1  Entailments

i. Provide both scope representations for Most unicorns saw every man using fragment 1.

ii. If there is an entailment relation between the two representations, say what it is, and try to convey why it holds. If there is no entailment relation between the two representations, then provide models that fully distinguish them.

2  Generalizing booleans

i. Extend fragment 1 (April 10) with denotations for ¬ (negation; type \textless t, t\textgreater), ∨ (disjunction; type \textless t, \textless t, t\textgreater), and ∧ (conjunction; \textless t, \textless t, t\textgreater).

ii. Now define terms that allow us to use your boolean denotations on as wide a range of expressions as you can manage. Intuitively, you should be allowing for phrases like man and woman, run or see, in and out, and every or no. Your terms should use meta-variables over types. You will need to define them recursively for the functions that are not in \textless σ, t\textgreater.

3  Ambiguities with negation

Sentences like Every unicorn does not run are ambiguous about how the subject and negation take scope with respect to each other. Propose an operation (a variant of QR, a type-shifter, a constructional rule) that can account for this ambiguity, and illustrate how it works using my example.

4  Tensed complements

It seems clear that non-existential quantifiers cannot scope out of tensed clauses:

(T) A man believes that John loves every unicorn.

a. there is a man \(y\) such that \(y\) believes that every unicorn \(x\) is such that John loves \(x\)

b. *for every unicorn \(x\), there is a man \(y\) such that \(y\) believes John loves \(x\)

Assume that the generalization is correct. How would you account for it? Via a restriction on a syntactic operation like QR? Via restrictions on argument lift? In some other way? Sketch a solution (in a paragraph of prose, or in definitions and some explication of how they work).

5  A question from you

The reading for next time is Partee 1987. Provide a question about it of the sort described on the syllabus: http://www.stanford.edu/class/linguist230b/syllabus.html#weekly