Presuppositions act as constraints on contextual felicity: Given an indexed definite NP, \( g(x_i) \) must satisfy any presuppositions triggered by NP, e.g. its grammatical gender, number, etc. must be in accord with \( g(x_i) \).
H&K do not discuss, but following Heim (1983) they presumably intend a globally accessible Common Ground as part of the context of utterance, e.g. for satisfaction of the presuppositions of factives, etc.

Contextualized LF: syntactically given (static) LF annotated with a partial assignment function.
Utterance felicity requires that the values of anaphoric triggers satisfy any presuppositions associated with the trigger (e.g. grammatical gender).
Figure 2: **Dynamic Semantics** (Kamp, Heim, Muskens)

Available information

- **lexical content**
  - Semantic value (CCP)
  - Presuppositions

- **syntactic structure**
  - Logical Form

Rules and constraints

- **compositional semantics**
  - (CCP takes context as argument)

Context of interpretation

- accommodation, Gricean reasoning?

- what is meant?

**context**: a dynamically updated Discourse Representation K or File F

\[ K = \langle \text{DRef,Conds} \rangle \]

\[ F = \langle \text{set of dRefs, set of world/assignment pairs} \rangle \]

**Pro:**

- Context is no longer arbitrary: updated as a function of what is said, the CCP of prior content (full and partial utterances)

**Con:**

- Context contains some non-linguistically given information, but the theory makes no allowance for non-CCP update. E.g. for modal subordination and other contextually given domain restriction, intrusive implicatures, and intrusive Conventional Implicatures (coming up).
- Assumption that output of an indicative sentence acts to update CG is inconsistent with Speech Act theory.
Figure 3: **The Architecture of Interpretation: static Semantics and dynamic Pragmatics**

- **lexical CHARACTER**
  - Semantic content
  - Auxiliary content
- **syntactic structure**
  - Logical Form
- **local context of interpretation**
  - = Context of interpretation $K = <CS, QUD, G, DR, ©>$
  - with merely local updates & extra-linguistic input
- **compositional semantics**
  - (static output: proffered content)
  - [bottom up]
- **dynamic pragmatics**
  - (context revision)
  - [top down]
- **pragmatic constraints on well-formed contexts**
  - consistency
  - coherence (RELEVANCE to QUD)
  - CG management (uptake acknowledgement)
  - Right Frontier constraint on anaphora
  - (drive implicature, accommodation in real time)

**Contextualized LFs:** syntactically given (static) LFs annotated with the pragmatically given contexts of interpretation for their parts. For simple declarative $S$, given a local context of interpretation $K$, we update $CS_K$ as follows:

Heim’s (1983) **CS updates** follow from the contextualized LFs + semantics of any functors:

- $S^K$
- $\lnot\ [S]^K$ updates $K$ with proffered $\|[[S]]^K\|$, so updated $CS_{K+S} = CS_K \cap \|[[S]]^K\|
- $K + \lnot\ [S]^K = K \setminus \|S\|^K$
- $[[S_1]^K \ and \ [S_2]^{K+S_1}]^K$
- $K + [[S_1]^K \ and \ [S_2]^{K+S_1}]^K = (K \setminus \|[[S_1]]^K\|) + \|[[S_2]]^K\|^S \cap \|[[S_2]]^{K+S_1}\|$, so $CS \cap \|[[S_1]]^K\| \cap \|[[S_2]]^{K+S_1}\|
- $K + \lnot\ [S]^K$ updates $K$ with proffered $\|[[S]]^K\|$, so updated $CS_{K+S} = CS_K \cap \|[[S]]^K\|
- $K + \lnot\ [S]^K = K \setminus \|S\|^K$
- $[[S_1]^K \ then \ [S_2]^{K+S_1}]^K$
- $K + \lnot\ [S]^K \ then \ [S_2]^{K+S_1} = K \setminus (K \setminus \|S_1\|^K \setminus K \setminus \|S_1\|^K \setminus \|S_2\|^{K+S_1})$
Figure 1b: Heim & Kratzer static Semantics and Pragmatics

available information

- lexical Content
  - Semantic value
  - Presuppositions
- syntactic structure
  - Logical Form
- context: assignment function + CG

rules and constraints

- compositional semantics
  - (function-argument application, etc.)
- Gricean maxims
- what is meant

The Flow of Contextual Information
Figure 2b: **Dynamic Semantics** (Kamp, Heim, Muskens)

- **available information**
  - **lexical content**
    - Semantic value (CCP)
  - Presuppositions

- **rules and constraints**
  - **compositional semantics**
    - (CCP takes context as argument)

**context of interpretation**
- **Logical Form**

The Flow of Contextual Information

accommodation, Gricean reasoning?

what is meant?
Figure 3b: The Architecture of Interpretation: static Semantics and dynamic Pragmatics

Available information

Lexical Character
- Semantic content
- Auxiliary content

Presuppositions & Background content

Syntactic structure

Logical Form

Contextualized Logical Form

Rules and constraints

Compositional semantics
- (static output: proffered content)

Dynamic pragmatics
- (context revision)

Local context of interpretation
- Context of interpretation $K = \langle CS, QUD, G, DR, © \rangle$
- + merely local updates (as below) + extra-linguistic input

Indirect contributions to semantics
- (not reflected in LF)

Pragmatic constraints on well-formed contexts
- Consistency
- Coherence (Relevance to QUD)
- CG management (uptake acknowledgement)
- Right Frontier constraint on anaphora
- (drive implicature, accommodation in real time)