

# Pure versus Generalised Quantifiers

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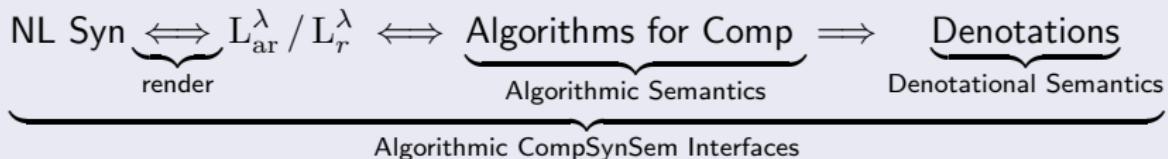
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- ① Moschovakis (1989) [16] Formal Language of **full recursion, untyped**
- ② Moschovakis (2006) [17], via examples of Natural Language (NL):  
**Type-Theory of Acyclic / Full Recursion  $L_{ar}^\lambda / L_r^\lambda$**   
 Formal Syntax of  $L_{ar}^\lambda$  + Reduction Calculus of  $L_{ar}^\lambda$
- ③ Open: Algorithmic Dependent-Type Theory of Situated Information (DTTSitInfo): situated data including context assessments:

- Loukanova (1989–1991) introduced  
 math of recursively defined  
 Type Theory of Situated Info: applied to Natural Language  
 Situation Semantics

### Algorithmic CompSynSem of $L_{ar}^\lambda / L_r^\lambda$



## Development of Type-Theory of (Acyclic) Algorithms, $L_r^\lambda$ / $L_{\text{ar}}^\lambda$ / DTTSitInfo

### Placement of $L_{\text{ar}}^\lambda$ in a class of type theories

Montague IL  $\subsetneq$  Gallin TY<sub>2</sub>  $\subsetneq$  Moschovakis  $L_{\text{ar}}^\lambda \subsetneq$  Moschovakis  $L_r^\lambda$  (1)

$\stackrel{?}{\equiv}$  DTTSitInfo (2)

- Type-Theory of (Acyclic) Algorithms,  $L_r^\lambda$  ( $L_{\text{ar}}^\lambda$ ), provides:
  - a math notion of algorithm
  - Algorithmic Semantics of formal and natural languages
- $L_{\text{ar}}^\lambda$  /  $L_r^\lambda$  is type theory of algorithms with acyclic / full recursion:
  - Introduced by Moschovakis [17] (2006) by examples from NL
  - Math development by motivations from NL, Loukanova [8, 9] (2019)
- In the works presented here, I extend  $L_{\text{ar}}^\lambda$  /  $L_r^\lambda$  by incorporating:
  - operators and corresponding reduction rules, by:
  - Preserving acyclicity of  $L_{\text{ar}}^\lambda$

## 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

$$\tilde{\sigma} \equiv (s \rightarrow \sigma), \text{ for state-dependent objects of type } \tilde{\sigma} \quad (3a)$$

$$\tilde{e} \equiv (s \rightarrow e), \text{ for state-dependent entities} \quad (3b)$$

$$\tilde{t} \equiv (s \rightarrow t), \text{ for state-dependent truth vals: propositions} \quad (3c)$$

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

$$\text{Consts}_{\sigma} = K_{\sigma} = \{c_0^{\sigma}, c_1^{\sigma}, \dots\} \quad (4a)$$

$$\wedge, \vee, \rightarrow \in \text{Consts}_{(\tau \rightarrow (\tau \rightarrow \tau))}, \tau \in \{t, \tilde{t}\} \quad (\text{logical constants}) \quad (4b)$$

$$\neg \in \text{Consts}_{(\tau \rightarrow \tau)}, \tau \in \{t, \tilde{t}\} \quad (\text{logical constant for negation}) \quad (4c)$$

$$\text{PureV}_{\sigma} = \{v_0^{\sigma}, v_1^{\sigma}, \dots\} \quad (4d)$$

$$\text{RecV}_{\sigma} = \text{MemoryV}_{\sigma} = \{p_0^{\sigma}, p_1^{\sigma}, \dots\} \quad (4e)$$

$$\text{PureV}_{\sigma} \cap \text{RecV}_{\sigma} = \emptyset, \quad \text{Vars}_{\sigma} = \text{PureV}_{\sigma} \cup \text{RecV}_{\sigma} \quad (4f)$$

## Definition (Terms of TTA: $L_{ar}^\lambda$ acyclic recursion / $L_r^\lambda$ full recursion)

$$A := c^\sigma : \sigma \mid x^\sigma : \sigma \mid B^{(\rho \rightarrow \sigma)}(C^\rho) : \sigma \mid \lambda(v^\rho)(B^\sigma) : (\rho \rightarrow \sigma) \quad (5a)$$

$$\mid A_0^{\sigma_0} \text{ where } \{ p_1^{\sigma_1} := A_1^{\sigma_1}, \dots, \dots, p_n^{\sigma_n} := A_n^{\sigma_n} \} : \sigma_0 \quad (recursion\ term) \quad (5b)$$

$$\mid \wedge(A_2^\tau)(A_1^\tau) : \tau \mid \vee(A_2^\tau)(A_1^\tau) : \tau \mid \rightarrow(A_2^\tau)(A_1^\tau) : \tau \quad (5c)$$

$$\mid \neg(B^\tau) : \tau \quad (5d)$$

$$\mid \forall(v^\sigma)(B^\tau) : \tau \mid \exists(v^\sigma)(B^\tau) : \tau \quad (pure\ quantifiers) \quad (5e)$$

$$\mid A_0^{\sigma_0} \text{ such that } \{ C_1^{\tau_1}, \dots, C_m^{\tau_m} \} : \sigma'_0 \quad (restrictor\ terms) \quad (5f)$$

$$\mid \text{ToScope}(B^{\tilde{\sigma}}) : (s \rightarrow \tilde{\sigma}) \quad (unspecified\ scope) \quad (5g)$$

$$\mid \mathcal{C}(B^{\tilde{\sigma}}(s)) : \tilde{\sigma} \quad (closed\ scope) \quad (5h)$$

- $c^\sigma \in \text{Consts}_\sigma, x^\sigma \in \text{PureV}_\sigma \cup \text{RecV}_\sigma, v^\sigma \in \text{PureV}_\sigma$
- $B, C \in \text{Terms}, p_i^{\sigma_i} \in \text{RecV}_{\sigma_i}, A_i^{\sigma_i} \in \text{Terms}_{\sigma_i}, C_j^{\tau_j} \in \text{Terms}_{\tau_j}$
- $\tau, \tau_j \in \{ t, \tilde{t} \}, \tilde{t} \equiv (s \rightarrow t) \quad (type\ of\ propositions)$
- $\text{ToScope} : (\tilde{\sigma} \rightarrow (s \rightarrow \tilde{\sigma})), \mathcal{C} : (\sigma \rightarrow \tilde{\sigma}), s : \text{RecV}_s \text{ (state)}, \sigma \equiv t$

## Type Theory of Algorithms (TTA): $L_{ar}^{\lambda}$ acyclic recursion: Terms + AC

$$A \equiv A_0^{\sigma_0} \text{ where } \underbrace{\{ p_1^{\sigma_1} := A_1^{\sigma_1}, \dots, \dots, p_n^{\sigma_n} := A_n^{\sigma_n} \}}_{\text{acyclic system of assignments}} : \sigma_0 \quad (6)$$

- Acyclicity Constraint (AC), for  $L_{ar}^{\lambda}$ :

$$\{ p_1^{\sigma_1} := A_1^{\sigma_1}, \dots, p_n^{\sigma_n} := A_n^{\sigma_n} \} \quad (n \geq 0) \quad (7a)$$

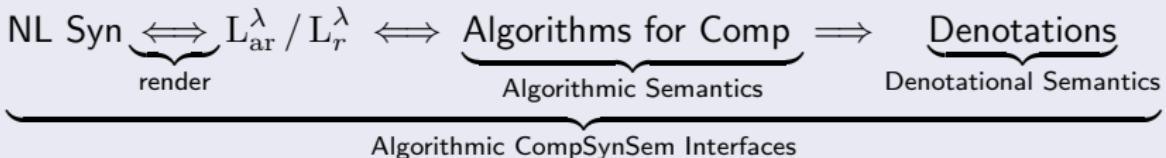
is acyclic system of assignments iff there exists a function

$$\text{rank: } \{p_1, \dots, p_n\} \rightarrow \mathbb{N} \quad (7b)$$

such that:

$$\text{if } p_j \text{ occurs freely in } A_i, \text{ then } \text{rank}(p_i) > \text{rank}(p_j) \quad (7c)$$

- ➊ TTA  $L_{ar}^{\lambda}$  of acyclic recursion:  
Def. 1, (5b) + AC
- ➋ TTA  $L_r^{\lambda}$  of full recursion: without acyclicity AC  
Def. 1, (5b) - AC

Algorithmic CompSynSem of  $L_{\text{ar}}^\lambda$  /  $L_r^\lambda$ 

- Denotational Semantics of  $L_{\text{ar}}^\lambda$  /  $L_r^\lambda$ : by induction on terms
- Algorithmic Semantics of  $L_{\text{ar}}^\lambda$  /  $L_r^\lambda$   
For every algorithmically meaningful  $A \in \text{Terms}$ :
  - $\text{cf}(A)$  determines the algorithm  $\text{alg}(A)$  for computing  $\text{den}(A)$
- Reduction Calculus  $A \Rightarrow B$  of  $L_{\text{ar}}^\lambda$  /  $L_r^\lambda$ : by (10+) reduction rules
- The reduction calculus of  $L_{\text{ar}}^\lambda$  /  $L_r^\lambda$  is effective  
**Theorem:** For every  $A \in \text{Terms}$ , there is unique, up to congruence, canonical form  $\text{cf}(A)$ , such that:

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

- In a series of papers, I extend  $L_{\text{ar}}^\lambda$  /  $L_r^\lambda$  by algorithmically computational facilities, see Loukanova [5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14]

## Types of Restrictor Terms

In the restrictor term (5f) / (8),

$$A_0^{\sigma_0} \text{ such that } \{ C_1^{\tau_1}, \dots, C_n^{\tau_n} \} : \sigma'_0 \quad (8)$$

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

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

$$\sigma'_0 \equiv \begin{cases} \sigma_0, & \text{if } \tau_i \equiv t, \text{ for all } i \in \{1, \dots, n\} \\ \sigma_0 \equiv (s \rightarrow \sigma), & \text{if } \tau_i \equiv \tilde{t}, \text{ for some } i \in \{1, \dots, n\}, \text{ and} \\ & \text{for some } \sigma \in \text{Types}, \sigma_0 \equiv (s \rightarrow \sigma) \\ \widetilde{\sigma_0} \equiv (s \rightarrow \sigma_0), & \text{if } \tau_i \equiv \tilde{t}, \text{ for some } i \in \{1, \dots, n\}, \text{ and} \\ & \text{there is no } \sigma, \text{ s.th. } \sigma_0 \equiv (s \rightarrow \sigma) \end{cases} \quad (9a)$$

## 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)
- $\mathcal{I}: \text{Consts} \longrightarrow \bigcup \mathbb{T}$  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  $G$ :

$$G = \{g \mid g: \text{PureV} \cup \text{RecV} \longrightarrow \bigcup \mathbb{T} \quad (10)$$

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

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

(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)

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

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  $s \in \mathbb{T}_s$ : (11a)

$$[\text{den}^{\mathfrak{A}}(\exists(v^\sigma)(B^\tau))(g)](s) = 1 \text{ (true in } s\text{)} \quad (11b)$$

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

$$[\text{den}^{\mathfrak{A}}(B^\tau)(g\{v := a\})](s) = 1 \quad (11c)$$

## 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  $g \in G$ :

$$\text{den}(A_0^{\sigma_0} \text{ s.t. } \{\vec{C}\})(g) = \begin{cases} \text{den}(A_0)(g), & \text{if, for all } i \in \{1, \dots, n\}, \\ & \text{den}(C_i)(g) = 1 \\ er_{\sigma_0} & \text{if, for some } i \in \{1, \dots, n\}, \\ & \text{den}(C_i)(g) = 0 \text{ or} \\ & \text{den}(C_i)(g) = er \end{cases} \quad (12)$$

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

$$\text{den}(A_0^{\sigma_0} \text{ s.t. } \{\vec{C}\})(g)(s) \quad (13)$$

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

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

### Definition (Immediate and Proper Terms)

- The set  $\text{ImT}$  of **immediate terms** is defined by recursion (14)

$$T ::= V \mid p(v_1) \dots (v_m) \mid \lambda(u_1) \dots \lambda(u_n)p(v_1) \dots (v_m) \quad (14)$$

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**

$$\text{PrT} = (\text{Terms} - \text{ImT}) \quad (15)$$

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  $L_{\text{ar}}^{\lambda}$ -terms,  $A \equiv_c B$ , that is closed under:

- ➊ operators of **term-formation**:
  - application
  - $\lambda$ -abstraction
  - logic operators
  - pure, logic quantifiers
  - (acyclic) recursor
  - restrictor
- ➋ **renaming bound variables** (pure and recursion), without causing variable collisions
- ➌ **re-ordering of the assignments** within the acyclic sequences of assignments in the recursion terms
- ➍ **re-ordering of the restrictions** in the restrictor terms

[Congruence] If  $A \equiv_c B$ , then  $A \Rightarrow B$  (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  $A \Rightarrow B$ , and  $\xi \in \{ \lambda, \exists, \forall \}$ , then  $\xi(u)(A) \Rightarrow \xi(u)(B)$  (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,  
 $p \in [\text{RecV} - (\text{FV}(A(B)) \cup \text{BV}(A(B)))]$ ,

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

**[ $\lambda$  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 (19):

$$A'_i \equiv [A_i \{ p_1 := p'_1(u), \dots, p_n := p'_n(u) \}] \quad (19)$$

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

## Restriction Rules of $L_{rar}^\lambda$

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

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

## Definition ( $\gamma^*$ -condition)

A term  $A \in \text{Terms}$  satisfies the  $\gamma^*$ -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: (22a)–(22c):

$$A \equiv A_0 \text{ where } \{ \vec{a} := \vec{A}, \quad (22a)$$

$$p := \lambda(\vec{u})\lambda(v)P, \quad (22b)$$

$$\vec{b} := \vec{B} \} \quad (22c)$$

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  $\vec{u}, v$

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

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

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

$$\Rightarrow_{(\gamma^*)} A'_0 \text{ where } \{ \vec{a} := \vec{A}', \quad (23d)$$

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

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

given that:

- $A \in \text{Terms}$  satisfies the  $\gamma^*$ -condition (in Definition 4) 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
- $\vec{X}' \equiv \vec{X}\{p(\vec{u})(v) := p'(\vec{u})\}$  is the result of the replacements

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

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 (23a)–(23f), modulo renaming the variables  $\vec{u}, v$

The **optional (chain) rule** removes steps of repeated savings via chain-like term assignments. No need of logging the info in  $q$ :

- $q := p, \ p := A$
- $q := \lambda(\vec{y})(p(\vec{y})), \ p := A$  (modulo  $\lambda$ -abstraction)

### Chain Rule

For any  $A, A_i \in \text{Terms}$ ,  $p, q, p_i \in \text{RecVars}$ ,  $y_j \in \text{PureVars}$ , such that  $A_i\{q \equiv p\}$  is the replacement of all occurrences of  $q$  in  $A_i$  with  $p$ , for  $i \in \{1, \dots, n\}$ ,  $j \in \{1, \dots, m\}$  ( $n, m \geq 0$ ),

$$C \equiv_c [A_0 \text{ where } \{ q := \lambda(\vec{y})(p(\vec{y})), \ p := A, p_1 := A_1, \dots, p_n := A_n \}] \quad (24a)$$

(chain)

$$\Rightarrow_{\text{ch}} D \equiv_c [A_0\{q \equiv p\} \text{ where } \{ p := A, p_1 := A_1\{q \equiv p\}, \dots, p_n := A_n\{q \equiv p\} \}] \quad (24b)$$

## Theorem ( $\gamma^*$ -Canonical Form Theorem)

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

- ① for some explicit,  $\gamma^*$ -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  $\gamma^*$ -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  $A$ , (5a)–(5e), (5f), 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 Semantics of $L_{\text{ar}}^\lambda / L_r^\lambda$

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 5:

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

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

- 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 forms  $\text{cf}(A)$  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),  $A_0, \dots, A_n, B_0, \dots, B_n \in \text{Terms}$ , ( $n \geq 0$ ) such that:

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

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

$$\text{b) } \text{den}(A_i) = \text{den}(B_i)$$

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

Theorem (Moschovakis [17] 2006, §3.24)

(mild adjustment))

- ① For any explicit ( $\lambda$ -calculus)  $A \in \text{Terms}$ , there is no (assignment) memory location, bound via where in its canonical form, such that it 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 by where in its canonical form  $\text{cf}(A) / \text{cf}_{\gamma^*}(A)$ , occurs in (at least) two assignment parts, and the denotations of those parts depend essentially on  $p$ :  
 Then, there is no explicit ( $\lambda$ -calculus) term  $B \in \text{Terms}$ , such that  $B$  is algorithmically equivalent to  $A$ ,  $B \approx A$ , i.e., for all  $\lambda$ -calculus  $B \in \text{Terms}$ ,  $B \not\approx A$ .

The proof is by Moschovakis [17] (2006). I provide it for the extended  $L_{\text{ar}}^{\lambda} / L_r^{\lambda}$

## Reductions with Pure Quantifier Rules: Algorithmic Patterns and Instantiations

- Assume  $\text{cube}, \text{large}_0 \in \text{Consts}_{(\bar{e} \rightarrow \bar{t})}$ , in the typical Aristotelian form:

Some cube is large  $\xrightarrow{\text{render}} B \equiv \exists x(\text{cube}(x) \wedge \text{large}_0(x)) \quad (26a)$

$B \Rightarrow \exists x((c \wedge l) \text{ where } \{ c := \text{cube}(x), l := \text{large}_0(x) \}) \quad (26b)$

by 2 x (ap) (ap-comp), (recap), (wh-comp), (head), (lq-comp)

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

$\underbrace{c' := \lambda(x)(\text{cube}(x)), l' := \lambda(x)(\text{large}_0(x))}_{\text{instantiations of memory slots } c', l'} \} \equiv \text{cf}(B) \quad (26d)$

from (26c), by  $(\xi)$  to  $\exists$

$\approx \underbrace{\exists x(c'(x) \wedge l'(x))}_{B_0 \text{ algorithmic pattern}} \text{ where } \{ \underbrace{c' := \text{cube}, l' := \text{large}_0}_{\text{instantiations of memory slots } c', l'} \} \equiv B' \quad (26e)$

by Def. 7 from (26c)–(26d),  $\text{den}(\lambda(x)(\text{cube}(x))) = \text{den}(\text{cube}),$   
 $\text{den}(\lambda(x)(\text{large}_0(x))) = \text{den}(\text{large}_0) \quad (26f)$

## Repeated Calculations

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

$$\Rightarrow \underbrace{\exists x [(c'(x) \wedge l) \text{ where } \{ l := \text{large}(c')(x) \}]}_{E_1} \text{ where } \{ \textcolor{blue}{c'} := \text{cube} \} \quad (28b)$$

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

$$\Rightarrow \underbrace{[\exists x (c'(x) \wedge l'(x)) \text{ where } \{ l' := \lambda(x)(\text{large}(c')(x)) \}]}_{E_2} \text{ where } \{ \textcolor{blue}{c'} := \text{cube} \} \quad (28c)$$

from (28b), by  $(\xi)$  to  $\exists$

$$\Rightarrow \underbrace{\exists x (c'(x) \wedge l'(x))}_{C_0 \text{ an algorithmic pattern}} \text{ where } \{ \textcolor{blue}{c'} := \text{cube}, \underbrace{l' := \lambda(x)(\text{large}(c')(x))}_{\text{instantiations of memory } c', l'} \} \equiv \text{cf}(C) \quad (28d)$$

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

## Proposition

- ① *The  $L_{\text{ar}}^\lambda$ -terms  $C \approx \text{cf}(C)$  in (28a)–(28d), and many other  $L_{\text{ar}}^\lambda$ -terms, are not algorithmically equivalent to any explicit terms*
- ②  *$L_{\text{ar}}^\lambda$  is a strict, proper extension of  $\text{TY}_2$ , Gallin [3]*
- ③ *and of a la Montague semantics via inclusion of Montague IL in  $\text{TY}_2$*

Outline of a proof:

- (1) follows by Theorem 8
- (2) follows by Theorem 8, and (1)
- (3) Gallin [3] provides an interpretation of Montague IL (MIL) [19] into  $\text{TY}_2$ . Suitable interpretation of MIL can be given directly in  $L_{\text{ar}}^\lambda$  ( $L_r^\lambda$ ).

Placement of  $L_{\text{ar}}^\lambda$  in a class of type theories

Montague IL  $\subsetneq$  Gallin  $\text{TY}_2 \subsetneq$  Moschovakis  $L_{\text{ar}}^\lambda \subsetneq$  Moschovakis  $L_r^\lambda$  (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. 8.

$[[\mathsf{K}]_{\text{NP}} \text{ [is [larger}_{\text{ADJ} \text{ than$

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

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

$$\Rightarrow \left[ \lambda(y_k) \left( \text{some}(d'(y_k)) (h(y_k)) \right) \text{ where} \right.$$

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} \{ d' := \lambda(y_k) \text{number}, \\ h := \lambda(y_k) \lambda(x_d) \text{larger}(x_d)(y_k) \} \end{array} \right] (K) \quad (34c)$$

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

$$\left[ \lambda(y_k) \left( \text{some}(d'(y_k))(h(y_k)) \right) \right] (k) \text{ where}$$

$$\{ h := \lambda(y_k) \lambda(x_d) \text{larger}(x_d)(y_k), \quad (34e)$$

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

$$\Rightarrow_{\gamma^*} \text{cf}_{\gamma^*}(A) \equiv \quad (34f)$$

$$\left[ \lambda(y_k) \text{some}(d)(h(y_k)) \right] (k) \text{ where}$$

$$\{ h := \lambda(y_k) \lambda(x_d) \text{larger}(x_d)(y_k), \quad (34g)$$

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

$[[K]_{NP} \text{ [is [larger}_{ADJ} \text{ than$

$$[\text{some}_{DET} \text{ number}_N]_{NP}]_{ADJP}]_{VP}]_S \xrightarrow{\text{render}} \text{cf}_{\gamma^*}(A) \quad (35a)$$

$$\text{cf}_{\gamma^*}(A) \equiv \quad (35b)$$

$[\lambda(y_k) \text{some}(d)(h(y_k))] (k) \text{ where}$

$$\begin{aligned} & \{ h := \lambda(y_k) \lambda(x_d) \text{larger}(x_d)(y_k), \\ & \quad d := \text{number}, \ k := K \} \end{aligned} \quad (35c)$$

$\not\approx A' \equiv [\text{some}(d)(\textcolor{red}{h(k)})] \text{ where}$

$$\begin{aligned} & \{ h := \lambda(y_k) \lambda(x_d) \text{larger}(x_d)(y_k), \\ & \quad d := \text{number}, \ k := K \} \end{aligned} \quad (35d)$$

$\Rightarrow \text{cf}_{\gamma^*}(A') \equiv [\text{some}(d)(\textcolor{red}{h'})] \text{ where}$

$$\begin{aligned} & \{ \textcolor{red}{h'} := \textcolor{red}{h(k)}, \ h := \lambda(y_k) \lambda(x_d) \text{larger}(x_d)(y_k), \\ & \quad d := \text{number}, \ k := K \} \end{aligned} \quad (35e)$$

from (35d) by (ap), since  $\textcolor{red}{h(k)}$  is not immediate, see Def. 2;  
(wh-comp), (head)

$\therefore$  Tentative  $\beta$ -repl. in (35c) does not preserve algorithmic equivalence  
by Def. 7

$$[K \text{ [is [larger}_{\text{ADJ}]\text{ than } \\ [\text{some}_{\text{DET}} \text{ number}_{\text{N}}]_{\text{NP}}]_{\text{ADJP}}]_{\text{VP}}]_{\text{S}} \xrightarrow{\text{render}} A_3 \quad (36a)$$

$$A_3 \equiv [\lambda y_k [[Q(\text{number})](\lambda x_d \text{ larger}(x_d)(y_k)) \text{ where } \{ \\ Q := \text{some} \}]](K) \Rightarrow \dots \quad (36b)$$

$$\Rightarrow_{\gamma^*} \text{cf}_{\gamma^*}(A_3) \equiv [\lambda(y_k)Q(d)(h(y_k))](k) \text{ where } \\ \{ Q := \text{some}, h := \lambda(y_k)\lambda(x_d)\text{larger}(x_d)(y_k), \\ d := \text{number}, k := K \} \quad (36c)$$

$$\not\approx A'_3 \equiv [Q(d)(\textcolor{red}{h(k)})] \text{ where } \\ \{ Q := \text{some}, h := \lambda(y_k)\lambda(x_d)\text{larger}(x_d)(y_k), \\ d := \text{number}, k := K \} \quad (36d)$$

$$\Rightarrow \text{cf}_{\gamma^*}(A'_3) \equiv [Q(d)(\textcolor{red}{h'})] \text{ where } \\ \{ Q := \text{some}, d := \text{number}, k := K, \\ \textcolor{red}{h'} := \textcolor{red}{h(k)}, h := \lambda(y_k)\lambda(x_d)\text{larger}(x_d)(y_k) \} \quad (36e)$$

from (36d) by (ap), since  $\textcolor{red}{h(k)}$  is not immediate, see Def. 2;  
 (wh-comp), (head)

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

Every cube is larger than some dodeca  $\xrightarrow{\text{render}}$  **(*de dicto*)**

$$R_3 \text{ where } \{ R_3 := \text{every}(p)(R_2), \quad (37a)$$

$$R_2 := \lambda(x_2) \text{some}(b)(R_1(x_2)), \quad (37b)$$

$$R_1 := \lambda(x_2) \lambda(x_1) \text{larger}(x_1)(x_2), \quad (37c)$$

$$p := \text{cube}, b := \text{dodeca} \} \quad (37d)$$

Every cube is larger than some dodeca  $\xrightarrow{\text{render}}$  **(*de re*)**

$$R_3 \text{ where } \{ R_3 := \text{some}(b)(R_1), \quad (38a)$$

$$R_1 := \lambda(x_1) \text{every}(p)(R_2(x_1)), \quad (38b)$$

$$R_2 := \lambda(x_1) \lambda(x_2) \text{larger}(x_1)(x_2), \quad (38c)$$

$$p := \text{cube}, b := \text{dodeca} \} \quad (38d)$$

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

*de dicto* term  $S_{21}$

$$S_{21} \equiv R_3 \text{ where } \{ R_3 := Q_2(R_2), \quad (39a)$$

$$R_2 := \lambda(x_2)Q_1(R_1^1(x_2)) \quad (39b)$$

$$R_1^1 := \lambda(x_2)\lambda(x_1)h(x_1)(x_2), \quad (39c)$$

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

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

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

*de re* term  $S_{12}$

$$S_{12} \equiv R_3 \text{ where } \{ R_3 := Q_1(R_1), \quad (40a)$$

$$R_1 := \lambda(x_1)Q_2(R_2^1(x_1)), \quad (40b)$$

$$R_2^1 := \lambda(x_1)\lambda(x_2)h(x_1)(x_2), \quad (40c)$$

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

$$q_2 := \text{every}, d_2 := \text{cube}, \quad (40e)$$

$$q_1 := \text{some}, d_1 := \text{dodeca}, h := \text{larger} \} \quad (40f)$$

## Constrained Underspecified Terms

$$U \equiv R_3 \text{ where } \{ l_1 := Q_1(R_1), l_2 := Q_2(R_2), \quad (41a)$$

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

$$q_1 := \text{some}, q_2 := \text{every}, \quad (41c)$$

$$h := \text{larger}, d_1 := \text{dodeca}, d_2 := \text{cube} \} \quad (41d)$$

$$\text{s.t. } \{ Q_i \text{ binds the } i\text{-th argument of } h, \quad (41e)$$

$$R_3 \text{ binds (dominates) each } Q_i \text{ } (i = 1, 2) \} \quad (41f)$$

- $U$  is underspecified (per se), while restricted:  
 $R_3, R_i(i = 1, 2)$  are free recursion variables
- the specifications in  $U$  have to satisfy the constraints on argument bindings

*de dicto* rendering of the quantifiers after specification of the underspecified pattern  $U$

$U$  can be specified to *de dicto* term:

$$U_{21} \equiv R_3 \text{ where } \{ R_3 := l_2, l_2 := Q_2(R_2), \quad (42a)$$

$$R_2 := \lambda(x_2)l_1^1(x_2), l_1^1 := \lambda(x_2)Q_1(R_1^1(x_2)), \quad (42b)$$

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

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

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

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

$U_{21}$  can be simplified to the similar, chain-free term by (*chain* rule):

$$S_{21} \equiv R_3 \text{ where } \{ R_3 := Q_2(R_2), R_2 := \lambda(x_2)Q_1(R_1^1(x_2)), \quad (43a)$$

$$R_1^1 := \lambda(x_2)\lambda(x_1)h(x_1)(x_2), \quad (43b)$$

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

$$d_2 := \text{cube}, d_1 := \text{dodeca}, h := \text{larger}, \quad (43d)$$

$$q_2 := \lambda(U)\lambda(V)\forall(x)[U(x) \rightarrow V(x)], \quad (43e)$$

$$q_1 := \lambda(U)\lambda(V)\exists(x)[U(x) \wedge V(x)] \} \quad (43f)$$

*de re* rendering of the quantifiers after specification of the underspecified pattern  $U$

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

$$U_{12} \equiv R_3 \text{ where } \{ R_3 := l_1, l_1 := Q_1(R_1), \quad (44a)$$

$$R_1 := \lambda(x_1)l_2^1(x_1), l_2^1 := \lambda(x_1)Q_2(R_2^1(x_1)), \quad (44b)$$

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

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

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

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

$U_{12}$  can be simplified to the similar, chain-free term by (*chain*) rule:

$$S_{12} \equiv R_3 \text{ where } \{ R_3 := Q_1(R_1), R_1 := \lambda(x_1)Q_2(R_2^1(x_1)), \quad (45a)$$

$$R_2^1 := \lambda(x_1)\lambda(x_2)h(x_1)(x_2), \quad (45b)$$

$$Q_1 := q_1(d_1), Q_2 := q_2(d_2), \quad (45c)$$

$$d_2 := \text{cube}, d_1 := \text{dodeca}, h := \text{larger}, \quad (45d)$$

$$q_2 := \lambda(U)\lambda(V)\forall(x)[U(x) \rightarrow V(x)], \quad (45e)$$

$$q_1 := \lambda(U)\lambda(V)\exists(x)[U(x) \wedge V(x)] \} \quad (45f)$$

## Combinatorial Permutations of Quantifier Scopes

$$Q \equiv R_{(n+1)} \text{ where } \{ \quad (46a)$$

$$R_{\pi(n)}^{(n-1)} := \lambda(x_{\pi(1)}) \dots \lambda(x_{\pi(n)}) h(x_1) \dots (x_n), \quad (46b)$$

...

$$R_{\pi(j)}^{(j-1)} := \lambda(x_{\pi(1)}) \dots \lambda(x_{\pi(j)}) Q_{\pi(j+1)} [ \quad (46c)$$

$$\lambda(x_{\pi(j+1)}) R_{\pi(j+1)}^j (x_{\pi(1)}) \dots (x_{\pi(j)}) (x_{\pi(j+1)}) ] \quad (46d)$$

| for  $j = (n-1), \dots, 1,$

...

$$R_{\pi(1)} := \lambda(x_{\pi(1)}) Q_{\pi(2)} [\lambda(x_{\pi(2)}) R_{\pi(2)}^1 (x_{\pi(1)}) (x_{\pi(2)})], \quad (46e)$$

$$R_{(n+1)} := Q_{\pi(1)} [\lambda(x_{\pi(1)}) R_{\pi(1)} (x_{\pi(1)})], \quad (46f)$$

$$Q_i := [q_i(d_i) \text{ s.t. } \{ Q_i \text{ binds the } i\text{-th argument of } h \ }] \quad (46g)$$

| for  $i = 1, \dots, n; n \geq 1 \}$

## Underspecified Quantifiers

$V \equiv R_4$  where  $\{ l_i := [Q_i(R_i),$  (47a)

s.t.  $\{ Q_i \text{ } \lambda\text{-binds the } i\text{-th argument of } h \text{ via } R_i,$  (47b)

$h : (\tilde{e} \rightarrow (\tilde{e} \rightarrow \dots (\tilde{e} \rightarrow \tilde{t}))),$  (47c)

$R_4$  is assigned to a closed subterm with (47d)

fully scope specified  $Q_i,$

$R_4$  dominates each  $Q_i$  (for  $i = 1, \dots, n$ ) ]

$Q_i := q_i(d_i)$  (47e)

| for  $i = 1, \dots, n; n \geq 1 \}$  (47f)

$$\Phi \equiv \text{The cube is large} \quad (48)$$

- First Order Logic (FOL)  $A$

$$\Phi \xrightarrow{\text{render}} A \equiv \exists x \left[ \underbrace{\forall y (\text{cube}(y) \leftrightarrow x = y)}_{\text{uniqueness}} \wedge \text{isLarge}(x) \right] \quad (49a)$$

$$S \equiv \exists x \left[ \underbrace{\forall y (P(y) \leftrightarrow x = y)}_{\text{uniqueness}} \wedge Q(x) \right] \quad (49b)$$

In FOL,  $A$  in (49a) 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: [the cube]<sub>NP</sub>
- There is **no compositional analysis**, i.e., no “derivation”, of  $A$  from the components of  $\Phi$

- Higher Order Logic (HOL): Henkin (1950) and Mostowski (1957)  
 a significant, positive step of compositional analyses, via  $\beta$   
 but no referential force!

$$\text{the} \xrightarrow{\text{render}} T \equiv [\lambda P \lambda Q [\exists x [\underbrace{\forall y (P(y) \leftrightarrow x = y)}_{\text{uniqueness}} \wedge Q(x)]]] \quad (50a)$$

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

$$C \equiv [\lambda P \lambda Q [\exists x [\underbrace{\forall y (P(y) \leftrightarrow x = y)}_{\text{uniqueness}} \wedge Q(x)]]](\text{cube}) \quad (50b)$$

$$\models D \equiv \lambda Q [\exists x [\underbrace{\forall y (\text{cube}(y) \leftrightarrow x = y)}_{\text{uniqueness}} \wedge Q(x)]] \quad (50c)$$

(from (50b) by  $\beta$ -reduction)

$$\Phi \equiv \text{The cube is large} \xrightarrow{\text{render}} B \equiv D(\text{isLarge}) \quad (51a)$$

$$B \equiv [\lambda Q [\exists x [\underbrace{\forall y (\text{cube}(y) \leftrightarrow x = y)}_{\text{uniqueness}} \wedge Q(x)]]](\text{isLarge}) \quad (51b)$$

$$\models \exists x [\underbrace{\forall y (\text{cube}(y) \leftrightarrow x = y)}_{\text{uniqueness}} \wedge \text{isLarge}(x)] \quad (51c)$$

(from (51b) by  $\beta$ -reduction)

## Example: rendering of the definite article “the”

Option 1

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

$$\text{the} \xrightarrow{\text{render}} \text{the} \in \text{Consts}_{(\tilde{e} \rightarrow \tilde{t}) \rightarrow \tilde{e}} \quad (52)$$

- together with the following denotation of the constant *the* requiring “uniqueness” of the denoted object having the property  $\bar{p}$  in  $s_0$ :

$$[(\text{den}(\text{the}))(g)](\bar{p})(s_0) = \begin{cases} y, & \text{if } y \text{ is the unique } y \in \mathbb{T}_e, \\ & \text{for which } \bar{p}(s \mapsto y)(s_0) = 1 \\ \text{er,} & \text{otherwise} \\ & \text{i.e., there is no unique entity} \\ & \text{that has the property } \bar{p} \text{ in } s_0 \end{cases} \quad (53)$$

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 [13].

### Option 3: the definite determiner "the" and descriptors:

### Underspecification

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

$$\text{the} \xrightarrow{\text{render}} A_1 \equiv (q \text{ s.t. } \{ \text{unique}(p)(q) \}) : \tilde{e} \quad (54a)$$

$$\text{the} \xrightarrow{\text{render}} \text{cf}(A_1) \equiv (q \text{ s.t. } \{ U \}) \text{ where } \{ U := \text{unique}(p)(q) \} \quad (54b)$$

$$p \in \text{RecV}_{(\tilde{e} \rightarrow \tilde{t})}, q \in \text{RecV}_{\tilde{e}}, \text{ by (st1) from (54a)} \quad (54c)$$

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

$$\text{the cube} \xrightarrow{\text{render}} \text{cf}(A_2) : \tilde{e} \quad (55a)$$

$$A_2 \equiv (q \text{ s.t. } \{ \text{unique}(p)(q) \}) \text{ where } \{ p := \text{cube} \} \quad (55b)$$

$$\Rightarrow_{\text{cf}} \text{cf}(A_2) \equiv (q \text{ s.t. } \{ U \}) \text{ where } \{ U := \text{unique}(p)(q), \\ p := \text{cube} \} \quad (55c)$$

by (st1), (head), from (55b)

The cube is large  $\xrightarrow{\text{render}} \text{cf}(A_3) : \tilde{t}$  (56a)

$A_3 \equiv \text{large}(p) \left( (q \text{ s.t. } \{ \text{unique}(p)(q) \}) \text{ where } \{ p := \text{cube} \} \right)$  (56b)

$\Rightarrow \text{large}(p)(Q) \text{ where } \{ Q := [(q \text{ s.t. } \{ \text{unique}(p)(q) \}) \text{ where } \{ p := \text{cube} \}] \}$  (56c)

by (ap), from (56b)

$\Rightarrow_{\text{cf}} \text{cf}(A_3) \equiv \text{large}(p)(Q) \text{ where } \{ Q := (q \text{ s.t. } \{ U \}),$  (56d)  
 $U := \text{unique}(p)(q), p := \text{cube} \}$

by (st1), (wh-comp), (B-S), from (55c), (56c)

### Algorithmic Pattern: definite descriptors in predicative statements: Opt3

$A \equiv L(Q) \text{ where } \{ Q := (q \text{ s.t. } \{ U \}), U := \text{unique}(p)(q) \}$  (57a)

$p, q, L \in \text{FreeV}(A), p \in \text{RecV}_{(\tilde{e} \rightarrow \tilde{t})}, q \in \text{RecV}_{\tilde{e}},$  (57b)

$Q \in \text{RecV}_{\tilde{e}}, U \in \text{RecV}_{\tilde{t}}, L \in \text{RecV}_{(\tilde{e} \rightarrow \tilde{t})}$  (57c)

The number  $n$  is odd  $\xrightarrow{\text{render}} \text{cf}(A_4) : \tilde{t}$  (58a)

$$A_4 \equiv \text{isOdd} \left( (q \text{ s.t. } \{ \text{unique}(N)(q), p(q) \}) \text{ where } \{ \right. \\ \left. q := n, p := \text{number}, N := \text{named-}n \} \right) \quad (58b)$$

$$\Rightarrow_{\text{cf}} \text{cf}(A_4) \equiv \text{isOdd}(Q) \text{ where } \{ Q := (q \text{ s.t. } \{ U, C \}), \\ U := \text{unique}(N)(q), C := p(q), \\ q := n, p := \text{number}, N := \text{named-}n \} \quad (58c)$$

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

The number  $n$  is large  $\xrightarrow{\text{render}} \text{cf}(A_5) : \tilde{t}$  (59a)

$$A_5 \equiv \text{isOdd} \left( (q \text{ s.t. } \{ p(q) \}) \text{ where } \{ \right. \\ \left. q := n, p := \text{number} \} \right) \quad (59b)$$

$$\Rightarrow_{\text{cf}} \text{isOdd}(Q) \text{ where } \{ Q := (q \text{ s.t. } \{ C \}), C := p(q), \\ q := n, p := \text{number} \} \quad (59c)$$

Predication via Coordination in VP: e.g., a class of coordinated ADJ, V, VP, etc.

$$[\Phi_j]_{\text{NP}} \left[ [\Theta_L \text{ and } \Psi_N] [W_w]_{\text{NP}} \right]_{\text{VP}} \quad (60\text{a})$$

$$\xrightarrow{\text{render}} \underbrace{\lambda x_j [\lambda y_w (L(y_w)(x_j) \wedge N(y_w)(x_j))(w)](j)}_{\text{algorithmic pattern with memory parameters } L, N, w, j} \quad (60\text{b})$$

$$[ [\text{The cube}]_j [\text{is } \underbrace{\text{larger than and next to}}_{\text{adjectival coordination}} ] ] \quad (61\text{a})$$

$$[ [\text{its}]_j [\text{predecessor}]_w ]_{\text{ADJP}} ]_{\text{VP}} ]_{\text{S}} \xrightarrow{\text{render}} A \quad (61\text{b})$$

$$A \equiv \lambda x_j [\lambda y_w (larger(y_w)(x_j) \wedge nextTo(y_w)(x_j)) \\ (predecessor(x_j))] (the(cube)) \quad (62\text{a})$$

$$\Rightarrow_{\gamma^*} \underbrace{\lambda x_j [\lambda y_w (L''(x_j)(y_w) \wedge N''(x_j)(y_w))(w'(x_j))] (j)}_{\text{algorithmic pattern with memory parameters } L'', N'', w', j} \quad (62\text{b})$$

where  $\{ L'' := \lambda x_j \lambda y_w larger(y_w)(x_j),$   
 $N'' := \lambda x_j \lambda y_w nextTo(y_w)(x_j),$   $(62\text{c})$   
 $w' := \lambda x_j predecessor(x_j), j := the(c), c := cube \}$

2 x (ap) to  $\wedge$ ,  $(\xi)$  for  $\lambda$ , (wh-comp), (recap), 2 x (ap), (B-S)

## Predication via VP vs. Conjunction of Propositions

- The algorithmic semantics of (61a)–(61b), (62b)–(62c) is **predication via VP**
- The sentence (63a)–(63b) is a conjunction of propositions, i.e., a propositional conjunction
- The algorithmic semantics of (63a)–(63b) can be represented by  $\text{cf}_{\gamma^*}(B)$ , in (64b)–(64c), i.e., by a conjunction of propositions:  $(L \wedge N)$

[The cube]<sub>j</sub> is larger than [[its]<sub>j</sub> predecessor]<sub>w</sub> (63a)

and [it]<sub>j</sub> is next to [it]<sub>w</sub>  $\xrightarrow{\text{render}} B$  (63b)

$B \equiv [larger(w)(j) \wedge nextTo(w)(j)] \text{ where } \{ j := the(cube), w := predecessor(j) \}$  (64a)

$\Rightarrow_{\text{cf}_{\gamma^*}} (L \wedge N) \text{ where } \{ L := larger(w)(j), N := nextTo(w)(j), w := predecessor(j), j := the(c), c := cube \}$  (64b)

$\equiv \text{cf}_{\gamma^*}(B)$  (64c)

## Computational Syntax-Semantics of NL by using $L_{\text{ar}}^{\lambda}$ 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) [18]  
<https://langsci-press.org/catalog/book/478>
  - Lexical Functional Grammar (LFG) [1]
  - Categorial Grammar (CG) [2, 15]
  - Grammatical Framework (GF) [4] (tentatively)

## Algorithms for Computing Denotations of Terms

### Algorithmic Syntax-Semantics of $L_{\text{ar}}^{\lambda}$ ( $L_r^{\lambda}$ ) and Natural Language

$$\underbrace{\text{Syntax of } L_{\text{ar}}^{\lambda} (L_r^{\lambda}) \implies \text{Algorithms for Computations} \implies \text{Denotations}}_{\text{Semantics of } L_{\text{ar}}^{\lambda} (L_r^{\lambda})} \quad (65)$$

$$\underbrace{\text{Computational Syntax of NL}}_{\text{Computational Grammar}} \xrightarrow{\text{render}} L_{\text{ar}}^{\lambda} \quad (66)$$

$$\underbrace{\text{Computational Syntax of NL}}_{\text{Computational Grammar: Syntax-Semantics Interface}} \xrightarrow{\text{render}} L_{\text{ar}}^{\lambda} \quad (67)$$

## Computational Syntax-Semantics of NL by using $L_{ar}^\lambda$ 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 of  $L_{ar}^\lambda$ , alternatively, of DTTSitInfo

- Efficient and effective, computational rendering of NL expressions to  $\gamma^*$ -canonical forms, see Loukanova [6, 9, 8]

## Computational Syntax-Semantics of NL by using $L_{\text{ar}}^\lambda$ in GCBLG

### Computational Grammar with Syntax-Semantics and Underspecification

For a given NL expression  $\phi$ , its grammar analysis  $\Phi$ , includes  
**syntax-semantics** interface, throughout its constituents

$$\Phi \xrightarrow{\text{render}} A \equiv \text{cf}_\gamma(A) \quad (68)$$

## Motivation for Type Theory $L_{\text{ar}}^\lambda$ and Outlook

- $L_{\text{ar}}^\lambda$  provides Computational Semantics with:
  - greater semantic distinctions than type-theoretic semantics by  $\lambda$ -calculi, e.g., in Montagovian grammars
- $L_{\text{ar}}^\lambda$  provides Parametric Algorithms
  - Parameters can be instantiated depending on:
    - classes and sets of specific parts of speech, e.g., nouns, NPs, verbs, properties, relations, etc.
    - representing major semantic ambiguities and underspecification [6], at the object level of the formal language of  $L_{\text{ar}}^\lambda$ , without meta-language variables
- $L_{\text{ar}}^\lambda$  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!*

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