

## Appendix: The semantic interpretation system

### Hamblin Functional Application

If  $\alpha$  is a branching node with daughters  $\beta$  and  $\gamma$  and  $\llbracket \beta \rrbracket^{w,g} \in D_\alpha$  and  $\llbracket \gamma \rrbracket^{w,g} \in D_{\langle \alpha \rangle}$ , then  $\llbracket \alpha \rrbracket^{w,g} = \{ a \in D_\beta; \exists b \in c [ b \in \llbracket \beta \rrbracket^{w,g} \ \& \ c \in \llbracket \gamma \rrbracket^{w,g} \ \& \ a = c(b) ] \}$ .

### Sentential quantifiers<sup>1</sup>

For  $\llbracket \alpha \rrbracket^{w,g} \in D_{\langle st \rangle}$ :

- (i)  $\llbracket \Box \alpha \rrbracket^{w,g} = \{ \Box w'. \exists p [ p \in \llbracket \alpha \rrbracket^{w,g} \ \& \ p(w') = 1 ] \}$
- (ii)  $\llbracket \Box \Box \alpha \rrbracket^{w,g} = \{ \Box w'. \exists p [ p \in \llbracket \alpha \rrbracket^{w,g} \ \& \ p(w') = 1 ] \}$
- (iii)  $\llbracket \text{Neg } \alpha \rrbracket^{w,g} = \{ \Box w'. \exists p [ p \in \llbracket \alpha \rrbracket^{w,g} \ \& \ p(w') = 1 ] \}$
- (iv)  $\llbracket Q \alpha \rrbracket^{w,g} = \llbracket \alpha \rrbracket^{w,g}$  or (Groenendijk & Stokhof 1984)  
 $\llbracket Q \alpha \rrbracket^{w,g} = \{ \Box w'. \exists p [ p \in \llbracket \alpha \rrbracket^{w,g} \ \& \ [ p(w) = 1 \ \& \ p(w') = 1 ] ] \}$

### Generalized quantifiers

For  $\llbracket \alpha \rrbracket^{w,g} \in D_c$ :

- (i)  $\llbracket \Box \alpha \rrbracket^{w,g} = \{ \Box P \Box w'. \exists a [ a \in \llbracket \alpha \rrbracket^{w,g} \ \& \ P(a)(w') = 1 ] \}$
- (ii)  $\llbracket \Box \Box \alpha \rrbracket^{w,g} = \{ \Box P \Box w'. \exists a [ a \in \llbracket \alpha \rrbracket^{w,g} \ \& \ P(a)(w') = 1 ] \}$  Etc.

### Predicate Abstraction

If  $\alpha$  is a branching node whose daughters are an index  $i$  and  $\beta$ , where  $\llbracket \beta \rrbracket^{w,g} \in D_\alpha$ , then  $\llbracket \alpha \rrbracket^{w,g} = \{ f: f \in D_{\langle e \rangle} \ \& \ \exists a [ f(a) \in \llbracket \beta \rrbracket^{w,g[a/i]} ] \}$ <sup>2</sup>.

### Pronouns and traces

For any index  $i$ ,  $\llbracket [i] \rrbracket^{w,g} = \{ g(i) \}$ .

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<sup>1</sup>. There should be a choice for the world index with respect to which  $\alpha$  is to be evaluated in (i) to (iv), an important issue that I will neglect.

<sup>2</sup>. There is a question about the correctness of the definition for Predicate Abstraction. It does not quite deliver the expected set of functions. As far as I can see, however, no wrong predictions are actually made, as long as we only use the definition for generating propositional alternatives. Predicate modification operations within a Hamblin semantics present another interesting issue that I have to neglect here.

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