### The Grammar of Grammars

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## Recap: Formal Grammars

#### Formal Grammars

A formal grammar  $\mathcal{G}$  is a tuple  $\mathcal{G} = \langle V, \Sigma, R, S \rangle$ , where

- V the vocabulary, a set of symbols
- $\Sigma$  the set of *terminal* symbols,  $\Sigma \subset V$
- *R* the set of *production rules*,  $R \subset V^* \times V^*$
- S the initial symbol,  $S \in V \Sigma$

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#### Rules

A rule  $r \in R$  is written as  $\alpha \to \beta$ , where  $\alpha$ ,  $\beta$  strings of V, i.e.  $\alpha, \beta \in V^*$ .

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### Language

The set of words (strings)  $\mathcal{L}_{\mathcal{G}} \in \Sigma^*$  that can be generated by  $\mathcal{G}$ .



# **Chomsky Hierarchy**

type	grammar	automaton	rule form
3	regular	finite state machine	A ightarrow a; $A ightarrow$ a $B$
2	context-free	pushdown automaton	$A o \gamma$
1	context-sensitive	linear bounded automaton	$\alpha A \beta \to \alpha \gamma \beta$
0	recursively enumerable	Turing machine	$\alpha \to \beta$

A, B: non-terminals, a: terminal,  $\alpha, \beta, \gamma$ : strings of V

 $\mathsf{Type\text{-}3} \subset \mathsf{Type\text{-}2} \subset \mathsf{Type\text{-}1} \subset \mathsf{Type\text{-}0}$ 

# Natural Language

- ► *R* aligned with speech, phonology, morphology
- CF captures most syntactic patterns
- CS too expressive and complex to be of real use
- → need a better charting between CF and CS

## Pumping Lemma for CFL

Let  $\mathcal{G} = \langle V, \Sigma, R, S \rangle$  a CFG generating an infinite language  $\mathcal{L}_{\mathcal{G}}$ .

```
\exists k \in \mathbb{N} :
\forall w \in \mathcal{L}_{\mathcal{G}} :
|w| \geq k \Longrightarrow
\exists x, y, z, v_1, v_2 \in \Sigma^* :
\bigwedge \left\{ w = xv_1yv_2z, |v_1v_2| \geq 1, |v_1yv_2| \leq k, \right.
\forall i \in \mathbb{N} : \left\{ xv_1^iyv_2^iz \in \mathcal{L}_{\mathcal{G}} \right\} \right\}
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### Example

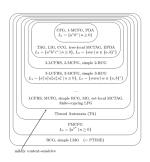
The copy language  $\mathcal{L} = \{ww \mid w \in \{a, b\}^*\}$  is not context-free, but similar constructions occur in natural language (crossing dependencies):

```
... dat Wim Jan Marie de kinderen zag helpen leren zwemmen ... "... that Wim saw Jan help Marie teach the kids how to swim ..."
```

# The landscape beyond CFL

#### The class of mildly context-sensitive languages:

- contains context-free languages
- capture a finite number of cross-serial dependencies, i.e languages of the form:  $\mathcal{L} = \{ w^k | \ w \in \Sigma^* \} \text{ for some } k$
- ▶ maintains polynomial parsing time (CFGs have  $\mathcal{O}(n^3)$ )
- is characterized by constant growth: word length increase is linear-bound



Abstract Categorial Grammars model the landscape of formal grammars as a morphism between two  $ILL_{-\circ}$  logics:

$$\begin{array}{ccc} \operatorname{ILL}_{-\circ}^{A} & \xrightarrow{h} & \operatorname{ILL}_{-\circ}^{A'} \\ \operatorname{Source} & \operatorname{Homomorphism} & \operatorname{Target} \end{array}$$

- source logic describing the abstract function-argument structure of the language (tectogrammar)
- target logic describing the concrete surface materialization of the language: strings, trees, etc (phenogrammar)

### Vocabulary

A vocabulary  $\Sigma$  is a "higher-order linear signature"  $\Sigma = \langle \mathcal{A}, \mathcal{C}, \tau \rangle$ , where:

- ${\mathcal A}$  a set of atomic types ( ${\mathcal T}_{\!\mathcal A}$  the type universe)
- C a set of constants ( $\Lambda_{\Sigma}$  the set of well-formed  $\lambda$ -terms)
- au a mapping  $C o \mathcal{T}_\mathcal{A}$

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#### Lexicon

A lexicon  $\mathfrak L$  is a mapping  $\Sigma_1 \to \Sigma_2$  consisting of  $\langle \eta, \theta \rangle$ , where

- $\eta$  a mapping  $\mathcal{A}_1 \to \mathcal{T}_{\mathcal{A}_2}$ , deriving the homomorphic extension  $\hat{\eta}: \mathcal{T}_{\mathcal{A}_1} \to \mathcal{T}_{\mathcal{A}_2}$
- $\theta~$  a mapping  $C_1\to \Lambda_{\Sigma_2}$ , deriving the homomorphic extension  $\hat{\theta}:\Lambda_{\Sigma_1}\to \Lambda_{\Sigma_2}$

such that  $\vdash \theta(c) : \hat{\eta}(\tau(c))$ , i.e.  $\theta$  respects typing



#### **ACG**

An abstract categorial grammar is a tuple  $\langle \Sigma_1, \Sigma_2, \mathfrak{L}, s \rangle$ , where:

- $\Sigma_1$  the abstract vocabulary
- $\Sigma_2$  the object language
  - $\mathfrak{L}$  the map  $\Sigma_1 \to \Sigma_2$
  - s the initial or distinguished type,  $s \in \mathcal{T}_{\mathcal{A}_1}$

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From the vocabularies we obtain languages  $\mathcal{L}_1, \mathcal{L}_2$ :

 $\mathcal{L}_1$  the abstract language

$$\mathcal{L}_1 = \{t \in \Lambda_{\Sigma_1} | \ t \ \text{an inhabitant of} \ s\}$$

 $\mathcal{L}_2$  the object language

$$\mathcal{L}_2 = \{ t \in \Lambda_{\Sigma_2} \mid \exists \ u \in \mathcal{L}_1 : t \text{ the } \hat{\theta} \text{-image of } u \}$$

### Dyck Language

The language of well-bracketed parentheses, captured by the CFG:

$$S o SS_{(\mathrm{R}_1)} \mid [S]_{(\mathrm{R}_2)} \mid \epsilon_{(\mathrm{R}_3)}$$

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Source Signature 
$$\Sigma_1 = \langle \mathcal{A}_1, \mathcal{C}_1, \mathcal{T}_1 \rangle$$

$$\mathcal{A}_1 = \{S\} \quad C_1 = \{\mathrm{R}_1, \; \mathrm{R}_2, \; \mathrm{R}_3\} \quad \tau_1 = \{\mathrm{R}_1 \mapsto S \multimap S \multimap S, \; \mathrm{R}_2 \mapsto S \multimap S, \; \mathrm{R}_3 \mapsto S\}$$

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Target Signature 
$$\Sigma_2 = \langle \mathcal{A}_2, \mathcal{C}_2, \tau_2 \rangle$$

$$\mathcal{A}_2 = \{*\} \quad \textit{C}_2 = \{\texttt{[}, \texttt{]}\} \quad \tau_2 = \{\texttt{[} \mapsto * \multimap *, \texttt{]} \mapsto * \multimap *\}$$

where \* a primitive type s.t.  $str = * - \circ *$  $: str - \circ str - \circ str = \lambda f. \lambda g. \lambda i. f(g i)$ 

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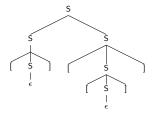
where \* a primitive type s.t.  $str = * - \circ *$  $\cdot : str - \circ str - \circ str = \lambda f. \lambda g. \lambda i. f(g i)$ 

Translation 
$$\mathfrak{L} = \langle \eta, \theta \rangle$$

$$\eta = \{S \mapsto \text{str}\} \quad \theta = \{R_1 \mapsto \lambda x \lambda y. x \cdot y, R_2 \mapsto \lambda x. [\cdot x \cdot], R_3 \mapsto \lambda x. x\}$$

$$[][[]] \in ? \mathcal{L}_2 \quad \Leftrightarrow \quad \exists ? \ u \in \mathcal{L}_1. \hat{\theta}(u) = [][[]]$$

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$$\frac{R_1: S \multimap S \multimap S}{\frac{R_1(R_2R_3): S \multimap S}{(R_1(R_2R_3))(R_2(R_2R_3)): S}} \multimap E \xrightarrow{R_2: S \multimap S} \frac{R_2: S \multimap S}{R_2R_3: S} \xrightarrow{R_2: S \multimap S} - \multimap E} \multimap E$$

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$$u=\left(\mathrm{R}_1(\mathrm{R}_2\mathrm{R}_3)\right)\left(\mathrm{R}_2(\mathrm{R}_2\mathrm{R}_3)\right)$$

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$$\begin{split} u &= (R_1(R_2R_3)) \ (R_2(R_2R_3)) \\ \hat{\theta}(u) &= (\theta(R_1) \ (\theta(R_2) \ \theta(R_3))) \ (\theta(R_2) \ (\theta(R_2) \ \theta(R_3))) \\ &= \dots \\ &\stackrel{\beta_{r}}{\Rightarrow} \ [][[]] \end{split}$$

## **ACG Hierarchy**

The order 
$$\mathcal O$$
 of a type  $T$  is  $\mathcal O(T) = \begin{cases} 0 & T \in \mathcal A \\ \max\left(\mathcal O(A) + 1, \mathcal O(B)\right) & T = A {\:\multimap\:} B \end{cases}$ 

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#### ACG measures of complexity:

- ▶ Complexity of abstract signature:  $C(\Sigma_1) = \max_{c \in C_1} \{ O(\tau(c)) \}$
- ▶ Complexity of interpretation:  $\mathcal{C}(\mathfrak{L}) = \max_{\alpha \in A_1} \{\mathcal{O}(\eta(\alpha))\}$

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#### Embedding the Chomsky Hierarchy

ACG Type	$\mathcal{L}_2$ Class	
(2, 1)	regular	
(2, 2)	context-free	
(2, 3)	well-nested mildly context-sensitive	
$(2, \ge 4)$	mildly context-sensitive	

Multiple context-free grammars operate on tuples of strings; tuples can be encoded as higher-order  $\lambda$ -terms:

$$\langle a_1, \dots, a_n \rangle \leadsto \lambda t. (t \ a_1 \dots a_n) : \mathtt{str}^{(n)} \equiv (\underbrace{\mathtt{str} \multimap \dots \multimap \mathtt{str}}_{n+1}) \multimap \mathtt{str}$$

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The language  $\{a^nb^nc^nd^n \mid n \ge 0\}$  is generated by the 2-CFG:

$$S(xy) \to A(x,y)_{(\mathrm{R}_1)} \quad A(\mathtt{axb},\mathtt{cyd}) \to A(x,y)_{(\mathrm{R}_2)} \quad A(\epsilon,\epsilon) \to \epsilon_{(\mathrm{R}_3)}$$

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$$\begin{split} &\Sigma_{1} = \{A,S\} & \tau_{1} = \{\mathrm{R}_{1} \mapsto A \multimap S, \; \mathrm{R}_{2} \mapsto A \multimap A, \; \mathrm{R}_{3} \mapsto A\} \\ &\Sigma_{2} = \{*\}, & \tau_{2} = \{\mathrm{a},\mathrm{b},\mathrm{c},\mathrm{d} \mapsto \mathtt{str}\} \\ &\eta = \{S \mapsto \mathtt{str}, A \mapsto \mathtt{str}^{(2)}\} \\ &\theta = \{\mathrm{R}_{1} \mapsto \lambda \rho. \left(\rho \; \lambda xy. \left(x \cdot y\right)\right) : \mathtt{str}^{(2)} \multimap \mathtt{str}, \\ &\mathrm{R}_{2} \mapsto \lambda \rho q. \left(\rho \; \lambda xy. \left(q \; \left(a \cdot x \cdot b\right) \; \left(c \cdot y \cdot d\right)\right)\right) : \mathtt{str}^{(2)} \multimap \mathtt{str}^{(2)}, \\ &\mathrm{R}_{3} \mapsto \lambda t. (t \; \epsilon \; \epsilon) : \mathtt{str}^{(2)}\} \end{split}$$

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$$\theta(R_1) \ ("logic", "language") = \lambda \rho. (\rho \ \lambda xy. (x \cdot y)) \ \lambda t. (t "logic" "language") \\ \stackrel{\beta}{\leadsto} \lambda t. (t "logic" "language") \ \lambda xy. (x \cdot y) \\ \stackrel{\beta}{\leadsto} \lambda xy. (x \cdot y) \ "logic" "language" \\ \stackrel{\beta}{\leadsto} \lambda y. ("logic" \cdot y) \ "language" \\ \stackrel{\beta}{\leadsto} "logic" \cdot "language"$$

# Example: m-CFGs in ACG (cont)

$$\begin{array}{l} {\rm aabbccdd} \in ?\mathcal{L}_2 \quad \Leftrightarrow \quad \exists ?u \in \mathcal{L}_1. \hat{\theta}(u) = {\rm aabbccdd} \\ \\ \frac{{\rm R}_2: A \multimap A}{{\rm R}_2: A \multimap A} \frac{{\rm R}_2: A \multimap A - {\rm R}_3: A}{{\rm R}_2{\rm R}_3: A} \multimap \mathcal{E}}{{\rm R}_1\left({\rm R}_2\left({\rm R}_2{\rm R}_3\right)\right): S} \multimap \mathcal{E}} \\ \frac{{\rm R}_1: A \multimap S}{{\rm R}_1\left({\rm R}_2\left({\rm R}_2{\rm R}_3\right)\right): S} \multimap \mathcal{E}} \\ \theta({\rm R}_2)\theta({\rm R}_3) = \lambda pq.(p \ \lambda xy.(q \ ({\rm a} \cdot x \cdot {\rm b}) \ ({\rm c} \cdot y \cdot {\rm d}))) \ \lambda t.(t \ \epsilon \ \epsilon)} \\ \stackrel{\beta}{\leadsto} \lambda q.(\lambda t.(t \ \epsilon \ \epsilon) \ \lambda xy.(q \ ({\rm a} \cdot x \cdot {\rm b}) \ ({\rm c} \cdot y \cdot {\rm d})) \ \epsilon \ \epsilon)} \\ \stackrel{\beta}{\leadsto} \lambda q.(\lambda xy.(q \ ({\rm a} \cdot x \cdot {\rm b}) \ ({\rm c} \cdot y \cdot {\rm d})) \ \epsilon \ \epsilon)} \\ \stackrel{\beta}{\leadsto} \lambda q.(q \ ({\rm a} \cdot \epsilon \cdot {\rm b}) \ ({\rm c} \cdot \epsilon \cdot {\rm d})) \stackrel{\beta}{\leadsto} \lambda q.(q \ {\rm ab} \ {\rm cd})} \end{array}$$

# Example: m-CFGs in ACG (cont)

$$\begin{array}{c} \mathsf{aabbccdd} \in ?\mathcal{L}_2 \iff \exists ?u \in \mathcal{L}_1. \hat{\theta}(u) = \mathsf{aabbccdd} \\ & \frac{ \mathsf{R}_2 : A \multimap A \quad \mathsf{R}_3 : A}{ \mathsf{R}_2 \mathsf{R}_3 : A} \multimap \mathcal{E} \\ & \frac{ \mathsf{R}_1 : A \multimap S \quad \mathsf{R}_2 (\mathsf{R}_2 \mathsf{R}_3) : A}{ \mathsf{R}_1 (\mathsf{R}_2 (\mathsf{R}_2 \mathsf{R}_3)) : S} \multimap \mathcal{E} \\ \\ & \theta(\mathsf{R}_2) \theta(\mathsf{R}_3) = \lambda pq. (p \ \lambda xy. (q \ (\mathbf{a} \cdot x \cdot \mathbf{b}) \ (\mathbf{c} \cdot y \cdot \mathbf{d}))) \ \lambda t. (t \ \epsilon \ \epsilon) \\ & \stackrel{\beta}{\leadsto} \lambda q. (\lambda t. (t \ \epsilon \ \epsilon) \ \lambda xy. (q \ (\mathbf{a} \cdot x \cdot \mathbf{b}) \ (\mathbf{c} \cdot y \cdot \mathbf{d}))) \\ & \stackrel{\beta}{\leadsto} \lambda q. (\lambda xy. (q \ (\mathbf{a} \cdot x \cdot \mathbf{b}) \ (\mathbf{c} \cdot y \cdot \mathbf{d})) \ \epsilon \ \epsilon) \\ & \stackrel{\beta}{\leadsto} \lambda q. (q \ (\mathbf{a} \cdot \epsilon \cdot \mathbf{b}) \ (\mathbf{c} \cdot \epsilon \cdot \mathbf{d})) \stackrel{\beta}{\leadsto} \lambda q. (q \ \mathbf{ab} \ \mathbf{cd}) \\ & \stackrel{\beta}{\leadsto} \lambda g. (\beta q. (q \ \mathbf{ab} \ \mathbf{cd}) \ \lambda xy. (g \ (\mathbf{a} \cdot x \cdot \mathbf{b}) \ (\mathbf{c} \cdot y \cdot \mathbf{d}))) \ \lambda q. (q \ \mathbf{ab} \ \mathbf{cd}) \\ & \stackrel{\beta}{\leadsto} \lambda g. (\lambda xy. (g \ (\mathbf{a} \cdot x \cdot \mathbf{b}) \ (\mathbf{c} \cdot y \cdot \mathbf{d})) \ \mathbf{ab} \ \mathbf{cd}) \\ & \stackrel{\beta}{\leadsto} \lambda g. (g \ (\mathbf{a} \cdot \mathbf{ab} \cdot \mathbf{b}) \ (\mathbf{c} \cdot \mathbf{cd} \cdot \mathbf{d})) \stackrel{\beta}{\leadsto} \lambda g. (g \ \mathbf{aabb} \ \mathbf{ccdd}) \\ & \stackrel{\beta}{\leadsto} \lambda g. (g \ (\mathbf{a} \cdot \mathbf{ab} \cdot \mathbf{b}) \ (\mathbf{c} \cdot \mathbf{cd} \cdot \mathbf{d})) \stackrel{\beta}{\leadsto} \lambda g. (g \ \mathbf{aabb} \ \mathbf{ccdd}) \\ & \stackrel{\beta}{\leadsto} \lambda g. (g \ (\mathbf{a} \cdot \mathbf{ab} \cdot \mathbf{b}) \ (\mathbf{c} \cdot \mathbf{cd} \cdot \mathbf{d})) \stackrel{\beta}{\leadsto} \lambda g. (g \ \mathbf{aabb} \ \mathbf{ccdd}) \\ & \stackrel{\beta}{\leadsto} \lambda g. (g \ \mathbf{aabb} \ \mathbf{ccdd}) \end{array}$$