Towards a unified analysis of correlatives and indefinites in Balkar

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Abstract. In this paper we consider two morphosyntactically similar constructions in Balkar: correlative clauses and *wh*-indefinites. They both consist of three elements: (i) an interrogative pronoun, (ii) a verb marked by the conditional suffix *-sa,* and (iii) the particle *da* 'even'. We demonstrate that despite superficial similarities there are certain semantic and syntactic differences between them. Specifically, the correlatives are interpreted definitely and are merged as clausal adjuncts and the wh-indefinites function as indefinite NPs and are merged as arguments of the main predicate. We develop an analysis that maintains the contribution of wh-expressions and the particle da and argue that the point of divergence is the *-sa* marked element. While in correlatives it is a true verbal predicate, in wh-indefinites it is a grammaticalized marker that denotes a choice function.

Keywords. correlatives; *wh*-indefinites; choice functions; even; Balkar.

1. Introduction. In Balkar we find two constructions that have similar morphosyntax. We will be calling them "correlatives" and "*wh*-indefinites". They are exemplified by (1a) and (1b), respectively.

(1) a. Correlative
    kim e-se   da   ol   kel-di.
    who be-COND   even that come-PST
    Lit.: 'Whoever it is, that came.'
  b. Indefinite
    kim e-se   da   kel-di.
    who be-COND   even come-PST
    'Some or other person came.'

Correlatives and *wh*-indefinites both consist of three elements: (i) an interrogative pronoun, (ii) a verb marked by the conditional suffix *-sa,* and (iii) the particle *da* 'even'. The only visible difference is that (1a) involves a demonstrative pronoun *ol* 'that', which is absent in (1b). Importantly, the two constructions differ semantically: the former is interpreted definitely and the latter receives an indefinite interpretation.

The goal of this paper is to answer the following question: How is it possible that two superficially similar constructions are interpreted in different ways? We propose that the observed semantic difference comes from the syntactic properties of the constructions and the status of the *-sa* marked element. Correlatives are full clauses merged as adjuncts and the *-sa* marked element is a true verb. In contrast, *wh*-indefinites are indefinite NPs merged as arguments and the *-sa* marked element is a grammaticalized marker that lexicalizes a variable ranging over choice functions. The rest of the paper is structured as follows. In section 2, we provide data on correlatives

and *wh*-indefinites discussing their main syntactic and semantic characteristics. In section 3, we develop an analysis of correlatives and indefinites building on previous accounts of related constructions. Section 4 concludes the paper.

2. Balkar data.

2.1. CORRELATIVES. Correlativization is a relativization strategy wherein a relative clause appears on the left periphery of the clause and is linked to a nominal correlate in the main clause. (2) exemplifies a correlative construction from Hindi.

(2)   Hindi (Srivastav 1991:642)
[jo laRkii khaRii   hai]   vo   lambii   hai
REL girl   standing   is   that   tall   is
Lit.: Which girl is standing, that is tall.
'The girl who is standing is tall.'

As Iatridou (2013) argues, correlatives are also found in Turkish.

(3)   Turkish (Iatridou 2013: 130)
[Yarış-ı   kim kazan-ır-sa]   prenses-le   evlen-ecek.
[race-ACC   who win-AOR-COND] princess-with   marry-FUT
'Whoever wins the race will marry the princess.'

Balkar has a similar construction which we treat as a correlative as well. The correlative clause contains an interrogative NP and its predicate is marked with the conditional suffix *-sa* and the particle *da* 'even', (4).

(4)   [CorrP   kim   kel-se   da bügün]   ol   kitap kelti-riq-di.
             who   come-COND even today   that book   bring-FUT2-3SG
'Whoever comes today will bring the book.'

This construction exhibits all the properties of regular correlatives in other languages with correlativization, such as Hindi (Lipták 2009). First, the correlative clause must precede the correlate, as in (4); the opposite linear order is ungrammatical, as shown in (5).

(5)   *ol kelter-gen-di   xarbuz-nu   tünene
        that bring-PFCT-3SG   watermelon-ACC   yesterday
        [CorrP   kim   kel-gen   e-se   da].
                who   come-PFCT   be-COND   even
'Whoever came yesterday brought a watermelon.'

Second, there is a demonstrative requirement on the correlate, i.e. it must contain a demonstrative element. Sentences in which the correlate does not contain a demonstrative, are ungrammatical, (6).

(6)   qaisɨ   sabij   bügün   oram-da   ojna-ʁan   e-se   da
        which   child   today   street-LOC   play-PFCT   be-COND   even
        *(ol)   sabij   ullu   kül-e   e-di.
        that   child   big   laugh-IPFV   be-PST.3SG
'Whatever child that was playing on the street today was laughing loudly.'

Finally, Balkar correlatives have maximalizing semantics: they refer to the "largest" individual in the set of contextually salient individuals. As noted in Grosu & Landman (1998), this property is responsible for why the correlate DP must be definite or universal. In addition to (6), this can be further seen in (7).

(7)   qaisɨ   zašcɨq-la   süel-ip   e-se-le   da
        which   boy-PL   stand-CONV   be-COND-PL   even
        'The boys that stand there…'
        a.   …**ala** fatima   bla   birge   oqu-j-du-la.
                they   Fatima   with   together   study-IPFV-3-PL
                '...those are Fatima's classmates.'
        b.   ...??**az**   fatima   bla   birge   oqu-j-du-la.
                minority   Fatima   with   together   study-IPFV-3-PL
                '...the minority of them are Fatima's classmates.'

Balkar correlatives have one interesting semantic feature: they obligatorily convey modal inferences (parallel to those of the so-called "*ever* free relatives" in English). It can be an ignorance inference (8) or an indifference inference (9).

(8)   kim et-gen   e-se   da   anɨ   kör-ür-ge   sü-e-me.
        who do-PFCT   be-COND   even   (s)he.ACC see-POT-INF   want-IPFV-1SG
        'Whoever did this, I want to see them.'

(9)   ol   erge   kim   caqɨr-sa   da   aŋa   bar-lɨq-dɨ
        (s)he   marry   who   invite-COND   even that.DAT   come.out-FUT-3SG
        'She will marry whoever asks her to marry him.'

The "bland definite" reading, which is usually available for correlatives in other languages (see Srivastav 1991 for Hindi, Iatridou 2013 for Turkish) is considered to be odd by the speakers (10).

(10)   tünene   kim   kel-gen   e-se   da
        yesterday   who   come-pfct   be-cond   even
        ol   kitap-nɨ   ketlir-gen-di.
        that   book-acc   bring-pfct-3sg
        1. ??'The one who came yesterday brought the book.'
        2. 'Whoever came yesterday brought the book.'

Notably, in Balkar the correlate in correlative construction can be omitted, as in (11).

(11)   kim   kel-se   da   bügün   kitap   kelti-riq-di.
        who   come-COND   even   today   book   bring-FUT2-3SG
        'Whoever comes today will bring the book.'

Building on the proposal in Iatridou (2013) for Turkish correlatives, we assume that even when there is no overt correlate, the correlative clause is a correlative adjunct, rather than an English-style free relative occupying an argument position, (12).

(12)   [FR Whoever Mary invited to the party] came.

One argument in favor of this view has to do with case-matching effects. In general, the *wh*-phrase in free relatives must bear a case marker that satisfies the case requirements of both the matrix and the embedded predicate. This is shown in (13).

(13) German (Vogel 2001: 902)
    a.   Ich   folge   [FR   wem   ich   vertraue]
          I   follow→DAT   who.DAT   I   trust→DAT
          'I follow who I trust.'
    b.   *Ich   folge   [FR   wem ‖   wen   ich   bewundere]
          I   follow→DAT   who.DAT who.ACC   I   adore→ACC
          'I follow who I adore.'

In Balkar correlatives with no overt correlate, however, there are no case matching effects. For instance, in (14) the verb in the correlative clause assigns accusative to the *wh*-word, while the verb in the matrix clause assigns nominative. If constructions like in (11) were free relatives, we would expect (14) to be ungrammatical due to the case mismatch. However, the sentence is fully acceptable. Instead, if we assume that there is a silent correlate, that the matrix verb assigns the nominative to, the acceptability of (14) is expected.

(14)   fatima   kim-ni   süj-e   e-se   da
        Fatima   who-ACC   love-IPFV   be-COND even
        qonaq-ʁa   kel-liq-di.
        guest-DAT   come-FUT2-3SG
        'Whoever Fatima likes will come to visit.'

In light of these data, we conclude that the correlative clause is always an adjunct, while the (possibly null) correlate occupies an argument position in the main clause.

    In sum, Balkar correlatives exhibit properties of regular correlatives. They appear on the left periphery of the main clause and obligatory precede the correlate; they have maximalizing semantics and require that the correlate is a demonstrative NP. In contrast to correlatives in other languages discussed so far, they obligatory convey modal inferences of ignorance or indifference. We have demonstrated that structures with no overt correlate are structurally identical to correlatives with an overt correlate. Correlative clauses always occupy an adjunct position, while the argument position of the main verb is reserved for the correlate.

2.2. WH-INDEFINITES. Balkar possesses what is in descriptive grammars called "indefinite pronouns" — items build from three elements: (i) an interrogative pronoun, (ii) the copula *e* 'be' marked by the conditional suffix -*sa* and (iii) the particle *da* 'even'. These items function as indefinite noun phrases: they have existential force and serve to introduce new referents into discourse, (15).

(15) kim e-se   da   kel-di   kim e-se   da   kel-me-di.
      who be-COND   even   come-PST   who be-COND   even   come-NEG-PST
      'Some or other person came, some or other person did not come.'

Crucially, in contrast to regular indefinites, they give rise to the inference that the speaker does not know the identity of the individual they refer to, (cf. (16a) and (16b)).

(16) a. bir   adam   kel-di.
          one   man   come-PST
          'Someone came.'
      b. kim e-se   da   kel-di.
          who be-COND even   come-PST

'Some or other person came.'

This inference is obligatory, which can be seen from that the speaker cannot explicitly add that she knows who the referent is, (17).

(17) kim e-sa   da   kel-di.
      who be-COND   even   come-PST
      #men   bil-e-me   alim   bol-ʁan-ɨn.
      I   know-IPFV-1SG   Alim   be-PFCT-ACC.3SG
      'Some or other person came. #I know that it was Alim.'

Similarly, utterances containing them cannot be followed by questions asking about the identity of the referent, (18)[1].

(18) A: fatima   kim-ge   e-se   da   erge   cɨk-dɨ.
         Fatima   who-DAT   be-COND   even   marry   get-PST
         'Fatima married some or other person.'
      B: #kim-ge?
         who-DAT
         'Who?'

Based on these facts, we conclude that Balkar *wh*-indefinites are "Epistemic Indefinites" (EIs) — expressions that conventionally convey ignorance on part of the speaker (see, e.g., Haspelmath 1997; and much further literature).

Balkar *wh*-indefinites demonstrate peculiar scope behavior. First, they are banned from being interpreted under sentential negation, (19).

(19) kerim   ne   zat   e-se   da   sati-p   al-ma-dɨ.
      Kerim   what   thing   be-COND   even   sell-CONV   take-NEG-PST
      1. 'There is something that Kerim did not buy.' $\exists > \neg$
      2. *'Kerim did not buy anything.' $*\neg > \exists$

Second, they can, but do not have to, take scope out of semantic islands, such as antecedents of conditionals, (20), and clauses embedded under attitude predicates, (21).

(20) kim e-se   da   kel-se   alim   quani-rɨq-dɨ.
      who be-COND   even   come-COND   Alim   be.happy-FUT2-3SG
      1. 'There is a particular unknown to the speaker person such that if this person comes,
      Alim will be happy.' $\exists > if$
      2. 'If any person comes, Alim will be happy.' $if > \exists$

(21) alim   umut   ete-di   kim   e-se   da   keli-r   dep.
      Alim   hope   do-3SG   who   be-COND   even come-FUT1   COMP
      1. 'There is a particular unknown to the speaker person such that Alim hopes that he
         comes.' $\exists > hope$
      2. 'Alim hopes that at least someone will come.' $hope > \exists$

Unlike some EIs in other languages, which place a constraint that their domain is not a singleton (see Kratzer & Shimoyama 2002 for the German *irgendein*, Alonso-Ovalle & Menéndez-Benito

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[1] We discuss the case marking of indefinite pronouns later in this section.

2010 for the Spanish *algún*; a.o.), Balkar *wh*-indefinites are felicitous if the domain contains a single individual. Consider an example in (22)[2].

(22) [**Context:** I came to a village school to speak with the principal. I have never been to this village and this school before.]

men kim   e-se   da   bir   direktor   bla   tüb-er-ge
I   who   be-COND   even one   principal with   meet-POT-INF
kel-gen-me.
come-PFCT-1SG
'I have come to meet some principal.'

As there can be only one principal, we can be sure that in (22) the domain is a singleton. These data make domain-based approaches inapplicable to Balkar because under these approaches the effect of epistemic ignorance would arise via competition with a stronger alternative involving a smaller domain. Obviously, the domain cannot be smaller than a singleton.

Let us turn to one important syntactic difference between the *wh*-indefinites and correlatives. Previously we have demonstrated that correlative clauses always occupy an adjunct position. Thus, only the predicate of the correlative clause can assign case to *wh*-elements. Crucially, *wh*-indefinites behave differently. The *-sa* marked element internal to the *wh*-indefinite cannot assign nominative to the *wh*-expression; instead, interrogatives must receive case from the matrix predicate. This is shown in (23). *kim* 'who' must bear dative case assigned by the matrix verb *erge cikdi* 'marry' and cannot be marked nominative, which the verb *e* 'be' assigns to its argument, (24).

(23) fatima kim-*(ge)   e-se   da   erge   cik-di.
      Fatima who-dat   be-cond   even marry get-pst
      'Fatima married some or other man.'

(24) ramazan   e-se   men   quani-riq-ma.
      Ramazan   be-COND   I   be.happy-FUT2-1SG
      'If it is Ramazan, I will be happy.'

We take this fact to indicate that *wh*-indefinites occupy an argument position.

To sum up, Balkar *wh*-indefinites obligatorily convey that the speaker does not know which individual satisfies the existential claim they make. They cannot be interpreted under negation and can be interpreted outside of semantic islands. As they are felicitous in contexts with a singleton domain, their epistemic ignorance effect cannot arise via a competition-based mechanism. In contrast to correlatives, *wh*-expressions in *wh*-indefinites bear case marking assigned by the main predicate, which indicates that they occupy an argument position.

3. Towards an analysis.

3.1. CORRELATIVES. For the analysis of Balkar correlatives we adopt the proposal for Turkish correlatives in Demirok (2017).

(25) Demirok (2017: 162)
      John   kimi   çağır-sa o   partiye   gelir
      John   who   invite-SA DEM   party   come.will
      'Whoever John invites will come to the party.'

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[2] In this example *kim ese da* takes an overt nominal restrictor and the whole complex functions as an indefinite NP.

Demirok's approach involves the following crucial components. First, unlike Dayal (1995), he does not treat *wh*-expressions as relative operators. Turkish lacks *wh*-relativization and does not exhibit *wh*-movement in general, which is evident from the island-insensitivity of *wh*-expressions. Instead Demirok argues that *wh*-words are alternative denoting expressions in the sense of Hamblin (1973).

Building on the analysis of English unconditionals by Rawlins (2013), Demirok treats correlative clauses as denoting sets of conditional antecedents and the whole correlative construction as a conjunction of conditional statements. Thus, the meaning of (25) can be paraphrased as (26).

(26)   If John invites Bill, he will come to the party &
       If John invites Susan, she will come to the party & …

Note that under this analysis the maximalizing semantics observed in correlatives does not come from the correlative clause itself. Rather it is introduced by the correlate being an E-type pronoun that picks up the maximal individual in the context (Heim 1990). With that said, (25) denotes (27).

(27)   If John invites Bill, the max individual John invites will come to the party &
       If John invites Susan, the max individual John invites will come to the party & ...

Balkar is similar to Turkish in many relevant aspects. It is a *wh*-in-situ language lacking *wh*-relativization. *wh*-words are also island-insensitive in situ. This is shown in (28). Complex NP in Balkar, as in many other languages, is an island for extraction, (28a). Still, *wh*-words can be used in-situ inside a complex NP (28b). This fact indicates, that Balkar does not employ covert movement for question formation.

(28)   a. *kerim-ni   alim   [[fatima qonaq-ʁa   caqir-dɨ   dep]   xapar-la]
          Kerim-ACC   Alim   Fatima guest-DAT invite-PST.3SG   COMP   rumor-PL
          ešit-gen-di.
          hear-PFCT-3SG
          'Alim has heard rumors that Fatima invited Kerim to come visit her.'
       b. sen   fatima   [[kim-ni   qonaq-ʁa   caqir-dɨ   dep]   xapar-la]
          you   Fatima   who-ACC   guest-DAT   invite-PST.3SG COMP   rumor-PL
          ešit-gen-se?
          hear-PFCT-2SG
          'You heard rumors that Fatima invited who to come visit her?'

There is one additional similarity concerning the structural position of the correlative clause. Namely, both the correlative clause in Turkish (under Demirok's analysis) and the correlative clause in Balkar seem to be TP-level adjuncts. In Bhatt (2003) it was proposed that in principle correlative clauses may be generated either as TP adjuncts or as adjuncts to the correlate DP. He argues that in Hindi the latter option is realized. However, there is evidence suggesting that in Balkar correlative clauses are base-generated as TP adjuncts. For example, the relationship between the correlative clause and the associate demonstrative is not sensitive to island constraints. (29) shows that the correlative clause and the correlate can be separated by a complex NP boundary. This fact indicates, that the correlative clause is not generated as the adjunct to the correlate (that would entail that (29) features an illicit A'-movement over an island boundary), but rather higher up in the structure.

(29) [men   kim-ni   süj-e   e-se   da]
     I   who-ACC love-ACC   be-COND   even
     alim   [[fatima   anɨ   qonaq-ʁa   caqir-dɨ   dep]
     Alim   Fatima   that.ACC   guest-DAT   invite-PST.3SG   COMP
     xapar-la] ešit-gen-di.
     rumor-PL   hear-PFCT-3SG
     'Whoever I love, Alim has heard rumors that Fatima invited him to come visit her.'

These facts allow us to adopt Demirok's (2017) analysis for Balkar correlatives. What cannot be accounted for within Demirok's (2017) approach is the contribution of the particle *da* 'even' simply because Turkish correlatives lack it. We develop an analysis of its semantics in section 3.3.

3.2. INDEFINITES. Given that Balkar *wh*-indefinites are built from the same items as correlatives but occupy an argument position, one may think that they are Free Relatives (FRs). According to the standard analysis of FR (see, e.g., Jacobson 1995, Caponigro 2003; a.o), they denote properties shifted to maximal individuals. However, under the approach we adopted for correlatives, correlative clauses denote sets of propositions. It has been argued that going from sets of propositions is impossible (Rooth 1992, Krifka 2011, Xiang 2017). Specifically, Demirok (2019) uses this constraint to explain why languages with *wh*-in-situ composition of questions, to which Balkar belongs, do not have FRs. So, that Balkar *wh*-indefinites are FRs is not plausible. Moreover, this analysis cannot account for one crucial fact: Balkar *wh*-indefinites can only involve the copula *e* 'be' as part of the complex.

  We take another route and propose that Balkar *wh*-indefinites do not have clausal structure and the *ese* element is not interpreted as a true verbal predicate but instead is a grammaticalized marker that lexicalizes a choice function (CF) variable. We maintain the assumption that *wh*-words denote sets of alternatives. The choice function variable ranges over those sets and returns their members, (30). Thus, (31a) has the denotation in (31b)[3].

(30) $[\![ese]\!]_{<T,\tau>} = \lambda\alpha_T. [f(\alpha)]$, where T is the type of Hamblin sets

(31)   a. kim e-se   da   kel-di.
          who be-COND   even   come-PST
          'Some or other person came.'
       b. $\exists f[CH(f) \ \& \ came(f(human))]$

Here we follow some other accounts of *wh*-indefinites according to which CFs they introduce combine not with properties (as is standardly assumed for English indefinites) but with Hamblin sets (see Yanovich (2005) for Russian, Yatsushiro (2009) for Japanese, Dawson (to appear) for Tiwa; a.o.)[4].

  Choice functional nature of Balkar *wh*-indefinites immediately allows us to account for their scopal behavior discussed in section 2.2. Following Reinhart (1997), Winter (1997) and Matthewson (1999), we assume that the CF denoted by *ese* is subject to obligatorily existential closure. In particular, we propose that the ∃-operator is located at the level of CP. Due to this,

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[3] See section 3.3. for the semantic contribution of *-da*.

[4] An anonymous reviewer notes that Hamblin semantics has issues with binding (Shan 2004). Here we do not attempt to resolve this issue. Some possible ways of overcoming this problem are suggested in Novel and Romero (2010), Charlow (2014) and Ciardelli et. al. (2017).

wh-indefinites obligatorily take wide scope with respect to sentential negation. As they can take scope inside and outside semantic islands, we claim that ∃-operator can be inserted both in the embedded and matrix CP domain.

Moreover, under this approach, there is a way to derive the epistemic ignorance effect without appealing to domain constraints. Dawson (2018), based on data from Tiwa, provides an account for how higher order existential quantification can give rise to epistemic ignorance effect. She claims that if a language uses both non-choice functional indefinites and choice-functional indefinites, existentially quantifying via the latter implicates that the speaker is not in the position to use a referring expression or at least an expression that involves direct quantification over individuals. Via pragmatic reasoning this gives rise to the implicature that the speaker is ignorant about the way the individual is to be selected from the set and thereby triggers the observed epistemic ignorance effect.

We believe that this approach can and should adopted for Balkar *wh*-indefinites. However, on its own it cannot be the whole story because it says nothing about the contribution of the particle *da* 'even' that is part of Balkar *wh*-indefinites.

3.3. CONTRIBUTION OF *-DA*. So far, we have ignored the particle *da* 'even', which is an obligatory part of both correlatives and *wh*-indefinites. We propose that the basic contribution of this particle remains unchanged — it introduces the presupposition of unlikelihood of the prejacent[5] — but differs in what exactly is its argument in each construction.

To analyze its contribution in correlatives, we follow the proposal in Balusu (2019) for EVEN in related constructions in Dravidian, including unconditionals and free relatives, (32).

(32)   Telugu (Balusu 2019)
       eedi   icci-naa   tin-Taanu
       what   give-IF.EVEN   eat-will
       'I will eat whatever you give me.'

Balusu (2019) claims that EVEN attaches on top of the conditional clause associating with the *wh*-word and brings in the usual scalar presupposition. The combination of IF and EVEN gives rise to the implicature that for all the alternatives distinct from the current one the conditional consequent is also true[6], (33).

(33)   **Assertion:**
       I will eat whatever you give me.
       $\forall p \in C.\forall w$[if you give me p in w → I will eat it]

       (Scalar) Presupposition:
       It is less likely that I will eat if you give x to me than if you give me something else.
       $\forall p \in C.\forall w$[if you give me p in w → I will eat it] $<_\mu \forall q.q \neq p$[if you give me q in w → I will eat it]

       Implicature:
       If you give me something, that is not x, I will eat it.
       $\forall q.q \neq p$[if you give me q in w → I will eat it]

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[5] We leave aside the question of whether the presupposition also contains a separate additive component.
[6] It follows from the universal entailment of conditionals and the monotonic nature of the ordering (Guerzoni & Lim 2007).

We extend this analysis to Balkar and assume that *da* attaches on top of the correlative clause below the modal operator, (34b). Then (34a) can be informally represented as (35).

(34) a. kim kel-se   da   bügün   ol   kitap kelti-riq-di.
         who come-COND   even   today   that book   bring-FUT2-3SG
         'Whoever comes today will bring the book.'
      b.
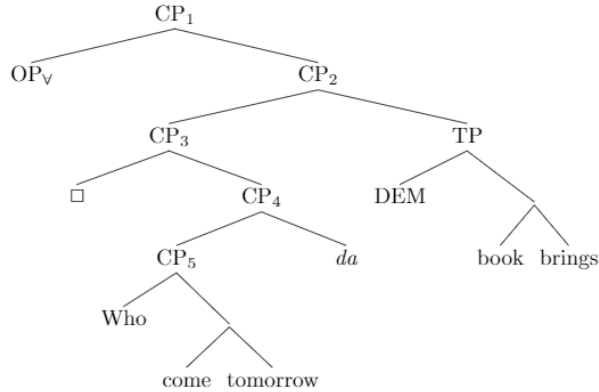
(35) Even if Amina comes, she will bring the book &
      Even if Alim comes, he will bring the book &…

An additional step to Demirok's (2017) original approach takes place at the level of CP$_4$: *da* brings in the scalar presupposition for every propositional alternative in the denotation of the correlative clause, (36)[7].

(36) $\llbracket$CP$_4\rrbracket$ = {**Assertion:** [Amina brings the book]
         Presupposition: [Amina brings the book in] $\leq_\mu$ $\forall$q.q≠Amina [q brings the book],
         Assertion: [Alim brings the book]
         Presupposition: [Alim brings the book] $\leq_\mu$ $\forall$q.q≠Alim [q brings the book]…}

The scalar presupposition introduced by *da* is be responsible for the "universal" implicature: if the consequent is true for one of the most unlikely alternatives, it is true for all of the others, (37)[8].

(37) **Implicature:** $\forall$q.q≠p[if q comes → (s)he will bring the book]

We also tentatively propose that the presupposition of *da* might be responsible for why Balkar correlatives, as English ever free relatives, obligatorily convey ignorance or indifference. In this

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[7] To avoid possible contradiction that would arise if every conditional antecedent is presupposed to be less likely than all its focus alternatives, we depart from Balusu (2019) and assume that the ordering relation is non-strict.

[8] An anonymous reviewer notes that if this implicature is indeed present, it should be possible to cancel it. This prediction is not met in Balkar:

(i)   kim   kel-se   da   bügün   ol   kitap   kelti-riq-di.
       who   come-COND   even   today   that   book   bring-FUT2-3SG
       *alai   quru   alim   kitap   kelti-riq-di.
       but   only   Alim   book   bring-FUT2
       'Whoever comes tomorrow will bring a book. But Alim will bring a book.'

However, we believe that this sentence is illicit because the semantics of universality partly arises due to the conjunction of alternatives, which, in turn, is not an implicature. We thank the reviewer for bringing our attention to this example.

proposal we build on Abenina-Adar (2019), who argues that modal inferences conveyed by *ever* free relatives in English arise due to the competition with plain definites that are referentially equivalent but carry stronger presuppositions about the identity of the referent. According to Heim's (1991) principle Maximize Presupposition, choosing a presuppositionally weaker expression implicates that the presupposition of the corresponding stronger expression is not satisfied. Abenina-Adar demonstrates how, depending on the environment, this principle derives inferences that *ever* free relatives convey. We believe that an explanation along this line is worth pursuing for Balkar. In correlatives, the presupposition introduced by *da* ensures that the domain of the demonstrative contains alternatives that otherwise are not there. Therefore, according to Maximize Presupposition, the speaker would use a correlative instead of a bare demonstrative only when there is a reason to widen the domain, which can be because of ignorance or indifference with respect to the identity of the referent.

To analyze the contribution of *da* in *wh*-indefinites, we propose that it associates with the *ese*-element introducing the presupposition that the CF it denotes is among the least likely contextually relevant alternative CFs. Informally, a CF is a way of selecting an individual from a set. One can select an individual from a set based on various criteria. The presupposition of *da* ensures that the utilized criterion is one of the least likely to be utilized. The least likely criterion is the one that provides least clues for the hearer to correctly identify the referent. For example, when selecting an individual from a set of friends, one of the least likely criteria to be utilized is the one that reflects a property of being human since it does not help to narrow down the set in any way and thus is uninformative.

Returning to Balkar *wh*-indefinites, we claim that the effect of epistemic ignorance arises due to the above formulated presupposition via the following pragmatic reasoning. Why would the speaker select an individual from a set in one of the least informative way? It is because the speaker is not in the position to use more informative ones which in turn is probably because of the ignorance with respect to the identity of the referent[9].

4. Conclusion. In this paper we have developed an account of correlatives and *wh*-indefinites in Balkar. According to our analysis, *wh*-expressions and the particle *da* 'even' have the same contribution in both constructions. We proposed that the observed semantic and syntactic differences arise due to the nature of the *-sa* marked element they contain: in correlative clauses it is a true verbal predicate, while in *wh*-indefinites it is grammaticalized and interpreted as a CF[10]. We hope that the data and analysis will add to our understanding of possible connections between unconditional-based constructions and indefinites.

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[9] This discussion brings into mind the approach to EIs advocated by Aloni & Port (2015), according to which EIs are sensitive to methods of identification ('ways of knowing who') and identify a referent via a method different from the one contextually required for knowledge. If criteria utilized by CFs can be conceived of as such methods, then the unlikelihood presupposition of *da* in Balkar *wh*-indefinites would require that the chosen method is not enough to know the identity of the referent.

[10] In this paper we do not discuss the other uses of the suffix *-sa* and the particle *-da*. The question of whether the semantics we propose for these elements is applicable in other cases of their usage requires further study of their distribution and is left for the future work.

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