ORACLES AND CHOICE SEQUENCES FOR TYPE-THEORETIC PRAGMATICS

Jon Sterling October 8, 2015

joint work with Darryl McAdams

INTRODUCTION

[A woman walked in.]] ∇ (∑ $p \in Woman$)

[A woman walked in.]] $vis_{}$ (∑ $p \in Woman$) WalkedIn(p)

[She sat down]

∇

[She sat down]

∇

SatDown(???)

[A woman walked in. She sat down]



[A woman walked in. She sat down]]
$$∇$$
 $(Σx ∈ (Σp ∈ Woman) WalkedIn(p))$

[A woman walked in. She sat down]
$$\nabla$$

$$(\Sigma x \in (\Sigma p \in Woman) \ WalkedIn(p)) \ SatDown(???)$$

THE "DONKEY SENTENCE"

[Every farmer who owns a donkey beats it.]] ∇ $(\Pi p \in (\Sigma x \in Farmer) (\Sigma y \in Donkey) Owns(x; y))$

THE "DONKEY SENTENCE"

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THE "DONKEY SENTENCE"

[Every farmer who owns a donkey beats it.]] ∇ $(\Pi p \in (\Sigma x \in Farmer) \, (\Sigma y \in Donkey) \, Owns(x;y)) \, Beats(\pi_1(p); \pi_1(\pi_2(p)))$

 \cdot terms for presuppositions

- terms for presuppositions
- \cdot resolution of presuppositions

- terms for presuppositions
- resolution of presuppositions

- terms for presuppositions (this talk)
- resolution of presuppositions



require — FORMAL RULES

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require : (0;1) (operator)

require x : A in N \triangleq \text{require}(A; x.N) (notation)
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\frac{\Gamma \vdash A \text{ type } \Gamma, x : A \vdash N \in B}{\Gamma \vdash \text{require } x : A \text{ in } N \in B} (require)
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require — EXAMPLES

[A woman walked in. She sat down]
$$\nabla$$
 $(\Sigma x \in (\Sigma p \in Woman) WalkedIn(p)) SatDown(???)$

require — EXAMPLES

[A woman walked in. She sat down]

 $(\Sigma x \in (\Sigma p \in Woman) \ WalkedIn(p))$ require y : Woman in SatDown(y)

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What we want:

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 require $y : Woman$ in $SatDown(y)$ \sim $(\Sigma x \in (\Sigma p \in Woman) \ WalkedIn(p)) \ \pi_1(x)$

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~

$$(\Sigma x \in (\Sigma p \in Woman) WalkedIn(p)) \pi_1(x)$$

where
$$M \sim N \stackrel{\text{def}}{=} (M \leq N) \wedge (N \leq M)$$

EVERY GRAMMATICAL SENTENCE HAS A MEANING

EVERY GRAMMATICAL SENTENCE HAS A MEANING

...but only some of them denote propositions (types)!

require—NAÏVE DYNAMICS

$$\underline{M \in A \quad [M/x] \ N \Downarrow N'} \\
\mathbf{require} \ x : A \ \mathbf{in} \ N \Downarrow N'$$
(??)

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(??)

Can the above be made precise? There are two problems:

- 1. impredicativity
- 2. non-determinism



[The President ran a marathon]

▽

[The President ran a marathon]
∇

require x: President in $(\Sigma y \in Marathon) Ran(x; y)$

require x: *President* **in** $(\Sigma y \in Marathon) Ran(x; y)$

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require x: President in (\Sigma y \in Marathon) Ran(x; y)
\downarrow \downarrow
(\Sigma y \in Marathon) Ran(Obama; y)
```

[The unicorn ran a marathon]

▽

[The unicorn ran a marathon]

 ∇

require x : *Unicorn* **in** $(\Sigma y \in Marathon) Ran(x; y)$

 \llbracket The unicorn ran a marathon \rrbracket ∇

require x: Unicorn in (Σy ∈ Marathon) Ran(x; y)

(not a proposition)

IS require COMPUTATIONALLY EFFECTIVE?	

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Corollary

The meaning of a judgment \mathscr{J} must be explained in terms of its forcing condition, $w \Vdash \mathscr{J}$, for any stage/world w.

REMARK ON DECIDABILITY

•••

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Remark

Contra Dummett, I <u>by no means</u> take the above as requiring that the following shall be true in a constructive metatheory, <u>divorced from time</u>:

$$\forall w. \forall \mathcal{J}. \ [\![w \Vdash \mathcal{J}\!]\!] \lor \neg [\![w \Vdash \mathcal{J}\!]\!]$$
 (Dummett's infelicity)

The above is impossible in a Beth model.

$logical\ consequence \Rightarrow semantic\ consequence$

Brouwer?, Martin-Löf, Sundholm ⇒ Brouwer?, Heyting, Allen, Zeilberger

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proof conditions ⇒ assertion conditions

Martin-Löf, Sundholm ⇒ Heyting, Van Atten

logical consequence ⇒ semantic consequence

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global meaning explanation \Rightarrow local meaning explanation

Husserl, Dummett, Martin-Löf ⇒ Brouwer?, Beth, Kripke, Grothendieck, Lawvere, Joyal

BETH-KRIPKE SEMANTICS FOR ASSERTIONS

assertion acts (judgments) are intensional (local)

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$$|_{x} \mathcal{J}(x)$$

(general judgment)

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 $\mathcal{J}_2 (\mathcal{J}_1)$ (hypothetical judgment)

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$ _{x} \mathcal{J}(x)$	(general judgment)
\mathcal{J}_2 (\mathcal{J}_1)	(hypothetical judgment)
$M \Downarrow N$	(evaluation)
A type	(typehood)
A verif	(verification)
A true	(truth)
$M = N \in A$	(membership)

(general judgment)	$w \Vdash _{x} \mathcal{J}(x)$
(hypothetical judgment)	$w \Vdash \mathcal{J}_2 \; (\mathcal{J}_1)$
(evaluation)	$w\Vdash M\Downarrow \textcolor{red}{N}$
(typehood)	$w \Vdash A \text{ type}$
(verification)	$w \Vdash A \ verif$
(truth)	$w \Vdash A \ true$
(membership)	$w\Vdash M=N\in A$

$$w \Vdash |_{x} \mathcal{J}(x)$$
$$w \Vdash \mathcal{J}_{2} (\mathcal{J}_{1})$$

(general judgment) (hypothetical judgment)

$$w \Vdash |_{x} \mathcal{J}(x) \iff \cdots$$
$$w \Vdash \mathcal{J}_{2} (\mathcal{J}_{1}) \iff \cdots$$

$$\begin{split} w \Vdash \mid_{x} \mathcal{J}(x) &\iff \forall u \geq w. \forall x \in \mathcal{D}_{u}. \ u \Vdash \mathcal{J}(x) \\ w \Vdash \mathcal{J}_{2} \ (\mathcal{J}_{1}) &\iff \forall u \geq w. \ u \Vdash \mathcal{J}_{1} \Rightarrow u \Vdash \mathcal{J}_{2} \end{split}$$

$$w \Vdash |_{x} \mathcal{J}(x) \iff \forall u \geq w. \forall x \in \mathcal{D}_{u}. \ u \Vdash \mathcal{J}(x)$$

$$w \Vdash \mathcal{J}_{2} (\mathcal{J}_{1}) \iff \forall u \geq w. \ u \Vdash \mathcal{J}_{1} \Rightarrow u \Vdash \mathcal{J}_{2}$$

where \mathscr{D}_{w} is the species of constructions that have been effected by stage \boldsymbol{w}

THE MEANING OF A PROPOSITION

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For a type A, implicit in the explanation of $w \Vdash P$ verif is a PER $\mathscr{V} \llbracket A \rrbracket_w \subseteq \mathscr{D}_w \times \mathscr{D}_w$ whose members reflect the computational content of <u>verification acts</u>.

INTUITIONISTIC SEMANTICS OF TRUTH

Truth (justification) consists in recognizing the effectiveness of a procedure for verification.

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Truth (justification) consists in recognizing the effectiveness of a procedure for verification.

In the model, this corresponds to the inevitability of verification (i.e. a <u>bar</u>, in which verification occurs at all nodes):

 $w \Vdash A \ true \iff \exists \mathfrak{B} \ \mathbf{bars} \ w. \forall u \in \mathfrak{B}. \ u \Vdash A \ verif \quad \text{(due to Dummett)}$

The analytic judgments of type theory are reflections on mathematical activity.

1. Canonical membership reflects verification

$$\mathscr{V}\left[\!\left[A\right]\!\right]_{w}(M,N)\bowtie w\Vdash A\ verif$$

- 1. Canonical membership reflects verification
- 2. Membership reflects justification

$$w \Vdash M = N \in A \bowtie w \Vdash A true$$

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- 3. Computation reflects the recognition of a <u>bar</u>

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- 1. Canonical membership reflects verification
- 2. Membership reflects justification
- 3. Computation reflects the recognition of a bar

$$\land \left\{ \begin{array}{l} w \Vdash M \Downarrow M' \\ w \Vdash N \Downarrow N' \\ w \Vdash \mathscr{V} \llbracket A \rrbracket_w (M', N') \end{array} \right\} \bowtie \exists \mathfrak{B} \text{ bars } w. \forall u \in \mathfrak{B}. \ u \Vdash A \ verif$$



require — DYNAMICS

$$\frac{\Xi(\vec{u}) \quad |_{n} \, \rho(n) < n \, (n \in \mathbb{N}^{+})}{\Xi(\vec{u} - \rho)} \qquad \text{(spread law)}$$

$$\frac{\alpha \models_{t} A \Downarrow A' \quad |\varkappa_{A'}(t)| = \ell \quad \operatorname{hd}(\alpha)(\ell) = j \quad \operatorname{tl}(\alpha) \models_{t} \left[\varkappa_{A'}(j)/x\right] N \Downarrow N'}{\alpha \models_{t} \operatorname{\mathbf{require}} x : A \text{ in } N \Downarrow N'}$$
(for $\alpha \in \mathfrak{S}$)

