Relative clause extraposition in English is created by rightward syntactic movement

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Target items for the 12 subject island experiments

(1) Unergative subject island (context)

    a. People in my office have been checking up on me recently. Yesterday I reassured my boss, who was worried about my workload. <u>Earlier yesterday I also reassured a colleague that knew about my anxiety.</u>   non-island | in-situ

    b. People in my office have been checking up on me recently. Yesterday I reassured my boss, who was worried about my workload. <u>I also reassured a colleague earlier yesterday that knew about my anxiety.</u>   non-island | ex-situ

    c. During my presentation, I was nervous, and several people tried to show their support non-verbally. First my boss winked. <u>Then a colleague that knew about my anxiety winked conspiratorially.</u>   island | in-situ

    d. During my presentation, I was nervous, and several people tried to show their support non-verbally. First my boss winked. <u>Then a colleague winked conspiratorially that knew about my anxiety.</u>   island | ex-situ

(2) Unergative subject island (indefinite)

    a. Earlier yesterday I reassured [$_{DP}$ a colleague [$_{RC}$ that sensed my apprehension]].   non | in

    b. I reassured [$_{DP}$ a colleague R̶C̶] earlier yesterday [$_{RC}$ that sensed my apprehension].   non | ex

    c. [$_{DP}$ A colleague [that sensed my apprehension]] winked conspiratorially.   isl | in

    d. [$_{DP}$ A colleague R̶C̶] winked conspiratorially [$_{RC}$ that sensed my apprehension].   isl | ex

(3) Unergative subject island (definite)

    a. Earlier yesterday I reassured [$_{DP}$ the colleague [$_{RC}$ that sensed my apprehension]].   non | in

    b. I reassured [$_{DP}$ the colleague R̶C̶] earlier yesterday [$_{RC}$ that sensed my apprehension].   non | ex

    c. [$_{DP}$ The colleague [that sensed my apprehension]] winked conspiratorially.   isl | in

    d. [$_{DP}$ The colleague R̶C̶] winked conspiratorially [$_{RC}$ that sensed my apprehension].   isl | ex

Target items for the 12 subject island experiments

(4) **Transitive subject island (context)**

a. Tim was a victim of identity theft through a social media platform. Today Tim visited a detective in charge of the investigation. <u>Two hours ago he also visited a lawyer that represents the social media company.</u> non | in

b. Tim was a victim of identity theft through a social media platform. Today Tim visited a detective in charge of the investigation. <u>He also visited a lawyer two hours ago that represents the social media company.</u> non | ex

c. Tim was a victim of identity theft through a social media platform. Today a detective visited Tim to ask a few follow-up questions. <u>A lawyer that represents the social media company also visited him.</u> isl | in

d. Tim was a victim of identity theft through a social media platform. Today a detective visited Tim to ask a few follow-up questions. <u>A lawyer also visited him that represents the social media company.</u> isl | ex

(5) **Transitive subject island (indefinite)**

a. Three hours ago Tim visited [$_{DP}$ a lawyer [$_{RC}$ that represents the social media company]]. non | in
  non | ex

b. Tim visited [$_{DP}$ a lawyer ~~RC~~] three hours ago [$_{RC}$ that represents the social media company].
  isl | in

c. Today [$_{DP}$ a lawyer [$_{RC}$ that represents the social media company]] visited Tim. isl | ex

d. [$_{DP}$ A lawyer ~~RC~~] visited Tim today [$_{RC}$ that represents the social media company].

(6) **Transitive subject island (definite)**

a. Three hours ago Tim visited [$_{DP}$ the lawyer [$_{RC}$ that represents the social media company]]. non | in

b. Tim visited [$_{DP}$ the lawyer ~~RC~~] three hours ago [$_{RC}$ that represents the social media company] non | ex

c. Today [$_{DP}$ the lawyer [$_{RC}$ that represents the social media company]] visited Tim. isl | in

d. [$_{DP}$ The lawyer ~~RC~~] visited Tim today [$_{RC}$ that represents the social media company]. isl | ex

Target items for the 12 subject island experiments

(7) Passive subject island (context)

    a. The Netflix show hosted by David Letterman usually has several guests. Yesterday David Letterman interviewed a famous actor who had just won an Oscar for his recent performance. <u>Earlier yesterday he also interviewed a comedian that created a hit television show.</u> — non | in; non | ex

    b. The Netflix show hosted by David Letterman usually has several guests. Yesterday David Letterman interviewed a famous actor who had just won an Oscar for his recent performance. <u>He also interviewed a comedian earlier yesterday that created a hit television show.</u> — isl | in

    c. Yesterday the Netflix show hosted by David Letterman had several guests. First, a famous actor who had just won an Oscar for his recent performance was interviewed by David Letterman. <u>Then a comedian that created a hit television show was interviewed.</u> — isl | ex

    d. Yesterday the Netflix show hosted by David Letterman had several guests. First, a famous actor who had just won an Oscar for his recent performance was interviewed by David Letterman. <u>Then a comedian was interviewed that created a hit television show.</u>

(8) Passive subject island (indefinite)

    a. Two days ago John Stewart visited [$_{DP}$ an activist [$_{RC}$ that helped the 9/11 first responders]]. — non | in

    b. John Stewart visited [$_{DP}$ an activist R̶C̶] two days ago [$_{RC}$ that helped the 9/11 first responders]. — non | ex; isl | in

    c. [$_{DP}$ An activist [$_{RC}$ that helped the 9/11 first responders]] was visited by John Stewart. — isl | ex

    d. [$_{DP}$ An activist R̶C̶] was visited by John Stewart [$_{RC}$ that helped the 9/11 first responders].

(9) Passive subject island (definite)

    a. Two days ago John Stewart visited [$_{DP}$ the activist [$_{RC}$ that helped the 9/11 first responders]]. — non | in

    b. John Stewart visited [$_{DP}$ the activist R̶C̶] two days ago [$_{RC}$ that helped the 9/11 first responders]. — non | ex; isl | in

    c. [$_{DP}$ The activist [$_{RC}$ that helped the 9/11 first responders]] was visited by John Stewart. — isl | ex

    d. [$_{DP}$ The activist R̶C̶] was visited by John Stewart [$_{RC}$ that helped the 9/11 first responders].

Target items for the 12 subject island experiments

(10) Unaccusative subject island (context)

    a. As an employee of a tree service company, I have years of experience in pruning and removing trees. Yesterday I trimmed a whole row of trees along a busy street. <u>Earlier yesterday I also trimmed a tree that straddles the town border.</u>   non-island | in-situ / non-island | ex-situ

    b. As an employee of a tree service company, I have years of experience in pruning and removing trees. Yesterday I trimmed a whole row of trees along a busy street. <u>I also trimmed a tree earlier yesterday that straddles the town border.</u>   island | in-situ

    c. It was a tumultuous day in our small town yesterday. First, a billboard on the side of the road fell because of a heavy gust of wind. <u>Then a tree that straddles the town border also fell.</u>   island | ex-situ

    d. It was a tumultuous day in our small town yesterday. First, a billboard on the side of the road fell because of a heavy gust of wind. <u>Then a tree also fell that straddles the town border.</u>

(11) Unaccusative subject island (indefinite)

    a. Early yesterday I trimmed [$_{DP}$ a tree [$_{RC}$ that straddles the town border]].   non-island | in-situ

    b. I trimmed [$_{DP}$ a tree ~~RC~~] early yesterday [$_{RC}$ that straddles the town border].   non-island | ex-situ

    c. Yesterday [$_{DP}$ a tree [$_{RC}$ that straddles the town border]] fell.   island | in-situ

    d. [$_{DP}$ A tree ~~RC~~] fell yesterday [$_{RC}$ that straddles the town border].   island | ex-situ

(12) Unaccusative subject island (definite)

    a. Early yesterday I trimmed [$_{DP}$ the tree [$_{RC}$ that straddles the town border]].   non-island | in-situ

    b. I trimmed [$_{DP}$ the tree ~~RC~~] early yesterday [$_{RC}$ that straddles the town border].   non-island | ex-situ

    c. Yesterday [$_{DP}$ the tree [$_{RC}$ that straddles the town border]] fell.   island | in-situ

    d. [$_{DP}$ The tree] fell yesterday [$_{RC}$ that straddles the town border].   island | ex-situ

Target items for the 2 coord. island experiments

(13) VP-coordination island (first conjunct)

    a. For at least several weeks George wanted [$_{VP}$ to thank [$_{DP}$ a baseball coach [$_{RC}$ that works with underprivileged kids]]].   non-island | in-situ

    b. George wanted [$_{VP}$ to thank [$_{DP}$ a baseball coach ~~RC~~]] for at least several weeks [$_{RC}$ that works with underprivileged kids].   non-island | ex-situ

    c. George wanted [$_{VP}$ [$_{VP}$ to thank [$_{DP}$ a baseball coach [$_{RC}$ that works with underprivileged kids]]] and [$_{VP}$ to chat with Mia]].   island | in-situ

    d. George wanted [$_{VP}$ to thank [$_{DP}$ a baseball coach ~~RC~~] and [$_{VP}$ to chat with Mia] [$_{RC}$ that works with underprivileged kids].   island | ex-situ

(14) DP-coordination island (second conjunct)

    a. Last Monday Jennifer met [the medical team [that saved her]].   non-island | in-situ

    b. Jennifer met [the medical team ~~RC~~] last Monday [that saved her].   non-island | ex-situ

    c. Last Monday Tim met both [[Jennifer] and [the medical team [that saved her]]].   island | in-situ

    d. Tim met [both [Jennifer] and [the medical team ~~RC~~]] last Monday [that saved her].   island | ex-situ