

When Resumption determines Reconstruction*

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Overview

- *Traditional account of reconstruction:*

Be it via resumption or not, if an XP allows for (A') reconstruction, (A') movement of that XP has occurred (see Lebeaux (1990), Chomsky (1995), Aoun et al. (2001) among others).

- *Problem:*

Reconstruction with resumption **inside strong islands** in French and Jordanian Arabic.

- *Our claim:*

If an XP allows for reconstruction, a **copy** of that XP (rather than movement of that XP) is present.

⇒ This copy can be created either by movement or ellipsis. Generalizing **NP-deletion's analysis** of pronouns (Elbourne (2001)) to resumption, reconstruction effects will follow.

1 What is Reconstruction?

Reconstruction: interaction between displacement (dislocation, topicalization, interrogation, relativization) and interpretation procedures such as binding conditions or scope.

- (1) (a) Mary saw the picture of him that each man prefers.
(b) Which patient did every doctor examine?

⇒ (1a) and (1b) both have a 'reconstructed' functional reading.

(1a) → a different *picture* for *each man*.

- Binding reconstruction: *him* is interpreted as a variable bound by the quantifier.

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(1b) → a different *patient* for *every doctor*.

- Scope reconstruction: narrow scope of *patient* with respect to *each doctor*.

GG/minimalist account of reconstruction effects: the copy theory of movement.

⇒ Syntactic mechanism given by Lebeaux (1990), Bianchi (1995), Sauerland (2004) among others, to allow interpretation of a displaced constituent in its base position:

- (2) (a) Mary saw the picture of him that each man prefers ~~picture of him~~¹.
 (b) Which patient did every doctor examine ~~patient~~?

Copies as indefinite objects: crucially, copies in (2a) and (2b) can be interpreted as indefinite (see Kayne (1994) for arguments with relative clauses), and more precisely as skolemized choice function proposed in Kratzer (1998) and Bautista (2001).

Skolemized choice function: a function that takes two arguments, one individual x and a set of entities P and returns one individual of that set (written $f_x(P)$):

- (3) Every man loves **a** woman.
 ⇒ Functional reading: one different specific woman for each man
 LF: every man₁ loves f_1 (woman).
 $\forall x.[man(x) \rightarrow [loves(x, f_x(woman))]]$

⇒ Skolemized choice function's interpretation of copies is essential to account for scope reconstruction in (2b)²:

- (4) *Partial LF of (2b):* $\lambda p.\exists f. true(p) \wedge p = \text{every doctor}_x \text{ examined } f_x(\text{patient})$
 ⇒ 'reconstructed' functional reading mapping every doctor to a different patient

Assumption 1: If an XP allows for reconstruction, movement of that XP has occurred.

2 What about Resumption?

Resumption: when a pronoun occupies a site where a gap (A' trace) would be expected. Resumptive strategy exhibits two major properties:

- it can cross islands;
- it can allow for reconstruction.

Resumptive strategy can circumvent islandhood³, as illustrated with *wh*-question and dislocation from French in (5a) and (5b), and dislocation from Lebanese Arabic in (5c):

¹Presence of binding reconstruction in restrictive relatives argues for head-raising analysis, as initially proposed by Vergnaud (1973).

²For lack of space, we don't consider other possible approaches to such phenomenon based on the notion of complex or functional traces (see Engdahl (1980)) or on variable-free semantics (see Jacobson (1999)). Just note that these approaches can hardly account for the distinction between gap and resumption wrt reconstruction (see section 5).

³when movement is banned in structures such as adjuncts, complex-NPs (strong islands), or highly restricted in others such as *wh*-structures (weak islands). Notice that only strong islands will be investigated here.

- (5) (a) *Quel étudiant es-tu fâché* [*Adjunct Island parce que le doyen *(l)*’a renvoyé]?
 ‘Which student are you furious because the principal expelled **him**?’
 (b) *Cet étudiant, tu es fâché* [*Adjunct Island parce que le doyen *(l)*’a renvoyé].
 ‘This student, you are furious because the principal expelled **him**.’
 (c) *Ha-l-muttahamme tfeejaʔto* [*Adjunct Island laʔnno ʔrifto ʔenno*
 this-the-defendant surprised-2pl because learnt-2pl that
ħabasuw-(a)*].
 imprisoned-her
 ‘This defendant, you were surprised because you learnt they sent her to jail.’

⇒ Insertion of a pronoun in (5a), (5b), and (5c) rescues the sentence⁴.

Resumption allows for reconstruction. Consider the contrast noticed by Aoun et al. (2001) with dislocation structures from Lebanese Arabic (similar data by Guilliot (to appear) with relative clauses from Breton):

- (6) (a) [*təlmiiʔ-a₁ l-kəsleen*]₂ *ma baddna nχabbir wala mʔallme₁ ʔanno*
 student-her the-bad Neg want-1p tell-1p no teacher that
ħuwe₂ zaʔbar b-l-faħiʔ
 he cheated-3sm in-the-exam
 ‘Her₁ bad student₂, we don’t want to tell any teacher₁ that **he**₂ cheated on the exam.’

⇒ **No island** → ‘reconstructed’ functional reading available

- (b) **[təlmiiʔ-a₁ l-kəsleen]*₂ *ma ħkiina maʔ wala mʔallme₁ ʔable-ma*
 student-her the-bad Neg talked-1p with no teacher before
ħuwe₂ yuusal
 he arrive-3sm
 ‘Her₁ bad student₂, we didn’t talk to any teacher₁ before **he**₂ arrived.’

⇒ **Strong island** → no ‘reconstructed’ functional reading

Aoun et al. (2001)’s approach: apparent vs true resumption.

- (7) *Apparent resumption when no island:*
 $[DP \dots \text{pronoun}_1 \dots]_2 [IP \dots QP_1 \dots [CP \dots [DP [DP \dots \text{pronoun}_1 \dots]_2 RP_2]]]$
 (8) *True resumption within island:*
 $[DP \dots \text{pronoun}_{*1} \dots]_2 [IP \dots QP_1 \dots [Island \dots [DP RP_2]]]$

Apparent resumption	True resumption
Reconstruction	No reconstruction

Table 1. Reconstruction with Resumption

Assumption 2: Even with resumption, when reconstruction holds, movement is present.

⁴Since extraction out of a strong island is prohibited, several studies resort to a base-generation approach of resumption, in which the resumptive element is generated in the island, and the antecedent base-generated in its surface position.

2.1 The Paradox

Assumption 1: If an XP allows for reconstruction, movement of that XP has occurred.

Assumption 2: Even with resumption, if an XP allows for reconstruction, movement of that XP has occurred.

⇒ These two conclusions lead to the following prediction:

Reconstruction of an XP should never occur within islands.

However, consider the following dislocation structures from Jordanian Arabic (JA) in (9) and French in (10), and *wh*- structures from French in (11). All these examples involve resumption (clitic or doubled clitic) within a strong island (adjunct):

- (9) *[ʔalib-ʔa]₁ l-kassoul]₂ ma ziʕlat [wala mʕallmih]₁ laʔannuh*
 student-her the-bad Neg upset.3sf no teacher because
l-mudiirah kaʔʕat-oh₂ / -oh₂ hu₂ mn l-madrise
 the-principal expelled.3sf-CL / CL he from the-school
 ‘Her bad student, no teacher was upset because the principal expelled him from school.’

- (10) *La photo₁ de sa₂ classe, tu es fâché parce que chaque prof₂ l₁ ’a déchirée.*
 ‘The picture of his class, you are furious because each teacher tore **it**.’

- (11) *Quelle photo₁ de lui₂ es-tu fâché parce que chaque homme₂ l₁ ’a déchirée?*
 ‘Which picture of him are you furious because each man tore **it**?’

⇒ The examples in (9), (10) and (11) can all have a ‘reconstructed’ functional reading:

- (9) → a different *student* for *each teacher* (strict mapping teacher/picture).
 • Binding reconstruction: the possessive *-ha* ‘her’ is interpreted as a bound variable.
- (11) → Answer: *la photo de lui à son mariage* (‘the picture of him at his wedding’).
 • Binding reconstruction: the pronoun *lui* is interpreted as a bound variable.

If reconstruction is **only** a consequence of syntactic movement, as suggested in Lebeaux (1990), Chomsky (1995) and Aoun et al. (2001) among others, **how is reconstruction possible in a strong island?**

3 What really matters for Reconstruction?

In JA, presence vs absence of reconstruction depends descriptively on two parameters⁵:

- the type of resumption
- the type of binding condition.

⁵Obviously, other parameters play a crucial role in banning or allowing reconstruction, such as arguments vs adjuncts, or even weak vs strong islands. But these will not be investigated here.

3.1 The type of resumption: weak vs strong

Weak resumption	Strong resumption
Clitics	Strong pronouns
Doubled clitics	Epithets

Table 2. Typology of Resumption

⇒ **Weak** resumptives (clitic or doubled clitic) in strong islands **allow** for the ‘reconstructed’ functional reading, as shown in (12a).

⇒ **Strong** resumptives (strong pronoun or epithet) in strong islands **ban** the ‘reconstructed’ functional reading (see (12b)).

- (12) (a) *[ʔalib-[ha]₁ l-kassoul]₂ ma ħakjan maʕ [wala mʕallmih]₁ gabl-ma*
 student-her the-bad *Neg* talked.1pl with no teacher before
ʔʊf-uh₂ / -uh₂ hu₂ l-mudiirah
 saw.3sf-Cl / -Cl he the-principal.3sf
 ‘Her bad student, we didn’t talk to any teacher before the principal saw him.’

⇒ **(Dbled) Clitic in adjunct** → ‘reconstructed’ reading available

- (b) **[ʔalib-[ha]₁ l-kassoul]₂ ma ħakjan maʕ [wala mʕallmih]₁ gabl-ma*
 student-her the-bad *Neg* talked.1pl with no teacher before
hu₂ / ha-l-ġabi₂ yesal
 he / the-idiot.3sm arrive.3sm
 ‘Her bad student, we didn’t talk to any teacher before he / this idiot arrived.’

⇒ **Strong pronoun/epithet in adjunct** → no ‘reconstructed’ reading

	Strong island
Weak resumption	reconstruction with BVA (✓)
Strong resumption	no reconstruction with BVA (*)

Table 3. Reconstruction: weak vs strong resumption

3.2 The type of binding condition: positive vs negative

Weak Resumption, whether or not an island appears in the structure, gives rise to:

- reconstruction with positive binding conditions (BVA satisfied in (a) examples);
- **no** reconstruction with negative conditions (Cond. C not violated in (b) examples).

- (13) (a) *[ʔalib-[ha]₁ l-kassul]₂ ma beddna ngol [l-wala mʕallmih]₁ ʔenno*
 student-her the-bad *Neg* want.1pl say to-no teacher that
l-mudiirah tardat-oh₂ mn l-madrased
 the-principal expelled.3sm.-Cl from the-school
 ‘Her bad student, we don’t want to tell any teacher that the principal expelled him from the school.’

⇒ **BVA with no island** → ‘reconstructed’ reading available

- (b) ʔalamit_2 Karim_1 , *bitfakir* ʔinnu pro_1 *lazim* ʔiǰayyar-ha_2 .
 grade Karim think.2sm that he must change-it
 ‘Karim’s grade, you think that he must change it.’

⇒ **Condition C with no island** → no ‘reconstructed’ reading

- (14) (a) $[\text{ʔalib-}[ha]_1$ $l\text{-kassoul}]_2$ *ma* *ziʔlat* $[\text{wala } m\text{ʔallmih}]_1$ *laʔannuh*
 student-her the-bad Neg upset.3sf no teacher because
l-mudiirah kaħʃat-oh}_2 / -oh}_2 hu}_2
 the-principal expelled.3sf-CL / CL he
 ‘Her bad student, no teacher was upset because the principal expelled him.’

⇒ **BVA with adjunct island** → ‘reconstructed’ reading available⁶

- (b) $[\text{ʔakhu } Laila}_1]_2$ pro_1 *ziʔlat* *laʔannuh* *l-mudiirah* *tardat-uh}_2*
 brother Laila she upset.3sf because the-principal expelled.3sm-CL
 ‘The brother of Laila, she got upset because the principal expelled him.’

⇒ **Condition C with adjunct island** → no ‘reconstructed’ reading

Strong Resumption does not exhibit this contrast:

- reconstruction with any binding condition when no island intervenes;
- no reconstruction (with any binding condition) when a strong island intervenes.

- (15) (a) $[\text{ʔalib-}[ha]_1$ $l\text{-kassul}]_2$ *ma* *beddna* *ngol* $[\text{l-wala } m\text{ʔallmih}]_1$ ʔenno
 student-her the-bad Neg want.1pl say to-no teacher that
hu}_2 ǰaʃ b-l-mtiħan
 he cheated.3.sm in-the-exam
 ‘Her bad student, we don’t want to tell any teacher that he cheated in the exam.’

⇒ **BVA with no island** → ‘reconstructed’ reading available

- (b) $*[\text{ʔakhu } Laila}_1]_2$ pro_1 *galat* ʔinnu $hu}_2 / ha\text{-l-habilih}_2$ *safar*
 brother Laila she said.3sf that he / the-idiot left.3sm
 ‘The brother of Laila, she said that he/the idiot left.’

⇒ **Condition C with no island** → ‘reconstructed’ reading

- (16) (a) $*[\text{ʔalib-}[ha]_1$ $l\text{-kassoul}]_2$ *ma* *ħakjan* *maʔ* $[\text{wala } m\text{ʔallmih}]_1$ *gabl-ma*
 student-her the-bad Neg talked.1pl with no teacher before
hu}_2 / ha\text{-l-ǰabi}_2 yesal
 he / the-idiot.3sm arrive.3sm
 ‘Her bad student, we didn’t talk to any teacher before he / this idiot arrived.’

⇒ **BVA with adjunct island** → no ‘reconstructed’ reading

⁶Notice that Condition A unsurprisingly behaves strictly in parallel to BVA, as both conditions are positive binding conditions.

- (b) [*Rakhu Laila*]₂ pro₁ *ziʕlat laʕannuh hu₂ / ha-l-habilih₂ safar*
 brother Laila she upset._{3sf} because he / the-idiot left._{3sm}
 ‘The brother of Laila, she got upset because he/the idiot left.’

⇒ **Condition C with adjunct island** → no ‘reconstructed’ reading

	No island	Strong island
Weak resumption	reconstruction with BVA (✓), not with Cond. C (✓)	reconstruction with BVA (✓), not with cond. C (✓)
Strong resumption	reconstruction with BVA (✓) and with Cond. C (*)	no reconstruction with BVA (*) and with Cond. C (✓)

Table 5. Reconstruction: weak vs strong resumption, no vs strong island & positive vs negative condition

4 Main proposal

Central claim: If an XP allows for reconstruction, a copy of that XP is present.

⇒ Reconstruction with weak resumption based on ellipsis via NP-deletion’s analysis of resumptive pronouns (see Elbourne (2001) among others);

⇒ Reconstruction with strong resumption based on movement when available (along the lines of Aoun et al. (2001)).

4.1 Weak resumptives as definite determiners

Elbourne (2001) assimilates third person pronouns to definite determiners, and further assumes the following structures:

- (17) (a) [_{DP} [_D the/it] NP]
 (b) [_{DP} the/it 1]

⇒ In (17a), the pronoun takes an NP-complement as argument (undergoing NP-deletion under identity with a linguistic antecedent).

⇒ In (17b), the pronoun takes an index (variable) as argument.

Our claim: Weak resumptives are definite determiners in the sense Elbourne (2001), taking either the NP-complement as argument (see (17a)), or the index (see (17b)).

This proposal will account for the fact that reconstruction with weak resumption:

- is not sensitive to islandhood (always available with BVA);
- is sensitive to binding conditions (available with BVA, but absent with cond. C).

Insensitivity to islandhood is predicted as reconstruction follows from ellipsis and not movement.

Sensitivity to binding conditions is also predicted.

⇒ Reconstruction is available with BVA in (19) as weak resumptives can be analysed with

the NP-argument, giving rise to the schemas in (20) where the pronoun can be interpreted in the scope of the quantifier⁷:

- (19) (a) [*ṭalib*-[*ha*]₁ *l-kassoul*] *ma ziʕlat* [*wala mʕallmih*]₁ *laʕannuh*
 student-her the-bad Neg upset.3sf no teacher because
l-mudiirah kaḥʕat-oh / -oh *hu mn l-madrise*
 the-principal expelled.3sf-CL / CL he from the-school
 ‘Her bad student, no teacher was upset because the principal expelled him from school.’
- (b) *La photo de sa₂ classe, tu es persuadé que chaque prof₂ l’a déchirée.*
 ‘The picture of his class, you are sure that each teacher tore it.’
- (20) (a) *ṭalib*-[*ha*]₁ *l-kassoul* ... [*wala mʕallmih*]₁ ... [_{DP} -oh [_{NP} ~~*ṭalib*-*ha*₁ *l-kassoul*~~]]
 the bad student of her₁ ... no teacher₁ ... [_{DP} her [_{NP} bad student of her₁]]
- (b) *la photo de sa₂ classe* ... *chaque prof₂* ... [_{DP} *l’* [_{NP} ~~*photo de sa₂ classe*~~]]
 the picture of his₂ class ... each teacher₂ ... [_{DP} it [_{NP} picture of his₂ class]]

⇒ Reconstruction is absent with Condition C in (21) as weak resumptives can also be analysed with an index as argument (no elided NP), giving rise the schemas in (22):

- (21) (a) [*ʔakhu Laila*]₂ *pro*₁ *ziʕlat* *laʕannuh l-mudiirah tardat-uh₂*
 brother Laila she upset.3sf because the-principal expelled.3sm-Cl
 / -uh₂ hu₂
 / Cl he
 ‘The brother of Laila, she got upset because the principal expelled him.’
- (b) *Le crayon₂ de Laila₁, je suis persuadé qu’elle₁ l₂’a volé.*
 Lit. ‘The pen of Laila, I’m sure that she stole it.’
- (22) (a) [*ʔakhu Laila*]₂ ... *pro*₁ ... [_{DP} -oh₂]
 the brother₂ of Laila₁ ... she₁ ... [_{DP} him₂]
- (b) *le crayon₁ de Laila₂* ... *elle₂* ... [_{DP} *l₁* ’]
 the pen₁ of Laila₂ ... she₂ ... [_{DP} it₁]

4.2 Strong resumptives: reconstruction through movement

Recall Aoun et al. (2001)’s analysis of apparent resumption in (7) repeated here in (23):

- (23) *Apparent resumption:*
 [_{DP} ... pronoun₁ ...]₂ [_{IP} ... QP₁ ... [_{CP} ... [_{DP} [_{DP} ... ~~pronoun₁~~ ...]₂ RP₂]]]

⁷Note that this analysis is on a par with Elbourne (2001)’s analysis of ‘paycheck’ sentences in which the presence of the bound pronoun in the elided copy straightforwardly accounts for the ‘covariant’ reading of the pronoun ‘it’:

- (18) John gave his paycheck to his mistress. Everybody else put it in the bank.
 John₁ gave his₁ paycheck to his mistress. Everybody₂ else put [_{DP} it [_{NP} paycheck of him₂]] in the bank.

Aoun et al. (2001) propose this structure for all kinds of resumption. But, as pointed out by (Elbourne, 2001, chap.3), weak pronouns cannot be cliticized onto DPs in the surface (see (24a)). Notice, however, that both strong pronouns in (24b) and epithets (24c) can appear overtly adjoined (be used in apposition) to a DP:

- (24) (a) **Karim-uh illi fuft-uh mat*
 Karim-Cl that saw.1s-Cl dead
 ‘Karim that I saw is dead.’
- (b) *hu Karim illi fuft-uh mat*
 he Karim that saw.1s-Cl dead
 ‘Karim that I saw is dead.’
- (c) *fuft Karim ha-l-habilih*
 saw.1s Karim this-the-idiot
 ‘I saw Karim, this idiot.’

Our claim: Only strong resumption can be analysed along the lines of Aoun et al. (2001)’s distinction between apparent and true resumption.

This claim accounts for the fact that reconstruction with strong resumption:

- is sensitive to islandhood (available only when no island intervenes);
- is insensitive to binding conditions.

Sensitivity to islands is predicted. Reconstruction is blocked whenever a strong island intervenes, as the contrast between (25) and (26) shows.

Insensitivity to binding conditions is also predicted. When movement is licit (no island), creation of a copy adjoined to the strong resumptive will trigger reconstruction (hence violation of condition C and satisfaction of BVA in (25)). Otherwise (strong island), no reconstruction appears (no condition C violation, but violation of BVA in (26)).

(25) *reconstruction with BVA/Condition C in no island context:*

- (a) *[talib-[ha]₁ l-kassul]₂ ma beddna ngol [l-wala mʕallmih]₁ ʔenno*
 student-her the-bad Neg want.1pl say to-no teacher that
hu₂ ɟaʃ b-l-mtiħan
 he cheated.3.sm in-the-exam
 ‘Her bad student, we don’t want to tell any teacher that he cheated in the exam.’
- (b) **[ʔakhu Laila]₁ pro₁ galat ʔinnu hu₂ / ha-l-habilih₂ safar*
 brother Laila she said.3sf that he / the-idiot left.3sm
 ‘The brother of Laila, she said that he/the idiot left.’

(26) *no reconstruction with BVA/Condition C in strong island context:*

- (a) **[talib-[ha]₁ l-kassoul]₂ ma ħakjan maʕ [wala mʕallmih]₁ gabl-ma*
 student-her the-bad Neg talked.1pl with no teacher before
hu₂ / ha-l-ɟabi₂ yesal
 he / the-idiot.3sm arrive.3sm
 ‘Her bad student, we didn’t talk to any teacher before he / this idiot arrived.’

- (b) [*ʔakhu Laila*]₂ pro₁ *ziʕlat laʔannuh hu₂ / ha-l-habilih₂ safar*
 brother Laila she upset.3sf because he / the-idiot left.3sm
 ‘The brother of Laila, she got upset because he/the idiot left.’

	Weak Resumption Reconstruction via ellipsis (à la Elbourne (2001))	Strong Resumption Reconstruction via movement (à la Aoun et al. (2001))
No island	reconstruction with BVA (✓), not with Cond. C (✓)	reconstruction with BVA (✓), and with Cond. C (*)
Strong island	reconstruction with BVA (✓) not with Cond. C (✓)	no reconstruction with BVA (*) or with Cond. C (✓)

Table 7. Summary

5 Further support: on copy interpretation

Further support for this approach comes from the way copies get interpreted, and more precisely the fact that resumption will force a **definite** interpretation of the copy. Consider the following contrasts in French and JA respectively:

- (27) (a) *Quelle photo₁ chaque homme a-t-il déchirée* —₁? (✓functional)
 ‘Which picture did each man tear?’
 (b) *Quelle photo₁ es-tu fâché parce que chaque homme l₁’a déchirée?* (*funct.)
 ‘Which picture are you furious because every man tore **it**?’
 (c) *Quelle photo₁ de lui es-tu fâché parce que chaque homme l₁’a déchirée?* (✓f.)
 ‘Which picture of him are you furious because each man tore **it**?’
- (28) (a) *ʔaya surah₁ kul zalamih mazaʕ —₁?* (✓functional)
 Which picture every man tear.past
 ‘Which picture did each man tear?’
 (b) *ʔaya surah₁ kul zalamih mazaʕ -ha₁?* (*functional)
 Which picture every man tear.past-Cl
 ‘Which picture did each man tear (it)?’
 (c) *ʔaya surah₁ il-uh₂ kul zalamih₂ mazaʕ -ha₁?* (✓functional)
 Which picture of-him every man tear.past-Cl
 ‘Which picture of him did each man tear (it)?’

⇒ The ‘reconstructed’ functional reading is available with a gap, as shown by (27a) for French, and (28a) for JA, but surprisingly disappears with resumption, as shown by (27b) for French and (28b) for JA⁸. And even more surprisingly, the functional reading reappears in (27c) and (28c), as a case of binding reconstruction.

Our account: Presence of resumption (as a definite description) just blocks interpretation of the copy as indefinite, leading to the schemas in (29).

⁸This contrast was first discussed by Doron (1982) with relative clauses in Hebrew. Also notice that this contrast is not expected under any approach based on the notion of complex traces (see Engdahl (1980)) or on variable-free semantics (see Jacobson (1999)), because pronouns should also be able to be treated as complex in the former, and because the latter treats pronouns as the identity function.

- (29) (a) *Scope Reconstruction with a Gap:*
 quelle photo ... chaque homme₂ ... [_{DP} [_{NP} photo]]
 which picture ... each man₂ ... [_{DP} [_{NP} picture]]
 $\Rightarrow LF: \lambda p. \exists f. true(p) \wedge p = each\ man_x\ tore\ f_x(picture)$
- (b) *No Scope Reconstruction with Resumption:*
 quelle photo ... chaque homme₂ ... [_{DP} I' [_{NP} photo]]
 which picture ... each man₂ ... [_{DP} it [_{NP} picture]]
 $\Rightarrow LF: \lambda p. \exists y. true(p) \wedge p = you\ are\ furious\ because\ each\ man_x\ tore\ the\ picture\ identical\ to\ y$
- (c) *Binding reconstruction with Resumption*
 quelle photo de lui₂ ... chaque homme₂ ... [_{DP} I' [_{NP} photo-de-lui₂]]
 which picture of him₂ ... each man₂ ... [_{DP} it [_{NP} picture-of-him₂]]
 $\Rightarrow LF: \lambda p. true(p) \wedge p = you\ are\ furious\ because\ each\ man_x\ tore\ the\ picture\ of\ x$

\Rightarrow In (29a), interpretation of the copy as a skolemized choice function (indefinite) gives rise to the functional reading. In (29b) and (29c) the copy is interpreted as definite because of the resumptive pronoun. Functional reading with resumption will then only follow from the presence of a bound pronoun, as in (29c).

6 Conclusion

- (A') Reconstruction cannot rely exclusively on the presence of (A') movement, as reconstruction (linked to binding) can occur within islands (data from French and JA).
- Reconstruction signals the presence of a copy rather than the presence of movement.
 - \Rightarrow For weak resumption, we argue for reconstruction via NP-deletion's analysis of pronouns à la Elbourne (2001);
 - \Rightarrow For strong resumption, we argue for reconstruction via movement in the sense of Aoun et al. (2001).
- Resumption forces interpretation of the copy as definite.
- Functional readings follows either from indefinite interpretation of the copy (scope reconstruction), or from the presence of a bound pronoun in that copy (binding reconstruction).

Comments Welcome!

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