A tale of two *-mIş*'s:
between evidential and attitudinal semantics

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1 Introduction

- Turkish is well-known for overtly marking indirect evidentiality (Şener 2011, Meriçli 2016)

(1) Okul Pazartesi günü aç-ıl-acak-**mış**.
     school Monday day open-PASS-PRSP-**EVID**

     'The school is going to reopen on Monday (**I heard/ I inferred**).'

- **Focus of today's talk: the "double-*mIş*" construction**

(2) Okul Pazartesi günü aç-ıl-acak-**mış-mış**.
     school Monday day open-PASS-PRSP-**EVID-MIŞ**

     1. 'The school is going to reopen on Monday (**I heard from someone who heard it from someone**).'

     2. 'The school is going to reopen on Monday (**I heard from someone but it's ridiculous**).'

Main proposals

- Two distinct meanings of *-mIş-mIş*:

  - 3rd-hand reportative evidential: "SPKR heard p from someone, who heard it from someone else"
  - Incredulity attitude over 2nd-hand report: "SPKR heard p from someone, and finds p to be ridiculous."

- The two uses pattern differently with respect to: **Interrogative Flip**, **discourse commitments**

- Proposal in a nutshell:

  - Distinguish reportative evidential *-mIş*$_\text{REP}$ and incredulity attitude *-mIş*$_\text{INCRED}$
  - Compositionally derive 3rd-hand reportative *-mIş-mIş* and incredulity over 2nd-hand report *-mIş-mIş*

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2 Two uses of *-mIş-mIş*

- Double-*mIş* constructions have two distinct interpretations

- **3rd-hand reportative**

(3)   **The principal told Gökçen** that the school is going to reopen on Monday. **Gökçen then told this to Merve.** Merve says to her mother: *I just talked to Gökçen, who talked to principal...*
Okul   Pazartesi günü aç-ıl-acak-mış-**mış**.
school Monday   day   open-PASS-PRSP-REP-**3REP**
'The school is going to reopen on Monday (I heard from someone **who heard it from someone**).'

- **Incredulity attitude over 2nd-hand report**

(4)   **Gökçen told Merve** that the school is going to reopen on Monday. **Merve thinks that this information is ridiculous.** Merve says to her mother: *I just talked to Gökçen...*
Okul   Pazartesi günü aç-ıl-acak-mış-**mış**.
school Monday   day   open-PASS-PRSP-REP-**INCRED**

'The school is going to reopen on Monday (I heard from someone, **but it's ridiculous**).'

- The incredulity attitude ranges over the **at-issue proposition** (the information being reported):

  - In (4), Merve's utterance conveys that she thinks that *the school is going to reopen on Monday* is ridiculous.

  - The incredulity attitude is *not* about the evidential proposition "*According to what Gökçen believes/thinks, the school is going to reopen on Monday.*"

  - This is diagnosed by the infelicity of (5).

(5)   **Gökçen told Merve** that the school is going to reopen on Monday. **Merve thinks that it is ridiculous for Gökçen to believe/think such thing.** Merve says to her mother: *I just talked to Gökçen...*
Okul   Pazartesi günü aç-ıl-acak-mış-**mış**.
  school Monday   day   open-PASS-PRSP-REP-**INCRED**
'(**It's ridiculous for Gökçen to believe/think that**) The school is going to reopen on Monday.'

  - The incredulity attitude is also *not* about the quality of the **source** of information.

  - If the quality of the source was relevant, (6) would be felicitous

(6)   Gökçen encounters a fortune teller, who tells Gökçen that his wife is cheating on him. **Gökçen happens to know that his wife is cheating on him, but he also thinks that fortune telling is bogus.** He says to a friend: *I just talked to a fortune teller...*
Eş-im   beni   aldat-ıyor-muş-**muş**.
  partner-1SG(POSS) 1SG.ACC cheat-PROG-REP-**INCRED**
'(**According to an unreliable source**) My wife is cheating on me.'

3 Key empirical differences

3.1 Discourse commitments

- Reportatives cross-linguistically are compatible with variable speaker commitment to the at-issue p ("Reportative exceptionality", AnderBois 2014)

(7) Okul   Pazartesi günü aç-ıl-acak-**mış**.
school Monday   day   open-PASS-PRSP-**REP**
'The school is going to reopen on Monday (I heard from someone).'

    a. **... valla, ben inanıyorum.**
       'I believe this.'

    b. **... ben inanmıyorum.**
       'I don't believe this.'

3.1.1 3rd-hand reportatives

- Evokes variable speaker commitment to the at-issue p

- Patterns with reportative evidentials

(8) Okul   Pazartesi günü aç-ıl-acak-mış-**mış**.
school Monday   day   open-PASS-PRSP-REP-**3REP**
'The school is going to reopen on Monday (I heard from someone **who heard it from someone**).'

    a. **... valla, ben inanıyorum.**
       'I believe this.'

    b. **... ben inanmıyorum.**
       'I don't believe this.'

3.1.2 Incredulity attitude over 2nd-hand report

- INCRED commits the SPKR to the incredulity attitude

  – (9) is only compatible with lack of speaker commitment

(9) Okul   Pazartesi günü aç-ıl-acak-mış-**mış**.
school Monday   day   open-PASS-PRSP-REP-**INCRED**
'The school is going to reopen on Monday (I heard from someone, **but it's ridiculous**).'

    a. **#... valla, ben inanıyorum.**
       # 'I believe this.'

    b. **... ben inanmıyorum.**
       'I don't believe this.'

3.2 Interrogative Flip

- The evidence holder flips from SPKR to ADDR in information-seeking questions (Garrett 2001, Korotkova 2018, Bhadra 2020)

- It is possible for evidentials to be non-flipping if the interrogative force is noncanonical (Dayal 2016), e.g. quiz questions, self-directed questions, etc. (Bhadra 2020)

  – In the information-seeking interrogative (10) the evidence holder flips from the SPKR (Merve's brother) to the ADDR (Merve)

(10) **Gökçen told Merve** that the school is going to reopen on Monday. Merve's brother overheard Merve's conversation, but misses the date. He asks Merve:
Okul   ne   zaman aç-ıl-acak-**mış**?
school what time   open-PASS-PRSP-**REP**
'(According to **YOUR second-hand report**) When is the school going to reopen?'

3.2.1 3rd-hand reportative

- 3REP displays Interrogative flip: the **evidential origo** flips to the **ADDR**

  – In (11) the evidence holder is flipped to the ADDR (Merve), who has third-hand evidence

(11) **The principal told Gökçen** that the school is going to reopen on Monday. **Gökçen then told this to Merve.** Merve's brother overheard Merve's conversation, but misses the date. He asks Merve:
Okul   ne   zaman aç-ıl-acak-mış-**mış**?
school what time   open-PASS-PRSP-REP-**3REP**
'(According to **YOUR third-hand report**) When is the school going to reopen?'

- In unbiased questions, the evidence holder obligatorily flips to the ADDR

  – In the unbiased interrogative (12) the evidence holder can't be the SPKR (Merve's brother)

(12) **Gökçen told Merve** that the school is going to reopen on Monday. Merve's brother overheard Merve's conversation, but misses the date. He asks Merve:
\# Okul   ne   zaman aç-ıl-acak-mış-**mış**?
   school what time   open-PASS-PRSP-REP-**3REP**
\# '(**According to MY third-hand report**) When is the school going to reopen?'

3.2.2 Incredulity attitude over 2nd-hand report

- **Evidence holder** flips from SPKR to **ADDR**

- **Attitude holder** remains the **SPKR**

  – In (13) the evidence holder is the ADDR (Merve), but the attitude holder is the SPKR (Merve's brother)

(13)   **Gökçen told Merve** that the school is going to reopen on Monday. Merve's brother overheard Merve's conversation, but misses the date. **Merve's brother thinks that Gökçen is a liar.** He asks Merve:

Okul   ne   zaman aç-ıl-acak-mış-**mış**?

school what time   open-PASS-PRSP-REP-**INCRED**

'(According to YOUR second-hand report) When is the school going to reopen (—**and I would find whatever your report says to my question to be ridiculous**)?'

- The attitude holder can't be flipped to the ADDR

  - In the **infelicitous** (14) both the evidential origo and the attitude holder are flipped to the ADDR (Merve)

(14)   **Gökçen told Merve** that the school is going to reopen on Monday. Merve's brother overheard Merve's conversation, but misses the date. **He knows that Merve does not believe whatever Gökçen says. He thinks Gökçen is reliable.** He asks Merve:

\# Okul   ne   zaman aç-ıl-acak-mış-**mış**?

  school what time   open-PASS-PRSP-REP-**INCRED**

'(According to YOUR second-hand report) When is the school going to reopen (—**and YOU would find whatever your report says to be ridiculous**)?'

(15)   Summary of empirical properties for REP, 3REP and INCRED-OVER-REP

	REP	3REP	INCRED-over-REP
SPKR commitment to p	variable	variable	no commitment
Interrogative Flip:			
Evidence holder flips to ADDR	✓	✓	✓
Attitude holder flips to ADDR	–	–	✗

4   Analysis

4.1   Overview

- Want: a *parsimonious* set of lexical items that

  - *Compositionally* derives both uses of *-mIş-mIş* and their key properties;
  - Is both language-internally and typologically well-motivated.

> **Proposal 1:** Turkish has two *-mIş* suffixes with distinct semantics.
>
> - A reportative evidential *-mIş*_{REP}   = identical with the reportative version of single evidential *-mIş*
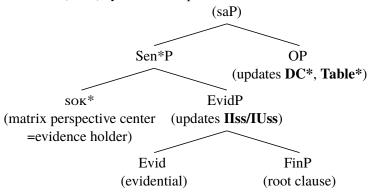>
> - An incredulity attitudinal *-mIş*_{INCRED}
>
> **Proposal 2:** The two uses of *-mIş-mIş* are derived compositionally from *-mIş*_{REP} and *-mIş*_{INCRED}.
>
> - 3rd-hand reportative *-mIş-mIş* is composed of *-mIş*_{REP}--*mIş*_{REP}   = a genuine "double evidential"
>
> - Incredulity over 2nd-hand report *-mIş-mIş* is composed of *-mIş*_{REP}-*mIş*_{INCRED}
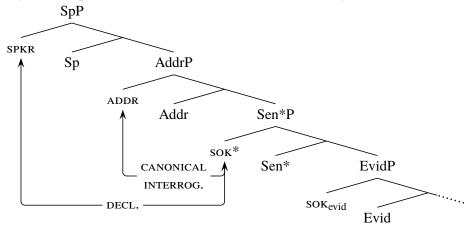
4.2 Theoretical preliminaries

- Two types of approaches to evidential meaning

  - Evidentials as encoding **epistemic** meaning, either modal (Izvorski 1997, Matthewson et al. 2007, Smirnova 2013, a.m.o.) or attitudinal (Korotkova 2016)
  - Evidentials as contributing **illocutionary** updates (Faller 2002, Murray 2010, 2017, AnderBois 2014, a.o.)

- Evidentials-as-epistemic theories more explicitly handle **epistemic-semantic** properties: <u>embedding</u>, <u>perspective-anchoring/shift</u>, *de se*-ness, modal strength of claim

- Evidentials-as-illocutionary theories more explicitly handle **discourse-level** properties: <u>discourse commitments</u>, <u>not-at-issue-ness</u>, <u>force</u>, anaphora

- Recent work (Bhadra 2017, 2020) has pointed towards a **integrative/interface** approach:

- Model **both** epistemic **and** illocutionary meanings, at different functional layers in the syntactic-compositional structure. This is schematically shown in (16).

- Main ingredients of this approach:

  - Adopt *configurational* (syntactic) representations of evidentiality, point-of-view phenomena and discourse roles in the left periphery (Speas and Tenny 2003, Miyagawa 2012, Haegeman and Hill 2013, Wiltschko and Heim 2016, Zu 2018, a.o.)
  - Explicitly define semantic composition and discourse updates in terms of this articulated syntactic structure.
  - Goal: an explicit syntax-semantics (static and dynamic) interface

(16)   Bhadra's (2020) syntactic-compositional structure for evidentially-marked utterances

```
                          (saP)
                    ┌───────┴────────┐
                Sen*P                 OP
            ┌─────┴──────┐      (updates DC*, Table*)
         SOK*            EvidP
 (matrix perspective center   (updates IIss/IUss)
     =evidence holder)      ┌──────┴──────┐
                          Evid           FinP
                       (evidential)   (root clause)
```

(Bhadra 2020:ex.57, adapted)

- We are working towards an integrative analysis for *-mIş-mIş*.

  - Today's focus: static compositional semantics, in the Sentience layer

- We specifically adopt Zu's (2018) formulation of the speech-act layer in the syntax, as shown in (17).

  - The root SPKR and ADDR are each introduced in the specifier position of a dedicated speech-act-layer functional projection: SpP and AddrP.

- Root-clause perspective center ("seat of knowledge," SOK) is introduced in the specifier position of a root-clause Sentience projection: Sen*P

- Importantly: Interrogative Flip is modeled as the differential binding of root SOK by SPKR (in declaratives and certain non-canonical questions) and ADDR (in canonical questions).

- This mechanism will enable a configurational account of why evidentials such as 3REP *-mIş-mIş* Flip, whereas attitudinal markers such as INCRED *-mIş-mIş* do not Flip.

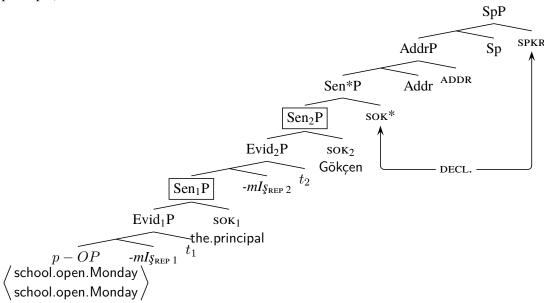(17)   Syntactic representation of discourse context (Zu 2018, synthesized)

4.3   3rd-hand reportativity = reportative evidential -mIş $\times$ 2

- We analyze the semantics of evidentials like *-mIş*$_{\text{REP}}$ as epistemic attitudes (following Korotkova 2016, Bhadra 2017, Bhadra 2020).

  - In particular, following Bhadra (2020), we analyze REP evidentiality as **attitude ascription to a third person** (a non-discourse participant) by a discourse participant, as shown in (18).

- For expository purposes, we adopt a two-dimensional semantic representation (*à la* Potts, 2005, see also Bary and Maier 2021), to keep track of the at-issue proposition and the not-at-issue evidential/attitudinal meaning component (not necessarily claiming specific dynamic-semantic properties at this stage).

(18)   **Denotation of reportative *-mIş***

$$[\![\textit{-mIş}_{\text{REP}}]\!]^{c,\langle w,t,j\rangle} = \lambda p\lambda q\lambda t\lambda j\lambda w \left\langle \begin{array}{c} p \\ \forall w',t',j' \in \textit{EPIST}_{w,t,x}[q(w')(t')(j')] \end{array} \right\rangle$$

defined iff. $\exists e \in E[\text{SAY}(e) \wedge Ag(e) = j \wedge \tau(e) = t < \text{TIME}(c) \wedge Content(e) \models p]$

where $\textit{EPIST}_{w,t,x} = \{\langle w',t',j'\rangle |$ it is compatible with what j knows in w at t for j to be j' in w' at $t'\}$;

(Stephenson 2007)

E is some set of discourse-salient set of events (Bary and Maier 2021)

Paraphrase of evidential component: p is true for all that j knows in w at t.

- This enables us to analyze 3rd-hand reportative *-mIş-mIş* as one *-mIş*$_{\text{REP}}$ embedded in another *-mIş*$_{\text{REP}}$. An illustrative derivation is shown in (19a).

- Each *-mIş*$_{\text{REP}}$ heads a EvidP projection, with a Sen(tience)P introducing its evidence holder (Speas and Tenny 2003).

- SenP's can be embedded: models perspective-shift phenomena in attitude complements (Zu 2018:§2).

- We maintain a root Sen*P as the locus of the perspective center of the evidentially-marked root clause, i.e. the evidence holder (SPKR in declaratives, ADDR in canonical questions).

(19) Syntactic-compositional structure and semantic derivation for 3rd-hand reportative *-mIş-mIş*:

    a. 'The school is going to open on Monday (SPKR heard it from Gökçen who heard it from the principal).' ...(3)

    b. Semantic derivation for 3rd-hand reportative *-mIş-mIş*

$$[\![\text{Sen}_1\text{P}]\!] = [\![\text{-}mI\c{s}_{\text{REP 1}}]\!]\left(\left\langle \begin{array}{c} \text{school.open.Monday} \\ \text{school.open.Monday} \end{array}\right\rangle\right)(t_1)(\text{the.principal})$$

$$= \lambda t \lambda j \lambda w \left\langle \begin{array}{c} \text{school.open.Monday} \\ \forall \langle w', t', j' \rangle \in \mathit{EPIST}_{w,t,j}[\text{school.open.Monday}(w')(t')(j')] \end{array}\right\rangle (t_1)(\text{the.principal})$$

$$= \lambda w \left\langle \begin{array}{c} \text{school.open.Monday} \\ \forall \langle w', t', j' \rangle \in \mathit{EPIST}_{w,t_1,\text{the.principal}}[\text{school.open.Monday}(w')(t')(j')] \end{array}\right\rangle$$

$$[\![\text{Sen}_2\text{P}]\!] = [\![\text{-}mI\c{s}_{\text{REP 2}}]\!]([\![\text{Sen}_1\text{P}]\!])(t_2)(\text{Gökçen})$$

$$= \lambda w \left\langle \begin{array}{c} \text{school.open.Monday} \\ \forall \langle w'', t'', j'' \rangle \in \mathit{EPIST}_{w,t_2,\text{Gökçen}}[\\ \forall \langle w', t', j' \rangle \in \mathit{EPIST}_{w,t_1,\text{the.principal}}[\text{school.open.Monday}(w')(t')(j')]] \end{array}\right\rangle$$

        Paraphrase of evidential component: for all that Gökçen knows in w at t_2, it is the case that, for all that the principal knows in w at t_1, school will reopen on Monday.

- Essentially: the evidential meaning of *p-mIş*$_{\text{REP}}$*-mIş*$_{\text{REP}}$ amounts to "p for all that src_2 knows at t_2 from all that src_1 knows at t_1."
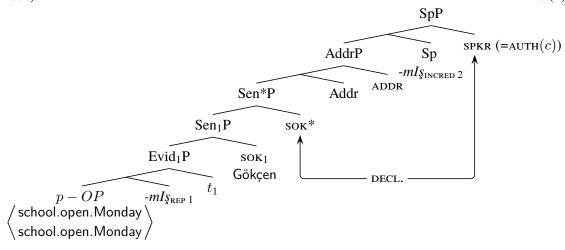
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– In the pragmatics, (a chain of) third-person attitude ascriptions will not necessarily commit the SPKR to the root proposition. →**variable discourse commitment**

- Note that 3REP *-mIş-mIş*, like any other evidential, is interpreted *below* the locus of the matrix SOK*, which hosts the evidence holder.

  – Thus, under the 3REP version of *-mIş-mIş*, the evidence holder is subject to Interrogative Flip exactly as expected from the differential binding of SOK* as in (17). →**Interrogative Flip**

4.4 Incredulity over 2nd-hand report = a reportative evidential + a subjective attitude marker

- In addition to *-mIş*$_{REP}$, we propose a distinct *-mIş*$_{INCRED}$, which encodes a subjective attitude over the at-issue proposition p. This is shown in (20).

> **(20)** **Denotation of incredulity *-mIş***
> $$[\![\text{-}mIş_{INCRED}]\!]^{c,\langle w,t,j\rangle} = \lambda p \lambda q \lambda j \lambda w \left\langle \begin{array}{c} p \\ q \wedge j \text{ thinks that } p \text{ is ridiculous in } w \end{array} \right\rangle$$
> defined iff. $\exists e \in E[\text{SAY}(e) \wedge Ag(e) = j \wedge \tau(e) = t < \text{TIME}(c) \wedge Content(e) \models p]$

- Thus, we analyze incredulity over 2nd-hand report *-mIş-mIş* as *-mIş*$_{INCRED}$ embedding a *-mIş*$_{REP}$. An illustrative example is given in (21a-21b).

- Unlike *-mIş*$_{REP}$, we analyze *-mIş*$_{INCRED}$ as a higher Sp head: this guarantees that the judge argument of *-mIş*$_{INCRED}$ in (20) will always be saturated by the matrix SPKR.

  – This accounts for the fact that the perspective center (attitude holder) of the INCRED attitude is rigidly anchored to the matrix SPKR. **no Interrogative Flip of INCRED attitude**

  – Unlike the evidence holder of the inner reportative *-mIş*$_{REP\,1}$ (=SOK*), which remains subject to differential binding by SPKR and ADDR! **Interrogative Flip of 2nd-hand REP**

- Since *-mIş*$_{INCRED}$ lexically encodes a SPKR-oriented attitude of incredulity, it commits the SPKR to having that attitude over p. → **lack of SPKR commitment**

(21) Syntactic-compositional structure for incredulity over 2rd-hand report *-mIş-mIş*

  a. 'The school is going to reopen on Monday (SPKR heard from Gökçen, and SPKR thinks it's ridiculous).' ...(4)

b. Semantic derivation for incredulity over 2nd-hand report *-mIş-mIş*

$$\llbracket \text{Sen}_1\text{P} \rrbracket = \lambda w \left\langle \begin{array}{c} \text{school.open.Monday} \\ \forall \langle w', t', j' \rangle \in EPIST_{w,t_1,\text{Gökçen}}[\text{school.open.Monday}(w')(t')(j')] \end{array} \right\rangle$$

$$\llbracket \text{SpP} \rrbracket = \llbracket \text{-}mI\text{ş}_{\text{INCRED 2}} \rrbracket (\llbracket \text{Sen}_1\text{P} \rrbracket)(t_2)(\text{SPKR=AUTH}(c))$$

$$= \lambda w \left\langle \begin{array}{c} \text{school.open.Monday} \\ \forall \langle w', t', j' \rangle \in EPIST_{w,t_1,\text{Gökçen}}[\text{school.open.Monday}(w')(t')(j')] \wedge \\ \text{AUTH}(c)\text{thinks that} \quad \text{school.open.Monday} \quad \text{is ridiculous in } w \end{array} \right\rangle$$

Paraphrase of evidential-attitudinal component: for all that Gökçen knows in w at t_1, school will open on Monday, *and* SPKR finds it ridiculous that school will open on Monday.

5 Summary: internal and cross-linguistic motivations

- We have identified two homophonous *-mIş* suffixes for Turkish: one with **evidential** semantics, one with **attitudinal** semantics.

- We have shown that an evidential *-mIş* and an attitudinal *-mIş* can derive the two interpretations of *-mIş-mIş* in a straightforwardly compositional way.

- Motivations for positing evidential-attitudinal homophony:

- **Language-internally:**

  - Enables *compositional* analysis of 3REP and INCRED-over-2nd-hand-report...
  - ...*without* the need for an (implausible) pragmatic account of how a reportative evidential might sometimes lose its evidential restriction altogether, only retaining an attitudinal meaning.

    [# INCRED-over-**3rd**-hand-report]

  - Allows for a straightforward account of the different behavior of the attitudinal marker in questions.

    [According to *your* 2nd-hand report which **# you** find ridiculous, ...?]

  - Enables a cleaner, more parsimonious morphosyntactic analysis: no "reduplication" of evidential morphemes (*pace* Şener 2011)

- **Cross-linguistically:**

  - Attitudinal markers with a reportative evidential etymology are commonly attested.
  - Zhuang (in prep): Shanghai Wu counterexpectational (mirative) attitude marker *ghikaon* < speech report parenthetical *ghi kaon* 渠講 '3SG-say'

(22) CONTEXT: The weather forecast last night said it would be sunny all day today. You wake up, walk out of your windowless bedroom and see it's raining. You say:
lahlah loh yu **ghikaon**.
辣辣　落　雨　渠講
PROG　fall　rain　MIR
'It's raining, gosh (I didn't expect that).' Shanghai Wu, Sinitic

- Cantonese "novelty/noteworthiness" attitude marker *wo3* ($\neq$ *wo5* 'reportative marker') < *waa* 話 'say'

(23) baa⁴baa¹ giu³ nei⁵ zik¹hak¹   heoi³ **wo³**.
      爸爸   叫   你   即刻   去   喎³
      father   ask 2sɢ immediately go   ɴoᴛᴇᴡoʀᴛʜʏ
      'Father asked you to go immediately, it turns out!'

$$\text{Cantonese, Sinitic (Leung 2011:p. 35, slightly adapted)}$$

- Bulgarian "double evidential": dismissive attitude over 2nd-hand report (Simeonova 2021, cf. Sauerland and Schenner 2007)

(24) Ali bi-**l**   proče-l   kniga.
      A. ᴄoᴘ-**ᴀᴛᴛ** read.ᴘꜰᴠ-ʀᴇᴘ book
      'Ali read a book, I heard from Burak—**as if**!'

$$\text{Bulgarian, South Slavic (Simeonova 2021:ex. 2a, slightly adapted)}$$

- Interestingly: the Bulgarian "double evidential," while a clear morphosyntactic parallel of Turkish *-mIş-mIş*, does not (=no longer) attests a 3rd-hand reportative meaning.

- Zhuang and Ótott-Kovács (2022) propose a diachronic renalysis process of reportativity markers to markers of sᴘᴋʀ-oriented attitude.

- In sum: positing a synchronically distinct attitudinal marker *-mIş* is well-motivated.

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A   Incredulity *-mIş-mIş* under attitude embedding

- The evidential origo can shift (from the SPKR to the SUBJECT of the matrix clause) (Şener 2011)

- The attitude holder can also shift under verbs of *saying*

  – In (26a)-(26b) the attitude holder is shifted (it is the SUBJECT)

(25)   Merve, who was introduced to Gökçen just last week, confesses her love to him. **Gökçen believes her.**
Gökçen then talks to a friend of Merve's, and tells the friend that Merve told him that she loved him. **This friend does not believe that Merve loves Gökçen.**
The friend then says to another person:

   a.   Gökçen$_i$, Merve **onu**$_i$ sev-iyor-muş-**muş**   dedi.
        Gökçen$_i$ Merve **3SG.ACC**$_i$ love-PRGR-REP-**INCRED** said
        'Gökçen said that Merve loves him. (**Gökçen believes it, SPKR doesn't believe it.**)'

   b.   # Gökçen$_i$, Merve **beni**$_i$ sev-iyor-muş-**muş**   dedi.
         Gökçen$_i$ Merve **1SG.ACC**$_i$ love-PRGR-REP-**INCRED** said
        'Gökçen said that Merve loves him. (**Gökçen believes it, SPKR doesn't believe it.**)'

(26)   Merve, who was introduced to Gökçen just last week, confesses her love to him. **Gökçen doesn't believe her.**
Gökçen then talks to a friend of Merve's, and tells the friend that Merve told him that she loved him. **This friend believes that Merve loves Gökçen.**
The friend then says to another person:

   a.   Gökçen$_i$, Merve **onu**$_i$ sev-iyor-muş-**muş**   dedi.
        Gökçen$_i$ Merve **3SG.ACC**$_i$ love-PRGR-REP-**INCRED** said
        'Gökçen said that Merve loves him. (**Gökçen doesn't believe it, SPKR believes it.**)'

   b.   Gökçen$_i$, Merve **beni**$_i$ sev-iyor-muş-**muş**   dedi.
        Gökçen$_i$ Merve **1SG.ACC**$_i$ love-PRGR-REP-**INCRED** said
        'Gökçen said that Merve loves him. (**Gökçen doesn't believe it, SPKR believes it.**)'