Relative Clauses in HPSG

Doug Arnold & Danièle Godard March 15, 2018

1 Introduction

Relative Clauses (RCs) are prototypically sentential constructions which modify a nominal. The highlighted part of (1) is an example of one kind of English RC, modifying the nominal whose head is *person*.

(1) The person to whom Kim spoke yesterday claimed to know nothing.

Syntactically, this kind of RC consists of a preposed wh-phrase (to whom: a phrase containing a relative pronoun, in this case, whom), and a clause with a constituent missing: $Kim\ spoke\ _$ yesterday. The preposed wh-phrase is understood as filling the gap associated with this missing constituent. Semantically, the content of the combined nominal plus RC is something like 'the set of x where x is a person such that $Kim\ spoke\ to\ x$ '). Not all RCs have these properties of this kind of RC, but RCs like (1) provide a good starting point.

Relative clauses have been important in HPSG theory because they were the first place that a 'constructional' account was developed.

We begin by looking in more detail at the properties of examples like (1), then outline the two main approaches that have been proposed: Pollard and Sag (1994:ch5) (briefly), and Sag (1997), in more detail. We then look at other kinds of headed relative, and headless relatives, and conclude with a 'clean up' section that deals with matters we have not covered properly, and further references to the literature.

2 Overview

An overview of the issues that arise in relation to examples like (1) from an HPSG perspective, to set up the following discussion:

- relative clauses are adjuncts which combine with their nominal heads in a similar way to e.g. adjectives (i.e. in head-adjunct structures we assume there will be discussion of this elsewhere)
- filler gap dependencies (i.e. unbounded dependencies, slash inheritance assumed to be discussed elsewhere)
- the REL dependency (pied-piping)
- the semantics

3 Approaches

This section describes the main approaches to the analysis of simple cases like (1):

3.1 P&S

• Outline summary of the 'empty relativiser' analysis from Pollard and Sag (1994) for cases like (1)

3.2 Sag's Constructional Approach

• Outline summary of the constructional analysis for cases like (1) in Sag (1997).

4 Other kinds of headed relatives

- *that* relatives (i.e. relatives introduced by 'complementisers' esp. the treatment of *that*, and similar e.g. French *que*, etc. are they complementisers or relative pronouns?)
- bare relatives (the person we saw)
- subject relatives (the person *(who) saw us)
- non-finites (the person to see) are these really relative clauses at all?
- non-restrictives
- resumptive pronouns instead of gaps in relative clauses

5 Headless (free) relatives

- Here we will describe approaches to headless (free) relatives, based on Müller (1997, 1999), Taghvaipour (2005), Yoo (2008), Borsley (2008), etc.
- internally headed and relative-correlatives (based mainly on P&S ch5)

6 Other issues/Open Questions

- This section is to clean up anything that has not been mentioned, and point out open questions and lines for future research the general outline of Sag's approach seems to have been accepted, but some questions are open (should be noted above)
- Examples of things that have not been mentioned will probably include: amount relatives, work on extraposition of relative clauses (e.g. Kiss (To appear)), aux-stranding relatives Arnold and Borsley (2010), interaction with anaphora Arnold and Borsley (2008); maybe discussion of cases where constructions resembling relative-clauses are not noun-modifiers (e.g. complement of superlative; in German, the *diejenige* class of determiners, clefts, 'quasi-relatives') perhaps these other uses of RCs will turn out to deserve a separate section.
- What are the main issues for HPSG research on relative clauses?

7 Conclusion

8 Incomplete List of References

Arnold, Doug and Borsley, Robert D. 2008. Non-restrictive Relative Clauses, Ellipsis and Anaphora. In Stefan Müller (ed.), *The Proceedings of the 15th International Conference on Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar*, pages 325–345, Stanford, CA: CSLI Publications.

Arnold, Doug and Borsley, Robert D. 2010. Auxiliary-Stranding Relative Clauses. In Stefan Müller (ed.), *The Proceedings of the 17th International Conference on Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar*, pages 47–67, Stanford: CSLI Publications.

Borsley, Robert D. 2008. On Some Welsh Unbounded Dependency Constructions. Essex Research Reports in Linguistics 57.4, Dept. of Language and Linguistics, University of Essex.

Kiss, Tibor. To appear. Semantic constraints on relative clause extraposition. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* .

Müller, Stefan. 1997. An HPSG-Analysis for Free Relative Clauses in German. In *Proceedings of Formal Grammar, Aix-en-Provence*, pages 179–188.

Müller, Stefan. 1999. An HPSG-Analysis for Free Relative Clauses in German. *Grammars* 2(1), 53–105.

Pollard, Carl J. and Sag, Ivan A. 1994. *Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

- Sag, Ivan A. 1997. English Relative Clause Constructions. Journal of Linguistics 33(2), 431–484.
- Taghvaipour, Mehran A. 2005. Persian Free Relatives. In Stefan Müller (ed.), *The Proceedings of the 12th International Conference on Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar, Department of Informatics, University of Lisbon*, pages 364–374, Stanford, CA: CSLI Publications.
- Yoo, Eun-Jung. 2008. Transparent Free Relatives in English. In Stefan Müller (ed.), *The Proceedings of the 15th International Conference on Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar*, pages 274–293, Stanford, CA: CSLI Publications.