Two kinds of third reading examples

(1) Mary wants to buy a [hat of mine]
mary want$_0$ $\lambda_2$ mary buy$_2$ a [hat of mine]$_0$

(i) $[[\text{hat of mine}]]^g = \{a, b, c\}$

(ii) $\forall w'$ compatible with what mary wants in $w_0$, $\exists x \in \{a,b,c\}$ such that mary buys x in $w'$

(2) Mary wants to buy a [hat like mine]
mary want$_0$ $\lambda_2$ mary buy$_2$ a [hat like mine]$_0$

(i) $[[\text{hat like mine}]]^g = \{a,b,c,d,e\}$

(ii) $\forall w'$ compatible with what mary wants in $w_0$, $\exists x \in \{a,b,c,d,e\}$ such that mary buys x in $w'$

$\rightarrow$ Schwagger shows us a situation where (2) is predicted to be false, but felt to be true

(3) a. I have a red hat
   b. red hats = $\{a,b,c\}$
   b. Mary says: 'I want to buy a red hat, any will do'
      $\rightarrow$ predicted: $[[\text{Mary wants to buy a hat like mine}]] = 0$

(4) Proof:
   $[[\text{Mary wants to buy a hat like mine}]] = 1$ iff
   $\forall w' \in \text{want}(w_0)(\text{mary})$. $\exists x \in \{a,b,c\}$ such that mary buys x in $w'$
   $\rightarrow$ Suppose d is a red hat in $w_7$ and mary buys only d in $w_7$. Then $w_7 \in \text{want}(w_0)(\text{mary})$, but
   there is no $x \in \{a,b,c\}$ such that mary buys x in $w_7$

(5) More detailed analysis of [hat like mine]
mary want$_0$ $\lambda_2$ mary buy$_2$ a [hat like mine]$_0$

$[[\text{Mary wants to buy a hat like mine}]] = 1$ iff
$\forall w' \in \text{want}(w_0)(\text{mary})$. $\exists x \text{ s.t. in } w'$, x has the same color as the hat I have in $w_0$ & mary buys x in $w'$

(6) Dubai Tower Problem
$\lambda_1$ mary want$_1$ $\lambda_2$ mary buy$_2$ a [building with 192 floors]$_1$
$\rightarrow$ ...

(7) Orcutt example
Ralph thinks that orcutt is a spy, and Ralph doesn't think that orcutt is a spy

(8) Kaplanian approach
$\exists f.f(w_1) = \text{ocutt} & \text{ralph think}_1 \lambda_2 \alpha(w_2) \in \text{spy}_2$
$\rightarrow$ vividness...
$\rightarrow f(w) = \text{the shorstest spy in w}$
$\rightarrow f(w) = \text{the person John is looking at in w}$