

Edyta Jurkiewicz-Rohrbacher

Universität Regensburg

Passive and modality. Corpus analysis of the Polish verb *zmusić*.

Paper presented at the 50th Poznań Linguistic Meeting

Keywords: passive voice, modality, object control, Polish languages, corpus linguistics

Object control is a structure where to the syntactic object of the matrix verb (controller) an additional thematic role is assigned. This additional role originates from the syntactic argument of the embedded clause, which is not realized overtly, but coreferential with the object of the matrix (controlee):

Janek_x nauczył dziecko_y myć_y ręce przed jedzeniem.

J.NOM teach.PFV.PST child.ACC wash.INF hands before eating.INS

‘Janek taught the child to wash hands before eating.’ (Przepiórkowski & Rosen 2005:51)

In most Slavic languages, both the accusative and the dative object may function as a controller. The typical complement in the situation of control is infinitive or subjunctive (South Slavic languages). In Polish, accusative object control with a bare infinitive complement occurs rarely. The only verb mentioned in the works concerning that topic (Dziwirek 2000, Przepiórkowski & Rosen 2005:51) is *uczyć* ‘to teach’ and its perfective derivative *nauczyć*.

According to the syntactic patterns provided in the Polish lexicography (e.g. Żmigrodzki 2007, Alberski et al.2016) also verb *zmusić* ‘to force’ selects (among others) accusative object + infinitive. This suggests that *zmusić* is another candidate for an object control verb selecting asyndetic infinitive complements, which is contradiction to Słodowicz (2008: 94). In the paper, I focus on the syntactic properties of this verb and argue that only the passive form (henceforth: AUX + *zmuszon[aeyi]*) can be complemented with an infinitive and it should be treated as a separate lexical entry.

The study is based on data obtained from two two massive corpora of Polish: web corpus Araneum Polonicum Maius (Benkó 2014a,b; 1,200,002,958 tokens) and the extended version of the reference corpus of Polish NKJP (Przepiórkowski et al.2012; 1,800,000,000 tokens). The data give clear picture as to the distribution of the complement patterns for the studied verb. The active voice forms take exclusively nominalizations and *that*-clauses as complements in both corpora. AUX + *zmuszon[aeyi]*, however, allows also the bare infinitive. The analysis of contexts in which AUX + *zmuszon[aeyi]* is used leads to the following conclusions:

1. AUX + *zmuszon[aeyi]* is not a simple transformation from active to passive, since an active clause with an infinitive seems highly unlikely, if not even impossible.
2. AUX + *zmuszon[aeyi]* is used to communicate not the causal relation corresponding to the situation where the subject of an active voice *causes* the object to act against its will, but rather to underline that the (animate) subject *acts* against its will, often under unpleasant circumstances.
3. As a consequence of 1. and 2. AUX + *zmuszon[aeyi]* does not have a causal, but rather modal meaning, analogical to the modal meaning of the verb *musieć* ‘must’ from which *zmusić* is derived. Prefix *z-* loses in this configuration its aspectual and causal properties, and becomes an attitude marker which communicates that the situation in which the subject is involved is unpleasant for one of participants.

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