If p, then p! by Matthew Mandelkern, forthcoming in *The Journal of Philosophy*

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STRUCTURA Metaphysics Reading Group

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Notations & Abbreviations

- atoms: *A*, *B*, *C*...
- sentences: p, q, r...
- connectives: \land, \lor, \neg (all classical)
- material conditional & biconditional: \supset & \equiv
- conditional (if...then...): > (especially $>_i$ for indicatives, and $>_s$ for subjunctives)
- semantic entailments: $\Gamma \models p$ iff p is true in every world in every model where all the element of Γ are true.
- Identity: $\models p > p$
- Import-Export (IE): $\models (p > (q > r)) \equiv ((p \land q) > r)$
- *Very Weak Monotonicity (Mon)*: if $\models p > p$ and $p \models q$, then $\models p > q$

Monotonicity: if $\models p > q$ and $q \models r$, then $\models p > r$

• Identity + Mon = Logical Implication principle (LI): if $p \models q$ (i.e. $\models p \supset q$), then $\models p > q$

LI is strictly weaker than" $p \supset q \models p > q$ ", but *Multi-Premise LI* (if $\Gamma, p \models q$, then $\Gamma \models p > q$) is strictly stronger.

- Ad Falsum: $\{p>q,p>
 eg q\}\models
 eg p$
 - Corollary: if $\models p > q$ and $\models p > \neg q$, then $\models \neg p$

Part 0 - Introduction & backgrounds

- McGee 1985:
 - [Counterexamples to MP] & [validate IE + MP + LI = material conditional] >> [reject MP, keep IE]
 - 1. If a Republican wins the election, then if it's not Reagan who wins, it will be Anderson.
 - 2. A Republican will win the election.

3. If it's not Reagan who wins, it will be Anderson. (1,2 MP) NO! It will be Carter.

- 1. If that creature is a fish, then if it has lungs, it's a lungfish.
- 2. That creature is a fish.
- 3. If it has lungs, it's a lungfish. (1,2 MP)

NO! it's a porpoise.

• a semantics that reject *Identity*

sentences are evaluated relative to 2 parameters: the Stalnakerian selection function f, and a set of sentences Γ , which gathered successive conditional antecedents. $w \in [p > q]^{\Gamma}$ iff $w \in [q]^{\Gamma \cup \{p\}}$ $w \in [A]^{\Gamma}$ iff $f(\bigcap_{p \in \Gamma} [p]^{\varnothing}, w) \in [A]$...

- Mandelkern 2020:
 - *IE* + classical conjunction + *Nothing added* + *LI* + *Equivalence* + *Quodlibet* = *Ex Falso*

Nothing added: if $\models p \supset q$, then $\models (p > (q > r)) \equiv (p > r)$.

Quodlibet: as long as p is conditional-free, $p \wedge \neg q$ is nowhere true, and thus entails everything.

Equivalence: if $\models (p > r) \equiv (q > r)$ no matter what r is, then $\models p \equiv q$.

Ex Falso: $\neg(p > q) \models p$. (disastrous result of material conditional)

• *Restricted IE*: if p contains NO conditional, then $\models (p > (q > r)) \equiv ((p \land q) > r)$

Part 1 - Why should we reject IE?

- why several theories of conditional invalidate *Identity*? Because they validate *IE*.
- validate *IE* + *Identity* + *Mon* + *Ad Falsum* = material conditional

proof...

• The natural language condition "If...then..." is NOT the material conditional.

 $eg (p \supset q)$ is equivalent to $p \land \neg q$, but:

It's not the case that, if Patch is a rabbit, she is a rodent.
 It's not the case that, if Patch had been a rabbit, she would had been a rodent.

Both TRUE regardless of whether Patch is a rabbit. (as rabbit is not rodent)

2. Patch is a rabbit and not a rodent.

FALSE if Patch is not a rabbit.

- which one should we reject? Mon, Ad Falsum, Identity, or IE?
 - Mon or Ad Falsum? No.

- Comparing McGee(1985): Ad Falsum is strictly weaker than MP.
- Identity? No.

Arguments:

- 1. Many reject $\models \bot > p$, but even *identity*_⊥(whenever p is consistent, $\models p > p$) can lead to a similar result.
- 2. No intuitive counterexample to *Identity*, even in *IE*-validating theories. But there are intuitive counterexamples to *IE*.

• Thus, we should reject *IE*.

• There are counterexamples to *IE* for subjunctives, but unfortunately none for indicatives.

a die which is either weighted towards evens or odds; we don't know which.

For subjunctives:

- 1. If the die had been thrown and landed four, then if it hadn't landed four it would have landed two or six. (True)
- 2. If the die had been thrown and landed four and it hadn't landed four, it would have landed two or six. (False, or incoherent)

But for indicatives:

- 1. If the die was thrown and landed four, then if it didn't land four it landed two or six. (False)
- 2. If the die was thrown and landed four and it didn't land four, it landed two or six. (False)
- 1. If the exams had been marked, then if the faculty had gone on strike, then the exams would still have been marked. (can be False)
- 2. If the exams had been marked and the faculty had gone on strike, then the exams would still have been marked. (obviously True)

But for indicatives:

- 1. If the exams were marked, then if the faculty went on strike, then the exams were still marked. (obviously True)
- 2. If the exams were marked and the faculty went on strike, then the exams were still marked. (obviously True)

Part 2 - Why there's no counterexample?

- why we can't find intuitive counterexamples to IE for indicatives? Because though IE is not valid, it is somehow presupposed for indicatives.
- Strawson concepts

Context is a set of worlds.

For simplicity, assume we often talk about context worlds as epistemically accessible worlds.

• Strawson entailments

- Γ *Strawson entails* p (write $\Gamma \models_S p$) iff for any context c, world $w \in c$, if the presuppositions of all the members of Γ and of p are satisfied in $\langle c, w \rangle$, then if all the members of Γ are true at $\langle c, w \rangle$, so is p.
- Strawson valid
 - *p* is *Strawson valid* iff $\models_S p$

when $p \equiv q$ is Strawson valid, call p and q are *Strawson equivalent*. notice: $\models_S p \supset q$ is NOT equivalent to $p \models_S q$

- Example: "She is female" is not logical valid, but is Strawson valid.
- Strawson informationally valid
 - $p \supset q$ is Strawson informationally valid iff for any context c, if the presuppositions of p and of q are satisfied in $\{\langle c, w \rangle | w \in c\}$, then if p is true through out c, p is true through out c.

when $p \supset q$ and $q \supset p$ is Strawson informationally valid, call p and q are *Strawson informationally equivalent*.

 $p \supset q$ is Strawson informationally valid == p Strawson informationally entails q?

- We will show that: though IE is not logical valid, it is Strawson (informationally) valid for indicatives, but not for subjunctives.
- presuppositions for indicatives
 - this idea will be develop by an account of the differences between indicatives and subjunctives
 - Stalnaker's semantics: only differ on the selection functions
 - 1. f treats contextually possible worlds as being closer to each other than any other worlds

i.e. for all world $w \in c$, if there's a p-world in c, then $f_i(p,w) \in c$

- which leads to "or-to-if": when leave open $\neg p$ and accept $p \lor q$, there's $\neg p >_i q$
- 2. the antecedent p is compatible with c
- the indicative constraint

 $p>_i q$ presupposes: at a context c, for all $w\in c$, $f_i(p,w)\in c$

- local context & locality constraint
 - the die case

a die which is either weighted towards evens or odds; we don't know which.

global context:

we don't know which, and we don't know whether the die was thrown.

If the die was thrown and landed four, then if it didn't land four it landed two or six.

global context:

we don't know which, and we don't know whether the die was thrown.

 local context for the clause "if it didn't land four it landed two or six": we know the die was thrown and landed four, which means it weighted towards evens.

- Calculating local contexts
 - the local context for a conditional's consequence entails the antecedent
 - the local context for the right conjunct entails the left conjunct
 - the local context for the scope of a quantifier entails its restrictor

• locality constraint:

 $p>_i q$ presupposes: at the conditional's local context κ , for all $w\in\kappa$, $f_i(p,w)\in\kappa$

Example of the violation of the locality constraint:

For embedded conditionals $\neg p \land (p >_i q)$ let c^p be the set of worlds in c where p is true and has its presuppositions satisfied.

- $\kappa=c^{
 eg p}$, $f_i(p,w)\in\kappa$ is contradict with Success
- a bounded theory, instead of dynamic ways: avoid invalidating *Identity*?
- the locality constraint entails that IE is Strawson (informationally) valid for indicatives
 - Strawson informationally valid: i.e. for all context *s*, when locality constraints are all satisfied, $p >_i (q >_i r)$ is true throughout *s* iff $(p \land q) >_i r$ is true throughout *s*.

proof...

• Strawson valid: i.e. $\models_S (p >_i (q >_i r)) \equiv ((p \land q) >_i r)$

proof...

• Conclusion:

If $p >_i (q >_i r)$ and $(p \land q) >_i r$ are both felicitously used, its impossible to accept one without the other. Thus we can not give out intuitive counterexamples.