Multi-type modal extensions of the Lambek calculus for structural control

Apostolos Tzimoulis Vrije Universiteit

work in progress with: Giuseppe Greco, Michael Moortgat, Mattia Panettiere

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Typelogical grammars

[Moot & Retoré]: book

<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.

- Form: residuated families of type-forming operations (logical level) + different means to control the grammatical resource management (structural level)
- Meaning: algebraic, computational, 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...) vological formulas types.
- Grammaticality judgement volume logical deduction computation.

$$np \cdot (np \setminus s) \cdot (((np \setminus s) \setminus (np \setminus s))/np) \cdot (np/n) \cdot n \vdash s$$

time flies like an arrow

Lexicon

- transitive verb love: (np\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)

Deriving a sentence (in Natural Deduction - Gentzen)



Deriving a sentence (in Natural Deduction - Gentzen)



Deriving a sentence (in Natural Deduction - Gentzen)



Modal Lambek calculus 1/2

[Moortgat at al. 97], [Morrill 17], [Sadrzadeh at al. 21]: Language expansion + axiomatic extensions

LC lacks the required expressivity for realistic grammar development.

The extended Lambek calculi LC_{\diamond} enrich the type language with modalities for **structural control**.

- ▶ Alice (found (the key)) $\vdash s \rightsquigarrow LC$
- ▶ key (that (Alice (found there))) $\vdash n \rightsquigarrow LC_{\Diamond}$
 - ▶ that: $(n \setminus n)/(s \land \square np)$, there: $(np \setminus s) \setminus (np \setminus s)$
 - licensing (controlled associativity and (mixed) commutativity)
- ► (Kids love videogames) but (parents hate videogames) + s \dots LC
- ▶ ((Kids love) but (parents hate)) videogames $\vdash s \rightsquigarrow LC_{\Diamond}$
 - but: $((s \land \equiv np) \land \equiv (s \land np)) / (s \land \equiv np)$
 - licensing (controlled associativity OR controlled contraction)
 - blocking (to avoid Kids love videogames but parents hate)

Licensing Associativity via SC 🗸

[Moortgat 96, Kurtonina & Moortgat 97], [Morrill 17]: structural control

$$\frac{\operatorname{alice}}{np} \quad \frac{\operatorname{found}}{(np \setminus s)/np} \quad \frac{[- \vdash \Box np]^2}{\langle - \rangle \vdash np} \stackrel{|E}{/E} \\ \frac{\operatorname{alice}}{np} \quad \frac{\operatorname{found} \cdot \langle - \rangle \vdash np \setminus s}{\operatorname{found} \cdot \langle - \rangle \vdash np \setminus s} \setminus E \\ \frac{\operatorname{alice} \cdot (\operatorname{found} \cdot \langle - \rangle) \vdash s}{(\operatorname{alice} \cdot \operatorname{found}) \cdot \langle - \rangle \vdash s} \stackrel{CA}{\diamond E^2} \\ \frac{\operatorname{found} \cdot (n \setminus n)/(s \wedge \Box np)}{\operatorname{found} \cdot (\operatorname{alice} \cdot \operatorname{found}) \vdash n \setminus n} \quad (E \\ \frac{\operatorname{found} \cdot (\operatorname{alice} \cdot \operatorname{found}) \vdash n \setminus n}{\operatorname{key} \cdot (\operatorname{that} \cdot (\operatorname{alice} \cdot \operatorname{found}) \vdash n} \setminus E}$$

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

Licensing Mixed Commutativity via SC \checkmark

$$\frac{\operatorname{alice}}{np} = \frac{\frac{\operatorname{found}}{(np \setminus s)/np} - \frac{\left[- \vdash \Box np \right]^2}{\langle - \rangle \vdash np} \Box E}{\left[\frac{(np \setminus s)/(np \setminus s)}{(- \rangle \vdash np \setminus s)} \right] \setminus E} + \frac{\operatorname{there}}{(np \setminus s) \setminus (np \setminus s)} \setminus E}{\frac{\operatorname{alice} \cdot ((\operatorname{found} \cdot \langle - \rangle) \cdot \operatorname{there} \vdash np \setminus s)}{(\operatorname{found} \cdot \langle - \rangle) \cdot \operatorname{there} \vdash np \setminus s}} \setminus E}{\frac{\operatorname{alice} \cdot ((\operatorname{found} \cdot \langle - \rangle) \cdot \operatorname{there}) \vdash s}{\operatorname{alice} \cdot ((\operatorname{found} \cdot \operatorname{there})) \cdot \langle - \rangle \vdash s}} \frac{cMC}{cA}}{\left(\operatorname{alice} \cdot (\operatorname{found} \cdot \operatorname{there})) \cdot (- \rangle \vdash s)} \right]} \frac{(- \vdash \Diamond \Box np)^1}{\operatorname{alice} \cdot (\operatorname{found} \cdot \operatorname{there}) \cdot (- \rangle) \vdash s}} \frac{cA}{\langle E^2}}{\langle E^2}$$

$$\frac{\operatorname{that}}{\operatorname{that} \cdot (\operatorname{alice} \cdot (\operatorname{found} \cdot \operatorname{there})) \vdash n \setminus n}}{\operatorname{that} \cdot (\operatorname{alice} \cdot (\operatorname{found} \cdot \operatorname{there})) \vdash n \setminus n}} \setminus E$$

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

Modal Lambek calculus 2/2

[De Marneffe et al. 21]: dependency structures, [Kogkalidis et al. 20]: d. modalities as blocking devices

Function-argument: opposition between a *function type* A/B (or $B \setminus A$) that combines with its *argument* B to produce an A.

Dependency structures: opposition between a *head* and its *dependents* (i.e. *complements* selected by the head, or *adjuncts* modifying the head)

- (Alice left) unexpectedly $\rightsquigarrow LC^{\Diamond\square}$
 - left is the head selecting for Alice as a complement with the subject role (\$\sum np)\s
 - unexpectedly is an *adjunct* modifying the head $\Box^{adv}(s \setminus s)$

Domain of locality: The dependency modalities have the effect of sealing off (i.e. **blocking**) a structure (i.e. a head with its dependents): .

Interaction postulates: In some cases, the domain of locality should be *permeable*, so dependency and structural control modalities can interact.

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 Gentzen's comma in sequents $A_1, \ldots, A_n \vdash B_1, \ldots, B_m$)
 - generation trees (generalizing sets, multisets, sequences)
- Display property:

$$\frac{Y \vdash X \lor Z}{X \otimes Y \vdash Z} \qquad \frac{X \vdash \neg Y}{Y \otimes X \vdash Z} \\
\frac{X \mapsto Y \lor X}{X \vdash Y \lor Z}$$

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

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

The excluded middle is derivable using Grishin's rule:

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

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 → 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.

The language of the modal Lambek calculus $LC_{\diamond}^{\diamond\Box}$

 $Fm \ni A ::= p$ $A / A | A \otimes A | A \setminus A$ Lambek connectives $\diamond_i \alpha \mid \diamond^c A \mid \Box^m A$ s.c. and d. modalities $Fm \ni \alpha ::= \blacksquare_i A$ Str $\ni X ::= A$ $X \not\mid X \otimes X \mid X \land X$ Lambek connectives $\hat{\diamond}_i \Gamma \mid \hat{\diamond}^c X \mid \check{\blacksquare}^c \mid \check{\square}^m X \mid \hat{\blacklozenge}^m$ s.c. and d. modalities Str $\ni \Gamma$::= $\check{\blacksquare}_i X$

Basic display calculus

Identity and Cut rules (preorder)

Id
$$\frac{X \vdash A \quad A \vdash Y}{X \vdash Y}$$
 Cut

Display rules (residuation)

$$\otimes \exists f \neq Z \land Y = Z \land$$

Logical rules (arity and tonicity)

$$\otimes_{L} \frac{A \otimes B \vdash Y}{A \otimes B \vdash Y} = \frac{X \vdash A \qquad Y \vdash B}{X \otimes Y \vdash A \otimes B} \otimes_{R}$$
$$\wedge_{L} \frac{X \vdash A \qquad B \vdash X \land Y}{A \land B \vdash X \land Y} = \frac{X \vdash A \land B}{X \vdash A \land B} \wedge_{R}$$
$$/_{L} \frac{A \vdash X \qquad Y \vdash B}{A \land B \vdash X \land Y} = \frac{X \vdash B \land A}{X \vdash B \land A} /_{R}$$

Language expansion: dependency modalities

Display rules (adjunction)

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

Logical rules (arity and tonicity)

$$\diamond_{L} \frac{\widehat{\diamond}X \vdash Y}{\Diamond X \vdash Y} \quad \frac{X \vdash A}{\widehat{\diamond}X \vdash \diamond A} \diamond_{R}$$
$$\check{\blacksquare}_{L} \frac{A \vdash X}{\blacksquare A \vdash \widecheck{\blacksquare}X} \quad \frac{X \vdash \widecheck{\blacksquare}A}{X \vdash \blacksquare A} \blacksquare_{R}$$

Language expansion: structural control operators

Display rules (adjunction)

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

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

Structural rules

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

Controlled structural rules

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

Licensing rules: the case of Linear Logic

The full language of linear logic (in Girard's notation) is the following:

Girard's rules for exponentials (in sequent format):

left (right) dereliction and right (left) promotion rules:

$$\frac{X, A \vdash Y}{X, !A \vdash Y} = \frac{X \vdash A, Y}{X \vdash ?A, Y} = \frac{!X \vdash A, ?Y}{!X \vdash !A, ?Y} = \frac{!X, A \vdash ?Y}{!X, ?A \vdash ?Y}$$

left (right) weakening and left (right) contraction rules:

$$\frac{X \vdash Y}{X, !A \vdash Y} \quad \frac{X \vdash Y}{X \vdash ?A, Y} \quad \frac{X, !A, !A \vdash Y}{X, !A \vdash Y} \quad \frac{X \vdash ?A, ?A, Y}{X \vdash ?A, Y}$$

Is Linear Logic properly displayable?

[Belnap 92]: not a proper display calculus:

Z ⊢ A	A ⊢ W
<u>Z</u> ⊦ !A	!A ⊢ W
W⊦A	A ⊦ Z
W ⊢ ?A	?A ⊢ Z

Z more general than X, Y on the previous slide, but still not arbitrary: they are still **exponentially restricted** as before.

Notice that the following sequents are derivable:

```
!!A ⇔ !A

!A ⊢ A

A ⊢ B \text{ implies } !A ⊢ !B

!T ⇔ 1

!(A\&B) ⇔ !A ⊗ !B \text{ analytic?}
```

Linear logic: algebraic analysis

[Greco et al. 22]: to appear

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

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



Fact: Range(!) has natural BA/HA-structure.

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

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

Linear $\ni A ::= p | \diamond \alpha |$
 $1 | \bot | A \otimes A | A \Im A | A \multimap A |$
 $\top | 0 | A \& A | A \oplus A$

Reverse-engineering linear logic 1/2

Interior operator axioms/rule recaptured:

	$A \vdash A$	
	∎A⊢ăA	
$A \vdash A$		$\frac{A \vdash B}{\neg A \vdash \overleftarrow{P}}$
■A ⊢ ĚA	ô∎A ⊢ �∎A	
ô∎A ⊢ A		
$\Diamond \blacksquare A \vdash A$		
		♦∎A ⊢ ♦∎B
:7 - 7		!A ⊦ !B
	<u> A ⊢ !!A</u>	

Reverse-engineering linear logic 2/2

Problem: the following axioms are non-analytic.

$$!\top = 1 \qquad \rightsquigarrow \quad \Diamond \blacksquare \top = 1$$
$$!(A \& B) = !A \otimes !B \qquad \rightsquigarrow \quad \Diamond \blacksquare (A \& B) = \Diamond \blacksquare A \otimes \Diamond \blacksquare B$$

Solution: \blacksquare surjective and finitely meet-preserving \Rightarrow axioms above semantically equivalent to the following <u>analytic</u> identities:

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

corresponding to the following analytic rules:

nec / conec
$$\frac{\hat{1} \vdash X}{\hat{\diamond} \hat{\tau} \vdash X} = \frac{\hat{\diamond} \Gamma \hat{\diamond} \hat{\diamond} \Delta \vdash X}{\hat{\diamond} (\Gamma \hat{\wedge} \Delta) \vdash X}$$
 reg / corec

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



Beyond analiticity: towards a general theory

Achievements in logic:

- Several examples of logics which are single-type not analytic but multi-type analytic:
 - DEL, Inquisitive logic, semi De Morgan logic
 - (Substructural) first order logic
 - Linear logic
 - ▶ ...
 - (D)LEs and their analytic inductive axiomatic extensions
- Main guideline: discovering and exploiting hidden adjunctions.
- Can we make this practice into a uniform theory?

Open problems:

- find a list of sufficient (and necessary) conditions to show that a multi-type presentation exists;
- provide a recipe to construct the multi-type presentation.

Structural control via the multi-type approach

General strategy:

- Define a multi-modal logic where linguistic composition is relativized to specific resource management modes (via a language expansion: structural control and dependency modalities).
- The extra expressivity is obtained in a controlled fashion via the addition of interaction postulates (via axiomatic extensions).
- Structural modalities can be used to licence (or to block) the access to different regimes of resource management.
- Dependency modalities can be used 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.

Heterogeneous structural control algebras 1/2

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 a fully residuated algebra;
- (L_i, \leq_{L_i}) and (R_i, \leq_{R_i}) are partial orders



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

Heterogeneous structural control algebras 2/2

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 a fully residuated algebra;
- (L_i, \leq_{L_i}) and (R_i, \leq_{R_i}) are a partial orders;
- for the blocking type we use dependency modalities:

 $\blacktriangleright \mathbb{B} = \mathbb{G}.$



where the composition



Conclusions

- Multi-type methodology: Uniform and modular algorithmic proof theory paired with multi-sorted algebraic semantics.
- To do: lift the approach to categories providing semantics of proofs.
- Work in the vicinity: Soft Sub-exponential (last invited talk today) + Module actions (generalizing vector spaces) + *n*-ary heterogenous modalities.