

# Remarks on the non-standard interpretation of intensional type logic

Thomas Ede Zimmermann, Goethe University Frankfurt

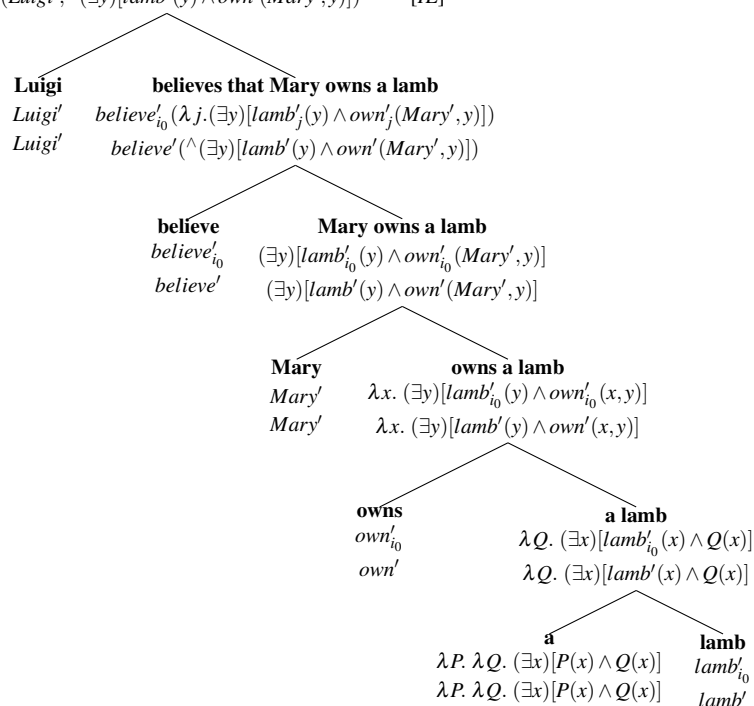
## 1 Two ways of representing intensionality

(1) Example<sup>1</sup>

**Luigi believes that Mary owns a lamb**

$believe'_{i_0}(\text{Luigi}', \lambda j. (\exists y)[lamb'_j(y) \wedge own'_j(Mary', y)])$  [Ty2]

$believe'(\text{Luigi}', \wedge (\exists y)[lamb'(y) \wedge own'(Mary', y)])$  [IL]



(2) Ty2<sup>2</sup>

- a. The set of *two-sorted types* is the smallest set  $2T$  that contains (the primitive symbols)  $t$ ,  $e$ , and  $s$  and is closed under pair formation; pairs  $(a, b)$  will sometimes be written without outermost parentheses and/or commas.

<sup>1</sup>collated from Zimmermann (2021)

<sup>2</sup>Cf. (Gallin, 1975: 58ff.), where the language is called  $Ty_2$ .

## IL and Ty2

- b. The language of *two-sorted type theory* – Ty2, for short – is the smallest family  $(Ty2_a)_{a \in 2T}$  such that for any types  $a, b \in 2T$ :

$$\begin{aligned} Con_a &\subseteq Ty2_a; \\ Var_a &\subseteq Ty2_a; \\ \text{whenever } \alpha &\in Ty2_{ab} \text{ and } \beta \in Ty2_a, \ulcorner \alpha(\beta) \urcorner \in Ty2_b; \\ \text{whenever } x &\in Var_a \text{ and } \alpha \in Ty2_b, \ulcorner \lambda x. \alpha \urcorner \in Ty2_{ab}; \\ \text{whenever } \alpha, \beta &\in Ty2_a, \ulcorner \alpha = \beta \urcorner \in Ty2_t. \end{aligned}$$

The members of the sets  $Ty2_a$  (where  $a \in 2T$ ) will be referred to as the *Ty2-terms* of type  $a$ ; the *Ty2-terms* of type  $t$  are also called *Ty2-formulae*.

- c. A *two-sorted ontology* is a family  $(D_a)_{a \in 2T}$  of non-empty sets such that for any  $a, b \in 2T$ :

$$\begin{aligned} D_a &= \{0, 1\} \text{ if } a = t; \\ D_{ab} &= D_b^{D_a} [= \text{the set of all total functions from } D_a \text{ to } D_b]. \end{aligned}$$

- d. A *Ty2-model* is pair  $(\mathcal{D}, F)$  where  $\mathcal{D} = (D_a)_{a \in 2T}$  is a two-sorted ontology and  $F : \bigcup Con \longrightarrow \bigcup D$  respects types, i.e.:  $F(c) \in D_a$  whenever  $c \in Con_a$ ; an assignment for a Ty2-model  $(\mathcal{D}, F)$  is a function  $g : \bigcup Var \longrightarrow \bigcup D$  that respects types.

- e. If  $(\mathcal{D}, F)$  is a Ty2-model, where  $\mathcal{D} = (D_a)_{a \in 2T}$ , and  $g$  is an assignment for  $M$ , then the *denotation*  $\llbracket \alpha \rrbracket^{M,g} \in D_a$  of any Ty2-term  $\alpha$  of any type  $a \in 2T$  (relative to  $M$  and  $g$ ) is defined by the following recursion:

$$\begin{aligned} \llbracket \alpha \rrbracket^{M,g} &= F(\alpha) \text{ if } \alpha \in \bigcup Con; \\ \llbracket \alpha \rrbracket^{M,g} &= g(\alpha) \text{ if } \alpha \in \bigcup Var; \\ \llbracket \alpha \rrbracket^{M,g} &= \llbracket \beta \rrbracket^{M,g}(\llbracket \gamma \rrbracket^{M,g}) \text{ if } \alpha = \ulcorner \beta(\gamma) \urcorner, \text{ for some } \beta, \gamma \in \bigcup Ty2; \\ \llbracket \alpha \rrbracket^{M,g} &= \{ (u, \llbracket \beta \rrbracket^{M,g} \ulcorner x/u \urcorner) \mid u \in D_b \} \text{ if for some } b, c \in 2T, \alpha = \ulcorner \lambda x. \beta \urcorner, \\ &\quad \text{where } x \in Var_b, \beta \in Ty2_c, \text{ and } g \ulcorner x/u \urcorner = [g \setminus \{(x, g(x))\}] \cup \{(x, u)\}; \\ \llbracket \alpha \rrbracket^{M,g} &= \{v \in D_t \mid v = 1 \text{ iff } \llbracket \beta \rrbracket^{M,g} = \llbracket \gamma \rrbracket^{M,g}\}, \text{ if } \alpha = \ulcorner \beta = \gamma \urcorner, \text{ for some } \beta, \gamma \in \bigcup Ty2. \end{aligned}$$

- f. Logical symbols are defined as abbreviations; e.g. by:

$$\begin{aligned} (\forall x)\varphi &:= ((\lambda x. \varphi) = (\lambda x. (x = x))), \text{ where } x \in \bigcup Var \text{ and } \varphi \in Ty2_t; \\ \perp &:= (\forall x)x, \text{ where } x \in Var_t \\ &= ((\lambda x. x) = (\lambda x. (x = x))) && \text{'}\{1\} = D_t\text{'}; \\ \equiv &:= ((\lambda x. (\lambda y. (x = x))) = (\lambda x. (\lambda y. (x = y)))) && \text{'}\bar{D}_t = 1\text{' [also works for other types: see Sec. 2]} \\ [\neg\varphi] &:= (\varphi = \perp); \\ [\varphi \wedge \psi] &:= (\lambda p. (\lambda q. (\lambda R. R(p)(q)) = (\lambda R. R([\neg\perp])([\neg\perp]))))(\varphi)(\psi), \\ &\quad \text{where } p, q \in Var_t \text{ and } R \in Var_{t(tt)}; \end{aligned}$$

etc.

- g. General logical notions like:

$$\begin{aligned} &Freedom \text{ and } bondage [Fr(\alpha)]; \\ &substitution [\alpha \ulcorner x/\beta \urcorner]; \\ &closed \text{ terms (and formulae) } [Fr(\alpha) = \emptyset]; \\ &entailment [\Sigma \models \varphi]; \\ &logical \text{ equivalence } [\equiv] \\ &\text{etc.} \end{aligned}$$

are all defined in analogy to predicate logic.

- h. *Alphabetic Variation* [aka  $\alpha$ -Conversion]

$$\begin{aligned} (\lambda x. \alpha) &\equiv (\lambda y. \alpha \ulcorner x/y \urcorner), \\ &\text{where } y \text{ is a variable (of the same type as } x) \text{ that does not occur in } \alpha. \end{aligned}$$

- i.  $\eta$ -Conversion

$$(\lambda x. \alpha(x)) \equiv \alpha \text{ if } x \notin Fr(\alpha).$$

- j.  $\lambda$ -Conversion [aka  $\beta$ -Conversion]

$$(\lambda x. \alpha)(\beta) \equiv \alpha \ulcorner x/\beta \urcorner,$$

provided that no variable that is free in  $\beta$  gets bound in  $\alpha \ulcorner x/\beta \urcorner$ . In particular:

$$(\lambda x. \alpha)(x) \equiv \alpha.$$

‘*eigen-conversion*’

(3)  $IL^3$

- a. The set of *Fregean types* is the smallest set  $FT$  that contains (the primitive symbols)  $t$  and  $e$ , is closed under pair formation, and contains all pairs  $(s,a)$ , where  $a \in FT$ .
- b. The language of *intensional type logic* –  $IL$ , for short – is the smallest family  $(IL_a)_{a \in FT}$  such that for any types  $a, b \in FT$ :

$$Con_{sa} \subseteq IL_a;$$

$$Var_a \subseteq IL_a;$$

$$\text{whenever } \alpha \in IL_{ab} \text{ and } \beta \in IL_a, \ulcorner \alpha(\beta) \urcorner \in IL_b;$$

$$\text{whenever } x \in Var_a \text{ and } \alpha \in IL_b, \ulcorner (\lambda x. \alpha) \urcorner \in IL_{ab};$$

$$\text{whenever } \alpha, \beta \in IL_a, \ulcorner (\alpha = \beta) \urcorner \in IL_t;$$

$$\text{whenever } \alpha \in IL_{sb}, \ulcorner (\forall \alpha) \urcorner \in IL_b;$$

$$\text{whenever } \alpha \in IL_b, \ulcorner (\wedge \alpha) \urcorner \in IL_{sb}.$$

- c. An *Fregean ontology* is a (unique) sub-family  $(D_a)_{a \in FT \cup \{s\}}$  of a two-sorted ontology  $(D_a)_{a \in 2T}$ .
- d. An *IL-model* is pair  $(\mathcal{D}, F)$  where  $\mathcal{D} = (D_a)_{a \in FT \cup \{s\}}$  is a Fregean ontology and  $F : \bigcup_{a \in FT} Con_{sa} \rightarrow \bigcup D$  respects types; an assignment for an *IL-model*  $(\mathcal{D}, F)$  is a function  $g : \bigcup_{a \in FT} Var_a \rightarrow \bigcup D$  that respects types.
- e. If  $(\mathcal{D}, F)$  is an *IL-model*, where  $\mathcal{D} = (D_a)_{a \in FT \cup \{s\}}$ ,  $g$  is an assignment for  $M$ , and  $w \in D_s$ , then the *denotation* (or *extension*)  $\llbracket \alpha \rrbracket^{M,g,w} \in D_a$  of any *IL-term*  $\alpha$  of any type  $a \in FT$  (relative to  $M$ ,  $g$ , and  $w$ ) is defined by the following recursion:

$$\llbracket \alpha \rrbracket^{M,g,w} = F(\alpha)(w) \text{ if } \alpha \in \bigcup Con;$$

$$\llbracket \alpha \rrbracket^{M,g,w} = g(\alpha) \text{ if } \alpha \in \bigcup Var;$$

$$\llbracket \alpha \rrbracket^{M,g,w} = \llbracket \beta \rrbracket^{M,g,w}(\llbracket \gamma \rrbracket^{M,g,w}) \text{ if } \alpha = \ulcorner \beta(\gamma) \urcorner, \text{ for some } \beta, \gamma \in \bigcup IL;$$

$$\llbracket \alpha \rrbracket^{M,g,w} = \{ (u, \llbracket \beta \rrbracket^{M,g[x/u],w}) \mid u \in D_b \} \text{ if for some } b, c \in FT, \alpha = \ulcorner (\lambda x. \beta) \urcorner,$$

$$\text{where } x \in Var_b, \beta \in IL_c, \text{ and } g[x/u] = [g \setminus \{(x, g(x))\}] \cup \{(x, u)\};$$

$$\llbracket \alpha \rrbracket^{M,g,w} = \{ v \in D_t \mid v = 1 \text{ iff } \llbracket \beta \rrbracket^{M,g,w} = \llbracket \gamma \rrbracket^{M,g,w} \}, \text{ if } \alpha = \ulcorner (\beta = \gamma) \urcorner, \text{ for some } \beta, \gamma \in \bigcup IL;$$

$$\llbracket \alpha \rrbracket^{M,g,w} = \llbracket \beta \rrbracket^{M,g,w}(w) \text{ if } \alpha = \ulcorner (\forall \beta) \urcorner, \text{ for some } \beta \in \bigcup IL;$$

$$\llbracket \alpha \rrbracket^{M,g,w} = \{ w', \llbracket \beta \rrbracket^{M,g,w'} \} \mid w' \in D_s \} \text{ if for some } b \in FT, \alpha = \ulcorner (\wedge \beta) \urcorner, \text{ where } \beta \in IL_b.$$

The members of the sets  $IL_a$  (where  $a \in FT$ ) will be referred to as the *IL-terms* of type  $a$ ; the *IL-terms* of type  $t$  are also called *IL-formulae*.

- f. Logical symbols are defined as abbreviations; e.g. by:

$$\llbracket \Box \varphi \rrbracket := ((\wedge \varphi) = (\wedge [\neg \perp])), \text{ where } \varphi \in IL_t;$$

$$\llbracket \Diamond \varphi \rrbracket := [\neg [\Box [\neg \varphi]]], \text{ where } \varphi \in IL_t;$$

etc.

- g. General logical notions are as in (2g); in addition, an *IL-term*  $\alpha \in \bigcup IL$  is *modally closed* if:<sup>4</sup>

$$\alpha \in \bigcup Var; \text{ or}$$

$$\alpha = \ulcorner (\wedge \beta) \urcorner, \text{ for some } \beta \in \bigcup IL; \text{ or}$$

$$\alpha \in \{ \ulcorner \beta(\gamma) \urcorner, \ulcorner (\lambda x. \beta) \urcorner, \ulcorner (\beta = \gamma) \urcorner \}, \text{ for some } x \in \bigcup Var \text{ and modally closed } \beta, \gamma \in \bigcup IL.$$

(4) Gallin's \* (aka *standard translation*)<sup>5</sup>

- a. Any *IL-term*  $\alpha \in IL_a$  (where  $a \in FT$ ) translates into the *Ty2-term*  $\alpha^* \in Ty2_a$  defined by the following recursion, where  $i_0$  is a fixed variable of type  $s$ :

$$\alpha^* = \ulcorner \alpha(i_0) \urcorner, \text{ if } \alpha \in \bigcup Con;$$

$$\alpha^* = \alpha, \text{ if } \alpha \in \bigcup Var;$$

$$\alpha^* = \ulcorner \beta^*(\gamma^*) \urcorner, \text{ if } \alpha = \ulcorner \beta(\gamma) \urcorner;$$

$$\alpha^* = \ulcorner (\lambda x. \beta^*) \urcorner, \text{ if } \alpha = \ulcorner (\lambda x. \beta) \urcorner;$$

$$\alpha^* = \ulcorner (\beta^* = \gamma^*) \urcorner, \text{ if } \alpha = \ulcorner (\beta = \gamma) \urcorner;$$

$$\alpha^* = \ulcorner \beta^*(i_0) \urcorner, \text{ if } \alpha = \ulcorner (\forall \beta) \urcorner;$$

$$\alpha^* = \ulcorner (\lambda i_0. \beta^*) \urcorner, \text{ if } \alpha = \ulcorner (\wedge \beta) \urcorner.$$

<sup>3</sup>Cf. (Montague, 1970: 384ff.), where the language is called  $L_0$ .

<sup>4</sup>(Gallin, 1975: 14)

<sup>5</sup>(Gallin, 1975: 61)

- b. *Lemma* (Gallin, 1975: 14)  
Any  $\alpha \in IL_a$  (where  $a \in FT$ ) is modally closed iff  $i_0$  is not free in  $\alpha^*$ .
- c. *Lemma* (Gallin, 1975: 62)  
For every *IL*-model  $M = (\mathcal{D}, F)$  where  $\mathcal{D} = (D_a)_{a \in FT \cup \{s\}}$ , every *IL*-assignment  $g$  for  $M$ , and every  $w \in D_s$  there is a *Ty2*-model  $M^* = (\mathcal{D}, F^*)$  and a *Ty2*-assignment  $g^*$  for  $M^*$  such that for any *IL*-term  $\alpha \in IL_a$  (where  $a$ ):  
 $\llbracket \alpha \rrbracket^{M,g,w} = \llbracket \alpha^* \rrbracket^{M^*,g^*}$ .
- d. Hintikka semantics<sup>6</sup>
- (i) **John knows that it is raining**
  - (ii)  $(\forall j)[K_{i_0}(j)(John') \rightarrow it-is-raining'_j]$   
 $\equiv [\lambda F. (\forall j)[F(j)(John') \rightarrow it-is-raining'_j]](K_{i_0})$  by  $\lambda$ -conversion (2j)  
 $\equiv [\lambda x. [\lambda F. (\forall j)[F(j)(x) \rightarrow it-is-raining'_j]](K_{i_0})](John')$  again by (2j)  
 $\equiv [\lambda x. [\lambda F. (\forall i_0)[F(i_0)(x) \rightarrow it-is-raining'_{i_0}]](K_{i_0})](John')$  by  $\alpha$ -conversion (2h)  
  - (iii)  $[\lambda x. [\lambda F. \Box [\vee F(x) \rightarrow it-is-raining'_j]](K)](John')$
- e. A *Ty2*-term  $\alpha \in Ty2_a$  is *Fregean* if  $a \in FT$  and all variables occurring freely in  $\alpha$  as well as all constants occurring in  $\alpha$  are of Fregean types.
- f. *Theorem* (Zimmermann, 1989: 75)  
Any Fregean *Ty2*-term is logically equivalent to the translation of some *IL*-term.
- g. Alphabetic variation (2h) and  $\eta$ -conversion (2i) work like in *Ty2*.
- h.  $\lambda$ -conversion needs to be restricted though, to avoid clashes with the invisible variable:<sup>7</sup>  
 $(\lambda x. \alpha)(\beta) \equiv \alpha[x/\beta]$ , provided that:  
 - no variable that is free in  $\beta$  gets bound in  $\alpha[x/\beta]$ , and:  
 - *either*: no free  $x$  in  $\alpha$  lies in the scope of an intensional operator,  
*or*:  $\beta$  is modally closed.
- WARNING**  
*IL*'s restricted version of  $\lambda$ -reduction does not allow for unique normal forms and is thus not a guaranteed route to readability.<sup>8</sup>
- $(\lambda x. (\lambda y. (\wedge y) = u(x))(x))(c)$   
 $\equiv (\lambda y. (\wedge y) = u(c))(c)$   
 $\equiv (\lambda x. (\wedge x) = u(x))(c)$   
*Ty2*:  $(\lambda x. (\lambda y. (\lambda i_0. y) = u(x))(x))(c_{i_0})$   
 $\equiv (\lambda j. c_{i_0}) = u(c_{i_0})$
- i. In addition to (4h), there is another instance of *eigen*-conversion:  
 $(\vee (\wedge \alpha)) \equiv \alpha$  Down-up cancellation<sup>9</sup>
- j. as well as of  $\eta$ -conversion:  
 $(\wedge (\vee \alpha)) \equiv \alpha$ , if  $\alpha$  is modally closed.

## 2 Non-standard semantics

- (5) *IL* & *Ty2*: Lack of compactness and Löwenheim-Skolem
- a.  $\{(\exists^n x^e)(x = x) | n \in \mathbb{N}\} \models \varphi_\infty$  [ $= (\exists M^{et})(\exists x^e)[\neg M(x)] \wedge (\exists f^{ee} : D_e \rightarrow M)$  'f is one-one and onto']]
  - b. If  $\llbracket \varphi_\infty \rrbracket^{M,g[w]} = 1$ , then  $M$  is uncountable.
- (6) Generalized semantics for *Ty2*
- a. A *two-sorted g[eneralized]-ontology* is a family  $(D_a)_{a \in 2T}$  of non-empty sets such that for any  $a, b \in 2T$ :  
 $D_a = \{0, 1\}$  if  $a = t$ ;  
 $D_{ab} \subseteq D_b^{D_a}$ .

<sup>6</sup>Hintikka (1969)

<sup>7</sup>(Gallin, 1975: 19)

<sup>8</sup>Friedman & Warren (1980: 323).

<sup>9</sup>(Dowty et al., 1981: 154)

*IL* and *Ty2*

- b. A *Ty2-g-model* is a pair  $(\mathcal{D}, F)$ , where  $\mathcal{D} = (D_a)_{a \in 2T}$  is a two-sorted *g-ontology*,  $F : \bigcup_{a \in 2T} Con_a \longrightarrow \bigcup \mathcal{D}$  respects types, and there is a function  $\mathcal{F} : \bigcup Ty2 \longrightarrow \bigcup \mathcal{D}$  such that for any *g-assignment*  $g$  and any  $\alpha \in \bigcup Ty2$ ,  $\mathcal{F}(\alpha) = \llbracket \alpha \rrbracket^{M,g}$ , where:
- $$\begin{aligned} \llbracket \alpha \rrbracket^{M,g} &= F(\alpha) \text{ if } \alpha \in \bigcup Con; \\ \llbracket \alpha \rrbracket^{M,g} &= g(\alpha) \text{ if } \alpha \in \bigcup Var; \\ \llbracket \alpha \rrbracket^{M,g} &= \llbracket \beta \rrbracket^{M,g}(\llbracket \gamma \rrbracket^{M,g}) \text{ if } \alpha = \ulcorner \beta(\gamma) \urcorner, \text{ for some } \beta, \gamma \in \bigcup Ty2; \\ \llbracket \alpha \rrbracket^{M,g} &= \{(u, \llbracket \beta \rrbracket^{M,g[x/u]}) \mid u \in D_b\} \text{ if for some } b, c \in 2T, \alpha = \ulcorner (\lambda x. \beta) \urcorner, \\ &\quad \text{where } x \in Var_b, \beta \in Ty2_c, \text{ and } g[x/u] = [g \setminus \{(x, g(x))\}] \cup \{(x, u)\}; \\ \llbracket \alpha \rrbracket^{M,g} &= \{v \in D_t \mid v = 1 \text{ iff } \llbracket \beta \rrbracket^{M,g} = \llbracket \gamma \rrbracket^{M,g}\}, \text{ if } \alpha = \ulcorner (\beta = \gamma) \urcorner, \text{ for some } \beta, \gamma \in \bigcup Ty2. \end{aligned}$$
- c. Axioms for *Ty2*<sup>10</sup>
- $$\begin{aligned} A1 & ([g^{tt}(\lceil \neg \perp \rceil]) \wedge g^{tt}(\perp]) = (\forall x^t)g(x) \\ A2 & (x^a = y^a) \rightarrow (P^{at}(x) = P(y)) \\ A3 & ((\forall x^a)[f^{ab}(x) = g^{ab}(x)] = (f = g)) \\ AS4 & = (2j) \end{aligned}$$
- Rule of inference
- From  $(\alpha = \beta)$  and  $\varphi$  to the result of replacing one occurrence of  $\alpha$  in  $\varphi$  by  $\beta$ .
- d. *Theorem* Andrews (1963)  
The system in (6c) derives all *g-valid Ty2-formulae*.
- e. *Corollary*  
Any *g-satisfiable* set of *Ty2-formulae* has a *g-model* in which the domains of individuals and worlds are both at most denumerable.

(7) Generalized semantics for *IL*

- a. A *Fregean g-ontology* is a (unique) sub-family  $(D_a)_{a \in FT \cup \{s\}}$  of a two-sorted ontology  $(D_a)_{a \in 2T}$ .
- b. An *IL-g-model* is a pair  $(\mathcal{D}, F)$ , where  $\mathcal{D} = (D_a)_{a \in FT \cup \{s\}}$  is a *Fregean g-ontology*,  $F : \bigcup_{a \in FT} Con_{sa} \longrightarrow \bigcup \mathcal{D}$  respects types, and there is a function  $\mathcal{F} : \bigcup IL \longrightarrow \bigcup \mathcal{D}$  such that for any *g-assignment*  $g$  and any  $\alpha \in \bigcup Ty2$ ,  $\mathcal{F}(\alpha) = \llbracket \alpha \rrbracket^{M,g}$ , where:
- $$\begin{aligned} \llbracket \alpha \rrbracket^{M,g,w} &= F(\alpha)(w) \text{ if } \alpha \in \bigcup Con; \\ \llbracket \alpha \rrbracket^{M,g,w} &= g(\alpha) \text{ if } \alpha \in \bigcup Var; \\ \llbracket \alpha \rrbracket^{M,g,w} &= \llbracket \beta \rrbracket^{M,g,w}(\llbracket \gamma \rrbracket^{M,g,w}) \text{ if } \alpha = \ulcorner \beta(\gamma) \urcorner, \text{ for some } \beta, \gamma \in \bigcup IL; \\ \llbracket \alpha \rrbracket^{M,g,w} &= \{(u, \llbracket \beta \rrbracket^{M,g[x/u],w}) \mid u \in D_b\} \text{ if for some } b, c \in FT, \alpha = \ulcorner (\lambda x. \beta) \urcorner, \\ &\quad \text{where } x \in Var_b, \beta \in IL_c, \text{ and } g[x/u] = [g \setminus \{(x, g(x))\}] \cup \{(x, u)\}; \\ \llbracket \alpha \rrbracket^{M,g,w} &= \{v \in D_t \mid v = 1 \text{ iff } \llbracket \beta \rrbracket^{M,g,w} = \llbracket \gamma \rrbracket^{M,g,w}\}, \text{ if } \alpha = \ulcorner (\beta = \gamma) \urcorner, \text{ for some } \beta, \gamma \in \bigcup IL; \\ \llbracket \alpha \rrbracket^{M,g,w} &= \llbracket \beta \rrbracket^{M,g,w}(w) \text{ if } \alpha = \ulcorner (\vee \beta) \urcorner, \text{ for some } \beta \in \bigcup IL; \\ \llbracket \alpha \rrbracket^{M,g,w} &= \{w', \llbracket \beta \rrbracket^{M,g,w'}\} \mid w' \in D_s\} \text{ if for some } b \in FT, \alpha = \ulcorner (\wedge \beta) \urcorner, \text{ where } \beta \in IL_b. \end{aligned}$$
- c. Axioms for *IL*<sup>11</sup>
- $$\begin{aligned} A1 & ([g^{tt}(\lceil \neg \perp \rceil]) \wedge g^{tt}(\perp]) = (\forall x^t)g(x) \\ A2 & (x^a = y^a) \rightarrow (P^{at}(x) = P(y)) \\ A3 & ((\forall x^a)[f^{ab}(x) = g^{ab}(x)] = (f = g)) \\ AS4 & = (4h) \\ A5 & (\Box(\vee f^{sa} = g^{sa}) = (f = g)) \\ AS6 & = (4i) \end{aligned}$$
- Rule of inference
- From  $(\alpha = \beta)$  and  $\varphi$  to the result of replacing one occurrence of  $\alpha$  in  $\varphi$  by  $\beta$ .
- The system in (7c) derives all *g-valid IL-formulae*.
- d. *Corollary*  
Any *g-satisfiable* set of *IL-formulae* (of type *t*) has a *g-model* in which the domains of individuals and worlds are, respectively, at most denumerable and denumerable.

<sup>10</sup>Essentially Andrews (1963)

<sup>11</sup>(Gallin, 1975: 19)

- (8) Reversing Gallin's \*?<sup>12</sup>
- a. It is unclear how [(4f)] can be extended to the generalized semantics for these languages [= Ty2 & IL] that has been discussed in [Gallin (1975)]. (Zimmermann, 1989: 75)
  - b.  $((\lambda i. (\lambda j. (i = i))) = (\lambda i. (\lambda j. (i = j))))$   $\cdot \bar{D}_s = 1'$ : cf. (2f)
  - c. If  $M = ((D_a)_{a \in 2T}, F)$  is a Ty2-g-model with any assignment  $g$  and  $\llbracket (8b) \rrbracket^{M,g} = 1$ , then  $\bar{D}_s = 1$ .  
 $\Rightarrow$  There is no IL-formula  $\varphi$  such that (8b) is g-equivalent to  $\varphi^*$ : otherwise,  $\varphi$  would have a model  $M = ((D_a)_{a \in FT}, F)$  with an infinite  $D_s$ , which would carry over to the Ty2-g-model  $M^* = ((D_a)_{a \in FT}, F^*)$ .
  - d. (8b)  
 $\equiv ((\lambda i. (\lambda j. [\neg \perp])) = (\lambda i. (\lambda j. ((\lambda p^{st}. p(i)) = (\lambda p. p(j)))))$  in standard semantics  
 $\equiv ((\lambda i. (\lambda j. [\neg \perp])) = (\lambda i. (\lambda p^{(st)t}. (\lambda j. (P = (\lambda p. p(j)))))((\lambda p^{st}. p(i)))))$   
 $\equiv ((\lambda i. (\lambda i. [\neg \perp])) = (\lambda i. (\lambda p^{(st)t}. (\lambda i. (P = (\lambda p. p(i)))))((\lambda p^{st}. p(i)))))$   
 $\equiv ((\wedge (\wedge [\neg \perp])) = (\wedge (\lambda p^{(st)t}. (\wedge (P = (\lambda p. (\vee p)))))((\lambda p^{st}. \vee p))))^*$
  - e. *Theorem* [Walsh (soon)]<sup>13</sup>  
(4f) carries over to non-standard semantics if t is excluded as a ground type.
  - f. *Suggestion* (Walsh, pc [November 2024])  
(4f) carries over to non-standard semantics if all g-models collapse into *simple* ones by merging equivalent worlds.<sup>14</sup>
  - g. *Currying identity*  
(4f) carries over to non-standard semantics if identities  $\ulcorner (\alpha = \beta) \urcorner$  in (2b) are re-analyzed as  $\ulcorner Id(\alpha)(\beta) \urcorner$ , where *Id* is a (logical) constant of type s(st):  
(8b)  
 $\equiv ((\lambda i. (\lambda j. Id(i)(i))) = (\lambda i. (\lambda j. Id(i)(j))))$   
 $\equiv ((\lambda i. (\lambda j. Id(i)(i))) = (\lambda i. (\lambda p^{st}. (\lambda j. p(j)))(Id(i))))$   
 $\equiv ((\lambda i. (\lambda i. Id(i)(i))) = (\lambda i. (\lambda p^{st}. (\lambda i. p(i)))(Id(i))))$   
 $\equiv ((\lambda i. (\lambda i. Id(i)(i))) = (\lambda i. (\lambda p^{st}. (\lambda i. p(i)))(Id(i))))$   
 $\equiv ((\wedge (\wedge (\vee Id))) = (\wedge (\lambda p^{st}. (\wedge (\vee p)))(Id)))^*$   
 $A2^+(\lambda v^t. (\lambda q^{st}. \Box[\vee q \rightarrow Id(v)(\vee p^{st})])(\vee p)(Id))$

## References

- Andrews, Peter B. 1963. A reduction of the axioms for the theory of propositional types. *Fundamenta Mathematicae* 52. 345–350.
- Dowty, David, Robert Wall & Stanley Peters. 1981. *Introduction to montague semantics*, vol. 11. Dordrecht: Reidel.
- Friedman, Joyce & David S. Warren. 1980.  $\lambda$ -Normal Forms in an Intensional Logic for English. *Studia Logica* XXXIX(2-3). 311–324.
- Gallin, Daniel. 1975. *Intensional and Higher-order Modal Logic*. Amsterdam: North-Holland Pub. Company.
- Hintikka, Jaakko. 1969. Semantics for Propositional Attitudes. In J. W. Davis, D. J. Hockney & W. K. Wilson (eds.), *Philosophical Logic*, 21–45. Dordrecht: Reidel.
- Montague, Richard. 1970. Universal Grammar. *Theoria* 36(3). 373–398.
- Walsh, Sean. 2024. Simply-typed constant-domain modal lambda calculus I: Distanced beta reduction and combinatory logic. Ms., Department of Philosophy, UCLA.
- Walsh, Sean. soon. Simply-typed constant-domain modal lambda calculus II: Distanced beta reduction and combinatory logic. Ms., Department of Philosophy, UCLA.
- Zimmermann, Thomas Ede. 1989. Intensional Logic and Two-sorted Type Theory. *Journal of Symbolic Logic* 54(1). 65–77.
- Zimmermann, Thomas Ede. 2021. Representing Intensionality: Variables vs. Parameters. In Daniel Gutzmann, Lisa Matthewson, Cécile Meier, Hotze Rullmann & Thomas Ede Zimmermann (eds.), *The Wiley Blackwell Companion to Semantics*, vol. 4, 2637–2643. Oxford: Wiley & Sons.
- Zimmermann, Thomas Ede. 2025. An update on *Intensional Logic and Two-sorted Type Theory*. In Eva Csipak, Johanna David & Mingya Liu (eds.), *A Festschrift in Honour of Regine Eckardt*, 241–248. Berlin: Humboldt-Universität.

<sup>12</sup>Zimmermann (2025)

<sup>13</sup>as announced in Walsh (2024) – if I got it right.

<sup>14</sup>See (Gallin, 1975: 80f.) for this model-theoretic technique applied to modal predicate logic.