THE WELSH OF JESUS AND JOB: VERB-SECOND IN MIDDLE WELSH

Robert D. Borsley
University of Essex and Bangor University
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However, in Middle Welsh, positive declarative main clauses normally show verb-second order with a phrase of some kind commonly interpreted as a topic before the finite verb.

This may be a subject,

(1) A [’r guyrda] a doethant y gyt.
    and the nobles PRT come.PAST.3PL together
    ‘And the nobles came together.’ (PKM 90.27)
a complement,

(2) a [’r llall] a adawd yghyfeir y vorwyn. and the other PRT leave.PAST.3SG for the maiden ‘and the rest he left for the maiden.’ (Per 10.28)
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or an adjunct.

(3) Ac [yn diannot] y doeth tan o ’r nef.
and PRED immediate PRT come.PAST.3SG fire from the heaven
‘And without delay came fire from the sky.’ (Dewi 0086.218)
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(All examples are taken from Willis 1998 or Meelen 2016, and the primary text is given in brackets.)
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As Meelen (2016: 1) notes, quoting Evans (1990), the result was that

[t]o many people in Wales it was utterly embarrassing to hear “Jesus and Job speaking ‘bad Welsh’”.
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They also note that a similar verb-second requirement survives in Modern Breton (as discussed e.g. in Borsley and Kathol 2000).
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This is unexpected given that agreement in Middle Welsh as in Modern Welsh generally only occurs with pronouns. Normally, the default third person singular form of the verb appears with a non-pronominal NP (Borsley 2009).
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Thus, such sentences are doubly abnormal.
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Here, there is no agreement even though the initial NP, which is understood as a subject, is a pronoun. The default third person singular form of the verb appears.
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(5) Ny welei ef y twrwf rac tywyllet y nos.  
    NEG see.PAST.3SG he the commotion as darkness the night  
    ‘He could not see the commotion as the night was so black.’  
    (PKM 22.23)
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(6) A hynny ny thygywys idaw.  

‘And that didn’t work for him.’ (PKM 11. 2)
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   QU-PRT know.PRES.2SG kill.INF with sword
   ‘Do you know how to kill with a sword?’ (Peredur 0003.335)
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There is some evidence that preverbal particles form a complex verbal constituent with the immediately following verb in Modern Welsh (Harlow 1983, Willis 1998: 70-71, Borsley and Jones 2005: 57).
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Assuming Middle Welsh is the same, negative and interrogative examples like (5) and (7) have a finite verbal constituent in clause initial position.
In an imperative such as the following, the imperative verb is in initial position with nothing preceding:
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(8) Dos titheu ar Arthur y diwyn dy wallt.
    go.IPV.2SG you to Arthur to cut.INF 2SG hair
    ‘Go to Arthur to cut your hair.’ (CO 58)
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Forms of the copula may also appear in initial position.

(9) Mae uyg kallon yn tirioni vrthyt.
   be.pres.3sg 1sg heart prog grow-fond.inf with.2sg
   ‘My heart inclines toward you.’ (CO 0004.196)
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Some other apparent exceptions to the ban on sentence initial finite verbs will be discussed later.
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- Why do verbs agree with a preceding subject which is a topic in an abnormal sentence?

- Why do verbs not agree with a preceding subject which is focused in a mixed sentence?
2. Mixed (or cleft) sentences
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So-called mixed sentences survive in Modern Welsh, in which they are often called cleft sentences.

As Borsley (2015, 2020) shows, their basic properties can be accounted for on the assumption that the initial constituent is not a filler but one term of a hidden identity predication.

An English example like the following shows that the two terms of an identity predication can differ in person and other properties:

(10) I am the author of the paper.
Hence, there is no reason within this approach for the gap within the second constituent to have the same properties as the initial constituent and no reason to expect agreement.
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As in Modern Welsh, the hidden identity predication can be negated by an initial negative particle, as shown in (11).

(11) Nyt y dyn a doeth.
    NEG the man PRT come.3SG
    ‘It was not the man who came.’ (Meelen 2016: 200)
It is worth noting that early Middle Welsh clefts had a form of the copula preceding the focused constituent, as in (12) (Meelen 2016: 119).
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(12) Ys mi a ’e heirch.
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It seems, then, that the identity interpretation originally stemmed from a lexical element but subsequently became a property of the construction.
The mixed/cleft sentence in (4) can be assigned the following structure:
The CONTENT value of the mother makes it clear that the two daughters are interpreted as the two terms of an identity predication.
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The BIND feature is rather like feature of the same name in Bouma et al. (2001) and picks out one member of the SLASH set of a daughter (typically the only member) for some kind of special treatment.
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The single member of the BIND and SLASH sets is non-pronominal. This ensures that the gap is non-pronominal and hence does not trigger agreement.
Although the initial constituent of a cleft is not a filler, clefts share properties with head-filler-phrases such as *wh*-interrogatives.
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(14) [Pa dyn] a gwyn yn y maendy hwnn? which man PRT lament.PRES.3SG in the prison this ‘Which man laments in this prison?’ (CO 914)
This will have the following structure (ignoring semantics), in which the *wh*-phrase is a filler:
This will have the following structure (ignoring semantics), in which the \textit{wh}-phrase is a filler:

\begin{equation}
(15) \begin{align*}
&\left[ wh - \text{\textit{int}} - cl \right] \\
&\text{LOC|CAT [1]}\text{S[\textit{fin}]} \\
&\text{SLASH {} } \\
&\text{HD-DTR} \\
&\text{LOC [2]}\text{[CAT NP]} \\
&\text{WH {} } \\
&\text{Pa dyn} \\
&\text{a gwyn yn y maendy hwnn}
\end{align*}
\end{equation}
Both types of clause have two daughters, a phrase and a clause with a non-empty SLASH value.
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This can be captured by treating them as two subtypes of a type binary-slashed-head-phrase.
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(16) 

```
binary-slashed-head-phrase

head-filler-phrase  cleft-clause
```
For *binary-slashed-head-phrase*, we can propose the following constraint:
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\[(17) \text{binary-slashed-head-phrase} \Rightarrow \]

\[
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{SS} [\text{SLASH [1]}] \\
\text{HD} - \text{DTR [2]} \\
\text{DTRS} < [\text{]} > \oplus < [2] \begin{bmatrix}
\text{clause} \\
\text{SS} [\text{BIND } \{[3]\} \cup [1]] > \\
\end{bmatrix}
\end{bmatrix}
\]
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\left[ \text{SS} \left[ \text{SLASH} [1] \right] \\
\text{HD} - \text{DTR} [2] \\
\text{DTRS} < [] > \oplus < [2] \left[ \text{clause} \left[ \text{SS} \left[ \text{BIND} \{ [3] \} \cup [1] \right] \right] > \right]\end{align*}
\]

This ensures that a binary-slashed-head phrase has two daughters and that the second is a head which is a clause with one SLASH set member which is not part of the SLASH set of the mother.
This will be simplified later.
For head-filler phrases, we can propose the following constraint:
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(18) $hd-fill-ph \Rightarrow [DTRS < [SS[LOC[1]]], [SS[BIND \{\{1\}\}]] >]$
For head-filler phrases, we can propose the following constraint:

\[(18) \text{hd-fill-ph} \Rightarrow [DTRS < [SS[LOC[1]]], [SS[BIND \{[1]\}]] >] \]

This requires first daughter to be a filler with a LOCAL value identical the single member of the BIND set of the second daughter.
For clefts, we can propose this constraint:
(19) cleft-clause \Rightarrow \\

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{SS|LOC} \rightarrow \text{CONT} \left[ \text{QUANTS} \rightarrow \left[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{the} - \text{rel} \\
\text{INDEX} \{1\}
\end{array} \right] \right] > \oplus \text{L} \\
&\text{NUCL} \left[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{identity} - \text{rel} \\
\text{ARG1} \{3\} \\
\text{ARG2} \{1\}
\end{array} \right]
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{DTRS} < \left[ \text{SS|LOC|CONT} \begin{array}{c}
\text{INDEX} \{3\}\end{array} \right], \\
&\text{SS} \left[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{LOC} \begin{array}{c}
\text{CAT|HEAD|VFORM} \text{fin}
\end{array}
\end{array} \right] > \\
&\text{SS} \left[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{BIND} \{ [\text{CONT} \text{npro} \{\text{INDEX} \{1\}\}] \}
\end{array} \right]
\end{align*}
\]
This ensures (a) that a cleft clause has two daughters interpreted as the two terms of an identity predication and (b) that the second daughter has a non-pronominal NP in its BIND set, and hence that any gap is non-pronominal and does not trigger agreement.
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Therefore, some special constraint must be responsible for agreement between a verb and a preceding subject which is a topic.

There seem to be two possible approaches:

Either the verb agrees directly with the preceding subject

or it agrees with a subject gap and that agrees with the visible subject.
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It is not obvious how a verb could be made to agree with a preceding topic just in case it is interpreted as its subject.
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But a topic can have various roles: subject, complement, or adjunct.

It is not obvious how a verb could be made to agree with a preceding topic just in case it is interpreted as its subject.

This suggests that the verb agrees with a subject gap.
One way to ensure this is to require the SLASH value in a nominal-topic clause to be pronominal.
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This will mean that the gap in such a clause is pronominal, and if it is in subject position, it will trigger agreement like any other pronominal subject.
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We can do this by assuming that these clauses are not head-filler-phrases but the realization of another subtype of binary-slashed-head-phrase, which we can call nominal-topic-clause.
On this approach, (1) will have the following structure:
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\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(20)} & \quad \left[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{nom} - \text{top} - \text{cl} \\
\text{LOC} [\text{CAT} [1]S[\text{fin}]] \\
\text{SLASH} \{\}
\end{array} \right] \\
\text{HD-DTR} & \quad \left[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{LOC} [\text{CAT} \text{NP}[\text{TOPIC}+]] \\
\text{WH} \{\}
\end{array} \right] \\
& \quad \left[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{LOC} [\text{CAT} [1]] \\
\text{BIND} \{[5]\} \\
\text{SLASH} \{[5][\text{ppro}[\text{INDEX} [2]]]\}
\end{array} \right]
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(20) \quad \left[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{nom} - \text{top} - \text{cl} \\
\text{LOC} [\text{CAT} [1] \text{S}[fin]] \\
\text{SLASH} \{\}
\end{array} \right]
\]

The first daughter is a topic NP and is coindexed with a pronominal SLASH value in the second daughter.
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(21) \[ \textit{binary-slashed-head-phrase} \]

\[ \textit{head-filler-phrase} \quad \textit{nominal-topic-clause} \quad \textit{cleft-clause} \]
For nominal-topic clauses, we can propose the constraint in (22).
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(22) nominal-topic-clause  \Rightarrow

\[
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{DTRS} < \text{SS}\left[\text{LOC \ NP[TOPIC+, INDEX [1]]}\right], \\
\text{SS}\left[\text{BIND \ \{[\text{CONT ppro[INDEX [1]]}\}}] \right] > \\
\end{bmatrix}
\]
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(22) nominal-topic-clause  \Rightarrow

\[
\left[ \text{DTRS} < \left[ \text{SS[LOC NP[TOPI} \text{C}+, \text{INDEX [1]]]} \right], \\
\left[ \text{SS[BIND \{[CONT pron[INDEX [1]]]} \right] > \right] \\
\]

This says that the first daughter of a nominal-topic clause is a nominal topic and that the second daughter has a BIND set whose single member is a coindexed pronominial.
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(22) nominal-topic-clause  ⇒

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[DTRS} & \text{< [SS[LOC NP[TOPIC+, INDEX [1]]]],} \\
\text{[SS[BIND \{[CONT ppro[INDEX [1]]]}]]} & \text{> ]}
\end{align*}
\]

This says that the first daughter of a nominal-topic clause is a nominal topic and that the second daughter has a BIND set whose single member is a coindexed pronominal.

If the first daughter is pronominal, the topic and the coindexed pronominal will be identical in every respect, but if it is non-pronominal, they will differ in one respect. In either case, a gap will be pronominal, and if it is in subject position, there will be agreement.
Non-nominal-topic clauses such as (3), repeated here, can be analysed a type of head–filler-phrase.
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(3) Ac [yn diannot] y doeth tan o ’r nef. and PRED immediate PRT come.PAST.3SG fire from the heaven ‘And without delay came fire from the sky.’ (Dewi 0086.218)
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Both mixed and abnormal sentences involve an unbounded dependency, and on fairly standard HPSG assumptions, this means that the highest verb has a non-empty SLASH value.

Hence, one might propose that a finite verb other than the copula heading a positive declarative main clause must have a non-empty SLASH value.
Abnormal sentences and mixed/cleft sentences will conform to this constraint, but verb-initial positive declarative main clauses will not.
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But two sorts of example pose problems for this approach.
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    summon.INF PRT do.PAST.3SG Arthur soldiers the island this
    ‘Arthur summoned the soldiers of this island...’ (CO 922-3)

As with similar examples in Modern Breton (Borsley & Kathol 2000), there is no reason to think that these involve an unbounded dependency.
Firstly, there are examples with an initial non-finite verb separated from its complement, such as the following from Willis (1998: 52).

(23) Gwyssyaw a oruc Arthur milwyr yr ynys honn ... summon.INF PRT do.PAST.3SG Arthur soldiers the island this ‘Arthur summoned the soldiers of this island...’ (CO 922-3)

As with similar examples in Modern Breton (Borsley & Kathol 2000), there is no reason to think that these involve an unbounded dependency.

Rather, it is plausible to analyse the initial non-finite verb as a lexical argument in an argument composition structure, giving a structure like the following:
Gwyssyaw a oruc Arthur milwyr yr ynys honn
If this is right, the finite verb will not have a non-empty SLASH value.
Secondly, there are examples with an expletive pronoun in initial position, such as (25).
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(25) Ef a daw glaw gwaet …
   it PRT come.FUT.3SG rain blood
   ‘There will come a rain of blood …’ (BB 125.5)
Secondly, there are examples with an expletive pronoun in initial position, such as (25).

(25) Ef a    daw  glaw gwaet …
      it    PRT come. FUT.3SG rain  blood
    ‘There will come a rain of blood …’ (BB 125.5)

Initial expletives are rare in early texts and restricted to unaccusative contexts, but common in later texts and not restricted in this way (Willis, 1998:128).
The obvious structure is something like the following:
The obvious structure is something like the following:

(26)  
```
      S
     /\  
    NP S
   /   /
  Ef V  NP
 /     /
a daw glaw gwaet
```
The obvious structure is something like the following:

(26)

Again, there is no reason to think that there is an unbounded dependency here, and so no reason to think that the finite verb has a non-empty SLASH value.
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(26)

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This suggests that a different approach is required.
There are two obvious informal ways to describe the Middle Welsh verb-second restriction.
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- A finite verb other than the copula cannot appear in initial position in a positive declarative main clause.
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• A finite verb other than the copula cannot appear in initial position in a positive declarative main clause.

• A finite verb other than the copula must appear in second position in a positive declarative main clause.
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- A finite verb other than the copula cannot appear in initial position in a positive declarative main clause.

- A finite verb other than the copula must appear in second position in a positive declarative main clause.

The second description is not easy to formalise. It would be easy enough if the expression that precedes the finite verb was always a sister, but while this may be the case in examples like (23) above with an initial non-finite verb, it is clearly not the case in abnormal sentences and mixed/cleft sentences as analysed above, and it is presumably not the case either in examples like (25) with an initial expletive.
This suggests that the first description is the one to incorporate into an analysis.
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An analysis requires a way to distinguish standard verbs from the copula.
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Following Bonami et al. (2016) and Borsley (2019), I assume a feature LID whose value is unique to each distinct lexeme, the words that realize it, and the phrases that they head and that \textit{standard-verb} is a supertype of the LID values of all standard verbs while the copula is [LID \textit{copula}].
If we assume that main clauses are [ROOT +] and positive clauses
[POL(ARITY) pos(itive)] and that the order of elements in the DTRS list
of a clause corresponds to the observed order, we might propose the
following constraint for Middle Welsh:
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\[
\begin{align*}
\text{declarative - clause} \\
\text{SS|LOC|CAT} & \quad \text{HEAD} \left[ \text{VFORM fin} \right] \\
\text{DTRS} & < [1], \ldots > \\
\left[ 1 \right] & \neq \text{SS|LOC|CAT|HEAD} \left[ \text{LID standard-verb, VFORM fin} \right]
\end{align*}
\]
If we assume that main clauses are [ROOT +] and positive clauses [POL(ARITY) pos(itive)] and that the order of elements in the DTRS list of a clause corresponds to the observed order, we might propose the following constraint for Middle Welsh:

\[
(27) \quad \text{declarative – clause} \quad \begin{cases} \text{SS|LOC|CAT|HEAD [VFORM fin]} \\ \text{DTRS < [1], \ldots >} \end{cases} \Rightarrow [1] \neq \text{[SS|LOC|CAT|HEAD [LID standard-verb, VFORM fin]]}
\]

This says that the first daughter of a finite positive declarative main clause may not be a finite standard verb.
But there is a problem here. As analyzed above, both abnormal sentences and mixed/cleft sentences will involve a structure of the following form:
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(28) \[
S \\
[ \text{ROOT} + \ ] \\
[ \text{SLASH} \{\} ] \\
\]

\[
\text{XP} \\
\]

\[
S \\
[ \text{ROOT} + \ ] \\
[ \text{SLASH} \{[[]]\} ] \\
\]

But there is a problem here. As analyzed above, both abnormal sentences and mixed/cleft sentences will involve a structure of the following form:

(28) \[
\begin{array}{c}
S \\
\text{ROOT +} \\
\text{SLASH} \{\}
\end{array}
\]
\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{XP} \\
S \\
\text{ROOT +} \\
\text{SLASH} \{[]\}
\end{array}
\]

In both types of clause, the lower S is a head and hence, on standard assumptions, is [ROOT+] like the higher S.
But there is a problem here. As analyzed above, both abnormal sentences and mixed/cleft sentences will involve a structure of the following form:

(28)

\[
S
\begin{array}{c}
\text{ROOT + [ \hfil ] } \\
\text{SLASH {[]} }
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{XP } \\
\text{S} \\
\text{ROOT + [ \hfil ] } \\
\text{SLASH {[]} [[][]]}
\end{array}
\]

In both types of clause, the lower S is a head and hence, on standard assumptions, is [ROOT+] like the higher S.

But clearly the lower S can and normally will have a finite verb as its first daughter.
One response to this problem would be to stipulate that the head in such clauses is always [ROOT –]. But this is only possible in a version of HPSG assuming a default Head Feature Principle.
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An alternative is suggested by Bonami et al. (2016), who propose that Modern Welsh has not a two-way distinction between main and subordinate clauses, but a three-way distinction between simple main, simple complement, and unbounded dependency clauses, encoded as the value of a feature STATUS.
One response to this problem would be to stipulate that the head in such clauses is always [ROOT –]. But this is only possible in a version of HPSG assuming a default Head Feature Principle.

An alternative is suggested by Bonami et al. (2016), who propose that Modern Welsh has not a two-way distinction between main and subordinate clauses, but a three-way distinction between simple main, simple complement, and unbounded dependency clauses, encoded as the value of a feature STATUS.

For Middle Welsh we can propose that the third type is not unbounded dependency clauses, but extended clauses in which a basic clause combines with a preceding sister of some kind. This will include both unbounded dependency clauses and clauses with an initial expletive.
This gives structures like (29) instead of structures like (28).
This gives structures like (29) instead of structures like (28).

(29)

```
S
[STATUS \textit{extended} ]
[SLASH \{\} ]

XP
S
[STATUS \textit{extended} ]
[SLASH \{[\]]\} ]
```
Assuming that simple non-extended main clauses are [STATUS main], we can reformulate (27) as follows:
Assuming that simple non-extended main clauses are $[\text{STATUS} \ main]$, we can reformulate (27) as follows:

$\exists DTRS \triangleleft [1, \ldots]$

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{declarative \ - \ clause} \\
\begin{array}{c}
\text{SS|LOC|CAT} \\
\text{HEAD} \\
\text{DTRS} \triangleleft [1, \ldots]
\end{array}
\end{array}
\Rightarrow
\begin{array}{c}
\text{VFORM fin} \\
\text{STATUS main} \\
\text{POL pos}
\end{array}
\]

\[ [1] \neq [\text{SS|LOC|CAT|HEAD} \ [\text{LID standard-verb, VFORM fin}]] \]
Assuming that simple non-extended main clauses are [STATUS main], we can reformulate (27) as follows:

(30) \[
\left[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{declarative clause} \\
\text{SS|LOC|CAT} \\
\text{HEAD} \\
\text{DTRS < [1], ... >}
\end{array} \right] \\
\Rightarrow \\
\left[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{SS|LOC|CAT} \\
\text{HEAD} \\
\text{LID standard-verb, VFORM fin}
\end{array} \right] \\
\neq \left[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{SS|LOC|CAT} \\
\text{HEAD} \\
\text{LID standard-verb, VFORM fin}
\end{array} \right]
\]

This says that the first daughter of a simple finite positive declarative main clause may not be a finite standard verb.
It will rule out a finite standard verb in initial position in simple finite positive declarative main clauses, but have no effect on the second daughter in (29) because it is [STATUS extended].
It will rule out a finite standard verb in initial position in simple finite positive declarative main clauses, but have no effect on the second daughter in (29) because it is [STATUS \textit{extended}].

It will allow a finite copula in initial position in simple finite positive declarative main clauses and will allow a finite verb in initial position in negative declaratives, interrogatives, and imperatives.
Some further data
Some further data

This approach might seem to have a problem with some further acceptable verb-initial clauses, e.g. the bracketed second conjunct in (31).
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(31)… ac yna y kyuodes sabot ac [a elwis ar
    and there PRT rise.PAST.3SG Sabot and PRT call.PAST.3SG on
bown]
Bown
‘And then Sabot arose and called on Bown …’ (YBH 2825-8)
Some further data

This approach might seem to have a problem with some further acceptable verb-initial clauses, e.g. the bracketed second conjunct in (31).

(31)… ac yna y kyuodes sabot ac [a elwis ar
    and there PRT rise.PAST.3SG Sabot and PRT call.PAST.3SG on
    bown]
    Bown
    ‘And then Sabot arose and called on Bown …’ (YBH 2825-8)

However, Willis (1998) argues that such clauses involve an unexpressed topic and an unbounded dependency of some kind.
One might assume that they have a phonologically empty topic.
One might assume that they have a phonologically empty topic.

But following Müller’s (2014: 101) analysis of similar German ‘topic-drop’ sentences, one can analyse them as involving a unary branching structure in which an S[ SLASH { } ] has a single daughter, which is an S[ SLASH { NP } ].
(32)

S
[STATUS $extended$
[SLASH {}]]

| S | S |

a elwis ___ ar bown
Since this structure is [STATUS extended], it will be unaffected by the constraint in (30).
This structure can be assigned to a type *unexpressed-topic-clause*. Apart from having just a single daughter (which is a head), this will be similar to the type *binary-slashed-head-phrase* introduced above. The similarities can be captured by treating them as two subtypes of a type *slashed-head-phrase*. 
This structure can be assigned to a type *unexpressed-topic-clause*. Apart from having just a single daughter (which is a head), this will be similar to the type *binary-slashed-head-phrase* introduced above. The similarities can be captured by treating them as two subtypes of a type *slashed-head-phrase*.

(33)  
```
slashed-head-phrase
    /
   /\   
binary-slashed-head-phrase  unexpressed-topic-clause
    /
   /\   
head-filler-phrase  nominal-topic-clause  cleft-clause
```
The main properties associated with \textit{binary-slashed-head-phrase} in (17) above can now be assigned to \textit{slashed-head-phrase}. 
The main properties associated with binary-slashed-head-phrase in (17) above can now be assigned to slashed-head-phrase.

(34) slashed-head-phrase ⇒

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{SS} \begin{bmatrix}
\text{LOC} | \text{CAT} | \text{HEAD} [\text{STATUS extended}]
\end{bmatrix} \\
&\text{HD} - \text{DTR} [2] \\
&\text{DTRS} \text{ L} \oplus < [2] \begin{bmatrix}
\text{clause} \\
\text{SS} \begin{bmatrix}
\text{BIND} \{[3]\} \\
\text{SLASH} \{[3]\} \cup [1]\end{bmatrix}
\end{bmatrix} >
\end{align*}
\]
The main properties associated with *binary-slashed-head-phrase* in (17) above can now be assigned to *slashed-head-phrase*.

(34) \[ \text{slashed-head-phrase} \Rightarrow \]

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{SS}[\text{LOC}|\text{CAT}|\text{HEAD}[\text{STATUS extended}]] \\
&\text{HD} - \text{DTR} \ [2] \\
&\text{DTRS L} \oplus < \ [2] \ [\text{clause}] \\
&\text{SS} [\text{BIND } \{[3]\}] \\
&\text{SLASH } \{[3]\} \cup \ [1]] >
\end{align*}
\]

This ensures that a slashed-head phrase is [STATUS extended] and has a head daughter which is a clause with one SLASH set member which is not part of the SLASH set of the mother.
Both *binary-slashed-head-phrase* and *unexpressed-topic-clause* will be subject to very simple constraints.
Both binary-slashed-head-phrase and unexpressed-topic-clause will be subject to very simple constraints.

(35) binary-slashed-head-phrase \( \Rightarrow \) [DTRS < [phrase] > \( \oplus \) < [] >]
Both *binary-slashed-head-phrase* and *unexpressed-topic-clause* will be subject to very simple constraints.

\[
(35) \textit{binary-slashed-head-phrase} \Rightarrow [\text{DTRS} < [\text{phrase}] > \oplus < [] >]
\]

This ensures that a binary-slashed-head phrase has two daughters (the second of which is a head as a result of the constraint on *slashed-head-phrase*).
Both *binary-slashed-head-phrase* and *unexpressed-topic-clause* will be subject to very simple constraints.

(35) \[ \text{binary-slashed-head-phrase} \Rightarrow [\text{DTRS} < [\text{phrase}] > \oplus < [] >] \]

This ensures that a binary-slashed-head phrase has two daughters (the second of which is a head as a result of the constraint on *slashed-head-phrase*).

(36) \[ \text{unexpressed-topic-clause} \Rightarrow [\text{DTRS} < [] >] \]
Both *binary-slashed-head-phrase* and *unexpressed-topic-clause* will be subject to very simple constraints.

(35) \( \text{binary-slashed-head-phrase} \Rightarrow [\text{DTRS} < \langle \text{phrase} \rangle] \oplus < [] > ] \)

This ensures that a binary-slashed-head phrase has two daughters (the second of which is a head as a result of the constraint on *slashed-head-phrase*).

(36) \( \text{unexpressed-topic-clause} \Rightarrow [\text{DTRS} < [ ] > ] \)

This ensures that an *unexpressed-topic-clause* has a single daughter (which is a head as a result of the constraint on *slashed-head-phrase*).
Both *binary-slashed-head-phrase* and *unexpressed-topic-clause* will be subject to very simple constraints.

(35) \[ \text{binary-slashed-head-phrase} \Rightarrow [\text{DTRS} < [\text{phrase}] > \oplus < [] > ] \]

This ensures that a binary-slashed-head phrase has two daughters (the second of which is a head as a result of the constraint on *slashed-head-phrase*).

(36) \[ \text{unexpressed-topic-clause} \Rightarrow [\text{DTRS} < [] > ] \]

This ensures that an *unexpressed-topic-clause* has a single daughter (which is a head as a result of the constraint on *slashed-head-phrase*).

A full constraint will also need to ensure the appropriate semantics with an unexpressed topic.
Conclusion
Conclusion

With appropriate types and constraints, it is not too difficult to account for the complexities of Middle Welsh verb-second.
Primary texts
Primary texts


Dewi = *Buched Dewi* ‘The Life of St David’

Per = *Peredur Historia Peredur vab Efrawc*, ed. Glenys Witchard Goetinck (Caerdydd: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru, 1976)

PKM = *Pedeir Keinc y Mabinogi*, ed. Ifor Williams (Caerdydd: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru, 1930)

YBH = *Ystoria Bown de Hamtwn*, ed. Morgan Watkins (Caerdydd: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru, 1958)
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Meelen, M. (2016), Why Jesus and Job Spoke Bad Welsh: The Origin and Distribution of V2 Orders in Middle Welsh, Utrecht: LOT.