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24.910 Topics in Linguistic Theory: Propositional Attitudes  
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## SOLUTIONS: Assignment for Week 3 (Feb. 24)

### ❖ [From Heim & Kratzer] Exercise 2 parts e-h (pp. 39-40)

[Note: I've put some items in **bold** to bring attention to the parts of the expression that are relevant at each step. You don't have to do this.]

➤ (e):

$$\begin{aligned} & [\lambda f . [\lambda x . f(x) = 1 \text{ and } x \text{ is gray}]] ([\lambda y . \mathbf{y \text{ is a cat}}]) \\ &= [\lambda x . [\lambda y . \mathbf{y \text{ is a cat}}] (x) = 1 \text{ and } x \text{ is gray}] \\ &= [\lambda x . \mathbf{x \text{ is a cat}} \text{ and } x \text{ is gray}] \end{aligned}$$

➤ (f):

$$\begin{aligned} & [\lambda f . [\lambda x . f(x)(\text{Ann}) = 1]] ([\lambda y . [\lambda z . \mathbf{z \text{ saw } y}]] ) \\ &= [\lambda x . [\lambda y . [\lambda z . \mathbf{z \text{ saw } y}]] (x)(\text{Ann}) = 1] \\ &= [\lambda x . [\lambda z . \mathbf{z \text{ saw } x}](\text{Ann}) = 1] \\ &= [\lambda x . \text{Ann saw } x] \end{aligned}$$

➤ (g):

$$\begin{aligned} & [\lambda x . [\lambda y . \mathbf{y > 3 \text{ and } y < 7}]] (x) ] \\ &= [\lambda x . \mathbf{x > 3 \text{ and } x < 7}] \end{aligned}$$

➤ (h):

$$\begin{aligned} & [\lambda z . [\lambda y . [\lambda x . \mathbf{x > 3 \text{ and } x < 7}]] (y) ] (z) ] \\ &= [\lambda z . [\lambda y . \mathbf{y > 3 \text{ and } y < 7}]] (z) ] \\ &= [\lambda z . \mathbf{z > 3 \text{ and } z < 7}] \end{aligned}$$

### ❖ [From von Stechow & Heim] Exercise 1.2 (p. 10)

[Also see the handout from 2/10/09, p. 4]

For the purposes of this solution, I'm going to skip the steps of putting together the parts of the sentential argument *a famous detective lives at 221B Baker St.* (let's call this S):

➤ Intension of S:  $[\lambda w' . \text{a famous detective lives at 221B Baker St. in } w']$

At this point in the reading we're working with the most simple lexical entry for *in the world of Sherlock Holmes*, where we've further stipulated that  $w_9$  is the world as presented in the Sherlock Holmes stories:

➤  $[[\text{In the world of Sherlock Holmes}]]^w = [\lambda p_{\langle s, t \rangle} . p(w_9)]$

Here's the computation (evaluating at  $w_7$ ):

- $\llbracket \text{In the world of Sherlock Holmes, a famous detective lives at 221B Baker St} \rrbracket^{w_7}$ 
  - =  $\llbracket \text{in the world of Sherlock Holmes} \rrbracket^{w_7}$  ( intension of S )
  - =  $\llbracket \text{in the world of Sherlock Holmes} \rrbracket^{w_7}$  (  $[\lambda w'. \text{ a famous detective lives at 221B Baker St. in } w']$  )
  - =  $[\lambda p_{\langle s, t \rangle} . p(w_9)]$  (  $[\lambda w'. \text{ a famous detective lives at 221B Baker St. in } w']$  )
  - =  $[\lambda w'. \text{ a famous detective lives at 221B Baker St. in } w']$  ( $w_9$ )
  - = (true iff) a famous detective lives at 221B Baker St. in  $w_9$

❖ [From von Fintel & Heim] Exercise 1.3 (page 11)

Keep in mind that we're using the simple version of the intensional semantics, as above.

First, let's give the extension and intension of the two conjuncts:

- Extensions:

$\llbracket \text{Holmes is quick} \rrbracket^w = 1$  iff Holmes is quick in  $w$   
 $\llbracket \text{Watson is slow} \rrbracket^w = 1$  iff Watson is slow in  $w$

- Intensions:

Intension of *Holmes is quick*:  $[\lambda w'. \llbracket \text{Holmes is quick} \rrbracket^{w'}]$   
 =  $[\lambda w'. \text{ Holmes is quick in } w']$

Intension of *Watson is slow*:  $[\lambda w'. \llbracket \text{Watson is slow} \rrbracket^{w'}]$   
 =  $[\lambda w'. \text{ Watson is slow in } w']$

- Now let's go on to the computation. The first part is the same in both cases:

$\llbracket \text{In the world of Sherlock Holmes, Holmes is quick and Watson is slow} \rrbracket^w$   
 =  $\llbracket \text{in the world of Sherlock Holmes} \rrbracket^w$  (  $[\lambda w'. \llbracket \text{Holmes is quick and Watson is slow} \rrbracket^{w'}]$  )  
 =  $[\lambda p_{\langle s, t \rangle} . p(w_9)]$  (  $[\lambda w'. \llbracket \text{Holmes is quick and Watson is slow} \rrbracket^{w'}]$  )  
 =  $[\lambda w'. \llbracket \text{Holmes is quick and Watson is slow} \rrbracket^{w'}]$  ( $w_9$ )  
 =  $\llbracket \text{Holmes is quick and Watson is slow} \rrbracket^{w_9}$

At this point, we have to do the two computations separately:

- With extensional *and*:  $\llbracket \text{and} \rrbracket^w = [\lambda u_t . [\lambda v_t . u = v = 1] ]$ 
  - $\llbracket \text{Holmes is quick and Watson is slow} \rrbracket^{w_9} = \llbracket \text{and} \rrbracket^{w_9}$  (  $\llbracket \text{Watson is slow} \rrbracket^{w_9}$  )  
 (  $\llbracket \text{Holmes is quick} \rrbracket^{w_9}$  )
  - =  $[\lambda u_t . [\lambda v_t . u = v = 1] ]$  (  $\llbracket \text{Watson is slow} \rrbracket^{w_9}$  ) (  $\llbracket \text{Holmes is quick} \rrbracket^{w_9}$  )
  - =  $[\lambda v_t . \llbracket \text{Watson is slow} \rrbracket^{w_9} = v = 1]$  (  $\llbracket \text{Holmes is quick} \rrbracket^{w_9}$  )

- $= (\text{true iff}) \llbracket \text{Watson is slow} \rrbracket^{w_9} = \llbracket \text{Holmes is quick} \rrbracket^{w_9} = 1$   
 $= (\text{true iff}) \text{ Watson is slow in } w_9 \text{ and Holmes is quick in } w_9$
- With intensional *and*:  $\llbracket \text{and} \rrbracket^w = [\lambda p_{\langle s,t \rangle} \cdot [\lambda q_{\langle s,t \rangle} \cdot p(w) = q(w) = 1]]$   
 $\llbracket \text{Holmes is quick and Watson is slow} \rrbracket^{w_9} = \llbracket \text{and} \rrbracket^{w_9} ([\lambda w'. \llbracket \text{Watson is slow} \rrbracket^{w'}])$   
 $([\lambda w'. \llbracket \text{Holmes is quick} \rrbracket^{w'}])$   
 $= [\lambda p_{\langle s,t \rangle} \cdot [\lambda q_{\langle s,t \rangle} \cdot p(w_9) = q(w_9) = 1]] ([\lambda w'. \llbracket \text{Watson is slow} \rrbracket^{w'}])$   
 $([\lambda w'. \llbracket \text{Holmes is quick} \rrbracket^{w'}])$   
 $= [\lambda q_{\langle s,t \rangle} \cdot [\lambda w'. \llbracket \text{Watson is slow} \rrbracket^{w'}](w_9) = q(w_9) = 1]$   
 $([\lambda w'. \llbracket \text{Holmes is quick} \rrbracket^{w'}])$   
 $= [\lambda q_{\langle s,t \rangle} \cdot \llbracket \text{Watson is slow} \rrbracket^{w_9} = q(w_9) = 1] ([\lambda w'. \llbracket \text{Holmes is quick} \rrbracket^{w'}])$   
 $= (\text{true iff}) \llbracket \text{Watson is slow} \rrbracket^{w_9} = [\lambda w'. \llbracket \text{Holmes is quick} \rrbracket^{w'}](w_9) = 1$   
 $= (\text{true iff}) \llbracket \text{Watson is slow} \rrbracket^{w_9} = \llbracket \text{Holmes is quick} \rrbracket^{w_9} = 1$   
 $= (\text{true iff}) \text{ Watson is slow in } w_9 \text{ and Holmes is quick in } w_9$

❖ [From von Fintel & Heim] Exercise 2.1 (page 19)

[Discussed in class – see handout from 2/24/09, pp. 3-4]