

Copular Clauses in Welsh

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Alan R. Thomas

I should like to dedicate this work to the memory of Professor Alan R. Thomas. Professor Thomas — or Alan as I best knew him — was a distinguished and long-serving member of the Linguistics Department at Bangor University (previously the University College of North Wales, a college of the federal University of Wales). He was a prominent and productive researcher in the field of Welsh Linguistics, publishing works mainly in the areas of dialectology and sociolinguistics. I have much to be grateful to him. He gave me my first opportunity at the beginning of my academic career as a research assistant and provided me with opportunities, support and encouragement thereafter. But his influence was not confined to the academic world. He was engaging company with a taste for amusing anecdotes and I was fortunate to enjoy his humour and his friendship.

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Preface

This study presents descriptions and analyses of the syntax and semantics of clauses which contain a finite form of *bod* ‘be’, which is the copula in Welsh. Phrases which contain a non-finite form of *bod* ‘be’ — the infinitive — are also considered. The study can make contributions to the study of the Welsh language, typological studies of copular clauses, and theoretical work.

There is a huge literature on the study of copular clauses in books and journal articles including major works by Verhaar (1967-72), Declerck (1988), Hengeveld (1992), Stassen (1997), and Pustet (2005). This study does not attempt to cover all the issues which arise in the literature on copulars but concentrates instead on matters which arise from a close consideration of Welsh, but Hengeveld (1992), Stassen (1997), and Pustet (2005) are drawn upon in chapter 14 in particular.

As others have said of their publications, this work has a long history, going back to the early 1970s (alarmingly, last century now). In the early 1970s, I was honoured that the Board of Celtic Studies of the University of Wales (as it was then) generously gave me a grant for one year’s study of the copula in Welsh, which was completed apart from final revisions, writing-up, and typing (handwritten, before the days of word-processors — I still have the manuscript). Because of subsequent responsibilities of leading research projects, and a desire to maintain and fully enjoy family life, I put the work to one side in a box. In time, in the early 1990s, I produced two pieces of work, Jones, B.M. (1993b) and Jones B.M. (1994), which drew upon the earlier manuscript. This present study owes much to the original work in that box, but has benefited greatly from the developments in Linguistics since the 1970s and even the early 1990s. It gives me a great sense of satisfaction that the support of the Board of Celtic Studies can be seen to have been fruitful, although belatedly.

Abbreviations

1pl	first plural
1sg	first singular
2pl	second plural
2sg	second singular
3pl	third plural
3sg	third singular
A	adjective
Agr	agreement
AgrP	agreement phrase
AP	adjective phrase
C	complementizer
cl	clause
Cntf	counterfactual
Comp	complement
Comp XP	complement in the XP, e.g. Comp PrepP is the complement in PrepP
CP	complementizer phrase
dec	declarative
Deg	degree
DegP	degree phrase
D	determiner
DP	determiner phrase
DPdef	definite determiner phrase
DPgen-pred	genitive phrase which is predicational
DPindef	indefinite determiner phrase
DPindiv	individualizing determiner phrase
Eq	equative
EqP	equative phrase
f	feminine
fut	future tense
gen	genitive
gen-pred	genitive-predicational
Ident	identificatory
IdentP	identificatory phrase
Imm	imminent

ImmP	imminent phrase
impf	imperfect tense or, an alternative label, imperfective tense
Inf	infinitive
InfP	infinitive phrase
Loc	locative
m	masculine
<i>m</i> -form	third person form of the present tense of <i>bod</i> 'be' beginning with <i>m</i>
N	noun
neg	negative
NegPerfP	negative perfect phrase
Nom	nominal
NomP	nominal phrase
NP	noun phrase
Num	numeral
NumP	numeral phrase
Perf	perfect aspect
PerfP	perfect aspect phrase
perv	perfect tense or, an alternative label, perfective tense
PiauP	<i>piau</i> phrase (a phrase which has <i>piau</i> as its head)
pl	plural
PNpred	proper name which is predicational
Pred	predicative
PredP	predicative phrase
Prep	preposition
PrepP	prepositional phrase
pres	present tense
PRO	covert pronominal element in infinitival clauses
<i>pro</i>	covert element representing dropped pronoun
Prog	progressive aspect
ProgP	progressive aspect phrase
Pron	pronoun
Pronhead	a head pronoun
Pronpred	pronoun which is predicational
pt	particle
q	question
Quant	quantifier
QuantP	quantifier phrase

Rperf	recent perfect
RperfP	recent perfect phrase
sg	singular
Spec	specifier
Spec XP	specifier in the XP, e.g. Spec PrepP is the specifier in PrepP
T	tense
TP	tense phrase
verbadj	an adjectival verb
VP	verb phrase
V	verb
XP	any phrase
y-form	third person forms of the present tense of <i>bod</i> 'be' beginning with y
*(data)	data cannot be omitted
(*data)	data cannot occur

Note: in the glosses to the Welsh examples, 3SG.M or 2SG, for example, indicate the features of agreement clitics, like *ei* 'third singular masculine' or *dy* 'second singular'.

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Chapter 1 Introduction

This chapter establishes basic terminology relating to the copula, outlines general matters of Welsh which are relevant to this work, explains the roles that description and theory play in this study, and provides an introductory taxonomy of copular clauses in Welsh.

For the purposes of accounting for the syntax and semantics of copular clauses, it is not necessary to provide a comprehensive account of the morphology of *bod* ‘be’. An exception is the morphology of the third persons of the present tense, which is relevant to clausal syntax. Details are introduced as the study progresses and are brought together in chapter 13. Other comments on morphology are given in chapter 14.¹

1 Basic terminology

Traditional Welsh grammars make a distinction between *bod* ‘be’ as a copula and *bod* ‘be’ as a verb. As a copula it lacks lexical meaning and has a grammatical function only, which includes conveying tense, mood, aspect, and agreement features, and linking subject and complement. As a verb it also inflects to convey tense etc but also has a meaning which is generally thought to be ‘to exist’. The sentences in which the copular *bod* ‘be’ occurs are labelled as copular sentences, and the sentences in which verbal *bod* ‘be’ occurs are labelled as verbal sentences. An outline of traditional views is given in chapter 14, and it is seen there that views vary as to what counts as a copular sentence and what counts as a verbal sentence. By way of preliminary illustration, an example like (7) *Sioned oedd yr ymgeisydd gorau* ‘Sioned was the best applicant’ is traditionally interpreted as a copular sentence and an example like (8a) *oedd y plant yn yr ysgol* ‘the children were in school’ is traditionally interpreted as verbal sentence. In today’s linguistic literature, the term copula is used in a much wider sense to cover occurrences of a ‘be’-like verb in all clauses. In this study, we shall use the term copula in its wider sense. On this basis, the finite form of *bod* ‘be’ in examples (6–13) is a form of the copula, and all these clauses can be described as copular clauses.² But we shall follow the traditional view that the copula has a grammatical function only and extend this function to all its occurrences. Morphologically the copula is a verb, and we shall label it as such in the grammatical analyses unless there is a reason for using either copula or lexical verb.

In the descriptive accounts of copular clauses in this study, the term predicate (*traethiad* in Welsh) is used to refer to the phrase which follows the subject. In example (1a), for instance, the predicate is the prepositional phrase *yn yr ysgol* ‘in the school’ (Welsh word-order is outlined in section 2.3). It is the

predicates which account for the different types of copular clauses in Welsh, which are preliminarily listed in examples (6–13).

In traditional grammars, the term complement (*dibeniad* in Welsh) is confined to referring to one of the phrases in traditionally-defined copular sentences, the other being the subject. Thus, the English example *Max is the new director* has the linear syntax [Subject + Copula + Complement]. Traditionally, complements occur in copular clauses and predicates occur in verbal clauses. Identifying the complement in Welsh identificatory copulars such as the one in (7) is not straightforward, and is discussed in chapter 3. In contemporary linguistics, the term complement is used to refer to phrases which are co-constituents of several categories including verbs (*open + the door*), nouns (*fact + that John is happy*), adjectives (*hard + to see*), and prepositions (*on + the chair*). In this study, we shall use the term complement in its wider sense. As such, a complement can be a constituent in a predicate, as in *yn + yr ysgol* ‘in + the school’.

2 General Welsh matters

This section outlines general aspects of Welsh which are intended to inform any readers who are not familiar with the language.

2.1 Style

There are considerable differences between formal and informal Welsh, as shown by Fife (1986a) and Jones (B.)M. (1974, 1979, 1993a). This present study concentrates on informal spoken Welsh and only refers to formal Welsh when it contributes to the analysis of informal Welsh. Informal Welsh is found in spontaneous spoken usage, mainly in everyday conversations but also in popular radio and television programmes in which the public can participate (phone-in programmes and quizzes being good examples). Formal Welsh is found mainly in written domains such as newspapers, magazines, academic writings; and it may also occur in prepared public speaking such as news bulletins, speeches, talks, and lectures. It is the formal style of Welsh that is described in traditional reference grammars, such as Morris-Jones (1913), Williams (1959, 1980), and later reference grammars by Thomas (1996) and Thorne (1993). They make only passing reference to informal spoken Welsh and often, in some works, with prescriptive comments in favour of formal Welsh. There is a tradition which looks at informal Welsh, found in Sweet (1882–84), Fynes-Clinton (1913), Jones and Thomas (1977), Thomas and Thomas (1989), and King (1993).³ Caradar (1925, undated-a, undated-b), especially Caradar (1925) — although intended as teaching materials — also gives attention to spoken Welsh (using the conventions

of the time). This study continues that tradition, and the illustrative examples are based on spontaneous spoken Welsh, although the spellings may keep formal conventions.

2.2 Mutations

A characteristic of Welsh is that the beginnings of words can change under certain circumstances. In example (2a) we have the word form *leidr* ‘thief’ but in example (2c) it is spelled as *lleidr* ‘thief’. These changes are known in Welsh grammars as mutations (*treigladau* in Welsh). The word form *leidr* is the mutated of *lleidr*. Table 1 gives the details of the mutation system, presented orthographically (including digraphs) and not phonetically.

Table 1. The Welsh mutations

Letters	Soft Mutation	Aspirate Mutation	Nasal Mutation
<i>p</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>mh</i>	<i>ph</i>
<i>t</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>nh</i>	<i>th</i>
<i>c</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>ngh</i>	<i>ch</i>
<i>b</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>m</i>	
<i>d</i>	<i>dd</i>	<i>n</i>	
<i>g</i>	deleted	<i>ng</i>	
<i>ll</i>	<i>l</i>		
<i>m</i>	<i>f</i>		
<i>rh</i>	<i>r</i>		

As can be seen, there are three mutation systems which involve different spellings (and corresponding phonetics). The mutations are brought about by triggers, which may be individual words, such as the preverbal particles which are described in section 2.4, or phrases as outlined in section 3.4 of chapter 5. Interested readers can find a full account of mutations in Ball and Müller (1992). It needs to be emphasised that the mutation system is used differently in the formal and informal styles of Welsh. It is very active in the formal style, but not so in the informal style. In the latter some speakers mainly use only the soft mutation and make less use of the aspirate and nasal mutations. Other speakers barely use the system, if at all.

2.3 Word order

Normal word-order in Welsh clauses is [Verb + Subject + Predicate] (also conveyed as VSO) or, in a different notation, [Verb + XP + XP]. This order can also be referred to as verb-first order. An example

like (1a) can provide an illustration. A finite verb, *oedd*, occurs initially, then the subject, *y plant*, and, finally, the predicate, *yn yr ysgol*.

- 1 a. *oedd y plant yn yr ysgol.*
 be.IMPF.3SG the children in the school
 ‘the children were in school.’
- b. *y plant oedd yn yr ysgol*
 the children be.IMPF.3SG in the school
 ‘it was the children who were in school.’
- c. *yn yr ysgol oedd y plant.*
 in the school be.IMPF.3SG the children
 ‘= it was in school the children were.’

Welsh clauses also have fronted order, which can also be referred to as verb-second order. A constituent is moved from its canonical position to a pre-verb position. A fronted subject occurs in (1b) and a fronted predicate occurs in (1c). All this also applies to clauses whose verb is a lexical verb. Their normal word-order is also verb-first, as is shown by the example in (2a).

- 2 a. *agorodd Siôn y drws.*
 open.PERV.3SG Siôn the door
 ‘Siôn opened the door.’
- b. *Siôn agorodd y drws.*
 Siôn open.PERV.3SG the door
 ‘it was Siôn who opened the door.’
- c. *y drws agorodd Siôn.*
 The door open.PERV.3SG Siôn
 ‘it was the door that Siôn opened.’
- d. *agor y drws na’th Siôn.*
 open the door do.PERV.3SG Siôn
 ‘* it was open the door that Siôn did.’

Fronted order, or verb-second order, is illustrated in (2b–d). Example (2b) has the subject in initial position. Example (2c) has the complement of the verb in initial position. Example (2d) has the predicate phrase in initial position and the auxiliary verb *gwneud* ‘do’ occurs as the finite verb.

We shall claim that fronting is caused by the assignment of focus to a phrase. For the purposes of this study, the function of focus is explained as follows. Placing a phrase in initial position gives it first-mention and this makes it more prominent than other phrases in the clause. In the example in (1b), this

greater prominence falls on the subject and in (1c) on the predicate. But, as well as prominence, focus in Welsh can also involve contrast. For instance, in the case of (1b), the subject is not only made more prominent but it can also be emphasised that it was the children who were in the school rather than any other person(s). Focus in Welsh, then, can be said to convey the prominence of first-mention, with or without contrast.⁴ But different prosodic features can be assigned to the focussed phrase in fronted position, which may be due to plain prominence or contrastive prominence (we shall not explore phonological details in this study, with the exception of a very brief discussion of its role in identificatory clauses in section 5.2 of chapter 3).

Fronting is generally optional, so the choice of word order depends on how the speaker wishes to organize the information structure of the clause. But in the case of identificatory clauses, like the example in (7), and *piau* clauses, like the example in (10), fronting is compulsory. The grounds for analysing these clauses as fronted-order clauses are given in chapters 3 and 7 respectively. The remaining copular clauses in (6–13) can be normal order or fronted order. We outline further syntactic characteristics of fronted-order clauses in section 3.1 in chapter 3, and fronting of copular clauses is discussed in more detail in chapter 11.

In summary, canonical copular clauses can have normal-order versions, [Verb + Subject + Predicate], and fronted-order versions, such as [Subject + Verb + Predicate] or [Predicate + Verb + Subject]. Section 3 of chapter 13 gives other details about Welsh word order.

2.4 Preverbal particles

The finite verb can be preceded by preverbal particles which variously denote polarity (positive or negative) and force (declarative or interrogative). In the informal language, the only productive particles are *mi* (which occurs mainly in northern dialects) and *fe* (which occurs mainly in southern dialects).⁵ They optionally occur in clauses which are declarative and positive, and which are not embedded. Examples (3a–c) illustrate their possible occurrences in verbal sentences and examples (3d–f) show their possible occurrences in copular sentences.

3 a. (*mi / fe*) *welodd Siôn leidr cas.*

PT see.PERV.3SG Siôn thief nasty

‘Siôn saw a nasty thief.’

b. (*mi / fe*) *edrychodd Siôn ar y llun.*

PT look.PERV.3SG Siôn on the picture

‘Siôn looked at the picture.’

- c. (*mi / fe*) *geisiodd* *Siôn* *werthu ei* *gar*.
 PT try.PERV.3SG *Siôn* sell 3SG.M car
 ‘Siôn tried to sell his car.’
- d. (*mi / fe*) *fydd* *Mair yna*.
 PT be.FUT.3SG *Mair* there
 ‘Mair will be there.’
- e. (*mi / fe*) *fyddai* *Mair yn* *hapus*.
 PT be.CNTF.3SG *Mair* PRED happy
 ‘Mair would be happy.’
- f. (*mi / fe*) *fuodd* *y car yn* *y garej*.
 PT be.PERV.3SG the car in the garage
 ‘Mair was in the garage.’

These preverbal particles trigger the soft mutation: *welodd* and *geisiodd* in (3a, c) are the mutated forms of *gwelodd* and *ceisiodd*; and *fydd*, *fyddai*, and *fuodd* in (3d–f) are the mutated forms of *bydd*, *byddai*, and *buodd*. Thomas (1996: 86–87) says that *fe* does not occur with the present and imperfect forms of the copula. But this is not so of *mi* in northern dialects. Examples (4a–f) show that it can occur with all forms of the present except for the third person forms *mae* ‘is’ and *maen* ‘are’, and examples (4g–l) show that it can occur with all forms of the past imperfect.

- 4 a. (*mi*) *dw* *i ’n* *bryderus*.
 PT be.PRES.1SG I PRED anxious
 ‘I’m anxious.’
- b. (*mi*) *wyt* *ti* *’n* *lwcus*.
 PT be.PRES.2SG you.2SG PRED happy
 ‘you are lucky.’
- c. (**mi*) *mae* *Siôn yma*.
 PT be.PRES.3SG *Siôn* here
 ‘Siôn is here.’
- d. (*mi*) *dan* *ni ’n* *trio yn* *galed* *iawn*.
 PT be.PRES.1PL we PROG try PRED hard very
 ‘we are trying very hard.’
- e. (*mi*) *dach* *chi* *fel* *tarw*.
 PT be.PRES.2PL you.2PL like bull
 ‘you are like a bull.’

- f. (**mi*) *maen nhw 'n mynd.*
 PT be.PRES.3PL they PROG go
 ‘they’re going.’
- g. (*mi*) *oeddown i 'n bryderus.*
 PT be.IMPF.1SG I PRED anxious
 ‘I was anxious.’
- h. (*mi*) *oeddet ti 'n lwcus.*
 PT be.IMPF.2SG you.2SG PRED happy
 ‘you were lucky.’
- i. (*mi*) *oedd Siôn yma.*
 PT be.IMPF.3SG Siôn here
 ‘Siôn was here.’
- j. (*mi*) *oedden ni 'n trio yn galed iawn.*
 PT be.IMPF.1PL we PROG try PRED hard very
 ‘we were trying very hard.’
- k. (*mi*) *oeddech chi fel tarw.*
 PT be.IMPF.2PL you.2PL like bull
 ‘you were like a bull.’
- l. (*mi*) *oedden nhw 'n mynd.*
 PT be.IMPF.3PL they PROG go
 ‘they were going.’

In informal spoken Welsh, the preverbal particles are commonly omitted, but the mutations which they trigger are retained, as in (2a), for instance. This usage is followed in the illustrative examples in this study, which overwhelmingly lack a particle but keep a mutation.

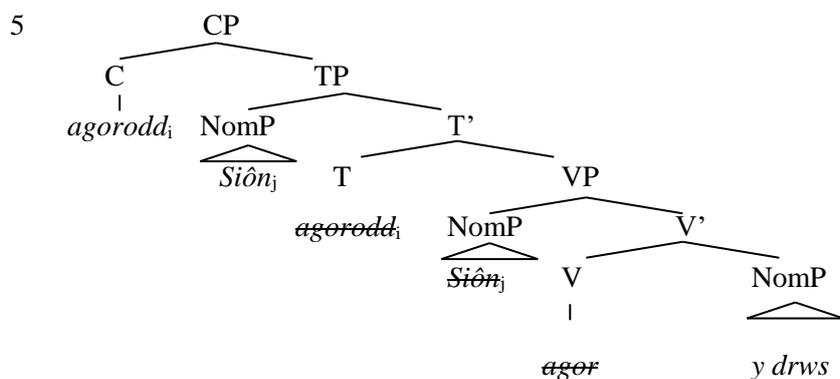
Preverbal particles also occur in fronted-order clauses, relative clauses, and complement clauses. It would take too much space, with little gain for the aims of this work, to present even an outline of the descriptive facts. These matters will only be mentioned where it is relevant to describing and analysing copular clauses.⁶

3 Description and theory

The bulk of this work is descriptive and this reflects its primary aim. The copular clauses are variously described in terms of (i) grammatical functions, mainly subject and predicate; (ii) categories of words and phrases; (iii) thematic roles; and (iv) linear sequencing of the functions, phrases, and roles — that is, word order.

Formal analyses present the descriptive data within a general format which can help to build an overall picture of copular clauses, revealing general and particular characteristics. The analyses are based on X-bar syntax as it has developed through the various phases of transformational grammar (to use a cover-all term for work in the Chomskyan tradition). Clauses are made up of phrases which all have a common structure of a head and, possibly, a complement and, possibly, a specifier [Specifier + [Head + Complement]]. Stripped of its details, a very basic view of X-bar syntax is that a normal-order clause is a complementizer phrase (CP), which is composed of a complementizer (C) and a tense phrase (TP), which is composed of tense features (T) and a verb phrase (VP), which is composed of a verb (V) and other phrases (XPs). There is more to syntax than this, but this basic, pared-down approach will serve the purposes of this work.

The configuration in (5) illustrates this model as applied to the verbal clause in (2a), *agorodd Siôn y drws* ‘Siôn opened the door’.



The configuration in (5) also shows standard movement rules which apply to normal-order finite clauses in Welsh. The subject originates in the specifier of the VP (the VP-internal subject hypothesis) and is moved to the specifier of TP. The finite verb originates as the head of the VP and is moved first to T, where it acquires the tense features of the clause, and then to C to achieve the verb-first order of normal-order Welsh clauses. The VP-internal subject hypothesis is modified to account for copular clauses, such that the subject does not originate in a VP but in other phrases (details of this are first presented in chapter 2). We have presented this configuration in a top-down way, in terms of constituency and selection. But it can also be viewed in a bottom-up manner in terms of mergers which produce more complex phrases, such that a VP can merge with T to form a TP and a TP can merge with C to form a CP.

Although a particular theoretical model has been adopted in this work, it is hoped that the descriptions are adequate enough to provide data for theoreticians who favour other models. And practitioners in the Chomskyan tradition will feel that more detailed analyses are necessary.

4 Copular clauses

We have seen that normal word-order in finite clauses in Welsh is [Verb + Subject + Predicate]. It is the presence of the copula as the verb which characterizes a copular clause, but it is the predicate which accounts for different types of copular clauses. The examples in (6–13) illustrate the range of Welsh copular clauses. In these preliminary examples, the finite form *oedd* ‘was’ is used.

- 6 a. *oedd Sioned yn ymgeisydd da.*
 be.IMPF.3SG Sioned PRED applicant good
 ‘Sioned was a good applicant.’
- b. *oedd gwallt Sioned mor ddu â ’r frân.*
 be.IMPF.3SG hair Sioned as black with the crow
 ‘Sioned’s hair was as black as the crow.’
- c. *oedd Sioned mor hapus.*
 be.IMPF.3SG Sioned so happy
 ‘Sioned was so happy.’
- 7 *Sioned oedd yr ymgeisydd gorau.*
 Sioned be.IMPF.3SG the applicant best
 ‘Sioned was the best applicant.’
- 8 a. *oedd y plant yn yr ysgol.*
 be.IMPF.3SG the children in the school
 ‘the children were in school.’
- b. *oedd (’na d)deinosoriaid (yn America).*
 be.IMPF.3SG there dinosaurs in America
 ‘there were dinosaurs (in America).’
- c. *oedd y goriad gan Sioned.*
 be.IMPF.3SG the key with Sioned
 ‘Sioned had got the key.’
- d. *oedd eisiau bwyd ar Sioned.*
 be.IMPF.3SG want food on Sioned
 ‘Sioned wanted food / Sioned was hungry.’
- 9 *oedd Sioned eisiau bwyd.*
 be.IMPF.3SG Sioned want food
 ‘Sioned wanted food / Sioned was hungry.’
- 10 *Sioned oedd biau ’r car.*
 Sioned be.IMPF.3SG own the car
 ‘Sioned owns the car / the car is Sioned’s.’

- 11 a. *oedd y dynion yn cysgu.*
 be.IMPF.3SG the men PROG sleep
 ‘the men were sleeping.’
- b. *oedd y dynion wedi cysgu.*
 be.IMPF.3SG the men PERF sleep
 ‘the men had slept.’
- c. *oedd y dynion { ar / ar fin / am } adael y car ar y ffordd.*
 be.IMPF.3SG the men on on edge for leave the car on the road
 ‘the men were {about to / about to / for} {leave / leaving} the car on the road.’
- 12 a. *oedd Gwyn i aros yma.*
 be.IMPF.3SG Gwyn to stay here
 ‘Gwyn was to stay.’
- b. *oedd Gwyn i fodi aros yma.*
 be.IMPF.3SG Gwyn to be to stay here
 ‘Gwyn was supposed to stay.’
- c. *oedd Siôn i 'w weld yn hapus iawn.*
 be.IMPF.3SG Siôn to 3SG.M see PRED happy very
 ‘Siôn seemed to be very happy.’
- 13 a. *oedd ar Sioned saith punt i Mererid.*
 be.IMPF.3SG on Sioned seven pound to Mererid
 ‘Sioned owed Mererid seven pounds.’
- b. *oedd y llun yn gam gan Sioned.*
 be.IMPF.3SG the picture PRED crookedwith Sioned
 ‘Sioned had the picture crooked.’
- c. *oedd yn gas gan Sioned orennau.*
 be.IMPF.3SG PRED nasty with Sioned oranges
 ‘Sioned hated oranges.’
- d. *mae Siôn yn yr ardd yn darllen llyfr.*
 be.IMPF.3SG Siôn in the garden PROG read book
 ‘Siôn is in the garden reading a book.’

Example (6a) shows an ascriptive copular and (7) illustrates an identificatory copular clause. They are discussed in chapters 2 and 3 respectively. Example (6b) contains the equative degree and example (6c) contains an intensifying degree word, and both are also discussed in chapter 2. The examples in (8) all contain prepositional phrases in the predicate. Example (8a) is a regular prepositional phrase copular which can contain prepositions with various meanings, and such examples are discussed in chapter 4. Examples like (8b) are quite distinctive in that the prepositional phrase can be absent. They have

existential meaning and are discussed in chapter 4 and also chapter 12. Examples (8c–d) are variously characterized by some traditional grammars of Welsh as ‘idiomatic’. Examples like (8c) convey possession and are discussed in chapter 5. Examples like (8d) convey bodily and mental states and are discussed in chapter 6. Examples like (9) have a nominal phrase predicate and are related to examples like (8d); they also convey bodily and mental states and are also discussed in chapter 6. Examples like (10) contain the lexeme *piau*; they convey ownership and are discussed in chapter 7. Examples like (11a–b) contain progressive and perfect aspect patterns respectively and are discussed in chapter 8. The example in (11c) contains prepositional expressions which precede a verb phrase. Their linear syntax is similar to the aspect patterns and these are also discussed in chapter 8. The examples in (12) contain subjectless *i*-infinitive clauses and they are also discussed in chapter 8. The examples in (13) contain two phrases which are predicate phrases in other examples and are discussed in chapter 9: examples like (13a) contain two prepositional phrases; examples like those in (13b–c) have characteristics of an ascriptive copular and a prepositional copular; and the example in (13d) shows another phrase (in this case a prepositional phrase) occurring with the progressive aspect phrase. Chapters 2 to 9 discuss individual finite copular clauses. Chapters 10 to 12 discuss general matters which apply to all copular clauses: distribution in chapter 10, fronting in chapter 11, and the expletive subject *yna* in chapter 12. Chapter 13 provides an overview of Welsh copular clauses. Chapter 14 considers Welsh copulars from a typological perspective.

Each one of these copular clauses merits individual scrutiny, and ascriptive and identificatory clauses are extensively discussed in the literature. But this study attempts to present the range of copular clauses which occur in Welsh, and the depth of detail which can be given to individual copular clauses is constrained by the breadth of the study.

Chapter 2 Ascriptive Copular Clauses

This chapter describes and analyses a type of copular clause which is generally labelled as *ascriptive*. It is commonly associated with another type of copular, which we label as *identificatory* for reasons which are given in section 4 of chapter 3. They are illustrated in Welsh respectively by (1) and (2).

1 *oedd* *Siôn yn feddyg.*

be.IMPF.3SG Siôn PRED doctor

‘Siôn was a doctor.’

2 *Siôn oedd y meddyg.*

Siôn be.IMPF.3SG the doctor

‘the doctor was Siôn.’

Identificatory copulars are discussed in chapter 3. This chapter also discusses the equative degree, degree words, and semi-copulas.

Section 1 gives a preliminary description of the linear syntax of ascriptives in Welsh. Section 2 details the types of phrases which can occur in Welsh ascriptives. Section 3 outlines the types of nominal phrases that can occur in ascriptives, which further develops the account of their syntax but also contributes to a discussion of their semantics. Section 4 discusses a formal analysis of Welsh ascriptives which attempts to account for the descriptive details. Section 5 outlines other uses of the form *yn*. Section 6 discusses the equative degree and degree words. Finally, section 7 discusses semi-copulas.

1 A preliminary view: linear syntax

Ascriptive clauses have normal word-order which, in Welsh, as described in chapter 1, is verb-first, namely, [Verb + Subject + Predicate] or, in a different notation, [Verb + XP + XP]. In the example in (1), the finite copular form *oedd* ‘was’ occurs initially, followed by the subject phrase, *Siôn*. It is the syntax of the predicate phrase which typifies ascriptive clauses. In (1), the predicate is *yn feddyg*. This phrase is headed by *yn*, which we shall label as the predicatal particle, and the phrase which it heads as the predicatal phrase (PredP). The predicatal particle *yn* causes soft mutation — *feddyg* in (1) is the soft mutated form of *meddyg*. Predicatal *yn* takes a variety of phrases as its complements, as we shall see in section 2. There are other uses of the form *yn* which can be distinguished from predicatal *yn* and these are discussed in section 5.⁷

In short, the linear phrase structure of ascriptives is [Verb + XP + PredP], or, in slightly greater detail, [Verb + XP + PredP[*yn* XP]].

2 Types of phrases

In this section we shall outline the types of phrases which can occur as the subject of the clause and the complement of predicative *yn*, or, alternatively expressed, as the XPs in [Verb + XP + PredP[*yn* XP]].

2.1 Complements of predicative *yn*

Common complements of predicative *yn* are nominal phrases and adjective phrases, both of which can vary in complexity.

- 3 a. *mae Siôn yn athro / ddeintydd / saer.*
 be.PRES.3SG Siôn PRED teacher dentist carpenter
 ‘Siôn is a teacher / dentist / carpenter.’
- b. *mae Siôn yn athro ffiseg profiadol iawn.*
 be.PRES.3SG Siôn PRED teacher physics experienced very
 ‘Siôn is a very experienced physics teacher.’
- c. *mae Siôn yn feistr ar ei waith.*
 be.PRES.3SG Siôn PRED master on 3SG.M work
 ‘Siôn is a master at his work.’
- 4 a. *mae Siôn yn dal / gyfoethog / hapus / hwyr.*
 be.PRES.3SG Siôn PRED tall rich happy late
 ‘Siôn is tall / rich / happy / late.’
- b. *mae Siôn yn eithaf ffeind wrth y merched.*
 be.PRES.3SG Siôn PRED quite nice to the girls.
 ‘Siôn is quite nice to the girls.’
- c. *mae Siôn yn hapus iawn i ymuno â ’r pwyllgor.*
 be.PRES.3SG Siôn PRED happy very to join with the committee
 ‘Siôn is very happy to join the committee.’
- d. *mae Siôn yn rhyfeddol o fodlon bod Mair yn ymadael.*
 be.PRES.3SG Siôn PRED strangely of contented be.PRES Mair PROG leave
 ‘Siôn is extraordinarily happy that Mair is leaving.’

At this stage, we use the label nominal phrase (NomP) when it is not necessary to distinguish between noun phrase and determiner phrase, but a distinction between noun phrase and determiner phrase is

given in section 3. Pronouns which can substitute for the head of a nominal phrase and indefinite pronouns can also occur as the complement of predicational *yn*.⁸

- 5 a. *ma' Mair yn un dda.*
 be.PRES.3SG Mair PRED one good
 'Mair is a good one.'
- b. *ma'n nhw 'n rhai lliwgar.*
 be.PRES.3PL they PRED some colourful
 'they are colourful ones.'
- c. *ma' hi 'n rywun arbennig.*
 be.PRES.3SG she PRED someone special
 'she is someone special.'
- d. *o'dd hwnna 'n rywbeth od.*
 be.IMPF.3SG that PRED something odd
 'that was something odd.'
- e. *ma' ei chartre hi yn rywle pell.*
 be.PRES.3SG 3SG.F home she PRED somewhere far
 'her home is somewhere far.'

Predicational *yn* can also select certain verbs which can be used adjectivally, particularly *marw* 'die', *byw* 'live', and *deffro* (or *effro*) 'wake'.

- 6 a. *oedd y perfformiad yn farw.*
 be.IMPF.3SG the performance PRED die
 'the performance was dead.'
- b. *mae 'r gêm yn fyw.*
 be.PRES.3SG the game PRED live
 'the game is live.'
- c. *wyt ti 'n ddeffro?*
 be.PRES.2SG you. 2SG PRED wake
 'are you awake?'

That these verbs are being used adjectivally can be demonstrated by the fact that they show adjectival characteristics, such as accepting intensifiers and occurring in comparative patterns, as examples containing *deffro* 'wake' indicate.

- 7 a. *wyt ti 'n ddefro iawn y bore 'ma.*
 be.PRES.2SG you. 2SG PRED wake very the morning here
 ‘you are very awake this morning.’
- b. *wyt ti 'n fwy deffro na neb arall.*
 be.PRES.2SG you. 2SG PRED more wake than no-one other
 ‘you are more awake than anyone else.’

Predicational *yn* can also select quantifiers, namely, *digon* ‘enough’, *gormod* ‘too much’, *llawer* ‘much, many’, and *tipyn* ‘a little’.

- 8 a. *mae hwnna 'n ddigon.*
 be.PRES.3SG that PRED enough
 ‘that is enough.’
- b. *mae hwnna 'n ormod.*
 be.PRES.3SG that PRED too-much
 ‘that is too much.’
- c. *doedd o ddim yn llawer.*
 NEG.be.IMPF.3SG it NEG PRED much
 ‘it was not much.’
- 9 a. *mae hwnna 'n ddigon o dywod.*
 be.PRES.3SG that PRED enough of sand
 ‘that is enough sand.’
- b. *ma' hi 'n ormod o ddynes iddo fo.*
 be.PRES.3SG she PRED too-much of woman for.3sg.M he
 ‘she’s too much woman for him.’
- c. *doedd o ddim yn llawer o arian.*
 NEG.be.IMPF.3SG he NEG PRED much of money
 ‘it was not much money.’
- d. *mae 'r gwaith yn dipyn o her.*
 be.PRES.3SG the work PRED bit of challenge
 ‘the work is a bit of a challenge.’

Predicational *yn* can also select numeral phrases which quantify measurable concepts such as age, clock time, weight, height, and money.

- 10 a. *mae Gwyn yn bump oed.*
 be.PRES.3SG Gwyn PRED five age
 ‘Gwyn is five years old.’

- b. *mae hi 'n bum munud wedi dau.*
 be.PRES.3SG it PRED five minute after two
 'it's five minutes past two.'
- c. *mae 'r bocs 'ma 'n bymtheg gram.*
 be.PRES.3SG the box here PRED fifteen gram
 'this box is fifteen grams.'
- d. *mae o 'n chwe troedfedd.*
 be.PRES.3SG he PRED six feet
 'he is six feet.'
- e. *mae 'r wats yn bymtheg punt.*
 be.PRES.3SG the watch PRED fifteen pound
 'the watch is fifteen pounds.'

To summarise, predicational *yn* selects nominal phrases, adjective phrases, head pronouns, indefinite pronouns, certain verbs, quantifier phrases, and numeral phrases.

2.2 Subjects

The subject in ascriptive clauses can be a nominal phrase (again used loosely), different sorts of pronouns (personal, demonstrative, and indefinite), a verb phrase, a *wh*-clause, a quantifier phrase, and a numeral phrase, as the examples in (11) show.

- 11 a. *mae 'r car yn swllyd.*
 be.PRES.3SG the car PRED noisy
 'the car is noisy.'
- b. *mae o / hwnna / rhywbeth 'n swllyd.*
 be.PRES.3SG he / that something PRED noisy
 'it / that / something is noisy.'
- c. *mae torri coed yn waith trwm.*
 be.PRES.3SG cut wood PRED work heavy
 'cutting wood is heavy work.'
- d. *mae beth mae Mair yn sôn amdano yn berthnasol.*
 be.PRES.3SG what be.PRES.3SG Mair PROG mention about.3sg.M PRED relevant
 'what Mair is talking about is relevant.'
- e. *mae gormod o help yn rwystr.*
 be.PRES.3SG too-much of help PRED hinderance
 'too much help is a hinderance.'

- d. *mae bymtheg punt yn ddrud.*
 be.PRES.3SG fifteen pound PRED expensive
 ‘fifteen pounds is expensive.’

In ascriptives, some phrases occur not in canonical subject position but in an extraposed position to the right of the predicative phrase, and an expletive occurs in canonical subject position (such as *hi*, which may be dropped — expletive subjects are discussed in chapter 12). Verb phrases and *wh*-clauses, which can occur in canonical subject position as in (11c–d), can also occur in extraposed position, as the examples in (12b) and (13b) show (for comparison, examples of subject positioning are also given in (12a) and (13a)).

- 12 a. *mae hel arian yn anodd.*
 be.PRES.3SG collect money PRED difficult
 ‘collecting money is difficult.’
- b. *mae 'n anodd hel arian.*
 be.PRES.3SG PRED difficult collect money
 ‘it is difficult to collect money.’
- 13 a. *mae beth mae Siôn yn 'i neud yn amlwg.*
 be.PRES.3SG what be.PRES.3SG Siôn PROG 3SG.M do PRED obvious
 ‘what Siôn is doing is obvious.’
- b. *mae 'n amlwg beth mae Siôn yn 'i neud.*
 be.PRES.3SG PRED obvious what be.PRES.3SG Siôn PROG 3SG.M do
 ‘it’s obvious what Siôn is doing.’

Prepositional phrases (PrepPs) are common in extraposed position and uncommon in subject position (but not ungrammatical), as the examples in (14–16) show.

- 14 a. *mae 'n well ar y mynydd.*
 be.PRES.3SG PRED better on the mountain
 ‘it’s better on the mountain.’
- b. *mae ar y mynydd yn well.*
 be.PRES.3SG on the mountain PRED better
 ‘on the mountain is better.’
- 15 a. *mae 'n gynnes wrth y tân.*
 be.PRES.3SG PRED warm by the fire
 ‘it’s warm by the fire.’

- b. *mae wrth y tân yn gynnes.*
 be.PRES.3SG by the fire PRED warm
 ‘by the fire is warm.’
- 16 a. *mae ’n dywyll yn y coed.*
 be.PRES.3SG PRED dark in the wood
 ‘it is dark in the woods.’
- b. *mae yn y coed yn dywyll.*
 be.PRES.3SG in the woods PRED dark
 ‘in the woods is dark.’
- Complement clauses ⁹ only occur in extraposed position and are unacceptable in subject position, as the examples in (17–18) show.
- 17 a. *mae n amlwg bod Mair yn y llyfrgell.*
 be.PRES.3SG PRED obvious be.PRES Mair in the library
 ‘it is obvious that Mair is in the library.’
- b. **mae bod Mair yn y llyfrgell yn amlwg.*
 be.PRES.3SG be.PRES Mair in the library PRED obvious
 ‘that Mair is in the library is obvious.’
- 18 a. *mae ’n anffodus bod Siôn yn gadael y swydd.*
 be.PRES.3SG PRED unfortunate be.PRES Siôn PROG leave the job
 ‘it’s unfortunate that Siôn is leaving the job.’
- b. **mae bod Siôn yn gadael y swydd yn anffodus.*
 be.PRES.3SG be.PRES Siôn PROG leave the job PRED unfortunate
 ‘that Siôn is leaving the job is unfortunate.’

I-clauses, namely, [*i* ‘for , to’ + NomP + VP] (they are outlined in chapters 8 and 10), are also restricted to extraposed position, as the examples in (19–21) show.

- 19 a. *mae ’n iawn i Gwyn aros ar ôl.*
 be.PRES.3SG PRED alright for Gwyn stay on track
 ‘it is alright for Gwyn to stay behind.’
- b. **mae i Gwyn aros ar ôl yn iawn.*
 be.PRES.3SG for Gwyn stay on track PRED alright
 ‘for Gwyn to stay behind is alright.’
- 20 a. *mae ’n bosib i Mair ddod ar ôl cinio.*
 be.PRES.3SG PRED possible for Mair come on track dinner
 ‘it’s possible for Mair to come after dinner.’

- b. **mae* *i* *Mair ddod ar ôl cinio 'n bosib.*
 be.PRES.3SG for Mair come on track dinner PRED possible
 ‘for Mair to come after dinner is possible.’
- 21 a. *mae* *'n well i ti brynu car newydd.*
 be.PRES.3SG PRED better for you.SG buy car new
 ‘it’s better for you to buy a new car.’
- b. **mae* *i ti brynu car newydd yn well.*
 be.PRES.3SG for you.SG buy car new PRED better
 ‘for you to buy a new car is better.’

In brief, subject position in ascriptives can be occupied by nominal phrases, pronouns, verb phrases, *wh*-clauses, prepositional phrases (PrepPs), quantifier phrases, and numeral phrases. Complement clauses and *i*-clauses occur in extraposed position. Verb phrases, *wh*-clauses, and PrepPs can also occur in extraposed position as well as canonical subject position.

2.3 Summary

The words and phrases which can occur as subjects of the clause and complements of *yn* in ascriptives are given in table 2.

Table 2. Phrases in ascriptive copular clauses (1)

Subjects		Complements in PredP
Canonical	Extraposed	
NomP		NomP
Pronouns		AP
VP	VP	Head pronoun / indefinite pronoun
<i>Wh</i> -clause	<i>Wh</i> -clause	Adjectival verb
PrepP	PrepP	Quantifier
Quantifier	Complement clause	Numeral
Numeral	<i>I</i> -clause	

Table 2 shows that there are four types of phrase which are restricted to canonical subject position and there are two other types of phrase which are restricted to extraposed position. There are three types of phrase which can occur in both canonical subject position and extraposed position.

3 Nominal phrases

This section presents further details about the nominal phrases which occur in ascriptive clauses, which add to the account of their syntax given so far and also contribute to the discussion of their semantics. Definiteness and specificity are relevant to explaining the occurrences of nominal phrases.

3.1 Definiteness, specificity, referring, and non-referring

This outline serves the purposes of this study only. We shall use definiteness to explain syntactic contrasts and specificity to explain semantic contrasts.

Definiteness involves the contrast of definite nominal phrases and indefinite nominal phrases. Definite nominal phrases in Welsh are indicated by the following.

- i. Proper names, e.g. *Siôn*.
- ii. Definite determiner, e.g. *y car* ‘the car’.¹⁰
- iii. Pronouns — personal pronouns and demonstrative pronouns e.g. *hi* ‘she’, *chi* ‘you’ etc, and *hwn* ‘this’, *hon* ‘this’, etc.
- iv. Genitives. A genitive phrase in Welsh has the linear sequence of two nominal phrases, the first of which indicates the possession and the second indicates the possessor. If the possessor is definite, then the whole genitive phrase is definite, e.g. *cwmni Siôn* ‘Siôn’s company’, *car y cwmni* ‘the company’s car’. Recursion is possible, e.g. *car cwmni chwaer Siôn* ‘Siôn’s sister’s company’s car’. The possessor can be indicated by a personal pronoun, in which case a clitic which agrees with the pronoun can precede the possession, e.g. *dy gar di* ‘your car’ and *ei wraig o* ‘his wife’.¹¹ In an appropriate grammatical context, the personal pronoun can be dropped, e.g. *dy gar* ‘your car’ and *ei wraig* ‘his wife’. In informal Welsh, some speakers can omit the clitic and use only the personal pronoun, e.g. *car ti* ‘your car’ and *gwraig fo* ‘his wife’.

Indefinite nominal phrases lack these characteristics. Welsh does not have an overt indefinite article, like English *a(n)*. Indefinite nominal phrases are bare phrases: *car* ‘a car’, which contrasts with *y car* ‘the car’. We say more about the indefinite article below. Indefinite pronouns include *rhywun* ‘someone’, *rhywbeth* ‘something’, and *rhywle* ‘somewhere’, and *unrhywun* ‘anyone’, *unrhywbeth* ‘anything’, and *unrhywle* ‘anywhere’.

Specificity involves the contrast of specific reference and non-specific reference, both of which can be illustrated with the word *ffrind* ‘friend’ in an example such as, *ga’ i ddod â ffrind?* ‘can I bring a friend?’. In the case of specific reference, the speaker has a particular individual in mind. In the case of non-specific reference, the speaker is not referring to a particular individual but is referring generally

to anyone who is a member of the set of his / her friends. Nominal phrases which refer to a specific individual or object, whether definite or indefinite, are referring expressions and nominal phrases which do not refer to a specific individual or object, whether definite or indefinite, are non-referring expressions.¹² Finally, non-specific reference, in so far as it is based on all of a set (or class) of entities, can also be labelled as generic.

Definiteness and specificity can be combined to give four possibilities, which can be illustrated with the examples in (22–23).

- 22 a. *mae 'r car yn ddyfais chwyldroadol.* [non-specific and definite]
 be.PRES.3SG the car PRED device revolutionary
 ‘the car is a revolutionary device.’
- b. *mae car yn gyfleus.* [non-specific and indefinite]
 be.PRES.3SG car PRED convenient
 ‘a car is convenient.’
- 23 a. *mae 'r car y tu allan i 'r siop.* [specific and definite]
 be.PRES.3SG the car the side out to the shop
 ‘the car is outside the shop.’
- b. *mae car yn dod i fyny 'r ffordd.* [specific and indefinite]
 be.PRES.3SG car PROG come to up the road
 ‘a car is coming up the road.’

In (22), the nominal phrases which are subjects do not refer to a particular car but to cars in general. (A singular noun occurs in (22b), but plural nouns can also occur, for example — *mae ceir yn gyfleus* ‘cars are convenient’). In (23), the nominal phrases refer to a particular car.

Up to this point we have been using nominal phrase to refer to nominal phrases of any sort. But now we can make a distinction between noun phrase (NP) and determiner phrase (DP). Definite nominal phrases, such as *y car* in (23a), have an overt definite determiner and can be said to have a determiner constituent which is the head of a determiner phrase and which has a noun phrase as its complement, that is, DP[Det[y] NP[*car*]]. We shall adopt the view that indefinite nominal phrases which have specific reference, such as *car* in (23b), are also determiner phrases. But they contain a determiner constituent which is not overtly realized, which we shall refer to as a zero determiner, DP[Det[∅] NP[*car*]]. Indefinite nominal phrases which are non-specific, such as *car* in (22b), are noun phrases which lack a determiner constituent, NP[*car*]. We thus have the following nominal phrases:

DP definite	<i>y car</i>	DP[D _y] NP[<i>car</i>]
indefinite	<i>car</i>	DP[D[\emptyset]] NP[<i>car</i>]
NP	<i>car</i>	NP[<i>car</i>]

In Welsh, an indefinite determiner phrase and a noun phrase have the same overt syntax, as *car* in (22b) and (23b) show, but are distinguished in that the former has a zero determiner while the latter has no determiner.

For completeness, table 3 shows how the syntactic contrasts of definite and indefinite relate to the semantic contrasts of specific and non-specific.

Table 3. Syntactic and semantic contrasts in nominal phrases

	Specific	Non-specific
Definite	DP _{DEF}	DP _{DEF}
Indefinite	DP _{INDEF}	NP

As can be seen, definite determiner phrases, can be used for both specific reference and non-specific reference, as in examples (22a) and (23a). But indefinite nominal phrases are either an indefinite determiner phrase for non-specific reference as in example (23b) or a noun phrase for non-specific reference as in example (22b). These are helpful distinctions when we come to discuss the influence of definiteness and specificity on the occurrences of nominal phrases in ascriptive copulars (and identificatory copulars as we see in chapter 3). DP_{DEF}, DP_{INDEF}, and NP are also convenient shorthand for the fuller descriptions of definite nominal phrases (either non-specific or specific), indefinite nominal phrases which are specific, and indefinite nominal phrase which are non-specific.

We shall see that the simple contrast of definite and indefinite is necessary but is not sufficient to account for the occurrences of nominal phrases in the predicative phrase: some definites cannot occur but others can, and some indefinites can occur but others cannot. In part, we can explain these matters by considering the contrast of specific versus non-specific. But other matters are also involved, as we shall see.

3.2 Definite nominal phrases

The contrast of specific and non-specific is not influential in the case of definite nominal phrases, and it is sufficient simply to talk about definite nominal phrases.

3.2.1 The basics

There are data which suggest that definite nominal phrases cannot occur in the predicational phrase, as in (24).

- 24 a **mae* *'r athro yn Siôn.*
 be.PRES.3SG the teacher PRED Siôn
 ‘the teacher is Siôn.’
- b **mae* *Siôn yn yr athro ffiseg.*
 be.PRES.3SG Siôn PRED the teacher physics
 ‘Siôn is the physics teacher.’
- c **mae* *'r delynores yn hi / honno.*
 be.PRES.3SG the harpist.F PRED she that-one
 ‘the harpist is her.’
- d **mae* *Pero yn enw 'r ci drws nesaf.*
 be.PRES.3SG Pero PRED the name dog door next
 ‘Pero is the name of the dog next door.’
- e **mae* *Siôn yn ei brawd hi.*
 be.PRES.3SG Siôn PRED 3SG.F brother she
 ‘Siôn is her brother.’

Such nominal phrases can occur in identificatory copulars, as is shown in section 4 of chapter 3. But there are also examples which show that two sorts of definite nominal phrases can occur in the predicational phrase.

3.2.2 Predicational genitive phrases

First, there are examples which contain certain genitive phrases. We have seen in section 3.1 that genitive phrases are grammatically definite and examples (24d–e), which contain genitive phrases, are ungrammatical. But the examples in (25), which have genitive phrases in the predicational phrase, are grammatical.

- 25 a. *mae* *Gwilym yn gadeirydd y pwyllgor cyllid.*
 be.PRES.3SG Gwilym PRED chairperson the committee finance
 ‘Gwilym is the chairperson of the finance committee.’
- b. *mae* *Obama yn llywydd America.*
 be.PRES.3SG Obama PRED president America
 ‘Obama is the president of America.’

- c. *fydd Aled yn bennaeth y llyfrgell.*
 be.FUT.3SG Aled PRED head the library
 ‘Aled will be the head of the library.’
- d. *oedd Mair yn nyrs y pentre.*
 be.IMPF.3SG Mair PRED nurse the village
 ‘Mair was the village nurse.’
- e. *fydd Siôn yn gaptan y tîm cyntaf.*
 be.FUT.3SG Siôn PRED captain the team first
 ‘Siôn will be the captain of the first team.’
- f. *oedd Gwenan yn seren y sioe.*
 be.IMPF.3SG Gwenan PRED star the shoe
 ‘Gwenan was the star of the show.’

To explain the examples in (25), we can consider an example which is discussed by Lyons (1977: 185), *Giscard d'Estang is the President of France*. Lyons points out that this example is ambiguous. In one reading, the two nominal phrases which flank the copula are referring expressions which have an identical referent (see section 4 of chapter 3 for a discussion of identificatory meaning). Alternatively, the post-copular phrase *the President of France* can be read not as a referring expression which identifies a specific individual but as a non-referring expression which denotes a role, post, or office, which tells us something about the subject. In the literature this is sometimes explained by saying that the genitive phrase has a predicational function. Lyons also points out that, in the predicational interpretation, the definite article can be omitted in English, *Giscard d'Estang is President of France*. Similarly, we can apply a predicational interpretation to the Welsh examples in (25). That is, the definite genitive phrases are not referring expressions which indicate specific individuals and which are equated with the referents of the subject phrases. Instead, they are non-referring expressions which describe societal roles which are ascribed to the subjects (or predicated of them). The Welsh genitive phrases cannot lose grammatical definiteness like the English example, but they can be interpreted predicationally, and as such they can occur in the predicative phrase. We can symbolise genitive phrases which are used in this way as DPGEN-PRED. However, definite determiner phrases, which can be referring expressions in some contexts, such as *y cadeirydd* ‘the chairperson’, *y llywydd* ‘the president’, *y pennaeth* ‘the chief’, and so forth, can also refer to a societal role and therefore can be non-referring expressions in other contexts. But such determiner phrases do not occur in ascriptives, as the examples in (24b) and (26) show.

- 26 a. **mae Gwilym yn y cadeirydd.*
 be.PRES.3SG Gwilym PRED the chairperson
 = ‘Gwilym is the chairperson.’

- b. **mae* *Obama yn y llywydd.*
 be.PRES.3SG Obama PRED the president
 = ‘Obama is the president.’
- c. **fydd* *Aled yn y pennaeth.*
 be.FUT.3SG Aled PRED the head
 = ‘Aled is the head.’
- d. **oedd* *Mair yn y nyrs.*
 be.IMPF.3SG Mair PRED the nurse
 = ‘Mair was the nurse.’
- e. **fydd* *Siôn yn y capten.*
 be.FUT.3SG Siôn PRED the captain
 = ‘Siôn will be the captain.’
- f. **oedd* *Gwenan yn y seren.*
 be.IMPF.3SG Gwenan PRED the star
 = ‘Gwenan was the star.’

And genitive phrases which are referring expressions and which do not have a predicational function cannot occur in the predicative phrase, as the examples in (24d–e) show. Consequently, it is a combination of genitive phrase and predicational function which explains examples like those in (25). In these examples, the nominal phrases in the predicative phrase are both genitive and predicational. Genitive phrases which are not predicational cannot occur, as the examples in (24d–e) show, and definite nominal phrases which can be predicational but which are not genitives cannot occur, as the examples in (26) show.¹³

3.2.3 Predicational proper names and personal pronouns

Second, in vernacular Welsh, some speakers produce examples like the ones in (27–28), which have definite nominal phrases in the predicative phrase.

- 27 a. *mae* *'r athro yn Mr. Chips.*
 be.PRES.3SG the teacher PRED Mr. Chips
 ‘the teacher is Mr. Chips.’
- b. *wyt* *ti 'n Superman / Steve Austen / Batman?*
 be.PRES.2SG you.SG PRED Superman Steve Austen Batman
 ‘you are Superman / Steve Austen / Batman.’
- 28 a. *pe* *baswn i 'n chi, faswn i 'n cwyno.*
 if be.CNTF.1SG I PRED you.PL be.CNTF.1SG I PROG complain
 ‘if I were you, I’d complain.’

- b. *wyt ti ddim yn fi, a dw i ddim yn ti.*
 be.PRES.2SG you.SG NEG PRED I and be.PRES.1SG I NEG PRED you.SG
 ‘you are not me, and I am not you.’
- c. *dach chi ddim yn chi heb i chi fwynhau yn fawr.*
 be.PRES.2PL you.PL NEG PRED you.PL without for you.PL enjoy PRED big
 ‘you are not you without greatly enjoying yourself.’

In the examples in (27), proper names of fictional characters occur. Fictional characters can have an iconic status and we can claim that their attributes are being ascribed to the subject. That is, they are being used predicationally. We can symbolise proper names which are used in this way as PNPRED. In the examples in (28), personal pronouns occur in the predicative phrase — mainly the second person. An explanation in predicational terms can also be given to these examples. These clauses say that the person who is the subject has or does not have the personal attributes of the person who is referred to by the pronoun in the predicative phrase. The example in (28a) can be paraphrased as *pe baswn i yn dy le di, faswn i'n cwyno* ‘if I was in your place, I would complain’. Example (28b) can be paraphrased with *wyt ti ddim fel fi, a dw i ddim fel ti* ‘I am not like you and you are not like me’ and (28c) as *dach chi ddim fel ych hunan heb i chi fwynhau yn fawr* ‘you are not like yourself unless you enjoy yourself very much’. In the predicational interpretation, the pronouns in the predicative phrase can be symbolised with PronPRED. It is not known how productive such examples are over all speakers in the vernacular.¹⁴

To conclude, definite nominal phrases in the predicative phrase can be: (i) genitive phrases which are non-referring expressions and which have a predicational function; (ii) proper names of iconic characters which have a predicational function; (iii) personal pronouns which have a predicational function.

3.3 Indefinite nominal phrases

In the discussion of indefinite nominal phrases, the contrast of specific (referring) and non-specific (non-referring) is influential and we must talk about specific and indefinite nominal phrases (DP_{INDEF}), on the one hand, and non-specific and indefinite nominal phrases (NP), on the other hand. It aids the discussion of the semantics of ascriptives to distinguish two sorts of indefinite nominal phrases, namely, count and non-count.

3.3.1 Count nouns and class membership

We shall first consider count nouns, as in (29). These examples show that noun phrases can occur in the predicative phrase.

- 29 a. *mae Peredur yn athro / weinidog / blymar / blismon / gricedwr.*
 be.PRES.3SG Peredur PRED teacher minister plumber policeman cricketer
 ‘Peredur is a teacher / minister / plumber / policeman / cricketer.’
- b. *mae Siôn yn athro ffiseg.*
 be.PRES.3SG Siôn PRED teacher physics
 ‘Siôn is a physics teacher.’
- c. *mae Gwyn yn frawd da.*
 be.PRES.3SG Gwyn PRED brother good
 ‘Gwyn is a good brother.’
- d. *mae Pero yn enw ci.*
 be.PRES.3SG Pero PRED name dog
 ‘Pero is a dog’s name.’
- e. *mae ’r delynores yn Gymraes ifanc.*
 be.PRES.3SG the harpist.F PRED Welsh-woman young
 ‘The harpist is a young Welsh woman.’

It follows from these examples that the predicational phrase contains a noun phrase and not a determiner phrase — PredP[*yn* NP[*athro ffiseg*]], in the case of (29b), for instance.

The examples in (29) provide central instances of a semantic relationship between subjects and predicates in ascriptives. The subject is ascribed the properties of the class of entities which is indicated by the non-referring expression in the predicational phrase. Class membership is widely found in the literature as an account of the semantics of ascriptive copular clauses. Number agreement between the subject and the complement of *yn* is compulsory in examples of class membership, as the illustrations in (30) show.

- 30 a. *mae ’r dyn yn blismon / (*blismyn).*
 be.PRES.3SG the man PRED policeman (*policemen)
 ‘the man is a policeman / policemen.’
- b. *mae ’r dynion yn (*blismon) / blismyn.*
 be.PRES.3SG the men PRED (*policeman) policemen
 ‘the men are (*policeman) / policemen.’

We shall see below that other types of indefinite nominals in the predicational phrase do not have to agree with the subject.

The size of the membership of the classes is variable. In the case of (29a), the nominals are unmodified and class membership is potentially universal, but perhaps constrained by the speaker’s and listener’s

pragmatic knowledge. In examples (29b–e), the nominals are modified and membership is curtailed: a class of teachers who teach physics, a class of brothers who have the attributes of being good brothers, a class of words which are used to name dogs, and a class of Welsh women who are young. There are examples of ascriptives in which the indefinite nominal phrases in the predicational phrase seem to refer to specific entities rather than a class.

- 31 a. *mae Siân yn wraig i Gwilym.*
 be.PRES.3SG Siân PRED wife to Gwilym
 ‘Siân is a wife to Gwilym.’
- b. *mae Gwyn yn frawd i mi.*
 be.PRES.3SG Gwyn PRED brother to I
 ‘Gwyn is a brother to me.’
- c. *mae Siôn yn fab i Mair.*
 be.PRES.3SG Siôn PRED son to Mair
 ‘Siôn is a son to Mair.’

In a monogamous society, Gwilym in example (31a) only has one wife. In the case of (31b), Gwyn may have only a small number of brothers, perhaps only one. The same type of curtailment applies to (31c). But we shall claim that the nominal phrases in the predicational phrase in examples like these denote classes such as wives, brothers, and sons even when they are curtailed in terms of more specific properties. In the case of (31a), for instance, Siân is a member of the class of wives and as such is a wife to Gwilym. This curtailment of denotation is relevant to interpreting examples such as the one in (32a).

- 32 a. *pwyl oedd yn gadeirydd?*
 who be.IMPF.3SG PRED chairperson
 ‘who was (the) chairperson?’
- b. *pwyl oedd y cadeirydd?*
 who be.IMPF.3SG the chairperson
 ‘who was the chairperson.’

Consider an extralinguistic context in which we have a known committee. Such a context makes known that the question in (32a) enquires about the specific chairman of a specific committee. Pragmatically, the membership of the denotation of the predicational nominal phrase is reduced to one entity. Class membership can still apply, but, as there is only one member, the relationship between *pwyl* ‘who’ and the predicational nominal phrase amounts to a one-to-one relationship, which is similar to the sort of relationship which is conveyed by identificatory clauses like (32b). We return to this matter in section 6.3 of chapter 13.

3.3.2 Non-count nouns and composition

Non-count nouns, especially mass nouns, do not indicate classes which are made up of members, and therefore do not involve class membership. Nevertheless, non-count nouns can occur as the complement of *yn* in the predicative phrase, as the examples in (33) show.

- 33 a. *mae 'r cotiau yn lledr (i gyd).*
 be.PRES.3SG the coats PRED leather to joint
 ‘the coats are (all) leather.’
- b. *mae 'r llawr yn goncrit (i gyd).*
 be.PRES.3SG the floor PRED concrete to joint
 ‘the floor is (all) concrete.’
- c. *oedd ffrâm y ffenest yn blastig (i gyd).*
 be.IMPF.3SG frame the window PRED plastic to joint
 ‘the window frame was (all) plastic.’
- d. *mae 'r 'sannau yn wlan (i gyd).*
 be.PRES.3SG the socks PRED wool to joint
 ‘the socks are (all) wool.’
- e. *mae 'r crys yn neilon (i gyd).*
 be.PRES.3SG the shirt PRED nylon to joint
 ‘the shirt is (all) nylon.’
- f. *mae 'r trwsus yn ddenim (i gyd).*
 be.PRES.3SG the trousers PRED denim to joint
 ‘the trousers are (all) denim.’
- g. *oedd y degan yn bren (i gyd).*
 be.IMPF.3SG the toy PRED wood to joint
 ‘the toy was (all) wood.’
- h. *mae 'r menyg yn rwber (i gyd).*
 be.PRES.3SG the gloves PRED rubber to joint
 ‘the gloves are (all) rubber.’
- i. *fydd y to yn llechan (i gyd).*
 be.FUT.3SG the roof PRED slate to joint
 ‘the roof will be (all) slate.’

In (33a), for instance, *lledr* ‘leather’ does not indicate a class to which *y cotiau* ‘the coats’ belong but indicates an attribute of *y cotiau* ‘the coats’, namely, that they are composed of leather. In this respect, these nominal phrases are similar to the use of adjectives and adjectival verbs, which indicate attributes

of the subject. Significantly, these nominal phrases can be modified with *i gyd*, as the examples in (33) show, and we see that adjectives can be similarly modified by *i gyd* as in (34).

34 a. *mae 'r llyfr yn fudr (i gyd).*

be.PRES.3SG the book PRED dirty to joint

'the book is (all) dirty.'

b. *o'n i 'n oer (i gyd).*

be.IMPF.1SG I PRED cold to joint

'I was (all) cold.'

c. *mae 'r llawr yn wlyb (i gyd).*

be.PRES.3SG the floor PRED wet to joint

'the floor is (all) wet.'

I gyd does not modify count nouns which indicate properties of class membership, as the examples in (35) indicate.

35 a. *mae Peredur yn athro / weinidog / blymar / blismon (* i gyd).*

be.PRES.3SG Peredur PRED teacher minister plumber policeman to joint

'Peredur is (*all) a teacher / minister / plumber / policeman

b. *mae Siôn yn athro ffiseg (* i gyd).*

be.PRES.3SG Siôn PRED teacher physics to joint

'Siôn is (*all) a physics teacher.'

c. *mae Gwyn yn frawd da (* i gyd).*

be.PRES.3SG Gwyn PRED brother good to joint

'Gwyn is (*all) a good brother.'

d. *mae Pero yn enw ci (* i gyd).*

be.PRES.3SG Pero PRED name dog to joint

'Pero is (*all) a dog's name.'

e. *mae 'r delynores yn Gymraes ifanc (* i gyd).*

be.PRES.3SG the harpist.F PRED Welsh-woman young to joint

'the harpist is (*all) a young Welsh woman.'

It might be possible to introduce *i gyd* with such nouns if an adjectival interpretation is available.

There are other examples of the adjectival-like use of nominal phrases which are more figurative than literal.

- 36 a. *o'n i 'n gleisie i gyd.*
 be.IMPF.1SG I PRED bruises to joint
 'I was all bruises.'
- b. *ma' i jwmpwr o yn dylle i gyd.*
 be.PRES.3SG 3SG.M jumper he PRED holes to joint
 'his jumper is all holes.'
- c. *mae o 'n fodiau i gyd.*
 be.PRES.3SG he PRED thumbs to joint
 'he is all thumbs.'
- d. *ma' hi 'n geg i gyd.*
 be.PRES.3SG she PRED mouth to joint
 'she is all mouth.'
- e. *ma' 'r cwrw yn ddwr i gyd.*
 be.PRES.3SG the beer PRED water to joint
 'the beer is all water.'
- f. *ma' dy wallt di yn dywod i gyd.*
 be.PRES.3SG 2SG hair you.SG PRED sand to joint
 'your hair is all sand.'

These nominal phrases also describe attributes of the subjects. It is possible to describe an entity in terms of bruising in (36a), or in terms of being badly holed in (36b), or in terms of clumsiness in (36c), and so forth. There are five characteristics of nominal phrases like those in (36). First, in the previous examples in (33), the property which is attributed to the subject applies to it in its entirety: the coats in (33a) are completely leather and not partly leather. But the examples in (36) are either figurative as in the case of (36c) and (36d), or the property only partly applies to the subject as in the case of (36a–b) and (36e–f). Second, count nouns as well as non-count nouns can occur, as examples (36a–c) show. Third, in the case of count nouns, subject-complement agreement does not have to occur, as examples (36a–c) show. Such agreement is compulsory in examples of class membership, as the examples in (30) show. Fourth, these nominal phrases can become predicative adjectives if they can accept one of the derivational adjectival endings *-lyd* or *-og*, which change nouns into adjectives.

- 37 a. *o'n i 'n gleisiog i gyd.*
 be.IMPF.1SG I PRED bruised to joint
 'I was all bruised.'
- b. *ma' i jwmpwr o yn dyllog i gyd.*
 be.PRES.3SG 3SG.M jumper he PRED holey to joint
 'the jumper is all holey.'

- c. *ma' hi 'n gegog i gyd.*
 be.PRES.3SG she PRED mouthy to joint
 'she is (?all) mouthy.'
- d. *ma' 'r cwrw yn ddyfriog i gyd.*
 be.PRES.3SG the beer PRED watery to joint
 'the beer is all watery.'
- e. *ma' dy wallt di yn dywodlyd i gyd.*
 be.PRES.3SG 2SG hair you.SG PRED sandy to joint
 'your hair is all sandy.'

Fifth, the occurrence of *i gyd* supports the adjectival interpretation of these nominals. But its occurrence in these examples is required more than in the examples in (33); its omission is unacceptable.

- 38 a. *o'n i 'n gleisie *(i gyd).*
 be.IMPF.1SG I PRED bruises to joint
 'I was *(all) bruises.'
- b. *ma' 'i jwmpwr o yn dylle *(i gyd).*
 be.PRES.3SG 3SG.M jumper he PRED holes to joint
 'his jumper is *(all) holes.'
- c. *mae o 'n fodiau *(i gyd).*
 be.PRES.3SG he PRED thumbs to joint
 'he is *(all) thumbs.'
- d. *ma' hi 'n geg *(i gyd).*
 be.PRES.3SG she PRED mouth to joint
 'she is *(all) mouth.'
- e. *ma' 'r cwrw yn ddwr *(i gyd).*
 be.PRES.3SG the beer PRED water to joint
 'the beer is *(all) water.'
- f. *ma' dy wallt di yn dywod *(i gyd).*
 be.PRES.3SG 2SG hair you.SG PRED sand to joint
 'your hair is *(all) sand.'

Example (38d) is acceptable if *ceg* 'mouth' is interpreted as indicating a garrulous person and not garrulousness.

3.3.3 Specific indefinite nominal phrases

We shall now consider examples which show that not all indefinite nominal phrases can occur in the predicational phrase. There are two sets of examples which can be explained by the definiteness and specificity of the nouns in the examples. First, in this sub-section, we shall consider a nominal phrase which is modified by a relative clause such as *dynes a welish i yn y farchnad* ‘a woman who I saw in the market’. Such a phrase is indefinite but specific: it is a referring expression which refers specifically to a unique individual, but one who is not fully identified, that is DP_{INDEF}. It is not a non-referring expression which denotes a class of individuals. DP_{INDEF} cannot occur in the predicational phrase of an ascriptive copular.

- 39 a. **mae hi 'n ddynes (a) welish i yn y farchnad.*
 be.PRES.3SG she PRED woman PT see.PERV.1SG I in the market
 ‘she’s a woman I saw in the market.’
- b. **mae o 'n ddyn (a) enillodd y wobr gyntaf llynedd.*
 be.PRES.3SG he PRED man PT win.PERV.3SG the prize first last-year
 ‘he’s a man who won the first prize last year.’
- c. **maen nhw 'n blant (a) dorrodd y ffenest.*
 be.PRES.3PL they PRED children PT break.PERV.3SG the woman
 ‘they are children who broke the window.’
- d. **mae hi 'n Gymraes (a) ddwynodd y' nghar i.*
 be.PRES.3SG she PRED Welsh-woman PT steal.PERV.3SG 1SG car I
 ‘she’s a Welsh woman who stole my car.’

Such nominal phrases can occur in identificatory copulars, as is shown by the examples in (39) in chapter 3. A relative clause itself does not achieve specific reference. It is possible to have indefinite nominal phrases which are modified by relative clauses but which are non-specific and are non-referring expressions, NPs.

- 40 a. *oedd hi 'n ddynes oedd 'n hoff o gerddoriaeth glasurol.*
 be.IMPF.3SG she PRED woman be.IMPF.3SG PRED fond of music classical
 ‘she was a woman who was fond of classical music.’
- b. *mae o 'n ddyn (a) helpith bawb.*
 be.PRES.3SG he PRED man PT help.FUT.3SG everyone
 ‘he’s a man who will help everyone.’
- c. *oedden nhw 'n blant oedd 'n byw yn lleol.*
 be.IMPF.3SG they PRED children be.IMPF.3SG PROG live PRED local
 ‘they were children who lived locally.’

- d. *mae hi 'n Gymraes oedd wedi byw yn Wrecsam.*
 be.PRES.3SG she PRED Welsh-woman be.IMP.F.3SG PERF live in Wrexham
 ‘she was a Welsh woman who had lived in Wrexham.’

The nominal phrases in the examples in (40) refer not to specific individuals but to a class of individuals who possess certain attributes: women who like music, men who help everyone, and so forth. In these cases, the semantic relationship between the nominal phrase in the subject and the nominal phrase in the predicative phrase is based on the properties of class membership.

3.3.4 Individualizing nominal phrases

Second, consider the references of the indefinite nominal phrases which are the complements of *yn* in the examples in (41).

- 41 a. **mae 'r ateb yn rhaff.*
 be.PRES.3SG the answer PRED rope
 ‘the answer is a rope.’
- b. **mae 'r ateb yn hebogiaid.*
 be.PRES.3SG the answer PRED hawks
 ‘the answer is hawks.’
- c. **oedd y broblem yn fleiddiau.*
 be.PRES.3SG the answer PRED wolves
 ‘the problem was wolves.’

Such nominal phrases can occur in identificatory copulars, as is shown by the examples in (41) in chapter 3. Stassen (1997: 105–6), who cites an example from Langacker (1991: 67) *Alice is a thief*, argues that the indefinite nominal phrase *a thief* does not denote a class but singles out a random or arbitrary member of the class of thieves. Croft (1991: 70–71) cites Bolinger (1980), who refers to this use of copulars as individualizing, that is, that the indefinite nominal phrase describes the subject without subsuming it (in our terms, does not characterize it in terms of properties of class membership or material composition). The Welsh examples in (41) can come within this type of interpretation. We shall argue that *rhaff* ‘rope’ in (41a), for instance, does not indicate a general class or material composition. It indicates a single but unspecified example of the class of ropes, which is equated with the answer (to whatever the problem may be) — this comes under the meaning of identificatory clauses which are discussed in chapter 3. Unlike the nominal phrases in the examples in (39), *rhaff* in (41) is not a referring expression. We can thus establish another indefinite nominal phrase, DP_{INDIV}. Croft (*op cit*) says that French can distinguish between classifying and individualizing by the presence or absence of the indefinite articles in the predicate phrase: *Jean est voleur* ‘John is a thief’ (classifying) and *Jean*

est un voleur ‘John is a thief’ (individualizing). Welsh distinguishes between classifying and individualizing by using different syntax — ascriptive clauses for the former and identificatory clauses for the latter (discussed in chapter 3). Examples (41b–c) show that more than one member of a class can be individualised. They also show that number agreement between the subject and the complement does not have to occur.

3.3.5 Indefinite nominal phrases and a non-ascriptive function

The examples in examples (29) and (33) show that count nouns and non-count nouns which are indefinite and non-specific can occur in the predicative phrase — they are noun phrases which are non-referring expressions. But the examples in (42) show that noun phrases cannot occur in all ascriptive clauses, or are, at best, doubtful.

- 42 a. **ma'* *enw y pryfed yn forgrug.*
 be.PRES.3SG name the insects PRED ants
 ‘the insects’ name is ants.’
- b. **ma'* *'r dyfodol yn athrawon.*
 be.PRES.3SG the future PRED teachers
 ‘the future is teachers.’
- c. ?? *ma'* *'r defnydd gorau yn goed.*
 be.PRES.3SG the material best PRED wood
 ‘the best material is wood.’
- d. ?? *ma'* *'r ffisig gorau yn ddwr.*
 be.PRES.3SG the medicine best PRED water
 ‘the best medicine is water.’
- e. **ma'* *'r gêm fwya' poblogaidd yn bêldroed.*
 be.PRES.3SG the game most popular PRED football
 ‘the most popular game is football.’

Example (42a) does not establish that *enw y pryfed* ‘the name of the insects’ is a member of the class *morgrug* ‘ants’ and neither does it convey that it is made up of ants. Example (42b) does not establish that *y dyfodol* ‘the future’ is a member of the class *athrawon* ‘teacher’ and neither does it convey that it is made up of teachers. The example in (42c) (questionably) does not convey that *y defnydd gorau* ‘the best material’ is a member of the class of *goed* ‘wood’ and neither does it convey that it is composed of wood; and example (42d) (questionably) does not convey that *y ffisig gorau* ‘the best medicine’ is a member of the class of *dwr* ‘water’ and neither does it convey that it is composed of water; and so forth. We can explain the ungrammaticality in all these examples in terms of semantics, that is, the relationship between the lexical semantics of subjects and the complements are not compatible with ascriptive

meaning neither in terms of class membership nor composition. The subject must have the semantic properties which allow it to be a member of the class or to have the composition which is indicated by the complement. This general condition is not met in the examples in (42). But the interesting point is that the nominal phrases which are in the examples in (42) can occur in identificatory copulars, as is shown by the examples in (43) in chapter 3. We shall discuss these matters at that point.

It thus emerges that indefiniteness alone cannot account for the make-up of the predicational phrase, as some definite nominal phrases can occur and some indefinite nominal phrases cannot occur.

3.3.6 Extending the semantic analysis

The discussion of semantics so far has been based on ascriptives which contain nominal phrases as the complement of *yn*. We have seen in section 2 that the predicational particle *yn* can also select an adjective phrase, an adjectival verb, a quantifier phrase, and a numeral phrase. We can establish a generalization by a setting up a single meaning in terms of the ascription of properties. We can claim that the predicational phrase ascribes properties to the subject: the properties of class membership in the case of count nouns; the properties of composition in the case of non-count nouns (including here the adjectival-like use of count nouns); the properties of attributes in the case of adjective phrases and adjectival verbs; and the properties of measure in the case of quantifier phrases and numeral phrases. The remaining complements of predicational *yn*, namely, head pronouns and indefinite pronouns, can also be treated in the same terms as indefinite and non-specific nominal phrases. Summarising the discussion to this point, we have one meaning for ascriptive copular clauses: they assign properties to the subject in terms of class membership, composition, attributes, and measure.

3.4 Subject position

We shall first look at verbal sentences. All four combinations of definiteness and specificity can occur. Definite nominal phrases (DP_{DEF}) which have specific or non-specific reference can occur, as in (43a–b). And indefinite nominal phrases which are either specific (DP_{INDEF}) or non-specific (NP) can occur, as in (43c–d)

- 43 a. *dda'th car Siôn dros y bont.*
 come.PERV.3SG car Siôn the bridge
 'Siôn's car came over the bridge.'
- b. *dda'th y car yn boblogaidd iawn.*
 come.PERV.3SG the car PRED popular very
 'the car became very popular.'

- c. *dda'th car dros y bont.*
 come.PERV.3SG car over the bridge
 'a car came over the bridge.'
- d. *newidodd car fywydau llawer o bobl.*
 change.PERV.3SG car lives many of people
 'a car changed the lives of many people.'

Ascriptive copular sentences are different. DP_{DEFS} which are either specific or non-specific can occur, as in (44a–b). But in the case of indefinite nominal phrases, only those which have non-specific reference (non-referring expressions), NPs, can occur, as in (44c), and not those which have specific reference (referring expression), DP_{INDEFS}, as in (44d).

- 44 a. *ma' car Siôn yn swnllyd.*
 be.PRES.3SG car Siôn PRED noisy
 'the car is noisy.'
- b. *ma' 'r car yn ddatblygiad defnyddiol iawn.*
 be.PRES.3SG the car PRED development useful very
 'the car is a very useful development.'
- c. *ma' car yn gyfleus iawn.*
 be.PRES.3SG car PRED convenient very
 'a car is very useful.'
- d. **oedd car yn swnllyd.*
 be.IMPF.3SG car PRED noisy
 * 'a car was noisy.'

But DP_{INDEFS} can occur in ascriptives which are relative clauses and which can occur in other types of copular clauses.

- 45 *oedd car oedd yn swnllyd y tu allan i 'r tŷ.*
 be.IMPF.3SG car be.IMPF.3SG PRED noisy the side out to the house
 'a car which was noisy was outside the house.'

There are further comments on this matter in section 1.3 of chapter 12.

In conclusion, an ascriptive copular can have as its subject DP_{DEF} and NP but not DP_{INDEF}.

3.5 Summary

The nominal phrase in the predicative phrase of an ascriptive copular is one of the following:

- i. an indefinite nominal phrase which has non-specific reference and is thus a non-referring expression (that is, a noun phrase), and which
 - a. either establishes the properties of class membership in the case of count nouns as in (29);
 - b. or establishes the properties of material composition in the case of non-count nouns as in (33) (including the adjectival-like use of count nouns as in (36));
- ii. a definite nominal phrase which is
 - a. either a genitive phrase which has a predicational function (that is $DP_{GEN-PRED}$) as in (25);
 - b. or a proper name, mainly of an iconic character, which has a predicational function (PN_{PRED}) as in (27);
 - c. or a personal pronoun which has a predicational function, $Pron_{PRED}$, as in (28).

The nominal phrase which occurs as the subject of an ascriptive copular can be:

- i. definite nominal phrase (DP_{DEF}) which is either specific (a referring expression) or non-specific (a non-referring expression) as in (44a–b)
- ii. an indefinite nominal phrase which has non-specific reference (NP — a non-referring expression) as in (44c) but not specific reference (DP_{INDEF} — a referring expression) as (44d) shows.

Ascriptive copular clauses assign properties of class membership, composition, attributes, and measure to the subject.

In the light of the more detailed account of nominal phrases, table 2 can be developed to produce table 4.

Table 4. Phrases in ascriptive copular clauses (2)

Subjects		Complements in PredP
Canonical	Extraposd	
DP _{DEF}		NP
NP		DP _{GEN} -PRED
Pronouns		PN _{PRED}
VP	VP	Pron _{PRED}
<i>Wh</i> -clause	<i>Wh</i> -clause	AP
PrepP	PrepP	Head pronoun / indefinite pronoun
Quantifier phrase	Complement clause	Adjectival verb
Numeral phrase	<i>I</i> -clause	Quantifier phrase
		Numeral phrase

4 Analysis

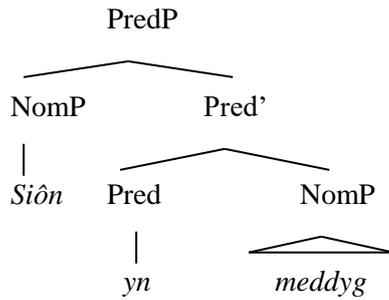
The analysis of ascriptive copular clauses in Welsh must account for the following.

- Normal word order, as outlined in section 1
- The types of phrases which can variously occur in ascriptives, as described in section 1 but mainly in section 2.
- Related to the types of phrases are the constraints on the definiteness and specificity of nominal phrases, as described in section 3.
- The semantics of ascriptives, as described in section 3: property ascription.

4.1 The predicative phrase

The fact that an ascriptive relationship is seen in subject-predicate clauses, as in absolute clauses and small clauses (see chapter 10 for a discussion of small clauses, especially examples (1a) and (2a) there), provides grounds for claiming that ascriptive copulars are based on a Predicative Phrase (PredP), which is headed by predicative *yn*, and which has a phrase in its specifier position and another phrase in its complement position.

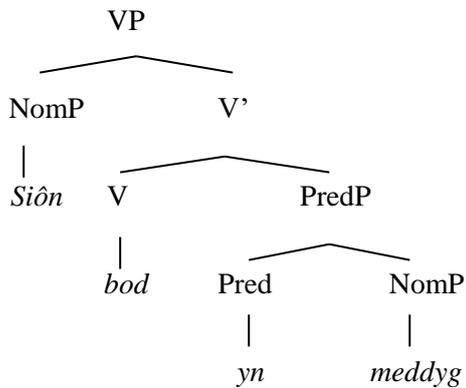
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This configuration conveys the traditional concepts of subject (in Spec PredP) and predicate (in Pred'). The function of *yn* is to ascribe the properties which are indicated by its complement to its subject. Other copular clauses which are discussed in the following chapters have phrases which are based on this general configuration XP[Specifier + [Head + Complement]] and we shall refer to these phrases as the *basic copular phrase* — that is, the subject-predicate phrase from which a copular clause is developed.

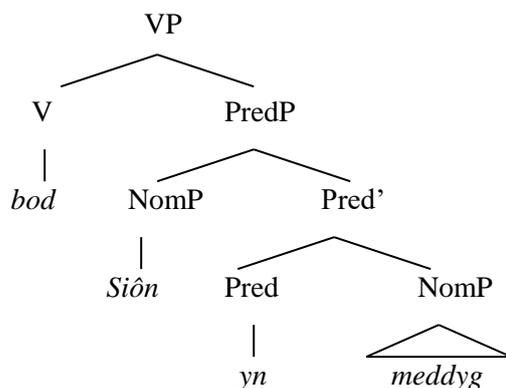
This approach is different from the one in Rouveret (1996: 134). He places the subject phrase and the complement phrase in the specifier and complement of a verb phrase which has *bod* as its head, as in (47).

47

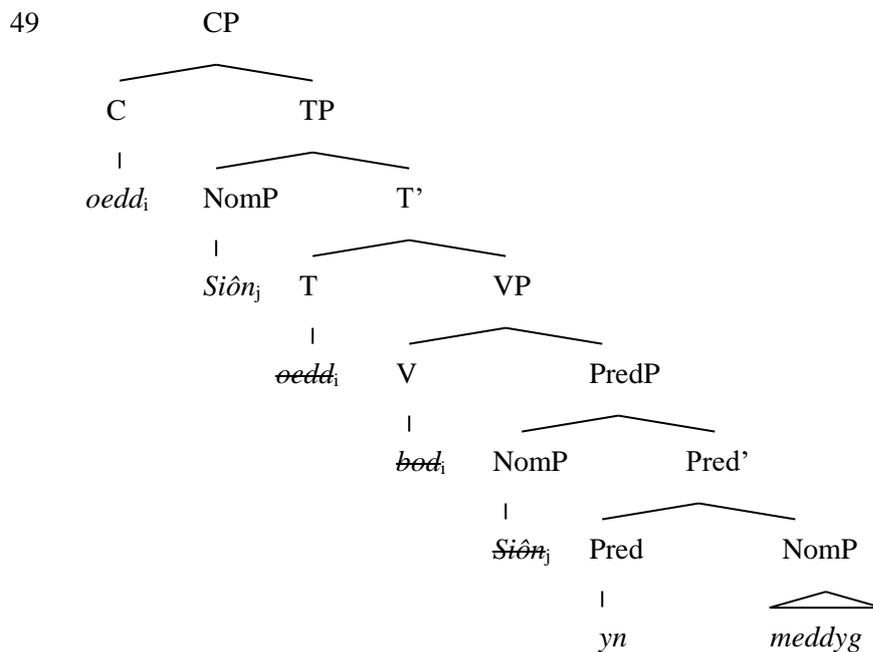


We shall maintain that ascriptive clauses are based on a PredP as in (46). However, to eventually produce a copular clause, PredP merges with a VP which has *bod* 'be' as its head.

48



Further, two standard merges produce a finite ascriptive copular clause: VP merges with TP, and TP merges with CP, as in (49), which represents example (1), *oedd Siôn yn feddyg* ‘Siôn was a doctor’.

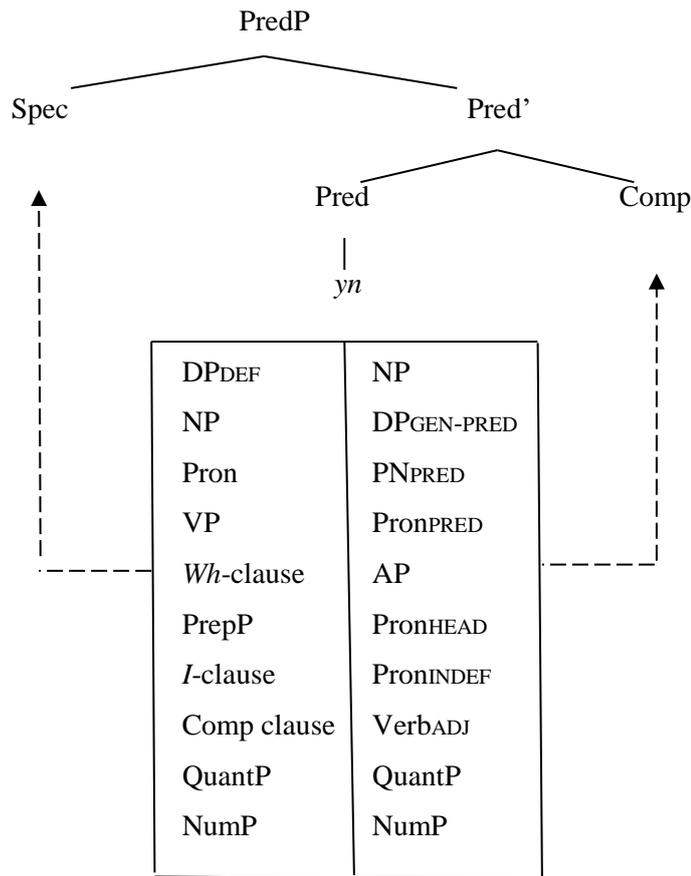


As shown in (49), two movement rules produce the surface word order: the verb *bod* ‘be’ is raised to T for tense features and then, for Welsh, to C to achieve verb-first position; and the NomP in Spec PredP is moved to Spec TP (for simplicity of presentation we ignore cyclical movement via Spec VP). These movements produce normal-order clauses, namely, [Verb + Subject + Predicate] or, in a different notation, [Verb + NomP + PredP]. It can be seen from this analysis that the subject originates not in Spec VP but in Spec PredP, which is justified by the occurrence of subject-predicate clauses. This represents a modification of the VP-internal subject hypothesis. The position of the subject is now within the syntax of the lowest phrase of the configuration, which, in verbal clauses, is VP but in ascriptives is PredP (and other phrases in other copular clauses, as we shall see in the following chapters).

4.2 Types of phrases, definiteness, and specificity

Sections 2 and 3 describe the types of phrases which can occur as subjects and complements of *yn* in ascriptive clauses. Table 4 presents a summary. The analysis can account for the occurrences of types of phrases by giving the head of PredP, predicative *yn*, selectional properties which determine the types of phrases which can occur in Spec PredP and Comp PredP (shorthand for the complement of *yn* in PredP).

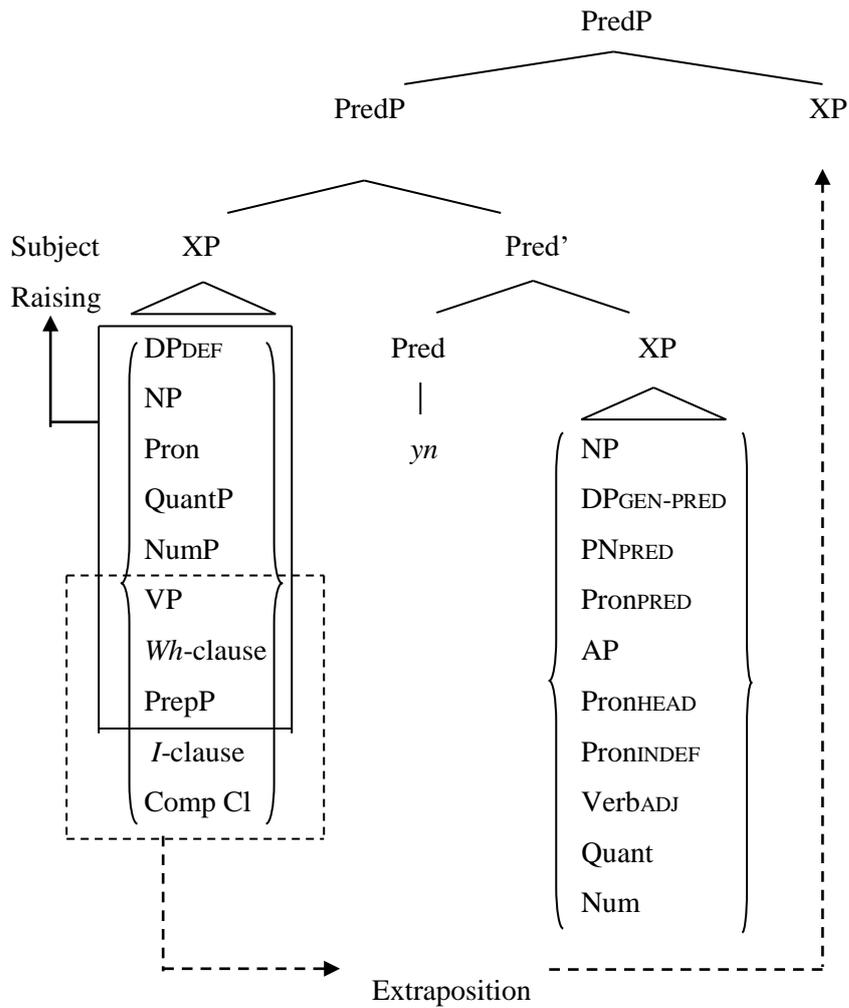
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The phrases which are chosen for Spec PredP and Comp PredP must match the selectional properties of predicational *yn*.

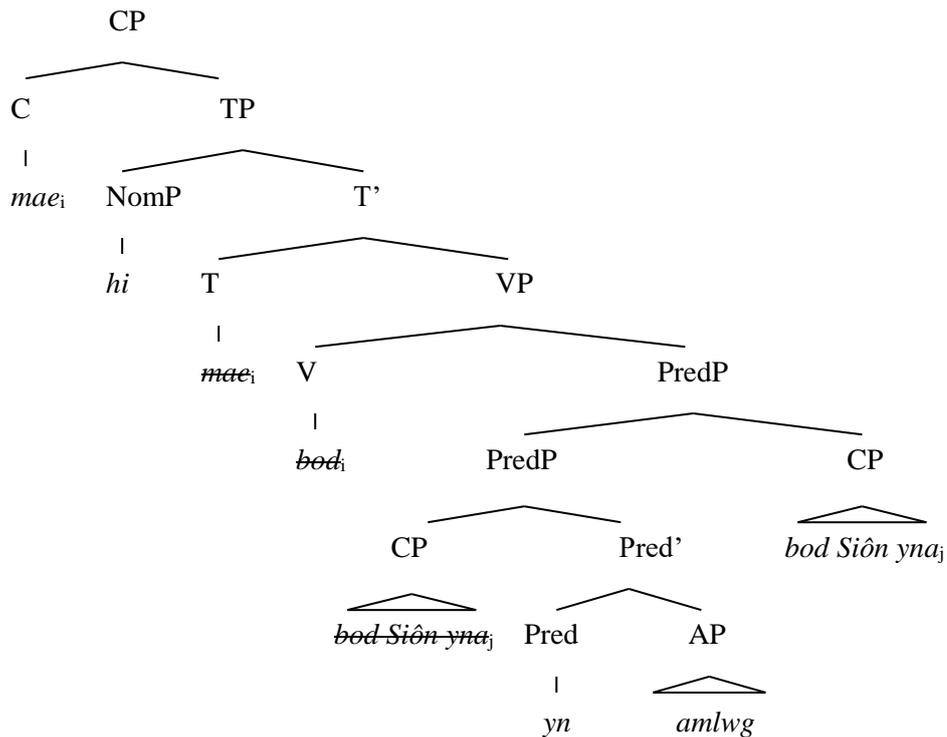
We have also seen that some subjects can occur in canonical subject position, Spec TP, and others can occur in an extraposed position. We shall assume that *yn* selects all phrases for its specifier position as in (50) and two movement rules then determine which can occur in canonical subject position and which can occur in extraposed position. The details are given in table 4 and they can be incorporated into the analysis to produce (51). We shall assume that extraposed phrases are right-adjoined to the phrase in which they occur, in this case, PredP.

51



As can be seen, some phrases can only raise to Spec TP, some phrases can only be extraposed, and some phrases allow the choice of raising or extraposition. An interesting point is that DP_{INDEF} does not occur in ascriptives neither as subject nor complement. The analysis in (49), in which a $NomP$ moves into Spec TP, illustrates subject raising. The analysis in (52), which contains a complement clause, illustrates extraposition, in which the complement clause is right-adjoined within $PredP$.

52



With extraposition, Spec TP remains empty and an expletive, such as the personal pronoun *hi*, is inserted into the canonical subject position.¹⁵

4.3 Summary

The main characteristics of the analysis of ascriptive copulars are as follows.

- PredP is the basic phrase of an ascriptive, as (46) shows.
- PredP has an overt functional head, predicative *yn*, as (46) shows.
- The head makes different selections for the specifier and the complement, as summarised in (50) and as shown in (51).
- PredP makes the following mergers: first with a *bod*-VP, which merges with TP, which merges with CP, as (49) shows.
- Normal word-order is determined by subject raising to Spec TP and verb raising to C, as (49) shows. Word order is also determined by extraposition as shown in (51) and (52), which is optional in the case of VPs, PrepPs, and *wh*-clauses but obligatory in the case of *i*-clauses and complement clauses.
- The function of the head of PredP, *yn*, is to ascribe the properties indicated by its complement to its subject.

5 Uses of *yn*

There are other uses of *yn* in addition to predicational *yn*. These are aspect *yn*, which is illustrated in (53a), and prepositional *yn*, which is shown in (53b).

- 53 a. *mae Siôn yn cysgu.*
 be.PRES.3SG Siôn PROG sleep
 ‘Siôn is sleeping.’
- b. *mae Siôn yn yr ardd.*
 be.PRES.3SG Siôn in the garden
 ‘Siôn is in the garden.’
- c. *mae Siôn ynnddi hi.*
 be.PRES.3SG Siôn in.3SG.F she
 ‘Siôn is in it.’

Aspect *yn* can be distinguished from predicational *yn* on semantic grounds, selectional grounds, and mutational grounds: it indicates the progressive aspect in Welsh ¹⁶; it is limited to preceding verb phrases; and it does not trigger mutation. Prepositional *yn* can likewise be distinguished from predicational *yn*: its basic meaning is locational; it can precede definite nominal phrases as well as indefinite ones, and personal pronouns; it causes the nasal mutation (at least in the formal style of Welsh) as *yn Ninbych* (from *Dinbych*); it changes to *ym* when the mutation produces an initial *m* as in *ym Mhwillheli* (from *Pwillheli*) and to *yng* when the mutation produces an initial *ng* as in *Ngwernyfed* (from *Gwernyfed*) or *ng* as in *yng Nghaerdydd* (from *Caerdydd*); and it inflects when it precedes a pronoun as in (53c). However, predicational *yn* and aspect *yn* behave similarly in fronted-order clauses, as chapter 11 shows.

There may be grounds for distinguishing another instance of the form *yn*, namely, adverbial *yn*. It occurs with an adjective and together they form a phrase which functions as an adverb of manner. Examples are *yn drwm* ‘heavily’, *yn gyflym* ‘quickly’, *yn frwd* ‘enthusiastically’, and *yn ofalus* ‘carefully’ in the examples in (54).

- 54 a. *mae Siôn wedi cysgu yn drwm.*
 be.PRES.3SG Siôn PERF sleep PRED heavy
 ‘Siôn has slept heavily.’
- b. *gododd Mair yn gyflym.*
 rise.PERV.3SG Mair PRED quick
 ‘Mair got up quickly.’

- c. *dri-ith Gwen yn frwd iawn.*
 be.FUT.3SG Gwen PRED enthusiastic very
 ‘Gwen will try very enthusiastically.’
- d. *ddreifiodd Ioan yn ofalus.*
 drive.PERV.3SG Ioan PRED careful
 ‘Ioan drove carefully.’

Hence, we could refer to this *yn* as adverbial *yn*. But we could also claim that this is another instance of predicative *yn*. This can be justified on the grounds that, like predicative *yn*, this *yn* precedes an adjective phrase and triggers the soft mutation (*drwm* is the mutated form of *trwm*, *gyflym* is the mutated form of *cyflym*, and so forth). It is glossed as predicative in the examples. However, there are two points which distinguish the adverbial use of *yn* from its ascriptive use. One is that the adverbial use of *yn* selects only adjective phrases. The other is that, in its adverbial use, this *yn* is in a phrase which occurs as an adjunct and not a predicate. We are not primarily concerned with the adverbial use of *yn* and no more will be said about it in this study. But Watkins (1961: 193–195) provides comments on this matter.

It is uncertain whether it is best to say that there is one form of *yn* which has different uses, or whether there are different forms of *yn* each with its own use — *yn*¹ predicative, *yna*² aspect, *yn*³ prepositional, and (perhaps) *yn*⁴ adverbial. We shall leave this for future research.

6 Degree phrases

In this section we shall consider two other phrases which can convey ascription, namely, an intensifying phrase and the equative degree phrase. Before looking at the details of these phrases, we shall briefly outline the degree system in Welsh.

6.1 The degree system

The degree system is based on the traditional distinctions of positive, equative, comparative, and superlative. For Welsh, these distinctions are made as shown in table 5.

Table 5. The degree system in Welsh adjectives

	Synthetic	Periphrastic
positive	<i>tal</i> ‘tall’	
equative		<i>cyn / mor daled</i> ‘as tall’ <i>mor dal</i> ‘as tall’
comparative	<i>talach</i> ‘taller’	<i>mwy anghyfforddus</i> ‘more uncomfortable’ <i>llai anghyfforddus</i> ‘less uncomfortable’
superlative	<i>talaf</i> ‘tallest’	<i>mwaf anghyfforddus</i> ‘most uncomfortable’ <i>lleiaf anghyfforddus</i> ‘least uncomfortable’

Positive adjectives are uninflected for degree. Comparative adjectives and superlative adjectives either have the inflections *-ach*, or *-af*, or they occur in periphrastic patterns which contain *mwy* ‘more’ or *mwyaaf* ‘most’. Although there is no hard-and-fast rule, the choice of the synthetic pattern or the periphrastic pattern depends upon the syllabic structure of the adjective: monosyllabic and disyllabic adjectives can generally inflect, while adjectives of three or more syllables occur in a periphrastic pattern. The lines containing *llai* ‘less’ or *lleiaf* ‘least’ give so-called reverse degrees.¹⁷

As we have seen, positive adjectives can occur in PredP in ascriptive clauses and no more will be said about them here. Comparative adjectives can also occur in the predicative phrase of ascriptive copulars, including the reverse comparative, as shown in (55) and (56).

- 55 a. *mae Sioned yn hapusach.*
 be.PRES.3SG Sioned PRED happier
 ‘Sioned is happier.’
- b. *mae Gwilym yn fwy cydymdeimladol.*
 be.PRES.3SG Gwilym PRED more sympathetic
 ‘Gwilym is more sympathetic.’
- 56 a. *mae Sioned yn llai hapus.*
 be.PRES.3SG Sioned PRED less happy
 ‘Sioned is less happy.’
- b. *mae Gwilym yn llai cydymdeimladol.*
 be.PRES.3SG Gwilym PRED less sympathetic
 ‘Gwilym is less sympathetic.’

As such, phrases which contain comparative adjectives come under the discussion of ascriptive copulars and we shall say no more about these degrees here.

Superlative adjectives, including reverse superlatives, cannot occur in ascriptives, as shown in (57–58).

- 57 a. **mae* *Sioned yn hapusaf.*
 be.PRES.3SG Sioned PRED happiest
 ‘Sioned is happiest.’
- b. **mae* *Gwilym yn fwyaf cydymleidadol.*
 be.PRES.3SG Gwilym PRED most sympathetic
 ‘Gwilym is most sympathetic.’
- 58 a. **mae* *Sioned yn lleiaf hapus.*
 be.PRES.3SG Sioned PRED least happy
 Sioned is least happy.’
- b. **mae* *Gwilym yn lleiaf cydymleidadol.*
 be.PRES.3SG Gwilym PRED least sympathetic
 ‘Gwilym is least sympathetic.’

But superlative adjectives can occur in identificatory copulars, as shown in (59–60).

- 59 a. *Sioned oedd y(r) (un) hapusaf.*
 Sioned be.IMPF.3SG the one happiest
 ‘Sioned was the happiest (one).’
- b. *Gwilym oedd y(r) (un) mwyaf cydymleidadol.*
 Gwilym be.IMPF.3SG the one most sympathetic
 ‘Gwilym was the most sympathetic (one).’
- 60 a. *Sioned oedd y(r) (un) lleiaf hapus.*
 Sioned be.IMPF.3SG the one least happy
 ‘Sioned was the least happy (one).’
- b. *y(r) (un) lleiaf cydymleidadol oedd Gwilym.*
 the one least sympathetic be.IMPF.3SG Gwilym
 ‘the least sympathetic (one) was Gwilym’

Identificatory copulars are discussed in chapter 3 and no more will be said about them here.

6.2 The equative degree phrase

Equative degree phrases are formed in one of three ways, as shown in detail in table 6.

Table 6. Equative degree phrases

Equative Particle	Adjective	Â	Nominal Phrase
<i>cyn</i>	<i>daled</i>	<i>â</i>	<i>Gwyn</i>
<i>mor</i>	<i>daled</i>	<i>â</i>	<i>Gwyn</i>
<i>mor</i>	<i>dal</i>	<i>â</i>	<i>Gwyn</i>

As table 6 shows, the linear syntax of the equative degree pattern is [Particle + Adjective + *â* + Nominal Phrase]. Inflected adjectives occur with the equative particle *cyn*, and, for some speakers in southern dialects, *mor*. Uninflected adjectives occur only with the particle *mor*, which is the case mainly in northern dialects.

Unlike comparative adjectives, equative degree patterns do not occur in the PredP of an ascriptive, but they can occur without predicational *yn*, as the examples in (61) show.

- 61 a. *mae Sioned (*yn) cyn daled â Gwyn.*
 be.PRES.3SG Sioned PRED as tall.EQ with Gwyn
 ‘Sioned is as tall as Gwyn.’
- b. *mae Gwilym (*yn) mor dalâ Gwyn.*
 be.PRES.3SG Gwilym PRED as tallwith Gwyn
 ‘Gwilym is as tall as Gwyn.’

These data show that the equative degree forms another basic copular phrase, the details of which are given in section 6.4.

6.3 Intensifying phrase

There is another use of *mor* which intensifies adjectives. There are three reasons for differentiating equative *mor* ‘as’ and intensifying *mor* ‘so’. First, equative *mor* is equivalent to the other equative particle *cyn*, which is used in inflected equatives, whereas intensifier *mor* is not.

- 62 a. *mae Gwen {mor gryf(ed) / cyn gryfed} â Megan.*
 be.PRES.3SG Gwen as strong as strong. with Megan
 ‘Gwen is as strong as Megan.’
- b. *mae Gwen {mor / (*cyn)} gryf.*
 be.PRES.3SG Gwen so strong
 ‘Gwen is so strong.’

Second, equative *mor* can be modified by *yr un* ‘the same’ (literally, ‘the one’) but intensifying *mor* cannot.

- 63 a. *mae* *'r tywydd yr un mor ofnadwy heddiw â ddoe.*
 be.PRES.3SG the weather the one as awful today with yesterday
 ‘the weather is just as windy today as yesterday.’
- b. *mae* *'r tywydd (*yr un) mor ofnadwy heddiw.*
 be.PRES.3SG the weather the one so awful today
 = ‘the weather is (*just as) so windy today.’

Third, intensifying *mor* can occur with a result clause while this is questionable with equative *mor*.

- 64 a. *mae* *'r tywydd mor wyntog heddiw fel bod rhaid cau 'r bont.*
 be.PRES.3SG the weather so windy today like be.PRES necessity close the bridge
 ‘the weather is so windy today (so) that the bridge has to be closed.’
- b. ?*mae* *'r tywydd mor wyntog heddiw â ddoe fel bod rhaid*
 be.PRES.3SG the weather as windytoday with yesterday like be.PRES necessity
cau 'r bont.
 close the bridge
 ? ‘the weather is as windy today as yesterday (so) that the bridge has to be closed.’

Jones B.M. (2009) includes *mor* ‘so’ in a list of words which can intensify adjectives: *go* ‘fairly’, *rhy* ‘too’, *tra* ‘quite’, and two English borrowings, *cweit* ‘quite’ and *reit* ‘right’. But there are grounds for distinguishing *mor* ‘so’ from the other intensifiers. All intensifiers except *mor* can modify the adjective in a predicational phrase, although *yn* can be omitted, as in (65a). *Mor* cannot occur in the predicational phrase as (65b) shows, but can occur immediately before the adjective without predicational *yn*, as (65c) show.

- 65 a. *mae* *Siôn (yn) o / rhy / dra / gweit / reit ofnus.*
 be.PRES.3SG Siôn PRED fairly too exceedingly quite right fearful
 ‘Siôn is fairly / too / exceedingly / quite / right fearful.’
- b. *mae* *Siôn yn (*mor) ofnus.*
 be.PRES.3SG Siôn PRED so fearful
 = ‘Siôn is so fearful.’
- c. *mae* *Siôn mor ofnus.*
 be.PRES.3SG Siôn so fearful
 ‘Siôn is so fearful.’

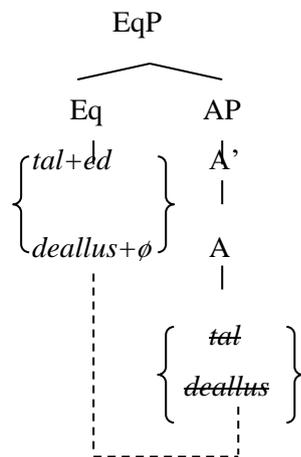
These data show that intensifying *mor* ‘so’ is syntactically different from the other intensifiers and along with the data in (62–64) provide grounds for claiming that phrases which contain intensifying *mor* ‘so’ provide another basic copular phrase.

6.4 Analysis

6.4.1 The equative degree phrase

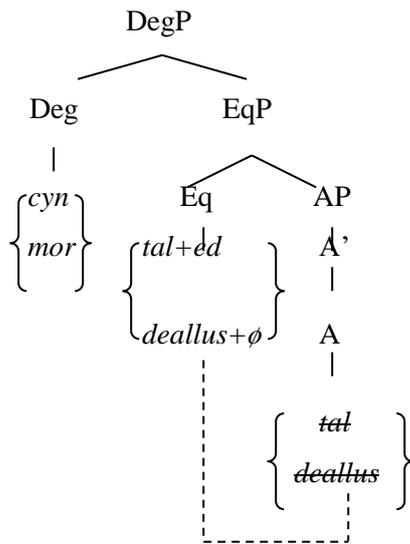
As shown earlier, the linear syntax of the equative degree pattern is [Particle + Adjective + *â* + Nominal Phrase]. Following Jones (2009), we shall claim that there is an Equative Phrase (EqP) which has a functional head which is filled by the equative inflection — *-ed* or zero — which has an adjective phrase as its complement. The adjective is raised into Eq, where it acquires the equative inflection — which is *-ed* in the case of some adjectives and zero in the case of others, as in (66).

66



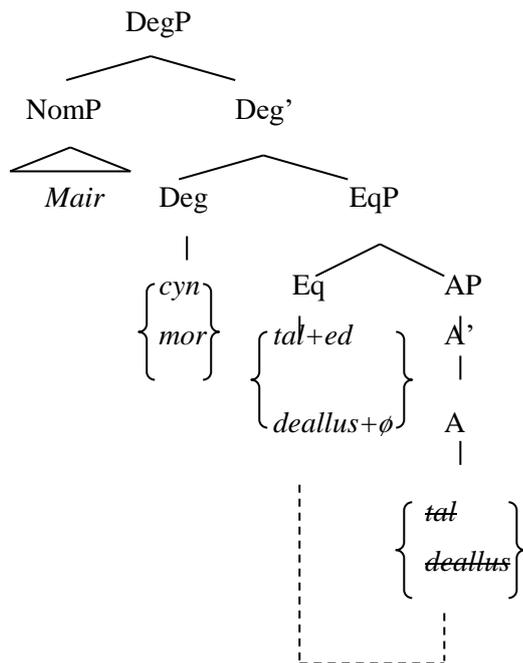
The equative particles are accounted for as degree words, which head a Degree Phrase (DegP). Deg selects EqP as its complement, as in (67). Adjectives which inflect for the equative degree license the equative particle *cyn* or *mor* and those which do not inflect license the equative particle *mor*.

67



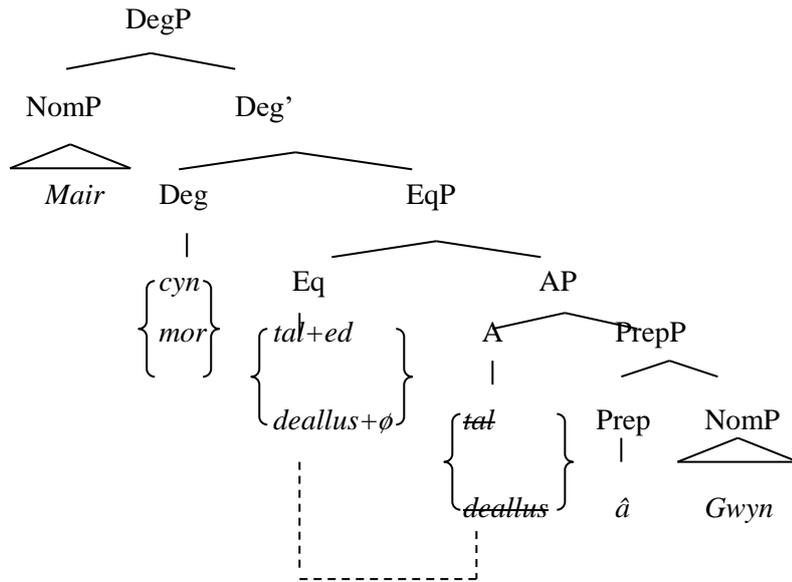
The equative degree phrase relates two entities by stating that the attribute which is indicated by the adjective can be ascribed equally to both entities. One of the entities in the equative relationship is in Spec DegP.

68



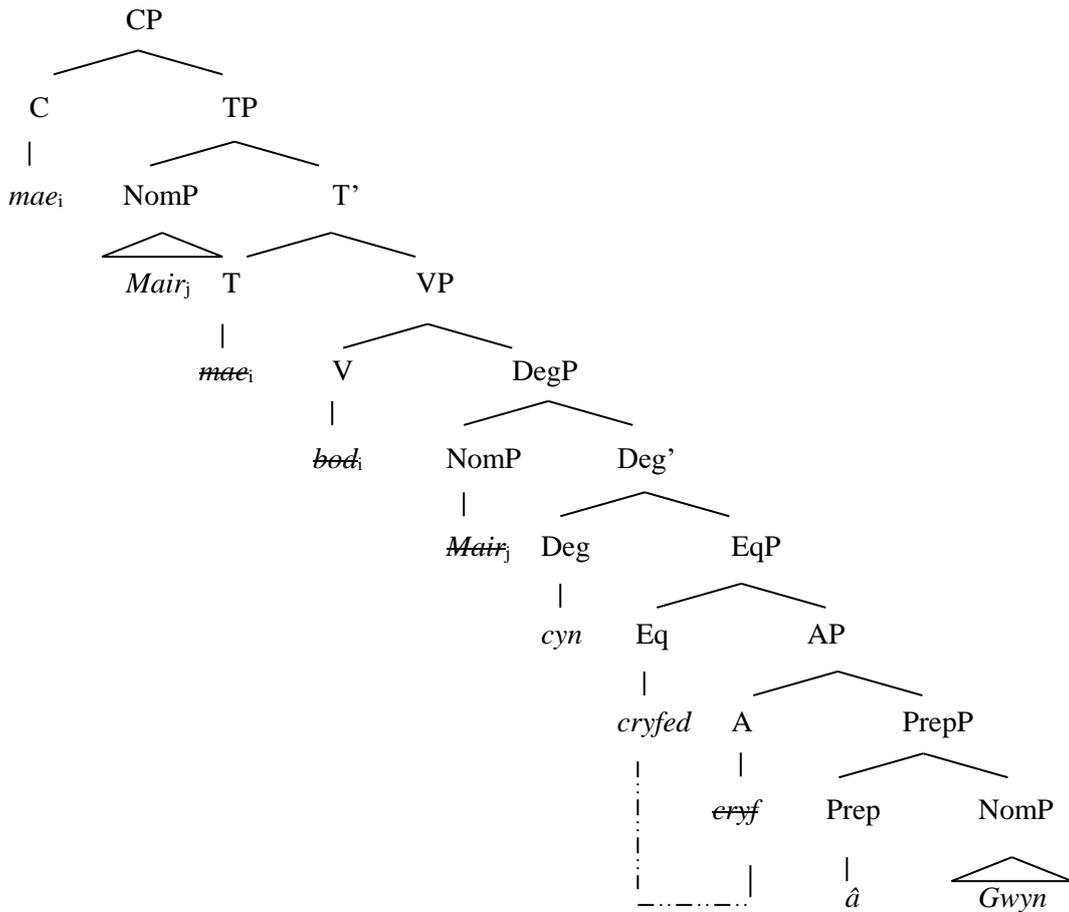
The other entity is a nominal phrase which merges with *â* 'with' to form a prepositional phrase, and this phrase occurs as the complement of the adjective.

69



We can therefore say that we have another basic copular phrase, DegP. This phrase undergoes standard mergers to form a finite copular clause. It merges with the copula to form a VP, which merges with TP, which merges with CP, as in (70).

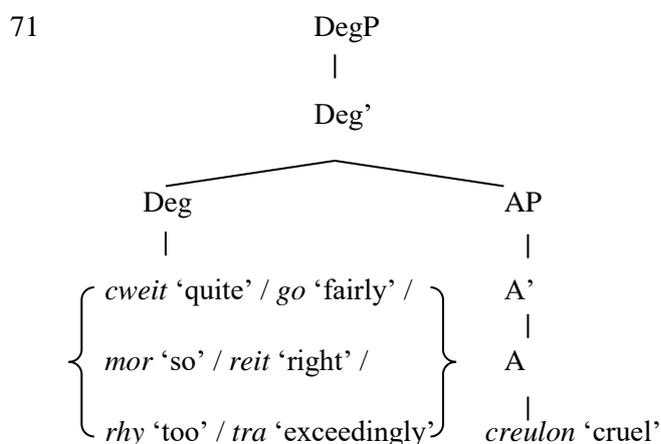
70



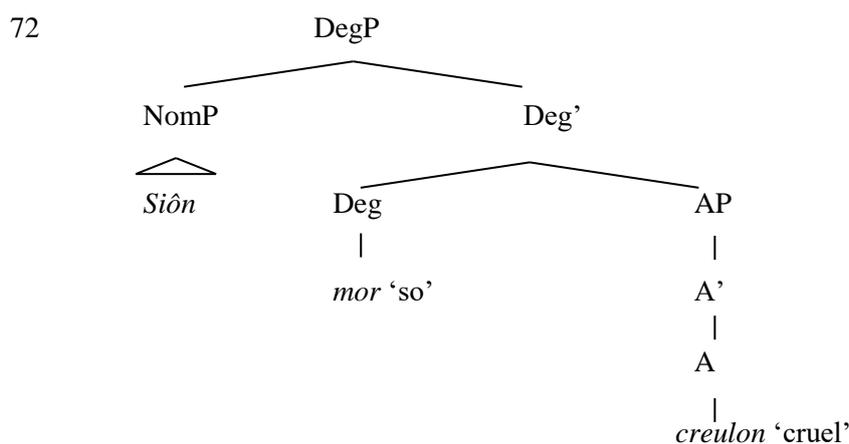
Standard movement rules raise the subject in DegP to Spec TP, and the copula to T and then to C, as shown in (70).

6.4.2 The intensifying degree phrase

In accounting for the intensifiers, we shall initially consider an analysis by Jones B.M. (2009). This analysis also uses DegP to account for intensifiers as well as equative particles, all of which are analysed as heads of DegP. But intensifiers and equative particles are differentiated by the complements that they can select. The equative particles have EqP as their complement, as in (67–69). The intensifiers have an adjective phrase (AP) as their complement, as in (71).

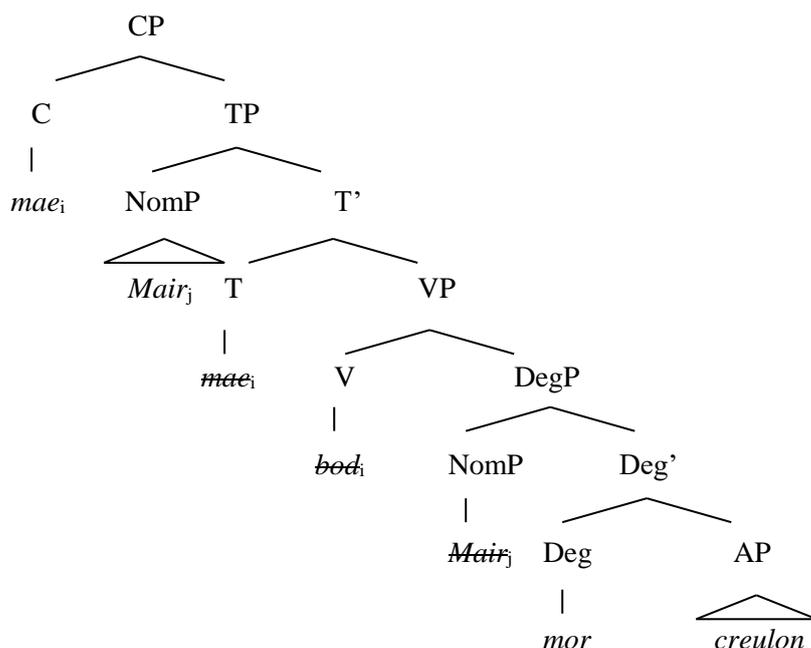


But there two problems with this approach. First, we have shown that intensifying *mor* 'so' is different to the other intensifiers and is the head of a basic copular phrase. We can remove the other intensifiers to produce the configuration in (72), which has a subject phrase in the specifier position.



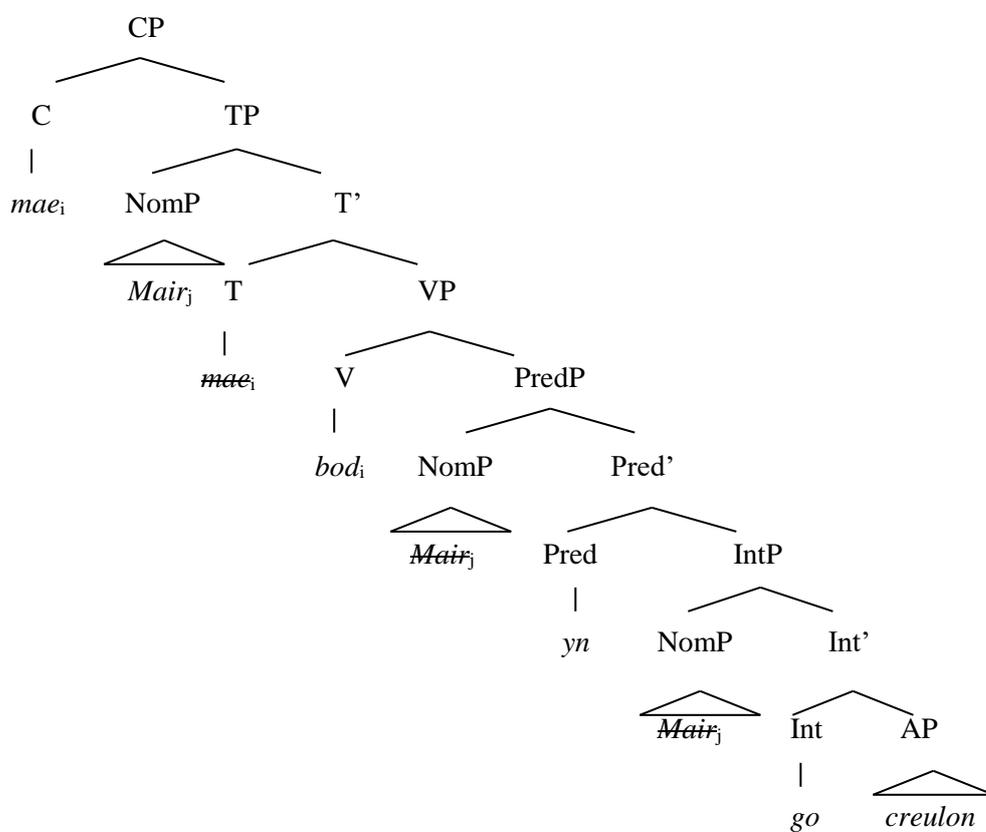
DegP undergoes the standard mergers of a basic copular phrase and standard movements as shown in (73).

73



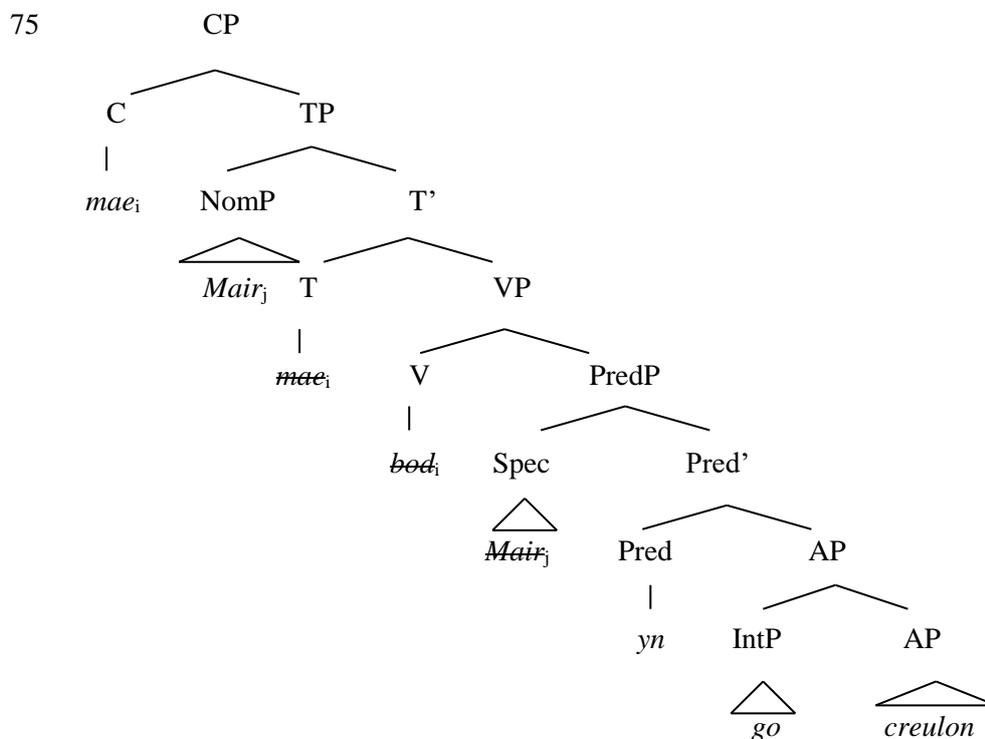
Second, there is a possibility that the other intensifiers are heads of some other intensifying phrase, IntP. We have seen in (65a) that they can occur within Pred, which would produce a configuration like (74), which contains *go* ‘fairly’ as a representative example.

74



But the subject is in Spec IntP and no subject is generated in Spec PredP although the phrase in Spec IntP can pass cyclically through Spec PredP. An empty specifier is not a major drawback as other

copular phrases have no specifiers as the analyses in chapter 8 show. But PredP in all other analyses has a filled specifier and the analysis in (74) is exceptional in this respect. We can consider another approach for the intensifiers *cweit*, *go*, *reit*, *rhy*, and *tra* which analyses them as adjuncts in AP as in (75).



This analysis allows PredP to consistently have a filled specifier and it also conveys the intensifying function of the *cweit*, *go*, *reit*, *rhy*, and *tra*.

In summary, the equative degree is accounted for by DegP, which has EqP as its complement. The intensifiers have two analyses. *Mor* is also accounted for by DegP, but it has an adjective phrase as its complement. *Cweit*, *go*, *reit*, *rhy*, and *tra* are treated as adjuncts in the AP which is the complement in PredP, and this allows a consistent account of PredP.

6.5 Adverbs of manner again

We see in section 5 that there are grounds for the view that PredP can occur as an adverb of manner. There are also grounds for the same view of DegP, as the examples in (76) and (77) show.

- 76 a. *mae Siôn wedi cysgu cyn drymed â Mair.*
 be.PRES.3SG Siôn PERF sleep as heavy.EQ with Mair
 ‘Siôn has slept as heavily as Mair.’

- b. *gododd Mair cyn gyflymed â phawb arall.*
 rise.PERV.3SG Mair as quick.EQ with everyone other
 ‘Mair got up as quickly as everyone else.’
- c. *dri-ith Gwen mor frwd â Siôn.*
 be.FUT.3SG Gwen as enthusiastic with Siôn
 ‘Gwen will try as enthusiastically as Siôn.’
- d. *ddreifiodd Ioan mor ofalus â 'i chwaer.*
 drive.PERV.3SG Ioan as careful with 3SG.M sister
 ‘Ioan drove as carefully as his sister.’
- 77 a. *mae Siôn wedi cysgu mor drwm.*
 be.PRES.3SG Siôn PERF sleep so heavy
 ‘Siôn has slept so heavily.’
- b. *gododd Mair mor gyflym.*
 rise.PERV.3SG Mair so quick
 ‘Mair got up so quickly.’
- c. *dri-ith Gwen mor frwd.*
 be.FUT.3SG Gwen so enthusiastic
 ‘Gwen will try so enthusiastically.’
- d. *ddreifiodd Ioan mor ofalus.*
 drive.PERV.3SG Ioan so careful
 ‘Ioan drove so carefully.’

Clearly there are similarities between PredP and DegP which allows them to share the distributional context of an adverb of manner. In the case of PredP, this is only possible when the complement of *yn* is an adjective, and it is also the case that adjective phrases occur in DegP. We shall not pursue these matters any further but leave them for detailed consideration in future research.

7 Semi-copulas

PredP can also be selected by lexical verbs. The examples in (78) have a nominal phrase in PredP and those in (79) have an adjective phrase in PredP. In all cases, the noun or adjective in PredP ascribes properties to the subject.

- 78 a. *mae Siôn wedi datblygu 'n athro profiadol.*
 be.PRES.3SG Siôn PERF develop PRED teacher experienced
 ‘Siôn has developed into an experienced teacher.’

- b. *mae Mair wedi dod yn ddoctor da.*
 be.PRES.3SG Mair PERF come PRED doctor good
 ‘Mair has become a good doctor.’
- 79 a. *mae 'r tywydd wedi troi 'n oer.*
 be.PRES.3SG the weather PERF turn PRED cold
 ‘the weather has turned cold.’
- b. *oedd Siân yn edrych yn hapus.*
 be.IMPF.3SG Siân PROG look PRED happy
 ‘Siân was looking happy.’
- c. *eith y coffi 'n oer.*
 go.FUT.3SG the coffee PRED cold
 ‘the coffee will get cold.’
- d. *swniodd stori Gwyn yn amheus.*
 sound.PERV.3SG story Gwyn PRED doubtful
 ‘Gwyn’s story sounded doubtful.’
- e. *mae 'r goeden wedi tyfu 'n fawr.*
 be.PRES.3SG the tree PERF grow PRED big
 ‘the tree has grown big.’

Although such verbs can have a PredP as their complements, they are not copulas as they clearly do not meet that part of the definition of a copula which says that it is meaningless (see section 1 of chapter 14). But they are sometimes referred to as semi-copulas or quasi-copulas.

PredP also occur in the pattern [NomP + PredP] following certain verbs and also the noun *eisiau* ‘want’ (this lexeme is spelled as *eisiau* in formal Welsh but in informal Welsh it variously occurs as *isio* in northern dialects, *isie* and *ise* both in southern dialects; it is discussed in chapter 6). In these examples, the noun or adjective in PredP ascribes properties to the entity in the NomP.

- 80 a. *mae hi 'n licio coffi 'n ddu.*
 be.PRES.3SG she PROG like coffee PRED black
 ‘she likes coffee black.’
- b. *mae ei chwaer o wedi paentio 'r ffenestri yn wyrdd.*
 be.PRES.3SG 3SG.M sister he PERF paint the windows PRED green
 ‘his sister has painted the windows green.’
- c. *dw i isio hwn yn syth.*
 be.PRES.1SG I want this PRED straight
 ‘I want this straight.’

- d. *ma' fe 'n moy'n y tywod yn wlyb.*
 be.PRES.3SG he PROG want the sand PRED wet
 'he wants the sand wet.'
- e. *ma'n nhw 'n galw fi 'n dwpsyn.*
 be.PRES.3PL they PROG call I PRED fool
 'they call me a fool.'
- f. *oedd yr athro wedi g'neud Siân yn swyddog.*
 be.IMPF.3SG the teacher PERF made Siân PRED officer
 'the teacher has made Siân a prefect.'
- g. *wyt ti isio Mair yn gadeirydd?*
 be.IMPF.3SG you.SG want Mair PRED chairperson
 'do you want Mair chairperson?'

Jones and Thomas (1977: 40–42, 252–264) and Thomas (1996: 409–413, 619) provide details of the verbs which can select PredP or [NomP + PredP]. Degree phrases — equative and intensifying — can also occur with semi-copular verbs as (81).

- 81 a. *mae Siôn yn edrych cyn cryfed â cheffyl.*
 be.PRES.3SG Siôn PROG look as strong.EQ with horse
 'Siôn looks as strong as a horse'
- b. *mae Mair yn edrych mor hapus.*
 be.PRES.3SG Mair PROG look so happy
 'Mair looks so happy'.

And we also get examples like those in (82).

- 82 a. *dw i 'n licio coffi cyn gryfed â sydd bosibl.*
 be.PRES.1SG I PROG like coffee as strong.EQ with be.PRES.3SG possible
 'I like coffee as strong as possible'
- b. *mae Gwilym wedi paenti 'r drws mor llachar.*
 be.PRES.3SG Gwilym PERF paint the door so bright
 'Gwilym has painted the door so bright'.

We shall leave a more detailed analysis of all these clauses to future research.

Chapter 3 Identificatory Copular Clauses

An identificatory (alternatively, equative) copular clause is illustrated in Welsh by the example in (1), and, for comparison, an ascriptive clause is given in (2).

- 1 *Siôn oedd y meddyg.*
Siôn be.IMPF.3SG the doctor
'the doctor was Siôn.'
- 2 *oedd Siôn yn feddyg.*
be.IMPF.3SG Siôn PRED doctor
'Siôn was a doctor.'

Higgins' (1979) taxonomy of copular clauses gives several semantic readings to clauses whose linear syntax is broadly similar to (1), as is discussed in section 4. However, for convenience of exposition, we shall use the term identificatory as a general label for all Welsh examples whose syntax is similar to (1) (details of what is meant by 'similar' emerge as the account progresses).

In his survey of 410 languages, Stassen (1997: 105) says that languages whose ascriptives and identificatory clauses have similar syntax are in the majority and that languages whose ascriptives and identificatory clauses have different syntax are in the minority. English, whose ascriptives and identificatory clauses have similar linear syntax as in *John is a teacher* and *John is the teacher*, is in the majority, as are French, German, Italian, and Spanish, for example. We shall show in this study that the syntax of ascriptives and identificatory clauses is different in Welsh and on this basis Welsh is in the minority, as are Polish, Thai, Fijian, Crow, and Scottish Gaelic according to Stassen (1997: 104–120). Pustet (2005: 30) says that identificatory clauses are structurally more complex than ascriptives. We shall delay discussion on this latter point until section 5.4. Pustet (2005: 30) and Stassen (1997: 112) say that ascriptives are more frequent in discourse than identificatory clauses. We shall not consider this matter here.

The first four sections of this chapter provide detailed descriptive accounts. Section 1 gives a preliminary description of the linear syntax of identificatory clauses in Welsh. Section 2 details the types of phrases which can occur in identificatory clauses. Section 3 establishes the possibilities of word order in identificatory clauses. Section 4 outlines the types of nominal phrases that can occur in identificatory clauses, which further develops the account of their syntax but also contributes to a discussion of their semantics. The final section, section 5, presents a formal analysis of Welsh identificatory clauses which attempts to account for the descriptive details.

1 A preliminary view: linear syntax

Identificatory clauses have verb-second order — the finite copula occurs in second position, as in (1), and is flanked by two phrases, giving [XP + Verb + XP].

There are three reasons for arguing that the post-copular constituent, *y meddyg* ‘the doctor’ in the identificatory clause in (1), is in surface subject position. First, the subject in finite clauses in Welsh immediately follows the tensed form of the verb, as the account in section 2.3 of chapter 1 shows. On this basis, the post-copular constituent in an identificatory copular clause is in subject position. Second, in finite clauses the verb agrees with the number and person features of a pronominal subject, as the examples in (3) show.

- 3 a. *wela' i 'r gêm.*
 see.FUT.1SG I the game
 ‘I’ll see the game.’
- b. *weli di 'r gêm.*
 see.FUT.2SG you.SG the game
 ‘you’ll see the game.’
- c. *welith o 'r gêm.*
 see.FUT.3SG he the game
 ‘he’ll see the game.’
- d. *welwn ni 'r gêm.*
 see.FUT.1PL we the game
 ‘we’ll see the game.’
- e. *welwch chi 'r gêm.*
 see.FUT.2PL you.PL the game
 ‘you’ll see the game.’
- f. *welan nhw 'r gêm.*
 see.FUT.3PL they the game
 ‘they’ll see the game.’

Such agreement is seen between the finite form of *bod* and a post-copular pronoun in identificatory clauses.

- 4 a. *yr athro oeddwn i.*
 the teacher be.IMPF.1SG I
 ‘I was the teacher.’

- b. *yr athro oeddet ti.*
 the teacher be.IMPF.2SG you.SG
 ‘you were the teacher.’
- c. *yr athro oedd o.*
 the teacher be.IMPF.3SG he
 ‘he was the teacher.’
- d. *yr athrawon oedden ni.*
 the teachers be.IMPF.1PL we
 ‘we were the teachers.’
- e. *yr athro oeddech chi.*
 the teacher be.IMPF.2PL you.PL
 ‘you were the teacher.’
- f. *yr athrawon oedden nhw.*
 the teachers be.IMPF.3PL they
 ‘they were the teachers.’

In contrast, no agreement takes place with pronouns which occur in pre-copular position in identificatory clauses.

- 5 a. *fi / ti / fo oedd yr athro.*
 I / you.SG / he be.IMPF.3SG the teacher
 ‘the teacher was me / you / him.’
- b. *ni / chi / nhw oedd yr athrawon.*
 we / you.PL / they be.IMPF.3SG the teachers
 ‘the teachers were us / you / them.’

On this basis, the post-copula phrase in identificatory copulars is in subject position. Third, subject pronouns following finite verbs can be dropped. Pro-drop is a prominent stylistic feature of formal Welsh. It occurs on a much more limited scale in informal Welsh. Personal pronouns in post-copular position in identificatory clauses can be dropped as in (6a) but not those in pre-copular position as in (6b).

- 6 a. *y cadeirydd oedd (e).*
 the chairperson be.IMPF.3SG (he)
 ‘(he) was the chairman.’

- b. **(fe) oedd y cadeirydd.*
 he be.IMPF.3SG the chairman
 ‘the chairman was (he).’

These facts of word order, agreement, and pro-drop can be explained by interpreting the post-copular constituent as being in surface subject position. It is emphasised that we are claiming that the post-copula phrase is in subject position and is not necessarily a subject in a functional sense. These matters are discussed in detail in 5.2.

At this stage, the grammatical status of the initial phrase cannot be identified. It might be reasonable to assume that it is the complement. Welsh reference grammars analyse the initial phrase as a complement. But we shall say more about its grammatical status in 5.2. In the meantime, we shall simply refer to it as the pre-copula phrase.

This preliminary analysis of identificatory clauses shows that they have the following syntactic characteristics.

- Verb-second order. Ascriptives have verb-first order, that is, normal word order.
- The post-copular position is the subject position
- The complement is not straightforward to identify in terms of linear syntax at this stage.

2 Types of phrases

Maintaining a nominal phrase (again using this term loosely) in pre-copular position, another nominal phrase, a verb phrase, *wh*-clause, prepositional phrase, a complement clause, or an *i*-clause can occur in post-copular position.

- 7 a. *y r athro oedd Siôn.*
 the teacher be.IMPF.3SG Siôn
 ‘the teacher was Siôn.’
- b. *y dasg anoddaf oedd casglu arian.*
 the hardest task be.IMPF.3SG collect money
 ‘the hardest task was to collect money.’
- c. *y car oedd beth oedd yn achosi probleme.*
 the car be.IMPF.3SG what be.IMPF.3SG PROG cause problems
 ‘the car was what was causing problems.’

- d. *yr amsergore oedd yn y bore.*
 the best time be.IMPF.3SG in the morning
 ‘the best time was in the morning.’
- e. *y broblem oedd bod arian yn brin.*
 the problem be.IMPF.3SG be.IMPF money PRED scarce
 ‘the problem was that money was scarce.’
- f. *y peth mawr oedd i Siôn gyrraedd yn gynnar.*
 the thing big be.IMPF.3SG for Siôn arrive PRED early
 ‘the big thing was for Siôn to arrive early.’

Maintaining a nominal phrase in post-copular position all these phrases can occur in pre-copular position except for complement clauses and *i*-clauses, which are excluded.

- 8 a. *Siôn oedd yr athro.*
 Siôn be.IMPF.3SG the teacher
 ‘Siôn was the teacher.’
- b. *casglu arian oedd y dasg anoddaf.*
 collect money be.IMPF.3SG the task hardest
 ‘collecting money was the hardest task.’
- c. *beth oedd yn achosi probleme oedd y car.*
 what be.IMPF.3SG PROG cause problems be.IMPF.3SG the car
 ‘what was causing problems was the car.’
- d. *yn y bore oedd yr amser gore.*
 in the morning be.IMPF.3SG the time best
 ‘in the morning was the best time.’
- e. **bod arian yn brin oedd y broblem.*
 be.IMPF money PRED scarce be.IMPF.3SG the problem
 ‘that money was scarce was the problem.’
- f. **i Siôn gyrraedd yn gynnar oedd y peth mawr.*
 for Siôn arrive PRED early be.IMPF.3SG the thing big
 ‘for Siôn to arrive early was the big thing.’

Other combinations of phrases which do not involve a nominal phrase in either pre-copular position or post-copular position are illustrated by the examples in (9).

- 9 a. *torri coed oedd beth oedd John yn 'i neud.*
 cut trees be.IMPF.3SG what be.IMPF.3SG John PROG 3SG.M do
 ‘chop trees was what John did.’

- b. *beth oedd Gwen yn 'i neud oedd trio datod y rhaff.*
 what be.IMPF.3SG Gwen PROG 3SG.M do be.IMPF.3SG try untie the rope
 ‘what Gwen was trying to do was untie the rope.’
- c. *beth oedd yn poeni pawb oedd bod Mair yn ymddeol.*
 what be.IMPF.3SG PROG worry everyone be.IMPF.3SG be.IMPF Mair PROG retire
 ‘what was worrying everyone was that Mair was retiring.’
- d. *beth oedd pawb isio oedd i Siôn dderbyn y swydd.*
 what be.IMPF.3SG everyone want be.IMPF.3SG for Siôn accept the job
 ‘what everyone wanted was for Siôn to accept the job.’
- e. *beth oeddwn i isio oedd beth oedd hi yn 'i ga'l.*
 what be.IMPF.1SG I want be.IMPF.3SG what be.IMPF.3SG she PROG 3SG.M have
 what I wanted was what she was having.’
- f. *lle oedd Siôn yn byw oedd yn y dre.*
 where be.IMPF.3SG Siôn PROG live be.IMPF.3SG in the town
 ‘where Siôn lived was in town.’
- g. *yn y bore oedd pryd oedd y cwch yn cyrraedd.*
 in the morning be.IMPF.3SG when be.IMPF.3SG the boat PROG arrive
 ‘in the morning was when the boat arrived.’
- h. **bod Mair yn ymddeol oedd be oedd yn poeni pawb.*
 be.IMPF Mair PROG retire be.IMPF.3SG what be.IMPF.3SG PROG worry everyone
 ‘that Mair was retiring was what was worrying everyone.’
- i. **i Siôn dderbyn y swydd oedd beth oedd pawb isio .*
 for Siôn accept the job be.IMPF.3SG what be.IMPF.3SG everyone want
 ‘for Siôn to accept the job was what everyone wanted

The possibilities in (9) are respectively [VP + Verb + *Wh*-clause], [*Wh*-clause + Verb + VP], [*Wh*-clause + Verb + Complement clause], [*Wh*-clause + Verb + *I*-clause], [*Wh*-clause + Verb + *Wh*-clause], [*Wh*-clause + Verb + PrepP], and [PrepP + Verb + *Wh*-clause].¹⁸ Examples (9c–d) show that complement clauses and *i*-clauses occur in subject position in identificatory clauses. Examples (9h–i) show that they do not occur in pre-copular position. These clauses do not occur in subject position in ascriptives but can occur in extraposed position, as examples in (17–21) in chapter 2 show.¹⁹

APs are excluded from post-copular position as in (10), but they seem to occur in pre-copular position as in (11).

- 10 a. **yr athro oedd tal.*
 the teacher be.IMPF.3SG tall
 ‘the teacher was tall.’
- b. **Siôn oedd siwr o ’i ffeithiau.*
 Siôn be.IMPF.3SG sure of 3SG.M facts
 ‘Siôn was sure of his facts.’
- c. **Mair oedd ffeind wrth bawb.*
 Mair be.IMPF.3SG nice to everyone
 ‘Mair was nice to everyone.’
- 11 a. *tal oedd yr athro.*
 tall be.IMPF.3SG the teacher
 ‘tall was the teacher.’
- b. *siwr o ’i ffeithiau oedd Siôn.*
 sure of 3SG.M facts be.IMPF.3SG Siôn
 ‘sure of his facts was Siôn.’
- c. *ffeind wrth bawb oedd Mair.*
 nice to everyone be.IMPF.3SG Mair
 ‘Mair was nice to everyone.’

But it is argued in section 3.2 that the examples in (11) are not identificatory clauses proper but are fronted-order ascriptives, which are related respectively to the normal-order clauses *oedd yr athro yn dal* ‘the teacher was tall’, *oedd Siôn yn siwr o ’i ffeithiau* ‘Siôn was sure of his facts’, and *oedd Mair yn ffeind wrth bawb* ‘Mair was nice to everyone’. Consequently, it is claimed that adjective phrases do not occur in pre-copular or post-copular position in identificatory clauses proper.

The phrases which occur in identificatory clauses are given in table 7. Nominal phrases and *wh*-clauses can occur either in pre-copular position or post-copular position and can occur with all other phrases on the other flank. Verb phrases and Prepositional phrases can likewise occur in pre-copular position and post-copular position but only if nominal phrases and *wh*-clauses can co-occur on the other flank.²⁰ Complement clauses and *i*-clauses are restricted to post-copular position and, again, only if nominal phrases and *wh*-clauses occur on the other flank. Complement clauses and *i*-clauses are constrained positionally in both ascriptives and identificatory clauses. But the constraint involves different positions: in ascriptives, these clauses are restricted to extraposed position, while, in identificatory clauses, they are restricted to post-copular position, which, as we have seen, is the surface subject position.

Table 7. Phrases in identificatory copular clauses
(the cells indicate co-occurrences of these phrases)

		Post-copular					
		NomP	Wh-Clause	VP	PrepP	Complement clause	I-clause
Pre-copular	NomP	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
	Wh-clause	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
	VP	✓	✓	×	×	×	×
	PrepP	✓	✓	×	×	×	×

We have the striking contrast that complement clauses and *i*-clauses cannot occur in subject position in ascriptives but can occur in subject position in identificatory clauses. We shall discuss this difference in greater detail in the formal analysis in section 5.

3 Fronting

This section argues that the verb-second order of identificatory clauses can be explained by analysing them as fronted-order clauses. This section also shows that a distinction should be made between identificatory clauses and fronted-order ascriptives.

3.1 Fronting in identificatory clauses

There are five points which suggest that identificatory copulars are fronted-order clauses. First, the finite verb is in second position, which, as we have seen, is typical of fronted-order clauses. Second, in the informal style of Welsh, fronted-order clauses can be tagged with *ynte* / *yntefe*²¹ (positive) or *nage* (negative) as in (12). The same tags also occur in identificatory copulars as in (13), but not in normal-order clauses as in (14).

12 a. *Siôn welodd y gem, {ynte / yntefe}?*

Siôn see.PERV.3SG the game isn't it

'it was Siôn who saw the game, wasn't it?'

b. *dim Siôn welodd y gem, nage?*

NEG *Siôn* saw.PERV.3SG the game no

'it wasn't Siôn who saw the game, was it?'

- 13 a. *yr athro oedd Siôn, {ynte / yntefe}?*
 the teacher be.IMPF.3SG Siôn isn't it
 'the teacher is Siôn, isn't he?'
- b. *dim yr athro oedd Siôn, nage?*
 NEG the teacher be.IMPF.3SG Siôn no
 'it's not the teacher who is Siôn, is it?'
- 14 a. *welodd Siôn y gêm, {yndo / (*yntefe)}?*
 see.PERV.3SG Siôn the game didn't isn't it
 'Siôn saw the game, didn't he?'
- b. *welodd Siôn ddim o'r gêm, {naddo / (*nage)}*
 see.PERV.3SG Siôn NEG of the game didn't isn't it
 'Siôn didn't see the game, did he?'

Third, various focus particles occur initially in a fronted clause. In the informal style of Welsh, the negative focus particles *dim / nage* ²² can occur before the fronted phrase, as in (15a). This is also possible in an identificatory copular as (15b) shows, but not in a normal-order clause as (15c) shows.

- 15 a. *dim / nage Siôn agorodd y drws.*
 NEG Siôn open.PERV.3SG the door
 'it wasn't Siôn who opened the door.'
- b. *dim / nage Siôn oedd yr athro.*
 NEG Siôn be.IMPF.3SG the teacher
 'the teacher wasn't Siôn.'
- c. *(*dim / nage) welodd Siôn y gêm.*
 NEG see.PERV.3SG Siôn the game
 'Siôn didn't see the game.'

In informal Welsh in southern dialects, the interrogative focus particle *efe* (also realized as *ife*) can occur before the fronted phrase as in (16a). This is what happens in identificatory copulars in southern dialects as (16b) shows, but not in normal-order clauses as (16c) shows. No question particle occurs in northern dialects.

- 16 a. *efe Siôn agorodd y drws.*
 Q Siôn open.PERV.3SG the door
 'was it Siôn who opened the door.'
- b. *efe Siôn oedd yr athro.*
 Q Siôn be.IMPF.3SG the teacher
 'was the teacher Siôn?'

- c. **efe welodd Siôn y gêm?*
 Q see.PERV.3SG Siôn the game
 ‘did Siôn see the game?’

In informal Welsh, the declarative focus particle *ma / taw / na* ²³ can occur before the fronted phrase in complement clauses as shown in (17a). This is what happens in identificatory copulars as (17b) shows, but not in normal-order clauses as (17c) shows.

- 17 a. *hwyrach ma / taw / na Siôn agorodd y drws.*
 perhaps DEC Siôn open.PERV.3SG the door
 ‘perhaps it was Siôn who opened the door.’
- b. *hwyrach ma / taw / na Siôn oedd yr athro.*
 perhaps DEC Siôn be.IMPF.3SG the teacher
 ‘perhaps the teacher was Siôn.’
- c. *hwyrach (*ma / taw / na) welith Siôn y gêm.*
 perhaps DEC see.FUT.3SG Siôn the game
 ‘perhaps Siôn will see the game.’

Fourth, there is a general constraint in Welsh that only one phrase can be fronted, as the examples in (18–20) show.

- 18 a. *Siân welodd y gêm.*
 Siân see.PERV.3SG the game
 ‘Siân saw the game.’
- b. *y gêm welodd Siân.*
 the game see.PERV.3SG Siân
 ‘it was the game that Siân saw.’
- c. **y gêm Siân welodd.*
 the game Siân see.PERV.3SG
 = ‘it was the game Siân saw.’
- d. **Siân y gêm welodd.*
 Siân the game see.PERV.3SG
 = ‘It was Siân the game saw.’
- 19 a. *Gwilym oedd yn gwrando ar y radio.*
 Gwilym be.IMPF.3SG PROG listen on the radio
 ‘it was Gwilym who was listening to the radio.’

- b. *ar y radio oedd Gwilym yn gwrando.*
 on the radio be.IMPF.3SG Gwilym PROG listen
 ‘it was the radio that Gwilym was listening to.’
- c. **ar y radio Gwilym oedd yn gwrando.*
 on the radio Gwilym be.IMPF.3SG PROG listen
 = ‘it was the radio Gwilym was listening to.’
- d. **Gwilym ar y radio oedd yn gwrando.*
 Gwilym on the radio be.IMPF.3SG PROG listen
 = ‘it was Gwilym the radio was listening to.’
- 20 a. *oedd Siôn yn athro.*
 be.IMPF.3SG Siôn PROG teacher
 ‘Siôn was a teacher.’
- b. *athro oedd Siôn.*
 teacher be.IMPF.3SG Siôn
 = ‘a teacher was Siôn.’
- c. **Siôn athro oedd.*
 Siôn teacher be.IMPF.3SG
 = ‘Siôn a teacher was.’
- d. **athro Siôn oedd.*
 teacher Siôn be.IMPF.3SG
 ‘a teacher Siôn was.’

Likewise, in identificatory clauses, multiple phrases do not occur in initial position, as examples (21–22) show.²⁴

- 21 a. *yr athro oedd Siôn*
 the teacher be.IMPF.3SG Siôn
 ‘Siôn was the teacher.’
- b. **Siôn yr athro oedd.*
 Siôn the teacher be.IMPF.3SG
 = ‘Siôn the teacher was.’
- 22 a. *Siôn oedd yr athro.*
 Siôn be.IMPF.3SG the teacher
 ‘the teacher was Siôn.’
- b. **yr athro Siôn oedd*
 the teacher Siôn be.IMPF.3SG
 = ‘the teacher Siôn was.’

Fifth, in fronted-order clauses, anaphors can precede their antecedents as the example in (23a). The same also occurs in identificatory clauses, as example (23b) shows, but not in normal-order clauses as the example in (23c) shows. In the latter they must follow their antecedents as the example in (23d) shows.

- 23 a. *ei lyfr ei hunan oedd Siôn yn ei licio.*
 3SG.M book 3SG.M self be.IMPF.3SG Siôn PROG 3SG.M like
 ‘it was his own book that Siôn liked.’
- b. *ei elyn pennaf ei hun oedd Siôn.*
 3SG.M enemy chief 3SG.M self be.IMPF.3SG Siôn
 ‘his own worst enemy is Siôn.’
- c. **oedd ei hunan yn helpu Siôn.*
 be.IMPF.3SG 3SG.M self PROG help Siôn
 ‘himself was helping Siôn.’
- d. *oedd Siôn yn helpu ei hunan.*
 be.IMPF.3SG Siôn PROG help 3SG.M self
 ‘Siôn was helping himself.’

This observation about anaphors in identificatory clauses, and the example in (23b), is taken from Rouveret (1996: 148–149).

These facts about verb-second order, tags, focus particles, multiple fronting, and anaphors can be explained by interpreting identificatory copular clauses as fronted-order clauses.

An important point is that other fronted-order clauses have normal-order versions, including fronted ascriptives, as shown in (24).

- 24 a. *athro oedd Siôn.*
 teacher be.IMPF.3SG Siôn
 ‘a teacher is Siôn.’
- b. *oedd Siôn yn athro.*
 be.IMPF.3SG Siôn PRED teacher
 ‘Siôn is a teacher.’
- 25 a. *Siôn welodd y gem.*
 Siôn see.PERV.3SG the game
 ‘it was Siôn who saw the game.’

- b. *welodd Siôn y gem.*
 see.PERV.3SG Siôn the game
 ‘Siôn saw the game.’
- 26 a. *yn y gweithdy mae Siôn.*
 in the workshop be.PRES.3SG Siôn
 ‘in the workshop Siôn is.’
- b. *mae Siôn yn y gweithdy.*
 be.PRES.3SG Siôn in the workshop
 ‘Siôn is in the workshop.’

For such clauses, the assignment of focus is an option. But once focus is assigned, fronting is obligatory.

²⁵ But identificatory clauses do not have normal-order versions.

- 27 a. *Siôn oedd yr athro.*
 Siôn be.IMPF.3SG the teacher
 ‘the teacher was Siôn.’
- b. **oedd yr athro Siôn.*
 be.IMPF.3SG the teacher Siôn
 ‘the teacher was Siôn.’
- c. **oedd Siôn yr athro.*
 be.IMPF.3SG Siôn the teacher
 ‘Siôn was the teacher.’

Given that we have taken focus to be the factor which causes fronting (as outlined in chapter 1), we must assume that the assignment of focus, and the consequence of fronted order, is obligatory in identificatory clauses. This can then explain why identificatory clauses are verb-second clauses. ²⁶

However, it is not strictly true of all speakers to say that identificatory clauses do not have normal-order analogues. Examples like (28a) are heard from some speakers in informal Welsh, which have verb-first order.

- 28 a. *doedd hi ddim y gore.*
 NEG.be.IMPF.3SG she NEG the best
 ‘she was not the best.’
- b. *dim / nage y gore oedd hi.*
 NEG the best be.IMPF.3SG she
 ‘she was not the best.’

- c. *nid y gore oedd hi.*
 NEG the best be.IMPF.3SG she
 ‘she was not the best.’
- d. **oedd hi y gore.*
 be.IMPF.3SG she the best
 ‘she was the best.’
- e. *dw i ddim yn meddwl bod Anwen yr un hawdda*
 be.PRES.1SG I NEG PROG think be.PRES Anwen the one easiest
 ‘I don’t think that Anwen is the easiest’

Some speakers in informal Welsh would prefer an identificatory pattern as in (28b) and this version is necessary in formal Welsh as in (28c). It is difficult to assess the stylistic status of examples like (28a). There is a possibility that some of today’s bilingual speakers can produce normal-order identificatory clauses because of the influence of English through language contact. But there may also be factors internal to Welsh at work. It would help to know how old examples like (28a) are, but this information is not known to me. Further, the fact that (28a) is a negative clause is relevant, as positive versions do not occur, as (28d) shows. The influence of negation is also seen in examples like (28e), which contain a positive identificatory clause but which is the complement in a negative matrix clause. Overall, a reasonable conclusion is that identificatory copulars are fronted-order clauses, but some speakers can use normal-order clauses in negative contexts in vernacular Welsh.

Chapters 11 and 13 show that the copular form *sydd* can occur in ascriptive clauses, or any other clause which contains the present tense of *bod* ‘be’, when the subject is fronted. But *sydd* does not occur in identificatory clauses, as the examples in (29) show.

- 29 a. **Siôn sydd yr athro.*
 Siôn be.PRES.3SG the teacher
 ‘Siôn is the teacher.’
- b. **yr athro sydd Siôn.*
 the teacher be.PRES.3SG Siôn
 ‘the teacher is Siôn.’

On this basis, there is *prima facie* evidence that the subject is not fronted in identificatory clauses. But this may not be strictly true, as we shall see in 5.2.

There is an alternative ordering in identificatory clauses which sees the apparent transposition of the two phrases which are pre- and post-copular. We have example (30a) and example (30b).

- 30 a. *y meddyg oedd Siôn.*
 the doctor be.IMPF.3SG Siôn
 ‘Siôn was the doctor.’
- b. *Siôn oedd y meddyg.*
 Siôn be.IMPF.3SG the doctor
 ‘the doctor was Siôn.’

We also have the examples in (7a–d) and (8a–d). However, some types of phrases are restricted either to pre-copular position or post-copular position and transposition is not possible. This is so of complement clauses and *i*-clauses as a comparison of 7(e–f) and 8(e–f) shows. Further, a comparison of examples in (39, 41, 43) with the examples in (40, 42, 44) shows that apparent transposition is either ill-formed or doubtful when the pre-copula phrase is an indefinite nominal phrase. We shall delay a close examination of apparent transposition until section 5.2.

We now know that the post-copula phrase is in subject position and that the pre-copula phrase is a fronted phrase. We shall attempt a detailed analysis of the grammatical status of the two phrases within the framework of a more formal analysis in 5.2.

3.2 Identificatory clauses and fronted ascriptives

A fronted ascriptive which has a nominal phrase in fronted position is very similar to an identificatory copular. Example (31a) is a normal-order ascriptive and (31b) is a fronted-order version. Example (31c) is an identificatory clause.

- 31 a. *oedd Siôn yn athro ffiseg.*
 be.IMPF.3SG Siôn PRED teacher physics
 ‘Siôn was a physics teacher.’
- b. *athro ffiseg oedd Siôn.*
 teacher physics be.IMPF.3SG Siôn
 ‘a physics teacher was Siôn.’
- c. *yr athro ffiseg oedd Siôn.*
 the teacher physics be.IMPF.3SG Siôn
 ‘the physics teacher was Siôn.’

A comparison of the fronted ascriptive in (31b) and the identificatory in (31c) shows three similarities. First, they share verb-second word order, [XP + Verb + XP]. Second, they both use *y*-forms of *bod* for the 3rd person of the present tense (there is a detailed account of *y*-forms from which we can understand their diagnostic properties in chapter 13). Third, the pronominal subject of a fronted ascriptive exhibits

the same characteristics as the pronominal subject of an identificatory discussed above; the verb agrees with it and it can be dropped.

- 32 a. *athro ffiseg {oedd o / oeddet ti}*.
 teacher physics be.IMPF.3SG he be.IMPF.2SG you.SG
 = ‘a physics teacher {was he / were you}.’
- b. *athro ffiseg {oedd – / oeddet –}*.
 teacher physics be.IMPF.3SG – be.IMPF.2SG –
 = ‘a physics teacher {was he / were you}.’
- 33 a. *yr athro ffiseg {oedd o / oeddet ti}*.
 the teacher physics be.IMPF.3SG he be.IMPF.2SG you.SG
 ‘the physics teacher {was he / were you}.’
- b. *yr athro ffiseg {oedd – / oeddet –}*.
 the teacher physics be.IMPF.3SG – be.IMPF.2SG –
 ‘the physics teacher {was he / were you}.’

There are, however, four differences between identificatory clauses and fronted ascriptives. First, a fronted ascriptive has a version of normal word-order while an identificatory clause does not.

- 34 a. *athro ffiseg oedd Siôn*.
 teacher physics be.IMPF.3SG Siôn
 ‘a physics teacher was Siôn.’
- b. *oedd Siôn yn athro ffiseg*.
 be.IMPF.3SG Siôn PRED teacher physics
 ‘Siôn was a physics teacher.’
- 35 a. *yr athro ffiseg oedd Siôn*.
 the teacher physics be.IMPF.3SG Siôn
 ‘the physics teacher was Siôn.’
- b. **oedd Siôn yr athro ffiseg*.
 be.IMPF.3SG Siôn the teacher physics
 ‘Siôn was the physics teacher.’

Second, some identificatory clauses (see the discussion of the examples in (30)) allow apparent transposition of the two nominal phrases while a fronted ascriptive does not.

- 36 a. *athro ffiseg oedd Siôn*.
 teacher physics be.IMPF.3SG Siôn
 ‘a physics teacher was Siôn.’

- b. **Siôn oedd athro ffiseg.*
 Siôn be.IMPF.3SG teacher physics
 ‘Siôn was a physics teacher.’
- 37 a. *yr athro ffiseg oedd Siôn.*
 the teacher physics be.IMPF.3SG Siôn
 ‘the physics teacher ws Siôn.’
- b. *Siôn oedd yr athro ffiseg.*
 Siôn be.IMPF.3SG the teacher physics
 ‘Siôn was the physics teacher.’

Third, a comparison of section 2 in this chapter and section 2 in chapter 2 shows that different sorts of phrases are involved in identificatory clauses and ascriptives. Fourth, a comparison of section 4 in this chapter and section 3 in chapter 2 shows that different types of nominal phrases are distributed differently in the syntax of identificatory clauses and ascriptives. Fifth, section 4 in this chapter and section 3 in chapter 2 show that identificatory clauses and ascriptives have different semantics. We can explain all these differences by maintaining that ascriptives and identificatory clauses have different syntax (a comparison of ascriptives and identificatory clauses is also undertaken in section 6 of chapter 13). These are crucial matters in the discussion of identificatory clauses and ascriptives which, if not recognised, obstruct gaining an appreciation of the structure of identificatory clauses. These differences are not addressed in traditional accounts of Welsh and there is a tendency to treat identificatory clauses and fronted ascriptives as identical patterns, that is, as ‘copular’ clauses, in the traditional use of the term (see section 7 of chapter 14).

3.3 Summary

Identificatory copular clauses have only fronted order (although there are exceptions in negative contexts in vernacular Welsh). Some identificatory clauses allow apparent transposition. Fronted ascriptives and identificatory clauses have similar linear syntax, [XP + Verb + XP], but these clauses should be distinguished.

4 Nominal phrases

This section presents further details about the nominal phrases which occur in identificatory clauses, which add to the account of their syntax given so far and also contribute to the discussion of their semantics. As with ascriptives, definiteness and specificity are relevant to explaining the occurrences

of nominal phrases in identificatory clauses. We shall use types of nominal phrases which are outlined in the account of ascriptives in chapter 2, namely,

DP_{DEF} — a determiner phrase which is definite and can be specific (referring) or non-specific (non-referring)

DP_{INDEF} — a determiner phrase which is indefinite and specific (referring)

DP_{INDIV} — a determiner phrase which is indefinite and individualizing

NP — a nominal phrase which is indefinite and non-specific (non-referring)

We shall see that nominal phrases which cannot occur in ascriptives (as outlined in chapter 2) can occur in identificatory clauses.

There are no constraints on DP_{DEFS} in identificatory clauses and they can occur in both pre-copular and post-copular positions, as the examples in (38) show. They cannot occur in the predicational phrase in ascriptives, as shown in (24) and (26) in chapter 2, can occur in identificatory clauses.

38 a. *yr athro ffiseg oedd y dyn tal.*

the teacher physics be.IMPF.3SG the man tall

‘the tall man was the physics teacher.’

b. *Siôn oedd y cadeirydd.*

Siôn be.IMPF.3SG the chairperson

‘the chairperson was Siôn.’

c. *yn chwaer i oedd gwraig Gwilym.*

1SG sister I be.IMPF.3SG wife Gwilym

‘Gwilym’s wife was my sister.’

d. *honna oedd y meddyg.*

that.F be.IMPF.3SG the doctor

‘the doctor was that one.’

e. *hi oedd yr is-ganghellor.*

she be.IMPF.3SG the vice-chancellor.

‘the vice-chancellor was her.’

f. *ysgrifennydd y pwyllgor gwaith oedd llywydd y clwb criced.*

secretary the committee work be.IMPF.3SG president the club cricket

‘the president of the cricket club was the secretary of the executive committee.’

g. *brawd Mair oedd gŵr Rhian.*

brother Mair be.IMPF.3SG husband Rhian

‘Rhian’s husband was Mair’s brother.’

DP_{INDEFs} (referring expressions), which cannot occur in the predicational phrase in ascriptives as illustrated in the examples in (39) in chapter 2, can occur in the pre-copular position in identificatory clauses.

- 39 a. *dynes (a) welish i yn y farchnad oedd hi.*
 woman PT see.PERV.3SG I in the market be.IMPF.3SG she
 ‘she was a woman who I saw in the market.’
- b. *dyn (a) enillodd y wobwr gyntaf llynedd oedd o.*
 man PT see.PERV.3SG the prize first last-year be.IMPF.3SG he
 ‘he was a man who won the first prize last year.’
- c. *plant (a) dorrodd y ffenest oedden nhw.*
 children PT break.PERV.3SG the window be.IMPF.3PL they
 ‘they were children who broke the window.’
- d. *Cymraes (a) ddwynodd yn nghar i oedd hi.*
 Welsh-woman PT steal.PERV.3SG 1SG car I be.IMPF.3SG she
 ‘she was a Welsh woman who stole my car.’

But DP_{INDEFs} do not occur in post-copular position.

- 40 a. **hi oedd dynes (a) welish i yn y siop.*
 she be.IMPF.3SG woman PT see.PERV.3SG I in the shop
 ‘a woman I saw in the shop was she’
- b. **fo oedd dyn (a) enillodd y wobwr gyntaf llynedd.*
 he be.IMPF.3SG man PT win.PERV.3SG the prize first last-year
 ‘a man who won the prize first last year was he.’
- c. **nhw oedd plant (a) dorrodd y ffenest.*
 they be.PRES.3SG children PT break.PERV.3SG the window
 ‘children who broke the window are they.’
- d. **hi oedd Cymraes (a) ddwynodd y’ nghar i.*
 she be.PRES.3SG Welsh-woman PT steal.PERV.3SG 1SG car I
 ‘a Welsh woman who stole my car is she.’

DP_{INDIVs} cannot occur in the predicational phrase of ascriptives as the examples in (41) in chapter 2 show, but can occur in pre-copular position in identificatory clauses.

- 41 a. *rhaff oedd yr ateb.*
 rope be.IMPF.3SG the answer
 ‘the answer was a rope.’

- b. *hebogiaid oedd yr ateb.*
 hawks be.IMPF.3SG the answer
 ‘hawks are the answer.’
- c. *bleiddiau oedd y broblem.*
 wolves be.IMPF.3SG the problem
 ‘wolves are the problem.’

But DP_{INDIVS} are either ungrammatical or doubtful in post-copular position.

- 42 a. ?*yr ateb oedd rhaff.*
 the answer be.PRES.3SG rope
 ‘the answer was a rope.’
- b. ?*yr ateb oedd hebogiaid.*
 the answer be.IMPF.3SG hawks
 ‘the answer was hawks.’
- c. ?*y broblem oedd bleiddiau.*
 the problem be.IMPF.3SG wolves
 ‘the problem was wolves.’

NPs which do not form an ascriptive relationship with the subject can also occur in pre-copular position in an identificatory copular, as the examples in (43) show (the examples in (42) in chapter 2 show that they cannot occur in the predicatival phrase of normal order ascriptives).

- 43 a. *morgrug oedd enw 'r pryfed.*
 ants be.IMPF.3SG name the insects
 ‘the insects’ name was ants.’
- b. *athrawon yw 'r dyfodol.*
 teachers be.PRES.3SG the future
 ‘teachers are the future.’
- c. *coed oedd y defnydd gorau.*
 wood be.PERV.3SG the material best
 ‘the best material was wood.’
- d. *dwr oedd y ffisig gorau.*
 water be.IMPF.3SG the medicine best
 ‘the best medicine was water.’
- e. *pêldroed oedd 'r gêm fwya' poblogaidd.*
 football be.IMPF.3SG the game most popular
 ‘the most popular game was football.’

But these NPs are questionable in post-copular position, as the examples in (44) show.

- 44 a. ?*enw 'r pryfed oedd morgrug.*
 name the insects be.IMPF.3SG ants
 ‘ants was the name of the insects.’
- b. ?*y dyfodol yw athrawon.*
 the future be.SING.3SG teachers
 ‘teachers are the future.’
- c. ?*y defnydd gorau oedd coed.*
 the material best be.IMPF.3SG wood
 ‘wood was the best material.’
- d. ?*y ffisig gorau oedd dwr.*
 the medicine best be.IMPF.3SG water
 ‘water was the best medicine.’
- e. ?*y gêm fwyaf poblogaidd oedd pêldroed.*
 the game most popular be.IMPF.3SG football
 ‘football was the most popular game.’

Fronted ascriptives can also have a NP in pre-copular position, as shown in the examples in (45).

- 45 a. *athro ffiseg oedd y dyn tal.*
 teachers physics be.IMPF.3SG the man tall
 = ‘a physics teacher was the tall man.’
- b. *gyrrwr lori oedd y cadeirydd.*
 driver lorry be.IMPF.3SG the chairperson
 = ‘a lorry driver was the chairperson.’
- c. *dynes annwyl oedd gwraig Gwilym.*
 woman dear be.IMPF.3SG wife Gwilym
 = ‘a dear woman was Gwilym’s wife.’
- d. *chwaraewr proffesiynol pêldroed oedd Tudur.*
 player professional football be.IMPF.3SG Tudur
 = ‘a professional football player was Tudur.’
- e. *myfyriwr prifysgol oedd Siôn.*
 student university be.IMPF.3SG Siôn
 = ‘a university student was Siôn.’

As discussed in section 3.2, the linear structure of fronted ascriptives resemble that of identificatory clauses in terms. But they have ascriptive semantics (they attribute properties of class membership to the subject) and there are also normal-order versions.

- 46 a. *oedd y dyn tal yn athro ffiseg.*
 be.IMPF.3SG the man tall PRED teacher physics
 ‘the tall man was a physics teacher.’
- b. *oedd y cadeirydd yn yrrwr lori.*
 be.IMPF.3SG the chairperson PRED driver lorry
 ‘the chairperson was a lorry driver.’
- c. *oedd gwraig Gwilym yn ddynes annwyl.*
 be.IMPF.3SG wife Gwilym PRED woman dear
 ‘Gwilym’s wife was a dear woman.’
- d. *oedd Tudur yn chwaraewr peldroed proffesiynol.*
 be.IMPF.3SG Tudur PRED player football professional
 ‘Tudur was a professional football player.’
- e. *oedd Siôn yn fyfyrwr prifysgol.*
 be.IMPF.3SG Siôn PRED student university
 ‘Siôn was a university student.’

As pointed out in section 3.2, the pre- and post-copular phrases in fronted ascriptives cannot be transposed, which indicates that NPs cannot occur in post-copular position as the examples in (47) show — examples (47a–e) are equivalents of (45a–e) and examples (47f–k) are additional illustrations).

- 47 a. **y dyn tal oedd athro ffiseg.*
 the man tall be.IMPF.3SG teacher physics
 ‘a physics teacher was the tall man.’
- b. **y cadeirydd oedd gyrrwr lori.*
 the chairperson be.IMPF.3SG driver lorry
 ‘a lorry driver was the chairperson.’
- c. **gwraig Gwilym oedd dynes annwyl.*
 wife Gwilym be.IMPF.3SG woman dear
 ‘a dear woman was wife Gwilym.’
- d. **Tudur oedd chwaraewr proffesiynol peldroed.*
 Tudur be.IMPF.3SG player professional football.
 ‘a professional football player was Tudur.’

- e. **Siôn oedd myfyriwr prifysgol.*
 Siôn be.IMPF.3SGstudent university
 ‘a university student was Siôn.’
- f. **Siôn oedd athro ffrangeg.*
 Siôn be.IMPF.3SGteacher French
 ‘a French teacher was Siôn.’
- g. **Sian oedd merch dal.*
 Siân be.IMPF.3SGgirl tall
 ‘a tall girl was Siân.’
- h. **y prifathro oedd dyn abl.*
 the headteacher be.IMPF.3SG man able
 ‘an able man was the headteacher.’
- i. **y lleidr oedd dihiryn.*
 the thief be.IMPF.3SGrogue
 ‘a rogue was the thief.’
- j. **y capten ifanc fydd chwaraewr mentrus.*
 the captain young be.FUT.3SG player adventurous
 ‘an adventurous player will be the young captain.’
- k. **y llywydd fyddai person profiadol.*
 the president be.CNTE.3SG person experienced
 ‘the president would be an experienced person.’

In summary, the nominal phrases which flank the copula in an identificatory copular are as follows.

- The pre-copular position can be occupied by
 - DP_{DEF}
 - DP_{INDEF}
 - DP_{INDIV}
 - NP which is not in an ascriptive relationship with the subject (they do not indicate the properties of class membership or material composition).
- The post-copular position can be occupied by
 - DP_{DEF}
 - only questionably at best DP_{INDIV}
 - only questionably at best NP

DP_{DEF} can thus occur in the pre-copular position or the post-copular position. But indefinite nominal phrases — DP_{INDEF}, DP_{INDIV}, and NP — are mainly restricted to pre-copular position and only

questionably occur in post-copular position. Adopting a conservative view, all nominal phrases can occur in pre-copular position but only DP_{DEFS} can occur in post-copular position. There are some examples of NPs in pre-copular position which superficially resemble identificatory clauses but which are fronted ascriptives.²⁷

The constraints on indefinite nominal phrases help to clarify the possibilities of the transposition of nominal phrases in identificatory clauses. The examples in (30) show that two DP_{DEFS} can be transposed. But the examples in (40, 42, 44) show that indefinite nominal phrases (namely, DP_{INDEFS}, DP_{INDIVS}, and NPs) are either ungrammatical or questionable in post-copular position. This means that identificatory clauses like those in (39, 41, 43), which have indefinite nominal phrases in pre-copular position, cannot undergo apparent transposition, or can only questionably do so, as examples (40, 42, 44) show. Transposition of nominal phrases is confined to DP_{DEFS}.

Table 8. Indefinite nominal phrases in ascriptive and identificatory copulars

Ascriptive	Identificatory
* <i>oedd hi 'n ddynes a welish yn y banc</i>	<i>dynes a welish hi yn y banc oedd hi</i>
'she was a woman who I saw in the bank'	'she was a woman who I saw in the bank'
* <i>oedd yr ateb yn rhaff</i>	<i>rhaff oedd yr ateb</i>
'the answer was a rope'	'a rope was the answer'
* <i>mae 'r dyfodol yn athrawon</i>	<i>athrawon yw 'r dyfodol</i>
?? 'the future is teachers'	'teachers are the future'
<i>oedd y dynion yn blismyn</i>	* <i>y dynion oedd plismyn</i>
'the men were policemen'	'the men were policemen'

It is revealing to compare the occurrences of indefinite phrases in the predicational phrase in ascriptives with those in the pre-copular position in identificatory copulars, as in table 8. Those phrases which cannot occur in the predicational phrase in an ascriptive copular can occur in the pre-copular position in an identificatory copular. Some nominal phrases which are questionable in the post-copular position in an identificatory relationship can occur in the predicational phrase of an ascriptive copular.

We can now consider the semantics of identificatory clauses. Higgins' (1979) taxonomy of copular clauses lists several types, partly on the basis of semantics and partly on the basis of syntax. These are illustrated in the examples in (48).

- 48 a. *Siôn is the guest speaker.* [predicational]
- b. *the chairperson is Gwenan.* [specificational]
- c. *that (man) is Siôn.* [identificational]

- d. *the morning star is the evening star.* [equative]

In a predicational copular, like example (48a), the post-copular nominal phrase describes a property of the pre-copular nominal phrase. In a specificational copular, like example (48b), the pre-copular nominal phrase introduces a variable and the post-copular nominal phrase gives a value for the variable — in other words the post-copular phrase specifies who or what the pre-copular phrase is. An identificational copular, like example (48c), is typically used to indicate the names of people or things.

²⁸ An equative copular, like example (48d), indicates that the two nominal phrases which flank the copula refer to the same entity. There is much more to the discussion of these clauses than is given in this very brief outline and other scholars have modified Higgins' taxonomy, conflating the four types to three or two types in some instances. Detailed discussion on these points is available in Mikkelsen (2005, 2006, 2011) and a very useful outline is provided by Bondaruk (2013: 35–46). In Welsh, predicational examples like (48a), specificational, identificational, and equative copulars all have the linear syntax [XP + (copular) Verb + XP] and the label identificatory is used to refer to Welsh copulars which have this syntax. The main challenge that an analysis of English faces is to show that the same linear syntax, [XP + Copula + XP], can convey different meanings. But the main challenge in Welsh is to account for the different syntax of ascriptives and identificatory clauses. Rather than seeking various meanings for identificatory copulars, we shall use a single generalization which explains why identificatory syntax is used rather than ascriptive syntax. ²⁹

To account for the semantics of identificatory clauses in Welsh, we shall say that they establish a unique one-to-one relationship between the entities which are indicated by the two nominal phrases which flank the copula. ³⁰ This unique one-to-one relationship is most obvious when the two nominal phrases are co-referential referring expressions (equative in Higgins' account).

- 49 a. *brawd Mair oedd gŵr Rhian.*

brother Mair be.IMPF.3SG husband Rhian

'Rhian's husband was Mair's brother.'

- b. *Richard Jenkins oedd Richard Burton.*

Richard Jenkins be.IMPF.3SG Richard Burton

'Richard Burton was Richard Jenkins.'

- c. *seren y nos ydy seren y bore.*

star the night be.PRES.3SG star the morning

'the morning star was the evening star.'

- d. *pedwar ydy pedwar.*

four be.PRES.3SG four

'four was four.'

- e. *digon oedd digon.*
 enough be.IMPF.3SG enough
 ‘enough was enough.’
- f. *Brexit ydy Brexit.*
 Brexit be.PRES.3SG Brexit
 ‘Brexit was Brexit.’

Brawd Mair a gŵr Rhian refer to the same man. *Richard Jenkins* and *Richard Burton* refer to the same man. *Seren y nos* ‘the evening star’ and *seren y bore* ‘the morning star’ refer to the same star. The tautological examples in (49d–f) are also based on a strict identificatory relationship (although such examples may be used as a ploy to avoid detailed explanations). The strict identificatory semantics can also be conveyed by examples such as the ones in (50).

- 50 a. *yr un un oedd brawd Mair a gŵr Rhian.*
 the one one be.IMPF.3SG brother Mair and husband Rhian
 ‘Mair’s brother and Rhian’s husband were the same one.’
- b. *yr un un oedd Richard Jenkins a Richard Burton.*
 the one one be.IMPF.3SG Richard Jenkins and Richard Burton
 ‘Richard Jenkins and Richard Burton were the same one.’
- c. *yr un un ydy seren y nos a seren y bore.*
 the one one be.PRES.3SG star the night and star the morning
 ‘the evening star and the morning star were the same one.’

In these examples *yr un un* ‘the same one’ occurs as the pre-copula phrase and co-ordinated phrases occur as the post-copula phrase (we could also have *yr un person* ‘the same person’ or *yr un peth* ‘the same thing’ and so forth according to the types of entities being referred to). Identificatory copulars which have this strict equative meaning are relatively uncommon.

We shall extend the one-to-one relationship to include examples in which one of the flanking nominal phrases refers not to a particular individual or object but describes a specific role or office — predicational in Higgins’ taxonomy.

- 51 a. *Siôn oedd y trysorydd.*
 Siôn be.IMPF.3SG the treasurer
 ‘the treasurer was Siôn.’
- b. *brawd Mair oedd y capten.*
 brother Mair be.IMPF.3SG the captain
 ‘the captain was Mair’s brother.’

- c. *Clement Atlee oedd y prif weinidog.*
 Clement Atlee be.IMPF.3SG the main minister
 ‘the prime minister was Clement Atlee.’
- d. *llywydd Ffrainc oedd Giscard d’Estaing.*
 president France be.IMPF.3SG Giscard d’Estaing
 ‘Giscard d’Estaing was the President of France.’
- e. *prif ddinas Cymru ydy Caerdydd.*
 main city Wales be.PRES.3SG Cardiff
 ‘Cardiff is the capital city of Wales.’

The nominal phrases in these examples are not intended to be co-referential (although, arguably they could be used co-referentially). For instance, *Siôn* refers to an individual while *y trysorydd* refers to a societal role. But the one-to-one relationship is based on the fact that the entity which is referred to by *Siôn*, a referring expression, is also the entity which fulfils the role or office which is indicated by *y trysorydd*, a non-referring expression.³¹ The same can be said for the remaining examples. It is possible for the same entity to fulfil more than one societal role. We can say *Siôn oedd y trysorydd a Siôn oedd y meddyg* ‘Siôn was the treasurer and Siôn was the doctor’. But it is not possible for the same societal role to be simultaneously fulfilled by more than one individual, as this does not conform with the condition that the two are uniquely associated. We cannot say *Siôn oedd y trysorydd a Gwilym oedd y trysorydd* ‘Siôn was the treasurer and Gwilym was the treasurer’. The same referring expression can be uniquely associated with more than one non-referring expression, but the same non-referring expression cannot be uniquely associated with more than one referring expression. But ascriptive clauses are not limited in this way. We can not only say *mae Siôn yn feddyg* ‘Siôn is a doctor’ but we can also say *mae Gwilym yn feddyg* ‘Gwilym is a doctor’.

The unique one-to-one relationship also includes examples where one or both of the flanking nominal phrases indicate abstract concepts, as in examples (52a–c). It is also seen where one of the flanking nominal phrases contains the superlative degree, as in examples (52e–g). And examples (52h–j) show that one or both of the flanking nominal phrases can have generic reference.

- 52 a. *y broblem oedd y sefyllfa ariannol.*
 the problem be.IMPF.3SG the situation financial
 ‘the financial situation is the problem.’
- b. *yr ateb oedd syniad Mair.*
 the answer be.IMPF.3SG idea Mair
 ‘Mair’s idea is the answer.’

- c. *Siôn oedd y broblem.*
 Siôn be.IMPF.3SG the problem
 ‘the problem was Siôn.’
- e. *Gwyn oedd y chwaraewr gore.*
 Gwyn be.IMPF.3SG the player best
 ‘the best player was Siôn.’
- f. *Gwilym oedd y person mwya’ swllyd.*
 Gwilym be.IMPF.3SG the person most noisy
 the noisiest person was Gwilym.’
- g. *llyfr Mair oedd y nofel mwya’ diddorol.*
 book Mair be.IMPF.3SG the novel most interesting
 ‘the most interesting novel was Mair’s book.’
- h. *y teigr yw ’r anifail mwya’ trawiadol.*
 the tiger be.PRES.3SG the animal most striking
 ‘the most striking animal is the tiger.’
- i. *y car ydy ’r dyfais mwya’ cyfleus.*
 the car be.PRES.3SG the device most convenient
 ‘the most convenient device is the car.’
- j. *y cleddyf oedd yr arf mwya’ defnyddiol.*
 the sword be.IMPF.3SG the weapon most useful
 ‘the most useful weapon was the sword.’

In each example, we have a unique one-to-one relationship.

The advantage of maintaining a single, general meaning for identificatory clauses is that we can then explain the semantic difference between identificatory clauses and ascriptive clauses. The latter are used when the subject is ascribed properties. Identificatory clauses are used when the referents of the two flanking nominal phrases are in a unique one-to-one relationship. We can also extend this one-to-one relationship to examples which contain phrases other than definite determiner phrases. This includes indefinite nominal phrases as in examples (39, 41, 43), verb phrases as in examples (7b, 8b, 9a–b), prepositional phrases as in examples (7d, 8d, 9f–g), *wh*-clauses as in examples (7c, 8c, 9a–g), complement clauses as in examples (7e, 9c), and *i*-clauses as in examples (7f, 9d). All these examples convey a unique one-to-one relationship between the referents of the two phrases which flank the copula.

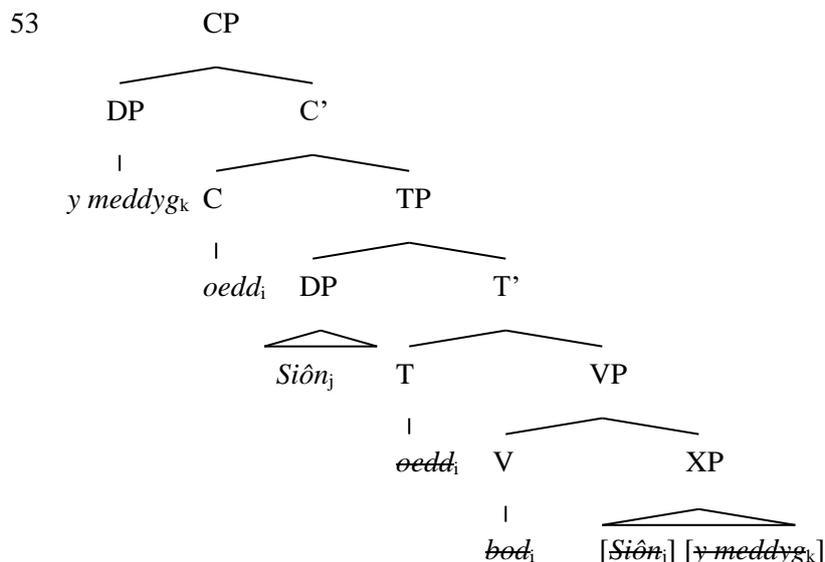
5 Analysis

- 1 The analysis of identificatory copular clauses in Welsh must account for the following.
 - The word orders which can occur, as outlined in section 1 and section 3: fronted order and apparent transposition.
 - The types of phrases which can variously occur and the positions which they can occupy, as described in section 1 but mainly in section 2.
 - Related to the types of phrases are the constraints on the definiteness of nominal phrases, as described in section 4.
 - The semantics of identificatory clauses, as described in section 4: a one-to-one relationship.

In the light of the analyses discussed, we shall also assess the claim by Pustet (2005: 30) that identificatory clauses are structurally more complex than ascriptives.

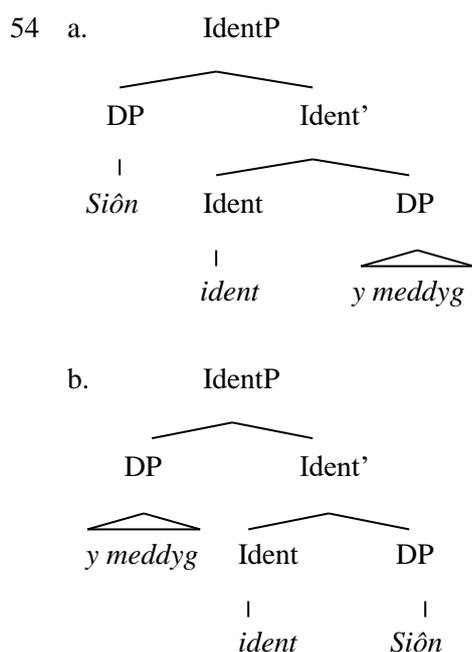
5.1 The identificatory phrase

The examples in (24) in chapter 10 show that there is no empirical evidence that there is a subject-predicate phrase, which is the basis of an identificatory phrase. But there are certain canonical characteristics of finite clauses in Welsh, which are shown in the analyses of ascriptive clauses in chapter 2, which justify a partial analysis of an identificatory clause as in (53).

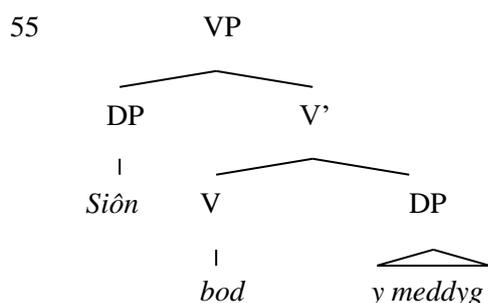


The finite verb originates in a lower VP and moves to T and then C. The post-copula phrase is in surface subject position (that is, post-copula) and consequently occupies Spec TP. There are also clear grounds for assuming that the pre-copula phrase is a fronted phrase and consequently occupies Spec CP.

However, in canonical clauses both these phrases originate in a lower phrase, indicated by XP in (53). We shall assume that the XP is the basic copular phrase of identificatory clauses. We shall follow Mikkelsen (2005: 166), who follows others, and assume that this XP has a covert functional head. Mikkelsen uses PredP to account for English data. But, to avoid confusion with PredP in our analysis of Welsh ascriptive copulars, we shall use Identificatory Phrase (IdentP), in which *Ident* is a functional head which is occupied by a covert operator, *ident*. We shall also assume that one of the phrases which flank the copula in the surface clause originates in Spec IdentP and the one on the other flank originates in Comp IdentP (shorthand for the complement of *ident* in IdentP), as in (54a–b).



The phrase which is generated in the specifier position, *Siôn* in (54a) and *y meddyg* ‘the doctor’ in (54b), is the subject and the phrase which is the sister of the head, *y meddyg* ‘the doctor’ in (54a) and *Siôn* in (54b), is the complement.³² The covert head *ident* has the function of indicating a unique one-to-one relationship between the subject and the complement. The approach of Rouveret (1996: 151) to identificatory clauses is different. He bases the identificatory relationship on a VP which is headed by *bod* and in which one of the phrases is in the specifier position and the other is in the complement position, as represented in (55).

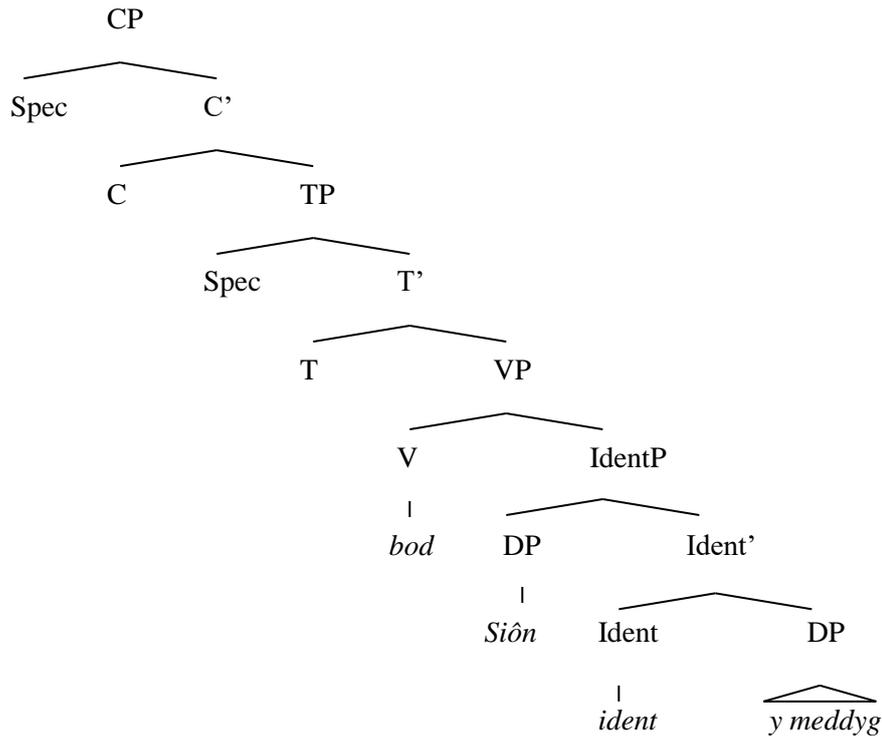


We shall not adopt Rouveret's approach but follow that in (54). However, as we shall see in (56), a *bod*-VP is created in a merge with IdentP.

The question arises as to whether there are any factors which determine the insertions into Spec IdentP, the subject, and Comp IdentP, the complement. In this study, we shall adopt the view that the information concepts of topic and comment can be related to the syntactic concepts of subject and complement. We shall follow the traditional approach that the topic is 'what we are talking about' and the comment is 'what we are saying about the topic'. The phrase which is the topic occupies Spec IdentP and the phrase which is the comment occupies Comp IdentP. In (54a), we are talking about *Siôn* and saying what / who he is, namely, *y meddyg* 'the doctor'. In (54b), we are talking about *y meddyg* 'the doctor' and saying who the doctor is, namely, *Siôn*. We shall adopt the view that the selection of topic and comment is based on the speaker's choice. But there are issues which may influence this choice. The topic may be that which is known or old information (or assumed to be so) and the comment may be that which is unknown or new information (or assumed to be so). Mikkelsen (2005: 133 ff) also suggests that referentiality may be at work. In an English specificational clause, the subject is the topic, but the subject is the more referential phrase. In (54a), a proper name like *Siôn* is more referential than a descriptive phrase like *y meddyg* 'the doctor'. Mikkelsen adds that the influence of referentiality can be over-ridden so that the less referential phrase can be the topic, as in (54b). These are not easy matters to resolve and it may be that all the explanations can apply together, especially topic and comment with new and old.

Substituting IdentP for XP in (53), the same mergers occur in identificatory clauses as are seen in the analysis of ascriptives in chapter 2: IdentP merges with a VP which has *bod* 'be' as its head; this *bod*-VP merges with TP, which merges with CP. The configuration in (56) shows these mergers, which provide the structure of an identificatory clause, before any movements take place.

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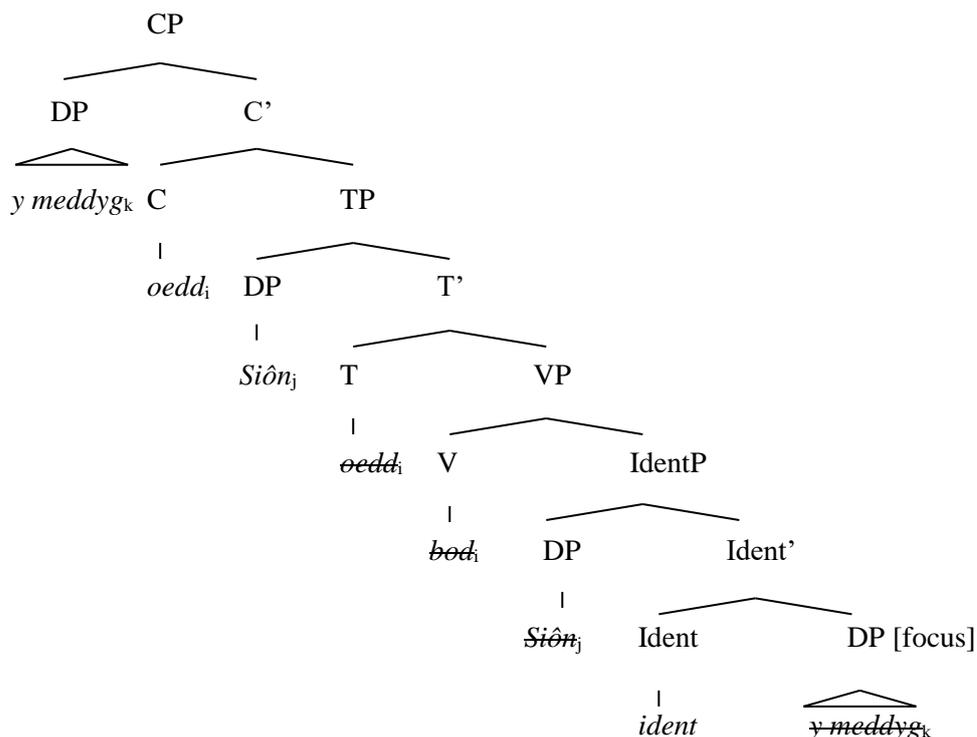


5.2 Word orders

We have seen that there are strong grounds for analysing identificatory clauses as fronted-order clauses. We have argued in chapter 1 that a fronted-order clause occurs when focus is assigned to one of the phrases in its structure. We shall therefore claim that focus is obligatorily assigned to one of the phrases in IdentP, which then produces fronted order by moving the focussed phrase to Spec CP.³³

We shall look first at fronting the complement, which is straightforward. Three conventional movement rules produce an identificatory clause with a fronted complement, as shown in (57).

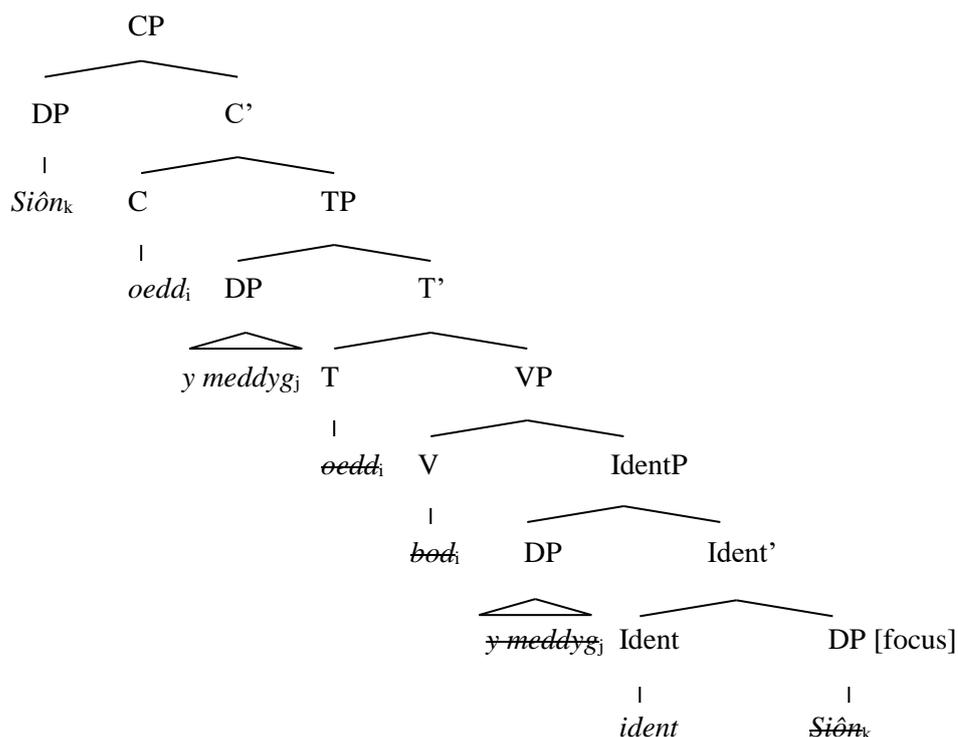
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The standard rules of verb raising and subject raising respectively move the verb from V to C via T and the phrase in Spec IdentP to Spec TP. The focussed phrase in Comp IdentP is obligatorily moved to Spec CP. As it stands, assigning focus to Comp IdentP produces a simple account of the structure of an identificatory clause, which uses conventional movement rules.

At first sight, examples (30a), *y meddyg oedd Siôn* ‘Siôn was the doctor’ and (30b), *Siôn oedd y meddyg* ‘the doctor was Siôn’ suggest that there is transposed order. But one way of explaining these two clauses is to say that it is the complement which is fronted in both cases. Example (30a) *y meddyg oedd Siôn* is based on (54a) and is developed into a fronted clause as in (57). Example (30b) *Siôn oedd y meddyg* can be based on the lexical insertions in (54b), in which the complement is *Siôn*. Assigning focus to the complement produces the example in (30b), as represented in (58).

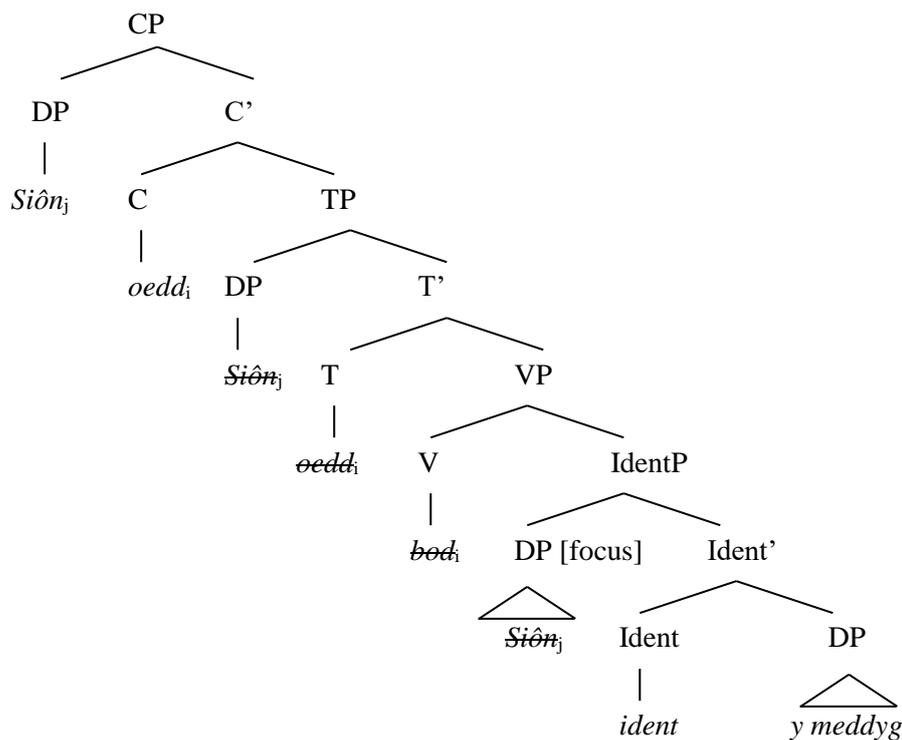
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However, the clause which (58) produces, namely, *Siôn oedd y meddyg* ‘Siôn was the doctor’, is not an exact transposed version of (30a), *y meddyg oedd Siôn* ‘Siôn was the doctor’, as the nominal phrases in the two clauses do not retain the functions of subject or complement. *Siôn* is the subject in (57) but the complement in (58) and *y meddyg* ‘the doctor’ is the complement in (57) but the subject in (58). In both cases we have the order [Complement – Copula – Subject].

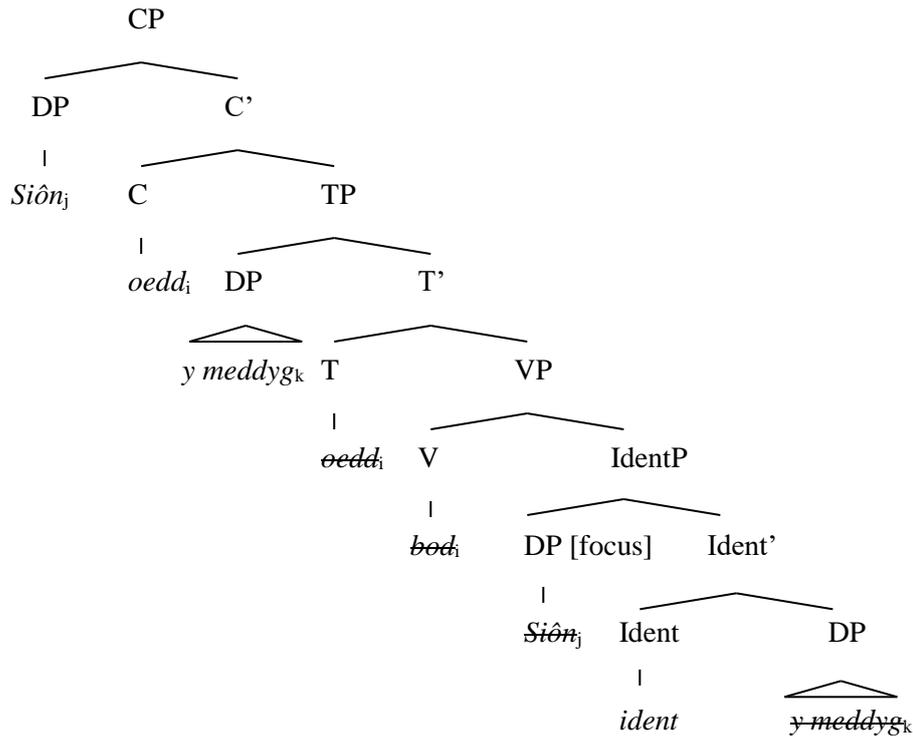
However, Jones (1993b: 14) and Rouveret (1996: 148–155) hold that identificatory clauses either front the complement, [Complement – Copula – Subject], or the subject, [Subject – Copula – Complement]. Thus, for instance, the example in (30a), *y meddyg oedd Siôn* ‘Siôn was the doctor’, can be analysed as [Complement – Copula – Subject] and (30b), *Siôn oedd y meddyg* ‘Siôn was the doctor’ can be analysed as [Subject – Copula – Complement]. On this basis examples (30a) and (30b) are versions of the same configuration. Both versions can be achieved by fronting either the complement or the subject from IdentP. Fronting the complement is straightforward, as we have seen. But fronting the subject in Spec IdentP to Spec CP is not straightforward. Rouveret (1996: 153–155) cyclically moves the subject phrase via specifier positions and retains the complement in its position. Transferring this approach to the analysis being proposed here, we have the analysis in (59).

59



There is a good reason to question this analysis. Cyclical movement to Spec CP via Spec TP would leave a trace in the latter, and, as shown in chapter 13, this would licence the occurrence of *sydd* when the present tense occurs in the clause. The examples in (29) show that *sydd* does not occur in identificatory clauses and so the subject has not moved to Spec TP. If the subject in Spec IdentP is moved to Spec CP, it must do so without cyclically moving through Spec TP. This problem can be overcome by strictly ordering the movement rules. The unfocussed phrase is moved to Spec TP and the focussed phrase is moved to Spec CP. We can establish a rule which says that Spec TP must be filled first. Consequently, the unfocussed phrase is first moved to Spec TP, even when it is in Comp IdentP, as in (60).

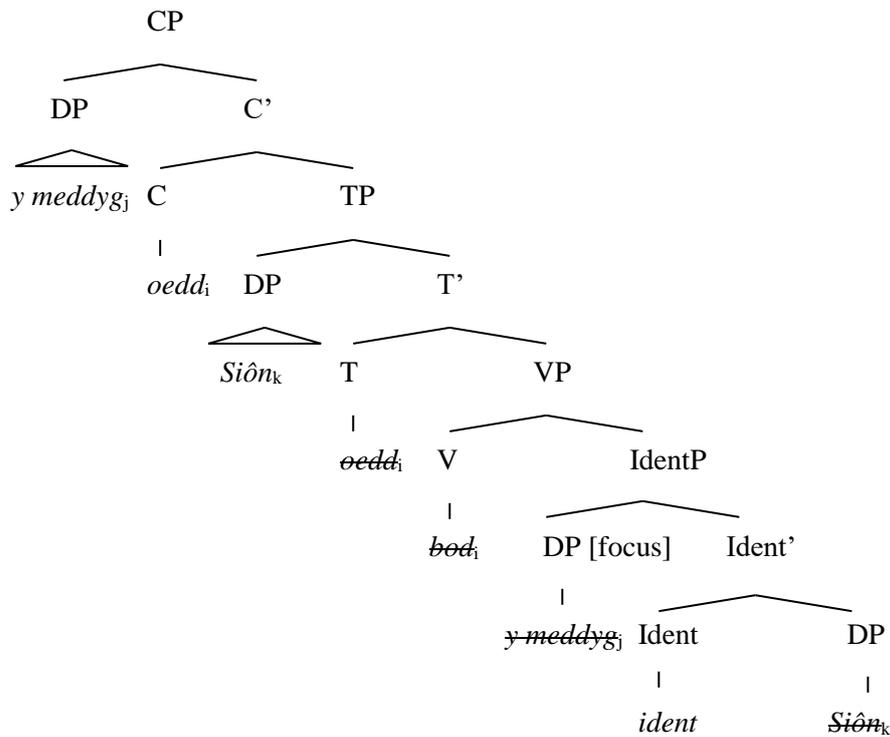
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The focussed phrase in Spec IdentP cannot then move cyclically via Spec TP to Spec CP but must move directly to the latter. This leaves no trace in Spec TP and no licensing of *sydd*.

The configuration in (54b) is also open to transposition by assigning focus to the subject phrase in Spec IdentP, as in (61).

61



The analyses in (57, 58, 60, 61) show that there are two possible readings of an identificatory clause. They are distinguished in terms of whether it is the subject in Spec IdentP or complement in Comp IdentP which is fronted. Compare the analyses in (57) and (61), which have the same linear orderings of the lexical phrases in the surface clauses, namely, *y meddyg oedd Siôn* ‘Siôn was the doctor’. In (57), *y meddyg* is the fronted complement / comment and this example answers the question *beth oedd Siôn?* ‘what was Siôn?’. In (61), *y meddyg* is the subject / topic and this example answers the question *pwy oedd y meddyg?* ‘who was the doctor?’ These distinctions also apply to the analyses in (58) and (60), which are both *Siôn oedd y meddyg* ‘the doctor was Siôn’. In (58), *Siôn* is the complement / comment and this example answers the question *pwy oedd y meddyg?* ‘who was the doctor?’. In (60), *Siôn* is the subject / topic and this example answers the question *beth oedd Siôn?* ‘what was Siôn?’. Assuming that the subject / topic is old information (or assumed to be so) and the complement / comment is new information, then fronting the subject focuses on old information and fronting the complement focusses on new information.

Intonation patterns distinguish (57) from (61) and (60) from (58). A brief attempt at a phonological explanation is given in Jones (1993b: 14). Although the details of this account are not entirely satisfactory and need further consideration, it is nevertheless emphasised that intonation is very relevant to the two readings of an identificatory clause. We shall not pursue phonological analyses in this study.

It thus emerges that in identificatory clauses information structure is determined by the choice of topic or comment on the one hand and the assignment of focus, on the other. We have considered what may influence the choice of topic, and the question also arises whether there is anything which influences the placement of focus. Jones (1993b: 14) and Rouveret (1996: 147–148) suggest that focus is typically assigned to the predicate — the complement in more precise terms — as in (57) and (58). This could then be regarded as the default or unmarked fronted order. It can be explained on the grounds that the new information of the complement / comment is given greater focus than the old information in the subject / topic. In contrast, fronting the old information of the subject / topic is exceptional or marked, as in (60) and (61). There may be reasonable grounds for such views, but, in this study, we shall leave these matters for future research.

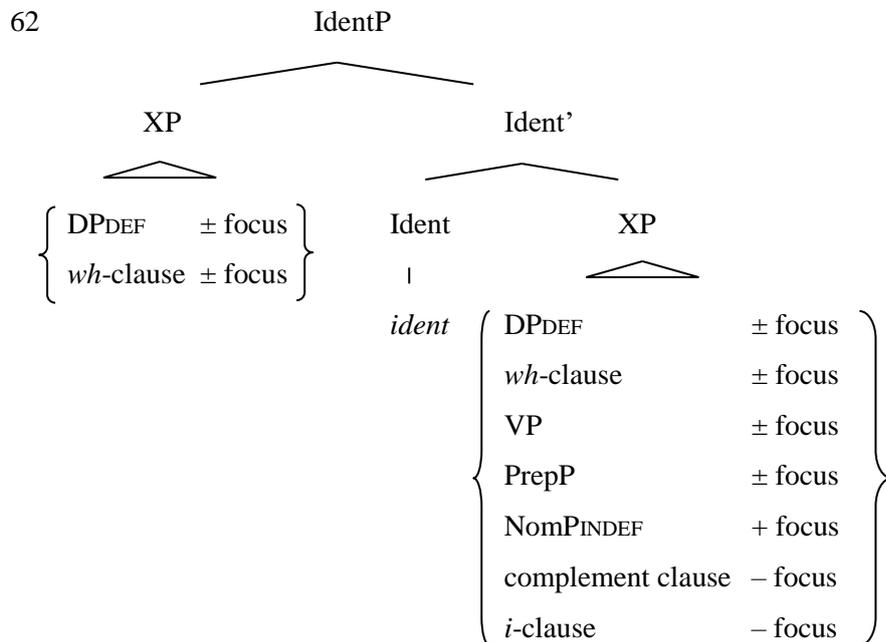
5.3 Types of phrases, definiteness, and specificity

The descriptive facts about the types of phrases which can occur in identificatory copulars, as described in section 2, can be summarised as follows:

- Positional constraints, including constraints on co-occurrence with phrases on the opposite flank of the copula:

- DP_{DEF} and *wh*-clause can occur in pre-copular and post-copular position, and are not subject to co-occurrence constraints.
 - PrepP and VP can occur in pre-copular and post-copular position, but DP_{DEF} or *wh*-clause must occur on the other flank.
 - Complement clauses and *i*-clauses are restricted to post-copular position, but DP_{DEF} or *wh*-clause must occur on the other flank.
 - Indefinite nominal phrases (DP_{INDEF}, DP_{INDIV}, and non-ascriptive NP) are (mainly) restricted to pre-copular position and DP_{DEF} or *wh*-clause occurs on the other flank.
- Non-canonical positioning: complement clauses and *i*-clauses do not occur in post-copular position (the surface subject position) in Welsh clauses, but they occur in this position in identificatory clauses.

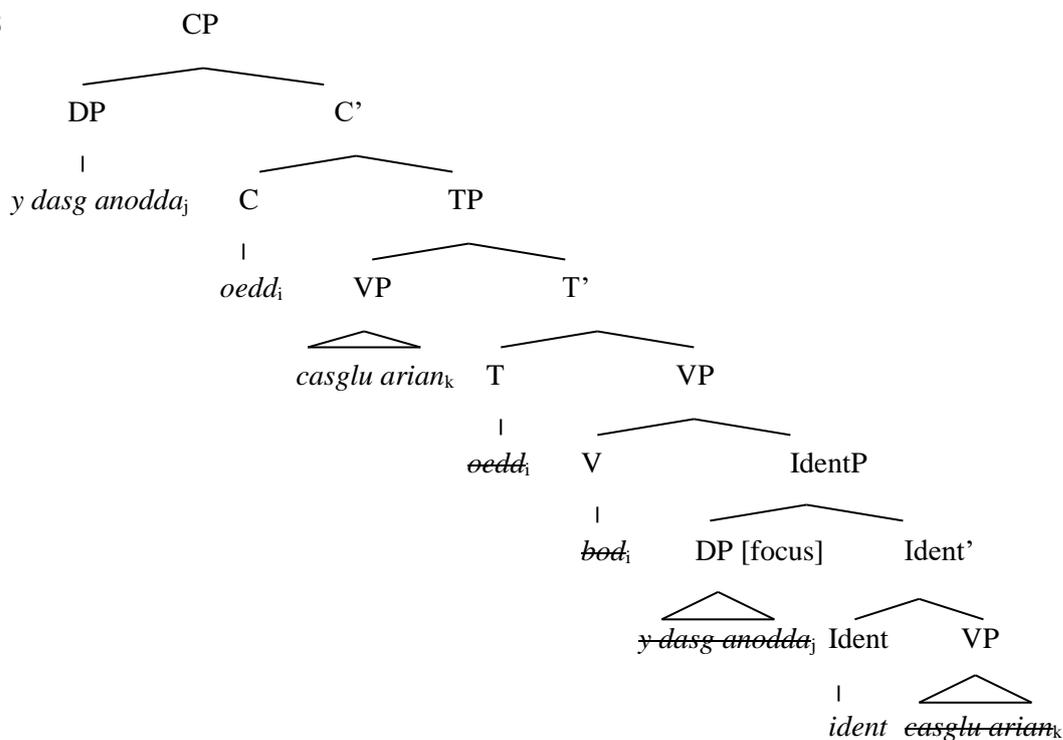
These facts in the above list are based on the surface positions, Spec CP and Spec TP. *Ident* makes selections not for these positions but for Spec IdentP and Comp IdentP. But we cannot explain the facts about types of phrases solely in terms of the selections which *ident* can make. The surface positioning is also achieved through the assignment of focus. The selections of *ident* and the influence of focus on movements are summarised in (62). In this configuration, \pm focus, +focus, and –focus are not features, but are merely presentational devices to indicate whether a phrase can accept focus or not.

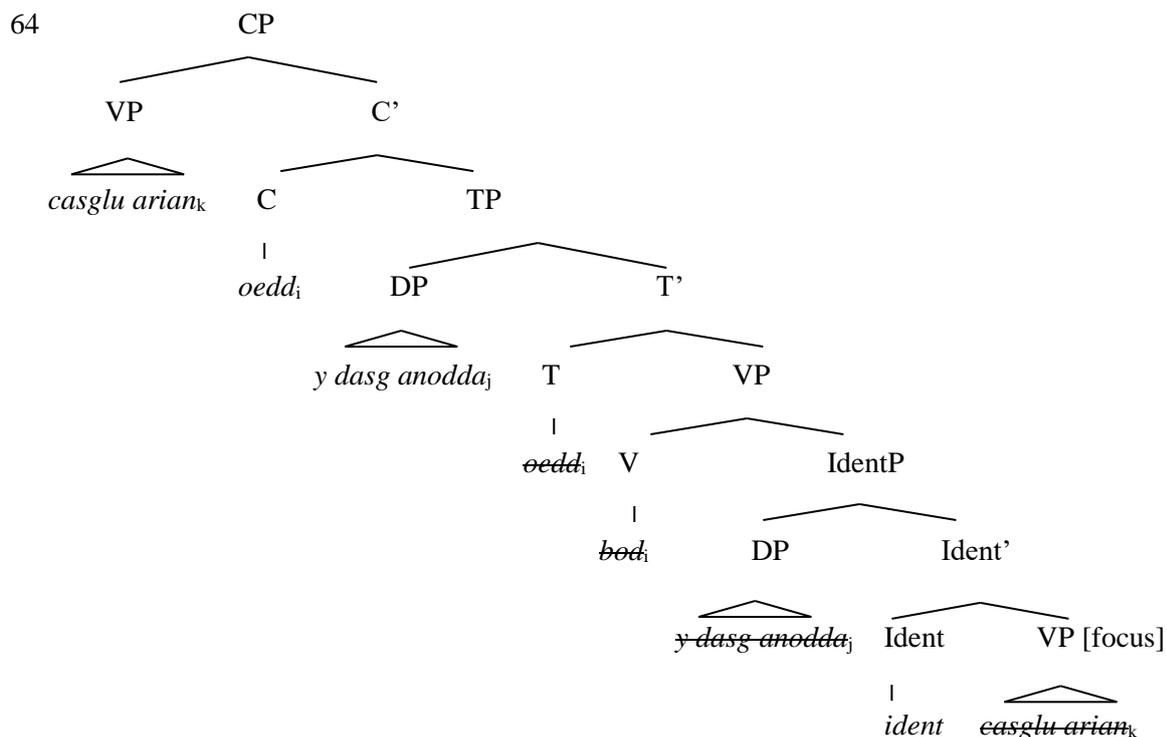


DP_{DEF} and *wh*-clauses can occur on either flank and are not subject to co-occurrence constraints; they can be freely selected either as specifier or complement. The remaining phrases — VP, PrepP, NomP_{INDEF}, complement clause, and *i*-clause — are only selected as complement. These selections are designed to account for the co-occurrence constraints. Selecting DP_{DEF} and *wh*-clauses either as Spec

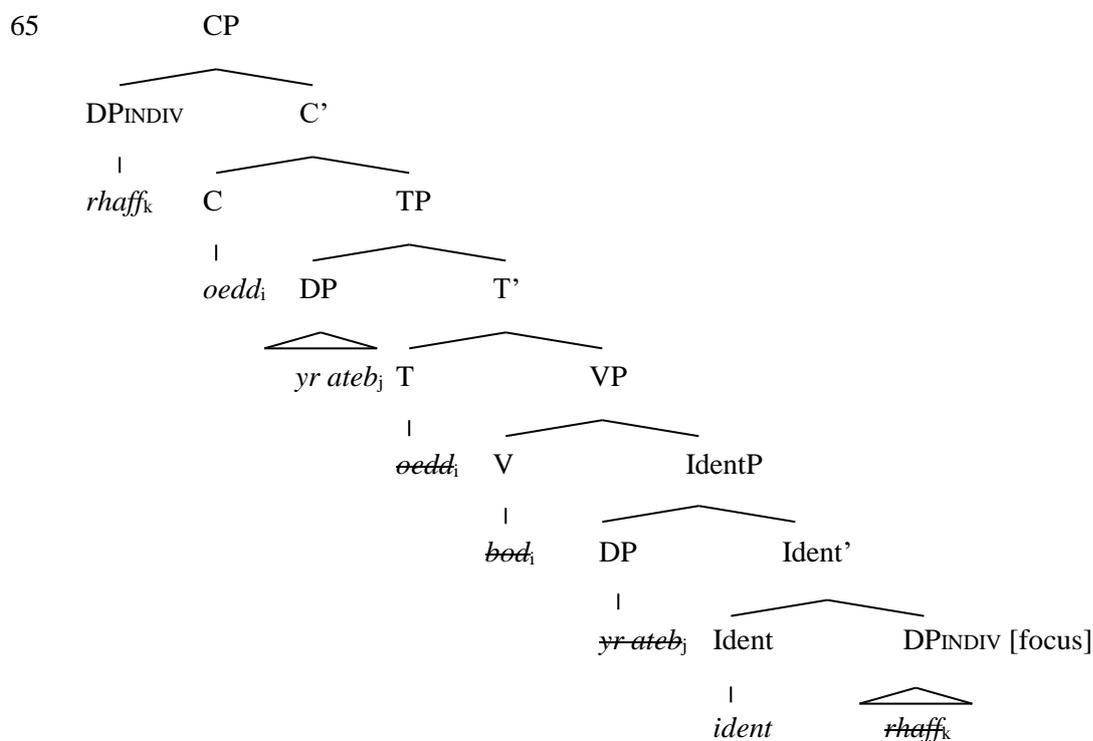
IdentP or Comp IdentP ensures that they are located on either flank to satisfy the licensing of the other phrases, which are subject to co-occurrence constraints. Restricting the other phrases to complement position, along with the assignment of focus, can ensure proper surface positioning. Phrases which can occur on both flanks, namely, DP_{DEF}, *wh*-clause, VP, and PrepP, can be focussed or unfocussed, as analysed in (63) and (64), which illustrate a VP.

63



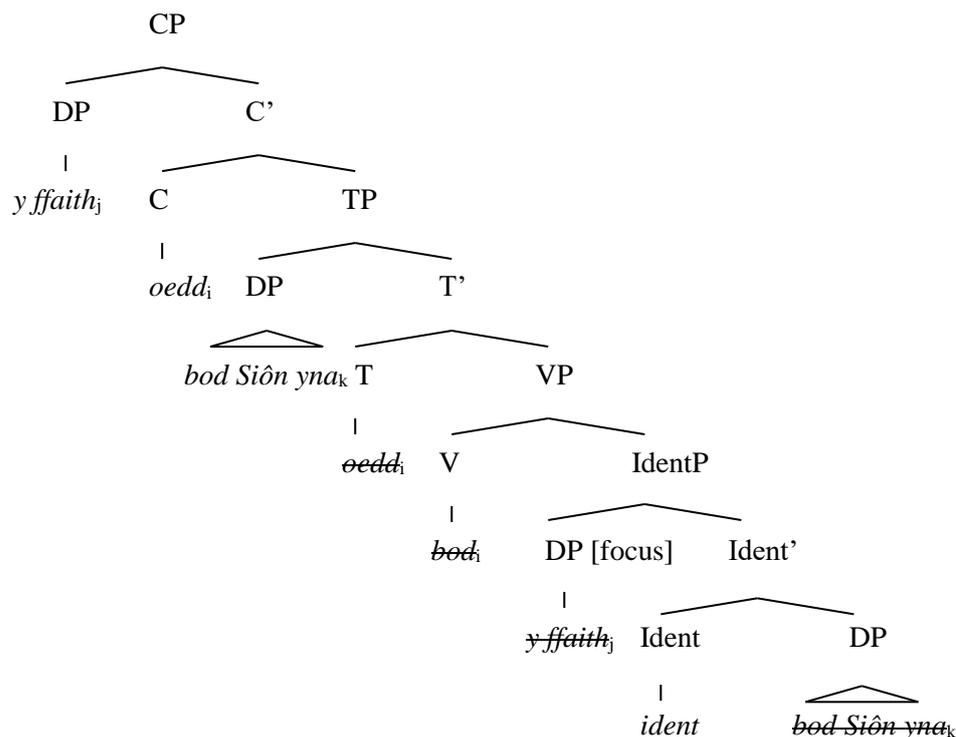


Indefinite nominal phrases, which only occur in pre-copular position (in the main), are focussed and are moved from Comp IdentP to Spec CP, as (65).



Complement clauses and *i*-clauses, which are restricted to post-copular position, are always unfocussed phrases and are thus only moved to Spec TP, the post-copular subject position, as in (66), which illustrates a complement clause.

66



The real challenge is to explain the non-canonical positioning of complement clauses and *i*-clauses in identificatory clauses. The treatment of these clauses in the analysis of identificatory clauses in (66) is different to their treatment in the analysis of ascriptives in chapter 2. In the latter they are generated in subject position, Spec PredP, and are extraposed, as (52) in chapter 2 shows. In (66), they are generated in complement position, Comp IdentP, and are raised to surface subject position, Spec TP. At first sight, by failing to generate these clauses in the specifier position in both PredP and IdentP, it may seem that we are missing the possibility of a generalization which accounts for these phrases in both ascriptives and identificatory clauses. The differences in surface structure could then be accounted for by constraints on extraposition. In ascriptives, there is overt structure in the PredP beyond which *i*-clauses and complement clauses can be extraposed. But there is no overt structure to the right of these clauses in identificatory clauses, and they are raised to Spec TP and not extraposed. This would then establish a generalization of sorts: *i*-clauses and complement clauses are generated in the specifier position; the presence or otherwise of right-ward overt structure allows extraposition in ascriptives and its absence forces these clauses to move to Spec TP in identificatory clauses.

However, there are two reasons which support the analysis of *i*-clauses and complement clauses in identificatory clauses as in (62). First, generating *i*-clauses and complement clauses in Spec IdentP would lose the relative simplicity of this analysis in accounting for selections and co-occurrence constraints. The selection of these clauses in Spec IdentP would have to be accompanied by further rules which detail the selection of co-occurring phrases in Comp IdentP. The analysis in (62) ensures that proper co-occurrences occur without further rules, as in (66). Second, we can challenge the

assumption that there should be a generalization which accounts for the distribution of *i*-clauses and complement clauses in ascriptives and identificatory clauses. There are differences. In ascriptives, these clauses are topics which are ascribed properties and thus occur in Spec PredP, from which they are extraposed. In identificatory clauses, they are comments which have a unique one-to-one association with a topic and thus occur in Comp IdentP from which they are moved to Spec TP. For these two reasons, we shall maintain the different analyses of *i*-clauses and complement clauses in ascriptives and identificatory copulars as given respectively in (52) in chapter 2 and (62) and (66) in this chapter.

There is another possibility, namely, retaining *i*-clauses and complement clauses in Comp IdentP. This would account for their post-copular surface position. But this approach would leave the canonical surface subject position unoccupied and, according to the EPP, this position should then be filled by an expletive subject. But no such subject occurs in identificatory clauses, as example (67), which contains a complement clause, shows.

67 *y ffaith oedd (*hî) bod Siôn yna.*
 the fact be.IMPF.3SG she be.IMPF Siôn there
 ‘the fact was that Siôn was there.’

In the light of (67), we shall reject the approach which retains *i*-clauses and complement clauses in their complement position.

5.4 Summary and further discussion

The main characteristics of the analysis of identificatory clauses are as follows.

- IdentP is the basic copular phrase of identificatory clauses respectively, as shown in (54) (PredP occurs in ascriptives).
- IdentP has a covert functional head, *ident*, as (54) shows (PredP has an overt functional head, predicative *yn*).
- The selectional properties of the head *ident* accounts for the occurrences of phrases in its specifier and complement, as summarised in (62) (the head of PredP, *yn*, makes different selections for its specifier and complement).
- Ident makes the same mergers as PredP: first with a *bod*-VP, which merges with TP, which merges with CP, as (56) shows.
- Word order is determined by focus.
 - It is obligatorily assigned to one of the phrases in IdentP, which means that fronting to Spec CP must occur in identificatory clauses, as (57, 58, 60, 61) show. This accounts for the fronted order of identificatory clauses. (Ascriptive clauses are different. Focus is optionally assigned to

the subject or complement in PredP, which means that ascriptive clauses can have normal order or fronted order.)

- There may be grounds for the default assignment of focus to the complement and its consequential fronting. Transposed order can then be accounted for by focus on the subject, which is more marked.
- Focus also plays an important role in accounting for the surface positioning of types of phrases in identificatory clauses on either flank of the copula, as (62–66) show.
- There is an exception to obligatory fronting in negative contexts in vernacular Welsh, as examples in (28) show.
- The covert functional head of IdentP, *ident*, indicates a unique one-to-one relationship between its subject and its complement. (The semantics of ascriptives are different — the overt functional head of PredP, *yn*, ascribes the properties indicated by its complement to its subject.)

Pustet (2005: 30) claims that identificatory clauses are structurally more complex than ascriptives, but does not give a detailed explanation as to what is meant by complexity. We shall look at two possible explanations. One approach is to say that one clause is more complex than another clause if it contains more structure, that is, more phrases. But in these terms, identificatory clauses are not more complex than ascriptives. A comparison of (49) in chapter 2 with (57) in this chapter shows that both clauses have the same number of maximal phrases, namely, four: CP, TP, VP and either PredP or IdentP. Indeed, in terms of overt syntax, ascriptives are more complex than identificatory clauses as PredP contains an overt head while IdentP does not. Another approach is to say that one clause is more complex than another clause if its structure is based on more movement rules. The main difference between the two clauses is that identificatory clauses have an extra movement rule which moves one of the phrases from IdentP to Spec CP. But it is questionable whether this amounts to increased complexity in a significant sense, especially as ascriptives can also optionally undergo the same movement rule. None of these points provides convincing arguments that identificatory clauses are more complex than ascriptives or, even, that ascriptives are more complex than identificatory clauses. We can hold that Pustet's claim does not apply to Welsh.

We have argued that ascriptives and identificatory clauses are based respectively on PredP and IdentP. But we could consider simplifying the account by abandoning IdentP and claiming that both clauses are based on PredP. In ascriptives, PredP has an overt head, *yn* and in identificatory clauses it would have a covert head, *ident*. The selectional properties of the heads and the assignment of focus account for the syntactic differences between them.

We could go even further and claim that *yn* is always the overt head of this new generalised PredP. It has the selectional properties of old *yn* and *ident*. This approach can also explain why there is a covert

operator in identificatory clauses. Chapter 11 shows that *yn* is omitted when its complement is fronted. As the complement is always moved in identificatory clauses (either to Spec CP when focussed or Spec TP when unfocussed), *yn* is never overtly present in them. But there are three disadvantages to this approach. First, those examples of normal-order identificatory clauses which are given in (28), and which lack *yn*, challenge this analysis. Second, generalising *yn* in ascriptives and identificatory clauses would make it complex to account for the different selections of subjects and complements in both clauses. Third, it becomes more complex to licence the compulsory assignment of focus in identificatory clauses and therefore more complex to identify which phrases are compulsorily fronted. Maintaining two heads, overt *yn* and covert *ident* and even maintaining PredP and IdentP, allows the syntax of ascriptives and identificatory clauses to be accounted for with more transparency and less abstraction.

Chapter 4 Prepositional Phrase Copular Clauses

This chapter considers copular clauses whose predicates are prepositional phrases, as illustrated by the examples in (1). Section 1 gives an account of word orders and section 2 presents a formal analysis. This chapter is a short one, but it prepares the ground for the discussion of other copular clauses in chapters 5 and 6 which are also based on prepositional phrases.

Prepositions in Welsh can be simple such as *ar* ‘on’ or complex such as *oddi ar* ‘from, off’. Some prepositions can inflect such as *ar* ‘on’ to agree with their pronoun complement in terms of number and person, and, in the case of the third person singular, gender. Other prepositions do not inflect, such as *efo* ‘with. Details are available in Thomas (1996: 337–383).

1 Word order

1.1 Basic linear syntax and prepositions

A prepositional copular clause follows the normal order of finite clauses as outlined in chapter 1. The examples in (1) show that the copula comes first as the finite verb, then there is a nominal phrase as the subject, and then a prepositional phrase as the predicate. Example (1a) is [Verb[*mae*] + Subject[*y llyfr*] + Predicate[*ar y bwrdd*]], or in a different notation [Verb[*mae*] + NomP[*y llyfr*] + PrepP[*ar y bwrdd*]].

- 1 a. *mae 'r llyfr ar y bwrdd.*
be.PRES.3SG the book on the table
‘the book is on the table.’
- b. *oedd y cyfarfod yn y bore.*
be.IMPF.3SG the meeting in the morning
‘the meeting was in the morning.’
- c. *mae Sioned efo Gwyn.*
be.PRES.3SG Sioned with Gwyn
‘Sioned is with Gwyn.’
- d. *mae 'r mab hynaf fel ei dad.*
be.PRES.3SG the son oldest like his father
‘the oldest son is like his father.’

- e. *mae 'r anrheg gorau gan y plant.*
 be.PRES.3SG the present best from the children
 ‘the best present is from the children.’
- f. *mae 'r arian i 'r clwb.*
 be.PRES.3SG the money for the club
 ‘the money is for the club.’
- g. *mae Mair am bannod o de.*
 be.PRES.3SG Mair for cupfulof tea.
 ‘Mair is for a cup of tea.’

The main concern of this chapter is syntax and we give only a brief outline of the common prepositions and their meanings which occur in the prepositional predicate of copular clauses. Example (1a) illustrates location and other prepositions which convey this meaning are *dan* ‘under’, *dros* ‘over’, *ger* ‘near’, *heibio* ‘past’, *mewn* ‘in’, *rhwng* ‘between’, *wrth* ‘by’, and *yn* ‘in’. Example (1b) illustrates time and other prepositions which convey this meaning are *am* ‘at’, *ar ôl* ‘after’, and *cyn* ‘before’. Example (1c) has a comitative meaning and other prepositions which can convey this meaning are *gyda* ‘with’ and *â* ‘with’ (the latter is more formal than *efo* and *gyda*). Example (1d) conveys similarity and this meaning can also be conveyed by a phrase which is not a preposition, namely, *yr un fath â* (literally ‘the one sort with’, more freely ‘the same as’), which is commonly reduced to *fath â*. Example (1e) conveys source, and *o* ‘of, from’, *oddi wrth* ‘from’, and *oddi ar* ‘from, off’ can also convey this meaning. Example (1f) conveys recipient or beneficiary and *ar gyfer* ‘for’ can also convey this meaning. Example (1g) indicates needs, intention or disposition, which can also be conveyed by the noun *eisiau* ‘want, need’ which is discussed in chapter 6. The preposition *am* is also discussed in chapter 8. A more detailed account of the semantics of Welsh prepositions is available in Thomas (1996: 357–383).

We can also include here adverbs and adverbial expressions which can convey the meanings of prepositional phrases, especially place and time.

- 2 a. *mae 'r car fanna.*
 be.PRES.3SG the car there
 ‘the car is there.’
- b. *oedd y cyfarfod wedyn.*
 be.IMPF.3SG the meeting after
 ‘the meeting was after.’

Other spatial expressions are *yna* ‘there’, *yma / fama* ‘here’, and *acw / fancw* ‘yonder’. Other temporal expressions are *yna* ‘then’, *rwan / nawr* ‘now’, and *yr amser yna* ‘that time’. Time is also conveyed by *heddiw* ‘today’, *heno* ‘tonight’ *ddoe* ‘yesterday’, *echdoe* ‘the day before yesterday’, *neithiwr* ‘last

night', *yfory* 'tomorrow', and *trannoeth* 'the day after tomorrow'. We shall simply note these possibilities and concentrate on prepositional phrases.

1.2 Subject-only clauses

In this work, the occurrence of a predicate is central to the account of copular clauses, both in respect of their syntax and their semantics. But there are examples of finite copular clauses which lack a predicate, that is, they are subject-only clauses. In these examples, the subjects are indefinite and expletive *yna* 'there' (shortened form *'na*) can occur (this form is discussed in chapter 12). We can distinguish two sorts. First, there are existential sentences (discussed in chapter 12), whose subjects refer to a class of entities.

- 3 a. *mae 'na ysbrydion.*
 be.PRES.3SG there ghosts
 'there are ghosts.'
- b. *mae 'na fydoedd eraill.*
 be.PRES.3SG there worlds other
 'there are other worlds.'
- c. *oedd 'na ddeinosoriaid.*
 be.IMPF.3SG there dinosaurs
 'there were dinosaurs.'
- d. *mae 'na ddynionda.*
 be.PRES.3SG there men good
 'there are good men.'
- e. *mae 'na syniadau drwg.*
 be.PRES.3SG there ideas bad
 'there are bad ideas.'
- f. *mae 'na dduwion.*
 be.PRES.3SG there gods
 'there are gods.'

Second, there are subject-only clauses whose subjects refer to the instance of a class and not the class itself.

- 4 a. *does 'na ddim menyn.*
 NEG.be.PRES.3SG there NEG butter
 'there isn't any butter.'

- b. *ma' 'na ddigon o le.*
 be.PRES.3SG there enough of place
 'there's enough room.'
- c. *oes 'na siwgr?*
 be.PRES.3SG there sugar
 'is there any sugar?'
- d. *fydd 'na fisgedi?*
 be.FUT.3SG there biscuits
 'will there be biscuits?'

In both cases, locative or temporal predicates can be given.

- 5 a. *mae 'na lewod yn Affrica.*
 be.PRES.3SG there lions in Africa
 'there are lions in Africa.'
- b. *oedd 'na ddeinosoriaid oesoedd yn ôl.*
 be.IMPF.3SG there dinosaurs ages in track
 'there were dinosaurs ages ago.'
- c. *mae 'na fydoedd eraill yn y bydysawd.*
 be.PRES.3SG there worlds other in the universe
 'there are other worlds in the universe.'
- d. *mae 'na bysgod yn y môr.*
 be.PRES.3SG there fish in the sea
 'there are fish in the sea.'
- 6 a. *does 'na ddim menyn yn y ffrij.*
 NEG.be.PRES.3SG there NEG butter in the ffrij
 'there isn't any butter in the fridge.'
- b. *ma' 'na ddigon o le yn y cefn.*
 be.PRES.3SG there enough of place in the back
 'there's enough room at the back.'
- c. *oes 'na siwgr yn y te?*
 be.PRES.3SG there sugar in the tea
 'is there any sugar in the tea?'
- d. *fydd 'na fisgedi yn y cyfarfod?*
 be.FUT.3SG there biscuits in the meeting
 'will there be biscuits in the meeting?'

b. *yr oedd yn eu mysg llysiau.*
 PT be.PRES.3SG in 3PL midst vegetables
 ‘there were amongst them vegetables.’

10 a. *y mae darlun ar y mur.*
 PT be.PRES.3SG picture on the wall
 ‘there is a picture on the wall.’

b. *y mae ar y mur ddarlun.*
 PT be.PRES.3SG on the wall picture
 ‘there is on the wall a picture.’

Traditional grammars of Welsh refer to this inversion as *sangiad* (Morris-Jones (1931: 187–188), Thomas (1996: 512–518), Williams (1959: 104; 1980: 80) — ‘interpolation’ in the English medium edition). The initial word of the inverted nominal phrase is soft-mutated and the trigger for this mutation is discussed in sections 3.4 of chapter 5. This type of inversion only occurs when the nominal phrase is indefinite as in (9–10). It does not occur when the nominal phrase is definite, as the examples in (11–12) show.³⁴

11 a. *yr oedd y llysiau yn eu mysg.*
 PT be.IMPF.3SG the vegetables in 3PL midst
 ‘the vegetables were among them.’

b. **yr oedd yn eu mysg y llysiau.*
 PT be.IMPF.3SG in 3PL midst the vegetables
 = ‘among them were the vegetables.’

12 a. *y mae y ddarlun ar y mur.*
 PT be.PRES.3SG the picture on the wall
 ‘the picture is on the wall.’

b. **y mae ar y mur y ddarlun.*
 PT be.PRES.3SG on the wall the picture
 = ‘on the wall is the picture.’

This type of inversion in prepositional copular clauses is restricted to the formal style of Welsh and does not occur in informal Welsh.

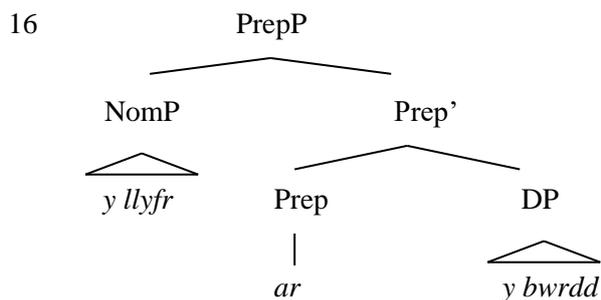
13 a. *mae siwgr yn y paged.*
 be.PRES.3SG sugar in thepacket
 ‘sugar is in the packet.’

- b. **mae yn y paced siwgr.*
 be.PRES.3SG in the packet sugar
 = ‘in the packet is the sugar.’
- 14 a. *mae car ar y ffordd.*
 be.PRES.3SG car on the road
 ‘a car is on the road.’
- b. **mae ar y ffordd gar.*
 be.PRES.3SG on the road car
 = ‘on the road is a car.’
- 15 a. *mae ci wrth y drws.*
 be.PRES.3SG dog by the door
 ‘a dog is by the door.’
- b. **mae wrth y drws gi.*
 be.PRES.3SG by the door dog
 = ‘by the door is a dog.’

But inversion occurs in other prepositional clauses as is shown in chapters 5 and 6.

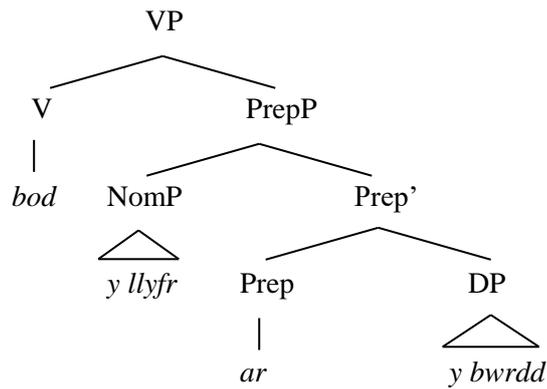
2 Analysis

Examples (1b) and (2b) of subject-predicate clauses in chapter 10 provide grounds for arguing that prepositional copulars such as the example in (1a) are based on a prepositional phrase as in (16), which has a preposition as its head and contains a specifier and complement.



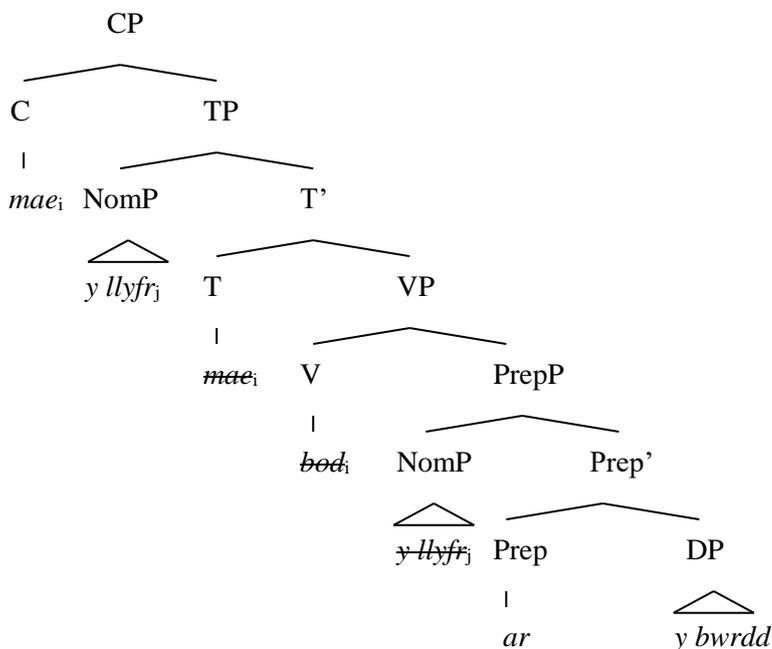
This PrepP merges with the copula to form a VP, as in (17).

17



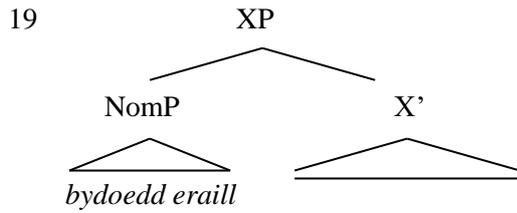
This VP merges with TP, which merges with CP. This configuration is shown in (18), which also illustrates standard movements: the copula is moved to T and then to C, and the subject in Spec PrepP is moved to Spec TP.

18

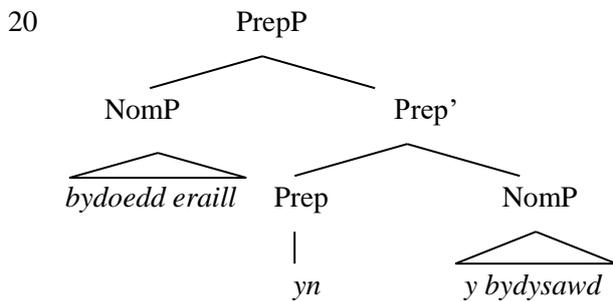


This is the canonical syntax of a normal order finite clause in Welsh. The adverbs and adverbial expressions mentioned in section 1.1 can be accounted for by replacing PrepP with AdvP in the case of adverbials like *yma* ‘here’ etc or NomP in the case of nominal phrases *yr amser yna* ‘that time’.

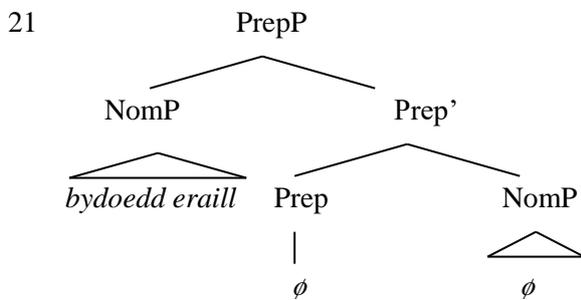
Subject-only copulars are problematic, particularly like those examples in (3). In this work, surface subjects in copular clauses are derived from the specifier of their basic phrases. In prepositional copulars, that is Spec PrepP, as (18) shows. This PrepP has a head and a complement. But the examples in (3) have no heads or complements and we would seem to have a configuration like (19).



There are two approaches to this matter. In the case of existential sentences like those in (3), we can say that existence implies some location (even everywhere) and some time (even all time), and a predicate can be implied. Further, the examples in (5) show that overt heads and complements can be added, thus giving a canonical PrepP as in (20).

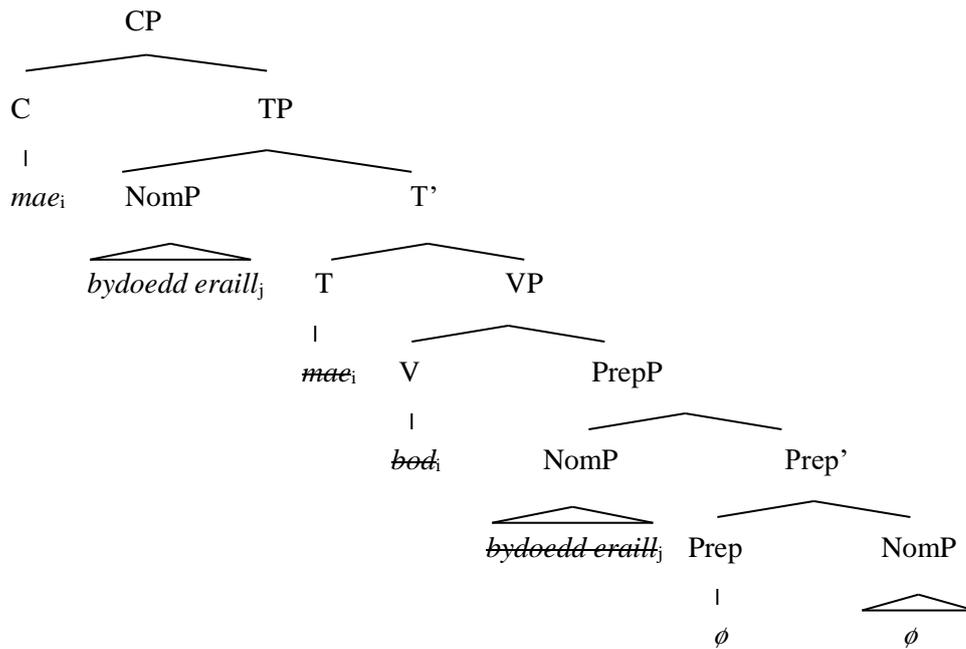


We can therefore hold that subject-only clauses like those in (3) have a basic copular phrase which is a PrepP which has a covert head and a covert complement, as in (21).



This phrase then undergoes the regular merges as shown in (22).

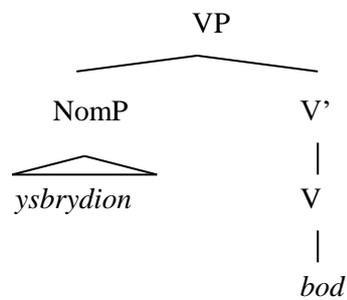
22



This approach is well-founded in the case of examples like those in (4), in which location in space and time can be strongly inferred and can be overtly present as in (6).

The other approach is to adopt the view of Rouveret (1996) that the basic copular phrase of a copula is a VP which is headed by *bod*. This view gives a straightforward analysis of subject-only copulars, as in (23).

23



This *bod*-VP merges with TP, which merges with CP, as in (24).

Chapter 5 Prepositional Phrase Copular Clauses: Possession

This chapter examines copular clauses which are traditionally said to convey possession, more strictly predicative possession. Welsh has a verb, *cael* (*ca'l* in informal Welsh), which can convey ‘receive’, as in, *mae o wedi ca'l gwahoddiad i briodas ei hen gariad* ‘he has received an invitation to the wedding of his old girlfriend’ and ‘have’ as in *dw i'n ca'l uwd i frecwast* ‘I have porridge for breakfast’. But Welsh does not have a ‘have’-like verb which conveys predicative possession like English *have*, French *avoir*, or Spanish *tener*. Possession in Welsh is conveyed by copular clauses whose predicates are prepositional phrases which contain certain prepositions. They have the same basic syntax as prepositional copulars, namely, [Verb + NomP + PrepP].

Section 1 outlines the prepositions that occur in possessive clauses. Section 2 gives a descriptive analysis of possessive clauses in Welsh. Section 3 considers a formal analysis of possessive clauses. Section 4 provides further comments on the syntax of possessive clauses and their semantics.

1 Introduction: locational possessives and with-possessives

The prepositions in possessive clauses can be classified into two sets on the basis of the distinction between possessor and possession. In the examples in (1), the prepositions *gan* ‘with’, *gyda* ‘with’, and *i* ‘to’ indicate the possessor — in each case *Sioned* — and the possession is indicated by the nominal phrase which is in subject position — *car* ‘car’ in (1a–b) and *ochr arall* ‘other side’ in (1c).

1a. *mae car gan Sioned.*

be.PRES.3SG car with Sioned

‘Sioned has got a car.’

b. *mae car gyda Sioned.*

be.PRES.3SG car with Sioned

‘Sioned has got a car.’

c. *mae ochr arall i Sioned.*

be.PRES.3SG side other to Sioned

‘there’s another side to Sioned.’

In the examples in (2), the prepositions *â* ‘with’, *efo* ‘with’, and *heb* ‘without’ indicate the possession — *diddordeb* ‘interest’ in (2a) and (2c) and *arian* ‘money’ in (2b) — and the possessor is indicated by the nominal phrase which is in subject position — in each case *Sioned*.³⁵

- 2 a. *mae Sioned â diddordeb.*
 be.PRES.3SG Sioned with interest
 ‘Sioned has an interest.’
- b. *mae Sioned efo arian.*
 be.PRES.3SG Sioned with money
 ‘Sioned has got money.’
- c. *mae Sioned heb ddiddordeb.*
 be.PRES.3SG Sioned without interest
 ‘Sioned is without an interest.’

Gan and *heb* are fully inflecting prepositions (although there is variation in their morphophonemics in the dialects). *I* inflects only in the third person singular and plural. The other prepositions are non-inflecting.

The prepositions *gan* and *gyda* are both used in informal and formal Welsh, although *gan* is favoured in formal Welsh. In informal Welsh, *gan* occurs mainly in northern dialects while *gyda* occurs mainly in central and southern dialects — *gyda* is commonly reduced to *'da* as in *mae car 'da Sioned* ‘Sioned has got a car’, and, for some speakers, it can acquire a final *g* before words which begin with a vowel, as in *mae car gydag Anwen* ‘Anwen has got a car’. The preposition *i* is found in both formal and informal Welsh. The preposition *â* in possessive clauses is most associated with formal Welsh and is rare in informal contexts. The preposition *efo* in possessives is confined to informal Welsh and occurs mainly in northern dialects. *Heb* can be used in both formal and informal Welsh. It is distinctive in having negative meaning. The equivalents of (2c) in formal Welsh, using *â*, and in informal Welsh, using *efo*, would use a negative pattern.

- 3 a. *nid yw Sioned â diddordeb.*
 NEG be.PRES.3SG Sioned with interest
 ‘Sioned has not got any interest.’
- b. *d ydy Sioned ddim efo arian.*
 NEG be.PRES.3SG Sioned NEG with money
 ‘Sioned has not got any money.’

Traditional grammars discuss *gan*, *i*, and *â*, but there is less mention of *gyda* and *heb*, apart from Rowland (1876:109) who refers to *gyda*. Other descriptions which are more ready to take account of vernacular usage refer to *gyda* as an equivalent of *gan* — for example, Wiliam (1967:8) and *Cymraeg Byw 3* (1970:31), Jones and Thomas (1977:54-56), and King (1993:320). The preposition *efo* in this usage is not commonly acknowledged and the reference to it in Jones and Thomas (1977:55) is very

rare. The neglect of those prepositions which are mainly excluded from formal Welsh can be explained by the emphasis which traditional grammarians place on the formal written language.

We can see from all the above examples that there are two possibilities in the distribution of possession and possessor in the clause.

<u>subject</u>	<u>complement of the preposition</u>	
possession	possessor	<i>gan</i> , <i>gyda</i> , and <i>i</i> mark possessor, as in (1)
possessor	possession	<i>â</i> , <i>efo</i> , and <i>heb</i> mark possession as in (2)

As can be seen, either the possession is the subject and the possessor is in the prepositional phrase predicate, or the reverse ordering in which the possessor is the subject and the possession is in the prepositional phrase predicate. Stassen (2009, 2013a) refers to the first type as locational possessives and the second type as with-possessives (more generally, conjunctive possessives). But some of these prepositions can occur in both sequences in informal Welsh. This is especially so of *gyda* and *efo*, as the examples in (4–5) show (which, for convenience, give both sequences).

4 a. *mae car gyda Sioned.*

be.PRES.3SG car with Sioned

‘Sioned has got a car.’

b. *mae Sioned gyda char.*

be.PRES.3SG Sioned with car

‘Sioned has got a car.’

5 a. *mae Sioned efo arian.*

be.PRES.3SG Sioned with money

‘Sioned has got money.’

b. *mae arian efo Sioned.*

be.PRES.3SG Sioned with interest

‘Sioned has got money.’

In (4a), *gyda* indicates the possessor, but in (4b) it indicates the possession and the possessor occurs as the subject. In (5a), *efo* indicates the possession but in (5b) it indicates the possessor and the possession occurs as the subject. There is the possibility that some speakers in northern dialects can use *gan* in both sequences.

6 a. *mae sigaret gan Sioned.*

be.PRES.3SG cigarette with Sioned

‘Sioned has got a cigarette.’

- b. *mae* *Sioned gan sigaret.*
 be.PRES.3SG Sioned with cigarette
 ‘Sioned has got a cigarette.’

In (6a), *gan* indicates the possessor, but in (6b) it indicates the possession and the possessor occurs as the subject. But the latter is probably not as common as the equivalent use of *gyda* in (4b). In the case of *gyda* and *gan*, there are strong prescriptive views about the sequences in (4b) and (6b).

It can now be seen that Welsh has two types of possessive clauses which are listed in Stassen’s (2013a) typology: a locational possessive and a with-possessive. Further, Stassen says that the examples with *gan* and *gyda* are instances of locative possessives and those with *i* ‘to, for’ are instances of dative possessives. It thus emerges that Welsh has three types of predicative possessives which occur in Stassen’s typology (although he brings together locative and dative under locational possessives, and with-possessives come under the main conjunctive class). The fact that possessives with *efo* are examples of an established typological class indicates how necessary it is to include them in any study of Welsh possessive clauses.

2 Basic syntax: verb-first order and inversion

It can be seen from the examples in (1) and (2) that possessive copulars have canonical verb-first word order, namely, [Verb + Subject + Predicate] or, in a different notation, [Verb + NomP + PrepP]. Chapter 4 shows that regular prepositional copulars do not allow the inversion of the nominal phrase and the prepositional phrase — we do not have *mae yn yr ardd flodau del* ‘there are in the garden pretty flowers’. Matters are different in possessive prepositional copulars. Inversion can occur but it is constrained by two factors: the definiteness of the subject and the type of possessive clause.

2.1 Locational possessives

Locational possessives, that is, possessive copulars whose prepositions (*gan*, *gyda*, and *i*) indicate the possessor, as in (1), are distinctive in that they allow the inversion of the subject and the predicate giving [Verb + Predicate + Subject], or, expressed differently, the inversion of the nominal phrase and the prepositional phrase, giving [Verb + PrepP + NomP]. But inversion is constrained by the definiteness of the subject nominal phrase ³⁶.

Both definite and indefinite nominal phrases can occur in surface subject position, [Verb + NomP + PrepP], as in (7) and (8) respectively.

- 7 a. *mae car gan / gyda Sioned.*
 be.PRES.3SG car with Sioned
 ‘Sioned has got a car.’
- b. *oedd sgidiau melyn gan / gyda Gwilym.*
 be.IMPF.3SG shoes yellow with Gwilym
 ‘Gwilym had yellow shoes.’
- c. *fydd arian mawr gan / gyda ’r plant.*
 be.FUT.3SG money big with the children
 ‘the children will have a lot of money.’
- d. *mae ochr arall i Sioned.*
 be.PRES.3SG side other to Sioned
 ‘there's another side to Sioned.’
- 8 a. *mae ’r car gan / gyda Sioned.*
 be.PRES.3SG the car with Sioned
 ‘Siôn has got the car.’
- b. *oedd y sgidiau melyn gan / gyda Gwilym.*
 be.IMPF.3SG the shoes yellow with Gwilym
 ‘Gwilym had the yellow shoes.’
- c. *fydd yr arian mawr gan / gyda ’r plant.*
 be.FUT.3SG the money big with the children
 ‘the children will have the big money.’
- d. **mae yr ochr arall i Sioned.*
 be.PRES.3SG the side other to Sioned
 ‘the other side is to Sioned.’

Example (8d) is starred as definite nominal phrases do not occur as subjects in possessive clauses which contain *i* ‘to’.

The facts about inverted order, [Verb + PrepP + NomP], are not straightforward. For some speakers, inverted order only occurs when the nominal phrase is indefinite, as in (9), but not generally when the nominal phrase is definite, as in (10).

- 9 a. *mae gan / gyda Sioned gar.*
 be.PRES.3SG with Sioned car
 ‘Sioned has got a car.’

- b. *oedd gan / gyda Gwilym sgidiau melyn.*
 be.IMPF.3SG with Gwilym shoes yellow
 ‘Gwilym had yellow shoes.’
- c. *fydd gan / gyda ’r plant arian mawr.*
 be.FUT.3SG with the children money big
 ‘the children will have a lot of money.’
- d. *mae i Sioned ochr arall.*
 be.PRES.3SG to Sioned side other
 ‘there's another side to Sioned.’
- 10 a. **mae gan / gyda Sioned y car.*
 be.PRES.3SG with Sioned the car
 ‘Siôn has got the car.’
- b. **oedd gan / gyda Gwilym y sgidiau melyn.*
 be.IMPF.3SG with Gwilym the shoes yellow
 ‘Gwilym had the yellow shoes.’
- c. **fydd gan / gyda ’r plant yr arian mawr.*
 be.FUT.3SG with the children the money big
 ‘the children will have the big money.’

The indefinite nominal phrase which follows the prepositional phrase undergoes soft mutation, as can be seen in (9a) above where *gar* occurs instead of *car*. This mutation is discussed in section 3.4. As definite nominal phrases do not occur with the prepositional phrase which is headed by *i* ‘to, for’, no ungrammatical example of inversion of a definite nominal phrase is given. There are two exceptions to the convention that definite nominal phrases are not inverted.

2.1.1 Usage

One is based on difference of usage amongst speakers. Some speakers invert definite nominal phrases and examples like those in (10) are well-formed for such speakers. Additional examples of this usage are given in (11).

- 11 a. *mae gan / gyda Sioned y goriad.*
 be.PRES.3SG with Sioned the key
 ‘Siôn has got the key.’
- b. *oedd gan / gyda Gwilym y tocynnau.*
 be.IMPF.3SG with Gwilym the tickets
 ‘Gwilym had the tickets.’

- c. *fydd gan / gyda 'r plant y tegannau.*
 be.FUT.3SG with the children the toys
 ‘the children will have the toys.’

Thus, such speakers have generalized inverted order irrespective of definiteness.

2.1.2 Generic nominal phrases

The other exception is that those speakers who do not generally invert a definite nominal phrase can produce examples like those in (12).

- 12 a. *oedd gan Mohammed Ali y ddawn i ennill sylw pawb.*
 be.IMPF.3SG with Mohammed Ali the talent to win attention everyone
 ‘Mohammed Ali had the talent to win everyone’s attention.’
- b. *mae gan Sioned y gallu i wneud yn dda*
 be.PRES.3SG with Sioned the ability to do PRED good
 ‘Sioned's got the ability to do well.’
- c. *mae gan y car y seti newydd.*
 be.PRES.3SG with the car the seats new
 ‘the car has got the new seats.’
- d. *mae gynnon ni y defnydd yna rhwng y waliau i insiwleiddio 'r tŷ.*
 be.PRES.3SG with we the material there between the walls to insulate the house
 ‘we’ve got that material between the walls to insulate the house.’

These nominal phrases have generic and not specific reference — they refer to a general type of entity and not a specific entity. These examples could be re-worded in terms of *y math o ...* ‘the sort of ...’ for example, *mae gan Sioned y math o allu i wneud yn dda* ‘Sioned has got the sort of ability to do well’.

Some of these examples have extensive postmodification, and heavy-NP shift can cause inversion. But this does not explain inversion for those speakers who do not generally invert. Heavy-NP shift does not apply to example (12c). Further, given definite nominal phrases with extensive modification which have specific reference, only partial heavy NP-shift would apply and not total heavy NP-shift, as the examples in (13) and (14) show.

- 13 a *mae 'r allwedd sy 'n agor y drws ffrynt gan Sioned.*
 be.PRES.3SG the key be.PRES.3SG PROG open the door front with Sioned
 ‘Sioned has got the key which opens the front door.’

- b. *mae 'r allwedd gan Sioned sy 'n agor y drws ffrynt.*
 be.PRES.3SG the key with Sioned be.PRES.3SG PROG open the door front
 ‘Sioned has got the key which opens the front door.’
- c. **mae gan Sioned yr allwedd sy 'n agor y drws ffrynt.*
 be.PRES.3SG with Sioned the key be.PRES.3SG PROG open the door front
 ‘Sioned has got the key which opens the front door.’
- 14 a. *mae 'r arian i wario ar wylie yn yr Eidal gan Sioned.*
 be.PRES.3SG the money to spend on holidays in the Italy with Sioned
 ‘Sioned has got the money to spend on holidays in Italy.’
- b. *mae 'r arian gan Sioned i wario ar wylie yn yr Eidal.*
 be.PRES.3SG the money with Sioned to spend on holidays in the Italy
 ‘Sioned has got the money to spend on holidays in Italy.’
- c. **mae gan Sioned yr arian i wario ar wylie yn yr Eidal.*
 be.PRES.3SG with Sioned the money to spend on holidays in the Italy
 ‘Sioned has got the money to spend on holidays in Italy.’

The starring of examples (13c) and (14c) applies to those speakers who do not generally invert definite nominal phrases. They would be acceptable to those speakers who regularly invert definite nominal phrases.

2.1.3 Perfect aspect and periphrastic patterns

There are other possessive clauses which satisfy the conditions for inversion but which do not invert the nominal phrase and the prepositional phrase. These are perfect aspect examples like the one in (15) and periphrastic examples like the one in (16).

- 15 a. *mae car wedi bod gan Siôn.*
 be.PRES.3SG car PERF be with Siôn
 ‘Siôn has had a car.’
- b. **mae gan Siôn wedi bod gar.*
 be.PRES.3SG with Siôn PERF be car
 = ‘Siôn has had a car.’
- 16 a. *ddylai car fod gan Siôn.*
 should car be with Siôn
 ‘Siôn should have a car.’
- b. **ddylai gan Siôn fod gar.*
 should with Siôn be car
 = ‘Siôn should have a car.’

We shall consider explanations for this constraint in section 3.3.

2.1.4 Other matters

We can note that there are stylistic and dialectal differences between non-inverted order and inverted order. Inversion in clauses containing the preposition *i*, as in example (7d), is most typical of formal Welsh and is rare in informal Welsh. In contrast, the inverted version is the most typical order for clauses containing *gan* in the northern dialects and the non-inverted version is more common in clauses containing *gyda* in southern dialects.

We can speculate that information structure can partly, but not completely, explain why inversion occurs. Certain thematic roles go into subject position and others go into the predicate: in particular, the agent role and the patient role follow these conventions in active verbal clauses. The possessor role is not obviously agentive but it can be said to be more dynamic-like than the possession role. It can be speculated that there is analogical pressure to bring the dynamic-like possessor into the subject position and thus precede the passive-like possession.³⁷ This account also explains why regular prepositional phrase copulars do not invert, as outlined in chapter 4: the dynamic-like phrase is already in subject position and the phrase which is the complement of the preposition does not have dynamic-like semantics. But there are two observations about variation in usage which limit this explanation of inversion. One is that some speakers only invert indefinite subjects even though a possessor is just as dynamic-like in clauses which have definite subjects. But other speakers consistently invert the subject and the predicate irrespective of definiteness. The second observation is that we have noted that non-inverted clauses are more common in southern dialects and it is curious that information structure is an influence on word order in some dialects and not in others.

2.2 With-possessives

Inversion does not occur in possessive copulars which contain the prepositions which indicate the possession, that is *â* ‘with’ *efo* ‘with’, and *heb* ‘without’. The subject nominal phrases are always definite. Indefinite nominal phrases do not occur.

17 a. *mae* *('r) *dyn â diddordeb.*

be.PRES.3SG the man with interest

‘the / (*a) man has got an interest.’

b. *mae* *('r) *bachgen efo pêl.*

be.PRES.3SG the boy with ball

‘the / (*a) boy is with a ball.’

- c. *mae* *(’r) *hogan heb het.*
 be.PRES.3SG the girl without hat
 ‘the / (*a) girl is without a hat.’

And because we do not get indefinite nominal phrases, we do not get inverted examples like (18).

- 18 a. **mae* *â diddordeb ddyn.*
 be.PRES.3SG with interest man
 b. **mae* *efo pêl fachgen.*
 be.PRES.3SG with ball boy
 c. **mae* *heb het ferch.*
 be.PRES.3SG without hat girl

We can also note that the subject, being the possessor, is also the more dynamic-like entity. There are, then, two ways of bringing the more dynamic-like possessor into subject position. One is to invert the subject and the prepositional phrase (in locational possessives); and the other is to use the prepositions which mark the possession, thus placing the possessor in subject position (in with-possessives).

3 Analysis

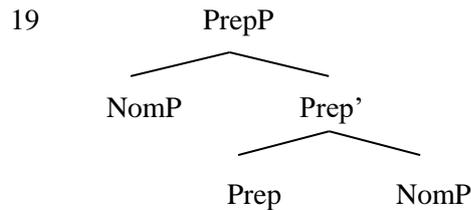
A formal analysis of possessive clauses must be able to explain the following:

- Possessive clauses in Welsh are copular clauses which contain prepositional phrases as their predicates
- There are two sets of prepositions —one set indicates the possessor (locational possessives), and the other set indicates the possession (with-possessives)
- The word orders are as follows:
 - verb-first order
 - non-inverted [Verb + NomP + PrepP]
 - inverted [Verb + PrepP + NomP] in the case of prepositions which indicate the possessor (locational possessives)
 - verb-second order is discussed in chapter 11

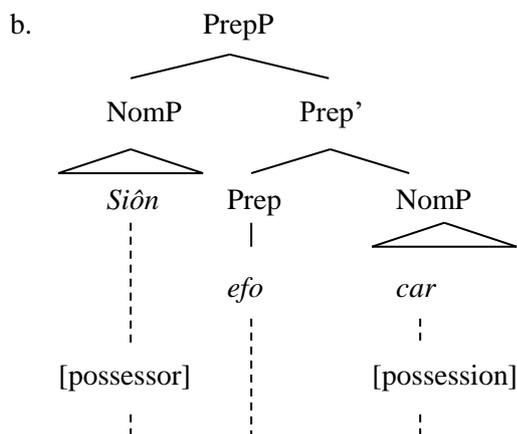
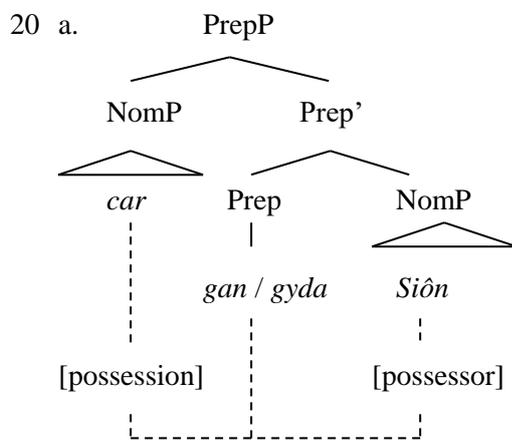
- There are various constraints, especially on the inverted possessives.

3.1 The prepositional phrase and thematic roles

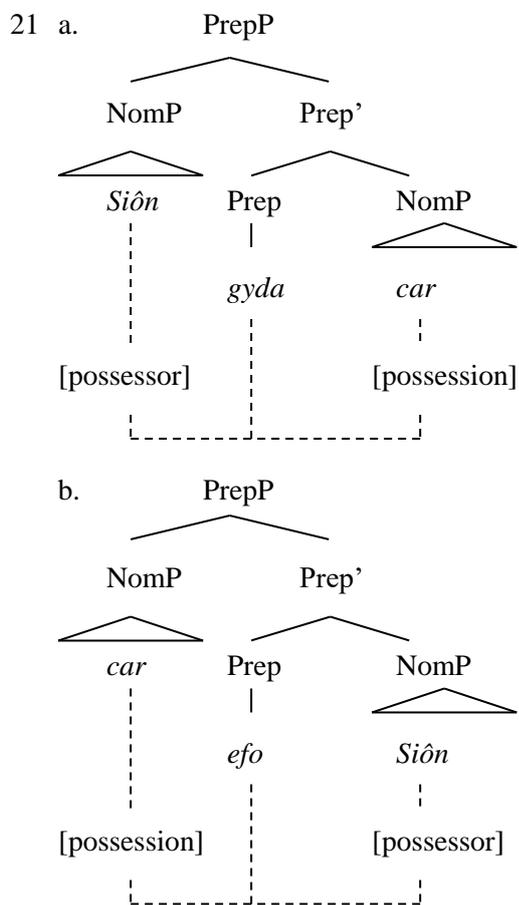
Examples (1c–d) and (2c–d) in chapter 10 show that possessive patterns can occur in subject-predicate clauses (absolute clauses and small clauses) and on this basis we shall hold that possessive clauses are based on a prepositional phrase, as in (19).



The preposition which is inserted into Prep assigns thematic roles to the specifier and the complement. *Gan*, *gyda*, and *i* assign the role of possession to the specifier and the role of possessor to the complement — locational possessives, illustrated for *gan* and *gyda* in (20a). *Efo*, *â*, and *heb* assign the role of possessor to the subject and the role of possession to the complement — with-possessives, illustrated for *efo* in (20b).



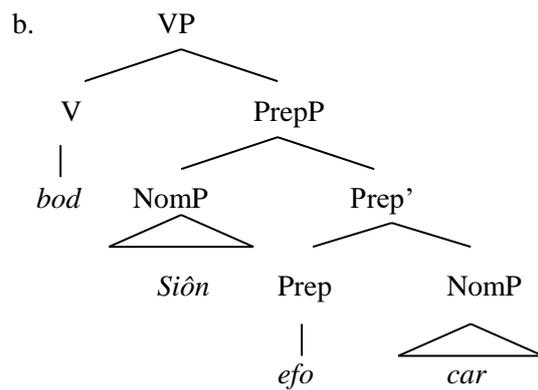
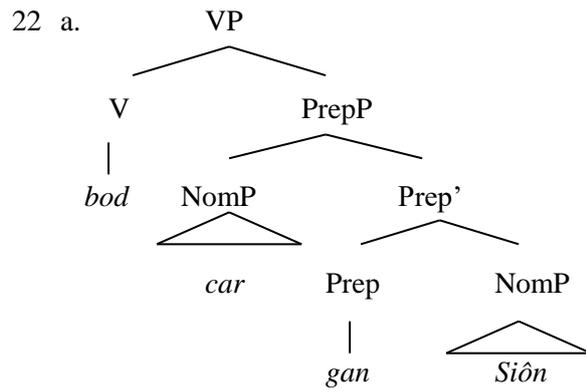
We have seen that there are reverse assignments. *Gyda* and less commonly *gan*, can assign the role of possessor to the subject and the role of possession to the complement, illustrated with *gyda* in (21a). *Efo* can assign the role of possession to the specifier and the role of possession to the complement, illustrated in (21b).



These analyses account for the prepositional basis to Welsh possessives, the choice of prepositions, and the assignment of the thematic roles — possessor and possession — to the specifier and the complement.

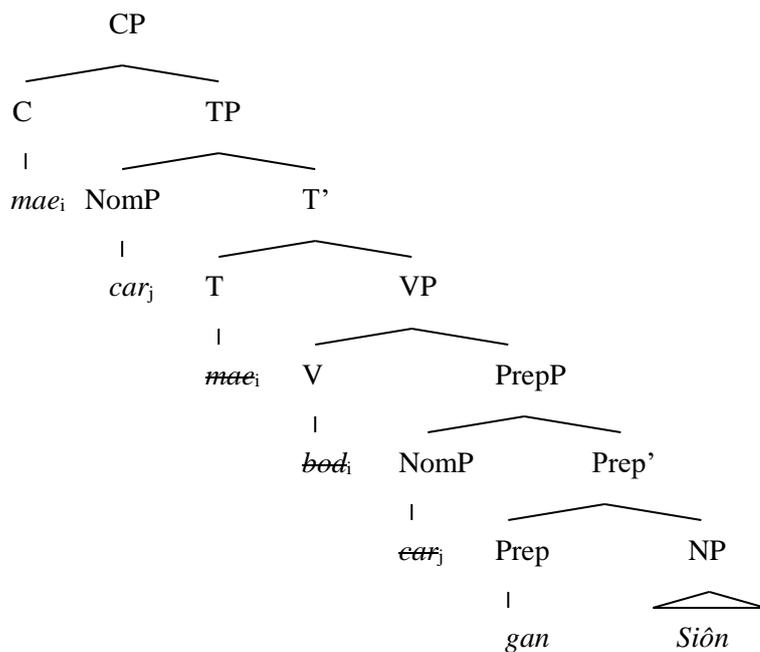
3.2 Normal-order finite clauses

PrepP is developed into a full finite clause with three mergers. PrepP merges with *bod*, to form a VP. This is illustrated for *gan* in (22a) and for *efo* in (22b).

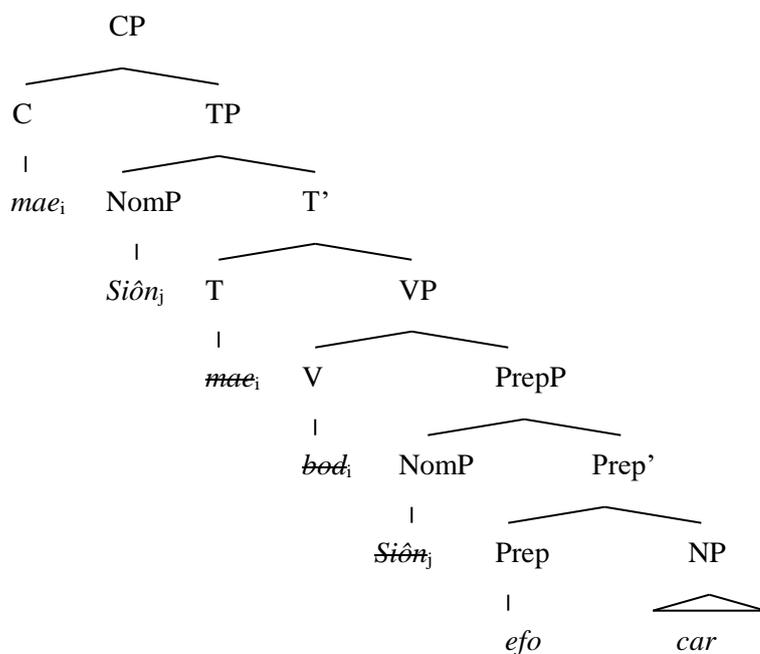


This VP merges with TP, and TP merges with CP. Two standard movement rules for canonical finite clauses apply. The subject in Spec PrepP is raised to the surface subject position in Spec TP and the verb in VP is raised first to T and then on to C, producing the verb-first order of normal order finite clauses in Welsh. These mergers and movements are shown in (23a) for prepositions which assign the role of possessor to the complement (locational possessives) and in (23b) for prepositions which assign the role of possession to the complement (with-possessives).

23 a.



b.



These standard mergers and movement rules show that the syntax of normal word-order possessive copulars is canonical and challenge the view that they are idiomatic (more on this in section 4.2).

3.3 Inverted word-order

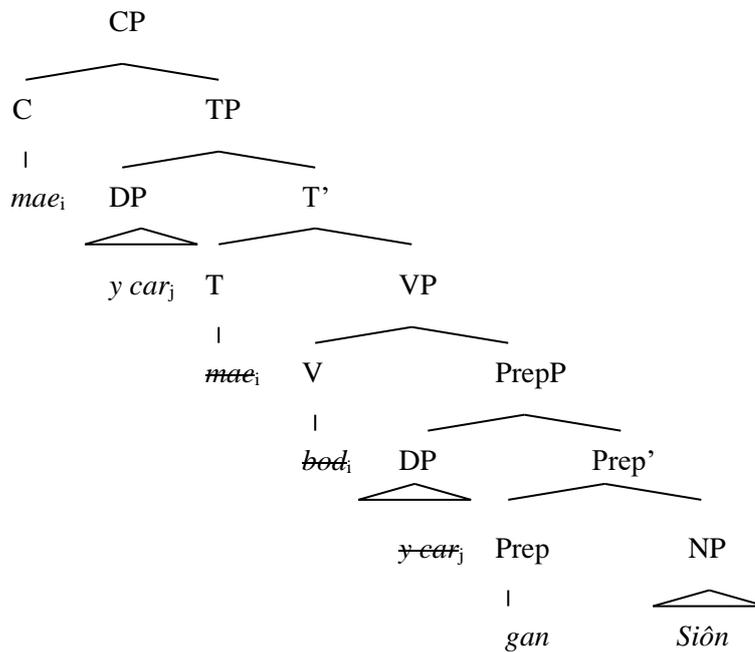
The formal analysis of inversion must account for the following:

- the influence of the definiteness of the nominal phrase

- for some speakers inversion only occurs with an indefinite nominal phrase and a certain type of definite nominal phrases which is non-specific;
- for other speakers, inversion occurs with all nominal phrases;
- inversion only applies to clauses containing prepositions which indicate the possessor (locational possessives);
- inversion does not occur in clauses which have an aspect or periphrastic verbal pattern.

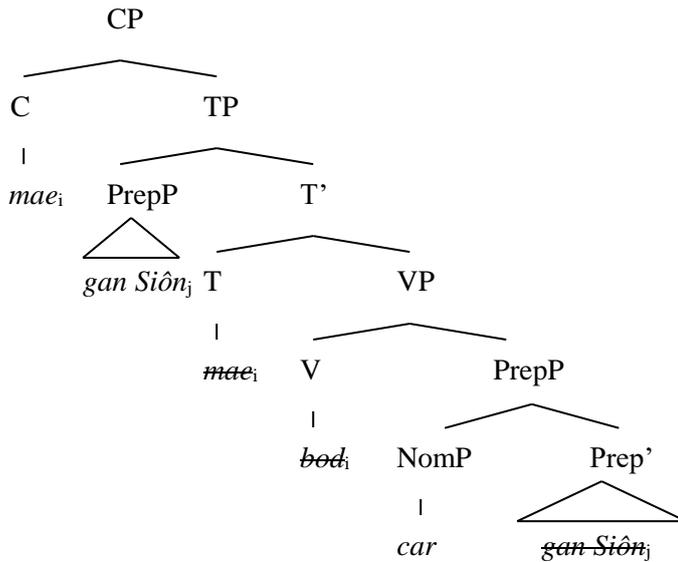
We can account for the possibilities of inversion by raising either the specifier phrase in PrepP to Spec TP, or Prep' to Spec TP. For some speakers, a DP_{DEF} is obligatorily raised, which is illustrated in (24).

24



DP_{INDEF} in Spec PrepP is optionally raised. When raised we have the configuration which is given in (23a). Inverted order is accounted for by raising Prep' to Spec. This is illustrated in (25) for *gan*.

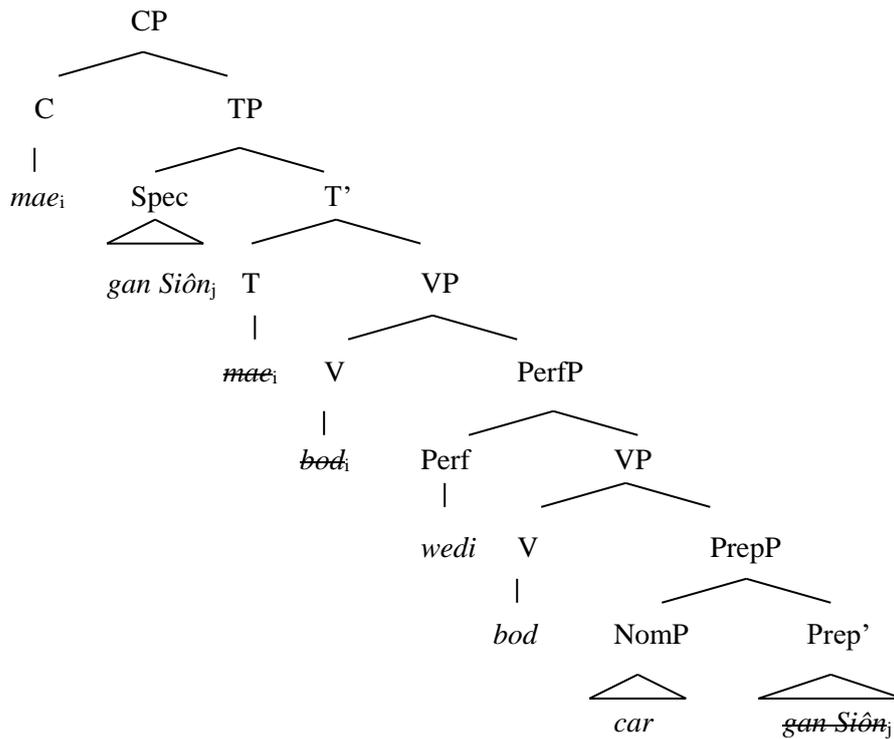
25



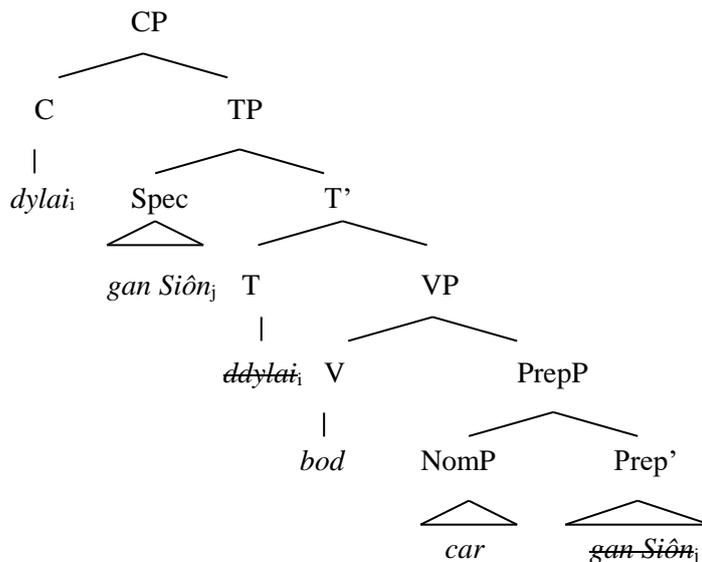
This movement rule can be justified on the grounds that its result meets the descriptive facts and satisfies the EPP. But it can also be justified on the grounds that *sydd* occurs when the nominal phrase within the prepositional phrase is fronted, which is discussed in chapters 11 and 13. For those speakers who invert DP_{DEF} as well as DP_{INDEF}, the constraints on inversion have been abandoned and the raising of Prep' has been generalized.

We can attempt to explain the constraint on inversion in clauses which contain an aspect or periphrastic verbal pattern by considering the configurations for the ungrammatical examples in (15b) and (16b), namely, **mae gan Siôn wedi bod gar* and **ddylai gan Siôn fod gar*, and to compare them with the configuration for the grammatical example of inversion in (25), namely, *mae gan Siôn gar*.

26



27



The common characteristic of the ungrammatical examples is that overt material occurs between the inverted prepositional phrase and the subject phrase, **gan Siôn* [*wedi bod*] *goriad* and **gan Siôn* [*fod*] *goriad*. The copula in the VP which contains Prep' remains *in situ* in (26) and (27), while in (25) the copula in the VP is raised first to T and then to C. As a result, in the grammatical example in (25), the inverted Prep' and the subject are adjacent, *gan Siôn gar*. On the basis of present understanding, it can be speculated that there may be an adjacency condition. Intervening material prevents adjacency of Prep' and the subject. This is the case in (26) and (27) but not (25). See also section 2.4 of chapter 8 for inversion in *i*-infinitive copular clauses.

3.4 Mutations

Examples (28–30) illustrate soft mutation in possessive clauses.

- 28 a. *dydy* *'r goriad* ***ddim*** *gan Sioned.*
 NEG.be.PRES.3SG the key NEG with Sioned
 ‘Sioned hasn’t got the key.’
- b. *mae* *yna* ***oriad*** *gan Sioned.*
 be.PRES.3SG there key with Sioned
 ‘Sioned hasn’t got a key.’
- c. *does* *yna* ***ddim*** *goriad gan Sioned.*
 NEG.be.PRES.3SG there NEG key with Sioned
 ‘Sioned hasn’t got a key.’
- 29 a. *mae* *gan Sioned* ***oriad***.
 be.PRES.3SG with Sioned key
 ‘Sioned has got a key.’
- b. *does* *gan Sioned* ***ddim*** *goriad.*
 NEG.be.PRES.3SG with Sioned NEG key
 ‘Sioned hasn’t got a key.’

The mutated words, in bold, follow the phrase in subject position. In (28a), we have a definite nominal phrase in the subject and *ddim* is the mutated word. In (28b–c), expletive *yna* ‘there’ is in the subject position and *oriad* and *ddim* are the mutated words. In the examples in (29), a prepositional phrase is in subject position and *oriad* and *ddim* are the mutated words. All these mutations come under the phrasal account of mutations which is given by Borsley and Tallerman (1996) and Tallerman (2006). They refer to it as the XP trigger hypothesis (XPTH), whereby any phrase (XP) can mutate an immediately following word.

4 Further remarks

4.1 Are Welsh possessive clauses idiomatic?

Some works on Welsh assert that possessive clauses containing *gan* or *gyda* are idiomatic (for instance, *Geirfa A Chystrawennau Cymraeg*: 49-50, Evans D.S 1971:145). They are probably led to this view through the comparison of the way that Welsh conveys predicative possession with the way that English uses *have* (*got*) in transitive clauses and numerous other languages which use an equivalent of a ‘have’-like verb.

Within Welsh itself, it can readily be shown that these clauses follow the syntax of normal-order finite clauses and in particular the syntax of other copular clauses which have a prepositional phrase as predicate, such as locative clauses.

30 a. *mae 'r goriadau ar y bwrdd.*

be.PRES.3SG the keys on the table

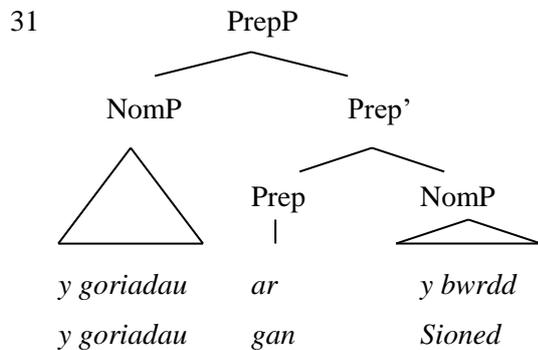
'the keys are on the table.'

b. *mae 'r goriadau gan Sioned.*

be.PRES.3SG the keys with Sioned

'Sioned has got the keys.'

The syntax of the two clauses is identical: a finite verb comes first, followed by a nominal phrase, which is followed by a prepositional phrase. Their basic copular phrases have the same syntax.



However, in informal Welsh, possessive clauses allow inversion while other copular clauses which contain a prepositional phrase predicate do not, as outlined in section 1.3 of chapter 4.

There are also typological considerations which show that other languages use prepositional phrases in possessive clauses. Irish, Samoan, and Punjabi uses a prepositional construction (in Punjabi, postpositions occur).³⁸

32 a. *tá gúna nua ag Eibhlín.* (Irish)

is dress new at Eileen

'Eileen has got a new dress.'

b. *e i ai iā te a'u tusi e tolu* (Samoan)

PRES 'there' at I book PART three

'I've got three books.'

c. *mwŋḍe koḷ kalam e.* (Punjabi)

boy beside pen is

'the boy has a pen.'

Stassen's (2013a) typology of five main types of predicative possessives places Welsh (and the other Celtic languages) under the locational type. This type makes up 20% of the 240 languages which are the basis of the Stassen's study. In passing, we can note that the conjunctive type, to which the *with*-type belongs, amounts to 24.58% and the *have*-type amounts to 26.25%

Against all these considerations, there is no case for saying that possessive clauses in Welsh are idiomatic.

4.2 Possessive clauses and possession

Possession is a difficult concept to tie-down, ranging from inalienable position to temporary possession. Lyons (1977: 722-723) points out that the function of possessive clauses cannot be consistently explained in terms of possession, particularly in the sense of ownership. The purpose of this section is to outline some of the problems which hinder a consistent and comprehensive definition of the semantics of a possessive clause. Throughout this discussion, we are essentially concerned with trying to explain the relationship between the referent of the nominal in the nominal phrase and the referent of the nominal in the prepositional phrase. It is far from comprehensive. More detailed discussion is found in more specific studies of possessives such as Heine (1997), Seiler (1983), and Stassen (2009).

There is no doubt that a possessive relationship in the sense of ownership can be conveyed by a possessive clause.

- 33 a. *mae gan Gwyn gar newydd.*
 be.PRES.3SG with Gwyn car new
 'Gwyn has got a new car.'
- b. *mae gyda Sioned lun gan Rembrandt.*
 be.PRES.3SG with Sioned picture by Rembrandt
 'Sioned has got a picture by Rembrandt.'
- c. *oedd gyda mamgu hen ddodrefn.*
 be.IMPF.3SG with grandmother old furniture
 'grandmother had got old furniture.'

In each case, the individuals in the prepositional phrases can be seen as the owners of the materials in the nominal phrases. But all these examples contain an indefinite nominal phrase. The interpretation of ownership is less obvious with definite nominal phrases.

- 34 a. *mae 'r car newydd gan Gwyn.*
 be.PRES.3SG the car new with Gwyn
 'Gwyn has got the new car.'
- b. *mae 'r llun gan Rembrandt gyda Sioned.*
 be.PRES.3SG the picture by Rembrandt with Sioned
 'Sioned has got the picture by Rembrandt.'
- c. *oedd yr hen ddodrefn gan mamgu.*
 be.IMPF.3SG the old furniture with grandmother
 'grandmother had the old furniture.'

The objects (things) in each case can be temporarily in the keeping of the individuals who are referred to in the prepositional phrases, but are owned by other individuals. In this sense, possession can include 'temporary possession', in the sense of 'in the keeping of'. Ownership involving definite nominal phrases can be conveyed in Welsh by *piau* (which occurs as *pia* or *bia* in informal Welsh).

- 35 a. *Gwyn sy bia 'r car newydd.*
 Gwyn be.PRES.3SG own the car new
 'Gwyn owns the new car.'
- b. *Sioned sy bia 'r llun gan Rembrandt.*
 Sioned be.PRES.3SG own the picture by Rembrandt
 'Sioned owns the picture by Rembrandt.'
- c. *mamgu oedd bia 'r hen ddodrefn.*
 grandmother be.IMPF.3SG own the old furniture
 'grandmother owned the old furniture.'

Piau is discussed in detail in chapter 7.

There are other examples where possession in the sense of ownership is clearly excluded or, at least, marginal.

- 36 a. *mae car Mair gan Wiliam.*
 be.PRES.3SG car Mair with William
 'William has got Mair's car.'
- b. *mae gan Gwyn lyfr sy 'n perthyn i 'w chwaer.*
 be.PRES.3SG with Gwyn book be.PRES.3SG PROG belong to 2SG.M sister
 'Gwyn has got a book which belongs to his sister.'

- c. *mae gan Sioned ddau frawd.*
 be.PRES.3SG with Sioned two brother
 ‘Sioned has got two brothers.’
- d. *mae gan Siôn gur yn ei ben.*
 be.PRES.3SG with Siôn knock in his head
 ‘Siôn has got a headache.’
- e. *mae gen i deimlad bod Siôn yn anhapus.*
 be.PRES.3SG with I feeling be.PRES Siôn PRED unhappy
 ‘I’ve got a feeling that John is unhappy.’

Two of these examples, (36a–b), unquestionably show that some other person owns the entity denoted by the nominal phrase. The other three examples show that possession is not a straightforward interpretation. It is not reasonable to say that the subjects in these clauses can own or possess two brothers, a headache, or a feeling.

4.3 Possessive clauses and location

We see in section 3.2 that the syntax of normal-order possessive clauses is the same as locative copular clauses and there are examples which encourage a locative interpretation of the semantics of possessive clauses. A locative interpretation of possessives is discussed in Lyons (1977: 722–723) and a locative interpretation of Welsh possessive clauses is found in Jones and Thomas (1977:54–55) and Thomas (1992: 279). Stassen’s (2013a) typological study places Welsh in the locational class, “with the possessor NP being marked by some item meaning ‘at’, ‘on’ or ‘in’”. Some illustrations have already been given which support a locative interpretation this point. They are collected here for convenience.

- 37 a. *mae ’r car newydd gan Gwyn.*
 be.PRES.3SG the car new with Gwyn
 ‘Gwyn has got the new car.’
- b. *mae ’r llun gan Rembrandt gyda Sioned.*
 be.PRES.3SG the picture by Rembrandt with Sioned
 ‘Sioned has got the picture by Rembrandt.’
- c. *oedd yr hen ddodrefn gan mamgu.*
 be.IMPF.3SG the old furniture with grandmother
 ‘grandmother had the old furniture.’
- d. *mae car Mair gan Wiliam.*
 be.PRES.3SG car Mair with William
 ‘William has got Mair's car.’

In each case, the possession (the subject) could be located in the presence of the possessor (in the prepositional phrase). Such examples have a striking similarity with canonical locatives, as in (38).

- 38 a. *mae 'r car newydd yn y garej.*
 be.PRES.3SG the car new in the garage
 'the new car is in the garage.'
- b. *mae 'r llun gan Rembrandt yn yr amgueddfa.*
 be.PRES.3SG the picture by Rembrandt in the museum
 'the picture by Rembrandt is in the museum.'
- c. *yr oedd yr hen ddodrefn yn yr atic.*
 PT be.IMPF.3SG the old furniture in the attic
 'the old furniture was in the attic.'
- d. *mae car Mair ar y ffordd.*
 be.PRES.3SG car Mair on the road
 'Mair's car is on the road.'

This locative relationship is further illustrated by the possibility of using a possessive clause to reply to a *lle / ble* 'where' question.

- 39 a. *lle mae 'r car newydd?*
 where be.PRES.3SG the car new
 'where's the new car?'
- b. *mae 'r car newydd gan Gwyn.*
 be.PRES.3SG the key new with Gwyn
 'Gwyn has got the new car.'

Another piece of evidence for the locative base of possessive clauses comes from examples like those in (40–42).

- 40 a. *mae gan John farc ar ei dalcen.*
 be.PRES.3SG with John indicateon his forehead
 'John's got a indicate on his forehead.'
- b. *mae marc ar dalcen John.*
 be.PRES.3SG indicateon forehead John
 'there's a indicate on John's forehead.'
- 41 a. *mae gan y bwrdd chwe choes.*
 be.PRES.3SG with the table six leg
 'the table's got six legs.'

- b. *mae chwe choes ar y bwrdd.*
 be.PRES.3SG six leg on the table
 ‘there are six legs on the table.’
- 42 a. *mae gen i boen yn yn nghefn.*
 be.PRES.3SG with I pain in 1SG back
 ‘I’ve got a pain in my back.’
- b. *mae poen yn yn nghefn i.*
 be.PRES.3SG pain in 1SG back I
 ‘there’s a pain in my back.’
- However, there are other examples which clearly indicate that the possessor and the possession can be in different locations.
- 43 a. *mae 'r car newydd gan Gwyn yn y garej.*
 be.PRES.3SG the car new with Gwyn in the garage
 ‘John’s got the new car in the garage.’
- b. *mae 'r llun gan Rembrandt gyda Sioned yn y banc.*
 be.PRES.3SG the picture by Rembrandt with Sioned in the bank
 ‘Sioned’s got the picture by Rembrandt in the bank.’
- c. *oedd yr hen ddodrefn gan mamgu yn yr atic.*
 be.IMPF.3SG the old furniture with grandmother in the attic
 ‘grandmother had the old furniture in the attic.’
- d. *mae car Mair gan Wiliam yn y gwaith.*
 be.PRES.3SG car Mair with William in the work
 ‘William’s got Mair’s car in work.’
- e. *mae gan Gwyn lyfr gwerthfawr yn tŷ 'i fam.*
 be.PRES.3SG with Gwyn book valuable in house 3SG.M mother
 ‘Gwyn's got a valuable book in his mother’s house.’
- f. *mae gan Sioned ddau frawd yn Efrog Newydd.*
 be.PRES.3SG with Sioned two brother in York New
 ‘Sioned has got two brothers in New York.’
- g. *mae gen i dy haf yn Sussex.*
 be.PRES.3SG with I house summer in Sussex
 ‘I’ve got a summer house in Sussex.’

In these examples, the possessor is not the location for the possession. It is definitely the case that Welsh possessives have the syntax of locative copular clauses, but this does not necessarily mean that they

have the same locative semantics in all cases. The view that *gan*, *gyda*, and *efo* are locative is not clear-cut, particularly in terms of spatial location. As outlined in chapter 4, *gan* can convey source and *gyda* and *efo* can be used with comitative meaning³⁹, and a locational interpretation can be given to these uses. The relationship between these prepositions and a locative meaning is not clear-cut.

The occurrence of *efo* in with-possessives, and also *gyda*, in the informal style has not been recognized sufficiently in accounts of Welsh. But their use as such in informal Welsh may be an indication that there is a change in progress from locational possessives to with-possessives in the Welsh of some speakers (I have no idea of the time scale involved to say how old or recent this change is).

4.4 Summary

Welsh possessive copulars can convey a variety of relationships which exist between entities, including ownership and possession, location in the sense of temporary possession, family relationships, and cognitive and bodily attributes. It is extremely difficult to find a general statement which would link these and other relationships. Lyons (1977:473-474) says in respect of genitive nominal phrase like 'X's Y' that it 'means no more than "the Y that is associated with X"'. Likewise, clauses which convey predicative possession are able to associate entities. We shall leave untouched the thorny problem of how to distinguish the associations conveyed by possessive clauses from those which are conveyed by other clauses and other prepositions such as *i* 'to, for' and *ar* 'on' which occur in similar syntactic patterns.

Chapter 6 Prepositional Phrase Copular Clauses: Bodily And Mental States

In this chapter, we consider two types of copular clauses. One type contains a prepositional phrase predicate which is headed by the preposition *ar* ‘on’ and indicates bodily and mental states such as pain, hunger, and conscience. Examples are given in (1) and (2). In informal Welsh, *efo* ‘with’, *gan* ‘with’ or *gyda* ‘with’ can occur in place of *ar* ‘on’. Examples are given in (3) and (4). Although semantically distinct from possessive copulars, all these state copulars have the same syntactic characteristics as possessives. They are discussed in section 1.

The second type is not a prepositional copular clause, but conveys the same meanings as some of the prepositional copulars. It is discussed in section 2.

1 Prepositional predicates

1.1 Word order

Traditional reference grammars list the use of the preposition *ar* ‘on’ in copular clauses which convey bodily and mental states like ailments, hunger, thirst, fear, conscience, needs, and fault, as in the examples in (1).

- 1 a. *mae annwyd ar Siôn.*
be.PRES.3SG cold on Siôn
‘Siôn has a cold.’
- b. *mae syched ar Mair.*
be.PRES.3SG thirst on Mair
‘Mair is thirsty.’
- c. *mae ofnar Mair.*
be.PRES.3SG fear on Mair
‘Mair is afraid.’
- d. *mae eisiau bwyd ar Mair.*
be.PRES.3SG want food on Mair
‘Mair is hungry.’

- e. *mae angen bwyd ar Mair.*
 be.PRES.3SG need food on Mair
 ‘Mair needs food / Mair is hungry.’
- f. *mae cywilydd arnaf.*
 be.PRES.3SG conscience on.1SG
 ‘I am ashamed.’
- g. *mae hiraeth arni hi.*
 be.PRES.3SG nostalgia on.3SG.F she
 ‘she is nostalgic / she is homesick / she has a longing.’
- h. *mae bai ar y dynion.*
 be.PRES.3SG blame on the men
 ‘the men are to blame.’
- i. *mae arswyd ar y merched.*
 be.PRES.3SG horror on the women
 ‘the women are horrified.’
- j. *mae golwg hapus ar Osian.*
 be.PRES.3SG appearancehappy on Osian
 ‘Osian looks happy.’

These clauses have normal word-order: a finite verb occurs in initial position, then a nominal phrase in subject position, and finally a prepositional phrase — [Verb + NomP + PrepP]. These clauses can be said to be locative in that the nominal phrase indicates a bodily or mental state and the preposition *ar* locates this state on its complement, the experiencer. For instance, in (1a) a ‘cold’ is located on —or related to — Siôn.⁴⁰ The preposition *ar* ‘on’ has a clear locative meaning and there are firmer grounds for describing state copulars as locational than there are for possessive copulars.

The examples in (1) contain indefinite subjects and, like possessive clauses but unlike other prepositional clauses which are described in chapter 4, these clauses allow inversion, as in the examples in (2).

- 2 a. *mae ar Siôn annwyd.*
 be.PRES.3SG on Siôn cold
 ‘Siôn has a cold.’
- b. *mae ar Mair syched.*
 be.PRES.3SG on Mairthirst
 ‘Mair is thirsty.’

- c. *mae ar Mair eisiau bwyd.*
 be.PRES.3SG on Mair want food
 ‘Mair is hungry.’
- d. *mae ar Mair syched.*
 be.PRES.3SG on Mair thirst
 ‘Mair is thirsty.’
- e. *mae ar Mair ofn.*
 be.PRES.3SG on Mair fear
 ‘Mair is afraid.’
- f. *mae arni hi hiraeth.*
 be.PRES.3SG on.3SG.F she nostalgia
 ‘she is nostalgic / she is homesick / she has a longing.’

We shall return to discuss inversion below.

The preposition *ar* ‘on’ is characteristic of the formal style of Welsh. It also occurs in the informal style, but, in that style, the prepositions *gan* ‘with’, *gyda* ‘with’, and *efo* ‘with’ are used (*gan* and *efo* mainly in northern dialects and *gyda* mainly in southern dialects). Inversion can also occur with these prepositions. The examples in (3) illustrate non-inverted examples and those in (4) show inverted examples.

- 3 a. *mae eisiau bwyd gan / gyda / efo Mair.*
 be.PRES.3SG want food with Mair
 ‘Mair is hungry.’
- b. *mae syched gan / gyda / efo Mair.*
 be.PRES.3SG thirstywith Mair
 ‘Mair is thirsty.’
- c. *mae ofngan / gyda / efo Mair.*
 be.PRES.3SG fear with Mair
 ‘Mair is afraid.’
- 4 a. *mae gan / gyda / efo Mair eisiau bwyd.*
 be.PRES.3SG with Mair want food
 ‘Mair is hungry.’
- b. *mae gan / gyda / efo Mair syched .*
 be.PRES.3SG with Mair thirst
 ‘Mair is thirsty.’

- c. *mae gan / gyda / efo Mair ofn.*
 be.PRES.3SG with Mair fear
 ‘Mair is afraid.’

Chapter 5 shows that the nominal phrase which occurs as subject in possessive clauses can be definite or indefinite. Matters are different in state copulars. Definite nominal phrases do not occur.⁴¹ The nouns which occur in state copulars are abstract nouns which refer to concepts generically, and, on this basis, they are non-referring expressions. Given the distinction which is made in section 3.1 of chapter 2 between an indefinite determiner phrase and a noun phrase, the indefinite nominal phrases in state copulars are noun phrases. As only these phrases can occur in these clauses, inversion is always a possibility, as the examples in (1–4) show.

Section 1 of chapter 5 shows that some prepositions in possessive clauses select the possessor (*gan* and *gyda* in locational possessives) and others select the the possession (*â*, *efo*, and *heb* in with-possessives). This choice also occurs in state copulars. *Ar*, *gan*, *gyda*, and *efo* can mark the experiencer as the examples in (3–4). But *gyda* and *efo* can also select the state, as in (5). The experiencer then occurs as the subject.

- 5 a. *mae Mair gyda annwyd.*
 be.PRES.3SG Mair with cold
 ‘Mair’s got a cold.’
- b. *dw i efo dolur gwddw.*
 be.PRES.1SG I with pain throat
 ‘I’ve got a sore throat.’
- c. *ma’ r plentyn efo peswch.*
 be.PRES.3SG the child with cough
 ‘the child’s got a cough.’

But *ar* cannot select the state and it is unclear whether there are speakers who can use *gan* to select the state (compare the discussion of *gan* in possessive clauses in chapter 5).

- 6 a. **mae Mair ar annwyd.*
 be.PRES.3SG Mair on cold
 ‘Mair’s got a cold.’
- b. **dw i ar beswch.*
 be.PRES.1SG I with cough
 ‘I’ve got a cough.’

- 7 a. ?? *mae* *Mair gan annwyd.*
 be.PRES.3SG Mair with cold
 ‘Mair’s got a cold.’
- b. ?? *dw* *i gan beswch.*
 be.PRES.1SG I with cough
 ‘I’ve got a cough.’

As with possessive clauses, there are thus two possibilities.

<u>subject</u>	<u>complement of the preposition</u>	
state	experiencer	<i>ar, gan, gyda, and efo</i> , in (1–4)
experiencer	state	<i>gyda</i> and <i>efo</i> in (5), and possibly, <i>gan</i> , in (7)

As can be seen, either the state is the subject and the experiencer is the complement of the preposition, or we have the reverse ordering. *Gyda* and *efo* can occur in both orders but *ar* cannot and *gan* is uncertain. Drawing on the discussion of possessive in Stassen (2013a), we can say that state copulars can be either locational predicates when the state is the subject or with-predicates when the experiencer is the subject.

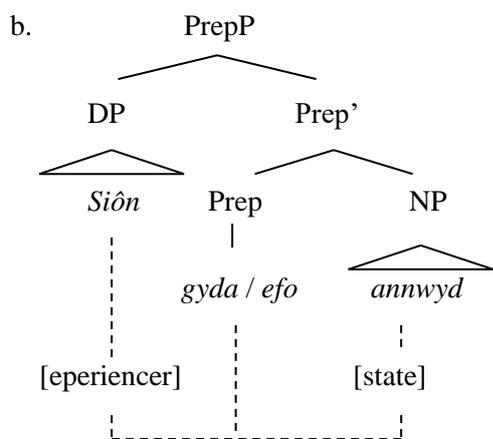
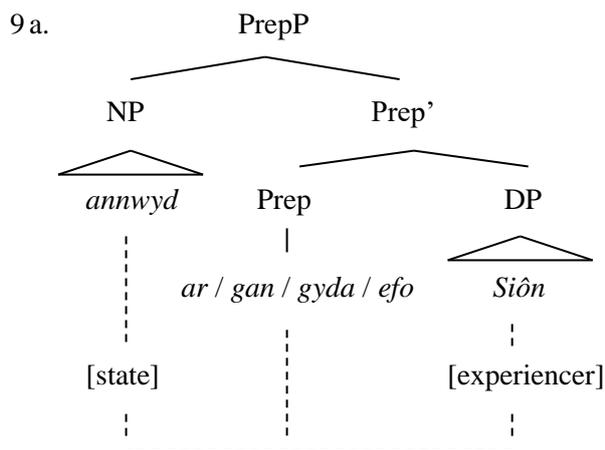
We have seen that the order [Verb + Nomp-state + PrepP-experiencer] allows the inversion of the subject and the prepositional phrase. But the order [Verb + NomP-experiencer + PrepP-state] does not. Examples like those in (5) are not inverted.

- 8 a. **mae* *gyda annwyd Mair.*
 be.PRES.3SG with cold Mair
 ‘Mair’s got a cold.’
- b. **dw* *efo dolur gwddw fi.*
 be.PRES.1SG with sore throat I
 ‘I’ve got a sore throat.’
- c. **ma’* *gyda / efo peswch y plentyn.*
 be.PRES.1SG with cough the child
 ‘the child’s got a cough.’

The unacceptability of the examples in (8a–b) can be explained by the fact that they do not meet the conditions for inversion: the subjects are definite and not indefinite. The constraint on inversion in these examples is similar to the constraint on inversion in possessive clauses in the examples in (16) in chapter 5.

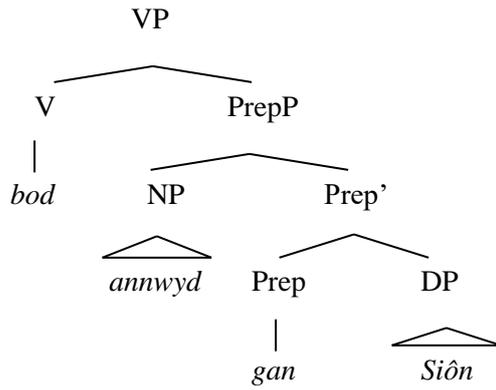
1.2 Analysis

We shall follow the analysis which is used for possessive clauses. The examples of subject-predicate clauses in examples (1e–f) and (2e–f) in chapter 10 support the view that the basic copular phrase is a prepositional phrase. This is illustrated in (9a–b). Some prepositions assign the role of state to the specifier and the role of experiencer to the complement, as in (9a). Other prepositions have reverse assignment: experiencer to the specifier and state to the complement, as in (9b).

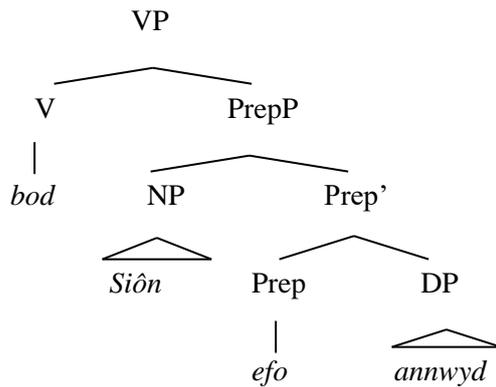


PrepP is developed into a full finite clause with three mergers. It merges with *bod*, to form a VP, which is illustrated in (10a–b).

10 a.

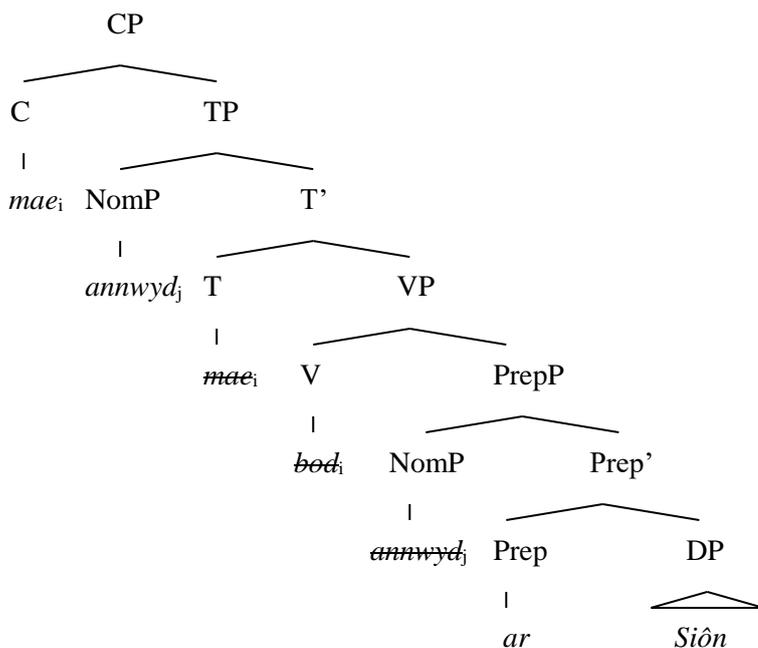


b.

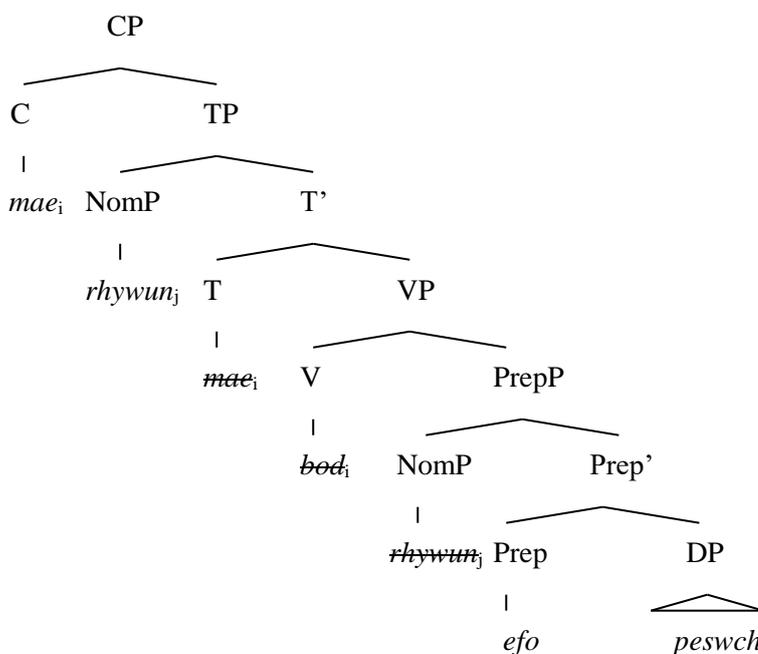


This VP merges with TP, and TP merges with CP. Two standard movement rules for canonical finite clauses apply. The subject in Spec PrepP is raised to the surface subject position in Spec TP, and the verb in VP is raised first to T and then on to C, producing the verb-first order of normal-order finite clauses in Welsh. These mergers and movements are shown in (11a), which is based on the example in (1a), for *ar* in a locational predicate (and also *gan*, *gyda*, and *efo*) and (11b), which is based on the example in (5b), for *efo* in a with-predicate (and also *gyda*).

11 a.



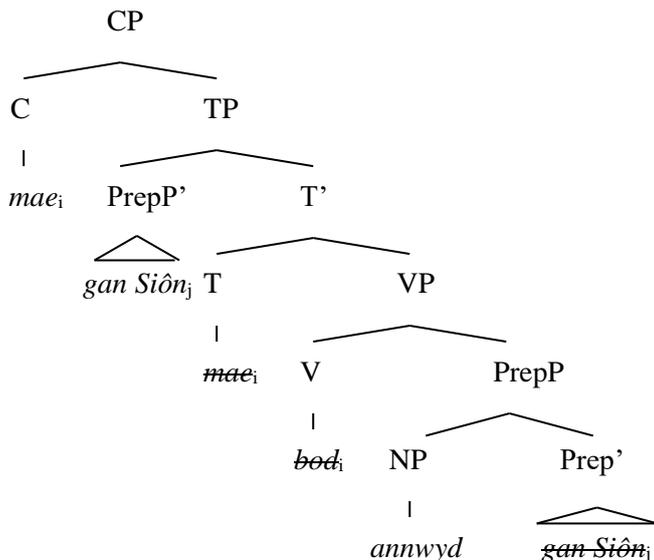
b.



These standard mergers and movement rules show that the syntax of these normal word-order copulars is canonical.

Inversion can be accounted for by raising either the NomP in Spec PrepP to Spec TP as in (11a) or by retaining the subject *in situ* and raising Prep' to Spec TP as in (12), using *gan*.

12



We have seen in (8) that inversion does not occur with prepositional phrases in which the preposition selects the state and the experiencer is the subject — with-predicates. This is similar to possessive clauses in which the preposition indicates the possession and the possessor is the subject. Possessive copulars and state copulars are based on the same syntax. But state copulars which use the preposition *ar* ‘on’ are more obviously locational not only in terms of syntax but also semantics.

2 Nominal phrase predicates

2.1 Word order

In the informal style of Welsh, certain lexemes which occur in the subject phrase in prepositional state copulars can also occur in a very different configuration. These lexemes are *angen* ‘need, want’, *awydd* ‘need, want’, *chwant* ‘need, want’, *eisiau* ‘need, want’, and *ofn* ‘fear’, as illustrated in (13–17).⁴² The (a) examples show prepositional copulars and the (b) examples show different versions of a state copular.

- 13 a. *oedd gen i / gyda fi angen mwy o arian.*
 be.IMPF.3SG with I / with I need more of money
 ‘I needed more money.’
- b. *o’n i angen mwy o arian.*
 be.IMPF.1SG I need more of arian
 ‘I needed more money.’

14 a. *fydd gan / gyda Siôn awydd car newydd.*

be.FUT.3SG with Siôn want carnew

‘Siôn will need a new car.’

b. *fydd Siôn awydd car newydd.*

be.FUT.3SG Siôn want car new

‘Siôn will need a new car.’

15 a. *ma’ gyda fi hwant diod.*

be.PRES.3SG with I want drink

‘I am thirsty.’

b. *w i hwant diod.*

be.PRES.1SG I want drink

‘I am thirsty.’

16 a. *mae gan / gyda Mair eisiau bwyd.*

be.PRES.3SG with Mair want food

‘Mair is hungry.’

b. *mae Mair eisiau bwyd.*

be.PRES.3SG Mair want food

‘Mair is hungry.’

17 a. *mae gen i / gyda fi ofn nadroedd.*

be.PRES.3SG withI / with I fear snakes

‘I am afraid of snakes.’

b. *dw i ofn nadroedd.*

be.PRES.3SG I fear snakes

‘I am afraid of snakes.’

The state phrase (such as *eisiau bwyd*) is the predicate (and not the subject) and the experiencer is the subject (and not the complement of a preposition). This gives the linear structure [Verb + NomP-experiencer + NomP-state]. In slightly greater detail, the syntax is [Verb + NomP-experiencer + NomP[state lexeme + complement]]. A nominal phrase occurs as the predicate and we can label clauses like these as nominal phrase copulars.

The lexemes which convey the state in both the prepositional copular and the nominal phrase copular can take a variety of complements. The selections for *eisiau* are illustrated in the examples in (18). (*Eisiau* in the dialects is variously realized as *isio*, *isie*, and *ise*.)

- 18 a. *dw i eisiau bwyd.*
 be.PRES.1SG I want food
 ‘I want food.’
- b. *dw i eisiau mynd i ’r gwely.*
 be.PRES.1SG I want go to the bed
 ‘I want to go to bed.’
- c. *dw i eisiau i Sioned ddreifio’r car.*
 be.PRES.3SG I want for Sioned drive the car
 ‘I want Sioned to drive the car.’
- d. *dw i eisiau ’r tŷ yn daclus.*
 be.PRES.1SG I want the house PRED tidy
 ‘I want the house tidy.’

A nominal phrase *bwyd* occurs in (18a). A subjectless infinitive clause *mynd i’r gwely* occurs in (18b). An *i*-clause *i Sioned ddreifio’r car* is the complement in (18c). A small clause *y tŷ yn daclus* occurs in (18d).

The complement phrases which are illustrated in (18) can be selected by verbs and this provides grounds for suggesting that *eisiau* is a verb. But the (a) versions in examples (19–24) show that *eisiau* cannot occur in contexts where verbs can occur.

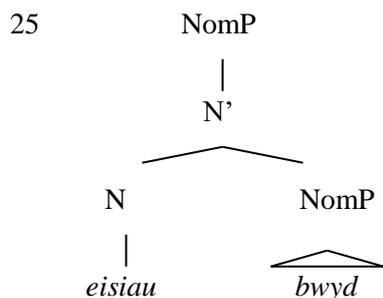
- 19 a. **dw i ’n disgwyl eisiau mwy o arian.*
 be.PRES.1SG I PROG expect want more of money
 ‘= I expect to want more money.’
- b. *dw i ’n disgwyl bod eisiau mwy o arian.*
 be.PRES.1SG I PROG expect be want more of money
 ‘I expect to want more money.’
- 20 a. **dw i wedi isio paned.*
 be.PRES.3SG I PERF want cupful
 ‘= I have wanted a cuppa.’
- b. *dw i wedi bod isio paned.*
 be.PRES.3SG I PERF be want cupful
 ‘I have wanted a cuppa.’
- 21 a. **dw i ’n dal i isio bwyd.*
 be.PRES.3SG I PROG continue to want food
 ‘= I am still hungry.’

- b. *dw i 'n dal i fod isio bwyd.*
 be.PRES.3SG I PROG continue to be want food
 'I am still hungry.'
- 22 a. **ddyle fo ddim isio rhagor.*
 should he NEG want more
 '= he shouldn't want more.'
- b. *ddyle fo ddim bod isio rhagor.*
 should he NEG be want more
 'he shouldn't want more.'
- 23 a. **cyn isio car newydd ...*
 before want car new
 '= before wanting a new car ...'
- b. *cyn bod isio car newydd ...*
 before be want car new
 'before wanting a new car ...'
- 24 a. **oeddwn i 'n disgwyl i Mair eisiau mwy o arian.*
 be.IMPF.1SG I PROG expect for Mair want more of money
 '= I expected Mair to want more money.'
- b. *oeddwn i 'n disgwyl i Mair fod eisiau mwy o arian.*
 be.IMPF.1SG I PROG expect for Mair be want more of money
 'I expected Mair to want more money.'

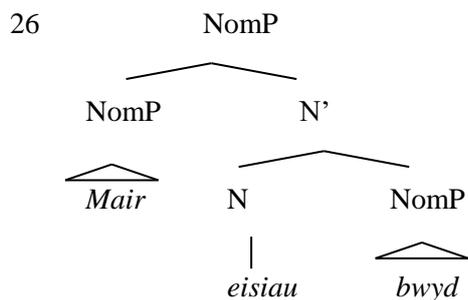
The (a) examples in (19–24) respectively show that *eisiau* cannot occur as a subjectless infinitive clause, cannot be selected by the perfect aspect marker, cannot occur in an *i*-infinitive clause, cannot come under the scope of the adverbial negator *ddim*, cannot be selected by a conjunction, and cannot occur as an *i*-clause. The (b) versions in all these examples show that *eisiau* can occur in these environments when it merges with *bod* 'be'. This is characteristic of lexemes which head a basic copular phrase. Thus, *eisiau* is verb-like in its selection of complements, as in (18), but is noun-like in its distribution in various syntactic contexts, as in (19–24).

2.2 Analysis

In both the prepositional copulars and the nominal phrase copulars, the phrases which convey the state are made up of a noun, such as *eisiau* 'want' and a complement such as *bwyd* 'food'.

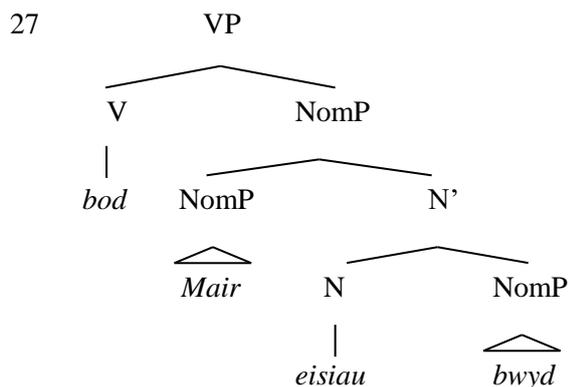


The **NomP** can be developed so that the experiencer is indicated by a nominal phrase in its specifier, as in (26).



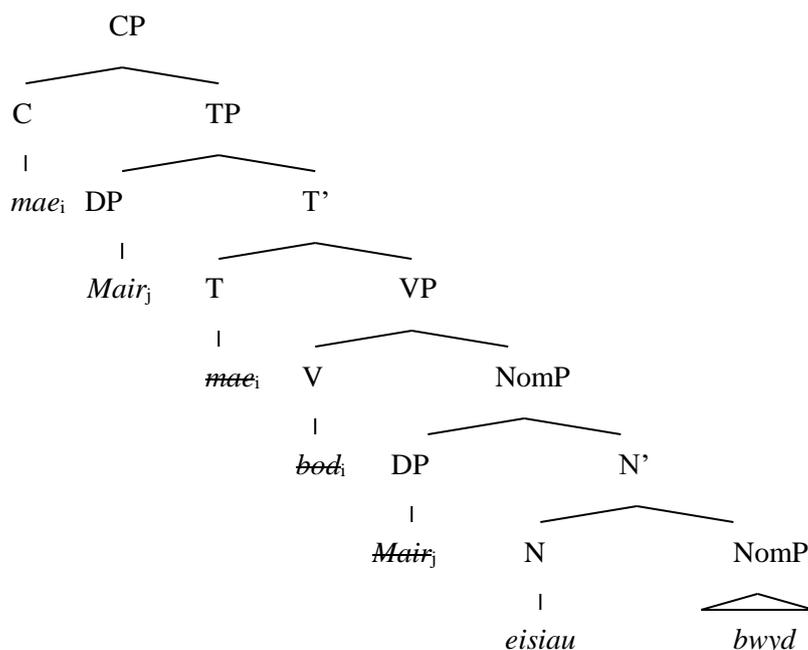
The state is indicated by the head and the complement gives the particular nature of the state. The head assigns the role of experiencer to the subject

This **NomP** is developed into a full finite clause with three mergers. It merges with *bod*, to form a **VP**, which is illustrated in (27)



This **VP** merges with **TP**, and **TP** merges with **CP**. Two standard movement rules for canonical finite clauses apply. The subject in **Spec PrepP** is raised to the surface subject position in **Spec TP**, and the verb in **VP** is raised first to **T** and then on to **C**, producing verb-first order, which is the normal order of finite clauses in Welsh. These mergers and movements are shown in (28), based on the example in (16b).

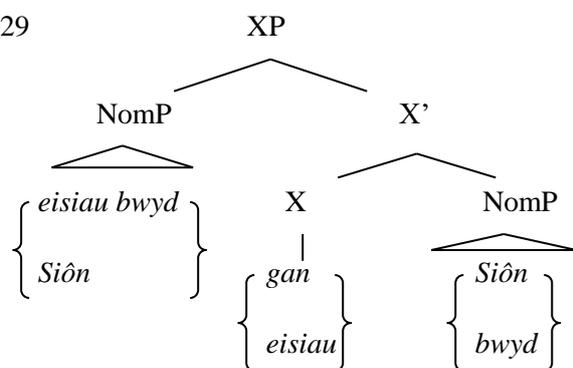
28



The head of the NomP is restricted to a handful of lexemes, namely, *angen*, *awydd*, *chwant*, *eisiau*, and *ofn*.

A comparison of the basic copular phrase of a prepositional clause in (9) with the basic copular phrase of a nominal phrase copular in (26) shows that they have the same general structure, XP[Spec X'[X Comp]]. The configuration in (29) shows this.

29



The head is a preposition in the prepositional copular but a state lexeme like *eisiau* in the nominal phrase copular. The state (*eisiau bwyd*) is inserted into the specifier in the prepositional copular but into the predicate (X') in the nominal phrase copular. The experiencer (*Siôn*) is inserted into the complement in the prepositional copular but into the specifier in the nominal phrase copulars. The occurrence of the nominal predicate rather than the prepositional predicate with certain lexemes can be compared with what Stassen (2013a) in his study of predicative possessives calls transitivity. In possessives, this is a process of 'drifting' from one of the other basic types of possessives towards a transitive pattern involving a have-like verb. In the case of Welsh state copulars, *eisiau* and the other nominals which can

take a complement develop into a transitive-like clause in which the predicate phrase is headed by the nominal.

Prepositional copulars and nominal phrase copulars provide four ways of influencing information structure. In locational clauses in which the preposition selects the experiencer, a non-inverted pattern has the state before the experiencer. But in an inverted version, the experiencer precedes the state. The experiencers can also be ordered before the state by using a preposition which selects the state on with-predicates. The nominal phrase copular also orders the experiencer before the state. In brief we have the following choices.

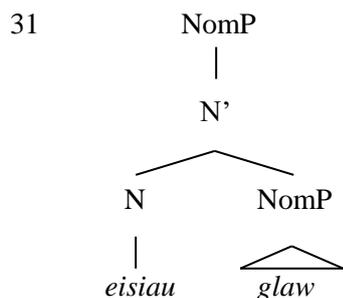
[NomP-state – PrepP-experiencer]	locational predicate, non-inverted, in (1)
[PrepP-experiencer – NomP-state]	locational predicate, inverted, in (2)
[NomP-experiencer – PrepP-state]	with-predicate copular, state in PrepP, in (5)
[NomP-experiencer – NomP-state]	nominal predicate, in (13–17 b examples)

It is noticeable that three out of these four possibilities order the experiencer before the state.

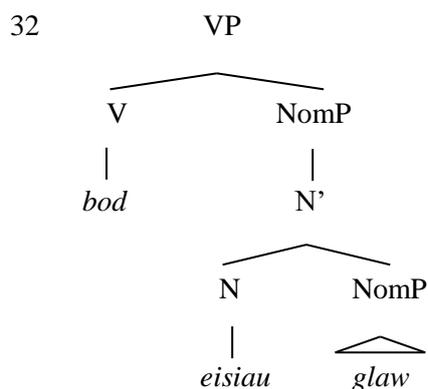
There are nominal phrase copulars which do not contain an experiencer, as in the examples in (30).

- 30 a. *mae eisiau glaw.*
 be.PRES.3SG want rain
 ‘there is a need for rain.’
- b. *mae eisiau golchi ’r ffenestri*
 be.PRES.3SG want wash the windows
 ‘there is a need to wash the windows.’
- c. *mae eisiau i ’r dynion helpu ’r merched.*
 be.PRES.3SG want for the men help the women
 ‘there is a need for the men to help the women.’
- d. *mae eisiau cadw ’r tŷ yn lân.*
 be.PRES.3SG want keep the house PRED clean
 ‘there is need to keep the house clean.’

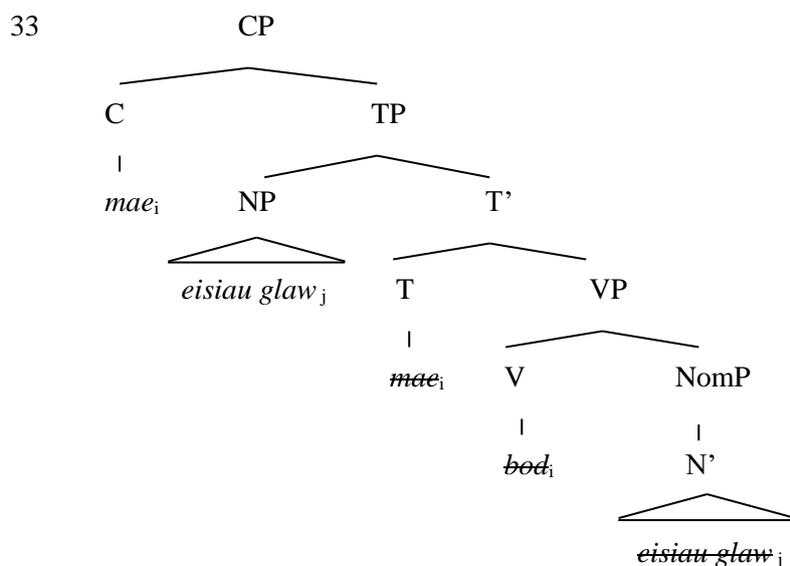
We can account for these with a nominal phrase which does not contain an experiencer in its specifier, as in (31).



This NomP is developed into a full finite clause with three mergers. It merges with *bod*, to form a VP, which is illustrated in (32).



This VP merges with TP, and TP merges with CP. The NomP is raised to the surface subject position in Spec TP, and the verb in VP is raised first to T and then on to C. These mergers and movements are shown in (33), which is based on the example in (30a).



These nominal phrase copulars which do not contain an experiencer can thus be accounted for with canonical phrases, mergers, and movements.

Chapter 7 *Piau* Clauses And Ownership

This chapter considers the syntax of copular clauses which contain the lexeme *piau* and which convey ownership. ⁴³ *Piau* can also occur as *biau*. In informal Welsh, the final diphthong is simplified to produce *pia* and *bia* in both northern and southern dialects. *Piau* clauses also contain two nominal phrases, which can be said to have the thematic roles of owner and thing-owned. There are also non-copular *piau* clauses, which we shall also discuss.

1. Copular *piau* clauses

The examples in (1) illustrate *piau* clauses which contain a finite form of the copula.

1 a. *Sioned sydd bia 'r Volvo coch.*

Sioned be.PRES.3SG own the Volvo red
'the red Volvo is Sioned's.'

b. *fi fuasai bia 'r beic 'cw.*

I be.CNTF.3SG own the bike yonder
'that bike would be mine.'

c. *y cyngor oedd bia 'r tai.*

the council be.IMPF.3SG own the houses
'the houses were the council's.'

d. *yr ysgol sydd bia 'r caeau.*

the school be.PRES.3SG own the fields
'the fields are the school's.'

e. *Gwen fydd bia 'r lluniau.*

Gwen be.FUT.3SG own the pictures
'the pictures will be Gwyn's.'

It can be seen that these clauses contain two nominal phrases, one occurring initially and the other occurring finally. In these clauses, the initial phrase indicates the owner, such as *Sioned* in (1a), and the finally-positioned phrase indicates the thing-owned, such as *y Volvo coch* in (1a). These clauses can then be said to have the linear structure [NomP-owner + Verb + *piau* + NomP-thing-owned]. Discussion of the categorization of *piau* will be undertaken as the account progresses. ⁴⁴

As is shown in section 3.1 of chapter 3, there are diagnostic tests which show that a clause has fronted word-order. These tests show that *piau* clauses like those in (1) are fronted-order clauses. First, these

clauses are verb-second clauses and in Welsh this is typical of fronted-order clauses. Second, the tag *ynte / yntefe*, which is used in fronted-order clauses, occurs in *piau* clauses, as shown in the example in (2).

- 2 *Sioned sydd bia 'r Volvo coch, ynte / yntefe?*
 Sioned be.PRES.3SG own the Volvo red, Q
 ‘the red Volvo is Sioned’s, isn’t it?’

Third, the focus particles *mai*, *dim / nage*, and *efe* (in southern dialects) occur in *piau* clauses, as shown in the examples (3).

- 3 a. *dw i 'n meddwl mai Sioned sydd bia 'r Volvo coch.*
 be.PRES.3SG I PROG think PT Sioned be.PRES.3SG own the Volvo red
 ‘I think that the red Volvo is Sioned’s.’
- b. *dim / nage Sioned sydd bia 'r Volvo coch.*
 NEG Sioned be.PRES.3SG own the Volvo red
 = ‘the red Volvo is not Sioned’s.’
- c. *efe Sioned sydd bia 'r Volvo coch?*
 Q Sioned be.PRES.3SG own the Volvo red
 = ‘is the red Volvo Sioned’s?’

Fourth, as can be seen from some of the examples in (1–3), the copular form *sydd* occurs in *piau* clauses, which indicates that we have a fronted clause.

Given that the copular form *sydd* indicates that the fronted phrase is the subject, we can claim that the material which follows the verb is the predicate. We can further claim that the finally-positioned nominal phrase is the complement. On this basis, examples like those in (1) are [Subject + Verb + Predicate[*piau* + Complement]]. Thematic roles can also support the claim that the initial phrase is the subject and the final phrase is the complement: the owner is a more dynamic-like role and the thing-owned is a more patient-like role. The former is typically associated with the subject and the latter is typically associated with the complement. But this is not a straightforward matter as the discussion in section 4 shows.

A major non-canonical characteristic of *piau* clauses is that fronting is obligatory, unlike the majority of Welsh finite clauses, which can be either normal order or fronted order. Copular *piau* clauses like (1a), for instance, cannot be re-formed to produce a normal-order version, namely, an initial finite verb, followed by the subject and then the predicate.

- 4 **mae* *Sioned* *bia* 'r *Volvo* *coch*.
 be.PRES.3SG Sioned own the Volvo red
 = ‘the red Volvo is Sioned’s.’

In this respect, copular *piau* clauses are like identificatory clauses, which are also subject to obligatory fronting — as discussed in chapter 3. Other similarities between *piau* clauses and identificatory copular sentences are noted elsewhere in this study.

We see from the examples in (1) that the owner phrase occurs in initial position and the thing-owned phrase remains in final position. But there are also examples in which the thing-owned phrase occurs in initial position and the owner phrase is in final position — apparent transposed order, which also found in identificatory clauses.

- 5 a. *y* *Volvo* *coch* *sydd* *bia* *Sioned*.
 the Volvo red be.PRES.3SG own Sioned
 ‘the red Volvo is Sioned’s.’
- b. *y* *beic* 'cw *fuasai* *bia* *fi*
 the bike yonder be.CNTF.3SG own I
 ‘that bike would be mine.’
- c. *y* *tai* *oedd* *bia* 'r *cyngor*.
 the houses be.IMPF.3SG own the council
 ‘the houses are the council’s.’
- d. *y* *caeau* *sydd* *bia* 'r *ysgol*.
 the fields be.PRES.3SG own the school
 ‘the fields are the school’s.’
- e. *y* *lluniau* *fydd* *bia* *Gwen*.
 the pictures be.FUT.3SG own Gwen
 ‘the pictures will be Gwen’s.’

These examples are interpreted such that the entity indicated by the final phrase owns the entity indicated by the initial phrase. Clauses like the ones in (5) have the linear structure [NomP-thing-owned + Verb + *piau* + NomP-owner]. The clauses in (1) and (5) have the same linear phrase structure but are different in the location of the thematic roles. It can be shown, by the same diagnostic tests, that these clauses are fronted-order clauses. First, these clauses are verb-second clauses and in Welsh this is typical of fronted-order clauses. Second, the tag *ynte* / *yntefe*, which is used in fronted-order clauses, occurs in these *piau* clauses, as shown in the example in (6).

- 6 *y Volvo coch sydd bia Sioned, ynte / yntefe?*
 the Volvo red be.PRES.3SG own Sioned Q
 ‘the red Volvo is Sioned’s, isn’t it?’

Third, the focus particles *mai*, *dim / nage*, and *efe* (in southern dialects) occur in *piau* clauses, as shown in the examples (7).

- 7 a. *dw i 'n meddwl mai 'r Volvo coch sydd bia Sioned.*
 be.PRES.3SG I PROG think PT the Volvo red be.PRES.3SG own Sioned
 ‘I think that the red Volvo is Sioned’s.’
- b. *dim / nage y Volvo coch sydd bia Sioned.*
 NEG the Volvo red be.PRES.3SG own Sioned
 ‘it’s not the red Volvo that is Sioned’s’
- c. *efe 'r Volvo coch sydd bia Sioned?*
 Q the Volvo red be.PRES.3SG own Sioned
 ‘is it the red Volvo that is Sioned’s?’

If we continue to assume that the thing-owned is the complement and the owner is the subject in these clauses, it follows that examples like those in (5) are [Complement + Verb + *piau* + Subject]. This interpretation, however, produces two apparent anomalies. First, the copular form *sydd* occurs and this is indicative of the fact that a phrase from surface subject position has been fronted (as discussed in chapter 13). But, given that *y Volvo coch* is the complement and *Sioned* is the subject, *sydd* in these examples occurs with a fronted complement. Neither the form *mae* nor a *y*-form (see chapter 13) can occur.

- 8 **y Volvo coch {mae / ydy} bia Sioned.*
 the Volvo red be.PRES.3SG own Sioned
 ‘= the red Volvo is Sioned’s.’

Second, the subject / owner phrase is in final position following *piau* and is not in canonical subject position, namely, following the finite verb. An ungrammatical clause is produced if the owner nominal phrase is placed in canonical subject position (in which case, the copular form *mae* would occur and not *sydd*, as the subject position is now occupied by an overt phrase and not a trace — see chapter 13 for details).

- 9 **y Volvo coch mae Sioned bia.*
 The Volvo red be.PRES.3SG Sioned own
 ‘= it is the red Volvo that is Sioned’s.’

The same observations can also be made of *wh*- clauses.

10 a. *pwy sydd bia 'r Volvo coch?*

who be.PRES.3SG own the Volvo red

'who owns the red Volvo?'

b. *beth sydd bia Sioned?*

what be.PRES.3SG own Sioned

'what does Sioned own?'

Sydd occurs when either the subject owner-phrase is questioned, as in (10a), or when the complement thing-owned phrase is questioned, as in (10b). And, in the case of (10b), the subject phrase is in non-canonical position. We shall return to these matters in section 4.

In brief, given the assumptions that the owner is the subject and the thing-owned is the complement, in examples like those in (5), a complement behaves like a subject and a subject behaves like a complement.

2. Non-copular *piau* clauses

Piau clauses can also occur without a finite copula if a present tense reading is possible. Examples (1a) and (1d) have non-copular equivalents as illustrated in (11).

11 a. *Sioned bia 'r Volvo coch.*

Sioned own.PRES.3SG the Volvo red

'the red Volvo is Sioned's.'

b. *yr ysgol bia 'r caeau.*

the school own.PRES.3SG the fields

'the school owns the fields.'

These clauses have the linear structure [NomP-owner + *piau* + NomP-thing-owned], or alternatively [Subject + *piau* + Complement].⁴⁵

It can again be shown that these clauses, like those in (1), are fronted-order clauses. First, the tag *ynte / yntefe*, which is used in fronted-order clauses, occurs in them, as shown in the example in (12).

12 *Sioned bia 'r Volvo coch, ynte / yntefe?*

Sioned own the Volvo red Q

'the red Volvo is Sioned's, isn't it?'

Second, the focus particles *mai*, *dim / nage*, and *eife* (in southern dialects) occur in *piau* clauses, as shown in (13).

- 13 a. *dw i 'n meddwl mai Sioned bia 'r Volvo coch.*
 be.PRES.3SG I PROG think PT Sioned own the Volvo red
 'I think that the red Volvo is Sioned's.'
- b. *dim / nage Sioned bia 'r Volvo coch.*
 NEG Sioned own the Volvo red
 = 'the red Volvo is not Sioned's.'
- c. *eife Sioned bia 'r Volvo coch?*
 Q Sioned own the Volvo red
 = 'is the red Volvo Sioned's?'

Non-copular *piau* clauses can also have the alternative order in which the thing-owned phrase occurs initially and the owner phrase occurs finally.

- 14 a. *y Volvo coch bia Sioned.*
 the Volvo red own Sioned
 'the red Volvo is Sioned's.'
- b. *y caeau bia 'r ysgol.*
 the fields own the school
 'the fields are the school's.'

These *piau* clauses have the linear structure [NomP-thing-owned + *piau* + NomP-owner], or alternatively, [Complement + *piau* + Subject]. They also show the characteristics of fronted clauses, as the examples in (15) show.

- 15 a. *y Volvo coch bia Sioned, ynte / yntefe?*
 the Volvo red own Sioned Q
 'it's the Volvo which is Sioned's, isn't it?'
- b. *dw i 'n meddwl mai 'r Volvo coch bia Sioned.*
 be.PRES.3SG I PROG think PT the Volvo red own Sioned
 'I think that it is the red Volvo which is Sioned's.'
- c. *dim / nage 'r Volvo coch bia Sioned.*
 NEG the Volvo red own Sioned
 'it isn't the red Volvo which is Sioned's.'

- d. *efe 'r Volvo coch bia Sioned?*
 Q the Volvo red own Sioned
 'is it the red Volvo which is Sioned's.'

The tag *ynte / yntefe* occurs in (15a); the focus particles *mai*, *dim / nage*, and *efe* (in southern dialects) occur in (15b), (15c), and (15d) respectively. The anomalies of the occurrence of *sydd* with a fronted complement and the positioning of the subject (on the basis of thematic roles) do not arise in these examples.

We have seen that copular *piau* clauses obligatorily have fronted word-order and do not occur in normal word-order. For some speakers, this is also the case with non-copular *piau* clauses. But some speakers can accept uncommon examples in which *piau* is positioned initially.

- 16 a. *bia fi hwnna.*
 own.PRES.1SG I that
 'that's mine.'
- b. *bia Sioned y Volvo coch.*
 own.PRES.3SG Sioned the Volvo red
 'the red Volvo is Sioned's.'

These clauses have the linear structure [*piau* + NomP-owner + NomP-thing-owned]. Analysing the owner phrase as the subject and the thing-owned phrase as the complement, we have the order [*piau* + Subject + Complement]. *Piau* occurs in the position in which a finite verb occurs in Welsh finite clauses. Other examples are found in Fynes-Clinton (1913: 427), which are given in orthographic form in (17).

- 17 a. *phia ni mo fory, na phian.*
 own.PRES.1PL we NEG.of tomorrow NEG own.PRES.1PL
 'tomorrow is not ours, is it?'
- b. *phia fi mono fo*
 own.PRES.1SG I NEG.of.3SG he
 'it's not mine.'

Fynes-Clinton's examples show three features of normal-order finite verbal clauses: the use of the negative forms *mo* and *mono*; the aspirate mutation of a negative verb (*pia* becomes *phia*); and a negative tag *na phiau*. With *piau* in initial position, these two features add to the view that these clauses are like normal-order finite clauses. Fynes-Clinton was reporting, at the beginning of the twentieth century, the usage of mature informants from the Bangor area of north-west Wales, a usage which was formed earlier in the second half of the nineteenth century. Examples like these are hardly common in

contemporary Welsh. However, a handful of informants — all mature speakers from northern dialects — have reported to me that they could use this pattern in examples like (16), although not as the norm; or they are at least familiar with its use by others.

3. Definite and indefinite nominal phrases

The discussion in section 3.1 of chapter 2 argues that nominal phrases can be (i) a definite determiner phrase (DP_{DEF}), such as *y car* ‘the car’ as in *mae’r car y tu allan i’r tŷ* ‘the car is outside the house’; (ii) an indefinite determiner phrase (DP_{INDEF}) such as *car* in *mae car y tu allan i’r tŷ* ‘there is a car outside the house’; and (iii) a noun phrase (NP), such as *car* in *mae car yn ddefnyddiol iawn* ‘a car is very useful’. Noun phrases are non-specific and are non-referring expressions, with generic reference.

Examples (1) and (5) show that DP_{DEFS} can occur in initial position and final position, whether they are owner or thing-owned. DP_{INDEFS} are different. They can occur in initial position, as the examples in (18) show.

- 18 a. *rhyw ddyn sydd bia ’r Volvo coch*
 some man be.PRES.3SG own the Volvo red
 ‘the red Volvo is some man’s.’
- b. *Volvo coch sydd bia Sioned*
 Volvo red be.PRES.3SG own Sioned
 ‘Sioned’s is a red Volvo.’

But DP_{INDEFS} do not typically occur in final position, whether owner or thing-owned.⁴⁶

- 19 a. **y Volvo coch sydd bia rhyw ddyn.*
 the Volvo red be.PRES.3SG own some man
 = ‘some man’s is the red Volvo.’
- b. **Sioned sydd bia Volvo coch.*
 Sioned be.PRES.3SG own Volvo red
 = ‘a red Volvo is Sioned’s.’

Examples involving NPs are uncommon in informal Welsh, if they occur at all. But there are illustrations which are quoted in several references grammars, showing them in final position.⁴⁷ It is questionable whether such examples are productive in vernacular Welsh.

- 20 a. *myfi biau dial.*
 I own revenge
 ‘revenge is mine.’
- b. *mi biau nerth.*
 I own strength
 ‘strength is mine.’
- c. *mi biau gyngor ...*
 I own advice
 ‘advice is mine.’

In brief, *piau* is free to occur with a DP_{DEF} or DP_{INDEF} in initial position, but the phrase in final position, typically, must be a DP_{DEF}. Identificatory copular sentences are also subject to a constraint based on definiteness, as discussed in section 4 of chapter 3.

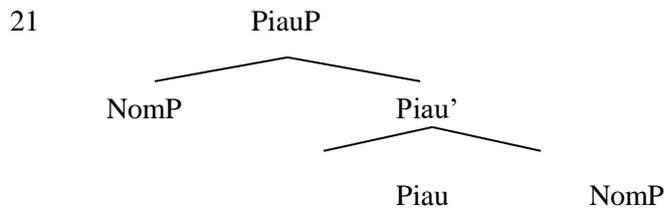
4. Analysis

We aim to account for the following descriptive observations about *piau* clauses.

- i. There are copular versions which have the linear sequence [NomP + Verb + *piau* + NomP] and non-copula versions which have the linear sequence [NomP + *piau* + NomP] if a present tense reading is possible, as (1) and (11) show.
- ii. The NomPs have the thematic roles owner and thing-owned, and can occur either initially or finally: [Owner + Verb + *piau* + Thing-owned] or [Thing-owned + Verb + *piau* + Owner] as (1) and (5) show; and for the non-copular version [Owner + *piau* + Thing-owned] or [Thing-owned + *piau* + Owner] as (11) and (14) show.
- iii. Fronting is obligatory in copular *piau* clauses, as shown by the comparison of the examples in (1) and (4).
- iv. Fronting is typically obligatory in non-copular *piau* clauses, except for some speakers as the examples in (16) show.
- v. Given that we see the owner as the subject and the thing-owned as the complement, we have [Subject + Verb + *piau* + Complement] or [Complement + Verb + *piau* + Subject]
- vi. When the owner nominal phrase is fronted, assuming that it is the subject, the occurrence of *sydd* and word order are canonical.
- vii. When the thing-owned nominal phrase is fronted, assuming that it is a complement:
 - a. there is an anomalous *sydd*, as in (5);
 - b. the subject is not in its canonical position, as the examples in (5) show.
- viii. DP_{DEFS} can occur in initial and final position but DP_{INDEFS} typically occur in initial position and

not final position, as a comparison of the examples in (18) and (19) shows.

The examples in (25) in chapter 10 show that there is no empirical evidence that there is a subject-predicate phrase which is headed by *piau*. But, following the general approach in this work, we shall claim that the basic copular phrase of a *piau* clause is a phrase which has *piau* as its head and nominal phrases in its specifier and complement, as shown in (21).



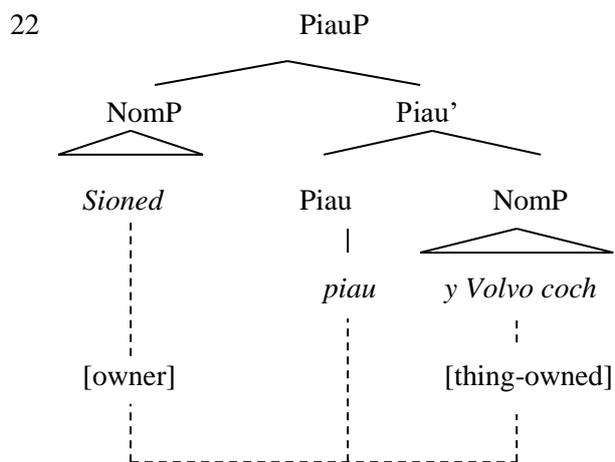
In the sections which follow, we shall attempt to develop this phrase to account for the various versions of *piau* clauses.

4.1 Copular *piau* clauses

We shall consider two approaches to the analysis of copular *piau* clauses. In one approach, *piau* assigns the thematic roles of owner to the subject and thing-owned to the complement. In the other approach, *piau* does not assign thematic roles to the subject or complement.

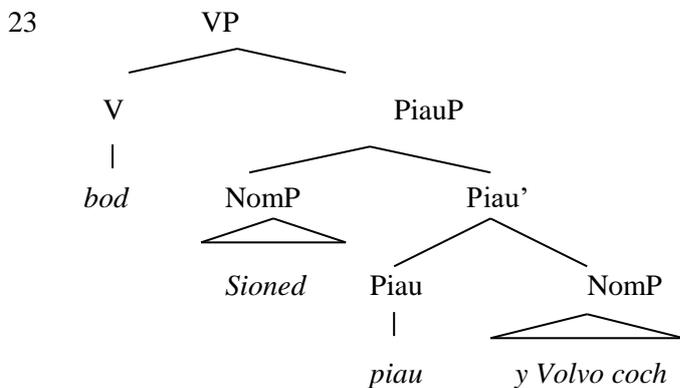
4.1.1 *Piau* assigns thematic roles and the incorporation analysis.

We shall say that *piau* assigns the thematic role of owner to its specifier and thing-owned role to its complement, as represented in (22).

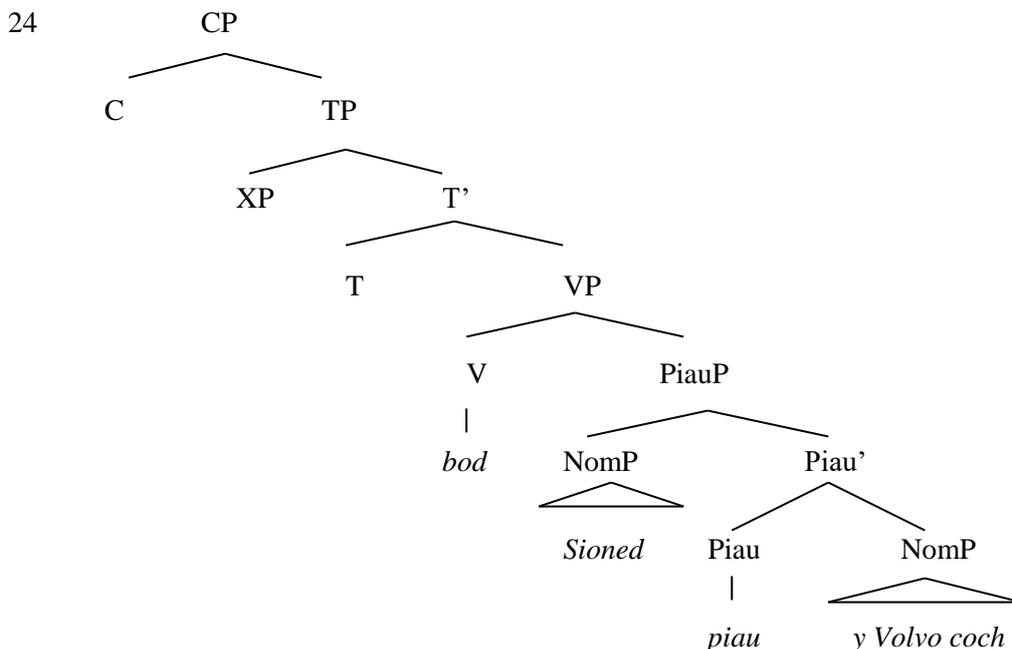


As previously claimed, the analysis in (22) can be justified on the grounds that the owner is a more dynamic-like role and the thing-owned is a more patient-like role. The former is typically associated with the subject and the latter is typically associated with the complement.

PiauP can merge with a VP which contains the copula *bod* 'be' as its head, as in (23).



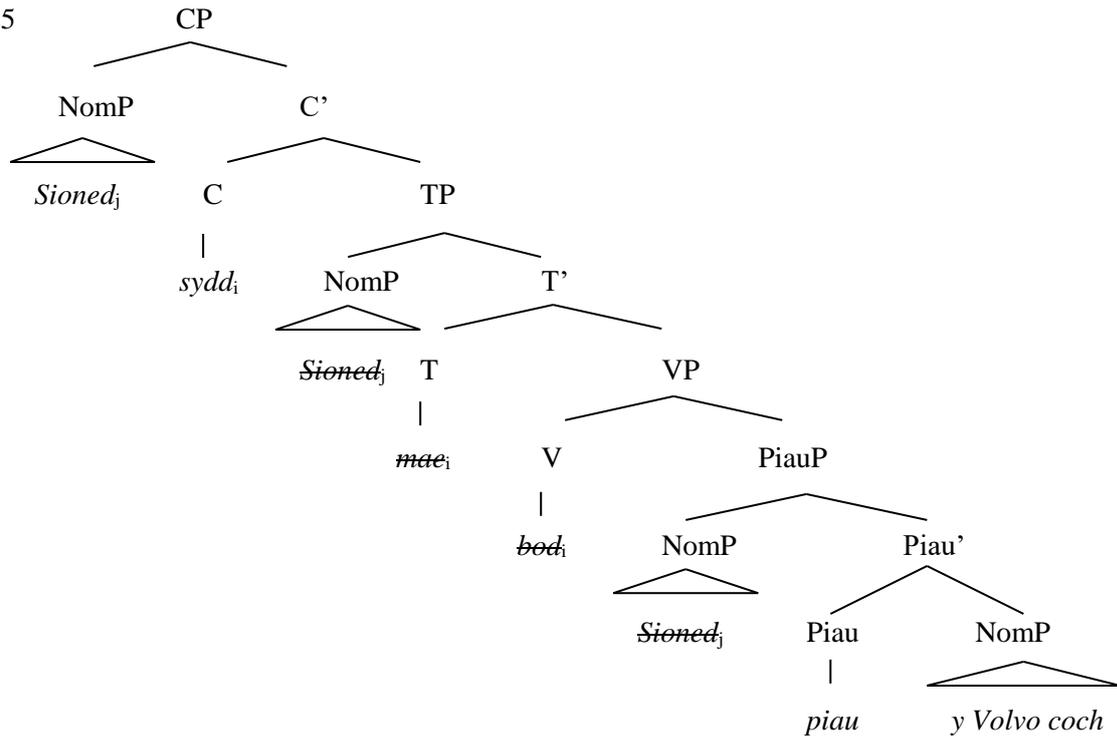
The standard mergers then apply: VP merges with TP, which merges with CP, as in (24). This configuration shows these mergers before any movements take place.



As seen in analyses of other copular clauses, the copula moves from the VP to T to acquire tense and then to C, as shown in (25). Either the subject or the complement is also raised to Spec CP

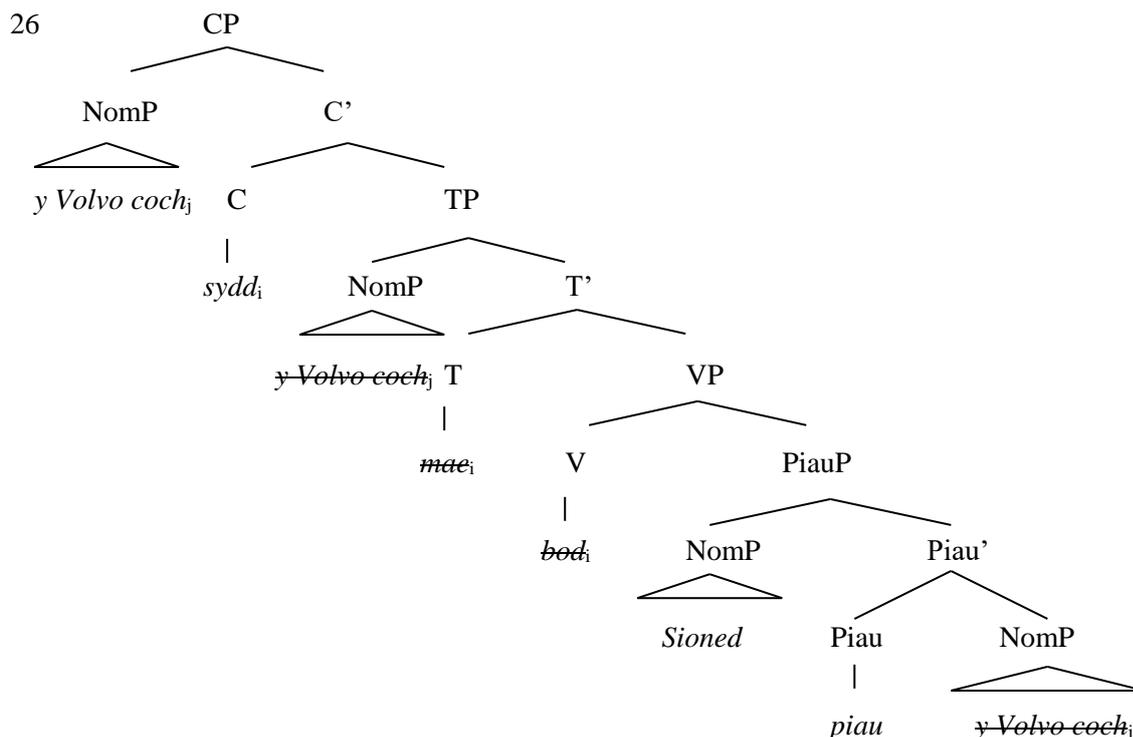
The fronting of the subject, *Sioned*, is straightforward. The phrase in Spec PiauP is moved to Spec TP, where it leaves a trace as it moves further to the fronted position in Spec CP. As a trace occurs in Spec TP, *sydd* occurs when the tense is the present tense. All this is shown in (25).

25

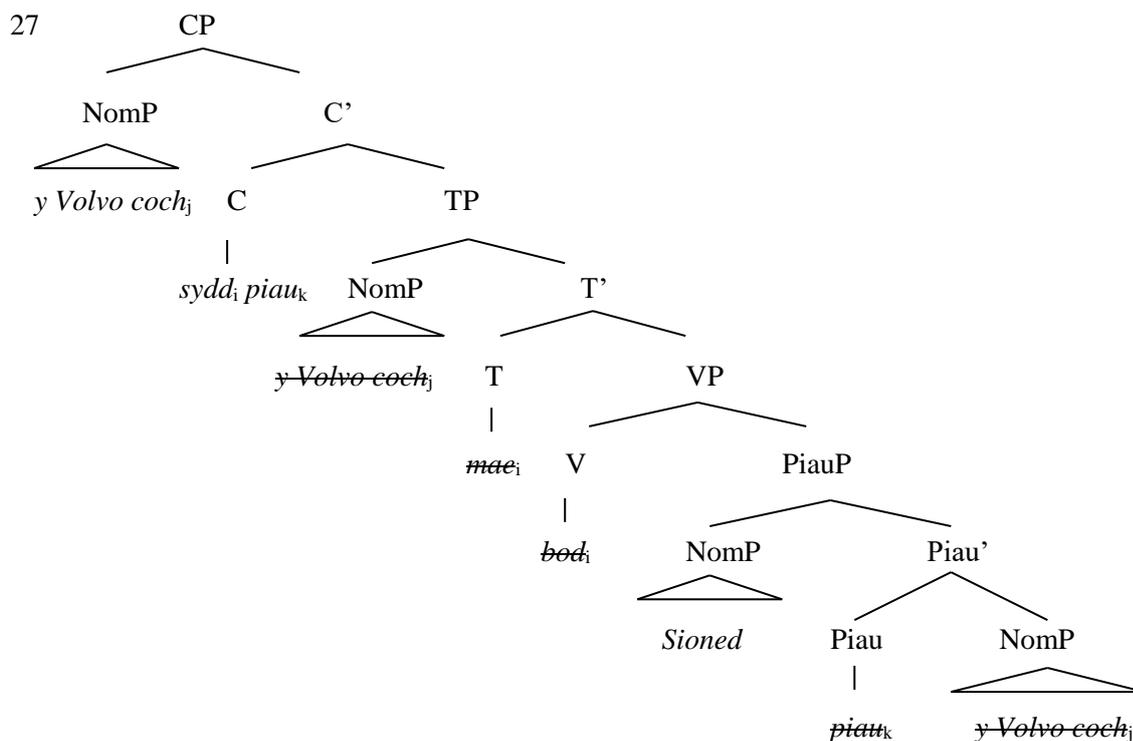


This accounts for owner-first order, as in the examples in (1), in a straightforward manner.

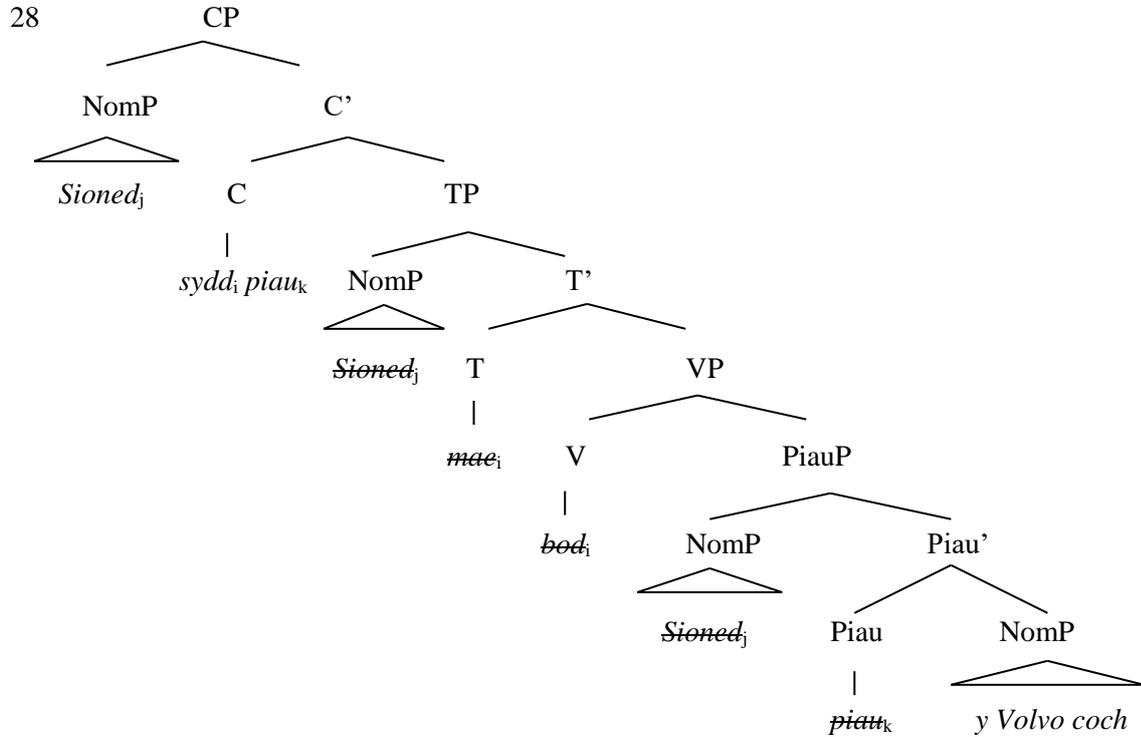
Fronting the thing-owned from Comp PiauP (shorthand for complement of *piau* in PiauP) to Spec CP raises two problems. First, the copular form *sydd* occurs, which means that there must be a trace of the fronted phrase in Spec TP. It seems that the complement phrase has been raised first to the subject position in Spec TP. Second, as a consequence of this movement, the owner nominal phrase remains *in situ* in Spec PiauP, which does not achieve the right linear structure. All this is shown in (26).



This configuration produces the linear structure **y Volvo coch sydd Sioned piau* and not the grammatical structure which is in example (5a), namely, *y Volvo coch sydd piau Sioned*. In the appropriate order *piau* precedes the subject *Sioned*, while in the inappropriate order produced by (26) it follows the subject. To obtain *piau* in its pre-subject position, we can claim that *piau* is attracted to the finite verb and is incorporated into C, as shown in (27).



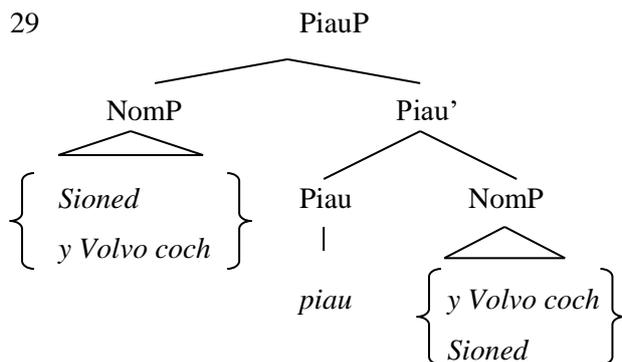
These two movements in (27) — thing-owned phrase to Spec CP via Spec TP and the incorporation of *piau* into C — give the right linear structure which is in example (5a), namely, *y Volvo coch sydd piau Sioned*. To achieve consistency, we can also claim that the incorporation of *piau* into C also occurs with the order which has an initial owner-phrase so that (25) now becomes (28).



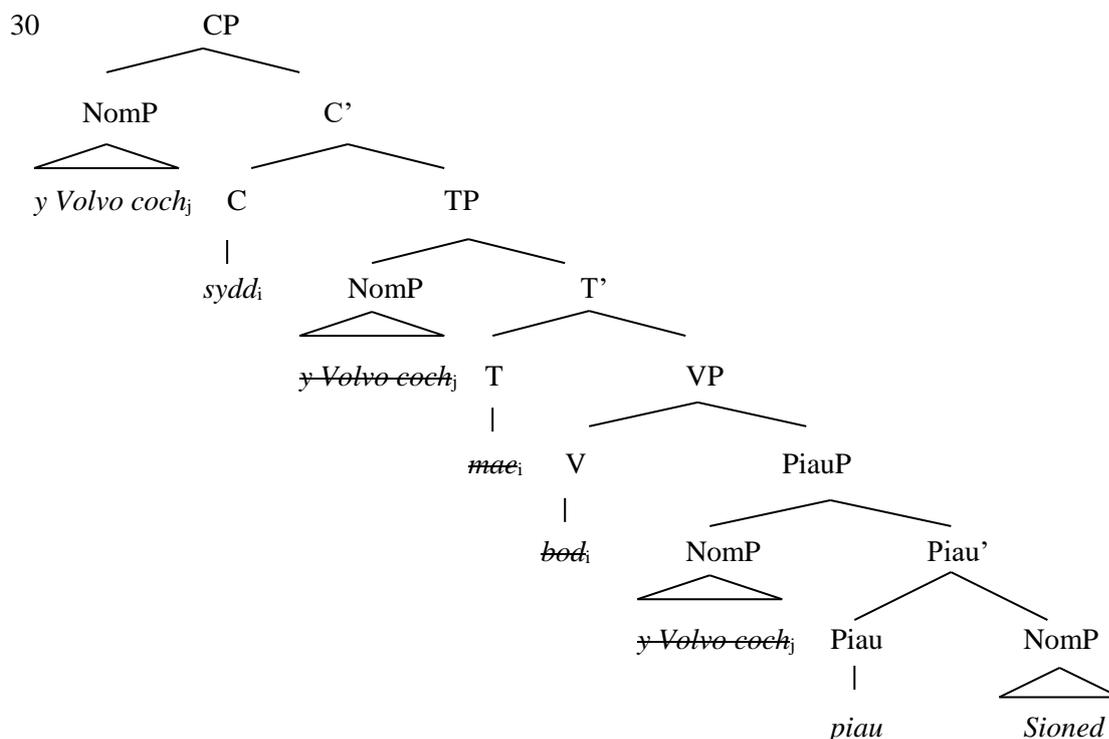
Although the analysis in (27) and (28) produces the right word order, the anomaly of the occurrence of *sydd* when the complement is fronted still remains.

4.1.2 *Piau* does not assign thematic roles and the topicalization analysis

There is an alternative explanation which is achieved by different lexical insertions into the specifier and complement constituents of PiauP. We can insert either the owner into Spec PiauP and the thing-owned into Comp PiauP, or the reverse insertions —thing-owned into Spec PiauP and the owner into Comp PiauP. All this is shown in (29).



The phrases have the same thematic rules: *y Volvo coch* is still the thing-owned and *Sioned* is still the owner. In section 5.1 chapter 3, the view was adopted that the specifier position, the subject, is filled by the topic and that the complement position is filled by the comment. We shall assume that the choice of topic and comment accounts for the filling of the specifier and the complement: we topicalize the owner and say what they own; or we topicalize the thing-owned and say who the owner is. All this being so, the thing-owned is fronted from Spec PiauP to Spec CP via Spec TP as shown in (30).



When the owner is topicalized and placed in Spec PiauP, it is fronted as shown in (25). The configuration in (30) has the regularity of the configuration in (25). There is now no anomalous syntax: *sydd* is canonically triggered by the movement of a subject from Spec PiauP to Spec CP via Spec TP where it leaves a trace, and the owner, as the complement, is in the right position. *Piau* does not have to be incorporated into C to achieve the right order. As *sydd* always occurs in *piau* clauses (when the tense is the present tense), focus is consistently given to the phrase in the specifier position. It is topicalization, however, which determines the eventual word order.

In this approach, *piau* conveys ownership but it does not indicate who is the owner and what is the thing-owned. We can say that pragmatics fulfils this function: an inanimate entity like *y Volvo coch* can be owned and an animate and human entity like *Sioned* can be an owner. Given that the anomalies have been removed, there is much to recommend this analysis.

It is difficult to categorize *piau* in copular clauses. It does not obviously belong to any of the conventional word categories. We shall hold the view that it is some indeterminate category and

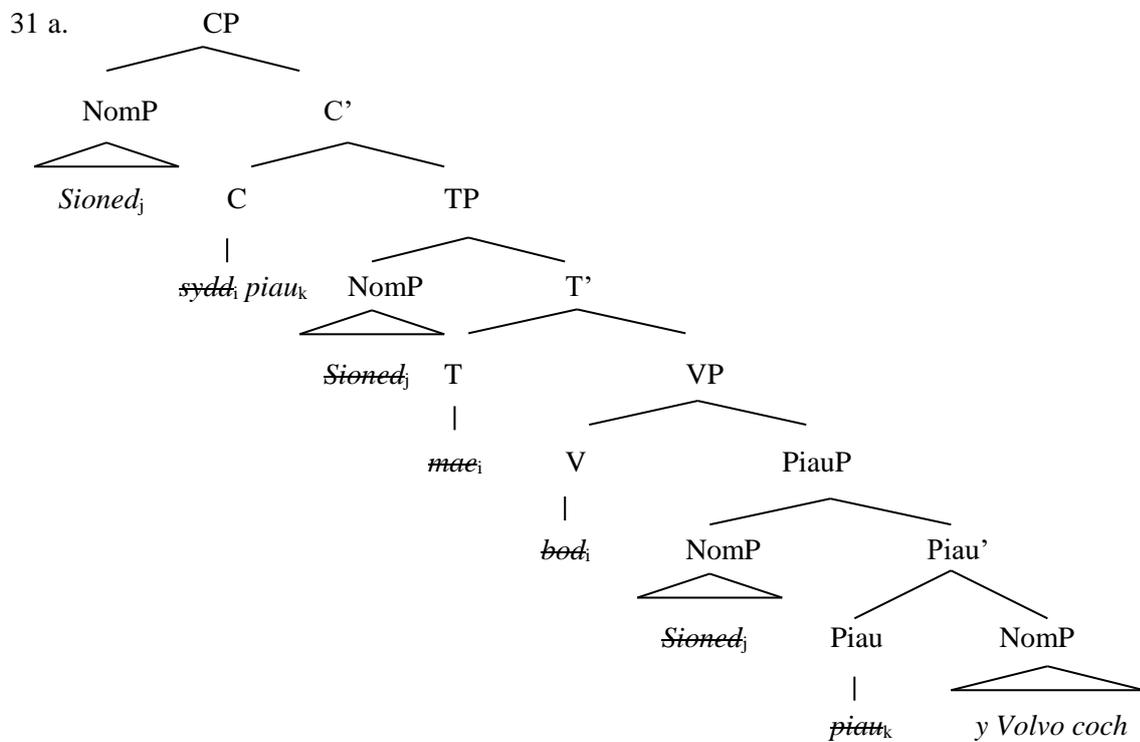
represent it as *piau*, which heads a *piau* phrase, *PiauP*, as in the above analyses. In the discussion of non-copular clauses, we shall consider whether it can be a verb.

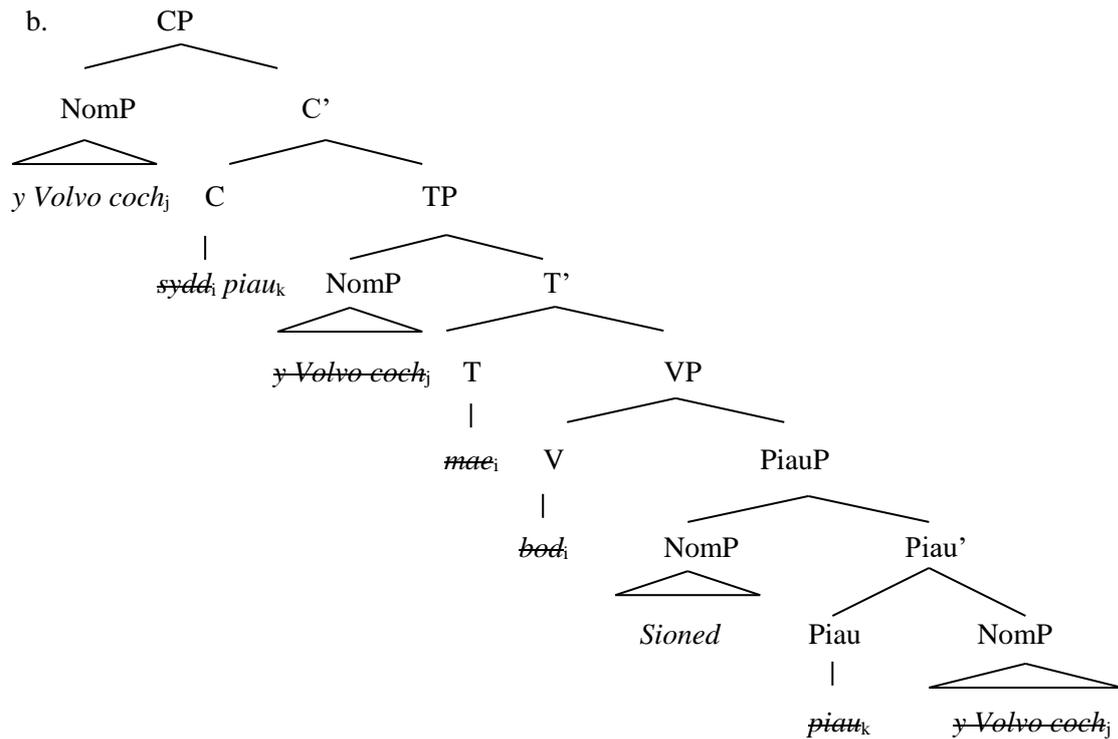
4.2 Non-copular *piau* clauses with fronted order

There are two ways of accounting for non-copular *piau* clauses — either by copula deletion or by analysing *piau* as a verb

4.2.1 Copula deletion

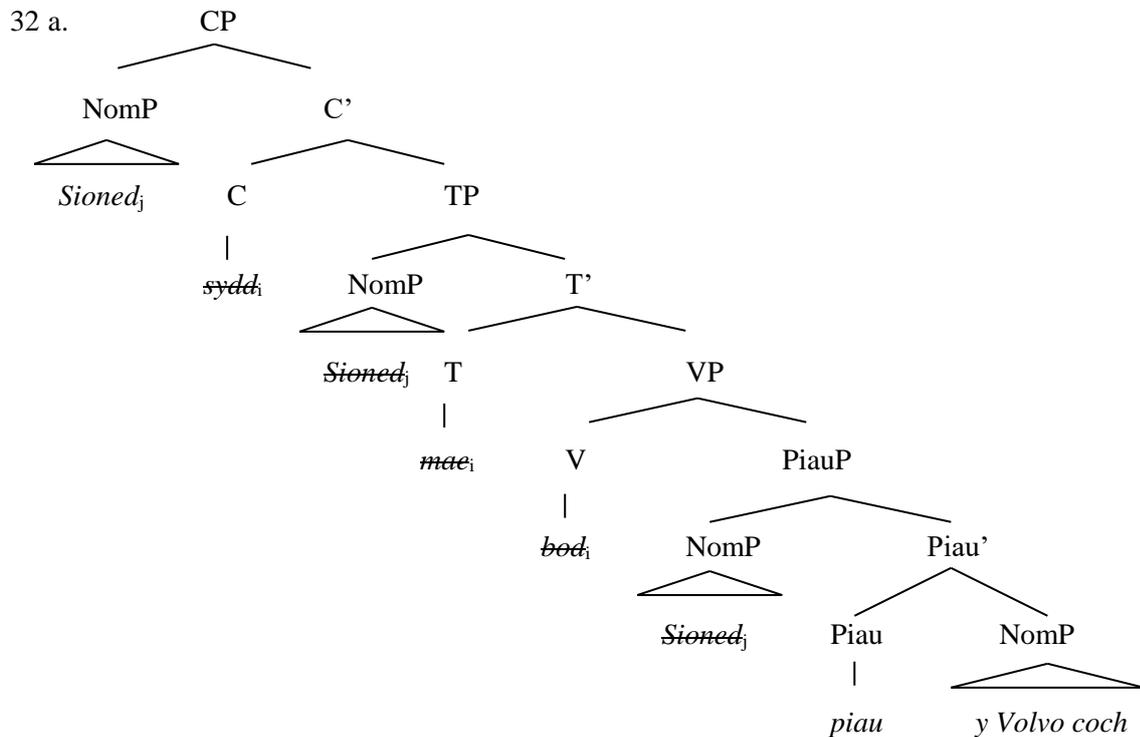
Non-copular *piau* clauses can be accounted for by copula deletion when the present tense occurs. In the case of the incorporation analysis, deletion of the copula in the configurations in (27) and (28) produce the configurations in (31b) and (31a) respectively.

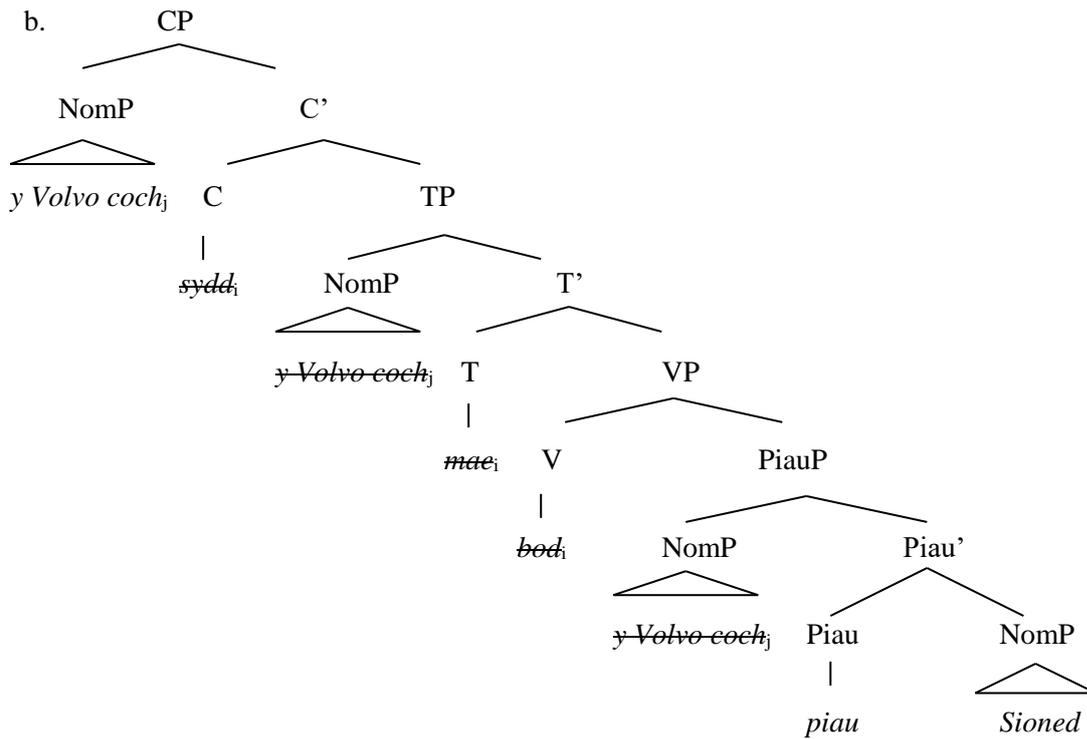




The analysis in (31b) maintains the weakness of (27) which generates an anomalous *sydd*, even though it is deleted in (31b).

In the case of the topicalization analysis, the analyses in (25) and (30) produce the configurations in (32a) and (32b) when the copula is deleted.

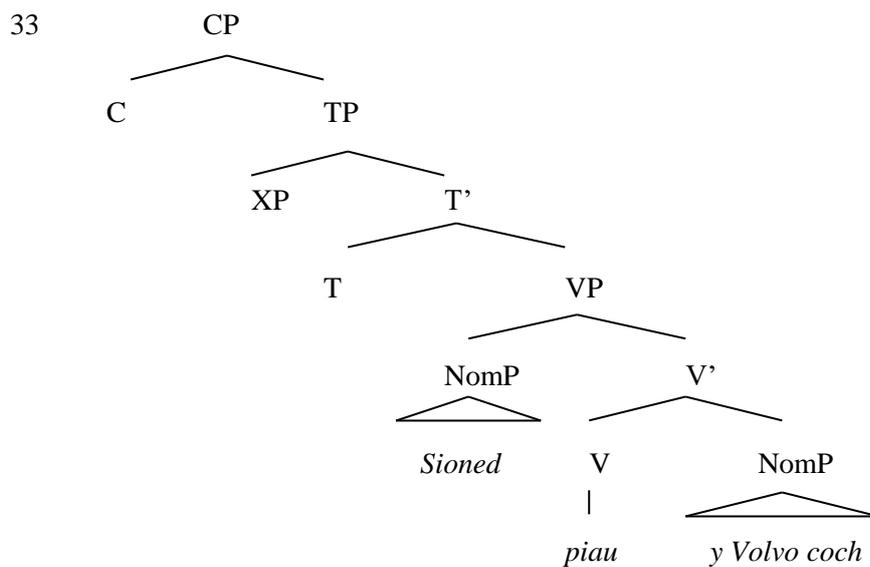




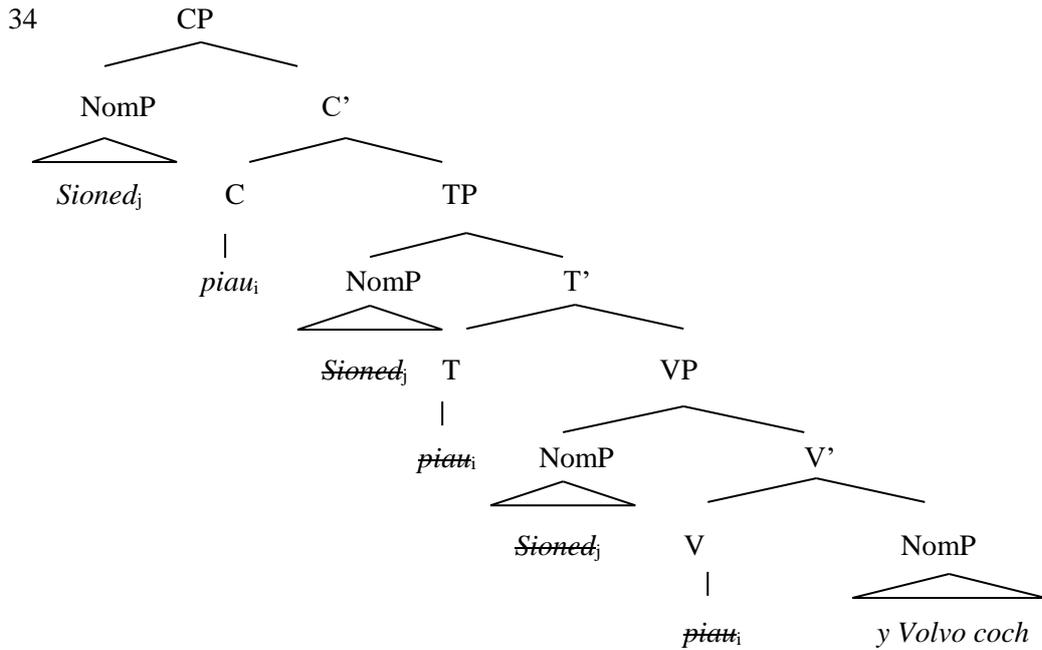
The analysis in (32b) which fronts the thing-owned phrase avoids the anomaly of the generation of *sydd*.

4.2.2 Piau as a verb

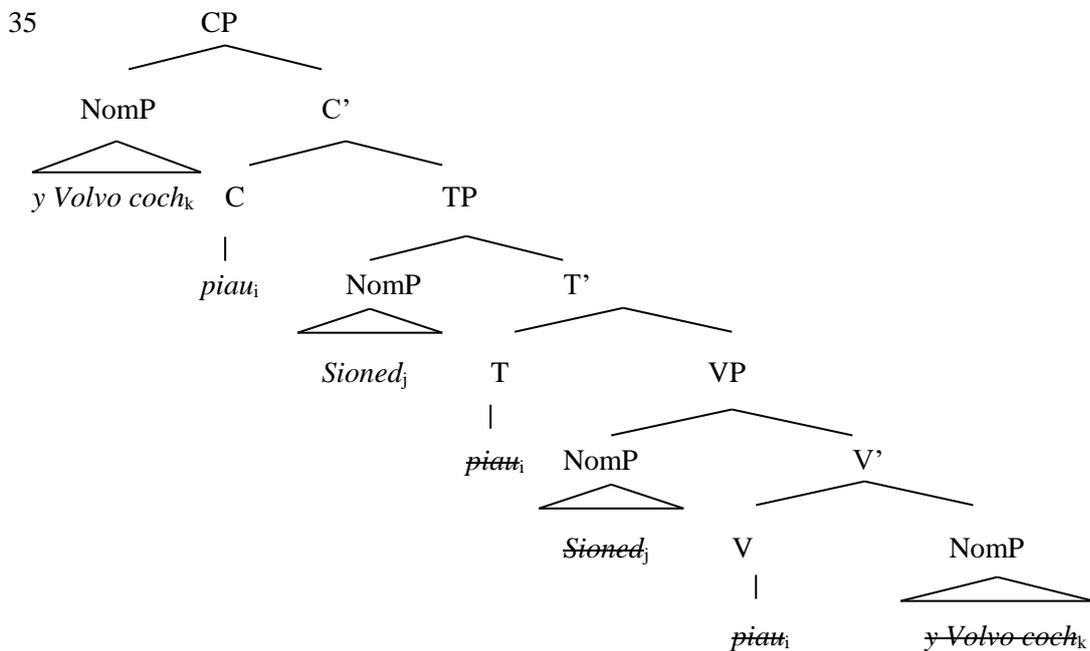
A non-copular *piau* clause can be accounted for by omitting the merger of PiauP with a VP headed by *bod* ‘be’ and merging it with TP, which merges with CP. This means that *piau* must be a verb to make this merger and must be the head of a VP.



The feature [focus] can be assigned to the phrase in Spec VP and we get the configuration in (34).



Alternatively, focus can be assigned to the phrase in Comp VP and we get the analysis in (35). The configuration in (33) allows the fronting of the thing-owned phrase from the complement position without creating anomalous syntax, as (35) shows.



The complement can be raised to Spec CP without passing through Spec TP. This latter location can be occupied by the subject in a standard manner. Further, raising *piau* to C achieves the appropriate linear positioning of the subject nominal phrase. The derivation of the non-copular clause in (35) involves standard movements, more so than the derivation of the copular *piau* clause in (26).

There are problems with the categorization of *piau* as a finite verb. It can only be given a present tense interpretation and even then it does not inflect. Typical Welsh finite verbs inflect for the future tense, the past tense, and for the counterfactual meaning, and a few can inflect for the present tense. We can meet these objections by claiming that *piau* is not alone in lacking typical finite verb morphology. Reference grammars of Welsh place *piau* along with other forms in a class of ‘defective verbs’, that is, verbs which lack the full range of tense and agreement morphology (for accounts of defective verbs, see, for instance, Morris-Jones (1913: 373–380), King (1993: 230–233), Thomas (1996: 68–70), and Thorne (1993: 288–295)). The same position can be adopted here, that is, that *piau* is a defective verb which is restricted to the present tense and has no overt morphological realization of that tense nor of agreement features. In this respect, it is significant to note that example (16a) has the form *fi* ‘I’ as its pronominal subject and not *i* — the former occurs in non-agreement contexts and the latter in agreement contexts. On this basis, it appears that there is no agreement context in examples like (16).

Further, *piau* does not have the typical distribution of a non-finite verb. No other typical non-finite verb can occur in the context in which *piau* can occur. And *piau* does not occur in distributional contexts where non-finite verbs typically occur. Non-finite verbs can occur in *i*-clauses and subjectless infinitive clauses — subject control verbs, object control verbs, and raising verbs — but *piau* does not, as the examples in (36) show.⁴⁸

- 36 a. **oedd* *Gwyn eisiau [i Sioned bia ’r Volvo coch].*
 be.IMPF.3SG Gwyn want for Sioned own the Volvo red
 = ‘Gwyn wanted the red Volvo to be Sioned’s.’
- b. **mae* *brawd Sioned yn disgwyl [bia ’r Volvo coch].*
 be.PRES.3SG brother Sioned PROG expect own the Volvo red
 = ‘Sioned’s brother expects the red Volvo to be his.’
- c. **oedd* *Gwyn wedi perswadio [Sioned i bia ’r Volvo coch].*
 be.IMPF.3SG Gwyn PERF persuade Sioned to own the Volvo red
 = ‘Gwyn had persuaded Sioned to own the red Volvo.’
- d. **mae* *Sioned yn digwydd [bia ’r Volvo coch].*
 be.PRES.3SG Sioned PROG happen own the Volvo red
 = ‘Sioned happens to own the red Volvo.’

Canonical non-finite verbs can also occur in aspect phrases, but not *piau*.⁴⁹

- 37 a. *Sioned oedd yn golchi / gwerthu / licio / edmygu ’r Volvo coch.*
 Sioned be.IMPF.3SG PROG wash / sell / like / admire the Volvo red
 ‘it was Sioned who was washing the red Volvo.’

- b. **Sioned oedd yn bia 'r Volvo coch.*
 Sioned be.IMPF.3SG PROG own the Volvo red
 'the red Volvo was being Sioned's.'

Piau does not accept an agreement clitic when its complement is pronominalized. The canonical characteristics of the pronominalization of a nominal phrase complement in a VP are illustrated by the examples in (38).

- 38 a. *wyt ti 'n gwerthu 'r Volvo coch?*
 be.PRES.3SG you.SG PROG sell the Volvo red
 'are you selling the red Volvo?'
 b. *wyt ti 'n ei werthu o?*
 be.PRES.3SG you.SG PROG 3SG.M sell he
 'are you selling it?'

Example (38b) shows that the non-finite verb is preceded by a clitic (referred to as a prefixed pronoun in traditional reference grammars of Welsh), which agrees in person, number and gender with the personal pronoun which occurs in canonical complement position: *ei ... o* in the above example. Not all speakers use the agreement clitic in informal Welsh (discussion is available in Jones 1990). But non-finite *piau* does not take a clitic in any style.

- 39 a. *ti sydd bia 'r Volvo coch?*
 you.SG be.PRES.3SG own the Volvo red
 'is the red Volvo yours?'
 b. *ti sydd bia fo?*
 you.SG be.PRES.3SG own he
 'is it yours?'
 c. **ti sydd ei bia fo?*
 you.SG be.PRES.3SG 3SG.M own he
 = 'is it yours?'

If *piau* is a non-finite verb which is followed by a nominal phrase complement, it is thus an exceptional one in respect of pronominalizing a complement. However, Williams (1980: 54), concentrating on formal Welsh, says that finite *piau* can take an infixed clitic if the preverbal particle *a* occurs as in:

- 40 a. *rhowch yr arian i 'r sawl a 'i piau.*
 give.IMPV.2PL the money to theones PT 3SG.M OWN.PRES.3SG
 'give the money to the ones whose it is.'

- b. *cofiwch mai 'ch gwlad a 'ch piau.*
 remember.IMPV.2PL PT 2PL country PT 2PL own.PRES.3SG
 ‘remember you are your country’s.’

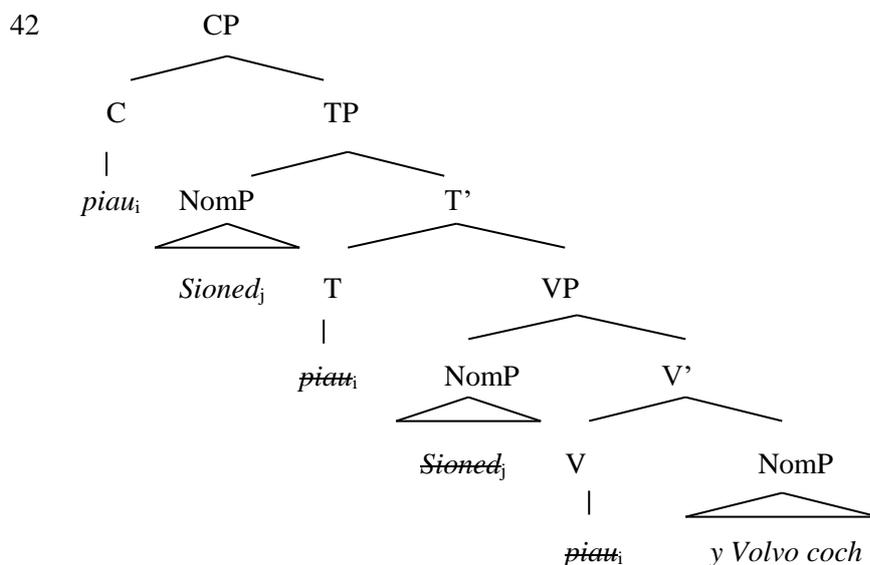
These data are not typical of informal Welsh, which would have only a personal pronoun as in the example in (39b), thus — *rhowch yr arian i 'r sawl sydd piau fo* and *cofiwch mai 'ch gwlad sydd piau chi*. We can also argue that *piau* is not a non-finite verb on the basis that non-finite verbs do not occur in the contexts in which *piau* occurs.

- 41 **Sioned oedd golchi / gwerthu / licio / edmygu 'r Volvo coch.*
 Sioned be.IMPV.3SG wash / sell / like / admire the Volvo red
 = ‘Sioned was washing the red Volvo.’

In view of these problems, it makes more sense to adopt the copula-deletion analysis. In this approach, *piau* is some indeterminate category in both copular and non-copular clauses. It is the omission of the copula with the present tense which is the point of interest and chapter 13 shows that copula deletion is common with the copula in other present tense clauses and not just *piau* clauses.

4.3 Non-copular *piau* clauses with normal order

In the case of the normal word-order version of the non-copular *piau*, as in example (13b), this can be accounted for by the configuration in (42).



This derivation requires only two movements: *piau* is moved to T and then to C, and the phrase in Spec PiauP is moved to Spec TP. No phrase occurs in Spec CP. But normal-order *piau* clauses are rare in

contemporary spontaneous Welsh. They are certainly absent from the grammar of many Welsh speakers and for them *piau* has ceased to be a verb by today.

5. Summary and conclusions

In summary, the analysis of copular *piau* is well served by having a basic copular phrase like that in (29), in which the choice of subject or complement is decided by topicalization and fronted order is determined by consistently fronting the subject, as in (25) and (30). This account avoids the problem of anomalous syntax which is evident in the configuration in (26), namely, the occurrence of *sydd* with a fronted complement and the positioning of the subject in relation to *piau* (in the eventual clause). The analysis of non-copular *piau* clauses is well served by copula deletion based on the analyses in (25) and (30), which produces the configurations in (32a–b). This approach avoids the problem of accounting for *piau* as a verb. In all these analyses, *piau* is an indeterminate category, which must merge with the copula to form a finite clause. In the much more uncommon instances of *piau* in initial position, the arguments for treating *piau* as a verb are stronger.

Chapter 8 VP Copular Clauses

This chapter discusses copular clauses whose predicates contain a verb phrase which is preceded by either an aspect particle, a prepositional expression, or *i* ‘to’. They can be labelled VP copular clauses. We shall see in the formal analyses that the configuration of the subject-predicate relationship in these clauses is different from other copular clauses. We shall distinguish between those clauses whose VP is headed by a lexical verb from those clauses whose VP is headed by the copula.

1 VPs headed by lexical verbs

1.1 Aspect phrases

This study discusses the syntax of aspect patterns and not their semantics. An account of the latter is given in Jones B.M. (2010).

An aspect phrase in Welsh is made up of an aspect particle and a verb phrase which contains a non-finite verb. The progressive aspect particle is *yn* and the perfect aspect particle is *wedi*, providing phrases like *yn siarad* ‘speaking’ and *wedi siarad* ‘spoken’. Welsh non-finite verbs are invariant, having only an infinitive form. As such, the form of a verb in an aspect pattern in Welsh is always the infinitive (or verbnoun (*berfenw*), as it is labelled in traditional reference grammars). There are no overt progressive and perfect participle forms, as are found in English *speaking*, *spoken* and Spanish *hablando*, *hablado*.

The examples in (1) illustrate aspect phrases in Welsh.

- 1 a. *mae Owain yn gweithio yn yr ardd.*
be.PRES.3SG Owain PROG work in the garden
‘Owain is working in the garden.’
- b. *mae Emma wedi prynu car newydd.*
be.PRES.3SG Emma PERF buy car new
‘Emma has bought a new car.’
- c. *mae Gwen wedi bod yn aros am oriau.*
be.PRES.3SG Gwen PERF be PROG wait for hours
‘Gwen has been waiting for hours.’

Example (1a) illustrates the progressive aspect: the aspect particle *yn* immediately precedes the non-finite verb *gweithio* ‘work’. Example (1b) illustrates the perfect aspect: the aspect particle *wedi* immediately precedes the non-finite verb *prynu* ‘buy’. In clauses which contain both aspects, as in (1c), the perfect aspect precedes the progressive and *bod* ‘be’ occurs between them.

The examples in (1) show that Welsh uses a form of the copula with the perfect aspect as well as the progressive aspect. In contrast, English uses the copula *be* with the progressive and *have* with the perfect, as in *she is speaking* and *she has spoken*.⁵⁰ Similarly, Spanish uses the copula *estar* with the progressive and *haber* with the perfect, as in *(ella) está hablando* ‘she is speaking’ and *(ella) ha hablado* ‘she has spoken’.

Jones B.M. (2010: 304–340) shows that there are possible grounds for categorizing *ar* ‘on’, *newydd* ‘new’, and *heb* ‘without’ as aspect particles. By this view, *ar* ‘on’ indicates that a situation is imminent, as in the examples in (2).

- 2 a. *mae Siôn ar adael y stafell.*
 be.PRES.3SG Siôn on leave the room
 ‘Siôn is about to leave the room.’
- b. *oedd y dynion ar dynnu ’r wal i lawr.*
 be.IMPF.3SG the men on pull the wall to floor
 ‘the men were about to pull the wall down.’
- c. *mae ’r trên ar gyrraedd.*
 be.PRES.3SG the train on arrive
 ‘the train is about to arrive.’

Newydd indicates that a situation has occurred very recently in some period of time, as in the examples in (3).

- 3 a. *mae ’r awren newydd lanio.*
 be.PRES.3SG the airplane new land
 ‘the airplane has just landed.’
- b. *oedd y dynion newydd dynnu ’r wal i lawr.*
 be.IMPF.3SG the men new pull the wall to floor
 ‘the men had just pulled the wall down.’
- c. *fydd y bws newydd adael erbyn i ti gyrraedd.*
 be.FUT.3SG the bus new leave against for you.SG arrive
 ‘the bus will just have left by the time you arrive.’

Heb is equivalent to *wedi* except that it is negative, as the examples in (4) show.

- 4 a. *dan ni heb wneud y gwaith.*
 be.PRES.1PL we without do the work
 ‘we haven’t done the work.’
- b. *oedden nhw heb ofyn am ganiatad.*
 be.IMPF.3PL they without ask for permission
 ‘they had not asked for permission.’
- c. *fyddan nhw heb orffen mewn pryd.*
 be.FUT.3PL they without finish in time
 ‘they will not have finished in time.’

We shall return to these forms in section 1.4.

1.2 Prepositional expressions

There are a number of prepositional expressions (we shall use this term as an overall label for the data which is discussed here) which can occur before a verb phrase in a copular clause, namely, *am* ‘for, about’, *ar fin* ‘on edge, margin’, *ar ganol* ‘on middle’, *ar hanner* ‘on half’, and *ymhell o* ‘far from’.

- 5 a. *mae Siôn am gasglu mwy o arian.*
 be.PRES.3SG Siôn for collect more of money
 ‘Siôn is for collecting more money.’
- b. *oedd Mair ar fin agor y drws.*
 be.IMPF.3SG Mair on edge open the door
 ‘Mair was about to open the door.’
- c. *oedd yr athrawes ar {ganol / hanner} paratoi ’r wers.*
 be.IMPF.3SG the teacher.F on middle / half prepare the lesson
 ‘the teacher was in the middle of preparing the lesson.’
- d. *mae ’r dynion ymhell o ddeall y broblem.*
 be.PRES.3SG the men far of understand the problem
 ‘the men are far from understanding the problem.’

These forms occur in the typical position of an aspect particle in a copular clause, that is, following the subject and preceding a verb phrase as the examples in (5) show. At first glance, this distribution provides grounds for analysing these forms as aspect particles. But Jones B.M. (2010: 304–340) notes that they can also occur before nominal phrases with the same meanings, as the examples in (6) show.

- 6 a. *mae Siôn am banaid o goffi.*
 be.PRES.3SG Siôn for cupfulof coffi
 ‘Siôn is for a cup of coffee.’
- b. *oedd Mair ar fin y dre.*
 be.IMPF.3SG Mair on edge the town
 ‘Mair was close to the town.’
- c. *oedd yr athrawes ar {ganol / hanner} ei chinio.*
 be.IMPF.3SG the teacher on middle / half 3SG.F dinner
 ‘the teacher was in the middle of her dinner.’
- d. *mae ’r dynion ymhell o ’r dre.*
 be.PRES.3SG the men far from the town
 ‘the men are far from the town.’

The meanings are ‘want’ in the case of *am* in (5a) and (6a), ‘nearness’ in the case of *ar fin* in (5b) and (6b), ‘contemporaneous’ in the case of *ar ganol / hanner* ‘in the middle of’ in (5c) and (6c), and ‘remote’ in the case of *ymhell o* ‘far from’ in (5d) and (6d). Jones (*op. cit.*) therefore holds that they are not aspect particles but are prepositional expressions which can occur either before a verb phrase or a nominal phrase.

The preposition *ar* was discussed in section 1.2 as a possible aspect particle conveying imminence, in examples like *mae’r trên ar fynd* ‘the train is about to go’. But it also occurs in copular clauses before a verb phrase in examples like (7), which have a different meaning.

- 7 a. *mae tatws newydd ar gael.*
 be.PRES.3SG potatoes new on have
 ‘new potatoes are available.’
- b. *oedd y drws ar gau.*
 be.PRES.3SG the door on shut
 ‘the door was shut.’
- c. *fydd y siop ar agor.*
 be.FUT.3SG the shop on open
 ‘the shop will be open.’
- d. *mae ar ddeall bod Mair yn mynd i gael y swydd.*
 be.PRES.3SG on understand be.PRES Mair PROG go to have the job
 ‘it is understood that Mair is going to get the job.’

In the examples in (7), *ar* indicates that the subject is in a certain state and the nature of the state is indicated by the verb — availability, closed, open, and understanding in these particular examples. It

can also be shown that the stative use of *ar* is different to the aspect use of *ar* in that the former unlike the latter also occurs before certain nouns and still conveys a state.

- 8 a. *mae 'r dyn ar frys*
 be.PRES.3SG the man on hurry
 'the man is in a hurry.'
- b. *oedd y tŷ ar dân.*
 be.IMPF.3SG the house on fire
 'the house was on fire.'
- c. *fydd y tŷ ar rent cyn bo hir.*
 be.FUT.3SG the house on rent beforebe.SUBJ.3SGLong
 'the house will be for rent before long.'
- d. *mae bob dim ar chwâl.*
 be.PRES.3SG every thing on spoil
 'everything is spoilt.'

Some of these nouns can become verbs through derivational morphology, which is the case with the verbs in (8): *brys* – *brysio*, *tân* – *tanio*, *rhent* – *rhentu*, and *chwâl* – *chwalu*.

1.3 Subjectless *i*-infinitive clauses

A subjectless *i*-infinitive clause (or *i*-infinitival for short) is a phrase which has an initial *i* 'for, to' followed by a verb phrase, as in *i chwerthin* 'to laugh' or *i arbed mwy o arian* 'to save more money'. As illustrated in (29) in section 1.4.3, they can occur in control predicates and raising predicates. But we are concerned here with their occurrences as the predicate of a copular clause. We shall label the copular clauses in which they occur as *i*-infinitive copular clauses. There are two types of such clauses.

1.3.1 Subject-to-subject

There are examples of *i*-infinitive copular clauses which have the linear syntax: [Verb + NomP + [*i* + VP]] and in which the subject of the copular matrix clause is also the understood subject of the verb in the *i*-infinitival [*i* + VP] (hence, for want of a better label, subject-to-subject).

- 9 a. *mae Gwyn i aros yma.*
 be.PRES.3SG Gwyn to stay here
 'Gwyn is to stay here.'

- b. *oedd Mair i ddal y trê'n i Gaerdybi am un o'r gloch.*
 be.IMPF.3SG Mair to catch the train to Holyhead for one of the clock
 'Mair was to catch the train to Holyhead at one o'clock.'
- c. *mae 'r dynion i ddilyn y merched.*
 be.PRES.3SG the men to follow the women
 'the men are to follow the women.'
- d. *mae 'r arian eto i ddod.*
 be.PRES.3SG the money yet to come
 'the money is yet to come.'
- e. *mae Mair eto i benderfynu.*
 be.PRES.3SG Mair yet to decide
 'Mair is yet to decide.'

Some of these clauses can lay down an obligation. In the case of (9a–c), this obligation is relatively binding. Examples (9d–e) are different. In these cases, we can claim that the expected occurrence of a future event has not yet occurred, without necessarily being based on an obligation. It is typical of these clauses that the adverb *eto* 'yet, again' occurs.⁵¹

A subjectless *i*-infinitival which is a lexical VP can contain an aspect phrase, as the examples in (10) show.

- 10 a. *ma' Gwyn i fod wedi aros yma.*
 be.PRES.3SG Gwyn to be PERF stay here
 'Gwyn is (supposed) to have stayed here.'
- b. *ma' Gwyn i fod yn aros yma.*
 be.PRES.3SG Gwyn to be PROG stay here
 'Gwyn is (supposed) to be staying here.'
- c. *ma' Gwyn i fod wedi bod yn aros yma.*
 be.PRES.3SG Gwyn to be PERF be PROG stay here
 'Gwyn is (supposed) to have been staying here.'

From the discussion in section 1.1, we can say that the examples in (10) have linear structures as follows: *ma' Gwyn i [fod [wedi aros yma]]*, *ma' Gwyn i [fod [yn aros yma]]*, and *ma' Gwyn i [fod [wedi [bod [yn aros yma]]]]*.

1.3.2 Subject-to-complement

There are examples of *i*-infinitive copulars in which the subject of the matrix clause is an understood subject in the complement of the VP (and not the understood subject of the verb in the VP) — hence subject-to-complement, for want of a better label. Illustrations are given in (11). It is pointed out that such examples occur in the informal style of Welsh (more on this shortly).

- 11 a. *mae Siôn i weld yn hapus.*
 be.PRES.3SG Siôn to see PRED happy
 ‘Siôn seems (to be) happy.’
- b. *oedd y dyn i weld yn y farchnad.*
 be.IMPF.3SG the man to see in the market
 ‘the man was (to be) seen in the market.’
- c. *mae 'r tŷ i weld yn daclus iawn.*
 be.PRES.3SG the house to see PRED tidy very
 ‘the house looks very tidy.’
- d. *oedd Gwyn i glywed yn canu 'r gitar.*
 be.IMPF.3SG Gwyn to hear PROG sing the guitar
 ‘Gwyn was (to be) heard playing the guitar.’

The linear syntax of these clauses is [Verb + NomP + [*i* + VP[V + XP]]], in which the NomP subject of the main clause is the understood subject in the XP complement in the VP. In (11a), for instance, it is *Siôn* who is happy and is thus the understood subject of *yn hapus* ‘happy’ and not the subject of the verb *gweld* ‘see’. The entity which performs the action of seeing or hearing is not overtly indicated in examples of this type. The subject-to-complement analysis is supported by the interpretations of related examples, like those in (12), in which the performers of seeing and hearing are now overtly indicated by the subjects of the main clause.

- 12 a. *dw i 'n gweld Siôn yn hapus.*
 be.PRES.1SG I PROG see Siôn PRED happy
 ‘I see John happy.’
- b. *oedd rhywun wedi gweld y dyn yn y farchnad.*
 be.IMPF.3SG someone PERF see the man in the market
 ‘someone had seen the man in the market.’
- c. *dan ni 'n gweld y tŷ yn daclus iawn.*
 be.PRES.1PL we PROG see the house PRED tidy very
 ‘we see the house very tidy.’

- d. *oedd rhywun wedi clywed Gwyn yn canu 'r gitar.*
 be.IMPF.3SG someone PERF hear Gwyn PROG sing the guitar
 ‘someone had heard Gwyn playing the guitar.’

The complement phrases of the main verb in examples like (12) are small clauses — that is, they have a linear structure such as [Subject[*Siôn*] Predicate[*yn hapus*]]. We can now say that in examples like those in (11), the main clause subject is the understood subject of the small clause which is the complement to the lexical verb.

In the formal style, the clitic *w* occurs after *i* (*w* only occurs after *i*).⁵²

- 13 a. *mae Siôn i 'w weld yn hapus.*
 be.PRES.3SG Siôn to 3SG.M see PRED happy
 ‘Siôn looks (to be) happy.’
- b. *oedd y dyn i 'w weld yn y farchnad.*
 be.IMPF.3SG the man to 3SG see in the market
 ‘the man was (to be) seen in the market.’
- c. *mae 'r tŷ i 'w weld yn daclus iawn.*
 be.PRES.3SG the house to 3SG.M see PRED tidy very
 ‘the house looks (to be) very tidy.’
- d. *oedd Gwyn i 'w glywed yn canu 'r gitar.*
 be.IMPF.3SG Gwyn to 3SG.M hear PROG sing the guitar
 ‘Gwyn was (to be) heard playing the guitar.’

The matrix subject is the antecedent of the clitic *w*. In contrast, there are other contexts in which *w* has no antecedent. For instance, it can occur before a non-finite verb in agreement with a personal pronoun which is the complement of the non-finite verb.

- 14 a. *mae 'r dynion yn dal i 'w gredu e.*
 be.PRES.3SG the men PROG continue to 3SG.M believe he
 ‘the men {continue to / still} believe him.’
- b. *mae 'r rheolwr yn tueddu i 'w gadw fe yn y drôr*
 be.PRES.3SG the manager PROG continue to 3SG.M believe he in the drawer
 ‘the manager tends to keep it in the drawer.’

- c. *aeth Mair i 'r dref i 'w brynu e.*
 be.PERV.3SG Mair to the town to 3SG.M buy he
 'Mair went to town to buy it.'

Pro-drop is possible to produce examples like *mae 'r dynion yn dal i'w gredu, mae 'r pennaeth yn tueddu i'w gadw yn y drôr gwaelod*, and *aeth Mair i'r dref i'w brynu*. But in the case of the examples in (13), in which the clitic has an antecedent, no personal pronoun can occur as the complement of the non-finite verb.

- 15 a. *mae Siôn i 'w weld (*e) yn hapus.*
 be.PRES.3SG Siôn to 3SG see 3SG.M PRED happy
 'Siôn looks happy.'
- b. *oedd y dyn i 'w weld (*e) yn y farchnad.*
 be.IMPF.3SG the man to 3SG see he in the market
 'the man was (to be) seen in the market.'
- c. *mae 'r tŷ i 'w weld (*e) yn daclus iawn.*
 be.PRES.3SG the house to 3SG see he PRED tidy very
 'the house looks very tidy.'
- d. *oedd Gwyn i 'w glywed (*e) yn canu 'r gitar.*
 be.IMPF.3SG Gwyn to 3SG hear he PROG sing the guitar
 'Gwyn was (to be) heard playing the guitar.'

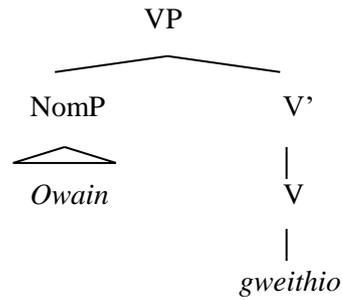
We have said that the subject in the main clause is the understood subject of the small clause. But, in the light of the occurrence of the clitic *w*, the subject in the matrix clause in examples like (11) and (13) can also be seen as the understood object of the verb in the *i*-infinitive clause. That is, the matrix subject can be seen as the understood object of the verb and the understood subject of the small clause. More widely in linguistic studies, this dual grammatical status comes under exceptional case marking.

1.4 Analysis

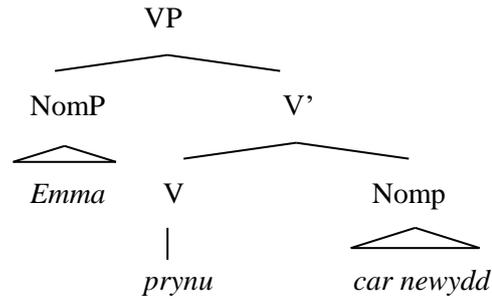
1.4.1 Aspect phrases

We shall argue that a copular clause which contains an aspect pattern has a basic phrase which contains a VP, which has a verb as its head, a specifier, and may or may not have a complement. The VPs in examples (1a–b) are given in (16).

16 a.



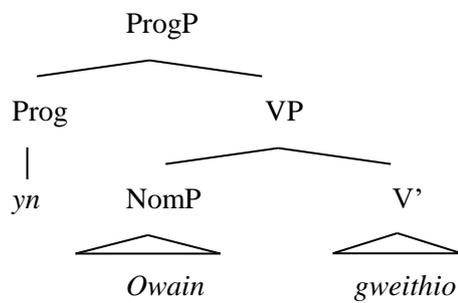
b.



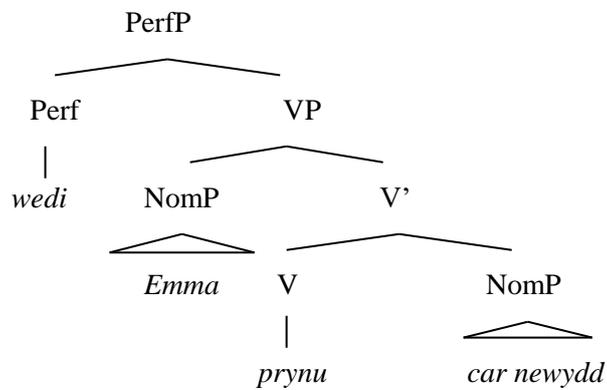
The nominal phrases receive their thematic role from the lexical verb in the VP.

A VP has the option of merging with TP, as shown in (5) in chapter 1. Another option is that it can merge with an aspect particle to form a progressive aspect phrase (ProgP) or a perfect aspect phrase (PerfP).

17 a.

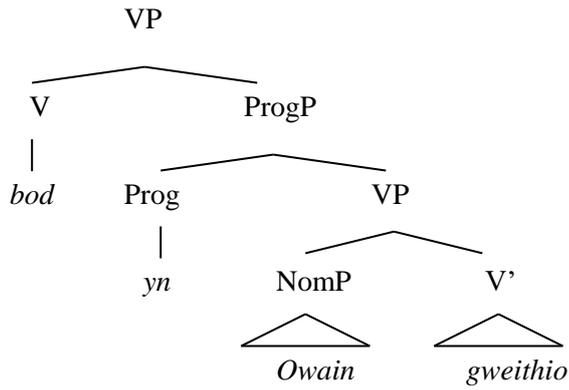


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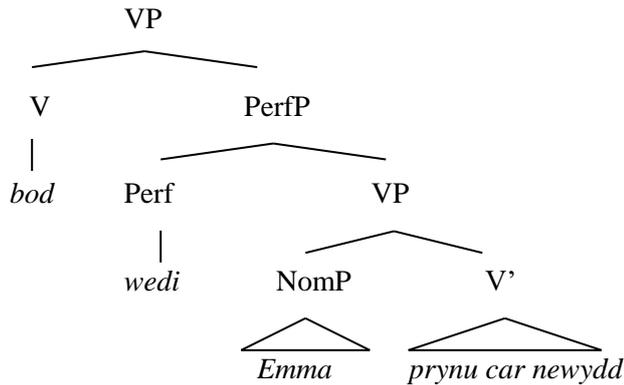


The aspect particles cannot merge with TP and must merge with a VP which contains the copula as its head, as in (18).

18 a.



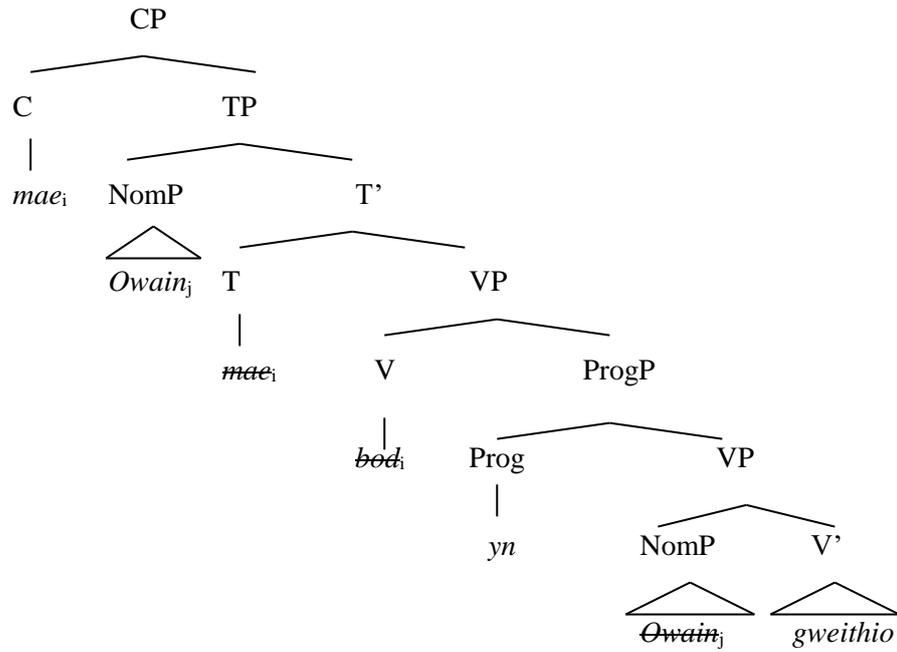
b.



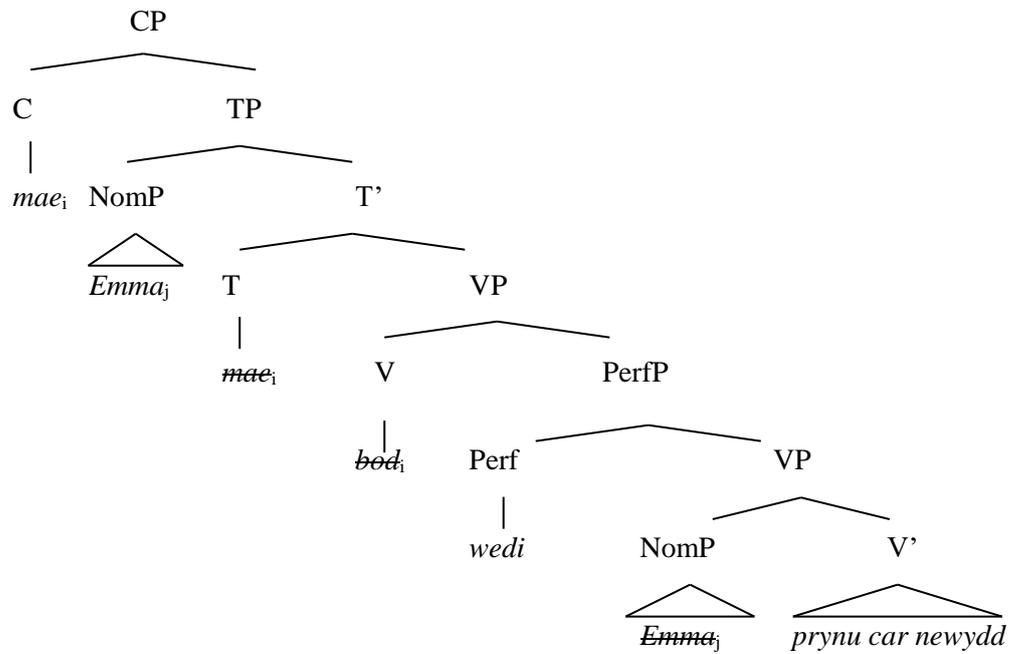
As we have seen in previous chapters, merging with the copula is typical of a basic copular phrase. The VP itself is not a basic copular phrase. But a VP can be developed into an aspect phrase, as shown in (17), and an aspect phrase is a basic copular phrase. Significantly, too, the configurations in (17) show a common characteristic of all VP copulars: the basic copular phrase does not itself have a subject in its specifier. The subject is in the specifier of the VP. The same is found in phrases which are headed by prepositional expressions and in *i*-infinitivals, as we shall see.

To produce a finite clause, standard mergers occur — the *bod* VP merges with TP, which merges with CP. Standard raising rules move *bod* ‘be’ into C via T, and the subject into Spec TP (we ignore cyclical movement). This is illustrated for the progressive aspect in (19a), which is based on the example in (1a), and the perfect aspect in (19b), which is based on the example in (1b).

19 a.

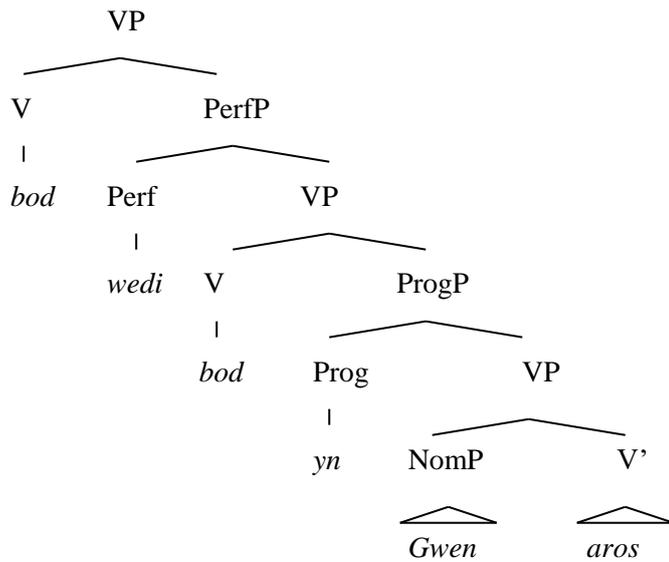


b.



The co-occurrence of the perfect aspect and the progressive aspect, as in example (1c), can be accounted for by the configuration in (20).

20

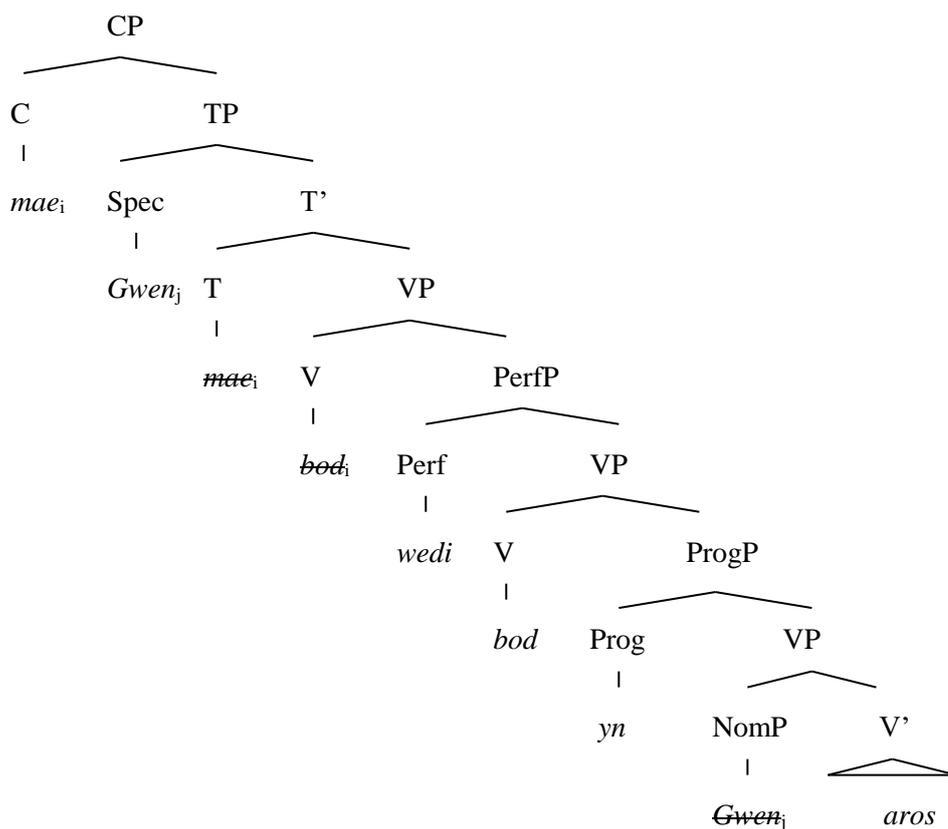


The repetition of the basic mergers which account for the single aspect phrases in (18) produces this configuration. From bottom up:

- i. a VP can merge with the progressive particle to create a progressive phrase, ProgP[yn VP];
- ii. ProgP merges with *bod* to create a verb phrase, VP[*bod* ProgP[yn VP]];
- iii. the latter, being a VP, can merge with the perfect particle to create a perfect aspect phrase, PerfP[*wedi* VP[*bod* ProgP[yn VP]]];
- iv. and PerfP merges with *bod* to produce another verb phrase VP[*bod* PerfP[*wedi* VP[*bod* ProgP[yn VP]]]].

The configuration in (20) goes through the standard mergers with TP and CP, and the movements of the highest V to C via T and the subject to Spec TP. This produces the configuration in (21), which is based on the example in (1c).

21



The analyses in (20) and (21) account for the occurrences of aspect phrases but they do not account for their sequencing, namely, that the perfect phrase precedes the progressive phrase and not vice versa. The configurations in (20) and (21) suggests that the basis of the constraint may be explained in terms of c-command: the perfect can c-command the progressive but not vice versa.

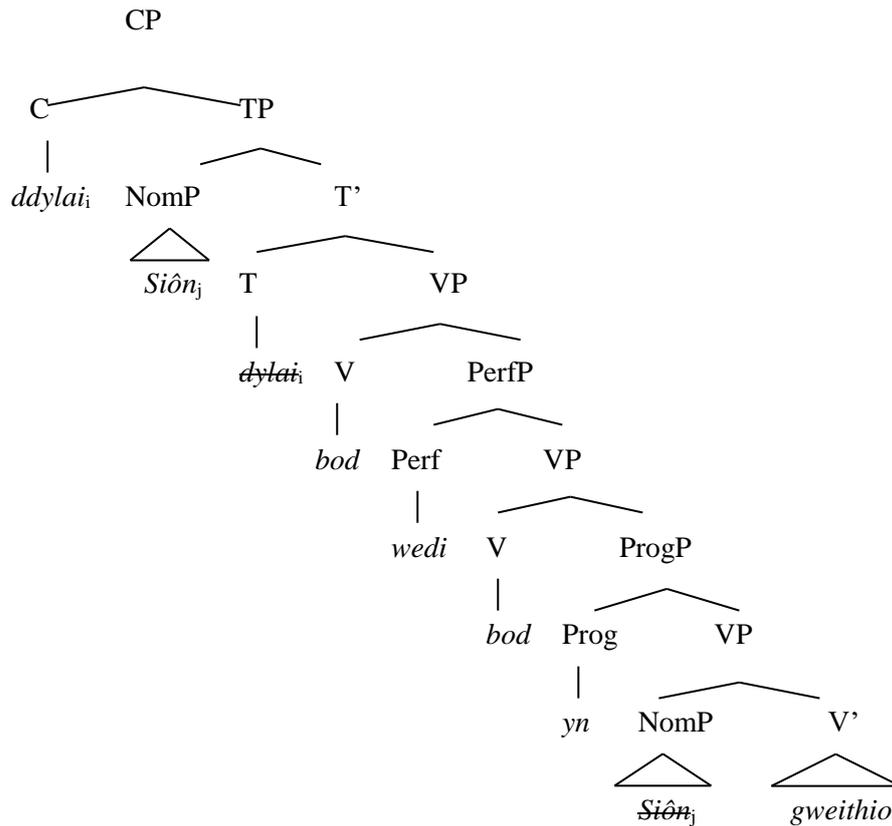
The configurations in (17–21) show that the merge of an aspect particle and the copula makes them adjacent. But they are not always adjacent in surface structure. It depends on whether the copula is raised to C. Where *bod* ‘remains’ *in situ*, such as the lowest *bod* in (21), it remains adjacent to the aspect particle. But where *bod* is raised to T to inflect for tense and then to C, as in (19a) and (19b) and also the higher *bod* in (21), the copula and the aspect particle are not adjacent. Adjacency is clearly shown in periphrastic patterns like the one in (22), which is derived from configurations like the one in (23).

22 *ddylai Siôn fod wedi bod yn gweithio.*

should Siôn be PERF be PROG work

‘Siôn should have been working.’

23

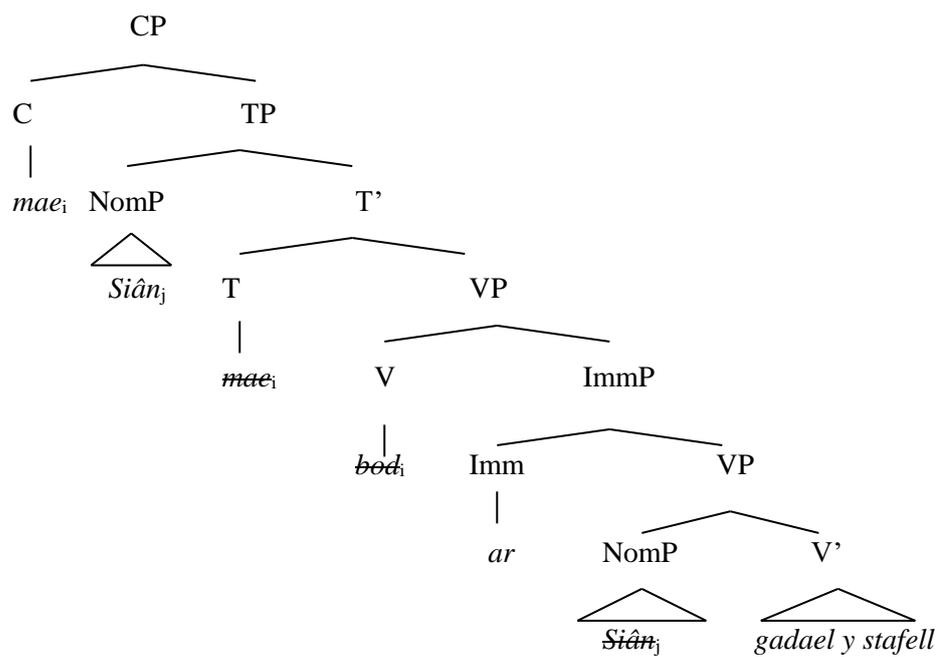


We assume that *dylai* is generated directly in T and moves to C. It can be seen that the forms of *bod* remain *in situ* and are adjacent to the aspect particles.

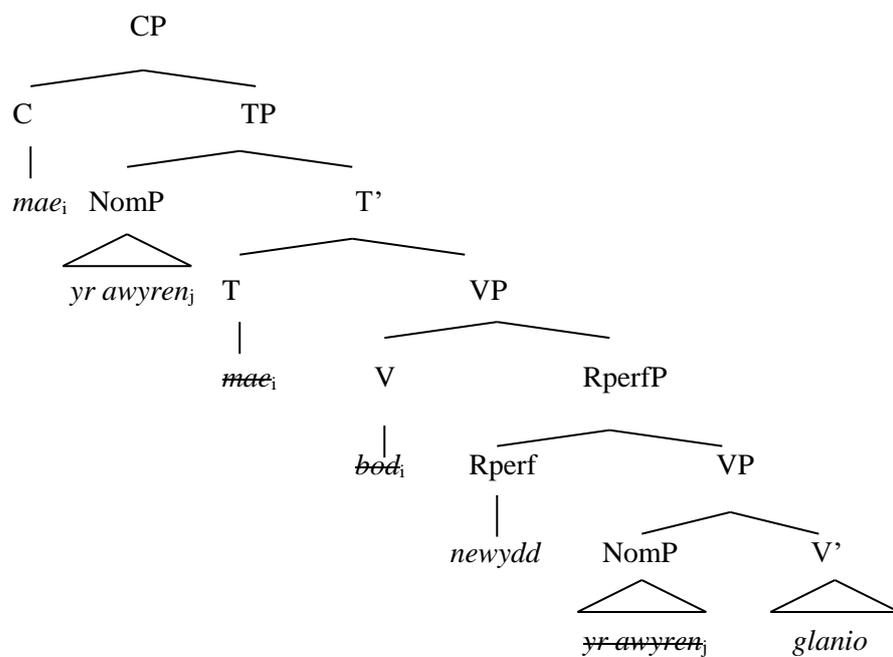
Traditional reference grammars label the finite copula in aspect clauses as an auxiliary verb, suggesting that its occurrence supports the main verb in some sense. But its presence is due to the aspect particle, which cannot merge with TP in the process of forming a finite clause. On this basis the occurrence of the copula in an aspect clause is no different from its occurrences in all copular clauses and it is not an auxiliary verb in the traditional sense.

As mentioned in section 1.1, Jones B.M. (2010: 304–340) shows that there are possible grounds for categorizing *ar* ‘on’, *newydd* ‘new’, and *heb* ‘without’ as aspect particles. If it is the case that *ar*, *newydd*, and *heb* can be accepted as aspect particles, then we can set up an Imminent Phrase (ImmP) for *ar*, a Recent Perfect Phrase (RperfP) for *newydd*, and a Negative Perfect Phrase (NegPerfP) for *heb*, and develop configurations like (24–26) for these forms, which are based on examples (2a), (3a), and (4a).

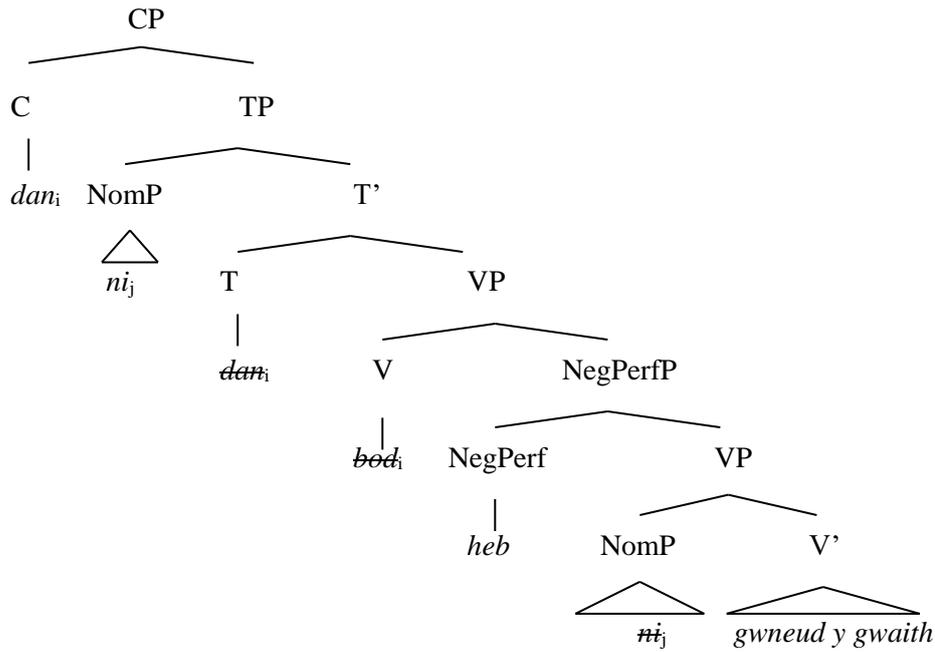
24



25



26

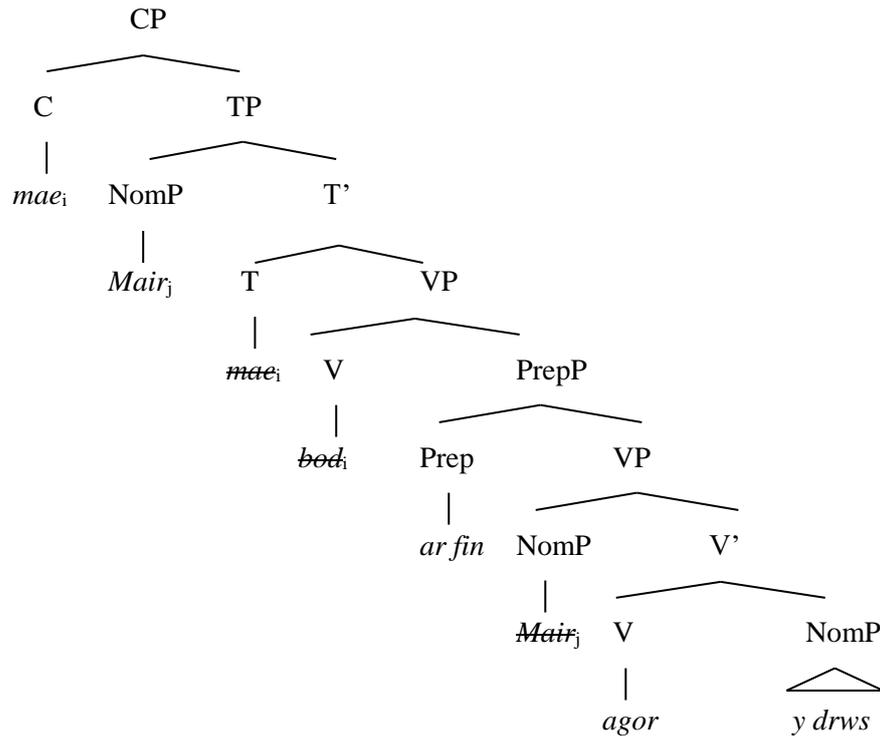


However, there may be grounds for categorizing *ar* and *heb* as prepositions, along with other forms which are discussed in section 1.1, and which are analysed in the next sub-section.

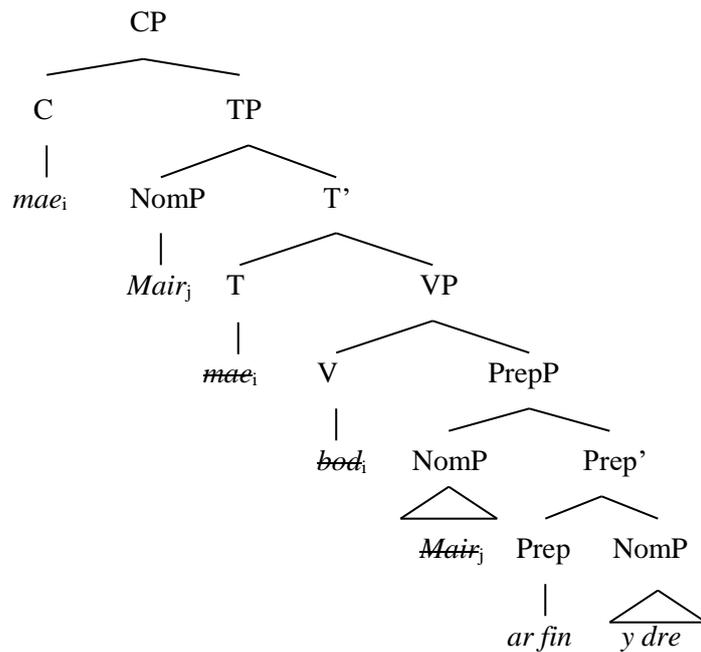
1.4.2 Prepositional expressions

At first glance, the subject position of prepositional expressions in the clause provides grounds for analysing these forms as aspect particles. But as noted above Jones B.M. (2010: 304–340) holds that they are not aspect particles but are prepositional expressions which can occur either before a verb phrase or a nominal phrase. The configuration for example like (5b) is as in (27a) but the configuration for example (6b) is as in (27b) — the former, although it illustrates *ar fin* in particular, shows the general configuration of clauses which have prepositional expressions before verb phrases.

27 a.



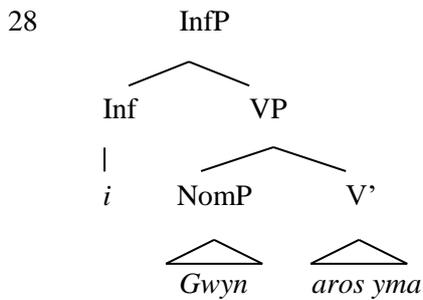
b.



The obvious difference is that in (27a) the subject is not in Spec PrepP but in Spec VP, while in (27b) it is in Spec PrepP. The reason for the former is that the subject receives its thematic role in the VP. As such, examples like those in (5) which are configured as in (27a) have similar syntax to examples like those in (1a–b) which contain aspect particles and which are configured in (19).

1.4.3 Subjectless *i*-infinitive clauses

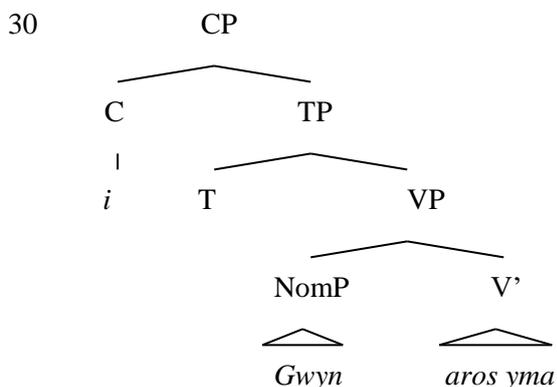
In the case of the subject-to-subject type, the subject in the matrix clause is the understood subject of the verb in the VP and its thematic role is determined by the verb. Consequently, in the analysis which is proposed in this study, the subject in the matrix clause originates in the VP. One possibility is to set up an Infinitive Phrase (InfP) headed by *i*, as given in (28).



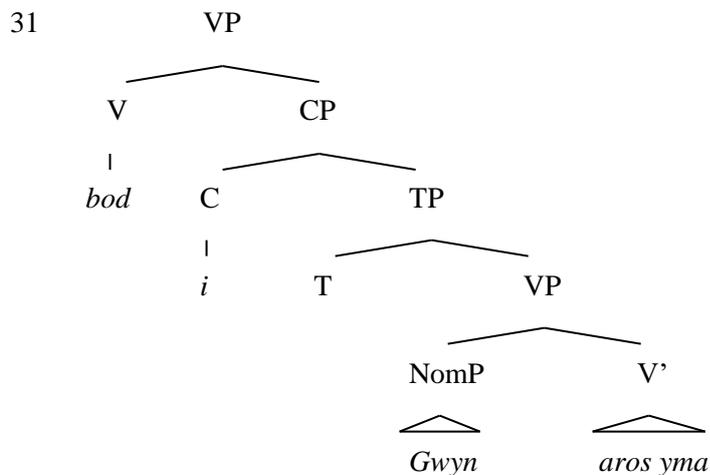
But Borsley, Tallerman, and Willis (2007: 81–103) argue that *i* is a complementizer when it occurs in a control or raising predicate, as illustrated respectively in (29a–c).⁵³

- 29 a. *mae Siôn wedi llwyddo [i fynychu 'r cyfarfod].*
 be.PRES.3SG Siôn PERF succeed to attend the meeting
 ‘Siôn has succeeded in attending the meeting.’
- b. *mae pawb wedi perswadio Siôn [i fynychu 'r cyfarfod].*
 be.PRES.3SG everyone PERF persuade Siôn to attend the meeting
 ‘everyone has persuaded Siôn to attend the meeting.’
- c. *mae Siôn yn dal [i fynychu 'r cyfarfod].*
 be.PRES.3SG Siôn PROG continue to attend the meeting
 ‘Siôn continues to attend the meeting.’

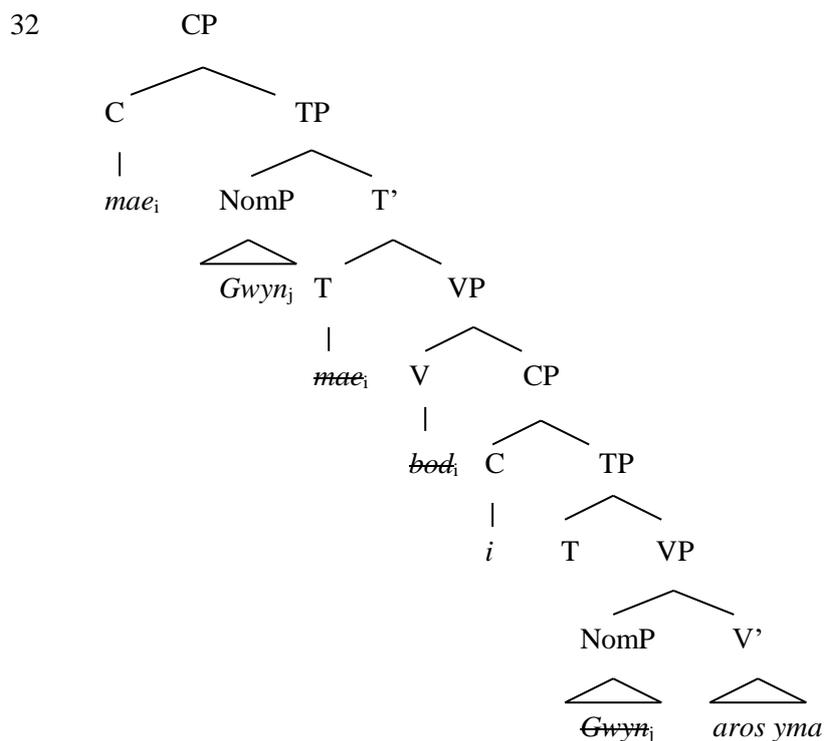
Given that *i* is a complementizer, subjectless infinitivals are complementizer phrases (CPs) as in (30), which replaces (28).



We can develop the analysis in (30) with standard mergers and movements which all copular predicates follow. The basic phrase (the CP) first merges with *bod* 'be' to form a VP.

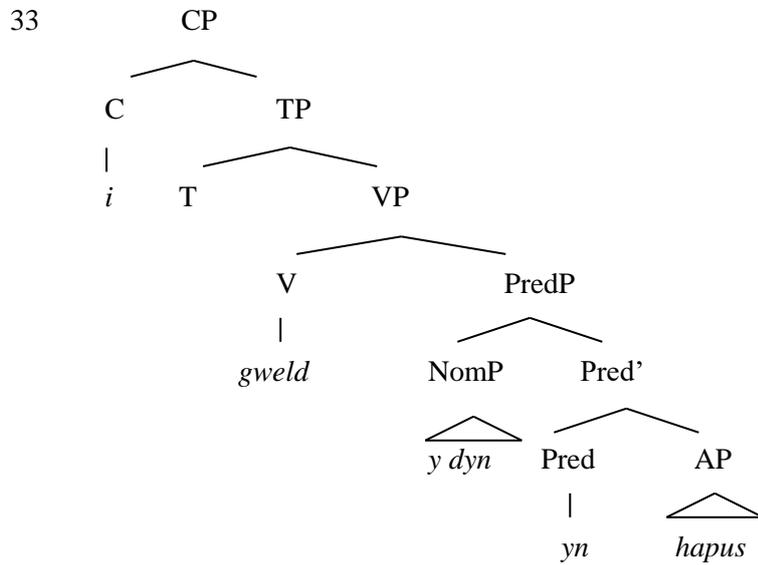


The VP merges with TP, which merges with the matrix CP to form the configuration of a finite clause. The copula is raised into T and on to C. The subject *Gwyn* in Spec VP is raised to Spec TP (we ignore the details of cyclical raising), as shown in (32) based on the example in (9a).



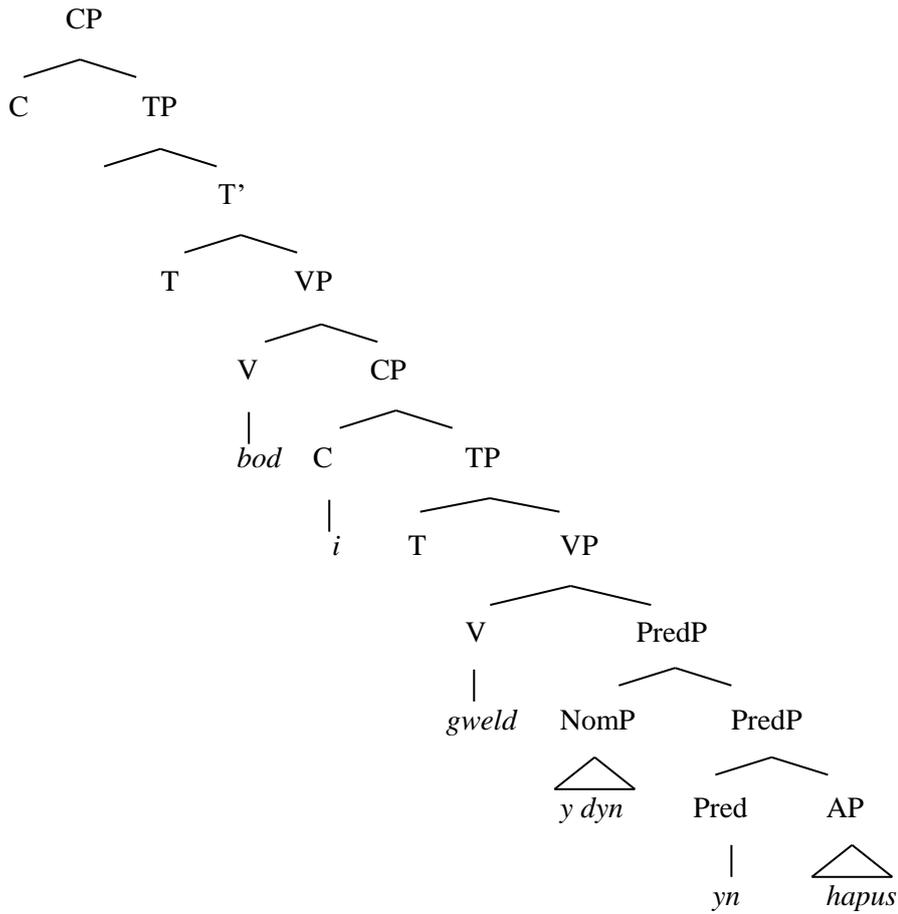
The generation of a phrase in Spec VP and its raising to Spec TP accounts for the view that the subject of the main clause is also the understood subject of the infinitival.⁵⁴

Subject-to-complement examples like those in (11) and (13) need to be analysed differently. The subject in the matrix clause can be analysed as the understood subject of the small clause in the VP. Thus, the *i*-infinitive clause is as shown in (33). There is no subject in Spec VP as the performer of the action of the verb is not given in subject-to-complement examples.



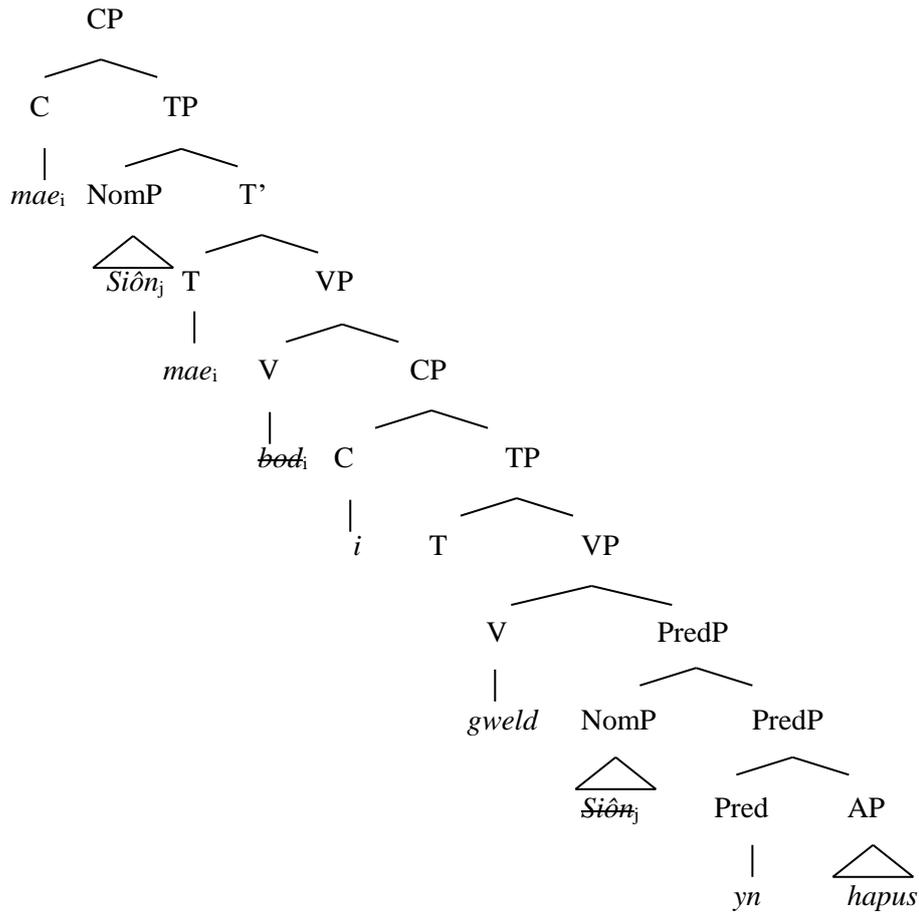
This CP undergoes the conventional mergers with the copula to form a VP, which merges with TP, which merges with CP.

34



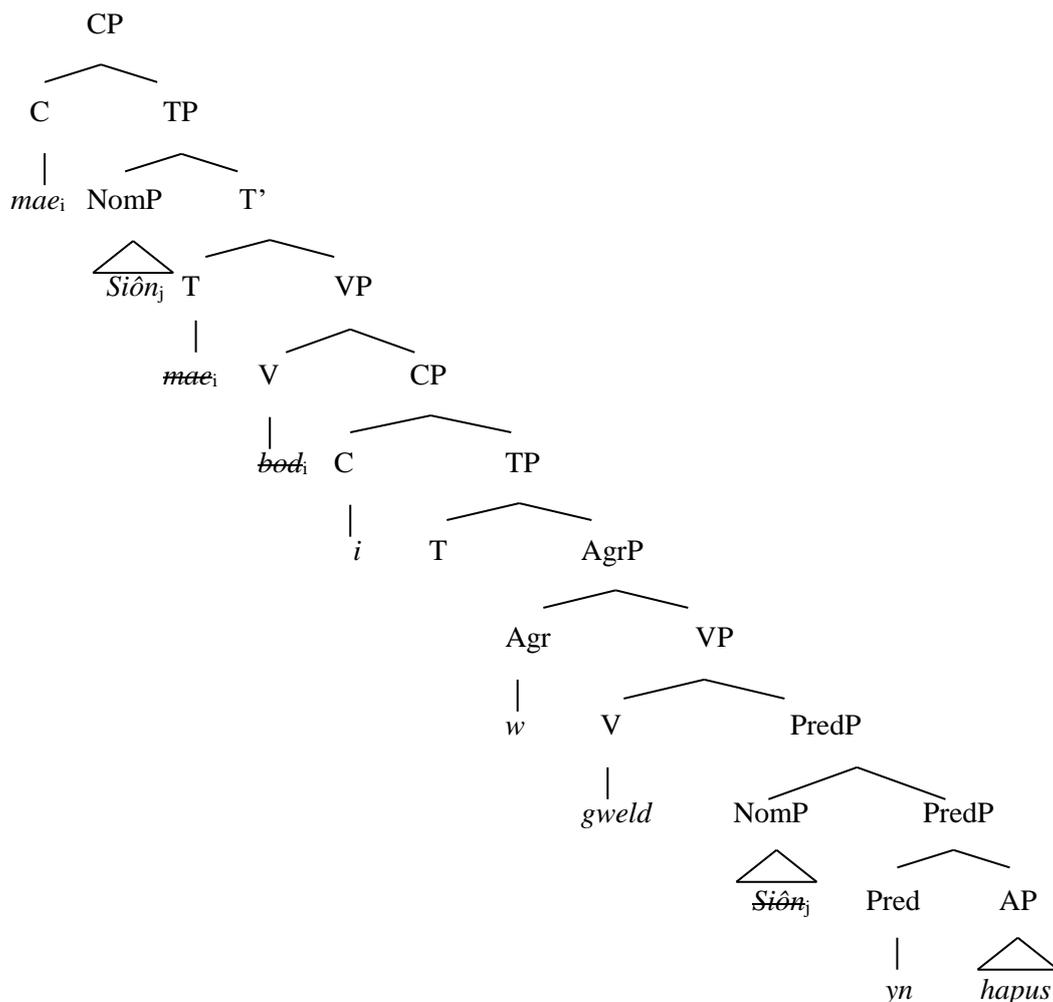
The conventional movement of the higher verb, namely, *bod* to T and then C occurs. The subject *y dyn* in Spec PredP is raised to the highest Spec TP (we ignore the details of cyclical movement), as shown in (35) which is based on the example (11a).

35



The trace of the object in the lower VP is in an agreement environment and in formal Welsh in particular the trace can trigger an agreement clitic immediately before the verb. All this is indicated in (36) based on the example in (13a), which contains an Agreement Phrase (AgrP) to account for the clitic.

36



The point is made in section 1.3 that the clitic can be omitted in informal Welsh and this can be accounted for by leaving out the agreement projection, as illustrated in (35).

We have also seen that, although an agreement clitic occurs in these clauses, no personal pronoun can occur as the object of the verb in the *i*-infinitive clause. The gap which is left in Spec PredP in (36) cannot be filled; but the trace holds the person and number features of the moved phrase and can generate an agreement clitic.

2 VPs headed by the copula

VPs which occur in copular clauses can themselves be headed by the copula. The examples in (37–39) illustrate aspect phrases and prepositional expressions.

- 37 a. *mae Siôn yn bod yn niwsans.*
 be.PRES.3SG *Siôn* PROG be PRED nuisance
 ‘*Siôn* is being a nuisance.’

- b. *mae Mair yn bod yn gas.*
 be.PRES.3SG Mair PROG be PRED nasty
 ‘Mair is being nasty.’
- 38 a. *mae Megan wedi bod yn hapus heddiw.*
 be.PRES.3SG Megan PERF be PRED happy today
 ‘Megan has been happy today.’
- b. *oedd Gwilym wedi bod yn blismon am ugain mlynedd.*
 be.IMPF.3SG Gwilym PERF be PRED policeman for twenty years
 ‘Gwilym had been a policeman for twenty years.’
- c. *mae 'r plant wedi bod yn y sinema.*
 be.PRES.3SG the children PERF be in the cinema
 ‘the children have been in the cinema.’
- 39 a. *mae Gwen ar fin bod yn llwyddiannus.*
 be.PRES.3SG Gwen on edge be PRED successful
 ‘Gwen is about to be successful.’
- b. *oedd y dynion ar ganol fod yn bwysig iawn.*
 be.IMPF.3SG the men on middle be PRED important very
 ‘the men were in the middle of being very important.’
- c. *mae Siôn yn ymhell o fod yn fodlon.*
 be.PRES.3SG Siôn in far of be PRED content
 ‘Siôn is far from being pleased.’

Of particular interest are subjectless *i*-infinitivals and these are discussed in the following sections.

2.1 Subjectless *i*-infinitive clauses

Examples of *i*-infinitive copular clauses in which the VP is headed by the copula are given in (40).

- 40 a. *ma' Sioned i fodyn feddyg.*
 be.PRES.3SG Sioned to be PRED doctor
 ‘Sioned is (supposed) to be a doctor.’
- b. *ma' Gwyn i fod yn yr ardd.*
 be.PRES.3SG Gwyn to be in the garden
 ‘Gwyn is (supposed) to be in the garden.’
- c. *mae 'r arian i fod i achosion da.*
 be.PRES.3SG the money to be for causes good
 ‘the money is (supposed) to be for good causes.’

- d. *mae 'r trê'n eto i fodar amser.*
 be.PRES.3SG the train yet to be on time
 'the train is yet to be on time.'
- e. *mae Mair eto i fod yn llwyddiannus.*
 be.PRES.3SG Mair yet to be PRED successful
 'Mair is yet to be successful.'

Like the examples of lexical VPs in (9a–c), some of these clauses can lay down an obligation, as in the case of (40a–c). But there is a difference. In the case of the lexical VPs in (9a–c) the obligation is relatively binding, but in the copular VPs in (40a–c), there is an implied escape from the obligation. But, like the examples of lexical VPs in (9d–e), examples (40d–e) are different. In these cases, we can claim that the expected occurrence of a future situation has not yet happened, without necessarily being based on an obligation. It is typical of these clauses that the adverb *eto* 'yet, again' occurs.

2.2 *I fod i* VP

I-infinitivals whose VPs are headed by the copula contain the sequence *i fod*, as the examples in (40) show. This sequence can also precede an *i*-infinitival whose VP is headed by a lexical verb. Such clauses have the linear syntax [Verb + NomP + [*i* + *bod* + *i* + lexical VP]]. Illustrations are given by the examples in (41).

- 41 a. *mae Gwyn i fod i aros yma.*
 be.PRES.3SG Gwyn to be to stay here
 'Gwyn is supposed to stay here.'
- b. *oedd Mair i fod i ddal y trê'n i Gaerdybi am un o 'r gloch.*
 be.IMPF.3SG Mair to be to catch the train to Holyhead for one of the clock
 'Mair was supposed to catch the train to Holyhead at one o'clock.'
- c. *mae 'r dynion i fod i ddilyn y merched.*
 be.PRES.3SG the men to be to follow the women
 'the men are supposed to follow the women.'

There is a semantic difference between an infinitival *i* VP in examples like those in (9a–c) and *i fod i* VP in examples like those in (41a–c). In the former, the obligation is relatively binding but in the latter there is an implied escape from the obligation. That is, the semantics of (41a–c) are nearer to those in (40a–c). The expression *i fod* is common to both (40a–c) and (41a–c) and it can reasonably be assumed that *i fod* is somehow involved in conveying a weaker obligation.

It is questionable whether the sequence *i fod* can occur before a VP which is headed by the copula, as the examples in (42) show.

- 42 a. ?? *ma'* *Sioned i fod i fod yn feddyg.*
 be.PRES.3SG Sioned to be to be PRED doctor
 ‘Sioned is supposed to be a doctor.’
- b. ?? *ma'* *Gwyn i fod i fod yn yr ardd.*
 be.PRES.3SG Gwyn to be to be in the garden
 ‘Gwyn is supposed to be in the garden.’
- c. ?? *mae* *'r arian i fod i fod i achosion da.*
 be.PRES.3SG the money to be to be for causes good
 ‘the money is supposed to be for good causes.’

Some speakers may find this clumsy and off-putting. Examples like those in (40) are preferred. There may be a semantic explanation for the questionable status of the examples in (42). If it is accepted that *i fod* is somehow involved in conveying obligation, then an extra *i fod* unnecessarily duplicates that meaning.

The examples in (10) show that aspect phrases can occur in an *i*-infinitival whose VP is headed by a lexical verb. It is questionable whether the sequence *i fod* can precede subjectless *i*-infinitivals which contain aspect phrases.

- 43 a. ?? *ma'* *Gwyn i fod i [fod wedi mynd â 'r llyfr yn ôl].*
 be.PRES.3SG Gwyn to be to be PERF go with the book in track
 ‘Gwyn is supposed to have taken the book back.’
- b. ?? *ma'* *Mair i fod i [fod yn gweithio].*
 be.PRES.3SG Mair to be to be PROG work
 ‘Mair is supposed to be working.’
- c. ?? *ma'n* *nhw i fod i [fod wedi bod yn adolygu ar gyfer*
 be.PRES.3PL they to be to be PERF be PROG revise on direction
 yr arholiad].
 the examination
 ‘they are supposed to have been revising for the examination.’

Again, some speakers may find the sequence *i fod i fod* clumsy and prefer examples like those in (10). Also, the same semantic explanation can be offered for the examples in (43) as is offered for those in (42), namely, that there is a duplication of meaning.

Finally, *i fod* does not precede VPs in clauses like (9d–e), which do not convey obligation.

44 a. **mae* 'r *arian eto i fod i ddod.*

be.PRES.3SG the money yet to be to come

‘the money is yet supposed to come.’

b. **mae Mair eto i fod i benderfynu.*

be.PRES.3SG Mair yet to be to decide

‘Mair is yet supposed to decide.’

If the expression *i fod* is somehow involved in conveying (escapable) obligation, then it is inappropriate to include it in a clause which has the stronger meaning of expected occurrence.

2.3 Other matters

In the case of examples like those in (10), (40), and (41), which contain *i fod*, there are alternative versions in which *i fod* occurs in clause-final position.

45 a. *ma'* *Gwyn wedi aros yma i fod.*

be.PRES.3SG Gwyn PERF stay here to be

‘Gwyn is (supposed) to have stayed here.’

b. *ma'* *Gwyn yn aros yma i fod.*

be.PRES.3SG Gwyn PROG stay here to be

‘Gwyn is (supposed) to be staying here.’

c. *ma'* *Gwyn wedi bod yn aros yma i fod.*

be.PRES.3SG Gwyn PERF be PROG stay here to be

‘Gwyn is (supposed) to have been staying here.’

46 a. *ma'* *Sioned yn feddyg i fod.*

be.PRES.3SG Sioned PRED doctor to be

‘Sioned is (supposed) to be a doctor.’

b. *ma'* *Gwyn yn yr ardd i fod.*

be.PRES.3SG Gwyn in the garden to be

‘Gwyn is (supposed) to be in the garden.’

c. *mae* 'r *arian i achosion da i fod.*

be.PRES.3SG the money for causes good to be

‘the money is (supposed) to be for good causes.’

- 47 a. *mae Gwyn i aros yma i fod.*
 be.PRES.3SG Gwyn to stay here to be
 ‘Gwyn is supposed to stay here.’
- b. *oedd Mair i ddal y trên i Gaerdybi am un o ’r gloch i fod.*
 be.IMPF.3SG Mair to catch the train to Holyhead for one of the clock to be
 ‘Mair was supposed to catch the train to Holyhead at one o’clock.’
- c. *mae ’r dynion i ddilyn y merched i fod.*
 be.PRES.3SG the men to follow the girls to be
 ‘the men are supposed to follow the women.’.

It can be seen from these examples that the clause-final positioning of *i fod* leaves a well-formed clause, such as *ma’ Siôn yn feddyg* ‘Siôn is a doctor’, *ma’ Gwyn i aros yma* ‘Gwyn is to stay here’, *ma’ Gwyn wedi aros yma* ‘Gwyn has stayed here’ This can support a first impression that *i fod* can be adjoined in some way to the ends of copular clauses. We shall consider this possibility in section 2.4.

We can note that in informal Welsh, various omissions of the forms of *i* can occur in the context of a non-finite form of *bod*, either in the case of *i fod i* as illustrated in (48), or in the case of *i fod* as in (49).

- 48 a. *ma’ Gwyn i fodi aros ’ma.*
 be.PRES.3SG Gwyn to be to stay here
 ‘Gwyn is supposed to stay here.’
- b. *ma’ Gwyn i fodaros ’ma.*
 be.PRES.3SG Gwyn to be stay here
 ‘Gwyn is supposed to stay here.’
- c. *ma’ Gwyn fodi aros ’ma.*
 be.PRES.3SG Gwyn be to stay here
 ‘Gwyn is supposed to stay here.’
- d. *ma’ Gwyn fodaros yma.*
 be.PRES.3SG Gwyn be stay here
 ‘Gwyn is supposed to stay here.’
- 49 a. *ma’ Gwyn i fodyn aros ’ma.*
 be.PRES.3SG Gwyn to be PROG stay here
 ‘Gwyn is supposed to be staying here.’
- b. *ma’ Gwyn fodyn aros ’ma.*
 be.PRES.3SG Gwyn be PROG stay here
 ‘Gwyn is supposed to be staying here.’

But *i* cannot be lost when *bod* is absent, as shown in (50).

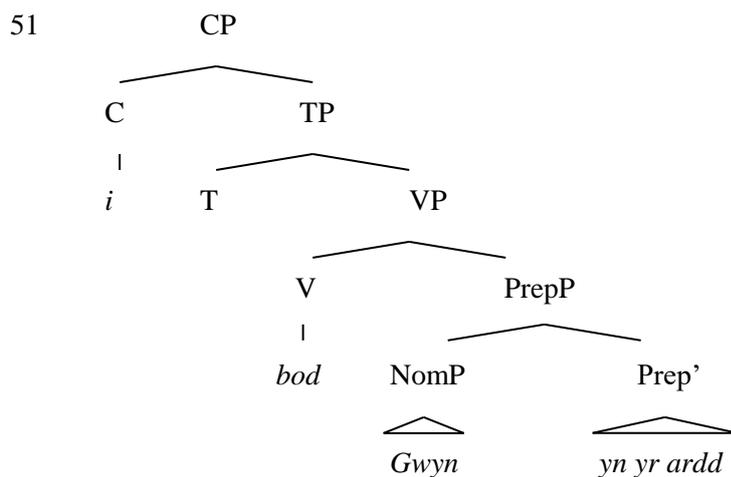
- 50 a. *ma' Gwyn i aros 'ma.*
 be.PRES.3SG Gwyn to stay here
 'Gwyn is to stay here.'
- b. **ma' Gwyn aros 'ma.*
 be.PRES.3SG Gwyn stay here
 = 'Gwyn is to stay here.'

In brief, *i* can be omitted either before *bod*, after *bod*, or both.

2.4 Analysis

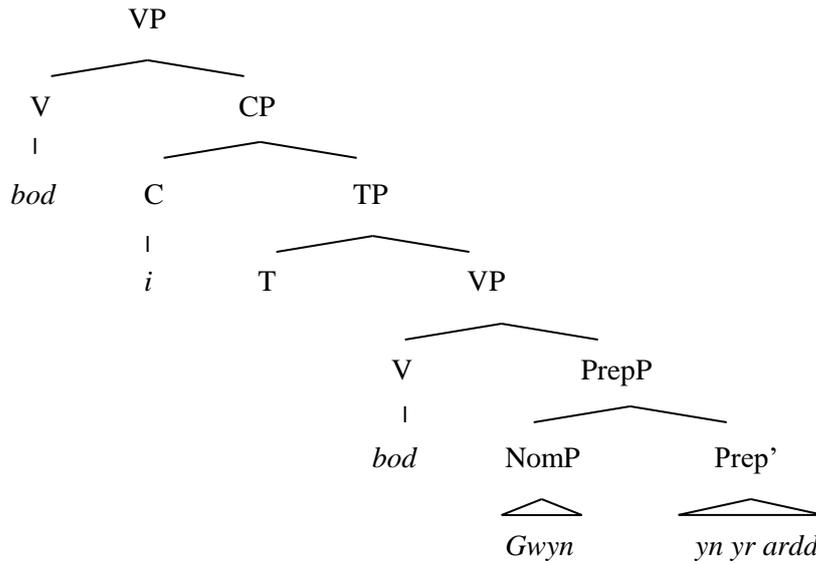
2.4.1 Subjectless *i*-infinitival clauses

In the configuration in (30), the VP is headed by a lexical verb. In examples like those in (40), the VP is headed by the copula. They are analysed as in (51).



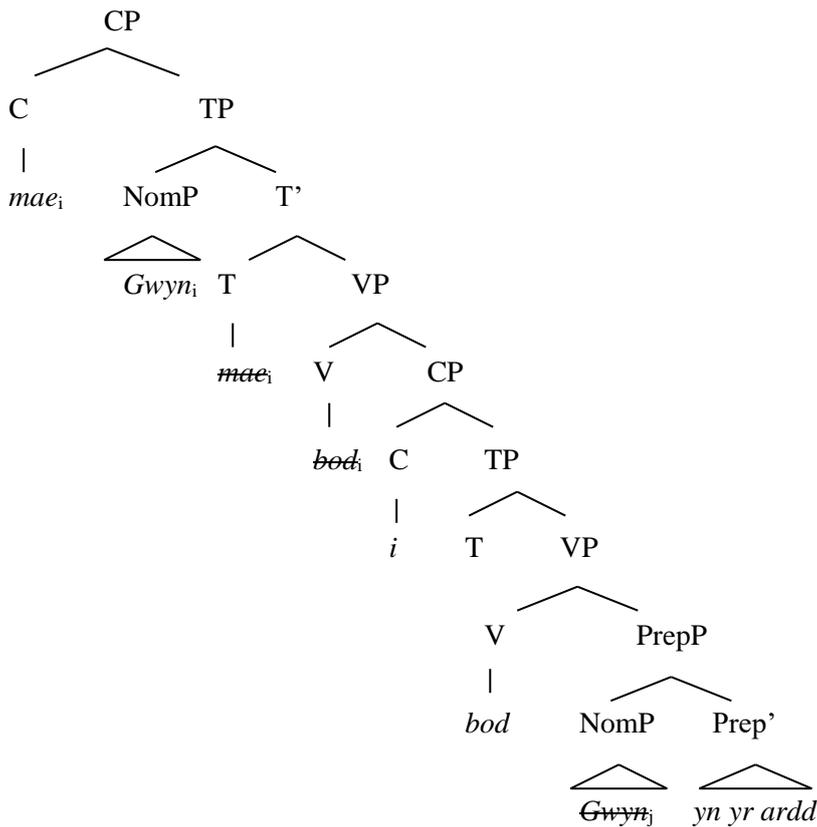
The configuration in (51) contains two basic copular phrases. One is PrepP[*Gwyn yn yr ardd*], and it is this phrase which contains the subject-predicate structure. As a basic copular phrase must merge with *bod* to form a VP [*bod Gwyn yn yr ardd*]. This VP can merge with TP to form an *i*-infinitival, that is a CP[*i bod Gwyn yn yr ardd*], which is another basic copular phrase. In order to make other mergers which form a finite clause, this phrase must merge with the copula, as in (52).

52



The VP makes the standard mergers of finite clauses: it merges with TP, which merges with CP, as shown in (53) based on the example in (40b)

53

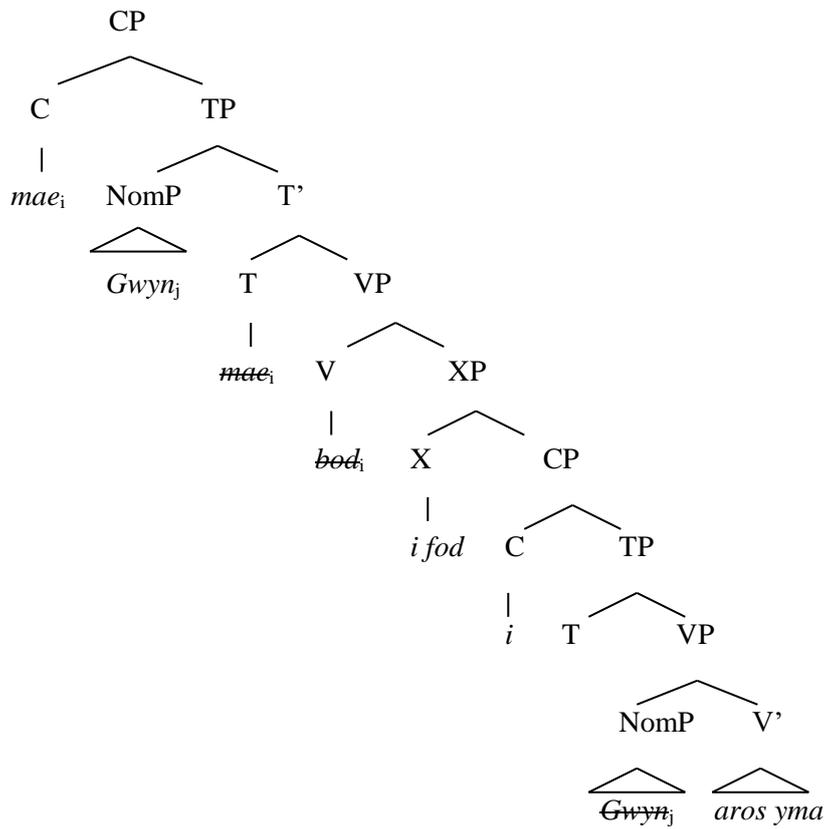


The higher *bod* is moved to T for tense features and then to C for verb-first position. The subject of PrepP is moved to Spec TP (we ignore cyclical movements).

2.4.2 *I fod i* VP

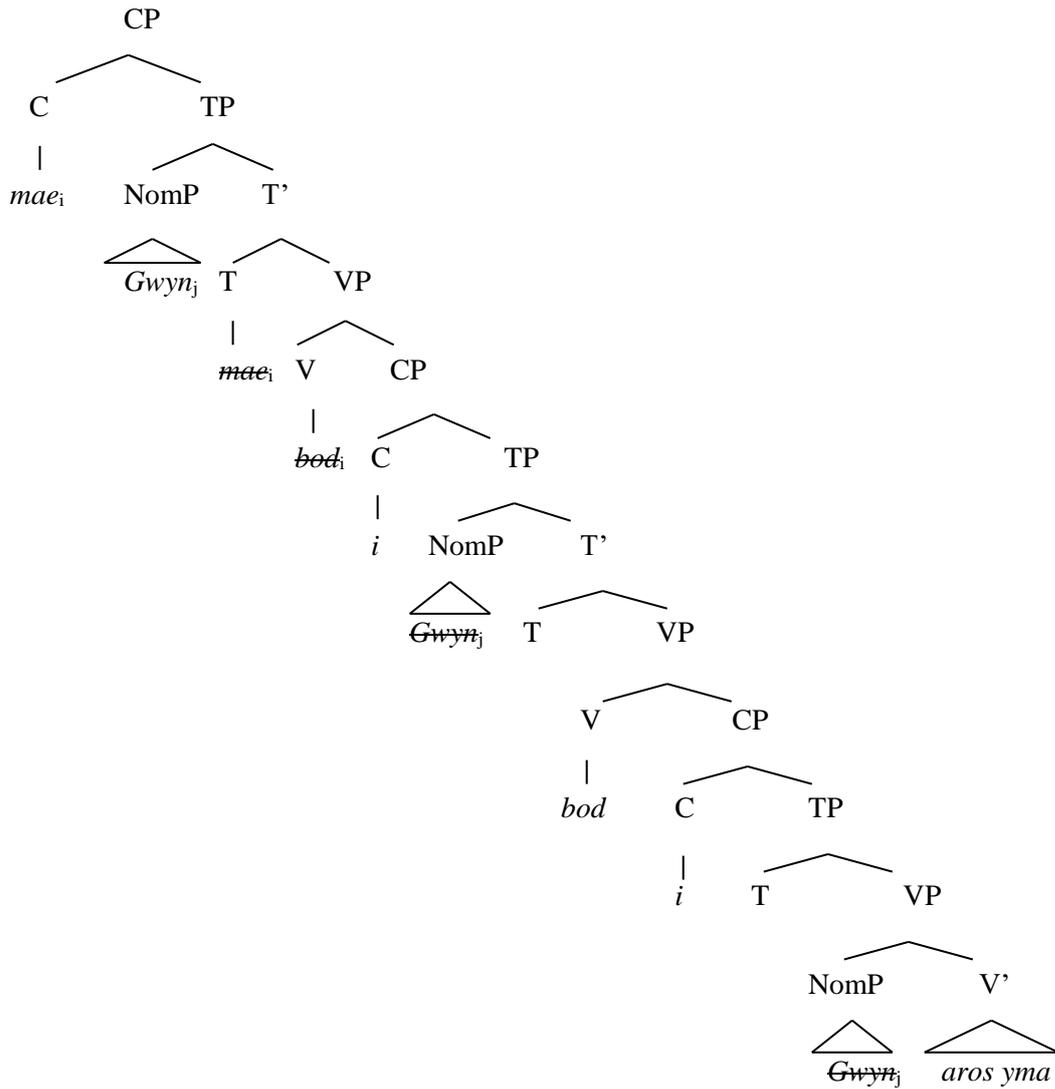
The examples in (41) contain two *i* VPs such as *i fod* and *i aros yma* in (41a). Borsley *et al* (2007: 99–100) include *i fod* amongst their illustrations of raising predicates. Their font formatting suggests that they see *i fod* as some form of complex expression. Following Borsley *et al*, we could have a configuration as in (54), which is based on example (41a).

54



Alternatively, we can analyse *i fod* as an *i*-infinitival, and so clauses like (41a) have two *i*-infinitivals. One is *i fod*, which takes the other, *i aros yma*, as its complement. This is illustrated in (55).

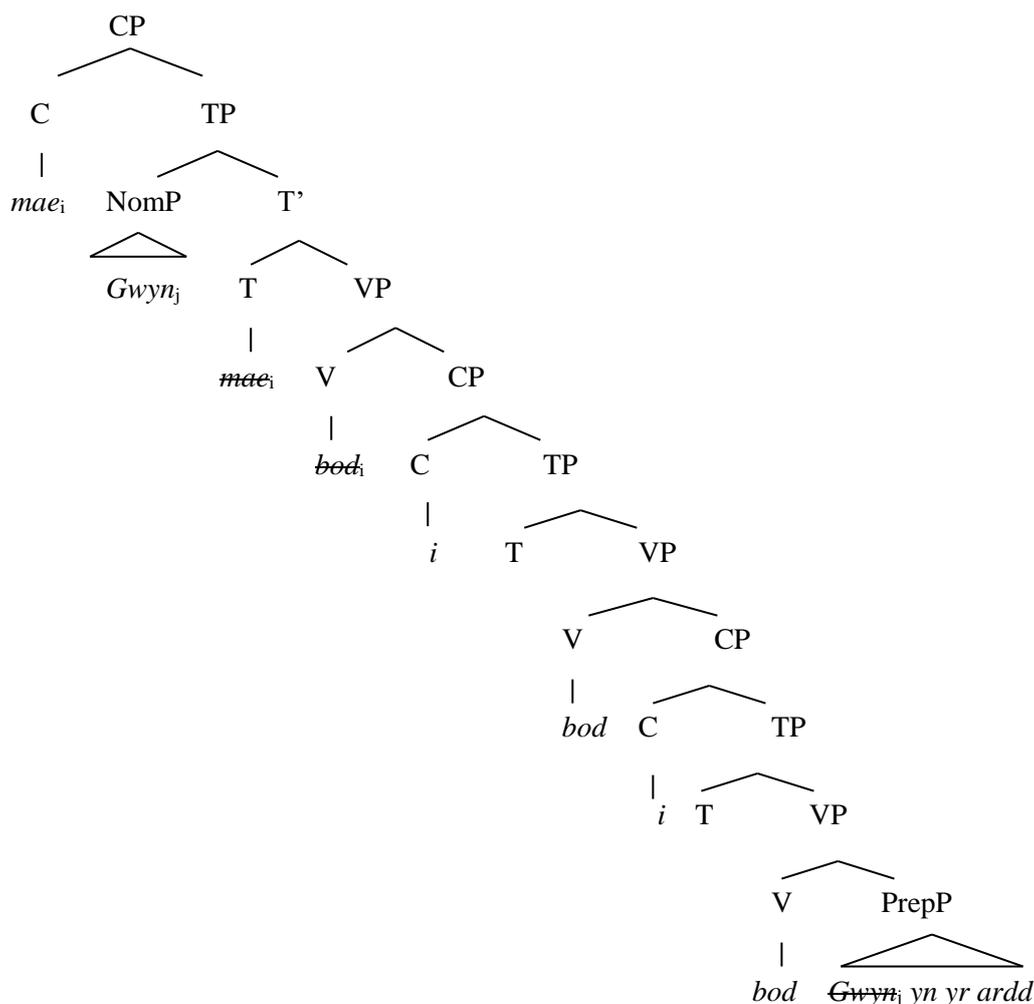
55



Cyclical raising moves the subject of the lowest VP to the highest Spec TP, cyclically via the specifiers of the other CPs (not all of which is illustrated).

The question arises as to why the occurrence of *bod* in the lowest VP produces questionable patterns, as the examples in (42) and (43) show. This may be caused by a sense of style which seeks to avoid the clumsy *i fod i fod*. It may also be due to semantics, as each *i fod* can be said to convey the same meaning, creating unnecessary duplication. It may be possible to present a syntactic explanation. Example (42b), for instance, would be analysed as in (56).

56



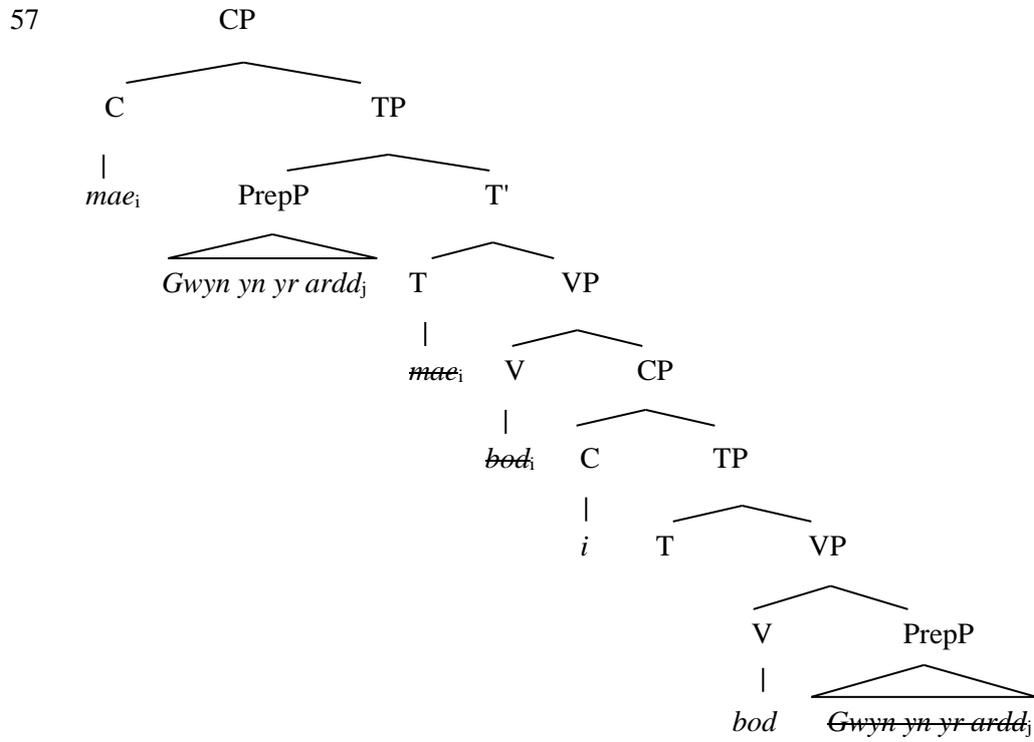
The difference between the configuration in (53) and the one in (56) is that the VP in the lowest CP contains *bod*. It can be speculated that there may be a constraint which says that an *i*-CP whose VP is headed by *bod* does not merge with another *i*-CP whose VP also has an overt *bod* as its head. This allows (53) but not (56). Similar points can be made about the examples in (43).

The configurations in (32), (53), and (54) show that subject raising occurs, and this could suggest that VP copulars are raising structures (see chapter 10 and also example (29c) in this chapter). But all subjects in basic copular phrases are raised in finite clauses, so we have a very general syntactic movement and not one which is specific to a raising context.

2.4.3 *I fod* in clause final position

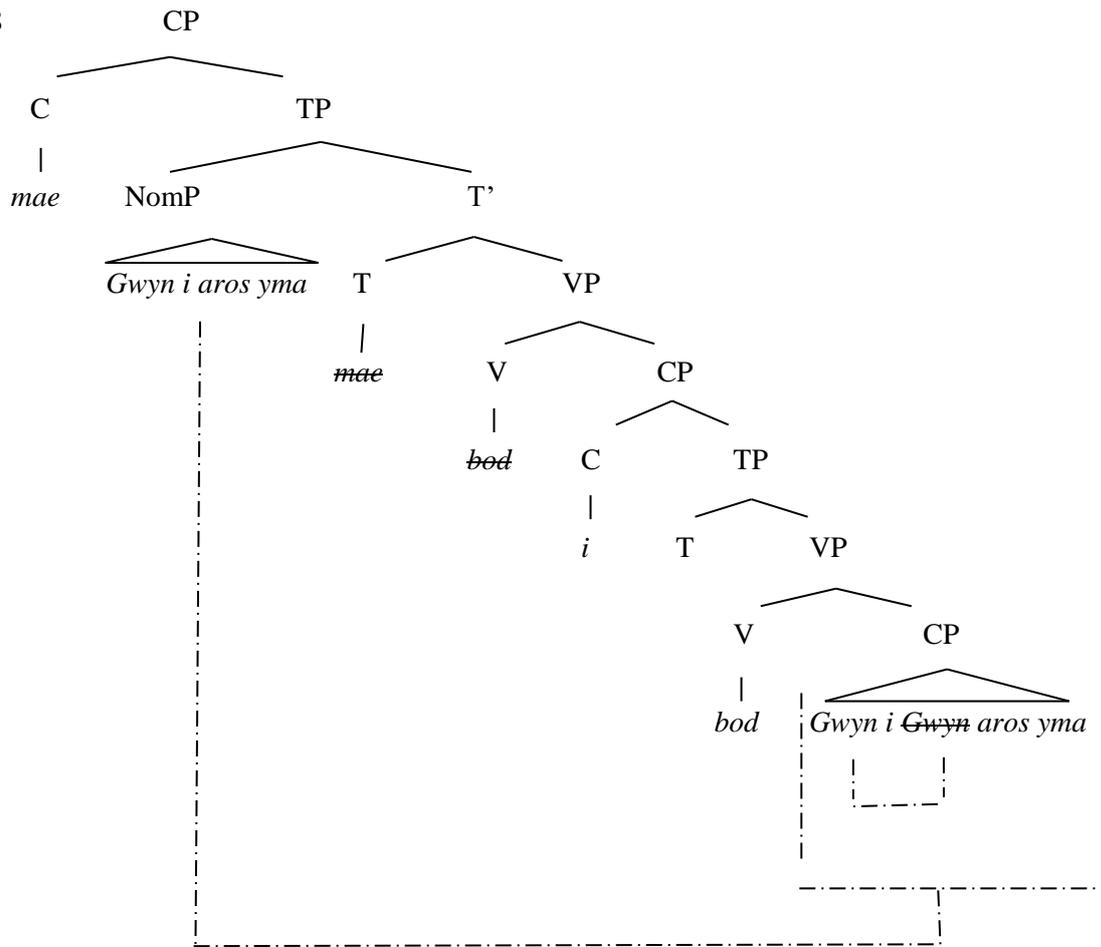
We have seen that in examples like those in (45–47) the sequence *i fod* can occur in clause-final position. One possible explanation for this is that the sequence *i fod* is extraposed from its canonical position. Alternatively, this sequence is generated as an adjunct in final position in a well-formed clause. But the analyses in (53) and (54) show that the sequence *i fod* does not form a constituent but is an disjointed fragment— [CP C[*i*] TP[T VP[V[*fod*] ...]]. It is difficult to explain how this fragment could be

extraposed or adjoined. A more convincing explanation can be provided by claiming that raising can apply to PrepP and not just to the subject in Spec PrepP. This is shown in (57), which is based on example (46b).



There are two merits to this analysis: raising to Spec TP is a standard movement; and the sequence which is moved forms a constituent. The analysis is not, then, undermined by the fact that *i fod* is not a constituent. This explanation has to be adapted to explain examples like those in (47), which contain VPs which are headed by a lexical verb, as shown in (58) — which is based on (47a), *mae Gwyn i aros yma i fod* ‘Gwyn is to stay here, supposed’.

58



To achieve the right order, the subject in the lexical VP has to be moved from Spec VP to Spec CP (that is, the lowest CP). This produces *Gwyn i aros yma*, which can then be raised to Spec TP (that is, the highest CP) to produce *mae Gwyn i aros yma i fod*.

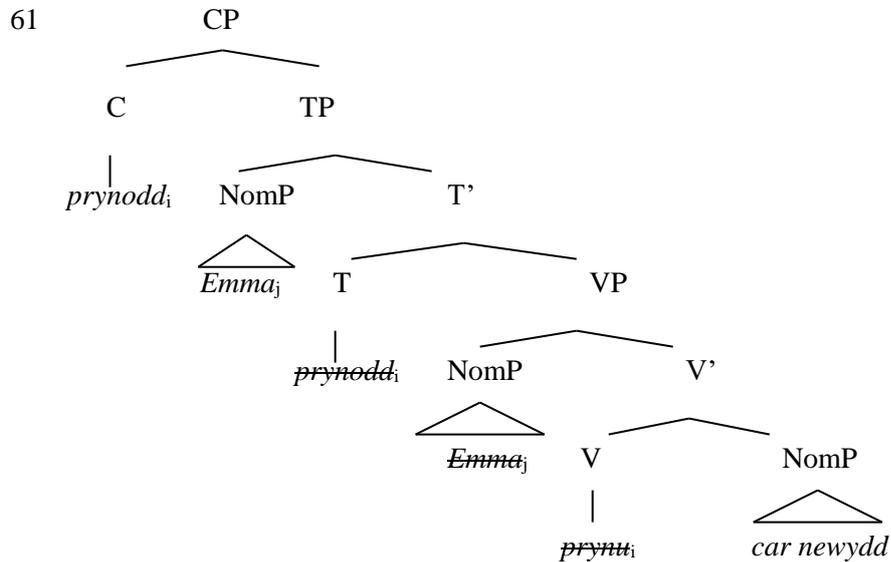
3 Concluding remarks

We have made a distinction between copular clauses which contain a VP headed by a lexical verb and those which contain a VP headed by the copula. The former show characteristics of copular clauses and verbal clauses: they are copular in that the finite verb in the clause is the copula, but they are verbal in that their basic phrase is a VP which is headed by a lexical verb. The implied view in traditional grammars which see the finite copula as an auxiliary verb (a view which we have challenged in section 1.4) is that they are verbal clauses. A lexical VP can make a number of different mergers. It can merge with TP, which merges with CP, to form a clear-cut finite verbal clause, as in (60), which is configured in (61).

60 *brynodd Emma gar newydd.*

buy.PERV.3SG Emma car new

‘Emma bought a new car.’



Alternatively, a lexical VP can merge with an aspect particle, a prepositional expression, or a subjectless *i*-infinitival, as we have seen. The phrases which are formed by these mergers cannot merge with TP and must first merge with the copula to begin to form a finite clause. Such clauses which contain lexical VPs are copular clauses: they are generated from a basic copular phrase (which happens to contain lexical VP) and they have the copula as the finite verb. On this basis, they are like the examples in (37–40) which are clear-cut copular clauses: they contain a finite copula and they are generated from basic copular phrases.

However, the syntax of VPs which are headed by the copula as analysed in this study is not like the syntax of VPs which are headed by a lexical verb. Lexical VPs form a subject-predicate structure, as the configurations in (16) show: they have a subject in their specifiers and a predicate in their bar-phrases. VPs which are headed by the copula do not form a subject-predicate structure: they have a bar-phrase but no specifier, as the VP in the configuration in (51) shows. The subject-predicate structure is in PrepP, which contains a filled specifier as well as a bar-phrase.

Chapter 9 Copular Clauses With Two Predicate Phrases

It is convenient for the purposes of presentation to speak of copular clauses which contain two predicate phrases, that is, phrases which individually occur as the predicates in other copular clauses. But we shall see that only one of these phrases is the proper predicate of the clause. Section 1 discusses clauses which contain two prepositional phrases, section 2 looks at clauses which contain a predicative phrase and a prepositional phrase, and section 3 examines clauses which contain a progressive aspect phrase and either a prepositional phrase or a predicative phrase.

1 Two prepositional phrases

1.1 Description

There are copular clauses which contain two prepositional phrases (prepositional-prepositional copulars) and which convey debt, as illustrated by the examples in (1).

- 1 a. *mae deg punt ar Siôn i Mair*
be.PRES.3SG ten pound on Siôn to Mair
'Siôn owes Mair ten pounds.'
- b. *oedd llawer o arian arno fo iddi hi.*
be.IMPF.3SG much of money on.3SG.M he to.3SG.F she
'he owes her a lot of money.'
- c. *fydd llai arna' i i 'r banc.*
be.FUT.3SG less on.1SG I to the bank
'I will owe less to the bank.'

Taking (1a) as a representative example, the linear structure of these clauses is [Verb[*mae*] + NomP[*deg punt*] + PrepP[*ar Siôn*] + PrepP[*i Mair*]]. The nominal phrase indicates the sum of the debt. The first PrepP is headed by *ar* 'on' and locates the debt or, in other words identifies the debtor. The second PrepP is headed by *i* 'to, for' which, as we have seen in chapter 4, can indicate the recipient or beneficiary, and in this context indicates the creditor. In these terms, we have [Verb + Debt + Debtor + Creditor].

Inversion is possible with the nominal phrase and the prepositional phrase headed by *ar* 'on', as the examples in (2) show.

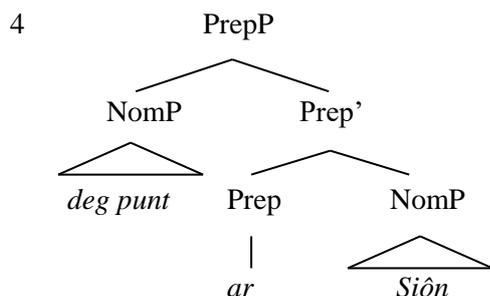
- 2 a. *mae ar Siôn ddeg punt i Mair.*
 be.PRES.3SG on Siôn ten pounds to Mair
 ‘Siôn owes Mair ten pounds.’
- b. *oedd arno fo lawer o arian iddi hi.*
 be.IMPF.3SG on.3SG.M he much of money to.3SG.F she
 ‘he owed her a lot of money.’
- c. *fydd arna’ i lai i ’r banc.*
 be.FUT.3SG on.1SG I less to the bank
 ‘I’ll owe the bank less.’

In contrast, the prepositional phrase which is headed by *i* ‘to, for’ is restricted to final position, as the examples in (3) show.

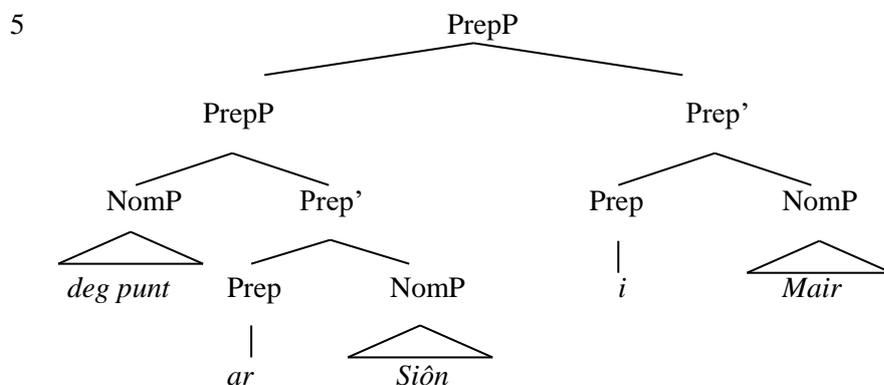
- 3 a. **mae i Mair ddeg punt ar Siôn.*
 be.PRES.3SG to Mair ten pounds on Siôn
 ‘= Siôn owes Mair ten pounds.’
- b. **mae deg punt i Mair ar Siôn.*
 be.PRES.3SG ten pound to Mair on Siôn
 ‘= Siôn owes Mair ten pounds.’
- c. **mae ar Siôn i Mair ddeg punt.*
 be.PRES.3SG on Siôn to Mair ten pound
 ‘= Siôn owes Mair ten pounds.’
- d. **mae i Mair ar Siôn ddeg punt.*
 be.PRES.3SG to Mair on Siôn ten pound
 ‘= Siôn owes Mair ten pounds.’

1.2 Analysis

There are two relationships in debt copulars. One is between the sum of the debt and the debtor, and can be represented in a subject-predicate phrase, as in (4).

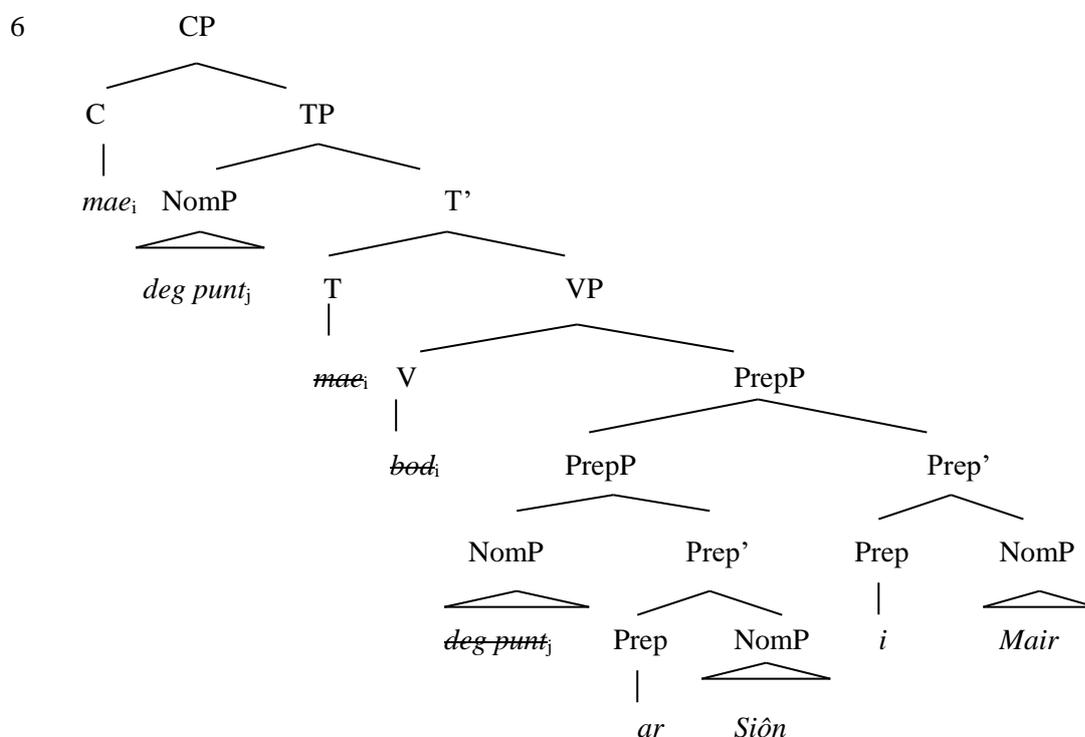


The debt, *deg punt* ‘ten pounds’, is conveyed by the subject in Spec PrepP and the debtor, *Siôn*, is conveyed in the predicate, Prep’ *ar Siôn*. The other relationship is between the details of the debt and the creditor, which can also be represented by another subject-predicate relationship. The configuration in (4) can be said to form a constituent with the *i* ‘to, for’ PrepP, as shown in (5).



In this configuration, the debt and debtor *deg punt ar Siôn* are in the specifier of the upper PrepP and the creditor is conveyed by the predicate in the higher Prep', *i Mair*.

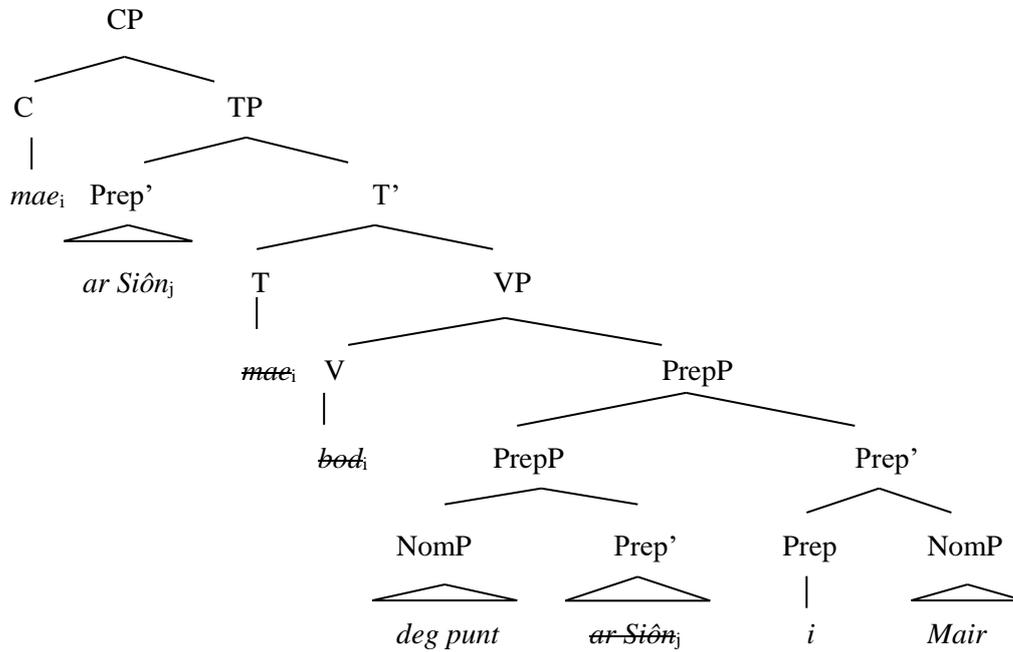
This basic configuration undergoes the standard merges and movements of Welsh copular clauses. PrepP merges with a VP headed by *bod* ‘be’, which merges with TP, which merges with CP.



Non-inverted order is accounted for by raising the specifier in the lower PrepP, *deg punt* to Spec TP, as shown in (6). In the case of non-inverted order, the same linear syntax could be achieved by raising all

of the lower PrepP *deg punt ar Siôn*. But raising the NomP *deg punt* is part of the account of inverted order. Inverted order can be accounted for by raising Prep' in the lower lower PrepP, *ar Siôn*, to Spec TP, keeping the NomP *in situ*, as shown in (7).

7



The configurations in (6) and (7) show that inversion in debt copulars centres not on the basic phrase but on the constituents of the specifier of the basic phrase.

Raising all of the PrepP in (6) would produce the same linear structure as raising only its specifier. But the fact that inversion occurs supports the view that either the specifier or the bar-phrase is raised. We can extend this to the analysis of agentive copulars (see sections 2.1 and 2.3), even though inversion does not occur in those clauses.

2 Predicative phrase and prepositional phrase

In this section, we shall consider copular clauses which contain both a predicative phrase headed by *yn* and a prepositional phrase headed by *gan* (mainly in northern dialects) or *gyda* (mainly in southern dialects).

2.1 Agentive copulars

In this sub-section we shall consider clauses like the examples in (8), which have overt subjects.

- 8 a. *mae 'r llun yn gam gen ti.*
 be.PRES.3SG the picture PRED crooked with you.SG
 'you've got the picture crooked.'
- b. *oedd y tŷ yn daclus iawn gynno fo.*
 be.PRES.3SG the house PRED tidy with. 3SG.M he
 'he had the house very tidy.'
- c. *fydd popeth yn barod gan Mair.*
 be.FUT.3SG everything PRED ready with Mair
 'Mair will have everything ready.'
- d. *mae 'r ardd yn ddel iawn gynnon nhw.*
 be.PRES.3SG the garden PRED pretty very with.3PL they
 'they've got the garden very pretty.'
- e. *mae 'r ysgol yn drefnus gan y prifathro newydd.*
 be.PRES.3SG the school PRED ordered with the headteacher new
 'the new headteacher has got the school organized.'

Using (8a) as an instance, the linear structure of such clauses is [Verb[*mae*] + NomP[*y llun*] + PredP[*yn gam*] + PrepP[*gen ti*]]. PredP describes the entity which is in the NomP (the subject phrase). This ascriptive relationship has been brought about by the entity which is in the *gan / gyda* phrase. *Gan / gyda* in these clauses convey agency just as they do in passive clauses, as in the examples in (9).

- 9 a. *mae 'r llun yn cael ei gadw gen ti.*
 be.PRES.3SG the picture PROG have 3SG.M keep with you.SG
 'the picture is kept by you.'
- b. *oedd y tŷ yn cael ei dacluso gynno fo.*
 be.IMPF.3SG the house PROG have 3SG.M tidy with.3SG.M he
 'the house was being tidied by him.'
- c. *fydd popeth yn cael ei baratoi gan Mair.*
 be.FUT.3SG everything PROG have 3SG.M prepare with Mair
 'everything will be being prepared by Mair.'
- d. *mae 'r ardd yn cael ei chadw 'n ddel iawn gynnon nhw.*
 be.PRES.3SG the garden PROG have 3SG.F keep PRED pretty very with.3PL they
 'the garden is kept very pretty by them.'

- e. *mae 'r ysgol yn cael ei drefnu 'n dda gan y*
 be.PRES.3SG the school PROG have 3SG.F organize PRED good with the
prifathro newydd.
 headteacher new
 'the school is organized well by the new headteacher.'

We refer to the copular clauses in (8) as agentive copulars.

2.2 Dispositional copulars

There are other examples of predicative-prepositional copulars but they contain an expletive subject and a phrase which occurs to the right of the *gan / gyda* phrase. Illustrations are given in (10).

- 10 a. *mae 'n gas gen i orennau.*
 be.PRES.3SG PRED nasty with I oranges
 'I hate oranges.'
- b. *mae 'n well gan Mair aros ar ôl.*
 be.PRES.3SG PRED better with Mair stay on track
 'Mair prefers to stay behind.'
- c. *oedd yn dda gan Siôn helpu 'r plant.*
 be.PRES.3SG PRED good with Siôn help the children
 'Siôn was pleased to help the children.'
- d. *mae 'n siwr gen i fod Gwyn yn hapus.*
 be.PRES.3SG PRED sure with I be Gwyn PRED happy
 'I'm sure that Gwyn is happy.'
- e. *mae 'n rhaid gen i fod Mair wedi siomi.*
 be.PRES.3SG PRED necessity with I be Mair PERF disappoint
 = 'Mair must have been disappointed.'
- f. *mae 'n ddrwg iawn gan Gwyn.*
 be.PRES.3SG PRED bad very with Gwyn
 'Gwyn is very sorry.'

Using (10a) as an instance, their linear structure is [Verb[*mae*] + Expletive[(*hi*)] + PredP[*yn gas*] + PrepP[*gen i*] + NomP[*orennau*]]. As can be seen, the finally-positioned phrase can be a nominal phrase as in (10a), a non-finite clause as in (10b) and (10c), or a finite clause as in (10d) and (10e). In (10f), no finally-positioned clause occurs but the object of Gwyn's apology can be identified pragmatically.

The ascription in the predicative phrase applies to the extraposed nominal phrase. It is possible to have ascriptive clauses as in (11).

- 11 a. *mae orennau 'n gas.*
 be.PRES.3SG oranges PRED nasty
 'oranges are nasty.'
- b. *mae aros ar ôl yn well.*
 be.PRES.3SG stay on track PRED better
 'staying behind is better.'
- c. *mae helpu 'r plant yn dda.*
 be.PRES.3SG help the children PRED good
 'helping the children is good.'
- d. *mae 'n siwr bod Gwyn yn hapus.*
 be.PRES.3SG PRED sure be.PRES Gwyn PRED happy
 'it's sure that Gwyn is happy.'
- e. *mae 'n rhaid bod Gwyn wedi siomi.*
 be.PRES.3SG PRED necessity be.PRES Gwyn PERF disappoint
 'Gwyn must have been disappointed.'

In predicative-prepositional clauses, such ascriptions are then associated with a particular individual or individuals by the prepositions *gan / gyda*, but the nominal phrase to which the ascription is assigned occurs in extraposed position. In contrast to agentive copulars, *gan / gyda* in the examples in (10) do not indicate agency. These examples convey the disposition or attitude of individuals to various entities, acts, or situations. We can refer to these clauses as dispositional copulars.

It is significant to consider the syntax of fronted clauses and *wh*-clauses in which the extraposed phrase is fronted or questioned, as in the examples in (12).

- 12 a. *orennau sy 'n gas gen i.*
 oranges be.PRES.3SG PRED nasty with I
 'it's oranges that I hate.'
- b. **orennau mae 'n gas gen i.*
 oranges be.PRES.3SG PRED nasty with I
 = 'it's oranges that I hate.'
- 13 a. *beth sy 'n gas gen i?*
 what be.PRES.3SG PRED nasty with I
 'what do I hate?'

- b. **beth mae 'n gas gen i?*
 what be.PRES.3SG PRED nasty with I
 = 'what do I hate.'

The examples in (12a) and (13a) show that the copular form *sydd* occurs, which indicates that the fronted phrase comes from subject position. If the fronted words were to come from final position, *mae* would occur and not *sydd*, but such clauses are ungrammatical, as the examples in (12b) and (13b) show. The data in (11) and (12) show that final phrases are extraposed subjects.

In contrast, agentive copulars do not allow the extraposition of the subject, as example (14) illustrates.

- 14 **mae 'n gam gen ti y llun.*
 be.PRES.3SG PRED crooked with you.SG the picture
 = 'you've got the picture crooked.'

And dispositional copulars do not allow the subject to occur in conventional subject position, as the example in (15) can show.

- 15 **mae orennau 'n gas gen i.*
 be.PRES.3SG oranges PRED nasty with I
 = 'I hate oranges.'

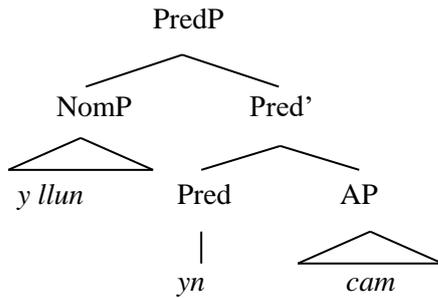
Extraposition of the subject is compulsory in dispositional copulars.

2.3 Analysis

The question is whether predicative-prepositional clauses, both agentive and dispositional, are ascriptive clauses which contain a *gan / gyda* phrase as some sort of constituent, or whether they are prepositional clauses which contain a predicative phrase as some sort of constituent. We shall adopt the latter view. The analyses of agentive and dispositional copulars are broadly similar to the analysis of debt copulars: two relationships are accounted for with subject-predicate phrases.

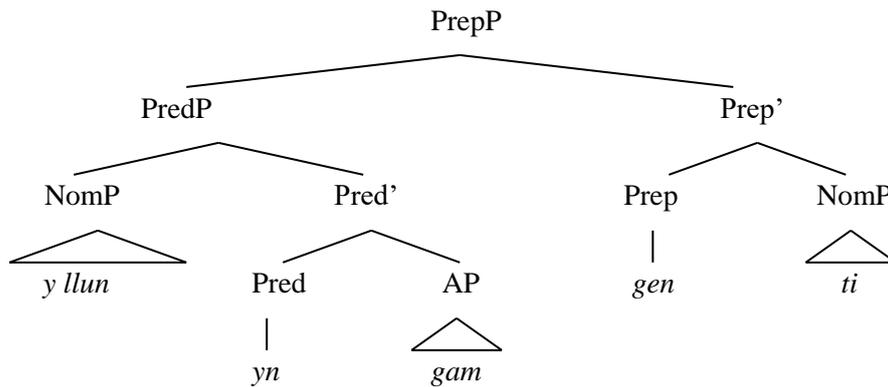
In agentive copulars, we shall claim that the nominal phrase forms a constituent with the predicative phrase, as in (16).

16



The configuration in (16) forms a constituent with the *gan / gyda* prepositional phrase, as in (17).

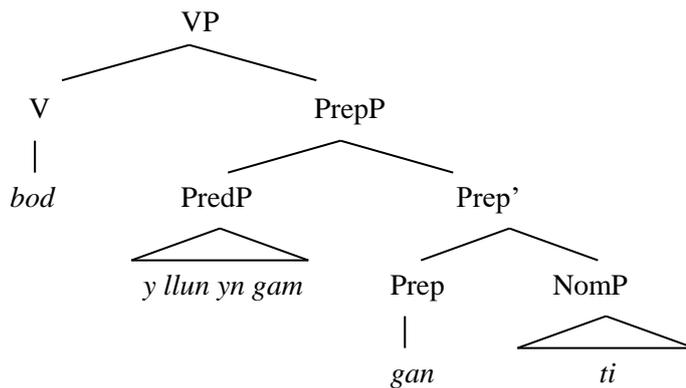
17



In the configuration in (17), the **PredP** is the subject and the **Prep'** is the predicate. The ascriptive relationship in the **PredP** is thus associated with the *gan / gyda* phrase, which in this context conveys agency.

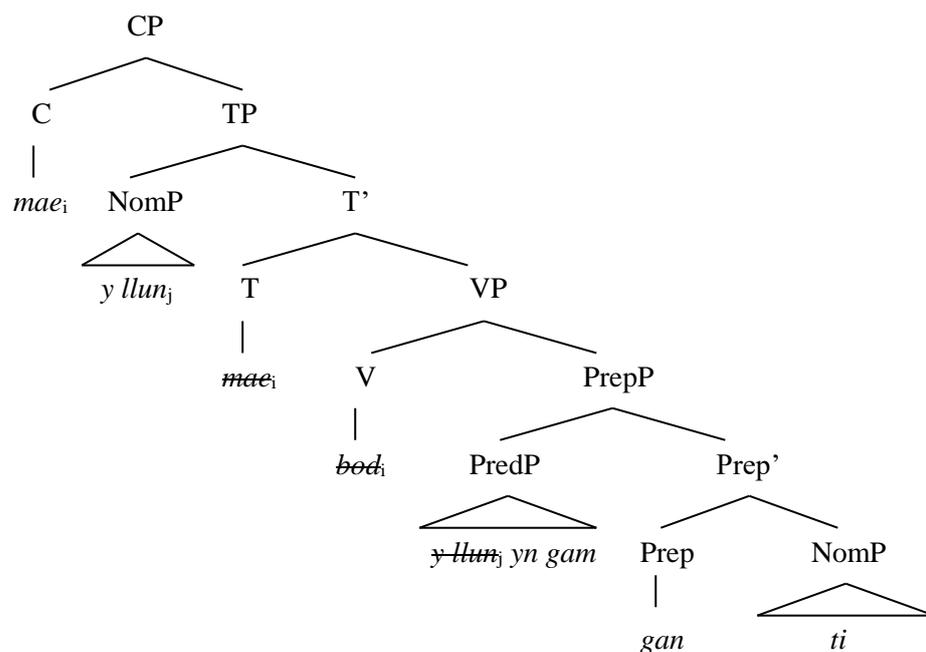
As with all basic copular phrases, **PrepP**, is merged with a **VP** which has *bod* as its head.

18



The **VP** merges with **TP**, which merges with **CP**. The copula *bod* 'be' is raised to **T** and on to **C**.

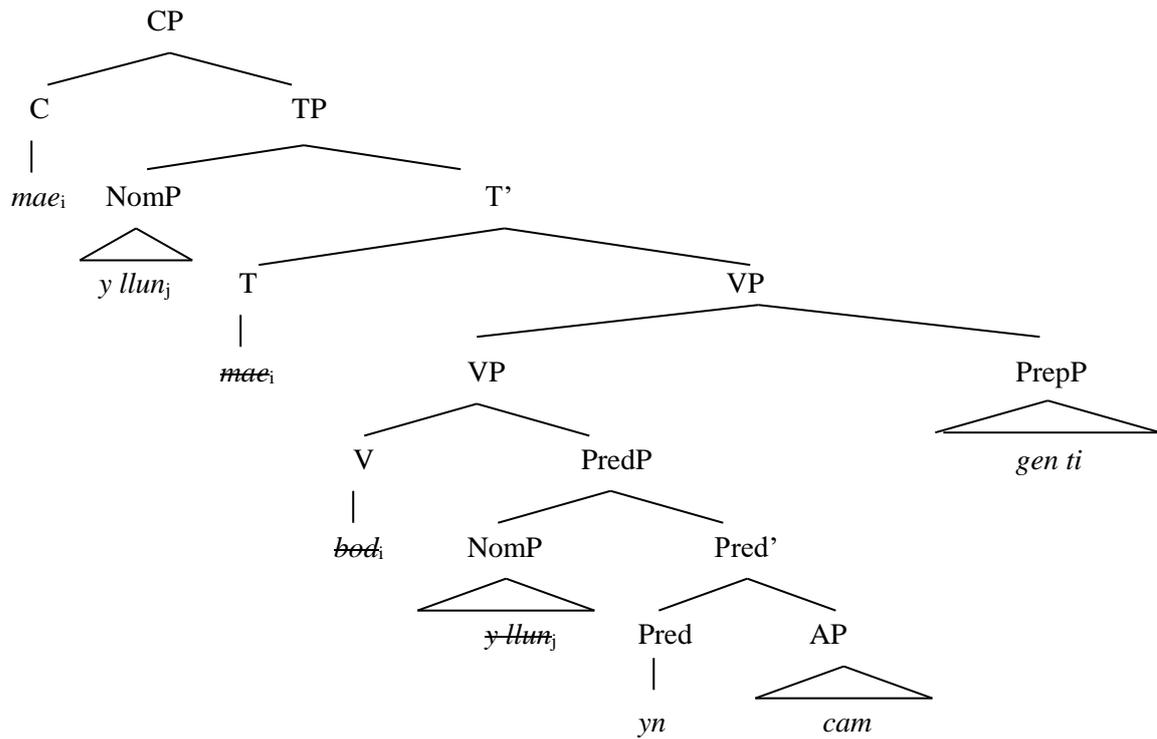
19



We assume that the subject in the specifier of PredP, *y llun*, is raised to Spec TP. The same linear configuration would be achieved by raising the sequence in PredP, namely, *y llun yn gam*. But the analysis in (19) conforms with the general pattern that only a part of a complex subject is raised to Spec TP, as shown in the analyses in (6) and (7), and (36a) and (36b). And in the case of dispositional copulars, the subject part of the complex subject is also moved, in this case by extraposition.

An alternative to this analysis is one which is based on an ascriptive copular clause which contains a *gan* phrase as an adjunct. This is shown in (20).

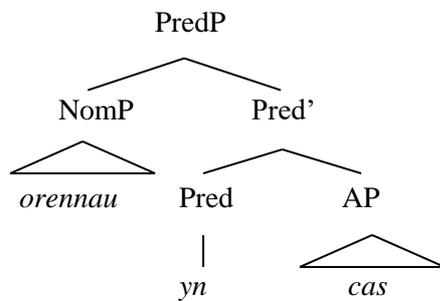
20



We shall maintain the approach in (19).

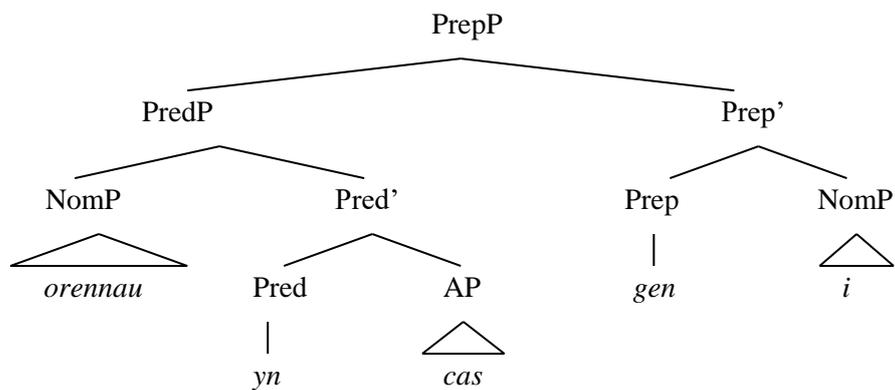
In the case of dispositional copulars, we shall claim that the extraposed phrase originates as a specifier in PredP.

21



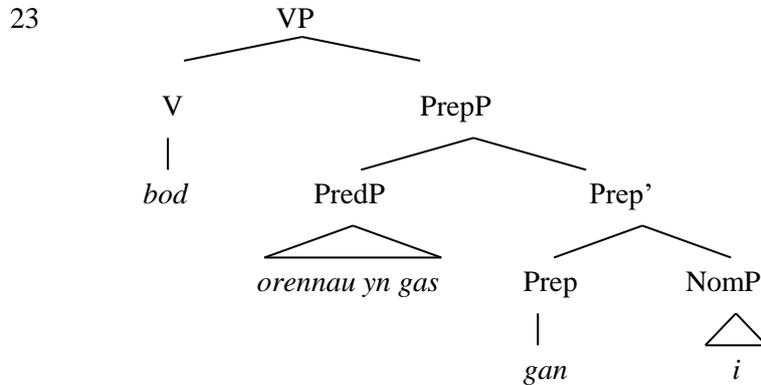
This PredP forms a subject-predicate structure with the *gan / gyda* phrase.

22

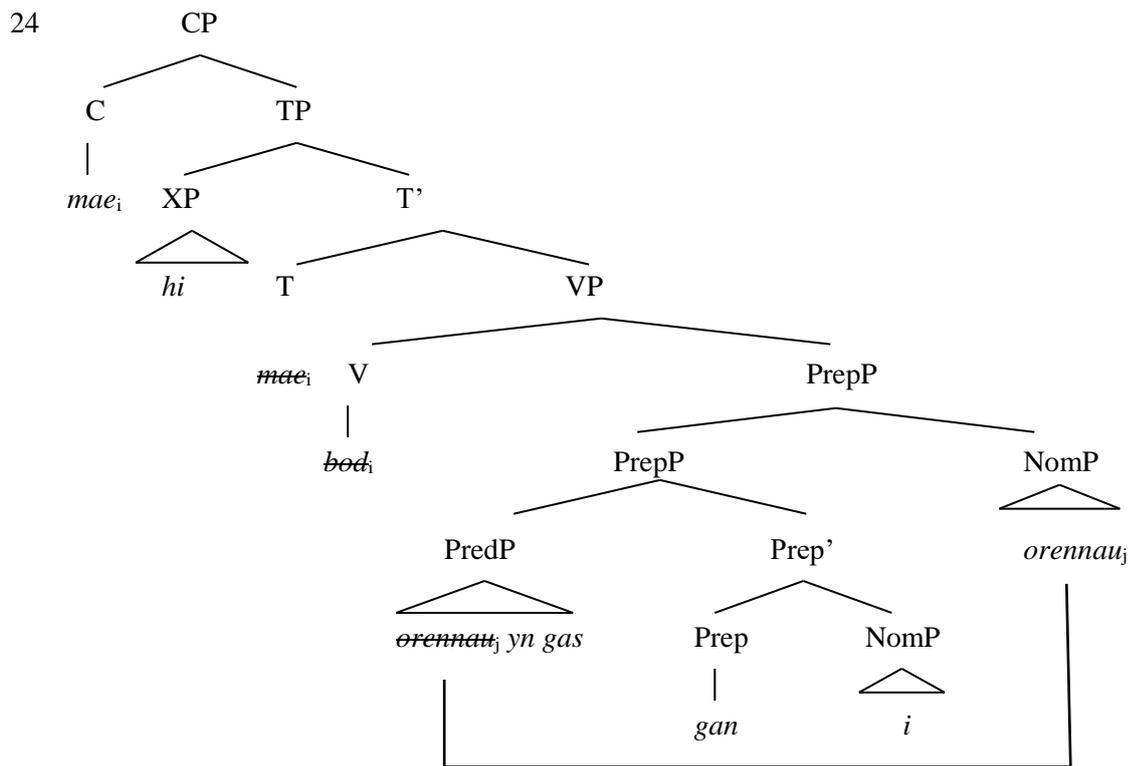


The configuration in (22) shows that the basic phrase of dispositional clauses is a *gan / gyda* prepositional phrase which has a PredP in its specifier.

This basic copular phrase is merged with a VP which has *bod* as its head.



The VP merges with TP, which merges with CP. The copula *bod* ‘be’ is raised to T and on to C.



In terms of mergers, the analyses in (21–24) for dispositional copulars are the same as those in (16–19) for agentive copulars. But unlike agentive clauses as analysed in (19), the subject in Spec PredP is not raised to Spec TP. Instead, the subject in Spec PredP is obligatorily extraposed to the right of PrepP. The subject position Spec TP is filled by an expletive. The fact that the extraposed phrase originates in subject position can be justified by the syntax of fronted clauses and *wh*-clauses, as shown in (12a) and (13a).

It is not easy to explain why agentive copulars do not allow extraposition and why dispositional copulars require extraposition. But there is a clear semantic difference between the two sets of examples. We can suggest, then, that extraposition is prevented or required by semantics.

Extraposition itself may be a strategy which is used to affect the information structure of the clause. The resulting word order means that the more dynamic-like entity in Comp PrepP is mentioned before the more patient-like entity in the phrase which has been extraposed.

The configurations in (17) and (22), from which agentive and dispositional copulars are derived, are similar to the one in (5), which accounts for debt copulars. All three have a basic phrase which is PrepP. All three show that Spec PrepP is itself occupied by a basic copular phrase — PrepP in the case of (5) and PredP in the cases of (17) and (22).

3 Progressive aspect phrase and another phrase

There are other examples of copular clauses which contain two phrases which individually can occur as the predicate in a copular clause. They do not have distinctive semantics like other copular clauses (such as possession, ownership, and so forth) and they are nor regarded as another type of copular clause. These clauses are interesting in that they raise issues of constituency. The examples in (25) provide illustrations.

- 25 a. *mae Siôn yn yr ardd yn darllen llyfr.*
 be.PRES.3SG Siôn in the garden PROG read book
 ‘Siôn is in the garden reading a book.’
- b. *oedd Mari 'n deg yn disgyblu 'r plant.*
 be.IMPF.3SG Mari PRED fair PROG discipline the children
 ‘Mari was fair disciplining the children.’

Both examples contain a progressive aspect phrase. In (25a) it is preceded by a prepositional phrase and in (25b) it is preceded by a predicational phrase. Their linear syntax is [Verb[*mae*] + NomP[*Siôn*] + PrepP[*yn yr ardd*] + ProgP[*yn darllen llyfr*]] for (25a) and [Verb[*oedd*] + NomP[*Mari*] + PredP[*yn deg*] + ProgP[*yn disgyblu 'r plant*]] for (25b). In both cases, there are related versions in which the PrepP or the PredP occurs in final position.

- 26 a. *mae Siôn yn darllen llyfr yn yr ardd.*
 be.PRES.3SG Siôn PROG read book in the garden
 ‘Siôn is reading a book in the garden.’

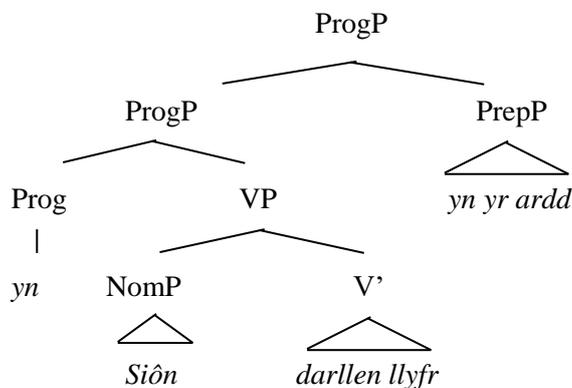
- b. *oedd Mari yn disgyblu 'r plant yn deg.*
 be.IMPF.3SG Mari PROG discipline the children PRED fair
 ‘Mari was disciplining the children fairly.’

The linear structure of these examples is [Verb[*mae*] + NomP[*Siôn*] + ProgP[*yn darllen y llyfr*] + PrepP[*yn yr ardd*]] and [Verb[*oedd*] + NomP[*Mari*] + ProgP[*yn disgyblu 'r plant*] + PredP[*yn deg*]]. The semantics of the examples in (25) and (26) are similar but are not identical. The PrepP and the PredP in the examples in (25) tell us something about the subject while he or she is involved in an activity. The PrepP and the PredP in the examples in (26) tell us something about the whole activity which is described by the subject-predicate structure.

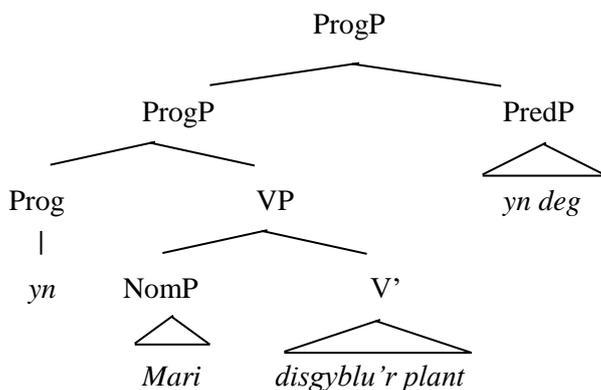
There are two approaches to examples like the ones in (25). One is to view the ProgP as the basic copular phrase and to see the PrepP or the PredP as some sort of constituent within its structure. The other approach is to view the PrepP or the PredP as the basic copular phrase and to see the ProgP as some sort of constituent within its structure.

There are three ways of accounting for the first approach, namely, that the ProgP is the basic copular phrase. First, there is the possibility that the PrepP and the PredP are adjuncts in the ProgP. Given the semantic analysis of the examples in (26), the finally-positioned PrepP and PredP can be seen as right-sided adjuncts of ProgP (the adverbial use of predicational phrases is outlined in section 5 of chapter 2).

27 a.

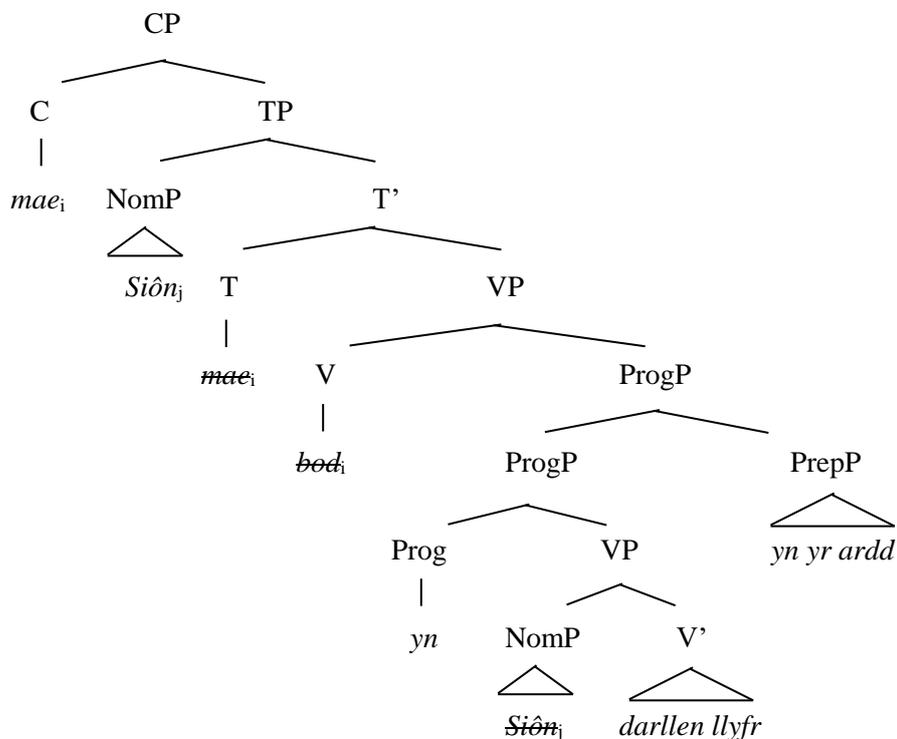


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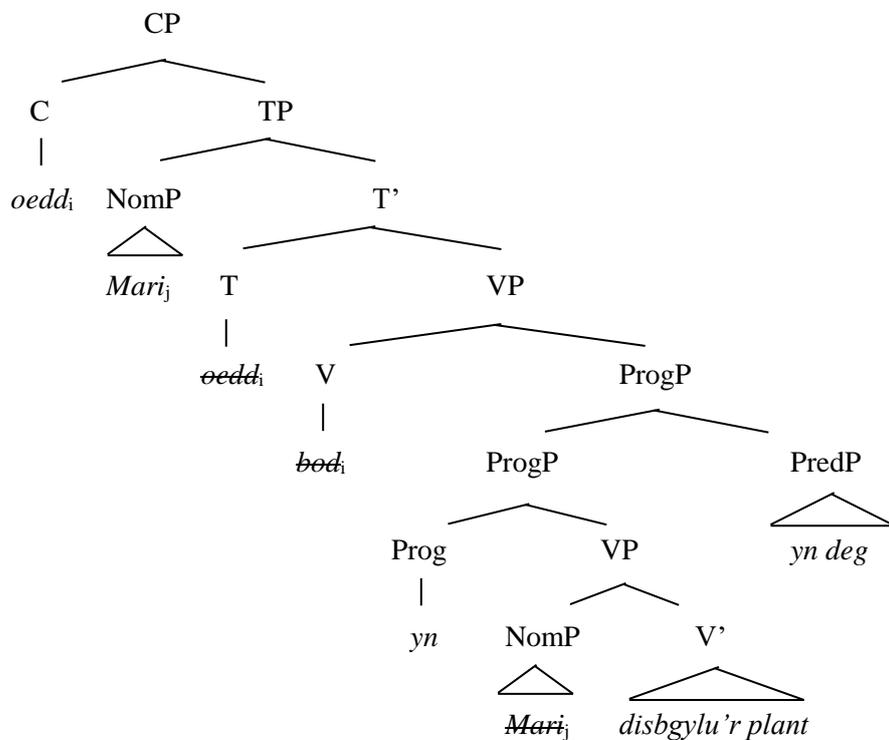


This approach effectively accounts for the assignment of a thematic role by the lexical verb to the subject. These configurations can then go through the mergers and movements which produce a finite copular clause.

28 a.

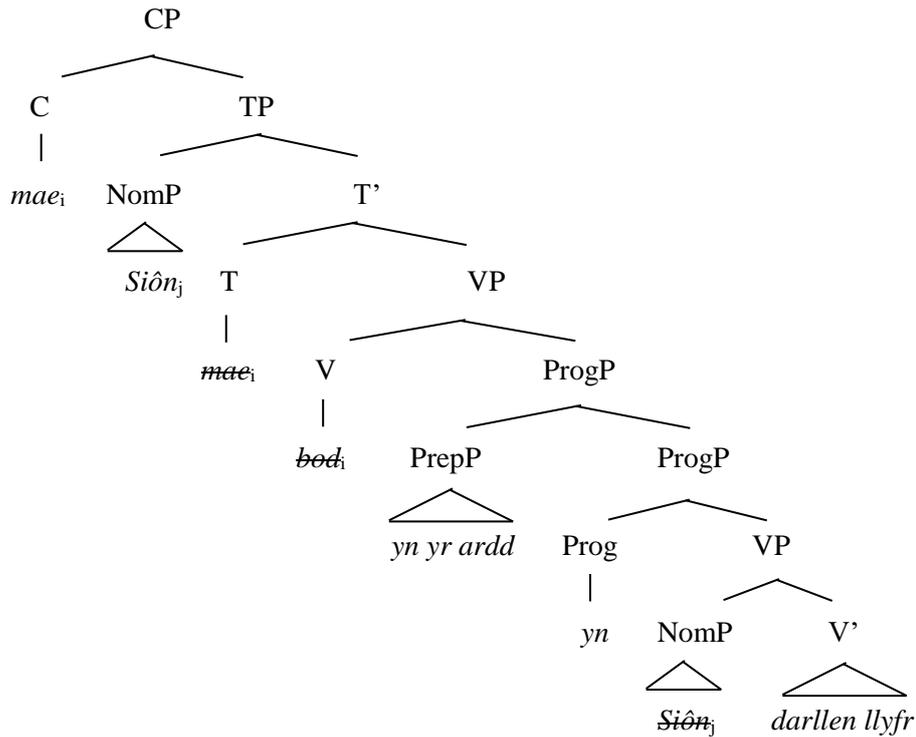


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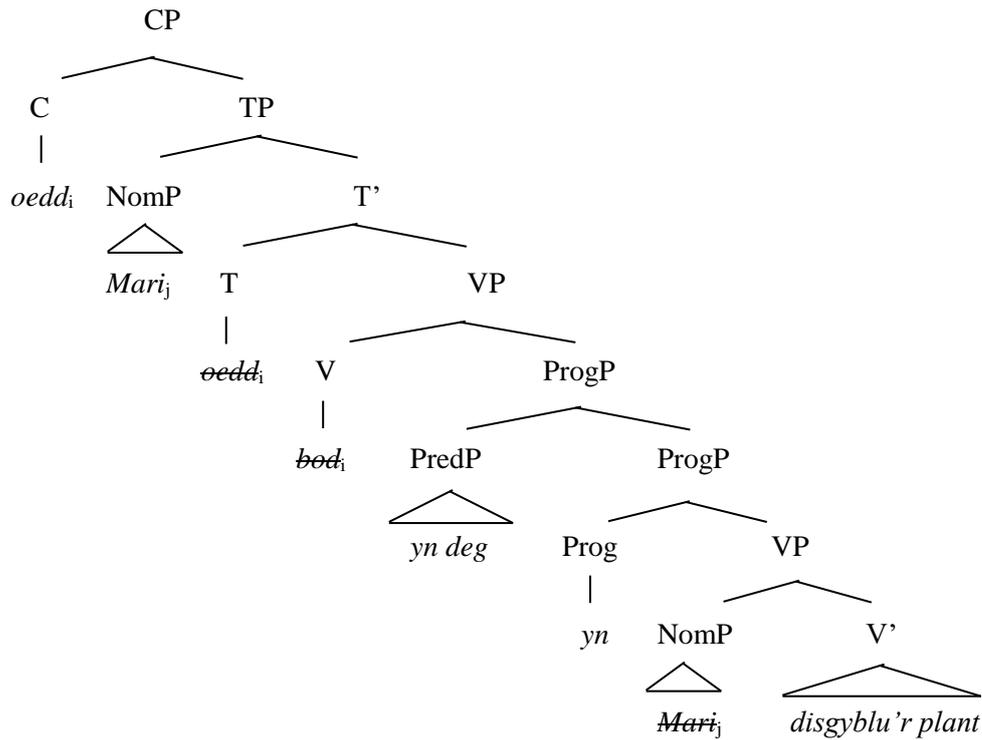


The adjunct analysis can be adapted to account for the word order of examples like those in (25) by adjoining either the PrepP or the PredP on the left side of the ProgP.

29a



b.

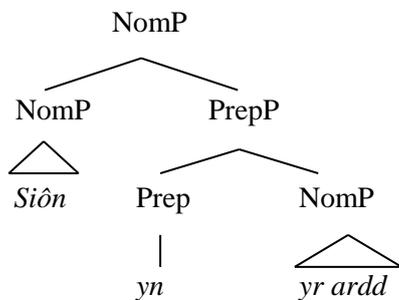


The semantic difference between the examples in (25) and those in (26) can be explained by the effect that the change in word order has on the information structure of the clauses. Left-adjunction places the adjunct immediately after the raised subject and this can be interpreted such that the adjunct tells us something about the subject. In the case of right-adjunction, the adjunct comes after the subject-

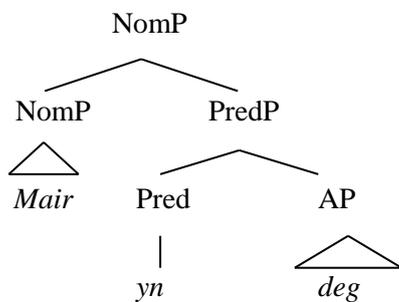
predicate structure and this can be interpreted such that the adjunct tells us something about the whole activity.

Second, we shall consider whether the PrepP and the PredP can be accounted for as right-sided adjuncts of NomP.

30 a.

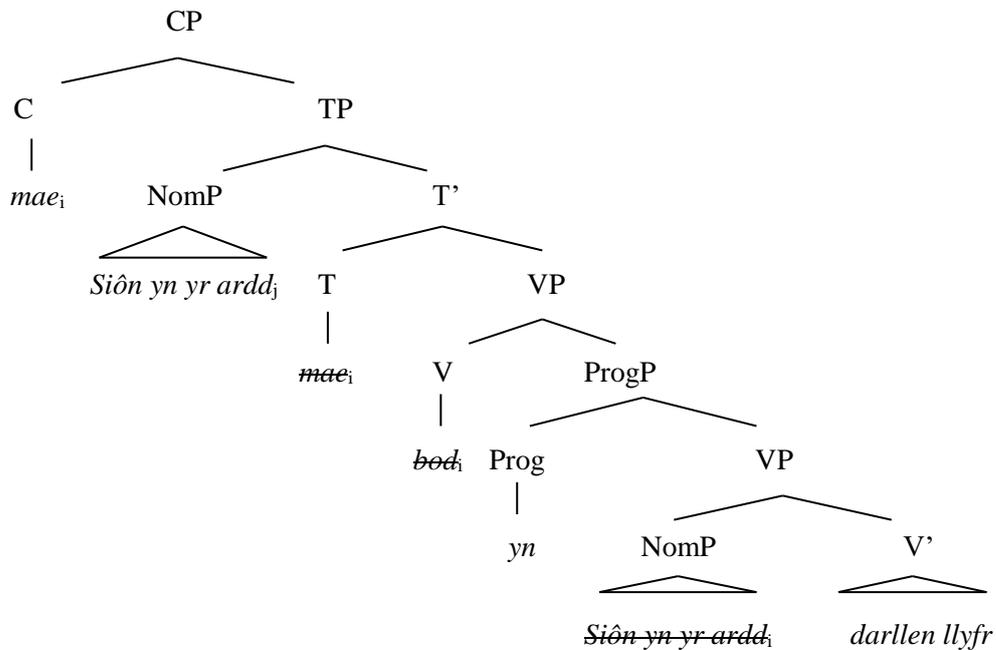


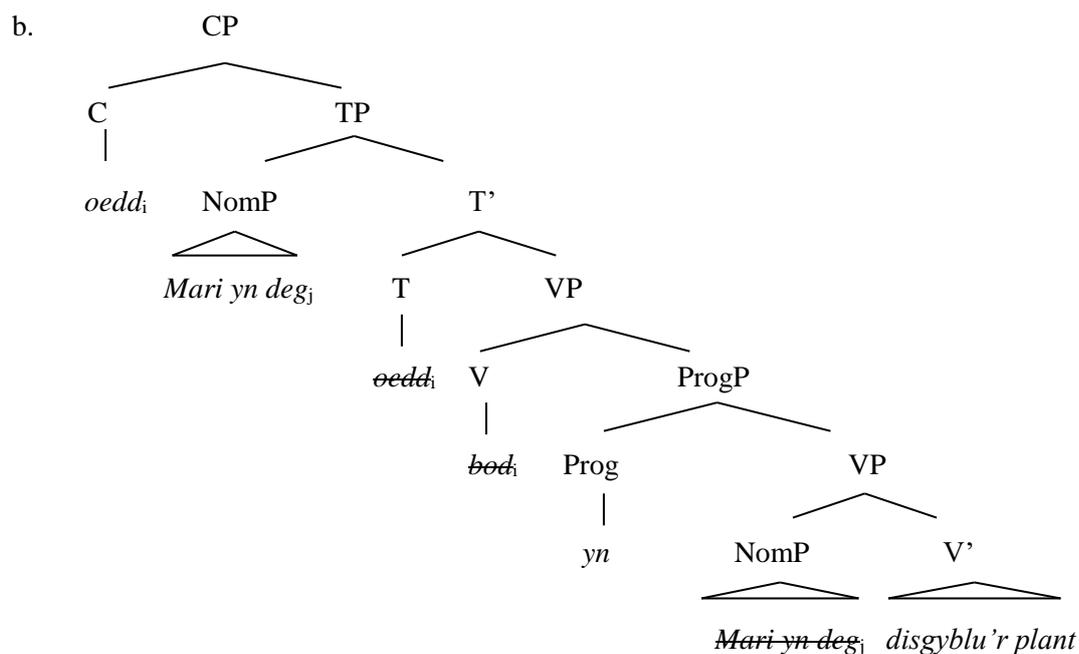
b.



The standard mergers and movements apply to produce finite clauses.

31 a.





This analysis conveys the function that the adjuncts tell us something about the subjects while they are involved in some activity. However, there is a problem with this account. The subject phrase and the PrepP or PredP make a constituent and it is reasonable to expect that the whole constituent can be fronted. But this is not the case, as the examples in (32) show.

- 32 a. ?? *Siôn yn yr ardd sy 'n darllen llyfr.*
 Siôn in the garden be.PRES.3SG PROG read book
 'it is Siôn in the garden who is reading a book.'
- b. * *Mari 'n deg oedd 'n disgyblu 'r plant.*
 Mari PRED fair be.IMP.F.3SG PROG discipline the children
 'it was Mair fair who was disciplining the children.'

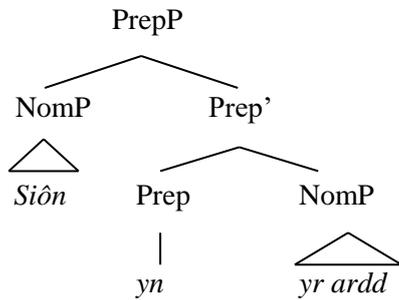
In contrast, it is possible to front the subject phrase alone.

- 33 a. *Siôn sy yn yr ardd yn darllen llyfr.*
 Siôn be.PRES.3SG in the garden PROG read book
 'it is Siôn who is in the garden reading a book.'
- b. *Mari oedd 'n deg yn disgyblu 'r plant.*
 Mari be.IMP.F.3SG PRED fair PROG discipline the children
 'it was Mair who was fair disciplining the children.'

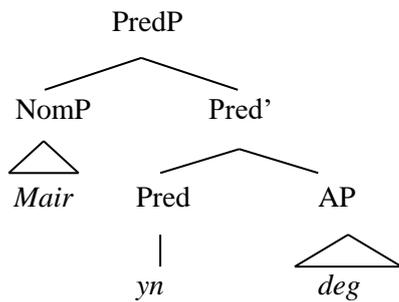
But it is unclear whether the PrepP and PredP are right-sided adjuncts of the NomP or left-sided adjuncts of ProgP.

Third, we shall look at the possibility that the PrepP and PredP are complex subjects, as found in debt copulars, agentive copulars, and dispositional copulars.

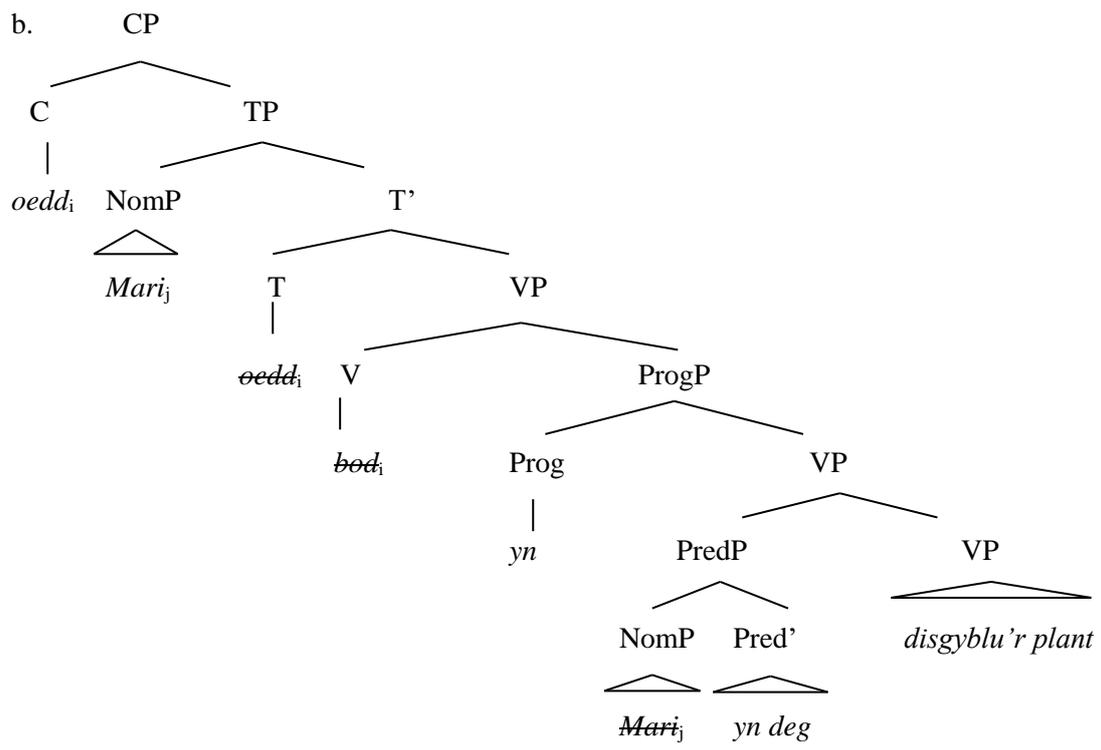
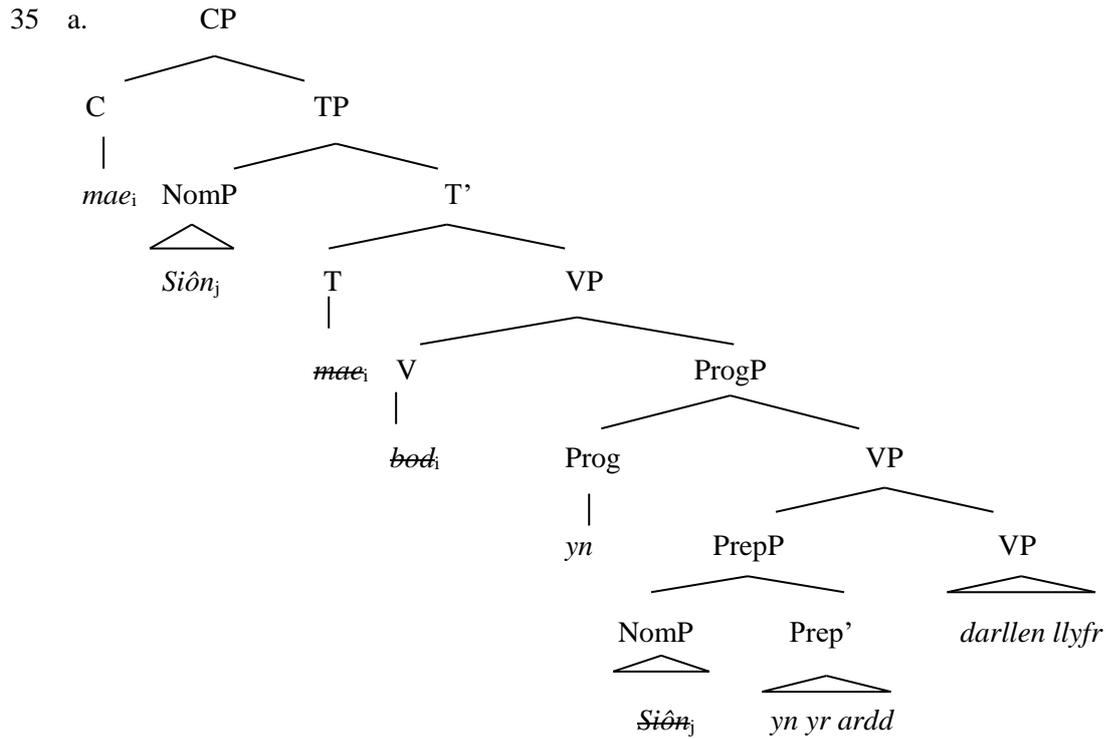
34 a.



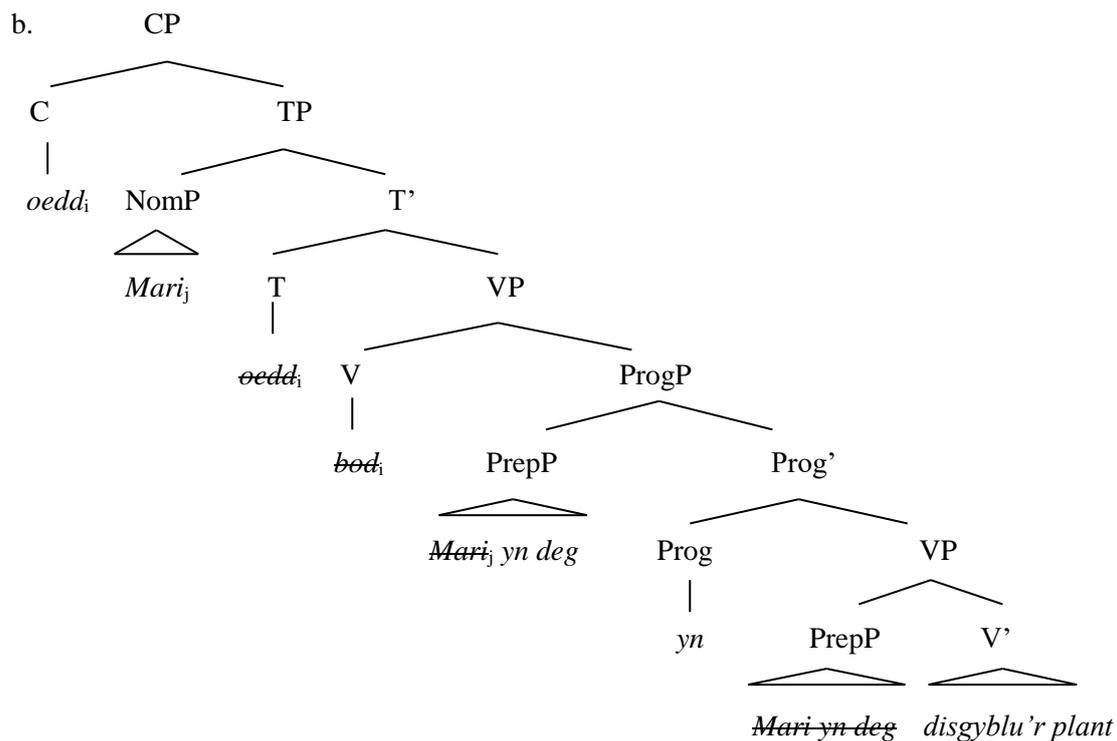
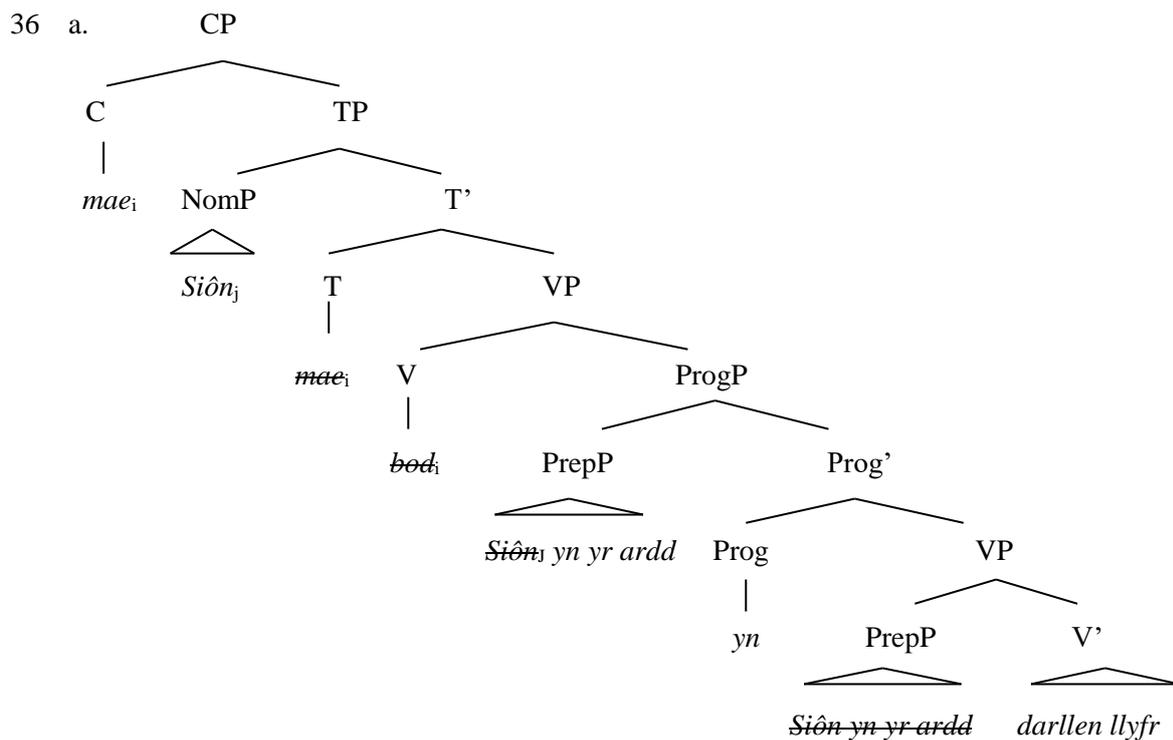
b.



The phrases are generated as the subjects of the ProgP, and movements and mergers can then apply. In the analyses of debt copulars in (6) and agentive copulars in (19), the subject is raised from the position in which it is generated. However, if the subject is moved from the position in which it is generated in the configurations in (35a) and (35b), ungrammatical examples are produced.



The configurations in (35a) and (35b) produce **mae Siôn yn yn yr ardd darllen llyfr* and **oedd Mari yn yn deg disgyblu'r plant* and not the grammatical examples in (25) *mae Siôn yn yr ardd yn darllen llyfr* and *oedd Mari yn deg yn disgyblu'r plant*. The latter can be achieved by moving all of PrepP or all of PredP first to Spec ProgP, and from there their subjects in Spec PrepP and Spec PredP can be raised to Spec TP.



Movement to Spec ProgP can be justified not only on the grounds that it produces grammatical clauses but also on the grounds that there are small clauses like those in (37).

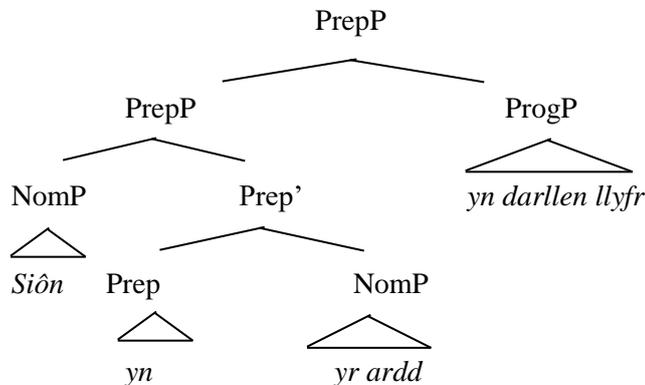
- 37 a. *dw i 'n cofio [Siôn yn yr ardd yn darllen llyfr].*
 be.PRES.3SG I PROG remember Siôn in the garden PROG read book
 'I remember Siôn in the garden reading a book.'

- b. *oedd pawb yn gweld [Mari 'n deg yn disgyblu 'r plant].*
 be.IMPF.3SG everyone PROG see Mari PRED deg PROG discipline the children
 ‘everyone considered Mari fair disciplining the children.’

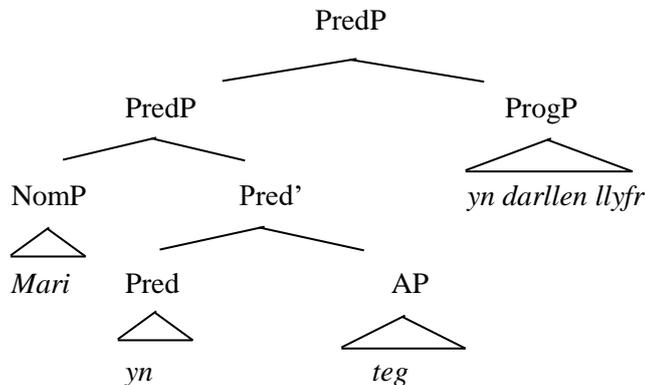
The examples in (37) show that the sequences [*Siôn yn yr ardd*] and [*Mari yn deg*] occur before the progressive aspect marker, and these small clauses can be accounted for by raising the PrepP and PredP to Spec ProgP as the configurations of ProgP in (36a) and (36b) show. The complex subject analysis effectively accounts for the reading that the prepositional phrase or the predicative phrase tells us something about the subject while the latter is involved in some activity. But it is more complex in that an extra movement rule is needed. Further, the use of a complex subject makes the assignment of a thematic role by the lexical verb to the subject less straightforward. However, this version does not face the same problem as the second version in accounting for fronted order. The subject phrase and the PrepP in (36a) or the PredP in (36b) do not form a contiguous constituent, and fronting the subject (as in examples like (33)) is achieved without the problem that PrepP and PredP seeming to be right-sided adjuncts of ProgP.

The second general approach sees the ProgP as some sort of constituent in a locative copular or an ascriptive copular. We can account for it as an adjunct on the right-hand side of the basic copular phrase PrepP or PredP.

38 a.

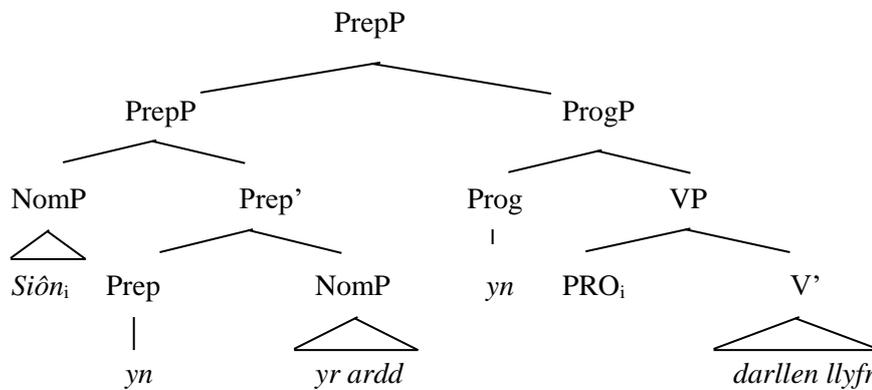


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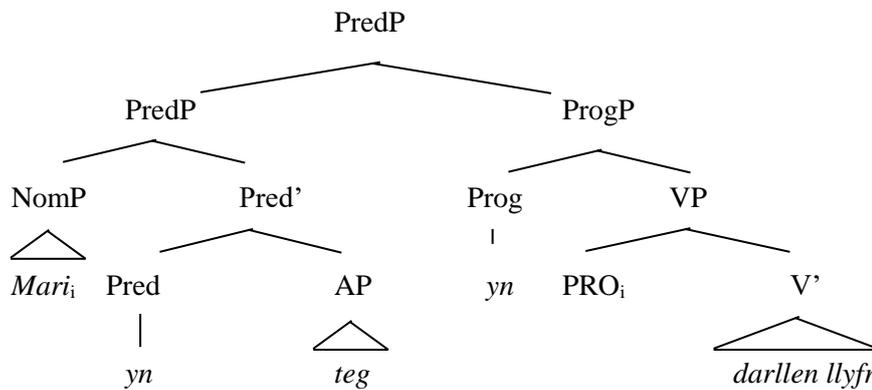


This approach accounts for the fact the PrepP and the PredP tell us something about the subject. But, as it stands, it does not explicitly tell us that *Siôn* and *Mari* perform the actions of the verbs. One possible way of achieving this is to generate PRO as the subject in ProgP and to make it referential with the subjects in PrepP and PredP.

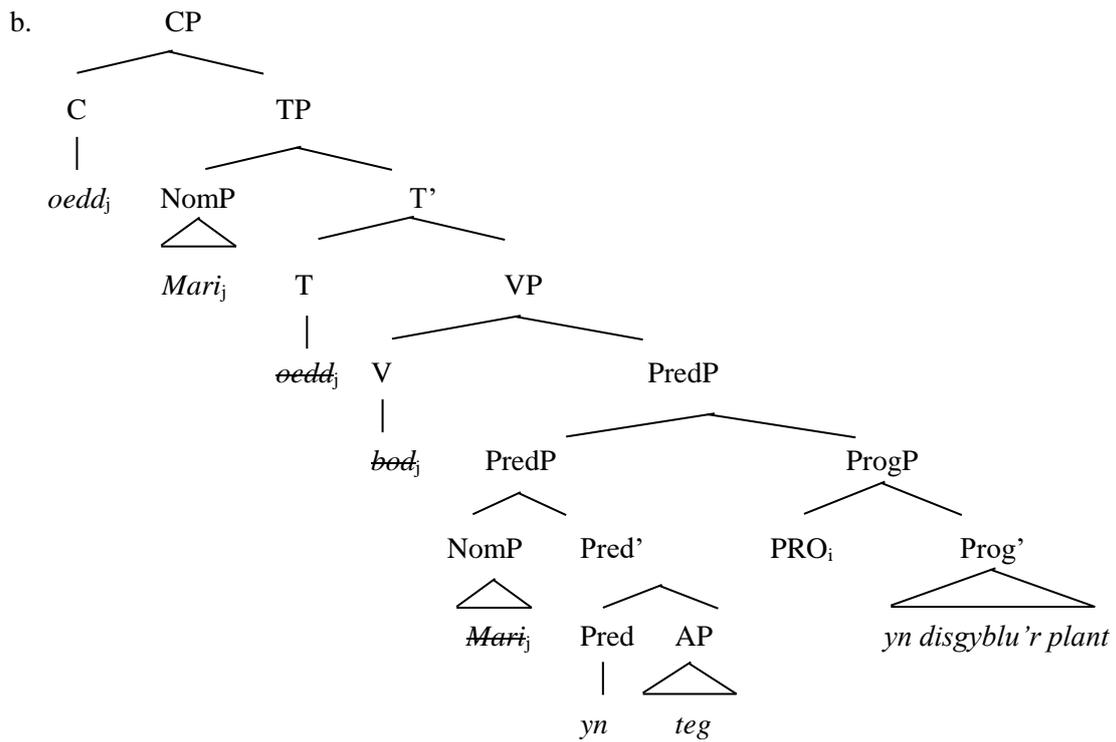
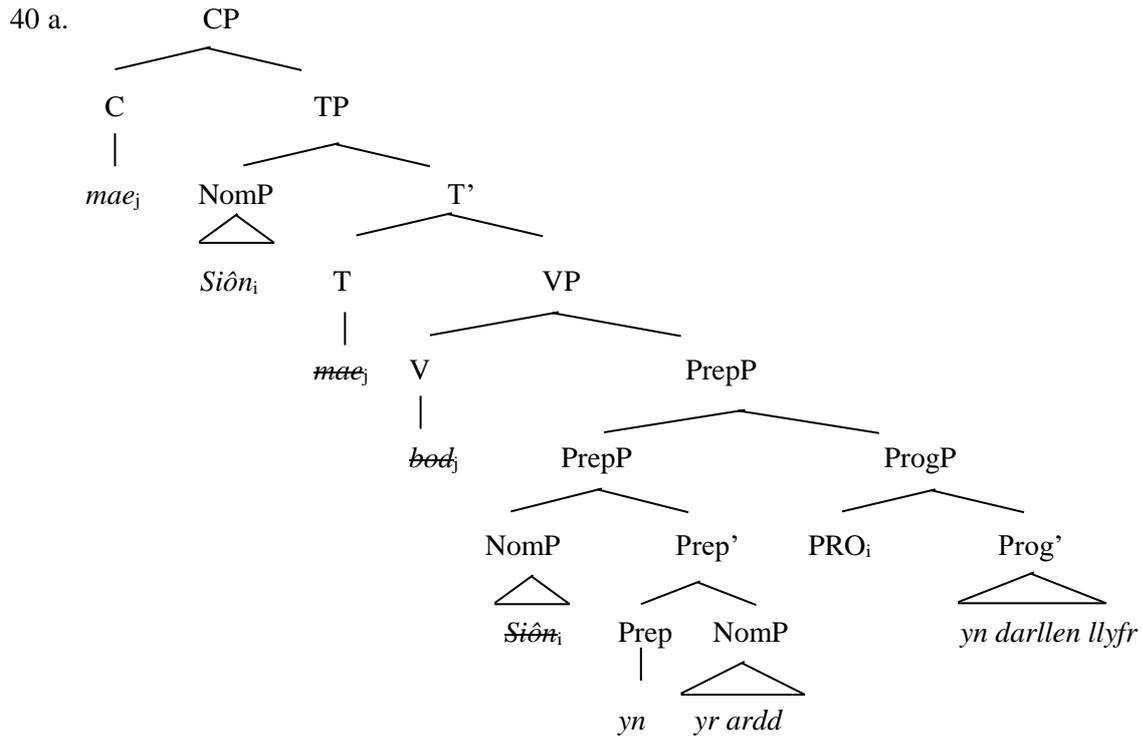
39 a.



b.



These configurations go through the standard mergers and movements to produce a finite copular clause.



In these configurations, PRO has been raised to Spec ProgP.

The account of examples like those in (25) must have two achievements: (i) it must account for the fact that the lexical verb in ProgP assigns thematic roles to the subject in the main clause; and (ii) it must account for the fact that PrepP and PredP tell us something about the subject while engaged in the activity indicated by the VP in ProgP.

The approach which sees the ProgP as the basic copular clause more effectively accounts for the assignment of thematic roles by the lexical verb than the approach which sees the ProgP as an adjunct within clauses which are based on PrepP and PredP. The former approach has the subjects in the specifier of the VP and this more directly enables the assignment of thematic roles than the use of co-referential PRO, which, anyway, is mainly associated with subjectless infinitive clauses in control predicates.

There are three versions of the first approach and we can assess their effectiveness in accounting for the role of PrepP and PredP in telling us something about the subject. The approach which sees them as left-sided adjuncts in ProgP in (29) is syntactically straightforward. But it essentially accounts for PrepP and PredP as adjuncts in ProgP, and we have to plead that the left-sided positioning affects the information structure of the clause such that PrepP and PredP tell us something about the subject rather than the whole activity (as found in (28)). The second version, which sees PrepP and PredP as right-sided adjuncts in the NomP subject as in (31) effectively shows that PrepP and PredP tell us something about the subject and not the whole activity. The complex subject approach in the third version also shows that PredP and PrepP tell us something about the subject but this version needs extra rules (in (36)) to avoid the ungrammaticality which (35) produces. In conclusion, the version which sees PrepP and PredP as adjuncts in the NomP subject would seem to be the most effective and simplest account of examples like those in (25). But we have not considered the possibilities of fronting, and so this conclusion is subject to future research.

These examples do not figure in the remainder of this study.

Chapter 10 Distribution

The accounts of copular clauses in chapters 2 to 9 are chiefly based on finite clauses. In this chapter we shall consider to what extent the basic phrases of copulars can occur in other clauses, namely:

- subject-predicate clauses
 - absolute clauses
 - small clauses
- subjectless infinitive clauses
 - subject control
 - object control
 - raising
- *i*-clauses

We shall see that most clauses which are based on normal word-order, namely, [Verb + Subject + Predicate] are distributed widely in these contexts, but those copular sentences which are not based on normal word-order have restricted distribution. In some instances, too, semantic and / or pragmatic matters affect the distribution of some normal word-order clauses. This chapter involves more data crunching than other chapters, but a summary in section 4 outlines the main possibilities.

1 Normal word-order copulars

The copular clauses which are based on normal word-order are:

- ascriptives (chapter 2)
- prepositional copulars (chapter 4)
- possessives (chapter 5) which are
 - locational (the subject is the possession) and have non-inverted order,
 - with-possessives (the subject is the possessor) (chapter 5)
- states (chapter 6) which are
 - locational (the subject is the state) and have non-inverted order
 - with-type (the subject is the experience)
 - nominal phrase predicates
- VP copulars (chapter 8)
 - aspect
 - prepositional expressions

- non-inverted copulars which have two predicate phrases (chapter 9)
 - two prepositional phrases — debt
 - prepositional phrase and predicative phrase — agency
 - progressive phrase and another phrase

VP copulars which have *i*-infinitivals in their predicates also have normal word-order but they are not widely distributed. They are discussed in section 2.

1.1 Absolute clauses and small clauses

An absolute clause is made up of a subject and a predicate, and lacks either a finite form of the copula or a non-finite form of the copula, such as *Mair yn yr ardd* ‘Mair in the garden’, whose linear structure is [Subject[*Mair* ‘Mair’] Predicate[*yn yr ardd* ‘in the garden’]]. Absolute clauses commonly occur in co-ordination with an immediately previously-occurring finite clause, as in, *gwynodd Siôn am Marged a [hithau yn gariad iddo fo]* ‘Siôn complained about Marged and [her his girlfriend]’. We shall distinguish between absolute clauses and other subject-predicate clauses in which the missing information is provided in the preceding clause in the co-ordination, as in *oedd Gwyn ar y sofffa a (oedd) Siôn yn y gadair siglo* ‘Gwyn was on the sofa and Siôn (was) in the rocking chair’.

The examples in (1) show the copular patterns which can occur in absolute clauses.

- 1 a. *oedd Caradog yn cwffio ar y trê'n a fynte yn blismon.*
 be.IMPF.3SG Caradog PROG fight on the train and he.COORD PRED policeman
 ‘Caradog was fighting on the train and him a policeman.’
- b. *oedd Peredur yn siarad amdana' i a finnau yn y stafell.*
 be.IMPF.3SG Peredur PROG talk about.1SG I and I.COORD in the kitchen
 ‘Peredur was talking about me and me in the room.’
- c. *mae Siôn yn cwyno am arian ac Audi newydd ganddo.*
 be.PRES.3SG Siôn PROG complain about money and Audi new with.3SG.M
 ‘Siôn complains about money and him with a new Audi.’
- d. *mae Siôn yn cwyno am arian a fo efo Audi newydd.*
 be.PRES.3SG Siôn PROG complain about money and he with Audi new
 ‘Siôn complains about money and him with a new Audi.’
- e. *oedd Gwyn wedi diflannu ac ofn mawr arna' i.*
 IMPF.3SG Gwyn PERF disappear and fear big on.1SG I
 ‘Gwyn had disappeared and me afraid.’

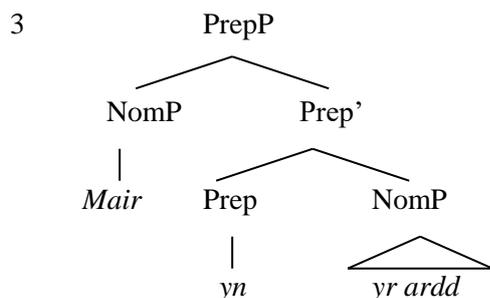
- f. *oedd Gwyn wedi diflannu ac fi efo ofn mawr.*
 IMPF.3SG Gwyn PERF disappear and I with fear big
 ‘Gwyn had disappeared and me afraid.’
- g. *oedd Gwyn wedi cadw ’r cwrw a finnau eisiau diod.*
 IMPF.3SG Gwyn PERF keep the beer and I.COORD want drink
 ‘Gwyn had put away the beer and me thirsty.’
- h. *apeliodd Gwen am help a Siôn yn edrych ar y teledu.*
 appeal.PERV.3SG Gwen for help and Siôn PROG look on the television
 ‘Gwen appealed for help and Siôn watching the television.’
- i. *gorffnodd Aled ar ôl hanner awr a Bryn heb gychwyn.*
 finish.PRES.3SG Aled on track half hour and Bryn without start
 ‘Aled finished after half an hour and Bryn not started.’
- j. *ofynodd Siôn i Mair am arian a deg punt arno fo iddi hi yn barod.*
 be.PRES.3SG Siôn to Mair for money a ten pound on.3SG.M he to.3SG.F she PRED
 ready
 ‘Siôn asked Mair for money and him owing her ten pounds already.’
- k. *froliodd Mair am y gwaith coed a ’r gadair yn gam ganddi hi.*
 brag.PERV.3SG Mair about the work wood and the chair PRED crooked by.3SG.F her
 ‘Mair bragged about the wood work and her with the chair crooked.’
- l. *arhosodd Gwyn am Siôn a fyntau yn yr ardd yn darllen llyfr*
 wait.PERV.3SG Gwyn about Siôn and he.CONJ in the garden PROG read book
 ‘Gwyn waited for Siôn and him in the garden reading a book.’
- m. *derbyniodd Alun mwy o waith a finnau ’n anhapus yn cael rhagor.*
 accept.PERV.3SG Alun more of work and I.CONJ PRED unhappy PROG have more
 ‘Alun accepted more work and me unhappy having more.’

A small clause is also made up of a subject and a predicate, lacking either a non-finite form of the copula or a finite form of the copula, again such as [Subject[*Mair* ‘Mair’] Predicate[*yn yr ardd* ‘in the garden’]]. A small clause is not the second member in a pair of co-ordinated clauses but is the complement of certain lexemes, such as *dw i’n cofio* [*Mair yn yr ardd*] ‘I remember [Mair in the garden]’. The examples in (2) show the copular patterns which can occur in small clauses.

- 2 a. *mae pawb yn ystyried [Dr Beryl yn ddoctor da].*
 be.PRES.3SG everyone PROG consider Dr Beryl PRED doctor good
 ‘everyone considers Dr Beryl a good doctor.’

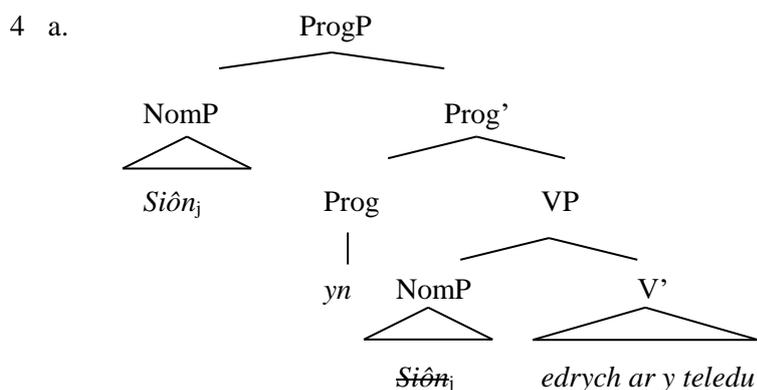
- b. *dw i 'n cofio ['r brotest yn y bore]*
 be.PRES.1SG I PROG remember the protest in the morning
 'I remember the protest in the morning.'
- c. *dw i 'n cofio [('r) hen Fordyn gan dy dad].*
 be.PRES.1SG I PROG remember (the) old Ford with 2SG father
 'I remember your father with the / an old Ford.'
- d. *dw i 'n cofio [dy dad efo ('r) hen Fordyn].*
 be.PRES.1SG I PROG remember 2SG father with(the) old Ford
 'I remember your father with an / the old Ford.'
- e. *dw i 'n cofio [ofn nadroedd gan dy dad].*
 be.PRES.1SG I PROG remember fear snakes with 2SG father
 'I remember your father afraid of snakes.'
- f. *dw i 'n cofio [dy dad efo ofn nadroedd].*
 be.PRES.1SG I PROG remember 2SG father with fear snakes
 'I remember your father afraid of snakes.'
- g. *dw i 'n cofio [dy dad eisiau diod].*
 be.PRES.1SG I PROG remember 2SG father want drink
 'I remember your father thirsty.'
- h. *oedd Gwen yn cofio [Siôn yn edrych ar y teledu].*
 be.IMPF.3SG Gwen PROG remember Siôn PROG look on the television
 'Gwen remembers Siôn watching the television.'
- i. *oedd Aled wedi gweld [Bryn ar fin cychwyn].*
 be.IMPF.3SG Aled PERF see Bryn on edge start
 'Aled had seen Bryn about to start.'
- j. ?? *dw i 'n cofio [deg punt ar Siôn i Mair].*
 be.PRES.1SG I PROG remember ten pound on Siôn to Mair
 'I remember ten pounds being owed to Mair by Siôn.'
- k. *dw i 'n gweld [y bwrdd yn gam gan Mair].*
 be.IMPF.1SG I PROG see the table PRED crooked by Mair
 = 'I see the table crooked by Mair.'

There is a reasonable explanation for the distributions in examples (1) and (2). These basic copular phrase are based on a phrase which is made up of a specifier, a head and a complement. A predicational phrase is a typical example.



This configuration provides the basic subject-predicate structure which occurs in absolute clauses and small clauses. If there is no property in this basic copular phrase which requires further mergers, the phrase can be maintained to occur as a subject-predicate clause.

However, in the case of VP copulars like the examples in (1h–i) and (2h–i), the formation of an absolute clause or a small clause requires raising the subject in Spec VP to the specifier position of the basic phrase, Spec ProgP, as illustrated in (4a).



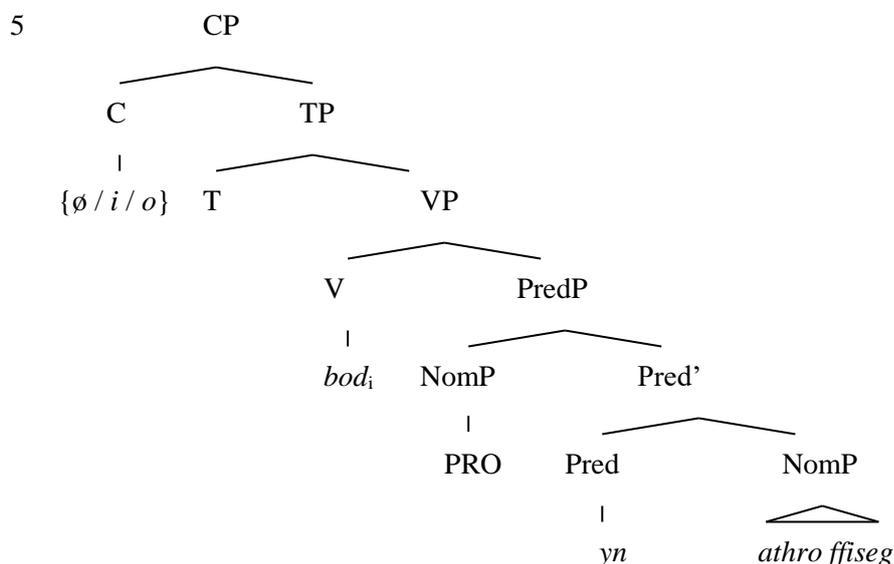
Similarly, as already mentioned in chapter 9, basic copular clauses which contain a progressive phrase and another phrase also require raising to Spec ProgP.

1.1 Subjectless infinitive clauses

A Welsh subjectless infinitive clause is a VP which can be preceded by nothing (a bare VP), or by *i* ‘to, for’, or by *o* ‘of, from’, depending upon the syntactic and sociolinguistic context (see Borsley, Tallerman, and Willis (2007: 88–90) for more details). The VP can be headed by a lexical verb, as in *aros yn yr ardd* ‘stay in the garden’, *i aros yn yr ardd* ‘to stay in the garden’, or *o aros yn yr ardd* ‘from staying in the garden’. But we are concerned in this section with VPs which are headed by the copula as in *bod yn yr ardd* ‘be in the garden’, *i fod yn yr ardd* ‘to be in the garden’, or *o fod yn yr ardd* ‘from being in the garden’. We have already discussed the syntax of infinitivals chapter 8. That account looks at infinitivals (which are preceded by *i* ‘to, for’) in the predicate of a copular clause. In this section, we

are concerned with subjectless infinitive clauses which occur in control predicates and raising predicates. But the analysis given in chapter 8 can also serve to discuss subjectless infinitivals in these predicates.

Control predicates. A copular subjectless infinitival which occurs in a control predicate is analysed as in (5), which is based on example (6a). This configuration shows that a basic copular phrase can be developed through standard mergers and movements to form a subjectless infinitival. First, the basic phrase merges with the copular to form a VP. Then the VP merges with T, which merges with C. A complementizer occurs in C — *i* ‘to, for’, *o* ‘of, form’ or zero. T has no overt realization (we ignore here the details of T). Following conventional analyses of control predicates, the subject is PRO, a covert functional element which is co-referential with either the subject or object in a matrix clause, not included in (5).



The examples in (6) and (7) show the copular patterns which can occur in subject control structures and object control structures.

- 6 a. *mae Siôn yn bwriadu [bod yn athro ffiseg].*
 be.PRES.3SG Siôn PROG intend be PRED teacher physics
 ‘Siôn intends to be a physics teacher.’
- b. *fydd pawb yn ceisio [bod yn y rhes flaen].*
 be.FUT.3SG everyone PROG try be in the row front
 ‘everyone will be trying to be in the front row.’
- c. *oedd dy dad yn disgwyl [bod efo hen Fordyn].*
 be.IMPF.3SG 2SG father PROG expect be with old Ford
 = ‘your father expected to have an old Ford.’

- d. *oedd dy dad yn cashau [bod efo ofn nadroedd].*
 be.IMPF.3SG 2SG father PROG hate be with fear snakes
 ‘your father hated being afraid of snakes.’
- e. *oedd dy dad yn cashau [bod ofn nadroedd].*
 be.IMPF.3SG 2SG father PROG hate be fear snakes
 ‘your father hated being afraid of snakes.’
- f. *oeddwn i 'n smalio [bod yn gweithio].*
 be.IMPF.1SG I PROG pretend be PROG work
 ‘I pretended to be working.’
- g. *oeddwn i 'n cofio [bod ar fin gadael].*
 be.IMPF.1SG I PROG remember be on edge leave
 ‘I remembered being about to leave.’
- 7 a. *maen nhw wedi perswadio Siôn [i fod yn athro ffiseg].*
 be.PRES.3PL they PERF persuade Siôn to be PRED teacher physics
 ‘they have persuaded Siôn to be a physics teacher.’
- b. *o'n i wedi perswadio Siôn [i fod yn y rhes gyntaf].*
 be.IMPF.1SG I PERF persuade Siôn to be in the row first
 ‘I had persuaded Siôn to be in the first row.’
- c. *oedd Siôn wedi perswadio dy dad [i fod efo hen Fordyn].*
 be.IMPF.3SG Siôn PERF persuade 2SG father to be with old Ford
 = ‘Siôn had persuaded your father to have an old Ford.’
- d. *oedd Siôn wedi perswadio dy dad [i fod efo ofn nadroedd].*
 be.IMPF.3SG Siôn PERF persuade 2SG father to be with fear snakes
 ‘Siôn had persuaded your father to be afraid of snakes.’
- e. *oeddwn i wedi perswadio dy dad [i fod ofn nadroedd].*
 be.IMPF.1SG I PERF persuade 2SG father to be fear snakes
 ‘I persuaded your father to fear snakes.’
- f. *oeddwn i wedi perswadio pawb [i fod yn gweithio].*
 be.IMPF.1SG I PROG persuade everyone to be PROG work
 ‘I had persuaded everyone to be working.’
- g. *oeddwn i wedi perswadio Siân [i fod ar fin adael].*
 be.IMPF.1SG I PROG persuade Siân to be on edge leave
 ‘I had persuaded Siôn to be about to leave.’

However, there is a semantic and / or pragmatic problem in the case of some copular patterns. Consider subjectless infinitive clauses such as *mae Siân yn gobeithio ennill y rhas* ‘Siân hopes to win the race’ and *mae pawb wedi perswadio Siân i redeg yn y rhas* ‘everyone has persuaded Siân to run in the race’.

Siân is either the subject or the object of the matrix clause and the understood subject of the infinitive clause. This means that *Siân* must be able to fulfil the thematic roles which are assigned in both the matrix clause and the infinitive clause. However, the subjects in some copular clauses are entities which cannot fulfil the thematic roles in both the matrix clause and the infinitive clause. These are (i) locational possessive copulars (in which the subject is the possession), (ii) locational state copulars (in which the subject is the state), (iii) debt copulars in which the subject is the debt, and (iv) agentive copulars in which the subject can be an inanimate object. Examples of subject control structures are given in (8) and examples of object controlled structures are given in (9).

- 8 a. **oedd (yr) hen Ford yn disgwyl [bod gan dy dad].*
 be.IMPF.3SG (the) old Ford PROG expect be with 2SG father
 = ‘the/an old Ford expected to be had by your father.’
- b. **oedd ofn nadroedd yn disgwyl [fod gan dy dad].*
 be.IMPF.3SG fear snakes PROG expect be with 2SG father
 = ‘fear of snakes expected to be on your father.’
- c. **oedd deg punt yn disgwyl [bod ar Siôn i Mair].*
 be.IMPF.3SG ten pound PROG expect be on Siôn to Mair
 = ‘ten pounds expected to be owed by Siôn to Mair.’
- d. **mae 'r llun yn disgwyl [bod yn syth gan Siôn].*
 be.PRES.3SG the picture PROG expect be PRED straight with Siôn
 = ‘the picture expected to be straight by Siôn.’
- 9 a. **dw i wedi perswadio 'r hen Fordyn [i fod gan dy dad].*
 be.PRES.1SG I PERF persuade (the) old Ford to be with 2SG father
 = ‘I have persuaded the old Ford to be had by your father.’
- b. **oeddwn i wedi perswadio ofn nadroedd [i fod gan dy dad].*
 be.IMPF.1SG I PROG persuade fear snakes to be with 2SG father
 = ‘I persuaded fear of snakes to be on your father.’
- c. **oedd Gwenan wedi perswadio deg punt [i fod ar Siôn i Mair].*
 be.IMPF.3SG Gwenan PERF persuade ten pound to be on Siôn to Mair
 = ‘Gwenan had persuaded ten pound to be owed by Siôn to Mair.’
- d. **mae Sioned wedi perswadio 'r llun [i fod yn syth gan Siôn].*
 be.PRES.3SG Sioned PERF persuade the picture to be PRED straight with Siôn
 = ‘Sioned had persuaded the picture to be straight by Siôn.’

The restrictions are due to semantics and / or pragmatics.

Raising predicates. The configuration in (5) can also underlie subjectless infinitivals in raising predicates, except that the specifier is filled with overt lexical material which is replaced by a trace (and not PRO) when the subject is raised. The examples in (10) show the copular phrases which can occur in raising predicates.

- 10 a. *mae Siôn yn digwydd [bod yn gaptan].*
 be.PRES.3SG Siôn PROG happen be PRED captain
 'Siôn happens to be captain.'
- b. *mae Gwen yn digwydd [bod yn yr ystafell gefn].*
 be.PRES.3SG Gwen PROG happen be in the room back
 'Gwen happens to be in the back room.'
- c. *mae hen Fordyn yn digwydd [bod gan dy dad].*
 be.PRES.1SG old Ford PROG happen be with 2SG father
 = 'An old Ford happens to be had by your father.'
- d. *oedd dy dad yn digwydd [bod efo hen Fordyn].*
 be.IMPF.3SG 2SG father PROG happen be with old Ford
 'your father happened to have an old Ford.'
- e. *oedd ofn nadroedd yn digwydd [bod gan dy dad].*
 be.IMPF.3SG fear snakes PROG happen be with 2SG father
 = 'a fear of snakes happened to be on your father.'
- f. *oedd dy dad yn digwydd [bod efo ofn nadroedd].*
 be.IMPF.3SG 2SG father PROG happen be with fear snakes
 'your father happened to be afraid of snakes.'
- g. *oedd dy dad yn digwydd [bod ofn nadroedd].*
 be.IMPF.3SG 2SG father PROG happen be fear snakes
 'your father happened to be afraid of snakes.'
- h. *oedd pawb yn digwydd [bod yn gweithio].*
 be.IMPF.3SG everyone PROG happen be PROG work
 'everyone happened to be working.'
- i. *oeddwn i yn digwydd [bod ar fin adael].*
 be.IMPF.1SG I PROG expect be on edge leave
 'I happened to be about to leave.'
- j. *oedd deg punt yn digwydd bod ar Siôn i Mair.*
 be.IMPF.3SG ten pound PROG happen be on Siôn to Mair
 = 'it happened that Siôn owed ten pound to Mair.'

- k. *mae 'r llun yn digwydd bod yn syth gan Siôn.*
 be.PRES.3SG the picture PROG happen be PRED straight with Siôn
 = 'it happens that Siôn has the picture straight.'

The thematic role of the subject is assigned to it in the lower CP and semantic and / or pragmatic problems do not occur, as shown by the examples in (10c, e, j, k).

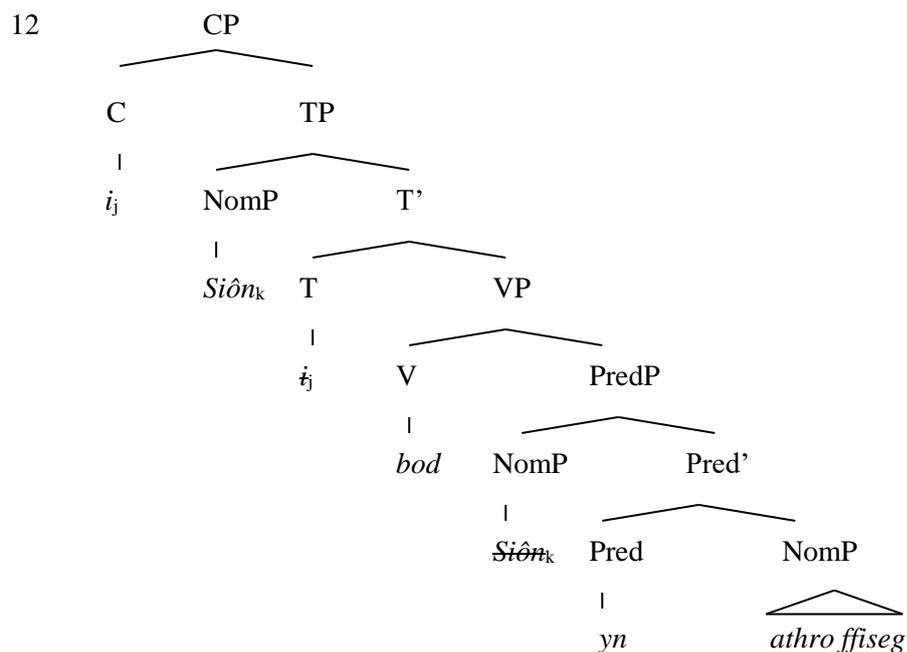
1.2 *I*-clauses

I-clauses are Welsh clauses whose linear syntax begins with the form *i* 'for, to', which is followed by a subject and VP predicate, such as [*i* [*Siôn*] [*aros yma*]] 'for Siôn to stay here'.⁵⁵ They occur as the complements of certain verbs, nouns, adjectives, and prepositions. The examples in (11) show that basic copular phrases which are based on normal word-order can occur as *i*-clauses.

- 11 a. *dw i 'n disgwyl [i Siôn fod yn athro ffiseg].*
 be.PRES.1SG I PROG expect for Siôn be PRED teacher physics
 'I expect Siôn to be a physics teacher.'
- b. *fydd pawb yn disgwyl [i 'r bwyd fod ar y bwrdd].*
 be.FUT.3SG everyone PROG expect for the food be on the table
 'everyone will be expecting the food to be on the table.'
- c. *oeddwn i 'n disgwyl [i ('r) hen Fordyn fod gan dy dad].*
 be.IMPF.1SG I PROG expect to the / a old Ford be with 2SG father
 'I expected your father to have an / the old Ford.'
- d. *oeddwn i 'n disgwyl [i dy dad fod efo hen Fordyn].*
 be.IMPF.1SG I PROG expect to 2SG father be with old Ford
 'I expected your father to have an old Ford.'
- e. *oeddwn i 'n disgwyl [i ofn nadroedd fod gan dy dad].*
 be.IMPF.1SG I PROG expect to fear snakes be with 2SG father
 'I expected your father to be afraid of snakes.'
- f. *oeddwn i 'n disgwyl [i dy dad fod efo ofn nadroedd].*
 be.IMPF.1SG I PROG expect to 2SG father be with fear snakes
 'I expected your father to be afraid of snakes.'
- g. *oeddwn i 'n disgwyl [i dy dad fod ofn nadroedd].*
 be.IMPF.1SG I PROG expect to 2SG father be fear snakes
 'I expected your father to be afraid of snakes.'

- h. *oeddwn i 'n disgwyl [i Siôn fod {yn / wedi} gweithio].*
 be.IMPF.1SG I PROG expect for Siôn be PROG PROG work
 ‘I expected Siôn to {be working / have worked}.’
- i. *oeddwn i 'n disgwyl [i Siôn fod ar fin gadael].*
 be.IMPF.1SG I PROG expect for Siôn be on edge leave
 ‘I expected Siôn to be about to leave.’
- j. *oeddwn i 'n disgwyl [i ddeg punt fod ar Siôn i Mair].*
 be.IMPF.1SG I PROG expect for ten pound be on Siôn to Mair
 = ‘I expected Siôn to owe ten pound to Mair.’
- k. *dw i 'n disgwyl [i 'r llun fod yn syth gan Siôn].*
 be.PRES.1SG I PROG expect for the picture be PRED straight with Siôn
 ‘I expect Siôn to have the picture straight.’

Borsley, Tallerman, and Willis (2007: 81–103) argue that the *i* in *i*-clauses occupies T and they label it as inflectional *i* (as opposed to complementizer *i* in subjectless *i*-infinitive clauses, as discussed in chapter 8). We can represent this analysis of *i*-clauses as in (12), which is based on the *i*-clause in (11a).



The configuration in (12), which is based on example (11a), shows that the basic copular phrase, PredP, merges with the copula to form a VP. The latter merges with TP, which merges with CP. Inflectional *i* is generated in T, but, like verbs in Welsh, is moved to C. The subject in the basic copular phrase is moved to Spec TP.

2 *I*-infinitive clauses

We have seen in section 1.3 of chapter 8 that *i*-infinitivals can occur as the basic phrase in a copular clause, in examples like *mae Siôn i aros yma* ‘Siôn is to stay here’ and *mae Gwyn i fod yn yr ardd* ‘Gwyn is supposed to be in the garden’. The configurations of an *i*-infinitival are given in (32) and (53) in chapter 8. These configurations produce basic copular phrases like *i Siôn aros yma* and *i fod Gwyn yn yr ardd*. There are two points to note about these phrases. First, they have an overt complementizer, *i*. Second, overt lexical material fills the subject position in these configurations, which is only removed by a trace when they make the mergers to form finite copular clauses, as shown in chapter 8.

Subject-predicate clauses *I*-infinitivals cannot occur in subject-predicate clauses, that is, absolute clauses and small clauses.

- 13 a. **mae* *Gwenan yn mynd ac i Mair aros yma.*
 be.PRES.3SG Gwenan PROG stay and Mair stay here
 = ‘Gwenan is going and to Mair stay here.’
- b. **mae* *pawb yn gweithio ’n galed ac i fod Gwyn yn yr ardd.*
 be.PRES.3SG everyone PROG work PROG hard and to be Gwyn in the garden
 = ‘everyone is working hard and to be Gwyn in the garden.’
- c. **mae* *Gwenan yn cofio i Rhian aros yma.*
 be.PRES.3SG Gwenan PROG remember to Rhian stay here
 = ‘Gwenan remembers to Rhian stay here.’
- d. **dw* *i ’n licio i fod Gwyn yn yr ardd.*
 be.PRES.1SG I PROG like to be Gwyn in the garden
 = ‘I like to be Gwyn in the garden.’

The syntax of *i*-infinitivals exceeds the basic subject-predicate syntax of absolute clauses and small clauses.

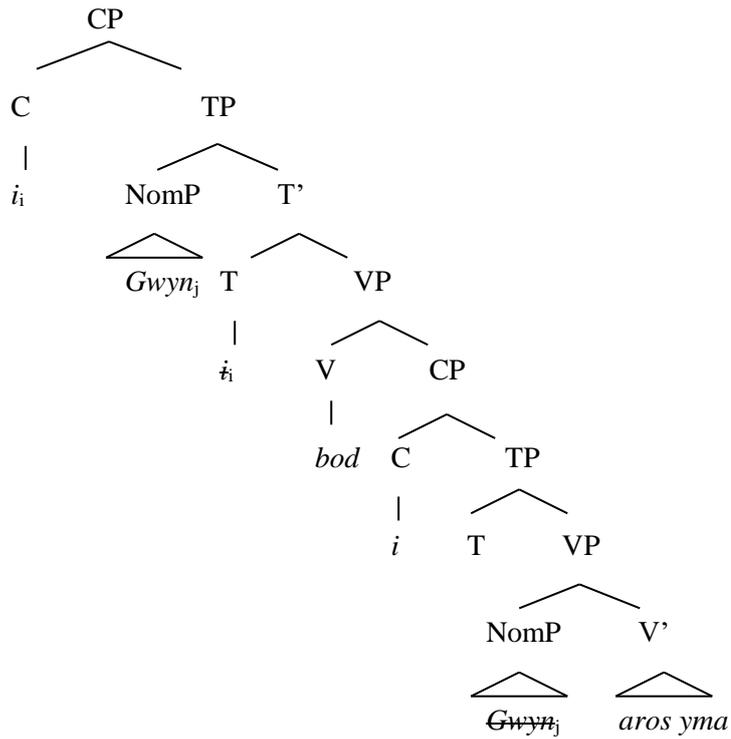
Subjectless infinitive clauses. Matters can seem to be confusing in respect of subjectless infinitive clauses as we are asking whether a configuration which underlies a subjectless infinitive clause can occur in a subjectless infinitive clause. But the question should be framed more specifically. We are asking whether phrases like *i Siôn aros yma* and *i fod Gwyn yn yr ardd* can occur — phrases which contain an overt complementizer and an overt subject — can occur in a subjectless infinitive clause. The examples in (14–15) show that they cannot occur as the complement of a control or raising lexeme.

- 14 a. **oedd* *Siôn yn gobeithio* [*i Gwyn aros yma*].
 be.IMPF.3SG Siôn PROG expect to Gwyn stay here
 = ‘Siôn hoped for Gwyn to stay here.’
- b. **oedd* *pawb wedi perswadio Siôn* [*i Gwyn fod yn yr ardd*].
 be.IMPF.3SG everyone PERF persuade Siôn to Gwyn be in the garden
 = ‘everyone had persuaded Siôn for Gwyn to be in the garden.’
- 15 a. **mae* *Gwyn yn digwydd* [*i aros yma*].
 be.PRES.3SG Gwyn PROG happen to stay here
 = ‘Gwyn happens to stay here.’
- b. **mae* *Gwyn yn digwydd* [*i fod yn yr ardd*].
 be.PRES.3SG Gwyn PROG happen to be in the garden
 = ‘Gwyn happens to be to be in the garden.’
- c. **oedd* *y ci yn digwydd* [*i 'w weld yn y nos*].
 be.IMPF.3SG the dog PROG happen to 3SG.M see in the night
 = ‘the dog happened to be seen in the night.’

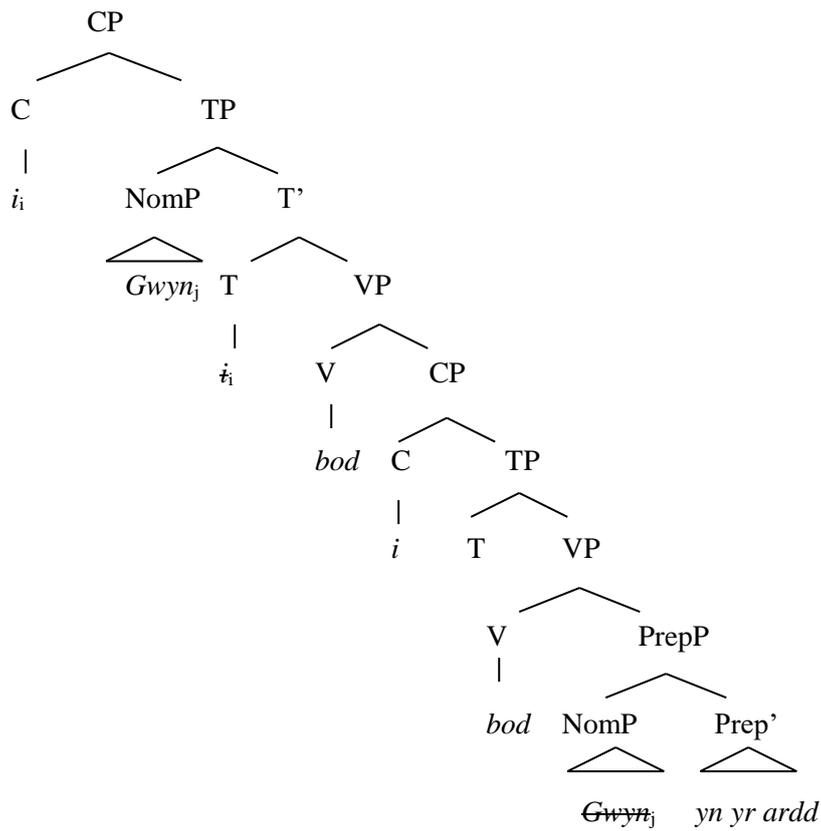
In the case of the subject control predicate in (14a), the *i* complementizer and an overt subject make the example unacceptable. An *i* complementizer occurs in an object control predicate, but an overt subject makes example (14b) ill-formed. A raising structure allows the subject in the infinitival to be raised to the subject position of the matrix clause. But the result is still ungrammatical as the examples in (15) show.

***I*-clauses.** To produce an *i*-clause, an *i*-infinitival must first merge with the copula to generate a VP. The VP has then to merge with TP, which merges with CP, to produce an *i*-clause, as in (16).

16 a.



b.



The examples in (17) show that these configurations do not produce well-formed *i*-clauses.

- 17 a. **oeddwn i 'n disgwyl [i Gwyn fod i aros yma]*.
 be.IMPF.1SG I PROG expect to Gwyn be to stay here
 = ‘I expected for Gwyn to be to stay here.’
- b. **oeddwn i eisiau [i Gwyn fod i fod yn yr ardd]*.
 be.IMPF.1SG I want to Gwyn be to be in the garden
 = ‘I wanted for Gwyn be to be in the garden.’

The ungrammaticality is caused by the occurrence of complementizer *i* in the infinitival and by the occurrence of a copula within the infinitival.

3 Not normal word order

The main copular clauses which are not based on normal word-order are:

- verb-second clauses
 - identificatory clauses (chapter 3),
 - *piau* clauses (chapter 7)
- verb-first clauses which can invert the subject and the predicate
 - locational possessives (in which the subject is the possession) (chapter 5),
 - locational states (in which the subject is the state) (chapter 6),
 - debt (chapter 9)
- dispositional copulars (chapter 9)

3.1 Verb-second clauses: identificatory clauses and *piau* clauses

Identificatory clauses and *piau* clauses compulsorily have focus on one of the phrases in their basic phrases. The focussed phrases must be raised to Spec CP and as a result identificatory phrases and *piau* phrases only occur in finite clauses which have fronted order. This restricted distribution may seem to make them very irregular. But they are fronted clauses and their distribution is the same as other fronted clauses, and the restrictions can be explained by their fronted syntax. The translations show that some equivalent English examples are acceptable and some Welsh speakers may be influenced by language contact to model Welsh copulars on English copulars.

Subject-predicate clauses. The examples in (18–19) show that identificatory clauses and *piau* clauses cannot occur as subject-predicate clauses, that is, absolute clauses and small clauses.

- 18 a. *oedd Caradog yn cwffio ar y trên a *(fynte y prif gonstwbl).*
 be.IMPF.3SG Caradog PROG fight on the train a he the chief constable
 ‘Caradog was fighting on the train and him the chief constable.’
- b. **oedd pawb yn ystyried Dr Beryl y doctor gorau.*
 be.IMPF.3SG everyone PROG considers Dr Beryl the doctor best
 ‘everyone considered Dr Beryl the best doctor.’
- 19 a. *oedd dad eisiau car gwell a *(fo piau y BM/W).*
 be.IMPF.3SG dad want car better and he own the BMW
 ‘dad wanted a better car and him owning the BMW.’
- b. **oedd pawb yn cofio fi bia y Volvo coch.*
 be.IMPF.3SG everyone PROG remember I own the Volvo red
 ‘everyone remembered I own the red Volvo.’

We have seen that the basic copular phrase in most copular clauses can be retained to form an absolute clause or a small clause. The essential point about verb-second clauses is that the basic copular phrase contains a focus feature, either on the subject or on the complement. This requires that the focussed phrase is raised to Spec CP and this can only be achieved if the basic copular phrases undergo successive mergers to form finite clauses. Consequently, the basic phrase cannot be retained to form an absolute clause or a small clause.

Subjectless infinitive clauses. The analysis in (5) shows that subjectless infinitivals have a CP and they therefore have the potential to front a focussed phrase to Spec CP. But the examples in (20–21) show that identificatory clauses and *piau* clauses do not occur as subjectless infinitivals in control predicates or in raising predicates.

- 20 a. **oedd Sioned yn gobeithio bod y pennaeth newydd.*
 be.IMPF.3SG everyone PROG hope be the head new
 ‘Sioned hoped to be the new head.’
- b. **oedd Gwyn wedi perswadio Sioned i fod y pennaeth newydd.*
 be.IMPF.3SG Gwyn PERF persuade Sioned to be the head new
 ‘Gwyn had persuaded Sioned to be the new head.’
- c. **mae Sioned yn digwydd bod y pennaeth newydd.*
 be.PRES.3SG Sioned PROG happen be the head new
 ‘the Sioned happens to be the new head.’
- 21 a. **oeddwn i yn gobeithio bod bia ’r Volvo coch.*
 be.IMPF.1SG I PROG hope be own the Volvo red
 ‘I hoped to own the red Volvo / the red Volvo to be mine.’

- b. **oeddwn i wedi perswadio Siân i fod biau 'r Volvo coch.*
 be.IMPF.1SG I PERF persuade Siân to be own the Volvo red
 ‘I had persuaded Siân to own the red Volvo.’
- c. **mae Sioned yn digwydd bod biau 'r Volvo coch .*
 be.PRES.3SG Sioned PROG happen be own the Volvo red
 ‘Sioned happens to own the red Volvo / Sioned’s happens to be the red Volvo.’

However, the examples in (22–24) show that fronting does not occur in infinitivals generally and the restriction is therefore not limited to copular infinitive clauses.

- 22 a. *dw i 'n gobeithio ennill y gêm.*
 be.PRES.1SG I PROG hope win the game
 ‘I hope to win the game.’
- b. **dw i 'n gobeithio y gêm ei ennill —.*
 be.PRES.1SG I PROG hope the game 3SG.M win —
 = ‘I hope the game to win.’
- 23 a. *dw i wedi perswadio Gwilym i brynu car newydd.*
 be.PRES.1SG I PERF persuade Gwilym to buy car new
 ‘I have persuaded Gwilym to buy a new car.’
- b. **dw i wedi perswadio Gwilym car newydd i 'w brynu —.*
 be.PRES.1SG I PERF persuade Gwilym car new to 3SG.M buy —
 = ‘I have persuaded Gwilym a new car to buy.’
- 24 a. *mae Siân yn digwydd deall Sbaeneg.*
 be.PRES.1SG Siân PROG happen understand Spanish
 ‘Mair happens to understand Spanish.’
- b. **mae Siân yn digwydd Sbaeneg ei deall.*
 be.PRES.1SG Siân PROG happen understand 3SG.M Spanish
 = ‘Mair happens Spanish to understand.’

It is not clear what causes this restriction, but whatever it is, it applies to all control and raising predicates and not just those containing identificatory phrases and *piau* phrases.

***I*-clauses.** The examples in (25–26) show that identificatory clauses and *piau* clauses cannot occur in *i*-clauses.

- 25 a. **oedd pawb yn disgwyl i Dr Beryl fod y doctor gorau.*
 be.IMPF.3SG everyone PROG expect for Dr Beryl be the doctor best
 ‘everyone expected Dr Beryl to be the best doctor.’

- b. **oedd pawb yn disgwyl mai Dr Beryl i fod y doctor gorau.*
 be.IMPF.3SG everyone PROG expect PT Dr Beryl for be the doctor best
 ‘everyone expected it is Dr Beryl to be the best doctor.’
- 26 a. **oedd pawb yn disgwyl i Sioned fod bia ’r Volvo coch.*
 be.IMPF.3SG everyone PROG expect for Sioned be own the Volvo red
 ‘everyone expected Sioned to own the red Volvo.’
- b. **oedd pawb yn disgwyl mai Sioned i fod bia ’r Volvo coch.*
 be.IMPF.3SG everyone PROG expect PT Sioned for be own the Volvo red
 ‘everyone expected Sioned to own the red Volvo / Sioned’s to be the red Volvo.’

The (a) examples in (25–26) show normal order examples and those in the (b) examples show fronted order — the particle *mai* can occur before a fronted phrase. Both are unacceptable. The constraint on the normal order examples is explained by the fact that identificatory clauses and *piau* clauses are obligatorily fronted clauses. But the analysis in (12) shows that *i*-clauses are CPs and they therefore have the potential to develop Spec CP to receive a focussed phrase. Significantly, however, all *i*-clauses, including verbal ones as well as copular ones, only allow normal word-order and do not allow fronting, as the examples of verbal clauses in (27a–b) show.

- 27 a. *dw i ’n disgwyl i Mair weld Siôn.*
 be.PRES.1SG I PROG expect for Mair see Siôn
 ‘I expect Mair to see Siôn.’
- b. **dw i ’n disgwyl mai Mair i weld Siôn.*
 be.PRES.1SG I PROG expect PT Siôn for see Siôn
 = ‘I expect it is Mair to see Siôn.’
- c. **dw i ’n disgwyl mai Siôn i Mair ei weld.*
 be.PRES.1SG I PROG expect PT siôn for Mair 3SG.M see
 = ‘I expect it is Siôn Mair to see.’

It is not clear what causes this restriction. But, however caused, identificatory clauses and *piau* clauses are like other fronted-order clauses in that they cannot occur in *i*-clauses.

3.2 Verb-first clauses which invert the subject and the predicate

Verb-first clauses which invert the subject and predicate are possessives, states, and debt. The defining characteristic of inverted clauses is that the subject remains *in situ* in Spec PrepP and Prep’ is raised to Spec TP. This is shown in (25) for possessives in chapter 5. Raising to Spec TP means that apparent

inversion only takes place in a finite clause. A generalization can be achieved if this can be made responsible for any constraints in other clauses.

Subject-predicate clauses. Inverted patterns can occur in absolute clauses.

- 28 a. *ddyddodd Siôn fod Mair yn dlawd a [ganddi hi Audi].*
 say.PERV.3SG Siôn be Mair PRED poor and with.3SG.F she Audi
 ‘Siôn said that Mair is poor and her having an Audi.’
- b. *ddisgwylodd Mair i Siôn weithio ac [arno fo annwyd].*
 expect.PERV.3SG Mair to Siôn work and on.3SG.M he cold
 ‘Mair expected Siôn to work and him having a cold.’
- c. *wariodd Sioned ei arian i gyd ac [arni hi bum punt i Siôn].*
 spend.PERV.3SG Sioned 3SG.F money all and on.3SG.F she five pound to Siôn
 ‘Sioned spent all her money and her owing five pounds to Siôn.’

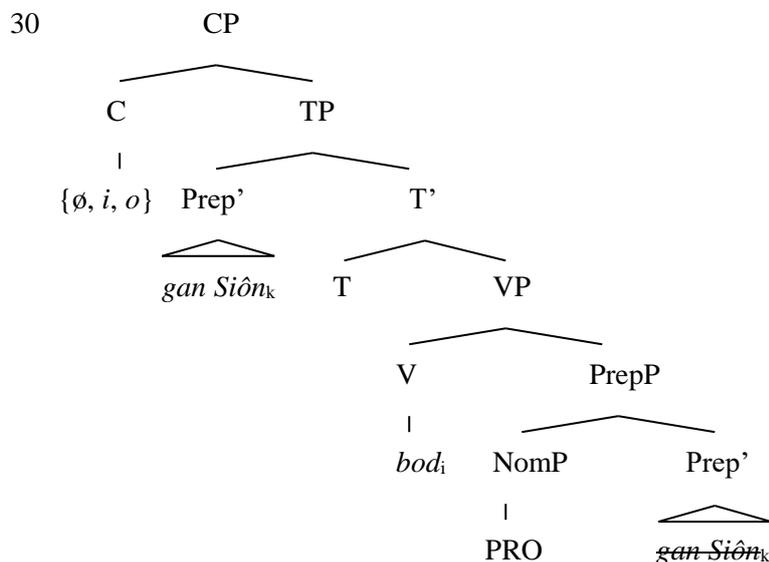
But they do not occur in small clauses.

- 29 a. **dw i 'n cofio [gan dy dad hen Fordyn].*
 be.PRES.1SG I PROG remember with 2SG father old Ford
 ‘I remember your father with an old Ford.’
- b. **dw i 'n cofio [ar dy dad ofn nadroedd].*
 be.PRES.1SG I PROG remember on 2SG father fear snakes
 ‘I remember your father afraid of snakes.’
- c. **dw i 'n cofio [ar Siôn arian i Mair].*
 be.PRES.3SG I PROG remember on Siôn money to Mair
 ‘I remember Siôn owing money to Mair.’

We can account for the restriction on small clauses by arguing they do not have sufficient syntax for raising of Prep’ to occur. As shown in (3), small clauses have minimal syntax and there is no Spec TP to receive a raised phrase. However, absolute clauses have minimal syntax, but inversion occurs as shown in (28). We could account for inverted order in absolute clauses by claiming that they are derived from full clauses by deleting constituents, for instance, ~~*mae gan dy dad hen Fordyn*~~. This offers an explanation for the difference between small clauses and absolute clauses, but it also means that absolute clauses are not now derived from a basic copular phrase, PrepP[[NomP[*Hen Fordyn*] Prep’[*gan dy dad*]]] but from a full clause. We shall leave this matter for future research.

Subjectless infinitive clauses. The semantic and pragmatic factors which prevent possessive copulars, state copulars, and debt copulars from occurring in subjectless infinitivals (illustrated in (8) and (9))

also apply to their inverted versions. Additionally, inversion in control structures produces ungrammatical syntax in the infinitival. The configuration in (30) shows what would happen in a possessive copular.



The resulting examples are unacceptable semantically, pragmatically, and syntactically.

- 31 a. **mae car yn disgwyl [gan Siôn bod PRO].*
 be.PRES.1SG car PROG expect with Siôn be
 ‘????.’
- b. **mae ofn nadroedd ’n disgwyl [ar dy dad bod PRO].*
 be.PRES.3SG fear snakes PROG expect on 2SG father be
 ‘????.’
- c. **mae deg punt ’n disgwyl [ar Siôn bod PRO i Mair].*
 be.PRES.3SG ten pound PROG expect on Siôn be to Mair
 ‘????.’
- 32 a. **mae Gwen wedi perswadio hen Fordyn [i gan dy dad fod PRO].*
 be.PRES.1SG Gwen PERF persuade old Ford to with 2SG father be
 ‘Gwen has persuaded an old Ford to be had by your father.’
- b. **mae Owain wedi perswadio ofn nadroedd [i ar dy dad fod PRO].*
 be.PRES.3SG Owain PERF persuade fear snakes to on 2SG father be
 ‘Gwyn has persuaded fear of snakes to be on your father.’
- c. **maen nhw ’n perswadio arian [i ar Siôn fod PRO i Mair].*
 be.PRES.3PL they PROG persuade money to on Siôn be to Mair
 ‘they are persuading money to be owed by Siôn to Mair.’

The semantic and pragmatic problems do not apply to raising structures. But if inversion were to apply, the prepositional phrase would be in the subject position of the infinitival and would be raised into the subject position of the matrix clause.

- 33 a. **mae gan dy dad yn digwydd* [— *bod hen Fordyn*].
 be.PRES.1SG with 2SG father PROG happen be old Ford
 ‘????.’
- b. **mae ar dy dad yn digwydd* [— *bod ofn nadroedd*].
 be.PRES.3SG on 2SG father PROG happen be fear snakes
 ‘????.’
- c. **mae ar Siôn 'n digwydd* [— *bod deg punt i Mair*].
 be.PRES.3SG on Siôn PROG happen be ten pound to Mair
 ‘????.’

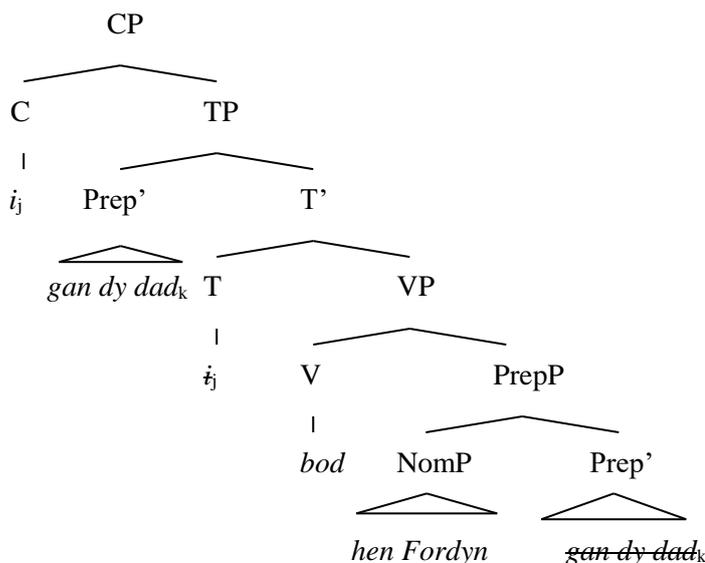
We can speculate that there may be a constraint which says that the Spec TP of the infinitival can only be occupied by the subject and not the predicate, producing acceptable examples like those in (10d, c, j).

I-clauses. Inverted patterns do not occur in *i*-clauses

- 34 a. **dw i 'n disgwyl* [*i gan dy dad fod hen Fordyn*].
 be.PRES.1SG I PROG expect for with 2SG father be old Ford
 ‘I expect your father to have an old Ford.’
- b. **dw i 'n disgwyl* [*i ar dy dad fod ofn nadroedd*].
 be.PRES.1SG I PROG expect to on 2SG father be fear snakes
 ‘I expect your father to be afraid of snakes.’
- c. **dw i 'n disgwyl* [*i ar Siôn fod arian i Mair*].
 be.PRES.3SG I PROG expect to on Siôn be money to Mair
 ‘I expect Siôn to owe money to Mair.’

We analyse *i*-clauses as CPs which have *i* in C (from T). The general configuration for a non-inverted *i*-clause is given in (12). In this configuration, the subject in PrepP is able to rise to Spec TP and the result is the grammatical *i*-clause in (11c) ... *i hen Fordyn fod gan dy dad*. The configuration for an ungrammatical example such as (34a) is shown by the configuration in (35).

35



We see that an intervening *bod* occurs and we have speculated in section 3.3 of chapter 5 that this may prevent the raising of Prep' to Spec TP.

3.3 Dispositional clauses

The configuration of dispositional clauses is shown in (25) in chapter 9. Extraposition must occur in dispositional copulars such that the specifier in the phrase which is the specifier of the basic copular clause is moved to a right-most position in the clause.

Subject-predicate clauses. Dispositional clauses are questionable in absolute clauses and ungrammatical in small clauses, as the examples in (36a–b) show.

- 36 a. ?? *oedd Siôn wedi cynnig orennau i Mair ac [yn gas ganddi nhw].*
 be.PRES.3SG Siôn PERF offer oranges to Mair and PRED nasty with.3SG.F they
 'Siôn had offered oranges to Mair and her hating them.'
- b. **dw i 'n cofio [yn gas gan Mair orennau].*
 be.PRES.1SG I PROG remember PRED nasty with Mair oranges
 'I remember Mair hating oranges.'

It is difficult to explain the ungrammaticality of these examples. We could claim that subject-predicate clauses are typically normal-order clauses (inversion can occur as the examples in (28) show). The obligatory extraposition of the subject in dispositionals then makes them unacceptable in absolute clauses (questionably) and small clauses.

Subjectless infinitive clauses. The examples in (37a–b) show that dispositional copulars do not occur in control predicates.

- 37 a. **mae orennau 'n disgwyl* [PRO *bod yn gas gan Mair*].
 be.PRES.3SG oranges PROG expect be PRED nasty with Mair
 ‘oranges expect to be hated by Mair.’
- b. **mae Dafydd wedi perswadio orennau* [*i* PRO *fod yn gas gan Mair*].
 be.PRES.3SG Dafydd PERF persuade oranges to be PRED nasty with Mair
 ‘Dafydd has persuaded oranges to be hated by Mair.’

Semantic and pragmatic factors are at work here as the sorts of entities which occur as the subjects or objects of the matrix clauses cannot accept the thematic rules which are assigned to by the verbs. Further, extraposition is compulsory in dispositional copular phrase and this prevents the formation of a normal order subjectless infinitival.

The example in (38) shows that dispositional copulars cannot occur in raising predicates.

- 38 a. **mae orennau 'n digwydd* [~~*orennau*~~ *bod yn gas gan Mair*].
 be.PRES.3SG oranges PROG happen oranges be PRED nasty with Mair
 = ‘oranges happen to be hated by Mair.’
- b. **mae credu 'n digwydd* [~~*erredu*~~ *bod yn anodd gan Siôn*].
 be.PRES.3SG believe PROG happen believe be PRED difficult with Siôn
 = ‘believe happens to be difficult by Siôn.’

We can say that extraposition has priority over raising, which prevents dispositionals from occurring in raising predicates. But the subject in a dispositional copula can be fronted, as shown in (5c) in chapter 11.

I-clauses. The example in (39) shows that dispositional clauses do not occur in *i*-clauses.

- 39 **dw i 'n disgwyl* [*iddi hi fod yn gas gan Mair orennau*].
 be.PRES.1SG I PROG expect to.3SG.F it be PRED nasty with Mair oranges
 ‘I expect Mair to hate oranges.’

It is difficult to explain why examples like (39) are unacceptable. Expletives and extraposition can occur in examples like *o'n i'n disgwyl iddi hi fod yn braf* ‘I expected it to be nice’ and *o'n i'n disgwyl iddi hi fod yn anodd gwerthu'r tŷ* ‘I expected it to be difficult to sell the house’. The constraint must be connected to extraposition in *i*-clauses.

4 Summary

Table 9 summarises the distribution of copulars in different types of clauses.

Table 9. The distribution of copulars in different types of clauses

	Finite	Absolute	Small cl.	Sub. cont.	Ob. cont.	Raising	I-clause
Ascriptives	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Prepositional (regular)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
With-possessive	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
With-state	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Nominal state	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
VP progressive	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
perfect	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
prepositional expression	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Locational possessive, non-inverted	✓	✓	✓	✗	✗	✓	✓
Locational state, non-inverted	✓	✓	✓	✗	✗	✓	✓
Debt	✓	✓	✓	✗	✗	✓	✓
Agentive	✓	✓	✓	✗	✗	✓	✓
Progressive and XP	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Dispositional	✓	??	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗
Identificatory	✓	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗
<i>Piau</i>	✓	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗
Inverted verb-first clauses	✓	✓	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗
VP <i>i</i> -infinitive	✓	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗
Subject-to-complement	✓	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗

The demarcation in this table shows that there are two groups whose distributions are different. First, there is a large group of copular patterns most of which can occur in all types of clauses. We place in this group copular patterns which do not occur in control structures because of semantic and / or pragmatic reasons but which otherwise are widely distributed. Second, there is a smaller group of copular patterns most of which are confined to finite clauses (dispositional copulars and inverted clauses are slightly different but are placed in this group as their distribution is overwhelmingly confined to finite clauses). Dispositionals, identificatory copulars, *piau* copulars, and inverted copulars do not have normal word order, and it can be claimed that only finite clauses can accommodate their different word orders. Word order does not explain the constraints on VP copulars which contain *i*-infinitivals. They

have normal word-order, but their syntax is distinctive in that they have a CP as their basic phrase. It is not clear how this accounts for the constraints, if at all.

Chapter 11 Fronting

The outline of fronting which is given in this chapter is confined to the description of copular clauses.

As outlined in chapter 1, fronting is caused by the assignment of focus to a phrase in a clause. The focussed phrase is moved from its canonical position in normal word-order, which is verb-first order, to a clause-initial position, which produces verb-second order. Clause-initial position gives the phrase the prominence of first-mention, with or without contrast. The majority of clauses can optionally have normal order or fronted order. But identificatory clauses and *piau* clauses obligatorily have fronted order, as outlined in chapters 3 and 7 respectively.

In copular clauses, fronting centres on the constituents of a phrase which has a subject-predicate structure. Fronting can then move either the subject, the predicate (head and complement), or the complement. The subject-predicate structure is the bottom-most phrase in the configuration of a copular clause. In many copular clauses, the basic copular phrase provides a subject-predicate relationship and the phrases which can be fronted are located in the specifier, the bar-phrase, and the complement. But in VP copulars, the basic copular phrase has no specifier, and is made up of a head and a VP complement. In the case of VPs which are headed by a lexical verb, the subject-predicate structure is in the VP, as shown by the configurations in (29), (27a), and (32) in chapter 8. In the case of VPs which are headed by the copula, the subject-predicate structure is another basic copular phrase, such as PrepP, as shown by (53) in chapter 8.

The standard account of fronting moves the focussed phrase from these positions in the subject-predicate configuration to Spec CP. We shall see, however, that the possibilities of fronting in some copular clauses do not always follow this general outline.

1 Fronting the subject

Fronting the subject raises the phrase which is in a subject position in the basic copular phrase to Spec CP. Ignoring identificatory clauses and *piau* clauses at this point, all copular clauses can front a subject.

- 1 a. *Siôn oedd yn athro ffiseg.*
Siôn be.IMPF.3SG PRED teacher physics
'it was Siôn who was a physics teacher.'

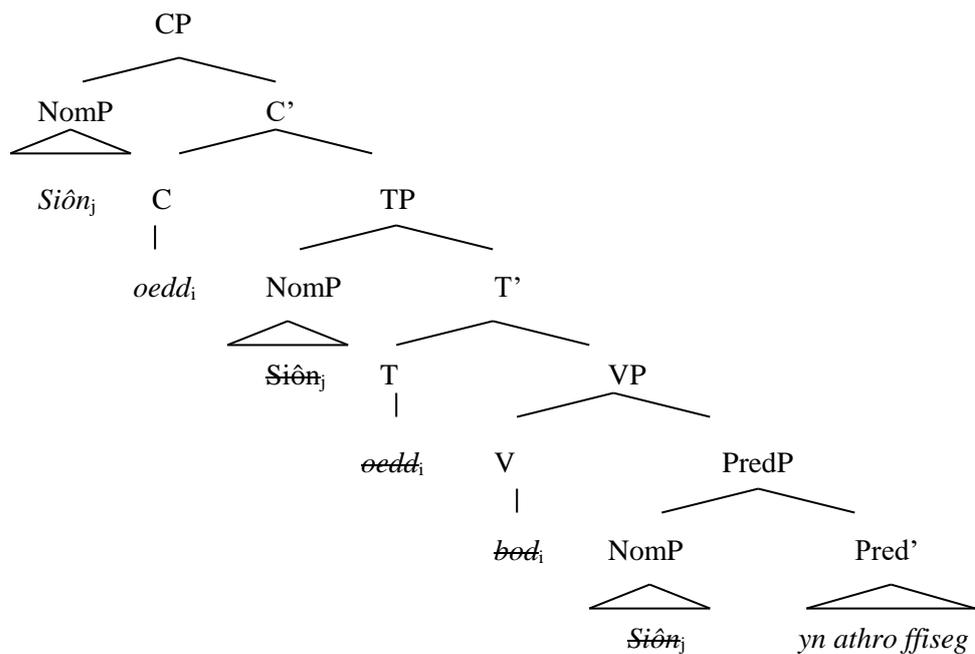
- b. *fi oedd ar y bont.*
 I be.IMPF.3SG on the bridge
 ‘it was me who was on the bridge.’
- c. *Volvo oedd gan / gyda Siân.*
 Volvo be.IMPF.3SG with Siân
 ‘it was a Volvo that Siân had.’
- d. *Siân oedd gan / gyda / efo 'r Volvo.*
 Siân be.IMPF.3SG with the Volvo
 ‘it was Siân who had the Volvo.’
- e. *annwyd oedd ar Megan.*
 cold be.IMPF.3SG on Megan
 ‘it was a cold that Megan had.’
- f. *Megan oedd eisiau diod.*
 Megan be.IMPF.3SG want drink
 ‘it was Megan who was thirsty.’
- g. *fi oedd yn torri 'r coed.*
 I be.IMPF.3SG PROG cut the wood
 ‘it was me who was cutting the wood.’
- h. *Siôn oedd wedi golchi 'r llestri.*
 Siôn be.IMPF.3SG PERF wash the dishes
 ‘it was Siôn who had washed the dishes.’
- i. *y dynion oedd ar fin gadael y cyfarfod.*
 the men be.IMPF.3SG on edge leave the meeting
 ‘it was the men who were about to leave the meeting.’
- j. *Siôn oedd i aros yma.*
 Siôn be.IMPF.3SG to stay here
 ‘it was Siôn who was to stay here.’
- k. *Marc oedd i fod i gloi 'r drysau.*
 Marc be.IMPF.3SG to be to lock the doors
 ‘it was marc who was supposed to lock the doors.’
- l. *Siôn oedd i ('w) weld yn hapus.*
 Siôn be.IMPF.3SG to 3SG see PRED happy
 ‘it was Siôn who was seen to be happy.’

In the formal style of Welsh, the particle *a* occurs before the finite verb in clauses which have a fronted subject, such as *Siôn a oedd yn athro ffiseg* ‘it was Siôn who was a physics teacher’, except in the case

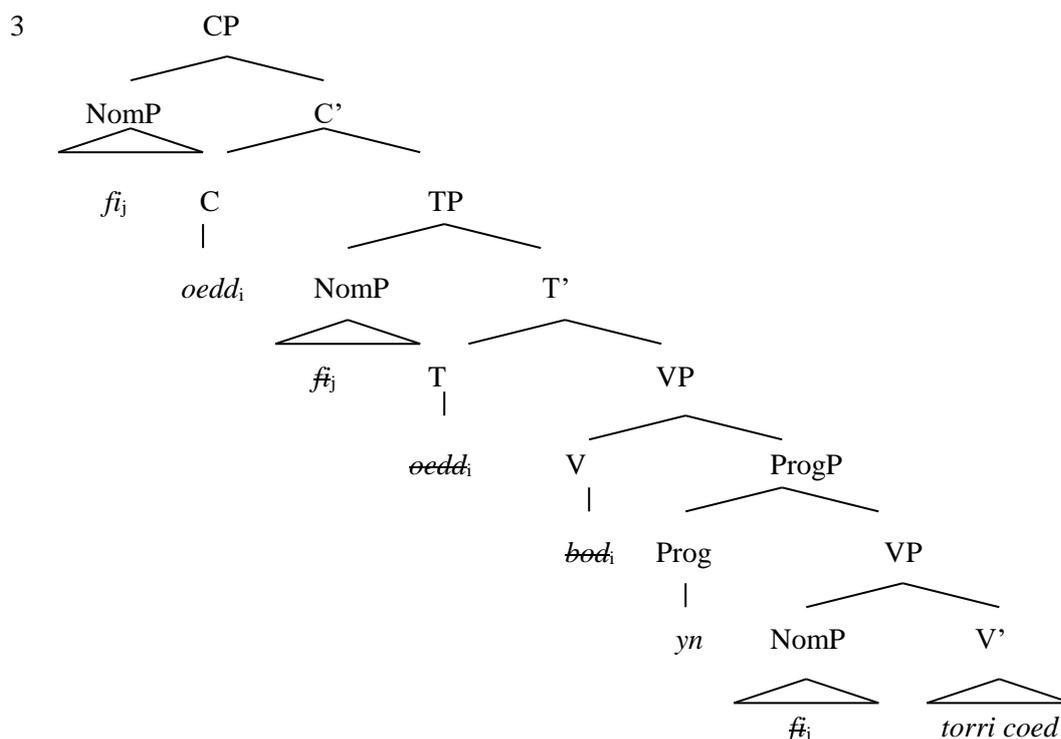
of the present tense of the copula where *sydd* occurs (as discussed in chapter 13). The particle is commonly omitted in informal Welsh.

Although all the subjects are moved to Spec CP, they do not all originate in the same position. The majority are generated in the specifier of the basic phrase and are moved to Spec CP via Spec TP (ignoring the details of cyclical movement). The example of the ascriptive copular in example (1a) illustrates this.

2



VP copulars are different. The subject is in Spec VP and not the specifier of the basic copular phrase. It is moved from Spec VP to Spec CP. The analysis of example (1g), which contains progressive aspect, illustrates this (ignoring the details of cyclical movement).



However, subject-to-complement VP copulars are different. The configuration in (36) in chapter 8 shows that the subject originates in the small clause which is the complement in the VP and not in the specifier of the VP (which is empty). This subject is raised to Spec TP. The agreement projection in (36) of chapter 8 also suggests that there are grounds for viewing this phrase as the complement of the VP as well as a subject in the small clause. In these terms, a complement is raised to Spec TP.

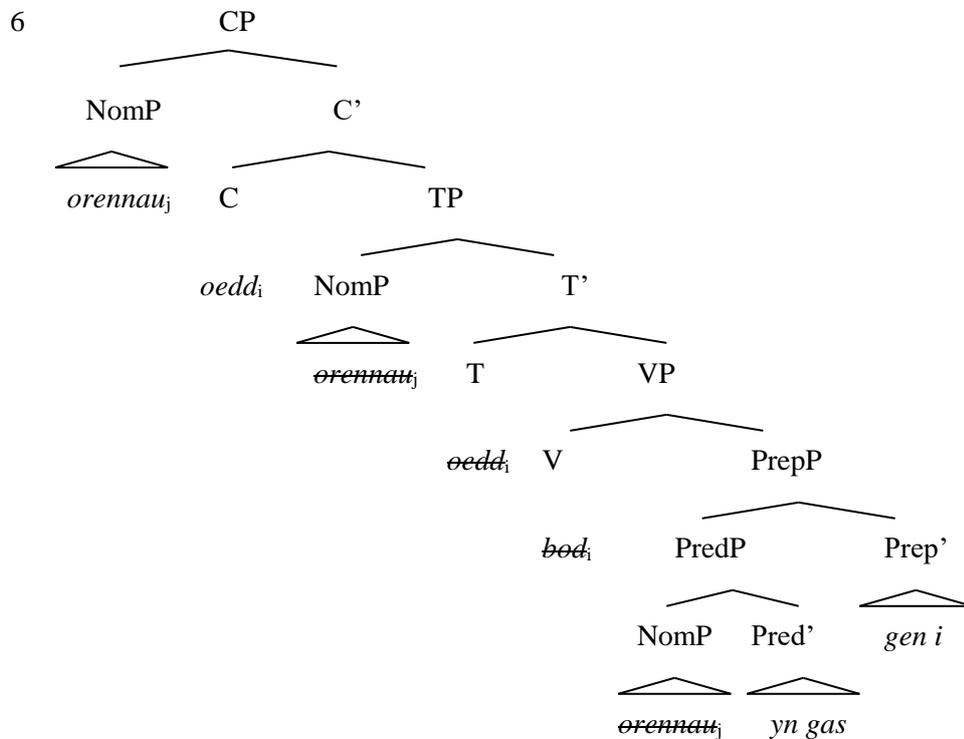
Debt copulars, agentive copulars, and dispositional copulars are also different (see chapter 9). The phrase in the specifier of the basic phrase is not fronted.

- 4 a. **deg punt ar Siôn oedd i Mair.*
 ten pound on Siôn be.IMPF.3SG to Mair
 'it was ten pounds that Siôn owed to Mair.'
- b. **y llun yn gam oedd gen i.*
 the picture PRED crooked be.IMPF.3SG with I
 'it was the picture that I had crooked.'
- c. **orennau yn gas oedd gen i.*
 oranges PRED nasty be.IMPF.3SG with I
 'it was oranges that I hated.'

It is the subject of the phrase which is in the specifier of the basic phrase which is fronted.

- 5 a. *deg punt oedd ar Siôn i Mair.*
 ten pound be.IMPF.3SG on Sion to Mair
 ‘it was Ten pounds that Siôn owed Mair.’
- b. *y llun oedd yn gam gen i.*
 the picture be.IMPF.3SG PRED crooked with I
 ‘it was the picture that I had crooked.’
- c. *orenau oedd yn gas gen i.*
 oranges be.IMPF.3SG PRED nasty with I
 ‘it was oranges that I hated.’

The syntax of these clauses is given in (6), which is based on the example in (5c).



It is interesting to note that the subject cannot be raised in dispositionals to form a normal-order clause but it can be fronted, which involves moving cyclically through Spec TP.

If the adjunct analysis (see chapter 9) is adopted, then the subject originates in the specifier of the basic phrase in the standard way (which is illustrated in (2)).

Identificatory clauses and *piau* clauses are not straightforward. The copular form *sydd* does not occur in identificatory clauses and on that basis the subject is not fronted. But we argue in chapter 3 that the subject in identificatory clauses is fronted without passing through Spec TP so there is no trace there to

trigger the occurrence of *sydd*. In *piau* clauses, the form *sydd* occurs whichever phrase is fronted, as discussed in chapter 7.

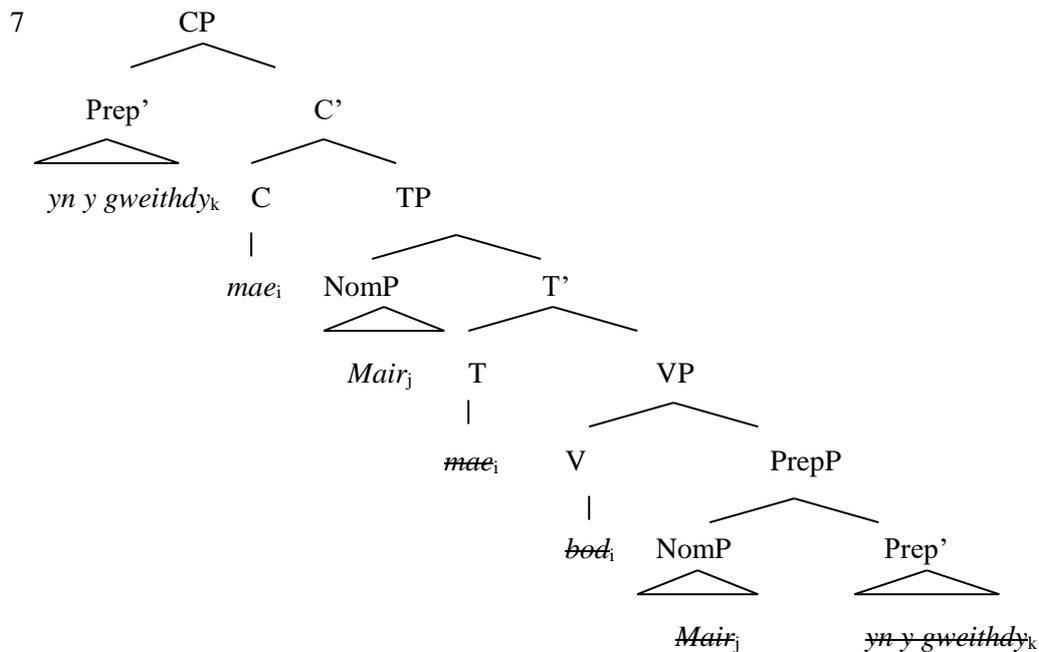
In summary, for the majority of copular clauses, fronting the subject is regular: it originates in the specifier of the basic phrase and moves cyclically via Spec TP to Spec CP. Some copular clauses are different only in that the subject is generated in a different starting point. Identificatory clauses are also different.

2 Fronting the predicate

The discussion of fronting the predicate is complicated by the fact that basic phrases of copular clauses are configured differently. But there are grounds for claiming a generalization that only prepositional phrases allow fronting the predicate.

2.1 Prepositional predicates

Prepositional predicates occur in regular prepositional copulars, possessive copulars, state copulars, debt copulars, agentive copulars, and dispositional copulars. Fronting the predicate involves fronting the prepositional phrase, that is, Prep'. The syntax of predicate fronting is given in (7), which is based on the example in (8a).



The examples in (8) support the generalization that prepositional predicates license fronting the predicate (some of the English translations do not strictly correspond with fronting the Welsh predicate).

- 8 a. *yn y gweithdy mae Mair.*
 in the workshop be.PRES.3SG Mair
 ‘in the workshop is Mair.’
- b. *gan Mair mae goriad.*
 with Mair be.PRES.3SG key
 ‘it’s Mair who has a key.’
- c. *efo ’r goriad mae Mair.*
 with the key be.PRES.3SG Mair
 ‘it’s the key that Mair has got.’
- d. *ar Mair mae annwyd.*
 on Mair be.PRES.3SG cold
 ‘it’s Mair who has got a cold.’
- e. *efo annwyd mae Mair.*
 with cold be.PRES.3SG Mair
 ‘it’s a cold that Mair has got.’
- f. *i Gwen oedd deg punt ar Gwilym.*
 to Gwen be.IMPF.3SG ten pound on Gwilym
 ‘it was Gwen that Gwilym owed ten pounds.’
- g. *gen ti mae ’r llun yn gam.*
 with you.SG be.PRES.3SG the picture PRED crooked
 ‘its you who has the picture crooked.’

In the formal style of Welsh, when the prepositional predicate of a copular clause is fronted, the particle *y(r)* occurs before the finite verb, such as *yn y parc y mae Mair* ‘it was the parc that Mair was in’ or *i Gwen yr oedd deg punt ar Gwilym* ‘it was Mair that Gwilym owed ten pouds’. The particle is commonly omitted in informal Welsh.

There are two sorts of exception to the generalization that only prepositional predicates can be fronted. First, there is an example of a fronted predicate which is not a prepositional phrase — the nominal phrase predicate in state copulars as in (9).

- 9 *eisiau diod mae Gwyn.*
 want drink be.PRES.3SG Gwyn
 = ‘want a drink is Gwyn.’

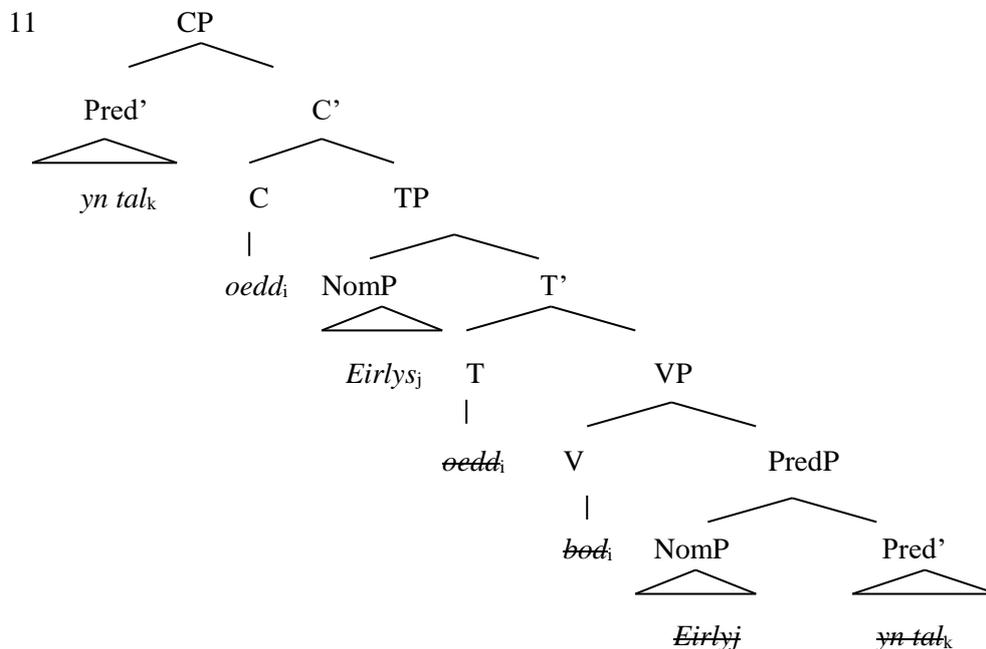
It is difficult to explain why a nominal phrase predicate behaves like a prepositional predicate. Second, there is one example of a prepositional phrase predicate which cannot be fronted, namely, the prepositional phrase in a dispositional copular.

- 10 **gen i mae 'n gas orennau.*
 with I be.PRES.3SG PRED nasty oranges
 'it is me who hates oranges.'

We take it as significant that the prepositional phrase is a necessary location for the extraposition of the subject (see chapter 9) and we shall assume that this prevents the fronting of the prepositional phrase.

2.2 Ascriptives

The basic phrase in an ascriptives has the same syntax as prepositional copulars, that is, [subject + [head + complement]], and the configuration in (11) shows what would happen if the predicate were fronted.



But unlike prepositional phrases, the predicate — the sequence of head and complement — is not generally fronted.

- 12 a. **yn tal oedd Eirlys.*
 PRED tall be.IMPF.3SG Eirlys
 'tall was Eirlys.'
- b. **yn athro oedd Gwilym.*
 PRED teacher be.IMPF.3SG Gwilym
 'a teacher was Gwilym.'

It may be that some speakers can front the predicational phrase. But such examples are rare in the vernacular and Welsh speakers express uncertainty about them. I have only come across one

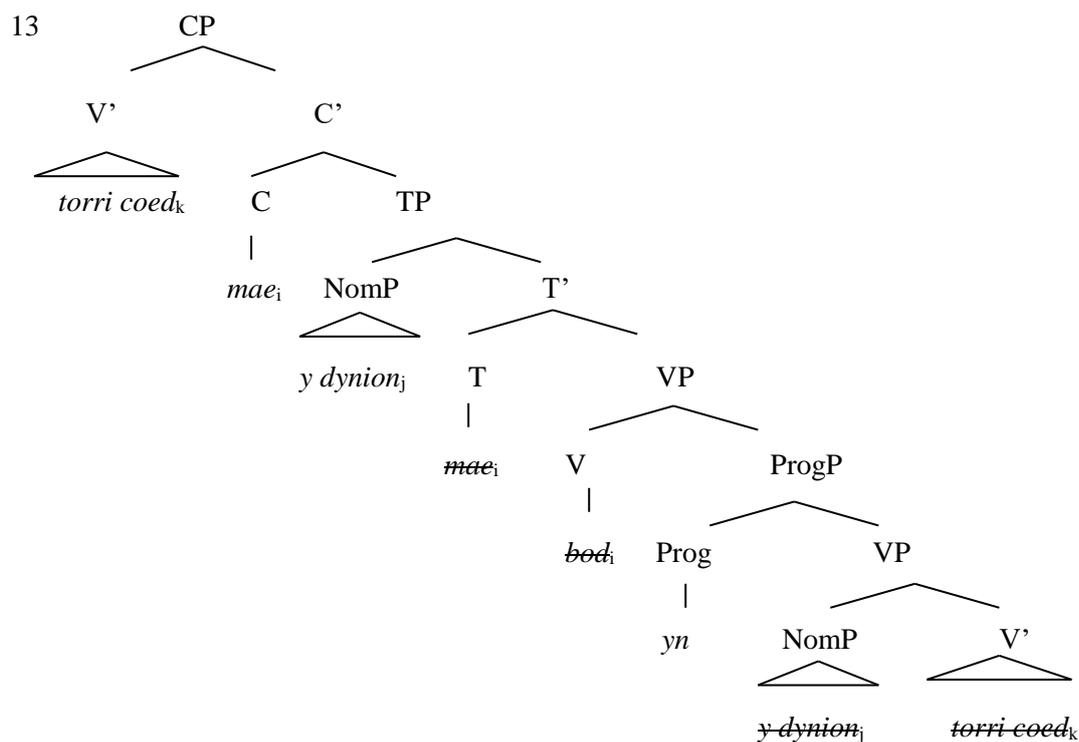
grammarians who raise these matters, namely, Rowland (1876:186), who claims that predicative *yn* can occur in initial position.

2.3 VP predicates

It will be recalled from chapter 8 that VP predicates occur in VP copulars and that there are three sorts of the latter: (i) aspect phrases as configured in (19a–b) of chapter 8, (ii) phrases headed with prepositional expressions as configured in (27a) of chapter 8, and (iii) subjectless *i*-infinitivals as configured in (32) of chapter 8. However, it is more revealing to organize the discussion as follows: (a) VPs which have lexical verbs as their heads, (b) VPs which have the copula as their heads, and (c) subject-to-complement clauses.

2.3.1 Lexical VPs and *gwneud*-support

Lexical VPs occur in clauses which have an aspect phrase, clauses which have a prepositional expression, and clauses which have an *i*-infinitival. Configurations for these clauses can be found in chapter 8 in (19a–b), (27a), (32) and (36). It is not the predicate in the basic copular phrase which is fronted, for example VP[*Emma prynu car newydd* ‘Emma buy a new car’] in the basic copular phrase PerfP[Perf[[*wedi*] + VP[*Emma prynu car newydd*]]. Instead, fronting centres on the predicate in the subject-predicate structure, for example, V’[*prynu + car newydd*] in the subject-predicate structure VP[NomP[*Emma*] + V’[*prynu + car newydd*]]. But this statement, as it stands, does not produce grammatical examples. The configuration in (13), which is based on the example in (14a) shows what would happen if this predicate VP were fronted.



Fronting the predicate in the VP would leave the head of the basic phrase *in situ* — stranded, as it were. The illustrations in (14) show that ungrammatical examples are produced.

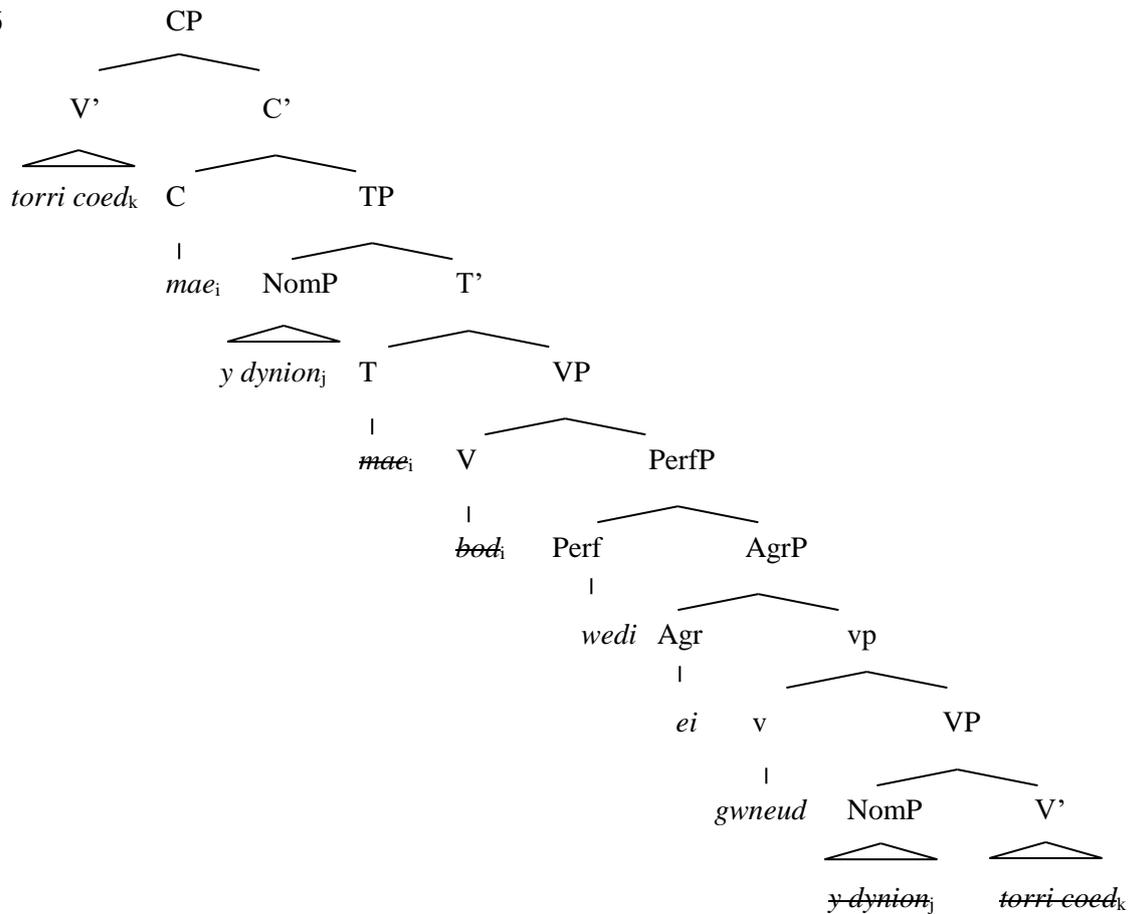
- 14 a. **torri coed mae 'r dynion yn.*
 cut wood be.PRES.3SG the men PROG
 = ‘cut wood are.’
- b. **torri coed mae 'r dynion wedi.*
 cut wood be.PRES.3SG the men PERF
 = ‘cut wood the men have.’
- c. **cael cinio mae y plant ar fin.*
 have dinner be.PRES.3SG the children on edge
 = ‘to have dinner the children are about.’
- d. **aros yma mae Siôn i.*
 stay here be.PRES.3SG Siôn to
 = ‘stay here Sion is to.’
- e. **aros yma mae Siôn i fod i.*
 stay here be.PRES.3SG Siôn to be to
 = ‘supposed stay here Siôn is to.’

However, the predicate in the VP can be fronted if *gwneud*-support occurs. The unacceptable examples in (14) become acceptable with *gwneud*-support, as in (15)

- 15 a. *torri coed mae 'r dynion yn (ei) wneud.*
 cut wood be.PRES.3SG the men PROG 3SG.M do
 = 'it is cutting wood that the men are doing.'
- b. *torri coed mae 'r dynion wedi (ei) wneud.*
 cut wood be.PRES.3SG the men PERF 3SG.M do
 = 'it is cutting wood that the men have done.'
- c. *cael cinio oedd y plant ar fin (ei) wneud.*
 have dinner be.IMPF.3SG the children on edge 3SG.M do
 = 'it was to have dinner that the children were about to do.'
- d. *aros yma mae Siôn i (w) wneud.*
 stay here be.PRES.3SG Siôn to 3SG.M do
 = 'it was stay here that Sion was to do.'
- e. *aros yma mae Siôn i fod i (w) wneud.*
 stay here be.PRES.3SG Siôn to be to 3SG.M do
 = 'supposed stay here Siôn is to do.'

The agreement clitic *ei* occurs before *gwneud* in formal Welsh but it is commonly omitted in informal Welsh (as outlined in chapter 8, *w* occurs after *i*). The analysis of examples which contain *gwneud*-support which is given here exploits the contrast of small vp and big VP as given in (16), which is based on example (15b).

16



Gwneud is generated in *vp*. The latter is generated immediately above *VP*, which contains the subject and predicate of the clause. The phrase *torri coed* can receive focus and is moved to *Spec CP*.

Clauses which contain the perfect aspect and prepositional expressions have an additional possibility. A comparison of the examples in (14b–c) with those in (17) shows that the perfect aspect particle and the prepositional expression cannot be stranded but can be fronted along with the *VP*.

17 a. *wedi torri coed mae 'r dynion.*

PERF cut wood be.PRES.3SG the men

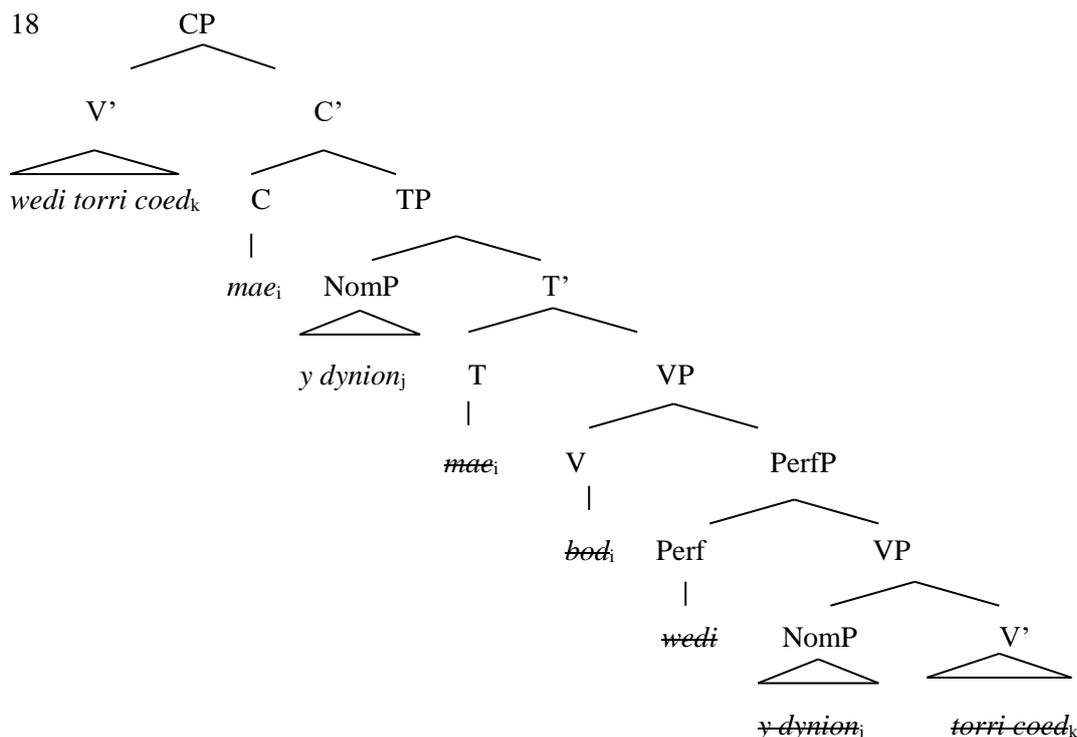
= 'it is cut wood that the men have done.'

b. *ar fin cael cinio oedd y plant.*

on edge have dinner be.IMPF.3SG the children

'about to have children were the children.'

The configuration in (18), which is based on example (17a) shows the movements involved.



The movement of the subject in Spec VP to Spec TP is a standard example of subject raising. This leaves PerfP without its subject [*wedi — torri coed*] and it is this sequence which is fronted to Spec CP. This may be odd as the aspect marker and the bar-phrase, V', do not form a unbroken constituent. The other clauses in (14) cannot front the head and the bar-phrase together.

19 a. **yn torri coed mae 'r dynion.*

PROG cut wood be.PRES.3SG the men

= 'cutting wood the men are.'

b. **i aros yma mae Siôn.*

to stay here be.PRES.3SG Siôn

= 'to stay here Sion is.'

c. **i aros yma mae Siôn i fod.*

to stay here be.PRES.3SG Siôn to be

= 'supposed to stay here Siôn is.'

It may be that the perfect aspect and the prepositional expression are being treated as prepositions. It can be speculated that the sequences [Perf + VP] and [Prepositional expression + VP] are being treated as prepositional phrases and can thus be fronted like other prepositional phrases. There are some grounds for analysing the perfect aspect marker *wedi* as a preposition, as discussed in chapter 8, although it is analysed there as an aspect marker. And the prepositional expression is sufficiently prepositional-like.

Clauses which contain the progressive aspect also have an additional alternative. The predicate of the VP can be fronted if the progressive particle is omitted.

20 a. *torri coed mae 'r dynion.*

cut wood be.PRES.3SG the men
= 'it is cutting wood that the men are.'

b. *gweithio mae Owain.*

cut wood be.PRES.3SG Owain
= 'it is working that Owain is.'

Omitting the head does not make the other copulars in (19) acceptable (the omitted heads are represented in square brackets for clarity of exposition for clarity).

21 a. **torri coed mae 'r dynion [wedi].*

cut wood be.PRES.3SG the men PERF
= 'it is cutting wood that the men have'

b. **cael cinio oedd y plant [ar fin].*

have dinner be.IMPF.3SG the children on edge
= 'it was to have dinner that the children were about.'

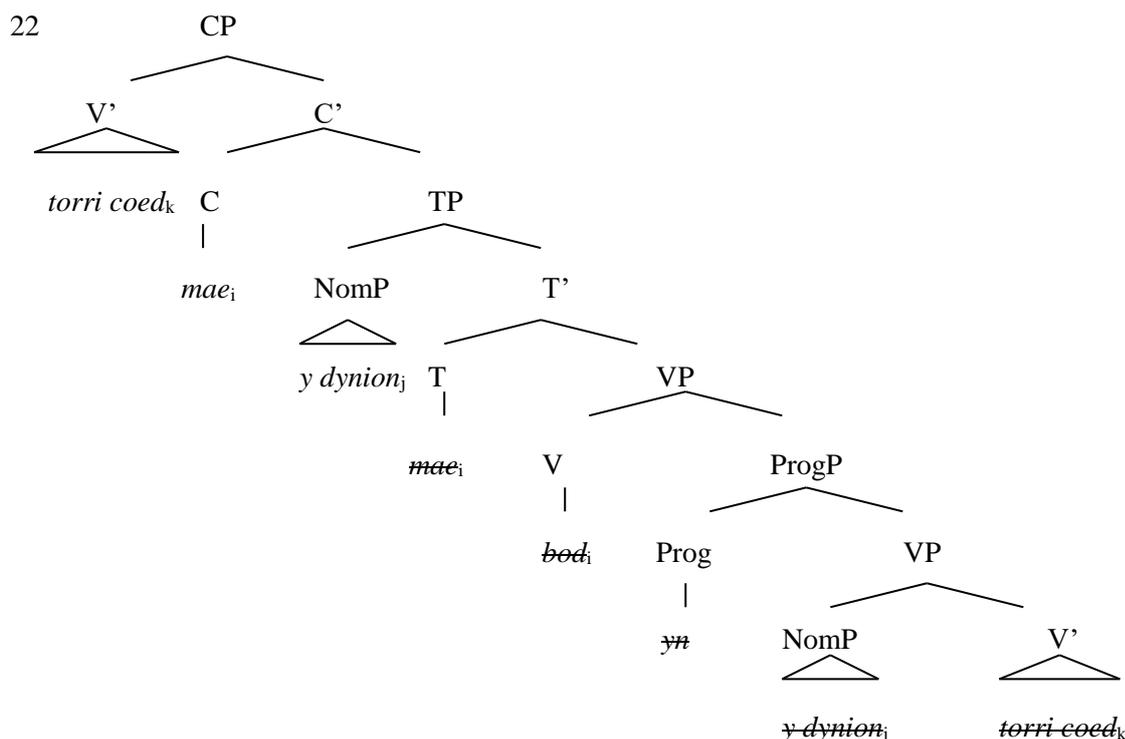
c. **aros yma mae Siôn [i].*

stay here be.PRES.3SG Siôn to
= 'it was stay here that Sion was to do.'

d. ?? *aros yma mae Siôn i fod [i].*

stay here be.PRES.3SG Siôn to be to
= 'supposed to stay here Siôn is.'

Example (21d) is questioned, but its possible acceptability may be due to the fact that *i* can be omitted in normal-order clauses, as outlined in section 2.3 of chapter 8. The syntax of progressive clauses with a fronted predicate is given in (22).



This configuration shows that the omission of the progressive particle *yn* is licensed by (i) a phrase in Spec CP, and (ii) a trace of that phrase in V', that is the predicate of the VP. These licensing conditions distinguish the omission of progressive *yn* in fronted clauses from its omission in examples like (23) in informal Welsh.

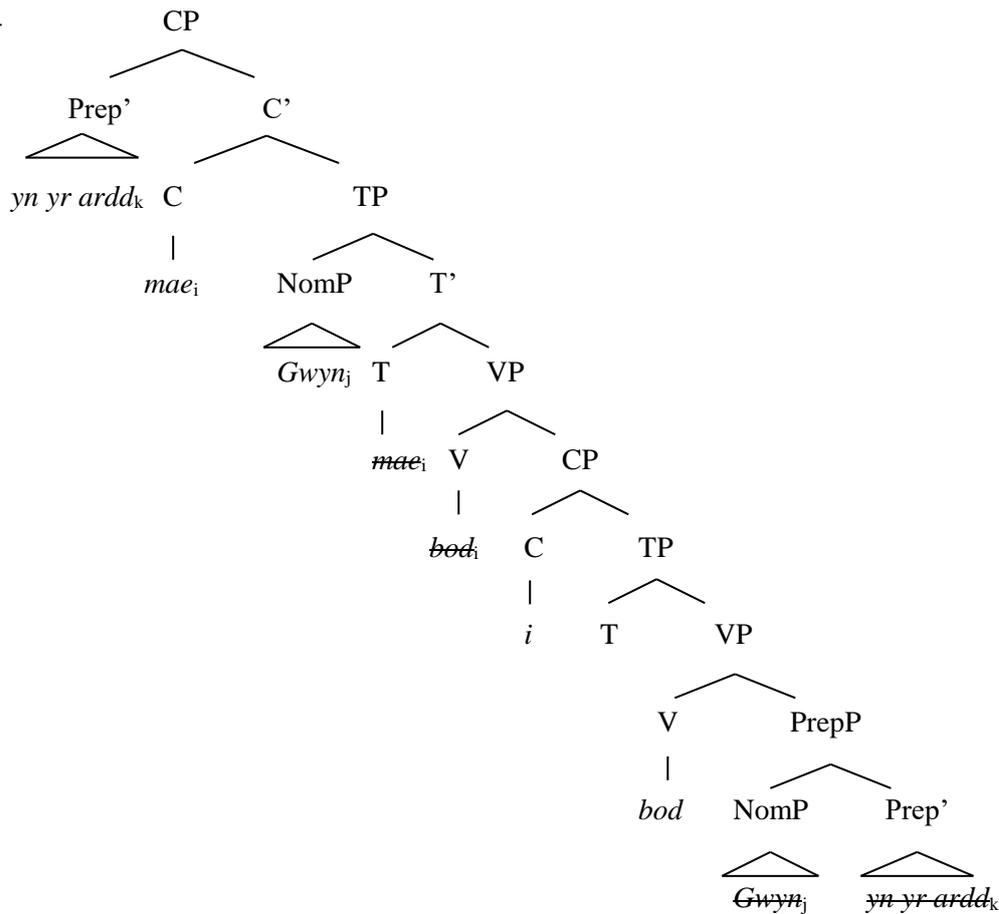
- 23 *oedd yn nhad yn licio Elvis, ac o'n i yn hefyd.*
 be.IMPF.3SG 1SG father PROG like Elvis and be.IMPF.1SG I PROG also
 'my father was a good worker, and I was also.'

Given two co-ordinated clauses, the complement of progressive *yn* in the second clause can be deleted if its lexical content is the same as that of the complement in the first clause. The omission of the complement leaves a trace in Comp VP, but this trace is caused by ellipsis and not by movement to Spec CP.⁵⁶

2.3.2 Copular VPs

Copular VPs can occur in clauses which contain an aspect phrase and clauses which have phrases headed by prepositional expression. But we are only concerned here with clauses which contain an *i*-infinitival. The configuration for these clauses can be found in (53) of chapter 8. Again, fronting centres on the predicate in the subject-predicate structure in the basic phrase, for example, Prep'[*yn + yr ardd*] in the subject-predicate structure PrepP[NomP[*Siôn*] + Prep'[*yn + yr ardd*]]. The configuration in (24) is based on the example (25a).

24



The configuration in (24) produces grammatical examples such as those in (25).

- 25 a. *yn yr ardd mae Gwyn i fod.*
 in the garden be.PRES.3SG Gwyn to be
 'it's in the garden that Gwyn is supposed to be.'
- b. *yn y bore oedd y cyfarfod i fod.*
 in the morning be.IMPF.3SG the meeting to be
 'it was in the morning that the meeting was supposed to be.'
- c. *efo Gwyn mae Sioned i fod.*
 with Gwyn be.PRES.3SG Sioned to be
 'it's with Gwyn that Sioned is supposed to be.'
- d. *fel ei dad mae 'r mab hynaf i fod.*
 like his father be.PRES.3SG the son oldest to be
 'it's like his father that the oldest son is supposed to be.'
- e. *gan y plant mae 'r anrheg gorau i fod.*
 from the children be.PRES.3SG the present best to be
 'it's from the children the best present is supposed to be.'

- f. *i 'r clwb mae 'r arian i fod.*
 for the club be.PRES.3SG the money to be
 ‘it’s for the club the money is supposed to be.’

Unlike lexical verbs, the copula is not part of the subject-predicate structure and the predicate can be fronted without *gwneud*-support.

When the predicate contains a predicative phrase, the same questions arise which are identified in section 2.2 and above in this section.

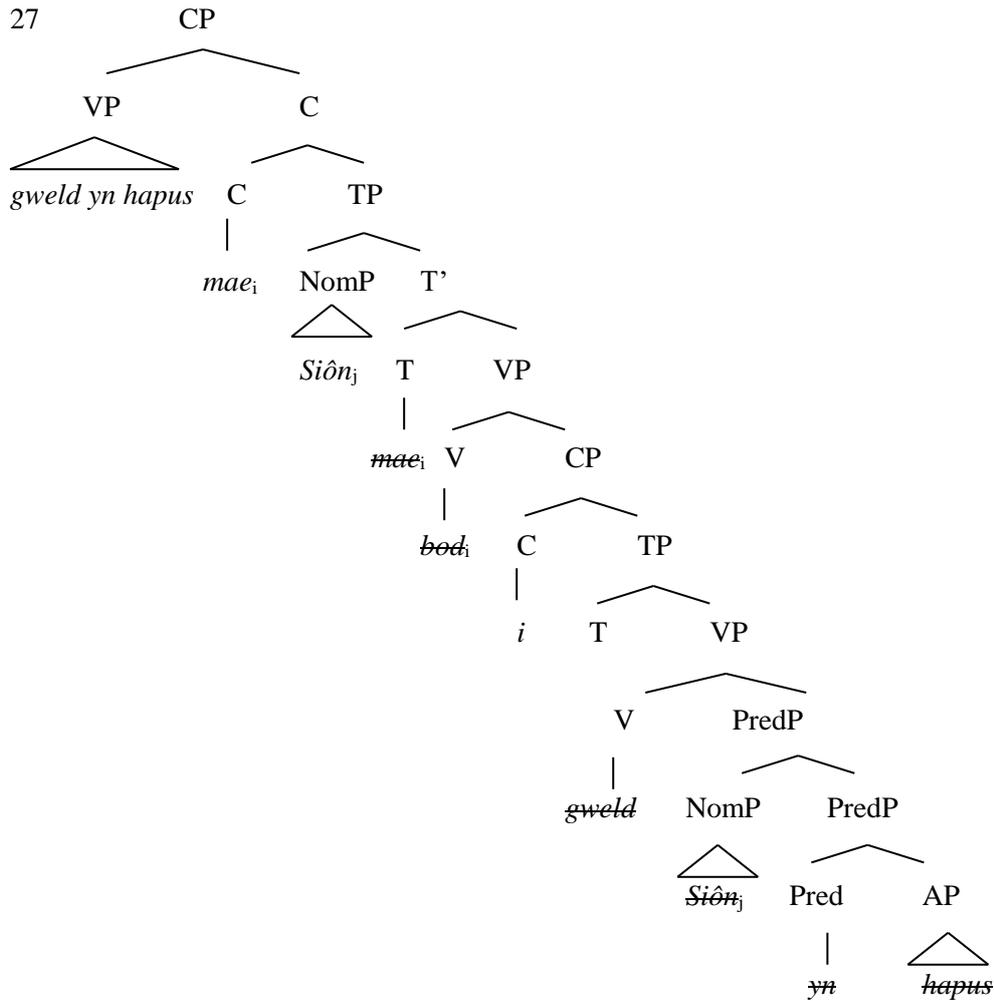
- 26 a. [*yn*] *caredig mae Gwyn i fod.*
 PRED kind be.PRES.3SG Gwyn to be
 ‘Kind Gwyn is supposed to be.’
- b. [*yn*] *athro ffiseg mae Siôn i fod.*
 PRED teacher physics be.PRES.3SG Siôn to be
 ‘a physics teacher siôn is supposed to be.’

The most common usage is to omit the particle.

2.3.3 Subject-to-complement *i*-infinitive clauses

The configurations in (35) and (36) of chapter 8 show that the subject-predicate structure lacks an overt subject. Significantly, too, the complement in the predicate is raised to Spec TP, the subject position in the matrix clause. Further, (36) in chapter 8 shows that the trace in the complement position can trigger an agreement clitic immediately preceding the infinitive. The predicate then becomes *w weld Siôn yn hapus* ‘see Siôn happy’. The configuration in (27) shows what would happen if predicate fronting were to occur. This configuration is based on the configuration in (35) in chapter 8, which lacks an agreement projection for the agreement clitic (mainly for economy of presentation) — it is based on the example in (28a).

27



But the examples in (28) show that predicates like this are not fronted.

- 28 a. **gweld yn hapus mae Siôn i.*
 see PRED happy be.PRES.3SG Siôn to
 '????.'
- b. **gweld yn y farchnad oedd y dyn i.*
 see in y market be.IMPF.3SG the man to
 '????.'
- c. **gweld yn daclus iawn mae 'r tŷ i.*
 see PRED tidy very be.PRES.3SG the house to
 '????.'
- d. **clywed yn canu 'r gitar oedd Gwyn i.*
 hear PROG sing the guitar be.IMPF.3SG Gwyn to
 'Gwyn was heard playing the guitar.'

The examples in (29) contain an agreement clitic, and they are also ungrammatical (in this context, without a preceding *i*, the form *ei* would occur).

- 29 a. **ei gweld yn hapus mae Siôn i.*
 3SG.M see PRED happy be.PRES.3SG Siôn to
 ‘????.’
- b. **ei gweld yn y farchnad oedd y dyn i.*
 3SG.M see in y market be.IMPF.3SG the man to
 ‘????.’
- c. **ei gweld yn daclus iawn mae ’r tŷ i.*
 3SG.M see PRED tidy very be.PRES.3SG the house to
 ‘????.’
- d. **ei clywed yn canu ’r gitar oedd Gwyn i.*
 3SG.M hear PROG sing the guitar be.IMPF.3SG Gwyn to
 ‘Gwyn was heard playing the guitar.’

There is another subject-predicate structure in these clauses which is in the small clause complement of the verb. The results are not as bad as those in (28), but they are questioned.

- 30 a. ?? (?yn) *hapus mae Siôn i weld.*
 PRED happy be.PRES.3SG Siôn to see
 ‘happy Siôn seems.’
- b. ?? *yn y farchnad oedd y dyn i weld.*
 in the market be.IMPF.3SG the man to see
 ‘in the market the man was seen.’
- c. ?? (?yn) *daclus iawn mae ’r tŷ i weld.*
 PRED tidy very be.PRES.3SG the house to see
 ‘very tidy the house looks.’
- d. ?? (?yn) *canu ’r gitar oedd Gwyn i glywed.*
 PROG sing the guitar be.IMPF.3SG Gwyn to hear
 ‘playing the guitar Gwyn was heard.’

Further in the case of a predicative phrase and a progressive phrase, there is the additional matter of the questionable occurrence of the predicative particle and the progressive particle in a fronted phrase, as previously discussed in this chapter. Overall, a considered judgement is that fronting the predicate does not occur in subject-to-complement *i*-infinitivals.

2.4 Identificatory clauses and *piau* clauses

Although fronting is compulsory in identificatory clauses and *piau* clauses, this does not include fronting the predicate. In identificatory clauses the head of the predicate is the covert element *ident* and there is no overt indication that the predicate is fronted. We shall assume that it is not as in (31).

- 31 * [*ident*] *Siôn mae 'r athro ffiseg.*
ident Sion be.PRES.3SG the teacher physics
 = *‘be Siôn the physics teacher.’

The example in (32) shows that the predicate is not fronted in a *piau* clause.

- 32 * *biau 'r Volvo coch mae Siôn*
 own the Volvo red be.PRES.3SG Siôn
 = ‘own the red Volvo does Siôn.’

3 Fronting the complement

As in the discussion of fronting the predicate, the account of fronting the complement is complicated by the fact that basic phrases of copular clauses are configured differently.

3.2 Prepositional phrases

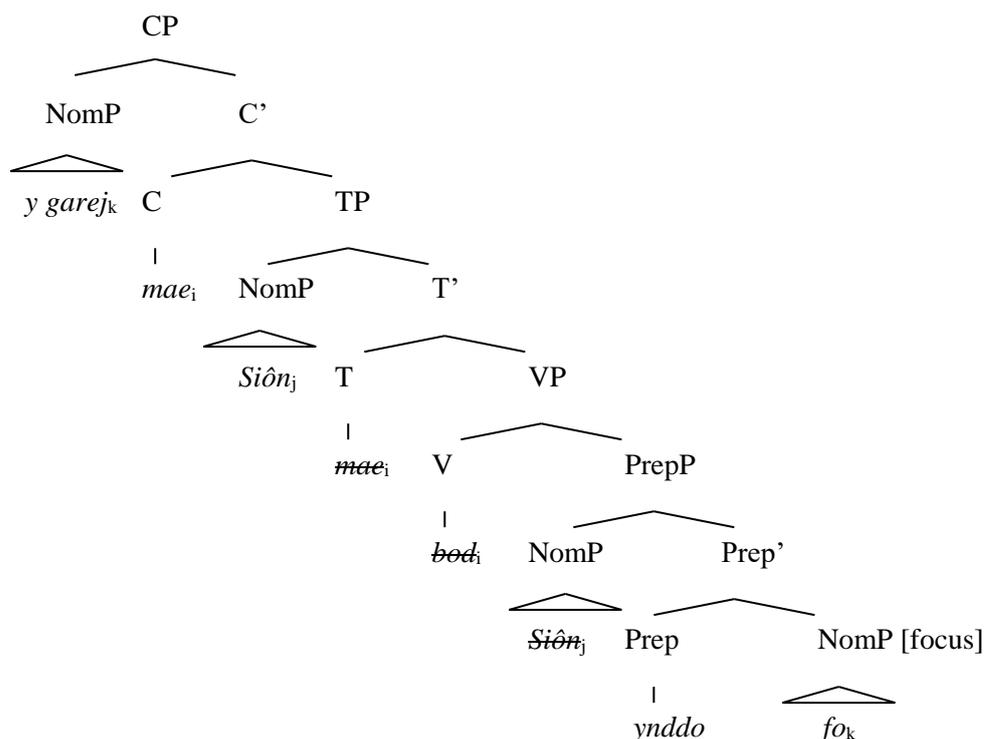
The examples in (33) show that complements in prepositional phrases can be fronted, leaving the head *in situ*. A pronominal element occurs in the position from which the complement is fronted.

- 33 a. *y garej mae Siôn ynddo fo.*
 the garage be.PRES.3SG Siôn in.3SG.M he
 ‘it’s the garage that Siôn is in.’
- b. *Gwyn mae 'r goriad ganddo fo.*
 Gwyn be.PRES.3SG the key with.3SG.M he
 ‘it’s Gwyn who has the key.’
- c. *y dyn mae 'r allwedd gyda fe.*
 the man be.PRES.3SG the key with he
 ‘it’s the man who has got the key.’

- d. *y goriad mae Dafydd efo fo.*
 the key be.PRES.3SG Dafydd with he
 ‘it’s the key that Dafydd has got.’
- e. *Dafydd mae annwyd arno fo.*
 Dafydd be.PRES.3SG cold on.3SG.M he
 ‘it’s Dafydd who has a cold.’
- f. *annwyd mae Dafydd efo fo.*
 cold be.PRES.3SG Dafydd with he
 ‘it’s a cold that Dafydd has got.’
- g. *Emyr mae ’r llun yn gam ganddo fo.*
 Emyr be.PRES.3SG the picture PRED crooked with.3SG.M he
 ‘it’s Emyr who has got the picture crooked.’
- h. *y dyn oedd ’n gas ganddo fo orennau.*
 the man be.IMPF.3SGPRED nasty with.3SG.M he oranges
 ‘it’s the man who hated oranges.’
- i. *Bryn mae deg punt ar Siôn iddo fo.*
 Bryn be.PRES.3SG ten pound on Siôn to.3SG.M he
 ‘it’s Bryn who Siôn owes ten pounds.’

The syntax of complement fronting is given in the configuration in (34), which is based on the example in (33a).

34



More details about this are given shortly.

The examples in (33) show that when the complement of a preposition is fronted, a personal pronoun can occur in the position from which the complement is fronted. In Welsh, this causes an agreement context and in the case of inflecting prepositions, the preposition inflects to agree with the pronoun. Thus, in example (33a) for instance, *yn y garage* becomes *ynddo fo*. Further, in the case of inflecting prepositions, pro-drop can apply and the personal pronominal element is represented by *pro* (this is the preferred usage in formal Welsh).

- 35 a. *y garej mae Siôn ynno.*
 the garage be.PRES.3SG Siôn in.3SG.M
 'it's the garage that Siôn is in.'
- b. *Gwyn mae 'r goriad ganddo.*
 Gwyn be.PRES.3SG the key with.3SG.M
 'it's Gwyn who has the key.'
- c. *Dafydd mae annwyd arno.*
 Dafydd be.PRES.3SG cold on.3SG.M
 'it's Dafydd who has a cold.'
- d. *Emyr mae 'r llun yn gam ganddo.*
 Emyr be.PRES.3SG the picture PRED crooked with.3SG.M
 'it's Emyr who has got the picture crooked.'

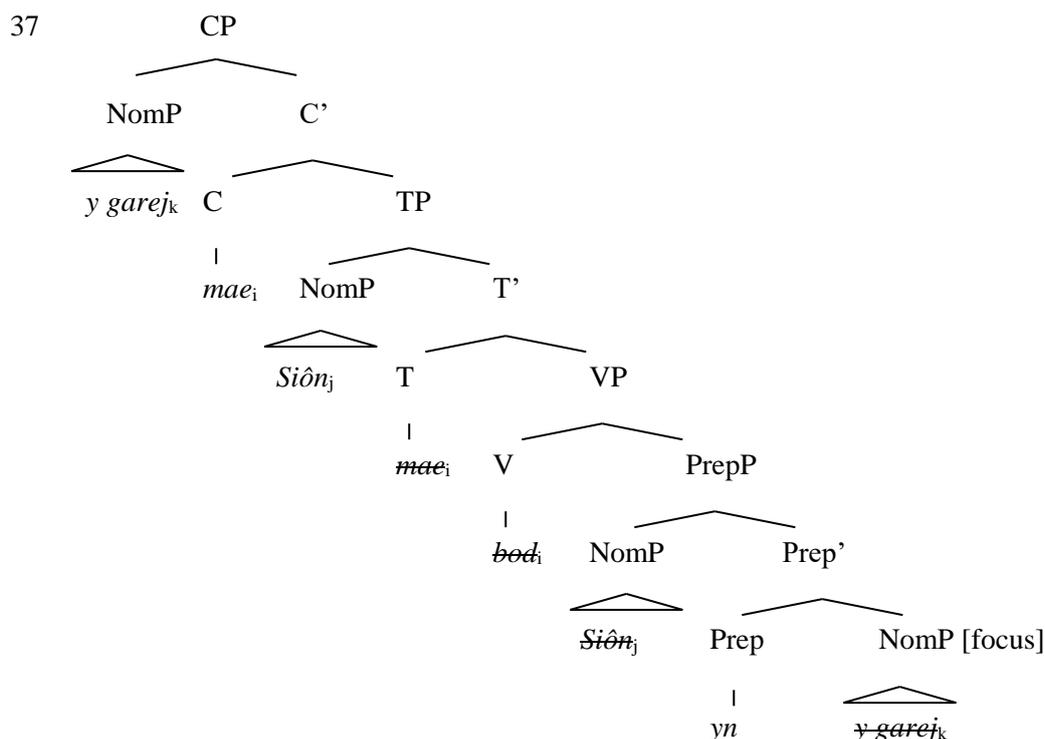
- e. *y dyn mae 'n gas ganddo oreinnau.*
 the man be.PRES.3SG PRED nasty with.3SG.M oranges
 'it's the man who hates oranges.'
- f. *Bryn mae deg punt ar Siôn iddo.*
 Bryn be.PRES.3SG ten pound on Siôn to.3SG.M
 'it's Bryn who Siôn owes ten pounds.'

In the case of a non-inflecting preposition, such as *gyda* in example (33c), pro-drop does not apply and the pronoun is retained.

However, some speakers omit the personal pronoun and, in the case of inflecting prepositions, also the inflection.

- 36 a. *y garej mae Siôn yn.*
 the garage be.PRES.3SG Siôn in.
 'it's the garage that Siôn is in.'
- c. *y dyn mae 'r allwedd gyda.*
 the man be.PRES.3SG the key with
 'it's the man who has got the key.'
- d. *y goriad mae Gwyn efo.*
 the key be.PRES.3SG Gwyn with
 'it's the key that Gwyn has got.'
- f. *annwyd mae Dafydd efo.*
 cold be.PRES.3SG Dafydd with
 'it's a cold that Dafydd has got.'
- g. *Bryn mae deg punt ar Siôn i.*
 Bryn be.PRES.3SG ten pound on Siôn to
 'it's Bryn who Siôn owes ten pounds.'

The syntax of these clauses is given in (37), which is based on (36a).



The focussed phrase is moved to Spec CP without any pronominal trace in its starting position. Such patterns are subject to prescriptive condemnation, but stranded prepositions are quite common in informal Welsh.

State copulars with a nominal predicate can also front the complement and retain the head *in situ*.

- 38 *diod mae Siôn eisiau.*
 drink be.PRES.3SG Siôn want
 = 'it was a drink that Siôn wanted.'

No resumptive pronominal element occurs in informal Welsh.⁵⁷

3.3 Ascriptives

Ascriptives have the same general syntax as prepositional predicates, but unlike the latter, they do not allow fronting the complement with the head left *in situ*.

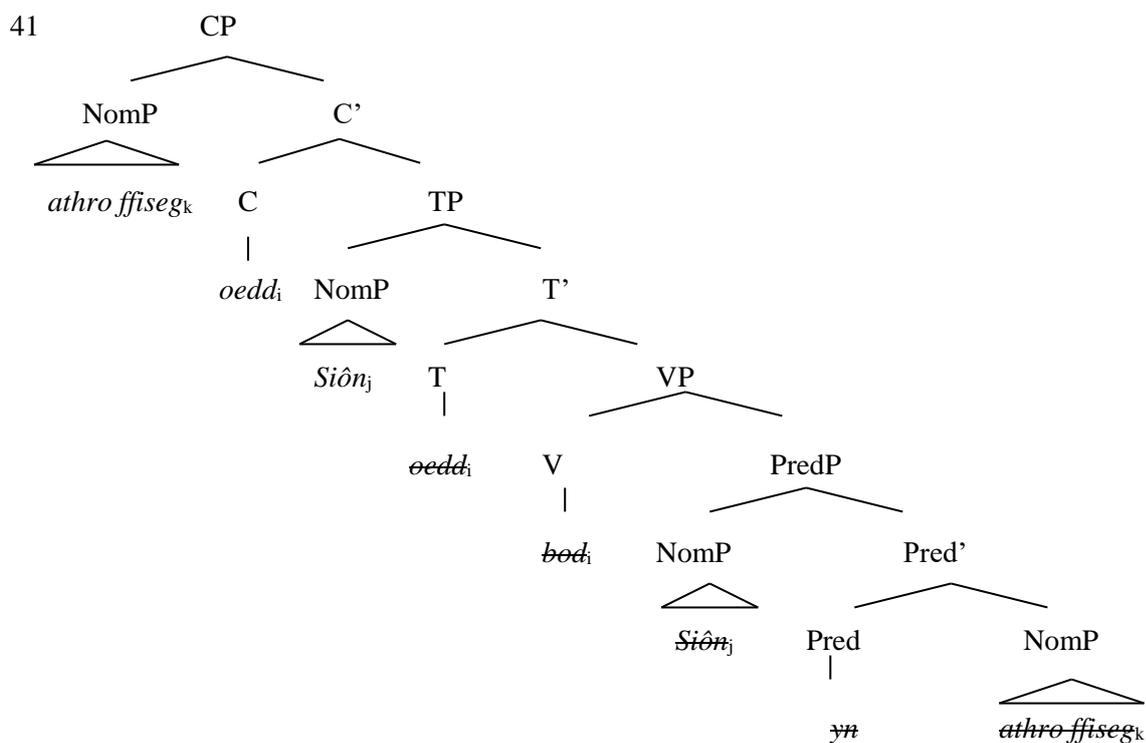
- 39 a. **athro ffiseg oedd Siôn yn.*
 teacher physics be.IMPF.3SG Siôn PRED
 = 'it was a physics teacher that Siôn was.'

- b. **tal oedd Sioned yn.*
 tall be.IMPF.3SG Sioned PRED
 = ‘it was tall that Siôn was.’

But the complement can be fronted if the predicational particle is omitted.

- 40 a. *athro ffiseg oedd Siôn.*
 teacher physics be.IMPF.3SG Siôn
 = ‘it was a physics teacher that Siôn was.’
- b. *tal oedd Sioned.*
 tall be.IMPF.3SG Sioned
 = ‘it was tall that Siôn was.’

The syntax of fronted ascriptive is given in (41).



This configuration shows that the licensing of the omission of predicational *yn* is similar to, but not identical with, the omission of progressive *yn* (illustrated in (22)), that is, (i) a phrase in Spec CP, and (ii) a trace of that phrase in Comp PredP. Another similarity with progressive *yn* is that these licensing conditions are important as examples like the following occur in informal Welsh.

- 42 *mae Sioned yn hapus iawn, a mae Gwyn yn hefyd.*
 be.PRES.3SG Sioned PRED happy very and be.PRES.3SG Gwyn PRED also
 ‘Sioned is very happy and Gwyn is also.’

Given two co-ordinated clauses, the complement of predicational *yn* in the second clause can be deleted if its lexical content is the same as that of the complement in the first clause. The omission of the complement leaves a trace in Comp PredP, but this trace is caused by ellipsis and not by movement to Spec CP.⁵⁸

3.4 VP predicates

Focussing on the complement in copular clauses which contain VP predicates centres not on the complement in the basic copular phrase but on the complement in the VP. This complement may be a nominal phrase or a prepositional phrase. In the case of the latter, fronting the complement follows the conventions which are outlined in section 3.1, as the examples in (43) show.

- 43 a. *y Volvo oedd Siôn yn edrych arno (fo).*
 the Volvo be.IMPF.3SG Siôn PROG look on.3SG.M he
 ‘it was the Volvo that siôn was looking at.’
- b. *ci Sioned oedd Gwilym yn cwyno amdano (fo).*
 dog Sioned be.IMPF.3SG Gwilym PROG complain on.3SG.M he
 ‘it was Sioned’s dog that Gwilym was complaining about.’
- c. *Siân oeddwn i wedi bod yn siarad efo hi.*
 Siân be.IMPF.1SG I PERF be PROG talk with she
 ‘it was Siân that I had been talking to.’

Some speakers in informal Welsh omit all resumptive elements, leaving a stranded preposition.

- 44 a. *y Volvo oedd Siôn yn edrych ar.*
 the Volvo be.IMPF.3SG Siôn PROG look on
 ‘it was the Volvo that siôn was looking at.’
- b. *ci Sioned oedd Gwilym yn cwyno am.*
 dog Sioned be.IMPF.3SG Gwilym PROG complain on
 ‘it was Sioned’s dog that Gwilym was complaining about.’
- c. *Siân oeddwn i wedi bod yn siarad efo.*
 Siân be.IMPF.1SG I PERF be PROG talk with
 ‘it was Siân that I had been talking to.’

As in the case of the examples in (36), examples like those come under prescriptive condemnation, but they are to be heard in informal Welsh.

In the case of complements which are nominal phrases, the resumptive element is an agreement clitic which is positioned immediately in front of the verb.

45 a. *ei phwrs oedd Siân wedi ei gollu.*

3SG.M purse be.IMPF.3SG Siân PERF 3SG.M lose
 'it was her purse that Siân had lost.'

b. *y drws oedd Gwilym i fod ei gloi.*

the door be.IMPF.3SG Gwilym to be 3SG.M lock
 'it was the door that Gwilym was to lock.'

c. *tenis mae Sioned yn ei ddilyn.*

tenis be.PRES.3SG Sioned PROG 3SG.M follow
 'it's tennis that Sioned follows.'

The use of the clitic varies in informal speech. It can be dropped, but the mutation which the clitic may trigger can be retained.

46 a. *ei phwrs oedd Siân wedi gollu.*

3SG.M purse be.IMPF.3SG Siân PERF lose
 'it was her purse that Siân had lost.'

b. *y drws oedd Gwilym i fod gloi.*

the door be.IMPF.3SG Gwilym to be lock
 'it was the door that Gwilym was to lock.'

c. *tenis mae Sioned yn ddilyn.*

tenis be.PRES.3SG Sioned PROG follow
 'it's tennis that Sioned follows.'

Both the clitic and the mutation can be absent.

47 a. *ei phwrs oedd Siân wedi colli.*

3SG.M purse be.IMPF.3SG Siân PERF lose
 'it was her purse that Siân had lost.'

b. *y drws oedd Gwilym i fod cloi.*

the door be.IMPF.3SG Gwilym to be lock
 'it was the door that Gwilym was to lock.'

- c. *tenis mae Sioned yn dilyn.*
 tenis be.PRES.3SG Sioned PROG follow
 ‘it’s tennis that Sioned follows.’

VP copulars which are subject-to-complement are exceptions. The configurations in (35) and (36) in chapter 8 shows that the subject of the small clause — or the complement of the verb if agreement data are considered — is raised to the subject position in Spec TP. There is then no overt phrase in the complement position to be fronted. In a sense, though, the complement is fronted by fronting the phrase in subject position. In the case of the present tense of the copular, *sydd* occurs, which shows that the fronted phrase has come from Spec TP and not directly from the complement position.

- 48 *Siôn {sydd / (*mae)} i ('w) weld yn hapus.*
 Siôn be.PRES.3SG to 3SG see PRED happy
 ‘it is Siôn who is seen to be happy.’

If the fronted phrase were not to come via Spec TP, *mae* would occur, producing ungrammaticality.

3.5 Identificatory clauses and *piau* clauses

Identificatory clauses can front the complement, as (49) shows.

- 49 *y meddyg ydy Siân.*
 the doctor be.PRES.3SG Siân
 = ‘it is the doctor that Siân is.’

We assume here that *Siân* is the subject and therefore *y meddyg* is the complement. Matters are not straightforward in the case of *piau* clauses. The copular form *sydd* occurs in all frontings.

- 50 a. *Siân sydd biau 'r Volvo coch.*
 Siân be.PRES.3SG own the Vovo red
 = ‘it is Siân who owns the red Volvo.’
 b. *y Volvo coch sydd biau Siân.*
 the Volvo red be.PRES.3SG own Siân
 = ‘it is red Volvo that Siân owns / it is the red Volvo that is Siân’s.’

The form *sydd* is indicative of fronting the subject, so the examples in (50) suggest that the subjects have been fronted. By one analysis, we can say that *piau* clauses are exceptional in that the complement passes through Spec TP when it is fronted. More detailed discussion is given in chapter 7.

4 Possessive and state copulars

Possessive copulars and state copulars are both prepositional predicates. They are interesting in two respects: they allow a different distribution of possessor / experiencer and possession / state as either complements or subjects; and they also allow inversion of the subject phrase and the prepositional phrase.

4.2 Complement or subject

It can be recalled from the accounts in chapter 5 that possessive clauses have two ways of distributing the possessor and the possession in the syntax of the clause: (i) locational — the possessor can occur as the complement in a prepositional phrase (and the possession occurs in subject position) — illustrated in (51a); or (ii) with-possessive — the possessor can occur in subject position (and possession occurs as the complement in a prepositional phrase) — illustrated in (51b). Chapter 6 shows that the same choice applies to state copulars: (i) locational — the experiencer can occur as the complement in a prepositional phrase (and the state occurs in subject position) — illustrated in (52a); or (ii) with-predicate — the experiencer can occur in subject position (and the state occurs as the complement in a prepositional phrase) — illustrated in (52b).

51 a. *mae 'r goriad gan y dyn.*
 be.PRES.3SG the key with the man
 'the man has got the key.'

b. *mae 'r dyn efo 'r goriad.*
 be.PRES.3SG the man with the key
 'the man has got the key.'

52 a. *mae annwyd ar y dyn.*
 be.PRES.3SG cold on the man
 'the man who has a cold.'

b. *mae 'r dyn efo annwyd.*
 be.PRES.3SG the man with cold
 'the man has got a cold.'

Fronting the possessor / experiencer may influence the selection of one of these orderings. In the examples of locational predicates in (53), the possessor / experiencer is fronted from the prepositional phrase and the starting position can be marked with pronominal elements.

- 53 a. *y dyn mae 'r goriad ganddo (fo) / gyda fe.*
 the man be.PRES.3SG the key with.3SG.M he with he
 'it's the man who has got the key.'
- b. *y dyn mae annwyd arno (fo) / gyda fe.*
 the man be.PRES.3SG cold on.3SG.M he with he
 'it's the man who has got a cold.'

But in the examples of with-predicates in (54), the possessor / experiencer is fronted from subject position without any pronominal marking.

- 54 a. *y dyn sydd — â / efo 'r goriad.*
 the man be.PRES.3SG with the key
 'it's the man who has got the key.'
- b. *y dyn sydd — â / efo annwyd.*
 the man be.PRES.3SG with the key
 'it's the man who has got a cold.'

We have already seen in chapters 5 and 6 that some speakers prefer to use a with-predicate in which the possessor / experiencer occurs in subject position. Fronting from this position is simpler in that no prepositional marking is necessary at the place where the fronted phrase originates. Simplicity may further promote locating the possessor / experiencer in subject position.

4.3 Inverted clauses

Chapters 5 and 6 show that possessive clauses and state clauses allow the inversion of the subject and the predicate, that is, the nominal phrase and the prepositional phrase: *mae goriad gan y dyn* 'the man has a key' or *mae gan y dyn oriad*. The discussion of fronting in inverted clauses raises some interesting considerations.

From the point of view of information structure, it makes no sense to invert the subject nominal phrase and then front it. The fronting of the nominal phrase can be achieved in a straightforward way from its canonical position in non-inverted patterns, as the examples in (1c) and (1e) show. There are also facts about the forms of *bod* which show that the nominal phrase is not fronted from inverted position. The example in (55) shows this.

- 55 **goriad mae gan y dyn —.*
 key be.PRES.3SG with the man
 'it's a key that the man has got.'

The copular form *mae* occurs rather than *sydd* as subject position is occupied by the prepositional phrase, and the fronted nominal cannot come from the subject position. The occurrence of *mae* makes the example in (55) ungrammatical.

Again, from the point of view of information structure, it makes no sense to invert the prepositional phrase and then front it. Fronting of the prepositional phrase in a non-inverted clause occurs in a straightforward manner, shown by the examples in (8b) and (8d). Mutational effects also show that an inverted prepositional phrase is not fronted, as the example in (56b) shows.

- 56 a. *mae gan y dyn oriad.*
 be.PRES.3SG with the man key
 'the man has got a key.'
- b. **gan y dyn sydd — oriad.*
 with the man be.PRES.3SG key
 'it's the man who has got a key.'

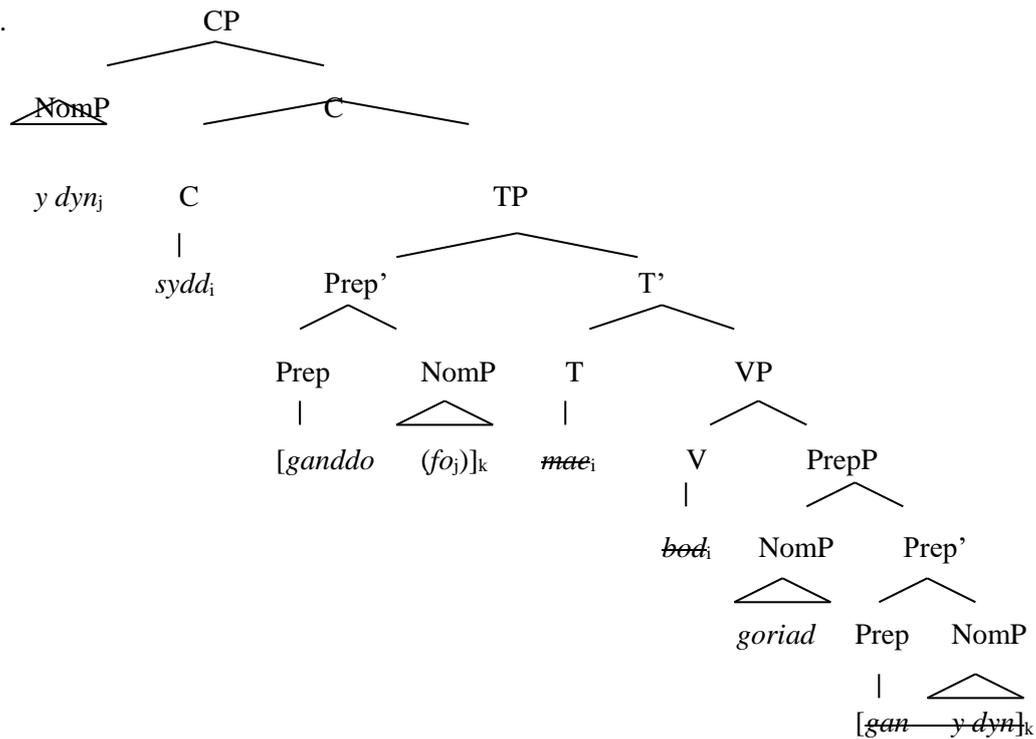
The example in (56a) shows that by the XP trigger hypothesis (see section 3.4 of chapter 5) the nominal phrase *gan y dyn* mutates *goriad* to *oriad*. This hypothesis also applies to a word when it follows a place from which a phrase is moved, as in (56b). But the mutation in (56b) makes the example ungrammatical. Further, if prepositional phrase were inverted to subject position and then fronted from there, *sydd* would be expected, which also indicates that (56b) is ungrammatical.

On the basis of examples in (56), we have argued that an inverted prepositional phrase is not fronted. But the examples in (57) show that the complement in an inverted prepositional phrase can be fronted.

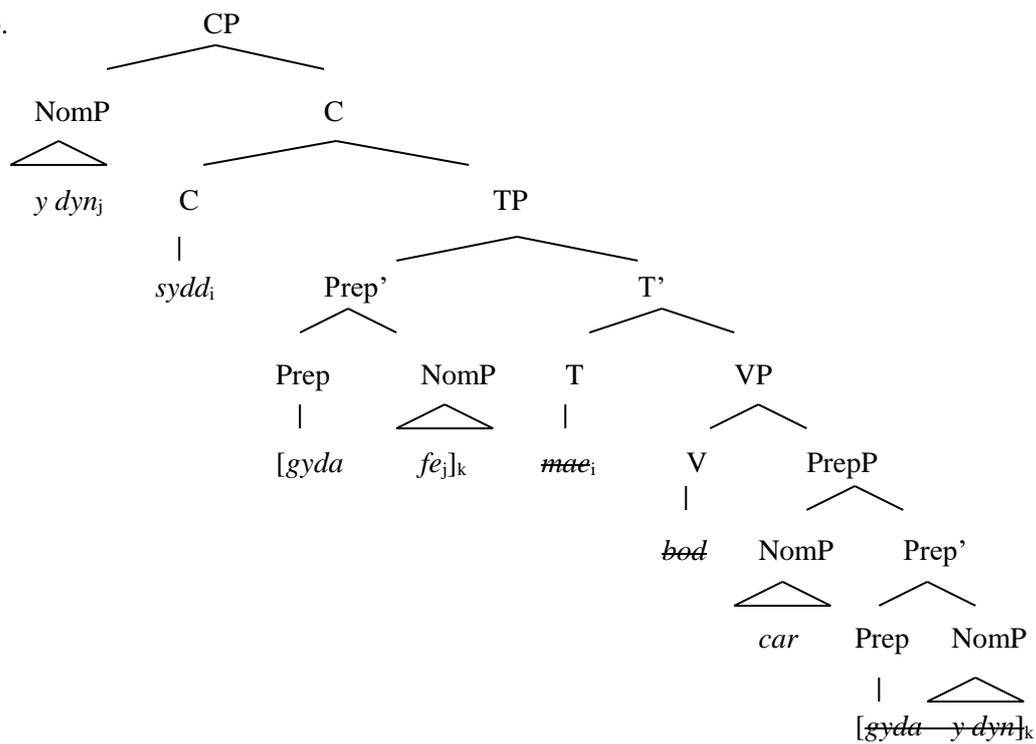
- 57 a. *y dyn sydd ganddo (fo) oriad.*
 the man be.PRES.3SG with.3SG.M he key
 'it's the man who has got a key.'
- b. *y dyn sydd gyda fe allwedd.*
 the man be.PRES.3SG with he key
 'it's the man who has got a key.'

As the examples in (33) have shown, a pronominal element occurs when the complement of a preposition is fronted. More striking, however, is the occurrence of the form *sydd*, which is usually employed when the full subject phrase has been fronted, as shown in chapter 13. The configurations for (57a) and (57b) are given in (58).

58 a.



b.



These data make two points. One is that *sydd* is not only licensed by fronting an entire phrase from the subject position but also by a constituent part of a subject phrase in possessives. The other is that, for this to be so, the prepositional phrase must be in subject position. In formal Welsh, the subject-like treatment of the possessor is also confirmed by the use of the preverbal particle *a* which occurs when

the subject is fronted with other tenses apart from the present; thus — *y dyn a oedd ganddo oriad* ‘the man who had a key’.

We have seen that some speakers can omit the pronominal element. Omitting the pronominal element can also occur in inverted clauses, and this raises interesting matters about possible regrammaticization.

59 a. *y dyn sydd gydag — allwedd.*

the man be.PRES.3SG with key

‘it’s the man who has got a key.’

b. *y dyn sydd gan — oriad.*

the man be.PRES.3SG with key

‘it’s the man who has a key.’

The em dash in the examples marks the position where the pronoun is omitted. Such patterns again attract disapproval from prescriptivists, perhaps more so in the case of the inflecting preposition *gan*, and the latter may be less common than *gyda*. But examples with *gan* are not unknown in the dialects, particularly in *wh*-questions as in (60).

60 a. *pwyl sy gan — fatsien?*

who be.PRES.3SG with match

‘who’s got a match?’

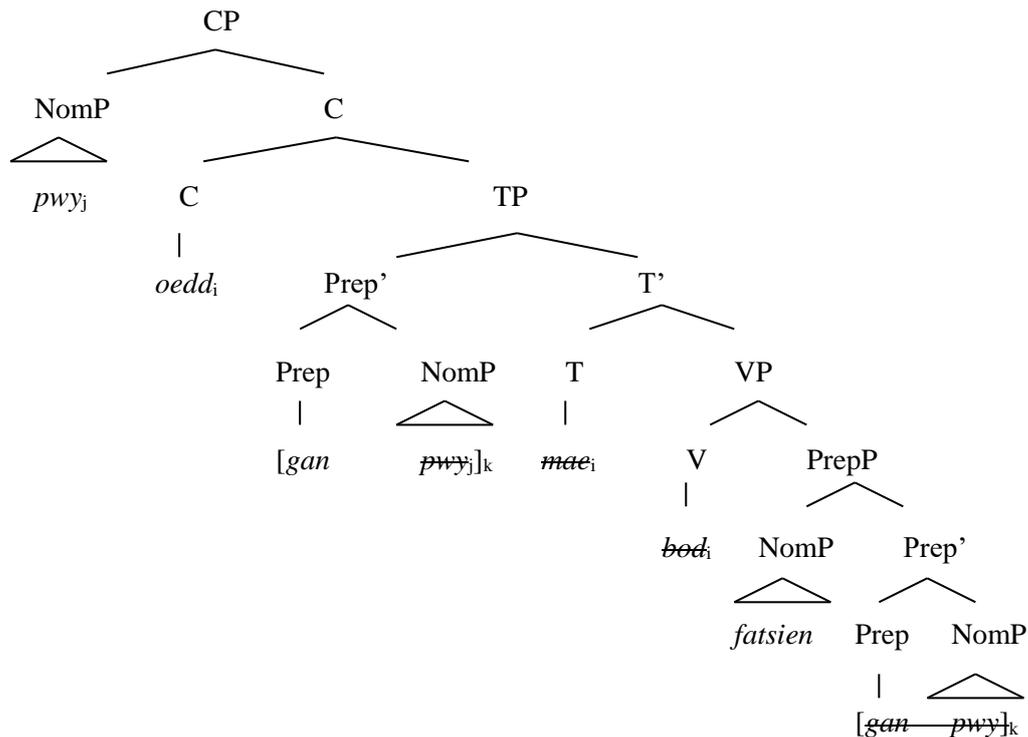
b. *pwyl sy gan — sigaret?*

who be.PRES.3SG with cigarette

‘who’s got a cigarette?’

By one reading, examples like those in (59) and (60) have the following structure.

61



In this analysis, the prepositional phrase is raised to subject position in Spec TP and then the complement in the prepositional phrase is raised to Spec CP. By this analysis, the sequence *gan fetsien* does not form a constituent. However, another reading can say that we have apparent prepositional phrases, *gydag allwedd*, *gan oriad*, *gan fetsien* and *gan sigaret*. Example (53a), for instance, may be read as *pwy sydd [gan fetsien]* in which the preposition marks the possession. (In the case of *gyda*, however, we have seen that it can also mark the possession to form a prepositional phrase, as outlined in section 1 of chapter 5 — a with-possessive in the terms of Stassen (2009, 2013a).)

It is interesting to consider the view of Evans D.S (1971: 146), in an historical study of early modern Welsh. This study uses the traditional notions of logical subject and grammatical subject, and provides examples of the apparent confusion of the logical subject (the possessor) and the grammatical subject (the possession). All the examples which are given involve the fronting of the complement (the possessor) from the prepositional phrase, leaving the preposition juxtaposed to the phrase which indicates the possession, perhaps suggesting that they form a constituent.

- 62 a. *Canys yr anifeiliad mavvriion sydd gentynt phauau ag ogau ...*
 because the animals big.PL be.PERS.3SG with.3PL dens and caves
 'because it is the big animals who have got dens and caves.'
- b. *Rhai a oedd gentynt foddau cyfnnachavvl ...*
 some PT be.IMPF.3SG with.3PL ways secret
 'some who had got secret ways ...'

- c. *Rhai a oedd gentynt olvvg mor eglur ...*
 some PT be.IMPF.3SG with.3PL sight so clear
 ‘some who had got eyesight so clear ...’

The preposition is inflected, which provides a resumptive element and indicates that the preposition does not form a constituent with the nominal phrase which indicates the possession. Examples which contain an uninflected preposition, such as those in (59) and (60), are better examples of the interpretation of [preposition + possession] as a phrase (in Evans’ terms, the confusion of the logical and grammatical subject). Despite the analysis in (61), we should consider the possibility that there has been regrammaticization such that the uninflected preposition and the following nominal phrase become a phrase, in which case the preposition indicates the possession.

5 Summary

Fronting a subject simply involves movement without any resumptive elements. All copular clauses can front a subject, but there are differences in terms of the starting point of the movement.

Fronting the predicate also simply involves movement without any resumptive elements. Some copulars can front the predicate. Some copulars can front the predicate with *gwneud*-support. Others cannot front the predicate in any terms.

Fronting the complement involves movement and resumptive elements (but not all speakers use resumptive elements). Some copular clauses can front the predicate except for ascriptives, strictly speaking, and subject-to-complement VP copulars. But in the case of ascriptives, the complement can be fronted if the head (the predicative particle *yn*) is omitted.

Table 10. Fronting in copular clauses

	Subject	Predicate	Complement
Prepositional (regular)	✓	✓	✓
Possessive locational predicate	✓	✓	✓
with-predicate	✓	✓	✓
State locational predicate	✓	✓	✓
with-predicate	✓	✓	✓
nominal predicate	✓	✓	✓
Debt	✓	✓	✓
Agentive	✓	✓	✓
VP lexical verb as head	✓	<i>gwneud</i>	✓
Copula as head	✓	✓	✓
Dispositional	✓	✗	✓
Identificatory	✓	✗	✓
<i>Piau</i>	✓	✗	✓
VP subject-to-complement	✓	✗	✗
Ascriptive	✓	✗	omit <i>yn</i>

The different behaviours establish four groups, which are demarcated in table 10.

- Some clauses make all three frontings — subject, predicate, or complement. They are mainly clauses which have prepositional predicates.
- VP copulars can make all three frontings but only with *gwneud*-support in the case of predicate fronting. Subject-to-complement VP copulars are an exception.
- A small group of copulars can front the subject or the complement but not the predicate.
- Another small group can front only the subject, unless special provision is adopted as in the case of ascriptives.

Identificatory clauses and *piau* clauses are distinctive in that fronting is obligatory. But we have placed them in the group which allows the fronting of the subject or the complement but not the predicate.

There are grounds for establishing two generalizations. One is that comprehensive fronting is mainly licensed by a prepositional head. But dispositional copulars have a prepositional predicate but do not front the predicate. Nominal state copulars can front comprehensively but do not have prepositional heads. The other is that in the case of complement fronting, this can only occur if the head can receive a resumptive element — prepositions or verbs. The nominal state copulars are an exception in informal Welsh.

Finally, it is interesting to compare the progressive aspect with the perfect aspect and also the progressive aspect and the predicative phrase. The perfect aspect and the progressive aspect are similar in that neither can front the complement and leave the head *in situ*, as examples (14a) and (14b) show. But the perfect aspect allows fronting the aspect particle and the predicate but the progressive aspect does not (or only questionably does so), as a comparison of examples (17a) and (19a) shows. And the progressive aspect can front the complement if the progressive particle is deleted but the perfect aspect cannot front the complement and delete the perfect particle, as a comparison of examples (20a) and (21a) shows. Examples like (20a), *torri 'r coed mae 'r dynion*, can only be interpreted as containing the progressive aspect. Although aspect markers, they behave differently.

The progressive particle and the predicative particle are superficially similar: neither can co-occur in initial position along with the phrase that is fronted — (12a) and (19a); neither can be stranded — (14a) and (39a); and both can be deleted when a phrase is fronted — (20a) and (40a). But their syntax is different: predicative *yn* is head to the phrase which is fronted, while progressive *yn* is not.

Chapter 12 Expletive *Yna* ‘There’

The form *yna* ‘there’ (or *'na*, in its shortened form) can be used as a pronominal locative as in (1a), as a temporal adverb as in (1b), and in a demonstrative pattern in a system which also involves *yma* ‘here’ and *acw* ‘yonder’ as in (1c). But we are concerned with its use as an expletive subject as illustrated in (1d).

- 1 a. *mae Siôn yna.*
be.PRES.3SG Siôn there
‘Siôn is there.’
- b. *yna, mi ganodd y gloch.*
then PT sing.PERV.3SG the bell
‘then, the bell rang.’
- c. *mae 'r llyfr yna / yma / acw yn ddiddorol.*
be.PRES.3SG the book there here yonder PRED interesting
‘that / this / yonder book is interesting.’
- d. *mae 'na gath yn yr ardd.*
be.PRES.3SG there cat in the garden
‘There’s a cat in the garden.’

We shall refer to this expletive subject as the locative expletive. As the example in (1d) shows, the first word in the phrase which follows *yna* ‘there’ undergoes soft mutation (*gar* is the soft-mutated form of *car*). This can be accounted for by XP trigger hypothesis, which is outlined in section 3.4 of chapter 5.

1 Licensing expletive *yna* ‘there’

Descriptions of locative expletives, such as McNally (2011), generally say that there are two conditions which license the occurrence of the expletive: the nominal phrase and the verb. We shall also consider one other condition, namely, the predicate. These three conditions allow the selection of the expletive *yna* ‘there’ in Welsh copular clauses.

1.1 The nominal phrase

One condition is sometimes referred to as the definiteness effect: the locative expletive is followed by a nominal phrase which is indefinite. This indefinite nominal phrase is referred to as the associate of

the expletive by McNally (2011), but it can also be referred to as the (unraised) subject. The definiteness effect is illustrated by the examples in (2).

- 2 a. *mae 'na gar ar y lawnt.*
 be.PRES.3SG there car on the lawn
 'there's a car on the lawn.'
- b. **mae 'na 'r car ar y lawnt.*
 be.PRES.3SG there the car on the lawn
 = 'there's the car on the lawn'.

However, descriptions of English, such as McNally (2011), show that definite phrases can occur with *there* under two conditions. One is that *there* can occur with certain definite phrases which are post-modified by an *of* phrase which itself contains an indefinite nominal phrase, that is, [DP_{DEF} + [*of* + DP_{INDEF}]]. Examples are given in (3).

- 3 a. *there is the possibility of a surge in demand.*
 b. *there is the mother of a student outside.*

We do not get equivalents in Welsh.

- 4 a. **mae yna 'r posibilrydd o godiad yn y galw.*
 be.PRES.3SG there the possibility of rise in the demand
 = 'there's the possibility of a rise in demand.'
- b. **mae yna 'r fam i un o 'r myfyrwyr y tu allan.*
 be.PRES.3SG there the mother to one of the students the side out
 = 'there's the mother of one of the students outside.'

Welsh clauses use an indefinite nominal phrase, as in (5).

- 5 a. *mae 'na bosibilrydd o godiad yn y galw.*
 be.PRES.3SG there possibility of rise in the demand
 'there's a possibility of a rise in demand.'
- b. *mae 'na fam i un o 'r myfyrwyr y tu allan.*
 be.PRES.3SG there mam to one of the students the side out
 'there's a mother to one of the students outside.'

The other condition is that definite nominal phrases occur in lists, as in the examples in (6a–c). An example like (6c) can be read as an assumed list — that is, there are a number of possible modes of transport and one of them is the train.

- 6 a. *well, there's the Riviera, the Costa del Sol, and the Lido.*
 b. *there was the chairwoman, the secretary, and the treasurer.*
 c. *well, there's the train.*

Exact Welsh equivalents are questionable or unacceptable.

- 7 a. ?? *wel, ma' 'na 'r Riviera, y Costa del Sol, a 'r Lido.*
 well be.PRES.3SG there the Riviera, the Costa del Sol, and the Lido
 = 'well, there's the Riviera, the Costa del Sol, and the Lido.'
 b. ?? *oedd 'na 'r cadeirydd, yr ysgrifennydd, a 'r trysorydd.*
 be.IMP.3SG there the chairman, the secretary, and the treasurer
 = 'there was the chairman, the secretary, and the treasurer.'
 c. **wel, mae 'na 'r trê'n.*
 well be.PRES.3SG there the train
 = 'well, there's the train.'

However, when preparing this chapter, I heard the example in (8) in an inventory of possible ingredients for an evening meal, in which definite demonstrative pronouns referred to entities such as spaghetti, rice, and quiche.

- 8 *mae 'na hwnna, hwnna, a hwn.*
 be.PRES.3SG there that, that, and this
 'there's that, that, and this.'

It is significant that if the ingredients had been named, indefinite nominal phrases would have been preferred and not phrases which contain the definite article, which are questionable.

- 9 a. *mae 'na spaghetti, reis, a quiche.*
 be.PRES.3SG there spaghetti rice and quiche
 'there's spaghetti, rice, and quiche.'
 b. ?? *mae 'na 'r spaghetti, y reis, a 'r quiche.*
 be.PRES.3SG there the spaghetti the rice and the quiche
 = 'there's the spaghetti, the rice, and the quiche.'

Similarly, definite nominal phrases which do not contain the definite article also occur in the examples in (10).

- 10 *wel, mae 'na Arsenal, Manchester United, a Barcelona.*
 well be.PRES.3SG there Arsenal, Manchester United, and Barcelona
 'well, there's Arsenal, Manchester United, and Barcelona.'

But some speakers would prefer a version (10) which lacks the expletive *yna* 'there'.

- 11 *wel, mae Arsenal, Manchester United, a Barcelona.*
 well be.PRES.3SG Arsenal, Manchester United, and Barcelona
 = 'well, there's Arsenal, Manchester United, and Barcelona.'

To conclude, there are uncertainties, but the strongest tendency in Welsh is that the nominal phrases which occur with expletive *yna* 'there' are indefinite ones.

1.2 The finite verb

Another condition is that the finite verb comes from a list of verbs which includes the copula as in (12) and other verbs, as shown by the examples in (13).

- 12 *mae 'na ddyn yn y tŷ.*
 be.PRES.3S there man in the house
 'there's a man in the house.'
- 13 a. *ddigwyddodd 'na ddamwain neithiwr.*
 happen.PERV.3SG there accident last-night
 'there happened an accident last night.'
- b. *ddoth 'na lythyr o Siapan.*
 come.PERV.3SG there letter from Japan
 'there came a letter from Japan.'
- c. *syrthiodd 'na garreg o 'r wal.*
 fall.PERV.3SG there stone from the wall
 'there fell a stone from the wall.'
- d. *gerddodd 'na ddyn o Fangor i Aberystwyth.*
 walk.PERV.3SG there man from Bangor to Aberystwyth
 'there walked a man from Bangor to Aberystwyth.'
- e. *neidiodd 'na gi trwy 'r ffenest.*
 jump.PERV.3SG there dog through the window
 'there jumped a dog through the window.'

- f. *redodd 'na sgwarnog ar draws y ffordd.*
run.PERV.3SG there hare on over the road
'there ran a hare over the road.'
- g. *symudodd 'na deilsen oddi ar y tô.*
move.PERV.3SG there tile from on the roof
'there moved a tile from the roof.'
- h. *nofiodd 'na bysgodyn i fyny'r afon.*
swim.PERV.3SG there fish to up the river
'there swam a fish up the river.'
- i. *ddisgynodd 'na dair coeden yn y nos.*
fall.PERV.3SG there three tree in the night
'there fell three trees in the night.'
- j. *rwyfodd 'na ferch ar draws y sianel.*
row.PERV.3SG there girl on over the channel
'there rowed a woman over the channel.'
- k. *eisteddodd 'na ddynes yn y gadair.*
sit.PERV.3SG there woman in the chair
'there sat a woman in the chair.'
- l. *siaradodd 'na ddyn am dair awr.*
talk.PERV.3SG there man for three hour
'there talked a man for three hours.'

In northern dialects, in particular, a frequent alternative for an inflected lexical verb is a periphrastic pattern which involves the auxiliary verb *gwneud* 'do'. The expletive form can occur with these periphrastic patterns, too:

- 14 a. *na'th 'na deryn hedfan o flaen y car.*
did.PERV.3SG there bird fly from front the car
'there flew a bird in front of the car.'
- b. *na'th 'na fabi gropian trwy'r drws.*
did.PERV.3SG there baby crawled through the door
'there crawled a baby through the door.'
- c. *na'th 'na ddyn sefyll ar 'y nhraed i.*
did.PERV.3SG there man stand on 1SG feet I
'there stood a man on my feet.'

- d. *na'th 'na rywun gwaeddi o 'r cefn.*
 did.PERV.3SG there someone shout from the back
 'there screamed a man fro the back.'
- e. *na'th 'na rywun gau 'r drws yn galed iawn.*
 did.PERV.3SG there someone close the door PRED hard very
 'there closed someone the door very firmly.'
- f. *na'th 'na anifail sgrechian yn y coed.*
 did.PERV.3SG there animal screech in the wood
 'there screamed an animal in the woods.'
- g. *na'th 'na rywun ofyn am chwaneg.*
 did.PERV.3SG there someone ask for more
 'there asked someone for more.'

In northern dialects, the form *ddaru* can also be used as an auxiliary and the expletive can be selected, such as *ddaru 'na deryn hedfan o flaen y car* 'there flew a bird in front of the car'. This study will concentrate on copular clauses and will not attempt to bring examples which contain lexical verbs into the analysis.

1.3 The predicate

The (a) examples in (15–21) satisfy the definiteness condition and the verb condition: the subjects are indefinite and the copula occurs. But the (b) examples show that expletive *yna* 'there' cannot be introduced into these clauses.

- 15 a. *mae dyn yn ddeallus.*
 be.PRES.3SG man PRED intelligent
 'man is intelligent.'
- b.**mae yna ddyn yn ddeallus.*
 be.PRES.3SG there man PRED intelligent
 *'there's man intelligent.'
- 16 a. *mae ysbrydion mor anghredadwy â dreigiau.*
 be.PRES.3SG ghosts as unbelievable as dragons
 'ghosts are as unbelievable as dragons.'
- b.**mae yna ysbrydion mor anghredadwy â dreigiau.*
 be.PRES.3SG there ghosts as unbelievable as dragons
 'there are ghosts as unbelievable as dragons.'

- 17 a. *mae dyn eisiau mwy o bopeth.*
 be.PRES.3SG man want more of everything
 'man wants more of everything.'
- b.**mae yna ddyn eisiau mwy o bopeth.*
 be.PRES.3SG there man want more of everything
 *'there wants man more of everything.'
- 18 a. *mae dyn wedi cyflawni llawer.*
 pres.PRES.3SG man PERF achieve much
 'man has achieved much.'
- b.**mae yna ddyn wedi cyflawni llawer.*
 pres.PRES.3SG there man PERF achieve much
 *'there has achieved man much.'
- 19 a. *mae dyn yn byw yn afradlon.*
 be.PRES.3SG man PROG live PRED profligate
 'man lives profligately.'
- b.**mae yna ddyn yn byw yn afradlon.*
 be.PRES.3SG there man PROG live PRED profligate
 *'there lives a man profligately.'
- 20 a. *mae dyn i aros yma.*
 pres.PRES.3SG man to stay here
 'a man is to stay here.'
- b.**mae yna ddyn i aros yma.*
 pres.PRES.3SG there man to stay here
 *'there's a man to stay here.'
- 21 a. *mae dyn i fod i warchod y tŷ.*
 be.PRES.3SG man to be to guard the house
 'a man is supposed to guard the house.'
- b.**mae yna ddyn i fod i warchod y tŷ.*
 be.PRES.3SG there man to be to guard te house
 *'there's man supposed to guard the house.'

The examples in (15–21) have non-locative predicates. In contrast, expletive *yna* 'there' can occur in all copular clauses which have a locative predicate (location here includes space and / or time).

- 22 a. *mae 'na lewod yn Affrica.*
 be.PRES.3SG there lions in Africa
 'there are lions in Africa.'

- b. *oedd 'na ddeinosoriaid oesoedd yn ôl.*
 be.IMPF.3SG there dinosaurs ages in track
 'there were dinosaurs ages ago.'
- c. *mae 'na fydoedd eraill yn y bydysawd.*
 be.PRES.3SG there worlds other in the universe
 'there are other worlds in the universe.'
- d. *mae 'na bysgod yn y môr.*
 be.PRES.3SG there fish in the sea
 'there are fish in the sea.'
- 23 a. *mae 'na gar ar y bont.*
 be.PRES.3SG there car on the bridge
 'there's a car on the ridge.'
- b. *oedd 'na gyfarfod yn y bore.*
 be.IMPF.3SG there meeting in the morning
 'there was a meeting in the morning.'
- c. *mae 'na rywun efo Gwyn.*
 be.PRES.3SG there someone with Gwyn
 'there was someone with Gwyn.'
- d. *oedd 'na oriad gan Sioned. (possessive)*
 be.IMPF.3SG there key with Sioned
 'Sioned had a key.'
- e. *oedd 'na ofn ar Sioned. (states)*
 be.IMPF.3SG there fear on Sioned
 'Sioned was afraid.'

The examples in (23c–e) may not seem to be locative at first sight. But being in the company of someone indicates location. Example (23d) is a possessive clause and discussion in chapter 5 shows there may be a locative basis to possessive clauses. Example (23e), which is discussed in chapter 6, can also be said to be based on a locative clause. On these grounds, we can establish a third condition, namely, that *yna* 'there' occurs when the predicate is locative or locative-like. The examples in (15–21) do not have locative predicates.

However, there are examples of clauses which contain expletive *yna* 'there' and which seem to have predicates which are not locative.

- 24 a. *mae 'na fachgen fel Elfis Presley.*
 be.PRES.3SG there boy like Elfis Presley
 'there's a boy like Elfis Presley.'
- b. *mae 'na anrheg gan y plant.* (source and not possession)
 be.PRES.3SG there present from the children
 'there's a present from the children.'
- c. *mae 'na arian i 'r elusen.*
 be.PRES.3SG there money for the charity
 'there's money for the children.'

But we can interpret the prepositional phrases not as predicates but as post-modifiers in the nominal phrase. This can be shown by the examples in (25). Given this interpretation, a locative predicate can be added, and the post-modifying function can be made even more explicit by turning the modifying phrase into a relative clause.

- 25 a. *mae 'na fachgen (sydd) fel Elfis Presley yn yr ysgol.*
 be.PRES.3SG there boy be.PRES.3SG like Elfis Presley in the school
 'there's a boy (who is) like his father in school.'
- b. *mae 'na anrheg (sydd) gan y plant ar y bwrdd.*
 be.PRES.3SG there present be.PRES.3SG from the children on the table
 'there's a present (which is) from the children on the table.'
- c. *mae 'na arian (sydd) i 'r elusen yn y jug.*
 be.PRES.3SG there money be.PRES.3SG for the charity in the jug
 'there's money (which is) for the charity in the jug.'

Other similar examples are given in (27).

- 26 a. *oedd 'na gar (oedd) yn swllyd ar y ffordd.*
 be.IMPF.3SG there car be.IMPF.3SG PRED noisy on the road
 'there was a car(which was)noisy ontheroad.'
- b. *oedd 'na deryn (oedd) mor ddu â 'r frân yn y goeden.*
 be.IMPF.3SG there bird be.IMPF.3SG as black with the crow in the tree
 'there was a bird (which was) as black as the crow in the tree.'
- c. *oedd 'na ddyn (oedd) eisiau bwyd ar stepan y drws.*
 be.IMPF.3SG there man be.IMPF.3SG want food on step the door
 'there was a man (who was) hungry on the door step.'

- d. *oedd 'na ddyn (oedd) wedi cysgu trwy 'r ddarlith.*
 be.IMPF.3SG there man be.IMPF.3SG PERF sleep through the lecture
 'there was a man (who had) slept through the lecture.'
- e. *oedd 'na ddyn (oedd) i aros yma.*
 be.IMPF.3SG there man be.IMPF.3SG to stay here
 'there was a man (who was) to stay here.'
- f. *oedd 'na ddyn (oedd) i fod i gloi 'r drysau.*
 be.IMPF.3SG there man be.IMPF.3SG to be to lock the doors
 'there was a man (who was) supposed to lock the doors.'

For instance, in the case of (26a) we have [*oedd + na + [gar (oedd) yn swnllyd] + [ar y ffordd]*] and not [*oedd + na + gar + [yn swnllyd] + [ar y ffordd]*]. We cannot therefore say that (26a) is an ascriptive copular. It is a prepositional copular which has a predicative phrase as post-modifier in the subject nominal phrase. Similar points can be made about the remaining examples in (26). Unacceptable examples in (15–21) can be made acceptable if the phrases following the subjects are read as post-modifiers, especially as relative clauses.

Some copular clauses which contain aspect, especially the progressive aspect, do not seem to meet the locative condition. The examples in (27) do not have a locative predicate.

- 27 a. *mae 'na ddyn yn torri coed.*
 be.PRES.3SG there man PROG cut wood
 'there was a man chopping wood.'
- b. *oedd 'na weithwyr yn paentio 'r neuadd.*
 be.IMPF.3SG there workers PROG paint the hall
 'there were workers painting the hall.'
- c. *mae 'na adar yn b'ytta 'r hadau.*
 be.PRES.3SG there birds PROG eat the seeds
 'there are birds eating the seeds.'
- d. *oedd 'na lot o bobl yn cwyno am y prisiau.*
 be.IMPF.3SG there lot of people PROG complain about the prices
 'there were a lot of people complaining about the prices.'
- e. *mae 'na blant yn dod allan o 'r sinema.*
 be.PRES.3SG there children PROG come out of the cinema
 'there are children coming out of the cinema.'

These may be exceptions to the requirement that the predicate is locative. However, the progressive phrase can also be interpreted as a post-modifier in the subject phrase and in those circumstances we can have copular locatives.

- 28 a. *mae 'na [ddyn (sydd) yn torri coed] yn y cefn.*
 be.PRES.3SG there man be.PRES.3SG PROG chop wood in the back
 'there's a man who is cutting wood in the back.'
- b. *oedd 'na [weithwyr (oedd) yn paentio 'r neuadd] yn y dre.*
 be.IMPF.3SG there workers be.IMPF.3SG PROG paint the hall in the town
 'there were workers who were painting the hall in the town.'
- c. *mae 'na [adar (sydd) yn b'yta 'r hadau] yn y cae.*
 be.PRES.3SG there birds be.PRES.3SG PROG eat the seeds in the field
 'there are birds who are eating the seeds in the field.'
- d. *oedd 'na [lot o bobl (oedd) yn cwyno am y prisiau] yn y pentre.*
 be.IMPF.3SG there lot of people be.IMPF.3SG PROG complain about the prices
 in the village
 'there were a lot of people (who were) complaining about the prices in the village.'
- e. *mae 'na [blant (sydd) yn dod allan o 'r sinema] yn y dre.*
 be.PRES.3SG there children be.PRES.3SG PROG come out of the cinema
 in the town
 'there are children who are coming out of the cinema in the town.'

To conclude, the expletive subject *yna* 'there' is used in copular clauses (i) when the subject is an indefinite phrase; and (ii) when the predicate is locative.

1.4 Inverted copulars

We have seen in chapters 5 and 6 that possessive copulars and state copulars allow inversion when the subject is indefinite. Non-inverted examples are given in examples in (29).

- 29 a. *mae goriad gan Sioned.*
 be.PRES.3SG key with Sioned
 'Sioned has got a key.'

- b. *oedd hen Fordyn gan Dic.*
 be.IMPF.3SG old Ford with Dick
 'Dick had an old Ford.'
- c. *fydd mwy gen i yfory.*
 be.FUT.3SG more with I tomorrow
 'I'll have some more tomorrow.'
- d. *ma' coed tân gan y cyngor.*
 be.PRES.3SG wood fire with the council
 'the council has got some fire wood.'

Such non-inverted examples satisfy the conditions which license a locative expletive, and *yna* 'there' can be inserted, as the examples in (30) show.

- 30 a. *mae yna oriad gan Sioned.*
 be.PRES.3SG there key with Sioned
 'Sioned has got a key.'
- b. *oedd 'na hen Fordyn gan Dic.*
 be.IMPF.3SG there old Ford with Dick
 'Dick had an old Ford.'
- c. *fydd 'na fwy gen i yfory.*
 be.FUT.3SG there more with I tomorrow
 'I'll have some more tomorrow.'
- d. *ma' 'na goed tân gan y cyngor.*
 be.PRES.3SG there wood fire with the council
 'the council has got some fire wood.'

But *yna* 'there' is not inserted if inversion of the nominal phrase and prepositional phrase has occurred.

- 31 a. **mae yna gan Sioned oriad.*
 be.PRES.3SG there with Sioned key
 = 'Sioned has got a key.'
- b. **oedd 'na gan Dic hen Fordyn.*
 be.IMPF.3SG there with Dick old Ford
 = 'Dick has got an old Ford.'
- c. **fydd 'na gen i fwy yfory.*
 be.FUT.3SG there with I more tomorrow
 = 'I'll have more tomorrow.'

- d. **ma'* *'na gan y cyngor goed tân.*
 be.PRES.3SG there with the council wood fire
 = 'the council has got fire wood.'

Inverted copulars do not then satisfy the conditions which license a locative expletive.

2 Other expletive subjects

There are other expletive subjects in Welsh, which are third person singular pronouns and also zero. In formal and informal Welsh, *hi* (feminine) or zero (pro-drop) occur as in (32a) and (32b) respectively (in the case of *mae* the absence of *hi* can also be explained in terms of assimilation).

- 32 a. *oedd hi 'n oer neithiwr, ond mae hi 'n well heddiw.*
 be.IMPF.3SG it PRED cold last-night but be.PRES.3SG it PRED better today
 'it was cold last night but it is better today.'
- b. *oedd yn oer neithiwr, ond mae 'n well heddiw.*
 be.IMPF.3SG PRED cold last-night but be.PRES.3SG PRED better today
 'it was cold last night but it is better today.'

But some speakers in informal Welsh use *(f)o / (f)e* (masculine) — *(f)o* is mainly northern and *(f)e* is mainly southern.

- 33 *oedd o/ e 'n oer neithiwr, ond mae o/ e 'n well heddiw.*
 be.IMPF.3SG he PRED cold last-night but be.PRES.3SG he PRED better today
 'it was cold last night but it is better today.'

We shall refer to these as the pronominal expletives, including zero.

The pronominal expletives are used under three conditions. First, they are used when the subject is some aspect of the environment for which there is no ready label, as in the examples in (32, 33), which refer to the weather, and also in (34) which refer to some other aspect of the environment.

- 34 a. *mae 'n ddistaw.*
 be.PRES.3SG PRED quiet
 'it's quiet.'
- b. *mae 'n amser mynd*
 be.PRES.3SG PRED time go
 'it's time to go.'

Second, they are used in examples where the subject is extraposed, as in (35a–b).

- 35 a. *mae 'n amlwg bod Siôn yn y tŷ.*
 be.PRES.3SG PRED obvious be.PRES Siôn in the house
 'it's obvious that Siôn is in the house.'
- b. *mae 'n anodd credu stori Mair.*
 be.PRES.3SG PRED hard believe story Mair
 'it's hard to believe Mair's story.'

Third, a pronominal expletive is used when a phrase is not raised into the subject position of a clause which contains a raising predicate, as in (36).

- 36 *mae 'n digwydd bod Siôn yn y tŷ.*
 be.PRES.3SG PROG happen be.PRES Siôn in the house
 'it happens that Siôn is in the house.'

The conditions which license the expletive *yna* 'there' and those which license the pronominal expletives show that these expletives are not interchangeable. The example in (37) shows that a pronominal expletive cannot occur where the locative expletive occurs and the examples in (38) show that the locative expletive cannot occur where a pronominal expletive can occur.

- 37 *mae yna / (*hi) ddyn yn y tŷ.*
 be.PRES.3SG there / it man in the house
 'there / *it is a man in the house.'
- 38 a. *mae [hi / (*yna)] 'n ddistaw.*
 be.PRES.3SG it / there PRED quiet
 'it's quiet.'
- b. *oedd [hi / (*yna)] 'n oer neithiwr.*
 be.IMPF.3SG it / there PRED cold last-night
 'it was cold last night.'
- c. *mae hi / (*'na) 'n anodd credu stori Mair.*
 be.PRES.3SG it / there PRED hard believe story Mair
 'it / *there is hard to believe Mair's story.'
- d. *mae hi / (*'na) 'n digwydd bod Siôn yn y tŷ.*
 be.PRES.3SG it / there PROG happen be.PRES Siôn in the house
 'it / *there happens that Siôn is in the house.'

The locative expletive and the pronominal expletives share the common property that they are inserted into subject position when it is empty. But otherwise they are different.

3 Existential clauses

In some writings, a locative expletive is interpreted as a characteristic of an existential clause. Lyons (1968: 390) remarks that an example like *coffee will be here in a moment* is locative while *there will be coffee here in a moment* is existential. But Lyons also says that it is difficult to say whether an example like the latter is an indefinite locative rather than an existential. McNally (2011: 1831) includes an expletive subject as one of the structural properties of existential clauses and adds that the expletive subject can be a locative expression which is “‘bleached’ of content” in some languages.⁵⁹ Morgan (1952: 269) refers to English translations with *there is* as a test for an existential clause in Welsh, and refers to the use of *yna* ‘there’ in a footnote (page 270).⁶⁰ These points give grounds for holding that Welsh copular clauses which contain *yna* ‘there’ as the expletive subject are existential clauses. However, there are three problems with this view.

First, there is dialectal and stylistic evidence which shows that the use of *yna* ‘there’ as a diagnostic criterion for existentials is not appropriate for Welsh. The use of *yna* ‘there’ in northern and southern dialects varies. Welsh speakers from north and south who have been consulted for the purposes of this study generally have the impression (like mine) that *yna* ‘there’ is expected in contemporary northern Welsh.⁶¹ Further, Fynes-Clinton (1913: 388), in his account of a dialect of north-Walian Welsh in the early twentieth century, notes that the omission of *yna* ‘there’ is rare in that dialect. Thus, in northern dialects we have examples like those in (39).

- 39 a. *mae 'na gar ar y ffordd.*
 be.PRES.3SG there car on the road
 ‘there’s a car on the road.’
- b. *oedd 'na lefrith yn y ffrij.*
 be.IMPF.3SG there milk in the fridge
 ‘there was milk in the fridge.’
- c. *oedd 'na lewod yn y coed.*
 be.IMPF.3SG there lions in the woods
 ‘there were lions in the woods.’
- 40 a. *fydd 'na gyfarfod yn y bore.*
 be.FUT.3SG there meeting in the morning
 ‘there will be a meeting in the morning.’

- b. *oedd 'na ddamwain yn y nos.*
 be.PERS.3SG there accident in the night
 'there was an accident in the night.'
- c. *mae 'na brotest ar ôl y cyfarfod.*
 be.PERS.3SG there protest on track the meeting
 'there is a protest after the meeting.'

But southern speakers can use examples which omit *yna* 'there'.

- 41 a. *mae car ar y ffordd.*
 be.PRES.3SG car on the road
 = 'a car is on the road.'
- b. *oedd llaeth yn y ffrij.*
 be.IMPF.3SG milk in the fridge
 = 'milk is in the fridge.'
- c. *oedd llewod yn y coed.*
 be.PRES.3SG lions in the woods
 = 'lions were in the woods.'
- 42 a. *fydd cyfarfod yn y bore.*
 be.FUT.3SG meeting in the morning
 = 'a meeting will be in the morning.'
- b. *oedd damwain yn y nos.*
 be.IMPF.3SG accident in the night
 'there was an accident in the night.'
- c. *mae protest ar ôl y cyfarfod.*
 be.PRES.3SG protest on track the meeting
 'there's a protest after the meeting.'

Further, examples which contain *yna* 'there' in informal Welsh, like those in like those in (39–40), have equivalents in formal Welsh which lack *yna* 'there', similar to those in (41–42). In the terms of Lyons and McNally, the examples which contain *yna* 'there' are existential while examples which omit *yna* 'there' are locative. But this is clearly not the case in Welsh as the two sets of examples are dialectal or stylistic equivalents which convey the same meaning.

Second, there is a semantic problem. We shall hold the view that an existential sentence is one which proposes the existence of an entity, which may be in a particular time and / or place, as the examples in (43) illustrate (which are based on examples in section 1.2 of chapter 4).

- 43 a. *mae 'na ysbrydion.*
 be.PERS.3SG there ghosts
 'there are ghosts.'
- b. *mae 'na fydoedd eraill yn y bydysawd.*
 be.PERS.3SG there worlds others in the universe
 'there are other worlds in the universe.'
- c. *oedd 'na ddeinosoriaid oesoedd yn ôl.*
 be.IMPF.3SG there dinosaurs ages in track
 'there were dinosaurs ages ago.'
- d. *mae 'na ddynion da yn y byd 'ma.*
 be.PERS.3SG there men good in the world here
 'there are good men in this world.'
- e. *mae 'na syniadau drwg heddiw.*
 be.PERS.3SG there ideas bad today
 'there are bad ideas today.'
- f. *mae 'na dduwion.*
 be.PERS.3SG there gods
 'there are gods.'

But it is not always clear whether a copular clause which contains a locative expletive subject is an existential clause or an indefinite locative. Lyons (1968: 390) suggests that paraphrasing with a clause which contains a verb meaning 'exist' helps to make a distinction between an existential sentence and an indefinite locative. In Welsh, we have *bodoli* 'exist', which occurs with the progressive aspect. But, in the case of Welsh, interestingly, the copula can also occur with the progressive to convey existential meaning. On this basis, the examples in (43) are existential clauses, as the paraphrases in (44) show.

- 44 a. *mae ysbrydion yn {bod / bodoli}.*
 be.PERS.3SG ghosts PROG be / exist
 'ghosts exist.'
- b. *mae fydoedd eraill yn {bod / bodoli} yn y bydysawd.*
 be.PERS.3SG worlds others PROG be / exist in the universe
 'other worlds exist in the universe.'
- c. *oedd deinosoriaid yn {bod / bodoli} oesoedd yn ôl.*
 be.IMPF.3SG dinosaurs PROG be / exist ages in track
 'dinosaurs existed ages ago.'

- d. *mae dynion da yn {bod / bodoli} yn y byd 'ma.*
 be.PERS.3SG men good PROG be / exist in the world here
 'good men exist in this world.'
- e. *mae syniadau drwg yn {bod / bodoli} heddiw.*
 be.PERS.3SG ideas bad PROG be / exist today
 'bad ideas exist today.'
- f. *mae duwion yn {bod / bodoli}.*
 be.PERS.3SG gods PROG be / exist
 'gods exist.'

The examples in (39) and (40) cannot be paraphrased by clauses which contain the progressive aspect or *bodoli* 'exist', as the illustrations in (45) and (46) show.

- 45 a. **mae car yn {bod / bodoli} ar y ffordd.*
 be.PERS.3SG car PROG be / exist on the road
 * 'a car exists on the road.'
- b. **oedd 'na lefrith yn {bod / bodoli} yn y ffrij.*
 be.IMPF.3SG there milk PROG be / exist in the fridge
 * 'there existed milk in the fridge.'
- c. **oedd 'na lewod yn {bod / bodoli} yn y coed.*
 be.IMPF.3SG there lions PROG be / exist in the woods
 * 'there existed lions in the woods.'
- 46 a. **fydd 'na gyfarfod yn {bod / bodoli} yn y bore.*
 be.FUT.3SG there meeting PROG be / exist in the morning
 * 'there will exist a meeting in the morning.'
- b. **oedd 'na ddamwain yn {bod / bodoli} yn y nos.*
 be.PERS.3SG there accident PROG be / exist in the night
 * 'there existed an accident in the night.'
- c. **mae 'na brotest yn {bod / bodoli} ar ôl y cyfarfod.*
 be.PERS.3SG there protest PROG be / exist on track the meeting
 * 'there exists a protest after the meeting.'

The examples in (39) and (40) allow interpretations which say that they locate the entities conveyed by the subject phrases in space or time and not that they propose the existence of these entities. They are indefinite locatives and not existentials. Of course, location in place or time assumes existence. But examples like (39) and (40) are concerned with the location of entities rather than their existence.

Third, *yna* 'there' is not limited to copular clauses but also occurs with other verbs, as the examples in (12) show. It is difficult to explain how *yna* 'there' identifies these examples as existential clauses.

We can consider whether it is possible to overcome the second problem by adopting a dual explanation of copular clauses which contain a locative expletive subject, which is found in some writings, namely, they indicate either the *existence* of entities or the *presence* of entities. However, this does not convincingly address the problem as the notion of presence amounts to the notion of location: being present somewhere is the same as being located somewhere.

In this study, we take the view that an existential clause is one which has existential meaning, such as the examples in (43). That is, they propose the existence of entities in time and / or space. Other clauses propose the location of an entity rather than its existence and can be referred to as indefinite locatives. *Yna* 'there' does not provide a diagnostic test of existential clauses. It has a grammatical function only: it can occur in existential clauses or non-existential clauses if the licensing conditions allow.

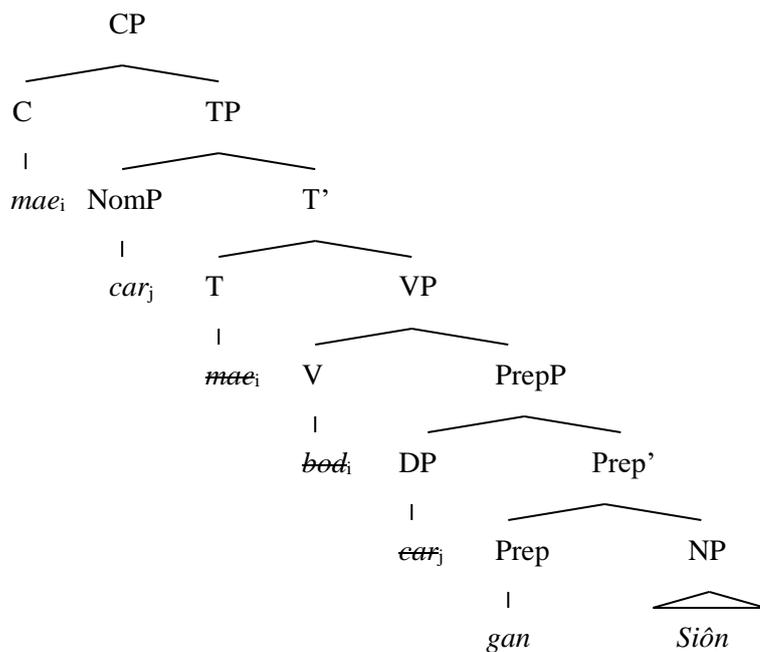
4 Analysis

The expletive *yna* 'there' is used if:

- the copula occurs
- the subject phrase is indefinite
- the predicate is locative.
- the subject position Spec TP is unoccupied

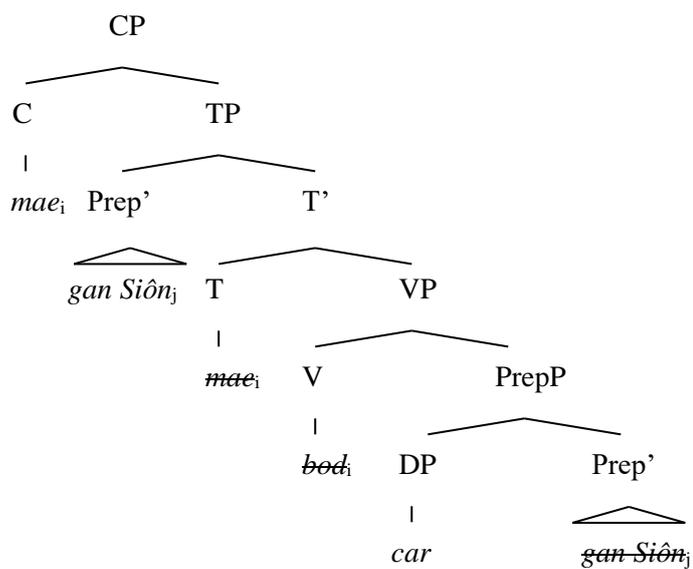
When the subject is raised from Spec Prep to Spec TP, *yna* 'there' cannot be inserted, as the configuration in (47) shows.

47



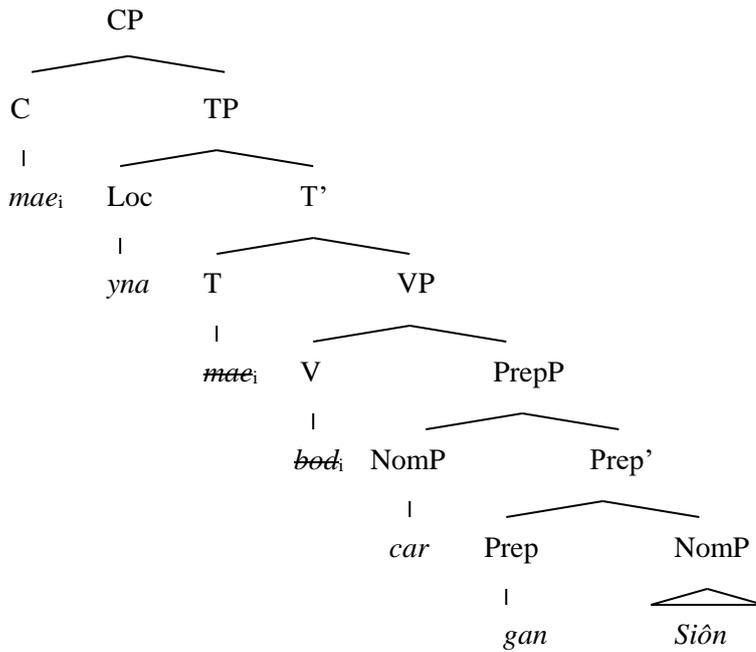
And, similarly, *yna* 'there' insertion does not occur when a prepositional phrase is raised from the predicate to produce an inverted clause, as the configuration in (48) shows.

48



It is only when the subject and Prep' remain *in situ*, that *yna* 'there' can be inserted, as the configuration in (49) shows.

49



The choices illustrated in (47–49) can be sequenced as follows:

- raise the subject phrase, *mae car gan Siôn* ‘Siôn has got a car’;
- if not, raise the predicate phrase, as in *mae gan Siôn gar* ‘Siôn has got a car’;
- if not, insert *yna* ‘there’, as in *mae yna gar gan Siôn* ‘Siôn has got a car’.

The fact that the insertion of *yna* ‘there’ occurs last in this sequence helps to discuss the interesting question ‘why is a locative pronominal used as an expletive when, in the main, the subject is a nominal phrase?’. A pronominal expletive would seem to be more appropriate. But this is to assume that expletive *yna* ‘there’ stands in for the nominal phrase. A locative predicate is one of the licensing conditions of the expletive and there is, then, some connection between *yna* ‘there’ and the predicate. Lyons (1968: 393) speculates that the locative expletive is a syntactic device which ‘anticipates’ the locative phrase in copular clauses. It is not clear what anticipates means here. But there may be a way of explaining it for Welsh. We shall speculate that the sequence of insertions in locative copulars explains the use of *yna* ‘there’ as an expletive subject. If the nominal phrase is not raised then, as we have seen, the locative predicate phrase can be raised in possessives and state copulars. If the prepositional phrase is not raised, the expletive *yna* is inserted. *Yna* ‘there’ can then be seen as the final choice for Spec TP, and as such it is an expletive for a locative phrase and not a nominal phrase. This explanation works well for possessive copulars and state copulars, in which inversion can productively occur. But inversion does not occur in regular prepositional copulars, and yet *yna* can occur in them. But we can speculate that it has its origins in an earlier usage when inversion was more widespread in prepositional copulars. Inversion has been restricted to possessive and state copulars, but *yna* insertion has remained widespread.

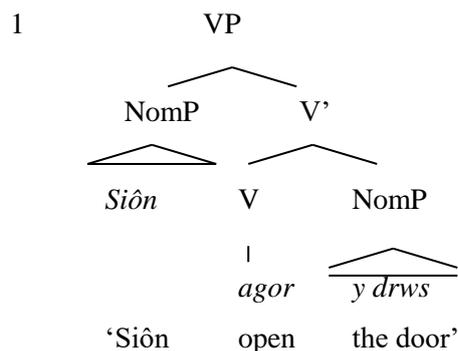
We have seen that there may be some exceptions to the rule that the subject must be indefinite. We have also argued that the locative expletive has no other function other than as an expletive, that is, it does not convey that the clause in which it occurs is an existential clause.

Chapter 13 Overall View Of Welsh Copular Clauses

This chapter explores general characteristics of all copular clauses in Welsh. Section 1 summarises the syntax of basic copular phrases. Section 2 examines the mergers that they can make. Section 3 considers the movements which determine word order in copular clauses. Section 4 discusses the semantics of copular clauses. Section 5 looks at third person forms of the present tense of the copula. Section 6 compares ascriptives and identificatory copulars. The final section presents a summary.

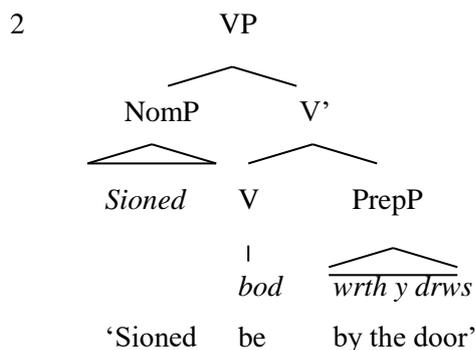
1 Basic copular phrases

Before discussing copular clauses, we shall consider verbal clauses, such as *agorodd Siôn y drws* ‘Siôn opened the door’. They are based on a VP whose head is a lexical verb and which has at least a specifier and may also have a complement. The configuration in (1) contains both a specifier and a complement.



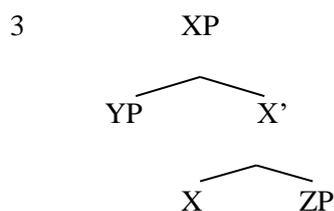
This configuration represents a traditional subject-predicate structure, in which the specifier phrase, NomP, is the subject and the bar phrase, V', is the predicate.

A conventional analysis of copular clauses, such as *mae Mair wrth y drws* ‘Mair is by the door’, holds that they are also based on a VP, but one which has the copula as its head, and a specifier and a complement, as in (2).

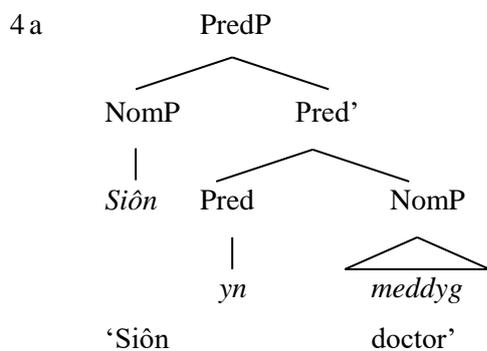


The VP analysis of copular clauses is not followed in this study. On the basis of evidence from subject-predicate clauses, as discussed and illustrated in chapter 10, it is argued that the basic copular phrases do not have the copular as their heads. Chapter 10 shows that not all basic copular phrases can occur in subject-predicate clauses, but the verbless analysis is extended to all basic copular phrases to achieve a generalization.

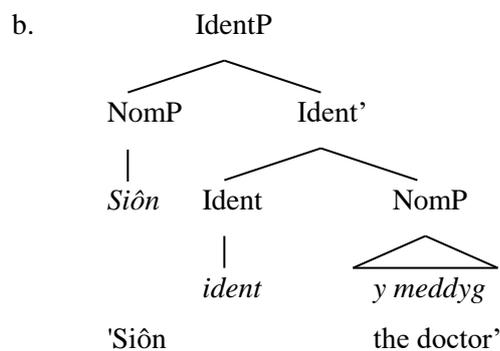
Basic copular phrases are of two general types. First, and in most cases, they are made up of a specifier, a head, and a complement, as in (3).



This configuration also represents a traditional subject-predicate structure, in which the YP in the specifier is the subject and the X-bar phrase is the predicate made up of its head X and complement ZP. It accounts for the types of copular clauses which are illustrated in (4).

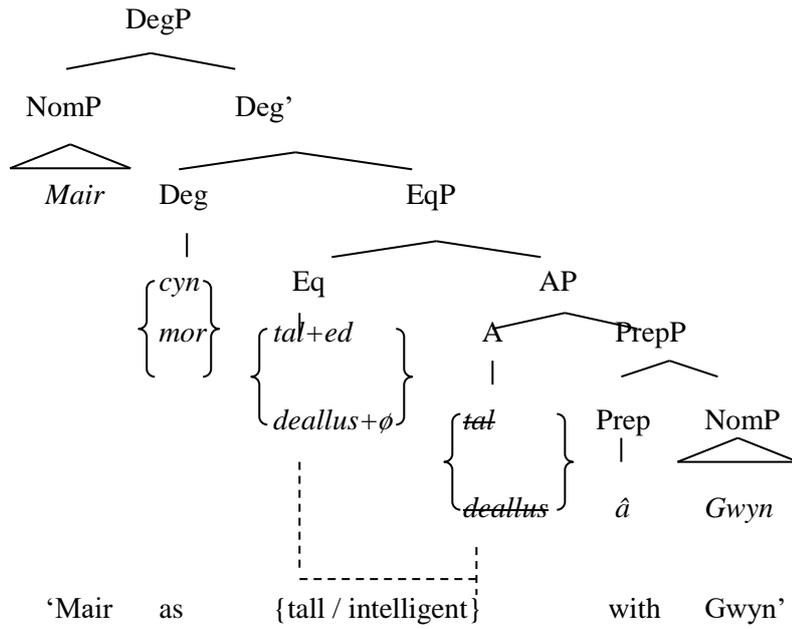


Ascriptive, chapter 2



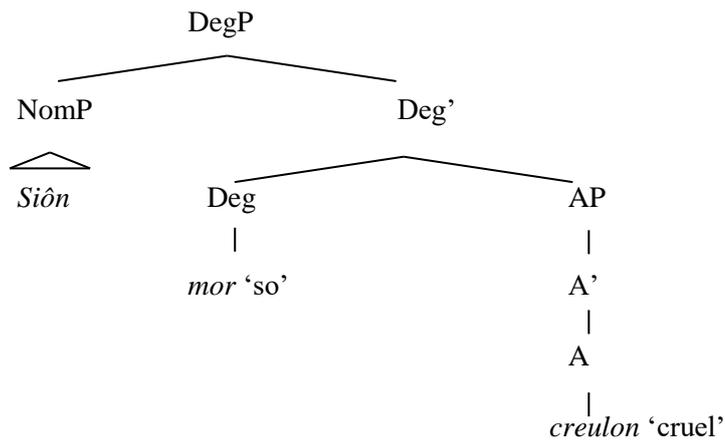
Identificatory, chapter 3

c

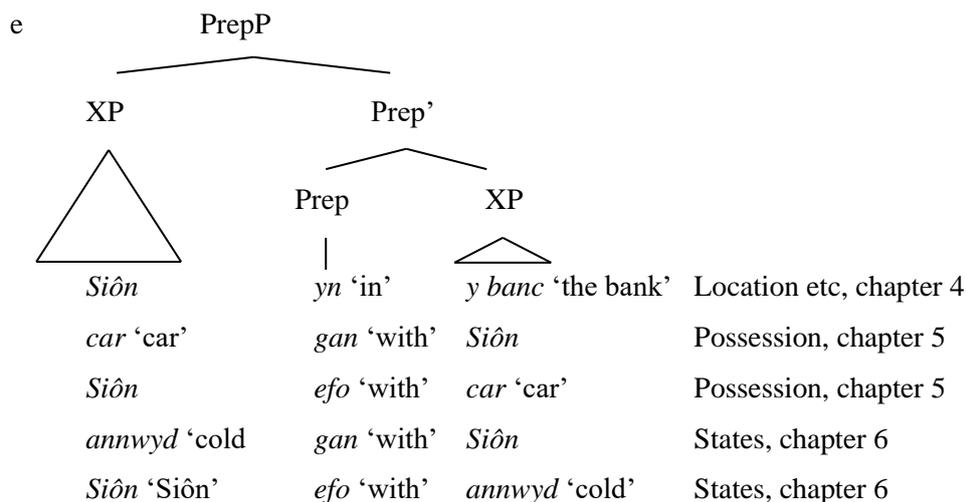


DegP and Equative Degree, chapter 2

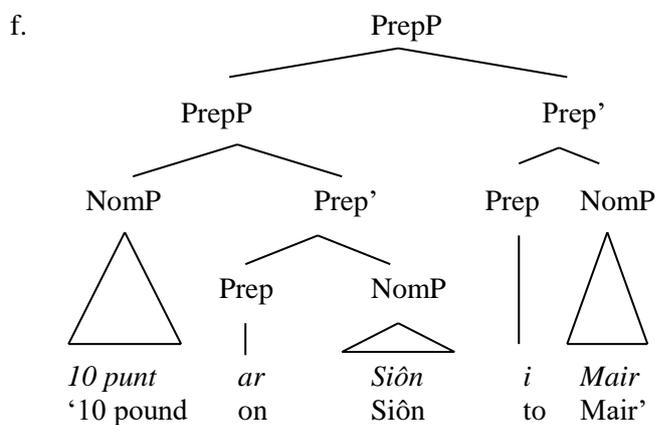
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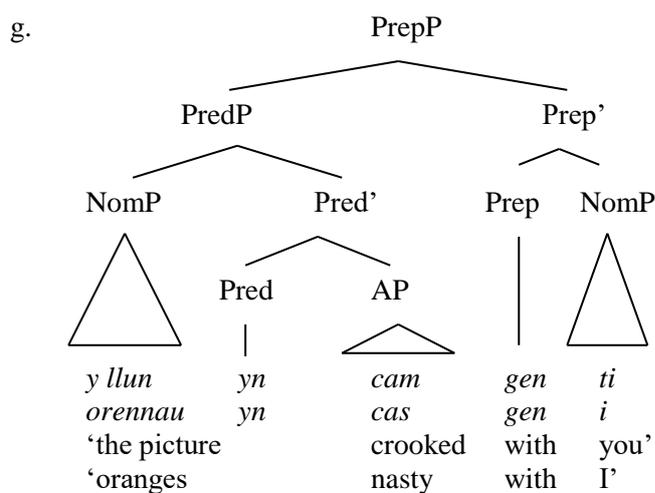
DegP and Intensifier *mor* 'so', chapter2



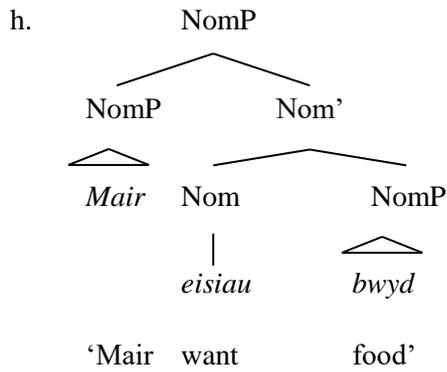
Prepositional Phrases, chapters 4, 5, and 6



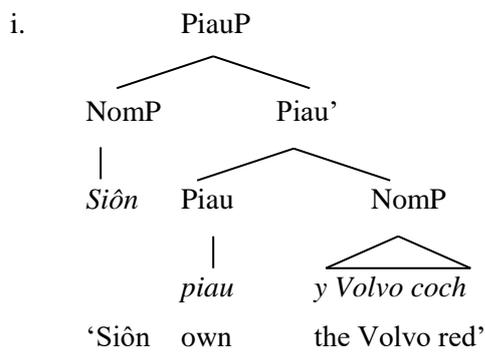
Prepositional Phrase with a Prepositional Phrase in its specifier, chapter 9



Prepositional Phrase with a Predicative Phrase in its specifier, chapter 9

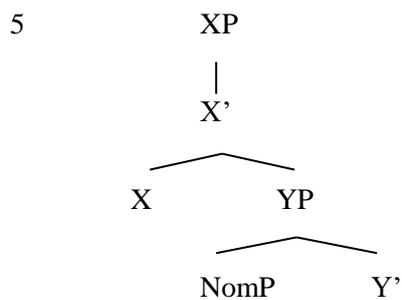


Nominal Phrase and States, chapter 6



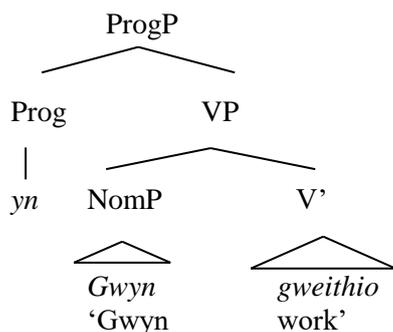
Piau and Ownership, chapter 7

Second, and in a smaller number of cases, the basic phrase has a head and complement but no specifier as in (5).



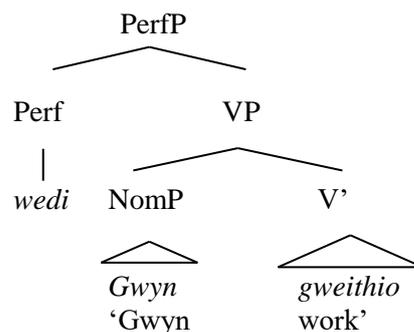
We can distinguish two sub-types. In one sub-type, the head is an aspect particle or prepositional expression and its complement is a VP, as illustrated in (6a–c). In the other sub-type in (7), the head is the complementizer *i* ‘to’ and its complement is TP, and the VP is the complement of T. The basic copular phrase in (7) is distinctive in that it has clausal structure.

6 a



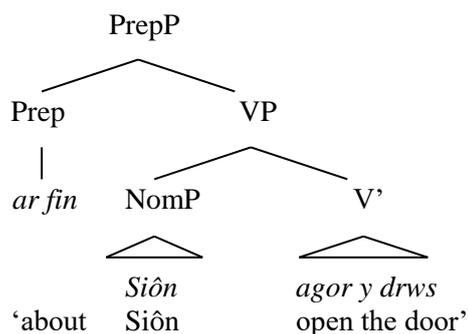
Progressive Aspect, chapter 8

b.



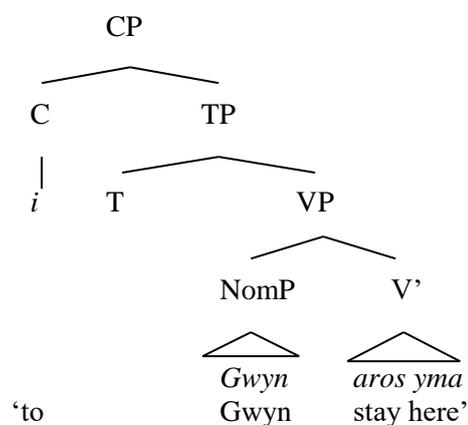
Perfect Aspect, chapter 8

c.



Prepositional expression with VP complement, chapter 8

7

Subjectless *I*-infinitive Clause, chapter 8

In the configurations in (6) and (7), the subject-predicate structure is located in the specifier-bar-phrase configuration of the VP and not the specifier-bar-phrase configuration of the basic copular phrase. It will be recalled that the assignment of thematic roles is the basis for the configurations in (6) and (7).

To conclude, basic copular phrases are several and varied: PredP, IdentP, DegP, PrepP, NomP, PiauP, ProgP, PerfP, PrepP in VP copulars, and *i*-CP (also in VP copulars). The most productive of the basic copular phrases is PrepP. In most of the cases which contain a specifier, it is a nominal phrase (broadly speaking) but in (4f) it is PrepP and in (4g) it is PredP. All the phrases in (4), (6), and (7) do not

themselves contain the copula, which occurs because of the merge properties of these phrases. The majority of the basic copular phrases in Welsh have functional heads, namely, predicative *yn* in PredP, covert *ident* in IdentP, *cyn* or *mor* in DegP, progressive *yn* in ProgP, and infinitival *i* in *i*-CP. Lexical heads occur in PrepP and PrepPs which have a VP complement. The status of the head of PerfP, *wedi*, is unclear: it can be given lexical content but may be functional. If, as outlined in chapter 8, *ar* ‘on’, *newydd* ‘new’, and *heb* ‘without’ are analysed as other aspect markers, then the list of basic copular phrases can be extended to include ImmP, RperfP, and NegP.

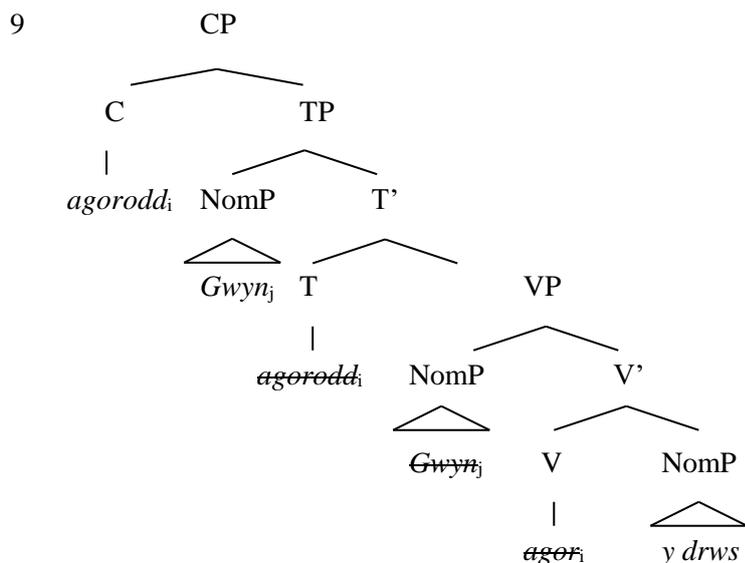
2 Mergers

In this section, we shall discuss the larger phrases that a lexical verb and the copula can form through mergers.

A lexical verb can inflect for tense, mood, aspect, and agreement features to form a finite clause, as the examples in (8) show.

- 8 a. *agorodd Siôn y drws.*
 open.PERV.3SG Siôn the door
 ‘Siôn opened the door.’
- b. *brynith Mair fwy o flodau.*
 buy.FUT.3SG Mair more of flowers
 ‘Mair will buy more flowers.’

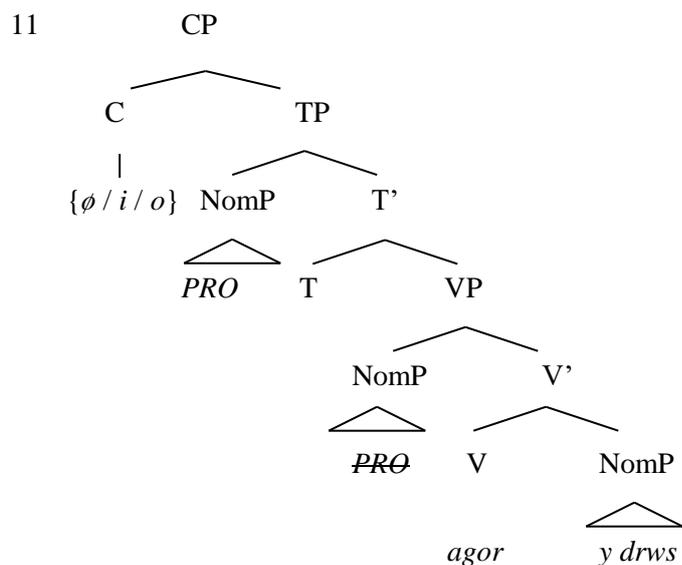
A lexical verb, then, can merge with T to acquire tense and agreement features, and moves to C to achieve the verb-first order of normal-order finite clauses in Welsh, as shown in (9), which is based on (8a).



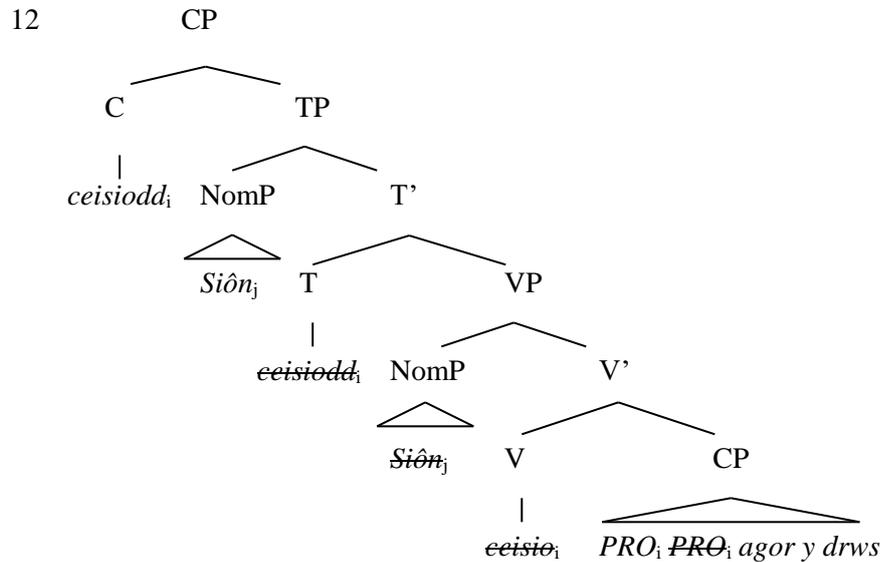
A lexical VP can also occur in a subjectless infinitive clause as the complement to a control verb, as the examples in (10) show.

- 10 a. *geisiodd Sioned [agor y drws].*
 try.PERV.3SG Sioned open the door
 ‘Sioned tried to open the door.’
- b. *wrthododd Mair [brynu mwy o flodau].*
 refuse.PERV.3SG Mair buy more of flowers
 ‘Mair refused to buy more flowers.’

In chapter 8 we have analysed subjectless infinitive clauses like those in (10) as CPs which have either *i*, *o*, or zero as their complementizer and PRO as their subject, as shown in (11).



The CP in (11) can merge with a control verb such as *ceisio* ‘try’ or *gwrthod* ‘refuse’, as in (12), which is based on (10a).

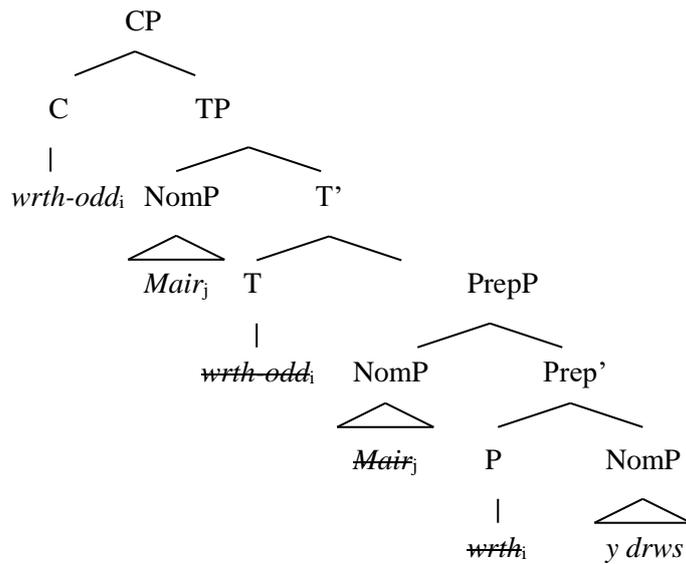


The heads of the basic copular phrases do not make these mergers. They cannot inflect for tense etc and agreement features to form a finite clause.

- 13 a. **wrth-odd Mair y drws.*
 by.PERV.3SG Mair the door
 *‘Mair by-ed the door.’
- b. **yn-odd Siôn gas.*
 PRED. PERF.3SG Siôn nasty
 *‘Siôn nastied.’
- c. **efo-odd Mair arian.*
 with.PERV.3SG Mair money
 *‘Mair with-ed money.’
- d. **cyn-odd Mair hapused â Sion*
 as.PERV.3SG Mair happy.EQ with Siôn
 *‘Mair as-ed happy as Siôn.’

We do not therefore get the configuration in (14), which is based on (13a).

14

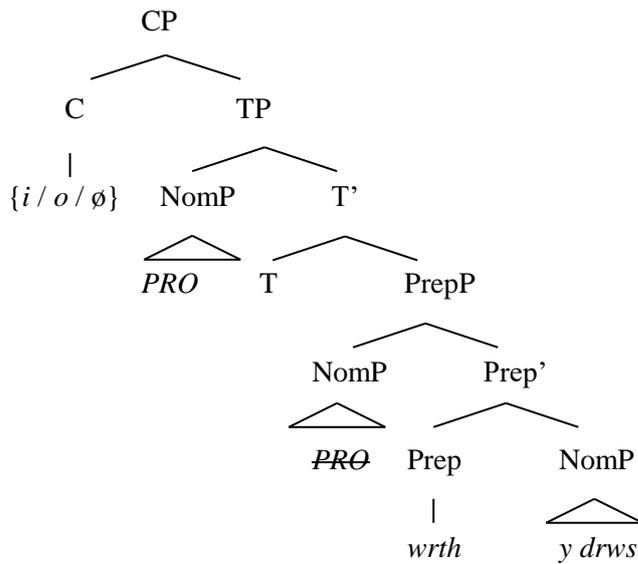


And basic copular phrases cannot occur as complements to control verbs.

- 15 a. **wrthododd Mair* [*wrth y drws*].
 refuse.PERV.3SG Mair by the door
 *‘Mair refused by the door.’
- b. **geisiodd Siôn* [*yn gas*].
 try.PERV.3SG Siôn PRED nasty
 *‘Siôn tried nasty.’
- c. **obeithiodd Gwyn* [*efo arian*].
 hope.PERV.3SG Gwyn with money
 *‘Gwyn hoped with money.’
- d. **fynnodd Mair* [*cyn hapused â Siôn*].
 insist.PERV.3SG Mair as happy.EQ with Siôn
 *‘Mair insisted as happy as Sion.’

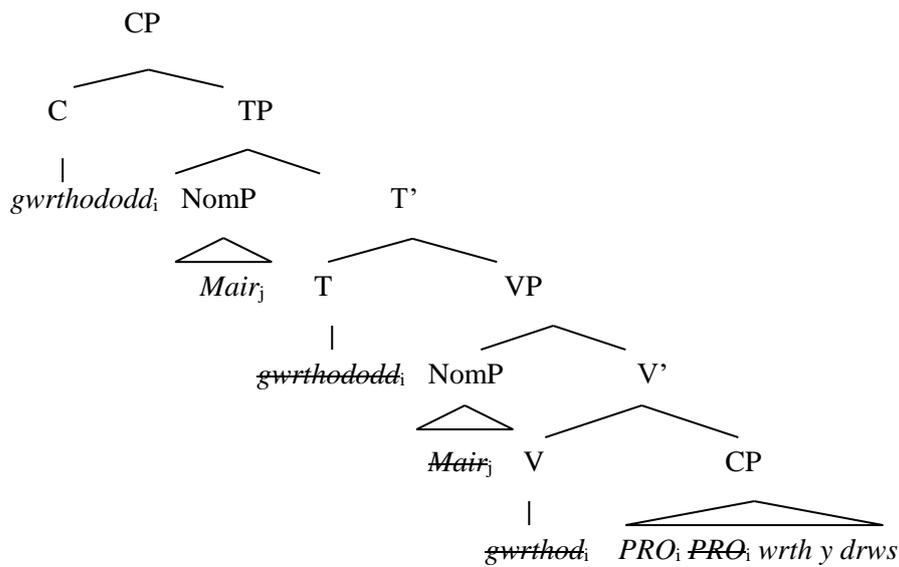
We do not therefore get the configuration in (16).

16



And therefore we do not get the configuration in (17), which is based on a further merger with a control verb such as *gwrthod* ‘refuse’, as in (15a).

17

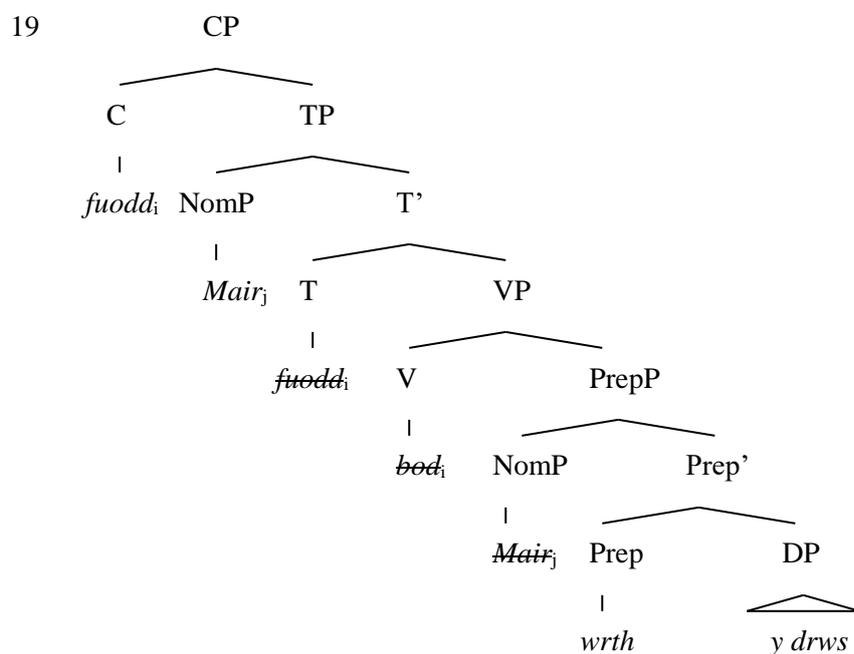


But basic copular phrases can merge with the copula to form a verbal phrase. The copula can inflect for tense etc to form a finite clause.

- 18 a. *fuodd Mair wrth y drws.*
 be.PERV.3SG Mair by the door
 ‘Mair was by the door.’

- b. *fuodd Siôn yn gas.*
 be.PERV.3SG Siôn PRED nasty
 ‘Siôn was nasty.’
- c. *fuodd Mair efo arian.*
 be.PERV.3SG Mair with money
 ‘Mair had money.’
- d. *fuodd Mair cyn hapused â Sion*
 be.PERV.3SG Mair as happy.EQ with Siôn
 ‘Mair was as happy as Siôn.’

We get the configuration in (19), using the example in (18a).

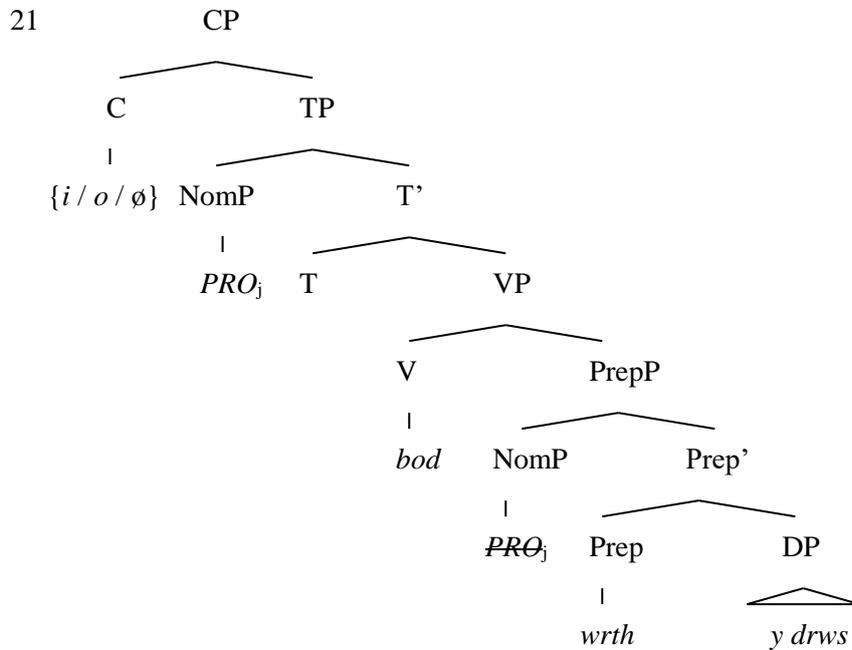


The copular VP can also occur as the complement of a control verb, as a subjectless infinitive clause.

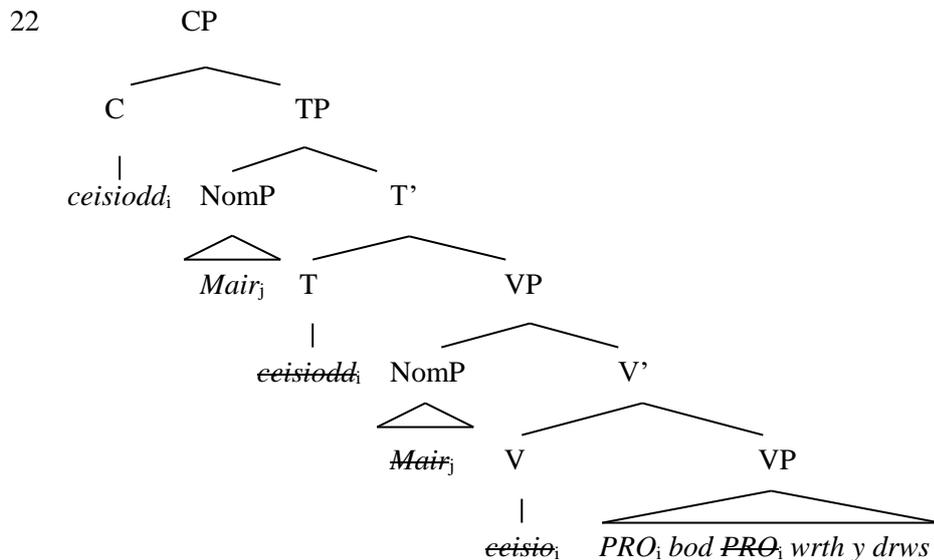
- 20 a. *ceisiodd Mair [fod wrth y drws].*
 try.PERV.3SG Mair be by the door
 ‘Mair tried to be by the door.’
- b. *geisiodd Siôn [fod yn gas].*
 try.PERV.3SG Siôn be PRED nasty
 ‘Siôn tried to be nasty.’
- c. *obeithodd Mair [fod efo arian].*
 hope.PERV.3SG Mair be with money
 ‘Mair hoped to have money.’

- d. *fynnodd Mair [fodcyn hapused â Sion]*
 insist.PERV.3SG Mair be as happy.EQ with Siôn
 ‘Mair insisted on being as happy as Siôn.’

The configuration for the infinitive clause is as in (21), using the example in (20a).



And this CP can merge with a control verb such as *ceisio* ‘try’, as in (22), based on (20a).



Just as a basic copular phrase cannot make the mergers that a basic verbal phrase can make, a basic verbal phrase cannot make the mergers that a basic copular phrase can make. It cannot merge with the copula to form a finite clause.⁶²

- 23 a. **fuodd* *Siôn agor y drws.*
 be.PERV.3SG Mair open the door
 *‘Siôn was open the door.’
- b. **fydd* *Mair brynu mwy o flodau.*
 be.FUT.3SG Mair buy more of flowers
 ‘Mair will be buy more flowers.’

And it cannot merge with the copula to form a subjectless infinitive clause.

- 24 a. **geisiodd* *Sioned [fod agor y drws].*
 try.PERV.3SG Sioned be open the door
 ‘Sioned tried be open the door.’
- b. **wrthododd* *Mair [fod brynu mwy o flodau].*
 refuse.PERV.3SG Mair be buy more of flowers
 ‘Mair refused be buy more flowers.’

It is the chief characteristic of the copula that it is used to form finite clauses and infinitive clauses when the heads of phrases cannot merge with T.

Another difference between the basic phrase of a verbal clause and the basic phrase of a copular clause is that many of the latter can occur as small clauses but not the former (see chapter 10). Examples of basic copular phrases as small clauses are given in (25).

- 25 a. *dw* *i 'n cofio* *Siôn yn flin iawn.*
 be.PRES.1SG I PROG remember Siôn PRED angry very
 ‘I remember Siôn very angry.’
- b. *dw* *i 'n cofio* *Siôn yn y banc.*
 be.PRES.1SG I PROG remember Siôn in the bank
 ‘I remember Siôn in the bank.’
- c. *dw* *i 'n cofio* *hen Fordyn gan dy dad.*
 be.PRES.1SG I PROG remember oldFord with 2SG father
 = ‘I remember your father having an old Ford.’
- d. *dw* *i 'n cofio* *pob man yn fler gen ti.*
 be.PRES.1SG I PROG remember every place PRED untidy with you.SG
 = ‘I remember you having everywhere untidy.’
- e. *dw* *i 'n cofio* *Siôn eisiau bwyd.*
 be.PRES.1SG I PROG remember Siôn want food
 ‘I remember Siôn hungry.’

- f. *dw i 'n cofio Siôn yn gweithio yn y banc.*
 be.PRES.1SG I PROG remember Siôn PROG work in the bank
 ‘I remember Siôn working in the bank.’
- g. *dw i 'n cofio Siôn wedi bod yn nofio yn yr afon.*
 be.PRES.1SG I PROG remember Siôn PERF be PROG swim in the river
 ‘I remember Siôn having been swimming in the river.’

A lexical VP cannot merge with a lexeme as a small clause, as (26) shows.

- 26 a. **dw i 'n cofio [Siôn agor y drws].*
 be.PRES.1SG I PROG remember Siôn open the door
 *‘I remember Siôn open the door.’
- b. **welish i Siôn [dorri 'r ffenest].*
 see.PERV.3SG I Siôn break the window
 ‘I saw Siôn break the window.’
- c. **dw i 'n licio [Gwenan canu].*
 be.PRES.1SG I PROG like Gwenan sing
 *‘I like Gwenan sing.’

But a lexical VP can occur in an aspect phrase, which is copular phrase, which can occur as a small clause, as (25f–g) and (27) show.

- 27 a. *dw i 'n cofio [Siôn yn agor y drws].*
 be.PRES.1SG I PROG remember Siôn PROG open the door
 ‘I remember Siôn opening the door.’
- b. *welish i [Siôn yn torri 'r ffenest].*
 see.PERV.3SG I Siôn PROG break the window
 ‘I saw Siôn breaking the window.’
- b. *dw i 'n licio [Gwenan yn canu].*
 be.PRES.1SG I PROG remember Gwenan PROG sing
 ‘I like Gwenan singing.’

To conclude, lexical verbs can make mergers to produce finite clauses and subjectless infinitivals, but basic copular phrases cannot. The latter can merge with the copula to form a VP, which can then make mergers to form finite clauses and subjectless infinitivals. This is the grammatical function of the copula. Verbs in Welsh are exceptional in that they alone can inflect for mood, tense etc. Many basic copular phrases can also occur as small clauses, but lexical VPs cannot.

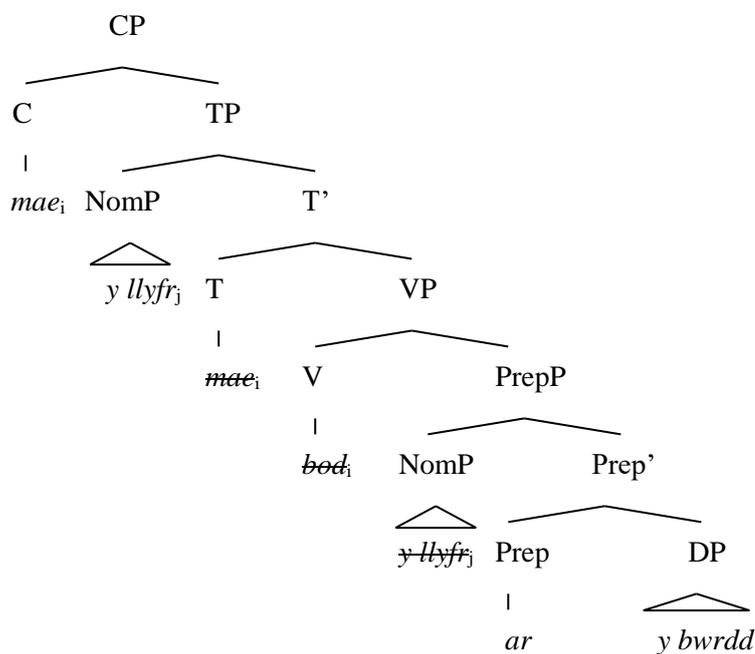
3 Movements and word orders

There are four movements which occur in canonical clauses: raising to Spec TP; raising a verb to T and then to C; raising a focussed phrase to Spec CP; and, less commonly, right-most extraposition of a subject.

3.1 Verb-first order

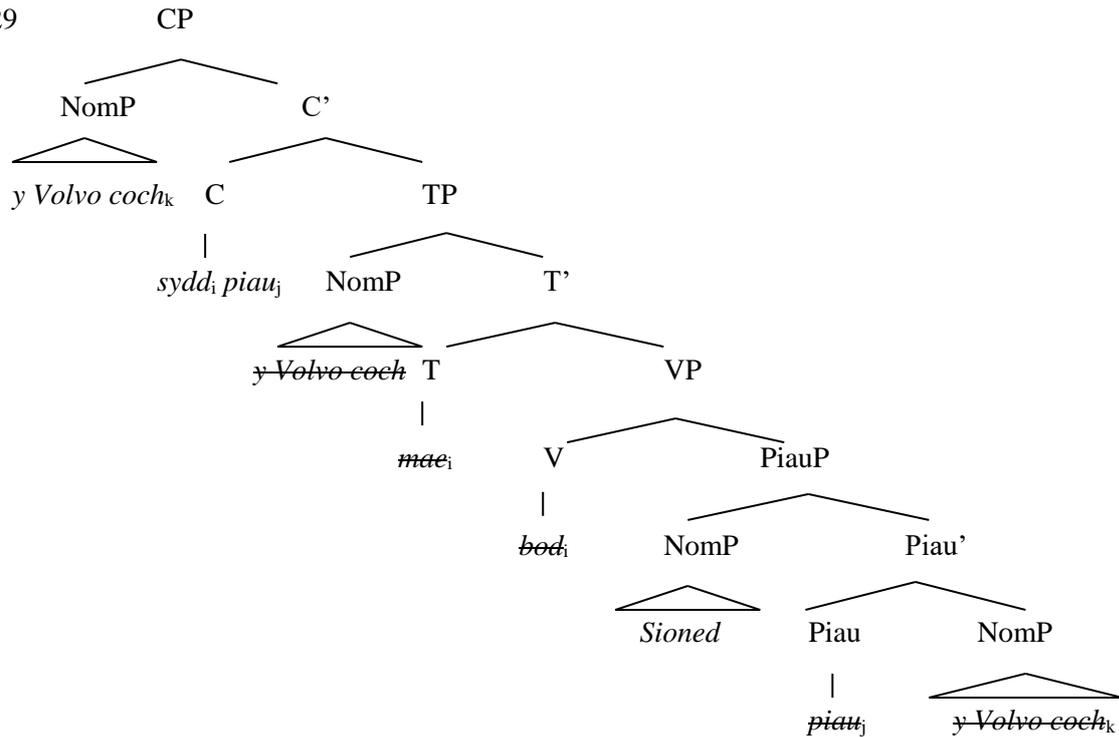
Verb-first order is achieved by raising the verb to T for features of tense etc, and then moving it to C. See the configuration in (28), based on *mae'r llyfr ar y bwrdd* 'the book is on the table'.

28



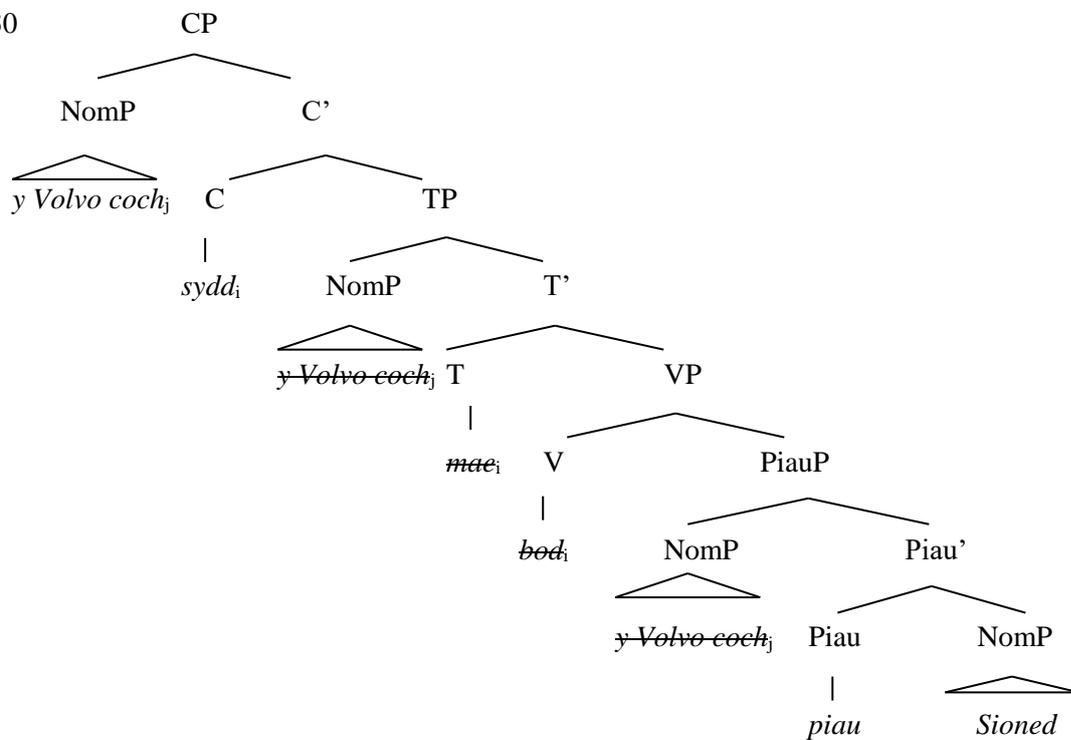
Piau clauses are like other clauses in that the copula is raised to C but, by one analysis, the head word of the basic phrase, *piau*, is also raised to join the copula in C in order to achieve the right word-order. This is shown in (26) in chapter 7, repeated here.

29



This makes *piau* clauses exceptional. But, by another analysis which involves different lexical insertions into Spec PiauP and Comp PiauP, only the copula moves to C and *piau* remains *in situ*. The configuration in (29) in chapter 7 is repeated here.

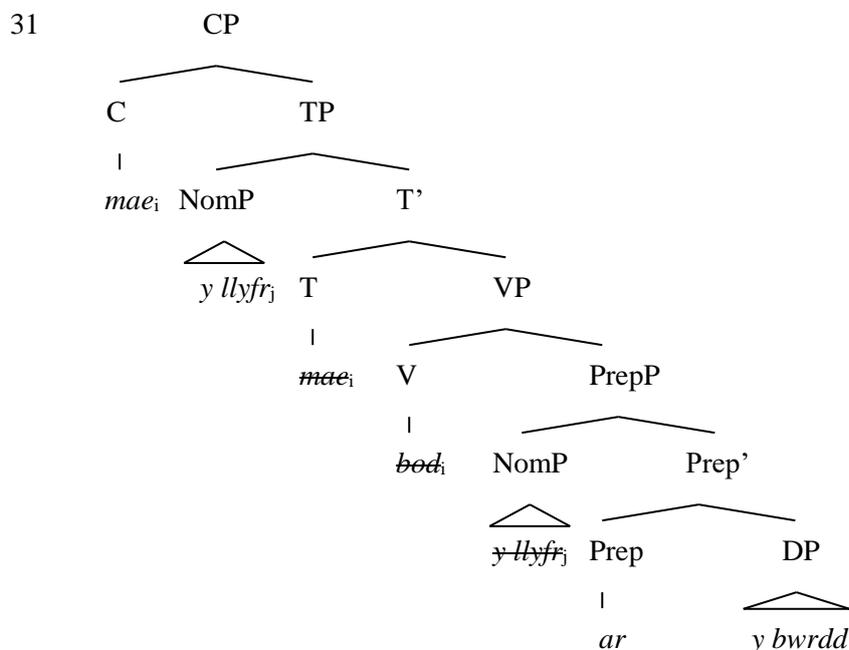
30



This latter approach allows *piau* to stay *in situ*.

3.1.1 Non-inverted order

Moving the verb to C (illustrated in (28) and (31)) and also moving the subject in the basic copular phrase to Spec TP, illustrated in (31), produces normal word-order of canonical finite clauses in Welsh, namely, [Verb + Subject + Predicate].

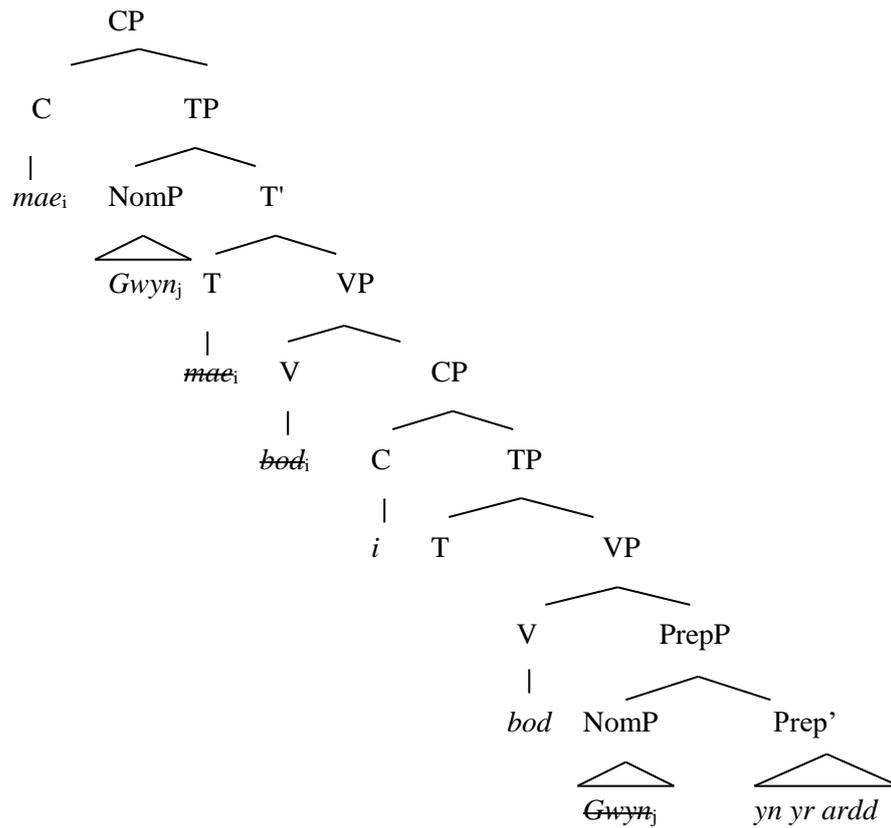


As can be seen, the phrase in the specifier of the basic copular phrase, *Mair*, moves to Spec TP.

In most copular clauses, the subject is raised from the specifier of the basic copular phrase to Spec TP. The configuration in (31) is one of several illustrations in this chapter and other chapters which show this movement. But there are other instances of subject-raising which show that the subject originates elsewhere in the configuration of the basic copular phrase.

First, as shown in chapter 8, VP copulars do not have a specifier in their basic copular phrase. In the case of VPs which are headed by a lexical verb, the subject originates in the specifier of the VP. The configuration in (56) in chapter 8, which illustrates a subjectless *i*-infinitive predicate, will serve to illustrate the general details and is repeated here.

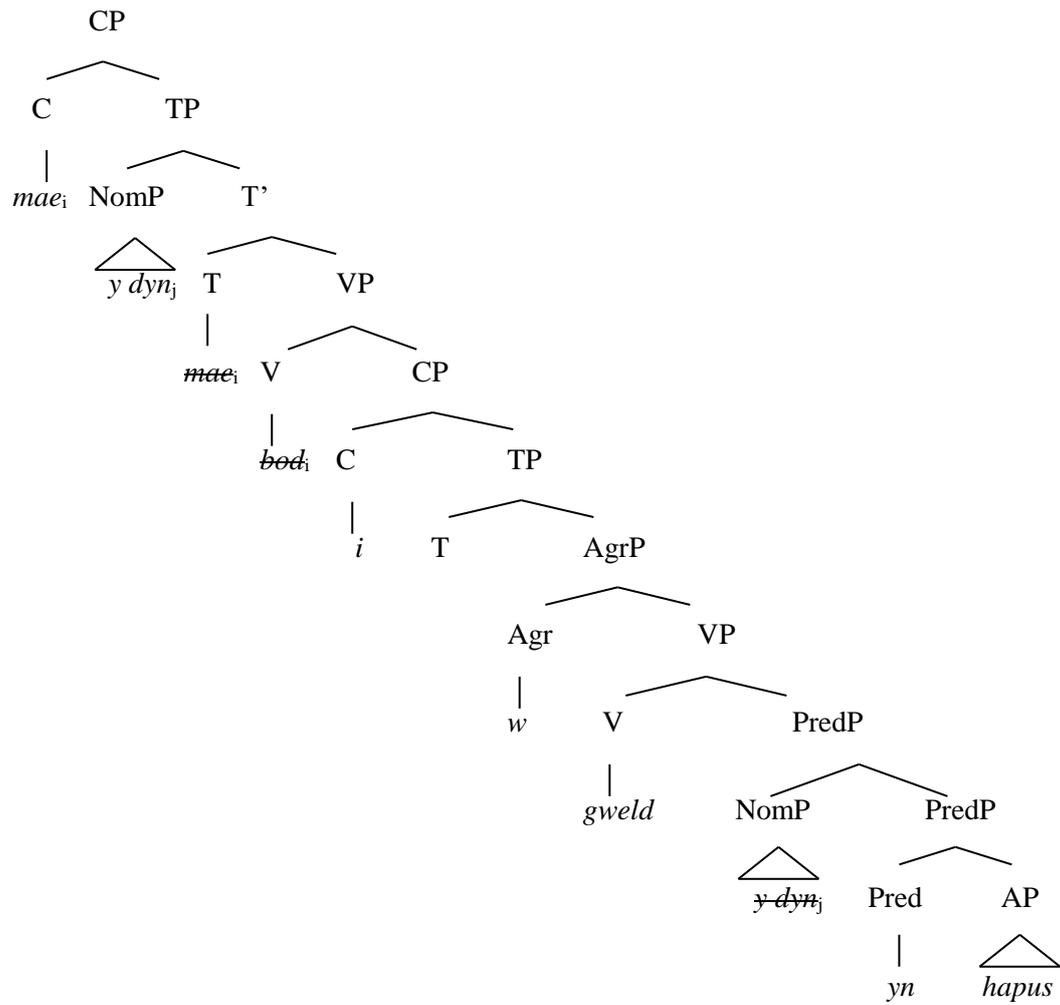
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As can be seen, there is a subject in the specifier of a lower VP and it is this phrase which is raised (cyclically, but not illustrated) to Spec TP.

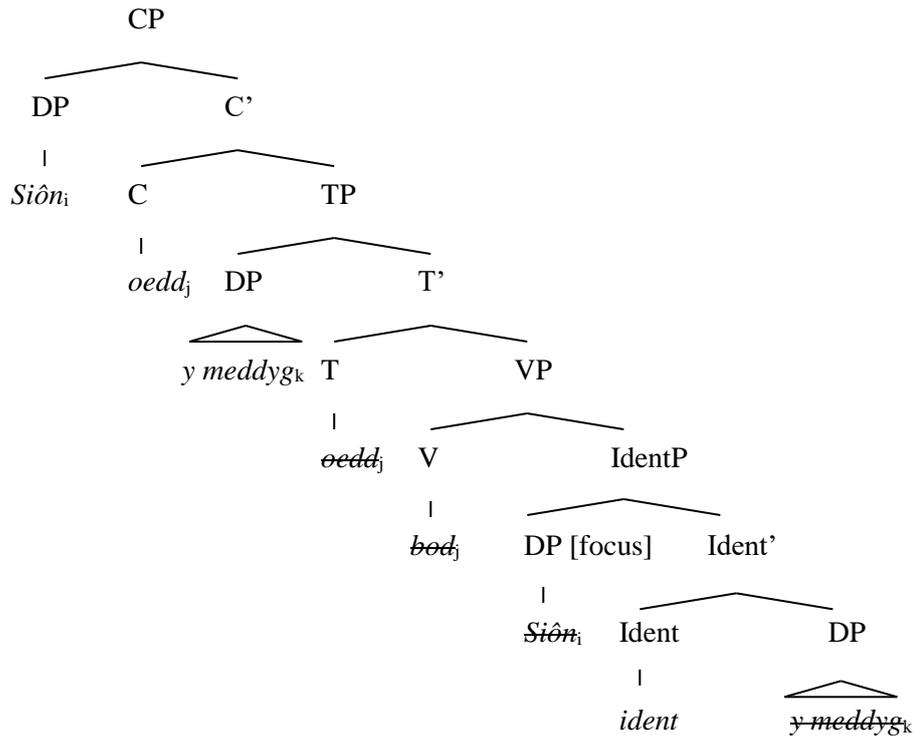
Second, there are examples in which a phrase is raised from a complement to Spec TP. This occurs in subject-to-complement *i*-infinitive clauses, as shown in (36) in chapter 8, repeated here.

33



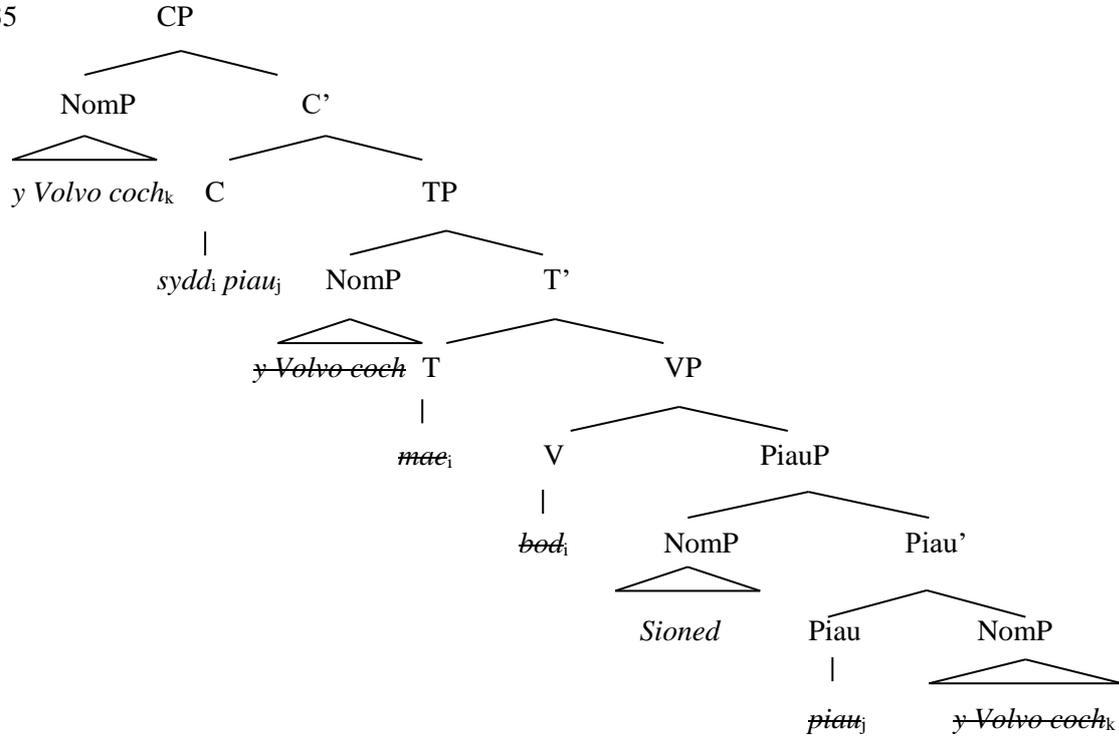
Also, the complement is raised to Spec TP in one analysis of identificatory copular clauses, as illustrated in (60) of chapter 3, repeated here.

34



And in one analysis of *piau* clauses, the complement must pass through Spec TP to license *sydd*, as shown in (27) in chapter 7, repeated here.

35

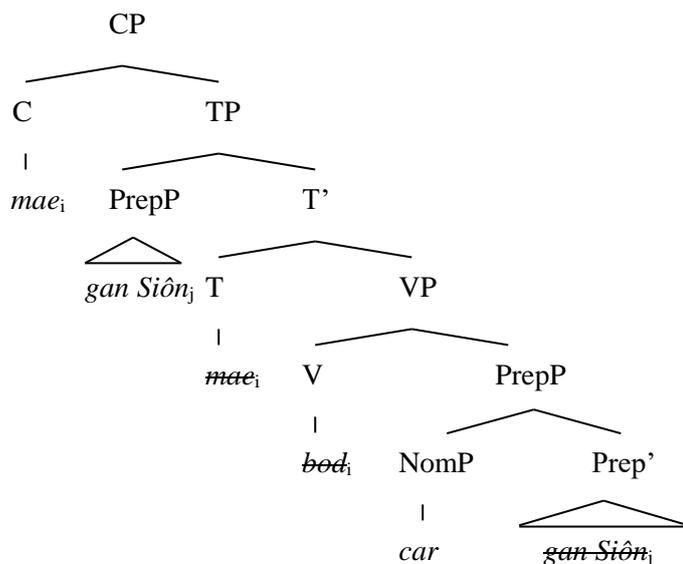


But, as shown in chapter 7, there is an alternative analysis which does not entail raising the complement to Spec TP.

3.1.2 Inverted order

As shown in chapter 5 and chapter 6, in the case of locational possessives and state clauses, there is a variant of verb-first order which inverts the subject and the predicate. An indefinite NomP can remain in the specifier position, Spec PrepP, and Prep' is raised to Spec TP — as in *mae gan Siôn gar* 'Siôn has got a car' and *mae gan Siôn annwyd* 'Siôn has got a cold'. The configuration in (25) in chapter 5 shows this, and is repeated here.

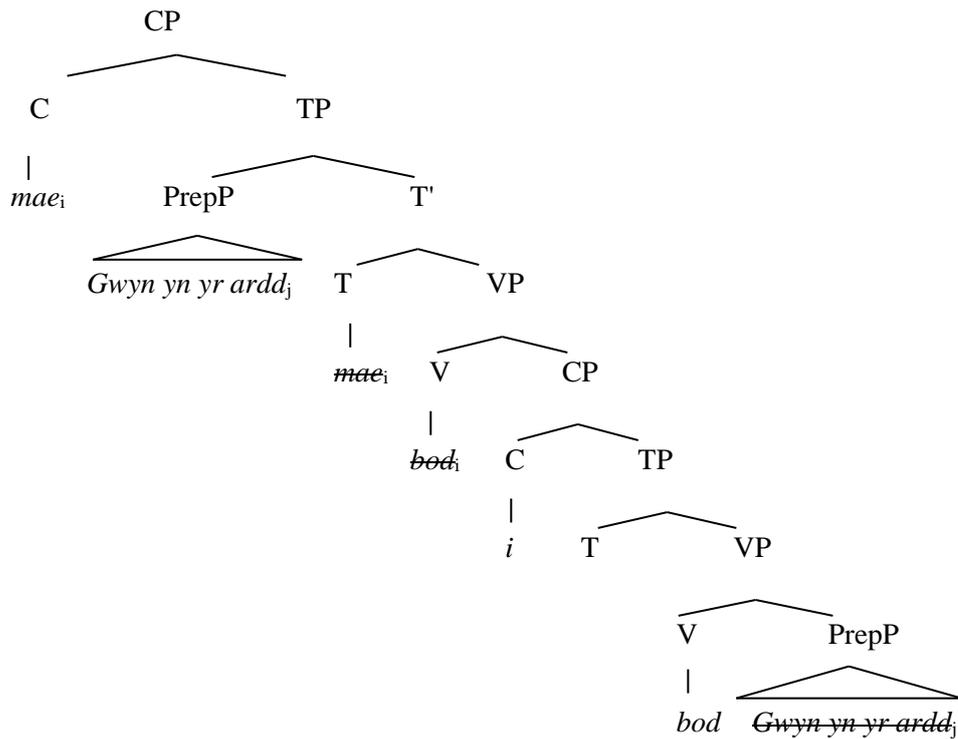
36



Clauses like the one which is configured in (36) are still verb-first clauses, but the raising of Prep' to Spec TP produces inverted order, which makes possessive copular clauses and state copular clauses distinctive.

We can also include here subjectless *i*-infinitivals which have *i fod* in clause-final position, as in *mae Siôn yn yr ardd i fod* 'Siôn is in the garden supposed to be'. It has been argued in chapter 9 that this can be accounted for by raising the entire PrepP and not just its specifier. Details are given in (57) in chapter 8, repeated here.

37



As pointed out in chapter 8, there are alternative explanations involving adjunction and extraposition. But even with these explanations, the clause-final positioning of *i fod* causes different word.

3.1.3 Extraposition

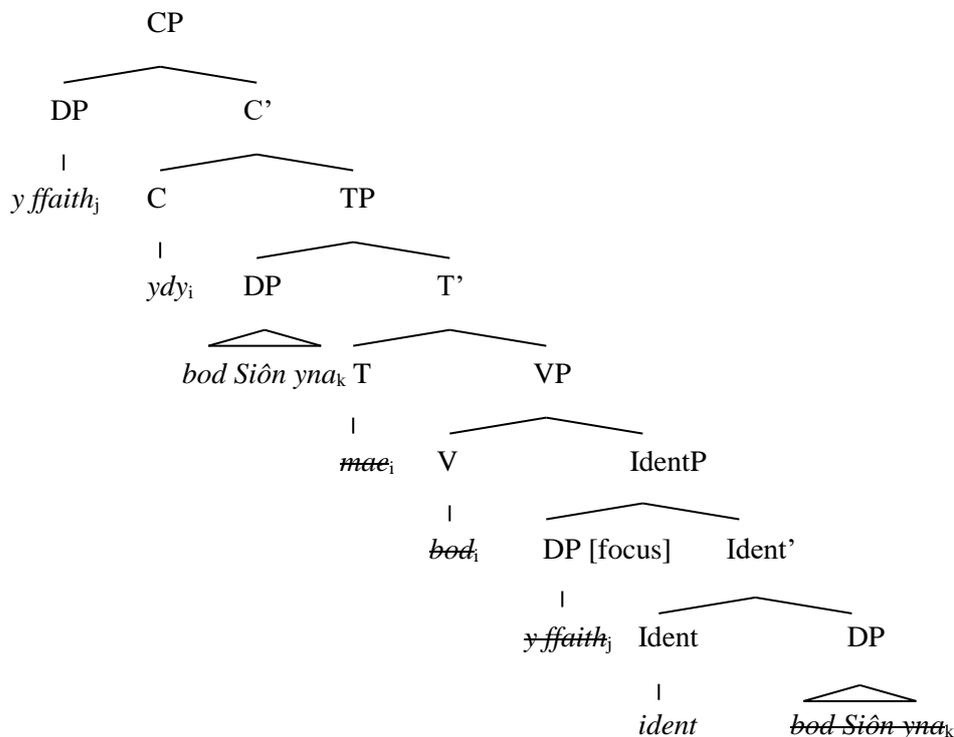
There are verb-first clauses in which a subject phrase or part thereof has been extraposed, either optionally or obligatorily, to a right-most position.

Optional extraposition occurs in ascriptive sentences which have as their subjects either a prepositional phrase, a verb phrase, or *wh*-clause, such as *mae'n boeth wrth y tân* 'it's hot by the fire', *mae'n waith caled torri coed* 'it's hard work cutting trees', and *mae'n amlwg beth made Mair yn ei feddwl* 'it's obvious what Mair thinks'. Discussion and configurations are given in sections 2.2 and 4.2 of chapter 2.

Obligatorily extraposition occurs in ascriptives which have complement clauses or *i*-clauses as their subjects such as *mae'n amlwg bod Mair yn hapus iawn* 'it's obvious that Mair is very happy' and *mae'n anodd i Siôn gyfeddau'r gwir* 'it's hard for Siôn to confess the truth'. Discussion and illustrations are given in sections 2.2 and 4.2 of chapter 2. However, although *i*-clauses and complement clauses are compulsorily extraposed from subject position in ascriptives, it is argued in section 2 of chapter 3 that they are moved to subject position from complement position in identificatory copular clauses, as in *y peth mawr oedd i Sioned gyrraedd yn gynnar* 'the main thing was for Sioned to arrive early', and *y*

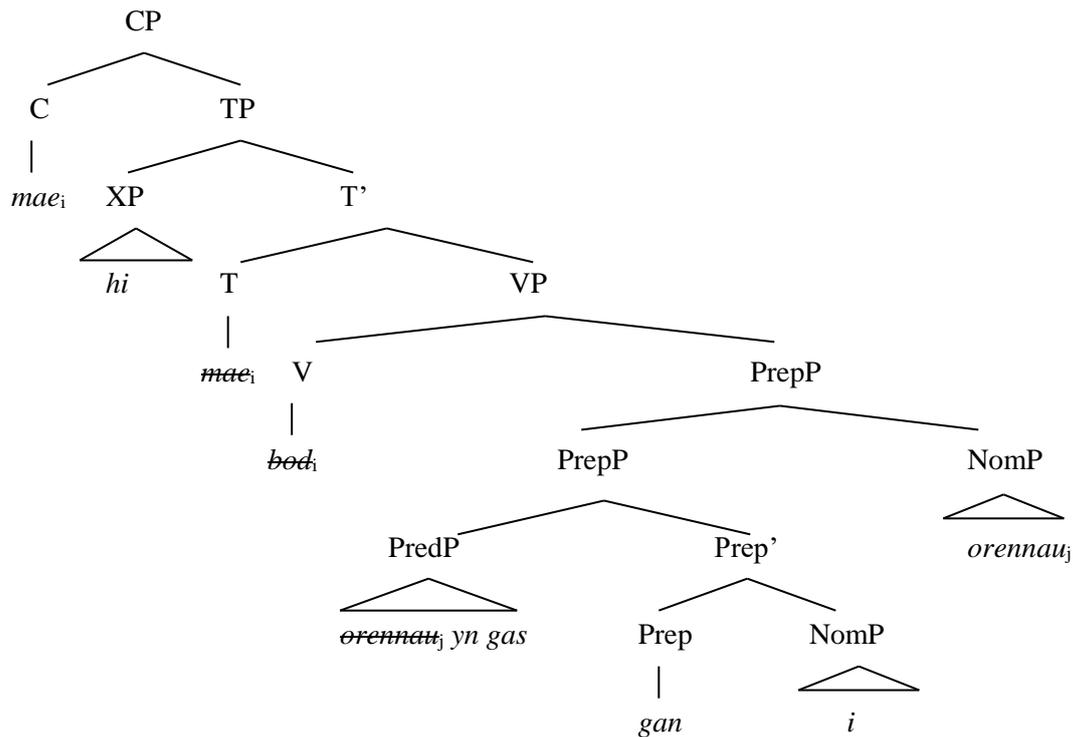
gobaith ydy bod Siôn yn aros ar ôl ‘the hope is that Siôn is staying behind’. The configuration in (66) in chapter 3 illustrates this, and is repeated here.

38



Obligatory extraposition also occurs in dispositional copulars, such as *mae'n gas gen i orennau* ‘I hate oranges’. They have a have PredP in the specifier of the basic copular phrase, but the subject of PredP is right-extraposed, and the remainder, Pred' remains *in situ*. This is shown in (24) in chapter 9 and is repeated here in (39).

39



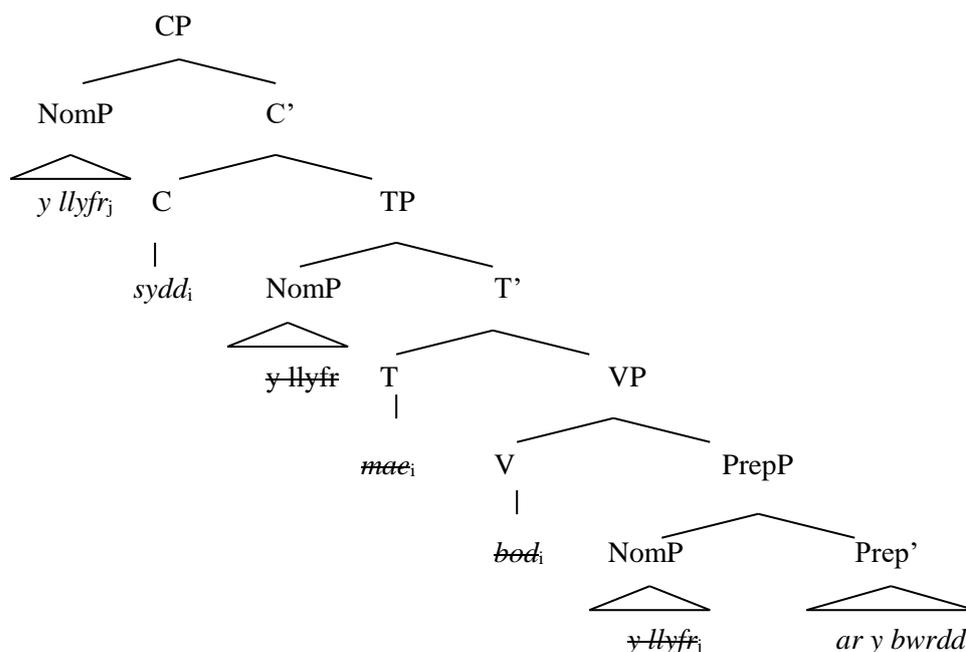
As Spec TP remains empty, an expletive occurs in Spec TP. All this gives these copular clauses very distinctive syntax.

3.2 Verb-second order

Verb-second order in Welsh is fronted order. In this section we are only concerned whether normal word-order or fronted word-order is or is not possible. We are not concerned with the range of constituents which can or cannot be fronted. Details about the latter figures are given in chapter 11.

The majority of copular clauses can optionally front a phrase to Spec CP and this position produces verb-second order, which, in Welsh, is fronted order (or clefted order, as it is sometimes referred to). Thus, as well as the configuration in (31), we can also get the configuration in (40), which accounts for the clause *y llyfr sydd ar y bwrdd* 'it's the book which is on the table'.

40



The majority of copular clauses thus provide a choice of either normal word-order or fronted word-order. But identificatory clauses and *piau* clauses are different, as they compulsorily occur in fronted order as the configuration in (57), for instance, in chapter 3 shows, and as the configuration in (25), for instance, in chapter 7 shows. Focus is obligatorily assigned to either the subject or the complement in these clauses, which means that one phrase must be moved to Spec CP to produce fronted order.

3.3 Summary

The following movements account for the word order of finite copular clauses.

- Normal word-order
 - Non-inverted
 - The verb is raised into T and on into C, but incorporation of *piau* into C occurs (by one analysis)
 - The subject in Spec TP is raised from the specifier of the basic copular phrase but
 - a phrase in a lower Spec VP is raised where no specifier occurs in the basic copular phrase
 - a complement is raised in the case of subject-to-complement infinitivals, in one analysis of identificatory clauses, and in one analysis of *piau* clauses
 - Inverted
 - Prep' is raised in locational possessive and state copulars,
 - and the basic phrase is raised in copulars containing *i-fod*, to produce inversion
 - Extraposition applies optionally to some subjects in ascriptives but obligatorily to

- *i*-clauses and complement clauses in ascriptives (but not in identificatory copulars)
- a part of the subject in dispositional copulars
- Fronted word-order is achieved by moving a phrase to Spec TP
 - o Compulsory for identificatory clauses and *piau* clauses
 - o Optional for all other clauses

These points make the following copular clauses exceptional in terms of word order: *piau* clauses, identificatory clauses, locational possessive and state copulars, VP copular clauses which contains *i fod*, ascriptive copulars which contain an *i*-clause or a complement clause, and dispositional copulars. Other copulars are have canonical word order.

4 Semantics

The copula does not contribute to the semantics of copular clauses (Rouveret (1996: 126), specifically addressing the taxonomy of copular clauses presented by Higgins (1979), adopts the same approach). The semantics of copular clauses are produced by the relationship between the subject and the predicate in the basic copular phrase. The head of the basic copular phrase conveys the semantic relationship between the subject and the complement.

- *ascription* is conveyed by the predicative particle *yn* in ascriptive copulars
- an *identificatory* relationship is conveyed by the covert head *ident* in identificatory copulars
- the *equative degree* is conveyed by equative particles *cyn* and *mor*
- *intensification* is conveyed by the degree particle *mor*
- *location (spatial and temporal), comitative, similarity, source, recipient, beneficiary, and needs / intention / disposition* are conveyed by prepositions in regular prepositional copulars
- *possession* is conveyed by prepositions in possessive copulars
- *states*, bodily and emotional, are conveyed by prepositions in state copulars
- *ownership* is conveyed by *piau*.
- *aspect* meanings are conveyed by aspect particles in VP copulars
- *temporal locations* are conveyed by prepositional expressions in VP copulars
- *obligation* is conveyed by an *i*-infinitival in VP copulars
- *expected future* is conveyed by an *i*-infinitival and *eto* in VP copulars
- *perception* is conveyed in subject-to-complement *i*-infinitivals in VP copulars
- *debt* is conveyed by two prepositional phrases in prepositional-prepositional copulars
- *agency* is conveyed by *gan* in predicative-prepositional copulars
- *disposition* is conveyed in predicative-prepositional copulars

As can be seen, copular clauses in Welsh can convey numerous and varied meanings.

5 The third person and present tense forms of the copula

We have seen in previous chapters (mainly in chapters 2, 3, and 4) that the Welsh copula has more than one form of the third persons of the present tense. These are summarised in table 11.

Table 11. Third person forms of the present tense of the Welsh copula

Singular	<i>mae</i> 'is'	<i>ydy</i> 'is'	<i>oes</i> 'is'	<i>sydd</i> 'is'	<i>bod</i> 'be'
Plural	<i>maen</i> 'are'	<i>ydyn</i> 'are'			

The reasons for including the infinitive form *bod* 'be' in this table will become clear when we discuss complement clauses below. For completeness, variant forms are given in table 12.

Table 12. Variant forms of the third persons of the present tense of the Welsh copula

Singular	<i>mae</i>	<i>ydy</i>	<i>oes</i>	<i>sydd</i>	<i>bod</i>
	<i>ma'</i>	<i>'dy</i>	<i>o's</i>	<i>sy'</i>	
		<i>ody</i>	<i>'s</i>		
		<i>yw</i>			
Plural	<i>maen</i>	<i>ydyn</i>			
	<i>ma'n</i>	<i>'dyn</i>			
		<i>odyn</i>			
		<i>ŷn</i>			

We shall refer to *mae* / *ma'* / *maen* / *ma'n* as *m*-forms, and to *ydy* / *'dy* / *ody* / *yw* / *ydyn* / *'dyn* / *odyn* / *ŷn* as *y*-forms, and to *oes* / *o's* / *'s* as *oes*, and to *sydd* / *sy'* as *sydd*. Some of the variants in table 12 are produced by phonological changes: vocalic changes produce *ma'*, *ma'n*, and *o's*; dropping the initial vocalic elements produces *'dy*, *'dyn*, and *'s*; and dropping the final dental fricative produces *sy'*. There are also dialect differences — singular *ydy* / *'dy* and plural *ydyn* / *'dyn* are mainly northern, while singular *ody* / *yw* and plural *odyn* / *ŷn* are mainly southern. But there are also syntactic differences in the case of the variants of the *y*-forms, which are related to negation, interrogation and responsives. These are not directly relevant to our aims, but interested readers can find an account in Jones (2004).

The common licensing conditions of all these forms is that the tense is the present tense and the person is the third person (either singular or plural) — although an additional tense condition is needed for *bod* as we shall see. But the selection of *m*-forms, *y*-forms, *oes*, *sydd*, or *bod* can be accounted for by the

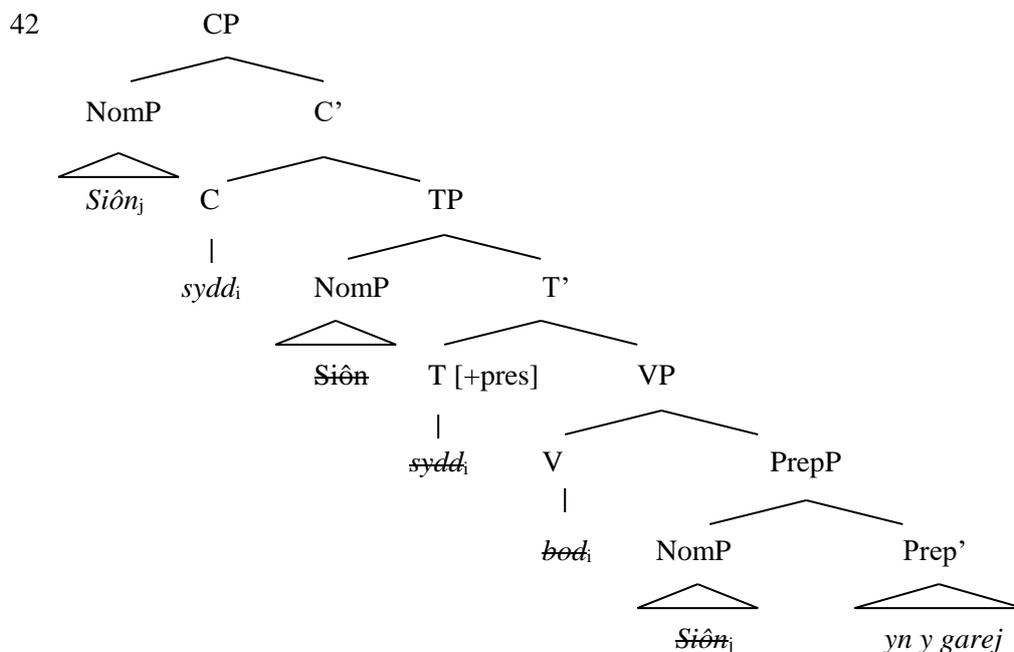
characteristics of the following types of clauses: fronted clauses, non-fronted clauses, conditional clauses, and complement clauses. We shall see that it is possible to simplify the account by including conditional clauses in the account of non-fronted clauses. Some speakers in informal Welsh do not follow all the rules which are outline in this section.

5.1 Fronted word-order clauses

The characteristics of fronted clauses provide an explanation for the choice of either the *m*-forms, the *y*-forms, or *sydd*. All fronted clauses have a phrase in Spec CP which has been moved from other positions in the clause. We can use the presence of traces in their *in situ* positions to explain the selection of one of the three forms. When the fronted phrase leaves a trace in Spec TP, *sydd* is licensed. In other words, the subject is fronted, as in the examples in (41).

- 41 a. *y car newydd sydd yn y garej.*
 the car new be.PRES.3SG in the garage
 ‘it’s the new car which is in the garage.’
- b. *Sioned sydd yn dreifio ’r car newydd.*
 Sioned be.PRES.3SG PROG drive the car new
 ‘it’s Sioned who is driving the new car.’

The configuration in (42) shows the conditions which license *sydd*, based on (41a).



When a trace occurs in either PredP (ascriptive clause) or IdentP (identificatory clause) and no trace occurs in Spec TP, a *y*-form is licensed. In the case of PredP, it is the complement which is fronted, whatever phrase it may be (leaving a trace in Comp PredP), as in example (43).

43 a. *twrnai* { *ydy* / **mae* / **oes* } *Mair*.

lawyer be.PRES.3SG Mair

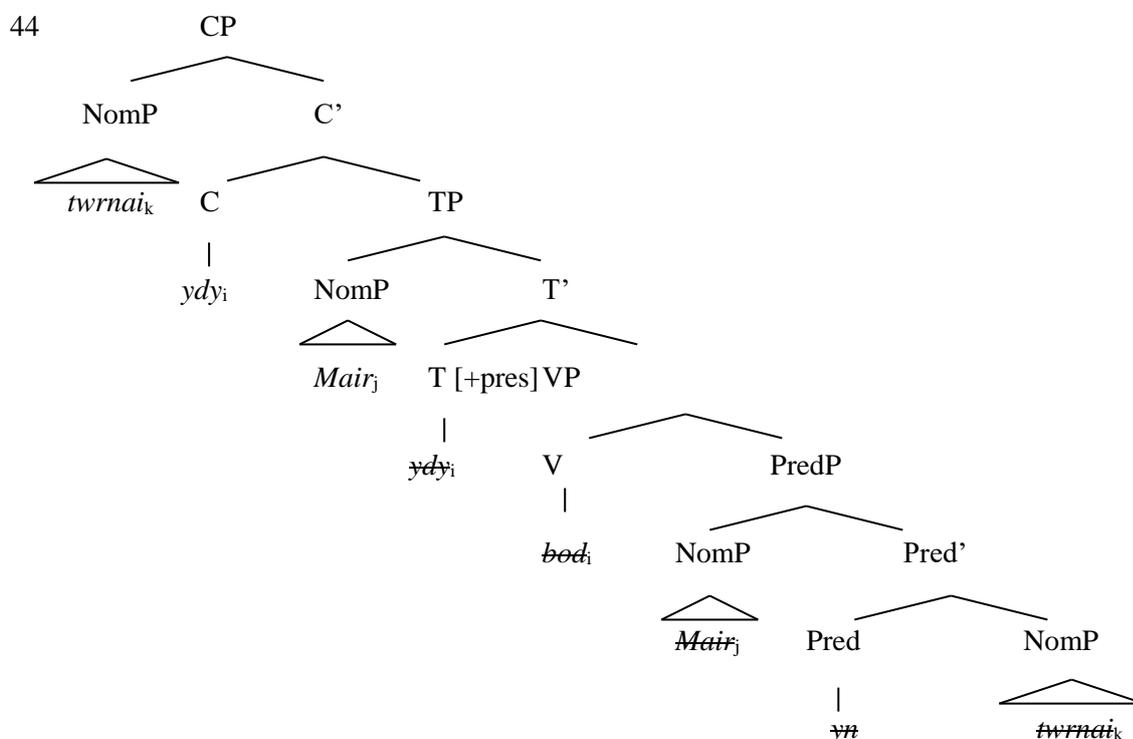
= ‘Mair is a lawyer.’

b. *caredig iawn* { *ydy* / **mae* / **oes* } *Siôn*.

kind very be.PRES.3SG Siôn

= ‘Siôn is very kind.’

The configuration in (44) shows these licensing conditions, based on (43a).



In the case of IdentP, either its subject or complement can be fronted, leaving a trace in Spec IdentP or Comp IdentP but not in Spec TP (following the discussion in section 5.2 of chapter 3). Examples are given in (45).

45 a. *y cadeirydd* { *ydy* / **mae* / **oes* } *Mair*.

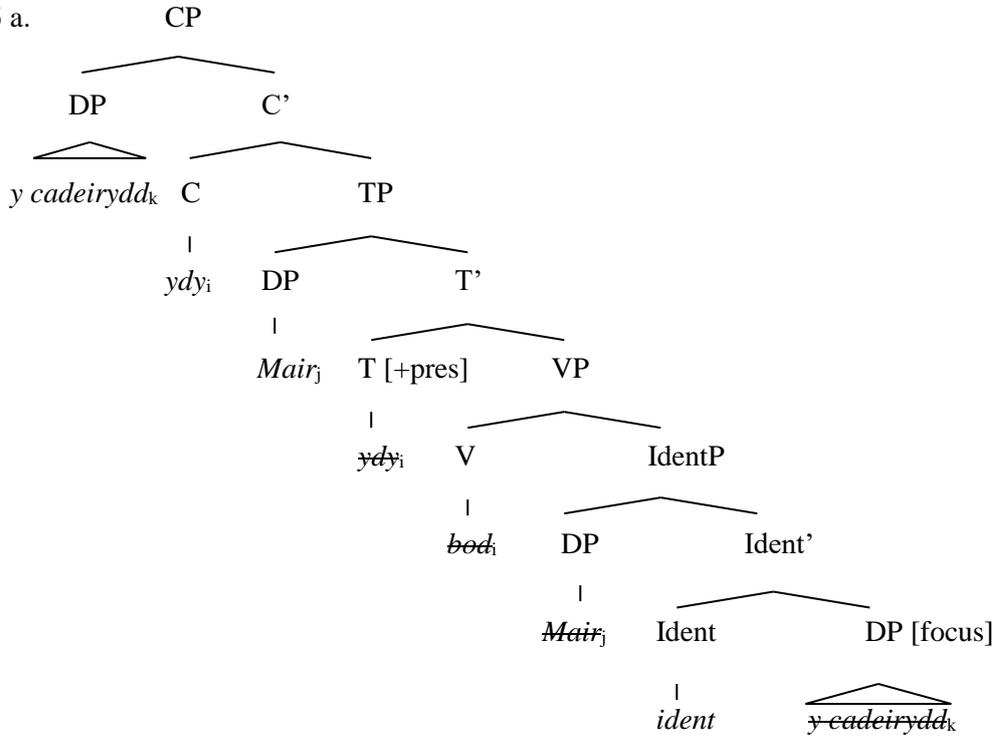
thechairperson be.PRES.3SG Mair

= ‘the chairperson is Mair.’

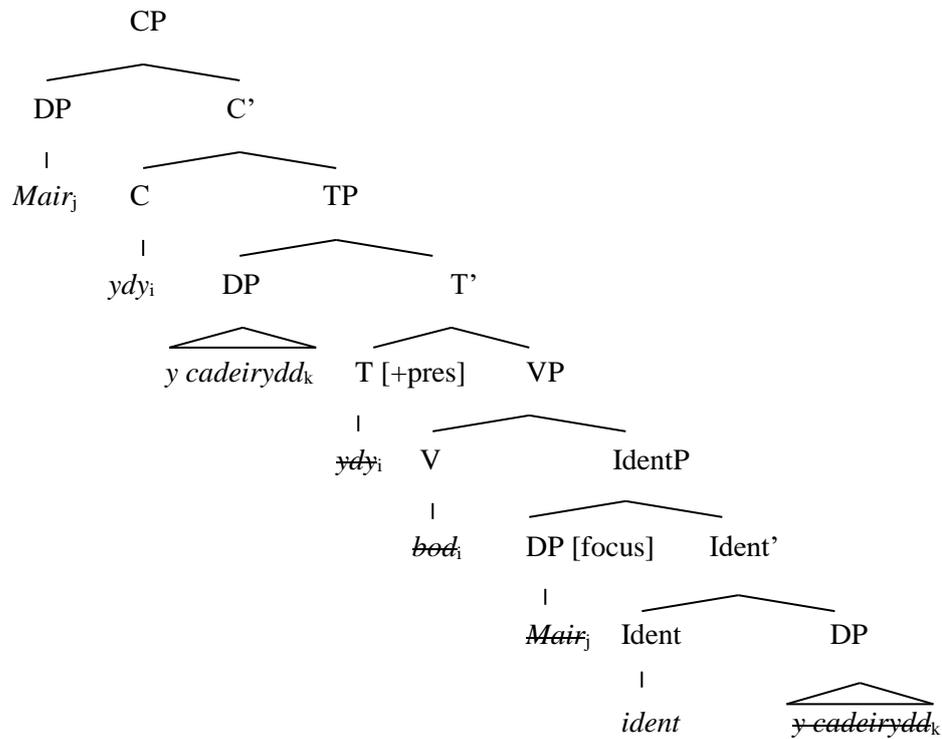
- b. *Mair* { *ydy* / **mae* / **oes* } 'r *cadeirydd*.
Mair be.PRES.3SG the chairperson
 'Mair is the chairperson.'

The configurations for these conditions are given in (46), based on (45a) and (45b).

46 a.



b.



When traces occur in any other position, an *m*-form is licensed, as shown by the examples in (47).

- 47 a. *yn y dre {mae / *ydy} Sioned.* trace in Prep'
 in the town be.PRES.3SG Sioned
 = 'Siôn is in the town.'
- b. *gan Siôn {mae / *ydy} 'r goriad.* trace in Prep'
 with Siôn be.PRES.3SG the key
 = 'it's Siôn who has got the key.'
- c. *ar y bwrdd {mae / *oes} orennau.* trace in Prep'
 on the table be.PRES.3SG oranges
 = 'there are oranges on the table.'
- d. *paentio 'r tŷ {mae / *ydy} Mair.* trace in V'
 paint the house be.PRES.3SG Mair
 = 'Mair is painting the house.'
- 48 a. *y cwpwrdd {mae / *ydy} 'r gyllell ynddo.* trace in Comp PrepP
 the cupboard be.PRES.3SG the knife in.3SG.M
 = 'the knife is in the cupboard.'
- b. *y bwrdd {mae / *oes} orennau arno.* trace in Comp PrepP
 the table be.PRES.3SG oranges on.3SG.M
 = 'there are oranges on the table.'

In (47a–c) Prep' is fronted and in (47d) V' is fronted. In (48a–b), the phrase in Comp PrepP is fronted, leaving an agreement inflection and a trace. In short, if the conditions do not licence either *sydd* or a *y*-form, then an *m*-form is selected.

The licensing conditions in fronted clauses are summarised in table 13.

Table 13. Licensing conditions for the third person forms of the present tense of the Welsh copula in fronted-order clauses (the columns with dashes indicate alternative phrases — 'or')

	Spec CP	Spec TP	Comp PredP	Comp IdentP	Spec IdentP	Other Phrases
<i>sydd</i>	Filled	Trace				
<i>y</i> -form	Filled		Trace	Trace	Trace	
<i>m</i> -form	Filled					Trace

It follows that as fronting to Spec CP is common to the licensing of all these forms, a trace in the origin of the moved phrase determines the selection of *sydd*, *y*-forms, or *m*-forms.

5.2 Normal word-order clauses

If a phrase does not occur in Spec CP, there is a choice between an *m*-form, a *y*-form, or *oes*. To begin with, we shall present the influence of force, polarity, and the definiteness of the nominal phrase which is in subject position, that is, Spec TP.

M-forms are not subject to definiteness and can occur with a definite subject or an indefinite subject. But they only occur when the clause has declarative force and positive polarity (and is non-embedded, as we shall see). The force and polarity conditions are illustrated in (49).

- 49 a. *mae* {**oes* / **ydy*} *car newydd yn y garej.*
 be.PRES.3SG car new in the garage
 ‘a new car is in the garage.’
- b. *mae* {**oes* / **ydy*} *'r car newydd yn y garej.*
 be.PRES.3SG the car new in the garage
 ‘the new car is in the garage.’

Y-forms are selected if the clause has interrogative force and / or negative polarity and the subject phrase is definite. These conditions are seen in the examples in (50).

- 50 a. *ydy* {**mae* / **oes*} *'r car newydd yn y garej?* Interrogative
 be.PRES.3SG the car new in the garage
 ‘is the new car in the garage?’
- b. *dydy* {**mae* / **oes*} *'r car newydd ddim yn y garej.* Negative
 NEG.be.PRES.3SG the car new NEG in the garage
 ‘the new car isn’t in the garage’
- c. *dydy* {**mae* / **oes*} *'r car newydd yn y garej?* Interrogative & negative
 NEG.be.PRES.3SG the car new in the garage
 ‘isn’t the new car in the garage?’

Oes is selected if the clause has interrogative force and / or negative polarity and the subject phrase is indefinite. These conditions are seen in the examples in (51).

- 51 a. *oes* {**mae* / **ydy*} *car newydd yn y garej?* Interrogative
 be.PRES.3SG car new in thegarej
 ‘is (there) a new car in the garage?’

- b. *does* { **mae* / **ydy* } *dim car newydd yn y garej.* Negative
 NEG.be.PRES.3SG NEG car new in the garage
 ‘there isn’t a new car in the garage.’
- c. *does* { **oes* / **ydy* } *dim car newydd yn y garej?* Interrogative and negative
 be.PRES.3SG new car new in the garage
 ‘isn’t there a new car in the garage?’

The facts so far about the selection of the forms of the third person present tense of the copula are summarised in table 14.

Table 14. Selection of *m*-forms, *y*-forms, and *oes* in normal-order clauses (1)

	Force and / or Polarity	Definiteness
<i>m</i> -form	declarative and positive	definite or indefinite
<i>y</i> -form	interrogative and / or negative	definite
<i>oes</i>	interrogative and / or negative	indefinite

We can also include here the influence of the conditional conjunction *os* ‘if’. This form licenses either a *y*-form or *oes*, but not an *m*-form, as shown by the examples in (52). It can be seen that it is definiteness which again explains the choice of a *y*-form or *oes*.

- 52 a. *os* { *ydy* / **mae* / **oes* } *Siôn yn gweithio ...*
 if be.PRES.3SG Siôn PROG work
 = ‘if Siôn is working ...’
- b. *os* { *ydyn* / **maen* / **oes* } *nhw ’n barod i gychwyn ...*
 if be.PRES.3PL they PRED ready to start
 = ‘if they are ready to start ...’
- c. *os* { *oes* / **mae* / **ydy* } *digon o fwyd ar ôl ...*
 if be.PRES.3SG enough of food on track
 = ‘if there is enough food left ...’

As the effect of definiteness applies in conditional clauses, it simplifies the account to develop table 14 to include *os* ‘if’, as in table 15.

Table 15. Selection of *m*-forms, *y*-forms, and *oes* (2)

	Force and / or Polarity, or Conditional <i>os</i> 'if'	Definiteness
<i>m</i> -form	declarative and positive	definite or indefinite
<i>y</i> -form	interrogative and / or negative and / or <i>os</i> 'if'	definite
<i>oes</i>	interrogative and / or negative and / or <i>os</i> 'if'	indefinite

Some speakers in informal Welsh use *m*-forms in negatives and *os* 'if' conditional as in examples like *ma' fe ddim yn dod* 'he's not coming' and *ma' fe'n hapus os ma' Mair yn hapus* 'he is happy if Mair is happy'.

5.3 Complement clauses

The selection of *bod* can be accounted for by force and polarity and also by embedding and tense. It can occur in embedded clauses which are (i) either present tense or past imperfect, (ii) declarative, and (iii) positive.

- 53 a. *dw i 'n meddwl {bod / (*mae)} Sioned yn gweithio heno.*
 be.PRES.1SG I PROG think be.PRES.3SG Sioned PROG work tonight
 = 'I think that Sioned is working tonight.'
- b. *dw i 'n meddwl {bod / (*oedd)} Sioned yn gweithio heno.*
 be.PRES.1SG I PROG think be.IMPF.3SG Sioned PROG work tonight
 = 'I think that Sioned was working tonight.'

As can be seen, *bod* replaces the present tense *m*-forms and the past imperfect forms in these contexts and, as such, the overt morphological distinction between the present tense and the imperfect tense is lost. But *bod* cannot occur in a root (non-embedded) clause which otherwise has the same tense, force and polarity characteristics. The *m*-forms and the imperfect forms occur.

- 54 a. *{mae (*bod)} Sioned yn gweithio heno.*
 be.PRES.3SG be.PRES.3SG Sioned PROG work tonight
 = 'Sioned is working tonight.'
- b. *{oedd (*bod)} Sioned yn gweithio heno.*
 be.IMPF.3SG be.IMPF.3SG Sioned PROG work tonight
 = 'Sioned is / was working tonight.'

If the complement clause is declarative and negative, there are two possibilities in informal Welsh. One is that the imperfect forms and the present tense forms, namely, the *y*-forms and *oes*, can occur, as in (55) and (56).

- 55 a. *dw i 'n gobeithio dydd Sioned ddim yn gweithio heno.*
 be.PRES.1SG I PROG hope NEG.be.PRES.3SG Sioned NEG PROG work tonight
 'I hope that Sioned is not working tonight.'
- b. *dw i 'n amau does dim bwyd ar ôl.*
 be.PRES.1SG I PROG suspect NEG.be.PRES.3SG NEG food on track
 'I suspect that there is no food left.'
- 56 a. *dw i 'n gobeithio doedd Sioned ddim yn gweithio heno.*
 be.PRES.1SG I PROG hope NEG.be.IMPF.3SG Sioned NEG PROG work tonight
 'I hope that Sioned was not working tonight.'
- b. *dw i 'n amau doedd dim bwyd ar ôl.*
 be.PRES.1SG I PROG suspect NEG.be.PRES.3SG NEG food on track
 'I suspect that there was no food left.'

The other is that *bod* is selected, as the examples in (57) and (58) show.

- 57 a. *dw i 'n gobeithio bod Sioned ddim yn gweithio heno.*
 be.PRES.1SG I PROG hope be PRES Sioned NEG PROG work tonight
 'I hope that Sioned is not working tonight.'
- b. *dw i 'n amau bod dim bwyd ar ôl.*
 be.PRES.1SG I PROG suspect be PRES NEG food on track
 'I suspect that there is no food left.'
- 58 a. *dw i 'n gobeithio bod Sioned ddim yn gweithio heno.*
 be.PRES.1SG I PROG hope be IMPF Sioned NEG PROG work tonight
 'I hope that Sioned was not working tonight.'
- b. *dw i 'n amau bod dim bwyd ar ôl.*
 be.PRES.1SG I PROG suspect be PRES NEG food on track
 'I suspect that there was no food left.'

Examples (57) and (58) show that not only is there no overt distinction of tense, there is also no overt distinction which is based on the definiteness of the subject. *Bod* occurs with definite subjects in (57a) and (58a) and also with indefinite subjects in (57b) and (58b). In formal Welsh, the overt tense forms obligatorily occur in embedded clauses which are declarative and negative, as in *rwy'n gobeithio nad yw Siôn yn gweithio heno* 'I hope that Siôn is not working tonight' and *rwy'n amau nad oes bwyd ar ôl* 'I suspect that there is no food left'.

Matters are different in interrogative complement clauses. In informal Welsh *os* ‘if’ occurs as the interrogative particle while *a* occurs in formal Welsh and, for some speakers, in informal Welsh. We use *os* ‘if’ in the illustrations. The imperfect forms and the present tense *y*-forms and *oes* occur in embedded interrogative clauses and not *bod* nor the *m*-forms.

- 59 a. *mae Mair yn gofyn os { 'dy/ *mae / *bod} Mair yn gweithio heno.*
 be.PRES.3SG Mair PROG ask if be.PRES.3SG Mair PROG work tonight
 ‘Mair is asking if Mair is working tonight.’
- b. *ydy Mair yn gwbod os { oes / *mae / *bod} bwyd ar ôl?*
 be.PRES.3SG Mair PROG know if be.PRES.3SG food on track
 ‘is Mair asking if there is any food left?’

Table 16 summarises the selection of *bod* and the alternative copula forms in informal Welsh.

Table 16. The selection of *bod* or overtly tensed present and imperfect forms of the copula in embedded clauses in informal Welsh

	Force	Polarity
<i>bod</i>	Declarative	Positive or Negative (informal Welsh)
tensed forms	Declarative	Negative
	Interrogative	Positive or Negative

Variation occurs in embedded declarative clauses which are negative: either *bod* or the tensed forms can occur. In formal Welsh, a tensed form would occur.

5.4 Summary

We can summarise the licensing conditions for the third person forms of the present tense of the copula in informal Welsh as follows.

A phrase in Spec CP

- and a trace in Spec TP *sydd*
- or a trace in Comp PredP, Spec IdentP, or Comp IdentP *y*-form
- or other traces *m*-form

No phrase in Spec CP

- and declarative and positive and non-embedded *m*-form

- or declarative and present or imperfect tense and embedded *bod*
- or interrogative and / or negative and / or *os* ‘if’
 - and definite subject *y-form*
 - or indefinite subject *oes*

We can summarise the licensing conditions of each form as follows.

sydd a phrase in Spec CP and a trace in Spec TP

- y-form*
- i. a phrase in Spec CP and a trace in Comp PredP, Spec IdentP, or Comp IdentP
 - ii. no phrase in spec CP, interrogative and / or negative, or *os* ‘if’, and definite subject

oes no phrase in Spec CP, interrogative and / or negative, or *os* ‘if’, and indefinite subject

- m-form*
- i. a phrase in Spec CP and traces in phrases other than PredP or IdentP
 - ii. no phrase in Spec CP and declarative and positive and root clause

bod complement clause which is declarative, and present or imperfect tense (informal Welsh)

It can be seen that *m*-forms and *y*-forms can occur in more than one syntactic context: both can occur in fronted clauses and non-fronted clauses, but have different licensing conditions in each context. We shall leave to future research a discussion of the question whether *y*-forms and *m*-forms can be accounted for in one generalization.

6 Ascriptives and identificatory copulars compared

This chapter and a comparison of chapters 2 and 3 shows that there are differences between ascriptive copulars and identificatory copulars in terms of (i) word order, (ii) the phrases which can occur as subjects and complements, and the definiteness and specificity of the nominal phrases, (iii) the present tense forms of *bod*, and (iv) semantics. Chapter 10 shows that they are also different in terms of distribution. In this section we shall add other differences relating to relative clauses, *pryd* ‘when’ interrogatives, semi-copulars, and verbal patterns.

6.1 Description

Ascriptives can occur in relative clauses as (60a) shows, but identificatory clauses cannot as (60b) shows.

60 a. *dyma 'r dyn [oedd yn feddyg].*

here-is the man be.IMPF.3SG PRED doctor

‘here’s the man who was a doctor’

- b. **dyma 'r dyn [oedd y meddyg].*
 here-is the man be.IMPF.3SG PRED doctor
 ‘here’s the man who is the doctor’

Identificatory clauses are fronted-order clauses and it is significant to note that there is a general constraint that no fronted-order clause of any sort can occur in relative clauses.

- 61 a. **dyma 'r dyn y ddamwain (a) welodd — —.*
 here-is the man the accident pt see.PERF.3SG — —
 ‘here’s the man who the accident saw.’
- b. **dyma 'r llyfr Gwyn sydd — yn sôn amdano —.*
 here-is the book Gwyn be.IMPF.3SG — PROG talk about.3SG.M —
 ‘here’s the book Gwyn who talks about.’
- c. **dyma 'r dyn y giât all — neidio drosto —.*
 here-is the man the gate can — jump over.3SG.M —
 here’s the man who the gate can jump over.’

Ascriptives can occur in interrogatives beginning with *pryd* ‘when’ but identificatory clauses cannot.

- 62 a. *pryd oedd Mair yn nyrs?*
 when be.IMPF.3SG Mair PRED nurse
 ‘when was Mair a nurse?’
- b. **pryd Mair oedd y llywydd?*
 when Mair be.IMPF.3SG the president
 = ‘when was Mair the president?’

It is again significant to note that this constraint applies to all fronted clauses.

- 63 a. **pryd y drws cefn baentiodd Siôn?*
 when the door back paint.PERV.3SG Siôn
 * ‘when it was the back door that Siôn painted?’
- b. **pryd Siôn oedd yn gweithio yn y banc?*
 when Siôn be.IMPF.3SG PROG work in the banc
 * ‘when it was Siôn who was working in the bank?’

Ascriptives can occur in so-called semi-copulars or quasi-copulars, that is, clauses containing lexical verbs that can select a predicative phrase. But an identificatory relationship is not possible in a semi-copular.

- 64 a. *mae Mair wedi dod yn ddoctor da.*
 be.PRES.3SG Mair PERF come PRED doctor good
 ‘Mair has become a good doctor.’
- b. **oedd Mair wedi dod y doctor gore.*
 be.IMPF.3SG Mair PERF come the doctor best
 ‘Mair has become the best doctor.’

An ascriptive relationship can occur in normal-order clauses which contain a periphrastic verbal pattern, as in (65a), which contains the auxiliary *dylai* ‘should, ought’, and in clauses which contain an aspect pattern, as in (65b).

- 65 a. *ddylai Siôn fod yn brifathro.*
 should Siôn be PRED headteacher
 ‘Siôn should be a headteacher.’
- b. *mae Siôn wedi bod yn brifathro.*
 be.PRES.3SG Siôn PERF be PRED headteacher
 ‘Siôn has been a headteacher.’

Judgements about identificatory clauses by Welsh speakers vary, as some find them acceptable and others are uncertain. In (66), we illustrate fronting the complement or the subject.

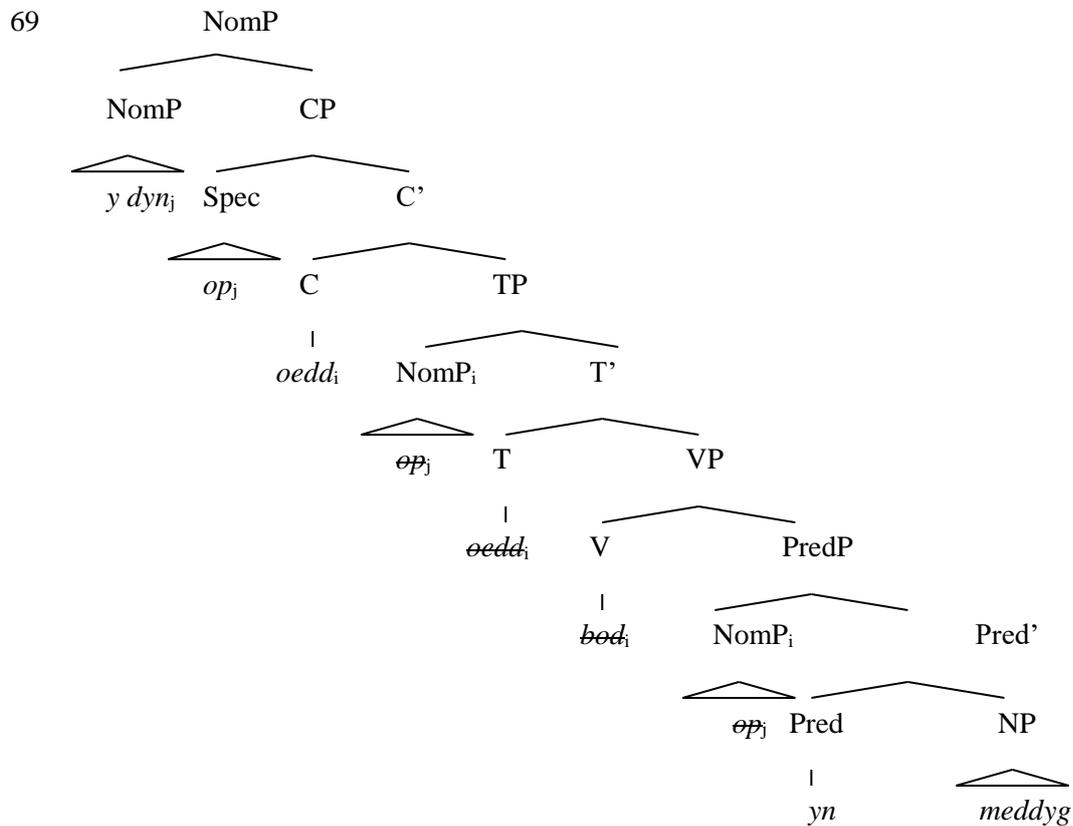
- 66 a. *Siôn ddylai 'r prifathro fod.*
 Siôn should the headteacher be
 ‘the headteacher should be Siôn.’ / = ‘it’s Siôn who is the headteacher’
- b. *y prifathro ddylai Siôn fod.*
 the headteacher should Siôn be
 ‘Siôn should be the headteacher.’ / = ‘it’s the headteacher that that Siôn should be.’
- 67 a. *Siôn oedd y prifathro wedi bod.*
 Siôn be.IMPF.3SG the headteacher PERF be
 ‘the headteacher has been Siôn.’ / = ‘it’s Siôn who had been the headteacher.’
- b. *y prifathro oedd Siôn wedi bod.*
 the headteacher be.IMPF.3SG Siôn PERF be
 ‘Siôn has been the headteacher.’ / = ‘it’s the headteacher that Siôn has been.’

Some speakers reported that those with a proper name in initial position were more acceptable. However, judgements may also vary about fronted ascriptives with the same verbal patterns.

- 68 a. *prifathro ddylai Siôn fod.*
 headteacher should Siôn be
 ‘Siôn should be the headteacher.’
- b. *prifathro mae Siôn wedi bod.*
 headteacher be.PRES.3SG Siôn PERF be
 ‘Siôn has been a headteacher.’

6.2 Analysis

The occurrence of an ascriptive in a relative clause can be accounted for by the configuration in (69) — which represents the relative clause in the example in (60a). The relative clause is a post-modifier in a nominal phrase, that is, [NomP [CP]].



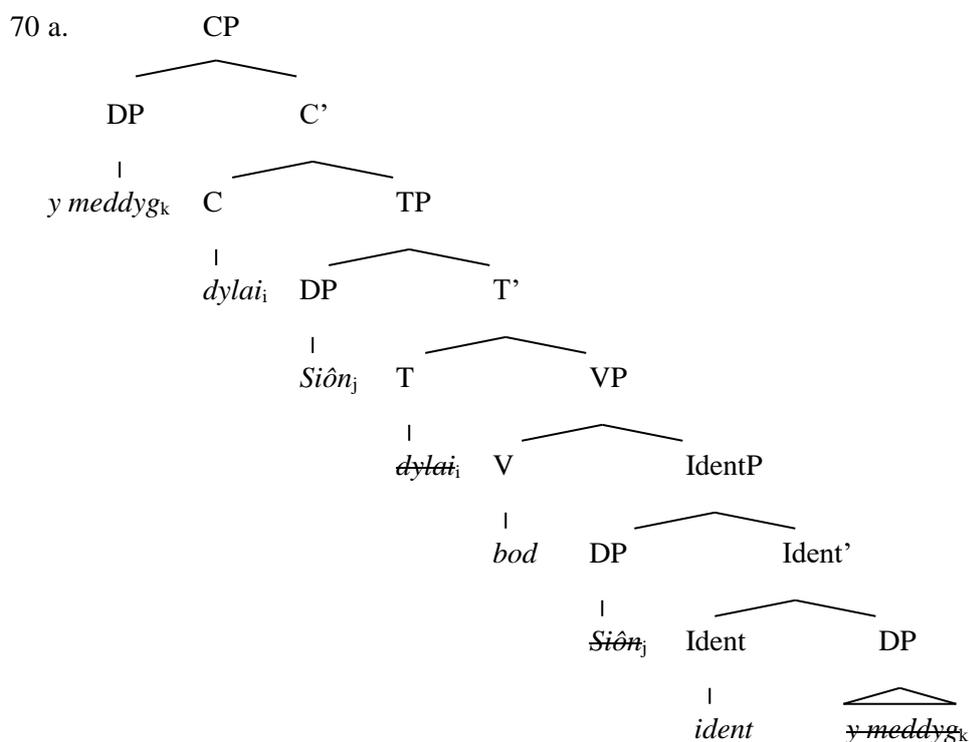
The antecedent of the relative clause is in the NomP and is co-referential with a constituent in the CP. In a standard account of relative clauses, the position of the co-referential constituent is occupied by a relative operator which has no overt phonetic form, *op*. The latter is moved cyclically via Spec TP to Spec CP, leaving a trace in its original position and also in Spec TP. The constraint on identificatory clauses can be explained in terms of the syntax of relative clauses. Fronted-order clauses are produced

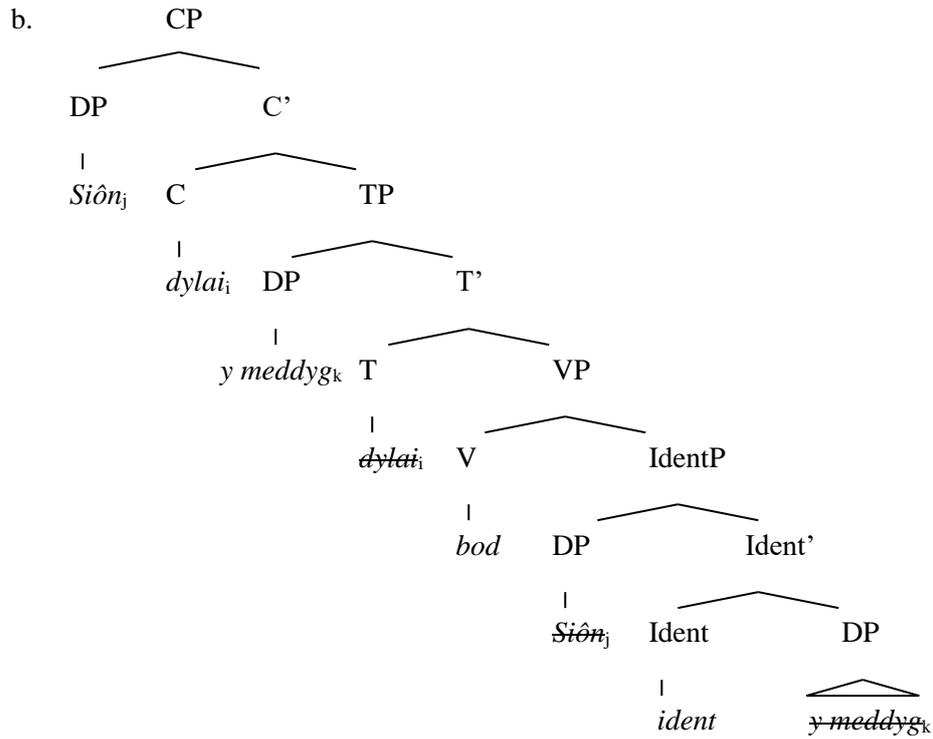
by moving phrases from a canonical position into Spec CP. The presence of *op* prevents this and explains why identificatory clauses, which are fronted-order clauses, do not occur as relative clauses.

A similar explanation for ungrammaticality of identificatory clauses in *pryd* ‘when’ interrogatives. It can be argued that the *wh*-word occurs in Spec CP. This position is unoccupied in a normal-order ascriptive and examples like (62a) can occur. But Spec CP is already occupied in fronted-order clauses which explains why examples like those in (62b) and (63) cannot occur.

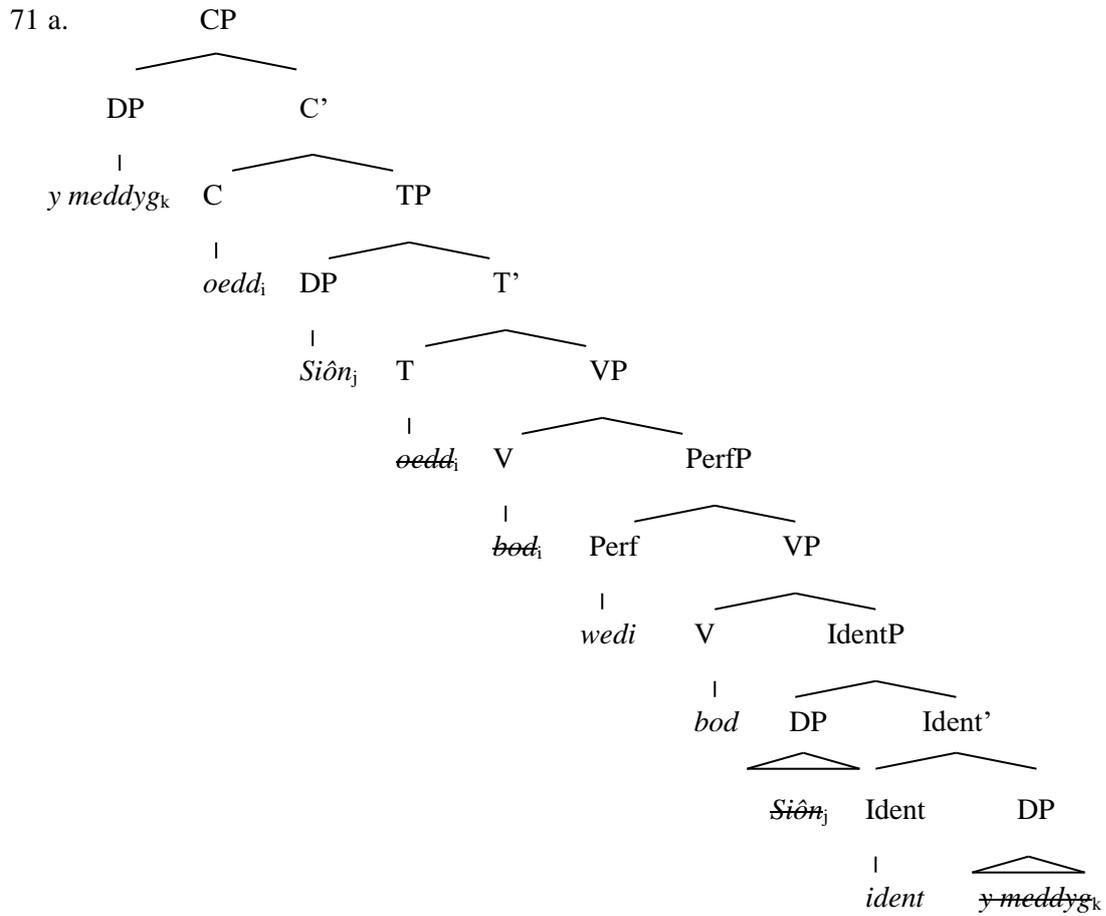
The occurrence of phrases in semi-copulas can be accounted for by selectional properties. A semi-copular can merge with a predicational phrase. We can prevent unacceptable examples like the one in (64b) by excluding IdentP from the selectional properties of semi-copulas like *swnio* ‘sound’. Further, if IdentP were selected by a semi-copula, focus would compulsorily be assigned either to the specifier or the complement in IdentP. The focussed phrase would be moved to Spec CP, giving examples like *Siôn swniodd — y meddyg* or *y meddyg swniodd Siôn*. Such examples do not occur and they too can be prevented by selectional restrictions.

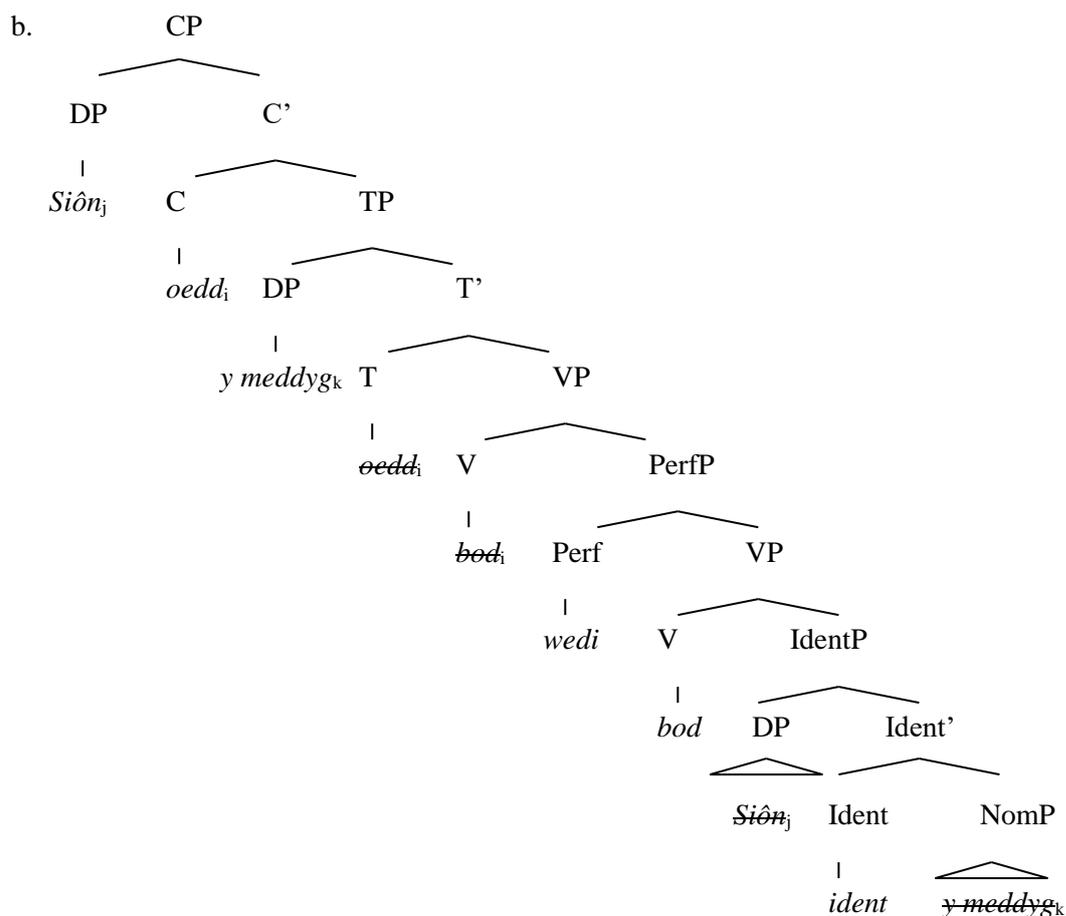
Identificatory clauses which contain either a periphrastic verbal pattern or an aspect verbal patterns can be analysed as in the configurations in (70).





Aspect patterns are given in (71).





It is not apparent in the analyses of the identificatory clauses what causes their occurrences to be judged marginal or unacceptable.

6.3 Filling the gaps

The data in chapter 10 and the data in this section show that ascriptives can occur in the following contexts but identificatory copulars cannot.

- a. absolute clauses
- b. small clauses
- c. subject control predicates
- d. object control predicates
- e. raising predicates
- f. *i*-clauses
- g. relative clauses
- h. *pryd* 'when' interrogatives
- i. semi-copulars
- j. clauses with periphrastic verbal patterns

k. clauses with aspect verbal patterns

Overall, there would appear to be gaps in the grammar of Welsh where identificatory patterns cannot occur, and, therefore, their semantics cannot occur. It is their fronted syntax which cause the constraints, and identificatory clauses are not unique but behave like other fronted clauses. But what is not possible syntactically can be made possible pragmatically by using ascriptive syntax, as in the examples in (72).

- 72 a. *oedd Caradog yn cwffio ar y trên a fynte yn brif
be.IMPF.3SG Caradog PROG fight on the train and him PRED chief
gonstwbl.
constable
'Caradog was fighting on the train and him (the) chief constable.'*
- b. *dw i 'n cofio Caradog yn brif gonestwbl.
be.PRES.1SG I PROG remember Caradog PRED chief constable
'I remember Caradog (as) (the) chief constable.'*
- c. *oedd Siôn yn gobeithio bod yn ysgrifennydd.
be.IMPF.3SG Siôn PROG hope be PRED secretary
'Siôn is hoping to be (the) secretary.'*
- d. *dw i wedi perswadio Siôn i fod yn gadeirydd.
be.PRES.1SG I PERF persuade Siôn to be PRED chairperson
'I have persuade Siôn to be (the) chairperson.'*
- e. *oedd Mair yn digwydd bod yn drysorydd.
be.IMPF.3SG Mair PROG happen be PRED treasurer
'Mair happened to be (the) treasurer.'*
- f. *dw i 'n disgwyl i Siôn fod yn gapten.
be.PRES.1SG I PROG expect for Siôn be PRED captain
'I expect Siôn to be (the) captain.'*
- g. *dyma 'r dyn sy 'n brifathro.
here-is the man be.IMPF.3SG PRED constable
'here's the man who is (the) chief constable.'*
- h. *pryd oedd Mair yn lywydd?
when be.IMPF.3SG Mair PRED president
'when was Mair (the) president?'*
- i. *mae Siôn wedi dod yn brif gwnstabl.
be.PRES.1SG Siôn PERF come PRED chief constable
'Siôn has become (the) chief constable.'*

- i. j. *ddylai Siôn fod yn bennaeth.*
 should Siôn be PRED head
 ‘Siôn should be (the) boss.’
- k. *oedd Siôn wedi bod yn gadeirydd am ddwy flynyddoedd.*
 be.IMPF.3SG Siôn PERF be PRED chairperson for two years
 ‘Siôn has been (the) chairperson for two years.’

We mention in relation to an example like (32a) in chapter 2 that in an appropriate pragmatic context an indefinite nominal phrase in PredP can be sufficiently curtailed to convey what amounts to a specific reference. In effect, this provides a one-to-one relationship — an identificatory relationship — between the subject and the complement. This interpretation can be applied to the examples in (72), which show how pragmatics can help to make up for the gaps in Welsh syntax.

7 Overall summary

The basic subject-predicate phrases of copular clauses are PredP, IdentP, DegP, PrepP, NomP, PiauP, ProgP, PerfP, and *i*-CP.

The majority of the basic copular phrases are maximal phrases which provide the subject-predicate structure, namely, [specifier [head and complement]]; PredP, IdentP, DegP, PrepP, NomP, PiauP. But other basic copular phrases have head and complement but lack a specifier: ProgP, PerfP, PrepP (with prepositional expressions), and *i*-infinitival. All these latter phrases contain a VP, and the subject-predicate structure is in the VP.

Standard movements (of the copula to C via T; and the subject to Spec TP) produce normal word order, which in Welsh is verb-first — [Verb + Subject + Predicate]. Locational possessive and state clauses, and *i-fod* clauses have the option of inversion by raising another phrase to Spec TP rather than the subject. Obligatory extraposition occurs in ascriptives which have *i*-clauses or complement clauses as subjects and in dispositional clauses. Identificatory clauses and *piau* clauses undergo obligatory fronting through raising either the subject or the complement to Spec CP.

The semantics of copular clauses are conveyed by the heads of basic copular phrases and not by the copula, which has a grammatical function only. The meanings of Welsh copulars are many and varied.

The Welsh copula has different forms of the third persons of the present tense, which are licensed by word order, embedding, polarity, force, and the conditional conjunction *os* ‘if’.

We can add to this summary the main details about the distribution of basic copular phrase (chapter 10) and fronting (chapter 11). The majority of basic phrases are widely distributed in small clauses, finite clauses, *i*-clauses, and subjectless infinitive clauses. A minority are confined to finite clauses, namely, those which do not have normal word-order and those which have VPs in their predicates. To occur in finite clauses, *i*-clauses, and subjectless infinitivals, the basic phrases merge with the copula. This is the grammatical function of the copula. All copulars can front the subject. The majority can also front the predicate and the complement. Others can front the complement but not the predicate. Others can front neither the predicate nor the complement.

The descriptive facts which are summarised in this section provide a basis for determining to what extent copular clauses have canonical syntax in terms of word order, distribution, and fronting. Table 17 presents the details.

Table 17. Copular clauses — word order, distribution, and fronting

	Normal Word Order (Verb-first)	Full Distribution	Full Fronting
Prepositional	✓	✓	✓
Possessive locational	✓	✓	✓
with-type	✓	✓	✓
State locational	✓	✓	✓
with-type	✓	✓	✓
nominal predicate	✓	✓	✓
Debt	✓	✓	✓
Agentive	✓	✓	✓
VP perfect	✓	✓	(<i>gwneud</i>) [†]
prepositional expressions	✓	✓	(<i>gwneud</i>) [†]
progressive	✓	✓	(<i>gwneud</i>) [†]
Ascriptive	✓	✓	✗
VP <i>i</i> -infinitival	✓	✗	(<i>gwneud</i>) [†]
subject-to-complement	✓	✗	✗
Dispositional	✓	✗	✗
Identificatory	✗	✗	✗
<i>Piau</i>	✗	✗	✗

([†] *Gwneud*-support is necessary when the VP is headed by a lexical verb)

There are two main groups. The major one of these is mainly canonical on all three counts except for three which need *gwneud* support for a fronting predicate which is headed by a lexical verb. The members of the minor group are subject to constraints to different degrees.

Chapter 14 Typological Matters

In this chapter we shall try to show whether the Welsh copula follows, or departs from, universal trends. As such, we shall draw heavily on the studies of copulas by Stassen (1997) and especially by Pustet (2005). In the final section, we can assess traditional approaches to the Welsh copula against the descriptions and analyses which are given in this work.

1 Defining the copula

In order to account for a range of languages whose copulas are morphologically and syntactically different, Pustet (2005: 1–7) offers a general definition in two parts (this bears similarity with traditional views of a copula, as discussed in section 7). One part is based on syntax and says that the copula occurs with certain lexemes in certain languages when such lexemes are the head of the predicate phrase (the nucleus of the predicate, in Pustet’s terms) to convey features of tense, mood, aspect, and agreement. We have seen in chapter 13 that Welsh *bod* ‘be’ is used in this way and therefore comes under this part of the definition of a copula. Section 2 of chapter 13 shows that *bod* ‘be’ has the same syntactic function in all the clauses in which it occurs and there is no syntactic justification for confining the copula to identificatory clauses and fronted ascriptives. The other part of the definition of the copula is based on semantics and says that the copula is meaningless. A comparison of the examples in (1) and (2) illustrates this for Welsh.

- 1 a. *arhosith Mair yn Llundain.*
stay.FUT.3SG Mair in London
‘Mair will stay in London.’
- b. *siaradith Gwyn heno.*
talk.FUT.3SG Gwyn tonight
‘Gwyn will talk tonight.’
- 2 a. *fydd Mair yn gadeirydd.*
be FUT.3SG Mair PRED chairperson
‘Mair will be a chairperson.’
- b. *fydd Mair yn hapus.*
be FUT.3SG Mair PRED happy
‘Mair will be happy.’

Aros and *siarad* in the examples in (1) have lexical meaning. *Aros* in (1a) indicates the maintenance of a persistent location or state and *siarad* in (1b) indicates a vocal communicative activity. But it is not

possible to give the forms of *bod* ‘be’ in the examples in (2) lexical meaning, and on this basis, too, we can say that *bod* ‘be’ is a copula. As discussed in section 2 of chapter 13, the same applies to occurrences of *bod* ‘be’ in other copular clauses. The copula occurs not because it adds any lexical meaning to the clauses but because the lexemes which are the head of the predicate phrase cannot inflect for tense etc. Traditional Welsh reference grammars claim that *bod* ‘be’ in all clauses except identificatory clauses and fronted-order ascriptives conveys meaning. But we argue in this study that it is the head of the basic copular phrase which conveys meaning and not *bod* ‘be’. See section 7 for an outline of traditional accounts.

However, there are two matters which question whether Welsh *bod* ‘be’ is meaningless. First, as mentioned in chapter 4, the lexeme *bod* also occurs *bod dynol* ‘human being’ or *bodau dynol* ‘human beings’. The fact that *bod* here is followed by an attributive adjective and the fact that it has a singular and plural form suggests that *bod* in such expressions is a noun. Welsh has many examples of non-finite verbs which can also occur as nouns without acquiring a derivational ending (labelled in traditional reference grammars as verb-nouns (*berfenwau*)) — *canu* ‘sing’ or ‘singing’, *meddwl* ‘think’ or ‘thought’, *chwarae* ‘play’ and ‘play’, for example. So it is not surprising that the copular verb *bod* ‘be’ can also occur as a noun. We can say that the meaning of the noun *bod* is that it indicates a living, human entity. As nouns retain the meaning of the equivalent verb, the possibility arises that the verb-noun *bod* ‘be’ has meaning.

Second, the existential copulars which are discussed in section 1.2 of chapter 4 provide grounds for attributing meaning to the copula. The relevant examples are repeated here for convenience.

- 3 a. *mae* *'na* *ysbrydion*.
 be.PRES.3SG there ghosts
 ‘there are ghosts.’
- b. *mae* *'na* *fydoedd eraill*.
 be.PRES.3SG there worlds other
 ‘there are other worlds.’
- c. *oedd* *'na* *ddeinosoriaid*.
 be.IMPF.3SG there dinosaurs
 ‘there were dinosaurs.’
- d. *mae* *'na* *ddynion da*.
 be.PRES.3SG there men good
 ‘there are good men.’

- e. *mae 'na syniadau drwg.*
 be.PRES.3SG there ideas bad
 'there are bad ideas.'
- f. *mae 'na dduwion.*
 be.PRES.3SG there gods
 'there are gods.'

These sentences propose the existence of entities without overtly confining their existence to a particular time or a particular place. There are no overt heads of predicates to which the existential meaning can be attributed. Further, even though overt heads can occur, as shown in chapter 4, we cannot claim that they give these clauses existential meaning, as the heads are occupied by prepositions which convey spatial or temporal location and not existence. Existential clauses cannot easily be accounted for by the general analysis of copular clauses which is developed in this work. One possibility is to suggest that there are two copulas: one has no meaning and the other has existential meaning and is confined to existential clauses. Another possibility is to suggest that existential meaning in clauses like those in (3) is connected to the generic reference of the subjects and not to the copula.

The auxiliary verb *gwneud* 'do' bears some similarity to the copula in that it too can convey tense etc. In addition to the examples of synthetic verbs in (1) we also get periphrastic patterns containing *gwneud* as in (4).

- 4 a. *neith Mair aros yn Llundain.*
 do.FUT.3SG Mair stay in London
 'Mair will stay in London.'
- b. *neith Gwyn siarad heno.*
 do.FUT.3SG Gwyn talk tonight
 'Gwyn will talk tonight.'

For some speakers there is no difference of meaning between the synthetic examples and the periphrastic examples, and on this basis *gwneud* is meaningless like the copula, and serves only to carry the finite inflections. But there are two differences between the auxiliary verb *gwneud* and the copula. One is that *gwneud* does not compulsorily occur with verbs whereas the copula compulsorily occurs with adjectives, nouns, and so forth: lexical verbs can inflect for tense etc as the examples in (1) show. The other is that the examples in (5–6) show that there can be differences of meaning between a synthetic pattern and a periphrastic pattern.

- 5 a. *fydda' i 'n gadeirydd am heno.*
 be.FUT.1SG I PRED chairperson for tonight
 'I'll be chairperson for tonight.'
- b. *fydd Mair yn stiward?*
 be.FUT.3SG Mair PRED steward
 'will Mair be a steward?'
- 6 a. *na' i fod yn gadeirydd am heno.*
 do.FUT.1SG I be PRED chairperson for tonight
 'I'll be chairperson for tonight.'
- b. *neith Mair fod yn stiward?*
 do.FUT.3SG Mair be PRED steward
 'will Mair be a steward?'

The periphrastic patterns in (6) have a sense of agency and dynamicity which is lacking in the synthetic patterns in (5). We can say then that the auxiliary verb *gwneud* 'do' adds lexical content to the examples in (6). As already noted, however, this meaning does not necessarily occur in non-copular examples like the ones in (4).

2 Copularization and types of copula

Pustet (2005: 7) refers to lexemes which require the copula to indicate mood, tense, etc as copularizing lexemes and to the phenomenon of this use of the copula as copularization. Pustet (2005: 10–13, 28–29) concentrates on three very general classes of copularizing lexemes, which she defines in broad semantic terms in order to cater for morphological and syntactic variation in the world's languages (they are very similar to traditional definitions of word classes). Nominals "designate things, entities or concrete objects"; verbals "designate actions, events, and processes"; and adjectivals "designate properties".⁶³ Pustet (2005: 71–73) provides interesting statistics about copularization in the 131 languages on which her study is based. 68.7% of these languages have a copula (copularizing languages) to some extent and 31.3% have no copula (non-copularizing languages). Of the copularizing languages (a total of 90), 60% use the copula with adjectivals and nominals (AN), 30% use the copula with adjectivals and verbals (AV), and only 2.2% use the copula with all three. 7.8% involve other possibilities, which we shall not consider. In Pustet's terms, Welsh is type AN, which, according to Pustet (2005: 73), predominates in Europe and the Near East.

These facts about copularization can also establish different types of copula (Pustet 2005:39–45). Like other European languages, the Welsh copula has verbal morphology and can be labelled as a verbal copula. Pustet also records that other types of copula can be adjectival, affixal, and tonal. Stassen (1997:

62–100) likewise includes verbal copulas in his classification of types of copula, along with nonverbal copulas which are historically derived from pronouns (personal and demonstrative) and discourse particles.

3 Multiple copulas

Pustet (2005: 45–53) records that some languages have more than one copula, which may be freely selected or may be conditionally chosen according to clausal semantics or morphosyntax. An oft-quoted example is Spanish, which has *ser* and *estar*, but Pustet also gives examples from other languages, including Lakota and Indonesian. Welsh does not have different copular lexemes but it does have additional forms of the copular lexeme *bod* ‘be’.

First, there is a set of copular forms of the present tense which is found in southern dialects and which is used specifically in negative clauses, as in (7).

- 7 a. *so / sa i 'n mynd heno.*
 NEG.be.PRES.3SG I PROG go tonight
 ‘I’m not going tonight.’
- b. *so / sa ni 'n meddwl hynny.*
 NEG.be.PRES.3SG we PROG think that
 ‘we don’t think that.’
- 8 a. *dw i ddim yn mynd heno.*
 be.PRES.1SG I NEG PROG go tonight
 ‘I’m not going tonight.’
- b. *dan ni ddim yn meddwl hynny.*
 be.PRES.1SG we NEG PROG think that
 ‘we don’t think that.’

When regular copular forms are used in negative clauses, the negative adverbial *ddim* also occurs, as in examples (8). But in the case of the negative copular forms in (7), the negative adverbial *ddim* does not occur. Further details are available in Awbery (1988, 1990) and Borsley and Jones (2005).

Second, the Welsh copula has more than one form of the third persons (singular and plural) of the present tense, which are discussed in chapter 13, namely, *m*-forms, *y*-forms, *sydd*, *oes*, and *bod*.

4 Inflectional paradigms and inflectional irregularity

Pustet (2005: 40) notes that there is an “overwhelming cross-linguistic tendency” for the inflectional paradigms of verbal copulas to be fewer than those of lexical verbs. Amongst the numerous examples which she gives are German, Japanese, and Mandarin, whose copulas to varying degrees inflect for fewer grammatical contrasts than the lexical verbs in these languages. Pustet lists Kannada as a language which goes against this trend. The Welsh copula also goes against this trend, as its inflectional paradigms are more numerous than those of the majority of lexical verbs, both formally and semantically. In this discussion, we concentrate on informal Welsh and not formal Welsh. Thomas (1996) provides details of the latter. In order to present the overall picture, we shall also concentrate on common characteristics of verb morphology and ignore lexemes which are exceptions to the overall picture.

Table 18 gives the number of paradigms which are morphologically distinct but not necessarily semantically distinct.

Table 18. Morphologically distinct paradigms of the copula and lexical verbs in informal Welsh
(Each paradigm is represented by the third person singular of that paradigm)

Copula	Lexical verbs	Lexical auxiliary verbs
<i>MAE</i>		
<i>BYDD</i>	<i>CANITH</i>	<i>MEDRITH</i>
<i>OEDD</i>	<i>CANAI</i>	<i>MEDRAI</i>
<i>BU(ODD)</i>	<i>CANODD</i>	<i>MEDRODD</i>
<i>BYDDAI</i>		
<i>BUASAI</i>	<i>CANASAI</i>	<i>MEDRASAI</i>

The Welsh copula has more morphologically distinct paradigms than other verbs. It has six, while lexical verbs and lexical auxiliary verbs have four formal paradigms. It can be seen that it is *MAE* and *BYDDAI* which gives the copula the two additional paradigms.

There are also semantic differences between the copula and lexical verbs. The forms of the copula convey more meanings than either lexical verbs or lexical auxiliary verbs, as summarised in table 19. (The table also shows that lexical verbs and lexical auxiliary verbs are different).

Table 19. Semantically distinct paradigms of the copula and lexical verbs in informal Welsh
(Each paradigm is represented by the third person singular of that paradigm)

Semantics	Copula	Lexical verbs	Lexical auxiliary verbs
Present tense	<i>MAE</i>		<i>MEDRITH</i>
Present habitual	<i>BYDD</i>		
Future tense	<i>BYDD</i>	<i>CANITH</i>	
Past imperfective tense	<i>OEDD</i>		<i>MEDRAI / MEDRASAI</i>
Past perfective tense	<i>BU(ODD)</i>	<i>CANODD</i>	<i>MEDRODD</i>
Past habitual	<i>BYDDAI</i>		
Counterfactual	<i>BYDDAI / BUASAI</i>	<i>CANAI / CANASAI</i>	<i>MEDRAI / MEDRASAI</i>

Table 19 shows that the copula makes seven semantic contrasts, while lexical auxiliary verbs make four and lexical verbs make three. But some of these meanings are conveyed by the same formal paradigm: *BYDD* is both a present habitual tense and a future tense and *BYDDAI* is both a past habitual tense and a counterfactual. We need to note that not all Welsh speakers use *BYDD* and *BYDDAI* as present and past habituals. In brief, Welsh goes against the general trend which is reported by Pustet that the copula is inflectionally poorer than other verbs.

Pustet (2005: 40) records that the inflections of verbal copulas tend to be irregular, and not just in European languages. The descriptive facts about Welsh are given in table 20. This table compares those paradigms which the copula and lexical verbs share, namely, the future tense, the past perfective tense, and the counterfactual (see table 19). Again, we concentrate on informal Welsh and not formal Welsh. Thomas (1996) provides details of the latter.

Table 20. The inflections of the copula and lexical verbs in informal Welsh

Future Tense		Past Tense Perfective	
Copula	Lexical Verb	Copula	Lexical Verb
<i>bydd+a' i</i>	<i>can+a' i</i>	<i>bu+(i)sh i</i>	<i>can+ish i</i>
<i>bydd+i di</i>	<i>can+i di</i>	<i>bu+ost ti</i>	<i>can+ist ti</i>
<i>bydd hi</i>	<i>can+ith hi</i>	<i>bu+odd hi</i>	<i>can+odd hi</i>
<i>bydd+wn ni</i>	<i>can+wn ni</i>	<i>bu+on ni</i>	<i>can+(s)on ni</i>
<i>bydd+wch chi</i>	<i>can+wch chi</i>	<i>bu+och chi</i>	<i>can+(s)och chi</i>
<i>bydd+an nhw</i>	<i>can+an nhw</i>	<i>bu+on nhw</i>	<i>can+(s)on nhw</i>
Counterfactual (1)		Counterfactual (2)	
Copula	Lexical Verb	Copula	Lexical Verb
<i>bydd+wn i</i>	<i>can+wn i</i>	<i>bu+aswn i</i>	<i>can+swn i</i>
<i>bydd+et ti</i>	<i>can+et ti</i>	<i>bu+aset ti</i>	<i>can+set ti</i>
<i>bydd+ai hi</i>	<i>can+ai hi</i>	<i>bu+asai hi</i>	<i>can+sai hi</i>
<i>bydd+en ni</i>	<i>can+en ni</i>	<i>bu+asen ni</i>	<i>can+sen ni</i>
<i>bydd+ech chi</i>	<i>can+ech chi</i>	<i>bu+asech chi</i>	<i>can+sech chi</i>
<i>bydd+en nhw</i>	<i>can+en nhw</i>	<i>bu+asen nhw</i>	<i>can+sen nhw</i>

There are only a small number of differences.

- The third person singular of the future tense — no ending on the copula.
- The first person singular of the past tense perfective — the vowel *i* of the ending is assimilated into preceding vowel in the copula.
- The second person singular of the past tense perfective — *ost* for the copula and not *ist*.
- The plural forms of the past tense perfective — an optional *s* in the endings of lexical verbs.
- Counterfactual (2) — the copula has *a* in the endings, which is omitted in the endings of lexical verbs. We can briefly note that vocalic simplification reduces the stem to *b* such that *buaswn* becomes *b'aswn* and so forth. These forms can be shortened by omitting *b'a* producing *swn*, *set*, and so forth.

There are no extensive differences and, in the main, the copula and equivalent lexical verbs share the same inflectional endings.

For completeness, we shall add that Welsh has verbs which are labelled in Welsh reference grammars as *bod*-compounds. These are verbs whose non-finite forms end in *bod* as in *gwybod* ‘know (a fact)’, *adnabod* ‘know, recognise’, etc. Their inflectional forms also use the inflected forms of *bod* ‘be’, with the exception of the present tense. These inflectional forms occur mainly in formal Welsh and are not

productive in informal Welsh. These verbs do not affect the discussion of the copula and no more will be said about them (but interested readers can find details in Thomas (1996)).

In conclusion, the Welsh copula is not inflectionally poorer than lexical verbs — it conveys more meanings than the latter. And it is not more inflectionally irregular than the latter when comparing those paradigms which it shares with lexical verbs.

5 A taxonomy of copular clauses

Typological studies of the copula like Stassen (1997) and Pustet (2005) concentrate on a relatively small number of types of predicate, mainly those which contain a noun or adjective. Adjectivals and nominals are not the only phrases with which the copula. But there are lists of copular patterns which are intended to serve general purposes in Lyons (1977: 469–75) and Stassen (1997: 13–21), and more extensive ones in Hengeveld (1992) and Pustet (2005: 29–33). Pustet distinguishes seven types (but acknowledges that the list is not exhaustive):

- i. ascriptive *John is a teacher / tall*
- ii. identificational *John is the teacher*
- iii. existential *there is coffee in the kitchen*
- iv. quantificational *there are three / many*
- v. adverbial *the key is here*
- vi. oblique case predicates, of which there are semantic sub-types —
 - a. locative *he is in the kitchen*
 - b. comitative *he is with her*
 - c. recipient *the gift is for him*
 - d. source / origin *he is from Australia*
 - e. possessive, which is illustrated with a German example *dat Booch is dem Hannes* ‘the book is Hannes’s’
- vii. temporal *it is eight o’clock*.

A comparison of Pustet’s taxonomy with the list of the meanings of Welsh copulars in section 4 of chapter 13 shows similarities and differences. All of the meanings in Pustet’s list are conveyed by Welsh copular clauses. The meanings in (i) and (ii) come under the discussion of ascriptive and identificatory clauses in chapters 2 and 3. The meanings in (vi) through to (vid) come under the semantics of prepositional predicates in chapter 4. Possessive, as listed in (vie), is adnominal (or genitive) possession and can come under the discussion of ownership and *piau* in chapter 7. Quantification is also considered in the discussion of ascriptives in chapter 2. Temporals as illustrated in (vii) by Pustet are also discussed

along with ascriptives in 2, but temporal phrases in another sense are considered in a discussion of prepositional predicates in chapter 4.

As shown in chapter 13, the Welsh copula also occurs with a varied and numerous set of basic copular phrases. Some of the examples of Welsh copulars and their meanings do not appear in Pustet's list:

- equatives and degree as discussed in chapter 2 (although it is reasonable to include these under ascriptives)
- predicative possession, which is discussed in chapter 5 and which is different to possession in the sense of ownership as in (vie)
- bodily and mental states as discussed in chapter 6
- aspect as discussed in chapter 8
- meanings of prepositional expressions which precede VPs in chapter 8
- *i*-infinitive clauses as discussed in chapter 8
- debt copulars as discussed in chapter 9
- agentive copulars in chapter 9
- dispositional copulars in chapter 9

On this basis, this study gives a more extensive taxonomy of copular clauses. But as it is based particularly on Welsh, it is not known how applicable it is to other languages.

6 Copula dropping

It is widely noted that some languages can drop the copula, and Russian and Arabic are frequently quoted examples (see Stassen (1997; 2013b) for a comprehensive account of the distribution and licensing of copula dropping in the world's languages). In Russian and in other languages, the copula would occur in medial position if or when it were to occur, as shown in (9) (cited in Stassen (2013b)).

9 a. *ona vrač*

she doctor

'She is a doctor.'

b. *on byl učeník-om*

he be.m.pst pupil-instr

'He was a pupil.'

Copula dropping is possible in Welsh in set sayings, also discussed as nominal sentences in section 7.

- 10 a. *cyfaill blaidd (yw) bugail diog.*
 friend wolf be.PRES.3SG shepherd lazy
 ‘a lazy shepherd is a wolf’s friend’
- b. *nid aur (yw) popeth disglair.*
 NEG gold be.PRES.3SG everything shiny
 ‘everything shiny (is) not gold’.

The restoration of the copula shows that these Welsh examples have verb-second order, that is, they have fronted order, in which the copula occurs in medial position. But copula dropping in this way does not occur in examples like this in spontaneous informal Welsh.

- 11 a. *meddyg *(yw) Siôn.*
 doctor be.PRES.3SG Siôn
 ‘Siôn is a doctor’,
- b. *tal *(yw) Gwyn.*
 tall be.PRES.3SG Gwyn
 ‘tall (is) Gwyn’.

However, copula-less clauses occur in Welsh.

We can consider first examples like (12–13).

- 12 a. *(wyt) ti 'n edrych yn wirion fel 'na.*
 be.PRES.3SG you.SG PROG look PRED silly like there
 ‘you look silly like that.’
- b. *(dyn / ŷn) ni wedi prynu car newydd.*
 be.PRES.1PL we PERF buy car new
 ‘we have bought a new car.’
- c. *(dych / ŷch) chi wedi ennill gwobr yn y raffl.*
 be pres.2PL you.PL PERF win prize in the raffle
 ‘you’ve won a prize in the raffle.’
- 13 a. *(dw / w) i 'n mynd ar y trê'n i Llandudno fory.*
 be.PRES.3SG I PROG go on the train to Llandudno tomorrow
 ‘I’m going on the train to Llandudno tomorrow.’
- b. *— *i 'n mynd ar y trê'n i Llandudno fory.*
 I PROG go on the train to Llandudno tomorrow
 ‘I’m going on the train to Llandudno tomorrow.’

- c. — *fi 'n mynd ar y trê'n i Llandudno fory.*
 I PROG go on the train to Llandudno tomorrow
 'I'm going on the train to Llandudno tomorrow.'

The round brackets indicate that the copular form can be retained or omitted — producing either *wyt ti'n edrych yn wirion fel 'na* or *ti'n edrych yn wirion fel 'na* in the case of example (12a), for instance. Choice within the brackets indicates dialect differences: the first form occurs mainly in northern areas and the second occurs mainly in southern areas. Examples like those in (13a), which contain the first person singular, do not allow simply omitting the copula. When the copula is retained, the pronominal subject is the form *i* 'I' but when the copula is omitted this form is replaced by the form *fi* as a comparison of (13b) and (13c) shows. The explanation is that the form *i* occurs in an agreement context, with finite verbs as in (13a) and also with prepositions which inflect for agreement as in *arna' i* 'on me' and *ata' i* 'towards me'; but the form *fi* occurs in a non-agreement context as in (13c) and also with prepositions that do not inflect such as *gyda fi* 'with me' and *efo fi* 'with me'. Examples like (13c) are more common in southern dialects and less common in northern dialects (certainly amongst adults). Examples like those in (12–13) have subject pronouns which are either the first person or the second person. In the case of third person forms, matters are less certain. In my experience of the varieties of Welsh with which I am familiar, it is rare to drop the copular forms, and I question them.

- 14 a. *mae hi 'n mynd ar y trê'n i Llandudno fory.*
 be.PRES.3SG she PROG go on the train to Llandudno tomorrow
 'she's going on the train to Llandudno tomorrow.'
- b. ?? — *hi 'n mynd ar y trê'n i Llandudno fory.*
 she PROG go on the train to Llandudno tomorrow
 she's going on the train to Llandudno tomorrow.'
- 15 a. *ma'n nhw 'n edrych yn wirion fel 'na.*
 be.PRES.3SG they PROG look PRED silly like there
 'they look silly like that.'
- b. ?? — *nhw 'n edrych yn wirion fel 'na.*
 they PROG look PRED silly like there
 'they look silly like that.'

But I do not rule out the possibility that copula dropping may occur in other varieties with which I am not sufficiently familiar. ⁶⁴ Davies and Deuchar (2014) give a sociolinguistic account of copula dropping in Welsh as in examples like (12–13).

An initial question is whether examples like those in (12–13) contain a covert copular form and are finite clauses with a zero copula, or whether they are small clauses which are made up of a subject and

predicate without the copula. There are examples which show that patterns which have the same linear structure as the copula-less examples in (12–13) can occur in small clauses, as the examples in (16) show.

- 16 a. *dw i 'n licio ti 'n edrych yn wirion fel 'na.*
 be.PRES.1SG I PROG like you.SG PROG look PRED silly like there
 ‘I like you looking silly like that.’
- b. *wyt i 'n cofio fi 'n mynd ar y trê'n i Llandudno?*
 be.PRES.3SG I PROG remember I PROG go on the train to Llandudno
 ‘do you remember me going on the train to Llandudno?’

But there is evidence which supports the view that the copula-less examples have zero copula. Copula-less clauses allow tags, and the formation of the tags is determined by the tense and agreement features of a finite copula.

- 17 a. — *fi 'n mynd ar y trê'n i Llandudno fory, tydw?*
 I PROG go on the train to Llandudno tomorrow NEG.be.PRES.1SG
 ‘I’m going on the train to Llandudno tomorrow, aren’t I?’
- b. — *ti 'n edrych yn wirion fel 'na, twyt?*
 you.SG PROG look PRED silly like there NEG.be.PRES.2SG
 ‘you look silly like that, don’t you?’
- c. — *ni wedi prynu car newydd, tydyn?*
 we PERF buy car new NEG.be.PRES.2PL
 ‘we’ve bought a new car, haven’t we?’
- d. — *chi wedi ennill gwobr yn y raffl, tydych?*
 you.PL PERF win prize in the raffle NEG.be.PRES.2PL
 ‘you’ve won a prized in the raffle, haven’t you?’

These examples are based on northern usage. Other areas have different polarity features in the tags. But whatever variety is used, the tags contain overt finite forms of the copula. It helps to explain the form of the tags if we assume there are covert forms of the copula which determine the person and number features of the tag. The occurrence of *fi* in the copula-less example in (13c) may argue against this interpretation. As already outline, *fi* occurs in a non-agreement context, and this can suggest that there is no zero copula. But the example in (17a) shows that a tag can occur when the pronominal form *fi* occurs, which supports the suggestion that there is an underlying form of the copula. We can claim that an agreement context must be overt to license *i*. Otherwise *fi* occurs. We can also consider the phonology of the inflections of the present tense of the copula. In the case of the second persons and the first person plural, the final consonant of the copular inflections and the initial consonant of the

subject pronoun are identical: *wyt ti*, *dan ni*, and *dach chi*. We could claim that the syllabic structure of the copula is reduced to the final consonant, which coalesces with the pronoun: *(wy)t ti*, *(da)n ni*, and *(da)ch chi*. These observations can also support the view that there is a copular form which has been omitted, that is, a zero copula. But this evidence is more tentative as the final consonant of the third person plural is also the same as the initial consonant of the pronoun: *ma'n nhw* 'they are'. But patterns like *(ma'n) nhw* 'they are' are questionable as examples like (15b) suggest, at least in the northern dialects with which I am familiar.

In the preliminary examples in (12–13), the copula is in initial position. But this is not always the case, as is shown by *wh*-clauses and fronted clauses, in which the copular forms are preceded by other phrases.

- 18 a. *be (wyt) ti 'n neud?*
 what be.PRES.2SG you.SG PROG do
 'what (are) you doing?'
- b. *pam (dach) chi 'n gofyn?*
 why be.PRES.2PL you.PL PROG ask
 'why do you ask?'
- c. *coffi (dan) ni 'n ei yfed.*
 coffee be.PRES.1PL we PROG 3SG.M drink
 'it's coffee that we drink.'
- d. *yn Aberystwyth (dach) chi 'n byw?*
 in Aberystwyth be.PRES.2PL you.PL PROG live
 'is it in Aberystwyth that you live?'

However, there is a positional constraint on the omission of the copula, which is shown by *wh*-clauses and fronted clauses, and by tags.

- 19 a. *be *(wyt) ti?*
 what be.PRES.2SG you.SG
 'what are you?'
- b. *yfed coffi *(dan) ni.*
 drink coffee be.PRES.1PL we
 'it's coffee that we drink.'
- c. *chi 'n byw yn Aberystwyth, *(dydach) chi?*
 be.PRES.2PL PROG live in Aberystwyth NEG.be.PRES.2PL you.PL
 'is it in Aberystwyth that you live?'

These examples show that omission of the copula cannot take place when no phrase follows the pronoun. We shall refer to this constraint as the stranding constraint, which says that the omission of the copula can only occur if the subject is followed by an overt predicate.

So far, examples have contained pronouns as subjects. But there are also examples whose subjects are nominal phrases.

- 20 a. (*mae*) *dad yn dod.*
 be.PRES.3SG dad PROG come
 ‘dad is coming.’
- b. (*mae*) *mam yn hapus.*
 be.PRES.3SG mother PRED happy
 ‘mother is happy.’
- c. (*yd*) *popeth wedi gorffen?*
 be.PRES.3SG everything PERF finish
 ‘has everything finished?’

We have used evidence from tag questions to support the view that a zero copula occurs. But tags in copula-less clauses which have nominal phrases as their subjects do not provide clear-cut evidence, as it is possible to have either a verbal tag (which supports zero copula) or a non-verbal tag *ie* ‘yes’ or *nage* ‘no’ (which supports a small clause analysis); further, the use of *ie* is variable (see Jones (2010) for discussion).

- 21 a. — *dad yn dod, tydy / ie?*
 dad PROG come NEG.be.PRES.3SG/ yes
 ‘dad coming, isn’t he / yes?’
- b. — *mam yn hapus, tydy / ie?*
 mother PRED happy NEG.be.PRES.3SG/ yes
 ‘mother happy, isn’t she /yes?’
- c. — *popeth wedi gorffen, tydy / ie?*
 everything PERF finish NEG.be.PRES.3SG/ yes
 ‘everything finished, hasn’t it / yes?’

There is more to tags in Welsh than is covered here. However, there are differences in other respects between the examples which have pronominal subjects, like those in (12–13), and those which have nominal phrases as subjects. The former can occur in *wh*-clauses and fronted clauses as shown by the examples in (19), but those which contain subjects which are nominal phrases cannot, as shown by the examples in (22).

- 22 a. *lle *(mae) dad yn mynd?*
 where be.PRES.3SG dad PROG go
 ‘where is dad going?’
- b. *coffi *(mae) dad yn ei licio.*
 coffee be.PRES.3SG dad PROG 3SG.M like
 ‘it’s coffee that dad likes.’

Further, in spontaneous spoken Welsh, copula-less clauses which contain pronominal subjects can occur in complement clauses, as in (23), but those which contain nominal phrase subjects cannot, as shown in (24).

- 23 a. *dw i 'n gw'bod (dach) chi ddim yn licio coffi.*
 be.PRES.1SG I PROG know be.PRES.2PL you.PL NEG PROG like coffee
 ‘I know that you don’t like coffee.’
- b. *mae 'n amlwg i bawb (dan) ni ddim yn fodlon.*
 be.PRES.3SG PRED obvious to everyone be.PRES.1PL we NEG PRED pleased
 ‘it’s obvious to everyone that we are not pleased.’
- 24 a. *dw i 'n gw'bod *(dydy) Mair ddim yn licio coffi.*
 be.PRES.1SG I PROG know be.PRES.3SG Mair NEG PROG like coffee
 ‘I know that you don’t like coffee.’
- b. *mae 'n amlwg i bawb *(dydy) dad ddim yn fodlon.*
 be.PRES.3SG PRED obvious to everyone be.PRES.3SG dad NEG PRED pleased
 ‘it’s obvious to everyone that dad is not pleased.’

One way of accounting for the differences is to say that clauses which contain pronominal subjects are copula-less clauses while those which contain nominal phrase subjects are small clauses. Or we could claim that both are copula-less clauses but that those which contain nominal phrase subjects can only occur as normal-order non-embedded clauses.

All the examples so far involve the present tense of the copula. But there is one example of the past tense perfective.

- 25 a. *(fuo) bron i mi syrthio.*
 be.PERV.3SG nearly for I fall.
 ‘I nearly fell.’
- b. — *bron i mi syrthio.*
 nearly for I fall
 ‘I nearly fell.’

The syntax of examples like (25a) is interesting in itself. But for our purposes, we shall restrict our attention to the fact that the copula can be dropped. The ellipsed version is more common than the version which contains the copula. In Welsh, copula-less clauses do not occur with a tense other than the present tense, but the past tense is so common with this type of example that tense can be readily inferred.

Piau clauses seem to provide examples of the copula being dropped in medial position.

- 26 a. *Siôn sydd bia 'r tŷ acw.*
 Siôn be.PRES.3SG own the house yonder
 'Siôn owns that house.'
- b. *Siôn — bia 'r tŷ acw.*
 Siôn own the house yonder
 Siôn owns that house.'
- c. *Siôn bia 'r tŷ acw.*
 Siôn own the house yonder
 'Siôn owns that house.'

Piau can merge with *bod*, which merges with T to acquire tense and agreement features, and we get (26a), as shown in chapter 7. We can then claim that the copula can be dropped to produce (26b). But the form *piau* can be treated as a (morphologically defective) verb which can merge with T, in which case we get the example in (26c). This questions whether the example in (26b) is derived form (26a) through copula dropping. There is fuller discussion in chapter 7.

The discussion up to this point has concentrated on the omission of the copula. However, there are examples which show that copula deletion is part of a more extensive process of deletion. This is seen in examples which contain an expletive subject, both pronominal and locative (see chapter 12 for this distinction).

- 27 a. (*mae 'na) adar ar ben y tô.*
 be.PRES.3SG there birds on head the roof
 '(there are) birds on the roof.'
- b. (*mae 'na) sudd oren yn y ffrij.*
 be.PRES.3SG there juice orange in the fridge
 '(there is) orange juice in the fridge.'
- b. (*mae 'na) eira ar y mynyddoedd.*
 be.PRES.3SG there snow on the mountains
 '(there is) snow on the mountains.'

28 a. (*mae 'n*) *rhaid i mi fynd.*⁶⁵

be.PRES.3SG necessity for I go

'I must go.'

b. (*mae 'n*) *well i ti aros.*

be.PRES.3SG PRED better for you.SG stay

'it's better for you to stay.'

c. (*dydy hi*) *ddim yn ddrwg.*

be.PRES.3SG she NEG PRED bad

'it's not bad.'

d. (*mae 'n*) *anodd credu.*

be.PRES.3SG PRED difficult believe

'it's hard to believe.'

e. (*mae 'n*) *bwrw glaw eto.*

be.PRES.3SG PROG hit rain again

'it's raining again.'

Deletion centres not only on the copula but also includes any following other functional element which is part of a continuous linear sequence in clause initial position. The omission of the copula by itself, as in examples (12–13), or a more extensive sequence of forms, as in (27–28), can be said to be part of a process of ellipsis which Thrasher (1974) labels conversational deletion. That is, clause-initial elements can be deleted when their meaning or function can be inferred from the syntactic or pragmatic context as in English examples like *(I) don't know*, *(we) don't care*. Further, conversational deletion continues successively until an element is encountered which cannot be deleted as in *(are you) coming?* and *(we'll be) back in a sec*.

To conclude, copula dropping occurs mainly with the present tense, and mainly with the pronouns in the first and second persons. In some cases, tags can be formed, which suggests that the copula occurs in the underlying structure. But there is also the possibility that copula-less clauses are small clauses when nominal phrases occur as their subjects. In some cases, it is not just the copula which is dropped (more broadly, conversational deletion). If copula-less clauses are examples of Thrasher's conversational deletion, then omitting an initial copula is not the same as dropping the copula in languages like Russian and Arabic.

7 Traditional treatments of Welsh

Traditional Welsh grammarians are different not only to the approach followed in this work but also to each other. The following account presents an outline of the main features of traditional approaches.

The examples in (29) provide illustrations of what are traditionally called ‘nominal sentences’ (*brawddegau enwol*), or ‘pure nominal sentences’ (*brawddegau enwol pur*) as they are strictly labelled.

- 29 a. *hir pob aros.*
 long every wait
 ‘long every wait.’
- b. *cyfaill blaidd bugail diog.*
 friend wolf shepherd lazy
 ‘a lazy shepherd, a wolf’s friend.’

Their syntax is described as complement (or predicate) + subject, and it is noted that they lack a finite verb form, specifically a form of *bod*: [Complement[*cyfaill blaidd*] + Subject[*bugail diog*]]. They are not productive in contemporary Welsh and are restricted to proverbs and set sayings. They are not part of the discussion of copular clauses in this work, but they figure prominently in traditional accounts.

The examples in (30) are illustrations of what are analysed in this work as identificatory clauses, (30a–b), or fronted ascriptive clauses, (30c–f).

- 30 a. *ef yw 'r dyn gorau.*
 he be.PRES.3SG the man best
 ‘he is the best man.’
- b. *canu yw fy mrif pleser.*
 sing be.PRES.3SG 1SG main pleasure
 ‘singing is my main pleasure.’
- c. *dyn yw John.*
 man be.PRES.3SG John
 = ‘John is a man.’
- d. *glas yw 'r môr.*
 blue be.PRES.3SG the sea
 = ‘the sea is blue.’
- e. *hir yw pob aros.*
 long be.PRES.3SG every wait
 = ‘every wait is long.’

- f. *cyfaill blaidd yw bugail diog.*
 friend wolf be.PRES.3SG shepherd lazy
 = ‘a lazy shepherd is a wolf’s friend.’

In traditional terms, they are characterized by the occurrence of a finite form of *bod* flanked by two phrases which are analysed as complement in initial position and subject in final position, [Complement[*ef*] + finite copula[*yw*] + Subject[*y dyn gorau*]]. *Bod* is analysed as a copula, having only a grammatical function conveying tense etc and coupling (*cyplysu*) or linking the complement and the subject. Morgan (1952: 267–280), Watkins (1961:184-187), and Thomas (1996: 400) label such sentences as copular sentences. Richards (1938: 9-20) and Evans J.J. (1960: 261-263), label them as nominal sentences — more specifically, ‘impure nominal sentences’ (*brawddegau enwol amhur*). The terms (impure) nominal sentence and copular sentence would seem to be interchangeable. The traditional accounts of examples like those in (30) show that the term copula is used in a very restricted way, very unlike its widespread application in this work.

There are different views about what are analysed in this study as ascriptive clauses, like those in (31).

- 31 a. *mae John yn ddyn.*
 be.PRES.3SG John PRED man
 ‘John is a man.’
- b. *mae ’r môr yn las.*
 be.PRES.3SG the sea PRED blue
 ‘the sea is blue.’
- c. *mae pob aros yn hir.*
 be.PRES.3SG every wait PRED long
 ‘every wait is long.’
- d. *mae bugail diog yn gyfaill i flaid.*
 be.PRES.3SG shepherd lazy PRED friend to wolf
 ‘a lazy shepherd is a wolf’s friend.’
- e. *mae ’r gŵr yn gas.*
 be.PRES.3SG the man PRED nasty
 ‘the man is nasty.’

In traditional treatments, the defining characteristic of such sentences is that they have verb-first order. Richards (1938:11–12) and Williams (1959: 218-219; 1980: 164) consider patterns like the ones in (31) to be nominal sentences or more strictly impure nominal sentences — that is, examples like those in (30) and those in (31) are both labelled as impure nominal sentences (in the English version, Williams (*op cit*) uses the expression ‘noun-predicate sentence’). Morgan (1952: 267–280)

uses the term copular. But Watkins (1961: 186–187) points out that the word order of sentences like those in (31) follows that of a verbal sentence, that is, verb-first as in *agorodd Siôn y drws* ‘Siôn opened the door’. He suggests that the syntax of a verbal sentence has influenced historically the syntax of a copular (or nominal) sentence and he labels examples like (31) as ‘late copular’ sentences. Evans J.J. (1960: 264) goes even further and unreservedly classes examples like those in (31) as verbal sentences. Thomas (1996: 408–416) also classes examples like those in (31) as verbal sentences (a sub-type, which he refers to as *brawddegau dibeniadol* — *dibeniadol* is complement in Welsh). On adopting the position that normal-order ascriptives are verbal sentences, *bod* is not a copula and must then be assigned meaning like other verbs. Evans claims that *bod* in ascriptives has the meaning ‘to exist’ and talks of existential *bod* (*bod bodolaeth*). Thomas likewise talks about existential *bod* in ascriptives. Traditional accounts, then, maintain that there is a copular *bod* which occurs in copular sentences, and existential *bod* which occurs in verbal sentences. Morgan (1952: 267) also talks about copular *bod* and existential *bod* but illustrates the latter with examples like (26).

32 *mae* *'r* *plant* *yn yr* *ardd*.
 be.PRES.3SG the children in the garden
 ‘the children are in the garden.’

Thomas (*op cit*) also includes such clauses in the use of existential *bod*, as well as ascriptives.

It is worth mentioning that some traditional accounts, especially Morgan (1952: 267–280), present their views within a diachronic framework, and there can be an implicit suggestion that copular sentences (impure nominal sentences) develop from pure nominal sentences through the introduction of a verbal form to convey tense etc. (rather than dropping the copula as discussed in section 6). It is also worth mentioning that Morgan (1952: 267–268) gives a semantic analysis of pure nominal sentences like those in (29), which, by extension, must be appropriate for impure nominal (copular) sentences like those in (30). It is similar to the semantic analysis of identificatory clauses which is given in chapter 3 in this study. Thomas (1996: 417–420) also discusses the semantics of traditional copular sentences like those in (30) and ascriptives like those in (31).

The traditional views do not distinguish identificatory clauses, like those in (30a–b), from fronted ascriptives, like those in (30c–f). Neither do traditional accounts recognize that clauses like those in (30c–f) are fronted versions of clauses like those in (31). It is one of the weaknesses of the traditional approach that this distinction is not made. Distinguishing existential *bod* and copular *bod* is also troublesome. In Thomas’ work *nyrs yw Euan* ‘Euan is a nurse’ is copular and contains copular *bod*, while *mae Euan yn nyrs* is *dibeniadol* and contains existential *bod*. If *bod* in examples like (31) means ‘to exist’ then it is reasonable to say that *bod* in examples like those in (30c–f) also means ‘to exist’. Another weakness of traditional accounts is that their data base is mainly restricted to examples like

those in (29–32) and do not take into account the full range of clauses in which they can occur (but Richards (1938: 9–20) and Evans D.S. (1971), although the latter is not based on contemporary Welsh, provide extensive coverage). Further, there are clear problems of consistency over all traditional accounts.

In this work, all instances of *bod* (with one possible exception as discussed in chapter 4) are referred to as the copula, and all clauses which they head as copular clauses. The copula has a grammatical function, which is to merge with T in finite clause and to form a VP in infinitive clauses. Meanings are attributed to the syntax of the clauses and, especially, to the syntactic and lexical composition of the predicates. This approach avoids the problems which are found in traditional accounts.

Notes

¹ Thomas and Thomas (1989) provide examples of the morphology of the copula in the dialects.

² A wide-ranging study of clauses which contain a form of *bod* ‘be’ is found in Richards (1938: 9–20) and also in a diachronic study by Evans D.S. (1971).

³ There are also research dissertations on the dialects of Welsh which are too numerous to list here.

⁴ Watkins (1991) provides a discussion of the meaning of fronted clauses (cleft clauses in Watkins’ labelling) which includes prominence and contrast but also considers other distinctions. Fife (1986b) provides an account of fronted clauses which involve the auxiliary verb *gwneud* ‘do’. Further discussion of fronted clauses is also available in Fife and King (1991).

⁵ Thomas and Thomas (1989: 75–77) discuss other particle forms.

⁶ Ball (1987) provides an account of the occurrences of preverbal particles in modern Welsh.

⁷ The label predicatival is not entirely satisfactory as there are other predicates in Welsh clauses which are not preceded by *yn*. But predicatival *yn* or predicate *yn* is common in studies of Welsh — for example, Williams (1959: 121; 1980: 94), Borsley, Tallerman, and Willis (2007), and Thomas (1996).

⁸ Some Welsh speakers prefer to use a nominal phrase which has the pronominal *un* ‘one’ as its head modified by an adjective rather than an adjective phrase which contains only an adjective. That is, *mae Siôn yn un hapus / ffeind / bodlon* ‘Siôn is a happy / nice / contented one’ rather than *mae Siôn yn hapus / ffeind / bodlon* ‘Siôn is happy / nice / contented’. Croft (1991: 103) suggests that English *one* is preferred with the adjective when the latter is more noun-like, and gives examples like ?*George’s plantation is Southern / George’s plantation is a Southern one*, and ?*the speeches in this volume are all presidential / the speeches in this volume are all presidential ones*. It is not certain whether this semantic distinction applies to Welsh or whether Welsh, for some speakers, simply prefers a pronominal phrase rather than an adjective phrase. We shall not pursue the use of *un* with adjectives any further in this study.

⁹ This expression refers to clauses which occur as the complements of certain verbs, nouns, and adjectives. In formal Welsh, they are preceded by a complementizer which, in Welsh, is the positive particle *y* (*yr* before a vowel) and the negative particle *na* (*nad* before a vowel).

- i a. *gwyddom y bydd Mair yna.*
 know.PRES1PL PT be.FUT.3SG Mair there
 ‘we know that Mair will be there.’
- b. *gwn na fyddaf yn y cyfarfod mewn pryd.*
 know.PRES.1SG PT be.FUT.1SG in the meetingin time
 ‘I know that I will not be in the meeting in time.’

In the informal language, these complementizers are uncommon, but not unknown amongst speakers whose stylistic repertoire includes the conventions of formal Welsh. The present and imperfect tenses of the copula are distinctive in that they can be indicated in complement clauses by the non-finite form of *bod* ‘be’ (details are given in chapter 13).

- ii a. *mae Mair yn siwr bod Gwyn yn gweithio dros y Sul.*
 be.PRES.3SG Mair PRED sure be.PRES Gwyn PROG work over the Sunday
 ‘Mair is sure that Gwyn is working over the weekend.’
- b. *oedd pawb yn cofio bod y plant wedi mwynhau*
 be.IMPF.3SG everyone PROG remember be.IMPF the children PERF enjoy
 ‘everyone remembered that the children had enjoyed themselves.’

¹⁰ Some dialects of Welsh, particularly northern ones, can drop the definite article, as in examples such as *ma’ mam yn (y) tŷ* ‘mother is in (the) house’.

¹¹ In traditional reference grammars of Welsh, agreement clitics are labelled as ‘prefixed pronouns’ or ‘possessive pronouns’ in English-medium works, or as *rhagenwau blaen* ‘prefixed pronouns’ in Welsh-medium works.

¹² Lyons (1995: 78–79) uses the term ‘reference’ for referring expressions and the term ‘denotation’ for non-referring expressions. We mainly use the term reference for both referring and non-referring expressions.

¹³ As well as an explanation which is based on predication, we can also consider whether there is an explanation which is based on attribution, that is, whether the possessor part of the genitive phrase can be said to have an attributive function. Consider straightforward examples such *siop y castell* ‘the castle shop’, *caffi’r harbwr* ‘the harbour café’, and *marchnad y dre* ‘the town market’. The phrases *y castell* ‘the castle’, *yr harbwr* ‘the harbour’, and *y dre* ‘the town’ can be interpreted as being post-modifiers which help to describe the initially-placed nominal phrases. The overall phrases can still have the syntax

of genitive phrases, but the definite nominal phrases function like an attributive adjective. Such genitives can occur like indefinite nominal phrases in a predicative phrase. Future research can examine this possibility in greater detail.

¹⁴ At the time of writing, the following example of a subjectless *i*-infinitive clause was heard.

i mae o rhy dawel i fod yn Siôn.
 be.PRES.3SG he too quiet to be PRED Siôn
 ‘he is too quiet to be Siôn.’

There could be a predicational reading: the subject does not have the properties of *Siôn* (not loud enough).

¹⁵ There is an alternative approach in which the clause is generated in an extraposed position and the expletive subject is inserted into subject position. We shall take no stand on this issue and assume that complement clauses and *i*-clauses are generated in subject position and are extraposed.

¹⁶ The meaning of the progressive in Welsh is discussed in Jones (2010).

¹⁷ A detailed account of the patterns in the degree system is available in Thomas (1996: 223–241).

¹⁸ The examples in the text containing *wh*-clauses in (7c), (8c), (9a–b), and (9f–g) are *wh*-cleft clauses (also labelled pseudo-cleft clauses). But Welsh prefers fronted-order clauses (which are equivalent to *it*-cleft clauses in other languages). For instance, examples (7c) (or (8c)), (9a–b), and (9f–g) can also be conveyed as follows.

- i a. *y car oedd yn achosi probleme.*
 the car be.IMPF.3SG PROG cause problems
 ‘it was the car which was causing problems.’
- b. *torri coed oedd John (yn 'i neud).*
 cut wood be.IMPF.3SG John PROG 3SG do
 ‘chopping wood was what John was doing.’
- c. *trio datod y rhaff oedd Gwen (yn 'i neud).*
 try undo the rope be.IMPF.3SG Gwen PROG 3SG do
 ‘trying to undo the rope was what Gwen was doing.’
- d. *yn y dre oedd Siôn yn byw.*
 in the town be.IMPF.3SG Siôn PROG live
 ‘it was in the town that Siôn lived.’

- e. *yn y bore oedd y cwch yn cyrraedd.*
 in the morning be.IMPF.3SG the boat PROG arrive
 ‘it was in the morning when the boat arrived.’

We shall not pursue these matters further. But fronted-order clauses are discussed in chapter 11.

¹⁹ We can also consider interrogative complement clauses. They are like declarative complement clauses in that they can occur in post-copular position but not pre-copular position. In formal Welsh, the pre-verbal particle *a* is used while in informal Welsh *os* ‘if’ is used.

- i a. *y cwestiwn ydy a / os ydy Mari yn fodlon helpu.*
 the question be.PRES.3SG whether if be.PRES.3SG Mari PRED content help
 ‘the question is whether Mari is ready to help.’

- i a. **a / os ydy Mari yn fodlon helpu ydy 'r cwestiwn.*
 whether if be.PRES.3SG Mari PRED content help be.PRES.3SG the question
 ‘the question is whether Mari is ready to help.’

²⁰ In English, a verb phrase can co-occur with another verb phrase on the other flank.

- i a. *seeing is believing.*
 b. *to drink a good wine is to enjoy life.*

Welsh equivalents of these examples are barely acceptable.

- ii a. ?? *gweld oedd credu.*
 see be.IMPF.3SG believe
 ‘seeing was believing.’
 b. ?? *yfed gwin da oedd mwynhau bywyd.*
 drink wine good be.IMPF.3SG enjoy life
 ‘to drink a good wine was to enjoy life.’

These examples are questioned but a more conservative judgement would reject them.

²¹ *Ynte* is used mainly in northern dialects and can be reduced to *'te*. *Yntefe* is used mainly in southern dialects and can be reduced to *'tefe*.

²² *Dim* is widely used but especially in northern dialects. Some speakers use *ddim* in place of *dim*. *Nage* is used mainly in southern dialects. In the formal style of Welsh, *nid* is used in non-embedded clauses and *nad* is used in embedded clauses.

²³ *Ma* is widely used but especially in northern dialects. *Taw* is used in southern dialects. *Na* is used in northern dialects. In the formal style of Welsh, *mai* occurs, from which (it is assumed) informal *ma* is derived.

²⁴ The following example has two nominal phrases in pre-copular position.

i *Duw cariad yw.*

God love be.IMPF.3SG

‘God love is.’

But such patterns are very conservative and do not occur in contemporary varieties of informal Welsh, and probably not in formal styles either outside a Biblical context.

²⁵ Watkins (1991: 342–343) also emphasises that focussed phrases cannot be marked in Welsh by assigning them stress *in situ*, but must be fronted. We follow this view, but are unsure as to whether all speakers of Welsh today follow this usage.

²⁶ Stassen (1997: 109), whose study is based on 410 languages, claims that languages which have a different syntax for equative copulars (encoding of identity statements, in Stassen’s terms) are more likely to include topic markers and focus particles in their syntax. Welsh equatives do not contain markers or particles but fronted order is obligatory, and, as fronted-order clauses in Welsh involve focus, they come within Stassen’s claim.

²⁷ The usage which is described in the text may not be characteristic of all speakers, and some use examples which have indefinite NomPs in post-copular position. In addition, this work has not considered in detail the occurrences of abstract nouns in post-copular position as in *a’r mwyaf o’r rhain yc caridi* ‘and the greatest of these is charity’.

²⁸ Stassen (1997: 101) labels such examples as ‘presentational’. Other instances are given in (i)

i a. *Bethan ydy hon.*

Bethan be.PRES.3SG this.F

‘this is Bethan.’

b. *y’ nghar i ydy hwnna draw fancw.*

1SG car i be.PRES.3SG that.M over there

‘my car is that one over there.’

But Welsh has the lexemes *dyma*, *dyna*, and *dacw*, which compare with French *voici* and *voilà*, which can be used presentationally:

ii a. *dyma Bethan.*

here-is Bethan

‘this is Bethan / here’s Bethan.’

b. *dacw y’ nghar i draw fancw.*

yonder-is 1SG car I over there

‘there’s my car over there / that’s my car over there.’

A detailed analysis of Welsh presentational clauses is undertaken in Jones (unpublished).

²⁹ Welsh equivalents of the English examples in (48) are as in (i) here.

i a. *Siôn ydy ’r siaradwr gwadd.*

Siôn be.PRES.3SG the speaker invited

‘Siôn is the guest speaker.’

b. *y cadeirydd ydy Gwenan.*

the chairperson be.PRES.3SG Gwenan

‘the chairperson is Gwenan.’

c. *y dyn yna ydy Siôn.*

the man there be.PRES.3SG Siôn

‘that man is Siôn.’

d. *seren y bore ydy seren y nos.*

star the morning be.PRES.3SG star the evening

‘the morning star is the evening star.’

ii a. *y siaradwr gwadd ydy Siôn.*

the speaker invited be.PRES.3SG Siôn

‘the guest speaker is Siôn.’

b. *Gwenan ydy ’r cadeirydd.*

Gwenan be.PRES.3SG the chairperson

‘Gwenan is the chairperson.’

c. *Siôn ydy ’r dyn yna.*

Siôn be.PRES.3SG the man there

‘Siôn is that man.’

d. *seren y nos ydy seren y bore.*

star the evening be.PRES.3SG star the morning

‘the evening star is the morning star.’

Translating English clauses like these into Welsh is not straightforward in respect of linear ordering, especially as transposition is possible in all these cases, as shown in (ii). We shall not attempt to compare Welsh and English in this work.

³⁰ Uniqueness figures in the very brief discussion of identificatory clauses by Pustet (2005: 29–30), which are labelled as *identificational* in Pustet's taxonomy.

³¹ It is often remarked upon in the literature that a nominal phrase which indicates a role or office can also be interpreted as a referring expression which identifies an individual, in which case we have a strict identificatory reading. We are not concerned with that reading at this point.

³² Stassen (1997: 109) says that “in uniquely encoded identity statements, where there is no such thing as a grammatical subject, discourse motivated notions such as topic or focus will have to be made explicit at all times.” The formal analyses of Welsh equative clauses which are given in section 5 do not support the view that they have no grammatical subject, but we can say that focus is made explicit by fronting.

³³ Rouveret (1996) accounts for identificatory copular sentences as follows. There is a feature [+f] on C. Rouveret also argues that for these sentences C is occupied by the finite form of the copula. Another relevant point is that the predicate phrase is marked as [+focus]. Rouveret argues that when [+f] occurs in CP, and C either contains a fronting particle or is occupied by the copula, then Spec CP must be occupied by a focus phrase; and hence the predicate is obligatorily fronted.

³⁴ This type of inversion can also occur in formal Welsh in verbal clauses which meet the conditions of inversion.

i a. *fe ddaw dyn yma.*

PT come.FUT.3SG man here

‘a man will come here.’

b. *fe ddaw yma ddyn.*

PT come.FUT.3SG here man

‘a man will come here.’

³⁵ These prepositions have other functions in addition to those discussed here. The preposition *gan*, for instance, can indicate the agent in a passive clause, and the source in an active clause; the prepositions *gyda* and *efo* can indicate an instrument, and both have a comitative function; and the preposition *i* can indicate direction, beneficiary and principal. These, and other, functions marked by the prepositions are not the concern of this work.

The prepositions *efo* and *gyda* in informal speech introduce a problem of interpretation. They can be used in a very general sense to link one entity, usually animate, with another, usually inanimate.

i a *pwyl sy 'di bod efo 'r siswrn?*

who be.PRES.3SG PERF be with the scissors

'who's been with the scissors?'

b. *dw i efo 'r rhaw 'wan.*

be.PRES.1SG I with the spade now

'I'm with the spade now'

In this use, *efo* and *gyda* seem to indicate an individual's use of, or involvement with, an object. But it can be difficult in some instances to distinguish between this use and the possessive use described in the text.

There are other patterns which can involve *gan* and *gyda*, such as.

ii a. *mae o wedi torri gan ti.*

be.PRES.3SG he PERF break with you.SG

'you've got it broken.'

b. *mae 'r ardd yn edrych yn dda gan ti.*

be.PRES.3SG the garden PROG look PRED good with you.SG

'you've got the garden looking well.'

The example in (iia) involves a verbal pattern and *gan* and *gyda* denote either the agency (possibly non-deliberative) or the one who can be associated with the action or event. A similar interpretation applies to (iib). The agentive use of *gan* in copular clauses is discussed in chapter 9.

³⁶ The influence of definiteness has long been noted, as in Rowland (1876:109), Morris-Jones (1931:189) and *Dysgu Cymraeg* (1960:121-122). There are many other references to this alternative ordering (Rowland 1876:109, Fynes-Clinton 1913:148, Caradar undated-a:14, Richards 1938:14-15, a *Dysgu Cymraeg V* 1960:121-122). Caradar suggests that the prepositional phrase precedes the nominal phrase when a pronoun occurs in the former. He gives the following examples.

i a. *oes pibell gan eich tad?*

be.PRES.3SG pipe with your.PL father

'has your father got a pipe?'

- b. *y mae ganddo lyfr.*
 PT be.PRES.3SG with.3SG.M book
 'he's got a book.'

But this does not account for vernacular Welsh which contains many examples of inverted ordering which have nominals in the prepositional phrase.

³⁷ The distinctions which are made here are also made, in a different way, by Evans D.S. (1971:146). He refers to the possessor, which is in the prepositional phrase, as the logical subject and the possession as the grammatical subject. It is also interesting that, in his historical study, he notes examples like the following in early modern Welsh (I am grateful to Bleddyn Hughes for his comments on the translation of this example).

- i *os oes neb ohonoch ag evvyllys gentho i 'mgrogi i hun.*
 if be.PRES.3SG nobody of.2PL and will with.3SG to hang 3SG.M self
 'if any one of you has the will to hang himself.'

The complement of the prepositional phrase, *neb ohonoch*, has been taken out of the prepositional phrase and placed in subject position (and the preposition has been inflected to provide a resumptive element). This can be regarded as a strategy which is much like the way that the prepositional phrase is raised in modern Welsh. It is difficult to explain *ag evvyllys*. Evans says that *ag* is the co-ordinating conjunction, *a(c)* 'and', but given that it is replaced by *heb* 'without' in negatives, as Evans shows, there are grounds for considering that it is the preposition *â* 'with' which occurs in possessive clauses. (It can be speculated that *neb ohonoch ag evvyllys* forms a phrase.) As Evans points out, these patterns do not occur in today's Welsh.

³⁸ These data are taken from Dillon and Ó Cróinín (1961:41–43), Marsack (1962: 52–55), and Shackleton (1972:64–67). I have followed the phonetic script which is used by Marsack. There is more to the syntax of Samoan and Punjabi in these examples than we can go into in this study.

³⁹ It has been mentioned to me by one speaker from central Wales that *gan* can be used with a comitative meaning as in *o'n i gan Wiliam* 'I was with William', but I am not familiar with this use of *gan*.

⁴⁰ Other ailments which can be related to an entity in this manner include *peswch* 'cough', *y ffliw* 'the flu', and *y frech goch* 'measles'.

⁴¹ Definite phrases which indicate illnesses like *y ffliw* 'the flu', and *y frech goch* 'measles' are different, and can be treated as exceptions.

⁴² *Angen*, *awydd*, *chwant*, and *eisiau* are all glossed as ‘need’ or ‘want’. We shall not attempt to decide whether further distinctions can be made, in particular, the contrast between an internally motivated necessity and an externally determined necessity. We can note that *chwant* occurs in southern dialects, where it occurs as *hwant* or *want*.

⁴³ This chapter is based on Jones (2006).

⁴⁴ There are other ways of conveying ownership in Welsh. Chapter 5 shows that predicative possessives can convey ownership as in *mae gan Siôn Volvo coch* ‘Siôn has got a red Volvo’. Predicative possessives are used when the thing-owned is conveyed by an indefinite nominal phrase.

Ownership can also be conveyed by an identificatory clause which contains the thing-owned on one flank and the Welsh equivalent of an independent genitive on the other flank. A genitive phrase in Welsh is formed by the simple juxtaposition of the thing-owned / -possessed and the owner / possessor, as in *car Siôn* ‘Siôn’s car’. The Welsh equivalent of an independent genitive is formed by replacing the head noun with the head pronoun *un* ‘one’ or *rhai* ‘some’, giving examples like *un Siôn* ‘Siôn’s one’ and *rhai Siôn* ‘Siôn’s ones’ (this can occur in English, too). Such phrases can convey the owner in identificatory clauses.

- i a. *un Sioned ydy 'r Volvo coch.*
 one Sioned be.PRES.3SG the Volvo red
 ‘the red Volvo is Sioned’s.’
- b. *un fi fuasai 'r beic 'cw.*
 one I be.CNTF.3SG the bike yonder
 ‘that bike would be mine.’
- c. *rhai y cyngor oedd y tai.*
 some the council be.IMPF.3SG the houses
 ‘the houses were the council’s.’
- d. *rhai yr ysgol ydy 'r caeau.*
 some the school be.PRES.3SG the fields
 ‘the fields were the school’s.’
- e. *rhai Gwen fydd y lluniau.*
 some Gwen be.FUT.3SG the pictures
 ‘the pictures will be Gwen’s.’

Identificatory copulars have already been discussed in chapter 3, and no more will be said about examples like the ones in (i) in this chapter.

There are also two verbs which convey ownership, the verb *perthyn* ‘belong’ and *perchen*, glossed in dictionaries as ‘owner’, in examples like those in (ii).

- ii a. *mae 'r car newydd yn perthyn i Gwyn.*
 be.PRES.3SG the car new PROG belong to Gwyn
 ‘the new car belongs to Gwyn’
- b. *Gwyn sy ('n) berchen y Volvo coch.*
 Gwyn be.PRES.3SG PRED owner the Volvo red
 ‘Gwyn owns the red Volvo?’

These lexemes occur in other basic copular phrases. *Perthyn* occurs in a progressive aspect pattern (aspect is discussed in chapter 7) and *perchyn* occurs in an ascriptive copular, which is discussed in chapter 2. *Perchen* is used mainly in southern dialects.

⁴⁵ In a corpus of Welsh acquisition data which is located at the CHILDES site (childes.psy.cmu.edu), out of a total of 139 *piau* clauses produced by adults, only 10 contain the present tense form *sydd* ‘is’. It is interesting to note that all of the latter are produced by adults at mid Wales collection points. The non-copular examples are produced by adults at north Wales collection points.

⁴⁶ Some speakers will agree with the judgements which are given in the text. But other speakers may find an indefinite subject acceptable. For instance, consider the scenario in which the driver of a red Volvo blows the horn on a couple walking along the roadside, but the couple cannot make out the driver. In an attempt to work out the identity of the driver, some speakers find the following acceptable, but others do not:

- i *pwy bia Volvo coch?*
 who own Volvo red
 ‘who owns a red Volvo?’

Some speakers may prefer a with-possessive copular (which are discussed in chapter 4).

- ii *pwy sydd efo / gyda Volvo coch?*
 who be.PRES.3SG with Volvo red
 ‘who’s got a red Volvo?’

⁴⁷ The indefinite nouns in the examples in (20) are abstract nouns, while those in (19) are concrete referring expressions. This may be a significant difference. But we shall leave this matter for future research.

⁴⁸ There is one exception to the constraint that *piau* clauses cannot occur in a subjectless infinitive clause. It can occur with the verb *dal* ‘continue’. Normally, *i* occurs in the subjectless infinitive clause which occurs with *dal*, but not in the case of *piau*.

- i *mae Sioned yn dal bia 'r Volvo coch.*
 be.PRES.3SG Sioned PROG continue own the Volvo red
 ‘the red Volvo is still Sioned’s / Sioned still owns the red Volvo.’

Some speakers may prefer a possessive copular.

- ii *mae 'r Volvo coch yn dal gan Sioned.*
 be.PRES.3SG the Volvo red PROG continue with Sioned
 ‘Sioned has still got the red Volvo.’

Possessives and ownership are discussed in section 4.2 of chapter 5.

⁴⁹ I have encountered one speaker who produces examples in which the progressive aspect particle precedes *piau*. *Perchen* does not have these problems.

- i a. *Sioned sydd i fod yn berchen ar y Volvo coch.*
 Sioned be.PRES.3SG to be PRED owner on the Volvo red
 ‘Sioned is supposed to own the red Volvo.’
- b. *dw i 'n disgwyl i Sioned fod yn berchen ar y Volvo coch.*
 be.PRES.1SG I PROG expect for Sioned be PRED owner on the Volvo red
 ‘I expect Sioned to own the red Volvo.’
- c. *dw i 'n disgwyl bod yn berchen ar y Volvo coch.*
 be.PRES.1SG I PROG expect be PRED owner on the Volvo red
 ‘I expect to own the red Volvo.’
- d. *fi oedd bia 'r Volvo coch cyn i Sioned fod yn berchen arnofo.*
 I be.IMPF.3SG own the Volvo red before to Sioned be PRED owner on.3SG.M he
 ‘the red Volvo was mine before it was Sioned’s.’

There is a possibility that *piau* can occur in these contexts if preceded by *bod* ‘be’, but speakers have uncertain reactions to such patterns:

- ii a. ?? *Sioned sydd i fod bia 'r Volvo coch.*
 Sioned be.PRES.3SG to be own the Volvo red
 ‘Sioned is supposed to own the red Volvo.’

- b. ?? *dw i 'n disgwyl i Sioned fod bia 'r Volvo coch.*
 be.PRES.1SG I PROG expect to Sioned be own the Volvo red
 'I expect Sioned to own the red Volvo.'
- c. ?? *dw i 'n disgwyl bod bia 'r Volvo coch.*
 be.PRES.1SG I PROG expect be own the Volvo red
 'I expect to own the red Volvo.'
- d. ?? *fi oedd bia 'r Volvo coch cyn i Sioned fod bia fo.*
 I be.IMPF.3SG own the Volvo red before to Sioned be own it
 'the red Volvo was mine before it was Sioned's.'

On the basis of current understanding of speakers' judgments, these are uncertain data, and we shall not introduce them into the analysis.

⁵⁰ Although English mainly uses *have* with the perfect, it is possible to use either the copula (*I'm finished*) or *have* (*I've finished*) in some instances.

⁵¹ Jones B.M. (1997, 1998) also considers whether *i fod* has an epistemic meaning as some of the examples in the text may suggest. Discussion of the semantics of *i* and *i fod i* is also available in Fife (1990: 465–362, 394–398).

⁵² After the form *i*, the form *w* replaces the agreement clitics *ei* (third person singular, masculine and feminine) and *eu* (third person plural): *ei dad* 'his father' becomes *i'w dad* 'to / for his father'; *ei thad* 'her father' becomes *i'w thad* 'to / for her father', and *eu tad* 'their father' becomes *i'w tad* 'to / for their father'. Details are available in Thomas (1996). However, the use of *w* is much more common in formal Welsh and less common in informal Welsh.

⁵³ It is not the case that *i* occurs in all such predicates as it is also possible to have zero or *o* 'of', depending on the controlling lexeme, dialect, and idiolect, as is discussed by Borsley, Tallerman, and Willis (2007: 88–90).

⁵⁴ In analyses of control predicates, the CP has PRO as its subject, a functional item which is co-referential with the subject in the matrix clause and which is not raised into that clause. In raising structures, the CP has a lexical phrase as its subject, which is raised to the subject position of the matrix clause.

⁵⁵ Additionally, Borsley, Tallerman, and Willis make a distinction between non-finite inflectional *i* and a finite inflectional *i*. The non-finite use occurs in clauses like those given in the text, in which the *i*-clause is a complement to lexemes whose meanings are volitional or expectational, and in which the situation described by the *i*-clause is posterior to the time of the volition or expectation. The finite

inflectional *i* occurs in clauses like (i), in which the *i*-clause is a complement to lexemes whose meanings are epistemic and in which the situation described by the *i*-clause is anterior to the time of the matrix clause.

i gwŷr pawb [i Siôn fynychu 'r cyfarfod].
 know.PRES.3SG everyone to Siôn attend the meeting
 ‘everyone knows that Siôn attended the meeting.’

Although not mentioned by Borsley, Tallerman, and Willis, *i*-clauses which contain finite inflectional *i* are characteristic of formal Welsh and are replaced in informal Welsh by finite clauses. Discussion is available in Jones B.M. (2010: 170–77). *I*-clauses which contain non-finite inflectional *i* occur in both formal and informal Welsh. All the examples of *i*-clauses in this current study are of the volitional-expectational type with non-finite inflectional *i*.

⁵⁶Not all speakers would produce examples like those in the text. Others would produce the following.

i oedd yn nhad yn licio Elvis, a finna hefyd.
 be.IMPF.3SG 1SG.father PROG like Elvis and I.CONJ also
 ‘my father was a good worker, and me also.’

⁵⁷In formal Welsh, an agreement clitic can be used in the nominal phrase copular.

i diod mae Siôn ei eisiau.
 drink be.PRES.3SG Siôn 3SG.M want
 = ‘it was a drink that Siôn wanted.’

But, in the vernacular, the complement in a nominal phrase is fronted without leaving an overt pronominal element.

⁵⁸We can make similar points about the predicative particle to those made about the progressive particle in endnote 56. Not all speakers would produce examples like those in the text. Others would produce the following.

i a. mae Sioned yn hapus iawn, a Gwyn hefyd.
 be.PRES.3SG Sioned PRED happy very and Gwyn also
 ‘Sioned is happy, and Gwyn too.’
 b. oedd yn nhad yn weithiwr da, a finna hefyd.
 be.IMPF.3SG 1SG father PRED worker good and I.CONJ also
 ‘my father was a good worker, and me too.’

⁵⁹ McNally (2011: 1830–1832) does not confine her characterization of existential clauses to the occurrence of forms like *yna* ‘there’. She also includes other characteristics of the configuration of a copular clause, which can be summarised here as [expletive subject + (verb) + ‘pivot’ nominal (the subject in this study), + ‘coda’ phrase (the predicate in this study)]. She emphasises that not all languages have all these elements. In particular, the verb in existentials can be from a limited set of verbs which include ‘be’, ‘have’, or some other verb related to possession, ‘remain’, ‘ensue’, and ‘follow’. Alternatively, the verb can be omitted.

⁶⁰ Morgan’s views on existential clauses are complicated by the fact that the distinction between a copular sentence and a verbal sentence is that the copula in the former has no lexical meaning but the latter does, which is commonly said to be existential in traditional Welsh reference grammars (see the discussion in section 7 in chapter 14). Thus, an example like *y mae’r dyn yn y tŷ* ‘the man is in the house’ is existential (Morgan (1952: 273, 279)), although *yna* ‘there’ cannot occur with definite subjects.

Another point is that Morgan (1952: 270) sees the occurrence of the copular *oes* as a test for an existential sentence. But the discussion in section 5 of chapter 13 shows that the occurrence of *oes* is due to other matters.

⁶¹ A presentation by David Willis at the meeting of *Welsh Linguistics Seminars* in 2017 showed that *yna* occurred more in northern dialects than in southern dialects. The presentation was based on a project, *Syntactic Atlas of Welsh Dialects*, undertaken by Willis, R.D. Borsley, and Maggie Tallerman. Details about the project can be found at <http://www.ling.cam.ac.uk/david/sawd/>.

⁶² There are examples such as the following.

i fu farw y dyn llynedd.
 be.PERV.3SG die the man last-year
 ‘the man died last year.’

Such examples are not productive in the informal style. We shall not consider them in this work. Discussion is found in Morgan (1952: 273, 274, 307–311).

⁶³ Stassen (1997: 13) has broadly similar semantic classes of predicates, but also includes locative expressions in his classification. We shall follow Pustet as she includes interesting statistical information about her three classes.

⁶⁴ At the time of writing this study, the following example was produced by a southern Welsh speaker, who was telling me which of his friends and family spoke Welsh. Nodding towards one in particular, he said —

i fi yn, fe ddim.

I PROG he NEG

‘I do, he doesn’t’

This example shows not only the deletion of the first person form of the copula but also the third person form of the copula. It is noticeable that the latter is a negative clause but it cannot be said whether this is significant on the basis of one example.

⁶⁵ There is another version of the example which contains *rhaid*

i a. [*mae*] *rhaid i mi fynd.*

be.PRES.3SG necessity for I go

‘I must go.’

b. — *rhaid i mi fynd.*

necessity for I go

‘I must go.’

As can be seen, the copula can also be dropped in this example.

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