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24.973 Advanced Semantics
Spring 2009

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TA 24.973 April 8 09

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- (1) Tense identification analysis
$$\llbracket \text{believe} \rrbracket^{w,t} = \lambda p_{\langle s,t \rangle} \lambda x. \forall w'. w' \text{ compatible with } x \text{'s belief in } w \text{ at } t \rightarrow p(\langle w', t \rangle) = 1$$
- (2) 'At 4am, John believes it to be raining'
$$\llbracket \text{pres [4am [john believe rain]]} \rrbracket^{w^*, t^*} = 1 \text{ iff}$$
$$\llbracket \text{4am [john believe rain]} \rrbracket^{w^*, t^*} = 1, \text{ iff}$$
$$\llbracket \text{4am} \rrbracket^{w^*, t^*} = 1 \ \& \ \llbracket \text{john believe rain} \rrbracket^{w^*, t^*} = 1, \text{ iff}$$
$$\llbracket \text{john believe rain} \rrbracket^{w^*, 4\text{am}} = 1, \text{ iff}$$
$$\llbracket \text{believe} \rrbracket^{w^*, 4\text{am}}(\llbracket \text{rain} \rrbracket_{\epsilon})(j) = 1, \text{ iff}$$
$$\forall w'. w' \text{ compatible with } j \text{'s belief in } w^* \text{ at } 4\text{am} \rightarrow \llbracket \text{rain} \rrbracket_{\epsilon}(\langle w', 4\text{am} \rangle) = 1, \text{ iff}$$

for each w' compatible with j 's belief in w^* at 4am, it rains in w' at 4am
- (3) (a) *Scenario 1*: In w^* , it rains only at 4am, John wakes up at 4am, thinking "it's 5am and it's raining"
(b) *Intuition*: $\llbracket \text{At 4am, John believes it to be raining} \rrbracket^{w^*, t^*} = 1$
(b) *Prediction*: $\llbracket \text{At 4am, John believes it to be raining} \rrbracket^{w^*, t^*} = 0$
(c) *Proof*: Let it rain in w' at 5am but not at 4am, and let John wake up at 5am in w' . Then w' is compatible with John's belief in w^* at 4am. But it is not raining in w' at 4am.
- (4) (a) *Scenario 2*: In w^* , John wakes up at 4am, thinking "it's 5am, it rained at 4am but it has stopped"
(b) *Intuition*: $\llbracket \text{At 4am, John believes it to be raining} \rrbracket^{w^*, t^*} = 0$
(b) *Prediction*: $\llbracket \text{At 4am, John believes it to be raining} \rrbracket^{w^*, t^*} = 1$
(c) *Proof*: Take any w' compatible with John's belief in w^* at 4am. John wakes up at 5am in w' and there is rain at 4am in w' . Thus, for any world w' compatible with John's belief in w^* at 4am, it rains in w' at 4am.
- (5) Fixing the problem
(a) $\llbracket \text{believe} \rrbracket^{w,t} = \lambda p_{\langle s,t \rangle} \lambda x. \forall \langle w', t' \rangle. \langle w', t' \rangle \text{ compatible with } x \text{'s belief in } w \text{ at } t \rightarrow p(\langle w', t' \rangle) = 1$
(b) $\llbracket \text{4am [john believes rain]} \rrbracket^{w^*, t^*} = 1 \text{ iff}$
$$\llbracket \text{john believe rain} \rrbracket^{w^*, 4\text{am}} = 1, \text{ iff}$$
$$\llbracket \text{believe} \rrbracket^{w^*, 4\text{am}}(\llbracket \text{rain} \rrbracket_{\epsilon})(j) = 1, \text{ iff}$$
$$\forall \langle w', t' \rangle. \langle w', t' \rangle \text{ compatible with } j \text{'s belief in } w^* \text{ at } 4\text{am} \rightarrow \llbracket \text{rain} \rrbracket_{\epsilon}(\langle w', t' \rangle) = 1, \text{ iff}$$

for each $\langle w', t' \rangle$ compatible with j 's belief in w^* at 4am, it is raining in w' **at t'**
- (6) Proof that in scenario 1, the sentence is true:
Take any $\langle w', t' \rangle$ compatible with John's belief in w^* at 4am. By hypothesis, $t' = 5\text{am}$ and it rains in w' at t' . Thus, it rains in w' at t' .
- (7) Proof that in scenario 2, the sentence is false:
Let it rain in w' only at 4am, and let $t' = 5\text{am}$. By hypothesis, $\langle w', t' \rangle$ is compatible with John's belief in w^* at 4am. But it does not rain in w' at t' .