

Unbounded Dependency Constructions

Theoretical and Experimental Perspectives

RUI P. CHAVES AND MICHAEL T. PUTNAM

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General Preface

Oxford Surveys in Syntax and Morphology provides overviews of the major approaches to subjects and questions at the centre of linguistic research in morphology and syntax. The volumes are accessible, critical, and up-to-date. Individually and collectively they aim to reveal the field's intellectual history and theoretical diversity. Each book published in the series will characteristically contain: (1) a brief historical overview of relevant research in the subject; (2) a critical presentation of approaches from relevant (but usually seen as competing) theoretical perspectives to the phenomena and issues at hand, including an objective evaluation of the strengths and weaknesses of each approach to the central problems and issues; (3) a balanced account of the current issues, problems, and opportunities relating to the topic, showing the degree of consensus or otherwise in each case. The volumes will thus provide researchers and graduate students concerned with syntax, morphology, and related aspects of semantics with a vital source of information and reference.

Unbounded Dependency Constructions: Theoretical and Experimental Perspectives examines one of the central topics in syntactic theory over the past half-century, namely the displacement of linguistic expressions from the position in which they would normally appear and be interpreted. The authors give a thorough account of the phenomena which fall under the heading of unbounded dependency constructions, present a critical evaluation of the theoretical approaches to describing and explaining them, and examine psycholinguistic and acquisition studies relevant to them. The result is an important contribution to the series which will be of great value to scholars investigating these phenomena.

Robert D. Van Valin, Jr
General Editor

University at Buffalo,
The State University of New York

Heinrich Heine University,
Düsseldorf

Preface

One of the most challenging facets of the study of human language is that attaining even an inkling of a better understanding of its nature and properties requires collaborative effort from scholars in multiple disciplines and traditions. It can be a daunting task to incorporate and synthesize research from various perspectives, however, it is simultaneously also one of the many attractive facets of current research in linguistics and its relation to cognitive science, broadly construed. The present volume was written from this perspective. Here we have attempted to integrate and evaluate theoretical claims and experimental evidence brought to bear on Unbounded Dependency Constructions (UDCs). The end result is a volume that challenges a host of claims and assumptions in light of new data and experimental evidence. We do not presume to completely settle any of these important debates in the pages that follow, but we do hope that this volume provides a step forward in the current state of research on UDCs from multiple perspectives. Our goal is for those engaged in the study of UDCs—as well as those who may take an interest in this topic after reading this volume—to find our treatment of this topic stimulating and helpful in sharpening their own research, moving forward.

In the course of writing this book we benefited from the expertise of various people who were kind enough to assist us. First, we would like to thank Robert Van Valin, Jr, for the opportunity to write this book for this series. The book benefited substantially from the comments and queries from two reviewers, for which we are very thankful. We would also like to thank the following individuals for discussions and/or suggestions at various stages of this project: Anne Abeillé, Doug Arnold, Ash Asudeh, Emily Atkinson, Marc Authier, Hanno Beck, Robert D. Borsley, Seth Cable, Matt Carlson, Cristiano Chesi, Barbara Citko, Ashwini Deo, Giuli Dussias, John Hale, Phillip Hofmeister, Holger Hopp, Carrie Jackson, Mike Johns, Alan Juffs, Jean-Pierre Koenig, Robert D. Levine, Terje Lohndal, Eric Matthieu, Gail Mauner, Laura A. Michaelis, Akira Omaki†, Lisa Reed, David Reitter, Martin Salzmann, Thomas S. Stroik, Robert Van Valin, Jr, Gregory Ward, Thomas Wasow, Steffi Wulff, and Masaya Yoshida. None of the above has any blame for any errors, omissions, or shortcomings remaining in this work.

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Portions of the research carried out and discussed in this book were presented at the *Long-Distance Dependencies Workshop* (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin), a colloquium at the Department of Linguistics of the University of Rochester, a symposium at the Center for Language Science at Penn State University, an invited talk at the Laboratoire de Linguistique Formelle (Université Paris Diderot), and a colloquium at the Linguistics Department of the

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Ohio State University. We give our thanks to the audiences and participants for stimulating questions which improved our work. We in addition would like to recognize and thank the College of the Liberal Arts at Penn State University for generous financial support in connection with the experiments in Chapter 6.

Mike would like to thank his colleagues affiliated with the Center for Language Science at Penn State University for creating such a supportive and stimulating environment to work in. During the 2016–17 academic year, Mike was a Visiting Scholar in the Department of Linguistics at Buffalo SUNY, which was a wonderful opportunity. The participants in Mike’s graduate seminar on *Long-distance relationships* (Fall 2019) provided invaluable insights and thought-provoking comments on these materials—thanks for your questions and comments! Lastly, Mike would also like to acknowledge Rothrock Coffee and Good Day Café in State College, PA, for providing stimulating venues to write. Mike is grateful to his friends, Ron & Sarah, and his family, Jill & Abby, for their unyielding love and support. He is certain that Jill won’t miss frequently being subjected to on-the-fly acceptability judgment requests.

Rui wishes to dedicate this work to two people whose roles were particularly invaluable to this volume: Jeruen E. Dery, for his dedication and insight in earlier stages of this line of inquiry, and Jillian K. Da Costa, for her unwavering support, love, sharp insights, and inordinate hours of discussion about data and everything else besides.

Rui P. Chaves
Michael T. Putnam

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List of Abbreviations

| | |
|--------|--|
| ATB | Across-The-Board |
| BLR | Bayesian Logistic Regression |
| BNC | British National Corpus |
| BR | Brown Corpus |
| CCG | Combinatorial Categorical Grammar |
| CED | Condition on Extraction Domains |
| CFG | Context-Free Grammar |
| CG | Categorical Grammar |
| CNFICC | Clause Non-Final Incomplete Constituent Constraint |
| CNPC | Complex NP Constraint |
| COCA | Corpus of Contemporary American English |
| CrI | Credible Interval |
| CSC | Coordinate Structure Constraint |
| ECP | Empty Category Principle |
| EPP | Extended Projected Principle |
| ERP | Event-Related Potential |
| fMRI | Functional Magnetic Resonance Imaging |
| HPSG | Head-driven Phrase-Structure Grammar |
| IP | Inflectional Phrase |
| L1 | First Language |
| LFG | Lexical-Functional Grammar |
| LMER | Linear Mixed-Effect Regression |
| MLC | Minimal Link Condition |
| MOC | Missing Object Construction |
| MP | Minimalist Program |
| PF | Phonological Form |
| PIC | Phase Impenetrability Principle |
| pMTG | Posterior Middle Temporal Gyrus |
| POS | Poverty of the Stimulus |
| PSG | Phrase-Structure Grammar |
| RRG | Role and Reference Grammar |
| SAI | Subject-Auxiliary Inversion |
| SB | Switchboard |
| SSC | Sentential Subject Condition |
| TP | Tense Phrase |
| UG | Universal Grammar |
| WSJ | Wall Street Journal |
| YNQ | Yes/No Question |

1

Introduction

1.1 Unbounded dependency constructions

This book is about one of the most peculiar features of human communication systems: the fact that words which go together in meaning can occur arbitrarily far away from each other, across clausal boundaries, as illustrated in (1). In all of these examples, the phrase between brackets is somehow interpreted as if it were instead realized immediately after the verb *likes*.

- (1) a. The doctor_{*i*} [who]_{*i*} I think Ben said he really likes _{*i*} has retired.
 b. [Who]_{*i*} I think Ben said he really likes _{*i*} is THAT DOCTOR.
 c. It's THAT DOCTOR_{*i*} [who]_{*i*} I think Ben said he REALLY LIKES _{*i*}.
 d. [THAT DOCTOR]_{*i*} I think Ben said he REALLY LIKES _{*i*}.
 e. [Which doctor]_{*i*} do you think Ben said that he really likes _{*i*}?

The symbol ‘ ’ indicates where the fronted expression between square brackets would have been realized, were it not fronted, and the subscript *i* indicates coreference. We refer to the ex situ phrase within square brackets as the **filler**, and refer to the syntactic position where the filler would ordinarily occur in situ as the **gap**. This choice of terminology is merely a matter of convenience and should not be taken to mean that we are committed to the actual existence of gaps anywhere in syntactic structure.

We use the term Unbounded Dependency Construction (UDC) to refer to the type of syntactic construction that hosts filler-gap linkages, such as relative clauses, cleft clauses, topicalization, questions, etc. Despite this terminology, we should stress that there are UDCs without overt fillers, like (2), as well as UDCs without gaps, like the **resumptives** in (3). The last are uncommon in English, but quite standard in certain languages.

- (2) a. The doctor_{*i*} I think he really likes _{*i*} has retired.
 b. Properly taken care of _{*i*}, iguanas_{*i*} can live up to twenty years.
 c. A: Is there a dress code?
 B: No, not that we were made aware of .
- (3) a. This is the girl [who]_{*i*} I think her_{*i*} dog cries all night when it storms.
 b. [Which girl]_{*i*} did you say that you think of her_{*i*} whenever it rains?

Other than working-memory limitations, there is no limit to how many clauses a UDC can involve. In (4a) the extraction crosses three clause boundaries, and in (4b) it crosses four.

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