

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 <i>se</i> lava.	(2)	<i>Se</i> destruyeron las casas.
	Juan Refl _{se} washes		Pass _{se} destroyed the houses
	"Juan washes himself."		"The houses were destroyed."
- What is *se* in Spanish?
 - a functional head/inflection (Cuervo 2003, Folli & Harley 2005, a.o.)
 - a pronominal argument (Raposo & Uriagereka 1996, D'Alessandro 2007)
 - 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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² Latin (200 BCE-500 CE), Old Spanish (1200-1400), Middle Spanish (1400-1600), Modern Spanish (1600-present).

(3)	Stage (a)	Stage (a) → (b)	Stage (b)	Stage (b) → (c)
	Latin	Old Spanish	Middle Spanish	Modern Spanish
	<i>sē</i> = DP	<i>se</i> = DP	<i>se</i> : DP > D	<i>se</i> = Voice

Format:

- Section 1 - The object agreement cycle (Gelderen 2011)
- Section 2 - Doubling of object clitics: a grammaticalization diagnostic
- Section 3 - The SE cycle in three stages: extension of Gelderen (2011)
- Section 4 - Conclusion

1. The Object Agreement Cycle (Gelderen 2011)

1.1 Object pronouns become object agreement inflection

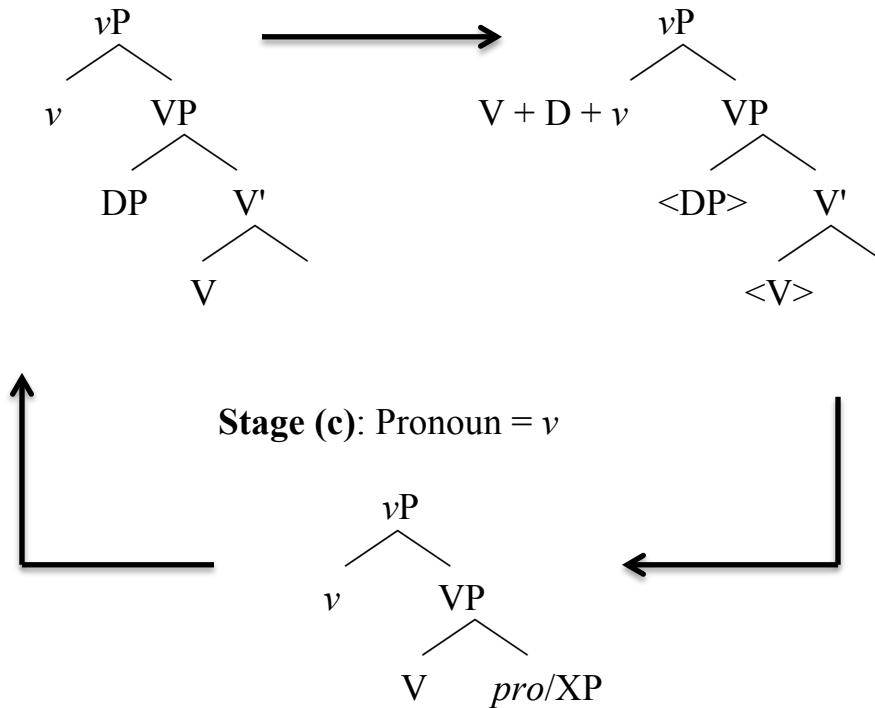
- Gelderen's Minimalist approach to language change - based on principles of economy.
- (4) Gelderen's (2011) Head Preference Principle (HPP):
Be a head rather than a phrase.
- Examples of reanalysis due to the HPP: demonstrative pronoun *that* > complementizer, adverb > aspect marker, pronoun > agreement, 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

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



- 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 inflection³

- The same process takes place with reflexive pronouns (Gelderen 2011).
- In Old Norse, the reflexive *sik* is an independent word that can be modified by *sjalfa*.

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

Old Norse

³ Data in this section cited in Gelderen (2011:120-122) from Ottosson (2004) and Faarlund (2004).

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

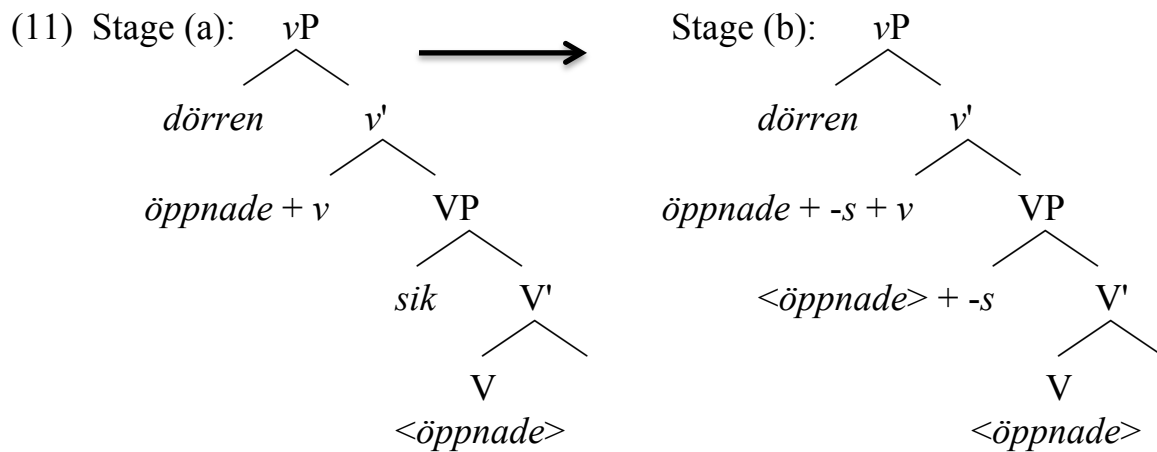
- It can also be a suffix which gets a reflexive or passive reading.

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



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

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 diagnostic⁵

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 languages⁶

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

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

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

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

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 Spanish⁷

- 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."

⁷ Data in this section cited in Gelderen (2011:102-103) from Jaeggli (1982), Suñer (1988), Mayer (2003), Hill (1987), and Franco (1993). Ormazabal & Romero (2013) discuss the variation in greater detail.

- (15) [-anim, - spec, -def]
 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."

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. The *Se* Cycle in Three Stages: Extension of Gelderen (2011)

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) Exceptit Seleucus fabulae partem et 'ego' inquit 'non cotidie **lavor**.'⁹
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.¹⁰
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.¹¹
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.¹²
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."

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)¹³.

(25) *similī tālem sē vidit in aurō.*¹⁴ (26) *dum calor sē frangat.*¹⁵
 likewise such Refl_{se} sees in gold while heat AntiC_{se} 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)¹⁶. None of these are possible with MS *se*.

(27)a. *mē et sē hīsce impedīvit nuptiīs!*¹⁷ Latin
 me and Refl_{se} 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 mūnitiōne dēfenderet.*¹⁸ Latin
 Refl_{se} very.M.S without fortification defended
 "He defended his very self without fortification."

b. **se mismo defendió sin municiones.* Modern Spanish
 Refl_{se} 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 inscium **figit** et rudem.¹⁹
 Prodicus others Refl_{se} 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 (prior to 75 BCE) Classical Latin (75 BCE - 500 CE) Proto-Romance (500 - 1000 CE)
sēd > *sē* > *sě*

- 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 Refl_{se} (31), AntiC_{se} (32), and Pass_{se} (33).²⁰

(31) Es semejante al puerco, que dexa el agua clara y se baña en
 is similar to-the pig which leaves the water clear and Refl_{se} bathes in
 el cieno.²¹
 the mud

"He is similar to the pig, which leaves the clear water and bathes itself in the mud."

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 cavallero Cifar*, fol. 42r (1300)

- (32) E cuenta aquí la Biblia que se abrió entonces la tierra bien allí.²²
and tells here the Bible that AntiC_{se} opened then the earth well there
"And here the Bible states that the earth indeed opened up there."
- (33) ¡Con tal cum esto se vençen moros del campo!²³
with such with this Pass_{se} conquers Moors of-the field
"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.²⁴
thus order that Refl_{se} not shave
"Thus I order that they not shave (themselves)."
- (35) ...este algodón es atal que se non quema por fuego.²⁵
this cotton is such that AntiC_{se} not burns by fire
"This cotton is such that it does not burn from fire."
- (36) No hay guisa por que se esto diga.²⁶
not is fashion by which Pass_{se} this say
"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 beber tanto quel pueda del venir
if Refl_{se} not guards from-it drink so-much that-to-him can from-it come
danno.²⁷
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.²⁸
 good
 "And the wise men say that he who does not defend himself will not do good
 to another."

(39) si el enperador **todas estas cosas non guarda** et yerra en todas...²⁹
 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."

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*.³⁰

(41) Minaya Alvar Fáñez essora es llegado.³¹
 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.³²
 since Pass_{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.³³
 because none of the Athenians not Refl_{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.³⁴

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
cuanto más por hecho de mujeres que **se** ligeramente **gana** y pierde.³⁵
how-much more for deed of women that Pass_{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 **ficiese** deservicio de Dios e daño de
but to give place that Pass_{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 century³⁷:

Century		Pattern 1: SE + Neg + V	Pattern 2: Neg + SE + V
Old Spanish	1200-1300	25.2	74.8
	1300-1400	11.8	81.2
Middle Spanish	1400-1500	6.2	93.8
	1500-1600	.5	99.5
Modern Spanish	1600-1700	.1	99.9
	1700-1800	0	0

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.

³⁵ *Amadis de Gaula*, Book II (1475-1500)

³⁶ Jerónimo Zurita, *Anales de la corona de Aragón, Primera Parte*, para. 232 (1562)

³⁷ Collected from a search in the CORDE (Oct. 12, 2015 @ 4:00 p.m.)

³⁸ Enrique de Villena, *Traducción y glosas de la Eneida Libros I-III*, para. 24 (1427-1428)

(47) ca el mesmo se ha cortado la lengua.³⁹
because he himself 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.⁴⁰
until now not 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 Refl_{se}.⁴¹ This suggests MidS was moving toward stage (c).

(49) pues a sí mismo se condena quien al que yerra perdona.⁴²
since DOM self very 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.⁴³
he who DOM self very abhors he 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*.

³⁹ Antón de Zorita, *Árbol de Batallas* (de Honoré Bouvet), para. 166 (c. 1440-1460)

⁴⁰ Anonymous, *Cortes de Madrid*, para. 19 (1551)

⁴¹ CORDE search conducted on Nov. 19, 2015 @ 3:40 p.m.

⁴² Diego de San Pedro, *Cárcel de Amor*, para. 6 (1482-1492)

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* as 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."
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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."	(54)a. Se -pre -dice el futuro. Pass _{se} -pre-says the future "The future is predicted."
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b. *Tú habl-ba-s-a	b. *Pre-se-dice el futuro.
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3.4.2.3 Material intervening with the verb is prohibited⁴⁴

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

⁴⁴ Franco (1993) uses the same test to show that Spanish object clitics are agreement.

- (56)a. Juan no se- lava.
Juan not Refl_{se} washes
- b. *Juan se- no lava.
Juan Refl_{se} not washes

3.4.2.4 Morphophonological interaction (Halle & Harris 2005)

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

<u>Normative</u>	<u>Alternative</u>
(57)a. Váyanse. go-Pron _{se} "Go!/Leave!"	b. Váyansen. go-Pron _{se-n} "Go!/Leave!"
(58)a. Sírvanse. serve-Refl _{se} "Serve yourselves!"	b. Sírvansen. serve-Refl _{se-n} "Serve yourselves!"

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

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

- (60)a. Juan nunca se ducha.
Juan never Refl_{se} showers
"Juan never showers."
- b. ¿Con qué frecuencia se ducha Juan?
with what frequency Refl_{se} showers Juan
"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.⁴⁵
he who Refl_{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.⁴⁶
he DOM self very Refl_{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.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_{se} in MS.

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

- Lack of doubling with AntiC_{se}, Pass_{se}, and Imp_{se}.

(65) Se quemó el bosque (*sí mismo).⁴⁸
AntiC_{se} burned the forest self very

(66) Se destruyeron las casas (*si mismos).
Pass_{se} destroyed the houses self very

⁴⁵ San Juan Bautista de la Concepción, *Pláticas a los religiosos*, para. 31 (1603-1607)

⁴⁶ Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz, *Poesía (Lírica personal)*, para. 353 (1666-1695)

⁴⁷ Miguel de Molinos, *Guía espiritual*, para. 369 (1675-1675)

⁴⁸ As MacDonald (to appear) points out, AntiC_{se} can cooccur with *por sí solo*. Can we consider this a type of doubling?

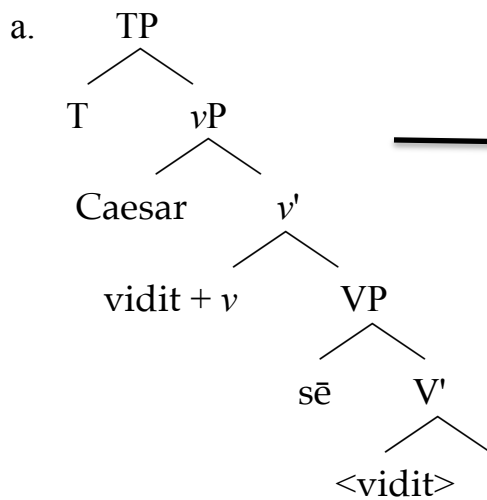
(67) Aquí se fuma mucho (*sí mismo).
 here Imp_{se} smokes a-lot self very

- AntiC_{se} cannot be doubled because it is intransitive. Pass_{se} and Imp_{se} cannot be doubled by *sí mismo* because *se* lacks a coindexed argument.

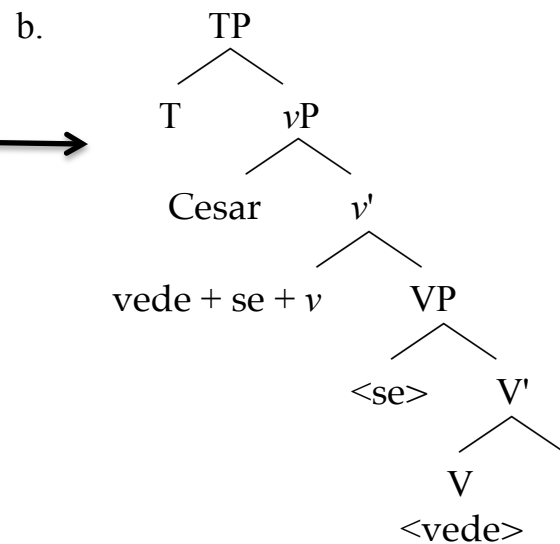
Conclusion: Modern Spanish *se* is at stage (c) in the *se*-cycle. *Se* is an inflectional valency marking affix that spells out Voice or *v*.

3.5 Summary: The *Se* Cycle in Latin and Spanish

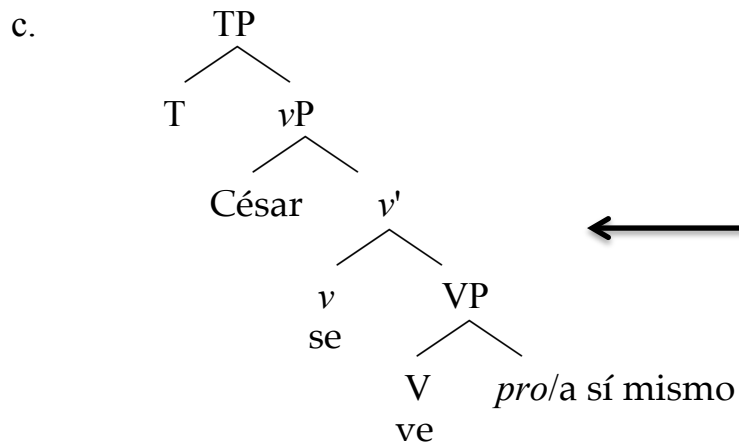
(68) **Latin/(Old Spanish)**



Middle Spanish



Modern Spanish



(69) Different types of *se* from Latin to Spanish

Refl _{se} /AntiC _{se}	→	Latin, Old/Middle Spanish, Modern Spanish
Pass _{se}	→	Old/Middle Spanish, Modern Spanish
Imp _{se}	→	Modern Spanish

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.

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