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Weak versus Strong Resumption: covarying differently ¹

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0. Introduction

Our goal in this paper is to provide a deep study of resumption with respect to a traditional distinction within possible anaphoric expressions in natural language: weak elements (clitics or doubled clitics) *vs* strong elements (strong pronouns or epithets). Providing data mainly from Jordanian Arabic, we propose an analysis of resumption and reconstruction that could relate two major asymmetries between weak and strong resumption, one concerning the type of antecedent compatible with the resumptive item (strong resumption banning QP antecedents in non-island contexts, contrary to weak resumption), and the other linked to the availability of reconstruction (strong resumption banning reconstruction in strong island contexts, contrary to weak resumption). Our analysis crucially relies on the following three claims:

- covarying/distributive interpretation of a (resumptive) pronoun results either from a bound variable interpretation, or an *e*-type interpretation of that entity (*cf* Elbourne (2002));
- functional items (i.e. weak pronouns) support either a bound variable or an *e*-type interpretation, whereas lexical ones (i.e. strong pronouns and epithets) can only get an *e*-type interpretation (*cf* Noguchi (1997));
- presence of a strong island forces an *e*-type interpretation of the resumptive element (*cf* arguments from Reinhart & Reuland (1991) or Kratzer (to appear) in favour of a distinction between local and long-distance anaphora).

The first three sections introduce and summarize the two major asymmetries between weak and strong resumption through data from Jordanian Arabic. Sections 4 and 5 develop our analysis by firstly presenting our main claims and independent arguments for them, and secondly showing how these claims straightforwardly account for the specific behaviour of both weak and strong resumption in Jordanian Arabic.

¹ We would like to thank the audience of the workshop *Resumption at the interfaces* for their help or comments, and especially Alain Rouveret and Hamida Demirdache, the organizers.

1. Resumption in Jordanian Arabic

This first section is devoted to the notion of resumption in Jordanian Arabic (henceforth JA). More precisely, we first discuss two properties of the resumptive strategy in JA: the distinction between two kinds of resumptive items (weak and strong) and their ability to appear in island contexts. This discussion will lead us to the first asymmetry between weak and strong resumption: the fact that the latter bans QP antecedents, but only in non-island contexts.

1.1. Introducing resumption

The notion of resumption can be defined as a detachment strategy by which a pronoun occupies the thematic position of the detached constituent, i.e. a constituent in A' position. As shown by the following example from JA, resumption inserts a pronoun (the clitic pronoun *-ha*) which doubles the displaced constituent *ha-l-bint*, whereas movement strategy would leave a gap²:

- (1) *ha-l-bint* *karim gal* *?in-ha* *rah* *tin ʒah*
this-the-girl Karim said.3sm that-Cl will succeed.3sf
‘This girl, Karim said that she would pass.’

1.1.1. What qualifies as resumption: weak vs strong anaphoric expressions

Several studies have demonstrated that (morphologically) different kinds of anaphoric expressions can be used as resumptive items in natural language. Such anaphoric expressions are usually classified into two categories: weak elements which are affixed to heads (V, N, P) and strong elements that occur as independent morphemes.

In Jordanian Arabic, weak anaphoric elements occur in all non-subject positions and are realized either as clitics (see (2)) or as doubled clitics (a clitic with a strong pronoun, as you can see in (3)) on a lexical head:

- (2) a. *kariim Darab-ne/-na*
 Karim. hit.3sm-1s/-1p
 ‘Karim hit me/us.’
- b. *ktab-ak/-ik/-ku*
 book-2sm/-2sf/-2p
 ‘Your book’

² We will restrict our study to cases of dislocation in Jordanian Arabic.

c. *ruhit maṣ-ha/-uh/-hum*
 went.2sm with-3sf/-3sm/-3p
 ‘You went with her/him/them.’

(3) a. *kariim Darab-ne ?ana/-na ?ihna*
 Karim hit.3sm-1s I/-1p us
 ‘Karim hit me/us.’

b. *ktab-ak ?intih/-ik ?inti/-ku ?intu*
 book-2sm you/2sf you/-2p you
 ‘Your book’

c. *ruhit maṣ-ha hi/-uh hu/-hum humuh*
 went.2sm with-3sf she/-3sm he/-3p they
 ‘You went with her/him/them.’

Weak anaphoric elements may also occur in subject position, affixed to C° *?inn-*, as shown by (4) for the clitic and (5) for the doubled clitic:

(4) *gal-u ?inn-ha/-uh/-hum raḥat/raḥ/raḥu*
 said.3p that-3sf/-3sm/-3p went.3sf/went.3sm/ went.3p
 ‘They said that she/he/they went.’

(5) *gal-u ?inn-ha hi/-uh hu/-hum humuh raḥat/raḥ/raḥu*
 said.3p that-3sf she/-3sm he/-3p they went.3sf/went.3sm/ went.3p
 ‘They said that she/he/they went.’

As for strong anaphoric expressions in Jordanian Arabic, strong pronouns usually occur in subject position (see (6)), whereas epithets can occur in both subject, object or oblique positions (see (7) and (8)):

(6) *zeina ftakarat ?cnnu ?ana/?ihna bcl-beet*
 Zeina thought.3sf that I/we in-the-house
 ‘Zeina thought that I was/we were at home.’

(7) *zeina ftakarat ?cnnu ha-l-gaby/ha-t-tyuss bcl-beet*
 Zeina thought.3sf that this-the-idiot/this-the-idiots in-the-house
 ‘Zeina thought that the idiot was/the idiots were at home.’

(8) a. *kariim Darab ha-l-habilih / ha-l-habayil*
 Karim hit.3sm this-the-idiot/this-the-idiots
 ‘Karim hit the idiot/idiots.’

b. *ruhit maş ha-l-habilih / ha-l-habayil*
 went.2sm with this-the-idiot/this-the-idiots
 ‘You went with this idiot/ these idiots.’

The table below gives a schematic overview of the two kinds of anaphoric expressions (weak vs strong) that can be used as resumptive items in Jordanian Arabic:

		Singular		Plural	
		<i>masculine</i>	<i>feminine</i>	<i>masculine</i>	<i>feminine</i>
Weak elements	<i>Clitics</i>	<i>-uh</i> ‘him’	<i>-ha</i> ‘her’	<i>-hum</i> ‘them’	<i>-hin</i> ‘them’
	<i>Doubled clitics</i>	<i>-uh hu</i> ‘him he’	<i>-ha hi</i> ‘her she’	<i>-hum humuh</i> ‘them they’	<i>-hin hinnih</i> ‘them they’
Strong elements	<i>Strong pronouns</i>	<i>hu</i> ‘he’	<i>hi</i> ‘she’	<i>humuh</i> ‘they’	<i>hinnih</i> ‘they’
	<i>Epithets</i>	(ha)- l - NP (demonstrative) - definite article - NP			

Table 1: anaphoric expressions in JA

Notice that all these items can be used as resumptive elements, i.e. doubling a constituent in an A' position. Consider indeed the following examples, one for each type:

(9) a. (*Doubled*) *clitic*:

ha-l-bint *karim gal* *?in-ha (hi)* *rah* *tinʒah*
 this-the-girl Karim said.3sm that-Cl (*she*) will succeed.3sf
 ‘This girl, Karim said that she would pass.’

b. *Strong pronoun*:

ha-l-bint *karim gal* *?in* ***hi*** *rah* *tinʒah*
 this-the-girl Karim said.3sm that she will succeed.3sf
 ‘This girl, Karim said that she would pass.’

c. *Epithet*:

ha-l-bint *karim gal* *?in* ***ha-l-malʒunih*** *rah* *tinʒah*
 this-the-girl Karim said.3sm that this-the-damned will succeed.3sf
 ‘This girl, Karim said that the damned would pass.’

1.1.2. *Resumption and islandhood*

A major property of resumption in JA and also in many other languages is its capacity to overcome locality constraints that movement exhibits. Consider indeed the dislocation structure from JA in (10):

(10) *ha-l-muttahammih tfaʒaʔto lamma ʒrifto ?enno habasu – ha*
 this the defendant surprised-2p when learnt-2p that imprisoned.3p-her
 ‘This defendant, you were surprised because you learnt that they sent her to jail.’

This example clearly shows that a resumptive pronoun can occur within what is traditionally referred to as a strong island. The grammaticality of (10) suggests that resumption should be derived, at least in the present cases, without movement, i.e. as a case of detachment via base-generation³. Also notice that this property of resumption in JA holds whatever the type of resumptive element used, weak or strong, as will be shown in the following sections.

³ But see Boeckx (2001) or Rouveret (2002) for alternative views on the interaction between resumption and islandhood, and more precisely views according to which islands would constrain *Agree* rather than *Move*.

1.2. Asymmetry #1: on the type of dislocated antecedent

Having introduced the distinction between weak and strong anaphoric expressions as resumptives and emphasized the fact that they are legitimate in island contexts, we can now present the first striking asymmetry between weak and strong resumption, which concerns the type of dislocated antecedent that they allow, and more precisely the distinction between quantified phrases (QPs) and non-quantified phrases (DPs).

1.2.1. Weak resumption does not constrain the type of antecedent

As resumptive elements, clitics and doubled clitics in JA can be related to either a quantificational or non-quantificational antecedent, whether they occur in an island or not. Consider the examples from (11) to (13) with DP antecedents and the examples from (14) to (16) with QP antecedents:

(11) *(Doubled) clitic:*

ha-l-bint *karim gal* *?in- ha (hi)* *raħ* *tinʒaħ*
this-the-girl Karim said.3sm that-Cl (she) will succeed.3sf
‘This girl, Karim said that she would pass’

(12) *(Doubled) clitic inside an adjunct island:*

ha-z-zalamih *zçilt-u* *li ?annu –uh (hu)* *raħ* *bidun ma* *yiguul maç salamih*
this-the-man upset.2p because –Cl (he) went without Neg saying goodbye
‘This man, you were upset because he went without saying goodbye’

(13) *(Doubled) clitic inside a complex-NP island:*

ha-l- bint *btiçirfu* *l-walad* *illi* *kan* *bidu* *yiʒawaz-ha (hi)*
this-the- girl know.2p the-boy that was want marry-Cl (she)
‘This girl, you know the boy that he wanted to marry with her’

(14) *(Doubled) clitic:*

kul bint *karim gal* *?in- ha (hi)* *raħ* *tinʒaħ*
every girl Karim said.3sm that-Cl (she) will succeed.3sf
‘Every girl, Karim said that she would pass’

(15) *(Doubled) clitic inside an adjunct island:*

kul zalamih zçilt-u li ?annu –**uh (hu)** raħ bidun ma yiguul maç salamih
 every man upset.2p because –Cl (he) went without Neg saying goodbye
 ‘Every man, you were upset because he went without saying goodbye’

(16) *(Doubled) clitic inside a complex-NP island:*

kul bint btiçirfu l-walad illi kan bidu yiçawaz-**ha (hi)**
 every girl know.2p the-boy that was want marry-Cl (she)
 ‘Every girl, you know the boy that he wanted to marry with her’

In all these sentences, the weak resumptive (clitic or doubled clitic) can have either a DP or a QP antecedent in the dislocated/A' position.

1.2.2. Strong resumption does constrain the type of antecedent

However, if we consider strong elements, i.e. strong pronouns and epithets in JA, the results are less straightforward. When related to a non quantificational antecedent (DP), a strong resumptive is legitimate whatever the context, as the following examples demonstrate:

(17) a. *Strong pronoun:*

ha-l-bint karim gal ?in **hi** raħ tinçah
 this-the-girl Karim said.3sm that she will succeed.3sf
 ‘This girl, Karim said that she would pass.’

b. *Epithet:*

ha-l-bint karim gal ?in **ha-l-malçunih** raħ tinçah
 this-the-girl Karim said.3sm that this-the-damned will succeed.3sf
 ‘This girl, Karim said that the damned would pass.’

(18) a. *Strong pronoun inside an adjunct island:*

ha-z-zalamih zçilt-u li ?annu **hu** raħ bidun ma yiguul maç salamih
 this-the-man upset.2p because he went without Neg saying goodbye
 ‘This man, you were upset because he went without saying goodbye’

b. *Epithet inside an adjunct island:*

ha-z-zalamih zçilt-u li ?annu **ha-la-hmar** raħ bidun ma yiguul maç salamih
 this-the- man upset.2p because this-the-donkey went without Neg saying goodbye
 ‘This man, you were upset because the donkey went without saying goodbye’

(19) a. *Strong pronoun inside a complex-NP island:*

ha-l- bint btiçirfu l-walad illi **hi** Żawazat-uh
 this-the-girl know.2p the-boy that she marry.3sm-Cl
 ‘This girl, you know the boy that she married with him’

b. *Epithet inside a complex-NP island:*

ha-l- bint btiçirfu l-walad illi **ha-l-malçunih** Żawazat-uh
 this-the- girl know.2p the-boy that this-the-damned marry.3sm-Cl
 ‘This girl, you know the boy that *the damned* married with him’

However, when the antecedent is a QP, it can be resumed by strong anaphoric elements such as strong pronouns or epithets only if the QP and the resumptive element are separated by an island. Thus, observe the following contrast between the examples in (20) and those in (21) and (22):

(20) a. *Strong pronoun:*

***kul bint** karim gal ?innu **hi** raħ tinŻaħ
 every girl Karim said.3sm that she will succeed.3sf
 ‘Every girl, Karim said that she would pass’

b. *Epithet:*

***kul bint** karim gal ?in **ha-l-malçunih** raħ tinŻaħ
 every girl Karim said.3sm that this-the-damned will succeed.3sf
 ‘Every girl, Karim said that the damned would pass’

(21) a. *Strong pronoun inside an adjunct island:*

kul zalamih zçilt-u li ?annu **hu** raħ bidun ma yiguul maç salamih
 every man upset.2p because he went without Neg saying goodbye
 ‘Every man, you were upset because he went without saying goodbye’

b. *Epithet inside an adjunct island:*

kul zalamih *zçilt-u* *li ?annu ha-l-ħmar* *raħ* *bidun*
 every man upset.2p because this-the-donkey went without
ma *yiguul* *maç salamih*
 Neg saying goodbye

‘Every man, you were upset because the donkey went without saying goodbye’

(22) a. *Strong pronoun inside a complex-NP island:*

kul bint *btiçirfu* *l-walad* *illi* *hi* *çawazat-uh*
 every girl know.2p the-boy that she marry.3sm-Cl

‘Every girl, you know the boy that she married with him’

b. *Epithet inside a complex-NP island:*

kul bint *btiçirfu* *l-walad* *illi* *ha-l-malçunih* *çawazat-uh*
 every girl know.2p the-boy that this-the-damned marry.3sm-Cl

‘Every girl, you know the boy that the damned married with him’

In (20), resuming a QP antecedent with a strong pronoun or an epithet in the absence of a syntactic island results in ungrammaticality. In other words, dislocation of QP is banned in such examples, which may appear surprising when one compares these examples with similar ones involving weak resumption. Even more striking is the fact that inserting a syntactic island boundary (adjunct or complex-NP) between the dislocated QP and the strong resumptive leads to grammatical outputs, as shown by the examples in (21) and (22).

1.2.3. Summary

To sum up the data discussed so far, consider Table 2 below:

	No island contexts		Island contexts	
	DP antecedent	QP antecedent	DP antecedent	QP antecedent
Strong resumption	✓	*	✓	✓
Weak resumption	✓	✓	✓	✓

Table 2: DP/QP antecedents with weak/strong resumptives.

As shown by the table, weak resumptives are not sensitive to the quantificational nature of their antecedent, whereas strong resumptives are, and this in the following way: although the latter can freely have a DP antecedent, they need to be separated from a QP antecedent by an island.

So, two questions arise at this point. First, what could account for that distinction between weak and strong resumption with respect to the type of antecedent? Second, how could we explain the distinction within strong resumption, i.e. the fact that a QP can be resumed by a strong resumptive only if an island occurs between the two?

2. Adding reconstruction to the puzzle

In this section, we first introduce the notion of reconstruction to see how it interacts with resumption in both Lebanese and Jordanian Arabic. Then, we show that the distinction between weak and strong resumption also plays a crucial role in allowing or banning reconstruction.

2.1. Introducing reconstruction: building on syntactic copies

Reconstruction is traditionally referred to as the interaction between displacement structures (dislocation, topicalization, interrogation and relativization) and structural constraints on sentence interpretation, i.e. quantifier scope and binding conditions. Consider the following examples in English as an illustration of the phenomenon:

(23) *Which picture of him_i(self)_i do you think that every man_i prefers?*

(23) illustrates reconstruction, and more precisely binding reconstruction. In that sentence, the pronoun *him* can be interpreted as a variable bound by the quantified expression *every man*. The availability of such a reading might appear surprising if we assume that the bound variable reading of a pronoun is syntactically constrained in the following way:

(24) *Constraint on Bound Variable Anaphora:*

An anaphoric expression can be interpreted as a variable bound by a quantifier iff it is syntactically bound (c-commanded and coindexed) by that quantifier.

The bound variable reading of a pronoun then requires narrow scope of that entity with respect to the quantifier, which does not seem to be the case in our example in (23). However, the bound variable reading is available, hence arguing for (binding) reconstruction of the displaced constituent in order for the pronoun to be interpreted within the scope of the universal quantifier.

In the minimalist framework, reconstruction is accounted for through the copy theory of movement, a syntactic mechanism proposed by Lebeaux (1990), Chomsky (1995) and Sauerland (2004) among others, to allow interpretation of a displaced constituent in its base position. Consider then the following representation for the example in (23):

- (25) Which picture of him(self)_i do you think that every man_i prefers ~~which picture of~~ him(self)_i?

The copy theory of movement straightforwardly accounts for binding reconstruction in (23). A copy of the displaced constituent is provided in the thematic position of that constituent, as (25) illustrates. Presence of that copy accounts for the bound variable reading of the pronoun *him*, as the universal quantifier *every* can now take scope over that pronoun, hence satisfying the requirement on bound variable interpretation.

Using reconstruction as a diagnostic for movement, Aoun *et al* (2001) propose a fine-grained analysis of resumption in Lebanese Arabic (henceforth LA), based notably on the following contrast:

- (26) [telmiiz-[a]_i l-kesleen]_j ma baddna nxabbir [wala mçallme]_i
 student-her the-bad Neg want.1p tell.1p no teacher
 ?inno huwwe_j zaçbar b-l-faħis □
 that he cheated.3sm in-the-exam
 ‘Her bad student, we don’t want to tell any teacher that he cheated in the exam.’

- (27) *[telmiiz-[a]_i l-kesleen]_j ma ħkiina maç [wala mçallme]_i
 student-her the-bad Neg talked.1p with no teacher
 ?able ma huwwe_j yuusal
 before he arrive.3sm
 ‘Her bad student, we didn’t talk to any teacher before he arrived.’

On the basis of such examples, Aoun *et al* (2001) argue that resumptive elements which appear inside islands (see the strong island in (27)) behave differently from resumptive elements which are not inside islands, as in (26). They introduce the distinction between *true* and *apparent resumption*, respectively for the two cases. On the one hand, the bound variable reading of the possessive pronoun in the left-dislocated DP in (26) (being bound by the negative QP *wala*

mɣallme ‘no teacher’) can be obtained if we suppose that apparent resumption, derived via movement, is at stake, hence allowing reconstruction by providing a copy of the antecedent adjoined to the resumptive element. Notice that such a reconstructed reading with a resumptive element amounts to a case of covariation on that item, as the reference of *huwwe* ‘he’ can vary with respect to every teacher. On the other hand, presence of a strong island in (27) leads to true resumption derived without movement, hence predicting absence of reconstruction. Notice that both examples make use of a strong resumptive, the strong pronoun *huwwe*, in LA.

2.2. Asymmetry #2: on the availability of reconstruction

Having introduced traditional assumptions about resumption and reconstruction, a natural question that arises is whether the distinction between weak and strong resumption plays a role with respect to the reconstruction phenomenon. And we will see that it does.

2.2.1. Weak resumption does not restrict reconstruction

Recent studies (see Guillot & Malkawi (2007, 2009)) have already established that reconstruction is available with weak resumption, and this even when an island occurs between the weak resumptive and its antecedent. Consider the following examples in which the bound variable interpretation of the possessive *-ha* ‘her’ is available, hence suggesting reconstruction:

(28) *(Doubled) clitic in non-island context:*

[ʔalib-[**ha**]_i l-kassoul]_j ma baddna nxabbir [wala mɣallmih]_i
 student-her the-bad Neg want-1p tell-1p no teacher
 ?*innu-uh_j (hu)* zaɣbar b-l-fahiɣ
 that-Cl (he) cheated.3sm in-the-exam
 ‘Her bad student, we don’t want to tell any teacher that he cheated on the exam.’

(29) *(Doubled) clitic inside an adjunct island:*

[ʔalib-[**ha**]_i l-kassoul]_j ma ziɣlat [wala mɣallmih]_i la?annuh l-mudiirah
 student-her the-bad Neg upset.3sf no teacher because the-principal
 kaḥ[at – **uh_j (hu_j)** mn l- madrase
 expelled.3sf–Cl (he) from the-school
 ‘Her bad student, no teacher was upset because the principal expelled him from school.’

Both examples in (28) and (29) license the reconstructed reading, and thus the covariant reading of the weak resumptives (referring to a different student for each teacher). The case of (29) with the strong island further shows the limits of an account of reconstruction with resumption based exclusively on the distinction between apparent and true resumption, as proposed in Aoun *et al* (2001). The question of how such reconstruction within a strong island should be accounted for will be developed in section 5.1.2.

2.2.2. Strong resumption does restrict reconstruction

Contrary to weak resumption which licenses reconstructed readings independently of the context, whether an island is present or not, strong resumption in JA (like in LA) makes a clear distinction between the two contexts. In non-island contexts, strong resumption behaves like weak resumption, allowing for reconstruction, as example (30) shows:

(30) *Strong pronoun/epithet in non-island context:*

[*ʔalib-[ha]_i l-kassoul*]_j ma baddna nxabbir [*wala mʕallmih*]_i ?innu
 student-her the-bad Neg want.1p tell.1p no teacher that
huwwəj/ha-l-maʒduubj gaʃ b-l-faħiʃ
 he this-the-idiot cheated.3sm in-the-exam

‘Her bad student, we don’t want to tell any teacher that he/the idiot cheated on the exam.’

However, contrary to weak resumption, presence of a strong island between the left-dislocated DP and the strong resumptive bans the reconstructed reading of that DP, as shown by the ungrammaticality of (31) under the intended reading:

(31) *Strong pronoun/epithet in an adjunct island:*

*[*ʔalib-[ha]_i l-kassoul*]_j ma ħakjan maʕ [*wala mʕallmih*]_i
 student-her the-bad Neg talked.1p with no teacher
gabl ma hu_i/ha-l- ġabi_j yesal
 before he / the-idiot.3sm arrive.3sm

‘Her bad student, we didn’t talk to any teacher before he/the idiot arrived.’

In other words, the same contrast appears in LA and in JA with respect to strong resumption: the presence of an island blocks the reconstructed reading, i.e. bans the bound variable interpretation of *-ha* ‘her’ with respect to *wala mʕallmih* ‘no teacher’.

2.2.3. Summary

Reconstruction data from JA exhibit a clear distinction between weak and strong resumption, notably in strong island contexts, as only weak resumption licenses reconstructed readings in such contexts. Reconstruction data with bound variable anaphora in JA are summarized in Table 3 below:

	Non-island contexts	Strong island contexts
Strong resumption	✓	*
Weak resumption	✓	✓

Table 3: Reconstruction with weak/strong resumptives in JA

Also notice from Table 3 that reconstruction with strong resumption is sensitive to islandhood, as it is still available in non-island contexts.

3. Interim summary

From the first two sections, two generalizations with respect to the distinction between weak and strong resumption have been put forth. The first one concerns the type of antecedent that both may license, the second being linked to the notion of reconstruction. When weak resumption is involved, the dislocated antecedent can be a QP and reconstructed readings are licensed, whatever the contexts. However, when strong resumption is used, QP antecedents are licensed only within (strong) islands, and reconstructed readings hold only in non-island contexts.

A question that arises at this point is whether there could be a possible link, at least indirect, between the two phenomena described above, i.e. (i) whether an anaphoric expression (weak *vs* strong) can be related to a QP antecedent or not, and (ii) whether it allows for reconstruction or not.

The aim of the following sections is indeed to present a general account of the distribution of anaphoric expressions in JA that would naturally relate the two properties described in the previous sections.

4. Our claims in three steps

In this section, we present three claims which suffice to account for the wide range of data from JA discussed so far. Following most traditional assumptions in generative framework, we first argue that covariation of an anaphoric expression follows either from a Bound Variable (BV) interpretation or an *e*-type interpretation, our analysis of *e*-type phenomenon being essentially based on Elbourne (2002) among others. We then follow Noguchi (1997) in claiming that only functional items such as weak anaphoric expressions license BV interpretation. And finally, we also argue, following Kratzer (to appear) among others, that local and long-distance anaphora should be clearly distinguished, and more precisely that the presence of a strong island between an anaphoric expression and its antecedent forces an *e*-type interpretation of the anaphoric expression.

4.1. How to get covariation

The first notion that appears to be relevant to account for the data discussed so far is the general notion of covariation of an anaphoric expression, i.e. the fact that the reference of a pronoun or an epithet can vary. Notice indeed that both reconstruction with resumption and the quantificational nature of the antecedent can lead to cases of covariation of the anaphoric item. We argue that covariation usually occurs as a consequence of two distinct mechanisms in natural language: either bound variable anaphora (BVA) with a quantificational antecedent, which is syntactically constrained, or what is commonly referred as *e*-type, *donkey*, or *paycheck* anaphora.

4.1.1. Bound Variable Anaphora (BVA)

The first way an anaphoric expression can have a covarying interpretation is through BV interpretation. For example, it is generally assumed that both pronominals and reflexives in English can be construed as bound variables, as shown in (32) and (33):

(32) *Every boy_i thinks that he_i is intelligent.*

LF: $\forall x (x \text{ is a boy} \rightarrow x \text{ thinks that } x \text{ is intelligent})$

(33) *Every girl_i believes in herself_i.*

LF: $\forall x (x \text{ is a girl} \rightarrow x \text{ believes in } x)$

Notice that covariation of *he* and *herself* here comes from the quantificational nature of their antecedent, as their reference varies with respect to each *boy* or *girl*. Also recall that the availability of such BV reading in (32) and (33) is syntactically constrained, as stated by Principle in (24) repeated here in (34):

(34) *Constraint on Bound Variable Anaphora:*

An anaphoric expression can be interpreted as a variable bound by a quantifier iff it is bound (c-commanded and coindexed) by that quantifier.

4.1.2. *E-type Anaphora*

Aside from BVA, several studies have demonstrated that covariation of an anaphoric expression could result from another phenomenon, traditionally referred as *e-type*, *donkey*, or *paycheck* anaphora. The notion of *e-type* interpretation of an anaphoric expression was first introduced by Evans (1980) in order to deal with those sentences in which pronouns display a covarying interpretation that cannot be attributed to a BV interpretation. Consider the following classical examples of the *e-type* phenomenon:

- (35) a. *John gave his paycheck_i to his mistress. Everybody else put it_i in the bank.*
b. *Every farmer who owns a donkey_i beats it_i.*

The pronoun *it* in both (35)a and (35)b can have an *e-type* interpretation, i.e. a covarying reading in the sense that it can refer to a different *paycheck* or *donkey* with respect to each person or *farmer*. Notice that such covariation cannot result from BVA (at least directly), as there is no coindexation between the quantified expression and the pronoun *it* (they do not range over the same type of elements). Intuitively, covariation with *e-type* anaphora clearly comes from the distributive potential of the antecedent *his paycheck* or *a donkey* within the scope of a QP. Such distributive potential in (35)a comes from binding considerations, as the antecedent contains a potentially bound variable with the possessive *his*. As for (35)b, scope considerations are at stake, as the indefinite antecedent *a donkey* has a distributive reading under the scope of the QP *every farmer*.

There still remains to come up with a nice formalization of this intuition about the *e-type* phenomenon. Such a formalization is provided by Elbourne (2002), who proposes to analyse *e-type* pronouns as definite descriptions composed of a determiner (the pronoun) and an NP complement which has been elided under identity, as shown by the structure in (36):

(36) [DP [D° the/it_i] NP]

This assumption nicely accounts for the covarying reading of the pronoun *it* in (35)a, as it gives rise to the following representation:

(37) John_i gave his_i paycheck to his_i mistress. Everybody_j else put [DP it [NP ~~paycheck of him_j~~]] in the bank.

The presence of the bound pronoun *him* within the elided copy of the NP now straightforwardly accounts for the covarying reading of the pronoun *it*⁴.

In section 5, we will see that this analysis of the *e*-type phenomenon straightforwardly accounts for reconstruction with resumption, or in other words, covariation of resumptive pronouns in JA.

4.2. Lexical vs functional items: a restriction on BV interpretation

Our second claim to account for the asymmetries between weak and strong resumption in JA is indirectly related to the notion of covariation. It is based on Noguchi (1997)'s distinction between two kinds of pronouns and anaphoric expressions: D-pronouns or functional items on the one hand, and N-pronouns or lexical items on the other hand⁵. Crucially indeed, Noguchi (1997) argues that only functional items allow for the BV interpretation.

This generalization is essentially based on Japanese data, and more precisely on a comparative study of so-called functional items such as *zibun* ‘self’ and lexical ones such as *kare* ‘he’ and *kanozjo* ‘she’. Consider the following contrast with respect to these items:

(38) *Daremo_i-ga zibun_i-no ryoosin-ni kansya si-te i-ru.*
 everyone-Nom self-Gen parents-Dat gratitude do-NF be-Pres
 ‘Everyone is grateful to self’s parents.’

⁴ Notice that Elbourne (2002) also accounts for *e*-type anaphora related to scope (example in (35)b) by introducing quantification over situations. For more details, see Elbourne (2002).

⁵ For more details about such distinction, see Noguchi (1997).

- (39) **Daremo_i-ga kare_i-ga atama-ga ii to omotte i-ru.*
 everyone-Nom he-Nom head-Nom good Comp think be-Pres
 ‘Everyone thinks that he is intelligent.’

The contrast concerns the availability for a BV interpretation of the anaphoric expression in both examples. Although a functional item like *zibun* ‘self’ in (38) can readily induce a bound variable reading, Japanese third person pronouns like *kare* ‘he’ and *kanozjo* ‘she’, which are lexical items in the sense of Noguchi’s distinction, cannot be interpreted as variables bound by the QP, as the ungrammaticality of (39) under the intended reading shows.

Putting together our first claim (i) that covariation results from either a BV or an *e*-type interpretation with the generalization (ii) that lexical anaphoric items ban the BV interpretation leads to the following prediction:

- covariation of lexical anaphoric items can only result from an *e*-type phenomenon;
- covariation of functional anaphoric items result from either a BV or an *e*-type interpretation.

Extending the distinction (lexical vs functional) to anaphoric expressions in JA, we argue for the following claims:

- weak anaphoric expressions in JA (clitics and doubled clitics) are functional items, hence allow for both BV or *e*-type interpretation;
- strong anaphoric expressions in JA (strong pronouns and epithets) are lexical items, hence allow only for an *e*-type interpretation.

The first major argument in favour of such claims about anaphoric expressions in JA comes from the fact that the same pattern holds with respect to the availability of the BV interpretation. Consider indeed the following contrast in JA, strictly parallel to the one introduced in (38) and (39) for Japanese:

- (40) (*Doubled*) *clitic*:
- | | | | | |
|-----------------------------|--------------|--------------------------------|------------|---------------|
| <i>kul bint_i</i> | <i>galat</i> | <i>?in-ha_i (hi)</i> | <i>rah</i> | <i>tinʒah</i> |
| every girl | said.3sf | that-Cl (she) | will | succeed.3sf |
- ‘Every girl said that she would pass.’

(41) a. *Strong pronoun*⁶:

?? *kul bint_i galat ?innu hi_i raḥ tinʒaḥ*
 every girl said.3sf that she will succeed.3sf
 ‘Every girl said that she would pass’

b. *Epithet*:

* *kul bint_i galat ?innu ha-l-malʕunih_i raḥ tinʒaḥ*
 every girl said.3sf that this-the-damned will succeed 3sf
 ‘Every girl said that the damned would pass’

As shown by the grammaticality of (40) under the intended reading, weak anaphoric items such as the clitic or doubled clitic *-ha (hi)* license a BV interpretation: they can be bound by the QP *kul bint*. However, such a BV interpretation is not available if a strong anaphoric expression is used: both the strong pronoun in (41) and the epithet in (41) do not allow for a bound variable interpretation in similar contexts. This contrast, strictly parallel to the one between *zibun* and *kare* in Japanese, then suggests a kind of competition between weak/functional and strong/lexical anaphoric expressions within classical/local BV configurations, with only the former being legitimate.

Independent arguments for the lexical properties of strong anaphoric expressions in JA (and thus for the functional properties of weak anaphoric expressions in JA) come from the following diagnostics given in Noguchi (1997):

- a lexical item can be modified by an adjectival;
- a lexical item can be modified by a reflexive or a demonstrative.

Notice that such diagnostics clearly confirm the lexical status of strong anaphoric expressions in JA, as shown by the grammaticality of the following constructions in JA:

(42) a. *hu z-zagiir ?iʒa zarna*
 he the-small.3sm came.3sm visit.1p

b. *baḥib hu l-kabir*
 I like he the-big

⁶ Notice that some Jordanian speakers do not completely reject (41)a, but all of them agree on the contrast, i.e. the fact that such example is at least a lot better with a clitic pronoun.

c. *ha-l-habilih* *z-zagiirih* *?izat* *zartna*
 this-the-idiot.3sf the-small.3sf came.3sf visit.1pf

d. *bahib* *ha-l-habilih* *z-zagiirih*
 I like this-the-idiot. 3sf the-small.3sf

(43) a. *hu nafsuh*
 he himself

b. *ha-l-habilih nafsuh*
 this-the-idiot himself

(44) a. *haza/hażak hu*
 this/that he

b. *haza/hażak l-habilih*
 this/that the-idiot

These examples show that a strong pronoun or an epithet can indeed be modified by an adjectival (see (42)), a reflexive (see (43)) or a demonstrative (see (44)).

To conclude, the fact that strong anaphoric expressions in JA are lexical items in the sense of Noguchi (1997)'s classification predicts that covariation of such items could only result from an *e*-type phenomenon, since the BV interpretation would be banned in these cases.

4.3. Islandhood: forcing an *e*-type interpretation

Our last claim to account for the JA data discussed in sections 1 and 2 is also related to the notion of covariation, and more precisely to another kind of restriction on the possible mechanisms for covariation. We argue indeed that presence of a strong island between an anaphoric expression and its antecedent forces an *e*-type interpretation of that expression. Firstly, such assumption just corresponds to an extension of the idea that BVA should be restricted to cases of local anaphora. Several studies have indeed emphasized the need to make a clear distinction between local and long-distance anaphora. Most of these studies further argue that the mechanism of variable binding, whatever its implementation, should be strictly local (see Reinhart & Reuland (1991), but also Jacobson (1999) or Kratzer (to appear), among others).

Notice also that to argue for a link between the *e*-type phenomenon and the degree of syntactic complexity seems rather natural if you consider all the classical cases referred to as *e*-type anaphora: such cases either involve coordination or relative clauses⁷ which are traditionally considered as syntactic islands.

But the major argument for our claim that presence of a strong island forces an *e*-type interpretation is empirical, and is based on the following contrast between (39), repeated here in (45), and (46) from Hara (2000) in Japanese:

(45) **Daremo_i-ga kare_i-ga atama-ga ii to omotte-iru.*
 everyone-Nom he-Nom head-Nom good Comp think-Pres
 ‘Everyone thinks that he is intelligent.’

(46) a. *Sono ondai-ni hait-ta zyosi gakusei-no daremo_i-ga kanozyo_i-no*
 this music.college-to enter-Past female student-Gen everyone-Nom she-Gen
sainoo-o mottomo yoku hikidasi-te kure-ru sensei-ni
 talent-Acc most fully bring.out-NF do.the.favour-Pres teacher-Dat
dea-e-ta
 meet-can-Past
 ‘Every female student who entered that music college was able to meet a teacher who could bring out her talent to the full extent.’

b. *Dono gakusei_i-mo sensyuu kare_i-o suisen si-ta sensei-ni*
 every student-also last.week he-Acc recommendation do-Past teacher-Dat
orei-o okut-ta
 gift-Acc send-Past
 ‘Every student sent a gift to the teacher who recommended him last week.’

Although lexical items such as *kare* (or *kanozyo*) cannot have a BV interpretation, as the ungrammaticality of (45) confirms, these items can still allow for a distributive/covarying interpretation in some contexts such as the ones in (46). Notice indeed that both examples in (46) are grammatical under the intended reading, i.e. the reading in which reference of *kanozyo* and

⁷We could also add adjunct clauses to the list. See for example Haik (1985) for a similar view on *e*-type anaphora, except that she refers to *pronouns of laziness* instead. But the intuition is highly comparable and covers the same list of syntactic structures.

kare varies with respect to ‘every (female) student’. The crucial parameter to account for the contrast between (45) and (46) is whether a strong island occurs or not. The logical conclusion to be drawn from such a contrast is to argue that presence of strong islands in (46) just forces the interpretation of the lexical anaphoric expressions *kare* and *kanozyo* as *e*-type, the only mechanism (i) that can account for covariation of such lexical items, and (ii) that should be available if we consider BVA to be local.

Further data from JA confirms both claims that (i) strong pronouns and epithets are lexical items, and that (ii) presence of a strong island forces an *e*-type interpretation, since exactly the same contrast occurs in JA. Recall that strong pronouns and epithets do not license a BV interpretation (see (41) in Section 4.2). However, they still allow for a covariant interpretation when separated from their antecedents by a strong island, as the following examples show:

(47) a. *Strong pronoun inside an adjunct island:*

<i>kul zalamih_i</i>	<i>fakar</i>	<i>?inku zçilt-u</i>	<i>li ?annu</i>	<i>hu_i</i>
every man	thought.3sm	that upset.1p	because	he
<i>rah</i>	<i>bidun</i>	<i>ma yiguul maç salamih</i>		
went	without	Neg saying goodbye		

‘Every man thought that you were upset because he went without saying goodbye.’

b. *Epithet inside an adjunct island:*

<i>kul zalamih_i</i>	<i>fakar</i>	<i>?inku zçilt-u</i>	<i>li ?annu</i>	
every man	thought.3sm	that upset.1p	because	
<i>ha-l-hmar_i</i>	<i>rah</i>	<i>bidun</i>	<i>ma yiguul maç salamih</i>	
this-the-donkey	went	without	Neg saying goodbye	

‘Every man thought that you were upset because the donkey went without saying goodbye.’

(48) a. *Strong pronoun inside a complex-NP island:*

<i>kul bint_i</i>	<i>kanat btiçirf</i>	<i>l-walad</i>	<i>illi hi_i</i>	<i>çawazat-uh</i>
every girl	was know.3sf	the-boy	that she	marry.3sm-Cl

‘Every girl knew (before) the boy that she married with him.’

b. *Epithet inside a complex-NP island:*

*kul binti*_i *kanat btiçirfu* *l-walad illi* *ha-l-malçunih*_i *çawazat-uh*
every girl was know.3sf the-boy that this-the-damned marry.3sm-Cl
'Every girl knew (before) the boy that this damned married with him.'

As shown by the grammaticality of the examples in (47) and (48), the only context where strong pronouns and epithets can have a QP as their antecedent is when they are separated from that QP by a strong island, i.e. an adjunct in (47) or a complex-NP in (48). Indeed, as lexical items, they still allow for the *e*-type interpretation required by the presence of strong islands.

4.4. Summarizing our claims

To summarize, we argue for one basic claim about two types of covariation, and two kinds of restrictions on the type of covariation available:

- covariant/distributive interpretation of an anaphoric expression results in principle either from a BV interpretation or an *e*-type interpretation of that entity;
- functional items such as weak pronouns license either a BV or an *e*-type interpretation whereas lexical ones (i.e. strong pronouns and epithets) can only get an *e*-type interpretation;
- presence of a strong island forces an *e*-type interpretation of the anaphoric expression.

5. Accounting for the two asymmetries

Coming back to the resumptive uses of anaphoric expressions in JA, we argue that the three claims developed in the preceding section straightforwardly account for the two asymmetries between weak and strong resumption discussed in sections 1 and 2, i.e. the fact that weak resumption licenses both QP antecedents and reconstructed readings whatever the contexts, whereas strong resumption bans QP antecedents in non-island contexts and reconstruction in strong island contexts.

5.1. Weak resumptives as functional items

As functional items, weak resumptives in JA can have either a BV or an *e*-type reading. We argue that the fact that QP antecedents are legitimate in non-island contexts just follows from the fact that such contexts provide classical (local) BV configurations, and that such items allow for

such BV interpretation. Furthermore, the unrestricted availability of reconstruction with weak resumptives such as (doubled) clitics just follows from an *e*-type interpretation of such items à la Elbourne (2002).

5.1.1. Any type of antecedent in any context

The fact that weak resumption can be related with a QP regardless of the context comes as no surprise if we assume that they are functional items. Consider the data again:

(49) *Non-island context:*

kul bint karim gal ?in-ha (hi) raħ tinʒaħ
 every girl Karim said.3sm that-Cl (she) will succeed.3sf
 ‘Every girl, Karim said that she would pass’

(50) *Adjunct island context:*

kul zalamih zçilt-u li ?annu-uh (hu) raħ bidun ma yiguul maç salamih
 every man upset.2p because-Cl (he) went without Neg saying goodbye
 ‘Every man, you were upset because he went without saying goodbye’

In non-island contexts such as in (49), the antecedent QP is legitimate because it creates a classical BV configuration, and functional items do allow for BV interpretation, as pointed out by Noguchi (1997). Following our assumptions, presence of a strong island in (50) gives rise to the other possible interpretation of functional items, i.e. the *e*-type reading.

5.1.2. Reconstruction in any context

Moreover, our analysis can nicely account for the unrestricted availability of reconstruction effects with weak resumption, as shown by the following examples:

(51) *(Doubled) clitic in non-island context:*

[ʔalib-[ha]_i l-kassoul]_j ma baddna nxabbir [wala mçallmih]_i
 student-her the-bad Neg want-1p tell-1p no teacher
?innu-uh_j (hu) zaçbar b-l-faħiç
 that-Cl (he) cheated.3sm in-the-exam
 ‘Her bad student, we don't want to tell any teacher that he cheated on the exam.’

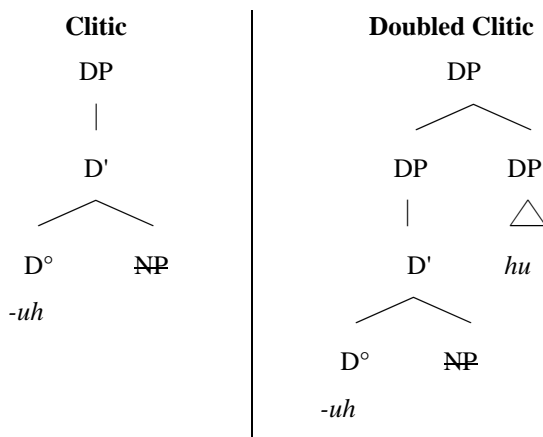
(52) (Doubled) clitic inside an adjunct island:

[ʔalib-[**ha**]_i l-kassoul]_j ma ziçlat [wala mçallmih]_i la?annuh l-mudiirah
 student-her the-bad Neg upset.3sf no teacher because the-principal
 kaḥ[**at** - **uh**]_j (**hu**)_j mn l- madrase
 expelled.3sf-Cl (he) from the-school

‘Her bad student, no teacher was upset because the principal expelled him from school.’

The most surprising result is certainly the fact that the reconstructed reading is available in (52), where the displaced constituent and the resumptive clitic are separated by an adjunct island, hence banning any account of reconstruction based exclusively on the presence of movement in the derivation. To account for such cases of reconstruction, we basically follow Guilliot & Malkawi (2007, 2009) in claiming that it just corresponds to an *e*-type interpretation of the resumptive clitic. More specifically, recall that we adopt Elbourne (2002)'s analysis of the *e*-type phenomenon. Under such a view, functional items, when interpreted as *e*-type, just correspond to definite determiners which can take an elided NP-complement as argument, hence giving rise to schemas in (53):

(53) Schematic representation of weak resumption



Notice here that a similar analysis of pronouns as determiners followed by an elided constituent can be found in Freidin & Vergnaud (2001), and was developed in parallel by Rouveret (2008) to account for cases of reconstruction with resumption in Welsh⁸.

⁸ The analysis developed in Rouveret (2008) is similar to the one proposed here, being based on such ellipsis phenomenon on the resumptive. More specifically, Rouveret (2008) discusses another advantage of such analysis: the fact that it can account for a well-known contrast with resumption: presence of reconstruction with positive binding conditions (Condition A, BVA) *vs* absence of reconstruction with negative binding conditions (Condition C). For more details, see Rouveret (2008).

Under such a view, reconstruction with weak anaphoric items does not come as a surprise, since it gives rise to the following representation for both (51) and (52):

(54) *talib-[ha]_il-kassoul ... [wala mçallmih]_i... [DP -oh [NP ~~talib-ha_il-kassoul~~]]*
 student-her the-bad no teacher him student-her the-bad

Following (54), binding reconstruction is now predicted in both (51) and (52), as an elided copy of the displaced constituent appears within the scope of the quantifier, leading to the BV reading of the possessive *-ha*. Presence of the bound variable in the elided copy now straightforwardly accounts for the covariant reading of the resumptive clitic *-oh*, as a classical case of *e*-type anaphora resulting from binding considerations (distributive potential of its antecedent).

Also notice here that if classical (local) BV configurations clearly favour functional anaphoric expressions over lexical ones, nothing in principle bans an *e*-type interpretation in a non-island context (as in (51)). To distinguish the two more precisely and to predict when an *e*-type reading is available, we further assume that such *e*-type phenomenon in local contexts would be available only if it gives rise to a reading semantically distinct from the BV interpretation⁹, which is clearly the case when reconstruction is at stake: binding of the resumptive by the dislocated constituent (as a traditional BV relation) will only give rise to an individual reading, but crucially not a reconstructed/functional reading.

Finally, the fact that reconstruction with weak resumption holds in island contexts is now predicted, since *e*-type interpretation follows here from presence of an elided copy, i.e. not a copy left by movement.

5.2. Strong resumptives as lexical items

Contrary to weak resumptives, strong resumptives in JA (strong pronouns and epithets) are lexical items. As such, our claims in section 3 suggest that they only allow for one type of covariation, the one induced by the *e*-type interpretation. We argue that such a restriction on strong resumption now accounts for the two major differences with weak resumption, (i) the fact that strong resumptives only allow for QP antecedents in island contexts, and the fact that they only allow for reconstructed readings in non-island contexts.

⁹ Such assumption, which should be developed in future work, is on a par with Reinhart (1983) or Heim (1993)'s pragmatic account of Condition C based on a similar competition over (un)distinguishable semantic outputs.

5.2.1. *QP antecedents only in island contexts*

The fact that strong resumption in JA licenses QP antecedents only in island contexts is straightforwardly predicted, since it just follows from a more general restriction on lexical anaphoric expressions. As far as QP antecedents are concerned, consider indeed the parallel between lexical anaphoric expressions used as resumptive (QP antecedent in A' position in (56)) or not (QP antecedent in A position in (55)):

(55) a. *Strong pronoun or epithet in non-island context:*

?? *kul bint_i galat ?innu hi_i/ha-l-malçunih_i raħ tinʒaħ*
 every girl said.3sf that she/this-the-damned will succeed.3sf
 ‘Every girl said that she/the damned would pass’

b. *Strong pronoun or epithet inside a complex-NP island:*

kul bint_i kanat btiçirfu l-walad illi hi_i/ha-l-malçunih_i ʒawazat-uh
 every girl was know.3sf the-boy that she/this-the-damned marry.3sm-Cl
 ‘Every girl knew (before) the boy that this damned married with him.’

(56) a. *Strong pronoun or epithet in non-island context:*

**kul bint_i karim gal ?innu hi_i/ha-l-malçunih_i raħ tinʒaħ*
 every girl Karim said.3sm that she/this-the-damned will succeed.3sf
 ‘Every girl, Karim said that she/the damned would pass’

b. *Strong pronoun or epithet inside an adjunct island:*

kul zalamih_i zçilt-u li ?annu hu_i/ha-l-ħmar_i raħ
 every man upset.2p because he/this-the-donkey went
bidun ma yiguul maç salamih
 without Neg saying goodbye
 ‘Every man, you were upset because HE/the donkey went without saying goodbye’

Be they resumptive or not, strong pronouns and epithets ban QP antecedents in non-island contexts (*cf* the ungrammaticality of (55) and (56)): such contexts provide a classical BV

configuration, and these items ban any covariation resulting from the BV interpretation¹⁰. However, covariation with a QP antecedent is available when a strong island occurs (*cf* the grammaticality of (55) and (56)): such contexts induce an *e*-type interpretation of the strong pronoun or the epithet.

5.2.2. Reconstruction only in non-island contexts

Another asymmetry between weak and strong resumption lies in the fact that contrary to weak elements, strong resumptives do restrict reconstructed readings to non-island contexts. Recall the contrast introduced in section 2.2.2, and repeated here:

(57) *Strong pronoun/epithet in non-island context:*

[ʔalib-**[ha]**_i l-kassoul]_j ma baddna nxabbir [**wala mçallmih**]_i ?innu
 student-her the-bad Neg want.1p tell.1p no teacher that
huwwe_j/**ha-l-mazduub**_j gash b-l-faħiṣ
 he this-the-idiot cheated.3sm in-the-exam

‘Her bad student, we don’t want to tell any teacher that he/the idiot cheated on the exam.’

(58) *Strong pronoun/epithet in an adjunct island:*

*[ʔalib-**[ha]**_i l-kassoul]_j ma ħakjan maç [**wala mçallmih**]_i
 student-her the-bad Neg talked.1p with no teacher
 gabl ma **hu**_i/**ha-l- ġabi**_j yesal
 before **he / the-idiot.3sm** arrive.3sm

‘Her bad student, we didn’t talk to any teacher before he/the idiot arrived.’

Firstly, to account for the fact that reconstruction with strong resumption is available in non-island contexts, we basically follow Aoun *et al* (2001)’s notion of apparent resumption: the bound variable reading of the possessive pronoun in the left-dislocated DP in (57) can be obtained if we suppose that apparent resumption, derived via movement, is at stake, hence allowing for reconstruction by providing a copy of the antecedent adjoined to the strong resumptive element. (59) provides a schema of the process¹¹:

¹⁰ Again, such restriction can be seen as the result of a competition between BV and *e*-type interpretation, which would give rise to equivalent semantic outputs. In such case, BV interpretation prevails, but strong anaphoric items do not license that interpretation.

¹¹ For more details about the notion of *apparent resumption*, as well as independent arguments for the adjunction structure proposed in such cases, see Aoun *et al* (2001).

Movement



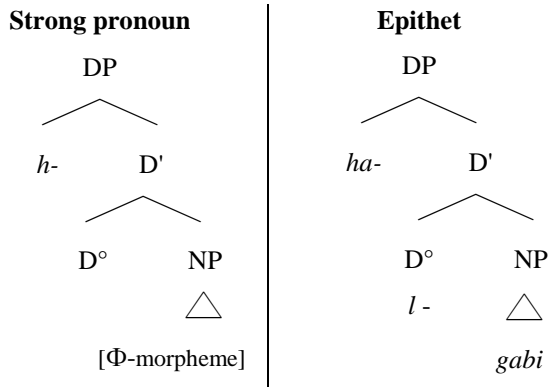
- (59) [_italib - [ha]_i l-kassoul]_j ... **QP**_i ... [[_{DP}~~talib~~ - [ha]_i l-kassoul]_j] **Strong resumptive**_j]]
 student-her the-bad student-her the-bad

Notice here that such cases of covariation on the resumptive can be seen as an *e*-type phenomenon, now resulting from presence of copy left by movement. And recall that we further assume that *e*-type anaphora should be available in local contexts only if it gives rise to a reading semantically distinct from a BV interpretation, i.e. when reconstruction is at stake. This assumption now accounts for when *e*-type interpretation of lexical items in local contexts is available. It won't be available when the antecedent is a QP as in (55), because the BV interpretation, being semantically equivalent, would prevail, but it is available when reconstruction is at stake, as in (57), because the BV interpretation would only give rise to an individual reading, and not a functional reading induced by reconstructing the dislocated material.

What about cases where islands come into play, i.e. where the *e*-type interpretation is enforced under our assumption? Recall that this is precisely where the asymmetry between weak and strong resumption with respect to reconstruction appears. In such contexts, only strong resumptives ban reconstructed readings, as the ungrammaticality of (58) under the intended reading shows.

Such contrast can straightforwardly be accounted for if we follow our analysis of reconstruction developed in section 5.1.2., based on the *e*-type interpretation of the resumptive, and crucially on the presence of an elided copy in the argument position of the resumptive. Under such a view, we argue that the *e*-type interpretation of strong resumptives inside islands will not give rise to a reconstruction effect because of their complex internal structure. Consider indeed the structures independently proposed by Benmamoun (2000) and Aoun *et al* (2001) for strong pronouns and epithets:

(60) Schematic representation of strong resumption



Contrary to weak anaphoric expressions, strong pronouns and epithets correspond to full DPs. As far as the strong pronoun is concerned, the pronominal morpheme *h-* occupies the specifier position of that DP; number and gender features are provided by the phi-morpheme which is generated as an NP and then raised to D.

What is crucial with these structures is that they will ban reconstruction via the presence of an elided copy as the NP-argument position is already filled. In other words, the binding potential of the antecedent (the fact that it contains a potential bound variable) cannot be satisfied since no copy of the antecedent (either from movement or ellipsis) can be (found) within the scope of the quantified expression.

6. Conclusion

In this paper, we propose an account of the distribution of anaphoric expressions in JA which crucially relies on an (indirect) link between two properties:

- whether they allow for reconstruction or not;
- whether they can be related to a QP antecedent or not.

On the one hand, weak resumptives like clitics or doubled clitics in JA are functional items in Noguchi (1997)'s classification, hence allowing for two kinds of covariation, the bound variable or the *e*-type interpretation. From this assumption, the following properties of weak resumption can be accounted for:

- they can be related to QP antecedent everywhere, in non-island context through a BV interpretation, or in island contexts through an *e*-type interpretation.
- they license reconstructed readings everywhere through the *e*-type interpretation.

On the other hand, strong resumptives such as strong pronouns or epithets are analysed as lexical items in the sense of Noguchi (1997), hence allowing only for one type of covariation, the *e*-type interpretation. This assumption nicely accounts for the following:

- they can only be related to a QP antecedent in island contexts where the *e*-type interpretation is forced, and where BV interpretation is not available.
- they allow for *e*-type interpretation giving rise to reconstruction (and resulting from movement) in non-island contexts, as they give rise to a reading which is not semantically equivalent to the BV interpretation.
- they ban reconstruction in island contexts because, even if the *e*-type interpretation of such items is available, no elided copy of the antecedent can be provided to get reconstruction.

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