Grammaticalization of Reflexive Se from Latin to Spanish: An Object Agreement Cycle

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Introduction

• As with other Romance languages, Spanish has various "types" of se-constructions; i.e. reflexive se (1), passive se (2), etc.

(1) Juan se lava.  (2) Se destruyeron las casas.
Juan Reflexive "Juan washes himself."  Pass Passive  "The houses were destroyed."

• What is se in Spanish?
  o a functional head/inflection (Cuervo 2003, Folli & Harley 2005, a.o.)
  o a pronominal argument (Raposo & Uriagereka 1996, D'Alessandro 2007)
  o either/or depending on type (Dobrovie-Sorin 1998, Kempchinsky 2006).

• Diachronic data from Latin, Old Spanish (OS), and Middle Spanish (MidS), lends support to the analysis of Modern Spanish (MS) se as a functional head/inflectional element.

• In MS, following Cuervo (2003, 2004), Kempchinsky (2004), Folli & Harley (2005), MacDonald (to appear), I assume se is the spell out of v or Voice.

Main claims:

A) In Latin and Old Spanish se was a reflexive pronominal argument DP; in MidS se is reanalyzed as a D head; in MS se is reanalyzed as a functional head marking valency.²

B) The change in status is due to a process of grammaticalization; i.e. a subtype of object agreement cycle summarized in (3).

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1 E-mail: mmaddox2@illinois.edu; website: http://www.spanport.illinois.edu/people/mmaddox2
2 Latin (200 BCE-500 CE), Old Spanish (1200-1400), Middle Spanish (1400-1600), Modern Spanish (1600-present).
1. The Object Agreement Cycle (Gelderen 2011)

1.1 Object pronouns become object agreement inflection

- Gelderen's Minimalist approach to language change - based on principles of economy.

Be a head rather than a phrase.

- Examples of reanalysis due to the HPP: demonstrative pronoun that > complementizer, adverb > aspect marker, pronoun > agreement, etc.

Stages of the Object Agreement Cycle

Stage (a) - The main verb moves to v.
   As an XP the object pronoun can be modified, coordinated or shifted/scrambled.

Stage (b) - The clitic-pronoun merges in theta-position (Spec,V), but moves as a head, following Chomsky (1995).
   An additional coreferential full nominal is not allowed; i.e., no doubling.

Stage (c) - The clitic-pronoun is reanalyzed as a higher functional head or as features of that head.
   Renewal: a coreferential pro or full pronominal can occur in Spec,V; i.e., doubling.
(5) **Stage (a):** Pronoun = DP  

\[
\begin{array}{c}
  \text{vP} \\
  \text{v} \\
  \text{VP} \\
  \text{DP} \\
  \text{V'} \\
  \text{V} \\
\end{array}
\]

**Stage (b):** Pronoun merges as DP, moves as D

\[
\begin{array}{c}
  \text{vP} \\
  \text{v} \\
  \text{VP} \\
  \text{V + D + v} \\
  \text{V'} \\
  \text{<DP>} \\
  \text{<V>} \\
\end{array}
\]

**Stage (c):** Pronoun = v

\[
\begin{array}{c}
  \text{vP} \\
  \text{v} \\
  \text{VP} \\
  \text{V} \\
  \text{pro/XP} \\
\end{array}
\]

- In Spanish, indirect object clitics may already be agreement markers. Direct object clitics are moving toward becoming agreement markers, depending on the variety of Spanish (Fontana 1993, Franco 1993).

**1.2 A subtype: reflexive object pronouns become passive inflection**

- The same process takes place with reflexive pronouns (Gelderren 2011).

- In Old Norse, the reflexive *sik* is an independent word that can be modified by *sjalsa*.

(6) Hann nefndi sik Ola.  
    Old Norse  
    he called REFL Ola  
    "He called himself Ola."

---

(7) Sumir hofðu sik sjalfa deydda. Old Norse
    some had REFL.Acc self.Acc killed
    "Some had themselves killed."

• It can also be a suffix which gets a reflexive or passive reading.

(8) Kalla-sk. Old Norse
calls-SK
    "He calls himself/He is called."

• In Swedish and other modern Scandinavian languages, sik has become the
  valency marking suffix -s.

(9) Det dansades hela natten. Swedish
    it dance-S whole night
    "There was dancing the entire night."

(10) Stage (a) Swedish
    Dörren öppnade sik4. Dörren öppnades.
    door-the opens self door-the opens-S

(11) Stage (a): vP Stage (b): vP
    dörren v' dörren v'
    öppnade + v VP öppnade + -s + v VP
    sik V' <öppnade> + -s V' <öppnade>
    V <öppnade> V <öppnade>

• If -s can be doubled, we would have evidence of Swedish being at stage (c).

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4 "The door opened." - anticausative.
• Proposal: The reanalysis of *se* from XP internal argument in Latin to valency marking affix in Spanish is a type of cycle similar to the object agreement cycle; i.e., the *se*-cycle.

2. **Doubling of object clitics: a grammaticalization diagnostic**

2.1 **Background**

• A key diagnostic for determining to how far a language has progressed in the cycle is clitic doubling.

• At stage (b), no doubling is allowed because the pronoun is a DP that merges as complement of the verb and then moves as a head.

• At stage (c), doubling is allowed because the pronoun is now a v head, leaving the object position open. Doubling is renewal.

• If a language displays restricted doubling, it is at stage (b) moving to (c). If a language displays unrestricted doubling, it is at stage (c).

2.2 **Direct object agreement in South Slavic languages**

• In Bulgarian, doubling only occurs with topicalized objects. In Macedonian doubling is mandatory, even with inanimate objects.

(12)a. Vidjah *(go)* Ivan.  
    I-saw him Ivan
    "I saw Ivan."

b. Daniela *(ja)* kupi kniga-ta.  
    Daniela it bought book-the
    "Daniela bought the book."

**Conclusion:** Bulgarian is at stage (b) moving to (c). Macedonian is at stage (c).

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5 Data and discussion from Gelderen (2011:102-112)
6 See Kalulli & Tasmowski (2008) and Tomić (2006) for further discussion.
2.3 Direct and indirect object agreement in Spanish

- Different varieties of Spanish are at different stages in the cycle.
- Franco (1993:64) - "Southern Cone Spanish is at a more advanced stage of developing a full-fledged verb-object agreement system than other varieties of Spanish."
- Direct object doubling is conditioned by definiteness, animacy, and DOM (Kayne's Generalization). Advanced varieties lack these constraints.

(13)a. [-anim, +spec, +def] "Standard" Spanish
   (*La) Vimos la casa de Maria.  
      it we-saw the house of Mary  
      "We saw Mary's house."

   b. [+human, +pronominal]
      *(Lo) vimos a él.  
         him we-saw DOM he  
         "We saw him."

c. [+anim, +spec]
   *Pedro lo vió a Juan.  
      Pedro him saw DOM Juan  
      "Pedro saw Juan."

(14)a. [+anim, +spec] Rioplatense Spanish
   Pedro lo vió a Juan.  
      Pedro him saw DOM Juan  
      "Pedro saw Juan."

   b. [-anim, +spec, +def]
      *La compramos esa novela.  
         it bought that novel  
         Intended: "We bought that novel."

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(15) [-anim, -spec, -def] Malinche Spanish\textsuperscript{8}
Lo trae un chiquihuite.
it he-brings a basket
"He brings a basket."

- Indirect object doubling is unrestricted in all varieties of Spanish (Suñer 1988). Doubling can occur for all values of features [human, animate, specific, definite].

(16) [+human, +spec, ±def]
Le ofrecí ayuda a la niña / a una estudiante.
to-her offered help to the girl / to a student
"I offered help to the girl/to a student."

(17) [+human, -spec, -def]
Les ofrecieron leche a familias de pocos medios.
to-them offered milk to families of little means
"They offered milk to the low-income families."

(18) [+human, -spec, +def]
Les dejaré todo mi dinero a los pobres.
to-them leave all my money to the poor
"I will leave all my money to the poor."

(19) [+anim, +spec, ±def]
Le puso comida al canario / a un perro.
to-it put food to-the canary / to a dog
"She gave food to the canary/to a dog."

(20) [-anim, +spec, ±def]
Les corté los ruedos a esas polleras / a tres polleras.
to-them trimmed the hems to those skirts / to three skirts
"I hemmed up those skirts/three skirts."

\textsuperscript{8} Malinche Spanish, spoken in Puebla and Tlaxcala, Mexico, may be a contact variety. If so, this could be an instance where contact has accelerated a cycle already under way.
Conclusions:

- Restricted doubling suggests that "Standard" Spanish is in stage (b) moving toward stage (c) of the direct object agreement cycle. Unrestricted doubling of indirect objects suggests it is at stage (c) for the indirect object agreement cycle.

- Torrego (1998) - DO clitics are v heads; Demonte (1998) - IO clitics are Appl heads. This is the predicted outcome of the object agreement cycle whereby object DPs are reanalyzed as functional heads.


3.1 Stage (a): Latin

- Latin had a multifunctional -r suffix that can have a reflexive (21), anticausative (22), passive (23), or impersonal reading (24).

(21) Excepit Seleucus fabulae partem et 'ego' inquit 'non cotidie lavor. took-hold Seleucus conversation part and I said not daily wash "Seleucus took up part of the conversation and 'I,' he said, 'do not wash myself daily.'"

(22) Omnis liquor vapore solvitur ac frigoribus magnis conficitur. all liquid vapor dissolve and great cold congeal "All the liquid is thinned by the heat and congealed by great cold."

(23) Mittitur ad eos C. Arpinius eques Romanus. sent to them C. Arpinius cavalryman Roman "The Roman cavalryman, C. Arpinius, was sent to them."

(24) Vivitur ex rapto: non hospes ab hospite tutus, non socer a genero. lives from plunder not guest from host safe nor father from child "One lived off plunder: a guest was not safe from the host, nor a father from his child."

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9 Petronius, *Satyricon*, 42.2.1
10 Columella, *De re rustica*, 1.6.18.7
11 Caesar, *De bello gallico*, 5.27.1.1
12 Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 1.144
• Latin also had sē which, in its accusative form, occurred in reflexive (25) and anticausative constructions (26)\(^\text{13}\).

\[(25)\] similī tālem sē vidit in aurō.\(^\text{14}\) (26) dum calor sē frangat.\(^\text{15}\)

likewise such Refl\(s\)e sees in gold while heat AntiC\(s\)e breaks
"Likewise he sees himself in the gold." "while the heat breaks"

• At this stage sē has the distribution of a full pronominal XP. It can be coordinated (27), modified (28), and contrastively focused and separated from the verb by intervening material (29)\(^\text{16}\). None of these are possible with MS se.

\[(27)\]a. mē et sē hīsce impedīvit nuptīs!\(^\text{17}\) Latin
me and Refl\(s\)e this shackled marriage
"He shackled me and himself in this marriage!"

b. *Me y se aprisionó en este matrimonio. Modern Spanish
me and himself imprisoned in this marriage

\[(28)\]a. sē ipse sine mūnītiōne dēfenderet.\(^\text{18}\) Latin
Refl\(s\)e very.M.S without fortification defended
"He defended his very self without fortification."

b. *se mismo defendió sin municiones. Modern Spanish
Refl\(s\)e veryself defended without fortification

\(^{13}\) There is not consensus in the literature as to whether there was a passive se in Latin; v. Muller (1924), Kärde (1943), Monge (1954), Cennamo (1999), Adams (2013). There is no evidence of an impersonal se.

\(^{14}\) Statius, *Achilleid*, 1.865

\(^{15}\) Cicero, *De Oratore* 1.265

\(^{16}\) It can also host clitics such as -que, -met, etc.

\(^{17}\) Terence, *Phormio*, 2.4

\(^{18}\) Caesar, *de Bello Gallico*, 20.5
(29) apud Platonem Socrates in caelum effert laudibus Protagoram Hippiam with Plato Socrates in heaven brings praises Protagoras Hippias Prodicum ceteros, sē autem omnium rerum insciun fingit et rudem. Prodicus others Reflsc but all things ignorant represents and coarse "Along with Plato Socrates praises to the heavens Protagoras, Hippias, Prodicus, and others, but himself he represents as coarse and ignorant of all things."

- (29) also shows that se can be a contrastive focus, also not possible with MS se.
- Morphophonological attrition is a stage of grammaticalization (Lehmann 1985).

(30) Old Latin Classical Latin Proto-Romance (prior to 75 BCE) (75 BCE - 500 CE) (500 - 1000 CE)
sēd > sē > sē

- Conclusion: Latin sē was in Stage (a). As an XP it could be separated from the verb with few constraints. It merged as the internal argument and was thereafter subject to scrambling or other types of XP movement.

3.2 Stage (a) moving to (b): Old Spanish (1200-1400)

3.2.1 Distribution

- From the earliest documents, Old Spanish had Reflsc (31), AntiCsc (32), and Passsc (33).

(31) Es semejante al puerco, que dexa el agua clara y se baña en el cieno. He is similar to the pig, which leaves the clear water and bathes itself in the mud.

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19 Cicero, Brutus, 292.14
20 OS also had pronominal/inherent se which, for the sake of space, I do not discuss here. It follows the same patterns with respect to interpolation as other types of se. Impersonal se is not clearly distinguishable from passive se until the seventeenth century.
21 Libro del cavallerio Cifar, fol. 42r (1300)
(32) E cuenta aquí la Biblia que se abrió estonces la tierra bien allí. And here the Bible states that the earth indeed opened up there.

(33) ¡Con tal esto se vençen moros del campo! In this way Moors are conquered in the field.

• In OS, se can be separated from the verb by interveners (DPs, PPs, adverbs); i.e. interpolation.

(34) Desí mando que se non rasiessen. Thus I order that they not shave.

(35) ...este algodon es atal que se non quema por fuego. This cotton is such that it does not burn from fire.

(36) No hay guisa por que esto diga. There is no way by which this is said.

• Se can occupy the same position as stressed pronouns (38) and DPs (39).

(37) si se non guarda delo bever tanto quel pueda del venir damage "If he does not protect himself from drinking so much of it, there may come to him damage from it."

\[22\] Alfonso X, General Estoria (1270)
\[23\] Cid, line 1753 (1207)
\[24\] General Estoria, Primera Parte, fol. 277V (c. 1275)
\[25\] Lapidario, fol. 17R (c. 1250)
\[26\] Calila e Dimna, Chap. 3; (1251)
\[27\] Juan Manuel, Libro de estados, para. 13 (1327-1332)
(38) Et los sabios dizen que quien a sí non guarda a otri non fará and the wise say that who DOM self not defend DOM other not do pro.  
 good 
"And the wise men say that he who does not defend himself will not do good to another."

(39) si el emperador todas estas cosas non guarda et yerra en todas... if the emperor all these things not defends and errs in everything 
"If the emperor does not defend all these things and erres in everything..."

• Rivero (1986) - OS clitics are syntactic pronouns but phonological clitics.

• Fontana (1993):
  a) clitics generally (including direct and indirect object) are XPs in OS, reanalyzed as heads in MS.
  b) as XPs, clitics adjoin either to the right or left of the first XP position dominated by IP via scrambling "or else, in certain cases, substitute into Spec(IP)."

• Unlike Latin, OS interpolation is rather rare and more constrained, occurring primarily in subordinate clauses and being limited to negation, NPs, and PPs (Chenery 1905, Ramsden 1963, Poole 2007).

• Also unlike Latin, I find no examples where se is coordinated or modified.

3.2.2 Auxiliary selection: a diagnostic for se as the internal argument

• McGinnis (2004) - Two types of intransitives, unaccusatives and passives, both select the BE auxiliary. In Italian, compound reflexives also select BE, suggesting they also have intransitive syntax; i.e., no internal argument.

(40) Mario si è accusato. Mario Refl,se is accused
"Mario accused himself."

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28 Anónimo, *Calila e Dimna*, para. 9 (1251)
29 Juan Manuel, *Libro de estados*, para. 12 (1327-1332)
• Since auxiliary selection also existed in OS, as shown in (41), it can be used as a diagnostic to determine whether reflexives at this time had an internal argument, which I propose is *se*.  

(41) Minaya Alvar Fáñez essora es llegado.  
Minaya Alvar Fáñez then is arrived  
"Minaya Alvar Fáñez then arrived."

• Unlike Italian, compound reflexives in OS select the HAVE auxiliary (Aranovich 2003); hence they display transitive syntax. *Se* is merged as the internal argument.

(42) pues se a descubierta esta falsedat en este engañador.  
since Pass\textsubscript{se} has discovered this falseness in this deceiver  
"...since this falseness has been discovered in this deceiver."

(43) como ninguno de los athenienos no se a vestido de negro por mi.  
because none of the Athenians not Refl\textsubscript{se} has dressed of black for me  
"...because none of the Athenians has dressed in black for me."

**Conclusion:** OS *se* was at stage (a). *Se* was an XP internal argument that could undergo more constrained phrasal movement. It could not be coordinated or modified, suggesting OS was moving to stage (b).

### 3.3 Stage (b) moving to (c): Middle Spanish (1400-1600)

#### 3.3.1 Loss of interpolation

• Fontana (1993:75) - "...the decline in the occurrence of interpolation marks the first step in the transition from OS to MidS, signaling profound changes in the syntax of this language with implications that go well beyond the clitic system."

• Interpolation still occurs but it is now even rarer.  

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30 I am grateful to Jonathan MacDonald for suggesting this as a diagnostic.  
31 *Cid*, line 2449 (1207)  
32 *Calila e Dimna*, Chap. 3; (1251)  
33 Juan Fernández de Heredia, *Traducción de Vidas paralelas de Plutarco, III*, fol. 176v (1379-1384)  
34 Sporadic examples found in the 16th century (Keniston 1937).
(44) no os deberíais matar ni perder por ninguna cosa que os aviniese, not you should kill nor lose for no thing that you happens
cuánto más por hecho de mujeres que se ligeramente gana y pierde.35 how-much more for deed of women that Pass\textsubscript{se} easily wins and loses
"You should not be killed nor lost on account of anything that may befall
you, how much more on account of the action of women, which is easily
won and lost."

(45) pero por dar lugar que se non fici\textsubscript{ese} deservicio de Dios e daño de but to give place that Pass\textsubscript{se} not do disservice of God and damage of
la tierra.36 the earth
"But in order to make room so that a disservice not be made to God and
damage to the earth..."

• Table 1 - Loss of interpolation with negation by century\textsuperscript{37}:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Century</th>
<th>Pattern 1: SE + Neg + V</th>
<th>Pattern 2: Neg + SE + V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Old Spanish</td>
<td>1200-1300</td>
<td>25.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1300-1400</td>
<td>11.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle Spanish</td>
<td>1400-1500</td>
<td>6.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1500-1600</td>
<td>.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modern Spanish</td>
<td>1600-1700</td>
<td>.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1700-1800</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.3.2 Auxiliary selection

• Auxiliary selection still occurred in MidS, as in (46):

(46) a tal punto el miserable ombre es llegado.38 to such point the miserable man is arrived
"The miserable man has arrived to such a point."

• Compound reflexives select the HAVE auxiliary (47), thus se is the internal
argument.

\textsuperscript{35} Amadís de Gaula, Book II (1475-1500)
\textsuperscript{36} Jerónimo Zurita, Anales de la corona de Aragón, Primera Parte, para. 232 (1562)
\textsuperscript{37} Collected from a search in the CORDE (Oct. 12, 2015 @ 4:00 p.m.)
\textsuperscript{38} Enrique de Villena, Traducción y glosas de la Eneida Libros I-III, para. 24 (1427-1428)
(47)  ca el mismo se ha cortado la lengua.\textsuperscript{39} 
because he himself $\text{Refl}_{se}$ has cut the tongue
"Because he himself has cut out his own tongue."

(48)  hasta agora no se ha guardado la merced que vuestra Alteza hizo.\textsuperscript{40} 
until now not $\text{Pass}_{se}$ has guarded the mercy that your highness made
"Up until now the mercy that your Highness commanded has not been protected."

3.3.3 Doubling

- At stage (b), an additional coreferential XP is not allowed since $se$ merges in complement position and then moves as a D head.

- Some doubling with $a$ $sí$ mismo begins to occur; a CORDE search for the period from 1400 to 1500 resulted in 12\% of $a$ $sí$ mismo occurring with $\text{Refl}_{se}$.\textsuperscript{41} This suggests MidS was moving toward stage (c).

(49)  pues a sí mismo se condena quien al que yerra perdona.\textsuperscript{42} 
since DOM self very $\text{Refl}_{se}$ condemns who DOM-the that errs pardons
"For he condemns himself, he who pardons the one that errs."

(50)  el que a sí mismo aborrece, él se juzga a mal.\textsuperscript{43} 
he who DOM self very abhors he $\text{Refl}_{se}$ judges to evil
"He who abhors himself, he judges himself to be evil."

Conclusion: Middle Spanish was at stage (b). Doubling starts to occur, suggesting incipient progression toward stage (c).

3.4 Stage (c): Early Modern and Modern Spanish (1600-present)

3.4.1 Developments in Modern Spanish

- MS $se$ has been reanalyzed from a D head to a higher functional head, Voice/$v$.  

\textsuperscript{39} Antón de Zorita, Árbol de Batallas (de Honoré Bouvet), para. 166 (c. 1440-1460) 
\textsuperscript{40} Anonymous, Cortes de Madrid, para. 19 (1551) 
\textsuperscript{41} CORDE search conducted on Nov. 19, 2015 @ 3:40 p.m. 
\textsuperscript{42} Diego de San Pedro, Cárcel de Amor, para. 6 (1482-1492) 
\textsuperscript{43} Fray Diego de Valencia, Sobre la predestinación y sobre la Trinidad y la Encarnación, para. 22 (1486-1487)
• Interpolation is no longer allowed; auxiliary selection is lost in the seventeenth century (Aranovich 2003).

3.4.2 Evidence for MS *se* an an inflectional affix

3.4.2.1 Properties of inflection (Fábregas & Scalise 2012)

• Inflectional morphology is characterized by two properties: 1) it does not change the grammatical category of the base, 2) it does not produce new words but rather different forms of a single word.

(51) Yo com-o / tú com-es / ella com-e
    I eat / you eat / she eat-s

(52)a. Juan com-e mucho.
      John eat-3S a-lot
      "John eats a lot."

  b. Se-com-e mucho aquí.
      Imp-se-eat-3S a-lot here
      "People eat a lot here."

3.4.2.2 Affix ordering

• Like other inflectional morphemes, *se* follows a strict ordering pattern.

(53)a. Tú habl-a -ba -s
      you speak-TV-Asp-2S
      "You were speaking."

  b. *Tú habl-ba-s-a

(54)a. Se -pre -dice el futuro.
      Pass-se-pre-says the future
      "The future is predicted."

  b. *Pre-se-dice el futuro.

3.4.2.3 Material intervening with the verb is prohibited\(^{44}\)

• No lexical material may intervene between prefixes and the verbal host (55).

(55)a. Juan no pre-dice el futuro.
      Juan not pre-dicts the future

  b. *Juan pre-no-dice el futuro.
      Juan pre-not-dicts the future

• The same pattern applies to *se* (56).

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\(^{44}\) Franco (1993) uses the same test to show that Spanish object clitics are agreement.
(56)a. Juan no se- lava. b. *Juan se- no lava.  
Juan not Refl$_{se}$ washes Juan Refl$_{se}$ not washes

3.4.2.4 Morphophonological interaction (Halle & Harris 2005)

- In non-standard registers, $se$ can interact with inflection.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Normative</th>
<th>Alternative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>go-Pron$_{se}$</td>
<td>go-Pron$_{se}$-n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Go!/Leave!&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;Go!/Leave!&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>serve-Refl$_{se}$</td>
<td>serve-Refl$_{se}$-n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Serve yourselves!&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;Serve yourselves!&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- Crucially, Halle & Harris (2005:197) note that only clitics can interact with verbal plural marker -$n$.

3.4.2.5 Inversion contexts (Franco 1993)

- In subject-verb inversion contexts, the verb and its inflectional affix stay together, as in (59).

(59)a. Juan lav-a su coche. b. ¿Con qué frecuencia lav-a Juan su coche?  
Juan wash-es his car with what frequency wash-es Juan his car  
"Juan washes his car." "How often does Juan wash his car?"

- The same pattern applies to $se$, as in (60).

(60)a. Juan nunca se ducha. b. ¿Con qué frecuencia se ducha Juan?  
Juan never Refl$_{se}$ showers with what frequency Refl$_{se}$ showers Juan  
"Juan never showers." "How often does Juan shower?"

**Conclusion:** In MS, $se$ has a distribution similar to that of inflectional affixes.
3.4.3 Doubling and renewal

- Starting in the seventeenth century a sí mismo rarely occurs without se; this is characteristic of stage (c).

(61) el que se aborreciere a sí mismo...este tal segura tiene la vida.\textsuperscript{45}
he who Refl\textsubscript{se} abhors DOM self very this so secure has the life
"He who abhors himself...this one hold his life secure."

(62) él a sí mismo se admire.\textsuperscript{46}
he DOM self very Refl\textsubscript{se} admires
"He himself admires."

- However, some speakers still allow it without se, as (63) shows. Hence, "obligatorification" is not yet complete.

(63) El que atiende a sí mismo por Dios, hace el todo.\textsuperscript{47}
he who attends DOM self very for God does the everything
"He who attends to himself for the sake of God, accomplishes everything."

- Renewal: pro or a sí mismo optionally doubles Refl\textsubscript{se} in MS.

(64) Juan se lava (a sí mismo).
John Refl\textsubscript{se} washes DOM self very
"John washes himself."

- Lack of doubling with AntiC\textsubscript{se}, Pass\textsubscript{se}, and Imp\textsubscript{se}.

(65) Se quemó el bosque (*sí mismo).\textsuperscript{48}
AntiC\textsubscript{se} burned the forest self very
(66) Se destruyeron las casas (*si mismos).
Pass\textsubscript{se} destroyed the houses self very

\textsuperscript{45} San Juan Bautista de la Concepción, \textit{Pláticas a los religiosos}, para. 31 (1603-1607)
\textsuperscript{46} Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz, \textit{Poesía (Lirica personal)}, para. 353 (1666-1695)
\textsuperscript{47} Miguel de Molinos, \textit{Guía espiritual}, para. 369 (1675-1675)
\textsuperscript{48} As MacDonald (to appear) points out, AntiC\textsubscript{se} can cooccur with \textit{por si solo}. Can we consider this a type of doubling?
Aquí se fuma mucho (*sí mismo).

here Imp\textsubscript{se} smokes a-lot self very

- AntiC\textsubscript{se} cannot be doubled because it is intransitive. Pass\textsubscript{se} and Imp\textsubscript{se} cannot be doubled by \textit{sí mismo} because \textit{se} lacks a coindexed argument.

Conclusion: Modern Spanish \textit{se} is at stage (c) in the \textit{se}-cycle. \textit{Se} is an inflectional valency marking affix that spells out Voice or \textit{v}.

### 3.5 Summary: The \textit{Se} Cycle in Latin and Spanish

(68) Latin/(Old Spanish) \hspace{1cm} Middle Spanish

\textbf{Latin/(Old Spanish)}

a. \[
\begin{array}{c}
TP \\
T \quad vP \\
\text{Caesar} \quad v' \\
\text{vidit} + v \\
\text{VP} \\
\text{sē} \\
<\text{vidit}>
\end{array}
\]

\textbf{Middle Spanish}

b. \[
\begin{array}{c}
TP \\
T \quad vP \\
\text{Cesar} \quad v' \\
\text{vede} + se + v \\
\text{VP} \\
<\text{se}> \\
V' \\
<V> \\
<\text{vede}>
\end{array}
\]

\textbf{Modern Spanish}

c. \[
\begin{array}{c}
TP \\
T \quad vP \\
\text{César} \quad v' \\
\text{VP} \\
\text{v} \\
\text{se} \\
\text{V} \\
\text{ve} \\
\text{pro/a sí mismo}
\end{array}
\]
(69) Different types of *se* from Latin to Spanish

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Refl}_{se} / \text{AntiC}_{se} & \rightarrow \text{Latin, Old/Middle Spanish, Modern Spanish} \\
\text{Pass}_{se} & \rightarrow \text{Old/Middle Spanish, Modern Spanish} \\
\text{Imp}_{se} & \rightarrow \text{Modern Spanish}
\end{align*}
\]

4. Conclusion

- In diachronic terms, *se* has changed its status from an XP in Latin and Old Spanish to a D head in Middle Spanish, to a \( v \) or Voice head in Modern Spanish.

- This change is the result of a type of object agreement grammaticalization cycle, which takes reflexive pronouns and turns them into valency inflection.

Select References


**Databases**


<http://latin.packhum.org/index>

REAL ACADEMIA ESPAÑOLA: Banco de datos (CORDE) [en linea]. *Corpus diacrónico del español*. <http://www.rae.es>