

# On the Lambek Calculus with an Exchange Modality

Jiaming Jiang<sup>1</sup>, **Harley Eades III**<sup>2</sup>, Valeria de Paiva<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>North Carolina State University; <sup>2</sup>Augusta University; <sup>3</sup>Nuance Communications

# Linearity and Non-Linearity

- ▶ Girard bridged linearity with non-linearity via  $!A$ .
- ▶ This modality isolates the structural rules:

$$\frac{\Gamma_1, \Gamma_2 \vdash B}{\Gamma_1, !A, \Gamma_2} \text{WEAK}$$

$$\frac{\Gamma_1, !A, !A, \Gamma_2 \vdash B}{\Gamma_1, !A, \Gamma_2} \text{CONTRACT}$$

- ▶ Linear Logic = linearity + of-course

# Linearity and Non-Linearity

Linear Logic takes for granted the structural rule:

$$\frac{\Gamma_1, A, B, \Gamma_2 \vdash C}{\Gamma_1, B, A, \Gamma_2 \vdash C} \text{EX}$$

# Lambek Calculus

- ▶ Lambek invented what we call the Lambek Calculus to give a mathematical semantics to sentence structure.
- ▶ Lambek Calculus = linearity - exchange
  - ▶ Non-commutative tensor:  $A \triangleright B$
  - ▶ Non-commutative implications:  $[[A < -B]]$  and  $[[A- > B]]$
- ▶ No modalities
- ▶ Applications

# Lambek Calculus

## **Question posed by computational linguists:**

Can we add a modality to the Lambek Calculus that does for exchange what of-course does for weakening and contraction?

# Motivation

In process calculi, to model sequential composition of processes:

$A \otimes B$

- ▶ Commutative tensor product
- ▶ Processes  $A$  and  $B$  run in parallel

$A \triangleright B$

- ▶ Non-commutative tensor product
- ▶ Process  $A$  runs first, then process  $B$

# Basic Approach

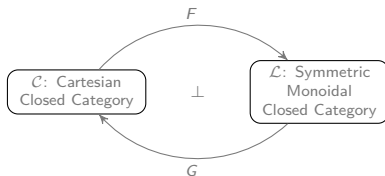
Abstract Benton's Linear/Non-Linear (LNL) model:

- ▶ Remove the exchange structural rule: implicit in  $\Phi, \Psi; \Gamma, \Delta$
- ▶ Two logics:
  - ▶ Intuitionistic linear logic
  - ▶ Lambek Calculus

# Linear/Non-Linear Model

A symmetric monoidal adjunction  $F \dashv G$ :

- ▶ Counit:  $\varepsilon : FG \rightarrow id_{\mathcal{C}}$
- ▶ Unit:  $\eta : id_{\mathcal{L}} \rightarrow GF$

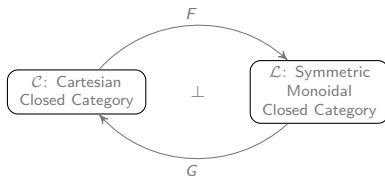




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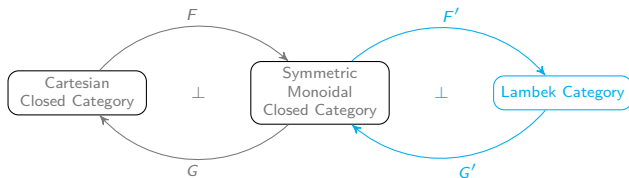
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- ▶ Monad  $(GF, \eta, \mu = G\varepsilon_F)$  on the CCC: strong and commutative
- ▶ Comonad  $(FG, \varepsilon, \delta = F\eta_G)$  on the SMCC: symmetric monoidal
- ▶ Of-course modality:  $! = FG$

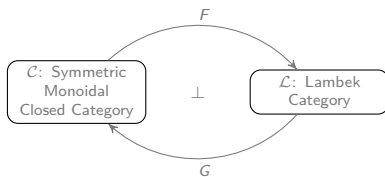
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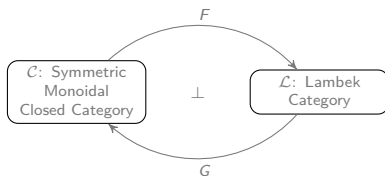
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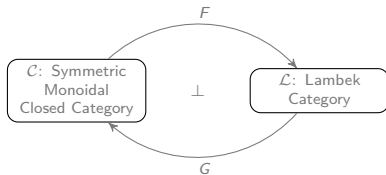
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- ▶ Monad  $(GF, \eta, \mu = G\varepsilon_F)$  on the SMCC: strong but non-commutative
- ▶ Comonad  $(FG, \varepsilon, \delta = F\eta_G)$  on the Lambek category: monoidal
- ▶ Exchange: a natural transformation  $ex^{FG} : A \triangleright B \rightarrow B \triangleright A$  in the co-Eilenberg-Moore category  $\mathcal{L}^{FG}$  of the comonad  
 $\Rightarrow: \mathcal{L}^{FG}$  is symmetric monoidal

# CNC Logic

- ▶ Left: intuitionistic linear logic
- ▶ Right: mixed commutative/non-commutative Lambek calculus



# CNC Logic: Notation

## Intuitionistic Linear Logic

$\mathcal{C}$ -Types:  $W, X, Y, Z$

$\mathcal{C}$ -Terms:  $t$

$\mathcal{C}$ -Contexts:  $\Phi, \Psi$

$\mathcal{C}$ -Typing Judgment:  $\Phi, \Psi \vdash_{\mathcal{C}} t : X$

## Lambek Calculus

$\mathcal{L}$ -Types:  $A, B, C, D$

$\mathcal{L}$ -Terms:  $s$

$\mathcal{L}$ -Contexts:  $\Gamma, \Delta$

$\mathcal{L}$ -Typing Judgment:  $\Gamma; \Delta \vdash_{\mathcal{L}} s : A$

# CNC Logic: Example Typing Rules

Exchange rules:

$$\frac{\Phi, x : X, y : Y, \Psi \vdash_{\mathcal{C}} t : Z}{\Phi, z : Y, w : X, \Psi \vdash_{\mathcal{C}} \text{ex } w, z \text{ with } x, y \text{ in } t : Z} \mathcal{C}\text{-ex}$$

$$\frac{\Gamma; x : X; y : Y; \Delta \vdash_{\mathcal{L}} s : A}{\Gamma; z : Y; w : X; \Delta \vdash_{\mathcal{L}} \text{ex } w, z \text{ with } x, y \text{ in } s : A} \mathcal{L}\text{-ex}$$

# CNC Logic: Example Typing Rules

Functor rules for G:

$$\frac{\Phi \vdash_{\mathcal{L}} s : A}{\Phi \vdash_{\mathcal{C}} Gs : GA} \mathcal{C}\text{-G}_I$$

$$\frac{\Phi \vdash_{\mathcal{C}} t : GA}{\Phi \vdash_{\mathcal{L}} \text{derelict } t : A} \mathcal{C}\text{-G}_E$$



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Functor rules for F:

$$\frac{\Phi \vdash_{\mathcal{C}} t : X}{\Phi \vdash_{\mathcal{L}} Ft : FX} \mathcal{L}\text{-F}_I$$

$$\frac{\Gamma \vdash_{\mathcal{L}} s_1 : FX \quad \Delta_1; x : X; \Delta_2 \vdash_{\mathcal{L}} s_2 : A}{\Delta_1; \Gamma; \Delta_2 \vdash_{\mathcal{L}} \text{let } s_1 : FX \text{ be } Fx \text{ in } s_2 : A} \mathcal{L}\text{-F}_E$$

# CNC Logic: Other Results

- ▶  $\beta$ -reductions: one step  $\beta$ -reduction rules
- ▶ Commuting conversions
- ▶ Cut elimination
- ▶ Equivalence between sequent calculus and natural deduction
- ▶ Strong normalization via a translation to LNL logic
- ▶ A concrete model in dialectica categories

# Conclusion

- ▶ Commutative/Non-commutative Logic:
  - ▶ Left: intuitionistic linear logic
  - ▶ Right: Lambek calculus
- ▶ Categorical model: a monoidal adjunction
  - ▶ Left: symmetric monoidal closed category
  - ▶ Right: Lambek category

## Exchange Natural Transformation

$\text{ex}^{FG} : A \triangleright B \rightarrow B \triangleright A$  in the co-Eilenberg-Moore category  $\mathcal{L}^{FG}$  of the comonad on the Lambek category