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Appendix: Mimicks

In reporting the four properties of the double subject construction, certain structures were set aside because although they resemble it and may have that analysis in Breton, they also have parallels in English and French where they are analyzed quite differently.

(i) Secondary predicate expressed in English by *with*-phrases or by *have*, but in French sometimes as bare AP secondary predicates of *be*. Some resemble internal broad subjects:

(1) Me am eus aour hag arc'hant leiz ma godelloù!
 I 1SG have gold and money full my pockets
 I have my pockets full of gold and money!
 cf. French: J'ai de l'or et d'argent plein mes poches!
 (UF-KB 1: 156)

(2) marh ar roue a ziwade leiz e fri
 horse of.the king R bled full his nose
 the king's horse's nose wall bleeding a lot
 (HJ-MB:163)

(3) [A-boan m'en doa lakaet ar Rusian kentañ e dreid war alez veur ar c'hamp]
 ma voe an holl brizonidi all o fri e toull ar prenestr
 that were the all prisoners other their nose in hole of window
 [Barely had the first Russian put his feet on the great alley of the field] that all the other
 prisoners had their noses in the window.
 cf. French: Je suis/reste le/*mon nez à la fenêtre.
 (DA-EP: 55).

Some resemble agreeing broad subjects:

(4) hag e chom-is **va fri** war ar gloued
 and R stayed-I my nose on.the fence
 and I stayed with my nose on the fence (i.e. watching others depart)
 cf. French: Je suis resté le nez collé à la barrière
 (DA-EP: 78)

(5) ma chom-en sabaturet ha digor **ma genou** da sellet outo.
 so stayed-I amazed and open my mouth to look at.them
 So I stayed amazed and with my mouth open to look at them.
 cf. French: Je suis resté la bouche ouverte
 (GY-ST: 164)

(6) Bet on bet oc'h embauchiñ er porched e Kastell,
 e vez-ent tout **ur pech** war o brec'h
 R were-they all a hoe on their arms
 Je suis allé embaucher sous le porche à Sait-Pol. Ils avaient tous une houe sous le bras
 (MP-BD: 140)

- (7) en eur lavared dezañ; e oa; jalouz hag aon ennañ;
 in telling to.him R was jealous and fear in.him
 in telling him that he was jealous and afraid

(FV-PV 2: 155)

Such secondary predication exists in Breton quite independently of the double subject construction, as in the following example where *Enoret* is the narrow subject of the main predicate, predicated of an AP containing its own subject:

- (8) ne oa ket dereat distrei d'ar Roc'h Toull goullou hor godellou
 NEG was not proper return to the R T empty our pockets
 ce n'était pas correct de retourner au Roc'h Toull avec nos poches ... vides

(KJ-RT: 86)

- (9) Ne oa ket deuet an Enoret goullou e zaouarn gantañ
 NEG was not come the Enoret empty his hands with him
 Enoret did not come empty-handed.

(BY-AG: 50)

- (10) Nondedyah, p' he-doa gwelet he hlujar drebet eun askel dezi
 when 3SGF-had seen her chicken eaten a winng to.her
 when she had see her chicken with its wing eaten

(MM-M: 17)

Of particular frequency is *X mond/mond [diaes/teñval X's benn]* 'X goes/comes [= becomes] uneasy / dark[=angry] X's head', where the bracketed constituent might be a secondary predicate of the type *his nose to the window*. Simplex examples without broad subjects are *Setu perak ez a diaes e benn*, 'that's why R goes.he uneasy his head', *Diaes e benn, an Tunk a yae dre ruioù Ploueskad...* 'uneasy his head, the Tunk R went through [the] streets of Ploueskad' (LI-EK)

- (11) Ken ha mar doa deuet Soaz [PRO da vond diêz he fenn], diêz [PRO da goll he fenn].
 Until S's head became worried, worried to lose her head.

(MM-M 1: 30)

- (12) An Tunk ivez 'ta a dlee bezañ diaes e; benn[, ha setu perak ez eas a-du gant ar
 Republikaned.]
 The Tunk [sc. someone who had lost his possessions to the priests] also had to be worried
 in his head [and that's why he agreed with the Rrepublicans].

(LI-EK I:178).

- (13) Ha Fantig en eur e lenn dond da veza teñval he fenn ha lavared d'ar roue:
 and Fantig it reading come to be dark her head and say to the king

(JK-KO)

- (14) Ar roue kêz, pa welas, a deuas da veza teñval e benn [ha d'en em jala forz].
 the king poor, when he.saw, R came to be dark his head [and ...]

(JK-KO)

(ii) When a broad subject rather than an argument apparently controls PRO, itself a broad subject or not, it is not possible to ensure that there is involved a PRO under obligatory control by an argument, and so an alternative analysis is available: e.g. *the car had.to.be PRO broken an axle to.it* may instead be *the car had.to.be an axle; PRO; be broken t; to.it* with extraposition of *an axle*, or alternatively simply a failure of *an axle* to raise or PRO being expletive, *the car had.to.be (PRO=expl) be broken an axle to.it*. Of this type are the following:

- (15) An eil, pelloh, er memez tu, e daou pe dri dachadig all, bihannoh c'hoaz, izel war gostez an dorgenn, lakeet enno plant olivez yaouank, glaz o deliou, gand tud eur hibbutz en em staliet a nevez 'zo hag a dle beza kuzet o zeltennou pe o habanennou, eur pennad euz an hent, uhelloh en eun draonienn striz.
by folk of a kibbutz newly installed that must be PRO hidden their tents ...
(MY-MI: 149)
- (16) Ar stankou-ze, diouz ma veze, a ranke beza cheñchet **plas dezo** beb an amzer.
The pools-these, as it was, R had.to.be be changed place to.them now-and-then.
(VS-MR: 77)
- (17) Ar harr evid d'e rojou trei brao, heb ober re a drouz, a ranke **e ahel** beza lardet aliez a-walh.
the car despite to his wheels turn well, without doing too.much of noise, R had.to.be its axle be greased often enough.
(VS-MR: 28)
- (18) ez eus amañ, peadra, evid Juloded Sant-Tegonec, da veza lorh enno [...]
is here what for J S T to be pride in.them
there is enough here for the Julods (rich folk) of S-T to be proud of
(SV-PV 2: 130)

Similarity:

- (19) Diouz an noz, arabad eo beza pres warnor o hortoz koan: 8 eur, 9 eur...
at night forbidden is be haste on.one a-waiting dinner: 8 o'clock, 9 o'clock
(FV-RM)

The frequent locution *heb gouzoud da X* 'without know to X', i.e. 'without X knowing', belongs here.

(iii) Quantifiers picking up the narrow subject, whether they precede or follow:

- (20) Holl e oa jalous outi ar merc'hed yaouank [hag ivez ar gwraez a oa eno].
all R was jealous to.her the women young
The young women were all jealous of her [and also the women that were there].
(UF-KB 1: 225)
- (21) Gwelloc'h e ve de-omp, bremañ, mont pep hini deus e du...
better R would.be to-us, now, go each one from his side
It would be better for us, now, to go each in his (own) direction...
(BY-AG: 342)

Floating quantifiers can even include a pronominal link:

- (22) The Homeric infinitives, *ídmén* and *ídménai*, and *eidénai* are **none of them** inherited[.]
(Sihler 1995: 573).
- (23) Ar pont a-raok hag ar pont a-dreñv a oa **pep a doull enno** evit diskenn
the bridge before and the bridge behind R was each a hole in.them for descending
(BY-AG: 288f.)

The following would seem an internal broad subject, if not for the French analogue:

- (24) Setu e veze, evel-se, pep hini **he zro** da dommañ ar re all
 thus R was, thus, each one her turn to warm the others
 C'était (à) chacune son tour de chauffer les autres

(BY-AG: 265)

Unclear is:

- (25) Ha bremañ ez eus moteurien **toud** enno
 and now R is motors all in.them
 And now there are motors in all of them.

(MM-M 8: 28)

(iv) Pronominal *a*-forms picking up the narrow subject in mostly but in some dialects not only negative clauses, a different phenomenon (Timm 1994, German 2007):

- (26) Honnez n'he-deus ket greet sin ar groaz anezi [a-raog treuzi ar ster!]
 she NEG 3SGF has not made sign the cross her
 She had not made the sign of the cross before crossing the river!

(MM-M 11: 32)

So irrelevant to broad subjects seem the fascinating (showing a greater extent of the phenomenon than any reported in the literature):

- (27) Med hi 'lavar: "gwelloh deom ni ahanom mond da Kemper da glask ahanom, ni mond da di Andre."
 But she says: "better to us us us go to Kemper to search [for things] us, us go to [the] house [of] Andre [sc. a department store]."

(MM-M 11: 19)

- (28) Disadorn e oam bet ahanom e-barz Kemper c'hoaz
 Saturday R were we been us in Kemper again

(MM-M 11: 19)

- (29) [Setu, a-benn diou eur nemed kard bennag]
 e oa degouezet ahanom e-barz Kemper avad.
 [So, at about 13:45] R was arrived us in Kemper indeed.

(MM-M 11: 20)

(v) There are very rare instances in the spontaneous oral corpus only where the broad subject might be repeating the preposition of its pronominal link (though it is not excluded that *e-barz ar re-ze en enno* is a possible constituent):

- (30) Hag a-benn 'zo glao oh ober, e-barz ar re-ze ne chom ket **an dour** en enno, kwa.
 and when is rain a-doing inside these NEG stays not the water in in.them
 And when it's raining, in these water doesn't stay in them.

(MM-M 11: 20)

- (31) D'an neb a dlee dont er sal pe er gambr o diskoueze dezhañ.
 To whoever R ought come into.the hall or into.the room, he them showed to.him

(AF-M: 177)