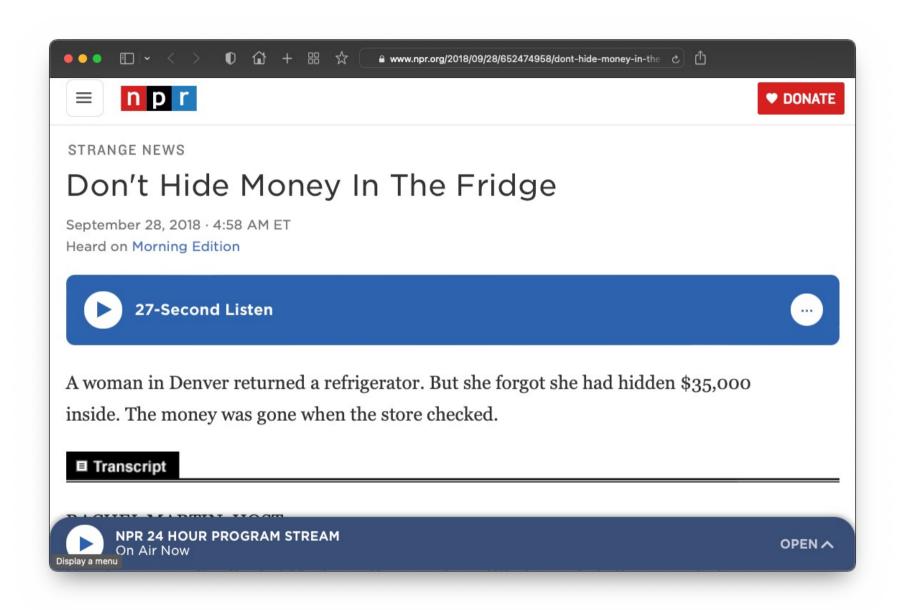
Recursive treetops: RC islands in Danish and English

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MINDS - Mind the structure!
https://tildeweb.au.dk/au572/minds.html

07.04.2022



Wh-questions and wh-islands: Short + long movement \rightarrow island effect

(1) She explained [that she hid the money in the fridge].

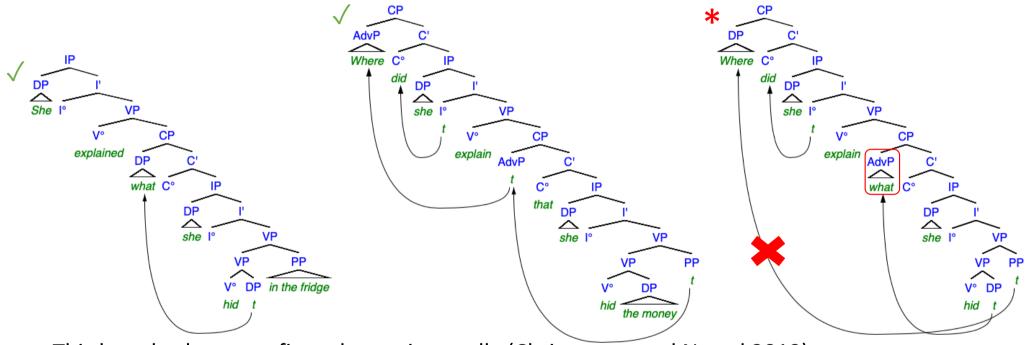
- (2) She explained [what₁ she hid ______1 in the fridge]. (Short)
 (3) She explained [where₂ she hid the money ______2].
- (4) <u>What₁</u> did she explain [_____1 that she hid ______1 in the fridge]? (Long)

(5) <u>Where</u>₂ did she explain [_____₂ that she hid the money _____₂]?

- (6) ?? \underline{What}_1 did she explain [where₂ she hid _____2]?
- (7) *<u>Where</u>₂ did she explain [<u>what</u> she hid ______]?
- The *wh-element* in CP-spec blocks further extraction.
 → The embedded *wh*-question is an island.



Wh-questions and wh-islands: Short + long movement \rightarrow island effect

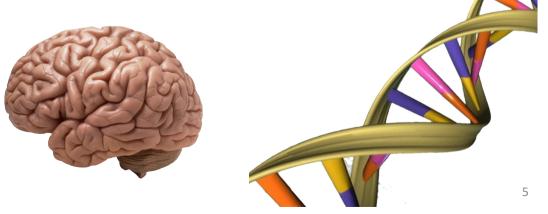


• This has also been confirmed experimentally (Christensen and Nyvad 2019)

Christensen, Ken Ramshøj, and Anne Mette Nyvad. 2019. "No Escape from the Island: On Extraction from Complement *Wh*-Clauses in English." In *The Sign of the V – Papers in Honour of Sten Vikner*, edited by Ken Ramshøj Christensen, Henrik Jørgensen, and Johanna L. Wood, 95–112. Aarhus: Dept. of English, School of Communication & Culture, Aarhus University. https://doi.org/10.7146/aul.348.91.

Islands

- Island constraints are standardly assumed to be universal: Part of Universal Grammar
 - Rules that block extraction from syntactic islands
- Part of the human genetic makeup
 - Constraints on the phase space for language development and language variation.



Wh-islands in Danish

(Christensen, Kizach, and Nyvad 2013)

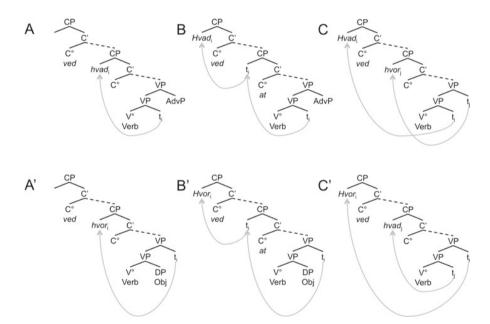


Fig. 1 Partial syntactic structures corresponding to movement-derived stimuli. Top row: argument (object) movement, bottom row: adjunct (sentence adverbial) movement. A SHORT (ARG), B LONG (ARG), C ACROSS (ARG). A' SHORT (ADJ), B' LONG (ADJ), C' ACROSS (ADJ)

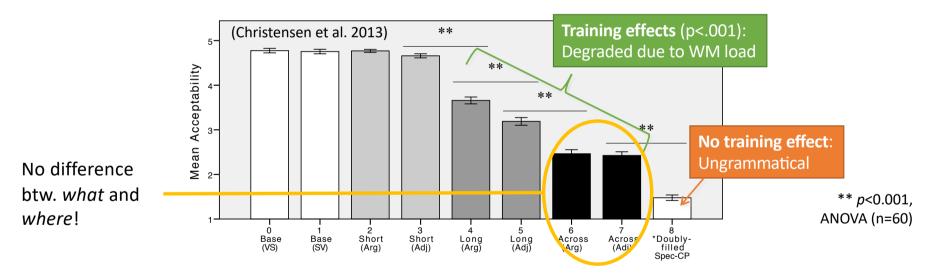
Christensen, Ken Ramshøj, Johannes Kizach, og Anne Mette Nyvad. 2013. "Escape from the Island: Grammaticality and (Reduced) Acceptability of Wh-Island Violations in Danish". *Journal of Psycholinguistic Research* 42 (1): 51–70. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10936-012-9210-x.

Condition	Example
BASE (VS)	Ved hun godt at man kan leje noget dér?
	Knows she well that one can rent something there?
	"Does she know that you can rent something there?"
BASE (SV)	Hun ved godt at man kan leje noget dér.
	She knows well that one can rent something there.
	"She knows that you can rent something there."
SHORT (ARG)	Ved hun godt hvad man kan leje dér?
	Knows she well what one can rent there?
	"Does she know what you can rent there?"
Short (Adj)	Ved hun godt hvor man kan leje noget?
	Knows she well where one can rent something?
	"Does she know where you can rent something?"
Long (Arg)	Hvad ved hun godt at man kan leje dér?
	What knows she well that one can rent there?
	"What does she know that you can rent there?"
Long (Adj)	Hvor ved hun godt at man kan leje noget?
	Where knows she well that one can rent something?
	"Where does she know that you can rent something?
ACROSS (ARG)	Hvad ved hun godt hvor man kan leje?
	What knows she well where one can rent?
	"What does she know where you can rent?"
Across (Adj)	Hvor ved hun godt hvad man kan leje?
	Where knows she well what one can rent?
	"Where does she know what you can rent?"
*Doubly-filled	Ved hun godt hvor hvad man kan leje?
Spec-CP	Knows she well where what one can rent?
	"Does she know where what you can rent?"

Wh-islands in Danish

(Christensen, Kizach, and Nyvad 2013)

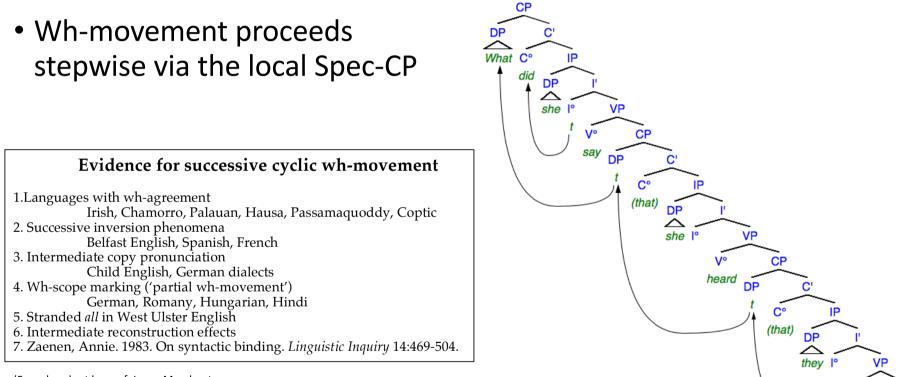
 Hypothesis: Priming effects (on acceptability) can only be found with degraded but grammatical sentences (Sprouse 2007, 123-124). Hence, structural priming/training is suggestive of grammaticality.



Christensen, Ken Ramshøj, Johannes Kizach, og Anne Mette Nyvad. 2013. "Escape from the Island: Grammaticality and (Reduced) Acceptability of Wh-Island Violations in Danish". Journal of Psycholinguistic Research 42 (1): 51–70. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10936-012-9210-x.

Sprouse, Jon. 2007. Continuous acceptability, categorical grammaticality, and experimental syntax. Biolinguistics 1. 123–134.

Because (a) Movement is successive cyclic...

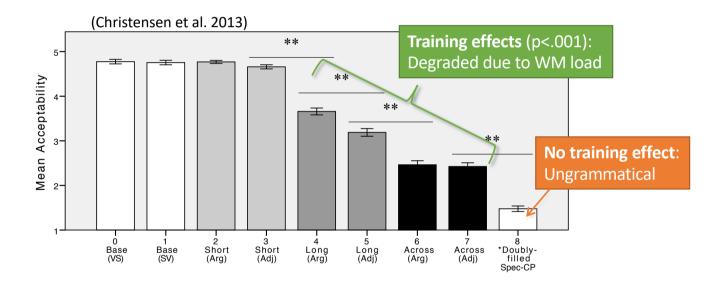


(From handout by prof. Jason Merchant: http://home.uchicago.edu/~merchant/classes/syntax2.2005/successive.cyclic.handout.pdf)

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wanteo

...and (b) ACROSS is grammatical in Danish...



Priming effects (on acceptability) can only be found with degraded but grammatical sentences (Sprouse 2007, 123-124).

Christensen, Ken Ramshøj, Johannes Kizach, og Anne Mette Nyvad. 2013. "Escape from the Island: Grammaticality and (Reduced) Acceptability of Wh-Island Violations in Danish". *Journal of Psycholinguistic Research* 42 (1): 51–70. <u>https://doi.org/10.1007/s10936-012-9210-x</u>.
 Sprouse, Jon. 2007. Continuous acceptability, categorical grammaticality, and experimental syntax. *Biolinguistics* 1. 123–134.

...then (c) WH-clauses are not islands in Danish

- Cf. also grammatical extraction from embedded y/n-questions (Christensen, Kizach & Nyvad 2013, 248):
 - (8) a. Ved. hun ikke [_{CP} om Lars har fundet kablet]?Knows she not if Lars has found cable-the
 - b. *Ved hun ikke [CP hvad om Lars har fundet]? Knows she not what if Lars has found
 - c. <u>Hvad</u> ved hun ikke [_{CP} __ om Lars har fundet __]? What knows she not if Lars has found
- Priming / "satiation" effects have also been reported for whether-islands in English (Snyder 2000)

Christensen, Ken Ramshøj, Johannes Kizach, and Anne Mette Nyvad. 2013. "The Processing of Syntactic Islands – An FMRI Study." *Journal of Neurolinguistics* 26 (2): 239–51. <u>https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jneuroling.2012.08.002</u>. Snyder, William. 2000. "An experimental investigation of syntactic satiation effects". *Linguistic Inguiry* 31 (3): 575–582. <u>https://doi.org/10.1162/002438900554479</u>.

Some islands have bridges...



What about relative clauses?

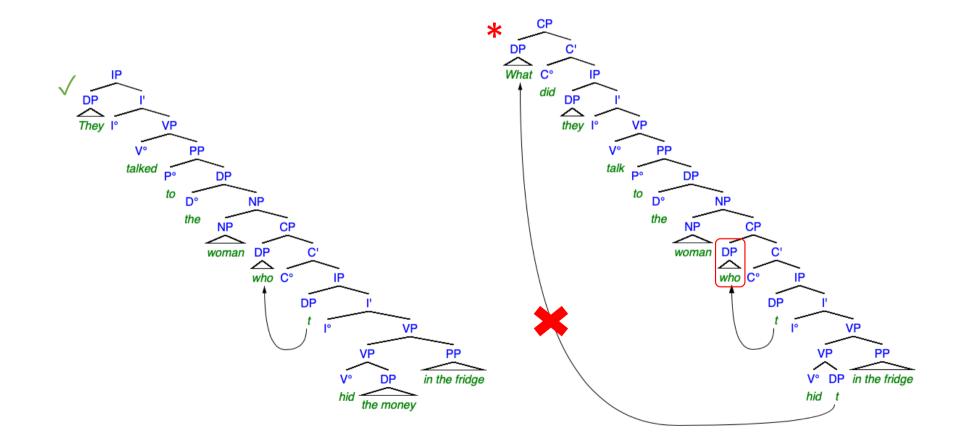
Relative clauses (RCs):

- (9) They looked for the money [\underline{which}_1 the woman hid _____1 in the fridge]. (10) * \underline{What}_2 did they look for the money [\underline{which}_1 the woman hid _____1 in _____2]?
- (11) They looked for the money [\underline{ec}_1 that the woman hid _____1 in the fridge]. (12) *<u>What_2</u> did they look for the money [\underline{ec}_2 that the woman hid _____1 in ______2]?
- (13)They talked to the woman $[who_1 __1]$ hid the money in the fridge].(14) *What_2 did they talkto the woman $[who_1 __1]$ hid $__2$ in the fridge]?(15) *What_2 did they talkto the woman $[who_1 __1]$ hid the money in $__2]$?
- The wh-element in CP-spec blocks further extraction.
 ➔ The RC is an island.





RCs are also islands: Short + long movement \rightarrow island effect



Extraction from RCs in Danish Danish *som/der* • Som: Ambiguous btw. SUBJ/OBJ-RC Der: Unambiguous SUBJ-RC Acceptability survey (Christensen & Nyvad 2014) • (64 items + fillers. 7-point Likert scale. Constant: Structure, Length, Tns, Asp, Animacy, Cohesion, MVC) (16) Pia har engang **set** en pensionist [**som/der** havde sådan en hund]. [+SC. –EXTR] Pia has once **seen** a pensioner **COMP** had such a dog (17) Sådan en hund har Pia engang **set** en pensionist [**som/der** havde]. [+SC. +EXTR] Such a dog has Pia once seen a pensioner COMP had (18) Pia har engang **mødt** en pensionist [**som/der** havde sådan en hund]. [-SC. -EXTR] Pia has once **met** a pensioner **COMP** had such a doa (19) Sådan en hund har Pia engang **mødt** en pensionist [**som/der** havde]. [–SC, +EXTR] Such a dog has Pia once **met** a pensioner **COMP** had

Christensen, Ken Ramshøj, and Anne Mette Nyvad. 2014. "On the Nature of Escapable Relative Islands". Nordic Journal of Linguistics 37 (01): 29–45. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0332586514000055.

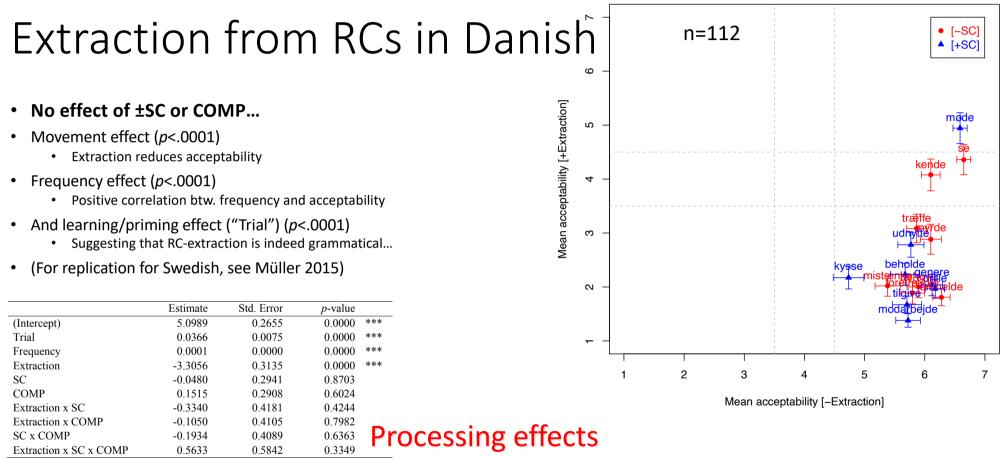
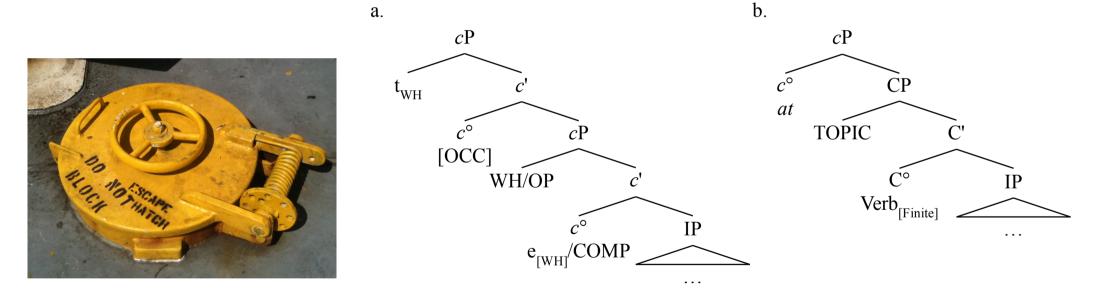


 Table 2. Summary of fixed effects. ***Significant effect, p<0.001.</th>

Christensen, Ken Ramshøj, and Anne Mette Nyvad. 2014. "On the Nature of Escapable Relative Islands". Nordic Journal of Linguistics 37 (01): 29–45. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0332586514000055. Müller, Christiane. 2015. "Against the Small Clause Hypothesis: Evidence from Swedish Relative Clause Extractions". Nordic Journal of Linguistics 38 (01): 67–92. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0332586514000055. Https://doi.org/10.1017/S0332586515000062.

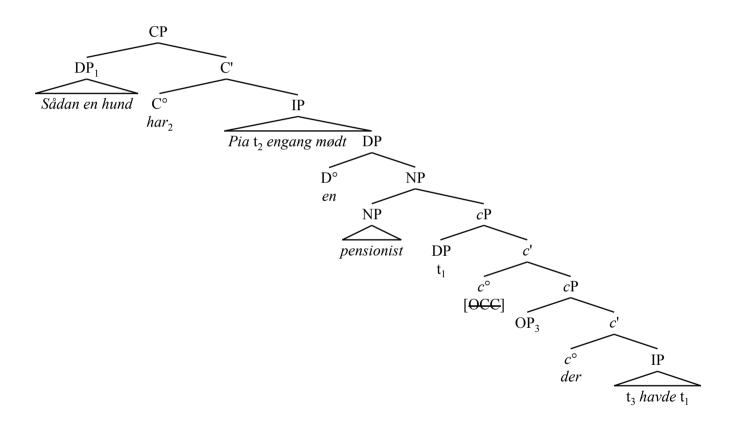
Consequence: Recursive CP

- The embedded CP_[+WH] can be RECURSIVE in Danish (and English?)
 - Outer SPEC licensed as Last Resort



Nyvad, Anne Mette, Ken Ramshøj Christensen, and Sten Vikner. 2017. "CP-Recursion in Danish: A CP/CP-Analysis." *The Linguistic Review* 34 (3): 449–477. https://doi.org/10.1515/tlr-2017-0008. Vikner, Sten, Ken Ramshøj Christensen, and Anne Mette Nyvad. 2017. "V2 and CP/CP." In *Order and Structure in Syntax I: Word Order and Syntactic Structure*, edited by Laura Bailey and Michelle Sheehan, 313–24. Open Generative Syntax 1. Berlin: Language Science Press. https://doi.org/10.1515/tlr-2017-0008.

Escaping a relative clause in Danish



Nyvad, Anne Mette, Ken Ramshøj Christensen, and Sten Vikner. 2017. "CP-Recursion in Danish: A CP/CP-Analysis." *The Linguistic Review* 34 (3): 449–477. https://doi.org/10.1515/tlr-2017-0008. Vikner, Sten, Ken Ramshøj Christensen, and Anne Mette Nyvad. 2017. "V2 and CP/CP." In *Order and Structure in Syntax I: Word Order and Syntactic Structure*, edited by Laura Bailey and Michelle Sheehan, 313–24. Open Generative Syntax 1. Berlin: Language Science Press. https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.1117724.

Formal vs. informal ratings

- Acceptability ratings are often lower in formal experiments than in informal settings
 - Examples in naturalistic discourse are rated low in experiments (see Müller 2019, 182, 185 for discussion and references)
- Perhaps due to misparse (structural misanalysis)?
 - (Kush et al. 2019, 24)
- Difficult to maintain naturalness while trying to control for everything else
 - Lexical material, coherence, early attachment, length, frequency, etc.
- Perhaps a supporting context would help: Supportive context facilitates comprehension of object-initial clauses (Kristensen et al. 2014)

Kristensen, Line Burholt, Elisabeth Engberg-Pedersen, and Mads Poulsen. 2014. "Context Improves Comprehension of Fronted Objects." Journal of Psycholinguistic Research 43 (2): 125–40. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10936-013-9241-y.

Kush, Dave, Terje Lohndal, and Jon Sprouse. 2019. "On the Island Sensitivity of Topicalization in Norwegian: An Experimental Investigation." lingbuzz/004442. <u>https://ling.auf.net/lingbuzz/004442</u>. Müller, Christiane. 2019. "Permeable Islands. A Contrastive Study of Swedish and English Adjunct Clause Extractions." Lund: Lund University.

Is the pattern the same in English as in Danish?

Extraction from RCs in English

- Assuming that RCs are not strong islands in English, Christensen and Nyvad (2022) made three predictions:
 - **Prediction 1**: The level of acceptability of extraction from an RC correlates with the frequency of occurrence of the matrix verb.
 - Processing effect found for Danish.
 - **Prediction 2**: The level of acceptability of extraction from an RC increases as a function of exposure over time (trial effect).
 - Processing effect found for Danish.
 - **Prediction 3**: Topicalization from an RC is more acceptable than extracting a *wh*-element.
 - Information structure effect (topicalization better than *wh*-movement) found for Swedish (Lindahl 2017) and Norwegian (Kush et al. 2019)

Christensen, Ken Ramshøj, and Anne Mette Nyvad. 2022. "The Island Is Still There: Experimental Evidence For The Inescapability Of Relative Clauses In English." Studia Linguistica, 1–25. https://doi.org/10.1111/stul.12192.

Kush, Dave, Terje Lohndal, and Jon Sprouse. 2019. "On the Island Sensitivity of Topicalization in Norwegian: An Experimental Investigation." Language 95 (3): 393–420. https://doi.org/10.1353/lan.2019.0051.

Lindahl, Filippa. 2017. "Extraction from Relative Clauses in Swedish." Gothenburg: University of Gothenburg. https://gupea.ub.gu.se/handle/2077/51985.

Extraction from RCs in English

• The target stimuli consisted of 48 target sentences, 12 sets corresponding to:

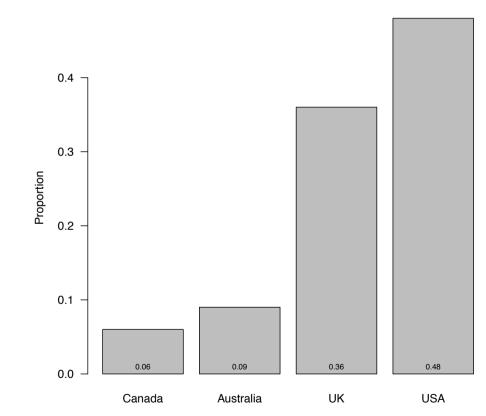
(20)	Peter once kissed a girl who preferred that type of man.	(Baseline)
(21)	What type of man did Peter once kiss a girl who preferred?	(Wh)
(22)	That type of man Peter once kissed a girl who preferred.	(Topic)
(23)	*What type of man did Peter once kiss a girl who preferred men?	(Anomaly)

• Target sentences and fillers distributed over 6 lists which were presented as online surveys using Google Drive.

Participants

- 190 native speakers of English (84 male, 106 female), mean age 42 years (range = 16–81, SD = 16).
- Including only nationalities with 10 or more participants.

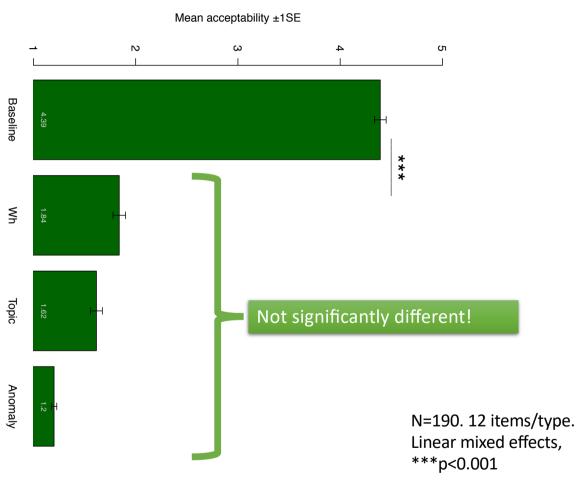




Christensen, Ken Ramshøj, and Anne Mette Nyvad. 2022. "The Island Is Still There: Experimental Evidence For The Inescapability Of Relative Clauses In English." Studia Linguistica, 1–25. https://doi.org/10.1111/stul.12192.

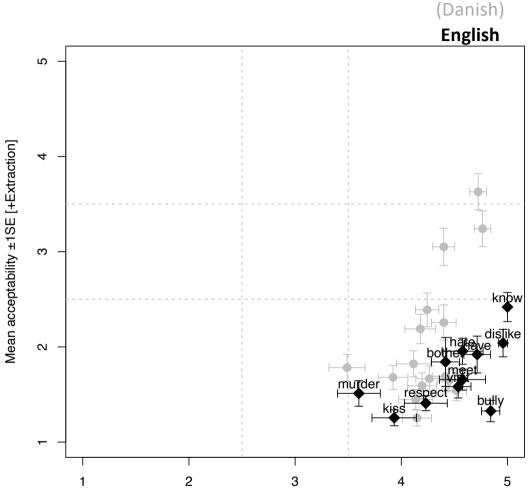
Results

- Emma truly disliked guys
 [who₁ _1 drove that type of car].
- 2. *<u>What type of car₂ did Emma truly</u> dislike guys [<u>who₁ _1</u> drove _2]?
- 3. *<u>That type of car₂ Emma truly</u> disliked guys [<u>who₁ _1</u> drove].
- *<u>What type of car</u>? did Emma truly dislike guys [<u>who1 1</u> drove <u>cars</u>]?



Results

- Extraction reduces acceptability (p<0.001)
- Marginal difference between TOPIC and WH (p<0.1)
- No main effects of education, bilingualism, nationality, or frequency (p>0.1)
- TRIAL
 - Negative (!) effects on WH (p=0.07)
 - No effect on TOPIC or ANOM
- LINGUIST
 - Small positive (!) effect on BASE (p<0.001), WH (p<0.001), and TOPIC (p<0.01)
 - No effect on ANOM



Mean acceptability ±1SE [-Extraction]

RC: conclusion

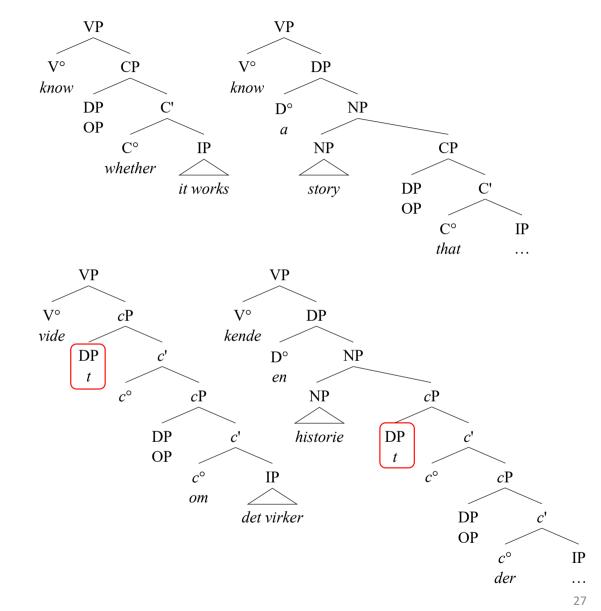
- Assuming that RCs are not strong islands in English, we made three predictions:
 - **Prediction 1**: The level of acceptability of extraction from an RC correlates with the frequency of occurrence of the matrix verb.
 - Not confirmed: Freq. not significant
 - **Prediction 2**: The level of acceptability of extraction from an RC increases as a function of exposure over time (trial effect).
 - Not confirmed: No significant positive effect of Trial
 - (Negative effect in WH)
 - **Prediction 3**: Topicalization from an RC is more acceptable than extracting a wh-element.
 - Not confirmed
- Conclusion: RCs are (probably) strong islands in English
- Support for the standard assumption

Parametric variation

- English RC = strong island:
 - All extraction from RC < 3 in acceptability
 - No lexical or processing effects



- Extraction 'smeared' from 1-4
- Lexical effect of Freq.
- Positive effect of Trial
- This suggests parametric variation
 - An 'escape hatch' is required in Danish
 - ±cP-recursion



Conclusions

- Island constraints are universal
 - UG-based: Locality & Successive cyclicity
- The status of particular island 'constructions' is subject to parametric variation
- Strong islands are 'true' islands: They block extraction.
- But if extraction is (sometimes) allowed, it cannot be a 'strong' syntactic island.
 - Acceptability is a matter of degree, depending on a range of syntactic and nonsyntactic factors, such as semantics (factivity, event structure) and pragmatics (coherence, specificity).

Thanks