

# On DP/PRO alternation, evaluative adjectives and embedded infinitival clauses in Russian

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The paper contributes to the ongoing discussion of DP/PRO alternation. I examine properties of Russian evaluative adjectival predicates that embed a non-finite clause (*važno* ‘important’, *interesno* ‘interesting’, etc.) and argue that (i) sentences with these predicates exhibit both raising and control properties, and (ii) the ‘raising’ is not real and the embedded DP subject can stay within the non-finite clause, thus alternating with PRO. I propose the following generalization: an overt embedded referential subject is allowed only when there is no potential controller in the matrix clause.

Evaluative predicates in Russian are short forms of adjectives exhibiting default agreement when a clausal subject is selected; they often co-occur with an optional dative DP/dl’a ‘for’ PP. Constructions with an evaluative predicate and a non-finite clause exhibit control properties (partial coreference between a matrix dative DP and embedded PRO is allowed) and can pass standard raising diagnostics (idiom chunk and embedded passivization tests). I suggest that in such sentences a matrix dative DP that appears on the surface corresponds either to an optional matrix Attitude holder (‘control’ cases) or the subject of an embedded non-finite clause (‘raising’ cases) (1).

(1) [<sub>AppIP</sub> [Attitude holder] [<sub>AppI</sub> Appl<sup>0</sup> [<sub>PredP</sub> [<sub>CP</sub> Subject ... ] [<sub>Pred</sub> Pred<sup>0</sup> [<sub>AdjP</sub> ... ]]]]]

However, the DP/PRO alternation within a non-finite clause is not free: the embedded subject cannot be overt if a matrix Attitude holder is present. The following generalization is proposed: an embedded overt referential subject is allowed only when there is no potential DP controller available within a higher clause. I further suggest a formal explanation for this dependency, building upon Landau’s (2015) logophoric control analysis for attitude predicates. In the full version of this paper I also consider and dismiss other potential analysis for the present-ed restriction.