Semantics of the disjunction in Turkish Alternative Questions

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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?
     ≈ *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).

Alternative Questions in Turkish   Background   Back to Alternative Questions in Turkish   Proposal   References
○○   ●○   ○○○○○   ○○○○○○○   ○

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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?

Alternative Questions in Turkish
○○

Background
○○

Back to Alternative Questions in Turkish
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Proposal
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Existing analyses

Atlamaz, 2023

- Bidimensional semantics of questions in Turkish

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Existing analyses

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- Bidimensional semantics of questions in Turkish
- 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?
       ≈ *Which one of the following did Zeynep drink: tea or coffee?*

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

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

       $\approx$ *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?
mI

Does Zeynep speak Turkish or English?

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Does Zeynep speak Turkish or English?

- One of the disjuncts must be true (existence)

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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.

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   Zeynep   Turkish mI know-PROG (or_{Alt}) English
   mi?
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   Does Zeynep speak Turkish or English?

- One of the disjuncts must be true (existence)
- Only one of the disjuncts must be true (uniqueness)
- Exhaustivity under Atlamaz, 2023 covers existence, but does so through implicature.
- → Does not predict infelicity!

Lexical entry for OR$_{Alt}$ (yoksa)

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

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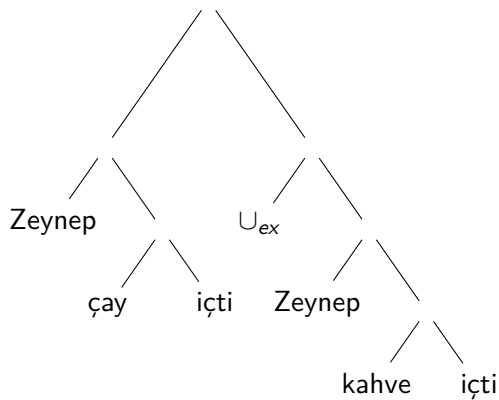
(14) Zeynep çay mı iç-ti   (yoksa) kahve mi?
      Zeynep tea mI drink-PST (or$_{Alt}$)   coffee mI

      Did Zeynep drink tea or coffee?
      $\approx$ *Which one of the following did Zeynep drink: tea or*
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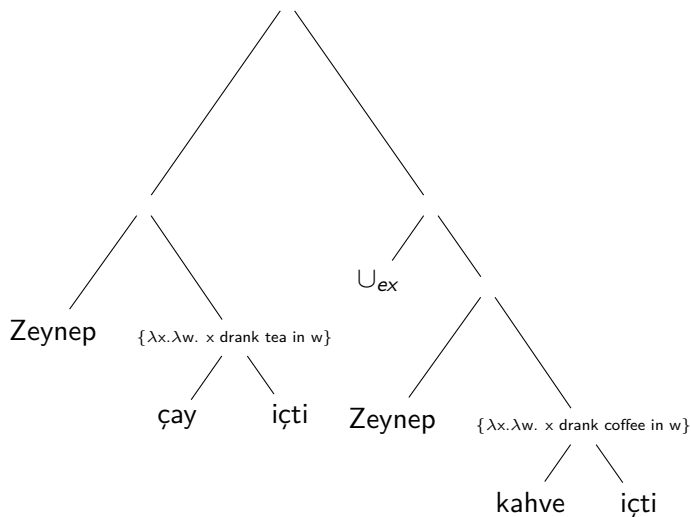
       Did Zeynep drink tea or coffee?
       $\approx$ *Which one of the following did Zeynep drink: tea or coffee?*

(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
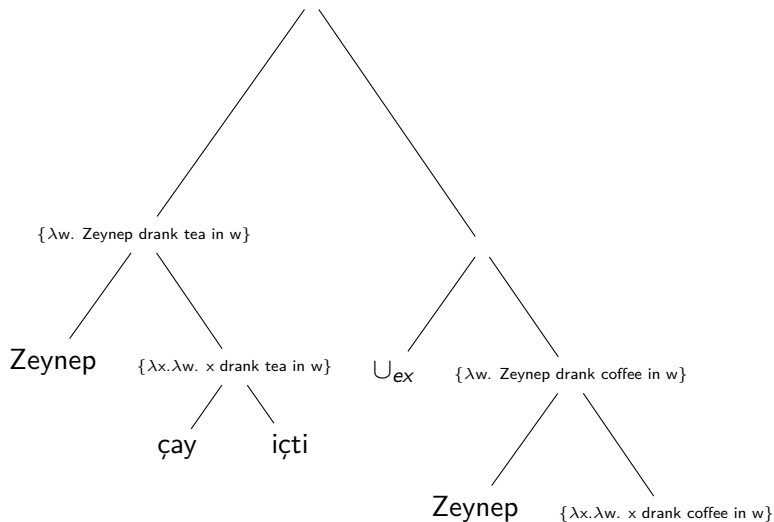
Tree diagram:

- Top node branching into a left subtree and a right subtree.
- Left subtree: Zeynep and {λx.λw. x drank tea in w}, which branches into çay and içti.
- Right subtree: $\bigcup_{ex}$ branching into Zeynep and {λx.λw. x drank coffee in w}, which branches into kahve and içti.

Calculation

$\{\lambda w.$ Zeynep drank tea in w$\}$

Zeynep

$\{\lambda x.\lambda w.$ x drank tea in w$\}$

çay   içti

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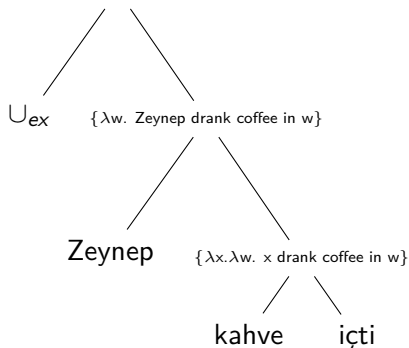
Zeynep

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

Calculation

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

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

Zeynep   {λx.λw. 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 $w \in A] \wedge w \notin \{\lambda w.\text{Zeynep drank coffee in w}\} \cap A\}$ ($\{\lambda w. \text{ Zeynep drank coffee in w}\}$)

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