Chomsky (2000, 2001) proposes the Probe-Goal hypothesis to account for structural objective Case marking (among other phenomena), maintaining that v values accusative Case of the complement of V (1). However, little has been said in the literature regarding the assignment of other Cases to object NPs under a Probe-Goal framework (2). In this paper, using data from Russian, I argue against the null hypothesis that Case variation in objective strings reflects a variation of Case that v values. Instead, I argue that oblique Case (genitive in (2)) is assigned by a more local preposition, either overt or null. My proposal makes the prediction that unaccusative structures (that lack a vP by assumption) that do not co-occur with a preposition may not assign accusative Case (3). More broadly, as prepositions are standardly assumed to assign oblique Case in Russian, this proposal provides a uniform account of oblique complements of (overt) prepositions and verbal compliments with a null preposition interceding between the verb and noun phrase. This also accounts for adjunct phrases that lack an obvious preposition and don’t appear to have a syntactic source for Case within the verb phrase.

(1) ja ždu avtobus
   1.SNG wait bus-ACC
   ‘I’m waiting for the bus’

(2) ja ždu avtobus-a
   1.SNG wait bus-GEN
   ‘I’m waiting for a bus’

(3) *ja pojdu dač-u
   1.SNG leave cottage-ACC
   ‘I will set out for the cottage’