**Abstract**

In English, pronouns (e.g., *her* ) and anaphors (e.g., *herself*) exist in nearly complementary distribution. This observation led to Chomsky’s (1981) classic Binding Theory (BT), which argues that the distribution of pronouns and anaphors has a syntactic basis. Specifically, anaphors must be bound – coindexed with and c-commanded by an antecedent - within the same local domain. By contrast, pronouns must be free within that domain. While defining the domain as a clause that contains a c-commanding subject accounts for the contrast in (1), constructions such as (2) have presented a persistent challenge to the traditional generalizations encoded by BT.

(1)a. b.

(2)a. b.

Sentences such as (2) contain representational NPs (commonly referred to as “picture NPs”), which are headed by nouns such as “picture,” “book,” “opinion,” etc. Based on their seeming unexpected behavior , it has been suggested that picture NPs can be sensitive to non-structural semantic, pragmatic, or discourse factors (see Kuno, 1987, for a comprehensive review).

In this talk, I present the findings of the two experiments designed to gauge the acceptability of pronouns in picture NPs. The results suggest that both semantic and pragmatic factors systematically affect pronoun usage in Participants made grammaticality judgments in response to written stimuli.

Experiment 1 examined the influence of verbs of agency (e.g., “*bought* vs. *loved* a picture”) and verbs of creation (e.g., “*took* vs. *adored* a picture”) on the acceptability of pronouns in picture NPs. Participants rated pronouns (rather than anaphors) as more acceptable when verbs did not indicate agency or creation.

Experiment 2 examined the role of pragmatic factors (specifically, Grice’s conversational maxim of manner) on the acceptability of pronouns in picture NPs. Pronouns were rated as more acceptable in cases where ambiguity was not possible (e.g., “I liked the picture of me”) relative to ambiguous cases in which the pronoun could have multiple referents (e.g., “He liked the picture of him”). Thus, pragmatic factors, such as the avoidance of ambiguity, can affect the acceptability of pronouns in picture NPs.

It appears that, in the case of picture NPs, non-structural factors can override syntactic the predictions of BT regarding the distribution of pronouns and anaphors.

**References**

Chomsky, Noam. 1981. *Lectures on Government and Binding,* Foris, Dordrecht.

Grice, Paul. 1975. “Logic and conversation,” *Speech Acts.* New York: Academic

Press, pp. 41-58

Kuno, Susumu. 1987. *Functional Syntax: Anaphora, Discourse and Empathy*, University

of Chicago Press, Chicago.