



In a nutshell:

Predicative relative clauses make available a means for language to predicate using tropes, understood as attributions of a property to a specific entity in a specific way

Predicative Relatives and their Properties

PredRC are relatives whose nominal 'head' (NH: e.g. *businessman* (1a)) corresponds to a predicative position inside the RC.

- (1) a. John is [the businessman (that) his father was].
- b. Fred and Ginger remain [the (two) great performers they have always been].
- c. [The pedantic bore he is] never misses the opportunity to show his knowledge.

PredRCs require an external definite article (2) and take no *wh*-pronouns or *what* (3)

- (2) John is {the / *that / *a / *one / *every} student his sister wasn't.

- (3) He is not {*the man which/who he once was. / *what man he was}.

We attribute this pattern to the need for the NH to reconstruct, yet leave some material in the upper DP. We examine the contrast between (1) and PredRC where the head is a Special Quantifier (e.g. *every-/some-/no-thing*), showing that the two have distinct syntactic and semantic properties.

Our proposal is that the NH expresses a *trope* (in the sense of Moltmann 2004, 2013, Ch.2), but we render this notion in terms of 'manners': the specific way in which a property is manifested by an individual. Special quantifiers, on the other hand, express (nominalized) properties.

Predicative Relatives (or: How To Be The Relative You Always Wanted To Be)

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1. The Syntax of PredRC

The requirement for *the* in PredRCs ((2), above) comes, we propose, from the combination of 3 factors: (i) the nominal head (NH) here is smaller than a normal RC head, because it starts from a base predicational structure which is already smaller than a full DP; (ii) raised elements with <et>-type denotation must reconstruct; (iii) Some overt D must remain outside the RC, to license the layers outside the relative CP: the only candidate is *the*.

We assume a raising analysis of RCs (à-la Bianchi 1999), and a DP structure as in (4), where we distinguish between an *e*-type quantificational/anaphoric s(trong)DP layer and a predicative w(eak)DP layer (Schwarz, 2009; Cheng et al., 2017). We assume that *who/which* are in D, 'Special quantifiers' (SQs: *everything / something / nothing /...*) are in N; predicate nominals are <et>-type, i.e. subparts of DPs (wDP or smaller, hence no *who*, see (3)).

- (4) [_{sDP} every/who/that/the_{anaph} [_{wDP} the_{max} [_{PredP} three [_{CIP} CI⁰ [_{NP} Noun]]]]]

Bianchi (1999) shows that a normal RC head with a numeral can reconstruct, but only when a definite article precedes it (5a vs. b).

- (5) a. I met the [two patients] that every doctor visited *t* (√ > 2)
- b. I met [two patients] that every doctor visited *t* (*√ > 2)

We take this to show that if [2 patients] in (b) reconstructed, it would leave DP layers outside CP empty and unlicensed.

While reconstruction is optional in (5), it is known to be obligatory with predicates, as shown by the condition C violation in (6).

- (6) *How much of an admirer of John_i do you think he_i is?

This forces a structure for PredRCs where the NH reconstructs and *the* is left upstairs (as was possible in (5a)), explaining the failure of PredRCs with *superlatives*, see (7), which reduces to *...it is *fastest car*.

- (7) I saw the fastest car that {*this is / there is}.

Two Types of PredRCs

PredRC with NHs like (1) differ in various respects from PredRCs where the head is an SQ (8), (9).

- (8) Mary is everything Sue is.
- (9) a. Mary is something nobody is (e.g. 8ft tall)
- b. Mr. Inconsistent is everything someone is.

The scope of the external SQ in (9) shows that it does **not** need to reconstruct. This suggests SQs raised out of a PredRC are <e>-types, unlike NHs. Further differences emerge with negation: (10a) says that Ted has none of my properties, but a natural interpretation of (10b) is that *I am* a doctor, just not in the same way (or league) as Ted. When PredRCs are used as arguments, SQs are fine (11a), but not 'ordinary' NHs (11b).

- (10) a. Ted is everything I am not.
- b. Ted is the doctor I am not.
- (11) a. Ted admires/remembers something I am not.
- b. ??Ted admires/remembers the doctor I am not.

Proposal: PredRCs are MannerRCs

Our idea is that SQs range over reified properties (probably NPs), while NHs are larger parts of the DP (possibly Cl(assifier)P), which refer to *tropes*. For Moltmann, tropes are primitives: properties applied to individuals. We propose that they can be uniquely characterized as Manners: the unique way in which a property gets applied. The oddness of (12) with "is" comes from the fact that *at any given time/world* Mary's way of being a doctor is unique and cannot be transferred to Sue. Varying the tense or modalizing improves.

- (12) Sue is the doctor Mary {??is / was / could be}.

We predict that PredRC will be best with predications of which one can ask: *How/In what way is X Y?* Modifiers are often crucial.

- (13) a. Fido is the ??(super-affectionate) dog that a pug is.
- b. This is the ??(interesting) number a prime is.

References

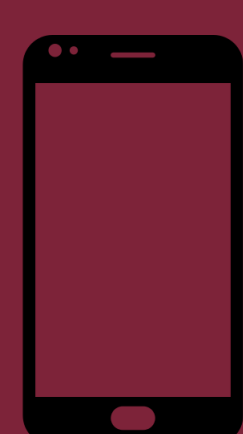
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