

## Data

Middle Welsh complementizers merge with forms of the verb 'be', creating new forms of 'be' with specialized functions. When new complementizers emerge, they are incompatible with these forms, although one of these complementizers later spreads.

1

Middle Welsh		
Affirmative main clauses	Negative main clauses	if-clauses etc.
ə <b>maɪ</b> AFF be. PRES.3SG	nɪd <b>ədi</b> NEG be.PRES.3SG	ɟs <b>ədi</b> if be.PRES.3SG
ər <b>ɟið</b> AFF be.IMPF.3SG	nɪd <b>ɟið</b> NEG be.IMPF.3SG	ɟs <b>ɟið</b> if be.IMPF.3SG
ə <b>bi:ð</b> AFF be.FUT.3SG	nɪ <sup>s</sup> <b>vi:ð</b> NEG be.FUT.3SG	ɟs <b>bi:ð</b> if be.FUT.3SG

(Topic/Focus) + C + V + S + O

→  
Emergence of 'r-be'  
and 'd-be' forms with  
specialized functions

2

Late Middle Welsh		
Affirmative main clauses	Negative main clauses	if-clauses etc.
<b>maɪ</b> AFF.be. PRES.3SG	<b>dədi</b> NEG.be.PRES.3SG	ɟs <b>ədi</b> if be.PRES.3SG
<b>ɟið</b> AFF.be.IMPF.3SG	<b>dɟið</b> NEG.be.IMPF.3SG	ɟs <b>ɟið</b> if be.IMPF.3SG
<b>bi:ð</b> be.FUT.3SG	<sup>s</sup> <b>vi:ð</b> NEG be.FUT.3SG	ɟs <b>bi:ð</b> if be.FUT.3SG

↓  
Emergence of new affirmative main  
clause complementizers **mi** and **ve**

4

Modern Welsh		
Affirmative main clauses	Negative main clauses	if-clauses etc.
<b>*mi/*ve</b> <b>maɪ</b> AFF be. PRES.3SG	<b>dədi</b> NEG.be.PRES.3SG	ɟs <b>ədi</b> if be.PRES.3SG
<b>(mi)/*ve</b> <b>ɟið</b> AFF be.IMPF.3SG	<b>dɟið</b> NEG.be.IMPF.3SG	ɟs <b>ɟið</b> if be.IMPF.3SG
<b>(mi/ve)</b> <b>bi:ð</b> AFF be.FUT.3SG	<sup>s</sup> <b>vi:ð</b> NEG be.FUT.3SG	ɟs <b>bi:ð</b> if be.FUT.3SG

←  
Spread of **mi**  
(Northern varieties)  
+  
Optionality of  
complementizers

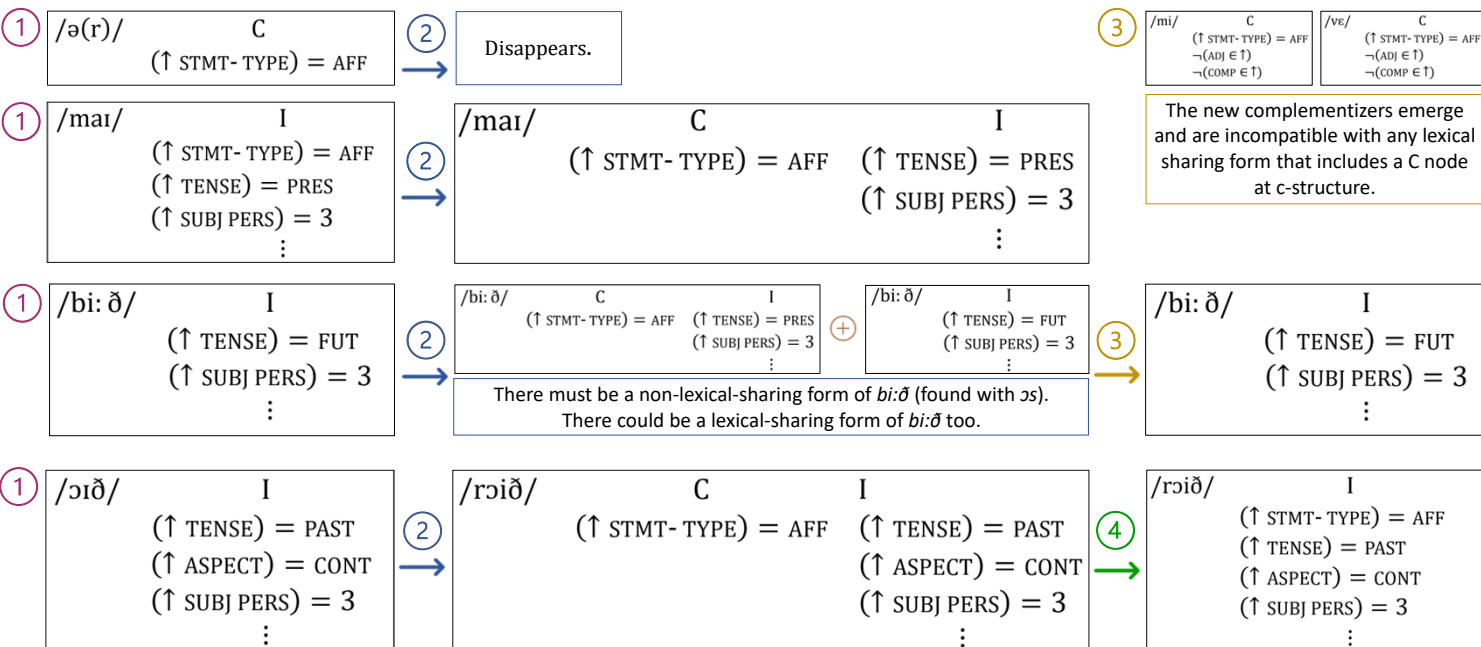
3

Early Modern Welsh		
Affirmative main clauses	Negative main clauses	if-clauses etc.
<b>maɪ</b> AFF.be. PRES.3SG	<b>dədi</b> NEG.be.PRES.3SG	ɟs <b>ədi</b> if be.PRES.3SG
<b>ɟið</b> AFF.be.IMPF.3SG	<b>dɟið</b> NEG.be.IMPF.3SG	ɟs <b>ɟið</b> if be.IMPF.3SG
<b>mi/ve</b> <b>bi:ð</b> AFF be.FUT.3SG	<sup>s</sup> <b>vi:ð</b> NEG be.FUT.3SG	ɟs <b>bi:ð</b> if be.FUT.3SG

(Focus) + (C) + V + S + O

## Analysis

Partitioned lexical sharing entries capture that *r-be* or *d-be* forms have the same distribution as sequences of complementizers and verbs, and that they cannot co-occur with complementizers. A lexical sharing entry establishes a correspondence between a single s-string element and two c-structure nodes.



## Conclusions

- Speakers can acquire lexical sharing entries on the basis of analogy: evidence from distribution of *mi* and *ve*. (This is constrained lexical sharing – see Lowe 2015, 2016).
- The spread of *mi* points to the lexical nature of the restriction + importance of the role of analogy (specialized forms that erode to become more similar to their equivalent dependent forms lose lexical sharing entries first). Reinforces validity of locating the explanation in the lexicon.

## References

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