of the Serbian forms, which derive from deictic pronouns.

¹¹ We shall ignore here an analysis of the predicative particle *yn* which occurs in normal-order ascriptives but not fronted-order ascriptives.

¹² A good explanation would be that the complement is a *wh*- clause and not a plain fronted-clause. But the evidence for this view is elusive. We could try to argue that there is a hidden degree expression *pa mor* ‘how’ which can also operate like a *wh*- word, as in:

-
- i *drycha pa mor ofnadwy yw hwnna.*
 look.IMPV.2SG Q so awful be.PRES.3SG that
 ‘look how awful that is.’

¹³ An adjunct which also has the function of appealing to the addressee’s interest or involvement is seen in canonical finite clauses:

- i a. *mae Sioned yn mynd i ti.*
 be.PRES.3SG Sioned PROG go for you.SG
 ‘Sioned is going [for you].’
- b. *mae Gwyn yn gwerthu ‘r tŷ i chi.*
 be.PRES.3SG Gwyn PROG sell the house for you.PL
 ‘Gwyn is selling the house [for you].’

The adjuncts occur in a sentence-final prepositional phrase which is headed by *i* ‘to, for’. Again, it is difficult to translate the adjunct and the translation is enclosed in square brackets. The prepositional could be interpreted such that they indicate the benefactee of the situation which is described in the examples. But the intended interpretation is that the speaker ensures that the addressee notes what is being said. It could be argued that there are two sorts of benefactees. One sort can benefit from the situation which is described, and this sort can involve all the persons. The other sort benefits from knowing about the proposition, and is confined to the addressee. Both can occur in the same sentence:

- ii a. *mae Sioned yn mynd i Mair i ti.*
 be.PRES.3SG Sioned PROG go for Mair for you.SG
 ‘Sioned is going for Mair [for you].’
- b. *mae Gwyn yn gwerthu ‘r tŷ i Siôn i chi.*
 be.PRES.3SG Gwyn PROG sell the house for Siôn for you.SG
 ‘Gwyn is selling the house for Siôn [for you].’:

¹⁴ Roberts (2005: 30–33) gives a different analysis of the complementizer system in Welsh, involving three phrases — ForceP, FocusP, FinP — and a possible fourth phrase TopicP, and the focussed phrase occurs in the specifier of FocusP. The analysis in (57a–b) is simpler and is sufficient for our purposes, but the general points which are made in this study could also be made through Roberts’ analysis.

¹⁵ In a fronted clause a different sort of preverbal particle can occur (although rare in informal Welsh), as illustrated in example (40b) and the analysis in (57b).

¹⁶ I am grateful to Maggie Tallerman for pointing out this weakness.