#### BELIEVING EPISTEMIC CONTRADICTIONS

#### Bob beddor $\mathring{\sigma}$ simon goldstein

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### 1 The Puzzle

(1) ?? Ari believes the house is empty and might not be.

**Fallibility** It's sometimes coherent for an agent to believe  $\phi$  and also believe  $\Diamond \neg \phi$ .

- (2) I believe the movie starts at 7, but  $\left\{\begin{array}{l} \text{it might start later} \\ \text{I might be mistaken} \end{array}\right\}$ .
- (3) Ari believes the house is empty. But she realizes/recognizes that it might not be.

**Uncertain Belief** It's possible to coherently believe  $\phi$  without being certain that  $\phi$ .

(4)  $\checkmark$  I believe the movie starts at 7, but I'm not certain of it.

**Uncertainty-Possibility Link** If an agent A is coherent, then if A isn't certain that  $\phi$ , A believes  $\Diamond \neg \phi$ .

- (5) a. The detective isn't certain that the butler did it.
  - b. ?? However, she doesn't think the butler might not have done it.

**No Contradictions** It's incoherent to believe  $(\phi \land \Diamond \neg \phi)$ .

(6) ?? A believes  $(\phi \land \Diamond \neg \phi)$ .

Compare with:

- (7) # The house is empty and might not be.
- (8) # Suppose/imagine the house is empty and might not be.

(Cf. Veltman 1996; Yalcin 2007.)

## 2 The Classical Semantics

**Definition 1** (Contextualism).  $[\![ \Diamond \phi ]\!]^{c,w} = 1$  iff  $B_{c,w} \cap [\![ \phi ]\!]^c \neq \emptyset$  (where  $B_{c,w}$  the modal base determined by c and w).

- (9) The house might not be empty.
- $\approx$  It's consistent with what the c-relevant folks know that the house is not empty. (Kratzer 1981, 2012)

Problem: Has trouble validating No Contradictions.

# 3 Update Semantics

**Dynamic background:** The meaning of a sentence is its context change potential.

Let s be a context (a set of worlds). Let  $\alpha$  be an atomic sentence, and  $\phi$  and  $\psi$  arbitrary sentences. ccording to update semantics, the

interpretation of the language is a function  $[\cdot]$  from contexts to contexts, defined recursively as follows:

**Definition 2** (Update Semantics).

1. 
$$s[\alpha] = s \cap \{w : w(\alpha) = 1\}$$

2. 
$$s[\phi \wedge \psi] = s[\phi][\psi]$$

3. 
$$s[\neg \phi] = s - s[\phi]$$

4. 
$$s[\lozenge \phi] = \{ w \in s | s[\phi] \neq \emptyset \}.$$
 (Veltman 1996)

**Fact 1** (Epistemic Contradictions are inconsistent). For any descriptive (non-modal) sentence  $\phi$  and any context s:  $s[\phi \land \Diamond \neg \phi] = \emptyset$ .

*Proof.* Let s be an arbitrary context and  $\phi$  an arbitrary descriptive sentence. By Update Semantics,  $s[\phi \land \Diamond \neg \phi] = s[\phi][\Diamond \neg \phi]$ . Now  $s[\phi]$  is guaranteed to only contain  $\phi$  worlds. Hence this set will always fail the test performed by  $\Diamond \neg \phi$ . So  $s[\phi \land \Diamond \neg \phi] = \emptyset$ .

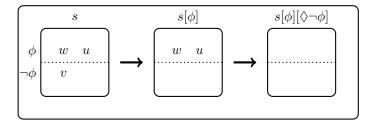


Figure 1: Updating with  $\phi \land \Diamond \neg \phi$ 

What's the account of belief?

Suppose that an agent A's doxastic state at a world w is characterized by a set of doxastic alternatives  $(s_A^w)$ : these are the worlds compatible with A's information at w. The standard semantics for believes characterizes it in terms of support:

**Definition 3** (Support). s supports  $\phi$  ( $s \models \phi$ ) iff  $s[\phi] = s$ .

**Definition 4** (Belief as Support).  $s[B_A\phi] = s \cap \{w : s_A^w \models \phi\}$ .

This validates **No Contradictions**, but only at the expense of invalidating either **Fallibility**.<sup>2</sup>

# 4 Our Proposal

**Basic Idea:** Integrate a dynamic semantics for epistemic modals with a Lockean account of belief.

On standard Lockean accounts, S believes  $\phi$  iff S assigns a sufficiently high credence to the  $\phi$ -worlds (where 'sufficiently high' will be some threshold less than 1).

**Definition 5** (Lockean *belief*). 
$$[B_A \phi]^w = 1$$
 iff  $Pr_A^w([\phi]) > t$ .

This validates **Uncertain Belief**, not our other principles.

We propose to retain Update Semantics, but give a dynamic twist to Lockean belief:

**Definition 6** (Contexts). s is a set of possible worlds.  $Pr_A^w$  is A's credence function at w.  $s_A^w$  is the set of worlds compatible with A's certainties at w.

**Definition 7** (Locke Updated).  $s[B_A\phi] = \{w \in s | Pr_A^w(s_A^w[\phi]) > t\}.$ 

Fact 2 (Descriptive Beliefs Are Lockean). For any descriptive (non-modal) sentence  $\phi$ :  $s[B_A\phi] = \{w \in s | Pr_A^w(\llbracket \phi \rrbracket) > t\}$ .

*Proof.* By **Locke Updated**,  $B_A\phi$  holds at a world w iff A's credence in  $s_A^w[\phi]$  exceeds t. To find  $s_A^w[\phi]$ , we take the set of worlds in A's doxastic state at w ( $s_A^w$ ) and update this set with  $\phi$ . By **Update Semantics**, when  $\phi$ 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>This semantics was proposed by Hans Kamp, and is defended in Heim 1992; Zeevat 1992; Yalcin 2012; Willer 2013.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>An analogous issue arises for the static semantics of Yalcin 2007, which also validates **No Contradictions** while invalidating **Fallibility**.

is descriptive, this is simply the result of intersecting  $s_M^w$  with the  $\phi$  worlds  $(s_M^w \cap \llbracket \phi \rrbracket)$ . Since every agent assigns credence 1 to the set of worlds in her doxastic state, her credence in  $\llbracket \phi \rrbracket$  will equal her credence in  $s_M^w \llbracket \phi \rrbracket$ .

#### • Validates Uncertain Belief

**Fact 3** (*Might* Beliefs Are Transparent). For any descriptive sentence  $\phi$ :  $s[B_A\Diamond \phi] = \{w \in s | s_A^w[\phi] \neq \emptyset\}$ .

*Proof.* By **Locke Updated**, A believes  $\Diamond \phi$  at w just in case she gives sufficiently high credence to  $s_A^w[\Diamond \phi]$ . By **Update Semantics**,  $s_A^w[\Diamond \phi]$  is either  $s_A^w$  or  $\emptyset$ , depending on whether there is a  $\phi$  world in  $s_A^w$ . If there is, then  $s_A^w[\Diamond \phi] = s_A^w$ , to which A assigns credence 1. Otherwise,  $s_A^w[\Diamond \phi] = \emptyset$ , to which A assigns credence 0. And so A believes  $\Diamond \phi$  just in case her doxastic state includes a  $\phi$  world.

- Validates Uncertainty-Possibility Link
- Since Uncertain Belief and Uncertainty-Possibility Link entail Fallibility, also validates Fallibility.

Fact 4 (No Contradictions). 
$$\models \neg B_A(\phi \land \Diamond \neg \phi)$$
.

*Proof.* By **Locke Updated**, A believes  $(\phi \land \Diamond \neg \phi)$  at w iff A assigns a sufficiently high credence to  $s_A^w[\phi \land \Diamond \neg \phi]$ . By **Update Semantics**,  $s_A^w[\phi \land \Diamond \neg \phi] = s_A^w[\phi][\Diamond \neg \phi]$ . Now  $s_A^w[\phi][\Diamond \neg \phi] = \emptyset$  unless  $s_A^w[\phi]$  contains at least one  $\neg \phi$  world. But  $s_A^w[\phi]$  contains only  $\phi$  worlds. So  $s_A^w[\phi \land \Diamond \neg \phi] = \emptyset$ . Consequently,  $Pr_A^w(s_A^w[\phi \land \Diamond \neg \phi]) = 0$ .

## 5 Closure

**Multi-Premise Closure** If (i) A is rational in believing premises  $\phi_1...\phi_n$ , (ii)  $\phi_1...\phi_n \models \psi$ , (iii) A competently infers  $\psi$  from these premises, then A's resulting belief in  $\psi$  is rational.

- $\phi_1$  = the house is empty;  $\phi_2$  = the house might not be empty.
- Ari rationally believes  $\phi_1$ , and she rationally believes  $\phi_2$ .

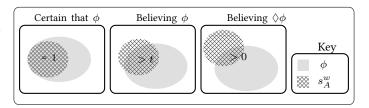


Figure 2: Locke Updated

• But she can't rationally believe  $(\phi_1 \wedge \phi_2)$ .

Also a counterexample to:

**Bayesian Closure** If (i) A is rational, and (ii)  $\phi_1...\phi_n \models \psi$ , then A's uncertainty in  $\psi$  isn't greater than her uncertainty in  $\phi_1$  + her uncertainty in  $\phi_2$ , ..., + her uncertainty in  $\phi_n$ .

One possibility is to retain MPC for the descriptive (non-modal) fragment of the language:

**Restricted MPC** If (i) A is rational in believing descriptive premises  $\phi_1...\phi_n$ , (ii)  $\phi_1...\phi_n \models \psi$ , (iii) A competently infers a descriptive conclusion  $\psi$  from these premises, then A's resulting belief in  $\psi$  is rational.

One way to do so is to impose a 'stability' constraint on belief (Leitgeb 2014).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>Supposing A is coherent:  $s_A^w \neq \emptyset$ .