

A Note on Categorical Grammar, Disharmony and Permutation

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Disharmonious Composition (DishComp) is definable as

$$\mathbf{X/Y \ Y/Z \Rightarrow \ X/Z \qquad Y/Z \ X/Y \Rightarrow \ X/Z}$$

(and is condemned by Carpenter 1998: 202 and Jacobson 1992: 139ff)

Harmonious Composition (HarmComp) is defined as

$$\mathbf{X/Y \ Y/Z \Rightarrow \ X/Z \qquad Y/Z \ X/Y \Rightarrow \ X/Z}$$

(and is generally adored)

Lambek Calculus (Lambek) has the following basis:

axiom: $\mathbf{X \Rightarrow \ X}$

rules: $\mathbf{if \ X \ Y \Rightarrow \ Z \ then \ X \Rightarrow \ Z/Y \ and \ Y \Rightarrow \ Z/X}$

$\mathbf{if \ X \Rightarrow \ Z/Y \ then \ X \ Y \Rightarrow \ Z}$

$\mathbf{if \ X \Rightarrow \ Z/Y \ then \ Y \ X \Rightarrow \ Z}$

Permutation Closure of language L (PermL)

$\mathbf{PermL = \{ s \mid s' \ in \ L \ and \ s \ is \ a \ permutation \ of \ s' \} \ and \ L \subseteq \ PermL}$

(but nice languages are not PermL for any L)

Fact 1 DishComp is not a theorem of Lambek but HarmComp is

(as you can easily check)

Fact 2 DishComp + Lambek = Lambek + Permutation = undirected Lambek

(Moortgat 1988, Van Benthem 1991; Lambek is maximal, but contextfree)

⇔

For any assignment A of categorial types to the atoms of language L, if Lambek recognizes L under A, Lambek + DishComp recognizes PermL under A

(so disharmony is always too much for Lambek)

Generalized Composition (GenComp) (Joshi *et al.* 1991, Steedman 1990)

primary type	secondary type	composition
$\mathbf{X/Y}$	$\mathbf{(..(Y Z_1).. Z_i..) Z_n}$	$\Rightarrow \mathbf{(..(X Z_1).. Z_i..) Z_n}$
secondary type	primary type	composition
$\mathbf{(..(Y Z_1).. Z_i..) Z_n}$	$\mathbf{X/Y}$	$\Rightarrow \mathbf{(..(X Z_1).. Z_i..) Z_n}$

while | is \ or / and is conserved under composition.

(Summarizing combinatory categorial grammar:)

Fact 3 GenComp entails DishComp

(and you need it for the famous crossing dependencies in Dutch, but)

Fact 4 It is **not** the case that for any assignment A of categorial types to the atoms of language L, if GenComp recognizes L with respect to A, GenComp recognizes PermL with respect to A

(as you can see from)

MIX MIX = PermTRIPLE, where TRIPLE = { aⁿbⁿcⁿ: n > 0 }

(- which is more than mildly context-sensitive; Joshi *et al.* 1991 - and)

Fact 5 Let A_b(a) = a, A_b(c) = c, A_b(b) = { (s/a)/c, ((s/a)/c)/s, ..., ((s/c)/s)\a, ... ((s/s)\c)\a, (s/c)\a } i.e. A_b(b) = { s|x|y, s|v|w|t | {x,y} = {a,b}, {v,w,t} = {a,c,s} and | is \ or / }; b, then, is said to be fully functional, since it has all relevant functional types .

GenComp does not recognize MIX with respect to assignment A_b .

For example: GenComp does not derive *baaccb* and *abaaccbcb* with respect to A_b

Fact 6 Let $A_{bc}(a) = A_b a$, $A_{bc}(b) = A_b(b)$, $A_{bc}(c) = \{ (s/a)/b, ((s/a)/b)/s, \dots, ((s/b)/s)/a, \dots ((s/s)/b)/a, (s/b)/a \}$ (both b and c are fully functional).

GenComp recognizes MIX with respect to assignment A_{bc} .

(Now consider the grammar exhibiting the following features.)

Primitive Cancellation Constraint

$X/Y \ Y \Rightarrow X$ iff Y is primitive

(- in order to be more restrictive - and)

Directed Stacks (example)

$((X(Y/W)/U)/V)$ is written as $X/[U,Y]/[V,W]$

(- in order to be more transparent - and)

Transparent Primary Category (examples)

$X/[A]/[Y,B] \ Y/[C]/[D] \Rightarrow X/[A,C]/[B,D]$ or

$X/[A]/[Y,B] \ Y/[C]/[D] \Rightarrow X/[C,A]/[B,D]$ or

$X/[A]/[Y,B] \ Y/[C]/[D] \Rightarrow X/[A,C]/[D,B]$ or

$X/[A]/[Y,B] \ Y/[C]/[D] \Rightarrow X/[C,A]/[D,B]$

(- in order to gain expressivity - make GenComp to)

Categorical List Grammar (CatListGram) (Cremers 1993)

GenComp + Primitive Cancellation Constraint + Directed Stacks + Transparent

Primary Category

(but nevertheless)

Fact 7 Fact 4, Fact 5 and Fact 6 also hold *mutatis mutandis* for CatListGram. In these aspects, CatListGram and GenComp are weakly equivalent.

CONCLUSIONS

None of the additional characteristics for CatListGram affects the weak capacity of a categorial grammar; i.e.:

- exclusive cancellation of primitives does not affect recognition capacity
- maintaining more than one argument stack does not affect recognition capacity
- merging argument stacks of primary and secondary category does not affect recognition capacity

and it takes more than disharmony to induce permutation closure

(*) see demo Delilah here or
<http://fonetiek-6.leidenuniv.nl/hijzlnr/delilah.html>

references:

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