

# New Progress in Continuation-Based Dynamic Logic

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# Outline

- 1 A type-theoretic reconstruction of dynamic logic
- 2 Need for more flexibility
- 3 A more flexible framework

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- 1 A type-theoretic reconstruction of dynamic logic
  - Dynamic binding
  - Expressing propositions in context
  - Typing the left and the right contexts
  - Semantic interpretation of the sentences
  - Updating and accessing the context
  - Assigning a semantics to the lexical entries
  - Dynamic propositions
  - Formal framework
  - Dynamic connectives
  - Translation of first-order logic
  - Application to donkey sentences

# The problem of dynamic binding

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A man enters the room. He smiles.

$\llbracket \text{A man enters the room} \rrbracket = \exists x. \text{man}(x) \wedge \text{enters\_the\_room}(x)$ .  $x$  is bound.

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A well known solution: DRT.

- The reference markers of DRT act as existential quantifiers.
- Nevertheless, from a technical point of view, they must be considered as free variables.

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We go two steps further:

- We will interpret a sentence according to both its left and right contexts.
- These two kinds of contexts will be abstracted over the meaning of the sentences.

# Typing the left and the right contexts

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Montague semantics is based on Church's simple type theory, which provides a full hierarchy of functional types built upon two atomic types:

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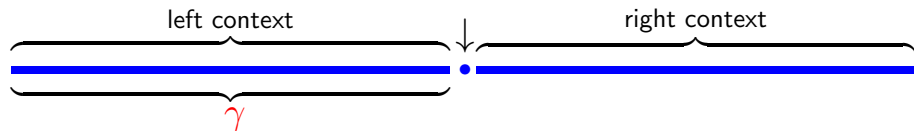
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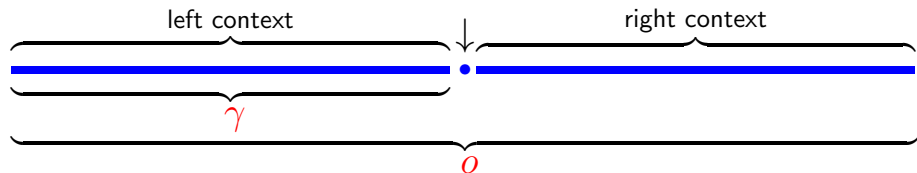
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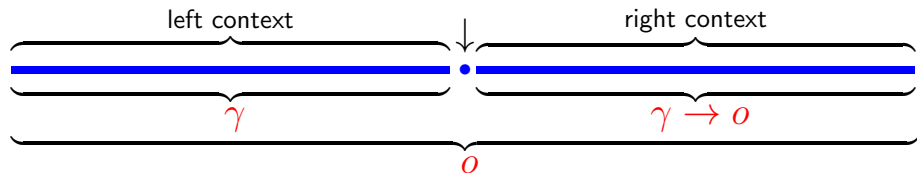
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- Composition of two sentence interpretations:

$$\llbracket S_1 . S_2 \rrbracket = \lambda e \phi . \llbracket S_1 \rrbracket e (\lambda e' . \llbracket S_2 \rrbracket e' \phi)$$

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$$\text{sel} : \gamma \rightarrow \iota$$



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- $\llbracket S_1 . S_2 \rrbracket = \lambda e_1 \phi. \llbracket S_1 \rrbracket \ e_1 \ (\lambda e_2. \llbracket S_2 \rrbracket \ e_2 \ \phi)$



[[A man enters the room. He smiles ]]

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$$= \llbracket S_1 . S_2 \rrbracket$$

$$\begin{aligned} & \llbracket \text{A man enters the room. He smiles} \rrbracket \\ &= \llbracket S_1 \cdot S_2 \rrbracket \\ &= \lambda e_1 \phi_1. \llbracket S_1 \rrbracket e_1 (\lambda e_2. \llbracket S_2 \rrbracket e_2 \phi_1) \end{aligned}$$

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we obtain:

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 \llbracket \text{beats} \rrbracket &= \lambda o s. s (\lambda x. o (\lambda y e \phi. \text{beat } x y \wedge \phi e)) \\
 \llbracket \text{who} \rrbracket &= \lambda r n x e \phi. n x e (\lambda e. r (\lambda \psi. \psi x) e \phi) \\
 \llbracket \text{a} \rrbracket &= \lambda n \psi e \phi. \exists x. n x e (\lambda e. \psi x (x :: e) \phi) \\
 \llbracket \text{every} \rrbracket &= \lambda n \psi e \phi. (\forall x. \neg (n x e (\lambda e. \neg (\psi x (x :: e) (\lambda e. \top)))))) \wedge \phi e \\
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...which might seem a little bit involved.

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- Let  $\Omega \triangleq \gamma \rightarrow (\gamma \rightarrow o) \rightarrow o$ .
- $\Omega$  may be seen as the type of dynamic propositions.
- We therefore intend to design a logic acting on propositions of type  $\Omega$

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## First-order logic

$\top$  :  $o$  (*truth*)

$\neg$  :  $o \rightarrow o$  (*negation*)

$\wedge$  :  $o \rightarrow o \rightarrow o$  (*conjunction*)

$\exists$  :  $(\iota \rightarrow o) \rightarrow o$  (*existential quantification*)

# Formal framework

We consider a simply-typed  $\lambda$ -calculus, the terms of which are built upon a signature including the following constants:

## First-order logic

$\top$	:	$o$	( <i>truth</i> )
$\neg$	:	$o \rightarrow o$	( <i>negation</i> )
$\wedge$	:	$o \rightarrow o \rightarrow o$	( <i>conjunction</i> )
$\exists$	:	$(\iota \rightarrow o) \rightarrow o$	( <i>existential quantification</i> )

## Dynamic primitives

$::$	:	$\iota \rightarrow \gamma \rightarrow \gamma$	( <i>context updating</i> )
<b>sel</b>	:	$\gamma \rightarrow \iota$	( <i>choice operator</i> )

# Dynamic connectives

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$$\exists x. P \triangleq \lambda e \phi. \exists x. P x (x :: e) \phi$$

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## Negation

We do not want the continuation of the discourse to fall into the scope of the negation. Consequently, negation must be defined as follows:

$$\neg P \triangleq (\lambda e \phi. \neg(P e (\lambda e. \top))) \wedge (\phi e)$$



## Disjunction, Implication, and Universal Quantification

## Disjunction, Implication, and Universal Quantification

These are defined using de Morgan's laws:

$$P \vee Q \triangleq \neg(\neg P \wedge \neg Q)$$

$$P \Rightarrow Q \triangleq \neg(P \wedge \neg Q)$$

$$\forall x. P \triangleq \neg(\exists x. \neg P)$$

# Translation of first-order logic

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## Embedding of first-order logic into dynamic logic

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$$\overline{P \vee Q} = \overline{P} \vee \overline{Q}$$

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This embedding is such that, for every term  $e$  of type  $\gamma$ :

$$P \equiv \overline{P} e (\lambda e. \top)$$

# Application to donkey sentences

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Montague-like semantic interpretation:

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Montague-like semantic interpretation:

$$\llbracket \text{farmer} \rrbracket = \lambda x. \mathbf{farmer} \ x$$

$$\llbracket \text{donkey} \rrbracket = \lambda x. \mathbf{donkey} \ x$$

$$\llbracket \text{owns} \rrbracket = \lambda OS. S (\lambda x. O (\lambda y. \mathbf{own} \ x \ y))$$

$$\llbracket \text{beats} \rrbracket = \lambda OS. S (\lambda x. O (\lambda y. \mathbf{beat} \ x \ y))$$

$$\llbracket \text{who} \rrbracket = \lambda RQx. (Q \ x) \wedge (R (\lambda P. P \ x))$$

$$\llbracket \text{a} \rrbracket = \lambda PQ. \exists x. (P \ x) \wedge (Q \ x)$$

$$\llbracket \text{every} \rrbracket = \lambda PQ. \forall x. (P \ x) \rightarrow (Q \ x)$$

$$\llbracket \text{it} \rrbracket = ???$$



Dynamic interpretation:

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$$\llbracket \text{every} \rrbracket = \lambda PQ. \forall x. (P x) \Rightarrow (Q x)$$

$$\llbracket \text{it} \rrbracket = \lambda P e \phi. P (\text{sel } e) e \phi$$

# Outline

- 2 Need for more flexibility
  - Accessibility constraints
  - Limitations



# Accessibility constraints

**DRT like accessibility constraints:**

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\* *It is black.*

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*Harvey courts a girl at every convention.* (non specific reading)

\* *She is very pretty.*

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*You must write a letter to your parents.*

\* *They are expecting the letter.*

(Karttunen 1976)

But...

## But...

*I don't have a microwave oven. I wouldn't know what to do with it.*  
(Frank 1996)

*Harvey courts a girl at every convention. She always comes to the banquet with him. The girl is usually also very pretty.*  
(Karttunen 1976)

*You must write a letter to your parents. It has to be sent by airmail. The letter must get there by tomorrow*  
(Karttunen 1976)

*A thief might break into the house. He would take the silver.*  
(Roberts 1989)

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- No systematic way of defining the logical connectives.
- The obtained logic relies heavily on classical logic.
- No methodology for extending the framework (generalized quantifiers, plurality, temporality, intentionality, ...)

# Outline

- 3 A more flexible framework
  - Revisiting the picture
  - Accomodating the connectives
  - Specifying accessibility constraints
  - Taking polarity into account
  - Putting everything together

# Revisiting the picture



# Revisiting the picture

left context

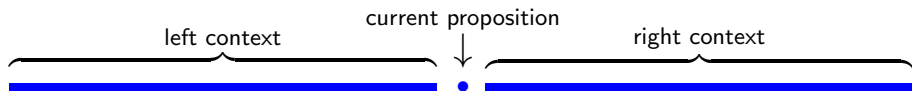


# Revisiting the picture

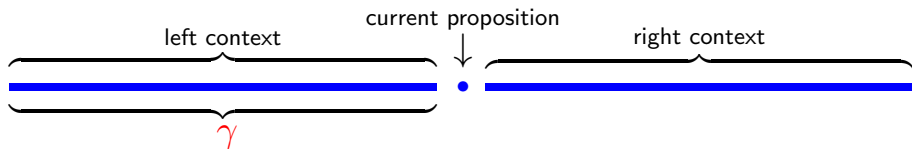




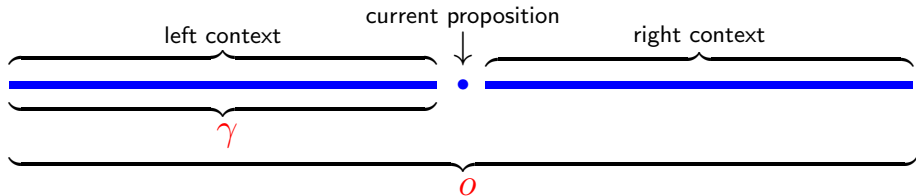
# Revisiting the picture



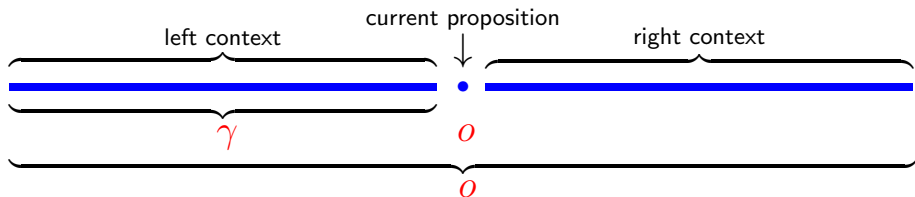
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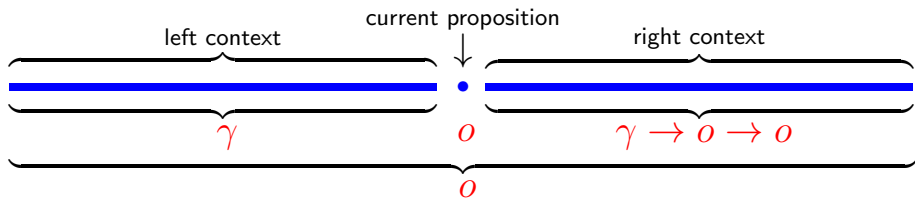
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# Accommodating the connectives

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## Conjunction

$$P \text{ \& } Q \stackrel{\Delta}{=} \lambda e_0 \phi. P e_0 (\lambda e_1 p. Q e_1 (\lambda e_2 q. \phi e_2 (p \wedge q)))$$

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⋮



# Generalizing

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Let  $* : o \rightarrow o \rightarrow o$  be a (static) binary connective. We define:

$$[*]^{++} \triangleq \lambda P Q e_0 \phi. P e_0 (\lambda e_1 p. Q e_1 (\lambda e_2 q. \phi e_2 (p * q)))$$



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Then, we have:

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Similarly, let  $\triangleright : o \rightarrow o$  be a unary connective. We define:

$$[\triangleright]^+ \triangleq \lambda P e_0 \phi. P e_0 (\lambda e_1 p. \phi e_1 (\triangleright p))$$

Finally, let  $Q : (\iota \rightarrow o) \rightarrow o$  be a first-order quantifier. We define:

$$[Q] \triangleq \lambda P e_0 \phi. Qx. P x e_0 (\lambda e_1 p. \phi (x :: e_1) p)$$

# Specifying accessibility constraints

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The following lambda-term:

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discards the current left context and returns the current proposition. It corresponds to the empty continuation.

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This allows, for instance, the “usual” dynamic disjunction to be defined as follows:

$$P \mathbb{W} Q \triangleq \diamond (\diamond P [V]^{++} \diamond Q)$$

# Taking polarity into account



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## The part played by classical negation

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$$\forall x. (\exists y. A[x, y]) \rightarrow B[x]$$

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$$\forall x. (\exists y. A[x, y]) \rightarrow B[x] \equiv \forall x. \neg(\exists y. A[x, y]) \vee B[x]$$

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## The part played by classical negation

$$\begin{aligned}\forall x. (\exists y. A[x, y]) \rightarrow B[x] &\equiv \forall x. \neg(\exists y. A[x, y]) \vee B[x] \\ &\equiv \forall x. (\forall y. \neg A[x, y]) \vee B[x]\end{aligned}$$

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## Connective polarity

# Taking polarity into account

## The part played by classical negation

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 \forall x. (\exists y. A[x, y]) \rightarrow B[x] &\equiv \forall x. \neg(\exists y. A[x, y]) \vee B[x] \\
 &\equiv \forall x. (\forall y. \neg A[x, y]) \vee B[x] \\
 &\equiv \forall x. \forall y. \neg A[x, y] \vee B[x] \\
 &\equiv \forall x. \forall y. A[x, y] \rightarrow B[x]
 \end{aligned}$$

## Connective polarity

$$\begin{aligned}
 &(\neg P^-)^+ \\
 &(P^+ \vee Q^+)^+ \\
 &(P^+ \wedge Q^+)^+ \\
 &(P^- \rightarrow Q^+)^+
 \end{aligned}$$



## Adding a dualizing operator

$$\perp : o \rightarrow o$$

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$$.\perp : o \rightarrow o$$

such that:

$$P^{\perp\perp} = P$$

$$(\neg P)^{\perp} = \neg P^{\perp}$$

$$(P \vee Q)^{\perp} = P^{\perp} \wedge Q^{\perp}$$

$$(P \wedge Q)^{\perp} = P^{\perp} \vee Q^{\perp}$$

$$(\exists x. P)^{\perp} = \forall x. P^{\perp}$$

$$(\forall x. P)^{\perp} = \exists x. P^{\perp}$$

Remember that we defined:

$$[\triangleright]^+ \triangleq \lambda P e_0 \phi. P e_0 (\lambda e_1 p. \phi e_1 (\triangleright p))$$

and

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Similarly, we define:

$$[\triangleright]^- \triangleq \lambda P e_0 \phi. (P e_0 (\lambda e_1 p. (\phi e_1 (\triangleright p))^{\perp}))^{\perp}$$

and

$$[*]^{-+} \triangleq \lambda P Q e_0 \phi. (P e_0 (\lambda e_1 p. (Q e_1 (\lambda e_2 q. \phi e_2 (p * q))^{\perp}))^{\perp})^{\perp}$$

# Putting everything together

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## Definition of the dynamic connectives

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$$P \mathbb{M} Q \triangleq P[\wedge]^{++} Q$$

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$$P \mathbb{A} Q \triangleq P [\wedge]^{++} Q$$

$$P \mathbb{W} Q \triangleq \diamond(\diamond P [V]^{++} \diamond Q)$$



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$$P \text{ \textit{W} } Q \triangleq \diamond(\diamond P [\vee]^{++} \diamond Q)$$

$$P \Rightarrow Q \triangleq \diamond(P [\rightarrow]^{-+} Q)$$

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## Definition of the dynamic connectives

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$$P \Rightarrow Q \triangleq \diamond(P [\rightarrow]^{-+} Q)$$

$$\neg P \triangleq \diamond([\neg]^{-} P)$$

$$\exists x. P \triangleq [\exists] (\lambda x. P)$$

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$$\exists x. P \triangleq [\exists] (\lambda x. P)$$

$$\forall x. P \triangleq \diamond([\forall] (\lambda x. P))$$

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