



Compositionality & λ -calculus

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Overview

Untyped (pure) λ -calculus

Syntax

Substitution

Equivalences

Combinators

Frege's principle

Typed λ -calculus

Type theory

Montague's language

Towards a NL fragment

Simple sentence

Roadmap for the fragment

Quantified sentences

Excursus : Generalized Quantifiers

Transitive verbs

Negation

Other phenomena



Syntax

Let V be a countable set of variables. The set of all well-formed terms, Λ , is defined inductively as follows :

- $V \subset \Lambda$
- $\lambda x. t \in \Lambda$
- $(t_1)t_2 \in \Lambda$

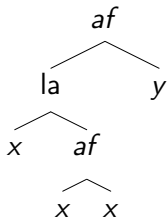
$$\forall x \in V, \forall t \in \Lambda$$

$$\forall t_1, t_2 \in \Lambda$$



Syntax (cont'd)

The term $(\lambda x.(x)x)y$ has this syntactic structure :

$$af(la(x, af(x, x)), y)$$




Variable substitution

- $X_{[x:=z]} \rightsquigarrow Z$
- $y_{[x:=z]} \rightsquigarrow y$ si $y \neq x$
- $(M)N_{[x:=z]} \rightsquigarrow (M_{[x:=z]})N_{[x:=z]}$
- $\lambda x.M_{[x:=z]} \rightsquigarrow \lambda z.M_{[x:=z]}$
- $\lambda y.M_{[x:=z]} \rightsquigarrow \lambda y.M_{[x:=z]}$ if $x \neq y$



Term substitution

- $x_{[x:=t]} \rightsquigarrow t$
- $y_{[x:=t]} \rightsquigarrow y$ si $y \neq x$
- $(M)N_{[x:=t]} \rightsquigarrow (M_{[x:=t]})N_{[x:=t]}$
- $\lambda y.M_{[x:=t]} \rightsquigarrow \lambda y.M_{[x:=t]}$ if y is not free in t .



α equivalence

$$\lambda x. \varphi \equiv \lambda z. \varphi[x:=z]$$



Convention on variables

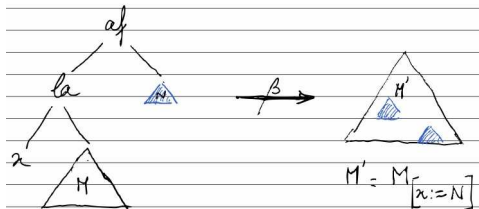
Let M be a term, x a variable. By convention, the occurrences of x in M are either all free or all bound.

It can be shown that every term constructed without respecting this convention is α -equivalent to a term that respects the convention.



β equivalence

$$(\lambda x.M)N \equiv M_{[x:=N]}$$





Combinators

A combinator is a closed λ -term (ie without free variable)



Identity

$$I =_{\text{def}} \lambda x. x$$

For any term t : $(I)t \equiv t$



Booleans

$$T =_{\text{def}} \lambda x. \lambda y. x$$

$$F =_{\text{def}} \lambda x. \lambda y. y$$

This encoding allows to encode an if-then-else function :

$$\text{if } P \text{ then } Q \text{ else } R =_{\text{def}} ((P)Q)R.$$

if P is β -equivalent to T then $((P)Q)R$ will yield Q , while if P is β -equivalent (or β -reduces) to F , the outcome will be Q .



The IF combinator

$$\text{IF} =_{\text{def}} \lambda b. \lambda t. \lambda f. ((b)t)f$$

$$\text{NOT} =_{\text{def}} \lambda u. ((u)\text{F})\text{T}$$

$$\text{AND} =_{\text{def}} \lambda u. \lambda v. ((u)v)\text{F}$$

$$\text{OR} =_{\text{def}} \lambda u. \lambda v. ((u)\text{T})v$$



Church numerals

$$0 =_{\text{def}} \lambda f. \lambda x. x$$

$$1 =_{\text{def}} \lambda f. \lambda x. (f)x$$

$$n =_{\text{def}} \lambda f. \lambda x. (f)(f) \dots (f)x$$

with n times f

$$\text{Succ} =_{\text{def}} \lambda n. \lambda f. \lambda x. (f)((n)f)x$$

$$+ \equiv \lambda m. \lambda n. \lambda f. \lambda x. ((m)f)((n)f)x$$

$$* \equiv \lambda m. \lambda n. \lambda f. (m)(n)f$$



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Frege's principle

The meaning of an expression is uniquely determined by the meanings of its parts and their mode of combination.

Motivation : Humbolt's view on finite means for infinite sentences



Consequences

- Locality principle : lexical items have a meaning that is independant of the expression they occur in.
- Substitution principle : synonymous expressions may be substituted for each other without changing the meaning of the complex expression in which they occur.
- Parts of well formed sentences have « meaning »
- Meanings can be « composed » : Frege's saturation idea

λ -terms can represent individual meanings and functional application can represent semantic composition.



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Type theory

1. e is a type
2. t is a type
3. if a and b are types, then $\langle a, b \rangle$ is a type



Type theory

1. e is a type
2. t is a type
3. if a and b are types, then $\langle a, b \rangle$ is a type
 - $D_e = A$
 - $D_t = \{0, 1\}$
 - $D_{\langle a, b \rangle} =$ the set of mappings from D_a to D_b .



Meaningful expressions

For a, b types :

- variables and individual constants of type a belong to ME_a .
- if $\alpha \in ME_{\langle a,b \rangle}$ and $\beta \in ME_a$ then $(\alpha)\beta \in ME_b$.
- if u is a variable of type a and $\alpha \in ME_b$, then $\lambda u.\alpha \in ME_{\langle a,b \rangle}$.
- if φ and ψ are in ME_t , then the following expressions are also in ME_t : $\neg\varphi$, $(\varphi \wedge \psi)$, $(\varphi \vee \psi)$, $(\varphi \rightarrow \psi)$.
- if φ is in ME_t and u is a type a variable, then $\forall u\varphi$ and $\exists u\varphi$ are in ME_t .



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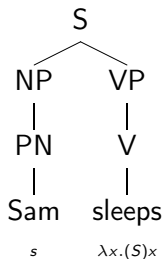
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S	\rightarrow	NP	VP
$[S]$	\leftarrow	$([VP])$	$[NP]$
0	\leftarrow	(2)	1
NP	\rightarrow	PN	
0	\leftarrow	1	
VP	\rightarrow	V	
0	\leftarrow	1	
PN	\rightarrow	Sam	
0	\leftarrow	s	
V	\rightarrow	sleeps	
0	\leftarrow	$\lambda x.(S)x$	



Roadmap for the fragment

- A cat enters
- Sam likes Pam
- Everyone likes Pam
- Everyone likes an actress
- Sam is mortal
- Sam met a tall person
- Sam doesn't sleep

$$\exists x (Cx \wedge Ex)$$

$$Lsp \text{ (or } ((L)s)p$$

$$\forall x (Px \rightarrow Lxp)$$

$$\forall x (Px \rightarrow \exists y (Ay \wedge Lxy))$$

$$Ms$$

$$\exists x ((Px \wedge Tx) \wedge Msx)$$

$$\neg Ss$$