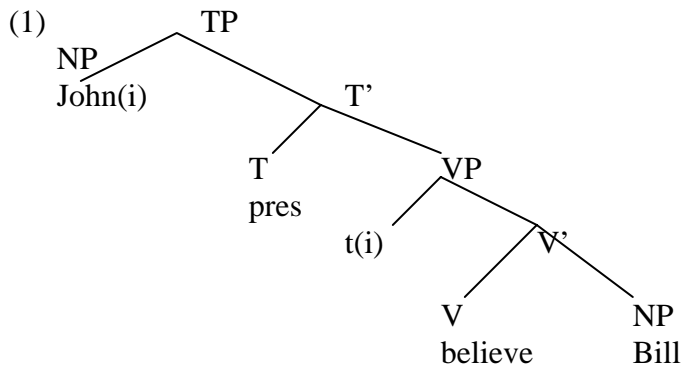


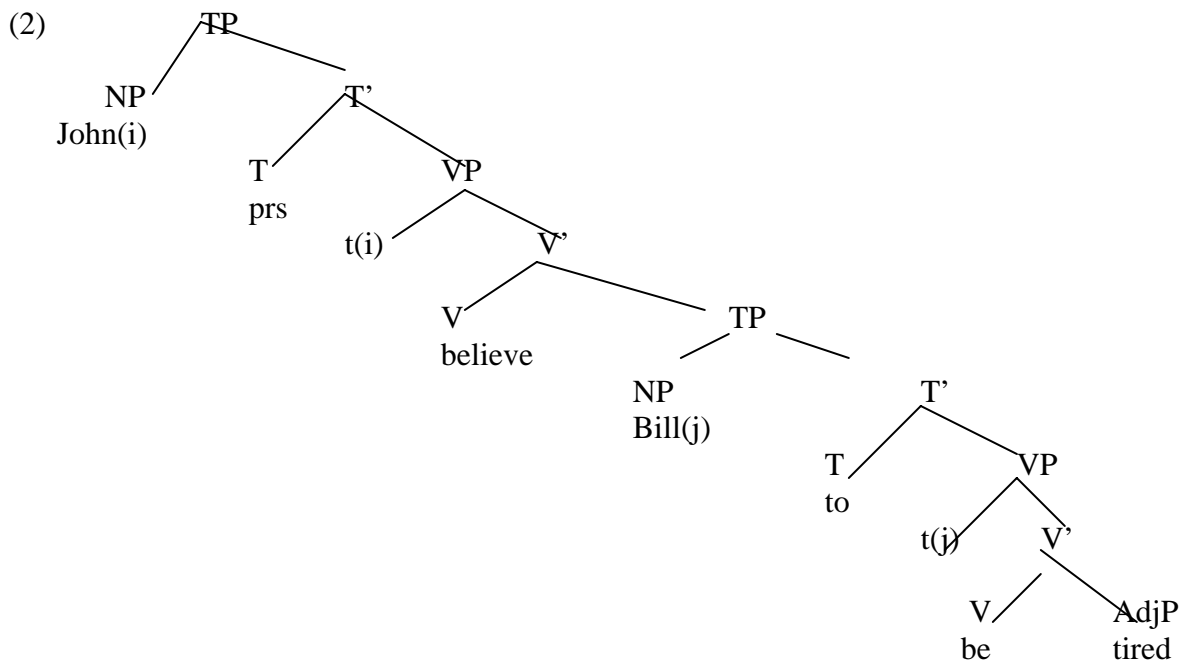
Some trees

- (1) John believes Bill
- (2) John believes Bill to be tired



→ In (1) the verb theta-marks Bill and assigns accusative case to Bill. You cannot replace Bill with an expletive like ‘there’ or with an idiom chunk

(1') * John believes there



In (2) ‘believe’ does NOT assign a theta-role to Bill, just the accusative case. You can see that by replacing Bill with an expletive or with an idiom chunk:

(2') John believes there to be a riot
John believes the cat to be out of the bag