

what versus that (relative pronoun)

Basic rule: Do not use **what** if there is a word in the sentence that **what** could refer to. Use **that**. **that** and **what** head subordinate clauses.

that: **that** refers to a word that is elsewhere in the sentence, usually a noun phrase or pronoun in the main clause. The main clause on its own is usually a grammatically complete sentence.

what: **what** does not refer to another word in the sentence, but rather to a hole (or empty slot = 0) in the main clause. **what** means an undefined something: *the (sort of) thing that* can replace **what**. The main clause on its own is often not a grammatically complete sentence or is missing expected information. The subordinate clause headed by **what** is required to complete the main clause grammatically.

Words in parentheses () can be omitted and grey shading shows the main clause.

that

The yellow car is *the one (that)* I want.

Main clause complete **Subordinate clause**
The yellow car is *the one* *(that)* I want
pronoun

what

The yellow car is **what** I want.

Main clause **Subordinate clause**
The yellow car is **what** I want
0 *the thing that*

The one (that) I want is the yellow car.

Main cl. **Subord. clause** **Main cl. completion**
The one *(that)* I want *is the yellow car*
pronoun

What I want is the yellow car.

Subordinate clause **Main clause incomplete**
What I want **is the yellow car**
the thing that 0

All (that) I saw was a mess.

Main clause **Subordinate clause** **Main cl. completion**
All *(that)* I saw *was a mess*
pronoun

What I saw was a mess.

Subordinate clause **Main clause incomplete**
What I saw **was a mess**
The thing that 0

Is this *the bag that* you need?

Main clause complete **Subord. clause**
Is this *the bag* *that* you need?
noun

Is this bag **what** you need?

Main clause **Subordinate clause**
Is this bag **what** you need?
0 *the sort of thing that*

I saw *the table that* was for sale.

Main clause complete **Subord. clause**
I saw *the table* *(that was)* for sale
noun

I saw **what** was for sale.

Main clause **Subordinate clause**
I saw **what** was for sale
0 *the sort of thing that*

Potential confusion due to **that** and **what**

1. **that** can sometimes be omitted: The yellow car is *the one* I want = The yellow car is *the one that* I want
2. **that** does not always refer to a word elsewhere in the sentence. Here, the entire **that** clause means the thought: 'I will leave soon': I think (**that**) I will leave soon.
The entire **that** clause is the thought that surprised me: (The fact) **That** she came on time surprised me.
3. **which**, not **what**, can refer to an entire preceding clause: She came on time, **which** (fact) surprised me.
4. **that** is sometimes mandatory: e.g., as the subject of a subordinate clause when the verb is not *to be*:
The cat that jumped fell over versus I saw *the table (that was)* for sale
5. **what** cannot be omitted as the head of a subordinate clause.
6. **which** (for things) and **who(m)** (for people) can replace **that**: The lunch **which** I liked... The girl **who** came...
7. **that** and **what** can function as something other than pronouns that head a subordinate clause:
That girl is tall. That's it! I didn't know that. What a girl! What's that? I don't know what.
I don't know what/which meeting is next.