Assertions, Denials Questions, Answers & the Common Ground

Greg Restall



My Aim

To better understand the speech acts of assertion and denial, their relationships to other speech acts, and connections between speech acts and logical notions, including the Gentzen's sequent calculus.

My Prompt

I want to revisit some themes
(and expand on some of the claims)
from my 2005 paper
"Multiple Conclusions."

My Focus

The behaviour of two kinds of speech acts:

(1) polar (yes/no) questions,

and (2) justification requests.

My **Plan**

Assertion and Denial

Polar Questions

Positions and Rules

Justification Requests

ASSERTION AND DENIAL

Multiple Conclusions

 $X \succ Y$

Don't *assert* each member of X and *deny* each member of Y.

Structural Rules

$$X, A \succ A, Y$$
 Id $\frac{X \succ A, Y \quad X, A \succ Y}{X \succ Y}$ Cut

These rules govern assertion and denial as such.

Defining Rules for Logical Concepts

$$\frac{X,A,B\succ Y}{\overline{X,A\land B\succ Y}}\land \mathit{D} f\quad \frac{X\succ A,B,Y}{\overline{X\succ A\lor B,Y}}\lor \mathit{D} f\quad \frac{X\succ A,Y}{\overline{X,\neg A\succ Y}}\lnot \mathit{D} f\quad \frac{X,A\succ B,Y}{\overline{X\succ A}\to B,Y}\to \mathit{D} f$$

$$\frac{X \succ A(n), Y}{X \succ \forall x A(x), Y} \ \forall \mathit{Df} \quad \frac{X, A(n) \succ Y}{X, \exists x A(x) \succ Y} \ \exists \mathit{Df} \quad \frac{X, F\alpha \succ Fb, Y \quad X, Fb \succ F\alpha, Y}{X \succ \alpha = b, Y} = \mathit{Df}$$

Terms & conditions: the singular term n (in $\forall /\exists Df$) and the predicate F (in =Df) do not appear below the line in those rules.

These rules can be understood as *definitions* of the concepts they introduce (below the double line).

See (Scott 1974; Došen 1980, 1989; Restall 2019).

In appealing to norms governing assertion...

... I was wading into a pre-existing literature about assertion. A *very large* literature.

Norms for Assertion

It is fruitful to think of assertion as an act governed by *norms*.

For me: Production Norms

Aim to say what is *true*!

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Aim to say what is *true*!

Only say what you know!

For **me**: Production Norms

Aim to say what is true!

Only say what you *know*!

Be prepared to *back it up* when requested!

For you: Consumption Norms

The hearer is entitled to re-assert.

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The hearer is entitled to re-assert.

You can refer back to the asserter to *vouch for* the assertion.

For us: Our Common Ground

To assert is to bid for the content asserted to be added to the COMMON GROUND, the body of information that we (together) take for granted.

Stalnaker on Common Ground

To presuppose something is to take it for granted, or at least to act as if one takes it for granted, as background information as common ground among the participants in the conversation. What is most distinctive about this propositional attitude is that it is a social or public attitude: one presupposes that φ only if one presupposes that others presuppose it as well.

— "Common Ground" $L \mathcal{C}P(2002)$

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In "Multiple Conclusions", I said little beyond the claim that assertion and denial are incompatible (in some sense).

This does not help distinguish denial from retraction, or from other speech acts.

Let's address this issue...

... by examining polar questions, and their answers, in the light of our background interest in assertion and its norms.

POLAR QUESTIONS

Is it the case that p?

This is a distinct speech act with its own norms.

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It raises an issue.

There are two ways to settle the issue

Yes

There are two ways to settle the issue

Yes No

The two ways clash

If I say *yes* and you say *no* to some polar question p?, then we DISAGREE.

That is, we take *different* positions on p.

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If I say *yes* and you say *no* to some polar question p?, then we DISAGREE.

That is, we take *different* positions on p.

There is no *shared* position incorporating both of our answers.

Other responses, like

Other responses, like

maybe

Other responses, like

maybe · I don't know

Other responses, like

maybe · I don't know · I think so

Other responses, like

maybe · I don't know · I think so

are acceptable responses to p?,

Other responses, like

maybe · I don't know · I think soare acceptable responses to p?,but they don't answer the question.They don't settle the issue of p.

Settling answers are assertions

A yes or a no to p? counts as an assertion.

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A yes or a no to p? counts as an assertion.

(Either answer is governed by all of the assertion norms we've seen.)

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However, I prefer to think of a *yes* to p? as ruling p *in*, and a *no* to p? as ruling p *out*.

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(Nothing important here hangs on this distinction.)

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a pair of sets of sentences

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- > We have ruled *out* everything in Y, the NEGATIVE COMMON GROUND.

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- \succ We have ruled *in* everything in X, the Positive Common Ground.
- ≻ We have ruled *out* everything in Y, the NEGATIVE COMMON GROUND.

Think of this as part of the *conversational scoreboard*. There are also our public *individual* commitments, the questions under discussion, and much more.

ABELARD: Astralabe is in the study.

ELOISE: No, he is in the kitchen.

ABELARD: Astralabe is in the study.

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ABELARD: Astralabe is in the study.

ELOISE: No, he is either in the

kitchen *or* the study.

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INAPPROPRIATE

ELOISE: Maybe. He's *either* in the kitchen *or* the study.

ABELARD: Astralabe is in the study.

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ABELARD: Is Astralabe in the study?

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STRONG DENIAL

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PARTIAL ANSWER

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STRONG DENIAL

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WEAK DENIAL

ABELARD: Is Astralabe in the study?

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STRONG DENIAL

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PARTIAL ANSWER

Strong and Weak Denial

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- > To weakly deny p is to block the addition of p to the positive common ground, or to bid for its retraction if it is already there.

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Strong and Weak Denial, and the Common Ground

- > Strong *or* weak denials of p are appropriate responses to an assertion of p, because the assertion of p is a bid to add p to the positive common ground.
- ➤ A strong denial of p is one way to settle the question p? to settle it negatively.
- > A weak denial of p is not generally an appropriate response to the polar question p?, as the polar question does not place p in the positive common ground, and the question is inappropriate if p is already in the positive common ground, so there is no p to block or retract.

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- > STRONG ASSERTION: add to the positive common ground.
- > WEAK DENIAL: retract (or block) from the positive common ground.
- > WEAK ASSERTION: retract (or block) from the negative common ground. "Perhaps p."

That's one way to understand the relationship between assertion and denial, and how to distinguish strong denial from other negative speech acts.

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ELOISE: No. The interior angles of *this* triangle add up to 180°. Can you prove the general case?

Eloise here seems to block from the common ground (weakly deny) a *logical consequence* of claims in the common ground (the axioms of geometry), for the same kind of reason we accept for other weak denials.

This would be impossible if the common ground was simply a set of worlds.

Logical Consequence and Strong or Weak Denial

If X > Y is derivable, then it's out of bounds to *strongly assert* each member of Xand *strongly deny* each member of Y.

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If $X \succ Y$ is derivable, then it's out of bounds to *strongly assert* each member of Xand *strongly deny* each member of Y.

But this example shows that it *need not* be out of bounds to *strongly assert* each member of X and *weakly deny* each member of Y.

Positions

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If X > Y is not derivable then [X : Y] is available.

A Word on Cut

$$\frac{X \succ A, Y \quad X, A \succ Y}{X \succ Y} \mathit{Cut}$$

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(After all, isn't the issue A? thereby *implicitly* settled by [X : Y]?)

POSITIONS AND RULES

Defining Rules

$$\frac{X,A,B \succ Y}{\overline{X,A \land B \succ Y}} \land Df \qquad \frac{X \succ A,B,Y}{\overline{X} \succ A \lor B,Y} \lor Df$$

$$\frac{X \succ A, Y}{\overline{X, \neg A \succ Y}} \neg \textit{Df} \qquad \frac{X, A \succ B, Y}{\overline{X \succ A \rightarrow B, Y}} \rightarrow \textit{Df}$$

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These are kinds of *definitions*, showing how to treat assertions or denials of the *defined* concept in terms of the assertions or denials of their components.

Derivations

$$\frac{\neg p \succ \neg p}{\succ p, \neg p} \neg_{Df}$$

$$\frac{\neg p \succ p, \neg p}{\succ p \lor \neg p} \lor_{Df}$$

Derivations

$$\frac{\neg p \succ \neg p}{\succ p, \neg p} \neg Df \qquad \frac{p \succ p}{p, \neg p \succ} \neg Df$$

$$\frac{\neg p \succ \neg Df}{p, \neg p \succ} \land Df$$

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Derivations

$$\frac{\neg p \succ \neg p}{\succ p, \neg p} \neg Df \qquad \frac{p \succ p}{p, \neg p \succ} \neg Df \\ \succ p \lor \neg p} \lor Df \qquad \frac{p \succ p}{p, \neg p \succ} \land Df$$

$$\frac{p, q \lor r \succ p \land q, q \lor r}{\frac{p, q \lor r \succ p \land q, r, q}{Q, p, q \lor r \succ p \land q, r}} \land_{Df} \frac{p \land q, q \lor r \succ p \land q, r}{q, p, q \lor r \succ p \land q, r} \land_{Cut}}{\frac{p, q \lor r \succ p \land q, r}{p, q \lor r \succ (p \land q) \lor r}} \land_{Df}} \xrightarrow{Cut}$$

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- > They don't have the same *shape* as proofs.
- \succ (Where is the *conclusion* in $p \lor q \succ p, q$?)
- A endsequent X > A doesn't tell you to infer A from X
 it merely tells you to not assert all members of X and deny A.

Let's make this problem sharp

"Well, now, let's take a little bit of the argument in that First Proposition—just two steps, and the conclusion drawn from them. Kindly enter them in your note-book. And in order to refer to them conveniently, let's call them A, B, and Z:—

(A) Things that are equal to the same are equal to each other.

(B) The two sides of this Triangle are things that are equal to the same.

(Z) The two sides of this Triangle are equal to each other.

Readers of Euclid will grant, I suppose, that Z follows logically from A and B, so that any one who accepts A and B as true, must accept Z as true?"

"Undoubtedly! The youngest child in a High School—as soon as High Schools are invented, which will not be till some two thousand years later—will grant that."

"And if some reader had not yet accepted A and B as true, he might

still accept the sequence as a valid one, I suppose?"

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The Tortoise never asserts A and A \rightarrow Z while denying Z, but he doesn't accept A and A \rightarrow Z as a reason for Z.

JUSTIFICATION REQUESTS

ABELARD: Astralabe is in the kitchen.

ELOISE: Really?

ABELARD: I saw him there five minutes ago.

ELOISE: OK.

ABELARD: Astralabe is in the kitchen.

ELOISE: Really?

ABELARD: I saw him there five minutes ago.

ELOISE: OK.

ABELARD: Astralabe is in the kitchen.

ELOISE: Really?

ABELARD: I saw him there five minutes ago.

ELOISE: Are you sure? He's been in the study with me for the last half hour.

ABELARD: Astralabe is in the kitchen.

ELOISE: Really?

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ELOISE: Really?

ABELARD: I saw him there five minutes ago.

ELOISE: Are you sure? He's been in the study with me for the last half hour.

ABELARD: Astralabe is in the kitchen.

ELOISE: Really?

ABELARD: I saw him there five minutes ago.

ELOISE: Yes, but he was in the study two minutes ago.

Justification Requests and Norms for Assertion

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That's a justification request.

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This reason is another assertion [or denial] which must be *granted*, (added to the common ground) in order for the request to be met.

Granting the given reason is *necessary* but not *sufficient* for satisfying the justification request.

Definitions and Justification Requests

- ACHILLES So ... this is an *equilateral* triangle.
- TORTOISE I'm sorry, I don't follow, my heroic friend. I've not heard that word before: what does 'equilateral' mean?
- ACHILLES Oh, that's easy to explain. 'Equilateral' means having sides of the same length. An equilateral triangle is a triangle with all three sides the same length.
- TORTOISE OK. That sounds good. You may continue with your reasoning.
- ACHILLES Well, as I was saying, the sides of this triangle are all one cubit in length, so it is an equilateral triangle.
- TORTOISE Perhaps you will forgive me, Achilles, but I still don't follow. I grant to you that the sides of this triangle all have the same length. I fail to see, however, that it *follows* that it is an equilateral triangle. Could you explain why it is?

Definitions and Justification Requests

If I accept the definition $A =_{df} B$, then I should accept granting A as meeting a justification request for the assertion of B and ruling out A as meeting a justification request for B's denial and *vice versa*.

A failure to accept this is a sign that I have not mastered the definition.

What goes for a definition of the form $A =_{df} B$ can also go for *defining rules*:

$$\frac{X, A, B \succ Y}{X, A \land B, \succ Y} \land Df$$

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It is a mistake to grant A and grant B and to look for something more to discharge a justification request for an assertion of $A \wedge B$, if you take $\wedge Df$ as a definition.

$$\frac{X, A \succ B, Y}{X \succ A \rightarrow B, Y} \rightarrow Df$$

$$\frac{X,A \succ B,Y}{X \succ A \rightarrow B,Y} \rightarrow \textit{Df}$$

It is a mistake to rule A in and rule B out and to look for something more to discharge a justification request for a denial of $A \rightarrow B$ if you accept $\rightarrow Df$ as a definition.

Justification Requests, Defining Rules and Derivations

A *little* more work is required to show why granting A and $A \rightarrow Z$ is enough to meet a justification request for Z's assertion.

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Consider this *focussed* derivation:

$$\frac{A \to Z \succ \boxed{A \to Z}}{A \to Z, A \succ \boxed{Z}} \to \mathit{Df}$$

 \succ Read the *premise* as telling us that in a position in which $A \to Z$ is already ruled in, we have an answer to the justification request for $A \to Z$'s assertion.

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- \succ Read the *premise* as telling us that in a position in which $A \to Z$ is already ruled in, we have an answer to the justification request for $A \to Z$'s assertion.
- \succ Then applying $\rightarrow Df$ we see why we have an answer to the request concerning Z's assertion, in a context in which $A \rightarrow Z$ and A have both been ruled in. (In granting $A \rightarrow Z$ and A we have settled Z positively. Its denial is ruled out, since to assert A and deny Z amounts to denying $A \rightarrow Z$.)

Focussed Derivations and Justification Requests

SLOGAN: A *derivation* of $X \succ A$, Y shows us how to meet a justification request for the assertion of A in any available position extending [X : Y].

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A derivation of X, A > Y shows us how to meet a justification request for the denial of A in any available position extending [X : Y].

(Note: it's the *derivation* that shows how to meet the justification request, not the mere validity of the sequent.)

 $X, A \succ A, Y$ $X, A \succ A, Y$

$$X, A \succ A, Y$$
 $X, A \succ A, Y$

$$X, A \succ A, B, Y$$
 $X, A, B \succ A, Y$

$$X, A \succ A, Y$$
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$$X, A \succ A, Y$$

$$X, A \succ A, B, Y$$

$$X, A, B \succ A, Y$$

$$X \succ A, Y \quad X, A \succ B, Y$$

$$X \succ B, Y$$

$$Cut$$

$$X \succ A, Y \quad X, A, B \succ Y$$

$$X, B \succ Y$$

$$X, A \succ A, Y$$
 $X, A \succ A, Y$

$$X, A \succ A, B, Y$$
 $X, A, B \succ A, Y$

$$X \succ A, Y \quad X, A \succ B, Y$$

$$X \succ B, Y$$

$$X \succ B, Y$$

$$X \succ A, Y \quad X, A, B \succ Y$$

$$X, B \succ Y$$

$$X \succ A, Y \quad X, A, B \succ Y$$

$$X \succ A, Y \quad X, A, B \succ Y$$

$$X \succ A, Y \quad X, A, Y \quad X \succ A, Y$$

$$X \succ A, Y \quad X \succ A, Y$$

Swap

$$\frac{X \succ A, B, Y \quad X, A \succ A, B, Y}{X \succ A, B, B, Y}_{Cut}$$

$$\frac{X \succ A, B, B, Y}{X \succ A, B, Y}_{W}$$

Swap

$$\frac{X \succ A, B, Y \quad X, A \succ A, B, Y}{\frac{X \succ A, B, B, Y}{X \succ A, B, Y}} Cut$$

$$\frac{X \succ A, B, Y}{X \succ A, B, Y}$$
 Swap

Focussed Defining Rules

$$\frac{X, A, B \rightarrow Y}{X, A \wedge B \rightarrow Y} \wedge Df \qquad \frac{X, A, B \rightarrow Y}{X, A \wedge B \rightarrow Y} \wedge Df$$

$$\frac{X \rightarrow A, B, Y}{X \rightarrow A \vee B, Y} \vee Df \qquad \frac{X \rightarrow A, B, Y}{X \rightarrow A \vee B, Y} \vee Df$$

$$\frac{X \rightarrow A, Y}{X, \neg A \rightarrow Y} \neg Df \qquad \frac{X, A \rightarrow B, Y}{X \rightarrow A \rightarrow B, Y} \rightarrow Df \qquad \frac{X, A \rightarrow B, Y}{X \rightarrow A \rightarrow B, Y} \rightarrow Df$$

Proof and Supposition

$$\frac{X, A \succ B, Y}{X \succ A \rightarrow B, Y} \rightarrow Df \qquad \frac{X, A \succ B, Y}{X \succ A \rightarrow B, Y} \rightarrow Df$$

To prove $A \rightarrow B$, *rule* A *in* (suppose it) and prove B.

Or, *rule* B *out* (suppose it), and refute A.

A Focussed Derivation

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(See the handout for a bad rendering of how such a dialogue could go.)

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- > The making of an *inference* is a (possibly preemptive) answer to a justification request.
- \rightarrow A derivation of a sequent $X \rightarrow A$, $Y[X, A \rightarrow Y]$ can be transformed into a *procedure* for meeting a justification request for an assertion of A [denial of A] in any available position, appealing only what is granted in [X : Y], and to the defining rules used in that derivation.

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- > The *negative* view of the bounds is seen in the clash between assertion and denial, and the *positive* view is found in the answers we can give to justification requests.
- > Adopting *defining rules* is one way to be *very* precise about the norms governing the concepts so defined, combining *safety*, *univocity* and *expressive power*.

THANK YOU!

http://consequently.org/presentation/2020/ assertion-denial-qa-common-ground-acu