Proper Government Revisited
Howard Lasnik, University of Connecticut
June, 1989

(1)   John is likely [$\underline{t}$ to park his car here]

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

(3)   ...likely [$_S$...

(4)   ...illegal [$_{S'}$...

(5)a   Who do you think [[Susan met $\underline{t}$]]
   b   Who do you think [that [Susam met $\underline{t}$]]

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

(7)   ??[What$_i$ [do you wonder [who$_j$ [$\underline{t}_j$ wrote $\underline{t}_i$]]]]

(8)   *[How$_i$ [do you wonder [who$_j$ [$\underline{t}_j$ wrote the book $\underline{t}_i$]]]]

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

(10)   [Who [do you think [that [John said [$\underline{t}$ [$\underline{t}$ likes Susan]]]]]]

(11)   ??[Who [do you wonder [whether [John said [$\underline{t}$ [$\underline{t}$ likes Susan]]]]]]

(12)   *Who do you wonder whether likes Susan

(13)   *Who left why

(14)   *[$_{COMP}$ why$_j$ [who$_i$]]$_i$ [$_S$ $\underline{t}_i$ left $\underline{t}_j$]

(15)   *Who said Bill left why

(16)   *[$_{COMP}$ why$_j$ [who$_i$]]$_i$ [$_S$ $\underline{t}_i$ said [$_{S'}$ $\underline{t}_j$ [$_S$ Bill left $\underline{t}_j$]]]

(17)   [How [do you think [$\underline{t}$ [John said [$\underline{t}$ [Mary wrote the book $\underline{t}$]]]]]]

(18)   *[How [do you wonder [whether [John said [$\underline{t}$ [Mary wrote the book $\underline{t}$]]]]]]

(19)   This book, I like

(20)   [$_S$ this book [$_S$ I like $\underline{t}$]]

(21)   This linguist, I think (*that) solved the problem

(22)   *[$_S$ this linguist [$_S$ I think [$_{S'}$ that [$_S$ $\underline{t}$ solved the problem]]]]

(23)   *[$_S$ this linguist [$_S$ I think [$_{S'}$ that [$_S$ $\underline{t}$ [$_S$ $\underline{t}$ 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 [$_S$ $\underline{t}$ 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 $\underline{t}$]]]

(29)   *John thinks that himself likes Mary

(30)   *John thinks [$_{S'}$ that [$_S$ himself likes Mary]]

(31)   *John thinks [$_{S'}$ that [$_S$ himself [$_S$ $\underline{t}$ 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)   *[$_S$[$_S$ $\underline{t}$ solved the problem] [$_{NP}$ all of my first year students]]

(35)   I believe [$_S$ [$_S$ $\underline{t}$ 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 [$\underline{t}_i$ to win]

(38)   I consider George to be likely to win

(39)   I consider [$_S$ George$_i$ INFL$_i$ to be likely [$_S$ $\underline{t}_i$ to win]]

(40)   the destruction of the city

(41)   the city's destruction $\underline{t}$

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

(43)   *John's belief [$\underline{t}$ to be intelligent]

(44)   I consider George likely to win

(45)   I consider [George$_i$ INFL$_i$ likely [$\underline{t}_i$ to win]]