Proof theory and semantics for structural control

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Overview

- 1. Typelogical grammars
- 2. The need of structural reasoning
- 3. Main problem: dealing with exceptions
- 4. The multi-type approach comes in handy
- 5. The broad picture

Typelogical grammars

[Moot & Retoré]: book, [Moortgat 10]: Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy <u>Goal</u>: develop a *compositional* and *modular* account of grammatical form and meaning in natural languages:

formal grammar is presented as a logic.

The basic judgement

$$x_1$$
: A_1 , ..., x_n : $A_n \vdash x$: A

reads: the (structured configuration of) linguistic expressions x_1 of type A_1, \ldots, x_n of type A_n can be categorized as a well-formed expression x of type A.

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- Form: residuated families of type-forming operations (logical level) + different means to control the grammatical resource management (structural level);
- Meaning: standard computational (via Curry-Howard), algebraic, relational, and categorial semantics.

Parsing as deduction

[Ajdukiewicz 35, Bar-Hillel 64]: AB-grammars, [Lambek 58]: string of words, [Lambek 61]: bracketed strings (phrases)

- ▶ Parts of speech (noun, verb...) ~→ logical formulas types.
- ► Grammaticality judgement → logical deduction computation.

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$$\begin{array}{rrrr} np & \cdot & (np \setminus s) & \cdot & (((np \setminus s) \setminus (np \setminus s))/np) & \cdot & (np/n) & \cdot & n & \vdash & s \\ time & flies & like & an & arrow \end{array}$$

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Lexicon

1

- transitive verb 'love': $(np \setminus s)/np$
 - kids · (love · games)
- conjunction words 'and/but': *chameleon* word $(X \setminus X)/X$
 - X = s: (kids like sweets)_s but (parents prefer liquor)_s
 - $X = np \setminus s$: kids (like sweets)_{np\s} but (hate vegetables)_{np\s}
- relative pronoun 'that': (n\n)/(s/np), i.e. it looks for a noun n to its left and an *incomplete* sentence to its right (s/np: it misses a np, the gap at the right)

Associativity 🗸



Mixed Commutativity \checkmark



Associativity ×



Licensing rules in a controlled form - 1/2

[Moortgat 96, Kurtonina & Moortgat 97], [Morrill 17]

$$\frac{\operatorname{alice}}{np} \quad \frac{\operatorname{found}}{(np \setminus s)/np} \quad \frac{[- \vdash \Box np]^2}{\langle _ \rangle \vdash np} \overset{\Box E}{/E} \\ \frac{\operatorname{alice}}{np} \quad \frac{\operatorname{found} \cdot \langle _ \rangle \vdash np \setminus s}{\operatorname{found} \cdot \langle _ \rangle \vdash np \setminus s} \setminus E \\ \frac{\operatorname{alice} \cdot (\operatorname{found} \cdot \langle _ \rangle) \vdash s}{(\operatorname{alice} \cdot \operatorname{found}) \cdot \langle _ \rangle \vdash s} \overset{CA}{\diamond E^2} \\ \frac{\operatorname{found} \cdot (\operatorname{alice} \cdot \operatorname{found}) \cdot _ \vdash s}{\operatorname{alice} \cdot \operatorname{found} \vdash s / \Diamond \Box np} /I^1 \\ \frac{\operatorname{found} \cdot (\operatorname{alice} \cdot \operatorname{found}) \vdash n \setminus n}{\operatorname{key} \cdot (\operatorname{that} \cdot (\operatorname{alice} \cdot \operatorname{found}) \vdash n \setminus n} \setminus E \end{cases}$$

 $\lambda x.((\text{Key } x) \land ((\text{found } x) \text{ alice}))$

Licensing rules in a controlled form - 2/2

$$\underbrace{\frac{\operatorname{alice}}{np}}_{n} = \underbrace{\frac{\operatorname{found}}{(np \setminus s)/np} = \underbrace{\frac{\left[- \vdash \Box np \right]^2}{\left(- \right) \vdash np} \Box E}_{\left(- \right) \vdash np}}_{(\operatorname{found} \cdot \left(- \right) \vdash np \setminus s)} \times \underbrace{\operatorname{fourd}}_{P} = \underbrace{\operatorname{found}}_{(np \setminus s) \setminus (np \setminus s)} \times \underbrace{\operatorname{found} \cdot \left(- \right) \vdash np \setminus s}_{(\operatorname{found} \cdot \left(- \right)) \cdot \operatorname{there} \vdash np \setminus s}}_{\operatorname{found} \cdot \left(- \right)) \cdot \operatorname{there} \vdash np \setminus s} \times E}_{\frac{\operatorname{alice} \cdot ((\operatorname{found} \cdot \left(- \right)) \cdot \operatorname{there}) \vdash s}{(\operatorname{alice} \cdot ((\operatorname{found} \cdot \operatorname{there})) \cdot \left(- \right) \vdash s}}_{\operatorname{fourd} \cdot \operatorname{fourd} \cdot \operatorname{there}) \cdot \left(- \right) \vdash s}}_{\operatorname{fourd} \cdot \operatorname{fourd} \cdot \operatorname{fourd} \cdot \operatorname{there}) + s \setminus \operatorname{fourd} \cdot \operatorname{fourd} \cdot \operatorname{fourd} \cdot \operatorname{there}) + s \times \operatorname{fourd} \cdot \operatorname{fou$$

 $\lambda x.((\text{Key } x) \land ((\text{There (found } x)) \text{ alice}))$

Blocking rules in a controlled form



Starting point: display calculi

- Natural generalization of Gentzen's sequent calculi;
- sequents $X \vdash Y$, where X and Y are structures:
 - formulas are atomic structures
 - built-up: structural connectives (generalizing meta-linguistic comma in sequents A₁,..., A_n ⊢ B₁,..., B_m)
 - generation trees (generalizing sets, multisets, sequences)
- Display property:

display rules semantically justified by adjunction/residuation

Canonical proof of cut elimination (via metatheorem)

Proper display calculi

[Wansing 98]: proper, [Belnap 82, 89]: display logic, [Mints 72, Dunn 73, 75]: structural connectives

Definition

A proper DC verifies each of the following conditions:

- 1. structures can disappear, formulas are forever;
- 2. **tree-traceable** formula-occurrences, via suitably defined *congruence* relation (same shape, position, non-proliferation);

3. principal = displayed

- rules are closed under uniform substitution of congruent parameters (Properness!);
- 5. reduction strategy exists when cut formulas are principal.

Theorem (Canonical!)

Cut elim. and subformula property hold for any proper DC.

Which logics are properly displayable?

[Ciabattoni et al. 15, Greco et al. 16]

Complete characterization:

- 1. the logics of any **basic** normal (D)LE;
- axiomatic extensions of these with analytic inductive inequalities: wunified correspondence



Fact: cut-elim., subfm. prop., sound-&-completeness, conservativity guaranteed by metatheorem + ALBA-technology.

Examples

The definition of analytic inductive inequalities is uniform in each signature.

Analytic inductive axioms

 $(A \rightarrow (B \lor C)) \rightarrow ((A \rightarrow B) \lor C)$

 $(\Diamond A \to \Box B) \to \Box (A \to B)$

Sahlqvist but non-analytic axioms

 $\begin{array}{l} A \to \Diamond \Box A \\ (\Box A \to \Diamond B) \to (A \to B) \end{array}$

The excluded middle is derivable using Grishin's rule:

-

$$\frac{A \vdash A}{A \land \top \vdash A} \\
\frac{A \land \top \vdash \bot \lor A}{A \land \top \vdash \bot \lor A} \\
\frac{\top \vdash A \stackrel{\rightarrow}{\rightarrow} (\bot \lor A)}{(\top \vdash (A \stackrel{\rightarrow}{\rightarrow} \bot) \lor A} Gii \\
\vdots \\
\top \vdash \neg A \lor A$$

For many... but not for all.

- The characterization theorem sets hard boundaries to the scope of proper display calculi.
- Interesting logics are left out:
 - First order logic
 - Non normal modal logics
 - Conditional logics
 - Dynamic epistemic logic
 - Inquisitive logic
 - Semi De Morgan logic
 - Bi-lattice logic
 - Rough algebras
 - ▶ ...

Can we extend the scope of proper display calculi?

Yes: proper display calculi \rightsquigarrow proper **multi-type** calculi (read: multi-sorted calculi)

Multi-type (~>> multi-sorted) proper display calculi [Greco et al. 14...]

Definition

A proper mDC verifies each of the following conditions:

- 1. structures can disappear, formulas are forever;
- 2. **tree-traceable** formula-occurrences, via suitably defined *congruence* relation (same shape, position, non-proliferation)
- 3. principal = displayed
- 4. rules are closed under **uniform substitution** of congruent parameters within each type (Properness!);
- 5. reduction strategy exists when cut formulas are principal.
- 6. type-uniformity of derivable sequents;
- 7. strongly uniform cuts in each/some type(s).

Theorem (Canonical!)

Cut elim. and subformula property hold for any proper mDC.

Language expansion: structural control operators 1/2

Display rules (adjunction)

adj
$$\frac{X \vdash \check{\blacksquare} Y}{\hat{\Diamond} X \vdash Y}$$

Logical rules (arity and tonicity)

$$\diamond_{L} \frac{\widehat{\diamond} A \vdash X}{\Diamond A \vdash X} \quad \frac{X \vdash A}{\widehat{\diamond} X \vdash \diamond A} \diamond_{R}$$

$$\check{\blacksquare}_{L} \frac{A \vdash X}{\blacksquare A \vdash \check{\blacksquare} X} \quad \frac{X \vdash \check{\blacksquare} A}{X \vdash \blacksquare A} \blacksquare_{R}$$

Language expansion: structural control operators 2/2

Display rules (adjunction)

adj
$$\frac{X \vdash \check{\blacksquare} \Gamma}{\hat{\diamondsuit} X \vdash \Gamma}$$

Logical rules (arity and tonicity)

$$\diamond_{L} \frac{\widehat{\diamond} \alpha \vdash X}{\diamond \alpha \vdash X} \quad \frac{\Gamma \vdash \alpha}{\widehat{\diamond} \Gamma \vdash \diamond \alpha} \diamond_{R}$$

$$\check{\blacksquare}_{L} \frac{A \vdash X}{\blacksquare A \vdash \widecheck{\blacksquare} X} \quad \frac{\Gamma \vdash \widecheck{\blacksquare} A}{\Gamma \vdash \blacksquare A} \blacksquare_{R}$$

Axiomatic extensions via analytic structural rules - 1/2

Structural rules

$$A \frac{X \hat{\otimes} (Y \hat{\otimes} Z) \vdash W}{(X \hat{\otimes} Y) \hat{\otimes} Z \vdash W} \quad MC \frac{(X \hat{\otimes} Z) \hat{\otimes} Y \vdash W}{(X \hat{\otimes} Y) \hat{\otimes} Z \vdash W}$$

Controlled structural rules

$$cA \frac{X \widehat{\otimes} (Y \widehat{\otimes} \widehat{\diamond} Z) \vdash W}{(X \widehat{\otimes} Y) \widehat{\otimes} \widehat{\diamond} Z \vdash W} \quad cMC \frac{(X \widehat{\otimes} \widehat{\diamond} Z) \widehat{\otimes} Y \vdash W}{(X \widehat{\otimes} Y) \widehat{\otimes} \widehat{\diamond} Z \vdash W}$$

Axiomatic extensions via analytic structural rules - 2/2

Structural rules

$$A \frac{X \hat{\otimes} (Y \hat{\otimes} Z) \vdash W}{(X \hat{\otimes} Y) \hat{\otimes} Z \vdash W} \quad MC \frac{(X \hat{\otimes} Z) \hat{\otimes} Y \vdash W}{(X \hat{\otimes} Y) \hat{\otimes} Z \vdash W}$$

Controlled structural rules

$$cA \frac{X \widehat{\otimes} (Y \widehat{\otimes} \widehat{\diamond} \Gamma) \vdash W}{(X \widehat{\otimes} Y) \widehat{\otimes} \widehat{\diamond} \Gamma \vdash W} \quad cMC \frac{(X \widehat{\otimes} \widehat{\diamond} \Gamma) \widehat{\otimes} Y \vdash W}{(X \widehat{\otimes} Y) \widehat{\otimes} \widehat{\diamond} \Gamma \vdash W}$$

Licensing rules: the case of Linear Logic

[Belnap 92]: not a proper display calculus:

$A \vdash X$	<u></u>
!A ⊢ X	<mark>Y</mark> ⊦ !A
A ⊢	X ⊢ A
?A ⊦ Z	<i>X</i> ⊢ ?A

Y and Z not arbitrary but exponentially restricted.

```
!!A ⊢ !A
!A ⊢ A
A ⊢ B implies !A ⊢ !B
!⊤ ⊣⊢ 1
!(A\&B) ⊣⊢ !A ⊗ !B analytic?
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Linear logic: algebraic analysis

!!a = !a $!\top = 1$ $!a \le a$ $!(a\&b) = !a \otimes !b$ $a \le b$ implies $!a \le !b$

 $!:\mathbb{L}\rightarrow\mathbb{L}$ interior operator. Then $!=\Diamond\blacksquare,$ where



Fact: Range(!) ::= $\mathbb{K}_!$ has natural BA/HA-structure.

Upshot: natural semantics for the following multi-type language:

Kernel
$$\ni \alpha ::= \mathbf{I} A | \mathbf{t} | \mathbf{f} | \alpha \lor \alpha | \alpha \land \alpha | \alpha \to \alpha$$

Linear $\ni A ::= p | \diamond \alpha | \mathbf{1} | \bot | A \otimes A | A \ \mathcal{F} A | A \multimap A |$
 $\top | \mathbf{0} | A \& A | A \oplus A$

Reverse-engineering linear logic

Problem: the following axioms are non-analytic.

Solution: ■ surjective and finitely meet-preserving ⇒ axioms above semantically equivalent to the following analytic identities:

$$\diamond t = 1 \qquad \diamond (\alpha \land \beta) = \diamond \alpha \otimes \diamond \beta$$

corresponding to the following analytic rules:

$$\operatorname{co-nec} \underbrace{ \widehat{\Diamond} \ \widehat{\mathsf{t}} \vdash X}_{\widehat{\mathsf{1}} \vdash X} \quad \underbrace{ \widehat{\Diamond} \ \Gamma \ \widehat{\Diamond} \ \widehat{\Diamond} \ \Delta \vdash X}_{\widehat{\Diamond} \ (\Gamma \ \widehat{\land} \ \Delta) \vdash X} (\operatorname{co-}) \operatorname{reg}$$

Deriving $!(A \& B) \vdash !A \otimes !B$



General strategy

- Define a multi-modal logic where linguistic composition is relativized to specific resource management modes via a language expansion.
- The extra expressivity is obtained in a controlled fashion via the addition of interaction postulates.
- It can be used to licence or to block the access to different regimes of resource management.

General strategy

- Define a multi-modal logic where linguistic composition is relativized to specific resource management modes via a language expansion.
- The extra expressivity is obtained in a controlled fashion via the addition of interaction postulates.
- It can be used to licence or to block the access to different regimes of resource management.

Ingredients:

- the sort of general elements that inhabit the more restrictive regime;
- the sorts of **special** elements that witness the licence of a more liberal regime;
- the sort(s) of **blocking** elements that provide the room to block structural transformations.

For each $i \in I$, $\mathbb{H} := (\mathbb{G}, \mathbb{L}_i, \mathbb{R}_i, \mathbb{B})$ is a structure such that

• $\mathbb{G} := (G, \leq_G, \mathcal{F}, \mathcal{G})$ is closed under adjoints/residuals;

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- (L_i, \leq_{L_i}) and (R_i, \leq_{R_i}) are partial orders



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where the composition

- $\diamond_i \blacksquare_i$ defines an interior operator on \mathbb{G}
- $\Box_i \blacklozenge_i$ defines a closure operator on \mathbb{G}
- $\blacksquare_i \diamondsuit_i$ defines identity on \mathbb{L}_i
- $\blacklozenge_i \square_i$ defines identity on \mathbb{R}_i

For each $i \in I$, $\mathbb{H} := (\mathbb{G}, \mathbb{L}_i, \mathbb{R}_i, \mathbb{B})$ is a structure such that

- $\mathbb{G} := (G, \leq_G, \mathcal{F}, \mathcal{G})$ is closed under adjoints/residuals;
- (L_i, \leq_{L_i}) and (R_i, \leq_{R_i}) are a partial orders;
- \blacktriangleright \mathbb{B} is an isomorphic copy of \mathbb{G}



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- (L_i, \leq_{L_i}) and (R_i, \leq_{R_i}) are a partial orders;
- B is an isomorphic copy of G



moreover,

- for each f ∈ F (resp. g ∈ G) with domain Gⁿ, there exists a map F_B ∋ f_B : B × Gⁿ⁻¹ → G (resp. g ∈ G),
- $\mathcal{F}_B \cup \mathcal{G}_B$ is closed under adjoints/residuals.

Beyond analiticity: towards a general theory

- Several examples of logics which are single-type not analytic but multi-type analytic.
- Patterns are emerging. Main guideline: discovering and exploiting hidden adjunctions / representation theorems.
- Can we make this practice into a uniform theory?
- What can we infer from interaction postulates?
- ► E.g. L_i and R_i can be systematically endowed with a compatible signature.
- What about the properties of the defined operations?
- What about the relation between L_i and \mathbb{R}_i ?

Thank you \diamond