

Baker's *Parasytic Scope*

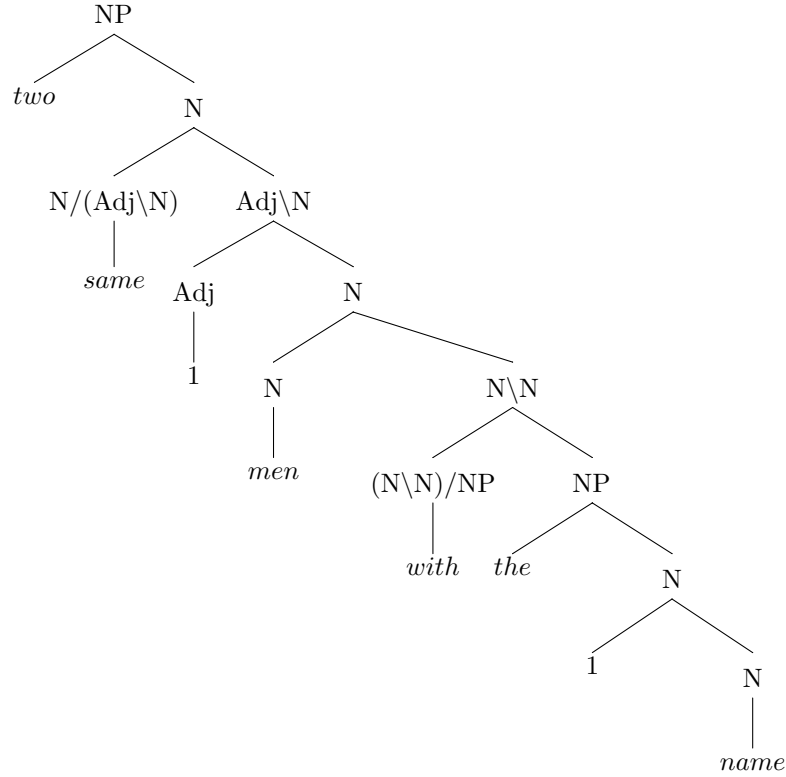
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Denotation of *same*:

$$(1) \quad \lambda F \lambda X. \exists f_{\text{choice}} \forall x < X : (F(f))x$$

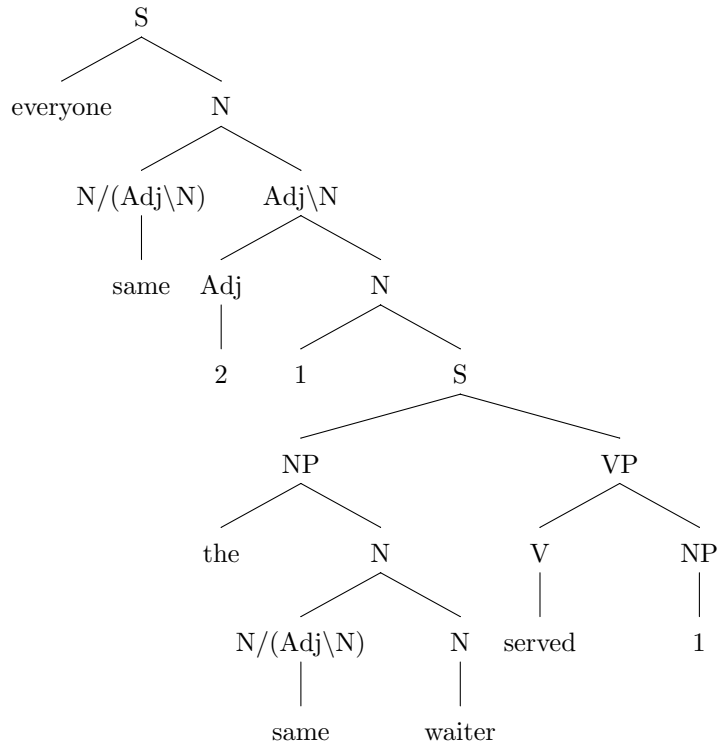
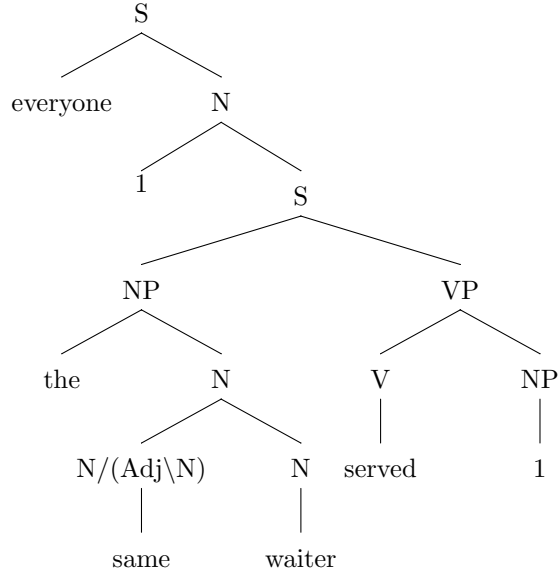
two men with the same name



Here the denotation of *same* combines with $\lambda f \lambda x. \mathbf{with}(\mathbf{the}(f(\mathbf{name})))(\mathbf{men})(x)$, and with *two*, giving

$$(2) \quad \mathbf{two}(\lambda X. \exists f \forall x < X : [\mathbf{with}(\mathbf{the}(f(\mathbf{name})))(\mathbf{men})](x))$$

the same waiter served everyone



(3) **everyone**($\lambda X. \exists f \forall x < X : \text{served}(x)(\text{the}(f(\text{waiter})))$)

Non-NP triggers

- (4)
- a. John read and reviewed the same book
 - b. John read the same book quickly and thoroughly
 - c. John read the same book every day
 - d. John usually read the same book

P. 438: “Generalizing the semantics is trivial. ... In order for this to work, we must assume that the relevant semantic domains have a boolean structure ... if *hit and killed* denotes the complex relation **hit** \oplus **killed**, then **hit** \prec **hit** \oplus **killed** and **killed** \prec **hit** \oplus **killed** ”

Proposal (Paperno): Conjoined predicates (*hit and killed*) are a special beast. Intuition: they involve presupposition of existence and uniqueness, like that of the definite article. I propose to treat them semantically as coordinated NP triggers, mediated by type shifting operators.

So *the same man dances and sings* translates as

$$I_{\iota\mathbf{dance} \oplus \iota\mathbf{sing}}(\mathbf{same} \lambda f \lambda x. (\mathbf{the}(f(\mathbf{man}))) = x) =$$

$$\exists f_{\mathbf{choice}} \forall x < [\iota\mathbf{dance} \oplus \iota\mathbf{sing}]((\mathbf{the}(f(\mathbf{man}))) = x)$$

(quantificational adverbs as triggers may be analogous to quantificational NP triggers.)