

A. Inventory of denotations. Let D be the set of all individuals in the actual world. Possible denotations are: Members of D; Subsets of D; Subsets of $D \times D$;¹ Subsets of $\text{Pow}(D) \times \text{Pow}(D)$, Members of $\{0,1\}$.

B. Lexicon.

Lexical entries:

N: $\|\text{Greg}\| = \text{Greg}$, $\|\text{Alice}\| = \text{Alice}$, ...
 $\|\text{cat}\| = \{x \mid x \text{ is a cat}\}$, $\|\text{description}_1\| = \{x \mid x \text{ is a description}\}$, ...
 $\|\text{description}_2\| = \{\langle x,y \rangle \mid x \text{ is a description of } y\}$, ...

V: $\|\text{smoke}\| = \{x \mid x \text{ smokes}\}$, $\|\text{laugh}\| = \{x \mid x \text{ laughs}\}$, ...
 $\langle \text{Agent} \rangle$ $\langle \text{Agent} \rangle$

$\|\text{close}_1\| = \{\langle x,y \rangle \mid x \text{ closes } y\}$, $\|\text{describe}_1\| = \{\langle x,y \rangle \mid x \text{ governs } y\}$...
 $\langle \text{Agent}, \text{Theme} \rangle$ $\langle \text{Agent}, \text{Theme} \rangle$

$\|\text{close}_2\| = \{x \mid x \text{ closes}\}$, $\|\text{arrive}\| = \{x \mid x \text{ arrives}\}$,
 $\langle \text{Theme} \rangle$ $\langle \text{Theme} \rangle$

$\|\text{try}\| = \{\langle x, A \rangle \mid x \text{ tries for } x \in A\}$, ...
 $\langle \text{Agent} \rangle$

A: $\|\text{honest}\| = \{x \mid x \text{ is honest}\}$, $\|\text{afraid}_1\| = \{x \mid x \text{ is afraid}\}$, ...
 $\|\text{fond}\| = \{\langle x,y \rangle \mid x \text{ is fond of } y\}$, $\|\text{afraid}_2\| = \{\langle x,y \rangle \mid x \text{ is afraid of } y\}$, ...
 $\|\text{eager}\| = \{\langle x,A \rangle \mid x \text{ is eager for } x \in A\}$,
 $\|\text{easy}\| = \{\langle x, T \rangle \mid \text{Gy}[it is easy for } \langle y, x \rangle \in T]\}$, ...
 (where G is a “generic operator”, yet to be defined.)

P: $\|\text{outside}\| = \{x \mid x \text{ is outside}\}$, $\|\text{inside}\| = \{x \mid x \text{ is inside}\}$, ...
 $\|\text{near}\| = \{\langle x,y \rangle \mid x \text{ is near } y\}$, $\|\text{from}\| = \{\langle x,y \rangle \mid x \text{ is from } y\}$, ...

Conj: **and, or** *Adv: not* *I: should, will, can, do, might, ...*

D: $\|\text{some}\| = \{\langle A, B \rangle \mid A \cap B \neq \emptyset\}$, $\|\text{no}\| = \{\langle A, B \mid A \cap B = \emptyset\}$,
 $\|\text{every}\| = \{\langle A, B \rangle \mid A \subseteq B\}$, $\|\text{most}\| = \{\langle A, B \rangle \mid |A \cap B| > |A - B|\}$, etc.

**Lexical rules:*

1. *Passive.* If $\|\text{V}_{\text{active}}\|$ is a relation between individuals, and has the thematic grid $\langle \text{Agent}, \text{Theme} \rangle$, then $\|\text{V}_{\text{passive}}\| = \{x \mid \exists y[\langle y,x \rangle \in \|\text{V}_{\text{active}}\|]\}$
 $\langle \text{Agent}, \text{Theme} \rangle$

- Existential object drop (Eod).* If $\|\text{V}_{\text{trans}}\|$ is a relation between individuals, and has the thematic grid $\langle \text{Agent}, \text{Theme} \rangle$, then $\|\text{V}_{\text{eod}}\| = \{x \mid \exists y[\langle x,y \rangle \in \|\text{V}_{\text{trans}}\|]\}$
 $\langle \text{Agent}, \text{Theme} \rangle$
- Reflexive object drop (Rod).* If $\|\text{V}_{\text{trans}}\|$ is a relation between individuals with the thematic grid $\langle \text{Agent}, \text{Theme} \rangle$, then $\|\text{V}_{\text{rod}}\| = \{x \mid \langle x,x \rangle \in \|\text{V}_{\text{trans}}\|\}$
 $\langle \text{Agent}, \text{Theme} \rangle$

Rules 2 and 3 appear to be restricted to certain verbs in the lexicon.

C. Syntactic rules.

Phrase structure rules:

$*S \rightarrow (NP) I VP$	$VP \rightarrow V'$	$V' \rightarrow V NP$	$V' \rightarrow V PP$
$V' \rightarrow V AP$	$V' \rightarrow V$	$*V' \rightarrow V S$	$VP \rightarrow VP \text{ Conj } VP$
$NP \rightarrow (D) N'$	$N' \rightarrow AP N'$	$N' \rightarrow N' PP$	$N' \rightarrow N (PP)$
$PP \rightarrow P'$	$P' \rightarrow P (NP)$	$AP \rightarrow A'$	$A' \rightarrow A (PP)$
$*A' \rightarrow A S$	$VP \rightarrow \text{Adv } VP$	$AP \rightarrow AP \text{ Conj } AP$	$PP \rightarrow PP \text{ Conj } PP$

Movement/Transformations:

- V-Raising.* Raise main verb *be* to I.

D. Semantic rules of composition.

- If α is a non-branching node whose daughter node is β , then $\|\alpha\| = \|\beta\|$.
- If α is of the form $[_S [_{NP} N'] I VP]$, then $\|\alpha\| = 1$ iff $\|\text{NP}\| \in \|\text{VP}\|$.
- If α is of the form $[_{VP1} VP2 [_{\text{Conj}} \text{and}] VP3]$, then $\|\alpha\| = \|\text{VP}_2\| \cap \|\text{VP}_3\|$.
- If α is of the form $[_{VP1} VP2 [_{\text{Conj}} \text{or}] VP3]$, then $\|\alpha\| = \|\text{VP}_2\| \cup \|\text{VP}_3\|$.
- If α is of the form $[_{VP1} [_{\text{Adv}} \text{not}] VP2]$, then $\|\alpha\| = \|\text{VP}_2\|$.
- If α is of the form $[_{VP} [_V' [_V] AP]]$, then $\|\alpha\| = \|\text{AP}\|$.
- If α is of the form $[_{VP} [_V' [_V] PP]]$, then $\|\alpha\| = \|\text{PP}\|$.
- If α is of the form $[_{AP1} AP2 [_{\text{Conj}} \text{and}] AP3]$, then $\|\alpha\| = \|\text{AP}_2\| \cap \|\text{AP}_3\|$.
- If α is of the form $[_{AP1} AP2 [_{\text{Conj}} \text{or}] AP3]$, then $\|\alpha\| = \|\text{AP}_2\| \cup \|\text{AP}_3\|$.
- If α is of the form $[_X' X YP]$, then $\|\alpha\| = \{x \mid \langle x, \|\text{YP}\| \rangle \in \|\text{X}\|\}$.²
- If α is of the form $[_S [_{NP} \text{Det } N'] I VP]$, then $\|\alpha\| = 1$ iff $\langle \|\text{N}'\|, \|\text{VP}\| \rangle \in \|\text{D}\|$.
- If α is of the form $[_{N'} AP N']$ then $\|\alpha\| = \|\text{AP}\| \cap \|\text{N}'\|$.
- If α is of the form $[_{N'} N' PP]$, then $\|\alpha\| = \|\text{N}'\| \cap \|\text{PP}\|$.
- If α is of the form $[_S I VP]$, then $\|\alpha\| = \|\text{VP}\|$.

¹ $D \times D$ (“the Cartesian product of D with D”) is defined as $\{\langle x, y \rangle \mid x \in D \text{ and } y \in D\}$, which is the set of all ordered pairs of elements of D.

² If YP is of the form $[_{PP} [_P' [_P] NP]]$, then the denotation of $\|\text{YP}\|$ is $\|\text{NP}\|$.