

Categorial grammars with iterated types form a Strict Hierarchy of k -valued Languages

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Abstract. The notion of k -valued categorial grammars where a word is associated to at most k types is often used in the field of lexicalized grammars as a fruitful constraint for obtaining several properties like the existence of learning algorithms. This principle is relevant only when the classes of k -valued grammars correspond to a real hierarchy of languages. Such a property had been shown earlier for classical categorial grammars.

This paper establishes the relevance of this notion when categorial grammars are enriched with iterated types.

1 Introduction

The field of natural language processing includes lexicalized grammars such as classical categorial grammars [1], the different variants of Lambek calculus [10], lexicalized tree adjoining grammars [7], etc. In these lexicalized formalisms, a k -valued grammar associates at most k categories to each word of the lexicon. For a particular model of lexicalized grammars and their corresponding languages, this definition forms a (strict) hierarchy of classes of grammars when k increases. To this hierarchy of grammars, it corresponds a growing list of classes of languages that does not necessarily form a strict hierarchy.

In fact, in the field of lexicalized grammars, the concept of k -valued grammars is often used to define sub-classes of grammars and languages that satisfy some property when the whole class does not satisfy it. In particular, this notion is important for a lot of learnability results in Gold's model [6].

In the paper, we prove that the extension of classical categorial grammars with iterated types $*AB$ form strict hierarchies of classes of languages. Since Categorial Dependency Grammars [5, 2, 4] use a very similar mechanism, the result is also extended to these classes of grammars. The results give a direct justification of the notion of k -valued grammars for such systems.

The paper is organized as follows. Section 2 gives some background knowledge on categorial grammars and on iterated types. Section 3 focuses on parsing or deduction structures (the two notions are closely related for type-logical or categorial grammars). Section 4 presents the proof that the class of k -valued

categorial grammars with iteration form a strict hierarchy. Section 5 considers some variants. Section 6 concludes.

2 Background

2.1 Categorial Grammars

Definition 1 (Types). *The types Tp , or formulas, are generated from a set of primitive types Pr , or atomic formulas, by two binary connectives³ “/” (over) and “\” (under):*

$$Tp ::= Pr \mid Tp \setminus Tp \mid Tp / Tp$$

Definition 2 (Rigid and k -valued categorial grammars). *A categorial grammar is a structure $G = (\Sigma, \lambda, S)$ where:*

- Σ is a finite alphabet (the words in the sentences);
- $\lambda : \Sigma \mapsto \mathcal{P}^f(Tp)$ is a function (called a lexicon) that maps a finite set of types to each element of Σ (the possible categories of each word);
- $S \in Pr$ is the main type associated to correct sentences.

If $X \in \lambda(a)$, we say that G associates X to a and we write $G : a \mapsto X$.

A k -valued categorial grammar is a categorial grammar where, for every word $a \in \Sigma$, $\lambda(a)$ has at most k elements. A rigid categorial grammar is a 1-valued categorial grammar.

Definition 3 (Language). *Given a type calculus, based on a derivation relation \vdash on Types, a sentence $v_1 \dots v_n$ belongs to the language of G , written $L(G)$, provided its words v_i can be assigned types X_i whose sequence $X_1 \dots X_n$ derives S according to \vdash .*

2.2 *AB Calculus

Categorial grammars usually express optional and repeatable arguments by a recursive mechanism. Here, we present a different approach that uses an extension of atomic formulas. With *AB Calculus, an atomic formula can be either a primitive type $x \in Pr$ or the iteration of a primitive type written x^* , $x \in Pr$. This extension lets naturally express optional repeatable dependencies. The calculus is very similar except that an iterated primitive type can be used zero, one or several times.

Categorial Dependency Grammars [5, 2, 4] use a very similar mechanism. However, in this case, types are of order one (flat)⁴, but a complex system of polarities produces non projective dependencies. Thus, CDG is not a conservative extension of *AB Calculus and the reverse does not hold either.

Definition 4 (Types). *The types Tp , or formulas, are generated from a set of primitive types Pr , or iteration of primitive types $Pr^* = \{x^*, x \in Pr\}$ by two binary connectives “/” (over) and “\” (under):*

$$Tp ::= Pr \mid Pr^* \mid Tp \setminus Tp \mid Tp / Tp$$

³ no product connective is used in the paper

⁴ the order o is null on primitive types s.t. $o(X/Y) = o(Y \setminus X) = \max(o(X), 1 + o(Y))$

The elimination rules are as follows :

$$\left| \begin{array}{l} X / Y, Y \vdash X \\ X / y^*, y \vdash X / y^* \\ X / y^* \vdash X \end{array} \right. \begin{array}{l} (\mathbf{L}^r) \\ (\mathbf{L}^{r*}) \\ (\mathbf{\Omega}^r) \end{array} \left| \begin{array}{l} Y, Y \setminus X \vdash X \\ y, y^* \setminus X \vdash y^* \setminus X \\ y^* \setminus X \vdash X \end{array} \right. \begin{array}{l} (\mathbf{L}^l) \\ (\mathbf{L}^{l*}) \\ (\mathbf{\Omega}^l) \end{array}$$

Remark. The AB Calculus (without iteration) derivation relation is defined by the two rules L^r and L^l . AB grammars are equivalent to Context-free grammars.

Definition 5 (Head and arguments). Any type X can be written in the following form: $((p|A_1)|\dots|A_n)$ where $A|B$ stands for A/B or $B \setminus A$ (remark: we do not use Steedman notation) and p has no binary operator ; p is the head of X , each subtype $((p|A_1)|\dots|A_k)$ is a head subtype of X , n is the arity of X , and each A_i is said an argument subtype of X .

Example 1. Let $\lambda(\text{John}) = \lambda(\text{Mary}) = N$, $\lambda(\text{loves}) = [N \setminus S / N]$: *John loves Mary* belongs to the language (for AB or *AB). See also Example 3 for iteration.

CDG. The *AB calculus on flat types (order 1) is the basis of Categorical Dependency grammars (CDG) used for natural language. In fact CDG involve more complex types, we only give their supplementary rule D^l that handles distant dependencies (rule D^r is similar on the right): \mathbf{D}^l . $\alpha^{P_1(\swarrow C)P(\searrow C)P_2} \vdash \alpha^{P_1 P P_2}$, if the potential $(\swarrow C)P(\searrow C)$ satisfies the following pairing rule **FA** (*first available*): **FA** : P has no occurrences of $\swarrow C, \searrow C$ (see ref [4] for full details).

The relation of CDG to automata is explained below.

2.3 Abstract automata equivalent to CDG

There is a class of simple abstract automata equivalent to CDG. Intuitively, these are automata with one stack and several completely independent counters.

Definition 6. A real-time pushdown independent counters automaton ($RtPiCA^{(k)}, k \geq 0$) is a system $A = (W, \Gamma, Q, q_0, k, I)$, where: W is the set of input symbols (words), Γ is the set of stack symbols containing a special symbol $\perp \in \Gamma$ (bottom), Q is a set of states, $q_0 \in Q$ is the start state, $k \geq 0$, and I is a set of instructions of the form

$$i = (aqz \rightarrow q'\alpha v)$$

in which: $a \in W$, $q, q' \in Q$, $z \in \Gamma$, $\alpha \in \Gamma^*$ and v is an integer vector of length k (empty if $k = 0$), i.e. $v \in \mathbb{Z}^k$ if $k > 0$. k is the number of counters.

Computations of $RtPiCA^{(k)}$ are defined in terms of the following transition system over configurations. A **configuration** is a tuple (w, q, Z, V) , where $w \in W^*$ (non read part of input string), $q \in Q$ (current state), $\gamma \in \Gamma^*$ (stack contents) and $V \in \mathbb{Z}^k$ (current counters' values).

A computation step is the following transition relation:

$$\langle q, s, \gamma, V \rangle \vdash_A^i \langle q', s', \gamma', V' \rangle,$$

where: 1) $s = as'$;

2) $\gamma = z\gamma''$, $\gamma' = \alpha\gamma''$ γ, γ' have non-negative components ;

3) $V' = V + v$ for the instruction $i = (aqz \rightarrow q'\alpha v) \in I$.

\vdash_A^* is the reflexive-transitive closure of \vdash_A^i .

A string $s \in W^*$ is recognized by the automaton A if $\langle q_0, s, \perp, (0, \dots, 0) \rangle \in \vdash_A^* \langle q, \varepsilon, \varepsilon, (0, \dots, 0) \rangle$ for some q . $L(A)$ (the language recognized by A) is the set of all strings recognized by A .

Example 2. The language $L = \{w_1^n w_2^n w_3^n \mid n = 0, 1, \dots\}$ is recognized by the automaton $A = (W, \Gamma, Q, q_0, k, I)$ in which: $W = \{w_1, w_2, w_3\}$, $Q = \{q_0, q_1, q_2\}$, $\Gamma = \{z_0, w_1, w_2, w_3\}$, $k = 1$ and the set of instructions I is as follows:

$$\begin{array}{ll} w_1 q_0 \perp \rightarrow q_0 w_1 \perp 1 & w_1 q_0 w_1 \rightarrow q_0 w_1 w_1 1 \\ w_2 q_0 w_1 \rightarrow q_1 \varepsilon 0 & w_2 q_1 w_1 \rightarrow q_1 \varepsilon 0 \\ w_3 q_1 \perp \rightarrow q_2 \perp -1 & w_3 q_2 \perp \rightarrow q_2 \perp -1 \\ w_3 q_2 \perp \rightarrow q_2 \varepsilon -1 & \end{array}$$

The equivalence of $RtPiCA^{(k)}$ and CDG is proved in [9].

Theorem 1. *A language L is recognized by a $RtPiCA^{(k)}$ A for some k if and only if it is generated by a CDG.*

3 Deduction structures

In this section we focus on structures for the calculus *AB (and CDG) ; in fact, these rules are extensions of the cancellation rules of classical categorical grammars that lead to the generalization of FA-structures used here.

3.1 FA structures over a set \mathcal{E}

We give a general definition of FA structures over a set \mathcal{E} , whereas in practice \mathcal{E} is either an alphabet Σ or a set of types such as Tp .

Definition 7 (FA structures). *Let \mathcal{E} be a set, a FA structure over \mathcal{E} is a binary tree where each leaf is labelled by an element of \mathcal{E} and each internal node is labelled by \mathbf{L}^r (forward application) or \mathbf{L}^l (backward application):*

$$\mathcal{FA}_{\mathcal{E}} ::= \mathcal{E} \mid \mathbf{L}^r(\mathcal{FA}_{\mathcal{E}}, \mathcal{FA}_{\mathcal{E}}) \mid \mathbf{L}^l(\mathcal{FA}_{\mathcal{E}}, \mathcal{FA}_{\mathcal{E}})$$

3.2 Functor-Argument Structures with Iterated Subtypes

The **functor-argument structure** and **labelled functor-argument structure** associated to a (dependency) structure proof in *AB (or in CDG), are obtained as below.

Definition 8. *Let ρ be a structure proof, ending in a type t . The **labelled functor-argument structure** associated to ρ , denoted $lfa_{iter}(\rho)$, is defined by induction on the length of the proof ρ considering the last rule in ρ :*

- if ρ has no rule, then it is reduced to a type t assigned to a word w , let then $lfa_{iter}(\rho) = w$;
- if the last rule is $\mathbf{L}^1 c^{P_1} [c \setminus \beta]^{P_2} \vdash [\beta]^{P_1 P_2}$, by induction let ρ_1 be a structure proof for c^{P_1} and $\mathcal{T}_1 = lfa_{iter}(\rho_1)$; and let ρ_2 be a structure proof for $[c \setminus \beta]^{P_2}$ and $\mathcal{T}_2 = lfa_{iter}(\rho_2)$: then $lfa_{iter}(\rho)$ is the tree with root labelled by $\mathbf{L}^1_{[c]}$ and subtrees $\mathcal{T}_1, \mathcal{T}_2$;
- if the last rule is $\mathbf{\Omega}^1 * [c^* \setminus \beta]^{P_2} \vdash [\beta]^{P_2}$, by induction let ρ_2 be a structure proof for $[c^* \setminus \beta]^{P_2}$ and $\mathcal{T}_2 = lfa_{iter}(\rho_2)$: then $lfa_{iter}(\rho)$ is \mathcal{T}_2 ;
- if the last rule is $\mathbf{L}^{1*} c^{P_1} [c^* \setminus \beta]^{P_2} \vdash [c^* \setminus \beta]^{P_1 P_2}$, by induction let ρ_1 be a structure proof for c^{P_1} and $\mathcal{T}_1 = lfa_{iter}(\rho_1)$ and let ρ_2 be a structure proof for $[c^* \setminus \beta]^{P_2}$ and $\mathcal{T}_2 = lfa_{iter}(\rho_2)$: $lfa_{iter}(\rho)$ is the tree with root labelled by $\mathbf{L}^1_{[c]}$ and subtrees $\mathcal{T}_1, \mathcal{T}_2$;
- we define similarly the function lfa_{iter} when the last rule is on the right, using $/$ and \mathbf{L}^r instead of \setminus and \mathbf{L}^1 ;
- (in the CDG case) if the last rule is \mathbf{D}^1 , then $lfa_{iter}(\rho)$ is taken as the image of the proof above.

The functor-argument structure $fa_{iter}(\rho)$ is obtained from $lfa_{iter}(\rho)$ (the labelled one) by erasing the labels $[c]$.

Example 3. Let $\lambda(John) = N$, $\lambda(ran) = [N \setminus S / A^*]$, $\lambda(yesterday) = \lambda(fast) = A$, then $s'_3 = \mathbf{L}^1_{[N]}(John, \mathbf{L}^r_{[A]}(\mathbf{L}^r_{[A]}(ran, fast), yesterday)$ (labelled structure) and $s_3 = \mathbf{L}^1(John, \mathbf{L}^r(\mathbf{L}^r(ran, fast), yesterday))$ are associated to ρ_1 below :

$$\rho_1 : \frac{\frac{\frac{N}{S} \mathbf{L}^1}{[N \setminus S]} \mathbf{L}^1}{[N \setminus S / A^*]} \mathbf{L}^1 \quad \frac{\frac{\frac{[N \setminus S / A^*] A}{[N \setminus S / A^*]} \mathbf{L}^r}{[N \setminus S / A^*]} \mathbf{L}^r}{[N \setminus S / A^*]} \mathbf{L}^r \quad \frac{\frac{\frac{[N \setminus S / A^*] A}{[N \setminus S / A^*]} \mathbf{L}^r}{[N \setminus S / A^*]} \mathbf{L}^r}{[N \setminus S / A^*]} \mathbf{L}^r}{[N \setminus S / A^*]} \mathbf{L}^r$$

John ran fast yesterday
(dependency structure)

4 A strict hierarchy

For each $k \in \mathbb{N}$, we are interested in classes of the form $\mathcal{C}^k_{\langle constraint \rangle}$ of languages corresponding to k -valued grammars with some $\langle constraint \rangle$. This section proves for some $\langle constraint \rangle$ that such families forms a strict hierarchy (if the lexicon has at least 2 elements):

For instance, a first very easy result when we consider the $*AB$ calculus (denoted by $*$ as class constraint) is given by the fact that $\mathcal{C}^0_* \subsetneq \mathcal{C}^1_*$ because $\mathcal{C}^0_* = \emptyset$ and \mathcal{C}^1_* contains the (finite) language $\{a\} = \mathcal{L}_*(G)$ for the rigid grammar $G : a \mapsto S$.

Note that the class of languages corresponding to rigid AB -grammars is a proper subset of the languages of rigid $*AB$ -grammars: consider $L = \{a^*\}$ generated by $G = \{a \mapsto S / S^*\}$, which cannot be generated by a rigid AB -grammar.

4.1 Overview

We first sum up some previous work for classical categorial grammars (AB) and non-associative Lambek grammars (NL).

AB. A similar problem was solved by Kanazawa in [8] for the classes of k -valued classical categorial grammars. The proof scheme was as follows:

- Languages: for $k > 0$, $L_{AB,k} =_{def} \{a^i b a^i b a^i \mid 1 \leq i \leq 2k\}$
- Grammars:⁵ for $k > 0$,

$$G_k = \begin{cases} a \mapsto x, \\ (\dots (S / x) \dots / x) / y \underbrace{}_i / x \underbrace{}_i / y \underbrace{}_{i-1} / x \dots / x & (1 \leq i \leq k) \\ b \mapsto y, \\ (x \setminus (\dots \setminus (x \setminus (\dots (S / x) \dots / x) / y) / x) \dots / x) \dots & (k+1 \leq i \leq 2k) \end{cases}$$

- The language (for AB) of G_k is $L_{AB,k}$.
- Property: for $k > 0$, $L_{AB,k}$ is a $(k+1)$ -valued language but is not a k -valued language for classical categorial grammars.

NL. For Lambek non-associative calculus the proof scheme [3] is based on the previous one (for AB), but using grammars beyond order 1, $2k+1$ words and generalized AB-deductions. The proof scheme is as follows:

- Languages: for $k > 0$, $L_{NL,k} =_{def} \{abb\} \cup \{a^i b a^i b a^i \mid 1 \leq i \leq 2k\}$
- Grammars: $k+1$ -valued grammar $G'_k = \sigma(G_k)$ where G_k is as above, with substitution $\sigma = x := (S / y) / y$.
- The language (for NL) of G'_k is $L_{NL,k}$.
- Property: for $k > 0$, $L_{NL,k}$ is a $(k+1)$ -valued language but is not a k -valued language for NL.

Towards Iteration. We can easily show that the languages of grammars G_k is the same when we consider the \ast AB calculus instead of the AB rules (because G_k has not iteration). The same remark holds for grammar G'_k .

This shows that the languages $L_{AB,k}$ are also $(k+1)$ -valued languages for the \ast AB calculus. It is thus natural to ask whether they are k -valued for the \ast AB calculus as well. This is the purpose of next section.

Remark. One key point in the adaptation is that, when the language is finite ($L_{AB,k}$ is finite), an iterated argument subtype cannot be used in a proof tree for application of $L^{l\ast}$ or $L^{r\ast}$.

4.2 Order 1 and Iteration

For each $k \in \mathbb{N}$, we can consider the class $\mathcal{C}_{\ast,flat}^k$ of languages corresponding to k -valued \ast -AB grammars with types of order at most 1. This section proves that this family forms a strict hierarchy (if the lexicon has at least 2 elements):

Theorem 2. $\forall k \in \mathbb{N} \quad \mathcal{C}_{\ast,flat}^k \subsetneq \mathcal{C}_{\ast,flat}^{k+1}$

⁵ In fact, the second type of a can be abbreviated as $S / x^i y x^i y^{i-1}$ and the second type of b can be abbreviated as $x^i \setminus (S / x^i y x^i)$

Before the details of proof, we introduce some definitions and remarks.

In this section, we consider the *binary deduction trees* obtained by omitting the Ω unary steps and where each node is decorated with the type that is obtained by application of the elimination rule on the immediate subtrees. These trees also correspond to the functor-argument structures previously described.

Definition 9. We say that B is an $*$ -context of A , when we can write:

$B = (G_{i,p'_i}^* \setminus \dots G_{i,1}^* \setminus A / D_{i,1}^* \dots / D_{i,p_i}^*)$ where the sequences of iterated types (on the left, or on the right of A) are possibly empty.

When B is an $*$ -context of A : if $\Delta, A, \Gamma \vdash X$ then $\Delta, B, \Gamma \vdash X$ as well (using Ω^{r*} and Ω^{l*}).

Rule patterns. We observe that each type occurring in a binary deduction tree obtained by omitting the Ω unary steps is a head subtype of some type associated to a leaf. The patterns are as follows :

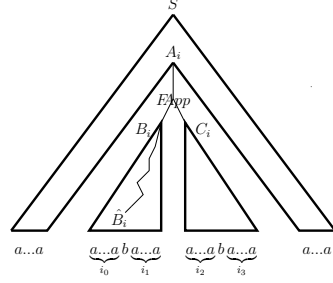
$$\begin{array}{c} \text{(on the right)} \qquad \qquad \qquad \text{(similarly on the left)} \\ \frac{(G_{i,p'_i}^* \setminus \dots G_{i,1}^* \setminus A_i / C_i / D_{i,1}^* \dots / D_{i,p_i}^*) C'_i}{A_i} L^r \text{ (and } \Omega^{r*} \text{)} \\ \frac{(G_{i,p'_i}^* \setminus \dots G_{i,1}^* \setminus A_i / C_i^* / D_{i,1}^* \dots / D_{i,p_i}^*) C'_i}{A_i} I^r \text{ (and } \Omega^{r*} \text{)} \\ \frac{(G_{i,p'_i}^* \setminus \dots G_{i,1}^* \setminus A_i / C_i^* / D_{i,1}^* \dots / D_{i,p_i}^*) C'_i}{A_i / C_i^*} I^r \text{ (and } \Omega^{r*} \text{)} \end{array}$$

where C'_i is a $*$ -context of C_i .

Steps of proof

1. Obviously, we have $\forall k \in \mathbb{N} \quad \mathcal{C}_*^k \subseteq \mathcal{C}_*^{k+1}$
2. For $k > 0$, we consider $L_{*,k} =_{def} \{a^i b a^i b a^i \mid 1 \leq i \leq 2k\}$
3. We see that $L_{*,k}$ is a $(k+1)$ -valued language : because G_k is $(k+1)$ -valued, without $*$ in its types, its language is as in the AB case, which is $\{a^i b a^i b a^i \mid 1 \leq i \leq 2k\}$ as shown in [8].
4. We prove that $L_{*,k}$ is not a k -valued language for $*AB$ languages.
Proof : suppose G is a k -valued grammar with $*AB$ language $L_{*,k}$
 - (a) For each element of $L_{*,k}$, there exists a *binary deduction tree* : \mathcal{T}_i for $a^i b a^i b a^i$ ($1 \leq i \leq 2k$)
 - (b) For $0 < i \leq 2k$ let A_i denote the root type of **the smallest subtree** in \mathcal{T}_i **whose yield includes both** b . This gives two subtrees with one b with yields $a^{i_0} b a^{i_1}$ and $a^{i_2} b a^{i_3}$ ($i_1 + i_2 = i$). Then, we consider the antecedents of A_i in \mathcal{T}_i : C'_i and B_i such that : $B_i = (G_{i,p'_i}^* \setminus \dots G_{i,1}^* \setminus A_i / C_i^\delta / D_{i,1}^* \dots / D_{i,p_i}^*)$ (or $B_i = (D_{i,p_i}^* \setminus \dots \setminus D_{i,1}^* \setminus C_i^\delta \setminus A_i) / G_{i,1}^* \dots / G_{i,p'_i}^*$) where δ is either $*$ or

empty, and such that C'_i is a $*$ context of C_i .



In fact, δ cannot denote $*$, otherwise, we would get deductions involving iterations of C_i (replacing one C_i for words with more than two b). Each B_i is thus an $*$ -context of A_i/C_i or of $C_i \setminus A_i$.

We define \widehat{B}_i as the type in G “providing” B_i (following functors) in T_i .

We define \widehat{C}'_i as the type in G “providing” C'_i (following functors) in T_i .

- (c) We remark that $\forall i : B_i \neq A_i$ and $C'_i \neq A_i$.
 Otherwise, if $B_i = A_i$ by replacing the subtree ending in B_i (or C'_i if $C'_i = A_i$) by the subtree ending in A_i , we would get a derivation of a word with three b instead of two.
- (d) More generally : $\forall i, j : A_j$ cannot have B_i or C_i as head subtype.
 Otherwise, a subtree ending in B_i (or a $*$ context of C_i) would contain the subtree ending with A_j that has two b .
- (e) We prove that: $\forall i \neq j : B_i \neq B_j$
 Let $y_{ce}^i(X_i)$ denote the center part of the yield with root X_i in T_i . (this is i_1 for the left subtree with yield $a^{i_0}ba^{i_1}$ and i_2 for the right subtree with yield $a^{i_2}ba^{i_3}$), we have $\forall i : y_{ce}^i(B_i) + y_{ce}^i(C'_i) = i$.
 - Suppose (from the contrary) (i) $B_i = B_j$, for some $i \neq j$;
 Since $i \neq j$, either $y_{ce}^i(B_i) \neq y_{ce}^j(B_j)$ or $y_{ce}^i(C'_i) \neq y_{ce}^j(C'_j)$.
 - - Suppose first (ii) $y_{ce}^i(B_i) \neq y_{ce}^j(B_j)$; from (ii) replacing in T_j , ($j \neq 0$), B_j by B_i is a derivation of a word $w = \dots ba^{j'} ba^j$ or $w = a^j ba^{j'} b \dots$, where $j' = y_{ce}^i(B_i) + y_{ce}^j(C'_j)$ this word w is not in $L_{*,k}$ since $j' = y_{ce}^i(B_i) + y_{ce}^j(C'_j) \neq y_{ce}^j(B_j) + y_{ce}^j(C'_j) = j$; this contradicts the assumption that G has $L_{*,k}$ as language (for $*AB$).
 - - Suppose instead (ii)' $y_{ce}^i(C'_i) \neq y_{ce}^j(C'_j)$;
 - - - if (iii) $C_i = C_j$: replacing in T_j , C'_j by C'_i yields a similar word w not in $L_{*,k}$ with $j' = y_{ce}^j(B_j) + y_{ce}^i(C'_i)$ occurrences of a between the b and $j' \neq j$, (ii)' also leads to a contradiction.
 - - - otherwise (iii) $C_i = D_{i,k}$ for some $D_{i,k}^*$ of B_i
 $B_i = (G_{i,p'_i}^* \setminus \dots G_{i,1}^* \setminus A_i / C_i / D_{i,1}^* \dots / D_{i,p_i}^*)$ (in the right case) ;
 however in such a case, we could replace C'_i by a succession of C'_i , using the iteration rule, producing a word with more than two b .
 Therefore (i) is not possible : this means that all B_i are distinct.
- (f) We prove that: $\forall i, j : \widehat{B}_i \neq \widehat{B}_j$.
 We write $X|Y$ as an abbreviation for X / Y or for $Y \setminus X$ (functor first).
 - Suppose $\widehat{B}_i = \widehat{B}_j$. One (say B_i) is a head subtype of the other (B_j), that is in the form:
 $B_j = \dots (B_i | D'_1 \dots) | D'_n$
 with $B_j = (G_{j,p'_j}^* \setminus \dots G_{j,1}^* \setminus (A_j / C_j) / D_{j,1}^* \dots / D_{j,p_j}^*)$ (in the right case) ;
 - - if B_i is a strict ⁶ head subtype of A_j / C_j , we then get A_j in a subtree

⁶ (not equal to)

ending in B_i , which is impossible since the yield would then have three b instead of two.

-- otherwise, B_i is a *context⁷ of A_j/C_j (in the right case), which entails that $C_i = C_j$; then, replacing B_j by B_i in \mathcal{T}_j or C'_i by C'_j in \mathcal{T}_i gives deduction trees: which leads to a contradiction using a reasoning similar to that of $B_i \neq B_j$.⁸

(g) As a consequence, we get a contradiction as follows.

Let $f(i)$ denote the index s.t. $\widehat{C}'_i = \widehat{B}_{f(i)}$. By definition C_i is a head subtype of \widehat{C}'_i and $B_{f(i)}$ is a head subtype of $\widehat{B}_{f(i)}$, that is the same type. Therefore, one of C_i and $B_{f(i)}$ is a head subtype of the other; because C_i is primitive and $B_{f(i)}$ is not, C_i is a head subtype of $B_{f(i)}$. This entails that C_i is a head subtype of $A_{f(i)}$ as well, which is impossible as shown previously.

5. Thus $\forall k > 0 \ C_{*,flat}^k \neq C_{*,flat}^{k+1}$ (we have also seen in the introduction to the section that the property is also true for $k = 0$).

4.3 Order >1 and iteration

The previous reasoning can be adapted to the *AB calculus where types are not necessarily flat (order >1), using the same deduction rules and structures.

Theorem 3. $\forall k \in \mathbb{N} \ C_*^k \subsetneq C_*^{k+1}$

Sketch of proof. To this end, we use in this section the languages $L_{NL,k} = \{abb\} \cup \{a^i ba^i ba^i \mid 1 \leq i \leq 2k\}$ and consider $2k + 1$ proof trees instead of $2k$ in the previous section.

- Languages: for $k > 0$, $L_{NL,k} =_{def} \{abb\} \cup \{a^i ba^i ba^i \mid 1 \leq i \leq 2k\}$
- Grammars: $k + 1$ -valued grammar $G'_k = \sigma(G_k)$ where G_k is as above, with substitution $\sigma = x := (S / y) / y$. and we can show $\mathcal{L}_*(\sigma(G_k)) = L_{NL,k}$.
- Property: for $k > 0$, $L_{NL,k}$ is a $(k + 1)$ -valued language (using G'_k) but is not a k -valued language (see details below) for the *AB calculus.

Details of proof. To prove that $L_{NL,k}$ is not a k valued language, we proceed as in the previous section: we suppose the existence of a k -valued grammar G' , with language $L_{NL,k}$ and we consider a deduction tree \mathcal{T}_i for $a^i ba^i ba^i$ ($1 \leq i \leq 2k$) and \mathcal{T}_0 for abb . For $0 \leq i \leq 2k$, we define A_i as the root type of the smallest subtree in \mathcal{T}_i with a yield including both b .

- We prove that: $\forall i \neq j : B_i \neq B_j$ (similarly to the previous subsection)
- $\forall i \neq j : \widehat{B}_i \neq \widehat{B}_j$ (details are similar to the previous subsection)
- As a consequence, we need $2k + 1$ distinct \widehat{B}_i .
- Contradiction: $2k + 1$ distinct \widehat{B}_i are needed with a k -valued grammar with a useful lexicon of 2 words (a and b).

The advantage of this construction is to handle directly $2k + 1$ types ($2k$ in the previous one). However, a main difference is the presence of types of order 2 in the grammar.

⁷ possibly equal to

⁸ $B_i = (G_{j,p'_j,q'}^* \setminus \dots \setminus G_{j,1}^* \setminus A_j / C_j / D_{j,1}^* \dots / D_{j,q}^*)$ for some $q' \leq p'_j$ and $q \leq p_j$

5 Conclusion

***AB.** The paper studies variants of grammatical systems with iterated types: involving flat type (order 1) or not. We have proved that the classes of k -valued categorial grammars form a strict hierarchy of classes of languages. Thus, the notion of k -valued grammars is relevant for both systems: each $k \in \mathbb{N}$ defines a particular class of languages. The proof relies on generalized AB deductions and their corresponding functor-argument structures that enables us to define languages of structured sentences as for classical categorial grammars.

CDG. In fact, our strict hierarchy theorem also extends to categorial dependency grammars (CDG) due to the following argument. To each CDG-grammar G , we can associate a *AB grammar $\phi(G)$ (of order 1), that is obtained by erasing the potentials (that handle distant dependencies) in G ; given two CDG-grammars G_1, G_2 , if the language of G_1 is in the language of G_2 then the language of $\phi(G_1)$ is also in the language of $\phi(G_2)$. Therefore the hierarchy for CDG cannot collapse.

Future work could concern other extensions of type logical grammars, such as the extension of pregroups with iterated types.

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