The expletive syntax of anticausative *SE*:
insights from stylistic applicatives in Chilean Spanish

Carlos Muñoz Pérez
carlos.munozperez@uc.cl

Universidad Austral de Chile

SPADISYN V
Universidad de Extramadura
October 29 2021

INTRODUCTION

Chilean Spanish has been scarcely studied from a generative perspective. This is odd, as the dialect exhibits many puzzling morphosyntactic patterns.

➨ The microparametric study of the Spanish dialects spoken in the Southern Cone is still very incipient.

Introduction

Chilean Spanish has been scarcely studied from a generative perspective. This is odd, as the dialect exhibits many puzzling morphosyntactic patterns.

➥ The microparametric study of the Spanish dialects spoken in the Southern Cone is still very incipient.

In this talk, I will present data from a syntactic phenomenon of Chilean Spanish: *stylistic LE* (Muñoz Pérez 2020a).

INTRODUCTION

Chilean Spanish has been scarcely studied from a generative perspective. This is odd, as the dialect exhibits many puzzling morphosyntactic patterns.

➥ The microparametric study of the Spanish dialects spoken in the Southern Cone is still very incipient.

In this talk, I will present data from a syntactic phenomenon of Chilean Spanish: *stylistic LE* (Muñoz Pérez 2020a).

I aim to show that *stylistic LE* supports a specific type of hypothesis on the nature of the *causative alternation*.

INTRODUCTION

Chilean Spanish has been scarcely studied from a generative perspective. This is odd, as the dialect exhibits many puzzling morphosyntactic patterns.

> ➥ The microparametric study of the Spanish dialects spoken in the Southern Cone is still very incipient.

In this talk, I will present data from a syntactic phenomenon of Chilean Spanish: *stylistic LE* (Muñoz Pérez 2020a).

I aim to show that *stylistic LE* supports a specific type of hypothesis on the nature of the *causative alternation*.

> ✔ *Stylistic LE* receives a straightforward account under the assumption that anticausative markers are *expletives* of sorts.

INTRODUCTION

Chilean Spanish has been scarcely studied from a generative perspective. This is odd, as the dialect exhibits many puzzling morphosyntactic patterns.

➡ The microparametric study of the Spanish dialects spoken in the Southern Cone is still very incipient.

In this talk, I will present data from a syntactic phenomenon of Chilean Spanish: *stylistic LE* (Muñoz Pérez 2020a).

I aim to show that *stylistic LE* supports a specific type of hypothesis on the nature of the *causative alternation*.

✔ *Stylistic LE* receives a straightforward account under the assumption that anticausative markers are *expletives* of sorts.

✔ If this analysis is on the right track, the pattern exemplifies a novel type of phenomenon in the realm of anticausativity.

INTRODUCTION

Chilean Spanish has been scarcely studied from a generative perspective. This is odd, as the dialect exhibits many puzzling morphosyntactic patterns.

> ➥ The microparametric study of the Spanish dialects spoken in the Southern Cone is still very incipient.

In this talk, I will present data from a syntactic phenomenon of Chilean Spanish: *stylistic LE* (Muñoz Pérez 2020a).

I aim to show that *stylistic LE* supports a specific type of hypothesis on the nature of the *causative alternation*.

> ✔ *Stylistic LE* receives a straightforward account under the assumption that anticausative markers are *expletives* of sorts.
> ✔ If this analysis is on the right track, the pattern exemplifies a novel type of phenomenon in the realm of anticausativity.

Stylistic LE is a complex construction involving (i) *anticausative SE* and (ii) *affected datives*. Some basic assumptions concerning these domains are necessary.

ANTICAUSATIVE *SE* AS AN EXPLETIVE

My starting point is the analysis of anticausative markers advanced in Schäfer (2008), Pujalte & Saab (2012), Alexiadou et al. (2015), among others.

The proposal in Schäfer (2008) goes more or less as follows.

Anticausative *SE* as an expletive

My starting point is the analysis of anticausative markers advanced in Schäfer (2008), Pujalte & Saab (2012), Alexiadou et al. (2015), among others.

The proposal in Schäfer (2008) goes more or less as follows.

✔ The external argument is introduced as the specifier of a *Voice* projection (e.g., Kratzer 1996).

ANTICAUSATIVE *SE* AS AN EXPLETIVE

My starting point is the analysis of anticausative markers advanced in Schäfer (2008), Pujalte & Saab (2012), Alexiadou et al. (2015), among others.

The proposal in Schäfer (2008) goes more or less as follows.

- ✔ The external argument is introduced as the specifier of a *Voice* projection (e.g., Kratzer 1996).
- ✔ Merging a DP in this position satisfies a D-feature on *Voice*.

ANTICAUSATIVE *SE* AS AN EXPLETIVE

My starting point is the analysis of anticausative markers advanced in Schäfer (2008), Pujalte & Saab (2012), Alexiadou et al. (2015), among others.

The proposal in Schäfer (2008) goes more or less as follows.

- ✔ The external argument is introduced as the specifier of a *Voice* projection (e.g., Kratzer 1996).
- ✔ Merging a DP in this position satisfies a D-feature on *Voice*.
- ✔ There is a semantically vacuous variant of *Voice* that assigns no θ-role to its specifier.

ANTICAUSATIVE *SE* AS AN EXPLETIVE

My starting point is the analysis of anticausative markers advanced in Schäfer (2008), Pujalte & Saab (2012), Alexiadou et al. (2015), among others.

The proposal in Schäfer (2008) goes more or less as follows.

- ✔ The external argument is introduced as the specifier of a *Voice* projection (e.g., Kratzer 1996).
- ✔ Merging a DP in this position satisfies a D-feature on *Voice*.
- ✔ There is a semantically vacuous variant of *Voice* that assigns no θ-role to its specifier.
- ✔ However, this elements still requires merging an element of type D in the specifier position of VoiceP.

ANTICAUSATIVE *SE* AS AN EXPLETIVE

My starting point is the analysis of anticausative markers advanced in Schäfer (2008), Pujalte & Saab (2012), Alexiadou et al. (2015), among others.

The proposal in Schäfer (2008) goes more or less as follows.

- ✔ The external argument is introduced as the specifier of a *Voice* projection (e.g., Kratzer 1996).
- ✔ Merging a DP in this position satisfies a D-feature on *Voice*.
- ✔ There is a semantically vacuous variant of *Voice* that assigns no θ-role to its specifier.
- ✔ However, this elements still requires merging an element of type D in the specifier position of VoiceP.
- ✔ In Spanish, this constituent is the reflexive element *SE*.
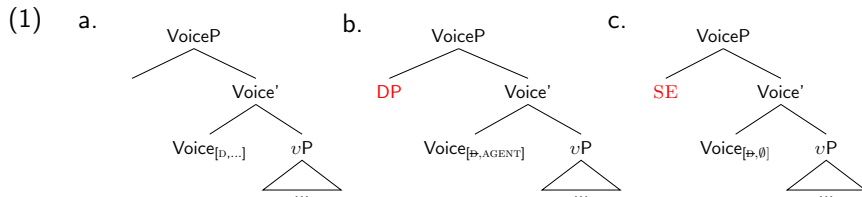
ANTICAUSATIVE *SE* AS AN EXPLETIVE

My starting point is the analysis of anticausative markers advanced in Schäfer (2008), Pujalte & Saab (2012), Alexiadou et al. (2015), among others.

The proposal in Schäfer (2008) goes more or less as follows.

- ✔ The external argument is introduced as the specifier of a *Voice* projection (e.g., Kratzer 1996).
- ✔ Merging a DP in this position satisfies a D-feature on *Voice*.
- ✔ There is a semantically vacuous variant of *Voice* that assigns no θ-role to its specifier.
- ✔ However, this elements still requires merging an element of type D in the specifier position of VoiceP.
- ✔ In Spanish, this constituent is the reflexive element *SE*.
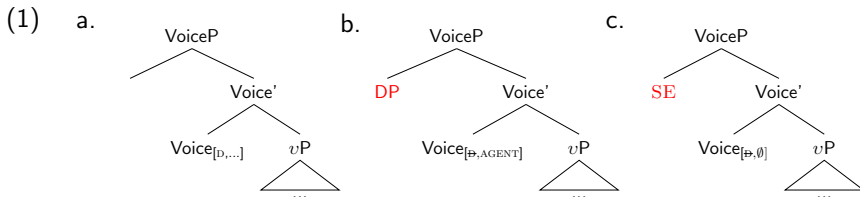- ✔ Since *SE* carries no θ-role, the anticausative interpretation is captured.

ANTICAUSATIVE *SE* AS AN EXPLETIVE

The representations in (1) illustrate this analysis.

(1) a.

VoiceP
    Voice'
Voice$_{[\text{D},...]}$ vP
            ...

b.

VoiceP
DP   Voice'
    Voice$_{[\text{D},\text{AGENT}]}$ vP
                ...

c.

VoiceP
SE   Voice'
    Voice$_{[\text{D},\emptyset]}$ vP
                ...

ANTICAUSATIVE *SE* AS AN EXPLETIVE

The representations in (1) illustrate this analysis.

(1) a.   b. c.

This account captures the *causative alternation* in a transparent way.
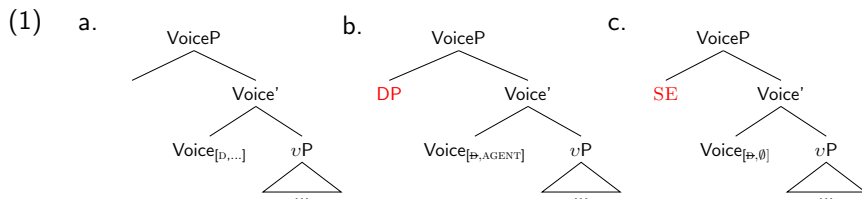
(2) a. Cosmo abrió   la puerta.
        Cosmo opened.3sg the door
        'Cosmo opened the door.'   *cf. (1b)*

Anticausative *SE* as an expletive

The representations in (1) illustrate this analysis.

(1) a.

This account captures the *causative alternation* in a transparent way.

(2) a. Cosmo abrió   la   puerta.
        Cosmo opened.3SG the door
        'Cosmo opened the door.'   *cf. (1b)*

     b. La   puerta se   abrió.
        The door   REFL opened
        'The door opened.'   *cf. (1c)*

Anticausative *SE* as an expletive

One could object that this functioning does not fully resemble the typical behavior of expletives in other languages.

➤ In these, the formal feature on the relevant head can be satisfied through syntactic movement.

ANTICAUSATIVE *SE* AS AN EXPLETIVE

One could object that this functioning does not fully resemble the typical behavior of expletives in other languages.
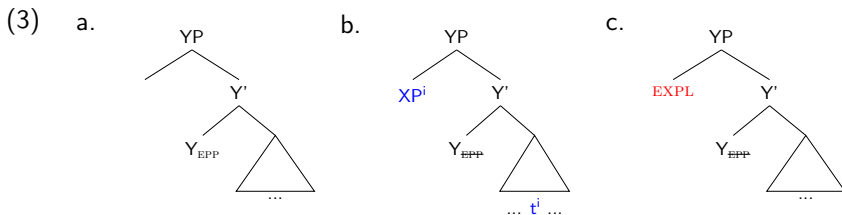
➥ In these, the formal feature on the relevant head can be satisfied through syntactic movement.

Consider the representations in (3).

(3)   a.

YP
├── Y'
    ├── Y$_{EPP}$
    └── △
        ...

b.

YP
├── XP^i
└── Y'
    ├── Y$_{EPP}$
    └── △
        ... t^i ...

c.

YP
├── EXPL
└── Y'
    ├── Y$_{EPP}$
    └── △
        ...

The EPP-feature on Y could be checked alternatively through expletive insertion in [Spec,YP] or movement of XP to [Spec,YP].

Many languages display these alternations in contexts that allow for *expletive insertion*. Take the this pattern from Finnish (Holmberg & Nikanne 2002: 71).

(4)   a. [$_{TP}$ [$_{T'}$ leikkii lapsia   kadulla]]
                              play   children in.street

ANTICAUSATIVE *SE* AS AN EXPLETIVE

Many languages display these alternations in contexts that allow for *expletive insertion*. Take the this pattern from Finnish (Holmberg & Nikanne 2002: 71).

(4)   a. [TP   [T' leikkii lapsia   kadulla]]
                        play   children in.street

   b. [TP Lapsia^i [T' leikkii t^i kadulla]]
           children   play   in.street

<div align="right">*DP movement*</div>

Anticausative *SE* as an expletive

Many languages display these alternations in contexts that allow for *expletive insertion*. Take the this pattern from Finnish (Holmberg & Nikanne 2002: 71).

(4) a. [TP   [T′ leikkii lapsia   kadulla]]
                    play   children in.street

   b. [TP Lapsia^i [T′ leikkii t^i kadulla]]
          children   play   in.street

DP movement

   c. [TP Sitä   [T′ leikkii lapsia   kadulla]]
          EXPL   play   children in.street

expletive insertion

ANTICAUSATIVE *SE* AS AN EXPLETIVE

Many languages display these alternations in contexts that allow for *expletive insertion*. Take the this pattern from Finnish (Holmberg & Nikanne 2002: 71).

(4) a. [TP   [T' leikkii lapsia   kadulla]]
             play   children in.street

   b. [TP Lapsia^i [T' leikkii t^i kadulla]]
       children   play   in.street

DP movement

   c. [TP Sitä [T' leikkii lapsia   kadulla]]
       EXPL   play   children in.street

expletive insertion

As is well-known, similar patterns can be found in English.

(5) a. [TP   [T' is a man in the garden]]

ANTICAUSATIVE *SE* AS AN EXPLETIVE

Many languages display these alternations in contexts that allow for *expletive insertion*. Take the this pattern from Finnish (Holmberg & Nikanne 2002: 71).

(4) a. [TP   [T' leikkii lapsia   kadulla]]
                        play   children in.street

  b. [TP Lapsia^i [T' leikkii t^i kadulla]]
          children   play   in.street

  DP movement

  c. [TP Sitä [T' leikkii lapsia   kadulla]]
          EXPL   play   children in.street

  expletive insertion

As is well-known, similar patterns can be found in English.

(5) a. [TP   [T' is a man in the garden]]
  b. [TP A man^i [TP is t^i in the garden]]   *DP movement*

ANTICAUSATIVE *SE* AS AN EXPLETIVE

Many languages display these alternations in contexts that allow for *expletive insertion*. Take the this pattern from Finnish (Holmberg & Nikanne 2002: 71).

(4) a. [TP   [T' leikkii lapsia   kadulla]]
                play   children in.street

    b. [TP Lapsia^i [T' leikkii t^i kadulla]]
         children   play   in.street

DP movement

    c. [TP Sitä [T' leikkii lapsia   kadulla]]
         EXPL   play   children in.street

expletive insertion

As is well-known, similar patterns can be found in English.

(5) a. [TP   [T' is a man in the garden]]
    b. [TP A man^i [TP is t^i in the garden]]   *DP movement*
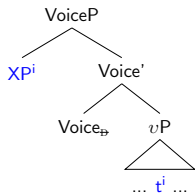   c. [TP There [TP is a man in the garden]]   *expletive insertion*

Anticausative *SE* as an expletive

The question is why similar patterns do not arise with Spanish anticausatives, i.e., why is that movement of a constituent cannot satisfy the D-feature on *Voice*.

(6)

This predicts that the anticausative marker *SE* could be absent from the construction, which is strongly disallowed in Spanish

Anticausative *SE* as an expletive

The question is why similar patterns do not arise with Spanish anticausatives, i.e., why is that movement of a constituent cannot satisfy the D-feature on *Voice*.

(6)

This predicts that the anticausative marker *SE* could be absent from the construction, which is strongly disallowed in Spanish
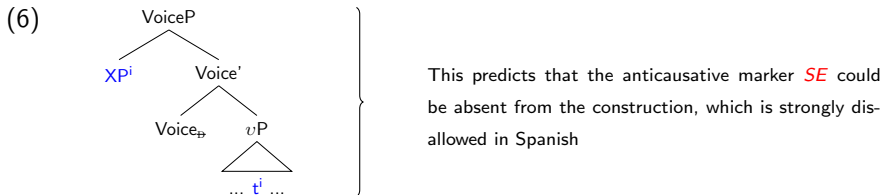
✔ One could argue that there are no elements within vP that could yield a grammatical derivation if moved to [Spec,VoiceP].

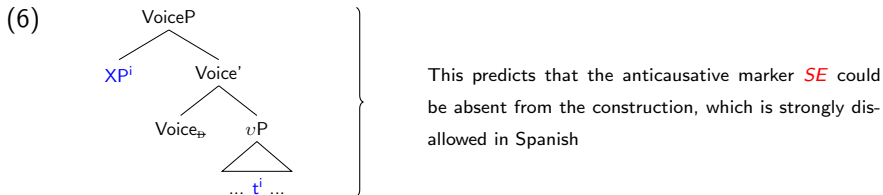# ANTICAUSATIVE *SE* AS AN EXPLETIVE

The question is why similar patterns do not arise with Spanish anticausatives, i.e., why is that movement of a constituent cannot satisfy the D-feature on *Voice*.

(6)

VoiceP

XP^i   Voice'

Voice_D vP

... t^i ...

This predicts that the anticausative marker *SE* could be absent from the construction, which is strongly disallowed in Spanish

✔ One could argue that there are no elements within vP that could yield a grammatical derivation if moved to [Spec,VoiceP].

English offers many examples in which *expletive insertion* is the only way to generate a grammatical representation.

ANTICAUSATIVE *SE* AS AN EXPLETIVE

The question is why similar patterns do not arise with Spanish anticausatives, i.e., why is that movement of a constituent cannot satisfy the D-feature on *Voice*.
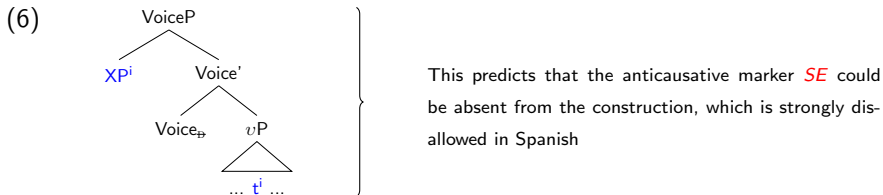
(6)

This predicts that the anticausative marker *SE* could be absent from the construction, which is strongly disallowed in Spanish

✔ One could argue that there are no elements within vP that could yield a grammatical derivation if moved to [Spec,VoiceP].

English offers many examples in which *expletive insertion* is the only way to generate a grammatical representation.

(7) a. [$_{TP}$ [$_{T'}$ seems that the kids are asleep]]

ANTICAUSATIVE *SE* AS AN EXPLETIVE

The question is why similar patterns do not arise with Spanish anticausatives, i.e., why is that movement of a constituent cannot satisfy the D-feature on *Voice*.
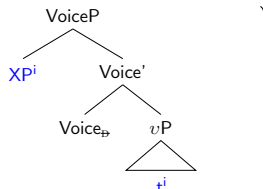
(6)

This predicts that the anticausative marker *SE* could be absent from the construction, which is strongly disallowed in Spanish

✔ One could argue that there are no elements within vP that could yield a grammatical derivation if moved to [Spec,VoiceP].

English offers many examples in which *expletive insertion* is the only way to generate a grammatical representation.

(7) a. [$_{TP}$ [$_{T'}$ seems that the kids are asleep]]
    b. * [$_{TP}$ The kids [$_{T'}$ seem that t^i are asleep]]

Anticausative *SE* as an expletive

The question is why similar patterns do not arise with Spanish anticausatives, i.e., why is that movement of a constituent cannot satisfy the D-feature on *Voice*.

(6)

This predicts that the anticausative marker *SE* could be absent from the construction, which is strongly disallowed in Spanish
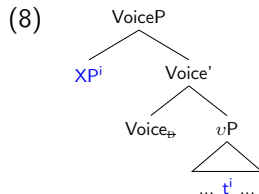
✔ One could argue that there are no elements within vP that could yield a grammatical derivation if moved to [Spec,VoiceP].

English offers many examples in which *expletive insertion* is the only way to generate a grammatical representation.

(7) a. [$_{TP}$ [$_{T'}$ seems that the kids are asleep]]
     b. * [$_{TP}$ The kids [$_{T'}$ seem that t^i are asleep]]
     c. [$_{TP}$ It [$_{T'}$ seems that the kids are asleep]]

Anticausative *SE* as an expletive

I take that a configuration in the lines of (8) is a missing data point supporting the claim that anticausative *SE* is an expletive.

(8)

Anticausative *SE* as an expletive
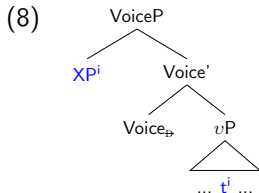
I take that a configuration in the lines of (8) is a missing data point supporting the claim that anticausative *SE* is an expletive.

(8)

Thing to remember:

A pattern in which (i) a vP-internal element replaces anticausative *SE*, while (ii) preserving the anticausative reading, supports the claim that *SE* is an expletive.

Affected datives

The second ingredient I need to introduce involves *affected datives* in Spanish.

(9) a. Cosmo abrió   la   puerta.
Cosmo opened.3sg the door
'Cosmo opened the door.'

AFFECTED DATIVES

The second ingredient I need to introduce involves *affected datives* in Spanish.

(9)   a. Cosmo abrió   la puerta.
            Cosmo opened.3SG the door
            'Cosmo opened the door.'

        b. Cosmo me   abrió   la puerta.
            Cosmo DAT.1SG opened.3SG the door
            'Cosmo opened the door and I was affected by this.'

Affected datives

The second ingredient I need to introduce involves *affected datives* in Spanish.

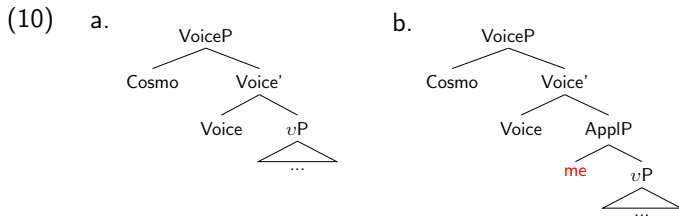(9)   a. Cosmo abrió   la   puerta.
             Cosmo opened.3SG the door
             'Cosmo opened the door.'

        b. Cosmo me   abrió   la   puerta.
             Cosmo DAT.1SG opened.3SG the door
             'Cosmo opened the door and I was affected by this.'

Cuervo (2003) argues that the *affected dative* is an Applicative head selecting a vP that denotes a resulting state. The trees in (10) illustrate the analysis.

(10)   a.

AFFECTED DATIVES

An *affected dative* can be combined with *anticausative SE* in a sentence.

➥ In the resulting construction, the dative phrase tends to be interpreted as an *unintentional causer* (Cuervo 2003, Kallulli 2006, Schäfer 2008, i.a.).

AFFECTED DATIVES

An *affected dative* can be combined with *anticausative SE* in a sentence.

➡ In the resulting construction, the dative phrase tends to be interpreted as an *unintentional causer* (Cuervo 2003, Kallulli 2006, Schäfer 2008, i.a.).

(11) Se   me   cerró   la   puerta.
      REFL DAT.1SG closed.3SG the door
      'I unintentionally caused the door to be closed.'

Affected datives

An *affected dative* can be combined with *anticausative SE* in a sentence.

➡ In the resulting construction, the dative phrase tends to be interpreted as an *unintentional causer* (Cuervo 2003, Kallulli 2006, Schäfer 2008, i.a.).

(11) Se   me   cerró   la   puerta.
      REFL DAT.1SG   closed.3SG the door
      'I unintentionally caused the door to be closed.'

(12) A   los vecinos   se   les   rompió   el   televisor.
      DAT the neighbours   REFL DAT.3PL   broke.3SG the television
      'The neighbours unintentionally caused the TV to be broken.'

Affected datives

An *affected dative* can be combined with *anticausative SE* in a sentence.

➡ In the resulting construction, the dative phrase tends to be interpreted as an *unintentional causer* (Cuervo 2003, Kallulli 2006, Schäfer 2008, i.a.).

(11) Se   me   cerró   la   puerta.
      REFL DAT.1SG closed.3SG the door
      'I unintentionally caused the door to be closed.'

(12) A   los vecinos   se   les   rompió   el televisor.
      DAT the neighbours REFL DAT.3PL broke.3SG the television
      'The neighbours unintentionally caused the TV to be broken.'

(13) Se   te   hundió   el   bote.
      REFL DAT.2SG sank.3SG the boat
      'You unintentionally caused the boat to sink.'

Affected datives

The same type of interpretation is attested in a variety of languages.

(14) Joannie   zbił się   kubek.
      Joanna.DAT broke REFL mug.NOM
      'Joanna unintentionally broke the mug.'   *Polish*

AFFECTED DATIVES

The same type of interpretation is attested in a variety of languages.

(14) Joannie zbił się kubek.
Joanna.DAT broke REFL mug.NOM
'Joanna unintentionally broke the mug.' *Polish*

(15) Benit i-u thye dritarja.
Ben.DAT DAT.CL3S-NACT broke.AOR.3S window.NOM
'Ben unintentionally broke the window.' *Albanian (Kallulli 2006: 274)*

AFFECTED DATIVES

The same type of interpretation is attested in a variety of languages.

(14) Joannie   zbił się kubek.
     Joanna.DAT broke REFL mug.NOM
     'Joanna unintentionally broke the mug.'   *Polish*

(15) Benit   i-u   thye   dritarja.
     Ben.DAT DAT.CL3S-NACT   broke.AOR.3S window.NOM
     'Ben unintentionally broke the window.'   *Albanian (Kallulli 2006: 274)*

(16) Dem   Peter zerbrach versehentlich die   Vase.
     the.DAT John broke   accidentally the.NOM vase
     'Peter accidentally broke the vase.'   *German (Schäfer 2008: 81)*

Affected datives

The same type of interpretation is attested in a variety of languages.

(14) Joannie   zbił się kubek.
     Joanna.DAT broke REFL mug.NOM
     'Joanna unintentionally broke the mug.'   *Polish*

(15) Benit i-u   thye   dritarja.
     Ben.DAT DAT.CL3S-NACT broke.AOR.3S window.NOM
     'Ben unintentionally broke the window.'   *Albanian (Kallulli 2006: 274)*

(16) Dem   Peter zerbrach versehentlich die   Vase.
     the.DAT John broke   accidentally the.NOM vase
     'Peter accidentally broke the vase.'   *German (Schäfer 2008: 81)*

(17) A   Francesca si   ruppe il   vaso.
     to.DAT Francesca REFL broke the.NOM vase
     "Francesca unintentionally caused the vase to break."

                                                Italian (Alexiadou et al. 2015: 45)

Stylistic applicatives

Chilean Spanish also displays this pattern.

(18) Se me   rompió   la radio.
     SE DAT.1SG broke.3SG the radio
     'I unintentionally caused the radio to be broken'

Stylistic applicatives

Chilean Spanish also displays this pattern.

(18)   Se me   rompió   la radio.
        SE DAT.1SG broke.3SG the radio
        'I unintentionally caused the radio to be broken'

But it also exhibits the option of introducing an invariable and non-referential dative clitic *LE*. As (19) and (20) show, *SE* becomes optional in this context.

(19)   Me   **le** rompió   la radio.
        DAT.1SG LE broke.3SG the radio

(20)   Se me   **le** rompió   la radio.
        SE DAT.1SG LE broke.3SG the radio

STYLISTIC APPLICATIVES

Chilean Spanish also displays this pattern.

(18) Se me   rompió   la radio.
      SE DAT.1SG broke.3SG the radio
      'I unintentionally caused the radio to be broken'

But it also exhibits the option of introducing an invariable and non-referential dative clitic *LE*. As (19) and (20) show, *SE* becomes optional in this context.

(19) Me   **le** rompió   la radio.
      DAT.1SG LE broke.3SG the radio

(20) Se me   **le** rompió   la radio.
      SE DAT.1SG LE broke.3SG the radio

Previous mentions of these patterns can be found in Kany (1945: 139, 1969: 174), Oroz (1966: 174), Campos (1999: 1571) y Silva-Corvalán (2005).

I call this alternation *stylistic LE*. To my knowledge, no similar phenomenon has been reported for other languages exhibiting unintentional oblique causers.

STYLISTIC APPLICATIVES

Stylistic LE is possible with verbs that participate in the *causative alternation*, e.g., *romper* 'to break', *hundir* 'to sink', *abrir* 'to open', etc.

Stylistic applicatives

Stylistic LE is possible with verbs that participate in the *causative alternation*, e.g., *romper* 'to break', *hundir* 'to sink', *abrir* 'to open', etc.

(21) a. Se me   hundió   el   bote.
         SE DAT.1SG sank.3SG the boat
         'I unintentionally caused the boat to sink.'

STYLISTIC APPLICATIVES

Stylistic LE is possible with verbs that participate in the *causative alternation*, e.g., *romper* 'to break', *hundir* 'to sink', *abrir* 'to open', etc.

(21) a. Se me   hundió   el   bote.
          SE DAT.1SG sank.3SG the boat
          'I unintentionally caused the boat to sink.'

      b. Me   le hundió   el   bote.
          DAT.1SG LE sank.3SG the boat

Stylistic applicatives

Stylistic LE is possible with verbs that participate in the *causative alternation*, e.g., *romper* 'to break', *hundir* 'to sink', *abrir* 'to open', etc.

(21) a. Se me   hundió   el bote.
      SE DAT.1SG sank.3SG the boat
      'I unintentionally caused the boat to sink.'

    b. Me   le hundió   el bote.
      DAT.1SG LE sank.3SG the boat

    c. Se me   le hundió   el bote.
      SE DAT.1SG LE sank.3SG the boat

STYLISTIC APPLICATIVES

Stylistic LE is possible with verbs that participate in the *causative alternation*, e.g., *romper* 'to break', *hundir* 'to sink', *abrir* 'to open', etc.

(21) a. Se me   hundió   el   bote.
          SE DAT.1SG sank.3SG the boat
          'I unintentionally caused the boat to sink.'

      b. Me   le hundió   el   bote.
          DAT.1SG LE sank.3SG the boat

      c. Se me   le hundió   el   bote.
          SE DAT.1SG LE sank.3SG the boat

(22) a. Se me   cerró   la   puerta.
          SE DAT.1SG closed.3SG the door
          'I unintentionally caused the door to be closed.'

Stylistic applicatives

Stylistic LE is possible with verbs that participate in the *causative alternation*, e.g., *romper* 'to break', *hundir* 'to sink', *abrir* 'to open', etc.

(21) a. Se me   hundió   el   bote.
         SE DAT.1SG sank.3SG the boat
         'I unintentionally caused the boat to sink.'

      b. Me   le hundió   el   bote.
         DAT.1SG LE sank.3SG the boat

      c. Se me   le hundió   el   bote.
         SE DAT.1SG LE sank.3SG the boat

(22) a. Se me   cerró   la   puerta.
         SE DAT.1SG closed.3SG the door
         'I unintentionally caused the door to be closed.'

      b. Me   le cerró   la   puerta.
         DAT.1SG LE closed.3SG the door

STYLISTIC APPLICATIVES

Stylistic LE is possible with verbs that participate in the *causative alternation*, e.g., *romper* 'to break', *hundir* 'to sink', *abrir* 'to open', etc.

(21) a. Se me   hundió   el bote.
      SE DAT.1SG sank.3SG the boat
      'I unintentionally caused the boat to sink.'

    b. Me   le hundió   el bote.
       DAT.1SG LE sank.3SG the boat

    c. Se me   le hundió   el bote.
       SE DAT.1SG LE sank.3SG the boat

(22) a. Se me   cerró   la puerta.
      SE DAT.1SG closed.3SG the door
      'I unintentionally caused the door to be closed.'

    b. Me   le cerró   la puerta.
       DAT.1SG LE closed.3SG the door

    c. Se me   le cerró   la puerta.
       SE DAT.1SG LE closed.3SG the door

STYLISTIC APPLICATIVES

The alternation is also attested with verbs of change that acquire an inchoative value when used with *SE*, e.g., *caer* 'to fall', *morir* 'to die'.

STYLISTIC APPLICATIVES

The alternation is also attested with verbs of change that acquire an inchoative value when used with *SE*, e.g., *caer* 'to fall', *morir* 'to die'.

(23)   a. Se me   cayeron las llaves.
           SE DAT.1SG fell.3PL the keys
           'I unintentionally caused the keys to fall.'

Stylistic applicatives

The alternation is also attested with verbs of change that acquire an inchoative value when used with *SE*, e.g., *caer* 'to fall', *morir* 'to die'.

(23) a. Se me   cayeron las llaves.
          SE DAT.1SG fell.3PL the keys
          'I unintentionally caused the keys to fall.'

      b. Me   *le* cayeron las llaves.
          DAT.1SG LE   fell.3PL the keys

Stylistic applicatives

The alternation is also attested with verbs of change that acquire an inchoative value when used with *SE*, e.g., *caer* 'to fall', *morir* 'to die'.

(23)   a. Se me   cayeron las llaves.
            SE DAT.1SG fell.3PL the keys
            'I unintentionally caused the keys to fall.'

        b. Me   *le* cayeron las llaves.
            DAT.1SG LE fell.3PL the keys

        c. Se me   *le* cayeron las llaves.
            SE DAT.1SG LE fell.3PL the keys

STYLISTIC APPLICATIVES

The alternation is also attested with verbs of change that acquire an inchoative value when used with *SE*, e.g., *caer* 'to fall', *morir* 'to die'.

(23) a. Se me cayeron las llaves.
SE DAT.1SG fell.3PL the keys
'I unintentionally caused the keys to fall.'

   b. Me le cayeron las llaves.
DAT.1SG LE fell.3PL the keys

   c. Se me le cayeron las llaves.
SE DAT.1SG LE fell.3PL the keys

(24) a. Se me murió la planta.
SE DAT.1SG died.3SG the plant
'I unintentionally caused the plant to die.'

Stylistic applicatives

The alternation is also attested with verbs of change that acquire an inchoative value when used with *SE*, e.g., *caer* 'to fall', *morir* 'to die'.

(23)   a.   Se me   cayeron las llaves.
             SE DAT.1SG fell.3PL the keys
             'I unintentionally caused the keys to fall.'

         b.   Me   *le* cayeron las llaves.
             DAT.1SG LE fell.3PL the keys

         c.   Se me   *le* cayeron las llaves.
             SE DAT.1SG LE fell.3PL the keys

(24)   a.   Se me   murió   la planta.
             SE DAT.1SG died.3SG the plant
             'I unintentionally caused the plant to die.'

         b.   Me   *le* murió   la planta.
             DAT.1SG LE died.3SG the plant

STYLISTIC APPLICATIVES

The alternation is also attested with verbs of change that acquire an inchoative value when used with *SE*, e.g., *caer* 'to fall', *morir* 'to die'.

(23) a. Se me   cayeron las llaves.
         SE DAT.1SG fell.3PL the keys
         'I unintentionally caused the keys to fall.'

      b. Me   *le* cayeron las llaves.
         DAT.1SG LE fell.3PL the keys

      c. Se me   *le* cayeron las llaves.
         SE DAT.1SG LE fell.3PL the keys

(24) a. Se me   murió   la planta.
         SE DAT.1SG died.3SG the plant
         'I unintentionally caused the plant to die.'

      b. Me   *le* murió   la planta.
         DAT.1SG LE died.3SG the plant

      c. Se me   *le* murió   la planta.
         SE DAT.1SG LE died.3SG the plant

STYLISTIC APPLICATIVES

Lastly, *stylistic LE* also appears with psych-verbs formed with *SE* that have a dative clitic as experiencer, e.g., *olvidarse* 'to forget', *ocurrirse* 'to occur'.

STYLISTIC APPLICATIVES

Lastly, *stylistic LE* also appears with psych-verbs formed with *SE* that have a dative clitic as experiencer, e.g., *olvidarse* 'to forget', *ocurrirse* 'to occur'.

(25)   a. Se   me   olvidó   eso.
                SE   DAT.1SG forgot.3SG that
                'I forgot that.'

Stylistic applicatives

Lastly, *stylistic LE* also appears with psych-verbs formed with *SE* that have a dative clitic as experiencer, e.g., *olvidarse* 'to forget', *ocurrirse* 'to occur'.

(25)   a. Se me olvidó eso.
           SE DAT.1SG forgot.3SG that
           'I forgot that.'

       b. Me *le* olvidó eso.
           DAT.1SG LE forgot.3SG that

Stylistic applicatives

Lastly, *stylistic LE* also appears with psych-verbs formed with *SE* that have a dative clitic as experiencer, e.g., *olvidarse* 'to forget', *ocurrirse* 'to occur'.

(25) a. Se   me   olvidó   eso.
          SE   DAT.1SG   forgot.3SG   that
          'I forgot that.'

      b. Me   *le*   olvidó   eso.
          DAT.1SG   LE   forgot.3SG   that

      c. Se   me   le   olvidó   eso.
          SE   DAT.1SG   LE   forgot.3SG   that

STYLISTIC APPLICATIVES

Lastly, *stylistic LE* also appears with psych-verbs formed with *SE* that have a dative clitic as experiencer, e.g., *olvidarse* 'to forget', *ocurrirse* 'to occur'.

(25) a. Se   me   olvidó   eso.
            SE DAT.1SG forgot.3SG that
            'I forgot that.'

      b. Me   *le* olvidó   eso.
            DAT.1SG LE forgot.3SG that

      c. Se   me   le olvidó   eso.
            SE DAT.1SG LE forgot.3SG that

(26) a. Se   me   ocurrió   eso.
            SE DAT.1SG occurred.3SG that
            'That occurred to me.'

STYLISTIC APPLICATIVES

Lastly, *stylistic LE* also appears with psych-verbs formed with *SE* that have a dative clitic as experiencer, e.g., *olvidarse* 'to forget', *ocurrirse* 'to occur'.

(25)   a. Se me   olvidó   eso.
           SE DAT.1SG forgot.3SG that
           'I forgot that.'

        b. Me   *le* olvidó   eso.
           DAT.1SG LE forgot.3SG that

        c. Se me   le olvidó   eso.
           SE DAT.1SG LE forgot.3SG that

(26)   a. Se me   ocurrió   eso.
           SE DAT.1SG occurred.3SG that
           'That occurred to me.'

        b. Me   le ocurrió   eso.
           DAT.1SG LE occurred.3SG that

STYLISTIC APPLICATIVES

Lastly, *stylistic LE* also appears with psych-verbs formed with *SE* that have a dative clitic as experiencer, e.g., *olvidarse* 'to forget', *ocurrirse* 'to occur'.

(25) a. Se me   olvidó   eso.
            SE DAT.1SG forgot.3SG that
            'I forgot that.'

      b. Me   *le* olvidó   eso.
            DAT.1SG LE forgot.3SG that

      c. Se me   le olvidó   eso.
            SE DAT.1SG LE forgot.3SG that

(26) a. Se me   ocurrió   eso.
            SE DAT.1SG occurred.3SG that
            'That occurred to me.'

      b. Me   le ocurrió   eso.
            DAT.1SG LE occurred.3SG that

      c. Se me   le ocurrió   eso.
            SE DAT.1SG LE occurred.3SG that

Stylistic applicatives

No other syntactic context allows *Stylistic LE*. Superficially similar sequences of $SE+CL_{dat}$ make the alternation unacceptable.

STYLISTIC APPLICATIVES

No other syntactic context allows *Stylistic LE*. Superficially similar sequences of $SE+CL_{dat}$ make the alternation unacceptable.

(27) a. Cosmo se me quejó (a mí).
Cosmo SE DAT.1SG complained.3SG to me
'Cosmo complained to me.' *inherent SE*

Stylistic applicatives

No other syntactic context allows *Stylistic LE*. Superficially similar sequences of $SE+CL_{dat}$ make the alternation unacceptable.

(27) a. Cosmo se me   quejó   (a mí).
          Cosmo SE DAT.1SG complained.3SG to me
          'Cosmo complained to me.'   *inherent SE*

      b. * Cosmo me   *le* quejó   (a mí).
            Cosmo DAT.1SG LE complained.3SG to me

Stylistic applicatives

No other syntactic context allows *Stylistic LE*. Superficially similar sequences of $SE+CL_{dat}$ make the alternation unacceptable.

(27) a. Cosmo se me   quejó   (a mí).
          Cosmo SE DAT.1SG complained.3SG to me
          'Cosmo complained to me.'   *inherent SE*

     b. * Cosmo me   *le* quejó   (a mí).
          Cosmo DAT.1SG LE complained.3SG to me

     c. * Cosmo se me   *le* quejó   (a mí).
          Cosmo SE DAT.1SG LE complained.3SG to me

Stylistic applicatives

No other syntactic context allows *Stylistic LE*. Superficially similar sequences of $SE+CL_{dat}$ make the alternation unacceptable.

(27) a. Cosmo se me quejó (a mí).
Cosmo SE DAT.1SG complained.3SG to me
'Cosmo complained to me.'
inherent SE

 b. * Cosmo me le quejó (a mí).
Cosmo DAT.1SG LE complained.3SG to me

 c. * Cosmo se me le quejó (a mí).
Cosmo SE DAT.1SG LE complained.3SG to me

(28) a. No se me dio ningún ejemplar.
not SE DAT.1SG gave.3SG no copy
'No copy was given to me.'
impersonal SE + argumental dative

Stylistic applicatives

No other syntactic context allows *Stylistic LE*. Superficially similar sequences of $SE+CL_{dat}$ make the alternation unacceptable.

(27) a. Cosmo se me quejó (a mí).
Cosmo SE DAT.1SG complained.3SG to me
'Cosmo complained to me.' *inherent SE*

b. * Cosmo me *le* quejó (a mí).
Cosmo DAT.1SG LE complained.3SG to me

c. * Cosmo se me *le* quejó (a mí).
Cosmo SE DAT.1SG LE complained.3SG to me

(28) a. No se me dio ningún ejemplar.
not SE DAT.1SG gave.3SG no copy
'No copy was given to me.' *impersonal SE + argumental dative*

b. * No me le dio ningún ejemplar.
not DAT.1SG LE gave.3SG no copy

STYLISTIC APPLICATIVES

No other syntactic context allows *Stylistic LE*. Superficially similar sequences of $SE+CL_{dat}$ make the alternation unacceptable.

(27)   a.   Cosmo se me   quejó   (a mí).
             Cosmo SE DAT.1SG complained.3SG to me
             'Cosmo complained to me.'   *inherent SE*

          b.   * Cosmo me   *le* quejó   (a mí).
             Cosmo DAT.1SG LE complained.3SG to me

          c.   * Cosmo se me   *le* quejó   (a mí).
             Cosmo SE DAT.1SG LE complained.3SG to me

(28)   a.   No se me   dio   ningún ejemplar.
             not SE DAT.1SG gave.3SG no   copy
             'No copy was given to me.'   *impersonal SE + argumental dative*

          b.   * No me   le dio   ningún ejemplar.
             not DAT.1SG LE gave.3SG no   copy

          c.   * No se me   le dio   ningún ejemplar.
             not SE DAT.1SG LE gave.3SG no   copy

STYLISTIC APPLICATIVES

The alternation is only attested with 1SG and 2SG datives.

Stylistic applicatives

The alternation is only attested with 1SG and 2SG datives.

(29) a. Se me quemó el pan   ⟶   (Se) me le quemó el pan
          'I unintentionally caused the bread to be burned.'

Stylistic applicatives

The alternation is only attested with 1SG and 2SG datives.

(29) a. Se me quemó el pan $\longrightarrow$ (Se) me *le* quemó el pan
       '*I unintentionally caused the bread to be burned.*'

      b. Se te quemó el pan $\longrightarrow$ (Se) te *le* quemó el pan.
       '*You unintentionally caused the bread to be burned.*'

STYLISTIC APPLICATIVES

The alternation is only attested with 1SG and 2SG datives.

(29) a. Se me quemó el pan $\longrightarrow$ (Se) me le quemó el pan
'I unintentionally caused the bread to be burned.'

b. Se te quemó el pan $\longrightarrow$ (Se) te le quemó el pan.
'You unintentionally caused the bread to be burned.'

c. Se le quemó el pan $\longrightarrow$ *(Se) le le quemó el pan.
'He unintentionally caused the bread to be burned.'

Stylistic applicatives

The alternation is only attested with 1sg and 2sg datives.

(29) a. Se **me** quemó el pan $\longrightarrow$ (Se) **me** *le* quemó el pan
          '*I unintentionally caused the bread to be burned.*'

      b. Se **te** quemó el pan $\longrightarrow$ (Se) **te** *le* quemó el pan.
          '*You unintentionally caused the bread to be burned.*'

      c. Se **le** quemó el pan $\longrightarrow$ *(Se) **le** *le* quemó el pan.
          '*He unintentionally caused the bread to be burned.*'

      d. Se **nos** quemó el pan $\longrightarrow$ *(Se) **nos** *le* quemó el pan.
          '*We unintentionally caused the bread to be burned.*'

Stylistic applicatives

The alternation is only attested with 1SG and 2SG datives.

(29) a. Se me quemó el pan   ⟶   (Se) me le quemó el pan
    'I unintentionally caused the bread to be burned.'

    b. Se te quemó el pan   ⟶   (Se) te le quemó el pan.
    'You unintentionally caused the bread to be burned.'

    c. Se le quemó el pan   ⟶   *(Se) le le quemó el pan.
    'He unintentionally caused the bread to be burned.'

    d. Se nos quemó el pan   ⟶   *(Se) nos le quemó el pan.
    'We unintentionally caused the bread to be burned.'

    e. Se les quemó el pan   ⟶   *(Se) les le quemó el pan.
    'You$_{PL}$ unintentionally caused the bread to be burned.'
    'They unintentionally caused the bread to be burned.'

Stylistic applicatives

The alternation is only attested with 1SG and 2SG datives.

(29)   a. Se me quemó el pan   ⟶   (Se) me *le* quemó el pan
           'I unintentionally caused the bread to be burned.'

       b. Se te quemó el pan   ⟶   (Se) te *le* quemó el pan.
           'You unintentionally caused the bread to be burned.'

       c. Se le quemó el pan   ⟶   *(Se) le *le* quemó el pan.
           'He unintentionally caused the bread to be burned.'

       d. Se nos quemó el pan   ⟶   *(Se) nos *le* quemó el pan.
           'We unintentionally caused the bread to be burned.'

       e. Se les quemó el pan   ⟶   *(Se) les *le* quemó el pan.
           'You$_{PL}$ unintentionally caused the bread to be burned.'
           'They unintentionally caused the bread to be burned.'

In what follows, I will attempt to sketch an account of *stylistic LE* that attempts to capture the properties and restrictions discussed so far.

Towards an account of stylistic *LE*

The main ingredients of my analysis have been already introduced.

TOWARDS AN ACCOUNT OF STYLISTIC *LE*

The main ingredients of my analysis have been already introduced.

- ✔ Anticausative markers such as Spanish *SE* are expletives of a semantically null *Voice* projection.

TOWARDS AN ACCOUNT OF STYLISTIC *LE*

The main ingredients of my analysis have been already introduced.

- ✔ Anticausative markers such as Spanish *SE* are expletives of a semantically null *Voice* projection.
- ✔ *Affected datives* are introduced through an Applicative head "sandwiched" between VoiceP and vP.

Towards an account of stylistic *LE*

The main ingredients of my analysis have been already introduced.

- ✔ Anticausative markers such as Spanish *SE* are expletives of a semantically null *Voice* projection.
- ✔ *Affected datives* are introduced through an Applicative head "sandwiched" between VoiceP and vP.

Combining these assumptions yields the representation in (30) for anticausative structures with affected datives in General Spanish.

(30)
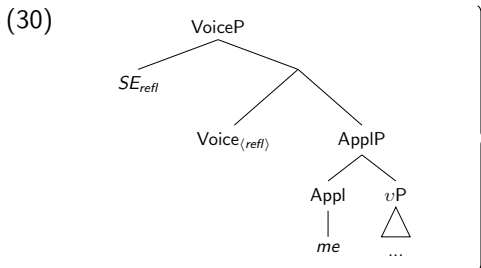
I assume that semantically vacuous *Voice* requires a reflexive element [+REFL] as an expletive instead of a constituent carrying a D-feature.

See Rivero (2010) on how this structure accounts for psych-verbs of the *olvidar* 'to forget' class.

I take that the relevant parameter of variation distinguishing General and Chilean Spanish in these constructions is the possibility of *splitting the Applicative head*.
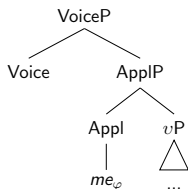
Towards an account of stylistic *LE*

I take that the relevant parameter of variation distinguishing General and Chilean Spanish in these constructions is the possibility of *splitting the Applicative head*.
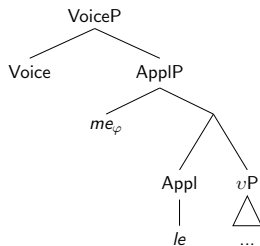
- ✔ In General Spanish, the Applicative both (i) introduces φ-features that are interpreted referentially, and (ii) functions as an applicative marker.
- ✔ In Chilean Spanish, the φ-features can appear as a clitic in [Spec,ApplP] and receive dative case from the applicative marker *LE*.

(31)   a.

b.

Towards an account of stylistic *LE*

This offers an immediate analysis for cases such as (32), in which the sequence of clitics *SE+CL_{dat}+LE* surfaces.

(32)   Se me   le cerró   la puerta.
        SE DAT.1SG LE closed.3SG the door
        'I unintentionally caused the door to be closed.'

Towards an account of stylistic *LE*

This offers an immediate analysis for cases such as (32), in which the sequence of clitics *SE+CL_dat+LE* surfaces.

(32) Se me le cerró la puerta.
    SE DAT.1SG LE closed.3SG the door
    'I unintentionally caused the door to be closed.'

(33)

Consider now the case in which there is no anticausative *SE* in the construction, and the sentence surfaces with a sequence of clitics $CL_{dat}+LE$.

(34) Me   le   cerró   la   puerta.
   DAT.1SG LE closed.3SG the door
      'I unintentionally caused the door to be closed.'
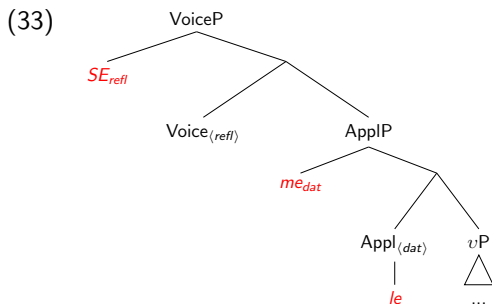
TOWARDS AN ACCOUNT OF STYLISTIC *LE*

Consider now the case in which there is no anticausative *SE* in the construction, and the sentence surfaces with a sequence of clitics $CL_{dat}+LE$.

(34) Me   le   cerró   la   puerta.
      DAT.1SG LE closed.3SG the door
      'I unintentionally caused the door to be closed.'

This seems to entail that there is no element in (34) able to fill [Spec,VoiceP], i.e., no reflexives. If this position is not filled, the sentence should be ungrammatical.
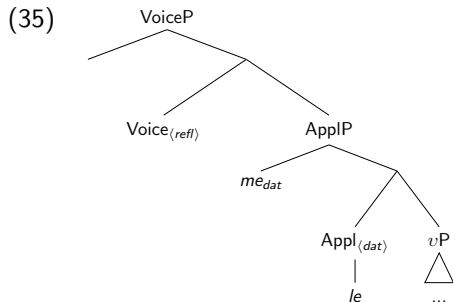
(35)

Towards an account of stylistic *LE*

I contend that the dative clitic in [Spec,ApplP] is able to fill [Spec,VoiceP] vía *syncretism*; 1SG.DAT and 2SG.DAT are syncretic with reflexives.

(36)

Towards an account of stylistic *LE*

I contend that the dative clitic in [Spec,ApplP] is able to fill [Spec,VoiceP] vía *syncretism*; 1SG.DAT and 2SG.DAT are syncretic with reflexives.

(36)
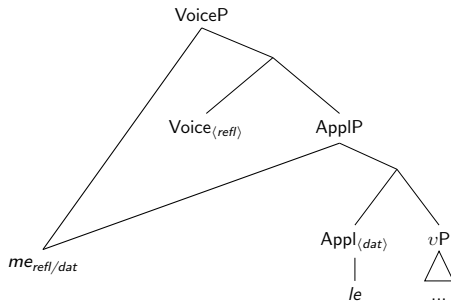
If this analysis is on the right track, the stylistic *LE* construction provides the missing data point supporting the claim that anticausative markers are expletives.

TOWARDS AN ACCOUNT OF STYLISTIC *LE*

I contend that the dative clitic in [Spec,ApplP] is able to fill [Spec,VoiceP] vía *syncretism*; 1SG.DAT and 2SG.DAT are syncretic with reflexives.
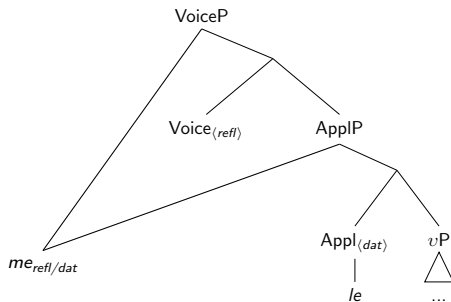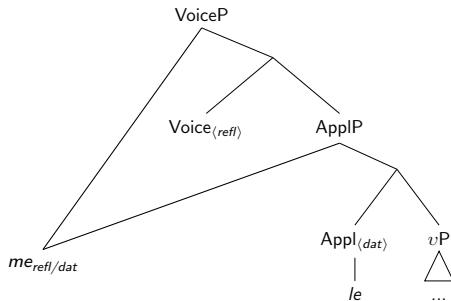
(36)

If this analysis is on the right track, the stylistic *LE* construction provides the missing data point supporting the claim that anticausative markers are expletives.

> ➥ This is a case in which insertion of the expletive *SE* is in complementary distribution with movement of a constituent to [Spec,VoiceP].

Towards an account of stylistic *LE*

Syncretism is known to repair selectional mismatches in a number of contexts.

☞ Zaenen & Karttunen (1984), Pullum & Zwicky (1986), Dalrymple & Kaplan (2000), Himmelreich (2017), Bergsma (2019), Muñoz Pérez (2020b).

Towards an account of stylistic *LE*

Syncretism is known to repair selectional mismatches in a number of contexts.

☞ Zaenen & Karttunen (1984), Pullum & Zwicky (1986), Dalrymple & Kaplan (2000), Himmelreich (2017), Bergsma (2019), Muñoz Pérez (2020b).

Consider the following German data from Himmelreich (2017).

(37) Hans mag$_{\langle ACC \rangle}$ [*wen*$_{ACC}$ Maria hasst$_{\langle ACC \rangle}$].
Hans likes   who   Maria hates
'Hans likes whoever Maria hates.'

Towards an account of stylistic *LE*

Syncretism is known to repair selectional mismatches in a number of contexts.

☞ Zaenen & Karttunen (1984), Pullum & Zwicky (1986), Dalrymple & Kaplan (2000), Himmelreich (2017), Bergsma (2019), Muñoz Pérez (2020b).

Consider the following German data from Himmelreich (2017).

(37) Hans mag$_{\langle ACC \rangle}$ [*wen*$_{ACC}$ Maria hasst$_{\langle ACC \rangle}$].
      Hans likes   who   Maria hates
      'Hans likes whoever Maria hates.'

(38) Hans vertraut$_{\langle DAT \rangle}$ [*wem*$_{DAT}$/*wen$_{ACC}$ Maria mag$_{\langle ACC \rangle}$].
      Hans trusts   who   Maria likes
      'Hans trusts whoever Maria likes.'

Towards an account of stylistic *LE*

Syncretism is known to repair selectional mismatches in a number of contexts.

☞ Zaenen & Karttunen (1984), Pullum & Zwicky (1986), Dalrymple & Kaplan (2000), Himmelreich (2017), Bergsma (2019), Muñoz Pérez (2020b).

Consider the following German data from Himmelreich (2017).

(37) Hans mag$_{\langle ACC \rangle}$ [*wen*$_{ACC}$ Maria hasst$_{\langle ACC \rangle}$].
Hans likes   who   Maria hates
'Hans likes whoever Maria hates.'

(38) Hans vertraut$_{\langle DAT \rangle}$ [*wem$_{DAT}$/*wen$_{ACC}$ Maria mag$_{\langle ACC \rangle}$].
Hans trusts   who   Maria likes
'Hans trusts whoever Maria likes.'

(39) Hans mag$_{\langle ACC \rangle}$ [*was*$_{ACC/NOM}$ Maria zur Weißglut treibt$_{\langle NOM \rangle}$].
Hans likes   what   Maria to rage   drives
'Hans likes whatever infuriates Maria.'

Towards an account of stylistic *LE*

The claim that reflexive–dative syncretism plays a role in the pattern allows to explain the restrictions attested in the construction.

Towards an account of stylistic *LE*

The claim that reflexive–dative syncretism plays a role in the pattern allows to explain the restrictions attested in the construction.

➡ Assume that only those dative clitics that are syncretic with reflexives can split from the Applicative head.

Towards an account of stylistic *LE*

The claim that reflexive–dative syncretism plays a role in the pattern allows to explain the restrictions attested in the construction.

➥ Assume that only those dative clitics that are syncretic with reflexives can split from the Applicative head.

(40)

	REFLEXIVE	DATIVE	STYLISTIC *LE*
1SG	*me*	*me*	✔

Towards an account of stylistic *LE*

The claim that reflexive–dative syncretism plays a role in the pattern allows to explain the restrictions attested in the construction.

➡ Assume that only those dative clitics that are syncretic with reflexives can split from the Applicative head.

(40)

	REFLEXIVE	DATIVE	STYLISTIC *LE*
1SG	*me*	*me*	✔
2SG	*te*	*te*	✔

Towards an account of stylistic *LE*

The claim that reflexive–dative syncretism plays a role in the pattern allows to explain the restrictions attested in the construction.

➡ Assume that only those dative clitics that are syncretic with reflexives can split from the Applicative head.

(40)

	REFLEXIVE	DATIVE	STYLISTIC *LE*
1SG	*me*	*me*	✔
2SG	*te*	*te*	✔
3SG	*se*	*le*	✘

Towards an account of stylistic *LE*

The claim that reflexive–dative syncretism plays a role in the pattern allows to explain the restrictions attested in the construction.

➡ Assume that only those dative clitics that are syncretic with reflexives can split from the Applicative head.

(40)

	REFLEXIVE	DATIVE	STYLISTIC *LE*
1SG	*me*	*me*	✔
2SG	*te*	*te*	✔
3SG	*se*	*le*	✘
1PL	*nos*	*nos*	✘

Towards an account of stylistic *LE*

The claim that reflexive–dative syncretism plays a role in the pattern allows to explain the restrictions attested in the construction.

➥ Assume that only those dative clitics that are syncretic with reflexives can split from the Applicative head.

(40)

	REFLEXIVE	DATIVE	STYLISTIC *LE*
1SG	*me*	*me*	✔
2SG	*te*	*te*	✔
3SG	*se*	*le*	✘
1PL	*nos*	*nos*	✘
2PL	*se*	*les*	✘

Towards an account of stylistic *LE*

The claim that reflexive–dative syncretism plays a role in the pattern allows to explain the restrictions attested in the construction.

> ➥ Assume that only those dative clitics that are syncretic with reflexives can split from the Applicative head.

(40)

	REFLEXIVE	DATIVE	STYLISTIC *LE*
1SG	*me*	*me*	✔
2SG	*te*	*te*	✔
3SG	*se*	*le*	✘
1PL	*nos*	*nos*	✘
2PL	*se*	*les*	✘
3PL	*se*	*les*	✘

Towards an account of stylistic *LE*

The claim that reflexive–dative syncretism plays a role in the pattern allows to explain the restrictions attested in the construction.

➥ Assume that only those dative clitics that are syncretic with reflexives can split from the Applicative head.

(40)

	REFLEXIVE	DATIVE	STYLISTIC *LE*
1SG	*me*	*me*	✔
2SG	*te*	*te*	✔
3SG	*se*	*le*	✘
1PL	*nos*	*nos*	✘
2PL	*se*	*les*	✘
3PL	*se*	*les*	✘

There is an independent explanation for why stylistic *LE* is ungrammatical with 1PL dative clitics, i.e., *nos* 'us'.

TOWARDS AN ACCOUNT OF STYLISTIC *LE*

The claim that reflexive–dative syncretism plays a role in the pattern allows to explain the restrictions attested in the construction.

> ➥ Assume that only those dative clitics that are syncretic with reflexives can split from the Applicative head.

(40)

	REFLEXIVE	DATIVE	STYLISTIC *LE*
1SG	*me*	*me*	✔
2SG	*te*	*te*	✔
3SG	*se*	*le*	✘
1PL	*nos*	*nos*	✘
2PL	*se*	*les*	✘
3PL	*se*	*les*	✘

There is an independent explanation for why stylistic *LE* is ungrammatical with 1PL dative clitics, i.e., *nos* 'us'.

> ➥ The intuition is that the syncretic element can "function" as a reflexive and as a dative clitic at the same time...

Towards an account of stylistic *LE*

Consider the following patterns in Spanish. The pair in (41) shows that a 3SG.DAT dative can co-appear with a 3PL and 1PL subjects; data from Rivero (2008: 215).

(41) a. A Ana le apetecen ellos.
   DAT Ana 3SG.DAT yearn.3PL they.NOM
   'Ana yearns for them.'

b. A Ana le apetecemos nosotros.
   DAT Ana 3SG.DAT yearn.1PL we.NOM
   'Ana yearns for us.'

Towards an account of stylistic *LE*

Consider the following patterns in Spanish. The pair in (41) shows that a 3SG.DAT dative can co-appear with a 3PL and 1PL subjects; data from Rivero (2008: 215).

(41) a. A   Ana   le   apetecen   ellos.
       DAT Ana 3SG.DAT yearn.3PL they.NOM
       'Ana yearns for them.'

     b. A   Ana   le   apetecemos nosotros.
       DAT Ana 3SG.DAT yearn.1PL   we.NOM
       'Ana yearns for us.'

Acontrast arises if reflexives are introduced: 1PL reflexives cannot co-appear with dative forms. Thus, their incompatibility with stylistic *LE* is accounted for.

(42) a. A   Ana   se   le   antojan   ellos.
       DAT Ana 3.REFL 3SG.DAT fancy.3PL they.NOM
       'Ana fancies them.'

     b. * A   Ana   nos   le   antojamos nosotros.
       DAT Ana 3.REFL 3SG.DAT fancy.1PL we.NOM
       'Ana fancies us.'

                                                 *1PL.REFL+*LE*

TOWARDS AN ACCOUNT OF STYLISTIC *LE*

Thus, we can summarize the analysis as follows.

(43) a. Se   me   cerró   la   puerta.
         SE DAT.1SG closed.3SG the door
         'I unintentionally caused the door to be closed.'

   b. [$_{\text{VoiceP}}$ SE [$_{\text{Voice'}}$ Voice$_{\langle\text{REFL}\rangle}$ [$_{\text{ApplP}}$ me [$_{v\text{P}}$ ...]]]

Thus, we can summarize the analysis as follows.

(43) a. Se me   cerró   la puerta.
           SE DAT.1SG closed.3SG the door
           'I unintentionally caused the door to be closed.'

     b. [$_{\text{VoiceP}}$ SE [$_{\text{Voice'}}$ Voice$_{\langle\text{REFL}\rangle}$ [$_{\text{ApplP}}$ me [$_{\upsilon\text{P}}$ ...]]]

(44) a. Me   le cerró   la puerta.
           DAT.1SG LE closed.3SG the door

     b. [$_{\text{VoiceP}}$ Me [$_{\text{Voice'}}$ Voice$_{\langle\text{REFL}\rangle}$ [$_{\text{ApplP}}$ t$^{\text{i}}$ [$_{\text{Appl'}}$ LE [$_{\upsilon\text{P}}$ ...]]]]]

Thus, we can summarize the analysis as follows.

(43) a. Se me   cerró   la puerta.
              SE DAT.1SG closed.3SG the door
              'I unintentionally caused the door to be closed.'

       b. [$_{\text{VoiceP}}$ SE [$_{\text{Voice'}}$ Voice$_{\langle\text{REFL}\rangle}$ [$_{\text{ApplP}}$ me [$_{v\text{P}}$ …]]]]

(44) a. Me   **le** cerró   la puerta.
              DAT.1SG LE closed.3SG the door

       b. [$_{\text{VoiceP}}$ Me [$_{\text{Voice'}}$ Voice$_{\langle\text{REFL}\rangle}$ [$_{\text{ApplP}}$ t$^{\text{i}}$ [$_{\text{Appl'}}$ **LE** [$_{v\text{P}}$ …]]]]]

(45) a. Se me   **le** cerró   la puerta.
              SE DAT.1SG LE closed.3SG the door

       b. [$_{\text{VoiceP}}$ SE [$_{\text{Voice'}}$ Voice$_{\langle\text{REFL}\rangle}$ [$_{\text{ApplP}}$ me [$_{\text{Appl'}}$ **LE** [$_{v\text{P}}$ …]]]]

In this presentation...

- I discussed the hypothesis that anticausative markers are expletives of sorts.
- I saw that a missing piece of evidence concerning this hypothesis is a pattern in which an anticausative marker is in complementary distribution with movement of a constituent to [Spec,VoiceP].
- I presented the phenomenon of stylistic *LE*, an alternation that arises in Chilean Spanish in context of affected datives and anticausative *SE*.
- I provided an analysis for this construction assuming that Spanish *SE* is an expletive whose position can be filled by other elements in the phrase marker.
- I have suggested that stylistic *LE* provides the missing piece of evidence for the hypothesis that anticausative markers are expletives.

References I

Alexiadou, Artemis, Elena Anagnostopoulou & Florian Schäfer. 2015. *External arguments in transitivity alternations*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bergsma, Fenna. 2019. Mismatches in free relatives – grafting nanosyntactic trees. *Glossa: a journal of general linguistics* 4(1). 119. doi:10.5334/gjgl.821.

Campos, Héctor. 1999. Transitividad e intransitividad. In Ignacio Bosque & Violeta Demonte (eds.), *Gramática descriptiva de la lengua española. Volumen 2: Las construcciones sintácticas fundamentales. Relaciones temporales, aspectuales y modales*, 1520–1574. Madrid: Espasa Calpe.

Cuervo, María Cristina. 2003. *Datives at large*. Cambridge, MA: MIT dissertation.

Dalrymple, Mary & Ronald M. Kaplan. 2000. Feature indeterminacy and feature resolution. *Language* 76(4). 759–798. doi:10.2307/417199.

Himmelreich, Anke. 2017. *Case matching effects in free relatives and parasitic gaps*. Leipzig: Universität Leipzig dissertation.

Holmberg, Anders & Urpo Nikanne. 2002. Expletives, subjects, and topics in finnish. In Peter Svenonius (ed.), *Subjects, expletives and the EPP*, 71–105. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Kallulli, Dalina. 2006. Unaccusatives with dative causers and experiencers: A unified account. In Daniel Hole, André Meinunger & Werner Abraham (eds.), *Datives and other cases. Between argument structure and event structure*, 271–300. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Kany, Charles E. 1945. *American-Spanish syntax*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Kany, Charles E. 1969. *Sintaxis hispanoamericana*. Madrid: Gredos.

References II

Kratzer, Angelika. 1996. Severing the external argument from its verb. In Johan Rooryck & Laurie Zaring (eds.), *Phrase structure and the lexicon*, 109–137. Dordrecht: Kluwer.

Muñoz Pérez, Carlos. 2020a. Dos fenómenos de clíticos en el español de Santiago de Chile. *Cuadernos de la ALFAL* 12(2). 411–429.

Muñoz Pérez, Carlos. 2020b. A further argument for a syncretic analysis of DOM and dative in Spanish. *Topics in Linguistics* 21(1). 62–73. doi:10.2478/topling-2020-0004.

Oroz, Rodolfo. 1966. *La lengua castellana en Chile*. Santiago: Universidad de Chile.

Pujalte, Mercedes & Andrés Saab. 2012. Syncretism as PF-repair: the case of SE-insertion in Spanish. In María Cristina Cuervo & Yves Roberge (eds.), *The end of argument structure*, vol. 38 (Syntax and Semantics), chap. 10, 229–260. Bingley: Emerald Group Publishing Limited. doi:10.1163/9781780523774{_}011.

Pullum, Geoffrey & Arnold M. Zwicky. 1986. Phonological resolution of syntactic feature conflict. *Language* 62(4). 751–773.

Rivero, María Luisa. 2008. Oblique subjects and person restrictions in Spanish: A morphological approach. In Roberta D'Alessandro, Susann Fischer & Gunnar Hrafn Hrafnbjargarson (eds.), *Agreement restrictions*, 215–250. Berlin: De Gruyter.

Rivero, María Luisa. 2010. Los verbos psicológicos con experimentante dativo en español y el cambio histórico. *Cuadernos de la ALFAL N° 1. Cuestiones gramaticales del español, últimos avances* 1(1). 167–193.

Schäfer, Florian. 2008. *The syntax of (anti-)causatives. External arguments in change-of-state contexts*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

References III

Silva-Corvalán, Carmen. 2005. La construcción *(se) me le* en el español de Santiago de Chile. In *Filología y lingüística. Estudios ofrecidos a Antonio Quilis. Volumen I*, 1175–1182. Madrid: CSIC.

Zaenen, Annie & Lauri Karttunen. 1984. Morphological non-distinctiveness and coordination. In Gloria Alvarez, Belinda Brodie & Terry McCoy (eds.), *Proceedings of the First Eastern States Conference on Linguistics (ESCOL)*, 309–320. Columbus: Ohio State University.

THANKS!