

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; Elements of $\{0,1\}$; Subsets of D; Subsets of $D \times D$; Subsets of $\{A \mid A \subseteq D\}$; Subsets of $\{\langle A, B \rangle \mid A, B \subseteq D\}$; \cap , \cup , '.

(ii) *Lexicon*

N_{pn} : $\llbracket Emery \rrbracket^s = \text{Emery}$ or $\llbracket Emery \rrbracket^s = \{A \mid \text{Emery} \in A\} \dots$
 V : $\llbracket smile \rrbracket^s = \{x \mid \text{smile}(x)(s)\}$, be_1 (vacuous)
 V_t : $\llbracket save \rrbracket^s = \{\langle x, y \rangle \mid \text{save}(x)(y)(s)\}$, ...
 A : $\llbracket nice \rrbracket^s = \{x \mid \text{nice}(x)(s)\}$, ...
 A_t : $\llbracket fond \rrbracket^s = \{\langle x, y \rangle \mid \text{fond}(x)(y)(s)\}$, ...
 N : $\llbracket cat \rrbracket^s = \{x \mid \text{cat}(x)(s)\}$, ...
 N_t : $\llbracket fan \rrbracket^s = \{\langle x, y \rangle \mid \text{fan}(x)(y)(s)\}$, ...
 P : $\llbracket around \rrbracket^s = \{x \mid \text{around}(x)(s)\}$, ...
 P_t : $\llbracket near \rrbracket^s = \{\langle x, y \rangle \mid \text{near}(x)(y)(s)\}$, ...
 Conj : $\llbracket and \rrbracket^s = \cap$, $\llbracket or \rrbracket^s = \cup$
 Neg : $\llbracket not \rrbracket^s = \text{'}$
 T : be_2 (We will neglect for now the semantic contribution of the T node.)
 D : a_1 (vacuous)
 $\llbracket some \rrbracket^s = \{\langle A, B \rangle \mid A \cap B \neq \emptyset\}$; $\llbracket no \rrbracket^s = \{\langle A, B \rangle \mid A \cap B = \emptyset\}$;
 $\llbracket every \rrbracket^s = \{\langle A, B \rangle \mid A \subseteq B\}$; $\llbracket two \rrbracket^s = \{\langle A, B \rangle \mid |A \cap B| \geq 2\}$;
 $\llbracket a \rrbracket^s = \{\langle A, B \rangle \mid |A \cap B| \geq 1\}$; $\llbracket one \rrbracket^s = \{\langle A, B \rangle \mid |A \cap B| \geq 1\}$.

(iii) *Syntactic rules*

$S \rightarrow DP (T) VP$	$DP \rightarrow D NP$	$NP \rightarrow N_{pn}$
$NP \rightarrow N$	$NP \rightarrow N_t PP$	$NP \rightarrow AP NP$
$NP \rightarrow NP PP$	$VP \rightarrow V (\{DP/AP/PP\})$	$*VP \rightarrow V_t DP$
$AP \rightarrow A$	$AP \rightarrow A_t PP$	$PP \rightarrow P$
$*PP \rightarrow P_t DP$	$XP \rightarrow \text{Neg } XP, X \in \{V, A, P, D\}$	
$XP \rightarrow XP \text{ Conj } XP, X \in \{N, V, A, P, D\}$		

(iv) *Semantic rules of composition*

For any situation s ,

- (a) If α has the form $[_S DP (T) VP]$, $\llbracket \alpha \rrbracket^s = 1$ iff $\llbracket VP \rrbracket^s \in \llbracket DP \rrbracket^s$.
- (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 $[_{XP_1} XP_2 \text{ Conj } XP_3]$, $\llbracket \alpha \rrbracket^s = \llbracket XP_2 \rrbracket^s \llbracket \text{Conj} \rrbracket^s \llbracket XP_3 \rrbracket^s$.
- (e) If α has the form $[_{XP_1} \text{ Neg } XP_2]$, $\llbracket \alpha \rrbracket^s = \llbracket XP_2 \rrbracket^s \llbracket \text{Neg} \rrbracket^s$.
- (f) If α has the form $[_{YP} Y_t ZP]$, $\llbracket \alpha \rrbracket^s = \{x \mid \langle x, \llbracket ZP_2 \rrbracket^s \rangle \in \llbracket Y_t \rrbracket^s\}$.
- (g) If α has the form $[_{YP/ZP} YP ZP]$, $\llbracket \alpha \rrbracket^s = \llbracket YP \rrbracket^s \cap \llbracket ZP \rrbracket^s$.
- (h) If α has the form $[_{DP} D NP]$, $\llbracket \alpha \rrbracket^s = \{A \mid \langle \llbracket NP \rrbracket^s, A \rangle \in \llbracket D \rrbracket^s\}$.
- (i) If α has the form $[_{YP} Y_t ZP]$, $\llbracket \alpha \rrbracket^s = \{x \mid \{y \mid \langle x, y \rangle \in \llbracket Y_t \rrbracket^s\} \in \llbracket ZP \rrbracket^s\}$.

2. Practice

- (1) No ship near Hawaii sank.
- (2) Every discussion of Max was surprising.
- (3) Alexis and a professor are working.
- (4) Alexis visited every planet.
- (5) Every girl visited every planet.
- (6) Some professor gave no exam.
- (7) Every student near Evan or Liz greeted Karen.

For any s , $[(1)]^s = 1$ iff

- $[[VP]]^s \in [[DP_1]]^s$ (a)
- $[[VP]]^s \in \{A \mid \langle [NP_1]^s, A \rangle \in [[D_1]]^s\}$ (h)
- $\langle [NP_1]^s, [[VP]]^s \rangle \in [[D_1]]^s$ \in
- $\langle [NP_1]^s, [[VP]]^s \rangle \in [no]^s$ (b)
- $[[NP_1]]^s \cap [[VP]]^s = \emptyset$ (c), \in
- $[[NP_2]]^s \cap [[PP]]^s \cap [[VP]]^s = \emptyset$ (d)
- $[[ship]]^s \cap [[PP]]^s \cap [[sank]]^s = \emptyset$ (b)x5
- $[[ship]]^s \cap \{x \mid \langle x, [[DP_2]]^s \rangle \in [[P]]^s\} \cap [[sank]]^s = \emptyset$ (f)
- $[[ship]]^s \cap \{x \mid \langle x, Hawaii \rangle \in [near]^s\} \cap [[sank]]^s = \emptyset$ (b)x4
- $[[ship]]^s \cap \{x \mid near(x)(Hawaii)(s)\} \cap [[sank]]^s = \emptyset$ (c), \in
- $\{x \mid ship(x)(s)\} \cap \{x \mid near(x)(Hawaii)(s)\} \cap \{x \mid sank(x)(s)\} = \emptyset$ (c)x2

For any s , $[(2)]^s = 1$ iff

- $[[VP]]^s \in [[DP_1]]^s$ (a)
- $[[VP]]^s \in \{A \mid \langle [NP]^s, A \rangle \in [[D_1]]^s\}$ (h)
- $\langle [NP]^s, [[VP]]^s \rangle \in [[D_1]]^s$ \in
- $\langle [NP]^s, [[VP]]^s \rangle \in [every]^s$ (b)
- $[[NP]]^s \subseteq [[VP]]^s$ (c), \in
- $\{x \mid \langle x, [[DP_2]]^s \rangle \in [[N_t]]^s\} \subseteq [[VP]]^s$ (f)
- $\{x \mid \langle x, Max \rangle \in [discussion]^s\} \subseteq [[VP]]^s$ (b)x4, (c)
- $\{x \mid discussion(x)(Max)(s)\} \subseteq [[VP]]^s$ (c), \in
- $\{x \mid discussion(x)(Max)(s)\} \subseteq \{x \mid surprising(x)(s)\}$ (b)x3, (c)

For any s , $[(4)]^s = 1$ iff

- $[[VP]]^s \in [[DP_1]]^s$ (a)
- $[[VP]]^s \in \{A \mid Alexis \in A\}$ (c)
- Alexis $\in [[VP]]^s$ \in
- Alexis $\in \{x \mid \{y \mid \langle x, y \rangle \in [[V]]^s\} \in [[DP_2]]^s\}$ (i)
- $\{y \mid \langle Alexis, y \rangle \in [[V]]^s\} \in [[DP_2]]^s$ \in
- $\{y \mid \langle Alexis, y \rangle \in [visit]^s\} \in [[DP_2]]^s$ (b)
- $\{y \mid visit(Alexis)(y)\} \in [[DP_2]]^s$ (c), \in
- $\{y \mid visit(Alexis)(y)\} \in \{A \mid \langle [NP]^s, A \rangle \in [[D]]^s\}$ (h)
- $\{y \mid visit(Alexis)(y)\} \in \{A \mid \langle [NP]^s, A \rangle \in [every]^s\}$ (b)
- $\{y \mid visit(Alexis)(y)\} \in \{A \mid [NP]^s \subseteq A\}$ (c), \in
- $[[NP]]^s \subseteq \{y \mid visit(Alexis)(y)(s)\}$ \in
- $\{x \mid planet(x)(s)\} \subseteq \{y \mid visit(Alexis)(y)(s)\}$ (b)x2, (c)