The *dać* + *się* + infinitive structure in Polish. Between control and passivisation

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The paper aims to analyse the syntax of two structures, present in Polish, which contain the verb *dać* 'give', followed by the reflexive pronoun *się* and the infinitive, within the Minimalist Program of Chomsky (2000, 2001, 2008). One structure examined in the paper is represented by the reflexive permissive construction, as in (1) below, and the other corresponds to the modal passive (von Waldenfels 2012), as in (2) below.

(1) Ci   ludzie   dają   się   zapraszać   na   przyjęcia.
     these   people-nom   give=3pl   refl   invite-inf   to   parties[1]
     'These people let themselves be invited to parties.'

(2) Te   książki   dają   się   czytać.
     these   books-nom   give-3pl   refl   read-inf
     'These books can be read.'

First, the syntactic properties of the two types of structure are scrutinized. It is noted that the permissive reflexive construction, in a way analogous to its non-reflexive equivalent, can host a dative DP, functioning as a causee. The modal passive structure, in turn, cannot contain a dative causee, but can instead be associated with an agentive *przez* 'by'-phrase. Moreover, there exist structures which are ambiguous between the permissive and the modal passive interpretation with both animate and inanimate subjects.

In the reflexive permissive construction, the reflexive pronoun is taken to be an argument, since it can be felicitously replaced with an argument DP. The reflexive in this type of structure corresponds to the complement of the infinitive, and the infinitival clause is treated as a CP with a covert C. It is argued that the reflexive permissive construction involves control either by a dative DP or by an implicit argument in the absence of the dative. The control involved in this case is an instance of Exhaustive Control (Landau 2000, 2004). Partial control is blocked because of the problem related to the interpretation of the reflexive pronoun, not because of the problem with control (Landau 2016).

In the modal passive structure, the reflexive pronoun cannot be replaced with an argument DP, and therefore does not represent an argument. *Się* is generated in the infinitival clause, which, this time, represents just a VoiceP, not a CP. The reflexive does not form an anticausative with the infinitive, but is regarded as a marker of the reflexive passive in Polish (contra Siewierska 1988). Actually, *się* is viewed as an argument expletive (Wood 2014, Schäfer 2015) occupying the complement position of the infinitive, without bearing any theta role or case. The Theme theta role of the infinitive is associated with the matrix subject, generated as an external argument of the matrix verb *dać*, via theta role bundling (Reinhart and Siloni 2005).

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[1] The following abbreviations have been used: inf – infinitive, nom – nominative, pl – plural, refl – reflexive.

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