Assertions, Denials Questions, Answers & the Common Ground

Greg Restall



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My Aim

To better understand the speech acts of assertion and denial, their relationship to other speech acts, and connections between these speech acts and logical notions, including the classical sequent calculus.

My Prompt

I want to revisit some themes (and revise some of the claims) in my 2005 paper "Multiple Conclusions."

My Focus

The behaviour of two kinds of speech acts:

polar (yes/no) questions, and 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.

In taking this approach...

... I was wading into a pre-existing literature.

Norms for Assertion

It's been fruitful to think of assertion as an act governed by *norms*.

For me: Production Norms

Aim to say what is true!

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.

For you: Consumption Norms

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.

What is the relationship between Assertion and Denial?

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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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This is a distinct speech act with its own norms.

It raises an issue.

There are two ways to settle the issue

Yes

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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 answers, like

Other answers, like

maybe

Other answers, like

maybe · I don't know

Other answers, like

maybe · I don't know · I think so

Other answers, like

maybe · I don't know · I think so

count as acceptable responses to p?,

Other answers, like

maybe · I don't know · I think so
count as acceptable responses to p?,
but 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.

(It's governed by the assertion norms we saw in the previous section.)

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This way, we can distinguish practices where the *issues* are closed under negation and those with more limited expressive resources.

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This way, we can distinguish practices where the *issues* are closed under negation and those with more limited expressive resources.

(Nothing important hangs on this distinction.)

Common Ground

[X : Y]

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Common Ground

[X : Y]

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

"No" means No!

ABELARD: Astralabe is in the study.

ELOISE: No, he is in the kitchen.

ABELARD: Astralabe is in the study.

ELOISE: No, he is in the kitchen.

ABELARD: Astralabe is in the study.

ELOISE: No, he is either in the

kitchen *or* the study.

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ABELARD: Astralabe is in the study.

ELOISE: *No, he is *either* in the kitchen *or* the study.

INAPPROPRIATE

ELOISE: Well, he is *either* in the kitchen *or* the study.

ABELARD: Astralabe is in the study.

ELOISE: No, he is in the kitchen.

ABELARD: Is Astralabe in the study?

ELOISE: No, he is in the kitchen.

STRONG DENIAL

ABELARD: Astralabe is in the study.

ELOISE: No, he is *either* in the kitchen *or* the study.

ABELARD: Astralabe is in the study.

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PARTIAL ANSWER

ABELARD: Astralabe is in the study.

ELOISE: No, he is in the kitchen.

STRONG DENIAL

ABELARD: Astralabe is in the study.

ELOISE: No, he is *either* in the kitchen *or* the study.

WEAK DENIAL

ABELARD: Is Astralabe in the study?

ELOISE: No, he is in the kitchen.

STRONG DENIAL

ABELARD: Astralabe is in the study.

ELOISE: *No, he is *either* in the kitchen *or* the study.

INAPPROPRIATE

ELOISE: Well, he is *either* in the kitchen *or* the study.

PARTIAL ANSWER

"No" means No

These "no"s always mark an objection.

But an objection to what?

Strong and Weak Denial

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Strong and Weak Denial

- > To strongly deny p is to bid to add p to the negative common ground.
- > 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 assertion of p, because the assertion of p is a bid to add p to the positive common ground.
- ➤ While a strong denial of p is one way to settle the question p? this is generally an appropriate response.
- > 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.

> STRONG DENIAL: add to the negative common ground.

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- > STRONG DENIAL: add to the negative common ground.
- \succ 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.

Positions

Any position [X, A : A, Y] in which A has been ruled *in* and ruled *out*, is out of bounds.

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Any position [X, A : A, Y] in which A has been ruled *in* and ruled *out*, is out of bounds.

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

If $X \not\succ Y$ then [X : Y] is available.

A Word on Cut

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

A Word on Cut

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

In any available position [X : Y], if one way to settle A? is *not* available, then the other way to settle it *is* available.

POSITIONS AND RULES

Defining Rules

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

$$\frac{X \succ A, Y}{\overline{X, \neg A \succ Y}} \sim Df \qquad \frac{X, A \succ B, Y}{\overline{X \succ A \supset B, Y}} \supset Df$$

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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

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

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

Derivations

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

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Derivations

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

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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.

Réaders 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 $A \supset Z$ while denying Z, but he doesn't accept A and A \supset Z as a reason for Z.

JUSTIFICATION REQUESTS

ABELARD: Astralabe is in the study.

ELOISE: Really?

ABELARD: I saw him there five minutes ago.

ELOISE: OK.

ABELARD: Astralabe is in the study.

ELOISE: Really?

ABELARD: I saw him there five minutes ago.

ELOISE: OK.

ABELARD: Astralabe is in the study.

ELOISE: Really?

ABELARD: I saw him there five minutes ago.

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

ABELARD: Astralabe is in the study.

ELOISE: Really?

ABELARD: I saw him there five minutes ago.

ELOISE: OK.

ABELARD: Astralabe is in the study.

ELOISE: Really?

ABELARD: I saw him there five minutes ago.

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

ABELARD: Astralabe is in the study.

ELOISE: Really?

ABELARD: I saw him there five minutes ago.

ELOISE: Yes, but I saw him in the kitchen 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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$$\frac{X, A, B \succ Y}{X, A \land B, \succ Y} \land Df$$

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.

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

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

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 $A \supset B$ if you accept $\supset Df$ as a definition.

Justification Requests, Defining Rules and Derivations

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Consider this *focussed* derivation:

$$\frac{A \supset Z \succ A \supset Z}{A \supset Z, A \succ Z} \supset Df$$

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

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

Focussed Derivations and Justification Requests

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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].

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].

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

$$X \succ B, Y$$

$$X \succ B, Y$$

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

$$X, B \succ Y$$

$$Cut$$

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

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

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

$$X \succ B, Y$$

$$X \succ B, Y$$

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

$$X, B \succ Y$$

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

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

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

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

Swap

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

Swap

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

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

$$W$$

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

Focussed Defining Rules

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

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

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

Focussed Derivations

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

$$p \land \neg p \succ \land Df$$

Focussed Derivations

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

Proof and Supposition

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

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

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

Grasping how focussed derivations can be understood as procedures for meeting justification requests gives us answers to our questions.

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- > If we understand a *conclusion* of a *proof* the meeting of a justification request, we can see why this kind of conclusion is *single*.
- > Since both assertions and denials can be the target of a justification request, this single conclusion can be in the *right* or the *left* of a sequent.
- > The making of an *inference* is a (possibly preemptive) answer to a justification request.

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- A derivation of a sequent X > A, Y [X, A > 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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- > 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!