

Introduction to Formal Semantics

Tutorial Lecture 8: Intensional and Modal Logic

Nicolaie Dominik Dascalu, Dr. Volha Petukhova
Spoken Language System Group
Saarland University



20.06.22



1. Coextensionality
2. Informative/Uninformative
3. Towards Intensionality
4. Contingent and Necessary Truth
5. Propositional Attitudes
6. Intension and composition

Reading:

- Coppock, E., and Champollion, L. (2021). Invitation to formal semantics. Manuscript, Boston University and New York University (Ch.13).
- Gutzmann, D. (2020). Semantik. Semantik. Einführungen in die Sprachwissenschaft. J.B. Metzler, Stuttgart (Ch.11). NM
- Von Fintel, K., & Heim, I. (2011). Intensional semantics. Unpublished Lecture Notes. NM



1. Coextensionality



1. Coextensionality

Substitutability of coextensionals

If two *expressions*¹ have the same extension, then if one is substituted for the other in any given sentence, the truth value of the sentence remains the same. (**Coppock & Champollion 2022, p. 489**)

1. Usually, with reference to Proper nouns (PNs), Definite descriptions (NPs). Still, every $\text{expression}_X : \text{expression}_A \models \text{expression}_B$



1. Coextensionality

Substitutability of coextensionals

If two *expressions*¹ have the same extension, then if one is substituted for the other in any given sentence, the truth value of the sentence remains the same. (**Coppock & Champollion 2022, p. 489**)

[[Peter Parker]]

1. Usually, with reference to Proper nouns (PNs), Definite descriptions (NPs). Still, every $\text{expression}_X : \text{expression}_A \models \text{expression}_B$



1. Coextensionality

Substitutability of coextensionals

If two **expressions**¹ have the same extension, then if one is substituted for the other in any given sentence, the truth value of the sentence remains the same. (**Coppock & Champollion 2022, p. 489**)

[[Peter Parker]] ↔ [[Spiderman]]



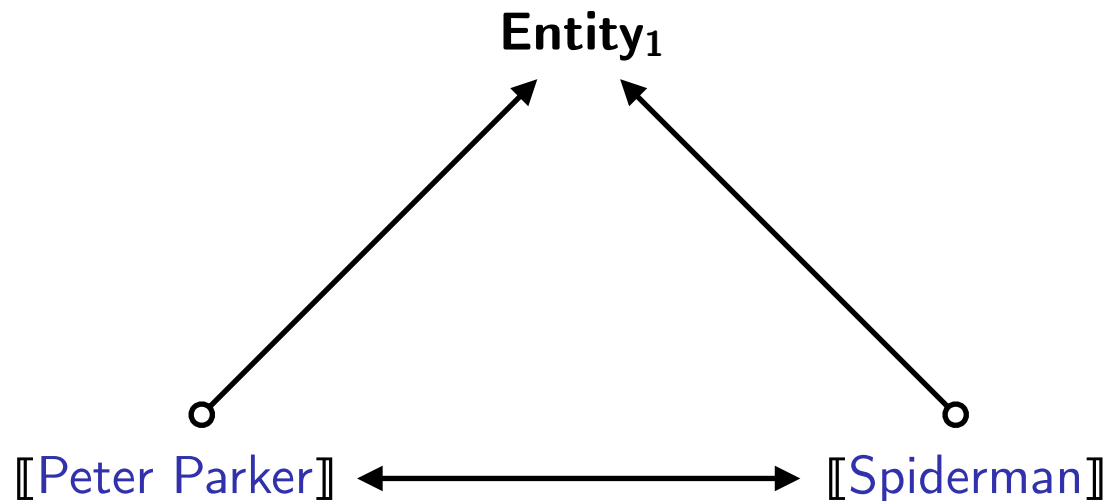
1. Usually, with reference to Proper nouns (PNs), Definite descriptions (NPs). Still, every $\text{expression}_X : \text{expression}_A \models \text{expression}_B$



1. Coextensionality

Substitutability of coextensionals

If two **expressions**¹ have the same extension, then if one is substituted for the other in any given sentence, the truth value of the sentence remains the same. (**Coppock & Champollion 2022, p. 489**)



1. Usually, with reference to Proper nouns (PNs), Definite descriptions (NPs). Still, every expression_X : expression_A \models expression_B



1. Coextensionality

Substitutability of coextensionals

If two *expressions*¹ have the same extension, then if one is substituted for the other in any given sentence, the truth value of the sentence remains the same. (**Coppock & Champollion 2022, p. 489**)

- a. *Peter Parker* kisses Mary Jane.

1. Usually, with reference to Proper nouns (PNs), Definite descriptions (NPs). Still, every $\text{expression}_X : \text{expression}_A \models \text{expression}_B$



1. Coextensionality

Substitutability of coextensionals

If two *expressions*¹ have the same extension, then if one is substituted for the other in any given sentence, the truth value of the sentence remains the same. (**Coppock & Champollion 2022, p. 489**)

- a. Peter Parker kisses Mary Jane.
- b. Peter Parker is Spiderman

1. Usually, with reference to Proper nouns (PNs), Definite descriptions (NPs). Still, every $\text{expression}_X : \text{expression}_A \models \text{expression}_B$



1. Coextensionality

Substitutability of coextensionals

If two *expressions*¹ have the same extension, then if one is substituted for the other in any given sentence, the truth value of the sentence remains the same. (**Coppock & Champollion 2022, p. 489**)

- a. Peter Parker kisses Mary Jane.
- b. Peter Parker is Spiderman
- c. \therefore Spiderman kisses Mary Jane.

1. Usually, with reference to Proper nouns (PNs), Definite descriptions (NPs). Still, every $\text{expression}_X : \text{expression}_A \models \text{expression}_B$



1. Coextensionality

Substitutability of coextensionals

If two **expressions**¹ have the same extension, then if one is substituted for the other in any given sentence, the truth value of the sentence remains the same. (**Coppock & Champollion 2022, p. 489**)

- a. **Peter Parker** kisses Mary Jane.
- b. **Peter Parker** is **Spiderman**
- c. \therefore **Spiderman** kisses Mary Jane.



1. Usually, with reference to Proper nouns (PNs), Definite descriptions (NPs). Still, every $\text{expression}_X : \text{expression}_A \models \text{expression}_B$



1. Coextensionality

Substitutability of coextensionals

If two **expressions**¹ have the same extension, then if one is substituted for the other in any given sentence, the truth value of the sentence remains the same. (**Coppock & Champollion 2022, p. 489**)

- a. Peter Parker kisses Mary Jane.
- b. Peter Parker is Spiderman
- c. ∴ Spiderman kisses Mary Jane.



= ✓

1. Usually, with reference to Proper nouns (PNs), Definite descriptions (NPs). Still, every expression_X : expression_A \models expression_B



1. Coextensionality

Substitutability of coextensionals

If two **expressions**¹ have the same extension, then if one is substituted for the other in any given sentence, the truth value of the sentence remains the same. (**Coppock & Champollion 2022, p. 489**)

$$M_{De} = \{e_1, e_2, e_3\}$$

$$I_M(\text{peter parker}) = I_M(\text{spiderman}) = e_1$$

$$I_M(\text{mary jane}) = e_2$$

$$I_M(\text{harry osborne}) = e_3$$

1. Usually, with reference to Proper nouns (PNs), Definite descriptions (NPs). Still, every $\text{expression}_X : \text{expression}_A \models \text{expression}_B$



1. Coextensionality

Substitutability of coextensionals

If two **expressions**¹ have the same extension, then if one is substituted for the other in any given sentence, the truth value of the sentence remains the same. (**Coppock & Champollion 2022, p. 489**)

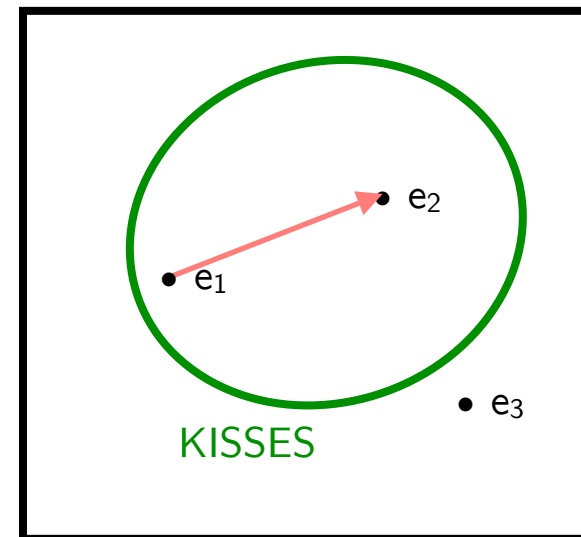
$$M_{De} = \{e_1, e_2, e_3\}$$

$$I_M(\text{peter parker}) = I_M(\text{spiderman}) = e_1$$

$$I_M(\text{mary jane}) = e_2$$

$$I_M(\text{harry osborne}) = e_3$$

M:



1. Usually, with reference to Proper nouns (PNs), Definite descriptions (NPs). Still, every $\text{expression}_X : \text{expression}_A \models \text{expression}_B$



1. Coextensionality

Substitutability of coextensionals

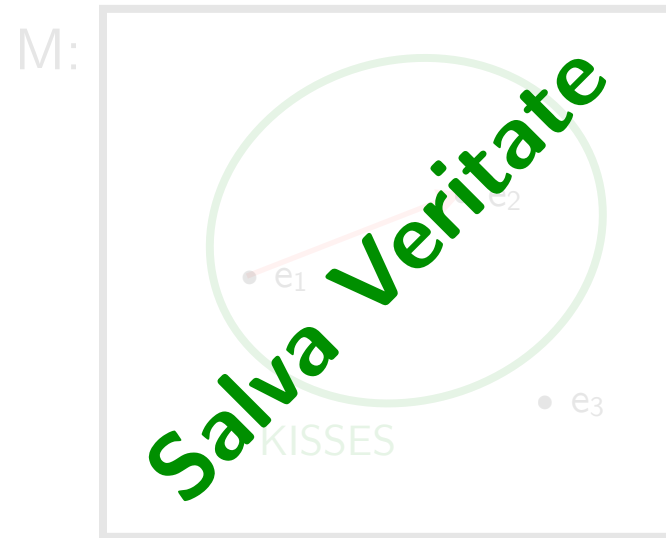
If two **expressions**¹ have the same extension, then if one is substituted for the other in any given sentence, the truth value of the sentence remains the same. (**Coppock & Champollion 2022, p. 489**)

$$M_{De} = \{e_1, e_2, e_3\}$$

$$I_M(\text{peter parker}) = I_M(\text{spiderman}) = e_1$$

$$I_M(\text{mary jane}) = e_2$$

$$I_M(\text{harry osborne}) = e_3$$



1. Usually, with reference to Proper nouns (PNs), Definite descriptions (NPs). Still, every $\text{expression}_X : \text{expression}_A \models \text{expression}_B$



1. Coextensionality

- If “a” and “b” are **co-referential² expressions** then by substituting one with the other “ $\phi^{[a/b]}$ ” they are **co-extensional**: $\llbracket \phi^{[a]} \rrbracket = T \longleftrightarrow \llbracket \phi^{[b]} \rrbracket = T$

2. Here co-referentiality does not subsume deictic terms/anaphors as they first need to be anchored within the context.



2. Informative/Uninformative



2. Informative/Uninformative

Informative Vs Uninformative

Keep in mind! Co-extensionality works because of $\mathbf{a = b}$ and not $\mathbf{a = a}$ (tautological)



2. Informative/Uninformative

Informative Vs Uninformative

Keep in mind! Co-extensionality works because of $a = b$ and not $a = a$ (tautological)

► **Informative** ($a = b$)



2. Informative/Uninformative

Informative Vs Uninformative

Keep in mind! Co-extensionality works because of $a = b$ and not $a = a$ (tautological)

► **Informative** ($a = b$)

(1a) J.K.Rowling is the author of Harry Potter.



2. Informative/Uninformative

Informative Vs Uninformative

Keep in mind! Co-extensionality works because of $a = b$ and not $a = a$ (tautological)

► **Informative** ($a = b$)

(1a) J.K.Rowling is the author of Harry Potter.

(2a) The empire state building is the 4th tallest building in New York City.



2. Informative/Uninformative

Informative Vs Uninformative

Keep in mind! Co-extensionality works because of $a = b$ and not $a = a$ (tautological)

► **Informative** ($a = b$)

(1a) J.K.Rowling is the author of Harry Potter.

(2a) The empire state building is the 4th tallest building in New York City.

► **Uninformative** ($a = a$)



2. Informative/Uninformative

Informative Vs Uninformative

Keep in mind! Co-extensionality works because of $a = b$ and not $a = a$ (tautological)

► **Informative** ($a = b$)

(1a) J.K.Rowling is the author of Harry Potter.

(2a) The empire state building is the 4th tallest building in New York City.

► **Uninformative** ($a = a$)

(3a) Susan is Susan



2. Informative/Uninformative

Informative Vs Uninformative

Keep in mind! Co-extensionality works because of $a = b$ and not $a = a$ (tautological)

► **Informative** ($a = b$)

(1a) J.K.Rowling is the author of Harry Potter.

(2a) The empire state building is the 4th tallest building in New York City.

► **Uninformative** ($a = a$)

(3a) Susan is Susan

(4a) Boys are boys³

3. Semantically uninformative, but pragmatically it may convey some sort of information (e.g. Speaker flouts the Maxim of Quantityⁱⁱ)



2. Informative/Uninformative

Informative Vs Uninformative

Keep in mind! Co-extensionality works because of $a = b$ and not $a = a$ (tautological)

► **Informative** ($a = b$)

(1a) J.K.Rowling is the author of Harry Potter.

(2a) The empire state building is the 4th tallest building in New York City.

► **Uninformative** ($a = a$)

(3a) Susan is Susan

(4a) Boys are boys³

3. Semantically uninformative, but pragmatically it may convey some sort of information (e.g. Speaker flouts the Maxim of Quantityⁱⁱ)



2. Informative/Uninformative

Informative Vs Uninformative

Keep in mind! Co-extensionality works because of $a = b$ and not $a = a$ (tautological). This is also evident when the identity relation is **negated**.

► **Informative** $(a = b)$, **under negation** $(a = \neg b)$



2. Informative/Uninformative

Informative Vs Uninformative

Keep in mind! Co-extensionality works because of $a = b$ and not $a = a$ (tautological). This is also evident when the identity relation is **negated**.

► Informative $(a = b)$, under negation $(a = \neg b)$

Note: under negation $a = \neg b$ is still informative! This renders it **contingent** in nature and will allow us to consider modal logic and possible worlds.



2. Informative/Uninformative

Informative Vs Uninformative

Keep in mind! Co-extensionality works because of $a = b$ and not $a = a$ (tautological). This is also evident when the identity relation is **negated**.

► **Informative** ($a = b$), **under negation** ($a = \neg b$)

(1b) J.K.Rowling is NOT the author of Harry Potter⁴.

4. We might learn J.K. Rowling had a ghostwriter.



2. Informative/Uninformative

Informative Vs Uninformative

Keep in mind! Co-extensionality works because of $a = b$ and not $a = a$ (tautological). This is also evident when the identity relation is **negated**.

► **Informative** ($a = b$), **under negation** ($a = \neg b$)

(1b) J.K.Rowling is NOT the author of Harry Potter⁴.

(2b) The empire state building is NOT the 4th tallest building in New York City⁵.

4. We might learn J.K. Rowling had a ghostwriter.

5. Eventually, the building might become the 5th tallest building in NYC.



2. Informative/Uninformative

Informative Vs Uninformative

Keep in mind! Co-extensionality works because of $a = b$ and not $a = a$ (tautological). This is also evident when the identity relation is **negated**.

► Informative ($a = b$), under negation ($a = \neg b$) ✓

(1b) J.K.Rowling is NOT the author of Harry Potter⁴.

(2b) The empire state building is NOT the 4th tallest building in New York City⁵.

4. We might learn J.K. Rowling had a ghostwriter.

5. Eventually, the building might become the 5th tallest building in NYC.



2. Informative/Uninformative

Informative Vs Uninformative

Keep in mind! Co-extensionality works because of $a = b$ and not $a = a$ (tautological). This is also evident when the identity relation is **negated**.

► **Informative** ($a = b$), **under negation** ($a = \neg b$) ✓

(1b) J.K.Rowling is NOT the author of Harry Potter⁴.

(2b) The empire state building is NOT the 4th tallest building in New York City⁵.

► **Uninformative** ($a = a$), **under negation** ($a = \neg a$)

4. We might learn J.K. Rowling had a ghostwriter.

5. Eventually, the building might become the 5th tallest building in NYC.



2. Informative/Uninformative

Informative Vs Uninformative

Keep in mind! Co-extensionality works because of $a = b$ and not $a = a$ (tautological). This is also evident when the identity relation is **negated**.

► **Informative** ($a = b$), **under negation** ($a = \neg b$) ✓

(1b) J.K.Rowling is NOT the author of Harry Potter⁴.

(2b) The empire state building is NOT the 4th tallest building in New York City⁵.

► **Uninformative** ($a = a$), **under negation** ($a = \neg a$)

(3b) Susan is NOT Susan

4. We might learn J.K. Rowling had a ghostwriter.

5. Eventually, the building might become the 5th tallest building in NYC.



2. Informative/Uninformative

Informative Vs Uninformative

Keep in mind! Co-extensionality works because of $a = b$ and not $a = a$ (tautological). This is also evident when the identity relation is **negated**.

► **Informative** ($a = b$), **under negation** ($a = \neg b$) ✓

(1b) J.K.Rowling is NOT the author of Harry Potter⁴.

(2b) The empire state building is NOT the 4th tallest building in New York City⁵.

► **Uninformative** ($a = a$), **under negation** ($a = \neg a$)

(3b) Susan is NOT Susan

(4b) Boys are NOT boys

4. We might learn J.K. Rowling had a ghostwriter.

5. Eventually, the building might become the 5th tallest building in NYC.



2. Informative/Uninformative

Informative Vs Uninformative

Keep in mind! Co-extensionality works because of $a = b$ and not $a = a$ (tautological). This is also evident when the identity relation is **negated**.

► **Informative** ($a = b$), **under negation** ($a = \neg b$) ✓

(1b) J.K.Rowling is NOT the author of Harry Potter⁴.

(2b) The empire state building is NOT the 4th tallest building in New York City⁵.

► **Uninformative** ($a = a$), **under negation** ($a = \neg a$) ✗

(3b) Susan is NOT Susan

(4b) Boys are NOT boys

4. We might learn J.K. Rowling had a ghostwriter.

5. Eventually, the building might become the 5th tallest building in NYC.



2. Informative/Uninformative

■ Is the principle of co-extensionality always effective?



...

3. Towards Intensionality



3. Towards Intensionality

The problem of substitutivity of co-referential terms

(5) The empire state building is the 4th tallest building in NYC.

- ▶ a = the tallest building in NYC.
- ▶ b = the 2nd tallest building in NYC.
- ▶ c = the 3rd tallest building in NYC.
- ▶ d = the 4th tallest building in NYC.
- ▶ e = the 424 ft building located in e*

Intension ↓ $\llbracket \text{esb} \rrbracket$

Extension $\llbracket \text{esb} \rrbracket$



*e ...the 424 ft building located in 20 W 34th St, NT, 1001, U.S.



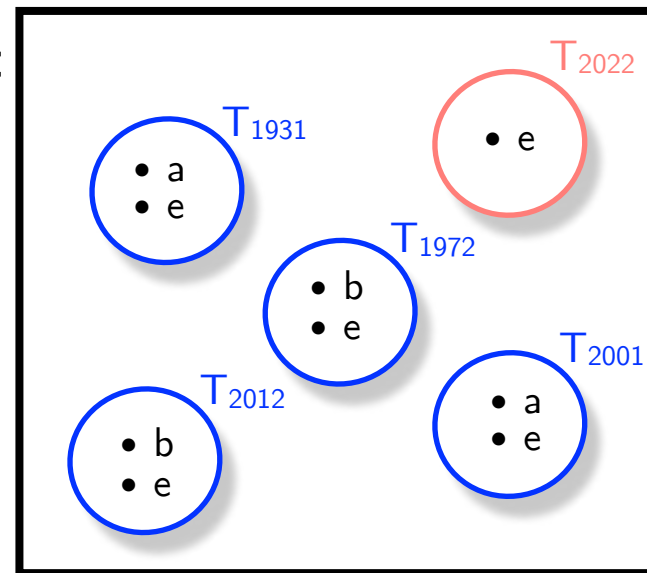
3. Towards Intensionality

The problem of substitutivity of co-referential terms

(5) The empire state building is the 4th tallest building in NYC (Contingent truth)

- ▶ a = the tallest building in NYC.
- ▶ b = the 2nd tallest building in NYC.
- ▶ c = the 3rd tallest building in NYC.
- ▶ d = the 4th tallest building in NYC.
- ▶ e = the 424 ft building located in e*

M:



*e ...the 424 ft building located in 20 W 34th St, NT, 1001, U.S. Is “e” necessary or contingent? Moreover, what about if our Model



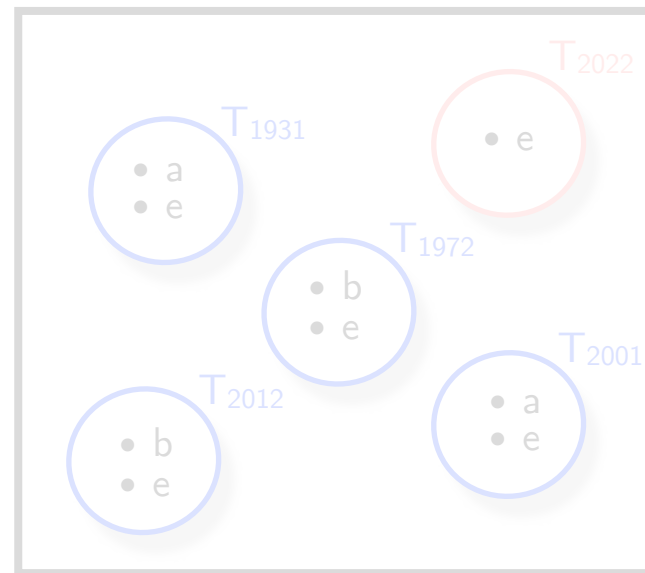
3. Towards Intensionality

Necessary and Contingent truths

(5) The empire state building is the 4th tallest building in NYC (Contingent truth)

- ▶ a = the tallest building in NYC.
- ▶ b = the 2nd tallest building in NYC.
- ▶ c = the 3rd tallest building in NYC.
- ▶ d = the 4th tallest building in NYC.
- ▶ e = the 424 ft building located in e*

M:



*e ...the 424 ft building located in 20 W 34th St, NT, 1001, U.S. Is “e” necessary or contingent? Moreover, what about if our Model



3. Towards Intensionality

- What is the causes this?



4. Contingent and Necessary Truth



4. Contingent and Necessary Truth

“Whether or not a proposition **necessarily** holds depends on its truth value in **every world**, not just the world under consideration. In other words, **necessarily** depends on the **INTENSION** of the sentence it combines with, and not just its **EXTENSION**. The extension of an expression is its semantic value at a particular world (so, for formulas, the extension is a truth value), while the intension is a function from possible worlds to the extensions they have at those worlds.” (p. 491)



4. Contingent and Necessary Truth

Necessary truth

A **necessary truth** is one that could not have been otherwise. In **all circumstances**, a necessary truth expresses a true proposition.

(6) Human beings are mortal.

...is the sentence true or false?



4. Contingent and Necessary Truth

Necessary truth

A **necessary truth** is one that could not have been otherwise. In **all circumstances**, a necessary truth expresses a true proposition.

(6) Human beings are mortal.

(i) Necessarily, human beings are mortal.

Alethic



proposition

ϕ

...is true in every-possible situation



4. Contingent and Necessary Truth

Contingent truth

A **contingent truth** is one that is true, but could have been false. In **some circumstances**, a contingent truth expresses a true proposition.

(7) The empire state building is **the 4th tallest building in NYC**.

...is the sentence true or false?



4. Contingent and Necessary Truth

Contingent truth

A **contingent truth** is one that is true, but could have been false. In **some circumstances**, a contingent truth expresses a true proposition.

(7) The empire state building is **the 4th tallest building in NYC**.

(ii) **Possibly**, the empire state building is ...

Alethic

proposition



ϕ

...is true in some-possible situations



4. Contingent and Necessary Truth

Intensional operators

... we call these “circumstances” worlds $w \in W$ — **Leibniz** first defined possible worlds, **Kripke** later formalized this idea — and are now able to extend our traditional model into an intensional $\langle D, W, I \rangle$. The following are the two basic new intensional operators: “**Box operator** \Box ”, “**Diamond operator** \Diamond ”.

- ▶ If ϕ is a formula, then $\Box\phi$ is a formula.
- ▶ If ϕ is a formula, then $\Diamond\phi$ is a formula.



4. Contingent and Necessary Truth

Intensional operators

... we call these “circumstances” worlds $w \in W$ — **Leibniz** first defined possible worlds, **Kripke** later formalized this idea — and are now able to extend our traditional model into an intensional $\langle D, W, I \rangle$. The following are the two basic new intensional operators: “**Box operator** \Box ”, “**Diamond operator** \Diamond ”.

- ▶ If ϕ is a formula, then $\Box\phi$ is a formula.
- ▶ If ϕ is a formula, then $\Diamond\phi$ is a formula.

Truth conditions

- ▶ $\llbracket \Box\phi \rrbracket^{M,g,w} = \top$ iff $\llbracket \phi \rrbracket^{M,g,w'} = \top$ for all w'
- ▶ $\llbracket \Diamond\phi \rrbracket^{M,g,w} = \top$ iff $\llbracket \phi \rrbracket^{M,g,w'} = \top$ for some w'



4. Contingent and Necessary Truth

Reflexivity of the intensional operators

Reflexivity of \Box :

If $\Box\phi$ is true in all worlds ($w \in W$), then ϕ is also true in the actual world ($w@$):

► $\Box\phi \rightarrow \phi$

Non Reflexivity of \Diamond :

If $\Diamond\phi$ is true in some worlds, then ϕ is not necessarily true in the actual world:

► $\Diamond\phi \rightarrow \phi$, however, the following holds: $\phi \rightarrow \Diamond\phi$

$\Box\phi \leftrightarrow \neg\Diamond\neg\phi$ are equivalent



4. Contingent and Necessary Truth

Intensional interpretation

Expressions based on their intentionality are interpreted as follow:

► **Proper name:**

$$\llbracket a_e \rrbracket^{M,g,w} = [[w_@ \mapsto a], \dots, [w_n \mapsto a]] \quad (\text{rigid designators})$$

► **Predicates:**

$$\llbracket P_{et} \rrbracket^{M,g,w} = [[w_@ \mapsto \{a,b\}], \dots, [w_n \mapsto \{a,b,d\}]]$$

► **Sentences:**

$$\llbracket \phi_t \rrbracket^{M,g,w} = [[w_@ \mapsto 1], \dots, [w_n \mapsto 0]]$$



4. Contingent and Necessary Truth

Intensional interpretation

Expressions based on their intentionality are interpreted as follow:

► **Proper name:**

$$I(w_3, \text{john}) = \text{john}$$

► **Predicates:**

$$I(w_3, \text{Happy}) = \{\text{john, sabrina, lela}\}$$

► **Sentences:**

$$\llbracket \text{Happy}(\text{john}) \rrbracket^{M, g, w_3} = 1$$



4. Contingent and Necessary Truth

- Now we can move from the extensional reading...



4. Contingent and Necessary Truth

(8) ... is Spiderman.

a. $(\llbracket \text{Clark Kent} \rrbracket^{M,g} = \llbracket \text{Spiderman} \rrbracket^{M,g}) = ?$

b. $(\llbracket \text{Peter Parker} \rrbracket^{M,g} = \llbracket \text{Spiderman} \rrbracket^{M,g}) = ?$

c. $(\llbracket \text{Tony Stark} \rrbracket^{M,g} = \llbracket \text{Spiderman} \rrbracket^{M,g}) = ?$

d. $(\llbracket \text{Bruce Banner} \rrbracket^{M,g} = \llbracket \text{Spiderman} \rrbracket^{M,g}) = ?$

...and which wouldn't be that helpful.



4. Contingent and Necessary Truth

- To an intensional reading...



4. Contingent and Necessary Truth

(8) ... is Spiderman.

a. $(\llbracket \text{Clark Kent} \rrbracket^{M,g} = \llbracket \text{Spiderman} \rrbracket^{M,g})(w?) = ?$

b. $(\llbracket \text{Peter Parker} \rrbracket^{M,g} = \llbracket \text{Spiderman} \rrbracket^{M,g})(w?) = ?$

c. $(\llbracket \text{Tony Stark} \rrbracket^{M,g} = \llbracket \text{Spiderman} \rrbracket^{M,g})(w?) = ?$

d. $(\llbracket \text{Bruce Banner} \rrbracket^{M,g} = \llbracket \text{Spiderman} \rrbracket^{M,g})(w?) = ?$

...where, given our possible worlds, one interpretation holds rather than the other.



4. Contingent and Necessary Truth

(8) ... is Spiderman.

a. $(\llbracket \text{Clark Kent} \rrbracket^{M,g} = \llbracket \text{Spiderman} \rrbracket^{M,g})(w_1) = ?$

b. $(\llbracket \text{Peter Parker} \rrbracket^{M,g} = \llbracket \text{Spiderman} \rrbracket^{M,g})(w_2) = ?$

c. $(\llbracket \text{Andrew Garfield} \rrbracket^{M,g} = \llbracket \text{Spiderman} \rrbracket^{M,g})(w_3) = ?$

d. $(\llbracket \text{Tom Holland} \rrbracket^{M,g} = \llbracket \text{Spiderman} \rrbracket^{M,g})(w_4) = ?$

w_1 = marvel comics, w_2 = marvel Sony universe, w_3 = marvel sony universe, w_4 marvel cinematic universe



4. Contingent and Necessary Truth

(8) ... is Spiderman.

a. $(\llbracket \text{Clark Kent} \rrbracket^{M,g} = \llbracket \text{Spiderman} \rrbracket^{M,g})(w_1) = ?$

b. $(\llbracket \text{Peter Parker} \rrbracket^{M,g} = \llbracket \text{Spiderman} \rrbracket^{M,g})(w_2) = ?$

c. $(\llbracket \text{Andrew Garfield} \rrbracket^{M,g} = \llbracket \text{Spiderman} \rrbracket^{M,g})(w_3) = ?$

d. $(\llbracket \text{Tom Holland} \rrbracket^{M,g} = \llbracket \text{Spiderman} \rrbracket^{M,g})(w_4) = ?$

w_1 = marvel comics, w_2 = marvel Sony universe, w_3 = marvel sony universe, w_4 marvel cinematic universe



4. Contingent and Necessary Truth

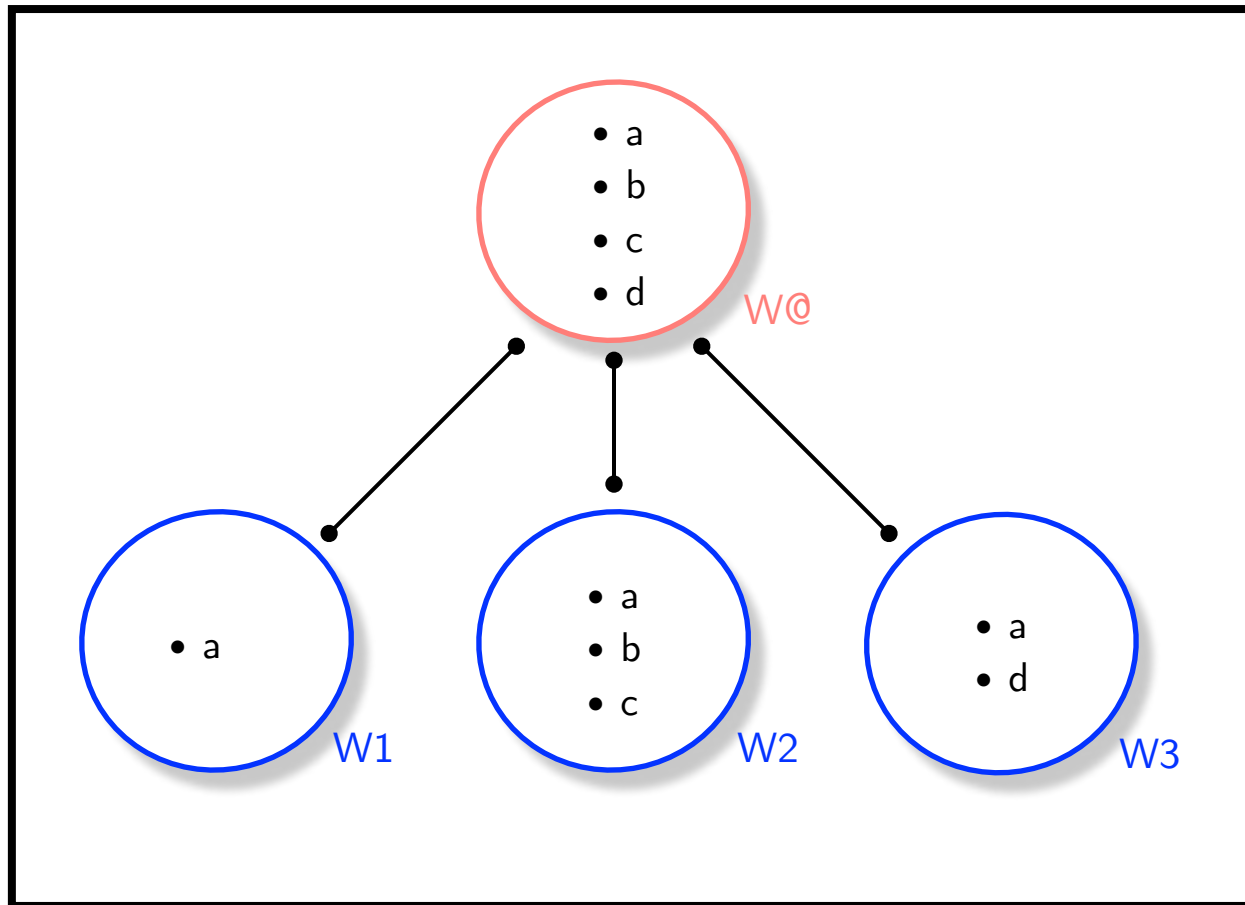
(8)

$\downarrow \llbracket a \rrbracket$	$\downarrow \llbracket b \rrbracket$	$\downarrow \llbracket c \rrbracket$	$\downarrow \llbracket d \rrbracket$
$\left[\begin{array}{l} w_1 \mapsto 1 \\ w_2 \mapsto 1 \\ w_3 \mapsto 1 \\ w_{@} \mapsto 1 \end{array} \right]$	$\left[\begin{array}{l} w_1 \mapsto 0 \\ w_2 \mapsto 1 \\ w_3 \mapsto 0 \\ w_{@} \mapsto 1 \end{array} \right]$	$\left[\begin{array}{l} w_1 \mapsto 0 \\ w_2 \mapsto 1 \\ w_3 \mapsto 0 \\ w_{@} \mapsto 1 \end{array} \right]$	$\left[\begin{array}{l} w_1 \mapsto 0 \\ w_2 \mapsto 1 \\ w_3 \mapsto 1 \\ w_{@} \mapsto 1 \end{array} \right]$

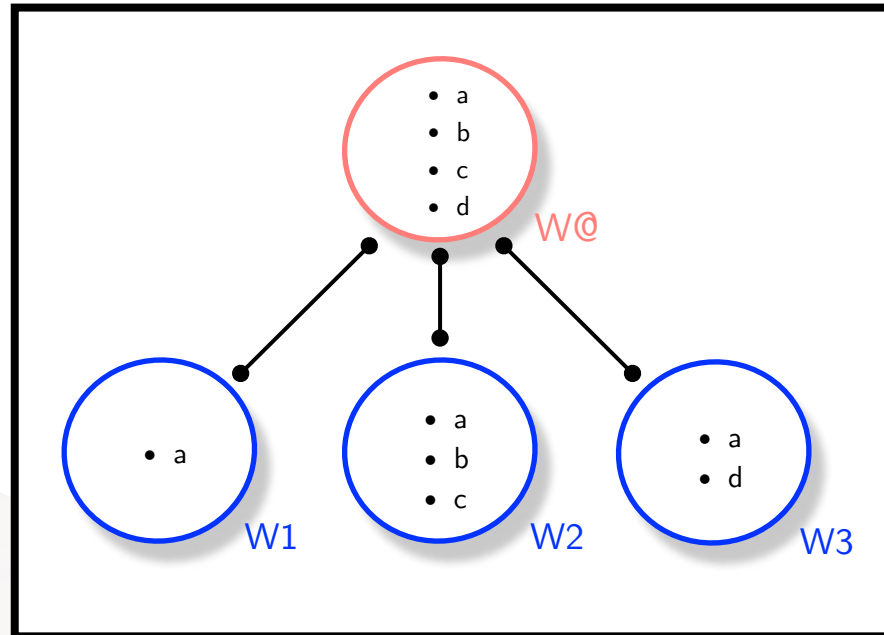
w_1 = marvel comics, w_2 = marvel Sony universe, w_3 = marvel sony universe, w_4 marvel cinematic universe



4. Contingent and Necessary Truth



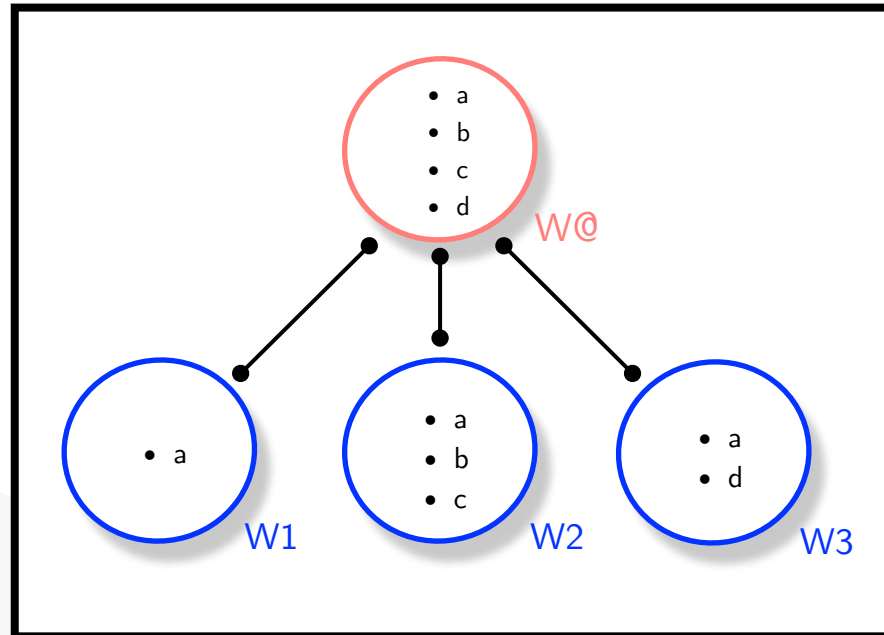
4. Contingent and Necessary Truth



- (8)
- | | | | |
|----|-----------------------|-----------|------------------------------|
| a. | $M_{\{w@,w1,w2,w3\}}$ | \models | Peter Parker is Spiderman |
| b. | $M_{\{w@,w2\}}$ | \models | Toby Maguire is Spiderman |
| c. | $M_{\{w@,w2\}}$ | \models | Andrew Garfield is Spiderman |
| d. | $M_{\{w@,w3\}}$ | \models | Tom Holland is Spiderman |



4. Contingent and Necessary Truth



- (8)
- | | | |
|--------------------------|-----------|---|
| a. $M_{\{w@,w1,w2,w3\}}$ | \models | \Box Peter Parker is Spiderman |
| b. $M_{\{w@,w2\}}$ | \models | \Diamond Toby Maguire is Spiderman |
| c. $M_{\{w@,w2\}}$ | \models | \Diamond Andrew Garfield is Spiderman |
| d. $M_{\{w@,w3\}}$ | \models | \Diamond Tom Holland is Spiderman |



...

5. Propositional attitudes



5. Propositional Attitudes

Propositional attitude verbs

These express the speaker's attitude towards a certain proposition. e.g. *believe*, *know*, *want*. In particular, **belief states** are crucial to reason about the **common ground** of two or more speakers.



5. Propositional Attitudes

Propositional attitude verbs

These express the speaker's attitude towards a certain proposition. e.g. *believe*, *know*, *want*. In particular, **belief states** are crucial to reason about the **common ground** of two or more speakers.

(9) Susan believes Peter Parker is Iron Man.



5. Propositional Attitudes

Propositional attitude verbs

These express the speaker's attitude towards a certain proposition. e.g. *believe*, *know*, *want*. In particular, **belief states** are crucial to reason about the **common ground** of two or more speakers.

(9) Susan **believes** Peter Parker is Iron Man.

Dox ϕ

(9) Susan **believes** Peter Parker is Iron Man. $\neq \phi$



5. Propositional Attitudes

Belief states and the common ground

These express the speaker's attitude towards a certain proposition. e.g. *believe*, *know*, *want*. In particular, **belief states** are crucial to reason about the **common ground** of two or more speakers.



(10) $\llbracket \text{Peter Parker is Spider Man} \rrbracket^{M,g} =$

$$\begin{bmatrix} w_{mj} \mapsto 1 \\ w_{ned} \mapsto 1 \\ w_{oct} \mapsto 1 \\ w_{sus} \mapsto 0 \end{bmatrix}$$



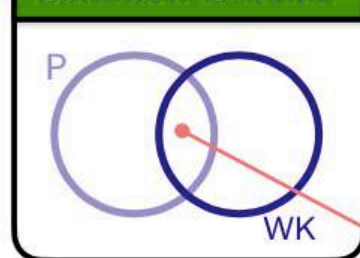
5. Propositional Attitudes

2.2 Pre-tests and Item conditions

Pre-Test 2

Access availability of relevant beliefs of the participants, testing for **common ground**. e.g. if the participants failed to guess the right country the sentence got **discarded** and substituted by a sentence that passed the pre-test.

Common Ground



Cloze Test

1. The fall of the Berlin Wall reunited _____
2. The _____
- n. The _____

$\lambda x. [\text{The fall of the Berlin Wall reunited } (x)] (\text{Germany})^{\text{COUNTRY}}$



5. Propositional Attitudes

Veridicals

However, not all propositional attitude verbs give an intensional reading of their complement.

► **Note:** remember **factive verbs**?

(11) Tidus **knows** that ϕ .

>> ϕ is the case; $\models \phi$

(12) Auron **noticed** that ϕ .

>> ϕ is the case; $\models \phi$



5. Propositional Attitudes

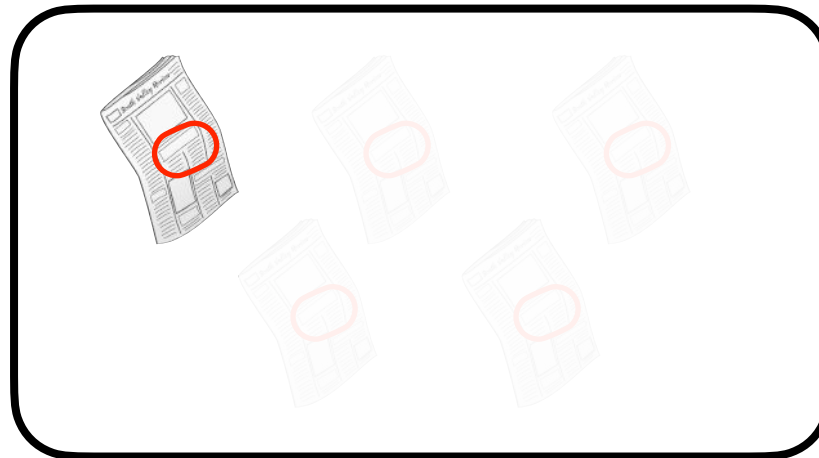
De Re vs. De Dicto Reading

These two readings are called **DE RE** ('of the object') and **DE DICTO** ('of the word'). In the **de re reading**, Andrew noticed a specific job offer. According to the **de dicto reading**, Andrew desires a job offer in general.

(13) Andrew **saw** *a job offer*.

De Re

(14) Andrew wants *a job offer*.



5. Propositional Attitudes

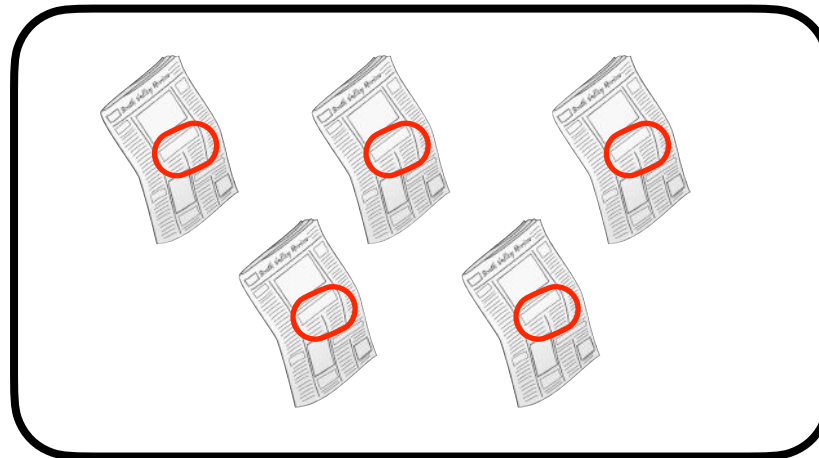
De Re vs. De Dicto Reading

These two readings are called **DE RE** ('of the object') and **DE DICTO** ('of the word'). In the **de re reading**, Andrew noticed a specific job offer. According to the **de dicto reading**, Andrew desires a job offer in general.

(13) Andrew saw *a job offer*.

(14) Andrew **wants** *a job offer*.

De Dicto

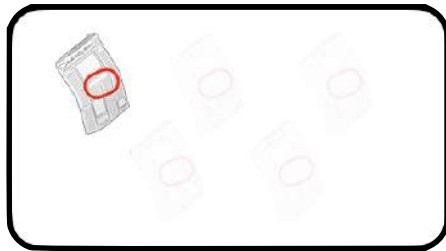


5. Propositional Attitudes

De Re (specific object) vs. De Dicto (nonspecific object)

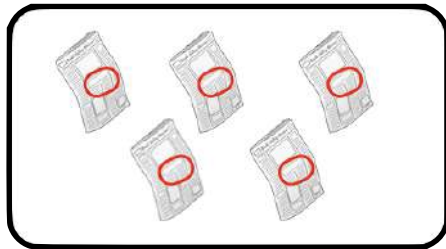
The *de re/de dicto* distinction is related to the distinction between specific and nonspecific objects. In many languages, indefinites can be marked for specificity using what is known as **Differential Object Marking (DOM)**. (p. 493)

(13) Andrew **saw** *a job offer*.



Specific object

(14) Andrew **wants** *a job offer*.



Category object



5. Propositional Attitudes

De Re/De Dicto as Language universal

The *de re/de dicto* distinction is related to the distinction between specific and nonspecific objects. In many languages, indefinites can be marked for specificity using what is known as **Differential Object Marking (DOM)**. (p. 493)

(15) a. Juan busca **a un profesor**.

b. Juan busca **un profesor**.

Specific object

Category object



5. Propositional Attitudes

- How to treat belief states?



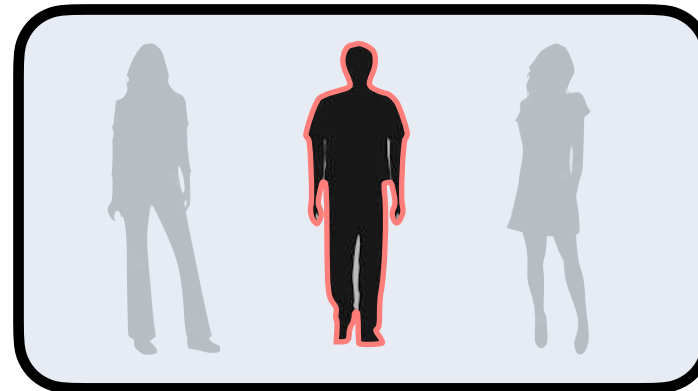
5. Propositional Attitudes

De Re vs. De Dicto Reading with epistemic markers

On the *de re* reading, Ralph has a belief about a particular object/individual: There is someone about whom Ralph believes that they are a spy. (see Quine 1956)

(16) a. Ralph believes that **someone is a spy** — De Re

b. $\exists x [\text{Bel}(\text{ralph}, [\text{Spy}(x)])]$
DoxScope



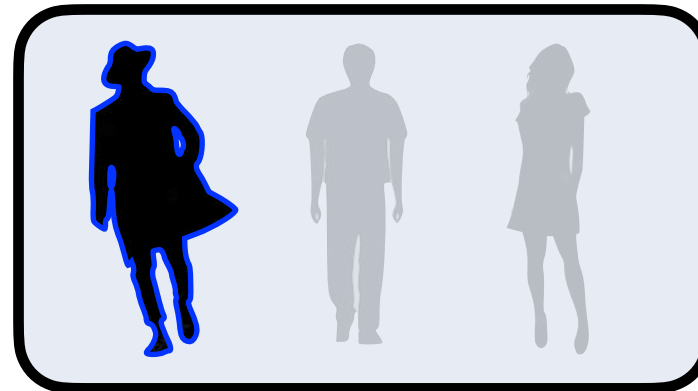
5. Propositional Attitudes

De Re vs. De Dicto Reading with epistemic markers

On the *de dicto* reading, Ralph has no particular individual in mind; he just believes that there are spies. The belief is not about a particular individual, rather it's about the category, spies⁶.

(16) a. Ralph believes that **someone is a spy** — **De Dicto**

c. $\text{Bel}(\text{ralph}, \underbrace{\exists x[\text{Spy}(x)]}_{\text{DoX}_{\text{Scope}}})$



6. Among all $e \in D_e$ some are spies.



5. Propositional Attitudes

Opacity vs. Transparency

If the context of speech is clear we can substitute co-referential terms and implement them into reasoning patterns. However, **propositional attitude verbs** — in particular the verbs *believe* and *know* — give rise to environments where the principle of co-extensionality might fail. These are called **opaque**.



5. Propositional Attitudes

Opacity vs. Transparency

If the context of speech is clear we can substitute co-referential terms and implement them into reasoning patterns. However, **propositional attitude verbs** — in particular the verbs *believe* and *know* — give rise to environments where the principle of co-extensionality might fail. These are called **opaque**.

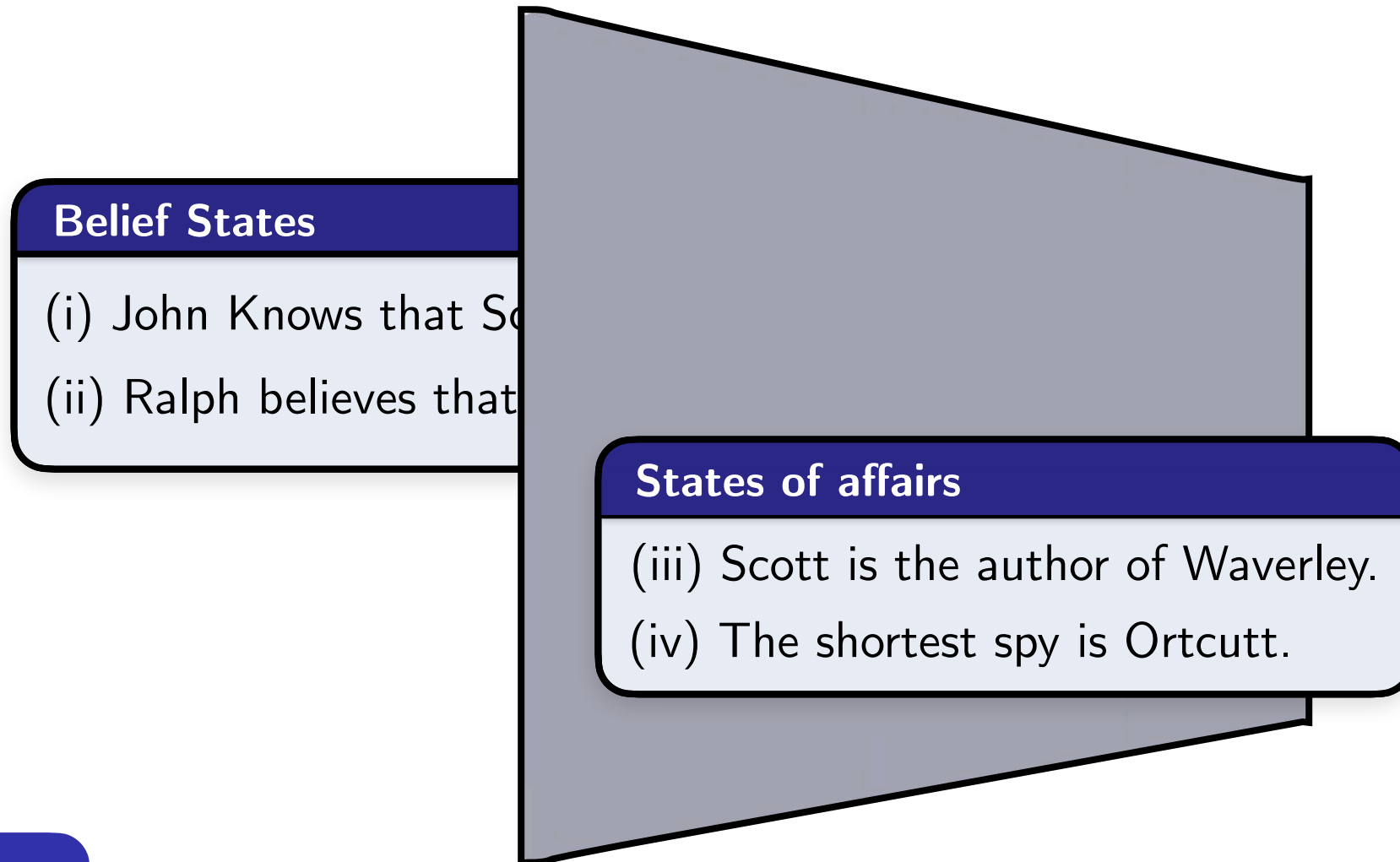
Belief States

- (i) John Knows that Scott is Scott.
- (ii) Ralph believes that the shortest spy is a spy.

ey.



5. Propositional Attitudes



Opaque

The speaker holds only certain mental states.



5. Propositional Attitudes

Belief States

- (i) John Knows that Scott is Scott.
- (ii) Ralph believes that the shortest spy is a spy.

Belief Integration

- (i) \neq Scott is the author of Waverley.
- (ii) \neq The shortest spy is Ortcutt.

ey.

Opaque

The speakers holds only certain mental states.



5. Propositional Attitudes

Belief States

- (i) John Knows that Scott is Scott.
- (ii) Ralph believes that the shortest spy is a spy.

- (iii) Scott is the author of Waverley.
- (iv) The shortest spy is Ortcutt.

Transparent



5. Propositional Attitudes

Belief States

- (i) John Knows that Scott is Scott.
- (ii) Ralph believes that the shortest spy is a spy.

Belief Integration

- (i) \models Scott is the author of Waverley.
- (ii) \models The shortest spy is Ortcutt.

of Waverley.
Ortcutt.

Transparent



5. Propositional Attitudes

- Champollion's solution...



5. Propositional Attitudes

De Re vs. De Dicto disambiguation

Given that **believe** combines first with its clausal complement and then with its subject, its type should then be $\langle\langle s, t \rangle, \langle e, t \rangle\rangle$. (**Champollion 2021, p. 506**)

(16) John believes a republican will win.

- | | |
|---|-----------------|
| a. $[\text{Bel}(\text{john}, \wedge \exists x [\text{Repub}(x) \wedge \text{Win}(x)])]$ | De Dicto |
| b. $\exists x [\text{Repub}(x) \wedge \text{Bel}(\text{john}, \wedge [\text{Win}(x)])]$ | De Re |



5. Propositional Attitudes

De Re vs. De Dicto - beta reduction

When **m** is in the scope of the **Bel operator**, its interpretation may vary from **world to world** (**De Dicto**) but when it is outside (**De Re**), it just denotes whoever Miss America is in the current world. (p. 507)

(17) John believes miss America is bald.

a. $[\lambda x. \text{Bel}(\text{john}, \text{Bald}(x))](m)$ **De Re**

- John believes of the person who actually holds the title of Miss America that she is bald.



5. Propositional Attitudes

De Re vs. De Dicto - beta reduction

When **m** is in the scope of the **Bel operator**, its interpretation may vary from **world to world** (**De Dicto**) but when it is outside (**De Re**), it just denotes whoever Miss America is in the current world. (p. 507)

(17) John believes miss America is bald.

b. $\text{Bel}(\text{john}, \wedge \text{Bald}(m))$

De Dicto

► John would assent to the statement “Miss America is bald”.



5. Propositional Attitudes

De Re vs. De Dicto - beta reduction

Crucially, the Ty_2 translation of c does not beta-reduce to that of d . However, the variable is bound in d such that it ranges over of the worlds where “Miss America” is bald.

(17) John believes miss America is bald.

c. $[\lambda x. \text{Bel}(w, \text{john}(w), \lambda w. \text{Bald}(w, x))](m(w))$	De Re
d. $\text{Bel}[w, \text{john}(w), \lambda w. \text{Bald}(w, m(w))]$	De Dicto

- ▶ w denotes w_0 , $\text{John}(w)$ denotes always John (w_0/w_1)
- ▶ $m(w)$ denotes Camille in w_0 and Victoria in w_1
- ▶ **Problem:** $(m(w))$ is free in c . Instead d 's reading works.



6. Intension and composition



6. Intension and composition



6. Intension and composition

Intensional definition of semantic types

Letting s stand for the type of possible worlds, we now have, for every type τ , a new type $\langle s, \tau \rangle$. The complete type system is now as follows:

- ▶ t is a type
- ▶ e is a type
- ▶ If σ and τ are types, then so is $\langle \sigma, \tau \rangle$
- ▶ If τ is any type, then $\langle s, \tau \rangle$ is a type.

This rule says that for any extensional type you can define you can also add an intensional type which is a function from possible



6. Intension and composition

Intensional definition of types

Letting s stand for the type of possible worlds, we now have, for every type τ , a new type $\langle s, \tau \rangle$. The complete type system is now as follows:

Expression	Example	E-Type	I-Type
Proper name	Luke	e	$\langle s, e \rangle$
Predicate*	Jedi	$\langle e, t \rangle$	$\langle s, \langle e, t \rangle \rangle$
Sentence	Luke is a jedi.	t	$\langle s, \langle t \rangle \rangle$

This rule says that for any extensional type you can define you can also add an intensional type which is a function from possible



6. Intension and composition

Intensional definition of types

α is an expression of type τ , then $\hat{\alpha}$ is an expression of type $\langle s, \tau \rangle$. Any expression of type $\langle s, \tau \rangle$ will denote a function from possible worlds to $D\tau$, where $D\tau$ is the domain of entities denoted by expressions of type τ . The official semantic rule for $\hat{}$ is as follows:

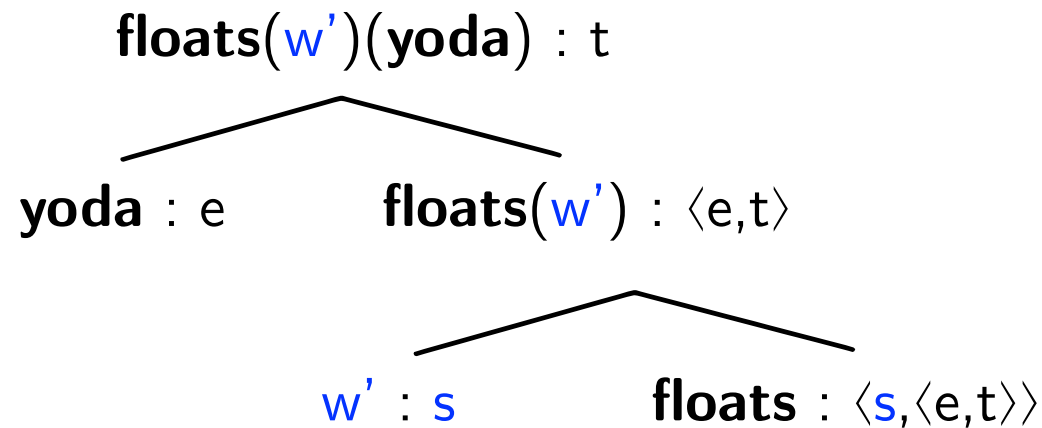
- If α is an expression of type τ , then $\llbracket \hat{\alpha} \rrbracket^{M,g,w}$ is that function f with domain W such that for all $w \in W$: $f(w)$ is $\llbracket \alpha \rrbracket^{M,g,w}$



6. Intension and composition

Example 1

The intension of floats “ $\wedge \llbracket \text{floats} \rrbracket^{M,g,w}$ ” is a function from possible worlds to a function of individuals in truth values (sets of individuals: $D_s \rightarrow D_{et}$).



(18) Yoda floats

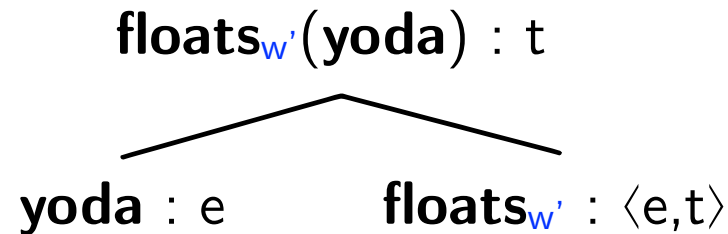
If not further specified “ w' ” stands for the actual world ($w@$)



6. Intension and composition

Example 2

However, Intensions should be used only when a syntactic-semantic context requires it, rather than always combining everything with intensions. Also, alternatively $\text{floats}_{w'} = \text{floats}_w$



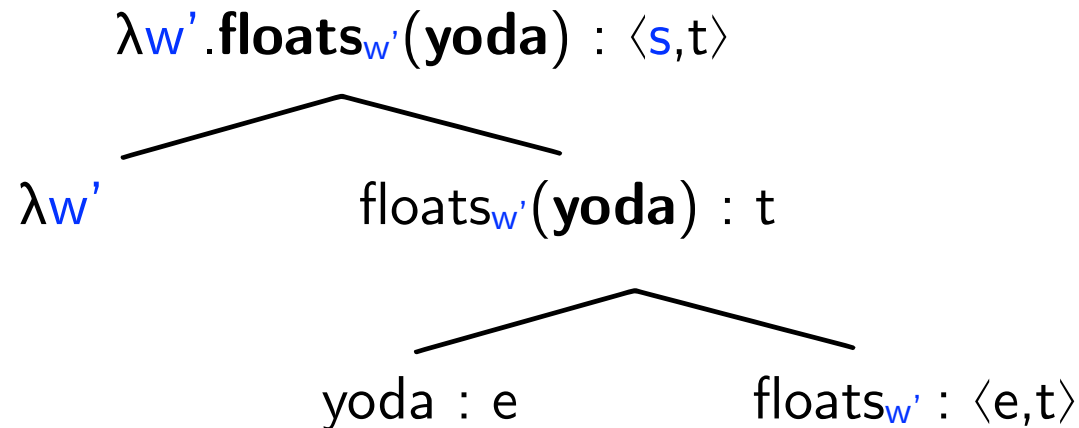
(18) Yoda floats



6. Intension and composition

Example 3

Here we see clearly that the extension of “floats” depends on the respective evaluative world. If we abstract based on the **world variable** ($\lambda w'$) for the whole sentence $\langle s, t \rangle$, we get the intension of the sentence, which depends on the intension of **floats**.



(18) Yoda floats



6. Intension and composition

Logical Space

the intension of a proposition refers to the **set of all possible worlds** (where this proposition holds). This is representable as the so called **logical space** which is divided into two subspaces: **(1)** the set of worlds which are part of the proposition (or mapped to it) and **(2)** the set of worlds which are not contained in the proposition.

W ₂₉	W ₆	W ₂₃	W ₁₆	W ₁₁	W ₈	W ₁₅	W ₂₆
W ₃₀	W ₁₂	W ₄	W ₁₉	W ₉	W ₅	W ₂₄	W ₂₀
W ₂₂	W ₁₃	W ₂₈	W ₁₇	W ₃	W ₂₅	W _@	W ₂₇
W ₁	W ₁₀	W ₃₁	W ₂₁	W ₁₄	W ₂	W ₁₈	W ₇

$$^{\wedge} \llbracket \lambda w^*. \text{every}(\text{cat}_{w^*})(\text{sleeps}_{w^*}) \rrbracket$$



6. Intension and composition

Composition and propositional attitudes

“**Believe**” is a relation between an individual (**attitude holder**) and a **proposition**. If we apply this directly to our analysis, then we can assume that an expression like belief takes a proposition (the object clause) and an individual (the subject) as arguments, resulting in a truth value.

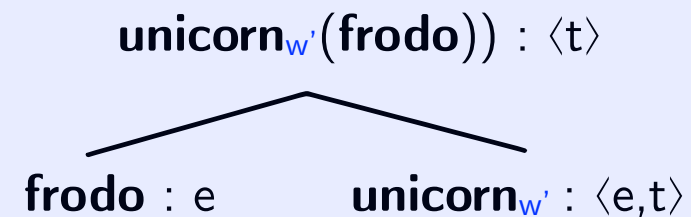
► $\text{believe} \longrightarrow \text{believe}_w : \langle \langle s, t \rangle, \langle e, t \rangle \rangle$



6. Intension and composition

Example 4

In the embedded sentence (the complementizer), we first combine the extensional expression **unicorn**_{w'} with its argument **frodo** and obtain an expression of type t .



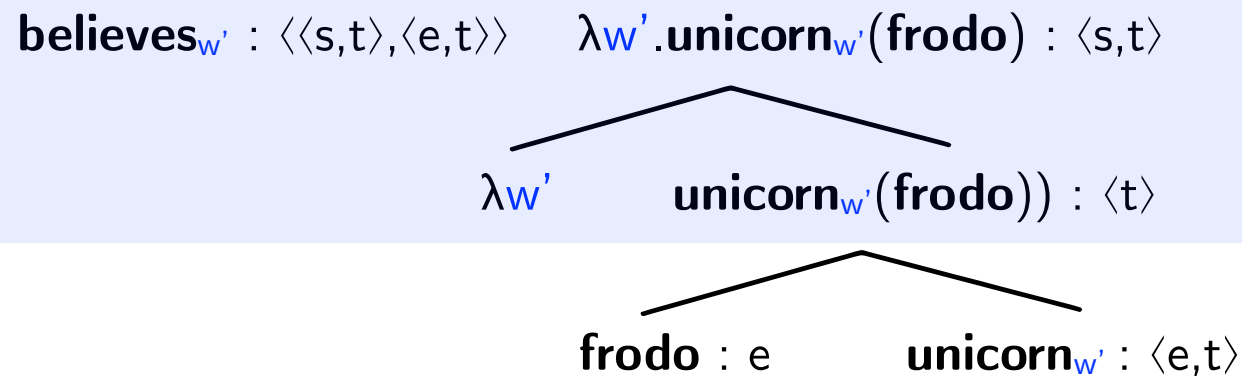
(19) Gandalf believes Frodo is a unicorn.



6. Intension and composition

Example 4

Because we need the intension of this expression in order to use it as an argument for **believe**, we need the **world variable** $\lambda_{w'}$ to abstract it. As a result we obtain an expression of type $\langle s, t \rangle$.



(19) Gandalf believes Frodo is a unicorn.



6. Intension and composition

Example 4

Once the complementizer has been combined as argument with the Doxastic operator it needs competitions from the subject.

$\text{believes}_{w'}(\lambda_{w'}. \text{unicorn}_{w'}(\text{frodo}))(\text{gandalf}) : \langle t \rangle$

$\text{gandalf} : e$ $\text{believes}_{w'}(\lambda_{w'}. \text{unicorn}_{w'}(\text{frodo})) : \langle e, t \rangle$

$\text{believes}_{w'} : \langle \langle s, t \rangle, \langle e, t \rangle \rangle$ $\lambda_{w'}. \text{unicorn}_{w'}(\text{frodo}) : \langle s, t \rangle$

$\lambda_{w'}$ $\text{unicorn}_{w'}(\text{frodo}) : \langle t \rangle$

$\text{frodo} : e$ $\text{unicorn}_{w'} : \langle e, t \rangle$

(19) Gandalf believes Frodo is a unicorn.

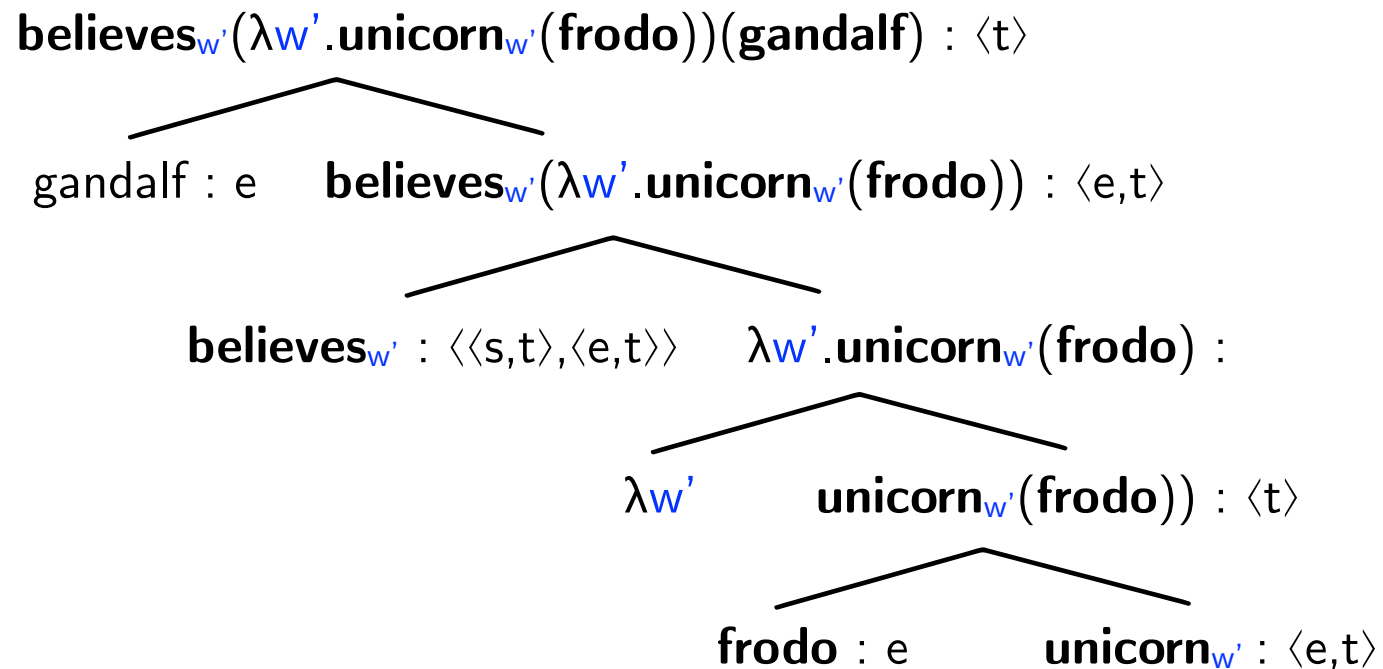


6. Intension and composition

Example 4

The following tree can be paraphrased like this:

- $\llbracket \text{believes}_w(\lambda w'. \text{unicorn}_w(\text{frodo}))(\text{gandalf}) \rrbracket = 1$, iff Gandalf believes in w' that Frodo is a unicorn.




(19) Gandalf believes Frodo is a unicorn.



**Thank you all
for the kind
attention!**





**If you need further help or have
additional questions,
please contact us.**

