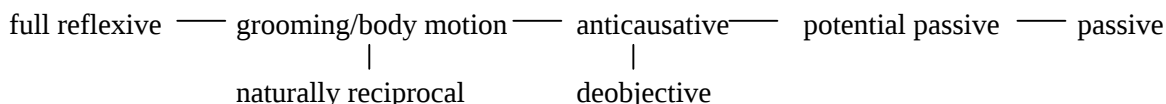


Semantic maps and implicational universals in diachronic studies: the case of reflexives

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I will analyse the diachronic development of the reflexive marker (henceforth RM) in ancient Indo-European languages using the semantic map proposed by Haspelmath (2003). He suggests to represent the polifunctionality of RMs by using the following map:



According to Haspelmath (2003) semantic maps are also particularly useful in diachronic studies, since they show a clear directionality in semantic change. We would expect then that the more a RM is grammaticalized, the more it extends to the right in the semantic map.

Ancient Indo-European languages do not show a common reflexive strategy. Rather, it seems that the creation of a dedicated reflexive marker was a later development in Indo-European languages (see Puddu 2005, *forthcoming*). Eastern IE languages used a nominal strategy as a RM, which still had a clear referential meaning. Vedic, for instance, used the word for ‘body’ *tanū-*. In these languages, as we would expect, the RM is used only as a full reflexive.

In Ancient Greek the RM *hè autón* was already fully grammaticalized, and it extended only to grooming verbs (e.g. Hom. Il. 14, 162 *entunasan hè autēn* ‘adorning herself’). Also in Latin the RM *se* was restricted to grooming or body motion (Pl. *Am.* 273 *se commovent in caelo* ‘they move in the sky’), while in Gothic it was extended to anticausative uses (e.g. *ushafjan* ‘raise’ vs. *ushafjan sik* ‘rise’). In all these languages the RM could also be used with reference to the subject of the main clause. However, while in Archaic Latin and in Ancient Greek the dependent clause could be in the indicative, subjunctive, infinitival or participial form, in Gothic it could only be in the infinitival or participial form. Huang (2000) proposed the following universal for long distance reflexivization at the sentence level:

NPs > small clauses > infinitivals > subjunctives > indicatives

In Puddu *forthcoming* I have used Huang’s (2000) hierarchy to demonstrate the original anaphoric value of **se-*. Here, I will argue that this hierarchy is “complementary” to the semantic map proposed by Haspelmath (2003). On the basis of a corpus study, I will argue that the extension of the RM in the middle domain is linked to the contemporary restriction of its uses outside the clause. In other words, I will show that the polifunctionality of the RM in IE language is:

- directly proportional to its grammaticalization;
- inversely proportional to the possibility of its use with reference outside of the sentence.

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