Formale Semantik 10. Montagues intensionale Logik

Roland Schäfer

Institut für Germanistische Sprachwissenschaft Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena

Achtung: Folien in Überarbeitung. Englische Teile 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 $\llbracket \mathbf{P} \phi \rrbracket^{\mathcal{M}, \mathsf{w}, i, g}$

- $\llbracket \phi \rrbracket^{\mathcal{M},w,i,g}$ and $\llbracket \mathbf{P} \rrbracket^{\mathcal{M},w,i,g}$ don't truth conditionally determine $\llbracket \mathbf{P} \phi \rrbracket^{\mathcal{M},w,i,g}$
- Iceland was once covered with a glacier.

- $\llbracket \phi \rrbracket^{\mathcal{M},w,i,g}$ and $\llbracket \mathbf{P} \rrbracket^{\mathcal{M},w,i,g}$ don't truth conditionally determine $\llbracket \mathbf{P} \phi \rrbracket^{\mathcal{M},w,i,g}$
- Iceland was once covered with a glacier.
- **F**, **B**, \Diamond , \square are not fully truth functional

- $\llbracket \phi \rrbracket^{\mathcal{M}, \mathsf{w}, i, g}$ and $\llbracket \mathbf{P} \rrbracket^{\mathcal{M}, \mathsf{w}, i, g}$ don't truth conditionally determine $\llbracket \mathbf{P} \phi \rrbracket^{\mathcal{M}, \mathsf{w}, i, g}$
- Iceland was once covered with a glacier.
- F, B, ◊, □ are not fully truth functional
- Leibnitz Law of identity of individuals for logics containing '=' failing in opaque contexts

- $\llbracket \phi \rrbracket^{\mathcal{M}, \mathsf{w}, i, g}$ and $\llbracket \mathbf{P} \rrbracket^{\mathcal{M}, \mathsf{w}, i, g}$ don't truth conditionally determine $\llbracket \mathbf{P} \phi \rrbracket^{\mathcal{M}, \mathsf{w}, i, g}$
- Iceland was once covered with a glacier.
- **F**, **B**, \Diamond , \square are not fully truth functional
- Leibnitz Law of identity of individuals for logics containing '=' failing in opaque contexts
- 'former', 'alleged', etc. are not intersective adjectives like 'red'

- $\llbracket \phi \rrbracket^{\mathcal{M}, \mathsf{w}, i, g}$ and $\llbracket \mathbf{P} \rrbracket^{\mathcal{M}, \mathsf{w}, i, g}$ don't truth conditionally determine $\llbracket \mathbf{P} \phi \rrbracket^{\mathcal{M}, \mathsf{w}, i, g}$
- Iceland was once covered with a glacier.
- **F**, **B**, \Diamond , \square are not fully truth functional
- Leibnitz Law of identity of individuals for logics containing '=' failing in opaque contexts
- 'former', 'alleged', etc. are not intersective adjectives like 'red'
- Frege: sometimes expressions denote a sense

- $\llbracket \phi \rrbracket^{\mathcal{M}, \mathsf{w}, i, g}$ and $\llbracket \mathbf{P} \rrbracket^{\mathcal{M}, \mathsf{w}, i, g}$ don't truth conditionally determine $\llbracket \mathbf{P} \phi \rrbracket^{\mathcal{M}, \mathsf{w}, i, g}$
- Iceland was once covered with a glacier.
- **F**, **B**, \Diamond , \square are not fully truth functional
- Leibnitz Law of identity of individuals for logics containing '=' failing in opaque contexts
- 'former', 'alleged', etc. are not intersective adjectives like 'red'
- Frege: sometimes expressions denote a sense
- again: individual concepts (variable function on indices) vs. names (constant)



• intension relative to models

$$\llbracket \alpha \rrbracket_{\mathbf{c}'}^{\mathcal{M},\mathbf{g}}$$

• intension relative to models

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



• for an individual concept denoting expression *m*:

$$\llbracket \alpha \rrbracket_{\mathbf{c}'}^{\mathcal{M},\mathbf{g}}$$

• 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:

$$\llbracket \alpha \rrbracket_{\mathbf{c}'}^{\mathcal{M},\mathbf{g}}$$

• for a one place predicate B:

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

• formula ϕ : $\llbracket \phi \rrbracket_{\mathscr{C}}^{\mathcal{M},g}$ is a function from indices to truth values

• formula ϕ : $\llbracket \phi \rrbracket_{\varphi}^{\mathcal{M},g}$ is a function from indices to truth values

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

• formula ϕ : $\llbracket \phi \rrbracket_{\mathscr{C}}^{\mathcal{M},g}$ is a function from indices to truth values

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

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

ullet again, the proposition $[\![Bm]\!]_{arphi'}^{\mathcal{M},g}$ is a set of indices $(\langle w_i,t_j
angle)$

- again, the proposition $[Bm]_{q'}^{\mathcal{M},g}$ is a set of indices $(\langle w_i,t_j\rangle)$
- from the extension at all indices, compute the intension

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

Intensions of variables

• constant function on indices

Intensions of variables

- constant function on indices
- will play a great role, so remember!

Intensions of variables

- constant function on indices
- will play a great role, so remember!
- $\llbracket u \rrbracket_{\varphi'}^{\mathcal{M},g}(\langle w_i, t_j \rangle) = g(u)$

What expressions denote

• sometimes expressions denote individuals, sets of individuals, truth values...

What expressions denote

- sometimes expressions denote individuals, sets of individuals, truth values...
- and sometimes they denote intensions (functions)

What expressions denote

- sometimes expressions denote individuals, sets of individuals, truth values...
- and sometimes they denote intensions (functions)
- alternatively: introduce rules which access an expression's extension/intension as appropriate

• Church/Montague: for an extension-denoting expression α , α denotes α 's intension

- Church/Montague: for an extension-denoting expression α , α denotes α 's intension
- lacksquare $\llbracket \hat{B}m
 bracket^{\mathcal{M},w,i,g} = \llbracket Bm
 bracket^{\mathcal{M},g}$

- Church/Montague: for an extension-denoting expression α , α denotes α 's intension
- $\bullet \hspace{0.1cm} \llbracket \, {}^{\hat{}}\!\!\! Bm \rrbracket^{\mathcal{M},w,i,g} = \llbracket Bm \rrbracket^{\mathcal{M},g}_{g'}$
- α and $\hat{\alpha}$ are just denoting expressions

- Church/Montague: for an extension-denoting expression α , α denotes α 's intension
- $\llbracket \mathcal{B}m \rrbracket^{\mathcal{M},w,i,g} = \llbracket \mathcal{B}m \rrbracket^{\mathcal{M},g}_{\mathscr{C}}$
- 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 $\langle \mathsf{w}, \mathsf{t} \rangle$

Down-up and up-down

- observe: $\|\hat{\alpha}\|^{\mathcal{M}, w, i, g} = \|\alpha\|^{\mathcal{M}, w, i, g}$ for any $\langle w, t \rangle$
- ullet but not always: $[\![\tilde{\ } \alpha]\!]^{\mathcal{M},w,i,g} = [\![\alpha]\!]^{\mathcal{M},w,i,g}$ for any $\langle w,t
 angle$

Down-up and up-down

- observe: $\|\hat{\alpha}\|^{\mathcal{M},w,i,g} = \|\alpha\|^{\mathcal{M},w,i,g}$ for any $\langle w,t \rangle$
- but not always: $\llbracket \ \widetilde{} \ \alpha \rrbracket^{\mathcal{M},w,i,g} = \llbracket \alpha \rrbracket^{\mathcal{M},w,i,g}$ for any $\langle w,t \rangle$
- can easily be the case for intension-denoting expressions

Non-equality

Non-equality

• k' extension (e.g., at $\langle w_1,t_2 \rangle$): $\llbracket k \rrbracket_{Q'}^{\mathcal{M},g}(\langle w_1,t_2 \rangle) =$

Non-equality

• k' extension (e.g., at $\langle w_1,t_2
angle$): $\llbracket k
rbracket_{Q'}^{\mathcal{M},g}(\langle w_1,t_2
angle)=$

$$\bullet \quad \llbracket k \rrbracket^{\mathcal{M}, w_1, t_2, g} = \left[\begin{array}{ccc} \langle w_1, t_1 \rangle & \rightarrow & a \\ \langle w_1, t_2 \rangle & \rightarrow & b \\ \langle w_2, t_1 \rangle & \rightarrow & c \\ \langle w_2, t_2 \rangle & \rightarrow & d \end{array} \right]$$

Non-equality

• k' extension (e.g., at $\langle w_1, t_2 \rangle$): $\llbracket k \rrbracket_{\zeta'}^{\mathcal{M}, g} (\langle w_1, t_2 \rangle) =$

$$\bullet \quad \llbracket k \rrbracket^{\mathcal{M}, w_1, t_2, g} = \left[\begin{array}{ccc} \langle w_1, t_1 \rangle & \rightarrow & a \\ \langle w_1, t_2 \rangle & \rightarrow & b \\ \langle w_2, t_1 \rangle & \rightarrow & c \\ \langle w_2, t_2 \rangle & \rightarrow & d \end{array} \right]$$

- however: $\llbracket {}^{\sim}k \rrbracket \mathcal{M}, w_1, t_2, g = \left[egin{array}{ccc} \langle w_1, t_1
 angle & \rightarrow & a \\ \langle w_1, t_2
 angle & \rightarrow & b \\ \langle w_2, t_1
 angle & \rightarrow & d \\ \langle w_2, t_2
 angle & \rightarrow & b \end{array} \right]$
- since: $[\![^{\kappa} \!]\!]^{\mathcal{M}, w_1, t_1, g} = a$ $[\![^{\kappa} \!]\!]^{\mathcal{M}, w_1, t_2, g} = b$ $[\![^{\kappa} \!]\!]^{\mathcal{M}, w_2, t_1, g} = d$ $[\![^{\kappa} \!]\!]^{\mathcal{M}, w_2, t_2, g} = b$



• \neg , \wedge , \vee , \rightarrow , \leftrightarrow , \mathbf{F} , \mathbf{P} , \square , = (syncategorematically)

- \neg , \wedge , \vee , \rightarrow , \leftrightarrow , \mathbf{F} , \mathbf{P} , \square , = (syncategorematically)
- $t, e \in Type$ (Con_{type}, Var_{type})

- \neg , \wedge , \vee , \rightarrow , \leftrightarrow , \mathbf{F} , \mathbf{P} , \square , = (syncategorematically)
- $t, e \in Type$ (Con_{type}, Var_{type})
- if $a, b \in Type$, then $\langle a, b \rangle \in Type$

- \neg , \wedge , \vee , \rightarrow , \leftrightarrow , \mathbf{F} , \mathbf{P} , \square , = (syncategorematically)
- t, e ∈ Type (Con_{type}, Var_{type})
- if $a, b \in Type$, then $\langle a, b \rangle \in Type$
- if $a \in Type$, then $\langle s, a \rangle \in Type$

- \neg , \land , \lor , \rightarrow , \leftrightarrow , \mathbf{F} , \mathbf{P} , \square , = (syncategorematically)
- t, e ∈ Type (Con_{type}, Var_{type})
- if $a, b \in Type$, then $\langle a, b \rangle \in Type$
- if $a \in Type$, then $\langle s, a \rangle \in Type$
- s ∉ Type

ME_{type}

- ME_{type}
- abstraction: if $\alpha \in ME_a$, $\beta \in Var_b$, $\lambda \beta \alpha \in ME_{\langle b,a \rangle}$

- ME_{type}
- abstraction: if $\alpha \in ME_a$, $\beta \in Var_b$, $\lambda \beta \alpha \in ME_{\langle b,a \rangle}$
- FA: if $\alpha \in ME_{\langle a,b \rangle}$, $\beta \in ME_a$ then $\alpha(\beta) \in ME_b$

- ME_{type}
- abstraction: if $\alpha \in ME_a$, $\beta \in Var_b$, $\lambda \beta \alpha \in ME_{\langle b,a \rangle}$
- FA: if $\alpha \in ME_{\langle a,b \rangle}$, $\beta \in ME_a$ then $\alpha(\beta) \in ME_b$
- if $\alpha, \beta \in ME_a$ then $\alpha = \beta \in ME_t$

Interpretations of ^ and ~

• if $\alpha \in ME_a$ then $\hat{\alpha} \in ME_{s,a}$

Interpretations of ^ and ~

- if $\alpha \in ME_a$ then $\hat{\alpha} \in ME_{s,a}$
- if $\alpha \in ME_{\langle s,a \rangle}$ then $\check{\alpha} \in ME_a$

Interpretations of ^ and ~

- if $\alpha \in ME_a$ then $\hat{\alpha} \in ME_{s,a}$
- if $\alpha \in ME_{\langle s,a \rangle}$ then $\alpha \in ME_a$

	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

• $\langle A, W, T, <, F \rangle$

- $\langle A, W, T, <, F \rangle$ $D_{\langle a,b \rangle} = D_b^{D_a}$

- $\langle A, W, T, <, F \rangle$
- $D_{\langle a,b\rangle} = D_b^{D_a}$ $D_{\langle s,a\rangle} = D_a^{W\times T}$

- $\langle A, W, T, <, F \rangle$
- $\bullet \ D_{\langle a,b\rangle}=D_b{}^{D_a}$
- 'senses' = **possible** denotations

- $\langle A, W, T, <, F \rangle$
- $\bullet \ D_{\langle a,b\rangle}=D_b{}^{D_a}$
- lacksquare $D_{\langle s,a \rangle} = D_a^{W \times T}$
- 'senses' = **possible** denotations
- actual intensions chosen from the set of senses

- $\langle A, W, T, <, F \rangle$
- $\bullet \overline{D_{\langle a,b\rangle}} = D_b^{\overline{D_a}}$
- $D_{\langle s,a\rangle} = D_a^{W\times T}$
- 'senses' = **possible** denotations
- actual intensions chosen from the set of senses
- now: F(expression)=intenstion (itself a function)

- $\langle A, W, T, <, F \rangle$
- $D_{\langle a,b\rangle} = D_b^{D_a}$
- $D_{\langle s,a\rangle} = D_a^{W\times T}$
- 'senses' = **possible** denotations
- actual intensions chosen from the set of senses
- now: F(expression)=intenstion (itself a function)
- s.t. intension(index)=extention

- $\langle A, W, T, <, F \rangle$
- $D_{\langle a,b\rangle} = D_b^{D_a}$
- $D_{\langle s,a\rangle} = D_a^{W\times T}$
- 'senses' = possible denotations
- actual intensions chosen from the set of senses
- now: F(expression)=intenstion (itself a function)
- s.t. intension(index)=extention
- instead of: F(expression)(index)=extemsion

Some interpretations

• $[\![\lambda u\alpha]\!]^{\mathcal{M},w,i,g}$, $u \in Var_b$, $\alpha \in ME_a$ is a function h with domain D_b s.t. $x \in D_b$, $h(x) = [\![\alpha]\!]^{\mathcal{M},w,t,g'}$ with g' exactly like g except g'(u) = x

Some interpretations

- $[\![\lambda u\alpha]\!]^{\mathcal{M},w,i,g}$, $u \in Var_b$, $\alpha \in ME_a$ is a function h with domain D_b s.t. $x \in D_b$, $h(x) = [\![\alpha]\!]^{\mathcal{M},w,t,g'}$ with g' exactly like g except g'(u) = x
- $[\![\hat{\alpha}]\!]^{\mathcal{M},w,i,g}$ is a function h from $W \times T$ to denotations of α 's type s.t. at every $\langle w',t' \rangle \in W \times T [\![\alpha]\!]^{\mathcal{M},w',t',g} = h(\langle w',t' \rangle) = [\![\hat{\alpha}]\!]^{\mathcal{M},w,i,g}(\langle w',t' \rangle)$

• $\alpha=\beta$ at $\langle w,t \rangle$ might be true, but $\hat{\ } \alpha=\hat{\ } \beta$ need not be 1 at that same index

- $\alpha = \beta$ at $\langle w, t \rangle$ might be true, but $\hat{\alpha} = \hat{\beta}$ need not be 1 at that same index
- on types:
 - e individuals

- $\alpha = \beta$ at $\langle w, t \rangle$ might be true, but $\hat{\alpha} = \hat{\beta}$ need not be 1 at that same index
- on types:
 - e individuals
 - $ightharpoonup \langle s,e
 angle$ individual concepts ('present Queen of England')

- $\alpha = \beta$ at $\langle w, t \rangle$ might be true, but $\hat{\alpha} = \hat{\beta}$ need not be 1 at that same index
- on types:
 - e individuals
 - ► ⟨s, e⟩ individual concepts ('present Queen of England')
 - $ightharpoonup \langle s, \langle e, t \rangle \rangle$ properties of inidviduals

- $\alpha = \beta$ at $\langle w, t \rangle$ might be true, but $\hat{\alpha} = \hat{\beta}$ need not be 1 at that same index
- on types:
 - e individuals
 - \triangleright $\langle s, e \rangle$ individual concepts ('present Queen of England')
 - $ightharpoonup \langle s, \langle e, t \rangle \rangle$ properties of inidviduals
 - $ightharpoonup \langle e,t \rangle$ sets of individuals

- $\alpha = \beta$ at $\langle w, t \rangle$ might be true, but $\hat{\alpha} = \hat{\beta}$ need not be 1 at that same index
- on types:
 - e individuals
 - ► ⟨s, e⟩ individual concepts ('present Queen of England')
 - $ightharpoonup \langle s, \langle e, t \rangle \rangle$ properties of inidviduals
 - $ightharpoonup \langle e,t \rangle$ sets of individuals
 - $lack \langle \langle s,e \rangle,t \rangle$ sets of individual concepts

- on properties:
 - $ightharpoonup \langle s, \langle a, t \rangle \rangle$ properties of denotations of a-type expressions

- on properties:
 - \triangleright $\langle s, \langle a, t \rangle \rangle$ properties of denotations of *a*-type expressions
 - $ightharpoonup \langle s, \langle e, t \rangle \rangle$ properties of individuals

- on properties:
 - \triangleright $\langle s, \langle a, t \rangle \rangle$ properties of denotations of *a*-type expressions
 - $\langle s, \langle e, t \rangle \rangle$ properties of individuals
 - $ightharpoonup \langle s, \langle \langle s, t \rangle, t \rangle \rangle$ properties of propositions

- on properties:
 - $ightharpoonup \langle s, \langle a, t \rangle \rangle$ properties of denotations of *a*-type expressions
 - $ightharpoonup \langle s, \langle e, t \rangle \rangle$ properties of individuals
 - $ightharpoonup \langle s, \langle \langle s, t \rangle, t \rangle \rangle$ properties of propositions
- from relations $\langle e, \langle e, t \rangle \rangle$ to relations-in-intensions $\langle s, \langle e, \langle e, t \rangle \rangle \rangle$

• In IL indices are never denoted by expressions!

- In IL indices are never denoted by expressions!
- Expressions denote functions in the domain of indices.

- In IL indices are never denoted by expressions!
- Expressions denote functions in the domain of indices.
- hence: $\langle s, a \rangle$ never applied to some typed argument (s is not a type!)

- In IL indices are never denoted by expressions!
- Expressions denote functions in the domain of indices.
- hence: $\langle s, a \rangle$ never applied to some typed argument (s is not a type!)
- useful thing: We never talk about indices!

- In IL indices are never denoted by expressions!
- Expressions denote functions in the domain of indices.
- hence: $\langle s, a \rangle$ never applied to some typed argument (s is not a type!)
- 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

ullet former problem with **Nec** as $\langle t,t \rangle$: non-compositional extensional interpretation

- former problem with **Nec** as $\langle t, t \rangle$: non-compositional extensional interpretation
- $\mathbf{Nec} \in \mathsf{ME}_{\langle \langle \mathbf{s}, \mathbf{t} \rangle, \mathbf{t} \rangle} \{0, 1\}^{(\{0, 1\}^{\mathsf{W} \times \mathsf{T}})}$

- former problem with **Nec** as $\langle t, t \rangle$: non-compositional extensional interpretation
- Nec $\in ME_{\langle \langle \mathbf{s}, \mathbf{t} \rangle, \mathbf{t} \rangle} \{0, 1\}^{(\{0, 1\}^{W \times T})}$
- from (from indices to truth values = propositions) to truth values

- former problem with **Nec** as $\langle t, t \rangle$: non-compositional extensional interpretation
- Nec $\in ME_{\langle \langle s,t \rangle,t \rangle}$ $\{0,1\}_{(\{0,1\}^{W \times 7})}$
- from (from indices to truth values = propositions) to truth values
- we could give $\Box \phi$ as $\mathbf{Nec}(\hat{\ }\phi)$

• 'former' as in 'a former member of this club'

- 'former' as in 'a former member of this club'
- instead of $\langle \langle e, t \rangle, \langle e, t \rangle \rangle$

- 'former' as in 'a former member of this club'
- instead of $\langle \langle e, t \rangle, \langle e, t \rangle \rangle$
- intensionally: $\langle \langle s, \langle e, t \rangle \rangle, \langle e, t \rangle \rangle$

- 'former' as in 'a former member of this club'
- instead of $\langle \langle e, t \rangle, \langle e, t \rangle \rangle$
- intensionally: $\langle \langle s, \langle e, t \rangle \rangle, \langle e, t \rangle \rangle$
- extensions at all indices accessible via intension: those individuals bearing property $\langle e,t\rangle$ not at current but at some past index qualify

- 'former' as in 'a former member of this club'
- instead of $\langle \langle e, t \rangle, \langle e, t \rangle \rangle$
- intensionally: $\langle \langle s, \langle e, t \rangle \rangle, \langle e, t \rangle \rangle$
- extensions at all indices accessible via intension: those individuals bearing property $\langle e, t \rangle$ not at current but at some past index qualify
- 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.

- 'former' as in 'a former member of this club'
- instead of $\langle \langle e, t \rangle, \langle e, t \rangle \rangle$
- intensionally: $\langle \langle s, \langle e, t \rangle \rangle, \langle e, t \rangle \rangle$
- extensions at all indices accessible via intension: those individuals bearing property $\langle e, t \rangle$ not at current but at some past index qualify
- 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.

relations between individuals and propositions

- relations between individuals and propositions
- $\langle \langle s, t \rangle, \langle e, t \rangle \rangle$

- relations between individuals and propositions
- $\langle \langle s, t \rangle, \langle e, t \rangle \rangle$
- Bel($\hat{B}(m)(j)$) John believes that Miss America is bald.

- relations between individuals and propositions
- $\langle \langle s, t \rangle, \langle e, t \rangle \rangle$
- Bel($\hat{B}(m)(j)$) John believes that Miss America is bald.
- take the model from page 134 (Dowty et al.):

- relations between individuals and propositions
- $\langle \langle s, t \rangle, \langle e, t \rangle \rangle$
- Bel($\hat{B}(m)(j)$) John believes that Miss America is bald.
- take the model from page 134 (Dowty et al.):
- $[\![B(m)]\!]^{M,w_2,t_1,g} = 1$ since $[\![m]\!]^{M,w_2,t_1,g} = [\![n]\!]^{M,w_2,t_1,g}$

- relations between individuals and propositions
- $\langle \langle s, t \rangle, \langle e, t \rangle \rangle$
- Bel($\hat{B}(m)(j)$) John believes that Miss America is bald.
- take the model from page 134 (Dowty et al.):
- $[B(m)]^{M,w_2,t_1,g} = 1$ since $[m]^{M,w_2,t_1,g} = [n]^{M,w_2,t_1,g}$
- however: $[(B(m))]^{M,w_2,t_1,g} \neq [(B(n))]^{M,w_2,t_1,g}$

• $\operatorname{Bel}(\hat{\ }(B(m))(j))$ 'John believes that Miss America is bald.'

- $\operatorname{Bel}(\hat{B}(m))(j)$ 'John believes that Miss America is bald.'
- Bel((B(n))(j)) 'John believes that Norma is bald.'

- Bel($\hat{B}(m)(j)$) 'John believes that Miss America is bald.'
- Bel(^(B(n))(j)) 'John believes that Norma is bald.'
- needn't be equal: John can take worlds other than $\langle w_2,t_1 \rangle$ into account where $\llbracket n \rrbracket \neq \llbracket m \rrbracket$

- Bel($\hat{B}(m)(j)$) 'John believes that Miss America is bald.'
- Bel(^(B(n))(j)) 'John believes that Norma is bald.'
- needn't be equal: John can take worlds other than $\langle w_2,t_1 \rangle$ into account where $\llbracket n \rrbracket \neq \llbracket m \rrbracket$
- $\alpha = \beta \to \left[\phi \leftrightarrow \phi^{\left[\alpha/\beta\right]}\right]$ is true iff α is not in the scope of $\hat{\ }, \mathbf{F}, \mathbf{P}, \square$ (oblique contexts)

- Bel($\hat{B}(m)(j)$) 'John believes that Miss America is bald.'
- Bel(^(B(n))(j)) 'John believes that Norma is bald.'
- needn't be equal: John can take worlds other than $\langle w_2,t_1 \rangle$ into account where $[\![n]\!] \neq [\![m]\!]$
- $\alpha = \beta \to [\phi \leftrightarrow \phi^{[\alpha/\beta]}]$ is true iff α is not in the scope of $\hat{\ }, \mathbf{F}, \mathbf{P}, \square$ (oblique contexts)
- however: $\hat{\alpha} = \hat{\beta} \rightarrow [\phi \leftrightarrow \phi^{[\alpha/\beta]}]$

• like so: $\lambda x \left[\mathbf{Bel}(\hat{\ } [B(x)])(j) \right](m)$

- like so: $\lambda x [\mathbf{Bel}(\hat{\ } [B(x)])(j)](m)$
- the above is true at an index $\langle w, t \rangle$ iff $[\![Bel(\hat{\ }[B(x)])(j)]\!]^{w,t} = 1$ if $[\![m]\!]^{w,t} = x$, i.e. if John is in a believe-rel with $\hat{\ }(B(x))$ s.t. g(x) = m (by semantics of λ)

- like so: $\lambda x [\mathbf{Bel}(\hat{\ } [B(x)])(j)](m)$
- the above is true at an index $\langle w, t \rangle$ iff $[\![Bel(\hat{\ }[B(x)])(j)]\!]^{w,t} = 1$ if $[\![m]\!]^{w,t} = x$, i.e. if John is in a believe-rel with $\hat{\ }(B(x))$ s.t. g(x) = m (by semantics of λ)
- Why is $\hat{B}(x)$ not equal to $\hat{B}(m)$?

- like so: $\lambda x \left[\mathbf{Bel}(\hat{\ } [B(x)])(j) \right](m)$
- the above is true at an index $\langle w, t \rangle$ iff $[\![Bel(\hat{\ }[B(x)])(j)]\!]^{w,t} = 1$ if $[\![m]\!]^{w,t} = x$, i.e. if John is in a believe-rel with $\hat{\ }(B(x))$ s.t. g(x) = m (by semantics of λ)
- Why is $\hat{B}(x)$ not equal to $\hat{B}(m)$?
- constant m: non-rigid designator relativized to indices

- like so: $\lambda x [\mathbf{Bel}(\hat{\ } [B(x)])(j)](m)$
- the above is true at an index $\langle w, t \rangle$ iff $[\![Bel(\hat{\ }[B(x)])(j)]\!]^{w,t} = 1$ if $[\![m]\!]^{w,t} = x$, i.e. if John is in a believe-rel with $\hat{\ }(B(x))$ s.t. g(x) = m (by semantics of λ)
- Why is $\hat{B}(x)$ not equal to $\hat{B}(m)$?
- constant m: non-rigid designator relativized to indices
- variable x: a rigid designator by def. of g (for the relevant checking case with g(x) = MissAmerica

- like so: $\lambda x \left[\mathbf{Bel}(\hat{\ } [B(x)])(j) \right](m)$
- the above is true at an index $\langle w, t \rangle$ iff $[\![Bel(\hat{\ }[B(x)])(j)]\!]^{w,t} = 1$ if $[\![m]\!]^{w,t} = x$, i.e. if John is in a believe-rel with $\hat{\ }(B(x))$ s.t. g(x) = m (by semantics of λ)
- Why is $\hat{B}(x)$ not equal to $\hat{B}(m)$?
- constant m: non-rigid designator relativized to indices
- variable x: a rigid designator by def. of g (for the relevant checking case with g(x) = MissAmerica
- the above: a belief about 'whoever m is'

- like so: $\lambda x \left[\mathbf{Bel}(\hat{\ } [B(x)])(j) \right](m)$
- the above is true at an index $\langle w, t \rangle$ iff $[\![Bel(\hat{\ }[B(x)])(j)]\!]^{w,t} = 1$ if $[\![m]\!]^{w,t} = x$, i.e. if John is in a believe-rel with $\hat{\ }(B(x))$ s.t. g(x) = m (by semantics of λ)
- Why is $\hat{B}(x)$ not equal to $\hat{B}(m)$?
- constant m: non-rigid designator relativized to indices
- variable x: a rigid designator by def. of g (for the relevant checking case with g(x) = MissAmerica
- the above: a belief about 'whoever m is'
- λ conversion is restricted in IL!

Once again

• John believes that a republican will win.

Once again

- John believes that a republican will win.
- $\exists x [Rx \wedge \mathbf{Bel}(j, \hat{\ } [FW(x)])]$

Once again

- John believes that a republican will win.
- $\exists x [Rx \land Bel(j, \hat{\ } [FW(x)])]$
- $\mathbf{Bel}(j, \mathbf{F} \exists x [R(x) \land W(x)])$

Literatur I

Autor

Kontakt

Prof. Dr. Roland Schäfer Institut für Germanistische Sprachwissenschaft Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena Fürstengraben 30 07743 Jena

https://rolandschaefer.net roland.schaefer@uni-jena.de

Lizenz

Creative Commons BY-SA-3.0-DE

Dieses Werk ist unter einer Creative Commons Lizenz vom Typ Namensnennung - Weitergabe unter gleichen Bedingungen 3.0 Deutschland zugänglich. Um eine Kopie dieser Lizenz einzusehen, konsultieren Sie

http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/de/ oder wenden Sie sich brieflich an Creative Commons, Postfach 1866, Mountain View, California, 94042, USA.