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Title. A very gappy theory of anaphora

Abstract. Following the fruitful application of trivalent semantics to the theory of presupposition projection, recent literature has drawn on the resources of trivalent semantics to rethink the theory of anaphora from ground up. This development has been motivated by certain parallelisms between projection properties of presuppositions on the one hand and accessibility patterns of anaphoric links on the other. Of particular interest are two approaches to the semantics of the indefinite within the trivalent setting, the assertive analysis (due to Rothschild 2017 and Heim 2024) and the gappy analysis (due to Mandelkern 2022 and Spector 2024). The assertive analysis can be coupled with a simple but effective approach to the use-conditions of (in)definites but has trouble dealing with negation and disjunction. The gappy analysis can be equipped with an elegant analysis of the connectives but requires significant machinations to deal with the use-conditions of (in)definites. Anaphora across disjuncts brings out the weaknesses of both approaches and remains an open problem, as we will see, because it appears to be insensitive to linear order. I will argue that the two approaches to the semantics of the indefinite mirror each other in this way because each wipes out a distinction that the other makes explicit. As proof of concept, I will discuss a quadrivalent semantics of (in)definites which combines the strengths of the two approaches and overcomes their respective weaknesses, including an analysis of disjunction based on a combination of strong and weak Kleene recipes that captures anaphora across disjuncts in both linear directions.