Two notions of *de se* in desire reports
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Lakoff on two types of counterparts in desire reports. This paper addresses the example in (1) from Lakoff (1972). Lakoff comments on this example as follows: [(1)] is not contradictory.

* I may want to be president because I am power-hungry, while not wanting myself to be president because I am lazy and corrupt, and it would be bad for the country.

(1) I wanted to be president, but I didn’t want myself to be president.

His assumption is that examples of this kind involve two different kinds of counterpart relations: a “participant-counterpart relation” and an “observer-counterpart relation”. This paper spells out what exactly this could mean on a formal account that takes into consideration standard assumptions about the semantics of desire reports and the notion of *de se*.

Two types of wishes *de se*. Another way to characterize what is happening in (1) is as follows: (1) conjoins a *de se* wish (in a narrow sense) with a *de dicto* wish that is about, or focuses on, the belief-self. We can call both wishes *de se* in a broad sense. To account for Lakoff’s example, two things are needed: First, a compositional semantics for the two types of wishes *de se*. Second, a pragmatic account that spells out under what circumstances these two types of *de se*-wishes can rationally be conjoined (without contradicting oneself). This paper focuses only on the first step and tries to spell out a compositional semantics for the two types of wishes *de se*; assuming that the pragmatic account can be worked out against this background.

*De dicto* wishes about oneself. Our starting point for the semantics of the second conjunct of (1) is Heim (1992)’s semantics for desire reports with *want*; as spelled out in (2).

(2) \(w \in \alpha \text{ wants } \varphi\) iff for every \(w' \in \text{Dox}_\alpha(w), \text{Sim}_{w'}(\varphi) <_{\alpha,w} \text{Sim}_{w'}(W\setminus \varphi)\)

The central idea for the semantics is that the pronoun *myself* denotes the *de se*-belief-counterpart of the speaker, i.e., the counterpart in the desire worlds of who the speaker believes to be. Who the speaker believes to be (= the belief-self) is not a single individual but is usually characterized by a set of *de se*-alternatives, for which I write “Dox\(^se\)\(_{\text{speaker}}(w)\)”. The counterpart of the belief-self in a desire world \(w'\) can be thought of as the most salient individual that has all the properties all the individuals in Dox\(^se\)\(_{\text{speaker}}(w)\) share (or, more precisely, the most salient individual that has at least as many of these properties as any other individual in \(w'\)). I want to call this individual the “*de se*-belief-counterpart”:

(3) a. \(f_{\text{Dox}_{\text{se}}(w)} = \{P \in W \times D: x \text{ self-ascribes } P \text{ in } w\}\) such that \(\bigcap f_{\text{Dox}_{\text{se}}(w)} = \text{Dox}_{\text{se}}(w)\)

b. *de se*-belief\(_{x,w}\)-counterpart(\(w'\)) =

\[\text{CP}^r_{w} (f_{\text{Dox}_{\text{se}}(w)}) \overset{\text{def}}{=} \text{the salient } y \in D \text{ in } w' \text{ s.t. for every } z \text{ in } w': \langle w', y \rangle \leq_{f_{\text{Dox}_{\text{se}}(w)}} \langle w', z \rangle.\]

c. \(\langle w', y \rangle \leq_{f_{\text{Dox}_{\text{se}}(w)}} \langle w', z \rangle\) iff

\[\{P: P \in f_{\text{Dox}_{\text{se}}(w)} \& \langle w', z \rangle \in P\} \subseteq \{P': P' \in f_{\text{Dox}_{\text{se}}(w)} \& \langle w', y \rangle \in P'\}\]
Two more ingredients are needed: I assume that there is a perspectival or logophoric “SELF” morphem that is interpreted relative to a doxastic perspective (= Dox\(_{se}\)(w); see Zimmermann (2012) for the corresponding notion of ‘perspective’) or, to be technically more precise, the corresponding set of self-ascribed properties. This perspective is introduced by the desire verb want (belief “parasitism”; cf. Maier (2015), Blumberg (2017)). What is special here, it is syntactically represented as a bound perspective pronoun that carries a feature log checked by the attitude and inherits inflection features under binding by the verb.

\[(5) \lambda w_0 [ \textbf{want}_{w_0} \left[ \lambda A_3(\lambda \text{log}, \lambda) \right] \lambda w_1 [ \text{SELF}_{w_1} (A_3[\lambda \text{log}, \lambda]) \textbf{to be president}_{w_1} ]]\]

Second, I assume that some morphems are interpreted relative to perspectives, as for example subjunctive mood on von Fintel (1997)’s account. In the unembedded case this perspective is the actual context set \(C\); in case of an embedded use under an attitude verb like want, this perspective shifts to the doxastic perspective of the attitude holder, here, the de se-perspective Dox\(_{se}\)(w); assuming a corresponding adjustment of the rule of functional application. As a result, we get the interpretation in (7) that captures the notion of a de dicto wish about a de se-belief counterpart.

\[(6) \left[\textbf{want}\right]^C = \lambda w. \lambda p^{(set),t}. \lambda x. \text{for every } w' \in \text{Dox}_x(w), \sim w (p^* (f_{\text{Dox}_x(w)} (w'))) \prec x, w \sim w (W \setminus p^* (f_{\text{Dox}_x(w)}))\]

\[(7) \left[ (5) \right]^C = \lambda w. \text{for every } w' \in \text{Dox}_{\text{speaker}}(w), \sim w' (\{ w'' : \text{de se-belief}_{\text{speaker}, w'}-\text{counterpart}(w'') \text{ is president in } w'' \}) \prec \text{speaker, w} \sim w' (W \setminus \{ w'' : \text{de se-belief}_{\text{speaker}, w'}-\text{counterpart}(w'') \text{ is president in } w'' \})\]

**De se wishes.** To capture what Lakoff calls the “participant-counterpart”, I propose to extend Heim’s semantics by allowing the desirability order to range over centered possible worlds instead of simple possible worlds simpliciter. In a nutshell, the proposal is to extend Heim’s semantics to the de se-case in the same way as a Hintikka-semantics in the case of belief reports can be extended to the de se-case by substituting centered possible worlds for simple possible worlds. The relation \(\sim_{x,w}^{se}\) orders centered possible worlds according to how desirable it would be for \(x\) in \(w\) to be the corresponding individual in the corresponding world.

\[(8) \text{a. For any } \langle w, x \rangle, \langle w', x' \rangle, \langle w'', x'' \rangle \in W \times D, \langle w', x' \rangle \prec_{x,w}^{se} \langle w'', x'' \rangle \iff \text{to be } \langle w', x' \rangle \text{ is more desirable to } x \text{ in } w \text{ than to be } \langle w'', x'' \rangle.\]

\[(8) \text{b. For any } \langle w, x \rangle \in W \times D, X \subseteq W \times D, Y \subseteq W \times D, \langle w', x' \rangle \prec_{x,w}^{se} \langle w'', x'' \rangle, \text{ for all } \langle w', x' \rangle \in X, \langle w'', x'' \rangle \in Y.\]

Given the conceptual shift to centered possible worlds, the Sim-function has to be adjusted accordingly to “Sim\(^w\)”. 

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(9) \( \text{Sim}_{se}^{(x,w)}(P) \equiv \{ \langle w', x' \rangle : \langle w', x' \rangle \in P \text{ and } \langle w, x \rangle \text{ resembles } \langle w', x' \rangle \text{ no less than any other world-individual-pair in } P \} \) 

The corresponding details for \textit{want} in a \textit{de se} wish report and the truth conditions for the first conjunct of Lakoff’s example are as follows:

\[
\text{[want}_{se}^{\omega} = \lambda w. \lambda P_{set}. \lambda x. \text{ for every } \langle w', x' \rangle \in \text{Dox}_{se}(w), \text{Sim}^{se}_{(w', x' \rangle (P) \prec_{x,w}^{se} \text{Sim}^{se}_{(w', x' \rangle (W \times D \setminus P)}
\]

\[
\text{\lambda w_{0} } [\text{ I want}_{se}^{\omega} ] \lambda w_{1} \lambda x_{2} [\text{ PRO2 to be president, w } ]]
\]

\[
\text{[(11)] } = \lambda w. \text{ for every } \langle w', x' \rangle \in \text{Dox}_{\text{speaker}}(w), \text{Sim}^{se}_{(w', x' \rangle (\lambda w''. \lambda x. x \text{ is president in } w'') \prec_{\text{speaker},w}^{se} \text{Sim}^{se}_{(w', x' \rangle (W \times D \setminus \lambda w''. \lambda x. x \text{ is president in } w'')}
\]

\text{Two notions of \textit{de se}.} \text{ In the last part of the paper, we discuss the fact that, although the extension of Heim’s semantics to the \textit{de se}-case is straight forward, the notion of \textit{de se} that it introduces is crucially different from the notion of \textit{de se} on standard accounts. The notion of \textit{de se} on standard accounts (including accounts of multiple \textit{de se}) is what I want to call “ascriptive \textit{de se}” which basically amounts to substituting centered possible worlds for simple possible worlds in the classical Hintikka-semantics for attitudes. The notion of \textit{de se} that we arrive at when we extend Heim’s semantics, I want to call “evaluative \textit{de se}”. For the context of this abstract, the main point can be summarized as follows: For the same reasons that a Heim-semantics for desire reports cannot be reduced to a Hintikka-semantics for desire reports, evaluative \textit{de se} cannot be reduced to ascriptive \textit{de se}.