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

(1) **Cross-sentential anaphora**

    a.   A man came in, and **he** sat down.

    b. # **He** came in, and a man sat down.

(2) **Donkey anaphora**

    a.   Every [$_{\text{NP}}$ man who had a novel] [$_{\text{VP}}$ read **it**]

    b. #Every [$_{\text{NP}}$ man who had **it**] [$_{\text{VP}}$ read a novel]

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]

One 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
$\begin{cases} \langle \text{meet his student} \rangle. & \text{STRICT} \\ \langle \text{meet his student} \rangle. & \text{SLOPPY} \end{cases}$
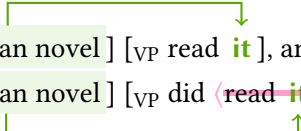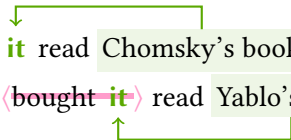
The Sag-Williams Generalization
Sloppy identity requires binding in the antecedent clause.
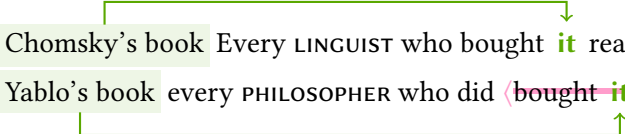
Evidence from rebinding:

(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.

(8) Every LINGUIST who bought **it** read Chomsky's book , and
every PHILOSOPHER who did ⟨bought it⟩ read Yablo's book .

Since the sloppy reading is available, the pronoun can be bound.

One might wonder if the definite is taking scope over the pronoun in each sentence:

(9) Chomsky's book Every LINGUIST who bought **it** read t, and
     Yablo's book every PHILOSOPHER who did ⟨bought it⟩ read t.

But the subject quantifier can bind into the definite.

(10) Everyone who wanted KRISZTA to read it printed out their dissertation, and
      everyone who wanted ROBYN to ⟨read it⟩ printed out their essay.

Analysis

We claim that cataphora with definite antecedents involve binding with an accommodated existential presupposition.

We adopt the **Sauerland notation** for presuppositions:

$$\frac{\text{Presupposition}}{\text{Assertion}}$$

(11) The$_y^x$ new book is sold out.

$$\frac{\text{There's a unique book } x \text{, and } x = y}{y \text{ is sold out}}$$

(12)

$$\mathbb{A}\left(\frac{\phi}{\psi}\right) := \frac{\top}{\phi \wedge \psi}$$