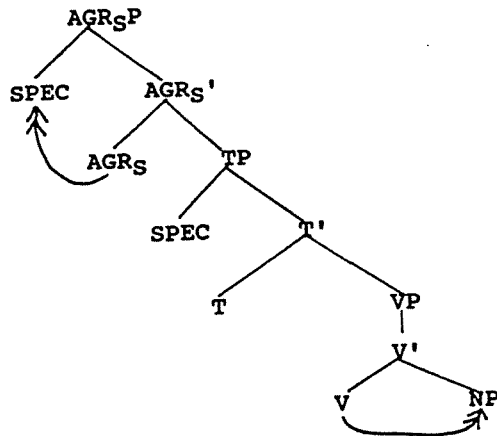# Government, Case, and the Distribution of PRO
Howard Lasnik
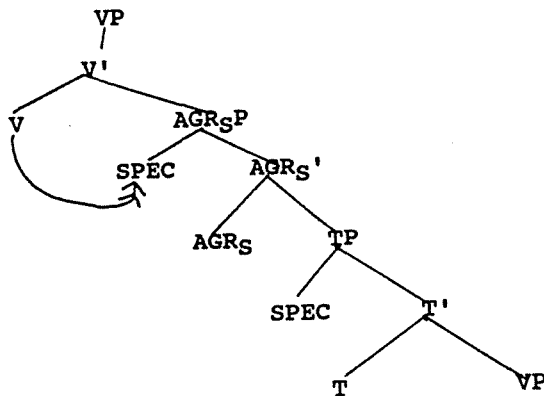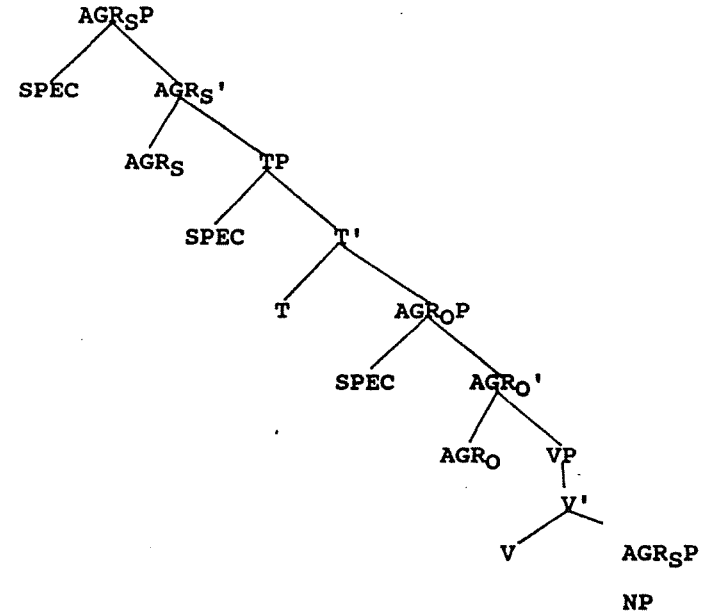### University of Connecticut

(1)   John saw Mary
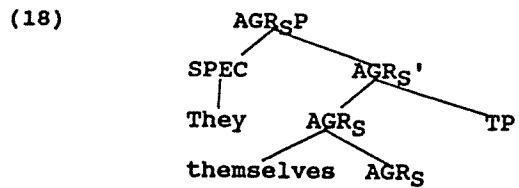
(2)

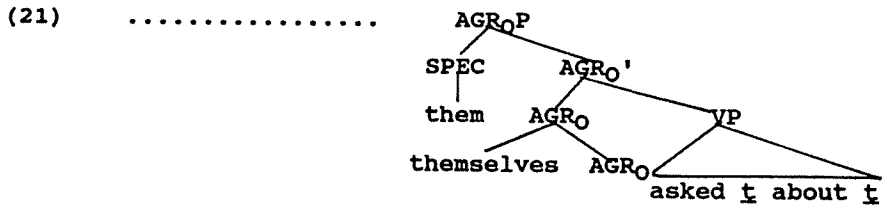(3)   John believes Mary to be intelligent

(3')

(4)

(5)   ?The DA proved [the defendants to be guilty] during each other's trials

(6)   ?The DA accused the defendants during each other's trials

(7)   ?*The DA proved [that the defendants were guilty] during each other's trials

(8)   No one saw anything

(9)   *Anyone saw nothing

(10) The DA accused none of the defendants during any of the trials

(11) ?The DA proved [none of the defendants to be guilty] during any of the trials

(12) ?*The DA proved [that none of the defendants were guilty] during any of the trials

(13) *He$_i$ thinks Bob$_i$ is a genius

(14) Condition C: An R-expression must be (A-)free.

(15) Joan believes [he$_i$ is a genius] even more fervently than Bob$_i$ does

(16) *Joan believes [him$_i$ to be a genius] even more fervently than Bob$_i$ does

(17) They injured themselves

(18)

```
            AGRₛP
           /    \
        SPEC    AGRₛ'
         |      /    \
        They  AGRₛ    TP
              /  \
      themselves  AGRₛ
```
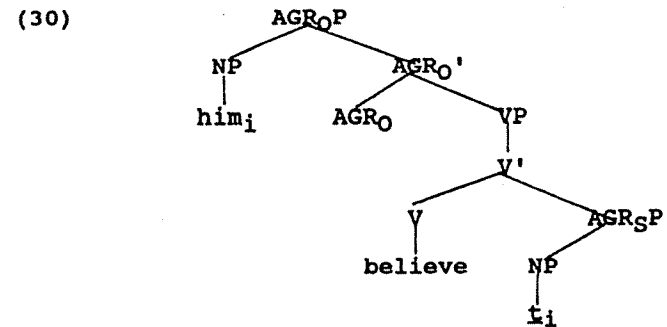
(19)   I asked them about themselves

(20)

```
·············· VP
              /    \
        themselves  VP
                   /    \
              asked them about t
```

(21)

```
·············            AGRₒP
                        /     \
                     SPEC     AGRₒ'
                      |       /    \
                     them   AGRₒ    VP
                           /  \    /   \
                   themselves AGRₒ asked t about t
```
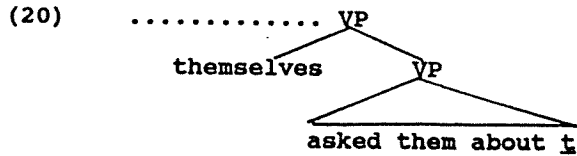
(22)   If Case is checked (only) in SPEC-head configurations with appropriate functional heads, what is the role of the notion 'government' in the theory?

(23)   A.   An anaphor must be bound in its governing category.
       B.   A pronominal must be free in its governing category.

(24)   The governing category for α is the minimal XP containing α, a governor of α, and ...

(25)   *John believes himself is clever

(26)   John himself believes [t is clever]

(27)   Might all Condition A effects reduce to constraints on the (LF) movement of an anaphor?

(28)   *Johnᵢ believes [himᵢ to be clever]

(29)   If government is not relevant to the characterization of governing category, what makes the governing category of him in (28) the matrix clause?

(30)

```
            AGRₒP
           /     \
         NP      AGRₒ'
         |       /    \
        himᵢ   AGRₒ    VP
                       |
                       V'
                      /   \
                     V     AGRₛP
                     |     /   \
                  believe NP
                          |
                          tᵢ
```

(31)   PRO must be ungoverned.
(32)   PRO must be un-Case-marked.

(33)   *It was arrested PRO
(34)   *I believe [PRO to be clever]
(35)   *My belief [PRO to be clever]

(36)   PRO must be the subject of (certain) non-finite clauses.
(37)   PRO must be Case-marked (with 'null' Case.)

(38)   John is believed [t to be noisy]
(39)   *John is preferred [t to be noisy]
(40)   John is likely [t to be noisy]
(41)   *John is illegal [t to be noisy]

(42)   John is believed [ₜₚ t to be noisy]
(43)   *John is preferred [꜀ₚ [ₜₚ t to be noisy]]

(44)   [꜀ₚ Who will [ₜₚ you see t]]

(45)   *John seems [t is crazy]
(46)   *John seems to t [that Mary is crazy]
       cf. It seems to John that Mary is crazy

(47)   *John strikes t [that Mary is crazy]
       cf. It strikes John that Mary is crazy
(47') *He strikes that Mary is crazy
(48)   *I believe [him to seem [t is crazy]]
(49)   It is rare for it to strike John that Mary is crazy
(50)   *It is rare for John to strike t that Mary is crazy
(51)   It is rare for it to seem to John that Mary is crazy
(52)   *It is rare for John to seem to t that Mary is crazy

(53)   *It is rare PRO to strike t that Mary is crazy
(54)   *It is rare PRO to seem to t that Mary is crazy

(55)   ...and [fix the car], he tried [PRO to t]
(56)   *...and [know the answer], I believe [Bill to t]
(57)   ?...and [know the answer], I want [Bill to t]

(58)   John tried to be courageous, and Mary tried to also
(59)   I want John to be courageous, and I want Mary to also

(60) ?*I believe John to be courageous, and I believe Mary to also

(61) ?*John is believed to be courageous, and Mary is believed to also

(62) ?John is likely to be courageous,and Mary is likely to also

(63) John said he was likely to solve the problem, and he is likely to

(64) *John said there was likely to be a solution, and there is likely to

(65) How likely to solve the problem is John

(66) *How likely to be a solution is there

(66') *[How likely [t to be a solution]] is there

(67) I tried very hard [PRO to leave]

(68) John told Mary$_i$ [PRO$_i$ to leave]
(69) John told Mary$_i$ about herself$_i$
(70) *John$_j$ told Mary [PRO$_j$ to leave]
(71) John$_j$ told Mary about himself$_j$

(72) Jan$_i$ opowiadał Marii$_j$ o swoim$_i$ ojcu
John telling Mary about self's father
(John was telling Mary about his father)

(73) *Jan$_i$ opowiadał Marii$_j$ o swoim$_j$ ojcu
John telling Mary about self's father
(John was telling Mary about her father)

(74) Jan$_i$ kazał Marii$_j$ [PRO$_{j/*i}$ napisać artykuł]
John told Mary write article
(John told Mary to write an article)

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