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- Turkish Alternative Questions
- Is there a wh-element?
  - A moving operator
  - A wh without movement
- Size of disjuncts
  - Small vs. large disjuncts analyses
  - Intervention effects and large disjuncts accounts

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# Alternative questions (in English)

- (1)a. Did John drink tea or coffee?  $\approx$  Is it the case that John had a warm beverage? (Yes/no question)
  - b. Did John drink TEA or COFFEE?  $\approx$  Which one of the following did John drink: tea or coffee? (Alternative question)

# Alternative questions (in English)

- (1) a. Did John drink tea or coffee?  $\approx$  Is it the case that John had a warm beverage? (Yes/no question)
  - b. Did John drink TEA or COFFEE?
     ≈ Which one of the following did John drink: tea or coffee?
     (Alternative question)
- (2) a. Dali Filip pieše kafe ili čaj? whether Filip drank coffee or tea ≈ Is it the case that Philip had a warm beverage? (Yes/no question)
  - b. Dali Filip pieše KAFE ili ČAJ?
     whether Filip drank coffee or tea
     ≈ Which one of the following did Philip drink: tea or coffee?
     (Alternative question)

# Alternative questions in Turkish (and others)

- (3) Hezal Dixit mi (yoksa) Codenames mi oyna-dı? Hezal Dixit MI (or<sub>Alt</sub>) Codenames MI play-PST 'Did Hezal play Dixit or did she play Codenames?'
  - a. \* Polar question: 'Is it the case that Hezal played either one of these board games?'
  - b. Alternative question: 'Which one of the following board games did Hezal play: Dixit, Codenames?'

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# 'whether' in English

(4) a. Did John drink tea or did he drink coffee?



# 'whether' in English

- (4) a. Did John drink tea or did he drink coffee?
  - b. I don't know whether John drank tea or coffee.

Larson, 1985

#### Larson, 1985

- Do you believe [NP the claim [that Bill [resigned or retired]]]? (5)
  - a.  $\approx$  Is it the case that you believe Bill stopped working?
  - b. ≉ Which one of the following do you believe: that Bill resigned, that Bill retired?

#### Larson, 1985

- (5)Do you believe [NP] the claim [that Bill [resigned or retired]]]?
  - a.  $\approx$  Is it the case that you believe Bill stopped working?
  - resigned, that Bill retired?
- (6) a. Do you believe [NP] the claim [that Bill [resigned or retired]]]?
  - b. \*  $Q_i$  Do you believe  $N_P$  the claim [that Bill  $t_i$  [resigned or retired]]]?

### Island effects in Turkish

Turkish allows *wh*-items inside islands with a wide scope reading. (Arslan, 1999; Özsoy, 1996).

(7) [Can-ın hangi gün yaz-dı-ğ-ı] dilekçe uzun? Can-GEN which day write-PST-COMP-POSS petition long 'The petition Can wrote on which day, is long?' ≈ On which day did Can write his long petition?

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Turkish allows *wh*-items inside islands with a wide scope reading. (Arslan, 1999; Özsoy, 1996).

- (7) [Can-In hangi gün yaz-dı-ğ-l] dilekçe uzun? Can-GEN which day write-PST-COMP-POSS petition long 'The petition Can wrote on which day, is long?' ≈ On which day did Can write his long petition?
- (8) [Can-ın dün mü (yoksa) önceki gün mü Can-GEN yesterday MI (or<sub>Alt</sub>) previous day MI yaz-dı-ğ-ı] dilekçe uzun? write-PST-COMP-POSS petition long

'Is the letter that Can wrote yesterday or the day before long?'  $\approx$  Which petition that Can wrote is the long one: the one he wrote yesterday, or the one he wrote the day before?

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# Turkish alternative questions in islands

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(9) \* [Can-ın niçin yaz-dı-ğ-ı] dilekçe uzun?

Can-GEN why write-PST-COMP-POSS petition long

Unavailable reading: 'The petition Can wrote why, is long?'

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Some *wh*-words in Turkish do rely on movement for interpretation. (Arslan, 1999; Özsoy, 1996)

- (9) \* [Can-ın niçin yaz-dı-ğ-ı] dilekçe uzun?

  Can-GEN why write-PST-COMP-POSS petition long

  Unavailable reading: 'The petition Can wrote why, is long?'
- (10) [Can-ın izin için mi (yoksa) görevlendirme için mi Can-GEN leave for MI (or<sub>Alt</sub>) appointment for MI yaz-dı-g-ı] dilekçe uzun? write-PST-COMP-POSS petition long

'Is the letter that Can wrote for a leave or for an appointment long?'

≈ Which petition that Can wrote is the long one: the one he wrote for a leave, or the one he wrote for an appointment?

- (11)a. I was surprised who attended.
  - b. \* I was surprised whether Bill attended.

- (11)a. I was surprised who attended.
  - b. \* I was surprised whether Bill attended.
- a. \* I was surprised whether Bill or George attended. (12)
  - b. I was surprised which of Bill and George attended.

(Beck & Kim, 2006)

Heim, 1994  $\rightarrow$  two types of question-embedding verbs in terms of strength of exhaustivity.

(13) I wonder which concerts sold out.

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  - $\Longrightarrow$  For each concert this season, I want to know if they sold out or not.

- (13) I wonder which concerts sold out. ⇒ For each concert this season, I want to know if they sold out or not.
- (14) I was surprised which concerts sold out.

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- (14) I was surprised which concerts sold out.
   ⇒ I was surprised that the Solstafir concert sold out.

- (13) I wonder which concerts sold out.

  ⇒ For each concert this season. I want to know
  - $\Longrightarrow$  For each concert this season, I want to know if they sold out or not.
- (14) I was surprised which concerts sold out.
  - ⇒ I was surprised that the Solstafir concert sold out.
  - ≠⇒ I was surprised that the Mayhem concert did not sell out.

It surprised Ann which of John and Bill came to the party.

(15) It surprised Ann which of John and Bill came to the party.

She hadn't expected John to make it, though she already knew
Bill wouldn't be there.

(15)It surprised Ann which of John and Bill came to the party. She hadn't expected John to make it, though she already knew Bill wouldn't be there.

→ Ann was surprised that Bill didn't come to the party.

- It surprised Ann which of John and Bill came to the party. She hadn't expected John to make it, though she already knew Bill wouldn't be there.
  - → Ann was surprised that Bill didn't come to the party.
- (16)I wonder who attended.
- (17)I was surprised who attended.

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Guerzoni, 2003  $\rightarrow$  knowing that p amounts to knowing it is not the case that  $\neg p$ .

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- I wonder who attended. (16)
- I was surprised who attended.

Guerzoni, 2003  $\rightarrow$  knowing that p amounts to knowing it is not the case that  $\neg p$ .

- (18)I wonder whether Bill attended.
- \* I was surprised whether Bill attended. (19)

(20) Cem dükkan-a gel-di mi? Cem store-DAT come-PST MI? 'Did Cem come to the store?'

- (20) Cem dükkan-a gel-di mi?
  Cem store-DAT come-PST MI?
  'Did Cem come to the store?'
- (21) Eren [Cem dükkan-a gel-di mi] merak ed-iyor. Eren Cem store-DAT come-PST MI wonder-PROG 'Eren wonders whether Cem came to the store.'

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  - [22] Eren [kim dükkan-a gel-di] merak ed-iyor. Eren who store-DAT come-PST wonder-PROG 'Eren wonders who came to the store.'

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- (22) Eren [kim dükkan-a gel-di] merak ed-iyor. Eren who store-DAT come-PST wonder-PROG 'Eren wonders who came to the store.'
  - ightarrow Eren wants to know, for each person he considers a potential customer, if they came to the store or not.

(22)

# *'wonder'* and *'surprise'* in Turkish

- (20)Cem dükkan-a gel-di Cem store-DAT come-PST MI? 'Did Cem come to the store?'
- (21) Eren [Cem dükkan-a gel-di mi] merak ed-iyor. Eren Cem store-DAT come-PST MI wonder-PROG 'Fren wonders whether Cem came to the store.'

Eren [kim dükkan-a gel-di] merak ed-iyor.

- Fren who store-DAT come-PST wonder-PROG 'Eren wonders who came to the store.'  $\rightarrow$  Eren wants to know, for each person he considers a potential
- customer, if they came to the store or not.
- (23) Eren [Cem-in dükkan-a gel-ip Eren Cem-GEN store-DAT come-CONJ gel-me-di-ğ-in]-i merak ed-iyor. come-NEG-PST-COMP-POSS-ACC wonder-PROG 'Eren wonders whether Cem came to the store.'

## 'wonder' and 'surprise' in Turkish

(24) Eren [Cem-in dükkan-a gel-di-ğ-in]-e Eren Cem-GEN store-DAT come-PST-COMP-POSS-DAT şaşır-dı. be surprised-PST 'Eren was surprised that Cem came to the store.'

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- (25)Eren [kim-in dükkan-a gel-di-ğ-in]-e Eren who-GEN store-DAT come-PST-COMP-POSS-DAT şaşır-dı. be surprised-PST 'Eren was surprised who came to the store.'

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ightarrow Eren was surprised Cem and Hezal came to the store. He wasn't surprised that Purya didn't, he expected he wouldn't make it.

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- (26) \* Eren [Cem-in dükkan-a gel-ip
  Eren Cem-GEN store-DAT come-CONJ
  gel-me-di-ğ-in]-e şaşır-dı.
  come-NEG-PST-COMP-POSS-DAT be surprised-PST

Abenina-Adar and Sharvit, 2021; Biezma and Rawlins, 2012; Guerzoni and Sharvit, 2014; Karttunen, 1977; von Fintel and Heim, 2001

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# Acceptable answers to AltQs

Abenina-Adar and Sharvit. 2021: Biezma and Rawlins. 2012: Guerzoni and Sharvit, 2014; Karttunen, 1977; von Fintel and Heim, 2001  $\rightarrow$  both options are not true at the same time

(27)# I don't know whether this is one of the weeks when the garbage truck comes every day. When I'll sweep the sidewalk depends on whether it comes on Monday or on Tuesday.

(von Fintel & Heim, 2001)

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(27)# I don't know whether this is one of the weeks when the garbage truck comes every day. When I'll sweep the sidewalk depends on whether it comes on Monday or on Tuesday.

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- a. \* I was surprised whether Bill or George attended. (28)
  - b. I wonder whether Bill or George attended.

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- (28) a. \* I was surprised whether Bill or George attended.
  - b. I wonder whether Bill or George attended.
  - c. I was surprised which of Bill and George attended.
  - d. I wonder which of Bill and George attended.

# Acceptable answers to Turkish AltQs

(29) Zeynep çay mı iç-ti (yoksa) kahve mi? Zeynep tea MI drink-PST (or<sub>Alt</sub>) coffee MI Did Zeynep drink tea or coffee? ≈ Which one of the following did Zeynep drink: tea or coffee?

# Acceptable answers to Turkish AltQs

- (29) Zeynep çay mı iç-ti (yoksa) kahve mi? Zeynep tea MI drink-PST (or<sub>Alt</sub>) coffee MI Did Zeynep drink tea or coffee?  $\approx$  Which one of the following did Zeynep drink: tea or coffee?
- (30) 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.

# Turkish AltQs embedded under 'wonder' and 'surprise'

(31) Eren [Cem-in mi (yoksa) Hezal-ın mı dükkan-a Eren Cem-GEN MI or<sub>Alt</sub> Hezal-GEN MI store-DAT gel-di-ğ-in]-i merak ed-iyor.

come-PST-COMP-POSS-ACC wonder-PROG

'Eren wonders whether Cem came to the store or Hezal came to the store.'

A wh without movement

- (31) Eren [Cem-in mi (yoksa) Hezal-ın mı dükkan-a Eren Cem-GEN MI or Alt Hezal-GEN MI store-DAT gel-di-ğ-in]-i merak ed-iyor. come-PST-COMP-POSS-ACC wonder-PROG 'Eren wonders whether Cem came to the store or Hezal came to the store.'
- (32)\* Eren [Cem-in mi (yoksa) Hezal-ın mı dükkan-a Eren Cem-GEN MI or<sub>Alt</sub> Hezal-GEN MI store-DAT gel-di-ğ-in]-e şaşır-dı. come-PST-COMP-POSS-DAT be surprised-PST 'Eren was surprised whether Cem or Hezal came to the store.'

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(33)Did John drink tea or coffee?

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- (33)Did John drink tea or coffee?
  - a. Did John drink [tea or coffee]?

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- (33) Did John drink tea or coffee?
  - a. Did John drink [tea or coffee]?
  - b. Did [[John drink tea] or [John drank coffee]]?

Beck and Kim, 2006; Han and Romero, 2004b; Larson, 1985; Schwarz, 1999, among others

- Did John drink tea or coffee? (33)
  - a. Did John drink [tea or coffee]?
  - b. Did [[John drink tea] or [John drank coffee]]?
- (34)Seher Humboldt-ta mı (yoksa) Freie-de mi oku-yor? Seher Humboldt-LOC MI (or<sub>Alt</sub>) Freie-LOC MI read-PROG Does Seher study at Humboldt or Freie?
  - a. Seher [DisiP [Humboldt'ta] mı yoksa [Freie'de] mi] okuyor?
  - b. [DisiP [Seher Humboldt'ta mi okuyor] yoksa [Seher Freie'de mi okuyor]]?

#### Turkish Alternative Questions

Turkish alternative questions have large disjuncts. Both sides of the disjunction are full CPs with elided material. (Gračanin-Yüksek, 2016) Small vs. large disjuncts analyses

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- (35)Seher Humboldt-ta mı oku-yor (yoksa) Freie-de Seher Humboldt-LOC MI read-PROG (or<sub>Alt</sub>) Freie-LOC MI Does Seher study at Humboldt or Freie?
  - a. Seher [Humboldt'ta mi] okuyor yoksa [Freie'de mi]?
  - b. [DisiP [Seher Humboldt'ta mı okuyor] yoksa [Seher Freie'de mi okuvor]]?

Beck and Kim, 2006

(36) ?? Did only Mary introduce Sue to Bill or (to) Tom?

#### Intervention effects

Beck and Kim, 2006

- (36)?? Did only Mary introduce Sue to Bill or (to) Tom?
- Did only Mary introduce Sue to Bill or only Mary introduce Sue (37)to Tom?

#### Intervention effects

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- (36) ?? Did only Mary introduce Sue to Bill or (to) Tom?
- (37) Did only Mary introduce Sue to Bill or only Mary introduce Sue to Tom?

#### Focus Deletion Constraint

Focus-marked constituents at LF (or their phonological locus) cannot delete at Spell-Out. (Han & Romero, 2004a)

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(38) Hat [nur die erste Mannschaft gewonnen] oder [nur die zweite]? has only the first team won or only the second

Did only the first team win or only the second?

(Beck & Kim, 2006)



#### Intervention effects in Turkish AltQs

(39) Mete-yi mi sadece Ömer ara-dı (yoksa) Can-ı mı? Mete-ACC MI only Ömer call-PST (or<sub>Alt</sub>) Can-ACC MI 'Did only Ömer call Mete, or did only Ömer call Can?' Intervention effects and large disjuncts accounts

- (39)Mete-yi mi sadece Ömer ara-dı (yoksa) Can-ı Mete-ACC MI only Ömer call-PST (or<sub>Alt</sub>) Can-ACC MI 'Did only Ömer call Mete, or did only Ömer call Can?'
- (40)Mete-yi mi sadece Ömer ara-dı (yoksa) Can-ı mı sadece Mete-ACC MI only Ömer call-PST (or<sub>A/t</sub>) Can-ACC MI only Ömer ara-dı? Ömer call-PST 'Did only Ömer call Mete, or did only Ömer call Can?'

- (39)Mete-yi mi sadece Ömer ara-dı (yoksa) Can-ı Mete-ACC MI only Ömer call-PST (or<sub>Alt</sub>) Can-ACC MI 'Did only Ömer call Mete, or did only Ömer call Can?'
- Mete-yi mi sadece Ömer ara-dı (yoksa) Can-ı mı sadece (40)Mete-ACC MI only Ömer call-PST (or<sub>Alt</sub>) Can-ACC MI only Ömer ara-dı? Ömer call-PST
  - 'Did only Ömer call Mete, or did only Ömer call Can?'
- (41) \* Sadece Ömer Mete-yi mi ara-dı (yoksa) sadece Ömer only Ömer Mete-ACC MI call-PST (or<sub>Alt</sub>) only Ömer mi ara-di? Can-i Can-ACC ML call-PST

Intended: 'Did only Ömer call Mete, or did only Ömer call Can?'



## Focus and its placement in Turkish

- (42)a. \* Ne zaman OKUL-A<sub>F</sub> gid-ecek-sin? what time school-DAT go-FUT-2SG
  - b. OKUL-A<sub>F</sub> ne zaman gid-ecek-sin? school-DAT what time  $\,$  go-FUT- $2{
    m SG}$

(Göksel & Özsoy, 2000)

Size of disjuncts

(43) Mete-yi mi sadece Ömer ara-dı (yoksa) Can-ı mı? Mete-ACC MI only Ömer call-PST (or<sub>Alt</sub>) Can-ACC MI 'Did only Ömer call Mete, or did only Ömer call Can?'

- (43) Mete-yi mi sadece Ömer ara-dı (yoksa) Can-ı mı? Mete-ACC MI only Ömer call-PST (or<sub>Alt</sub>) Can-ACC MI 'Did only Ömer call Mete, or did only Ömer call Can?'
- (44) \* Sadece Ömer Mete-yi mi ara-dı (yoksa) sadece Ömer only Ömer Mete-ACC MI call-PST (or<sub>Alt</sub>) only Ömer Can-ı mı ara-dı?

  Can-ACC MI call-PST

Intended: 'Did only Ömer call Mete, or did only Ömer call Can?'

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