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Infinitives in English, French and Czech: A Comparative Study

Diplomová práce

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V Olomouci dne 17. 8. 2020 **Bc**. **Marie Kokošková**

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Abstract

This Master thesis aims to introduce and compare syntactic structures of Infinitives in three languages – English, French and Czech. The main objective is to compare these languages in terms of the syntactic properties of their Infinitival phrases, with emphasis on the realization of their Subject (or its Agent Theta role).

In the first part of this thesis we will introduce the necessary theoretical background and terminology considering Infinitives and the realization of their Subjects. We will discuss two main phenomena connected to this topic, namely Control constructions with PRO and Raising.

The syntactic properties of Infinitives in all three languages are then introduced, including their internal structure, distributional features and taxonomy. Our predominant interest lies in the ways the infinitival Agent Argument is expressed in these languages.

English is considered as our principal language. After establishing the different INF structures in English, we explore the manners in which French and Czech react in the situations, where English uses an Infinitive. Immediate comparison of each structure is provided. All the data collected throughout our research are at the end summarized into well-arranged tables.

Key words

infinitive, subject of infinitive, Control, Raising, English, French, Czech

Anotace

Tato diplomová práce si klade za cíl představit a porovnat syntaktické struktury infinitivů ve třech jazycích – angličtině, francouzštině a češtině. Hlavním cílem je porovnat tyto jazyky z hlediska syntaktických vlastností jejich infinitivních frázích, s důrazem na realizaci jejich Podmětu (či sémantické role Agenta).

V první části této práce představujeme potřebné teoretické základy a terminologii s ohledem na Infinitivy a realizaci jejich Podmětů. Hovoříme především o dvou hlavních jevech souvisejících s tímto tématem, a těmi jsou konstrukce s kontrolou částice PRO, a Nadzvednutí.

Poté jsou představeny syntaktické vlastnosti Infinitivů ve všech třech jazycích, včetně jejich vnitřní struktury, distribučních rysů a taxonomie. Náš zájem spočívá ve způsobu vyjádření infinitivního argumentu Agenta v těchto jazycích.

Angličtina je považována za náš hlavní jazyk. Po ustanovení různých struktur infinitivních frází v angličtině prozkoumáme způsoby, jak francouzština a čeština reagují v situacích, kdy angličtina používá infinitiv. Poskytujeme okamžité srovnání každé struktury. Všechny údaje shromážděné během našeho výzkumu jsou na konci shrnuty do přehledných tabulek.

Klíčová slova

infinitif, podmět infinitivu, kontroluní konstrukce, nadzvednutí, angilčtina, francouzština, čeština

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Introduction

This Master thesis aims to introduce syntactic structures of Infinitives in three languages – English, French and Czech. Czech has been selected because it is the mother tongue of the author. French was chosen because it is her second studied major at the faculty. The main objective will be to compare these languages in terms of the syntactic properties of their infinitival phrases, with emphasis on the realization of their Subject. Based on these findings, it will be possible to examine and assess to what extend are the infinitival structures syntactically similar and how they differ from each other. Even very closely related languages (historically or syntactically) often show significant differences in the characteristics and distribution of Infinitives. On the one hand, the thesis will present languages belonging to different language families and different languages types (Czech being more synthetic while English is more analytical, and French lies somewhere in between). On the other hand, English and French have a long, shared history due to political interactions. French shares more morphological and syntactic properties with English than any other Romance language. Therefore, it will be interesting to see how the relatedness between languages mirrors in their syntactic realization of Infinitives.

In the first part of this thesis we will introduce the necessary theoretical background and terminology considering Infinitives and the realization of their Subjects. We will discuss two main phenomena connected to this topic, namely Control and Raising. Using this terminology we are going to present the taxonomy of INF in all three languages and compare the ways they differ or are similar cross-linguistically. Even though universal conclusions cannot be based on the data presented here, it will offer a comparison of three languages belonging to three different language families. These comparisons are always interesting.

The syntactic properties of Infinitives in all three languages will be then introduced, including their internal structure, distributional features and taxonomy. The presence of more than one type of infinitival structure can be observed in all three languages. For the scope of this thesis, only the default, unmarked structure will be introduced and examined, considering the profundity of the differences from the marked infinitival structures, including their syntactic characteristics and distribution. Our predominant interest lies in the ways the infinitival Agent Argument is expressed in these languages.

In generative grammar, the realization of the Agent Argument traditionally serves as the basis for the taxonomical categorization of Infinitives (Wurmbrand 2003, 237). The theoretical framework of the English Infinitive will be based mainly on the works of Wurmbrand

(2003, 2007, 2014). The taxonomy of Infinitives based on their morphosyntactic realization of the Subject will be adopted from Veselovská (2019). The theoretical background for the French infinitival system will then be collected from numerous sources, mainly from Sitaridou and Kayne, the former deals with the taxonomical distinction of French infinitives and describes their syntactic properties, while the latter devotes his work to find similarities and differences between French and English Infinitives.

English is considered as our principal language. That is the reason why chapters discussing French and Czech will also include brief characterization of the language, mainly in terms of the sentence structure. This will hopefully help a reader, who is not familiar with French or Czech, to better understand how the languages work. After establishing the different INF structures in English, we are going to explore the manners in which French and Czech react in the situations, where English uses an Infinitive. We are going to observe the environments the English infinitival structures occur in and we are going to attempt to explain the choice of structure used in French and Czech.

Since the author is not native speaker of English and French, in order to correctly compare the structures and draw conclusions about the acceptability of them in each language, parallel corpora will be occasionally used to attest our claims. This will not be done to carry out a quantitative research, but rather to observe the reactions of languages in the same context and not to overlook structural variations motivated by the immediate context. For these purposes, a Czech national parallel corpus InterCorp will be used. As though Infinitives are highly represented in language, the selection of texts had to be limited. We have decided to focus only on written language and register has been limited to fiction writing. Research done in the corpora should not be considered the main objective of this thesis. It only serves as a tool to testify our claims.

Our general hypothesis would assume that English and French will display more similarities since they share historical background, as well as some syntactic characteristics. From this perspective, Czech is expected to show bigger nuances. However, the comparison will uncover how the languages distribute their Infinitives and how the languages react in the process of translation of these Infinitives. We hope that the findings of this research will bring more light into the different distributional requirements of Infinitives in English, French and Czech, and will serve as valuable source for the fields of translatology, interpretation, as well as second language teaching.

1. Infinitives

For us to properly understand and examine the differences in the syntactic features of infinitives in English, French and Czech, it is essential to introduce the basic characteristics of the structure of Infinitives in all these three languages. Based on the comparison of their structures, we are going to be able to predict which forms of English Infinitives will not find an Infinitival equivalent in Czech and French. These instances will then be used as the basis for the research in the second part of this thesis, where we will explore the solutions each of the languages provides for translations of English Infinitives.

As it was mentioned in the Introduction, the Infinitival systems presented in this thesis will be based on their realization of the Agent role and the function of Subject. Before introducing the systems in each individual language, let us discuss the elementary terminology, which will be used throughout this paper. Traditionally, the category of Verb can be divided into two groups – finite and non-finite Verbs. Being very concise, it has been established that the finite structures are differentiated from the non-finite ones purely by the presence of Agreement morphology, which is lacking in the non-finite verbal structures. The absence of Agreement morphology then results in the inability of non-finite Verbs to assign a Subject/NOM Case to its Agent and to fulfil the function of clausal Predicate. As a result, non-finite verbs are often distributed as embedded phrases.

All verbs, leaving the feature of finiteness aside, subcategorize for semantic roles which are part of their inherent features. In a sentence including a matrix verb and an embedded infinitival phrase, there is a need for two separate Subjects/Agents. Adger (2003, 249-251) discusses the argument position in the embedded Infinitives. Two important rules need to be established. Firstly, semantic roles are an obligatory requirement of all sentence members – with an exception of passive constructions. Secondly, a single sentence constituent can carry only a single semantic role. Essentially, if the Verb which heads the infinitival phrase subcategorizes for an Agent, the Agent must be realized, and at the same time it must be realized outside of the Subject of the matrix verb.

1.1. Control

A general classification of Infinitives based on the realization and interpretation of their Subjects, and in this respect also their Agents, has been proposed in works of Wurmbrand (2002).

(1) *John tried to leave.*

(2) *It is dangerous for* babies *to smoke around them.* (Wurmbrand 2002, 3)

The subject position of the Infinitival Subjects both in (1) and (2) is structurally empty. This Subject position can, nevertheless, encode the Agent role, as long as it remains phonetically empty. This phonetically unexpressed Agent is identified through the interpretation of the rest of the Infinitival structure, which **controls** the identification of the Agent. That is why we talk of a "controlled" Infinitive. The Agent of this type of Infinitival structure is then labelled as a **PRO**.

Let us briefly introduce the basic morpho-syntactic properties of PRO for us to better understand its status and importance in our analysis. Firstly, the PRO element represents an ideal host for the Subject/Agent of the INF, since it has been denied the possibility to carry a Case (Wurmbrand 2002). A Case-less Subject agrees with the impossibility of Infinitives to assign Subject Case to its Agent. Furthermore, two elementary qualities of the PRO prove to be crucial in determination and interpretation of Infinitival Agent. PRO must always be anaphoric – therefore, there must exist a co-referential antecedent in the clause. Secondly, PRO must be pronominal, since it "requires an antecedent with an independent Theta-role, while assuming an independent Theta-role itself" (Chomsky 1988, 60).

Infinitival constructions generally belong to two groups – obligatorily controlled and non-obligatorily controlled. This distinction is based on the number of possible interpretations of the Agent Argument of the Infinitive. Some Infinitives allow only for one interpretation (1), others exhibit an infinite number of possible Agent roles (2). The obligatory control, as presented in Wurmbrand (2002, 6-8), is defined by a PRO which has an obligatorily present antecedent, which is "thematically or grammatically uniquely determined". Wurmbrand further emphasizes the anaphoric relation between the Subject of the Infinitival construction and its antecedent. On the other hand, non-obligatory control does not demand any strict conditions and is based on less tight relation between the PRO and its antecedent. Unlike obligatory control, the non-obligatory control however demands a structurally present PRO element. Some verbs then allow only for obligatory control, other strictly require the second one.

Nevertheless, it cannot be assumed that there exist only two types of Infinitive realization. The sole distinction between obligatory and non-obligatory control infinitives describes only general control properties. They do not help to predict what kind of mechanism

will be applied with different types of matrix verbs. To this purely syntactic categorization, a semantic value must be added.

1.2 Raising

Next to Control constructions, the process of **Raising** can also solve the problem of the identification of the INF Subject. This process includes movement of an element from the finite embedded clause to the matrix clause. We are going to see that there are two different positions to which this element can be transferred. Adger (2003, 260-263) mentions the possibility of an element being moved to the Subject position of the matrix Verb. He explains the process through the following example (3).

(3) a. *It seems that Agamemnon left.*

b. *Agamemnon seems to have left.*

Verbs like *seem, appear, turn out* etc. do not allow for a left-hand Theta role. Syntactically, they require a Subject, semantically, this Subject does not express a Theta role. This phenomenon has been explained by the Extended Projection Principle (EPP), which basically states that a Verb must have a Subject, but it does not have to carry a Theta role. Adger further explains that if a sentence function contains EPP feature, it can "attract" a Subject from some other position in a sentence. In this sense, Subjects can be moved to syntactically higher position. Among sentence functions which contain this EPP feature is Tense (T). Looking back at the example (3), the Subject of the embedded finite clause *Agamemnon* has been moved to the Subject position of the matrix Verb *seems*. The movement can be seen in the syntactic structure of the sentences.

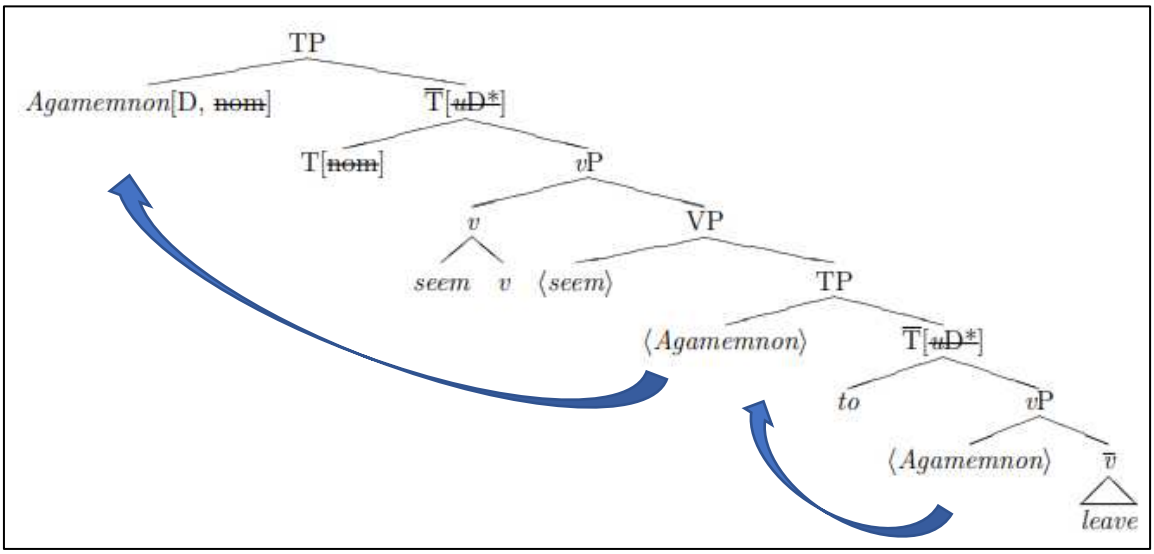

Figure 1 – Subject-to-Subject Raising (Adger 2002, 263)

From this structure, it can be concluded that the Raising to Subject movement is in fact double. The original position of *Agamemnon* is in ⟨⟩ in the lower vP, from which it has been moved up to the lower TP and finally to the highest TP.

We said that the embedded element in question can be moved into two different positions. We have already established the movement to the Subject position of the matrix Verb. The second possibility is movement to the Object position of the matrix Verb. Therefore, we have to distinguish between **Raising to Subject** and **Raising to Object** (in this thesis, we are going to use the term Exceptional Case Marking – **ECM**).

Control constructions and Raising constructions can look very similarly on the surface. As Polinsky (2013) mentions, even though both these phenomena share multiple structural similarities, they are syntactically and semantically very different. The author limits the differences to two crucial points. Firstly, Raising does not seem to "impose selectional restrictions on their arguments" (Polinsky 2013, 7), meaning they are flexible when used with idiomatic expressions and expletives. Secondly, in the process of Passivization, passivized Raising construction (4) conserves the meaning of its active counterpart, while with the passivized Control construction (5) it is not always the case. Polinsky justifies this claim using the two following examples:

(4) *The public expected the players to hug Maradonna.*

= *The public expected Maradonna to be hugged by the players.*

(5) *The public implored the players to hug Maradonna.*

≠ *The public implored Maradonna to be hugged by the players.* (Polinsky 2013, 8)

The difference in the realization of the Subject of the INF is also very important. In Raising constructions, there is no need for a PRO element, because the embedded Infinitive has an overt Subject in the clause. The process of Raising is, of course, problematic in terms of theta-criterion. As a result, Verbs which allow for this process have to be limited. As Polinsky further explains that there exist Verb classes which prefer Raising constructions to Control construction, however, the tendencies seem to be vary from language to language.

An interesting proposition was also made about the animacy of the Subject of the matrix Verb and its role in the distinction between Control Verbs and Raising Verbs. Rooryck (1987, 1989) discusses the preference of +Animate Subject in Control constructions, meanwhile Raising constructions seem to prefer carrying -Animate feature in their Subjects. Rooryck studied French exclusively and he mentions two exceptions from this rule – the Subject control Verb *concourir* "compete" and *conspirer* "conspire", both of which allow for -Animate Subject. Although we cannot state that one type of construction allows for only one type of Subject, we will try to test the preferences in English and Czech as well.

The specific requirements which need to be met for a successful Raising construction to be executed will be discussed in details in each chapters, as well as the limitations different languages exhibit for such process. The notions of PRO, control and Raising are going to serve as the frame for the categorization of Infinitives we are going to present in the following chapters.

1.3 Restructuralisation

Restructuralisation can be defined as a third process in determination of the Subject of the INF. Some authors differentiate this process from the process of Raising. Unlike the process of the Raising, where the NP is being moved, the process of Restructuralisation supposes a movement of the VP. The Restructuralisation involves interconnection between the Infinitival phrase and the matrix verb (Veselovská 2012, 223). This process occurs quite rarely with only few matrix verbs. One of the tests which can show the grammaticality of Restructuralisation is long passivization. Long passives have been defined as passive constructions with overtly expressed Agent (Puckica 2009, 220). The example (6) introduces two verbs *být* and *slíbit*. If we passivize this sentence creating a long passive, we can observe that only the matrix verb *být* allows for Restructuralisation, while *slíbit* appears to be ungrammatical when used in the long passive construction (Karlík 2017).

(6) a. *Dědeček* *bude/slíbí* *pálit* *trávu.*
Grandad-NOM be-FUT/promise-FUT burn-INF grass-ACC-fem
Grandad will/promises to burn the grass.

b. *Tráva* *se bude* *pálit* *dědečkem.*
Grass-NOM be-FUT burn-INF grandad-INSTR
The grass will be burned by the grandad.

c. **Tráva* *se slíbí* *pálit* *dědečkem.*
Grass-NOM promise-FUT to burn-INF grass-INSTR
The grass will be promised to burn by the grandad.

The matrix verb and the Infinitive in both the active and the passivized constructions share the semantic role of the Agent in the sentence constituent deduce. Through the process of the Reconstruction, the Subject of (6a) is able to carry the role of the Agent for both verbs and does not violate the requirement of one Theta role per constituent.

Opinions on the uniformity of Restructuralisation and Raising are mixed in the literature. That is why we decided to focus only on the Raising process, which helps to create a clear classification of infinitives in all three languages.

2. Infinitives in English

The category of Infinitive in English is complex. In terms of morphosyntax, there exist two types of English Infinitive – the bare Infinitive and the *to*-Infinitive. The extensity of the differences between the two types comprises a broad area of specific syntactic characteristics, functions and distributions which cannot be included in the scope of this thesis. For this reason, bare Infinitives which lack the grammatical particle *to* will be excluded from this research.

The *to*-Infinitive was chosen considering that, according to Los (2005, 256-257), the *to*-Infinitive has been the unmarked infinitival form since the Middle English. What is more, the character of the particle *to* can be crucial for the comparison with French Infinitives, which are unmarkedly introduced by a Preposition. Following the diachronical study of Los, the particle *to* had undergone the process of grammaticalization, originating from the position of Preposition heading a Prepositional phrase. As will be seen in later chapters, the INF phrase in Modern English still shares distributional properties with PP.

Providing the theoretical background of *to*-Infinitive, let us start with some basic morphosyntactic properties common to all *to*-Infinitives. Finiteness is generally expressed in the position of the first MOD/AUX (Huddleston and Pullum, 2002) in analytical Predicates. This position is often represented by T (Tense) in syntactic structure and allows Predicates to show Agreement with their Subjects. According to Wurmbrand (2012, 2017), Infinitives in English are non-finite structures, which are defined by the lack of the properties expressed in this position. This results in the lack of overt inflectional morphology and inability to assign Subject Case to the element in the Subject position. As a result, English Infinitives lack an overt Subject marked by morphology. The Subject position in English is traditionally associated with two semantic purposes. Firstly, Subjects correspond to the Theme of the clause. Secondly, and most importantly for us, Subjects encode the semantic role of the Agent.

Let us now present a taxonomy of English Infinitives based on the way their realize their Agent Argument. Firstly, the structures with a clearly defined PRO controller will be introduced, moving to some more alternative situations, where the role of the PRO controller might be more difficult to assign.

2.1 Control structures with PRO

As was stated in 1.1 and in accordance with Wurmbrand (2012), the basic requirement for a grammatical infinitival structure with a controlled Subject is the presence of a phonetically empty PRO, which must be co-referential with some other Verbal argument of the matrix Verb. In this way, the structure of the clause controls the PRO and indicates the interpretation of the Agent encoded by this PRO). We have established that the basic distinction between obligatory and non-obligatory control is not enough and the semantics of the matrix Verb specifies the type of control. Based on the nature of the matrix Verb, three different kinds of control can be defined[1].

The PRO can be controlled by the **Subject of the matrix verb** (2.1.1), the **Object of the matrix verb** (2.1.2) or the control can be identified only by the pragmatic context and therefore it is **arbitrary** (2.1.3). The control is assigned according to the verbal valency (Koopman 2013, 204-206). It is the subcategorization of each verb which decides the distribution of control in the clause. The subcategorization requirements will be introduced for each of the control structures in the following chapters.

Let us now introduce the three possible controllers of PRO element in English and describe the properties of these constructions supported by examples. The position of the phonetically empty PRO element in the example sentences will always be marked by the word PRO in capital letters.

2.1.1 Subject control of the PRO

The first possible controller of the PRO element is the Subject of the matrix verb. The constructions, which demonstrate this phenomenon can be called Subject Control Constructions (Koopman 2013, 210-215). These control constructions are distinguished by an overt Subject, which seems to be selected by the matrix verb and the infinitival clause at the same time. Koopman presents an example of such construction in (7). As it is generally known, the syntactic rules of English do not allow for a single DP to be represented twice in a syntactic tree, on two different levels. This problem is therefore solved by the insertion of the silent PRO element, which is defined as being co-referential with the Subject of the matrix Verb (8).

(7) *Susan wants to hurt herself.*

(8) *Susan$_x$ wants PRO$_x$ to hurt herself$_x$.*

[1] The taxonomy presented in this thesis is borrowed from Veselovská (2019).

There exist several tests, which can be carried out to prove the co-referential character of the PRO and the Subject of the matrix verb. These tests are based on the Binding theory, introduced by Chomsky (1981). We can demonstrate the tests to show, that the PRO and the Subject of the matrix verb in example (7) are co-referential. Bound anaphors (or syntactic anaphors) are defined by the presence of a structurally higher antecedent for given anaphor. As a rule, these anaphors have the form of a reflexive or reciprocal pronoun. In example (7(*8*) the pronoun is *herself*. This reflexive pronoun can find its antecedent only in the Subject of the matrix verb, never in the Object position.

As was mentioned in the previous chapter, the controller of the PRO is assigned based on the subcategorization of the matrix Verb. Verbs introduced in this chapter can be called Subject Control Verbs, since they will always assign the control to the Subject. This property is encoded in their valency. These Verbs are exclusively mono-transitive, such as *try* (9) or *wish*, as well as ditransitive Verbs, such as *promise* (10).

(9) *John$_x$ tried PRO$_x$ to leave.* (Wurmbrand 2002, 2)

(10) *John$_x$ promised Bill$_y$ PRO$_x$ to leave.* (Koopman 2013, 216)

What is more, all these verbs subcategorize for an Agent and this Agent is always realized as their Subject. If we look back at the example ((7), it can be stated that the verb *want* demands the Agent role in the Subject position, and further subcategorizes for the role of a Goal or Theme. Since the position of the Subject already serves as the Agent, it cannot carry any other semantic role. That leads us to assume a phonetically empty PRO is realized in the Subject position of the embedded Infinitive.

Wurmbrand (2002, 2-3) would further describe (7) and as an example of the Subject control and at the same time an exhaustive control. This type of control occurs when the Subject of the Infinitival structure is completely co-referential with the Subject of the verb in the main clause. All these constructions then always belong to the obligatory control category.

2.1.2 Object control of the PRO

(11) *The policeman$_x$ appealed to the protesters$_y$ to calm themselves.* (Polinsky 2013, 7)

The Subject is not the only element which can function as the controller of the PRO. In the example (11) we can observe a structure in which the highest Object of the matrix verb is co-referential with the Agent Argument of the embedded Infinitive. The same type of test can

be applied here, as was done in the Subject controlled Verbs, to prove the co-referential character of the two selected elements. Unlike in (7), the interpretation of (11) allows solemnly for *the protesters* and *themselves* to be co-referential.

Koopman (2013) states that the Object control Verbs assign the function of the controller to their subcategorized Patient or Goal. The valency of the Object control Verbs ensures them to be exclusively ditransitive verbs, since we need the Patient or Goal to serve as the controller of the PRO. Koopman (2013) further specifies the Theta role of Patient to be actually Thinker, which forbids this type of control to be passivized (as was already discussed above). She provides us with an evidence in (12).

(12) a. *John$_x$ convinced Bill$_y$ PRO$_y$ to cook the rice*

b. **John convinced the rice to be cooked by Bill* (Koopman 2013, 220)

The requirement of two semantic Arguments, one of them being a Thinker, is crucial when the Object control Verbs are differentiated from Raising and ECM constructions, which will be introduced in the following chapter.

Considering the obligatoriness of the control in these constructions, Wurmbrand (2002, 3) assigns the possibility for both obligatory and non-obligatory control. Both (13) and (14) are examples of Object controlled PRO, (13) shows properties of obligatory control while (14) exhibits the properties of the latter category, since the Object of the verb *persuade* is not the only Agent of the Infinitive, but the control is said to be "split" (Wurmbrand 2002, 2) between the Subject and the Object.

(13) *I$_x$ persuaded him$_y$ PRO$_y$ to come home.* (Veselovská 2017, 296)

(14) *John$_x$ persuaded Mary$_y$ PRO$_{x,y}$ to leave together.* (Wurmbrand 2002, 3)

2.1.3 Arbitrary control of the PRO

We have introduced two types of control so far. In case of mono-transitive verbs, the controller is always the Subject of the verb. On the other hand, ditransitive verbs with subcategorization for Patient or Goal often prove to assign the control function to their Object. Finally, some constructions in English do not allow the subcategorization for Agent or Patient, or, in same cases, the Agent of the matrix verb can be completely unspecified. Impersonal constructions with Expletives (Koopman 2013), and light Verb constructions are instances where the syntactic structure of the clause cannot on its own serve to assign the control and

therefore pragmatic context must be applied for the interpretation of the PRO to be successful. Since there is no single solution for assigning the PRO control, we speak about arbitrary control. Based on Wurmbrand (2002, 3), these constructions are examples of non-obligatory control. Unlike Infinitival Subjects in the Subject or Object control constructions, Subject appearing in this environment does not demand a co-referential antecedent which is fully specified.

(15) *It is dangerous for babies PRO to smoke around them.* (Wurmbrand 2002, 2)

Based solemnly on the syntactic structure of (15), there does not exist a successful interpretation of the phonetically empty PRO. The Object of the Preposition cannot be co-referential with the PRO, since *babies* are co-referential with *them*. The unspecified impersonal *It* can serve the purpose of the controller; however, its pragmatic meaning is variable.

The same tests as mentioned in the previous chapters can be applied to identify the control of the PRO. Once again, the reflexive anaphors serve as the perfect indicator of the positions of the control in the structure of the clause. In the case of arbitrary control, it is actually their ungrammaticality, which show the arbitrariness of the PRO controller. In (16), the general reflexive *oneself* can be accepted in these constructions, since the co-referential character between the Subject of the matrix verb and the PRO element is questionable.

(16) a. *The chairman agreed to meet oneself tomorrow*. (Polinsky 2013, 9)

b. **The chairman agreed to meet himself tomorrow.*

To sum up the control structures, we have seen three possibilities for the assignment of the PRO control. The controller is co-indexed with either the Subject or the Object of the matrix Verb, or its interpretation is dependent on the pragmatic analysis of the clause and therefore arbitrary in terms of syntax. Let us now move to structures, which offer a different solution for the interpretation of the Agent of the embedded Infinitive.

2.2 Alternative structures

In English, there are some Verbs which do not subcategorize for an Agent role, or any other semantic role to be precise, in the Subject position and therefore this position remains semantically empty. The empty Subject position can thus serve as the host of a semantic role of some other Verb, in our case the Agent of the Infinitive. The uniqueness of one semantic role in terms of theta-criterion is not violated through this process. Again, more than one type of construction is associated with this phenomenon. Firstly, the Agent of the Infinitive can be moved to the semantically empty Subject position of the matrix verb. This process is called

Raising to Subject (Rosenbaum 1974). Secondly, the matrix Verb can also subcategorize for a semantically empty Object and this element can successfully carry the semantic role of an Agent of the Infinitive. This process is called **Exceptional Case Marking** (Chomsky 1993) or, as it was originally referred to as Raising to Object (Postal 1974). Lastly, there exist special constructions with the **Preposition "for"** which allow for a straightforward interpretation of the Agent, which is structurally and semantically present. Let us deal with each situation separately.

2.2.1 Raising to Subject

In some verbal constructions in English, a semantically empty Subject position may occur. The verbal Subject in these constructions does not encode the Agent, or any other semantic role. In case of a semantically empty Subject position in English, the process of Raising moves a semantic role subcategorized for by another verb to this Subject position. As a result, it can be observed that the element in the Subject positions belongs semantically to one Verb and formally to another Verb. Verbs which allow this type of behaviour are generally called Raising Verbs – for example *seem, appear* and *happen* (Koopman 2013, 206). These Verbs are distinguished by having an expletive as their Subject (17). Since expletives are traditionally semantically empty, these constructions perfectly serve for the Raising process to happen (Koopman 2013, 206).

(17) *It appears that Thomas has lost the game.*

Koopman (2013, 203-206) presents the readers with the following example (18) on which she demonstrates which constituent actually selects the element in the Subject position, in this instance the DP time. Koopman argues that the DP is selected by the Verb in the Infinitival structure, rather than by the matrix Verb seems. This statement can be supported by the existing sister sentence (19) which as grammatical as the one in (18). The Subject of the Verb *seems* is therefore raised from the embedded Infinitival structure and serves at the same time as the Subject and Agent of the Infinitive.

(18) *Time seems to elapse slowly in the tropics.*
(19) *Time elapses slowly in the tropics.*

We can observe such behaviour also with some impersonal verbal constructions. An impersonal verbal construction is generally defined by the lack of a "grammatical referential subject" (Malchukov and Ogawa 2011, 20). Formally empty Subject position in these

constructions therefore invites the process of Raising. Polinsky presents a following example to demonstrate this process (20). The semantically empty expletive It in (20a) has been substituted by John in (20b) due to the process of Raising.

(20) a. *It is likely John will apply for this job.*

b. *John is likely to apply for this job.* (Polinsky 2013, 1)

Finally, the process of Raising is traditionally connected also with the passive verbal constructions which are inherently agentless. Raising seems to be a rather productive process in English language. This is due to the fact, that English Subject position tends to host various semantic roles quite freely (unlike Czech Subjects, which will be discussed later) and therefore it does not always need to correlate with the Agent role. On the other hand, English Subject position inclines to be correlated with the Theme of the clause in terms of the Functional Sentence Perspective.

To summarize, the difference between control constructions and Raising construction lies in the element which selects the Subject. As we saw in the previous chapters, in the control constructions the Infinitives obtain the Agent in an element selected by the matrix Verb, whereas in the raising construction, the Subject/Agent is selected by the Infinitive itself and then raised to the Subject position of the matrix Verb (Koopman 2013, 210).

The process of Raising is also connected very often with Modals and Auxiliaries (Wurmbrand 1999, 567). Since Modals and Auxiliaries are followed exclusively by a bare Infinitive, we will not elaborate on this particular situation.

2.2.2 Exceptional Case Marking (ECM)

In the previous chapter the case of a semantically empty Subject was introduced. In this chapter, constructions with semantically empty Object is going to be described. Some English Verbs select their Object, which is structurally marked by Case, nevertheless, no semantic role is encoded by this constituent. Koopman (2013, 219) calls this process Raising to Object, in reference to the similarity to the process described in the previous chapter. Theoreticians argue that there are differences between the process of Raising and ECM, which lie in the character of the case assignment. This difference, however, does not interfere with our research, and we will therefore operate with this construction under the term ECM. Let us demonstrate this type of construction on the following example:

(21) *I saw Mary open the door.* (Castillo 2001, 113)

In (21) we can see the process of ECM being executed with a Verb of perception. Verbs of perception (in this case *see*) are inherently monotransitive. In other words, they subcategorize only for one semantic argument, usually a Theme. Taking this fact into consideration, the complement *Mary open the door*, as a whole, must be the Object of the matrix Verb. At the same time, this complement fulfils the role of the Theme Argument of the Verb *see*. Since the sole NP *Mary* does not encode any semantic role subcategorized for by the matrix Verb, it is free to host the role of the Agent of the Infinitive. The condition of Case-marking is satisfied, the NP *Mary* is marked by Object Case which is structurally visible when it is substituted by a pro-form (22).

(22) *I saw her open the door.*

It may be disputed that only bare infinitives have been discussed in terms of Exceptional Case Marking, since they represent a typical Complement of Verbs of perception. However, Verbs of perception are not the only category which allows for ECM. ECM verb classes also include causative verbs and Koopman (2013, 219) adds verbs such as *believe*, *expect*, *prove*, *know*, and *assume* to the list. In contrast to verbs of perception, the verbs introduced by Koopman select a *to*-Infinitive as their Complement (23).

(23) *John believes it to be raining.* (Koopman 2013, 220)

Similarly, to the Raising to Subject constructions, a semantically empty constituent can be detected in example (23). In this case, the expletive *it* has the Complement function. Since *it* does not carry any semantic role on its own, it is open to host the Agent role of the Infinitive. The whole Infinitival structure then serves as the Complement of the matrix Verb *believes*. Koopman (2013, 220) then proposes the final argument for the difference between ECM and Object control verbs, demonstrating example (24) as ungrammatical:

(24) **John convinced it to be raining.* (Koopman 2013, 220)

In Raising constructions, the semantically empty expletive serves as the Subject for the to-Infinitive, in Object control constructions this is not the case (Koopman 2013, 220).

2.2.3 Infinitival Subjects with the Preposition “for”

In all the constructions discussed so far, the Infinitival Subject was always formally empty. There, however, exists a construction which allows an overt Subject for the Infinitive. Consider the following example (25):

(25) *It is very difficult for me to come up with an appropriate example.*

This type of construction has been discussed in Adger (2003, 258-260). The Agent of the Infinitive in (25) is realized in the Object position, but unlike with the Object control constructions, the Object is not selected by a Verb but by the Preposition *for*. The preposition than assigns the ACC case to the Subject of the Infinitive. Čakányová (2018, 180-181) mentions, that this type of construction is licensed only by a selected type of verbs. One category are the ECM verbs (26), the second category and Subject control Verbs (27). The Subject of the matrix verb in (27) loses its role of the PRO controller and the role of the Agent and Subject of the Infinitive is taken by the element following the Preposition *for*.

(26) *I intend for him to go to university.*
(27) *I hope for him to go to university.*

Pak´s (2006, 293) diachronic study of this construction revels some nuances of acceptability of *for-to* infinitives across time and dialects of English. Based on his research, *for* is assigned the role a Complementizer which ensures the realization of its following element to encode the role of the Subject of the Infinitive, as is seen in (27).

On the following pages, the category of Complementizer will be important for us since it plays a major role also in the typological distinction of French Infinitives. Let us therefore elaborate on the properties of this category briefly here. Adger (2003, 238-239) defines Complementizes as a syntactic category which introduces a clausal complement. This clausal complement is positioned above the T in the syntactic projection. Complementizers are a purely grammatical category which is not able to assign any semantic roles to its adjacent elements.

2.2.4 Distributional characteristics of English Infinitives

The final chapter concerning the English Infinitives aims to summarize the basic distributional characteristics of the unmarked form of English infinitive – the *to*-infinitive. The same overview will then be provided for the French and Czech Infinitives in following chapters.

Firstly, let us consider the sentence functions expressed by the *to*-infinitive in the examples below (28). All these grammatical examples show the extensive variety of sentence functions, which can be expressed by an Infinitive in English. We can see that INF is accepted as Subject (28a), Direct Object (28b), Complement of Adjective (28c) and Adverbial (28d).

(28) *a. It is dangerous to disregard the past.*

b. *He wanted to leave.*

c. *He was not anxious to acquaint himself with this stranger.*

d. *She put on glasses in order to see more clearly.* (Fang 1995, 252)

The distinction between the sentence function and the position the Infinitive occurs in must be emphasized here. Even though the *to*-infinitive seems to perfectly fulfil the Subject and Object sentence function, it shows limitations in terms of the position of these functions. By the ungrammaticality of the following examples Emonds (2014) proves that *to*-Infinitives cannot appear as a Subject in embedded clause (29a), as a Object preceding Complement PPs (29b) or in the position of the Object of Preposition (29c)". These limitations show crucial difference between Infinitives and Gerunds (which represent other group of non-finite Verbs in English) assign the properties of a PP position to the *to*-Infinitive.

(29) *a. *She forgets how expensive to visit the dentist is.*

b. **Bill preferred to ride a bicycle to endless hitchhiking.*

c. * *John just came back from to drive his cab.* (Emonds 2014)

It can be therefore concluded that even though *to*-Infinitive is able to serve sentence functions typical for NPs, based on the limitations posed by their position, to-Infinitive shares distributional properties with finite complements (Emonds 2014, 36).

3. Infinitives in French[2]

3.1 Basic characteristics of French

In the Introduction of this thesis, it has been suggested that similarities between English and French can be motivated by their common historical development. Moreover, we assume that French shares morphological and syntactic processes with English in broader extent than any other Romance language. Let us briefly consider following data to support this claim and later we are going to see if these features will be mirrored in similar processes with respect to the INF Phrases.

From a historical perspective, the influence of Germanic languages on French is undoubtable. Unlike any other Romance languages which are predominantly based on Latin with influences from each other rather than from other languages from other families, Modern French has routes not only in Latin, but also Gallic (from the Celtic family) and Franconian (from the Germanic family). Traces from both Celtic and Germanic languages are found in English as well. The similarities between these two languages are therefore traceable to their oldest origins. (Perret 1998, 19-21)

Pusch and Kabatek (2011, 76-86) discuss the formal properties of Romance language. Comparative grammar reserves French a special position among the Romance languages on all the linguistic levels – phonology, morphology and most importantly for us, syntax. In comparison to Spanish or Italian, French has significantly reduced its verbal inflectional morphology. Similarly to English, French Verbs carry inflectional morphemes of Tense, however Person, Number and Mood are not often morphologically realized (the exception is often expressed in Agreement morphology of third person singular). Other Romance languages conserve the rich inflectional morphology from Latin and tend to formally express all the verbal features.

What is probably most important for us is the syntactic organization of a sentence. In terms of word order, the SVO alignment is considered the default one in all Romance languages, however, French displays dominant demand for SVO and, unlike other Romance languages, it requires a structurally present Subject. Having stated that, generative grammar sometimes classifies French as a PRO-drop language. This is due to the tendencies in spoken

[2] Sitaridou (2002, 79-80) introduced certain differences between the Infinitival systems in European French and Quebec French. The theoretical background and the data received from the corpus therefore apply only for the European variant of French.

language to drop the Subject. In written, literary language the necessity of expressed Subject is, however, still maintained.

The fixed word order and obligatory structural Subject in French is connected to the Functional Sentence Perspective, which prefers Theme being expressed by the first element in the clause.

3.2 French Infinitives (general overview)

In this chapter the French Infinitival forms will be presented. Since French tends to have analytical Predicates similar to English ones, certain similarities between these two systems may be expected. The basic terminology, which has been proposed in Generative grammar for English Infinitives, has been adopted also in the French tradition. In the early 1980s it was mainly Huot (1981) who spoke about *les verbes à contrôle* (Control Verbs) and *les verbes à montée* (Raising Verbs). In this thesis, the traditional distinction between these two categories will be merged with the classification introduced by Sitaridou (2002, 2007). This categorization will be also extended by other Infinitive forms introduced by various authors (e.g. Kayne 1981, Tanaka 1992).

For us to be able to identify an infinitival construction in French, it is necessary to present some basic morphological characteristics of such construction. The French infinitive form is recognized by the lack of conjugation and has three possible morphological forms. French grammar differentiates three different categories of verbs, which are grouped together based on their basic infinitival form and the type of conjugation their undergo. The French infinitives have therefore three possible forms – they can be ended with the derivation morpheme *-er*, *-ir* or *-re*. In course of this thesis, all three forms of the infinitive will be introduced. What needs to be stated is that there does not exist any syntactic difference among them in terms of their distribution or function. Let us now assume the position and role of the French infinitive in a sentence.

In the French tradition, Infinitives has been dealt with as phrases (Muller 2000, 393). Similarly to English, the lack of Agreement morphology has been observed in French, which does not display Subject-Verb Agreement. What is more, French Infinitives are not able to assign NOM case to their Subjects, even if structurally present (Bélanger, 2002).

Nevertheless, French Infinitives have been defined as dependent constructions, which are attached to another sentence element semantically and syntactically. Very often, this

dependence is structurally visible by the means of a Preposition, which introduces the Infinitival construction. The Prepositions most associated with Infinitival constructions are *à* and *de* (Huot 1981, 7). French phrasal constituents tend to be "introduced" in this way. The Prepositions *à* and *de*, which introduce infinitival phrase, are not the only examples. The Preposition *en,* for instance, introduces gerunds (Vikner 1980, 266). The presence of a Preposition is obligatory and regular in cases, where the Infinitive is preceded by a Noun (30) or an Adjective (31). On the other hand, when the Infinitive follows a Verb, the usage of a Preposition loses its regularity, but is never random – every Verb either selects (e.g. *parler*) or denies (e.g. *préfère*) the use of a Preposition (32).

(30)

La	*crainte*	*de*	*rater*	*le*	*train*	*est*	*petite.*
the-FEM	fear-NOM	PREP	miss-INF	the-MASC	train-MASC	be-3SG	small-FEM

The fear of missing the train is small.

(31)

Jean	*est*	*certain*	*de*	*revenir.*
Jean-NOM	be-PRES-3sg	sure-MASC	PREP	return-INF

Jean is sure about his coming back.

(32) a.

Jean	*préfere*	*repartir*	*par*	*le*	*train.*
Jean-NOM	prefer-PRES-3sg	leave-INF	by-PREP	the-MASC	train-MASC

Jean prefers leaving on a train.

b.

Jean	*parle*	*de*	*repartir*	*dés*	*ce*	*soir.*
Jean-NOM	speak-3SG	PREP	leave_INF	since-PREP	this	evening

Jean speaks about leaving since this evening.

The question which arises is whether the Prepositions *à* and *de* are equivalents of the English particle *to*. This would result in the same type of distinction between a bare Infinitive and *to*-Infinitive in English and therefore the French "bare" Infinitive would need to be excluded from this thesis. One argument in favour of the equivalency would be the fact that there exist groups of verbs which select one or the other type of Infinitive.[3] Kayne (1981) however argues against this hypothesis. He assigns the role of a Complementizer to the Preposition *de* (Kayne 1981, 353). Even though in general context Complementizers have been assigned incompatible with obligatory control of the PRO (Kayne 1991, 666), Infinitives preceded by this Complementizer seem to co-exist with control in French.

[3] In English, for example the group of Modal Verbs always chooses a bare Infinitive as their complement (Mittwoch 1990)

In French, and Romance languages in general, there exist two particular constructions which allow for a structurally overt Infinitival Subject to appear (Sitaridou 2007, 191). These constructions bear a resemblance to the "*for*" construction discussed in chapter 2.2.3, thus I chose this construction for the translation. Let us consider the following example (33):

(33)

La	*France*	*batter*	*le*	*Brésil*	*ce*	*serait*	*inconcevable.*
the-FEM	France	beat-INF	DET	Brazl-MASC	that	would be	inconceivable

For France to beat Brazil would be inconceivable.

The taxonomy of French Infinitives will be based mainly on the works by Sitaridou (2002, 2007). She distinguishes three types of French (or Romance) Infinitives – simple, personal, and inflected (Sitaridou 2002, 17). The first one is defined by the lack of a structurally overt Subject. The second one occurs with an overt Subject in NOM case. The Infinitival Subject in French may even display some inflectional Agreement Morphology (Sitaridou 2002, 18) and is then called the inflected Infinitive. In order to be able to efficiently and clearly compare these INF structures with English, we will try to transform this taxonomy to correspond to the one used in the chapter about English Infinitives.

Let us discuss the properties of these types of Infinitives in French and outline some expectations for their counterparts in English. We are going to try to apply the general rules of generative grammar to explain the position of the infinitival Agent within the sentence. This could be done thanks to Sitaridou (2002, 2007) who bridges the French traditional grammar with the Control theory. She proposes equivalency between French Simple Infinitives with obligatory controlled Infinitives, and similarly, she suggests Personal and Inflected Infinitives being equivalent to non-obligatory controlled Infinitives. The following chapters will therefore have the scheme following this outline – firstly, the obligatory controlled Infinitives will be presented, followed by the non-obligatory controlled Infinitives. The chapter will be concluded by the discussion about the possibility of Verb Movement and ECM constructions in French.

3.3 Control structures with PRO

According to Sitaridou (2002, 93) the simple Infinitives are basically equivalents to the obligatory control Infinitives in the generative tradition. Obligatory control covers what was presented in the English sections as Subject controlled and Object controlled infinitival

structures[4]. Once again, Sitaridou (2007, 191) defines simple infinitives (or controlled infinitives) as structures which demand the presence of phonetically empty element PRO, which serves as the understood Subject of the Infinitive.

In terms of distribution, the obligatory control does not pose any restrictions to the form of the Infinitive. It has been established, that French recognizes bare Infinitives without a complementizer, and Infinitives with complementizers *de* or *a*. Kayne (1991, 668) states, that the complementizers do block the presence of a controlled PRO.

3.3.1 Subject control

Subject control seems to perform well in French, same as in English. Among classes of verbs which prefer Subject control Rochette (1998, 30-31) lists aspectuals (34), the Verbs of movement (35) and also Modals. Many equivalents of English Subject control Verbs belong to this category also in French – *commencer* "start", *essayer* "try", *avoir envie de* "want" or *promettre* "promise" (the last one mentioned will be further discussed since its character as Control Verb may be disputed).

In terms of valency, Subject control in French is accepted by both monotransitive and ditransitive Verbs. If these Verbs subcategorize for Agent in the Subject position and require another Theta role on the right side, which is expressed by INF, its PRO is always control by the Subject.

(34)

Jean	*commence*	*PRO*	*à*	*manger.*
Jean-NOM	begin-PRES-3SG		PREP	eat-INF

Jean begins to eat.

(35)

Jean	*sort*	*PRO*	*à*	*promener.*
Jean-NOM	go out-PRES-3SG		PREP	walk-INF

Jean goes out for a walk.

As it can be observed in these examples, the structure of controlled Infinitives in French is very similar to English. The PRO element is placed after the matrix Verb and before the

[4] In her exhaustive doctoral dissertation, Rochette (1988) speaks about three possible sentence functions which can control the PRO. She agrees with the Subject and Object control distinction, however, she further differentiates between Direct Object control and Indirect Object control. To my knowledge, both types of Objects behave in the same manner with respect to their INF complement. This thesis therefore presents both of them under the term Object control.

complementizer. The Agent of the matrix Verb is co-referential with the Agent of the embedded INF. The Agent of the matrix Verb being expressed in the Subject, it is the Subject which controls the PRO.

It may seem that English and French Subject control constructions are identical, since their structures are identical, the valency of the Control Verbs is similar and many Subject control Verbs in English have French equivalent in the same category. However, Verbs like *promettre* "promise" or *menacer* "threaten", which are Subject Control Verbs in English, pose some problems when categorized in French. According to Rooryck (1989, 197-198) it is the complementation of the matrix Verb which decided the character of these two Verbs. Consider the following examples (36) and (37).

(36) *Jean promet à Pierre PRO de revenir tôt.*

Jean-NOM promise to Pierre PREP return-INF early

Jean promises Pierre to return early.

(37) *Ce résultat promet (*à Pierre) d´apporter un avenir radieux.*

This result promise bring-INF DET future bright

This result promises to bring a bright future.

While example (36) is a typical example of Subject control construction, with the same structure as could be seen in (10) in English, the interpretation of (37) is more complicated. When *promettre* is used as ditransitive Verb, PRO occurs and is controlled by the Subject of the matrix Verb. However, when a sentence includes *promettre* used as monotransitive Verb with INF complementation, the Subject cannot be interpreted as co-referential with a PRO. Rooryck argues that this a case where *promettre* has to be defined as Raising Verb. One argument in favour of this proposition is that, unlike English *promise*, its French monotransitive equivalent can also occur in impersonal constructions with expletives (38). The preference of -Animate Subjects in Raising constructions can also support this claim.

(38) *Il promet de faire du soleil*

It promise PREP do PREP sun

It is promised that it will be sunny.

In spite of these arguments, we would suggest a different interpretation. Example (

Il promet de faire du soleil

It promise PREP do PREP sun

It is promised that it will be sunny.

(38) is somewhat similar to the examples (15) and (16) which have been defined as Arbitrary control constructions in English. It would be very complicated, if not impossible, to trace back the finite version of the Raised construction of (38) and therefore Arbitrary control would solve this problem. Semantically speaking, It can be agreed that the bringing of the bright future will not be done by the result (it therefore cannot be the Agent of the INF), but by some unnamed entity which cannot be specified. Consequently, the double character of *promettre* is undoubtable. We would classify the ditransitive version as Subject control and the monotransitive version as Arbitrary control.

More commentary must be included considering Modals, which have been classified as problematic in Rooryck (1989) due to their ambiguity as well. It has been suggested that some modal Verbs, especially *pouvoir* "can" and *devoir* "must", can behave as control Verbs and Raising Verbs, depending on the context they are used in. Again, we would agree with the double character, yet the two characters being Subject control and Arbitrary control. An example of the former can be seen in ((*39*) where the Agent of the INF *expliquer* is undoubtedly Pierre. The latter is shown in ((*40*). The Agent of the INF cannot be clearly specified in the impersonal construction.

(39) *Pierre* *peut* *expliquer* *la* *situation.*
Pierre-NOM can explain-INF DET situation
Pirre can explain the situation.

(40) *Il* *peut* *s´averer* *que* *cela* *est* *vrai.*
It can prove-INF that it be-3SG true
It can be proven to be true.

To conclude, Subject control functions well in French with similar type of Verb as in English. The complementation of some Verbs can, however, change the character of PRO control and shift it from Subject control to Arbitrary control.

3.3.2 Object control

The Object control of the PRO is again very similar to the situation in English. Rooryck (2000, 94-96) assigns the capability of such type of construction to ditransitive Verbs, which he further divides into Verbs of influence and Verbs of evaluation. Semantically, both categories represent a transition from an Agent to a Theme/Receiver. Moreover, Verbs of the type *faire* "make" (41) and *laisser* "let" perform well in Object control as well (Huffman 1983, 290).

(41) *Elle* *fait* *chanter* *Tom* *tout* *seul.*
she-FEM make-PRES-3SG sing-INF Tom-MASC all-MACS alone-MASC
She makes Tom sing all alone.

By observing the inflectional morphology in the example (41) the only possible Agent of the Verb *chanter* can be the NP *Tom*. French demands Agreement morphology in Number, as well as Gender. We can see that both *tout* and *seul* contain MASC inflectional morpheme, hence they are in Agreement with the MASC gender of *Tom*, not with FEM of *Elle*.

Even in this chapter, we can again comment on the situation with the verb *promettre* "promise". In the previous chapter, we have established that when ditransitive, *promettre* incodes Arbitrary control. In this section, we are going to argue that there is one more variant of Control. Unlike English (and as it is going to be later seen in Czech as well), French allows for Object control of the PRO with matrix Verb *promettre*. Let us consider the following example ((*42*).

(42) *L´avocat*$_x$ *lui*$_y$ *a promis* *PRO*$_y$ *de* *pouvoir* *quitter* *le* *prison.*
Attorney he-ACC promise-PAST PREP can-INF leave-INF DET prison
The attorney promised him that he could leave the prison.

This type of complementation would not have the same interpretation in English. When the Verb *promise* is used in this sense, the Subject of the embedded INF is always controlled by the Subject of the matrix Verb. This would lead to understanding that it is in fact the attorney who is leaving the prison. To attain the same semantic meaning – *lui* is leaving the prison, not the attorney – a finite clause must be provided. The instance of Object control with the Verb *promettre* is, however, fairly restricted. It is only acceptable with the INF form of the Verb *pouvoir* "can" or with passive INF (Rooryck 1989, 199).

3.3.3 Arbitrary Control

We have already established some cases of Arbitrary Control is chapter 3.3.1. In this chapter we aim to provide the rest of the necessary information about this type of structure. Same as in English, there are Verbs in French which do not subcategorize for an Agent and their Subjects are unspecified. Typically, these include impersonal structures with Copula (43) or some Light Verb constructions (44).

(43) *Il* *est* *important* *PRO* *de* *dormir.*
It be-3SG important PREP sleep-INF
It is important to sleep.

(44) *J´ai* *donné* *l´ ordre* *PRO* *d´asseoir.*
I AUX give-PAST DET order sit-INF
I gave the order to sit down.

A typical example of an impersonal structure in French is the Vebr *falloir* "need" (46). Despite the fact that *il faut* is an impersonal structure par excellence, we are going to observe that the interpretation of the Control with this Verb can be problematic.

(45) *Il* *faut* *PRO* *apprendre* *les* *langues.*
It need learn-INF DET languages
It is necessary to learn languages.

(46) *Il* *me* *faut* *PRO* *apprendre* *les* *langues.*
It me need learn-INF DET languages
I need to learn languages.

(47) *Il* *faut* *PRO* *m´aider.*
It need me help-INF
It is necessary to help me.

Falloir used to be able to pair with a semantically specified Subjects in the past, yet nowadays its only possibility is to form an impersonal structure. In (46) *falloir* selects an INF Complement headed by the Verb *apprendre*, which definitely subcategorizes for an Agent role. *Il* is semantically empty, yet the process of Raising is ungrammatical with the verb *falloir* – it can never select a NP as its Subject (Creissels 2008, 18). The PRO cannot therefore be controlled by the Subject of the matrix Verb and there is no other Complement which can adopt this role. The control is therefore arbitrary.

The example (46) shows an interesting shift in the interpretation of the Complement INF. The verb *falloir* can actually subcategorize for two Complements – if the Indirect Object is realized as a pronoun in ACC Case. In (46) this Indirect Object is *me.* In this way, the INF in embedded clause can find its Agent in the Indirect Object. The type of C-selection of *falloir* plays a crucial role. As it can be seen in (47), the structure is similar to (46), we even have the same Object pronoun present. Only this time, *falloir* remains monotransitive, the Object pronoun is part of the INF Phrase. Consequently, the control of the INF is still arbitrary. The contraction form of the pronoun me in (47) cannot be carry the role of the Agent of the INF, which can be proven by a simple test of including a reflexive pronoun, which proves to be ungrammatical (48). To express the reflexivity – the helping will be done by the person who needs the help – a finite Complement must be used instead.

(48) *Il faut m´aider moi-même
It need me help-INF myself

There is no construction similar to *il faut* in English. The only option in the translation of this structure into English is the implementation of semantically empty expletive *it* followed by Copula (*it is necessary*). On the surface, the example (49) may seem similar to *il faut*, however the neutral pronoun *it* behaves as anaphoric reference, not as an semantically empty expletive, and therefore cannot be used in the same way (50) as in was seen in French.

(49) *It needs to be done quickly.*
(50) **It needs to learn langauages.*

3.4 Alternative structures

In this chapter, we are going to introduce alternative structures which occur with embedded INF in French. It was already said that Sitaridou classifies Infinitives more according to its Case-marking and other inflection morphology, therefore we are going to adapt her classification for the purposes of our thesis. Nevertheless, first alternative structure presented here will be Personal Infinitives. These do not have a counterpart in English (or Czech), so they are going to be added to our classification. We are going to describe them and state broad limitations for their use.

Secondly, we are going to move to what have been defined by Sitaridou as Inflected Infinitives. They do not exhibit as many restrictions as the Personal infinitives do. They share the limitation of the pre-verbal position of their Subject, however, inflected infinitives are perfectly acceptable as complements. When a complement, the Inflected infinitive is not compatible with obligatory control (Sitaridou 2002, 32). The character of an Inflicted infinitive is quite complicated. Sitaridou (2002, 104-106) argues for a double character of this construction since it exhibits features of an Infinitive and a Subjunctive at the same time.

In French, three structures with Inflected Infinitive can be observed. All of them can be compared with structures presented in our classification of English INF. Firstly, this thesis will present the structures involving Raising to Subject, then we will comment on the process of ECM in the French environment. Lastly, the combination of the Preposition *pour* "for" with an Infinitive will be discussed. All these embedded Infinitives occur with structurally present Subject, which shows inflectional morphology.

3.4.1 Personal Infinitives

Personal infinitive was already introduced in 3.2 in example (33). Sitaridou (2002, 79) emphasizes the grammaticality of this type of construction in French while mentioning its markedness. She motivates this markedness by the restrictions which limit the usage of personal Infinitives. Firstly, the Subject of the personal infinitive must always be in the pre-verbal position, and secondly, the whole infinitival construction can never appear in an adjunct position (Sitaridou 2002, 79-80).

As it was mentioned before, the personal infinitives in French allow for an overt Subject which carries NOM case. Sitaridou (2002, 81) proves the NOM character of the Subject by the substitution test. French recognizes two variants of the personal pronoun *I* – the clitic *je*, and the non-clitic *moi*. The former one is associated with the ACC case, while the later one carries the NOM case (Vinet 1985, 415). In the substitution test, only the non-clitic *moi* passes as grammatical. Moreover, Sitaridou highlights the uncontrolled character of the Subject of the Personal Infinitive in French, which is an R-expression on its own and therefore there is no need for a PRO element.

(51)

*Moi/*je*	*partir*	*la*	*France*	*ce*	*serait*	*impossible.*
Me	leave-INF	DET	France	that	would be	impossible

For me to leave France, that would be impossible.

(Sitaridou 2002, 81)

It is impossible to find an example of such construction in English. This is because English does not allow for an INF to have an overt Subject in NOM Case. In case of (51) we have suggested a translation incorporating the preposition *for* which assigns ACC Case to the Subject of the INF and in this ways, it is acceptable and grammatical in English. If we wanted to change the order of the constituents and create an impersonal construction, English would maintain the *for*-clause (52). In French, Personal Infinitives cannot occur after the matrix Verb, therefore in impersonal constructions, French follows the example of English in incorporating the Preposition *pour* (53).

(52) *It would be impossible for me to leave France.*

(53)

Il	*serait*	*impossible*	*pour*	*moi*	*de partir*	*la*	*France.*
It	would be	impossible	for	me-ACC	leave-INF	DET	France

It would be impossible for me to leave France.

Personal Infinitives are however possible in Czech, where they occur in multiple types of constructions. Among the possible constructions Veselovská (2012) lists exclamation clauses

((*54*), some conditional Infinitives or Infinitives after the Conjunction *a* „and“ ((*55*). There seems to more variety in distribution of Personal Infinitives in Czech than in French, yet it is still quite restricted and often marked.

(54)

Já	*mít*	*vice*	*času*	*více*	*maluju.*
I-NOM	have-INF	more	time	more	paint-1SG

If I had more time, I would paint more.

(55)

Petr	*a*	*tančit?*
Petr-NOM	and	dance-INF

Petr? And dancing?

3.4.2 Raising to Subject

Constructions where the Subject position of the matrix verb is semantically empty occurs in French under similar circumstances as they do in English. A semantically empty expletive *il* shares the proprieties of its English equivalent *it*. Among the characteristics of this expletive, two of them have to be highlighted. Firstly, it requires verbal agreement (Taraldsen 2002, 31). *Il* being the personal pronoun of the 3sg, it requires 3sg agreement on its matrix verb. And secondly, this expletive is semantically empty and therefore it is open to host any Theta role.

In her doctoral dissertation, Lablanche (2007, 66) defines Raising Verbs as monotransitive of the type *semble* “seem”. Moreover, all these Verbs subcategorize for *sujet compris*, which means that if Raising Verb functions as a Predicate, it selects whole proposition as its Complement. These Verbs are also labelled as transparent, since their Subject are never fully specified.

In French, the process of Subject being raised to the main clause to the position of the Subject of the matrix Verb is acceptable. However, Kayne (1981, 351-353) limits the grammaticality of such constructions to the instances of the “bare” usage of the Infinitive, without the Complementizer *de* or *à* (56). These constructions are always ungrammatical when the Raising Verb *semble* is used, some other Raising Verbs, such as *paraître* or *donner l´impression*, can be followed by the Complementizer.

(56)

Jean	*semble*	*être/*d´être*	*parti.*
Jean-NOM	seem-3sg-PRES	be-INF	leave-PAST

Jean seems to have left.

(Kayne 1981, 353)

In addition to this structural restriction, Raising Verbs also display lexical restrictions in French based on semantics – they cannot be combined with another Raising Verb or Control Verb with similar meaning. Different combinations exhibit different levels of unacceptability. While the combination of a Raising Verb with a finite Complement is completely ungrammatical, non-finite Complements are only semantically unacceptable ((*57*). If we compare ((*57*) with a similar sentence in English ((*58*), we can argue that ((*58*) is also perfectly grammatical, however semantically problematic. This restriction is based on the pleonasm created by the combination of the two Raising Verbs, however these sentences can be used for emphasis.

(57)

? Jean	*semble*	*donner l´impression*	*d´être*	*intelligent.*
Jean-NOM	seem	give-INF impression	be-INF	intelligent

John seems to give the impression of being intelligent.

(58) *? Sarah seems to give the impression of being educated.*

It can be concluded that the English verb seem can be translated into French without much changing of the structure of the sentence. Its French counterpart *semble* functions in the same way. Second typical Raising Verb in English, *happen* (in its impersonal usage), however does not translate well into French. In order to maintain the English structure in (59) as much as possible, this Raising Verb would have to be translated using a phrase *il s´agit de*. This French phrase subcategorizes only for NPs – the English INF cannot be maintained (60). Even better translation, which would semantically correspond even more to (59) would consist of the application of the Verb *arriver* followed by a subjunctive clause (61).

(59) *It happens to be the truth.*

(60)

Il	*s´agit*	*de*	*la*	*verité.*
It	act-3SG	PREP	DET	truth

It happens to be the truth.

(61)

Il	*arrive*	*que*	*cela*	*soit*	*la*	*verité*
It	happen-3SG	that	that	be-SUBJ	DET	truth

It happens to be the truth.

3.4.3 Exceptional Case Marking

Kayne (1981) exhibits the basic differences between the distribution and realization of English and French Infinitives using the example of the English verb *believe* and its French counterpart verb *croire*. Kayne argues that the difference lies in the fact, that English Infinitives involve ECM, whereas French does not allow for this type of case marking (1981, 349). He supports his claim by proving the ungrammaticality of the following example:

(62)

**Jean*	*croit*	*Bill*	*avoir*	*menti.*
Jean-NOM	believe3sg	Bill-NOM	have-INF	lie-PAST

Jean believes Bill to have lied.

Tanaka (1992) supports Kayne´s claims, explaining the lack of ECM constructions in French. The ECM constructions require the projection of ACC case in the position of the Subject of the Infinitive, which is identical with the adjacent Object position of the matrix verb. Tanaka (1992, 59) proposes three categories of languages based on the obligatoriness of the ACC projection in this position – the projection is either obligatory, optional or prohibited. The ECM is possible in English, since the Projection Principle governs the obligatory use of ACC case in the adjacent position next to the matrix Verb (Authier 1991, 735-6). On the other hand, it seems that French belongs to the latest category which does not allow for the ACC case to be projected on the PRO in the adjacent position with respect to the matrix Verb. Authier states that "if object PRO occupies a position to which accusative Case has not been assigned, PRO is not a possible filler for the position adjacent to V" (Authier 1991, 736).

Based on these factors, we can conclude that in cases where English exhibits ECM, French uses Object control constructions, which have been discussed in chapter 3.3.2.

3.4.4 Infinitival Subjects with the Preposition "pour"

The final construction which we are going to introduce in the environment of French is the structure realizing Infinitival Subject after the Preposition *pour* "for". The preposition *pour* assigns the ACC to its selected Complement, same as it does in English. If then a Verb selects an INF Complement which is introduced by this Preposition, an overt Subject occurs. We have already seen an instance of this phenomena in an impersonal construction in (25). This type of impersonal constructions does not display any major restrictions and is therefore productive in French. This displays certain similarity with English.

In contrast to English, the impersonal construction is the only environment in which this type of Subject realization may occur in French. While in English, a lot of Verbs can take a *for-to* clause as a Complement – Verbs of planning and wishing are one of the examples (63) – French evaluates these structures as ungrammatical (64) and once again prefer a subjunctive complementation (65).

(63) *We hope for them to get married.*

(64)

**Nous*	*espérons*	*pour*	*eux*	*de*	*se*	*marier.*
We-NOM	hope-1PL	for	them	PREP	REFL	marry-INF

(65)

Nous	*espérons*	*qu´ils*	*se*	*marient*
We-NOM	hope	that they	REFL	marry-SUBJ

We hope that they get married.

3.5 Distributional characteristics of French Infinitives

We have briefly mentioned some distributional limitations to French Infinitives in terms of their connection to a Preposition. It has been established that some syntactic environments require an Infinitive introduced by a Preposition, while others do not. Nevertheless, the characteristics concerning the sentence function all French infinitives employ is left to be discussed here. With respect to sentence function, Vikner (1980, 272) suggests that there are no significant differences between the distribution of French bare Infinitives and those introduced by a Preposition. The syntactic distribution of French infinitive is, similarly to English, quite broad. Vikner admits its function as the Subject, Direct Object and Adverbial. In examples (66) and (67), the irrelevance of the presence of a Preposition with respect to the function can be observed. Both examples show Infinitival phrase carrying the function of the Direct Object of the matrix verb.

(66)

Je	*apprends*	*à*	*conduire.*
I-NOM	learn-1sg-PRES	PREP	drive-INF

I learn to drive

(67)

Elle	*ne*	*voulait*	*pas*	*repondre.*
She	not	want-IMPRF	not	answer-INF

She does not want to answer.

(Vikner 1980, 272)

While discussing the distributional characteristics of English Infinitives, we have mentioned the nature of Infinitive being close to Prepositional Phrase. This was established through limitations in terms of the position an Infinitive can take within a sentence. The prepositional character can be suggested also with French Infinitives. Firstly, there is the undeniable connection between a French Infinitive and a Preposition. Secondly, through the process of substitution, this hypothesis may be tested. French syntax allows for a Prepositional phrase to be substituted by clitic pronoun *y* or *en*, depending on the character of the Preposition which heads given Phrase (Vikner 1980, 275). For an Infinitive introduced by a Preposition, it seems natural for it to be able to be substituted in this way. However, this kind of substitution is grammatical even with bare Infinitives. Vikner (1980, 275) proves it in the following example (68), where the clitic *y* substitutes for the infinitival phrase *être de retour Mardi*.

(68)

Il	*compte*	*être*	*de*	*retour*	*Mardi*
He	count-3SG-PRES	be-INF	PRES	back	Tuesday

He counts on being back on Tuesday.

Il	*y*	*compte*
He	that	count-3SG-PRES

He counts on that

(Vikner 1980, 275)

Based solemnly on this substitution, we can assume the Prepositional character of French Infinitives, which can be very similar to the one in English. This fact can also be used as an explanation of the similarity between English and French Infinitives. We have seen many similar constructions used in the process of translation. The instances where French could not use an INF can be motivated by broad usage of subjunctive clauses, which is traditional in French, however, disappearing progressively in spoken language and language of the younger generation (Batchelor 2014).

4. Infinitives in Czech

4.1 Basic characteristics of Czech

One of the characteristics of Czech which significantly differs it from English and French is its relatively free word order. The word "relatively" is extremely important, because it is sometimes falsely assumed that word order in Czech is completely free and the words can be moved within the barriers of a sentence without any limitations. This is not the case. When we say that Czech word order is free, it must be specified that we talk about the placement of sentence members inside a clause. Elements belonging to a given Phrase must stay inside this Phrase, even if moved to a different position. That is why both ((*69*) and ((*70*) are grammatical, meanwhile ((*71*) is not grammatical.

(69) *Lumír* *mladou* *Marii* *hluboce* *miluje.*
Lumír young Marie-ACC deeply love-3SG
Lumír loves Mary deeply.

(70) *Lumír* *hluboce* *miluje* *mladou* *Marii.*
Lumír deeply love-3SG young Marie-ACC
Lumír loves Mary deeply.

(71) **Lumír* *mladou* *hluboce* *miluje* *Marii.*
Lumír young deeply love-3SG Marie-ACC

Dušková (2009) connects this freedom to the function which word order serves in Czech. Contrary to English, where word order is highly grammaticalized - it helps to identify the part of speech of clausal elements, the grammatical function of these elements etc, Czech word order is connected more to the pragmatics. The multiplicity of possible ordering of sentence members arises from Functional Sentence Perspective, which is the engine which drives the clausal structure. Where Czech does not need word order to identify grammatical functions, it prefers to follow the basic discourse alignment – it puts the old information before the Verb and the new information after the Verb.

A note must be also made about the Subject position in Czech. The English Subject position tends to host many different Theta roles or it can be completely unspecified (impersonal constructions with *it* or *there*) On the other hand, Czech Subjects, when structurally realized, always host a Theta role. Consequently, it can be expected that Raising to Subject will be limited in Czech, since they require an expletive Subject of the matrix Verb.

4.2 Czech Infinitives (general overview)

With regards to Czech Infinitives, distributional nuances from English and French, respectively, must be expected. The most important difference between English and Czech infinitives lies in the frequency of their occurrence. Since English and French show a strong tendency for analytical Predicate, Infinitival constructions are a fairly common part of the complex predicate. On the other hand, Czech verbal Predicate is synthetic, Czech syntactic structures are very rarely divided and Infinitives are not very commonly used (Veselovská 2019, 308). The taxonomy of Czech infinitives will be inspired by Veselovská (2012), who introduces the differences among the ways the Agent Argument of an infinitive is executed and proposes different infinitival structures according to this realization. The author proposes a taxonomy based on the feature of Case which is carried by the Agent of the Infinitive. The basic distinction therefore distinguishes between Agents encoded in a constituent in Nominative Case, and those encoded in a constituent with Object Case, usually Accusative or Dative. Her taxonomical distinction among different INF structures will be adapted to align with our classification presented for English and French. Firstly, we will analyse the control constructions in Czech and argue their similarities and differences in comparison to those seen in English and French. Secondly, alternative structures will be discussed.

The infinitival structures in Czech have a very special position. Veselovská (2012, 200-201) defines Czech infinitives as "underspecified", meaning that they are lacking some of the features shared by other verbal forms in Czech. Among them, Veselovská lists their inability to assign NOM case, inability to be combined with an auxiliary or to structurally show Agreement morphology. As a result, in terms of syntax, Czech Infinitival phrases can express a wide range of clausal structures of different size.

Same as with French, it would be preferable to briefly introduce also the morphological form of Infinitives, for us to be able to recognize them within a sentence. Since we stated that Czech Infinitives do not show any Agreement morphology, they always maintain the same morphological form in terms of their derivational morpheme. This morpheme is then either *-t* or *-ti* (Veselovská 2012, 201). Unlike English or French, Czech Infinitives do not depend on a combination with some other element, such *to* was stated to be part of Infinitive in English or Prepositions *de* and *à* in French.

Czech language generally expresses smaller frequency of Infinitives, or semi-clauses in general. Veselovská (2019, 308) attributes this to the fact that the Czech Predicate is, unlike the English one, synthetic. Nevertheless, it is possible to their Agents. Veselovská (2012)

presents us with a classification of Czech Infinitives, which is similar to the taxonomy of English infinitival structures. This is helpful for this find several similarities in the infinitival systems of English and in Czech. First feature, which has to be mentioned, is the fact, that Czech infinitives, same as English ones, are not able to assign the Subject Case thesis, since it will be easy to target the divergences, having both systems back to back.

In the following chapters we will firstly focus on the Control constructions, which are again devided into three types according to the character of the Control element. Secondly, we are going to observe the Alternative structures which are represented in Czech. All of our claims will be supported by numerous examples.

4.3 Control structures with PRO

4.3.1 Subject control of the PRO

In the previous chapter, the inability of Czech infinitive to assign NOM case has been discussed. However, there exist instances, where the semantic role of the Agent is encoded in an element carrying the NOM case. Generative grammar explains this fact through the difference between the process of assigning semantic roles and grammatical cases (Veselovská 2012, 208-209). In the analysis of ((72) it cannot be therefore assumed that the NOM case of *Eliška* has been assigned by the Infinitival phrase. The Infinitive finds its Agent in this element, which functions as the PRO controller.

(72)

Eliška	*slíbila*	*koupit*	*auto.*
Eliška-NOM	promise-3sg-FEM-PAST	buy-INF	car-ACC

Eliška promised to buy a car.

(Veselovská 2012, 207)

We have already established that Subject control of the PRO element appears in cases, where the PRO element is co-referential with the Agent of the matrix verb. The Agent of the matrix Verb is at the same time its Subject in Nominative Case. Czech verbs which select Infinitives with Subject controlled PRO are grouped as the *začít* type (Veselovská 2012, 210). Let us present the example using the verb *začít* followed by an infinitival phrase ((73).

(73)

Emil	*začal*	*PRO*	*pracovat*	*na*	*zahradě.*
Emil-NOM	start-3sg-MASC-PAST		work-INF	on	garden-FEM-LOC

Emil started working in the garden.

Since the verb *začít* requires the Agent role, which is carried by its Subject *Emil*, this constituent cannot carry the role of the Agent for the Infinitive *pracovat*. Therefore, there is

the requirement of the silent PRO, which serves as the Agent of the Infinitive and it is controlled by the Subject of the matrix verb. However, not every verb is able to carry the role of the controller. Different linguists explain this phenomenon in various ways. One possible explanation of this phenomenon is the process of Restructuralisation which is granted only to selected Verbs in Czech (it will be further explained later in the text).

Same as was seen in English and French, Subject control in Czech is accepted by both monotransitive and ditransitive Verbs. The only requirement is that these Verbs subcategorize for Agent in the Subject position and require another semantic role (most often Patient or Theme), which is expressed by INF. The PRO is then always controlled by the Subject.

4.3.2 Object control of the PRO

The Agent of the Infinitive can be encoded in the Object position of the matrix Verb. These infinitival Subjects (or better Agents) then carry the configurational feature of Case, most often the Accusative Case (Veselovská 2012, 246). As was demonstrated on an English example, the element highlighted in ((*74*) structurally belongs to the matrix verb, which assigns the ACC case to the constituent. At the same time, semantically it belongs to the Infinitive, since it was subcategorized for as its Agent. The highlighted element then serves as the control of the PRO of the Infinitive.

(74)	*Pavel*	*nutil*	*Emila*$_{ACC}$	*jít*	*domů.*
	Pavel-NOM	force-PAST-3sg	Emil-ACC	go-INF	home-GEN
	Pavel forced Emil to go home.				

Object control of the infinitival Agent can happen only in cases where the matrix verb is ditransitive – it must subcategorize for two semantic arguments on its right side. Same rules apply for syntax of these verbs. Object control is permitted only by verbs with a Direct Object followed by a second Complement, usually in form of a PP, infinitive or a clause (Veselovská 2012, 253). In ((*74*) the function of Direct Object is represented by *Emila*, *jít domů* then constitutes the whole second Complement.

The object control structures carry a series of features which help them to be recognized and differentiate from other infinitival constructions. These features are shown in the process of passivization, negation and through the interpretation of object pronouns related to the matrix verb (Veselovská 2012, 255-256). First, the process of passivization show that the interpretation of the clause shifts. Veselovská demonstrates this phenomenon on the

following example (75). This phenomenon proves that the sentence element *Medeu* carries a semantic role and cannot therefore serve as the host of the Agent of the INF. The only purpose it can fulfil is the position of a control of the silent PRO.

(75) a. *Jáson* *nutil* *doktora* *ošetřit* *Medeu.*
Jáson-NOM persuade-3SG-PAST doctor-ACC treat-INF Medea-ACC
Jason persuaded the doctor to treat Medea.

b. *Jáson* *nutil* *Medeu* *ošetřovanou.*
Jáson-NOM persuade-3SG-PAST Medea-ACC treated-3SG-FEM
Jason persuaded Medea who was being treated.

(Veselovská 2012, 256)

Secondly, the process of so-called double negation is quite common in Czech. Cases, where the matrix verb and the embedded infinitival clause are allowed by the Object control construction (unlike the ECM, which will be discussed further below). The acceptability and grammaticality of the following example (76) supports this claim (Veselovská 2012, 258).

(76) *Pavel* *ne-nutil* *Emila* *nejít* *domů.*
Pavel-NOM not-persuade-3sg-MASC-PAST Emil-ACC not-go-INF home-GEN
Pavel did not persuade Emil not to go home.

(Veselovská 2012, 258)

Finally, the presence of an Object pronoun, which is related to the matrix verb helps with the identification of the Object control structure. The referentiality of this pronoun is most often arbitrary, although it can be co-referential with Subject of the matrix verb or with the Object (Veselovská 2012, 257). This is the case with the Object pronoun *své* in (77).

(77) *Ema* *nutí* *Emila* *číst* *své* *básně.*
Ema-NOM persuade-3SG-PRES Emil-ACC read-INF own poems-ACC
Ema persuades Emil to read his/her own poems.

(Veselovská 2012, 257)

4.3.3 Arbitrary Control

Last construction to be introduced in this section is an Infinitive with an arbitrary control of the PRO element. Arbitrary control is defined in Czech in the same way as it was seen in English and French. The interpretation of the Agent of the INF is not dependent on the Arguments of the matrix verb, since none of them is able to carry the A1 role for the INF. This situation has been already discussed in chapter 1.3.3.

In Czech language, the arbitrary control of the PRO can be observed in three types of construction. First of them are interrogative sentences introduced by a WH-element. Czech allows cropped questions which include only the WH-element and the INF (78), as well as clauses without overt Subject (79). Both these constructions lack an element which could carry the Agent role of the INF therefore we speak about arbitrary PRO control.

(78) *Co* *dělat?*
What do-INF
What to do?

(79) *Nevěděl,* *jak* *se* *oholit.*
not-know-PAST-MASC-3SG how REFLEXIVE shave-INF
He did not know how to shave.

(Veselovská 2012, 264)

WH-questions are also perfectly acceptable in English, as can be seen in the translation of the example. The absence of any lexical NP or its proform, which could carry the role of the Agent, the control is also arbitrary in English. Clauses without overt Subject are not grammatical in English. In consequence, with an expressed Subject, the control of the PRO element is taken by the Subject of the matrix Verb. The same rule would apply for French. WH-questions formed only by the WH-element and INF are possible (80), yet in the process of translation from English, these WH+INF questions are often transformed into some other finite questions ((*81*). This was mainly observed in the corpora comparing English originals with its French counterparts.

(80) *Que* *faire?*
What do-INF
What to do?

(81) *Qu´est-ce qu´on* *fait* *maintenant?*
Q-morph it do-3SG now
What do we do now?

Secondly, arbitrary control occurs with transitive verbs lacking an overt Direct Object. This type of construction has been already mentioned with the object control, because some verbs in Czech allow for both type of control at the same time (Veselovská 2012, 266). Since the Direct Object is omitted in (82), we assume the arbitrary control, rather than the Object control.

(82) *Bohové* *zakázali* *zabíjet* *nevinné*
Gods-MASC-PL forbid-PAST kill-INF innocent-PL
Gods forbade to kill the innocent.

(Veselovská 2012, 266)

Thirdly, the arbitrary control is required in impersonal constructions (83). The matrix verbs lack an overt Subject and therefore the control cannot be carried by Veselovská emphasizes that the Infinitives in these structures undoubtedly subcategorize for the Agent role and she presents us with sufficient evidence. For instance, in (84) the configurational feature of Agreement is projected in the ADJ *unavený*, which serves the role of the Secondary Predicate.

(83) *Je* *potřeba* *dívat* *se* *úmyslně* *do* *prázdna.*
be-3SG need-NOM-3SG look-INF REFL intentionally to void-GEN
It is necessary to look into space.

(84) *Vracet* *se* *domů* *unavený* *je* *otrava.*
Return-INF REFLEXIVE home tired-MASC-3SG be-PRES-3SG tedium-NOM
Returning home tired is tedious.

(Veselovská 2012, 267)

A similar type of construction could be seen in chapter 3.3.3, where we discussed the Arbitrary control of French embedded INF. The structure *il faut* is similar to Czech *je (po)třeba*. In contrast to French, the control of the PRO element of the INF Phrase selected by *je (po)třeba* in Czech remains always arbitrary. Let us compare the example ((*46*), which we will include also here for better orientation, with similar constructions in Czech (85). It is interesting to compare the structures with INF "learn" – *apprende* in Fr, *naučit se* in Cz – and "teach" – *enseigner* in Fr, *vyučovat* in Cz. While Fench allows for both of the INF to occur in embedded clauses, Czech denies the Verb naučit se to be used in this way.

(46) *Il* *me* *faut* *PRO* *apprendre* *les* *langues.*
It me need learn-INF DET languages
I need to learn languages.

Il *faut* *PRO* *m´enseigner* *les* *langues.*
It me need teach-INF DET languages
It is necessary to teach me languages.

(85) *Je* *potřeba* *PRO* *vyučovat* *mě* *jazyky.*
It need teach me-ACC langauges
It is necessary to teach me languages.

**Je*	*potřeba*	*PRO*	*naučit se*	*mě*	*jazyky.*
It	need		learn-INF	me-ACC	langauges

4.4 Alternative structures

In the previous chapter, the instances of Agent in NOM were established. The aim of this chapter is to introduce environments where the Agent of the infinitival phrase carries some other case, most frequently the accusative case (Veselovská 2012, 246). This case is once again licenced by some other element, the infinitive itself does not assign a case to its Agent/Subject. Two different structures, which allow ACC case of the infinitival Agent, are recognized in Czech - the control structures with Object of the matrix verb as the PRO controller and ECM. Let us introduce both.

4.4.1 Raising to Subject

The phenomenon of Raising has already been introduced in this thesis in chapter 1.2 as a process of transferring the Agent of the Infinitive into the semantically empty Subject position of the matrix verb. It has been established, that English proposes numerous constructions, where the process of Raising can be implemented thanks to the freedom of English Subject position to host various semantic roles and not being necessarily correlated with the Agent role. This chapter aims to demonstrate that Raising to Subject is also to be found in Czech infinitival constructions, nevertheless, its occurrence is rather limited. Unlike English, Czech Subject position demands a NOM case which correlates with the Agent (Veselovská 2012, 218). This results in the limited possibilities for Raising constructions.

The Infinitive *být* "be" following a matrix verb *zdá se* "seem" is recognized as the only structure in Czech allowing for Raising to occur (Veselovská 2012, 219). Let us demonstrate this construction on a following example. It can be argued that the example) shows a case of Raising. Example (87) then presents the compound sentence before the Raising:

(86)

Ono	*se*	*mi*	*zdálo,*	*že*	*Jan*	*je*	*nešťastný.*
It	REFL	me-DAT	seem-3sg-PAST	that	Jan-NOM	be-3SG	unhappy

It seemed to me that Jan was unhappy.

(Veselovská 2012, 219)

(87)

Jan	*se*	*mi*	*zdál*	*být*	*nešťastný.*
Jan	REFL	me-DAT	seem-3sg-PAST	be-INF	unhappy

John seemed to be unhappy.

(Veselovská 2012, 219)

As was seen in the previous chapters, English and French do not seem to have any major restrictions in terms of distribution of Raising constructions. On the other hand, Czech Raising constructions are limited. Example ((*86*) shows an embedded INF headed by the verb *be*, which is the only verb in Czech which allows for Raising. If we look at examples of English INF phrases headed by any other verb (88), Czech seems to select a finite clause. We could support this claim on the following example ((*89*). Czech substitutes the matrix Verb *seem* by an Adverb carrying a similar semantic meaning.

(88) *Ronald seems to love her.*

(89)

Ron	*ji*	*patrně*	*miluje*
Ron-NOM	her	apparently	love-3SG

Ron loves her, apparently.

4.4.2 Exceptional Case Marking

The difference between ECM and Object control in Czech language lies in the number of Arguments the matrix verb subcategorizes for. We have seen this process also in English. Ditransitive verbs have been bound with the Object control constructions in the previous chapter. Once a Verb subcategorizes for only one Theta role on its right side, process of ECM can be carried out. If we compare examples (90) and (74), the difference in the distribution of Theta roles and syntactic Complements becomes clearer.

(90)

Marie	*viděla*	*Honzu*	*přijít*	*střízlivého.*
Marie-NOM	see-PAST-FEM	Honza-ACC	come-INF	sober-ACC-MASC

Marie saw Honza come sober.

(Przepiórkowski and Rosen 2004, 38)

Veselovská (2012, 38) argues that while the constituent *Emila* in (74) carries a semantic role licensed by the matrix verb, the same constituent in (90) does not. The constituent in (74) therefore cannot carry the role of the Agent of the INF, so it can only serve as its controller. On the other hand, the constituent in (90) is free to host the Agent role of the embedded infinitive and there is no need of other controlling element. According to the same principle as was seen in English, ECM constructions in Czech are reserved for verbs of passive perception (Caha 2013, 192).

The ECM constructions are recognized through series of different features, which differ them from the Object control structures. The interpretation of ECM construction seems to be

unaltered in the process of passivization (Veselovská 2012, 38) as can be seen in (91). The ECM does not allow for double negation as easily as in case of control structures therefore (92) is highly unacceptable. And finally, in case of the occurrence of an Object pronoun related to the matrix verb. Its reference is also arbitrary, however, the co-referential character of the Object pronoun and the Subject of the verb is not grammatical (Veselovská 2012, 39). This can be seen in case of the pronoun *ho* in (93).

(91) a.

Jason	*viděl*	*doktora*	*ošetřovat*	*Medeu.*
Jáson-NOM	see-PAST	doctor-ACC-3sg-MASC	treat-INF	Medea-ACC

Jason saw the doctor treating Medea.

b.

Jason	*viděl*	*Medeu*	*být*	*ošetřovanou.*
Jáson-NOM	see-PAST-MASC	Medea-ACC	be-INF	treaded-FEM

Jason saw Medea being treated.

(Veselovská 2012, 255)

(92)

? Pavel	*ne-viděl*	*Emila$_{ACC}$*	*ne-jít*	*domů.*
Pavel-NOM	not-see-PAST-3sg	Emil-ACC	not-go-INF	home-GEN

Pavel did not see Emil not to go home.

(Veselovská 2012, 258)

(93)

Emil	*viděl*	*Marii*	*holit*	*ho.*
Emil-NOM	see-PAST-MASC	Marie-ACC	shave-INF	him-ACC

Emil saw Marie shaving him.

(Veselovská 2012, 258)

4.4.3 Infinitival Subjects with the Preposition "pro"

The final construction which we are going to introduce in this thesis is the structure realizing Infinitival Subject after the Preposition *pro* "for". The preposition *pro* can assign the ACC to its selected Complement, same as it does in English and French. Thanks to the process of Raising, INF Subjects after *pro* are possible also in Czech (94).

(94)

Pro	*Marii*	*je*	*obtížné*	*usnout*
for	Marie-ACC	be-3Sg	difficult	fall asleep-INF

For Mary to fall a sleep is difficult.

If we compare the acceptance of these constructions with English and French, Czech behaves more similar to French, because Verbs of planning and Verbs of likes and dislikes

cannot take an INF Complement. Their distribution is therefore limited to the Raising construction seen above.

4.5 Distributional characteristics of Czech Infinitives

To conclude the chapter about Czech Infinitives, their basic syntactic distributional characteristics need be established. Traditionally, Czech Infinitives can be divided into two groups – independent infinitives and dependent infinitives, the later ones being in question in the present thesis. The dependency of these infinitives has been discussed in the previous chapters. Dependent infinitives require some other syntactic constituent which they are relied to (Veselovská 2017 – web). These dependent infinitives fulfil various sentence functions. Among their possible functions, Veselovská lists Subject, Object, Subject/Object Complement and Adverbial.

Veselovská and Emonds (2015) further explain the conditions in which Infinitives can project given functions. Looking at their projection of Subjects, it seems that only a limited number of Czech clausal structures allow for a Subject in INF form. Among the possible environment, the authors mention the impersonal structures, as well as an example of INF being the Subject of a psych-verb

(95).	*Hrát*	*na*	*piano,*	*(to)*	*se*	*mi*	*líbí.*
	play-INF	on	piano-GEN	(it)	REFL	me-DAT	like
	I like to play the piano.						
(95)	*Hrát*	*na*	*piano,*	*(to)*	*se*	*mi*	*líbí.*
	play-INF	on	piano-GEN	(it)	REFL	me-DAT	like
	I like to play the piano.						

5. Final overview and comparison

We have described and studied INF systems in English, French and Czech. To summarize our findings from the previous chapters, let us briefly conclude the basic characteristics of the systems of Infinitives in all three languages. An overview of the systems will be integrated into a well-arranged tables, which will serve for better assessment of the findings in the research.

Each table presents the possible INF constructions in a given language and provides their basic characteristics. We mainly concentrate on the way INF realize its Subject, what type of matrix Verb selects these INF as their Arguments and what limitations have been discovered throughout this thesis while comparing them with other languages.

Subject control of the Infinitive	• Subject of the INF is realized as silent PRO • PRO is controlled by the Subject of the matrix Verb • mono-transitive Verbs (*want, start* etc.), ditransitive Verbs (*promise* etc.)
Object control of the Infinitive	• Subject of the INF is realized as silent PRO • PRO is controlled by the Object of the matrix Verb • ditransitive Verbs (*persuade, make, order* etc.)
Arbitrary control of the Infinitive	• Subject of the INF is realized as silent PRO • PRO is not controlled by any argument of the matrix Verb • WH-questions, impersonal constructions with Copula, Light Verb Constructions
Personal Infinitive	• not possible
Raising to Subject	• Subject of the INF is Raised to the Subject position of the matrix Verb • Raising Verbs (*seem, appear, happen* etc.), impersonal constructions
ECM	• Subject of the INF Raised to the Object position of the matrix Verb • monotransitive Verbs (*see, hear, let* etc.)
Constructions with *for*	• Subject of the INF is realized in the Object of the Preposition for • impersonal constructions with Copula, Verbs of planning (*hope, plan* etc.), Verbs of like and dislike (*love, hate* etc.)

Table 1 - English Infinitives (based on Veselovská 2019, 301-302)

Subject control of the Infinitive	• Subject of the INF is realized as silent PRO • PRO is controlled by the Subject of the matrix Verb • mono-transitive Verbs (*commencer* "start", *essayer* "try", *avoir envie de* "want" etc.) • ditransitive Verbs (*promettre* "promise" etc.)
Object control of the Infinitive	• Subject of the INF is realized as silent PRO • PRO is controlled by the Object of the matrix Verb • ditransitive Verbs (*faire* "make", *laisser* "let", *promettre* "promise" etc.), phrase *il faut*
Arbitrary control of the Infinitive	• Subject of the INF is realized as silent PRO • PRO is not controlled by any argument of the matrix Verb • WH-questions (not preffered), impersonal constructions with Copula, Light Verb Constructions, phrase *il faut*
Personal Infinitive	• Subject of the INF is structurally present and carries NOM Case • exclamation clauses
Raising to Subject	• Subject of the INF is Raised to the Subject position of the matrix Verb • Raising Verbs (sembler "seem", paraître "seem" or *donner l´impression* "give impression" etc.)
ECM	• not possible
Constructions with *pour*	• Subject of the INF is realized in the Object of the Preposition for • impersonal constructions with Copula

Table 2 - French Infinitives

Subject control of the Infinitive	• Subject of the INF is realized as silent PRO • PRO is controlled by the Subject of the matrix Verb • mono-transitive Verbs (začít "start"etc.), ditransitive Verbs (slíbit "promise" etc.)
Object control of the Infinitive	• Subject of the INF is realized as silent PRO • PRO is controlled by the Object of the matrix Verb • ditransitive Verbs (nutit "make", přesvědčit "persuade" etc.)

Arbitrary control of the Infinitive	• Subject of the INF is realized as silent PRO • PRO is not controlled by any argument of the matrix Verb • WH-questions, clauses without overt Subject, impersonal constructions with Copula, Light Verb Constructions
Personal Infinitive	• Subject of the INF is structurally present and carries NOM Case • *exclamation clauses, conditionals, after Conjuction a "*and"
Raising to Subject	• Subject of the INF is Raised to the Subject position of the matrix Verb • Raising Verbs (zdát se "seem") – only with INF *be*
ECM	• Subject of the INF Raised to the Object position of the matrix Verb • monotransitive Verbs (vidět "see", slyšet "hear" etc.), no double negation
Constructions with *pro*	• Subject of the INF is realized in the Object of the Preposition for • impersonal constructions with Copula

Table 3 - Czech Infinitives

Based on the data collected in the preceding chapters, both similarities and differences among the systems may be observed. Starting with control constructions, all three types presented in this thesis are possible in all the languages. An interesting difference was observed with the Verb *promise* and its French counterpart *promettre*. When *promettre* selects two Arguments, PRO occurs and is controlled by the Subject of the matrix Verb. However, when a sentence includes *promettre* used as monotransitive Verb with INF complementation, the Subject cannot be interpreted as coreferential with a PRO. In this case, the actual Agent of the Verb is impossible to identify without further context, therefore we have concluded that it is a case of Arbitrary Control.

We have also observed two INF Phrases, which are allowed in French and Czech, yet they are impossible in English. First of them were Personal Infinitives, which are the only INF structures which allow for an overt Subject in NOM Case. Examples ((*51*) and ((*54*) proved to be grammatical in both languages. The distribution of Personal Infinitives was found very restricted and marked in French, in Czech it displays more distributional possibilities.

Second type of INF embedded structures not accepted in English are French phrase *il faut* and its Czech counterpart *je (po)třeba*. These impersonal constructions are widely used in both languages and can select both finite and non-finite Arguments. It has been established

that the only option in the translation of this structure into English is an impersonal construction with Copula (*it is necessary*).

The process of Raising to Subject moves an Agent Theta role subcategorized for by the embedded INF to the Subject position of the matrix Verb. In English and French, where the number of impersonal constructions can be observed, is such process very productive. On the other hand, in chapter 4.4.1 we observed strong restrictions of Raising to Subject in Czech. The only INF which allows for its Agent to be raised to the higher clause is *be*.

The distribution of ECM is rare in English and Czech, because it may occur only with few types of monotransitive Verbs – most often the Verbs of perception. The process of Raising to Object or ECM proved to be impossible in French. This is due to the problematic process of Case assignment in French. ECM requires a Subject in ACC Case, which is not assigned, by what have been defined as ECM Verbs, in French. We have concluded that ECM construction from English or Czech are translated into French using Object control.

Finally, to comment on the *for*-clauses, they are functional in all three languages. Its distribution is the widest in English. In French and Czech, it is only impersonal construction with Copula which can take INF Complement with the Preposition *for*.

One significant fact has been discovered in terms of structurally overt Subjects of Infinitives. These three languages provide counterarguments to the general rule which doubts the syntactically and phonetically present Subject of an Infinitive (Vinet 1985, 407). As we have seen, English allows for such Subject in for example in *for* constructions, and we have seen examples of overt infinitival Subject in French in example (33). English does not allow for an overt Subject in NOM Case. Czech and French however have NOM Subjects realized with Personal Infinitives.

In general, it can be concluded that the preference of Infinitival Complements in the strongest in English. We have observed strong tendencies to use Subjunctive Clauses instead of INF in French, Czech displayed several limitations to the use of INF and in the process of translation often preferred finite structures.

Conclusion

Throughout this thesis we have studied Infinitival Phrases in three languages – English, French and Czech. The aim was to compare their structures when used as embedded Complements of matrix Verbs. We put emphasis on the realization of the Infinitival Subjects/Agents while using the basic phenomena of Control and Raising to provide classification of Infinitives in all three languages. Each class was properly defined mainly in the chapters describing English, because English was considered as our base language. French and Czech Infinitives were then directly compared to their counterparts in English and between each other as well. The observations and findings gathered in the first four chapters were finally summarized in the last chapter which presented the recapitulation in a well-arranged tables for better orientation and final comparison.

Some variations in the Control constructions were observed. We have argued that some INF in French can have a different interpretation of their PRO element, depending on the context they are used in. We have provided an example of the Verb *promettre* "promise." When selecting an INF Complement, it was shown that the PRO element can be controlled by Subject or Object, depending on the number of Arguments selected by the Verb *promettre*.

However, we have observed some structures which are typical for French and Czech, yet they are not possible in English. One of them was structure *il faut* and *je (po)třeba*, which could be complemented by an INF in both languages, yet when translated into English, an impersonal construction with Copula must have been used. The second of them are Personal Infinitives, which have a structurally present Subject in NOM Case.

Other nuances were found also in Raising constructions – both in Raising to Subject and Raising to Object. Subject Raising proved to be very productive in English and French, where a wide diversity of impersonal constructions, which are typical for Raising, is observed. ECM, on the other hand, has proved to be impossible in French. This is due to the problematic process of Case assignment in French. Meanwhile its distribution in English and Czech is possible, yet quite restricted in both languages- in Czech even more than in English. Constructions with the Preposition for (which are similar to Raising constructions as well) are present in all three languages, again with different levels of restrictions.

The hypothesis that English and French will display more similarities than English and Czech, or French and Czech, cannot be fully supported by this study. Even thought we can find many similar constructions in English and French, there is a significant number of them (*il faut*,

Personal Infintives, ECM) which are not present in both. Distributional difference have been observed also in Control constructions and therefore we must conclude that no special bond with respect to Infinitives exist between English and French, at least no more than between English and Czech.

We hope that this comparative study will bring more light into the different distributional requirements of Infinitives in English, French and Czech. We believe that comparative studies of this kind can serve as a valuable source for the fields of translatology, interpretation, as well as second language teaching.

List of Abbreviations

ACC	Accusative
DET	Determinant
GEN	Genitive
INF	Infinitive
LOC	Locative
NOM	Nominative
NP	Noun Phrase
PP	Prepositional Phrase
PREP	Preposition
REFL	Reflexive Pronoun
SUBJ	Subjunctive
VP	Verb Phrase
3SG	Third Person, Singular

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