

# A NEW TWIST TO THE MINERS' PUZZLE

PARTLY BASED ON JOINT WORK WITH  
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SPE7

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MARTIN AHER



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### THE FACTS

- ▶ There are two mine shafts.
- ▶ Blocking the **correct** mine shaft **saves all** miners.
- ▶ Blocking the **wrong** mine shaft **kills all** miners.
- ▶ Blocking **neither** mine shaft **kills one** miner.

### DESIDERATUM 1

(1) We ought to block neither shaft.  $\boxed{\forall}(\neg p' \wedge \neg q')$

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## PREMISES

- (2) a. The miners are in shaft A or B.  $p \vee q$
- b. If the miners are in shaft A, we ought to block shaft A.  $p \rightarrow \boxed{\vee} p'$
- c. If the miners are in shaft B, we ought to block shaft B.  $q \rightarrow \boxed{\vee} q'$

## THE PROBLEM

$$1. (p \vee q) \wedge (p \rightarrow \boxed{\vee} p') \wedge (q \rightarrow \boxed{\vee} q')$$

does not entail ( $\not\models$ )

$$2. \boxed{\vee} (\neg p' \wedge \neg q')$$

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## MODAL BASE

▶  $pp'$

▶  $pq'$

▶  $\overline{p(p'q')}$

▶  $qq'$

▶  $qp'$

▶  $\overline{q(p'q')}$

## THE ORDERING

$pp', qq' > \overline{p(p'q')}, \overline{q(p'q')} > pq', qp'$

## CHARACTERIZATION OF OBLIGATION:

$\Box\varphi$  holds when the best worlds are  $\varphi$  worlds.

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## CONDITIONALS

- (3) a. If the miners are in shaft A, we ought to block shaft A.  $p \rightarrow \boxed{\vee} p'$
- b. If the miners are in shaft B, we ought to block shaft B.  $q \rightarrow \boxed{\vee} q'$

## DESIDERATUM 2:

$\boxed{\vee} p' \vee \boxed{\vee} q'$  does not hold.

## KRATZER [MS]: ASSUMPTION OF IGNORANCE

- (4)
- a. Given that we don't know where the miners are, if the miners are in shaft A, we ought to block shaft A.
  - b. Given that we don't know where the miners are, if the miners are in shaft B, we ought to block shaft B

## CARIANI, KAUFMANN, SCHWAGER [2012]

"If the miners are in shaft A, we (still) ought to block neither shaft, for their being in shaft A doesn't mean that we know where they are. Indeed, no matter where the miners are, we ought to block neither shaft."

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# THE CONDITIONALS ARE NOT ALWAYS ACCEPTABLE

## KRATZER: IMPLICIT THAT WE WILL LEARN THAT THE ANTECEDENT IS THE CASE

- (5)
- a. If the miners are in shaft A, we ought to get sandbags **right away** and block it.
  - b. If the miners are in shaft A, we ought to **act fast** and block it **before the miners suffocate**.
  - c. If the miners are in shaft A, let's get sandbags and block it!

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## DESIDERATA:

- 1:  $\Box(\neg p' \wedge \neg q')$  holds.
- 2:  $\Box p' \vee \Box q'$  does not hold.
- 3: Explanation why the conditionals are not always acceptable.

## NEXT

Reanalyzing the premises.

## RESTRICTION ON ACTIONS

- (6) We cannot block both shafts.  
 $\neg(p' \wedge q')$

## RESTRICTION ON POSSIBILITIES

- (7) The miners are not in both shafts.  
 $\neg(p \wedge q)$

## GAMBLING WITH LIVES IS IMMORAL

- (8) a. If it is possible that the miners are in shaft A, then we ought not to block shaft B.  $\diamond p \rightarrow \boxed{\forall} \neg q'$
- b. If it is possible that the miners are in shaft B, then we ought not to block shaft A.  $\diamond q \rightarrow \boxed{\forall} \neg p'$

## INTENT

When  $\diamond p \wedge \diamond q$  holds then  $\boxed{\forall}(\neg p' \wedge \neg q')$  holds as well.

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# REJECTING THE ORIGINAL PREMISES

IMPLICIT: WE NEED TO KNOW THAT P HOLDS.

- (9) a. If the miners **must** be in shaft A, we ought to block shaft A.  $\Box p \rightarrow \Box p'$
- b. If the miners **must** be in shaft B, we ought to block shaft B.  $\Box q \rightarrow \Box q'$

## INTENT

- ▶ When  $\Diamond \neg p$  holds,  $\Box p'$  does not hold.
- ▶ When  $\Diamond \neg q$  holds,  $\Box q'$  does not hold.

## PROBLEM IN KRATZER SEMANTICS

- ▶ When  $\Box p$  does not hold, (9-a) vacuously holds.
- ▶ When  $\Box q$  does not hold, (9-b) vacuously holds.

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# Suppositional Inquisitive Semantics

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## CHARACTERISTICS

- ▶ The semantics specifies when **supposition failure occurs**, for example when  $s = \emptyset$ .
- ▶ **Modified Andersonian Deontic** modals are raised to a suppositional semantics.
- ▶ **Implication**, suppositionally deontic **may** and epistemic **might** are **structurally related**.
- ▶ Epistemic might is a **supposability check** (similarly to Veltman's **might** as a **consistency check**.)
- ▶ Deontic and epistemic **may** and **must** are **duals**.

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## A LANGUAGE OF PROPOSITIONAL LOGIC

- ▶ Connectives  $\neg, \wedge, \rightarrow$
- ▶ Epistemic modal possibility operator  $\diamond$
- ▶ Deontic modal permission operator  $\diamondsuit$

## INTRODUCED BY DEFINITION:

- ▶  $\Box\varphi := \neg\diamond\neg\varphi$
- ▶  $\Box\varphi := \neg\diamondsuit\neg\varphi$

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## WORLDS AND RULINGS

- ▶ A **world**  $w$  is a valuation function such that for every atomic sentence  $p$ :  $w(p) = 1$  (true) or  $w(p) = 0$  (false).

$\omega$  refers to the set of all possible worlds.

- ▶ A **ruling**  $r$  is a **violation function** such that for every world  $w \in \omega$ :  $r(w) = 1$  (no violation) or  $r(w) = 0$  (violation).

$\rho$  refers to the set of all possible rulings.

## RECURSIVE DEFINITION OF THREE BASIC SEMANTIC RELATIONS:

1.  $s \models^+ \varphi$ : state  $s$  **supports**  $\varphi$
2.  $s \models^- \varphi$ : state  $s$  **rejects**  $\varphi$
3.  $s \models^\circ \varphi$ : state  $s$  **dismisses a supposition of**  $\varphi$

## THE PROPOSITION EXPRESSED BY $\varphi$ , $[\varphi]$ , IS DETERMINED BY:

$$[\varphi] = \langle [\varphi]^+, [\varphi]^-, [\varphi]^\circ \rangle$$

where

$[\varphi]^+$  denotes  $\{s \subseteq \omega \mid s \models^+ \varphi\}$ , and similarly for  $[\varphi]^-$  and  $[\varphi]^\circ$

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A PROPOSITION IS A TRIPLE  $\mathcal{P} = \langle \mathcal{P}^+, \mathcal{P}^-, \mathcal{P}^\circ \rangle$  WHERE:

- ▶  $\mathcal{P}^\circ$  is a **downward closed set of states**:  
if  $s \in \mathcal{P}^\circ$  and  $t \subseteq s$ , then  $t \in \mathcal{P}^\circ$
- ▶  $\mathcal{P}^+$  and  $\mathcal{P}^-$  are **not downward closed**.
- ▶  $\mathcal{P}^+$  and  $\mathcal{P}^-$  are **mutually exclusive**:  $(\mathcal{P}^+ \cap \mathcal{P}^-) = \emptyset$
- ▶  $\mathcal{P}^+$  and  $\mathcal{P}^-$  are **consistent**:  $\emptyset \notin (\mathcal{P}^+ \cap \mathcal{P}^-)$
- ▶ If a state has no substate that supports or rejects  $\mathcal{P}$ ,  
then a state suppositionally dismisses  $\mathcal{P}$ :  
if  $\forall t \subseteq s: t \notin (\mathcal{P}^+ \cup \mathcal{P}^-)$ , then  $s \in \mathcal{P}^\circ$

## CRUCIAL FACT:

Any proposition is **suppositionally dismissed by the inconsistent state**:

for all  $\mathcal{P}: \emptyset \in \mathcal{P}^\circ$

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## ALTERNATIVES FOR A PROPOSITION

$\text{ALT}(\mathcal{P}) := \{s \in \mathcal{P}^+ \mid \text{there is no } t \in \mathcal{P}^+ \text{ such that } t \supset s\}$

## SUPPOSABILITY

- ▶ Let  $\alpha \in \text{ALT}(\mathcal{P})$  (which implies that  $\alpha \in \mathcal{P}^+$ )
- ▶ Then we say that  $\alpha$  is **supposable in  $s$** , notation  $s \triangleleft \alpha$ ,  
iff  $\forall t$ : if  $\alpha \supseteq t \supseteq (\alpha \cap s)$ , then  $t \in \mathcal{P}^+$

## SUPPOSABILITY IMPLIES CONSISTENCY

- ▶  $s \triangleleft \alpha$  **implies that**  $(\alpha \cap s) \neq \emptyset$

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# DEONTIC SUPPOSITIONAL INQUISITIVE SEMANTICS

## ORDINARY ATOMIC SENTENCES

- ▶  $s \models^+ p$  iff  $s \neq \emptyset$  and  $\forall w \in \text{worlds}(s): w(p) = 1$
- ▶  $s \models^- p$  iff  $s \neq \emptyset$  and  $\forall w \in \text{worlds}(s): w(p) = 0$
- ▶  $s \models^\circ p$  iff  $s = \emptyset$

## THE DEONTIC PREDICATE OK

- ▶  $s \models^+ \text{OK}$  iff  $s \neq \emptyset$  and  $\forall w \in \text{worlds}(s)$  and  
 $\forall r \in \text{rulings}(s): r(w) = 1$
- ▶  $s \models^- \text{OK}$  iff  $s \neq \emptyset$  and  $\forall w \in \text{worlds}(s)$  and  
 $\forall r \in \text{rulings}(s): r(w) = 0$
- ▶  $s \models^\circ \text{OK}$  iff  $s = \emptyset$

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# CHOOSING DIRECTIONS IN DEONTIC STATES

S <sub>1</sub>	W <sub>1</sub>	W <sub>2</sub>	W <sub>4</sub>
r <sub>1</sub>	11	10	00
r <sub>2</sub>	11	10	00
r <sub>3</sub>	11	10	00
r <sub>4</sub>	11	10	00

S <sub>2</sub>	W <sub>1</sub>	W <sub>2</sub>	W <sub>4</sub>
r <sub>5</sub>	11	10	00
r <sub>6</sub>	11	10	00
r <sub>7</sub>	11	10	00
r <sub>8</sub>	11	10	00

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# CHOOSING DIRECTIONS IN DEONTIC STATES

$S_1$	$w_1$	$w_2$	$w_4$
$r_1$	11	10	00
$r_2$	11	10	00
$r_3$	11	10	00
$r_4$	11	10	00

$S_2$	$w_1$	$w_2$	$w_4$
$r_5$	11	10	00
$r_6$	11	10	00
$r_7$	11	10	00
$r_8$	11	10	00

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# NEGATION, DISJUNCTION, CONJUNCTION

## NEGATION

- ▶  $s \models^+ \neg\varphi$  iff  $s \models^- \varphi$
- ▶  $s \models^- \neg\varphi$  iff  $s \models^+ \varphi$
- ▶  $s \models^\circ \neg\varphi$  iff  $s \models^\circ \varphi$

## DISJUNCTION

- ▶  $s \models^+ \varphi \vee \psi$  iff  $s \models^+ \varphi$  or  $s \models^+ \psi$
- ▶  $s \models^- \varphi \vee \psi$  iff  $s \models^- \varphi$  and  $s \models^- \psi$
- ▶  $s \models^\circ \varphi \vee \psi$  iff  $s \models^\circ \varphi$  or  $s \models^\circ \psi$

## CONJUNCTION

- ▶  $s \models^+ \varphi \wedge \psi$  iff  $s \models^+ \varphi$  and  $s \models^+ \psi$
- ▶  $s \models^- \varphi \wedge \psi$  iff  $s \models^- \varphi$  or  $s \models^- \psi$
- ▶  $s \models^\circ \varphi \wedge \psi$  iff  $s \models^\circ \varphi$  or  $s \models^\circ \psi$

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## CLAUSES FOR IMPLICATION

- ▶  $s \models^+ \varphi \rightarrow \psi$  iff  $\text{ALT}[\varphi]^+ \neq \emptyset$  and  $\forall \alpha \in \text{ALT}[\varphi]^+ :$ 
  1.  $s \triangleleft \alpha$ , and
  2.  $\alpha \cap s \models^+ \psi$
- ▶  $s \models^- \varphi \rightarrow \psi$  iff  $\text{ALT}[\varphi]^+ \neq \emptyset$  and  $\exists \alpha \in \text{ALT}[\varphi]^+ :$ 
  1.  $s \triangleleft \alpha$ , and
  2.  $\alpha \cap s \models^- \psi$
- ▶  $s \models^\circ \varphi \rightarrow \psi$  iff  $\text{ALT}[\varphi]^+ = \emptyset$  or  $\exists \alpha \in \text{ALT}[\varphi]^+ :$ 
  1.  $s \not\triangleleft \alpha$ , or
  2.  $\alpha \cap s \models^\circ \psi$

## EXAMPLE

- (10) If Mary sings, Sue will dance.  $p \rightarrow q$
- a. No, if Mary sings, Sue will not dance.  $p \rightarrow \neg q$
- b. Well, Mary won't sing.  $\neg p$

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## Deontic Modals

## DEONTIC *may*

- ▶  $s \models^+ \diamond \varphi$  iff  $\text{ALT}[\varphi]^+ \neq \emptyset$  and  $\forall \alpha \in \text{ALT}[\varphi]^+$ :
  1.  $s \triangleleft \alpha$ , and
  2.  $\alpha \cap s \models^+ \text{OK}$
  
- ▶  $s \models^- \diamond \varphi$  iff  $\text{ALT}[\varphi]^+ \neq \emptyset$  and  $\forall \alpha \in \text{ALT}[\varphi]^+$ :
  1.  $s \triangleleft \alpha$ , and
  2.  $\alpha \cap s \models^- \text{OK}$
  
- ▶  $s \models^\circ \diamond \varphi$  iff  $\text{ALT}[\varphi]^+ = \emptyset$  or  $\exists \alpha \in \text{ALT}[\varphi]^+$ :
  1.  $s \not\triangleleft \alpha$

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# COMPARING DEONTIC *may* AND IMPLICATION 1

## OBVIOUS DIFFERENCE

- ▶ The one difference is that the 'consequent' of *may* is not an arbitrary formula, but the **deontic predicate** OK.

$$s \models^+ \diamond \varphi \iff s \models^+ \varphi \rightarrow \text{OK}$$

- ▶ The deontic predicate OK is atomic, so it is **not suppositional**.

- ▶  $s \models^+ (\varphi \vee \psi) \rightarrow \text{OK} \iff s \models^+ \varphi \rightarrow \text{OK} \wedge \psi \rightarrow \text{OK}$ , so  
 $s \models^+ \diamond (\varphi \vee \psi) \iff s \models^+ \diamond \varphi \wedge \diamond \psi$

## FREE CHOICE

- (11) a. A country may establish a research center or a laboratory.  
 b.  $\diamond(p \vee q)$

## SUPPORT CLAUSE OF $\diamond\varphi$

- $s \models^+ \diamond\varphi$  iff  $\text{ALT}[\varphi]^+ \neq \emptyset$  and  $\forall \alpha \in \text{ALT}[\varphi]^+ :$
1.  $s \triangleleft \alpha$ , and
  2.  $\alpha \cap s \models^+ \text{OK}$

$s_1$	$w_1$	$w_2$	$w_3$	$w_4$
$r_1$	11	10	01	00
$r_2$	11	10	01	00

TABLE 1:  $s_1 \models^+ \diamond(p \vee q)$

# COMPARING DEONTIC *may* AND IMPLICATION

## CRUCIAL DIFFERENCE

- ▶  $s \models^- \diamond \varphi$  iff  $\text{ALT}[\varphi]^+ \neq \emptyset$  and  $\forall \alpha \in \text{ALT}[\varphi]^+ :$ 
  1.  $s \triangleleft \alpha$ , and
  2.  $\alpha \cap s \models^- \text{OK}$
- ▶  $s \models^- \varphi \rightarrow \psi$  iff  $\text{ALT}[\varphi]^+ \neq \emptyset$  and  $\exists \alpha \in \text{ALT}[\varphi]^+ :$ 
  1.  $s \triangleleft \alpha$ , and
  2.  $\alpha \cap s \models^- \psi$

## IMPLICATIONS WITH SUPPORT-INQUISITIVE ANTECEDENTS

- (12) If Sue sings or Mary dances, then Pete will play the Piano.
- a. No, if Sue sings, Pete will **not** play the Piano.
  - b. No, if Mary dances, Pete will **not** play the Piano.

# COMPARING DEONTIC *may* AND IMPLICATION

## CRUCIAL DIFFERENCE

- ▶  $s \models^- \diamond \varphi$  iff  $\text{ALT}[\varphi]^+ \neq \emptyset$  and  $\forall \alpha \in \text{ALT}[\varphi]^+ :$ 
  1.  $s \triangleleft \alpha$ , and
  2.  $\alpha \cap s \models^- \text{OK}$
- ▶  $s \models^- \varphi \rightarrow \psi$  iff  $\text{ALT}[\varphi]^+ \neq \emptyset$  and  $\exists \alpha \in \text{ALT}[\varphi]^+ :$ 
  1.  $s \triangleleft \alpha$ , and
  2.  $\alpha \cap s \models^- \psi$

## IMPLICATIONS WITH SUPPORT-INQUISITIVE ANTECEDENTS

- (12) If Sue sings or Mary dances, then Pete will play the Piano.
- a. No, if Sue sings, Pete will **not** play the Piano.
  - b. No, if Mary dances, Pete will **not** play the Piano.

## NEGATING FREE CHOICE

- (13) a. A country may not establish a research center  
or a laboratory.  
b.  $\neg \diamond (p \vee q)$

## REDUCED REJECTION CLAUSE OF $\diamond \varphi$

$s \models^- \diamond \varphi$  iff  $\text{ALT}[\varphi]^+ \neq \emptyset$  and  $\forall \alpha \in \text{ALT}[\varphi]^+ : \alpha \cap s \models^- \text{OK}$

$s_1$	$w_1$	$w_2$	$w_3$	$w_4$
$r_1$	11	10	01	00
$r_2$	11	10	01	00

TABLE 2:  $s_1 \models^+ \neg \diamond (p \vee q)$

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# COMPARING DEONTIC *may* AND IMPLICATION

## DIFFERENCE DISAPPEARS, WHEN $\varphi$ IS NOT SUPPORT-INQUISITIVE

- ▶ If  $\varphi$  is **not support-inquisitive**:

$$s \models^- \diamond \varphi \iff s \models^- \varphi \rightarrow \text{OK}$$

## TAKING THE DIFFERENCE INTO ACCOUNT:

1.  $s \models^- \diamond \varphi \iff s \models^+ \varphi \rightarrow \neg\text{OK}$
2.  $s \models^+ \neg \diamond \varphi \iff s \models^+ \varphi \rightarrow \neg\text{OK}$
3.  $s \models^+ \square \varphi \iff s \models^+ \neg \varphi \rightarrow \neg\text{OK}$

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## DISMISSING A FREE CHOICE PROHIBITION

- (14) a. A country may not establish a research center  
or a laboratory.  
b.  $\neg \diamond(p \vee q)$

## REDUCED DISMISSAL CLAUSE OF $\diamond \varphi$

$s \models^\circ \diamond \varphi$  iff  $\text{ALT}[\varphi]^+ = \emptyset$  or  $\exists \alpha \in \text{ALT}[\varphi]^+ : \alpha \cap s = \emptyset$

## DISMISSAL

- (15) a. Well, no country will establish a research center.  
b.  $\neg p$

$s_1$	$w_1$	$w_2$	$w_3$	$w_4$
$r_1$	11	10	01	00
$r_2$	11	10	01	00

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## DISMISSING A FREE CHOICE PROHIBITION

- (16) a. A country may not establish a research center  
or a laboratory.  
b.  $\neg \diamond(p \vee q)$

## REDUCED DISMISSAL CLAUSE OF $\diamond \varphi$

$s \models^\circ \diamond \varphi$  iff  $\text{ALT}[\varphi]^+ = \emptyset$  or  $\exists \alpha \in \text{ALT}[\varphi]^+ : \alpha \cap s = \emptyset$

## DISMISSAL

- (17) a. Well, no country will establish a research center.  
b.  $\neg p$

$s_1$	$w_1$	$w_2$	$w_3$	$w_4$
$r_1$	11	10	01	00
$r_2$	11	10	01	00

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## REDUCTION TO IMPLICATION

$$s \models^+ \boxed{\forall} \varphi \iff s \models^+ \neg \varphi \rightarrow \neg \text{OK}$$

## CONDITIONAL PERMISSION

- (18) a. If a country has a laboratory, it **must** establish a research center.
- b.  $p \rightarrow \boxed{\forall} q$
- c.  $p \rightarrow (\neg q \rightarrow \neg \text{OK})$
- d.  $(p \wedge \neg q) \rightarrow \neg \text{OK}$

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## Epistemic modals

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## *Might* AS A SUPPOSABILITY CHECK

- ▶ In InqS  $\diamond\varphi$  can be treated as a **supposability check**.
- ▶ In the most basic cases this boils down to a **consistency check**, like Veltman's *might* in update semantics (US).

## PERSISTENCE

- ▶ For Veltman,  $\diamond\varphi$  is a basic example of a **non-persistent** update.
- ▶ InqS epistemic modals are **support/reject-persistent modulo suppositional dismissal**.

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## SUPPOSITIONALLY DISMISSING SUPPORTABILITY

- ▶  $s \models^{\otimes} \varphi$  iff  $s \models^{\circ} \varphi$  and  $s \not\models^{-} \varphi$  and  $\forall t \subseteq s: t \not\models^{+} \varphi$ .

## FOR A NON-SUPPOSITIONAL $\varphi$

- ▶  $s \models^{\otimes} \varphi$  iff  $s = \emptyset$ .

## GENERALLY

- ▶ If  $s \models^{\otimes} \varphi$ , then no alternative for  $\varphi$  is **supposable** in  $s$ .

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# SUPPOSITIONAL *might*: THE INTUITIVE IDEA

$\diamond\varphi$  IS A PROPOSAL TO CHECK THE SUPPOSABILITY OF  $\varphi$  IN  $S$

- ▶  $s$  **supports**  $\diamond\varphi$  iff
  - (A) there is **at least one** alternative for  $\varphi$  and
  - (B) **every** alternative for  $\varphi$  is **supposable** in  $s$
- ▶  $s$  **rejects**  $\diamond\varphi$  iff
  - (A)  $s$  does **not suppositionally dismiss supportability** of  $\varphi$  and
  - (B) **every** alternative for  $\varphi$  is **not supposable** in  $s$
- ▶  $s$  **dismisses** a supposition of  $\diamond\varphi$  iff
  - (A) there is **no** alternative for  $\varphi$  or
  - (B) **some** alternative for  $\varphi$  is **not supposable** in  $s$

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# SUPPOSITIONAL *might*: SUPPORT AND DISMISSAL

## SUPPORT AND DISMISSING A SUPPOSITION CONTRADICT EACH OTHER

- ▶ **s supports**  $\diamond\varphi$  iff
  - (A) there is **at least one** alternative for  $\varphi$  and
  - (B) **every** alternative for  $\varphi$  is **supposable** in s
- ▶ **s dismisses** a supposition of  $\diamond\varphi$  iff
  - (A) there is **no** alternative for  $\varphi$  or
  - (B) **some** alternative for  $\varphi$  is **not supposable** in s

## REJECTION IMPLIES SUPPOSITIONAL DISMISSAL

- ▶ **s rejects**  $\diamond\varphi$  iff
  - (A) s does not suppositionally dismiss supportability of  $\varphi$  and
  - (B) **every** alternative for  $\varphi$  is **not supposable** in s
- ▶ **s dismisses** a supposition of  $\diamond\varphi$  iff
  - (A) there is **no** alternative for  $\varphi$  or
  - (B) **some** alternative for  $\varphi$  is **not supposable** in s

# SUPPOSITIONAL *might*: PERSISTENCE

## TWO ESSENTIAL FEATURES OF THE CLAUSES FOR $\diamond\varphi$

- ▶ Support and dismissing a supposition contradict each other
- ▶ Rejection implies dismissal

## SUPPORT OF *might* IS DEFEASIBLE

- ▶ It can be the case that  $s \models^+ \diamond\varphi$  and that it holds for some more informed state  $t \subset s$  that  $t \not\models^+ \diamond\varphi$ , or even  $t \models^- \diamond\varphi$ , but then it will also be the case that  $t \models^\circ \diamond\varphi$ .
- ▶ Despite the fact that suppositional *might* is **support-defeasible**, it is still **support-persistent modulo suppositional dismissal**.

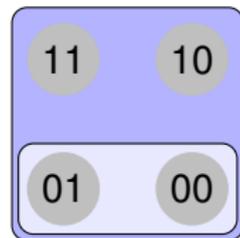
# SUPPOSITIONAL *might* SPELLED OUT

## EPISTEMIC *might*

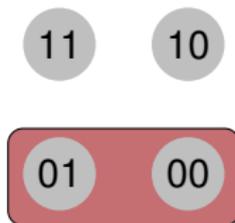
$s \models^+ \diamond \varphi$  iff  $\text{ALT}(\varphi) \neq \emptyset$  and  $\forall \alpha \in \text{ALT}(\varphi): s \triangleleft \alpha$

$s \models^- \diamond \varphi$  iff  $s \not\models^\otimes \varphi$  and  $\forall \alpha \in \text{ALT}(\varphi): s \not\triangleleft \alpha$

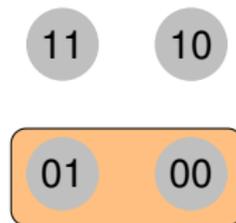
$s \models^\circ \diamond \varphi$  iff  $\text{ALT}(\varphi) = \emptyset$  or  $\exists \alpha \in \text{ALT}(\varphi): s \not\triangleleft \alpha$



(1) support



(2) reject



(3) dismissal

FIGURE 1:  $\diamond p$

## *Must* AS A NON-SUPPOSABILITY CHECK

- ▶  $\Box\varphi$  is defined as  $\neg\Diamond\neg\varphi$
- ▶ So,  $\Box\varphi$  is supported in  $s$ , when  $\Diamond\neg\varphi$  is rejected in  $s$
- ▶  $\Diamond\neg\varphi$  is a proposal to check for supposability of  $\neg\varphi$  in  $s$
- ▶ When the check for **supposability of  $\neg\varphi$  fails** in  $s$ ,  $\Diamond\neg\varphi$  is rejected in  $s$  and  **$\Box\varphi$  is supported** in  $s$ .
- ▶ Conversationally, a speaker proposing  $\Box\varphi$ , invites a responder to suppose that  $\neg\varphi$ , in the hope that in her state  $\neg\varphi$  is (also) not supposable.

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# Back to the miners' puzzle

# BACK TO THE MINERS' PUZZLE

## PREMISES:

- (19) a. The miners are in in shaft A or B.  $p \vee q$
- b. We cannot block both shafts.  $\neg(p' \wedge q')$
- c. The miners are not in both shafts.  $\neg(p \wedge q)$
- d. If the miners **must be** in shaft A, we ought to block shaft A.  $\Box p \rightarrow \Box p'$
- e. If the miners **must be** in shaft B, we ought to block shaft B.  $\Box q \rightarrow \Box q'$
- f. If it is possible that the miners are in shaft A, then we ought not to block shaft B.  $\Diamond p \rightarrow \Box \neg q'$
- g. If it is possible that the miners are in shaft B, then we ought not to block shaft A.  $\Diamond q \rightarrow \Box \neg p'$

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## DESIDERATA:

- 1:  $\Box(\neg p' \wedge \neg q')$  holds.
- 2:  $\Box p' \vee \Box q'$  does not hold.
- 3: Explanation why the conditionals are not always acceptable.

# WE BLOCK NEITHER SHAFT

DESIDERATUM 1 :  $\Box(\neg p' \wedge \neg q')$  HOLDS.

- (20) a. The miners are in in shaft A or B.  $p \vee q$   
 b. We cannot block both shafts.  $\neg(p' \wedge q')$   
 c. The miners are not in both shafts.  $\neg(p \wedge q)$   
 d. If it is possible that the miners are in shaft A,  
 then we ought not to block shaft B.  $\Diamond p \rightarrow \Box \neg q'$   
 e. If it is possible that the miners are in shaft B,  
 then we ought not to block shaft A.  $\Diamond q \rightarrow \Box \neg p'$

$S_1$	$W_1$	$W_2$	$W_3$	$W_4$	$W_5$	$W_6$
$r_1$	1001	0110	1010	0101	1000	0100
$r_2$	1001	0110	1010	0101	1000	0100
$r_3$	1001	0110	1010	0101	1000	0100
$r_4$	1001	0110	1010	0101	1000	0100

TABLE 5:  $s \models^+ \Box(\neg p' \wedge \neg q') \iff s \models^+ (p' \rightarrow \neg OK) \wedge (q' \rightarrow \neg OK)$

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# WHAT IF WE LEARN THAT $p$ HOLDS?

## NEW PREMISES

- (21) a. The miners are in shaft A.  $p$
- b. If it is possible that the miners are in shaft B,  
then we ought not to block shaft A.  $\diamond q \rightarrow \boxed{\vee} \neg p'$

$s_2$	$w_1$	$w_2$	$w_3$	$w_4$	$w_5$	$w_6$
$r_1$	1001	0110	1010	0101	1000	0100
$r_2$	1001	0110	1010	0101	1000	0100
$r_3$	1001	0110	1010	0101	1000	0100
$r_4$	1001	0110	1010	0101	1000	0100
$r_5$	1001	0110	1010	0101	1000	0100
$r_6$	1001	0110	1010	0101	1000	0100
$r_7$	1001	0110	1010	0101	1000	0100
$r_8$	1001	0110	1010	0101	1000	0100

# WHAT IF WE LEARN THAT $p$ HOLDS?

## NEW PREMISES

- (22) a. The miners are in shaft A.  $p$   
b. If it is possible that the miners are in shaft B,  
then we ought not to block shaft A.  $\diamond q \rightarrow \boxed{\neg} \neg p'$

$s_2$	$w_1$	$w_2$	$w_3$	$w_4$	$w_5$	$w_6$
$r_1$	1001	0110	1010	0101	1000	0100
$r_2$	1001	0110	1010	0101	1000	0100
$r_3$	1001	0110	1010	0101	1000	0100
$r_4$	1001	0110	1010	0101	1000	0100
$r_5$	1001	0110	1010	0101	1000	0100
$r_6$	1001	0110	1010	0101	1000	0100
$r_7$	1001	0110	1010	0101	1000	0100
$r_8$	1001	0110	1010	0101	1000	0100

# WHAT IF WE LEARN THAT $p$ HOLDS?

## NEW PREMISES

- (23) a. The miners are in shaft A.  $p$   
b. If it is possible that the miners are in shaft B,  
then we ought not to block shaft A.  $\diamond q \rightarrow \boxed{\nabla} \neg p'$

$s_2$	$w_1$	$w_2$	$w_3$	$w_4$	$w_5$	$w_6$
$r_1$	1001	0110	1010	0101	1000	0100
$r_2$	1001	0110	1010	0101	1000	0100
$r_3$	1001	0110	1010	0101	1000	0100
$r_4$	1001	0110	1010	0101	1000	0100
$r_5$	1001	0110	1010	0101	1000	0100
$r_6$	1001	0110	1010	0101	1000	0100
$r_7$	1001	0110	1010	0101	1000	0100
$r_8$	1001	0110	1010	0101	1000	0100

When we find out that the miners are in Shaft A, the obligation to block neither becomes void.

## DESIDERATUM 2: $\Box p' \vee \Box q'$ DOES NOT HOLD.

- (24) a. The miners are in in shaft A or B.  $p \vee q$
- b. We cannot block both shafts.  $\neg(p' \wedge q')$
- c. The miners are not in both shafts.  $\neg(p \wedge q)$
- d. If the miners **must be** in shaft A, we ought to block shaft A.  $\Box p \rightarrow \Box p'$
- e. If the miners **must be** in shaft B, we ought to block shaft B.  $\Box q \rightarrow \Box q'$

$s_1$	$w_1$	$w_2$	$w_3$	$w_4$	$w_5$	$w_6$
$r_1$	1001	0110	1010	0101	1000	0100
$r_2$	1001	0110	1010	0101	1000	0100
$r_3$	...	...	...	...	...	...

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# WHAT IF WE LEARN THAT $p$ HOLDS?

## PREMISES

- (25) a. The miners are in shaft A.  $p$
- b. We cannot block both shafts.  $\neg(p' \wedge q')$
- c. The miners are not in both shafts.  $\neg(p \wedge q)$
- d. If the miners **must be** in shaft A, we ought to block shaft A.  $\Box p \rightarrow \Box p'$
- e. If the miners **must be** in shaft B, we ought to block shaft B.  $\Box q \rightarrow \Box q'$

$s_2$	$w_1$	$w_2$	$w_3$	$w_4$	$w_5$	$w_6$
$r_1$	1001	0110	1010	0101	1000	0100
$r_2$	1001	0110	1010	0101	1000	0100

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## DESIDERATUM 3

Why aren't the conditionals always acceptable?

## REINTERPRETING THE CONDITIONALS

- (26) a. If the miners **must be** in shaft A, we ought to block shaft A.  $\Box p \rightarrow \Box p'$
- b. If the miners **must be** in shaft B, we ought to block shaft B.  $\Box q \rightarrow \Box q'$

CLEO CONDORAVDI AND SVEN LAUER (A.O): EPISTEMIC  
NECESSITY OVER THE ANTECEDENT IN CONDITIONALS

- (27) **Anankastic**: If you want to go to Harlem, you have to take the A-train.

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## CLEO CONDORAVDI AN SVEN LAUER (A.O): EPISTEMIC NECESSITY OVER THE ANTECEDENT IN CONDITIONALS

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# THE END (OR IS IT?)

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Thank you for listening

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