Embedded whether-questions are not islands for active gap-filling in Norwegian

Investigating active gap filling inside Norwegian embedded questions

Background: When processing filler-gap dependencies, comprehenders use an active gap-filling strategy that is sensitive to island constraints. It is unclear how cross-linguistic variation in island effects impacts this strategy. Embedded polar questions are islands in English (whether-islands), but not in Norwegian. We test whether active gap-filling happens inside Norwegian embedded polar questions.

Method

Filled-gap effects

2 x 2 Latin square

Self-paced reading

Filled-Gap Effect (FGE): after encountering a filler, increased difficulty processing a filled argument NP due to violated expectation for a gap. Stowe (1986) found increased RTs at 'us' in b. compared to a.:

My brother wanted to know ...

- a. if Ruth will bring us home to Mom at Christmas.
- b. who Ruth will bring us home to __ at Christmas.

FGEs regarded as support for active gap-filling strategy: after encountering a filler, the processor posits a gap in upcoming argument positions without waiting for confirmation of the actual gap site.

Island constraints (Ross, 1967) supress active gap-filling in English: True for both strong (Stowe, 1986; Traxler & Pickering, 1996) and weak islands (Villata et al., 2020; Cokal & Sturt, 2022).

How does cross-linguistic variation in islands impact active gap-filling?

- Manipulated filler-gap distance (Short vs. Long) and type of embedded clause (Declarative vs. EQ)
- In Short conditions, the dependency is resolved early; in Long conditions, the gap was in an oblique position inside the embedded clause, triggering FGE at the earlier potential gap site (DO)
- Measured FGEs as RT differences at the DO 'the lazy student' between 1-2 and 3-4
- 24 items distributed over 4 experimental lists and 48 fillers; 36 participants

Anna talked about the teacher who ...

- 1. __ knew that the principal scolded the lazy student in front of the class.
- 2. she knew that the principal scolded the lazy student in front of ___.

and 0.5 for EQ) and maximal random effect structure (Barr, 2013)

Long Decl. 3. __ wanted to know whether the principal scolded the lazy student in front of the class. Short EQ

Short Decl.

Long EQ

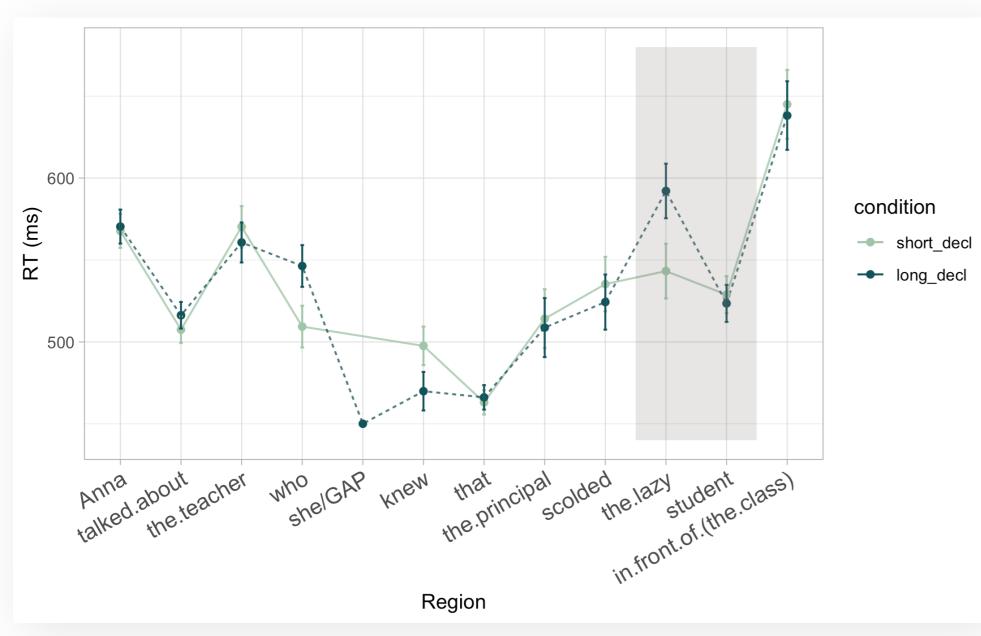
- 4. she wanted to know whether the principal scolded the lazy student in front of __.
- Analyzed log-RTs at 'the lazy' and 'student' using mixed-effect linear regression models with sumcoded fixed effects of distance (-0.5 for Short, 0.5 for Long and clause type (-0.5 for Declarative

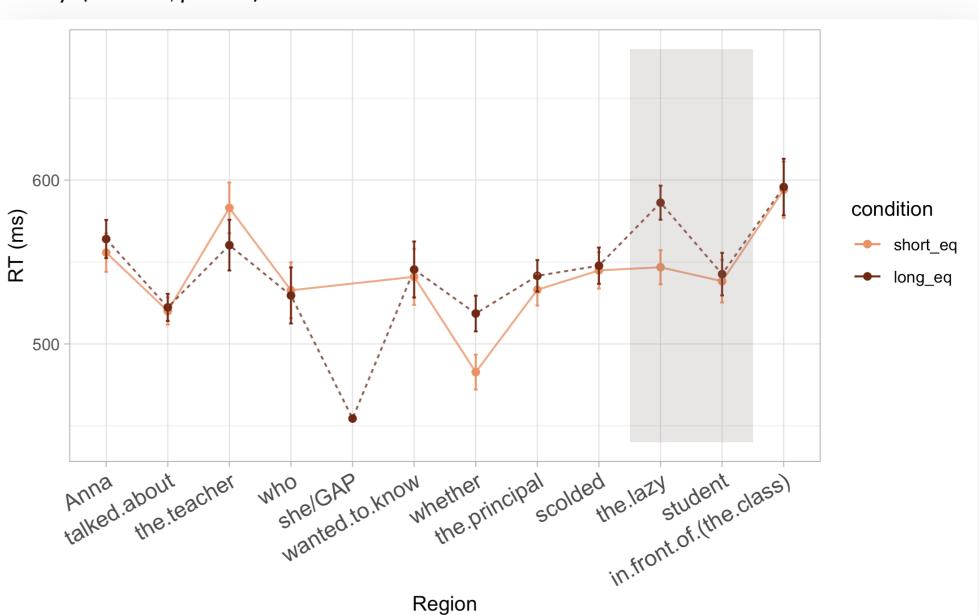
Results

Embedded Declaratives

Main effect of distance at 'the lazy' (t = 2.19, p = .03)

Embedded Questions





Discussion: We found FGEs in embedded whether-questions comparable to FGEs in embedded declarative clauses. This suggests that active gap-filling is not suspended inside Norwegian embedded whether-questions, unlike in English (Villata et al., 2020; Cokal & Sturt, 2022). Our results provide further evidence that (i) embedded questions are not islands in Norwegian, and (ii) that active gap-filling occurs inside complex environments when dependencies are allowed by the grammar (Phillips, 2006). Our results argue against simple processingbased accounts that treat embedded questions as islands cross-linguistically due to inherent complexity (Hofmeister & Sag, 2010; Kluender & Kutas, 1993).

