

## 1 Type theory: Semantics

Let  $U$  is a non-empty set of entities. For every type  $\tau$ , the domain of possible denotations  $D_\tau$  is given by:

- $D_e = U$
- $D_t = \{0, 1\}$
- $D_{\langle\sigma, \tau\rangle}$  is the set of functions from  $D_\sigma$  to  $D_\tau$ .

A model structure is a pair  $M = \langle U_M, V_M \rangle$  such that

- $U_M$  is a non-empty set of individuals
- $V_M$  is a function assigning every non-logical constant of type  $\tau$  a member of  $D_\tau$ .

Interpretation:

- $\llbracket \alpha \rrbracket^{M,g} = V_M(\alpha)$  if  $\alpha$  is a constant
- $\llbracket \alpha \rrbracket^{M,g} = g(\alpha)$  if  $\alpha$  is a variable
- $\llbracket \alpha(\beta) \rrbracket^{M,g} = \llbracket \alpha \rrbracket^{M,g}(\llbracket \beta \rrbracket^{M,g})$
- $\llbracket \lambda v \alpha \rrbracket^{M,g} =$  that function  $f : D_\sigma \rightarrow D_\tau$  such that for all  $a \in D_\sigma$ ,  $f(a) = \llbracket \alpha \rrbracket^{M,g[v/a]}$  (for  $v$  a variable of type  $\sigma$ )
- $\llbracket \alpha = \beta \rrbracket^{M,g} = 1$  iff  $\llbracket \alpha \rrbracket^{M,g} = \llbracket \beta \rrbracket^{M,g}$
- $\llbracket \neg \phi \rrbracket^{M,g} = 1$  iff  $\llbracket \phi \rrbracket^{M,g} = 0$
- $\llbracket \phi \wedge \psi \rrbracket^{M,g} = 1$  iff  $\llbracket \phi \rrbracket^{M,g} = 1$  and  $\llbracket \psi \rrbracket^{M,g} = 1$
- $\llbracket \phi \vee \psi \rrbracket^{M,g} = 1$  iff  $\llbracket \phi \rrbracket^{M,g} = 1$  or  $\llbracket \psi \rrbracket^{M,g} = 1$
- $\llbracket \phi \rightarrow \psi \rrbracket^{M,g} = 1$  iff  $\llbracket \phi \rrbracket^{M,g} = 0$  or  $\llbracket \psi \rrbracket^{M,g} = 1$
- $\llbracket \exists v \phi \rrbracket^{M,g} = 1$  iff there is an  $a \in D_\tau$  such that  $\llbracket \phi \rrbracket^{M,g[v/a]} = 1$  (for  $v$  a variable of type  $\tau$ )
- $\llbracket \forall v \phi \rrbracket^{M,g} = 1$  iff for all  $a \in D_\tau$ ,  $\llbracket \phi \rrbracket^{M,g[x/a]} = 1$  (for  $v$  a variable of type  $\tau$ )

## 2 Cooper Storage

Transitive verbs are analysed as constants of type  $\langle\langle e, t \rangle, t \rangle, \langle e, t \rangle$ .

**Storage:**  $\langle Q, \Delta \rangle \Rightarrow_S \langle \lambda P.P(x_i), \Delta \cup \{Q_i\} \rangle$

if A is an noun phrase whose semantic value is  $\langle Q, \Delta \rangle$ , then  $\langle \lambda P.P(x_i), \Delta \cup \{Q_i\} \rangle$  is also a semantic value for A, where  $i \in N$  is a new index.

**Retrieval:**  $\langle \alpha, \Delta \cup \{Q_i\} \rangle \Rightarrow_R \langle Q(\lambda x_i.\alpha), \Delta \rangle$

if A is any sentence with semantic value  $\langle \lambda \alpha, \Delta \cup \{Q_i\} \rangle$ , then  $\langle Q(\lambda x_i.\alpha), \Delta \rangle$  is also a semantic value for A.

### 3 Nested Cooper Storage

**Storage:**  $\langle Q, \Delta \rangle \Rightarrow_S \langle \lambda P.P(x_i), \{\langle Q, \Delta \rangle_i\} \rangle$

if A is an noun phrase whose semantic value is  $\langle Q, \Delta \rangle$ , then  $\langle \lambda P.P(x_i), \{\langle Q, \Delta \rangle_i\} \rangle$  is also a semantic value for A, where  $i \in N$  is a new index.

**Retrieval:**  $\langle \alpha, \Delta \cup \{\langle Q, \Gamma \rangle_i\} \rangle \Rightarrow_R \langle Q(\lambda x_i.\alpha), \Delta \cup \Gamma \rangle$

if A is any sentence with semantic value  $\langle \alpha, \Delta \cup \{\langle Q, \Gamma \rangle_i\} \rangle$ , then  $\langle Q(\lambda x_i.\alpha), \Delta \cup \Gamma \rangle$  is also a semantic value for A.

### 4 DRT: Syntax

A discourse representation structure (DRS)  $K$  is a pair  $\langle U_K, C_K \rangle$  where

- $U_K$  is a set of discourse referents
- $C_K$  is a set of conditions.

Conditions:

$R(u_1, \dots, u_n)$	$R$ is an $n$ -place relation, $u_i \in U_K$
$u = v$	$u, v \in U_K$
$u = a$	$u \in U_K, a$ a proper name
$K_1 \Rightarrow K_2$	$K_1$ and $K_2$ DRSs
$K_1 \vee K_2$	$K_1$ and $K_2$ DRSs
$\neg K_1$	$K_1$ is a DRS

### 5 DRT: Embedding, verifying embedding

Let  $U_D$  be a set of discourse referents,  $K = \langle U_K, C_K \rangle$  a DRS with  $U_K \subseteq U_D$ ,  $M = \langle U_M, V_M \rangle$  a model structure of first-order predicate logic that is suitable for  $K$ . An *embedding* of  $U_D$  into  $M$  is a (partial) function from  $U_D$  to  $U_M$  that assigns individuals from  $U_M$  to discourse referents.

An embedding  $f$  *verifies* the DRS  $K$  in  $M$  ( $f \models_M K$ ) iff

1.  $U_K \subseteq \text{Dom}(f)$  and
2.  $f$  verifies each condition  $\alpha \in C_K$ .

$f$  verifies a condition  $\alpha$  in  $M$  ( $f \models_M \alpha$ ) in the following cases:

$f \models_M R(u_1, \dots, u_n)$	iff $\langle f(u_1), \dots, f(u_n) \rangle \in V_M(R)$
$f \models_M u = v$	iff $f(u) = f(v)$
$f \models_M u = a$	iff $f(u) = V_M(a)$
$f \models_M K_1 \Rightarrow K_2$	iff for all $g \supseteq_{U_{K_1}} f$ such that $g \models_M K_1$ , there is $h \supseteq_{U_{K_2}} g$ such that $h \models_M K_2$
$f \models_M \neg K_1$	iff there is no $g \supseteq_{U_{K_1}} f$ such that $g \models_M K_1$
$f \models_M K_1 \vee K_2$	iff there is a $g_1 \supseteq_{U_{K_1}} f$ such that $g_1 \models_M K_1$ , or there is a $g_2 \supseteq_{U_{K_2}} f$ such that $g_2 \models_M K_2$ .