On donkey anaphora

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In simple cases, a pronoun is dependent on a quantifier if it is c-commanded by it (e.g. 'Every man respects his mother'). When this happens, the quantifier c-commands and binds a trace, and the pronoun gets the same referential value (relative to assignment functions) as this trace. But this simple picture does not extend to donkey anaphora (e.g. 'John owns a donkey. He beats it.'), where the pronoun fails to be c-commanded by its antecedent. Dynamic semantics has proposed that the interpretive procedure must be revised to allow for binding in this case: the referential identity between the pronoun and its antecedent is preserved, but the c-command condition on binding is lost. E-type approaches have argued for the opposite conclusion: the c-command condition on binding should be preserved, but one should abandon the assumption that the pronoun has the same value as its antecedent. We will revisit this debate, using in particular some data from sign language.