

1. Current Grammar.

(i) *Inventory of denotations*

Let D be the set of all individuals that exist in the real world. Possible denotations are:

Elements of D, the set of actual individuals.

Elements of $\{0,1\}$, the set of truth-values.

Subsets of D.

Operations on sets: Intersection (\cap), Union (\cup), Complement ($'$).

(ii) *Lexicon*

N: $\llbracket \textit{Emery} \rrbracket^s = \textit{Emery}, \dots$

V: $\llbracket \textit{smile} \rrbracket^s = \{x \mid \textit{smile}(x)(s)\}, be_1$ (vacuous)

V_t: $\llbracket \textit{save} \rrbracket^s = \{\langle x,y \rangle \mid \textit{save}(x)(y)(s)\}, \dots$

A: $\llbracket \textit{nice} \rrbracket^s = \{x \mid \textit{nice}(x)(s)\}, \dots$

A_t: $\llbracket \textit{fond} \rrbracket^s = \{\langle x,y \rangle \mid \textit{fond}(x)(y)(s)\}, \dots$

N_{pred}: $\llbracket \textit{cat} \rrbracket^s = \{x \mid \textit{cat}(x)(s)\}, \dots$

N_{pred,t}: $\llbracket \textit{fan} \rrbracket^s = \{\langle x,y \rangle \mid \textit{fan}(x)(y)(s)\}, \dots$

P: $\llbracket \textit{around} \rrbracket^s = \{x \mid \textit{around}(x)(s)\}, \dots$

P_t: $\llbracket \textit{near} \rrbracket^s = \{\langle x,y \rangle \mid \textit{near}(x)(y)(s)\}, \dots$

Conj: $\llbracket \textit{and} \rrbracket^v = \cap, \llbracket \textit{or} \rrbracket^v = \cup$

Neg: $\llbracket \textit{not} \rrbracket^v = '$

T: be_2 (We will neglect for now the semantic contribution of the T node.)

D: a (vacuous)

(iii) *Syntactic rules*

$S \rightarrow NP(T) VP$

$NP \rightarrow (D) N_{(pred)}$

$VP \rightarrow V (\{NP/AP/PP\})$

$AP \rightarrow A$

$PP \rightarrow P$

$XP \rightarrow \textit{Neg} XP$, where $X \in \{N_{pred}, V, A, P\}$

$XP \rightarrow XP \textit{Conj} XP$, where $X \in \{N_{pred}, V, A, P\}$

$NP \rightarrow N_{pred,t} PP$

$VP \rightarrow V_t NP$

$AP \rightarrow A_t PP$

$PP \rightarrow P_t NP$

(iv) *Semantic rules of composition*

For any situation s ,

(a) If α has the form $[_S NP(T) VP]$, $\llbracket \alpha \rrbracket^s = 1$ iff $\llbracket NP \rrbracket^s \in \llbracket VP \rrbracket^s$.

(b) If α is a non-branching node whose daughter node is β , then $\llbracket \alpha \rrbracket^s = \llbracket \beta \rrbracket^s$.

(c) If α is a terminal node, then $\llbracket \alpha \rrbracket^s$ is specified in the lexicon.

(d) If α has the form $[_{XP_1} XP_2 \textit{Conj} XP_3]$, $\llbracket \alpha \rrbracket^s = \llbracket XP_2 \rrbracket^s \llbracket \textit{Conj} \rrbracket^s \llbracket XP_3 \rrbracket^s$.

(e) If α has the form $[_{XP_1} \textit{Neg} XP_2]$, $\llbracket \alpha \rrbracket^s = \llbracket XP_2 \rrbracket^s \llbracket \textit{Neg} \rrbracket^s$.

(f) If α has the form $[_{Y_P} Y_t ZP]$, $\llbracket \alpha \rrbracket^s = \{x \mid \langle x, \llbracket ZP_2 \rrbracket^s \rangle \in \llbracket Y_t \rrbracket^s$.