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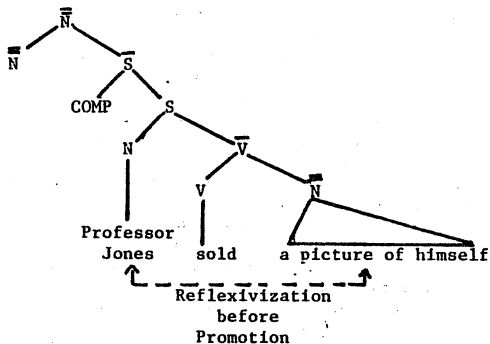
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Picture Noun Reflexives and Promotion

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Picture noun reflexives provide one of the few pieces of syntactic evidence for the derivation of relative clause heads by promotion. Schachter (1973) argued, for example, that the interpretation of picture nouns as relative clause heads stems from their origin in a lower clause. Thus in (1), the coreferentiality of Professor Jones and himself is explained by a derivation in which Professor Jones and himself begin as classmates, reflexivization takes place, and then a picture of himself is raised into head noun position (see (2)).

- (1) Two hundred freshmen bought the picture of himself that Professor Jones sold at registration.
- (2)



(The underlying status of the head noun phrase in (2) is unclear; I have argued elsewhere (1975) that it is full but for purposes of this paper will assume it is empty. I assume that reflexivization is an interpretive rule, whose application is determined by the structural configurations described in this paper.)

Under the traditional pronominalization analysis of relativization, the interpretation of the picture noun head in (1) is a problem; for at no point in the derivation would the head, picture of himself, and Professor Jones occur in the standard environment for reflexivization. In fact, as Jackendoff (1973) and others have noted, the relative clause structure, where the picture noun head can both precede and command its antecedent, is a stubborn

exception to the generalizations which can be made about the syntactic environment for reflexivization.

In contrast to the pronominalization analysis, the promotion analysis handles any case in which the head is coreferential with an antecedent which could reflexivize the relativized noun phrase in underlying structure. Thus it accounts not only for simple cases of clausemate reflexivization as in (1), but also for sentences like (3), where, although Mary and herself are not clausemates, the underlying structure, as in (4), would, for many speakers, allow reflexivization.

- (3) The AP picked up the story about herself that Mary claimed had been purposely leaked.  
 (4) ?Mary claimed that the story about herself had been purposely leaked.

Examples like (4), discussed recently by Jacobson and Neubauer (1976), appear to be limited, if good at all, to cases where the antecedent, although not in the same clause, commands and precedes the reflexive and no other noun phrase intervenes. Whatever the condition, if (4) is good, then reflexivization of herself in (3) could occur in the underlying structure before promotion.

So the interpretation of relative clause heads in (1) and (3) as being coreferential with lower noun phrases is pretty straightforward evidence for the derivation of the heads by promotion. The other syntactic evidence for promotion, particularly the restrictions on idiomatic heads like headway, follows the same lines: the behavior of relative clause heads can be explained most simply in terms of the deep structure of the relative clause. The arguments for promotion thus stem from observations that the underlying position of the relativized noun phrase is crucial to the facts of reflexivization (or, in the case of headway, selectional restrictions).

The primary observation of this paper is that, considering a wide variety of counterexamples, one cannot maintain that it is the underlying position of the relativized noun phrase which accounts for the coreferentiality of the head and lower noun phrases. In cases where one or more clauses intervene between the head and the relativized noun phrase clause, a picture noun head can be coreferential with a lower noun phrase which could not reflexivize the relativized noun phrase in its underlying position. So in (5)-(7), the (a) examples exhibit a coreferentiality between the head and a lower phrase which, as the (b) sentences demonstrate, could not stem from the relative clause underlying structure.

- (5) a. The dean accepted the glowing descriptions of themselves that Harry and Joe got Mary to write.

- b.\*Harry and Joe got Mary to write glowing descriptions of themselves.
- (6) a. The picture of himself that Bill persuaded some gallery to buy was painted by my kids.
- b.\*Bill persuaded some gallery to buy a picture of himself.
- (7) a. The photograph of herself that Susan asked Tom to hold onto is missing.
- b.\*Susan asked Tom to hold onto a photograph of herself.

These examples show a clear difference between nonembedded sentences (the (b) examples) and relative clauses based on such sentences (the (a) examples), the latter having more possibilities for reflexivization. In particular, contrasting (7) with (8),

- (8) a. The photograph of herself that Susan promised Tom to hold onto is missing.
- b. Susan promised Tom to hold onto a photograph of herself.

the possibilities for reflexivization in the (b) nonembedded sentences appear to depend upon the standard environment - the antecedent commanding and preceding, no other noun phrase intervening. (In (7b) reflexivization is blocked by two instances of Tom between Susan and the reflexive, while in (8b) reflexivization can occur between the picture noun reflexive and Susan, the underlying subject of the lowest S.) In the (a) sentences, however, the possibilities for reflexivization are the same under the main verbs ask and promise and therefore cannot be explained by underlying differences between the relative clauses.

Although I find the differences in acceptability between the (a) and (b) sentences in (5)-(7) to be strong, one might, of course, argue that in the (a) sentences an antecedent noun phrase is so interpreted because it is the only likely candidate around. (This, of course, was the analysis of many speakers who disliked the (a) examples even when they preferred them to the (b) examples) But judgements parallel to those in (5a), (6a), and (7a) occur even when there is another noun phrase in the relative clause which could serve as an antecedent in the underlying structure. So in (9) and (10), a reflexive which can have only Mary as an antecedent in the (b) examples can have either Mary or Susan as an antecedent in the (a) examples.

- (9) a. The picture of herself that Susan told Mary to hold onto is missing.
- b. Susan told Mary to hold onto a picture of herself.

- (10) a. No one believed the story about herself that Susan was sure Mary had spread.  
 b. Susan was sure Mary had spread a story about herself.

Examples like (5)-(10) seriously challenge the promotion argument made regarding (1)-(3). The possibilities for coreference in (5)-(10) cannot be accounted for in terms of the underlying structure of the relative clause, i.e. in terms of the underlying position of the relativized noun phrase. Therefore the coreference possibilities cannot be used as evidence for the promotion of the relativized noun phrase into the head - as they could, of course, in (1)-(3). Since the relative clause heads in (5)-(10) occur in structures similar to those in (1)-(3), we should like to explain their coreference possibilities by the same generalization. If it cannot extend to cases like (5)-(10), the generalization captured by the promotion analysis appears so limited as to be useless.

It seems possible, as is often the case with picture noun phrase, that the syntactic argument, i.e. promotion, for their interpretation will have to be abandoned; and that we should assume that, however relative clauses are derived, the interpretation of picture noun heads is an idiosyncratic fact to be explained in a general analysis of picture noun phrases yet to be developed. Although that may turn out to be the correct assessment of the situation with picture noun heads, the facts presented in the following pages suggest that there are clear syntactic limits on the coreference possibilities for picture noun heads and, furthermore, that the limits follow directly from a derivation of relative clauses by successive cyclic movement of the relativized noun phrase.

The evidence in (5)-(10) notwithstanding, it is not the case that any noun phrase in the relative clause can serve as an antecedent for a picture noun head. There are two general environments in which reflexivization may not occur between a picture noun head and a noun phrase in a lower sentence: when the antecedent noun phrase is in a clause below the clause of the relativized noun phrase or when the antecedent is in a clause which, although not below the clause of the relativized noun phrase, does not dominate it.

Examples of the former environment occur in (11)-(13).

- (11) a.\*Have you seen the picture of herself which led Tom to believe Mary was older than him?  
 b.\*A picture of herself led Tom to believe Mary was older than him.  
 (12) a.\*Yale accepted the glowing descriptions of themselves the dean wrote to get Harry and Joe out of his hair.

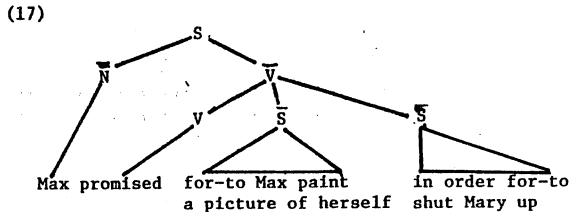
- b.\*The dean wrote glowing descriptions of themselves to get Harry and Joe out of his hair.
- (13) a.\*The Times printed the story about themselves that the reporter got by threatening Susan and Max.
- b.\*The reporter got the story about themselves by threatening Susan and Max.

In none of the nonembedded sentences (the (b) examples) can a lower noun phrase, e.g. Mary, Harry and Joe, Susan and Max, reflexivize the higher picture noun phrase. Those facts are, of course, consistent with the standard generalizations made about reflexivization. The (a) examples also show no reflexivization of the picture noun reflexive (relativized or head) by the lower noun phrase. Thus it appears that whatever loosens the restrictions on reflexivization in (5)-(10) does not extend into clauses below the relativized noun phrase clause.

Similarly, we find that in examples like (14)-(16), the ungrammatical antecedents Presley, Harry and Walter, and Mary are in clauses which, although not below that relativized noun phrase clause, do not dominate it.

- (14) a.\*Fans are collecting the cover stories about himself which Presley's dying so young prompted rock magazines to print.
- b.\*Presley's dying so young prompted rock magazines to print cover stories about himself.
- (15) a.\*Yale accepted the bad descriptions of themselves that Harry and Walter's failing Greek forced the dean to write.
- b.\*Harry and Walter's failing Greek forced the dean to write bad descriptions of themselves.
- (16) a.\*Everyone is waiting for the picture of herself Max promised to paint in order to shut Mary up.
- b.\*Max promised to paint a picture of herself in order to shut Mary up.

So in (16), under the reading that Max's promise was meant to shut Mary up (and he never intended to paint a picture at all), the underlying structure might look something like (17). The ungrammatical antecedent Mary is in a clause which does not dominate the relativized noun phrase picture of herself and reflexivization will not occur.



The cases exemplified in (11)-(16) can be subsumed under the single observation that a noun phrase in a clause which does not dominate the relativized noun phrase clause may not serve as an antecedent for the picture noun head. That observation can clearly distinguish those cases, (11)-(16), in which reflexivization cannot occur from those, (1)-(10), in which it can. The generalization about reflexivization of a picture noun head can be expressed as (18)

- (18) A picture noun head can be coreferential with a lower noun phrase which commands the relativized noun phrase in underlying structure.

(18) expresses a clear and even somewhat plausible syntactic environment for reflexivization, but it fails to suggest any explanation of why relative clauses should be able to violate standard restrictions on reflexivization. It suggests that reflexivization of the relative clause head is indeed an idiosyncratic fact about picture nouns.

However, the generalization in (18) can be expressed in terms which suggest an explanation for the generalization. Consider (19):

- (19) A picture noun head can be coreferential with a lower noun phrase in the main clause of an  $\bar{S}$  which lies on the direct cyclic path between the relativized noun phrase clause and the head. (The direct cyclic path I take to include all and only those  $\bar{S}$ 's which dominate the relativized noun phrase in underlying structure.)

Although (18) and (19) describe the same syntactic environment, (19) suggests that the derivational path between the relativized noun phrase clause and the head is linked to the possibilities for interpreting the head. That path is, of course, delineated in any successive cyclic account of relativization, whether wh-movement or promotion.

Relativization in English appears to involve the movement of the relativized noun phrase from its clause to the COMP node directly below the head (and then, in a promotion analysis, into the head itself). If we assume, as Chomsky has suggested, that this movement is successive cyclic, then the movement of the relativized noun phrase will be through the COMP nodes of those  $\bar{S}$ 's which dominate the relativized noun phrase clause in underlying structure.

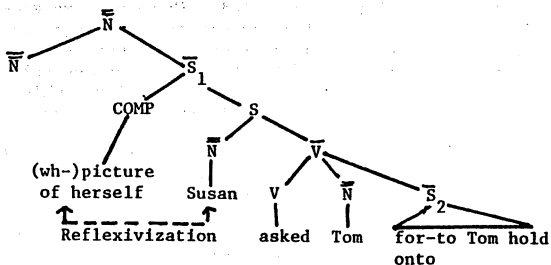
If the relativized noun phrase passes through successive COMP nodes, it is liable to reflexivization with noun phrases on the main clause of each cycle on its path. There is evidence from wh-questions that a noun phrase in the COMP position can be reflexivized by a noun phrase on the main clause. So in (20) and (21) wh-phrases in COMP are interpreted as coreferential with noun phrases, i.e. Bill and Mary, which lie on the main clause of the highest cycle. (The environment for reflexivization would not be found in the structure before wh-movement, e.g. \*Bill believed Mary had stolen which pictures of himself?)

(20) Which pictures of himself did Bill believe Mary had stolen?

(21) What stories about herself did Mary insist her enemies had spread?

If reflexivization can occur to a noun phrase in the COMP of the clause of the relevant antecedent, then we can account for the reflexivization possibilities observed in (5)-(10). For each of those examples, reflexivization of the picture noun phrase need not occur in deep structure, but can occur when it has moved to the COMP of a higher  $\bar{S}$ . Thus in (7a), reflexivization of a photograph of herself would occur when the relativized noun phrase was in the COMP of  $\bar{S}_1$ , not in its original clause  $\bar{S}_2$ .

(22)

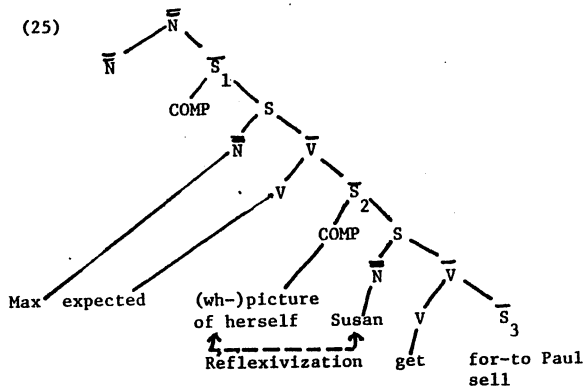




With a successive cyclic analysis of reflexivization, we would also expect that reflexivization between the relativized noun phrase in COMP and an antecedent in the relevant main clause would be possible on intervening cycles. And, although judgements are not strong in such cases, it does seem to be the case that a noun phrase anywhere on the derivational path can be an antecedent. So in examples (23) and (24), the head is coreferential with a noun phrase which lies on a cycle neither highest nor lowest in the derivation.

- (23) a. The picture of herself that Max expected Susan to get Paul to sell will bring a lot of money
- b. \*Max expected Susan to get Paul to sell a picture of herself.
- (24) a. I never read the story about himself that everyone says Ernest allowed Zelda to rewrite.
- b. \*Everyone says that Ernest allowed Zelda to rewrite a story about himself.

Within the successive cyclic analysis, the coreference of herself and Susan in (23) stems from the stop which the relativized noun phrase makes in the COMP of  $\bar{S}_2$ ; reflexivization occurs on that cycle:



The analysis presented so far suggests that there is a definable syntactic environment for reflexivization of a picture noun head by a lower noun phrase, that that environment results from the successive cyclic movement of the relativized noun phrase from its underlying clause through COMP positions, and that reflexivization of the relativized noun phrase occurs cycle by cycle as it moves up through COMP's. The analysis stops short of explaining how the head noun phrase assumes the possible interpretations of coreferentiality acquired by the relativized noun phrase on its way up.

Of course, if we derive relative heads by promotion, which in this analysis would simply raise the relativized noun phrase from the highest COMP node directly into the head position, the explanation is obvious. The head noun phrase is the relativized noun phrase and therefore carries its interpretations of coreference. Thus, assuming that the movement of the relativized noun phrase is successive cyclic, the argument that promotion explains the interpretation of the head is about as strong as it ever was.

The final explanation of the facts presented here is likely, however, to depend upon the analysis of data besides relative clauses. There are several other constructions in English which exhibit similar reflexivization of a higher noun phrase by a lower phrase. Topicalized, cleft, and tough sentences with picture noun phrases have interpretations parallel to the relative clause examples in (1), (5), and (23).

- (26) That awful story about himself I don't believe Bill could have written.  
 That awful story about himself Bill would never have let the Globe print.  
 That awful story about himself I don't believe Bill would ever have let the Globe print.
- (27) It was a picture of herself that Sarah painted.  
 It was a picture of herself that Sarah asked us to sell.  
 It was a picture of herself that we all thought Sarah hoped Tom would paint.
- (28) That ridiculous description of herself was hard for Mary to live down.  
 ?That ridiculous description of herself was hard for Mary to see the yearbook staff chuckle over.  
 ?That ridiculous description of herself was hard to believe Mary would allow her children to hear.

If the facts do fall out for these sentences as they have for relative clauses, it could be seen as supporting evidence for promotion; for each of the examples above has been argued to derive from some

raising of the picture noun phrase. However, the subjects of adjectival complements, for whom a raising derivation seems unlikely, can also be coreferential with a lower noun phrase:<sup>1</sup>

- (29) Those pictures of himself are too ugly for Jack to have painted.  
 Those pictures of himself are too ugly for Jack to have allowed Susan to exhibit.  
 ?Those pictures of himself are too ugly for me to believe Jack would let Susan exhibit.

Although my judgements are not clear on all of these cases, it seems likely that whatever accounts for the interpretation of picture noun heads will have to generalize to cases (26)-(29). Chomsky (1977), in fact, has argued that relativization, topicalization, clefting, wh-movement, and adjectival complement derivation all involve a wh-movement which is successive cyclic. Once it is in the COMP node directly below the relevant noun phrase (which, in these examples, is the picture noun phrase), the wh-phrase may be raised in some cases and deleted in others, but is generally subject to an interpretive rule relating it to the higher noun phrase. The formulation of an interpretive rule, or a promotion rule, which will account for the interpretation of relative clause heads remains to be worked out. However, it seems likely at this point that the derivation of those sentences which allow coreference between a picture noun phrase and a lower antecedent will include the successive cyclic movement of a noun phrase, later linked with the picture noun phrase, through the relevant cycles. It also seems plausible that that movement accounts for the possibilities for coreference noted above.

#### NOTES

1. These examples, brought up during the discussion following the presentation of this paper, appear to be clear counterexamples to an argument that the interpretation of picture noun heads must depend on promotion. They are not of course, counterexamples to the claim that relative clause heads are derived by promotion, a claim still open to debate and justification.

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