

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

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Introduction

- Spanish, like other Romance languages, 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."

Question: 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), lend support to the analysis of Modern Spanish (MS) *se* as a functional head/inflectional element. *Se* is the spell out of *v*/Voice (Cuervo 2003, Kempchinsky 2004, MacDonald (to appear)).

Main claims:

- 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 *v*/Voice head, which marks valency.²
- The change in status is due to a process of grammaticalization, the "reflexive object cycle" (3), which is a subtype of the object agreement cycle.

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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

Presentation Format:

Section 1 – The Object Agreement Cycle (Van Gelderen 2011)

Section 2 – The Status of *Se* Diachronically and the Stages of the *Se*-Cycle

Section 3 – The Diachrony of *Se* Doubling

Section 4 – Summary of Reflexive Object (*Se*) Cycle

Section 5 – Conclusion

APPENDICES: A) Phonological attrition, B) Paradigmatization, C) Clitic Doubling as a Grammaticalization Diagnostic

1. The Object Agreement Cycle (Van Gelderen 2011)

1.1 Background: Object pronouns > object agreement inflection

- Language change takes place based on principles of economy.

(4) 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) - As a DP 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): DP pronoun → [vP v [VP V DP]]
 Stage (b): D-clitic → [vP D + V + v [VP <D> + <V> [DP <D>]]]
 Stage (c): Spellout of v → [vP v [VP V (pro/DP)]]

- Tests to distinguish heads from phrases (Zwicky & Pullum 1983, Cardinaletti & Starke 1999, Mithun 2003):
 - Phrases can be coordinated, modified; can occur in Spec position; optional.
 - Heads cannot be coordinated, modified; obligatorily occur in head positions, cannot undergo XP movement.

1.2 A subtype: reflexive object pronouns > valency-marking inflection

- Van Gelderen (2011): a similar cycle affects reflexive pronouns.³ This cycle has already taken place in Scandinavian languages.
- Old Norse *sik* as an independent word (6) could be modified (7). It was also a valency-marking suffix (8). In modern Swedish it has been further reduced to an *-s* suffix (9).

(6) Hann nefndi sik Ola. (7) Sumir hofðu sik sjalfa deydda.
 he called REFL Ola some had REFL.Acc self.Acc killed
 "He called himself Ola." "Some had themselves killed."

(8) Kalla-sk. (9) Dörren öppnades.
 calls-REFL door-the opens-REFL
 "He calls himself/He is called." "The door opens."

- Like object clitics in Spanish, the Scandinavian passive has gone from full DP to D head.

(10) Stage (a): DP pronoun → [vP dörren v [VP öppnade sik]]
 Stage (b): D-clitic → [vP öppnade + -S + v [VP [DP <-S>] + <öppnade>]]]

- Proposal: This is the same cycle that *se* has been undergoing, starting in Latin.

³ Data in this section reproduced from Van Gelderen (2011), taken from Faarland (2004) and Ottosson (2004). Faltz (1977, 2008) proposes a different type of cycle for reflexives crosslinguistically.

2. The Status of *Se* Diachronically and the Stages of the *Se*-Cycle

- Diachronic patterns of movement, coordination, and modification are evidence of the reanalysis of *se* from a full DP to a functional head⁴.
- In Modern Spanish, *se* exhibits the properties of inflection.

2.1 Stage (a) – Latin

- Latin had a multifunctional *-r* suffix parallel to MS *se*; i.e., it could have a reflexive (11), anticausative (12), passive (13), or impersonal (14) reading.

(11) *Exceptit Seleucus fabulae partem et 'ego' inquit 'non cotidie lavar.'*⁵
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.'"

(12) *Omnis liquor vapore solvitur ac frigoribus magnis conficitur.*⁶
all liquid vapor dissolve and great cold congeal
"All the liquid is thinned by the heat and congealed by great cold."

(13) *Mittitur ad eos C. Arpinus eques Romanus.*⁷
sent to them C. Arpinus cavalryman Roman
"The Roman cavalryman, C. Arpinus, was sent to them."

(14) *Vivitur ex rapto: non hospes ab hospite tutus, non socer a genero.*⁸
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."

- Latin also had a reflexive pronoun *sē*, the ancestor of MS *se*, which could occur in reflexive (15) and anticausative constructions (16)⁹.

⁴ *Se* also suffered phonological attrition, as with *sik* in Old Norse. See Appendix A.

⁵ Petronius, *Satyricon*, 42.2.1; 66 CE

⁶ Columella, *De re rustica*, 1.6.18.7; 70 CE

⁷ Caesar, *De bello gallico*, 5.27.1.1; 58-49 BCE

⁸ Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 1.144; 8 CE

⁹ There is no 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*. See Green (1991) for an analysis (among many others) of how the *-r* form is lost and competition with *se*.

(15) *similī tālem sē vidit in aurō.*¹⁰ (16) *dum calor sē frangat.*¹¹
 likewise such Refl_{se} sees in gold while heat AntiC_{se} breaks
 "Likewise he sees himself in the gold." "... while the heat breaks."

- Latin *se* displays pronominal (DP) distribution: it can be coordinated, modified, and separated from the verb/focused, all of which is not acceptable in Modern Spanish.

(17)a. *mē et sē hīsce impedīvit nuptiīs!*¹² 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

(18)a. *sē ipse sine mūnitiōne dēfenderet.*¹³ 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

(19) *apud Platonem Socrates_i in caelum effert laudibus Protagoram Hippiam... ceteros, sē_i autem omnium rerum inscium **fingit** et rudem.*¹⁴
 with Plato Socrates in heaven brings praises Protagoras Hippias
 others Refl_{se} but all things ignorant represents and coarse
 "Along with Plato, Socrates praises to the heavens Protagoras, Hippias, and others, but HIMSELF he represents as coarse and ignorant of all things."

(20)a. **Juan se no lava regularmente.*
 John Refl_{se} not washes regularly

b. **Juan_i alaba a sus amigos pero SE_i considera ignorante.*
 John praises DOM his friends but Refl_{se} considers ignorant
 Intended: "Juan praises his friends but he considers himself ignorant."

¹⁰ Statius, *Achilleid*, 1.865; 94-96 CE

¹¹ Cicero, *De Oratore* 1.265; 55 BCE

¹² Terence, *Phormio*, 2.4; 161 BCE

¹³ Caesar, *de Bello Gallico*, 20.5; 58-49 BCE

¹⁴ Cicero, *Brutus*, 292.14; 46 BCE

Conclusion:

- Latin *se* was at stage (a) in the reflexive object cycle. As a full DP it could be separated from the verb with few constraints. It merged as the internal argument and could undergo subsequent XP movement.

2.2 Stage (a) moving to stage (b) – Old Spanish (1200-1400)

- OS had Refl_{se} (21), AntiC_{se} (22), and Pass_{se} (23)¹⁵.

(21) Es semejante al puerco que ... se baña en el cieno.¹⁶
is similar to-the pig which Refl_{se} bathes in the mud
"He is similar to the pig, which bathes itself in the mud."

(22) E cuenta aquí la Biblia que se abrió estonces la tierra bien allí.¹⁷
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."

(23) ¡Con tal cum esto se vençen moros del campo!¹⁸
with such with this Pass_{se} conquers Moors of-the field
"In this way Moors are conquered in the field."

- In OS, *se* maintains the distribution of a full DP. It can be separated from the verb; i.e., interpolation.

(24) Desí mando que se non rasiessen.¹⁹
thus order that Refl_{se} not shave
"Thus I order that they not shave (themselves)."

(25) este algodón es atal que se non quema por fuego.²⁰
this cotton is such that AntiC_{se} not burns by fire
"This cotton is such that it does not burn from fire."

¹⁵ OS also had pronominal/inherent *se* which, for simplicity 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.

¹⁶ Ferrand Martínez, *Libro del cavallero Cifar*, fol. 42r; 1300

¹⁷ Alfonso X, *General Estoria*; 1270

¹⁸ Anonymous, *Cid*, line 1753; 1207

¹⁹ Alfonso X, *General Estoria, Primera Parte*, fol. 277V; c. 1275

²⁰ Anonymous, *Lapidario*, fol. 17R; c. 1250

- (26) No hay guisa por que se esto diga.²¹
 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 a stressed pronoun or a quantified DP.
- (27) Los sabios dizen que quien a sí non guarda a otri non fará pro.²²
 the wise say that who DOM self not defend DOM other not do good
 "The wise men say that he who does not defend himself will not do good to another."
- (28) si el enperador todas estas cosas non guarda et yerra en todas...²³
 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..."
- (29) si se non guarda delo beber tanto...²⁴
 if Refl_{se} not guards from-it drink so-much
 "If he does not protect himself from drinking so much of it..."
- *Se* can climb, but so can lexical DPs. OS climbing is XP-adjunction, not head movement (Rivero 1991).
- (30) et quisiere meterse so otro sennorío.²⁵
 and should-wish place-Refl_{se} under other lordship
 "And should he wish to place himself under another lord's authority..."
- (31) e quisiere quitar la heredad o el huerto.²⁶
 and should-wish take-away the estate or the garden
 "And should he wish to take away the estate or the garden..."
- (32) qual quier que sus cosas quisiere vender.²⁷
 which ever that his things should-wish sell
 "Whosoever should wish to sell his things..."

²¹ Anonymous, *Calila e Dimna*, Chap. 3; 1251

²² Anonymous, *Calila e Dimna*, para. 9; 1251

²³ Juan Manuel, *Libro de estados*, para. 12; 1327-1332

²⁴ Juan Manuel, *Libro de estados*, para. 13; 1327-1332

²⁵ Anonymous, *Libro de los fueros de Castiella*, para. 318; c. 1284

²⁶ Anonymous, *Fuero viejo de Castilla*, para. 9; 1356

²⁷ Anonymous, *Fuero de Cuenca*, Book 4, sect. 1; 1284-1295

(33) Todo omne que se quisiere saluar d'estas calonnyas...²⁸
every man who Refl_{se} should-wish save from-these punishments
"Every man who should wish to save himself from these punishments..."

- Patterns of auxiliary selection support the analysis of *se* as an internal argument. In Italian, passives (34) and unaccusatives select BE (35).

(34) La lettera è scritta.
the letter is written
"The letter is written."

(35) Giovanni è venuto.
Giovanni is come
"Giovanni came."

- Transitive verbs select HAVE.

(36) Giovanni ha accusato Luigi.
Giovanni has accused Luigi
"Giovanni accused Luigi."

(37) Giovanni ha accusato se stesso
Giovanni has accused self very
"Giovanni accused himself."

- Reflexive compound verbs select BE, suggesting they have intransitive structure like passives and unaccusatives (McGinnis 2004).

(38) Giovanni si è accusato.
Giovanni Refl_{se} is accused
"Giovanni accused himself."

- OS was also an auxiliary selection language, but patterns differently than Italian. Unaccusatives still select BE but compound reflexives select HAVE.

(39) Minaya Alvar Fáñez essora es llegado.²⁹
Minaya Alvar Fáñez then is arrived
"Minaya Alvar Fáñez then arrived."

(40) como ninguno de los athenienos no se a vestido de negro por mi.³⁰
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."

²⁸ Anonymous, *Fuero viejo de Castilla*, para. 1; 1356

²⁹ Anonymous, *Cid*, line 2449; 1207

³⁰ Juan Fernández de Heredia, *Traducción de Vidas paralelas de Plutarco, III*, fol. 176v; 1379-1384

- (41) mas es necesario que quando el se ha echado en tierra...³¹
but is necessary that when he Refl_{se} has thrown on ground
"But it is necessary that when he has cast himself to the ground..."

Conclusion:

- In OS, *se* was still a DP. It could undergo XP movement, and occupy the same position as full DPs. Since reflexive compounds selected the HAVE auxiliary, they had transitive structure, with *se* being the internal argument.
- In OS, *se* was at stage (a), moving toward stage (b) for some speakers, since unlike in Latin, it could not be modified or coordinated.

2.3 Stage (b) – Middle Spanish (1400-1600)

- Interpolation, already a minority pattern in OS, is lost.

- (42) ...quanto más por hecho de mujeres que se ligeramente gana y pierde.³²
much more for deed of women that Pass_{se} easily wins and loses
"...how much more on account of the action of women, which is easily won and lost."

- (43) que se non ficiese deservicio de Dios e daño de la tierra.³³
that Pass_{se} not do disservice of God and damage of the earth
"...that a disservice not be made to God and damage to the earth..."

- Table 1 summarizes the rate of loss based on a CORDE search for interpolation with negation, the most common type of interpolation³⁴.

³¹ Ferrer Sayol, *Libro de Pallado BNM 10211*, para. 115; 1380-1385

³² Garcí Rodríguez de Montalvo, *Amadís de Gaula*, Book II; 1475-1500

³³ Jerónimo Zurita, *Anales de la corona de Aragón, Primera Parte*, para. 232; 1562

³⁴ CORDE search conducted on October 12, 2015 at 4:00 p.m. See also Chenery (1905) and Ramsden (1963) for additional quantitative data on interpolation.

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

Table 1. Loss of interpolation by century.

- Nevertheless, auxiliary selection with reflexive compounds continues as in OS.

(44) a tal punto el miserable ombre es llegado.³⁵
to such point the miserable man is arrived
"The miserable man has arrived to such a point."

(45) ca el mesmo se ha cortado la lengua.³⁶
because he himself Refl_{se} has cut the tongue
"Because he himself has cut out his own tongue."

(46) hasta agora no se ha guardado la merced que vuestra Alteza hizo.³⁷
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."

Conclusion:

- In MidS, *se* merges as a DP argument but moves as a head; i.e., *se* is at stage (b) in the reflexive object cycle.

2.4 Stage (c) – Early Modern and Modern Spanish (1600-present)

- In MS, *se* exhibits the properties of an inflectional affix.
- Inflectional morphology does not change the category of the base nor does it form new words (Fábregas & Scalise 2012).

³⁵ Enrique de Villena, *Traducción y glosas de la Eneida Libros I-III*, para. 24; 1427-1428

³⁶ Antón de Zorita, *Árbol de Batallas* (de Honoré Bouvet), para. 166; c. 1440-1460

³⁷ Anonymous, *Cortes de Madrid*, para. 19; 1551

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

(48) Se-come mucho aquí.
Imp_{se}-eat a-lot here
"People eat a lot here."

- Inflectional morphology adheres to strict ordering with other morphemes.

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

(50)a. Se -pre -dice el futuro.
Pass_{se}-pre-says the future
"The future is predicted."

b. *Tú habl-ba-s-a

b. *Pre-se-dice el futuro.

- No lexical material may intervene between an affix and its base; i.e., no interpolation.

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

(52) *Juan pre-no-dice el futuro.
Juan pre-not-dicts the future

(53) Juan no se- lava.
Juan not Refl_{se} washes

(54) *Juan se- no lava.
Juan Refl_{se} not washes

- *Se* can interact morphophonologically with other inflectional material (Halle & Harris 2005).

Normative
(55) Váyan-se.
go-Pron_{se}
"Go!/Leave!"

Alternative
(56) Váyan-se-n.
go-Pron_{se-n}
"Go!/Leave!"

(57) Sírvan-se.
serve-Refl_{se}
"Serve yourselves!"

(58) Sírvan-se-n.
serve-Refl_{se-n}
"Serve yourselves!"

- Inflectional morphemes move with their base, rather than being stranded (Franco 1993).

(59) Juan lav-a su coche.
Juan wash-es his car
"Juan washes his car."

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

- (61) Juan nunca se ducha. (62) ¿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* patterns like inflectional morphology in many respects. This is the expected outcome of an element being grammaticalized as morphology³⁸.
- MS *se* patterning with inflection suggests that it is at stage (c) in the reflexive object cycle.

3. The Diachrony of *Se* Doubling

Predictions:

- Doubling only becomes available when *se* is no longer an argument. Thus, it is not expected at stage (a); i.e., Latin and Old Spanish.
- At stage (b), an additional coreferential XP is not allowed because *se* merges as the internal argument in complement position and then moves as a D head.
- As *se* loses features and becomes reanalyzed as a functional head doubling becomes possible. At stage (c), doubling should be allowed with little to no restrictions.

3.1 *Doubling starts in Middle Spanish*

- Doubling with *se* starts to occur regularly in MidS (63), but for some speakers *se* continues to be in complementary distribution with *a sí mismo* (64).

- (63) pues a sí mismo se condena quien al que yerra perdona.³⁹
 since DOM self very Refl_{se} condemns who DOM-the that errs pardons
 "For he condemns himself, he who pardons the one that errs."

³⁸ *Se* is also undergoing paradigmaticization, another stage of grammaticalization, in some varieties of Spanish. See Appendix B.

³⁹ Diego de San Pedro, *Cárcel de Amor*, para. 6; 1482-1492

(64) el que a sí mismo aborrece, él se juzga a mal.⁴⁰
 he who DOM self very abhors he Refl_{se} judges to evil
 "He who abhors himself, he judges himself to be evil."

- Table 2, based on a CORDE search, summarizes the increase in frequency of doubling of *se* with *a sí mismo*⁴¹.

Period / Century		Tokens	Percentage
Old Spanish	1200-1300	53/3	5.6%
	1300-1400	47/3	6.3%
Middle Spanish	1400-1500	186/21	12%
	1500-1600	541/253	46.8%

Table 2. Clitic doubling with *se* by century.

3.2 Patterns of Refl_{se} doubling in Modern Spanish

- Early Modern Spanish: by the seventeenth century, doubling with *a sí mismo* increases to 75.4%.

(65) el que se aborreciere a sí mismo...este tal segura tiene la vida.⁴²
 he who Refl_{se} abhors DOM self very this so secure has the life
 "He who abhors himself...this one hold his life secure."

(66) él a sí mismo se admire.⁴³
 he DOM self very Refl_{se} admires
 "He himself admires."

- However, the doubling of *a sí mismo* by *se* was not obligatory for all speakers.

(67) El que atiende a sí mismo por Dios, hace el todo.⁴⁴
 he who attends DOM self very for God does the everything
 "He who attends to himself for the sake of God, accomplishes everything."

⁴⁰ Fray Diego de Valencia, *Sobre la predestinación y sobre la Trinidad y la Encarnación*, para. 22 (1486-1487)

⁴¹ CORDE search conducted on November 19, 2015 at 3:40 p.m. Variant orthography was accounted for. In Table 2, the number on the left is the total amount of tokens of *se*; the number on the right is the amount of those tokens that were doubled.

⁴² San Juan Bautista de la Concepción, *Pláticas a los religiosos*, para. 3; 1603-1607

⁴³ Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz, *Poesía (Lírica personal)*, para. 353; 1666-1695

⁴⁴ Miguel de Molinos, *Guía espiritual*, para. 369; 1675-1675

- Present-day Spanish: Refl_{se} can be optionally doubled by *a sí (mismo)*, or a prepositional phrase with a pronominal complement, in which case a bound reading is induced (Babcock 1970, Torrego 1995). Refl_{se} is obligatory.

(68) Juan_i *(se)_i lava (*pro_i / a sí / a sí mismo / a él*).
 John Refl_{se} washes him DOM self DOM self very DOM he
 "John washes himself."

Conclusion:

- *Se* is obligatory in MS. Reanalysis from D head to Voice head is complete in MS.

3.3 A note on doubling with other types of *se* in Modern Spanish

- AntiC_{se} cannot be doubled (69). Previous authors (Mendikoetxea 1999, MacDonald in press, i.a.) have noted that it can co-occur with a causal by-phrase (70). The lack of doubling is due to there being only one argument.

(69) *El bosque se quemó a sí mismo.
 the forest Anti_{se} burned DOM self very
 Intended: "The forest burned."

(70) El bosque se quemó por sí solo anoche.⁴⁵
 the forest Anti_{se} burned by self alone last-night
 "The forest burned by itself last night."

- Doubling with Pass_{se} and Imp_{se} is more complicated. Some authors (Mendikoetxea 2008, MacDonald in press) analyze these types of *se* as having two arguments, the sole DP and a *pro*, with *se* as functional head. In this case, *pro* could be the argument doubled by *se*.
- Asp_{se} also cannot be doubled (MacDonald & Huidobro 2010). This is expected if Asp_{se} is also a functional head.

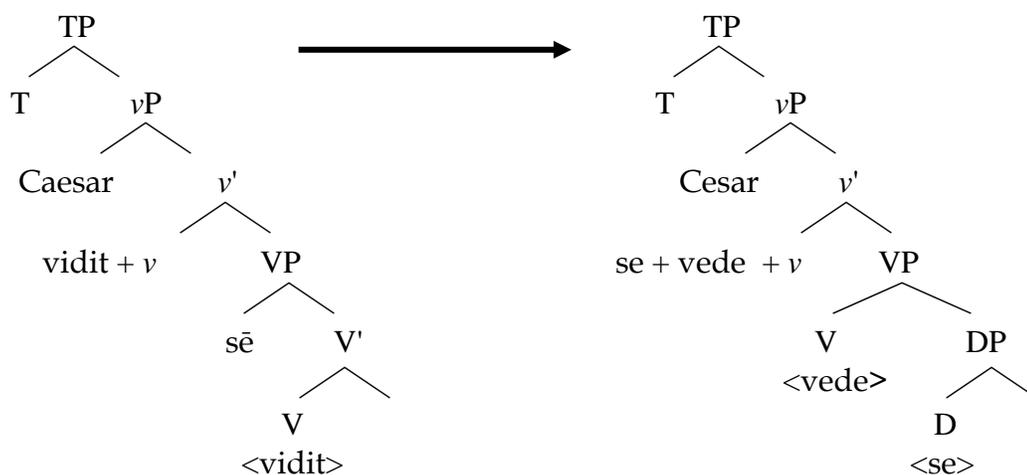
⁴⁵ Adapted from MacDonald (to appear).

(71) Juan se comió la paella (*a sí mismo).⁴⁶
 Juan Asp_{se} ate the paella DOM self very
 "Juan ate (up) the paella."

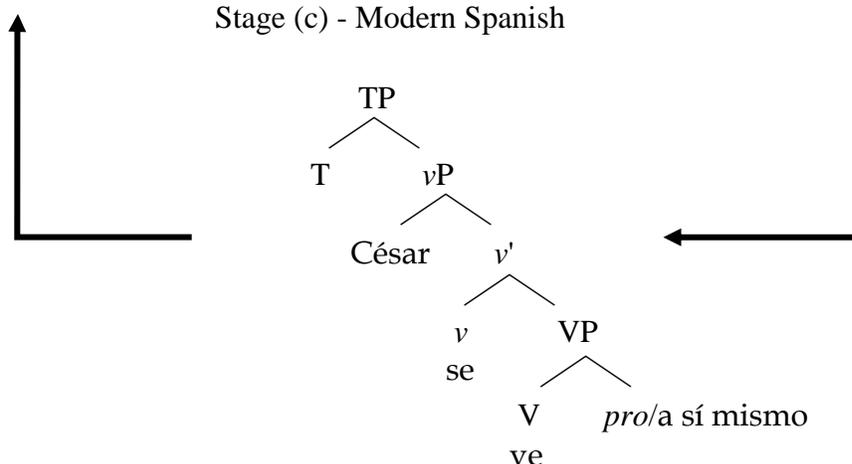
4. Summary of the Reflexive Object (*Se*) Cycle

(72) Stage (a) - Latin/Old Spanish

Stage (b) - Middle Spanish



Stage (c) - Modern Spanish



5. Conclusion

- Diachronic data support the analysis of Modern Spanish *se* as a functional head, the spell out of *v* or Voice. Patterns of movement, coordination, modification, and auxiliary selection show that in Latin and Old Spanish, *se* was a full DP argument.

⁴⁶ Adapted from MacDonald & Huidobro (2010).

- In Middle Spanish, *se* was reanalyzed as a D head, but auxiliary selection at this stage shows that *se* still merged as a DP argument.
- In Early Modern Spanish, *se* is reanalyzed from D-head to a *v* or Voice head. At this point it displays properties of inflection and doubling with *a sí mismo* is now allowed.
- The status of *se* in Modern Spanish is the outcome of the reflexive object cycle, which takes reflexive pronouns and turns them into valency marking inflection.

APPENDIX A: Phonological attrition

- Phonological attrition is a symptom of grammaticalization (Hopper & Traugott 2003), as in English (73) and (74).

(73) [lets] > [les] > [s] (74) s-go/ s-fight

- Attrition also affected *se*, starting in Old Latin.

(75) Neve post hac inter sed coniuurase...⁴⁷
and-not after this among SED plot
"And they shall not plot among themselves..."

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

APPENDIX B: Paradigmatization

- Paradigmatization is a stage of grammaticalization during which an element is extended to an entire paradigm (Hopper & Traugott 2003). *Se* is undergoing paradigmaticization in some varieties of Spanish (Benito Moreno 2015).

(77) ...yo quería reírse.
I wanted-1S laugh-Inher_{se}
"I wanted to laugh."

⁴⁷ *Senatus consultum de Bacchanalibus*, 13-14; 186 BCE

- (78) Pues, se comprabas el tinte, lo ponías en una cacerola.⁴⁸
 well Refl_{se} bought-2S the dye it put-2S in a saucepan
 "Well, you had to buy the dye, put it in a saucepan..."
- (79) ...éramos pequeños, pero se escondíamos como las ratas.
 were-1P small but Refl_{se} hid-1P like the rats
 "We were small but we hid ourselves like rats."
- (80) Se laváis to los días a desgusto.⁴⁹
 Refl_{se} wash-2P all the days to unpleasure
 "Every day you guys take a shower while complaining."

APPENDIX C: Clitic Doubling as a Grammaticalization Diagnostic

C.1 Background

- 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.
- 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).

C.2 Direct object clitic doubling in Spanish⁵⁰

- Doubling in “standard” Spanish is highly restricted:

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

⁴⁸ I am not sure how to classify this use of *se* so I label it generically as Refl_{se}, though it may be closer to an aspectual *se* or dative of interest.

⁴⁹ The grammatical gloss is mine; the translation is Benito Moreno's.

⁵⁰ Data in this section taken from Jaeggli (1982), Suñer (1988), Mayer (2003), Hill (1987), and Franco (1993).

b. [+anim, +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."

- In other varieties, doubling is much less restricted:

(82)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."

(83) [-anim, -spec, -def] Malinche Spanish⁵¹
Lo trae un chiquihuite.
it he-brings a basket
"He brings a basket."

- Differences with respect to doubling in “standard” Spanish are the result of incomplete grammaticalization of DO clitics (stage b). In Rioplatense and Malinche Spanish, grammaticalization is (nearly) complete (stage c).

C.3 Indirect object clitic doubling in Spanish

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

⁵¹ 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.

- (84) [+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."
- (85) [+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."
- (86) [+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."
- (87) [+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."
- (88) [-anim, +spec, ±def]
 Les corté los ruidos a esas polleras / a tres polleras.
 to-them trimmed the hems to those skirts / to three skirts
 "I hemmed up those skirts/three skirts."

Conclusion:

- Restricted DO 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.

C.4 *Intrasystemic diachrony: different clitics at different stages in the cycle*

- Differences with respect to doubling identified by Ormazabal & Romero (2013) also support the claim that third-person DO clitics (Type 1) and first- and second- person DO and all IO clitics (Type 2) are at different stages in the cycle.
- Doubling of quantified strong pronouns: Type 1 – unacceptable, Type 2 – obligatory.

(89)a. (*Los) he comprado todos ellos. Type 1
Them I-have bought all them
“I have bought all of them.”

b. *(Les) he pegado pegatinas a todos ellos. Type 2
On-them I-have stuck stickers to all them
“I have stuck stickers on all of them.”

c. *(Nos) han visto a todos nosotros Type 2
us they-have seen DOM all we
“They have seen all of us.”

d. *(Os) han visto a todos vosotros Type 2
you.Pl they-have seen DOM all you.Pl
“They have seen all of you.”

- Doubling of a dislocated, negative DP: Type 1 – unacceptable, Type 2 – acceptable.

(90)a. *Ningún libro lo han vendido. Type 1
not-any book it they-have sold
Intended: "Not any book have they sold."

b. A ninguna estudiante le han dado el título. Type 2
to not-any student to-him they-have given the degree
"To not any student have they given the degree."

- First- and second-person DO clitics (Type 2) are unrestricted with respect to doubling: they can double definite DPs (91a), quantified expressions (91b), *wh*-phrases (91c), and nonreferential phrases (91d).

(91)a. Os han visto a los niños.
 you.Pl they-have seen DOM the children
 "They have seen you children."

b. Os vimos a algunos / muchos niños.
 you.Pl we-saw DOM some / many children
 "We saw some/many of you children."

c. ¿A quiénes / cuántos os han elegido para el puesto?
 DOM whom / how-many you.Pl they-have chosen for the position
 "Whom/how many of you have they chosen for the position?"

d. No os encontraron a nadie / ninguno.
 not you.Pl they-found DOM no-one / not-any
 "They found none/not any of you."

- *Se* patterns with Type 2 clitics with respect to doubling. Type 1 clitics cannot double nonreferential quantifiers (92), but *se* (93) and other Type 2 clitics (94-95) can.

(92) A pocos políticos (*los) admiramos.
 DOM few politicians them we-admire
 "We admire few politicians."

(93) Pocos políticos se critican a sí mismos.
 few politicians Refl_{se} criticize DOM self very
 "Few politicians criticize themselves."

(94) Pocos de nosotros nos criticamos a nosotros mismos.
 few of we us criticize DOM we selves
 "Few of us criticize ourselves."

- (95) Pocos de vosotros os criticáis a vosotros mismos.
 few of you you criticize DOM you selves
 "Few of you criticize yourselves."

Conclusion:

- In “standard” Spanish, Type 1 clitics being highly restricted in what they can double are earlier in the grammaticalization cycle than are Type 2 clitics, which are much less restricted.
- Se patterns with Type 2 clitics, supporting the analysis of *se* as an inflectional morpheme rather than a Type 1 D-clitic.
- Type 1 clitics → stage (b), moving to stage (c); Type 2 clitics → stage (c).

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