Anaphora P-Set

24.954: Pragmatics in Linguistic Theory

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Compute the CCP of the following sentence, using our dynamic fragment extended to account for anaphora. You can ignore gender.

(1) A[1] son of some[2] famous actress came and he_1 told us about her_2.

In dynamic semantics, we can define a universal quantifier as follows (where p and q are CCPs):

(2) $\text{every}^n\ p\ q \coloneqq \lambda c : i \notin \text{dom}\ c\ .\ \left\{ \langle g, w\rangle \in c \;\middle|\; \begin{array}{l} \{ g'_n \mid \langle g', w\rangle \in p\ (\text{a}^n\ c) \wedge g \leq g' \} \\ \subseteq \{ g''_n \mid \langle g'', w\rangle \in q\ (p\ (\text{a}^n\ c)) \wedge g \leq g'' \} \end{array} \right\}$

(3) $g \leq g'$ iff for each $i \in dom\ g, g_i = g'_i$

Compute the CCPs of the following sentences, step by step:

(4) Every linguist cried.
LF: Every[3] [t_3 linguist] [t_3 cried]

(5) Every[4] farmer who owns a[7] donkey cares from it_7.
LF: Every[4] [a[7] [t_7 donkey] [t_4 owns t_7]] [t_4 cares for t_7].

What do we now predict that the following sentence should presuppose?

(6) Every fat man pushed his bike.

What about the following:

(7) Every fat man who stopped smoking was healthier.

Bonus: what is the general schema for going from a static generalised quantifier to a dynamic generalised quantifier?