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24.973 Advanced Semantics
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- (1) $[_F \text{GQ M VP}]$
- (a) Simplifying assumption = F is always ambiguous between de re and de dicto readings
 \rightarrow If M is epistemic, $M > \text{GQ}$
 \rightarrow If $\text{GQ} = [\text{nobody}]$, $\text{GQ} > M$
- (b) Aim = to get grammar to generate both readings = to get it to generate the de dicto reading
- (2) Syntactic reconstruction (copy theory version)
- (a) $\text{LF} = [_F \text{some New Yorker}] \text{likely} [[\text{some New Yorker}] \text{win}]$
- (b) (i) $[\text{likely}]^w = \lambda p. \exists w' \in A(w). p(w') = 1$
(ii) $[\text{some}]^w = \lambda P \lambda Q. \exists x. Px \wedge Qx$
(iii) $[\text{F}]^w = 1$ iff $\exists w' \in A(w). \exists x. [\text{New Yorker}]^{w'}(x) \wedge [\text{win}]^{w'}(x)$
- (3) Higher type trace (GQ)
- (a) $\text{LF} = [_F [\text{GQ some New Yorker}] [_F' \lambda x_{1,\text{GQ}} [_F'' \text{likely} [_F''' x_{1,\text{GQ}} \text{win}]]]]$
- (b) $[\text{F}]^{w,g} = 1$ iff
 $[\text{F}']^{w,g}([\text{GQ}]^{w,g}) = 1$ iff
 $[\lambda_1. [\text{F}']^{w,g}([\text{GQ}]^{w,g})] = 1$ iff
 $[\lambda_1. [\text{likely}]^{w,g}(\lambda w'. [\text{F}''']^{w',g})([\text{GQ}]^{w',g})] = 1$ iff
 $[\lambda_1. [\text{likely}]^{w,g}(\lambda w'. [x_1]^{w',g}([\text{win}]^{w',g}))([\text{GQ}]^{w',g})] = 1$ iff
 $[\lambda \text{GQ}. [\text{likely}]^{w,g}(\lambda w'. [x_1]^{w',g[1 \rightarrow \text{GQ}]}([\text{win}]^{w',g}))([\text{GQ}]^{w',g})] = 1$ iff
...
- (4) Higher type trace ($\langle s, \text{GQ} \rangle$)
- (a) $\text{LF} = [_F [\text{GQ some New Yorker}] [_F' \lambda x_{1,\langle s, \text{GQ} \rangle} [_F'' \text{likely} [_F''' x_{1,\langle s, \text{GQ} \rangle} \text{win}]]]]$
- (b) $[\text{F}]^{w,g} = 1$ iff
 $[\text{F}']^{w,g}(\lambda w'. [\text{GQ}]^{w',g}) = 1$ iff
 $[\lambda_1. [\text{F}']^{w,g}(\lambda w'. [\text{GQ}]^{w',g})] = 1$ iff
 $[\lambda_1. [\text{likely}]^{w,g}(\lambda w''. [\text{F}''']^{w'',g})(\lambda w'. [\text{GQ}]^{w',g})] = 1$ iff
 $[\lambda_1. [\text{likely}]^{w,g}(\lambda w''. [x_1]^{w'',g}(w'')([\text{win}]^{w'',g}))([\text{GQ}]^{w',g})] = 1$ iff
 $[\lambda \text{IGQ} \in D_{\langle s, \text{GQ} \rangle}. [\text{likely}]^{w,g}(\lambda w''. [x_1]^{w'',g[1 \rightarrow \text{IGQ}]}(w'')([\text{win}]^{w'',g}))(\lambda w'. [\text{GQ}]^{w',g})] = 1$ iff
...