

Rendering Natural Language of Mathematical Texts into Formal Language

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Outline

- ① A Glimpse of Approaches to Formal and Computational Grammar
 - Overview of Approaches to Computational Semantics
- ② Syntax and Denotational Semantics of L_{ar}^λ
 - Syntax of L_{ar}^λ
 - Denotational Semantics of L_{ar}^λ / L_{rar}^λ
- ③ Reduction Calculi, Canonical Forms, and Algorithmic Semantics
 - γ^* -Reduction
 - Canonical Forms and Algorithmic Semantics
 - Algorithmic Equivalence
 - Expressiveness of L_{ar}^λ / L_r^λ
- ④ Parametric Algorithmic Patterns
 - Pure Quantifiers
 - Generalised Quantifiers, Algorithmic Patterns, Ambiguity, Underspecification
 - Definite Descriptors with Determiner “the”
 - Conjuncts and Coordination
- ⑤ Computational Syntax-Semantics of NL via L_{ar}^λ

Approaches to formal and computational syntax of natural language (NL)

All of the following approaches are at least partly active

CFGs, Phrase Structure Grammars (PSG): initiated by Chomsky 1950s

Transformational Grammars: initiated by Chomsky 1955, 1957, with versions to the present

Generative Semantics: 1967-74 Lakoff, McCawley, Postal, Ross

Government and Binding Theory (GBT): initiated by Chomsky 1981

Principles and Parameters initiated by Chomsky 1981 with GBT

Minimalist Program initiated by Chomsky 1995 (major work)

Constraint-Based, Lexicalist Approaches

- *GPSG*: Gazdar et al. 1979-87 to the present
- *LFG*: 1979 to the present
- *HPSG*: 1984 to the present

Categorial Grammars Ajdukiewicz 1935 to the present

Dependency Grammar (DG): active

Grammatical Framework (GF) Multi-Lingual, Chalmers, 1998, Aarne Ranta (25 years on, in Mar 2023) (open development)

- *Categorial Grammars*: Ajdukiewicz 1935 — formal logic for syntax for NL to the present, with initiations for syntax-semantics
- *Type-Theoretical Grammars* in many varieties
- *Montague Grammars*: started by Montague 1970 to the present
- Situation Theory and Situation Semantics, Jon Barwise 1980ies
Inspired partiality in computational syntax of LFG and HPSG;
Since start HPSG approaches, 1984, have been using Situation Semantics in syntax-semantics interfaces;
- *Minimal Recursion Semantics* in HPSG since 2000-2002
MRS is a technique as a form of Situation Semantics with major characteristics of Moschovakis recursion
- Moschovakis [12] Formal Language of full recursion, untyped;
Typed acyclic recursion, introduced by Moschovakis [13] (2006)
- Algorithmic Dependent-Type Theory of Situated Information (DTTSitInfo): situated data including context assessments (open)
- Other Approaches to Computational Semantics many combinations and variants of FOL, e.g., Prolog, Definite Clause Grammars, etc.

Algorithms for computing denotations of terms

Algorithmic syntax-semantics of L_{ar}^λ (L_r^λ) and Natural Language

$$\underbrace{\text{Syntax of } L_{ar}^\lambda (L_r^\lambda) \implies \text{Algorithms for Computations} \implies \text{Denotations}}_{\text{Semantics of } L_{ar}^\lambda (L_r^\lambda)} \quad (1)$$

$$\underbrace{\text{Computational Syntax of NL}}_{\text{Computational Grammar}} \xrightarrow{\text{render}} L_{ar}^\lambda \quad (2)$$

$$\underbrace{\text{Computational Syntax of NL}}_{\text{Computational Grammar: Syntax-Semantics Interface}} \xrightarrow{\text{render}} L_{ar}^\lambda \quad (3)$$

Development of Type-Theory of (Acyclic) Algorithms, L_r^λ (L_{ar}^λ)

Placement of L_{ar}^λ in a class of type theories

$$\text{Montague IL} \subsetneq \text{Gallin TY}_2 \subsetneq \text{Moschovakis } L_{ar}^\lambda \subsetneq \text{Moschovakis } L_r^\lambda \quad (4)$$

- **Type-Theory of (Acyclic) Algorithms, L_r^λ (L_{ar}^λ):** provides:
 - a math notion of algorithm
 - **Computational Semantics** of formal and natural languages
- L_{ar}^λ / L_r^λ is type theory of algorithms with acyclic / full recursion:
 - Introduced by Moschovakis [13] (2006),
 - Math development by motivations from NL, Loukanova [8, 9] (2019) and previously
- In the works presented here, I extend L_{ar}^λ / L_r^λ by incorporating
 - logic operators, by **logic constants** of suitable types
 - pure, logic quantifiers
 - extended reduction calculus of L_{ar}^λ / L_r^λ
 - demonstrate (there is a math proof) that L_{ar}^λ / L_r^λ essentially extend classic λ -calculus, incl., for logic operators and pure quantifiers

Syntax of Type Theory of Algorithms (TTA): Types, Vocabulary

- Gallin Types (1975)

$$\tau ::= e \mid t \mid s \mid (\tau \rightarrow \tau) \quad (\text{Types})$$

- Abbreviations

$$\tilde{\sigma} \equiv (s \rightarrow \sigma), \quad \text{for state-dependent objects of type } \sigma \quad (5a)$$

$$\tilde{e} \equiv (s \rightarrow e), \quad \text{for state-dependent entities} \quad (5b)$$

$$\tilde{t} \equiv (s \rightarrow t), \quad \text{for state-dependent truth values} \quad (5c)$$

- Typed Vocabulary, for all $\sigma \in \text{Types}$

$$K_\sigma = \text{Consts}_\sigma = \{c_0^\sigma, c_1^\sigma, \dots\} \quad (6a)$$

$$\wedge, \vee, \rightarrow \in \text{Consts}_{(\tau \rightarrow (\tau \rightarrow \tau))}, \quad \tau \in \{t, \tilde{t}\} \quad (\text{logical constants}) \quad (6b)$$

$$\neg \in \text{Consts}_{(\tau \rightarrow \tau)}, \quad \tau \in \{t, \tilde{t}\} \quad (\text{logical constant for negation}) \quad (6c)$$

$$\text{PureV}_\sigma = \{v_0^\sigma, v_1^\sigma, \dots\} \quad (\text{pure variables}) \quad (6d)$$

$$\text{RecV}_\sigma = \text{MemoryV}_\sigma = \{p_0^\sigma, p_1^\sigma, \dots\} \quad (\text{recursion variables}) \quad (6e)$$

$$\text{PureV}_\sigma \cap \text{RecV}_\sigma = \emptyset, \quad \text{Vars}_\sigma = \text{PureV}_\sigma \cup \text{RecV}_\sigma \quad (6f)$$

$$A \equiv c^\sigma : \sigma \mid X^\sigma : \sigma \mid B^{(\sigma \rightarrow \tau)}(C^\sigma) : \tau \mid \lambda(v^\sigma)(B^\tau) : (\sigma \rightarrow \tau) \quad (7a)$$

$$\mid A_0^{\sigma_0} \text{ where } \{p_1^{\sigma_1} := A_1^{\sigma_1}, \dots, p_n^{\sigma_n} := A_n^{\sigma_n}\} : \sigma_0 \quad (7b)$$

$$\mid \wedge (A_2^\tau)(A_1^\tau) : \tau \mid \vee (A_2^\tau)(A_1^\tau) : \tau \mid \rightarrow (A_2^\tau)(A_1^\tau) : \tau \quad (7c)$$

$$\mid \neg(B^\tau) : \tau \quad (7d)$$

$$\mid \forall(v^\sigma)(B^\tau) : \tau \mid \exists(v^\sigma)(B^\tau) : \tau \quad (\text{pure quantifiers}) \quad (7e)$$

$$\mid A_0^{\sigma_0} \text{ such that } \{C_1^{\tau_1}, \dots, C_m^{\tau_m}\} : \sigma'_0 \quad (\text{restrictor operator}) \quad (7f)$$

- $c^\tau \in \text{Consts}_\tau$, $X^\tau \in \text{PureV}_\tau \cup \text{RecV}_\tau$, $v^\sigma \in \text{PureV}_\sigma$
- $B, C \in \text{Terms}$, $p_i^{\sigma_i} \in \text{RecV}_{\sigma_i}$, $A_i^{\sigma_i} \in \text{Terms}_{\sigma_i}$, $C_j^{\tau_j} \in \text{Terms}_{\tau_j}$
- In (7c)–(7e), (7f): $\tau, \tau_j \in \{t, \tilde{t}\}$, $\tilde{t} \equiv (s \rightarrow t)$ (for propositions)
- **Acyclicity Constraint (AC)**, for L_{ar}^λ ; without it, L_r^λ with full recursion

$$\{p_1^{\sigma_1} := A_1^{\sigma_1}, \dots, p_n^{\sigma_n} := A_n^{\sigma_n}\} \quad (n \geq 0) \text{ is acyclic iff} \quad (8a)$$

for some function $\text{rank}: \{p_1, \dots, p_n\} \rightarrow \mathbb{N}$

$$\text{if } p_j \in \text{FreeV}(A_i) \text{ (} p_j \text{ occurs freely in } A_i \text{),} \quad (8b)$$

then $\text{rank}(p_i) > \text{rank}(p_j)$

Types of Restrictor Terms

In the restrictor term (7f) / (9),

$$A_0^{\sigma_0} \text{ such that } \{ C_1^{\tau_1}, \dots, C_n^{\tau_n} \} : \sigma'_0 \quad (9)$$

for each $i = 1, \dots, n$:

- $\tau_i \equiv \mathbf{t}$ (state independent truth values), or
- $\tau_i \equiv \widetilde{\mathbf{t}} \equiv (\mathbf{s} \rightarrow \mathbf{t})$ (state dependent truth values)

$$\sigma'_0 \equiv \begin{cases} \sigma_0, & \text{if } \tau_i \equiv \mathbf{t}, \text{ for all } i \in \{1, \dots, n\} & (10a) \\ \sigma_0 \equiv (\mathbf{s} \rightarrow \sigma), & \text{if } \tau_i \equiv \widetilde{\mathbf{t}}, \text{ for some } i \in \{1, \dots, n\}, \text{ and} & (10b) \\ & \text{for some } \sigma \in \text{Types}, \sigma_0 \equiv (\mathbf{s} \rightarrow \sigma) \\ \widetilde{\sigma}_0 \equiv (\mathbf{s} \rightarrow \sigma_0), & \text{if } \tau_i \equiv \widetilde{\mathbf{t}}, \text{ for some } i \in \{1, \dots, n\}, \text{ and} & (10c) \\ & \text{there is no } \sigma, \text{ s.th. } \sigma_0 \equiv (\mathbf{s} \rightarrow \sigma) \end{cases}$$

Denotational Semantics of $L_{ar}^\lambda / L_{rar}^\lambda$

A **standard semantic structure** is a tuple $\mathfrak{A}(\text{Consts}) = \langle \mathbb{T}, \mathcal{I} \rangle$ that satisfies the following conditions:

- $\mathbb{T} = \{\mathbb{T}_\sigma \mid \sigma \in \text{Types}\}$ is a frame of typed objects
 $\{0, 1, er\} \subseteq \mathbb{T}_t \subseteq \mathbb{T}_e$ ($er_t \equiv er_e \equiv er \equiv error$)
 $\mathbb{T}_s \neq \emptyset$ (the domain of *states*)
 $\mathbb{T}_{(\tau_1 \rightarrow \tau_2)} = (\mathbb{T}_{\tau_1} \rightarrow \mathbb{T}_{\tau_2}) = \{f \mid f: \mathbb{T}_{\tau_1} \rightarrow \mathbb{T}_{\tau_2}\}$ (standard str.)
 $er_\sigma \in \mathbb{T}_\sigma$, for every $\sigma \in \text{Types}$ (designated typed errors)
- $\mathcal{I}: \text{Consts} \rightarrow \bigcup \mathbb{T}$ is a typed *interpretation function*:
 $\mathcal{I}(c) \in \mathbb{T}_\sigma$, for every $c \in \text{Consts}_\sigma$
- \mathfrak{A} is associated with the set of the typed variable valuations G :

$$G = \{g \mid g: \text{PureV} \cup \text{RecV} \rightarrow \bigcup \mathbb{T}\} \quad (11)$$

and, for every $X \in \text{Vars}_\sigma$, $g(X) \in \mathbb{T}_\sigma$

The Denotation Function of $L_{ar}^\lambda / L_{ar}^\lambda$

(to be continued)

- Let's assume a given semantic structure \mathfrak{A} , and write $\text{den} \equiv \text{den}^{\mathfrak{A}}$

- There is a unique function, called the *denotation function*:

$\text{den}^{\mathfrak{A}}: \text{Terms} \longrightarrow \{f \mid f: G \longrightarrow \cup \mathbb{T}\}$

defined by recursion on the structure of the terms

- (D1) ① $\text{den}(X)(g) = g(x)$, for every $X \in \text{Vars}$
 ② $\text{den}(c)(g) = \mathcal{I}(c)$, for every $c \in \text{Consts}$

(D2) $\text{den}(A(B))(g) = \text{den}(A)(g)(\text{den}(B)(g))$

(D3) $\text{den}(\lambda x(B))(g)(a) = \text{den}(B)(g\{x := a\})$, for every $a \in \mathbb{T}_\tau$

The Denotation of the Recursion Terms (continuation)

(to be continued)

$$(D4) \text{ den}(A_0 \text{ where } \{p_1 := A_1, \dots, p_n := A_n\})(g) = \\ \text{den}(A_0)(g\{p_1 := \bar{p}_1, \dots, p_n := \bar{p}_n\})$$

where $\bar{p}_i \in \mathbb{T}_{\tau_i}$ are defined by recursion on $\text{rank}(p_i)$:

$$\bar{p}_i = \text{den}(A_i)(g\{p_{k_1} := \bar{p}_{k_1}, \dots, p_{k_m} := \bar{p}_{k_m}\})$$

given that p_{k_1}, \dots, p_{k_m} are all of the recursion variables
 $p_j \in \{p_1, \dots, p_n\}$, s.t. $\text{rank}(p_j) < \text{rank}(p_i)$.

Intuitively:

- $\text{den}(A_1)(g), \dots, \text{den}(A_n)(g)$ are computed recursively, by $\text{rank}(p_i)$, and stored in p_i , $1 \leq i \leq n$
- the denotation $\text{den}(A_0)(g)$ may depend on the values stored in p_1, \dots, p_n

(D5) (for the constants of the logic operators) ...

The Denotation of the Logic-Quantifiers Terms (continuation)

(to be continued)

(D6b) Simplified version, without considering the erroneous cases of *er*

The denotation of the state-dependent, pure existential quantifier, for $\tau = \tilde{t}$, $\text{den}^{\mathfrak{A}}(\exists(v^\sigma)(B^\tau))(g) : \mathbb{T}_s \rightarrow \mathbb{T}_t$ is such that:

for every state $s \in \mathbb{T}_s$: (12a)

$[\text{den}^{\mathfrak{A}}(\exists(v^\sigma)(B^\tau))(g)](s) = 1$ (true in s) (12b)

iff there is $a \in \mathbb{T}_\sigma$, in the semantic domain \mathbb{T}_σ , such that: (12c)

$$[\text{den}^{\mathfrak{A}}(B^\tau)(g\{v := a\})](s) = 1$$

The Denotation Function for the Restrictor Terms (continuation)

(to be continued)

(D7) For every $g \in G$, and every state $s \in \mathbb{T}_s$:

Case 1: for all $i \in \{1, \dots, n\}$, $C_i \in \text{Terms}_t$ (independent on states)

For every $g \in G$:

$$\text{den} (A_0^{\sigma_0} \text{ s.t. } \{ \vec{C} \}) (g) = \begin{cases} \text{den}(A_0)(g), & \text{if, for all } i \in \{1, \dots, n\}, \\ & \text{den}(C_i)(g) = 1 \\ er_{\sigma_0} & \text{if, for some } i \in \{1, \dots, n\}, \\ & \text{den}(C_i)(g) = 0 \text{ or} \\ & \text{den}(C_i)(g) = er \end{cases} \quad (13)$$

Case 2: for some $i \in \{1, \dots, n\}$, $C_i : \tilde{t}$

$$\begin{aligned} & \text{den} \left(A_0^{\sigma_0} \text{ s.t. } \{ \vec{C} \} \right) (g)(s) & (14) \\ = & \begin{cases} \text{den}(A_0)(g)(s), & \text{if } \text{den}(C_i)(g) = 1, \text{ for all } i \text{ s.th. } C_i : t, \text{ and} \\ & \text{den}(C_i)(g)(s) = 1, \text{ for all } i \text{ s.th. } C_i : \tilde{t}, \text{ and} \\ & \sigma_0 \equiv (s \rightarrow \sigma) \\ \text{den}(A_0)(g), & \text{if } \text{den}(C_i)(g) = 1, \text{ for all } i \text{ s.th. } C_i : t, \text{ and} \\ & \text{den}(C_i)(g)(s) = 1, \text{ for all } i \text{ s.th. } C_i : \tilde{t}, \text{ and} \\ & \sigma_0 \not\equiv (s \rightarrow \sigma), \text{ for all } \sigma \in \text{Types} \\ er_{\sigma'_0}, & \text{otherwise} \end{cases} \end{aligned}$$

- $A \in \text{Terms}$ **explicit** the recursion operator **where** does not occur in it
- $A \in \text{Terms}$ is a **λ -calculus term** iff it is explicit and no recursion variable occurs in it

Definition (Immediate and Proper Terms)

- The set ImT of **immediate terms** is defined by recursion (15)

$$T ::= V \mid p(v_1) \dots (v_m) \mid \lambda(u_1) \dots \lambda(u_n)p(v_1) \dots (v_m) \quad (15)$$

for $V \in \text{Vars}$, $p \in \text{RecV}$, $u_i, v_j \in \text{PureV}$,
 $i = 1, \dots, n$, $j = 1, \dots, m$ ($m, n \geq 0$)

- Every $A \in \text{Terms}$ that is not immediate is **proper**

$$\text{PrT} = (\text{Terms} - \text{ImT}) \quad (16)$$

Immediate terms do not carry algorithmic sense:

$\text{den}(p(v_1) \dots (v_m))$ is by variable valuation, in memory $p \in \text{RecV}$.

Definition (Congruence Relation, informally)

The *congruence* relation is the smallest equivalence relation (i.e., reflexive, symmetric, transitive) between L_{ar}^λ -terms, $A \equiv_c B$, that is closed under:

- ① operators of term-formation:
 - application
 - λ -abstraction
 - logic operators
 - pure, logic quantifiers
 - acyclic recursion
 - restriction
- ② renaming bound variables (pure and recursion), without causing variable collisions
- ③ re-ordering of the assignments within the acyclic sequences of assignments in the recursion terms
- ④ re-ordering of the restriction sub-terms in the restriction terms

[Congruence] If $A \equiv_c B$, then $A\mathbf{B}$ (cong)

[Transitivity] If $A \Rightarrow B$ and $B \Rightarrow C$, then $A \Rightarrow C$ (trans)

[Compositionality]

• If $A \Rightarrow A'$ and $B \Rightarrow B'$, then $A(B) \Rightarrow A'(B')$ (ap-comp)

• If $A\mathbf{B}$, and $\xi \in \{\lambda, \exists, \forall\}$, then $\xi(u)(A)\xi(u)(\mathbf{B})$ (lq-comp)

• If $A_i \Rightarrow B_i$ ($i = 0, \dots, n$), then

A_0 where $\{p_1 := A_1, \dots, p_n := A_n\}$ (wh-comp)
 $\Rightarrow B_0$ where $\{p_1 := B_1, \dots, p_n := B_n\}$

• If $A_0 \Rightarrow B_0$ and $C_i \Rightarrow R_i$ ($i = 0, \dots, n$), then

A_0 such that $\{C_1, \dots, C_n\}$ (st-comp)
 $\Rightarrow B_0$ such that $\{R_1, \dots, R_n\}$

Reduction Rules

(to be continued)

[Head Rule] Given that $p_i \neq q_j$ and **no p_i occurs freely in any B_j** ,

$$\begin{aligned} & \left(A_0 \text{ where } \{ \vec{p} := \vec{A} \} \right) \text{ where } \{ \vec{q} := \vec{B} \} \\ \Rightarrow & A_0 \text{ where } \{ \vec{p} := \vec{A}, \vec{q} := \vec{B} \} \end{aligned} \quad (\text{head})$$

[Bekič-Scott Rule] Given that $p_i \neq q_j$ and **no q_i occurs freely in any A_j**

$$\begin{aligned} & A_0 \text{ where } \{ p := \left(B_0 \text{ where } \{ \vec{q} := \vec{B} \} \right), \vec{p} := \vec{A} \} \\ \Rightarrow & A_0 \text{ where } \{ p := B_0, \vec{q} := \vec{B}, \vec{p} := \vec{A} \} \end{aligned} \quad (\text{B-S})$$

[Recursion-Application Rule] Given that **no p_i occurs freely in B** ,

$$\begin{aligned} & \left(A_0 \text{ where } \{ \vec{p} := \vec{A} \} \right) (B) \\ \Rightarrow & A_0(B) \text{ where } \{ \vec{p} := \vec{A} \} \end{aligned} \quad (\text{recap})$$

Reduction Rules

(to be continued)

[**Application Rule**] Given that $B \in \text{PrT}$ is a proper term, and p is fresh,
 $p \in [\text{RecV} - (\text{FV}(A(B)) \cup \text{BV}(A(B)))],$

$$A(B) \Rightarrow [A(p) \text{ where } \{p := B\}] \quad (\text{ap})$$

[**λ and Quantifiers rules**] Let $\xi \in \{\lambda, \exists, \forall\}.$

Given fresh $p'_i \in [\text{RecV} - (\text{FV}(A) \cup \text{BV}(A))], i = 1, \dots, n,$ for
 $A \equiv A_0$ where $\{p_1 := A_1, \dots, p_n := A_n\}$ and replacements A'_i in (20):

$$A'_i \equiv [A_i \{p_1 := p'_1(u), \dots, p_n := p'_n(u)\}] \quad (20)$$

$$\begin{aligned} & \xi(u) \left(A_0 \text{ where } \{p_1 := A_1, \dots, p_n := A_n\} \right) \\ & \xi(u) A'_0 \text{ where } \{p'_1 := \lambda(u) A'_1, \dots, p'_n := \lambda(u) A'_n\} \end{aligned} \quad (\xi)$$

- each $R_i^{\tau_i} \in \text{Terms}$ in \vec{R} is immediate and $\tau_i \in \{t, \tilde{t}\}$
- each $C_j^{\tau_j} \in \text{Terms}$ is proper and $\tau_j \in \{t, \tilde{t}\}$ ($j = 1, \dots, m, m \geq 0$)
- $a_0, c_j \in \text{RecV}$ ($j = 1, \dots, m$) fresh

(st1) Rule A_0 is an immediate term, $m \geq 1$

$$\begin{aligned} & (A_0 \text{ such that } \{C_1, \dots, C_m, \vec{R}\}) & (\text{st1}) \\ \Rightarrow & (A_0 \text{ such that } \{c_1, \dots, c_m, \vec{R}\}) \\ & \text{where } \{c_1 := C_1, \dots, c_m := C_m\} \end{aligned}$$

(st2) Rule A_0 is a proper term

$$\begin{aligned} & (A_0 \text{ such that } \{C_1, \dots, C_m, \vec{R}\}) & (\text{st2}) \\ \Rightarrow & (a_0 \text{ such that } \{c_1, \dots, c_m, \vec{R}\}) \\ & \text{where } \{a_0 := A_0, \\ & \quad c_1 := C_1, \dots, c_m := C_m\} \end{aligned}$$

γ^* -Reduction

stronger reduction

Definition (γ^* -condition)

A term $A \in \text{Terms}$ satisfies the γ^* -condition for an assignment $p := \lambda(\vec{u} \vec{\sigma}) \lambda(v^\sigma) P^\tau : (\vec{\sigma} \rightarrow (\sigma \rightarrow \tau))$, with respect to $\lambda(v^\sigma)$, iff A is of the form: (23a)–(23c):

$$A \equiv A_0 \text{ where } \{ \vec{a} := \vec{A}, \quad (23a)$$

$$p := \lambda(\vec{u}) \lambda(v) P, \quad (23b)$$

$$\vec{b} := \vec{B} \} \quad (23c)$$

such that the following holds:

- ① $v \notin \text{FreeVars}(P)$
- ② All occurrences of p in A_0 , \vec{A} , and \vec{B} are occurrences:
 - in $p(\vec{u})(v)$,
 - which are in the scope of $\lambda(v)$
 modulo renaming the variables \vec{u}, v

$$A \equiv A_0 \text{ where } \{ \vec{a} := \vec{A}, \quad (24a)$$

$$p := \lambda(\vec{u})\lambda(v)P, \quad (24b)$$

$$\vec{b} := \vec{B} \} \quad (24c)$$

$$\Rightarrow_{(\gamma^*)} A'_0 \text{ where } \{ \vec{a} := \vec{A}', \quad (24d)$$

$$p' := \lambda(\vec{u})P, \quad (24e)$$

$$\vec{b} := \vec{B}' \} \quad (24f)$$

given that:

- $A \in \text{Terms}$ satisfies the γ^* -condition (in Definition 3) for $p := \lambda(\vec{u})\lambda(v)P : (\vec{\sigma} \rightarrow (\sigma \rightarrow \tau))$, with respect to $\lambda(v)$
- $p' \in \text{RecV}_{(\vec{\sigma} \rightarrow \tau)}$ is a fresh recursion variable
- $\vec{X}' \equiv \vec{X} \{p(\vec{u})(v) \equiv p'(\vec{u})\}$ is the result of the replacements

$$X_i \{p(\vec{u})(v) \equiv p'(\vec{u})\},$$

i.e., replacing all occurrences of $p(\vec{u})(v)$ by $p'(\vec{u})$, in all corresponding parts $X_i \equiv A_i$, $X_i \equiv B_i$, in (24a)–(24f), modulo renaming the variables \vec{u}, v

Theorem (γ^* -Canonical Form Theorem)

For each $A \in \text{Terms}$, there is a unique up to congruence, γ^* -irreducible $\text{cf}_{\gamma^*}(A) \in \text{Terms}$, s.th.:

- ① for some explicit, γ^* -irreducible $A_0, \dots, A_n \in \text{Terms}$ ($n \geq 0$)

$$\text{cf}_{\gamma^*}(A) \equiv A_0 \text{ where } \{p_1 := A_1, \dots, p_n := A_n\}$$

- ② $A \Rightarrow_{\gamma^*}^* \text{cf}_{\gamma^*}(A)$

- ③ for every B , such that $A \Rightarrow_{\gamma^*}^* B$ and B is γ^* -irreducible, it holds that $B \equiv_c \text{cf}_{\gamma^*}(A)$
i.e., $\text{cf}_{\gamma^*}(A)$ is unique, up to congruence

- ④ $\text{Consts}(\text{cf}_{\gamma^*}(A)) = \text{Consts}(A)$ and

- ⑤ $\text{FreeV}(\text{cf}_{\gamma^*}(A)) = \text{FreeV}(A)$

Proof.

The proof is by induction on term structure of A , (7a)–(7e), (7f), using reduction rules, definitions, and properties of reduction.

The reduction rules and their applications do not remove and do not add any constants and free variables. □

Algorithmic Semantic of L_{ar}^λ / L_r^λ

How is the algorithmic meaning / semantics of a proper (non-immediate) $A \in \text{Terms}$ determined?

- For every term $A \in \text{Terms}$, by the Canonical Form Theorem 4:

$$A \Rightarrow \text{cf}(A)$$

$$A \Rightarrow_{\gamma^*} \text{cf}_{\gamma^*}(A)$$

- For each proper (i.e., non-immediate) $A \in \text{Terms}$, $\text{cf}(A)$ / $\text{cf}_{\gamma^*}(A)$ determines the algorithm $\text{alg}(A)$ for computing $\text{den}(A)$

Theorem (Effective Reduction Calculi)

For every term $A \in \text{Terms}$, its canonical form $\text{cf}(A)$ and $\text{cf}_{\gamma^}(A)$ are effectively computed, by the extended reduction calculus.*

Definition (of Algorithmic Equivalence / Synonymy)

Two terms $A, B \in \text{Terms}$ are **algorithmically equivalent**, $A \approx B$, in a given semantic structure \mathfrak{A} , i.e., referentially synonymous in \mathfrak{A} , iff

- A and B are both immediate, or
- A and B are both proper

and there are explicit, irreducible terms (of appropriate types), $A_0, \dots, A_n, B_0, \dots, B_n$, $n \geq 0$, such that:

- ① $A \Rightarrow_{cf} A_0$ where $\{p_1 := A_1, \dots, p_n := A_n\} \equiv cf(A)$
- ② $B \Rightarrow_{cf} B_0$ where $\{p_1 := B_1, \dots, p_n := B_n\} \equiv cf(B)$
- ③ for all $i \in \{0, \dots, n\}$
 - Ⓐ for every $x \in \text{PureV} \cup \text{RecV}$,

$$x \in \text{FreeV}(A_i) \quad \text{iff} \quad x \in \text{FreeV}(B_i) \quad (25)$$

- Ⓑ $\text{den}(A_i) = \text{den}(B_i)$

Type Theory $L_{ar}^\lambda / L_r^\lambda$ is more expressive than Gallin TY2

Theorem (Moschovakis [13] 2006, §3.24

(mild adjustment))

- ① *For any explicit (λ -calculus) $A \in \text{Terms}$, there is no (assignment) memory location, bound via where in its canonical form, which occurs in more than one of its parts A_i ($0 \leq i \leq n$) of $\text{cf}(A)$ / $\text{cf}_{\gamma^*}(A)$*
- ② *Assume that $A \in \text{Terms}$ is such that an assignment location $p \in \text{RecV}$, bound via where in its canonical form $\text{cf}(A)$, and respectively, $\text{cf}_{\gamma^*}(A)$, occurs in (at least) two assignment parts, and the denotations of those parts depend essentially on p :
 Then, there is no explicit (λ -calculus) term $B \in \text{Terms}$, such that B is algorithmically equivalent to A , $B \approx A$,
 i.e., for all λ -calculus $B \in \text{Terms}$, $B \not\approx A$.*

The proof is by Moschovakis [13] (2006). I provide it for the extended $L_{ar}^\lambda / L_r^\lambda$

Reductions with Pure Quantifier Rules: Algorithmic Patterns and Instantiations

- Assume $cube, large_0 \in \text{Consts}_{(\tilde{e} \rightarrow \tilde{t})}$, in the typical Aristotelian form:

$$\text{Some cube is large} \xrightarrow{\text{render}} B \equiv \exists x (cube(x) \wedge large_0(x)) \quad (26a)$$

$$B \exists x ((c \wedge l) \text{ where } \{ c := cube(x), l := large_0(x) \}) \quad (26b)$$

by $2 \times (\text{ap}) (\text{ap-comp}), (\text{recap}), (\text{wh-comp}), (\text{head}), (\text{lq-comp})$

$$\underbrace{\exists x (c'(x) \wedge l'(x))}_{B_0 \text{ algorithmic pattern}} \text{ where } \{ \quad \} \quad (26c)$$

B_0 algorithmic pattern

$$\underbrace{c' := \lambda(x)(cube(x)), l' := \lambda(x)(large_0(x))}_{\text{instantiations of memory slots } c', l'} \} \equiv \text{cf}(B) \quad (26d)$$

from (26c), by (ξ) to \exists

$$\underbrace{\approx \exists x (c'(x) \wedge l'(x))}_{B_0 \text{ algorithmic pattern}} \text{ where } \{ \underbrace{c' := cube, l' := large_0}_{\text{instantiations of memory slots } c', l'} \} \equiv B' \quad (26e)$$

$$\begin{aligned} \text{by Def. 6 from (26c)–(26d), } \text{den}(\lambda(x)(cube(x))) &= \text{den}(cube), \\ \text{den}(\lambda(x)(large_0(x))) &= \text{den}(large_0) \end{aligned} \quad (26f)$$

$$\text{Some cube is large} \xrightarrow{\text{render}} T, \quad \text{large} \in \text{Consts}_{((\tilde{e} \rightarrow \tilde{t}) \rightarrow (\tilde{e} \rightarrow \tilde{t}))} \quad (27a)$$

$$T \equiv \exists x [\text{cube}(x) \wedge \underbrace{\text{large}(\text{cube})(x)}_{\text{by predicate modification}}] \dots \quad (27b)$$

$$\exists x [(c_1 \wedge l) \text{ where } \{ c_1 := \text{cube}(x), \quad (27c)$$

$$l := \text{large}(c_2)(x), c_2 := \text{cube} \}] \quad (27d)$$

$$\exists x (c'_1(x) \wedge l'(x)) \text{ where } \{ c'_1 := \lambda(x)(\text{cube}(x)), \quad (27e)$$

$$l' := \lambda(x)(\text{large}(c'_2(x))(x)), c'_2 := \lambda(x)\text{cube} \} \quad (27f)$$

$$\equiv \text{cf}(T) \quad (27e)-(27f) \text{ is by } (\xi) \text{ on } (27c)-(27d)$$

$$\Rightarrow_{\gamma^*} \exists x (c'_1(x) \wedge l'(x)) \text{ where } \{ c'_1 := \lambda(x)(\text{cube}(x)), \quad (27g)$$

$$l' := \lambda(x)(\text{large}(c_2)(x)), c_2 := \text{cube} \} \quad (27h)$$

$$\equiv \text{cf}_{\gamma^*}(T)$$

$$\approx \exists x (c'_1(x) \wedge l'(x)) \text{ where } \{ c'_1 := \text{cube}, \quad (27i)$$

$$l' := \lambda(x)(\text{large}(c_2)(x)), c_2 := \text{cube} \} \quad (27j)$$

$$\text{Some cube is large} \xrightarrow{\text{render}} C, \quad \text{large} \in \text{Consts}_{((\tilde{e} \rightarrow \tilde{t}) \rightarrow (\tilde{e} \rightarrow \tilde{t}))}$$

$$C \equiv \underbrace{\exists x [c'(x) \wedge \text{large}(c')(x)]}_{E_0} \text{ where } \{c' := \text{cube}\} \quad (28a)$$

$$\underbrace{\exists x [(c'(x) \wedge l) \text{ where } \{l := \text{large}(c')(x)\}]}_{E_1}$$

where $\{c' := \text{cube}\}$

from (28a), by (ap) to \wedge of E_0 ; (lq-comp); (wh-comp)

$$\underbrace{[\exists x (c'(x) \wedge l'(x)) \text{ where } \{l' := \lambda(x)(\text{large}(c')(x))\}]}_{E_2}$$

where $\{c' := \text{cube}\}$

from (28b), by (ξ) to \exists

$$\underbrace{\exists x (c'(x) \wedge l'(x))}_{C_0 \text{ an algorithmic pattern}}$$

where $\{c' := \text{cube}, l' := \lambda(x)(\text{large}(c')(x))\} \equiv \text{cf}(C)$

instantiations of memory c', l'

from (28c), by (head); (cong)

Proposition

- ① *The L_{ar}^λ -terms $C \approx \text{cf}(C)$ in (28a)–(28d), and many other L_{ar}^λ -terms, are not algorithmically equivalent to any explicit terms*
- ② *L_{ar}^λ is a strict, proper extension of TY_2 , Gallin [4]*
- ③ *and of a la Montague semantics via inclusion of Montague IL in TY_2*

Outline of a proof:

- (1) follows by Theorem 7
- (2) follows by Theorem 7, and (1)
- (3) Gallin [4] provides an interpretation of Montague IL [14] into TY_2 .
 Suitable interpretation can be given directly in L_{ar}^λ (L_r^λ).

Placement of L_{ar}^λ in a class of type theories

$$\text{Montague IL} \subsetneq \text{Gallin TY}_2 \subsetneq \text{Moschovakis } L_{ar}^\lambda \subsetneq \text{Moschovakis } L_r^\lambda \quad (29)$$

Generalised Two-Argument Quantifiers: $Q : ((\tilde{e} \rightarrow \tilde{t}) \rightarrow ((\tilde{e} \rightarrow \tilde{t}) \rightarrow \tilde{t}))$

$$\text{some-every} \xrightarrow{\text{render}} \text{some, every} \in \text{Consts}_{[(\tilde{e} \rightarrow \tilde{t}) \rightarrow ((\tilde{e} \rightarrow \tilde{t}) \rightarrow \tilde{t})]} \quad (30)$$

$$[\text{some}_{\text{DET}} \text{cube}_N]_{\text{NP}} \xrightarrow{\text{render}} \text{some}(\text{cube}) : ((\tilde{e} \rightarrow \tilde{t}) \rightarrow \tilde{t}) \quad (31)$$

$$\Rightarrow_{\text{cf}} [\text{some}(d) \text{ where } \{d := \text{cube}\}] \quad (32)$$

$$\text{Some cube is large} \xrightarrow{\text{render}} A_0/A_1/A_2 \quad (\text{options}) \quad (33a)$$

$$A_0 \equiv (\text{some}(\text{cube}))(\text{large}_0) : \tilde{t} \quad \text{typical } \lambda\text{-term} \quad (33b)$$

$$\Rightarrow_{\text{cf}} \underbrace{\text{some}(p_1)(p_2) \text{ where } \{p_1 := \text{cube}, p_2 := \text{large}_0\}}_{\text{recursion term}} \quad (33c)$$

$$A_1 \equiv \text{some}(p_1)(p_2) \text{ where } \{p_1 := \text{cube}, p_2 := \text{large}(p_1)\} \quad (33d)$$

$$A_2 \equiv \underbrace{Q(p_1)(p_2)}_{\text{alg. pattern}} \text{ where } \underbrace{\{Q := \text{some}, p_1 := \text{cube}, p_2 := \text{large}(p_1)\}}_{\text{instantiations of memory}} \quad (33e)$$

Alternatives: $Q := \text{every}$, $Q := \text{one}$, $Q := \text{two}$, $Q := \text{most}$, etc.

No explicit terms are algorithmically equivalent to A_1 and A_2 , by Th. 7.

$$[K \text{ [is [larger than}_{\text{ADJ}} \text{ [some}_{\text{DET}} \text{ number}_{\text{N}}]_{\text{NP}}]_{\text{ADJP}}]_{\text{VP}}]_{\text{S}} \xrightarrow{\text{render}} A \quad (34a)$$

$$A \equiv \left[\lambda y \left[[\text{some}(\text{number})] \left(\lambda x_d \text{larger}(x_d)(y) \right) \right] \right] (K) \quad \dots \quad (34b)$$

$$\left[\lambda(y_k) \left(\text{some}(d'(y_k))(h(y_k)) \right) \text{ where} \right. \\ \left. \{ d' := \lambda(y_k) \text{number}, \right. \quad (34c)$$

$$\left. h := \lambda(y_k) \lambda(x_d) \text{larger}(x_d)(y_k) \} \right] (K)$$

$$\Rightarrow_{\text{cf}} \text{cf}(A) \equiv \quad (34d)$$

$$\left[\lambda(y_k) \left(\text{some}(d'(y_k))(h(y_k)) \right) \right] (k) \text{ where} \\ \{ h := \lambda(y_k) \lambda(x_d) \text{larger}(x_d)(y_k), \\ d' := \lambda(y_k) \text{number}, k := K \} \quad (34e)$$

$$\Rightarrow_{\gamma^*} \left[\lambda(y_k) \text{some}(d)(h(y_k)) \right] (k) \text{ where} \\ \{ h := \lambda(y_k) \lambda(x_d) \text{larger}(x_d)(y_k), \\ d := \text{number}, k := K \} \quad (34f)$$

$$[K \text{ [is [larger than}_{\text{ADJ}} \quad (35a)$$

$$[\text{some}_{\text{DET}} \text{ number}_{\text{N}}]_{\text{NP}}]_{\text{ADJP}}]_{\text{VP}}]_{\text{S}} \xrightarrow{\text{render}} A_3$$

$$A_3 \equiv \left[\lambda y_k \left[[Q(\text{number})] (\lambda x_d \text{ larger}(x_d)(y_k)) \text{ where } \{ \right. \right. \\ \left. \left. Q := \text{some} \} \right] \right] (K) \dots \quad (35b)$$

$$\left[\lambda(y_k) \left(Q(d'(y_k))(h(y_k)) \right) \text{ where} \right. \\ \left. \{ Q := \text{some}, d' := \lambda(y_k) \text{ number}, \right. \quad (35c)$$

$$\left. h := \lambda(y_k) \lambda(x_d) \text{ larger}(x_d)(y_k) \} \right] (K)$$

$$\Rightarrow_{\text{cf}} \text{cf}(A) \equiv \quad (35d)$$

$$\left[\lambda(y_k) \left(Q(d'(y_k))(h(y_k)) \right) \right] (k) \text{ where} \\ \{ Q := \text{some}, h := \lambda(y_k) \lambda(x_d) \text{ larger}(x_d)(y_k), \quad (35e)$$

$$d' := \lambda(y_k) \text{ number}, k := K \}$$

$$\Rightarrow_{\gamma^*} \left[\lambda(y_k) Q(d)(h(y_k)) \right] (k) \text{ where} \\ \{ Q := \text{some}, h := \lambda(y_k) \lambda(x_d) \text{ larger}(x_d)(y_k), \quad (35f)$$

$$d := \text{number}, k := K \}$$

de dicto and *de re* renderings of quantifiers shared algorithmic pattern

$$\begin{aligned}
 &\text{Every cube is larger than some dodeca} \xrightarrow{\text{render}} && (\text{de dicto}) \\
 R_3 \text{ where } \{R_3 &:= \text{every}(p)(R_2), && (36a) \\
 &R_2 := \lambda(x_2)\text{some}(b)(R_1(x_2)), && (36b) \\
 &R_1 := \lambda(x_2)\lambda(x_1)\text{larger}(x_1)(x_2), && (36c) \\
 &p := \text{cube}, b := \text{dodeca}\} && (36d)
 \end{aligned}$$

$$\begin{aligned}
 &\text{Every cube is larger than some dodeca} \xrightarrow{\text{render}} && (\text{de re}) \\
 R_3 \text{ where } \{R_3 &:= \text{some}(b)(R_1), && (37a) \\
 &R_1 := \lambda(x_1)\text{every}(p)(R_2(x_1)), && (37b) \\
 &R_2 := \lambda(x_1)\lambda(x_2)\text{larger}(x_1)(x_2), && (37c) \\
 &p := \text{cube}, b := \text{dodeca}\} && (37d)
 \end{aligned}$$

de dicto term S_{21}

$$S_{21} \equiv R_3 \text{ where } \{ R_3 := Q_2(R_2), \quad (38a)$$

$$R_2 := \lambda(x_2)Q_1(R_1^1(x_2)), \quad (38b)$$

$$R_1^1 := \lambda(x_2)\lambda(x_1)h(x_1)(x_2), \quad (38c)$$

$$Q_1 := q_1(d_1), Q_2 := q_2(d_2), \quad (38d)$$

$$q_2 := \textit{every}, d_2 := \textit{cube}, \quad (38e)$$

$$q_1 := \textit{some}, d_1 := \textit{dodeca}, h := \textit{larger} \} \quad (38f)$$

de re term S_{12}

$$S_{12} \equiv R_3 \text{ where } \{ R_3 := Q_1(R_1), \quad (39a)$$

$$R_1 := \lambda(x_1)Q_2(R_2^1(x_1)), \quad (39b)$$

$$R_2^1 := \lambda(x_1)\lambda(x_2)h(x_1)(x_2), \quad (39c)$$

$$Q_1 := q_1(d_1), Q_2 := q_2(d_2), \quad (39d)$$

$$q_2 := \textit{every}, d_2 := \textit{cube}, \quad (39e)$$

$$q_1 := \textit{some}, d_1 := \textit{dodeca}, h := \textit{larger} \} \quad (39f)$$

Constrained Underspecified Terms

$$U \equiv R_3 \text{ where } \{ l_1 := Q_1(R_1), l_2 := Q_2(R_2), \quad (40a)$$

$$Q_1 := q_1(d_1), Q_2 := q_2(d_2), \quad (40b)$$

$$q_1 := \text{some}, q_2 := \text{every}, \quad (40c)$$

$$h := \text{larger}, d_1 := \text{dodeca}, d_2 := \text{cube} \} \quad (40d)$$

$$\text{s.t. } \{ Q_i \text{ binds the } i\text{-th argument of } h, \quad (40e)$$

$$R_3 \text{ binds (dominates) each } Q_i \ (i = 1, 2) \} \quad (40f)$$

- U is underspecified (per se), but restricted:
 $R_3, R_i (i = 1, 2)$ are free, restricted recursion variables
- any of its specifications have to satisfy the constraints

U can be specified to *de dicto* term:

$$U_{21} \equiv R_3 \text{ where } \{ R_3 := l_2, l_2 := Q_2(R_2), \quad (41a)$$

$$R_2 := \lambda(x_2)l_1^1(x_2), l_1^1 := \lambda(x_2)Q_1(R_1^1(x_2)), \quad (41b)$$

$$R_1^1 := \lambda(x_2)\lambda(x_1)h(x_1)(x_2), \quad (41c)$$

$$Q_1 := q_1(d_1), Q_2 := q_2(d_2), \quad (41d)$$

$$q_2 := \textit{every}, d_2 := \textit{cube}, \quad (41e)$$

$$q_1 := \textit{some}, d_1 := \textit{dodeca}, h := \textit{larger} \} \quad (41f)$$

U_{21} can be simplified to the similar, not algorithmically synonymous term:

$$S_{21} \equiv R_3 \text{ where } \{ R_3 := Q_2(R_2), \quad (42a)$$

$$R_2 := \lambda(x_2)Q_1(R_1^1(x_2)), \quad (42b)$$

$$R_1^1 := \lambda(x_2)\lambda(x_1)h(x_1)(x_2), \quad (42c)$$

$$Q_1 := q_1(d_1), Q_2 := q_2(d_2), \quad (42d)$$

$$q_2 := \textit{every}, d_2 := \textit{cube}, \quad (42e)$$

$$q_1 := \textit{some}, d_1 := \textit{dodeca}, h := \textit{larger} \} \quad (42f)$$

U can be specified to the *de re* term:

$$U_{12} \equiv R_3 \text{ where } \{ R_3 := l_1, l_1 := Q_1(R_1), \quad (43a)$$

$$R_1 := \lambda(x_1)l_2^1(x_1), l_2^1 := \lambda(x_1)Q_2(R_2^1(x_1)), \quad (43b)$$

$$R_2^1 := \lambda(x_1)\lambda(x_2)h(x_1)(x_2), \quad (43c)$$

$$Q_1 := q_1(d_1), Q_2 := q_2(d_2), \quad (43d)$$

$$q_2 := \textit{every}, d_2 := \textit{cube}, \quad (43e)$$

$$q_1 := \textit{some}, d_1 := \textit{dodeca}, h := \textit{larger} \} \quad (43f)$$

U_{12} can be simplified to the similar, not algorithmically synonymous term:

$$S_{12} \equiv R_3 \text{ where } \{ R_3 := Q_1(R_1), \quad (44a)$$

$$R_1 := \lambda(x_1)Q_2(R_2^1(x_1)), \quad (44b)$$

$$R_2^1 := \lambda(x_1)\lambda(x_2)h(x_1)(x_2), \quad (44c)$$

$$Q_1 := q_1(d_1), Q_2 := q_2(d_2), \quad (44d)$$

$$q_2 := \textit{every}, d_2 := \textit{cube}, \quad (44e)$$

$$q_1 := \textit{some}, d_1 := \textit{dodeca}, h := \textit{larger} \} \quad (44f)$$

$$\Phi \equiv \text{The cube is large} \quad (45)$$

- First Order Logic (FOL) A

$$\Phi \xrightarrow{\text{render}} A \equiv \exists x \left[\underbrace{\forall y (\text{cube}(y) \leftrightarrow x = y)}_{\text{uniqueness}} \wedge \text{isLarge}(x) \right] \quad (46a)$$

$$S \equiv \exists x \left[\underbrace{\forall y (P(y) \leftrightarrow x = y)}_{\text{uniqueness}} \wedge Q(x) \right] \quad (46b)$$

In FOL, A in (46a) has the following features:

- Existential quantification as the direct, topmost predication
- Uniqueness of the existing entity
- There is **no referential force** to the object denoted by the descriptor NP: $[\text{the cube}]_{\text{NP}}$
- There is **no compositional analysis**, i.e., no of A from the components of Φ

- Higher Order Logic (HOL): Henkin (1950) and Mostowski (1957)
a significant, positive step; but lost referential force

$$\text{the} \xrightarrow{\text{render}} T \equiv [\lambda P \lambda Q [\exists x [\underbrace{\forall y (P(y) \leftrightarrow x = y)}_{\text{uniqueness}} \wedge Q(x)]]] \quad (47a)$$

$$\text{the cube} \xrightarrow{\text{render}} C \equiv T(\text{cube})$$

$$C \equiv [\lambda P \lambda Q [\exists x [\underbrace{\forall y (P(y) \leftrightarrow x = y)}_{\text{uniqueness}} \wedge Q(x)]]](\text{cube}) \quad (47b)$$

$$\models D \equiv \lambda Q [\exists x [\underbrace{\forall y (\text{cube}(y) \leftrightarrow x = y)}_{\text{uniqueness}} \wedge Q(x)]] \quad (47c)$$

(fr. (47b) by β -reduction)

$$\Phi \equiv \text{The cube is large} \xrightarrow{\text{render}} B \equiv D(\text{isLarge}) \quad (48a)$$

$$B \equiv [\lambda Q [\exists x [\underbrace{\forall y (\text{cube}(y) \leftrightarrow x = y)}_{\text{uniqueness}} \wedge Q(x)]]](\text{isLarge}) \quad (48b)$$

$$\models \exists x [\underbrace{\forall y (\text{cube}(y) \leftrightarrow x = y)}_{\text{uniqueness}} \wedge \text{isLarge}(x)] \quad (48c)$$

(fr. (48b) by β -reduction)

Example: rendering of the definite article “the”

Option 1

- Rendering the definite article “the” to a constant:

$$\text{the} \xrightarrow{\text{render}} \text{the} \in \text{Consts}_{((\tilde{e} \rightarrow \tilde{t}) \rightarrow \tilde{e})} \quad (49)$$

- together with the following denotation of the constant *the*, requiring “uniqueness” of the denoted object:

$$[(\text{den}(\text{the}))(g)](\bar{p})(s_0) = \begin{cases} y, & \text{if } y \text{ is the unique } y \in \mathbb{T}_e, \\ & \text{for which } \bar{p}(s \mapsto y)(s_0) = 1 \\ \text{er,} & \text{otherwise} \end{cases} \quad (50)$$

i.e., there is no unique entity
that has the property \bar{p} in s_0

for every $\bar{p} \in \mathbb{T}_{(\tilde{e} \rightarrow \tilde{t})}$ and every $s_0 \in \mathbb{T}_s$

There are other possibilities for rendering the definite article “the”, e.g., see Loukanova [10].

Option 3: the definite determiner “the” and descriptors:

Underspecification

We can render “the” to A_1 or $\text{cf}(A_1)$, underspecified for p :

$$\text{the} \xrightarrow{\text{render}} A_1 \equiv (q \text{ s.t. } \{ \text{unique}(p)(q) \}) : \tilde{e} \quad (51a)$$

$$\text{the} \xrightarrow{\text{render}} \text{cf}(A_1) \equiv (q \text{ s.t. } \{ U \}) \text{ where } \{ U := \text{unique}(p)(q) \} \quad (51b)$$

$$p \in \text{RecV}_{(\tilde{e} \rightarrow \tilde{t})}, \quad q \in \text{RecV}_{\tilde{e}} \quad (51c)$$

- q is the object, whoever it turns to be, by having the property $\text{unique}(p)$, by $\text{unique}(p)(q)$

$$\text{the cube} \xrightarrow{\text{render}} \text{cf}(A_2) : \tilde{e} \quad (52a)$$

$$A_2 \equiv (q \text{ s.t. } \{ \text{unique}(p)(q) \}) \text{ where } \{ p := \text{cube} \} \quad (52b)$$

$$\Rightarrow_{\text{cf}} \text{cf}(A_2) \equiv (q \text{ s.t. } \{ U \}) \text{ where } \{ U := \text{unique}(p)(q), \\ p := \text{cube} \} \quad (52c)$$

by (st1), (head), from (52b)

$$\text{The cube is large} \xrightarrow{\text{render}} \text{cf}(A_3) : \tilde{\mathbf{t}} \quad (53a)$$

$$A_3 \equiv \text{large}(p) \left((q \text{ s.t. } \{ \text{unique}(p)(q) \}) \text{ where } \{ p := \text{cube} \} \right) \quad (53b)$$

$$\begin{aligned} &\text{large}(p)(Q) \text{ where } \{ \\ &\quad Q := [(q \text{ s.t. } \{ \text{unique}(p)(q) \}) \text{ where } \{ p := \text{cube} \}] \} \end{aligned} \quad (53c)$$

by (ap), from (53b)

$$\begin{aligned} \Rightarrow_{\text{cf}} \text{cf}(A_3) &\equiv \text{large}(p)(Q) \text{ where } \{ Q := (q \text{ s.t. } \{ U \}), \\ &\quad U := \text{unique}(p)(q), p := \text{cube} \} \end{aligned} \quad (53d)$$

by (st1), (wh-comp), (B-S), from (52c), (53c)

Algorithmic Pattern: definite descriptors in predicative statements: Opt3

$$A \equiv L(Q) \text{ where } \{ Q := (q \text{ s.t. } \{ U \}), U := \text{unique}(p)(q) \} \quad (54a)$$

$$p, q, L \in \text{FreeV}(A), p \in \text{RecV}_{(\tilde{\mathbf{e}} \rightarrow \tilde{\mathbf{t}})}, q \in \text{RecV}_{\tilde{\mathbf{e}}}, \quad (54b)$$

$$Q \in \text{RecV}_{\tilde{\mathbf{e}}}, U \in \text{RecV}_{\tilde{\mathbf{t}}}, L \in \text{RecV}_{(\tilde{\mathbf{e}} \rightarrow \tilde{\mathbf{t}})} \quad (54c)$$

$$\text{The number } n \text{ is odd} \xrightarrow{\text{render}} \text{cf}(A_4) : \tilde{t} \quad (55a)$$

$$A_4 \equiv \text{isOdd} \left((q \text{ s.t. } \{ \text{unique}(N)(q), p(q) \}) \text{ where } \{ \right. \quad (55b)$$

$$\left. q := n, p := \text{number}, N := \text{named-}n \} \right)$$

$$\Rightarrow_{\text{cf}} \text{cf}(A_4) \equiv \text{isOdd}(Q) \text{ where } \{ Q := (q \text{ s.t. } \{ U, C \}), \quad (55c)$$

$$U := \text{unique}(N)(q), C := p(q),$$

$$q := n, p := \text{number}, N := \text{named-}n \}$$

- direct **reference**, by assignment; uniqueness and existence are consequences

$$\text{The number } n \text{ is large} \xrightarrow{\text{render}} \text{cf}(A_5) : \tilde{t} \quad (56a)$$

$$A_5 \equiv \text{isOdd} \left((q \text{ s.t. } \{ p(q) \}) \text{ where } \{ \right. \quad (56b)$$

$$\left. q := n, p := \text{number} \} \right)$$

$$\Rightarrow_{\text{cf}} \text{isOdd}(Q) \text{ where } \{ Q := (q \text{ s.t. } \{ C \}), C := p(q), \quad (56c)$$

$$q := n, p := \text{number} \}$$

$$[\Phi_j]_{NP} \ [[\Theta_L \text{ and } \Psi_H] \ [W_w]_{NP}]_{VP} \quad (57a)$$

$$\xrightarrow{\text{render}} \underbrace{\lambda x_j [\lambda y_w (L(x_j)(y_w) \wedge H(x_j)(y_w))(w)](j)}_{\text{algorithmic pattern with memory parameters } L, H, w, j} \quad (57b)$$

$$[\text{The cube}]_j \ [\text{is larger than and is next to } [[\text{its}]_j \text{ predecessor}]_w] \xrightarrow{\text{render}} A \quad (58)$$

$$A \equiv \lambda x_j [\lambda y_w (\text{larger}(y_w)(x_j) \wedge \text{nextTo}(y_w)(x_j)) \\ (\text{predecessor}(x_j))] (\text{the}(\text{cube})) \quad (59a)$$

$$\Rightarrow_{\gamma^*} \underbrace{\lambda x_j [\lambda y_w (L''(x_j)(y_w) \wedge H''(x_j)(y_w))(w'(x_j))](j)}_{\text{algorithmic pattern with memory parameters } L'', H'', w', j} \quad (59b)$$

$$\text{where } \{ L'' := \lambda x_j \lambda y_w \text{larger}(y_w)(x_j), \quad (59c)$$

$$H'' := \lambda x_j \lambda y_w \text{nextTo}(y_w)(x_j),$$

$$\underbrace{w' := \lambda x_j \text{predecessor}(x_j), j := \text{the}(c), c := \text{cube}}_{\text{instantiations of memory } L'', H'', w', j}$$

- The sentence (60a)–(60b) is a conjunction of propositions, i.e., propositional conjunction
- The computational semantics of (60a)–(60b) can be represented by $\text{cf}_{\gamma^*}(B)$, in (61a)–(61b):

[The cube]_j is larger than [[its]_j predecessor]_w (60a)

and [it]_j is next to [it]_w $\xrightarrow{\text{render}}$ B (60b)

$B \equiv [\text{larger}(w)(j) \wedge \text{nextTo}(w)(j)]$ where $\{$
 $j := \text{the}(\text{cube}), w := \text{predecessor}(j) \}$ (61a)

$\Rightarrow_{\text{cf}_{\gamma^*}} [L \wedge H]$ where $\{L := \text{larger}(w)(j), H := \text{nextTo}(w)(j),$
 $w := \text{predecessor}(j),$ (61b)
 $j := \text{the}(c), c := \text{cube} \}$

Computational Syntax-Semantics of NL by using L_{ar}^λ in GCBLG

For syntax-semantics interfaces of Natural Language (NL), I employ:

- Generalised Constraint-Based Lexicalized Grammar (GCBLG), see [7]
GCBLG covers a variety of computational grammars, by representing major, common syntactic characteristics of a class of approaches to computational grammar, e.g.:
 - Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar (HPSG) [3]
 - Lexical Functional Grammar (LFG) [1]
 - Categorical Grammar (CG) [2, 11]
 - Grammatical Framework (GF) [5] (tentatively)

Computational Syntax-Semantics of NL by using L_{ar}^λ in GCBLG

Generalised Constraint-Based Lexicalized Grammar (GCBLG) covers major syntactic categories of natural language, by linguistically motivated generalizations.

- The syntactic information is distributed among a hierarchy of types
- **typed feature-value descriptions:** Feature-Value Logics; Attribute-Value (ATV) Matrices
- The semantic representation in syntax-semantics composition and interface, is by the feature SEM and its recursive values SEM has typed values that encode recursion terms as L_{ar}^λ , alternatively, of DTTSitInfo
- Efficient and effective, computational rendering of NL expressions to γ^* -canonical forms, see Loukanova [6, 9, 8]

Computational Syntax-Semantics of NL by using L_{ar}^λ in GCBLG

Computational Grammar with Syntax-Semantics and Underspecification

For a given NL expression ϕ , its grammar analysis Φ , includes **syntax-semantics** interface, throughout its constituents

$$\Phi \xrightarrow{\text{render}} A \equiv \text{cf}_\gamma(A) \quad (62)$$

(n₀) S

SYN	VAL	$\begin{bmatrix} \text{SPR} & \langle \rangle \\ \text{COMPS} & \langle \rangle \end{bmatrix}$
SYNSEM	$\begin{bmatrix} R_3 \text{ rBind } l_1, R_3 \text{ rBind } l_2, \\ Q_1 \text{ rBind } p_1, R_1 \text{ rBind } p_1, Q_2 \text{ rBind } p_2, R_2 \text{ rBind } p_2 \end{bmatrix}$	
SEM	TERM	L-TYPE \bar{t}
		T-HEAD R_3
		WHERE $\{ l_1 := Q_1(R_1), l_2 := Q_2(R_2), \\ Q_1 := q_1(d_1), q_1 := \text{some}, d_1 := \text{dodeca}, \\ Q_2 := q_2(d_2), q_2 := \text{every}, d_2 := \text{cube}, \\ R_0 := h(p_1)(p_2), h := \text{larger} \}$

(n₂) NP_{Q₂}

SYN	VAL	$\begin{bmatrix} \text{COMPS} & \langle \rangle \\ \text{SPR} & \langle \rangle \end{bmatrix}$
SEM	TERM	L-TYPE $((\bar{e} \rightarrow \bar{t}) \rightarrow \bar{t})$
		$\begin{bmatrix} Q_2 \\ \text{T-HEAD } q_2(d_2) \\ \text{WHERE } \{ q_2 := \text{every}, \\ d_2 := \text{cube} \} \end{bmatrix}$

(n₁) VP

SYN	VAL	$\begin{bmatrix} \text{HEAD } \text{verb} \\ \text{SPR } \langle \text{[Q]}_{Q_2} \rangle \\ \text{COMPS} & \langle \rangle \end{bmatrix}$
SYNSEM	$\begin{bmatrix} (Q_2 \text{ rBind } p_2), \\ (Q_1 \text{ rBind } p_1), (R_1 \text{ rBind } p_1) \end{bmatrix}$	
SEM	TERM	L-TYPE \bar{t}
		T-HEAD l_1
		WHERE $\{ l_1 := Q_1(R_1), \\ Q_1 := q_1(d_1), q_1 := \text{some}, d_1 := \text{dodeca}, \\ R_0 := h(p_1)(p_2), h := \text{larger} \}$

SYN	VAL	$\begin{bmatrix} \text{HEAD } \text{det} \\ \text{SPR } \langle \rangle \\ \text{COMPS} & \langle \rangle \end{bmatrix}$
SEM	TERM	$\begin{bmatrix} \text{T-HEAD } \text{every} \\ \text{WHERE } \{ \} \end{bmatrix}$
		every
SYN	VAL	$\begin{bmatrix} \text{HEAD } \text{noun} \\ \text{SPR } \langle \text{[Q]} \rangle \\ \text{COMPS} & \langle \rangle \end{bmatrix}$
SEM	TERM	$\begin{bmatrix} \text{T-HEAD } \text{cube} \\ \text{WHERE } \{ \} \end{bmatrix}$
		cube

(n₃) Pred-be+AdjP

SYN	VAL	$\begin{bmatrix} \text{HEAD } \text{verb} \\ \text{SPR } \langle \text{[Q]}_{Q_2} \rangle \\ \text{COMPS } \langle \text{[Q]}_{Q_1} \rangle \end{bmatrix}$
SYNSEM	$\begin{bmatrix} Q_1 \text{ rBind } p_1, Q_2 \text{ rBind } p_2, \\ \text{sem-larger} \end{bmatrix}$	
SEM	TERM	L-TYPE \bar{t}
		$h : (\bar{e} \rightarrow (\bar{e} \rightarrow \bar{t}))$
		$\begin{bmatrix} R_0 \\ \text{T-HEAD } h(p_1)(p_2) \\ \text{WHERE } \{ h := \text{larger} \} \end{bmatrix}$

(n₅) NP_{Q₁}

SYN	VAL	$\begin{bmatrix} \text{HEAD } \text{[Q]} \\ \text{COMPS} & \langle \rangle \\ \text{SPR} & \langle \rangle \end{bmatrix}$
SEM	TERM	L-TYPE $(\bar{e} \rightarrow \bar{t}) \rightarrow \bar{t}$
		$\begin{bmatrix} Q_1 \\ \text{T-HEAD } q_1(d_1) \\ \text{WHERE } \{ q_1 := \text{some}, \\ d_1 := \text{dodeca} \} \end{bmatrix}$



some dodeca



is larger than

Motivation for Type Theory L_{ar}^λ and Outlook

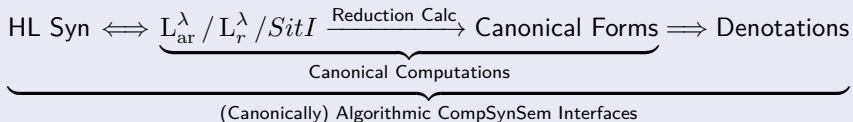
- L_{ar}^λ provides Computational Semantics with:
 - greater semantic distinctions than type-theoretic semantics by λ -calculi, e.g., Montagovian grammars
- L_{ar}^λ provides Parametric Algorithms
Parameters can be instantiated depending on:
 - classes and sets of specific names, NPs, verbs, properties, relations, etc.
 - representing major semantic ambiguities and underspecification [6], at the object level of its formal language, without meta-language variables
- L_{ar}^λ with logical operators and pure quantifiers can be used for:
 - proof-theoretic computational semantics and reasoning
 - inferences of semantic information
 - Canonical forms can be used by automatic provers and proof assistants

Looking Forward!

Outlook1: Development of Computational Theories and Applications

- Generalised Computational Grammar: **CompSynSem interfaces** in NL, HL (human language)
 - Hierarchical lexicon with morphological structure and lexical rules
 - Syntax of NL expressions (phrasal and grammatical dependences)
 - **Syntax-semantics inter-relations in lexicon and phrases**
- A Big Picture — simplified and approximated, but realistic:

Algorithmic CompSynSem of Human Language (HL)



(I've done quite a lot of it, but still a lot to do!)

Outlook2: Applications to Human / Natural Language Processing (NLP)

Translations via Algorithmic Syntax-Semantics Interfaces (CompSynSem) Human Languages, Ontologies, and L_{ar}^λ / Sitl

Lexicon of $L_0 \iff \text{Syn of } L_0 \xrightleftharpoons[\text{render}^{-1}]{\text{render}} L_{ar}^\lambda / \text{Sitl Canonical Terms}$

$\downarrow \uparrow$

possible
 modifications
 of the terms

$\downarrow \uparrow$

Data / Ontologies / Tree Banks, etc. $\xrightleftharpoons[\text{render}^{-1}]{\text{render}}$

$\{\text{Lexicon of } L_i \iff \text{Syn of } L_i \xrightleftharpoons[\text{render}^{-1}]{\text{render}} L_{ar}^\lambda / \text{Sitl Canonical Terms}$

$| 1 \leq i \leq n\}$

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