

0. Announcements

-The final exam is scheduled for Thursday, May 12th.

1. Current Class Grammar

(i) Inventory of denotations

Semantic types

- (a) e and t are semantic types.
- (b) If σ and τ are semantic types, then $\langle\sigma, \tau\rangle$ is a semantic type.
- (c) Nothing else is a semantic type.

Semantic denotation domains

- (a) $D_e := D$ (the set of individuals).
- (b) $D_t := \{0, 1\}$ (the set of truth-values).
- (c) For any semantic types σ and τ , $D_{\langle\sigma, \tau\rangle}$ is the set of all functions from D_σ to D_τ .

(ii) Lexicon

For any assignment g :

PrN: $\llbracket \textit{Alexis} \rrbracket^g = \textit{Alexis}$, ... Pron_{wh}: \textit{who} .
 Pron: For any index i , $\llbracket \textit{she}_i \rrbracket^g = g(i)$, $\llbracket \textit{he}_i \rrbracket^g = g(i)$, $\llbracket \textit{him}_i \rrbracket^g = g(i)$, $\llbracket \textit{her}_i \rrbracket^g = g(i)$, ...

V: $\llbracket \textit{laugh} \rrbracket^g = [\lambda x . \textit{laugh}(x)]$ A: $\llbracket \textit{kind} \rrbracket^g = [\lambda x . \textit{kind}(x)]$
 N: $\llbracket \textit{cat} \rrbracket^g = [\lambda x . \textit{cat}(x)]$ P: $\llbracket \textit{around} \rrbracket^g = [\lambda x . \textit{around}(x)]$
 V: $\llbracket \textit{love} \rrbracket^g = [\lambda x . [\lambda y . \textit{love}(y)(x)]]$ A: $\llbracket \textit{fond} \rrbracket^g = [\lambda x . [\lambda y . \textit{fond}(y)(x)]]$
 N: $\llbracket \textit{part} \rrbracket^g = [\lambda x . [\lambda y . \textit{part}(y)(x)]]$ P: $\llbracket \textit{above} \rrbracket^g = [\lambda x . [\lambda y . \textit{above}(y)(x)]]$

D: $\llbracket \textit{the} \rrbracket^g = [\lambda f_{et} : \exists! x [f(x) = 1] . \iota x [f(x) = 1]]$
 $\llbracket \textit{every} \rrbracket^g = [\lambda f_{et} . [\lambda g_{et} . \textit{for all } x, \textit{if } f(x) = 1, g(x) = 1]]$
 $\llbracket \textit{no} \rrbracket^g = [\lambda f_{et} . [\lambda g_{et} . \textit{there is no } x \textit{ such that } f(x) = 1 \textit{ and } g(x) = 1]]$
 $\llbracket \textit{a} \rrbracket^g = [\lambda f_{et} . [\lambda g_{et} . \textit{there is an } x \textit{ such that } f(x) = 1 \textit{ and } g(x) = 1]]$
 $\llbracket \textit{some} \rrbracket^g = [\lambda f_{et} . [\lambda g_{et} . \textit{there is an } x \textit{ such that } f(x) = 1 \textit{ and } g(x) = 1]]$

Neg: $\llbracket \textit{not} \rrbracket^g = [\lambda f_{et} . [\lambda x . f(x) = 0]]$
 Conj: $\llbracket \textit{and}_1 \rrbracket^g = (\textit{given in the text, page. 44})$
 $\llbracket \textit{and}_2 \rrbracket^g = [\lambda f_{et} . [\lambda g_{et} . [\lambda x . \llbracket \textit{and}_1 \rrbracket^g(f(x))(g(x))]]]$
 $\llbracket \textit{and}_3 \rrbracket^g = [\lambda f_{\langle et, t \rangle} . [\lambda g_{\langle et, t \rangle} . [\lambda h_{et} . \llbracket \textit{and}_1 \rrbracket^g(f(h))(g(h))]]]$
 $\llbracket \textit{and}_4 \rrbracket^g = [\lambda f_{\langle e, et \rangle} . [\lambda g_{\langle e, et \rangle} . [\lambda x . [\lambda y . \llbracket \textit{and}_1 \rrbracket^g(f(y)(x))(g(y)(x))]]]]]$

T: (We neglect for now the semantic contribution of tense.)

Semantically vacuous: V: \textit{be} ; D: \textit{a} ; P: \textit{of} ; C: \textit{that} .

(iii) Syntax

TP \rightarrow DP T' T' \rightarrow T VP DP \rightarrow PrN/Pron DP \rightarrow D NP
 VP \rightarrow V (DP) PP \rightarrow P (DP) AP \rightarrow A (PP) NP \rightarrow N (PP)
 NP \rightarrow AP NP NP \rightarrow NP PP NP \rightarrow NP CP VP \rightarrow V AP/PP/DP
 CP \rightarrow C TP XP \rightarrow Neg XP, where $X \in \{V, A, P, D\}$.
 X \rightarrow X Conj' Conj' \rightarrow Conj X, where $X \in \{V(P), A(P), P(P), DP\}$.

Wh-Movement

Raise a Pron_{wh} to the left of C, leaving a co-indexed trace in its original position.

(iv) Semantic rules of composition. For any assignment g , and index i :

- (a) *Functional Application* (FA)
 If α is a branching node, $\{\beta, \gamma\}$ are its daughters, and $\llbracket \beta \rrbracket^g$ is a function whose domain contains $\llbracket \gamma \rrbracket^g$, then $\llbracket \alpha \rrbracket^g = \llbracket \beta \rrbracket^g (\llbracket \gamma \rrbracket^g)$.
- (b) *Non-Branching Nodes* (NN)
 If α is a non-branching node whose daughter node is β , then $\llbracket \alpha \rrbracket^g = \llbracket \beta \rrbracket^g$.
- (c) *Terminal Nodes* (TN)
 If α is a terminal node, then $\llbracket \alpha \rrbracket^g$ is specified in the lexicon.
- (d) *Predicate Modification* (PM)
 If α is a branching node, $\{\beta, \gamma\}$ are its daughters, and $\llbracket \beta \rrbracket^g$ and $\llbracket \gamma \rrbracket^g$ are functions of type et , then $\llbracket \gamma \rrbracket^g = [\lambda x . \llbracket \alpha \rrbracket^g(x) = 1]$ and $\llbracket \beta \rrbracket^g(x) = 1$.
- (e) *Predicate Abstraction* (PA)
 If α is a branching node whose daughters are a relative pronoun and β , then $\llbracket \alpha \rrbracket^g = [\lambda x . \llbracket \beta \rrbracket^{g[1 \rightarrow x]}]$.

(v) Type-shifting rules

- (a) For every lexical item α_1 with a meaning of type e , there is a homophonous and syntactically identical item α_2 with the following meaning of type $\langle et, t \rangle$:
 $\llbracket \alpha_2 \rrbracket^g = [\lambda f_{et} . f(\llbracket \alpha_1 \rrbracket^g) = 1]$
- (b) For every lexical item α_1 with a meaning of type $\langle e, et \rangle$, there is a homophonous and syntactically identical item α_2 with the following meaning of type $\langle \langle et, t \rangle, et \rangle$:
 $\llbracket \alpha_2 \rrbracket^g = [\lambda f_{\langle et, t \rangle} . [\lambda x . f([\lambda y . \llbracket \alpha_1 \rrbracket^g(y)(x) = 1]) = 1]]$.

Part 1: Derivations: Presuppositions and Pronouns

Assume that $g = [1 \rightarrow \text{Alexis}, 2 \rightarrow \text{Hyomin}]$.

Derive the truth-conditions for:

(1) $[_{DP_S} \text{Every student}] \text{ saw } [_{DP_O} \text{the snake near } her_2]$.

(i) Provide the tree structure for (1), and the semantics types for each node.

(ii) Solve for the subject $[[DP_S]]^g$.

(iii) Solve for the object $[[DP_O]]^g$.

(iv) Solve for $[[VP]]^g$.

(v) Solve for $[[TP]]^g$.

(vi) Is her_2 a bound variable pronoun, or a referential pronoun?

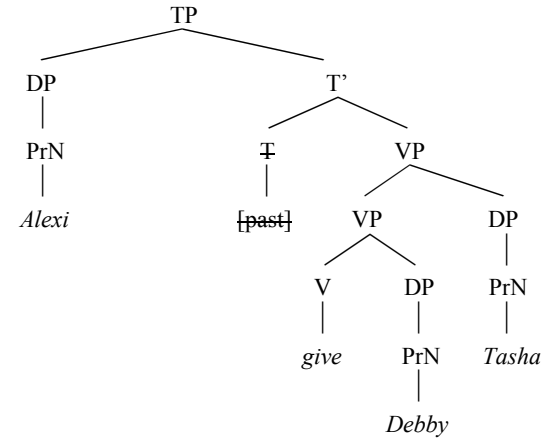
Part 2: Double Objects Again

Our grammar does not yet account for verbs that take more than one object:
Consider now:

(2) Alexis gave Debby Tasha.

We can assume the following binary branching structure for this sentence:

Thus:



(v) Posit a semantics for $[[give]]^g$, given this structure.

(vi) Give the semantic type of each node.

(vii) Derive the truth-conditions for the whole sentence.

(viii) Posit a derived semantics for $[[give_2]]^g$, given two quantificational DP objects:

(3) Alexis showed a visitor every building.