

k-Valued Non-Associative Lambek Grammars (without Product) Form a Strict Hierarchy of 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. This paper establishes the relevance of this notion for two related grammatical systems. In the first part, the classes of k -valued non-associative Lambek (NL) grammars without product is proved to define a strict hierarchy of languages. The second part introduces the notion of generalized functor argument for non-associative Lambek (NL_\emptyset) calculus without product but allowing empty antecedent and establishes also that the classes of k -valued NL_\emptyset grammars without product form a strict hierarchy of languages.

1 Introduction

The field of natural language processing includes lexicalized grammars such as classical categorial grammars [1], the different variants of Lambek calculus [2], lexicalized tree adjoining grammars [3], 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. This hierarchy of grammars corresponds to 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 [4]. Usually, to find a positive result, some kind of restriction is necessary because very often the whole class of grammars corresponds to (at least) context free languages and this class is known to be unlearnable no matter which grammatical system is used³.

Usually, when the learnability can be established for a particular k -valued class of grammars, this property can also be proved for any $k \in \mathbb{N}$. When this assumption is true, for each $k \in \mathbb{N}$, there exists a learning algorithm that learns the grammars of this class from positive examples even if the whole class is not learnable (there does not exist a universal learning algorithm for all $k \in \mathbb{N}$): we hope that all the interesting grammars (the grammars for natural languages, for instance) are in a particular k -valued class.

In this context, we can wonder if, for a particular system of lexicalized grammars and languages, the class of classes of languages forms a strict hierarchy. If this assumption is not verified for a system, it usually means that for a certain k the class of k -valued languages is the same as the whole class: the hierarchy is truncated. The other possibility which is very rare consists in a hierarchy that has infinite steps, some steps corresponding to several contiguous integers. In this context, the proof that the hierarchy is not strict is usually a bad news for the concept of k -valued grammars corresponding to a system. For instance, the classes of k -valued classical categorial grammar form a strict hierarchy of languages [5] and for each $k \in \mathbb{N}$, the class of k -valued classical categorial grammar is learnable from positive examples.

In the paper, we are interested to prove that non-associative Lambek grammars without product (written NL) and non-associative Lambek grammars without product but with empty antecedent (written NL_\emptyset) form two strict hierarchies of classes of languages. The results give a direct justification of the notion of k -valued grammars for both systems. The paper also recalls a useful alternative presentation of NL using generalized AB deductions (written GAB) and generalized functor-argument structures (written FA) that were used in [6] for defining a learning algorithm but are a central notion in the paper for proving the strict hierarchy. For NL_\emptyset , the paper introduces similar notions: generalized AB deductions with empty applications (written GAB_\emptyset) and generalized functor-argument structures with empty arguments (written FA_\emptyset). This presentation is also proved, in the paper, to be equivalent to NL_\emptyset and the hierarchy theorem is given.

The paper is organized as follows. Section 2 gives some background knowledge on non-associative Lambek categorial grammars (without product). Section 3 focuses on (recently defined) structures, with alternative deduction rules for NL-grammars (without product) as generalized FA-structures; in fact these rules are extensions of the cancellation rules of classical categorial grammars that lead to the generalization of FA-structures used here. Section 4 presents the proof that the class of k -valued non-associative Lambek categorial grammars without

³ The class of context free language has a limit point: $\exists L, (L_i)_{i \in \mathbb{N}}$ such that $L = \bigcup_{i \in \mathbb{N}} L_i$ and $\forall i \in \mathbb{N} L_i \subsetneq L_{i+1}$. This property entails that any class of grammars that corresponds to (a superclass of) context free languages (of strings) is not learnable from positive examples

product form a strict hierarchy. Section 5 considers the NL_\emptyset variant of NL ; we define generalized functor-argument structures for this variant and a strict hierarchy theorem; we also revisit the case of AB (classical categorial grammars). Section 6 concludes.

2 Background

2.1 Categorial Grammars

The reader not familiar with Lambek Calculus and its non-associative version will find nice presentation in the first articles written by Lambek [2, 7] or more recently in [8–13]. We use in the paper two variants of Lambek calculus: non-associative Lambek calculus without product with (NL_\emptyset) and without (NL) empty antecedent.

Definition 1 (Types). *The types Tp , or formulas, are generated from a set of primitive types Pr , or atomic formulas, by two binary connectives⁴ “/” (over) and “\” (under):*

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

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

- Σ is a finite alphabet (the words in the sentences);
- $I : \Sigma \mapsto \mathcal{P}^f(Tp)$ 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 $X \in I(a)$, 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 $a \in \Sigma$, $I(a)$ has at most k elements. A rigid categorial grammar is a 1-valued categorial grammar.

2.2 Non-associative Lambek Calculi NL and NL_\emptyset

NL/NL_\emptyset derivation $\vdash_{NL}/\vdash_{NL_\emptyset}$ As a logical system, we use Gentzen-style sequent presentation. A sequent $\Gamma \vdash A$ is composed of a binary tree of formulas Γ (the set of such trees is noted \mathcal{T}_{Tp}) which is the antecedent configuration and a succedent formula A . A context $\Gamma[\cdot]$ is a binary tree of formulas with a hole. For X , a formula or a binary tree of formulas, $\Gamma[X]$ is the binary tree obtained from $\Gamma[\cdot]$ by filling the hole with X . Γ can be empty in NL_\emptyset : Γ belongs to $\mathcal{T}_{Tp} \cup \{\emptyset\}$. In fact, to completely define the rules of NL_\emptyset , we use two equivalence relations on binary trees of formulas and the empty set⁵:

$$\Gamma[(\emptyset, \Delta)] \equiv_{NL_\emptyset} \Gamma[\Delta] \equiv_{NL_\emptyset} \Gamma[(\Delta, \emptyset)]$$

⁴ no product connective is used in the paper

⁵ One can define NL_\emptyset without the two equivalence relations by specializing the rules when one of the antecedents is empty but this gives a much longer definition

Definition 3 (NL/NL_\emptyset). A sequent is valid in NL/NL_\emptyset and is noted $\Gamma \vdash_{NL} A/\Gamma \vdash_{NL_\emptyset} A$ iff $\Gamma \vdash A$ can be deduced from the following rules:

$$\frac{}{A \vdash A} \mathbf{Ax} \quad \frac{(\Gamma, B) \vdash A}{\Gamma \vdash A/B} /R \quad \frac{(A, \Gamma) \vdash B}{\Gamma \vdash A \setminus B} \setminus R$$

$$\frac{\Gamma \vdash A \quad \Delta[A] \vdash B}{\Delta[\Gamma] \vdash B} \mathbf{Cut} \quad \frac{\Gamma \vdash A \quad \Delta[B] \vdash C}{\Delta[(B/A, \Gamma)] \vdash C} /L \quad \frac{\Gamma \vdash A \quad \Delta[B] \vdash C}{\Delta[(\Gamma, A \setminus B)] \vdash C} \setminus L$$

Cut elimination. We recall that the cut rule can be eliminated in \vdash_{NL} and in \vdash_{NL_\emptyset} : every derivable sequent has a cut-free derivation.

NL/NL_\emptyset languages. \mathcal{E}^+ denotes the set of non-empty strings over \mathcal{E} . $\mathcal{T}_\mathcal{E}$ is the set of (non-empty) well-bracketed lists (binary trees) of elements of \mathcal{E} .

Definition 4 (Yield). If T is a tree where the leaves are elements of a set \mathcal{E} , $yield_\mathcal{E}(T) \in \mathcal{E}^+$ is the list of leaves of T .

This notation will be used for well-bracketed lists of words $yield_\Sigma$, for binary trees of formulas $yield_{Tp}$ and will be extended to FA structures (see further Definition 7).

Definition 5 (Language). Let $G = (\Sigma, I, S)$ be a categorial grammar.

- G generates a well-bracketed list of words $T \in \mathcal{T}_\Sigma$ (in NL/NL_\emptyset model) iff there exists Γ a binary tree of types, $c_1, \dots, c_n \in \Sigma$ and $A_1, \dots, A_n \in Tp$ such that:

$$\begin{cases} G : c_i \mapsto A_i \ (1 \leq i \leq n) \\ \Gamma = T[c_1 \rightarrow A_1, \dots, c_n \rightarrow A_n] \\ \Gamma \vdash_{NL} S / \Gamma \vdash_{NL_\emptyset} S \end{cases}$$

where $T[c_1 \rightarrow A_1, \dots, c_n \rightarrow A_n]$ means the binary tree obtained from T by substituting the left to right occurrences of c_1, \dots, c_n by A_1, \dots, A_n .

- G generates a string $c_1 \cdots c_n \in \Sigma^+$ iff there exists $T \in \mathcal{T}_\Sigma$ such that $yield_\Sigma(T) = c_1 \cdots c_n$ and G generates T .
- The language of well-bracketed lists of words of G , written $\mathcal{BL}_{NL}(G)/\mathcal{BL}_{NL_\emptyset}(G)$, is the set of well-bracketed lists of words generated by G .
- The language of strings corresponding to G , written $\mathcal{L}_{NL}(G)/\mathcal{L}_{NL_\emptyset}(G)$, is the set of strings generated by G .

One interest of NL when compared to classical categorial grammars lies in its possibility to easily encode a restriction on the use of a basic category. For instance when we want to distinguish between a noun phrase and pronouns in subject position or object position, we can proceed as follows.

Example 1. Let $\Sigma_1 = \{John, Mary, likes, he, she, him, her\}$ and let $Pr_1 = \{S, N, X_1, X_2\}$. We define the following rigid grammar:

$$G_1 = \begin{cases} John, Mary \mapsto N \ ; \ he, she \mapsto N_1; \\ him, her \mapsto N_2 \ ; \ likes \mapsto N_1 \setminus (S/N_2). \end{cases}$$

where $N_1 = X_1/(N \setminus X_1)$ and $N_2 = X_2/(N \setminus X_2)$.

We get: $((He \ likes) \ Mary) \in \mathcal{BL}_{NL}(G_1)$ but: $John \ likes \ she \notin \mathcal{L}_{NL}(G_1)$

With NL_\emptyset , we can introduce a restrictive form of optional arguments; “little”, in the following example, is optionally associated to proper nouns. This is not possible directly with NL .

Example 2. Let $\Sigma_2 = \{John, Mary, likes, little\}$ and let $Pr_2 = \{S, N, L\}$.

We define: $G_2 = \begin{cases} John \mapsto (L \setminus L) \setminus N & ; Mary \mapsto (L \setminus L) \setminus N \\ little \mapsto L \setminus L & ; likes \mapsto N \setminus (S/N) \end{cases}$

G_2 is a rigid (or 1-valued) grammar. We can prove that $((L \setminus L) \setminus N, N \setminus (S/N)), (L \setminus L) \setminus N \vdash_{NL_\emptyset} S$ and $((L \setminus L) \setminus N, N \setminus (S/N)), (L \setminus L, (L \setminus L) \setminus N) \vdash_{NL_\emptyset} S$.

Thus, we get:

$$\begin{aligned} John \text{ likes } Mary &\in \mathcal{L}_{NL_\emptyset}(G_2) & ; & John \text{ likes } little \text{ Mary} &\in \mathcal{L}_{NL_\emptyset}(G_2) \\ ((John \text{ likes}) \text{ Mary}) &\in \mathcal{BC}_{NL_\emptyset}(G_2) & ; & ((John \text{ likes}) (little \text{ Mary})) &\in \mathcal{BC}_{NL_\emptyset}(G_2) \end{aligned}$$

2.3 Some useful Models.

Powerset residuated groupoids and semi-groups. Let (M, \cdot) be a groupoid. Let $\mathcal{P}(M)$ denote the powerset of M . A *powerset residuated groupoid* over (M, \cdot) is the structure $(\mathcal{P}(M), \circ, \Rightarrow, \Leftarrow, \subseteq)$ such that for $X, Y \subseteq M$:

$$\begin{aligned} X \circ Y &= \{x.y : x \in X, y \in Y\} \\ X \Rightarrow Y &= \{y \in M : (\forall x \in X) x.y \in Y\} \\ Y \Leftarrow X &= \{y \in M : (\forall x \in X) y.x \in Y\} \end{aligned}$$

If (M, \cdot) has a unit I (that is : $\forall x \in M : I.x = x.I = x$), then the above structure is a *powerset residuated groupoid with unit* (it has $\{I\}$ as unit).

Interpretation. Given a powerset residuated groupoid $(\mathcal{P}(M), \circ, \Rightarrow, \Leftarrow, \subseteq)$, an *interpretation* is a map from primitive types p to elements $\llbracket p \rrbracket$ in $\mathcal{P}(M)$ that is extended to types and sequences in the natural way :

$$\llbracket C_1 \setminus C_2 \rrbracket = \llbracket C_1 \rrbracket \Rightarrow \llbracket C_2 \rrbracket ; \llbracket C_1 / C_2 \rrbracket = \llbracket C_1 \rrbracket \Leftarrow \llbracket C_2 \rrbracket ; \llbracket (C_1, C_2) \rrbracket = (\llbracket C_1 \rrbracket \circ \llbracket C_2 \rrbracket)$$

By a model property for NL : If $\Gamma \vdash_{NL} C$ then $\llbracket \Gamma \rrbracket \subseteq \llbracket C \rrbracket$

If (M, \cdot) is a groupoid with a unit I , we add $\llbracket \emptyset \rrbracket = \{I\}$ for the empty sequence \emptyset and get a model property for NL_\emptyset : if $\Gamma \vdash_{NL_\emptyset} C$ then $\llbracket \Gamma \rrbracket \subseteq \llbracket C \rrbracket$

3 GAB deductions and generalized FA-structures

In this section we focus on (recently defined) structures [6], with alternative deduction rules for NL-grammars (without product) as generalized FA-structures; in fact these rules are extensions of the cancellation rules of classical categorial 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 .

GAB Languages Similarly to classical categorial grammars, we can associate to each categorial grammar a language of FA structures.

Definition 11 (GAB Languages). Let $G = (\Sigma, I, S)$ be a categorial grammar over Tp :

- $G = (\Sigma, I, S)$ generates a FA structure $F \in \mathcal{FA}_\Sigma$ (in the GAB derivation model) iff there exists a GAB derivation of a FA structure $D \in \mathcal{FA}_{Tp}$, $c_1, \dots, c_n \in \Sigma$ and $A_1, \dots, A_n \in Tp$ such that:

$$\begin{cases} G : c_i \mapsto A_i \ (1 \leq i \leq n) \\ D = F[c_1 \rightarrow A_1, \dots, c_n \rightarrow A_n] \\ D \vdash_{GAB} S \end{cases}$$

where $F[c_1 \rightarrow A_1, \dots, c_n \rightarrow A_n]$ means the FA structure obtained from F by substituting respectively the left to right occurrences of c_1, \dots, c_n by A_1, \dots, A_n .

- G generates a well-bracketed list of words $T \in \mathcal{T}_\Sigma$ iff there exists $F \in \mathcal{FA}_\Sigma$ such that $tree_\Sigma(F) = T$ and G generates F .
- G generates a string $c_1 \cdots c_n \in \Sigma^+$ iff there exists $F \in \mathcal{FA}_\Sigma$ such that $yield_\Sigma(tree_\Sigma(F)) = c_1 \cdots c_n$ and G generates F .
- The language of FA structures corresponding to G , written $\mathcal{FL}_{GAB}(G)$, is the set of FA structures generated by G .
- The language of well-bracketed lists of words corresponding to G , written $\mathcal{BL}_{GAB}(G)$, is the set of well-bracketed lists of words generated by G .
- The language of strings corresponding to G , written $\mathcal{L}_{GAB}(G)$, is the set of strings generated by G .

Example 3. If we take the categorial grammar that is defined in Example 1, we get:

$$\begin{aligned} \text{He likes Mary} &\in \mathcal{L}_{GAB}(G_1) \\ ((\text{He likes}) \text{ Mary}) &\in \mathcal{BL}_{GAB}(G_1) \end{aligned}$$

$$FApp(BApp(\text{He, likes}), \text{Mary}) \in \mathcal{FL}_{GAB}(G_1)$$

because we can build the following GAB deduction (where $N_2 = X_2/(N \setminus X_2)$) that entails $N \vdash N_2$):

$$\frac{\frac{\overbrace{N_1}^{He} \quad \overbrace{N_1 \setminus (S/N_2)}^{likes}}{S/N_2} \quad BApp \quad \overbrace{N}^{Mary}}{S} \quad FApp}{S} \quad FApp$$

however: $\text{Mary likes he} \notin \mathcal{L}_{GAB}(G_1)$

3.3 NL and GAB languages

In fact, there is a strong correspondence between GAB deductions and NL derivations. In particular Theorem 1 shows that the respective string languages and binary tree languages are the same.

Theorem 1 ([6]). If A is an atomic formula, $\Gamma \vdash_{GAB} A$ iff $\Gamma \vdash_{NL} A$

Corollary 1. $\mathcal{BL}_{NL}(G) = \mathcal{BL}_{GAB}(G)$ and $\mathcal{L}_{NL}(G) = \mathcal{L}_{GAB}(G)$

4 A strict hierarchy

For each $k \in \mathbb{N}$, we can consider the class \mathcal{C}_{NL}^k of languages corresponding to k -valued non-associative Lambek grammars (without product) that is the grammars with at most k types associated to each word of the lexicon. This section proves that this family forms a strict hierarchy (if the lexicon has at least 2 elements):

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

For instance, a first very easy result is given by the fact that $\mathcal{C}_{NL}^0 \subsetneq \mathcal{C}_{NL}^1$ because $\mathcal{C}_{NL}^0 = \emptyset$ and \mathcal{C}_{NL}^1 contains the (finite) language $\{a\} = \mathcal{L}_{NL}(G)$ for the rigid grammar $G : a \mapsto S$.

4.1 Overview

Previous works. A similar problem was solved by Kanazawa in [5] 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:⁷ for $k > 0$,

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

- 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.

Towards NL. We can show easily that the languages of grammars G_k is the same when we consider the NL calculus instead of the AB rules : because the order of the types in the grammars are at most one, and in such a case it is well-known that the NL-languages and the AB-languages associated to a grammar are the same.

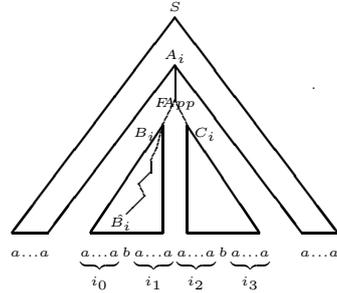
This shows that the languages $L_{AB,k}$ are also $(k+1)$ -valued languages for NL. It is thus natural to ask whether they are k -valued for NL as well. In fact, when we proceed to a proof based on functor-argument structures, some of the arguments are no longer valid for NL, in the case of GAB-deductions.

We have thus constructed another language, based on the previous one, with some very similar proof steps. One key difference appears at stage 4.(e)(f) that does not apply to $L_{AB,k}$ that has only $2k$ words. An important point of our treatment for NL is precisely that the language constructed is both $k+1$ -valued and with $2k+1$ words.

The proof scheme is as follows:

⁷ 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 $x^i \setminus (S/x^i y x^i)$

1. Obviously, we have $\forall k \in \mathbb{N} \quad \mathcal{C}_{NL}^k \subseteq \mathcal{C}_{NL}^{k+1}$
2. For $k > 0$, we consider $L_{NL,k} =_{def} \{abb\} \cup \{a^i ba^i ba^i \mid 1 \leq i \leq 2k\}$
3. We prove that $L_{NL,k}$ is a $(k+1)$ -valued language for NL languages.
Proof: for $k > 0$, We define a $k+1$ -valued grammar and show that it is associated to $L_{NL,k}$. This part of the proof uses models of NL (see 4.2 below).
4. We prove that $L_{NL,k}$ is not a k -valued language for NL languages.
Proof : suppose G is a k -valued grammar with language $L_{NL,k}$
 - (a) For each element of $L_{NL,k}$, there exists a GAB deduction: \mathcal{T}_i for $a^i ba^i ba^i$ ($1 \leq i \leq 2k$) and \mathcal{T}_0 for abb .
 - (b) 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 :



This gives two subtrees with one b with yields $a^{i_0} ba^{i_1}$ and $a^{i_2} ba^{i_3}$ ($i_1 + i_2 = i$). Then, we consider $B_i = A_i / D_i$ (or $B_i = D_i \setminus A_i$) and C_i with $C_i \vdash_{NL} D_i$ the antecedents of A_i in \mathcal{T}_i and we define \widehat{B}_i as the type in G “providing” B_i (following functors) in \mathcal{T}_i .

- (c) We prove that: $\forall i, j : B_i \neq B_j$ (see 4.2 below)
 - (d) and: $\forall i, j : \widehat{B}_i \neq \widehat{B}_j$ (see 4.2 below)
 - (e) As a consequence, we need $2k+1$ distinct \widehat{B}_i .
 - (f) Contradiction: $2k+1$ distinct \widehat{B}_i are needed with a k -valued grammar with an appropriate lexicon of 2 words (a and b).
5. Thus $\forall k > 0 \quad \mathcal{C}_{NL}^k \neq \mathcal{C}_{NL}^{k+1}$ (we have also seen in the introduction to the section that the property is also true for $k = 0$).

4.2 Details of proof

- For (4.c): let $y_{ce}(X_i)$ denote the center part of the yield with root X_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 $\forall i : y_{ce}(B_i) + y_{ce}(C_i) = i$.
Suppose (by contradiction) (i) $B_i = B_j$, for some $i \neq j$; from (i) we get $D_i = D_j$, and $C_i \vdash D_i$ then also $C_i \vdash D_j$, $C_j \vdash D_i$.
Since $i \neq j$, either $y_{ce}(B_i) \neq y_{ce}(B_j)$ or $y_{ce}(C_i) \neq y_{ce}(C_j)$.
Suppose first (ii) $y_{ce}(B_i) \neq y_{ce}(B_j)$; from (ii) replacing in T_j , ($j \neq 0$), B_j by B_i is a parse of a word $\dots ba^{j'} ba^j$ or $a^j ba^{j'} b\dots$, where $j' = y_{ce}(B_i) + y_{ce}(C_j)$ this word is not in $L_{NL,k}$ since $j' = y_{ce}(B_i) + y_{ce}(C_j) \neq j$ this contradicts the assumption that G has $L_{NL,k}$ as language (for NL).
Suppose instead (ii)' $y_{ce}(C_i) \neq y_{ce}(C_j)$, replacing in T_j , ($j \neq 0$), C_j by C_i yields a similar word not in $L_{NL,k}$ with $j' = y_{ce}(B_j) + y_{ce}(C_i)$ occurrence of a between the b and $j' \neq j$, (ii)' also brings a contradiction.
Therefore (i) is not possible.

- For (4.d): we use the notation $X|Y$ as an abbreviation for X/Y or for $Y \setminus X$ (functor first). We show $\forall i, j : \widehat{B}_i \neq \widehat{B}_j$.
Suppose $\widehat{B}_i = \widehat{B}_j$, one (say B_i) is a head subtype of the other (B_j) then of the form:
$$B_j = \dots(B_i|D'_1 \dots)|D'_n = A_j|D_j$$
we then get A_j in the subtree ending in B_i in T_i , which is impossible since the yield would have three b instead of two.
- For (3) the language description, we consider the $k + 1$ -valued grammar $\sigma(G_k)$ where G_k is as above, with substitution $\sigma = x := (S/y)/y$, and we show $\mathcal{L}_{NL}(\sigma(G_k)) = L_{NL,k}$.
 - We show that $L_{NL,k} \subseteq \mathcal{L}(\sigma(G_k))$ by:
 - For $(i = 0, abb) : (((S/y)/y), y), y) \vdash S$ we write $F_0 = ((S/y)/y)$.
 - For $(i \leq k, a^i b a^i b a^i) : (\dots(S/x^i y x^i y x^{i-1}, \underbrace{x \dots x}_{i-1}), y, \underbrace{x \dots x}_i, y, \underbrace{x \dots x}_i) \vdash S$
and let $F_i = S/x^i y x^i y x^{i-1}$ denote the corresponding type of a .
For $(i > k, a^i b a^i b a^i) : (\underbrace{x \dots x}_i, \dots, (x, x^i \setminus S/x^i y x^i, x) \dots, x), y, x \dots, x) \vdash S$
and let $F_i = x^i \setminus S/x^i y x^i$ denote the corresponding type of b .
 - To show that $\mathcal{L}_{NL}(\sigma(G_k)) \subseteq L_{NL,k}$ we consider the following powerset residuated groupoid on V^* (also with unit):
 $\llbracket S \rrbracket = L_{NL,k}, \llbracket y \rrbracket = \{b\}$;
we then calculate the type images of $\sigma(F_i)$ (see above) :
 $\llbracket \sigma(F_0) \rrbracket = \{a\}$ (with $\llbracket (S/y) \rrbracket = \{ab\}$)
if $(i \leq k)$ then $\llbracket \sigma(F_i) \rrbracket = \{a\}$,
if $(i' > k)$ then $\llbracket \sigma(F_{i'}) \rrbracket = \{b\}$
hence the language inclusion $(\Gamma \vdash S \text{ implies } \llbracket \Gamma \rrbracket \subseteq \llbracket S \rrbracket = L_{NL,k})$.

5 Variants

5.1 A variant of NL

In this section, we propose an adaptation of GAB deductions to the variant NL_\emptyset (without product). The presentation of NL_\emptyset using GAB_\emptyset and generalized FA_\emptyset structures is original. This is done by substituting NL by NL_\emptyset for the conditions on the premises of the GAB rules and also by adding two new rules written $FApp_\emptyset$ and $BApp_\emptyset$ that correspond to a “pseudo-application” of a functor to an “empty” argument. In the second part of the section, we show how to adapt the previous hierarchy construction to NL_\emptyset with the use of GAB_\emptyset deductions.

Defining GAB_\emptyset deductions for NL_\emptyset Like NL , NL_\emptyset can be presented as a GAB_\emptyset deduction system. This construction enables us to define generalized functor-argument structures for NL_\emptyset proofs and as elements of languages of structures. The FA structures have two new unary combinators $FApp_\emptyset$ and $BApp_\emptyset$ that correspond to the application of an empty argument.

Definition 12 (*GAB₀ Deduction for NL₀*). Generalized *AB* deductions with empty applications for *NL₀* (*GAB₀ deductions*) over *T_p* are the deductions built from formulas on *T_p* (the base case) using the following conditional rules ($C \vdash_{NL_0} B$ must be valid in *NL₀* in the first two rules and $\vdash_{NL_0} B$ must be valid in *NL₀* in the last two rules):

$$\boxed{\frac{A/B \quad C}{A} \text{FApp} \quad \frac{C \quad B \setminus A}{A} \text{BApp} \quad \frac{}{C \vdash_{NL_0} B} \text{valid in } NL_0} \quad \boxed{\frac{A/B}{A} \text{FApp}_0 \quad \frac{B \setminus A}{A} \text{BApp}_0 \quad \frac{}{\vdash_{NL_0} B} \text{valid in } NL_0}$$

We now extend the notion of *FA* structure, written *FA₀* so as to include the case of an empty antecedent (empty argument).

Definition 13 (*FA₀ structures*). Let \mathcal{E} be a set, a *FA₀* structure over \mathcal{E} is a tree where each leaf is labelled by an element of \mathcal{E} and each internal node is labelled by *FApp* (forward application), *BApp* (backward application), *FApp₀* (forward empty application), *BApp₀* (backward empty application):

$$FA_{0,\mathcal{E}} ::= \mathcal{E} \mid \text{FApp}(FA_{0,\mathcal{E}}, FA_{0,\mathcal{E}}) \mid \text{BApp}(FA_{0,\mathcal{E}}, FA_{0,\mathcal{E}}) \mid \text{FApp}_0(FA_{0,\mathcal{E}}) \mid \text{BApp}_0(FA_{0,\mathcal{E}})$$

Definition 14 (*FA₀ structure of a GAB₀ deduction for NL₀*). To each *GAB₀* deduction \mathcal{P} for *NL₀*, we associate a *FA₀* structure, written $FA_{0,T_p}(\mathcal{P})$, such that each internal node corresponds to the application of a rule in \mathcal{P} and is labelled by the name of this rule and where the leaves are the same as in \mathcal{P} .

Definition 15 (*GAB₀ Deductions of $F \vdash_{GAB_0} A$ or $\Gamma \vdash_{GAB_0} A$*). Like for *GAB*, if $F \in FA_{0,T_p}$ and $A \in T_p$, we say that \mathcal{P} is a *GAB₀* deduction of $F \vdash_{GAB_0} A$ when $FA_{0,T_p}(\mathcal{P}) = F$. If $\Gamma \in T_p$ and $A \in T_p$, we say that \mathcal{P} is a *GAB₀* deduction of $\Gamma \vdash_{GAB_0} A$ when A is the type of the conclusion of \mathcal{P} and when $tree_{T_p}(FA_{0,T_p}(\mathcal{P})) = \Gamma$.⁸

GAB₀ Languages We can associate to each categorial grammar a language of *FA₀* structures in a similar way as for *NL*. We write respectively $\mathcal{FL}_{0,GAB_0}(G)$, $\mathcal{BL}_{GAB_0}(G)$, and $\mathcal{L}_{GAB_0}(G)$, the language of *FA₀* structures, the language of well-bracketed lists of words and the language of strings corresponding to *G*.

Example 4. With the categorial grammar that is defined in Example 2, we get:

$$\text{John likes Mary} \in \mathcal{L}_{GAB_0}(G_2) ; \text{John likes little Mary} \in \mathcal{L}_{GAB_0}(G_2)$$

because we can build the following deductions:

$$\frac{\frac{\frac{\overbrace{\text{John}}^{(L \setminus L) \setminus N}}{N} \text{BApp}_0 \quad \frac{\overbrace{\text{likes}}^{N \setminus (S/N)}}{N \setminus (S/N)} \text{BApp} \quad \frac{\overbrace{\text{Mary}}^{(L \setminus L) \setminus N}}{N} \text{BApp}_0}{S/N} \text{FApp} \quad \text{and} \quad \frac{\frac{\frac{\overbrace{\text{John}}^{(L \setminus L) \setminus N}}{N} \text{BApp}_0 \quad \frac{\overbrace{\text{likes}}^{N \setminus (S/N)}}{N \setminus (S/N)} \text{BApp} \quad \frac{\overbrace{\text{little}}^{L \setminus L}}{L \setminus L} \text{BApp} \quad \frac{\overbrace{\text{Mary}}^{(L \setminus L) \setminus N}}{(L \setminus L) \setminus N} \text{BApp}}{S/N} \text{FApp}}{S} \text{FApp}}{S} \text{FApp}}$$

⁸ $tree_{T_p}$ erases unary combinators *FApp₀* and *BApp₀* during translation: $tree_{T_p}(FApp_0(F)) = tree_{T_p}(BApp_0(F)) = tree_{T_p}(F)$

NL_\emptyset and GAB_\emptyset languages In fact, there is a strong correspondence between GAB_\emptyset deductions and NL_\emptyset derivations. In particular with Theorem 3, we show that the respective string languages and binary tree languages are the same.

Theorem 3. *If A is an atomic formula, $\Gamma \vdash_{GAB_\emptyset} A$ iff $\Gamma \vdash_{NL_\emptyset} A$*

Corollary 2. $\mathcal{BC}_{NL_\emptyset}(G) = \mathcal{BC}_{GAB_\emptyset}(G)$ and $\mathcal{L}_{NL_\emptyset}(G) = \mathcal{L}_{GAB_\emptyset}(G)$

We write, for the rest of the paper, $\mathcal{FL}_\emptyset(G)$, $\mathcal{BL}_\emptyset(G)$ and $\mathcal{L}_\emptyset(G)$ in place of $\mathcal{FL}_{GAB_\emptyset}(G)$, $\mathcal{BL}_{GAB_\emptyset}(G) = \mathcal{BL}_{NL_\emptyset}(G)$ and $\mathcal{L}_{GAB_\emptyset}(G) = \mathcal{L}_{NL_\emptyset}(G)$.

Proof of $\Gamma \vdash_{GAB_\emptyset} A \Rightarrow \Gamma \vdash_{NL_\emptyset} A$ (A does not need to be atomic): This is relatively easy because a GAB_\emptyset deduction is just a mixed presentation of an NL_\emptyset proof using a natural deduction part and a NL_\emptyset derivation part (hypotheses on nodes). We can transform recursively a GAB_\emptyset deduction. Suppose that the last rule of a GAB_\emptyset deduction corresponding to a FA_\emptyset structure $FApp_\emptyset(F)$ is:

$$\frac{\begin{array}{c} \mathcal{P} \\ \vdots \\ A/B \end{array}}{A} FApp_\emptyset \quad \text{We know that } \vdash_{NL_\emptyset} B \text{ and we have a sub-deduction } \mathcal{P} \text{ that} \\ \text{corresponds to } F. \mathcal{P} \text{ concludes with } A/B. \text{ By induction hy-} \\ \text{pothesis, the deduction corresponds to a } NL_\emptyset \text{ derivation of} \\ tree_{Tp}(F) \vdash_{NL_\emptyset} A/B.$$

Now, using two axioms and $(/L)$ for proving $(A/B, B) \vdash A$ and two cuts, we find that $tree_{Tp}(FApp_\emptyset(F)) = tree_{Tp}(F) \vdash_{NL_\emptyset} A$. The other possibilities ($(BApp_\emptyset)$, $(FApp)$ or $(BApp)$ as first rule) are very similar and the base case is obvious.

Proof of $\Gamma \vdash_{NL_\emptyset} A \Rightarrow \Gamma \vdash_{GAB_\emptyset} A$ (A atomic): This property results from an adaptation to NL_\emptyset of the alternative presentation of NL where contexts are in a limited form [9]. This presentation, as far as we know, is original. The proof of the equivalence of NL_\emptyset and this system that we call NL_\emptyset^* is given as an appendix to the paper:

$$\begin{array}{c} \frac{}{A \vdash A} \mathbf{Ax} \quad \frac{(C, B) \vdash A}{C \vdash A/B} /R^* \quad \frac{(A, C) \vdash B}{C \vdash A \setminus B} \setminus R^* \\ \\ \frac{B \vdash A}{\emptyset \vdash A/B} /R_\emptyset^* \quad \frac{A \vdash B}{\emptyset \vdash A \setminus B} \setminus R_\emptyset^* \\ \\ \frac{D \vdash C \quad \Delta[B] \vdash A}{\Delta[(B/C, D)] \vdash A} /L^* \quad \frac{D \vdash C \quad \Delta[B] \vdash A}{\Delta[(D, C \setminus B)] \vdash A} \setminus L^* \\ \\ \frac{\emptyset \vdash C \quad \Delta[B] \vdash A}{\Delta[B/C] \vdash A} /L_\emptyset^* \quad \frac{\emptyset \vdash C \quad \Delta[B] \vdash A}{\Delta[C \setminus B] \vdash A} \setminus L_\emptyset^* \end{array}$$

If we have a derivation of $\Gamma \vdash_{NL_\emptyset} A$ with A atomic using this presentation, the first rule on the main branch of the derivation must be a left rule. For instance, for $(/L_\emptyset^*)$, Γ can be written $\Delta[B/C]$ and we have a derivation of $\vdash C$ and another one of $\Delta[B] \vdash A$. We can apply our hypothesis to the second derivation. At this point, we have a GAB_\emptyset deduction $\mathcal{P}[B]$ of $\Delta[B] \vdash_{GAB_\emptyset} A$. In this deduction, we replace the leaf node corresponding to B by a node corresponding to the conclusion of $(FApp_\emptyset)$ rule:

$$\begin{array}{ccc} & \frac{B/C}{B} FApp_\emptyset & \text{This transformation gives a } GAB_\emptyset \text{ deduction corresponding} \\ B & \rightarrow & \text{to } \Delta[B/C] \text{ since } \vdash_{NL_\emptyset} C. \text{ The other three possibilities for} \\ \vdots & & \text{ } (\backslash L_\emptyset^*), (/L_\emptyset^*) \text{ or } (\backslash L_\emptyset^*) \text{ are similar and give respectively a new} \\ \mathcal{P} & \rightarrow & \text{ } BApp_\emptyset, FApp \text{ or } BApp \text{ node and the base case where the} \\ & & \text{derivation is an axiom is obvious. } \blacksquare \end{array}$$

5.2 A strict hierarchy theorem for NL_\emptyset

For each $k \in \mathbb{N}$, we consider the class $\mathcal{C}_{NL_\emptyset}^k$ of languages corresponding to k -valued NL_\emptyset Lambek grammars (without product). This section proves that this family also forms a strict hierarchy (if the lexicon has at least 2 elements):

Theorem 4. $\forall k \in \mathbb{N} \quad \mathcal{C}_{NL_\emptyset}^k \subsetneq \mathcal{C}_{NL_\emptyset}^{k+1}$

5.3 Details of proof

We consider the same languages $L_{NL,k}$ as for NL .

- We first show that $L_{NL,k}$ is also $k+1$ -valued for NL_\emptyset using the same grammars $\sigma(G_k)$ as for NL and we show $\mathcal{L}_{NL_\emptyset}(\sigma(G_k)) = L_{NL,k}$.
 - the fact that $L_{NL,k} \subseteq \mathcal{L}_{NL_\emptyset}(\sigma(G_k))$ follows from the property that a sequent valid in NL is also valid in NL_\emptyset ;
 - the converse is obtained by the same powerset residuated semi-groupoid (with unit) as for NL (a model of both systems).
- We then have to show that $L_{NL,k}$ is not k -valued for NL_\emptyset .

We proceed similarly as for NL , with the observation that in step 4.(b), A_i does give two subtrees with one b and is deduced by $FApp$ or $BApp$, since if A was deduced by $FApp_{\text{vide}}$ or $BApp_{\text{vide}}$, this would contradict the assumption that A_i is the smallest subtree with a yield including both b .

5.4 A proof revisited for AB (classical)

We consider again the same languages $L_{NL,k}$ as for NL and show how to recover a hierarchy theorem for the classical system using the former construction.

- We first show that $L_{NL,k}$ is also $k+1$ -valued for AB using the same grammars $\sigma(G_k)$ as for AB and we show $\mathcal{L}_{AB}(\sigma(G_k)) = L_{NL,k}$.
 - the fact that $L_{NL,k} \subseteq \mathcal{L}_{AB}(\sigma(G_k))$ follows from the derivations schemas shown for NL that only involve AB rules. ⁹

⁹ An alternate justification is to start from $L_{AB,k} = \mathcal{L}(G_k)$, we get by substitution $L_{AB,k} \subseteq \mathcal{L}(\sigma(G_k))$ and finally consider the derivation for abb ($L_{NL,k} = L_{AB,k} \cup \{abb\}$).

- the converse is deduced from the fact that a AB deduction is also a *NL* deduction: $\mathcal{L}_{AB}(\sigma(G_k)) \subseteq \mathcal{L}_{NL}(\sigma(G_k)) = L_{NL,k}$.
- We then have to show that $L_{NL,k}$ is not k -valued for *AB*.
We proceed similarly as for *NL* where the derivations conditions $C_i \vdash D_i$ are replaced by $C_i = D_i$.

6 Conclusion

The paper studies two related lexicalized grammatical systems: non-associative Lambek grammars without product with (NL_\emptyset) and without (*NL*) antecedent. For each system, we prove 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.

A second important contribution of the paper consists in defining a system of generalized AB deductions and their corresponding generalized functor-argument structures for NL_\emptyset (without product). This construction enables us to define languages of structured sentences as for classical categorial grammars or for *NL* languages.

The result can not be adapted directly to other systems like non-associative Lambek calculus with product or associative Lambek calculus because the proofs depend on the existence of generalized AB deductions for both systems studied here and we do not know how to define such structures for those logical systems. Thus the questions of a strict hierarchy of languages for k -valued grammars are still open for them.

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A Proof of the equivalence of NL_\emptyset and NL_\emptyset^*

Lemma 1. NL_\emptyset and NL_\emptyset^* are two equivalent logical systems

Proof. Of course because NL_\emptyset^* rules are restrictions of NL_\emptyset rules, a proof of a sequent $\Gamma \vdash A$ in NL_\emptyset^* is also a proof in NL_\emptyset . For the reverse implication, since we can eliminate cut in NL_\emptyset derivations, we suppose that we have only cut free NL_\emptyset derivations. In fact, we prove by induction on $k \in \mathbb{N}$ that we can rewrite a cut free NL_\emptyset derivation \mathcal{P} of a sequent $\Gamma \vdash A$ containing at most k operators $/$ and \backslash into a NL_\emptyset^* derivation.

- For $k = 0$, the sequent is $B \vdash A$ with A and B primitive types. \mathcal{P} can only be an axiom and $A = B$. Thus we have a NL_\emptyset^* derivation.
- If the last rule \mathcal{P} is an axiom, we already have a NL_\emptyset^* derivation.
- If the last rule is also a NL_\emptyset^* rule, by induction, we can find a proof of the premise(s) in NL_\emptyset^* (the sequents have less than k connectives) and build a proof in NL_\emptyset^* of the initial sequent.
- If the last rule of \mathcal{P} is $(/R)$ (the case of $(\backslash R)$ is symmetrical) but is not a NL_\emptyset^* rule, we have the following proof:

$$\frac{\begin{array}{c} \mathcal{P}_1 \\ \vdots \\ (\Gamma, B_1) \vdash A_1 \end{array}}{\Gamma \vdash A_1 / B_1} /R$$

Because the rule is not a NL_\emptyset^* rule, Γ is neither \emptyset nor a type. By induction, there exists a NL_\emptyset^* derivation \mathcal{P}'_1 of $(\Gamma, B_1) \vdash A_1$. We consider the last rule of \mathcal{P}'_1 . The possible rules are $(/L^*)$, $(/L_\emptyset^*)$, $(\backslash L^*)$ and $(\backslash L_\emptyset^*)$. The four cases are very similar and we just look here at the first one, the case where the rule is $(/L^*)$.

We have already mentioned that Γ is neither \emptyset nor a type. At this point we have the following NL_\emptyset^* deduction, where $\Gamma = \Delta_2[(B_2/C_2, D_2)]$:

$$\frac{\begin{array}{c} \mathcal{P}_2 \\ \vdots \\ D_2 \vdash C_2 \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{c} \mathcal{Q}_2 \\ \vdots \\ (\Delta_2[B_2], B_1) \vdash A_1 \end{array}}{(\Delta_2[(B_2/C_2, D_2)], B_1) \vdash A_1} /L^*$$

Now, we can consider the following NL_\emptyset derivation (each NL_\emptyset^* rule is considered as a NL_\emptyset rule inside the derivation):

$$\frac{\begin{array}{c} \mathcal{Q}_2 \\ \vdots \\ \Delta_2[B_2], B_1 \vdash A_1 \end{array}}{\Delta_2[B_2] \vdash A_1/B_1} /R$$

By induction hypothesis, there exists a NL_\emptyset^* derivation \mathcal{Q}'_2 of $\Delta_2[B_2] \vdash A_1/B_1$ and we finally have a derivation of $\Gamma \vdash A$ that uses NL_\emptyset^* rules only:

$$\frac{\begin{array}{c} \mathcal{P}_2 \\ \vdots \\ D_2 \vdash C_2 \end{array} \quad \frac{\begin{array}{c} \mathcal{Q}'_2 \\ \vdots \\ \Delta_2[B_2] \vdash A_1/B_1 \end{array}}{\Delta_2[(B_2/C_2, D_2)] \vdash A_1/B_1} /L^*}{\Delta_1[(B_1/C_1, \Gamma)] \vdash A} /L$$

– If the last rule of \mathcal{P} is $(/L)$ (the case of $(\setminus L)$ is symmetrical) but is not a NL_\emptyset^* rule, we have the following proof, where $\Gamma = \Delta_1[(B_1/C_1, \Gamma_1)]$:

$$\frac{\begin{array}{c} \mathcal{P}_1 \\ \vdots \\ \Gamma_1 \vdash C_1 \end{array} \quad \frac{\begin{array}{c} \mathcal{Q}_1 \\ \vdots \\ \Delta_1[B_1] \vdash A \end{array}}{\Delta_1[(B_1/C_1, \Gamma_1)] \vdash A} /L}{\Delta_1[(B_1/C_1, \Gamma)] \vdash A} /L$$

Because the rule is not a NL_\emptyset^* rule, Γ_1 is neither \emptyset nor a type. By induction, there exists a NL_\emptyset^* derivation \mathcal{P}'_1 of $\Gamma_1 \vdash C_1$. We consider the last rule of \mathcal{P}'_1 . The possible rules are $(/L^*)$, $(/L_\emptyset^*)$, $(\setminus L^*)$ and $(\setminus L_\emptyset^*)$ (Γ_1 is neither \emptyset nor a type).

The four cases are very similar and we just look here at the first one, the case where the rule is $(/L^*)$. At this point we have the following NL_\emptyset^* deduction, where $\Gamma_1 = \Delta_2[(B_2/C_2, D_2)]$:

$$\frac{\begin{array}{c} \mathcal{P}_2 \\ \vdots \\ D_2 \vdash C_2 \end{array} \quad \frac{\begin{array}{c} \mathcal{Q}_2 \\ \vdots \\ \Delta_2[B_2] \vdash C_1 \end{array}}{\Delta_2[(B_2/C_2, D_2)] \vdash C_1} /L^*}{\Delta_2[(B_2/C_2, D_2)] \vdash C_1} /L^*$$

Now, we can consider the following NL_\emptyset derivation (each NL_\emptyset^* rule is considered as a NL_\emptyset rule inside the derivation):

$$\frac{\begin{array}{c} \mathcal{Q}_2 \\ \vdots \\ \Delta_2[B_2] \vdash C_1 \end{array} \quad \frac{\begin{array}{c} \mathcal{Q}_1 \\ \vdots \\ \Delta_1[B_1] \vdash A \end{array}}{\Delta_1[(B_1/C_1, \Delta_2[B_2])] \vdash A} /L}{\Delta_1[(B_1/C_1, \Delta_2[B_2])] \vdash A} /L$$

By induction hypothesis, there exists a NL_\emptyset^* derivation \mathcal{Q}'_2 of $\Delta_1[(B_1/C_1, \Delta_2[B_2])] \vdash A$ and we finally have a derivation of $\Gamma \vdash A$ that uses NL_\emptyset^* rules only:

$$\frac{\begin{array}{c} \mathcal{P}_2 \\ \vdots \\ D_2 \vdash C_2 \end{array} \quad \frac{\begin{array}{c} \mathcal{Q}'_2 \\ \vdots \\ \Delta_1[(B_1/C_1, \Delta_2[B_2])] \vdash A \end{array}}{\Delta_1[(B_1/C_1, \Delta_2[(B_2/C_2, D_2)])] \vdash A} /L^*}{\Delta_1[(B_1/C_1, \Delta_2[(B_2/C_2, D_2)])] \vdash A} /L^*$$

■