Resumption as Resource Management

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Thank You

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Hypothesis (Resource Sensitivity): Natural language is universally resource-sensitive.

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- Phonology, Syntax
- Semantic composition
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- Phonology, Syntax

Semantic composition

- (1) This innocent man is allegedly guilty. \neq This allegedly innocent man is allegedly guilty.
- Resource logic for semantic composition: linear logic
 - Substructural perspective:

contraction **X**, weakening **X**, commutativity **V**

Logical v. Linguistic Resource Sensitivity

Logic of linear implication (→):
 logical resource sensitivity
 Add conjunction (⊗):
 logical RS no longer sufficient
 Why add conjunction?

Pronouns $\lambda z.z \times z : A \multimap (A \otimes P)$

Logical v. Linguistic Resource Sensitivity

■ Logic of linear implication (--->):

Iogical resource sensitivity

• Add conjunction (\otimes):

Iogical RS no longer sufficient

Why add conjunction?

Pronouns $\lambda z.z \times z : A \multimap (A \otimes P)$

Linguistic resource sensitivity

Add linguistically motivated goal condition: $\Gamma \vdash \phi : s_t$

Resumption

- Grammaticized resumptive pronouns
 - (2) an ghirseach ar ghoid na síogaí <u>í</u>
 the girl C.PAST stole the fairies her
 the girl that the fairies stole away (McCloskey 2002)

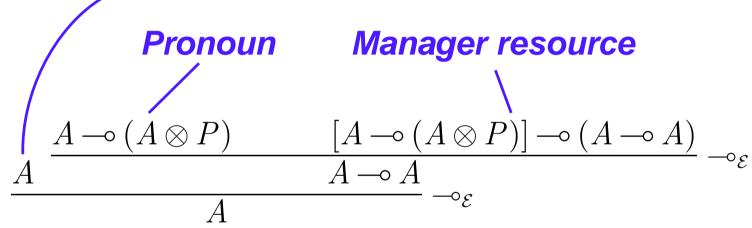
Copy raising

- (3) Every baby seemed like <u>she</u>'d eaten most of the crackers.
- (4) *Every baby seemed like I'd eaten most of the crackers.

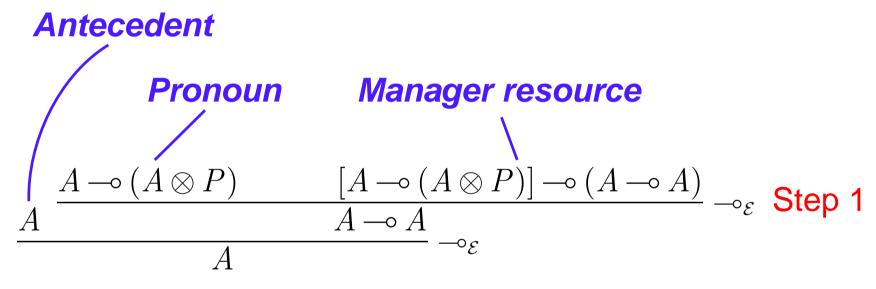
$$\frac{A \multimap (A \otimes P)}{A} \qquad \begin{array}{c} [A \multimap (A \otimes P)] \multimap (A \multimap A) \\ A \multimap A \\ \hline \end{array} \\ \neg \varepsilon$$

Antecedent

Lexical contributions

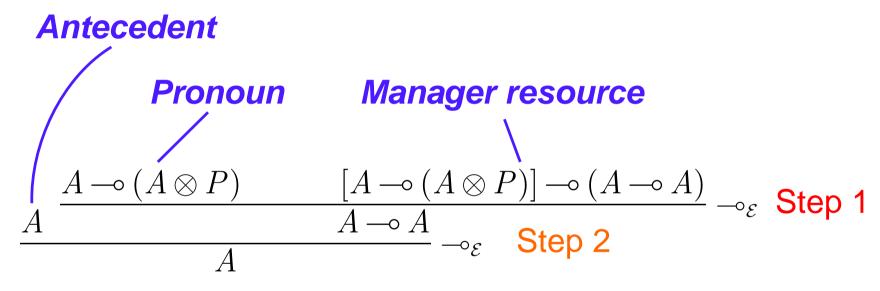


Lexical contributions



Step 1 Manager resource removes pronoun

Lexical contributions



Step 1 Manager resource removes pronoun

Step 2 Result of removal combines with antecedent
Final result: antecedent ✓, pronoun X

Theoretical Implications

- 1. Logical understanding of linguistic principles
- 2. Lexicon = locus of resumptive-licensing
- 3. Unification of resumption environments

Empirical Predictions

- 1. Resumptives have the form of ordinary pronouns
- 2. Resumptives have the interpretation of ordinary pronouns
- 3. Resumptive unbounded dependencies are not island-sensitive
- 4. Resumptive licensers may be distinguished by morphology or lexical class
- 5. Formal explanation of why *anaphoric* elements are used resumptively



- Intrusive Pronouns
 - (5) I met **a / the** linguist that Kate forgot if Thora had seen him before.
 - (6) *I met **every** linguist that Kate forgot if Thora had seen him before.

Processing

- Intrusive Pronouns
 - (5) I met **a / the** linguist that Kate forgot if Thora had seen him before.
 - (6) *I met **every** linguist that Kate forgot if Thora had seen him before.
- Processing model:
 - Production
 - Incremental wellformedness: local > global
 - Parsing
 - Partial interpretation: informative v. uninformative



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