

Dependency as Question Entailment

Ivano Ciardelli



Logics for Dependence and Independence — Dagstuhl, 23 June 2015

Scenario

- ▶ A disease may give rise to **two symptoms, S_1 and S_2** .
- ▶ S_2 much worse than S_1 .
- ▶ The disease can be countered by means of a **treatment T** .
- ▶ However, T carries some associated risk.

A hospital's protocol

- ▶ Symptom S_2 → T always prescribed.
- ▶ Only symp. S_1 → T prescribed only if physical conditions are good.

Dependency

ν : whether the treatment is to be prescribed

is determined by

μ_1 : what symptoms the patient has

μ_2 : whether the patient is in good physical conditions

Dependency

ν : whether the treatment is to be prescribed

is determined by

μ_1 : what symptoms the patient has

μ_2 : whether the patient is in good physical conditions

Observations

- ▶ μ_1 , μ_2 and ν are questions.
- ▶ The dependency amounts to a relation between them: settling μ_1 and μ_2 implies settling ν .

Claim

Once classical logic is generalized to questions, this relation emerges as a facet of **entailment**.

Part I

Dependency as question entailment

Traditional foundation for classical logic

- ▶ Traditionally, logic is concerned with **statements**.
- ▶ Sentence meaning = **truth conditions**.
- ▶ Semantics consists in a relation $w \models \alpha$ of truth between possible worlds w and statements α .
- ▶ Entailment amounts to preservation of truth:
$$\Gamma \models \alpha \iff \text{for all } w : w \models \Gamma \text{ implies } w \models \alpha$$

Traditional foundation for classical logic

- ▶ Traditionally, logic is concerned with **statements**.
- ▶ Sentence meaning = **truth conditions**.
- ▶ Semantics consists in a relation $w \models \alpha$ of truth between possible worlds w and statements α .
- ▶ Entailment amounts to preservation of truth:
$$\Gamma \models \alpha \iff \text{for all } w : w \models \Gamma \text{ implies } w \models \alpha$$
- ▶ Question meaning is not truth-conditional.
So, apparently no role for questions in logic.

An informational foundation for classical logic

- ▶ We can give an alternative, informational foundation for classical logic.
- ▶ Take the meaning of α to be given by laying out what information it takes to settle α .
- ▶ We will model information states as sets of worlds.
- ▶ Semantics consists in a relation $s \models \alpha$ called support between info states and sentences.
- ▶ Entailment amounts to preservation of support:
$$\Gamma \models \alpha \iff \text{for all } s : s \models \Gamma \text{ implies } s \models \alpha$$

An informational foundation for classical logic

- ▶ Given our modeling of information, truth and support are interdefinable:
 - ▶ $s \models \alpha \iff w \models \alpha$ for all $w \in s$
 - ▶ $w \models \alpha \iff \{w\} \models \alpha$
- ▶ As a consequence, truth-entailment and support-entailment coincide.
- ▶ Support semantics is an alternative foundation for classical logic.

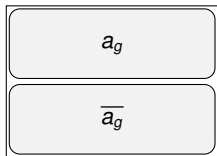
Support semantics makes it possible to interpret questions

- ▶ Unlike truth-conditional semantics, **support semantics interprets questions**.
- ▶ It makes sense to ask whether a question is settled in an information state.

Whether the patient is in good conditions

$$s \models \mu_2 \iff s \subseteq a_g \text{ or } s \subseteq \overline{a_g}$$

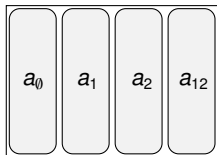
- ▶ $a_g = \{w \mid \text{patient in good conditions in } w\}$
- ▶ $\overline{a_g} = \{w \mid \text{patient not in good conditions in } w\}$



What symptoms the patient has

$$s \models \mu_1 \iff s \subseteq a_i \text{ for some } a_i, \text{ where:}$$

- ▶ $a_0 = \{w \mid \text{patient has no symptoms in } w\}$
- ▶ $a_1 = \{w \mid \text{patient has only } S_1 \text{ in } w\}$
- ▶ $a_2 = \{w \mid \text{patient has only } S_2 \text{ in } w\}$
- ▶ $a_{12} = \{w \mid \text{patient has both symptoms in } w\}$



Entailment

- ▶ $\Phi \models \psi \iff \forall s : s \models \Phi \text{ implies } s \models \psi$
- ▶ Since support conditions are defined also for questions, **questions can now take part in entailments.**

Entailment among statements

$\alpha \models \beta \iff$ settling that α implies settling that β
 $\iff \beta$ is a truth-conditional consequence of α

Entailment among questions

$\mu \models \nu \iff$ settling μ implies settling ν
 $\iff \mu$ logically determines ν

Entailment in context

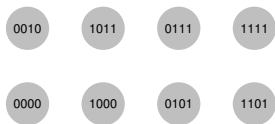
- ▶ We model a **context** as an information state s .
- ▶ Entailment relative to s only takes into account worlds $w \in s$:

$$\Phi \models_s \psi \iff \forall t \subseteq s : t \models \Phi \text{ implies } t \models \psi$$

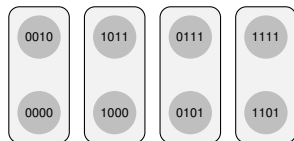
- ▶ Contextual question entailment captures dependencies that hold on the basis of specific assumptions.

$$\mu \models_s \nu \iff \mu \text{ determines } \nu \text{ in context } s$$

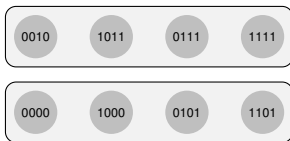
Back to our example



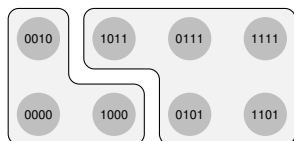
s = protocol context



μ_1 = symptoms?



μ_2 = conditions?



ν = treatment?

$$\mu_1 \not\models_s \nu$$

$$\mu_2 \not\models_s \nu$$

$$\mu_1, \mu_2 \models_s \nu$$

Internalizing entailment

- ▶ In support semantics, the contexts for entailment are the same objects at which formulas are evaluated.
- ▶ A support-based logic can always be equipped with an operation of **implication** which internalizes entailment:

$$s \models \varphi \rightarrow \psi \iff \varphi \models_s \psi$$

- ▶ Spelling out the definition of $\varphi \models_s \psi$, we get the inductive support clause for $\varphi \rightarrow \psi$:

$$s \models \varphi \rightarrow \psi \iff \forall t \subseteq s : t \models \varphi \text{ implies } t \models \psi$$

Internalizing entailment

- ▶ On statements, \rightarrow is just the familiar **material conditional**:

$$s \models \alpha \rightarrow \beta \iff \text{for all } w \in s : w \not\models \alpha \text{ or } w \models \beta$$

- ▶ On the other hand, now \rightarrow also makes sense on questions:

$$s \models \mu \rightarrow \nu \iff \mu \models_s \nu \iff \mu \text{ determines } \nu \text{ in } s$$

- ▶ Just like entailment generalizes to questions to capture dependency, \rightarrow generalizes to questions, allowing us to **express dependencies**.

Taking stocks

- ▶ The move from truth-conditions to support-conditions brings questions within the purview of logic.
- ▶ Entailment becomes meaningful for questions as well.
- ▶ Dependency emerges as question entailment in context.
- ▶ Since entailment is internalized by an implication operation, dependencies are expressible as implications between questions.

Part II

Propositional logic

Questions in propositional logic

- ▶ We will now see how the ideas of support semantics are implemented in a concrete formal system.
- ▶ This is essentially the system InqB of **propositional inquisitive logic**.
- ▶ We will look at InqB from a new perspective:
 - ▶ usually, InqB is regarded as a **non-classical logic**, in which propositional formulas have a more fine-grained meaning;
 - ▶ here, we will look at InqB as a **conservative extension** of classical propositional logic with questions.

Worlds and states for propositional logic

- ▶ Let \mathcal{P} denote a set of propositional letters.
- ▶ A **possible world** is a propositional valuation $w : \mathcal{P} \rightarrow \{0, 1\}$.
- ▶ An **information state** is a set of propositional valuations.

Classical formulas

$\mathcal{L}_{cl} ::= p \mid \perp \mid \varphi \wedge \psi \mid \varphi \rightarrow \psi$

Defined connectives

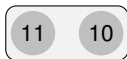
- ▶ $\neg\varphi := \varphi \rightarrow \perp$
- ▶ $\varphi \vee \psi := \neg(\neg\varphi \wedge \neg\psi)$

Support

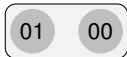
- ▶ $s \models p \iff \forall w \in s : w(p) = 1$
- ▶ $s \models \perp \iff s = \emptyset$
- ▶ $s \models \varphi \wedge \psi \iff s \models \varphi \text{ and } s \models \psi$
- ▶ $s \models \varphi \rightarrow \psi \iff \forall t \subseteq s : t \models \varphi \text{ implies } t \models \psi$

Classical formulas are truth-conditional

$$s \models \alpha \iff \forall w \in s : w \models \alpha$$



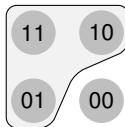
p



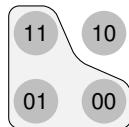
$\neg p$



$p \wedge q$



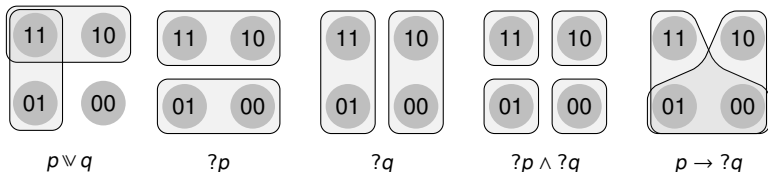
$p \vee q$



$p \rightarrow q$

Extending CPL with questions

- ▶ We expand our language with an **inquisitive disjunction** \vee .
- ▶ $s \models \varphi \vee \psi \iff s \models \varphi$ or $s \models \psi$
- ▶ $\alpha \vee \beta$ can be read as the question **whether α or β** .
- ▶ $?\alpha := \alpha \vee \neg\alpha$ can be read as the question **whether α** .



Expressing dependencies in InqB

- ▶ In propositional dependence logic, dependencies are expressed by special atoms $=(p_1, \dots, p_n, q)$.

$$\begin{aligned} s \models =(p, q) &\iff \forall w, w' \in s, w(p) = w'(p) \text{ implies } w(q) = w'(q) \\ &\iff \forall t \subseteq s, t \models ?p \text{ implies } t \models ?q \\ &\iff ?p \models_s ?q \\ &\iff s \models ?p \rightarrow ?q \end{aligned}$$

- ▶ $=(p_1, \dots, p_n, q)$ captures entailment between atomic polar questions.
- ▶ $=(p_1, \dots, p_n, q)$ is **broken down** into basic operations: $\rightarrow, \wedge, \vee, \perp$
- ▶ These are the Heyting algebra operations on the underlying space of meanings. (cf. also Abramsky and Väänänen '09, Roelofsens '13)

- ▶ Dependence atoms are a particular case of a general pattern.
For *any* questions μ, ν , $\mu \rightarrow \nu$ expresses that μ determines ν .

- ▶ Whether J will go to the party depends on whether one of B and S will.

$$?(b \vee s) \rightarrow ?j$$

- ▶ Whether J or B is in the office depends on whether it is Sat or Sun.

$$(sat \vee sun) \rightarrow (j \vee b)$$

- ▶ Whether M will dance if J asks her depends on whether she's in a good mood.

$$?g \rightarrow (a \rightarrow ?d)$$

Part III

Reasoning with questions

Proof system

Conjunction

$$\frac{\varphi \quad \psi}{\varphi \wedge \psi}$$

$$\frac{\varphi \wedge \psi}{\varphi} \quad \frac{\varphi \wedge \psi}{\psi}$$

$[\varphi]$

$$\frac{\vdots}{\varphi \rightarrow \psi}$$

Implication

$$\frac{\varphi \quad \varphi \rightarrow \psi}{\psi}$$

Inquisitive disjunction

$$\frac{\varphi}{\varphi \vee \psi} \quad \frac{\psi}{\varphi \vee \psi} \quad \frac{\varphi \vee \psi \quad \begin{matrix} [\varphi] \\ \vdots \\ \chi \end{matrix} \quad \begin{matrix} [\psi] \\ \vdots \\ \chi \end{matrix}}{\chi}$$

Falsum

$$\frac{\perp}{\varphi}$$

Kreisel-Putnam

$$\frac{\alpha \rightarrow \psi \vee \chi}{(\alpha \rightarrow \psi) \vee (\alpha \rightarrow \chi)} \quad (\alpha \in \mathcal{L}_{cl})$$

Classical $\neg\neg$ elimination

$$\frac{\neg\neg\alpha}{\alpha} \quad (\alpha \in \mathcal{L}_{cl})$$

Back to our example

- ▶ Assume the following atomic sentences:

s_1 : patient has symptom S_1

s_2 : patient has symptom S_2

g : patient is in good physical conditions

t : treatment prescribed

- ▶ Our protocol is described by: $\gamma := t \leftrightarrow s_2 \vee (s_1 \wedge g)$

- ▶ Our dependency is captured by: $\gamma, ?s_1, ?s_2, ?g \models ?t$

A formal proof of our dependency

$$\begin{array}{c}
 \frac{\gamma \ [s_2]}{\frac{t}{?t} \ (vi)} \ (C1) \qquad \frac{\gamma \ [\neg s_1] \ [\neg s_2]}{\frac{\neg t}{?t} \ (vi)} \ (C2) \qquad \frac{\gamma \ [s_1] \ [g]}{\frac{t}{?t} \ (vi)} \ (C3) \qquad \frac{\gamma \ [\neg s_2] \ [\neg g]}{\frac{\neg t}{?t} \ (vi)} \ (C4) \\
 \frac{\frac{\gamma \ [s_2]}{\frac{t}{?t} \ (vi)} \ (C1) \quad \frac{\gamma \ [\neg s_1] \ [\neg s_2]}{\frac{\neg t}{?t} \ (vi)} \ (C2) \quad \frac{\gamma \ [s_1] \ [g]}{\frac{t}{?t} \ (vi)} \ (C3) \quad \frac{\gamma \ [\neg s_2] \ [\neg g]}{\frac{\neg t}{?t} \ (vi)} \ (C4)}{\frac{?s_1}{?t} \ (ve)} \ (ve) \\
 \frac{\frac{?s_2}{\frac{t}{?t} \ (vi)} \quad \frac{?s_1}{?t} \ (ve)}{\frac{?t}{?t} \ (ve)} \ (ve)
 \end{array}$$

A formal proof of our dependency

$$\begin{array}{c}
 \frac{\gamma \quad [s_2]}{\frac{t}{?t} \text{ (vi)}} \text{ (C1)} \quad \frac{\gamma \quad [\neg s_1] \quad [\neg s_2]}{\frac{\neg t}{?t} \text{ (vi)}} \text{ (C2)} \quad \frac{\gamma \quad [s_1] \quad [g]}{\frac{t}{?t} \text{ (vi)}} \text{ (C3)} \quad \frac{\gamma \quad [\neg s_2] \quad [\neg g]}{\frac{\neg t}{?t} \text{ (vi)}} \text{ (C4)} \\
 \frac{\frac{\gamma \quad [s_2]}{\frac{t}{?t} \text{ (vi)}} \text{ (C1)} \quad \frac{\gamma \quad [\neg s_1] \quad [\neg s_2]}{\frac{\neg t}{?t} \text{ (vi)}} \text{ (C2)} \quad \frac{\gamma \quad [s_1] \quad [g]}{\frac{t}{?t} \text{ (vi)}} \text{ (C3)} \quad \frac{\gamma \quad [\neg s_2] \quad [\neg g]}{\frac{\neg t}{?t} \text{ (vi)}} \text{ (C4)} \quad ?g}{\frac{?t}{?t} \text{ (ve)}} \text{ (ve)} \\
 \frac{\frac{\gamma \quad [s_2]}{\frac{t}{?t} \text{ (vi)}} \text{ (C1)} \quad \frac{\gamma \quad [\neg s_1] \quad [\neg s_2]}{\frac{\neg t}{?t} \text{ (vi)}} \text{ (C2)} \quad \frac{\gamma \quad [s_1] \quad [g]}{\frac{t}{?t} \text{ (vi)}} \text{ (C3)} \quad \frac{\gamma \quad [\neg s_2] \quad [\neg g]}{\frac{\neg t}{?t} \text{ (vi)}} \text{ (C4)} \quad ?g \quad ?s_1}{\frac{?t}{?t} \text{ (ve)}} \text{ (ve)} \\
 \frac{\frac{\gamma \quad [s_2]}{\frac{t}{?t} \text{ (vi)}} \text{ (C1)} \quad \frac{\gamma \quad [\neg s_1] \quad [\neg s_2]}{\frac{\neg t}{?t} \text{ (vi)}} \text{ (C2)} \quad \frac{\gamma \quad [s_1] \quad [g]}{\frac{t}{?t} \text{ (vi)}} \text{ (C3)} \quad \frac{\gamma \quad [\neg s_2] \quad [\neg g]}{\frac{\neg t}{?t} \text{ (vi)}} \text{ (C4)} \quad ?g \quad ?s_1 \quad ?s_2}{\frac{?t}{?t} \text{ (ve)}} \text{ (ve)}
 \end{array}$$

- ▶ The proof shows that, given γ , the questions $?s_1$, $?s_2$ and $?g$ determine the question $?t$.
- ▶ It does so by actually **describing how to turn resolutions to the assumptions into a corresponding resolution of the conclusion.**

Resolutions

- ▶ $\mathcal{R}(p) = \{p\}$
- ▶ $\mathcal{R}(\perp) = \{\perp\}$
- ▶ $\mathcal{R}(\varphi \wedge \psi) = \{\alpha \wedge \beta \mid \alpha \in \mathcal{R}(\varphi)\}$
- ▶ $\mathcal{R}(\varphi \rightarrow \psi) = \{\bigwedge_{\alpha \in \mathcal{R}(\varphi)} (\alpha \rightarrow f(\alpha)) \mid f : \mathcal{R}(\varphi) \rightarrow \mathcal{R}(\psi)\}$
- ▶ $\mathcal{R}(\varphi \vee \psi) = \mathcal{R}(\varphi) \cup \mathcal{R}(\psi)$

Examples

$\mathcal{R}(\alpha) = \{\alpha\}$ if $\alpha \in \mathcal{L}_c$

$\mathcal{R}(p \vee q) = \{p, q\}$

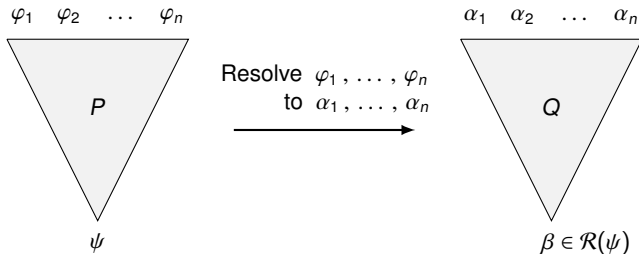
$\mathcal{R}(?p) = \{p, \neg p\}$

Normal form

$\varphi \equiv \alpha_1 \vee \dots \vee \alpha_n$ where $\{\alpha_1, \dots, \alpha_n\} = \mathcal{R}(\varphi)$

Resolution algorithm

Let $P : \bar{\varphi} \vdash \psi$ and $\bar{\alpha} \in \mathcal{R}(\bar{\varphi})$. There is a procedure which, inductively on P , constructs a proof $Q : \bar{\alpha} \vdash \beta$ having a resolution β of ψ as conclusion.



Example

Suppose the data for a certain patient are $s_1, \neg s_2, g$.
Applying the algorithm to our proof gives:

$$\frac{\gamma \quad s_1 \quad g}{t} \text{ (C3)}$$

Conclusion

Just like entailments involving questions capture dependencies,
proofs involving questions encode algorithms for dependencies.

Part IV

First-order logic

Multi-model setting (standard inquisitive FO logic)

$s \models_g \varphi$, where s is a **set of FO models**, g an assignment.

Language

- ▶ Classical language: $\perp, \wedge, \rightarrow, \forall$
- ▶ Full language: $\perp, \wedge, \rightarrow, \forall, \exists, \exists?$

Questions

$\exists x P x$: what is an instance of a P ?

$\forall x ? P x$: what is the extension of P ?

Dependencies

$\exists x P x \rightarrow \exists x Q x$: any instance of P determines an instance of Q .

$\forall x ? P x \rightarrow \forall x ? Q x$: the extension of P determines the extension of Q .

Multi-assignment setting (standard dependence logic)

$M \models_X \varphi$, where M is a FO model, X a **set of assignments**.

Questions

$$\lambda_x := \exists y(y = x)$$

λ_x : what is the value of x ? (dependence logic's $=(x)$)

?even(x) : is x even?

Dependencies

$\lambda_x \rightarrow \lambda_y$: the value of x determines the value of y .
(captures the dependence atom $=(x, y)$).

$\lambda_x \rightarrow \text{?even}(y)$: the value of x determines the parity of y .

?even(x) $\rightarrow \lambda_y$: the parity of x determines the value of y .

Multi-model and multi-assignment setting

$s \models \varphi$, where s is a **set of model-assignment pairs**.

Questions

- ▶ Questions about the model: $?Pa$
- ▶ Questions about the assignment: λ_x
- ▶ Hybrid questions: $?Px$

Dependencies

- ▶ Dependencies among features of the model: $?Pa \rightarrow ?Qa$
- ▶ Dependencies among features of the assignment: $\lambda_x \rightarrow \lambda_y$
- ▶ Mixed dependencies: $?Pa \rightarrow \lambda_y$

Wrapping up

- ▶ By taking an **informational perspective** on semantics, we can extend classical logic to encompass questions.
- ▶ Dependency then emerges as a facet of entailment: **entailment among questions in context**.
- ▶ This connection has a **proof-theoretic side** to it: proof involving questions encode methods for computing dependencies.

Wrapping up

- ▶ Entailment may be internalized by means of an implication operation:

$$\mu \models_s \nu \iff s \models \mu \rightarrow \nu$$

- ▶ Dependencies generally expressible as **implications among questions**.

- ▶ Dependence atoms are captured as particular cases:

$$=(p, q) \rightsquigarrow ?p \rightarrow ?q \qquad =(x, y) \rightsquigarrow \lambda_x \rightarrow \lambda_y$$

- ▶ But many other cases of dependencies may be expressed as well.

- ▶ Whether p or q determines whether r or s : $p \vee q \rightarrow r \vee s$
- ▶ The extension of P determines the extension of Q : $\forall x ?Px \rightarrow \forall x ?Qx$
- ▶ The value of x determines the parity of y : $\lambda_x \rightarrow ?\text{even}(y)$

GRACIAS
ARIGATO
SHUKURIA
JUSPAXAR
DANKSCHEEN
TASHAKKUR ATU
SUKSAMA
EKKHMET
GRAZIE
MEHRBANI
PALDIES
BOLZIN
MERCY
THANK
YOU
BIYAN
SHUKRIA
TINGKI