

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)

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

(2) Unergative subject island (indefinite)

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|--|-----|----|
| a. Earlier yesterday I reassured [_{DP} a colleague [_{RC} that sensed my apprehension]]. | non | in |
| b. I reassured [_{DP} a colleague RC] 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 RC] winked conspiratorially [_{RC} that sensed my apprehension]. | isl | ex |

(3) Unergative subject island (definite)

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|--|-----|----|
| a. Earlier yesterday I reassured [_{DP} the colleague [_{RC} that sensed my apprehension]]. | non | in |
| b. I reassured [_{DP} the colleague RC] 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 RC] winked conspiratorially [_{RC} that sensed my apprehension]. | isl | ex |

Target items for the 12 subject island experiments

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(4) Transitive subject island (context)			
a.	Tim was a victim of identity theft through a social media platform. Today 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.	<u>Tim was a victim of identity theft through a social media platform.</u> 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.	<u>Tim was a victim of identity theft through a social media platform.</u> 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 non	in 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)

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|----|---|-----|----|
| 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 |
| 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> | non | ex |
| c. | <u>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. Then a comedian that created a hit television show was interviewed.</u> | isl | in |
| d. | <u>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. Then a comedian was interviewed that created a hit television show.</u> | isl | ex |

(8) Passive subject island (indefinite)

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|----|---|-----|----|
| 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 RC] two days ago [RC that helped the 9/11 first responders]. | non | ex |
| c. | [DP An activist [RC that helped the 9/11 first responders]] was visited by John Stewart. | isl | in |
| d. | [DP An activist RC] was visited by John Stewart [RC that helped the 9/11 first responders]. | isl | ex |

(9) Passive subject island (definite)

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|----|--|-----|----|
| 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 RC] two days ago [RC that helped the 9/11 first responders]. | non | ex |
| c. | [DP The activist [RC that helped the 9/11 first responders]] was visited by John Stewart. | isl | in |
| d. | [DP The activist RC] was visited by John Stewart [RC that helped the 9/11 first responders]. | isl | ex |

Target items for the 12 subject island experiments

(10) Unaccusative subject island (context)

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|----|--|------------|---------|
| 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 |
| 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> | non-island | ex-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 | in-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> | island | ex-situ |

(11) Unaccusative subject island (indefinite)

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|----|---|------------|---------|
| 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)

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|----|---|------------|---------|
| 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)

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|----|---|------------|---------|
| 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)

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|----|---|------------|---------|
| 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 |