

Title. When anaphora is parasitic on focus.

Abstract. This talk explores an understudied puzzle for dynamic anaphora: cases of successful anaphora in a positive context, where the licensing indefinite occurs under a single negation. This is exemplified in (1), where in (1a), it picks out a bathroom not on the ground floor (see also discussion in Lewis 2021).

1. a. There isn't a bathroom on the **ground floor**. It's upstairs.
- b. If a farmer doesn't have a **well-behaved** donkey, he disciplines it.
- c. Every farmer who doesn't have a **well-behaved** donkey, disciplines it.

Unlike standard cases of dynamic anaphora, the examples in (1) require something special - namely a mismatch between the antecedent and the possible referents of the pronoun. Data similar to those in (1) are often used to argue in favor of E-type or hybrid dynamic/E-type approaches to anaphora (Chierchia 1995). Instead, I set out to analyze this exceptional licensing of anaphora in terms of the interaction between focus alternatives and the system for tracking and updating discourse referents. The idea is that the possible referents of the pronouns in (1) are parasitic on the focus alternatives of the dref introducing expression. To do this, focus must in some sense project the discourse effects of its alternatives.