Agency and Middles in Ibero-Romance: a case for *i**

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THE DATA

➢ **Middle constructions in Ibero-Romance:**
- Reflexive clitic *se; i*mperfective tenses
- EA's demotion; IA's promotion to subject
- Impossibility of introducing an agent with a *by*-phrase
- Participation of a generic agent in the event (*anyone*)

➢ **In Asturian (NW Spain) the reflexive pronoun is said to be optional (ALLA 2001).**

(1) a. Este pan *(se) desmiga fácilmente (*por Juan)   *Spanish*
      this bread REFL crumbles easily   by   Juan

   b. Aquest pa *(s')esmolla   fàcilment (*per Joan) *Catalan*
      this   bread REFL-crumbles easily   by Joan

   c. Esti pan esmigáya(se) fácil (*por Xuan)   *Asturian*
      this bread crumbles.REFL easily by   Joan
      'This bread crumbles easily.'

➢**Purpose clause controlled by its implicit agent forces the presence of the reflexive in Asturian.**

(2) a. Esti pan esmigáya*(se) fácil *pa empanar cachopos*.   *AST*

   b. Este pan *(se) desmiga fácil *para empanar cachopos*.   *SP*
   'This bread is easy to crumble in order to bread steaks.'

➢**Inchoative reading with change-of-state verbs enhanced by a *by itself* PP. Only licensed without the reflexive in Asturian.**

(3) a. Esti pan esmigáya(*se) fácil *por sí mesmo*.   *AST*

   b. Este pan *(se) desmiga fácilmente *por sí mismo*.   *SP*
   'This bread crumbles easily on its own.'

➢ **Events implying participation of an agent require the reflexive in Asturian:**
(4) Les noveles de misteriu lléen*(se) con facilidá.   *AST*
    the novels of mystery read.REFL with ease
    'Mystery novels read easily.'

➢ **Non-core dative may have 3 possible readings: (i) accidental causer; (ii) affected by an internally caused event; (iii) affected by externally caused event. The latter, <u>only available with the reflexive.</u>**

(5) a. **A Xuan$_i$**   esti material ruémpe-**y$_i$**   fácil.   *AST*
    Xuan.DAT this material breaks-3SG.DAT easy
      i. *'Xuan accidentally causes this material to break easily.'*
      ii. *'This material breaks easily on Xuan.'*
      iii. *'It's easy to break Xuan's material, and he's affected by it.'*
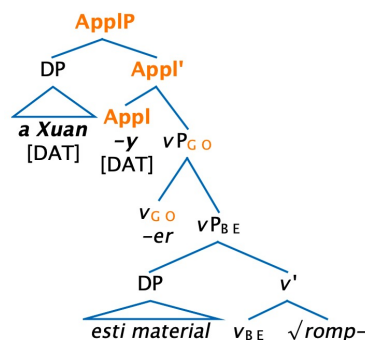
   b. **A Xuan$_i$**   esti material ruémpe**se-y$_i$**   fácil.   *AST*
    Xuan.DAT this material breaks-3SG.DAT easy
      i. *'Xuan accidentally causes this material to break easily.'*
      ii. *'This material breaks easily on Xuan.'*
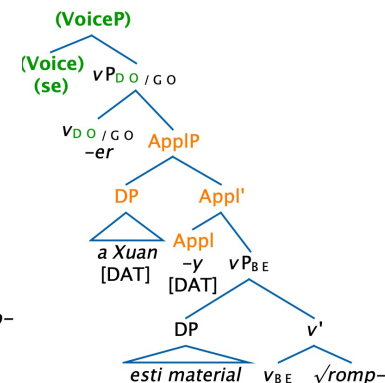   iii. *'It's easy to break Xuan's material, and he's affected by it.'*

THE PROPOSAL

➢ **Two configurations can yield these structures:**
- ❖ **a generic *se*-passive (5b); *se* spells out a passive Voice° encoding the participation of a generic agent in the event.**
- ❖ **a generic inchoative (5a); without Voice (hence no *se*)**
➢ *Se* **may also spell out a subevent of change (v_{GO}) in Spanish or Catalan.**
➢ **Asturian v_{GO} does not have phonological content.**
➢ **Datives are affected applicatives (Cuervo 2003).**
➢ **Appl and Voice compete for the position atop first subevent.**

(6) a. *Appl as accidental causer (ø Voice)*   b. *Appl as affected (with or without Voice)*

CONCLUSIONS

➢ **The reflexive is not optional in Asturian.**
➢ **Support for Wood & Marantz's (2017) *i**:**
  - ○ *i** **surfaces as Voice when its complement is v_{DO}**
  - ○ *i** **surfaces as Appl when its complement is v_{GO}**

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