Formale Semantik 10. Montagues intensionale Logik

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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

- New types and up/down
 Denoting intensions
 Technical devices

- Syntax
- Semantics
- Technical refinements
- Examples



• $\llbracket \phi \rrbracket^{\mathcal{M}, \mathsf{w}, i, g}$ and $\llbracket \mathbf{P} \rrbracket^{\mathcal{M}, \mathsf{w}, i, g}$ don't truth conditionally determine $\llbracket \mathbf{P} \phi \rrbracket^{\mathcal{M}, \mathsf{w}, i, g}$

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- again: individual concepts (variable function on indices) vs. names (constant)



• intension relative to models

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$$\bullet \; \text{ for a name } \textit{d} \text{: } \llbracket \textit{d} \rrbracket^{\mathcal{M},g}_{\not c'} = \left[\begin{array}{ccc} \langle w_1,t_1 \rangle & \rightarrow & \textit{b} \\ \langle w_2,t_1 \rangle & \rightarrow & \textit{b} \\ \langle w_1,t_2 \rangle & \rightarrow & \textit{b} \\ \langle w_2,t_2 \rangle & \rightarrow & \textit{b} \\ \langle w_1,t_3 \rangle & \rightarrow & \textit{b} \\ \langle w_2,t_3 \rangle & \rightarrow & \textit{b} \end{array} \right]$$



• for an individual concept denoting expression *m*:

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• for an individual concept denoting expression *m*:

$$\bullet \hspace{0.1cm} \llbracket m \rrbracket^{\mathcal{M},g}_{\varsigma'} = \left[\begin{array}{ccc} \langle w_1,t_1 \rangle & \rightarrow & a \\ \langle w_2,t_1 \rangle & \rightarrow & c \\ \langle w_1,t_2 \rangle & \rightarrow & b \\ \langle w_2,t_2 \rangle & \rightarrow & c \\ \langle w_1,t_3 \rangle & \rightarrow & c \\ \langle w_2,t_3 \rangle & \rightarrow & b \end{array} \right]$$



• for a one place predicate B:

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$$\bullet \hspace{0.1cm} \llbracket \mathsf{B} \rrbracket^{\mathcal{M},g}_{\varphi} = \left[\begin{array}{ccc} \langle \mathsf{w}_1,\mathsf{t}_1 \rangle & \rightarrow & \{a,b\} \\ \langle \mathsf{w}_2,\mathsf{t}_1 \rangle & \rightarrow & \{b,c\} \\ \langle \mathsf{w}_1,\mathsf{t}_2 \rangle & \rightarrow & \{a,c\} \\ \langle \mathsf{w}_2,\mathsf{t}_2 \rangle & \rightarrow & \{a\} \\ \langle \mathsf{w}_1,\mathsf{t}_3 \rangle & \rightarrow & \{b,c\} \\ \langle \mathsf{w}_2,\mathsf{t}_3 \rangle & \rightarrow & \{a,b,c\} \end{array} \right]$$

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$$\bullet \quad \llbracket B(m) \rrbracket_{\varphi}^{\mathcal{M},g} = \begin{bmatrix} \langle w_1, t_1 \rangle & \to & 1 \\ \langle w_2, t_1 \rangle & \to & 1 \\ \langle w_1, t_2 \rangle & \to & 0 \\ \langle w_2, t_2 \rangle & \to & 0 \\ \langle w_1, t_3 \rangle & \to & 1 \\ \langle w_2, t_3 \rangle & \to & 1 \end{bmatrix}$$

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$$\bullet \quad \llbracket \mathsf{B}(\mathsf{m}) \rrbracket_{\mathsf{g}'}^{\mathcal{M},g} = \left[\begin{array}{ccc} \langle \mathsf{w}_1,\mathsf{t}_1 \rangle & \to & 1 \\ \langle \mathsf{w}_2,\mathsf{t}_1 \rangle & \to & 1 \\ \langle \mathsf{w}_1,\mathsf{t}_2 \rangle & \to & 0 \\ \langle \mathsf{w}_2,\mathsf{t}_2 \rangle & \to & 0 \\ \langle \mathsf{w}_1,\mathsf{t}_3 \rangle & \to & 1 \\ \langle \mathsf{w}_2,\mathsf{t}_3 \rangle & \to & 1 \end{array} \right]$$

$$\bullet \quad \llbracket \mathcal{B}(n) \rrbracket_{\mathcal{C}}^{\mathcal{M},g} = \begin{bmatrix} \langle w_1,t_1 \rangle & \rightarrow & 0 \\ \langle w_2,t_1 \rangle & \rightarrow & 1 \\ \langle w_1,t_2 \rangle & \rightarrow & 1 \\ \langle w_2,t_2 \rangle & \rightarrow & 0 \\ \langle w_1,t_3 \rangle & \rightarrow & 1 \\ \langle w_2,t_3 \rangle & \rightarrow & 1 \end{bmatrix}$$

ullet again, the proposition $[\![Bm]\!]_{arphi'}^{\mathcal{M},g}$ is a set of indices $(\langle w_i,t_j
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- from the extension at all indices, compute the intension
- $\llbracket \alpha \rrbracket_{\alpha}^{\mathcal{M},g}(\langle \mathbf{w}_i, \mathbf{t}_i \rangle) = \llbracket \alpha \rrbracket^{\mathcal{M},\mathbf{w}_i,\mathbf{t}_i,g}$

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- alternatively: introduce rules which access an expression's extension/intension as appropriate

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- α and $\hat{\alpha}$ are just denoting expressions
- for an intension-denoting expression α : $\llbracket\check{\alpha}\rrbracket^{\mathcal{M},\mathbf{w},i,g} = \llbracket\alpha\rrbracket^{\mathcal{M},g}(\langle \mathbf{w},t\rangle)$

Down-up and up-down

ullet observe: $[\![\hat{\ } \alpha]\!]^{\mathcal{M}, \mathsf{w}, i, g} = [\![\alpha]\!]^{\mathcal{M}, \mathsf{w}, i, g}$ for any $\langle \mathsf{w}, \mathsf{t} \rangle$

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- can easily be the case for intension-denoting expressions

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- since: $[\![^{\kappa} \!]\!]^{\mathcal{M}, w_1, t_1, g} = a$ $[\![^{\kappa} \!]\!]^{\mathcal{M}, w_1, t_2, g} = b$ $[\![^{\kappa} \!]\!]^{\mathcal{M}, w_2, t_1, g} = d$ $[\![^{\kappa} \!]\!]^{\mathcal{M}, w_2, t_2, g} = b$



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- if $\alpha, \beta \in ME_a$ then $\alpha = \beta \in ME_t$

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| | type | variables | constants |
|---|--|--------------------------------|----------------|
| | е | <i>x</i> , <i>y</i> , <i>z</i> | a, b, c |
| | $\langle s, \pmb{e} angle$ | x, y, z | _ |
| | $\langle e,t \rangle$ | <i>X</i> , <i>Y</i> | walk′, A, B |
| • | $\langle\langle s, \pmb{e} \rangle, \pmb{t} \rangle$ | Q | rise', change' |
| | $\langle s, \langle e, t \rangle \rangle$ | P | _ |
| | $\langle oldsymbol{e}, oldsymbol{e} angle$ | P | Sq |
| | $\langle oldsymbol{e}, \langle oldsymbol{e}, \langle oldsymbol{e}, oldsymbol{t} angle angle$ | R | Gr, K |
| | $\langle e, \langle e, e \rangle \rangle$ | _ | Plus |

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Some interpretations

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- $[\![\hat{\alpha}]\!]^{\mathcal{M},w,i,g}$ is a function h from $W \times T$ to denotations of α 's type s.t. at every $\langle w',t' \rangle \in W \times T [\![\alpha]\!]^{\mathcal{M},w',t',g} = h(\langle w',t' \rangle) = [\![\hat{\alpha}]\!]^{\mathcal{M},w,i,g}(\langle w',t' \rangle)$

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- from relations $\langle e, \langle e, t \rangle \rangle$ to relations-in-intensions $\langle s, \langle e, \langle e, t \rangle \rangle \rangle$

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- useful thing: We never talk about indices!
- since often $\check{\ }\alpha(\beta)$ is needed for $\alpha\in \mathit{ME}_{\langle \mathbf{s},\langle \mathbf{e},\mathbf{t}\rangle\rangle}$ and $\beta\in \mathit{ME}_{\mathbf{e}}$, abbr. $\alpha\{\beta\}$

Examples

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- we could give $\Box \phi$ as $\mathbf{Nec}(\hat{\ }\phi)$

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- formally: $\llbracket \mathbf{For} \rrbracket_{\varphi'}^{\mathcal{M},g}$ is a func. h s.t. for any property k, $h(\langle w,t \rangle)(k)$ is the set $k(\langle w,t' \rangle)$ for all t' < t.

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- formally: $\llbracket \mathbf{For} \rrbracket_{q'}^{\mathcal{M},g}$ is a func. h s.t. for any property k, $h(\langle w,t \rangle)(k)$ is the set $k(\langle w,t' \rangle)$ for all t' < t.
- So, for any individual $x h(\langle w, t \rangle)(k)(x) = 1$ iff $k(\langle w, t' \rangle)(x) = 1$ for some t' < t.

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- $\mathbf{Bel}(j, \mathbf{F} \exists x [R(x) \land W(x)])$

Literatur I

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