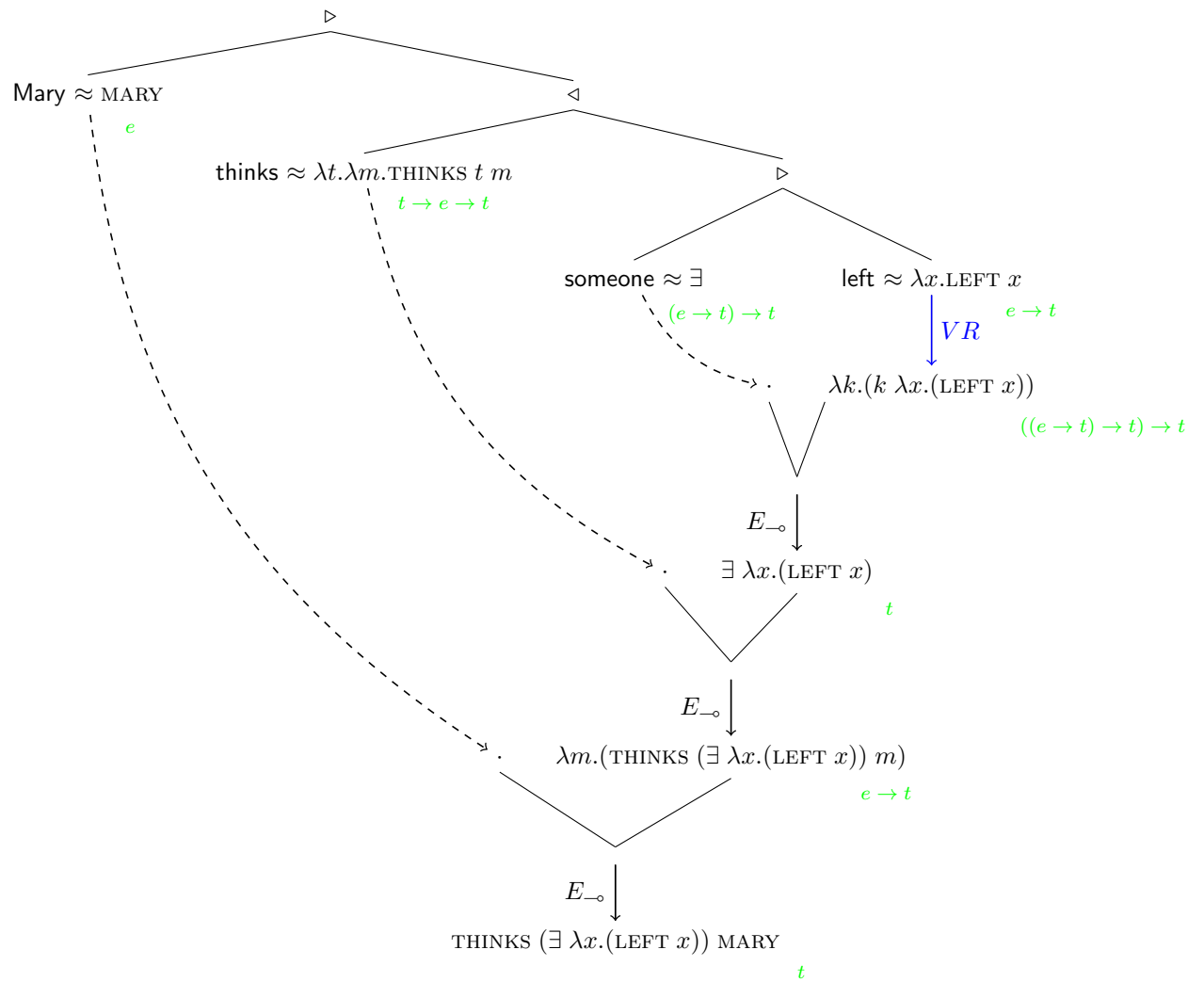


Logic and Language: Exercise (Week 2)

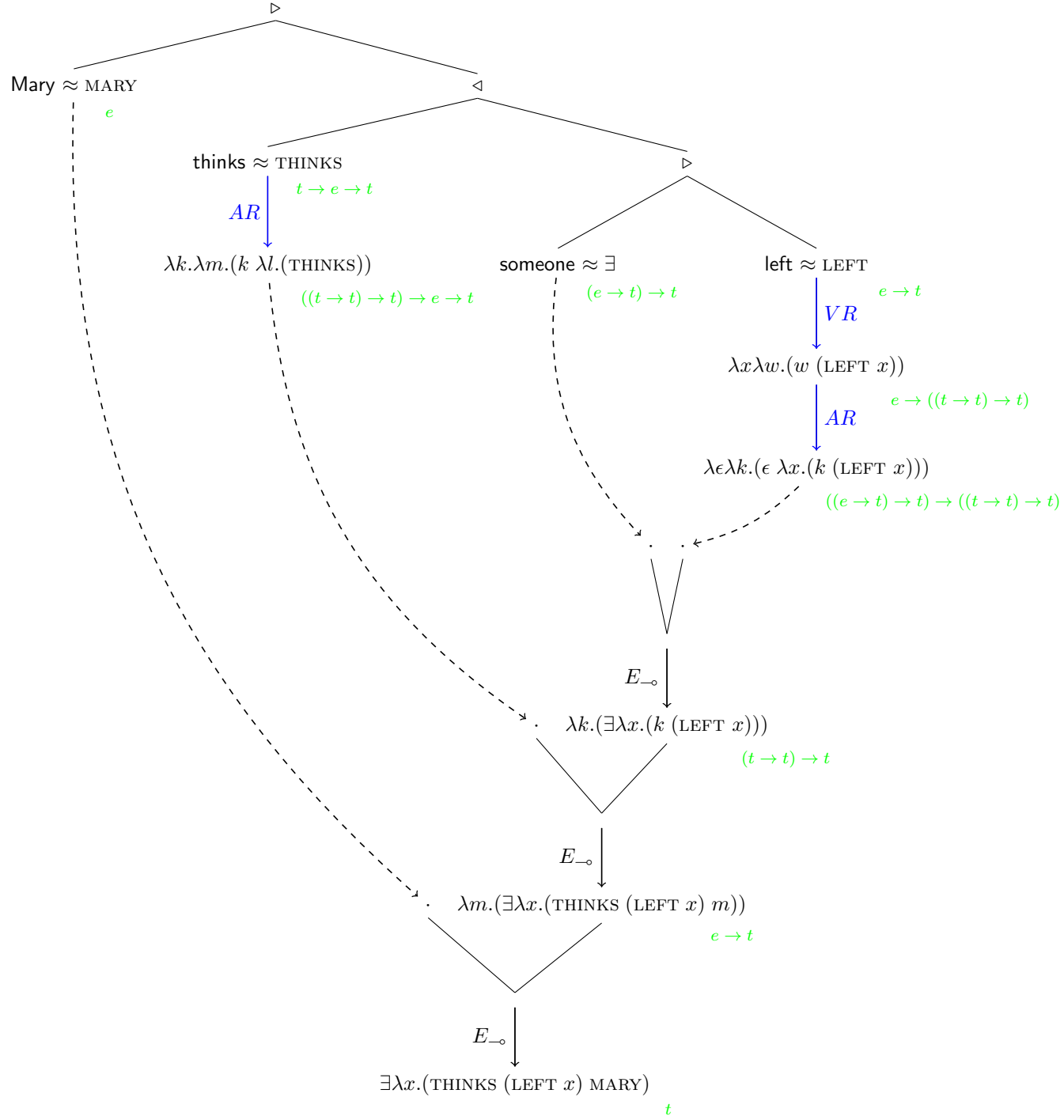
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1 Hendriks

1.1 Local Interpretation



1.2 Non-Local Interpretation



2 Barker

2.1 Left-to-right incremental

$$\begin{aligned}
& (\text{Mary} \triangleright (\text{thinks} \triangleleft (\text{someone} \triangleright \text{left})))^{\sim} (\lambda x.x) \\
\equiv & \lambda k. (\text{Mary}^{\sim} \lambda n. ((\text{thinks} \triangleleft (\text{someone} \triangleright \text{left}))^{\sim} \lambda m. (k \ (m \ n)))) (\lambda x.x) \\
\rightarrow_{\beta} & \text{Mary}^{\sim} \lambda n. ((\text{thinks} \triangleleft (\text{someone} \triangleright \text{left}))^{\sim} \lambda m. (m \ n)) \\
\equiv & \lambda k. (k \ \text{MARY}) \lambda n. ((\text{thinks} \triangleleft (\text{someone} \triangleright \text{left}))^{\sim} \lambda m. (k \ (m \ n))) \\
\rightarrow_{\beta} & (\text{thinks} \triangleleft (\text{someone} \triangleright \text{left}))^{\sim} \lambda m. (m \ \text{MARY}) \\
\equiv & \lambda k. ((\text{thinks}^{\sim} \lambda m. ((\text{someone} \triangleright \text{left})^{\sim} \lambda n. (k \ (m \ n)))) \lambda m. (m \ \text{MARY})) \\
\rightarrow_{\beta} & \text{thinks}^{\sim} \lambda m. ((\text{someone} \triangleright \text{left})^{\sim} \lambda n. ((m \ n) \ \text{MARY})) \\
\equiv & \lambda k. (k \ \text{THINKS}) \lambda m. ((\text{someone} \triangleright \text{left})^{\sim} \lambda n. ((m \ n) \ \text{MARY})) \\
\rightarrow_{\beta} & (\text{someone} \triangleright \text{left})^{\sim} \lambda n. ((\text{THINKS} \ n) \ \text{MARY}) \\
\equiv & \lambda k. (\text{someone}^{\sim} \lambda n. (\text{left}^{\sim} \lambda m. (k \ (m \ n)))) \lambda n. ((\text{THINKS} \ n) \ \text{MARY}) \\
\rightarrow_{\beta} & \text{someone}^{\sim} \lambda n. (\text{left}^{\sim} \lambda m. (\text{THINKS} \ (m \ n) \ \text{MARY})) \\
\equiv & \exists \lambda n. (\lambda k. (k \ \text{LEFT}) \lambda m. (\text{THINKS} \ (m \ n) \ \text{MARY})) \\
\rightarrow_{\beta} & \exists \lambda n. (\text{THINKS} \ (\text{LEFT} \ n) \ \text{MARY})
\end{aligned}$$

2.2 Right-to-left incremental

$$\begin{aligned}
& (\text{Mary} \triangleright (\text{thinks} \triangleleft (\text{someone} \triangleright \text{left})))^{\leftarrow} (\lambda x.x) \\
\equiv & \lambda k. ((\text{thinks} \triangleleft (\text{someone} \triangleright \text{left}))^{\leftarrow} \lambda m. (\text{Mary}^{\leftarrow} \lambda n. (k \ (m \ n)))) (\lambda x.x) \\
\rightarrow_{\beta} & (\text{thinks} \triangleleft (\text{someone} \triangleright \text{left}))^{\leftarrow} \lambda m. (\text{Mary}^{\leftarrow} \lambda n. (m \ n)) \\
\equiv & (\text{thinks} \triangleleft (\text{someone} \triangleright \text{left}))^{\leftarrow} \lambda m. (\lambda k. (k \ \text{MARY}) \lambda n. (m \ n)) \\
\rightarrow_{\beta} & (\text{thinks} \triangleleft (\text{someone} \triangleright \text{left}))^{\leftarrow} \lambda m. (m \ \text{MARY}) \\
\equiv & \lambda k. ((\text{someone} \triangleright \text{left})^{\leftarrow} \lambda n. ((\text{thinks})^{\leftarrow} \lambda m. (k \ (m \ n)))) \lambda m. (m \ \text{MARY}) \\
\equiv & \lambda k. ((\text{someone} \triangleright \text{left})^{\leftarrow} \lambda n. (\lambda k. (k \ \text{THINKS}) \lambda m. (k \ (m \ n)))) \lambda m. (m \ \text{MARY}) \\
\rightarrow_{\beta} & \lambda k. ((\text{someone} \triangleright \text{left})^{\leftarrow} \lambda n. (k \ (\text{THINKS} \ n))) \lambda m. (m \ \text{MARY}) \\
\rightarrow_{\beta} & (\text{someone} \triangleright \text{left})^{\leftarrow} \lambda n. (\text{THINKS} \ n \ \text{MARY}) \\
\equiv & \lambda k. (\text{left}^{\leftarrow} \lambda m. (\text{someone}^{\leftarrow} \lambda n. (k \ (m \ n)))) \lambda n. (\text{THINKS} \ n \ \text{MARY}) \\
\equiv & \lambda k. (\lambda k. (k \ \text{LEFT}) \lambda m. (\exists \lambda n. (k \ (m \ n)))) \lambda n. (\text{THINKS} \ n \ \text{MARY}) \\
\rightarrow_{\beta} & \lambda k. (k \ \text{LEFT}) \lambda m. (\exists \lambda n. ((\text{THINKS} \ (m \ n) \ \text{MARY}))) \\
\rightarrow_{\beta} & \exists \lambda n. ((\text{THINKS} \ (\text{LEFT} \ n) \ \text{MARY}))
\end{aligned}$$

3 Plotkin

CONSTANT	SOURCE TYPE	TARGET VALUE	TARGET TERM
	A	$\lceil A \rceil$	type: $\overline{A} = (\lceil A \rceil \multimap \perp) \multimap \perp$
Mary	np	e	$\lambda k.(k \text{ MARY})$
someone	np	e	\exists
left	$np \setminus s$	$e \multimap (t \multimap \perp) \multimap \perp$	$\lambda k'.(k' \lambda x. \lambda k.(k (\text{LEFT } x)))$
thinks	$(np \setminus s) / s$	$t \multimap ((e \multimap (t \multimap \perp) \multimap \perp) \multimap \perp) \multimap \perp$	$\lambda k.(k \lambda t. \lambda k'.(k' \lambda x. \lambda c.(c (\text{THINKS } t x))))$

First, we compute the inner interpretations:

$$\begin{aligned} \overline{\text{someone} \triangleright \text{left}} &\equiv \lambda k.(\lambda k'.(k' \lambda x. \lambda k''.(k'' (\text{LEFT } x)))) \lambda m.(\exists \lambda n.(m \ n \ k))) \\ &\rightarrow_{\beta} \lambda k.(\exists \lambda n.(k (\text{LEFT } n))) \end{aligned} \quad (1)$$

$$\begin{aligned} \overline{\text{thinks} \triangleleft (\text{someone} \triangleright \text{left})} &\equiv \lambda k.(\overline{\text{thinks}} \lambda m.(\overline{\text{someone} \triangleright \text{left}} \lambda n.(m \ n \ k))) \\ &\equiv \lambda k''.(\lambda k.(k \lambda t. \lambda k'.(k' \lambda x. \lambda c.(c (\text{THINKS } t x)))) \lambda m.(\overline{\text{someone} \triangleright \text{left}} \lambda n.(m \ n \ k''))) \\ &\rightarrow_{\beta} \lambda k''.(\overline{\text{someone} \triangleright \text{left}} \lambda n.(k'' \lambda x. \lambda c.(c (\text{THINKS } n x)))) \\ &\stackrel{(1)}{\equiv} \lambda k''.(\lambda k.(\exists \lambda n.(k (\text{LEFT } n)))) \lambda n.(k'' \lambda x. \lambda c.(c (\text{THINKS } n x)))) \\ &\rightarrow_{\beta} \lambda k''.(\exists \lambda n.(k'' \lambda x. \lambda c.(c (\text{THINKS } (\text{LEFT } n) x)))) \\ &\rightarrow_{\alpha} \lambda k.(\exists \lambda n.(k \lambda x. \lambda c.(c (\text{THINKS } (\text{LEFT } n) x)))) \end{aligned} \quad (2)$$

We can now compute the interpretation by giving the empty context (ϵ) as the initial continuation:

$$\begin{aligned} &\overline{\text{Mary} \triangleright (\text{thinks} \triangleleft (\text{someone} \triangleright \text{left}))} \epsilon \\ &\equiv \lambda k.(\overline{\text{thinks} \triangleleft (\text{someone} \triangleright \text{left})} \lambda m.(\lambda k.(k \text{ MARY}) \lambda n.(m \ n \ k))) (\lambda x.x) \\ &\rightarrow_{\beta} \overline{\text{thinks} \triangleleft (\text{someone} \triangleright \text{left})} \lambda m.(\lambda k.(k \text{ MARY}) \lambda n.(m \ n \ (\lambda x.x))) \\ &\stackrel{(2)}{\equiv} \lambda k.(\exists \lambda n.(k \lambda x. \lambda c.(c (\text{THINKS } (\text{LEFT } n) x)))) \lambda m.(\lambda k.(k \text{ MARY}) \lambda n.(m \ n \ (\lambda x.x))) \\ &\rightarrow_{\beta} \lambda k.(\exists \lambda n.(k \lambda x. \lambda c.(c (\text{THINKS } (\text{LEFT } n) x)))) \lambda m.(m \text{ MARY } (\lambda x.x)) \\ &\rightarrow_{\beta} \exists \lambda n.(\text{THINKS } (\text{LEFT } n) \text{ MARY}) \end{aligned}$$