Denial

David Ripley

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Abstract and Keywords

Denial is something we do; it is a speech act. Negation, on the other hand, is a particular lexical item. Despite being very different kinds of things, denial and negation certainly seem to have something to do with each other. There's something negative about them both. This 'negative' aspect, whatever it is, unifies denial and negation across these categories. It is something that denial does not share with the speech act of assertion, for example, although they are both speech acts; nor does negation share it with, say, 'must', although they are both lexical items. There are a range of theories about the relationships between negation and denial. This article aims to give a brief overview of these theories, and to indicate some of the reasons for and against each.

Keywords: denial, speech act, negation, equivalence, assertion

DENIAL is something we do; it is a speech act. *Negation*, on the other hand, is a particular lexical item. Despite being very different kinds of things, denial and negation certainly seem to have something to do with each other. There's something negative about them both. This 'negative' aspect, whatever it is, unifies denial and negation across these categories. It is something that denial does not share with the speech act of assertion, for example, although they are both speech acts; nor does negation share it with, say, 'must', although they are both lexical items. There are a range of theories about the relationships between negation and denial. This chapter aims to give a brief overview of these theories, and to indicate some of the reasons for and against each.

Before I start, though, some clarifying remarks are in order. 'Denial' can mean a lot of things in a lot of contexts, and some of the things theorists have meant by 'denial' are not my topic. In particular, the kind of denial I am concerned with is an *informative* speech act. To deny something is to *rule it out*, which is to give some information: information about how things *aren't*. I am not concerned with senses of 'denial' like those invoked in van der Sandt (2003) or Spenader and Maier (2009) that center on *removing* information from the context of a conversation. And denial is also distinct from what is called 'weak rejection' in Incurvati and Schlöder (2017). This weak rejection is simply an announce-

ment of refraining from commitment. For an example of the kind of thing I am *not* talking about, consider the 'no' in the following dialogue:

(1)

(a) Alice is in the office.
(b) No; she's either in the office or at home.

The 'no' here does not register denial, in my sense, of the claim that Alice is in the office; it simply registers refusal to commit to Alice's being there.[1] The kind of denial I am interested in is different. It is one which, like assertion, *adds* information to a conversation.

The speech act I here call 'denial' is the one called by that name in Restall (2005), Ripley (2011b), Price (1983), Priest (2006), Dickie (2010), and Murzi and Hjortland (2009), and the (p. 48) same as the speech act called 'rejection' in Incurvati and Schlöder (2017), Humberstone (2000), Smiley (1996), and Price (1983). (Other authors use 'rejection' for a related propositional attitude rather than a speech act, e.g. Restall (2005), Ripley (2011b), Priest (2006), Besson (2012), and Field (2008). Rumfitt (2000) seems to have no clear terminological policy, but is about (among other things) the speech act in question.)

4.1. The equivalence thesis

Denying a claim A, then, is performing an act that gives some information: information ruling A out. But presumably asserting its negation $\neg A$ is also performing an act that gives information ruling A out. What is the relation, then, between denying some claim A and asserting its negation $\neg A$? According to at least some theorists, there is no important difference. Call this the *equivalence thesis*: that denying A is equivalent to asserting $\neg A$.

Depending on what kind of equivalence is being discussed, there are many different versions of the equivalence thesis. For example, someone might think that the important notion of equivalence is *having the same effect on the conversational context*; someone else might think that the important notion is *being coherently performed in exactly the same circumstances*; and someone else might think that to deny A is *the very same thing* as to assert $\neg A$, that any act that can be correctly described in one way can also be correctly described in the other. These different notions of equivalence are all attempts to get at the pretheoretical sense that there is *something* importantly the same between denying a sentence and asserting its negation.

In any form, the equivalence thesis has come in for some criticism. I'll return later to some of the reasons for doubting that any version of the equivalence thesis can be made to fly; to begin, however, I'll take the equivalence thesis for granted.

If the equivalence thesis is accepted, there is a question of how it is to be used. Does the equivalence thesis give us a useful theory of what *denial* is, in terms of negation? Does it give us a useful theory of what *negation* is, in terms of denial? These are questions of *priority* or *grounding*, and they occupy much of the literature on the equivalence thesis.

4.1.1. As a theory of denial

In Frege (1919/1960), Frege gives an argument that has long been understood (e.g. in Geach 1965; Incurvati and Schlöder 2017) as showing that we should understand denial in terms of negation. In particular, the conclusion standardly attributed to Frege is that denying a claim *A is nothing more than* asserting its negation ¬*A*. This is best interpreted as reducing denial to assertion and negation; the latter two are prior, on this view.[2]

(p. 49) The argument has two steps. One step, based on parsimony and the equivalence thesis, pushes for reduction in one direction or the other. If the equivalence thesis is true, it calls out for explanation. Why should assertion, negation, and denial be related in this particular way? One natural thought is that we should reduce either negation or denial to some combination of the other and assertion. This reduction could then provide an explanation for the equivalence thesis, and it would be a parsimonious explanation as well, reducing away one of the components of the equivalence thesis. (Frege does not consider reducing assertion to denial and negation, although as far as I can see this might also work. See Rumfitt 2007 for related ideas.)

If that's correct, we should be looking to do one of two things. Either we should understand negation in terms of assertion and denial, or else we should understand denial in terms of assertion and negation. But which? The second step of the argument aims to rule out the first option, leaving us to understand denial in terms of assertion and negation. Here's how it goes.

For simple negated sentences, there seems to be not much to tell between the two directions of explanation. Consider the following pair of sentences:

(2)

a. The accused was in Berlin.
b. The accused was not in Berlin.

Here is a simple view of negation on which it can be explained in terms of denial. For ease of reference, I'll call this the 'marker-of-denial view' of negation. On the marker-of-denial view, sincere utterances of (2a) and (2b) have the very same content, a content according to which the accused *was* in Berlin. The difference between these sincere utterances is in what they do with this content: a sincere utterance of (2a) is an assertion of this content, while a sincere utterance of (2b) is a denial of this same content. On this view, the negation in (2b) makes no contribution at all to the content expressed in a sincere utterance of this sentence, but rather simply flags the utterance as a denial of that content rather than an assertion of it.

This marker-of-denial view contrasts with what is now a more standard view, on which sincere utterances of (2a) and (2b) can both be assertions. On this view, these assertions involve *different* contents; negation's role is to combine with the content expressed by (2a) to yield the distinct content expressed by (2b), rather than to indicate anything about which speech act is being performed. This is very different from the marker-of-denial

view. Frege's argument shows, to my mind anyhow, that we must accept something like this, and that the marker-of-denial view is untenable.

With examples like (2a) and (2b), it can be hard to see what is at stake between these views; they can even seem like simple redescriptions of each other. Frege's argument, though, turns on *embedding* these (in particular (2b)) in the antecedent of a conditional, yielding for example (3).

(3)

If the accused was not in Berlin, they are innocent.

In asserting (3), a speaker does not either assert or deny that the accused was in Berlin. On the marker-of-denial view, this is hard to explain. If what 'not' does is simply to mark denial, why is it not doing its job here? On the other hand, if 'not' contributes to the content (p. 50) of the antecedent, then there is no problem; this antecedent is neither asserted nor denied, but rather has a content all its own, a content that contributes to the content of (3). So, the argument concludes, in conditional antecedents 'not' is not a marker of denial but rather a contributor to content; and without any contravening evidence, we ought to think the same about 'not' wherever it occurs.

This argument has been considered from a range of perspectives. For example, Smiley (1996), Rumfitt (2000), Restall (2005), Price (1990), and Humberstone (2000) all discuss it in various ways. I won't go through these responses here in any detail, but I will note one common thread: commentators basically *accept* this argument against the marker-of-denial view.[3] That is, even theorists who do want to understand denial as prior to (or as giving meaning to) negation do *not* do so by accepting the marker-of-denial view of negation. In particular, almost all agree with Frege that negation *does* contribute to content. It is just that this contribution is to be understood in act-theoretic terms, terms that appeal, among other things, to the relation between negation and denial.

In going forward, I will assume that this consensus is on the right track: Frege's argument really does show that the marker-of-denial view is not a correct view of negation. However, as a number of the above-cited works have pointed out, this does not rule out *all* views on which negation is to be explained in terms of assertion and denial. It simply rules out one such view, the marker-of-denial view.

4.1.2. As a theory of negation

How is it, though, that we can understand negation in terms of assertion and denial without holding to the marker-of-denial view? The answer I'll sketch appeals to *bilateralism*: the view that meanings in general are to be given via conditions on assertion and denial. Bilateralism provides an alternative to truth-conditional theories of meaning, and also to assertion-conditional theories of meaning (typically called 'unilateralist' theories by bilateralists).[4]

Existing bilateralist theories of meaning can be productively (if roughly) divided into two camps, depending on what kinds of condition on assertion and denial they appeal to. In one camp are bilateralisms like those explored in Price (1990), Smiley (1996), and Rumfitt (2000), which take the relevant conditions to be conditions under which assertions and denials are *warranted*. These bilateralisms draw closely on unilateralist approaches like those of Dummett (1991) and Prawitz (1977), which also focus on warrant.

On the other hand, there are bilateralisms like those of Restall (2005), Ripley (2013), and French (2016), which take the relevant conditions to be conditions under which *whole collections* of assertions and denials *fit together*.[5] This focus on compatibility fits nicely with (p. 51) some aspects of Brandom (1994)'s unilateralist view, and indeed bilateralists of this stripe often draw on Brandom's work, in a way similar to the way defenders of warrant-based bilateralism drawn on Dummett and Prawitz.[6] Here, I will refer to those collections of acts that do fit together in the relevant way as 'in bounds' and those that don't as 'out of bounds'.

Warrant-based and bounds-based bilateralisms give a setting for similar-looking theories of the contribution to meaning made by negation: negation *swaps* assertion and denial conditions. That is, a negation $\neg A$ can be asserted in exactly those circumstances in which the negatum A, the thing negated, can be denied, and denied in exactly those circumstances in which the negatum can be asserted. If meanings are understood in terms of assertion and denial conditions, this is as clear and compositional a theory of negation's meaning as one could ask for, and it depends directly on denial. Moreover, it immediately yields the equivalence thesis, since it matches the assertion conditions of a negation with the denial conditions of its negatum.

The division between the types of bilateralism matters here for what 'can be asserted' and 'can be denied' mean, and this affects the form of the equivalence thesis that is entailed by this bilateralist theory of negation. For warrant-based bilateralists, the result is that an assertion of $\neg A$ is equivalent to a denial of A in the sense that the two acts are *warranted in the same circumstances*. For fit-based bilateralists, the result is that the two acts *fit together with the same collections of acts*. Either way, some form of the equivalence thesis is entailed by the view of negation's assertion and denial conditions, but the particular form depends on what these conditions themselves amount to.

However the equivalence is understood, bilateralisms of this sort give a view on which negation contributes to the content of the clauses in which it occurs. These views are thus not the marker-of-denial view. This is enough to be compatible with Frege's argument. Despite this, they provide a clear sense in which negation is best understood by appeal to (among other things) denial. On this kind of bilateralist view, semantic content in general is understood in terms of its relations to assertion and denial conditions. Negation's connection to denial is just a special case of this general principle.[7] (It is a particularly simple special case, given the 'swap' theory of negation's content entertained here.)

(p. 52) 4.1.2.1. The other equivalence thesis

It's worth noting another commitment that this 'swap' theory of negation's meaning takes on: that *denying* a negation is equivalent (in whatever sense is appropriate) to *asserting* its negatum. This claim—call it the 'other equivalence thesis'—is certainly reminiscent of the equivalence thesis itself, but it is independent. Indeed, nothing at all follows directly from the equivalence thesis about how the *denial* of a negation relates to acts involving its negatum. But as bilateralists understand meaning in terms of assertion and denial conditions, they are obligated to say something about the conditions under which negations may be denied, at least if they are attempting to give a full theory of negation's meaning. (The swap theory, which is the only option I'll consider here, is the usual option, but there is certainly room within a bilateralist framework for other theories of negation's meaning, including theories that don't entail the other equivalence thesis. For debate about the other equivalence thesis in this kind of setting, see Price 1990; Price n.d.; Rumfitt 2000.)

There is a way, however, to appeal to the equivalence thesis, together with at-least-somewhat plausible background assumptions, in defense of the other equivalence thesis. This has been explored directly in a fit-based bilateralist setting, so I will reproduce the reasoning in that setting. (The reasoning here is essentially that of Sambin, Battilotti, and Faggian (2000), as deployed in Restall n.d.) Suppose three things: first, that any collection containing an assertion and a denial of the very same content is out of bounds; second, that if a collection of acts is out of bounds, then any collection containing that original collection is also out of bounds; and third, that for any collection C of acts that is in bounds and any content A, at least one of the following two collections of acts must be in bounds: either the collection that results from adding an assertion of A to C, or the collection that results from adding a denial of A to C.

The first two of these assumptions are less complicated and easier to justify: the first amounts simply to the claim that assertions and denials of the same content clash with each other directly; and the second to the claim that one can't undo a clash by making more assertions and denials.[8] The third assumption is more complex, but there are at least worldviews from which it seems plausible. It tells us that there are no 'double binds': no in-bounds collections of acts that simultaneously rule out assertion of A and rule out denial of A, for any content A.[9]

Now suppose the equivalence thesis, in the form appropriate for bounds-based bilateralists: that an assertion of $\neg A$ fits with the same collections of acts as a denial of A does. From all this, we can demonstrate the other equivalence thesis. In the appropriate form, we are aiming to show that a denial of $\neg A$ fits with the same collections of acts as an assertion of A does.

To see this, first suppose we have some collection C of acts with which a denial of $\neg A$ fits. I'll argue that an assertion of A must also fit with C. Note that, by our first assumption, C together with both a denial and an assertion of $\neg A$ is out of bounds. So, by the (p. 53) equivalence thesis, C together with a denial of $\neg A$ and a denial of A is out of bounds. By our third assumption, though, we must be able to add either an assertion or a denial of A

to C together with a denial of $\neg A$. Since we can't add a denial of A, as we've seen, we must be able to add an assertion of A. So C together with a denial of $\neg A$ and an assertion of A is in bounds. But then by our second assumption, C together with an assertion of A is in bounds too.

To see the other direction, suppose the reverse: that we have some collection of acts D with which an assertion of A fits. I'll argue that a denial of $\neg A$ must also fit with D. Note that, by our first assumption, D together with both an assertion and a denial of A is out of bounds. So, by the equivalence thesis, D together with an assertion of A and an assertion of $\neg A$ is out of bounds. By our third assumption, though, we must be able to add either an assertion or a denial of $\neg A$ to D together with an assertion of A. Since we can't add an assertion of $\neg A$, as we've seen, we must be able to add a denial of $\neg A$. So D together with an assertion of A and a denial of $\neg A$ is in bounds. But then by our second assumption, D together with a denial of $\neg A$ is in bounds too.

None of the three assumptions drawn on in this argument is uncontentious, but neither is any of them obviously wrong. If they do hold, then the equivalence thesis and the other equivalence thesis cannot come apart; otherwise, they might.[10]

4.1.2.2. Classifying token acts

Bilateralist approaches, at least those that hold to the 'swap' theory of negation's content, show how to maintain that denial is prior to negation in a way that Frege's argument doesn't refute. The bilateralist holds that negation is a genuine operation on the content of a sentence; but this is all Frege's argument really establishes. So the bilateralist joins with Frege in rejecting the marker-of-denial view of negation, but maintains that denial is nonetheless prior to negation.[11] It's just not prior in the particular way Frege argues against.

A natural question arises here, though: what are we to say about sincere utterances of (2b) ('The accused was not in Berlin') and the like? Are these all assertions that the accused was not in Berlin? All denials that the accused *was* in Berlin? It looks like the bilateralist shouldn't maintain either of these uniform views. After all, if all such utterances are assertions of the negated content, then denial as a separate speech act threatens to disappear entirely—but the bilateralist needs denial to play a key theoretical role, so it would be a problem if it's never actually observed. On the other hand, if these are all denials of the unnegated content, it's not clear why this would be so. Given that there *is* a negated content (as Frege's argument shows, and as the bilateralist agrees), what obstacle could there be to asserting it?

There are two plausible ways for a bilateralist to respond to this challenge, I think. The first is to maintain that some of these utterances are assertions and others denials. This would avoid both problems floated above that the uniform views face: since some of these (p. 54) utterances are denials, denials don't disappear from view; and since some are assertions, there is no absence of assertions to explain. Bilateralists pursuing this option would need to provide some story about what the difference is between those utterances

that are assertions and those that are denials, but I don't think there are strong reasons to suppose this can't be done.

The second option, and the one I find more plausible, is to hold to *both* uniform views. Every sincere utterance of (2b) is *at the same time* an assertion that the accused was not in Berlin and a denial that they were. Price (1983) suggests this option, pointing out that to take it up would be to reject the idea "that the meaning of every utterance should have a unique resolution into a component due to sense, and a component due to force" (172). This view too avoids the troubles that threatened each uniform view on its own: there are plenty of denials and assertions around to answer both worries, if each sincere utterance of a negated sentence is simultaneously one of each.

This option raises a further question: if sincere utterances of (2b) are simultaneously both assertions that the accused was not in Berlin and denials that they were, then what about sincere utterances of (2a) ('The accused was in Berlin')? Are these too simultaneously both assertions that the accused was in Berlin *and denials that they weren't*? I think so. Every speech act that is either an assertion or denial is in fact both. (This requires both the equivalence thesis *and* the other equivalence thesis, or at least fits most cleanly with holding to both.) Assertions and denials seek to inform by telling us at the same time how things are *and* how things are not, by ruling in and ruling out simultaneously.

Forms of this idea, I think, can also be found in Frege (1897/1979: 149) ("When it is a question of whether some thought is true, we are poised between opposite thoughts, and the same act which recognizes one of them as true recognizes the other as false") and Strawson (1952: 5) ("For when we say what a thing is like, we not only compare it with other things, we also distinguish it from other things. (These are not two activities, but two aspects of the same activity)"). See also Rumfitt (2000) for more examples from Frege on this score. (This claim—that every assertion of a negation *is* a denial of the negatum—is what's called the "Equivalence Thesis" in Parsons 1984. This is a particularly strong form of what I've been calling the "equivalence thesis," since identity is a particularly strong form of equivalence. Parsons also notes that the other equivalence thesis is an optional add-on.)

4.2. Against the equivalence thesis

So much for views that hold to the equivalence thesis. On the other side of the aisle, there are views about negation and denial on which asserting $\neg A$ and denying A can be quite different indeed. Often, this comes packaged with the idea that some claims are neither true nor false. The idea is that since these claims are not true they should be denied, to indicate this; but since they are not false their negations should not be asserted. A classic statement of this idea is Parsons (1984) (using "reject" instead of "deny"):

> [S]ometimes when we "say something negative" we should not be thereby committed to an assertion of a negative claim, for we are not asserting at all, we are only rejecting something. I might say "Paul Bunyan is *not* bald" without thereby com-

> mitting myself to the truth of the sentence ‘Paul Bunyan is not bald’, for I might think (as many people do think) that this (p. 55) sentence lacks truth-value.… Sometimes saying a sentence with a negative word in a certain tone of voice just counts as a rejection of the corresponding positive version. (139)

Parsons also considers in a similar light, “The purpose of life is *not* to serve mankind; it doesn’t make sense to ascribe purpose to life.” There is a link here to “metalinguistic negation” (for which see Horn 1985; Geurts 1998; Carston 1996; and Chapter 20 in this volume), and relatedly to long-standing arguments about whether negation is ambiguous (for which see Horn 2001; Atlas 1977; Marques 2010; Kempson 1975). Indeed, Tappenden (1999) seems to take a wide range of standard cases of metalinguistic negation to provide counterexamples to the equivalence thesis. He describes these as cases in which “the use of ‘not’ indicates the rejection of a candidate assertion, but clearly not the assertion of the negation of the sentence in question” (276). As examples, Tappenden gives all of:

(4)

a. Old Liz did not wave at you. Queen Elizabeth the Second waved at you.
b. John isn’t wily *or* crazy. He’s wily *and* crazy.
c. Ruth didn’t *manage* to solve the problem. She solved it with ease.

Here, (4a) is naturally understood as rejecting the choice of ‘Old Liz’ to refer to Queen Elizabeth; (4b) as rejecting the implicature carried by ‘John is wily or crazy’ that John isn’t both; and (4c) as rejecting the presupposition ‘manage’ might carry that the problem was difficult for Ruth to solve.

4.2.1. Frege revisited

As Parsons and Tappenden present them, these examples seem to be intended as obvious counterexamples to the equivalence thesis. But that they are counterexamples is not obvious at all. In this section, I’ll present an argument for the conclusion that these instances of metalinguistic negation are *not* best understood as simply marking denial of the corresponding positive content.

The argument that shows this is just Frege’s again. Parsons’s and Tappenden’s view of these uses of negation is precisely the marker-of-denial view, but we’ve already seen that Frege’s argument gives us a powerful reason to reject the marker-of-denial view. Although Parsons and Tappenden do not hold the full marker-of-denial view, they *do* hold the view as applied to these cases. So as long as Frege’s argument can be specialized to these cases, it works just as well against Parsons’s and Tappenden’s views as it does against the marker-of-denial view full stop.

And indeed, these metalinguistic uses of negation work just fine under embeddings, where they are not plausibly understood as encoding any kind of speech act. Consider, for example:

(5)

a. If that's not Old Liz waving at us, then that's presumably not Prince Dickhead standing next to her.

b. If John isn't wily *or* crazy, but wily *and* crazy, then we may have a problem on our hands.

c. If Ruth didn't *manage* to solve the problem, but solved it with ease, then I've underestimated her.

(p. 56) Someone who asserts (5b), for example, hasn't denied that John is wily or crazy. But whatever the negation in 'John isn't wily *or* crazy' is doing in (5b), it's the same thing it's doing in (4b). So the negation in (4b) is not an indicator of denial either. The same argument works for the other examples as well. If this argument is on the right track, we should not understand the distinctive behavior of metalinguistic negations like these in terms of their indicating a speech act of denial, since they retain their distinctive behavior even in the antecedents of conditionals, where it doesn't seem that they can possibly be indicating such a speech act.[12] For related discussion, see Carston (1996), Carston and Noh (1996), Chapman (1996), Geurts (1998), Giannakidou and Yoon (2011), Kempson (1975: 98), Larrivée (2018), and Textor (2011).

On the other hand, if the views put forward by Parsons and Tappenden *can* be successfully defended from this argument, it would be worth revisiting more global applications of Frege's argument in light of that defense. If the marker-of-denial view can be made to work in these limited cases, even though the negations involved embed without difficulty into the antecedents of conditionals, then perhaps it can be made to work for negation across the board.

I close this section by mentioning that both Parsons and Tappenden reject the equivalence thesis in the service of understanding paradoxical sentences, in particular taking account of the possibility that such sentences might either be such that neither they nor their negations are true, or be such that both they and their negations are true. On the first possibility, their idea is that both would be deniable but neither assertible, and on the second, their idea is that both would be assertible but neither deniable. Either way, both the equivalence thesis and the other equivalence thesis would be violated. So there remains a possibility of using the paradoxical sentences themselves in an argument against the equivalence thesis. Indeed, this is what Priest (2006: ch. 6) does. (Priest mentions some metalinguistic-negation-involving cases, but does not rest his case on them, preferring to focus directly on the paradoxes.) Essentially the same argument, however, can be used here; the question of embedding the alleged 'marker' uses of negation arises just the same in paradoxical cases as in other cases. See Shapiro (2004) and Ripley (2015b) for further discussion of this issue as it applies to paradoxical sentences in particular.

4.2.2. Suspicious similarities

In this final section, I present an argument sketched in Ripley (2011b) for the equivalence thesis. It turns on substantive assumptions about the interactions between negation, con-

junction, and disjunction, and between denial, conjunction, and disjunction, so is hardly theoretically neutral. But the assumptions it draws on are shared by those who reject the equivalence thesis, at least those I've discussed here, so I think it remains a fair argument.

(p. 57) The argument starts by noting a range of similarities between these interactions. For example, someone who denies a disjunction may as well have denied one disjunct and then the other. And someone who asserts the negation of a disjunction may as well have asserted the negation of one disjunct and then the negation of the other. For another example, someone who denies a conjunct of a conjunction seems committed to a denial of the conjunction as well. And someone who asserts the negation of a conjunct of a conjunction seems committed to an assertion of the negation of the conjunction as well.

What explains these similarities between denial, on the one hand, and assertion of negation, on the other? If the equivalence thesis holds, we have a very direct explanation of the similarities: they follow straightforwardly from the equivalence thesis. But if the equivalence thesis fails, that explanation doesn't work. We would need some other explanation. Perhaps it is simply a coincidence, and no explanation at all is needed. But when there is an explanation as simple as the equivalence thesis available, it is difficult to be happy with that result. As far as I know, however, nobody who rejects the equivalence thesis has undertaken to provide an explanation of the sort that would help here. So there would seem to be an explanatory gap, at least for now, in those theories that reject the equivalence thesis.

4.3. Conclusion

Discussion of the relationships between negation and denial has tended to center on the equivalence thesis: whether it is true, and if it is true which way the direction of priority runs. While Frege's argument is sometimes claimed to show that negation must be prior to denial, in fact its conclusion is narrower, merely ruling out the marker-of-denial view of negation. This argument does not settle the priority question in either direction. Bilateralist views of content can accept the equivalence thesis, and hold that denial is prior to negation, without accepting the marker-of-denial view of negation; Frege's argument thus does not refute them.

On the other hand, at least some arguments that have been offered against the equivalence thesis do seem to run into trouble from Frege's argument, since they involve the marker-of-denial view of at least some uses of negation, even if not all. Moreover, the equivalence thesis provides a simple explanation for some otherwise puzzling parallels between negation and denial.

Notes:

([1]) See also Stalnaker (1978: 87), who talks of "reject[ing] an assertion" as a way of blocking some of its effects on the context.

([2]) Rumfitt (2000: 812) doubts this interpretation of Frege, and I do as well. But regardless of what it is that actually happens in Frege (1919/1960), something like this argument is standardly attributed to the piece, and is worth exploring here. My point is the argument itself, not whether Frege gave it. In what follows, then, when I say things like "Frege's argument," I mean to point to this argument, not to claim that it's faithful to Frege's writing.

([3]) However, for an exploration of one way the marker-of-denial view itself might be defended against Frege's argument, see Bendall (1979).

([4]) One might imagine a truth-theoretic analogue of bilateralism, appealing to separate truth and falsity conditions; such a thing is suggested for assorted reasons in Barwise and Perry (1983/1999), Routley and Routley (1975), Plumwood (1993), Priest (2005), and Kratzer (1989), although I don't think the analogy to bilateralism has been explicitly drawn.

([5]) See also in this connection Strawson (1952: 1–12).

([6]) I discuss these two bilateralist camps and the differences between them in more detail in Ripley (2017). There are also views very similar to bilateralisms in their logical and ideological underpinnings that don't work directly in terms of assertion and denial, but rather in terms of conclusion and premise, or in terms of proof and refutation. Examples include Schroeder-Heister (2012); Tennant (1999); Wansing (2010).

([7]) This answers, or at least suggests an answer to, one challenge to bilateralism posed in Humberstone (2000: 367ff.). After outlining a hypothetical speech act of "alterjection" that obeys its own form of the equivalence thesis wrt disjunction—so that asserting the disjunction of A with B is equivalent to alterjecting with respect to A and B—Humberstone challenges the bilateralist to "show how the claim for the conceptual priority of rejection over negation is any more plausible than the corresponding claim for the conceptual priority of alterjection over disjunction" (368). The bilateralist's response should be: that's not the appropriate correspondence. The sense in which denial is prior to negation corresponds to the sense in which *denial* (not alterjection) is prior to disjunction as well. (For more on the relations between denial and disjunction in a bilateralist setting, see Ripley (2017).)

([8]) This second claim, then, records the idea that we are dealing with informative denials, not simply retractions.

([9]) See Restall (2005, 2009) and Ripley (2013, 2015a) for discussion of this third assumption. The third assumption can be strengthened in ways that allow us to dispense with the second for the purposes of the following argument, but at the cost of additional complexity; it would be a distraction here, although it would bring us closer to Sambin, Battilotti, and Faggian (2000)'s formulation of the argument.

([10]) By swapping “assertion” and “denial” in the above arguments, you can show from the same assumptions that the other equivalence thesis implies the equivalence thesis as well.

([11]) As Price (1983) puts the point, Frege’s argument “is not an objection to treating denial as something other than the assertion of a negation; but rather to treating the negation sign as nothing other than an indication that a sentence in which it occurs has the force of a denial” (172).

([12]) Tappenden (1999) comes very close to addressing this objection, even mentioning “If Ruth didn’t manage to solve the problem, she must have solved it with ease” (280). But the response offered there is simply “it is not maintained here that the *sole* function of ‘not’ is to indicate a speech act” (279, emphasis in original). The argument I have just presented, however, does not turn on attributing any such claim to Tappenden.

David Ripley

David Ripley is a lecturer in philosophy at Monash University. His work centers on logic, language, and the relations between them. In particular, this includes a focus on nonclassical and substructural logics, and their potential applications to vague language and semantic paradoxes. Recent publications include “Experimental philosophical logic” in A Companion to Experimental Philosophy and “Blurring’” in the Notre Dame Journal of Formal Logic.

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