

The Diachrony of Reflexive Constructions in Romance and Germanic

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1. Introduction

1.1 Background

- “*Se* construction” → the cooccurrence of the reflexive pronoun and a verb.
 - Different “types:” reflexive (1), anticausative (2), middle, passive, etc.

(1)a. Johann wäscht sich.
John washes self

(2)a. Die Tür öffnete sich.
the door opened self

b. Juan se lava.
John Refl_{se} washes

b. Se abrió la puerta.
AntiC_{se} opened the door

c. Jean se lave.
John Refl_{se} washes
‘John washes himself.’

c. La porte s’est ouverte.
the door AntiC_{se}-is opened
‘The door opened.’

- Of interest to linguists for several reasons:
 - well attested crosslinguistically; not restricted to a single family.
 - one form multiple meanings – mapping meaning onto structure
 - part of the overall study of clitics (atonic pronouns) – relates to different “parts” of language (syntax, morphology, pragmatics, etc.)

1.2 Overview

1.2.1 Major issues addressed in the research literature

- Typology of constructions; v. Geniušienė (1987)
- Explaining the variation; why are there different types of *se* crosslinguistically?
- Diagnosing the categorial status of *se*: word, clitic, affix, etc.
- Analyzing the role of null subjects
- Determining what allows cooccurrence with *by*-phrases

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1.2.2 Previous studies

- Comprehensive overviews: Dobrovie-Sorin (2006), Mendikoetxea (1999a,b, 2012); Sánchez López (2002).
- Significant synchronic studies:
 - dealing with crosslinguistic occurrence → Zubizarreta (1982), Cinque (1988), Mendikoetxea & Battye (1990), Dobrovie-Sorin (1998), D’Alessandro (2007), MacDonald (2017).
 - crosslinguistic behavior → Cinque (1988), Dobrovie-Sorin (1998).
- Previous diachronic studies:
 - primarily functionalist: Monge (1954), Faltz (1977, 2008), Cennamo (1993), Cennamo et al (2015), Haspelmath (1990), Mutz (2012), Pountain (2000), Russi (2006, 2008).
 - few diachronic studies done from a generative/formalist perspective; v. Wolfsgruber (2016, 2017).
 - sociolinguistic: Adams (2013).

1.3 *My work*

- Grammaticalization of *se* from Latin to Spanish (Maddox 2016, in progress)
 - testing of a formal model of grammaticalization (van Gelderen 2011)
 - contributes to the study of language change and linguistic cycles
- Passive *se* as a product of cyclic interaction crosslinguistically (Maddox & MacDonald 2017, in progress)
 - patterns of grammaticalization of *se* and the null subject status of a language allow us to predict what types of *se* they have
 - extension of the concept of “cyclic interaction” (Bahtchevanova & van Gelderen (2016).
- Passive *se* in Romanian and Spanish (MacDonald & Maddox 2017)
 - accounts for differences between passive *se* in the two languages with respect to the licensing of *by*-phrases as a result of a linguistic cycle
 - Romanian passive *se* is at an earlier stage in the cycle than Spanish
- *Se* constructions in Brazilian Portuguese (MacDonald, Carvalho & Maddox 2016)

- BP has a null subject in its passive and impersonal *se* constructions
- BP is a partial null subject language. It retains *pro* in Pass_{se} and Imp_{se} as a type of historical residue from an earlier grammar.

1.4 *Presentation format*

- Section 2: Reflexive constructions in Modern Romance
- Section 3: The historical development of *se* from Latin to Spanish
- Section 4: Reflexive constructions outside of Romance (Germanic and Scandinavian)
- Section 5: Conclusion

2. Reflexive Constructions in Modern Romance

2.1 *Different types crosslinguistically*

2.1.1 Spanish

- Spanish has a wide range of reflexive constructions: “true” reflexive (3), anticausative/inchoative (4), middle (5), passive (6), aspectual (7), impersonal (8), reciprocal (9), spurious/dative (unique to Spanish) (10), inherent/lexical/pronominal (11).

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>(3) Juan se lava.
Juan Refl_{se} washes
‘Juan washes himself.’</p> | <p>(4) La ventana se abrió.
the window AntiC_{se} opened
‘The window opened.’</p> |
| <p>(5) Las casas prefabricadas se construyen fácilmente.²
the houses prefabricated Mid_{se} construct easily
‘Prefabricated homes are easily constructed.’</p> | |
| <p>(6) Se destruyeron las casas.³
Pass_{se} destroyed the houses
‘The houses were destroyed.’</p> | <p>(7) Pedro se tomó una cerveza.
Pedro Asp_{se} drank a beer
‘Pedro drank himself a beer.’</p> |

² Data in (5) from Mendikoetxea (2012).

³ Data in (6) and (8) from MacDonald (2017)

- (8) Se conoce a María como buena madre.
Imp_{se} knows DOM María as good mother
'People know María as a good mother.'
- (9) Juan y Paco se besaron. (10) Se_i lo voy a dar a ella_i.
Juan and Paco Recip_{se} kissed Spur_{se} it I-go to give to her
'Juan and Paco kissed (eachother). 'I'm going to give it to her.'
- (11) Los jóvenes se jactaban mucho.
the youths Inher_{se} boasted a-lot
'The young people were boasting a lot.'

2.1.2 French

- French lacks Imp_{se} (Dobrovie-Sorin 1998).

- (12) Jean se lave. (13) La fenêtre s'est ouverte.
Jean Refl_{se} washes the window AntiC_{se}-is opened
'Jean washes himself.' 'The window opened.'
- (14) Le grec se traduit facilement.⁴ (15) Jean se vante sans arrêt.
the Greek Mid_{se} translates easily Jean Inher_{se} boasts without stop
'Greek translates easily.' 'Jean is always boasting.'
- (16) Les appartements se sont vendus. (17) Jean s'est bu une bière.
the apartments Pass_{se} are sold Jean Asp_{se}-is drunk a beer
'The apartments were sold.' 'Jean drank himself a beer.'
- (18) Jean et Marie se parlent souvent.
Jean and Marie Recip_{se} speak often
'Jean and marie speak often (to eachother).'

2.1.3 Italian

- (19) Gianni si lava. (20) La porta si aprì.
Gianni Refl_{se} washes the door AntiC_{se} opened
'Gianni washes himself.' 'The door opened.'

⁴ Data in (12) from Dobrovie-Sorin (2006).

- (21) Questo vestito si lava facilmente.⁵ (22) Si leggerà alcuni articoli.⁶
 this suit Mid_{se} washes easily Pass_{se} will-read some articles
 ‘This suit washes easily.’ ‘Some articles will be read.’
- (23) Il bambino si è mangiato le mele.⁷ (24) Gli si telefona spesso.
 the child Asp_{se} is eaten the apples him Imp_{se} calls often
 ‘The child ate up the apples.’ ‘We/one calls him often.’
- (25) Gianni e Maria si aiutano. (26) Gianni sempre si vanta.
 Gianni and Maria Recip_{se} help Gianni always Inher_{se} boasts
 ‘Gianni and Maria help each other.’ ‘Gianni is always boasting.’

2.1.4 Portuguese

- In Brazilian Portuguese, Pass_{se}, Imp_{se}, and other types are being lost (Pereira 2007). BP also lacks Asp_{se}. European Portuguese patterns with Spanish.

- (27) Ele se enfeita. (28) O vidro quebrou-se.
 he Refl_{se} dresses the glass broke-AntiC_{se}
 ‘He dresses himself.’ ‘The glass broke.’
- (29) Roupa se lava facilmente. (30) Comeram-se os bolos.⁸
 clothing Mid_{se} washes easily eat-Pass_{se} the cakes
 ‘Clothing washes easily.’ ‘The cakes were eaten.’
- (31) O João se bebeu uma cerveja. (32) Aqui se fala de si.
 the João Asp_{se} drank a beer here Imp_{se} speaks about self
 ‘John drank himself a beer.’ ‘Here one speaks about oneself.’
- (33) O João sempre se gaba.
 the João always Inher_{se} boasts
 ‘John is always boasting.’

⁵ Data in (21) from Cinque (1988).

⁶ Data in (22) from Burzio (1986).

⁷ Data in (23) from D’Alessandro (2007).

⁸ Data in (29) and (30) from MacDonald et al (2016).

2.1.5 Romanian

- Romanian is like French in having the same types of *se* except for impersonal (Dobrovie-Sorin 1998, 2006). Romanian Pass_{se} patterns differently from Spanish and other Romance in allowing the cooccurrence of *by*-phrases (MacDonald & Maddox 2017).

(34) Mihai și-a spălat.⁹
Mihai Refl_{se}-has washed
'Mihai washed himself.'

(35) S-au strâns bani.
Pass_{se}-have collected money
'Money was collected.'

(36) Se doarme bine aici.¹⁰
Pass_{se} sleeps well here
'One sleeps well here.'

2.2 The role of null subjects

- Belletti (1982) – null subject languages have Imp_{se} but non-null subject languages do not. Imp_{se} is a null subject construction.
- MacDonald (2017) – Pass_{se} and Imp_{se} have structurally present null subject (*pro*); support comes from diagnostics of inalienable possession interpretation of body parts. AntiC_{se} lacks *pro*.

(37) Pass_{se} crosslinguistically → [VoiceP *pro* Voice_{se} [VP DP]]

- Maddox & MacDonald (2017) – two elements are required for the development of Pass_{se}: 1) subject *pro* (null subjects) and 2) the reflexive must be reanalyzed as a head. Languages that have only one of these elements will lack Pass_{se}.

3. Historical development of *se* from Latin to Spanish

3.1 Background

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)

⁹ Data in (33) and (34) from Alboiu et al (2004).

¹⁰ From Dobrovie-Sorin (1998:407)

- 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 Voice (Cuervo 2003, Kempchinsky 2004, MacDonald 2017).

Main claims:

- In Latin and OS *se* was a reflexive argument DP; in MidS *se* is reanalyzed as a D head; in MS *se* is reanalyzed as *v*/Voice head, which marks valency.¹¹
- The change in status is due to a process of grammaticalization, the "reflexive object cycle" (38), a subtype of the object agreement cycle.

(38)	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

3.2 Grammaticalization and the Object Agreement Cycle (OAC)

3.2.1 Grammaticalization

- Grammaticalization: a lexical item becomes grammatical/functional or a grammatical/functional item more grammatical/functional.
- Examples:
 - English *that*, demonstrative > complementizer
 - English *will*, modal verb > future tense auxiliary
 - Spanish *haber*, lexical verb > future tense
 - Latin demonstratives *ille, illa* > Spanish articles *el, la*
- Typological and functionalist studies abound: C. Lehmann (1986, 1995), Traugott & Heine (1991), Hopper & Traugott (2003), etc. Formalist/generative studies: Roberts & Roussou (1999, 2003), van Gelderen (2004, 2008, 2011), Fuß (2005), etc.

¹¹ Latin (200 BCE-500 CE), Old Spanish (1200-1400), Middle Spanish (1400-1600), Modern Spanish (1600-present).

- Linguistic cycles and the Minimalist Program (van Gelderen 2011)
 - linguistic change is cyclical --> reanalysis and renewal
 - linguistic change is motivated by principles of economy (related to Chomsky's (2005) third factor principles)

(39) 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.
- 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.

3.2.2 The Object Agreement Cycle (OAC)

- Object pronouns > object agreement morphology on the verb
- Languages with object agreement: Amharic (40), Basque, Fijian, Warlpiri, Ojibwa, Nahuatl, etc.
 - Some scholars analyze clitic doubling (41) as object agreement (Suñer 1988, Franco 1993, Sportiche 1996).

(40) Almaz tāmari-w-in_i ayy-ätʃtʃ-iw_i (from Kramer 2014)
Almaz.F student-DEF.M-ACC see-3FS.S-3MS.O
'Almaz saw the male student.'

(41) Pedro **lo**_i-vio a él_i
Pedro him-saw DOM he
'Pedro saw him.'

(42) The Object Agreement Cycle
Stage (a) - tonic pronoun (DP); optional; unrestricted movement
Stage (b) - atonic/clitic pronoun (D); optionality varies; restricted movement
Stage (c) - agreement affix (v); obligatory; very restricted movement

- Proposal: A subtype of the OAC affects reflexive pronouns, the Reflexive Object Cycle.¹²

3.3 *The Reflexive Object Cycle (ROC) from Spanish to Latin*

- A common change: reflexive > anticausative > passive > impersonal (Haspelmath 1990)

3.3.1 The Status of *Se* Diachronically and the Stages of the *Se*-Cycle

- Patterns of movement, coordination, and modification are evidence of the reanalysis of *se* from a full DP to a functional head.¹³
- In Modern Spanish, *se* exhibits the properties of inflection.

3.3.2 Stage (a) – Latin

- Latin had a multifunctional *-r* suffix parallel to MS *se*; i.e., it could have a reflexive (43), anticausative (44), passive (45), or impersonal (46) reading.

(43) Exceptit Seleucus fabulae partem et 'ego' inquit 'non cotidie **lavor**.'¹⁴
 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.'"

(44) Omnis liquor vapore **solvitur** ac frigoribus magnis conficitur.¹⁵
 all liquid vapor dissolve and great cold congeal
 "All the liquid is thinned by the heat and congealed by great cold."

(45) **Mittitur** ad eos C. Arpinus eques Romanus.¹⁶
 sent to them C. Arpinus cavalryman Roman
 "The Roman cavalryman, C. Arpinus, was sent to them."

¹² My claim builds on a suggestion given in van Gelderen (2011). Faltz (1977, 2008) proposes a different type of cycle for reflexives crosslinguistically.

¹³ *Se* also suffered phonological attrition, as with *sik* in Old Norse.

¹⁴ Petronius, *Satyricon*, 42.2.1; 66 CE

¹⁵ Columella, *De re rustica*, 1.6.18.7; 70 CE

¹⁶ Caesar, *De bello gallico*, 5.27.1.1; 58-49 BCE

(46) **Vivitur** ex raptō: nō hospes ab hospite tutus, nō socer a genero.¹⁷
 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 (47) and anticausative constructions (48)¹⁸.

(47) *similī tālem sē vidit in aurō.*¹⁹ (48) *dum calor sē frangat.*²⁰
 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 MS.

(49)a. *mē et sē hīsce impedīvit nuptiīs!*²¹ 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

(50)a. *sē ipse sine mūnitiōne dēfenderet.*²² 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

¹⁷ Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 1.144; 8 CE

¹⁸ 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*.

¹⁹ Statius, *Achilleid*, 1.865; 94-96 CE

²⁰ Cicero, *De Oratore* 1.265; 55 BCE

²¹ Terence, *Phormio*, 2.4; 161 BCE

²² Caesar, *de Bello Gallico*, 20.5; 58-49 BCE

(51) apud Platonem Socrates_i in caelum effert laudibus Protagoram Hippiam...
 with Plato Socrates in heaven brings praises Protagoras Hippias
 ceteros, *se*_i autem omnium rerum inscium **fingit** et rudem.²³
 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."

(52)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."

Summary:

- 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.

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

- OS had Refl_{se} (53), AntiC_{se} (54), and Pass_{se} (55).²⁴

(53) Es semejante al puerco que ... *se* baña en el cieno.²⁵
 is similar to-the pig which Refl_{se} bathes in the mud
 "He is similar to the pig, which bathes itself in the mud."

(54) E cuenta aquí la Biblia que *se* abrió entonces la tierra bien allí.²⁶
 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 Cicero, *Brutus*, 292.14; 46 BCE

²⁴ 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.

²⁵ Ferrand Martínez, *Libro del cavallero Cifar*, fol. 42r; 1300

²⁶ Alfonso X, *General Estoria*; 1270

- (55) ¡Con tal cum esto se vençen moros del campo!²⁷
 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.
- (56) Desí mando que se non rasiessen.²⁸
 thus order that Refl_{se} not shave
 "Thus I order that they not shave (themselves)."
- (57) este algodón es atal que se non quema por fuego.²⁹
 this cotton is such that AntiC_{se} not burns by fire
 "This cotton is such that it does not burn from fire."
- (58) No hay guisa por que se esto diga.³⁰
 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.
- (59) Los sabios dizen que quien a sí non guarda a otri non fará pro.³¹
 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."
- (60) si el enperador **todas estas cosas non guarda** et yerra en todas...³²
 if the emperor all these things not defends and errs in everything
 "If the emperor does not defend all these things and errs in everything..."
- (61) si **se non guarda** delo beber tanto...³³
 if Refl_{se} not guards from-it drink so-much
 "If he does not protect himself from drinking so much of it..."

²⁷ Anonymous, *Cid*, line 1753; 1207

²⁸ Alfonso X, *General Estoria, Primera Parte*, fol. 277V; c. 1275

²⁹ Anonymous, *Lapidario*, fol. 17R; c. 1250

³⁰ Anonymous, *Calila e Dimna*, Chap. 3; 1251

³¹ Anonymous, *Calila e Dimna*, para. 9; 1251

³² Juan Manuel, *Libro de estados*, para. 12; 1327-1332

³³ Juan Manuel, *Libro de estados*, para. 13; 1327-1332

- *Se* can climb, but so can lexical DPs. OS climbing is XP-adjunction, not head movement (Rivero 1991).
- Patterns of auxiliary selection support the analysis of *se* as an internal argument. This diagnostic is discussed in Maddox (2016).

Summary:

- 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.

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

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

(62) ...cuanto más por hecho de mujeres que **se** ligeramente gana y pierde.³⁴
 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."

(63) que **se** non ficiese deservicio de Dios e daño de la tierra.³⁵
 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 interpolation³⁶.

³⁴ Garcí Rodríguez de Montalvo, *Amadís de Gaula*, Book II; 1475-1500

³⁵ Jerónimo Zurita, *Anales de la corona de Aragón, Primera Parte*, para. 232; 1562

³⁶ 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.

Summary:

- 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.

3.3.5 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).

(64) Juan com-e mucho. (65) Se-come mucho aquí.
 John eat-3S a-lot Imp_{se}-eat a-lot here
 "John eats a lot." "People eat a lot here."

- Inflectional morphology adheres to strict ordering with other morphemes.

(66)a. Tú habl -a -ba -s (67)a. Se -pre -dice el futuro.
 you speak-TV-Asp-2S Pass_{se}-pre-says the future
 "You were speaking." "The future is predicted."

b. *Tú habl-ba-s-a

b. *Pre-se-dice el futuro.

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

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

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

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

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

Summary:

- In MS, *se* patterns like inflectional morphology in many respects. This is the expected outcome of an element being grammaticalized as morphology.³⁷ MS *se* at stage (c) in the ROC.

3.3.6 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.

3.3.6.1 Doubling starts in Middle Spanish

- Doubling with *se* starts to occur regularly in MidS (72), but for some speakers *se* continues to be in complementary distribution with *a sí mismo* (73).

(72) pues a sí mismo se condena quien al que yerra perdona.³⁸
since DOM self very Refl_{se} condemns who DOM-the that errs pardons
"For he condemns himself, he who pardons the one that errs."

³⁷ *Se* is also undergoing paradigmaticization, another stage of grammaticalization, in some varieties of Spanish. See Benito Moreno (2015), Maddox (2016).

³⁸ Diego de San Pedro, *Cárcel de Amor*, para. 6; 1482-1492

(73) el que a sí mismo aborrece, él se juzga a mal.³⁹
 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*.⁴⁰

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.

3.3.6.2 Patterns of Refl_{se} doubling in Modern Spanish

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

(74) el que se aborreciere a sí mismo...este tal segura tiene la vida.⁴¹
 he who Refl_{se} abhors DOM self very this so secure has the life
 "He who abhors himself...this one hold his life secure."

(75) él a sí mismo se admire.⁴²
 he DOM self very Refl_{se} admires
 "He himself admires."

- Doubling of *a sí mismo* by *se* was not obligatory for all speakers.

(76) El que atiende a sí mismo por Dios, hace el todo.⁴³
 he who attends DOM self very for God does the everything
 "He who attends to himself for the sake of God, accomplishes everything."

³⁹ Fray Diego de Valencia, *Sobre la predestinación y sobre la Trinidad y la Encarnación*, para. 22 (1486-1487)

⁴⁰ 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.

⁴¹ San Juan Bautista de la Concepción, *Pláticas a los religiosos*, para. 3; 1603-1607

⁴² Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz, *Poesía (Lírica personal)*, para. 353; 1666-1695

⁴³ 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.

(77) 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."

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

3.3.7 Summary

(78) Stages of the Reflexive Object Cycle

- (a): DP pronoun → [_{VoiceP} Voice [_{VP} V Refl-DP]]
- (b): D-clitic → [_{VoiceP} D + V + Voice [_{VP} <D> + <V> [_{DP} <Refl-D>]]]
- (c): Voice head → [_{VoiceP} Voice_{Refl} [_{VP} V (*pro/DP*)]]

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

4. Reflexive constructions outside of Romance (Germanic, Scandinavian)

4.1 *The Reflexive Object Cycle in Scandinavian*⁴⁴

- In Old Norse, the reflexive *sik* is an independent word that can be modified by *sjalfa*. It can also be a suffix.

⁴⁴ Data in this section cited in Gelderen (2011:120-122) from Ottosson (2004) and Faarlund (2004).

- (86) Es tanzt sich gut in diesem Saal.⁴⁵
 it dances self well in this hall
 ‘One dances well in this hall.’

4.3 Accounting for Variation: Null Subjects and the Categorical Status of Se

4.3.1 German

- German: has expletive *pro* but lacks referential *pro* (Roberts & Holmberg 2010)
 - Free movement, Case, and auxiliary selection show that *sich* is a full, independent DP (Schäfer 2008, Alexiadou et al 2015)
 - has reflexive and anticausative *sich*; lacks a passive *sich*.

- (87) a. dass **sich** die Rolle der Mutter langsam geändert hat.⁴⁶
 that self the role of-the mother slowly changed has
 ‘that the role of the mother (in society) slowly changed.’
 b. dass die Rolle der Mutter **sich** langsam geändert hat.
 c. dass die Rolle der Mutter langsam **sich** geändert hat.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>(88) a. Ich habe mich verändert.
 I have me.ACC changed
 b. Du hast dich verändert.
 you have you.ACC changed
 c. Er hat sich verändert.
 he has self changed
 ‘I/you/he changed my/your/himself.’</p> | <p>(89) a. Ich helfe mir.
 I help me.DAT
 b. Du hilfst dir.
 you help you.DAT
 c. Er hilf sich.
 he helps self
 ‘I/you/he help(s) my/your/himself.’</p> |
|---|---|

- (90) Die Tür hat / *ist sich geöffnet.
 the door has is self opened
 ‘The door has opened.’

- (91) German anticausative → [VoiceP *sich* Voice [VP DP]]

⁴⁵ (89) and (91) from Curme (1977:332), who renders the latter as ‘This hall is good for dancing.’

⁴⁶ German data in this section from Alexiadou et al (2015:103).

4.3.2 Swedish and Norwegian

- Two reflexive elements - an independent DP (i.e. *seg* and *sig* respectively) and an affix (-s) derived historically from full reflexive DP (Geniušienė 1987)
 - *Seg/sig* occur with ‘true’ reflexives and anticausatives, but only –s occurs with passives (Geniušienė 1987).
 - *Seg/sig* cannot appear in passives because there is no empty position for *pro* to merge. In contrast, the affixal forms do not occupy a syntactic position so remnant *pro* may merge, similar to French.

(92) Albert rakar sig (själv).⁴⁷
Albert shaves self INT
‘Albert shaves himself.’

(93) Boken sålde-s.⁴⁸
book-the sold-S
‘The book was sold.’

(94) Swedish
Anticausative → [VoiceP *sig* Voice [VP DP]]
Passive → [VoiceP *pro* Voice_{-s} [VP DP]]

4.3.3 Latin and French

- Classical Latin: had *pro*; *se* was a full DP → had Refl_{se} and AntiC_{se}; no Pass_{se}.
 - Verbal affix –*r* was used for passive and impersonal

(95) Latin reflexive → [VoiceP *pro* Voice [VP *sē*]]

- French developed Pass_{se} at a time when it still had null subjects. Pass_{se} in Modern French is a historical remnant.

Previous studies:

- Nyrop (1899:204) – Pass_{se} occurs in the 13th century and becomes generalized during the Renaissance (after 1500).
- Togeby (1965) dates the appearance of Pass_{se} to the late medieval period
- Moignet (1973) considers it fairly well documented in OF.
- Jensen (1990:278) – Pass_{se} “almost totally lacking in Old French”
- Thomasset & Ueltschi (2007) - Pass_{se} exists in the oldest texts
- Wolfsgruber’s (2016) - Pass_{se} is documented in OF but only sparsely.

⁴⁷ From <https://blogs.transparent.com/swedish/myself-yourself-etc-in-swedish/>

⁴⁸ From Barðdal (2003:236).

- (96) or se cante.⁴⁹ (97) Car amors ne se puet celer.⁵⁰
 now Pass_{se} sings for love not Pass_{se} can hide
 ‘Now it is sung.’ ‘For love cannot be hidden.’
- (98) par qui l’evesque se fera.⁵¹
 by whom the-bishop Pass_{se} will-make
 ‘By whom the bishop will be appointed.’
- (99) La chose se deliverroit par le dit Thomas.⁵²
 the thing Pass_{se} delivered by the called Thomas
 ‘The thing will be delivered by the one called Thomas.’

- Status of *se*: according to some authors, interpolation does not occur in OF (Ramsden 1963, Batllori et al 1995), except subject pronouns. We find no evidence of interpolation of *se*, suggesting it was already a head in OF.

(100) French Pass_{se} → [VoiceP *pro* Voice_{se} [VP DP]]

5. Conclusion

- The typology of reflexive constructions varies crosslinguistically, even within single families like Romance.
 - Spanish, Italian, European Portuguese - greatest variety
 - French, Romanian – lack Imp_{se}
 - Brazilian Portuguese – losing various *se*-types
- In Spanish, *se* was inherited from Latin and then underwent grammaticalization via the Reflexive Object Cycle.
 - Reflexive pronouns (DPs) become valency marking morphemes (Voice).
- The ROC has also taken place in Scandinavian but not in German. The type of reflexive constructions a language has can be attributed to whether it licenses null subjects and if the reflexive element has been reanalyzed as a valency marker.

⁴⁹ Anonymous, Aucassin et Nicolette; 12/13th century. This is the heading of a musical notation; it occurs several times in the manuscript; instructions to the reader.

⁵⁰ Béroul, *Tristan*; 12th century Norman

⁵¹ Gautier de Coincy, *Miracles de Nostre-Dame*; early 13th century

⁵² *Chartes du Fores*, cited in Cennamo (1993:79) from Stefanini (1962:640).

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