

Erotetic Languages

The Inquisitive Hierarchy

Jeroen Groenendijk

www.illc.uva.nl/inquisitive-semantics



Amsterdam, December 1, 2011

Erotetic languages

Definition (Erotetic languages)

A logical language \mathcal{L} is an *erotetic language* iff

1. The *semantics of \mathcal{L} is inquisitive*: it distinguishes both **informative and inquisitive content** of the sentences in \mathcal{L} .
2. For some $\varphi \in \mathcal{L}$: φ is informative
for some $\varphi \in \mathcal{L}$: φ is inquisitive.
3. $\varphi \in \mathcal{L}$ is a *tautology* iff φ is neither informative nor inquisitive.
4. For some $\varphi \in \mathcal{L}$: φ is a tautology.

That there are tautologies is to guarantee that there is some **logic**

Assertions, Questions and Hybrids

Definition (Assertions and questions)

Let \mathcal{L} be an erotetic language, $\varphi \in \mathcal{L}$.

1. φ is an *assertion* iff φ is not inquisitive.
 2. φ is a *question* iff φ is not informative.
 3. φ is a *hybrid* iff φ is informative and inquisitive.
-
- These are **semantic categories**

Classical erotetic languages

Definition (Classical erotetic languages)

A logical language \mathcal{L} is a *classical erotetic language* iff

1. \mathcal{L} is an erotetic language which has two syntactic sentential categories of **indicatives** $\mathcal{L}_!$ and **interrogatives** $\mathcal{L}_?$, where
2. $\mathcal{L} = \mathcal{L}_! \cup \mathcal{L}_?$ and $\mathcal{L}_! \subset \mathcal{L}$ and $\mathcal{L}_? \subset \mathcal{L}$ and $\mathcal{L}_! \cap \mathcal{L}_? = \emptyset$.
3. Every $\varphi \in \mathcal{L}_!$ is an assertion and
Every $\varphi \in \mathcal{L}_?$ is a question.

Fact

There are **no hybrids** in a classical erotetic language.

Truth. Questions are intensional

Classical evaluation

- $v \models \varphi$, sentence φ is true in world (model) v

Classical meaning

- $\text{info}(\varphi) = \{v \in \omega \mid v \models \varphi\}$

Informativeness

- φ is informative iff $\text{info}(\varphi) \neq \omega$

Can't work for questions

- By definition: questions are not informative
- If φ is a question: $\text{info}(\varphi) = \omega$
- Every question is true in every **single** world.

Inquisitive hierarchy

Pairs of worlds? Risky

- What if $\{v, u\} \models \varphi$ and $\{v, w\} \models \varphi$ and $\{w, u\} \models \varphi$, whereas $\{u, v, w\} \not\models \psi$?
- If this could happen (classically it couldn't), just considering pairs and not bigger sets might give the wrong results.
- And this can repeat itself at every level

Remark

This observation can also be used against trying to find a many-valued solution for the evaluation of questions

Fact

For pairs of worlds 5 values suffice
(ESSLLI 2008 Lecture Notes)

But what if pairs do not suffice?

Information states

- We need arbitrary sets of worlds to evaluate sentences of an erotetic language, and we call them states

Definition (States)

Let \mathcal{L} be an erotetic language, and ω the set of suitable worlds for \mathcal{L} . The set of *suitable states for \mathcal{L}* , $S_{\mathcal{L}}$ is the set of all subsets of ω .

Definition (Extension)

Let $s, t \in S_{\mathcal{L}}$. s is an extension of t iff $s \subseteq t$.

Support semantics

Assumption (Standard structure of support semantics)

Let $S_{\mathcal{L}}$ be the set of suitable states for \mathcal{L} .

- A support semantics for \mathcal{L} characterizes the notion of when a state $s \in S_{\mathcal{L}}$ supports a sentence $\varphi \in \mathcal{L}$, which we denote as $s \models \varphi$.
- The logical notions of validity, entailment and equivalence are defined as:
 1. $\models \varphi$ iff for all $s \in S_{\mathcal{L}}$: $s \models \varphi$
 2. $\varphi \models \psi$ iff for all $s \in S_{\mathcal{L}}$: if $s \models \varphi$, then $s \models \psi$
 3. $\varphi \equiv \psi$ iff $\varphi \models \psi$ and $\psi \models \varphi$
- The notion of meaning is defined as: $[\varphi] = \{s \in S_{\mathcal{L}} \mid s \models \varphi\}$

From validity to support

Assumption (Tautologies and validity)

$\models \varphi$ iff φ is a tautology.

Fact (Validity)

$\models \varphi$ iff φ is neither informative nor inquisitive.

Definition (Absolute informativeness and inquisitiveness)

1. φ is informative iff for some state $s \in S_{\mathcal{L}}$: φ is informative in s .
2. φ is inquisitive iff for some state $s \in S_{\mathcal{L}}$: φ is inquisitive in s .

Definition (Support)

$s \models \varphi$ iff φ is not informative in s and φ is not inquisitive in s .

Informativeness in a state

Definition (Informative content)

$$\text{info}(\varphi) = \{v \in \omega \mid \{v\} \models \varphi\}$$

By definition questions are not informative:

Fact (Questions)

$$\varphi \text{ is a question iff } \text{info}(\varphi) = \omega$$

Non-informativeness of a sentence φ in a state s :

the update of s with the informative content of φ has no effect:

Definition (Informativeness in a state)

φ is *informative* in s iff $s \cap \text{info}(\varphi) \neq s$.

Inquisitiveness in a state

- If $s \not\models \varphi$ this may be due to φ being informative in s or inquisitive in s **or both**
- We have decided what φ being informative in s means
- We can neutralize that aspect:
- Add $\text{info}(\varphi)$ to the information that is already contained in s
- If then s still does not support φ , then it must be because φ is inquisitive in s

Definition (Inquisitiveness in a state)

φ is inquisitive in s iff $s \cap \text{info}(\varphi) \not\models \varphi$.

General inquisitive semantics

Language is a standard propositional language

Definition (General propositional inquisitive semantics)

1. $s \models p$ iff $\forall w \in s : w(p) = 1$
2. $s \models \perp$ iff $s = \emptyset$
3. $s \models \varphi \rightarrow \psi$ iff $\forall t \subseteq s : \text{if } t \models \varphi \text{ then } t \models \psi$
4. $s \models \varphi \wedge \psi$ iff $s \models \varphi$ and $s \models \psi$
5. $s \models \varphi \vee \psi$ iff $s \models \varphi$ or $s \models \psi$

Definition (abbreviations)

1. $\neg\varphi := \varphi \rightarrow \perp$
2. $!\varphi := \neg\neg\varphi$ (*non-inquisitive closure*)
3. $? \varphi := \varphi \vee \neg\varphi$ (*non-informative closure*).

(Ciardelli, Groenendijk, Roelofsen)

Inquisitive disjunction

Fact (Hybrid disjunction)

- $p \vee q$ is a hybrid sentence
- $p \vee q$ is informative: $\omega \cap \text{info}(p \vee q) \neq \omega$
- $p \vee q$ is inquisitive: $\omega \cap \text{info}(p \vee q) \not\models p \vee q$

Fact (Inquisitive question)

- $?p = p \vee \neg p$ is an inquisitive question
- $p \vee \neg p$ is not informative: $\omega \cap \text{info}(p \vee \neg p) = \omega$
- $p \vee q$ is inquisitive: $\omega \cap \text{info}(p \vee \neg p) = \omega \not\models p \vee \neg p$

Inquisitive Hierarchy

Definition

Let S^n denote the set of states s such that $|s| \leq n$.

φ is n -inquisitive iff $\exists X \subseteq S^n : \forall s \in X : s \models \varphi$ and $\bigcup X \not\models \varphi$.

Fact

Let \mathcal{L} be an arbitrary propositional language. For any sentence $\varphi \in \mathcal{L}$: φ is not 1-inquisitive.

Classical logic when you evaluate relative to state with single word

Theorem (General inquisitiveness)

Let $\mathcal{L}_{\mathcal{P}}$ be a general inquisitive propositional language with a countably infinite set of proposition letters \mathcal{P} .

- For any number $n > 1$ there is a sentence $\varphi \in \mathcal{L}_{\mathcal{P}}$ such that φ is n -inquisitive and φ is not k -inquisitive for all $k < n$.

(Ciardelli and Roelofsen, 'Inquisitive Logic', JPL 2011)

Failure of pair-semantics

Under a pair-semantics there are **four** possibilities for $p \vee q \vee r$

Chris Potts calculator for pair semantics:

{ {TTT, TTF, TFT, TFF}
 {TTT, TTF, TFT, FTT}
 {TTT, TTF, FTT, FTF}
 {TTT, TFT, FTT, FFT} }

- Pair semantics gives wrong results
- we need general inquisitive semantics to get things right

Remember

Definition (Classical erotetic languages)

A logical language \mathcal{L} is a *classical erotetic language* iff

1. \mathcal{L} is an erotetic language which has two syntactic sentential categories of **indicatives** $\mathcal{L}_!$ and **interrogatives** $\mathcal{L}_?$, where
2. $\mathcal{L} = \mathcal{L}_! \cup \mathcal{L}_?$ and $\mathcal{L}_! \subset \mathcal{L}$ and $\mathcal{L}_? \subset \mathcal{L}$ and $\mathcal{L}_! \cap \mathcal{L}_? = \emptyset$.
3. Every $\varphi \in \mathcal{L}_!$ is an assertion and
Every $\varphi \in \mathcal{L}_?$ is a question.

Fact

There are **no hybrids** in a classical erotetic language.

Classical inquisitive semantics

Standard propositional language with an additional operator

Definition (Classical propositional erotetic language)

1. $\varphi \in \mathcal{L}_!$, for all $\varphi \in \mathcal{P}$
2. $\perp \in \mathcal{L}_!$
3. If $\varphi \in \mathcal{L}_!$, then $? \varphi \in \mathcal{L}_?$
4. If $\varphi \in \mathcal{L}_!$ and $\psi \in \mathcal{L}_{c \in \{!, ?\}}$, then $(\varphi \rightarrow \psi) \in \mathcal{L}_c$
5. If $\varphi, \psi \in \mathcal{L}_{c \in \{!, ?\}}$, then $(\varphi \wedge \psi) \in \mathcal{L}_c$

Definition (Classical abbreviations)

1. $\neg \varphi := (\varphi \rightarrow \perp)$
2. $(\varphi \vee \psi) := \neg(\neg \varphi \wedge \neg \psi)$

Classical inquisitive semantics

Standard propositional language with an additional operator

Definition (Classical propositional inquisitive semantics)

1. $s \models p$ iff $\forall w \in s : w(p) = 1$
2. $s \models \perp$ iff $s = \emptyset$
3. $s \models ?\varphi$ iff $s \models \varphi$ or $\forall t \subseteq s : \text{if } t \models \varphi, \text{then } t = \emptyset$
4. $s \models \varphi \rightarrow \psi$ iff $\forall t \subseteq s : \text{if } t \models \varphi \text{ then } t \models \psi$
5. $s \models \varphi \wedge \psi$ iff $s \models \varphi$ and $s \models \psi$

Fact

If we apply classical propositional inquisitive semantics to a classical propositional erotetic language it meets the semantic and syntactic criteria for being what it is called.

Classical inquisitive semantics is 2-inquisitive

Fact (Pair distributivity)

Let \mathcal{L} be a classical propositional erotetic language, $\varphi \in \mathcal{L}$.

- For every state s : $s \models \varphi$ iff for all $v, w \in s$: $\{v, w\} \models \varphi$.

Expressive limitations of the classical erotetic language

- In general inquisitive semantics we can express **alternative questions** by means of $?(\varphi_1 \vee \dots \vee \varphi_n)$
- The classical language as it is is capable to express alternative questions with two alternatives by
 $?(\varphi \vee \psi) \wedge ((\varphi \vee \psi) \rightarrow ?\varphi)$
- Due to the fact that it is a pair semantics **it lacks the expressive power to deal properly with three or more alternatives.**

Adding classical alternative questions

Alternative questions

- If Φ is a finite subset of $\mathcal{L}_!$, then $? \Phi \in \mathcal{L}_?$
- $s \models ? \Phi$ iff $\exists \varphi \in \Phi : s \models \varphi$, or $\forall \varphi \in \Phi : s \models \neg \varphi$

No pair distributivity

With this addition of alternative questions pair-distributivity doesn't hold anymore.

- There are big differences between the general and the classical inquisitive language
- But every meaning that can be expressed by a **single sentence** in general inquisitive semantics can be expressed by a **pair of sentences** in classical inquisitive semantics

A hybrid set of two sentences

- $\{p \vee q, ?\{p, q\}\}$
- By using disjunctive normal form for general inquisitive semantics, we can use this pattern to translate every general inquisitive sentence into a pair of classical ones.
- There is also a simple recursive translation procedure in the other direction.

Conclusions

- Inquisitive semantics is a general erotetic semantic framework
- It is not inherently linked to a mono-categorial language or inquisitive disjunction
- It can just as well be used in combination with bi-categorial languages
- The semantic framework can be used as a tool to compare different erotetic systems
- By the way, both general and classical inquisitive semantic are **conservative extensions of classical logic**
- In the classical inquisitive case the logic of $\mathcal{L}! \subset \mathcal{L}$ is classical.
- In the general inquisitive case the logic of the disjunction-free fragment of \mathcal{L} and the language $\{\mathbf{!}\varphi \mid \varphi \in \mathcal{L}\}$ is classical