Why Jesus and Job spoke bad Welsh : the origin and distribution of V2 orders in Middle Welsh

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Title: Why Jesus and Job spoke bad Welsh : the origin and distribution of V2 orders in Middle Welsh
Issue Date: 2016-06-21

Factors influencing word order

"The normal word order has become the form of expression suited to the mind in its normal condition of steady activity and easy movement, from which it only departs under the stress of emotion, or for logical reasons, or in conformity to fixed rules."

(dr. G.O. Curme, Ch. xvii of *A grammar of the English language*)

5.1 Introduction

The previous chapter presented various different types of word order. Why is there more than one way to put words together in a sentence? Do each of these types yield a different meaning? Is the word order changed 'under the stress of emotion, or for logical reasons', as George Curme put it in his description of English grammar? Alternatively, he proposed that deviations of normal word order were 'in conformity to fixed rules' (Curme, 1978). Assuming the latter is a reasonable working hypothesis: what are those 'rules' exactly? Are they based on purely grammatical features, usage, information structure or are there even extra-linguistic features that play a role? This chapter aims to answer all these questions for Middle Welsh.

If we want to describe the true pragmatic nature of Middle Welsh word order it is first of all of crucial importance to have a good description and overview of all the available word order patterns. All possible word order patterns were categorised and described in detail in the previous chapter. After this, all other factors (grammatical (section 5.2), usage-based (section 5.3) and extra-linguistic (section 5.4)) need to be taken into account to check to what extent - if at all - they

interact with these patterns. This then forms our baseline for the main investigation that aims to determine the effect of information-structural notions. First of all, the information-structural notions in themselves need to be analysed in a systematic way. Then we can systematically check their possible effect on the distribution of word order patterns we find. Only when all these considerations (grammatical, usage-based, extra-linguistic *and* information-structural notions) are combined can we find proper generalisations about Middle Welsh word order. The final question that remains then is the following: is it possible to 'predict' the right word order in any specific context in Middle Welsh or is there still (some degree of) random variation? I conclude by addressing this issue of variation with all available evidence presented in this chapter.

5.2   Grammatical factors

In this section I discuss various parts of the grammar and how - if at all - they interact with word order in Middle Welsh. The main focus lies on syntactic features, but some morphological and semantic issues will be taken into account alongside certain lexical items. The underlying assumption is that the different word order patterns described in the previous Chapter reflect different syntactic structures and furthermore that these syntactic structures in turn are the result of differences in various features of the grammar (e.g. tense, mood or transitivity, to mention just a few). Sentences with progressive aspect in Present-day English, for example, differ in syntactic structure from their non-progressive counterparts. This, in turn, can be observed in the different superficial word order patterns, Subject-Aux-Verb*ing*-Object in (1a) vs. Verb-Object (1b):

(1)   a. He is kissing Mary.
        b. He kisses Mary!

Another example in English that also shows a change of the sequential order of the verb and its core arguments can be observed in different clause types. Interrogative clauses have a different syntactic structure than their declarative counterparts. This is shown by their superficial word order patterns as in (2) (although it could also and/or alternatively be reflected by other linguistic strategies, e.g. differences in prosodic structure).

(2)   a. You are at home.
        b. Are you at home?

The word order of the verb and its core arguments and the use of different constructions (e.g. auxiliary + *-ing*) in Present-day English can thus be influenced by specific aspects of English grammar. Languages may of course differ with respect to which features in the grammar result in different word order patterns. The main question in this section is therefore to ascertain if - and if so, which ones and to what extent - grammatical features in Middle Welsh result in different superficial

word order patterns.

5.2.1 Clause type

There are four major distinctions in clause type: declaratives, interrogatives, imperatives and exclamatives. The present study is mainly concerned with declarative clauses, which, as I show here, exhibit different word order patterns than imperative or interrogative clauses in Welsh. In this section I also briefly touch on related issues, like the difference between main and subordinate clauses and the role of negation.

Imperative

Welsh, like many other languages employs verb-initial word order in imperative clauses. Even in the Middle Welsh period, when verb-second orders were commonly found, imperative verbs were always found in absolute clause-initial position or directly following a conjunction.

(3) a. *Bydwch   lawen a   chedwch   ych ffyd a   ch cret.*
 be.PRES-IPV.2P happy and keep.PRES-IPV.2P 2P faith and 2P belief
 'Be happy and keep your faith and your belief.'   (Dewi 115.4)

 b. *Dalet   gydymdeithas a   mi*
 hold.PRES-IPV.3S friendship   with me
 'Let him be friends with me.'   (CO 474)

 c. *ac aro   ditheu yn kennadwri ninheu*
 and wait.PRES-IPV.2S you   1P tidings   us
 'And wait for our message.'   (PKM 41.16)

Interrogative: Questions & Answers

There are different types of interrogatives each reflected by a different superficial word order patterns. Yes/no questions are verb-initial, only preceded by the sentence-initial interrogative particle *a*.

(4) a. *A   wydyat   llad   a   chledyf?*
 QU-PRT know.PRES.2S kill.INF with sword
 'Do you know how to kill with a sword?'   (Peredur 7.15-16)

 b. *A   oes   gennwch chwi chwedleu?*
 QU-PRT be.PRES.3S with.2P   you stories
 'Do you have any news?'   (PKM 45.24)

Wh-questions have the wh-word in initial position. The word order pattern looks exactly like that of the verb-second order.

(5) a. *Pwy oed   hwnnw?*
 who be.PAST.3S that
 'Who was that?'   (PKM 35.4)

  b. *Pa   dyn a   gwyn   yn y   maendy hwnn?*
     which man PRT lament.PRES.3S in the prison   this
     'Which man laments in this prison?'   (CO 914)
  c. *Pan   doy   di*
     where come.PRES.2S you
     'Where are you from?'   (PKM 12.13)

Answers to questions do not necessarily exhibit the same word order as other
positive declarative sentences. In Middle Welsh, yes/no questions are frequently
answered by repeating the verb in the question as shown in (6). Answers to wh-
questions usually start with (or consist solely of) the constituent that solves the
variable in question, as shown in (7a), but the verb can be repeated here as well,
as shown in (7b).

(6) a. *A   wely   di y   keibedic rud   draw? Gwelais.*
        QU-PRT see.PRES.2S you the hoed   slope yonder see.PRES.1S
        'Do you see the hoed slope over there? (Yes) I see (it).'   (CO 611-612)
     b. *A   gaffaf   i lety genhyt ti? Keffy.*
        QU-PRT get.PRES.1S I stay with.2S you get.PRES.2S
        'Can I stay with you? You can.'   (Peredur 1251)
     c. *A   uyd   llawn dy got ti   uyth? Na   uyd.*
        QU-PRT be.FUT.3S full   2S coat you ever   NEG be.FUT.3S
        'Will your coat never be full? It won't.'   (PKM 15.8)

(7) a. *Pa   ryw aniueileit yw   y rei   hynny? Aniueileit bychein.*
        what sort animals   be.PRES.3S the ones those   animals   small
        'What sort of animals are those? Small animals.'   (PKM 68.18-19)
     b. *Pa   du y   mae hi? Y   mae hi (...) yn Aber Deu Gledyf.*
        what side PRT be.3S she PRT be.3S she ...   in Aber Deu Gledyf
        'Where is she? She's in Aber Deu Gledyf.'   (CO 931-932)

Answers to broad focus questions like 'What happened?' are usually assumed to
exhibit predicate focus. In translations of the Welsh Bible in 1588, we consistently
find subject-initial verb-second patterns here, which could thus be considered to be
the 'basic' word order (see previous chapter).

(8) a. *Pa   beth a   ddigwyddodd, fy mab?*
        what thing PRT happen.PAST.3S 1S son
        'What happened, my son?'   (b1588 - 1 Sam. 4:16)
     b. *(...) Israel a   ffoawdd   o flaen y   Philistiaid.*
        (...) Israel PRT flee.PAST.3S of front the Philistines
        'Israel fled before the Philistines'   (b1588 - 1 Sam. 4:17)

(9) a. *Beth yw 'r   matter (...)*
        what is   the matter (...)
        'What happened?'   (b1588 - 2 Sam. 1:4)

b. *y bobl a ffoawdd o r rhyfel*
the people PRT flee.PAST.3S from the battle
'the men fled from the battle' (b1588 - 2 Sam. 1:5)

Declarative main vs. subordinate clauses

In many languages, main clauses exhibit different word order patterns than subordinate clauses. Certain syntactic phenomena only appear in main clauses or behave differently in subordinate clauses (see Aelbrecht, Haegeman, and Nye (2012) for an overview and discussion). Since the present study is concerned with main clauses only, I will not go into the various word order patterns found in subordinate clauses in Middle Welsh. It suffices to say that they mainly exhibit verb-initial order (cf. D. S. Evans (2003 [1964])). I will, however, briefly discuss relative clauses, since their structure is very similar to the verb-second order observed in Middle Welsh main clauses.

Relatives

Non-restrictive relative clauses in Middle Welsh can be introduced by the demonstrative pronouns *yr hwnn* 'the one (m.)', *yr honn* (f.), *yr hynn* (n.) and *y rei* (pl.). These act as relative pronouns and were introduced in the literary language in imitation of other languages like Latin, English and French (cf. D. S. Evans (2003 [1964]:66) and Willis (1998:80)). Before the introduction of these demonstrative relative pronouns, the word order of relative clauses was Antecedent - *a/y* - Verb. Just like in the verb-second orders in main clauses, the choice of the particle depended on the nature of the preceding constituent. Direct relatives based on subject or objects were followed by the particle *a* (with default third-person singular agreement); indirect relatives with prepositional phrases or adverbial elements were followed by *y*.

(10) a. *Duw a wyr pob peth a wyr bot yn eu hynny*
God PRT know.PRES.3S every thing PRT know.PRES.3S PRED lie that on.1S
arnaf i.
me
'God who knows everything knows that this is a lie about me.'(PKM 21.3-4
)
b. *a r vorwyn a gywirawd yr hyn a adawssei*
and the maiden PRT prepare.PAST.3S the that PRT promise.PLPF.3S
'and the maiden prepared what had been promised.' (Peredur 64.12)
c. *Pwy bynnac a adefo galanas ef a e genedl a e*
who ever PRT confess.PRES-SBJ.3S homocide he and 3MS family PRT 3MS
talant sarhaet y dyn a lader (...)
pay.3P compensation the man PRT kill.IMPER (...)
'Whoever would confess to homocide, he and his family will pay him the
compensation of the man who was killed (...)' (Laws 50)

d. *a   galw   a   oruc   Arthur ar y   gweisson a   gadwei   y*
and call.INF PRT do.PAST.3S Arthur on the men   PRT make.PAST.3S 3MS
wely
bed
'and Arthur called on the servants who made his bed'   (Gereint)

e. *y   dyd y   bei   drist y gellyngei   y lleill weuyl idaw y*
the day PRT be.PAST.3S sad   PRT release.PAST.3S the other lip   to.3MS to
waeret hyt y   uogel
down   till 3MS navel
'the days he would be sad, he would lower his low lip to his navel'   (CO
325)

The distinction between direct and indirect relatives made by traditional Welsh
grammarians is, however, not always as clear-cut. There is a certain amount of
variation in agreement (see Plein and Poppe (2014)), choice of the particle and
the use of resumptive pronouns (see Rouveret (1994) and Willis (1998) for a
detailed analysis in a generative framework and Chapter 7 of the present thesis on
the possibilities of a common analysis for Middle Welsh verb-second and relative
clauses).

Negation

A full analysis of negative sentences is beyond the scope of the present study.
Negation can be found in many shapes and forms and they each have their own
effect on Middle Welsh word order. Diachronically, Welsh seems to have gone
through all stages of Jespersen's cycle (cf. Willis (2006)). In Middle Welsh, however,
sentence-negation is exhibited by a negative element *ny(t)* in sentence-initial
position, directly followed by the finite verb:

(11) a. *Ny   daw   ef   o   e   uod   genhyt ti*
NEG come.PRES.3S from 3MS will with.2S you
'He will not come with you out of his own will'   (CO 580)

b. *Ny   wnn   i dim   y wrth honno.*
NEG know.PRES.1S I anything from   that
'I don't know anything about that.'   (PKM 54.9)

There are also some examples of noun phrases preceding the negation as in (12a),
but this is far less common. Although this type of word order superficially resembles
the abnormal verb-second order in positive declaratives in Middle Welsh, it cannot
be exactly the same in all of these cases. (12b) and (12c) for example show
resumptive pronouns, either attached to the negative *ny-* or preceding the verbal
noun. In positive declaratives, such resumptives are never found.

(12) a. *Afles ny   wnaf   inheu.*
harm NEG do.PRES.1S I
'I will do no harm.'   (Peredur 29.23)

b. *a   merch   inheu nys   keffy*
   and daughter my   NEG.3FS get.PRES.2S
   'and my daughter you won't get'   (CO 711)

c. *Vyg kywilyd ny   ellwch   y   dalu y mi*
   1S   shame   NEG can.PRES.2P 3MS pay   to me
   'My shame you cannot compensate to me'   (PKM 74.26-27)

Negative counterparts of mixed word orders with focussed initial constituents always have the negative element *nid* directly preceding the focussed constituent, yielding Neg - Foc - *a/y* - V order, as shown in (13):

(13) a. *Nyt o   hynny y   goruydir*
      NEG from that   PRT prevail.IMPER
      'It's not because of that one is successful.'   (PKM 68.11)

b. *Na marchawc na   phedestyr y   del   itaw*
     NEG knight   NEG soldier   PRT come.PRES-SBJ.3S to.3MS
     'Nor a knight, nor a soldier would come to him.'   (Gereint 57-58)

Negation was thus possible in different types of word order patterns, but the most common way to negate an entire proposition was by placing the negative particle *ny* in front of the verb in sentence-initial position.

5.2.2   Tense & Aspect

"The past is always tense, the future perfect."

(Zadie Smith)

When tense is expressed by inflectional morphology on the finite verb, it is not immediately associated with variation in word order. A complete lack of tense, however, or a lack of overtly expressed tense at least, can result in different word order patterns. In tenseless main declaratives in Middle Welsh, verbal nouns occupy the first position in the sentence (Type VI), followed by their agents (see section 5.2.4 below). Loss of tense over time, for example because of phonological erosion as seen in the copula *ys* can in turn trigger the creation of new types of word order as well. This can be observed in one type of the *sef*-construction, *sef + yw/oed* (see detailed discussion of the diachronic development of this construction in Chapter 7). If tense is expressed, another question arises: do different tenses yield different word order patterns? Or, vice versa, do certain word order patterns occur typically or only in present or preterite tense, for example? According to Poppe (1993), the latter is the case for periphrastic constructions with the verbal noun + the inflected form of *gwneuthur* 'to do' (Type IVc). Out of almost 1000 instances of this type in the Middle Welsh corpus under investigation, there are indeed only 40 examples in which *gwneuthur* exhibits non-preterite (i.e. imperfect, perfect or pluperfect) inflection.

(14) a. *Ac yna clymu a wnaethant.*
    and then halt.INF PRT do.PAST.3P
    'and then they halted'   (PKM 72.18-19)

  b. *a phaup ual y delynt   kyuarch guell a wneynt idaw*
     and all   as   PRT come.IMPF-SBJ.3P greet.INF well PRT do.IMPF.3P to.3MS
     'and all greeted him as they came in'   (PKM 4.9-10)

  c. *a gwedy hynny kyscu a wna*
     and after that   sleep.INF PRT do.FUT.3S
     'And after that he will sleep.'   (CO 968-969)

	Imperfect	Perfect	Pluperfect	Present	Preterite
Type I Verb-initial	16	1	4	139	143
Type II Periphrastic	7	0	0	41	1
Type III Adj y VS	276	4	8	317	1072
Type IVa SaVO	311	3	12	789	1382
Type IVb OaVS	74	0	5	114	166
Type IVc VN a DO	14	0	1	25	916
Type V Focus	2	0	0	5	8
Type VII Cop	319	0	4	702	100
Total Frequency	1019	8	35	3101	2129

Table 5.1: Tense & Aspect in Middle Welsh relevant word order types

	Imperfect	Perfect	Pluperfect	Present	Preterite
Type I Verb-initial	1.57%	12.50%	11.76%	6.53%	3.78%
Type II Periphrastic	0.69%	0%	0%	1.93%	0.03%
Type III Adj y VS	27.09%	50.00%	23.53%	14.89%	28.30%
Type IVa SaVO	30.52%	37.50%	35.29%	36.92%	36.46%
Type IVb OaVS	7.26%	0%	14.71%	5.35%	4.41%
Type IVc VN a DO	1.37%	0%	2.94%	1.17%	24.18%
Type V Focus	0.20%	0%	0%	0.23%	0.21%
Type VII Cop	31.31%	0%	11.76%	32.97%	2.64%
Total Frequency	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Table 5.2: Tense & Aspect in Middle Welsh relevant word order types in percentages

These results indicate that there is a significant relation between word order type IVc VNaDO and tense (comparing Preterite to Present in argument-initial sentences (VN-initial vs. Sbj/Obj-initial order), $\chi^2 = 397.21$, df = 1, p < 0.0001, Fisher's exact p < 0.0001,). The question is whether this is inherent to the syntax of this particular construction. Since there are also examples, however few, of verbal-

noun constructions with present or imperfect auxiliaries, it cannot be a syntactic constraint. The context in which verbal-noun constructions tend to appear - mainly in continuous narrative - could be related to the preference for preterite tense. Section 5.5 below will shed more light on this particular matter.

According to T. A. Watkins (1993), some verbs 'resist inflection', in which case they were exclusively found as verbal nouns and in these cases inflected forms of *gwneuthur* 'to do' had to be inserted. He lists, among others, *kyuarch gwell* 'to greet', *kyuedach* 'to carouse', *kynhewi* 'to become silent', *meithryn* 'to nurse' and *ymchwelut* 'to return'. Although it might have been a contributing factor, these verbs resisting inflection alone could not have caused the rise of the periphrastic order with 'to do'. First of all at least some of the verbs he lists actually do exhibit inflected forms in Middle Welsh already (e.g. *ymchoeles* 'returned' (Laws) or *kyuarchaf* 'I will greet' (Pwyll 30) and *kyuarchawd* 'greeted' (PKM 16.9), others are attested from the 16th century at least (e.g. *meithrinesit* 'he was brought up' (Testament Newydd gan Salesbury 1567) or *faethrinodd* 'brought up' (E. James Homily 1606)). There was furthermore another type of word order available in Welsh in which the verb could stay uninflected: Type VI with verbal nouns + agents. The frequency of this type rapidly declined in the Middle Welsh period, however, which might be inversely correlated to the increase in use of the periphrastic 'to do' construction that could express tense overtly.

Another periphrastic construction in Middle Welsh was used to render progressive or perfective aspect. Only certain verbs exhibit perfect inflectional endings and, as shown in the table above, these occurred very infrequently. The periphrastic construction with inflected forms of *bod* 'to be' + the aspectual particles *yn/wedi* could yield progressive or perfective interpretation as well. Although in Middle Welsh there are not very many examples of this yet, it was increasingly used with an even wider aspectual range from the late Middle Welsh period onwards. The verbal noun could precede or follow the auxiliary, but in information-structurally neutral contexts (see section 5.5 below), the clause would start with a preverbal particle *y* followed by the auxiliary.

(15) a. *Yn   hela   yd oedwn   yn iwerdon dydgueith*
         PROGR hunt.INF PRT be.PAST.1S in Ireland   one.day
         'One day I was hunting in Ireland'   (PKM 35.11-12)
     b. *y   mae   gvedy mynet gyd a Gwenhwyuar y   hystauell.*
         PRT be.PRES.3S PERF go.INF with Gwenhwyfar to.3FS chamber
         'She has gone with Gwenhwyfar to her chamber.'   (WM 408.7)
     c. *ac y   maent   yn   symudaw enweu*
         and PRT be.PRES.3P PROGR change.INF names
         'and they change names'   (PKM 68.20-21)
     d. *yny doeth   rybudyeu idaw, a menegi   uot   y   crydyon*
         until come.PAST.3S warnings to.3SM and indicate.INF be.INF the shoemakers
         wedy duunaw   ar y   lad.
         PERF conspire.INF on 3SM.GEN kill.INF
         'until he was warned the shoemakers conspired to kill him.' (PKM 58.17)

5.2.3 Mood

Apart from indicative mood, Welsh also has a separate set of verbal endings for present and imperfect subjunctive mood. In Modern Welsh, the use of the subjunctive sounds quite archaic, but in Middle Welsh texts various examples can be found, as in (16). These examples are distributed over many different word order types, although the frequency of subject-initial Abnormal orders is higher, due to the great number of idiomatic greetings and blessings in dialogues (16b). If we just look at the distribution of the different types of abnormal order (argument- or adjunct-initial), there is no significant difference in the use of indicative or subjunctive. The frequencies of subjunctive verbs in other types (verb-initial or auxiliary-initial) are too low to achieve any reliable statistical results here. In conclusion, mood does not seem to have an effect on choice of initial constituent within the preferred abnormal order in Middle Welsh.

(16) a. *Amaeth a   amaetho   y   tir   hwnnw*
        farmer PRT plough.PRES-SBJ.3S the land that
        'A farmer who would plough that land.'   (CO 578)

   b. *Duw a   rodo   da   ywch*
       God PRT give.PRES-SBJ.3S good to.2P
       'May God give you good (things).'   (PKM 30.11)

   c. *Henpych   gwell, Yspadaden Penkawr, o   Duw ac   o   dyn.*
       be.PRES-SBJ.2S well   Yspadaden Penkawr, from God and from man
       'May you be well, Y.P., from God and from man.'   (CO 513-514)

	Present Subj.	Imperfect Subj.	Present Ind.	Imperfect Ind.
Type I Verb-initial	6	4	133	12
Type II AuxSVO	1	0	40	7
Type III Adj *y*VS	19	32	298	244
Type IVa SaVO	81	32	705	280
Type IVb OaVS	8	9	106	65
Type IVc VNaDO	3	2	22	12
Type V Focus	2	0	3	2
Type VII Copula	13	12	689	308
Total	133	91	3788	928

Table 5.3: Frequency of Subjunctive & Indicative Mood in Middle Welsh relevant word order types

	Present Subj.	Imperfect Subj.	Present Ind.	Imperfect Ind.
Type I Verb-initial	4.51%	4.40%	6.66%	1.29%
Type II AuxSVO	0.75%	0%	2.00%	0.75%
Type III Adj *y*VS	14.29%	35.16%	14.93%	26.29%
Type IVa SaVO	60.90%	35.16%	35.32%	30.06%
Type IVb OaVS	6.02%	9.89%	5.31%	7.00%
Type IVc VNaDO	2.26%	1.29%	1.10%	1.29%
Type V Focus	1.50%	0%	0.15%	0.22%
Type VII Copula	9.77%	13.19%	34.52%	33.08%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

Table 5.4: Percentages of Subjunctive & Indicative Mood in Middle Welsh relevant word order types

5.2.4 Transitivity

The word order of clauses with transitive verbs can be different from intransitive clauses because of the position of the additional direct object. It is therefore strictly speaking impossible to fairly compare the word order of transitive clauses with that of intransitives. If there is no direct object, its position in the clause is irrelevant. Many studies of word order therefore focus on sentences with transitive verbs only (e.g. Kirk (2012)). This, of course, limits the amount of data we can work with.

Furthermore, if 'overtness' of arguments of the verb is a criterion, the question is what we define by overt. If the subject was pronominal, in Middle Welsh, it could be expressed by the verbal inflection only (Middle Welsh, in other words, was a 'pro-drop' language). In some sentences, overt pronominal subjects did appear in post-verbal position, but this was by no means obligatory, as shown in (17). Unless inflectional endings count as overt subject arguments, our data set would be limited even further if we take these sentences out as well.

(17) a. *a   hynny a   elly   yn   haut*
        and that   PRT can.PRES.2S PRED easy
     b. *a   hynny a   elly   di yn   haut*
        and that   PRT can.PRES.2S you PRED easy
        'And that you can (do) easily.'   (White Book vs. Red Book PKM 3.3-4)

There are also sentences that contain transitive verbs with elided objects. Many of these elliptical constructions are found in answers to questions, for example, or in other contexts in which the direct object can be easily understood. In addition to that, some verbs take prepositional arguments (that are not optional) as shown in (18a) and (18b). Other transitive verbs can also appear as intransitives as in (18c).

(18) a. *Keffy.   myn vyg cret.*
        get.PRES.2S by   1S belief
        'You will get (it), on my word'   (Peredur 11.51)

b. *Nyt ymedewis   ef a   hwnnw.*
   NEG depart.PAST.3S he with that
   'He did not depart from that.'   (PKM 43.3)
c. *Gwn.   heb ynteu.*
   know.PRES.1S said he
   'I know, said he'   (Gereint 438)

Finally, transitivity, or how many compulsory arguments the verb takes, can be subject to change. A good example in Middle Welsh is the verb *kyrchu* 'to make for, go to', which can occur with a nominal direct object or with a prepositional phrase, even in one and the same text:

(19) a. *Ac y r   neuad y   gyrchwys y diarchenu.*
     and to the hall   PRT go.PAST.3S to disrobe
     'And he went to the hall to disrobe.'   (Intransitive - PKM 4.7)
   b. *Yr orssed a   gyrchyssant.*
     the mount PRT go.PAST.3P
     'They went to the mount.'   (Transitive - PKM 10.19)

Note that the interpretation of *yr* in (19b) as *y* 'to' + *r* 'the' is unlikely, because the preverbal particle is *a* (only used with preceding arguments) rather than *y* (used with preceding prepositional phrases and other adjuncts). Degrees of transitivity are also relevant in certain types of intransitive verbs, as shown in the section on Intransitives in Welsh below.

Transitive

Transitive verbs occur in clauses with different types of word order in Middle Welsh, as shown in 5.5 (since copular clauses are intransitive by definition, Types VII, VIII and IX are omitted):

	Transitive	Intransitive	
Type I Verb-initial	105 (34.65%)	198 (65.35%)	303
Type II Periphrastic	18 (36.73%)	31 (63.37%)	49
Type III Adj y VS	899 (53.64%)	777 (46.36%)	1676
Type IV OaVS	357 (100%)	0 (0%)	357
Type IV SaVO	948 (37.95%)	1550 (62.05%)	2498
Type IV VN a DO	487 (50.94%)	469 (49.06%)	956
Type V Focus	9 (60%)	6 (40%)	15
Total	2823	3031	5854

Table 5.5: Transitive and intransitive clause in Middle Welsh positive main declaratives

The relative order verb-subject (or verb-agent) occurs in Types I, III, IVb and VI. Verb-object (VO) order occurs in all types, apart from the abnormal sentence with

direct objects in initial position. In Types I and III, the subject occurs in between the verb and the object, but the relative VO order remains. Object-verb (OV) word order is only observed in sentences with pronominal objects, but these always appear in the form of preverbal clitics in this case (as in (20a)) and another pronominal element optionally follows the verb, as shown in (20b).

(20) a. *a   gwidonot Kaer Loyw a   e   lladassei*
and witches   Gloucester PRT 3MS kill.PLQPF.3S
'And the witches of Gloucester killed him'   (Peredur 33.28)

b. *ac Arthur a   y   lladawd   ynteu*
and Arthur PRT 3MS kill.PAST.3S him
'And Arthur killed him.'   (CO 284)

From the above table, it is clear that subjects occupy the preverbal position in the abnormal sentence more often than objects. According to T. A. Watkins (1993) the lower frequency of fronted objects is the result of their higher degree of 'markedness'. The subject is the least 'marked' constituent of the sentence and will thus appear in first position (unless any of the other 'constraints' on word order apply, like the 'Imperative constraint', which places verbs in sentence-initial position). According to Poppe (1993), the choice of subjects as topics of their sentences (and thus fronted elements of verb-second clauses) is 'natural'. In section 5.5 and Chapter 6 I go into this issue in further detail.

Subjects could also appear in sentence-final position. According to Borsley et al. (2007), this occurs when a noun phrase is either heavy, as in (21a), or when "the clause presents some new element in the discourse" (Borsley et al., 2007:316) (see also section 5.5 below). Late subjects can also occur with unaccusative verbs. According to Borsley et al. (2007), this is only possible if the subject is a pronoun following the complement of the verb like *yma* in (21c). The complement could also consist of a prepositional phrase, as in (21b). Direct objects and noun phrases could also function as the patient of verbs with impersonal inflection, as shown in (21d) and (21e) respectively.

(21) a. *kanys   ny   wisgawd   arueu eiryoet uarchawc urdawl   well   noc   ef*
because NEG wear.PAST.3S arms   ever   knight   honourable better than him
'since a better knight than he never bore arms.'(YSG 3972-3 - Borsley et al. (2007))

b. *Dypi   iti   hynny.*
come.FUT.3S to.2S that
'You shall have that' (Lit. 'That shall come to you')   (CO 535)

c. *Pa   neges   y   dodyvch   yma chwi?*
which mission PRT come.PERF.2P here you
'On what mission have you come here?'   (CO 476-7)

d. *Gellwng y mywn wy*
let.IPV.2S in   them
'Let them in'   (PKM 81.27)

e. *ac y   lladwyt   yna Twrch Llawin.*
and PRT kill.PAST.IMPERS there Twrch Llawin
'And Twrch Llawin was killed there.'   (CO 1147)

Indirect objects are expressed by a prepositional phrase introduced by *y* 'to'. The English-type 'dative-alternation' ('He gave Mary a book' vs. 'He gave a book to Mary') is not found in Middle Welsh. The order of direct and indirect object varies, as shown in (22). Indirect objects could also be passivised ('Mary was given the book'), although with the verb *dywedyt* 'to say, tell about' there are examples of raising of arguments that were not the patient of the verb, as in (22c). :

(22) a. *Y   rodet   y march y r fab.*
PRT give.PAST.IMPERS the horse   to the boy
'The horse was given to the boy.'   (PKM 24.4-5)
b. *Mi a   dangossaf   ytti dyn bychan.*
I   PRT show.PRES.1S to.2S man small
'I will show you a small man.'   (Owein 130)
c. *Kei a   dywedit   y   uot   yn   uab itaw.*
Kei PRT say.IMPF.IMPERS 3MS be.INF PRED son to.3MS
'Kei was said to be his son.'   (CO 265)

Intransitive

Intransitive verbs can be further categorised as unergative (with an external argument) or unaccusative (with an internal argument).[1] According to Tallerman and Wallenberg (2012), the arguments of verbal nouns in Middle Welsh (Type VI above) exhibit an ergative case-marking pattern: the subject and object are grouped together vs. the agent. There are two possible word order patterns available: the first pattern is VN + Sbj$_{unacc.}$ (with preverbal clitics in case of pronominal subjects), the second pattern is VN + preposition *o/y* + Sbj$_{unerg.}$. The verbal nouns themselves display either split or fluid intransitivity, i.e. some can use both patterns depending on additional factors like animacy.

Examples of Pattern 1: VN + Sbj$_{unacc.}$

(23) a. *Marw y   urenhines.*
die.INF the queen
'The queen died.'   (CO 22)
b. *Kyuodi yna Kei.*
rise.INF then Kei
'Then Kei got up.'   (CO 384)

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[1]Intransitive verbs can be split into unergatives and unaccusatives. Unergative verbs have an external argument, usually an agent, e.g. to dance. Unaccusative verbs have an internal argument (the argument that is usually the complement of a transitive verb), e.g. to arrive. In languages like Dutch, the difference between unergatives and unaccusatives is clear from the choice of auxiliary in the perfect (have or be), e.g. *Ik heb gedanst* 'I have danced' vs. *Ik ben aangekomen* 'I have arrived'.

    c. *A   e   dyuot   ynteu y r   llys*
       and 3FS come.INF he   to the court
       'And he came to the court.'   (CO 46)

Examples of Pattern 2: VN + preposition *i/o* + Sbj$_{unerg.}$

(24) a. *Emystynnu idaw   ynteu yn y   peir*
       stretch.INF to.3MS him   in the cauldron
       'He stretched himself out in the cauldron'   (PKM 44.19)
    b. *Canu   englyn idaw   ynteu yna*
       sing.INF englyn to.3MS him   then
       'He sang an englyn then'   (PKM 90.9)
    c. *Yna agori   y   safyn y 'r llew*
       then open.INF 3MS mouth to the lion
       'Then the lion opened its mouth'   (YBH 31.1296-7)

The direct object or prepositional phrases following the verb could precede (as in (25a) and (25b)) or follow the agent, as shown in (25c-g):

(25) a. *A   chaffael mab ohonu trwy   weti   y wlad.*
       and get.INF son   from.3P through pray.INF the country
       'And through the country's prayers they got a son.'   (CO 4)
    b. *Ymrodi   y   gerdet   ohonaw ynteu.*
       undertake.INF 3MS walk.INF of.3MS   him
       'He started to walk.'   (CO 1145)
    c. *Galw   o Arthur ar Gyndylic Kyuarwyd.*
       call.INF of Arthur on Cyndylic Kyuarwyd
       'Arthur called on Cyndylic Kyfarwyd'   (CO 399)
    d. *Marchogaeth o Galaath*
       ride.INF   of Galaath
       'Galaath rode'   Tallerman and Wallenberg (2012:4)
    e. *Kerdet   ohonu y   dyt hwnnw.*
       walk.INF of.3P   the day that
       'That day they walked.'   (CO 413)
    f. *Ryuedu   o Owain.*
       marvel.INF of Owain
       'Owain marvelled.'   Tallerman and Wallenberg (2012:4)
    g. *a   goruot   o Wyn a   dala   Greit mab Eri*
       and overcome.INF of Gwyn and take.INF Greit son Eri
       'And Gwyn won and took Greid son of Eri'   (CO 992)

In the sentence following (25g), however, the verb *dala* appears again with a prepositional phrase introduced by *o* that can clearly not be interpreted as the agent:

(26) *A   dala   o Penn uab Nethawc (...)*
     and take.INF of Penn son Nethawc (...)
     'And he took Penn son of Nethawc (...)'   (CO 993)

Penn uab Nethawc and the following names are the ones who were taken prisoner by Gwyn (the agent of the previous sentence). If we want to maintain Tallerman and Wallenberg's ergative distinction, we have to assume that either the *o* in this one particular example is a mistake or that the actual agent *Gwyn* was accidentally omitted between *o* and *Penn*. Transitive verbal nouns with both agents and patients expressed usually exhibit VN - *o* Agent - Patient order as in (27), but the order of the arguments could also be reversed, as in (28):

(27) a. *galw   o Uendigeiduran y   mab attaw*
          call.INF of Bendigeidfran   the boy   to.3MS
          'Bendigeidfran called the boy to him.'   (PKM 43.13-14)
      b. *Clybot   oheni hitheu eu trwst yn   dyuot.*
          hear.INF of.3FS her   3P noise PROGR come.INF
          'She heard the noise of their coming.'   (CO 459)

(28) a. *Kymryt crip   eur o Arthur*
          take.INF comb gold of Arthur
          'Arthur took a gold comb.'   (CO 164)
      b. *Keissaw gwiscaw y   uodrwy ohonaw ac   nyd aei*
          seek.INF wear.INF the ring   of.3MS   and NEG go.PAST.3S
          'He sought to put on the ring, but it would not go'   (CO 442)

There are two types of *bod* 'to be' in Middle Welsh. One form was used as the copula (Type VII) and could occur in sentence-initial position in the form *ys* in Old and Early Middle Welsh, as shown in (29a). Though in the Bible translation from 1588, examples with the preterite form of *bod* in sentence-initial position still occur, as shown in (29b), the copula could also occur in medial position in the form *yw/ydy*, as shown in (29c) or (29d) and (29e) with other tenses. Finally, with focus on the subject, the relative form of the copula could be used (in any tense) immediately following the subject, as in (29f).

(29) a. *is   moi hinnoid*
          be.PRES.3S more this
          'this is more'   (Old Welsh M&P 23r)
      b. *A   bu   Ddafydd gall   yn ei   holl ffyrdd.*
          and be.PAST.3S David   smart in 3MS all   ways
          'And David was smart in all ways.'   (b1588 - 1 Sam. 18.14)
      c. *Trydyd yw   kamarver o e   wreic.*
          third   be.PRES.3S abuse   of 3MS wife
          'Third is the abuse of his wife.'   (Laws 14)
      d. *Budugawl oed   Kei.*
          victorious be.PAST.3S Kei
          'Kei was victorious'   (CO 387)
      e. *Dilesteir   uyd   dy hynt.*
          unhindered be.FUT.3S 2S road
          'Your path will be unimpeded.'   (PKM 3.26)

    f. *Mi a   uydaf   porthawr y Arthur pob dyw kalan Ionawr*
       I   PRT be.FUT.1S gatekeeper to Arthur every day first.January
       'I will be gatekeeper to Arthur on every first of January.'   (CO 83-84)

The verb *bod* was furthermore used as the substantive verb 'to be, to exist'. This substantive form behaved like any other verb and thus occurred with various word order types as shown in (30). The verb-initial order preceded by the preverbal particle *y* was very common.

(30) a. *y   buant   ulwydyn gyt a mi*
        PRT be.PAST.3P year   with me
        'They were with me for a year.'   (PKM 35.24)

     b. *a   llawen uuwyd   vrthunt yno*
        and joy   be.PAST.IMPERS to.3P   there
        'And there they were made welcome.'   (Gereint 1337)

     c. *Mae   yna carw. ac ewic. ac elein gyt ac wynt.*
        be.PRES.3S there stag   and doe and fawn with   them
        'There was a stag and a doe and a fawn with them.'   (PKM 75.12-13)

Finally, *bod* functioned as an auxiliary in periphrastic constructions. This construction was used more and more after the Middle Welsh period, as we see in the 1588 Bible translation, shown in (31a). But examples of this construction can occasionally also be found in earlier Middle Welsh texts, as shown in (31b).

(31) a. *yr wyf   fi yn   cofio   fy meiau heddyw*
        PRT be.PRES.1S I PROGR think.INF 1S sins   today
        'I am thinking about my sins today'   (b1588 - Gen. 41.9)

     b. *Ac y   mae   matholwch yn   rodi   brenhinaeth iwerdon y*
        and PRT be.PRES.3S Matholwch PROGR give.INF kingdom   Ireland   to
        wern
        Gwern
        'And Matholwch is giving the kingdom of Ireland to Gwern'   (PKM 41.9)

5.2.5   Diathesis

One way to distinguish active from passive voice in Welsh is the use of a special set of verbal endings (in all tenses and moods) called 'the impersonal inflection'. The distribution of impersonal verb forms over the different types of word order is shown in table 5.6 below.

	Active	Impersonal	
Type I Verb-initial	290 (93.94%)	12 (6.06%)	198
Type II Periphrastic	30 (96.78%)	1 (3.22%)	31
Type III Adj y VS	610 (78.53%)	167 (21.47%)	778
Type IVa SaVO	1416 (91.16%)	137 (8.86%)	1546
Type IVb OaVS	354 (100%)	0 (0%)	357
Type IVc VN a DO	446 (95.10%)	23 (4.90%)	469
Type V Focus	6 (100%)	0 (0%)	6
Total	3048	340	3388

Table 5.6: Diathesis of transitive verbs

When we again compare adjunct- and argument-initial abnormal orders (Type III vs. Type IVab), we find a significant difference in diathesis ($\chi^2 = 111.12$, df = 1, p < 0.0001, Fisher's exact p < 0.0001). This can already be observed from the above frequency table: impersonal inflections appears much more often with adjunct-initial word order. Some examples are given in (32a), (32b) and (32c). There are also some other word order types in which impersonals occur, as shown in (32d), (32e) and (32f).

(32) a. *a   Fferis brenhin Freinc, ac am hynny y   gelwir   Kaer Paris*
         and Peris king   France and for that   PRT call.PRES.IMPERS Paris
         'And Peris, king of France, and because of that it was called Paris'(CO 278)

     b. *A   bydydaw   y   mab a   orucpwyt.*
         and baptise.INF the boy   PRT do.PAST.IMPERS
         'And the boy was baptised.'   (CO 9-10)

     c. *kam   y   m byrywyt   i doe*
         wrong PRT 1S hit.PAST.IMPERS I yesterday
         'It was wrong that I was hit yesterday'   (Owein 192)

     d. *Gorucpwyt   hynny.*
         do.PAST.IMPERS that
         'That was done.'   (CO 519)

     e. *ac y   gwnaethpwyt   y   ffyrd*
         and PRT make.PAST.IMPERS the roads
         'and the roads were made'   (BM 9.16)

     f. *A   mynegwyd   i Saul gan ddywedyd*
         and tell.PAST.IMPERS to Saul by say.INF
         'And it was told to Saul, saying'   (b1588 - 1 Sam 19.19)

Impersonal inflection was very often interpreted as a passive as in (33d), but true

impersonal examples existed as well in Middle Welsh, as shown in (33a), (33b) and (33c).

(33) a. *Pa   gyueir heb y Gereint yd   eir   yma.*
what reason said Gereint   PRT go.PRES.IMPERS here
'What's the reason one goes here? said Gereint'   (Gereint 1404)

   b. *kyweirher   i   minheu vy march*
prepare.IPV.IMPERS to me   1S horse
'Let my horse be prepared for me.'   (Peredur 26.8)

   c. *a   m rodi   y   wr o   m hanwod yd   ydys.*
and 1S give.INF to man from 1S unwill   PRT be.PRES.IMPERS
'And they were giving me to a husband against my will.' (PKM 12.23-24)

   d. *Ac yna gyntaf y   guarywyt   broch yg got.*
and then first   PRT play.PAST.IMPERS badger in bag
'And then 'Badger in the Bag' was played for the first time.'(PKM 17.13-14)

5.2.6   Agreement

'Agreement' can refer to various aspects of the grammar of a language. For this study, I am only concerned with agreement between the subject and the verb and, to some extent, topic agreement reflected as the particles *a* or *y*, depending on the type of fronted constituent in verb-second clauses. As mentioned in the previous chapter, lack of subject-verb agreement was one of the main features to distinguish the 'Abnormal' from the 'Mixed' (or 'focussed') verb-second patterns in Middle Welsh. The mixed order was a reduced cleft sentence and as such it featured a relative clause after the focussed constituent. Since agreement did not (usually) occur in relative clauses in Middle Welsh (cf. D. S. Evans (2003 [1964]) and Borsley et al. (2007:334) among others), it also did not occur in the mixed sentence.

The abnormal pattern superficially looked exactly like the mixed sentence. They both had similar types of fronted constituents and both featured the (relative) particle *a/y* with the same distribution (*a* following arguments, *y* following adjuncts). The fact that most of these abnormal clauses *do* exhibit subject-verb agreement, even with plural noun phrases, requires an explanation. Agreement with full noun phrases did not occur in any other word order pattern, e.g. in patterns with subjects following the verbs like Type I VS or Type III Adj*y*VS. In these cases, the verb very often exhibited default third-person singular endings.

(34) a. *A   r   bore   ym bronn y   dyd drannoeth   yd ymordiwedawd rei*
and the morning in   edge   the day next.morning PRT overtake.PAST.3S some
o   r   gwyr ac   ef.
of the men   with him
'And on the early morning the next day some of the men caught up with him.'   (CO 1119)

   b. *Ac yna y   dechreuawd y seint bregethu bop   eilwers.*
and then PRT begin.PAST.3S the saints preach.INF every moment
'And then the one by one the saints started to preach.'   (Dewi 13.7)

c. *Yna y   doeth   kennadeu.*
   then PRT come.PAST.3S messengers
   'Then messengers came.'   (PKM 79.27)

	Plural agreement	Plural + default 3S
Laws	2	
Culhwch		6
Pwyll	2	2
Branwen	7	2
Math	2	1
Owein		1
Peredur	2	3
Gereint	6	2
Lludd WB	1	
Lludd CH	2	2
Rhonabwy	1	
Macsen		4
Dewi	8	1
Beibl 1588	43	

Table 5.7: Agreement with plural noun phrases in Middle Welsh subject-initial clauses

The overall numbers of plural full DPs are very low. In most texts, we only find fewer than ten examples like the ones in (35). There is no clear pattern in terms of agreement vs. default third-person singular, apart from the large amount of agreement examples in the Bible translation. Combined, the excerpts of the bible are longer than most other texts, so chances of finding plural DP subjects are higher to begin with. The complete lack of third-person singular patterns in such a large text suggests the preferred standard for the Bible translation was plural agreement.

(35) a. *uy aeleu   ry   syrthwys   ar aualeu uy llygeit*
       1S eyebrows PRT fall.PAST.3S on balls   1S eyes
       'My eyebrows have fallen on my eyeballs.'   (CO 547-548)
    b. *Y   gwyr a   dywawt   wrth Arthur.*
       the men   PRT say.PAST.3S to   Arthur
       'The men said to Arthur.'   (CO 839)
    c. *Y gwyr a   wiscawd   amdanunt ac   a   nessayssant   attunt*
       the men   PRT arm.PAST.3S on.3P   and PRT approach.PAST.3P to.3P
       y wayret.
       down
       'The men armed themselves and went down towards them.'(PKM 29.22-23)

d. *Deu uarchauc a   doeth   i waret*
   two knight   PRT come.PAST.3S down
   'Two knights came down.'   (PKM 32.18-19)

In a number of cases, the facts are further complicated because it is actually unclear what the 'expected' agreement pattern should be. This is mainly the case in noun phrases that contain numerals and/or quantifiers (those difficult cases are therefore excluded in the above table). Numerals preceded the noun, which was mostly found in the singular, rather than the plural in that case. Nonetheless, the entire phrase was more often found with verbs with plural endings than other plural phrases (cf. Nurmio and Willis (2016)). Number itself was a complex feature of Middle Welsh grammar: there were singulars and plurals, but also duals, collectives and, from those, new singulatives were derived (cf. Nurmio (2015)). It was possibly as a result of all this as well that 'mixed' agreement patterns like the ones shown in example (36) were found.

(36) *A   phan yttoedynt y   deu amherawdyr ar eu bwyt y   doeth   y*
     and when be.PAST.3P the two emperor   on 3P food PRT come.PAST.3S the
     Brytanyeit wrth y   gaer
     Britons   at   the town
     'and while the two emperors were at their meat, the Britons came to the town'
     (BM 11.11)

Poppe (2009) concludes after reinvestigating several Middle Welsh texts that "the rules of concord were not systematically exploited, at least in the case of fronted plural subjects, in order to distinguish between the pragmatic functions of topic an focus" (Poppe, 2009:258). Instead of the more rigid distinction between the abnormal (topicalised) order and the mixed (focussed) order he in his earlier studies claimed to exist, he now proposed 'a pragmatic cline' from topic to focus reserved for constituents that are fronted as the centre of attention. After presenting more examples of 'unexpected (lack of) concord', he goes even further saying that "[t]hese examples are embarrassing for any attempt to relate the formal differences to pragmatic differences." (Poppe, 2009:257)

According to T. A. Watkins (1988), agreement between subjects and verbs in abnormal sentences must have been an innovation. More than that, he called it a "solely literary development" (T. A. Watkins, 1988:11). D. S. Evans (1971) suggests that this happened under the influence of Latin grammar: "It was always there, but naturally its influence was doubly exerted on the translators who had a Latin text at their elbow." (D. S. Evans, 1971:56). This argument does not always hold when comparing Welsh translation to their Latin originals (cf. Plein and Poppe (2014)). Plein and Poppe (2014) note a methodological flaw in his study: since he only collects instances of 'unexpected (lack of) agreement', there is no way to contrast this with the number of instances that do exhibit the expected pattern. They conclude that Latin influence is likely, but "the amount of variation attested in the *Historia* shows that the syntactic system of Middle Welsh permitted and tolerated such variation" (Plein & Poppe, 2014:13).

There is one other reason why it is difficult to examine the exact agreement rules in Middle Welsh. As Koch (1991) points out, it is not altogether clear that the third-person conjunct plural ending *-nt* has actually survived apocope. If it did not survive, it would strictly speaking have been very difficult - if at all possible - to distinguish the singular from the plural verbal endings. Plural *-nt* could have been analogically restored later in some paradigms, but the proper inherited forms of the singular and plural would have been the same. This could also account for (or at least contribute to) the puzzling variation in agreement patterns. Not all historical phonologists believe Koch (1991) to be right here, but it is impossible to test his hypothesis. It seems reasonable since all final consonants in Proto-British were lost because of apocope (apart from word-final *-r*, but there are no other cases of word-final *-nt* to compare this to (cf. Peter Schrijver p.c.).

I examine this variation and the limits thereof further in section 5.6 below. In chapter 6 I furthermore present a case study of the interaction between syntax and information structure about this exact problem with the traditional distinction between the abnormal and the mixed word order patterns in Middle Welsh.

5.2.7   Types of argument phrases

In the previous section I have shown that different types of subjects yield different agreement patterns. Pronouns exhibit agreement in other parts of the grammar as well (e.g. inflected prepositions), whereas full noun phrases never do. This is called 'the complementarity principle' (cf. Anderson (1982), Sproat (1983) and Borsley (1989) among others). Since agreement was already discussed above, in this section I only focus on the remaining issues concerning different types of arguments.

Subject vs. object pronouns

In preverbal subject position, three types of pronouns could appear in Middle Welsh: simple, conjunctive and reduplicated pronouns, as shown in Table 5.8:

	Simple	Conjunctive	Reduplicated
I	*mi*	*minneu*	*miui*
you (sg.)	*ti*	*titheu*	*tidi*
he	*ef*	*ynteu*	*efo*
she	*hi*	*hitheu*	*hihi*
we	*ni*	*ninneu*	*nini*
you (pl.)	*chwi*	*chwitheu*	*chwichwi*
they	*wy*	*wynteu*	*wyntwy*

Table 5.8: Middle Welsh Preverbal subject pronouns, cf. Willis (1998:134)

Conjunctive pronouns were used in close connection with the preceding context (mainly to switch the topic, but see section 5.5). Reduplicated pronouns were

always focussed.

(37) a. *hyt   nas   gwelei   neb   vynt ac vyntvy   a*
      so.that NEG.3S see.IMPF-SBJ.3S no.one them but they.REDUP PRT
      welynt   pawb
      see.IMPF-SBJ.3P all
      'so that no one could see them, but THEY could see everyone' (CO 4.358)

    b. *a   e   uenegi idi   a   wnaeth. Hitheu   a   gymerth   diruawr*
      and 3MS tell.INF to.3FS PRT do.PAST.3S she.CONJ PRT take.PAST.3S great
      lywenyd yndi.
      pleasure in.3FS
      'And he told it to her. She, then, took great pleasure in (hearing) it.'(Math 1.561)

As became clear from the frequency tables in the previous chapter, there are far fewer examples of verb-second orders with initial objects than there are with initial subjects. One of the reasons for this is grammatical restriction of the Welsh language: subject pronouns can appear independently (and are thus possible in sentence-initial position) as in (38a), but object or genitive pronouns cannot. Genitive pronouns are used as possessives. They appear in two forms, depending on the preceding word (originally a phonological distinction between words ending in vowels or consonants).

	Object	Possessive
I	*'m*	*vy/'m*
you (sg.)	*'th*	*dy/'th*
he	*'e/s*	*y/'e*
she	*'e/s*	*y/'e*
we	*'n*	*yn/'n*
you (pl.)	*'ch*	*ych/'ch*
they	*'e/s*	*eu/'e*

Table 5.9: Middle Welsh dependent pronouns, cf. Willis (2011b)

Pronominal direct objects always appear as clitics between the preverbal particle and the inflected verb, as shown in (38). They can optionally be 'doubled', i.e. apart from the clitic a further pronominal form known as the 'echo pronoun' could follow the inflected verb, as shown in (38c). The infixed object clitic is compulsory. Note that (38b) without an infixed clitic for this reason cannot mean 'Llewelis loved *him* most'. Pronominal direct objects of verbal nouns take their possessive form, treating the verbal noun as any other noun.

(38) a. *Ac ef a   welei   neuad.*
     and he PRT see.PAST.3S hall
     'And he saw a hall'   (Peredur 3.976)

b. *Llewelys hagen   a   karey   ef en   wuyhaf o y   vrodyr.*
Llewelis   however PRT love.PAST.3S he PRED most   of 3MS brothers
'Llewelis, however, he loved most of all his brothers.'   (Llan 267.12)

c. *Yr Arglwyd a   m anuones   i   attat ti*
the Lord   PRT 1S send.PAST.3S me to.2S you
'The Lord sent me to you'   (Dewi 2.9)

d. *Auory   mi a   th ganhadaf   di e ymdeith*
tomorrow I   PRT 2S allow.PRES.1S you to go.INF
'Tomorrow, I allow you to go.'   (PKM 85.28)

e. *Ac   eu gorchymyn y enyt a   wnaeth.*
and 3P entrust.INF to Enid PRT do.PAST.3S
'and he entrusted them to Enid'   (Gereint 857)

Pronominal subject 'echo pronouns' could also be left unexpressed in Middle
Welsh if the verbal inflection was sufficient to disambiguate the potential subjects.
Although there is no overt subject in these pro-drop cases, the verbal inflection is
counted as the subject, thus yielding Verb-Subject order. In sentences with clause-
initial pronominal subjects, the verb is still inflected, but the word order is analysed
as Subject-Verb (instead of Subject-Verb-Subject, with the final subject reflecting
the inflection on the verb only).

Expletives

Expletives form a very specific kind of pronominal subject. In Middle Welsh, they
can be found in the same sentence-initial position as other subject pronouns.

(39) *Ef a   doeth   makuyueit a   guesson ieueinc y   diarchenu*
it PRT come.PAST.3S squires   and lads   young to.3MS disrobe.INF
'There came squires and young lads to disrobe him.'   (PKM 4.8-9)

Expletive subjects are found in three contexts in Middle Welsh: before unaccusatives
(mostly verbs of motion) as in (40a), with impersonal verbs as in (40b) and, finally,
"in the topic position of some main clauses containing postposed clausal arguments"
(Willis, 1998:151), as shown in (40c).

(40) a. *Ef a   gyuodes   Pwyll y uynyd*
it PRT rise.PAST.3S Pwyll up
'Pwyll got up.'   (PKM 18.27)

b. *Ef a   dywetpwyt   idaw.*
it PRT say.PAST.IMPERS to.3MS
'It was said to him.'   (PKM 80.9-10)

c. *Ac ef a   tebygei   Owein bot   yr awyr yn   edrinaw*
and it PRT suppose.PAST.3S Owein be.INF the air   PROGR reverberate.INF
rac   meint y gweidi
against amount the shouting
'And Owain supposed that the air was reverberating with the noise of the
shouting'   (Owein 346-7)

From the sixteenth century onwards, expletives could also be found with transitive verbs. According to Willis (1998), "One major cause of the spread of verb-initial word order at lower stylistic levels is the spread of the expletive construction beyond the environment to which it is restricted in the Middle Welsh tales." (Willis, 1998:149). I turn to these diachronic implications in chapter 7.

Nominal subjects

Currie (2000) notes that "in contrast to the pattern with a fronted verbal-noun object (...), an expressed nominal subject is frequently used in sentences with a fronted adverbial expression, i.e. in 57%." (Currie, 2000:223). The frequencies for Middle Welsh are listed in table 5.10 below.

	Nominal subject	Pronominal subject
Type III Adj *y* VS	622 (30.37%)	902 (28.76%)
Type IVab SaVO-OaVS	1061 (51.81%)	1666 (53.13%)
Type IVc VN*a*DO	365 (17.82%)	568 (18.11%)
Total	2048 (100%)	3136 (100%)

Table 5.10: Nominal subjects in Middle Welsh relevant sentence types

If we run a chi-square test, we see that there is actually no significant difference between nominal and pronominal subjects in relation to different kinds of verb-second word orders (Types III, IVab and IVc). Both nominal and pronominal subjects are possible in all word order types. This is thus not a grammatical constraint. In section 5.5 below, I discuss this difference again and try to seek an explanation related to the degree of Givenness of these subjects.

'Heavy' constituents

As noted above, subjects do not usually appear in clause-final position, as in (41). If the subject noun phrase is a complex or 'heavy' constituent, however, clause-final position was an option in Middle Welsh.

(41) *kanys   ny   wisgawd   arueu eiryoet uarchawc urdawl   well   noc ef*
   because NEG wear.PAST.3S arms   ever   knight   honourable better than him
   'since a better knight than he never bore arms.'   (YSG 3972-3)

Since there are very few examples of these late subjects in the Middle Welsh corpus under investigation, it is very difficult at this stage to determine if this was more than just an option. Fronting of 'heavy' constituents was in itself not problematic in Middle Welsh. In word order type IVc, with fronted verbal nouns, there are many examples in which not just the verbal noun, but its entire complement and even the rest of the sentence is fronted as well. An analysis of 'optional' late subjects when they are 'heavy' thus seems more likely.

(42) a. *Galw   y   hathro attei   a   oruc   hitheu.*
      call.INF 3FS teacher to.3FS PRT do.PAST.3S she
      'She called her teacher.'   (CO 20-21)

    b. *Bwrw   badeu allan a   wnaethont wynteu*
      throw.INF boats   out   PRT do.PAST.3P they
      'They threw the boats out.'   (PKM 30.8-9)

    c. *a   chwynaw   yn   luttaf   yn y   byt   rac   Aranrot   a*
      and complain.INF PRED stubborn in the world against Arianrhod PRT
      wnaethant
      do.PAST.3P
      'and they complained to Arianrhod in the most stubborn way in the world'
      (PKM 83.17-18)

5.2.8 Grammatical words and phrases

Some lexical items have a grammatical function in addition to (or instead of) their semantic content. In this section I discuss the most common functional elements and also some fixed expressions that are associated with specific word order types.

Fixed expressions

S. Davies (1995) lists various types of idiomatic phrases, formulae and frequently-used expressions in Middle Welsh narrative tales. For greetings, for example, one of the following expressions is used:

  — *Dyd da itt* 'good day to you'
  — *Kyuarch gwell* 'greetings'
  — *Duw a rodo da itt* 'May God give you good (things)'
  — *Craesaw Duw wrthyt* 'God's welcome to you'

There are furthermore certain recurring patterns in opening and closing statements (called *fformiwlâu* 'formulae' by S. Davies (1995)). The proper name of the main protagonist is in sentence-initial position, followed by his title or status, which is in turn followed by the extent of their kingdom (or their location). Examples of this can be found in various tales of the *Mabinogion*, as shown in (43). Closing statements of narrative tales, on the other hand, frequently exhibit the pattern *felly* 'thus' or *fel hyn* 'like this' + preverbal particle *y* + a verb that sums up or literally finishes the tale, as shown in (44).

(43) a. *Pwyll Pendeuic Dyuet a   oed   yn   arglwyd ar seith cantref Dyuet.*
      Pwyll Prince   Dyfed PRT be.PAST.3S PRED lord   on seven cantref Dyuet
      'Pwyll Prince of Dyfed was lord of the seven cantrefs of Dyfed.'   (PKM 1)

    b. *Bendigeiduran uab Llyr a   oed   urenhin coronawc ar yr ynys hon,*
      Bendigeidfran son Llyr PRT be.PAST.3S king   crowned   on the island this
      ac ardyrchawc o   goron Lundein.
      and invested   with crown London
      'Bendigeidfran son of Llyr was crowned king of this island and invested with the crown of London.'   (Branwen 1)

(44) a. *Ac yuelly y teruyna r geing hon yma o r Mabinogyon.*
   and thus PRT end.PRES.3S the branch this here of the Mabinogion
   'Thus ends this branch here of the Mabinogion.'   (PKM 27.27-28)

  b. *Ac uelly y kauas Kulhwch Olwen merch Ys. P.*
   and thus PRT get.PAST.3S Culhwch Olwen daughter Y. P.
   'And thus Culhwch obtained Olwen daughter of Y.P.'   (CO 1245)

The main protagonists of the *Mabinogion* in particular often found themselves in need of counsel. There was a very specific set of phrases used for this procedure. Getting counsel was expressed with the phrase *kymryt kynghor* 'taking counsel'. The result of this was usually presented in a *sef*-construction:

(45) a. *Sef a gahat yn y kynghor rodi branwen y uatholwch.*
   sef PRT get.PAST.3S in 3P council give Branwen to Matholwch
   'This is what they got in their council: giving Branwen to Matholowch'
   (PKM 30.28-29)

  b. *Sef y kawssant yn eu kyghor, gossot kanwr ym pop tri chymwt*
   sef PRT get.PAST.3P in 3P council place.INF 100.men in every three Commot
   ym Powys o e geissaw.
   in Powys of 3MS seek.INF
   'They determined to place a hundred men in each of the three Commots of Powys to seek for him.'   (BR 1.14)

Similarly, the *sef*-construction was very often used to describe the table settings of big feasts.

(46) *Sef ual yd eistydassant o r neilltu y Ereint yd eistedawd y iarll*
  sef how PRT sit.PAST.3P from the one.side to Gereint PRT sit.PAST.3S the earl
  ieuanc
  young
  'This is how they were sitting: the young earl sat on the one side of Gereint.'
  (Gereint 366-367)

There is very little variation in word order when one of these formulae or expressions were used. One type of the *sef*-construction that gained particular high frequency was the variant with periphrastic *gwneuthur* 'to do', as shown in (47).

(47) a. *Sef a wnaeth ynteu y deimlaw ef yny gauas y benn.*
   sef PRT do.PAST.3S he 3MS feel.INF him until get.PAST.3S 3MS head
   'And he felt about it until he came to the man's head.'   (PKM 42.27)

  b. *Sef a wnaeth ynteu maglu y llinin am uynwgyl y llygoden*
   sef PRT do.PAST.3S he noose.INF the string on neck the mouse
   'Then he put the noose around the mouse's neck'   (PKM 63.5)

Initially, the *sef*-construction was employed to focus the predicate of an identificatory copular clause, but this interpretation was lost in the Middle Welsh period. In chapter 6 I discuss the exact diachronic development of all *sef*-constructions in greater detail.

Finally, there are some examples of figurae etymologicae. These examples where the internal argument is repeated by the verb, are often found in the Hebrew Bible. There is, however, also one example of this in the early Middle Welsh tale *Culhwch ac Olwen* with verb-initial word order:

(48) *Tyghaf   tyghet it   na latho   dy ystlys vrth wreic*
      swear.PRES.1S oath   to.2S NEG strike.PRES-SBJ.3S 2S area   with wife
      'I declare to thee, that it is thy destiny not to be suited with a wife'   (CO 50)

Focus particles

As in most languages, certain lexical items in Middle Welsh were used to focus preceding or following constituents. The most common particles preceding the focussed constituent are *hyd yn oet* 'even' and *dim ond* 'only'. Others follow the focussed constituent, like *hagen* 'however' and *eyssioes* 'nevertheless, still', or could either follow or precede, like *heuyd* 'also, too'. Words that mean 'the same' or 'the other (one)' also denote one specific item in a set of alternatives and are therefore related to constituent focus as well. In Middle Welsh, *un* 'one', could also mean 'the same' and occurred just like the numeral in front of the modified constituent. The adjective *arall/ereill* 'other (sg/pl)', like most other adjectives, followed it.

The word order of the whole clause did not necessarily change when one constituent was focussed. The mixed sentence could be used, but constituent focus also appeared with other word order types (see also section 5.5 below).

(49) a. *Velly hagen   y   gorfuost   ar lawer onadunt wy*
        thus however PRT prevail.PAST.2S on many of.3P   them
        'Thus, however, you triumphed over many of them.'   (Peredur 32.23-24)
    b. *Ti   a   geffy   hynny heuyt.*
        you PRT get.PRES.2S that   too
        'You will get that too.'   (PKM 64.1)

There was also a fixed set of originally demonstrative pronouns (or contraction of demonstratives and certain adverbs 'see here/there', cf. French *voilà*) that was used to introduce a character or item in the story with an element of surprise (i.e. a mirative reading). *Llyna, dyma, nachaf* and *wele* 'lo, behold' were the most common. The word order pattern was that of a truncated copular clause (Type IXa). The interpretation was not always mirative, according to Sturzer (2001), because '"finding people in and around a fort or castle going about their business is an expected and ordinary circumstance" (Sturzer, 2001:41). This word order pattern could therefore also be used simply to draw attention to a character or situation.

(50) a. *llyna y   marchawc yd aeth   Gereint yn y   ol*
        behold the knight   PRT go.PAST.3S Gereint in 3MS back
        'Behold the knight Gereint went after him.'   (Gereint 430)
    b. *Dymma ei   ddeongliad   ef*
        behold   3MS interpretation him
        'Behold his interpretation/Here is his interpretation.'(b1588 - Gen. 40.12)

Dyma/llyna/nachaf could be used as adverbials as well. In this case, they were followed by the preverbal particle *y* and then the inflected verb, resulting in the adjunct-initial Type III, as shown in (51).

(51) *Nachaf y   gwelynt   o pebbyll gwynn penngoch*
     behold PRT see.PAST.3P of tent   white   top.red
     'Behold they saw a white tent with a red canopy.'   (BR 11.31)

Welsh has special particles for focussed questions as well, but these are beyond the scope of the present study.

Conjunctions & complementizers

Conjunctions and complementizers always introduce the main or subordinate clause. Some conjunctions that introduce main clauses, like *a(c)* 'and' could appear before any word order pattern. Others, mainly subordinate conjunctions and complementizers are directly followed by the inflected verb in all stages of Welsh. Since this study is concerned with main clauses, I will not discuss the subordinate conjunction and their verb-initial word orders here.

There is one conjunction that deserves further attention: *canys* 'because'. This is a contraction of earlier < *can* 'since, for' + *ys* 'it is'. The copula in sentence-initial position resulted in a following cleft sentence pattern in an earlier stage of the language. The constituent following the copula was originally the predicate, followed be a relative clause to modify it. Since relative clauses usually did not exhibit agreement, even if the antecedent was a plural noun or pronoun, we would not expect plural inflection on the relative verb, as shown in (52a). However, as D. S. Evans (1971) and Borsley et al. (2007) point out, there are also some examples with agreement, as shown in (52b) and (52c). In example (52d), with a following preverbal particle and auxiliary *mae* 'is', it is clear that *canys* was completely grammaticalised as the conjunction meaning 'because'.

(52) a. *Canys Arabyeit yssyd   yn   chwerwdic yn   y   ymlil*
       because Arabs   be.REL-PRES.3S PRED angry   PROGR 3MS pursue.INF
       'Because the Arabs are pursuing him angrily.'   (YBH 3958-3962)

    b. *Canys Israel a   r Philistiaid a   fyddinasent   fyddin yn erbyn*
       because Israel and the Philistines PRT marshal.PAST.3P army   against
       byddin.
       army
       'Because Israel and the Philistines prepared army against army for battle.'
       (b1588 - 1 Sam. 17.21)

    c. *canys   eu llygaid hwy oeddynt   drymmion.*
       because 3P eyes   them be.PAST.3P heavy.P
       'Because their eyes were heavy.'   (b1588 - Mat. 26.43)

d. *Canys y   mae   cariad Crist yn   ein cymhell   ni*
   because PRT be.PRES.3S love   Christ PROGR 1P spur.on.INF us
   'Because the love of Christ spurs us on.'   (b1588 - 2 Cor. 5.14)

Since *canys* can introduce main clauses as well, these examples are analysed and categorised according to their word order types in this study; conjunctions introducing subordinate clauses, like *pan* 'when', *ual* 'as, like' or *hyt* 'until' are not.

5.2.9   Semantics

Certain features of the grammar that have not been discussed so far are usually categorised as being semantic in nature. These include scope effects, animacy, but also certain lexical constraints. Since issues of scope in Middle Welsh that can influence word order are all related to negation, they are not relevant for the present study of positive main clauses. In this section I therefore focus on animacy, accessibility and lexical constraints only.

Animacy

Harlos, Poppe, and Widmer (2014) claim that animacy and accessibility of sentence-initial constituents play a role in Middle Welsh word order. They rate the level of animacy of constituents on a scale ranging from 'self' and 'human' to 'location' and 'abstract' on the lower end. Accessibility for them is the relationship between cognitive accessibility of a referent in the memory store of a participant in communication and the morphosyntactic encoding of the referent (Harlos et al., 2014:134n.31). I discuss this latter feature further in section 5.5 below on 'givenness'.

   In the very small sample they investigate, they find a higher frequency of animate than inanimate subjects and, unsurprisingly, the reverse is true for direct objects. They furthermore claim that in clauses with indirect objects "animacy has an effect on the distribution of possible word order patterns" Harlos et al. (2014:145). If we test the statistical significance of the animacy (divided into two categories here, rather than a scalar notion) related to word order patterns, we indeed find there a significant result for indirect objects (χ^2 test with Yates's continuity correction: $\chi^2 \approx 6.55$, df $= 1$, p ≈ 0.0105; Fisher exact test: p ≈ 0.0079).

   The animacy of subjects, however, does not give any statistically significant results in relation to choice of word order ($\chi^2 \approx 0.78$, df $= 1$, p ≈ 0.7768; Fisher exact test: p ≈ 0.5578). Nor are there any significant effects if we collapse subjects and indirect objects to look at animacy of arguments in general. The tables below are based on the counts presented by Harlos et al. (2014:140) for indirect objects only, but we observe a similar pattern for direct objects (i.e. animacy of objects is significant, but animacy of subjects or animacy of both subjects and objects in general has no significant effect).

	Animate Ind.Obj.	Inanimate Ind.Obj.
S-V-Ind.Obj.	27 (93.10%)	24 (63.18%)
Ind.Obj.-V-S	2 (6.90%)	14 (36.84%)
Total	29	38

Table 5.11: Animate & inanimate indirect objects in *Pwyll* from Harlos et al. (2014)

	Animate Subj.	Inanimate Subj.
S-V-Ind.Obj.	47 (77.05%)	2 (66.67%)
Ind.Obj.-V-S	14 (22.95%)	1 (33.33%)
Total	61	3

Table 5.12: Animate & inanimate subjects in *Pwyll* from Harlos et al. (2014)

It is, however, very difficult to draw any conclusion based on such a small sample. The word order pattern with sentence-initial indirect objects is in fact always a pattern with a sentence-initial prepositional phrase (since indirect objects always require a preposition in Welsh). These would be categorised as word order type IIIe, or adjunct-initial (including PP-initial) verb-second (see previous chapter). The different word order patterns Harlos et al. (2014) mention are, however, not *all* possible patterns. There are of course also sentences with both direct and indirect objects and it is unclear what word order pattern would be preferred in those cases (Type III with initial indirect object or Type IVa or IVb with initial subject or direct object respectively).

	AniSbj-AniObj	AniSbj-InObj	InSbj-AniObj	InSbj-InObj
I Verb-initial	15 (2.16%)	126 (5.55%)	1	0
II AuxSVO	13 (1.87%)	17 (0.75%)	2	0
III V2 Adj.	164 (23.63%)	443 (19.52%)	2	3
IVa SaVO	359 (51.73%)	1044 (46.01%)	8	2
IVb OaVS	41 (5.9%)	301 (13.27%)	1	1
IVc VN*a*DO	98 (14.12%)	336 (14.81%)	0	0
V Focus	4 (0.58%)	2 (0.09%)	0	0
Total	694 (100%)	2269 (100%)	14	6

Table 5.13: Animacy Subject-Object in entire corpus (A = animate, In = inanimate)

If we look at the animacy level of subjects and (indirect) objects in the entire Middle Welsh corpus under investigation, distributed over all these word order types (see table 5.14), we see a clear and expected pattern: subjects are mostly animate

and objects are inanimate. There is a significant difference between Subject- and Object-initial word orders in terms of animacy ($\chi^2 = 28.0198$, df = 1, p-value < 0.00001). The relation between animacy of objects and word order Types III vs Type IV (both subjects & objects combined) is also significant, though the p-value is much higher ($\chi^2 = 3.9221$, df = 1, p-value = 0.04766).

It is more difficult to analyse the animacy of 'indirect objects' in the same way Harlos et al. (2014) did it for the tale of *Pwyll*.

	AniSbj-AniIObj	AniSbj-InIObj	InSbj-AniIObj	InSbj-InIObj
I Verb-initial	34 (2.92%)	32 (4.44%)	0	6
II Aux-initial	4 (0.34%)	1 (0.14%)	0	0
III Adj*y*VS	307 (26.37%)	258 (35.78%)	15	28
IVa SaVO	513 (44.07%)	209 (28.99%)	25	52
IVb OaVS	26 (2.23%)	9 (1.25%)	0	0
IVc VN*a*DO	276 (23.71%)	212 (29.40%)	0	0
V Focus	4	0	0	1
Total	1164 (100%)	721 (100%)	40	87

Table 5.14: Animacy Subject-Ind. Object in entire corpus (A = animate, In = Inanimate)

For active verbs, animacy of the indirect objects seems to be significant for word order Type III (argument-initial) vs type IV (adjunct-initial) (split in Type III vs Type IVa vs Type IVb: $\chi^2 = 38.2175$, df = 2, p < 0.0001)(Type III vs. Type IVa & b combined: $\chi^2 = 38.2735$, df = 1, p < 0.0001). There seems to be no significant difference between subject- and object-initial orders ($\chi^2 = 0.0703$, df = 1, p = 0.7908). When it comes to the animacy of direct objects, however, there is a difference between subject- and object-initial orders ($\chi^2 = 27.0993$ df = 1, p < 0.0001) and also (though only slightly) significant for word order Type III vs IV (combined a & b) ($\chi^2 = 4.4672$ df = 1, p = 0.03455). Animacy of the subject does not make any difference in preferred word order type.

In Middle Welsh texts, however, more distinct categories of animacy are not always easy to determine. There are many examples of magic changing people into animals (in Math) or creating people out of non-organic material (Blodeuwedd) or little boys that grow out of lumps of flesh (in Math). Even in religious texts this distinction between human and other animate beings is sometimes difficult to maintain, as in example (53). For the present study, therefore, only a basic animate vs. inanimate distinction was made.

(53) *a   daeth   yspryd yr Arglwydd ar Ddafydd o   r   dydd hwnnw*
    and come.PAST.3S spirit the Lord   on David   from the day that
    allan.
    onwards
    'And from that day onwards the spirit of the Lord came to David'   (b 2.488)

Lexical constraints

As T. A. Watkins (1993) notes, there seem to be some lexical constraints as well interacting with word order types. Although the list of verbs that 'resist inflection' is not completely accurate, in some cases his generalisation does hold. Even in the large sample of Middle Welsh texts under investigation, there are for example no cases of the verbs *gwneuthur* 'to do' or *bod* 'to be' in the periphrastic verb-second construction. Sentences like **Gwneuthur a wnaeth*, literally 'doing he did' or **Bod a wnaeth* 'being he did' never occur. This is quite likely a simple semantic restriction.

Other verbs like *darfod* 'to happen' (a combination of a preverb + *bod* 'to be') occur more often in sentence-initial position in texts like *Breudwyt Rhonabwy* and *Peredur* (cf. Poppe (1993:96)). It should be noted though, that 1 of the total amount of 2 examples in *Breudwyt Rhonabwy* is the imperative *derffit*, which as an imperative would occur sentence-initially anyway. The other examples (also in *Peredur*) are actually preceded by a preverbal particle like *neur* most of the time, as shown in (54b). This tendency to appear in sentence-initial position (or, not in verb-second position) probably has to do with the meaning of the verb again. Especially in historical narratives, many sentences start with 'It happened that...'. Since sentence-initial forms of *bod* 'to be' were increasingly found in the late Middle Welsh period, it is not surprising a similar sentence-initial position was preferred for compounds with *bod*. Even in the 1588 Bible translation, however, this verb could also still appear in verb-second position, as shown in (54a):

(54) a. *AC fe a ddarfu wedi i r Iesu orphen y geiriau hyn oll.*
and it PRT happen.PAST.3S afterward to the Jesus finish.INF the words that all
'And it happened afterwards that Jesus ended all these words.' (b1588 - Mat. 26.1)

  b. *Neur deryw y r maccwy llad llawer o th lu.*
PRT happen.PRES.3S to the lad kill.INF many of 2S host
'The lad happens to kill many of your men.' (Peredur 38.19)

5.2.10 Interim summary

In the above sections, various grammatical features were discussed in relation to the different types of word order patterns. There seem to be some absolute restrictions, in particular related to clause type (e.g. imperatives always occur in sentence-initial position). But most of the observations exhibit strong or weak tendencies, e.g. Type IIIc VN*a*DO is almost exclusively found in the preterite tense. This does not mean, however, that the reverse is automatically the case. It also does not tell us why this is the case. In types of phrase, we can also find some patterns in the distribution over the different word order types. Object-initial pronouns are clearly impossible in Middle Welsh grammar, but the reason why pronominal subjects exhibit a different distribution than nominal subjects cannot be explained by this grammatical difference alone. In the next section, I therefore explore various information-structural factors and their relation to word order patterns in Middle Welsh.

5.3   Usage-based factors

Languages are mainly studied by observing the data in use. In order to accurately compare different texts, speakers and/or stages of a language, it is of crucial importance to be aware of the *type* of data we are dealing with. Even a single speaker can use one and the same language in different ways, for example in different contexts with different interlocutors. If there are differences in genre, register or style within a language, it is strictly speaking impossible to fairly compare different types of word order in each of the texts under investigation. If we had an unlimited amount of data, it would be easy to just select texts of the exact same genre, register, etc. But the available data for Middle Welsh are limited. In this section, I briefly touch upon some issues related to how language is used and how this complicates the research question.

5.3.1   Spoken vs. written language

In any historical linguistic study, the difference between spoken and written language should be emphasised. Both spoken and written language is subject to change over time, but not necessarily in the same way or at the same rate. It may take years and years before a specific linguistic construction that is already widely used in spoken language, enters the written form of the language as well. Formality and standardisation of written language play a big role in this respect.

When the data are limited to written sources, like in the current study of Medieval Welsh, we have to take various extra-linguistic factors into account as well (see section 5.4). Some written data may be closer to the spoken language at the time than others, some genres might even render spoken language almost verbatim, e.g. witness or defensive statements in certain documented court cases. But, if anything, the conclusions drawn in this study say something about the written form of Middle Welsh as we find it in available manuscripts today. This certainly does not represent the Middle Welsh language as a whole. But even this written form was part of the language and an accurate description of this particular part of it thus helps us to understand this stage of the language better.

5.3.2   Direct vs. indirect speech

Written narratives often contain both direct and indirect speech. Direct speech in turn can be used for both monologues and dialogues or other forms of conversation. Monologues can be very similar to any other narrative sequence, but there are also examples of monologues centered around the experiences of one particular speaker, starting every sentence with *mi* 'I':

(55) a. *Mi a   uum   gynt   y Ghaer Se ac Asse (...)*
        I   PRT be.PAST.1S before in Caer   Se and Asse
        'In the past, I have been in Caer Se and Asse'

b. *Mi a   uum   gynt yn yr India Uawr a   r   India Uechan*
   I   PRT be.PAST.1S before in the India Big   and the India Small
   'In the past, I have been in Greater and Lesser India' (with more examples
   of *mi a uum...* CO 117-118)

Because of their interactive nature, dialogues frequently employ very specific word
order types to render questions, answers or commands (see section 5.2). In this
type of direct speech, there are hardly any examples of the word order types
that are typically used in continuous narratives (see section 5.5 above): adjunct-
initial or verbal noun-initial orders. In many of these examples, the sentence-initial
constituent is focussed, as shown in (56).

(56) a. *Mynet a   wnaf i a   th wyneb di a   dygaf i genhyf.*
      go.INF PRT do.1S I and 2S honour you PRT take.1S I with.1S
      '(Everyone has received his boon, and I yet lack mine,) I will go and take
      your honour with me.'   (CO 328-329)

   b. *ac attat titheu y   mae y   neges   ef.*
      and to.2S you   PRT be.3S 3MS message he
      'And for you was his message.'   (BR 12.20)

Most sentences with direct speech that are not questions, answers or commands
exhibit argument- and in particular subject-initial word order (Type IVa). Because
of the nature of the dialogue, the subjects are usually personal pronouns (cf.
T. A. Watkins (1977:390-391)).

(57) a. *A   thitheu, heb ef, mi a   th gymeraf yn   wreic im.*
      and you.CONJ said he, I   PRT 2S take.1S PRED wife   to.1S
      'And you, he said, I'll take as my wife.'   (PKM 74.16-17)

   b. *Mi a   e   dywedaf itt   yr ystyr.*
      I   PRT 3MS tell.1S   to.2S the meaning
      'I will tell you the meaning of it.'   (BR 4.29)

5.3.3 Poetry vs. Prose

Syntactic analyses tend to keep apart prose and poetry, because the word order in
poetry can be subject to specific patterns like rhyme and metre that are not found
in prose. For Middle Welsh, this is particularly relevant when looking at word order.
According to Willis (1998), the frequency of absolute verb-initial sentences "is close
to nil in Middle Welsh texts" (Willis, 1998:102). The texts he refers to are only
prose texts; (Early) Middle Welsh poetry is not taken into account in most Welsh
word order studies, because the syntax is indeed very different.

Verb-initial orders are often found in poetry from the Early Middle Welsh period
onwards, but these are not taken into account in the present study. The excerpts of
the Bible translation chosen for the present corpus are therefore also only narrative

prose (Joseph's and David's stories (Genesis 37-42 and 1 Samuel 16-19), the gospel of Matthew and Paul's letter to the Corinthians).

In his 2013 study, Currie also includes various excerpts of the Bible translations. He concludes that absolute verb-initial order was found in Middle Welsh after all, because he finds frequencies up to 41% in his corpus. If we look more closely at his data, however, these high frequencies are found in the translations of the Psalms (Salesbury 41% and Morgan 24.8%) and the Book of Isaiah (24.8%), whereas the other Biblical excerpts (the gospel of Mark and the book of Esther) do not even reach 10%. This is not surprising, considering the fact that the Psalms and the Prophets were written in a very different form of Hebrew that certainly did not look like the regular narrative prose found in the rest of the Bible.

Without an in-depth analysis of the original Hebrew of the Psalms and Prophets compared to the narrative prose, it is thus impossible to draw any conclusions on the resulting word order frequencies in the Welsh translations. According to Currie (2013), the high frequency of verb-initial orders in the psalms might be due to their highly elevated style. Style is thus another factor we need to control for when comparing word order types.

5.3.4   Genre, register and style

Style can vary between different genres and registers, but also within one and the same text itself. Most texts in the Middle Welsh corpus are narrative prose, but one of the native tales of the *Mabinogion, Llud and Llefelis*, is also found in a manuscript of a completely different genre: chronicle literature.

Another example of chronicle literature in the corpus is *Buched Dewi* 'The Life of Dewi'. Table 5.16 compares the frequencies between an excerpt of the Laws, two narratives tales of the Mabinogi and two chronicles: the chronicle version of *Llud* and the Life of David.

	Laws	Math	Llud (nar.)	Llud (chr.)	Dewi
Type I Verb-initial	4	14		1	2
Type II Periphrastic		3			1
Type III Adj y VS	52	45	15	8	58
Type IV SaVO	96	98	24	31	65
Type IV OaVS	31	18	1	2	11
Type IV VN a DO	2	25	5	4	7
Type VIII Sef		22	2	1	21
Total	185	225	47	47	165

Table 5.15: Word order types of transitive sentences in different genres

	Laws	Math	Llud (nar.)	Llud (chr.)	Dewi
Type I Verb-initial	2.16%	6.22%		2.13%	1.21%
Type II Periphrastic		1.33%			0.61%
Type III Adj y VS	28.11%	20.00%	31.91%	17.02%	35.15%
Type IV SaVO	51.89%	43.56%	51.06%	65.96%	39.39%
Type IV OaVS	16.76%	8.00%	2.13%	4.26%	6.67%
Type IV VN a DO	1.08%	11.11%	10.64%	8.51%	4.24%
Type VIII Sef		9.78%	4.26%	2.13%	12.73%

Table 5.16: Percentage of word order type of transitive sentences in different genres

As it turns out, there is not a big difference between the two genres. Chronicles like *Buched Dewi* tend to employ the adjunct-initial word order (Type III) more often, because they often relate sequential events that are linked to a specific time or location, but this is not observed in the chronicle version of *Llud*. Verb-initial orders are hardly ever found overall. Subject-initial sentences are most frequently found in all the genres, though significantly less in the chronicle of Dewi.

For the Middle Welsh period, it is very difficult to take into account various registers of the language since the extant corpus is very limited. Stylistic differences can be found when we compare native tales to translations and retellings of stories from Latin and/or French origin. Differences in agreement patterns were the subject of investigation in Welsh translated literature in particular, because agreement with plural noun phrases in Welsh was claimed to have come from Latin (cf. D. S. Evans (1971)). Plein and Poppe (2014) conclude, however, after closely comparing the Welsh *Historia Gruffudd vab Kenan* to its Latin original, that this is not necessarily the case: "We are currently unable to identify potential triggers in the Latin text for the realization in the Welsh text of expected default third-singular and unexpected verbal agreement respectively." (Plein & Poppe, 2014:155).

	Culhwch	Branwen	Peredur	Macsen	B1588
Type I Verb-initial	64	5	16		49
Type II Periphrastic		1	1	1	21
Type III Adj y VS	67	44	81	51	136
Type IV OaVS	36	104	68	28	17
Type IV SaVO	76	42	245	26	476
Type IV VN a DO	70	16	79	5	
Type V Focus	3	1			
Type VIII Sef	10	12	12	3	
Total	326	225	502	114	699

Table 5.17: Word order type of transitive sentences in different genres

	Culhwch	Branwen	Peredur	Macsen	B1588
Type I Verb-initial	19.63%	3.70%	3.19%		7.01%
Type II Periphrastic		0.74%	0.20%	0.88%	3.00%
Type III Adj y VS	20.55%	32.59%	16.14%	44.74%	19.46%
Type IV OaVS	11.04%	10.37%	13.55%	24.56%	2.43%
Type IV SaVO	23.31%	31.11%	48.80%	22.81%	68.10%
Type IV VN a DO	21.47%	11.85%	15.74%	4.39%	
Type V Focus	0.92%	0.74%			
Type VIII Sef	3.07%	8.89%	2.39%	2.63%	

Table 5.18: Percentage of word order type of transitive sentences in different genres

When we put another set of texts with a different genre or background together, the most striking frequencies are found in *Macsen*. It is the only text in which the object-initial type constitutes almost a quarter of all sentences and most other sentences are adjunct-initial. If we look closer at the object-initial examples, however, we find they are primarily used with one particular verb *gwelet* 'to see', which is no doubt due to the nature of the text. It is a narration of what someone saw in a dream at a particular time and place. The observed objects are usually new in the narrative and could thus occur in initial position (see section 5.5 above).

Compared to the other (later) Middle Welsh texts, *Culhwch* is different in that it employs a great number of verbal noun constructions (21.47%) and it has more verb-initial sentences than any other text in the corpus. The latter are mainly verbs of saying, however, and there are some fixed expressions amongst those as well (see section 5.2). In later Middle Welsh texts, like the Arthurian Romance of *Peredur*, we see subject-initial orders are gaining more and more majority. In the 1588 Bible translation, this subject-initial word order type represents the overwhelming majority of sentences. In this case, we are dealing with a translated text as well. The choice of word order of the translator, however, is not at all influenced by the verb-initial word order that was dominant in the Hebrew original.

Overall, it is important to be aware of stylistic differences, within authors/texts, but also those that are due to different genres or registers. The number of texts for various genres and registers in Middle Welsh is, however, rather limited, so it is difficult to draw any definite conclusions. There are furthermore various extra-linguistic factors that play a role here. I turn to these in the next section.

5.4   Extra-linguistic factors

Working with historical linguistic data is not just challenging because of the limited amount of data. In this section, I discuss some further issues that should be taken into account when we interpret the results of any diachronic investigation of Welsh.

5.4.1 Philology: the scribes and their manuscripts

One particular problem historical linguists are faced with is the lack of necessary philological background for their data. Even in close collaboration with philologists, it is not always possible to establish for example, the exact date of a certain text. A related problem is the question of the text itself: to what extent does the version we have represent the 'original'? If there are more manuscripts with the same text: do we choose one or the other or do we work with the diplomatically edited version?

Even when we can make these decisions and justify them, we are still dealing with the problem of the origin of the text. Even if we know when and where it was written down in a certain manuscript, this hardly ever gives us any information on when and where the text was originally composed. If there are several centuries between the date of composition and the written down version we have now, it severely complicates any accurate dating of linguistic phenomena. When scribes and copyists were set to work, what exactly did they do? Did they blindly copy any 'mistakes' they found or did they 'update' the language in such a way they thought it would be easier for their contemporary audience to understand it.

According to T. Charles-Edwards (2001), there were 'fluid' and 'fixed' textual traditions. In his eyes, the Four Branches of the Mabinogion were more or less fixed, i.e. the extant versions found in different manuscripts do not exhibit a great amount of variety when closely compared. The Romances like *Peredur,* however are part of a fluid tradition that exhibit a degree of variation that is not due to normal copying errors "but introduced by the scribe for some other editorial purpose" (Vitt, 2011). According to Russell (2003:65-66), therefore, "Fluid texts are the bane of the classical textual critic". For historical linguists, of course, the problem of a 'fluid' text is even worse, because not only should we be able to account for linguistic phenomena in one version of the text we find, our description of the language ideally encompasses all other possible versions as well. We crucially do not know which of the versions was correct or if both versions were for different people or in different periods of time. Copyists made mistakes, but explaining away all unexpected variation as 'scribal errors' is too easy.

The texts analysed in the present study represent one manuscript version. Other manuscripts have, however, been systematically compared to these versions for any differences in word order. The most common differences between manuscripts are found in verbal noun constructions. The auxiliary 'to do' is either omitted in one of the versions or a different form is used (*gwnaeth* vs. *goruc* 'did').

(58) a. *Dyuot   y   porthawr ac agori   y   porth*
      come.INF the porter   and open.INF the gate
      'The porter came and opened the gate.'   (Culhwch *White Book* 786)
  b. *Dyuot   a   oruc   y   porthawr ac agori   y   porth*
      come.INF PRT do.PAST.3S the porter   and open.INF the gate
      'The porter came and opened the gate.'   (Culhwch *Red Book* 786)

These types of variation between manuscripts do not have any significant effect on the hypotheses concerning word order distribution. If anything, it indicates that

the verbal noun construction with the auxiliary was an innovation used by later scribes. Main clauses with bare verbal nouns in initial position were already rare in the earliest Middle Welsh tale in the corpus, *Culhwch ac Olwen*. It is not surprising that the Red Book scribe, known to 'modernise' his text while copying (cf. Rodway (2004)), added the auxiliary of the verb 'to do' resulting in the commonly-used verbal noun construction with verb-second word order. In later Middle Welsh, however, this construction became used less, taken over by adjunct- and subject-initial word orders. The Middle Welsh Bible from 1588 only has very few examples of sentence-initial verbal nouns.

There are, however, also other types of variation found in different manuscript versions. For example, between subject- and object-initial word order as shown in (59):

Owein l. 652
So they returned, and Owain pressed forward until he met the Earl. And Owain drew him completely out of his saddle, and turned his horse's head towards the Castle, and, though it was with difficulty, he brought the Earl to the portal, where the pages awaited him. And in they came.

(59) a. *a   'r iarll a   rodes   Owein yn   anrec y 'r iarlles*
      and the earl PCL gave.3S Owein PRED gift   to the countess
      'And Owein presented the earl as a gift to the countess.'   (OaVS - White Book)

   b. *ac Owein a   rodes   y   iarll yn   anrec y 'r iarless*
      and Owein PCL gave.3S the earl PRED gift   to the countess
      'And Owein presented the earl as a gift to the countess.'(SaVO - Red Book)

(60) a. *A   'e dyuot   hitheu*
      and 3FS come.INF her
      'and she came'   (CO 487: VN + agent - White Book)

   b. *Dyuot   a   oruc hitheu*
      come.INF PCL did.3S she
      'and she came'   (CO 487: VN + do - Red Book)

In this example, the older White Book manuscript has object-initial word order, where the later Red Book prefers the subject in initial position. Since there is a clear focus on the object in this context, the object-initial order is not unexpected (see section 5.5). The Red Book scribe is generally known to 'update' and 'correct' his work. If this was indeed what he did, this could be an example of the object-initial order becoming less prominent towards the end of the Middle Welsh period. Object-initial orders were hardly ever used in the 1588 Bible translation and even if they were, they were always contrastively focussed. In a more 'fluid' text, like *Owain* or any of the other Romances, the Red Book scribe might have felt free to 'update' the syntax of this particular sentence to the subject-initial order that sounded far more familiar in his ears. It remains difficult though, to speculate on the basis of one single example. It is striking, however, that this is one of the very few examples in

the present corpus with a variation in word order in different manuscripts. Another one found in Peredur exhibits the same difference:

(61) a. *A   hynny a   wnaeth   y   makwyf. Yr orssed a   gyrchyssant*
　　　and that   PRT do.PAST.3S the lad   the mound PRT make.for.PAST.3P
　　　'And the young lad did that. They made for the mound'   (White Book)
　　b. *Y gwas a   wnaeth   hynny. Dyuot   yr orssed a   orugant*
　　　the lad   PRT do.PAST.3S that   come.INF the mound PRT do.PAST.3P
　　　'The groom did that. They came to the mound'   (Red Book)

Again, there seems to be a preference for subject-initial order in the later Red Book version. Although this type of knowledge about the scribe and manuscript can help to establish the relative chronology of linguistic phenomena, it remains difficult to get a detailed diachronic description because of the lacunae in our data and metadata. Even if we can establish where a particular text was written down, this does not always tell us more about the origin of the text and how much the language was modified before it was put into writing. For this reason, it is impossible to be more precise about the exact dates than 'early' and 'late' Middle Welsh. With the present corpus, it is furthermore impossible to tie the results to any particular region in Wales. We know that there were different dialects of Welsh in the medieval period, but a lot more data is needed to say anything about preferences or patterns in different types of word order in different regions of Wales.

5.5   Information-structural factors

In this section I discuss how information structure relates to Middle Welsh word order. First I investigate the focus domain of Middle Welsh sentences in the corpus. Two of the three core notions of information structure, topic-comment and focus-background, are discussed in this section. The third notion of information structure, givenness, sheds light on the distribution of different types of argument phrases in Middle Welsh. The Principle of Natural Information flow, i.e. old information is followed by new information, is discussed in this context as well. The final section concerns text cohesion: how is a particular sentence linked to the preceding context. Framesetters and points of departure are crucial in establishing whether there is textual continuity or a deliberate break or change of scene for example signalled by a shift of topics.

5.5.1   Focus Articulation

As described in detail in Chapter 3, there are three focus articulations or domains. The most common in narrative texts is the domain that focusses the verb and the rest of the predicate, also known as 'topic-comment' domain or 'predicate focus'. If one particular constituent is in focus, i.e. if there is a relevant alternative, then the focus domain is 'constituent focus'. If all the information in the sentence, i.e. the subject

as well as the predicate, convey new information and no constituent is focussed in particular, the focus domain of the sentence is THETIC or PRESENTATIONAL. THETIC or PRESENTATIONAL FOCUS is almost exclusively found in sentences with copular or existential forms of the verb 'to be'.

THETIC **and** PRESENTATIONAL **Focus**

Opening statements of narratives often present new protagonists in the context of where they live or rule. These types of sentences exhibit presentational focus, because all the information is new and the leading character is introduced to the storyline as in (62):

(62) a. *Pwyll Pendeuic Dyuet a   oed   yn   arglwyd ar seith cantref Dyuet.*
      Pwyll Prince   Dyfed PRT be.PAST.3S PRED lord   on seven cantref Dyuet
      'Pwyll Prince of Dyfed was lord of the seven cantrefs of Dyfed.'   (PKM 1)

    b. *Bendigeiduran uab Llyr a   oed   urenhin coronawc ar yr ynys hon,*
      Bendigeidfran   son Llyr PRT be.PAST.3S king   crowned   on the island this
      ac   ardyrchawc o   goron Lundein.
      and invested   with crown London
      'Bendigeidfran son of Llyr was crowned king of this island and invested with the crown of London.'   (PKM 29.1)

New characters can also be introduced sentence-finally or sentence-initially, as in example (63):

(63) a. *mae   yna   carw*
      be.PRES.3S there stag
      'there was a stag'   (PKM 75.12-13)

    b. *Trychanhwr teulu yssyd   idi*
      300.man   host be.PRES.3S to.3FS
      'She has a host of 300 men.'   (Peredur 45.22)

A final way to introduce new characters to the discourse is by using the contracted form *dyma* or *llyma, llyna* 'here, there is' in non-verbal word order Type IX:

(64) a. *Llyna   Dillus Uarruawc.*
      there.is Dillus Barfawg
      'There is Dillus Barfawg.'   (CO 1013)

    b. *Llyma pump morwyn yn   dyfot   o   ystafell y r   neuad.*
      here.is five   maiden PROGR come.INF from room   to the hall
      'There came five maidens from the room to the hall.'   (Peredur 23.14)

PREDICATE **Focus**

Topic-comment sentences can be found in Middle Welsh in various word order types. The topic, in this case, is the topic of the sentence. This is not necessarily the same as the topic of the entire discourse. Topics in Middle Welsh are frequently found in

sentence-initial position, resulting in the verb-second order with the verb following a topical adjunct, subject or object. Frame-setting topics are usually adjuncts in sentence-initial position, they set the scene and/or delimit the space or time in which the event described in the following comment takes place. Aboutness topics are not further defined here than that which the sentence or discourse is about. They frequently show up as subjects, but can also be found as (indirect) objects of the sentence, as shown in (65):

(65) a. *Kyuodi a   oruc   **yr heusawr** y   uynyd.*
    rise.INF PRT do.PAST.3S the   giant to   up
    '**The giant** got up.'

   b. *Mal y   kyuyt,   rodi   modrwy eur a   oruc   Culhwch itaw.*
    as   PRT rise.PRES.3S give.INF ring   gold PRT do.PAST.3S Culhwch to.3MS
    'As **he** got up, Culhwch gave **him** a golden ring.'

   c. *Keissaw gwiscaw   y   uodrwy ohonaw.*
    try.INF   put.on.INF the ring   of.3MS
    '**He** tried to put on the ring.'   (CO 440-442)

In (65), the discourse is about the giant: he gets up and is given a ring, which he then tries to put on. This topic is first the subject with a periphrastic VN + do construction. In the sentence directly following, it is the subject of the subordinate clause and the indirect object in the inflected preposition *itaw* 'to him' of the main clause. Finally, the giant is the agent of the main verb again, but this time, there is no conjugated verb and the agent is rendered by the inflected preposition *ohonaw*.

  Sentences with PREDICATE FOCUS usually have topics that contain old information. The new information is then rendered by the following comment. In some sentences, the referential status of the topicalised constituent is not completely old, but linked to the preceding context in some other way, e.g. by an identity anchor as in (66):

(66) *Os ynteu a   'm llad   ynheu, vy angklot a   gerda   ar draws*
    if   he   PRT 1S kill.PRES.3S me   my infamy PRT walk.PRES.3S on surface
    y   byt   yn   dragywyd.
    the earth PRED always
    'If it is him who kills me, my infamy will spread over the world forever.' (CO 402-404)

Contrastive topics are also found in Middle Welsh (see Chapter 4). The few examples we find have subject-initial order and belong to the PREDICATE FOCUS (topic-comment) articulation.

CONSTITUENT FOCUS

CONSTITUENT FOCUS can occur with designated focus particles like *hefyd* 'also, too' or *hyd yn oed* 'even', but there are also other cases of constituent focus that are more difficult to detect. In these cases the constituent in focus has to have a possible alternative, which is not mentioned. The constituent in focus thus reflects one of

all relevant alternatives. Sometimes the alternatives are overtly contrasted, as in (67) and a reduplicated pronoun can be used as well in this case.

(67) a. *hyt   nas   gwelei   neb   vynt ac vyntvy   a*
     so.that NEG.3S see.IMPF-SBJ.3S no.one them but they.REDUP PRT
     welynt   pawb
     see.IMPF-SBJ.3P all
     'so that no one could see them, but THEY could see everyone'   (CO 410)
   b. *Vn o r   ffyrd hyn a   a   y m llys i*
     one of the ways those PRT go.PRES.3S to 1S court my
     'One of those ways goes to my court.'   (Peredur 48.19)

Although constituent focus is often found with special constructions like the *sef*-construction of Type VIII, sentences with constituent focus can also exhibit other types of word order. The focussed constituent is most frequently found in sentence-initial position as in (68a) and (68b), but this is not necessarily the case, as shown in (68c).

(68) a. *Yr eil   fford a   a   y r dinas yssyd   yna yn   agos.*
     the second way   PRT go.PRES.3S to the town be.REL.3S there PRED close
     'The second road goes to the town that is close to there.' (Peredur 48.30)
   b. *ti   a   gereis*
     you PRT love.PAST.1S
     'I loved YOU.'   (CO 501)
   c. *ac a   i   rhoddes   i Ddafydd. a   i   wiscoedd. ie hyd yn oed*
     and PRT 3FS give.PAST.3S to David   with 3MS clothes   yes even
     ei   gleddyf
     3MS sword
     'and he gave it to David with his clothes, yes even his sword'   (b1588 - 1
     Sam. 18.14)

Constituent focus is also found in answers to questions. The focussed constituent always appears in sentence-initial position in that case.

In what manner didst thou receive them?

(69) *Eu rannu   ym pob lle   yn y kyuoeth.*
     3P divide.INF in   every place in the kingdom
     'I dispersed them through every part of my dominions'   (Branwen 64)

And what are you doing, Lord?

(70) *Crogi   lleidyr a   geueis   yn   lledratta arnaf.*
     hang.INF thief   PRT get.PAST.1S PROGR steal.INF on.1S
     'Hanging a thief I caught stealing from me.'   (PKM 62.2-3)

What are you asking?

(71) *Vyg kymryt yn   wr   itt.*
    1S   take.INF PRED husband to.2S
    'To take me as your husband.'   (Peredur 49.28)

5.5.2 Givenness

The referential status of constituents, in particular subjects and objects, is one of the most-studied aspects of information structure in various languages. For Middle Welsh, Erich Poppe, among others, has studied the relation between information status and agreement. He concludes that a preference for concord or non-concord is not related to information status (Poppe, 2009:257). Earlier I argued that a simple distinction between 'old' and 'new' information cannot always capture fine-grained differences in pragmatic usage. I therefore annotated all subjects and objects in the database according to the Pentaset, that captures the difference between linked and unlinked information (to the previous context or to something known by the hearer). Some constituents convey information that is technically new, but can be inferred from the previous context in some way, e.g. a set relation. The results presented in this section are based on this more fine-grained annotation.

Principle of Natural Information Flow

According to the Principle of Natural Information Flow, old information precedes new information in unmarked contexts. In verb-second sentences with either the subject or the object in initial position, the null-hypothesis would thus be that the information status of the initial arguments is old (or older at least) than that of the rest of the sentence. If this is not the case, i.e. if the initial argument conveys new(er) information, then the sentence does not comply with this Principle of Natural Information Flow and is thus somehow 'marked'.

For Middle Welsh this means that we could check this from the point of view of referential status of the core arguments. If both subject- and object-initial word orders are unmarked, the referential status of these initial subjects and objects should be older than the information in the rest of the sentence. Table 5.19 below, however, shows that this is not always the case with sentence-initial DPs (pronouns are not taken into account here because sentence-initial object pronouns are grammatically impossible in Middle Welsh).

	Unmarked: Old - New	Marked: New - Old
Type IVa SaVO	152 (99.35%)	13 (13.68%)
Type IVb OaVS	1 (0.65%)	82 (86.32%)
Total	153	95

Table 5.19: Information Flow in Subject- and Object-initial sentences

Subject-initial sentences with marked information flow, i.e. with new subjects preceding old(er) direct objects do not occur very often. The 13 instances in the database contain subjects that can all be interpreted as (contrastively) focussed: the subjects represent one person/item of a set of relevant alternatives, as shown by the examples in (72). In example (72a) for example, there are many things/people that were threatening the land in those times (foreign invaders, plagues, etc.), so the famine is chosen as the significant item from this set of relevant alternative things that could have destroyed the land.

(72) a. *a   newyn a   ddifetha   y   wlad.*
      and famine PRT destroy.3S the country
      'and a famine shall destroy the country'   (b1588 - Gen. 41.30)

   b. *Y gwr yssyd   tat   inni bieu   y   llys hon.*
      the man be.REL.3S father to.1P own.3S the court this
      'The man who is our father owns this court.'   (Peredur 43.9)

   c. *Yna Michol merch   Saul a   garodd   Ddafydd.*
      then Michol daughter Saul PRT love.PAST.3S David
      'Then Michol daughter of Saul loved David.'   (b1588 - 1 Sam. 18.20)

By far the most sentences with marked information flow are object-initial. The one example with old information preceding new information in sentences with object-initial order clearly contains a contrastive focus of the sentence-initial constituent:

(73) *a   r hanner arall a   dal   y   neb a   losco   ac   ef.*
    and the half   other PRT pay.3S the one PRT burn.SUBJ.3S with him
    'and the one who would burn (it) with him pays the other half'   (Laws 85)

Sentences with object-initial word order in Middle Welsh are thus marked, if only from the perspective of the Principle of Natural Information Flow.

(74) **Generalisation**
    Object-initial sentences in Middle Welsh are always marked, unless the object is a familiar topic.

Subject- vs. Object-initial sentences

The question is what this generalisation tells us about Middle Welsh word order and the information-structural notion of givenness. What is the distribution of old(er) and new(er) subjects and objects in subject- and object-initial sentences? Table 5.20 gives an overview of the referential status of the arguments and their respective word order types (ID = Identical to what is already in the hearer's short-term memory because it was mentioned in the immediately preceding context).

	Sbj ID - Obj ID	Sbj ID - Obj New
Type IVa SaVO	38 (76%)	107 (62.57%)
Type IVb OaVS	12 (24%)	64 (37.43%)
Total	50	171

Table 5.20: Referential status of DPs in argument-initial word order types

	Sbj ID - Obj ID	Sbj ID - Obj New
Type IVa SaVO	27 (90%)	106 (63.10%)
Type IVb OaVS	3 (10%)	62 (36.90%)
Total	30	168

Table 5.21: Referential status of DPs (excl. demonstratives) in argument-initial word order types

There is a significant difference between subject- and object-initial orders with identical (old) objects and new objects when demonstrative pronouns are not taken into account ($\chi^2 = 7.1803$, df $= 1$, p-value $= 0.007378$, Fisher's p=0.002957). The strong generalisation that all sentence-initial objects have to contain new information does not seem to hold, because there are 12 examples of objects with referential status Identity (= Old). If we look closer at those examples, however, we find that 9 of those objects are demonstrative pronouns continuing the topic of the immediately preceding sentence, as shown in (75).

(75) a. *A   hynny a   oruc   y   gwyr oll.*
     and that   PRT do.PAST.3S the men   all
     'And all the men did that.'   (Gereint 386)
   b. *A   hynny a   wnaeth   y   makwyf.*
     and that   PRT do.PAST.3S the lad
     'And the lad did that.'   (PKM 10.18-19)
   c. *Hynny a   dywot   y   guas idi   hitheu.*
     that   PRT say.PAST.3S the lad   to.3FS her
     'The lad said that to her.'   (PKM 84.20)

There are also examples of topic continuity that repeat the topic phrase entirely, instead of referring to it with a demonstrative:

(76) a. *A   r   pymp arueu   a   rodes   yn y   pymp kyfrwy*
     and the five   armours PRT give.PAST.3S in the five   saddle
     'and he place the five suits of armour on the five saddles.'   (Gereint 838)
   b. *A   nawd a   rodes   Gereint itaw.*
     and mercy PRT give.PAST.3S Geraint to.3MS
     'And Geraint gave him mercy.'   (Gereint 1051)

Most other examples with initial objects that are not new are (contrastively) focussed, often by overt focus particles like *hefyd* 'also, too' or *hagen* 'however'. This is also often seen with pronominal subjects.

(77) a. *Yr vn   peth hefyd a   edliwiodd   y   lladron.*
    the same thing also   PRT taunt.PAST.3S the thieves
    'The thieves taunted the same thing.'   (b1588 - Mat. 27.44)

    b. *Y   mab hagen   a   gymeraf i.*
    the boy   however PRT take.1S   I
    'The boy, however, I will take.'   (PKM 75.20)

    c. *ei   ferch   hefyd a   rydd   efe iddo   ef.*
    3MS daughter too   PRT free.3S he to.3MS him
    'His daughter, too, he released for him.'   (b1588 - 1 Sam. 17.25)

    d. *E   gedymdeithas oreu a   allwyf   i.*
    the friendship   best PRT cause.SUBJ.1S I
    'I would show the best friendship.'   (PKM 50.3-4)

Argument-initial sentences with nominal arguments in Middle Welsh are mostly subject-initial (165 out of 248 examples). Object-initial orders are also possible, but they are always marked somehow. They are either (contrastively) focussed or their referential status is New (new information focus).

Other examples of object-initial orders all exhibit direct topic continuity, either by repeating the topic noun phrase mentioned in the previous sentence or by referring back to it with a demonstrative pronoun. To conclude, givenness or the referential status of the core arguments, in particular the direct objects does influence the type of word order in Middle Welsh.

Givenness and other word order types

In the previous section I showed that object-initial sentences only appear under certain conditions: the object has to be focussed (either because it is new information or contrastively) or it continues the immediately preceding topic. What about the notion of givenness in relation to other verb-second structures in Middle Welsh?

Table 5.22 shows that the referential status of the core argument of impersonal verbs (the patient) is usually 'Identity' (= old). There are more examples of impersonal verbs with adjunct-initial word order (Type III), but there are more sentences with adjunct-initial order overall (see Chapter 4). Whenever the patient contains new information, however, it is far more often placed in sentence-initial position. This difference is significant (chi-square = 18.5707 df = 1 p < 0.0001).

	Patient = ID	Patient = New
Type III Adjunct-initial	126 (63.96%)	32 (36.36%)
Type IVab Argument-initial	71 (36.04%)	56 (63.64%)
Total	197	88

Table 5.22: Referential status of patients of impersonal verbs

In all other verb-second word order types, direct objects also more often convey new information than subjects, but there is no significant relation between referential status of the object and adjunct-, argument- or verbal noun-initial orders. In conclusion, within argument-initial orders there is a strong preference to place the subject in first position. Objects and patient phrases of impersonals can also be found in initial position, but only if their referential status is New. Other word order types do not contain enough tokens to compare.

Late subjects and objects

Givenness finally seems to interact with word order in the case of delayed subjects and objects. These postposed constituents are only possible if they convey new information, as shown in the following examples:

(78) a. *kanys ny wisgawd arueu eiryoet uarchawc urdawl well noc ef*
       because NEG wear.PAST.3S arms ever knight honourable better than him
       'since a better knight than he never bore arms.' (YSG 3972-3)
  b. *ac y lladwyt yna Twrch Llawin.*
     and PRT kill.PAST.IMPERS there Twrch Llawin
     'And Twrch Llawin was killed there.' (CO 1147)

5.5.3 Text Cohesion

In the previous section, one particular form of textual cohesion was already mentioned: topic continuity. So far, I have mainly looked at the information structure at sentence-level. In this section, I focus on information-structural features that play a role on the level of the paragraph and/or bigger sections of the discourse. There are various ways to link a sentence to the preceding context, but it is also possible to change the topic and/or scene. Points of departure or framesetters are frequently-used devices to render textual continuity or change. I discuss the most important examples of these in Middle Welsh in the section below.

Points of departure

Points of departure come in different shapes and forms. In Middle Welsh, various adverbial expressions in sentence-initial position determine the point of departure or the frame in which the predication of the rest of the sentence holds. These

adverbials are mostly temporal, spatial (i.e. referring to a specific location) or referential. Examples of these in Middle Welsh are:

(79) a. *O   hynny allan   y   gelwit   Goreu mab Custenhin.*
      from that   onwards PRT call.IMPERS Goreu son Custennin
      'And from then on he was called Goreu son of Custennin.'   (CO 811)

   b. *Ac y r   dref y   doyth   y   uorwyn*
      and to the town PRT come.PAST.3S the maiden
      'And the maiden came to the town.'   (Gereint 213)

   c. *Y Beli Uawr vab Manogan y   bu   tri   meib.*
      to Beli Mawr son Manogan PRT be.PAST.3S three son
      'And Beli Mawr son of Manogan had three sons.'   (Llud WB 1)

The adverbial is almost exclusively followed by the particle *y* + the inflected verb, resulting in word order Type III (adjunct verb-second). There are some examples of points of departure followed by other types of word order, but these are the exception rather than the rule:

(80) a. *a   chynn kyscu   genthi dyuot   Gwynn uab Nud*
      and before sleep.INF with.3FS come.INF Gwynn son Nud
      'And before sleeping with her, Gwynn son of Nud came'   (CO 989-990)

   b. *Ac ar hynny eu taraw a   r   hutlath*
      and on that   3P hit.INF with the magic wand
      'And after that he struck them with the magic wand.'   (PKM 75.19)

   c. *A   gwedy eu heisted gofyn   a   orugant   y r   wrach …*
      and after   3P sit.INF   ask.INF PRT do.PAST.3P to the hag
      'And after they sat down they asked the hag …'   (BR 2.27)

Some sentence-initial adverbials have a less specific semantic content. They are mainly used as connectives (cf. Poppe (1993:112)) indicating a sequential course of events. The most common examples of these in Middle Welsh are *yna, yno, gwedy hynny* 'then, there, after that'. These connectives can also be found in sentence-initial position, followed by any various word order types. In the Middle Welsh biblical narratives, these connectives occur more often than any other sentence-initial adverbial. They are either followed by a preverbal particle *y* and the inflected verb or by the subject:

(81) a. *Yna r   eisteddasant i fwytta bwyd.*
      then PRT sit.PAST.3P   to eat.INF food
      'Then they sat down to eat food.'   (b1588 - Gen. 37.25)

   b. *Yna efe a   ddywedodd wrthynt*
      then he PRT say.PAST.3S to.3P
      'Then he said to them'   (b1588 - Mat. 26.10)

Continuity

Narrative cohesion in Middle Welsh is most frequently established by the use of *a(c)* 'and' or any of the above-mentioned other connectives. These could be followed by any word order type. Sentences with initial verbal nouns, either followed directly by the agent or by the auxiliary 'to do' (Type VIc), signal topic continuity as shown in (82). Verbal nouns could also continue inflected verbs (Type VIc) as shown in (83), but can subsequently be continued by an inflected verb again.

(82) a. *Kychwynnu a   oruc   Arthur (...)*
        start.INF   PRT do.PAST.3S Arthur
        'Arthur set out (...)'
     b. *a   mynet ym Prytwen y   long*
        and go.INF in   Prydwen 3MS ship
        'and went in Prydwen his ship'
     c. *a   dyuot   y Ywerdon*
        and come.INF to Ireland
        'and came to Ireland'   (CO 1040-1043)

(83) a. *Yna y   kyuodes   ynteu o   r ennein*
        then PRT rise.PAST.3S he   from the bath
        'Then he rose from the bath'
     b. *a   guiscaw y   lawdyr amdanaw*
        and wear.INF 3MS trousers on.3MS
        'and put his trousers on'
     c. *ac y   dodes   y   neilltroet ar emyl y   gerwyn*
        and PRT put.PAST.3S 3MS one.foot   on edge the tub
        'and he put his one foot on the edge of the tub.'   (PKM 87.27-88.2)

In the 1588 Bible translation, narrative continuity is more and more found with subject-initial word order as well. In these cases the topic is mentioned in the beginning of the sentences, but dropped in the following clauses, until there is a topic switch or some intervening noun phrase that could be the new topic.

(84) a. *Hefyd efe a   freuddwydiodd etto freuddwyd arall*
        also   he PRT dream.PAST.3S   still dream   other
        'He also dreamt another dream.'
     b. *ac a   i   mynegodd i w   frodyr*
        and PRT 3FS tell.PAST.3S to 3MS brothers
        'and told it to his brothers'
     c. *ac a   ddywedodd (...)*
        and PRT say.PAST.3S
        'and said: (...)'   (b1588 - Gen. 37.9)

Topic continuity can also occur with points of departure or framesetters. In this case, the adjunct-initial word order type III is used. The continued topic, the third person plural pronoun 'they' is in this case merely rendered by the inflectional ending of the verb. This type of continuous prodrop is always found when topics

remain the subjects of the immediately following sentences.

(85) a. *A   thrannoeth y   kymeryssant eu hynt*
        and next.day   PRT take.PAST.3P 3P way
        'And the next day they went on their way'
   b. *dros   Elenit y   doethant*
        through Elenit PRT come.PAST.3P
        '(and) they came through Elenit'
   c. *A   r nos honno y   buant   y rwng   Keri ac Arwystly (...)*
        and the night that   PRT be.PAST.3P to between Keri and Arwystly
        'and that night they were between Keri and Arwystly'
   d. *Ac odyna   y   kerdyssant   racdunt*
        and from.there PRT walk.PAST.3P against.3P
        'and from there they walked on'   (PKM 71.4-7)

A specific form of continuity of a certain theme from one sentence to the other
is the use of lead sentences (cf. T. A. Watkins (1993:126)). As already pointed
out above, it was possible in Middle Welsh narratives to continue the topic of the
immediately preceding sentence by repeating it in sentence-initial position in the
following sentence.

(86) a. *A   nawd a   rodes   Gereint itaw.*
        and mercy PRT give.PAST.3S Geraint to.3MS
        '('Mercy, Lord!') And Geraint granted him mercy.'   (Gereint 1051)

   b. *Amser a   doeth   udunt e   uynet e   gyscu, ac y*
        time   PRT come.PAST.3S to   go.INF to   sleep.INF and   to sleep.INF
        gyscu yd   aethant.
        PRT   go.PAST.3P
        'Time came for them to go to sleep, and to sleep they went.'(PKM 4.26-27)

Change

'Change' in context take various shapes and forms. There can be a change of scene
in the narrative, like a significant change of time or a change of location (see also
Poppe (2014:99) for a discussion of the idiom *mynet ymdeith* 'go away' in the
context of sudden changes in the narrative). Sentence-initial subordinate clauses
and adverbials like the different kinds of points of departure and framesetters
discussed above, can indicate discontinuity, in this case, a change of time:

(87) a. *Dyuot   a   oruc   Arthur hyt yn Esgeir Oeruel (...)*
        come.INF PRT do.PAST.3S Arthur until in Esgeir Oerfel
        'Arthur came to Esgeir Oeruel (...)'
   b. *Gellwng   kwn arnaw o   bop parth.*
        release.INF dogs on.3MS from every side
        'Dogs were let loose at him from all sides.'

c. *Y dyd hwnnw educher yd ymladawd   y   Gwydyl ac   ef.*
the day that   dawn   PRT fight.PAST.3S the Irish   with him
'The next day at dawn the Irish fought with him.'   (CO 1122-1124)

Stories often display many changes in referential points of view as well: subjects and topics can vary from sentence to sentence. Argument-initial verb-second word orders in Middle Welsh (subject-initial Type IVa and object-initial Type IVb) were specifically used to introduce new topics into the discourse or to change the discourse-topic from that of the preceding context. There is a specific set of 'conjunctive' pronouns in Middle Welsh (see Table 5.23 repeated below) used in contrastive contexts like topic shift, but noun phrases could also be used.

(88) a. *Ac yna   yd aeth   Llwytawc hyt yn Ystrat Yw*
and thence PRT go.PAST.3S Llwydawg until in Ystrat Yw
'And from there Llwydawg went to Ystrat Yw'
b. *ac yno y   kyuaruu   gwyr Llydaw ac   ef*
and there PRT meet.PAST.3S men Brittany with him
'and the men from Brittany met him there'
c. *ac yna y   lladawd   ef Hir Peissawc brenhin Llydaw (…)*
and there PRT kill.PAST.3S he Hir Peissawg king   Brittany
'and there he slew Hirpeissawg the king of Brittany (…)'
d. *Ac yna y   llas   **ynteu**.*
and there PRT kill.IMPERS he.CONJ
'and there was he himself slain.'
e. ***Twrch Trwyth** a   aeth   yna y rwng   Tawy ac Euyas*
Twrch Trwyth   PRT go.PAST.3S there to between Tawy and Euyas
'T.T. went from there to between Tawy and Euyas.'   (CO 1217-1221)

	Simple	Conjunctive	Reduplicated
I	*mi*	*minneu*	*miui*
you (sg.)	*ti*	*titheu*	*tidi*
he	*ef*	*ynteu*	*efo*
she	*hi*	*hitheu*	*hihi*
we	*ni*	*ninneu*	*nini*
you (pl.)	*chwi*	*chwitheu*	*chwichwi*
they	*wy*	*wynteu*	*wyntwy*

Table 5.23: Middle Welsh Preverbal subject pronouns, cf. (Willis, 1998:134)

The conjunctive pronoun can be used in apposition to a noun phrase to emphasise the contrast meaning 'however, meanwhile, on the other hand'. But they are also used to repeat or pick up the discourse topic again in which there is an intervening noun phrase that could otherwise be interpreted as the topic. This is shown in (89) where the topic *wynteu* 'they' has to be overtly mentioned, since there is a plural

noun phrase *merchet* 'daughters' intervening, but the men are the ones who deserve to get all the drinks and love, according to this passage.

(89) a. *A   r   gwyr racko a   gaffant   med a   bragawt yn   enrydedus*
   and the men   there PRT get.PAST.3P mead and bragget   PRED honourably
   'And these men get lots of mead and bragget'
  b. *ac a   gaffant   gorderchu merchet teyrned Ynys Prydein yn*
   and PRT get.PAST.3P woo.INF   daughters kings   Isle   Britain PRED
   diwaravun
   freely
   'and they get to woo the daughters of the kings of the Island of Britain'
  c. *ac wynteu   a   dylyant hynny*
   and they.CONJ PRT merit.3P that
   'And this they (i.e. the men) deserve'   (BR 7.12-15)

5.5.4   Interim Summary

In this section I have presented the results of the investigation of the most important notions of information structure in Middle Welsh. A particular Focus Articulation or Domain (PRESENTATIONAL, PREDICATE or CONSTITUENT FOCUS) does not automatically yield one word order type in particular. Presentational focus can be found in subject-initial sentences (often with copular verbs), but new protagonists can also be introduced by non-verbal sentences (Type IX) with presentational idioms like *llyma, dyna* 'here is, there is'. PREDICATE FOCUS can be found in most word order types, though verb-second orders are always preferred and thus most frequently found in narrative contexts. CONSTITUENT FOCUS, finally, puts the focussed constituent in sentence-initial position or uses a very specific construction altogether to identify a constituent (the *sef*-construction of Type VIII).

Givenness and in particular the referential state of subjects and objects turns out to play an important role in making more fine-grained distinctions between different types of argument-initial word order. Direct objects can only be in initial position under certain conditions: they are either focussed (contrastively or conveying new information) or they continue/repeat a highy familiar topic from the immediately preceding context.

Different types of word order are finally employed in textual cohesion. Devices like points of departure or framesetters can be used to continue or change the scene. Continuous narratives without change in topic or scene are rendered by verbal noun-initial orders (Type IVc or Type VI), but as soon as there is a break, the new scene, time, location or protagonist is introduced in sentence-initial position by word order type III or IVab.

Overall, Information Structure played a significant role in the 'choice' between the various word order types in Middle Welsh.

5.6 Variation in word order

A study of the variation in word order of a particular (period of a) language is only meaningful if it is possible to control for any variables that could potentially influence the type of word order. Variation in this sense can then be:

1. 'all other things being equal' sometimes we find word order Type X and sometimes Type Y
2. if we change 1 variable from the 'standard, base', we find Type Y rather than Type X

The first scenario entails true optionality, but before we can draw that conclusion, we have to be 100% sure that 'all other things' are 'equal' indeed. It requires a very systematic analysis of all possible factors that could influence word order. The second scenario presents a very different approach, but this can only be employed when there is general agreement on what the 'standard' or 'base' is.

'True optionality' can give room for authorial choice: variation in word order could in this case be due to a preference for one type of word order or the other. According to Currie, in Early Modern Welsh this authorial choice appears "to be a decisive factor in determining the frequency of use of AIV (absolute verb-initial - MM) order" (Currie, 2000:211). For Middle Welsh, Poppe in particular has studied the variation in word order and agrees with Cappelle that "free choice in making grammatical choices [which] is not an illusion in some cases" (Cappelle, 2009:197) (cf. Poppe (2014) among others).

In order to systematically control for 'all other things being equal', this chapter presents the role of various grammatical, pragmatic (or information-structural), usage-based and extra-linguistic factors. In many of these cases, it turns out there is in fact no random variation at all. For some factors, clear rules and/or constraints can be formulated because there are no examples of a particular word order type in the database. For others, the distribution of the different types of word order over the possible variables reveals significant patterns. But only when all these factors are systematically and thoroughly investigated and combined can we accurately describe the variation and possible limits thereof.

Middle Welsh grammar indeed had many 'options' in terms of word order: for positive main declarative sentences alone, we can identify 9 different types. But not all of those could be used for transitive sentences, with past indicative inflection, subjects that conveyed new information in a constituent focus domain - to mention just one possible combination of variables. As was shown in the previous section, when all these factors are combined, variation in Middle Welsh word order was, in fact, rather limited.

5.6.1 The 'choice' of a particular word order type

The question is whether we can take this 'rather limited' statement one step further: is it possible to predict the type of word order if we take into account all these grammatical, pragmatic and other factors? To a certain extent, this indeed

seems to be the case. Figure 5.1 is a schematic representation of a 'decision-making' tree yielding the word order found in each of the possible (grammatical) contexts in Middle Welsh. It starts with the Numeration, the collection of things the speaker/writer wants to get across next. Which words and functional items appear in the Numeration depends on the language. In Middle Welsh, for example, aspect and tense played a role in the grammar, but evidentiality - an important linguistic feature in Amerindian and Tibetan languages - did not. Tense and aspect are thus expected to be part of the Numeration in Middle Welsh, but evidentiality is not. With the intended message ready in the Numeration, the syntax can build the sentence that will ultimately yield one of the word order types. In transitive statements in narrative contexts, a possible 'algorithm' determining the word order of each sentence taking all factors in the sentence and the context investigated in this chapter into account looks like Figure 5.1. Needless to say this algorithm is a very basic representation based on the tendencies found in the present corpus. If more texts are added and more variables are taken into account, this will probably have to be extended to cover all the data. I present this now in the form of a decision-making algorithm, however, because it forces us to be extremely explicit and precise in our analyses of word order variation. It furthermore provides a good starting point for future studies in Middle Welsh word order.
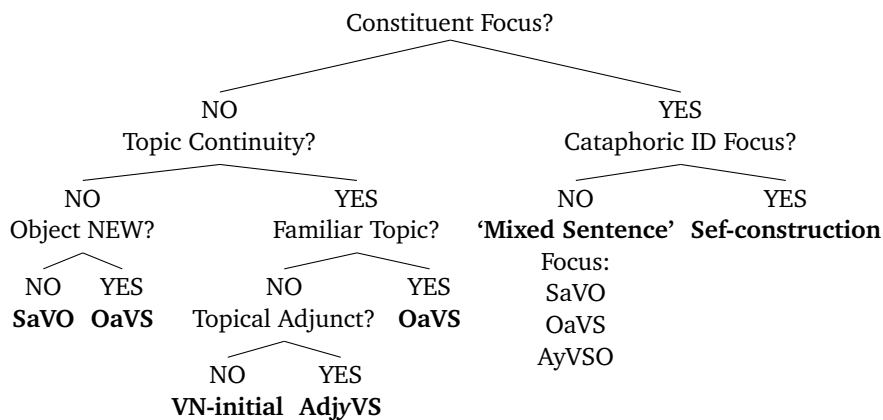
Constituent Focus?

    NO   YES

Topic Continuity?   Cataphoric ID Focus?

NO   YES   NO   YES

Object NEW?   Familiar Topic? **'Mixed Sentence'** **Sef-construction**

NO   YES   NO   YES   Focus:

SaVO **OaVS** Topical Adjunct? **OaVS**   SaVO

                          NO   YES   OaVS

                      VN-initial **AdjyVS**   AyVSO

Figure 5.1: Decision algorithm 'predicting' the word order pattern in Middle Welsh

If there is an adjunct, for example a connective adverb like *yna* 'then' or *ar hynny* 'upon that', it can be added in front of any of these word order patterns, rendering Adjunct-OaVS or Adjunct-SaVO, for example. Note furthermore that in the course of the Middle Welsh period, the *sef*-construction developed in various ways, some of which were no longer marked for focus (see Chapters 6 and 7).

    If the above was indeed correct for transitive sentences in Middle Welsh narratives, why can we still observe variation in word order in parallel passages or different manuscript versions of one and the same text. The context and grammar should be the same in these cases, so variation here requires further explanation.

One possibility already hinted at in the previous section is diachronic development of the language. In other words, the above-sketched decision-making scheme may have looked differently in different stages of the Middle Welsh language. Verbal-noun constructions were less frequently found towards the end of the Middle Welsh period, as were object-initial sentences. Manuscripts written by different scribes in different periods could give us more insight in the diachronic development.

Absolute verb-initial word order was for example only found under very restricted circumstances in Middle Welsh (oaths, idioms and quotative constructions as well as imperative and negative contexts). This changed in the Early Modern Welsh period: as Willis (1998) and others show, century after century, verb-initial order was increasingly found. But in the late Middle Welsh period, verbal-noun and object-initial orders were lost and at the same time the frequency of adjunct-initial order as well as periphrastic orders with the auxiliary *bod* 'to be' was already increasing. The implications of these diachronic developments in Late Middle Welsh are discussed in detail in Chapter 7.

5.7   Conclusion

As has become clear from this chapter, there are indeed various factors that could influence the word order of a sentence. They could work independently from each other, but many of those are likely to interact when used in different combinations. As Fried (2009:297) points out, even in modern languages speakers may have multiple options when it comes to choosing one particular word order pattern. Which patterns are available may be guided by discernible grammatical or pragmatic rules and cognitive principles, but it is not always all that clear "how the potential conflicts are resolved and whether or not they form coherent networks of combinations, both within individual languages and cross-linguistically." (Fried, 2009:297).

In Middle Welsh, there are nine main word order types (see Chapter 4). Some of those, for example, the argument-initial verb-second pattern contain different subtypes as well (i.e. subject-, object- or verbal-noun-initial orders). The main question I tried to answer in this chapter was which factors have an effect on the observed distribution of word order patterns. I systematically went through all language-internal and -external factors to determine if and how they exert any influence.

Starting with possible grammatical factors, verb-second sentences with verbal nouns in initial position (Type IVc) almost exclusively occur with verbs in the preterite tense. The significance of (preterite) tense as a factor is likely to be related to the fact that these verbal-noun patterns are the basic word order in indirect speech passages of narrative tales. In direct speech, on the other hand, subject-initial orders are most frequently attested. Another interesting finding concerns active vs. impersonal inflection. Impersonal verbs are most frequently found in verb-second sentences with initial adjuncts (Type III). This can be explained if the sentence-initial position is a topic position. The agent in impersonal and passive

constructions is unlikely to be the preferred topic because it is demoted. If there are other candidates to fill the topic position, for example adjunct frame- or scene-setters, these will be preferred in sentence-initial position. A final grammatical factor that plays a role in the preferred types of verb-second order is animacy of objects and indirect objects. Inanimate objects tend to appear in object-initial orders more frequently than expected. This might have something to do with information structure, to which I turned in the final section of this chapter.

The first information-structural notion under investigation was Givenness. After determining the referential status of the core constituents in the corpus, I found that direct objects in initial position almost exclusively convey New information. In this way, the 'Natural information flow' of the sentence (going from old to new) is disturbed and these object-initial sentences are thus marked. The only exceptions to this generalisation are familiar topics, mainly in the form of demonstrative pronouns referring back to the the last-mentioned item/person/concept in the immediately preceding context.

In terms of text cohesion we can make two further observations. First of all 'points of departure' or frame-setters clearly occur most often in verb-second sentences with adjunct-initial order in which they function as the topic. They can also be found with other types of verb-second order, for example in combination with subject-initial word order, but this is not the preferred pattern. A second observation in this context concerns textual continuity achieved by sentences starting with verbal nouns. To achieve close cohesion, these initial verbal nouns can be placed in sentence-initial position. They are either relying on an inflected verb in the previous sentence (Type VI) or are continued with an inflected form of the auxiliary 'to do' (Type IVc). Again this is part of the preferred narrative style.

Focus can finally be observed in the dedicated (reduced) cleft order called the 'Mixed Sentence' (Type V). Focus of the identificatory predicate can furthermore be found in the special *sef*-construction (Type VIII). Not all sentences with *sef* are focussed, however (see Chapter 7 for an overview of the diachronic development). In Chapter 6 I will examine four different case studies concerning the most important notions in information structure and how they are manifested in Middle Welsh syntax.