

Not all obligatory control is movement¹

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This note presents two challenges for the analysis of *promise*-type verbs within the Movement Theory of Control. We show that the objects of these verbs in Russian are not prepositional and are incorrectly predicted to be legitimate controllers. We also argue against analysing oblique control as movement.

Keywords: obligatory control, movement, Russian

1. INTRODUCTION

The influential Movement Theory of Control, henceforth MTC, reduces obligatory control to A-movement, whereby an argument inside an infinitival clause moves into a thematic position in the matrix clause, as schematised in (1a) for subject control and in (1b) for object control (Hornstein 2001, Boeckx et al. 2010a, amongst others).

- (1) (a) John tried [~~John~~ to go]
(b) John persuaded Bill [~~Bill~~ to go]

This paper is concerned with the extensions of the MTC aimed at accounting for the availability of subject control for verbs like *promise*, given the existence of an apparently lower thematic position in which to move. The extension in question, schematised in (2), embeds the addressee into a prepositional phrase headed by an invisible preposition, leaving the matrix subject position as the only potential target for A-movement (Boeckx et al. 2010a: chap. 4):

- (2) John promised [_{pp} P Bill] [~~John~~ to go]

We are guided by the following simple heuristic. When diagnosing movement, we expect to find evidence of the element which we suspect of having moved occupying both the base and target positions related by movement. Using data from Russian, we show that applying this heuristic reveals problems with both

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the base and target positions. We first show, in Section 2, that the objects of *promise*-type verbs in Russian are nominal rather than prepositional, and should therefore be legitimate targets for A-movement. We then turn to oblique control: having demonstrated that oblique control in Russian instantiates obligatory control (Section 3), we argue in Section 4 against employing sideways movement to derive the oblique controller's surface position. We then show in Section 5 that the putative base position of oblique controllers inside the infinitival clause is not identifiable. We discuss the theoretical implications of our findings in Section 6.

2. OBJECTS OF *PROMISE* VERBS IN RUSSIAN ARE NOT PREPOSITIONAL

The MTC-compliant analysis of subject control for *promise*-type verbs schematised in (2) is predicated on the reality of the posited null preposition as a syntactic object. The preposition is crucial as without it, the object position of *promise* would have been the closest position targeted by A-movement, resulting in obligatory object control, contrary to fact. If the object of *promise* is introduced by a covert preposition, then the closest position targeted by A-movement is the subject position, yielding obligatory subject control.

Boeckx et al. (2010a) diagnose the presence of this silent preposition in English by noting a number of asymmetries between the objects of *promise* on the one hand, and those of, for instance, *order* on the other. Because the analysis in (2) is claimed to be universal, the onus is on the MTC to show that identical or at least comparable asymmetries hold between the objects of *promise* and *order* crosslinguistically. We now show that this is not the case in Russian.²

The first asymmetry concerns the accessibility of the object argument for wh-extraction, as shown in the examples below:

- (3) Who₁ did you order *t*₁ to leave the party?
 (4) *Who₁ did you promise *t*₁ to leave the party?

While in English only the objects of *order*-type verbs can undergo wh-movement, Russian objects of *promise*-type verbs are equally accessible:³

[2] Russian is not the only language where locating such asymmetries is problematic, since earlier work contains other arguments against the covert-P analysis of subject control with *promise*-type verbs. Landau (2013: §5.1) observes, for example, that such prepositional objects in English do in fact c-command out of their PPs for the purposes of variable binding, Condition C and NPI licensing, as well as notes that the general unavailability of subject control across PP-objects contradicts the logic of the covert-P analysis. Sportiche (2010) and Witkoś (2012) present cases from French and Polish respectively showing that unambiguously *direct* objects do not block subject control. Because we focus on indirect objects, the logic of our argument is close to that of Landau (2013) but differs from it in important ways.

[3] We use the following abbreviations: ACC = accusative, DAT = dative, GEN = genitive, IMP = imperative, INF = infinitive, NEG = negative, NOM = nominative, PL = plural, PST = past, REFL = reflexive. The romanisation system in this paper follows the conventions of the ALA-LC romanisation for Russian.

- (5) Komu₁ Petya prikazal / poobeshchal t₁ [PRO reshit' ètu
 Who.DAT Petya ordered promised solve.INF this
 problemu]
 problem
 'Who did Petya order/promise to solve this problem?'

Similarly, only the objects of *order*-type verbs can undergo heavy NP shift in English, whereas those of *promise*-type verbs disallow it:

- (6) You ordered t₁ to leave the party [every man that you met]₁
 (7) * You promised t₁ to leave the party [every man that you met]₁

In Russian, however, the objects of both types of verb can undergo heavy NP shift, as illustrated in (8) below, where a dative-marked object modified by a relative clause appears right-peripherally.

- (8) Petya prikazal / poobeshchal t₁ [PRO reshit' ètu problemu] [
 Petya ordered / promised solve.INF this problem
 kazhdomu podchinënnomu, kotorogo on vstretil po puti v svoï
 every.DAT subordinate.DAT which.ACC he met on way to his
 kabinet]₁.
 room
 'Petya ordered/promised to solve this problem to each subordinate he met
 on the way to his room.'

Therefore, while the contrasts reported by Boeckx et al. (2010a) could be taken as evidence of a structural difference between the objects of *order*-type verbs on the one hand and the objects of *promise*-type verbs on the other, there is no evidence of such a structural difference between their Russian counterparts. As just shown, objects of verbs such as *prikazat'* 'order' and *poobeshchat'* 'promise' in Russian share both morphosyntactic and syntactic properties: they receive identical case marking and are equally accessible for *wh*-movement and heavy NP shift. Postulating a silent preposition governing some of these objects but not the others is unmotivated.

Because the absence of evidence is not necessarily evidence of absence, we now present a morphophonological argument against positing a silent preposition governing the objects of *promise*-type verbs coming from pronoun n-allomorphy. Russian third-person pronouns appear in the so-called 'j-form' when they are not complements of prepositions (Hill 1977, Chvany 1982, Timberlake 2004). When governed by a preposition, however, they surface in the so-called 'n-form'. These forms are not in free variation: the 'j-form' cannot appear in the complement of a preposition, nor can the 'n-form' appear when it is not governed by a preposition.

- (9) (a) Ona pomogla im/*nim
 she helped them.DAT
 'She helped them.'

- (b) Ona shla [PP k *im/nim]
 she walked from them.DAT
 ‘She was walking towards them.’

As example (10) illustrates, when the object of a *promise*-type verb is a third-person pronoun, that pronoun can only take the non-prepositional ‘j-form’ *im*, while the prepositional ‘n-form’ *nim* is unacceptable.

- (10) Vasya_i obeshchal **im** / *[PP Ø_P **nim**] [PRO_i uíti]
 Vasya promised **them.DAT** **them.DAT** leave.INF
 ‘Vasya promised them to leave.’

It may be suggested that the ‘n-form’ is obligatory for complements of overt prepositions, in which case the pronominal object in (10) could be argued to be governed by a covert preposition that need not enforce the ‘n-form’. To see that this is wrong let us consider the only other context in Russian where the ‘n-form’ is attested: PHRASAL COMPARATIVES.

- (11) Masha pr̄ygaet v̄yshe nego
 Masha jumps higher he.GEN
 ‘Masha jumps higher than him.’ (Philippova 2018: 104)

Philippova (2018: chap. 5) argues convincingly that the ‘n-form’ of third-person pronouns in Russian is licensed locally by a null preposition introducing the standard in phrasal comparatives. Thus, null prepositions, just like their overt counterparts, require that their 3rd person pronominal complements appear in the ‘n-form’. Consequently, the resistance of the object in (10), which is purportedly governed by a covert preposition, to taking on the ‘n-form’ remains unaccounted for. We conclude that in Russian, the objects of *promise*-type verbs are not introduced by covert prepositions, making the analysis of subject control in (2) an ill fit for Russian.

3. RUSSIAN OBLIQUE CONTROL IS OBLIGATORY CONTROL

As noted by Landau (2007: fn. 5), the analysis of subject control sketched in (2) for *promise*-type verbs makes the strong prediction that complements of overt prepositions should be unable to participate in obligatory control. This prediction is incorrect, as evidenced by the existence of OBLIQUE CONTROL:

- (12) Nachal’nik potreboval **u** / **ot** Vasi sdat’ otchët
 chief demanded **at** **from** Vasya.GEN hand.in.INF report.ACC
 ‘The chief demanded of Vasya to hand in the report.’

While the very existence of oblique control is a problem for the MTC since A-movement is known not to target oblique (e.g. complement-of-P) positions, there are two ways of rendering oblique control unproblematic for the MTC. One is to deny that examples like (12) instantiate obligatory control, thereby removing it

from the purview of the MTC. The other is to appeal to sideways movement to have the controller legitimately move into a non-commanding position. We argue in this section and the next that neither solution is adequate.

We begin by showing that oblique control structures in Russian involve an unpronounced subject contained in the infinitival clause; the infinitival clause is thus not subjectless. The relevant evidence comes from the behaviour of reflexive pronouns, which in Russian are subject-oriented (Rappaport 1986: 101). If the infinitival clause embedded under an oblique-control verb such as *potrebovat'* 'demand' contains a reflexive pronoun, as in (13) below, the reflexive can be anteceded, descriptively speaking, by the oblique controller, which suggests the infinitival clause contains a hidden subject binding the reflexive.

- (13) Militционер potreboval ot arestovannogo snyat' s
 policeman.NOM demanded from detained.GEN remove from
 sebya remen'
 REFL.GEN belt
 'The policeman demanded of the detained to remove the belt.'

We are ready to show, using conventional diagnostics, that the relation between the oblique controller and the hidden subject is that of obligatory control.

Firstly, the prepositional object is the only nominal in the sentence which can bind the understood subject of the infinitival clause.

- (14) Serëzha_i zayavil chto Lena_j potrebovala [_{PP} ot [_{NP} brata [_{NP}
 Serëzha claimed that Lena demanded from brother
 Vasi_i]]_k] [_{PRO}*_i/*_j/k/*₁ napisat' otchët].
 Vasya.GEN write.INF report
 'Serëzha claimed that Lena demanded of Vasya's brother to write a report.'

In (14), it is only the prepositional object *brat Vasi* 'Vasya's brother' and not Serëzha, Lena or Vasya himself that can be construed as PRO.

Secondly, only the sloppy reading is possible under ellipsis in the constructions at hand, so that for a sentence such as (15) the strict reading is unavailable.

- (15) Nachal'nik potreboval ot Vasi sdat' otchët i ot Lenÿ
 chief demanded from Vasya hand-in report and from Lena
 tozhe.
 too.
 'The chief demanded of Vasya to hand in the report and Lena too'
 = 'The chief demanded from V. that V. hand in the report and he demanded
 from L. that L. hand in the report'
 ≠ 'The chief demanded from V. that V. hand in the report and he demanded
 from L. that V. hand in the report'

Finally, if the oblique controller is modified by the focus-sensitive particle *tol'ko* 'only', the silent subject of the infinitive clause is obligatorily bound by the

oblique controller as in (16), evidenced by the fact that the alternatives with respect to which the semantics of the entire sentence is computed have the general form ‘ λx . The chief demanded from x that x hand in the report’, where the subject of the infinitive clause covaries with the matrix addressee argument.

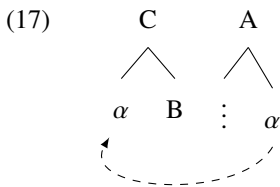
- (16) Nachal’nik tol’ko ot Vasi potreboval sdat’ otchët.
 chief only from Vasya demanded hand-in report.
 ‘The chief demanded only of Vasya that Vasya hand in the report’
 = ‘V. is the only x s.t. the chief demanded of x that x hand in the report’
 ≠ ‘V. is the only x s.t. the chief demanded of x that V. hand in the report’

We conclude that, from the point of view of traditional diagnostics, oblique control in Russian instantiates obligatory, rather than non-obligatory, control.

4. AN UNVIABLE ANALYTIC OPTION: SIDEWARDS MOVEMENT

One of the main problems with deriving oblique control by means of A-movement is that the movement would have to target a non-commanding position (i.e. the complement of an overt preposition). A way of sidestepping this issue is to employ Nunes’s (2004) SIDEWARDS MOVEMENT, which may target non-c-commanding positions.

According to Nunes (2004), every moving expression must be internally merged to the root, but not necessarily that of the tree where the expression in question originated. That is, if there are two syntactic objects, A and B, in our workspace, an expression α contained within object A may be copied and internally merged to the root of object B, turning object B into object C, as illustrated in (17). After that, objects A and C may be merged together.



While sideways movement has been used to formalise adjunct control in terms of movement (Hornstein 2001, Green 2019), we argue that it fails as an adequate account of oblique control in Russian. We use sentence (12) from above, repeated here as (18), as an illustration.

- (18) Nachal’nik potreboval **u** / **ot** Vasi sdat’ otchët
 chief demanded **at** **from** Vasya.GEN hand.in.INF report.ACC
 ‘The chief demanded of Vasya to hand in the report.’

Let us suppose that object A is the infinitival clause containing the controller (*Vasya*) and object B is the preposition *ot* ‘from’. First, the controller is copied from

the infinitival clause and merged with the prepositional head, thereby creating the oblique controller PP, as in (19b). Then the matrix verb merges with the infinitival clause, whereupon the prepositional phrase is inserted in the right structural position in the matrix clause (e.g. as a specifier of an Appl head), as in (19c).

- (19) (a) A = [Vasya hand in the report]; B = [from]
 (b) C = [from Vasya]
 (c) [[PP from Vasya] [Appl+V [demand [Vasya hand in the report]]]]

However, the resulting structure is not linearisable: for the lowest copy of *Vasya* to be deleted, the highest copy must asymmetrically c-command all the lower copies, which is normally achieved by having the sideways-moved element undergo another movement step following its integration into the host syntactic structure. This movement step is crucial since the only motivation behind the deletion of the lower copies, according to Nunes (2004), is to stop them precluding linearisation. Building on Kayne's (1994) Linear Correspondence Axiom, Nunes assumes that two copies of the same element one of which asymmetrically c-commands the other will inevitably prevent linearisation since the expression will have to linearly precede itself. Therefore, all copies except one must delete for the purposes of linearisation.

With oblique control, however, there is neither any motivation for the oblique controller to vacate the PP after the prepositional phrase has been integrated into the matrix clause, nor a target position to move to. Moreover, complements of Russian prepositions are unable to move, there being a strong ban on preposition stranding (Abels 2003). Finally, even if such a movement were possible, the controller noun phrase would be pronounced not in the complement of the prepositional phrase, but in this mysterious position, since in Russian, it is usually the highest copy that is pronounced. Because the oblique controller is pronounced in the complement of the prepositional head, we can reliably assume that no movement of that noun phrase takes place after it is merged with the preposition. Consequently, neither copy of the controller noun phrase (one in the complement of the prepositional phrase and one in the subject position of the infinitival clause, say Spec,TP) asymmetrically c-commands the other. Then, they do not prevent the linearisation of the structure, and since unnecessary operations are costly and therefore are not executed by the computational system, neither of the two copies will be deleted and both will be pronounced.⁴

This prediction contradicts our observations: the controller noun phrase is pronounced only once, in the complement of the preposition, and the variants with

[4] A reviewer wonders whether Nunes's (2004) algorithm for linearising structures resulting from remnant movement could be of use here. It could not. Without going into detail, that algorithm crucially relies on the copy which ends up being pronounced c-commanding at least one other copy. This is obviously not the case under oblique control, where the complement of the preposition does not asymmetrically c-command anything at all, again resulting in a structure where several copies are incorrectly predicted to be pronounced.

multiple pronounced copies are unacceptable. Oblique control, therefore, does not follow from sideways movement.

5. OBLIQUE CONTROLLERS DO NOT ORIGINATE INSIDE INFINITIVAL CLAUSES

In this section, we attempt to locate the lower copy of the putative A-movement chain which the MTC would posit for oblique control. Because accusative object control is the closest parallel to oblique control that has been analysed as involving movement, the expectation is that oblique control and accusative object control should behave similarly with respect to the syntactic and semantic activity of the lower copy. We show, however, by examining the patterns of polarity licensing, case marking on floating quantifiers and the scope of numerical quantifiers, that oblique control systematically differs from object control in never revealing any activity of the purported lower copy and conclude that oblique control cannot be the result of movement. At the same time, we refrain from issuing a judgement on the nature of subject and object control.

5.1. Polarity licensing

Russian being a strict negative-concord language (Szabolcsi 2018), all neg-words must be licensed by a predicate-mate negation, realised as *ne*, sometimes across a non-finite clause boundary (Timberlake 2004: 259). Whilst negative indefinites are unacceptable in the absence of negation, as shown in (20), they need not follow the negation marker but can instead linearly precede it, as in (21) involving a negative indefinite in preverbal subject position.

- (20) (a) On eshchë *(ne) uspel [*nichego* reshit']
 he still NEG manage.PST nothing decide.INF
 'He still hadn't had time to decide anything.'
- (b) On *ni* u *kogo* *(ne) prosil pomoshchi
 he not at whom NEG asked help.GEN
 'He didn't ask anyone for help.'
- (21) *Nikto* *(ne) prishël
 nobody NEG came
 'Nobody came.'

Applying our heuristic for identifying movement dependencies, a negative indefinite originating in a negated infinitival clause is predicted to be licit even if it subsequently raises into the matrix clause.⁵ In the case of oblique control, however, this expectation is not met: the controller in the matrix clause cannot be a negative indefinite licensed by predicate negation in the infinitival clause, as shown in (22a) and (22b).

[5] See Iatridou & Sichel (2011) and Truswell (2013) for arguments in favour of reconstruction in A-movement chains.

- (22) (a) * Ya potreboval *ni* ot *kogo_i* PRO_i **ne** v̄xodit'
 I demanded from no-one.GEN **NEG** exit.INF
 ('I demanded that no one exit.')
- (b) * Ya poprosil *ni* u *kogo_i* PRO_i **ne** delat' ètogo.
 I asked at no-one.GEN **NEG** do.INF this.GEN
 ('I asked that no one do this.')
- (c) OK Ya poprosil *nikogo_i* PRO_i **ne** delat' ètogo.
 I asked no-one.ACC **NEG** do.INF this.GEN
 'I asked that no one do this.'

The licit case of object control in (22c) shows that we are not simply dealing with a general prohibition on reconstructing A-movement. In this regard, examples (22b) and (22c) are particularly telling. The verb *poprosit'* 'ask' in Russian allows the addressee argument (which controls PRO in the infinitival clause in both cases) to be realised either as a direct object (22c) or an oblique genitive nominal embedded inside a PP (22b). In the absence of any semantic differences between the two subcategorisation frames, a purely structural difference concerns the possibility of a negative indefinite controller being licensed within the infinitival clause, which is grammatical under object control (22c) but inadmissible under oblique control (22b).⁶

The same asymmetry between object control and oblique control obtains with polarity items such as the *nibud'*-series of indefinite pronouns, whose acceptability depends on the presence of an operator – such as the imperative operator in (23b) – in the sentence (Haspelmath 1997, Pereltsvaig 2000, 2008).

- (23) (a) * M̄y sprosili u kogo-nibud' dorogu
 we asked.PL at who-*nibud'* way
 ('We asked somebody the way.')
- (b) Sprosi u kogo-nibud' dorogu
 ask.IMP at who-*nibud'* way
 'Ask somebody the way!'

Being unquestionably acceptable as direct-object controllers, as in (24c), dependent indefinites of the *nibud'*-series are nevertheless poor oblique controllers:⁷

- (24) (a) ?? Ya potreboval ot kogo-nibud'_i PRO_i zakr̄yt' okno
 I demanded from anybody.GEN close.INF window
 ('I demanded that somebody close the window.')

[6] For the purposes of this paper, we treat *poprosit'* 'ask' and *prikazat'* 'order' as object-control verbs (see Landau 2008). An alternative analysis of the ability of the embedded negation to license matrix negative concord in (22c) would treat such sentences as ECM/raising-to-object structures (Burukina 2019). Space limitations preclude us from discussing the two analyses in detail but, as far as we can tell, the ultimate choice of analysis does not affect our point regarding oblique control. We thank an anonymous reviewer for raising this issue.

[7] We assume that the relevant operator is a covert imperative operator inside the infinitival clause.

- (b) ?? Ya poprosil u kogo-nibud'_i PRO_i zakrýt' okno.
 I asked at anyone.GEN close.INF window
 ('I asked of somebody to close the window.')
- (c) ^{OK} Ya poprosil kogo-nibud'_i PRO_i zakrýt' okno.
 I asked anybody.ACC close.INF window
 'I asked somebody to close the window.'

Once again, we see from the contrasts above that the controller DP in oblique control environments cannot be licensed by an operator contained in the infinitival clause whereas such licensing is unproblematic in object-control environments.

5.2. Scope

Example (25) demonstrates that numerical quantifiers inside oblique controllers obligatorily take wide scope over the entire sentence rather than only the embedded infinitival clause, which is unexpected if oblique controllers originate in the infinitival clause.

- (25) Ya potreboval ot dvukh sotrudnikov [PRO napisat' otchët]
 I demanded from two employees write.INF report
 'I demanded of two employees to write a report.'

In particular, the only available reading for (25) involves the existence of two specific employees to whom the appeal in question is addressed. The narrow-scope interpretation, whereby any two employees writing the report would satisfy the demand, is unavailable.

This contrasts with object control, which allows numerical quantifiers to take narrow scope:

- (26) General prikazal dvum soldatam [PRO razvedat' obstanovku]
 general ordered two soldiers.DAT sound.out.INF situation.ACC
 'The general ordered two soldiers to sound out the situation.'

The contrast between object control and oblique control with respect to allowing numerical quantifiers to scope low becomes especially salient when the numeral in question is accompanied by *lyuboĭ* 'any' with a view to forcing the narrow-scope interpretation:

- (27) Ya poprosil dvukh lyubýkh sotrudnikov [PRO napisat' otchët]
 I asked two any employees write.INF report
- (28) * Ya potreboval ot dvukh lyubýkh sotrudnikov [PRO napisat'
 I demanded from two any employees write.INF
 otchët
 report

Having identified robust differences between object control and oblique control with regard to polarity licensing and quantifier scope, we now show that morphosyntactic evidence reveals the same distinctions, reinforcing our preliminary conclusion that, whilst subject and object control might at least be *compatible* with the MTC, oblique control clearly is not.

5.3. Case on floating quantifiers

Under oblique control in Russian, floating quantifiers in the embedded infinitival clause associated with its (PRO-)subject must take dative case, as shown in (29) below, whilst the oblique controller receives genitive case from the preposition.

- (29) Ėmir potreboval ot sultana_i [PRO_i samomu raspravit'sya s
emir demanded from sultan.GEN self.DAT massacre with
migrantami]
migrants
'The emir demanded of the sultan to massacre the migrants himself.'
- (a) * [PRO_i samogo raspravit'sya s migrantami]...
self.GEN massacre with migrants
- (b) * [PRO_i ot samogo raspravit'sya s migrantami]...
from self.GEN massacre with migrants

The option of case transmission from the oblique controller in the matrix clause onto the floating quantifier in the embedded clause is unavailable, which stands in stark contrast to its general availability under object control, as in (30), and its obligatory character under subject control, as in (31). The contrast is unexpected, since, on the MTC, case transmission should be the default pattern, all deviations from it requiring additional assumptions.⁸

- (30) Vasya poprosil podchinënnÿkh samikh/samim napisat' otchët
Vasya asked employees.ACC self.ACC/self.DAT write report
'Vasya asked his employees to write the report themselves.'
- (31) Vasya xotel uvidet' vsë sam // *samomu.
Vasya.NOM wanted see.INF all self.NOM self.DAT
'Vasya wanted to see everything for himself.'

The MTC analysis of case discord between the controller and the floating quantifier based on Icelandic data (e.g. Boeckx et al. 2010b) does not extend to Russian. It allows only two situations where a floating quantifier or a secondary predicate (FQ or SP) inside the infinitival clause could have a different case value than that of the controller in the matrix clause. The first is when the embedded infinitival verb is

[8] For a fuller picture of case transmission and case independence under obligatory control in Russian see Landau (2008), Sheehan (2018).

a quirky Case predicate and the FQ/SP bears this quirky Case. For the MTC, the controller originates inside the embedded clause where it is assigned a theta-role and gets its Case feature valued by the quirky Case predicate and where it agrees in Case (as well as φ -features) with the FQ/SP. The controller subsequently moves into the matrix clause, where it is assigned another θ -role from the matrix predicate and its Case feature value is overwritten by the one assigned in the matrix clause. This will not work for either oblique or object control in Russian, since the dative case on FQs in (29) and (30) is not associated with any particular lexical verb or theta-role (Comrie 1974).

The other MTC-compatible way to derive the Case mismatch between the controller and the FQ/SP in the infinitival clause, which is employed when the embedded predicate does not assign a quirky Case to its subject, is to have a default Case value on the FQ/SP (cf. Schütze 2001), which happens to be nominative in Icelandic. In Russian, however, the dative case in question has no properties traditionally ascribed to default case: in all the contexts of default Case assignment listed for English in Schütze 2001, in Russian only a nominative noun phrase or no (overt) noun phrase is possible, but crucially not a dative one.

We conclude, on the basis of semantic and morphosyntactic evidence, that the oblique controller does not originate in the embedded infinitival clause.

6. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

In this paper, we have scrutinised an extension of the Movement Theory of Control, formulated by Boeckx et al. (2010a), designed to account for the control asymmetry between *promise*-type verbs and *order*-type verbs, whereby the *promise*-type verbs require subject control as though the purported A-movement could bypass the object position. The extension in question posits a null preposition introducing the controller thus making its complement position an unsuitable target for movement. Consequently, in order to confirm the MTC, its proponents must demonstrate the crosslinguistic reality of differences in argument structure between *promise* and *order* in each and every language, in dialect after dialect that have these constructions.

We have shown in the preceding sections, by appealing to a variety of sources of evidence, that in Russian, the movement-*cum*-silent-preposition view does not instantiate an adequate analysis of subject control for *promise*-type verbs: dative-marked objects of *obeshchat* ‘promise’ are syntactically indistinguishable from the dative-marked objects of *prikazat* ‘order’, nor is either of them introduced by a covert preposition.

For oblique control, we have argued that it instantiates obligatory control and should thus fall within the explanatory scope of the MTC. We have subsequently demonstrated the implausibility of movement analyses by showing that the oblique controller could not have moved into the complement of an overt preposition by sideways movement, nor originated inside the infinitival clause. We conclude that the MTC analysis of subject control in the case of *promise*-type verbs is untenable,

reducing the MTC's empirical coverage at most to regular subject and object control (and, when supplemented by sideways movement, possibly also adjunct control).

As things stand, the facts as described in this short note are compatible with both a uniform non-movement PRO-based theory of control such as Landau (2015) and a hybrid theory such as Sheehan (2014) or Grano (2015), whereby a subset of instances of obligatory control are derived via A-movement, the remaining ones being mediated by PRO.

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