

Informativity and Acceptability of Complex Subject Islands

David Clausen Department of Linguistics Stanford University



Introduction

Method

Results Summary

• Complex subject NPs (1) are considered strong syntactic islands which cannot host a gap (Ross 1967, Chomsky 1973).

(1) *What did [that sandy read ___] surprise Kim?

- Evidence that reducing processing complexity improves the acceptability of sentences with an island constraint violation (Hofmeister 2007, 2009, Hofmeister & Sag 2010).
- 7 point Likert scale acceptability judgments over Amazon Mechanical Turk.
- Each subject rated 12 target sentences and 8 filler sentences.
- Each experiment contained 2 conditions (gap location)

Informativity	Subject	Object	Diff	
Low	2.43	3.60	1.17	
Medium	2.61	3.04	0.43	
High	2.67	2.81	0.14	
(Table 1)				

- Some Islands more transparent to the processor than others. (Wagers 2008, 2009)
- Suggestions that acceptability of complex subject island violations are variable (Kluender 2005).
- Are Subject Islands ameliorated by reducing processing complexity?

Filler Informativity

- Found to facilitate processing of filler gap dependencies (Hofmeister, 2008).
- Expression *x* is more informative than expression *y* if the lexical and syntactic information encoded by *y* is a proper subset of the information encoded by

• 3 levels of increasing filler complexity: Low (Exp. 1) Medium: (Exp. 2) High (Exp. 3)

Experiment 1

• Extractions with Low Informativity Filler

Subject Extraction Condition: [Who] would [my deceiving __] bother Sarah?

Object Extraction Condition: [Who] would [my deceiving Sarah] bother __?

Results:

 Low acceptability of extractions from Subjects (Mean=2.43,SD=1.73) compared to Objects (Mean=3.60,SD=2.11,p<.05).



- (student from Kentucky > student > human)
- (Which student from Kentucky > which student > who)

References

Chomsky, N. (1973). Conditions on transformations. In S.
Anderson & P. Kiparsky (Eds.), A Festschrift for Morris Halle (p. 232-86). New York: Holt, Reinhart & Winston.
Hofmeister, P. (2007). Retrievability and gradience in filler-gap dependencies. CLS 43.
Kluender, R. (1991). Cognitive Constraints on Variables in

Syntax. PhD Thesis. UCSD.

Kluender, R. (2005). Are subject islands subject to a processing account? WCCFL 23, 475–499.

Hofmeister, Philip. (2008). Representational Complexity and Memory Retrieval in Language Comprehension. PhD Thesis. Stanford.

Experiment 2

• Extractions with Medium Informativity Fillers

Subject Extraction Condition:

[Which commissioner] would [my appointing __] bother Joe?

Object Extraction Condition:

[Which commissioner] would [my appointing Joe] bother ___?

Results:

 Decreased acceptability difference between Subject (Mean=2.61,SD=1.72) and Object (Mean=3.04,SD=1.90,p<.05) extractions.

Experiment 3

• Extractions with High Informativity Fillers

Conclusions

Steady decrease in acceptability difference as filler informativity increases (Table 1).

The presence of a complex subject and a filler-gap dependency significantly reduces acceptability regardless of gap location.

The strong interaction with known processing factors suggests a processing based account.

Mixed Effects Model

Informativity	Object	Subject	Std
Low	0.010	-0.215	.14
Medium	0.011	-0.024	.14
TT 1	0.004		

Hofmeister, P. Sag I. (2010). Cognitive constraints on syntactic islands. *Language*, 86(2), 366- 415.Ross, J. R. (1967). constraints on Variables in Syntax. PhD Thesis. MIT.

Wagers, M. (2008). The Structure of Memory Meets Memory for Structure in Linguistic Cognition. PhD Thesis. University of Maryland, College Park.Wagers, M., Phillips, C. (2009). Multiple dependencies and the role of grammar in real-time comprehension. Journal of Linguistics, 45:2, 395-433.

Subject Extraction Condition:

[Which perpetrator with a motive] would [my arresting __] bother Susan? Object Extraction Condition:

[Which perpetrator with a motive] would [my arresting Susan] bother __?

Results:

 No acceptability difference between Subject (Mean=2.67,SD=1.65) and Object extractions (Mean=2.81,SD=1.80, p = .20) High -0.024 0.052 .14 (Table 2)

Z.Answer ~ Extraction + Type + Extraction:Type + (1 + Extraction|Exp) + (1+ Extraction|Base) + (1|MD5) + (0+Extraction|MD5)

Obs: 4408, Groups: MD5: 347,, Base, 12, Exp, 5 AIC = 5868.2, DIC = 5765.9 deviance = 5800.00