

# Quantifier Transformations

Jakub Szymanik

Institute of Artificial Intelligence  
University of Groningen

Bolzano, December 2012

Problem

Preliminaries

Ramseyification

Collectivization

# Outline

Problem

Preliminaries

Ramseyification

Collectivization

# Semantics for hard NL quantifiers

1. Some relative of each villager and some relative of each townsman hate each other.
  2. Most villagers and most townsmen hate each other.
  3. Most of the members of parliament refer to each other indirectly.
- 
1. Most poker hands have no chance against an Ace and a Two.
  2. Most of the card combinations do not contain a picture card.
  3. Most groups of students have never played Hold'em together.

$$Q \rightsquigarrow Q^*$$



# Outline

Problem

Preliminaries

Ramseyification

Collectivization

# Finite models

All structures are assumed to be finite.

$$\mathfrak{A} = \{\{0, \dots, m\}, R_1, \dots, R_r\}$$

# Collections of models

## Definition

Let  $\tau = \{R_1, \dots, R_r\}$  be a relational vocabulary, where  $R_i$  is  $l_i$ -ary for  $1 \leq i \leq r$ , and  $Q$  a class of  $\tau$ -structures closed under isomorphisms. The class  $Q$  gives rise to a Lindström quantifier which we also denote by  $Q$ . The tuple  $s = (l_1, \dots, l_r)$  is the *type* of the quantifier  $Q$ .



# Examples

$$\forall = \{(A, P) \mid P = A\}.$$

$$\exists = \{(A, P) \mid P \subseteq A \text{ \& } P \neq \emptyset\}.$$

$$\text{even} = \{(A, P) \mid P \subseteq A \text{ \& } \text{card}(P) \text{ is even}\}.$$

$$\text{most} = \{(A, P, S) \mid P, S \subseteq A \text{ \& } \text{card}(P \cap S) > \text{card}(P - S)\}.$$

$$M = \{(A, P) \mid P \subseteq A \text{ and } |P| > |A|/2\}$$

$$\text{some} = \{(A, P, S) \mid P, S \subseteq A \text{ \& } P \cap S \neq \emptyset\}.$$

# Logics with Lindström quantifiers

The extension  $\text{FO}(Q)$  is defined as usual.

$\mathfrak{A} \models Q\bar{x}_1, \dots, \bar{x}_r (\phi_1(\bar{x}_1), \dots, \phi_r(\bar{x}_r))$  iff  $(\mathbf{A}, \phi_1^{\mathfrak{A}}, \dots, \phi_r^{\mathfrak{A}}) \in Q$ ,

where  $\phi_i^{\mathfrak{A}} = \{\bar{a} \in A^i \mid \mathfrak{A} \models \phi_i(\bar{a})\}$

# Definability

## Definition

Let  $Q$  be the class of structures of type  $t$  and  $\mathcal{L}$  a logic. We say that  $Q$  is *definable* in  $\mathcal{L}$  if there is a sentence  $\varphi \in \mathcal{L}$  of vocabulary  $\tau_t$  such that for any  $\tau_t$ -structure  $\mathbb{M}$ :

$$\mathbb{M} \models \varphi \text{ iff } \mathbb{M} \in Q.$$

# Elementary structures

Some structures, like  $\exists^{\leq 3}$ ,  $\exists^=3$ , and  $\exists^{\geq 3}$ , are expressible in FO.

## Example

$$\text{some } x [A(x), B(x)] \iff \exists x[A(x) \wedge B(x)].$$

# Definability – Intuitions

## Theorem

*A Q is definable in  $\mathcal{L}$  iff  $\mathcal{L} \equiv \mathcal{L}(Q)$ .*

# Definability – Intuitions

## Theorem

*A Q is definable in  $\mathcal{L}$  iff  $\mathcal{L} \equiv \mathcal{L}(Q)$ .*

## Example

## Question

*What does it mean that, e.g. even, is definable in  $\mathcal{L}$ ?*

# Definability – Intuitions

## Theorem

*A Q is definable in  $\mathcal{L}$  iff  $\mathcal{L} \equiv \mathcal{L}(Q)$ .*

## Example

## Question

*What does it mean that, e.g. even, is definable in  $\mathcal{L}$ ?*

even is definable in  $\mathcal{L}$  if there is a uniform way to express even  $x \psi(x)$  for any formula  $\psi(x)$  in  $\mathcal{L}$ . Over a model  $\mathfrak{A}$ ,  $\psi(x)$  defines a subset  $\{x \in A \mid \mathfrak{A} \models \psi(x)\}$ , so the problem is to find a way to express its evenness for each  $\psi(X)$ .

# Non-elementary structures

## Theorem

*'most' and 'even' are not first-order definable.*



# Non-elementary structures

## Theorem

'most' and 'even' are not first-order definable.

We can use higher-order logics:

# Non-elementary structures

## Theorem

'most' and 'even' are not first-order definable.

We can use higher-order logics:

## Example

In  $\mathbb{M} = (M, A^M, B^M)$  the sentence

$$\text{most } x [A(x), B(x)]$$

is true if and only if the following condition holds:

$\exists f : (A^M - B^M) \longrightarrow (A^M \cap B^M)$  such that  $f$  is injective but not surjective.

# Complexity

- ▶ Finite models can be encoded as strings.
- ▶ Classes of such finite strings are languages.

# Complexity

- ▶ Finite models can be encoded as strings.
- ▶ Classes of such finite strings are languages.

## Definition

By the *complexity of Q* we mean the computational complexity of the corresponding class of finite models.

## Question

$M \in Q?$  (equivalently  $M \models Q?$ )

## Definition

Let  $\tau = \{R_1, \dots, R_k\}$  be a relational vocabulary and  $\mathbb{M}$  a  $\tau$ -model of the following form:  $\mathbb{M} = (U, R_1^M, \dots, R_k^M)$ , where  $U = \{1, \dots, n\}$  is the universe of model  $\mathbb{M}$  and  $R_i^M \subseteq U^{n_i}$  is an  $n_i$ -ary relation over  $U$ , for  $1 \leq i \leq k$ . We define a *binary encoding for  $\tau$ -models*. The code for  $\mathbb{M}$  is a word over  $\{0, 1, \#\}$  of length  $O((\text{card}(U))^c)$ , where  $c$  is the maximal arity of the predicates in  $\tau$  (or  $c = 1$  if there are no predicates).

The code has the following form:

$$\tilde{n}\#\tilde{R}_1^M\#\dots\#\tilde{R}_n^M, \text{ where:}$$

- ▶  $\tilde{n}$  is the part coding the universe of the model and consists of  $n$  1s.
- ▶  $\tilde{R}_i^M$  — the code for the  $n_i$ -ary relation  $R_i^M$  — is an  $n^{n_i}$ -bit string whose  $j$ -th bit is 1 iff the  $j$ -th tuple in  $U^{n_i}$  (ordered lexicographically) is in  $R_i^M$ .
- ▶  $\#$  is a separating symbol.

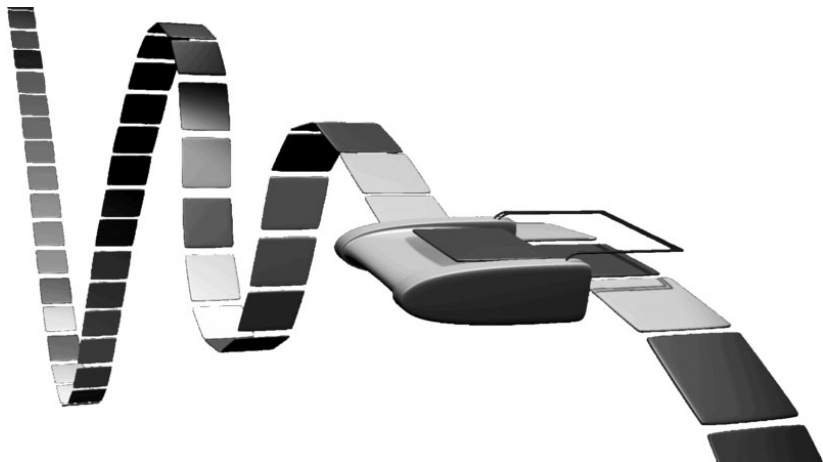
# Coding Example

Consider vocabulary  $\sigma = \{P, R\}$ , where  $P$  is a unary predicate and  $R$  a binary relation. Take the  $\sigma$ -model  $\mathbb{M} = (M, P^M, R^M)$ , where the universe  $M = \{1, 2, 3\}$ , the unary relation  $P^M \subseteq M$  is equal to  $\{2\}$  and the binary relation  $R^M \subseteq M^2$  consists of the pairs  $(2, 2)$  and  $(3, 2)$ .

- ▶  $\tilde{n}$  consists of three 1s as there are three elements in  $M$ .
- ▶  $\tilde{P}^M$  is the string of length three with 1s in places corresponding to the elements from  $M$  belonging to  $P^M$ . Hence  $\tilde{P}^M = 010$  as  $P^M = \{2\}$ .
- ▶  $\tilde{R}^M$  is obtained by writing down all  $3^2 = 9$  binary strings of elements from  $M$  in lexicographical order and substituting 1 in places corresponding to the pairs belonging to  $R^M$  and 0 in all other places. As a result  $\tilde{R}^M = 000010010$ .

Adding all together the code for  $\mathbb{M}$  is  $111\#010\#000010010$ .

# What amount of resources TM needs to solve a task?



# Time Complexity

Let  $f : \omega \longrightarrow \omega$ .



# Time Complexity

Let  $f : \omega \longrightarrow \omega$ .

## Definition

$\text{TIME}(f)$  is the class of languages (problems) which can be recognized by a deterministic Turing machine in time bounded by  $f$  with respect to the length of the input.

# Time Complexity

Let  $f : \omega \longrightarrow \omega$ .

## Definition

$\text{TIME}(f)$  is the class of languages (problems) which can be recognized by a deterministic Turing machine in time bounded by  $f$  with respect to the length of the input.

## Definition

$\text{NTIME}(f)$ , is the class of languages  $L$  for which there exists a non-deterministic Turing machine  $M$  such that for every  $x \in L$  all branches in the computation tree of  $M$  on  $x$  are bounded by  $f(n)$  and moreover  $M$  decides  $L$ .

# Complexity Classes P and NP

## Definition

- ▶  $\text{PTIME} = \bigcup_{k \in \omega} \text{TIME}(n^k)$
- ▶  $\text{NPTIME} = \bigcup_{k \in \omega} \text{NTIME}(n^k)$

## Definition

A language  $L$  is NP-complete if  $L \in \text{NP}$  and every language in  $\text{NP}$  is reducible to  $L$ .

## NP Problems

P Problems

NP-complete  
Problems

# Outline

Problem

Preliminaries

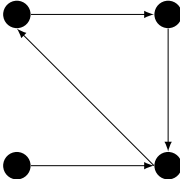
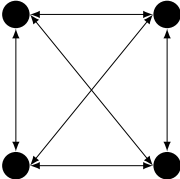
Ramseyfication

Collectivization

# Reciprocal sentences

1. At least 4 members of parliament refer to each other indirectly.
2. Most Boston pitchers sat alongside each other.
3. Some Pirates were staring at each other in surprise.

# Models



# Strong Meaning Hypotheses

The reading associated with the reciprocal in a given sentence is the strongest available reading which is consistent with the properties of reciprocal relation and with relevant information supplied by the context.



# Strong meaning

## Definition

Let  $Q$  be of type  $(1, 1)$ . Define:

$$\text{Ram}(Q)[A, R] \iff \exists X \subseteq A [Q(A, X) \wedge \forall x, y \in X (x \neq y \implies R(x, y))].$$

# Goal

$$Q \rightsquigarrow \text{Ram}(Q)$$

# Cliques

$\text{Ram}(\exists^{\geq k})[A, R]$  is equivalent to the following FO formula:

$$\exists x_1 \dots \exists x_k \left[ \bigwedge_{1 \leq i < j \leq k} x_i \neq x_j \wedge \bigwedge_{1 \leq i \leq k} A(x_i) \wedge \bigwedge_{\substack{1 \leq i < j \leq k \\ 1 \leq j \leq k}} R(x_i, x_j) \right].$$

## Theorem

$\text{Ram}(\exists^{\geq k})$  is in LOGSPACE.

# Uniform representation: Counting Quantifiers

## Definition

Let  $\mathbb{M} = (M, A, \dots)$ . We define:

$$\mathbb{M} \models \mathbf{C}^{\geq A} x \varphi(x) \iff \text{card}(\varphi^{\mathbb{M}, x}) \geq \text{card}(A).$$

## Theorem

$\text{Ram}(\mathbf{C}^{\geq A})$  is NP-complete.

# Proportionality

## Definition

$\mathbb{M} \models Q_q[A, B]$  iff  $\frac{\text{card}(A \cap B)}{\text{card}(A)} \geq q$ , where  $0 < q < 1$  is a rational number.

## Theorem

*If  $0 < q < 1$ , then  $\text{Ram}(Q_q)$  is NP-complete.*

# Hard NL-sentences

1. At least 4 members of parliament refer to each other indirectly.
2. Most members of parliament refer to each other indirectly.

# Generalization

Given  $f : \omega \rightarrow \omega$ :

## Definition

We say that a set  $A \subseteq U$  is  $f$ -large relatively to  $U$  iff

$$\text{card}(A) \geq f(\text{card}(U)).$$

## Definition

We define  $R_f$  as follows  $\mathbb{M} \models R_f xy \varphi(x, y)$  iff there is an  $f$ -large set  $A \subseteq M$  such that for each  $a, b \in A$ ,  $\mathbb{M} \models \varphi(a, b)$ .

## Corollary

Let  $f(n) = \lceil rn \rceil$ , for some rational number  $r$  such that  $0 < r < 1$ .  
Then  $R_f$  defines NP-complete class of finite models.

# Boundness

## Definition

We say that a function  $f$  is *bounded* if

$$\exists m \forall n [f(n) < m \vee n - m < f(n)].$$

Otherwise,  $f$  is *unbounded*.



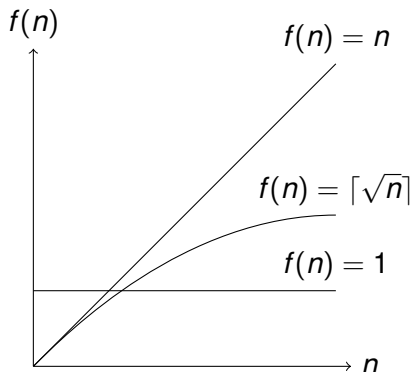
# Boundness

## Definition

We say that a function  $f$  is *bounded* if

$$\exists m \forall n [f(n) < m \vee n - m < f(n)].$$

Otherwise,  $f$  is *unbounded*.



# Easy Ramsey structures

## Theorem

*If  $f$  is PTIME computable and bounded, then the Ramsey quantifier  $R_f$  is PTIME computable.*

# More general observation

$$\exists X Q(X) \iff \forall t_1 \dots \forall t_m \forall t_{m+1} \left[ \left( \bigwedge_{1 \leq i < j \leq m+1} X(t_i) \implies \bigvee_{1 \leq i < j \leq m+1} t_i = t_j \right) \vee \left( \bigwedge_{1 \leq i < j \leq m+1} \neg X(t_i) \implies \bigvee_{1 \leq i < j \leq m+1} t_i = t_j \right) \right].$$

This formula says that  $X$  has a property  $Q$  if and only if  $X$  consists of at most  $m$  elements or  $X$  differs from the universe on at most  $m$  elements.

## Observation

*SO-quantification restricted to  $Q$  is definable in FO with  $m + 1$  parameters.*

# While some reciprocal sentences are tractable

1. Some members of parliament refer to each other indirectly.
  2. All members of parliament refer to each other indirectly.
- 
1. Most Boston pitchers sat alongside each other.
  2. Most Pirates were staring at each other in surprise.

# Open problems

## Question

*Are PTIME  $R_f$ s exactly bounded  $R_f$ s?*

## Question

*For what class of functions duality holds?*

# Outline

Problem

Preliminaries

Ramseyification

Collectivization

# Collectivization



... no no, not that one.

# Linguistically motivated

1. Tikitu and Samson lifted the poker table together.
2. The decks of cards on the table had different colors.
3. Nina and Jon had flush together, but each of them alone had nothing.



# Lifting first-order determiners

1. Five people lifted the table.
2. Five people lifted the table together.

1.  $\exists^{=5}x[\text{People}(x) \wedge \text{Lift}(x)]$ .
2.  $\exists X[\text{Card}(X) = 5 \wedge X \subseteq \text{People} \wedge \text{Lift}(X)]$ .

Turning determiners of type  $((et)((et)t))$  into  $((et)(((et)t)t))$ .

# Second-order structures

## Definition

Let  $t = (s_1, \dots, s_w)$ , where  $s_i = (l_1^i, \dots, l_{r_i}^i)$  is a tuple of positive integers for  $1 \leq i \leq w$ . A second-order structure of type  $t$  is a structure of the form  $(A, P_1, \dots, P_w)$ , where  $P_i \subseteq \mathcal{P}(A^{l_1^i}) \times \dots \times \mathcal{P}(A^{l_{r_i}^i})$ .

# Collections of second-order models

## Definition

A second-order generalized quantifier  $\mathcal{Q}$  of type  $t$  is a class of structures of type  $t$  such that  $\mathcal{Q}$  is closed under isomorphisms.



# Examples

$$\exists_1^2 = \{(A, P) \mid P \subseteq \mathcal{P}(A) \ \& \ P \neq \emptyset\}.$$

$$\text{EVEN} = \{(A, P) \mid P \subseteq \mathcal{P}(A) \ \& \ \text{card}(P) \text{ is even}\}.$$

$$\text{EVEN}' = \{(A, P) \mid P \subseteq \mathcal{P}(A) \ \& \ \forall X \in P(\text{card}(X) \text{ is even})\}.$$

$$\text{MOST} = \{(A, P, S) \mid P, S \subseteq \mathcal{P}(A) \ \& \ \text{card}(P \cap S) > \text{card}(P - S)\}.$$

$$\text{MOST}^1 = \{(A, P) \mid P \subseteq \mathcal{P}(A) \ \& \ \text{card}(P) > 2^{\text{card}(A)-1}\}.$$

# FO( $\mathcal{Q}$ )

$\mathfrak{A} \models \mathcal{Q}\bar{X}_1, \dots, \bar{X}_w (\phi_1, \dots, \phi_w)$  iff  $(\mathbf{A}, \phi_1^{\mathfrak{A}}, \dots, \phi_w^{\mathfrak{A}}) \in \mathcal{Q}$ ,

where  $\phi_i^{\mathfrak{A}} = \{\bar{R} \in \mathcal{P}(A_1^{i_1}) \times \dots \times \mathcal{P}(A_{r_i}^{i_{r_i}}) \mid \mathfrak{A} \models \phi_i(\bar{R})\}$ .

# Warning

Do not confuse:

- ▶ FO GQs (Lindström) with FO-definable quantifiers  
E.g. most is FO GQs but is not FO-definable.
- ▶ SO GQs with SO-definable quantifiers  
E.g. **MOST** is SO GQs but not SO-definable.

# Goal

$$Q \rightsquigarrow \mathcal{Q}$$

# Definability for second-order structures

## Question

*How do we formalize definability for SOGQs?*



# Definability for second-order structures

## Question

*How do we formalize definability for SOGQs?*

## Example

$\exists_1^2$  is definable in  $\mathcal{L}$  if there is a uniform way to express  $\exists_1^2 X \psi(X)$  for any formula  $\psi(X)$  in  $\mathcal{L}$ . Over a model  $\mathfrak{A}$ ,  $\psi(X)$  defines a collection of subsets  $\{C \subseteq A \mid \mathfrak{A} \models \psi(C)\}$ , so the problem is to find a way to express its non-emptiness for each  $\psi(X)$ .

# $\mathcal{L}(\mathcal{G}_1, \dots, \mathcal{G}_w)$

## Definition

Let  $\mathcal{L}$  be a logic,  $t = (s_1, \dots, s_w)$  a second-order type, and let  $\mathcal{G}_1, \dots, \mathcal{G}_w$  be first-order quantifier symbols of types  $s_1, \dots, s_w$ .

1. The models of  $\mathcal{L}(\mathcal{G}_1, \dots, \mathcal{G}_w)$  are of the form  $\mathcal{A} = (\mathfrak{A}, G_1, \dots, G_w)$ , where  $\mathfrak{A}$  is a first-order model and

$$G_i \subseteq \mathcal{P}(A^{l_i}) \times \dots \times \mathcal{P}(A^{r_i}).$$

2. The quantifiers  $\mathcal{G}_i$  are interpreted using the relations  $G_i$ :

$$\mathcal{A} \models \mathcal{G}_i \bar{x}_1, \dots, \bar{x}_{r_i} (\phi_1(\bar{x}_1), \dots, \phi_{r_i}(\bar{x}_{r_i}))$$

$$\text{iff } (\phi_1^{\mathcal{A}}, \dots, \phi_{r_i}^{\mathcal{A}}) \in G_i.$$

# Definability—definition

## Observation

If  $\phi \in \mathcal{L}(\mathcal{G}_1, \dots, \mathcal{G}_w)$  is a sentence of vocabulary  $\tau = \emptyset$ . Then

$$\text{Mod}(\phi) = \{(A, G_1, \dots, G_w) \mid (A, G_1, \dots, G_w) \models \phi\}$$

corresponds to a second-order generalized quantifier of type  $t$ .

## Definition

Let  $Q$  be a quantifier of type  $t$ . The quantifier  $Q$  is definable in a logic  $\mathcal{L}$  if there is  $\phi \in \mathcal{L}(\mathcal{G}_1, \dots, \mathcal{G}_w)$  of vocabulary  $\sigma = \emptyset$  such that for any  $t$ -structure  $(A, G_1, \dots, G_w)$ ,

$$(A, G_1, \dots, G_w) \models \phi \Leftrightarrow (A, G_1, \dots, G_w) \in Q.$$

# Characterizing definability—main idea

Recall,  $\mathcal{Q}$  of type  $((1))$  is definable in SO if there is a sentence  $\phi \in \text{SO}(\mathcal{G})$  such that for all second-order structures  $(A, G)$ :

$$(A, G) \models \phi \Leftrightarrow (A, G) \in \mathcal{Q}.$$

We show that SO and the relation  $G$  can be replaced by FO and a unary relation  $P$  by passing from  $A$  to a domain of cardinality  $2^{|A|}$ .

# First-order encoding of second-order structures

## Observation

1. *There is a one-to-one correspondence between integers  $m \in B = \{0, \dots, 2^n - 1\}$  and subsets of  $A = \{0, \dots, n - 1\}$ ;*
2. *Relations of  $A$  can be encoded as tuples of elements of  $B$ ;*
3. *Sets of relations of  $A$  by relations of  $B$ .*

# Formally

## Definition

Let  $t = (s_1, \dots, s_w)$  be a type where  $s_i = (1, \dots, 1)$  is of length  $r_i$  for  $1 \leq i \leq w$ . Let  $\mathfrak{A} = (A, G_1, \dots, G_w)$  be a  $t$ -structure where  $A = \{0, \dots, n-1\}$  and  $G_i \subseteq \mathcal{P}(A) \times \dots \times \mathcal{P}(A)$ . Denote by  $\hat{\mathfrak{A}} = (B, P_1, \dots, P_w)$  the following first-order structure of vocabulary  $\tau = \{P_1, \dots, P_w\}$ , where  $P_i$  is a  $r_i$ -ary predicate, and

1.  $B = \{0, \dots, 2^n - 1\}$ ,
2.  $P_i = \{(j_1, \dots, j_{r_i}) \in B^{r_i} \mid (J_1, \dots, J_{r_i}) \in G_i\}$ , where, for  $1 \leq k \leq r_i$ ,  $\text{bin}(j_k)$  is given by  $s_0 \cdots s_{n-1}$ , and  $s_l = 1 \Leftrightarrow l \in J_k$ .

## Definition

For a quantifier  $Q$  of type  $t$ , we denote by  $Q^*$  the first-order quantifier of vocabulary  $\tau$  defined by

$$Q^* := \{\hat{\mathfrak{A}} : \mathfrak{A} \in Q\},$$

where  $\hat{\mathfrak{A}}$  is the first-order encoding of  $\mathfrak{A}$ .

# Characterization

## Theorem

*Let  $Q_1$  and  $Q_2$  be monadic quantifiers. Then  $Q_1$  is definable in  $\text{MSO}(Q_2, +)$  if and only if  $Q_1^*$  is definable in  $\text{FO}(Q_2^*, +, \times)$ .*



# Characterization

## Theorem

*Let  $Q_1$  and  $Q_2$  be monadic quantifiers. Then  $Q_1$  is definable in  $\text{MSO}(Q_2, +)$  if and only if  $Q_1^*$  is definable in  $\text{FO}(Q_2^*, +, \times)$ .*

Built-in addition unleashes the expressive power of MSO.

# Corollary: computational complexity

## Theorem

*If the quantifier MOST is definable in second-order logic, then counting hierarchy, CH is equal polynomial hierarchy, PH. Moreover, CH collapses to its second level.*

## Proof.

The logic FO(MOST) can define complete problems for each level of the CH (Kontinen&Niemisto'06). If MOST was definable in SO, then  $\text{FO(MOST)} \leq \text{SO}$  and therefore SO would contain complete problems for each level of the CH. This would imply that  $\text{CH} = \text{PH}$  and furthermore that  $\text{CH} \subseteq \text{PH} \subseteq \mathcal{C}_2\text{P}$ .  $\square$

# Corollary: undefinability result

## Theorem

*The quantifier  $\text{MOST}^1$  is not definable in SO.*

## Proof.

Show that definability of  $\text{MOST}^1$  in SO implies that, for some  $k$ , the quantifier M is definable in  $\text{FO}(+, \times)$  over cardinalities  $2^{n^k}$ . Over these cardinalities, we could then express PARITY in the logic  $\text{FO}(+, \times)$ . This contradicts the result of Ajtai(1983).  $\square$

# Does NL express those quantifiers?

1. Most groups of students have never played Hold'em together.
2.  $\text{MOST } X, Y[\text{Students}(X), \neg\text{Play}(Y)]$ .

# Outlook

## Question

*Un(definability) theory for SOGQs.*

# Summary

2 case studies motivated by the formal semantics.

1. Ramsey counting structures are NP-hard.
2. Ramsey proportional structures are NP-hard.
3. Bounded Ramsey structures are in PTIME.

## Question

*What is the characterization of Ramsey graphs?*

1. Definability of SOGQs can be reduced to that of GQs.
2. Some collective structures are not definable in SO.

## Question

*What is the definability theory for SOGQs?*



## More details in:



### J. Kontinen and J. Szymanik

A Remark on Collective Quantification, *Journal of Logic, Language and Information*, Volume 17, Number 2, 2008, pp. 131–140.



### J. Szymanik

Computational Complexity of Polyadic Lifts of Generalized Quantifiers in Natural Language, *Linguistics and Philosophy*, Vol. 33, Iss. 3, 2010, pp. 5–250.



### J. Kontinen and J. Szymanik

Characterizing Definability of Second-Order Generalized Quantifiers, 6642, 2011, pp. 187–200.