

**Reflexives as (in)transitivity and voice modulators in Romance:
aspectual and thematic constraints**

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In this paper I will discuss some aspects of the use of reflexives as (in)transitivity and voice modulators in Romance, focusing on the role played by aspectual notions such as telicity and the continuum of control (Lehmann 1988) in the occurrence of the reflexive morpheme in pleonastic function and in the anticausative alternation, detecting patterns of invariance (i.e., persistence), of Latin inheritance, and principled differences (i.e., divergence) in the type and extent of variation and further developments in this area of Romance morphosyntax.

I will show how a Late Latin distinction — whereby the accusative and dative forms of Latin *SE* come to differentiate two subclasses of intransitives (unergatives and unaccusatives, respectively) (Dahlén 1964, Cennamo 1999) —, subsequently neutralized, and then lost, resurfaces in the various Romance languages, although in different ways and to a different extent, but still reflecting the core syntax and function(s) of the original Latin pattern, molded by the interplay of the continuum of control and the verb's aspectual properties, leading to so-called 'pleonastic reflexives' (Reichenkron 1933, Hatcher 1942, among others), with both transitive and intransitive verbs (cf. Romanian *I se face de plimbare* 'He feels like walking', European Portuguese *já se aconteceu* 'It has already happened', Spanish *se me ha olvidado la cartera* 'I forgot my bag', *se murió* 'He died') (Cennamo 2016: 971 and references therein).

I will also explore the persistence of telicity (and, to a lesser extent, control) in shaping the alternations between the reflexive and labile strategies in the marking of anticausatives in Romance (cf. Heidinger 2010 for French, Cyrino 2013 for Brazilian Portuguese; Cennamo 2012 for some early Italian vernaculars and contemporary Italian; Schäfer 2008; Dragomirescu & Nicolae 2017 for Romanian; Bentley 2006; Keiluweit 2010 for a synchronic overview), continuing but at the same time diverging from the Latin distribution, where the reflexive strategy is initially confined to inherently telic predicates (accomplishments and achievements) (e.g., *scindere se* 'break'), the active intransitive mainly occurring, instead, with verbs of variable/reduced telicity (e.g., *lenire* 'sooth'), activities (e.g., *volutare* 'roll') and, marginally, accomplishments lexicalizing a reversible state (e.g., *aperire* 'open') (Cennamo et al. 2015).

The data investigated, therefore, appear to offer an interesting contribution to the current debate on the status and function of SE in these patterns and on the role played by the verb's inherent meaning and its interaction and integration with the event structure template of predicates in determining argument realization in the voice domain.

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