Semantics of the disjunction in Turkish Alternative Questions

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Table of Contents

1. Alternative Questions in Turkish

2. Background
   - Semantics of Questions
   - Alternative Questions

3. Back to Alternative Questions in Turkish
   - Existing analyses
   - Further observations

4. Proposal

Alternative questions

(1) Did John drink tea or coffee?
≈ *Is it the case that John had a warm beverage?*
(Yes/no question)

(2) Did John drink TEA or COFFEE?
≈ *Which one of the following did John drink: tea or*
coffee?
(Alternative question)

(3) Zeynep çay mı iç-ti   (yoksa) kahve mi?
     Zeynep tea mI drink-PST (or$_{Alt}$)   coffee mI
     Did Zeynep drink tea or coffee?
     $\approx$ *Which one of the following did Zeynep drink: tea or coffee?*

(3) Zeynep çay mı iç-ti   (yoksa) kahve mi?
     Zeynep tea mI drink-PST (or_{Alt})   coffee mI
     Did Zeynep drink tea or coffee?
     ≈ *Which one of the following did Zeynep drink: tea or coffee?*

(4) 太郎が   コーヒーを 飲んだ   か (それとも)
     Taro-ga   koohii-o   non-da   ka (soretomo)
     Taro-NOM coffee-ACC drink-PST KA (or_{Alt})
     お茶を   飲んだ   か
     ocha-o   non-da   ka
     tea-ACC drink-PST KA
     Did Taro drink coffee or tea?
     ≈ *Which one of the following did Taro drink: coffee or tea?*
     (Uegaki, 2014b)

Semantics of Questions

- We will assume the formal semantics framework in Heim and Kratzer, 1998 and von Fintel and Heim, 2011 and adopt Hamblin/Karttunen's semantics of questions.

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- Questions are denoted by sets of their semantically congruent answers (propositions).

(5) Does Mary smile?
     whether Mary smile
     $= \{\lambda w'.$ Mary smiles in w', $\lambda w'.$ Mary does not smile in w'$\}$

Alternative Questions

(6)   Did Alphonso sing or dance?
whether Alphonso danced or sang
$= \{\lambda w'.$ Alphonso danced in w', $\lambda w'.$ Alphonso sang in w'$\}$

- (Han and Romero, 2004, Beck and Kim, 2006, Uegaki, 2014a, Uegaki, 2014b, cf. Guerzoni and Sharvit, 2014, Wu, 2022)
- Exhaustivity and mutual exclusivity (Biezma & Rawlins, 2012)

Gračanin-Yüksek, 2016

- Syntactic analysis of the alternative questions.

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- Both sides of the disjunction are full CPs with elided material.

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- Both sides of the disjunction are full CPs with elided material.

(7) Zeynep çay mı iç-ti   (yoksa) Zeynep kahve mi
     Zeynep tea mI drink-PST (or$_{Alt}$) Zeynep coffee mI
     iç-ti?
     drink-PST
     Did Zeynep drink tea or did she drink coffee?

Atlamaz, 2023

- Bidimensional semantics of questions in Turkish

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- The disjuncts are narrow focus questions. Alternatives are introduced by focus.
- Semantically, the AltQ represents a simple set union of the two disjuncts.
- Gricean reasoning limits the alternatives $\rightarrow$ exhaustivity
- "Sam said TEA or COFFEE. She stated two alternatives explicitly. If there was a third option, she would overtly state it. Therefore, there must be only two options." (Atlamaz, 2023)

Data

(8) Zeynep çay mı iç-ti   (yoksa) kahve mi?
     Zeynep tea mI drink-PST (or$_{Alt}$)   coffee mI

     Did Zeynep drink tea or coffee?
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(8) Zeynep çay mı iç-ti   (yoksa) kahve mi?
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    Did Zeynep drink tea or coffee?
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(9) a. Çay iç-ti.
       tea drink-PST

       She drank tea.

    b. Kahve iç-ti.
       coffee drink-PST

       She drank coffee.

Data

(10)   Zeynep çay mı iç-ti   (yoksa) kahve mi?
       Zeynep tea mI drink-PST (or$_{Alt}$)   coffee mI

       Did Zeynep drink tea or coffee?
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(10) Zeynep çay mı iç-ti   (yoksa) kahve mi?
      Zeynep tea mI drink-PST (or$_{Alt}$)   coffee mI

      Did Zeynep drink tea or coffee?
      ≈ *Which one of the following did Zeynep drink: tea or coffee?*

(11) a. #İki-sin-i   de iç-ti.
          two-POSS-ACC too drink-PST

          She drank both.

      b. #İki-sin-i   de iç-me-di.
          two-POSS-ACC too drink-NEG-PST

          She drank neither.

Data

(12) *Context: I believe it's possible that Zeynep speaks both English and Turkish, or either one of them.*

#Zeynep Türkçe mı bil-iyor   (yoksa) İngilizce
Zeynep   Turkish mI know-PROG (or$_{Alt}$) English
mi?
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Does Zeynep speak Turkish or English?

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- Exhaustivity under Atlamaz, 2023 covers existence, but does so through implicature.
$\rightarrow$ Does not predict infelicity!

Lexical entry for OR_{Alt} (yoksa)

(13) $A \cup_{ex} B = \{x : [x \in A \text{ or } x \in B] \text{ and } x \notin A \cap B\}$

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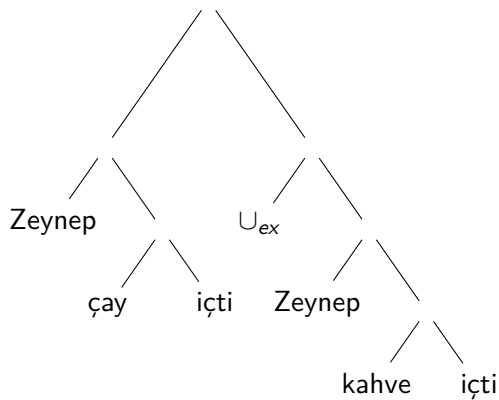
(14)   Zeynep çay mı iç-ti   (yoksa) kahve mi?
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       Did Zeynep drink tea or coffee?
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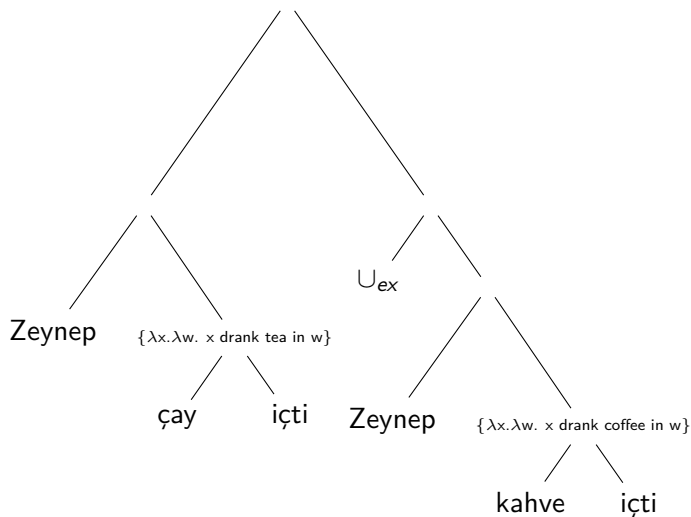
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(15) $\{p_1\} \cup_{ex} \{p_2\} = \{p : \forall w \in p, [w \in p_1$ or
       $w \in p_2] \wedge w \notin p_1 \cap p_2\}$
       {Zeynep drinks coffee} $\cup_{ex}$ {Zeynep drinks tea} = $\{p : \forall w$ such
       that p is true in w, [Zeynep drinks coffee in w or Zeynep drinks
       tea in w] and [Zeynep does not drink coffee and tea in w]

Calculation

Calculation

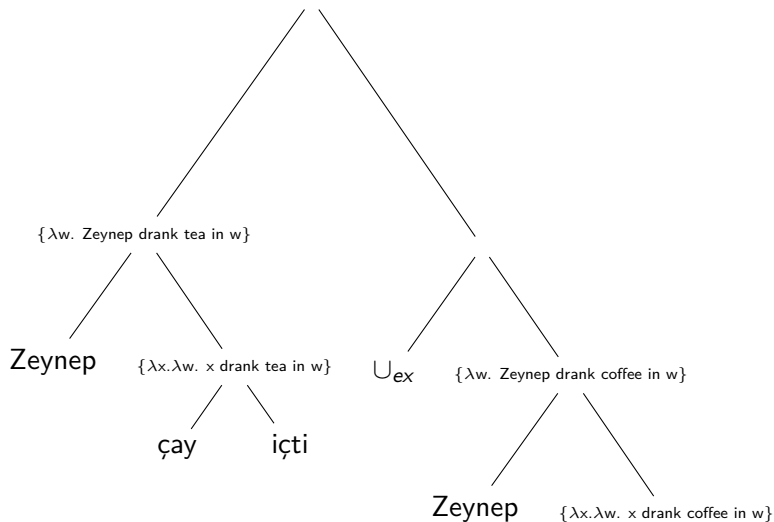## Calculation

Alternative Questions in Turkish
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Background
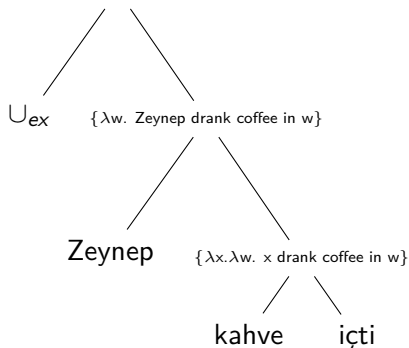○○

Back to Alternative Questions in Turkish
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Proposal
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References
○

Calculation

$\lambda A. \{ p : \forall w \in p, [w \in \{\lambda w.\text{Zeynep drank coffee in w}\} \text{ or } w \in A] \wedge w \notin \{\lambda w.\text{Zeynep drank coffee in w}\} \cap A\}$

$\bigcup_{ex}$ $\{\lambda w. \text{ Zeynep drank coffee in w}\}$

Zeynep $\{\lambda x.\lambda w. \text{ x drank coffee in w}\}$

kahve   içti

Calculation

- $\lambda A.\{p : \forall w \in p, [w \in \{\lambda w.\text{Zeynep drank coffee in w}\}$ or
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  $(\{\lambda w.\ \text{Zeynep drank coffee in w}\})$

- $\{p : \forall w \in p,$
  $[w \in \{\lambda w.\text{Zeynep drank coffee in w}\}$ or $w \in \{\lambda w.\text{Zeynep}$
  drank tea in w$\}]$
  $\wedge w \notin \{\lambda w.\text{Zeynep drank coffee in w}\} \cap \{\lambda w.\text{Zeynep drank tea}$
  in w$\}\}$

ご視聴誠にありがとうございました！

Thank you!

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https://ruveydatriesstuff.github.io/

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$\rightarrow$ Licensed by context

- Alternative way: restricting/updating the context.
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- Optionality of the disjunction head