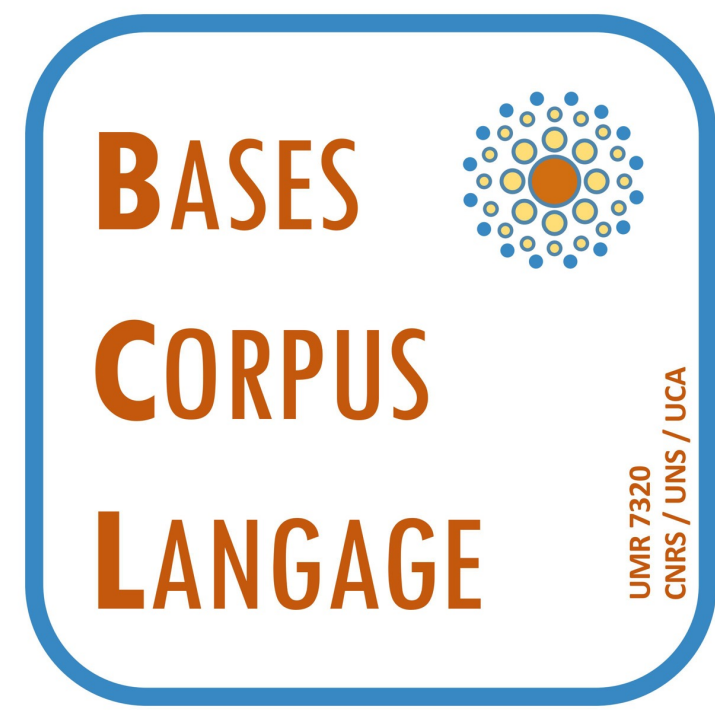


Believing p, discovering $\neg p$: *meğer* and epistemic shifts

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1 Background

PAST BELIEFS

- (1) a. I believed that Aramis was in France.
b. ... and he was in {France, Italy}.
- The discourse marker, *meğer*, in Turkish, simultaneously marks the past and current belief state of the speaker. In (2), I provide an example of its use.

- (2) Ben Aramis Fransa-da san-mış-tı-m.
1.SG Aramis France-LOC think-EVID-PST-1SG
Meğer İtalya-da-y-mış.
meğer Italy-LOC-COP-EVID
'I thought that Aramis was In France. *Meğer* he was/is in Italy.'

DEFINEDNESS CONDITIONS

- the speaker believed that possibly Aramis was not in Italy.
- the speaker currently believes that Aramis is in Italy.

ASSERTION

- Aramis is/was in Italy.

2 *Meğer* with declaratives

FELICITY CONDITIONS

- The speaker believed that the prejacent of meğer was false.*

- (3) Ben Aramis Fransa-da san-mış-tı-m.
1.SG Aramis France-LOC think-EVID-PST-1SG
(***Meğer**) Fransa-da-y-mış.
Meğer France-LOC-COP-EVID
'I thought that Aramis was In France.
Meğer he was/is in France.'

- (4) Context: Since he first went to Italy, Athos has known that Aramis has been in Italy.

Athos: Dün Aramis-le konuş-tu-m.
yesterday Aramis-COM talk-PST-1.SG
#**Meğer** İtalya-da-y-mış.
meğer Italy-LOC-COP-EVID

'I talked with Aramis yesterday. *Meğer* he is/was in Italy.'

- The speaker believed that the prejacent of meğer was possibly false.*

- (5) Aramis-in İtalya-da ol-ma-ma-sı
Aramis-GEN Italy-LOC be-NMZ-NEG-POSS
muhtemel diye düşün-müş-tü-m. **Meğer**
possible C think-ANT-PST-1.SG meğer
İtalya-da-y-mış.
Italy-LOC-COP-EVID
'I had thought it unlikely that Aramis would be in Italy. *Meğer* he is/was.'

References

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3 *Meğer* with questions

FELICITY CONDITIONS

- The speaker believes a particular answer to be true.*

- They are on a par with exclamatives (Zanuttini & Portner 2003).

- (6) a. Ben Aramis burada san-ıyor-du-m.
1. SG Aramis here think-IMPERF-PST-1.SG
Meğer nereye git-miş?
meğer where go- EVID
'I believed that Aramis was here. *Meğer* where did he go?' (✓ in (9b), in ✗ (9c))
b. Context: {When Athos went to the apartment of Aramis, he did not find him there} and called him. Aramis told him that he was in Italy.
c. Context: {...} and called a friend of his to ask his whereabouts.

- (7) a. Ben Aramis Fransa-da san-ıyor-du-m.
1.SG Aramis France-LOC think-IMPERF-PST-1SG
Meğer İtalya-da mı-y-mış?
meğer Italy-LOC. Q-COP-EVID
'I thought that Aramis was In France. **Meğer** was/is he in Italy?' (✓ in (10b), in ✗ (10c))
b. Context: As they checked the live broadcast of Aramis online, Athos and Porthos saw that Aramis was abroad.
c. Context: Athos heard that Aramis went abroad, but he is not sure. He asked someone whether he went abroad.

4 Proposal

FORMAL ASSUMPTIONS

- Meğer* introduces the definedness condition that speaker believed that the prejacent was possibly false, and she currently believes that it is true.

- (8) For any quadruple $\langle w_c, t_c, s_c, g_c \rangle$,
 $\llbracket \text{meğer} \rrbracket^{\langle w_c, t_c, s_c, g_c \rangle} = \lambda P_{\langle st, t \rangle} : \exists t' [t' < t_c \wedge C(t') = 1] \wedge \exists !q [P(q) = 1 \wedge \text{DOX}_{w_c, t', s_c}(q) = 0 \wedge \text{DOX}_{w_c, t_c, s_c}(q) = 1].$
 $\text{iq}[P(q) = 1 \wedge \text{DOX}_{w_c, t', s_c}(q) = 0 \wedge \text{DOX}_{w_c, t_c, s_c}(q) = 1]$

- (9) Let DOX be a function from $D_{\langle st, t \rangle} \rightarrow \{1, 0\}$, for any world w, interval t, individual x and proposition p,
 $\text{DOX}_{w, t, x}(p) = 1$ iff $\forall w' [w' \text{ is compatible with what x believe at t in w, } p(w') = 1]$

Declarative sentences as Hamblin sets (Hamblin 1973)

- (10) $\llbracket \text{Aramis was abroad} \rrbracket = \lambda p_{\langle st, t \rangle}. p = \lambda w. \text{Aramis was abroad in w}$

- (11) $\llbracket \text{meğer} + \text{Aramis was abroad} \rrbracket^{\langle w_c, t_c, s_c, g_c \rangle}$ is defined **only if** $\exists t' [t' < t_c \wedge C(t') = 1] \wedge \exists !q [q = \lambda w. \text{Aramis was abroad in w}] \wedge \text{DOX}_{w_c, t', s_c}(q) = 0 \wedge \text{DOX}_{w_c, t_c, s_c}(q) = 1$

if defined $\llbracket \text{meğer} + \text{Aramis was abroad} \rrbracket^{\langle w_c, t_c, s_c, g_c \rangle} = \text{iq} [q = \lambda w. \text{Aramis was abroad in w}] \wedge \text{DOX}_{w_c, t', s_c}(q) = 0 \wedge \text{DOX}_{w_c, t_c, s_c}(q) = 1]$

- Presupposition:** There is a contextually salient time prior to the speech time and a unique proposition that Aramis was abroad which the speaker believed to be possibly false at that past time and which she currently believes to be true.
- Assertion:** that proposition that Aramis was abroad.

5 Proposal Extended

QUESTIONS

- (12) For any quadruple $\langle w_c, t_c, s_c, g_c \rangle$,
 $\llbracket \text{meğer where did Aramis go} \rrbracket^{\langle w_c, t_c, s_c, g_c \rangle}$ is defined **only if** $\exists t' [t' < t_c \wedge C(t') = 1] \wedge \exists !q [\exists x : \text{place}(x) \wedge q = \lambda w. \text{Aramis went to x in w}] \wedge \exists w' [w' \text{ is compatible with what } s_c \text{ believed at } t' \text{ in w} \wedge \text{Aramis did not go to x in w'}] \wedge \forall w'' [w'' \text{ is compatible with what } s_c \text{ believes at t in w, Aramis went to x in w''}]$

if defined $\llbracket \text{meğer where did Aramis go} \rrbracket^{\langle w_c, t_c, s_c, g_c \rangle} = \text{iq} [\exists x : \text{place}(x) \wedge q = \lambda w. \text{Aramis went to x in w}] \wedge \exists w' [w' \text{ is compatible with what } s_c \text{ believed at } t' \text{ in w'} \wedge \text{Aramis did not go to x in w'}] \wedge \forall w'' [w'' \text{ is compatible with what } s_c \text{ believes at t in w, Aramis went to x in w''}]$

- Presupposition:** There is a contextually salient past time before t_c when the speaker believed that Aramis might not have gone to a place x, and currently, she believes that Aramis did.

- Assertion:** that proposition that Aramis went to that place x.

6 Conclusion

- The formalism accounts for: **i.** The requirement that the prejacent was believed to be possibly false. **ii.** the non-information seeking nature of *meğer* with interrogative prejacentes.
- It predicts the infelicity of NPIs in the question prejacentes of *meğer*.

- (13) a. #Kimse gel-miş.
anyone come-EVID
Int: 'Someone came.'
b. (#**Meğer**) kimse gel-miş mi?
meğer anyone come-EVID Q
'(#*Meğer*) did anyone come?'

A NOTE ON EVIDENTIAL MARKING:

- mlş* is obligatory in *meğer* constructions (Erguvanlı-Taylan 2000).

- (14) Aramis-in İtalya-da ol-duğ-un-u
Aramis-Q Italy-LOC be-NOM-POSS-ACC
bil-iyor-du-m. **Aslında** tüm yaz
know-IMPERF-PST-1.SG indeed all summer
orada-y-dı.
there-COP-PST
- (15) Aramis İtalya-da diye bil-iyor-du-m.
Aramis Italy-LOC COMP know-IMPERF-PST-1.SG
Aslında tüm yaz Fransa-da-y*(-mış)/*-dı.
in.fact all summer France-LOC-COP-EVID/PST
'I thought that Aramis was in Italy. (Apparently) he was in France.'

- Heim's Maximize Presupposition! (Heim 1991)**

