

Towards Normalization by Evaluation for Lambek Calculus

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The syntactic calculus \mathbf{L} of Lambek [8] is a deductive system which is primarily employed in mathematical studies of sentence structure in natural language. From a logical perspective, it provides a proof system for the multiplicative fragment of intuitionistic noncommutative linear logic [2, 12], comprising only of the tensor product \otimes and the two ordered implications $/$ and \backslash as connectives.

The metatheory of the Lambek calculus has been thoroughly developed in the past decades, in particular its categorical semantics by Lambek himself [9, 10]. The Lambek calculus enjoys cut elimination [8] and various normalization procedures, e.g. by Hepple for the tensor-free fragment [7] or more recently by Amblard and Retoré [5], aimed at the reduction of the proof-search space and consequently the number of possible derivation of a given sequent. Various diagrammatic calculi and proof nets for the Lambek calculus have also been proposed [14, 11].

In this work, we discuss the natural deduction presentation of the Lambek calculus \mathbf{L} , together with a calculus $\mathbf{L}_{\beta\eta}$ consisting of $\beta\eta$ -long normal forms, i.e. derivations that do not contain any redexes, and no further η -expansion is applicable. The calculus $\mathbf{L}_{\beta\eta}$ is a particular fragment of the calculus of normal forms for intuitionistic noncommutative linear logic introduced by Polakov and Pfenning [12]. The normalization algorithm, sending each derivation in \mathbf{L} to its $\beta\eta$ -long normal form in $\mathbf{L}_{\beta\eta}$, is an instance of *normalization by evaluation* [6, 3], where the effective normalization procedure factors through a denotational Kripke model of the syntactic calculus. A similar procedure, for the simpler case of the Lambek calculus without tensor product, can be extrapolated from Polakov's PhD thesis [13].

Lambek Calculus in Natural Deduction

The Lambek calculus \mathbf{L} has formulae given by the grammar: $A, B ::= p \mid A \otimes B \mid B / A \mid A \backslash B$, where p comes from a given set At of atomic formulae, \otimes is a multiplicative conjunction (a.k.a. tensor product), and $/$ and \backslash are left and right implications (a.k.a. left and right residuals, or internal homs). Sequents in \mathbf{L} are pairs $\Gamma \vdash A$, where Γ is an ordered (possibly empty) list of formulae, called context, and A is a single formula. Derivations in \mathbf{L} are generated by the following inference rules:

$$\begin{array}{c} \frac{}{A \vdash A} \text{ax} \quad \frac{\Gamma \vdash A \quad \Delta \vdash B}{\Gamma, \Delta \vdash A \otimes B} I_{\otimes} \quad \frac{\Gamma \vdash A \otimes B \quad \Delta_0, A, B, \Delta_1 \vdash C}{\Delta_0, \Gamma, \Delta_1 \vdash C} E_{\otimes} \\ \frac{\Gamma, A \vdash B}{\Gamma \vdash B / A} I_{/} \quad \frac{A, \Gamma \vdash B}{\Gamma \vdash A \backslash B} I_{\backslash} \quad \frac{\Gamma \vdash B / A \quad \Delta \vdash A}{\Gamma, \Delta \vdash B} E_{/} \quad \frac{\Gamma \vdash A \quad \Delta \vdash A \backslash B}{\Gamma, \Delta \vdash B} E_{\backslash} \end{array}$$

We write $f : \Gamma \vdash A$ to indicate that f is a particular derivation of $\Gamma \vdash A$. We call Fma and Ctx the sets of formulae and contexts, respectively.

Substitution, i.e. the cut rule, is admissible in \mathbf{L} [8].

$$\frac{\Gamma \vdash A \quad \Delta_0, A, \Delta_1 \vdash C}{\Delta_0, \Gamma, \Delta_1 \vdash C} \text{cut}$$

Derivations in \mathbf{L} can be identified modulo a certain $\beta\eta$ -equivalence relation \sim , which we omit from this extended abstract.

Canonical representatives of equivalence classes for the congruence \sim , i.e. $\beta\eta$ -long normal forms, can be organized in another calculus $\mathbf{L}_{\beta\eta}$. Sequents in $\mathbf{L}_{\beta\eta}$ have two shapes, $\Gamma \uparrow A$ and $\Gamma \Downarrow A$. In the literature on intuitionistic propositional logic (i.e. simply typed λ -calculus, via Curry-Howard correspondence), derivations of $\Gamma \uparrow A$ are called *normal forms*, while derivations of $\Gamma \Downarrow A$ are called *neutrals*. Derivations in $\mathbf{L}_{\beta\eta}$ are generated by the following inference rules:

$$\begin{array}{c} \frac{}{A \Downarrow A} \text{ax} \quad \frac{\Gamma \uparrow A \quad \Delta \uparrow B}{\Gamma, \Delta \uparrow A \otimes B} I_{\otimes} \quad \frac{\Gamma \Downarrow A \otimes B \quad \Delta_0, A, B, \Delta_1 \uparrow C}{\Delta_0, \Gamma, \Delta_1 \uparrow C} E_{\otimes} \quad \frac{\Gamma \Downarrow p}{\Gamma \uparrow p} \text{sw}_{\Downarrow} \\ \frac{\Gamma, A \uparrow B}{\Gamma \uparrow B / A} I_{/} \quad \frac{A, \Gamma \uparrow B}{\Gamma \uparrow A \setminus B} I_{\setminus} \quad \frac{\Gamma \Downarrow B / A \quad \Delta \uparrow A}{\Gamma, \Delta \Downarrow B} E_{/} \quad \frac{\Gamma \uparrow A \quad \Delta \Downarrow A \setminus B}{\Gamma, \Delta \Downarrow B} E_{\setminus} \end{array}$$

Soundness of $\mathbf{L}_{\beta\eta}$ wrt. \mathbf{L} is evident: each $\mathbf{L}_{\beta\eta}$ -derivation can be embedded into \mathbf{L} via functions $\text{emb}_{\uparrow} : \Gamma \uparrow A \rightarrow \Gamma \vdash A$ and $\text{emb}_{\Downarrow} : \Gamma \Downarrow A \rightarrow \Gamma \vdash A$, which simply change \uparrow and \Downarrow to \vdash and erase all applications of the rule sw_{\Downarrow} .

Normalization by Evaluation

$\mathbf{L}_{\beta\eta}$ is also complete wrt. \mathbf{L} . The proof of completeness corresponds to the construction of a normalization algorithm nbe , taking a derivation of $\Gamma \vdash A$ and returning a derivation of $\Gamma \uparrow A$, satisfying the two following properties, for all derivations $t, u : \Gamma \vdash A$: (i) $t \sim u \rightarrow \text{nbe } t = \text{nbe } u$; (ii) $t \sim \text{emb}_{\uparrow}(\text{nbe } t)$. The procedure nbe is defined following the normalization by evaluation (NbE) methodology: (i) Describe a Kripke model of \mathbf{L} and its equational theory \sim . This provides the existence of an element $\llbracket t \rrbracket$ in the model, for each derivation t in \mathbf{L} , such that $\llbracket t \rrbracket = \llbracket u \rrbracket$ whenever $t \sim u$; (ii) Construct a reification function sending an element of the Kripke model to a normal form in $\mathbf{L}_{\beta\eta}$, so that $\text{nbe } t$ is defined as the reification of $\llbracket t \rrbracket$.

The Kripke Model. It is the presheaf category Set^{Cxt} . Explicitly, an object P of the category Set^{Cxt} is a Cxt-indexed family of sets: for any context Γ , $P \Gamma$ is a set¹. A morphism f between P and Q in Set^{Cxt} is a natural transformation, i.e. a Cxt-indexed family of functions: for any context Γ , f is a function between $P \Gamma$ and $Q \Gamma$. We typically omit the index Γ , and simply write $f : P \Gamma \rightarrow Q \Gamma$. The set of morphisms between P and Q is denoted $P \dot{\rightarrow} Q$.

The category Set^{Cxt} is *monoidal biclosed*, with unit, tensor and internal homs given by²:

$$\begin{array}{l} \widehat{\Gamma} = (\Gamma = \langle \rangle) \quad (P \widehat{\otimes} Q) \Gamma = \{\Gamma_0, \Gamma_1 : \text{Cxt}\} \times \{\Gamma = \Gamma_0, \Gamma_1\} \times P \Gamma_0 \times Q \Gamma_1 \\ (P \widehat{/} Q) \Gamma = \{\Delta : \text{Cxt}\} \rightarrow Q \Delta \rightarrow P(\Gamma, \Delta) \quad (Q \widehat{\setminus} P) \Gamma = \{\Delta : \text{Cxt}\} \rightarrow Q \Delta \rightarrow P(\Delta, \Gamma) \end{array}$$

The tensor and internal homs in Set^{Cxt} form two adjunctions: $-\widehat{\otimes}Q \dashv Q\widehat{\setminus}-$ and $P\widehat{\otimes}- \dashv -\widehat{/}P$.

The monoidal biclosed category Set^{Cxt} is not completely suitable for the construction of an algorithm satisfying the NbE specification (more on why later). In analogy with the case of intuitionistic propositional logic with falsity and disjunction [1], we introduce a monad T on Set^{Cxt} . For each presheaf P and context Γ , the elements of the set $T P \Gamma$ are inductively generated by the following constructors:

$$\frac{P \Gamma}{T P \Gamma} \eta \quad \frac{\Gamma \Downarrow A \otimes B \quad T P(\Delta_0, A, B, \Delta_1)}{T P(\Delta_0, \Gamma, \Delta_1)} E_{\otimes}^T$$

¹We think of Cxt as a discrete category, which is why there is no mention of P 's action of morphisms.

²We use Agda notation for the dependent sum and dependent product operations: $(x : A) \times B x$ and $(x : A) \rightarrow B x$ stand for $\sum_{x \in A} B x$ and $\prod_{x \in A} B x$ respectively. Curly brackets indicate implicit arguments.

Interpretation of Syntax. Each formula A is interpreted as a presheaf $\llbracket A \rrbracket$:

$$\llbracket p \rrbracket = - \uparrow p \quad \llbracket B / A \rrbracket = \llbracket B \rrbracket \widehat{\nearrow} \llbracket A \rrbracket \quad \llbracket A \otimes B \rrbracket = T (\llbracket A \rrbracket \widehat{\otimes} \llbracket B \rrbracket) \quad \llbracket A \setminus B \rrbracket = \llbracket A \rrbracket \widehat{\searrow} \llbracket B \rrbracket$$

Notice the application of the monad T in the interpretation of \otimes . The interpretation of formulae extends to contexts via the monoidal structure of $\mathbf{Set}^{\text{Cxt}}$: $\llbracket \langle \rangle \rrbracket = \widehat{1}$ and $\llbracket A, \Gamma \rrbracket = \llbracket A \rrbracket \widehat{\otimes} \llbracket \Gamma \rrbracket$. Each derivation $t : \Gamma \vdash A$ in \mathbf{L} is interpreted as a natural transformation $\llbracket t \rrbracket : \llbracket \Gamma \rrbracket \rightarrow \llbracket A \rrbracket$ ³:

$$\begin{aligned} \llbracket \mathbf{ax} \rrbracket x &= x & \llbracket I_{\otimes} t u \rrbracket (\gamma, \delta) &= \eta (\llbracket t \rrbracket \gamma, \llbracket u \rrbracket \delta) \\ \llbracket E_{/} t u \rrbracket (\gamma, \delta) &= \llbracket t \rrbracket \gamma (\llbracket u \rrbracket \delta) & \llbracket I_{/} t \rrbracket \gamma &= \lambda x. \llbracket t \rrbracket (\gamma, x) \\ \llbracket E_{\setminus} t u \rrbracket (\gamma, \delta) &= \llbracket u \rrbracket \delta (\llbracket t \rrbracket \gamma) & \llbracket I_{\setminus} t \rrbracket \gamma &= \lambda x. \llbracket t \rrbracket (x, \gamma) \\ \llbracket E_{\otimes} t u \rrbracket (\delta_0, \gamma, \delta_1) &= \text{run} (T \llbracket u \rrbracket (\text{rmst} (\text{lmst} (\delta_0, \llbracket t \rrbracket \gamma), \delta_1))) \end{aligned} \quad (1)$$

The map $\text{run}_A : T \llbracket A \rrbracket \rightarrow \llbracket A \rrbracket$ in (1) is a constructible natural transformation for “running” the monad T on interpreted formulae, while rmst and lmst are the left and right strengths of T wrt. the monoidal structure $(\widehat{1}, \widehat{\otimes})$.

The Normalization Function. The last phase of the NbE procedure is the extraction of normal forms from elements of the Kripke model. Concretely, this corresponds to the construction of a *reification* function $\downarrow_A : \llbracket A \rrbracket \rightarrow - \uparrow A$. In order to deal with the cases of the mixed-variance connectives $/$ and \setminus , it is necessary to simultaneously define reification together with a *reflection* procedure $\uparrow_A : - \downarrow A \rightarrow \llbracket A \rrbracket$, embedding neutrals in the presheaf model. This is the crucial point where the interpretation of the tensor product $\llbracket A \otimes B \rrbracket = T (\llbracket A \rrbracket \widehat{\otimes} \llbracket B \rrbracket)$ works, while a naïve interpretation $\llbracket A \otimes B \rrbracket = \llbracket A \rrbracket \widehat{\otimes} \llbracket B \rrbracket$ without the application of the monad T would fail. With the latter interpretation, $\uparrow_{A \otimes B} t$ would be required to have type $(\llbracket A \rrbracket \widehat{\otimes} \llbracket B \rrbracket) \Gamma$, which in turn will force us to split the context $\Gamma = \Gamma_0, \Gamma_1$ and provide elements of type $\llbracket A \rrbracket \Gamma_0$ and $\llbracket B \rrbracket \Gamma_1$. But this split is generally impossible to achieve, e.g. the neutral t could be a variable of the form $\mathbf{ax} : A \otimes B \downarrow A \otimes B$. This problematic splitting is avoided through the application of the constructor E_{\otimes}^T . This seems to be a general pattern for all positive connectives, e.g. consider the case of falsity and disjunction in intuitionistic propositional logic [1, 4].

$$\begin{aligned} \downarrow_p t &= t & \uparrow_p t &= \text{sw}_{\downarrow} t \\ \downarrow_{B/A} t &= I_{/} (\downarrow_B (t (\uparrow_A \mathbf{ax}))) & \uparrow_{B/A} t &= \lambda x. \uparrow_B (E_{/} t (\downarrow_A x)) \\ \downarrow_{A \setminus B} t &= I_{\setminus} (\downarrow_B (t (\uparrow_A \mathbf{ax}))) & \uparrow_{A \setminus B} t &= \lambda x. \uparrow_B (E_{\setminus} (\downarrow_A x) t) \\ \downarrow_{A \otimes B} t &= \text{run}^{\uparrow} (T (\lambda(x, y). I_{\otimes} (\downarrow_A x) (\downarrow_B y)) t) & \uparrow_{A \otimes B} t &= E_{\otimes}^T t (\eta (\uparrow_A \mathbf{ax}, \uparrow_B \mathbf{ax})) \end{aligned}$$

The reflection function \uparrow_A can also be used for the definition of an element $\text{fresh}_{\Gamma} : \llbracket \Gamma \rrbracket \Gamma$, for each context Γ .

The normalization function $\text{nbe} : \Gamma \vdash A \rightarrow \Gamma \uparrow A$ is then definable as the reification of the interpretation of a derivation $t : \Gamma \vdash A$ in the Kripke model: $\text{nbe } t = \downarrow_A (\llbracket t \rrbracket \text{fresh}_{\Gamma})$. Here we consider the interpretation $\llbracket t \rrbracket : \llbracket \Gamma \rrbracket \Gamma \rightarrow \llbracket A \rrbracket \Gamma$, which we can apply to $\text{fresh}_{\Gamma} : \llbracket \Gamma \rrbracket \Gamma$. Intuitively, the element fresh_{Γ} gives an interpretation to all the free variables in t . Since $\llbracket t \rrbracket = \llbracket u \rrbracket$ for all $t \sim u$, then the function nbe sends \sim -related derivations in \mathbf{L} to equal derivations, i.e. $\text{nbe } t = \text{nbe } u$ whenever $t \sim u$.

A normalization function internal to \mathbf{L} can be defined by postcomposing nbe with emb_{\uparrow} . The resulting procedure is correct whenever each derivation t is \sim -equivalent to its normal form $\text{emb}_{\uparrow} (\text{nbe } t)$. Following the standard NbE strategy [3, 1], correctness can be proved using logical relations.

³In the E_{\otimes} case, applications of the natural isomorphisms of unitality and associativity of $(\widehat{1}, \widehat{\otimes})$ are omitted.

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