

ON THE SYNTAX AND SEMANTICS OF CZECH INFINITIVAL CONSTRUCTIONS: A CASE STUDY*

1. Approach to the problem

In the present contribution we try to follow up on our studies of Czech infinitival constructions [Panevová 1996a, b; 2008; (in press)] using the same theoretical background and terminological frame.

The infinitival constructions are studied in contemporary linguistics as phenomena of control. As there are many books and papers devoted to the problem of control, let us mention here only several of them here: [Růžička 1999; Landau 2000; 2008; Witkoš 2007; Babby 2009]. However, they are theory-dependent and language specific, therefore they are not directly applicable to the Czech material. We share the common usage of the terms controller/antecedent (henceforth **-er**) and controllee (henceforth **-ee**). The controller is a dependent (usually an argument) of the control verb which is coreferential with an argument of the embedded infinitive clause (-ee)¹. In [Panevová 1996a, b] we have argued that the role of -ee is fulfilled by the (surface) subject (Sb) of the infinitive (obligatorily deleted on the surface).

In the quoted writings, the following distinctions are usually made:

- (i) raising verbs vs. control verbs
- (ii) obligatory control (OC) vs. nonobligatory control (NOC)
- (iii) exhaustive control vs. partial control (with a subtype of split control)
- (iv) arbitrary control

Unfortunately, these distinctions are not used in a unified way. Moreover, some of them, according to our view, are connected with the concrete lexical setting of the controlled construction rather than with the type of the control verb; this concerns esp. item (iii). [Wurmbrand 2003] also admits objections formulated by some authors against the

* Research on the present topic was supported by the projects GA ČR 405/08/0681, GA ČR 405/09/0278 and GA ČR P406/10/0875. The preliminary version of this contribution was presented at the 33rd session of the Commission for Grammatical Structure of Slavonic Languages of the International Committee of Slavists in Kraków in September 2009.

¹ Infinitival clauses are not the only type of the controlled constructions; some types of nominalizations, gerundive constructions etc. are treated as a kind of control (see also [Panevová 1996b]). Here we deal only with the infinitives.

opposition (iii); however, she herself uses it as a kind of a semantic rather than syntactic distinction.

We do not apply the distinction (i), because it fails in explaining of some syntactic differences originally connected with the boundary between the operation of raising and the control relation (see e. g. [Przepiórkowski, Rosen 2005]). We accept the distinction (ii), though its specification differs in the quoted sources. According to [Landau 2000: 26], with OC it is complement that is controlled, while with NOC, the subject and adjunct infinitives are controlled. Culicover and Jackendoff [2001: 495] use the test (v) for OC, (vi) for NOC, respectively:

- (v) John tried (*for Harry) to read War and Peace — OC
- (vi) John hoped for Harry to read War and Peace — NOC

The survey of tests used for the distinction between OC and NOC is given in [Witkoś 2007: 30]. In [Růžička 1999; Babby 2009] this distinction is not mentioned.

Instead of the arbitrary control (iv) we use the notion of General (generalized) Actor.

We use the opposition OC vs. NOC [Panevová 1996b] in the following way: A verb *x* (e. g. Czech *odvázat se* [*to dare*]) belongs to the class of obligatory control verbs (OC) if (1a) is a grammatical structure, while (1b) and (1c) are not:²

- (1a) Petr se odvážil vylézt na vysokou horu.
[Peter dared to climb a high mountain]
[lit. Петр отважился взобраться на высокую гору]
- (1b) *Petr se odvážil, že vyleze na vysokou horu.
[lit. *Peter dared that (he) would climb a high mountain]
[lit. *Петр отважился, что он взберётся на высокую гору]
- (1c) *Petr se odvážil, aby jeho syn vylezl navysokou horu.
[lit. *Peter dared that his son would climb a high mountain]
[lit. *Петр отважился, чтобы его сын взобрался на высокую гору]

A verb *y* (e. g. Czech *snažit se* [*to try*]) belongs to the class of verbs with nonobligatory control (NOC) if all three possibilities within ex. (2) are grammatical. In other words, OC verbs require the coreference between -er and -ee as a unique option, while with NOC verbs, this coreference is only one option among others³:

- (2a) Petr se snažil získat první místo.
[Peter tried to win the first prize]
[Петр старался занять первое место]
- (2b) Petr se snažil, aby (Ø) získal první místo.
[lit. Peter tried, so that (he) may win the first prize]
[lit. Петр старался, чтобы он занял первое место]
- (2c) Petr se snažil, aby jeho syn získal první místo.

² Because of the nontransparency of English counterparts of the Czech examples, we attach their Russian translations as well.

³ The expression by the infinitive is a consequence of this option, while the option without coreference excludes the infinitival constructions.

[lit. Peter tried, so that his son may win the first prize]
 [Петр старался, чтобы его сын занял первое место]

The dependency formalism for the representation of the sentence structure used in the ‘Meaning — Text’ Model as well as in its version applied in man-machine communication and machine translation systems developed under the leadership of the honoured person is much closer to our view than the approaches mentioned above. The topic of our analysis here is the Czech counterpart of the syntactic relation «Predicative Sint0» as a type of Russian «actant» structures (see [Apresjan et al. 1992: 61f.]).

2. Subject position of the Czech infinitive

2.1. Subject infinitives with the verbs of «evaluation of situation»⁴

This class can be illustrated by the Czech verbs *bavit* [to amuse], *líbit se* [to like], *podatřit se* [to succeed], *potěšit* [to please], *imponovat* [to impress], *okouzlovat* [to charm], *přitahovat* [to attract], *zaujmout* [to fascinate], *zajímat* [to interest]; *unavovat* [to make tired], *vadit* [to mind]. These verbs express pleasant/unpleasant feelings of the Actor that have their source in the mental or physical action/state expressed by the infinitive.

The valency frames of these verbs look prototypically as follows:

- (a) *bavit* [to amuse] ACT (Acc) PAT (Inf/Clause)
- (b) *podatřit se* [to succeed] ACT (Dat) PAT (Inf/Clause)
- (3) Před třemi lety se dohodli, že už se jim nelíbí žít v Praze. (SYN2006PUB)
 [lit. Three years ago they agreed that *to-them* no longer *appealed to live* in Prague]
 [Три года тому назад они решили, что им не нравится жить в Праге]
- (4) Starším lidem vadilo chodit na městský úřad přes řeku. (SYN2006PUB)
 [lit. *To-the old people was-a-burden to walk* to the town office across the river]
 [Старым людям было неудобно ходить в городской совет через реку]
- (5) Devíti členům hnutí se podařilo uniknout. (SYN2005)
 [lit. *To-nine members* of the movement (it) *succeeded to escape*]
 [Девяти членам движения удалось скрыться]

The Actor (in the unprototypical case form of Accusative or Dative) plays the role of the controller (-er). Some of the listed verbs are compatible with a General Actor (see (6)) or the Actor can be inferred from the context (see (7)); however, the boundary between generalized -er and the -er influenced by context is fuzzy. Ex. (8a) illustrates the fact that control in these constructions is OC, while in (8b) nonobligatory control is applied:

- (6) Vyjádření dalších nájemníků se nepodařilo získat. (SYN2006PUB)
 [lit. The statement of other tenants *was not succeeded to obtain*]
 [Мнение остальных жильцов не удалось получить]

⁴ This term for this type of predicates is used in Grepl — Karlík [1998: 71ff].

- (7) Přijal jsem ji na kliniku, kde *se podařilo* její stav aspoň částečně *zlepšit*. (SYN2005)
 [lit. I admitted her at the clinic, where (one) succeeded (for) her state at least partially to improve]
 [Я принял её в клинику, где её состояние удалось хотя бы частично улучшить]
- (8a) Učitelům se nelíbí, že žáci podvádějí.
 [lit. To-the-teachers does not appeal that the students cheat]
 [Учителям не нравится, что ученики обманывают]
- (8b) Učitelům se nelíbí chodit na schůze.
 [*To-teachers does not appeal to attend* meetings]
 [Учителям не нравится посещать собрания]

2.2. Subject infinitives with adjectives (adverbs)⁵ in verbonominal predicate

This type of control was described e. g. by P. Jacobson [1992] as constructions with «tough» adjectives. However, the extent of this adjective class is much wider in Czech as well as in Russian⁶.

For our analysis of control relation in this type of sentences we exploit data from the annotated corpus Prague Dependency Treebank (PDT in the sequel) containing approx. 68 500 sentences. There were **600 examples** of this type, where **90 different adjectives** occur (55 of them occur only once); as to Czech adverbs, we found only one example (*pozdě* [*late*]).

Predicative adjectives with a frequency ≥ 10 in PDT (in the form of Nom. sg. neutrum) are presented below:

možné [possible] — 297	zajímavé [interesting] — 16
nutné [necessary] — 126	snadné [easy] — 15
těžké [hard] — 29	vhodné [suitable] — 14
dobré [good] — 28	výhodné [favourable] — 14
důležité [important] — 19	zbytečné [unnecessary] — 10
obtížné [difficult] — 17	nezbytné [indispensable] — 10

The role of a controller in these constructions is performed by the prepositional group *pro* + *Acc* [*for*], *od* + *Gen* [*from*], rarely by *Dative* (see (16), (17), (18)), marginally by *mezi* + *Instr* [*among*], see the single occurring example (22).

Predicative adjectives must be classified into (at least) 3 classes according to the form of their controller⁷:

⁵ It concerns their comparatives and superlatives as well.

⁶ The Russian data collected for the linguistic processor used e. g. for machine translation system ETAP 3 contain 584 different adjectives and 35 adverbs with the syntactic feature «subject (Sint0) expressed by infinitive» (see «Russkij kombinatoryj slovar sistemy ETAP-3»). For Czech, see also a list of adjectives with this feature in [Svoboda 1962: 67ff].

⁷ We focus here our attention on the core forms of the controllers, therefore *Dative* is omitted from the classification. In the PDT *Dative* does not occur in such constructions at all. On the surface level, this form is limited to frozen collocations such as *je mu trapné* [*it is*

- (i) er is expressed by the form *od + Gen* [*from + Gen*]
- (ii) er is expressed by the form *pro + Acc* [*for + Acc*]
- (iii) for -er both forms (i) and (ii) are used and they are interchangeable.

If the -er is missing in the surface form of the sentence, it is understood as generalized.

Examples of (i):

- (9) Proto je *od něj* (*pro něj) *odvážné tvrdit*, že jeho přístup je objektivní. (SYN2006PUB)
[lit. Therefore (it) is *daring of him* [*for him] to claim that his approach is objective]
[Поэтому с его стороны [lit. от него] (*для него) смело утверждать, что его подход объективен]
- (10) *Od Společenství* by nebylo *moudré snažit se* dohodnuté zásady nějak omezovat. (SYN2006PUB)
[On the part of the Union [lit. Of the Union] (it) would not be wise to try to restrict the agreed-upon principles]
[Со стороны Союза [lit. от Союза] не было бы разумно стремиться как-либо ограничивать согласованные принципы]

Examples of (ii):

- (11) *Pro vychovatelky* (*od vychovatelek) je *prvořadé naučit* děti samostatnosti. (SYN2006PUB)
[For nannies [*from nannies] (it) is important first of all to teach children independence]
[Для воспитательниц (*от воспитательниц) важно в первую очередь научить детей самостоятельности]
- (12) *Pro takové lidi* je *lepší zůstat* ve vězení. (SYN2006PUB)
[For such people (it) would be better to stay in jail]
[lit. Для таких людей лучше оставаться в тюрьме]
- (13) *Pro nás* je nepochybně finančně výhodné nakoupit stroje a dřevo si zpracovávat sami. (SYN2006PUB)
[lit. For us (it) is certainly financially profitable to buy machines and to process the wood ourselves]
[lit. Для нас несомненно финансово выгодно купить машины и обрабатывать древесину самим]

Examples of (iii):

- (14) *Pro tebe* (od tebe) *dodnes není zcela přirozené stoupnout si* za mikrofon. (SYN2006PUB)
[lit. For you (it) still is not quite natural to stand behind the microphone]
[lit. Для тебя (от тебя) до сих пор не очень естественно стоять перед микрофоном]
- (15) *Bylo by ode mne* (pro mne) *příliš odvážné něco takového soudit*. (SYN2006PUB)
[lit. (It) would be of me (for me) too bold to claim something like that]
[lit. От меня (для меня) было бы слишком смело утверждать что-нибудь в таком роде]

embarassing for him], *je mu (ne)příjemné* [it is (un)pleasant for him], *je mu (ne)milé* [it is nice for him], *je mu (ne)srozumitelné* [it is unintelligible for him]. It occurs also in idiosyncratic (archaic) examples such as (17), (18) below.

Examples of -er in *Dative*:

- (16) *Není mi nikterak příjemné zmiňovat se o vnějším úspěchu svých knih.* (SYN)
 [lit. (It) is not *pleasant to-me to mention* an outward success of my books]
 [Мне неприятно упоминать о внешнем успехе моих книг]
- (17) *...je mu začasté nemožné rozeznat iluzi od skutečnosti.* (SYN2000)
 [lit. (It) is often *impossible to-him to distinguish* illusion from reality]
 [lit. ...ему часто невозможно отличить иллюзию от действительности]
- (18) *Jako by bylo Bohu snazší přiblížit se k člověku za pomoci jeho bližního.* (SYN2005)
 [lit. As if (it) *would be to-God easier to approach* the man through his neighbours]
 [lit. Как будто бы было Богу легче приблизиться к человеку с помощью его ближнего]

The only example with the preposition *mezi* + *Instr* is connected with reciprocity:

- (19) *Není mezi trenéry kolegiální takto na sebe ukazovat.* (PDT)
 [lit. (It) is not *loyal among coaches to point to each other*]
 [Среди тренеров не по-товарищески так друг на друга указывать]

The examples in (9)–(19) include a complement of the verbonominal predicate, which plays the role of -er (and which is coreferential with the subject of the infinitive) and for which we propose to assign the functor АСТ(or) of the whole verbonominal predicate. This proposal is supported by the paraphrases (10'), (13'), and (15'):

- (10') *Nebylo by moudré, aby se Společenství snažilo dohodnuté zásady nějak omezovat.*
 [lit. (It) would not be wise that the Union try to restrict the agreed-upon principles]
 [Было бы неразумно, чтобы Союз стремился как-нибудь ограничивать согласованные принципы]
- (13') *Je nepochybně výhodné, abychom nakoupili stroje ...*
 [lit. (It) is certainly profitable that we buy machines ...]
 [lit. Несомненно, выгодно, чтобы мы купили машины ...]
- (15') *Bylo by příliš odvážné, abych něco takového soudil.*
 [lit. (It) would be too bold that I should claim something like that]
 [lit. Было бы слишком смело, чтобы я утверждал что-либо такое.]

The information about the form of АСТ of verbonominal predicate (i. e. the inclusion into the class (i), (ii), (iii)) must be assigned to these expressions in the lexicon.

The ambiguity of the prepositional group *pro[for]* + *Acc* in this type of constructions must be taken into consideration as well. In ex. (20) and (21) this prepositional group plays a role of a free modification of BEN(eficiary) without the control property (see also the paraphrases (21')):

- (20) *Pro koncertní život Prahy by bylo určitě přínosné slyšet houslistu i v jiném sólovém repertoáru.* (PDT)
 [lit. *For the Prague concert life* (it) would be certainly a contribution to hear the violinist in another solo performance]
 [lit. Для концертной жизни Праги было бы целесообразно послушать скрипача ещё и в другом сольном репертуаре]

- (21) *Pro český tenis bude výhodnější smlouvu vypovědět.* (PDT)
 [lit. For Czech tennis (it) will be more advantageous to cancel the agreement]
 [Для чешского тенниса будет выгоднее расторгнуть договор]
- (21') *Pro český tenis bude výhodnější, bude-li smlouva vypovězena.*
 [lit. For Czech tennis (it) will be more advantageous if the agreement were cancelled]
 [Для чешского тенниса будет выгоднее, если договор будет расторгнут]

However, there are examples where the given prepositional group, due to its ambiguity, could be understood in both ways (see (22)). If the verbonominal predicate belongs to the class (i), the ambiguity disappears and the prepositional group in question expresses the BEN relation (see the distinctions between (23) a (23')):

- (22) *Pro Rusko by bylo podle něj dobré odvrhnout imperiální pohled na okolní svět.*
 (SYN2006PUB)
 [lit. For Russia (it) would be good according to his opinion to reject the imperialistic view of the rest of the world]
 [lit. Для России было бы, по его мнению, лучше отказаться от империалистического взгляда на окружающий мир]
- (23) *Pro státní instituce (BEN) bylo přinejmenším neférové zadlužený podnik prodat.*
 [lit. For the state institutions (it) was at least unfair to sell the company in debt]
 [Для государственных учреждений было по меньшей мере некорректно продавать предприятие-должник]
- (23') *Od státních institucí (ACT) bylo přinejmenším neférové zadlužený podnik prodat.*
 (SYN2006PUB)
 [lit. On the state institutions (it) was at least unfair to sell the company in debt]
 [lit. От государственных учреждений было, по меньшей мере, некорректно продавать предприятия-должники]

The type analyzed in Sect. 2.2 is considered to be NOC as well (see (24)).

- (24) *Pro předsednictvo je důležité, aby se schůze zúčastnily dvě třetiny členů výboru.*
 [lit. For the presidium (it) is important that two thirds of the members of the committee be present]
 [Для президиума важно, чтобы в собрании приняли участие две трети членов комитета]

2.3. Subject infinitives with noun predicates

In PDT, there are **210 constructions** of this type with **64 different nouns**⁸; the noun part of the predicate has a form either *Nom* or *Instr*. The nouns given below occur in PDT more than 5 times:

- (být) cíl [goal] — 49
 úkol [task] — 25
 povinnost [duty] — 12

⁸ The list of Russian nouns saved in the data part of the language processor includes 169 items for the processing of such type of constructions. For Czech, the list of such nouns is given in [Svoboda 1962: 67].

- problém [problem] — 10
 potřeba [necessity] — 8
 snaha [effort] — 8
 věc [matter] — 7

The attributes governed by these nouns appear to be suitable candidates for a (subject infinitive) controller. Nouns in Genitive and possessive adjectives or pronouns play this role quite often (see (25), (26)); the prepositional group *pro* + *Acc* occurs in this role only rarely (see (27), (28)).

- (25) *Foucaultovým záměrem je odhalovat skryté postupy a lsti, jimiž vzniká řád diskursu.* (PDT)
 [lit. *Foucault's intention is to discover hidden approaches and tricks that create the order in discourse*]
 [lit. Намерением Фуколта является обнаружить скрытые подходы и уловки, благодаря которым возникает порядок дискурса]
- (26) *Není mým cílem tyto firmy obhajovat.* (PDT)
 [lit. *(It) is not my goal to defend these companies*]
 [Моей целью не является защищать эти фирмы]
- (27) *Hrát zde tak důvěrně známé dílo je pro každého cizince nelehký úkol.* (PDT)
 [lit. *To play here such a well-known piece is for any foreigner a difficult task*]
 [lit. Играть здесь столь хорошо знакомую пьесу является для каждого иностранца трудной задачей]
- (28) *Pro vědeckého pracovníka je dobrým ranním sportem házet denně před snídaní jednu zamilovanou hypotézu do stoupy.* (PDT)
 [lit. *For a researcher (it) is a good morning exercise every day before breakfast to throw away one beloved hypothesis into a wastebasket*]
 [lit. Для каждого научного сотрудника является хорошим утренним упражнением ежедневно до завтрака выбрасывать в корзину одну любимую гипотезу]

The determination of the noun form in *Genitive* as a candidate for *-er* is connected with some problems. Only in the cases where *Genitive* can be understood as an Actor/Bearer of the verbonominal predicate (including the names of institutions, unions, companies etc.) is the situation with *-er* clear (see (29), (30), (31), (32)). Metaphoric and metonymic names, which actually serve as a means for labeling actor proper, such as *test* [test], *vyhláška* [announcement], *článek* [article], *astrologie* [astrology] etc. belong to the class of more or less clear examples as well, see e. g. (33), (34), and (35):

- (29) *Právem občanů demokratické země je na vlastní názory upozorňovat jakýmkoli způsobem.* (PDT)
 [lit. *The right of citizens of a democratic country is to call attention to their opinion in any way*]
 [Правом граждан демократической страны является обращать внимание на свою точку зрения всеми возможными способами]
- (30) *Vyhrát tuto ralley je snem každého Finna.* (PDT)
 [lit. *To win this ralley is a dream of every Finn*]
 [Выиграть такое состязание является мечтой каждого финна]

- (31) *Úmyslem premiérky Bhuttové bylo vyjádřit v Gaze podporu dohodě o palestinské autonomii.* (PDT)
 [lit. *The idea of Prime-minister Bhutto was to express in Gaza her support for the agreement about Palestinian autonomy*]
 [Намерением премьер-министра Бхутто было оказать в Газе поддержку договору о палестинской автономии]
- (32) *Cílem Sběrných surovin je vybudovat hustou síť kontejnerů.* (PDT)
 [lit. *The goal of the «Scrap Materials» is to build a dense network of containers*]
 [Целью «Вторичного сырья» является построить плотную сеть контейнеров]
- (33) *Podle W. Christophera je smyslem opatření zvýšit tlak na bosenské Srby.* (SYN2006PUB)
 [lit. According to W. Christopher the idea of this measure is to increase pressure on the Bosnian Serbs]
 [lit. По мнению У. Кристофера, смыслом этих мер является усилить давление на боснийских сербов]
- (34) *Odmítl přitom, že by účelem setkání bylo vymýšlet cesty, jak dospět ...* (SYN2006PUB)
 [lit. At the same time he denied that the purpose of the meeting had been to invent ways how to reach ...]
 [lit. При этом он отрицал, что целью встречи было придумать способы, как достичь ...]
- (35) *Jak řekl Šamil Basajev, cílem tohoto kroku je umožnit odsun mrtvých.* (PDT)
 [lit. As Shamil Basajev said, the goal of this step is to make possible an evacuation of dead bodies]
 [lit. Как сказал Шамиль Басаев, целью этого шага является сделать возможным транспортировку погибших]

On the contrary, restrictive and explicative Genitive attribute does not play the role of -er and it will not be assigned by ACT; see (36)—(40). The attributes of such a type are common with the predicative nouns *smysl* [sense], *otázka* [question], *znak* [feature], *věc* [matter]. Some genitive attributes of these nouns require that their valency slots be filled with nouns or possessives playing the role of -er. From the semantic point of view, in ex. (36), (37), and (40) we have to do with *somebody*'s politeness, will, or honour; in (39), the frozen collocation (*smysl života* [the sense of life]) occurs. With the noun *problém* [problem], we have found ACT only in the form *pro* + *Acc* in our data sample. General -er occurs often with the noun *chyba* [mistake].

- (36) *Znakem slušnosti je omluvit se za svou chybu.* (PDT)
 [lit. The sign of politeness is to apologise for one's mistake]
 [lit. Признаком вежливости является извиниться за свою ошибку]
- (37) *Připravit vyrovnaný rozpočet je pouze otázkou vůle.* (PDT)
 [lit. To prepare a balanced budget is merely a question of will]
 [Подготовить сбалансированный бюджет является только вопросом желания]
- (38) *Je otázkou prestiže mít na veletrhu ještě svůj Show-Room.* (SYN2006PUB)
 [lit. It is a question of prestige to have at a trade-fair one's own Show-Room]
 [Иметь на ярмарке еще и свой демонстрационный зал — это вопрос престижа]
- (39) *... jako by jediným smyslem života bylo žít dlouho.* (SYN2006PUB)
 [lit. ... as if the sole meaning of life were to live for a long time]

[lit. ... как будто бы единственным смыслом жизни было жить долго]

- (40) Přesto je věci cti dát si kávu v jedné z nesčetných zdejších kavárniček. (SYN2006PUB)

[lit. Yet (it) is a matter of honour to drink coffee in one of the many local cafes]

[lit. И все же (это) дело чести — выпить кофе в одной из многочисленных здешних кофеен]

Control of this type appears to be NOC (see (41)). Although the predicative nouns of this type have idiosyncratic features and the generalization of the ACT is frequent (see (42), (43)), we believe that some regularities as to which of their modifiers, whether present or deleted, is to be described as controllers, could be determined.

- (41) *Není záměrem vlády, aby rozpočtový schodek přesáhl 2 miliardy.*

[lit. (It) is not an intention of the government that the budget deficit exceeds 2 billion]

[lit. Намерением правительства не является, чтобы бюджетный дефицит превысил 2 миллиарда]

- (42) *Prvořadým úkolem je v obci spravit cesty.* (SYN2006PUB)

[lit. The priority task in the village is to repair roads]

[Первоочередной задачей является отремонтировать в деревне дороги]

- (43) *Není problém dovézt pohonné hmoty z Rakouska.* (SYN2006PUB)

[lit. (It) is not a problem to import fuel from Austria]

[Не является проблемой импортировать горючее из Австрии]

3. Although control phenomena may differ from language to language (even Slavonic languages do not share some infinitival constructions, see [Panevová 2008]), it seems that the distribution of subject infinitives is very similar in Czech and in Russian, as is also reflected in the comparison of the Russian data analyzed and carefully prepared for language processor by the Prof. Apresjan's team, with our brief survey of the corresponding Czech data.

Appendix: Analysis of the examples for the 2. 3 type from CNK (for the -er expressions)

Predicative noun	Number of analyzed examples	ACT in Gen	ACT posses	ACT pro+Acc	Gen. in a function other than ACT
chyba [mistake]	99	2	0	0	0
problém [problem]	77	0	0	27	0
povinnost [duty]	70	27	31	2	0
úkol [task]	44	17	16	4	0
smysl [sense]	40	10	3	1	2
sen [dream]	26	11	12	1	0
záměr [intention]	17	7	2	0	0
otázka [question]	7	0	0	1	5
věc [matter]	4	2	0	0	2

REFERENCES

- Apresjan et al 1992 — *Apresjan Ju. D.* Lingvističeskij processor dlja slozhnyx informacionnyx sistem. M.: Nauka, 1992.
- Babby 2009 — *Babby L. H.* The Syntax of Argument Structure. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- Culicover, Jackendoff 2001 — *Culicover P. W., Jackendoff R.* Control is not Movement // *Linguistic Inquiry*. Vol. 32. 2001. № 3. P. 493—512.
- Grepl, Karlík 1998 — *Grepl M., Karlík P.* Skladba češtiny. Votobia: Olomouc, 1998.
- Jacobson 1992 — *Jacobson P.* The lexical entailment theory of control and the *tough*-constructions // *Lexical Matters* / Eds. I. A. Sag, A. Szabolcsi. Stanford University, 1992. P. 269—299.
- Landau 2000 — *Landau I.* Elements of Control. Dordrecht; Boston; London: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2000.
- Landau 2008 — *Landau I.* Two routes of control: evidence from case transmission in Russian // *Natural Language Linguist Theory*. 26. 2008. P. 877—924.
- Panevová 1996a — *Panevová J.* Referenční platnost elidovaných aktantů (k některým otázkám koreference) // *Anafora w strukturze tekstu* / Ed. M. Grochowski. Warszawa: Energeia. S. 24—34.
- Panevová 1996b — *Panevová J.* More Remarks on Control // *Prague Linguistic Circle Papers*. Vol. 2 / Eds. E. Hajičová, O. Leška, P. Sgall, Z. Skoumalová. Amsterdam; Philadelphia: J. Benjamins Publ. House, 1996. P. 101—120.
- Panevová 2008 — *Panevová J.* České konstrukce tzv. slovanského akuzativu s infinitivem // *Slovo a slovesnost*. 2008. Vol. 69. S. 163—175.
- Panevová (in press) — *Panevová J.* Infinitiv ve funkci atributu // *Kapitoly z české gramatiky* / Ed. F. Štícha. Academia: Praha, (in press).
- Przepiórkowski, Rosen 2005 — *Przepiórkowski A., Rosen A.* Czech and Polish Raising/Control with or without Structure Sharing // *Research in Language*. Vol. 3. 2005. P. 33—66.
- Růžička 1999 — *Růžička R.* Control in Grammar and Pragmatics. Amsterdam; Philadelphia: J. Benjamins Publ. House, 1999.
- Svoboda 1962 — *Svoboda K.* Infinitiv v současné spisovné češtině. Nakl. ČSAV: Praha, 1962.
- Wurmbrand 2003 — *Wurmbrand S.* Infinitives. Restructuring and Clause Structure. Berlin; NY: Mouton de Gruyter, 2003.

J. Panevová
Charles University, Faculty of Mathematics and Physics, Prague, Czech Republic
panevova@ufal.mff.cuni.cz