### Formale Semantik 08. Intensionalität

#### Roland Schäfer

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Folien in Überarbeitung. Englische Teile (ab Woche 6) sind noch von 2007!

Stets aktuelle Fassungen: https://github.com/rsling/VL-Semantik

#### Inhalt

- 1 Intensionality
  - Problems with extensionality and non-dimensional models
  - Intensions
- 2 A formal account of intensions
  - Sets of PSOAs
  - Intensions as functions
  - Repeat after me...

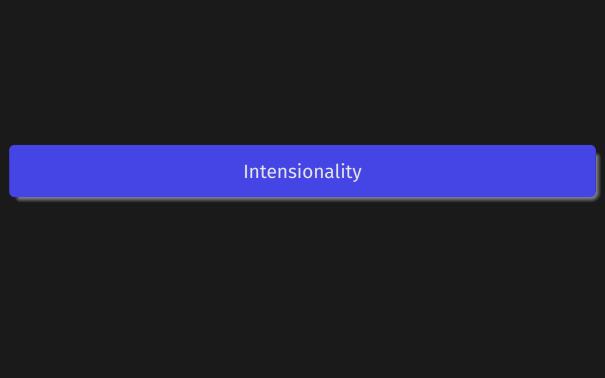
- 3 Sets of worlds
  - Known relations
  - Modal operators
  - Intensional Model Theory
    - Ingedients of models
    - Evaluating individual constants
    - Set membership
    - $\blacksquare$  Some peculiarities of  $\square$  and  $\diamondsuit$

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- Acknowledge that the approach fails in certain constructions.
- Learn how one can define an intensional calculus on top of the extensional one.
- See how that solves many problems with extensional logic for NL.



### Some examples

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- Gustave Moreau believes that estheticism rules.

# Simple extensions?

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- truth conditions impossible to define for static models (tense)
- ... and for just one state of affairs (modals, believe type verbs)

### What are intensions?

Туре	Reference	Sense
NP	individuals	individual concepts
	Venus	
VP	sets	property concepts
	humming birds	
S	1 or 0	thoughts or <b>propositions</b>
	I like cats.	

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- mediate between internal knowledge and truth-values

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- incompatible to our knowledge of PSOA logic

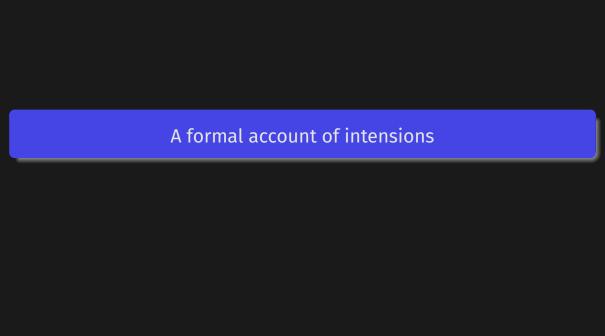
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  - nothing of the above, but A.S. rose from the dead in 2003, etc.



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- ...the SOAs under which its corresponding sentence is true
- ...the subset under which its corresponding sentence is false

#### Coordinates

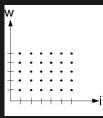
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- representation of temporarily ordered world-time coordinates  $\langle w, i \rangle \in W \times I$



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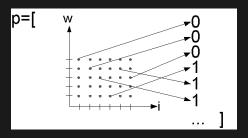
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- the proposition of a sentence/formula: the characteristic function of the set of world/world-time pairs in which it is true

# **Propositions as functions**

• a propositional function *p* 

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- a propositional function p
- is a function from  $W \times I$  to  $\{0,1\}$



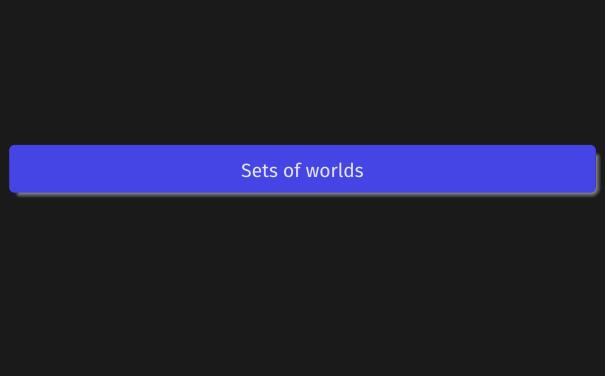
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- Hence, we call that function the intension of the sentence.



### **Entailment**

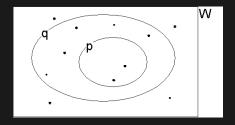
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- equivalently: propositions are sets of possible worlds
- entailment turns out as a subset-relation:  $p \subseteq q$ :

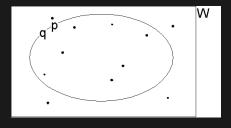


# Synonymy

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- p = q

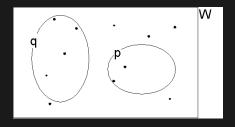


### Contradiction

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- $p \cap q = \emptyset$

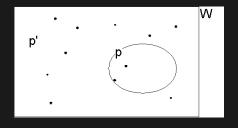


# Negation

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- p/W



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  - ▶ necessarily p: □
  - ► possibly p: **\p**

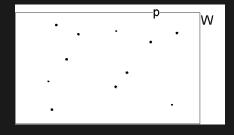
- new modal sentence/wff operators:
  - ▶ necessarily p: □p
  - ▶ possibly p: ◊
- What does it mean for a proposition to be necessary/possible?

# Necessity as universal quantification

• if  $\Box p$  then  $(\forall w) [p(w) = 1]$  (p as characteristic function)

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- if  $\square p$  then  $(\forall w)[p(w) = 1](p)$  as characteristic function)
- such that W = p (p as set):

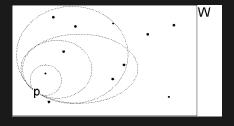


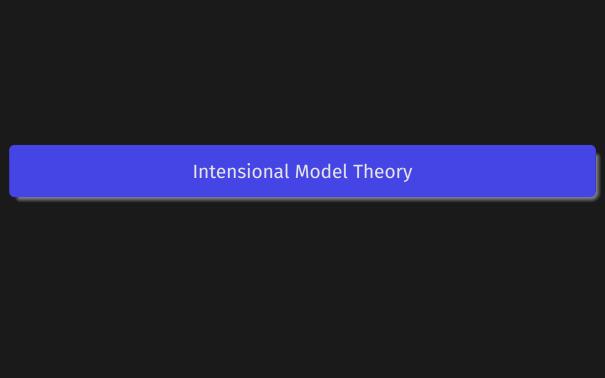
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- such that  $p \neq \emptyset$  (set):





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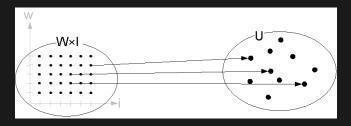
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  - ▶ *U*, the set of individuals
  - V, a valuation function for constants
- evaluate an expression  $\alpha$ :  $[\![\alpha]\!]^{\mathcal{M},w,i,g}$

## Intensional interpretation of individual constants

• the President of the United States, the Pope, Bond (in the sense of 'the actor currently playing Bond')

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- the President of the United States, the Pope, Bond (in the sense of 'the actor currently playing Bond')
- for  $\beta \in Cons_{ind}$ ,  $V(\beta)$  is a function from  $W \times I$  to U

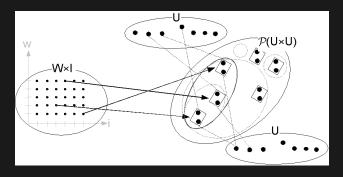


## ... and pred<sub>n</sub>s

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- walks etc. denotes different sets (or CFs) at different  $\langle w, i \rangle$  coordinates
- for  $\beta \in \mathsf{Cons}_{\mathsf{pred}_n}, \mathsf{V}(\beta)$  is a function from  $\mathsf{W} \times \mathsf{I}$  to  $\wp \mathsf{U}^n \ (\mathsf{U}^n = \mathsf{U}_1 \times \mathsf{U}_2 \times \ldots \times \mathsf{U}_n)$



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- with:  $\llbracket t_1 
  rbracket^{\mathcal{M},w,i,g} = V(t_1)(\langle w,i \rangle)$ , etc.
- In an intensional type-theoretic language, we could define new functional types and try to use FA where possible.

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- nothing new here

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  rbracket{\mathcal{M},\mathsf{w},\mathsf{i},\mathsf{g}}=1$  iff for all  $\mathsf{w}'$   $\overline{\in}$   $\mathsf{W}$

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- $\mathbf{n} [\![\phi]\!]^{\mathcal{M}, \mathbf{w}', \mathbf{i}', \mathbf{g}} = 1$

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 $\bullet \ \exists x \Box P(x) \to \Box \exists x P(x)$ 

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# Literatur I

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#### Autor

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