

## “Clausal Complements” of Nouns as reduced relative clauses

Abstract for a talk at the workshop *Generalizing relative strategies*

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Clausal complements of Ns have been analyzed as nominal adjuncts/modifiers (Stowell 1981, Grimshaw 1990), and more recently as a specific type of nominal modifiers, namely relative clauses (Kayne 2010). We address some apparent difficulties for an ordinary restrictive relative clause analysis, demonstrating that such “complements” do not share with restrictive relative clauses the following (unordered list of) properties:

- stacking, i.e. complements of N cannot stack (Moulton 2009,29):  
(1) \*The rumor that Fred was happy, that he was in Paris, that he could see ghosts
- possibility of an irrealis mood in non-modalized contexts (cf. Kayne 2010). See the contrast in Italian between (2a) and (2b):  
(2)a La voce che lui e’/sia una spia e’ assurda  
The rumor that he is/be (subjunctive) a spy is absurd  
b La voce che hanno/\*abbiamo diramato e’ assurda  
the rumor that they have (indicative/\*subjunctive) is absurd
- predication, i.e. complements of N, as opposed to relative clauses, can be predicated of the Head N (see (3)):  
(3) The story is that Fred didn’t report his income (Moulton 2009,21)
- complementizer selection. In Bulgarian, for example, complements of N are introduced by the finite complementizer *če* ‘that’ (see (4)), while finite relative clauses require either a relative pronoun or the relative complementizer *deto*:  
(4) Mălvata, **če** sa arestuvali ministăr-predsedatelja, bārzo se raznese.  
the rumour that they have arrested the prime minister quickly spread
- ordering options: complements of N follow restrictive relative clauses, while they either precede or follow non restrictive relative clauses.

We will eventually argue that apparent “complements” of nouns can be analyzed as reduced relative clauses based on a copular structure with the “complement” clause occupying the predicate position (expressing the content of the N):

- (5) a. novinata, *če* Ivan e arestuvan < b. novinata [kojato e (tova)] *če* Ivan e arestuvan  
the news that Ivan is arrested < the news which is (it/that) that Ivan is arrested

We will show that all of the above listed properties can be handled by the proposed analysis which derives (5a) from (5b).