



# Demystifying Picture Noun Anaphora

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## 1. The problem with Picture Noun Anaphora

➤ **GB Condition A: Anaphors must be bound within the minimal XP containing them and a subject** (Chomsky 1986)

+ Picture Nouns may project covert agentive subjects.

✓ Non-complementarity with pronouns (Chomsky 1986)

- (1) a. **They** heard stories about **themselves**.
- b. **They** heard [**PRO** stories about **them**].

✗ No need for overt local binder even when non-agentive

- (2) **Tom** believes that there is a picture of **himself** hanging in the post office. (Jackendoff 1972)

➤ **Predicate-based Condition A: Anaphoric arguments of a predicate with a subject must be bound by a coargument** (Pollard & Sag 1992, Reinhart & Reuland 1993)

+ Anaphors lacking a coargument are exempt from Condition A and licensed by discourse factors like point of view.

✓ Sensitivity to perspective

- (3) \***Mary** said about **John** that there was a picture of **himself** in the post office. (Kuno 1987)

✗ No need for coargument even when non-perspectival (Charnavel & Sportiche 2016)

- (4) a. **The witty play** contains a parody of **itself**.
- b. \***The witty play** convinced Bob to see a parody of **itself**.

## 2. Solution: Condition A + Strong/Weak Competition

➤ **Condition A: An anaphor must be bound within the minimal Spell-out domain** (Charnavel & Sportiche 2016)

- No exemption, but anaphors can be locally bound by a covert logophoric pronoun  $pro_{log}$  under appropriate perspectival conditions (Charnavel 2020, to appear).



➤ **Competition: All else being equal, a weaker form excludes a stronger form** (Cardinaletti & Starke 1999)

- Proposal: English weak pro-forms ('erself, 'er) block strong pro-forms (herself, her).  
cf. French clitics *se/la/lui* block strong reflexive *elle-même* and strong pronoun *elle* (Charnavel & Sportiche 2016)

- Prediction: Logophoric *herself* can only occur in positions that cannot host weak pro-forms in broad focus contexts.  
cf. French logophoric *elle-même* can only occur in non-cliticizable positions (Charnavel 2020)

## 3. Logophoric A-binding in Picture Noun Phrases

✓ Covert binding licensed when logophorically interpreted (Charnavel 2020, to appear)

- Anteceded by a mental perspective center (attitude holder, empathy locus)
- In a phrase expressing the antecedent's first person perspective

- (5) a. **John** knew [that  $pro_{log}$  there was a picture of **himself** in the post office].
- b. \***Mary** said about **John** [that  $pro_{log}$  there was a picture of **himself** in the post office].

✓ Exhaustive coreference constraint on locally co-occurring logophoric anaphors (Charnavel 2020, to appear)

- (6) **John** told **Mary** ...
  - a. [that  $pro_{log}$  there was a story about **himself** in the paper].
  - b. [that  $pro_{log}$  there were some pictures of **themselves** in the paper].
  - c. \*[that  $pro_{log}/pro_{log}$  there were a story about **himself** and some pictures of **themselves** in the paper].

## 4. Strong/Weak competition: generalization in English VP

➤ **Weak 'erself vs. strong herself** (Ahn 2015)

- Anaphors bound by a deep and surface coargument subject are extrametrical in broad focus contexts (weak).
- Weak anaphors must be bound by a coargument subject.

- (7) a. **Remy** accidentally burned {a. Marie / b. #**himself**}.
- b. **Remy** accidentally burned {a. #Marie / b. **'imself**}.

- (8) a. **Louis** plays a character like {a. #his brother / b. #'**imself**}.
- b. **Louis** plays a character like {a. his brother / b. **himself**}.

➤ **Logophoric herself: Anaphors can be logophorically bound only if they are strong, i.e., only if they lack a coargument subject** (Charnavel 2020)

- (9) a. \*It angered **him** that **she** tried **PRO** to attract **'imself**.
- b. It angered **him** that **she** tried **PRO** to attract a man like **himself**. (Reinhart & Reuland 1993)

## 5. Binding and subject projection in Picture Noun Phrases<sup>1</sup>

➤ **Extending the VP generalization: Picture Noun Anaphora can be logophorically bound only in the absence of a coargumental subject**

+ The subject of a picture noun is interpreted as creator (Chomsky 1986, i.a.).

+ English DPs may project only one external argument (Longobardi 2001, i.a.).

### I. Contexts with obligatory nominal subject projection

\*\* Creator vs. logophoric interpretation = probe into subject projection in NP \*\*

✓ Subject binding, i.e. creator interpretation, obligatory

\*[<sub>XP</sub> DP X ...  $pro_{log}$  ... [<sub>NP</sub>  $pro_{subj}$  N herself ]]

[<sub>XP</sub> DP X ...  $pro_{log}$  ... [<sub>NP</sub>  $pro_{subj}$  N herself ]]

- Reflexive goal arguments:

- (10) a. **Ellis** enjoyed the letter to **himself**.  
[context: letter written by {a. Ellis; \*b. Ellis's sister}]

- b. **John** stole **Mary's** letter to **herself**.  
[context: letter written by {a. Mary; \*b. Mary's brother}]

- Reflexive arguments within the complement of a creation verb:  
(see also Asudeh & Keller 2001, i.a.)

- (11) **Gordon** {a. \*wrote / b. enjoyed} **Faye's** book about **herself**.  
[context: book not written by Faye]

✓ Binding across disjoint possessors impossible

\* [DP DP<sub>poss</sub> [<sub>NP</sub>  $pro_{subj}$  N herself ]]

- (12) \***Roger** tore up **Cora's** note to **himself**.  
[context: note written by Roger]

- (13) \***David** wrote **Erica's** book about **himself**.

### II. Contexts without obligatory nominal subject projection

✓ Non-subject binding, i.e. non-creator interpretation, possible:  
(see also Asudeh & Keller 2001, Runner & Kaiser 2005, i.a.)

[<sub>XP</sub> DP X ...  $pro_{log}$  ... [<sub>NP</sub> N herself ]]

- (14) a. **Erica** hated the photo of **herself**.
- b. **Ben** didn't like Amanda's portrait of **himself**.  
[context: portrait not painted by Ben]

<sup>1</sup> (10)-(14): Judgements from 108 native English speakers via Amazon MTurk (Bryant & Charnavel, to appear)

## 6. REFERENCES

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