lexical item is syncategorematic or not. To that extent, I suspect that Sampson is right. Still, work is needed to test this suspicion.

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A Global Constraint on Deletion

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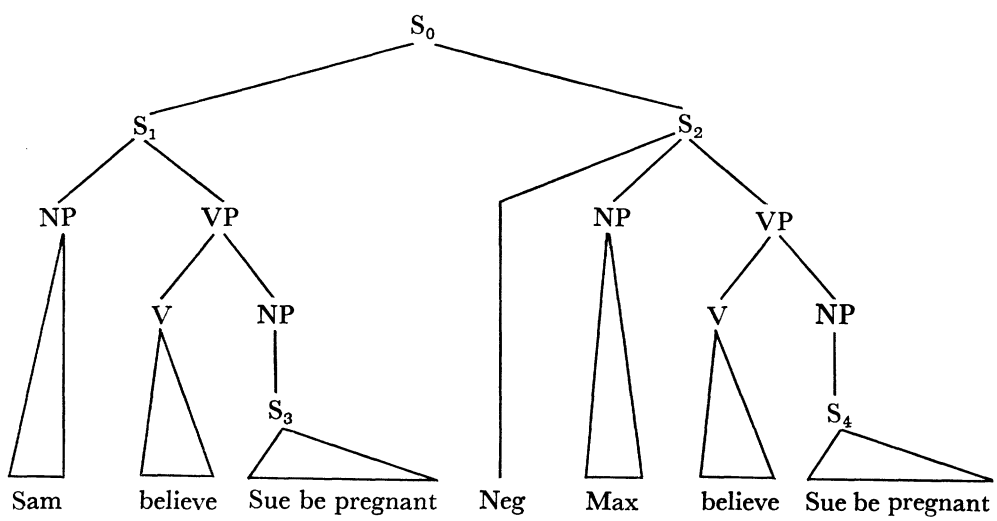
In an unpublished but widely read manuscript, *Deep and Surface Grammar*, George Lakoff argued, on the basis of sentences like:

(1) Sue was believed by Sam to be pregnant, but Max didn't believe it.

that the rule of SENTENCE PRONOMINALIZATION, which derives the *it* of such sentences, had to be precyclic. The argument is quite straightforward. Notice that the underlying representation of (1) would be something like:

(2)



Thus, there exists a constituent in the left-hand conjunct, S_3, which may serve as antecedent for S_4, producing the *it* of (1), given the rule of SENTENCE PRONOMINALIZATION. Notice that the cyclic application of rules requires that the set of cyclic rules apply *independently* to such conjoined structures; hence, the information that there exists a

parallel identical constituent (S_3) 'Sue be pregnant' in the left-hand conjunct which may serve as the antecedent in the application of the rule SENTENCE PRONOMINALIZATION is not available until the cycle which has as its domain of application the structure dominated by S_0. However, at the point in the derivation of (1) where the information would be available, the constituent 'Sue be pregnant' has been destroyed. Specifically, the cyclic rules of PASSIVE and RAISING have applied to (2) to derive (1). Therefore, Lakoff concluded, the rule of SENTENCE PRONOMINALIZATION must be precyclic.

In his paper *On Declarative Sentences*, J. R. Ross pointed out that while structures such as (3b) are perfectly well-formed semantically (consider the *a* version), they are syntactically illformed, for many speakers.

(3) a. Max_i said that he_i kissed Erica.
b. *Max_i said that Erica was kissed by him_i.

Whatever the final formulation of the constraint which excludes strings such as (3b) may be, it will include the following statement or its equivalent:

(4) Given a structure S_i which includes S_0 and S_1, if S_0 dominates S_1, the subject of S_0 is NP_i, and if S_1 includes a phrase "by NP_j", and if NP_i is coreferential with NP_j, then S_i is illformed.

Thus the deviancy of (3b) can be characterized. Consider, now, the fact that for many speakers, there is a difference in grammaticality between (5a) and (5b).

(5) a. I'm sure that Max_i kissed Erica even though he_i denies it.
b. *I'm sure that Erica was kissed by Max_i even though he_i denies it.

It is obviously necessary to exclude (5b) on other than semantic grounds, since its paraphrase (5a) shows that it is semantically impeccable. Specifically, a grammar which can avoid the absurdity of claiming that the parallelism between (3b) and (5b) is accidental must explain the deviancy of (5b) in terms of the restriction (4). Such an explanation demands, of course, that the structures underlying (5a) and (5b) immediately prior to SENTENCE PRONOMINALIZATION be (6a) and (6b), respectively.

(6) a. I'm sure that Max_i kissed Erica_j, even though he_i denies that he_i kissed her_j.
b. *I'm sure that Erica_j was kissed by Max_i, even though he_i denies that she_j was kissed by him_i.

And to this structure the restriction (4) noted by Ross

applies directly. Notice, however, that the structure of (6) indicates unequivocally that at least one cyclic rule, PASSIVE, has applied. Thus, SENTENCE PRONOMINALIZATION must be either cyclic and ordered after PASSIVE, or last or postcyclic. But we noted earlier that Lakoff's argument shows that the semantic identity condition to which SENTENCE PRONOMINALIZATION is subject must be stated on a precyclic tree.

In most theories of grammar, this conclusion is a contradiction. However, we regard the illformedness of sentences like (5b), which require cyclical or postcyclical application of SENTENCE PRONOMINALIZATION, simply as evidence that grammars must allow certain transformations to apply at one point in a derivation to same phrase marker, PM_i, subject to a semantic identity condition statable only at a different stage of the derivation on the phrase marker, PM_j, where PM_i and PM_j are noncontiguous. The link between these two stages is the notion of *corresponding constituent*. Such a possibility is available within the Generative Semantics model and has been described by Lakoff as a Global Derivational Constraint.

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Weak Generative Capacity and Emonds' Constraint

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0. By "transformational grammar" we mean the usual *Aspects*-vintage context-free based transformational grammar in which transformations both "convert an abstract deep structure . . . into a fairly concrete surface structure" (Chomsky 1965, 136) and "act as filters on strings generated by the . . . base, allowing only a subset of those strings to qualify as deep structures for sentences grammatical in the language" (Kimball 1967, 181).

1. Emonds (1969) proposes a constraint on transformational grammars, namely that every transformation be either a root transformation, a structure-preserving transformation, or a minor movement rule. Root transformations apply only on the next to last and last cycles; if we accept Emond's constraint, then, we are working with a transformational grammar with last cyclic rules.

2. Kimball proves that any recursively enumerable lan-