Stylistic applicatives and the expletive syntax of anticausative markers

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INTRODUCTION

Spanish expresses the causative alternation through two distinct mechanisms. On one hand, it features unmarked *labile* anticausative verbs.

(1) a. Cosmo hirvió   el   agua.
         Cosmo boiled.3SG the water
         'Cosmo boiled the water.'   ≈ *Cosmo caused the water to boil*

     b. El   agua hirvió.
         the water boiled.3SG
         'The water boiled.'

INTRODUCTION

In the vast majority of cases, however, Spanish employs a marking strategy to signal the anticausative form of the verb.

(2) a. Cosmo abrió   la   puerta.
         Cosmo opened.3SG the door
         'Cosmo opened the door.'   *≈ Cosmo caused the door to open*

     b. La puerta se abrió.
         the door   SE opened.3SG
         'The door opened.'

INTRODUCTION

The form *SE* in (2b) is a reflexive, and serves various roles related to voice alternations (e.g., Mendikoetxea 1999, 2012, Trebisacce 2020, Fábregas 2021).

(3) a. Yo   me   peino.
        1SG.NOM REFL.1SG comb.1SG
        'I comb myself.'

   b. Tú   te   peinas.
        2SG.NOM REFL.2SG comb.2SG
        'You comb yourself.'

   c. Él   se   peina.
        3SG.NOM REFL.3 comb.3SG
        'He combs himself.'

   d. Nosotros nos   peinamos.
        1PL.NOM REFL.1PL comb.1PL
        'We comb ourselves.'

   e. Ellos   se   peinan.
        3PL.NOM REFL.3 comb.3PL
        'They comb themselves.'

INTRODUCTION

In principle, the functional multiplicity of *SE* suggests two distinct ways of understanding its role in Spanish anticausative predicates.

One thesis is that reflexive and anticausative constructions are similar at the semantic level, and that *SE* contributes the same meaning in both cases.

➡ If *SE* allows to link a direct or indirect object to the subject in reflexive sentences, it must have a similar role with anticausative predicates.

Authors like Chierchia (2004) and Koontz-Garboden (2009) hold this point of view.

For simplicity, we may think of these as theories positing that anticausative *SE* is meaningful.

INTRODUCTION

Conversely, the fact that *SE* appears in apparently unrelated constructions might lead to the hypothesis that it is semantically vacuous.

➡ Perhaps *SE* serves a purely formal function.
➡ Its role in anticausative predicates might be that of filling a structural slot left available by the absence of an agentive nominal phrase.

This line of theorizing has been advanced in different ways by Schäfer (2008), Pujalte & Saab (2012), Alexiadou et al. (2015) and Saab (2020), among others.

For simplicity, we may think of these as theories positing that anticausative *SE* is meaningless.

INTRODUCTION

In this paper, I introduce a novel data set from Chilean Spanish that supports the claim that *SE* contributes no meaning at all to anticausative predicates.

➡ The evidence comes from the behavior of *stylistic applicatives*, an understudied syntactic phenomenon in which a dative-like form surfaces next to a dative clitic in certain contexts.

➡ In these scenarios, anticausative *SE* becomes optional, i.e., its presence or absence does not alter the interpretation of the sentence.

➡ The optionality of *SE* seems to rely on the availability of other elements in the syntactic representation that are formally similar to it and can, therefore, fulfill its role in anticausative constructions.

Before advancing this argument, I will present the phenomenon of *stylistic applicatives* as attested in Chilean Spanish.

Stylistic applicatives

Spanish allows to add a non-core dative argument to a predicate (Cuervo 2003, Pujalte 2012).

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

      b. Cosmo **me**   abrió   la   puerta.
             Cosmo 1SG.DAT opened.3SG the door
             'Cosmo opened the door for/on/to me.'

In most of the cases that will be relevant here, the clitic is interpreted as referring to an entity affected by a change of state of a theme object.

Stylistic applicatives

Affected datives can co-appear with marked anticausative predicates. In these cases, anticausative *SE* and the dative clitic form a clitic cluster $SE+\textbf{CL}_{\textbf{dat}}$.

(5) Se **me**   abrió   la   puerta.
     SE 1SG.DAT opened.3SG the door
     'The door opened for/on/to me.'
     'I unintentionally opened the door.'

The dative argument in this construction may be interpreted as an *unintentional causer* of the change-of-state event denoted by the anticausative predicate.

STYLISTIC APPLICATIVES

This interpretation is systematic for sentences combining affected datives and anticausatives, and is attested in a variety of languages.

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

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

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

(9) 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

The Spanish variety spoken in Central Chile also displays the former pattern, but it further has the option to convey the same meaning in two alternative ways.

The first variant is through a sequence of clitics of the form $CL_{dat}+LE$, that seemingly replaces the anticausative marker *SE* for the form *LE*.

(10) **Me** le abrió la puerta.
1SG.DAT LE opened.3SG the door
'The door opened for/on/to me.'
'I unintentionally opened the door.'

The second option involves a cluster of the form $SE+CL_{dat}+LE$, in which anticausative *SE* and *LE* appear together.

(11) Se **me** le abrió la puerta.
SE 1SG.DAT LE opened.3SG the door

Stylistic applicatives

There are very few mentions of this construction in the linguistic literature.

- ➥ It was first reported by Kany (1945: 139).
- ➥ It was later alluded by Oroz (1966: 174) and Campos (1999: 1571).
- ➥ Silva-Corvalán (2005) discusses the pattern from a sociopragmatic point of view.

A few remarks on the denomination of this phenomenon:

- ✍ Kany introduces it as "indefinite redundant *LE*".
- ✍ This term assimilates the construction to what he calls "redundant *LE*", i.e., instances of dative clitic doubling.
- ✍ However, *LE* in the previous examples is not "redundant" (i.e., correferential) with any other elements, but simply a dummy element.
- ✍ This is why I have simply called it *stylistic LE*, or more generally *stylistic applicative*.

STYLISTIC APPLICATIVES

Stylistic LE is a non-standard grammatical phenomenon in Chilean Spanish.

➤ Its usage is stigmatized from a prescriptive point of view as it is traditionally associated with low levels of education.

➤ Oroz characterizes it as being "more common in working-class environments than among well-educated individuals" (1966: 376).

➤ Silva-Corvalán (2005) confirms this sociolinguistic distribution, as she identifies the relevant patterns in the speech of adult individuals who have not completed elementary school.

➤ However, in recent years, the construction has seemingly extended to the informal speech of young speakers of Central Chile, irrespective of their educational background.

STYLISTIC APPLICATIVES: DISTRIBUTION

Stylistic LE may surface in contexts combining *SE*-marked anticausatives and affected datives. All verbs participating in the causative alternation host them.

(12) a. Se **me** rompió la radio.
SE 1SG.DAT broke.3SG the radio
'The radio broke for/on/to me.'
'I unintentionally broke the radio.'

      b. **Me** le rompió la radio.
1SG.DAT LE broke.3SG the radio

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

Stylistic applicatives: distribution

Contexts that do not involve anticausative *SE* and affected datives do not admit the *stylistic LE* alternation.

Verbs whose lexical entry includes *SE* but have an *external argument*, e.g., *quejarse* 'complain', also license clitic clusters of the form $SE+\textbf{CL}_{dat}$.

(13)   Cosmo se **me**   quejó.
            Cosmo SE 1SG.DAT complained.3SG
            'Cosmo complained to me.'

However, introducing *LE* in these configurations produces unacceptable outcomes.

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

        b. * Cosmo se **me**   le quejó.
           Cosmo SE 1SG.DAT LE complained.3SG   to me

STYLISTIC APPLICATIVES: DISTRIBUTION

The sentence in (15) combines an *impersonal SE* and a core argumental dative.

(15)   No se **me** dio ni un peso.
      not SE DAT.1SG gave.3SG not.even a peso
      'No money was given to me.'

Just as before, introducing a *stylistic applicative* leads to deviant results.

(16) a. * No **me** le dio ni un peso.
        not DAT.1SG LE gave.3SG not.even a peso

      b. * No se **me** le dio ni un peso.
        not SE DAT.1SG LE gave.3SG not.even a peso

These restrictions demonstrate that *stylistic LE* is not merely a surface phenomenon based on the phonological properties of certain clitic clusters.

➥ The alternation relies on grammatical mechanisms accessing core aspects of the underlying syntactic representation.

Stylistic applicatives: distribution

The distribution of *stylistic LE* is further constrained by the φ-features of the corresponding dative argument.

➤ The pattern is attested only with 1SG and 2SG dative clitics.

(17) 1SG DATIVES ✔

    a.   Se **me** cerró la ventana.
            SE 1SG.DAT closed.3SG the window
            'The window closed for/on/to me.'
            'I unintentionally closed the window.'

    b.   **Me** le cerró la ventana.
            1SG.DAT LE closed.3SG the window

    c.   Se **me** le cerró la ventana.
            SE 1SG.DAT LE closed.3SG the window

STYLISTIC APPLICATIVES: DISTRIBUTION

(18) 2SG DATIVES ✔

    a.   Se **te** cerró la ventana.
       SE 2SG.DAT closed.3SG the window
       'The window closed for/on/to you.'
       'You unintentionally closed the window.'

    b.   **Te** le cerró la ventana.
       2SG.DAT LE closed.3SG the window

    c.   Se **te** le cerró la ventana.
       SE 2SG.DAT LE closed.3SG the window

(19)   3SG DATIVES ✗

  a.   Se **le**   cerró   la   ventana.
       SE 3SG.DAT closed.3SG the window
       'The window closed for/on/to her/him.'
       'She/he unintentionally closed the window.'

  b.   * **Le**   le cerró   la   ventana.
       3SG.DAT LE closed.3SG the window

  c.   * Se **le**   le cerró   la   ventana.
       SE 3SG.DAT LE closed.3SG the window

Stylistic applicatives: distribution

(20) 1PL DATIVES ✗

    a.   Se **nos** cerró   la ventana.
            SE 1PL.DAT closed.3SG the window
            'The window closed for/on/to us.'
            'We unintentionally closed the window.'

    b.   * **Nos**   le cerró   la ventana.
            1PL.DAT LE closed.3SG the window

    c.   * Se **nos**   le cerró   la ventana.
            SE 1PL.DAT LE closed.3SG the window

(21)   2/3PL DATIVES ✗

    a.   Se **les**   cerró   la   ventana.
        SE 2/3PL.DAT closed.3SG the window
        'The window closed for/on/to you/them.'
        'You/they unintentionally closed the window.'

    b.   * **Les**   le cerró   la   ventana.
        2/3PL.DAT LE closed.3SG the window

    c.   * Se **les**   le cerró   la   ventana.
        SE 2/3PL.DAT LE closed.3SG the window

Two analytical challenges

There are two intriguing characteristics of *stylistic LE* that a proper analysis should aim to capture.

1. The phenomenon displays restrictions based on the φ-features of the dative argument that do not seem to follow from any known grammatical principle.
2. While anticausative sentences incorporating *stylistic LE* always have the same interpretation, the anticausative marker *SE* is not required to surface in them.

Let's discuss these properties in more detail.

Feature-based restrictions

As discussed, the dative clitic immediately preceding *stylistic LE* can only bear 1SG or 2SG features.

(22)   a.   (Se) **me**   le
            SE 1SG.DAT LE

       b.   (Se) **te**   le
            SE 2SG.DAT LE

       c.   * (Se) **le**   le
            SE 3SG.DAT LE

       d.   * (Se) **nos**   le
            SE 1PL.DAT LE

       e.   * (Se) **les**   le
            SE 2/3PL.DAT LE

A null hypothesis regarding this distribution is that it follows from general syntactic constraints rather than specific properties of the construction.

FEATURE-BASED RESTRICTIONS

Some of the unacceptable combinations can be accounted for in terms of *syntactic haplology* (van Riemsdijk 2008, Nevins 2012, Neeleman & van de Koot 2017, i.a.).

➡ This is a constraint that prohibits the adjacent occurrence of structurally or phonetically similar elements within a sentence.

The unacceptability of the Chilean Spanish clusters containing the sequences **le** *le* and **les** *le* could be explained in these terms.

(23) a.   (Se) **me** le
      b.   (Se) **te** le
      c. * (Se) **le** le   *due to haplology*
      d. * (Se) **nos** le
      e. * (Se) **les** le   *due to haplology*

There remains to explain the unacceptability of the combination **nos** *le* in (23d). As we will see, no constraint seems to account for this.

FEATURE-BASED RESTRICTIONS

Consider the (weak version of the) *Person Case Constraint* (PCC), a well known condition on clitic clusters.

(24) PERSON CASE CONSTRAINT (Bonet 1991: 181)
      In a combination of a weak direct object and an indirect object, if there is a third person it has to be the direct object.

FEATURE-BASED RESTRICTIONS

The PCC successfully captures the unacceptability of a sequence of clitics the form *nos le*, so it could allow to explain as well (23d).

(25)   * Ella nos   le   recomendó.
        she 1PL.ACC 3SG.DAT recommended
        'She recommended us to her/him.'

(23d)   * (Se) **nos** le

However, the PCC wrongly predicts the ungrammaticality of *me le* in (23a) as well.

(26)   * Ella me   le   recomendó.
        she 1SG.ACC 3SG.DAT recommended
        'She recommended me to her/him.'

(23a)   (Se) **me** le

It follows that the PCC cannot be responsible for the unacceptability of (23d).

FEATURE-BASED RESTRICTIONS

Rivero (2008) proposes a further condition governing the functioning of clitic clusters: the *Quirky Person Restriction*.

(27) QUIRKY PERSON RESTRICTION
First and second person reflexives cannot combine with third person dative clitics.

This constraint accounts for the following type of contrast.

(28) a. A   Cosmo se   le   olvidaron ellos.
DAT Cosmo 3.REFL 3SG.DAT forgot.3PL they.NOM
'Cosmo forgot about them.'

b. *A   Cosmo nos   le   olvidamos nosotros.
DAT Cosmo 1PL.REFL 3SG.DAT forgot.1PL we.NOM
'Cosmo forgot about us.'

The unacceptability of (28b) parallels the ill-formation of (23d).

(23d) *(Se) **nos** le

FEATURE-BASED RESTRICTIONS

However, just as the PCC before, the *Quirky Person Restriction* fails at accounting fo the distribution of *stylistic LE*.

➡ This constraint also fails at capturing the contrast between **me le** in (23a) and ***nos le** in (23d).

The *Quirky Person Restriction* is responsible for the unacceptability of (29).

(29) * A   Cosmo me   le   olvidé   yo.
         DAT Cosmo 1SG.REFL 3SG.DAT forgot.1SG I.NOM
         'Cosmo forgot about me.'

However, the corresponding cluster with a *stylistic applicative* is acceptable.

(23a)   (Se) **me** le

In sum, the *Quirky Person Restriction* does not explain the distribution of *stylistic applicatives* regarding the φ-features of the affected dative.

FEATURE-BASED RESTRICTIONS

What is the key takeaway?

➡ No known general constraint on clitics fully explains the distribution of *stylistic applicatives*.

➡ The distribution of the phenomenon must receive a construction-specific explanation.

Optionality of *SE*

Let's discuss the implications of *SE* being optional.

A line of analysis for anticausative *SE* argues that this element is responsible for the anticausative interpretation of the predicate.

➡ Chierchia (2004) and Koontz-Garboden (2009) argue that anticausative predicates obtain through a process of *reflexivization* produced by *SE*.

Reflexivization can be understood as a semantic operation that co-identifies two arguments of a predicate.

(30) $[\![\text{se}]\!] = \lambda\Re.\ \lambda x.\ \Re(x, x)$ *Koontz-Garboden (2009: 83)*

The intuition is that the relation between a causative verb and its anticausative counterpart is identical to the relation between transitive and reflexive predicates.

Optionality of *SE*

To exemplify, consider the causative form of the verb *abrir* 'open'.

(31) $[\![\text{abrir}]\!] = \lambda x.\ \lambda y.\ \exists\beta\ [\beta(y)\text{ causes open}(x)]$ *causative verb*

The anticausative marker *SE* takes the externally caused event in (31) and turns it into the internally caused event in (32).

(32) $[\![\text{abrirse}]\!] = \lambda x.\ \exists\beta\ [\beta(x)\text{ causes open}(x)]$ *anticausative verb*

Under this approach, the semantic contribution of *SE* is responsible for the meaning of the anticausative construction.

(33)   La puerta se abrió.
             the door   SE opened.3SG
             ≈ *Some property of the door caused it to become open*

OPTIONALITY OF *SE*

This proposal encounters a significant problem when applied to examples involving *stylistic applicatives*.

➥ As discussed, *LE* appears with *SE*-marked anticausative predicates.

➥ This is corroborated by the fact that the relevant examples allow interpreting the dative argument as an unintentional causer.

However, sentences involving *stylistic LE* do not require *SE* to be interpreted as anticausative, e.g., (34b).

(34)   a. Se **me**   abrió   la   puerta.
          SE 1SG.DAT opened.3SG the door
          'The door opened for/on/to me.'
          'I unintentionally opened the door.'

       b. **Me**   le abrió   la   puerta.
          1SG.DAT LE opened.3SG the door

       c. Se **me**   le abrió   la   puerta.
          SE 1SG.DAT LE opened.3SG the door

Optionality of *SE*

The theory by Chierchia (2004) and Koontz-Garboden (2009) could deal with the absence of *SE* by assuming that the reflexive is phonologically null.

➡ Chierchia (2004: 41–42) argues that in anticausative predicates with no *SE*-marking "the reflexive operator is lexically incorporated into the meaning of the verb without any morphological reflex".

This idea accounts for *labile* anticausative verbs such as *hervir* 'boil' in (1) or *mejorar* 'improve'.

(35)   a.   Los dueños de la empresa mejoraron los sueldos.
               the owners of the company improved.3SG the salaries
               'The owners of the company improved the salaries.'

         b.   Los sueldos $\emptyset_{SE}$ mejoraron.
               the salaries improved.3PL
               'The salaries improved.'

OPTIONALITY OF *SE*

This explanation could be applied to patterns with *stylistic LE*.

(34)   a. Se **me**   abrió   la puerta.
                SE 1SG.DAT opened.3SG the door
                'The door opened for/on/to me.'
                'I unintentionally opened the door.'

          b. $\emptyset_{SE}$ **me**   le abrió   la puerta.
                  1SG.DAT LE opened.3SG the door

          c. Se **me**   le abrió   la puerta.
                SE 1SG.DAT LE opened.3SG the door

This solution amounts to posit that overt *SE*-marking is optional, which is false.

(36)   El florero   *(se) quebró.
           the flower.vase   SE cracked.3SG
           'The flower vase cracked.'   *non-labile verb*

(37)   Los sueldos (*se) mejoraron.
           the salaries   SE improved.3PL
           'The salaries improved.'   *labile verb*

Optionality of *SE*

Moreover, if unmarked anticausatives and *stylistic LE* sentences without *SE* were similar, the former should be able to participate in the *stylistic LE* alternation.

(38) a. $\emptyset_{SE}$ **me**   mejoró   el   sueldo.
            1SG.DAT improved.3SG the salary
       'The salary improved for/on/to me.'

     b. * $\emptyset_{SE}$ **me**   le mejoró   el   sueldo.
               1SG.DAT LE improved.3SG the salary

     c. * Se **me**   le mejoró   el   sueldo.
          SE 1SG.DAT LE improved.3SG the salary

In sum, the alternation cannot be explained by positing a null reflexive.

OPTIONALITY OF *SE*

To sum up, the anticausative marker *SE* is optional with stylistic *LE*.

➥ The construction preserves the same interpretation no matter this element is present or not in the sentence.

This posits a straightforward challenge to any theory that hinges on the assumption that *SE* is an essential component of anticausative semantics.

Proposal: assumptions

My analysis has two ingredients. The first one is the account of anticausative markers advanced in Schäfer (2008), Pujalte & Saab (2012), Saab (2020), i.a.

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* (and the rest of its paradigm).
- ✔ Since *SE* carries no θ-role, the anticausative interpretation is captured.

Under this account, anticausative *SE* lacks any propositional meaning. It is basically an expletive of the *Voice* projection.

Proposal: assumptions

The representations in (39) illustrate this analysis.

(39) a.

```
        VoiceP
        /    \
           Voice'
          /    \
   Voice_[D,…]   vP
               /  \
          abr– la puerta
```

b.

```
        VoiceP
        /    \
      DP     Voice'
            /    \
   Voice_[⊕,AGENT]  vP
                  /  \
             abr– la puerta
```

c.

```
        VoiceP
        /    \
      se     Voice'
            /    \
   Voice_[⊕,∅]   vP
               /  \
          abr– la puerta
```

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

(40) a. Cosmo abrió   la   puerta.
        Cosmo opened.3SG the door
        'Cosmo opened the door.'   *(39b)*

b. La puerta se   abrió.
   The door   REFL opened
   'The door opened.'   *(39c)*

PROPOSAL: ASSUMPTIONS

The second ingredient is Cuervo's (2003) analysis of *affected datives*.

(41) 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 for/on/to me.'

Cuervo (2003) argues that the *affected dative* is an Applicative head selecting a
vP that denotes a resulting state. The trees in (42) illustrate the analysis.

(42) a.   b.
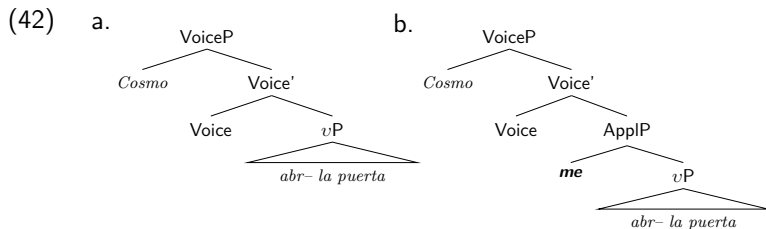
Proposal: assumptions

Combining these assumptions, we can provide an analysis for sentences combining *SE*-marked anticausatives and affected datives.

(43) Se **me**   abrió   la puerta.
      SE DAT.1SG opened.3SG the door
      'The door opened for/on/to me.'
      'I unintentionally open the door.'

The resulting syntactic structure is as follows.

(44)
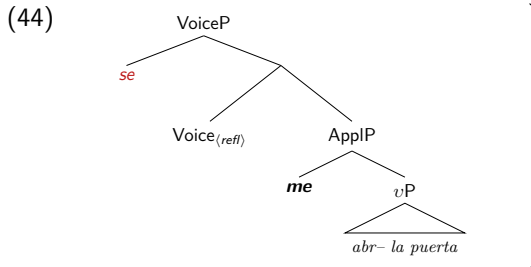
I assume that semantically vacuous *Voice* requires a reflexive element [+REFL] as an expletive instead of a constituent carrying a D-feature.

Proposal: what is *LE*

The next step in the analysis of *stylistic applicatives* is to explain what *LE* is.

I claim that the relevant parameter of variation distinguishing Chilean Spanish in these contexts is the possibility of *splitting* the Applicative head.
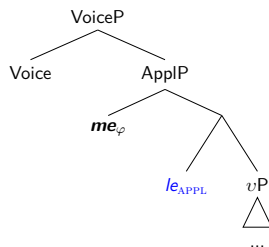
- ✔ In General Spanish, the Applicative head both (i) introduces φ-features that are interpreted referentially, and (ii) functions as an applicative marker.
- ✔ In Chilean Spanish, the φ-features can appear as an independent dative clitic, while the applicative head surfaces as the form *LE*.

(45) a.

```
        VoiceP
       /      \
    Voice     ApplP
             /     \
      me_{φ,appl}   vP
                    △
                    ...
```

b.

```
        VoiceP
       /      \
    Voice     ApplP
             /     \
          me_{φ}    
                 /     \
           le_APPL     vP
                       △
                       ...
```
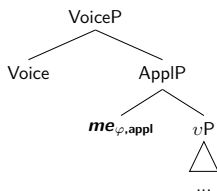
Under this analysis, *LE* is an applicative marker of the affected dative.

Proposal: what is LE

The *splitting* operation can be seen as an instance of *Fission* (Noyer 1992, Halle & Marantz 1993, Halle 1997, Arregi & Nevins 2012, i.a.).

➤ Fission is a morphological mechanism that takes a terminal node consisting of a bundle of features and splits it into two parts.

In this case, *Fission* targets applicative heads with Number features valued as [SG].

(46) a. $me_{[\varphi,\ \text{APPL}]} \longrightarrow me_{[\varphi]}\ le_{[\text{APPL}]}$ 1SG

      b. $te_{[\varphi,\ \text{APPL}]} \longrightarrow te_{[\varphi]}\ le_{[\text{APPL}]}$ 2SG

      c. $le_{[\varphi,\ \text{APPL}]} \longrightarrow le_{[\varphi]}\ le_{[\text{APPL}]}$ 3SG

Together with the *haplology* restriction, this accounts for the distribution of *stylistic LE* regarding the φ-features of the dative argument.

(47) a. * (Se) le le 3SG – ✗ *due to haplology*

      b. * (Se) nos le 1PL – ✗ *no Fission*

      c. * (Se) les le $2/3\text{PL}$ – ✗ *no Fission*

PROPOSAL: WHAT IS *LE*

The *splitting* mechanism offers an immediate analysis for cases such as (48), in which the sequence of clitics $SE+\textbf{CL}_{\textbf{dat}}+LE$ surfaces.

(48) Se **me** le abrió la puerta.
SE DAT.1SG LE opened.3SG the door
'The door opened for/on/to me.'
'I unintentionally open the door.'

(49)

VoiceP
- se
- Voice⟨*refl*⟩
- ApplP
  - me
  - le
  - *v*P
    - abr– la puerta
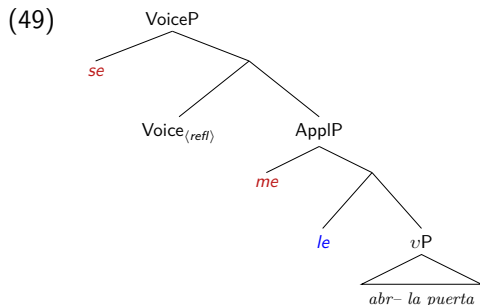
Proposal: on the absence of SE

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

(50) **Me**   le cerró   la   puerta.
       DAT.1SG LE closed.3SG the door
       'The door opened for/on/to me.'
       'I unintentionally open the door.'

Seemingly there is no element in (50) filling [Spec,VoiceP], i.e., no reflexives. However, if this position is not filled, the sentence should be ungrammatical.

(51)
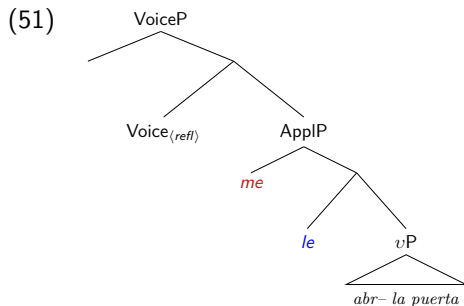
Proposal: on the absence of SE

I contend that the solution to this puzzle can be found in the well-known behavior of expletives. In many languages, expletive insertion competes with movement.

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

b. [TP A man^i [TP is t^i in the garden]]   *movement*

c. [TP There [TP is a man in the garden]]   *expletive insertion*

Similar phenomena can be found in Finnish (Holmberg & Nikanne 2002: 71).

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

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

                                                                                           movement

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

                                                                                    expletive insertion

Proposal: on the absence of SE

I contend that Chilean Spanish displays the same type of optionality: if expletive *SE* is not inserted in [Spec,VoiceP], the dative clitic moves there.

(54)
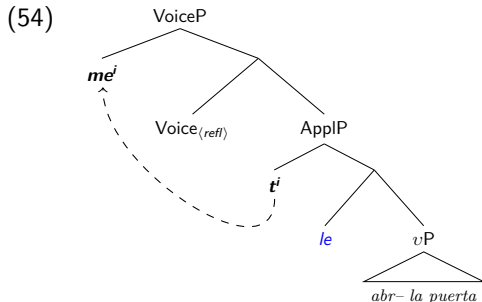
In principle, a dative clitic like **me** or **te** should not be able to fill a position dedicated to a reflexive.

➤ I argue that this is a case of a mismatch repair through syncretism: **me** and **te** are also forms for 1SG and 2SG reflexives.

Proposal: on the absence of SE

Syncretism repairs selectional mismatches in a number of contexts e.g., Zaenen & Karttunen (1984), Pullum & Zwicky (1986), Muñoz Pérez (2020), i.a.

Consider the following German data from Himmelreich (2017).

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

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

(57) 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.'

The same effect allows to move a dative clitic like **me** to a position for reflexives.

PROPOSAL: THE RESULTING ANALYSIS

(58) BASIC PATTERN (GENERAL SPANISH)
    a. Se **me** abrió la puerta.
       SE DAT.1SG opened.3SG the door
       'The door opened for/on/to me.'
       'I unintentionally open the door.'
    b. [$_{VoiceP}$ SE [$_{Voice'}$ Voice$_{\langle REFL \rangle}$ [$_{ApplP}$ **me** [$_{vP}$ abr– la puerta]]]

(59) SPLITTING + MOVEMENT (CHILEAN SPANISH)
    a. **Me** le abrió la puerta.
       DAT.1SG LE opened.3SG the door
    b. [$_{VoiceP}$ **Me** [$_{Voice'}$ Voice$_{\langle REFL \rangle}$ [$_{ApplP}$ **t^i** [$_{Appl'}$ LE [$_{vP}$ abr– la puerta]]]]

(60) SPLITTING + EXPLETIVE INSERTION (CHILEAN SPANISH)
    a. Se **me** le abrió la puerta.
       SE DAT.1SG LE opened.3SG the door
    b. [$_{VoiceP}$ SE [$_{Voice'}$ Voice$_{\langle REFL \rangle}$ [$_{ApplP}$ **me** [$_{Appl'}$ LE [$_{vP}$ abr– la puerta]]]]

Concluding remarks

- In this presentation we learned about *stylistic applicatives*, a morphosyntactic pattern only attested in Chilean Spanish.
- We saw that the pattern has the property of making anticausative *SE* optional.
- This optionality is problematic for a theory of anticausative markers according to which these elements are responsible for the meaning of anticausative predicates.
- An analysis of anticausative *SE* as an expletive required for formal reasons seems to deal better with the relevant data.

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Thanks!

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