2026. Proceedings of the Workshop on Turkic and Languages in Contact with Turkic 10. 187–201.

The structure of correlatives and unconditionals in Turkish

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Abstract. This paper investigates the structure of correlatives and unconditionals in Turkish by focusing on their syntactic and semantic parallels and distinctions. I show that unconditional interpretations are blocked by non-past TAM markers (e.g., the aorist), whereas correlatives show no restrictions on tense morphology. By using this temporal restriction as a diagnostic, I propose that correlatives align with standard *if*-conditionals; therefore, they do not impose any limitations on the antecedent. On the other hand, unconditionals resemble *even-if* conditionals, particularly the ones with the antecedent-final polarity-focused *dA* particle. Eventually, I suggest that the restriction on non-past markers in unconditional contexts arises from the exhaustification requirement of unconditionals and the issues non-past markers face under the Law of Excluded Middle (LEM).

Keywords. correlatives; unconditionals; conditionals; additives; focus; even; LEM

1. Introduction. Correlatives are often defined as a relativization strategy, where a proform in the matrix clause correlates with a left-peripheral relative clause (Dayal 1996, 1995; Lipták 2009). (1) exemplifies Hindi correlatives, which are widely discussed in the literature.

(1) [jo larRkii khaRii hai]$_1$ vo$_1$ lambii hai.
REL girl standing is that tall is
'The girl who is standing is tall.'
Lit. '**Which** girl is standing, **that** is tall.' (Srivastav 1991:639, ex. 3a)

On the other hand, an unconditional statement is defined as a conditional sentence that provides an exhaustive set of alternatives and thereby entails the consequent clause (Rawlins 2008, 2013). Example (2) lists three types of unconditionals introduced by Rawlins (2008, 2013).[1]

(2) a. Whether or not Alfonso goes to the party, it will be fun. *Alternative Unconditional*
b. Whoever goes to the party, it will be fun. *Constituent Unconditional*
c. No matter who goes to the party, it will be fun. *Headed Unconditional*

* Special thanks to Sabine Iatridou, Kai von Fintel, Ömer Demirok, Duygu Özge, Norvin Richards, Shigeru Miyagawa, Rajesh Bhatt, Guglielmo Cinque, Ivy Sichel, and Haoming Li. I also thank the audiences at CreteLing (2024), METU Language and Cognitive Development Lab (2024), SNEWS (2024), SNU Linguistics Symposium 1 (2025), and TU+10 (2025) for their comments and questions, and my two anonymous reviewers for their invaluable feedback. Likewise, I want to thank my Turkish friends at MIT: Ufuk Keskin, Bünyamin Kartal, and Kaan Sel, for their judgments on various sentences. Last but not least, I am grateful to Elanur Sönmez for all the emotional support she provided during the writing process of this paper. All errors are mine. Authors: Bergül Soykan, MIT (bergul@mit.edu)

[1] Haspelmath & König (1998) present a similar list under the label 'Concessive Conditionals' (CC), presented in (i). Notably, there are differences between unconditionals and CCs. First and foremost, scalar CCs are not considered unconditionals in Rawlins' terms because the consequent is not entailed. Furthermore, universal CCs cover a wider range by including both headed and constituent unconditionals (and also the correlative constructions I discuss here).

(i) a. Even if we do not get any financial support, we will go ahead with our project. Scalar CC
b. Whether we get any financial support or not, ... Alternative CC
c. No matter how much/However much financial support we get, ... Universal CC

According to these definitions, correlatives and unconditionals may not seem to share any common features that would warrant discussing them together. However, conditional clauses, especially those with *then*,[2] are often analyzed as a subtype of correlatives (e.g., Arsenijević 2009; Bhatt & Pancheva 2006) and Iatridou (2013) offers a similar argument for Turkish conditional clauses. She argues that the conditional marker /-sA/ in Turkish can be considered a marker for correlativity. On top of this, the form of correlatives[3] and (constituent) unconditionals[4] appears to be almost identical in Turkish, as evident from (3a) and (3b).

(3) a. [Ela *ne* pişir-**se**]$_i$, Şeyma (o$_i$-nu) ye-r.
Ela what cook-COND Şeyma 3SG-ACC eat-AOR
'Whatever Ela cooks, Şeyma eats that.' *Correlative (CR)*

b. Ela *ne* pişir-**se**, Şeyma sadece cips ye-r.
Ela what cook-COND Şeyma only chips eat-AOR
'Whatever Ela cooks, Şeyma only eats chips.' *Unconditional (UC)*

Therefore, Demirok (2017) provides a compositional analysis of Turkish correlatives based on the semantics of unconditionals offered by Rawlins (2013). He proposes that correlative sentences denote the conjunction of conditional statements, which are generated as alternative answers to the *wh*-question inside the correlative, à la Hamblin (1973), and offers an E-type pronoun analysis (Heim 1990; Heim & Kratzer 1998) for the bound pronouns in the consequent. Thus, he suggests that the only difference between correlatives and unconditionals is based on whether there is an E-type pronoun in the consequent or not. To simplify, we can consider a sentence where at least one argument position in the matrix clause gets its referent from the adjunct clause as a "correlative" and the ones where the adjunct clause fills no argument position in the matrix clause as an "unconditional". For instance, in (3a), the thing(s) that Şeyma will eat depend on the thing(s) Ela will cook. On the other hand, (3b) indicates that the thing Şeyma will eat will not change based on the thing(s) Ela cooks or will cook.

Adding on Demirok's (2017) analysis of correlatives, I claim that unconditionals in Turkish differ from correlatives in another respect. Section 2 shows that constituent unconditionals are more restrictive in the temporal-aspectual suffixes they license in the protasis compared to correlatives. While correlative constructions allow all the temporal forms, an unconditional interpretation does not surface when the antecedent has a non-past TAM marker, such as the aorist. Section

[2] See Iatridou (1993) for further discussion on the contribution of *then* in conditional statements.

[3] The correlative sentences I will focus on here have a similar interpretation to "free relatives" in English (Iatridou 2013) and differ from Hindi correlatives in that they do not denote definite descriptions (Demirok 2017). While Akpınar (2021) calls these constructions "free conditionals", Göksel & Kerslake (2005) label them as "universal conditional clauses". Nonetheless, I will refer to them as "correlatives" as Demirok (2017) does.

[4] Another and more common form of getting the concessive reading in unconditionals in Turkish is using the imperative form of the same verb after the correlative construction. However, since the unconditional reading in (3) can be derived from the meaning of imperatives separately, I will not focus on this form in this paper.

(ii) [[Ela *ne* pişir-ir-**se**] pişir-sin], Şeyma sadece cips ye-r.
Ela what cook-AOR-SA cook-IMP Şeyma only chips eat-AOR
'Whatever Ela cooks, Şeyma will only eat chips.' Unconditional

3 identifies two other methods for obtaining the unconditional interpretation. In section 4, I draw a parallel between constituent unconditionals and antecedent final *dA* conditionals with polarity focus based on their similarities in terms of their interpretation and temporal restrictions. Then, section 5 proposes that Turkish correlatives align with simple conditionals (Demirok 2017) while unconditionals align with *even-if* conditionals generated with the additive *dA* particle. Later, section 6 offers a possible explanation for why non-past markers in Turkish are not licensed in unconditionals. Finally, section 7 concludes with a summary.

2. Temporal difference between correlatives and unconditionals. The temporal-aspectual morpheme that comes right before the /-sA/ marker in the protasis matters for the licensing of unconditional interpretation. However, the correlative does not seem to be restrictive in these terms. To elaborate, when the /-sA/ marker[5] attaches onto the bare verb, as in (3a) and (3b), it can be used both as a correlative and as an unconditional.[6] Furthermore, while Demirok (2017) argues that the correlatives and unconditionals are structurally almost identical and the only difference between them is whether the consequent comes with an E-type pronoun or not, he also uses the bare form in his examples, such as (4).

(4) John parti-ye kim-i çağır-sa, *pro*/o gel-ir.
John party-DAT who-ACC invite-COND *pro*/DEM come-AOR
i. Whoever John invites to the party will come. *CR*
ii. Whoever John invites to the party, he (e.g., Bill) will come. *UC*
(Demirok 2017:160, ex. 9)

However, when the /-sA/ marker immediately follows a non-past denoting tense or aspect marker (e.g., the *aorist -(A/I)r*), instead of the bare verb, as in (5b), the unconditional interpretation is blocked or hard to reach, while the correlative reading is intact, as shown by (5a).[7]

(5) a. [Ela *ne* pişir-**ir**-se /-**iyor**-sa /-**ecek**-se]$_i$, Şeyma (o$_i$-nu) ye-r.
Ela what cook-AOR-COND /-PROG-COND /-FUT-COND Şeyma 3SG-ACC eat-AOR
'Whatever Ela cooks/is cooking/is going to cook, Şeyma eats/will eat that.' *CR*
b. [Ela *ne* pişir-**ir**-se /-**iyor**-sa /-**ecek**-se], Şeyma sadece cips ye-r.
Ela what cook-AOR-COND /-PROG-COND /-FUT-COND Şeyma only chips eat-AOR
*'Whatever Ela cooks/is cooking/is going to cook, Şeyma eats/will eat chips only.' *UC*

At first glance, one might assume that unconditionals are only possible with the bare form of the verb. Nonetheless, (6) shows that this is not the case. The past tense marker *-DI* is also licensed in both correlatives and unconditional structures.[8]

[5] Here, I gloss over the interpretive differences between the /-sA/ and /-(y)sA/ markers that I argued for in Soykan (2023). I consider both of them as the same conditional marker for the purposes of this paper.
[6] Menz (2016) states that the bare form is overwhelmingly the most frequent version for all concessive conditionals.
[7] Note that all the correlative and unconditional structures can have a question interpretation when provided with the necessary intonation, because conditional clauses generally do not show island effects for *wh*-questions in Turkish (except for *why* questions). Therefore, the * in (5b) indicates that the unconditional reading is not available with the given TAM markers, but the sentence would be grammatical as a conditional question, meaning 'What is the thing such that if Ela cooks that, Şeyma only eats chips?'. See Akpınar (2021) for an analysis of this ambiguity between universal and interrogative interpretations of these forms. I disregard the question reading in this paper.
[8] I keep the perfective and evidential marker *-mIş* outside the discussion here due to its inherent complexities.

(6) a. [Ela dün *ne* pişir-**di**-yse]$_i$, Şeyma (o$_i$-nu) ye-di.
Ela yesterday what cook-PST-COND Şeyma 3SG-ACC eat-PST
'Whatever Ela cooked yesterday, Şeyma ate that.' *CR*

b. [Ela dün *ne* pişir-**di**-yse], Şeyma sadece cips ye-di.
Ela yesterday what cook-PST-COND Şeyma only chips eat-PST
'Whatever Ela cooked yesterday, Şeyma only ate chips.' *UC*

Consequently, it seems that the non-past TAM markers are the only forms that do not allow for the unconditional interpretation. This paper aims to draw attention to this temporal restriction and use it as a diagnostic for the underlying structure of constituent unconditionals in Turkish. The next section discusses two other types of (un)conditionals: namely alternative unconditionals and *even-if* conditionals. Also, notice that for the remainder of this paper, I use the aorist as a sample for non-past TAM markers.

3. Other unconditionals. To better understand the distinction between correlative and unconditional structures, it will be useful to check another type of unconditional form discussed by Rawlins (2008, 2013), which are alternative unconditionals, repeated in (7a). This type of unconditionals conveys that the consequent will hold in both alternative scenarios. In other words, the unconditional statement in (7a) can be paraphrased with two conditional sentences in (7b). Since these alternatives together denote an exhaustive set, the consequent is entailed.

(7) a. Whether or not Alfonso goes to the party, it will be fun. *Alternative UC*
b. If Alfonso goes to the party, it will be fun, and if Alfonso doesn't go to the party, it will (still) be fun.

It is also possible to get an unconditional interpretation with one type of "scalar concessive conditionals" (Haspelmath & König 1998), i.e., *even-if* conditionals. To elaborate, Bennett (1982) identifies two different interpretations for *even-if* conditionals: one where the truth of the consequent is entailed (introduced-if conditionals), and one where it is not (standing-if conditionals). In *introduced-if* conditionals, as in (8a), *even* scopes over the 'if' clause and *introduces* the conditional antecedent clause to the alternative proposition, "I will not cross it", according to Bennett.[9] Therefore, it is entailed that the speaker will not cross the bridge. On the other hand, in *standing-if* conditionals, *even* takes scope below the *if*-conditional, and 'if' *stands* in all the possible and less surprising alternatives of the sentence. For instance, in (8b), *even* scopes over 'just a little', and all the alternatives of this statement include the conditional part, such as, "if he drank a lot, she would fire him." Also, it is implied that "if he doesn't drink, she will not fire him." Hence, it is neither asserted nor implied in (8b) that "she will fire him." As a result, *introduced-if* conditionals can be considered unconditional, but *standing* ones cannot.

(8) a. Even **if the bridge were standing**, I wouldn't cross it. *Introduced-if*
b. Even if he drank **just a little**, she would fire him. *Standing-if*

[9] Bennett (1982) generates the alternative sentences for *even*-clauses by deleting the part 'even' scopes over and replacing it with other neighboring elements. In the case of *introduced-if* conditionals, deleting the antecedent clause leaves us with the consequent clause as our alternative, according to his analysis.

The corresponding alternative unconditional form of (7a) in Turkish is provided in (9a), by iterating the conditional marker and the additive focus particle *dA*.[10] Furthermore, *introduced-if* conditionals in Bennett (1982), can be formulated similarly to (9a), but without the iteration, as in (9b).[11] Lastly, (9c) exemplifies a *standing-if* conditional with antecedent internal *dA* particle.

(9) a. Erdem gel-se de gel-me-se de, Rabia parti-ye gid-ecek.
Erdem come-COND ADD come-NEG-COND ADD Rabia party-DAT go-FUT
'Whether Erdem comes or not, Rabia will go to the party. *Alternative UC*

b. Erdem gel-se de, Rabia parti-ye gid-ecek.
Erdem come-COND ADD Rabia party-DAT go-FUT
'Even if Erdem comes, Rabia will go to the party. *Introduced-if*

c. Erdem de gel-se, Rabia parti-ye gid-ecek.
Erdem come-COND ADD Rabia party-DAT go-FUT
'Even if Erdem comes, Rabia will go to the party. *Standing-if*

3.1. CONTRIBUTION OF *DA* TO (UN)CONDITIONALS. Sağ & Demirok (2023) offer an analysis similar to Bennett's (1982) for this type of conditionals. However, unlike Bennett, they propose that when the *dA* particle is antecedent final, i.e., it scopes over the conditional protasis, as in (10a), the focus generates logical opposites as alternatives (à la Guerzoni & Lim 2019) and *dA* presupposes that at least one of the non-asserted alternatives is true: in this case, the negation of the *if*-clause. Thus, the consequent is entailed, similar to *introduced-if* conditionals, and the antecedent final *dA*-conditionals end up meaning what Rawlins (2013) refers to as "alternative unconditionals".

(10) a. [Erdem gel-se]$_F$ de (gel-me-se de), Rabia parti-ye gid-ecek.
Erdem come-COND ADD come-NEG-COND ADD Rabia party-DAT go-FUT
'Even if Erdem comes (or if he doesn't), Rabia will go to the party. *Ant. final dA*
Assertion: $[comes(Erdem) \rightarrow goes(party)(Rabia)]$
Presupposition: $\exists p'[p' \in \{comes(Erdem),\ \neg comes(Erdem)\} \wedge p' \neq comes(Erdem) \wedge [p' \rightarrow goes(party)(Rabia)]]$

b. [[Erdem]$_F$ de gel-se] (Elif de gelse), Rabia parti-ye gid-ecek.
Erdem ADD come-COND Elif ADD come-COND Rabia party-DAT go-FUT
'Even if ERDEM comes (or Elif comes), Rabia will go to the party. *Ant. internal dA*
Assertion: $[comes(Erdem) \rightarrow goes(party)(Rabia)]$
Presupposition: $\exists p'[p' \in \{comes(Erdem),\ comes(Elif),\ ...\} \wedge p' \neq comes(Erdem) \wedge [p' \rightarrow goes(party)(Rabia)]]$

On the contrary, the antecedent internal *dA*, as in (10b), presupposes the truth of at least one of the scalar alternatives for the focused element, and the resulting meaning for the conditional does not entail the consequent, parallel to *standing-if* conditionals. To elaborate, Sağ & Demirok

[10] See Göksel & Özsoy (2003) for a detailed analysis of the *dA* particle. They propose a uniform account for different uses of this particle, suggesting that focus introduces alternatives to the structure as a presupposition and *dA* presupposes that one of these alternatives is true.

[11] It is also possible to use *bile* 'even' in these constructions. However, since it does not occur with unconditionals, I will not focus on it.

(2023) claim that the *even*-like reading of this additive particle results from the discourse incrementalism requirement associated with it. Zhang & Ling (2016) specify that there are two types of additive particles: AUCH-type, which signifies a *parallel* relationship among alternative propositions, and NOCH-type, which necessitates that the discourse be *incremental*, meaning it should provide more information with each successive proposition. Sağ & Demirok (2023) claim that *dA* is a NOCH-type additive particle and therefore demands each proposition to be more informative than its alternatives. For instance, on the scale of people affecting Rabia's party-going, Erdem is the more informative alternative than other individuals, but it might be the case that if her mom comes, she will not go to the party. Therefore, the consequent would not be entailed in (10b).

In Sağ & Demirok's (2023) account, the *dA* particle simply presupposes the truth of an alternative proposition introduced by the focus (Göksel & Özsoy 2003), and the *even* interpretation in sentences like (10a) and (10b) surfaces as an implicature. Hence, I gloss this item as 'ADD' to clarify that it is mainly an additive particle but can get an *even*-like interpretation in certain cases.

It needs to be noted that when the *dA* particle is antecedent final, we can have not only polarity focus to generate polar alternatives (11a), but also internal focus on another phrase within the antecedent to create alternatives for that phrase (11b).[12]

(11) a. [Erdem$_i$ gel-se]$_F$ **de**, [*pro*$_i$ gel-me-se]$_F$ **de**, Rabia parti-ye gid-ecek.
Erdem come-COND ADD *pro* come-NEG-COND ADD Rabia party-DAT go-FUT
'Even if Erdem comes or if he doesn't, Rabia will go to the party.'

b. [Erdem]$_F$ gel-se **de**, [Elif]$_F$ gel-se **de**, Rabia parti-ye gid-ecek.
Erdem come-COND ADD Elif come-COND ADD Rabia party-DAT go-FUT
'Even if ERDEM comes or even if ELIF comes, Rabia will go to the party.'

In contrast, when the *dA* particle is positioned within the antecedent clause, focus can only generate alternatives for the phrase to which *dA* is adjacent (12a); it cannot give rise to a polar alternative (12b), as discussed by Sağ & Demirok (2023).

(12) a. [Erdem]$_F$ **de** gel-se, [Elif]$_F$ **de** gel-se, Rabia parti-ye gid-ecek.
Erdem ADD come-COND Elif ADD come-COND Rabia party-DAT go-FUT
'Even if ERDEM comes or even if ELIF comes, Rabia will go to the party.'

b. *[Erdem **de** gel-se]$_F$, [Erdem **de** gel-me-se]$_F$, Rabia parti-ye gid-ecek.
Erdem ADD come-COND Erdem ADD come-NEG-COND Rabia party-DAT go-FUT
Int. 'Even if Erdem comes or if he doesn't, Rabia will go to the party.'

Therefore, the structures, where the focus is internal to the protasis as in (11b) and (12a), do not yield an unconditional interpretation (Bennett 1982; Guerzoni & Lim 2019; Sağ & Demirok 2023). However, it may still get an *even*-like interpretation. Crucially, in both alternative unconditionals and antecedent-final *dA* conditionals, having polar opposites in the alternative set and the existential presupposition resulting from the additive *dA* is the only way to construct an unconditional reading. The following section points out some similarities and differences between constituent unconditionals and *dA* conditionals, including the internally focused and polarity-focused *dA* conditionals, as well as the alternative unconditionals.

[12] For further information on the scope of *dA*, see Göksel & Özsoy (2003).

4. Parallels between constituent unconditionals and *dA* conditionals. The key point for our discussion is that *dA* conditionals feature similar temporal restrictions to constituent unconditionals. Sağ & Demirok (2023) conclude their work with the puzzle presented in (13). Example (13a) shows that using the aorist marker in the conditional antecedent prevents the *even* interpretation of the *dA* particle.[13] Similar to constituent unconditionals, using the bare form is preferred for obtaining the *even*-like interpretation with this additive particle, as shown in (13b).

(13) a. Ali de **gel-ir-se**, pikniğ-e gid-eceğ-iz.
Ali ADD come-AOR-COND picnic-DAT go-FUT-1PL
✗'We will go on a picnic, **even** if Ali comes.'

b. Ali de **gel-se**, pikniğ-e gid-eceğ-iz.
Ali ADD come-COND picnic-DAT go-FUT-1PL
✓'We will go on a picnic, **even** if Ali comes.'

A further striking parallel between constituent unconditionals and the antecedent final *dA* conditionals is that antecedent final *dA* can obtain the *even* reading with both the bare form and the past form in the antecedent and the aorist form is significantly more challenging to accept for this reading, as shown by (14a).[14] However, the antecedent internal *dA* receives the *even* interpretation only when the verb is in the bare form, as demonstrated in example (14b).

(14) a. Erdem gel-**se** /-**di**-yse /✗-**ir**-se **de** Rabia parti-ye gid-ecek.
Erdem come-COND /-PST-COND /-AOR-COND ADD Rabia party-DAT go-FUT
'Even if Erdem comes/came, Rabia will go to the party.'

b. Erdem **de** gel-**se** /✗-**di**-yse /✗-**ir**-se, Rabia parti-ye gid-ecek.
Erdem ADD come-COND /-PST-COND /-AOR-COND Rabia party-DAT go-FUT
'Even if Erdem comes/#came, Rabia will go to the party.'

Interestingly, alternative unconditionals do not share the same temporal restrictions as antecedent final *dA* conditionals or constituent unconditionals. (15) demonstrates that these constructions can accommodate both non-past and past markers, in addition to the commonly used bare form presented in (9a). I attempt to provide an explanation for this difference in Section 6.

(15) a. Erdem gel-**ir**-se de gel-me-**z**-se de, Rabia parti-ye gid-ecek.
Erdem come-AOR-COND ADD come-NEG-AOR-COND ADD Rabia party-DAT go-FUT
'Whether Erdem comes or not, Rabia will go to the party.

b. Erdem gel-**di**-yse de gel-me-**di**y-se de, Rabia parti-ye gid-ecek.
Erdem come-PST-COND ADD come-NEG-PST-COND ADD Rabia party-DAT go-FUT
'Whether Erdem came or not, Rabia will go to the party.

[13] Note that the additive interpretation of *dA* remains unaffected in all instances. Meaning that the sentence in (13a) conveys that 'we will go on a picnic, if Ali also comes,' but does not have the intended *even* reading.

[14] Menz (2016) comments that these "scalar concessive conditionals" can theoretically get all the aspectual-temporal suffixes, but the bare form is far more frequent. However, I argue against this claim here. Although all the tense-aspect indicating morphemes are possible to use with the conditionals containing the *dA* particle, not all of them get the *even* interpretation, or at least it is harder to achieve this with the non-past markers but there is speaker variation.

Table 1 summarizes the aspectual and temporal restrictions of each construction discussed in this paper. As shown, the constituent unconditionals exhibit the same limitations as the *even-if* conditionals with the polarity-focused (antecedent final) *dA* particle. The following section will analyze correlatives and constituent unconditionals in light of these findings.

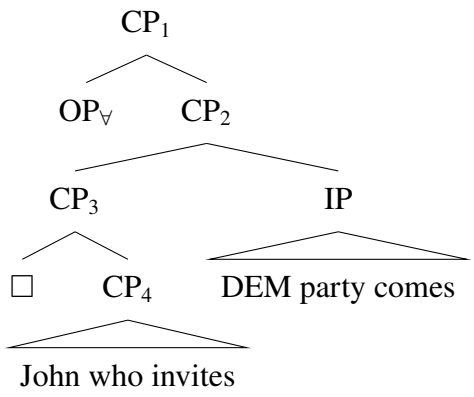
	Bare V + COND	V-Past + COND	V-NonPast + COND
Correlatives	✓	✓	✓
Constituent Unconditionals	✓	✓	✗
Internal-focused *dA* Conditionals	✓	✗	✗
Polarity-focused *dA* Conditionals	✓	✓	✗
Alternative Unconditionals	✓	✓	✓

Table 1. Temporal Restrictions on Constructions

5. Proposal. I agree with Demirok (2017) that the underlying structure of the correlatives can be modeled with standard *if*-conditionals. On the other hand, I propose that the basic framework of constituent unconditionals aligns with *even-if* conditionals with the polarity-focused *dA* particle, based on their aspectual-temporal characteristics.

5.1. STRUCTURE OF CORRELATIVES. The structure proposed by Demirok (2017) for Turkish correlatives, such as the one in (4), is presented in (16). This analysis builds on Rawlins' (2013) account of unconditionals and challenges Srivastav's (1991) relativization approach, as correlative constructions in Turkish do not involve the same type of relativization as in Hindi correlatives.

(16)



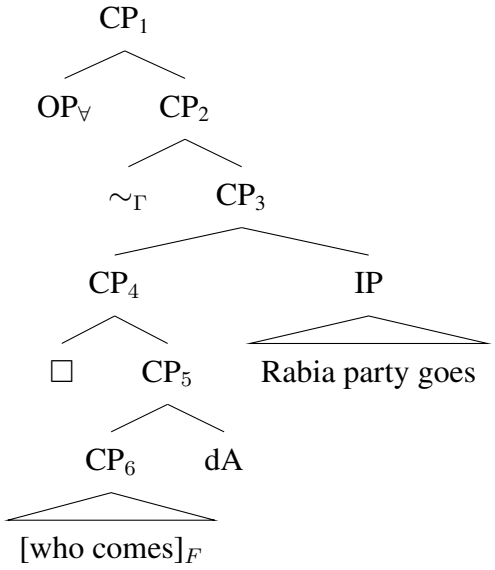
Demirok (2017) makes use of situation semantics in his semiformal analysis, given in (17). He argues that *wh*-words in Turkish denote a set of alternative propositions, as shown by (17a), which combine with the remaining structure through Pointwise Functional Application (à la Hamblin 1973). Furthermore, his E-type pronoun analysis (Heim 1990) of the demonstrative pronoun in the main clause is provided in (17b) as "a context-dependent predicate closed off by iota" (p. 162). (17c) shows the denotation of CP_2, after the modal force combines pointwise with each proposition in its restrictor and its scope (Kratzer 1979). Later, (17d) provides the denotation of the universal operator in Demirok's (2017) analysis, which asserts the conjunction of all alternative conditional statements. Finally, (17e) presents the concluding assertion. I will follow this structure for my analysis of constituent unconditionals with an additional *dA* particle.

(17) a. $[\![CP_4]\!] = \{[\lambda s.$John invites Bill in $s], [\lambda s.$John invites Susan in $s], \ldots\}$
b. $[\![DEM]\!] = \iota(\lambda y.\lambda s.$John invites y in s)
$=$ the max individual that John invites in s
c. $[\![CP_2]\!] = \{[\lambda s.\ \forall s' \in F_c(s)$[15][John invites Bill in $s' \rightarrow$
the maximal individual John invites in s' comes to the party in $s']]$,
$[\lambda s.\ \forall s' \in F_c(s)$[John invites Susan in $s' \rightarrow$
the maximal individual John invites in s' comes to the party in $s']], \ldots\}$
d. $[\![OP_\forall]\!] = \lambda P\langle st, t\rangle.\lambda s.\forall p[P(p) \rightarrow p(s)]$
e. **Assertion:**
If John invites Bill, the maximal individual John invites will come to the party &
If John invites Susan, the maximal individual John invites will come to the party & ...

5.2. STRUCTURE OF CONSTITUENT UNCONDITIONALS. My analysis primarily builds on Demirok's (2017) study on correlatives. Contrary to his claim that correlatives and unconditionals are morphosyntactically identical, I propose that the unconditionals in Turkish minimally differ from correlatives in that they contain the antecedent final *dA* particle with polarity focus, discussed by Sağ & Demirok (2023). (19) shows the structure I offer for the unconditional given in (18). In simple terms, the composition of constituent unconditionals combines the antecedent final *dA* conditionals with a universal closure.

(18) Kim gel-se (de), Rabia parti-ye gid-ecek.
who come-COND ADD Rabia party-DAT go-FUT
'Whoever comes, Rabia will go to the party.'

(19)



In my analysis of constituent unconditionals, I also make use of the focus semantics theory in Rooth (1985, 1992). Rooth's (1992) $\sim$ operator, as defined in (20) by Gonzalez (2021), incorporates the focus value of its sister ($[\![\gamma]\!]^f$) into the ordinary meaning ($[\![\psi]\!]^o$) as a presupposition.

[15] $F_c(s)$ refers to contextually relevant situations in this definition, i.e., it can be considered as the modal base.

(20) If $\psi = [\sim_\Gamma \gamma]$, then:

a. $[\![\psi]\!]^o = [\![\gamma]\!]^o$ defined iff $g(\Gamma) \subseteq [\![\gamma]\!]^f \wedge [\![\gamma]\!]^o \in g(\Gamma) \ \wedge \ \exists p[p \neq [\![\gamma]\!]^o \wedge p \in g(\Gamma)]$

b. $[\![\psi]\!]^f = \{[\![\gamma]\!]^o\}$

Remember that in *dA* conditionals the focus feature generates alternatives for the modified element, and *dA* presupposes that one of these alternatives, distinct from the asserted proposition, is true (Göksel & Özsoy 2003). Therefore, the polarity focus on the protasis in (19) introduces the negated version of each proposition, denoted by the question word, as focus alternatives. Notice that the ordinary values, as in (21a) and (21c), denote a set of propositions, whereas their focus values in (21b) and (21d) denote sets of propositions since the polar focus alternative for each proposition is computed separately.

(21) a. $[\![CP_6]\!]^o = \{[\lambda s.\text{Erdem comes in } s], [\lambda s.\text{Elif comes in } s], \ldots\}$

b. $[\![CP_6]\!]^f = \{\{[\lambda s.\text{Erdem comes in } s], [\lambda s.\text{Erdem doesn't come in } s]\},$
$\{[\lambda s.\text{Elif comes in } s], [\lambda s.\text{Elif doesn't come in } s]\}, \ldots\}$

c. $[\![CP_3]\!]^o = \{[\lambda s.\forall s' \in F_c(s)[\text{Erdem comes in } s' \rightarrow \text{Rabia goes to the party in } s']],$
$[\lambda s.\forall s' \in F_c(s)[\text{Elif comes in } s' \rightarrow \text{Rabia goes to the party in } s']], \ldots\}$

d. $[\![CP_3]\!]^f = \{\{[\lambda s.\forall s' \in F_c(s)[\text{Erdem comes in } s' \rightarrow \text{Rabia goes to the party in } s']],$
$[\lambda s.\forall s' \in F_c(s)[\text{Erdem doesn't come in } s' \rightarrow \text{Rabia goes to the party in } s']]\},$
$\{[\lambda s.\forall s' \in F_c(s)[\text{Elif comes in } s' \rightarrow \text{Rabia goes to the party in } s']],$
$[\lambda s.\forall s' \in F_c(s)[\text{Elif doesn't come in } s' \rightarrow \text{Rabia goes to the party in } s']]\}, \ldots\}$

These focus alternatives are later incorporated into the meaning as presuppositions with Rooth's (1992) $\sim$ operator, as shown by (22a). Eventually, Demirok's (2017) $\text{OP}_\forall$, repeated in (22b), asserts the conjunction of all the alternative propositions generated by the question word (22c) while presupposing the conjunction of all the alternatives introduced by the *dA* particle (22d). Note that even though *dA* has an existential presupposition, we compute its interpretation for each proposition separately, resulting in a generalized conjunction of propositions.

(22) a. $[\![CP_2]\!]^o = [\![CP_3]\!]^o$ defined iff
$g(\Gamma) \subseteq [\![CP_3]\!]^f \wedge [\![CP_3]\!]^o \in g(\Gamma) \ \wedge \ \exists p[p \neq [\![CP_3]\!]^o \wedge p \in g(\Gamma)]$

b. $[\![OP_\forall]\!] = \lambda P\langle st,t\rangle.\lambda s.\forall p[P(p) \rightarrow p(s)]$

c. **Assertion:** If Erdem comes, Rabia will go to the party &
If Elif comes, Rabia will go to the party & ...
$\simeq$ For any x, if x comes, Rabia will go to the party

d. **Presupposition:** If Erdem doesn't come, Rabia will go to the party &
If Elif doesn't come, Rabia will go to the party & ...
$\simeq$ For any x, if x doesn't come, Rabia will go to the party

I should highlight that the *wh*-questions in Turkish do not function as indefinite determiners as they do in some other languages. Nonetheless, for practical purposes, we can use "any" in the context of constituent unconditionals and correlatives. Moreover, due to the negated alternatives that *dA* particle presupposes to be true, the unconditionals end up with a meaning like 'if anybody comes, or if nobody comes, Rabia will go to the party,' and I propose that this is the basic interpretation of unconditionals.

5.2.1. DEFENDING MY PROPOSAL. The proposal that the constituent unconditionals are underlyingly antecedent final *dA*-conditionals may not be an exceptionally surprising analysis because (23) shows that the *dA* particle can be realized overtly in such constructions, mainly when the consequent bears a negative interpretation (Ömer Demirok and Duygu Özge, p.c.)

(23) a. Ne kadar ara-sa-k **da** bul-a-ma-yacağ-ız.
how much search-COND-1PL PTCL find-ABIL-NEG-FUT-1PL
b. Ne kadar **da** ara-sa-k bul-a-ma-yacağ-ız.
'However much we look for (her), we will not be able to find (her).' (Menz 2016:97)

Although Menz (2016) suggests that the *dA* particle can appear either after the antecedent clause or the question word, example (24a) shows that the use of antecedent-internal *dA* is not widely accepted with constituent unconditionals. When it is accepted, however, (24) demonstrates that the same temporal and aspectual restrictions applicable to their non-*wh* counterparts in (14) also apply here.[16] This can give us further reason to believe that the constituent unconditionals are underlyingly *dA* conditionals with the *even* interpretation.[17]

(24) a. %?Kim **de** gel-se **/✗-di**-yse **/✗-ir**-se, Rabia parti-ye git-me-yecek.
who ADD come-COND /-PST-COND /-AOR-COND Rabia party-DAT GO-NEG-FUT
'Whoever comes/✗came, Rabia will not go to the party.'
b. Kim gel-se **/-di**-yse **/✗-ir**-se **de** Rabia parti-ye git-me-yecek.
who come-COND /-PST-COND /-AOR-COND ADD Rabia party-DAT GO-NEG-FUT
'Whoever comes/came, Rabia will not go to the party.'

Lastly, my analysis correctly predicts that antecedent final *dA* with polarity focus will not be acceptable in correlative structures due to contradiction at the presupposition level, resulting from the universal closure in correlatives, as shown in (25).

(25) *[[John kim-i çağır-sa]$_F$ da]$_i$, parti-ye (o_i) gel-ir.
John who-ACC invite-COND ADD party-DAT DEM come-AOR
Int. 'Whoever John invites will come to the party.'
Assertion: If John invites Bill, the maximal individual John invites will come to the party & If John invites Susan, the maximal individual John invites will come to the party & ...
$\simeq$ For any x, if John invites x, the maximal individual John invites comes to the party.
Presupposition: If John doesn't invite Bill, the maximal individual John invites will come to the party & If John doesn't invite Susan, the maximal individual John invites will come to the party & ...
$\simeq$ For any x, if John doesn't invite x, the maximal individual John invites comes to the party.

This can also support my proposal that correlatives are standard *if* conditionals, whereas constituent unconditionals are *even-if* conditionals with antecedent-final polarity-focused *dA*.

[16] There is speaker variation on the acceptability of the overt use of the dA particle in unconditionals, with many speakers accepting it only in negative contexts.
[17] I will not delve into the details of how focus on a question word is interpreted, but I believe it might be generating other possible questions as alternatives (based on personal communication with Gennaro Chierchia).

6. A possible explanation for the restriction on non-past markers. It is important to remember that alternative unconditionals, such as the ones in (15), do not impose the same restrictions concerning aspectual-temporal morphemes as the antecedent final *dA* conditionals and constituent unconditionals and allow for the use of non-past markers within their domain, as repeated in (26).

(26) Erdem gel-**ir**-se de gel-me-**z**-se de, Rabia parti-ye gid-ecek.
Erdem come-AOR-COND ADD come-NEG-AOR-COND ADD Rabia party-DAT go-FUT
'Whether Erdem comes or not, Rabia will go to the party.
$\simeq$ Rabia will go to the party **both** if Erdem comes, **and** if he doesn't.

I believe this divergence in alternative unconditionals stems from the interpretation of the particle *dA* in this context. Unlike the forms presented in (14), the *dA* particle does not convey an *even*-like interpretation in (26). Instead, it retains its usual additive meaning, which leads to an interpretation similar to "both... and..." in these contexts, as also illustrated in (27).

(27) Toplantı-ya Ayşe de Fatma da katıl-dı.
meeting-DAT Ayşe ADD Fatma ADD join-PST
'Both Ayşe and Fatma joined the meeting.'

The exhaustification of the domain, which is essential for unconditionals, results from the assertion of the sentence, through the combination of $p \rightarrow q$ and $\neg p \rightarrow q$ statements, not from its presupposition, as is the case with antecedent final *dA* conditionals. Given that the *even*-like interpretation is not present in alternative unconditionals, all possible aspectual-temporal forms can be realized in a manner akin to correlatives and standard *if*-conditionals.

Furthermore, I argue that there exists a distinction between Turkish and English alternative unconditionals. In English, alternative unconditionals employ an interrogative subordinator and a disjunction operator (*whether ... or ....*). Conversely, Turkish utilizes a conjunctive structure (... *dA ... dA* 'both ... and ...') in these constructions, without incorporating any features of interrogative elements. Rawlins (2013) posits that sentences of the form illustrated in (28a) can qualify as unconditionals due to the exhaustivity and mutual exclusivity presuppositions that stem from their interrogative nature. In contrast, I propose that sentences like (28b) represent merely the coordination of two conditionals, rather than being classified as alternative unconditionals in Turkish.

(28) a. Whether Alfonso has a cold or the flu, he should stay home from school.
b. Ali nezle-yse de grip-se de ev-de kal-malı.
Ali cold-COND ADD flu-COND ADD home-LOC stay-OBLG
Whether Ali has a cold or the flu, he should stay home.
$\simeq$ He should stay home **both** if he has a cold **and** if he has the flu.

Therefore, I argue that only the combination of logical opposites provides us with an unconditional interpretation in Turkish. While the alternative unconditionals assert this reading, antecedent-final *dA* conditionals with polarity focus treat the unconditional reading as a presupposition, which leads to certain restrictions on the non-past TAM markers.

Assuming that my proposal concerning the structure of constituent unconditionals is on the right track, I suggest that the exclusion of non-past markers in these constructions is due to their

initial incompatibility with antecedent-final *dA* conditionals that involve polarity focus. Therefore, I offer a plausible explanation for why these markers are not licensed in polarity-focused *dA* conditionals, positing that the same rationale applies to constituent unconditionals.

To be considered unconditional, a sentence must meet two criteria: exhaustification of the domain and, in turn, entailment of the consequent clause, as noted by Rawlins (2013). Both alternative unconditionals and polarity-focused antecedent-final *dA* conditionals achieve this exhaustification by combining the propositions $p \rightarrow q$ and $\neg p \rightarrow q$. However, a key distinction between these two structures is that alternative unconditionals overtly assert these two exhaustive alternatives and permit the use of non-past morphemes. In contrast, antecedent-final *dA* conditionals imply exhaustivity through their presupposition and do not allow for non-past TAM markers.

The explanation for why non-past forms present challenges, as opposed to bare and past forms, lies in the difficulty of exhaustively covering the domain with these elements.[18] Non-past markers, such as the aorist, mainly express generic statements or future contingencies, which are known to be problematic regarding the Law of Excluded Middle (LEM). For instance, the union of the sentences in (29) does not provide an exhaustive set due to the generic interpretation associated with these propositions. There will be some situations where *contextually relevant* children do not eat chocolate, which will neither validate nor invalidate either of the sentences.

(29) a. Children eat chocolate. = *In general* children eat chocolate.
b. Children do not eat chocolate. = *In general* children do not eat chocolate.

However, the generic operator GEN is proposed to trigger a Homogeneity Presupposition as defined in (30a) by von Fintel (1997). This, in turn, ensures that the generic sentences comply with the Excluded Middle principle in (30b).

(30) a. **The Homogeneity Presupposition**
$[\![\text{GEN}]\!](f)(p)(q)$ is only defined for w if $[\forall x \in f(w)(p) : q(x)] \vee [\forall x \in f(w)(p) : \neg q(x)]$
b. **The Excluded Middle**
$[\![\text{GEN}]\!](f)(p)(q)$ is false in w iff $[\![\text{GEN}]\!](f)(p)(\neg q)]$ is true in w, or shorter:
$\neg[\![\text{GEN}]\!](p)(q)$ iff $[\![\text{GEN}]\!][[\![p]\!](\neg q)]$ (von Fintel 1997:33)

As for future contingencies, such as Aristotle's famous *sea battle* example, given in (31), it is again hard to create an exhaustive set by combining the two polar alternatives since the truth of these assertions is indeterminate. Nevertheless, MacFarlane (2003) offers a post-semantic analysis for future contingencies, which relativizes truth to a context of assessment. In his analysis, when tomorrow arrives, we can decide on the truth of either assertion based on what the world looks like at that point of assessment.

(31) a. There will be a sea battle tomorrow.
b. There will not be a sea battle tomorrow.

It is essential to recognize that both generics and future contingencies can conform to the LEM when *asserted*. This allows non-past forms to be employed in alternative unconditionals,

[18] The ideas presented here benefited from discussions with Haoming Li and Kai von Fintel.

thereby creating an exhaustive domain and entailing the consequent clause. However, at the presupposition level, the non-past alternatives produced by polarity focus and the existential presupposition introduced with the *dA* particle are not sufficient to fully exhaust the domain and entail the consequent. Consequently, non-past markers cannot be used to generate an unconditional interpretation in antecedent-final polarity-focused *dA* conditionals and constituent unconditionals. Nonetheless, even though non-past TAM markers cannot trigger the *even*-like reading in *dA* conditionals, they resort to the default *if*-conditional interpretation and denote the usual additive reading in *dA* conditionals and get a question reading in constituent unconditionals.

7. Conclusion. This research explores the structure of correlatives and unconditionals in Turkish, emphasizing their syntactic and semantic similarities and differences. The main issue addressed here is that non-past markers (such as the aorist) prevent unconditional interpretations, while correlatives do not impose any restrictions concerning tense morphology. I argue that correlatives are akin to standard *if*-conditionals; thus, they impose no temporal limitations on the antecedent. Conversely, unconditionals are similar to *even-if* conditionals composed of the antecedent-final *dA* particle with polarity focus. Building on earlier analyses and a new account of alternative unconditionals, I propose that the limitation of non-past markers results from the need for an exhaustive domain by unconditionals and the non-exhaustive nature of these temporal-aspectual morphemes at the presupposition level.

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