

On doubling unconditionals and relative sluicing *

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Abstract

Doubling unconditionals are exemplified by the Spanish example *Venga quien venga, estaré contento* ‘Whoever comes, I’ll be happy.’ (lit. ‘Comes who comes, I’ll be happy’). This curious and little studied construction is attested in various forms in a number of Romance and Slavic languages. In this paper, I provide a basic description of these constructions, focusing especially on Spanish, Czech, and Slovenian, and argue that they can be brought in line with run-of-the-mill unconditionals (of the English type) if one recognizes (i) that the *wh*-structure within the unconditional antecedent (*quien entre* ‘who comes’) is a free relative and (ii) that the free relative is focused. The focused free relative introduces alternatives and thus gives rise to the denotation proposed by Rawlins (2013) for English unconditionals. In the last part of the paper, I hypothesize that at least some non-doubling unconditionals could in fact have a doubling underlying structure, which is disguised by a process akin to sluicing. The process of “relative sluicing” is independently supported by facts from Hungarian.

1 Introduction

Unconditionals are conditional-like structures expressing that the consequent holds independently of the particular value of the antecedent. The sentence in (1-a), for instance, expresses that for all times t such that you wake up at t , it holds that you’ll hear a robin sing. That is, if you get up at 5, you’ll hear a robin; if you get up 6, you’ll hear a robin, if you wake up at 7, you’ll hear a robin; etc. The non-constant value of the antecedent is a constitutive property of unconditionals. The locus of variation is often represented by a *wh*-word or *wh*-phrase—as in (1-a) (*when* \rightsquigarrow variation in the **time** of waking up), (1-d) (*what* \rightsquigarrow variation in the **contents** of speech reports), or (1-e) (*whichever lawyer* \rightsquigarrow variation in the **lawyer** you ask), but not necessarily so—in (1-c), variation is conveyed by the disjunction and (1-b) entails variation in the hearer’s opinion by embedding *your opinion* under *regardless of*. Antecedents can be HEADED, by expressions as *no matter* (1-a) or *regardless of* (1-b), or HEADLESS, as in (1-c) through (1-e). The *wh*-phrase in the antecedent can (but need not) be resumed by a pronominal in the consequent. An example of this is the *which lawyer–she* couple in (1-e).

- (1) a. No matter when you wake up, you’ll hear a robin sing.
- b. Regardless of your opinion, I will go to Belarus.
- c. A nut or an earthworm, a boar will eat anything it comes across.
- d. Whatever the others say, the muscovy duck is the most beautiful bird.
- e. Whichever lawyer you ask, she will discourage you from filing a lawsuit.

This paper is about an understudied type of headless *wh*-based unconditionals, which I will call DOUBLING UNCONDITIONALS. These are *wh*-based structures in which the verb appears to be doubled. Consider the examples in (2), where the verb *entre / vier / přijde* ‘enter/come’ appears twice—once before and once after the *wh*-word.¹

*Acknowledgements to be added.

¹All Czech data stem from the author, who is a native speaker.

- (2) a. *Spanish* (Quer 1998:243)
 Entre quien entre, lo atacaré.
 enter.SBJ.3SG who enter.SBJ.3SG him attack.FUT.1SG
 ‘Whoever comes in, I’ll attack him.’
- b. *Brazilian Portuguese* (Quer & Vicente 2009:12)
 Venha quem vier, eu vou embora.
 comes.SBJ.PRS who comes.SBJ.FUT I go away
 ‘No matter who comes, I’m still leaving.’
- c. *Czech*
 Ať přijde kdo přijde, zaútočím na něj.
 AT comes who comes attack at him
 ‘Whoever comes in, I’ll attack him.’

Doubling unconditionals seem to be cross-linguistically rare, but are arguably related to the more common type exemplified in (3), where there is no genuine verb doubling, but still an occurrence of two verbs: a lexical one (*come / komme / přijde*) and a modal one (*may / wolle* ‘want’ / *chce* ‘want’). The two constructions are also similar due to the cross-linguistic tendency to use subjunctive morphology.

- (3) a. Come what may, I’ll stay with you.
- b. *German* (Quer & Vicente 2009:12 via A. Kleemann-Krämer and G. Fanselow, p.c.)
 Komme wer da wolle, die Party wird ein Erfolg werden.
 come.SBJ.3SG who.NOM PRT want.SBJ.3SG the party will a success become
 ‘Whoever comes, the party will be a success.’
- c. *Czech*
 Ať přijde kdo chce, oslava se bude konat.
 AT comes who wants party RFL will take.place
 ‘Whoever comes, the party will take place.’

This paper focuses on the type illustrated in (2), leaving a comparison between (2) and (3) for another occasion, and is based on evidence from selected Slavic and Romance languages in which doubling unconditionals are productive. I will argue that they can be brought in line with Rawlins’s (2013) analysis of unconditionals in the following way (cf. the logical form (4), which corresponds to (2-a)): Doubling unconditionals involve *wh*-in-situ, where the *wh*-in-situ element is not just a *wh*-phrase, but in a fact a full-blown free relative (*quien entre*). This free relative—semantically a definite description—is focused and as such introduces entity-level alternatives (encoded as $\{e\}$), which propagate to the propositional level, giving rise to a set of propositions at the level of the unconditional antecedent CP_A (*entre quien entre*; $\{\langle s, t \rangle\}$ encodes a set of propositions). From that point on, the analysis is identical to the one proposed by Rawlins (2013). Each of the propositions in the set denoted by CP_A functions as a conditional antecedent for the consequent CP_C (*lo atacaré*). The conditional (modal) operator *OP* “generates” the conditional semantics, producing a set of conditionals of the form ‘if x comes, I’ll attack x ’, x being the person who comes. Finally, this set is turned into a single proposition by the Hamblin operator $[\forall]$, by conjoining all the members in its argument, yielding the equivalent of ‘for all x , x is the person who comes, I’ll attack x ’.²

- (4) $[\langle s, t \rangle [\forall] [\{\langle s, t \rangle\} OP [CP_A : \{\langle s, t \rangle\} Entre [FR : \{e\} quien entre]_{FOC}]] [CP_C : \langle s, t \rangle lo atacaré]]$

The rest of the paper is organized as follows. I will first go through some basic properties of doubling unconditionals in Romance and Slavic (§2). Then I turn to the analysis (§3) and the

²For an earlier attempt at analyzing doubling unconditionals in terms of Rawlins’ (2008) analysis see Quer & Vicente (2009). Even though the present paper was inspired by this work, it differs from it in important details.

evidence in its favor (§4). A generalization of the proposed analysis to all other types of wh-based unconditionals, relying on the possibility of relative sluicing, is presented in §5. The paper is concluded in §6.

2 Basic properties of doubling unconditionals

Let me first introduce some basic ad hoc terminology that will make it easier for us to make reference to the subparts of the doubling unconditional construction. I will refer to the basic two clauses in the construction as an (UNCONDITIONAL) ANTECEDENT and an (UNCONDITIONAL) CONSEQUENT—reflecting the assumption that conditional syntax and semantics are involved. MAIN PREDICATION will be the label used to refer to the part preceding the wh-word. Finally, the term WH-STRUCTURE is my choice for the rest of the antecedent—the wh-word and all that follows.

- (5)
$$\begin{array}{ccc} \text{(UNCONDITIONAL) ANTECEDENT} & & \text{(UNCONDITIONAL) CONSEQUENT} \\ \underbrace{\text{Entre}}_{\text{MAIN PREDICATION}} & \underbrace{\text{quien entre,}}_{\text{WH-STRUCTURE}} & \underbrace{\text{lo ataré.}} \end{array}$$

Romance doubling unconditionals (particularly Catalan and Spanish) are characterized by the obligatory use of subjunctive mood—both in the main predication and in the wh-structure. As illustrated in (6), the use of indicative mood leads to ungrammaticality.

- (6) *Catalan* (Quer 1998:237/240)
- a. {Truqui / *Truca} qui {truqui / *truca}, no diguis el
 call.SBJ.3SG ~.IND.3SG who call.SBJ.3SG ~.IND.3SG NEG tell.IMP.SG the
 teu nom.
 your name
 (Intended:) ‘Whoever might call, don’t tell your name.’
- b. {Diguin / *Diuen} el que {diguin / *diuen}, continuarem
 say.SBJ.3PL ~.IND.3PL the that say.SBJ.3PL ~.IND.3PL go.on.FUT.1PL
 amb la nostra protesta.
 with the our protest
 (Intended:) ‘Whatever they say, we will go on with our protest.’

Even though Slavic languages (particularly Czech and Slovenian) possess subjunctive mood (sometimes called “conditional” mood) and it is obligatory in some contexts (although generally less frequently so than in Romance), doubling unconditionals are free in the choice of grammatical mood. What is obligatory, however, is a clause-initial particle—*at’* in Czech and *naj* in Slovenian. This is illustrated in (7) (the asterisk applies to the bracket only).

- (7) a. *Czech*
 *(**Ať**) (už) přijde kdo přijde, budu spokojen.
 AT UZ come.3SG who come.3SG will.be.1SG satisfied
 ‘Whoever comes, I’ll be satisfied.’
- b. *Slovenian* (Adrian Stegovec, p.c.)
 *(**Naj**) pride kdor (že) pride, bom zadovoljen.
 NAJ come.3SG who.REL ZE come.3SG will.be.1SG satisfied
 ‘Whoever comes, I’ll be satisfied.’

In both Czech and Slovenian, the particle is diachronically related to the imperative form of the verb ‘let’ and is used in a number of other contexts, the most salient of which is non-2nd

person imperatives (for relevant discussion of Slovenian, see Stegovec 2018).³ Other uses include the use as a modal necessity operator (in Slovenian; see e.g. Roeder & Hansen 2006) or as a complementizer alternating with a subjunctive complementizer (in Czech).

The examples in (7) illustrate another phenomenon: the presence of the optional particle *už* in Czech (part of the main predication) and *že* in Slovenian (part of the *wh*-structure). In both languages, the canonical meaning of this particle corresponds to the one of English *already*. When used in unconditionals, however, this meaning gets lost and its semantic contribution is unclear.

While it seems clear that the subjunctive in Romance and the particles in Slavic play a crucial role in the licensing of (doubling) unconditionals, I will not offer their explicit analysis in this paper. All I can do at this point is to speculate that they are—in one way or another—associated with one or more of the empty operators involved in the analysis (see below). How exactly is left for future research.

Both Romance and Slavic languages are free to use essentially any tense and aspect in the unconditionals, as illustrated in (8) for Spanish and (9) for Czech (future is not represented for Spanish due to the lack of productive future subjunctive). Notice that what gets doubled is always the whole verbal complex, including aspect- and tense-related auxiliaries. It should also be mentioned that the doubling must be perfect—no partial mismatches (e.g. in aspect) are allowed.

(8) *Spanish* (Josep Quer, p.c.)

a. PRESENT PERFECT

Haya venido quien **haya venido**, ya no le recibiremos.
 have.SBJ come who have.SBJ come already NEG him receive.1PL
 ‘Whoever might have come, we won’t receive him anymore.’

b. PLUPERFECT

Hubiese venido quien **hubiese venido**, ya no le recibíamos.
 have.PST.SBJ come who have.PST.SBJ come already NEG him received.1PL
 ‘Whoever would have come, we wouldn’t have received him anymore.’

c. PAST IMPERFECTIVE

Viniese quien **viniese** él siempre estaba contento.
 come.IPFV.PST.SBJ who come.IPFV.PST.SBJ he always was happy
 ‘Whoever came [habitual], he was always happy.’

(9) *Czech*

a. IMPERFECTIVE/PERFECTIVE PAST

At {**chrápal** / **chrápnul**} kdo {**chrápal** / **chrápnul**}, probudilo mě to.
 AT snored.IPFV ~.PFV who snored.IPFV ~.PFV woke.up me it
 ‘Whoever snored / snored once, it woke me up.’

b. FUTURE (IMPERFECTIVE)

At **bude chrápat** kdo **bude chrápat**, bude mě to budit.
 AT will.3SG snore who will.3SG snore will.3SG me it wake.up
 ‘Whoever will snore, it will wake me up.’

Doubling in doubling unconditionals is not limited to the verb or verbal complex. What gets doubled is in fact the whole finite clause—not just including auxiliaries, as we have just seen, but also including all obligatory arguments, albeit preferably in the form of clitics or weak pronouns, as illustrated in (10) and (11). This shows that the construction does not exhibit some version of information structure-related verb (phrase) doubling (clefting, focalization, topicalization; see e.g. Abels 2001; Landau 2006; Collins & Essizewa 2007; Kandybowicz 2008; Aboh & Dyakonova

³There is no such person constraint in the unconditionals.

2009), but is likely to involve a different doubling mechanism.

(10) *Spanish* (Josep Quer, p.c.)

- a. **Se lo des** cuando **se lo des**, lo perderá.
 him it give.SBJ.2SG when him it give.SBJ.2SG it lose.FUT.3SG
 ‘Whenever you give it to him, he will lose it.’
- b. **Te laves** con lo que **te laves**, no se irá.
 you.ACC wash.SBJ.2SG with the COMP you.ACC wash.SBJ.2SG NEG REFL leave.FUT.3SG
 ‘Whatever you wash it with, it won’t go away.’

(11) *Czech*

- a. **At jsi ten telefon našel** kde **jsi** {**ho / ten telefon**}
 AT be.AUX.2SG the phone.ACC found where be.AUX.2SG it.ACC the phone.ACC
našel, je můj.
 found is mine
 ‘Wherever you found the phone, it’s mine.’
- b. **At ten telefon Marii dal** kdo **jí ho dal**, má problém.
 AT the phone.ACC Marie.DAT gave who her.DAT it.ACC gave has problem
 ‘Whoever gave the phone to Mary, s/he has a problem.’

Let me finish this section by pointing out that doubling is usually not (and possibly never) the only strategy that a language uses to build unconditionals. Consider the series of examples in (12), all of which have a very similar if not identical meaning (see e.g. Quer 1998 for a subset of these patterns in Spanish; the Slovenian situation is very similar to the Czech one, as reported to me by Adrian Stegovec, p.c.). The pattern in (12-a) replicates the English one in that it involves a *wh-ever*-expressions in an *ex-situ* position and lacks any introductory particle. The rest combines the particle with *wh-in-situ*: (12-b) uses *wh-ever*, where the *ever*-morpheme is obligatory; (12-c) combines the *wh*-word with ‘want’ and (12-d) is our doubling unconditional. In the last two cases, the *ever*-morpheme is optional, but is in fact dispreferred and is felt to be superfluous. An obvious question is how all these headless *wh-unconditional* types—within or across languages—are related to one another. I will briefly turn to this question in §5, where I will suggest how the analysis applied to doubling unconditionals could be generalized.

(12) *Czech*

- a. **Kam *(-koliv) mě pozvou**, budu spokojený.
 where -EVER me invite.3PL will.be.1SG satisfied
- b. **At mě pozvou kam *(-koliv)**, budu spokojený.
 AT me invite.3PL where -EVER will.be.1SG satisfied
- c. **At mě pozvou kam (-koliv) chtějí**, budu spokojený.
 AT me invite.3PL where -EVER want.3PL will.be.1SG satisfied
- d. **At mě pozvou kam (-koliv) mě pozvou**, budu spokojený.
 AT me invite.3PL where -EVER me invite.3PL will.be.1SG satisfied
 ‘Wherever they invite me, I’ll be satisfied.’

3 Proposal

Consider the Czech example (13) and the associated tree in Figure 1, which provides an informal illustration of the semantic composition.

- (13) *At' ten skřivan_i zazpívá [FR co pro_i zazpívá]_{FOC}, budeš žasnout.*
 AT the woodlark sings.PFV what sings.PFV will.2SG marvel
 ‘Whatever the woodlark sings, you’ll be amazed.’

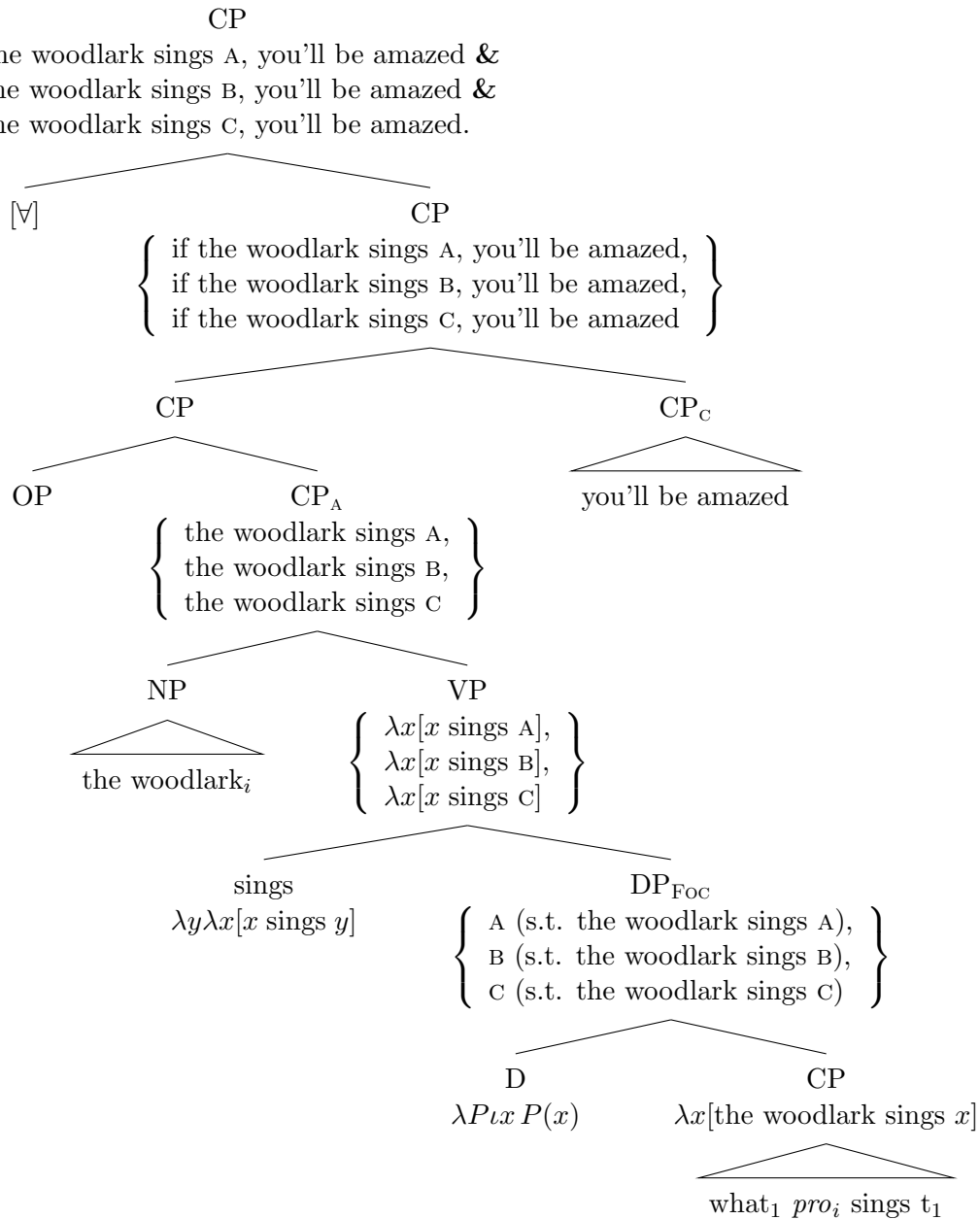


Figure 1: Composition of doubling unconditionals

The proposal is that the wh-structure *co zazpívá* ‘what sings.PFV’ is a **free relative** and as such it denotes a definite description (Jacobson 1995). On top of that, it is **focused** and as such it generates alternative denotations—alternative things that the woodlark sings. The focus-semantic value of the free relative is provided under node DP_{FOC} in Fig. 1; assuming a particular contextual restriction, the value is the set $\{A, B, C\}$, each member of that set being a woodlark song.⁴ The focus semantic denotation propagates in a pointwise fashion to the propositional level, such that the unconditional antecedent (CP_A) denotes a set of propositions

⁴I assume that it is the focus semantic denotation that is “at issue” in this case, similarly as it is the case with indefinites in the seminal analyses of Ramchand (1997) and Kratzer & Shimoyama (2002).

of the form ‘the woodlark sings x ’, x being a woodlark song.⁵ From this point, the account is no different from the one of Rawlins (2013). Each one of the propositions is used as a restrictor (in a pointwise fashion) of OP—a modal operator that generates the conditional semantics.⁶ After the unconditional consequent is fed into the second argument slot of OP, we arrive at a set of conditionals, which gets turned into a single proposition by the alternative-sensitive operator $[\vee]$ (à la Kratzer & Shimoyama 2002). The resulting proposition is true iff each member of the set of conditionals is true.

4 Evidence

Two kinds of evidence can be used to support the proposal. I will show that the wh-structure is a free relative (§4.1) and that it is focused (§4.2).

4.1 The wh-structure is a free relative

As already discussed in §2, what gets doubled in doubling unconditionals are fully inflected finite clauses rather than just verbs or (infinitival) verb phrases. In this respect, the wh-structure in double unconditional, (14-a), patterns with free relatives, (14-b), and differs from doubled topicalized V(P)s, (14-c), which are necessarily infinitival.

- (14) *Czech*
- a. At̚ jsem uvařil [FR co {jsem uvařil / *uvařit}], Karel to nejedl.
 AT be.1SG cooked what be.1SG cooked cook.INF Karel it NEG.ate
 ‘Whatever he cooked, Karel didn’t eat it.’
 - b. Karel nejedl [FR co {jsem uvařil / *uvařit}].
 Karel NEG.ate what be.1SG cooked cook.INF
 ‘Karel didn’t eat what I cooked.’ (finite) /
 Intended: ‘Karel didn’t eat what one could/should cook.’ (infinitive)
 - c. [V(P) Uvařit (to) / *uvařil jsem (to)] jsem to neuvařil.
 cook.INF it cooked be.1SG it be.1SG it NEG.cooked
 ‘As for cooking it, I didn’t cook it.’

Further evidence comes from wh-morphology. A language with two sets of wh-words—interrogative and relative—will use the relative kind in doubling unconditionals. In the examples below, Catalan uses *el que* ‘what.REL’ (lit. ‘the what/that’) rather than *què* ‘what.INTER’, (15-a), and Slovenian uses *kjer* ‘where.REL’ rather than *kje* ‘where.INTER’. This is predicted by the free relative analysis.

- (15) a. *Catalan* (Quer 1998:237; Josep Quer, p.c.)
 Diguin [FR {el que / *què} diguin], continuarem amb la nostra
 say.SBJ.3SG the that what say.SBJ.3PL go.on.FUT.1PL with the our
 protesta.
 protest
 ‘Whatever they say, we will go on with our protest.’

⁵For the sake of simplicity, I am assuming Hagstrom (1998:142) FLEXIBLE FUNCTION APPLICATION, which allows composition of ordinary denotations with alternative denotations.

⁶I leave the semantics of OP implicit for the sake of readability. However, the proposal implicitly builds on the classical account of Kratzer (1979, 2012). See Rawlins (2013) for an application to unconditionals compatible with the present proposal.

- b. *Slovenian* (Adrian Stegovec, p.c.)
 Naj živi [FR {**kjer** / ***kje**} živi], ne bom ga obiskal.
 NAJ lives where.REL where.INTER lives NEG will.1SG him visit
 ‘Wherever he lives, I won’t visit him.’

The last piece of evidence I offer, already touched upon in (12), is that the wh-word in doubling unconditionals can be modified by the ever-morpheme typical of so called ever free relatives. The result is felt to be semantically redundant but grammatical, an intuition expressed in Quer & Vicente (2009) for Spanish and one that I can confirm for Czech, see (16).

- (16) a. *Spanish* (Quer 1998:243)
 Entre [FR **quien (-quiera que)** entre], sigue trabajando.
 enter.SBJ.3SG who -EVER that enter.SBJ.3SG keep.IMP working
 ‘Whoever comes in, I’ll attack him.’
- b. *Czech*
 Ať viděl [FR **co (-koliv)** viděl], nesmí to nikomu říct.
 AT saw what -EVER saw NEG.may it nobody.NCI tell
 ‘Whatever he saw, he can’t tell it anybody.’

4.2 The wh-structure is focused

As it turns out, the wh-structure is not just in-situ, it must be focused. This follows from the proposal, where focussing the free relative is necessary to generate the required alternative denotations. In a language like Czech, focused phrases is typically placed in the clause-final position and are virtually impossible to scramble (see Šimík & Wierzba 2017 for experimental support).⁷ Therefore, the fact that the wh-structure in Czech doubling unconditionals must occupy the clause-final position, illustrated by the contrast in (17), supports the idea that it is focused.

- (17) *Czech*
- a. Ať dali **tu knížku** [FR **komu ji dali**], ztratila se.
 AT gave.PL the book.ACC who.DAT it.ACC gave.PL lost RFL
 ‘Whoever they gave the book to, it got lost.’
- b. ??Ať dali [FR **komu (ji) dali**] **tu knížku**, ztratila se.
 AT gave.PL who.DAT it.ACC gave.PL the book.ACC lost RFL
 Intended: ‘Whoever they gave the book to, it got lost.’ — blabla —

Prosodic evidence further corroborates the analysis: sentence stress within the antecedent obligatorily falls on the wh-word, as illustrated in (18). Provided that the whole free relative is focused (and not just the wh-word) and that the default stress in prosodic and intonation phrases falls on the rightmost element, the attested stress pattern follows from the ban on stressing given constituents in Czech (see Šimík & Wierzba 2015, 2017) and since the wh-word is the only non-given expression in the free relative, it is the only one to be able to realize focus-related stress on the free relative.

- (18) *Czech*
 Ať to dal [FR **KOMU to dal**], ztratilo se to.
 AT it gave.SG.M who.DAT it gave.SG.M lost RFL it
 ‘Whoever he gave it to, it got lost.’

⁷In this respect, Czech is like German; see Lenerz (1977). Note also that I use the term scrambling pretheoretically—a scrambled phrase is to be understood as one that does not appear clause-finally and no implications should be drawn as to whether the phrase has moved or been base-generated.

The situation in Spanish, albeit different, also supports the analysis. Sentence stress in Spanish doubling unconditional antecedents is placed on the predicate in the wh-structure, as illustrated in (19). It is, therefore, placed within the free relative, supporting its focused nature. The reason why there is no stress shift to the wh-word is that given material in Spanish, in contrast to Czech, does not get deaccented; see Cruttenden (1993).

- (19) *Spanish* (Josep Quer, p.c.)
 Venga [FR **quien VENGA**], estaré contento.
 come.SBJ.3SG who come.SBJ.3SG be.FUT.1SG satisfied
 ‘Whoever comes, I’ll be happy.’

5 Generalizing the analysis

There are reasons to believe that doubling unconditionals are simply overt exponents of what happens covertly in many other types of headless wh-based unconditionals. There are two parameters to consider: (i) whether the wh-structure is in-situ or ex-situ and (ii) whether there is sluicing in the free relative or not. This generates the four types headless wh-based unconditionals schematized in (20).

- (20) a. I give him [FR what(ever)₁ I give him t₁], ... IN-SITU, DOUBLING
 b. I give him [FR whatever₁ ~~I give him t₁~~], ... IN-SITU, SLUICING
 c. [FR what(ever)₁ I give him t₁]₂ I give him t₂, ... EX-SITU, DOUBLING
 d. [FR whatever₁ ~~I give him t₁~~]₂ I give him t₂, ... EX-SITU, SLUICING

Type (20-d) the type found in English and is arguably most common crosslinguistically. Type (20-a) is the doubling unconditional discussed in this paper. Type (20-b) exists in Czech and Slovenian, alongside with type (20-a), and is illustrated again in (21).

- (21) a. *Czech*
At’ přijde kdokoli, budu spokojený.
 AT come.3SG who.EVER will.be.1SG satisfied
 ‘Whoever comes, I’ll be happy.’
 b. *Slovenian* (Adrian Stegovec, p.c.)
Naj pride kdorkoli (že), bom zadovoljen.
 NAJ come.3SG who.REL.EVER ZE will.be.1SG satisfied
 ‘Whoever comes, I’ll be happy.’

On top of and beyond what we saw in (12) above, the Slovenian example (21-b) exhibits two phenomena that can be considered arguments for the sluicing-based analysis. First, the wh-word *kdorkoli* ‘whoever’ contains the morpheme *-r*, which is used to derive relative wh-words from interrogative ones (see also the discussion around (15)). This morpheme arguably spells out a relative complementizer (see Rudin 2014 and Franks & Rudin 2015 for that kind of analysis of the same kind of morpheme in Bulgarian and Macedonian), suggesting that even in the absence of an overt relative clause, the wh-word occupies the left periphery of one. Second, the optional morpheme *že*, which can also appear in doubling unconditionals (see (7)), is another indication that (21-b) is derived by sluicing. The reason is that the very same particle can “survive sluicing” in wh-questions, too, as illustrated in (22) (see Marušič et al. to appear for discussion).

- (22) *Slovenian* (Marušič et al. to appear)
 Vid je srečal nekoga. Koga **že** (je srečal)?
 Vid be.3SG met somebody who ZE be.3SG met
 ‘Vid met somebody. Remind me, who (did he meet)?’

Even though the semantic/pragmatic import of *že* in doubling unconditionals and in questions is probably not identical, the fact that they are both discourse particles and that they can appear both in full and in what appears to be sluiced versions of the respective clauses lends support to the view that unconditionals like (21) are sluicing-based.

How about the remaining type (20-c)? Gullì (2003) (here via Quer & Vicente 2009) reports data from Calabrian and Standard Italian apparently exemplifying the predicted pattern, i.e., what appears to be a free relative fronted to the left periphery. Given the productivity of focus fronting in Italian and Italian dialects (see Rizzi 1997; Cruschina 2011; among many others), it does not come as a surprise that the *wh*-structure in Italian doubling unconditionals gets fronted.

- (23) a. *Calabrian* (Quer & Vicente 2009:3; my analysis)
 [FR **Aundi vaju**]₁ **vaju** t₁, u viju.
 where goes him see
 ‘Wherever he goes, I see him.’
- b. *Standard Italian* (Quer & Vicente 2009:3; my analysis)
 [FR **Come la giri**]₁ **giri** t₁, è sempre la stessa cosa.
 how it turn.2SG turn.2SG is always the same thing
 ‘However you look at it, it’s always the same.’

One suspect thing about the proposed generalization is that the *wh*-phrase in non-doubling unconditionals should be a sluicing remnant. Is it not a solid generalization that there is no sluicing in relative clauses, be it headed or free (see e.g. Lobeck 1995)? That certainly is a concern, but there is one intriguing piece of evidence that the analysis could be on the right track. Lipták (2015) shows that relative pronouns can be sluicing remnants in Hungarian. Consider example (24), where the relative pronoun *akivel* ‘REL.who.with’ is a sluicing remnant.

- (24) *Hungarian* (Lipták 2015:189)
 Ismerőssel egygel találkozott, mulatságosnak találta, hogy éppen azzal,
 acquaintance.with one.with met.3SG funny.DAT found.3SG that just that.with
 [RC akivel ~~találkozott~~].
 REL.who.with met.3SG
 ‘Acquaintances, he met only one, and he found it funny that he met whoever he did.’

There are at least two important facts about this construction in Hungarian that can be understood as arguments in favor of the sluicing-based analysis of *wh*-phrases in unconditionals. First, Hungarian relative sluicing occurs in light-headed relatives, free relatives, or comparatives—all of which fall into one broad class of relative clauses (cf. Pancheva Izvorski 2000). Second, the sluicing seems conditioned by the matrix clause containing the sluiced material—just as in unconditionals.⁸ It is this latter fact that is likely to be key to the understanding of relative sluicing. Given the identity of the matrix and the relative-clause content, it is not ruled out that relative sluicing is derived or licensed in a fundamentally different way from interrogative (or focus) sluicing. It is possible, for instance, that the sluice is not a mere discourse anaphor, but rather a trace after movement. I leave a more detailed analysis of this phenomenon for another occasion.

6 Conclusion

I argued that the curious type of unconditionals called here doubling unconditionals can be brought in line with run-of-the-mill unconditionals if one recognizes that the *wh*-structure is

⁸This might not be immediately clear from (24), and many other examples in Lipták (2015), because the matrix clause itself involves ellipsis. But the English translation makes it clear: ‘he met whoever ~~he met~~’.

an “in situ” focused free relative. As such, it introduces alternatives and eventually gives rise to the denotation proposed for standard unconditionals by Rawlins (2013). I then went on to argue that there are reasons to believe that at least some non-doubling unconditionals have an underlying doubling structure and the *wh*-phrases in them are in fact sluicing remnants. The hypothesized process of relative sluicing matches very closely what was recently observed for Hungarian by Lipták (2015). I conclude that doubling unconditionals and unconditionals in general could have surprising and important implications not just for the interrogative–relative interface of *wh*-clauses, but also for our understanding of ellipsis or movement processes.

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