### A Probabilistic Semantics for Counterfactuals

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May 2009

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- If it were the case that A, then it would be the case that B

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Plan of the talk:

- A New Semantics: The Popper Function Semantics
- Interpreting the Semantics
- What Becomes of the Centering Axioms?
- An Equivalent Semantics: The Probabilistic Limit Semantics
- An Application: Are Most (Ordinary) Counterfactuals False?

(I have just finished a draft on this.)

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Strategy: Let the truth of, e.g., '*If the match were struck, it would light*' consist in its corresponding conditional probability being high.

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As a prerequisite, our new semantics will involve quantification over conditional probability functions (see Popper 1959, Stalnaker 1970, and others).

As we will show later, these conditional probability functions allow for interpreting  $\mathfrak{P}(Y|X) = 1$  as stating

• the probability of Y given X is high, i.e., close to 1

where 'high' and 'close' are vague terms.

### Definition

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 $\textcircled{0} \ \mathfrak{P}: \mathfrak{A} \times \mathfrak{A} \to [0,1]$ 

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- ③ If  $\mathfrak{P}(W \setminus X \mid X) \neq 1$  then  $\mathfrak{P}(.|X)$  is a (finitely additive) probability measure,
- Multiplication Axiom:  $\mathfrak{P}(X \cap Y|Z) = \mathfrak{P}(X|Z)\mathfrak{P}(Y|X \cap Z)$ ,
- So If  $\mathfrak{P}(X|Y) = \mathfrak{P}(Y|X) = 1$ , then for all  $Z \in \mathfrak{A}$ :  $\mathfrak{P}(Z|X) = \mathfrak{P}(Z|Y)$ .

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Absolute probabilities may be introduced by means of:

 $P(X) = \mathfrak{P}(X|W)$ 

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From 4 it follows: If the "absolute probability"  $\mathfrak{P}(X|W) > 0$ , then

Ratio Formula: 
$$\frac{\mathfrak{P}(X \cap Y | W)}{\mathfrak{P}(X | W)} = \mathfrak{P}(Y | X \cap W) = \mathfrak{P}(Y | X)$$

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Conditional probability measures are to be considered conceptually primitive, rather than being reducible to absolute probability (cf. Hájek 2003).

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  - A new probabilistic truth condition for subjunctive conditionals:

 $w \in \llbracket A \square \to B \rrbracket$  if and only if  $\mathfrak{P}_w(\llbracket B \rrbracket | \llbracket A \rrbracket) = 1$ 

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A formula A in  $\mathcal{L}$  is logically true in the Popper function semantics iff A is true in every world in every Popper function model.

On the logical side, we get an extension of results by James Hawthorne (1996), Arlo-Costa & Parikh (2005) to the *full* language of conditional logic:

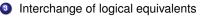
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#### Theorem

The system V of conditional logic is sound and complete with respect to the Popper function semantics for subjunctive conditionals.

- Rules of V:
  - **1** Modus Ponens (for  $\supset$ )
  - 2 Deduction within subjunctive conditionals: for any  $n \ge 1$

$$\frac{\vdash (B_1 \land \ldots \land B_n) \supset C}{\vdash ((A \Box \rightarrow B_1) \land \ldots \land (A \Box \rightarrow B_n)) \supset (A \Box \rightarrow C)}$$



- Axioms of V:
  - Truth-functional tautologies

$$2 A \Box \rightarrow A$$

- $\bigcirc (\neg A \square A) \supset (B \square A)$
- $(A \Box \rightarrow \neg B) \lor (((A \land B) \Box \rightarrow C) \leftrightarrow (A \Box \rightarrow (B \supset C)))$

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   Popper functions will be constrained pragmatically (context, time,...).
- In the semantics, we demand

$$w \in \llbracket A \square \rightarrow B \rrbracket$$
 if and only if  $\mathfrak{P}_w(\llbracket B \rrbracket | \llbracket A \rrbracket) = 1$ 

but not

$$\mathfrak{P}_w(\llbracket A \square \to B \rrbracket | W) = \mathfrak{P}_w(\llbracket B \rrbracket | \llbracket A \rrbracket)$$

(hence the semantics does not run into Lewis' Triviality result).

But we still know such a semantics is problematic? (cf. Edgington 1995 & 2008, Bennett 2003):

 "Prima facie, there is room for an account of objectively correct conditional thoughts... 'If A, B' is true iff the objective probability of B given A is sufficiently high. This is not compatible with the Thesis, and is independently objectionable. (I do not object to the fact that the truth condition is vague.)" (Edgington 1995, p.292) But we still know such a semantics is problematic? (cf. Edgington 1995 & 2008, Bennett 2003):

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- However, the "objections" vanish as long as one is willing to distinguish:

$$\begin{array}{l} (1a) \quad & \mathbb{C}r(\llbracket B \rrbracket | \llbracket A \rrbracket) = \mathbb{C}r(\llbracket A \Box \rightarrow B \rrbracket | W) \\ (1b) \quad & \mathbb{C}r(\llbracket B \rrbracket | \llbracket A \rrbracket) = \mathfrak{Acc}(A \Box \rightarrow B) \end{array}$$

and

(2a) 
$$\operatorname{Cr}(\llbracket B \rrbracket | \llbracket A \rrbracket) = \operatorname{Cr}(\llbracket A \to B \rrbracket | W)$$
  
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 Moreover, "The truth condition has the additional embarrassing consequence that the truth of 'If A, B' is compatible with the truth of A&¬B": → But that's exactly what we want! But what exactly is the purpose of this semantics?

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- Indeed: As a first approximation, the semantics aims to give the right truth conditions for A □→ B, which does not necessarily involve expressing the "right concepts" that are underlying □→.
- Secondly, we allow for deviations from the truth conditions of our everyday

   → if this leads to a better theory, i.e., if this avoids philosophical
   problems and makes the semantics continuous with science.

Such deviations might even be *necessary* if our common sense  $\Box \rightarrow$  does not have a reference or if our standard semantical theory misdescribes what it refers to.

# What Becomes of the Centering Axioms?

If compared to Lewis' system VC, the only missing logical axioms are:

- C1 Weak Centering:  $(A \square B) \supset (A \supset B)$
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Why do they fail?

 $\mathfrak{P}_w(\llbracket B \rrbracket | \llbracket A \rrbracket)$  is not necessarily tied to a particular distribution of truth values of *A* and *B* in *w*!

Is this a problem? Not necessarily.

 $A \land B$  should not make  $A \square B$  true, nor should  $A \land \neg B$  make  $A \square B$  false(?).

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Contra Weak Centering: *w* might be exceptional with respect to its own probabilistic standards.

Pro Weak Centering: It entails *counterfactual MP/MT* to be valid.

It is possible to restore Centering by imposing extra constraints:

Actual Determinism corresponds to Centering:

Semantic constraint:

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*Counterfactual Determinism* corresponds to *Conditional Excluded Middle* (Stalnaker's axiom):

• Semantic constraint:

For all  $w \in W$ :  $\mathfrak{P}_w(.|.)$  only takes values in  $\{0, 1\}$ .

• Characteristic axiom:

 $(A \square \rightarrow B) \lor (A \square \rightarrow \neg B)$ 

One can also find "approximations" of the Centering axioms without adding constraints on our models:

• The following similar-looking axioms are logically true:

 $(A \Box \rightarrow B) \supset (\top \Box \rightarrow (A \supset B))$  $(\top \Box \rightarrow (A \land B)) \supset (A \Box \rightarrow B)$ 

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for admissible C, an "initial" credence function Cr, and P expressing  $\mathfrak{P}$ .

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• I.e., if ' $\rightarrow$ ' is the indicative 'if-then', then by Ernest Adams' semantics

$$A \land (A \square B) \to B$$

gets assigned a conditional subjective probability of 1 by all credence functions  $\mathfrak{Cr}'$  that are sufficiently like the "initial"  $\mathfrak{Cr}$ .

So if A and  $A \square B$  are assertable according to  $\mathfrak{Cr}'$ , then B is so as well.

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- for every w ∈ W, ≤<sup>w</sup> is a linear preorder on I<sub>w</sub> (formally equivalent to Lewis' sphere systems!),

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 $\langle W, \mathfrak{A}, ((P_i^w)_{i \in I_w})_{w \in W}, (\leq^w)_{w \in W}, \llbracket. \rrbracket \rangle$  is a *probabilistic limit model* for subjunctive conditionals iff

• W is a non-empty set of possible worlds,

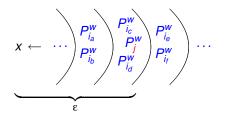
• 
$$\mathfrak{A} = \{ \llbracket A \rrbracket \mid A \in \mathcal{L} \}$$
, for  $\mathcal{L}$  as before,

- for every w ∈ W, (P<sup>w</sup><sub>i</sub>)<sub>i∈Iw</sub> is a family of absolute (finitely additive) probability measures on 𝔄,
- for every w ∈ W, ≤<sup>w</sup> is a linear preorder on I<sub>w</sub> (formally equivalent to Lewis' sphere systems!),
- the Convergence Assumption is satisfied: for all w ∈ W and A, B ∈ L, either there is no i ∈ I<sub>w</sub> such that P<sup>w</sup><sub>i</sub>([[A]]) > 0, or the sequence (P<sup>w</sup><sub>i</sub>([B∧A]])/P<sup>w</sup><sub>i</sub>([[A]])) converges.

•  $\left(\frac{P_i^w(\llbracket B \land A \rrbracket}{P_i^w(\llbracket A \rrbracket)}\right)_{i \in I_w}$  is said to converge to  $x \in [0, 1]$  if and only if for all  $\varepsilon > 0$  there is an index  $j \in I_w$  with  $P_j^w(\llbracket A \rrbracket) > 0$ , such that for all  $i \leq^w j$  with  $P_i^w(\llbracket A \rrbracket) > 0$  it holds that  $\left|\frac{P_i^w(\llbracket B \land A \rrbracket}{P_i^w(\llbracket A \rrbracket)} - x\right| < \varepsilon$ .

$$x \leftarrow \cdots \xrightarrow{P_{i_a}^{W}} \xrightarrow{P_{i_b}^{W}} \xrightarrow{P_{i_b}^{W}} \xrightarrow{P_{i_b}^{W}} \xrightarrow{P_{i_e}^{W}} \xrightarrow{P_{i_e}^{W}} \cdots$$

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•  $\llbracket.\rrbracket: \mathcal{L} \to \wp(W)$  satisfies the following semantic rules:

- Standard semantic rules for classical propositional connectives.
- *w* ∈  $\llbracket A \square \rightarrow B \rrbracket$  if and only if either of the following is satisfied:
  - There is no i ∈ I<sub>w</sub>, such that P<sup>w</sup><sub>i</sub>([[A]]) > 0.
  - It holds that:

$$\lim_{i\in I_w} \left(\frac{P_i^w(\llbracket B \land A\rrbracket}{P_i^w(\llbracket A\rrbracket)}\right) = 1$$

#### Theorem

Every family (P<sub>i</sub>)<sub>i∈1</sub> of probability measures (on the same countable algebra 𝔄) which satisfies the Convergence Assumption with respect to a linear preorder ≤, represents a Popper function 𝔅 (on 𝔅), where the representation is given by:

**Repr** If there is an  $i \in I$ , such that  $P_i(X) > 0$ , then

$$\mathfrak{P}(Y|X) = \lim_{i \in I} \left( \frac{P_i(Y \cap X)}{P_i(X)} \right)$$

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(This is some improvement on van Fraassen 1976 and related results.)

- Hence, the Popper function semantics can also be regarded based on *comparative similarity*, but now similarity of *absolute probability functions*:
  - $\mathfrak{P}_{W}(.|W)$  may be interpreted as the *actual* absolute probability measure.
  - $\mathfrak{P}_w(Y|X) = 1$  if and only if the *more similar* an absolute probability measure is to the actual absolute probability measure, the *closer* the conditional probability of *Y* given *X* that it determines is to 1.

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(Alternative: Lehmann&Magidor 1992, McGee 1994, Halpern 2001 on non-standard P)

Perhaps scientifically supported Popper functions can be used to clarify the metaphysics of a (quasi-)Lewisian semantics for counterfactuals?

YES! (Hájek, draft; John Hawthorne 2005?)

• Quantum mechanics tell us:

If I had dropped the plate, it might have flown off sideways.

But then the following subjunctive conditional must be false:
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According to our probabilistic semantics, the latter counterfactual might still be true as long as exceptions to it have a probability close to 0.

(This is not quite the end of the story...)