(14)   The cat making strange noises is suspected of having been eating Oreo cookies.

In (11)–(12), the noise-making may be either present or past (contemporaneous with the eating). In (13)–(14) it may only be present. The fact that in (11)–(12) the noise-making may be past is automatically accounted for if the NP *the cat making strange noises* in (11)–(12), but not in (13)–(14), originates as a constituent of the embedded S with its main verb *eat* and its past tense marker *have*.

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¡TOUGH MOVEMENT SI, TOUGH DELETION NO!

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It has sometimes been suggested that such sentences as (1) are to be derived from structures like that of (2), by a rule of Tough Deletion,

(1)   Fred is $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{easy} \\ \text{hard} \\ \text{tough} \\ \text{fun} \\ \text{etc.} \end{Bmatrix}$ for Dick to throw snowballs at.

(2)   Fred$_X$ is $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{easy} \\ \text{hard} \\ \text{tough} \\ \text{fun} \\ \text{etc.} \end{Bmatrix}$ for Dick$_Y$ [$_S$ Y throw snowballs at X $_S$]

rather than from structures like that of (3), by a rule which moves the underlying object of *at* to replace the initial *it* of (3), a rule referred to as Tough Movement in Postal (1971).

$$(3) \quad \text{It is} \begin{Bmatrix} \text{easy} \\ \text{hard} \\ \text{tough} \\ \text{fun} \\ \text{etc.} \end{Bmatrix} \text{for Dick}_Y \, [_S \, Y \text{ throw snowballs at Fred}_S]$$

It seems that such sentences as (4) provide decisive evidence that only the latter derivation is possible.

(4)   Getting herself arrested on purpose is hard for me to imagine Betsy being willing to consider.

Under the Tough Movement analyses, this sentence would derive from a remote structure roughly like that shown in (5) (p. 546), by moving NP_7 into the subject position of S_1.
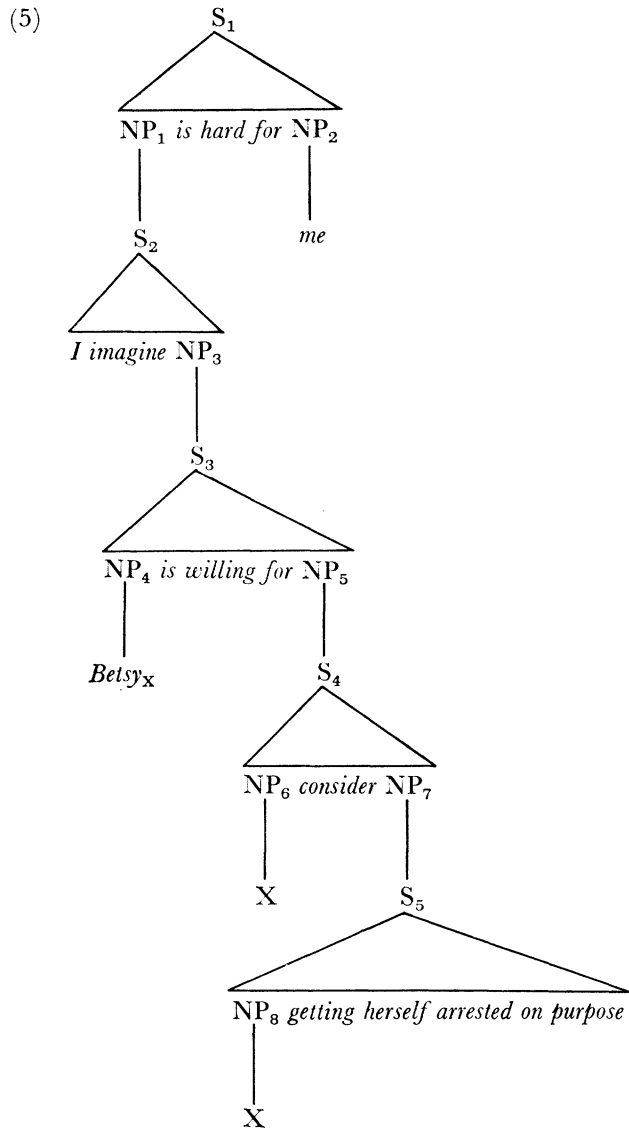
The fact that Tough Movement must be cyclic (cf. *Max appears to be tough to beat at chess*), the fact that *hard* should be analyzed as a Psych Movement predicate, the question as to whether or not it must apply to the output of Extraposition, etc. are all irrelevant to the major point of (4), which is this: S_5 must lose its subject, NP_8, by the application of Equi, the rule which deletes the subjects of complement clauses under complicated conditions of co-reference with an NP (in this case NP_6 in the immediately dominating clause (cf. Postal 1970 for some details)).

Under the Tough Deletion analysis, a new rule of deletion would have to be proposed to account for the loss of the subject of *getting herself arrested on purpose*, since under a deletion analysis, such phrases are at no point in derivations under an S node like S_5 in (5) above. On the other hand, under the Tough Movement analysis, the required deletion is effected by an independently necessary rule. The conclusion follows that an adequate grammar of English must contain the rule Tough Movement and not any rule like Tough Deletion.*

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(5)

$$S_1$$

NP_1 *is hard for* NP_2

S_2 *me*

I imagine NP_3

S_3

NP_4 *is willing for* NP_5

Betsy$_X$ S_4

NP_6 *consider* NP_7

X S_5

NP_8 *getting herself arrested on purpose*

X

A Non-Source for
     Reflexives
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0. Introduction

In a recent thesis (Jackendoff, to appear), Jackendoff pro-
poses a new theory of pronominal coreference. He states
that "instead of accounting for the properties of pronouns
and reflexives by deriving them from underlying more fully
specified noun phrases, I will assume that they are generated
as lexical items, inserted into base structures." (Jackendoff,