

Reflexive constructions and areal relationships: A typological-diachronic analysis of replica grammaticalization

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Reflexive markers vary cross-linguistically, encompassing both nominal and verbal strategies (Faltz 1977: 15-109, König 2007: 107-124). In addition, reflexive constructions have been argued to be prone to spreading areally (Heine 1999: 9-10). Types of contact such as substrate and superstrate have been related to this tendency: for example, the fact that Haitian Creole French presents body-part reflexives (BPRs) such as *kò* ‘body’ + pronoun and *tèt* ‘head’ + pronoun has been associated with a substratum of Kwa languages, in which such reflexive constructions are widespread (Lefebvre 1998: 170-171).

A problem with this view is, however, that Indo-European-based pidgins and creoles which do not have a demonstrable African substrate and are spoken outside the Atlantic area, such as Tok Pisin and Zamboanga Chavacano, also have BPRs (Michaelis et al. 2013). This suggests that the existence of such reflexives in Indo-European-based pidgins and creoles may be due not only to substrate influences, but also to the presence of BPRs in the late-Renaissance source languages (Chaudenson 1973: 360). Stated differently, the presence of BPRs in Tok Pisin and Zamboanga Chavacano suggests that many Indo-European-based pidgins and creoles may have undergone what has been labeled ‘replica grammaticalization’ in the literature (Heine & Kuteva 2003: 539, 2005: 92 and Ziegeler 2017: 316-319). This proposal has been rejected by some authors (Jourdain 1956: 139, Lefebvre 1998: 168-169), but never on the grounds of quantitative corpus data.

In view of this state of affairs, this study analyzes the occurrences of BPRs in the history of five Romance languages: Catalan, French, Occitan, Portuguese and Spanish. The data under investigation encompass texts written between 1400 and 1700 CE and have been extracted from digital corpora: *Frantext*, *Corpus diacrónico del español*, *Corpus do português*, *Corpus informatizat del català antic* and *Concordance de l’occitan médiéval*. First results show that non-standard dialects and fixed expressions point toward the existence of BPRs in Romance languages at least until the late-17th century, which supports the view that the source languages may have passed on these reflexive constructions onto pidgins and creoles.

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