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Word order is normally not included among the parameters of grammaticalisation (Sun & Traugott 2011) but is rather regarded as an epiphenomenon. Thus, cliticisation is viewed along the scale of grammaticalisation from free lexeme to affix. The reverse development is found, cf. *Frotscher & Mailhammer* (2021): Old Greek orthotone ě (hé) from enclitic *swe.

North Germanic middle forms in *-sk* or *-s* (from enclitic *sik/*sis in a reflexive construction) is a classic example of such grammaticalisation, but the full reflexive form *sik* and its followers were preserved as an alternative. The *-sk/-s* middle form had three main functions: reflexive, reciprocal and intransitive, and as an extension: the passive.

My focus is on the later fate of the reflexive function and pronoun. In modern Danish, a full reflexive has the 3sg/pl form *sig selv*, serving as objects and as NPs in PPs. It can fill various positions, just like other NPs. The reflexive *sig* is a middle form (Kemmer 1993), cliticised in the sense of cliticisation along a topological ('word order') scale.

1. The reflexive meaning of *-s* was lost in later Danish, and the reflexive pronoun was redefined (3sg/pl *sig*; the reciprocal and intransitive meanings of the middle turn unproductive). Forms like *gemmes* 'hide'-es can no longer mean 'hide, hide oneself' (where earlier Danish allowed *fluerne gemmes ved ovnen* 'the flies hide by the oven'); and *sætt-es* 'sit'-es cannot mean 'to sit down'. This meaning calls for the reflexive construction *gemme sig*, *sætte sig*. In contrast to Greek ě, reversing takes place at the level of content only. There is no prosodic change at the level of expression to distinguish reflexives from anaphoric personal pronouns, and up to around 1700, both reflexives and anaphors preserved topological integrity, the ability to be part of word order contrasts.

2. Clitics can also be hosted by syntactic constituents, cf. the reinterpretation of the genitive in Scandinavian and English as an NP clitic (*the Queen of England's favourite castle*). In Danish, anaphoric object pronouns and anaphoric place adverbs are clitics, being either proclitics or enclitics to the subject-verb nucleus of the clause.

(1) *øher [bor vi] stadigvæk*
here live we still

(2) *[Vi bor] øher stadigvæk*
we live here still

The fronted proclitic in (1) fills a position in the word order system, just like the personal pronoun in (2). This filling is a precondition for declarative clause formation. Thus, the clitic personal pronouns will be said to be topologically intact and to preserve topological integrity. By contrast, the reflexive pronouns have lost topological integrity, and they are never part of a word order contrast; convincing examples are reflexives in presentative constructions where the object position is occupied by the argument 1 under VP-domination. This pronominal split is normally overlooked (see e.g. Vikner 2005).

(3) *Der vil vise sig en ny stjerne på himmelen*
there will show REFL a new star in the sky
'a new star will show in the sky'

Similar examples are found in Old French where the word order system is V2, with the addition that atonic variants of personal pronouns do not hold an independent position:

(4) *[Avez li] (V + atonic dative) vos (subj) son pere ne son frere tué?*
have him.D you his father or his brother killed? Buridant § 587

Such word order clitics are on the brink of shifting to univerbation processes, but still, they demonstrate full boundness at the level of word order. Danish reflexive pronouns can only be enclitic (they can never be fronted or promoted). The contrast between anaphors and reflexives documents that word order is a domain of grammaticalisation in its own right.

Key words:

clitics, Danish, reflexive pronouns, topological integrity, word order.

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