My notes

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(1) someone $:= \lambda k \,.\, \exists x[k\ x]$ $\qquad\qquad$ $(e \rightarrow t) \rightarrow t$

Let's try the obvious way of lifting an existential quantifier into a dynamic setting:

(2) someone$^{\uparrow}$ $:= \lambda k \,.\, \lambda \omega \omega' \,.\, \exists x[k\ x\ \omega\ \omega']$ $\qquad\qquad$ $(e \rightarrow T) \rightarrow T$

Now let's apply Gennaro's Discourse Referent (DR)-lift function to a one-place predicate:

(3) swim$^{\Delta n}$ $:= \lambda x \,.\, \lambda \omega \omega' \,.\, \omega \overset{n/x}{=} \omega' \land$ swim x $\qquad\qquad$ $e \rightarrow T$

Applying the lifted quantifier to the lifted predicate gives us something sensible, namely an indeterministic update:

(4) $\lambda \omega \omega' \,.\, \exists x[\omega \overset{n/x}{=} \omega' \land$ swim $x]$ $\qquad\qquad$ T

What about if we try the same thing with a universal? Observe that, if the cardinality of the domain is greater than 1, the result is an inconsistent update.

(5) $\lambda \omega \omega' \,.\, \forall x[\omega \overset{n/x}{=} \omega' \land$ swim $x]$ $\qquad\qquad$ T

This seems reminiscent of **demirok2019**'s explanation for why indefinites but not universals take exceptional scope.