Aleksandra Faynveyts (Moscow State Lomonosov University):
Is obligatory control always obligatory?

The issue of PRO (the null subject in non-finite clauses) control in Russian infinitive constructions has been a controversial topic. It is commonly argued that for any infinitive construction there exists a set of rules that unambiguously determine which noun phrase controls the PRO. Kozinsky (1985)[1] describes constructions with the infinitive and the conjunctions *č'toby* (purpose) and *prežde č'em* (precedence) as constructions with the obligatory subject control. This implies that the PRO in this type of infinitive constructions is always controlled by the subject of the main clause without regard to the type of the matrix predicate and the voice (ex 1)):

1)а) *Ministr$_i$ priglasil žurnalistku$_j$,*   *č'toby Ø$_i$ dat'*   *ej*   *intervju.*
                                        PURP give.INF   her   interview
   The minister has invited the journalist   to give her an interview
   Ministr$_i$ priglasil žurnalistku$_j$,   **č'toby*   *Ø$_j$ vz'at'*   *u nego*   *intervju.*
                                        PURP   take.INF   from him   interview
   The minister has invited the journalist   to interview him
   б) *Žurnalistka$_i$ byla priglašena ministrom$_j$,*   *č'toby Ø$_i$ vz'at'*   *u nego*   *intervju.*
                                        PURP take.INF   from him   interview
   The journalist has been invited by the minister   to interview him
   Žurnalistka$_i$ byla priglašena ministrom$_j$,   ** č'toby*   *Ø$_j$ dat'*   *ej*   *intervju.*
                                        PURP   give.INF   her   interview
   The journalist has been invited by the minister   to give her an interview.

Previous analyses of the infinitive constructions with *prežde č'em* argue for the same interpretation:

2) *Prežde č'em Ø$_i$ pojti na rybalku,*   *Pet'a$_i$ pozval s soboj Vas'u$_j$.*
                                        *Vasja$_j$ byl pozvan Petej$_i$.

[Testelets 2001][2] notes an exception to this rule. If the verb in matrix clause is passive and the position of the subject is occupied by an inanimate participant, then the so-called «control shift» takes place: the agent becomes the controller of the PRO (ex. 2)).

3)   *Operacija$_i$*   *byla*   *priostanovlena,*   *č'toby Ø$_j$ izbežat'*   *bol'šyh poter'*
       operation   was   interrupted   PURP avoid   heavy tolls
   The operation was interrupted to avoid heavy losses [Testelets 2001:294]

The goal of the present investigation is to discover all cases of «control shift» in the infinitive-*č'toby* and infinitive-*prežde č'em* constructions.

Our research was conducted in two stages:

1. First, a corpus survey was carried out. On the basis of its results we can argue for a second type of constructions with obligatory «control shift»: sentences with external possessor and those with the nominal predicate (ex. 3)). The external possessor NP controls the PRO:

[1] Козинский И.Ш. «Кореферентные связи инфинитивных оборотов в русском языке»// *Конструкции с предикатными актантами* под ред. Храковского М., «Наука», 1985

[2] Тестелец Я.Г. *Введение в общий синтаксис*, Издательство РГГУ, 2001

4)a) *U   Saddama$_i$ budet   [48 č'asov]$_j$,   č'toby   Ø$_i$ vybrat'*
      PREP   Saddam.GEN   be.FUT.3sg   48 hours   PURP   chose.INF
meždu vojnoj i mirom.
between war and peace
  Saddam will have 48 hours to choose between war and peace
  б) U   men'a$_i$ bylo   malo slov   *č'toby*   Ø$_i$, slushat'.
  PREP   I.GEN   be.PAST.3sg   few words   PURP   listen to.
      I had few words to listen to.
      2. Second, we have conducted several psycholinguistic tests. The purpose of thrse tests was to find out in which syntactic position the controller of the PRO can occur. We have discovered the following syntact positions:
        - the direct object
        - the indirect object
        - the external possessor with the preposition *u*
      We suggest that «control- shift» can be influenced by the following factors:
        - thematic structure
        - NP topicality
        - point of view
        - contrastive focus

      Our findings are as follows:
1.   Although the degree of *č'toby* and *prežde č'em* construction's liability to «control shift» is different, the positions in which «control shift» occurs are the same for both types of infinitive constructions
2.   the NP that is theme in the main clause can control the PRO of the dependent clause regardless of its syntactic position
3.   the degree to which other communicative factors can influence these constructions depends on the syntactic position of the NP in the main clause
We introduce a hierarchy of discourse factors that can motivate the occurrence of «control shift» in infinitive constructions with the conjunctions *č'toby* and *prežde č'em*.