

1 Experiment

1.1 Participants

Seventeen native Russian speakers living in or visiting the United States participated in this experiment at the University of California at San Diego for cash compensation. None had arrived in the United States before age 13, and all reported that they continue to use Russian on a regular basis and consider it the language they are most comfortable with.

1.2 Materials

Twenty items (listed in full in XXX) were constructed following XXX pattern. Each participant saw only one of the four conditions of each item according to a Latin square design. These experimental stimuli were interleaved with 32 items from an unrelated experiment and 52 random fillers such that no two experimental sentences were seen consecutively.

1.3 Procedure

Sentences were presented to participants in a non-cumulative word-by-word moving-window self-paced procedure on a PC laptop computer running the Linger software (?). Each trial began with a series of dashes displayed on the computer screen in place of the words in the sentence. The first press of the space bar revealed the first word in the sentence, and each subsequent press of the space bar revealed the next word in the sentence and masked the previous word. Punctuation was displayed together with the word preceding it. The times between button presses were recorded to the nearest millisecond. Each sentence was followed by a yes-or-no comprehension question probing the participant's understanding of the content of the sentence. Written instructions in Russian were given at the outset of the experiment.

1.4 Data Analysis

Experimental sentences were divided into nine regions of interest as indicated in XXX. Raw reading times were analyzed independently within each region. Prior to analysis, RTs greater than 5000 ms or less than 100ms were excluded. After removing extreme outliers, RTs were further trimmed by removing observations that were more than three standard deviations from a condition mean within a given region. Trials that were incorrectly answered were not excluded from further analysis. This led to a rejection of 108 data points (3.5 % of the data overall). Response time data were analyzed linear mixed effects (LME) models. The fixed effect structure of all LME models consisted of the experimental factors STRUCTURE, LOCALITY, and their interaction, using simple difference coding (STRUCTURE: -0.5 for VP attachment, 0.5 for NP attachment; LOCALITY: 0.5 for local attachment, -0.5 for non-local attachment). All mixed effects models used participants and items as random effects, with random intercepts and slopes for all fixed effects (following ?). In case the model with maximal random effects structure failed to converge, slopes for the interaction term were removed. Accuracy data were analyzed using mixed effects logistic regressions with

identical fixed and random effect structure. p -values were estimated from model t -values by approximation to the standard normal distribution (?).

1.5 Results

1.5.1 Comprehension Accuracy

Accuracy on comprehension questions was high, indicating that participants attended to the task. By condition accuracies are provided in ??. Logistic mixed effects modeling of the results indicate no significant differences between conditions.

	Local	Non-local
NP	0.94 (0.02)	0.95 (0.03)
VP	0.96 (0.03)	0.94 (0.03)

Table 1: Mean accuracy by condition for Experiment 1. By-participant standard errors in parentheses.

1.5.2 Reading Times

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1	637.5 (54)	704.8 (74)	856 (108)	864.6 (93)	718.6 (64)	756.6 (59)	583.6 (52)	669.6 (53)	975.9 (84)
2	618.6 (48)	725.8 (79)	891.4 (105)	861.4 (91)	677.2 (59)	721.5 (55)	578.5 (33)	667.5 (55)	975.4 (82)
3	663.4 (68)	729.6 (73)	870.1 (105)	871.2 (77)	701.4 (42)	686.7 (58)	566.3 (38)	659.8 (51)	935.8 (78)
4	648.5 (62)	735.1 (89)	929.5 (130)	915.1 (107)	830.3 (80)	951.4 (96)	694.6 (58)	622.9 (42)	1136.4 (108)

Table 2: Mean RTs in each region for Experiment 1. By-participant standard errors in parentheses.

Mean RTs in each region, along with by-participant standard error, is presented in ?? and in 1. Prior to the critical relative pronoun region, no significant effects of any experimental fixed effects were found. In the region immediately following the relative pronoun (region 6), mixed effects modeling showed a significant effect of LOCALITY ($\beta = -121 (\pm 53)$, $p < 0.05$), and a significant interaction of LOCALITY and STRUCTURE ($\beta = 298 (\pm 112)$, $p < 0.01$). In region 7, there was a marginal effect of LOCALITY ($\beta = -62 (\pm 34)$, $p < 0.1$), as well as a marginal interaction LOCALITY and STRUCTURE ($\beta = 129 (\pm 66)$, $p < 0.1$). Additional, in region 9 there was a significant interaction of LOCALITY and STRUCTURE ($\beta = 253 (\pm 120)$, $p < 0.05$), as well as a marginal effect of LOCALITY ($\beta = -127 (\pm 77)$, $p < 0.1$).

The critical interaction at region 6 was resolved by fitting a second LME model that used nested contrasts to estimate the effect of LOCALITY within each level of the STRUCTURE factor. The results of this model indicate a significant effect of locality for VP attachment conditions ($\beta = -270 (\pm 91)$, $p < 0.01$). There was no significant effect of locality for NP attachment conditions ($\beta = 28 (\pm 61)$, $p = 0.646$).

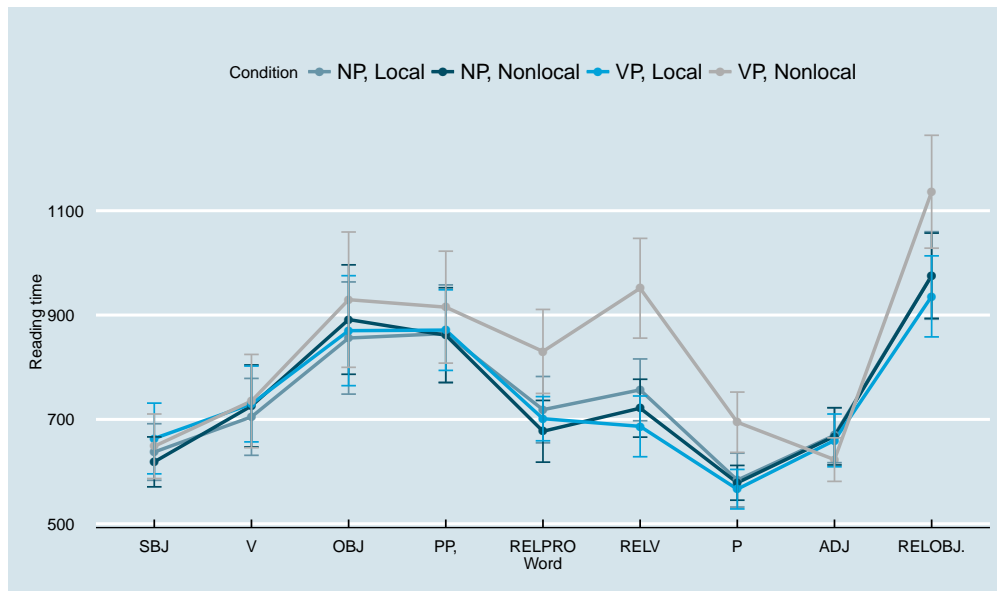


Figure 1: Mean reading times in Experiment 1. Error bars represent standard error by participants.