

INVESTIGATING RELATIVE CLAUSE EXTRAPosition IN GERMAN USING AN ENRICHED TREEBANK

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Relative Clause Extrapolation

- Relative clauses in German can be realized as part of the head noun phrase (*integrated*) or at the end of the matrix clause (*extraposed*)

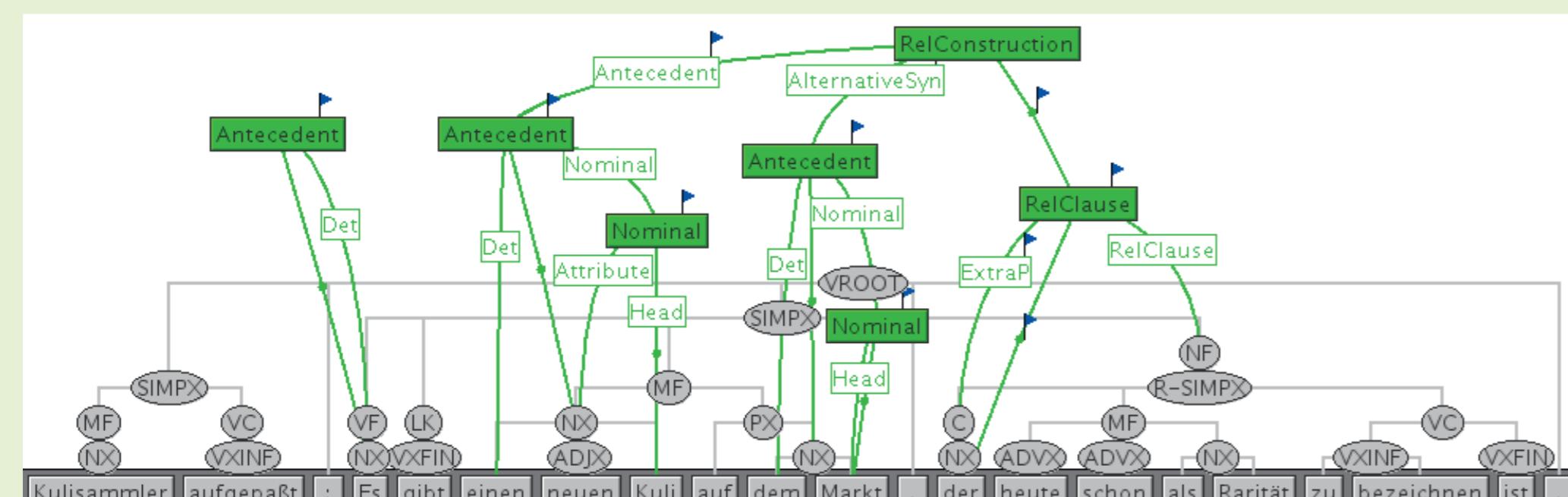
Integrated Relative Clause

Ich habe [DP alle diesbezüglichen Threads [RC die ich finden konnte]] gelesen
I have all relevant threads that I find could read
"I have read all relevant threads that I could find."

Extraposed Relative Clause

Ich habe [DP alle Bücher] gelesen [RC die ich finden konnte]
I have all books read that I find could
"I have read all books that I could find."

Enriching the Treebank with Special-Purpose Annotation

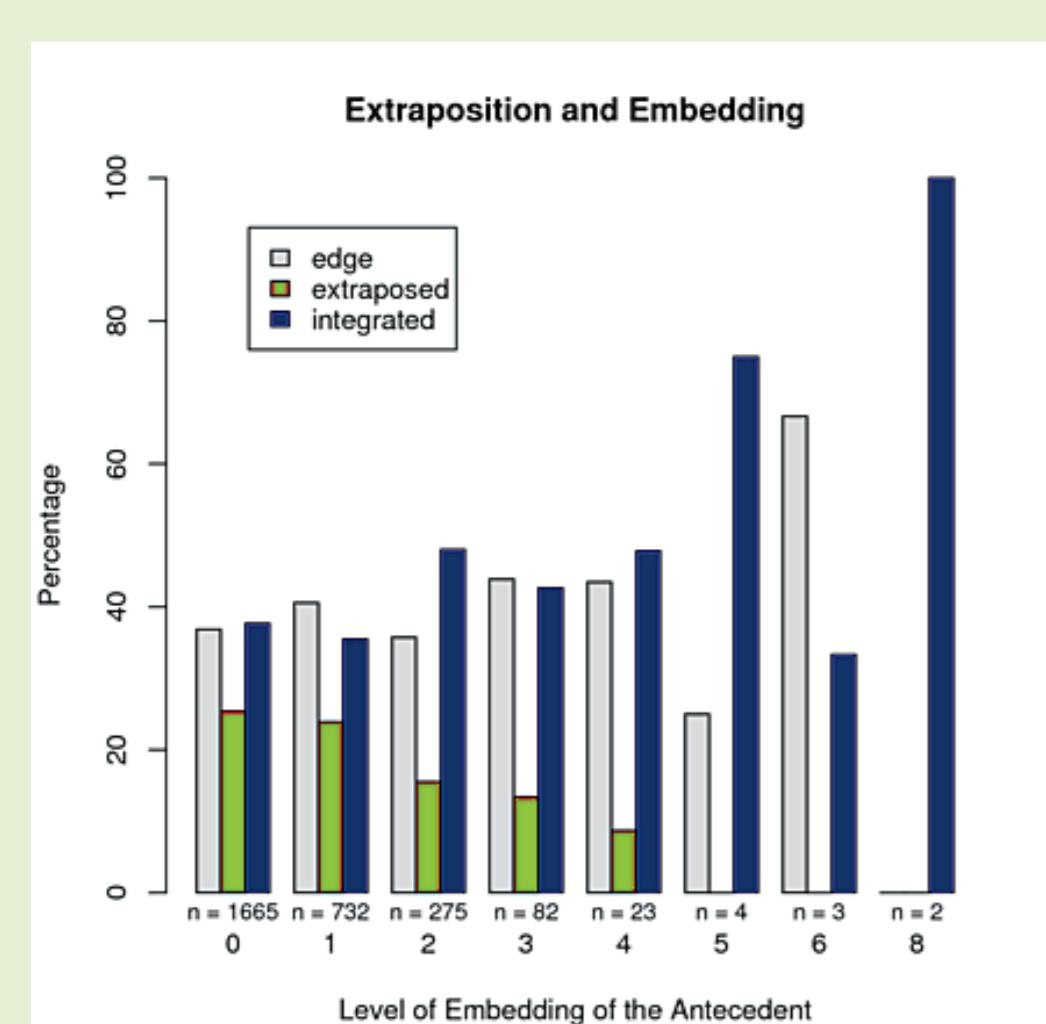


- Relative construction modeled using frames and frame relations
- Features implemented using SALTO flags

Pilot Studies using the Enriched Treebank

Locality (Depth of Embedding of the Antecedent)

- Generative theories of locality predict that the antecedent of an extraposed relative clause cannot be embedded arbitrarily deeply
- Chomsky's (1973) *Subjacency* principle rules out extraposition from an NP/DP that is embedded inside another NP/DP
- Baltin's (2006) *Generalized Subjacency* predicts that the extraposed relative clause must be adjoined to the next higher max. projection
- These theories predict a sharp decline in extraposition likelihood for all antecedents that are embedded at least one level deep
- But extraposition likelihood decreases much more gradually



Basic Corpus

- Tübinger Baumbank des Deutschen / Schriftsprache (TüBa-D/Z) (Tübingen Treebank of Written German) (Telljohann et al., 2005)
- Annotated with a relatively flat syntactic structure including topological fields, part-of-speech tags, and morphological features
- Sub-corpus including all sentences that contain a relative clause (R-SIMPX) extracted using TIGERSearch (Lezius, 2002): 2,603 sentences with 2,789 relative clauses

- Enriching the corpus with a second layer of special-purpose annotation using the tool SALTO (Burchardt et al., 2006) (originally intended for the annotation of frame semantic roles)
- Easy automatic processing of TIGER-XML including the additional "frame" annotation
- Convenient for manual checking, correction, and addition of features
- Features automatically deduced from the underlying treebank: parts of the relative construction, position of the relative clause, depth of embedding, syntactic categories, syntactic functions, person, number, gender, case, definiteness, lengths and distances
- Features added by hand: restrictiveness of the relative clause, potential alternative antecedents
- Planned annotation: semantic class of antecedent (GermaNet), animacy, givenness, information structure

Definiteness of the Antecedent

- Guéron & May (1984) connect extraposition to quantifier raising
 - This predicts that extraposition should only be possible from indefinite or quantified antecedents but not from definite ones
 - In the treebank, extraposition is indeed less likely from def. antecedents than from indef. or quantified ones
 - However, this is only a tendency and in no way categorical
- | | extraposed | integrated | edge |
|------------------------|------------|------------|------------|
| definite (n = 1,322) | 252 (19 %) | 590 (45 %) | 480 (36 %) |
| indefinite (n = 1,122) | 335 (30 %) | 334 (30 %) | 453 (40 %) |

Restrictiveness of the Relative Clause

- Ziv & Cole (1974) claim that appositive relative clauses cannot be extraposed
 - This intuition is confirmed as a tendency in the corpus
 - But falsified if regarded as a categorical constraint
- | | extraposed | integrated | edge |
|-------------------------|------------|------------|------------|
| restrictive (n = 1,207) | 334 (28 %) | 450 (37 %) | 423 (35 %) |
| appositive (n = 1,023) | 180 (17 %) | 457 (45 %) | 386 (38 %) |

Conclusion

- Corpus data show that intuitions from the generative literature go in the right direction but go too far by assuming categorical constraints
- Plan to build complex models of relative clause extraposition both from production and perception perspective based on the treebank