When *pro* behaves like PRO: on the distribution of Cased Control
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It is by now well established that there are two kinds of obligatory control (OC): partial control (ParC) and exhaustive control (ExC) (see Landau 2000, 2004, 2008, 2014). In this talk I argue that in Russian, Icelandic and (with some complications) European Portuguese, these two kinds of OC have distinct syntactic derivations. On the one hand there are instances of OC in which PRO shares all of the (phi and/or case) features of its controller and as such only an ExC reading is possible: these are derived by movement, along the lines argued by Hornstein (1999) and PRO is really a trace. On the other, there are contexts where PRO has its own feature specification (in terms of phi-features and/or case) and ParC then also becomes possible. These are the instances where *pro* behaves like PRO in being obligatorily controlled. In European Portuguese, the two kinds of OC involve uninflected/inflected infinitives and in Russian/Icelandic secondary predicates reveal PRO to have independent or controller-matched (inherited) Case. Crucially, although surface case/agreement patterns differ radically across these languages, the same basic pattern holds: only in instances where PRO is really *pro* with its own case is (true) ParC possible.

   I propose an analysis of these two kinds of OC in terms of phase theory. ExC is derived via movement (Hornstein 1999), but this movement is triggered by an instance of Agree [D:] associated with an EPP feature. If the goal occupies a visible and accessible position then it raises to a second thematic position and all is well. ParC results were this preliminary Agree relation takes place and the goal is visible but not accessible for movement (because of the ban on improper movement). In such cases an additional DP_j must be externally merged to receive the matrix theta-role and ParC becomes possible. This proposal makes a number of empirical predictions, regarding the interaction of A-bar movement and Control, which seem supported in as far as they can be tested. It also serves to unify the two kinds of OC as successful or failed thematic movement, sharing a number of structural properties.