

Taking Probabilistic Choice Seriously

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Abstract

Much behaviour and cognition involves choosing between alternatives—whether in the context of consumer decisions, voting, or memory. A fundamental aspect of choice is that it is probabilistic: An organism faced with the same evidence will not always make the same choice. Despite widespread acknowledgement that probabilistic choice is a necessary element in models of cognition, it has long been treated as distracting from the core process driving behaviour. Recently, however, researchers across various fields in the cognitive and behavioural sciences have started to recognise the vital role of probabilistic choice for understanding cognition. This article reviews and synthesizes these developments, distinguishing three main origins of probabilistic choice and proposing future research avenues that integrate probabilistic choice into theories of cognition.

Keywords: Probabilistic choice; Stochasticity; Behavioural variability; Models of choice

1 **Probabilistic choice becomes a focus of research**

2 Much behaviour and cognition involves choosing between alternatives. When
3 people formulate their preferences—whether between consumer goods, eco-
4 nomic alternatives or political parties—they evaluate, compare and finally
5 choose one of the available alternatives. When people retrieve information from
6 memory, they select content from several candidate items. When they classify
7 objects, they pick a response from a set of possible categories.

8 A fundamental feature of choice is that it is probabilistic: When given
9 the same evidence on different occasions, people do not always make the
10 same choice. The *probabilistic nature of choice* has been noted across a wide
11 variety of disciplines in the cognitive and behavioural sciences, including eco-
12 nomics, political science, biology, psychology, and neuroscience. Despite the
13 widespread acknowledgement that **probabilistic choice** (see [Glossary](#)) needs
14 to be included in models of cognition, it is usually treated as peripheral and
15 as a nuisance factor with little theoretical relevance. In formal treatments it is
16 often relegated to an auxiliary, residual term, and no principled assumptions
17 are made about the internal and external processes that contribute to choice
18 being probabilistic (see [Box 1](#)).

19 In recent years, however, interest in probabilistic choice has been grow-
20 ing and researchers in psychology, neuroscience and economics have made it
21 the focus of their investigations. This article reviews this emerging trend and
22 elaborates on its implications for models of cognition. First, we highlight that
23 probabilistic choice may be a feature rather than a bug of the cognitive system.
24 We review findings suggesting that it is an indispensable tool for learning, con-
25 fers an advantage in competition and is necessary for the efficient processing of
26 information in the face of cognitive constraints and environmental uncertainty.

27 Second, we review work illustrating how the measurement of probabilistic
28 choice can be exploited to test and refine behavioural theories. We discuss
29 how cognitive models can be compared and validated based on the observable
30 patterns of probabilistic choice and how a more principled approach toward
31 accommodating **stochasticity** in cognitive models can help explain seemingly
32 irrational behavioural tendencies.

33 Finally, we synthesize existing ideas regarding the origins of probabilistic
34 choice into a framework by distinguishing three main sources: variability
35 of internal processing, uncertainty in the environment, and stochasticity in
36 behavioural implementation. Based on our proposed framework, we identify
37 new research avenues that focus on both an enhanced understanding and systematic
38 measurement of probabilistic choice. We believe that a more targeted
39 investigation of probabilistic choice can in turn inform a better understanding
40 of behaviour.

41 **Probabilistic choice is a feature, not a bug**

42 Although probabilistic choice can indeed be a nuisance in some cases (e.g.,
43 decision-making by judges or medical professionals, where consistency is
44 important), its very ubiquity gives cause for pause. In addition to asking how
45 probabilistic choice can be eliminated, it is also worth asking why probabilistic
46 choice exists in the first place. Existing literature suggests that variability in
47 behaviour can have adaptive benefits. One comes from the organism's deliberate
48 decision to deviate from a previous course of action even when faced
49 with a similar situation. Such behavioural volatility could be optimal when the
50 organism needs to learn about a novel environment; it can also be advantageous
51 against competitors. A second type of benefit comes from stochasticity
52 in information processing (which is usually not under the deliberate control of

53 the organism). This stochasticity allows the organism to adapt to an uncer-
54 tain environment under cognitive constraints. We next discuss both types of
55 benefits in more detail.

56 **Strategic use of probabilistic choice**

57 Under some circumstances, it can be beneficial for an organism confronted
58 with the same situation to make a different choice. While some organisms
59 may simply have a preference for variety [1] or randomization [2], varying
60 choices across occasions is an important strategy for organisms learning about
61 their surroundings for the first time. The simplest approach is to start by
62 making random choices and see what feedback the environment provides. This
63 strategy has been shown to be the basis for learning songs in some bird species
64 [3], motor control in humans [4], and consumers getting into new markets in
65 online environments [5]. An organism engaging in exploration might employ
66 other strategies: they can choose an alternative deliberately (i.e., “directed
67 exploration” in contrast to “random exploration”) or use a mix of the random
68 and directed approaches [for review, see 6].

69 Probabilistic choice can also be beneficial in a competitive world. In fact,
70 economic game theory is rooted in this idea [7]. To outsmart opponents in
71 zero-sum games with a mixed-strategy equilibrium, the decision maker has to
72 act unpredictably [8]. In the animal world, prey often adopts unpredictable or
73 “Protean” behaviour to avoid being preyed on [9, 10]. If many competitors in
74 the population imitate each other, it can be adaptive for agents to distribute
75 their choices across alternatives when competing for resources [11].

76 **Stochasticity in information processing**

77 Recent work in neuroscience has highlighted another benefit of probabilistic
78 choice: It allows an organism to adapt optimally to a changing environment

79 while dealing with cognitive constraints. Consider a foraging animal. Foraging
80 for food is associated with a high level of uncertainty: the number of patches
81 can change, the amount of food in the patches can change, and something
82 completely unforeseen might happen, such as a new predator arriving in the
83 area. Ideally, the animal should make choices based on a rich representation
84 of its environment that considers different types of uncertainty and the proba-
85 bility of unexpected events. However, because the animal’s cognitive resources
86 are constrained, precise estimations are unfeasible. What kind of behaviour
87 would be adaptive under such circumstances? A purely exploitative strategy
88 (i.e., picking what is currently the best food patch) is appropriate only when
89 the probabilities or values of alternatives are stable. In volatile environments,
90 switching between alternatives allows the organism to balance the maximiza-
91 tion of rewards against the prevailing cognitive constraints [12]. By switching
92 between patches, the animal can adjust optimally to a surprising outcome (i.e.,
93 a predator) without dedicating resources to monitoring for such an event [13].
94 Switching also allows the animal to adapt to the possibility of the availability
95 of food changing without having to explicitly incorporate this possibility into
96 the inference process [14].

97 Note that in the research discussed above, it is implied that the stochastic-
98 ity in behaviour is governed by processes that are not under deliberate control.
99 Specifically, the cognitive flexibility that allows the organism to quickly adapt
100 to its environment [15, 16] is thought to result from variability in brain activity
101 (i.e., the variance in different types of neural recordings). As Kloosterman and
102 colleagues put it: the “neural system avoids locking into a stereotypical, rhyth-
103 mic pattern of activity, while instead continuously exploring its full dynamic
104 range to better prepare for unpredictably occurring events” [16, p. 2].

105 **Behavioural variability as a diagnostic marker** 106 **in cognitive modelling**

107 In cognitive modelling, probabilistic choice (and the associated stochasticity in
108 cognitive processes) has commonly been treated as something that dilutes and
109 obscures the actual behavioural process under investigation [17]. Yet recent
110 developments suggest that this approach may throw the baby out with the
111 bathwater, and that acknowledging stochasticity as a substantive element of
112 cognition can have genuine value for understanding cognition [18]. In what
113 follows, we showcase how a more principled approach to behavioural variability
114 can be used to compare and evaluate models, and can help explain behavioural
115 biases.

116 **Using probabilistic choice for model comparison and** 117 **development**

118 Probabilistic choice can be used to compare theoretical predictions about spe-
119 cific choice patterns with the observed empirical behaviour. In the context
120 of violations of **transparent dominance** in repeated choices, for example,
121 it has been pointed out that the predictions of some models of preferential
122 choice do not correspond to the observed rates: Some models overestimate the
123 rates; others underestimate them [19], indicating that the models' assump-
124 tions accommodating stochasticity may be inadequate. Similarly, Birnbaum
125 used true and error theory [20] to estimate the rate of violations of **stochastic**
126 **dominance** in people's choices. He found that the empirical rates of viola-
127 tions were inconsistent with the predictions of several of the existing models
128 of risky choice [21, 22].

129 Moreover, specific patterns of probabilistic choice can point to descriptive
130 limitations of a model. For example, Loomes and Sugden noted that several

131 prominent models, such as the random preference model, cannot account for
132 asymmetric preference reversals [23]—the empirical observation that people
133 are more likely to switch from a risky alternative to a safe one than the other
134 way around. A similar dependency between consecutive decisions was found
135 by Kubovy and Healy [24] in the context of categorization, where subsequent
136 categorization responses were conditional on whether the current response was
137 correct or not.

138 **Using response stochasticity to distinguish between** 139 **judgement strategies**

140 In 1955, Egon Brunswik proposed a distinction between intuitive and analytical
141 cognitive processes in judgement [25]. Intuitive processes are characterized
142 by noisy encoding and processing of perceptual information; analytical processes
143 are based on a deterministic algorithm that implements an explicit
144 rule—for example, a mathematical equation. In an experiment where partic-
145 ipants were asked to estimate the size of objects, the two types of process
146 resulted in markedly different distributions of errors: Intuitive processing led
147 to few precisely correct answers but to small errors on average, whereas ana-
148 lytical processing led to precisely correct answers but also to large errors.
149 Recently, this approach was revived by Sundh and colleagues, who developed
150 it into a computational model [26]. Not only were they able to validate their
151 model within Brunswik’s original setting, but they also used it to distinguish
152 between the two types of process in a different set of tasks. Thus, observed
153 response stochasticity can be highly valuable for identifying cognitive processes
154 and imply that a common approach of modelling using normally distributed

155 errors may misspecify the process underlying the response distribution. Ignor-
156 ing these important differences can lead to incorrect conclusions about the
157 underlying processes.

158 **Stochasticity in information sampling can explain** 159 **apparent behavioural biases**

160 Recent research has demonstrated that a more principled approach to stochas-
161 tic components of cognitive models can provide a simpler and more unifying
162 explanation for human judgement and choice in a variety of psychological
163 tasks. For instance, it has been shown that stochasticity in internal informa-
164 tion sampling can explain patterns of intertemporal choice [12]. To illustrate,
165 temporal discounting may be the result of a person engaging in a “noisy”
166 simulation of future rewards (i.e., sampling of possible outcomes). To esti-
167 mate the value of the future rewards, the person combines the results of the
168 simulations with their prior beliefs about the rewards. Because the future is
169 associated with uncertainty, the resulting valuation will rely more heavily on
170 the prior information, resulting in discounting of the reward value. Adopt-
171 ing this perspective, Gershman and Bhui showed that the magnitude effect
172 in intertemporal choice—the phenomenon that people are more patient when
173 faced with options involving higher rewards—might be due to people investing
174 higher mental effort when faced with higher rewards, which increases precision
175 (i.e., reduces noise) during sampling, which in turn leads to less discounting.

176 Sampling and the stochasticity associated with it have also been proposed
177 as an explanation of biases in probability judgement. An approach called Prob-
178 ability Theory plus Noise (PT+N) assumes that probability judgements largely
179 follow the basic laws of probability theory but are distorted due to noisy infor-
180 mation retrieval during sampling [27]. PT+N provides a unifying account of

181 a variety of biases in probability judgements. For example, conservatism in
 182 probability judgements—the phenomenon that people are reluctant to produce
 183 probabilities of 0 and 1—may be the result of the erroneous retrieval of the
 184 event complementary to the event in focus: When estimating the probability
 185 of an event A , the person retrieves instances of $\neg A$, which leads to the esti-
 186 mated probability of A not being 0 (or 1). Building on this approach, Zhu and
 187 colleagues [28] showed that the predictions of PT+N can be improved for con-
 188 ditional probability judgements when, instead of sampling instances of $A \cup B$
 189 (i.e., when both A and B are true) and B (i.e., when B is true), instances of
 190 $A|B$ are sampled (i.e., whether A is true or not conditional on B being true).¹

191 Other work has focused on how stochasticity in behaviour might be linked
 192 to the stimulus input and how this link might help explain biases in human
 193 judgement of averages [30] and magnitude sensitivity in value-based decisions
 194 [31]. Prat-Carrabin and Woodford [30] proposed that people calculating aver-
 195 ages weigh numbers differentially and in a non-linear manner due to the noisy
 196 encoding of the stimuli. They argued that the amount of stochasticity during
 197 the encoding of a stimulus might be linked with the probability of the stimulus
 198 occurring during the experiment, and that less likely stimuli will be encoded
 199 with more stochasticity. If so, the distribution of participants' estimates should
 200 depend on the prior distribution of stimuli. The authors found empirical
 201 support for this dependence. In a similar vein, Pirrone and colleagues [31]
 202 have suggested a simpler explanation for the magnitude sensitivity observed
 203 in value-based choices (i.e., that response times are lower when rewards are
 204 higher). Previous research has suggested that relaxing assumptions of linear

¹Furthermore, Zhu and colleagues showed that the predictions of the PT+N approach are largely equivalent to an implementation of a Bayesian model where the posterior is approximated using the collected samples and the sampled information is adjusted for the (usually) small sample size by using a prior that reflects the inherent uncertainty of sampling and “a conception of probability estimates in a more general [...] sense” [29, p. 2844]. This approach provides a unifying account of a variety of biases in probability judgements.

205 utility or linear cost of time can account for this magnitude sensitivity. Accord-
206 ing to Pirrone and colleagues, the simpler explanation is that the stochasticity
207 associated with information accumulation is linked with the magnitude of the
208 rewards, and that higher rewards are associated with higher stochasticity.

209 **Three origins of probabilistic choice**

210 Despite the increasing interest in probabilistic choice (and behavioural vari-
211 ability in general), the respective research is scattered across several fields
212 and tends not to take a comprehensive approach to probabilistic choice, that
213 acknowledges its multiple possible origins. In pursuit of a more encompassing
214 perspective, we propose an organizing framework that distinguishes and syn-
215 thesises three possible sources of probabilistic choice that have been discussed
216 in the literature: stochasticity in internal processing, reaction to uncertainty
217 in the environment, and implementation stochasticity.

218 We sketch the framework around a general description of the cognitive
219 process (see Figure 1). First, the organism perceives information relevant to the
220 current task. Second, they process this information, using memory and making
221 any other necessary computations. Third, they make a choice based on the
222 processed information and finally implement it behaviourally by committing
223 to some action. In what follows, we describe these three sources of probabilistic
224 choice and how they affect each stage of the cognitive process.

225 **Stochasticity in internal processing**

226 Research in psychology and neuroscience usually distinguishes two types of
227 stochasticity that arise from internal processing within the cognitive system
228 (this is similar to what is sometimes referred to as “Thurstonian” uncertainty;
229 [32]): perceptual stochasticity and computational stochasticity [33]. The right

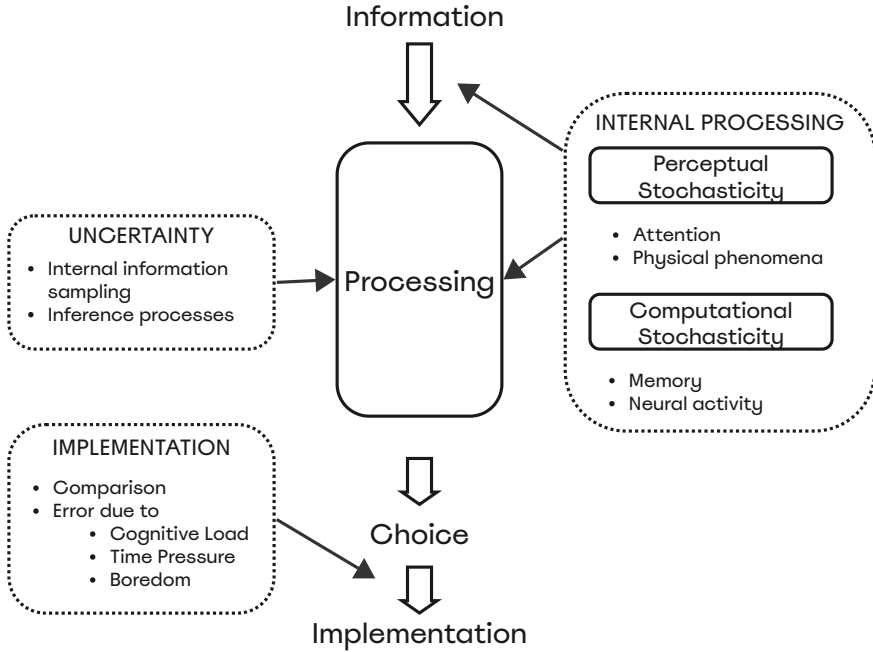


Fig. 1 Three origins of probabilistic choice.

side of Figure 1 shows how these two types relate to different stages of the cognitive process.

The first type of stochasticity originates in the perceptual system and is the result of physical phenomena (e.g., the activity of photons) or early perceptual systems. It thus affects the information before it is processed. Several cognitive models incorporate this type of stochasticity by assuming that probabilistic choice is a result of attention processes. Specifically, the idea is that people shift their attention stochastically between the alternatives [34] or between the features of the alternatives [35, 36]. Other models identify the noisy perception of information as the source of probabilistic choice. For example, it has been suggested that probabilistic choice in the domain of risky choice can be explained by stochasticity in the encoding of numerical magnitudes [37, 38].

The second type of stochasticity from internal processing originates in computational processes—that is, in how sensory input is mapped onto an internal

244 representation after it has been encoded. Recent research in the domain of risky
245 choice has connected variability in the stochasticity of neural activity (e.g.,
246 variability in blood oxygenation level-dependent activity) to the amount of
247 behavioural variability exhibited by participants [39, 40]. Kurtz-David and col-
248 leagues have argued that stochasticity in neural processes results in distortions
249 in people’s estimations of the value of alternatives. Memory processes, which
250 are known to be variable, may also contribute to this computational stochas-
251 ticity [41]. Some models suggest that alternatives are evaluated based on
252 samples drawn from memory representations of the alternatives [42]. Because
253 the random nature of memory sampling leads to different samples of retrieved
254 memories across occasions, the estimated value is likewise variable.

255 **Reaction to uncertainty in the environment**

256 A second origin of probabilistic choice is the structure of the environment. The
257 information available about the value of the alternatives is usually uncertain
258 to some extent (this is sometimes referred to as “Brunswikian” uncertainty;
259 [32]). Higher uncertainty is associated with more behavioural variability [43]
260 and with lower maximization of reward [44]. The connection between envi-
261 ronmental uncertainty and cognitive processing is shown on the left side of
262 Figure 1.

263 Models that implement Bayesian computations using sampling illustrate
264 how environmental uncertainty might feed into probabilistic choice. Consider
265 again a foraging animal deciding which food patch to choose based on previous
266 experience. According to Bayes’ rule, the choice should be based on posterior
267 beliefs that combine prior beliefs about the patches with the animal’s experi-
268 ence. Estimating such posterior beliefs becomes intractable when the number
269 of patches increases. It has therefore been argued that rather than attempting

270 to compute the posterior precisely, an animal approximates it by using random
271 sampling of relevant information from memory or the hypothesis space [28].
272 Such sampling could lead to probabilistic choice. This suggestion is supported
273 by recent findings showing that uncertainty about visual stimuli is encoded
274 by the width of the probability distribution over the possible outcomes [45],
275 represented by either individual neuron spike behaviour across trials [46] or
276 a combined distribution of neuron pulls [47]. Furthermore, Prat-Carrabin and
277 colleagues [48] compared human inferences in a learning task with that of an
278 optimal Bayesian model. They found that although participants did not make
279 inferences according to the Bayesian model, their responses were qualitatively
280 consistent with it and that the behavioural variance was similar to that pre-
281 dicted by the Bayesian model. Moreover, they showed that human inferences
282 are best explained by a model where the posterior is approximated by some
283 form of sampling (e.g., particle filters).

284 As another example, it has been proposed that probabilistic choice during
285 learning is the result of imprecise inference processes that help organisms adapt
286 to a changing and thus uncertain environment [13, 14, 49]. Consider again the
287 foraging example. An animal that approaches a patch and finds food there will
288 incorporate this information in their current representation of the patch. The
289 proposal is that the new information is incorporated only imprecisely (e.g.,
290 the learning rate varies; [50]). As a consequence, there is some imprecision in
291 the estimated value of the alternative, leading to the possibility of a different
292 (possibly suboptimal) alternative being selected when the choice is repeated. It
293 has been argued that this imprecision helps to balance cognitive resources and
294 accuracy in the face of uncertainty. Specifically, the random element stemming
295 from the imprecision allows the animal to react to changes in the environment

296 without having to invest cognitive resources in the monitoring of such possible
297 changes.

298 **Stochasticity in behavioural implementation**

299 The final origin of probabilistic choice involves variability that occurs when a
300 mental representation is mapped onto a choice (see bottom left of Figure 1).
301 This type of stochasticity is sometimes referred to as response noise [33]. Two
302 mechanisms have been discussed in the literature. First, probabilistic choice
303 can be the result of comparative processes between the alternatives [51], with
304 the degree of stochasticity being a function of how similar the computed values
305 for the alternatives [e.g., **Luce Choice Rule**; 52].

306 Second, choice can be probabilistic because the organism makes an imple-
307 mentation error. In other words, the choice following from the computed values
308 is not implemented correctly. A common approach implements this by intro-
309 ducing a parameter that expresses the probability that the implementation fails
310 [i.e., **trembling hand error**; 53]. Several factors that might lead to stochas-
311 ticity in behavioural implementation (e.g., pressing the wrong button) have
312 been discussed in the literature, including cognitive load [54], time pressure
313 [53], and boredom [55].

314 **Concluding remarks and future perspectives**

315 Choice is one of the basic processes in cognition, and organisms provided with
316 the same information about the available alternatives will not always make
317 the same choice. Although the phenomenon of probabilistic choice is generally
318 recognized as an important element of any model of cognition, it has com-
319 monly been treated as a peripheral, unsystematic factor that interferes with
320 and distracts from the process proper. Yet it appears that this view is slowly

321 changing. In this article, we have reviewed recent developments across multiple
322 fields in the cognitive and behavioural sciences that acknowledge probabilistic
323 choice and the associated stochasticity of cognitive processes to be a multi-
324 faceted and theoretically interesting element that can play a substantive role in
325 models of cognition. We have discussed both the possible functionality of prob-
326 abilistic choice for decision-making and how it can be harnessed to test and
327 refine models of cognition. Moreover, we have sketched a conceptual framework
328 distinguishing three main origins of probabilistic choice: stochasticity within
329 internal processing, reaction to uncertainty in the environment, and imple-
330 mentation stochasticity. Our review offers several new avenues for researchers
331 interested in probabilistic choice as well as general suggestions for cognitive
332 modellers.

333 The framework presented in the previous section illuminates the multi-
334 ple sources that can contribute to probabilistic choice. More effort should be
335 directed at understanding the multi-faceted nature of behavioural variability—
336 and especially the nature of the processes that lead to probabilistic choice as
337 well as their potential adaptive value. For example, although much work has
338 elaborated how environmental uncertainty might be reflected in cognitive and
339 neural processes, thus giving rise to probabilistic choice, it remains an open
340 question to what extent different types of uncertainty might result in different
341 patterns of probabilistic choice, trigger different cognitive processes, or require
342 different types of adaptation (see [Box 2](#)). See the [Outstanding Questions](#) for
343 more suggestions.

344 On a more general level, we argue that measuring and analyzing patterns
345 of probabilistic choice (and associated stochasticity) should become a core part
346 of behavioural research. First, on an empirical level, researchers should take

347 into account the complexity of probabilistic choice and its various possible ori-
348 gins when designing experiments, and make sure that the aspects important
349 for the model(s) in question can be controlled. Second, on a theoretical level,
350 researchers should analyze the response distributions, as they can help to dis-
351 tinguish between different cognitive mechanisms. Finally, on a methodological
352 level, researchers should take into account observed patterns of probabilistic
353 choice and contrast them with the model's predictions. It's high time to take
354 probabilistic choice seriously.

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544 Glossary

545 **Probabilistic choice:** The empirical phenomenon that people given the
546 same evidence do not always make the same choice. Also known as an
547 ‘inconsistent’ or ‘stochastic’ choice.

548 **Stochasticity:** A property of an element (or collection of elements) in a
549 model contributing unsystematic variability to the model’s predictions. It is
550 usually implemented by assuming a random draw from a specified probability
551 distribution.

552 **Transparent dominance:** When the worst outcome of alternative A is
553 better than the best outcome of alternative B, then alternative A transparently
554 dominates B. In other words, A is clearly the better alternative.

555 **Stochastic dominance:** When every possible outcome of alternative A
556 is at least as likely under alternative B and one outcome is more likely under
557 alternative A, then alternative A stochastically dominates alternative B.

558 **Trembling hand error:** Trembling hand error assumes that—irrespective
559 of the difference in subjective valuation between the alternatives in a choice

560 set—the alternative with the higher subjective valuation is selected with con-
 561 stant probability $1 - \epsilon$, where ϵ is the probability of making an error or that
 562 “the hand trembled.”

563 **Luce Choice Rule:** This rule derives from the work of Duncan Luce and
 564 assumes that the probability of choosing alternative A is a function of the
 565 difference between the subjective valuation of alternative A and the sum of
 566 the subjective valuations of all alternatives in the choice set (including A).

567 **Box 1: Probabilistic choice in cognitive models**

568 Many formal cognitive models that accommodate the probabilistic nature of
 569 choice share a similar general structure, consisting of two components: a *core*
 570 *component* that specifies how the subjective value for each alternative is deter-
 571 mined, and a *choice rule* that derives a probability that each alternative is
 572 chosen.

573 While both the core component and the choice rule have been used to
 574 incorporate stochasticity, most models use just one of the components—only
 575 a few assume stochasticity in both components. Proposals for how stochas-
 576 ticity can be incorporated in the core component vary considerably, from a
 577 straightforward Gaussian error term to a random process representing infor-
 578 mation accumulation. Most models incorporating stochasticity in the choice
 579 rule use one of four rules: Luce Choice Rule, softmax, probit, or the trembling
 580 hand error. In the first three, the predicted choice probability is a function of
 581 the relative evidence for each alternative. In the fourth, it is constant across
 582 different sets of compared alternatives.

583 Both the different stochastic components and the many possible imple-
 584 mentations of stochasticity can, in principle, be combined in any way. This
 585 has resulted in a great heterogeneity of approaches to probabilistic choice in

586 cognitive models. Often, there is no principled approach as to which implemen-
 587 tation of probabilistic choice is employed in a given model. At the same time,
 588 this heterogeneity is not uniformly distributed across disciplines and fields:
 589 Assumptions and approaches seem to be clustered, further suggesting that
 590 they are guided by the specific conventions in a subfield rather than by general
 591 principles of cognition. This fragmentation suggests that probabilistic choice is
 592 often treated as an auxiliary aspect of the actual substantive theory of cogni-
 593 tion. In many cases, models are equipped with a stochastic component simply
 594 to “accommodate human choice stochasticity” [44, p. 41], without providing
 595 a functional and process-specific rationale, or based on a model comparison of
 596 various probabilistic components.

597 **Box 2: Types of uncertainty**

598 Three types of uncertainty can be distinguished: *aleatory uncertainty*, *epis-*
 599 *temic uncertainty* and *ambiguity*. Whereas aleatory uncertainty arises from
 600 objective physical features of the environment (e.g., the design of a die makes
 601 it inherently uncertain), both epistemic uncertainty and ambiguity arise from
 602 the agent’s limited information about the environment.

603 Suppose a foraging animal knows that the current patch produces 10 berries
 604 and that there is a probability of 80% that they will be eaten by another
 605 animal. In other words, the animal knows the possible outcomes and their
 606 probabilities. Here, *aleatory uncertainty* would correspond to the animal being
 607 uncertain about whether there will be any food at the patch because there is
 608 an 80% chance that another animal has already eaten it.

609 Now, suppose the animal knows that 10 berries can be produced but does
 610 not know the probability that they will be eaten by another animal. In other
 611 words, the animal knows the possible outcomes but not their probabilities.

612 Here, *epistemic uncertainty* would correspond to the animal being uncertain
613 about whether the food will be there because there is some possibility it has
614 already been eaten.

615 Finally, suppose the animal has limited information about the amount of
616 food and the probability it will be eaten by another animal, such that the
617 animal knows neither all possible outcomes nor how likely they are. Here,
618 *ambiguity* corresponds to the animal being uncertain about both the amount
619 of food that might be there and the probability that any food will be there. A
620 related concept to ambiguity is uncertainty about *known/unknown unknowns*.
621 The animal might have a set of hypotheses about what could interfere with
622 the food supply, with each hypothesis being more or less likely. For example,
623 the animal might think it is likely that another animal will eat the food, but
624 that it is less likely that insects will interfere with the food source, and very
625 unlikely that the weather will affect the supply. This is uncertainty about
626 *known unknowns*. It is also possible that hypotheses are extremely unlikely
627 and/or have not even been considered. This is uncertainty about *unknown*
628 *unknowns*.

629 Highlights

630 Probabilistic choice has long been treated as peripheral to the core processes
631 of decision-making. Recent developments challenge that view and instead
632 highlight the possible importance of probabilistic choice for understanding
633 cognition.

634 First, probabilistic choice has been shown to have adaptive benefits for the
635 organism.

636 Second, probabilistic choice (and the associated stochasticity) has been
637 shown to serve as a diagnostic tool for testing, comparing, and refining
638 cognitive models.

639 Toward a more structured perspective on probabilistic choice, we propose a
640 framework that distinguishes three origins of probabilistic choice: stochasticity
641 in the internal processing, in reaction to uncertainty in the environment, and
642 during implementation of internal computations into a behaviour.

643 **Outstanding questions**

- 644 • Do patterns of probabilistic choice differ depending on the origin of proba-
645 bilistic choice? In addition to intuitive and analytic strategies of judgement,
646 what other cognitive strategies can be distinguished based on their predicted
647 response distributions?
- 648 • Is the stochasticity that is due to internal processing the same that emerges
649 in response to uncertainty in the environment? And how does the amount of
650 uncertainty in the environment affect the amount of stochasticity in inter-
651 nal processing? For example, how does the variability in memory retrieval
652 change under uncertainty? Does memory retrieval become more stochastic,
653 resulting in more probabilistic choice?
- 654 • In light of the evidence that higher variability in neuronal firing is some-
655 times associated with higher task performance [e.g., 56], what exactly is the
656 mechanistic relationship between neural variability and probabilistic choice?
- 657 • To what extent do different types of uncertainty result in different patterns of
658 probabilistic choice, trigger different cognitive processes, or require different
659 types of adaptivity?
- 660 • What are the empirical rates of implementation stochasticity across different
661 tasks?