Proper Government Revisited
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(1) John is likely [\(t\) to park his car here]

(2) *John is illegal [\(t\) to park his car here]

(3) ...

(4) ...

(5)a Who do you think [Susan [\(t\) met \(t\)]]
b Who do you think [that Susan [\(t\) met \(t\)]]

(6)a Who do you think [\(t\) likes Susan]
b *Who do you think [that \(t\) likes Susan]

(7) ??[What \(i\) do you wonder [who \(j\) [\(t\) \(j\) wrote \(t\) \(i\)]]]

(8) *[How \(i\) [do you wonder [who \(j\) [\(t\) \(j\) wrote the book \(t\) \(i\)]]]

(9) A trace must be 'properly governed', by means of 'lexical
government' or 'antecedent government'. Lexical government
requires theta-marking or Case-marking; antecedent
government requires binding within a certain local domain.

(10) [Who [do you think [that John [\(t\) [\(t\) likes Susan]]]]]

(11) ??[Who [do you wonder [whether John [\(t\) [\(t\) likes Susan]]]]]

(12) *Who do you wonder whether likes Susan

(13) *Who left why

(14) *[COMP why \(j\) [who \(i\)]] \(i\) [\(s\) \(t\) \(i\) left \(t\) \(j\)]

(15) *Who said Bill left why

(16) *[COMP why \(j\) [who \(i\)]] \(i\) [\(s\) \(t\) \(i\) said [\(s\) \(t\) \(j\) [\(s\) Bill left \(t\) \(j\)]]]

(17) [How [do you think [\(t\) [John \(t\) [\(t\) [Mary wrote the book \(t\)]]]]]

(18) *[How [do you wonder [whether John \(t\) [\(t\) [Mary wrote
the book \(t\)]]]]]

(19) This book, I like

(20) [\(s\) this book [\(s\) I like \(t\)]]
(21) This linguist, I think (*that) solved the problem

(22) *[S this linguist [S I think [S, that [S t solved the problem]]]]

(23) *[S this linguist [S I think [S, that [S t [S t solved the problem]]]]]

(24) Only an $X^0$ can serve as a proper governor. Thus, a maximal projection in adjoined position cannot.

(25) [S this linguist [S t solved the problem]]

(26) *John thinks that Mary likes himself

(27) John thinks that himself, Mary likes

(28) John thinks [S, that [S himself [S Mary likes t]]]

(29) *John thinks that himself likes Mary

(30) *John thinks [S, that [S himself likes Mary]]

(31) *John thinks [S, that [S himself [S t likes Mary]]]

(32) I gave to Harry all of my books about universal grammar

(33) *Solved the problem all of my first year students

(34) *[S t solved the problem] [NP all of my first year students]

(35) I believe [S [S t to have solved the problem] [NP all of my first year students]]

(36) George is likely to win

(37) George $i$ INFL$_i$ is likely [t$_i$ to win]

(38) I consider George to be likely to win

(39) I consider [S George $i$ INFL$_i$ to be likely [S t$_i$ to win]]

(40) the destruction of the city

(41) the city's destruction t

(42) the belief [that [John is intelligent]]

(43) *John's belief [t to be intelligent]

(44) I consider George likely to win

(45) I consider [George $i$ INFL$_i$ likely [t$_i$ to win]]