

1. Pronouns in DP [the most difficult section of this summary]

(1) Binding the non-subject of an ECM clause

- *[Bill's sister]_i considers [John to admire herself]_i].
- [Bill's sister]_i considers [John to admire her]_i].

What happens if we replace the reflexive in **Error! Reference source not found.a-b**) with a pronoun? We expect the judgments to reverse. The judgment does reverse in **Error! Reference source not found.b**). Surprisingly, the judgment does *not* reverse in **Error! Reference source not found.a**):

(2) Subject of DP and Principle B

- [Bill's sister]_i disliked [the criticism of her]_i. [compare **Error! Reference source not found.a**)]
- *[Bill's sister]_i disliked [John's criticism of her]_i. [compare **Error! Reference source not found.b**)]

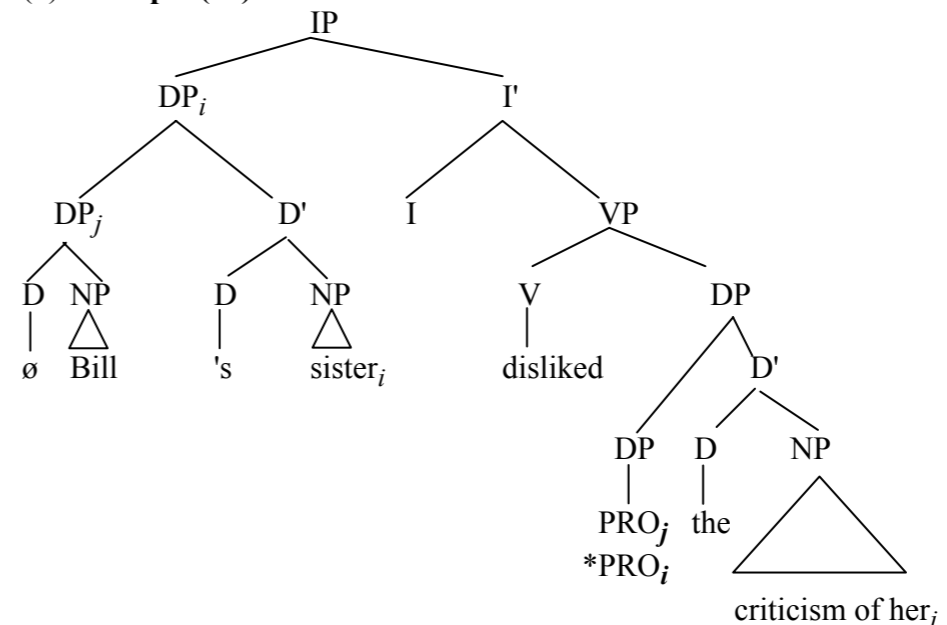
What is going on? An attractive answer comes from considering who is doing the criticizing in **Error! Reference source not found.a**) and (2a).

- In **Error! Reference source not found.a**), Bill's sister could be doing the criticizing. This is perhaps not obvious in **Error! Reference source not found.a**) as given, but try a variant like *Bill's sister disliked the criticism of herself that she was forced by the authorities to send to the newspapers*.
- In (2a), by contrast, Bill's sister *cannot* be doing the criticizing. This is true even when we try to construct a minimal pair with the variant above: **Bill's sister_i disliked the criticism of her_i that she was forced by the authorities to send to the newspapers*. Bill's sister is not doing the criticizing of herself!

We can explain these observations easily, as a consequence of Binding Theory, if we take advantage of the DP hypothesis, and posit PRO as a possible Spec,DP. Here's the story:

- Example (2a) is acceptable if the bracketed DP contains a PRO subject whose index is distinct from the index on *her*. When DP has a PRO subject, the Binding Domain for *her* will be the DP. As long as PRO and *her* are not coindexed, *her* will satisfy Principle B.

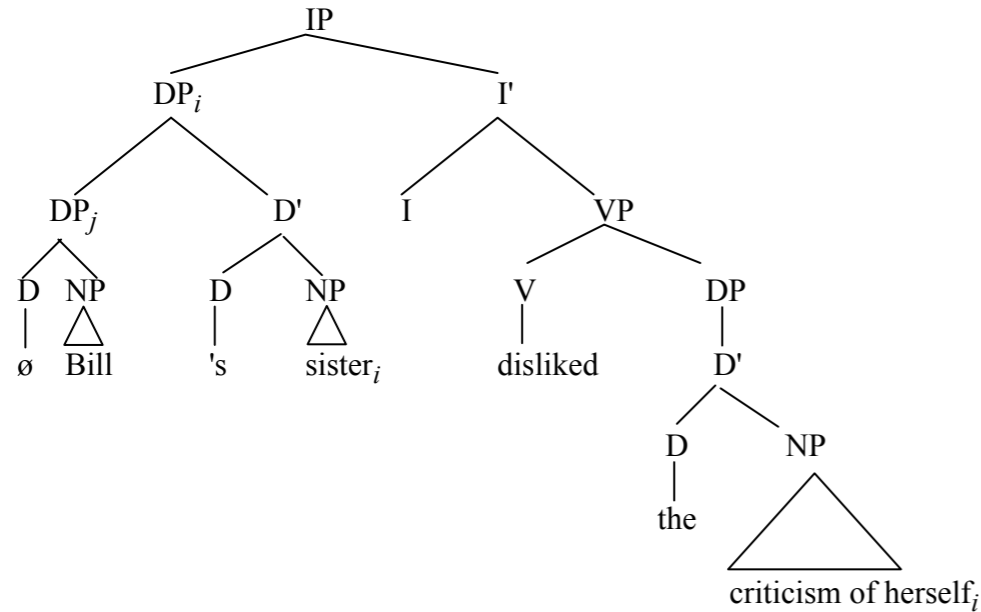
(3) Example (2a)



- But what about example **Error! Reference source not found.a**)? This example is ok if Bill's sister is doing the criticizing. But it is also ok if Bill's sister is *not* the one doing the criticizing. You might be asking the following question: "If DP always contains a PRO subject, why would **Error! Reference source not found.a**) be acceptable when someone other than Bill's sister is doing the criticizing?"

The answer is simple: DP does *not* always contain a PRO subject. Spec,DP is optional! When PRO is missing, nothing is said about who did the criticizing, and it can perfectly well be Bill's sister or anyone else. When PRO is missing, the Binding Domain for *herself* is IP rather than DP:

(4) A structure for example Error! Reference source not found.a) with no PRO in DP



At this point you should be able to figure the whole thing out for yourself. But in case you're lazy, here's the full story.

Error! Reference source not found.a) [Bill's sister]_i disliked [the criticism of herself]_i].

If DP has PRO: If PRO is controlled by *Bill's sister*, reflexive is ok.

If DP lacks PRO: The criticizer may be anyone. The reflexive is ok.¹

(2a) [Bill's sister]_i disliked [the criticism of her]_i].

If DP has PRO: If PRO is *not* controlled by *Bill's sister*, the pronoun is ok.

If DP lacks PRO: The criticizer may be anyone. The pronoun is * with index i.

2. Uncontrolled PRO

One final question. For (2a), we noted that the pronoun is ok if PRO is not controlled by *Bill's sister*. But if it is not controlled by *Bill's sister*, what is it controlled by?

In fact, though PRO is often the target of subject control or object control, in some circumstances, it gets its interpretation in other ways. For example, in (5), PRO takes as its antecedent *John* in the previous sentence. In (6), PRO is "arbitrary" -- a generic

plural interpretation often found with the pronoun *one* as in *One should never do syntax problems on an empty stomach*:

(5) What could John do? [PRO to call Mary for assistance] would be ridiculous.

(6) It is hard [PRO to do syntax problems on an empty stomach]

PRO in DP has similar properties:

(7) What could John do? [PRO_i the criticism of himself_i] had taken longer than he had anticipated.

(8) [PRO \emptyset criticism of oneself_i] is healthy in moderation.

...to be continued next week.

¹ Note that tis means that if the criticizer is understood to be *Bill's sister*, we can't tell whether there is a PRO or not -- because either way the structure satisfies Binding Theory. This is not a problem, but it would be nice to find a way to verify this observation.