

Chapter 14

Relative clauses in HPSG

Doug Arnold

University of Essex

Danièle Godard

University de Paris Diderot

We provide an extended discussion of analyses of relative clauses (prototypically clauses with a noun modifying function) and related constructions that have appeared in the HPSG literature. The basic theoretical approaches are presented (specifically, the lexical “head-driven” approach associated with earlier work in HPSG and the more recent constructional approach), followed by descriptions of analyses of different kinds of relative clause across a range of typologically diverse languages (notably Arabic, English, French, German, Japanese, and Korean). Phenomena discussed include *wh*-relatives, relatives headed by complementisers, “bare” relatives, non-restrictive relatives, extraposition of relative clauses, relative clause-like constructions that function as complements, various kinds of “dependent noun” and “pseudo” relative clause, and free (headless) relatives.

1 Introduction

The goal of this paper is to give an overview of HPSG analyses of relative clauses. Relative clauses are, typically, sentential constructions that function as nominal modifiers, like the italicised part of (1), for example.

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

Relative clauses have been an important topic in HPSG: not only as the focus on a considerable amount of descriptive and theoretical work across a range of languages, but also in terms of the theoretical development of the framework.

Notably, Sag’s (1997) analysis of English relative clauses was the first fully developed realisation of the constructional approach involving cross-classifying phrase types that has dominated work in HPSG in the last two decades, and was thus the first step towards the development of Sign-based Construction Grammar (cf. Müller 2021b: Section 1.4.2, Chapter 33 of this volume).

The basic organisation of the discussion is as follows. Section 2 introduces basic ideas and overviews the main analytic techniques that have been used, focusing on one kind of relative clause. Section 3 looks at other kinds of relative clause in a variety of languages. Section 4 looks at a variety of constructions which have some similarity with relative clauses, but which are in some way untypical (e.g. clauses that resemble relative clauses, but which are not nominal modifiers, or which are not adjoined to the nominals they modify). Section 5 provides a conclusion.

2 Basic ideas and approaches

This section introduces basic ideas and intuitions about relative clauses, viewed from an HPSG perspective (Section 2.1), then introduces the two main approaches that have been taken in HPSG: the lexical approach of Pollard & Sag (1994) which makes use of phonologically empty elements (Section 2.2), and the constructional approach of Sag (1997), which makes phonologically empty elements unnecessary (Section 2.3). Section 2.4 presents some interim conclusions, and provides some discussion of some brief discussion alternative approaches.

2.1 Basic ideas and intuitions

Relative clauses are, prototypically, sentential constructions which modify a nominal. (2) is an example of one kind of English relative clause, which we will call a “*wh*-relative”. In (3) it is used as a modifier of the nominal *person* (the *antecedent* of the relative clause).

(2) to whom Kim spoke yesterday

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

Syntactically, this kind of relative clause consists of a preposed *wh*-phrase (*to whom*), i.e. a phrase containing a relative pronoun (*whom*), and a clause with a missing constituent — a gap (the complement of *speak*: *Kim spoke _ yesterday*). This is often called the *relativised constituent*. Semantically, in (2) the interpretation of the relative clause is *intersective*: (2) denotes the intersection of the set

of people and the set of entities that Kim spoke to. Getting this interpretation involves combining the descriptive content of the antecedent nominal and the propositional content of the relative clause, and equating the referential indices of the nominal and the relative pronoun, to produce something along the lines of “the set of x where x is a person and Kim spoke to x ”.

Not all relative clauses have these properties, but they provide a good starting point. In the remainder of this section, we will show, in broad terms, how these properties can be accounted for.

As regards their function and distribution, relative clauses are subordinate clauses, which can be captured by assuming they have a `HEAD` feature like `[MC −]`, “MAIN-CLAUSE *minus*”. They are naturally assumed to be adjuncts: their distribution as nominal adjuncts can be dealt with by assuming that (like other adjuncts) they indicate the sort of head they can modify via a feature like `MOD` or `SELECT`. That is, relative clauses such as (2) will be specified as in (4a), whereas adjunct clauses headed by a subordinator like *because* (as in *We’re late because it’s raining*) will be specified as (4b), and normal, non-adjunct, clauses will typically be specified as (4c):

- (4) a. `[SYNSEM|LOC|CAT|HEAD|MOD [LOC|CAT|HEAD noun]]`
- b. `[SYNSEM|LOC|CAT|HEAD|MOD [LOC|CAT|HEAD verb]]`
- c. `[SYNSEM|LOC|CAT|HEAD|MOD none]`

With this in hand, we will look in more detail at the internal structure of this kind of relative clause (Section 2.1.1), and at the relation between the relative clause and its antecedent (Section 2.1.2).

2.1.1 The internal structure of the relative clause

As regards internal structure, it is characteristic of *wh*-relatives that they consist of a preposed *wh*-phrase and a clause containing a gap. The dependency between the *wh*-phrase and the associated gap is potentially unbounded, as can be seen from examples like (5).

- (5) the person to whom [Sam said [Kim intended [to speak _ yesterday]]]

As regards the *wh*-phrase, it is notable that it must be preposed — English does not allow examples like (6a) without a relative phrase, or (6b) where the relative phrase is *in situ*.

- (6) a. * a person Kim spoke to her yesterday
- b. * a person Kim spoke to whom yesterday

Despite being forbidden *in situ*, the preposed *wh*-phrase behaves in some respects as though it occupied the gap. For example, in the examples above *to whom* satisfies the subcategorisation requirements of *speak*, and makes a semantic contribution in the gapped clause. Assuming some kind of co-indexation relation between the antecedent and the *wh*-phrase, the same behaviour can be seen with subject-verb agreement, as in (7a), and binding, as in (7b):

- (7) a. a person who [everyone thinks [_ is/*are weird]]
- b. a person who [everyone thinks [_ hates herself/*her]]

In fact, this dependency between the *wh*-phrase and the gap appears to be a typical filler-gap dependency, with the *wh*-phrase as the filler, which can be handled by standard SLASH inheritance techniques (see Borsley & Crysmann 2021, Chapter 13 of this volume), so that these properties are accounted for.

In examples like (2) the *wh*-phrase must contain a relative pronoun. Here we have another apparently unbounded dependency, because the relative pronoun can be embedded arbitrarily deeply inside the *wh*-phrase (example (8d) is due to Ross 1967):

- (8) a. the person [to [whose friends]] Kim spoke _
- b. the person [to [[whose children's] friends]] Kim spoke _
- c. the person [to [the children [of [whose friends]]]] Kim spoke _
- d. books [the height [of [the letters [on [the covers [of which]]]]]] the government regulates _

This dependency between a relative pronoun and the phrase that contains it is often called “*wh*-percolation”, “relative percolation”, or, following Ross (1967), “pied-piping”. We will talk about *relative inheritance*.

Notice that as well as being unbounded, relative inheritance resembles SLASH inheritance in that the “bottom” of the inheritance path (i.e. the actual relative pronoun, or the gap in a filler-gap dependency) is typically not a head (e.g. *whom* is not the head of *to whom*). Moreover, though examples involving multiple independent relative pronouns are rather rare in English (i.e. there are few, if any, relative clauses parallel to interrogatives like *Who gave what to whom?*) they exist in other languages, so it is reasonable to assume that relative inheritance involves a set of some kind.¹ This motivates the introduction of a REL feature

¹Examples of languages which allow multiple relative pronouns include Hindi (e.g. Srivastav 1991) and Marathi (e.g. Dhongde & Wali 2009: Chapter 7). See Pollard & Sag (1994: 227–232) for HPSG analyses. In English, multiple relative pronouns occur in cases of co-ordination (e.g. *the person with whom or for whom you work*), but they are not independent (they relate to

which is subject to the same kind of formal mechanisms as SLASH.²

The idea is that a relative pronoun will register its presence by introducing a non-empty REL value, which will be inherited upwards until it reaches the preposed *wh*-phrase at the top of the relative clause (equivalently: a relative clause introduces a non-empty REL value on its *wh*-phrase daughter that is inherited downwards till it is realised as a relative pronoun).³ Within the *wh*-phrase, REL inheritance can be handled by the same sort of formal apparatus as is used for handling SLASH inheritance. Blocking REL inheritance from carrying a REL element upwards beyond the top of relative clause can be achieved with the same formal apparatus as is used to block SLASH inheritance from carrying information about a gap higher than the level at which the associated filler appears.⁴

Co-indexation of the antecedent nominal and the relative pronoun can be achieved simply if the REL value contains an index which is shared by both the antecedent and the relative pronoun. As regards the relative pronoun, at the “bottom” of the REL dependency, this can be a matter of lexical stipulation: relative pronouns can be lexically specified as having a REL value that contains their INDEX value, roughly as in (9a), which we abbreviate to (9b).⁵

the same entity). Kayne (2017) gives some English examples that appear to involve multiple relative pronouns, but they are rather marginal.

²The assumption that relative inheritance should be treated as involving an unbounded dependency (i.e. handled with a NON-LOCAL feature, like SLASH), has been challenged in Van Eynde (2004) (Van Eynde argues it should be treated as local dependency).

³Note that the relative word has its normal syntactic function as a determiner or a full NP. This is different from most approaches in Categorical Grammar, which assume that the relative word is the functor taking a clause with a gap as argument (Steedman 1997). As Pollard (1988) pointed out pied-piping data like the one discussed in (8) are problematic for Categorical Grammar. These problems were addressed in later Categorical Grammar work but the solutions involve additional modes of combination. See Müller (2016: Chapter 8.6) for discussion and Kubota (2021), Chapter 30 of this volume for a general comparison of Categorical Grammar and HPSG.

⁴In case it is not obvious why further upward inheritance of a REL value would be problematic, notice that while a relative clause can *contain* a *wh*-phrase, it cannot *be* a *wh*-phrase, e.g. it cannot function as the filler in a relative clause. Suppose, counter-factually, the REL value of *who* could be inherited beyond the relative clause *to whom Kim spoke*, so that e.g. *a person to whom Kim spoke* was marked as [REL { \square }]. This phrase would be able to function as the *wh*-phrase in a relative clause like **[a person to whom Kim spoke] Sam recognised _*, which would be able to combine with a noun specified as [INDEX \square] to produce something like **a person [[a person to whom Kim spoke] Sam recognised _]*.

⁵Here, and below, we will abbreviate attribute paths where no confusion arises, and use a number of other standard abbreviations, in particular, we write INDEX values as subscripts on nouns and NPs. We use \bar{N} to indicate a noun with an empty COMPS list, i.e. one which has combined with its complements, if any, and NP for a \bar{N} with an empty SPEC (SPECIFIER) list (e.g. a combination of determiner and a \bar{N}). Similarly, we use PP to abbreviate a phrase consisting of a

- (9) a.
$$\left[\text{SYNSEM} \left[\text{LOC} \left[\text{CAT} \left[\text{HEAD } \textit{noun} \right] \right] \right] \right]$$

$$\left[\text{NON-LOC} \left[\text{INHER|REL} \left\{ \bar{1} \right\} \right] \right]$$
]]]
 b. $\bar{N}_{\bar{1}} \left[\text{REL} \left\{ \bar{1} \right\} \right]$

This index can then be inherited upwards via the REL value to the level of the *wh*-phrase. At the top, the index of the antecedent can be accessed via the MOD value of the relative clause: this is simply a matter of replacing the specification of the MOD value in (4a) with that in (10a), abbreviated as in (10b), where $\bar{1}$ is the index that appears in the REL value of the associated *wh*-phrase.⁶

- (10) a.
$$\left[\text{SYNSEM|LOC|CAT|HEAD|MOD} \left[\text{LOC} \left[\text{CAT} \left[\text{HEAD } \textit{noun} \right] \right] \right] \right]$$

$$\left[\text{CONT} \left[\text{INDEX } \bar{1} \right] \right] \right]$$

 b. $S \left[\text{MOD } \bar{N}_{\bar{1}} \right]$

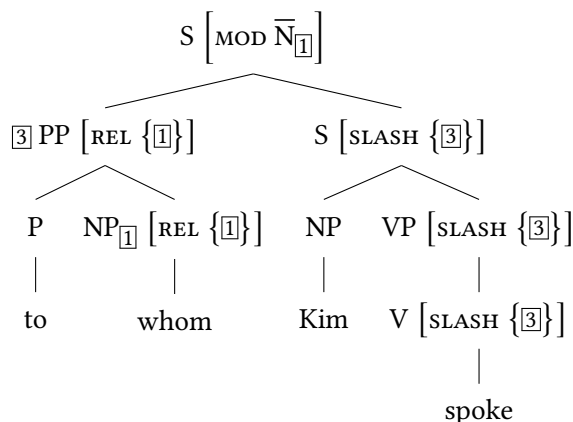


Figure 1: Representation of *to whom Kim spoke*

Schematically, then, *wh*-relatives should have structures along the lines of Figure 1. The top structure here is a head-filler structure. Notice how SLASH inher-

preposition and its complement, VP for a phrase consisting of verb with its complements, and S for a phrase consisting of a subject and a VP.

⁶We assume, for simplicity, that the value of REL is a set of indices. This is consistent with e.g. Pollard & Sag (1994) and Sag (1997), but not with Ginzburg & Sag (2000: 188), who assume it is a set of *parameters*, that is, indices with restrictions (a kind of *scope-object*), like the QUE and WH attributes which are alternative names for the feature that is used for *wh*-inheritance in interrogatives. It is not clear that anything important hangs on this.

itance ensures the relevant properties of the PP are shared by lower nodes so that the subcategorization requirements of the verb can be satisfied, with the PP being interpreted as a complement of the verb (equivalently: SLASH inheritance ensures that the gap caused by the missing complement of *speak* is registered on higher nodes until it is filled by the PP). Similarly, REL inheritance means that the INDEX of the relative pronoun appears on higher nodes so that it can be identified with the INDEX of the antecedent noun, via the MOD value of the highest S (equivalently: the index of the antecedent nominal appears on lower nodes down to the relative pronoun, so that the nominal and the relative pronoun are co-indexed).

As regards CONTENT, the effect of this will be to give the relative clause *to whom_i Kim spoke* an interpretation along the lines of *Kim spoke to whom_i*, where *i* is the index of its antecedent. In terms of standard HPSG semantics, this “internal” content (i.e. the content associated with a verbal head with its complements and modifiers) is a *state-of-affairs* (*soa*), and can be represented as in (11a), abbreviated to (11b):⁷

- (11) a.
$$\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{soa} \\ \text{NUC} \left[\begin{array}{cc} \text{say_to} & \\ \text{SPEAKER} & \text{Kim} \\ \text{ADDRESSEE} & \boxed{1} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$$
- b. *say_to*(Kim, $\boxed{1}$)

There are restrictions on what can occur as the preposed *wh*-phrase in a relative clause. However, the matter is not straightforward. There is considerable cross-linguistic variation (cf. for example, Webelhuth 1992), but even in English the data are problematic. To begin with, examples like (12a) and (12b) suggest that NPs and PPs are fine in English (see also (8) above). Examples like (12c) suggest that Ss are not allowed in English. This much is relatively uncontroversial. However, it is a considerable simplification.

- (12) a. the person [_{NP} who] we think Kim spoke to _
 b. the person [_{PP} to whom] we think Kim spoke _
 c. * the person [_S Kim spoke to whom] we think _

The status of preposed APs is controversial. At first blush, the strangeness of examples like (13a), as opposed to (13b) suggests they are disallowed.

- (13) a. ?? a person [_{AP} fond of whom] Kim seems _

⁷In fact (21) is already somewhat abbreviated: [SPEAKER Kim] is an abbreviation for a structure including an index, and a BACKGROUND restriction on that index indicating that it stands in the *naming* relation to the name *Kim*.

- b. a person [_{PP} of whom] Kim seems fond _

However, Nanni & Stillings (1978: 311) give examples (14a) and (14b) and argue that *compared*, and *seated* can be analysed as adjectives, Webelhuth (1992: 129) gives (14c), which uncontroversially involves an AP, and attested examples like (14d) and (14e) can be found, though they are far from common.⁸

- (14) a. That woman, [_{AP} compared to whom] Attila the Hun was an angel _,
is unfortunately my husband's favorite aunt.
b. The tree, [_{AP} seated next to which] they found themselves _, had been
planted on the highest point in the park.
c. This is the kind of woman [_{AP} proud of whom] I could never be _.
d. a being [_{AP} greater than which] nothing can be conceived _
e. the principles of international law [contrary to which] Turkey is al-
leged to have acted

Examples involving Adverb Phrases are rarely discussed, but they can also be found, though again, they are not common:⁹

- (15) Light, [_{AdvP} faster than which] nothing can travel _, takes 412 years to
get from here to the nearest star.

This makes for a rather confusing and contradictory picture. For example, why should (13a) be bad, when (14b) with a very similar AP is acceptable? One possible account might be that the problem with (13a) is not the preposed AP, but the imbalance between the relatively long preposed AP and the rest of the relative

⁸Examples like (14c) appear often in discussions of theology, especially St. Anselm's "Ontological Argument" for the existence of God. (14e) is from a legal judgement http://www.worldcourts.com/pcij/eng/decisions/1927.09.07_lotus.htm.

⁹(15) is from *The Guardian* "Notes and Queries" section, 4 July, 2007. Huddleston & Pullum (2002: 1053) give examples of (what they call) "relatives" involving what might be analysed as adverbs *when*, *why*, and *where* in expressions like the following (*where* might also be analysed as prepositional):

- (i) the time [when Kim spoke to Sam]
(ii) the reason [why Kim spoke to Sam]
(iii) the place [where Kim spoke to Sam]

These are not typical *wh*-relatives: since these *wh*-words are adjuncts, there is no obvious gap in the clause that accompanies the *wh*-word; moreover clauses like those in (i)–(iii) cannot be associated with just any nominal. For example, Kim may have spoken to Sam because of an insult, but ??*the insult why Kim spoke to Sam* is distinctly odd. These clauses are more plausibly analysed as complements of nouns like *time*, *reason*, and *place*.

clause, which consists of just two words — when the rest of the clause is longer, as in (14b), the result is acceptable.

For VP, the situation is similarly complicated. Examples like the following suggest VPs are not allowed in English (cf. (16d) with a preposed PP):

- (16) a. * the person [_{VP} spoke to whom] we think Kim _
 b. * the person [_{VP} to speak to whom] we expect Kim _
 c. * the person [_{VP} speak to whom] we expect Kim to _
 d. the person [_{PP} to whom] we expect Kim to speak _

However, while finite VPs as in (16c) seem genuinely impossible, non-finite VPs are possible in some circumstances: Nanni & Stillings (1978: 311) give example (17a), and Ishihara (1984: 399) gives example (17b), both of which seem fully acceptable.¹⁰

- (17) a. The elegant parties, [_{VP} to be admitted to one of which] was a privilege, had usually been held at Delmonico's.
 b. John went to buy wax for the car, [_{VP} washing which], Mary discovered some scratches of paint.

Thus, while important, the restrictions on preposed phrases in *wh*-relatives are poorly understood, and we will have nothing further to say about them here, except to make two points.

First, leaving aside the empirical difficulties, there are in principle two ways one might approach this issue. One would be to directly impose restrictions on the preposed phrase, as in Sag (1997: 455) (Sag requires the preposed phrase to be headed by either a noun or a preposition — which the forgoing suggests is over-restrictive). Another would be to treat the phenomenon as involving restrictions on the way the REL feature is inherited (i.e. relative inheritance, pied-piping in relative clauses) — e.g. as indicating that while REL-inheritance from e.g. NP to PP (and through an upward chain of NPs, PPs, and some kinds of AP and VP), is permitted, it is blocked by an S node, some kinds of VP (and perhaps other phrases). This is the approach taken in Pollard & Sag (1994) (cf. the Clausal REL Prohibition of Pollard & Sag 1994: 220, which requires the REL value of S to be empty, correctly excluding examples like (12c), but allowing the other examples

¹⁰Notice also that an analogue of (16b) is grammatical in German. See De Kuthy (1999), Hinrichs & Nakazawa (1999) and Müller (1999b) for discussion and HPSG analyses of the phenomena in German. Some discussion of pied-piping in French can be found in Godard (1992) and Sag & Godard (1994).

above, including some that should be excluded). These approaches are not equivalent, since the first approach only imposes restrictions on the preposed phrase as whole, while the second constrains the entire inheritance path between the preposed phrase and the *wh*-word that it contains. It is quite possible that both approaches are necessary.¹¹

The second point is that it is worthwhile emphasising that restrictions on REL, and REL-inheritance are different from the restrictions on QUE and QUE-inheritance (i.e. pied-piping in interrogatives).¹² For example, consider the contrast in (18), which shows that *some pictures of whom* is fine as the initial phrase of a relative clause, as in (18a), but is not possible as the focus of a question, as in (18b).¹³

- (18) a. the children [some pictures of whom] they were admiring _
 b. * I wonder [some pictures of whom] they were admiring _
 c. I wonder [who] they were admiring some pictures of _

Notice that REL and QUE also differ in other ways: e.g. as Sag (2010: 490–493) emphasises, though there are some “*wh*-expressions” which can be interpreted as either interrogative or relative pronouns, there are others which cannot — ones which can be interpreted as interrogative but not as relative pronouns (i.e. which have non-empty QUE values, but empty REL values), and ones which can be interpreted as relative pronouns but not interrogatives (i.e. with non-empty REL values, but empty QUE values). For example, *how* and (in standard English) *what* are interrogative pronouns, but not relative pronouns, as the following examples

¹¹For example, a restriction on the preposed phrase will not be able to distinguish between the following examples (for context, suppose Sam remembers the titles of some books, and also the fact that some books have objectionable titles):

- (i) an author [[the titles of whose books] Sam happens to remember _]
 (ii) an author [[the fact that the titles of whose books were objectionable] Sam happens to remember _]

In both cases the preposed phrase is an NP, but in (ii) the relative inheritance path goes through an S — the complement of *fact*, so (ii) would be excluded by something like Clausal REL Prohibition, and allowed otherwise. Here again, we think the facts are unclear: while (ii) is hardly elegant, we are not sure if it is actually ungrammatical.

¹²See for example Horvath (2005: 578–586).

¹³On Ginzburg & Sag’s (2000) account, (18b) is excluded by a constraint that requires non-initial elements of ARG-ST to be [WH { }], WH corresponding to what we are here calling QUE (the WH-Constraint, Ginzburg & Sag 2000: 189). In (18b) *some* is the initial element on the ARG-ST of *pictures*, and (*of*) *whom* is non-initial, hence the ungrammaticality. Clearly, the fact that (18a) is grammatical means there cannot be an exactly parallel restriction on REL.

show (as Sag 2010: 493 puts it, there is “no morphological or syntactic unity underlying the concept of an English *wh*-expression”):¹⁴

- (19) a. I wonder how she did it. (interrogative)
 b. * the way how she did it (relative)
- (20) a. I wonder what (things) she bought. (interrogative)
 b. * the book what (things) she bought (relative)

With this overview of the internal structure of a relative clause in place, we now turn to relation between the relative clause and the nominal it modifies (its antecedent).

2.1.2 The relative clause and its antecedent

The combination of a relative clause and the nominal it modifies is traditionally regarded as a head-adjunct structure, where the nominal is the head and the relative clause is the adjunct, as in Figure 2.

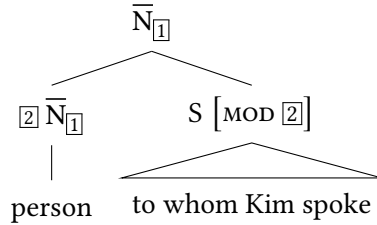


Figure 2: A relative clause and its antecedent

The content we want for a modified nominal such as *person to whom Kim spoke*, as for an unmodified nominal such as *person*, is a *restricted index*, i.e. in HPSG terms a *scope-object* — an INDEX and a RESTR (RESTRICTION) set (a set of objects

¹⁴See also Müller (1999a: 81–85) on differences between interrogative and relative pronouns in German. Several non-standard English dialects allow NP *what* as a relative pronoun like *which* (cf. non-standard %*the book what she bought*, vs. standard *the book which she bought*). No dialect allows determiner *what* as a relative pronoun (though it is fine as an interrogative, as can be seen in (20a)). Sag (2010: 491, note 10) suggests that NP *which* is only ever a relative pronoun (an apparent counter-example like *Which did you buy?* involves determiner *which* with an elliptical noun).

of type *fact*).¹⁵ For *person*, this is as in (21), abbreviated as in (22), for *person to whom Kim spoke* it is as in (23), abbreviated as in (24).

$$(21) \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{scope-obj} \\ \text{INDEX } \boxed{1} \\ \text{RESTR } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{fact} \\ \text{PROP|SOA } \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{soa} \\ \text{NUC } \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{person} \\ \text{INSTANCE } \boxed{1} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right\} \end{array} \right]$$

$$(22) \boxed{1} : \{\text{person}(\boxed{1})\}$$

$$(23) \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{scope-obj} \\ \text{INDEX } \boxed{1} \\ \text{RESTR } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{fact} \\ \text{PROP|SOA } \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{soa} \\ \text{NUC } \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{person} \\ \text{INSTANCE } \boxed{1} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right\}, \\ \text{fact} \\ \text{PROP|SOA } \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{soa} \\ \text{NUC } \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{SPEAKER } \text{Kim} \\ \text{ADDRESSEE } \boxed{1} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right\} \end{array} \right]$$

$$(24) \boxed{1} : \{\text{person}(\boxed{1}), \text{SPEAK_to}(\text{Kim}, \boxed{1})\}$$

To get the content of *person to whom Kim spoke* from the content of *person* is a matter of producing a *scope-object* whose index is the index of *person* (and the relative pronoun), and whose restrictions are the union of the restrictions of *person* with a set containing a *fact* corresponding to the *state-of-affairs* that is the content of the relative clause. Unioning the restrictions gives the intersective interpretation.

Conceptually, this is straightforward, but there is technical difficulty: the structure in Figure 2 is a head-adjunct structure, and in such structures the content should come from the adjunct daughter, the relative clause. That is, for “external” semantic purposes (purposes of semantic composition) relative clauses should

¹⁵In Pollard & Sag (1994), *scope-objects* were called *nom-objects*, and restrictions were sets of *parameterized states of affairs (psaos)*, rather than *facts*. The difference reflects the more comprehensive semantics of Ginzburg & Sag (2000), which involves different kinds of *message* (e.g. *proposition*, *outcome*, and *question*, as well as *fact*). For our purposes, this is just a minor change in feature geometry: *facts* contain Pollard & Sag-style *state-of-affairs* content as the value of the PROP | SOA path, as can be seen in (21).

have *scope-object* content, but as we have seen, their “internal” content is a *soa*. So some special apparatus will be required, as will appear in the following discussion.¹⁶

This should give the reader an idea of the general shape of an approach to relative clauses like (2) using the HPSG apparatus. In the following sections we will make this more precise by outlining the two main approaches that have been taken to the analysis of relative clauses in HPSG: the lexical approach of Pollard & Sag (1994: Chapter 5), which makes use of phonologically empty elements, and the constructional approach of Sag (1997), which does not.¹⁷

2.2 The lexical approach of Pollard & Sag (1994)

The idea that relative clauses have a lexical head is appealing for some kinds of relative clause in many languages (see below, e.g. Section 3.2, Section 3.3), but it is problematic for relative clauses like (2) — there is no obvious candidate to serve as the head. This is clearly problematic for a lexical, “head-driven” approach such as HPSG. Building on an approach originally proposed by Borsley (1989), the analysis proposed in Pollard & Sag (1994: Chapter 5) overcomes this problem by assuming that relative clauses involve a phonologically empty head, which Pollard & Sag call R (“relativiser”), and which projects an RP (that is, a relative clause).

R is lexically specified to be a nominal modifier (i.e. [MOD *noun*]) which takes two arguments. The first is an XP, the *wh*-phrase, with a REL value which contains the index of the antecedent nominal. The second is sentential, and con-

¹⁶Though the details are HPSG-specific, this is a general problem, regardless of semantic theory. For example, in a setting using standard logical types, relative clauses *qua* clauses (saturated predications) might be assigned type *t*, but in order to act as nominal modifiers this predicative semantics must be converted into “attributive” (noun-modifying) semantics, i.e. logical type $\langle et, et \rangle$. See e.g. Sag (2010: 521–524) where an HPSG syntax is combined with a conventional predicate-logic-based semantics for relative clauses.

¹⁷Müller (1999a) presents what might be considered a third approach, which resembles Sag (1997) in avoiding empty elements, but uses a rule schema for German relative clauses rather than the constructional apparatus of phrasal types (see Müller 1999a: 95 for details). The overview of HPSG in Müller & Machicao y Priemer (2019) also presents a rule schema for relative clauses (*loc cit* Section 6.1). Rule schemas were a crucial piece of apparatus in the framework of Pollard & Sag (1994), but they have fallen out of favour with the rise of construction-based analyses since Sag (1997). A rule schema is essentially just a phrasal type — that is, a type describing constraints on a mother and daughters — with the difference that unlike phrasal types, rule schemas do not stand in inheritance relations, so it is not possible to factor out generalisations in the way of construction-based analyses. This is not an issue for Müller, who claims that a description of restrictive relatives in German requires only a single schema (Müller 1999a: 74).

strained to have a SLASH value that includes the XP. With some simplifications and some minor modifications to fit the framework we assume here, this is along the lines of (25) (cf. Pollard & Sag 1994: 216). Here XP [4] is intended to mean an XP whose LOCAL value is [4], and S:[3] means a clause (a saturated *verb* – i.e. one with empty SUBJ and COMPS specifications) whose CONTENT is [3]. The [2] that appears in the value of RESTR is intended to be the RESTR set of the antecedent nominal (this should be specified as part of the MOD value, but we have not done this, in the interests of readability).

(25) Lexical item for the empty relativizer:

$$\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{SYNSEM} \\ \text{ARG-ST} \end{array} \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{LOC} \\ \left\langle \begin{array}{c} \text{XP [4]} \\ \text{[REL \{1\}]} \end{array} \right\rangle, \left\langle \begin{array}{c} \text{S:[3]} \\ \text{[SLASH \{4\}]} \end{array} \right\rangle \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{CAT} \left[\text{HEAD [MOD } \bar{\text{N}}_{[1]}] \right] \\ \text{CONT} \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{scope-obj} \\ \text{INDEX [1]} \\ \text{RESTR [2] } \cup \left\{ \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{fact} \\ \text{PROP|SOA [3]} \end{array} \right] \right\} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right] \right] \right]$$

Standard schemas for combining heads with arguments will produce structures like the RP in Figure 3, which (since MOD is a head feature) will inherit the MOD feature from R, and hence combine with a nominal like *person* in a head-adjunct phrase to produce the structure in Figure 3.¹⁸

This captures the properties described above, and resolves the issues mentioned in the following way.

The first argument of R is specified as [REL {1}]. Thus, it must contain a relative pronoun. Moreover, (25) specifies that the first argument must correspond to a gap in the second argument. Hence cases like (6) where there is no *wh*-phrase, or where the *wh*-phrase is *in situ*, are excluded.

Since R, not the slashed S, is the head of RP, there is no problem of mismatch between the content of the S and the relative clause: R is lexically specified as having *fact* (i.e. *scope-object*) content incorporating the “internal” content of its complement clause (tagged [3]) in the appropriate way. This *fact* content will be projected to RP by normal principles of semantic composition relating to heads, complements, and subjects, and RP will produce the right content by unioning the restrictions that come from the head nominal with this *fact* content.

This leaves the question of how upward inheritance of the REL and SLASH values can be prevented. The same method is used for both. The idea is that for

¹⁸Here again we have used PP [4] to indicate a PP whose LOCAL value is [4].

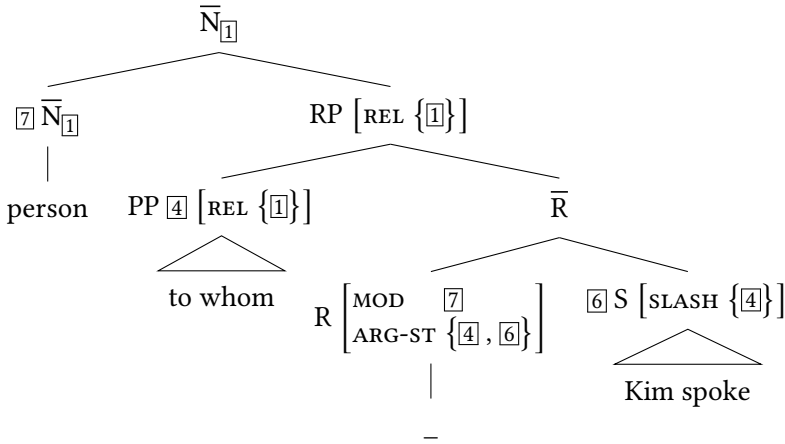


Figure 3: A Pollard & Sag (1994)-style structure involving a finite *wh*-relative clause

features like REL and SLASH (non-local features) the value on the mother is the union of the values on the daughters, less any indicated as being discharged (“bound off”) on the head daughter (the values that are bound off in this way are specified as elements of the value of a TO-BIND attribute). Thus, R can be specified so as to discharge the SLASH value on its S sister (so that \bar{R} is [SLASH {}]), and we can ensure that the topmost \bar{N} is [REL {}], so long as its head \bar{N} daughter is specified as binding-off the REL value on RP. This specification can be imposed by stipulation in the MOD value of R. See Pollard & Sag (1994: 164) for details.

The approach can be extended to deal with other kinds of relative clause by positing alternative forms of empty relativiser (see below and Pollard & Sag 1994: Chapter 5).

The great attraction of the approach is that, apart from R, it requires no special apparatus of any kind. On the other hand, it requires the introduction of a novel part of speech (R), and the need to posit phonologically empty elements for which there is no independent evidence. Reservations about this lead Sag to develop the constructional approach presented in Sag (1997).¹⁹

¹⁹One detail we ignore here concerns the analysis of “subject” relatives: relative clauses where the relative phrase is a grammatical subject inside the relative clause, as in (i):

(i) person who spoke to Kim

Pollard & Sag (1994) treat such examples specially (cf. Pollard & Sag 1994: 218–219), using the “Subject Extraction Lexical Rule” (SELR) which in essence permits a VP to replace an S

2.3 The constructional approach of Sag (1997)

The analysis of English relative clauses in Sag (1997) is constructional and completely dispenses with phonologically empty elements.²⁰ It involves three main constructions: one for combining relative clauses and nominals, and two for relative clauses themselves. One of these is the standard construction for head-filler phrases. The other involves a number of sub-constructions specific to relative clauses, which are treated as a subtype of *clause* (alongside e.g. *declaratives* and *imperatives*). These are outlined (with some simplifications and minor adjustments) in Figure 4.²¹

The *rel-cl* clause type is associated with the constraints in (26), which simply state that relative clauses are subordinate clauses ([MC –]) that modify nouns and have *propositional* content, and that they do not permit subject-aux inversion ([INV –]).²²

$$(26) \quad rel-cl \Rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{HEAD} \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{MC} \quad - \\ \text{INV} \quad - \\ \text{MOD} \left[\text{HEAD} \text{ noun} \right] \end{array} \right] \\ \text{CONT} \text{ proposition} \end{array} \right]$$

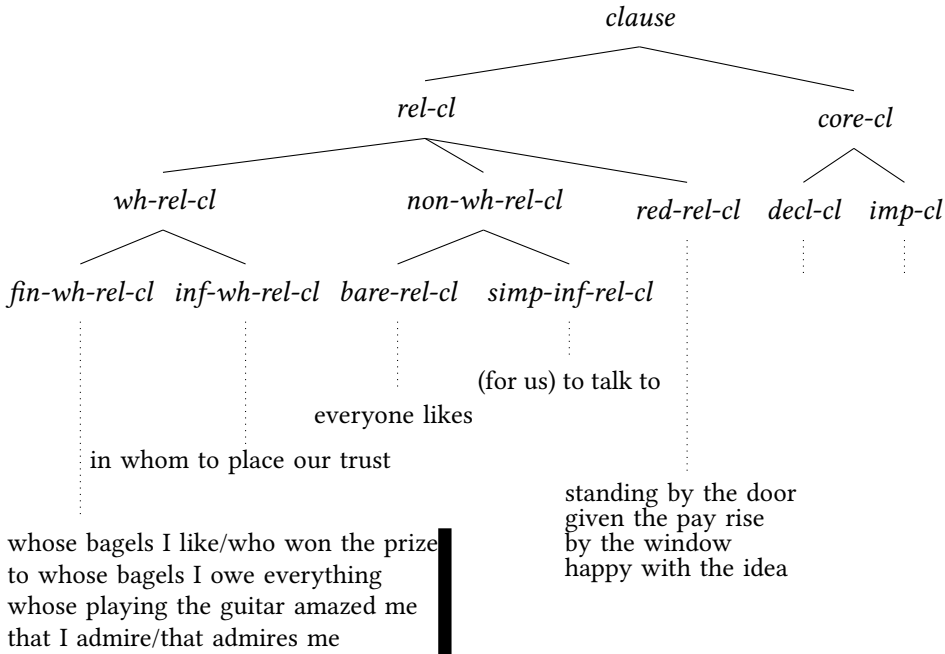
Relative clauses such as that in (2) are what Sag calls *fin-wh-rel-cl*, a sub-type of *wh-rel-cl*. This is associated with the constraints in (27). In words: *wh*-relatives are a subtype of relative clause (as stated in the type hierarchy in Figure 4), where

in an ARG-ST in the presence of a gap (Pollard & Sag 1994: 174), so that R combines with a VP rather than an S. But this is not an essential part of the analysis of relative clauses: it is motivated by quite independent theoretical considerations (specifically, the assumption that gaps are associated only with non-initial members of ARG-ST lists – cf. the “Trace-Principle”; Pollard & Sag 1994: 172). Hence we ignore it here.

²⁰See Müller (2021b), Chapter 33 of this volume, for broader discussion of the constructional approach to HPSG.

²¹See Kim & Sells (2008: Chapter 11) for an introductory overview of English relative clauses on similar lines to Sag (1997). Sag (2010: 521–524) outlines an approach which is stated using the Sign-Based Construction Grammar style notation (Boas & Sag 2012). Apart from the semantics (which is formulated using the conventional λ -calculus apparatus), it is generally compatible with the earlier analysis described here. One simplification we make here is that we follow the more recent work (e.g. Sag 2010: 523) and do not distinguish subject and non-subject finite relative clauses: Sag (1997) follows Pollard & Sag (1994) in treating them differently (cf. footnote 19; and see Sag 1997: 452–454), but it is not clear how important this is in the framework of Sag (1997).

²²Giving relative clauses *propositional* content puts them on a par with other kinds of clause, and is not very different from Pollard & Sag’s assumption that clauses have *state-of-affairs* content (since *propositions* are simply semantic objects which contain a SOA).

Figure 4: Type hierarchy for *clause*, based on Sag (1997)

the non-head daughter is required to have a REL value which contains the INDEX of the antecedent.²³

²³For simplicity and to avoid distractions, we have presented *wh*-relatives as \bar{N} modifiers in (27). This is a conventional assumption, because standard methods of semantic composition ensure that the content of the relative clause is included in the restrictions of a quantificational determiner (as in *every person to whom Kim spoke*), but it is not Sag’s analysis. Instead he takes *wh*-relatives to be NP modifiers, which allows him to account for facts about the ordering of *wh*-relatives and bare relatives (see Sag 1997: 465–469). Kiss (2005: 293–294) gives a number of arguments in favour of this view, for example, the existence of what Link (1984) called “hydras”, like (i), where the relative clause must be interpreted as modifying the coordinate structure consisting of the conjoined NPs.

(i) The boy_i and the girl_j who_{i+j} dated each other are Kim’s friends.

Sag’s analysis requires a different approach to semantic composition to that assumed here, e.g. one using Minimal Recursion Semantics (MRS, Copestake et al. 2005) or Lexical Resource Semantics (LRS, Richter & Sailer 2004) — see, in particular Chaves (2007), which provides, *inter alia* an analysis of coordinate structures and relative clauses using MRS, and Walker (2017), where an approach to the semantics of relative clauses using LRS is worked out in detail.

$$(27) \quad wh\text{-}rel\text{-}cl \Rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{cc} \text{HEAD} & \left[\text{MOD } \bar{N}_{\boxed{1}} \right] \\ \text{NON-HD-DTRS} & \langle [\text{REL } \{\boxed{1}\}] \rangle \end{array} \right]$$

The framework assumed in Sag (1997) allows multiple inheritance of constraints from different dimensions (cf. Abeillé & Borsley 2021, Chapter 1 of this volume). As well as inheriting properties in the clausal dimension, expressions of type *fin-wh-rel-cl* are also classified in the phrasal dimension as belonging to a sub-type of head-filler phrase (*hd-fill-ph*), thus inheriting constraints as in (28).²⁴

$$(28) \quad hd\text{-}fill\text{-}ph \Rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{cc} \text{SLASH} & \boxed{2} \\ \text{HD-DTR} & \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{HEAD } verbal \\ \text{SLASH } \{\boxed{1}\} \uplus \boxed{2} \end{array} \right] \\ \text{NON-HD-DTRS} & \langle [\text{LOCAL } \boxed{1}] \rangle \end{array} \right]$$

In words: they are *verbal* – e.g. clausal – phrases where the SLASH value of the head daughter is the SLASH value of the mother plus the LOCAL value of the non-head daughter (equivalently, the SLASH value of the mother is the SLASH value of the head daughter less the LOCAL value of the non-head daughter). Head-filler phrases are a sub-type of another phrase type (*head-nexus-phrase*) which specifies identity of content between mother and head daughter.

Putting these together with a constraint that requires clauses to have empty REL values will license local trees like that in Figure 5 for a finite relative clause (*fin-wh-rel-cl*) like (2) (simplifying, and disregarding most empty and irrelevant attributes).²⁵

The REL specification on the non-head daughter (the PP) in (27) ensures the presence of a *wh*-phrase, and the fact that this is a head-filler phrase ensures that the *wh*-phrase cannot be *in situ* (cf. (6), above); the [REL { }] on the daughter S excludes the possibility of additional relative pronouns inside the S (i.e. the possibility of multiple relative pronouns, cf. **(the person) to whom Kim spoke about whom*). REL inheritance will carry the index of the antecedent down into the PP, guaranteeing the presence of a relative pronoun co-indexed with any nominal that this relative clause is used to modify. Further upward inheritance

²⁴The \uplus symbol here signifies *disjoint union*. This is like normal set union, except that it is undefined for pairs of sets that share common elements. Here, the intention is that restrictions are distributed between the noun and the clause, so the restrictions associated with the noun do not include the restrictions associated with the clause, and *vice versa*.

²⁵This assumption about REL values is one of many minor technical differences between Sag (1997) and Pollard & Sag (1994), where the non-empty REL value is inherited upwards to RP, and is discharged there. This means that for Pollard & Sag, but not for Sag (1997), a *wh*-relative clause is a REL marked clause.

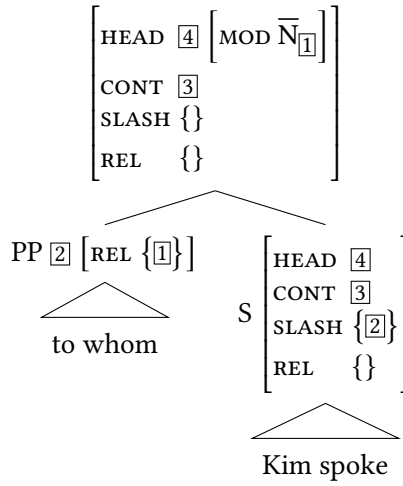


Figure 5: A Sag (1997)-style structure for a finite *wh*-relative clause

of this REL value is prevented by a requirement that all clauses (including relative clauses) have empty REL values.²⁶ The SLASH specification on the head S daughter will ensure that the LOCAL value of the PP is inherited lower down inside the S, so that the subcategorisation requirements of *speak* can be satisfied, and the right content is produced for this S (and passed to the mother S, because this is a head-filler phrase).

The task of combining a nominal and a relative clause (in particular, identifying indices and unioning restrictions) involves a further phrase type *head-relative-phrase*, as in (29).

²⁶Sag’s account of the propagation of REL values is a special case of the apparatus that is now standardly assumed for propagation of all non-local features, SLASH, WH (i.e. QUE), and BACKGROUND (Ginzburg & Sag 2000: Chapter 5). Upward inheritance is handled by a constraint on words that says that (by default) the REL value of a word is the union of the REL values of its arguments. In the absence of a lexical head with arguments (e.g. in *of whom* and *of whose friends* if *of* is treated simply as a marker) the REL value on a phrase is that of its head daughter (the “Wh-Inheritance Principle”, WHIP); see Sag 1997: 449. Since these are only default principles, they can be overridden, e.g. by the requirement that clauses have empty REL values.

$$(29) \text{ head-relative-phrase} \Rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{HEAD} \quad \textit{noun} \\ \text{CONT} \quad \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{INDEX } [2] \\ \text{RESTR } [3] \uplus \left\{ \left[\begin{array}{l} \textit{fact} \\ \text{PROP } [4] \end{array} \right] \right\} \end{array} \right] \\ \text{HD-DTR} \quad \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{INDEX } [2] \\ \text{RESTR } [3] \end{array} \right] \\ \text{NON-HD-DTR} \quad \left[\text{CONT } [4] \right] \end{array} \right]$$

In words, this specifies a nominal construction (i.e. one whose head is a noun), whose CONTENT is the same as that of its head daughter, except that the content of the non-head-daughter (the relative clause) has been added to its restriction set. (Thus, it is this construction that takes care of the mismatch between the “internal”, propositional, CONTENT of the relative clause itself, and its “external” contribution of restrictions on the nominal it modifies). Since *head-relative-phrases* are a subtype of *head-adjunct-phrase*, which requires the MOD value of the non-head to be identical to the SYNSEM value of the head (Sag 1997: 475), this will give rise to structures like that in Figure 6.²⁷

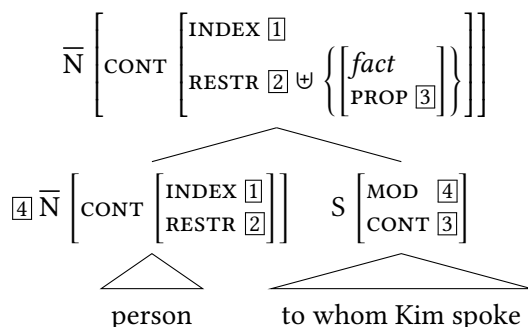


Figure 6: Sag’s (1997) analysis of a relative clause plus its antecedent

From a purely formal point of view, the *head-relative-phrase* construction is not strictly necessary. It would be possible to build its semantic effects into the *rel-cl* construction, so that the structure in Figure 6 would be an entirely normal

²⁷This is not the normal semantics associated with head-adjunct phrases (where the content is simply the content of the adjunct daughter). This could be dealt with by introducing a separate sub-type of *head-adjunct-ph* which deals with content in this way: *head-adjunct-ph* itself would impose no constraints on content. Notice that we again follow Ginzburg & Sag (2000) in taking restrictions to be sets of *facts* (Sag 1997 assumes they are sets of *propositions*). Nothing hangs on this.

head-adjunct phrase where the content comes from the adjunct daughter. There are two arguments against this. One is that it would require the relative clause to have nominal (i.e. *scope-object*) content, which is somewhat at odds with its status as a clause. The other is that it would push the semantic mismatch into the relative clause itself. That is, semantically, relative clauses like *to whom Kim spoke* would no longer be normal head-filler phrases where CONTENT is shared between head and mother. Perhaps neither argument is compelling — and in fact, the discussion of relative clauses in Sag (2010: 522) employs essentially this approach, making the *wh*-relative clause construction responsible for converting the propositional semantics of its head daughter into the noun-modifying semantics appropriate for a relative clause (Sag 2010: 522).

2.4 Interim Conclusions

The discussion so far has focused on one kind of relative clause, sketched the basic ideas and intuitions behind the HPSG approach, and outlined the two main approaches: that of Pollard & Sag (1994) and that of Sag (1997). At some levels they seem very different (e.g. in the use of phonologically empty lexical heads vs. the use of constructions), and there are differences in terms of low level technical details (e.g. precisely which phrases are specified as having empty REL values, and in the precise way inheritance of SLASH and REL values is terminated). But in other respects they are very similar: for the most part the same features are used in ways that are not radically different.

More significantly, the approaches involve a common view of the relation between relative clause and antecedent: the view that the relative clause is adjoined to the antecedent, with the relation between the antecedent and the relativised constituent within the relative clause being one of co-indexation (a more or less anaphoric relation): a view that can be traced back to Chomsky (1977).

Outside HPSG this style of analysis stands in contrast to two others: the *raising* analysis (see *inter alia* Schachter 1973; Vergnaud 1974; Kayne 1994), and the *matching* analysis (see *inter alia* Chomsky 1965; Lees 1961; Sauerland 1998). Under the raising analysis, the relative clause contains a DP of the form *which*+noun, which is preposed to the beginning of the clause; then the noun is moved out of the relative clause (“raised”) to combine with a determiner, which selects both the noun and the relative clause. According to the matching analysis, the relative clause is adjoined to the antecedent, as in the adjunction analysis, but, as in the raising analysis, the relative clause contains a DP *which*+noun, which is preposed to the beginning of the clause; the noun is not raised, but the noun is deleted under identity with the antecedent nominal.

Neither analysis has any appeal from an HPSG perspective: as normally understood, both are fundamentally derivational in nature, presupposing at least two levels of syntactic structure. Moreover, many of the motivations usually cited are absent given standard HPSG assumptions (e.g. arguments from binding theory which can be taken as indicating the presence of a *wh*-phrase inside the relative clause fall out naturally without this assumption given the argument-structure-based account of binding theory which is standard in HPSG, see [Wechsler, Koenig & Davis 2021](#), Chapter 9 of this volume). More important, as discussed in [Webelhuth et al. \(2018\)](#), both face numerous empirical difficulties and miss important generalisations which are unproblematic for the style of analysis described here.²⁸

3 Varieties of relative clause

In this section we will look at how the approaches introduced above have been adapted and extended to deal with other kinds of relative clause in a variety of languages.²⁹ Section 3.1 looks at other kinds of relative clauses which involve a relative pronoun, notably ones which do not involve a finite verb. Section 3.2 and Section 3.3 look at relative clauses which do not involve relative pronouns: Section 3.2 looks at relative clauses which can be analysed as involving a complementiser; Section 3.3 looks at “bare” relatives, which involve neither relative pronouns nor complementisers. Section 3.4 looks at non-restrictive relative clauses, which lack the intersective semantics associated with prototypical relative clauses.

One dimension of variation among relative clause constructions which we will discuss only in passing relates to whether, in the case of relative clauses that involve a filler-gap construction, the gap is genuinely absent phonologically (as in the examples we have looked at so far), or whether it is realised as a full pronoun (a so-called *resumptive pronoun*) as in (30) from [Alqurashi & Borsley \(2012: 28\)](#), or the English example in (31) – the resumptive pronouns are indicated in bold.

²⁸For example, both analyses treat *wh*-words like *who*, *what*, *which*, and their equivalents as determiners, whereas in fact they behave like pronouns. Case assignment appears to pose a fundamental problem for the raising analysis, since it seems to predict that the case properties of the antecedent NP should be assigned “downstairs” inside the relative clause. But they never are (see [Webelhuth et al. 2018](#)).

²⁹In addition to the phenomena and languages we discuss, the HPSG literature includes more or less detailed treatments of relative clauses in Bulgarian ([Avgustinova 1996](#)), German ([Müller 1999a,b](#); [Müller & Machicao y Priemer 2019](#)), Hausa ([Crysmann 2016](#)), Polish ([Mykowiecka et al. 2003](#); [Bolc 2005](#)), and Turkish ([Güngördü 1996](#)).

- (30) wajadtu l-kitab-a [llađi tuhib-hu Hind-un] (Arabic)
 found.1.SG DET-book-ACC that.M.SG like.3.F.SG-3.M.SG Hind-NOM
 ‘I found the book that Hind likes.’

- (31) This is the road which I don’t know where it goes.

The analysis of resumptive pronouns is discussed elsewhere in this volume (Borsley & Crysmann 2021, Chapter 13 of this volume), and while they are an important feature of relative clause constructions in many languages (see e.g. Vaillette 2001; Vaillette 2002; Taghvaipour 2005; Abeillé & Godard 2007; Alotaibi & Borsley 2013), the issues seem to be similar in all constructions involving unbounded dependencies, and not specific to relative clauses.

3.1 *Wh*-relatives

Finite *wh*-relatives in English have been discussed above (Section 2). English also allows *wh*-relatives which are headed by non-finite verbs, such as (32); (33) is a similar example from French.

- (32) a person [on whom to place the blame]
 (33) un paon [dans les plumes duquel] mettre le courrier (French)
 a peacock in the feathers of.which to.place the mail
 ‘a peacock in whose feathers to place the mail’

Non-finite relatives were not discussed by Pollard & Sag (1994), but Sag’s (1997) constructional approach provides a straightforward account. It involves distinguishing two sub-types of *hd-fill-ph*: a finite subtype which has an empty SUBJ list, and a non-finite subtype whose SUBJ list is required to contain just a PRO (that is, a pronominal that is not syntactically expressed as a syntactic daughter). This requirement reflects the fact that non-finite *wh*-relatives do not allow overt subjects:

- (34) * a person [on whom (for) Sam to place the blame]

The relative clause in (32) receives a structure like that in Figure 7. Apart from the finite specification, this differs from the finite *wh*-relative in (5) above only in the presence of the PRO on the SUBJ list.³⁰

³⁰The use of *S_{inf}* in Figure 7 is an approximation. First, S is standardly an abbreviation for something of type *verb* with empty SUBJ and COMPS values, and here there is a non-empty SUBJ. Second, Sag would have CP instead of S here, reflecting his analysis of *to* as a complementiser

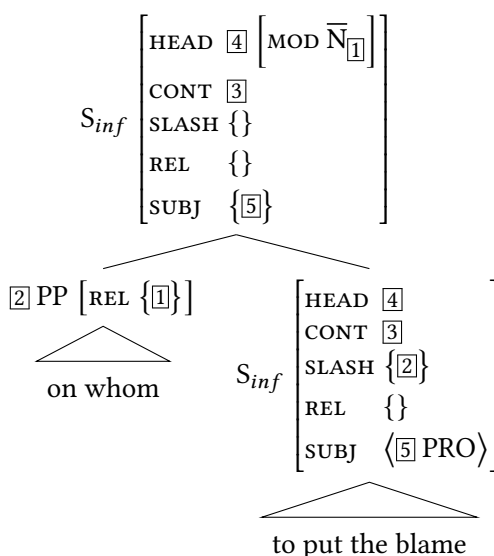


Figure 7: Sag’s (1997) analysis of a non-finite *wh*-relative clause (*inf-wh-rel-cl*)

The exclusion of overt subjects is not peculiar to non-finite relatives (it is shared by non-finite interrogatives, cf. *I wonder on whom* (**for Sam*) *to put the blame*), but non-finite *wh*-relatives are subject to the apparently idiosyncratic restriction that the *wh*-phrase must be a PP:

- (35) a. * a person who(m) to place the blame on (relative)
 b. I wonder who(m) to place the blame on (interrogative)

The relevant constraints can be stated directly – roughly as in (36) (disregarding constraints that are inherited from elsewhere). In words, these constraints say that a non-finite head-filler phrase must have an unexpressed subject, and a non-finite *wh*-relative clause is a non-finite head-filler phrase whose non-head daughter is a PP.

- (36) a. $inf-hd-fill-ph \Rightarrow \left[\text{HD-DTR } \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{HEAD } [\text{VFORM } non-finite] \\ \text{SUBJ } \langle \text{PRO} \rangle \end{array} \right] \right]$

rather than an auxiliary verb, as is often assumed in HPSG analyses (e.g. Ginzburg & Sag 2000: 51–52). S and CP are not very different (both *verb* and *comp* are subtypes of *verbal*), but Sag is careful to treat *to* as a *comp* and non-finite *wh*-relatives as CPs because this gives a principled basis for excluding overt subjects.

- b. *inf-hd-fill-rel-cl* \Rightarrow *inf-hd-fill-ph* & [NON-HD-DTRS \langle PP \rangle]

3.2 Complementizer relatives

As well as *wh*-relatives, which involve relative pronouns, there are cases of relative clauses which appear to be headed by what is plausibly analysed as a complementiser. In this section we look first at Arabic, where a complementiser analysis has been proposed, then at English, where such an analysis seems possible for some cases, but where it is controversial, and an interesting construction in French.³¹

3.2.1 Arabic

Alqurashi & Borsley (2012) argue that in Arabic finite relatives the word *ʔallaði* ‘that’ (transliterated as *llaði* in (37), from Alqurashi & Borsley 2012: 27) and its inflectional variants should be analysed as a complementiser, with a SYNSEM value roughly as in (38).³²

- (37) *jaaʔa l-walad-u llaði qaabala l-malik-a.* (Arabic)
 came.3.M.SG DET-boy-NOM that.M.SG met.3.M.SG DET-king-ACC
 ‘The boy who met the king came.’

³¹There are also cases which involve a relative pronoun *and* a complementiser, as in the following from Hinrichs & Nakazawa’s (2002) discussion of Bavarian German:

- (i) *der Mantl (den) wo i kaffd hob* (Bavarian German)
 the coat which that I bought have
 ‘the coat which I bought’

Hinrichs & Nakazawa (2002) analyse these as *wh*-relatives, even when the relative pronoun is omitted, as it can be under certain circumstances. In the course of a discussion of unbounded dependencies in Irish, Assmann et al. (2010) discuss how Irish relative clauses can be analysed in HPSG. Their analyses assumes the simultaneous presence of overt complementisers and phonologically null relative pronouns.

³²Here *S_{fin}* means a finite clause (a *verb* which is COMPS and SUBJ saturated). *NP_{def}* in the MOD means a fully saturated definite nominal whose CONTENT is given after the colon. According to (38) the content of the *S_{fin}* is merged with the restrictions of this modified NP. This is imprecise: as discussed above, what should be merged is a *fact* constructed from the content of the *S_{fin}*.

$$(38) \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{synsem} \\ \\ \text{LOC} \\ \\ \text{NON-LOC} \end{array} \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{CAT} \\ \\ \text{CONT} \end{array} \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{HEAD} \left[\begin{array}{c} c \\ \text{MOD NP}_{def}: \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{INDEX } \boxed{1} \\ \text{RESTR } \boxed{2} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right] \\ \text{COMPS} \left\langle \begin{array}{c} \text{LOC} \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{CAT } S_{fin} \\ \text{CONT } \boxed{3} \end{array} \right] \\ \text{NON-LOC} \left[\text{SLASH } \{ \text{NP}_{\boxed{1}} \} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right\rangle \\ \text{INDEX } \boxed{1} \\ \text{RESTR } \boxed{2} \uplus \{ \boxed{3} \} \end{array} \right] \right] \right]$$

According to this, *?allaði* will combine with a slashed finite sentential complement, to produce a phrase which will modify a definite NP. When it combines with that NP, its content will have the same INDEX as the NP, and the restrictions of the NP combined with the propositional content of the sentential complement. The SLASH value on the sentential complement means that it will contain a gap (or a resumptive pronoun) which also bears the same index.

Notice that there is no role for a REL feature here (obviously, since there is no relative pronoun). The presence of the SLASH value indicates that Alqurashi & Borsley assume that Arabic relatives involve an unbounded dependency (i.e. that the gap or resumptive pronoun may be embedded arbitrarily deeply within the relative clause). In *wh*-relatives, as described above, the unbounded dependency is what Pollard & Sag (1994: 155) call a “strong” unbounded dependency, i.e. one that is terminated by at the top by a filler (the *wh*-phrase), in a head-filler phrase. This is not the case here — here there is no filler, and upward inheritance of the gap is halted by the head *?allaði* itself (cf. its own empty SLASH specification). That is, Arabic relatives (and complementiser relatives generally) are normal head-complement structures, involving what Pollard & Sag (*loc cit*) call a “weak” unbounded dependency construction (like English purpose clauses and *tough*-constructions).³³

Since *?allaði* shows inflections agreeing with the antecedent NP for NUMBER, GENDER, and CASE, different forms will impose additional restrictions on the modified NP (e.g. the form transliterated as *llaði* in (37) will add to (38) the additional requirement that the NP which is modified must be masculine singular).

³³ Alqurashi & Borsley (2012: 42) assume that the SLASH inheritance is governed by a default principle, so the empty SLASH specification on *?allaði* prevents upward inheritance. The same effect could be achieved with an appropriate TO-BIND specification.

Notice that Alqurashi & Borsley's account is entirely lexical: no constructional apparatus is used at all. Hahn (2012) argues for a constructional alternative.³⁴

3.2.2 English

A similar analysis could be proposed for English *that*-relatives as in (39). However, this is controversial: Pollard & Sag (1994) treat some uses of *that* as simply a marker (i.e. the realisation of a MARKING feature whose value is *that*, as opposed to *unmarked*), and others as a relative pronoun, see Pollard & Sag (1994: 221–222). Sag (1997: 462–464) prefers to treat *that* as a relative pronoun.³⁵

- (39) a. person that _ admires Kim
b. person that everyone thinks _ admires Kim

On Pollard & Sag's (1994) analysis, some support for a relative pronoun analysis comes from coordination. It is possible to coordinate *that* relatives with normal *wh*-relatives quite freely, as in (40). This is a natural consequence if the REL value of the coordinate structure is shared by both conjuncts (implying that both conjuncts contain relative pronouns, of course).³⁶

- (40) a book [that/which you own or that/which you can borrow]

Potential evidence against this, and in favour of a complementiser-style (or perhaps marker-style) analysis, would be that *that* differs from normal relative pronouns in not allowing pied-piping, cf. (41b).

³⁴ Arabic also has finite relatives that do not have an overt relativiser (and which occur with indefinite antecedents). Alqurashi & Borsley analyse these as involving a phonetically null complementiser. In addition, Arabic also has non-finite and free relatives, which have received some attention. See Melnik (2006), Haddar et al. (2009); Zalila & Haddar (2011), Hahn (2012), and Crysmann & Reintges (2014) for further discussion.

³⁵ Pollard & Sag (1994) treat instances of *that* in relative clauses involving relativisation of a top level subject, like (39a), as a relative pronoun. In other relative clauses, in particular those involving relativisation of embedded subjects, like (39b), or non-subjects, *that* is treated as a marker, meaning that such clauses are treated as instances of bare relatives. It is hard to find clear empirical evidence against this, but an analysis which provides a uniform treatment of English *that*-relatives is clearly more appealing.

³⁶ The same argument can be made given Sag's (1997) assumptions, but it is less direct. Recall that, on Sag's (1997) analysis, relative clauses have empty REL values, so a coordination of relative clauses will have an empty REL value too (cf. above Section 2.3, especially Footnote 25). For Sag (1997) the argument relies on the assumption that all and only *wh*-relatives are NP modifiers, rather than \bar{N} modifiers as we have presented them here (cf. Footnote 23). Since coordination involves identity of MOD values, data like (40) show that *that*-relatives must be NP modifiers, and consequently must be *wh*-relatives, i.e. must contain a relative pronoun (namely, *that*).

- (41) a. the person that I spoke to _
b. * the person to that I spoke _

Sag (1997: 464) and Pollard & Sag (1994: 220) argue that this restriction is compatible with a relative pronoun analysis on the assumption that *that* has nominative case, so that it cannot occur as e.g. the complement of a preposition. Notice also that *who* (which is generally regarded as a relative pronoun) follows the same pattern:

- (42) a. the person who I spoke to _
b. * the person to who I spoke _

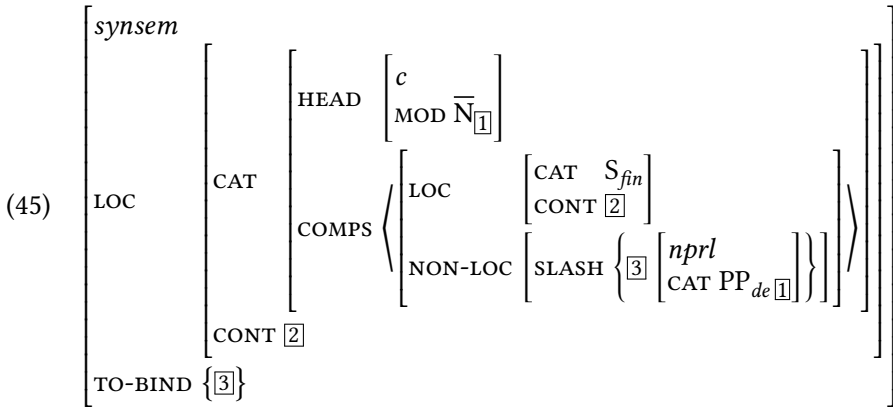
However, this response is not very convincing. What (41) and (42) show is that *that* and *who* cannot appear as complement of a preposition, but can be associated with a gap that is complement of a preposition. But this is inconsistent with them being fillers in a head-filler phrase, where SLASH inheritance ensures identity between the LOCAL values of filler and gap (including, of course CASE): if *that* and *who* are nominative, then they should not be compatible with non-nominative gaps, such as we see in (41a) and (42a). But if they are not fillers, then they must be heads (or markers). Developing an analysis along these lines is beyond the scope of this paper, but it is worth pointing out that it would not involve a radical change to the analyses described above (for example, modifying Sag's 1997 analysis might involve creating a new subtype of *rel-cl* for *that* and *who* relatives, separate from *wh-rel-cl*, and new lexical entries for *that* and *who*, but could otherwise use the same apparatus, and produce the same distribution of properties).

3.2.3 French

Besides *wh*-relatives, French has relatives introduced by complementisers: *que* 'that' and *dont* 'of which'. *Dont*-relatives present something of a challenge, which is addressed in Abeillé & Godard (2007). *Dont* is generally analysed as a complementiser introducing finite relatives (Godard 1992). It can introduce a relative with a PP_{de} gap (i.e. a gap that could be occupied by a PP marked with the preposition *de* 'of'). The contrast between the grammatical (43a) and the ungrammatical (43b) arises because whereas *parler* 'talk' in (43a) takes a PP_{de} complement, *comprendre* 'understand' in (43b) takes an NP complement, and so cannot contain a gap licensed by *dont*, as can be seen in (44a) and (44b).

- (43) a. un problème dont on a parlé (French)
 a problem of-which one has talked
 ‘a problem that we have talked about’
 b. *un problème dont on résoudra (French)
 a problem of-which one will.resolve
 Intended: ‘a problem that we will resolve’
- (44) a. On a parlé d’un problème. (French)
 One has talked of a problem
 ‘We have talked about a problem.’
 b. *On résoudra d’un problème. (French)
 One will.resolve of a problem
 Intended: ‘We will resolve a problem.’

Abeillé & Godard suggest a lexical entry for *dont* with a SYNSEM value along the lines of (45).



In words: *dont* is a complementiser that takes a finite S complement, and heads a phrase that can act as an \bar{N} modifier. *Dont* itself has no inherent semantic content (its CONTENT is just that of its complement S). The complement S is associated with a SLASH value that contains a PP_{de} which is co-indexed with the antecedent nominal, as specified in the MOD value. The TO-BIND value simply prevents this SLASH element being inherited upwards beyond the phrase headed by *dont*. This SLASH element is non-pronominal (*npnl*) — that is, a genuine gap, rather than a resumptive pronoun.³⁷

³⁷ Abeillé & Godard (2007) assume that gaps and resumptive pronouns are associated with distinct subtypes of *local* value: *pnl* (pronominal) for pronouns and *npnl* (non-pronominal) for genuine gaps. The relevance of this will appear directly.

Given this, one might expect that it is generally impossible for a *dont*-relative to have an NP as the relativised constituent, but this is not the case. It is in fact possible, provided that the relativised constituent is realised by an overt pronoun (i.e. a resumptive pronoun) and is somewhere inside the complement of (some) propositional attitude and communication predicates. For example, in (46) the pronoun *le* represents the relativised constituent, which appears in the complement of *être certain* ‘be sure’.³⁸

- (46) un problème dont [Paul est certain [qu’ on le résoudra]] (French)
 a problem of-which Paul is sure that one it will.solve
 ‘a problem that Paul is sure that we will solve’

Unsurprisingly, the presence of a resumptive pronoun is associated with immunity to island constraints. So, for example, in (47) we have a relative where the relativised constituent is within a relative clause inside an embedded NP, which is impossible for a genuine gap.

- (47) un problème dont [Paul est certain [qu’ il y a [quelqu’un qui le
 a problem of-which Paul is sure that there is someone that it
 résoudra]]] (French)
 will.solve
 ‘a problem such that Paul is sure that there is someone who will solve it’

What is surprising, however, is that the path between *dont* and the predicate that licenses the resumptive *is* sensitive to island constraints. To see this, compare the grammatical (46) and (47) with the ungrammatical (48). All involve a *dont* relative containing a resumptive pronoun licensed by *être certain*, but in (48), *être certain* is separated from *dont* by an island boundary (*être certain* is inside a relative clause).

³⁸One might consider an alternative analysis where *dont* is associated with a PP_{de} gap dependent of *certain*, and the resumptive pronoun is a normal anaphoric pronoun – this would correspond to a main clause along the lines of *Paul is sure, of this problem, that we will resolve it*. One problem with this alternative is that this sort of PP_{de} dependent is not very good with *certain*, see (i). Another is that it would not explain the fact that the personal pronoun is obligatory – (ii), with no personal pronoun, is ungrammatical, though semantically coherent:

- (i) ?? Paul est certain de ce problème qu’ on le résoudra. (French)
 Paul is sure of this problem that one it will.solve.
 (ii) * un problème dont [Paul est certain que tout va se résoudre] (French)
 a problem of-which Paul is sure that everything goes itself to.solve

- (48) * un problème dont il y a [quelqu'un qui est certain qu' on le
 a problem of-which there is someone who is sure that one it
 résoudra] (French)
 will.solve

In short, though the dependency between the licensing predicate and the resumptive pronoun can cross island boundaries, the dependency between the licensing predicate and *dont* cannot. Abeillé & Godard's (2007) account of this is that while the dependency between the licensing predicate and the relativised constituent involves inheritance of a resumptive element, the dependency between the licensing predicate and *dont* involves inheritance of a gap. They suggest that this should be dealt with by a lexical rule along the lines of (49), where \oplus signifies the “append” relation – in combination with the ellipsis it allows the possibility that the COMPS list may contain additional elements.

- (49) Lexical rule for propositional attitude predicates in French
- $$\left[\text{COMPS} \left\langle \text{CP} \left[\text{SLASH} \left\{ \boxed{1} \left[\begin{array}{l} prl \\ \text{CONT|INDEX } \boxed{2} \end{array} \right] \right\} \right] \right\rangle \oplus \dots \right] \mapsto$$
- $$\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{SLASH} \left\{ \left[\begin{array}{l} nprl \\ \text{CAT PP}_{de} \boxed{2} \end{array} \right] \right\} \\ \text{TO-BIND} \left\{ \boxed{1} \right\} \end{array} \right]$$

In words, the left-hand side of this describes a lexeme that takes a CP complement with a SLASH value containing pronominal (*prl*) elements (that is, a CP that can contain resumptive pronouns). The effect of the rule is to provide a lexical entry that binds off the resumptive pronoun, and introduces an PP_{de} gap co-indexed to the resumptive pronoun, that is, the sort of gap that can legitimately be associated with *dont*. Thinking from the top down, this rule produces a predicate that can appear in a context with an inherited requirement for a PP_{de} gap (e.g. a relative clause headed by *dont*), and convert this into a requirement for a resumptive pronoun further down. Thinking from the bottom up, the predicate can bind off a resumptive pronoun, and replace it with a gap dependency.³⁹

³⁹As Abeillé & Godard (2007) point out, the facts are not quite as simple as this. In particular there is an interesting complication involving coordination. It is possible for a *dont*-clause containing a predicate like *être certain* to involve a coordinate structure, where one conjunct contains a PP_{de} gap and the other contains a pronoun, as in (i) (the second conjunct here contains the pronominal *y* ‘to it’; the English translation is intended to make it clear that the second conjunct is in the scope of *être certain*).

(i) un problème dont Paul est certain [que nous avons parlé —] [et que nous
 a problem of-which Paul is sure that we have spoken and that we

work, but their actual proposal is SLASH-less. They assume that the tense affixes are heads of verbal predications, and operate via “predicate composition” — by inheriting the subcategorisation requirements of the associated verb. The adnominal tense affixes are special in that a) they are specified as nominal modifiers, and b) they inherit the subcategorisation requirements of the associated verb, less an NP that is co-indexed with the modified nominal. (A lexical equivalent of this could be implemented with a lexical rule which removes an element from a verb’s ARG-ST and introduces a MOD value containing a nominal with the corresponding index). Of course, a SLASH-less account like this will only deal with cases of local relativization — where the relativised NP is an argument of the highest verb. [Sirai & Gunji](#) argue that cases of non-local relativization, like (52), should be treated as involving null-pronominals (which are a common feature of Japanese). They suggest that the requirement that the modified noun and the pronoun be co-indexed should be captured via a pragmatic condition that requires the relative clause be “about” the modified noun.

- (52) [Ken-ga [Eiko-ga _i yon-da] to sinzitei-ru] hon_i (Japanese)
 Ken-NOM Eiko-NOM read.PAST COMP believe-PRES book
 ‘the book that Ken believes Eiko read’

[Kim \(2016b\)](#) provides a constructional analysis for Korean which resembles [Sag’s \(1997\)](#) analysis of English — see also [Kim \(1998a\)](#) and [Kim & Yang \(2003\)](#). He suggests that Korean allows verb lexemes to be realised as “modifier verbs” (*v-mod*) subject to a constraint along the lines of (53) — these are verbs that can head a subordinate clause ([MC −]) which modifies a nominal (N).⁴¹

- (53)
$$\left[\text{HEAD} \begin{bmatrix} \text{verb} \\ \text{MC} - \\ \text{MOD} \text{ noun} \end{bmatrix} \right]$$

He also proposes a construction (the *head-relative-mod* construction, see [Kim 2016b](#): 290) to combine a structure headed by such a modifier verb with a head nominal, along the lines of (54).⁴²

⁴¹Different sub-types of *v-mod* are associated with different tense affixes. (53) differs from [Kim’s](#) formulation, e.g. [Kim’s](#) formulation involves a pos (part-of-speech) feature and he assumes that MOD is list valued (see [Kim 2016b](#): 285). This is not important here.

⁴²Again, our formulation is slightly different from [Kim’s](#) for the sake of consistency with the rest of our presentation.

$$(54) \quad hd\text{-}relative\text{-}mod\text{-}phrase \Rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{ll} \text{HEAD} & noun \\ \text{SLASH} & \{ \} \\ \text{HD-DTR} & [2] N_{[1]} \\ \text{NON-HD-DTRS} & \left\langle S \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{HEAD} | \text{MOD } [2] \\ \text{SLASH } \{ NP_{[1]} \} \end{array} \right] \right\rangle \end{array} \right]$$

In words: a nominal structure can consist of a head noun, and a clause headed by a modifier verb containing an NP gap which is co-indexed with the head noun. The empty SLASH value on the mother is necessary to prevent the gap being inherited upwards. The SLASH value on the S daughter ensures the presence of an appropriate gap, and the MOD value on the S daughter ensures that it is headed by a verb with the right morphology. It will license structures like that in Figure 8. Kim does not discuss the semantics, but it would be straightforward to add constraints to this construction along the lines of those presented above.

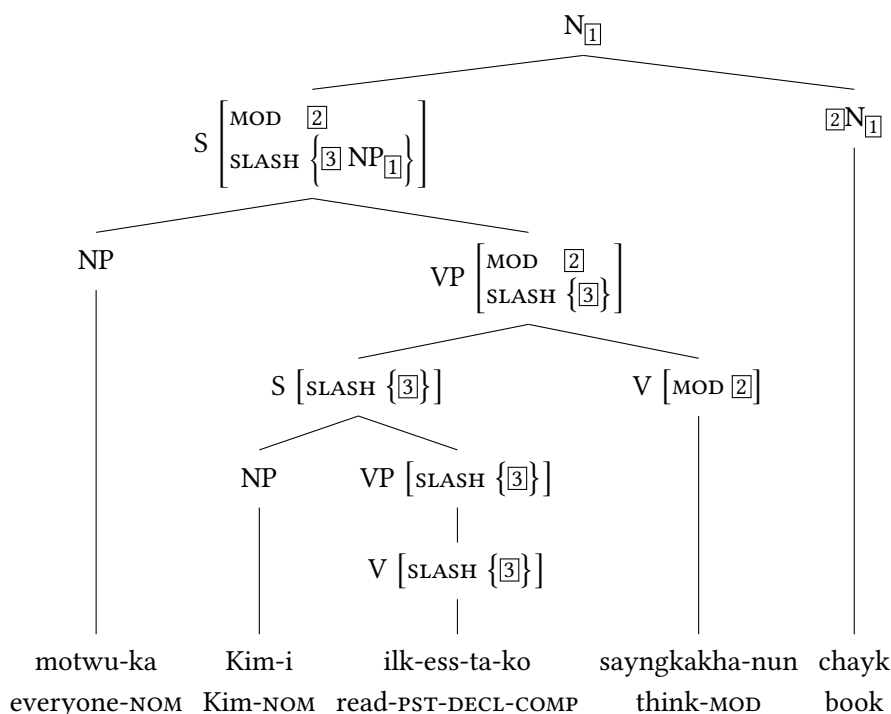


Figure 8: A Korean relative clause, based on Kim (2016b: 295)

3.3.2 Bare relatives in English

English also has bare relative clauses, both finite, as in (55a), and non-finite as in (55b):

- (55) a. the cakes Kim bought _
 b. some cakes (for Sam) to eat _

In English, there is no obvious motivation for suggesting a special sub-type of “relative clause heading” verb, so an alternative way of licensing noun-modifying clauses with appropriate SLASH values is required. In Pollard & Sag (1994) this was the role of an empty relativiser similar to that described above, differing only in taking a single argument — a slashed clause (see Pollard & Sag 1994: 222; recall that the relativiser discussed above takes two arguments: a *wh*-phrase, and a slashed clause). This gives structures like that in Figure 9.⁴³

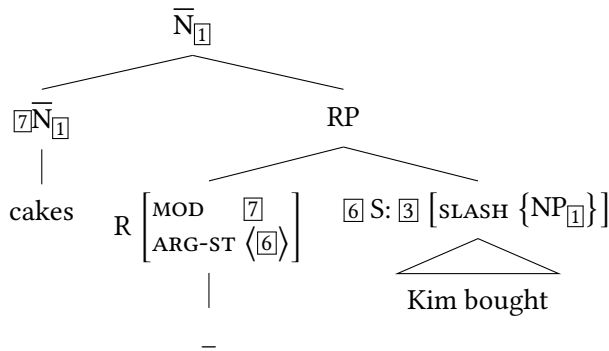


Figure 9: A Pollard & Sag (1994)-style structure for an English bare relative

In Sag (1997) the task of licensing such bare relatives is carried out by a construction (an immediate subtype of *rel-cl*) as in (56). In words: a relative clause can be a noun-modifying clause whose head daughter contains an NP gap that is co-indexed with the modified nominal.

⁴³According to Pollard & Sag (1994: 222), the clausal argument of this single argument version of R can either be bare, as here, or marked by *that*. Thus, terminological accuracy demands the observation that for Pollard & Sag some instances of *that*-relatives are actually “bare” in the sense of containing neither a relative pronoun nor a complementiser (though others, in particular those involving relativisation of a top level subject, are analysed as containing a version of *that* which is actually a relative pronoun). See above Footnote 35.

$$(56) \text{ non-wh-rel-cl} \Rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{HEAD} \left[\text{MOD} \left[\text{HEAD} \bar{N}_{[1]} \right] \right] \\ \text{SLASH} \{ \} \\ \text{HD-DTR} \left[\text{SLASH} \{ \text{NP}_{[1]} \} \right] \end{array} \right]$$

This licenses structures like that in Figure 10.⁴⁴

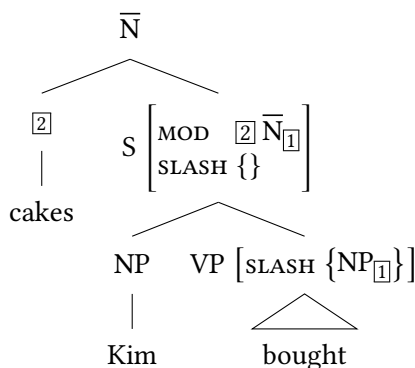


Figure 10: A Sag (1997)-style structure for an English bare relative

This differs from Kim’s proposal for Korean in which the SLASH value is bound off: in particular, where Kim’s analysis involves a nominal and a slashed S, Sag’s involves a nominal and an *unslashed* S — the clause is [SLASH { }], it is the VP which is [SLASH {NP}]. This reflects the fact that in English the gap in the relative clause cannot be the subject, accounting for the contrast in (57).⁴⁵

- (57) a. * person spoke to Sam

⁴⁴Sag also proposes a subtype of (56) to deal with non-finite bare relatives, like (i), which he calls *simple infinitival relatives*, cf. *simp-inf-rel-cl* in Figure 4. See Sag (1997: 469). Abeillé et al. (1998) includes discussion of a similar construction in French — “infinitival à-relatives”, like (ii):

- (i) book (for Sam) to read
(ii) un livre à lire (French)
a book to read

Neither discussion addresses the special modal semantics associated with non-finites, e.g. (i) means something like “books that Sam can (or should) read”.

⁴⁵Examples like (57a) are acceptable in some non-standard dialects of English. Sag suggests this is not problematic, since they could be analysed as reduced relatives (see Sag 1997: 471), but see immediately below where we cast doubt on this. If we are right, then the non-standard dialects would have something like (54) instead of (56).

- b. person who spoke to Sam

The issue of where upwards termination of SLASH inheritance should occur highlights the impossibility of having an entirely lexical and non-constructional account of bare relatives that does not employ empty elements. At first glance, a purely lexical approach might seem simple: since all we need is to create clauses specified as $[\text{MOD } \bar{N}]$ which contain a co-indexed gap, all we seem to need is verbs specified as in (58).

$$(58) \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{HEAD} \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{verb} \\ \text{MOD } \bar{N}_{\bar{1}} \end{array} \right] \\ \text{COMPS} \langle \text{PP} \rangle \\ \text{SLASH} \{ \text{NP}_{\bar{1}} \} \end{array} \right]$$

In the absence of special constructions or empty elements, this would license structures like that in Figure 10, except that the upward inheritance of the SLASH value will not be terminated, allowing an additional spurious filler for the gap, as in (59):⁴⁶

- (59) * That book_i, I enjoyed [the book_i Kim read __i]

There is one class of exceptions to this — that is, phrases which might be analysed as relative clauses for which a purely lexical account is possible. Examples involving participial phrases and a variety of other post-nominal modifiers, notably APs and PPs, are often called *reduced relatives*, and analysed as a type of relative clause. Sag (1997: 471) follows this tradition (*red-rel-cl* in Figure 4). What this comes down to is the assumption that such examples involve clauses containing predicative phrases with PRO subjects, co-indexed with the nominals they modify.

- | | | |
|------|--|-------------------|
| (60) | a. a person standing by the door | (VP-pres-part) |
| | b. a train recently arrived at platform four | (VP-past-part) |
| | c. a person given a pay rise | (VP-passive-part) |
| | d. a person in the doorway | (PP) |
| | e. a person fond of children | (AP) |

⁴⁶The SLASH based analysis of Japanese relatives outlined in Sirai & Gunji (1998) manages to avoid this problem, without either special constructions or empty elements, but it is not fully lexical, because it assumes tense affixes combine with the associated lexical verb in the syntax (hence the affix is able to block higher inheritance of the gap introduced by the lexical verb).

It is not obvious to us what is gained by treating these as relative clauses introduced by a special construction. A lexical account seems at least as appealing, where the relevant properties of the phrases (e.g. noun modifying semantics) are projected directly from lexical entries for the head words. The reason such a non-constructional approach is possible is that such examples involve neither relative pronouns nor genuine gaps, so there are neither REL nor SLASH dependencies to terminate.⁴⁷ This approach seems particularly appealing in the cases like (60e), which would be analysed as just involving an attributive adjective (*fond*) which happens to take a complement, along the lines of (61), where {...} stands for the restrictions the adjective itself imposes. But we think a similar account of verbal participles and prepositions is equally plausible.⁴⁸

$$(61) \quad \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{HEAD} \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{MOD} \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{noun} \\ \text{INDEX } [1] \\ \text{RESTR } [2] \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right] \\ \text{CONT} \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{INDEX } [1] \\ \text{RESTR } [2] \uplus \{ \dots \} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$$

Notice that in (61) we omit mention of the SUBJ. If we assume the noun-modifying entry is derived from a predicative entry, there are two obvious alternatives: a) that the predicative subject is suppressed; or b) that it is constrained to be unexpressed (i.e. PRO). In the latter case, the two approaches are very similar, the only difference being whether examples like those in (60) are classified as clausal. It is not clear whether this has empirical consequences.

3.4 Non-restrictive (supplemental) relatives

The examples of relative clauses considered so far have been *restrictive relatives* (RRCs); they are interpreted as restricting the denotation of their antecedent to a subset of what it would be without the relative clause. So-called *supplemental*, *supplementary*, *appositive*, or *non-restrictive* relatives (NRCs) are different. They do not affect the interpretation of any associated nominal, and are generally interpreted with wide scope, much like independent utterances. For example, if *who understand logic* is read as an NRC as in (62a) it will be interpreted outside the scope of *Kim thinks*.

- (62) a. Kim thinks linguists, who understand logic, are clever. (NRC)

⁴⁷This argument does not necessarily carry over to languages which allow relativisation of non-subjects in reduced relatives, such as Arabic. See Melnik (2006: 241).

⁴⁸For example, Müller (2002: 159–164) deals with adjectival passive participles in this way.

- b. Kim thinks linguists who understand logic are clever. (RRC)

NRCs are often set off intonationally, and are subject to a number of surface morphosyntactic restrictions in English. In particular, they must be finite and contain a *wh*-pronoun, witness the ungrammaticality of (63a) and (63b).⁴⁹

- (63) a. * Kim, for Sandy to speak to, will arrive later.
b. * Kim, (that) Sandy spoke to, will arrive later.

The analysis of non-restrictives has attracted some attention in the HPSG literature.⁵⁰

Where RRCs are typically nominal modifiers, NRCs are compatible with a wide range of antecedents. Holler (2003) provides an analysis of German non-restrictives which are adjoined to S, as in (64). Her account uses a version of the empty relativiser from Pollard & Sag (1994) whose MOD value specifies a clausal (rather than nominal) target for modification, and looks for an appropriate antecedent for its first argument (the *wh*-phrase) among the discourse referents contributed by the modification target (for example, the discourse referent corresponding to the proposition expressed by the main clause in (64)). The relative pronoun is thus treated rather like a normal pronoun.

- (64) Anna gewann die Schachpartie, was Peter ärgerte. (German)
Anna won the game of chess which Peter annoyed
'Anna won the game of chess, which annoyed Peter.'

Arnold (2004) provides an analysis of English non-restrictives of all kinds. This analysis also takes the relative pronouns involved in NRCs to be much like normal pronouns, but accounts for the syntactic restrictions by making minor modifications to constructions given in Sag's (1997) analysis of restrictives. It assumes a uniform syntax for restrictives and NRCs, but provides a way for relative clauses to combine with their heads in two semantically distinct ways, either

⁴⁹More extensive discussion of differences between NRCs and RRCs can be found in Arnold (2007).

⁵⁰Bilbiie & Laurens (2009) discuss what they call *verbless relative adjuncts*, such as (i), in French and Romanian:

- (i) Trois personnes, [parmi lesquelles Jean], sont venues. (French)
three people(FEM) among which.FEM John AUX come
'Three people, among which John, have come.'

These have non-restrictive semantics, and some similarities with relative clauses, but Bilbiie & Laurens point out significant differences, and argue for an analysis that treats them rather differently, as a distinct construction.

restrictively (in the normal way) or non-restrictively (making their semantic contribution at the same level as the root clause, accounting for the wide-scope interpretation). The fact that supplementary relatives are required to be finite and contain a *wh*-pronoun can then be simply stated (e.g. non-restrictive semantics entails a non-head daughter which is a *fin-wh-rel-cl*).⁵¹ Likewise, the wider range of antecedents available to NRCs can be captured by relaxing the [MOD *noun*] constraint associated with *rel-cl* (so in principle all kinds of relative clause are compatible with any antecedent), and adding it as requirement associated with restrictive semantics.

The approach to NRCs developed in Arnold (2004) is *syntactically integrated* – NRCs are treated as normal parts of the syntactic structure on a par with restrictive relatives. On the face of it, examples like (65b) are problematic for such an approach:

- (65) a. What did Jo think?
b. You should say nothing, which is regrettable.

When uttered in the context provided by (65a), the interpretation of (65b) is that it is regrettable that *Jo thinks* you should say nothing. This has been taken as an indication that the interpretation of NRCs requires antecedents that are not syntactically realised and only available at a level of conceptual structure (see Blakemore 2006). However, Arnold & Borsley (2008) show that this is incorrect, and in fact a syntactically integrated account combined with the approach to ellipsis and fragmentary utterances of Ginzburg & Sag (2000) makes precisely the right predictions in this case and in a range of others.

Arnold & Borsley (2010) look at NRCs where the antecedent is a VP, and where the gap is the complement of an auxiliary, as in (66).

- (66) Kim has ridden a camel, which Sam never would _.

This is unexpected, because such examples seem to involve an NP filler (*which*) being associated with a gap in a position where an NP is generally impossible, cf. **Sam never would that activity*. Arnold & Borsley consider a number of analyses, including an analysis which treats *which* as a potential VP, and an analysis which introduces a special relative clause construction. However, they argue that the best analysis is one which relates examples like (66) to cases of VP ellipsis (as in

⁵¹As stated, given Sag's (1997) assumption that *that*-relatives are a variety of *wh*-relative, this wrongly predicts that supplemental *that*-relatives should normally be allowed. One way around this is to adopt a different analysis of *that*, but Arnold (2004) also considers an analysis whereby *that* has a different kind of REL value from "real" relative pronouns.

Kim has ridden a camel but Sam never would), which involve the VP argument of an auxiliary verb being omitted from its COMPS list. The idea is that auxiliary verbs allow such an elided VP argument to have (optionally) a SLASH value that contains an appropriately co-indexed NP. If such a SLASH value is present, normal SLASH amalgamation and inheritance will yield (66) as a normal relative clause, without further stipulation.

NRCs normally follow their antecedents. However, as Lee-Goldman (2012) observes, there are some special cases where the NRC precedes the antecedent. Such cases involve the relative pronouns *which* and *what* with antecedents that have clausal interpretations, i.e. either actual clauses, as in (67a) and (67b), or other expressions interpreted elliptically as with *later* in (67c).

- (67) a. It may happen now, or — *which would be worse* — it may happen later.
 b. It may happen now, or — *which would be worse* — later.
 c. It may happen now. *What is worse*, it may happen later.

Lee-Goldman provides a constructional account. It makes use of a feature RELZR, introduced by Sag (2010), which is shared between a relative clause and its filler daughter, and whose value reflects the identity of the relative pronoun (so possible values include *which*, *what*, etc.). Cases like (67c) are dealt with simply by means of a special construction which combines a *what*-relative clause with its antecedent in the desired order. The account of cases like (67a) and (67c) makes use of the idea of constituent order domains for linearisation originally proposed by Reape (e.g. Reape 1994, and Müller 2021a, Chapter 10 of this volume). The relevant construction combines a phrase whose RELZR value is *which* (e.g. *which would be worse*) with a clause whose constituent order DOMAIN has a coordinator as its first element (e.g. the DOMAIN associated with *or it may happen later*) and produces a phrase where the DOMAIN value of the *which* phrase appears after the coordinator and before the remainder of the clause, giving the desired result.⁵²

4 Other functions, other issues

For reasons of space, we have so far restricted the notion *relative clause* to the typical case: clauses which are nominal modifiers, adjoined to nominals. This

⁵²Lee-Goldman handles the wide scope interpretation of NRCs by implementing a multidimensional notion of CONTENT inspired by Potts (2005). He also extends the analysis described here to deal with cases of *as*-parentheticals (e.g. *As most of you are aware, we have been under severe stress lately*), arguing that *as* should be analysed as a relativiser, and that such clauses should be analysed as relative clauses.

ignores a number of relevant phenomena, notably the fact that relative clauses are not necessarily nominal modifiers, and the possibility that even when they function as nominal modifiers they need not be adjoined to nominals. In this section we will provide some discussion of these issues. Section 4.1 will briefly review HPSG analyses of cases where relative clauses are not adjoined to nominals. Section 4.2 will overview HPSG approaches to cases where clauses resembling relative clauses are not nominal modifiers.⁵³

4.1 Extraposition

As noted above, relative clauses are typically nominal modifiers, and typically adjoined to the nominals they modify. However, this is not invariably the case: under certain circumstances relative clauses can be *extraposed*, as in (68), where the relative clauses (emphasised) have been extraposed from the subject NP to the end of the clause.

- (68) a. Someone might win *who does not deserve it*.
b. Something happened then *(that) I can't really talk about here*.
c. Something may arise *for us to talk about*.

Several different approaches to extraposition have been proposed in the HPSG literature.

One approach uses the idea of constituent order domains, mentioned briefly in Section 3.4 above (and see Müller 2021a, Chapter 10 of this volume). The idea is that an extraposed relative clause is composed with its antecedent nominal in the normal way as regards syntax and semantics, but that rather than being *compact*ed into a single DOMAIN element, the nominal and the relative clause remain as separate DOMAIN elements, with the effect that that relative clause can be *liberated* away from the nominal, so that its phonology is contributed discontinuously from the phonology of the nominal, as in the examples in (68). See e.g. Nerbonne (1994) and Kathol & Pollard (1995) for details.

A second approach treats extraposition as involving a non-local dependency, introducing a non-local feature, typically called something like EXTRA, which

⁵³Among the other phenomena we have neglected, one should mention *amount* relatives (e.g. Grosu & Landman 2017), that is, relative clauses where what is modified semantically is not a nominal, but an *amount* related to the nominal, as for example in (i) where the relative clause gives information about the *amount* of wine, rather than the wine itself.

(i) It would take me a year to drink the wine [that Kim drinks on a normal night].

functions much like other non-local features (e.g. SLASH). The idea is that a relative clause can make its semantic contribution as a nominal modifier “downstairs”, but rather than being realised as a syntactic DAUGHTER (sister to the nominal), the relevant properties (e.g. the LOCAL features) are added to the EXTRA list of the head, and inherited up the tree until they are discharged from the EXTRA list by the appearance of an appropriate phrase-final daughter constituent, which contributes its phonology in the normal way, but makes no semantic contribution. Thinking from the top downwards, this is equivalent to having a construction which allows a relative clause to appear e.g. as sister to a VP (as in (68a)) without affecting the VP’s syntax or semantics, so long as it is pushed onto the EXTRA list of the VP, from where it will be inherited downwards until a nominal occurs which it can be interpreted as modifying (the apparatus needed to deal with the “bottom” of the dependency might be a family of lexical items derived by lexical rule, or a non-branching construction). See e.g. Keller (1995), Bouma (1996), Müller (1999a), Müller (2004), Crysmann (2005), and Crysmann (2013).

A third approach is suggested in Kiss (2005), and adopted in Crysmann (2004) and Walker (2017). This approach exploits the more flexible approach to semantic composition provided by Minimal Recursion Semantics (MRS, Copestake et al. 2005), in the case of Kiss (2005), and Lexical Resource Semantics (LRS, Richter & Sailer 2004) in Walker (2017). The idea is that an extraposed relative clause appears as a normal syntactic daughter in its surface position, but the notion of semantic modification is generalised so that rather than the index of a modifying phrase being identified with that of a sister constituent (as standardly assumed), it may be identified with that of any suitable constituent *within* the sister. That is, adjuncts can be interpreted as modifying not just their sisters, but anything *contained in* their sisters — words and phrase to which they have no direct syntactic connection. This is implemented by means of a set valued ANCHORS feature, which is inherited upwards in the manner of a non-local feature, and which allows access to the indices of constituents from lower down. The flexibility of semantic composition afforded by MRS and LRS means that the right interpretations can be obtained.

A number of authors have argued for the superiority of an approach using EXTRA-style apparatus (e.g. Müller 2004 and Crysmann 2013), but in terms of theoretical costs and benefits there seems to be little to choose between these alternatives — the first and third approaches rely on particular approaches to constituent order and semantic composition, while EXTRA-style analyses involve only the more commonplace apparatus of non-local features (though with the added cost of special constructions or lexical operations to introduce and re-

move elements from EXTRA lists). Empirically, there are several issues that all approaches deal with more or less successfully (for example, the Right Roof Constraint from Ross 1967 that prevents extraposition beyond the clause, cf. (69b)). However, a more significant factor may be how well different accounts integrate with analyses of extraposition involving other kinds of adjunct and complement (e.g. complement clauses, as in (70)), capturing similarities and differences (see e.g. Crysmann 2013).

- (69) a. [That someone might win *who does not deserve it*] is irrelevant.
 b. * [That someone might win] is irrelevant *who does not deserve it*.

(70) The question then arises *whether we should continue in this way*.

4.2 Other functions

In this section we will briefly discuss phenomena involving clauses whose internal structures resemble relative clauses but which do not function as nominal modifiers.⁵⁴

4.2.1 Complement clauses

Perhaps the most obvious cases of this kind involve clauses with the internal structure of a relative clause which occur as complements, rather than adjuncts. The following are some examples.⁵⁵

- (71) a. This story is the *(most) interesting *that we have heard*.
 b. diejenige Frau *(*die dort steht*) (German)
 the.that woman who there stands
 ‘the very woman who is standing there’

⁵⁴One omission here is discussion of *relative-corelative* constructions, which can be found in Hindi and Marathi, *inter alia*, and which were given an analysis in Pollard & Sag (1994: 227–232). These involve the paratactic combination of a clause that contains one or more relative pronouns, and what looks like a main clause containing coreferential pronouns, something like ‘which boy_i saw which girl_j, he_i proposed to her_j’ (meaning *the boy who saw the girl proposed to her*). Pollard & Sag’s analysis involves associating a set of indices in the REL value of the first clause, which are realised by relative pronouns in the normal way, and an identical set of indices as encoded as the value of a CORRELATIVE feature in the main clause, which are realised by normal pronouns.

⁵⁵Another case where a relative clause should be analysed as a complement is discussed in Arnold & Lucas (2016).

- c. It was Kim *that solved the problem*.
- d. It was from Kim *that we got the news*.
- e. On l' a vu *qui s'enfuyait* (French)
 We him have seen who run.away.IMPERF
 'We saw him running away'

In (71a) we have what looks like a *that* relative which is plausibly analysed as the complement of the superlative (notice that omitting the superlative makes (71a) ungrammatical).

The German example in (71b) exemplifies the *diejenigen* class of determiners, which require a complement that looks like a relative clause (and is analysed as such in Walker 2017).

In (71c) we have a so-called *it*-cleft, a construction which features a clause resembling a relative clause, but rather than adding information about an associated nominal (as it would if it were a normal relative clause), the clause is interpreted as providing a presupposition ("someone/something solved the problem"), for an associated focus phrase (here the nominal *Kim*, so the interpretation is roughly "... and that person/thing was Kim"). Notice that the focus phrase need not be nominal (e.g. in (71d) it is a PP *from Kim*), again this is unlike normal (restrictive) relative clauses (which are nominal modifiers).⁵⁶ In HPSG, following Pollard & Sag (1994: 260–262), *it*-clefts have typically been analysed as involving a lexical entry for *be* that takes an *it* subject, and two complements: an XP and an S which is marked as containing an XP gap. This makes *it*-clefts look rather different from relative clauses (the only real similarity being the existence of an unbounded dependency). One problem is that it is not clear how this approach can be extended to examples like (72), where we seem to have an NP focus (*Sam*) which is not directly associated with an XP gap — we have instead a PP gap that seems to be associated with a normal relative phrase filler (*on whom*), i.e. where the similarity of the clefted clause to a relative clause is quite strong. It is not obvious how this problem should be dealt with.

(72) It was Sam [on whom she particularly focused her attention _].

The French example in (71e) contains a so-called *predicative relative clause* (PRC).⁵⁷ Such clauses have the superficial form of a finite relative clause, but

⁵⁶Notice also that *that*-relatives are usually incompatible with proper name antecedents, but proper names are perfectly acceptable as the focus of an *it*-cleft with a *that*-clause, as in (71c) (Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 1416–1417).

⁵⁷The French term is *proposition relative dépendante attribut* (Sandfeld 1965).

differ from them syntactically, semantically, and pragmatically. Koenig & Lambrecht (1999) analyse them as a form of *secondary predicate* (cf. *running away* in English *We saw them running away*). Syntactically, they are restricted to post-verbal positions, and are only permitted with certain kinds of verb (notably verbs of perception, like *voir* ‘see’, and discovery, like *trouver* ‘find’), and the relative pronoun must be a top level subject. Semantically, they are subject to constraints on tense, modality, and negation (there must be temporal overlap between the perception/discovery event and the event reported in the relative clause, and the relative clause content cannot be either modal or negative). Pragmatically, their content must be asserted (rather than presupposed). Koenig & Lambrecht provide an analysis which treats PRCs as REL marked clauses with both an internal and an external subject (instances of *head-subject-ph* which have a non-empty SUBJ value), and which can consequently function as secondary predicates.

4.2.2 Dependent noun and pseudo-relative constructions

The following exemplifies a Korean structure that contains what looks superficially like a relative clause:

- (73) Kim-un [[sakwa-ka cayngpan-wi-ey iss-nun] kes]-ul mek-ess-ta.
 Kim-TOP apple-NOM tray-TOP-LOC exist-MOD KES-ACC eat-PST-DECL
 (Korean)

‘Kim ate an apple which was on the tray.’

Here what is traditionally called a *dependent noun* (*kes*) is preceded by a clause whose verb bears the morphological marking that is characteristic of relative clauses (the *-nun* affix).⁵⁸

However, unlike a normal relative clause, this “dependent” clause does not contain a gap, instead it contains what might be regarded as the semantic head of the construction (in this case, *sakwa-ka* ‘apple’), notice that the clause+*kes* constituent satisfies the selection restriction of the verb *mek-ess-ta* ‘ate’; this is what motivates the translation and explains why such clauses are often regarded as “internally headed” relatives. Kim (2016b: 303–317) notes a number of differences between *kes*-clauses and normal relatives (e.g. *kes*-clauses do not allow the full range of relative affixes to appear), and suggests these clauses are better analysed as complements of *kes*. See also Kim (1996), Chan & Kim (2002), Kim (2016a),

⁵⁸Japanese has a similar construction, involving the nominalising particle *no*, which has received some attention in the HPSG literature (e.g. Kikuta 1998; 2001; 2002). A difference is that there is no special morphology on the clause in Japanese, as noted above, in Section 3.3.1.

and references there.⁵⁹

Another Korean structure that has some similarity with relative clauses is the so-called *pseudo-relative* construction, exemplified in (74).⁶⁰

- (74) [komwu-ka tha-nun] naymsay (Korean)
 rubber-NOM burn-MOD smell
 ‘the smell that characterises the burning of rubber’

There is again no gap in the relative clause; again, only one kind of marking is allowed on the verb (only past tense *-un*); and only a limited range of nouns allow this kind of relative clause; this makes them rather like complement clauses. However, it is less plausible to think of a noun like *naymsay* ‘smell’ taking a complement (unlike *kes*), and these clauses are like prototypical relative clauses in not allowing topic marking. Kim suggests this is a special construction where the relation of head noun and relative clause is that the noun describes the perceptive result of the situation described by the clause (e.g. the smell is the perceptive result of the rubber burning). See Kim (1998b), Yoon (1993), Chan & Kim (2002), Cha (2005), and Kim (2016b).

4.2.3 Free relatives

Perhaps the most significant case of a clause type that resembles a relative clause but which does not function as a nominal modifier consists of the so-called *free*

⁵⁹Pollard & Sag (1994: 232–236) discuss a number of cases of what appear to be more plausible instances of *internally headed* relatives from a number of languages (Lakhota, Dogon, and Quechua); the following is from Dogon:

- (i) [ya inde mi wε gɔ] yimaa boli. (Dogon)
 yesterday person 1sg see.PN.Ø DEF die.PSP go.PN.3sg
 ‘The person I saw yesterday is dead.’

Here we have a determiner *gɔ* preceded by a clause containing what would be the external head of a standard relative clause (in this case *inde* ‘person’). The key difference between this and the Korean case is the absence here of any obvious clause-external nominal like *kes* which can be treated as the head which takes the relative clause as a complement. Pollard & Sag (1994: 234) suggest (following Culy 1990) that NPs like that in (i) involve an exocentric construction, but no empty elements (neither an empty nominal, nor an empty relativiser). The NP consists of a determiner and a nominal, where the nominal consists of just a clause whose REL value contains the index of the nominal. This REL value is inherited downwards into the clause where it is identified with the index of one of the NPs, here the index of *inde* ‘person’: the effect of this is that the index of *inde* ‘person’ becomes the index of the whole NP. (This ignores a number of technical and empirical issues to do with the inheritance and binding-off of REL values.)

⁶⁰A similar construction can be found in Japanese, (cf. Kikuta 1998; 2001; 2002; Chan & Kim 2002).

(*headless*, or *fused*) *relatives*, exemplified in (75). These have received considerable attention in the HPSG literature.

- (75) a. She ate *what I suggested*.
b. She ate *whatever I suggested*.
c. She put it *where I suggested*.

As these examples suggest, free relatives can be interpreted as involving either definite descriptions, as in (75a) “the thing that I suggested”, or universal quantification, as in (75b) “everything that I suggested”. They can also have adverbial or prepositional interpretations, as in (75c) “in the place that I suggested”. The interpretation is related to the choice of *wh*-phrase. There are some special restrictions. For example, in English free relatives must be finite, as can be seen from (76a), and there are restrictions on what *wh*-words are allowed (e.g. *what* is permitted, as in (75a), but *which* is not, witness (76b)).

- (76) a. * She ate *what to cook*.
b. * She ate *which I suggested*.

Free relatives resemble prototypical *wh*-relatives (and interrogative clauses) in containing a gap, and an initial *wh*-phrase which is interpreted as filling the gap. They differ from interrogatives in having the external distribution of NPs or PPs rather than clauses (for example in (75a) *what I suggested* is the complement of *eat*, and in (75c) *where I suggested* is a complement of *put*, neither of which allow clausal complements). They differ from prototypical relative clauses in not being associated with a nominal antecedent. They can contain relative pronouns which are not permitted in normal *wh*-relatives, notably the *-ever* pronouns, *whatever*, *whoever*, etc., and *what*, witness the ungrammaticality of the following:⁶¹

- (77) a. * She ate the thing(s) *whatever I suggested*.
b. * She ate the things(s) *what I suggested*.

In general the possibilities of relative inheritance (pied-piping) in free relatives are dramatically reduced compared to prototypical relatives and interrogatives. For example in English, relative inheritance is not possible from the complement of a preposition, as can be seen from (78b):

- (78) a. Try to describe *what you talked about*.
b. * Try to describe *about what you talked*.

⁶¹ *What* is not a relative pronoun in standard English, but it is in some other varieties, and (77b) is grammatical in those.

In fact, in English relative inheritance only seems to be possible from *wh*-phrases in in pre-nominal position (determiners and genitive NPs), as in (79), and (81a) below.⁶²

(79) They will steal *what(ever) things they can carry*.

As with prototypical relatives, the initial *wh*-phrase in a free relative has to satisfy restrictions imposed “downstairs” in the relative clause (i.e. restrictions that follow from the location of the gap). In addition, however, it seems that with free relatives the *wh*-phrase is also sensitive to restrictions imposed from the outside the relative clause – the *wh*-phrase of a free relative has to be of the appropriate category for the position where the free relative appears. For example, as a first approximation, a free relative with *what* is only possible where an NP is possible, and a free relative with *where* is only possible where a locative PP is possible. This is the so-called *matching effect* in free relatives.⁶³

One interesting instance of this involves case marking. Consider, for example, the German data in (80). These show a free relative in a position which requires nominative case marking, containing a relative pronoun whose role within the relative clause requires nominative marking. Since *wer* ‘who’ is nominative, all is well. By contrast, in (80b) while the nominative *wer* satisfies the requirements within the relative clause, there is a case conflict because the free relative as a whole is the complement of a verb *vertrauen* ‘trust’ that requires a dative complement. The result is ungrammatical. Examples like (80c) show a complication. Here again there is a case conflict: within the relative clause, the relative pronoun is required to be accusative (complement of *empfehlen* ‘recommend’), and the free relative as a whole is in a nominative position. However, the result is grammatical, presumably because the morphological form of the neuter relative pronoun *was* ‘what’ can realise either nominative or accusative case (unlike the masculine *wer*).

(80) a. Wer schwach ist, muss klug sein. (German)
 who.NOM weak is must clever be
 ‘Whoever is weak must be clever.’

⁶²Other languages are less restrictive, e.g. Müller (1999a: 57) gives German examples analogous to (78b). See Footnote 65.

⁶³In fact, things are more complicated. For example, in *He walked to [where his horse was waiting]*, we have a free relative with *where* in an NP position (object of a preposition) rather than a PP position. See e.g. Kim (2017) for discussion.

- b. * Wer klug ist, vertraue ich immer. (German)
 who.NOM clever is trust I ever
 intended: ‘I trust whoever is clever.’
- c. Was du mir empfiehlst, macht einen guten Eindruck.
 what.NOM/ACC you me recommend makes a good impression
 (German)
 ‘What you recommend me makes a good impression.’

The agreement properties of free relatives are somewhat surprising, and reveal a potential complication in the matching effect. Notice that in (81a) the *wh*-phrase, *whoever’s dogs*, is plural, and triggers plural agreement on the verb in relative clause.

- (81) a. [[Whoever’s_{sg} dogs]_{pl} are running around]_{sg} is in trouble.
 b. Whoever is/*are running around (is in trouble).

This is not surprising since *whoever’s dogs* is headed by a plural noun (*dogs*). However, the free relative as a whole triggers singular agreement, consistent with the agreement properties coming from the relative pronoun — *whoever* is singular, as can be seen from (81b). This is also consistent with the semantics: the free relative in (81a) denotes the person whose dogs are running around, not the dogs (in this it resembles an NP like *anyone whose dogs are running around*, which involves a normal relative clause construction).⁶⁴ This shows a complication of the matching effect: it seems that within-clause requirements are reflected on the initial *wh*-phrase (*whoever’s dogs* is the subject of the relative), but the external distribution reflects the properties of the relative word (*whoever*). Of course, the fact that relative inheritance is so limited in free relatives means that usually the *wh*-phrase consists of just the *wh*-word, so that is very difficult to tease these things apart.⁶⁵

⁶⁴This is not a universal property: Borsley (2008) notes that examples in Welsh resembling (81a) are interpreted as meaning that the dogs are in big trouble, not the owner.

⁶⁵Müller (1999a: 90) discusses the following German example of a free relative with an initial PP containing the nominal relative word *wem* ‘whom’ (i.e. showing relative inheritance to PP):

- (i) Ihr könnt beginnen, [mit wem ihr (beginnen) wollt]. (German)
 you can start with whom you start want
 ‘You can start with whoever you like.’

He observes that the free relative functions as a PP, just like *mit wem*, and in the variant where the parenthesised instance of *beginnen* is present, the within-clause role is also that of a PP. However, *mit* here is a non-predicative preposition, so the index associated with the PP is just

Following Müller (1999a) on German, free relatives have received considerable attention in the HPSG literature, with analyses dealing with a variety of languages, including: Arabic (Alqurashi 2012; Hahn 2012), Danish (Bjerre 2012; 2014), English (Kim & Park 1996; Kim 2001; Wright & Kathol 2003; Francis 2007; Yoo 2008; Kim 2017), German (Hinrichs & Nakazawa 2002; Kubota 2003), Persian (Taghvaipour 2005), and Welsh (Borsley 2008).

The central analytic problem is this: leaving aside the complication arising from case syncretism and relative inheritance just mentioned, the existence of matching effects has suggested to some (e.g. Kubota 2003) that the *wh*-phrase should be the head of the free relative, because the distribution of free relatives depends on the properties of the *wh*-phrase. So, for example, the NP *what* would be the head of *what I suggested*. But this is inconsistent with *what* being the filler of the gap in *what I suggested* (i.e. the missing object of *suggested*), because in a normal filler-gap construction the filler is *not* the head. If, instead, we assume that *what* is primarily the filler of the gap in the free relative, then we should assume that the clause *I suggested* _ is the head of the free relative – and the distributional properties of the free relative are unexplained.

4.2.4 Pseudo-clefts and transparent free relatives

Two constructions that show some similarity with free relatives, and have received some attention in the HPSG literature, are *specificational pseudo-clefts*, exemplified in (82), and so-called *transparent free relatives* (TFRs), exemplified in (83).

- (82) a. A new coat is [what Kim will be wearing].
 b. [What Kim will be wearing] is a new coat.
 c. [What she did] was cut her hair.
 d. [What she did not bring] was any wine.
- (83) a. She replied in [what anyone would consider _ a belligerent tone].
 b. Her reply was [what anyone would consider _ belligerent].

Specificational pseudo-clefts typically consist of a *wh*-clause, *be*, and a *focal phrase* (e.g. *any wine* in (82d)). The focal phrase corresponds to a gap in the *wh*-clause (e.g. in (82d) *any wine* is interpreted as the missing object of *bring*). They raise a number of issues that are not typical of relative clauses, notably the

that of the *wh*-word that it contains, so it is still not possible to fully distinguish the properties of the *wh*-phrase and the properties of the *wh*-word it contains.

existence of *connectivity effects* whereby the focal phrase behaves as though it was part of the *wh*-clause (e.g. in (82d) the negative polarity item *any* is licensed by the negation in the *wh*-clause). Beyond this, it is not obvious whether the *wh*-clauses should be analysed as related to interrogatives, as in Yoo (2003), or as related to free relatives, as in Gerbl (2007).⁶⁶

In TFRs the relative appears to function somewhat like a parenthetical modifier of a *nucleus* (e.g. *a belligerent tone* in (83a)), which seems to provide the head properties of the phrase as a whole — so for example the TFR in (83a) has the characteristics of an NP, that in (83b) has those of an AP (it is a natural starting point to assume the nucleus is internal to the relative clause, since otherwise one has the puzzle of a relative clause which is both incomplete and occurs before the head it modifies). TFRs are in some ways even more restricted than other kinds of relative (only *what* is allowed as the relative expression), but in others less restricted (e.g. free relatives have the external distribution of NPs, but the TFR in (83b) has the distribution of an AP, like its nucleus *belligerent*). Some approaches to TFRs employ novel kinds of structure (e.g. *grafts*, cf. van Riemsdijk 2006), but Yoo (2008) and Kim (2011) provide HPSG analyses which capture the relevant properties using the existing apparatus with only minor adjustments.

5 Conclusion

The analysis of relative clauses has been important in the theoretical evolution of HPSG, notably in the development of a constructional approach involving inheritance from cross-classifying dimensions of description. Empirically, relative clauses have been the focus of a significant amount of descriptive work in a variety of typologically diverse languages. Our goal in this paper has been exposition and survey rather than argumentation towards particular conclusions, but, perhaps paradoxically given what we have just said, we think one conclusion that clearly emerges is that, from an HPSG perspective at least, *relative clauses are not a natural kind*. There is *nothing* one can say that will be true of everything that has been described as a “relative clause” in the literature. As regards internal structure, some are *head-filler* structures (*wh*-relatives), while others are

⁶⁶It can be difficult to distinguish this kind of pseudo-cleft from cases involving a normal free relative. An example like *What she is wearing is a mess* is superficially similar to (82b), but it involves a free relative. Notice, for example, it can be paraphrased with a normal NP plus relative clause (as “The thing that she is wearing is a mess”) and *what* can be replaced with *whatever*. It does not have a paraphrase with an *it*-cleft or a simple proposition — it cannot be paraphrased as “It is a mess that she is wearing” or “She is wearing a mess”.

head-complement structures (complementiser relatives, some kinds of bare relative); correspondingly, some involve relative pronouns (hence a REL feature), some do not. It is true that most involve some kind of SLASH dependency, but this is hardly unique to relative clauses, and even this does not hold of the dependent noun and pseudo-relatives mentioned in Section 4.2.2. There is no semantic unity – while restrictive relatives are noun-modifiers, non-restrictives function more like independent clauses, and free relatives have nominal or adverbial semantics. Similarly, as regards external distribution: prototypical relatives are noun modifiers, and appear in *head-adjunct-ph* structures, but expressions with similar internal structure occur as complements (e.g. free relatives, clefts, and complements of superlative adjectives).

We do not think it is a bad thing that this conclusion should emerge from a discussion of HPSG approaches. Rather, it suggests to us that an approach that tries to impose unity will end up being procrustean. In fact, discussion of relative clauses seems to us to show some of the best features of HPSG – the analyses we have summarised are generally well formalised, carefully constructed (detailed, precise, and coherent), and both empirically satisfying and insightful, with relatively few *ad hoc* assumptions or special stipulations. The discussion shows how the expressivity and flexibility of the descriptive machinery of the framework are compatible with a wide range of phenomena across a range of languages.

Abbreviations

RP	a phrase headed by the empty relativiser R
SELR	Subject Extraction Lexical Rule
MRS	Minimal Recursion Semantics
LRS	Lexical Resource Semantics
WHIP	Wh-Inheritance Principle
NRC	non-restrictive relative clause
RRC	restrictive relative clause
PRC	predicative relative clause
TFR	transparent free relative

Acknowledgements

We are grateful to the editors of this volume and two anonymous referees for their careful and insightful comments on earlier versions of this contribution. Remaining flaws are our sole responsibility, of course.

References

- Abeillé, Anne & Robert D. Borsley. 2021. Basic properties and elements. In Stefan Müller, Anne Abeillé, Robert D. Borsley & Jean-Pierre Koenig (eds.), *Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar: The handbook*, 3–45. Berlin: Language Science Press. DOI: ??.
- Abeillé, Anne & Danièle Godard. 2007. Les relatives sans pronom relatif. In Michaël Abécassis, Laure Ayosso & Élodie Vialleton (eds.), *Normes et variations dans les discours et en interaction*, vol. 2 (Le français parlé au XXI^e siècle), 37–60. Paris: L’Harmattan.
- Abeillé, Anne, Danièle Godard, Philip H. Miller & Ivan A. Sag. 1998. French bounded dependencies. In Sergio Balari & Luca Dini (eds.), *Romance in HPSG* (CSLI Lecture Notes 75), 1–54. Stanford, CA: CSLI Publications.
- Alotaibi, Mansour & Robert D. Borsley. 2013. Gaps and resumptive pronouns in Modern Standard Arabic. In Stefan Müller (ed.), *Proceedings of the 20th International Conference on Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar*, Freie Universität Berlin, 6–26. Stanford, CA: CSLI Publications. <http://csli-publications.stanford.edu/HPSG/2013/alotaibi-borsley.pdf> (18 August, 2020).
- Alqurashi, Abdulrahman. 2012. An HPSG approach to free relatives in Arabic. In Stefan Müller (ed.), *Proceedings of the 19th International Conference on Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar*, Chungnam National University, Daejeon, 6–25. <http://csli-publications.stanford.edu/HPSG/2012/alqurashi.pdf> (5 June, 2019).
- Alqurashi, Abdulrahman & Robert D. Borsley. 2012. Arabic relative clauses in HPSG. In Stefan Müller (ed.), *Proceedings of the 19th International Conference on Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar*, Chungnam National University, Daejeon, 26–44. Stanford, CA. <http://csli-publications.stanford.edu/HPSG/2012/alqurashi-borsley.pdf> (5 June, 2019).
- Arnold, Doug. 2004. Non-Restrictive relative clauses in construction based HPSG. In Stefan Müller (ed.), *Proceedings of the 11th International Conference on Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar*, Center for Computational Linguistics, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, 27–47. Stanford, CA: CSLI Publications. <http://csli-publications.stanford.edu/HPSG/5/arnold.pdf> (14 September, 2020).
- Arnold, Doug. 2007. Non-Restrictive relatives are not orphans. *Journal of Linguistics* 43(2). 272–309. DOI: [10.1017/S0022226707004586](https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022226707004586).
- Arnold, Doug & Robert D. Borsley. 2008. Non-restrictive relative clauses, ellipsis and anaphora. In Stefan Müller (ed.), *Proceedings of the 15th International Conference on Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar*, 325–345. Stanford, CA:

- CSLI Publications. <http://cslipublications.stanford.edu/HPSG/9/arnold-borsley.pdf> (5 June, 2019).
- Arnold, Doug & Robert D. Borsley. 2010. Auxiliary-stranding relative clauses. In Stefan Müller (ed.), *Proceedings of the 17th International Conference on Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar, Université Paris Diderot*, 47–67. Stanford, CA: CSLI Publications. <http://cslipublications.stanford.edu/HPSG/2010/arnold-borsley.pdf> (5 June, 2019).
- Arnold, Doug & Christopher Lucas. 2016. One of those constructions that really needs a proper analysis. In Doug Arnold, Miriam Butt, Berthold Crysmann, Tracy Holloway-King & Stefan Müller (eds.), *Proceedings of the joint 2016 conference on Head-driven Phrase Structure Grammar and Lexical Functional Grammar*, 43–63. Stanford, CA: CSLI Publications. <http://cslipublications.stanford.edu/HPSG/2016/headlex2016-arnold-lucas.pdf> (10 September, 2019).
- Assmann, Anke, Fabian Heck, Johannes Hein, Stefan Keine & Gereon Müller. 2010. Does chain hybridization in Irish support movement-based approaches to long-distance dependencies? In Stefan Müller (ed.), *Proceedings of the 17th International Conference on Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar, Université Paris Diderot*, 27–46. Stanford, CA: CSLI Publications. <http://cslipublications.stanford.edu/HPSG/2010/ahhkm.pdf> (20 June, 2020).
- Avgustinova, Tania. 1996. *Relative clause constructions in Bulgarian HPSG*. CLAUS-Report 71. Saarbrücken: University of the Saarland.
- Bilbiie, Gabriela & Frédéric Laurens. 2009. A construction-based analysis of verbless relative adjuncts in French and Romanian. In Stefan Müller (ed.), *Proceedings of the 16th International Conference on Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar, University of Göttingen, Germany*, 5–25. Stanford, CA: CSLI Publications. <http://cslipublications.stanford.edu/HPSG/2009/bilbiie-laurens.pdf> (5 June, 2019).
- Bjerre, Anne. 2012. An analysis of Danish free relatives. In Stefan Müller (ed.), *Proceedings of the 19th International Conference on Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar, Chungnam National University Daejeon*, 45–63. Stanford, CA: CSLI Publications. <http://cslipublications.stanford.edu/HPSG/2012/bjerre.pdf> (20 May, 2019).
- Bjerre, Anne. 2014. Danish non-specific free relatives. *Nordic Journal of Linguistics* 37(1). 5–27. DOI: [10.1017/S0332586514000043](https://doi.org/10.1017/S0332586514000043).
- Blakemore, Diane. 2006. Divisions of labour: the analysis of parentheticals. *Lingua* 116. 1670–1687.
- Boas, Hans C. & Ivan A. Sag (eds.). 2012. *Sign-based Construction Grammar* (CSLI Lecture Notes 193). Stanford, CA: CSLI Publications.

- Bolc, Leonard. 2005. Formal description of natural languages: an HPSG grammar of Polish. In Dieter Hutter & Werner Stephan (eds.), *Mechanizing mathematical reasoning: essays in honor of jörg h. siekmann on the occasion of his 60th birthday* (Lecture Notes in Artificial Intelligence 2605), 297–320. Berlin/Heidelberg: Springer Verlag.
- Borsley, Robert D. 1989. Phrase-Structure Grammar and the Barriers conception of clause structure. *Linguistics* 27(5). 843–863. DOI: [10.1515/ling.1989.27.5.843](https://doi.org/10.1515/ling.1989.27.5.843).
- Borsley, Robert D. 2008. *On some Welsh unbounded dependency constructions*. Essex Research Reports in Linguistics 57.4. Dept. of Language & Linguistics, University of Essex. <http://repository.essex.ac.uk/id/eprint/98> (15 May, 2019).
- Borsley, Robert D. & Berthold Crysmann. 2021. Unbounded dependencies. In Stefan Müller, Anne Abeillé, Robert D. Borsley & Jean-Pierre Koenig (eds.), *Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar: The handbook*, 513–574. Berlin: Language Science Press. DOI: ??.
- Bouma, Gosse. 1996. Extraposition as a nonlocal dependency. In Geert-Jan Kruijff, Glynn V. Morrill & Dick Oehrle (eds.), *Proceedings of Formal Grammar 96*, 1–14. Prag. <http://www.let.rug.nl/gosse/papers.html> (18 August, 2020).
- Cha, Jong-Yul. 2005. *Constraints on clausal complex noun phrases in Korean with focus on the gapless relative clause construction*. The University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. (Doctoral dissertation). <https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/b61d/878a9ec8283741a9f21cea4c32f14048856a.pdf> (7 June, 2019).
- Chan, Chung & Jong-Bok Kim. 2002. Differences between externally and internally headed relative clause constructions. In Jong-Bok Kim & Stephen Wechsler (eds.), *Proceedings of the 9th International Conference on Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar, Michigan State University, East Lansing*, 43–65. Stanford, CA: CSLI Publications. <http://cslipublications.stanford.edu/HPSG/3/chungkim.pdf> (7 June, 2019).
- Chaves, Rui P. 2007. *Coordinate structures – constraint-based syntax-semantics processing*. University of Lisbon. (Doctoral Dissertation).
- Chomsky, Noam. 1965. *Aspects of the theory of syntax*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Chomsky, Noam. 1977. On wh-movement. In Peter W. Culicover, Thomas Wasow & Adrian Akmajian (eds.), *Formal syntax*, 71–132. New York: Academic Press.
- Copestake, Ann, Dan Flickinger, Carl J. Pollard & Ivan A. Sag. 2005. Minimal Recursion Semantics: An introduction. *Research on Language and Computation* 3(2–3). 281–332. DOI: [10.1007/s11168-006-6327-9](https://doi.org/10.1007/s11168-006-6327-9).
- Crysmann, Berthold. 2004. Underspecification of intersective modifier attachment: Some arguments from German. In Stefan Müller (ed.), *Proceedings of the 11th International Conference on Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar, Cen-*

- ter for Computational Linguistics, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, 378–392. Stanford, CA: CSLI Publications. <http://csli-publications.stanford.edu/HPSG/2004/> (18 August, 2020).
- Crysmann, Berthold. 2005. Relative clause extraposition in German: An efficient and portable implementation. *Research on Language and Computation* 3(1). 61–82. DOI: [10.1007/s11168-005-1287-z](https://doi.org/10.1007/s11168-005-1287-z).
- Crysmann, Berthold. 2013. On the locality of complement clause and relative clause extraposition. In Gert Webelhuth, Manfred Sailer & Heike Walker (eds.), *Rightward movement in a comparative perspective* (Linguistik Aktuell/Linguistics Today 200), 369–396. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Co.
- Crysmann, Berthold. 2016. An underspecification approach to Hausa resumption. In Doug Arnold, Miriam Butt, Berthold Crysmann, Tracy Holloway-King & Stefan Müller (eds.), *Proceedings of the joint 2016 conference on Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar and Lexical Functional Grammar*, 194–214. Stanford, CA: CSLI Publications.
- Crysmann, Berthold & Chris H. Reintges. 2014. The polyfunctionality of Coptic Egyptian relative complementisers. In Stefan Müller (ed.), *Proceedings of the 21st International Conference on Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar, University at Buffalo*, 63–82. Stanford, CA: CSLI Publications. <http://csli-publications.stanford.edu/HPSG/2014/crysmann-reintges.pdf> (7 June, 2019).
- Culy, Chris. 1990. *The syntax and semantics of internally headed relative clauses*. Stanford University. (Doctoral dissertation).
- De Kuthy, Kordula. 1999. Linearization versus movement: Evidence from German pied-piped infinitives. In Gert Webelhuth, Jean-Pierre Koenig & Andreas Kathol (eds.), *Lexical and Constructional aspects of linguistic explanation* (Studies in Constraint-Based Lexicalism 1), 97–112. Stanford, CA: CSLI Publications.
- Dhongde, Ramesh Vaman & Kashi Wali. 2009. *Marathi* (London Oriental and African Library 13). John Benjamins Publishing.
- Francis, Elaine J. 2007. The role of default constructions in the processing of mismatch: The case of possessive free relatives. In Stefan Müller (ed.), *Proceedings of the 14th International Conference on Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar, Department of Linguistics, Stanford, CA*, 345–363. Stanford: CSLI Publications. <http://csli-publications.stanford.edu/HPSG/8/francis.pdf> (7 June, 2019).
- Güngördü, Zela. 1996. An HPSG analysis of Turkish relative clauses. In Claire Grover & Enric Vallduv'i (eds.), *Edinburgh working papers in cognitive science, vol. 12: studies in HPSG*, chap. 3, 71–119. Scotland: Centre for Cognitive Science,

- University of Edinburgh. <https://www.upf.edu/documents/2983731/3019795/1996-ccs-evcg-hpsg-wp12.pdf> (10 September, 2019).
- Gerbl, Niko. 2007. *An analysis of pseudoclefts and specificational clauses in Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar*. Philosophische Fakultät der Georg-August-Universität Göttingen. (Doctoral dissertation).
- Ginzburg, Jonathan & Ivan A. Sag. 2000. *Interrogative investigations: The form, meaning, and use of English interrogatives* (CSLI Lecture Notes 123). Stanford, CA: CSLI Publications.
- Godard, Danièle. 1992. Extraction out of NP in French. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 10(2). 233–277. DOI: [10.1007/BF00133813](https://doi.org/10.1007/BF00133813).
- Grosu, Alexander & Fred Landman. 2017. Amount relatives. In Martin Everaert, Henk C. van Riemsdijk, Rob Goedemans & Bart Hollebrandse (eds.), *The Wiley Blackwell Companion to Syntax* (Wiley Blackwell Companions to Linguistics 3). Oxford: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.
- Haddar, Kais, Ines Zalila & Sirine Boukedi. 2009. A parser generation with the LKB for the Arabic relatives. *International Journal of Computing and Information Sciences* 7(1). 51–60. <http://www.ijcis.info/Vol7N1/Vol7P5N1-PP-51-60.pdf> (1 March, 2015).
- Hahn, Michael. 2012. Arabic relativization patterns: A unified HPSG analysis. In Stefan Müller (ed.), *Proceedings of the 19th International Conference on Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar, Chungnam National University, Daejeon*, 144–164. <http://cslipublications.stanford.edu/HPSG/2012/hahn.pdf> (6 July, 2019).
- Hinrichs, Erhard W. & Tsuneko Nakazawa. 1999. VP relatives in German. In Gosse Bouma, Erhard W. Hinrichs, Geert-Jan M. Kruijff & Richard T. Oehrle (eds.), *Constraints and resources in natural language syntax and semantics* (Studies in Constraint-Based Lexicalism 3), 63–81. Stanford, CA: CSLI Publications.
- Hinrichs, Erhard W. & Tsuneko Nakazawa. 2002. Case matching in Bavarian relative clauses: A declarative, non-derivational account. In Frank Van Eynde, Lars Hellan & Dorothee Beermann (eds.), *Proceedings of the 8th International Conference on Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar, Norwegian University of Science and Technology, Trondheim*, 180–188. Stanford, CA: CSLI Publications. <http://cslipublications.stanford.edu/HPSG/2/HinrichsNakasawa2-pn.pdf> (7 June, 2019).
- Holler, Anke. 2003. An HPSG analysis of the non-integrated *Wh*-relative clauses in German. In Stefan Müller (ed.), *Proceedings of the 9th International Conference on Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar, Michigan State University*,

- East Lansing, 163–180. Stanford, CA: CSLI Publications. <http://cslipublications.stanford.edu/HPSG/4/holler.pdf> (7 June, 2018).
- Horvath, Julia. 2005. Pied-piping. In Martin Everaert & Henk Van Riemsdijk (eds.), *The blackwell companion to syntax*, vol. 3, chap. 50. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Huddleston, Rodney & Geoffrey K. Pullum (eds.). 2002. *The Cambridge grammar of the English language*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Ishihara, Roberta. 1984. Clausal pied piping: A problem for GB. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 2(4). 397–418. DOI: [10.1007/BF00133352](https://doi.org/10.1007/BF00133352).
- Kathol, Andreas & Carl Pollard. 1995. Extraposition via complex domain formation. In Hans Uszkoreit (ed.), *33rd Annual Meeting of the Association for Computational Linguistics. Proceedings of the conference*, 174–180. Cambridge, MA: Association for Computational Linguistics. DOI: [10.3115/981658.981682](https://doi.org/10.3115/981658.981682).
- Kayne, Richard. 2017. A note on some even more unusual relative clauses. In Laura Bailey & Michelle Sheehan (eds.), *Order and structure in syntax: Festschrift for Anders Holmberg*, 363–371. Berlin: Language Science Press.
- Kayne, Richard S. 1994. *The antisymmetry of syntax* (Linguistic Inquiry Monographs 25). Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Keller, Frank. 1995. Towards an account of extraposition in HPSG. In Steven P. Abney & Erhard W. Hinrichs (eds.), *Proceedings of the Seventh Conference of the European Chapter of the Association for Computational Linguistics*, 301–306. Dublin: Association for Computational Linguistics.
- Kikuta, Chiharu Uda. 1998. A multiple inheritance analysis of the internally-headed relative clause in Japanese. In Jin Guo, Kim Teng Lua & Jie Xu (eds.), *Proceedings of the 12th Pacific Asia Conference on Language, Information and Computation*, 82–93. Singapore. <https://www.aclweb.org/anthology/papers/Y/Y98/Y98-1008/> (6 October, 2015).
- Kikuta, Chiharu Uda. 2001. The Japanese internally-headed relative clause as a marked head-complement structure. In Benjamin K. T'sou, Olivia O.Y. Kwong & Tom B.Y. Lai (eds.), *Proceedings of the 15th Pacific Asia Conference on Language, Information and Computation*, 317–324. Hong Kong, China. <https://www.aclweb.org/anthology/papers/Y/Y01/Y01-1029/> (6 June, 2019).
- Kikuta, Chiharu Uda. 2002. Clausal complement or adverbial clause? Toward an integral account of the Japanese internally-headed relative clause. In Frank Van Eynde, Lars Hellan & Dorothee Beermann (eds.), *The proceedings of the 8th International Conference on Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar*, 202–220. Stanford, CA: CSLI Publications. <http://csli-publications.stanford.edu/HPSG/2/> (24 September, 2006).

- Kim, Jong-Bok. 1998a. A head-driven and constraint-based analysis of Korean relative clause constructions. *Language Research* 34(4). 1–41.
- Kim, Jong-Bok. 1998b. On the mixed properties of pseudo relative clause constructions. In *Proceedings of the 11th International Conference on Korean*, 83–93. Seoul, Korea: International Circle of Korean Linguistics.
- Kim, Jong-Bok. 2001. Constructional constraints in English free relative constructions. *Language and Information* 5(1). 35–53.
- Kim, Jong-Bok. 2011. English transparent free relatives: Interactions between the lexicon and constructions. *English Language and Linguistics* 17(2). 153–181.
- Kim, Jong-Bok. 2016a. Copular constructions and asymmetries in the specificational pseudocleft constructions in Korean. *Language and Linguistics* 17(1). 89–112.
- Kim, Jong-Bok. 2016b. *The syntactic structures of Korean: A Construction Grammar perspective*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Kim, Jong-Bok. 2017. Mixed properties and matching effects in English free relatives: A construction-based perspective. *Linguistic Research* 34(3). 361–385.
- Kim, Jong-Bok & Byung-Soo Park. 1996. English free relative clause constructions: From a constraint-based perspective. In *Proceedings of the 11th Pacific Asia Conference on Language, Information and Computation*, 31–41.
- Kim, Jong-Bok & Peter Sells. 2008. *English syntax: An introduction* (CSLI Lecture Notes 185). Stanford, CA: CSLI Publications.
- Kim, Jong-Bok & Jaehyung Yang. 2003. Korean phrase structure grammar and its implementations into the LKB system. In *Proceedings of the 17th Pacific Asia Conference on Language, Information and Computation*, 88–97.
- Kim, Yong-Beom. 1996. Internally headed relative clause constructions in Korean. In *Proceedings of the 11th Pacific Asia Conference on Language, Information and Computation*, 403–413.
- Kiss, Tibor. 2005. Semantic constraints on relative clause extraposition. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 23(2). 281–334. DOI: [10.1007/s11049-003-1838-7](https://doi.org/10.1007/s11049-003-1838-7).
- Koenig, Jean-Pierre & Knud Lambrecht. 1999. French relative clauses as secondary predicates: A case study in Construction Theory. In Francis Corblin, Carmen Dobrovie-Sorin & Jean-Marie Marandin (eds.), *Empirical issues in formal syntax and semantics 2, selected papers from the Colloque de Syntaxe et Sémantique à Paris (CSSP 1997)*, 191–214. The Hague: Thesus.
- Kubota, Yusuke. 2003. Yet another HPSG-analysis for free relative clauses in German. In Jong-Bok Kim & Stephen Wechsler (eds.), *The proceedings of the 9th International Conference on Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar*, 147–167.

- Stanford, CA: CSLI Publications. <http://cslipublications.stanford.edu/HPSG/3/kubota.pdf> (6 June, 2019).
- Kubota, Yusuke. 2021. HPSG and Categorical Grammar. In Stefan Müller, Anne Abeillé, Robert D. Borsley & Jean-Pierre Koenig (eds.), *Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar: The handbook*, 1289–1350. Berlin: Language Science Press. DOI: ??.
- Lee-Goldman, Russell. 2012. Supplemental relative clauses: internal and external syntax. *Journal of Linguistics* 48(3). 573–608. DOI: [10.1017/S0022226712000047](https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022226712000047).
- Lees, Robert B. 1961. The constituent structure of noun phrases. *American Speech* 36. 159–168.
- Link, Godehard. 1984. Hydras: On the logic of relative constructions with multiple heads. In Fred Landmann & Frank Veltman (eds.), *Varieties of formal semantics*, 245–257. Dordrecht: Foris Publications.
- Melnik, Nurit. 2006. Hybrid agreement as a conflict resolution strategy. In Stefan Müller (ed.), *Proceedings of the 13th International Conference on Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, Sofia*, 228–246. Stanford, CA: CSLI Publications. <http://cslipublications.stanford.edu/HPSG/7/melnik.pdf> (6 June, 2019).
- Müller, Stefan. 1999a. An HPSG-analysis for free relative clauses in German. *Grammars* 2(1). 53–105. DOI: [10.1023/A:1004564801304](https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1004564801304).
- Müller, Stefan. 1999b. *Deutsche Syntax deklarativ: Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar für das Deutsche* (Linguistische Arbeiten 394). Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag. DOI: [10.1515/9783110915990](https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110915990).
- Müller, Stefan. 2002. *Complex predicates: Verbal complexes, resultative constructions, and particle verbs in German* (Studies in Constraint-Based Lexicalism 13). Stanford, CA: CSLI Publications.
- Müller, Stefan. 2004. Continuous or discontinuous constituents? A comparison between syntactic analyses for constituent order and their processing systems. *Research on Language and Computation, Special Issue on Linguistic Theory and Grammar Implementation* 2(2). 209–257. DOI: [10.1023/B:ROLC.0000016785.49729.d7](https://doi.org/10.1023/B:ROLC.0000016785.49729.d7).
- Müller, Stefan. 2016. *Grammatical theory: From Transformational Grammar to constraint-based approaches* (Textbooks in Language Sciences 1). Berlin: Language Science Press. DOI: [10.17169/langsci.b25.167](https://doi.org/10.17169/langsci.b25.167).
- Müller, Stefan. 2021a. Constituent order. In Stefan Müller, Anne Abeillé, Robert D. Borsley & Jean-Pierre Koenig (eds.), *Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar: The handbook*, 353–398. Berlin: Language Science Press. DOI: ??.

- Müller, Stefan. 2021b. HPSG and Construction Grammar. In Stefan Müller, Anne Abeillé, Robert D. Borsley & Jean-Pierre Koenig (eds.), *Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar: The handbook*, 1449–1501. Berlin: Language Science Press. DOI: ??.
- Müller, Stefan & Antonio Machicao y Priemer. 2019. Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar. In András Kertész, Edith Moravcsik & Csilla Rákosi (eds.), *Current approaches to syntax: A comparative handbook* (Comparative Handbooks of Linguistics 3), 317–360. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. DOI: 10.1515/9783110540253-012.
- Mykowiecka, Agnieszka, Małgorzata Marciniak, Adam Przepiórkowski & Anna Kupść. 2003. An implementation of a Generative Grammar of Polish. In Peter Kosta, Joanna Błaszczak, Jens Frasek, Ljudmila Geist & Marzena Żygis (eds.), *Investigations into formal slavic linguistics: Contributions of the Fourth European Conference on Formal Description of Slavic Languages – FDSL IV held at Potsdam University, November 28–30, 2001*, 271–285. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.
- Nanni, Debbie L. & Justine T. Stillings. 1978. Three remarks on pied piping. *Linguistic Inquiry* 9(2). 310–318.
- Nerbonne, John. 1994. Partial verb phrases and spurious ambiguities. In John Nerbonne, Klaus Netter & Carl Pollard (eds.), *German in Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar* (CSLI Lecture Notes 46), 109–150. Stanford, CA: CSLI Publications.
- Pollard, Carl J. 1988. Categorical Grammar and Phrase Structure Grammar: An excursion on the syntax-semantics frontier. In Richard Oehrle, Emmon Bach & Deirdre Wheeler (eds.), *Categorical Grammars and natural language structures*, 391–415. Dordrecht: D. Reidel Publishing Company.
- Pollard, Carl & Ivan A. Sag. 1994. *Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar* (Studies in Contemporary Linguistics). Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Potts, Christopher. 2005. *The logic of conventional implicatures*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Reape, Mike. 1994. Domain union and word order variation in German. In John Nerbonne, Klaus Netter & Carl Pollard (eds.), *German in Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar* (CSLI Lecture Notes 46), 151–198. Stanford, CA: CSLI Publications.
- Richter, Frank & Manfred Sailer. 2004. Basic concepts of Lexical Resource Semantics. In Arnold Beckmann & Norbert Preining (eds.), *ESSLLI 2003 – Course material I* (Collegium Logicum 5), 87–143. Wien: Kurt Gödel Society.

- Ross, John Robert. 1967. *Constraints on variables in syntax*. Appeared as Ross (1986): *Infinite Syntax*. Ablex Publishing Corporation, Norwood, New Jersey. Cambridge, MA: MIT. (Doctoral dissertation).
- Sag, Ivan A. 1997. English relative clause constructions. *Journal of Linguistics* 33(2). 431–484. DOI: [10.1017/S002222679700652X](https://doi.org/10.1017/S002222679700652X).
- Sag, Ivan A. 2010. English filler-gap constructions. *Language* 86(3). 486–545. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40961690> (6 June, 2019).
- Sag, Ivan A. & Danièle Godard. 1994. Extraction of *De*-phrases from the French NP. In *Proceedings of the North East Linguistic Society 24*, 519–541. Department of Linguistics, University of Massachusetts, Amherst: GLSA.
- Sandfeld, Kristian. 1965. *Syntaxe du Français contemporain, les propositions subordonnées*. Genève: Droz.
- Sauerland, Uli. 1998. *The meaning of chains*. Cambridge, MA: MIT. (Doctoral dissertation).
- Schachter, Paul. 1973. Focus and relativization. *Language* 49(1). 19–46.
- Sirai, Hidetoshi & Takao Gunji. 1998. Relative clauses and adnominal clauses. In Takao Gunji & Koiti Hashida (eds.), *Topics in constraint-based grammar of Japanese*, 17–38. Dordrecht: Kluwer.
- Srivastav, Veneeta. 1991. The syntax and semantics of correlatives. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 9(4). 637–686. DOI: [10.1007/BF00134752](https://doi.org/10.1007/BF00134752).
- Steedman, Mark. 1997. *Surface structure and interpretation* (Linguistic Inquiry Monographs 30). Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Taghvaipour, Mehran A. 2005. Persian free relatives. In Stefan Müller (ed.), *Proceedings of the 12th International Conference on Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar, Department of Informatics, University of Lisbon*, 364–374. Stanford, CA: CSLI Publications. <http://csli-publications.stanford.edu/HPSG/2005/> (18 August, 2020).
- Vaillette, Nathan. 2001. Hebrew relative clauses in HPSG. In Dan Flickinger & Andreas Kathol (eds.), *The proceedings of the 7th International Conference on Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar: University of California, Berkeley, 22–23 July, 2000*, 305–324. CSLI Publications. <http://csli-publications.stanford.edu/HPSG/2001/> (18 August, 2020).
- Vaillette, Nathan. 2002. Irish gaps and resumptive pronouns in HPSG. In Frank Van Eynde, Lars Hellan & Dorothee Beermann (eds.), *Proceedings of the 8th International Conference on Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar, Norwegian University of Science and Technology, Trondheim*, 284–299. Stanford, CA: CSLI Publications. <http://csli-publications.stanford.edu/HPSG/2001/> (23 March, 2020).

- Van Eynde, Frank. 2004. Pied piping is a local dependency. In Stefan Müller (ed.), *Proceedings of the 11th International Conference on Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar, Center for Computational Linguistics, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven*, 313–334. Stanford, CA: CSLI Publications. <http://cslipublications.stanford.edu/HPSG/5/vaneynde.pdf> (19 March, 2020).
- van Riemsdijk, Henk. 2006. Grafts follow from Merge. In Mara Frascarelli (ed.), *Phases of interpretation* (Studies in Generative Grammar 91), 17–44. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Vergnaud, J.-R. 1974. *French relative clauses*. Cambridge, MA: MIT. (Doctoral dissertation).
- Walker, Heike. 2017. *The syntax and semantics of relative clause attachment*. Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität. (Doctoral dissertation). <http://publikationen.uni-frankfurt.de/frontdoor/index/index/docId/42757> (6 June, 2017).
- Webelhuth, Gert. 1992. *Principles and parameters of syntactic saturation* (Oxford Studies in Comparative Syntax). New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Webelhuth, Gert, Sascha Bargmann & Christopher Götz. 2018. Idioms as evidence for the proper analysis of relative clauses. In Manfred Krifka & Matthias Schenner (eds.), *Reconstruction effects in relative clauses* (Studia Grammatica 75). Berlin: Akademie Verlag.
- Wechsler, Stephen, Jean-Pierre Koenig & Anthony Davis. 2021. Argument structure and linking. In Stefan Müller, Anne Abeillé, Robert D. Borsley & Jean-Pierre Koenig (eds.), *Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar: The handbook*, 303–352. Berlin: Language Science Press. DOI: ??.
- Wright, Abby & Andreas Kathol. 2003. When a head is not a head: A Constructional approach to exocentricity in English. In Jong-Bok Kim & Stephen Wechsler (eds.), *The proceedings of the 9th International Conference on Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar*, 373–389. Stanford, CA: CSLI Publications. <http://csli-publications.stanford.edu/HPSG/3/> (25 September, 2018).
- Yoo, Eun Jung. 2003. Specificational pseudoclefts in English. In Stefan Müller (ed.), *Proceedings of the 10th International Conference on Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar, Michigan State University, East Lansing*. Stanford, CA: CSLI Publications. <http://csli-publications.stanford.edu/HPSG/2003/> (18 August, 2020).
- Yoo, Eun-Jung. 2008. Transparent free relatives in English. In Stefan Müller (ed.), *Proceedings of the 15th International Conference on Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar, National Institute of Information and Communications*

- Technology, Keihanna*, 274–293. Stanford, CA: CSLI Publications. [http : / / cslipublications.stanford.edu/HPSG/2008/yoo.pdf](http://cslipublications.stanford.edu/HPSG/2008/yoo.pdf) (2 July, 2019).
- Yoon, Jae-Hak. 1993. Different semantics for different syntax: relative clauses in Korean. In Andreas Kathol & Carl J. Pollard (eds.), *Papers in syntax* (OSU Working Papers in Linguistics 42), 199–226. Ohio State University: Department of Linguistics.
- Zalila, Ines & Kais Haddar. 2011. Construction of an HPSG grammar for the Arabic relative sentences. In Galia Angelova, Kalina Bontcheva, Ruslan Mitkov & Nicolas Nicolov (eds.), *Proceedings of Recent Advances in Natural Language Processing, RANLP 2011*, 574–579. Hissar, Bulgaria. <http://www.aclweb.org/anthology/R11-1081> (9 April, 2019).

