On the Syntax of the Russian Control Verbs *Pomoč'* 'Help' and *Pomešat'* 'Hinder'*

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Abstract: This paper examines sentences with the verbs *pomoč'* 'help' and *pomešat'* 'hinder' in Russian and demonstrates that, although they are usually listed among object control predicates, these verbs appear in a wide range of constructions that cannot be accounted for by a straightforward control analysis. To explain the distribution of *pomoč'* and *pomešat'*, I argue that they are, in essence, ditransitive, similarly to 'give' or 'send': they require a Goal (a person or a situation that will be helped/hindered) and a Theme headed by a silent noun HELP/HINDRANCE. A dative DP, either [+sentient] or eventive, a subjunctive *čtoby*-clause, or a non-finite clause with an overt subject, when present, should be analyzed as a Goal. A controlled infinitival clause is merged as a modifier within the Theme NP. The approach is extended to control collocations such as 'give a chance'. It further offers an opportunity to develop a uniform structural representation for various verbs of object control that will reduce the differences between them to particular properties of the Theme.

Keywords: object control, argument structure, ditransitive, applicative, adjunct control, implicit arguments, Russian

1. Introduction

In this paper I present a thorough examination of the Russian predicates *pomoč'* 'help' and *pomešat'* 'hinder'. As they regularly co-occur with a DP argument

* I would like to thank Marcel den Dikken and my colleagues at the Hungarian Research Centre for Linguistics ELKH (Eötvös Loránd Kutatási Hálózat – Eötvös Loránd Research Network) for their help with the research. Part of the research was presented at a meeting of the Slavic Linguistics Colloquium organized by Humboldt University of Berlin, and I am very thankful to the audience for their feedback. I would also like to thank the anonymous reviewers and editors for their helpful comments on the manuscript. Last but not least, a special thank you goes to the speakers of Russian who provided their judgments on the data. All mistakes are mine. The research was supported by the ÚNKP-21-4 New National Excellence Program of the Ministry for Innovation and Technology, under the auspices of the National Research, Development and Innovation Fund, and by the Hungarian National Research, Development and Innovation Office under the grant NKFI 129921.

and a non-finite clause, *pomoč'* and *pomešat'* are traditionally listed among object control verbs, such as implicatives[1] ('force', 'compel') or mandatives ('order'), and their distinctive semantic and syntactic behavior remains overlooked. Unlike other control predicates, *pomoč'* and *pomešat'* allow an unusually broad range of syntactic dependents, as illustrated in (1) below: they combine with dative [+sentient] Goals, dative eventive DPs, optional non-finite clauses with a PRO subject, subjunctive *čtoby*-clauses, and PPs.[2] As I further show, these verbs can also co-occur with non-finite saturated clauses with an overt DP subject, (1c), a property that has not been previously discussed in the literature.[3]

(1) a. Maša pomogla mne/rostu prodaž.
Masha helped I_{DAT} $growth_{DAT}$ $sales_{GEN}$
'Masha helped me/the growth of sales.'

b. Maša pomogla mne [PRO kupit' knigi] / [v pokupke knig].
Masha helped I_{DAT} buy_{INF} books in $buying_{PREP}$ $books_{GEN}$
'Masha helped me to buy books.'

c. Maša pomogla [prodažam vyrasti] / [čtoby prodaži vyrosli].
Masha helped $sales_{DAT}$ $grow_{INF}$ so.that sales $grow_{SUBJ}$
'Masha helped the sales to grow.'

Upon a closer look at the dependents listed above, the following pattern emerges. First, the dependents divide into arguments (DPs and saturated CPs, which include subjunctive *čtoby*-clauses and infinitival clauses with a DP subject) and properties (PPs and infinitival clauses with a controlled subject). Sec-

[1] A predicate is classified as "implicative" when the following requirement is fulfilled: the embedded proposition is true if the sentence with a matrix implicative is true (Karttunen 1971).

(i) a. John forced Bill to wash the dishes (→ Bill washed the dishes)
… #but Bill didn't. – implicative

b. John asked Bill to wash the dishes (↛ Bill washed the dishes)
… but Bill didn't. – non-implicative

[2] The original examples presented in the paper were elicited from nine monolingual native speakers of Russian ranging in age from 27 to 45 years old.

[3] The following abbreviations are used in the glosses: ACC = accusative, APPL = applicative, DAT = dative, GEN = genitive, INF = infinitive, INST = instrumental, NEG = negation, NOM = nominative, POSS = possessive, PREP = prepositional case, PST = past tense, SG = singular, SUBJ = subjunctive.

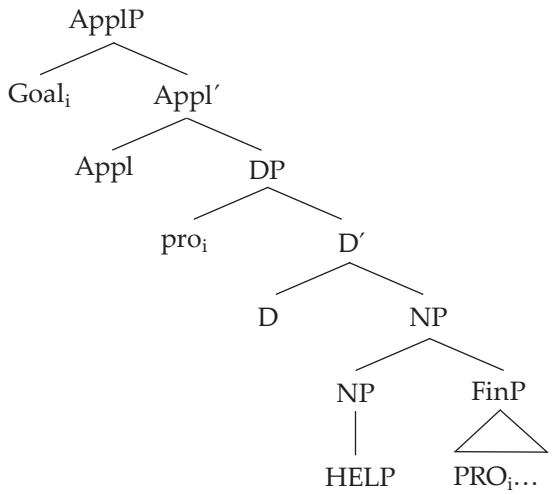
ond, the arguments cannot co-occur, which suggests that they compete for the same structural/thematic position. All this makes *pomoč'* and *pomešat'* stand out among the control predicates and gives rise to the following research questions: How do we account for the unusual properties of these verbs? Do constructions with *pomoč'* and *pomešat'* have a completely unique structure, and if so, why? Or can they still be brought together with some other clause-embedding predicates?

Addressing these questions, I develop a novel analysis whereby *pomoč'* and *pomešat'* are ditransitive constructions that involve an abstract verb GIVE, a Goal, and a Theme headed by a silent noun HELP/HINDRANCE, which I refer to as H-noun. The Goal is a person or a situation toward which the Agent directs their efforts; it can be expressed by a dative [+sentient] DP ($Goal_{Person}$), or by an eventive DP or fully saturated clause ($Goal_{Situation}$). Following Pylkkänen's (2008) analysis for *give*-type verbs across the world's languages, I assume that the Goal and the Theme are projected as arguments of a low applicative head that denotes the relation "to-the-possession"; the ApplP is then merged as a complement of GIVE, (2).

(2) $[_{VP}$ GIVE $[_{ApplP}$ Goal $[_{Appl'}$ Appl $[_{DP}$ HELP/HINDRANCE]]]]
DAT

A controlled infinitival clause and a PP, when present, should be analyzed as modifiers within the Theme, (3). Obligatory control into the embedded adjunct clause is established between the matrix Goal and the embedded PRO via the implicit possessor, *pro*.

(3)



The proposed analysis accounts for the peculiar properties of *pomoč'* and *pomešat'*, including the variety of possible dependents, the optionality of embedded clauses, the predicative nature of control established between the matrix Goal and the embedded PRO, and the dative case assignment. It can further be extended to similar expressions with a ditransitive verb and a controlled clause, such as *okazat' pomošč'* 'provide help' and *dat' šans/vozmožnost'* 'give a chance/opportunity', which are rarely discussed in the literature.

The paper solves a specific empirical puzzle in Russian and contributes to the general discussion of clausal subordination and the nature of control predicates. It also addresses such topics as the distribution of dative DPs, the property/proposition distinction for non-finite clauses, obligatory control into adjuncts, and structural presence of covert arguments.

The paper continues as follows. Section 2 examines sentences with a dative DP and an embedded non-finite clause and formulates the main research questions. Section 3 presents a novel analysis for *pomoč'* and *pomešat'* as ditransitive verbs. Section 4 discusses the adjunct/argument status of the dependents of *pomoč'* and *pomešat'*. Section 5 concludes the paper.

2. *Pomoč'* or *pomešat'*, a Dative DP, and a Non-Finite Clause

2.1. Dative DP: A Matrix Goal or an Embedded Subject

Most frequently,[4] *pomoč'* and *pomešat'* appear together with a dative DP and an embedded non-finite clause, similarly to the English verb *help*.[5] In this section, I examine such examples in detail and demonstrate that they are ambiguous between the following two structures: (i) the dative DP is a matrix dependent that controls a PRO subject in the embedded infinitival clause, which is a property-type FinP, or (ii) the dative DP is an argument of the infinitival predicate, the embedded subject itself, while the non-finite clause is a fully saturated CP.

The dative DP that accompanies *pomoč'* or *pomešat'* usually refers to a person who is helped in or prevented from doing something; as I further demon-

[4] From the Russian National Corpus, search results for the sequence *pomoč'/pomešat'* and (i) dative + infinitive yield 10,681 entries, while the sequence with (ii) dative + *in*-PP appears in 1,750 entries.

[5] The subject in such sentences is interpreted as either an Agent or a Cause, as in (i).

(i) Rusalka /pogoda pomogla kapitanu izbežat' ataki
mermaid$_{NOM}$ weather$_{NOM}$ helped captain$_{DAT}$ avoid$_{INF}$ attack$_{GEN}$
piratov.
pirates$_{GEN}$
'The mermaid/weather helped the captain to avoid pirates' attack.'

strate in §4, the dative DP can also denote a situation that the Agent intends to make (im)possible. Throughout the paper, I refer to such passive participants as **Goal**, or more precisely, $\text{Goal}_{\text{Person}}$ or $\text{Goal}_{\text{Situation}}$, as I draw a parallel between them and Goal arguments in ditransitive *give*-type constructions (§3). They can also be understood as Patients, using the term in its broad meaning, as described in Andrews 1985, Dowty 1991, A. Williams 2015, among others.

When used together with a non-finite clause, the dative DP must be coreferent with the understood subject of the infinitive; consider an example in (4) that shows that only a local and c-commanding antecedent for the embedded subject is acceptable.

(4) Marina_{k} skazala, čto Sveta_{j} pomogla [druzjam $\text{Peti}_{m}]_{i}$ $ec_{i/*j/*k/*m}$
Marina said that Sveta helped friends_{DAT} Petja_{GEN}
sdat' ékzamen.
pass_{INF} exam
'Marina said that Sveta had helped Petja's friends to pass the exam.'

In the literature, *pomoč'*, *pomešat'*, and their translation equivalents in other languages are usually listed among object control verbs; see Arylova 2006 on Russian and Sabel 1996 and Davies and Dubinsky 2004 on Germanic languages. I challenge this assumption and argue that sentences with *pomoč'* or *pomešat'* and an infinitive are ambiguous between obligatory control and overt embedded subject analyses. That is, the dative DP is either a matrix Goal or an embedded argument located within the non-finite clause.

To begin with, let us discuss the standard diagnostics used to determine whether a DP is an argument of the embedded predicate: the selection test, the idiom chunk test, and the embedded passivization test. In the case under consideration, the results for these tests are mixed; the dative DP can but does not always have to be interpreted as an embedded argument.

First, in the absence of an embedded clause, the Goal must be either a [+sentient] DP or an event noun, (5a–b).[6] Conversely, the dative DP used together with a non-finite clause does not have to comply with this restriction; as shown in (5c), it can be [−sentient] and non-eventive, depending on the selectional properties of the embedded predicate.

(5) a. My pomešaem Pete /[stroitel'stvu zavoda].
we hinder Petja_{DAT} $\text{construction}_{DAT}$ factory_{GEN}
'We will hinder Petja/construction of a factory.'

[6] In this section, I focus on $\text{Goal}_{\text{Person}}$, to provide better contrast, but see §4 for a discussion of $\text{Goal}_{\text{Situation}}$.

(5) b. *My pomešaem **zdanijam**.
we hinder buildings$_{DAT}$

c. My pomešaem **zdanijam** byt' dostroennymi.
we hinder buildings$_{DAT}$ be$_{INF}$ complete$_{PTCP}$
'We will prevent the buildings from being constructed.'

Second, sentences with *pomoč'* or *pomešat'* and an embedded idiom, such as *černaja koška probežala meždu nimi* 'the black cat ran between them' (idiomatic reading: 'they quarreled'), are ambiguous between literal and idiomatic interpretations, (6). An expression retains its idiomatic reading only if all the components are base-generated together (Davies and Dubinsky 2004). Therefore, the ambiguity of (6) suggests that it has two corresponding structures: the DP 'black cat' is projected either in the matrix clause or by the embedded predicate.

(6) Ja pomešal černoj koške probežat' meždu nimi.
I hindered black cat$_{DAT}$ run$_{INF}$ between them
Literally: 'I prevented the black cat from running between them.'
Idiomatic, available: 'I prevented them from quarreling.'

Third, constructions with *pomoč'* and *pomešat'* often, but not always, pass the embedded passivization test, which is based on the idea that a Voice transformation does not affect the truth condition of the clause and yields the same interpretation, as in *Mary baked the cake* = *The cake was baked by Mary*. A sentence with *pomoč'* or *pomešat'* and embedded passive Voice, as in (7a), can but does not have to receive the same reading as a parallel sentence with embedded active Voice, (7b). When it does, the dative DP must belong to the embedded infinitive, and the set of participants in the two clauses does not change. When the readings differ, it is because the dative DP is a dependent of the main predicate, a Goal: 'boy' in (7a) but 'wizard' in (7b). Importantly, the semantic identity becomes obligatory if the dative DP is infelicitous as a matrix Goal, i.e., if it is not [+sentient] or eventive, (7c–d).[7]

[7] The unambiguous object control predicates in Russian include, for instance, *vynudit'* 'force'. Such verbs show negative results for the overt embedded subject tests discussed in this section.

(i) a. Ja vynudil černuju košku probežat' meždu nimi.
I forced black cat$_{ACC}$ run$_{INF}$ between them
Only: 'I forced the black cat to run between them.'
Idiomatic, not available: 'I forced them to quarrel.'

b. *Maz' vynudila ranu zalečit'sja kak možno bystree.
ointment forced wound$_{ACC}$ heal$_{INF}$ as possible faster

(7) a. My pomešaem **mal'čiku** byt' ubitym volšebnikom.
we hinder boy$_{DAT}$ be$_{INF}$ killed$_{PTCP}$ wizard$_{INST}$
'We will prevent the boy from being killed by the wizard.'

b. My pomešaem **volšebniku** ubit' mal'čika.
we hinder wizard$_{DAT}$ kill$_{INF}$ boy$_{ACC}$
'We will prevent the wizard from killing the boy.' (≠/= a)

c. Maz' pomožet [**rane** zalečit'sja kak možno bystree].
ointment help wound$_{DAT}$ heal$_{INF}$ as possible faster
'The ointment will help the wound to heal as soon as possible.'

d. Maz' pomožet [zalečit' ranu kak možno bystree].
ointment help heal$_{INF}$ wound$_{ACC}$ as possible faster
'The ointment will help to heal the wound as soon as possible.' (= c)

The mixed results of the tests discussed above point to the same conclusion: sentences with *pomoč'* or *pomešat'* are ambiguous between the two structures schematized in (8).

(8) a. [*pomoč'/pomešat'* DP$_{DAT.i}$ [PRO$_i$ infinitive]]
b. [*pomoč'/pomešat'* [DP$_{DAT}$ infinitive]]

If the dative DP is [+sentient] and can be interpreted as a matrix Goal, it behaves as either a matrix or an embedded constituent, (8a) and (8b), respectively. If the DP can be interpreted only as the embedded subject—when it is inanimate and non-eventive or a part of an idiomatic expression—it remains in the lower clause and does not show signs of movement.[8]

Consider, for example, the placement of adjuncts. In Russian, an adjunct must be merged within the same clause as its predicate, and scrambling across a clausal boundary is limited to the A-bar movement from the embedded clause into a peripheral focus position (Bailyn 2003). Thus, a modifier can help us locate the clausal boundary, as exemplified in (9) for an embedded purpose clause; here, the AP *ran'še vsex* 'first' unambiguously modifies only the main event or only the embedded event when it is placed between main or embedded dependents, respectively, and only becomes ambiguous if it is on the edge of the infinitival clause.

[8] The distribution of adjuncts and the dislocation/ellipsis data discussed here pose a problem to a potential raising analysis; I found no evidence that the embedded DP subject undergoes A-movement into the matrix clause.

(9) a. Petja prišel **ran'še vsex** k Maše [uznat' poslednie
Petja came earlier all to Masha learn$_{INF}$ latest
novosti].
news
Only: 'Petja came to Masha first to learn about the latest news.'

b. Petja prišel k Maše [uznat' **ran'še vsex** poslednie
Petja came to Masha learn$_{INF}$ earlier all latest
novosti].
news
Only: 'Petja came to Masha to learn about the latest news first.'

c. Petja prišel k Maše **ran'še vsex** uznat' poslednie
Petja came to Masha earlier all learn$_{INF}$ latest
novosti.
news
(i) 'Petja came to Masha first to learn about the latest news.'
(ii) 'Petja came to Masha to learn about the latest news first.'

As shown in (10) below, in sentences with *pomoč'* or *pomešat'*, an adjunct that precedes the dative DP can modify either the matrix or the embedded predicate.

(10) a. Volšebnik pomog nemedlenno Pete popravit'sja.
wizard helped immediately Petja$_{DAT}$ get.better$_{INF}$
(i) 'The wizard helped Petja to immediately get better.'
(ii) 'The wizard immediately helped Petja to get better.'

b. Volšebnik pomog nemedlenno rane zažit'.
wizard helped immediately wound$_{DAT}$ heal$_{INF}$
(i) 'The wizard helped the wound to heal immediately.'
(ii) 'The wizard immediately helped the wound to heal.'

A matrix adjunct can follow the dative DP only when the latter can be interpreted as the matrix Goal, (11a). If the dative DP denotes, for example, an inanimate object (that is, if it is illicit as a Goal$_{\text{Person}}$ or Goal$_{\text{Situation}}$), the adjunct must be interpreted within the scope of the non-finite clause, which in (11b) leads to a semantic anomaly.

(11) a. Želaju, čtoby vy pomogli rebenku **vse** **vmeste**
wish$_{1SG}$ so.that you$_{PL}$ help$_{SUBJ}$ child$_{DAT}$ all together
[adaptirovat'sja].
adapt$_{INF}$
'I wish that you would all together help the child adapt.'

b. #Ministry pomogli [stroitel'stvu **vse** **vmeste**
ministers helped construction$_{DAT}$ all together
zakončit'sja vovremja].
finish$_{INF}$ in.time

Another piece of evidence for the structural ambiguity outlined in (8) comes from the behavior of the dative DP under dislocation and ellipsis. A dative DP that is felicitous only as an embedded argument cannot be separated from the rest of the non-finite clause, for instance, in pseudoclefts, as in (12a), or under polarity ellipsis (Kazenin 2006), as in (12b).

(12) a. *V čem maz' pomogla **rane**, tak éto zažit'.
in what ointment helped wound$_{DAT}$ so that heal$_{INF}$
Intended: 'What the ointment helped to do was for the wound to heal.'

b. *Maz' pomogla **rane** zažit', a bal'zam
ointment helped wound$_{DAT}$ heal but balm
sinjaku net.
bruise$_{DAT}$ no
Intended: 'The ointment helped the wound to heal, but the balm did not [help] the bruise [to heal].'

A dative DP suitable as a Goal is not bound by such a restriction, as shown in (13) (judgments of (13a) vary, as indicated by the % sign).

(13) a. %V čem maž' pomogla **mne**, tak éto zalečit' ranu.
in what ointment helped I$_{DAT}$ so that heal$_{INF}$ wound$_{ACC}$
'What the ointment helped me to do was to heal the wound.'

b. Maša pomogla **Pete** pobedit', a Anna **Kole** net.
Masha helped Petja$_{DAT}$ win$_{INF}$ but Anna Kolja$_{DAT}$ no
'Masha helped Petja to win, but Anna did not [help] Kolja [to win].'

2.2. Infinitival Clause: A Property or a Proposition

The data examined in §2.1 show that the combination of a dative DP and an embedded non-finite clause structurally corresponds either to a constituent with the dative DP merged outside of the infinitival construction, (14a), or to a single clause with an overt embedded subject, (14b).[9]

(14) a. [*pomoč'/pomešat'* $DP_{DAT.i}$ [PRO_i infinitive]]
b. [*pomoč'/pomešat'* [DP_{DAT} infinitive]]

Sundaresan and McFadden (2009) discuss PRO/DP alternation in non-finite clauses in several languages, including English, Irish, and Tamil, and they convincingly demonstrate that controlled and referential subjects are generally allowed in the same syntactic environment. In Russian the PRO/DP alternation is also attested in sentences with verbs of order and permission and deontic modals (Burukina 2019, 2020). Due to the limitations of space, I only give two examples with the Russian verb *razrešit'* 'permit' in (15); the availability of partial coreference in (15a) indicates the presence of PRO (Wurmbrand 2002), while the inanimate dative DP in (15b) must be analyzed as an embedded argument and is infelicitous as a matrix recipient of the permission.

(15) a. $Ivan_k$ razrešil $Pete_i$ [$PRO_{i+(k)}$ razojtis' v šest'].
Ivan permitted $Petja_{DAT}$ $disperse_{INF}$ in six
'Ivan permitted Petja to disperse at six.'
b. Direktor razrešil [večerinke prodolžat'sja do polunoči].
director permitted $party_{DAT}$ $continue_{INF}$ until midnight
'The director permitted for the party to continue until midnight.'

On the surface, constructions with *pomoč'* and *pomešat'* look very similar to the sentences with *razrešit'* 'permit' in (15); however, there are several crucial differences between these predicates. Unlike the latter, *pomoč'* and *pomešat'* do not involve deontic modality and are semantically closer to implicative verbs, such as *zastavit'* 'force'. Compared to the verbs of order and permission, *pomoč'* and *pomešat'* are more flexible in regard to their dependents; the embedded clause is optional, (16a), and the verbs are also compatible with eventive nominals and PPs, (16b). This is discussed in detail in §4.

[9] Following Greenberg (1985), Franks and Hornstein (1992), Moore and Perlmutter (2000), and Landau (2008), I assume that in (14b) the dative case is assigned to the embedded subject locally by an embedded functional head, i.e., the non-finite T/Fin. Alternatively, an ECM-type analysis may be proposed whereby the overt embedded subject receives the "matrix" dative case, normally assigned to the Goal, as in (14a).

(16) a. Petja pomog /#velel /#razrešil mne.[10]
Petja helped ordered permitted I_{DAT}
'Petja helped me.'

b. Petja pomog/*velel /*razrešil [moej sdače ékzamena].
Petja helped ordered permitted my $passing_{DAT}$ $exam_{GEN}$
'Petja helped me to pass the exam.'

The embedded non-finite clause with an overt DP subject is fully saturated and argument-like. Notice that the argument clause cannot co-occur with a [+sentient] or eventive Goal, (17).[11]

(17) a. Vrač pomog (*Pete) [rane zažit'].
doctor helped $Petja_{DAT}$ $wound_{DAT}$ $heal_{INF}$
'The doctor helped for the wound to heal.'

b. Zima pomešala (*stroitel'stvu) [zdaniju byt'
winter hindered $construction_{DAT}$ $building_{DAT}$ be_{INF}
dostroennym].
$complete_{PTCP}$
'Winter prevented the building from being constructed.'

Let us now look closer at the properties of the embedded non-finite clause with a controlled PRO subject. In the remaining part of this section, I will show that in the control configuration, *pomoč'* and *pomešat'* embed an unsaturated property-type clause (FinP);[12] this will become important later in

[10] In (16a) *Petja velel/razrešil mne* is allowed in a limited set of contexts under topic-drop, as in 'Why did you do this? Petja ordered/permitted me'. *Pomoč'* and *pomešat'* do not require for the omitted clause to be retrievable from the context.

[11] There is no evidence for the structural presence of a covert matrix Goal in (17) and it is not entailed. The standard diagnostics used to determine whether an argument is projected (Bhatt and Pancheva 2006) do not work for Russian; for instance, neither covert nor overt Goals can be modified by instrumental depictives, as shown in (i):

(i) $Petja_i$ pomog ec_k/$Ivanu_k$ $pjanym_{i/*k}$.
$Petja_{NOM}$ helped $Ivan_{DAT}$ $drunk_{INST}$
'Petja helped (Ivan) drunk.'

[12] Throughout the paper, I use the term "property" to refer to constituents of the type <e,<s, t>> and the term "proposition" to refer to fully saturated clauses of the type <s, t>, following Landau (2015). The terminology may appear to be unusual for a syntactic paper, however, it will become useful for distinguishing between the two types of dependents, namely, controlled infinitival clauses and infinitival clauses with a referential DP subject, respectively.

§3 for developing the analysis. I adopt the typology of control developed by Landau (2015), who examines obligatory control into complement clauses and proposes to split those into predicative complements and logophoric complements; the approach is extended to adjunct clauses in Landau 2017.

English *manage* and *force* and Russian *zastavit'* 'compel' are examples of predicative control verbs. Predicative embedded clauses are unsaturated FinPs; they contain an operator, namely, a PRO variable, and thus denote a property and must be predicated of a matrix argument. This is schematized in (18) for object control, where the controller and the FinP predicate together form a small clause (SC). Following Bowers (1993) and den Dikken (2006), I assume that small clauses are asymmetrical and that they are headed by a functional head—Rel(ator) or Pr(edication)—that takes the predicate as its complement and relates it to the subject in the specifier position. In the control sentences under consideration, the Rel head remains silent; however, as discussed in detail by den Dikken (2006), it can be spelled out as a particle, for instance, in such English examples as *I consider* [$_{SC}$ *him* ***as*** *my friend*].

(18) [$_{VP}$ *force/compel* [$_{SC}$ DP_i [$\emptyset_{Rel}$ [$_{FinP}$ PRO_i infinitive …]]]]
└predication┘

Logophoric control verbs include *intend* and *ask* in English and *velet'* 'order' in Russian. In case of a logophoric embedded clause, the FinP containing PRO is selected first by a special logophoric C head (Landau 2015). This C_{+log} introduces the context variables <SPEAKER, ADDRESSEE, TIME, WORLD> that depend on the content of the matrix clause. Either the speaker or addressee variable is syntactically projected in Spec, CP. The variable is bound by a matrix argument denoting an attitude holder or addressee (the controller), due to the attitude semantics of the main predicate (see below); at the same time, it is combined with the embedded FinP via predication and thus determines the reference of PRO. Unlike the property-type FinP, the result CP is fully saturated, a proposition; a simplified structure is given in (19), with the context variable denoted as *x*.

(19) [$_{vP}$ DP_i [$_{v'}$ v [$_{VP}$ *intend* [$_{CP}$ x_i [$_{C'}$ C_{+log} [$_{FinP}$ PRO_i infinitive …]]]]]]
└binding┘ └predication┘

The more complex syntactic structure in (19) corresponds to the attitudinal semantics of the logophoric control predicates. *Intend* and *ask* are attitude predicates, that is, they introduce an attitude context in which linguistic expressions are interpreted relative to the state of a participant in the reported situation and not relative to the actual world (Landau 2015: 18). Hence, the left periphery of the embedded clause is built up to accommodate the necessary context variables, whose value may change. In contrast, *manage* and *force* are

non-attitude predicates. To illustrate the difference, consider the following set of examples, adapted from Landau 2015.

(20) Context: Ralph is the new boss at Bill's office, but Bill does not know about it yet.

Bill forced/asked Ralph to sign the papers.
⇒ Bill forced/#asked the new boss to sign the papers.

(21) Context: Ivan does not know that Stepan is the new director.

Ivan	pomog/pomešal	Stepanu	podpisat'	dokumenty.
Ivan	helped hindered	Stepan$_{DAT}$	sign$_{INF}$	documents

'Ivan helped/hindered Stepan to sign the documents.'
⇒ 'Ivan helped/hindered the new director to sign the documents.'

In the scenario in (20), the second sentence follows naturally from the first one with *force* but not with *ask*, since in the latter case the denotation of 'the new boss' shall be determined based on Bill's knowledge. As further shown in (21), *pomoč'* and *pomešat'* in Russian belong to the non-attitude group of predicative control verbs.

The difference in the structural properties of the two types of control constructions further manifests itself in the (un)availability of partial or split coreference between the controller and the controlee. Predication between the embedded FinP and a matrix DP is always strict; thus, the controller and the controlee in (18) must have the same reference, (22a). Under the logophoric control, however, the reference of PRO is determined by the embedded *x* variable bound by a higher DP, (19); the general flexibility of binding allows for the coreference to be partial, (22b).

(22) a. *John managed to meet at 6.
b. John intended to meet at 6.

In Russian, one can use an embedded item that normally requires a plural subject to test whether the control is obligatorily exhaustive. Good candidates for this are *raz – sja* verbs (*rasxodit'sja* 'disperse', *razrugat'sja* 'quarrel') that require a semantically plural Agent and subject-oriented *together*-type modifiers that must be related to a plural DP. As shown in (23) on the following page, examples with *pomoč'* or *pomešat'*, a semantically/syntactically singular controller, and such an embedded component get low acceptability scores from native speakers.[13]

[13] A reviewer commented that, while they agreed that the sentences in (23) did not allow the split control interpretations, the partial control readings were still possible.

(23) a. *Ivan$_k$ pomešal direktoru$_i$ PRO$_{i+(k)}$ razojtis' v sem'.
Ivan hindered director$_{DAT}$ disperse$_{INF}$ in seven

b. *Direktor$_k$ pomog Ivanu$_i$ PRO$_{i+(k)}$ podgotovit' otčet
director helped Ivan$_{DAT}$ prepare$_{INF}$ report$_{ACC}$
vmeste.
together

c. Direktor$_k$ skazal/predložil Ivanu$_i$ PRO$_{i+(k)}$ podgotovit'
director told offered Ivan$_{DAT}$ prepare$_{INF}$
otčet vmeste.
report$_{ACC}$ together
'The director told/offered Ivan to prepare the report together.'

From this I draw the conclusion that in sentences with *pomoč'* or *pomešat'* and a controlled infinitival clause, the latter denotes a property and is suitable as a predicate/modifier, but not as an argument. The following questions are yet to be answered: How exactly are the Goal and the embedded clause brought together in (14a)? And how can we account for the incompatibility of a [+sentient] Goal with a fully saturated embedded clause, as in (17)? In addition to this, a successful analysis shall suggest a source for the dative case assigned to the Goal, especially taking into account that on the surface *pomoč'* and *pomešat'* resemble transitive verbs with only two dependent DPs, and those normally appear with a nominative subject and an accusative direct object. In the remainder of the paper, I will present a novel approach to *pomoč'* and *pomešat'* that provides answers to these questions.

However, the native speakers that I consulted do not share this intuition. At this point, I do not know to what this difference in the judgments can be attributed; note, however, that in colloquial Russian, constructions with predicates that are unanimously considered to allow only exhaustive control (aspectual verbs, etc.) can be coerced into having a partial control flavor, as in (i), depending on the context and prosody.

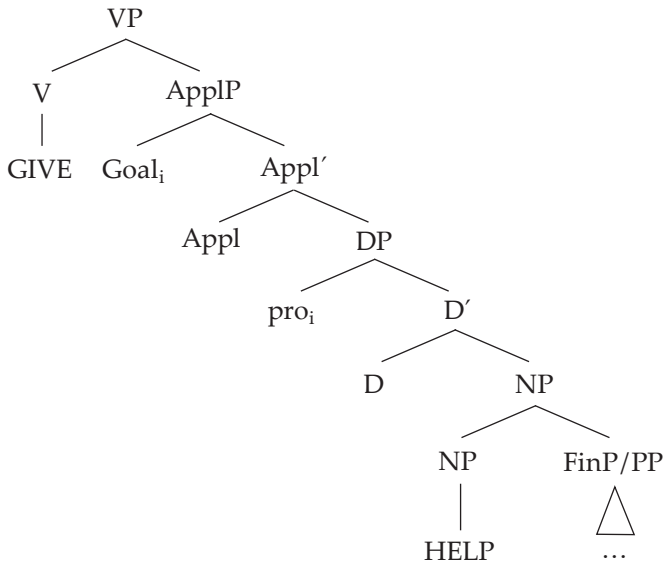
(i) Context: Masha and Ivan are siblings. Their mother wanted Ivan to do his homework on his own, without Masha's help.
No Maša, kak obyčno, načala delat' upražnenija VMESTE.
but Masha as usually began do$_{INF}$ exercises together
'But Masha, as always, began doing the exercises together (with Ivan).'

3. Developing the Analysis

3.1. Outline of the Proposal

The ultimate structure that I propose for all sentences with *pomoč'* or *pomešat'* is given in (24).[14]

(24)



The lexical verb *pomoč'/pomešat'* is a morphological realization of the combination of the abstract verb GIVE and a direct object headed by the silent noun HELP/HINDRANCE; I refer to it as H-noun. Thus, 'help someone' is structurally decomposed into 'give someone help', and 'hinder someone' into 'give someone hindrance'. As with the other ditransitive verbs of transfer, such as 'give', 'send', 'present', etc., *pomoč'* and *pomešat'* appear with a direct object (H-NP) and a Goal, and I assume that the two dependents are combined within an applicative phrase, as per Pylkkänen 2008 (see §3.2). The Goal does not have to be [+sentient]; this argument position can be occupied by an eventive noun or a fully saturated clause, for example, a *čtoby*-clause or an infinitival CP with a DP subject. Finally, a property-type controlled infinitival clause or an *in*-PP, when present, is introduced as a modifier within the H-NP; in §4.1 I

[14] I propose that control into the embedded non-finite clause (an adjunct inside the Theme DP) is established as Goal binds an implicit *pro* possessor within the Theme argument. It is Goal that becomes the antecedent for *pro* because of the "to-the-possession" relation established by the applicative head (Pylkkänen 2008); see §4.1 for a discussion.

elaborate on the mechanism of obligatory control into the adjunct, suggesting that it is established via the implicit possessor (*pro*) in the H-NP.

In what follows, I will discuss the components of this analysis one after another: (i) the decomposition of *pomoč'* and *pomešat'* into GIVE and an H-NP, and (ii) the argument/modifier status of the dependents.

3.2. *Pomoč'* and *pomešat'* as Ditransitive *give*-Type Verbs

I draw a parallel between *pomoč'* and *pomešat'* and ditransitive verbs of transfer, such as *give* and *send*, for which I adopt Pylkkänen's (2008) analysis in terms of low applicativization, (25).[15] The Theme (direct object) and the Goal (indirect object) are arguments of the low applicative head, which is a predicate interpreted as "to-the-possession"; see Soschen 2005 for a similar proposal for Russian and Dyakonova 2005, 2007 advocating the Goal-over-Theme analysis.

(25) $[_{VP}$ V $[_{ApplP}$ Goal $[_{Appl'}$ Appl Theme]]]

[15] For the sake of simplicity and in continuation with my previous research on ditransitives, in this paper I adopt a low applicative analysis and represent the Goal and the Theme as being related by the Appl head; in the conclusion, I further adapt the analysis to verbs of communication, order, and permission. However, an alternative approach to ditransitives has recently been proposed in the literature by Boneh and Nash (2017). They argue that some applied objects in the *give*-type constructions in Russian are introduced higher in the structure. In particular, they propose that several verbs, including *dat'* 'give', *pokazat'* 'show', and *napisat'* 'write', can be inserted into either of the following two underlying structures.

(i) a. $[_{VP}$ DP_{ACC} $[_{V'}$ V $[_{PP}$ $P_{Ø}$ DP_{DAT}]]]

b. $[_{ApplP}$ DP_{DAT} $[_{Appl'}$ Appl $[_{VP}$ V DP_{ACC}]]]

In (ia) the dative DP refers to the endpoint of the path of transfer, and it is merged low in the structure within a PP headed by a silent directional P. In (ib) the dative DP can refer to a Beneficiary, Maleficiary, etc., and it is introduced by a high applicative head. The difference in the structure thus gives rise to different interpretations; specifically, in the case of the DAT-over-ACC pattern, "the dative argument is interpreted as a person who is conscious of the benefit of acquiring [the Theme], and who might even previously wished for this state of affairs", with a possession reading also being entailed (Boneh and Nash 2017: 931). Sentences with *pomoč'* (and *pomešat'*, if 'benefit' is substituted with 'suffer') and more complex constructions, such as 'give a chance', match this description; importantly, from a syntactic point of view, in (ib) the Goal c-commands the Theme, similarly to (25). Due to the limitations of space, I shall refrain from entering into a detailed discussion of *give*-type verbs in general and, at this point, consider both analyses viable. For the purpose of the present study, nothing particular hinges on the choice of the approach and the proposed structure can easily be accommodated with the main components (decomposition of *pomoč'* and *pomešat'* and the presence of a silent H-NP Theme) intact.

It shall be mentioned that there is still no agreement in the literature as to the base position of the Goal arguments in Russian (and other Slavic languages). Thus, Bailyn (1995, 2010) attempts to apply the binding test and the depictive tests, initially proposed by Barss and Lasnik (1986), and argues that their results support the ACC-over-DAT configuration. However, Pereltsvaig (2001), Richardson (2007), and Dyakonova (2005, 2007) persuasively argue that, in *give*-type ditransitive constructions, the Goal argument is base-generated above the Theme. For instance, Dyakonova (2007) applies the subextraction diagnostic and demonstrates that, with respect to wh-movement, indirect objects pattern with specifiers (for example, external arguments), while direct objects pattern with complements. If, however, new pieces of support for the Theme-over-Goal base configuration are found, that will not undermine the main part of the analysis put forward in the present paper, that is, that *pomoč'* and *pomešat'* shall be decomposed into GIVE + HELP/HINDRANCE and that some apparent dependents of the main verb should be treated instead as modifiers within the Theme H-NP. For my analysis to work, the Goal argument must c-command the Theme at some point, to ensure that the former can bind the silent possessor within the latter (§4.1.2). At this point, it is irrelevant whether this happens already in the deep structure or after the Goal undergoes movement over the Theme (as per Bailyn 1995).

Adapting the structure in (25) to sentences with *pomoč'* or *pomešat'*, the Goal of *pomoč'* and *pomešat'* is comparable to the Goal of *give* and *send*; it is a participant toward which the Agent directs (i.e., transfers) their efforts. Similarly to other applied objects, the Goal is base-generated in the specifier position in the ApplP merged as the complement of the matrix verb.

Analyzing the Goal as a low applied object explains the fact that it must be dative and is never assigned accusative case, (26). Following Anagnostopoulou (2003), Cuervo (2003), Svenonius (2006), Wood (2010), Pineda (2014), and others, I argue that the dative case is uniformly assigned by an applicative head to its specifier.[16]

(26) a. My pomogli/pomešali kapitanu /*kapitana (spastis').
we helped hindered captain$_{DAT}$ captain$_{ACC}$ save.oneself$_{INF}$
'We helped/hindered the captain to save herself.'

[16] I remain agnostic regarding whether dative case on applied objects shall be treated as structural or inherent. In the first case, it could be said that the Appl head assigns dative in the Spec-Head configuration; see Koopman's (2006) suggestion that Spec-Head relations co-exist with downward Agree. In the second case, this dative could be compared to the inherent ergative arguably assigned by v to the external argument introduced in Spec, vP; see, among others, Legate 2002 and Aldridge 2004.

(26) b. My pomogli/pomešali prodaže /*prodažu zontov.
we helped hindered selling$_{DAT}$ selling$_{ACC}$ umbrellas$_{GEN}$
'We helped/hindered the selling of umbrellas.'

In a low applicative phrase, the applicative head is a predicate that takes the Theme DP and the Goal DP as its arguments and establishes the "to-the-possession" relation between them (Pylkkänen 2008). Hence, low applicativization is not possible in the absence of another internal argument, as opposed to high applicativization, which works well with unergative verbs. This is illustrated below for low applicatives in English, (27a), and high applicatives in Luganda, (27b).

(27) a. *John walked him.

b. Mukasa ya-tambu-le-dde Katonga.
Mukasa 3SG.PST-walk-APPL.PST Katonga
'Mukasa walked for Katonga.' (Pylkkänen 2008: 20)

Under the assumption that *pomoč'* and *pomešat'* are ditransitive verbs that embed a low ApplP with the Goal merged in its specifier position, the question arises as to what occupies the lower complement position. One might suggest that the embedded clause is combined directly with the applicative head, as in (28).

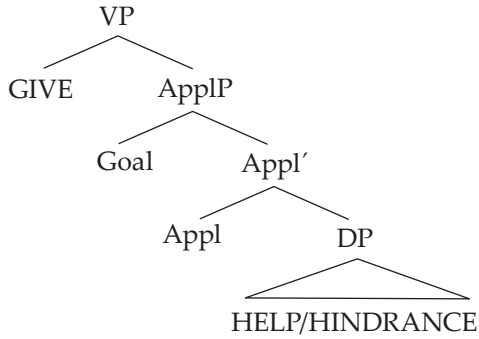
(28) [$_{VP}$ V [$_{ApplP}$ Goal [$_{Appl'}$ Appl [$_{CP/FinP}$ …]]]]

However, such an analysis would run into the following problems. As shown in §2, the infinitival clause with a controlled PRO subject is a property. In principle, it can be predicated of the Goal, but it cannot be used as an argument of the applicative head. As for the embedded infinitival clause with an overt subject, although as a fully saturated CP it would be fitting as an argument, placing it in the complement position of the Appl head would require an explanation for its incompatibility with a [+sentient] Goal (§2). In addition to this, recall that embedded infinitival clauses in sentences with *pomoč'* or *pomešat'* are optional and can easily be omitted, (16). This is unexpected for clausal arguments with a specific thematic role; cf. sentences with a matrix mandative/implicative verb, where the clausal dependent is obligatory, (16a).

With these considerations in mind, I propose instead that the complement position of the applicative head is occupied by a nominal phrase headed by the silent abstract noun HELP/HINDRANCE. Thus, *pomoč'* 'help' is decom-

posed into 'GIVE someone HELP' and *pomešat'* 'hinder' is decomposed into 'GIVE someone HINDRANCE', as schematized in (29).[17]

(29)



The obligatory phonological silence of the H-head, as evidenced by the ungrammaticality of (30a), is expected under the assumption that the head is combined with the matrix V via head movement/incorporation and that the lexical items *pomoč'* and *pomešat'* are inserted post-syntactically instead of the [GIVE + H] combination. The structure outlined in (29) brings together *pomoč'*/*pomešat'* sentences and the synonymous expressions with a verb of transfer and the overt nouns *pomošč'* 'help' and *pomexa/prepjatstvie* 'hindrance', exemplified in (30b–c).

(30) a. Maša pomogla mne (*pomošč').
Masha helped I_{DAT} $help_{ACC}$
'Masha helped me.'

b. Maša okazala mne *(pomošč').
Masha provided I_{DAT} $help_{ACC}$
'Masha provided me help.'

c. Voditel' inomarki okazal pomexu dviženiju.
driver $foreign.car_{GEN}$ gave $hindrance_{ACC}$ $traffic_{DAT}$
'The driver of the foreign car hindered the traffic.'

The ditransitive analysis put forward in this paper can further be extended to other ditransitive constructions with a meaning similar to 'help', such as *dat' šans/vozmožnost'* 'give a chance/opportunity' in (31), which, to the best of my knowledge, have so far been overlooked in the literature on control.

[17] While I believe that they share the general properties, I do not claim that the "hidden" lexical items in (29) are identical to the verb *dat'* 'give' and the nouns *pomošč'* 'help' and *pomexa* 'hindrance'.

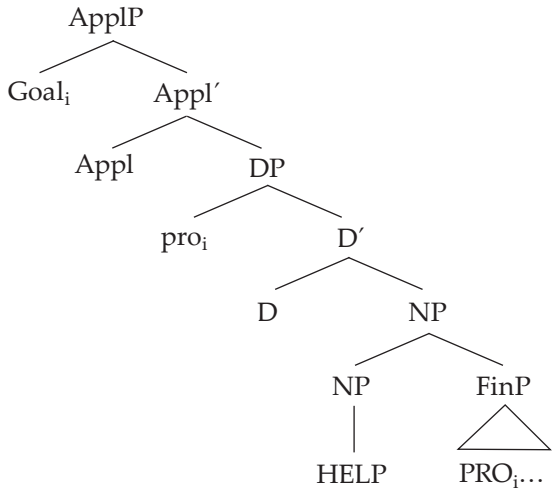
(31) a. Maša dala mne šans /vozmožnost' (sdat' ékzamen).
Masha gave I_{DAT} $chance_{ACC}$ $opportunity_{ACC}$ $pass_{INF}$ exam
'Masha gave me a chance/opportunity to pass the exam.

b. [$_{VP}$ *dat'* [$_{ApplP}$ Goal [$_{Appl'}$ Appl [$_{DP}$ *šans*]]]]
DAT

3.4. Infinitival Clause: A Matrix Argument or an Embedded Modifier

In the previous section, I have noted that the embedded infinitival clause with a controlled PRO subject cannot be used as an argument. Instead, I propose that it is a modifier within the NP headed by the H-noun, (32). The infinitival clause with a DP subject, on the contrary, should be analyzed as an argument of the applicative head, the $Goal_{Situation}$ (§4.2).

(32)



From a cross-linguistic perspective, the idea that a dependent clause is embedded within a nominal phrase headed by a silent element is not novel. On the one hand, there are multiple approaches that postulate the presence of a DP layer on top of the embedded CP in the subject/object position, (33a); see Roussou 1991, Farudi 2007, Hartman 2012, Kastner 2015, and Knyazev 2016. On the other hand, more complex analyses whereby the clause is embedded within a DP with a silent lexical N head, (33b), have been proposed by Lees (1965), Aygen (2002), and Maki and Uchibori (2008), to name a few. It has also been argued that at least some clauses embedded in NPs are modifiers and not complements, (33c); see Stowell 1981 and more recent discussions in Kratzer 2006 and Moulton 2009.

(33) a. $[_{DP}\ D_{Ø}\ [_{CP}\ \ldots\ ]]$
b. $[_{DP}\ D\ [_{NP}\ N_{Ø}\ [_{CP}\ \ldots\ ]]]$
c. $[_{DP}\ D\ [_{NP}\ [_{CP}\ \ldots]\ [_{NP}\ N_{Ø}]]]$

I provide additional support for the analysis in (32) in §4. Section 4.1 compares the controlled infinitival clauses to *in*-PPs that co-occur with *pomoč'* and *pomešat'* and discusses predicative control into adjuncts, while section 4.2 focuses on eventive Goals: deverbal event nominals, infinitival clauses with overt DP subjects, and most importantly, *čtoby*-clauses.

4. *Pomoč'* and *pomešat'* and Other Dependents

4.1. Modifiers of the H-Noun

4.1.1. Clausal and PP Adjuncts

In §3 I argued that sentences with *pomoč'* and *pomešat'* involve an abstract GIVE predicate plus a direct object (the H-NP) and an indirect object (the Goal). I further proposed that the controlled infinitival clause is merged as a modifier within the H-NP.[18]

This analysis straightforwardly accounts for the optionality of the non-finite clause, (34a). Importantly, note that the clausal adjunct can be substituted by a PP headed by the preposition *v* 'in' and including an eventive nominal (*in*-PP), as illustrated in (34b) on the following page; the two dependents can also be coordinated, (34c).

[18] One might argue that the embedded clause in such cases should be opaque for subextraction, due to the Complex NP Constraint (Ross 1967); as shown in (i), A-bar movement is allowed at least by some speakers.

(i) %[K čemu]$_i$ vy pomogli rebenku vse vmeste [adaptirovat'sja t_i]?
to what you$_{PL}$ helped child$_{DAT}$ all together adapt$_{INF}$
'What did you all together help the child to adapt to?'

At this point, I do not have an explanation for this fact. However, it is important to mention that clauses embedded in a nominal phrase can occasionally remain transparent (den Dikken 2017). In (iib) specifically, *make the claim* is a collocation semantically equivalent to *claim*, similarly to how in (i) the underlying GIVE + HELP morphs into 'help'.

(ii) a. this is a paper that we need to find someone who understands
b. ?Who did you make the claim that Bill had talked to?

(34) a. Rosturizm pomog agentstvam (prodavat' tury v Egipet).
Rostourism helped agencies$_{DAT}$ sell$_{INF}$ tours into Egypt
'Rostourism helped the agencies to sell tours to Egypt.'

b. Rosturizm pomog agentstvam v prodaže turov
Rostourism helped agencies$_{DAT}$ in sale$_{PREP}$ tours$_{GEN}$
v Egipet.
into Egypt
'Rostourism helped the agencies to sell tours to Egypt.'

c. %Maša pomogla Pete pozdravit' Svetu
Masha helped Petja$_{DAT}$ congratulate$_{INF}$ Sveta$_{ACC}$
*(i) v poiske podarka.
and in search$_{PREP}$ present
'Masha helped Petja to congratulate Sveta and to search for a present.'

PPs are notorious for denoting properties and being modifiers/predicates (den Dikken 1995). Other examples of infinitival clause/PP alternation are found in Russian; consider, for instance, purpose adjuncts in (35).

(35) a. Ja vzjal sto rublej čtoby kupit' knigu.
I took hundred rubles so.that buy$_{INF}$ book$_{ACC}$
'I took one hundred rubles to buy a book.'

b. Ja vzjal sto rublej dlja pokupki knigi.
I took hundred rubles for buying$_{GEN}$ book$_{GEN}$
'I took one hundred rubles to buy a book.'

The *in*-PPs in examples such as (34b) differ from ordinary PP adjuncts of the main verb. First, PP modifiers of lexical verbs typically can be stranded when the verbal phrase is dislocated.[19]

(36) [Pomogat' studentam]$_i$ Marina budet t_i [na ékzamene] SAMA.
help$_{INF}$ students$_{DAT}$ Marina will on exam herself
'Marina will HERSELF help the students at the exam.'

In contrast, the *in*-PPs under consideration must move together with the VP, (37). As shown in (38), the same restriction applies to direct objects and PP

[19] In Russian a constituent at the right edge of a clause can often be interpreted as a focus, which obstructs the comparison. Because of this, I added an independent right focus constituent to the examples in (37) and (38).

modifiers of direct objects in ditransitive constructions. The parallelism is expected under the assumption that the *in*-PP in (37) is embedded into a Theme H-NP but is difficult to explain otherwise.

(37) *[Pomogat' studentam] Marina budet [v poiske podarka]
help$_{INF}$ Petja$_{DAT}$ Marina will in search$_{PREP}$ present$_{GEN}$
SAMA.
herself

(38) a. *[Otpravljat' studentam t_i] Marina budet [granty na
send$_{INF}$ students$_{DAT}$ Marina will grants$_{ACC}$ on
issledovanija]$_i$ SAMA.
research herself

b. *[Davat' studentam [knižki t_i]] Marina budet
give$_{INF}$ students$_{DAT}$ books$_{ACC}$ Marina will
[o prirode]$_i$ SAMA.
about nature herself

Second, unlike ordinary verbal modifiers, for instance, a *for*-PP in (39a) or a locative PP in (39b), the *in*-PPs under consideration can contain a reciprocal pronoun bound by the Goal, as in (39c), which indicates that they are c-commanded by the latter.[20]

(39) a. *Marina pomogla/pomešala mal'čikam$_i$ [**radi** drug druga$_i$].
Marina helped hindered boys$_{DAT}$ for each other

b. ??Marina pomogla/pomešala mal'čikam$_i$ [**na** vystuplenijax
Marina helped hindered boys$_{DAT}$ at performances
drug druga$_i$].
each other
Intended: 'Marina helped/hindered the boys at each other's performances.'

c. Marina pomogla/pomešala mal'čikam$_i$ [**v** poiske
Marina helped hindered boys$_{DAT}$ in search$_{PREP}$
drug druga$_i$].
each other
'Marina helped/prevented the boys to search for each other.'

[20] A reviewer suggested that (39b) sounded better than (39c). I elicited this example with nine native speakers of Russian: three marked it as marginal and six as unacceptable.

These two properties indicate that the *in*-PPs are merged lower in the structure than ordinary prepositional adjuncts, which is captured by the proposed analysis. The binding facts in (39) are unsurprising if the Goal c-commands the whole H-NP, and stranding the PP is not allowed in (37) because it would require breaking the applicative phrase into two parts.

A remaining concern is how obligatory control is established between the Goal in Spec, ApplP and the PRO subject in the embedded adjunct clause. Most work on control focuses on clausal arguments of verbal predicates, and the analysis proposed in this paper faces the following two challenges. First, the controlled clause is an adjunct. Second, the controlled clause is embedded in an NP, while the controller is seemingly located higher in the sentence; yet predication relation must be established between the two. The next section addresses these issues. I begin by showing that the first concern is unsubstantial and proceed by proposing a solution for the second problem.

4.1.2. Control into Adjuncts

That non-finite adjunct clauses allow obligatory control was already shown by Clark (1990) and E. Williams (1992), and has most recently been discussed by Landau (2017), who divides non-finite clausal adjuncts into predicative and logophoric, in parallel to clausal complements. Examples of predicative adjuncts in English are given in (40).

(40) a. John$_i$ excelled [in order PRO$_i$ to find a new job].
– obligatory control

b. *John$_i$ excelled [in order PRO$_{arb}$ to admire him$_i$].
– non-obligatory control prohibited (Landau 2017: 6)

The obligatory control adjuncts in (40/41a) have the structure identical to that of predicative complements, (41b), and get predicated of a matrix argument in the same manner as depictive secondary predicates.

(41) a. [$_{PP}$ *before/in order* [$_{FinP}$ PRO$_i$ Fin [$_{TP}$ t$_i$ …]]]

b. [$_{VP}$ *force/compel* [$_{SC}$ DP$_i$ [$_{Rel'}$ Rel [$_{FinP}$ PRO$_i$ Fin [$_{TP}$ t$_i$ …]]]]]

However, in the case of the sentences with *pomoč'* or *pomešat'* analyzed as proposed in (32), it is questionable whether a modifier embedded in the H-NP can serve as a secondary predicate to the matrix Goal, since predication is an inherently local relation (Rothstein 1991). As a solution for this problem, I propose that the H-NP contains an implicit possessor (*pro*), obligatorily coreferent with the Goal. Predication is established locally between the *pro* and the

modifier FinP; the same mechanism is at work, for example, in 'give a chance' sentences, as in (42) below.

(42) a. $[_{\text{ApplP}}\ \text{Goal}_i\ [_{\text{Appl'}}\ \text{Appl}\ [_{\text{DP}}\ \underbrace{\text{pro}_i\ [_{\text{D'}}\ \text{D}\ [_{\text{NP}}\ [_{\text{NP}}\ \text{HELP/HINDRANCE}]\ [_{\text{FinP}}\ \text{PRO}_i\ \ldots]]]]]]}_{\text{predication}}$

b. Maša dala mne šans sdat' ékzamen.
Masha gave I_{DAT} chance pass_{INF} exam
'Masha gave me a chance to pass the exam.'

Support for the syntactic presence of implicit possessors in DPs come from the fact that they are generally visible for binding (E. Williams 1985, 1987; Chomsky 1986) and control (Roeper 1987).

(43) a. They_i told [pro_i stories about each other_i].
b. *They_i told [my stories about each other_i].
c. the pro_i destruction of the boat [PRO_i to collect the insurance]
d. *the boat's destruction [PRO to collect the insurance]

Sichel (2010) provides support for silent possessors being *pro*'s.[21] Among other arguments, she points out that implicit possessors allow non-c-commanding antecedents, in the same way as overt pronouns.

(44) [John's$_i$ mother]$_j$ was committed to [the $pro_{i/j}$ refusal [$\text{PRO}_{i/j}$ to jeopardize himself/herself]].

Implicit possessors in Russian exhibit similar behavior; see Burukina 2014 for a detailed discussion. They are often flexible when choosing the antecedent, which becomes noticeable when control is involved, as in (45), similarly to (44).

[21] As was pointed out by a reviewer, analyzing implicit possessors as *pro*'s gives rise to an important question regarding the inventory and distribution of silent pronouns in a given language. In Russian, implicit possessors can have a first-, second-, or third-person antecedent: *Ja/ty/ona*$_i$ *pozvonila* [pro_i *mame*] 'I/you/she called my/your/her mom'. In contrast, *pro*-drop in a clause is restricted; for instance, Tsedryk (2015) argues that only third-person *pro* subjects are allowed, while occasional examples of a silent first- or second-person subject shall be treated as topic-drop/ellipsis. The same problem appears in English (Sichel 2010), a famously non-*pro*-drop language. I do not have an immediate solution for it, but I believe that an answer can be found in closer examination of the differences between verbal and nominal domains.

(45) a. Ja$_i$ obradovalsja [*pro*$_i$ šansu [PRO$_i$ kupit' sebe$_i$/
I rejoiced chance$_{DAT}$ buy self
*drug drugu konfet]].
each other candies
'I rejoiced at the chance to buy myself candies.'

b. Ja$_k$ obradovalsja [našemu$_i$ šansu [PRO$_{i/*k}$ kupit'
I rejoiced our chance$_{DAT}$ buy
sebe$_{i/*k}$/drug drugu$_i$ konfet]].
self each other candies
'I rejoiced at our chance to buy ourselves/each other candies.'

c. [Petina$_i$ mama]$_k$ obradovalas' [*pro*$_{i/k}$/jego$_i$ šansu
Petja$_{POSS}$ mother rejoiced his chance$_{DAT}$
[PRO$_{i/k}$ sdat' ékzamen]].
pass$_{INF}$ exam
'Petja's mother rejoiced at her/his chance to pass the exam.'

On the one hand, as shown in (45), both overt and covert possessors in Russian can establish control into a non-finite adjunct clause; a similar observation has been made by Douglas (2019) based on the behavior of infinitival relatives in English, as in *This is John's book to read*. On the other hand, *pro* is visible as a subject of predication, as evidenced in examples with a depictive secondary predicate:

(46) a. Ja skazal, čto *pro*$_i$ pojdu tuda pjanym$_i$.
I said that go there drunk$_{INST}$
'I said that I would go there drunk.'

b. U menja est' [*pro*$_i$ fotografii pjanym$_i$].
at me exist photos drunk$_{INST}$
'I have my photos where I am drunk.'

Thus, implicit *pro* possessors can saturate a local syntactic predicate. In *pomoč'/pomešat'* sentences and 'give a chance' constructions, the *pro* serves as the subject for the adjunct FinP and determines the value of the embedded PRO variable, (42a).

As mentioned above, implicit possessors usually do not impose severe restrictions on a potential antecedent. However, recall that in *pomoč'/pomešat'* sentences no partial or split control between the Goal and the embedded PRO is allowed; see (23) on p. 170. I propose that those are ruled out because the applicative head establishes the "to-the-possession" relation between the ap-

plied object and the lower argument;[22] by extension, the embedded implicit possessor (*pro*), when present, must have the exact same reference as the DP in Spec, ApplP (the Goal). That the coreference between the embedded possessor and the matrix Goal in this particular configuration is obligatory is also evident in 'give a chance'-type examples, where the possessor can be overt, as in (47).

(47) Ja dala tebe$_i$ *pro*$_{i/*k}$/tvoj/*moj/*ego šans sdat' ékzamen.
I gave you$_{DAT}$ your my his chance pass$_{INF}$ exam
Only: 'I gave you your chance to pass the exam.'

One piece of data remains to be discussed. This section has focused on sentences with *pomoč'* or *pomešat'* and an embedded property-type non-finite clause with a controlled subject. In §2 I demonstrated that *pomoč'* and *pomešat'* can also appear together with a fully saturated non-finite clause with an overt referential subject and that this dependent is incompatible with a [+sentient] dative Goal. To account for this, I propose that the clausal argument and the animate DP compete for the Goal position; additional support comes from the distribution of other argument dependents: eventive DPs and subjunctive clauses.

4.2. Eventive Goals: *Čtoby*-Clauses

In sentences with *pomoč'* or *pomešat'*, the Goal merged as an applied object denotes either a person or a situation toward which the Agent directs their efforts. The Goal$_{Situation}$ can be expressed by an eventive nominal or a fully saturated CP, subjunctive or infinitival. Under such an analysis, we expect the Goal$_{Person}$ and the Goal$_{Situation}$ to be mutually exclusive, which is true for Russian, as I demonstrate below.

Pomoč' and *pomešat'* can be combined with an eventive dative DP that refers to the situation that the Agent wants to happen (*pomoč'* 'help') or to not happen (*pomešat'* 'hinder').[23] As shown in (48) on the following page, such a DP cannot co-occur with a Goal$_{Person}$.

[22] Under the low-applicative approach, the obligatory nature of the binding is ensured by the semantics of the Appl head. Alternatively, a similar possession relation will still be entailed, potentially encoded in the main predicate GIVE or a combination of the main verb and a high Appl head (see fn. 14).

[23] Data from the Russian National Corpus demonstrate that nominal Goals$_{Situation}$ are less frequent than Goals$_{Person}$. Searching for a sequence of *pomoč'* or *pomešat'* and an inanimate dative DP returns only 12 examples with an eventive nominal and about 75 examples with a sentient Goal ('company', 'organization', etc.) among the first 100 results.

(48) Rosturizm pomog prodaže turov v Egipet.
Rostourism helped sale$_{DAT}$ tours$_{GEN}$ into Egypt
'Rostourism helped to sell tours to Egypt.'

Recall from §2 that the Goal$_{\text{Person}}$ or Goal$_{\text{Situation}}$ is also incompatible with a fully saturated non-finite clause with an overt subject, as in (17), reproduced in (49) below.

(49) a. Vrač pomog (*Pete) [rane zažit'].
doctor helped Petja$_{DAT}$ wound$_{DAT}$ heal$_{INF}$
'The doctor helped for the wound to heal.'

b. Zima pomešala (*stroitel'stvu) [zdaniju byt'
winter hindered construction$_{DAT}$ building$_{DAT}$ be$_{INF}$
dostroennym].
complete$_{PTCP}$
'Winter prevented the building from being constructed.'

The restriction holds for embedded subjunctive clauses as well. The embedded clause should be analyzed as an argument in the absence of a [+sentient] Goal, (50a). Whenever the Goal DP is present, the subjunctive clause must be interpreted as a purpose adjunct, (50b–c).

(50) a. Maša pomogla, [čtoby Anna sdala ékzamen].
Masha helped so.that Anna pass$_{SUBJ}$ exam
'Masha helped Anna to pass the exam.'

b. Maša pomogla **Pete**, [čtoby on sdal ékzamen].
Masha helped Petja$_{DAT}$ so.that he pass$_{SUBJ}$ exam
'Masha helped Petja, so that he would pass the exam.'

c. Maša pomogla **Svete** den'gami, [čtoby Petja sdal
Masha helped Sveta$_{DAT}$ money$_{INST}$ so.that Petja pass$_{SUBJ}$
ékzamen].
exam
'Masha helped Sveta with money, so that Petja would pass the exam.'

Although in affirmative sentences the interpretational difference between an argument subjunctive clause and a purpose clause is often subtle, it becomes more evident when the matrix predicate is negated. In general, clausal argu-

ments fall under the scope of the sentential negation, while clausal purpose adjuncts do not, e.g., (51a) vs. (51b).

(51) a. Clausal arguments

Petja ne xotel, [čtoby Maša obidelas']. NEG > čtoby
Petja NEG wanted so.that Masha get.hurt$_{SUBJ}$

'Petja did not want for Masha to get hurt.'

b. Clausal adjuncts

Petja ne zvonil, [čtoby Maša obidelas']. čtoby > NEG
Petja NEG called so.that Masha get.hurt$_{SUBJ}$

'Petja did not call so that Masha would get hurt.' (Petja wanted her to get hurt.)

Compare now (52a) and (52b) below, both involving the verb *pomoč'* and a subjunctive clause. On the one hand, in (52a), where there is no dative DP in the main clause, the *čtoby*-clause is interpreted as an argument, and we infer from the sentence that Marina did not help Anna to pass the exam, because she was not interested in Anna's success. The purpose reading—Marina wanted Anna to succeed at the exam and that is why she deliberately refrained from doing something unmentioned—is not available. On the other hand, the embedded clause in (52b), used together with a dative Goal, allows only a purpose reading. Similar examples where the subjunctive clause would be interpreted as a Goal$_{Situation}$ are not found in corpora (including the Russian National Corpus) or online by Google search.

(52) a. Marina ne pomogla, [čtoby Anna sdala NEG > čtoby
Marina NEG helped so.that Anna pass$_{SUBJ}$
ékzamen].
exam

'Marina did not help Anna to pass the exam.' (Marina was not interested in Anna passing the exam.)
Not available: 'Marina did not help with something, so that Anna would pass the exam.'

b. ?Marina ne pomogla Anne$_i$, [čtoby ona$_i$ čtoby > NEG
Marina NEG helped Anna$_{DAT}$ so.that she
sdala ékzamen].
pass$_{SUBJ}$ exam

'Marina did not help Anna, so that she could pass the exam.'
Not available: 'Marina did not help Anna to pass the exam.'

Adjunct clauses are islands opaque for A-bar movement (as per Huang's 1982 Condition on Extraction Domain), and argument clauses are usually transparent for subextraction. Considering this restriction, a subjunctive clause embedded under *pomoč'* 'help', in the absence of a dative DP, patterns with complement clauses, such as the *čtoby*-dependents of *xotet'* 'want'—(53a) and (54a)—while a subjunctive clause used together with a dative DP behaves as an adjunct—(53b) and (54b–c).

(53) a. Clausal arguments

Kuda$_i$ Maša xotela, [čtoby Petja postupil t_i]?
where Masha wanted so.that Petja enter$_{SUBJ}$

'Where did Masha want for Petja to get accepted?'

b. Clausal adjuncts

*Kuda$_i$ Maša zaplatila, čtoby Petja postupil t_i?
where Masha paid so.that Petja enter$_{SUBJ}$

(54) a. Kuda$_i$ Maša pomogla, [čtoby Petja postupil t_i]?
where Masha helped so.that Petja enter$_{SUBJ}$

'Where did Masha help Petja to get accepted?'

b. ?*Kuda$_i$ Maša pomogla Pete, [čtoby on postupil t_i]?
where Masha helped Petja$_{DAT}$ so.that he enter$_{SUBJ}$

c. *Kuda$_i$ Maša pomogla Svete den'gami, [čtoby Petja postupil t_i].
where Masha helped Sveta$_{DAT}$ money$_{INST}$ so.that Petja enter$_{SUBJ}$

Additionally, clausal arguments resist being fronted and normally follow the predicate, as shown in (55). An adjunct purpose clause, on the contrary, can be linearized at the right or left edge of the sentence, as in (56) below.

(55) Clausal arguments

?*[Čtoby Petja postupil v vuz], Maša xotela.
so.that Petja enter$_{SUBJ}$ into university Masha wanted

(56) Clausal adjuncts

a. Maša zaplatila, [čtoby Petja postupil v vuz].
Masha paid so.that Petja enter$_{SUBJ}$ into university

'Masha paid so that Petja would get accepted into a university.'

(56) b. [Čtoby Petja postupil v vuz], Maša zaplatila.
so.that Petja enter$_{SUBJ}$ into university Masha paid
'Masha paid so that Petja would get accepted into a university.'

As shown in (57), there is a strong contrast between *pomoč'/pomešat'* sentences with and without a dative DP: the subjunctive clause can appear at the left edge in the former, (57a), but not in the latter, (57b).

(57) a. [Čtoby Petja$_i$ postupil v vuz], Maša pomogla **emu**$_i$.
so.that Petja enter$_{SUBJ}$ into university Masha helped he$_{DAT}$
'Masha helped Petja so that he would get accepted into a university.'

b. *[Čtoby Petja postupil v vuz], Maša pomogla.
so.that Petja enter$_{SUBJ}$ into university Masha helped

The data discussed above show that the dative Goal DP and the subjunctive argument clause cannot co-occur in a sentence with *pomoč'* or *pomešat'*. Such complementarity is unusual among the Russian verbs with two arguments, one of which is nominal and the other is clausal, as in (58) below.

(58) a. Maša ne zastavljala Marinu, *(čtoby ona ušla).
Masha NEG forced Marina$_{ACC}$ so.that she leave$_{SUBJ}$
'Masha did not force Marina to leave.'

b. Maša ne velela Marine, *(čtoby ona uxodila).
Masha NEG ordered Marina$_{DAT}$ so.that she leave$_{SUBJ}$
'Masha did not order Marina to leave.'

The restriction is straightforwardly accounted for under the assumption that, in *pomoč'/pomešat'* constructions, the dative DP and the embedded subjunctive clause compete for the same argument position. The [+sentient]/eventive alternation should not surprise us; a well-known example is the Agent/Cause alternation common for many transitive verbs, illustrated in (59).

(59) a. John/Listening to so many podcasts will kill/upset her.

b. Ja obradovalsja Maše / poezdke / [čto Petja prišel].
I rejoiced Masha$_{DAT}$ trip$_{DAT}$ that Petja came
'Masha/The trip/That Petja had come made me happy.'

That a clausal argument can occupy the specifier position is also attested across the world's languages. Alternatively, it can be proposed that a silent

proleptic pronoun is merged instead of an applied object, while the clause linked to it is in a peripheral position. Russian examples that can potentially be analyzed as involving clausal prolepsis with a null proform are given in (60); note, however, there is no general consensus in the literature regarding the exact structure of such sentences. At this point, I remain agnostic about which of the two analyses—direct merge or prolepsis—is the correct one and leave this issue open for future research.

(60) a. Čtoby ty prišel bylo predloženo ešče včera.
so.that you come$_{SUBJ}$ was offered already yesterday
'Already yesterday it was offered that you should come.'

b. Ešče včera bylo predloženo čtoby ty prišel.
already yesterday was offered so.that you come$_{SUBJ}$
'Already yesterday it was offered that you should come.'

5. Concluding Remarks

This paper considered sentences with the verbs *pomoč'* 'help' and *pomešat'* 'hinder' in Russian. I presented novel data to demonstrate that, although these predicates frequently embed a non-finite clause with a PRO subject and are usually listed among object control verbs, they appear in various syntactic contexts and can also combine with saturated non-finite clauses, subjunctive clauses, prepositional phrases, and eventive DPs. The possible dependents fall into two categories: arguments (DPs and saturated clauses) and properties (PPs and controlled clauses). The arguments are mutually exclusive; for instance, a dative DP and a subjunctive clause interpreted as a Goal cannot co-occur. The properties are optional and are often omitted, which is also unusual for control predicates.

To account for this peculiar behavior, I argued that *pomoč'* and *pomešat'* are, in essence, ditransitive, similarly to 'give' or 'send'; they require a Goal (a person or a situation that will be helped/hindered) and a Theme headed by a silent noun HELP/HINDRANCE. A saturated clausal dependent (that is, a *čtoby*-clause or an infinitival clause with an overt subject), when present, should be analyzed as a Goal. A property-type dependent, such as a controlled infinitive or an *in*-PP, is merged as a modifier within the Theme NP.

The proposed decomposition approach is beneficial from an empirical point of view as it straightforwardly accounts for all the peculiar properties of *pomoč'* and *pomešat'* that would pose a problem for an alternative account, for instance, the one whereby these verbs directly select one internal argument, a Goal. First, these verbs appear with a wide range of dependents, each of which is optional. Furthermore, the distribution of some of these dependents—con-

trolled infinitival clauses and *in*-PPs—turns out to be more restricted than that of usual complements/adjuncts of a main verb. The decomposition analysis allows us to model the dependents as either arguments (in complementary distribution with each other) or as modifiers embedded into an argument, thus better capturing their behavior.

Second, when *pomoč'* or *pomešat'* appears with a DP argument, the latter is marked dative; this is unusual for dyadic verbs, which usually take an accusative direct object. However, the decomposition approach resolves the issue. *Pomoč'* and *pomešat'* are not transitive but ditransitive verbs of the *give*-type; the direct object is headed by a null N, and the Goal of helping/preventing, similarly to all other Goals, is an indirect object, hence dative. This matches the semantics of these predicates: 'to help/hinder someone' is literally 'to give them help/hindrance'. Although in this paper I discussed only the translation equivalents of 'help' and 'prevent' in Russian, I believe that the proposed analysis can be adopted to other languages with little modification (for instance, a given language may prohibit prolepsis with subjunctive clauses or not have means to license overt subjects of infinitives, and thus clausal Goals will be restricted). Consider examples in (61) showing that 'help' and 'prevent' in various Slavic languages have very similar distribution.

(61) a. Piotr pomógł Iwan**owi** [zdobyć nagrodę]/ (Polish)
Piotr helped Iwan$_{DAT}$ get$_{INF}$ prize
[w zdobyciu nagrody].
in getting prize
'Piotr helped Iwan to get the prize/in getting the prize.'

b. Petr pomohl Ivan**ovi** [získat cenu]. (Czech)
Petr helped Ivan$_{DAT}$ get$_{INF}$ prize
'Petr helped Ivan to get the prize.'

c. Maria pomogna **na** Petăr [da spečeli (Bulgarian)
Maria helped **to** Petar CMPL win$_{PRS.3SG}$
nagradata] / [za spečelvaneto na nagradata].
prize$_{DEF}$ for winning$_{DEF}$ of prize$_{DEF}$
'Maria helped Petar to win the prize/in winning the prize.'

The decomposition analysis has another advantage, from a theoretical point of view, as it brings together various clause-embedding constructions and allows us to draw a parallel between sentences with *pomoč'/pomešat'* and other verbs with a dative dependent. Consider, for instance, structures for 'help'/'prevent' (62a), mandatives (62b) (as per Burukina 2019, 2020), and verbs of communication (62c). All these verbs share a ditransitive structure with a low applicative phrase, which explains, among other things, the presence of

dative case. The differences between the constructions follow from the nature of the Theme argument.

(62) a. [$_{VP}$ GIVE [$_{ApplP}$ Goal [$_{Appl'}$ Appl [$_{DP}$ HELP/HINDRANCE]]]]
b. [$_{VP}$ SAY [$_{ApplP}$ Goal [$_{Appl'}$ Appl [$_{ModP}$ deontic modal …]]]]
c. [$_{VP}$ *say* [$_{ApplP}$ Goal [$_{Appl'}$ Appl [$_{CP}$ *that* …]]]]

Another direction for future research is to examine the "outliers" in the class of dative control predicates, such as *obeščat'* 'promise', *kljast'sja* 'swear', *ugrožat'* 'threaten', etc., and their translation equivalents in other languages. The decomposition approach presented in this paper—i.e., analyzing these constructions as [GIVE someone PROMISE/THREAT]—may help to capture the similarities between them, including the dative case on a Goal, and account for their unique properties. For instance, these verbs are subject control predicates. Under the proposed analysis, this could be accounted for by restricting the reference of *pro* within the Theme argument, if PROMISE/THREAT are analyzed as effected objects created by the Agent. I leave this option to be considered in the future.

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