Trivializing Informational Consequence

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1 Overview

Recent work on epistemic modality appeals to nonclassical notions of logical consequence. On the classical conception (see e.g. Kaplan 1989a), logical consequence for natural language tracks preservation of truth (of a sentence, at a context). Many theorists have argued that this notion of consequence is inadequate for epistemic modal sentences and conditionals, like (1) and (2).

- (1) Frida might roll the die.
- (2) If Frida rolled the die, it came up even.

The details vary, but the central idea is that consequence for epistemic language should track instead a notion of preservation of support by an information state. On the resulting view, a conclusion B follows from a set of premises A_1, \ldots, A_n just in case all bodies of information that support A_1, \ldots, A_n also support B. This view of consequence naturally dovetails with a non-truthconditional semantics, on which epistemic modal claims don't express propositions and are not true or false.

This paper investigates the link between informational consequence and credence. I first suggest a natural and seemingly harmless constraint concerning this link: informational consequence is certainty preserving. I.e., on any rational credence distribution, when the premises of an informational inferences have credence 1, the conclusion also has credence 1. This constraint has never been explicitly defended (though Kolodny and MacFarlane 2010 come close to doing so), but it dovetails with the widespread view that informational consequence tracks preservation of acceptance. It also allows us to make sense of intuitive judgments about informational inferences, including McGee-style alleged counterexamples to Modus Ponens.

After this setup, I show that, unfortunately, the certainty-preserving constraint leads to triviality. In particular, we can show that the following three claims are incompatible: (i) informational consequence is extensionally distinct from classical consequence (in particular, some inferences that are informationally valid are classically invalid); (ii) informational inferences are certainty-preserving; (iii) credences are subject to (a subset of) classical Bayesian constraints. I also show that the result can be generalized to a case where we replace (ii) with the assumption that informational inferences preserves degree of credence n, for some n.

The proof of this result is straightforward (and is a relative of a proof of a simple result in probability logic by Ernest Adams 1998). But the theoretical implications of the result are substantial and have gone unnoticed. The result shows that informational theorists need to either give up the idea that credence applies to epistemic discourse, or develop a nonclassical theory of credence and credal update. Moreover, the result also shows that there is a connection between informational consequence and triviality results, including classical triviality results like Lewis's (1976). In particular, several classical results can be characterized as special cases of the result of this paper.

The foregoing could be used as an argument against informational consequence, but this is not my goal. The conclusion that I want to draw is that informational consequence requires a nonstandard account of credence and credal update. I take up the task of developing this account elsewhere, but in the last section I offer some pointers.

I proceed as follows. §2 sets up a simple version of the informational view, illustrating some of its advantages. §§3–§4 spell out the question of the link between credence and consequence and motivate the certainty preservation constraint. I present the new triviality result in §5, discuss the links to classical triviality results in §6, and examine the options for informational theorists in §7. A terminological note: throughout the paper I use 'inference' as a synonym of 'entailment', i.e. to characterize pairs of a set of premises and a conclusion.

2 Setup: informational consequences

This paper focuses on logical consequence, but it is impossible to illustrate how consequence applies to natural language without introducing a semantics. So I start by setting up a simple semantics for epistemic modals and conditionals, and defining classical and informational consequence for it. I choose a semantics that closely mimics the semantics in Yalcin 2007.

2.1 Semantics for epistemic modals

I use an interpretation function (represented as ' $[\cdot]$ ') to map expressions to their semantic values. As usual, this mapping is relativized to an *n*-tuple of parameters (a point of evaluation). I take points of evaluation to be a pair of a world and an information state $\langle w, i \rangle$. Hence the general form of a semantic clause is:

 $\llbracket A \rrbracket^{w,i}$ = semantic value of A relative to $\langle w, i \rangle$

The world and information state parameters are exploited selectively by different fragments of the language. Nonmodal sentences are sensitive to the world parameter, but not the information state parameter. Here is an example of a semantic clause for a simple, nonmodal sentence:

(3) [[It is raining]]^{w,i} = true iff it is raining at w

Conversely, modal operators display sensitivity to the information state parameter, but not to the world parameter.¹ In particular, necessity and possibility modals are analyzed as quantifiers over worlds in the information state picked out by i:

- (4) $\llbracket \Box A \rrbracket^{w,i} = \text{true iff } \forall w' \in i : \llbracket A \rrbracket^{w',i} = \text{true}$
- (5) $[\![\Diamond A]\!]^{w,i} = \text{true iff } \exists w' \in i : [\![A]\!]^{w',i} = \text{true}$

This semantics can be naturally extended to indicative conditionals. Here I use a simple variant of the semantics in Gillies (2004, 2009). Start by defining a notion of update of an information state:

Update of *i* with A $i + A = i \cap \{w : [[A]]^{w,i} \text{ is true}\}$

Conditional antecedents are used to update the information state in the index; conditional consequents are evaluated at the updated information state. Using the traditional corner '>' to represent the conditional, here is the relevant clause:

(6) $[A > B]^{w,i} = \text{true iff } \forall w' \in i + A : [B]^{w',i+A} = \text{true}$

2.2 Defining consequence

The compositional semantics I just outlined can be made fully compatible with a conservative picture of content and consequence. In particular, we may define a notion of truth at a context in the style of Kaplan (1989a, 1989b):

(7) A is **true at** c iff $[[A]]^{w_c, i_c} =$ true

This allows us to assign classical truth values to utterances of epistemic sentences. (Of course, the definition in (7) requires a metasemantic assumption: each context determines an information state that is relevant for evaluating an utterance. This assumption is widely disputed.²)

¹One might wonder what happens for the case of veridical operators, i.e. operators that vindicate the inference $oP(A) \models A$ (epistemic *must* is an operator of this sort, on some construals). The answer is that veridicality is captured by restricting the points of evaluation to *proper points*, i.e. $\langle w, i \rangle$ pairs such that $w \in i$. Thanks to an anonymous referee here.

²See, among many, Egan et al. 2005, MacFarlane 2011, 2014.

Proponents of informational consequence take an alternative path. They refrain from defining a standard notion of truth. Instead, they define a notion of support by an information state. Intuitively, a sentence is supported by an information state just in case an agent who is in that state accepts the sentence. Formally:

i supports A (*i* \models A) iff, for all $w \in i$, $[A]^{w,i} = 1$.

For the case of nonmodal sentences, A being supported by *i* simply reduces to A being true at all worlds in *i*. But for nonmodal sentences, *i* supports A just in case *i* satisfies a kind of global condition, not reducible to properties of each individual worlds. For example, *i* supports A just in case *i* contains some world where A is true.

These two views are naturally paired with different notions of consequence. On the classical truth conditional picture, consequence may be defined in the standard way, as preservation of truth at a point of evaluation. In particular, one notion of consequence that is of particular relevance is preservation of truth at a *proper* point, i.e. a pair $\langle w, i \rangle$ such that $w \in i$.³ This is the notion that, throughout the paper, I will refer to as 'classical consequence'.

Classical logical consequence.

A₁,...,A_n $\models_C B$ iff for all $\langle w, i \rangle$ such that $w \in i$ and $\llbracket A_1 \rrbracket^{w,i} = 1$, ..., $\llbracket A_n \rrbracket^{w,i} = 1$, $\llbracket B \rrbracket^{w,i} = 1$.

Conversely, informational consequence is defined as preservation of support.

Informational consequence.

 $A_1, ..., A_n \models_I B$ iff, for all *i* s.t. *i* supports $A_1, ..., A_n$, *i* supports B.

Informational consequence is, at least in a sense, a special case of classical consequence. We could define it from classical consequence by restricting consideration not just to proper points of evaluation, but also to points of evaluation where the premises of an argument are true at all worlds in the information state. We get:

Classical* logical consequence.

 $\begin{array}{l} \mathsf{A}_1,...,\mathsf{A}_n \vDash_{C^*} \mathsf{B} \text{ iff for all } \langle w,i\rangle \text{ such that } w \in i \text{ and such that, for all } \\ w' \in i, \llbracket \mathsf{A}_1 \rrbracket^{w',i} = 1, ..., \llbracket \mathsf{A}_n \rrbracket^{w',i} = 1, \llbracket \mathsf{B} \rrbracket^{w,i} = 1. \end{array}$

The reader can check that classical^{*} consequence is a notational variant of informational consequence.

The fact that informational consequence is a special case of classical consequence means that informational consequence is strictly weaker than classical consequence, in the sense that it is more permissive. On the one hand, all classically valid rules of inferences are also informationally valid:

³Why is this notion 'particularly relevant'? Differently from improper points, proper points represent genuine epistemic predicaments, i.e. pairs of a world and an informational state such that, for all a subject knows, they might be located at. The resulting notion of consequence is equivalent to what Yalcin (2007) calls 'diagonal consequence'.

Fact. For all A_1, \ldots, A_n , B: if $A_1, \ldots, A_n \models_C B$, then $A_1, \ldots, A_n \models_I B$.

On the other hand, some extra rules of inferences, which are not classically valid, are informationally valid. One example of a rule of inference that is classically invalid but informationally valid is Łukasiewicz's principle:

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Łukasiewicz's principle. (ŁP) \neg A \models \neg \Diamond A (Equivalently<sup>4</sup>: A \models \Box A)
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Łukasiewicz's principle is at the center of arguments for the informational view. For example, Yalcin 2007 argues for the informational view by arguing that sentences like (8) are semantically contradictory, and that this is captured by informational and not classical consequence.

(8) #It's not raining and it might be raining.

Also with regard to conditionals, informational consequence vindicates plausible inferences that are not classically valid. In particular, consider Modus Ponens:

Modus Ponens. $A > B, A \models B$

A classical argument due to Gibbard (1981) shows that Modus Ponens, in its unrestricted form, is classically incompatible with other plausible logical principles. One upshot is that, on several classical semantics for conditionals, such as Kratzer's (1986, 2012), Modus Ponens holds only in restricted form, i.e. only when A and B involve no modality and no conditionals. (See Khoo 2013 for discussion.)⁵ Conversely, informational consequence allows us to vindicate the full strength of Modus Ponens (see Bledin 2015).

A qualification: the claim that informational consequence validates strictly more inferences than classical consequence doesn't include what we may call 'meta-rules', i.e. rules that allow us to infer that a conclusion follows from a set of premises on the basis of the fact that other entailments hold. On the contrary: classical meta-rules fail in informational consequence. I discuss the distinction between rules of inference and meta-rules in a footnote.⁶

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 \begin{array}{ll} \mbox{Upper bound.} & \mbox{If } A \models B, \mbox{ then } \models A > B \\ \mbox{Centering.} & A > B \models A \supset B \\ \mbox{Exportation.} & (A \land B) > C \models A > (B > C) \\ \end{array}
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⁶A rule of inference has the form:

 $A_1, ..., A_n \vDash_i B$

I.e., a rules of inference allows the derivation of a sentence in the object language from a set of sentences in the object language. Conversely, a meta-rule has the form:

If, $A_1, ..., A_n \vDash_i B$ and ... and $C_1, ..., C_n \vDash_i \theta$, then $\sigma_1, ..., \sigma_n \vDash_i \omega$

I.e., a meta-rule allows us to derive that a certain rule of inference holds, given that other rules of inference hold. Informational consequence does *not* validate more meta-rules than classical

⁵More precisely, Gibbard presents a so-called collapse result. He shows that, given classical logic, three plausible principles of conditional logic lead to an implausible conclusion. The principles in question are:

3 The question: informational consequence and credence

Several theorists take informational consequence to be the notion of consequence that correctly captures the logic of epistemic discourse. This attitude is pervasive in the dynamic semantics literature (for the *locus classicus*, see Veltman 1996)⁷. More recently, it has become widespread among philosophers. In this vein, Gillies 2009 has claimed that "entailment ought not be flat-footed [preservation of truth at a world]" (p. 343)⁸; Yalcin 2012 has suggested that a classical account of consequence may not be "adequate for modeling natural language" (p. 1011); Bledin 2015 has argued that logic—insofar as it applies to natural language—is "fundamentally concerned not with the preservation of truth but rather with the preservation of structural properties of ... bodies of information" (p. 64).

In this paper, I focus on the link between informational consequence and credence. If informational consequence captures the logic of epistemic discourse, we should expect that informational consequence somehow places constraints on credences in epistemic sentences. I take this question to split into a normative and a descriptive subquestion. Respectively:

- (i) What rational constraints, if any, link informational consequence and credence?
- (ii) What constraints do subjects's actual credences in epistemic claims actually conform to (at least, by and large)?

In the next section, I suggest a constraint that targets primarily the normative question. The constraint specifies how credences of *rational* subjects work. It also appears that credences of actual subjects, by and large, abide by the constraint, though I won't need this assumption for my argument.⁹

consequence. In fact some meta-rules, like *reductio* and proof by cases, fail on informational consequence for the fragment of the language that involves epistemic modality. (See for example Willer 2012 and Bledin 2015 for informational semantics that restrict the use of proof by cases.) This is not surprising: if we add some rules of inference to a logic, there is a risk that meta-rules will be invalidated, since the antecedent of meta-rules ends up ranging over some extra cases.

⁷More precisely, Veltman presents three notions of validity in his 1996; informational consequence corresponds to what he labels 'validity₃'. All three of Veltman's notions, however, track a kind of preservation of support (as opposed to preservation of truth).

⁸Gillies doesn't endorse informational consequence as I present it, but rather opts for a more dynamic variant of it (so-called update-to-test consequence, in the terminology of Veltman 1996). But, for current purposes, it seems fair to place him in the same broad camp as theorists like Yalcin and Bledin.

⁹The existence of normative constraints linking consequence and credence is controversial. (For the debate about the normative import of logical consequence and how it relates to attitudes, see e.g. Christensen 2004, MacFarlane 2004, Field 2015 for the view that logic imposes normative constraints on attitudes; and see Harman 1984 for the denial of that claim. See also Kolodny 2007, 2008 for discussion.) Here let me just notice that all Bayesian accounts appear to be committed to the existence of constraints of this sort.

4 Informational consequence and preservation of certainty

In this section, I outline and motivate a natural view: informational consequence is certainty preserving, in the following sense: any rational subject that is certain of the premises of an informational inference is also certain of the conclusion. This view has never been formulated explicitly (though see Kolodny and MacFarlane 2010 for remarks going in this direction), but it seems natural and desirable. It accommodates several observations in the literature, and it allows us to make sense of some difficult examples, including alleged McGee-style counterexamples to Modus Ponens. To motivate it, I start from two examples that raise *prima facie* challenges for informational consequence.

4.1 Credence and Łukasiewicz's principle

Recall that informational consequence validates:

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Łukasiewicz's principle. (ŁP) \neg A \models \neg \Diamond A (Also: A \models \Box A)
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Moritz Schulz (2010) has claimed that Łukasiewicz's principle doesn't track sound probabilistic reasoning. (For a similar point concerning closure and informational consequence, see also Bledin and Lando 2018.) To make his point, Schulz simply points out that one may reasonably assign high credence to (9)–a, while assigning "very low credence (or even credence 0)" to (9)–b.

(9) a. They are at home.

b. They must be at home.

Schulz explicitly assumes that a plausible notion of consequence should preserve probability in one-premise inferences. Formally:

Single-Premise Closure (SPC). If $A \models B$ and Pr(A) = t, $Pr(B) \ge t$.

SPC seems to be a basic closure principle that governs all interaction between logic and probability. Since Łukasiewicz's principle violates SPC, Schulz rules it out as invalid.

This clearly violates a reasonable constraint on logical consequence: If a rational and logically omniscient subject's credence function P is such that P(A) = t, and $A \models B$, then $P(B) \ge t$... Since this seems to be one of the core features of how logical consequence relates to rational reasoning, we should not accept informational consequence as an account of the logic of epistemic modals. (Schulz 2010)

To my knowledge, Schulz's point has received no discussion in the literature. In part, this may be due to skepticism towards the idea that *might-* and *must-*claims are appropriate objects of credence.¹⁰ But Schulz's point is fully

¹⁰As a sociological note: I myself have repeatedly encountered this attitude in conversation.

general. In particular, it also applies also to conditionals, for which the 'no probability' claim seems harder to make.

4.2 Credence and Modus Ponens

The next case I want to discuss involves Modus Ponens. Recall from §2 that Modus Ponens is informationally valid but not (not in general, at least) classically valid. Below I argue that Modus Ponens, on a par with Łukasiewicz's principle, fails as a general constraint on credence. My examples are reminiscent in obvious ways of McGee's well-known examples about Modus Ponens, though I focus specifically on credal judgments.

Start from a simple formulation of Modus Ponens:

Modus Ponens. $A > B, A \models B$

Now, assume the following generalization of Single-Premise Closure:

Multi-Premise Closure (MPC).

If $A_1, ..., A_n \models B$ and $Pr(A_1) = t_1, ..., Pr(A_n) = t_n$, then $Pr(B) \ge (1 - ((1 - t_1) + ... + (1 - t_n))).$

One intuitive gloss for MPC is the following: a subject's degree of confidence that the conclusion of an inference is false should not exceed the sum of their degrees of confidence that each of the premises is false. This kind of closure principle is widely adopted (see e.g. Adams 1975 and Field 2015).

From MPC and Modus Ponens the following constraint follows:

Probabilistic Modus Ponens. (PMP) If Pr(A > B) = 1, then $Pr(A) \le Pr(B)$.

PMP says that, if a conditional has probability 1, then the probability of the antecedent cannot exceed the probability of the consequent. It is a natural probabilistic generalization of Modus Ponens.¹¹

Even if we reject MPC, we can derive PMP from its single-premise counterpart SPC, plus other minimal constraints on credence. In particular, consider:

Conjunction Lower Bound. (CLB) If Pr(A) = 1, $Pr(A \land B) = Pr(B)$.

CLB says that, if one has credence 1 in a conjunct, then one's credence in a conjunction is equal to the credence in the other conjunct. CLB is a fairly weak constraint, which is validated by classical probability as well as several

Generalized Probabilistic Modus Ponens. Lot $Pr(if \land B) = 1$ d Thop $Pr(\land)$ d < Pr(B)

 $^{^{11}\}mathrm{PMP}$ is a special case of a more general principle, which also follows from standard MP and MCP:

Let Pr(if A, B) = 1 - d. Then $Pr(A) - d \le Pr(B)$.

nonstandard probability theories.¹² But, together with SPC, it is sufficient to entail PMP.

Now, consider probabilistic judgments about conditionals in a scenario that is reminiscent of the scenarios in McGee's (1985). Suppose that Sarah has tossed a fair six-sided die. For convenience, name the die 'Die'. You have no information about the outcome of the toss. Now consider:

(C) If Die did not land on two or four, then it landed on six.

I ask you to pause and consider what level of credence you assign to (C)—whether low, middling (roughly, 'fifty-fifty'), or high.

In informal polls, most subjects answer 'low'. (Several people also give the more precise answer '1/4'.) Very few people, if any, go for 'middling' or 'high'. Now consider:

- (P2) Die landed even.
- (P1) If Die landed even, then, if it didn't land on two or on four, it landed on six.

In informal polls, (P2) and (P1) are assigned, respectively, middling and high credence.¹³

The table below summarizes the judgments about the die scenario. I model the judgment of certainty concerning (P1) as credence 1, though this assumption can be weakened without harm.¹⁴

(P1)	if even, (if not (two or four), six)	certain (=1)
(P2)	even	middling ($\approx .5$)
(C)	if not (two or four), six	low ($\approx .25$)

These judgments provide a counterexample to PMP. On the assumption that MPC, or SPC plus CLB, are not in question (see below), this suggests that Modus Ponens fails as a constraint on credence in natural language.¹⁵

¹²For example, it is validated by the nonclassical probability theories based on Kleene logics that are discussed in Williams 2016.

¹³For convenience, I will talk of credences as being modeled by probability functions, but I only need the assumption that credences conform to MPC (or SPC plus CLB). Also, I don't need the assumption that subjects assign precise numerical values to claims. All I need is that subjects make coarse-grained distinctions between 'high', 'middling', and 'low' degrees of belief. Also, a bookkeeping note: for the moment, I assume that probabilities attach directly to statements (construed as sentences as uttered at a context).

¹⁴Suppose we assign (P1) credence $1 - \epsilon$, for some tiny ϵ . On this understanding, PMP simply doesn't concern (P1). However, as long as the difference in credences between (P2) and (C) is greater than ϵ , the same statements violate the generalization of PMP given in footnote 11. For simplicity, from now on I simply assume that the rational credence in (P1) is 1.

¹⁵A line of objection to the foregoing (represented e.g. in Stojnic 2017) is that the argument doesn't really represent an instance of Modus Ponens, since the unembedded occurrence of the conditional *if not (two or four)*, *six* exploits a different domain of quantification from the embedded

As an aside: the foregoing sheds light on McGee's classical discussion of Modus Ponens (1985). McGee considers examples just like our (P1)-(C), against the backdrop of scenarios like the following:

Sarah tossed Die, a fair six-sided die. You caught a brief glimpse of the face that came up on top. You are confident, though not certain, that it landed on 2. In any case, you are very confident that you saw few dots on the face that came up.

In McGee's words (1985, p. 462), in a scenario like this you have "good grounds for believing the premises [i.e. (P1) and (P2)]", but you are "not justified in accepting the conclusion". McGee concludes that:

sometimes the conclusion of an application of Modus Ponens is something we do not believe and should not believe, even though the premises are propositions we believe very properly (1985, p. 462).

I suggest that McGee's claim here is best interpreted as a claim about credal drop. What McGee observes is that, in some scenarios, a subject may rationally have high credence in the premises of a Modus Ponens argument and low credence in the conclusion, in a way that is incompatible with validity. On this interpretation, McGee's claim is correct.

4.3 Preserving certainty

I have pointed out that there are rational credence distributions that are incompatible with the credal validity of some informational inferences (assuming minimal closure constraints on credence). This suggests that informational consequence does not track rational constraints on credence in general.

At the same time, as Gillies 2004 emphasizes, inferences like Łukasiewicz's principle and Modus Ponens sound invariably valid, even in McGee-style cases, in contexts in which the premises are accepted. For example, if a subject accepts (P1) and (P2), they also appear to be committed to accepting (C).

- (P1) If Die landed even, then, if it didn't land on two or on four, it landed on six.
- (P2) Die landed even.
- (C) If Die did not land on two or four, then it landed on six.

In fact, just an observation of this sort is at the basis of Stalnaker's notion of *reasonable inference*, which is an ancestor of informational consequence.¹⁶ This

one. Much can be said to rebut this objection. For current purposes, I can simply sidestep it. I can agree with the objector that MP proper is not threatened by (P1)-(C). What matters for me is not whether Modus Ponens, in whatever way it should be defined, is valid or invalid. My goal is establishing that some inference patterns that are informationally valid fail qua constraints on probabilistic attitudes. This point is independent of what we choose to call 'Modus Ponens'. Dub the principle exemplified by (P1)-(C) 'MP*'. MP* illustrates the failure I'm interested in.

¹⁶Here is Stalnaker's definition:

suggests a natural constraint linking informational consequence and acceptance:

Acceptance Preservation

If $A_1,...,A_n \models_I B$, then for all *i* modeling the information states of rational subjects: either one of $A_1,...,A_n$ is not supported by *i*, or B is supported by *i*.

Following Stalnaker (1984, 2002), I use 'acceptance' to refer to a broad category of mental states that includes but goes beyond belief. On a first pass, acceptance is the broadest possible kind of doxastic attitude. Accepting a proposition consists in taking it as true for some purposes or other.

Now, one notable special case of acceptance is certainty, which in a credal framework is equivalent to credence 1. So I take the following to be a special case of **Acceptance Preservation**:

Certainty Preservation

If $A_1, ..., A_n \models_I B$, then, for all *Pr* modeling rational credence: if $Pr(A_1) = 1, ..., Pr(A_n) = 1$, then Pr(B) = 1

Certainty Preservation seems obvious. Consider again to the die example: if you assign credence 1 to (P1) and (P2), it seems obvious that you should also assign credence 1 to (C).

Notice that **Certainty Preservation** (as well as **Acceptance Preservation**) is a synchronic constraints. I.e., it states consistency facts for attitudes at a given time. I make no assumptions about dynamic constraints linking consequence and credence.

Some theorists might suggest that acceptance should not be linked to full credence, but rather to a high enough degree of credence, or credence that exceeds a certain threshold. I am skeptical of this identification, just because of the data discussed in this section. Łukasiewicz's Principle and Modus Ponens do *not* appear to be valid when the premises are assigned any degree of credence that falls short of 1. In any case, switching to a threshold-type view will not block the main argument. In §5, I show how the triviality result can be generalized to a case where we take informational consequence to preserve credence above *t*, for some value of *t*.

4.4 Side note: Credence Preservation

Certainty Preservation is all that I need to run my triviality argument. No further assumptions about the link between logic and credence are needed. But

[[]A]n inference from a sequence of assertions or suppositions (the premisses) to a conclusion is a reasonable inference just in case in every context in which the premises can be as- serted or supposed, it is impossible for anyone to accept the premises without committing himself to the conclusion. (1975, p. 271)

See Cariani 2020 for a discussion of Stalnaker's notion.

before moving on, let me suggest that we should also accept a further principle. This point is independent from the main line of argument of the paper, but it helps fit **Certainty Preservation** in a broader picture of the relation between credence and logic for epistemic discourse.

The second principle is simply that classical consequence is the notion of consequence that tracks preservation of degree of credence.¹⁷

Credence Preservation

If $A_1, \ldots, A_n \models_C B$, then for all Pr modeling rational credence: if $Pr(A_1) = t_1, \ldots, Pr(A_n) = t_n$, then $Pr(B) \ge (1 - ((1 - t_1) + \ldots + (1 - t_n)))$.

Credence Preservation says, in effect, that classical consequence is the notion of consequence regulating credence. **Credence Preservation** can coexist with **Certainty Preservation**. If we accept both, we assign a role to both classical and informational consequence. The two track different constraints on attitudes. Classical consequence tracks constraints on probabilistic reasoning in general. Informational consequence tracks constraints on reasoning from premises that are certain. Among other things, this view seems to account nicely for the evidence presented on both sides of the debate about informational consequence. Łukasiewicz's Principle and Modus Ponens are probabilistically invalid in general, but valid when taken to be inferences from the premises that are certain.

This split view has not been defended explicitly anywhere in the literature. But Kolodny and MacFarlane (2010) make a suggestion in this direction in their discussion of Modus Ponens. They argue that Modus Ponens is invalid, on the basis of examples involving deontically modalized consequents. But they point out that, even on their view, Modus Ponens is *quasi-valid*, where an argument is quasi-valid iff the argument that we obtain from it by prefacing all the premises with epistemic necessity modals is valid. Quasi-validity is an object language counterpart of the view that Modus Ponens and other informational inferences govern reasoning from accepted premises.

5 Informational triviality

The previous section suggests a natural constraint about the link between informational consequence and credence: on any rational credence distribution, when the premises of an informational inferences have credence 1, the conclusion also has credence 1. Unfortunately, this view is incompatible with broadly

¹⁷A bridge principle of this sort has been recently defended by Field 2015. Here is a statement that more closely mirror's Field's own statement:

If $A_1,...,A_n \models_C B$, then a subject's credence function Cr_S is such that: $Cr(B) \ge \sum_i Cr(A_i) - n + 1$.

Bayesian tenets. In this section, I prove a general result, which is in the broad family of triviality results about conditionals and modals.¹⁸

Differently from other triviality theorems, this result does not rely on assumptions about the semantics of particular expressions, like conditionals or epistemic modals. Indeed, as I point out in §5.2, it doesn't even depend on adopting specific definitions of consequence. The only starting assumptions are (i) that there is a notion of consequence that is weaker than classical consequence (in the sense that more inferences turn out to be valid), and (ii) that this notion of consequence preserves credence 1. The upshot is that we cannot have all of the following: (i) a notion of consequence that is extensionally different from classical consequence; (ii) **Certainty Preservation**; (iii) some classical assumptions about credence and credal update, which I introduce below under the labels of Identity, Bound, Closure, and Plenitude.

This leaves the informational theorist with a number of options, which I examine in detail in §7. But the general upshot is that endorsing informational consequence requires adopting a nonstandard view about credence—provided that we want to assign credence to epistemic sentences in the first place.

5.1 Triviality for informational consequence

Start from the assumption that we have an interpreted language \mathcal{L} , for which we define a classical and an informational notion of consequence $\models_{C_{\mathcal{L}}}$ and $\models_{I_{\mathcal{L}}}$. Following Bradley 2000, I will speak of a language being trivial; I will understand the notion as follows:

 \mathcal{L} is **trivial** iff: for any $A_1, ..., A_n$ B: if $A_1, ..., A_n \models_{I_{\mathcal{L}}} B$, then $A_1, ..., A_n \models_{C_{\mathcal{L}}} B$. (\mathcal{L} is **nontrivial** otherwise.)

I.e., a language is trivial iff every informational inference is also a classical inference. Hence a trivial language makes no room for a notion of consequence that is distinct from classical consequence.¹⁹

Assume now that we have a language \mathcal{L} , for which we define two notions of consequence $\models_{C_{\mathcal{L}}}$ and $\models_{I_{\mathcal{L}}}$. To start, I assume **Certainty Preservation** from §4, repeated below.

Certainty Preservation

If $A_1, ..., A_n \models_I B$, then, for all Pr modeling rational credence: if $Pr(A_1) = 1, ..., Pr(A_n) = 1$, then Pr(B) = 1

¹⁸A very incomplete list of helpful references on triviality may include Lewis 1976, Hájek and Hall 1994, Bradley 2000, Bradley 2007, Russell and Hawthorne 2016, Goldstein forthcoming; see Khoo and Santorio 2018 for an introductory overview.

¹⁹This notion of triviality is obviously different from other notions of triviality appearing in the literature, but this is irrelevant. What matters is that we get collapse of one notion of consequence onto another.

Then, I appeal to four additional assumptions about credence and conditional credence (plus a fifth, elementary principle that doesn't seem to be in question). The first two are entailed by classical Bayesianism, the other two are *prima facie* very plausible.²⁰

1. Identity. The first assumption is very simple: one's credence in A, conditional on A, should be 1.

Identity. $Pr_A(A) = 1$

For current purposes, I understand the conditional probability $Pr(\bullet | A)$ (which I denote interchangeably with $Pr_A(\bullet)'$) as the probability function that we obtain by rationally updating $Pr(\bullet)$. For the purposes of the proof I don't need to assume that the conditional probability $Pr(\bullet | A)$ is defined via the Ratio formula, though all that I say is compatible with this assumption.

2. Bound. The second assumption is a constraint linking the conditional probability of B given A, and unconditional probabilities of A and B.

Bound. If Pr(B | A) = 1, then $Pr(B) \ge Pr(A)$

Bound is entailed by standard Bayesianism. Moreover, it can be validated even in nonclassical construals of probability, provided that we have two assumptions. One is CLB from §4, i.e. the principle that the probability of a conjunction is a lower bound on the probability of the conjuncts. The other is the ratio construal of conditional probability:

Ratio.
$$Pr(B | A) = \frac{Pr(A \land B)}{Pr(A)}$$
 (with $Pr(A) > 0$)

CLB and Ratio are sufficient to entail Bound.

3. Closure. The third assumption is that the class of rational credence functions is closed under conditionalization, in the following sense: if we have a rational credence function Pr, then for any consistent A, the credence function Pr_A that we obtain by conditionalizing Pr on A is also rational.

Closure. For all consistent A: If $Pr(\bullet)$ models a rational credence function, then $Pr(\bullet | A)$ also models a rational credence function.

(I understand consistency as informational consistency, i.e. $A \nvDash_{I_{\mathcal{L}}} \perp$. This is the most inclusive notion: classical inconsistency entails informational inconsistency, but not *vice versa*.)

Closure is appealed to in triviality proofs without qualification (for example by Lewis 1976). According to standard Bayesians, rational agents update

²⁰The labels 'Identity' and 'Bound' are borrowed from Author/s 2019b.

by conditionalizing on the total evidence that they learn. **Closure** follows from this if we assume that any proposition can be an agent's total evidence. **Closure** has recently come under attack from a few directions (see e.g. Author/s 2019a). I assume it for the purposes of the proof; as I point out in §7, one of the possible morals to draw is just that endorsing informational consequence requires jettisoning **Closure**.

4. Plenitude. The fourth assumption is a principle linking credence and classical consequence. It says that, if $A_1, ..., A_n$ do not classically entail B, there is a rational credence function that assigns higher credence to the conjunction of $A_1, ..., A_n$ than to B.

Plenitude. If $A_1, ..., A_n \nvDash_{C_{\mathcal{L}}} B$, then for some Pr modeling rational credence, $Pr(A_1 \land ... \land A_n) > Pr(B)$.

Plenitude is the least familiar of the four assumptions, and at first sight the one that might look most questionable. I defend it below.

Let me notice that principles 1–4 are validated both by classical Bayesianism and by a range of accounts that exploit nonclassical probability. For example, nonclassical accounts of credence that are generated in intuitionistic or trivalent settings (see Williams 2016) will still validate them. So they are compatible with a wide range of views about how credence should be modeled.

In addition to 1–4, I need an elementary principle about entailment, stating that if a set of premises entails a conclusion, then the conjunction of those premises entails that conclusion:

Conjoined Premises. If $A_1, \ldots, A_n \models_{C_L} B$, then $A_1 \land \ldots \land A_n \models_{C_L} B$.

I take this principle to be safe enough that I won't give it any further discussion.

Given these assumptions, we prove the following result:

Theorem: Informational Triviality.

Given **Certainty**, **Bound**, **Closure**, **Plenitude**: for any \mathcal{L} , \mathcal{L} is trivial.

PROOF. For reductio, assume that, for some $A_1, ..., A_n$ and $B, A_1,..., A_n \models_I B$ and $A_1,..., A_n \nvDash_C B$. Via **Plenitude**, we have that there is a rational credence function Pr such that $Pr(A_1 \land ... \land A_n) > Pr(B)$. Via **Closure**, we know that $Pr_{A_1 \land ... \land A_n}$ is also a rational credence function, and via **Identity** we know that $Pr_{A_1 \land ... \land A_n}(A_1 \land ... \land A_n) = 1$. Contraposing on **Bound**, since $Pr(A_1 \land ... \land A_n) >$ Pr(B) we know that $Pr_{A_1 \land ... \land A_n}(B) < 1$. But via **Certainty Preservation** (and using **Conjoined Premises**), since $Pr_{A_1 \land ... \land A_n}(A_1 \land ... \land A_n) = 1$, we also have $Pr_{A_1 \land ... \land A_n}(B) = 1$. Contradiction.

5.2 Adams' second classical validity theorem

Informational Triviality shows that we cannot have all three of: informational consequence; a plausible constraint on credence stating that informational consequence preserves credence 1; and some fairly standard assumptions about credence and credal update.

Informational Triviality is a relative of a classical result in probability logic due to Ernest Adams (1998; p. 152).²¹ Adams uses a classical propositional language, which includes the truth-functional connectives on their usual interpretations. Adams points out that, in this language, the following holds:

Adams' second classical validity theorem

For any $A_1, ..., A_n$ B: $A_1, ..., A_n$ \models B preserves rational certainty iff $A_1, ..., A_n$ \models B is classically valid.

The reasoning behind Adams' theorem is very simple. In a classical semantic setting, entailment corresponds to subsethood: $A_1, \ldots, A_n \models B$ iff $[\![A_1]\!] \cap \ldots \cap [\![A_n]\!]$ is a subset of $[\![B]\!]$. It's easy to prove that $[\![A_1]\!] \cap \ldots \cap [\![A_n]\!]$ is a subset of $[\![B]\!]$ iff, in all credal distributions where A_1, \ldots, A_n are certain, B is also certain.²²

Information Triviality can be seen as an elaboration of Adams' result. Formally, the main difference is that Informational Triviality does not rely on any assumptions about how entailment should be captured semantically. In particular, it does not rely on the assumption that entailment is modeled via subsethood between sets of points of evaluation. The only assumptions, as we have seen, are principles about credence (**Identity, Bound**, and **Closure**), as well as bridge principles between credence and logical consequence (**Plenitude** and **Certainty Preservation**). This kind of generality is useful, since it shows that the result does not depend on any assumptions about the semantics of epistemic discourse, not even very basic ones. Moreover, the fact that the proof does not rely on any substantial semantic assumptions is instructive: it shows that we cannot block the result by changing our semantics or our definitions of consequence.²³

 $^{^{21}{\}rm Thanks}$ to an anonymous referee for pushing me to consider the analogy between Adams' Theorem and Informational Triviality.

²²For the left-to-right direction: assume that $[\![A_1]\!] \cap ... \cap [\![A_n]\!]$ is a subset of $[\![B]\!]$. Then, if all of $A_1, ..., A_n$ have credence 1, then the subject's credences have to be concentrated on a subset of $[\![A_1]\!] \cap ... \cap [\![A_n]\!]$, and hence also on a subset of $[\![B]\!]$. For the right-to-left direction: assume that, for all rational probability distributions where $A_1, ..., A_n$ has credence 1, B also has credence 1. Then it has to be that $[\![A_1]\!] \cap ... \cap [\![A_n]\!]$ is a subset of $[\![B]\!]$. For, assume not, i.e. assume that there are some points that are in $[\![A_1]\!] \cap ... \cap [\![A_n]\!]$ but not in $[\![B]\!]$. Then (by an analog of **Plenitude**) there is a rational credence distribution that assigns positive credence δ to these points, hence at that distribution $[\![A_1]\!] \cap ... \cap [\![A_n]\!]$ has credence 1, but $[\![B]\!]$ has credence $1 - \delta$.

²³To be sure, in §2 I have specified a semantics and defined classical consequence as preservation of truth at a point. On this construal, of course, classical entailment does correspond to a subsethood relation on the points of evaluation. But, as I pointed out in §2, that setup was just an illustration. As a side note: one might think that not capturing entailment as subsethood is far-fetched. But this kind of proposal is not entirely out of place once we switch to informational

5.3 Defending Plenitude

Above I flagged that **Plenitude** is the least familiar of the assumptions I employ. Now, let me defend it.

Stated in English, **Plenitude** says that, if a set of premises $A_1, ..., A_n$ doesn't classically entail a conclusion B, there is a rational credence function that assigns higher credence to the conjunction of $A_1, ..., A_n$ than to B.²⁴.

This assumption might seem unfamiliar (though the proof of Bradley's 2000 triviality result simply assumes the analog of **Plenitude** without argument). But it is both part and parcel of standard Bayesianism, and independently plausible.²⁵

First, the examples about Łukasiewicz's Principle and Modus Ponens discussed in §4 provide inductive support for **Plenitude**. We observed precisely that there are rational credence functions that assign higher credence to the conjunction of the premises of an informational inference than to the conclusion. I invite the reader to check other examples for other informational inferences.

Second, while specifying a model of credence for informational content goes beyond the purposes of this paper, it's easy to see how a plausible model of this sort will validate **Plenitude**. For concreteness, suppose that we use a Yalcin-style model of content, and we assign probabilities to sentences by assigning probabilities to points of evaluation, i.e. pairs $\langle w, i \rangle$ of a world and an information state. We know that, if an inference is classically invalid, there is a pair $\langle w, i \rangle$ at which all the premises are true and the conclusion is false. Absent further constraints on priors, this guarantees that there is a credence function satisfying **Plenitude**.

Finally, even if **Plenitude** in full generality were to fail, we could still get special cases of **Informational Triviality**. In particular, special versions of the theorem would hold for all informational inferences for which **Plenitude** holds. (Again, §4 shows precisely some examples of these inferences.) This is damaging enough. It would show that we cannot have all of the following: Łukasiewicz's principle (say) is informationally but not classically valid; Łukasiewicz's principle preserves certainty; and the package of classical assumptions about credence holds.

systems. To see this, notice that informational consequence is *not* modeled via subsethood in the framework in §2.

²⁴In stating **Plenitude** in this way, I am assuming that conjunction behaves in a classical way. We could complicate the statement of **Plenitude** to abstract from this assumption.

²⁵Why is **Plenitude** validated by standard Bayesianism? The reason is simply that, if $A_1,...,A_n$ don't classically entail B, there are going to be worlds where the former are all true and the latter is false. Any credal distribution that assigns positive credence to a world of this kind, and no credence to worlds where B is true and one of $A_1,...,A_n$ fails, will witness **Plenitude**.

5.4 Generalizing Informational Triviality

Let me consider a way of resisting the result that we have reached in this section. I have assumed that **Certainty Preservation** is a special case of **Acceptance Preservation**. But one may actually deny this. **Acceptance Preservation**, they may argue, does not require preservation of credence 1, but rather preservation of a degree of credence that exceeds a certain threshold *t*. So **Certainty Preservation** should be replaced by:

Threshold Preservation

If $A_1, ..., A_n \models_I B$, then, for all Pr modeling rational credence: if $Pr(A_1 \land ... \land A_n) \ge t$, then $Pr(B) \ge t$ (with $t = 1 - \epsilon$, for some ϵ)

The result can be reproduced also starting from **Threshold Preservation**, if we assume modified versions of **Bound** and **Plenitude**.

Instead of Bound, we assume:

If $Pr(B | A) \ge t$, then $Pr(A) - Pr(B) < \epsilon$ (with $t = 1 - \epsilon$)

Threshold Bound says that, if one's credence in B conditional on A is higher than a threshold $1-\epsilon$, the maximum difference between one's credence in A and one's credence in B is ϵ . Like **Bound**, **Threshold Bound** is also entailed by standard Bayesianism.

Instead of Plenitude, we assume:

Threshold Plenitude. If $A_1, ..., A_n \nvDash_{C_{\mathcal{L}}} B$, then for some *Pr* modeling rational credence, $Pr(A_1 \land ... \land A_n) - Pr(B) > \epsilon$.

Threshold Plenitude is strictly stronger than **Plenitude**, but similar arguments in its support apply. In particular, notice that the examples discuss in §4 support also **Threshold Plenitude**.

At this point, it's easy to state the proof of **Informational Triviality** on the new assumptions.

PROOF. For reductio, assume that, for some $A_1, ..., A_n$ and $B, A_1, ..., A_n \models_I B$ and $A_1, ..., A_n \nvDash_C B$. Via **Threshold Plenitude**, we have that there is a rational credence function Pr such that $Pr(A_1 \land ... \land A_n) - Pr(B) > \epsilon$. Via **Closure**, we know that $Pr_{A_1 \land ... \land A_n}$ is also a rational credence function, and via **Identity** we know that $Pr_{A_1 \land ... \land A_n}(A_1 \land ... \land A_n) = 1$. Contraposing on **Threshold Bound**, since $Pr(A_1 \land ... \land A_n) - Pr(B) > \epsilon$, we know that $Pr_{A_1 \land ... \land A_n}(B) < t$. But via **Threshold Preservation** (and using **Conjoined Premises**), since $Pr_{A_1 \land ... \land A_n}(A_1 \land ... \land A_n) \ge t$, we also have $Pr_{A_1 \land ... \land A_n}(B) \ge t$. Contradiction.

6 Informational consequence and the sources of triviality

§5 shows that we cannot have a certainty-preserving notion of consequence that is different from classical consequence, together with standard Bayesian constraints. In this section, I explore some consequences of this fact. First, I point out that the proof in §5.1 can be adapted to prove a triviality result for each informational inference. In each of these cases, we get an unwanted collapse of two probabilities. Second, I point out that several triviality proofs in the literature, including Lewis's (1976) proof, exploit just informational inferences (under the guise of constraints on credences). This suggests that informational-type reasoning has been central to the literature on triviality since the beginning.

6.1 Special cases of Informational Triviality

Suppose that, rather than Certainty, we adopt the constraint that a particular informational inference is certainty-preserving. For example, suppose that we adopt:

LP Certainty. If $Pr(\neg A) = 1$, then $Pr(\neg \Diamond A) = 1$

Via Plenitude, since Łukasiewicz's principle is not classically valid, we have that, for some *Pr*:

(i)
$$Pr(\neg A) > Pr(\neg \Diamond A)$$

From here:

(via Closure and Identity	(ii) $Pr_{\neg A}(\neg A) = 1$
(via (i), Bound	(iii) $Pr_{\neg A}(\neg \diamondsuit A) < 1$
(via (ii), ŁP Certainty	(iv) $Pr_{\neg A}(\neg \diamondsuit A) = 1$
(iii) <i>,</i> (iv	(v) ⊥

This shows that the assumption that LP is certainty-preserving is incompatible with the conjunction of **Identity**, **Bound**, **Closure**, and **Plenitude**.

Mutatis mutandis, a similar strategy holds for all informational inferences. Starting from the assumption that an inference is certainty-preserving, we can generate a contradiction appealing to these four principles.

In fact, informational inferences have already been exploited, under the guise of constraints on credences, in the literature on triviality. An obvious example is Bradley (2007), who discusses a variant of Lewis's (1976) original triviality result. Bradley's starting assumption is the following principle:

Cond-Cert. For any *Pr* modeling rational credence, if Pr(A) > 0:

a. If Pr(B) = 1, then Pr(A > B) = 1

b. If
$$Pr(B) = 0$$
, then $Pr(A > B) = 0$

In addition, Bradley assumes Closure, Identity, Ratio as well as two further classical principles:

Total Probability.
$$Pr(A) = Pr(A \land B) + Pr(A \land \neg B)$$

Contradiction. $Pr_{\neg A}(A) = 0$

For the sake of the argument, assume that: Pr(A | B) > 0, $Pr(A | \neg B) > 0$. On these assumptions, we can prove that Pr(A > B) = Pr(B). Here is a slightly expanded version of Bradley's proof. We start by establishing the following:

(i) $Pr(B B) = 1$	(Identity)
(ii) $Pr(A > B B) = 1$	(i, Cond-Cert-a)
(iii) $Pr(B \mid \negB) = 0$	(Contradiction)
(iv) $Pr(A > B \mid \neg B) = 0$	(i, Cond-Cert-b)

Now we prove:

(v) $Pr(A > B) = Pr((A > B) \land B) + Pr((A > B) \land \neg B) =$	(Total Probability)
(vi) $Pr(A > B B) \times Pr(B) + Pr(A > B \neg B) \times Pr(\neg B)$	(Ratio)
(vii) $1 \times Pr(B) + 0 \times Pr(\neg A) =$	(ii, iii)
(viii) $Pr(B)$	

This establishes that Pr(A > B) = Pr(B). If, in addition, we assume (in analogy to Plenitude) that there is a rational credence function Pr' such that Pr'(B) > Pr'(A > B), we get a contradiction.

What matters here is that Bradley's only non-Bayesian assumption, namely Cond-Cert, involves probabilistic counterparts of, once more, an informationally valid inference:

True Consequent. If A is consistent $(A \nvDash \bot)$: $B \vDash A > B$

(To obtain a counterpart of Cond-Cert-b, just replace 'B' with ' \neg B'.) So Bradley's result can be seen as a special case of Informational Triviality.

Bradley's result is not the only one that can be seen in this light. Principles equivalent to Cond-Cert are also used in Lewis's (1976) original triviality proof: in particular, Lewis appeals to (ii) and (iii) above.²⁶ Moreover, other proofs in the literature exploit constraints on credence that mirror informational inferences. For some examples, see Milne 2003 and Charlow 2016²⁷; see also Author/s 2019a for an illustration of we can derive similar triviality results for epistemic *might* and *must*.

²⁶The difference with respect to Bradley's proof is that Lewis derives the equations in (9) from a strong version of Stalnaker's Thesis, i.e. the claim that the probability of a conditional equals the conditional probability of the consequent given the antecedent.

 $^{^{27}}$ For the case of Milne's proof, the relevant informational inference is Or-to-If; for the case of Charlow's, the relevant informational inference is a variant of True Consequent (C $\models \square$ (A > C)).

6.2 Moral: the sources of triviality

The previous discussion shows that, once we are equipped with informational consequence, we have a recipe for generating triviality results. For each informational inference $A_1, ..., A_n \models B$, we can use **Identity**, **Bound**, and **Closure** (together with the assumption that informational inferences preserve certainty) to prove that, for all rational credence functions, $Pr(A_1 \land ... \land A_n) = Pr(B)$. Put together with **Plenitude**, this gives us a contradiction.

Reasoning of this sort has been central to theorizing about triviality, since Lewis. Of course, Lewis, Bradley, and others did not endorse informational consequence. But they endorsed constraints on credence that appeared to be intuitive and that mirrored informational inferences. Thus link between informational-type reasoning and triviality results goes back to the very beginning of the literature on the topic; the result of this paper makes this link explicit in a general form.²⁸

The foregoing also motivates my choice to call Informational Triviality a 'triviality' result. Informational triviality appears, at first sight, to be quite different from classical results in the triviality literature. In particular, it does not establish that, starting from certain assumptions, we obtain trivial credence distributions (for Lewis 1976, a trivial credence distribution is one that assigns propositions a very restricted range of values). Hence one might be inclined to label it differently—perhaps as a 'collapse' result.²⁹ This alternative label is perhaps more intuitive, but I have stuck to 'triviality' to emphasize the connection with existing results in the literature.

7 Fitting probability into the informational view

In this section, I outline what I take to be the two main options for the informational theorist. The first involves denying that probability applies at all to epistemic sentences; the second involves moving to a nonclassical notion of probability. Given space constraints, I won't be able to reach definitive conclusions about either option. The goal of this discussion is merely to help steer future work.

7.1 Nihilism

The first option denies that probability applies to epistemic discourse. This option is familiar from the philosophical logic literature on conditionals and probability. Theorists like Adams 1975 and Edgington 1995 deny that conditionals have probability, though both of them preserve a weaker kind of connection between conditionals and probability. (On Adams' view, conditionals

²⁸For clarity, I am not claiming that every triviality result in the literature is linked to informational inferences. For example, Hajek's Wallflower Result (1989) appears to be entirely unrelated.

²⁹Thanks to an anonymous referee for this suggestion.

have degrees of assertability, which behave in some ways like probability. On Edgington's view, conditionals are used to express speaker's credences, though they are not the bearers of credences themselves.) Informational theorists may claim that, in a similar way, all modal claims fail to have probability.

Nihilism might seem intuitively plausible for *might*- and *must*-claims. When asked what probability they assign to *It might be raining*, a number of speakers find the question difficult to answer. But it is *prima facie* difficult to believe for conditionals. Speakers have crisp judgments that conditionals have non-trivial probabilities, and in a large number of cases these judgments line up with the corresponding conditional probabilities (see Evans and Over 2004 for an overview of relevant experimental literature). It's unclear whether nihilism has the resources to explain these facts.

To be sure, there is a familiar strategy that nihilists can appeal to: they can give a sophisticated error theory about judgments of probability of conditionals. The strategy consists in vindicating the truth of object language sentences of the form *The probability that if A, then B is n* (where *n* is the conditional probability of B, given A), while allowing that the probability of the unembedded sentence *if A, then B* may actually diverge from *n*. To pursue this strategy, we start by assuming an appropriate semantics for object language *probably*³⁰. Following a classical idea tracing back to Kratzer³¹, we let *if*-clauses work as the restrictor on the relevant information state picked out by the operator. As a result, a sentence of the form $\lceil A > B \rceil$ is predicted to make a claim about the conditional probability of B, given A. For example, (10) is true just in case the probability of the coin landing tails, conditional on Frida tossing it, is .5.

(10) It is 50% likely that, if Frida tossed the coin, the coin landed tails.

Even assuming the restrictor maneuver, nihilists remain open to a number of challenges. First, capturing the functioning of object language probability operators might not be sufficient to capture all the data (see e.g. Khoo and Santorio 2018 for discussion of probability of conjunctions of conditionals or data involving propositional anaphora).³² Second, the decision to not assign

³⁰See Yalcin 2010, 2012, Lassiter 2011, Holliday and Icard 2013 for discussion

³¹To my knowledge, Kratzer never says this fully explicitly in a published paper. But this point is widely attributed to her, and I have personally seen her make it in conversation.

³²Here is an example about conjunction. Consider the following scenario:

Coins. Martina is considering tossing two fair coins, A and B, in two independent tosses. You leave the room before you discover whether she tosses them or not.

Now, assess the probability of the following statements:

⁽i) Coin A landed heads, if it was tossed, and coin B landed tails, if it was tossed.

⁽ii) Each of coin A and coin B landed heads, if it was tossed.

One natural judgment, which has been confirmed by several speakers, is that both (i) and (ii) have probability 1/4. But judgments about corresponding sentences involving overt probability

probability to conditionals is in tension with centering principles, one of which was already discussed above.

Centering.	$A > B \models A \supset B$
Strong Centering.	$A \land B \models A > B$

According to the centering principles, conditionals are entailed by and entail factual claims.³³ Hence the probability of a conditional is naturally bounded from above and below by two claims that unequivocally have probability. Given this, the claim that probabilities just don't apply to conditionals is surprising.

Of course, the foregoing is insufficient to refute nihilism, which has an extensive pedigree in philosophy. But it motivates the search for a theory which assigns genuine probabilities to epistemic statements, while escaping triviality proofs.

7.2 Nonclassical probability

The second option for the informational theorist is to hold on to the idea that statements belonging to epistemic discourse have genuine probability, and hence vindicate **Certainty Preservation**, while giving up some other principle involved in the proof. I have already pointed out that giving up **Plenitude** seems implausible. I also assume that **Identity** is too basic to be questioned credibly. So I focus on the other two principles involved:

Bound. If Pr(B | A) = 1, then $Pr(B) \ge Pr(A)$

Closure. For all C: If $Pr(\bullet)$ models a rational credence function, then $Pr(\bullet | C)$ also models a rational credence function.

Both principles involve conditional probability, which figures prominently in a theory of update. On reflection, intervening in this vicinity seems a natural option for the informational theorist. Let me briefly state two reasons in support of this.

The first reason connects to a well-known failure of monotonicity that characterizes informational semantics. Veltman 1996 points out that, on informational semantics, *might*-claims violate a condition of Persistence, understood as follows.

operators cannot be captured via the restrictor analysis:

- (iii) It's 1/4 likely that coin A landed heads, if it was tossed, and coin B landed tails, if it was tossed.
- (iv) It's 1/4 likely that each of coin A and coin B landed heads, if it was tossed.

The reason is that, in both cases, there is an extra item (conjunction in one case, the quantifier in the other) between the probability operator and the restrictors. So the latter cannot restrict the former.

³³Centering for complex conditionals is controversial, as I have pointed out above, but it unequivocally holds for simple conditionals, i.e. conditionals not involving modality in the antecedent and the consequent.

Persistence. For all *i*: if $i \models A$, then for all $i' \subseteq i$, $i' \models A$

Persistence says that, if a formula is supported by an information state, it is supported also by any information state more informed than it. *might*-claims, as characterized by informational semantics, are an obvious counterexample to Persistence. Now, Persistence is a qualitative analog of the requirement that update preserves credence 1, which is entailed by Bayesianism. So failures of Persistence should lead us to expect that conditional probability, or update, or both, should work differently on the informational picture.³⁴

The second reason comes from the fact that, on the face of it, modalized and conditional claims seem to generate counterexamples to **Bound**.³⁵ For a simple illustration, consider a case analogous to Schulz's (2010) case from §4. In many circumstances, it seems reasonable to assign middling credence to (11)–a, and zero, or near-zero credence to (11)–b:

(11) a. It is raining.

b. It must be raining.

Yet, it seems that, if we update this credence distribution with (11)-a, we should assign credence 1 to (11)-b (as **Certainty Preservation** demands). Hence, on the assumption that rational update is modeled via conditionalization, we have that Pr(MUST rain | rain) = 1, yet Pr(MUST rain) < Pr(rain), contrary to **Bound**.

In summary: we have reasons to think that informational consequence should be paired with a nonclassical theory of credence and credal update. The work of developing such a theory falls outside the boundaries of this paper, but it seems a natural direction to pursue for the informational theorist.³⁶

8 Conclusion

How is informational consequence linked to credence? I have argued that, plausibly, informational consequence should be regarded as certainty preserving. I.e., on any rational credence distribution, when the premises of an informational inferences have credence 1, the conclusion also has credence 1.

Unfortunately, this simple and plausible constraint generates a new kind of triviality result. The result differs from standard triviality results in the literature, in that it doesn't exploit assumptions about any particular expression. Rather, it targets directly the existence of a notion of consequence that is extensionally different from classical consequence and that preserves credence 1. It

³⁴This connection is also noticed and discussed explicitly by Bradley 2007.

³⁵Thanks to an anonymous referee for suggesting this point.

³⁶See Author/s 2019a for a nonclassical theory of probability and update that is paired with informational consequence.

can be proved that the existence of this notion of consequence is incompatible with some basic assumptions about credence and update.

One may want to use the foregoing as an objection to informational consequence. As I have made clear, this is not my goal here. Informational consequence plays an important explanatory role and should not be given up. At the same time, informational theorists should feel pressure to give an account of credence and update that avoids triviality. The one-line moral of this paper is: a nonclassical notion of consequence needs a nonclassical account of credence and credal update.³⁷

³⁷Acknoledgments suppressed for blind review.

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