Generics: Inference & Accommodation

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My Aim

To give an account of norms governing our uses of *generics*, and our *inferring*, showing how phenomena of *accommodation* can help explain the behaviour of generic judgements and what we can do with (and to) them.

My Plan

Motivation & Background

Generics & Inference

Accommodation & Inference

Options for Critique & Reform

MOTIVATION & BACKGROUND

Birds lay eggs.

Birds lay eggs.

Logic talks are boring.

Birds lay eggs.

Logic talks are boring.

Mosquitos transmit Ross River Fever.

Birds lay eggs.

Logic talks are boring.

Mosquitos transmit Ross River Fever.

Cows are food.

Birds lay eggs.

Logic talks are boring.

Mosquitos transmit Ross River Fever.

Cows are food.

Men are aggressive.

Birds lay eggs.

Logic talks are boring.

Mosquitos transmit Ross River Fever.

Cows are food.

Men are aggressive.

Muslims are terrorists.

Fs are Gs

Fs are Gs

... are pervasive.

Fs are Gs

... are pervasive.

... are basic.

Fs are Gs

... are pervasive.

... are basic.

... behave very strangely.



All mosquitos transmit RRF.

All mosquitos transmit RRF.

Some don't.

All mosquitos transmit RRF.

Some don't.

Some mosquitos transmit RRF.

All mosquitos transmit RRF.

Some don't.

Some mosquitos transmit RRF.

True, but some mosquitos don't, and we won't say "Mosquitos don't transmit RRF."

All mosquitos transmit RRF.

Some don't.

Some mosquitos transmit RRF.

True, but some mosquitos don't, and we won't say "Mosquitos don't transmit RRF."

Most mosquitos transmit RRF.

All mosquitos transmit RRF.

Some don't.

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True, but some mosquitos don't, and we won't say "Mosquitos don't transmit RRF."

Most mosquitos transmit RRF.

Most don't.

All mosquitos transmit RRF.

Some don't.

Some mosquitos transmit RRF.

True, but some mosquitos don't, and we won't say "Mosquitos don't transmit RRF."

Most mosquitos transmit RRF.

Most don't.

Normal mosquitos transmit RRF.

All mosquitos transmit RRF.

Some don't.

Some mosquitos transmit RRF.

True, but some mosquitos don't, and we won't say "Mosquitos don't transmit RRF."

Most mosquitos transmit RRF.

Most don't.

Normal mosquitos transmit RRF.

Male mosquitos don't. They aren't normal?

All mosquitos transmit RRF.

Some don't.

Some mosquitos transmit RRF.

True, but some mosquitos *don't*, and we won't say "Mosquitos *don't* transmit RRF."

Most mosquitos transmit RRF.

Most don't.

Normal mosquitos transmit RRF.

Male mosquitos don't. They aren't normal?

Mosquitos are the kind of thing that transmit RRF.

All mosquitos transmit RRF.

Some don't.

Some mosquitos transmit RRF.

True, but some mosquitos don't, and we won't say "Mosquitos don't transmit RRF."

Most mosquitos transmit RRF.

Most don't.

Normal mosquitos transmit RRF.

Male mosquitos don't. They aren't normal?

Mosquitos are the kind of thing that transmit RRF.

They're also the kind of thing that doesn't—e.g. males, or those in Africa.



Background 1: "Inferentialism", broadly construed

► INFERENTIALISM: an approach to semantics that takes meaning to centre on *norms of inference*.

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Background 1: "Inferentialism", broadly construed

- ► INFERENTIALISM: an approach to semantics that takes meaning to centre on *norms of inference*.
- NORMATIVE PRAGMATICS: an approach to semantics that takes semantics to centre on *norms of use* (perhaps including inference, perhaps not).
- ► My recent research concentrates on the connections between *normative pragmatics* and logic, via *proof theory*.

An inferentialist analysis of pejorative predicates:

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x is German

x is Boche

An inferentialist analysis of pejorative predicates:

x is German	x is Boche
x is Boche	x is cruel

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Using Boche in this way encodes a substantial connection between being German, and being cruel.

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x is German	x is Boche
x is Boche	x is cruel

Using Boche in this way encodes a substantial connection between being German, and being cruel.

What does Boche mean, when it's used like this?

Pejorative uses

This isn't restricted to pejorative expressions. People can use *standard* expressions pejoratively, too.

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x is a talk on proof theory	x is a logic talk
x is a <i>logic</i> talk	x is boring

Pejorative uses

This isn't restricted to pejorative expressions. People can use *standard* expressions pejoratively, too.

x is a talk on proof theory	x is a logic talk
x is a logic talk	$\frac{x}{x}$ is boring

Are these inferences a part of the *meaning* of the pejorative expression?

Background 2: Semantics, Metasemantics and Practice

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- ► SEMANTICS: accounts of the meanings of particular expressions.
- METASEMANTICS: an account of the space of possible meanings, and the different ways expressions can get their meanings.
- ▶ PRACTICE: Metasemantics, in particular, can be a partner for *clarificatory* and *emancipatory* possibilities for revising our *languages* and our *practices*.

GENERICS &

INFERENCE

Truth Conditions?

There are *many* accounts of the truth conditions of the generic

Ks are F

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Ks are F

Any adequate account is very complicated.

An example, from Sarah-Jane Leslie

cumstances in which generics are true or false. Though there may be a further refinement or two needed, we can describe the circumstances under which a generic of the form 'Ks are F' is true as follows:

The counterinstances are negative, and:

If F lies along a characteristic dimension for the Ks, then some Ks are F, unless K is an artifact or social kind, in which case F is the function or purpose of the kind K;

If F is striking, then some Ks are F and the others are disposed to be F;

Otherwise, almost all Ks are F.

I would suggest that these worldly truth specifications—these descriptions of how the world must be for the sentence to be true—should not be mistaken for semantically derived truth conditions, however. To illus-

Sarah-Jane Leslie "Generics: Cognition and Acquisition," *Philosophical Review* 117:1 (2008), 1–47 — page 43.

The Approach I'll Explore

We don't *understand* a generic by first grasping its truth conditions.

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We don't *understand* a generic by first grasping its truth conditions.

We learn to use generics by learning norms for how to *use* them.

The Modal Parallel

I take it that this sort of account makes sense of how we understand modal terms like *possibly* and *necessarily*.

The Modal Parallel

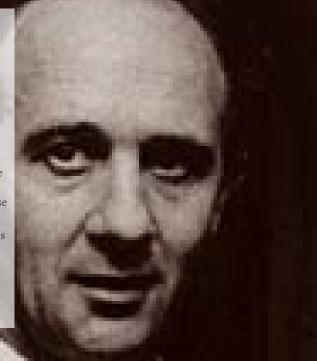
I take it that this sort of account makes sense of how we understand modal terms like *possibly* and *necessarily*.

"Possibly p" and "Necessarily p" have truth conditions expressed in terms of possible worlds, but we don't learn the concepts of possibility and necessity by way of some prior access to possible worlds.

To say that a state of affairs obtains is just to say that something is the case; to say that something is a possible state of affairs is just to say that something could be the case; and to say that something is the case 'in' a possible state of affairs is just to say that the thing in question would necessarily be the case if that state of affairs obtained, i.e. if something else were the case...

We understand 'truth in states of affairs' because we understand 'necessarily'; not vice versa.

— Arthur Prior, Worlds, Times and Selves (1969)



But what do they mean?

The problem remains:

What are the norms governing generics?

How do we understand them?

Let's change tack for a moment.

Consider the difference:

Consider the difference:

Tweety is a bird. Tweety flies.

Consider the difference:

Tweety is a bird. Tweety flies.

Tweety is a bird. So, Tweety flies.

Consider the difference:

Tweety is a bird. Tweety flies.

Tweety is a bird. So, Tweety flies.

There is a difference between making two assertions, and making one assertion to *give a reason* for another.



Tweety is a bird. So, Tweety flies.

Tweety is a bird. So, Tweety flies.

ABELARD: Does Tweety fly? ELOISE: Yes, she's a bird.

Tweety is a bird. So, Tweety flies.

ABELARD: Does Tweety fly? ELOISE: Yes, she's a bird.

This is beef. So, this is food.

Tweety is a bird. So, Tweety flies.

ABELARD: Does Tweety fly? ELOISE: Yes, she's a bird.

This is beef. So, this is food.

ABELARD: Is this food? ELOISE: Yes, it's beef.

Reason giving can go in both directions

ABELARD: Does she have stripes?

ELOISE: Yes, she's a zebra.

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ABELARD: Does she have stripes? ELOISE: Yes, she's a zebra.

ABELARD: Is she a zebra? ELOISE: Yes, she has stripes.

Each direction can make sense, given an appropriate context.

So can explanation

ELOISE: She has stripes.

ABELARD: Why?

ELOISE: She's a zebra.

So can explanation

ELOISE: She has stripes.

ABELARD: Why?

ELOISE: She's a zebra.

ELOISE: She's a zebra.

ABELARD: Why?

ELOISE: She has stripes.

So can explanation

ELOISE: She has stripes.

ABELARD: Why?

ELOISE: She's a zebra.

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ABELARD: Why?

ELOISE: She has stripes.

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... or rather, what are we doing when we infer or explain?

- ► I won't commit myself to any particular analysis of the norms governing inference and explanation. (c.f. Brandom, in *Making it Explicit*, and his view of the relationship between inference, commitment and entitlement.)
- ► These are speech acts, like assertion.
 (I can infer B from A despite believing B before believing A.
 Inferring, in this sense, isn't believing on the basis of. The same goes for explaining or justifying.)

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- ► These are speech acts, like assertion.

 (I can infer B from A despite believing B before believing A.

 Inferring, in this sense, isn't believing on the basis of. The same goes for explaining or justifying.)
- ► Making an inference is also not to be identified with offering a deductively valid argument, or taking yourself to do so.

What is inference? (Cont.)

Reason giving is defeasible, or non-monotonic:

Tweety is a bird. So, Tweety flies.

What is inference? (Cont.)

Reason giving is *defeasible*, or *non-monotonic*:

Tweety is a bird. So, Tweety flies.

Tweety is a bird. Tweety is a penguin. So, Tweety flies.

Why (*do* we/*should* we) care about how our claims relate to one another?

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Why (*do* we/*should* we) care about how our claims relate to one another?

Why not just care about whether A and B are true, and ignore whether A is a reason for B?

(Or, why do children ask why instead of just asking whether?)

Why attempt to keep track of how claims relate to one another?



PLANNING AND CONTINGENCY

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THEORISING AND UNCERTAINTY

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If we find a zebra...

PLANNING AND CONTINGENCY

THEORISING AND UNCERTAINTY

If we find a zebra...

Is this a zebra?

PLANNING AND CONTINGENCY

THEORISING AND UNCERTAINTY

If we find a zebra...

Is this a zebra?

Suppose that had been a zebra

PLANNING AND CONTINGENCY

If we find a zebra...

Suppose that *had been* a zebra

THEORISING AND UNCERTAINTY

Is this a zebra?

Suppose that's actually a zebra

PLANNING AND CONTINGENCY

If we find a zebra...

Suppose that *had been* a zebra

Options for action

THEORISING AND UNCERTAINTY

Is this a zebra?
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PLANNING AND CONTINGENCY

If we find a zebra...

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THEORISING AND UNCERTAINTY

Is this a zebra?
Suppose that's actually a zebra
Options for belief

PLANNING AND CONTINGENCY

If we find a zebra...

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Options for action

Subjunctive

THEORISING AND UNCERTAINTY

Is this a zebra?
Suppose that's actually a zebra
Options for belief

PLANNING AND CONTINGENCY

If we find a zebra...

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Options for action

Subjunctive

THEORISING AND UNCERTAINTY

Is this a zebra?
Suppose that's actually a zebra
Options for belief
Indicative

PLANNING AND CONTINGENCY

If we find a zebra...

Suppose that had been a zebra

Options for action

Subjunctive

"Metaphysical"

THEORISING AND UNCERTAINTY

Is this a zebra?
Suppose that's actually a zebra
Options for belief
Indicative

PLANNING AND CONTINGENCY

If we find a zebra...

Suppose that had been a zebra

Options for action

Subjunctive

"Metaphysical"

THEORISING AND UNCERTAINTY

Is this a zebra?
Suppose that's actually a zebra
Options for belief
Indicative
"Epistemic"

PLANNING AND CONTINGENCY

If we find a zebra...

Suppose that had been a zebra

Options for action

Subjunctive

"Metaphysical"

THEORISING AND UNCERTAINTY

Is this a zebra?
Suppose that's actually a zebra
Options for belief
Indicative
"Epistemic"

It is hard to see how we could *act* on the basis of *shared views* without some kind of reason-giving practice.

Tweety is a bird. So, Tweety flies.

Tweety is a bird. So, Tweety flies.

— Birds fly.

Tweety is a bird. So, Tweety flies.

— Birds fly.

She's a zebra. So, she has stripes.

Tweety is a bird. So, Tweety flies.

— Birds fly.

She's a zebra. So, she has stripes.

— Zebras have stripes.

Tweety is a bird. So, Tweety flies.

— Birds fly.

She's a zebra. So, she has stripes.

— Zebras have stripes.

She has stripes. So, she's a zebra.

Tweety is a bird. So, Tweety flies.

— Birds fly.

She's a zebra. So, she has stripes.

— Zebras have stripes.

She has stripes. So, she's a zebra.

— Striped things are zebras.

Tweety is a bird. So, Tweety flies.

— Birds fly.

She's a zebra. So, she has stripes.

— Zebras have stripes.

She has stripes. So, she's a zebra.

- Striped things are zebras.
- Striped horses are zebras.

Making inference explicit

I can *make explicit* my preparedness to infer Gx from Fx by saying

Fs are Gs.

Making inference explicit

I can make explicit my preparedness to infer Gx from Fx or to explain Gx by way of Fx by saying

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 Or, Tweety lays eggs since Tweety is a bird. (Good!)
 Tweety is female since Tweety is a bird. (???)

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- Low rate generics with striking properties: Mosquitos transmit RRF.
 - Given that reason giving does admit exceptions, in the case of striking/dangerous properties, it is much better to err on the side of false positives than false negatives.

This explains many of the distinctive features of generics

- Exceptions: **Birds fly**. (Yes! Despite penguins.)
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- Low rate generics with striking properties: Mosquitos transmit RRF.
 - ► Given that reason giving *does* admit exceptions, in the case of striking/dangerous properties, it is much better to err on the side of *false positives* than *false negatives*. At the very least, we are happy to explain **This transmits RRF** by granting **this is a mosquito**.

Why this form?

We can infer from any A to any B.

Why are generics, of the form Fs are Gs, so prevalent?

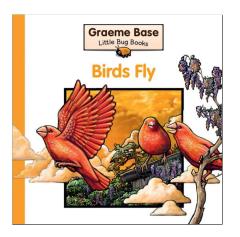
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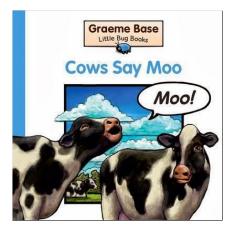
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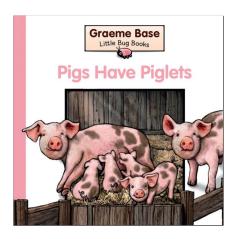
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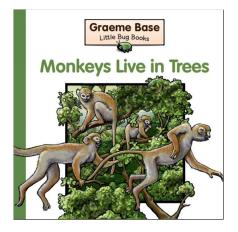
In dialogue or in planning, the *focus* of inquiry is often fixed.

So, inferences of the from suitable for explication by a generic (from Fx to Gx) are widespread.









Why make inference explicit?

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To teach ...

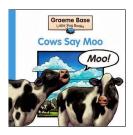
Why make inference explicit?

To teach ...

... and to refine.

Training for Inference









Training for Inference

We communicate and coordinate on inferences: if you've learned that birds fly, you'll accept "x is a bird" as a reason to conclude "x flies," or to explain "x flies" by appeal to "x is a bird."

Local and Global

The information conveyed can be local.

Consider a zoo enclosure with a range of horse-like creatures: I might say "striped ones are zebras".

You can object to my inference Fa. So, Ga.

in three different (related) ways:

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We have words for (1) and (2).

How do you voice objection (3)?

You can object to my inference Fa. So, Ga.

in three different (related) ways:

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We have words for (1) and (2).

How do you voice objection (3)?

Making inferences explicit gives us a way to argue about them.

This is subtle

What is it to *deny* that birds fly?

This is subtle

What is it to *deny* that birds fly?

Birds don't fly?

This is subtle

What is it to *deny* that birds fly?

Birds don't fly?

Fs are non-Gs not (Fs are Gs)

The grammar of generics makes denying them difficult.

We often move to more explicit quantification: many birds don't fly, or not all birds fly.

The inferential analysis of generics explains this, too

Resisting the inference from Fx to Gx does not, by itself, offer an alternative inference.

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Neither does it make much of a claim at all, by itself.

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We'll return to this topic later.

ACCOMMODATION

& INFERENCE

Common Ground

The COMMON GROUND of a conversation at any given time is the set of propositions that the participants in that conversation at that time mutually assume to be taken for granted and not subject to (further) discussion.

— Kai von Fintel "What is Presupposition Accommodation, Again?" *Philosophical Perspectives*, 2008.

One way to enter the common ground

When uttered assertively, sentences are meant to update the common ground. If a sentence is accepted by the participants, the proposition it expresses is added to the common ground.

— Kai von Fintel "What is Presupposition Accommodation, Again?" *Philosophical Perspectives*, 2008.

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When I say this, the proposition that I have a son (and perhaps that I have only one son) is added to the common ground.

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This phenomenon is called *presupposition accommodation*.

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This phenomenon is called *presupposition accommodation*.

(The details of *how*—and *which*—presuppositions are accommodated is a matter of debate and active research.)

Accommodating Injustice

Rae Langton explores the ethical contours of accommodation phenomena in Accommodating Injustice.

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Sometimes we find ourselves committed to substantial claims we never explicitly considered. We have *accommodated* them.

If you make the inference Fa, therefore Ga,

If you make the inference Fa, therefore Ga, and you meet with no objection,

If you make the inference
Fa, therefore Ga,
and you meet with no objection,
then not only are Fa and Ga
added to the common ground,

If you make the inference
Fa, therefore Ga,
and you meet with no objection,
then not only are Fa and Ga
added to the common ground,
but so is the generic: Fs are Gs.

Of course ...

This could be highly *local*.

Recall: she has stripes, so she's a zebra.

Of course ...

This could be highly *local*.

Recall: she has stripes, so she's a zebra.

Striped things (here) are zebras.

This isn't presupposition accommodation

The speech act of inference is *explicit*. It can be rejected, just as an assertion can.

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I can *reject* the inference Fa, so Ga, while *accepting* Fa and Ga.

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I can *reject* the inference Fa, so Ga, while *accepting* Fa and Ga.

Whether the inference is accepted or rejected should make *some* difference in the common ground.

If the inference is made explicit by a *generic* this can do the job.

Consequences

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- This commitment (Fs are Gs) goes beyond the explicit subject matter (the object α) under discussion.
- ➤ Since generics are *generic*, they can persist, even after the details fade from attention.
- ▶ We can find ourselves accepting generics (and perhaps, believing them) without ever having explicitly considered them.

OPTIONS FOR & REFORM

CRITIQUE

Mosquitos transmit RRF.

Logic talks are boring.

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Muslims are terrorists.

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Muslims are terrorists.

These are hard to uproot, or to argue against.

Not all mosquitos.

Not all logic talks.

Not all Muslims.

➤ To reject or deny Fs are Gs, you need to undercut the inference from Fa to Ga and the practice of explaining Ga in terms of Fa.

► In a controlled environment, we can undercut the generic by being more *specific*, by moving to explicitly stated quantifiers.

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 - ► Are all Fs Gs? Are most? How many?

- ► In a controlled environment, we can undercut the generic by being more *specific*, by moving to explicitly stated quantifiers.
 - ► Are all Fs Gs? Are most? How many?
- ► This can work, but it is hard to resist forming generic judgements. Syntactic discipline takes work.

▶ When G is a striking property, it's not enough to say that many or most Fs are not Gs.

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(After all, most mosquitos *don't* carry RRF.)

► One way to undercut the inference from Fa to Ga is to institute a practice in which the question of whether something is G or not *doesn't arise*.

► When we *care* about the property G, we won't want to revise the concept away. So another approach is to find an *alternate* explanation for Ga, other than Fa.

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 - If not all species or genus of mosquito carry RRF, then we could refine our generic to the more specific one, that Mosquitos of genus *Culex* carry RRF, while agreeing that mosquitos outside that genus *don't* carry RRF.

- ► When we *care* about the property G, we won't want to revise the concept away. So another approach is to find an *alternate* explanation for Ga, other than Fa.
 - ► If not all species or genus of mosquito carry RRF, then we could refine our generic to the more specific one, that Mosquitos of genus Culex carry RRF, while agreeing that mosquitos outside that genus don't carry RRF.
 - ► Explanations of this shape might undercut the generic Muslims are terrorists, by replacing them with better explanations such as research showing that domestic violence is a much stronger predictor of involvement in terrorism.

- ► In any case, denying a generic requires changing not only our explicit *theory*, but our dispositions to *infer*.
- ► These dispositions is expressed not just in the claims we make. They are revealed in how we string those claims together.

The Upshot

The strange behaviour of generic judgements can be explained by their grounding in our inferential practice.

This helps us understand the difficulties and some of the possibilities for reforming and revising those practices and the views they represent.

THANK YOU!

Thank you!

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