

Meaning, Reference and Modality

Exercises 9-10-11*

Dynamic Semantics

DPL

Write out the DPL interpretation for the following pair of formulas. Which pairs are equivalent?

- (1) a. $\exists x(Px \wedge Qx) \wedge Rx$
b. $\exists x(Px \wedge Qx \wedge Rx)$
- (2) a. $\exists x(Px \wedge Qx) \wedge Rx$
b. $\exists y(Py \wedge Qy) \wedge Rx$
- (3) a. $Rx \wedge \exists x(Px \wedge Qx)$
b. $Rx \wedge \exists y(Py \wedge Qy)$
- (4) a. $\neg\exists xPx \vee Qx$
b. $\exists xPx \rightarrow Qx$
- (5) a. $\exists xPx \wedge Qx$
b. $\neg(\exists xPx \rightarrow \neg Qx)$

Update Semantics

Consider the formulas below. Are they valid in Veltman's update semantics?

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(6) a. $\diamond p \rightarrow p$

b. $p \rightarrow \diamond p$

(7) a. $\Box p \rightarrow p$

b. $p \rightarrow \Box p$

A formula ϕ is valid iff $\forall s : s \subseteq s[\phi]$

$s[\phi \rightarrow \psi] = \{i \in s \mid \text{if } i \in s[\phi] \text{ then } i \in s[\phi][\psi]\}$

Dynamic Modal Predicate Logic

The Broken Vase

Consider the broken vase scenario discussed in Groenendijk, Stockhof and Veltman (1996):

(8) a. $\exists x Hx \wedge \diamond Gx$

b. $\exists x (Hx \wedge \diamond Gx)$

(6a) and (6b) are not equivalent, given GSV (1996)'s treatment of $\exists x$ as in (A) below. Consider now the global assignment in (B), and discuss the consequences for the broken vase scenario.

(A) $s[\exists x \phi] = \bigcup_{d \in D} (s[x/d][\phi])$

(B) $s[\exists x \phi] = (\bigcup_{d \in D} s[x/d][\phi])$

Consistent and Coherent

Consider the sequence of sentences below. Treat $\exists x Px$ with a uniqueness requirement $\exists! x Px$. Are they *consistent*? Are they *coherent*? Do the results match your intuitions?

(9) a. Someone has done it. It might be Alice. But it also might not be Alice.

b. $\exists x Px \wedge \diamond(x = a) \wedge \diamond(x \neq a)$

(10) a. Someone has done it. It might not be Alice. It is Alice

b. $\exists x Px \wedge \diamond(x \neq a) \wedge (x = a)$

(11) a. Someone has done and it might be Alice and it might not be Alice.

b. $\exists x (Px \wedge \diamond(x = a) \wedge \diamond(x \neq a))$

(12) a. Someone has done it. Alice has done it. Anyone might be Alice. Bob might have done it.

b. $\exists xPx \wedge (x = a) \wedge \forall x(\diamond(x = a)) \wedge \diamond(x = b)$

Now drop the uniqueness requirement $\exists!xPx$ and treat $\exists xPx$ as $\exists xPx$. Which ones are now *coherent*? Which ones are now *consistent*?