A Polynomial Time Algorithm for the Lambek Calculus with Brackets of Bounded Order

Max Kanovich, Stepan Kuznetsov, Glyn Morrill, Andre Scedrov

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The Lambek Calculus L*

[Lambek 1958, 1961]

 $A \rightarrow A$ $\frac{A,\Pi \to B}{\Pi \to A \setminus B}$ $\frac{\Pi \to A \quad \Gamma B \Delta \to C}{\Gamma, \Pi, (A \setminus B), \Delta \to C}$ $\frac{\Pi, A \to B}{\Pi \to B / A} \qquad \qquad \frac{\Pi \to A \quad \Gamma B \Delta \to C}{\Gamma, (B / A), \Pi, \Delta \to C}$ $\frac{\Gamma \to A \quad \Delta \to B}{\Gamma, \Delta \to A \cdot B} \qquad \qquad \frac{\Gamma, A, B, \Delta \to C}{\Gamma, A \cdot B, \Delta \to C}$ $\frac{\Pi \to A \quad \Gamma, A, \Delta \to C}{\Gamma, \Pi, \Delta \to C} \text{ (cut)}$

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A fragment of non-commutative intuitionistic linear logic.

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- A fragment of non-commutative intuitionistic linear logic.
- We consider the variant of the Lambek calculus that allows empty antecedents.

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- ▶ man who Mary likes $CN, (CN \setminus CN) / (S / N), N, (N \setminus S) / N \rightarrow CN$

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- *book which John laughed without reading
- *girl who John likes Mary and Pete likes

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- ▶ *girl who John likes Mary and Pete likes $CN, (CN \setminus CN)/(S / CN), N, (N \setminus S) / N, N, (S \setminus S) / S, N, (N \setminus S) / N \rightarrow S$

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The Lambek Calculus with Brackets (**Lb**^{*})

[Morrill 1992, Moortgat 1995]

 $A \rightarrow A$

| $\frac{\Pi \to A \Delta(B) \to C}{\Delta(\Pi, A \setminus B) \to C}$ | $\frac{A,\Pi \to B}{\Pi \to A \setminus B}$ | $\frac{\Gamma(A,B) \to C}{\Gamma(A \cdot B) \to C}$ |
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| $\frac{\Delta([A]) \to C}{\Delta(\langle \rangle A) \to C} \frac{\Pi \to A}{[\Pi] \to \langle \rangle}$ | $\overline{A} rac{\Delta(A) ightarrow}{\Delta([[]^{-1}A])}$ | $\frac{C}{\to C} \frac{[\Pi] \to A}{\Pi \to []^{-1}A}$ |

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| $\frac{\Delta([A]) \to C}{\Delta(\langle \rangle A) \to C} \frac{\Pi \to A}{[\Pi] \to \langle \rangle}$ | $\overline{A} \frac{\Delta(A) \rightarrow}{\Delta([[]^{-1}A])}$ | $\frac{A \cap C}{A \cap C} \frac{[\Pi] \to A}{\Pi \to []^{-1}A}$ |

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Brackets introduce controlled non-associativity.

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- Brackets introduce controlled non-associativity.
- Cut elimination proved by Moortgat [1996].

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▶ book which John laughed [without reading] $CN, (CN \setminus CN)/(S/CN), N, N \setminus S, [[]^{-1}((N \setminus S) \setminus (N \setminus S))/(N \setminus S), (N \setminus S)/N] \rightarrow S$ This sequent is not derivable in **Lb**^{*}.

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- There exists an algorithm for L* with running time poly(N, 2^R) [Pentus 2010, Fowler 2009], where N is the size of the sequent and R is the order (depth).
 In linguistic applications, R is small.

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Pentus' algorithm extended to Lb*, running time poly(N, 2^R, N^B) [this talk].
 Here B is the bracket nesting depth.

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► $N = \|\Pi \rightarrow A\|$, counted as the total number of connectives in the sequent.

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- N = ∥Π → A∥, counted as the total number of connectives in the sequent.
- ▶ $R = \operatorname{ord}(\Pi \rightarrow A) = \max\{\operatorname{ord}(\Pi) + 1, \operatorname{ord}(A) + \operatorname{prod}(A)\},\$ where $\operatorname{prod}(A)$ is 1 if $A = A_1 \cdot A_2$, and 0 otherwise. $\operatorname{ord}(p_i) = 0; \operatorname{ord}(A \cdot B) = \max\{\operatorname{ord}(A), \operatorname{ord}(B)\};\$ $\operatorname{ord}(A \setminus B) = \operatorname{ord}(B / A) = \max\{\operatorname{ord}(A) + 1, \operatorname{ord}(B) + \operatorname{prod}(B)\};\$ $\operatorname{ord}(\Lambda) = 0; \operatorname{ord}(\Gamma, \Delta) = \max\{\operatorname{ord}(\Gamma), \operatorname{ord}(\Delta)\}.$

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- N = ∥Π → A∥, counted as the total number of connectives in the sequent.
- R = ord(Π → A) = max{ord(Π) + 1, ord(A) + prod(A)}, where prod(A) is 1 if A = A₁ · A₂, and 0 otherwise. ord(p_i) = 0; ord(A · B) = max{ord(A), ord(B)}; ord(A \ B) = ord(B / A) = max{ord(A) + 1, ord(B) + prod(B)}; ord(Λ) = 0; ord(Γ, Δ) = max{ord(Γ), ord(Δ)}.
 If we translate Lambek formulae into linear logic, R is the maximal alternation depth of ⊗'s and ⊗'s.

- N = ∥Π → A∥, counted as the total number of connectives (incl. bracket modalities) and brackets in the sequent.
- ▶ $R = \operatorname{ord}(\Pi \to A) = \max\{\operatorname{ord}(\Pi) + 1, \operatorname{ord}(A) + \operatorname{prod}(A)\},\$ where $\operatorname{prod}(A)$ is 1 if $A = A_1 \cdot A_2$ or $\langle\rangle A'$, and 0 otherwise. $\operatorname{ord}(p_i) = 0$; $\operatorname{ord}(A \cdot B) = \max\{\operatorname{ord}(A), \operatorname{ord}(B)\};\$ $\operatorname{ord}(A \setminus B) = \operatorname{ord}(B / A) = \max\{\operatorname{ord}(A) + 1, \operatorname{ord}(B) + \operatorname{prod}(B)\};\$ $\operatorname{ord}(\langle\rangle A) = \operatorname{ord}(A); \operatorname{ord}([]^{-1}A) = \max\{\operatorname{ord}(A) + \operatorname{prod}(A), 1\};\$ $\operatorname{ord}(\Lambda) = 0; \operatorname{ord}(\Gamma, \Delta) = \max\{\operatorname{ord}(\Gamma), \operatorname{ord}(\Delta)\}.$

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B is the bracket and bracket modalities nesting depth.

So... Why This Talk?

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 Practical motivation: aim to optimise parsers for type-logical grammar (CatLog by Morrill et al.)

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 Theoretical interest: a combination of proof net and finite automata techniques

Mary danced before singing

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[Mary] danced [before singing]

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 $[N], \langle \rangle N \setminus S, [[]^{-1}((\langle \rangle N \setminus S) \setminus (\langle \rangle N \setminus S)) / (\langle \rangle N \setminus S), \langle \rangle N \setminus S] \to S$

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 Extending Pentus-style proof nets for cyclic multiplicative linear logic.

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 Extending Pentus-style proof nets for cyclic multiplicative linear logic.

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• Axiom links (\mathcal{E}) connect atoms (p_i and \bar{p}_i).

- Extending Pentus-style proof nets for cyclic multiplicative linear logic.
- Axiom links (\mathcal{E}) connect atoms (p_i and \bar{p}_i).
- Brackets are considered as a special kind of atoms: [,], [,].

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Proof Nets for $\boldsymbol{\mathsf{Lb}}^*$

- Extending Pentus-style proof nets for cyclic multiplicative linear logic.
- Axiom links (\mathcal{E}) connect atoms (p_i and \bar{p}_i).
- ▶ Brackets are considered as a special kind of atoms: [,], [,].
- Acyclicity condition: ≺ is the syntactic forest relation, A connects each ⊗ to the (unique) ⊗ in the same *E*-region; A ∪ ≺ should be acyclic.

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- Extending Pentus-style proof nets for cyclic multiplicative linear logic.
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- Acyclicity condition: ≺ is the syntactic forest relation, A connects each ⊗ to the (unique) ⊗ in the same *E*-region; A ∪ ≺ should be acyclic.
- ► Sisterhood condition: *E* should respect pairing of brackets.

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Counter-example [Fadda and Morrill 2005]:

 $[[]^{-1}p], [[]^{-1}q] \rightarrow \langle \rangle []^{-1}(p \cdot q)$

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$$[[]^{-1}p], [[]^{-1}q] \rightarrow \langle \rangle []^{-1}(p \cdot q)$$

- This sequent is not derivable in Lb*.
- The only possible proof net violates sisterhood:



E → *c*(*E*) ∈ {*c*₁,..., *c_n*}^{*n*}:
 if the *i*-th and the *j*-th atoms are connected by an axiom link, then the *i*-th letter of *c*(*E*) is *e_i* and the *j*-th letter is *e_i*.

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- E → c(E) ∈ {c₁,..., c_n}ⁿ:
 if the *i*-th and the *j*-th atoms are connected by an axiom link, then the *i*-th letter of c(E) is e_j and the *j*-th letter is e_i.
- $P_1 = \{c(\mathcal{E}) \mid \mathcal{E} \text{ is a proof net, but maybe violating sisterhood}\}$

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- P₁ = {c(E) | E is a proof net, but maybe violating sisterhood} There exists, and can be effectively constructed, a poly(n, 2^R)-size context free grammar for P₁ [Pentus 2010].

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- P₁ = {c(𝔅) | 𝔅 is a proof net, but maybe violating sisterhood} There exists, and can be effectively constructed, a poly(n, 2^𝑘)-size context free grammar for P₁ [Pentus 2010].
- For a language P₂, such that c(E) ∈ P₂ iff E respects sisterhood, there exists, and can be effectively constructed, a poly(n, n^B)-size finite automaton for P₂.

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 if the *i*-th and the *j*-th atoms are connected by an axiom link, then the *i*-th letter of c(E) is e_i and the *j*-th letter is e_i.
- P₁ = {c(E) | E is a proof net, but maybe violating sisterhood} There exists, and can be effectively constructed, a poly(n, 2^R)-size context free grammar for P₁ [Pentus 2010].
- For a language P₂, such that c(E) ∈ P₂ iff E respects sisterhood, there exists, and can be effectively constructed, a poly(n, n^B)-size finite automaton for P₂.

► There exists, and can be effectively constructed, a polynomial-size context free grammar for P₁ ∩ P₂ (see [Ginsburg 1966]).

- E → c(E) ∈ {c₁,..., c_n}ⁿ:
 if the *i*-th and the *j*-th atoms are connected by an axiom link, then the *i*-th letter of c(E) is e_i and the *j*-th letter is e_i.
- P₁ = {c(E) | E is a proof net, but maybe violating sisterhood} There exists, and can be effectively constructed, a poly(n, 2^R)-size context free grammar for P₁ [Pentus 2010].
- For a language P₂, such that c(E) ∈ P₂ iff E respects sisterhood, there exists, and can be effectively constructed, a poly(n, n^B)-size finite automaton for P₂.
- ► There exists, and can be effectively constructed, a polynomial-size context free grammar for P₁ ∩ P₂ (see [Ginsburg 1966]).
- ► The non-emptiness of P₁ ∩ P₂ (our goal) is checked in polynomial time.

- E → c(E) ∈ {c₁,..., c_n}ⁿ:
 if the *i*-th and the *j*-th atoms are connected by an axiom link, then the *i*-th letter of c(E) is e_j and the *j*-th letter is e_i.
- P₁ = {c(E) | E is a proof net, but maybe violating sisterhood} There exists, and can be effectively constructed, a poly(n, 2^R)-size context free grammar for P₁ [Pentus 2010].
- For a language P₂, such that c(E) ∈ P₂ iff E respects sisterhood, there exists, and can be effectively constructed, a poly(n, n^B)-size finite automaton for P₂.
- ► There exists, and can be effectively constructed, a polynomial-size context free grammar for P₁ ∩ P₂ (see [Ginsburg 1966]).
- ► The non-emptiness of P₁ ∩ P₂ (our goal) is checked in polynomial time.
- Notice that P₁ and P₂ are finite, so P₁ ∩ P₂ is trivially context free. The real achievement is polynomiality of the grammar.

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 Develop an efficient parsing procedure for Lb*-grammars (cf. [Pentus 2010] for L*).

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Lb: the Lambek calculus with brackets and non-empty antecedents.

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- Lb: the Lambek calculus with brackets and non-empty antecedents.
- Feasible fragments of other enrichments of the Lambek calculus (even generally undecidable).

Thank you!