





Anaphora with indefinite antecedents shows left-to-right asymmetry.

- (1) a.  A man came in, and he sat down.
b. #He came in, and a man sat down.


Same with donkey anaphora.

- (2) a. Every [NP man who had  a novel] [VP read it]
b. #Every [NP man who had it] [VP read a novel]


But definite antecedents seem to allow cataphora.

- (3) a. The man came in, and **he** sat down.
b. **He** came in, and the man sat down.
- (4) a. Every [NP man who had the novel] [VP read **it**]
b. Every [NP man who had **it**] [VP read the novel]
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You might say that (4-b) does not involve binding, but **accidental coreference**.

We argue that cataphoric binding is actually possible.

Observations:

- Data with **ellipsis with sloppy identity** show that definite antecedents can semantically bind cataphoric pronouns.
- Data with ellipsis and antecedents containing bound pronouns show that this cannot be due to **crossover**.

Analysis:

- The existential presupposition of the definite projects and binds the pronoun.

Ellipsis, Binding, Cataphora

Elided pronouns give rise to two readings (Sag 1976, Williams 1977).

- (5) Ivan met his student. Jorge didn't { \langle meet his student \rangle . STRICT
 \langle meet his student \rangle . SLOPPY

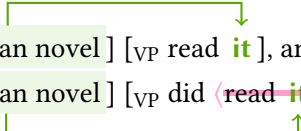
The Sag-Williams Generalization

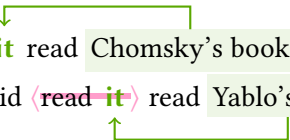
Sloppy identity requires binding in the antecedent clause.

Evidence from **rebinding**:

(6)

Donkey anaphora licenses sloppy readings.

- (7) Every [_{NP} man who had a Russian novel] [_{VP} read **it**], and
every [_{NP} man who had a German novel] [_{VP} did ~~read **it**~~], too.
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- (8) Every LINGUIST who had **it** read Chomsky's book, and
every PHILOSOPHER who did <read **it**> read Yablo's book.
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Since the sloppy reading is available, the pronoun must be bound.

- (9) Everyone who wanted KRISZTA to read it_x printed out their dissertation, and everyone who wanted ROBYN to $\langle \text{read } it_y \rangle$ printed out their article.

Analysis
