

Chapter 16

Island phenomena and related matters

Rui Chaves

University at Buffalo, SUNY

Extraction constraints on long-distance dependencies – so-called *islands* – have been the subject of intense linguistic and psycholinguistic research for the last half century. Despite of their importance in syntactic theory, the heterogeneity of island constraints has posed many difficult challenges to linguistic theory, across all frameworks. The HPSG perspective of island phenomena is that they are unlikely to be due to a unitary syntactic constraint given the fact that virtually all such island constraints have known exceptions. Rather, it is more plausible that island constraints result from a combination of independently motivated syntactic, semantic, pragmatic and processing phenomena. The present chapter is somewhat different from others in this volume in that its focus is not on HPSG analyses of some phenomena, but rather on the nature of the phenomena itself. This is because there is evidence that most of the phenomena are not purely grammatical, and to that extent independent from HPSG or indeed any theory of grammar. One may call this view of island phenomena ‘minimalist’ in the sense that much of it does not involve formal grammar.

1 Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of various island effects that have received attention from members of the HPSG community. I begin with the extraction constraints peculiar to coordinate structures, which not only have a special status in the history of HPSG but also because they illustrate well the non-unitary nature of island constraints. I then argue that, at a deeper level, some of these constraints are in fact present in many other island types, though not necessarily all. For example, I take it as relatively clear that *factive islands* are purely pragmatic in nature (Oshima 2007), as are *negative islands* (Kroch 1989; Szabolcsi & Zwarts



1993; Abrusán 2011; Fox & Hackl 2006; Abrusán & Spector 2011), although one can quibble about the particular technical details of how such accounts are best articulated. Similarly, the *NP Constraint* in the sense of Horn (1972) is likely to be semantic-pragmatic in nature (Kuno 1987; Godard 1988; Davies & Dubinsky 2009). Conversely, I take it as relatively uncontroversial that the *Clause Non-Final Incomplete Constituent Constraint* is due to processing difficulty (Hukari & Levine 1991; Fodor 1992). See also Kothari (2008) for evidence that ‘bridge’ verb effects in filler-gap dependencies are partly due to lack of contextualization.

In the present chapter I focus on islands that have garnered more attention from members of the HPSG community, and that have caused more controversy cross-theoretically. My goal is to provide an overview of the range of explanations that have been proposed to account for the complex array of facts surrounding islands, and to show that no single unified account is likely.

2 Background

As already detailed in Borsley & Crysmann (2019), Chapter 14 of this volume, HPSG encodes filler-gap dependencies in terms of a set-valued feature *SLASH*. Because the theory consists of a feature-based declarative system of constraints, virtually all that goes on in the grammar involves constraints stating which value a given feature takes. By allowing *SLASH* sets to be unioned, it follows that constructions in which multiple gaps are linked to the same filler are trivially obtained, as in (1).

- (1) a. Which celebrity did [the article insult _ more than it praised _]?
- b. Which celebrity did you expect [[the pictures of _] to bother _ the most]?
- c. Which celebrity did you [inform _ [that the police was coming to arrest _]]?
- d. Which celebrity did you [compare [the memoir of _] [with a movie about _]]?
- e. Which celebrity did you [hire _ [without auditioning _ first]]?
- f. Which celebrity did you [meet _ at a party] and [date _ for a few months]]?

But another advantage of encoding the presence of filler-gap dependencies as a feature is that certain lexical items and constructions can easily impose idiosyncratic constraints on *SLASH* values. For example, to account for languages that

do not allow preposition stranding, it suffices to state that prepositions are necessarily specified as [SLASH {}]. Thus, their complements cannot appear in SLASH instead of COMPS. The converse also occurs. Certain uses of the verb *assure*, for example, are lexically required to have on complement in SLASH rather than in COMPS. Thus, extraction is obligatory as (2) shows.

- (2) a. * I can assure you him to be the most competent.
 b. Who_i can you assure me __i to be the most competent?
 (Kayne 1980).

As we shall see, it would be rather trivial to impose the classic island constraints in the standard syntactic environments in which they arise.¹ The problem is that island effects are riddled with exceptions which defy purely syntactic accounts of the phenomena. Hence, HPSG has generally refrained from assuming that islands are syntactic, in contrast to mainstream linguistic theory.

3 The Coordinate Structure Constraint

Ross (1967) first observed that coordinate structures impose various constraints on long-distance dependencies, shown in (3), collectively dubbed the *Coordinate Structure Constraint*. For perspicuity, I follow Grosu (1973a) in referring to (i) as the *Conjunct Constraint* and to (ii) as the *Element Constraint*.

- (3) COORDINATE STRUCTURE CONSTRAINT (CSC):
 In a coordinate structure, (i) no conjunct may be moved, (ii) nor may any element contained in a conjunct be moved out of that conjunct ...unless each conjunct properly contains a gap paired with the same filler.

The *Conjunct Constraint* (CC) is illustrated by the unacceptability of the extractions in (4). No such constraint is active in other constructions like those in (5) and (6), for example.

- (4) a. * Which celebrity did you see [Priscilla and _]?
 (cf. with 'Did you see Priscilla and Elvis?')
 b. * Which celebrity did you see [_ and Priscilla]?
 (cf. with 'Did you see Elvis and Priscilla?')

¹In such a view, island effects could perhaps result from gramaticized constraints, induced by parsing and performance considerations (Pritchett 1991; Fodor 1978; 1983a).

- c. * Which celebrity did you see [_ or/and a picture of _]?
(cf. with ‘Did you see Elvis or/and a picture of Elvis?’)
- (5) a. Which celebrity did you see Priscilla with _?
(cf. with ‘Did you see Priscilla with Elvis?’)
- b. Which celebrity did you see _ with Elvis?
(cf. with ‘Did you see Priscilla with Elvis?’)
- (6) a. Which celebrity is Kim as tall as _?
- b. Which celebrity you say Robin arrived earlier than _?

HPSG accounts of extraction that assume the existence of traces (Pollard & Sag 1994; Levine & Hukari 2006) the CC must be stipulated at the level of the coordination construction, by stating that conjuncts cannot be empty elements.² On the other hand, the CC follows immediately in a traceless account of filler-gap dependencies (Sag & Fodor 1994; Bouma et al. 2001; Ginzburg & Sag 2000; Sag 2010) since there is simply nothing to conjoin in (4), and thus nothing else needs to be said about conjunct extraction; see Sag (2000) for more criticism of traces.

HPSG’s traceless account of the CC is semantic in nature, in a sense. Coordinators like *and*, *or*, *but* and so on are not regarded as heads that select arguments, and therefore have empty ARG-ST and valence specifications. And given that HPSG assumes that the signs that can appear in a given lexical head SLASH values are valents, then it follows that the signs that coordinators combine with cannot instead be registered in the coordinator’s SLASH feature. Hence, words like *and* have no valents, no arguments and therefore no conjunct extraction. Incidentally, adnominal adjectives cannot be extracted either, for exactly the same reason, as they are not selected by any head, and therefore are not listed in any ARG-ST list.

In order to allow certain adverbials to be extractable, Ginzburg & Sag (2000) assume that they are members of ARG-ST. See Levine & Hukari (2006) for more on adverbial extraction, and see Borsley & Crysmann (2019), Chapter 14 of this volume for further discussion.³

²See however Levine (n.d.: 317–318) for the claim that each conjunct must contain at least one stressed syllable. Given that traces are phonologically silent, noting is there to bear stress and the CC is obtained. This raises the question of why no such stress constraint exists in P-stranding, for example, or indeed in any kind of extraction.

³The empirical facts are less clear when it comes to adnominal PPs, however. Even PPs that are usually regarded as modifiers can sometimes extract, as in *From which shelf am I not supposed*

Let us now turn to the *Element Constraint*, illustrated in (7). As before, the constraint appears to be restricted to coordination structures, as no oddness arises in the comitative counterparts like (8), or in comparatives like (9).⁴

- (7) a. * Which celebrity did you see [Priscilla and a picture of _]?
(cf. with ‘Did you see Priscilla and a picture of Elvis?’)
- b. * Which celebrity did you see [a picture of _ and Priscilla]?
(cf. with ‘Did you see a picture of Elvis and Priscilla?’)
- (8) a. Which celebrity did you see [the brother of _ with Priscilla]?
b. Which celebrity did you see [Priscilla with the brother of _]?
- (9) a. Which celebrity did [[you enjoy the memoir of _ more] than [any other non-fiction book]]?
b. Which celebrity did you say that [[the sooner we take a picture of _], [the quicker we can go home]]?

The ATB exception to the CSC is illustrated by the acceptability of (??), where each conjunct hosts a gap, linked to the same filler. As already noted above in (1), the fact that multiple gaps can be linked to the same filler is not unique to coordination.

Gazdar (1981) and Gazdar et al. (1985) assumed that the coordination rule requires SLASH values to be structure-shared across conjuncts and the mother node, thus predicting both the Element Constraint and the ATB exceptions. The failure of movement-based grammar to predict multiple gap extraction facts was also

to read any books? In many such extractions the PP can alternatively be parsed as VP modifier, which complicates judgements.

⁴Although Winter (2001: 83) and others claim that coordination imposes semantic scope islands, Chaves (2007: 3.6) shows that this is not the case, as illustrated in examples like those below.

- (i) a. The White House is very careful about this. An official representative [[will personally read each document] and [reply to every letter]].
(\forall doc-letter $\supset \exists$ representative / \exists representative $\supset \forall$ doc-letter)
- b. We had to do this ourselves. By the end of the year, some student [[had proof-read every document] and [corrected each theorem]].
(\forall doc-theorem $\supset \exists$ student / \exists student $\supset \forall$ doc-theorem)
- c. Your task is to document the social interaction between [[each female] and [an adult male]].
(\forall female $\supset \exists$ adult male / \exists adult male $\supset \forall$ female)

seen as a major empirical advantage of GPSG/HPSG. A similar constraint is assumed in Pollard & Sag (1994: 202) and Beavers & Sag (2004: 60), among others, illustrated in (10). See Abeillé & Chaves (2019), Chapter 17 of this volume for more discussion about coordination.

(10) COORDINATION CONSTRUCTION (abbreviated)

$$\text{coordinate-phr} \rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{SYNSEM} \mid \text{NONLOCAL} \mid \text{SLASH } \boxed{1} \\ \text{DTRS} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{SYNSEM} \mid \text{NONLOCAL} \mid \text{SLASH } \boxed{1} \\ \text{SYNSEM} \mid \text{NONLOCAL} \mid \text{SLASH } \boxed{1} \end{array} \right\} \end{array} \right]$$

Because the SLASH value $\boxed{1}$ is structure-shared between the mother and the daughters in (10), then all three nodes must bear the same SLASH value. This predicts the CSC and the ATB exceptions straightforwardly. The failure of mainstream Chomskyan grammar to predict these and related multiple gap extraction facts in a precise way is regarded as one of the major empirical advantages of HPSG over movement-based accounts.

But the facts about extraction in coordination structures are more complex than originally assumed, and than (10) allows for. A crucial difference between the Conjunct Constraint and the Element Constraint is that the latter is only in effect if the coordination has a symmetric interpretation (Ross 1967; Goldsmith 1985; Lakoff 1986; Levin & Prince 1986), as in (11).⁵

- (11) a. Here's the whiskey which I [[went to the store] and [bought _]].
 b. Who did Lizzie Borden [[take an ax] and [whack _ to death]]?
 c. How much can you [[drink _] and [still stay sober]]?

The coordinate status of (11) has been questioned since Ross (1967). After all, if these are subordinate structures rather than coordinate structures then the possibility for non-ATB long-distance dependencies ceases to be exceptional. But as Schmerling (1972), Lakoff (1986), Levine (2001) and Kehler (2002: cf.) point out, there is no empirical reason to assume that (11) are anything other than coordination structures.

Another reason to reject the idea that the SLASH values of the daughters and the mother node are simply equated in ATB extraction is the fact that sometimes

⁵In symmetric coordination the order of the conjunct has a reflection on the interpretation. Thus, *Robin jumped on a horse and rode into the sunset* does not mean the same as *Robin rode into the sunset and jumped on a horse*. Conversely, in symmetric coordination the order of the conjuncts has no interpretational differences, as illustrated by the paraphrases *Robin drank a beer* and *Sue ate a burger* and *Sue ate a burger and Robin drank a beer*.

multiple gaps are ‘cumulatively’ combined into a ‘pluralic gap’.⁶ As an example, consider the extractions in (12). There are two possible interpretations for such extractions: one in which the *ex situ* signs (i.e. the gap signs) and the filler phrase are co-indexed, and therefore co-referential, and a second reading in which the two *ex situ* phrases are not co-indexed even though they are linked to the same filler phrase. Rather, the filler phrase refers to a plural referent composed by the referents of the *ex situ* signs, as indicated by the subscripts in (12). For different speakers, the preferred reading is the former, and in other cases, the latter, often depending on the example.

- (12) a. [What]_{i,j} did Kim eat _i and drink _j at the party?
(answer: ‘Kim at pizza and drank beer’)
- b. [Which city]_{i,j} did Jack travel to _i and Sally decide to live in _j?
(answer: ‘Jack traveled to London and Sally decided to live in Rome’)
- c. [Who]_{i,j} did the pictures of _i impress _j the most?
(answer: ‘Robin’s pictures impressed Sam the most’)
- d. [Who]_{i,j} did the rivals of _i shoot _j?
(answer: ‘Robin’s rivals shot Sam’)
- e. [Who]_{i,j} did you send nude photos of _i to _j?
(answer: ‘I sent photos of Sam to Robin’)

In conclusion, the non-ATB exceptions in (11) suggest that the coordination rule should not constrain SLASH at all, as argued for in Chaves (2003). Rather, the Element Constraint, its ATB exceptions in (??a,b), and the asymmetric non-ATB exceptions in (11) are more likely to be the consequence of a independent semantic-pragmatic constraint that requires the filler phrase to be ‘topical’ relative to the clause (Lakoff 1986; Kuno 1987; Kehler 2002; Kubota & Lee 2015). Thus, if the coordination is symmetric, then the topicality requirement distributes over each conjunct, to require that the filler phrase be topical in each conjunct. Consequently, extraction must be ATB in symmetric coordination. No distribution is need take place in asymmetric coordination, and thus both ATB and non-ATB extraction is licit in asymmetric coordination. For an attempt to transfer some of Kuno’s and Kehlers’ insights in to HPSG see Chaves (2003). In the latter proposal, the coordination rule is like most other rules in the grammar in that it says nothing about the SLASH values of the mother and the daughters, along the lines of

⁶See for example Munn (1998; 1999), Postal (1998: 136,160), Kehler (2002: 125), Gawron & Kehler (2003), Zhang (2007), Chaves (2012a), and Vicente (2016).

Levine & Hukari (2006: 354). In other words, the constraints on SLASH in (10) are unnecessary. Rather, pragmatics is the driving force behind how long-distance dependencies propagate one or more conjuncts, depending on the coordination being interpreted symmetrically or not. See Abeillé & Chaves (2019), Chapter 17 of this volume for more discussion.

Let us take stock. The CSC does not receive a unitary account in modern HPSG, given that the Conjunct Constraint and the Element Constraint are of a very different nature. Whereas the former does not admit ATB extraction, and is predicted by a traceless analysis, the latter allows ATB extraction as seen by the contrast between (4c) and (??a,b). Upon closer inspection, the Element Constraint and the ATB exceptions are semantic-pragmatic in nature. As we shall see, a similar conclusion is plausible for various other island phenomena.

4 Complex NP Constraint

The Complex NP Constraint concerns the difficulty in extracting out of complex NPs formed with either relative clauses (13) or complement phrases (14).

- (13) a. * [What]_i does Robin know [someone who has __i]?
(cf. with ‘Does Robin know someone who has a drum kit?’)
b. * [Which language]_i did they hire [someone [who speaks __i]]?
(cf. with ‘Did they hire someone who speaks Arabic?’)
- (14) a. * [Which book]_i do you believe the claim [that Robin plagiarized __i]?
(cf. with ‘Do you believe the claim that Robin plagiarized *this book*?’)
b. * What_i did you believe [the rumor [that Ed disclosed __i]]?
(cf. with ‘Did you believe [the rumor [that Ed disclosed *that*]]?’)

It is tempting to prevent extractions out of adnominal clauses by simply stipulating that the SLASH value of the modifier must be empty, as (4) illustrates. Perhaps, along the lines of Fodor (1978; 1983b), Berwick & Weinberg (1984), and Hawkins (1999; 2004), processing difficulties lead to the grammaticization of such a constraint, effectively blocking any modified head from hosting any gaps.

- (15) HEAD-MODIFIER CONSTRUCTION (abbreviated)

$$head-mod-phr \rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{HEAD-DTR } \boxed{1} \\ \text{DTRS } \left\langle \boxed{1}, \left[\text{SYNSEM } \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{LOC} \mid \text{MOD } \boxed{1} \\ \text{NONLOC} \mid \text{SLASH } \{\} \end{array} \right] \right] \right\rangle \right]$$

However, the robustness of the CNPC has been challenged by various counterexamples over the years (Ross 1967; Pollard & Sag 1994; Kluender 1998; Postal 1998; Sag et al. 2007). The sample in (16) involves acceptable extractions from NP-embedded complement CPs (some of which definite), and (17) involves acceptable extractions from NP-embedded relative clauses.⁷

- (16) a. The money which I am making [the claim [that the company squandered _]] amounts to \$400,000.
(Pollard & Sag 1994: 206, 207)
- b. Which rebel leader did you hear [rumors [that the CIA assassinated _]]?
- c. Which company did Simon spread [the rumor [that he had started _]]?
- d. What did your get [the impression [that the problem really was _]]?
(Kluender 1998)
- (17) a. This is the kind of weather_i that there are [many people [who like __i]].
(Erteschik-Shir & Lappin 1979)
- b. Violence is something_i that there are [many Americans [who condone __i]].
(McCawley 1981: 108)
- c. There were several old rock songs_i that she and I were [the only two [who knew __i]].
(Chung & McCloskey 1983)
- d. This is the chapter_i that we really need to find [someone [who understands __i]].
(Kluender 1992: 238)
- e. Which diamond ring did you say there was [nobody in the world [who could buy __i]]?
(Pollard & Sag 1994: 206)
- f. John is the sort of guy that I don't know [a lot of people [who think well of __i]].

⁷Counterexamples to the CNPC can be found in a number of languages, including Japanese and Korean (Kuno 1973; Nishigauchi 1999), Ahan (Saah & Goodluck 1995), Danish (Erteschik-Shir 1973: ch.2), Swedish (Allwood 1976; Engdahl 1982) Norwegian Engdahl 1980 (Taraldsen 1982) and Romance languages (Cinque 2010). In some languages that support verb constructions the CNPC is not active, which goes with the analysis as complex predicates Abeillé & Vivès (2019).

(Culicover 1999: 230)

In the above counterexamples the relative clauses contribute to the main assertion of the utterance, rather than expressing background information. For example, (17a) asserts ‘There are many people who like this kind of weather’ rather than ‘This the kind of weather’, and so on. Some authors have argued that it is precisely because such relatives express new information that the extraction can escape the embedded clause (Erteschik-Shir & Lappin 1979; Kuno 1987; Deane 1992; Goldberg 2013). If this is correct, then the proper account of CNPC effects is not unlike that of the CSC. In both cases, the information structural status of the clause that contains the gap is crucial to the acceptability of the overall long-distance dependencies.⁸

In addition to pragmatic constraints, Kluender (1992; 1998) also proposed that processing factors also influence the acceptability of CNPC violations. Consider for example the acceptability hierarchy in (18), more specific filler phrases increase acceptability whereas the presence of more specific phrases between the filler and the gap seem to cause increased processing difficulty, and therefore lower the acceptability of the sentence. The symbol ‘<’ reads as ‘is less acceptable than’.

- (18) a. What do you need to find the expert who can translate _? <
 b. What do you need to find an expert who can translate _? <
 c. What do you need to find someone who can translate _? <
 d. Which document do you need to find an expert who can translate _?

There is on-line sentence processing evidence that CNPC violations with more informative fillers are more acceptable and are processed faster at the gap site than violations with less informative fillers (Hofmeister & Sag 2010), as in (19).

⁸Although it is sometimes claimed that such island effects are also active in logical form and semantic scope (May 1985; Ruys 1993; Fox 2000; Sabbagh 2007; Bachrach & Katzir 2008), there is much reason to be skeptical. For example, the universally quantified noun phrase in (i) is embedded in a relative clause and can have wide scope over the indefinite *someone*, constituting a semantic CNPC violation. Note that these relatives are not presentational, and therefore are not specially permeable to extraction.

- (i) a. We were able to find someone who was an expert on each of the castles we planned to visit. (Copestake et al. 2005: 304)
 b. John was able to find someone who is willing to learn every language that we intend to study. (Chaves 2014)

- (19) a. ? Who did you say that nobody in the world could ever depose _ ?
 b. Which military dictator did you say that nobody in the world could ever depose _ ?

The same difference in reading times is found in sentences without CPNP violations, in fact. For example, (20b) was found to be read faster at *encouraged* than (20a). Crucially, that critical region of the sentence is not in the path of any filler-gap dependency.

- (20) a. The diplomat contacted the dictator who the activist looking for more contributions encouraged to preserve natural habitats and resources.
 b. The diplomat contacted the ruthless military dictator who the activist looking for more contributions encouraged to preserve natural habitats and resources.

Given that finite tensed verbs can be regarded as definite, and infinitival verbs as indefinite *Partee (1984)*, and given that finiteness can create processing difficulty (*Kluender 1992; Gibson 2000*), then acceptability clines like (21) are to be expected. See *Levine & Hukari (2006: ch.5)* and *Levine (n.d.: 308)* for more discussion.

- (21) a. Who did you wonder what Mary said to _ ? <
 b. Who did you wonder what to say to _ ? <
 c. Which of the people at the party did you wonder what to say to _ ?

4.1 On D-Linking

The amelioration caused by more specific (definite) *wh*-phrases as in (18d), (19b) and (21c) has been called a ‘D-Linking’ effect (*Pesetsky 1987; 2000*). It purportedly arises if the set of possible answers is pre-established or otherwise salient. But there are several problems with the D-Linking story. First, there is currently no non-circular definition of D-Linking; see *Pesetsky (2000: 16)*, *Ginzburg & Sag (2000: 247–250)*, *Chung (1994: 33, 39)*, *Levine & Hukari (2006: 242, 268–271)*. Second, the counterexamples above are given out-of-the-blue, and therefore cannot evoke any preexisting set of referents, as D-Linking requires. Furthermore, nothing should prevent D-Linking with a bare *wh*-item, as Pesetsky himself acknowledges, but on the other hand there is no experimental evidence that context can lead to D-linking of a bare *wh*-phrase (*Sprouse 2007; Villata et al. 2016*).⁹

⁹For more detailed criticism of D-Linking see *Hofmeister et al. (2007)*.

Kluender & Kutas (1993), Sag et al. (2007), Hofmeister (2007b), Hofmeister (2007a) and Hofmeister & Sag (2010) argue that more definite *wh*-phrases improve the acceptability of extractions because they resist memory decay better than indefinites, and are compatible with fewer potential gap sites. In addition, Kroch (1989) and Levine & Hukari (2006: 270) point out that D-Linking amelioration effects may simply result from the plausibility of background assumptions associated with the proposition.

4.2 On memory limitations

Sprouse et al. (2012a) use *n*-back and serial recall tasks to argue that there is no evidence that working memory limitations correlate with island acceptability, and therefore that the ‘processing-based’ account of islands put forth by Kluender (1992; 1998), Kluender & Kutas (1993), (Hofmeister & Sag 2010) and others is unfounded. To be sure, it cannot be stressed enough that the accounts in Kluender (1992) and (Hofmeister & Sag 2010) are not strictly based on performance, and involve other factors as well, most notably plausibility and pragmatic factors. See in particular Hofmeister et al. (2013: 49), where it is argued that at least some extraction constraints may be due to a combination of syntactic, semantic, pragmatic, and performance factors. Basically, if the correct location of a gap is syntactically, semantically, or pragmatically highly unlikely in that particular utterance, then it is less likely for the sentence to be acceptable. Indeed, there is independent experimental evidence that speakers attend to probabilistic information about the syntactic distribution of filler-gap dependencies (van Schijndel et al. 2014), and that gap predictability is crucial for on-line processing of islands (Michel 2014).¹⁰ But as Sprouse et al. (2012b) point out, there is no reason to believe that *n*-back and serial recall tasks are strongly correlated to working memory capacity to begin with. Second, one of the main points of (Hofmeister & Sag 2010) is that the literature on experimental island research has not systematically controlled for multiple factors that can impact the processing and comprehension of complex sentences. If the experimental items are excessively complex, then readers are more likely to give up understanding the utterances

¹⁰More broadly, there is good evidence that speakers deploy probabilistic information when processing a variety of linguistic input, including words (Altmann & Kamide 1999; Arai & Keller 2013; Creel et al. 2008; DeLong et al. 2005; Kutas & Hillyard 1984), lexical categories (Gibson 2006; Levy & Keller 2013; Tabor et al. 1997), syntactic structures (Levy et al. 2012; Lau et al. 2006; Levy 2008; Staub & Clifton 2006), semantics (Altmann & Kamide 1999; Federmeier & Kutas 1999; Kamide et al. 2003), and pragmatics (Ni et al. 1996; Mak et al. 2008; Roland et al. 2012).

and subtler effects will not be measurable. Phillips (2013b), however, regard such concerns as irrelevant. Although it is unclear to what extent expectations and processing constraints contribute to island effects, it is likely that they play some role in CNPC effects, as well as other island types discussed below.

5 Right Roof Constraint

Rightward movement is traditionally regarded as being clause bounded. Such *Right Roof Constraint* (Ross 1967) effects are illustrated in (22), in which a phrase appears *ex situ* in a position to the right of its *in situ* counterpart; see Akmajian (1975), Baltin (1978), and Stowell (1981), among others.

- (22) a. * I [met a man [who knows $_i$] yesterday] [all of your songs] $_i$.
 b. * [[That a review $_i$ came out yesterday] is catastrophic] [of this article] $_i$.
 c. * It was believed $_x$ that [there walked into the room] $_y$ [by everyone] $_x$ [a man with long blond hair] $_y$.
 (Rochemont 1992)

When treated as a form of extraction, rightward movement has been predominantly accounted for via a feature EXTRA(POSED) (Keller 1995; van Noord & Bouma 1996; Van Eynde 1996; Keller 1994; Müller 1999; Kim & Sag 2005), rather than by SLASH. Thus, RRC island effects can be easily modeled by stipulating that the EXTRA value of an S node must be empty. One way to do so is to state that any S dependent (valent or adjunct) must be [EXTRA {}]. Thus, no extraposed element may escape its clause. However, the oddness of (22) may not be due any such syntactic stipulation, given the acceptability of counterexamples like (23). Note that the adverbial interveners in such examples do not require parenthetical prosody. Conversely, even strong parenthetical prosody on the adverbs in (22) fails to improve those data.

- (23) a. I've [been requesting [that you pay back $_$] [ever since May]] [the money I lent to you a year ago].
 (Kayne 2000: 251)
 b. I've [been wanting to [meet someone who KNOWS $_$] [ever since I was little]] [exactly what happened to Amelia Earhart].
 c. I've been wondering if it is possible $_$ [for many years now] [for anyone to memorize the Bible word for word].
 (Chaves 2014: 861)

The durative semantics of *I've been wanting/requesting/wondering* raises an expectation about the realization of a durative adverbial expression like *ever since* or *for many years* that provides information about the durative semantics of the main predicate. Hence, the adverb is cued by the main predication, in some sense, and coheres much better in a high attachment than with a lower one.

The fact that the RRC is prone to exceptions has been noted by multiple authors as the sample in (24) illustrates. In all such cases, a phrase is right-extracted from an embedded clause, which should be flat out impossible if extraposition is clause-bounded. Again, the adverbial interveners in (24) do not require any special prosody, which means that these data cannot be easily discarded as parenthetical insertions.

- (24) a. I have [wanted [to know _] for many years] [exactly what happened to Rosa Luxemburg].
(attributed to Witten (1972) in Postal (1974: 92n))
- b. I have [wanted [to meet _] for many years] [the man who spent so much money planning the assassination of Kennedy].
(attributed to Janet Fodor (p.c.) in Gazdar (1981: 177))
- c. Sue [kept [regretting _] for years] [that she had not turned him down].
(Van Eynde 1996)
- d. She has been [requesting that he [return _] [ever since last Tuesday]] [the book that John borrowed from her last year].
(Kayne 2000: 251)
- e. Mary [wanted [to go _] until yesterday] [to the public lecture].
(Howard Lasnik 2007 course handout¹¹)

Further evidence against a syntactic account of RRC comes from corpora (Müller 2004; 2007) and experimental findings (Strunk & Snider 2008; 2013), which confirm that extraposition does not always obey island constraints. The counterexamples in (25a–c) are adapted from Strunk & Snider (2008) and Strunk & Snider (2013), and those in (25d–f) are from Chaves (2014: 863).

- (25) a. [In [what noble capacity _]] can I serve him [that would glorify him and magnify his name]?
b. We drafted [a list of basic demands _] last night [that have to be unconditionally met or we will go on strike].

¹¹<http://ling.umd.edu/~lasnik/LING819%202007/Multiple%20Sluicing%20819%20.pdf>; Retr. 2009.

- c. For example, we understand that Ariva buses have won [a number of contracts for routes in London _] recently, [which will not be run by low floor accessible buses].
- d. Robin bought [a copy of a book _] yesterday [about ancient Egyptian culture].
- e. I'm reading [a book written by a famous physicist _] right now, [who was involved in the Manhattan Project].
- f. I saw [your ad in a magazine _] yesterday [on the table at the dentist office].

Grosu (1973b), Gazdar (1981) and Stucky (1987) argued that the RRC is the result of performance factors such as syntactic and semantic parsing expectations and memory resource limitations, not grammar proper. Indeed, we now know that there is a general well-known tendency for the language processor to prefer attaching new material to the more recent constituents (Frazier & Clifton 1996; Gibson et al. 1996; Traxler et al. 1998; Fodor 2002; Fernández 2003). Indeed, eye-tracking studies like Staub et al. (2006) indicate that the parser is reluctant to adopt extraposition parses. This explains why extraposition in written texts is less common in proportion to length of the intervening material (Uszkoreit et al. 1998): the longer the structure, the bigger the processing burden. Crucially, however, the preference for the closest attachment can be weakened by many factors (Fernández 2003; Desmet et al. 2006; De Vicenzi & Job 1993; Carreiras 1992). For example, Levy et al. (2012) show that relative clause extraposition creates significant processing difficulty when compared with non-extraposed counterparts of the same sentences, but that a preceding context that sets up a strong expectation for a relative clause modifying a given noun can facilitate comprehension of an extraposed relative clause modifying that noun. In other words, in spite of a larger processing burden, some extrapositions can be made easier to process by parsing expectations.

A detailed account of extraposition island phenomena does not exist in any framework, as far as I am aware. But the line of inquiry first proposed by Grosu (1973b), Gazdar (1981) and Stucky (1987), and later experimentally supported by Levy et al. (2012), Strunk & Snider (2008), and Strunk & Snider (2013) seems to be in the right track. If so, then there is no syntactic constraint on EXTRA. Rather, RCC effects are to a large extent the result of difficulty in integrating the extraposed phrase in its *in situ* position.

(26) a. Who_j did you [give [a picture of __j] [to Robin]]?
b. Did you [give __i [to Robin] [a picture of my brother]_i]?
(27) a. * Who_j did you [give a picture __i] [to Robin] [of __j]_i?
b. * Who_j did you [give __i [to Robin] [a picture of __j]_i]?
c. * Who_j did you [give __i [to __j] [a picture of my brother]_i]?
The examples in (26) and (27) are taken from the literature on the syntax-semantics interface. The examples in (26) are taken from Rizzi (1986) and the examples in (27) are taken from Rizzi (1986) and Rizzi (1986).

(28) a. *This is a problem which_i John_j is difficult to talk to _{-j} about _{-i}.
 b. *Who_j can't you remember which papers_i you sent copies of _{-i} to _{-j}?

Draft of 3rd February 2019, 15:53

Finally, prosodic and pragmatic factors are likely also at play in (27), as in the RRC. Huck & Na (1990) show that when an unstressed stranded preposition is separated from its selecting head by another phrase, oddness ensues for prosodic reasons. Finally, Huck & Na (1990) and Bolinger (1992) also argue that freezing effects are also in part due to a pragmatic conflict created by extraposition and extraction: *wh*-movement has extracted a phrase leftward, focusing interest on that expression, while at the same time extraposition has moved a constituent rightward, focusing interest on that constituent as well. Objects tend to be extraposed when they are discourse new, and even more so when they are heavy (Wasow 2002: 71). Therefore, the theme phrase *a picture of John* in (27c) is strongly biased to be discourse new, but this clashes with the fact that an entirely different entity, the recipient, is leftward extracted, and therefore is the *de facto* new information that the open proposition is about. No such mismatch exists in (27a) or (27b), in contrast, where the extraposed theme is more directly linked to the entity targeted by leftward extraction.

6 Subject islands

Extraction out of subject phrases like (29) is broadly regarded to be impossible in several languages, including English Ross (1967); Chomsky (1973), an effect referred to as a *Subject Island* (SI). This constraint is much less severe in languages like Japanese, German, and Spanish, among others (Stepanov 2007; Jurka et al. 2011; Goodall 2011; Sprouse et al. 2015; Fukuda et al. 2018; Polinsky et al. 2013).

- (29) a. * Who did stories about terrify John?
(Chomsky 1977: 106)
- b. * Who was a picture of laying there?
(Kayne 1981: 114)
- c. * Who do you think pictures of would please John?
(Huang 1982: 497)
- d. * Who does the claim that Mary likes upset Bill?
(Lasnik & Saito 1992: 42)
- e. * Which candidate were posters of all over the town?
(Lasnik & Park 2003)

However, English exceptions were noticed early on, and have since accumulated in the literature. In fact, for Ross (1967), English extractions like (30a) are not

illicit, and more recently Chomsky (2008: 147) has added more such counterexamples. Other authors noted that certain extractions from subject phrases are naturally attested, as in (30b,c). Indeed, Abeillé et al. (2018) shows that extractions like those in (30c) are in fact acceptable to native speakers, and that no such island effect exists in French either.¹²

- (30) a. [Of which cars]_i were [the hoods __i] damaged by the explosion?
(Ross 1967: 4.252)
- b. They have eight children [of whom]_i [five __i] are still living at home.
(Huddleston et al. 2002: 1093)
- c. Already Agassiz had become interested in the rich stores of the extinct fishes of Europe, especially those of Glarus in Switzerland and of Monte Bolca near Verona, [of which]_i, at that time, [only a few __i] had been critically studied.
(Santorini 2007)

English exceptions to the SI constraint are not restricted to PP extractions, however. Although Ross (1967) claimed NP extractions from NP subjects like (31) are illicit, it was arguably premature to generalize from such a small sample.

- (31) a. The hoods of these cars were damaged by the explosion.
- b. *Which cars were the hoods of damaged by the explosion?
(Ross 1967)

Indeed, a number of authors have noted that some NP extractions from subject NPs are either passable or fairly acceptable, as illustrated in (32). See also Pollard & Sag (1994: 195,ft.32), Postal (1998), Sauerland & Elbourne (2002: 304), Culicover (1999: 230), Levine & Hukari (2006: 265), Chaves (2012b: 470,471), and Chaves & Dery (2014).

- (32) a. [What]_i were [pictures of __i] seen around the globe?
(Kluender 1998: 268)
- b. It's [the kind of policy statement]_i that [jokes about __i] are a dime a dozen.
(Levine et al. 2001: 204)

¹²For completeness, other authors argue that PP extractions from NP subjects are illicit, such as Lasnik & Park (2003: 653), among many others.

- c. There are [certain topics]_i that [jokes about __i] are completely unacceptable.
(Levine & Sag 2003: 252, ft.6)
- d. [Which car]_i did [some pictures of __i] cause a scandal?
(Jiménez-Fernández 2009: 111)
- e. [What]_i did [the attempt to find __i] end in failure?
(Hofmeister & Sag 2010: 370)
- f. [Which president]_i would [the impeachment of __i] cause outrage?
(Chaves 2012b)
- g. I have a question_i that [the probability of you knowing the *answer to* __i] is zero.
(Chaves 2013)

Whereas SI violations involving subject CPs are not attested, those involving infinitival VP subjects like (33) are. See Chaves (2012b: 471) for more natural occurrences.

- (33) a. The eight dancers and their caller, Laurie Schmidt, make up the Farmall Promenade of nearby Nemaha, a town_i that [[to describe __i as tiny] would be to overstate its size].
(Huddleston et al. 2002: 1094, ft.27)
- b. In his bedroom, [which]_i [to describe __i as small] would be a gross understatement, he has an audio studio setup.
- c. They amounted to near twenty thousand pounds, [which]_i [to pay __i] would have ruined me. (Benjamin Franklin, William Temple Franklin and William Duane. 1834. *Memoirs of Benjamin Franklin*, vol 1. p.58)

Incidentally, Subject phrases are not extraposition islands either, as in (34). See also Guéron & May (1984). Odd examples like *[*Pictures* _] *frighten people* [*of John*] from Drummond (2009), are more likely due to a digging-in effect, caused by speakers assuming that the subject is syntactically and semantically complete by the end of the verb phrase.

- (34) a. [The circulation of a rumor __i] has started [that Obama will not seek re-election]_i.
- b. [A copy of a new book __i] arrived yesterday [about ancient Egyptian culture]_i.

- c. [Concerns about the deaths $_i$] were raised [of two diplomatic envoys recently abducted in Somalia] $_i$.

6.1 Clausal Subject Constraint

Let us consider now SI effects involving more complex subjects. Infinitival subject clauses seem to impose no SI constraint, an observation going back to Kuno & Takami (1993), but noted elsewhere a few times:

- (35) a. This is something [which] $_i$ – for you to try to understand $_i$ – would be futile.
(Kuno & Takami 1993: 49)
- b. I just met Terry’s eager-beaver research assistant [who] $_i$ – for us to talk to $_i$ about any subject other than linguistics – would be absolutely pointless.
(Levine & Hukari 2006: 265)
- c. There are [people in this world] $_i$ that – for me to describe $_i$ as despicable – would be an understatement.
(Chaves 2012b: 471).

Infinitival subjects contrast dramatically with finite subjects. The latter are renowned for being particularly hard to extract from, as in (36). Ross (1967) dubbed this extreme kind of SI the *Sentential Subject Constraint* (SSC). See also Chomsky (1973), Huang (1982), Chomsky (1986), Freidin (1992).¹³

- (36) a. * [Who] $_i$ did [that Maria Sharapova beat $_i$] surprise everyone?
(cf. with ‘That Maria Sharapova beat Serena Williams surprised everyone’)
- b. * [Who] $_i$ did [that Robin married $_i$] surprise you?
(cf. with ‘Did that Robin married Sam surprise you?’)

There are some functional reasons for why clausal SI violations may be so strong. First, subject clauses are notorious for being particularly difficult to process, independent of extraction. Clausal subjects are often stylistically marked

¹³That said, Chaves (2013) reports that some native speakers find SSC violations like (i) to be fairly acceptable, again raising some doubt about the robustness of English SI effects:

- (i) [Which actress] $_i$ does [whether Tom Cruise marries $_i$] make any difference to you?

and difficult to process, as (37a) illustrates. Thus, it is extremely hard to embed a clausal subject within another clausal subject, even though such constructions ought to be perfectly grammatical, like (37b,c). In addition, it is known that tense can induce greater processing costs (Kluender 1992; Gibson 2000).

- (37) a. That the food that John ordered tasted good pleased him.
(Cowper 1976; Gibson 1991)
- b. * That that Jill left bothered Sarah surprised Max.
(Kimball 1973)
- c. * That that the world is round is obvious is dubious.
(Kuno 1974)

Interestingly, clausal subjects become more acceptable if extraposed as shown in (38). The explanation offered by Fodor et al. (1974: 356–357) is that speakers tend to take the initial clause in the sentence to be the main clause. Thus, *that* is taken to be the subject, but the remainder of the structure does not fit this pattern. Thus, a sentence like (38a) causes increased processing load because it has a different structure than the parser expects. This processing problem does not arise in the counterpart in (38b).¹⁴

- (38) a. ? That [it is obvious that [the world is round]] is dubious.
- b. It is dubious that [it is obvious that [the world is round]].
(Kuno 1974)

Indeed, Fodor & Garrett (1967), Bever (1970), Frazier & Rayner (1988) also show that extraposed clausal subject sentences like (39a) are easier to process than their in-situ counterparts like (39b). Not surprisingly, the former are much more frequent than the latter, which explains why the parser would expect the former more than the latter.

- (39) a. It surprised Max that Mary was happy.
- b. That Mary was happy surprised Max.

¹⁴See Gibson (2006) for online evidence that the word *that* is preferentially interpreted as a determiner even in syntactic contexts where it cannot be a determiner. The use of ‘determiner’ corresponds to the traditional term, referring to a certain category of prenominal constituent rather than to the whole nominal phrase including the noun and all its dependents. Gibson’s evidence suggests that both top-down (syntactic) expectations are independent from bottom-up (lexical) frequency-based expectations in sentence processing. Thus, clausal subject phrase starting with the complementizer *that* is likely to be misparsed as a matrix clause with sentence-initial pronominal or determiner *that*.

Note that embedded conditionals like (6.1a) are also exceedingly difficult to parse, although perfectly syntactically well-formed. However, such structures can become more acceptable with fewer embeddings to strain working memory, and with judicious use of prosodic cues that indicate the relevant structure, as illustrated by the acceptability of (6.1b). This is evidence that the oddness of (6.1) is at least in part due to performance.

- (40) If – if every time it snowed there was no school – then there wouldn’t be classes all winter.

If we add a filler-gap dependency to a sentence that already is complex by virtue of having a clausal subject, the resulting structure may be too difficult to parse. This point is illustrated by the contrast in (41).

- (41) a. ?* What does that he will come prove?
b. What does his coming prove?
(Lewis 1993)

As argued by Davies & Dubinsky (2009), the low acceptability of extraction in subject-auxiliary inversion sentences with clausal subjects is more likely to be the result of extragrammatical factors than of grammatical conditions. For example, not all extractions like (42b) are unacceptable, as Delahunty (1983: 382–387) and Davies & Dubinsky (2009: 115) point out.

- (42) a. That the food that John ordered tasted good pleased me.
b. * Who did that the food that John ordered tasted good please _ ?

The evidence discussed so far suggests that sentences involving extraction and clausal subjects are odd is at least in part due to the likely cumulative effect of various sources of processing complexity. Sentences with sentential subjects are unusual structures, which can mislead the parser into the wrong analysis. A breakdown in comprehension can occur because the parser must hold complex incomplete phrases in memory while processing the remainder of the sentence. The presence of a filler-gap dependency will likely only make the sentence harder to process. It is independently known that the more committed the parser becomes to a syntactic parse, the harder it is to reanalyze the string (Ferreira & Henderson 1991; 1993; Tabor & Hutchins 2004). This is usually referred to as a “digging-in” effect. For example, unless prosodic or contextual cues are employed to boost the activation of the correct parse, (6.1) will be preferentially misanalysed as having the structure [NP [V [NP]]].

- (43) Fat people eat accumulates.

The garden-path effect that the digging-in causes in example (6.1) serves as an analogy for what may be happening in particularly difficult subject island violations. In both cases, the sentences have exactly one grammatical analysis, but that parse is preempted by a highly preferential alternative which ultimately cannot yield a complete analysis of the sentence. Thus, without prosodic cues indicating the extraction site, sentences like (44) induce a significant digging-in effect as well.

- (44) a. * Which problem will a solution to be found by you?
 b. * Which disease will a cure for be found by you?

This also explains why SI violations like (45) are relatively acceptable: the processing cost of an NP-embedded causal is smaller than the processing cost incurred by processing a clausal subject.¹⁵ Clausal subjects are unusual structures, inconsistent with the parser expectations (Fodor et al. 1974), and the presence of filler-gap dependency in an NP-embedded clausal subject is less likely to cause difficulty for the parse to go awry than a filler-gap dependency in a clausal subject.¹⁶

- (45) a. [Which puzzle]_i did the fact that nobody could solve __i astonish you the most?
 b. [Which crime]_i did the fact that nobody was accused of __i astonish you the most?
 c. [Which question]_i did the fact that none of us could answer __i surprise you the most?

¹⁵For claims that NP-embedded clausal SI violations are illicit see Lasnik & Saito (1992: 42), Phillips (2006: 796), and Phillips (2013a: 67).

¹⁶Clausen (2010; 2011) provide experimental evidence that complex subjects cause a measurable increase in processing load, with and without extraction. Moreover, it is known that elderly adults have far more difficulty repeating sentences with complex subjects than sentences with complex objects (Kemper 1986). Similar difficulty is found in timed reading comprehension tasks (Kynette & Kemper 1986), and in disfluencies in non-elderly adults (Clark & Wasow 1998). Speech initiation times for sentences with complex subjects are also known to be longer than for sentences with simple subjects (Ferreira 1991; Tsiamtsiouris & Cairns 2009), and sentences with center-embedding in subjects are harder to process than sentences with center-embedding in objects (Amy & Noziet 1978; Eady & Fodor 1981). Finally, Garnsey (1985), Kutas et al. (1988), and Petten & Kutas (1991) show that the processing of open-class words, particularly at the beginning of sentences, require greater processing effort than closed-class words.

- d. [Which joke]_i did the fact that nobody laughed at __i surprise you the most?

6.2 Accounts of SI effects

This complex array of effects suggests that the SI constraint is not due to a single factor (Chomsky 2008; Chaves 2013; Jiménez-Fernández 2009), be it grammatical or otherwise. One possibility is that SIs are partly due to pragmatic and processing constraints, perhaps not too different from those that appear to be active in the island effects discussed so far. As Kluender (2004: 495) notes: ‘Subject Island effects seem to be weaker when the *wh*-phrase maintains a pragmatic association not only with the gap, but also with the main clause predicate, such that the filler-gap dependency into the subject position is construed as of some relevance to the main assertion of the sentence’. Indeed, many authors (Erteschik-Shir 1981; Van Valin 1986; Kuno 1987; Takami 1992; Deane 1992; Goldberg 2013) have argued that extraction is in general restricted to the informational focus of the proposition, and that Subject Islands (among others) are predicted as a consequence. In a nutshell, since subjects are typically reserved for topic continuity, subject-embedded referents are unlikely to be the informational focus of the utterance. Although it is not easy to construct sentences where a dependent of the subject can be easily deemed as the informational focus, it is by no means impossible. For instance, (46a) is particularly acceptable because whether or not an impeachment causes outrage crucially depends on who is impeached (cf. with *Would the impeachment of Donald Trump cause outrage?*). Similarly, in (46b) whether or not an attempt failed or succeeded crucially depends on what was attempted (cf. with *The attempt to find the culprit ended in failure*).

- (46) a. Which President would [the impeachment of _] cause outrage?
(Chaves 2012b)
- b. What did [the attempt to find _] end in failure?
(Hofmeister & Sag 2010: 370)

Although experimental research has confirmed that sentences with SI violations tend to be less acceptable than grammatical controls (Sprouse 2009; Goodall 2011; Crawford 2011; Clausen 2011; Sprouse et al. 2015), and that their acceptability remains consistently low during repeated exposition (Sprouse 2009; Crawford 2011), other research has found that the acceptability of SI violations is not consistently low, and can be made to increase significantly (Hiramatsu 2000; Clausen 2011; Chaves & Dery 2014; Chaves 2012a). This mixed evidence is consistent

with the idea that SI effects are very sensitive to the particular syntax, semantics, and pragmatics of the utterance in which they occur. If the items are too complex, or stylistically awkward, or presuppose unusual contexts, then SI effects are strong. For example, if the extraction is difficult to process because the sentence gives rise to local garden-path and digging-in effects, and is pragmatically infelicitous in the sense that the extracted element is not particularly relevant for the proposition (i.e. unlikely to be what the proposition is about) or comes from the presupposition rather than the assertion, then we obtain a very strong SI effect. Otherwise, the SI effect is weaker, and in some cases nearly non-existent like (46), (33), or the pied-piping examples studied by Abeillé et al. (2018). The latter involve relative clauses, in which subjects are not strongly required to be topics, in contrast to the subjects or main clauses.

This approach also explains why subject-embedded gaps often become more acceptable in the presence of a second non-island gap: since the two gaps are co-indexed, then the fronted referent is trivially relevant for the main assertion, as it is predicated by the main verb. For example, the low acceptability of (47a) is arguably caused by the lack of plausibility of the described proposition: without further contextual information, it is unclear how the attempt to repair an unspecified thing *x* is connected to the attempt causing damage to a car.

- (47) a. * What did [the attempt to repair _] ultimately damage the car?
 b. What did [the attempt to repair _] ultimately damage _ ?
 (Phillips 2006)

The example in (47a) becomes more acceptable if it is contextually established that *x* is a component of the car. In contrast, (47b) is felicitous even out-of-the-blue because it conveys a proposition that is readily recognized as being plausible according to world knowledge: attempting to fix *x* can cause damage to *x*. If Subject Island effects are indeed contingent on how relevant the extracted subject-embedded referent is for the assertion expressed by the proposition, then a wide range of acceptable patterns is to be expected, parasitic or otherwise. This includes cases like (48), where both gaps are in Subject Island environments. As Levine & Sag (2003), Levine & Hukari (2006: 256), and Culicover (2013: 161) note, cases like (48) should be completely unacceptable, contrary to fact.

- (48) This is a man who [friends of _] think that [enemies of _] are everywhere.

The conclusion that Subject Island effects are contingent on the particular proposition expressed by the utterance and its pragmatics thus seems unavoid-

able (Chaves & Dery 2019). In order to test this hypothesis, Chaves & Dery (2019) examine the the acceptability of sentences like (49), which crucially express nearly-identical truth conditions and have equally acceptable declarative counterparts. This way, any source of acceptability contrast must come from the extraction itself, not from the felicity of the proposition.

- (49) a. Which country does the King of Spain resemble [the President of _]?
 b. Which country does [the President of _] resemble the King of Spain?

The results indicate that although the acceptability of the SI counterpart in (49b) is initially significantly lower than (49a), it gradually improves. After 8 exposures, the acceptability of near-truth-conditionally equivalent sentences like (49) becomes non-statistically different. What this suggests is that SI effects are at least in part probabilistic: the semantic, syntactic and pragmatic likelihood of a subject-embedded gap likely matters for how acceptable such extractions are. This is most consistent with the claim that – in general – extracted phrases must correspond to the informational focus of the utterance (Erteschik-Shir 1981; Van Valin 1986; Kuno 1987; Takami 1992; Deane 1992; Goldberg 2013), and in particular with the intuition that SI violations are weaker when the extracted referent is relevant for the main predication (Kluender 2004: 495).

7 Adjunct islands

Ross (1967) and Cattell (1976) noted that adjunct phrases often resist extraction, as illustrated in (50), a phenomenon usually referred to as *The Adjunct Island Constraint* (AIC).

- (50) a. *What_i did John die [whistling __i]?
 b. *What_i did John build [whistling __i]?
 c. *Which club_i did John meet a lot of girls [without going to __i]?
 (Cattell 1976: 38)
 d. *Who_i did Mary cry [after John hit __i]?
 (Huang 1982: 503)

Although a constraint on SLASH could effectively ban all extraction from adjuncts, the problem is that the AIC has a long history of exceptions, noted as early as Cattell (1976: 38), and by many others since, including Chomsky (1982: 72), Engdahl (1983), Hegarty (1990: 103), Cinque (1990), Pollard & Sag (1994: ??),

Culicover (1997: 253), and Borgonovo & Neeleman (2000). A sample of representative counterexamples is provided in (51).

- (51)
- a. Who did he buy a book [for _]?
 - b. Who would you rather [sing with _]?
 - c. What temperature should I wash my jeans [at _]?
 - d. That's the symphony that Schubert [died without finishing _].
 - e. Which report did Kim [go to lunch without reading _]?
 - f. A problem this important, I could never [go home without solving _ first].
 - g. What did he [fall asleep complaining about _]?
 - h. What did John [drive Mary crazy trying to fix _]?
 - i. Who did you [go to Girona in order to meet _]?
 - j. Who did you go to Harvard [in order to work with _]?

Exceptions to the AIC include tensed adjuncts, as noted by Grosu (1981: 88), Deane (1991: 29), Kluender (1998), (Levine & Hukari 2006: 287), Goldberg (2006: 144), Chaves (2012b: 471), Truswell (2011: 175, ft.1) and others. A sample is provided in (52).¹⁷

- (52)
- a. These are the pills that Mary died [before she could take _].
 - b. This is the house that Mary died [before she could sell _].
 - c. The person who I would kill myself [if I couldn't marry _] is Jane.
 - d. Which book will Kim understand linguistics better [if she reads _]?
 - e. This is the watch that I got upset [when I lost _].
 - f. Robin, Pat and Terry were the people who I lounged around at home all day [without realizing were _ coming for dinner].
 - g. Which email account would you be in trouble [if someone broke into _]?
 - h. Which celebrity did you say that [[the sooner we take a picture of _], [the quicker we can go home]]?

¹⁷Truswell (2011) argues that the AIC and its exceptions are best characterized in terms of event-semantic constraints, such that the adjunct must occupy an event position in the argument structure of the main clause verb. However, recent experimental research has been unable to validate Truswell's acceptability predictions (Annika et al. ???), and moreover, such an account incorrectly predicts that extractions from tensed adjuncts is impossible (Truswell 2011: 175, ft.1).

To be sure, some of these sentences are complex and difficult to process, which in turn can lead speakers to prefer the insertion of an ‘intrusive’ resumptive pronoun at the gap site, but they are certainly more acceptable than the classic tensed AIC violations examples like Huang’s (50d). Acceptable tensed AIC violations are more frequent in languages like Japanese, Korean, and Malayalam.

Like Subject Islands, AIC violations sometimes improve ‘parasitically’ in the presence of a second gap as in (53). First of all, note that these sentences express radically different propositions, and so there is no reason to assume that all of these are equally felicitous. Second, note that (53a,c) describe plausible states-of-affairs in which it is clear what the extracted referent has to do with the main predication and assertion, simply because of the fact that *document* is predicated by *read*. In contrast, (53b) describes an unusual state-of-affairs in that it is unclear what the extracted referent has to do with the main predication *read the email*, out-of-the-blue. Basically, what does reading emails have to do with filing documents?

- (53) a. Which document did John read _ before filing _ ?
b. * Which document did John read the email email before filing _ ?
c. Which document did John read _ before filing a complaint?

If AIC violations were truly only salvageable parasitically, then counterexamples like (54a) should not exist. As Levine & Sag (2003) and Levine & Hukari (2006: 256) note, both gaps reside in island environments and should be completely out and less acceptable than (54b,c), contrary to fact.

- (54) a. What kinds of books do [the authors of _] argue about royalties [after writing _] ?
b. * What kinds of books do [authors of _] argue about royalties after writing malicious pamphlets?
c. * What kinds of books do authors of malicious pamphlets argue about royalties [after writing _] ?

In (54a), there is no sense in which the gap inside the subject is parasitic on the gap inside the adjunct, or vice-versa – under the assumption that neither gaps is supposed to be licit without the presence of a gap outside an island environment. In conclusion, the notion of parasitic gap is rather dubious. See Levine & Hukari (2006: ??) for a more in-depth discussion of parasitism and empirical criticism of null resumptive pronoun accounts.

As in the case of other island phenomena discussed so far, it is doubtful that any purely syntactic account can describe all the empirical facts. Rather, extractions out of adjuncts are licit to the degree that the extracted referent can be interpreted as being relevant for the assertion.

8 Superiority effects

Contrasts like those below have traditionally been taken to be due to a constraint that prevents a given phrase from being extracted if another phrase in a higher position can be extracted instead (Chomsky 1973; 1980). Thus, the highest *wh*-phrase is extractable, but the lowest is not.

- (55) a. Who _ saw what?
 b. * What did who see _ ?
- (56) a. Who did you persuade _ to buy what?
 b. * What did you persuade who to buy _ ?

Several different kinds of exceptions to this *Superiority Constraint* (SC) have been noted in the literature. First, it is generally recognized that *which*-phrases are immune to the SC:

- (57) a. I wonder which book which of our students read _ over the summer?
 b. Which book did which professor buy _ ?

Pesetsky (1987) proposed to explain the lack of SC effects in (57) by stipulating that *which*-phrases are interpreted as indefinites which do not undergo LF movement. Rather, they require ‘D-linking’ and obtain wide scope via an entirely different semantic mechanism called unselective binding. In order for a phrase to be D-linked, it must be associated with a salient set of referents. But as Ginzburg & Sag (2000: 248ff.) note, there is no independent evidence for saliency interpretational differences between *which* and other *wh*-phrases like *what* and *who*. For example, it is implausible that speakers have a specific referent in mind for the *which*-phrases in examples like (58).

- (58) a. I don’t know anything about cars. Do you have any suggestions
 about which car – if any – I should buy when I get a raise?
 b. I don’t know anything about cars. Do you have any suggestions
 about what – if anything – I should buy when I get a raise?
 (Ginzburg & Sag 2000: 248)

Furthermore, there are acceptable SC violations involving multiple *wh*-questions such as those in (59). See Bolinger (1978), Kayne (1983) and Pesetsky (1987: 109) for more such examples and discussion.¹⁸

- (59) a. Who wondered what WHO was doing _ ?
b. What did WHO take _ WHERE?
c. Where did WHO take WHAT _ ?

Finally, there are also SC violations that involve echo questions like (60) and reference questions like (61). See Ginzburg & Sag (2000: Ch.7) for detailed argumentation that echo questions are not fundamentally different, syntactically or semantically, from other uses of interrogatives.

- (60) a. What did Agamemnon break?
b. What did WHO break _ ?
(61) a. What did he break?
b. What did WHO break _ ?

There are two different, yet mutually consistent, possible explanations for SC effects in HPSG circles. One potential factor concerns processing difficulty Arnon et al. (2007). Basically, long-distance dependencies where a *which*-phrase is fronted are generally more acceptable and faster to process than those where *what* or *who* if fronted, presumably because the latter are semantically less informative, and thus decay from memory faster, and are compatible with more potential gap sites before the actual gap. The second potential factor is prosodic in nature. Drawing from insights by Ladd (1996: 170–172) about the English interrogative intonation, Ginzburg & Sag (2000: 251) propose that in a multiple *wh*-interrogative construction all *wh*-phrases must in FOCUS except the first. Crucially, focus is typically – but not always – associated with clearly discernible pitch accent. Thus, (55) and (56) are odd because the second *wh*-word is unaccented. In this account, a word like *who* has two possible lexical descriptions, shown in (62).

¹⁸Fedorenko & Gibson (2010) and others have found no evidence that the presence of a third *wh*-phrase improves the acceptability of a multiple interrogative, even with supporting contexts. However, the examples in (59) require peculiar intonation phrasings and contours, which may be difficult to elicit with written stimuli.

(62) a. *Ex-situ* interrogative *who*:

PHON	$\langle \text{who/WHO} \rangle$			
SYNSEM	LOC	CAT	$\left[\begin{array}{ll} \text{HEAD} & \textit{noun} \\ \text{SPR} & \langle \rangle \\ \text{COMPS} & \langle \rangle \end{array} \right]$	
		CONT	$\left[\begin{array}{ll} \text{IND} & i \\ \text{RESTR} & \{ \} \end{array} \right]$	
		STORE	$\left\{ \left[\begin{array}{ll} \text{IND} & i \\ \text{RESTR} & \{ \textit{person}(i) \} \end{array} \right] \right\}$	
		NONLOC	$\left[\begin{array}{ll} \text{WH} & \{ \underline{1} \} \\ \text{REL} & \{ \} \\ \text{SLASH} & \{ \} \end{array} \right]$	
		ARG-ST	$\langle \rangle$	

b. Optionally *ex-situ* interrogative *who*:

PHON	⟨WHO⟩										
SYNSEM	[LOC	[CAT	<table> <tr><td>HEAD</td><td><i>noun</i></td></tr> <tr><td>SPR</td><td>⟨</td></tr> <tr><td>COMPS</td><td>⟨</td></tr> </table>	HEAD	<i>noun</i>	SPR	⟨	COMPS	⟨
				HEAD	<i>noun</i>						
				SPR	⟨						
			COMPS	⟨							
			CONT	<table> <tr><td>IND</td><td><i>i</i></td></tr> <tr><td>RESTR</td><td>{}</td></tr> </table>	IND	<i>i</i>	RESTR	{}			
IND	<i>i</i>										
RESTR	{}										
STORE	<table> <tr> <td> <table> <tr><td>IND</td><td><i>i</i></td></tr> <tr><td>RESTR</td><td>{<i>person(i)</i>}</td></tr> </table> </td> </tr> </table>	<table> <tr><td>IND</td><td><i>i</i></td></tr> <tr><td>RESTR</td><td>{<i>person(i)</i>}</td></tr> </table>	IND	<i>i</i>	RESTR	{ <i>person(i)</i> }					
<table> <tr><td>IND</td><td><i>i</i></td></tr> <tr><td>RESTR</td><td>{<i>person(i)</i>}</td></tr> </table>	IND	<i>i</i>	RESTR	{ <i>person(i)</i> }							
IND	<i>i</i>										
RESTR	{ <i>person(i)</i> }										
NONLOC	<table> <tr><td>WH</td><td>{}</td></tr> <tr><td>REL</td><td>{}</td></tr> <tr><td>SLASH</td><td>{}</td></tr> </table>	WH	{}	REL	{}	SLASH	{}				
	WH	{}									
	REL	{}									
SLASH	{}										
ARG-ST	⟨										

Since only the (optionally accented) lexical entry in (62a) is specified with a non-empty WH value, the theory of extraction proposed in Ginzburg & Sag (2000) predicts that (62a) must appear *ex situ*. In contrast, the accented lexical entry in (62b) is can appear *in situ*. For more discussion see Levine & Hukari (2006: 261).

A related range of island phenomena concern extraction from *whether*-clauses like which are traditionally assumed to be forbidden as (63) illustrates.

- (63) a. * Which movie did John wonder whether Bill liked _?
 b. * Which movie did John ask why Mary liked _?

But again, the oddness of (63) is unlikely to be due to syntactic constraints, given the existence of passable counterexamples like (64).

- (64) a. He told me about a book which I can't figure out whether to buy
 _ or not.
 (Ross 1967)
- b. Which glass of wine do you wonder whether I poisoned _?
 (Cresti 1995:81)
- c. Who is John wondering whether or not he should fire _?
- d. Which shoes are you wondering whether you should buy _?
 (Chaves 2012b)

As noted by Kroch (1989), the reduced acceptability of an example like (65a) is better explained simply by noting the difficulty of accommodating its presupposition in (65b).

- (65) a. How much money was John wondering whether to pay?
- b. There was a sum of money about which John was wondering whether to pay it.

9 The Left Branch Condition

Ross (1967) discovered that the leftmost constituent of an NP cannot be extracted, as in (66), a constraint he dubbed as the *Left Branch Condition* (LBC).¹⁹

- (66) a. *Whose_i did you meet [__i friend]?
 (cf. with 'You met whose friend?')
- b. *Which_i did you buy [__i book]?
 (cf. with 'You bought which book?')
- c. *How much_i did you find [__i money]?
 (cf. with 'You found how much money?')

These facts are accounted for in versions of HPSG like Sag (2012) where Determiner Phrases (DPs) are not valents of the nominal head. If the DP is not listed in the argument structure of the nominal head, then there is no way for the DP to appear in SLASH. Rather, the DP selects the nominal head:

¹⁹As in other island environments discussed above, the LBC is not operative in constraining semantic scope, as illustrated below.

- (i) Someone took a picture of each student's bicycle.
 (Copestake et al. 2005: 303)



Analogously, in [Sag \(2012: 133\)](#) genitive DPs combine with nominal heads and bind their X-ARG index via a dedicated construction, not as valents. For example, in nominalizations like *Kim's description of the problem* the DP *Kim's* is not a valent of *description*, and therefore the genitive DP cannot appear in SLASH. Rather, genitive DPs are instead constructionally co-indexed with the agent role of the noun *description* via X-ARG. Moreover, the clitic *s* in *Kim's* must lean phonologically on the NP it selects, and therefore cannot be stranded for independently motivated phonological reasons, predicting the oddness of **It was Kim who I read's description of the problem*.

There are various languages which do not permit extraction of left branches from noun phrases, but have a particular PP construction appears to allow LBC violations. This is illustrated below in (9), with French data.

- (68) a. *Combien_i a-t-il vendu [__i de livres]?*
 how-many has-he sold of books
 'How many books did he sell?'
 b. *Quels_i avez-vous acheté [__i livres]?*
 how-many have-you bought books
 'How many books have you bought'

But the LBC violation is only apparent. The *de livres* is in fact a post-verbal *de-N'* nominal, and thus no LBC violation incurs in (9a). See [Abeillé et al. \(2004\)](#) for details. Finally, [Ross \(1967\)](#) also noted that some languages do not obey the LBC

at all. A small sample is given in (69). However, the languages in question lack determiners, and therefore it is possible that the extracted phrase is has a similar independent status to the French *de-N*’ phrase in (9).

- (69) a. Jaka_i kupiłeś [__i książkę]
 what you-bought book
 ‘Which book did you buy?’ (Polish)
- b. Cju_i citajes [__i knigu]?
 whose you-are-reading book
 ‘whose book are you reading?’ (Russian)
- c. Ki-nek_i akarod, hogy halljam [__i a hang-já-t]?
 who-DAT you-want that I-hear the voice-POSS.3SG-ACC
 ‘Whose voice do you want me to hear?’ (Hungarian)

10 The Complementizer Constraint

Perlmutter (1968) noted that subject phrases have different extraction properties than that of object phrases, as illustrated in (70). The presence of the complementizer hampers extraction of the subject, but not of the complement.²⁰

- (70) a. * [Who]_i did Tom say (?that) __i had bought the tickets?
 b. * [Who]_i do you believe (?that) __i got you fired?
 c. [The things]_i that they believe (?that) __i will happen are disturbing
 to contemplate.
 d. * [Who]_i did you ask if __i bought the tickets?
 e. * [Who]_i do you expect for __i to fire you?

Bresnan (1977) and others also noted that Complementizer Constraint effects can be reduced in the presence of a adverbial intervening between the complementizer and the gap:

- (71) a. [Who]_i did Tom say that – as far he could remember – __i had bought the tickets?

²⁰There is no evidence that the Complementizer Constraint applies at the semantic level, however. The subject phrase of the embedded clause can outscope the subject phrase of the matrix:

- (i) a. Some teacher claimed that each student had cheated.
 b. Every teacher claimed that a student had cheated.

- b. [Who]_i do you believe that – for all intents and purposes – _i got you fired?
- c. [Who]_i do you think that after years and years of cheating death _i finally died?

In Bouma et al. (2001) and Ginzburg & Sag (2000), extracted arguments are typed as *gap-ss* rather than *canon-ss*. Only the latter are allowed to correspond to *in situ* signs and to reside in valence lists. However, subject extraction is different. If a subject phrase is extracted, then the list SUBJ contains the respective *gap-ss* sign. If one assumes that the lexical entry for the complementizer *that* requires S complements specified as [SUBJ < >] then the oddness of (70) follows. For Bouma et al. (2001) and Ginzburg & Sag (2000), the adverbial circumvention effect in (71) is the result of assuming that the construction which allows the adverb to combine with the clause forces the mother node to be [SLASH { }], a rather *ad-hoc* account.²¹

A simpler account of the Complementizer Constraint has emerged recently, however, in principle compatible with any theory of grammar. For Kandybowicz (2006; 2009) and others, the Complementizer Constraint is prosodic in nature. Complementizers must cliticize to the following phonological unit, but if a pause is made at the gap site then the complementizer cannot do so. Accordingly, if the pronunciation of *that* is produced with a reduced vowel [ðət] rather than [ðæt] then the Complementizer Constraint violations in (70) improve in acceptability. Though promising, Ritchart et al. (2016) found no experimental evidence for amelioration of the Complementizer Constraint effects either with phonological reduction of the complementizer or with contrastive focus. Further research is needed to determine the true nature of Complementizer Constraint effects.

11 Island circumvention via ellipsis

Ellipsis somehow renders island constraints inactive, as in (72). A deletion-based analysis of such phenomena such as Merchant (2001) relies on moving the *wh*-phrase before deletion takes place, but since movement is assumed to be sensitive to syntactic island constraints, the prediction is that (72) should be illicit, contrary to fact.

²¹Except that in French, when the subject of the complement CP is extracted, the complementizer is *qui* instead of *que*, which could easily be captured by such an account.

- (72) a. Terry wrote an article about Lee and a book about someone else from East Texas, but we don't know who_i (*Terry wrote an article about __i Lee and a book about __i).
[CSC violation]
- b. Bo talked to the person who discovered something, but I still don't know what_i (*Bo talked to the person who discovered __i).
[CNPC violation]
- c. That he'll hire someone is possible, but I won't divulge who_i (*that he'll hire __i is possible).
[SSC violation]
- d. She bought a rather expensive car, but I can't remember how expensive (*she bought a _ car).
[LBC violation]

The account adopted in HPSG is one in which remnants are assigned an interpretation based on the surrounding discourse context (Ginzburg & Sag 2000; Culicover & Jackendoff 2005; Jacobson 2008; Sag & Nykiel 2011). See Nykiel & Kim (2019), Chapter 20 of this volume for more detailed discussion. In a nutshell, the *wh*-phrases in (72) are 'coerced' into a proposition-denoting clause via a unary branching construction that taps into contextual information. This straightforwardly explains not only why the antecedent for the elided phrase need not correspond to overt discourse – e.g. sluices like *What floor?* or *What else?* – but also why (72) are immune to island constraints: there simply is no island environment to begin with, and thus, no extraction to violate it.

12 Conclusion

HPSG remains relatively agnostic about many island types given the existence of robust exceptions. It is however clear that many island effects are not purely due to syntactic constraints, and are more likely the result of multiple factors, including pragmatics, semantics and processing difficulty. To be sure, it is yet unclear how these factors can be brought together to articulate an explicit and testable account of island effects. In particular, it is unclear how to combine probabilistic information with syntactic, semantic and pragmatic representations, although one fruitful avenue of approach to this problem may be via *Data-Oriented Parsing* (Neumann & Flickinger 2003; 2015; Arnold & Linardaki 2007; Bod et al. 2003; Bod 2009).

From its inception, HPSG has been meant to be compatible with models of language comprehension and production (Sag 1992; Sag & Wasow 2010; 2015), but not much work has been dedicated to bridging these worlds; see Wasow (2019), Chapter 28 of this volume. The challenge that island effects posit to any theory of grammar is central to linguistic theory and cognitive science: how to integrate theoretical linguistics and psycholinguistic models of on-line language processing so that fine-grained predictions about variability in acceptability judgements across nearly isomorphic clauses can be explained.

Acknowledgements

Many thanks to Stefan Müller, Bob Borsley, and Berthold Crysmann for invaluable comments and discussion.

References

- Abeillé, Anne, Olivier Bonami, Danièle Godard & Jesse Tseng. 2004. The syntax of french n' phrases. In Stefan Müller (ed.), *Proceedings of the hpsg-2004 conference, center for computational linguistics, katholieke universiteit leuven*, 6–26. Stanford: CSLI Publications. <http://cslipublications.stanford.edu/HPSG/5/>.
- Abeillé, Anne & Rui Chaves. 2019. Coordination. In Stefan Müller, Anne Abeillé, Robert D. Borsley & Jean-Pierre Koenig (eds.), *Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar: The handbook*, 329–330. Berlin: Language Science Press. DOI:??
- Abeillé, Anne, Barbara Hemforth, Elodie Winckel & Edward Gibson. 2018. A construction-conflict explanation of the subject-island constraint. 31th Annual CUNY Conference on Human Sentence Processing.
- Abeillé, Anne & Robert Vivès. 2019. Les constructions à verbe support. In Anne Abeillé Danièle Godard & Antoine Gautier (eds.), *La Grande Grammaire du français, Actes Sud*. (In preparation).
- Abrusán, Márta. 2011. Presuppositional and negative islands: a semantic account. *Natural Language Semantics* 19. 257–321.
- Abrusán, Márta & Benjamin Spector. 2011. A semantics for degree questions based on intervals: negative islands and their obviation. *Journal of Semantics* 28(1). 107–147.
- Akmajian, Adrian. 1975. More evidence for an np cycle. *Linguistic Inquiry* 1(6). 115–129.

- Allwood, Jens. 1976. The complex np constraint as a non-universal rule and some semantic factors influencing the acceptability of swedish sentences which violate the cnpc. In Justine Stillings (ed.), *University of massachusetts occasional papers in linguistics, volume ii*, 1–20. Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts at Amherst.
- Altmann, Gerry T. M. & Yuki Kamide. 1999. Incremental interpretation at verbs: restricting the domain of subsequent reference. *Cognition* 73. 247–264.
- Amy, Gérard & Georges Noziet. 1978. Memory requirements and local ambiguities of parsing strategies. *Journal of Psycholinguistic Research* 20(3). 233–250.
- Arai, Manabu & Frank Keller. 2013. The use of verb-specific information for prediction in sentence processing. *Language and Cognitive Processes* 4(28). 525–560.
- Arnold, Doug & Evita Linardaki. 2007. A data-oriented parsing model for HPSG. In Anders Søgaard & Petter Haugereid (eds.), *2nd international workshop on typed feature structure grammars (TFSG'07)*, 1–9. Tartu, Estonia: Center for Sprogteknologi, Kobenhavens Universitet, Working Papers, Report No. 8, ISN1600-339X. <http://cst.dk/anders/publ/tfsg/proceedings07.pdf>.
- Arnon, Inbal, Neal Snider, Philip Hofmeister, T. Florian Jaeger & Ivan Ivan Andrew Sag. 2007. Cross-linguistic variation in a processing account: the case of multiple wh-questions. In *Proceedings of bls 32*.
- Bachrach, Asaf & Roni Katzir. 2008. Right-node raising and delayed spell-out. In Kleanthes K. Grohmann (ed.), *Interphases: phase-theoretic investigations of linguistic interfaces*, 284–316. Oxford University Press.
- Baltin, Mark. 1978. PP as a bounding node. In Mark Stein (ed.), *Proceedings of the eighth regional meeting of the northeast linguistic society*. Amherst, Massachusetts, Graduate Linguistics Students Association, University of Massachusetts, Amherst.
- Beavers, John & Ivan A. Sag. 2004. Ellipsis and apparent non-constituent coordination. In Stefan Müller (ed.), *Proceedings of the 11th international conference on head-driven phrase structure grammar, katholieke universiteit leuven*, 48–69. Stanford: CSLI Publications. <http://cslipublications.stanford.edu/HPSG/5/>.
- Berwick, Robert & Amy S. Weinberg. 1984. *The grammatical basis of linguistic performance*. Cambridge. MAL MIT Press.
- Bever, Thomas G. 1970. The influence of speech performance on linguistic structure. In G. B. Flores d'Arcais & W. J. M. Levelt (eds.), *Advances in psycholinguistics*, 65–88. Hayes.
- Bod, Rens. 2009. From exemplar to grammar: Integrating analogy and probability in language learning. *Cognitive Science* 33(4). 752–793.

- Bod, Rens, Remko Scha & Khalil Sima'an (eds.). 2003. *Data-oriented parsing* (CSLI Studies in Computational Linguistics). CSLI Publications.
- Bolinger, Dwight. 1978. Asking more than one thing at a time. In Henry Hiz (ed.), *Questions*, 107–150. Dordrecht, Reidel.
- Bolinger, Dwight. 1992. The role of accent in extraposition and focus. *Studies in Language* 16. 265–324.
- Borgonovo, Claudia & Ad Neeleman. 2000. Transparent adjuncts. *Canadian Journal of Linguistics/Revue canadienne de linguistique* 45. 199–224.
- Borsley, Bob & Berthold Crysmann. 2019. Unbounded dependencies. In Stefan Müller, Anne Abeillé, Robert D. Borsley & Jean-Pierre Koenig (eds.), *Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar: The handbook*, 271–271. Berlin: Language Science Press. DOI:??
- Bouma, Gosse, Rob Malouf & Ivan A. Sag. 2001. Satisfying constraints on extraction and adjunction. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 19(1). 1–65.
- Bresnan, Joan. 1977. Variables in the theory of transformations. In Adrian Ak-majian, Peter Culicover & Thomas Wasow (eds.), *Formal syntax*. New York: Academic Press.
- Carreiras, Manuel. 1992. Estrategias de análisis sintáctico en el procesamiento de frases: cierre temprano versus cierre tardío. *Cognitiva* 4(1). 3–27.
- Cattell, Ray. 1976. Constraints on movement rules. *Language* 52. 18–59.
- Chaves, Rui P. 2003. Non-Redundant Scope Disambiguation in Underspecified Semantics. In Balder ten Cate (ed.), *Proceedings of the 8th ESSLI student session*, 47–58.
- Chaves, Rui P. 2007. *Coordinate structures – constraint-based syntax-semantics processing*. University of Lisbon Doctoral Dissertation.
- Chaves, Rui P. 2012a. Conjunction, cumulation and *respectively* readings. *Journal of Linguistics* 48(2). 297–344.
- Chaves, Rui P. 2012b. On the grammar of extraction and coordination. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 30(2). 465–512.
- Chaves, Rui P. 2013. An expectation-based account of subject islands and parasitism. *Journal of Linguistics* 2(49). 285–327.
- Chaves, Rui P. 2014. On the disunity of right node raising phenomena: extraposition, ellipsis, and deletion. 4(90). 834–886.
- Chaves, Rui P. 2018. Freezing as a probabilistic phenomenon. In Jutta Hartmann, Marion Knecht, Andreas Konietzko & Susanne Winkler (eds.), *Freezing - theoretical approaches and empirical domains*. De Gruyter.
- Chaves, Rui P. & Jeruen E. Dery. 2014. Which subject islands will the acceptability of improve with repeated exposure? In R. E. Santana-LaBarge (ed.), *31st*

- west coast conference on formal linguistics*, 96–106. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Proceedings Project.
- Chaves, Rui P. & Jeruen E. Dery. 2019. Frequency effects in subject islands. *Journal of Linguistics* 55. 47.
- Chomsky, Noam. 1973. Conditions on transformations. In Stephen Anderson & Paul Kiparsky (eds.), *A festschrift for morris halle*, 232–286. New York: Holt, Reinhart & Winston.
- Chomsky, Noam. 1977. *Essays on form and interpretation*. New York: North-Holland.
- Chomsky, Noam. 1980. *Rules and representations*. Columbia University Press, New York.
- Chomsky, Noam. 1982. *Concepts and consequences of the theory of government and binding*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Chomsky, Noam. 1986. *Barriers* (Linguistic Inquiry Monographs 13). Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Chomsky, Noam. 2008. On phases. In Robert Freidin, David Michaels, Carlos P. Otero & Maria Luisa Zubizarreta (eds.), *Foundational issues in linguistic theory: essays in honor of Jean-Roger Vergnaud*, 133–165. Cambridge, MA, USA: MIT Press.
- Chung, Sandra. 1994. Wh-agreement and ‘referentiality’ in chamorro. *Linguistic Inquiry* 25. 1–44.
- Chung, Sandra & James McCloskey. 1983. On the interpretation of certain island facts in GPSG. *Linguistic Inquiry* 14. 703–714.
- Cinque, Guglielmo. 1990. *Types of A-dependencies*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- Cinque, Guglielmo. 2010. Structure preserved: studies in syntax for jan koster. In C. Jan-Wouter Zwart & Mark de Vries (eds.), 81–90. John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Clark, Herbert H. & Thomas Wasow. 1998. Repeating words in spontaneous speech. *Cognitive Psychology* 37. 201–242.
- Clausen, David R. 2010. Processing factors influencing acceptability in extractions from complex subjects. <http://www.davidclausen.org/papers/Clausen10SubjectIslands.pdf>. Unpublished manuscript. Stanford University.
- Clausen, David R. 2011. Informativity and acceptability of complex subject islands. Poster presented at the 24th Annual CUNY Sentence Processing Conference, Stanford, CA.
- Copestake, Ann, Daniel P. Flickinger, Carl J. Pollard & Ivan A. Sag. 2005. Minimal Recursion Semantics: An introduction. *Research on Language and Computation* 4(3). 281–332.

- Cowper, Elizabeth A. 1976. *Constraints on sentence complexity: a model for syntactic processing*. University of California, Irvine, CA PhD dissertation.
- Crawford, Jean. 2011. Using syntactic satiation effects to investigate subject islands. In *WCCFL 29 proceedings*. University of Arizona.
- Creel, Sarah C., Richard N. Aslin & Michael K. Tanenhaus. 2008. Heeding the voice of experience: the role of talker variation in lexical access. *Cognition* 106. 633–664.
- Culicover, Peter. 1997. *Principles and parameters: an introduction to syntactic theory*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Culicover, Peter W. 1999. *Syntactic nuts: hard cases in syntax* (Volume One of Foundations of Syntax). Oxford University Press.
- Culicover, Peter W. 2013. *Grammar & complexity*. Oxford University Press.
- Culicover, Peter & Ray S. Jackendoff. 2005. *Simpler syntax*. Oxford University Press.
- Davies, William D. & Stanley Dubinsky. 2009. On the existence (and distribution) of sentential subjects. In Donna B. Gerds, John C. Moore & Maria Polinsky (eds.), *Hypothesis a/hypothesis b. linguistic explorations in honor of david m. perlmutter*, 111–128. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- De Vicenzi, Marica & Remo Job. 1993. Some observations on the universality of the late closure strategy. *Journal of Psycholinguistic Research* 22(2). 189–206.
- Deane, Paul. 1991. Limits to attention: a cognitive theory of island phenomena. *Cognitive Linguistics* 2(1). 1–63.
- Deane, Paul D. 1992. *Grammar in mind and brain*. Mouton de Gruyter.
- Delahunty, Gerald P. 1983. But sentential subjects do exist. *Linguistic Analysis* 12. 379–398.
- DeLong, Katherine A., Thomas P. Urbach & Marta Kutas. 2005. Probabilistic word pre-activation during language comprehension inferred from electrical brain activity. *Nature Neuroscience* 8(8). 1117–1121.
- Desmet, Timothy, Constantijn De Baecke, Denis Drieghe, Mark Brysbaert & Wetske Vonk. 2006. Relative clause attachment in dutch: on-line comprehension corresponds to corpus frequencies when lexical variables are taken into account. *Language and Cognitive Processes* 21(4). 453–485.
- Drummond, Alex. 2009. The unity of extraposition and the a/a distinction. In *Proceedings of cls 45*. University of Chicago.
- Eady, Stephen J. & Janet D. Fodor. 1981. Is center embedding a source of processing difficulty? Presented at the Linguistics Society of America Annual Meeting.

- Engdahl, Elisabet. 1982. Restrictions on unbounded dependencies in Swedish. In Elisabet Engdahl & Eva Ejerhed (eds.), *Readings on unbounded dependencies in Scandinavian languages*, 151–174. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International.
- Engdahl, Elisabet. 1983. Parasitic gaps. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 6. 3–34.
- Erteschik-Shir, Nomi. 1973. *On the nature of island constraints*. Cambridge, MIT Doctoral Dissertation.
- Erteschik-Shir, Nomi. 1981. More on extractability from quasi-nps. *Linguistic Inquiry* 12. 665–670.
- Erteschik-Shir, Nomi & Shalom Lappin. 1979. Dominance and the functional explanation of island phenomena. *Theoretical Linguistics* 6. 41–86.
- Federmeier, Kara D. & Marta Kutas. 1999. A rose by any other name: long-term memory structure and sentence processing. *Journal of Memory and Language* 41. 469–495.
- Fedorenko, Evelina & Edward Gibson. 2010. Adding a third wh-phrase does not increase the acceptability of object-initial multiple-wh-questions. *Syntax* 3(13). 183–195.
- Fernández, Eva M. 2003. *Bilingual sentence processing: relative clause attachment in English and Spanish*. Amsterdam, The Netherlands: John Benjamins.
- Ferreira, Fernanda. 1991. Effects of length and syntactic complexity on initiation times for prepared utterances. *Journal of Memory and Language* 30(2). 210–233.
- Ferreira, Fernanda & John M. Henderson. 1991. Recovery from misanalyses of garden-path sentences. *Journal of Memory and Language* 31. 725–745.
- Ferreira, Fernanda & John M. Henderson. 1993. Basic reading processes during syntactic analysis and reanalysis. *Canadian Journal of Psychology: Special Issue on Reading and Language Processing* 47. 247–275.
- Fodor, Janet A. & M. F. Garrett. 1967. Some syntactic determinants of sentential complexity. *Perception and Psychophysics* 2. 282–296.
- Fodor, Janet Dean. 1978. Parsing strategies and constraints on transformations. *Linguistic Inquiry* 9. 427–473.
- Fodor, Janet Dean. 1983a. Phrase structure parsing and the island constraints. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 6. 163–223.
- Fodor, Janet Dean. 1983b. Phrase structure parsing and the island constraints. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 6. 163–223.
- Fodor, Janet Dean. 1992. Islands, learnability and the lexicon. In Helen Goodluck & Michael Rochemont (eds.), *Island constraints: theory, acquisition and processing*, 109–180. Dordrecht: Kluwer.

- Fodor, Janet Dean. 2002. Prosodic disambiguation in silent reading. In M. Hirotani (ed.), *Nels* 32, 113–132. Amherst, MA: GLSA Publications.
- Fodor, Janet Dean, Thomas G. Bever & Merrill F. Garrett. 1974. *The psychology of language*. New York: McGraw Hill.
- Fox, Danny. 2000. *Economy and semantic interpretation*. MIT: Cambridge, Massachusetts.
- Fox, Danny & Martin Hackl. 2006. The universal density of measurement. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 29. 537–586.
- Frazier, Lyn & Charles E. Jr. Clifton. 1996. *Construal*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Frazier, Lynn & K. Rayner. 1988. Parameterizing the language processing system: left versus right branching within and across languages. In J. A. Hawkins (ed.), *Explaining language universals*, 247–279. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Freidin, Robert. 1992. *Foundations of generative syntax*. MIT Press, Cambridge, Mass.
- Fukuda, Shin, Chizuru Nakao, Akira Omaki & Maria Polinsky. 2018. Revisiting subject-object asymmetry: subextraction in Japanese. In *Proceedings of the 10th Workshop on Altaic Formal Linguistics*. MIT Working Papers in Linguistics. to appear.
- Garnsey, Susan. 1985. *Function words and content words: reaction time and evoked potential measures of word recognition*. Cognitive Science Technical Report URCS-29. University of Rochester.
- Gawron, Jean Mark & Andrew Kehler. 2003. Respective answers to coordinated questions. In *Semantics and linguistic theory 13 (salt 13)*.
- Gazdar, Gerald. 1981. Unbounded dependencies and coordinate structure. *Linguistic Inquiry* 12(2). 155–184.
- Gazdar, Gerald, Ewan Klein, Geoffrey K. Pullum & Ivan A. Sag. 1985. *Generalized phrase structure grammar*. Oxford: Blackwell, & Cambridge, Ma: Harvard University Press.
- Gibson, Edward. 1991. *A computational theory of human linguistic processing: memory limitations and processing breakdown*. Carnegie Mellon University PhD dissertation.
- Gibson, Edward. 2000. The dependency locality theory: a distance-based theory of linguistic complexity. In Yasuhi Miyashita, Alec P. Marantz & Wayne O’Neil (eds.), *Image, language, brain*, 95–126. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Gibson, Edward. 2006. The interaction of top-down and bottom-up statistics in the resolution of syntactic category ambiguity. *Journal of Memory and Language* 54. 363–388.

- Gibson, Edward, Neal Pearlmuter, Enriqueta Canseco-Gonzalez & Gregory Hickok. 1996. Recency preference in the human sentence processing mechanism. *Cognition* 59(1). 23–59.
- Ginzburg, Jonathan & Ivan A. Sag. 2000. *Interrogative Investigations: the form, meaning and use of English interrogative constructions*. Stanford: CSLI Publications.
- Godard, Danièle. 1988. *La syntaxe des relatives en Français*.
- Goldberg, Adele E. 2006. *Constructions at work: the nature of generalization in language*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Goldberg, Adele E. 2013. Backgrounded constituents cannot be extracted. In Jon Sprouse & Norbert Hornstein (eds.), *Experimental syntax and island effects*, 221–238. Cambridge University Press.
- Goldsmith, John. 1985. A Principled Exception to the Coordinate Structure Constraint. In *Papers from the twenty-first annual regional meeting of the Chicago linguistic society*, 133–143. Chicago: Chicago Linguistic Society.
- Goodall, Grant. 2011. Syntactic satiation and the inversion effect in English and Spanish *wh*- questions. *Syntax* 14. 29–47.
- Grosu, Alexander. 1973a. On the nonunitary nature of the coordinate structure constraint. *Linguistic Inquiry* 4. 88–92.
- Grosu, Alexander. 1973b. On the status of the so-called right roof constraint. *Language* 49. 294–311.
- Grosu, Alexander. 1981. *Approaches to island phenomena*. North-Holland.
- Guéron, Jacqueline & Robert May. 1984. Extraposition and logical form. *Linguistic Inquiry* 15(1). 1–31.
- Hawkins, John A. 1999. Processing complexity and filler-gap dependencies across grammars. *Language* 75(2). 244–249.
- Hawkins, John A. 2004. *Efficiency and complexity in grammars*. Oxford.
- Hegarty, Michael. 1990. On adjunct extraction from complements. In Lisa L.S. Cheng & Hamida Demirdash (eds.), *Mit working papers in linguistics* 13, 101–124.
- Hiramatsu, Kazuko. 2000. *Accessing linguistic competence: evidence from children's and adults' acceptability judgments*. University of Connecticut Ph.D. Thesis.
- Hofmeister, Philip. 2007a. *Facilitating memory retrieval in natural language comprehension*. Stanford University. Ph.D. Thesis.
- Hofmeister, Philip. 2007b. Retrievability and gradience in filler-gap dependencies. In M. Elliott, J. Kirby, O. Sawada, E. Staraki & S. Yoon (eds.), *Proceedings from the annual meeting of the Chicago linguistics society*, vol. 43, 1, 109–123.

- Hofmeister, Philip, Laura Staum Casasanto & Ivan A. Sag. 2013. Islands in the grammar? Standards of evidence. In Jon Sprouse & Norbert Hornstein (eds.), *Experimental syntax and islands effects*, 42–63. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hofmeister, Philip, Peter Culicover & Susanne Winkler. 2015. Effects of processing on the acceptability of ‘frozen’ extraposed constituents. *Syntax*, 18(4). 464–483.
- Hofmeister, Philip, Florian T. Jaeger, Ivan A. Sag, Inbal Arnon & Neal Snider. 2007. Locality and accessibility in wh-questions. In Sam Featherston & Wolfgang Sternefeld (eds.), *Roots: linguistics in search of its evidential base*, 185–206. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Hofmeister, Philip & Ivan A. Sag. 2010. Cognitive constraints and island effects. *Language* 86(2). 366–415.
- Horn, Laurence. 1972. *On the semantic properties of logical operators in english*. University of California, LA PhD. Dissertation.
- Huang, Cheng-Teh James. 1982. *Logical relations in chinese and the theory of grammar*. MIT, Cambridge, Massachusetts PhD Dissertation.
- Huck, Geoffrey J. & Younghee Na. 1990. Extraposition and focus. *Language* 66. 51–77.
- Huddleston, Rodney D., Geoffrey Pullum & Peter Peterson. 2002. The Cambridge Grammar of the English Language. In, chap. 12: Relative clause constructions and unbounded dependencies, 1033–1096. Cambridge University Press.
- Hukari, Thomas & Robert Levine. 1991. On the disunity of unbounded dependency constructions. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 9. 97–144.
- Jacobson, Pauline. 2008. Direct compositionality and variable free semantics: the case of antecedent contained ellipsis. In Kyle Johnson (ed.), *Topics in ellipsis*, 30–68. Cambridge University Press.
- Jiménez-Fernández, Ángel. 2009. On the composite nature of subject islands: a phase-based approach. *SKY Journal of Linguistics* 22. 91–138.
- Jurka, Johannes, Chizuru Nakao & Akira Omaki. 2011. It’s not the end of the ced as we know it: revisiting german and japanese subject islands. In Mary Byram Washburn, Katherine McKinney-Bock, Erika Varis, Ann Sawyer & Barbara Tomaszewicz (eds.), *Proceedings of the 28th west coast conference on formal linguistics*, 124–132. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Proceedings Project.
- Kamide, Yuki, Christoph Scheepers & Gerry T. M. Altmann. 2003. Integration of syntactic and semantic information in predictive processing: crosslinguistic evidence from German and English. *Journal of Psycholinguistic Research* 32(1). 37–55.

- Kandybowicz, Jason. 2006. Comp-trace effects explained away. In Donald Baumer, David Montero & Michael Scanlon (eds.), *Proceedings of the 25th west coast conference on formal linguistics*, 220–228. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Press.
- Kandybowicz, Jason. 2009. Comp-trace effects and the syntax–phonology interface. In Jacqueline Bunting, Sapna Desai, Robert Peachey, Christopher Straughn & Zuzana Tomková (eds.), *Proceedings of CLS 42 (volume 1: the main session)*, 103–115. Chicago: Chicago Linguistics Society.
- Kayne, Richard. 1980. Extensions of binding and case-marking. *Linguistic Inquiry* 11. 75–96.
- Kayne, Richard. 1981. ECP Extensions. *Linguistic Inquiry* 12. 93–133.
- Kayne, Richard. 1983. Connectedness. *Linguistic Inquiry* 14. 223–249.
- Kayne, Richard. 2000. Overt vs. covert movement. In *Parameters and universals*, 261–276. Oxford University Press.
- Kehler, Andrew. 2002. *Coherence, reference, and the theory of grammar*. Stanford: CSLI Publications.
- Keller, Frank. 1994. *Extraposition in hpsg*. Verbmobil-Report 30. IBM Germany, Institute for Logic & Linguistics, Heidelberg.
- 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.
- Kemper, Susan. 1986. Imitation of complex syntactic constructions by elderly adults. *Applied Psycholinguistics* 7. 277–288.
- Kim, Jong-Bok & Ivan A. Sag. 2005. English object extraposition: a constraint-based approach. In Stefan Müller (ed.), *Proceedings of the 12th international conference on head-driven phrase structure grammar, department of informatics, university of lisbon*, 192–212. Stanford: CSLI Publications. <http://cslipublications.stanford.edu/HPSG/6/>.
- Kimball, John. 1973. Seven principles of surface structure parsing in natural language. *Cognition* 2. 15–57.
- Kluender, Robert. 1992. Deriving island constraints from principles of predication. In Helen Goodluck & Michael Rochemont (eds.), *Island constraints: theory, acquisition and processing*, 223–258. Dordrecht: Kluwer.
- Kluender, Robert. 1998. On the distinction between strong islands and weak islands: a processing perspective. In Peter W. Culicover & Louise McNally (eds.), *Syntax and semantics 29: the limits of syntax*, 241–279. New York, NY: Academic Press.

- Kluender, Robert. 2004. Are subject islands subject to a processing account? In B. Schmeiser, V. Chand, A. Kelleher & A. Rodriguez (eds.), *In proceedings of the WCCFL 23*, 101–125. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Press.
- Kluender, Robert & Marta Kutas. 1993. Subjacency as a processing phenomenon. *Language and Cognitive Processes* 8. 573–633.
- Kothari, Anubha. 2008. Frequency-based expectations and context influence bridge quality. In M. Grosvald & D. Soares (eds.), *Proceedings of wecol 2008: western conference on linguistics*.
- Kroch, Anthony. 1989. Amount quantification, referentiality, and long *wh*-movement. Ms., Department of Linguistics, University of Pennsylvania.
- Kubota, Yusuke & Jungmee Lee. 2015. The coordinate structure constraint as a discourse-oriented principle: further evidence from Japanese and Korean. *Language* 91(3). 642–675.
- Kuno, Susumu. 1973. *The structure of the Japanese language*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.
- Kuno, Susumu. 1974. The position of relative clauses and conjunctions. *Linguistic Inquiry* 5(1). 117–136.
- Kuno, Susumu. 1987. *Functional syntax – anaphora, discourse and empathy*. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago & London.
- Kuno, Susumu & Ken-Ichi Takami. 1993. *Grammar and discourse principles: functional syntax and GB theory*. Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press.
- Kutas, Marta, Mireille Besson & Cyma Van Petten. 1988. Event-related potential asymmetries during the reading of sentences. *Electroencephalography and Neurophysiology* 69. 218–233.
- Kutas, Marta & Steven A. Hillyard. 1984. Brain potentials during reading reflect word expectancy and semantic association. *Nature* 5947(307). 161–163.
- Kynette, Donna & Susan Kemper. 1986. Aging and the loss of grammatical forms: a cross-sectional study of language performance. *Language and Communication* 6. 65–72.
- Ladd, Robert D. 1996. *Intonational phonology*. Cambridge University Press.
- Lakoff, George. 1986. Frame Semantic Control of the Coordinate Structure Constraint. In *Papers from the 22nd regional meeting of the Chicago linguistic society*. Chicago: Chicago Linguistic Society.
- Lasnik, Howard & Myung-Kwan Park. 2003. The EPP and the subject condition under sluicing. *Linguistic Inquiry* 34. 649–660.
- Lasnik, Howard & Mamoru Saito. 1992. *Move α : Conditions on its application and output*. MIT Press.

- Lau, Ellen, Clare Stroud, Silke Plesch & Colin Phillips. 2006. The role of structural prediction in rapid syntactic analysis. *Brain and language* 1(98). 74–88.
- Levin, Nancy & Ellen Prince. 1986. Gapping and clausal implicature. *Papers in Linguistics* 19. 351–364.
- Levine, Robert D. 2001. The extraction riddle: just what are we missing? *Journal of Linguistics* 37. 145–174.
- Levine, Robert D. N.d. *Syntactic analysis: an hpsg-based approach*. Cambridge University Press.
- Levine, Robert D. & Thomas E. Hukari. 2006. *The unity of unbounded dependency constructions*. CSLI Publications, Leland Stanford Junior University.
- Levine, Robert D., Thomas E. Hukari & Michael Calcagno. 2001. Parasitic gaps in English: some overlooked cases and their theoretical implications. In Peter Culicover & Paul M. Postal (eds.), *Parasitic gaps*, 181–222. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Levine, Robert D. & Ivan A. Sag. 2003. Some empirical issues in the grammar of extraction. In Stefan Müller (ed.), *Proceedings of the hpsg-2003 conference, michigan state university, east lansing*, 236–256. Stanford: CSLI Publications.
- Levy, Roger. 2008. Expectation-based syntactic comprehension. *Cognition* 3(106). 1126–1177.
- Levy, Roger, Evelina Fedorenko, Mara Breen & Ted Gibson. 2012. The processing of extraposed structures in English. *Cognition* 12(1). 12–36.
- Levy, Roger & Frank Keller. 2013. Expectation and locality effects in German verb-final structures. *Journal of Memory and Language* 2(68). 199–222.
- Lewis, Richard L. 1993. *An architecturally-based theory of human sentence comprehension*. Carnegie Mellon University PhD Dissertation.
- Mak, Willem M., Wietske Vonk & Herbert Schriefers. 2008. Discourse structure and relative clause processing. *Memory & Cognition* 36. 170–181.
- May, Robert. 1985. *Logical Form: its structure and derivation*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- McCawley, James D. 1981. The syntax and semantics of english relative clauses. *Lingua* 53. 99–149.
- Merchant, Jason. 2001. *The syntax of silence: sluicing, islands, and the theory of ellipsis*. Oxford University Press: Oxford.
- Michel, Daniel. 2014. *Individual cognitive measures and working memory accounts of syntactic island phenomena*. University of California, San Diego, CA Doctoral dissertation.

- Müller, Stefan. 1999. *Deutsche Syntax deklarativ: Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar für das Deutsche* (Linguistische Arbeiten 394). Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag.
- Müller, Stefan. 2004. Complex NPs, subadjacency, and extraposition. *Snippets* 8. 10–11.
- Müller, Stefan. 2007. Qualitative Korpusanalyse für die Grammatiktheorie: Introspektion vs. Korpus. In Gisela Zifonun & Werner Kallmeyer (eds.), *Sprachkorpora – Datenmengen und Erkenntnisfortschritt* (Institut für Deutsche Sprache Jahrbuch 2006), 70–90. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
- Munn, Alan. 1998. ATB movement without identity. In Jennifer Austin & Aaron Lawson (eds.), *Proceedings of the 14th eastern states conference on linguistics (escol-97)*, 150–160. CSC Publications.
- Munn, Alan. 1999. On the identity requirement of ATB extraction. *Natural Language Semantics* 7. 421–425.
- Neumann, Günter & Daniel P. Flickinger. 2003. Hpsg-dop: data-oriented parsing with HPSG. In Jong-Bok Kim & Stephen Wechsler (eds.), *The proceedings of the 9th International Conference on Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar*. <http://csli-publications.stanford.edu/HPSG/2002/>, accessed 2018-2-25.
- Neumann, Günter & Daniel P. Flickinger. 2015. *Learning stochastic lexicalized Tree Grammars from HPSG*. <http://www.dfki.de/~neumann/publications/new-ps/sltg.ps.gz>, accessed 2015-12-23.
- Ni, Weijia, Stephen Crain & Donald Shankweiler. 1996. Sidestepping garden paths: assessing the contributions of syntax, semantics and plausibility in resolving ambiguities. *Language & Cognitive Processes* 11(3). 283–334.
- Nishigauchi, Taisuke. 1999. Quantification and *wh*-constructions. In Natsuko Tsujimura (ed.), 269–296. Oxford: Blackwell.
- van Noord, Gertjan & Gosse Bouma. 1996. Extraposition as a nonlocal dependency. In G.-J. Kruijff, Glynn Morrill & D. Oehrle (eds.), *Proceedings of formal grammar 96*, 1–14.
- Nykiel, Joanna & Jong-Bok Kim. 2019. Ellipsis. In Stefan Müller, Anne Abeillé, Robert D. Borsley & Jean-Pierre Koenig (eds.), *Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar: The handbook*, 405–432. Berlin: Language Science Press. DOI:??
- Oshima, David Y. 2007. On factive islands: pragmatic anomaly vs. pragmatic infelicity. In *Proceedings of the 20th annual conference on new frontiers in artificial intelligence (JSAI'06)*, 147–161. Tokyo, Japan: Springer-Verlag. <http://portal.acm.org/citation.cfm?id=1761528.1761544>.
- Partee, Barbara. 1984. Nominal and temporal anaphora. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 7(3). 243–286.

- Perlmutter, Donald M. 1968. *Deep and surface structure constraints in syntax*. Doctoral dissertation, MIT dissertation.
- Pesetsky, David. 1987. Wh-in-situ: movement and unselective binding. In Eric Reuland & Alice ter Meulen (eds.), *The representation of (in)definiteness*, 98–129. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Pesetsky, David. 2000. *Phrasal movement and its kin*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Petten, Cyma Van & Marta Kutas. 1991. Influences of semantic and syntactic context on open and closed class words. *Memory and Cognition* 19. 95–112.
- Phillips, Colin. 2006. The real-time status of island phenomena. *Language* 82. 795–823.
- Phillips, Colin. 2013a. On the nature of island constraints. I: language processing and reductionist accounts. In Jon Sprouse & Norbert Hornstein (eds.), *Experimental syntax and islands effects*, 64–108. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Phillips, Colin. 2013b. Some arguments and non-arguments for reductionist accounts of syntactic phenomena. *Language and Cognitive Processes* 28. 156–187.
- Polinsky, Maria, Carlos Gómez Gallo, Peter Graff, Ekaterina Kravtchenko, Adam Milton Morgan & Anne Sturgeon. 2013. Subject islands are different. In Jon Sprouse & Norbert Hornstein (eds.), *Experimental syntax and islands effects*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Pollard, Carl & Ivan A. Sag. 1994. *Head-driven phrase structure grammar*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press & Stanford: CSLI.
- Postal, Paul M. 1974. *On raising*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- Postal, Paul M. 1998. *Three investigations of extraction*. MIT: Cambridge, Massachusetts.
- Pritchett, Bradley L. 1991. Subjacency in a principle-based parser. In Robert C. Berwick (ed.), *Principle-based parsing: computation and psycholinguistics*, 301–345. Dordrecht: Kluwer.
- Ritchart, Amanda, Grant Goodall & Marc Garellek. 2016. Prosody and the that-trace effect: an experimental study. In Kyeong-min Kim, Pocholo Umbal, Trevor Block, Queenie Chan, Tanie Cheng, Kelli Finney, Mara Katz, Sophie Nickel-Thompson & Lisa Shorten (eds.), *Proceedings of the 33rd west coast conference on formal linguistics*, 320–328.
- Rochemont, Michael S. 1992. Bounding rightward a-bar dependencies. In H. Goodluck & M.S. Rochemont (eds.), *Island constraints: theory, acquisition and processing*. Kluwer Academic Publishers, Dordrecht.

- Roland, Douglas, Gail Mauner, Carolyn O'Meara & Hongoak Yun. 2012. Discourse expectations and relative clause processing. *Journal of Memory and Language* 66. 479–508.
- Ross, John Robert. 1967. *Constraints on variables in syntax*. MIT dissertation. <http://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED016965.pdf>, accessed 2018-2-25. Reproduced by the Indiana University Linguistics Club and later published as Ross (1986).
- Ross, John Robert. 1986. *Infinite syntax!* (Language and Being 5). Norwood, New Jersey: Ablex Publishing Corporation.
- Ruys, Eddy. 1993. *The scope of indefinites*. Universiteit Utrecht Doctoral Dissertation.
- Saah, Kofi & Helen Goodluck. 1995. Island effects in parsing and grammar: evidence from akan. *Linguistic Review* 12. 381–409.
- Sabbagh, James. 2007. Ordering and linearizing rightward movement. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 25(2). 349–401.
- Sag, Ivan A. 1992. Taking performance seriously. In Carlos Martin-Vide (ed.), *Vii congrés de llenguajes naturals y llenguajes formals. barcelona*.
- Sag, Ivan A. 2000. *Another argument against wh-trace*. Jorge Hankamer Webfest. <http://ling.ucsc.edu/Jorge/sag.html>.
- Sag, Ivan A. 2010. English filler-gap constructions. *Language* 86(3). 486–545.
- Sag, Ivan A. 2012. Sign-based construction grammar: an informal synopsis. In Hans Boas & Ivan A. Sag (eds.), *Sign-based construction grammar*, 69–202. Stanford: CSLI Publications.
- Sag, Ivan A. & Janet Dean Fodor. 1994. Extraction without traces. In *Proceedings of the thirteenth west coast conference on formal linguistics*, 365–384. Stanford: CSLI.
- Sag, Ivan A., Philip Hofmeister & Neal Snider. 2007. Processing complexity in subjacency violations: the complex noun phrase constraint. In *Proceedings of the 43rd annual meeting of the chicago linguistic society. chicago: cls*.
- Sag, Ivan A. & Joann Nykiel. 2011. Remarks on sluicing. In Stefan Müller (ed.), *Proceedings of hpsg 2011 - 18th international conference on head-driven phrase structure grammar*. <http://lingo.stanford.edu/sag/papers/sag-nykiel-hpsg11.pdf>.
- Sag, Ivan A. & Thomas Wasow. 2010. Performance-compatible competence grammar. In Robert Borsley & Kersti Borjars (eds.), *Non-transformational syntax*. Cambridge: Blackwells.
- Sag, Ivan A. & Thomas Wasow. 2015. Flexible processing and the design of grammar. *Journal of Psycholinguist Research* 44(1). 47–63.

- Santorini, Beatrice. 2007. (Un?)expected movement. University of Pennsylvania. <http://www.ling.upenn.edu/~beatrice/examples/movement.html>. Accessed: Jan 2 2012.
- Sauerland, Uli & Paul D. Elbourne. 2002. Total reconstruction, pf movement, and derivational order. *Linguistic Inquiry* 33(2). 283–319.
- Schmerling, Susan. 1972. Apparent counterexamples to the coordinate structure constraint: a canonical constraint. *Studies in the Linguistic Sciences* 2(1). 91–104.
- Sprouse, Jon. 2007. *A program for experimental syntax: finding the relationship between acceptability and grammatical knowledge*. University of Maryland Ph.D. dissertation.
- Sprouse, Jon. 2009. Revisiting satiation: Evidence for an equalization response strategy. *Linguistic Inquiry* 40(1). 329–341.
- Sprouse, Jon, Ivano Caponigro, Ciro Greco & Carlo Cecchetto. 2015. Experimental syntax and the variation of island effects in English and Italian. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 34(1). 307–344.
- Sprouse, Jon, Matt Wagers & Colin Phillips. 2012a. A test of the relation between working memory capacity and syntactic island effects. *Language*.
- Sprouse, Jon, Matt Wagers & Colin Phillips. 2012b. Working-memory capacity and island effects: a reminder of the issues and the facts. *Language* 88(2). 401–407.
- Staub, Adrian & Charles E. Jr. Clifton. 2006. Syntactic prediction in language comprehension: evidence from *either... or*. *Journal of Experimental Psychology: Learning, Memory, and Cognition* 32(2). 425–436.
- Staub, Adrian, Charles E. Jr. Clifton & Lyn Frazier. 2006. Heavy np shift is the parser’s last resort: evidence from eye movements. *Journal of Memory and Language* 54. 389–406.
- Stepanov, Arthur. 2007. The end of CED? Minimalism and extraction domains. *Syntax* 10(1). 80–126.
- Stowell, Timothy Angus. 1981. *Origins of phrase structure*. MIT Cambridge, MA PhD Dissertation.
- Strunk, Jan & Neal Snider. 2008. Extraposition without subjacency. <http://www.linguistics.ruhr-uni-bochum.de/~strunk/DGfS2008Handout.pdf>. Presented at the workshop on Rightward Movement in a Comparative Perspective at DGfS 2008 in Bamberg, March 27, 2008.
- Strunk, Jan & Neal Snider. 2013. Subclausal locality constraints on relative clause extraposition. In Gert Webelhuth, Manfred Sailer & Heike Walker (eds.), *Rightward movement in a comparative perspective*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

- Stucky, Susan U. 1987. Configurational variation in English: a study of extraposition and related matters. In Geoffrey J. Huck & Almerindo E. Ojeda (eds.), *Syntax and semantics 20: discontinuous constituency*, 377–404. Academic Press, Orlando, FL.
- Szabolcsi, Anna & Frans Zwarts. 1993. Weak islands and an algebraic semantics for scope taking. *Natural Language Semantics* 1. 235–284.
- Tabor, Whitney & Sean Hutchins. 2004. Evidence for self-organized sentence processing: digging-in effects. *Journal of Experimental Psychology: Learning, Memory, and Cognition* 30(2). 431–450.
- Tabor, Whitney, C Juliano & MK Tanenhaus. 1997. Parsing in a dynamical system: an attractor-based account of the interaction of lexical and structural constraints in sentence processing. *Language and Cognitive Processes* 2–3(12). 211–271.
- Takami, Ken-ichi. 1992. *Preposition stranding: from syntactic to functional analyses*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Taraldsen, Knut T. 1982. Extraction from relative clauses in norwegian. readings on unbounded dependencies in scandinavian languages. In Elisabet Engdahl & Eva Ejerhed (eds.), 205–221. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International.
- Traxler, Matthew J., Martin J. Pickering & Charles E. Jr. Clifton. 1998. Adjunct attachment is not a form of lexical ambiguity resolution. *Journal of memory and language* 39. 558–592.
- Truswell, Robert. 2011. *Events, phrases and questions*. Oxford.
- Tsiamtsiouris, Jim & Helen Smith Cairns. 2009. Effects of syntactic complexity and sentence-structure priming on speech initiation time in adults who stutter. *Journal of Speech, Language, and Hearing Research* 52(6). 1623–1639.
- Uszkoreit, Hans, Thorsten Brants, Denys Duchier, Brigitte Krenn, Lars Konieczny, Stephan Oepen & Wojciech Skut. 1998. Studien zur performanzorientierten Linguistik: Aspekte der Relativsatzextraposition im Deutschen. *Kognitionswissenschaft. Themenheft Ressourcenbeschränkungen* 7(3). 129–133.
- Van Eynde, Frank. 1996. A monostratal treatment of it extraposition without lexical rules. In G. Durieux, W. Daelemans & S. Gillis (eds.), *Papers from the sixth clin meeting*, 231–248.
- Van Valin, Robert D. Jr. 1986. Pragmatics, island phenomena, and linguistic competence. In *Papers from the parasession on pragmatics and grammatical theory*, vol. 22(2), 223–233. CLS.
- van Schijndel, Marten, William Schuler & Peter W. Culicover. 2014. Frequency effects in the processing of unbounded dependencies. In *Proceedings of cogsci 2014*. Quebec, Quebec, Canada: Cognitive Science Society.

- Vicente, Luis. 2016. Atb extraction without coordination. In Christopher Hammerly & Brandon Pickett (eds.), *Proceedings of nels 46*, 1–14.
- Villata, Sandra, Luigi Rizzi & Julie Franck. 2016. Intervention effects and relativized minimality: new experimental evidence from graded judgments. *Lingua* 179. 76–96.
- Wasow, Thomas. 2002. *Postverbal behavior*. CSLI Publications.
- Wasow, Tom. 2019. Processing. In Stefan Müller, Anne Abeillé, Robert D. Borsley & Jean-Pierre Koenig (eds.), *Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar: The handbook*, 547–568. Berlin: Language Science Press. DOI:??
- Winter, Yoad. 2001. *Flexibility principles in boolean semantics: coordination, plurality and scope in natural language*. MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
- Witten, Edward. 1972. *Centrality*. Report No. NSF-28 to The National Science Foundation. The Computational Laboratory of Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
- Zhang, Niina Ning. 2007. The syntactic derivations of two paired dependency constructions. *Lingua* 117(12). 2134–2158.