

Quantification and Modality

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Appearance

- The modal operators are like disguised quantifiers.
Fitting & Mendelsohn 1998:108
- Why?
 - Accessibility relations of modals with possible worlds are stated using quantifiers.
 - De re/de dicto interpretations depend on relative scope of a modal and a quantifier, analogous to the interpretations that arise when two quantifiers are present.
 - Some modal operators (e.g. temporals like 'always' and 'sometimes') are in fact quantifiers.
- It [is] no accident that the quantifiers look very much like modals.
Koslow 1992: 312
- Why?
 - Because universal and existential quantifiers, in general, are modals, not just in special cases, e.g. when they range over temporal entities.

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Reality

- Universal and existential quantifiers are modal operators, as Koslow contends.
- Not all modal operators are quantifiers.
 - In order to demonstrate A and B, some background is needed.
 - I start with an account of the notion of an implication structure.

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Implication structures

- An implication structure I consists of a set S (propositions or other elements) and an implication relation \Rightarrow over them.
- The relation \Rightarrow satisfies the following axioms, where $A_1, \dots, A_n, B, B_1, \dots, B_m, C$ are in S :
 - Projection: $A_1, \dots, A_n \Rightarrow A_k$ ($1 \leq k \leq n$)
 - Simplification: If $A_1, \dots, A_n, A_1, \dots, A_n \Rightarrow B$, then $A_1, \dots, A_n, \dots, A_n \Rightarrow B$ ($1 \leq i \leq n$)
 - Permutation: If $A_1, \dots, A_n \Rightarrow B$, then $A_{f(1)}, \dots, A_{f(n)} \Rightarrow B$ for any permutation f of $\{1, \dots, n\}$.
 - Cut: If $A_1, \dots, A_n \Rightarrow B$ and $B, B_1, \dots, B_m \Rightarrow C$, then $A_1, \dots, A_n, B_1, \dots, B_m \Rightarrow C$.

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Additional properties of the implication relation \Rightarrow

- In $A_1, \dots, A_n \Rightarrow B$, the A_i s are the premises (or antecedents), and B is the conclusion (or consequence).
 - Reflexivity: $A \Rightarrow A$ (follows from Projection)
 - Transitivity: If $A \Rightarrow B$ and $B \Rightarrow C$, then $A \Rightarrow C$ (follows from Cut)
 - Antisymmetry: If $A \Rightarrow B$ and $B \Rightarrow A$, then $A \Leftrightarrow B$.
 - Monotonicity: If $A_1, \dots, A_n \Rightarrow B$, then $A_1, \dots, A_n, C \Rightarrow B$ (follows from Simplification and Cut).

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Dual of an implication structure

- If $I = \langle S, \Rightarrow \rangle$ is an implication structure, then its dual $\hat{I} = \langle S, \hat{\Rightarrow} \rangle$ is also an implication structure, where:
 - $A_1, \dots, A_n \hat{\Rightarrow} B$ iff for every T in S , if $A_1 \Rightarrow T, \dots, A_n \Rightarrow T$, then $B \Rightarrow T$.
- In the single premise case, this condition reduces to:
 - $A \hat{\Rightarrow} B$ iff $B \Rightarrow A$.

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A simple implication structure I_4 with four elements

- Let $I_4 = \langle S_4, \Rightarrow \rangle$, where \Rightarrow is a truth-preserving relation and $S_4 = \{a, b, c, d\}$ such that:
 - a: 'it's hot' $\Leftrightarrow \neg b$
 - b: 'it's cold' $\Leftrightarrow \neg a$
 - c: 'it's hot and it's cold' $\Leftrightarrow (a \wedge \neg a) \Leftrightarrow \perp$ (bottom)
 - d: 'it's hot or it's cold' $\Leftrightarrow (a \vee \neg a) \Leftrightarrow \top$ (top)
- Notation:
 - \neg negation
 - \wedge conjunction
 - \vee disjunction

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Diagram of I_4 , omitting reflexive arcs and arcs derivable from transitivity

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Diagram of $\hat{I}_4 = \langle S_4, \hat{\Rightarrow} \rangle$, dual of I_4 , in which $\hat{\Rightarrow}$ preserves falsity

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Modal operators

- Next, I define what a modal operator is, following Koslow 1992, providing a purely 'structural' account, without using the notion of 'possible worlds'. There are two types.
 - Necessity, represented by \Box 'box'.
 - Possibility, represented by \Diamond 'diamond'.

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Defining properties of a \Box modal

- \Box is a unary operator that preserves implication in an implication structure I .
If $A_1, \dots, A_n \Rightarrow B$, then $\Box A_1, \dots, \Box A_n \Rightarrow \Box B$, for all A_1, \dots, A_n, B in S .
- \Box fails to preserve implication in the dual structure \hat{I} .
There are A_1, \dots, A_n, B in S such that $A_1, \dots, A_n \hat{\Rightarrow} B$, but $\Box A_1, \dots, \Box A_n \not\hat{\Rightarrow} \Box B$ fails.

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Distribution of \Box with \wedge and \vee

- For the structures of interest to us, the following distribution principles are consequences of the defining properties of \Box .
 - DAX ("distribution of and with box")
 $\Box A \wedge \Box B \Leftrightarrow \Box (A \wedge B)$ for all A, B in S .
 - NOX ("nondistribution of or with box")
 $\Box (A \vee B) \Rightarrow \Box A \vee \Box B$ fails for some A, B in S .
 - Selecting $B \Leftrightarrow \neg A$, the premise is generally true and the consequent false.

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Defining properties of a \diamond modal

- \diamond is a unary operator that fails to preserve entailment in I .
There are A_1, \dots, A_n, B in S such that $A_1, \dots, A_n \Rightarrow B$, but $\diamond A_1, \dots, \diamond A_n \Rightarrow \diamond B$ fails.
- \diamond preserves entailment in \hat{I} .
If $A_1, \dots, A_n \hat{\Rightarrow} B$, then $\diamond A_1, \dots, \diamond A_n \hat{\Rightarrow} \diamond B$, for all A_1, \dots, A_n, B in S .
– In \hat{I} , \diamond is a necessity modal and \square is a possibility modal.

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Distribution of \diamond with \wedge and \vee

- For the structures of interest to us, the following distribution principles are consequences of the defining properties of \diamond .
NAD (“nondistribution of and with diamond”)
 - $\diamond A \wedge \diamond B \Rightarrow \diamond(A \wedge B)$ fails for some A, B in S .
 - See comment on NOX.
- DOD (“distribution of or with diamond”)
 - $\diamond(A \vee B) \Leftrightarrow \diamond A \vee \diamond B$ for all A, B in S .

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Interdefinability of \square and \diamond

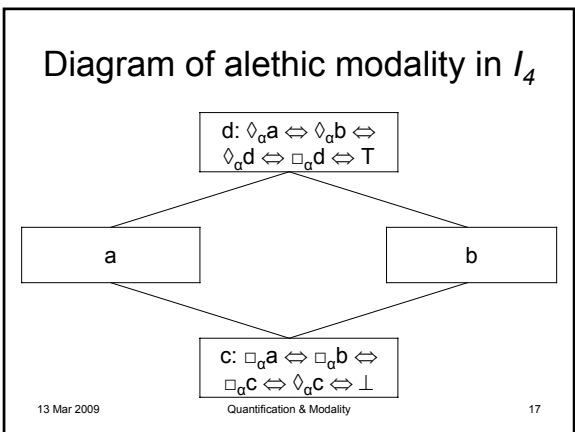
- \square and \diamond are interdefinable using negation in all implication structures of interest here; i.e. for all A in S :
 - $\square A \Leftrightarrow \neg \diamond \neg A$
 - $\diamond A \Leftrightarrow \neg \square \neg A$

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Alethic and epistemic modality in I_4

- Next, I illustrate two types of modality in the structure I_4 , alethic (only analytic statements are necessary) and epistemic (both analytic and known synthetic statements are necessary).
 - Let \square_a and \diamond_a represent alethic necessity and possibility.
 - $\square_a T = T$, otherwise $\square_a A = \perp$
 - $\diamond_a \perp = \perp$, otherwise $\diamond_a A = T$
 - Let \square_ε and \diamond_ε represent epistemic necessity and possibility.
 - $\square_\varepsilon A = A$ if A is known, otherwise $\square_\varepsilon A = \perp$
 - $\diamond_\varepsilon A = T$ if A is known, otherwise $\diamond_\varepsilon A = A$

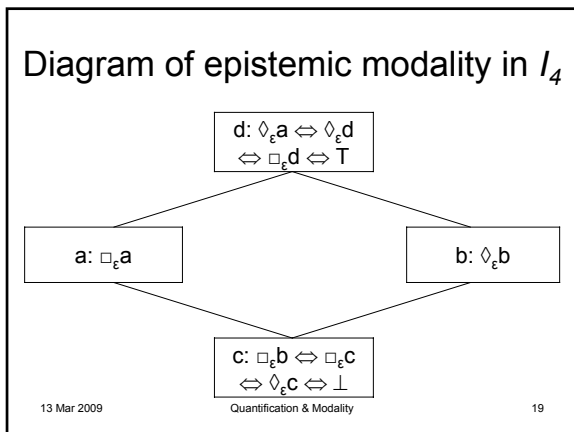
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Alethic modals in I_4 have the requisite distribution properties

- DAX**
 - $\square_a a \wedge \square_a b \Leftrightarrow \square_a(a \wedge b) \Leftrightarrow c$.
 - Similarly for all other pairs of elements of S_4 .
- NOX**
 - $\square_a(a \vee b) \Leftrightarrow d$; $\square_a a \vee \square_a b \Leftrightarrow c$; $d \Rightarrow c$ fails.
- NAD**
 - $\diamond_a a \wedge \diamond_a b \Leftrightarrow d$; $\diamond_a(a \wedge b) \Leftrightarrow c$; $d \Rightarrow c$ fails.
- DOD**
 - $\diamond_a(a \vee b) \Leftrightarrow \diamond_a a \vee \diamond_a b \Leftrightarrow d$.
 - Similarly for all other pairs of elements of S_4 .

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Epistemic modals in I_4 also have the requisite distribution properties

- DAX
 - $\Box_e a \wedge \Box_e b \leftrightarrow \Box_e(a \wedge b) \leftrightarrow c$.
 - Similarly for all other pairs of elements of S_4 .
- NOX
 - $\Box_e(a \vee b) \leftrightarrow d$; $\Box_e a \vee \Box_e b \leftrightarrow a$; $d \Rightarrow a$ fails.
- NAD
 - $\Diamond_e a \wedge \Diamond_e b \leftrightarrow b$; $\Diamond_e(a \wedge b) \leftrightarrow c$; $b \Rightarrow c$ fails.
- DOD
 - $\Diamond_e(a \vee b) \leftrightarrow \Diamond_e a \vee \Diamond_e b \leftrightarrow d$.
 - Similarly for all other pairs of elements of S_4 .

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Additional properties of alethic and epistemic modals in I_4

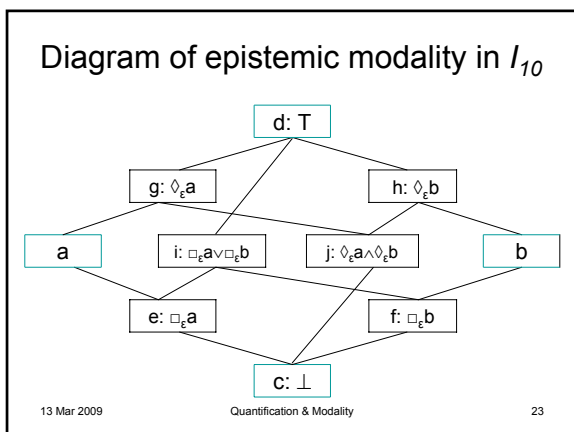
- For all A in S_4 :
 - $\Box_\alpha A \Rightarrow \Box_e A \Rightarrow A \Rightarrow \Diamond_e A \Rightarrow \Diamond_\alpha A$
 - $\Box_\alpha \Box_e A \leftrightarrow \Box_e \Box_\alpha A \leftrightarrow \Box_\alpha A$
 - $\Diamond_\alpha \Diamond_e A \leftrightarrow \Diamond_e \Diamond_\alpha A \leftrightarrow \Diamond_\alpha A$
 - $\Diamond_\alpha A \Rightarrow \Box \Diamond A$ (regardless of subscript on \Box and \Diamond)
 - $\Diamond_\alpha A \Rightarrow \Box_\alpha \Diamond_\alpha A$ and $A \Rightarrow \Box_\alpha \Diamond_\alpha A$
- However:
 - $\Diamond_e A \Rightarrow \Box_e \Diamond_e A$ and $A \Rightarrow \Box_e \Diamond_e A$ fail for $A = b$.

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A linguistically realistic epistemic structure I_{10}

- Let I_{10} be the structure $\langle S_{10}, \Rightarrow \rangle$, where $S_{10} = S_4 \cup \{e, f, g, h, i, j\}$, such that:
 - e: 'it must be hot' $\leftrightarrow \Box_e a$
 - f: 'it must be cold' $\leftrightarrow \Box_e b$
 - g: 'it might be hot' $\leftrightarrow \Diamond_e a$
 - h: 'it might be cold' $\leftrightarrow \Diamond_e b$
 - i: 'it must be hot or it must be cold' $\leftrightarrow \Box_e a \vee \Box_e b$
 - j: 'it might be hot and it might be cold' $\leftrightarrow \Diamond_e a \wedge \Diamond_e b$

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Additional properties of epistemic modals in I_{10}

- $\Box_e e \leftrightarrow \Box_e f \leftrightarrow \Box_e i \leftrightarrow \Box_e j \leftrightarrow c$; $\Box_e g \leftrightarrow a$; $\Box_e h \leftrightarrow b$
- $\Diamond_e g \leftrightarrow \Diamond_e h \leftrightarrow \Diamond_e i \leftrightarrow \Diamond_e j \leftrightarrow d$; $\Diamond_e e \leftrightarrow a$; $\Diamond_e f \leftrightarrow b$
- Consequently for all A in S_{10} :
 - $\Diamond_e \Box_e A \Rightarrow \Box_e \Diamond_e A$
 - $\Box_e \Box_e A \Rightarrow \Box_e A$, but not conversely
 - $\Diamond_e A \Rightarrow \Box_e \Diamond_e A$, but not conversely
 - $A \Rightarrow \Box_e \Diamond_e A$ (recall that this fails in I_4)
- However:
 - $\Diamond_e A \Rightarrow \Box_e \Diamond_e A$ fails for $A = a$ and $A = b$.

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Finally we get to quantifiers! But first, ...

- The analysis of quantifiers requires the use of extended implication structures $I = \langle E, \Pi, S, \Rightarrow \rangle$, where E is a set of entities, Π a set of predicates (open sentences), S a set of (closed) sentences, and \Rightarrow a truth-preserving implication relation. For ease of presentation, I consider only one-place predicates.

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Predicate implication and universal quantification \forall 'for all'

- Predicate implication \Rightarrow^* is defined in terms of sentential implication as follows.
For all P_1, \dots, P_n, Q in Π , $P_1, \dots, P_n \Rightarrow^* Q$ iff $P_1(e_1), \dots, P_n(e_n) \Rightarrow Q(f)$ for all choices of e_1, \dots, e_n, f in E .
- That is (where $\forall P_1$ represents $\forall x P_1 x$, etc.):
 $P_1, \dots, P_n \Rightarrow^* Q$ iff $\forall P_1, \dots, \forall P_n \Rightarrow \forall Q$

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Unifying predicate and sentential implication

- Extending sentential implication to also cover predicate implication (so that both open and closed sentences can appear in the same implication, and so that the implication relation over open sentences is the same as that over closed ones), we have:
If $P_1, \dots, P_n \Rightarrow Q$ then $\forall P_1, \dots, \forall P_n \Rightarrow \forall Q$
- That is, the universal quantifier \forall distributes over implication, so is a necessity modal operator.

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Confirming that \forall is a necessity modal

- \forall satisfies DAX. For all predicates P, Q in Π :
 $\forall P \wedge \forall Q \Leftrightarrow \forall (P \wedge Q)$
– This is a well known property of universal quantification.
- \forall satisfies NOX. For some predicates P, Q in Π :
 $\forall (P \vee Q) \Rightarrow \forall P \vee \forall Q$ fails.
– If neither P nor Q holds for every member of E but their disjunction does, then the premise is true and the consequent false.

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The existential quantifier \exists 'for some' is a possibility modal

- \exists satisfies NAD. There are predicates P, Q in Π such that:
 $\exists P \wedge \exists Q \Rightarrow \exists (P \wedge Q)$ fails.
– If P and Q hold for different members of E , then the premise is true and the consequent false.
- \exists satisfies DOD. For all predicates P, Q in Π :
 $\exists (P \vee Q) \Leftrightarrow \exists P \vee \exists Q$
– This is a well known property of existential quantification.

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Interdefinability of \forall and \exists

- \forall and \exists are interdefinable using negation, just like \square and \diamond . For all P in Π :
 $\forall P \Leftrightarrow \neg \exists \neg P$
 $\exists P \Leftrightarrow \neg \forall \neg P$

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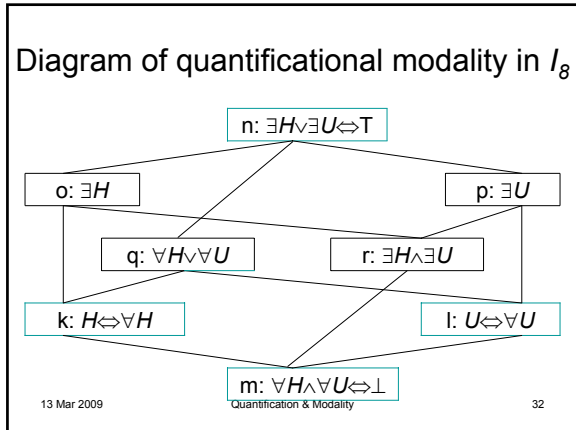
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A simple quantificational structure I_g

- Let I_g be the extended structure $\langle E, \Pi_2, S_g, \Rightarrow \rangle$, where E is a plural set of people, $\Pi_2 = \{H \text{ 'happy', } U \text{ 'unhappy'}\}$, $S_g = \{k, l, m, n, o, p, q, r\}$, \Rightarrow is a truth-preserving relation, and:
 - k: $H \Leftrightarrow \forall H$ 'everyone is happy'
 - l: $U \Leftrightarrow \forall U$ 'everyone is unhappy'
 - m: $\forall H \wedge \forall U \Leftrightarrow \perp$ 'everyone is happy and everyone is unhappy'
 - n: $\exists H \vee \exists U \Leftrightarrow T$ 'someone is happy or someone is unhappy'
 - o: $\exists H$ 'someone is happy'
 - p: $\exists U$ 'someone is unhappy'
 - q: $\forall H \wedge \forall U$ 'everyone is happy or everyone is unhappy'
 - r: $\exists H \wedge \exists U$ 'someone is happy and someone is unhappy'

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Reality check A

A. The principle that universal and existential quantifiers are modal operators is now established.

- Quantified modal logic is simply modal logic, which includes the modal quantifiers \forall , \exists , and (as shown below) others in its purview.
- In natural languages, modals are expressed not only by tense, mood and aspect markers and adverbials, as Fitting & Mendelsohn 1998: 2 contend, but also by quantifiers that reduce the placedness of predicates.
- Teaser question:* Might there also be modals that increase the placedness of predicates?

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Reality check B

B. The principle that not all modal operators are quantifiers is established by observing that the alethic and epistemic modals we have considered are not quantifiers.

- However, the appearances noted by Fitting & Mendelsohn are not deceiving.
 - Classification of modals according to properties of their accessibility relations can be accounted for without using possible-world models; see Koslow 1992: chapters 34-35.
 - De re/de dicto interactions follow from the general modal law $\diamond \Box \Rightarrow \Box \diamond$, from which we obtain $\exists \Box \Rightarrow \Box \exists$ and $\diamond \forall \Rightarrow \forall \diamond$ as special cases; also, for multiple quantification, $\exists \forall \Rightarrow \forall \exists$

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Other modal quantifiers

- \forall and \exists are not the only modal quantifiers.
- Let $I_z = \langle E_z, \Pi, S_z, \Rightarrow \rangle$ be an extended implication structure in which E_z is the set of positive integers and Π is a set of one-place predicates over E_z .
- Then \forall/f and \exists/∞ are modal quantifiers in I_z where:
 - \forall/f represents 'for all but at most finitely many members of E_z '.
 - $\exists/\infty P$ represents 'for infinitely many members of E_z '.

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\forall/f is a necessity modal

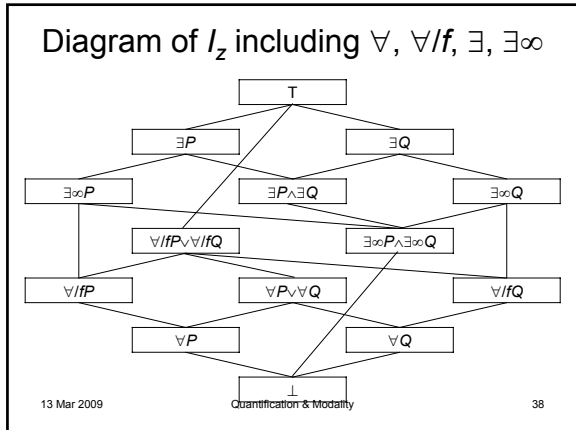
- \forall/f satisfies DAX.
 - $\forall/f P \wedge \forall/f Q \Leftrightarrow \forall/f (P \wedge Q)$ for all P, Q in Π .
 - This equivalence follows from the fact that the union of finite sets is finite.
- \forall/f satisfies NOX.
 - $\forall/f (P \vee Q) \Rightarrow \forall/f P \vee \forall/f Q$ fails for some P, Q in Π .
 - If $Q = \neg P$, where P and Q each hold for infinitely many positive integers, then the premise is true and the consequent false.

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\exists_∞ is a possibility modal

- \exists_∞ satisfies NAD.
 $\exists_\infty P \wedge \exists_\infty Q \Rightarrow \exists_\infty (P \wedge Q)$ fails for some P, Q in Π .
 – Again, if $Q = \neg P$, where P and Q each hold for infinitely many positive integers, then the premise is true and the consequent false.
- \exists_∞ satisfies DOD.
 $\exists_\infty (P \vee Q) \Leftrightarrow \exists_\infty P \vee \exists_\infty Q$ for all P, Q in Π .
 – This equivalence also follows from the fact that the union of finite sets is finite.

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Other quantifiers are not modal

- Let $I_i = \langle E_i, \Pi, S_i, \Rightarrow \rangle$ be an extended implication structure in which $E_i =$ is large. If E_i is finite, let $n = \text{card}(E_i)$, $k = n/2$ for even n , and $k = (n-1)/2$ for odd n .
- Then none of the following quantifiers are modal:

$\forall/1$ 'for all but at most 1'	$\exists 2$ 'for at least 2'
...	...
\forall/k 'for all but at most k'	$\exists k+1$ 'for at least k+1'
...	...
\forall/w 'for most' = 'for all but at most a few'	$\exists m$ 'for at least many'

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Implicational properties of these other quantifiers

- Let \forall^* represent $\forall/1, \dots, \forall/k, \dots, \forall/w$ and let \exists^* represent $\exists 2, \dots, \exists k+1, \dots, \exists m$. Then: \forall^* and \exists^* preserve one-premise implications but fail to preserve multi-premise implications.

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Why \forall^* and \exists^* preserve one-premise implications

- If $P \Rightarrow Q$, then $\{x|Px\} \subseteq \{y|Qy\}$.
 Consequently, $\forall^* P \Rightarrow \forall^* Q$ and $\exists^* P \Rightarrow \exists^* Q$.
- Counter-models showing that $\forall/1$ and $\exists 2$ fail to preserve multi-premise implications are provided in the next slide; similar models can be provided for all the other members of \forall^* and \exists^* .

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Why \forall^* and \exists^* fail to preserve multi-premise implications

- $P, Q \Rightarrow P \wedge Q$ for all P, Q in Π . However for some P, Q in Π :
 $\forall/1 P, \forall/1 Q \Rightarrow \forall/1 (P \wedge Q)$ fails.
 $\exists 2 P, \exists 2 Q \Rightarrow \exists 2 (P \wedge Q)$ fails.
 - In the first case, if P and Q fail to hold for different single members of E only, then the premise is true but the consequent is false.
 - In the second case, if P and Q hold for distinct pairs of members of E only, then the premise is true but the consequent is false.

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Quasimodal operators

- Let us call unary operators that preserve one-premise implications but not multi-premise ones quasimodals.
- Symbolizing quasimodals by \star , we have:
 - If $A \Rightarrow B$, then $\star A \Rightarrow \star B$ for all A, B in S .
 - However, there are A_1, \dots, A_n, B in S such that $A_1, \dots, A_n \Rightarrow B$, but $\star A_1, \dots, \star A_n \Rightarrow \star B$ fails.
- Similarly for $\hat{\Rightarrow}$.

Quasimodal quantifiers

- \forall^* and \exists^* are all quasimodals, more precisely, quasimodal quantifiers, that satisfy the requirement:
 If $P \Rightarrow Q$, then $\star P \Rightarrow \star Q$ for all P, Q in Π .
 However, there are P_1, \dots, P_n, Q in Π such that $P_1, \dots, P_n \Rightarrow Q$, but $\star P_1, \dots, \star P_n \Rightarrow \star Q$ fails.

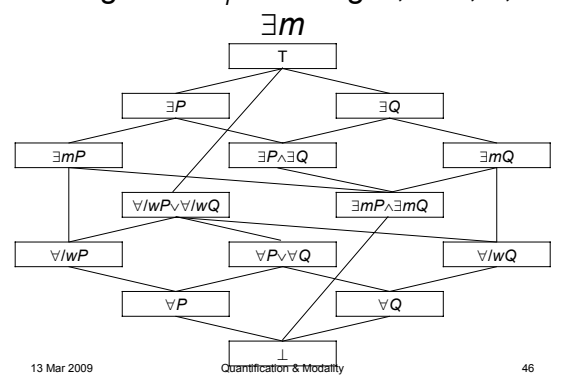
Quasinecessity and quasipossibility

- Quasimodals, like modals, come in interdefinable pairs. For example:

$$\forall/1 \Leftrightarrow \neg \exists 2 \neg \quad \forall/w \Leftrightarrow \neg \exists m \neg$$

$$\exists 2 \Leftrightarrow \neg \forall/1 \neg \quad \exists m \Leftrightarrow \neg \forall/w \neg$$
- Let us call the implicationally stronger of these pairs (e.g. $\forall/1, \forall/w$) a quasinecessity (or quasiuniversal), symbolized ∇ , and the weaker (e.g. $\exists 2, \exists m$) a quasipossibility (or quasiexistential), symbolized Δ .

Diagram of I_1 including $\forall, \forall/w, \exists, \exists m$



Comparing the modals \forall/f and $\exists\infty$ with the quasimodals \forall/w and $\exists m$

- The diagram of I_1 including $\forall, \forall/w, \exists, \exists m$ has exactly the same form as the diagram of I_2 including $\forall, \forall/f, \exists, \exists\infty$, even though \forall/f and $\exists\infty$ are modal and \forall/w and $\exists m$ are quasimodal.
- In I_2 , in which all these operators are defined, the implicational subhierarchy:

$$\forall/f \Rightarrow \forall/w \Rightarrow \exists m \Rightarrow \exists\infty$$
 lies within the hierarchy

$$\forall \Rightarrow \forall/1 \Rightarrow \dots \forall/k \dots [] \dots \exists/k+1 \Rightarrow \dots \exists 2 \Rightarrow \exists$$
 in the position indicated by [].

Non-quantifier quasimodals

- In a large enough implication structure in which the epistemic modals \square_ϵ and \diamond_ϵ are defined, epistemic quasinecessity and quasipossibility operators ∇_ϵ and Δ_ϵ can also be defined such that for all A in S :

$$\square_\epsilon A \Rightarrow \nabla_\epsilon A \Rightarrow \Delta_\epsilon A \Rightarrow \diamond_\epsilon A$$
 analogous to \forall^* and \exists^* in relation to \forall and \exists .
 – In such a structure ∇_ϵ may be expressed by 'probably' and Δ_ϵ as 'not improbably'.

'Probably' and 'not improbably' are quasimodals, not modals

- The operator ∇_ε 'probably' is a quasimodal, since it preserves one-premise implications, but not multi-premise ones, in a rich enough epistemic structure.
 - The answer to Fitting & Mendelsohn's 1998: 3, Exercise 1.1.1.1: Is 'probably' a modal? is ... quasipositive!
- Also, since Δ_ε 'not improbably' $\Leftrightarrow \neg\nabla_\varepsilon\neg$, it too is a quasimodal in that structure.
- Finally, since $\nabla_\varepsilon \Rightarrow \Delta_\varepsilon$, the former is a quasinecessity and the latter a quasipossibility.

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References

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- Koslow, Arnold. 1992. *A Structuralist Theory of Logic*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

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