

# Erotetic Languages

## The Inquisitive Hierarchy

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# 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  $\varphi \in \mathcal{L}$ :  $\varphi$  is informative  
for some  $\varphi \in \mathcal{L}$ :  $\varphi$  is inquisitive.
3.  $\varphi \in \mathcal{L}$  is a *tautology* iff  $\varphi$  is neither informative nor inquisitive.
4. For some  $\varphi \in \mathcal{L}$ :  $\varphi$  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.  $\varphi$  is an *assertion* iff  $\varphi$  is not inquisitive.
  2.  $\varphi$  is a *question* iff  $\varphi$  is not informative.
  3.  $\varphi$  is a *hybrid* iff  $\varphi$  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  $\varphi$  is true in world (model)  $v$

## Classical meaning

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

## Informativeness

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

## Can't work for questions

- By definition: questions are not informative
- If  $\varphi$  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  $\omega$  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  $\omega$ .

### 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  $\varphi$  is a tautology.

## Fact (Validity)

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

## Definition (Absolute informativeness and inquisitiveness)

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

## Definition (Support)

$s \models \varphi$  iff  $\varphi$  is not informative in  $s$  and  $\varphi$  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)

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

Non-informativeness of a sentence  $\varphi$  in a state  $s$ :  
the update of  $s$  with the informative content of  $\varphi$  has no effect:

## Definition (Informativeness in a state)

$\varphi$  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  $\varphi$  being informative in  $s$  or inquisitive in  $s$  **or both**
- We have decided what  $\varphi$  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  $\varphi$ , then it must be because  $\varphi$  is inquisitive in  $s$

### Definition (Inquisitiveness in a state)

$\varphi$  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:  $\omega \cap \text{info}(p \vee q) \not\equiv p \vee q$

## Fact (Inquisitive question)

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

# Inquisitive Hierarchy

## Definition

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

$\varphi$  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  $\varphi \in \mathcal{L}$ :  $\varphi$  is not 1-inquisitive.

*Classical logic when you evaluate relative to state with single word*

## Theorem (General inquisitiveness)

Let  $\mathcal{L}_\varphi$  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  $\varphi \in \mathcal{L}_\varphi$  such that  $\varphi$  is  $n$ -inquisitive and  $\varphi$  is not  $k$ -inquisitive for all  $k < n$ .

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

## Failure of pair-semantic

Under a pair-semantic 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  $\Phi$  is a finite subset of  $\mathcal{L}_I$ , 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  $\{!\varphi \mid \varphi \in \mathcal{L}\}$  is classical