

# Remarks on Kratzer's *Ordering-Premise* Semantics of Modalities and Conditionals

Norry Ogata  
Osaka University

## Contents

1. Definitions of Ordering-Premise Semantics
2. Their Motivations
3. Some Formal Properties and Flaws
4. Multi-modal Premise Semantics
5. Premise Semantics from the viewpoint of Dynamic Doxastic Logic

## Definitions of Ordering-Premise Semantics

Let  $W$  be a set of possible worlds, functions such that  $\mathcal{B}, \mathcal{O} : W \rightarrow \wp(\wp(W))$  are called a *modal base* and *ordering source* respectively. They give two types of **premise set** (set of propositions) to each possible world.

Let  $\Phi(\ni p)$  be a set of propositional variables, then formula  $\phi \in \mathcal{L}_{\square, >, \Phi}$  is defined by:

$$\phi ::= p \mid \phi_1 \rightarrow \phi_2 \mid \phi_1 > \phi_2 \mid \Box \phi \mid \perp$$

where  $\phi_1 \rightarrow \phi_2$  is a material implication which can define  $\phi_1 \wedge \phi_2, \phi_1 \vee \phi_2, \neg \phi$  with  $\perp$ , and  $\phi_1 > \phi_2$  is a conditional formula.

Let  $V : \Phi \rightarrow \wp(W)$  be a valuation of  $\Phi$ .

Then  $\mathcal{K} = \langle W, \mathcal{B}, \mathcal{O}, V \rangle$  is called

an Ordering-Premise Model of  $\mathcal{L}_{\square, \triangleright, \Phi}$

if  $\llbracket \bullet \rrbracket_{\mathcal{K}} : \mathcal{L}_{\square, \triangleright, \Phi} \rightarrow \wp(W)$  is defined by recursion on  $\phi$ :

$$\llbracket p \rrbracket_{\mathcal{K}} = V(p);$$

$$\llbracket \phi_1 \rightarrow \phi_2 \rrbracket_{\mathcal{K}} = (W \setminus \llbracket \phi_1 \rrbracket_{\mathcal{K}}) \cup \llbracket \phi_2 \rrbracket_{\mathcal{K}};$$

$$\llbracket \perp \rrbracket_{\mathcal{K}} = \emptyset;$$

$$\llbracket \square \phi \rrbracket_{\mathcal{K}} = \{w \in W \mid$$

$$\forall u \in \bigcap \mathcal{B}(w) \exists v \in \bigcap \mathcal{B}(w).$$

$$v \leq_{\mathcal{O}(w)} u \ \&$$

$$\forall z \in \bigcap \mathcal{B}(w) z \leq_{\mathcal{O}(w)} v \Rightarrow z \in \llbracket \phi \rrbracket_{\mathcal{K}} \},$$

where

$$u \leq_{\mathcal{O}(w)} v \Leftrightarrow \{p \in \mathcal{O}(w) \mid v \in p\} \subseteq \{p \in \mathcal{O}(w) \mid u \in p\}.$$

## Lemma 1.

- (1)  $\leq_{\mathcal{O}(w)}$  is reflexive, transitive, and anti-symmetry, even if  $\mathcal{O}(w) = \emptyset$ .
- (2)  $\leq_{\mathcal{O}(w)} \circ \leq_{\mathcal{O}(w)}$  is reflexive, transitive, and anti-symmetry, even if  $\mathcal{O}(w) = \emptyset$ .
- (3)  $w \leq_{\mathcal{O}(w)} w$  even if  $\mathcal{O}(w) = \emptyset$ .

## Kripke Semantics

$W$  : a non-empty set of possible worlds

$R$  : a binary relation on  $W$

$V : \Phi \rightarrow \wp(W)$  a valuation of  $\Phi$

$\mathcal{M} = \langle W, R, V \rangle$ : a Kripke model

$\mathcal{M}, w \models \Box \phi \Leftrightarrow \forall u \in W. wRu \Rightarrow \mathcal{M}, u \models \phi$

$\mathcal{M}, w \models \Diamond \phi \Leftrightarrow \exists u \in W. wRu \ \& \ \mathcal{M}, u \models \phi$

$\Gamma \models \phi \Leftrightarrow \forall \mathcal{M} \forall w \in W. \mathcal{M}, w \models \Gamma \Rightarrow \mathcal{M}, w \models \phi$

## Lemma 2.

$$(1) R_{\mathcal{K}} = \{(w, z) \mid$$

$$\forall u \in \bigcap \mathcal{B}(w) \exists v \in \bigcap \mathcal{B}(w) z \in \bigcap \mathcal{B}(w). z \leq_{\mathcal{O}(w)} v \ \& \ v \leq_{\mathcal{O}(w)} u\}$$

$$= \{(w, z) \mid \forall u \in \bigcap \mathcal{B}(w) z \leq_{\mathcal{O}(w)} \circ \leq_{\mathcal{O}(w)} u\}$$

is reflexive, transitive, and serial if  $w \in \bigcap \mathcal{B}(w) \therefore$  Lemma 1(2)

(2) If  $\forall w \in W : \mathcal{B}(w) = \emptyset$ , then  $\langle W, R_{\mathcal{K}} \rangle$  is a reflexive, transitive, serial Kripke frame

$$\therefore R_{\mathcal{K}} = \{(w, z) \mid \forall u \in W. z \leq_{\mathcal{O}(w)} \circ \leq_{\mathcal{O}(w)} u\}.$$

(3)  $R_{\mathcal{K}}$  is transitive and serial  $\therefore$  Lemma 2(1-2).

## Lemma 3.

$$(1) \langle W, R_{\mathcal{K}} \rangle \models \Box \varphi \rightarrow \Diamond \varphi \therefore \text{Lemma 2(3),}$$

$$(2) \langle W, R_{\mathcal{K}} \rangle \models \Box \varphi \rightarrow \Box \Box \varphi \therefore \text{Lemma 2(3),}$$

$$(3) \langle W, R_{\mathcal{K}} \rangle \models ? \mathcal{X} \rightarrow (\Box \varphi \rightarrow \varphi) \therefore \text{Lemma 2(1-2)}$$

## Problems on Ordering-Premise Semantics

- Case1: Some verifiable propositions are not in any premise sets
- Case2: On "Overcoming Inconsistencies"
- Case3: On "Practical Inference" = multi-modal inference

## Case 1: Circumstantial Conversational Backgrounds

$\mathcal{B}$  is realistic, i.e.,  $\forall w. w \in \bigcap \mathcal{B}(w)$ .

$\mathcal{B}(u) = \{\mathbf{p}, \mathbf{q}\}$

$\mathcal{O}(u) = \{\mathbf{p}''\}$ ,

$\mathbf{p} \cap \mathbf{q} = \{u\}, u \in \mathbf{p}' \subset \mathbf{p}'' \subset \mathbf{p}''$

Then,  $\langle \mathcal{W}, \mathcal{B}, \mathcal{O}, V \rangle, u \models \diamond \mathbf{p}', \diamond \mathbf{p}''$

even though  $\mathbf{p}'$  and  $\mathbf{p}''$  are not in the conversational background.

## Case 1: Circumstantial Conversational Backgrounds

$$u \in \mathbf{p} \cap \mathbf{q}' \subset \mathbf{p} \subset \mathbf{p} \cup \mathbf{q}'$$

Then,  $\langle \mathbf{W}, \mathcal{B}, \mathcal{O}, V \rangle, u \models \diamond(\mathbf{p} \vee \mathbf{q}'), \diamond(\mathbf{p} \wedge \mathbf{q}')$

for each  $\mathbf{q}' (\ni u)$  which is not  
in the conversational background.

## Case 2: Judgments

Judge A: a is liable ( $l$ ); Judge B: a is not liable ( $\neg l$ )

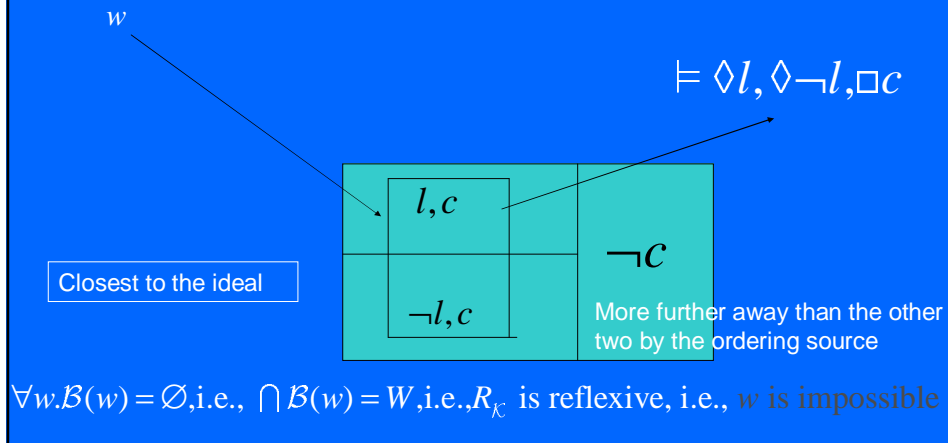
Judge A = Judge B: the murder is a crime ( $c$ )

$\therefore \llbracket \text{Judgments} \rrbracket = \llbracket \perp \rrbracket = \emptyset.$

Judgments  $\models \Box c, \Box \neg c$

Judgments  $\not\models \diamond l, \diamond \neg l$ , for all formula  $c, l, \dots$

## Case 2: Judgments (Kratzer's Solution)



## Case 3: Practical Inference

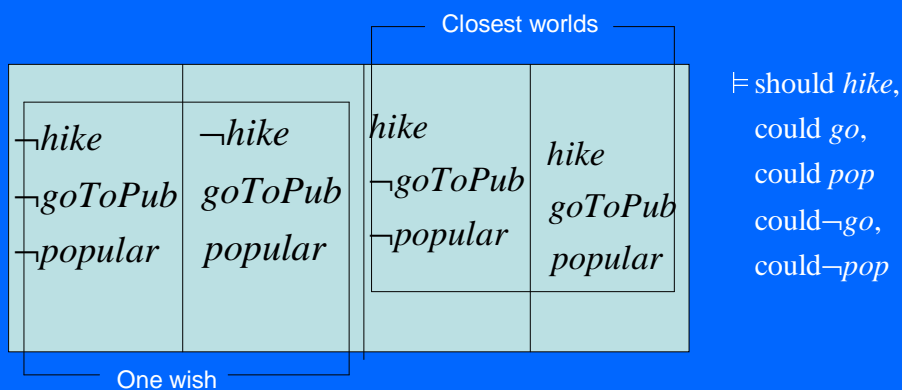
$\mathcal{B}$  is circumstantial, i.e.,  $\mathcal{B}(w) = \{goToPub \leftrightarrow popular\}$

$\mathcal{O}$  is bouletic, i.e.,  $\mathcal{O}(w) = \{popular, \neg goToPub, hike\}$

$\mathcal{B}(w) \cup \mathcal{O}(w) = \llbracket \perp \rrbracket = \emptyset$



## Case 3: Practical Inference (Kratzer's Solution)



## Case 3: Practical Inference (Frank's Solution)

"Does this correspond to our intuitions? In one way it does, but in another it doesn't." Frank(1997)

She proposes a contraction of 'p' and 'not-p' in the sense of Belief Revision.

$$\mathcal{B}(w) \cup !\mathcal{O}(w) = \mathcal{B}(w) \cup \mathcal{O}'(w),$$

where

$$\mathcal{O}'(w) \subseteq \mathcal{O}(w) \ \& \ \bigcap(\mathcal{B}(w) \cup \mathcal{O}'(w)) \neq \emptyset \ \&$$

$$\forall X \subseteq \mathcal{O}(w) \ \text{if } \mathcal{O}'(w) \subseteq X, \text{ then } \bigcap(\mathcal{B}(w) \cup X) = \emptyset.$$

For another contraction in DRT, see 4.1.4. of Frank(1997).

## Case 3

- If Kratzer's treatment of practical inference is right, we can add more multi-modal premises:
  - i. The speaker's father's wish: not-hike
  - ii. The law: not-gotoPub
  - iii. ...

How many are ordering sources or modal bases needed? Or Such a multi-modal situation can be treated?

## Lemma 4.

$$\mathcal{K}, w \models \diamond \varphi$$

$$\Leftrightarrow \mathcal{K}, w \models \neg \Box \neg \varphi$$

$$\Leftrightarrow \neg \forall u \in \bigcap \mathcal{B}(w) \exists v \in \bigcap \mathcal{B}(w) \forall z \in \bigcap \mathcal{B}(w).$$

$$z \leq_{\mathcal{O}(w)} v \ \& \ v \leq_{\mathcal{O}(w)} u \Rightarrow \mathcal{K}, v \models \neg \varphi$$

$$\Leftrightarrow \exists u \in \bigcap \mathcal{B}(w) \forall v \in \bigcap \mathcal{B}(w) \exists z \in \bigcap \mathcal{B}(w).$$

$$z \leq_{\mathcal{O}(w)} v \ \& \ v \leq_{\mathcal{O}(w)} u \ \& \ \mathcal{K}, v \models \varphi$$

## Ordering Lemma

(1)  $v \leq_{\mathcal{O}(w)} u$  even if  $\mathcal{O}(w) = \emptyset$

$$\because P(u) \cap \mathcal{O}(w) = \emptyset \subseteq \emptyset = P(v) \cap \mathcal{O}(w)$$

(2)  $v \leq_{\mathcal{O}(w)} u$  even if  $\mathcal{O}(w) \cap P(u) = \emptyset$

$$\because P(u) \cap \mathcal{O}(w) = \emptyset \subseteq X \text{ for all } X$$

(3)  $v \leq_{\mathcal{O}(w)} u$  even if  $\mathcal{O}(w) \cap P(u) = \emptyset \& P(v) \cap \mathcal{O}(w) = \emptyset$

$$\because \emptyset \subseteq \emptyset$$

## Propositions on Case 2

$$\mathcal{O}(w) = \{\neg l, l, \neg c\}$$

$$P(v) = \{\neg l, \neg c\} \therefore P(v)_{\mathcal{O}(w)} = \{\neg l, \neg c\}$$

$$P(u) = \{l, \neg c\} \therefore P(u)_{\mathcal{O}(w)} = \{l, \neg c\}$$

$$P(t) = \{\neg l, c\} \therefore P(t)_{\mathcal{O}(w)} = \{\neg l\}$$

$$P(s) = \{l, c\} \therefore P(s)_{\mathcal{O}(w)} = \{l\}$$

$$\mathcal{B}(w) = \emptyset \therefore \bigcap \mathcal{B}(w) = W(P(w) = \{\perp\}?)$$

$$\therefore u \leq_{\mathcal{O}(w)} s; v \leq_{\mathcal{O}(w)} t; x \leq_{\mathcal{O}(w)} x; (x \leq_{\mathcal{O}(w)} w)$$

$$\therefore u, v, t, s, w \leq_{\mathcal{O}(w)} t, s, w \leq_{\mathcal{O}(w)} w$$

$$\therefore w \models \diamond l, \diamond \neg l, ? \diamond \neg c, ? \perp, ? \diamond \perp$$

## Ordering Proposition: Case 3

$$\mathcal{O}(w) = \{pop, \neg go, hike\}; \forall w. \mathcal{B}(w) = \{go \leftrightarrow pop\}$$

$$P(v) = \{\neg hike, \neg go, \neg pop\} \therefore P(v)_{\mathcal{O}(w)} = \{\neg go\}$$

$$P(u) = \{\neg hike, go, pop\} \therefore P(u)_{\mathcal{O}(w)} = \{pop\}$$

$$P(t) = \{hike, \neg go, \neg pop\} \therefore P(t)_{\mathcal{O}(w)} = \{hike, \neg go\}$$

$$P(s) = \{hike, go, pop\} \therefore P(s)_{\mathcal{O}(w)} = \{hike, pop\}$$

$$\text{Let } P(w) = \emptyset \text{ or } \{go \leftrightarrow pop\} \therefore P(w)_{\mathcal{O}(w)} = \emptyset$$

$$\text{Let } \bigcap \mathcal{B}(w) = \{w\} \text{ or } W$$

$$\therefore t \leq_{\mathcal{O}(w)} u, v; s \leq_{\mathcal{O}(w)} u; x \leq_{\mathcal{O}(w)} x; x \leq_{\mathcal{O}(w)} w$$

$$\therefore w \models \diamond \neg go, \diamond hike, \diamond pop, \diamond go, \diamond \neg pop, \square (go \leftrightarrow pop)$$

## Conditionals in Ordering-Premise Semantics

$$\mathcal{K} = \langle W, \mathcal{B}, \mathcal{O}, V \rangle$$

$$\llbracket \phi_1 > \phi_2 \rrbracket_{\mathcal{K}} = \{w \in W \mid w \in \llbracket \square \phi_2 \rrbracket_{\mathcal{K} \upharpoonright \mathcal{B}' \upharpoonright \mathcal{B}_1}\},$$

$$\text{where } \forall w \mathcal{B}'(w) = \mathcal{B}(w) \cup \{\llbracket \phi_1 \rrbracket_{\mathcal{K}}\},$$

$$= \{w \in W \mid \forall u \in \bigcap (\mathcal{B}(w) \cup \{\llbracket \phi_1 \rrbracket_{\mathcal{K}}\}) \exists v \in \bigcap (\mathcal{B}(w) \cup \{\llbracket \phi_1 \rrbracket_{\mathcal{K}}\})$$

$$\forall z \in \bigcap (\mathcal{B}(w) \cup \{\llbracket \phi_1 \rrbracket_{\mathcal{K}}\}). z \leq_{\mathcal{O}(w)} v \ \& \ v \leq_{\mathcal{O}(w)} u \Rightarrow z \in \llbracket \phi_2 \rrbracket_{\mathcal{K}}\}$$

$$(1) \text{ material: } \forall w \bigcap \mathcal{B}(w) = \{w\}; \forall w \mathcal{O}(w) = \emptyset.$$

$$(2) \text{ strict: } \forall w \mathcal{B}(w) = \emptyset; \forall w \mathcal{O}(w) = \emptyset.$$

$$(3) \text{ counterfactual: } \forall w \mathcal{B}(w) = \emptyset; \forall w \bigcap \mathcal{O}(w) = \{w\}.$$

$$(4) \text{ indicative: } \forall w \mathcal{B}(w) = \emptyset; \mathcal{O} \text{ is circumstantial}$$

## Counterfactuals in Ordering-Premise Semantics

- A counterfactual is characterized by an empty modal base  $f$  and a totally realistic ordering source  $g$ . It follows from David Lewis' work mentioned above, that this analysis of counterfactuals is equivalent to the one I give in Kratzer(1981b). ...The idea is this: All possible worlds in which the antecedent  $p$  is true, are ordered with respect to their being more or less near to what is actually the case in the world under consideration. – Kratzer(1981a)

## Standard Semantics of Conditionals (SMC)

$\mathcal{M} = \langle W, f, V \rangle$ ;

$f : W \times \wp(W) \rightarrow \wp(W)$  (selection function)

$\llbracket \phi > \psi \rrbracket_{\mathcal{M}} = \{w \in W \mid f(w, \llbracket \phi \rrbracket_{\mathcal{M}}) \subseteq \llbracket \psi \rrbracket_{\mathcal{M}}\}$ ,

(1) material:  $w \in X \Rightarrow w \in f(w, X)$

&  $w \in (W - X) \cup Y \Rightarrow f(w, X) \subseteq Y$ .

(2) strict:  $f(w, X) = X$ .

(3) counterfactual: many versions

(e.g., Kratzer(1981)=SS; Stalnaker(1968)=VCS; Lewis(1973)=VC).

## Counterfactuals in SMC

SS=M.P.;RCEA';RCM;RCE;CC+CA+AC+CS+MP (Pollock 1981)

=RCEC;RCK;ID+MOD+CA+CS+MP (Nute & Cross 2002)

$$CA: f(w, X \cup Y) \subseteq f(w, X) \cup f(w, Y)$$

$$AC: f(w, X) \subseteq Y \Rightarrow f(w, X \cap Y) \subseteq f(w, X)$$

$$CS: w \in X \Rightarrow f(w, X) \subseteq \{w\}$$

$$MP: w \in X \Rightarrow w \in f(w, X)$$

$$ID: f(w, X) \subseteq X$$

$$MOD: f(w, W - X) \subseteq X \Rightarrow f(w, Y) \subseteq f(w, X)$$

## Standardization of Ordering-Premise Semantics

$$w \in \llbracket \phi_1 > \phi_2 \rrbracket_{\mathcal{K}}$$

$$\Leftrightarrow \forall u \in \bigcap (\mathcal{B}(w) \cup \{X\}) \exists v \in \bigcap (\mathcal{B}(w) \cup \{X\})$$

$$\forall z \in \bigcap (\mathcal{B}(w) \cup \{X\}). z \leq_{\mathcal{O}(w)} v \ \& \ v \leq_{\mathcal{O}(w)} u \Rightarrow z \in Y$$

$$\Leftrightarrow \forall u \in X \exists v \in X \forall z \in X. z \leq_{\mathcal{O}(w)} v \ \& \ v \leq_{\mathcal{O}(w)} u \Rightarrow z \in Y,$$

where  $\forall w. \bigcap \mathcal{O}(w) = \{w\}$  and  $X = \llbracket \phi_1 \rrbracket_{\mathcal{K}}, Y = \llbracket \phi_2 \rrbracket_{\mathcal{K}[\mathcal{B}'/\mathcal{B}]}$ .

$$f_{\mathcal{K}}(w, X) = \{z \in X \mid \forall u \in X \exists v \in X. z \leq_{\mathcal{O}(w)} v \ \& \ v \leq_{\mathcal{O}(w)} u\}$$

## Standardization of Ordering-Premise Semantics

$f_{\mathcal{K}}$ 's properties

*ID* : obvious

*MP* : yes  $\therefore \forall u \in X. w \leq_{\mathcal{O}(w)} w \ \& \ w \leq_{\mathcal{O}(w)} u$

$\therefore P(u) \cap \mathcal{O}(w) \subseteq P(w) \cap \mathcal{O}(w)$

## Kratzer's Samaritan Paradox

For each morally accessible world  $s$  :

No murder occurs ( $\neg p$ )

If a murder occurs, the murderer will be given \$100. ( $\neg p \vee q$ )

1.  $\Box(p \rightarrow q) \therefore$  vacuously true

2.  $p \rightarrow \Box q \therefore$  vacuously true

3.  $p > q$

$\Leftrightarrow \forall u, z \in \llbracket p \rrbracket_{\mathcal{K}}. \exists v \in \llbracket p \rrbracket_{\mathcal{K}}. z \leq_{\mathcal{O}(w)} v \ \& \ v \leq_{\mathcal{O}(w)} u \Rightarrow z \in \llbracket q \rrbracket_{\mathcal{K}[\mathcal{B}'/\mathcal{B}]}$

$s$  is excluded but "no  $X$  must morally occur" cannot be said?

## Frank's solution to Kratzer's Samaritan Paradox

No murder occurs ( $\neg p$ )

If a murder occurs, the murderer will be given \$100. ( $\neg p \vee q$ )

$F = Cn(\{\Box r \mid r \in Cn(\{\neg p, \neg p \vee q\})\})$

$H = Cn(\{r \rightarrow q \mid r \in Cn(Cn(Cn(F \cup \{p\}) - \{p\}) \cup \neg F)\})$

(ignoring variable assignments;

In  $H$ ,  $p$  and  $\neg p$  are contracted)

## The Frank-Zvolensky Problem

$f_{\mathcal{K}}$  satisfies ID in any interpretation, i.e.,  $p > p$ .

#If teenagers drink, then they must drink.(deontic)

#If I file my taxes, then I must file my taxes.(bouletic)

#If  $a=b$ , then it is necessarily  $a=b$ .(alethic by Ogata)

$p > p$  is generally bad?

Frank:  $X \cup \neg\{p > p\} = Cn(Cn(X \cup \{p > p\}) - \{p, \neg p\})$

$p, \neg p$  are undefined in  $X \cup \neg\{p > p\}$

But: OK: If Dalai Lama is mad, he must do so. (=he must have his reason. Etc...by Zvolensky(2002)



## Multi-Modal Premise Semantics (Basic Ideas)

- Exploiting Belief-Revision Theory, esp., Model Theories of Dynamic Doxastic Logics (Segerberg 2001) etc.
- Exploiting Multi-Modal Logic, esp., BDI-Logics (Rao & Georgeff 1996) etc.

## Model Theory of DDL (1)

Let  $W$  be any nonempty set.

A **topology** in  $W$  is a family  $\mathcal{O}$  of subsets of  $W$  such as:

(i)  $W, \emptyset \in \mathcal{O}$ ,

(ii)  $\bigcup_{W_i \in \mathcal{O}} W_i \in \mathcal{O}$ ,

(iii)  $\bigcap_{\emptyset \neq W_i \in \mathcal{O}} W_i \in \mathcal{O}$ .

$\langle W, \mathcal{O} \rangle$  is called a **topological space**.

If  $X \in \mathcal{O}$ , then  $X$  is called **open**.

If  $X$  is open,  $W - X$  is called **closed**.

If  $X$  is open and closed, it is called **clopen**.

## Model Theory of DDL (2)

A **cover**  $C \subseteq \wp(\wp(W)) (\neq \emptyset)$  of a set  $X \subseteq W$  is a family s.t.  $X \subseteq \bigcup C$ .

If every  $Y \in C$  is open,  $C$  is called an **open cover**.

If every open cover of  $\mathcal{O}$  has a finite subcover,

$\mathcal{O}$  is called **compact**.

If for any pair of distinct elements of  $\mathcal{O}$ ,

one is an element of a clopen set of which the other is not,

$\mathcal{O}$  is called **totally separated**.

If  $\mathcal{O}$  is compact and totally separated, it is a **Stone topology**.

Then  $\langle W, \mathcal{O} \rangle$  is called a **Stone space**.

## Model Theory of DDL (3)

An **union** in  $\langle W, \mathcal{O} \rangle$  is a nonempty family  $O \subseteq \wp(\wp(W))$  satisfying the following conditions:

(NESTEDNESS) if  $X, Y \in O$ ,  $X \subseteq Y$  or  $Y \subseteq X$ ,

(LIMIT) for any clopen set  $P$ , if  $P \cap \bigcup O \neq \emptyset$ ,

then there is a least element  $X \in O$  s.t.  $P \cap X \neq \emptyset$ .

If every  $X \in O$  is closed,  $O$  is called a **closed union**.

## Model Theory of DDL (4)

If an onion  $O$  satisfies the following conditions, it is called a **Lewis onion**:

(AINT) if  $\emptyset \neq C \subseteq O$  then  $\bigcap C \in O$ ;

(AUNI) if  $\emptyset \neq C \subseteq O$  then  $\bigcup C \in O$ ;

The **belief set**  $B_O$  of  $O$  and the **commitment set**  $C_O$  of  $O$  are defined by the conditions:

$$B_O = \bigcap O, C_O = \bigcup O.$$

## Model Theory of DDL (5)

Let  $\langle W, \mathcal{O} \rangle$  be a Stone space.

An **onion frame** is a triple  $\langle W, \mathcal{O}, D \rangle$

where  $D : \wp(W) \rightarrow \wp(\wp(W))$ ,

called the **onion determiner**, is defined by the conditions:

(i) for every  $X \in \text{dom}(D)$ ,  $D(X)$  is an onion,

(ii)  $\emptyset \in \text{dom}(D)$ ,

(iii)  $\exists C \subseteq W$  s.t.  $\forall X \in \text{dom}(D), C = \bigcup D(X)$ ,

(iv) if  $X \in \text{dom}(D)$ , then,

For each clopen set  $P, C \cap P \neq \emptyset \Rightarrow S \cap P \in \text{dom}(D)$ ,

where  $S$  is the smallest element in  $D(X)$  to overlap with  $P$ .

$C \in \text{rng}(D)$  is called **D-possible belief set**.

## Multi-Modal DDL (1)

Let  $A$  be a set of agents and  $M$  a set of modalities.

A **multimodal index set**  $Ind(A, M)$  over  $A$  and  $M$  is defined by:

$$t ::= m(a) \mid t_1; t_2 \mid t_1 + t_2 \mid t^*$$

## Multi-Modal DDL (2)

Let  $(p \in) \Phi$  be a set of propositional variables

$(w \in) W$  a set of possible worlds,

$(t \in) Ind(A, M)$  a multimodal index set,

and  $\mathcal{F} = \langle W, \mathcal{O}, D, \mathcal{O}, Ind(A, M) \rangle$  a multimodal union frame.

where  $D : Ind(A, M) \times W \rightarrow (\wp(W) \rightarrow \wp(\wp(W)))$ ,

and  $D(t, w)$  is a union determiner and

$\mathcal{O} : Ind(A, M) \times W \rightarrow \wp(\wp(W))$ ,

$\mathcal{O}(t, w)$  is a union for each  $t \in Ind(A, M), w \in W$ .

## Multi-Modal DDL (3)

Let  $\Phi (\ni p)$  be a set of propositional variables  
and  $IndVar(\ni x)$  a variable of multimodal indices.

The language  $\mathcal{L}_{IndVar, >, \Phi} (\ni \varphi)$  generated  
by  $\Phi$  and  $Ind(A, M)$  is defined by:

$$\varphi ::= p \mid \varphi_1 \wedge \varphi_2 \mid \neg \varphi \mid \square_x \varphi \mid \varphi_1 >_x \varphi_2$$

## Multi-Modal DDL (4)

Let  $\Phi (\ni p)$  be a set of propositional variables,

$Ind(A, M)(\ni t)$  a multimodal index set,

$\mathcal{L}_{Ind(A, M), >, \Phi} (\ni \varphi)$  a language

$W(\ni w)$  a set of possible worlds,  $V : \Phi \rightarrow \wp(W)$  a valuation,

$f : W \times \wp(W) \rightarrow \wp(W)$  a selection function,

and  $\langle W, \mathcal{O}, D, O, Ind(A, M) \rangle$  a multimodal union frame.

The relation  $\langle W, O, f, V, \vec{t}, w \rangle \models \varphi$  is defined by recursion on  $\varphi$ :

## Multi-Modal DDL (5)

$$\langle W, O, f, V, \vec{t}, w \rangle \models p \Leftrightarrow w \in V(p)$$

$$\langle W, O, f, V, \vec{t}, w \rangle \models \varphi_1 \wedge \varphi_2$$

$$\Leftrightarrow \langle W, O, f, V, \vec{t}, w \rangle \models \varphi_1 \ \& \ \langle D, O, f, V, \vec{t}, w \rangle \models \varphi_2$$

$$\langle W, O, f, V, \vec{t}, w \rangle \models \neg \varphi \Leftrightarrow \langle W, O, f, V, \vec{t}, w \rangle \not\models \varphi$$

$$\langle W, O, f, V, \vec{t}, w \rangle \models \Box_x \varphi \Leftrightarrow \bigcap O(\vec{t}(x), w) \subseteq \llbracket \varphi \rrbracket$$

$$\llbracket \varphi \rrbracket = \{w \in W \mid \langle W, O, f, V, \vec{t}, w \rangle \models \varphi\}$$

## Multi-Modal DDL (6)

Belief-Desire Consistency (cf. BDI-logic)

$$mc(i) \in \text{Belief}(a), mc(\kappa) \in \text{Desire}(a) \Rightarrow (\Box_i \varphi \rightarrow \neg \Box_\kappa \neg \varphi)$$

$$mc(\kappa) \in \text{Belief}(a), mc(i) \in \text{Desire}(a) \Rightarrow (\Box_i \varphi \rightarrow \neg \Box_\kappa \neg \varphi)$$

$$mc(i) \in \text{Belief}(a), mc(\kappa) \in \text{Desire}(a) \Rightarrow (\psi >_i \varphi \rightarrow \neg(\psi >_\kappa \neg \varphi))$$

$$mc(\kappa) \in \text{Belief}(a), mc(i) \in \text{Desire}(a) \Rightarrow (\psi >_i \varphi \rightarrow \neg(\psi >_\kappa \neg \varphi))$$

## Solution to Many Judges Problem

$mc(\vec{t}(x)) \in \text{obligatory}(a) \Rightarrow \Box_x (\varphi \rightarrow \psi) \rightarrow (\Box_x \varphi \rightarrow \Box_x \psi)$

$mc(\vec{t}(x)) \in \text{obligatory}(a) \Rightarrow \Box_x \varphi \rightarrow \neg \Box_x \neg \varphi$

$mc(\vec{t}(x)) \in \text{obligatory}(a) \Rightarrow \Box_x \top$

Judge A:  $\Box_x \text{liable}, \Box_x \text{murderIsACrime}, mc(\vec{t}(x)) \in \text{obligatory}(a)$

Judge B:  $\Box_y \neg \text{liable}, \Box_y \text{murderIsACrime}, mc(\vec{t}(y)) \in \text{obligatory}(a)$

$\therefore$  No Inconsistency

## Solution to the Practical Inference Problem

I want not to go to pub:  $mc(\vec{t}(y)) \in \text{Desire}(a) \ \& \ \Box_y \neg \text{pub}$

I want to be popular:  $mc(\vec{t}(y)) \in \text{Desire}(a) \ \& \ \Box_y \text{pop}$

It is the case that if I go to pub, then I will be popular:

$\text{pub} >_x \text{pop}$

$mc(\vec{t}(x)) \in \text{Belief}(a) \Rightarrow \neg(\text{pub} >_{\text{Desire}(a)} \neg \text{pop})$

$\therefore$  No Inconsistency

## Solution to Kratzer's Samaritan Paradox

No murder occurs:  $\Box_{Obligation(a)} \neg p$

If a murder occurs, the jurors must convene:  $p >_{Obligation(a)} q \leftrightarrow (\neg p \vee q)$

But #If a murder occurs, the murderer will be given \$100.

Other index types:

*Obligation(a), Expectation(a), Predict(a),...*

## A Solution to the Frank-Zvolensky Problem

$\langle D, O, V, f, \vec{t}, w \rangle \models \varphi_1 >_x \varphi_2$

$\Leftrightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \langle D, O[D(\vec{t}(x), w)(Z \cap f(w, [\varphi_1]))] / (\vec{t}(x), w), V, \vec{t}, w \rangle \models \varphi_2 \\ \text{if } Z = \min\{S \in O(\vec{t}(x), w) \mid S \cap f(w, [\varphi_1]) \neq \emptyset\} \neq \emptyset \\ \langle D, O[D(t, w)(\emptyset)] / (\vec{t}(x), w), V, \vec{t}, w \rangle \models \varphi_2 \quad \text{otherwise} \end{array} \right\}$

means that  $\varphi_1 >_x \varphi_2$  is equivalent to

$[*\text{O}_i \varphi_1] \varphi_2$  where  $\text{O} \in \Box, \Diamond, \dots$

If  $f$  does not satisfy (id)  $f(w, X) \subseteq X$ ,

the logic does not satisfy  $\varphi > \varphi$ .

Lie  $\therefore$  Segerberg(2001) defines selector function semantics of  $[*\varphi_1] \varphi_2$



## A Solution to the Frank-Zvolensky Problems

$$\langle W, O, f, V, \vec{t}, w \rangle \models \varphi_1 > \varphi_2$$

$$\Leftrightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} f(w, \cap(D(\vec{t}(x), w)(Z \cap \llbracket \varphi_1 \rrbracket))) \subseteq \llbracket \varphi_2 \rrbracket \\ \text{if } Z = \min\{S \in O(\vec{t}(x), w) \mid S \cap \llbracket \varphi_1 \rrbracket \neq \emptyset\} \neq \emptyset \\ \langle W, O[D(\vec{t}(x), w)(\emptyset)]/(\vec{t}, w), f, V, \vec{t}, w \rangle \models \varphi_2 \quad \text{otherwise} \end{array} \right\}$$

and  $f$  does not satisfy (id).

## Loose End

- I have reviewed Kratzer's Ordering Premise Semantics of Modalities and Conditionals: but the properties of  $fK$  has still been clarified.
- I have proposed "multimodal" premise semantics based on Dynamic Doxastic Logic, BDI-logics, and Conditional Logics
- I have provided another solution for each problems which are motivations of Ordering-Premise Semantics

## Bibliography

- Frank, A. (1997). On Context Dependence in Modal Constructions. Ph.D. thesis, University of Stuttgart.
- Kratzer, A. (1981a). The notional category of modality. In H.-J. Eikmeyer and H. Rieser (Eds.), *Words, Worlds and Context: New Approaches to Word Semantics*, pp. 38–74. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co.
- Kratzer, A. (1981b). Partition and revision: The semantics of counterfactuals. *Journal of Philosophical Logic* 10, 201–216.
- Kratzer, A. (1991). Modality. In A. von Stechow and D. Wunderlich (Eds.), *Semantik: Ein intentionales Handbuch der zeitgenoess-ischen Forschung*, pp. 639–650. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co.
- Nute, D. and C. B. Cross (2002). Conditional logic. In D. Gabbay and F. Guentner (Eds.), *Handbook of Philosophical Logic*, 2nd Edition, Volume 4, pp. 1–98. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Pub.
- Rao, A. and M. P. Georgeff. (1998). Decision Procedures for BDI Logics. *Journal of Logic and Computation* 8:(3)293-342.
- Segerberg, K. (2001). The Basic Dynamic Doxastic Logic of AGM. In M.-A. Williams and H. Rott (eds.) *Frontiers in Belief Revision*, pp. 57-84. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Pub.
- Zvolenszky, Z. (2002). Is a possible-worlds semantics of modality possible?: A problem for Kratzer's semantics. In *Proceedings from Semantics And Linguistic Theory*, Volume 12.