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 "3&!"+ "#, * "/ - ! 1

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0<D?INF;NCB? =F;OM?P? ; L?FC;<FLI=?MMCH?AHN;A?H, F;HAO;A?H?AFM?CMB
 CHQBC=B?F;NCPF;OM?M @IFFI?Q?B?> HIOH1B? KO?MNCH?B?NB?NBM?FMILO
 NCH?NLS?OCH3 F;HAO;A?H?E?J;H?M?;H>(IL?;H CHQBC=BM JL?=>?NBB?> HIOH4?
 =IH>O=N?H ?P?HN L?F;N?E;CHIN?HNC?F MNOI@<L?;H / M NIN?QB?NB?NBB?>
 P;HN;A?G;HCC@?MOM;CH?MJIM?M> NIN?M?J;LNNB?NSJIFAC=F;=NIIMB?GCABNH
 NLC<ONNB?M?MJIM?OL L?MOFN?OOAAANBNL;CIE?MJIMMM M ;L?L?G;LE;<FMC?GCF;L
 CH, ;H>,3 F;HAO;A?MOL L?MOFN?OOAAANBNB?;LECH@NB?CABNA?@NB? CH
 BCH?M?;HA ?N;F ;H>(IL?;H ;H> NB?<M?H=I@MO=B;LECH&H;H?M? 2?HI
 \$;LHM?S ;@?@?NBL?MJIM?INB@IFFIQCHA> HIOH1B? =IHCMCN?HN?P;HN;A?@IOH>
 CH/- MNO>E?M?NOLNB?OJILNI; OHCP?LM?<D?HN@?L?H?PNB?JLI=?MMCH?F;NCP?
 =F;OM?M

Keywords (IL?;H L?F;NCPF;OM?M MO<D?>N I<D?>NMMC?NSGG?NL?CHAOCM?I=IAS

1. INTRODUCTION. N F? MMCH?B?JCIH?LCH?ILE I@0C14 CFFC;IH?MH 0; H
 MEN?NB?>H>I@B?>CAB?NBT?HNS?LCH?QBC=B?MBI?>SG?;HM@=IGJ;LCMIHM
 QCB);NCHH>\$ L??ENB;NB?MF;HAO;AM?L?L?F;N?>FCHAOC?NS?MB?MCG?>;N
 >@?@?H?NCH?AIM?MJ?@N@NB?BOG;HF;HAO;A@?OFN?BNL? OHCP?M;EH?;NOL?
 NB;NMME?>S;FFEHIQHF;HAO;AM@L?N?B?IMB?N;L?MJ?>C?NCH>CPC>A?H?OJM
 I@ FHAO;AM 1B?L?B;MNBO?Q;SM?>H; H?CHE?HNN?HMCH?PNQ??HGJB;MCTCHA
 F;HAO?OHCP?M;PMF;HAO?MJ?C@I?J?LNC?MFCHAOCM?I=CTCHA

&H2?>HNS?; LMC?B;M?>IG? ;J; L?H@L?N?B?L?MOFN?I?FFS@H?OLIBSMCI
 FIA?FMN?NB?F;HAO;A?HCP?I?MF;HAO?MJ?>C@M?>N@F;HAO;A?I
 =>MMACH?>L?CH?>NI?>C@I@HNC?N?FCE?; HH?IQC?N?B?PC?Q?>?N?LGCHCHA
 QB?B?L?CNB?JL?>IGCH;NCH?ACP?H;HAO;A?P?H?NB?IOA?N?;F?M?>E?@?FS?Q?CN
 NB?JLI=?MMCH?A?F;NCP?F;OM?V?H? ;H NB?>OL?HN?MNO>SH?>PC?Q? ;M; =IH
 NL?ONC?H?B?C?LA?L?; I@CHKOCLS

INB @LG;F; H?>OH=NCI?H; =B?MNINB?MNOI@=LIMMFCHA?C?C?N?C?B?P?
 MOAA?MNBNJLI=?MMCH?A?JF;S ; L?F?CHMB?CHAAL;GG;LM?;LC?O?L?JIM;FM?H
 NB?@IG; FN?>CNH?P? ?KON?>OFM?@NB?A?GG;L QC?N?BIG?JON;NCI?H?;L; NCI?H
 I@NB?; LM?>C?F?L BIGMES #I>IL ?N;F L?MH;H (;JF;H

?IQC? 4? CH<A? QBCF@OH=NCI?H;B?C?N?M?MOAA?M?B?P?N?H? H;H IG?C?
 M?N?O?N?C?H?N?B?Q?SMN?B?;L?<?>OM?@JLI=?MMCH?A?M?H?N?P? H;H IG?C?

%;QE?H? 4? @IG? IOL?CM=OM?M?H?M?L?G?M?N?I?C?A?B?C?F?N?B?P?N?B?N? ;
 OH?C?L?M?;H? MJ?>C?H?J? L?N?P?@F;HAO;A?;H?<?C?>H?C?@H?>=IG?;L?> H?N?H?F?S
 C?H?L?G?M?@F;HAO;AMN?L?O?N?F?M?C?H?N?G?M?@F;HAO;A?I?LI=?MMCH?A?

1BC?M?;L?Q?MMOJJLN?S; L?M?;L?A?L;H?N?L?N?B?>J;L?NG?H?N?@CHAOCM?N?B?H?C?P?L?M?C?S
 ;FC@I?L?H? !?C?AI ;H?>+/# NI?+;SIOHA(QIH ;H?>S +& %! NI?*;LN; (ON;M
 4? NB;H?I?HD; BIC 3C=N?E?LL?CL?OM;H?;L?H?M?SS?;H?N?I?>FF 'B?H %;F? ">MIH?CS;GINI /IA?L
)?PS 4CFFC;G?S?L?>S *C?E?I?2?H? ;H>0BL;P?H?3;MCMB?B?F?@?EM=OM?H?I?H?G?H?N?M? ;F?M?
 NB;H?H?H?SG?I?O?L?@?L?@?N?B?C?I?H?M?N?L?O?N?C?Q?H?N?M?> MOAA?MNC?H?M?

-LCHN?QC?N?B?J?LG?C?M?C?H?;SIOHA(QIH /I<?LN(FO?H?>L?;LN; (ON;M *;LC; -IFCHMES

&HNB?@IFIQCHAM?NCIHNQ L2PCQ ; HOG<?L@NSJIFIAQEJLJ?LNCBNUINB?M>
 NI; @@NNBTLI=?MMCH@L?F;NCP?OM?MMMFCHAO@SMNC@EE;ML?MMIL?
 A?H?IF MOEOL;HLL?LNC?CH_ CH@CHNB; JI;L?HNLI=?MMCH@;HN;A?I@
 MO<ENL2FCNP?FOMMCHFCABNC NB?JI=?MMCH@@C;MNSN? QCNB?HIG
 CHFLF;NCP?F;OM?MCNBTLI=?MMCH@?H=?M?NQ?PI@CFF?L PMA;J @CFF?L
 J?H?>H?MCH?FNCP?F;OM? ;H> CCCNB?@@N@>LIJ?> ;LAOG?HNNIL?F;NCP?
 F;OMJLI=?MMCH@NB?H>L?MINLOHNLJL?LNC?M@NBG;DIL";MNMC;HF;H
 AOA?MBCH?M?;J; H?M?;H>(IL ?;H>NB?DIL;G?NLC;LC;NCNCNB?MJ?NI
 C B?>?H?MMC G; LECHA@HIOHBLM?M@IL?;M?;H> CCC; LECHA@; JL?HIGCH;F
 L2FCNP?F;OM?NCNCABNA? _ 4? L2PCQ NQIG; CHNSJ?M@NB?INCF?RJF;
 H;NCIHL NB MO<DLENCNCHLI=?MMCH@; HNA?CH_ ;H> NBH>CM=OMNCIOM
 "/- LMOIN?PP;HNNINB?JLI=?MMCH@?F;NCP?F;OM?CH_ 4? H?RNDLH IOL
 MNO>S @CMNPC>CHIA?CNCIHM?>IH NBCM=EAIOH;H>NB?HOFCHAOI
 ?RJ?LCGHN?>?NCM; H>JL?MHSHANB L?MONMCH;FF?>CM=OMMRJ?LCG?HN;F
 L2MORHCAH@?HAOA?OHCPMPFMF;HAOA? MJ?>C@C?>NMF;HAO;AJLI=?MM
 CH&HHMC?>CINI@MNLO=NOLI?LNOLI@(IL?; H_ ;H>JLIPC>MIG?>IH=FO>
 CHABIOABN

1.1. THE TYPOLOGY OF RELATIVE CLAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES FOR PROCESSING.
 OO<D=NL2F;NCP?>=F;OM?0/M ?R;GJF? ; CHI;<F? ;L? GIL? =IGGIH :=LIMMB?
 QILE@MF;HAO;A?NB;H<D?>NLF;NCP?FOM?MM < CHI;<F? ;H> INB?L;F;NCP?
 F;OM?> NSJ?M(??H;H IGLC?

1BCMND?L?A;L>PM@QB?NB; L?F;N?F=OM?MMNHIGCHNB;NM@FIQMNM
 B?> HIOH@eL?JIIN?Lf ;MCN?MCH@HAFMBH> L?F;N?F;HAO;A?M CHI;<F? IL
 JL?HIGCHF NB;KML?>?MCNB@> HIOH; MCMB?;M?CHG;HS INBLF;HAO;A?M
 =>FO>CH@CH?M?;J;H? M?;H>(IL? ;H MB?G;NCEFS?JL?M?HNQCN@HAFCM@RCF;
 CNGMCH I@!;<F?

(??H;H; H> IG ICM=F@G NB;NNBC@NLHBF>M?>OMMO<DLENCNCP?M CH
 B@LHSF?; MCN JLI=?M@;M?>HMO<MN?>CHOG?LIOMNOM=LIMMHAO;AM
 OMCH@QC>P;LC?NI@JMSBIFHAOCMNCMOIMCH@HAFCM@?F@ R?>L?>CHACG?
 (CHA 'OMN "/- (CHA (ONM -"1 0NLIGMQIF@;F ;JF;H ?N
 ;F ;JF;H ?N;F @*/& 'OMN@F ;JF;H ?N;F IIE? ?N
 ;F IHMN@F ?N;F B?H ?N;F ;JF;H ?N;F ?S? NL;=ECHA
 1L;RFL ?N;F CHION=B #L;TC?L CH@?LG;H *?=EFCHA?IN;F
 0=BIC@EMN;F *^HN? ?N;F ; >L *? HA 0=BQ;IN CH
 #L?H=B#L; O?H@>?LN;F %IFG?M ,f /? A;H IB?H *? BFL CH
 %?<LQ #LC@G;HH +IPIALI>MES LHIH CHOLECM@BL;G;H ?N;F
 ;H>CH@OMMC - IFCHMES

&NB;M;FMI<??H=ECG?> CHNB@NSJIFIACE@FCN@LNBNNB?>BIC=@L?F;NCP?
 F;OM@F?>?G?HNPCTJL? IL JIMNHIGCH@FO@H@S;JLI=?MMCH@C=C?HES
 AOA?MCH@H?L;N?HNI?>?JHMC@NMMN QB@NB@NB@B?> I@; JBL;M@=OLMNCNM
 <?ACHHC@LNC@PH \$L?H?>LA ;H>=H <? >CPC?>CHNE@?L<98<D?>N@H>
 , 8<D=N@8?L<NSJ?M LS?L &H, FHAO;AMFE?" HAMBP?L@MH>JL?JIMC

/?;>?LMG;S QCMBIMECL MEGIP?LM?>NCB@HIN?>NI=IH?>JN@CN@BC=NB?SL?@;GCFC@DNL?
 H=IOL;A?NI;S ;NN?HNC@H?>NC@CN@BC=NB?S;S <? F@M@;GCF@B?RN?HMC@?EAIOHQ?
 JLIPC>QCFF?>LO@CN@NB@CHN@LJL?N;NC@OLL?MO@N@H@L?;H CM?F;NCP@H>?LMNO@CNB?MJ?>N
 NICN@I?>MMCH@AG?N?LNQBC=EHNOI@P@F@C@NSJIFIAC=IEIJ?LNC?M

#IL>N;C@?H;H ;H> IGLC?@MLJIM;F?_

3, F;HAO;A?MH <? B?> CHC@I@P@L< G?>C@F@ON@HNB?> @CH@QBCFB F;HAO;A?M? ;FQ;SM
 B?> @CH@HQB;N@IFFIQQ@NBO@MNB@;<?FM ;H>B?> @CH@HN?L=B;HA?>FS

ENGLISH	<p>; PRENOMINAL SUBJECT RELATIVE CLAUSE WITH FILLER-GAP ORDERING 1B? L?JILN?B QBI :: <i>i</i>;NN;=E?NBM?H;N!L?GCNNN?LLIL FILLER ↔ GAP</p> <p>< PRENOMINAL OBJECT RELATIVE CLAUSE WITH FILLER-GAP ORDERING 1B? L?JILN?B QBI NBM?H;N!N;=E?> <i>i</i>;GCNNN?LLIL FILLER ↔ GAP</p> <hr/>
SCHEMATIC PRENOMINAL RC	<p>; PRENOMINAL SUBJECT RELATIVE CLAUSE WITH GAP-FILLER ORDERING 1B? <i>i</i> :: <i>i</i>;NN;=E?M?H;N!L?JILN?LGCNNN?LLIL GAP ↔ FILLER eU1B?M?H;NIL;NN;=E?HMAN?LGCNNN?LLIL f</p> <p>< PRENOMINAL OBJECT RELATIVE CLAUSE WITH GAP-FILLER ORDERING 1B? <i>i</i> M?H;N!N;=E?> <i>i</i> L?JILN?LGCNNN?LLIL GAP ↔ FILLER eU1B?NN;=E?> <S ; M?H;N!U1LN?LGCNNN?LLIL f</p> <hr/>
CHINESE	<p>; PRENOMINAL SUBJECT RELATIVE CLAUSE WITH GAP-FILLER ORDERING 8 :: <i>i</i> AkHA<u>S</u>ZOVH9 >DZTBi =BXHALYH<u>O</u>[Q] ;NN;=E?H;N!dn L?JILN?LGCN<u>R</u>F ?LLIL GAP ↔ FILLER</p> <p>< PRENOMINAL OBJECT RELATIVE CLAUSE WITH GAP-FILLER ORDERING 8 SZSOV<u>M</u>kHA<u>D</u>j ,9>? DZTBi =BXHALYH<u>O</u>[Q] M?H;N!N;=E ADN L?JILN?LGCN<u>R</u>F ?LLIL GAP ↔ FILLER</p> <hr/>
JAPANESE	<p>; PRENOMINAL SUBJECT RELATIVE CLAUSE WITH GAP-FILLER ORDERING 8 :: <i>i</i> ACCH A; BCH;HMB<u>E</u>N<u>M</u>BA; ;S;G;LC I GCNIG?N; M?H;N!cc ;NN;=E?> L?JILN?KOM ?LLI<u>acc</u> ;>GCNN?> GAP ↔ FILLER</p> <p>< PRENOMINAL OBJECT RELATIVE CLAUSE WITH GAP-FILLER ORDERING 8 ACCH A; :: <i>i</i> BCH;HMB<u>E</u>N<u>M</u>BA; ;S;G;LC I GCNIG?N; M?H;N!K<u>om</u> ;NN;=E?> L?JILN?KOM ?LLI<u>acc</u> ;>GCNN?> GAP ↔ FILLER</p> <hr/>
KOREAN	<p>; PRENOMINAL SUBJECT RELATIVE CLAUSE WITH GAP-FILLER ORDERING 8 :: <i>i</i> OSQIH OF EIHAES?EB; H<u>C</u>=;E; MCFMQQM<u>O</u>FB;SMMN; M?H;N!cc ;NN;=E<u>dn</u> L?JILN?KOM ?LLI<u>acc</u> ;>GCNN?> GAP ↔ FILLER</p> <p>< PRENOMINAL OBJECT RELATIVE CLAUSE WITH GAP-FILLER ORDERING 8 OSQIH C :: <i>i</i> EIHAES?EB; H<u>C</u>=;E; MCFMQQM<u>O</u>FB;SMMN; M?H;N!K<u>om</u> ;NN;=E<u>dn</u> L?JILN?KOM ?LLI<u>acc</u> ;>GCNN?> GAP ↔ FILLER</p>

TABLE 00<D?=**F**MI<D?=N?F;NCP**N**HAFCMBCH?M?J;H?M? ;H>(IL?;H

NCIHM?> ?**N**?C<D?=NQB?LMCB F;HAO;ATCEIL ?;H P?L<**M**>JL ?IMCNCIHM
 :=NO;FFSJIMNMCNHMFFIQNB?CD?=NMB? MCNO;NQTNB?F;NCP?OM?**Q**MIN
 ;MMNABNQ;L>, HNBIH? B;H> I@B?> CHCNEHAO;A?M LS?L B;P?
 B?> CHCNC ?JIMNHIGCHIFF;NCP?OM? CH;<F? =IHMCMQTHB@;=NB;N
 NB?SFMB;P?B?> CHCNC;FQIL>IL>?L;H>JL?JIMCNCIHMNB?B;H>F?MNB;H
 B;F@I@B?> @CFF;HAO;AM QCNB3 QIL>IL>?L;H>JI MNJIMCNCHM;P?
 B?> @CFC C ?JL?HIGCH;IF?;NCP?OM?MCH; <F? ! LS?L 1B?INBL
 B;P? B?> CHCNC ?JIMNHIGCH;IF?;NCP?OM?MHN?;MCH?HAFCMB?;FMI
 %;QECHM)?BG;HH , P?L;FFNBCM>MNI; BCABJL=?HN;AP@JIMNHIGC
 H;FB?> CHC2F;NCP?OM?LIMMFCHA;@ESMCCOH>?EIL?MNNCIH@JL?HIG
 CH;B?> @CFL?NCP?OM?MLIMNB?QILF>fM;HAO?MB;M<??H; NNLC<ONNSB?
 @;=NBNAP?HF@NILCABMINH=?JLI=?MMCHAHIGCHB?> @CH;F;NCP?OM?M

CH~~F~~CNGJIL;LS GCM;HFSMCMQ ECHM M?? FM#I>IL &OB?
 <?ACHHD~~I~~AL?F;NCP=FOMCING;LE>MMO=BM?HN?H=? C~~H~~CR;NCPF;OMCE?
 NBIMCH G1;<F? =;H?; MC~~S~~GCMCHNP~~N~~?;MNBC; CH~~F~~OM@NB M?HN?H=I BM
 GCM;HFSMCH?=;MN~~N~~M=IGJF?R ; H>=IM~~S~~L PCMCJH=?MM~~T~~N?CHNB M?HN?H=?
 QB?H>>CNCH;FM~~O~~E N~~O~~E?MCH>CN~~N~~B;NB M?HN?H~~G~~ICN~~N~~NLQH~~M~~CH@;N L?F
 ;NCPF;OM? A;NB?B?>HIOH~~L~~JILNLfCH I@;<F? 1B?=F;C~~C~~MBN~~M~~MO=ENLO=
 NO~~N~~M?; PIC?>=LIMMFCHA~~DESMC~~>LNIGCHCCNTB?OL?HI@L?H;FSMCM
 1B? JLIJ? LCH~~N~~JEN;NC~~I~~P;HS NSJ?@L?F;NCPF;OM?CNBJL? CH; <F? IL
 JIMNHIGH~~E~~ CH; <F? >>CNCI~~H~~S~~L~~KOCMNB? GONO;F?J?H>?HS I@NB B?>
 HIOHQBCB Q? L?@~~NI~~; MN~~B~~@CHF?H>C~~M~~A;f CHNB L?F;NCPF;OMC? NB~~J~~IMC
 NCH QB L?CNQIOE I L>CH;LCFSOICH >=?F;L~~N~~CP?=F;OMCH>C=;N~~M~~e:: f #I>IL
 1B? @~~FL~~GOMN? CH~~N~~LN?;NNB'A;J JIMCNC~~CH~~L>LNI>?NLGCH~~C~~NNB?
 G; N~~C~~LF? C? QB?N~~EL~~C~~M~~B?A?HN;NCHNL?CJC?HNN=I@NB?=NCI~~H~~RJL2MM?>
 NB~~L~~~~F~~NCP?=FOMP?L<;H>AL;GG;NC=;F~~O~~NCIC? QB?N~~EL~~C~~M~~B MO<D?H~~N~~D?>=N
 CH~~L~~~~C~~NI<D?N?N I@NB L?F;NCPF;OM?;H>NB'A;J JIMC~~N~~CH?=?CP?MN~~N~~@?L?HNC;F
 C>PHNCS@IG NB @~~FL~~L
 1BOML? ;H>JIMNHIGCH?F;NCP~~F~~M~~C~~@ @QCNB?MJ?>NNBL?F;NCH>?CH@
 NB B?> HIOH@~~FL~~ eL?JINL~~f~~;H>CN~~M~~J CHIMNHIGCH;F B~~C~~HCNC?F;NCP?MCH
 1; <F? NB? @~~FL~~JL?>?MNBA;J NBOM~~P~~;NCH@ILQ>@~~FF~~?L A~~L~~>?LCH~~Q~~BCRCH
 JL?HIGCH~~E~~ B?> @H;EF;NCP?MCH;<F? NB@CE@IFFIQ~~N~~B'A;J =L?;N~~CH~~A=E
 Q;L>f A;J @~~FL~~A;J >?J?H>?H=SCH JIMNHIGCH B?> CH~~C~~LCF;NCPF;OM? CH; <P
 L?KOCMNB?H=I>CH@NB B?> HIOH~~L~~JILN?L~~C~~QILECH~~A~~?GILS ;H>CN~~M~~NLC?P~~N~~
 NB'A;J JIM~~N~~CH @L NB?GNCLIF? MMCAHG~~C~~HNMA?HN@NB?;NN;=ECH@HN M
 IONCH~~E~~ CH NB~~C~~L>?LCH~~B~~AM?>?HMBI~~Q~~INICH=QIHOG<?L@JL=?MMCH~~M~~NN~~M~~
 =HN~~M~~N <=EQ;L>A;J @CHF?J?H>?H=SCH JL?HIGCH;F B?> @CH~~F~~NCPF;OM?
 CH;<F? G;S L~~K~~OCINB?H>CHA@;H OH@CF~~E~~ C ? CNB~~N~~B~~D~~HMJ?=C@C?>
 ;A?HN@NB P?L<attack ;MCH~~Y~~ attacked the senator IL NB;LAOG?H~~N~~>ILJBL;M?
 M~~O~~ENCL~~J~~L?M?H~~N~~CH@NB?HN~~C~~L F;NC=F;OMC~~Q~~ILECH~~A~~?GILS ;H>CN~~M~~O<M?
 KOPHN~~N~~NCP;F;NB?B?> HIOHJMCNC~~I~~?MNFCMB~~C~~BA@?L?H~~N~~EBJL?PCIOMFS
 OHMH~~C~~G J;LNC=CHNCHB?L F;NCPF;OMC?QBI IL QB;NQ;MCNB;NCNB?NNE
 CHA 1B?>@~~Q~~?H=CHL=?MMCH~~M~~NNQ?HNB?MNSJ?M@G?GILS IJ?L;N~~CH~~MH>
 NBIM~~C~~HPIF?>CH @LQ;L@CEA;J >?J?H>H=SC~~M~~N~~CH~~E?H KO?MNCIH
 *IL ?IP?L NB?L CM; @OLNB~~I~~IMMFCHAOC~~M~~CE~~N~~B;N@@NMB JLI=?MMCH~~A~~
 A;J @~~FL~~L>?CHAH NB~~I~~H B;H> MPIN?H=C~~H~~CNC?F;NCPF;OM~~F~~CE? CH; <F?
 QBIMF?@?>A?CHING;LE>CHHS Q;S =;H ;M~~J~~ICHN?ION <IP? CH~~C~~NC~~S~~? GCMCH
 NEJL~~N~~?;M; G;CH=FOM~~H~~?L?>INCH~~G~~LOGMN;H=IM NB~~I~~NB?IB;H> IH? GCABN
 ?RJ?>N@IG "HAM~~T~~BNB;NA;J @CH~~E~~?J?H>?H=\$CE? CH;<F? QIOF>B;P?; G;DIL
 CG;= NH JLI=?MM~~C~~LIONC~~I~~?CM?RS?;OMNB?L~~C~~M~~G~~C~~M~~LAOG?H~~N~~HB~~C~~HC
 NE=FOM?&HNB?QIL>MC~~C~~ABM?GI<PCIO~~M~~NNB~~C~~ML F;NCPF;OM~~M~~NOL?
 <=?;OMP@NB~~C~~MMCH~~A~~OGNB;JLI<PG QC~~N~~BC~~M~~MOGNC~~M~~B;NB?L~~I~~JCHA
 I@;LAOG~~H~~MP?LS=IGGIH CH;HAO;A~~M~~E?BCH?M?; J;H?M?;H>(IL?; H &HNB?
 =M?I@(IL?;H MO<D?EN~~M~~IEHF;HAO;A;L?>LIJJ?> I@NB?NCG?H>I<D?=NM

#IL ?RJIMCN~~I~~SLJIM?> JL?M?HMCGJFC@CEMCIE%;QECHM~~M~~JIM;F @INB@OEHJIM;F M??
 %;QECHM
 1BC~~M~~CM;H;FSM~~M~~MG;CHL;NB~~N~~B;H L?F;NCPF;OM~~B~~;M?>H;NNLC<ON~~N~~B~~M~~IMAL ATTACHMENT
 J;LMCH@OLCMN~~B~~QBC=B~~N~~B?;LM?>L>?@;OFNM~~M~~OG~~N~~B~~M~~CGJF?MNLO=N~~M~~MC<FL;TC?L
 %;QECHM

(CG 1BOMPH~~H~~IOHN?LCH~~A~~CMM~~C~~HAOGHNC~~M~~NH?=MM;L~~C~~~~R~~CH>C
=;N~~T~~H NB~~N~~H? C~~M~~L=?MMCH~~A~~F;NC~~P~~F;OM?
&MOGELS MO~~E~~N?F;NC~~P~~F;OM~~M~~? GIL?=IGGIH ; =IIMM~~M~~BQILF>f~~M~~HAO;A?M
;H>B;P? <??HMBI~~Q~~NI?>?;MC~~L~~@IE;HAOA?OM~~M~~NIJLI=?M~~M~~H, F;HAO;A?~~M~~NC~~M~~
M~~O~~SQ? CHP?M~~M~~;NQB?NE~~N~~BC~~M~~IL@,3 F;HAOA?M? A (IL?;H ;MQ?FF);H
AO;A?M~~H~~NI?>=IHMC~~M~~CHNB~~C~~IB?>?>H~~M~~LIJ?LN~~M~~;MI<M?LP?C~~H~~?> CHCNC;F
F;HAOA?MI@Q~~B~~C PCLN~~S~~;FFNBIMMOL~~S~~?> FCE?Q~~M~~B;P? B?> CHCNC~~F~~;NC
=FOMM IHM~~M~~NP-SI@B?>?>H?M~~M~~?MHINBIQ?P?L M?G NIBIF>CHNB IL?>?CHA@
L?;NCP?=F;OM~~M~~CHB?> @CHF;HAOA?MI@QCB G;HS ?RBC<C~~N~~> CHCNC~~F~~;NC
=FOM~~M~~CHMN?<S BSJINEMCM;PIC>GCM;H;FSMC~~M~~PNH=?CHNC~~E~~?F;NC~~P~~F;OM?
;M~~N~~?G;CH=FOM?1B?>C@~~Q~~HE~~U~~CHL=?MMCH~~M~~N~~M~~OL><S @CEFA;J IL>?LCHAH
B?> CHCN~~L~~?NCP?=F;ON~~M~~MA;J @C~~U~~FL>LCHAH?> @H;FL?F;NC~~P~~F;OM?MLNC
OF~~L~~S CHB?JL?MPI=?@QC>M~~J~~L?>LAOG?H~~M~~LIJ CMHINB?O=OM@IOLMNO>S
4? MBIQNB;N>?MJCNC NB?IHMCMN~~M~~H@CH~~H~~NOI@>(IL?;H CCNB?IHM?
KO?HA;J @~~Q~~PLIL>LCH@CNMF;NC~~P~~F;OM? H> CC NB QC>M~~J~~L?;I==OLL?PH@
;LAOGPN~~I~~J ?MJ?=C;F~~Q~~MO<EN~~M~~MO<E~~N~~L?F;NC~~P~~M~~Q~~FF ;L?;MC~~M~~NIJLI=?M~~M~~H
(IL?;H =IHMCMN~~Q~~CNB? H;H ;H> IGLC?FM ILCA~~F~~=F;CG #ON~~B~~LGIL?
<L;~~G~~LMJIHM~~M~~?F;NC~~P~~F;ON~~M~~NOL~~O~~NNI?>L?G;IE;<FSMC~~G~~CE~~H~~HAEM~~B~~>(I
L?;H QCB~~Q~~?=F;G CMPC>H=?@IE;HAO;A~~O~~HC~~P~~M;H?=MMCP~~A~~Q?P?L NB?C@
@?I~~P~~?M~~H~~?L;CH?MJIHN~~M~~IMO<EN~~P~~MI<D?N?F;NC~~P~~F;OM~~M~~? FI=FCT~~N~~I>C@~~Q~~HN
M?HN? JIMC~~M~~CH~~A~~FCM~~B~~>(IL?; H ; F;HAOA?J;LNC=OF~~L~~I=?MMCH~~A~~ONC?>
NIMJ?C@NSJIFIA~~C~~FLIJ? LN~~M~~@NB~~C~~H>CPC>HFAO;A?~~M~~KOMNH

1.2. PRENOMINAL RELATIVE CLAUSES ACROSS EAST ASIAN LANGUAGES: STRUCTURE AND PROCESSING. OO<D?INF;NC~~P~~F;OM~~B~~;P? <??H@IOHN?>GIL? ; MC~~Q~~SI=?MM?>
CH~~H~~HAOA?M~~Q~~CBIMNHIG~~H~~PF;NC~~P~~F;OM?M~~L~~JL?HIGCH~~F~~L~~F~~;NC=F;OM?M~~B~~C
M;G MO<E~~N~~L?FNP? JL@?L?H?B;M<??H=IHMCMNFS;JFC=N?>CH;J;H?M? M?F@
J=?> L?>CHNC~~G~~ (HHI +;E; GOL; *CS; GINI +; E;GOL; &MBCTOE;
?N;F "/- 2?HI \$;LHMS? ;H> CH IL?;H M?@=> L?>CH~~Q~~G
(QIH ?N;F (Q IH < ?S; NL;ECHAQIH ?NF ONO>C~~M~~?;H>LCH
<S=IH~~N~~M~~N~~;P? JLI>O=?>@LFMMNL;CABN@H~~Q~~OFQ~~Q~~NG? MNO>@CHAC
MO<E~~N~~L?FNP?JLI=?MMCH~~A~~HN;A~~D~~OM~~M~~CH~~A~~FCM~~B~~>J; H?M?M?F@ J>L?>
CH~~A~~G?)CH ?P?L B? H?N;F QBCFINB?MB;P? COH>H I<D?=?N?F;
NC~~P~~LI=?MMCH~~A~~HN;A M?F@=? L?>CH~~A~~CG%?MC;I \$C<MIH)CH
\$;LHMS B?H?N;F)CH \$C<MIH 40 G;T? N;MEC;I ?N;F
#IL ; HN~~H~~?M~~N~~B?L~~M~~?G~~M~~?< ; JL?@?I~~P~~?=?@III<D?N~~L~~F;NC~~M~~NF?;M~~N~~HBCF>
F;HAOA? 6CJ *;NNB?QM

,H? JIMM~~C~~?RJFH;NCI~~H~~L NBC~~M~~C@~~Q~~HE~~M~~CH<MCQIL> IL>?L';J; H?M~~C~~M
M~~N~~NSB?> @CH~~H~~QCN~~B~~3 QIL>IL>L;MMBIQ~~H~~CH; <F? BCH?M?S=IHN~~M~~N
?RBC~~G~~GR?>B?>?>H?M~~M~~N~~M~~LB~~G~~IMN; LN , QCN~~B~~, QIL>IL>?L; H>JL?JI
MM~~M~~BIQ?P?L CNL?M?HN~~M~~NB~~C~~HA@;H ;HIG;FS QCNB?M~~M~~NICNM~~F~~;NC~~P~~F;OM?
IL>?CHA@ NB~~M~~CRNS ~~B~~?> CHCNC~~H~~AO;AM~~P~~;GCH?>S !LS?L BCH?M~~C~~M

FNBIOA~~B~~QIMNO>C~~M~~;GOL; &MBCTOE B;P? L?JILN?> JLI=?MMCH~~A~~HN;A?@IL
.M CH~~J~~;H?M? +;E;GOL; ;NNLC<O~~N~~L?M~~N~~N A;L>?H;NB?@ @?MMI=C;N~~Q~~EN~~B~~M (HHI
+;E;GOL; 4B?H NB?RJ?LCG?HN~~M~~FNH?H?Q~~N~~?=IHNLIFF@IINBC~~M~~>?H;NB?@ @?N~~B~~?/
>P;HN;A~~D~~CM;J?;L?>H> H~~O~~ ;P;HN;A?G?LA?> (HHI +;E;GOL; 0CGCF;L~~P~~~~S~~?/ JLI
=?MMCH~~A~~HN;A L?JILN?>S &MBCTOE; =IFF?;AO?M Q;MHINL?JFC=;N~~C~~H@IFFIQ OMNO>C~~M~~
NB?CH~~H~~?=IOH;H~~O~~ JLI=?MMCH~~A~~HN;A CHNB?M~~M~~?=IH@IFFIQ O~~R~~J?LCG?HNGIEI &MBCTOE;
1?> \$C<MIH = M?;FM~~I~~QIH ?NF @IL?N;CF?CM=OM~~M~~NC~~M~~BC~~T~~OE

NB MIF FHAO;A NB;N>I?MHINB;P? JIMNHICH;B?> CHCNL2F;NC =F;ONMFNB;M JL?HIGCHF B?> @H;EF;NCP?F;OM?CNM ;MMBIQICH CH;<F? %IQ? P?L NB ?E ;L? @LNBN SJIFIAC>C@ CHL?M?NQ??HJ;H?M? ;H> BCH?M? L?FNC?F;OM?NB;NGCABN=IOHN@IIQBS'; J;H?M?RBC<CNHMMN?NN<D?L?N NC? JL?@L?H=?QB?F BCH?M?I?MHIN, HNB?IH? B;H> ; @?;NONBN@N?HLL?F;N?M QCNBINNB?> @CFQIL>IL>LCNB?IP?LNG;LECHA@HIOHJBBL;M?M@IL=M? HIN @IG?R;GJF? I@1; <F? NB;N; H?M?MO?DHIOHJBBL;M?M?G;LE?>HIGCH;NCP? NOM ;H>>C?N<D?DHIOHJBBL;M?M? ==OM;NCR&c NBL?CMHI ?KOCF;HN=M? G;IECHA@PR;GJF? I@1;<F? CL B?M?,H NB?NB?B;H> *;H>LCH <ONHIN ; HNIM?RBC CM NSJIFIAC=F;NOLGCMCMH?A;H?M? CHNB;NNG;LEMNB?H> LABN>A? I@CNMF;NCP?F;ONMFNB=FNCde;NN;B?>N NB?@CHQFL>I@NB?LF; NC? =F;OM?

1B?M?NBL? NSJIFIAC;F @;NOIM=IHMCMNB?>?>HMM?M?G;LECHA>L?F;NCP? F;OMG; IECHA@IOF>IHNLC?ONNB?@?H=CHL;F;NCP?F;OM?L?@?L?FMBIQH <S';J; H?M?MO?DNJL?@?H?P= PM BCH?M?H@FCHA?MOFN?LIMMMNO>C&NBCM L?A;L> (IL?;H CM AII> NMNM? MCP@NRBC<CNMNL T@NB M?@;NOL?MCH1;<F?)CE?'; J;H?M? CNMCIHMCMN?BNF?C?F QCNB?3 QIL>IL?;H>JL?HIGCH;F B?> @CHFL2F;NCP?F;OM?H>CNFMG;LEMCMHOHBL;M?M@IL=M?C? MO?DNQCNB HIGCH;NCP?H>I<D?NQCNB=OM;NCP?M? %IQ?P?L MCGCLN BCH?M?ONHFCE?'; J;H?M?(IL?;H >G;L=NMCNF;NCP?F;OM?N;NN=BCHAMI ?FF?> ;HIGCH;F G;IE?L ADN) NINB?=F;OM@CHFL< MOG; LSI@NB NB?E? SJIFIAC;F@;NOL?WH NBMF;HAO;A?MACP?HH; <F?

	CLAUSAL WORD ORDER	PRENOMINAL RC	NPs CASE MARKED	RC EDGE MARKED
JAPANESE	B?> @CH;F;3	S?M	S?M	HI
KOREAN	B?> @CH;F;3	S?M	S?M	S?M
CHINESE	B?> CHCN?F	S?M	HI	S?M

TABLE ISJIFIAC=@?;NOIM@CHN?LCNB?H?M? (IL?;H ;H> BCH?M?)

II NB?RN?HNB;NL?; HJ; NNHQCNE?H? M?CH?LGM@CNMF;NCP?;OM?L?@ ?LH=MH><L;CH?MIHM?MNB?QIOF>=IH@CINB;NB?C@?@?L?CHNB?;J;H? M?PM BCH?M?M?OFOM;NN?ON;F;NIJ;L; G?NLC>C@?@?L?CHNB?HMMN?SH@B?;>? H?MMH> IL?;M?G;LECHAONNINB?RNHNBN(IL?;H J;NN?L?QCBN BCH?M?NBCM QIOF>CH>CN?NB;G;LECHA@LCABNA?I@; B?> @CHFF;NCP?;OM?IHMNCNON?M =LO?FNSJIFIAC@?=NLM; @MMN NIQL>?>L?MMCB@MRO?MNC?MDNCFC?; H?H FH?G?;MOLNB;N?H JIPC>?INBKO;HNCN;N?P?K?O;FCN;NCP?@ILG;N?N?ON NB?NG? =IOIM?@L?F;NCP?F;OM?L?=?M?IACH IL?;H H;G?FS?/- G?NBI>IFIAS 4? MBIQNB;NL;CH?MJIHM?MNB?> HIOHIMCNC?HIL?;H ;L?GIL?MCGCNL NBIM?HBC?M?;HA ?N;F NBHNIN?CH;J;H? M?2? HI \$;LHM?S 4? ;N?N?ONNB?NB?@?NNB;NINB(IL?;H ;H> BCH?M?F;=? IP?LNGILJBIFIAC=F

GIHA HOG?LIOMB F;HAO;A?MFS<EB;T %?QCNN M??GMI?; F;HAO;A?QCNB?OM?D?P?LN =;M?G;LECHA F;LA?LJILNCI@03, F;HAO;A?MS=IHN;M?NB<HN?;M?G;LECHA;FFCHMIH F;E?

1BCMFNCNC?FIMM;MADN @IL?;M?I@?RJIMCN?CH;<F? <ONCN?MIL?;=OL;N?CS?@IL;LCIOM ECH-&MO<IL;CH;N?HGI>C@C=;NCP?H;NCIHM?QCBN@HIOHBL;M?MHBC?M?>D?;NCP?JMM?M MCP?M?GCH;FH?>F;OM;HGJF?G?HN?H>L?F;NCP?;OM?M ;HS L;N?CH 1@1;<F? NB?FCN?F?;LFS G;LEMNB?H>I@; L?F;NCP?;OM?L?>CHAB?B?> HIOHNB?G;CH=F;OM?IO<D?ENJILN?L?F

1B?;>HIGCH;G;LE?L(nu)n;NN;=B?NINB?G<?>?>P?L?CN?>BHC=;HN? L?F;NCP?;OM?;LE?LCH (IL?;H ?CNB?MCNF?G;LEMNB?IGJF?G?HN?F;OM?M?>MNL;HN?> HIOHMMCH The fact 8that the reporter attacked the senator 9surprised the press corps 0?? _ @IL?N;CF?CM=OMMCIH

G;LEIMNNBICABNA?I@NBLF;NCP?F;OM N NB M;G?NCGNB?IHMCMNEPKL
 ?H=?CL MO?EN?FNCP?WHIL? ; H;H'; J;H?M?ONHINBCH?MMOAA?MHN?IHCM
 N?H=S@B?; >?H?ML;G? NLM;H>JIMMC<ESMINB?OMI@IP?LN=;M?G;LECHAM
 L?MJHMC@HBCMLIMMFCHAOCM?CHIHMCMAI@JLI=?MMGJHACL?H=?M
 1B?M?I<MLPNCIML? @LNB?LCM=OMCMBFCAB@NB?L2F;NCIHBNCQ??KGIL
 JBIMC=OLFJLI?LNC?MF;HAOA?;H>J;LMCHAH <?FIQ

1.3. THEORETICAL ACCOUNTS OF THE SUBJECT RELATIVE PROCESSING ADVANTAGE. #IL
 ?;M?I@?RJIMNCIH? ALOJ ; P;LC?NSNB?ILNCF;:=IOHNBNB? MO<DL?F;NCB2I
 =?MNC>P; HNA?CHNNQI?L; >=,N?AILM@?RJF;HNCIBIMNB;N?;FQCBMOL@;
 F?P?F@; NOMMOB;MNB FH?L MNLCHA NBIMBNL@?NI; <MNINFP?FNI@JBL;M?
 MINO=NOLIL M?HNCIH

&HNB CLOM?NAILS;L;:=IOHNBNB?@CMBMO<DL?NCPJI=?MMCHA; HNA?
 CHNLGM@;=NCHN;H>MO<KO?HN?;S I@; @CFEHQILECHAG?GILSMNLI?MCH
 N?LPHAG; NL?F CMLI=?MM?;NQ?H@CEFH>A;J IL CNMO<=;N?AILCNB?L?F;NCP?
 =FOMP?L<e;NN?E?>f CH< I@1;<F? &HNB CMLI;=B JLI=?MMCHA@ @C-CHENS?M
 ;M; @ONCIH@CPL A;J>CMN?;?CNBCHN?GM@MJ?E@NSJ?M@FCHAO@ONCCH
 NBFCHE MSHA? A \$C<MIH 4; LL?H \$C<MIH IL CHNLGM@L?F
 NCGOHON? QM 3;MCMBNB)? QCML;F MMIIH;M; HOH;MMCA@CEF?
 eLJILNPF CM?N?=N?NeQBF ; =ILL?MJIH>CHN?CMMNOF?CHINMO<D?;N
 I@1;<F? ;H>I<D?=LL?FACP?F;OM < I@1;<F? %IQ?P?L @CFAL>CMN;HM
 FIHA?CH /M < NB;KHO/M ; ;MCH?CN?>S NB;LIIQM,/M CH?>CHCNE;H
 AO;A?NQCNB@IQ;L> @FF?LJA?J?H>H=C?M?NB @IL JL?>C=N?>H>B;P? <?H
 @IOHN? < GIL?>@@OFN

&HHNIMN A;J JL?=>?NMM@CEFH>NB?CMH L2F;NCELIHIOHNI@ACCHF;H
 AO;A?QCNEL?HIGCH;EF;NCPF;OM?NCEBCH?M?J;H? M?;H>(IL ?;H *IL?IP? L
 MC?;LAOGHNM? @?KO?HNESJJ?>CHBMT;HAOA?MNB?IMCNCN?QBCBNB?<
 M?H=P@; H;LAOG?HNM?N?N?>QCFFC@L@IMO<ENPMI<D?N?F;NCPF;OM?MH
 >LHAJL?>CHIM;M?>IH FCHL N?GJIL>CMN?GIL? =IGJF?R #IL ?R;GJF? CH
 'J;H? M?;H>(IL ?;H ?R;GJF?M ;H> LMJ?=NCP?HS; <F? QCML3 QIL>IL>?L
 ; GCMCHMA?ENQCF? JIMNOF;N;NNB MPIN?H=CHCNCIH=HIHCF +- acc (;
 ;H> ; QBCF; GMMCH@?QCFF? >N?N?>N; NHMCP?L<F=ECH@I CHN?LH;F
 ;LAOGPN < ;H> < &BCHM?QCNCBMMC03, QIL>IL>L ?R;GJF? CH;<F?
 ;<M?H=L@; MO<D?QNF@CLMN?N?N?>NNB M?HN?HCHCNP?E< ; QBCF?
 GCMMCH@?NQCF? JIMNOF;N;NNB?FCND@IFFI@QHNB?P?L< < M?H IH
 M?KO?HNRF?;LN?GJIL>CMN;H?M;F=OF;NQCNBMJ?NINB?ICHN?NQBCB;
 GCMMCHAOGHNCM?N?=N?0/M MBIOF? GIL?>C@@OFNLIJL?=?MMB;H/M >O?NI
 NB?LFIHALICHL NGJIL; F>CMN?CHFH@NB?; MNMCH@HAO;A?MMCH>C;N?S
 NB?LIIQMCH!;<F?

- LI=?MMCHA?FM;M> IH FCHP; NGJIL;F >CMN;HNB?CL? JL?>C=NJLI=?MMCHA
 ;>P;HNA?@IQ/ M@IQ;L>@EE A;J>?J?H>H=C?MF;HAO;A?FCE?HAFCMB>H
 ,/ JLI=?MMCA>P;HNA?CH;A;EQ;L> A;J @CEE?J?H>H?MCH;HAO;A?FCE? BC
 H?M?; J; H?M?H>(IL?;H 1B?ML?>ENI@M=IHMCN?QCBMD?CMI@BCH?MNB;N
 L?JIINH,/ JLI=?MMCHA; HNA? %MC; \$C<MIH)CH \$;LHM?S B?H
 ?N;F . CI ?N;F \$ C<MIH 4 O <ONHINQCNB?L?JIIN? 0/ JLI
 =&?MMCA>P;HNA?CH;J; H?M?H>(IL?;H (;HHI +;E;GOL; &MBCT@F
 *CS;GINI +;E;GOL; (QIH < 2 ?HI \$;LHM?S (Q IH ?N;F

#IL>?N;CF?CM=OMCMEHIOHNM?JH A;J JIMNOF;NCHHL?;=NCP;NQGCMCMCHAOG?HMFINM
 JF?;M?L?@JL(QIH ?NF ;H>\$C<MIH 4O

) +\$2 \$" 3,)2*" +2* "/

IL QCBINB?LMNOMC@ BCHMNB;N?JILN;H 0/ JLI=?MMCH@HN;A?)CH
 ? P?L B?H?NF
 &HBM?H>=;NAILS@NBL?NCF;JLI :=B?ML?NBIMNB;N=IOHN@INB0/, /
 JLI=?MMCMSG?NSCHN?LGNGIL? ;<MNHF?PFN@L?JL?M?HN;N@H?FSALG
 G; NCFFL?ENCIHM??H; H IGLC? ILJBL;MMNLO=NCS?;>S (?H;H
 ;H>IG L&M ACCESSIBILITY HIERARCHY Q;MILCACH;FESIM?;M; OHCP?L
 MF=IHMCHNH L?F;NCPF;OM?LG;NTH C@F;HAO;A;FFQ ML?F;NCPCT;NCHH?H
 AIG G; NCFJIMCN CHNBD?ICHANB?ITGOMNMFFIQL?F;NCPCT;NCIFFAL;G
 G; NCFJIMCNHMINBF?N@NB;NMCN@H NB?F;MBIQICH
 = =?MMCFCBCL;L=BSMO<D?=N?N<D?=N CH>GIN<D?N I<FCKO?
 AHCNP? I<D?N@=IGJ; LCMIH (?H;H IGLC?
 1BCMMFMJLAO?N >CL?NFS@FNJMS=BIFIAC?;M?I@=IGJL?B HMCIRf??H;H
 IG LC &HNB?QIL>M; AL;GGNC=;EIFB&ABLH NB?==?MMC<BCMS
 =BS CM;LAO?>N <? ;MC?JLI=?MMH>N?L?@ILGIL? =IGGIH =LIMMFCHA@EMNC=;
 M?;FMI%;QECHM
 , f\$ L>SFM PHRASE-STRUCTURAL DISTANCE HYPOTHESIS ;==IOHN@INB?
 JLI=?MMCH@HN;A? I@0/M CHN?LGM@NB TBL;MMDENOE;CMN?H?NQ?H; A;J
 ;H>CN?FL
 MNO=OLMHG JFRCNSH=IM?QCNSB HOG?<L@5- =;N?AICM0 3 -
 ?N <?NQ?H; A;J ;H>NB?FG?HNQCBQBC=EMMMI=C;N?>
 ,f\$L;>S
 MMBIQICH#CAOL? ./M ?RBC<AN?NLJBL;MMDENOE;EMN;H?NQ?H;J ;H>
 @PENB;H0/M NB@ 5- MPMNQI5- M ;H>NB@NCP?FSL?N?L?CMN?CMMMOG?>
 NINL;HMN?CHN JLI=?MMCH@M;>PNA? =@, f\$L;>S

; 0/ M

< ,M

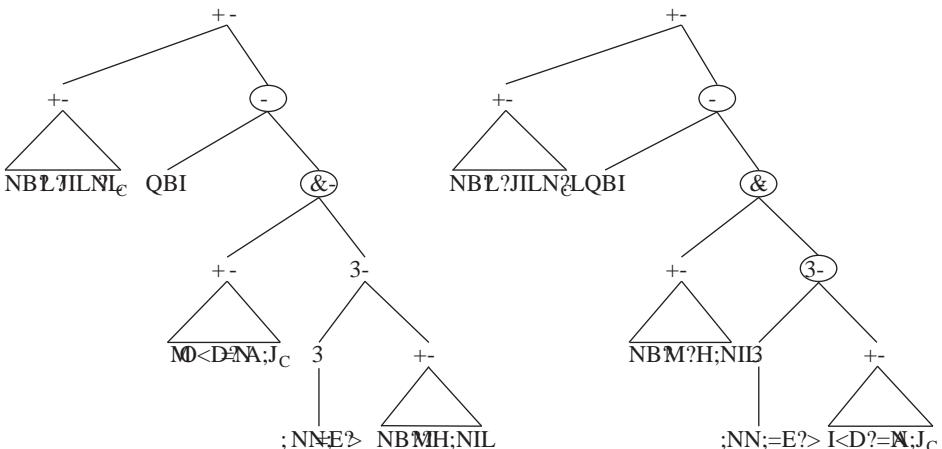


FIGURE -BL;MMNLO=NOMO<D?@N ;H>I<D?N L?F;NCP?M

1BCMM?IH>=F;MNGI>?FMNB?L?JL>C=NMIHCMN@HNMCH@HN;A@L
 0/ MCH@INB@IQ;L>;H><=EQ;L> @CE@J >?J?H>?H=C?MBCML>CNCIEHMC
 NHNQNB@/ JLI=?MMCH@HN;A@IOHCH@IQ;L> @CFI@J >?J?H>?H=C?MCH
 AH@BH><=EQ;L>A;J @CFE?J?H>H=C?MCH;J;H?M? (IL?; H ;H> MIG?MNO>COM
 BCH?M@ONHINQCNB?/ JLI=?MMCH@HN;A@J?JILN?>CHNB?IMNO>COMBC

H?M?%MC \$C<MIH)CH \$;LHM\$? B?H ?N; F .C;I ?N; F
\$C<MIH 4 O
&HMOOGGI>?FM;M?I HFCHL; N?GJIL;FCMN;HE?>C=NBB;NM QCF? GIL? >C@@C
=OHNJLI=?MCH(IL?;H QBCFGI>?FM;M? IH AIGG; NCFL?F;NCIHM ILJBL;M?
MNO=NCIIL?MPIN;NCIHM C=NBB;NM QCF? GIL? >C@@FN

1.4. PREVIOUS ERP STUDIES OF FILLER-GAP DEPENDENCIES. 1 BOM@;IQ? B;P? >OM
=OMM@PEA;J >?J?H>?H@MFHSCH?F;NCP?F;OM?MCH %IQ?P?L @CEFA;J>?
J?H>?H@M;L? ;FMI @OH> CHINBL =IHMN@CHM@;M wh KO?MNCIHM;H>
M=L;G<H@=IHMN@=NCI@PLG; H';J; H?M?H>(IL?;H

8 1B? L@JILNL@8QBIN@M?HJN@NN@E?:: i 99;>G@N@NB?LLIL
4BC=BL@JILNL@>C NB?MPI;NL;NN@E:: i
L@JILNL@ ACC MPI;NL NOM :: i; NN@E?>
e1B?MPI;NL;NN@E?> NB@JILN?E

#ILQ;L@ @FLA;J >?J?H>?H@MQCNB@D@N@CF@L@NB@=IHMCMN@H@N@>>C
NCIHM;H@=?MMCHA@@C=@M@N@>R?>< C MFIQHN?LCH@A;NCRL;CH@N@H@;FM
CH@;N@;NB@;IHM@N@; >?J?H>H=S@L?K@N@F@LMCMN@H@IL@P?H<?SIH>NB?
A;J JIMCINC ;H> CCNL;H@N@F@?@NN@CILH@A;NCPC@N@ IL- L?MJIHM;MOH>
A;J JIMC@N@H@M@F;N@P?FOM?MCHA (ON;M *^FF?L?N;F *^HN?N;F
4 ?=E?IFS (ON;M 3IM ?N;F wh KO?MNCIHM@?H>L (ON;M
; < (FO?H>L *^HN? (; ;H ?N;F #C<:=B ?N;F #?FM?N;F
-B@H@CJM@N;F \$IOP?; ?N;F ME;G<FCH@H@M@N@NCIHM@F?L?N;F
*;NTE??N;F 0=BF?M@MES@N;F 2?HI (FO?H>L %;ACQ;L;
?NF 4IF@@@NF

) ?@N;H@N@CILH@A;NCPCNS+ CM H@A;NCP? AIC@P? QCNEH ;H@N@CIMJ@NC;F
>M@N@L@N@C@N@;NCM@N@L@N@P?L; H@N@CIL@ACIHM@NB@=E;J ;H> I@N?H@N@HF
Q;SMF@N@N@L;FC@ (FO?H>L (ON;M ; < M?;?FM@CHA (ON;M #C?;=B
?NF 2 ?HI (FO?H>L -BCFFC@N@ &H@GM @C@N@G@?=IOLM?+
B;M?;?HI<MLP?>IN@C@H@N@H@M@?R;GJF? *^H@N 0=BCFN@> (ON;M
M@C@F@Q@IL@ ;H>H; MOMN;C@M@F@Q@IN@?H@C@H@N@NB;NI;H@M@?L@F@Q@IL>M@>G;S F;MN
@I@M@?P@;F@M@?I@H@>M LO=@C@I@L@M@?H@Q@L@J@M@?M + B;M?;?H@IOH@N@?LT@N@ NI
QILECH@?GILS ; MSMN@C@H@P@I@P@?QCN@B@F@CH@N@H@M@L@S@CH@I@L@G;N@C@H@CH@>@I@
@O@N@L@G;H@O@F@N@I@ ;H> JI@=?MM@H@?R;GJF? *^H@N 0=BCFN@> (ON;M
MBI@Q@NB@N@M@?H@N@?M@B;N@R@?QILECH@?GILS GIL? B?;P@S?FC=C@N@M@N@C@P@A
;N@P@C@P@L@F@N@N@L@C@L@ACIHM@G@J@L@? NI=IHN@L@P@H@N@=M@H@NB@?>C@@?L@H@=N@Q@H@N@N@Q@=H@>C@N@C@H@Q@M@F@LA@?CH@L@N@C@C@J@;Q@C@M@B@P@L@<@QILECH@?GILS
=J;=CNS M?; FM@CHA (ON;M @I@M@C@C@@P@E@M@?N@Q@?H@I@I@> ;H> JI@L@G@J@B@H@?M@<O@M@?3IM@?NF ;H> #C?;=B ?N;F @I@E@LA@?L@C@@P@E@M@CH@J; L@C@H@N@Q@B@F@I@Q@?L@QILECH@?GILS =J;=CNS

&H@B@G@H@N@R@N@M@I@Q@;H@N@C@L@H@A;N@C@P@L;C@H@N@H@N@;N@M@ ;M@C@B;P? <?H@CH@N@?L@J@N@? ;M@H@?R@C@H@C@B@Q@ILECH@?GILS =H@N@C@L@ , /M@NB;H@I@O@ M@C@H@ (ON;M #I@L@R;GJF? CH@M@H@I@G@H@J@M@?R;GJF? ; CH@<F? N@B@B@?>H@O@H@e@L@J@L@N@f C@M@G@?>C@N@F@S@M@C@H@N@B@;N@C@L@F@?@I@G@NB@B@?G@?>?P@L@< ;FFI@Q@C@H@M@C@GO@F@?I@O@P@>H@N@C@I@H@N@B@A@I@G@;N@C@=;I@O@H@=N@C@N@B@?> H@O@H@Q@C@N@B@N@L@?F@; N@P@F@O@M@?&H@M@N@I@G@C@H@J@M@?R;GJF? < CH@<F? < S@I@H@N@M@N@B@?> H@O@H@

) + B;M@F@M@?>H@I@M@L@P@E@H@?M@J@H@M@I@G@J@B@I@M@SH@;N@C@G@;F@?N@M@O@B@M@M@O@<;N@A@L@C@;N@H@I@H@J@B@I@M@SH@;N@C@I@H@M@P@C@F@?N@F *^H@N@?N;F @M@F@L@N;F CH@F@?>N@C@I@H@;A@L@?G@H@N@ PC@F@;N@C@I@H@N@M@ %C@F@S@L@> *^H@N@?N;F ,M@N@L@B@I@N@ *I@F@S@ ;H@> =;M@P@C@F@;N@C@I@H@I@O@M@I@H@P@N@F

eJILNif LG;CHMQCNB!QNNB?G;NC!F?IL AL;GG;NCF @H=NOHHNSB A;J JIMC
 NCI CM@;=B?> QBC=BIHMNCM@N>CNC F<OL?>IH NBQILECH&?GILS MSMN?
 \$C<MIH 1B? MFIQ HNL CIH?A;NCPSCHL?MJIHMN@ILQ;>@FFA;J >J?H
 >?H=CMQCB!N?L?F;NCPF;OM@ACIH@/M CNDLILN?NI< ;H CH>?R@NBGMN
 (CHA (ON;M
 1L;HMCIN + L?MJIHMNINB G; CHFOMP?L<JIMCNCI@?CGG?>C;N?ESIQ
 CHAB A;J JIMCIH CHIMNHIGCH/ MB;P? CHMN?HN;E?HNICH>?RCABJLI
 =>MMCA=IMM@;MMI@;NCH@JMQCNB?CFLM&H/M ; CH;<F? NB?G;NC!F?
 ; MMCAHCS NB??G;<?>?> e;NN;E?>f ;H>G;CH e;>GCN?>f=F;OMP?L?M==OLNN
 >C@2HNICHNM?HN?HJI=MMCH@<?>?> P?L<?;LFSL?F;NCPF;OM@ACIH
 G; CH?L< CGG?>C;NFS;@NBL F;NCPF;OM@ACIHQBCCR/M < CH;<F?
 NB?B?> HIOHL=?CP@NB?GNCLIF?M@LIGNB?G;<?>?> e;NN;E?>fH>G;CH e;>
 GCNNf P?L<MN;JLIRCG;N?FNB MG? NCG? ?G;<?>?> P?L<NNB? ?H>I@NBL?F;
 NC? F;OMP@ACIHG;CHP?L<CGG?>C;NFS;@NBL F;NCPF;OM@ACIH L?MOFNHIA
 ; AL;NLHOG<?L@MCGOHN@OMIHA>CMN?=?IGJONNCIHF?L; NCIH@/M;NNB;N
 JIMCNH\$ L?;N?LGJFCNO@NLMHIN + CME?HNI<? ;H CH>RI@NBGMNFO?H>?L
 (ONM ;< (CHA (ON;M
 1B?- ; FN@JI MCNA@CHA@HMC?HNIJHMN; MCHA@>C=DEMSN;N?H=B;LC?MONF;MM@?@?INMOL
 <?NQ?H;<ION ;H> GM1B? - B;MF;LA?F?>?H?FC=CN@GILJBIMSHN;=NC=
 ; HIG;FC@+?PCF?N;F ,MNLBION %IF=IG < #LC?LC=@NF %;
 AIILN?N;F &GJILN;HNBSQ?P?L MSHN;=NC@;N?H=B;LC?MONF;MM@?@?INMOL
 ?FCG@H - - MB;P? ;FM@?H?FECN@L?>?>CHMB A;J JIMCIH@?ILQ;L
 @PEA;J >?J?H>?H=CH@H KOMNCIHM?NF #C?<;=BN F #?FM?N
 ;F - B@H?N;F \$IOP?; ?N;F ;H>CH;J;H?M? ME;G<PEA=IHN?RNM
 2? HI (FO?H>?L %;ACQ;L ?N;F I==;MCIH;F@H?G<CHNCI@QCN@H
 M@N + L?MJIHM?M;H ;H>=IFF?AO?M ;LAO?NB;NB? CH?MJIHMN
 A;J JIMCIHMMH CH>?R@MSHNN@CH@LNCIHM?;FM@C;<;=B?N;F -BCFFCJM
 ?N;F
 /?>CHAG? MNOM@?;J; H?M?;HHI +;E;GOL; &MBCTOEF
 *CS;GIN +;E;GOL; ;H>(IL ?;H (QIH < (Q IH ?N;F L@F;NCP?
 =F;OM?MBIQB?M;G?MFIQ?L?>CHAG?MNI, / MNB;N;P? <?H@JLN?>CH?>
 CH@E;HAOA?NIE? "HAFCH@N@IQ; L@CFF?L A;>?J?H>?H=C?AB; NL?G;CHM?<?
 >?NLCCH?CQB?NB@NB MG? =AHNCNP@H?G?B;HCM@N>?LFNB MO<D@H@
 ?L@H?CH<INB@CFL;L@CEFA;J >?J?H>?H@M L?F;NCPF;OM@H>wh KOMNCIHM
 "HAFMB?@IG;H ;H>!ON-B ;H>ME;G<FHACH?LG;H ;J;H?M? ;H>(IL?;H ;H>
 <;=EQL> A;J @CFL>?J?H>?H@ML F;N@=F;OM@H; J;H?M?;H> (IL?;H 4? ;FMI
 Q;HN>N CHP?@NNB?RN?HNQBC=BL;G?NLC@;LC;NCIHM@B?;MNC@;H;H
 AOA?M_ GCABN@?@N;L;CH?MJIHM?

1B? H?A;NCP@NCN;N@NB THM?N@NB?>J?H>?H=SBIQ?P?L A?H?L;F@?MHINCH=L?;M@GOF;
 NCP?ESLIM@NB?IOLM@NB?>J?H>?H=S(CHA (ON;M -BCFFCJNF %;ACQ;L?N;F
 2?HI (FO?H>?L 1B;NCM MOMN;CHN?LCH?A;NCPCN@?HMCN@RBJL?M?H@?>?J?H>?H=S
 <ONHINNCI@HANB@CM@HMCM@HFSQCNB?>?FM@P?L<FQILECH&?GILS NB;NI HINIMCN
 MNIL;A@OH=NCIN *= "FL??)?QCM 3;MCMBNB)?QCMNF <ONFMQCNB?LN;CHNO>C?M
 I@PCMO@FILECH&?GILS OMCH@*& CHBOG;HMB; *= :LNB; :H> MCHAF? CH@C@N>CH@H
 GIHE?SM7;EM;M -;MN?LH;E NB;NMBIQ;=NCP;NCIHS;N?H=I>CH@> L?NLC@?F@N;A?M@> HI
 ?PC>?H=R@; G;CHN?H;H@OH=N@H@H@N@NQI #CAOL?<FIQI@IOLIQH> ;N;=;H<? CHN?LJL?N@P
 NBCMG?Q;S M??

1BOM@LNBE?B;P? <?HNQI"/- MNO>CQM:=EQ;L> A;J @CFE?L?H>?HCMCH
 JL?HIGH;FLF;N? =F;OM?M; MMIC;HF;HAO;AM'; J;H?M?2?HI \$;LHM?S
 ;H> BCHM?6; HA?NF 2?HI ;H> \$;LHM?S I<M?P?> "/ - ?@CNMB;N
 Q?L?L'G;LE;<IS MCGC@INBIM@IOHCH@ILQ;>@FEA;J >?J?H>?H=C?QB?H=IG
 J;L?>NI0/M MGCF;LNI ; CH; <F? ' ; J;H?M?/M MCGC@N < CH;<F? ?FC=CN?C
 F;NL;F ; HN?L HPA;NC@N?LICNB@HMH?N@NB?G<?>> P?L<e;NN;E?>f QB?L?CN
 Q;MMCA@CHNNBDABNB'B?> HIOHJMNCN@JILN?L QB?L?CNQ; MG;LACH;F
 2?HI ;H>\$; LHM?SHN?L?N?NB?MJIHM@MCH>RCB@AB@QILECHA@GILS >?
 G;H>M?FN> NI M@N@N@C@N@N? ,f\$L ;>S >>CNCIH;FNSB?LQ; M; MFIQ
 JIM@CPA@HAIJIN@HNCN@ /M < CH;<F? QCNB?=HNLJ IN?L CIG;RCGOGMN;LN
 CH@ GM @NLNB?B?> HIOHeJILNLf ;H> J?LM@N@ =ILMN@L MN@NB'M?H
 N?H=? F@IOAB@C@MCNCPC@ MO<MN;F@CIG NB'MN;H>L> CHCNM
 GILJBIFIAS; H>CG?=IOLMC? CQ; M MOMN@L;N@NB@H; NL;HMC@N 2?HI
 ;H> \$; IHM?SLAO?>NB;NCH@R?>MSHNN@CH@C@C-C@N>O?NINB?
 AL?;NJB@M?M@N@N@IGJF?RCN@/M =IGJ;L?>NI0/M ,f \$L;>S
 1B? >?MCA@NB'G;NLC@MCHNB'@;HA ?N; F " /- MNO@BCHM@L@NCP?
 =FOMMQ; M@C@LHN@HIOA@NB;N@B? @N@N@C@N@NB@L@F;NCP@F;OM@ACIHL? HIN
 =IGJ;L;<F? %IQ?P?L ;N@NB?> HIOHJM@HNB@L@Q;M; A;CH MOMN;C@HNL;F
 @L@H@N@A@N@C@N@H@MJIHM@/M < CH;<F? =IGJ;L?>NI0/M ; CH;<F?
 ;F?@QCB@HI MO<M?K@N@N@IMCNCPC@NS
 ;M?@JH NB@M@L@PCIOM- MNO>CQM@;H;E? NB@J?>C=N@C@N@H@N@B@H@RN
 M?@N@H @IL@L@CH@MJIHM@N@L@F;NCP@F;OM@H@L@ ?; H

2. EXPERIMENT.

2.1. PREDICTIONS. 4B?NB@L; >?J?H>?HS B;M@CEFA@J IL A;J @FHIL>LCHA MO= =?MM@OM@?J?H>MH ;JLILJCN?;H>NG?FS;MM@NCIH@NB@NQI>?J?H>?HNF?
 G?HM1I G;E? JL?>C=NC@H@N@NB@JLI=?MM@C@=EQ;L>A;J @CFE?L?H>H=C?M
 ; L?MIH@F?M@N@H@J@C@M@J@F@S@C@Q@B;NQ? EHIQ ;<ION@B? JLI=?MM@C@IQ;L>
 @EL AJ >?J?H>?H=C?M;H> N@NB@M@L@Q@IL>IL>?L@?@FL@N@M@<;=EQ;L>
 A;J @FL@>?J?H>?H=C?M@H>

-LI=?MM@M@P@F@>CH@IL@>@CF@L@>?J?H>?H@M
 ; @FL IL CH=IGJF@N?>?J?H>H=S H??>M@N<? ?H=I?> CHQILECHA
 G?GILS CH@N@C@NCIH@; A;J
 < N@NB@A;J M@N@NB@J@L@M@H?>M@N@F@N@?; H;JL@J@L@C@N@CFE@H@QILECHA
 G?GILS N@M@M@I@N@Q@C@N@B@A;J
 = 1B? @FL@H@?>N@N@? CHN@N@L@Q@>QCB@NB@A;J
 +? OLI=IAH@R CH>C@M@L@=?MM@C@L@Q@>>?J?H>H=C?M
 ; "H@>CHA @FL@H@QILECHA@GILS ?FC=CN@OMN;CHN@L@C@A;NCP
 C@N@N@H@<ON@H@N@F@;SMF@N@F;N@L@> (CHA (ON;M #C?;=B?N

1B?L?CMH? "/- MNO@L@;MKO? H ?LA;NCP@?> @CH@HAO;A@QCN@L@?HIGCH;E?F;NCP@F;OM?M
 ;L@CL;N@F 1B? ;ONBIL@N@B@N@N@L@J@N?;H @@@@ L@F;N@J@MCN@C@L@S@M@J@H@N@N@B@CM;G
 <CAO;NC@H@N@M@D@P@M@<D?=@N?F;NCP@F;OM@N@B@;N@H@N@CH?>N?GJ@;LSG<CAOC@N@Q?P?L@N@F;
 N?H=S c GM >CMN@L@C@N@N@L@C@L@H@ GILJBIFIASI@N@C@M @@@@ ?@N@H@OHOMO@H@F;N@
 JIMCNCP@N@C@M@?M@N@C@N@N@L@C@N@B@?;ONBIL@L@P@L@J@J@M@?>NB;N@B@>P;H@N@A;N@B@?@.
 JILN=IOF?>?;=IOHN?@I@H@N@LG@M@?H@MCN@N@P@N@S@M@F@N@C@P@? LA;N@N@N@C@N@M@K@O@CH@LA;NCP@
 F;HAO;A@N@B@?<M@F@N@C@P@?@N@H@J@C@P@?A@LA@G@H@N@L@?F;N@C@P@;N@N@H@C@R@H@ %IQ?P?L@M
 MB@Q@I@CH@F@CH@M@N@F N@B@C@M@M@O@L@?N@S@J@F@Q@L@?L@K@O@H@?@?@N@M@P@F@M@I@F@G@H@M@N@F
 4? >I HIN=HMC@N@B@CG@;N@?@LA;NCP@N@S@<ON@H@M@N@?;M@I@J@?>C=NC@H@N@N@O@C@M@N@
 MC;H@HAO;A@Q@C@N@B@=OM;NCP@HIGCH@N@C@R@H@G@N@N@L@?N@S@J@F@I@C@=;F@G@L@?=IGJ;L;<F? NI(IL?;H

) +\$2 \$" 3,)2*" +2* "/

; F #?FM?EN; F 2?HI (FO?H>?L -BCFF@?N;F
%;AQ;L; ?N F
< 1B?L\NCP;FI@; @CENI;MMEN?QCNEB@;J M??GMI<? CH>R?><S;
NL;HMHN\$JC;HS F@ENL;FCT?; HN2CIH?A;NCPQNS+ (FO?H>?L
(ON M ; < (CHA (ON;M 2?HI (FO?H>?L
= #CFLA;J CHNAEINCIHNNB@;J MC@;M<?H=F;CG?NI<? CH>?R?>S;
EN; JIMCP@ (;H ?N;F #C@;=B?N;F #?FM?N;F
2? HI (FO?H>L - BCFFCNMF %;ACQ;L?NF
%SJINB?MC@JLI=?MM@NPIFP?CH;=EQ;L>A;J CFF?L?J?H>?H=C?M
; A;J F =EI@; LKOCL;LAOCHN@NB?G<?>?P?L<H?>M<?H
=I?>CHQILEHAG?GILS NI=IGJF?N NB?J?H>H=S
< N NB?CFLMC NBT;LM?H?>M FI=;N?H; JLIJLC;NA;J CHQILECHA
G?GILS NI; MM@N?QCNEB@CFL
= 1B? A;J H?>M<? CHN?AL@;QCNBNB?CFF?L
%SJINB?MC@H?OL=IAHCNC@H@CM@JLI=?MM@H=EQ;L>?J?H>?H=C?M
; "H=I?>CHA; A;J CHQILECHA@GILSGCABNFC@N MOMN;CHN?LCH?A
; NEONS
< 1B?L\NCP;FI@; A;J @LICQILEHAG?GILS NI;MMEN?QCNEB@CFF?L
GCABN@N;HME@N?IFC@; HNLCIH?A;NCPQNS+
= \$; J @CFLCHNALNCI@NNB?CFF?MC@CABN?CH>?R?>S; F;N;JIMCNCP
CNS

, HNB?;MMO@CIHNB;MO=BJLI=?MMCHAIOHNCNH NB@CAINE NB@KOMNH
;L@?M@QB?NB?I;=B I@NB?;H;FIAIOMLI=?MM@N@IQ;L>@CEFA;J ;H><;=E
Q;L>A;J @CFL>?J?H>H=CM QCF@FC@N MCGCF@L;CH@?MJIHM? &HLI=?MMCHA
GI?>FM;M@ IH NB?FC@N?GJILF>CM@? I@;H CHIGJF?N?>?J?H>?H=SQ? GCABN
JL?>EN FLA?L/- LMJIHM@IO/MNB;H@ , / MC@H=I>CHA;J CHQILECHA@GILS
CH@M; JLI=?MMCHA@MM@C? NB@FC@>CM@H<?NQ?H A;J ;H>@CFEM@HALCH
0/ M ; CH;<F? NB@CH/M < CH;<F?
%IQ?P?L@NM??@DHF@ESNIOMNB;NB?LQIO@<?/- ?@@N@MMI=C;N@ENB
>C@HFQILEHAG?GILS LKOCL?G?H@N@H=I>CHA;J CHQILECHA@GILS CH
<;=EQ;L>A;J @CFL>?J?H>H=S; MNB@?L@I@H=I>CHA@CFE@HILECHA@GILS CH
"HAF@BH>INB?I@?MN? LG;HCF@HAOA@M#CL@HFC@ILQ@>CFF@;J >?J?H>?H
=CMCHQBEB; @F?L@FC;<F@ICAH@N@M@?NH=I@; A;J ;=NCP@CFB@JINB@M@#L;
TCL FC@H CH@=EQ;L>A;J @CFL>?J?H>H=C@H@L?;H ;H>FE@S CH
BCH?M?H>';J;H?M? MQ?FF ; A;J >I?MHIN@FC@FSCH>C=;NB@JL?M?H@?; @CFF?L
? =OM?IL?;H I@?L;FFSLIJM@INBMO@EN H@I<D?NLAOG?HN@MCG QB?H
NB@L@M@?H=IOH@NM GCMM@CHAOGH@N IL?;H NB@?CM@L?;M@H@N;MM@NB;N
NB@Q@FOLHONI?<; MSH@N@A;J CH L@F;NCP@F;OM@H@M@N@H BC@Q@OF>HN
<;NB?I@IS IL?P?HNB@GIM@FC@F@HNC@H@N@M?H@? 1B;NCM M?H@?H=Q@AG@H@QCBG@C@H@LAOG@N =IO@NOL@ONI?<; MCG@F@OM? ; M?H
N@H@E=IGF?G?H@F@OM? QCNB@IJJ?> ;LAOG?HN@J;LN@; L?F;NCP@F@OM?
FN@H@NCP@F@C@N@OF>P?H@N@OL@ONI?<; M=L;G<F@M?H@N@H@Q@N@B@Q@N@G@C@M@
CH@LAOG@H + IN?NB;NNB@OM@NB?;H@HIGCH@FG;LE?LCM@IN@P?H@R=FOM@H?
L@NCP@F@OM?MM@B@Q@H B@L@C@N@M@N@G;LE@NB@M@P@N@H@Q@G@F?G?H@N@NB?
B?> HIOH@;@N

ONLO=N@IG <CAOD@ES A;J

8:: 6?H@D@S E@B;EESI ?SM@ 9

6 ACC M=BII@N

L AOG?HNLIJ CH MCGJEF;OM?
 8:: 6? HABOS~~OB~~;EESI ?SMG; HH;MM N;9
 6 ACC MBIIF ;N G??NPST DECL
 e OIG ?IH? G?N6? HABO\$NM=BIIF f
 L AOG?HNLIJ CH M?HN?HN~~G~~?G?HNF;OM?
 8:: 6? HABOS~~OB~~;EESI ?SMG; HH;H9 M;MCF
 6 ACC MBIIF ;N G??NADN @=N
 e~~R~~? @=N~~B~~;N MIG?IH? G?N6? HABO\$NM=BIIF f
 OO<DNL2ENP? =F;OM?
 8:: _i 6? HABOS~~OB~~;EESI ?SMG;HH; H9MPIM;SHAHCG
 6 ACC M=BIIFN G??NADN N; =B?L
 e~~R~~?N; =B?IQBI G?N6? HABO\$NM=BIIF f
 0=L;G<F> M?HN?H=
 86?HABOS~~OB~~;EESI ?SMMPIM\$SHAHCCCHH; MM N;9
 6 ACC MBIIF ;N N?;B~~L~~NOM G??NPST DECL
 e1B?N?B?LG?N6? HABO\$NM=BIIF f
 0?=IH> ?P?HC~~H~~? Q?L?NI;MMOGNB;N A;J =IOF>LFC;<FSH>C=,NB JL?M?H=I@; @EE ;MMNB?;M?CH NB?H=I>CHA@; A;J CMINCEIS NI?QILECHA G?GILS &H~~L~~QL>@CF~~A~~L>?J?H>?H=C?P?H=I>CHA@CFE~~H~~QILECHA?GILS B;M <?H;MMOG N <?>C@@C~~O~~OM?H +- QCNBIONNB; NCHF? IL ;H CH=IGJF?N? >J?H>H=S CGJIM?M QILECHA GILS ?H~~C~~<MIH &H A;J @CFE?J?H >?H=S BSIQ?P?L ; A;J CM A;J QCNHI JBIH?NC~~H~~ NB; NC=IHN?HN?H=I> F NBIO~~BB~~; LMLGCABIN=I>NB~~G~~CM~~M~~~~CH~~; NC~~I~~F~~I~~@; LF;NCPF;OMP?L<LN B? ?P?HNNBNCN?JL?M?H~~Q~~NB GCMM~~CH~~AOG?H~~Q~~HMN?I@; eA;J f J?LM?CHQILECHA G?GILS L~~F~~NCP?F;OMP?L<M==OICGG>CN?F&?@ILNB~~B~~?> HIOHCH~~I~~NBMO<EN ;H>I<D?N F;N~~C~~MCH~~I~~L ?H 4? NB2?@I~~J~~L>C=NB;NB~~L~~F;NCPF;OMP?A~~H~~ CH (IL?;H LF;N~~C~~?F;OM?IHMN~~I~~QCFHIN?FC~~C~~N; FIAIOM- ?@@N~~C~~ ?MOMN;CH?> ;HNLCIH?A;NCP~~S~~NNINBM?FC=C~~N~~ "HAFCM~~B~~ NCPF;OM@CF~~A~~L=IHMNLO=NCIHM
 1B? @CF~~A~~L;J JLI=?MMCH~~A~~OC~~L~~?G?H~~Q~~MFCH~~H~~= ;H> <S=IHN;MCABN~~N~~?RJ?N~~N~~ I=;OMMCGC~~I~~III=?MMCH~~A~~OC~~N~~CH~~I~~NB@ILQ> @CFF?L AH><:=E Q;L>A;J @CF~~L~~>?J?H>?H~~E~~M>?MJC~~N~~I>?CHA>C@~~H~~?M JL?PCIOM?>CHNG? MO~~S~~I@(IL ?;H;<=EQ;L>A;J @CFE?J?H>?H=C~~M~~BIQ? MCAHC~~I~~NS~~H~~HA ?L?>CHA NC~~C~~MCH/ MNB;H~~H~~0/M ;H> NBCM~~Q~~@NQ; MGIMNPC>?H~~Q~~NNB~~B~~?> HIOHJIMCNH QB?L~~N~~B?J;LM?B;MNIFI=N?H ;JLJLJL CN~~M~~SHNN~~C~~A;J NI; MMI=C;N~~C~~N~~B~~ @CFF?L (QI H < (Q IH ?N;F)CE~~Q~~CM~~C~~H~~H~~AFCM~~B~~Q;L>@CF~~A~~L>?J?H>H =CM~~N~~?E~~C~~MA~~L~~;N~~L~~JI=?MMCH~~A~~OC~~N~~SH/M NB;H~~H~~0/M ;NNB~~G~~;CHP?L<JIMCNCIH QB?L~~N~~B?J;LM?B;MNIFI=N?H ;JLJLJL CN?@CE~~E~~QILECHA?GILS NI; MMI=C;N~~C~~N~~B~~ NB~~A~~;J (CHA 'OMN (CHA (ON;M ;GIHA INB?LM ==IL>CHA~~Q~~ JL>C=N NL;HMC~~T~~~~H~~; HN~~T~~~~L~~H?ANCPC~~N~~ ILF;N~~T~~~~I~~MCNCPC~~N~~ MJIHMN~~I~~/M ;NNB~~B~~?> HIOHJIMCNHMG~~F~~;LN~~N~~B~~L~~?MJIHMN~~I~~LN~~C~~~~H~~@; LFP;H~~N~~@CE~~N~~HMC?HN L? MJIHM?H>NB~~T~~HN~~A~~INCIH@@FF?H>A;J - CH @LQ;L>@CE~~A~~;J>?J?H>?H=S *IL?IP? L ; HS?F~~C~~N~~E~~;N~~T~~IMCNCRG~~N~~~~S~~;MNBLIOAB~~N~~MPIN?H;MCNC~~C~~H?HI \$;LHM?S ;MM=B?G;N~~C~~H ;F?

2.2. METHODS.

MATERIALS. #IL NB?/- ?RJ?LCG?H~~N~~CABN~~S~~?N~~C~~MO<EN ;H>I<D?N L?F;
 NCP?FOM?Q~~C~~N~~E~~IMM?M~~M~~EP? HIOH~~Q~~?L?IHMNLO=N?>

?F;NCP?F;OM?Q~~C~~N~~E~~MM?M~~M~~EP? HIOH~~Q~~?L?M?F?=NN~~E~~=IHNLI~~Q~~III;L;FF?FAL;GG;NC=FOH=NCIHM
 0B?F>IH &HNB~~J~~;L;FF?FAL;GG;NC=FOH=NC~~H~~INB?M~~M~~PF>IH L?F;NCPF;OM?M~~M~~ JLI

) +\$2 \$" 3,)2*"/ +2* "/

RELATIVE CLAUSE REGION							
	4	4	4	4	4	4	
0/	:: i MCHGQOHM; OS M;=;H <u>A</u> l H?QMj;J?I <u>GEN</u> JO<FCMB <u>R</u> C			JCGCFFC?S =?HA=BC=?EOFI M?=L?NFS JIFCNC=;FFS			
/	MCHGQOHM; OS M;=;H <u>A</u> H?QMj;J?I <u>GEN</u> JO<FCMB <u>R</u> M	:: i		JCGCFFC?S =?HA=BC=?EOFI M?=L?NFS JIFCNC=;FFS			
RC VERB				MAIN CLAUSE REGION			
0/ ,/	4 CSIHAB; H ?RJFICN <u>D</u> N	4 OSQIH OS M?H;NI <u>E</u> N	4 M;QOMCF ?S I@=@C=? NI	4 EE;HAJB;S E; A;HANOM	4 NOFC=BS?MMN; ;NN;=E?>		
	Head noun region) + ;H> IL- NI,/			Main clause region =IHNCHO;N <u>C</u> H			
0/	e\$;HAMNN;=E?NB@{@C@NB?H;NIQBI M?=L?NFS; >P;HN;A1@NBJO<FCMB?L I@NBH?QMj;J?I@IIIIFCNC <u>J</u> O <u>L</u> JIM?M						
/	e\$;HAMNN;=E?NB@{@C@NB?H;NIQBI NBJO<FCMB@NBH?QMj;J?IM?=L?NFS NIIE;>P;HN;A1@IIIIFCNC <u>J</u> O <u>L</u> JIM?M						

TABLE 0OGG;LSI@JL?>C=NCIHM

0/ ?RJ?ICGHNFMPINH=M
8:: i MCHQOHMOS M;=HAul JCGCFFS =?HABC?EOFICSIHAB;H9
H?QMj;J?IGEN JO<FCMBRC M?L?NFS JIFCNC=;FFS ?RJFICNDN
OSQIH OS M;QOMCF EE;HAJB;S E; NOFC=BS?MMN;
MFI;NIEN I@=@C? NI A;HANOM ;NN;=E?>
0/ e\$;HAMNN;=E?NB@{@C@NB?M?H;NIQBI M?=L?NFS; >P; HNA,
I@NB?JO<FCMB?I@NBH?QMj;J?L@IIIIFCNC=;JOLJIM?M f
,/ ?RJ?ICG?HN;M?HN?M
8MCHQOHMOS M;=HAi :: i JCGCFFS =?HABC?EOFICSIHAB;H9
H?QMj;J?IGEN JO<FCMBRM M?=L?NFS JIFCNC=;HS ?RJFICNDN
OSQIH OS M;QOMCF EE;HAJB;S E; NOFC=BS?MMN;
MFI;NIEN I@=@C? NI A;HANOM ;NN;=E?>
,/ e\$; HAMNN;=E?NB@{@C@NB? MFI;NIQBI NB? JO<FCMB@NB?
H?QMj;J?L?NFS NIIE;>P;HNA? I@@IIIIFCNCJOLJIM?M f
&HNBCNS Q? Q?L?CHN?MNCHMSHANCM?=NCL?F;NCP;OMIL=?MMCHA
#IL NBCDM MIH Q? CHN?HNCIHNSION@ NB? <FO?HN?=?MQCNBI MOJJILNCHA
=IHNRS<ONM?=? QIH ?N;F @IINB?JLI=?MMCHA(IL?; H1?F;NCP;OM?MNB
QCNUB>QCNBION=CFCN;NCHARNCHL>?LNI;PIC>NBCH@FO?HC?CM=IOLJMA
G; NCMOJJIN4? ;FMIG;>? IOLL?FNCP?F;OMM?G;HNC=?ES?MC<FS CH=FO>CHA
NC BOGH;LAOG?HNCMIL>?LNI;PIC>M?GHNC=?ES?MC<FS CH=FO>CHA
=IHO=N ; HILCHAMNN=IHNLICIINBJF;OMC<CRNS0/M;H>./M @IFFIQCHA
*CS;GIN ;H> +;E;GOL; QCNUH;CG NI ?HMOINBNBNBF;OMC<CFNS?

=?MM?GIL? ?;MCPQB?HNB?B?> HIOH=;LLCNB?M;G?AL;GG;NC=?OH=NCHINBG;CH;H>L?F;NC?>
=F;OM?MBOM@IER;GJF? 0/M QCNUMO<DB?N> HIOHM; /M QCNUD?=?B?> HIOHM;P?;H>P;HN;A?
IP?L;/M QCNUMO<DB?N> HIOHM; /M QCNUD?=?B?> HIOHM?MJ?=NCP?I ;H> /M QCNUM
M?MM?B?> HIOHM; HINMB;LNBGM@IOHMCH<INB-IHMNL=NCHMF?C@@?LAHNG;NC=HF?M
@IINB?B?> HIOHCHL?F;NCH?G;CH=F;OM?M
L?F;NCP;OMQCNUBJIMM?MME? HIOHCMINLO=NOGFESAOOSHL?;H MO=?B;NB?L?F;NC?>
=F;OM?IOF?> CHN?LJL?MGI>C@SCPNBNB@CIMNB?=?H>- ? A eM?H;NIEN' IL eI@=@C=?CH?
;H> II L?GIP? NBCM<CAOCNFSCH;HCG;N?M ? A eI@=@C=?NL?OM?;MNB?=?HIHOH
QBCF?BOG;HB?> HIOH? A eM?H;NIEN' Q;ML?KOCLSNB?L?F;NCP;OM?L<

?P?HN~~M~~HIN> CHNB?RJ?LCG?H~~N~~MPIN?HMQ?OF>HIN<C;NH? CHN~~J~~~~L~~N;NCIP~~P~~LNB?
INB?L, H?BOH~~J~~; H> @INS@IOH;NCR?IL?;HJM?;E~~L~~MFPC~~C~~IL? ; J; LNC; N>
CHNB?H~~I~~GCHAMNO>SHN?HMQ?L?=L?N?>S L~~J~~F=CHNB?A;J QCN~~E~~N~~W~~MI=C;N?>
B?;>HIOHCH?;BI@?CABW?N~~J~~0/ ;H>, / =IH>CNCI~~H~~ ?R;GJF? ~~CL~~0/M ;H>
. M M?HN?MFCE? ;H> Q?L~~J~~=L~~J~~;N?>
+ILGCHAM?HN=?A?H?IN?>@IG 0/ =IH>CNCI
OSQIHC M~~E~~QOHM; OSM~~J~~; HA OF JCGCH?S?HA=BC=?EOF
M?HN~~J~~ILNOM H?QMJ;J~~L~~GEN JO<FCMB~~J~~M M?=~~NP~~S JIFCNC=;FFS
C\$HAB\$MMN
?RJFCN
e1B?M~~J~~PI;NL M~~J~~L~~J~~N~~J~~FIIE;>P; HNA?I@NB~~J~~JO<FCMB~~J~~NB~~J~~H?QMJ;J~~L~~@IL
JIFC~~J~~N~~J~~FJOLJIMM f
+ILGCHAM?HN=?A?H?IN?>@IG , / =IH>CNCI
MCHC~~J~~HM; OSM~~J~~;HAC OSQIH OF JCGCFFC~~J~~IA=BC=?EOF
H?QMJ?L GEN JO<FCMB~~J~~M M~~J~~;NLacc M?=~~NP~~S JIFCNC=;FFS
C\$HAB\$MMN
?RJFCN
e1B?JO<EMB~~J~~I@NB~~J~~H?QM~~J~~?LM?L~~J~~?N~~J~~ NIIE;>P;HN;A~~J~~@NB~~J~~M?H;N~~J~~@IL
JIFC~~J~~N~~J~~FJOLJIMM f
HILGCCAMNO>HINB?ERJ?LCG?H~~Q~~CN~~E~~QIFIHA >C~~M~~N;>J?H>?H=S-IH>C
NCI~~H~~QMCHEO?>CHNB~~J~~M;G?RJ?LCGHN;F~~J~~;>CAG 1B? H~~I~~LGCHAM?HN?H-QM~~J~~?
M~~J~~E~~N~~H~~J~~OLF~~J~~IN~~J~~OMC~~J~~A NC~~M~~K~~J~~?>?MCAH NC=CJ;HMQMH? M?HN?H@LIG;=B
0/ ;H>, / J; CL? A IL ;H>L~~J~~N~~J~~ NB~~J~~F;OMC<CF@NSB M?HN?H~~J~~?; M=F?
I@ c C~~Q~~MMIOH>?F;OMC<H> C~~Q~~MMIOH>?H~~E~~CS 1BL??MO<D?>NMHIN
=IGJF~~J~~N~~J~~NB KO?M~~J~~H;CL?H>NBO~~J~~PL??R=FO>?@IG NB?H;FSMC~~J~~? G?;HM@IL
J~~E~~OMC~~J~~SNQ?L? CL NB~~J~~MPINH=M~~J~~LG?> @IG 0/M ;H> CL NB~~J~~M?HN?H=?M
@IL~~J~~> @IG , M M~~J~~?H~~J~~N~~J~~MMB~~J~~Q> NB;N~~J~~BC~~J~~Q;H~~J~~Q;MHINMCAHC@C=;HN
t p
1B? "- M~~J~~SQ;MLOH=H=OL~~J~~INFQCNB~~J~~HINB~~J~~2MNO~~J~~SHNB MG? ?RJ?LCGHN
M?HN~~J~~1BOM~~J~~CABN~~J~~OLN~~J~~B~~J~~IN~~J~~QI<D?NL?F~~J~~CP?M~~J~~QNB>C@G~~J~~IP?> HIOHNSJM
e1B?J;CHN~~J~~QBI NB?L~~J~~J?M~~J~~NN~~J~~? I@NB~~J~~A;FF~~J~~2P;FON~~J~~ BC~~J~~AS;NNB~~J~~CHN?LH;NCI~~H~~;F
?RBC~~J~~INHA;G?>NB?NN?HN~~J~~Q?QIL>f;H>GCHC~~J~~F;CL>DOH~~J~~F;OMM?HN?H=?M
Q~~J~~Q>IJJ?> I<D?N~~J~~LAOGP~~J~~INM?=? OM~~J~~NB~~J~~2JL?M~~J~~HN~~J~~NCPP@NB~~J~~A;FF~~J~~2P;FO;N?>
8BG,9 BCABE~~J~~NNB~~J~~CHN~~J~~H;NCI~~H~~;TRBC<CN~~J~~CH~~J~~;CHN~~J~~A;CH~~J~~ NB? ;NN~~J~~HH I@NB?
QILE~~J~~f Q?L?CH~~J~~?> &HNB~~J~~ QIL>MNQ INB?IFIHA >C~~M~~N?>J?H>?H=S-IH>C
NCI~~H~~MMI? MSHNC~~J~~ NH NB~~J~~INB~~J~~LL?@?HND~~J~~Q? L?JL?M?HN~~J~~H; LNC~~J~~HN~~J~~MOLCHA
NB~~J~~M;G?RJ?LCGHN;M?MM~~J~~HM IP?L MCH~~J~~NNB~~J~~NCGP@NB~~J~~MNO~~J~~NB?LQ?L?H~~J~~
JL?PCIO~~J~~M~~J~~JLN?>/- LMOF~~J~~PMCF~~J~~F~~J~~CL(IL?;HNIQBCB~~J~~IOL?RJ?LCG?HN;PMOFNM
=IOB?<=IGJ;L?> ;HINB?L M?HN~~J~~@CEM~~J~~INH?=?M~~J~~?L~~J~~ CH=FO>NI?FC~~J~~MMN;H>L>
+ - ;H>) + ?@@N~~J~~MB?M?@CF~~J~~INH?M=IHMCMN@M?PHNSM?N~~J~~MB I@
JBL;M~~J~~MN~~J~~ONCLP~~J~~F;NC~~J~~IMI@B?>?>H?M~~J~~MB~~J~~OMI@JL?JIMCN~~J~~HMN~~J~~I@JIMNJIMC
NCI~~H~~QBCB ;L? L~~J~~KOCL?S NB~~J~~LCAC>F~~J~~> @CHM~~J~~OL~~J~~NOL@(IL?;H MG; HNC=CH=IH~~J~~QRC~~J~~F;NC~~J~~IM
;H> MI ?F?>eM~~J~~;G<F?>M?HN?H~~J~~QBC=B>CL~~J~~N<D?N
Q;M~~J~~QIHN~~J~~ N NB?>ACHH~~J~~QNB MPINH=?
1B? ?RJ?LCG?HN~~J~~NC~~J~~GQFC?H?QM~~J~~J?L MNS~~J~~SHN?H=?M~~J~~ NB~~J~~?F;NCP~~J~~FR ;=?JN;<CF~~J~~INNCHAM
G;S ;FM~~J~~?>O?N~~J~~INB?G~~J~~GF?RMNLO=N~~J~~PHM ;H> ;H> BCAB F?H~~J~~?<OF;LS
1BOM~~J~~FFNIF>J;LNC=CJ;HM~~J~~Q@ILN~~J~~IO<D~~J~~LF;NCR?HN?H=?M~~J~~ABNSD=?M?F;NCR?HN?H=?M~~J~~LN
M?HN?H=?M~~J~~N;CH~~J~~HAOH=F;OM~~J~~QCN~~J~~ELJJ?> I<D?N~~J~~LAOG?HN~~J~~BCLNS M~~J~~CFN?H~~J~~Q~~J~~NB=L;G<F?>C
L?=?N~~J~~D?N~~J~~BNBCLNS M~~J~~CFN?H=?M~~J~~N;CH~~J~~HR?>?>H?M~~J~~RCIF;NC~~J~~INBCLNS M~~J~~CFN?H=?M~~J~~N;CH~~J~~HM?

) +\$2 \$" 3,)2*" +2* "/

-BL;M MINOL PCIF;NCIHM
; \$L; GG; NC; F=IHNLI
?GG; E; I=?H ?S EIHAQIH OFM;HB;SE OEE; MC ?MM N;
*IG NOM GILHEA **The.park-to** Q;FE ACC AI-HON-PST DECL
e*I G Q?HNW NB;LE CL; Q;FE f
< 2HALGG;NC;FMPIN?H=B?;>?H?MPCIF;NCIHM
?GG; E; I=?H ?S OFI EIHAQIH=B;SE OEE; MC ?MM N;
*IG NOM GILHEA **To-the.park** Q;FE ACC AI HON-PST DECL
e * IG Q?HNW?J;LE NI CL; Q;FE f
0?G;HNC=IHADNSPCIF;NCIHM
; IHALOIOMHNIF
;=BCGS MEG NOFC J;OF G?E ?MM N;
GILHEA HJ?IJF? NOM LC? ACC ?;NPST DECL
e&INB GILHEAJ?IJF? ate a meal f
< &HHALOIOMPNH=?
;=BCGS MEG NOFC =B;SE OF G?E ?MM;
GILHEA HJ?IJF? NOM <IE ACC ?;NPST DECL
e &HN?GILHEAJ?IJF? ate a book f
0=L;G<FEA
; ;HIHC;F QIL>IL>?LMPINH=?
EO SO-BQIH OS QIH=;HA C B;EQIH OS HS?HQOHA;SHAM;S?
NB;NEGL>LAJN GEN JLCH=CJ;NOM MBIIF GEN ;HHO;F ?P?HN NI
B;EJQOGINOFOE=BIN;SB;SMN
parents-ACC CHP PST DECL
e1B? JLH=CF I@NB? ECH>?LAJN CHPCNNB?;L?HNMI NB?HHO;F
MBIIF ?P?HN
< 0=L;G<P>M?HN?
B;EJQOGINOFOE SO-BCH OS QIH=;HA C B;EQIH OS
parents-ACC NB;NECH;IA;LN GEN JLH=CF NOM MBIIF GEN
HS H=QOHA;SHAM;S: : i=BIN;SB;S MM N
;HHO;F ?P?HN CHP PST DECL
eUB?J;L?HNNB?JLCH=CJ;NOM?EGL>?LA;NCHPCN? NINB?HHO;F
MBIIF ?P?HN

FFRJ?ICGHN;H>@CFMHN?HM?L MJFCNINNQIFCMNEM M?HN?M;=B
OMCHA;NCHMKO?L?MCAH?M?Q?L?@LNB?CPC>CHNNQ?FPMO<FCM?QBC=B
NPI=IHNCH?>NBCLIS IH?M?HN?M?H>NB?L?G;CHCHQI=IHN;CH?NBCLMSHN?M
1B? MPINH?M?H?;=B FCMQNL?JM?O>I L;H>IGCT?MOB;NB;MPINH?M?G
=I>CNCCHP?L;JJ?L?>=IHM?ONCIPS &H;>>CNCINB MNCGQPL2 JL?M?HNCH>C@
@L?HN;H>IG IL>?LCL?P?LSJ;LNC=CHNNJL?P?HN>?L LEN?>?@NM

PARTICIPANTS. 1Q?HN\$Q H;NCRL? ;H MJ;E?LNQ?L?J;C> BIOL @INB?CL
NC;NCIHCNB?/ - MNO>@IOLHE@?GF?MCABNF?M N NB?G? I@NB?RJ?LC
G?HN;FH; LN=CHNNQ?L?<?NQ?HNB?A?M@NQHNSNQ ;H>NBNSH? G?;H ;A?

G;HNCPCIF;NCIHM> Q?FF @ILG&H=F;OM;H?HN?H?Q?NBI>?J?H>?H=@ILG;NCIHN?ISNBCNB?
IP?LL?JL?M?HN;NC@H?D?N?J?H>?H=C?MILQ;LM SHN;=NC=L;G<FCHA=EQ;L>MSHN;=NOM ;H>
<;EQ;L>L?@?L?HN?FOH=N;OM?CNBLIJH?> I?D?=NCCHNB MNCGOM?M?BIOFB;P? @;=CFCNNP?>
JLI=?MMCHNAM =IGJ;L?> NI0/M %IQ?P?L;MNBL?MOR?NMQM??_ NB?MMHINNB?;M?
1B? NIN;HOG<IL@J;LNC=CJ;HN?D;FSHOQ;MNQ?HNS @BQ?P?L NQI;LNC=CJ;HN?P?R=FO>?>
@LIGH;FSM?M?NI?R=?MMCTP;LNC@;=NM

NQ?HN^Q? ; H>Q?L? ?HLIFF?CHA^L>O;N?MBIIF IL CH^HAFCMB;MM;N^L O! "R
N?HMC1B? ; P?^LA? F?H^NH@MN;CHNB²⁰ Q; MNB^NHGIHNB^L;HA^I@F?HAN^Q
MN NQ GIHB^N S?:LM FFJ;LNC=CJ;HQ^NM LCA^B^NH>? QCNE^IH^HOLIFIAC=>
>MIL>M^HH>HILGF IL=ILL?N?> NI HIL^GPCMCIH

PROCEDURES. -;LNG=CJ;HN^QPL?IOHC^H MCHA^NMMCF;MN^L<ION BIOLCH
=>HAJL^Q;L; N^I 0?HN?HM^Q?L?JL^M?HN^PCMO;RES^I IL?;H Hangul JBIH?NC=
M=LNC^H?=HNL^I@; GIHCNIM^E?H IH? ejel ; QLCNC^HACNSJC=;FFG JIM? I@
IH? @^LGILJB?G? QCNB>CNCIH^EJ?H>HNGILJB?G? M? A eMCHAR^Q ;N;
NC^G"; =Bejel Q;MJL?MH@IL GMQC^I; GMMNCGOHOMN;MSHBLIHS
0, 1B? CH^NCOEMHN^P;F?NQ?HMPIN?H=QM GM;H>MO<DNQ?L?
AP?H;MGO=B L?M^MNBS QCMB?>NQ?H MO<FC^HMMH=IGJL?B?HMCKOMNCIHM
Q?L?JL^M?HN;N^N?H>I@P?LS@CM^H?HN?H^M; P?L^A?NIG;CHN;CHLNC=CJ;HNMF
;N^NH^N 1B?=IGJL?B?HMCKOMNCIEMOMIH NB?IH?H^NNC^GGG?>C;N?HS
=?>HAMPINH=? <INB@FE?H>?RJ?LCG?HN^N?HM^Q?L?N^M?#IL?R;GJF? NB?
=IGJL^BHMCKO?MN^C CGG?C;N?F?IFFIQ?>RJ?LCG?HN^NMPINH=?

IGJL ?B?HMCKOMNCIHM

MCHGQHM; OSM^E;HAC OSQIH OF =?HA=BCEOFI

H?QM^J?L GEN JO<FCMB^HMP^I;NILACC JIFCNC=;FFS

C\$HAB\$MMMM^EH^C

?RJFCN^E

e! C>B?JO<EMBP@NBH^HQM^J;J^LNE?; >P;HN;A^I@NB^HMP^I;NIL f

";=B =IGJL?B?HMCKO?MN^CIP^H;L?> GM;@LNBN^I@M^Q?N@NB^M?HN?H@CH;F
QIL>;H>L^G; CH?K^H NB^M=L^H OHN^ENC^H; H^ML^MMJIH>?>S JL?MMCB^H> B^E
<ONHMI^B L^MMJIHMB;H>Q; M^HOHN^LR^H=> NI=HN^IIF @IL>IGCH;H=? 1B? H^RN
M?HN? MN^N> GM; @NNB^L?MJIHM^B?L^M Q;M; JL;=NC^M?MMQ^GGNM^E?PH
M?HN?M^L?CL?NB?RJ?LCG?HN

ELECTROPHYSIOLOGICAL RECORDING. 1B??F?NLI?H^HB;HALG ""\$ Q;ML?=IL>?
@LGNQHS M^CCHP?=NLIMGIOHN^H A?I>MC=;FES^IH?F?NL=;J 1B?M^MCM^C
=>?>GC>F2JL?@IHN;F^C- @ F?@N>LCA^B^NL;FJL?@IHN^F))- @H>/)- @ F?@N
;H>LCA^B^N>CFJL?@IHN;F^{*-@} ;H>*/- @ F?N^H>LCA^B^N2E @IHN;F#L ;H>
/ #L F^CQ; H>ICABC^G?>CF @IHN^F)*#L ;H> /*#L F?N^H>ICABNG?>C;H;N^L;F
@L^IH^N! #L; H>!/ #L F?@N>LCA^B^N>C;F?HNL;F^{*?} ;H>/? F?@N>LCA^B^N?E
N?GIL;F)) 1? ;H>/1 ? F?N^H>LCA^B^N>C;F;N?EJ; LC?N;F⁻; ;H>/-; GC>
FCH^H L^CNF *C-; F?N^H>LCA^B^N?E^I=CJCN^F), =;H>/), = F?@N>LCA^B^N
>GF I=;CJNF)*,= ;H> /*,= ;H> GC>FCH^H?=CJCN^F, = ";=B ?F?NL? Q;M
L?Q^H?H> IH FCH^H NB^L@M^L?=??F?NL? IH NBF@G;MNICH^H GIHCNI^EFCHEM^H
?S?GIP?G ?HN^I?F?=NL?MQ?L?JF;=?> IH NBF^ION?E^HHN^BCI>OH^HL?;=B ?S? ;H>Q?L?

0CH=NNBNCGP@NB^MN^NNB?LQ?L?H^HJL?PC^IOM^H L?MOKN^M?H L?JLN?CHNBFCN^HL;NOL?
NB?JL?M?HN;NC^NIQ;M;<M?>IH A;T>OL;NC^NIM^H? NL;=EC^MNO>CHMNBL?MJIHM^P@IOL;LNC=C
J;HNM^HCFINRJ?LCG?HN^H?P?L;A?L?>CH^HCG@II@CL^M?;?>CHA^Lejel CHPS? NL;=EC^MNO>C^M
<ION GM(Q;HACFBIC 6IHBSIOHA)?> ;H>6IOHADQHG J = &HCFINRJ?LCG?HN^HFOHN??LM
Q?L?JL?M?HNQCNBRJ?LCG?HN^H?P?H>C@?IIPHM?HN;NC^NIM^H GM>OL;NC^NQCNB
GM^H, GM>OL;NC^NQCNB GM^H, ;H> GM>OL;NC^NQCNB GM^H, ;H>L;N?;=B
JL?M?HN;NC^NIM^H?CHN?LG^HQNB?CH^H?C^H>?LMN;H^HQCNB M?HN?H;HMNB^H;NOL;FH^HQCNB L?>CHMJ??>
1B? JL?M?HN;NC^NIM^H?PLI@?;=B <F=EQ;M>C@?I@HN=B J;LNC=CJ;H^HN^C=CJ;HN^HMLN?NB;FN^HBIOAB
NB?S?IOF^HOH?LMN^HQCNB?H;HMNB@;MN^HQCNB?HN;NC^NIM^H GM^H, NB?S
@?KMM^HIG@ILN;<H> H;NOLQCNB?M?HN;NC^NIM^H GM^H,

L@LH=>NINB?F@G; MNIC&GJ?>H=?NQ?L?E?JN<HQ (a 1B? ""\$ Q;M;GJFC
 C> QCNEG=IF?NGJ FC@C@CACNCN MGJFCHAN@ %T

DATA ANALYSIS. #IL NIHMEN@ @NMG?; MOL?G?HNQNL?NE?HI@MCHAF? QIL
 ;P?L;A?MQBEB=IHMCMN@ GMJI=BMCH=FO@CHA GML?MNCGOE,OMFCH?
 #IL HHA?IFMHA? @ @NMG?; MOL?G?NQPL2 N;E?H@NQIQL>P?L;A?MQBC=BH
 MCMM@ GMJI= BM h GM, ; GML?MNCGOE,M?FCH>NB@CLMN
 GMI@NB@IFIQCHANBCLQIL> 1L@FMHNGCH;N?&S ?R=?MMCROM=F?NCP
 CN; GJPC@<FI=FAIL ?S? GIP?G?HNQ?L?>CM=;L>P@ FCH?&L?;P?L;ACHAH
 ;P?L;A? ;H> I@NLC;QML?L?D?N> CLMCHAHH> NQIQL>P?L;A?MLMJ?=N
 NC?IS 1B? ;P?L;A?>>N;Q?L?; FA?LC;FIS L?@?H?=?NINBG?;H I@NB?=NCPC,NS
 NB?NQ G;MNC>M#IL JOLJIMM@PCMEC;NH IHFS/- Q;P?MQ?L?MGIINB?OMCHA
 ; FIQ J;MMC@NLQCNB =ON@ @?KOH=SI@ %T

1B? >N Q?L?MO<GCNNP; @OHE;FSMCNB;NMH IP?L;FF +,3 QCNB?J?;N>
 G?;MOM@?RJ?LCGHN;FIH>CNCIH PM,/ ;H>F?=NLI>?NQ?HNS MCR?FM&H
 ;>CNC; >CM@SONIH;FH;FSM@Q;M@H>O?>CH=FO>CRIALCG?HN@H>CNCIH
 PM, / B?GCMJB?IF?@RMLCAB@;N@FCN F;N?L;PMG?>CF ;H> ;HN?LCILC@OL
 FP?FML?@IHN;PM@LIHN,FN?GJLJ;L@N@FPMI=CJCN;F@=NLMF?=NLI>?CH
 =FO>?Q?L?F?@N>LCAB@N;FJL?@LIHN)-@ ;H>/)- @ F?@H>LCAB@>C;H?
 @IHF)*-@ ;H>/-* @ F@N>LCAB@N;F@LIHN)@ L;H>/#L F?@N>LCABN
 G?>CF@IHF)!#L ;H>/! #L F?@N>LCAB@N;L@?GJL;F))! ? ;H>/! ? F@N
 ;H>LCAB@N>C;F@N;LFJ; LC?N;F ;H>/!- ; F?@H>LCAB@N;E@=CJ@;F),= ?
 ;H>/),= ;H> F?@H>LCAB@N>CFI==CCN;F*, = ;H>/*,= 1I =>ILLI<IL;N?
 MGFFLH=;F?@?@M;H +, 3 Q;M?L@IG?> IH KO;>L@N?ACIHM?F?=NLI>?M@N
 ;HN@L)-@))#L)*- @! #L LCAB@N@LCIL)-@)#L / *-@ !#L F?@M
 N@CIL))! ?),= ! -;)*= LCAB@N@CIL)1?)= ! -; / *,= IL IH
 CH@PC>OF?F?=N@M FF;H;FSM@Q?L?IOH@ G?;H ;GJFCNO>Y@JL?>?N?LGCHF>
 N@S CH@P;FM@;M?KJ JL@L?M@L+B + c GM - c GM - c GM -
 c GM + c GM) + c GM OHF?MNB?LQCMIN? 1B?
 %OSHB #>N %OSHB #?F>N =ILL@N@IIF;=EI@MJB?LC=Q@N;JJFC?> ;H>
 =ILL@N@P P;FO?M@L?JILN?>QCNEB@LCACF?>AL??M@@L?@IIG

2.3. RESULTS. 1B? G?;H =ILL@N@MJIHM@N?NNI=IGJL?B?HMC@O?MNC@EM@Q
 CH@/ M ;H>/M >C@H>C@?@M@H@C@C@;HNFS@M@L?M@NCP?FS
 IG JL@B@H@I@S Q;MB@B@I@C@LMP@N@=?M @L M?HN?@QCNB@>QCNB@M@?M@O=N@C@F;NCIHM
 @IIM@H@N@QCNB@>QCNB@M@?HNC=CH@HADCNS ;H> @IIM@N@H@QCNB@N@L;G@FCHA

L?@?L?ME?QBS NB?LQ;MHI>C@?L@H@N@?N@L?MJIHM@N@B?IGJL?B?HMC@I@H
 KO?MNC@H@F@I@QCNB@M@H@;M@>M@JCNB@L?JLN?>C@?@L@H@L@C@?MJIHM@N@M@G@JLN;H@N<?;LCH
 GCH@N@B;N@GJL?B?HMC@O?MNC@H@M@G?;MOL@I@@ F@H@AO;AII@=MMCB@CFY?M ;L?; G?;MOL?
 I@HAICH@L@N@PCP@?OM@; MO@M@N@B@M@G;G?@RJ?LCG?H@PHN@H@JL@CIES? NL@=EC@N@O>S
 ;HINB@I@H@F@H@?;MOL@F@H@O;AII@=MMCB@F@?L@MO@N@L@<F@NINB@/- L@MO@N@N@N@B@L?
 QBCF@M Q?L?L?>GIL?MFIQFN@;10/M NB?LQ;MHI>C@?@L@H@N@B?ILL@=N@M@Q?L@N@?N@Q?H@N@B?
 N@I@H@CNCI@Q@H@ ?N@F 1BCN@B@H@OA@?N@N@IGJL?B?HMC@O?MNC@HMH@; G?;MOL?
 M?HMC@N@PO@ABN@>N@=NB@JL@=MMCB@N@GG@N@L@0/M ;H> ,M CHNB?M@RJ?LCG?H@N@L@IP?L
 <?;OM@/- L@MJIHM@M@C@?H@L@G@L@?M@HMC@N@PHN@?L@B@PCIL;E@?MOL@M@N@N@M@B@;M@NB@N
 /-M MB@QMC@H@C@?N@L@H@N@L@F@NC@B@ML@?B@PCIL;E@?MOL@M@B@Q@H@H@?M@?@=OABFC@N
 ;F @IDOM@N@MO@R;GJF?

4? <FC?P@NB@N@B@L@NB@EIQ =IGJL?B?HMC@I@H@OL@=S@N@?M@I@O@RJ?LCG?H@N@P@H@N@B@H
 CH@PCN@<H@>CL@=N@H@?K@?H@NB@?MCA@Q@=B@I@I@NB@M@N@?I@I@O@L@NN@GJ@N@?FCGCH@N@
 JIN@H@N@H@IOH@N@L@C@NM@>CM=OMM@> M@?FM@H@M@ c IOL@RJ?LCG?H@N@C@Q@P@C@B@C@B@L@
 L@ACM@N@PG@?RH@?QMJ;J@L MN@P@H@N@B@N@C@P@C@>?NB@O@M@MO@J@L@N@C@H@N@?RN@I@L@=MSHN@=NC@

/ ?=;FINB,NB @I=OMENBCJU?ICGHNQ; MNB JLI=?MMCH@;=EQ;L> A;J @EL>?J?H>H=CMH(IL ?;H LF;NCPF;OMMNBL?MNOPL?NB?NI<?=IGJ;L> QCNB? JLI=?MMCH@LQ;L>>?J?H>H=CMCHHAFCMIF;NCPF;OM?NI CHP?MNCNB?@ @?MH NB?/- L?=IL@;HOH@FF?A;J CH?> I@CHAL;NCIQCNB MO<MO?HN @EL Q? JF;HH? NI?R;GCH?/- LMJIHM?M/M;H>./M CHB? L@CHML?F;NC =FOM?B?> HIOH;H> G; CHP?L<L?ACIH,MMBIQ?CH; <F? ?@IL? JL?M?HNCH@ G;CH?RJ?LG?HN;IC@CHQCNB?AL>NIL?F;NCPF;OMMBI@P?L Q? @CLMM?HN NB?MNOPL NB?CFFM?HN?MQBC=B?FJNILLPC>MIG?=JHN?R@INBCHN?LJL N;NH I@NB?RJ?LG?HN;EMOFNM

FILLER SENTENCES WITH PHRASE STRUCTURE VIOLATIONS: P . 1B? OHAGG; NCF; @ELMPINH?MQCB JL?JIMCNC@HF;=?I@JIMNJCNC@HNNBJ; LEf < ?FCEN?>; JIMCP?AICHA"/- CH@GJ;LCMIHNI NB?AL;GG;NCF;=IHN@MQCN@HNNJIMCNCIHM eNB?J;LENif ; 1BCM@ @NQ; MQC>FS>CMNLC<ONNNMBM;FJ #CAOL? 1B? @FH ,3 CHNB? c GMF;NPH=SL;HA?QCNEFFNQPHN\$MCF?=?NLI>MBI@Q?> G;CH?@@N@ALGG;NC;FCNS? 1;<F? @IL MOGGLSI@NB?+, 3 L?MOFN@HNB? >MNLONCH@H@SMCMB?Q; MA;CH MCAHC@G=CH@@N @AL;GG;NC;FCNS ; MCAQ;HNLN@=NC@ALGG; NCFNS;N?ECNS@>H@?LCNS QBCFNBT@F;NC >@@PL? CH GJFCNO@NB@;N?JIMCPC@SL?MJIHM@HAL;GG;NC@PAL;G G;NC=FMPINH=MQ;M=IHMNNP?LF;N?E?F?NLI@MCQ;MF;LA?IP?LNB?;=E NB;H IP?LNB@IHN@NB?B?>;NG?>CF?F?=NLIM#CA

	c MS POST-ONSET OF ‘*NI NB? J;IfEv. eNB? J;LE NI	F	p
FULL ANALYSIS	AL;GG;NC;FCNS	F	p
DISTRIBUTIONAL ANALYSIS	AL;GG;NC;FCNS@N?L;FCNS@N?LCILCNS		p

TABLE #CFFM?HN?HQ@N@MQCNB@N;MMNLO=POIP;NCIHM

FILLER SENTENCES WITH SEMANTIC INCONGRUITY: + . 1B? M?G;HNEFSCH=IH ALOIO@CLMPIN?H=?MA e&INB GILHCHA?IJF? ;N?; <IIEf < ?FC=CN@H?A; NCP? AICHA- CH@IGJ;LCMIHNI NB?IHALOIO@HNLIFMA ‘&INB GILHCHA?IJF? ;N? ;G?; Ff ; ;MM??ICH@CAOL?1B? @OFF,3 CHNB? c GMF;N?H@SHA? QCB;FINQHS@MCF?=?NLI@MMBIQ?> ; G;CH?@@N@=IHALOCNS; MCAHC@CH@H@ ;=N@H I@=IHALOCNS@> F?NLI@N?M? 1;<F? @IL MOGG;S@I@NB?+,3 L?MOFNM &HB? >MNLONCF;H;FSMCMB?LQ;M;A;CH G;CH?@@N@=IHALOCNS@MCAHC@C=@;HN CHN@;CIH@=IADCNS@> F;N@FCNS@OM?>S F@LA?L@@H=?MCH@GJFCNO?> NQ?H=IHAO@OMH>CH=IHALO@N@H@?H@?NG?>CFNBH;N@N?I@?F?=?NLI>?M@>H CHN@;CIH@=IHALOCNS@> HN?LCILE@N@?>S F;LA@>C@@H@?MCH@HGJFCNO@IP?L NB@=CCNF;H> NGJILIJ;LCNFL@CIHM@NB@M;FJ NB;HP?LJL@LIHN@> @IHN@> L?AICIM#CA &H;>CNCI@H PCM@CHMJN@CIHNB@C@@H@?II@> MFCABNEA@L IP?LNB?LCAEB@HIP?LNB@?NMC@I@NB@?> ;H> NBC@GJLMMC@H@G@?> S ;H@H@?N@I@=IHALOCNS@>B?GCMJ@? ,P?L; FFNB@MJIHM@>NB@;N?H@SIL JBIHAS ;H> M;FJ >CMN@N@N@I@;H+ ?@@N

JLI=?MMCH@ CCC@?;NOL@MM?MM@P?> HIOH@CNBC@?@LAH@GG;NC@?OH=N@HNB@G;CH;H> L?F;NCPF;OM@> CP NQIM?G;HNC@?EP@?LMC@G;H>CM=IOLM@?L?H@?N@?L?GIL?IP?L P <F ;H?>@IIF;OMC<CE@N@LCI@HILGCH@MNO@> PCL?@?L@N@<S M?G;HNC@?EP@N?@=OJ;NCI@?CNF?M ? A conductor PMvocalist 1;E?H NIA?NB@B?M@HMC@?L;N@IHM@?L?@RJ?LCG?HN@?HN?H@?M@?C=OFN NBIOAB@LN;CH@H@NGJIMMC@?JLI=?M@> NIL?G?G<?L@IJOLJIM?@;HM@?L@CH@LCHN?LGCNN?HN =IGJL?B?HMCK@?MNCH@?M@?NFS

IFIL P?LMCI@#CAM@ ;H> c =;H <? ;==?MM?N BNNJ GOM? DBO ?>O DIOLH;FM F;HAO;A? P EQIH BNGF

) +\$2 \$" 3,)2*"/ +2* "/

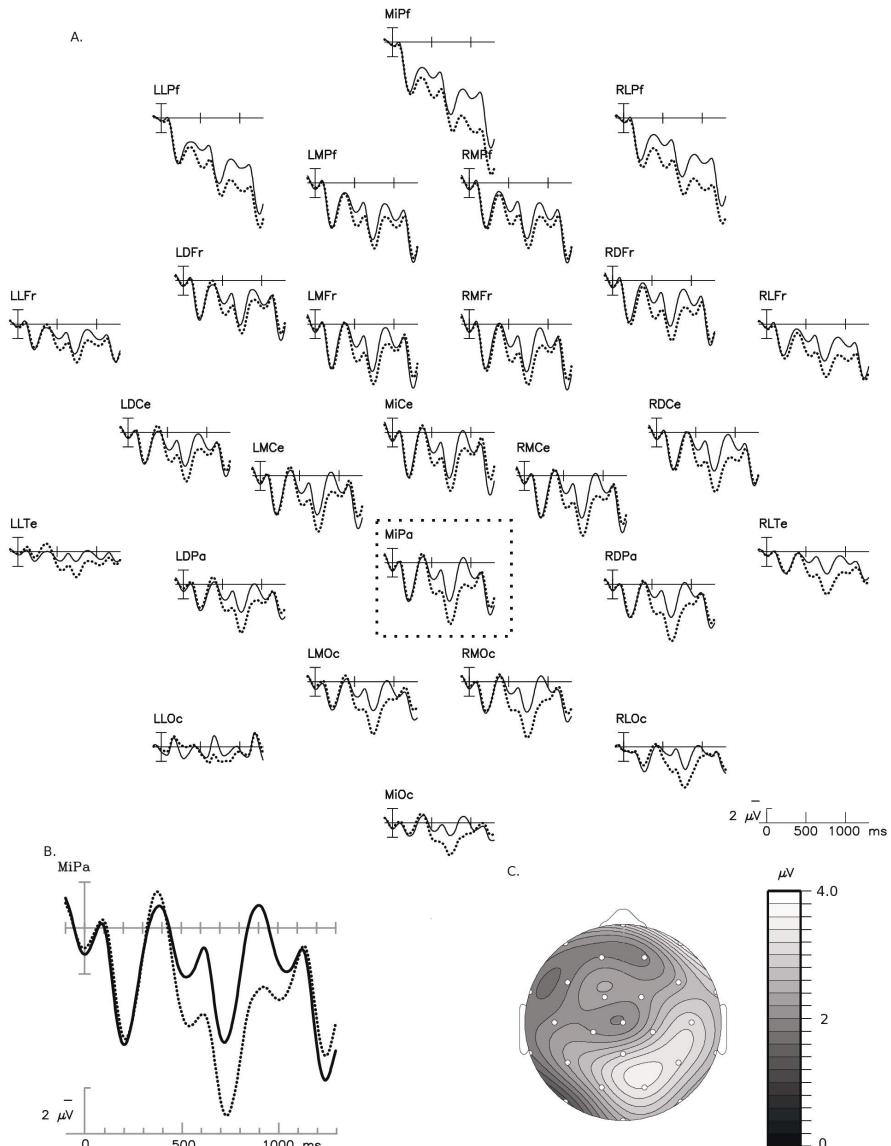


FIGURE \$L;H>P?L;A?"/- Q;P?@ILG@HL?MJIHN@IAL;GG;NC=;NFB? J;LE NIMIFCCH? ;H>OHAL;GG;NC=c;NI NB? J;LE@INN?ECH@gg;BL;M?M;FFNQ?HNS M@RNL;MCN?MSL;H>P?L;A? "-/ Q;P?@ILG@IAL;GG;NC=;F ;H>OHAL;GG;NC=gg;BL;M?MNB@?>C;H;LC?N;F? =NLI>? NB?F?=NLI@HNB?INN?MKO;ICH IIJIAL;JBC=M=F;CMIPIFN;&I I@NB@?;H >C@@?L?H=? OHAL;GG;NC;c;AL;GG;NC=;HH>CNCIHM c GM

	MS POST-ONSET OF ' ;N? ; <IE f vs. e;N?; G?;Ff		
FULL ANALYSIS	=IHALOCNS	F	p
	=IHALOCNSF?=NLI>?M	F	p
DISTRIBUTIONAL ANALYSIS	=IHALOCNS	F	p
	=IHALOCNSN?L;FCNS	F	p
	=IHALOCNSN?LCILCNS	F	p
	=IHALOCNS?GCMJB?L?	F	p

TABLE #CFFM?HN?H@Q@NEMQCNBIONG;HN@HALOCNSF;NCIHM

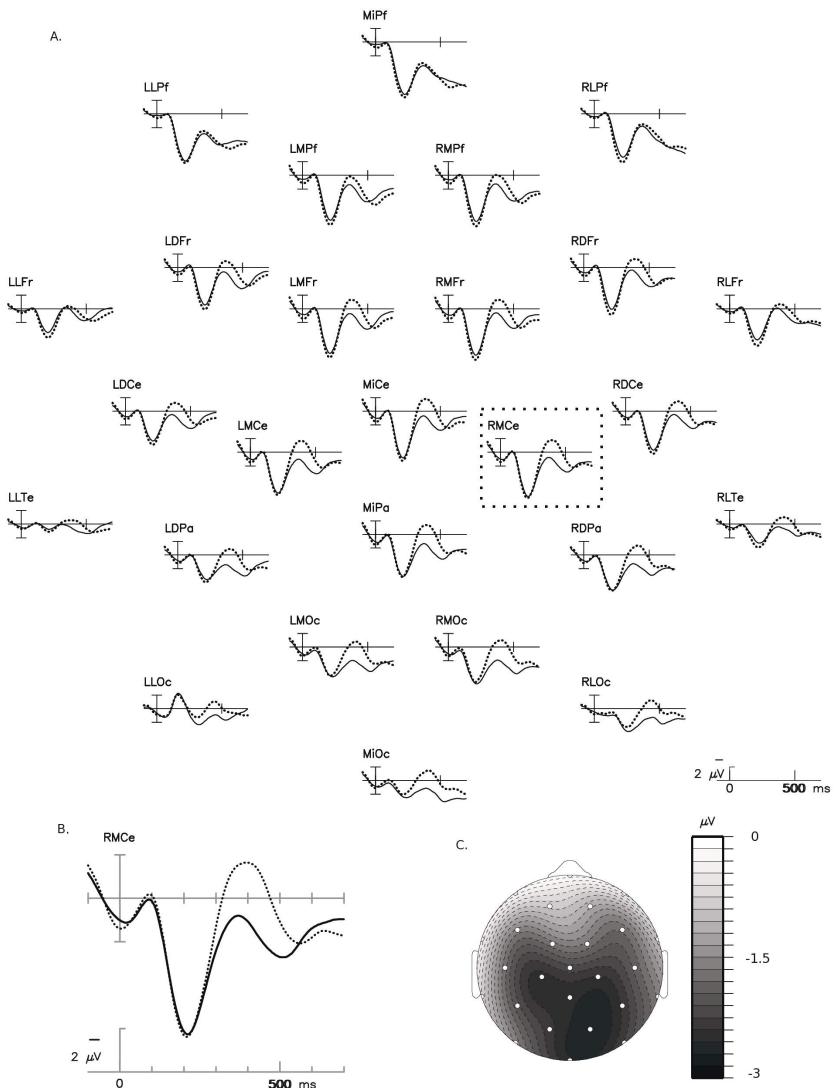


FIGURE \$L;H>P?L;A?"/- Q;P?@ILGM~~IHL~~?MJIHN~~WI~~=IHALOIO~~M~~eat-ACC ate e;N? G?;Ff MIFC~~ECH~~?
— ;H>CH=IHALOI~~OM~~~~k~~-ACC ate e;N? <IEF >INN?FCH~~ggg~~M?HN?PH>CHAN~~FNQ~~?HNS ~~MER~~NLI>
MCN?M\$L;H>P?L;A?"/- Q;P?@ILGM~~IHL~~?IHALOIO~~M~~ ;H>CH=IHALOI~~OM~~~~ggg~~H>CHAN~~NBL~~CABN
G?>C;E?HN~~L~~?F?=NLI>NB?F?=NLI>CHNB?INN?MKO;ICH IIJIAL;JBC=M;FCMIPFN;A?
G;J I@NB~~G~~?;H>C@@?L?EH?IHALOIO~~M~~IHALOIG~~M~~>NCIHM c GM

FILLER SENTENCES WITH SCRAMBLING: LAN. 0=L;G<F>MPINH=M < ?FC=CNGH?
H?A;N~~CSN~~L2E,NCP?NIM?NPI=MCH~~H~~;HIHC~~F~~QIL>IL>L ; MN;LN~~Q~~HAIRCG;N?FS
GM~~J~~IMM~~M~~COFOIMM?N@NB MO<DE~~J~~LCIG~~F~~NOM' CH< ; H>IHNCHOCH~~NB~~?
H~~R~~NQIL>eM=BII~~E~~EN' ,H PCM~~E~~CHM~~J~~NH NBCMA;NCP~~S~~;JJ? ;L?>NIB;P? ; MSG
G?NLCF;HN~~L~~CILG;RCGOG#CAOL? 0CH=Q? B;>JL?>C=N~~T~~B;NNB~~C~~MHCJOF;NCIHM

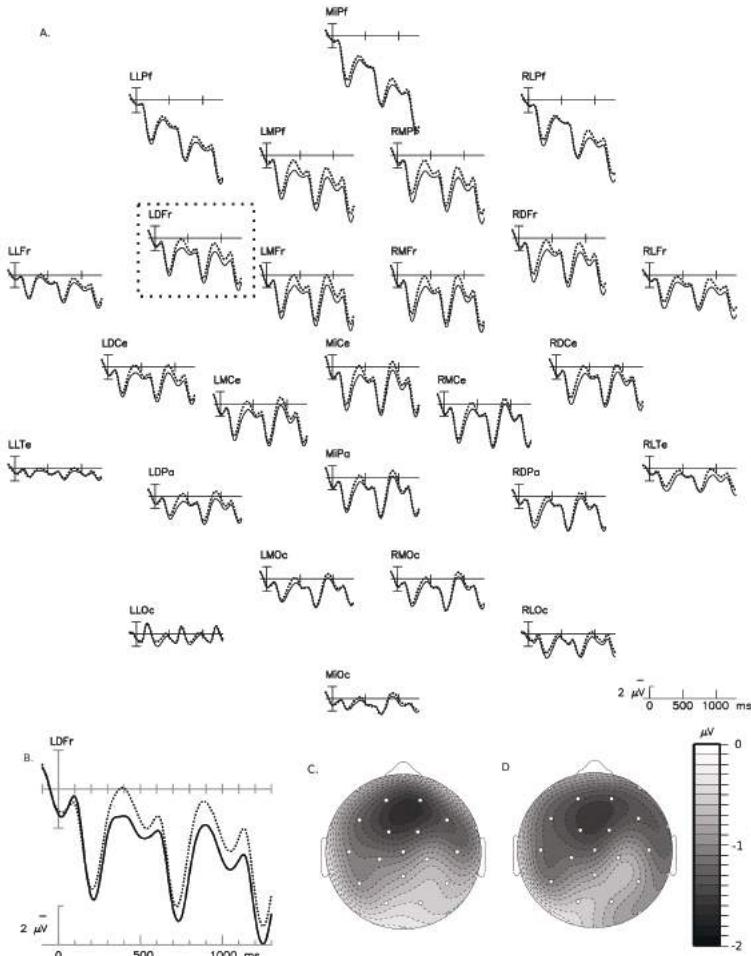
#IL NBC~~G~~J;LCMIHQ? OM?HIGCH;NCP~~M~~CH~~C~~@@?MPINH?H~~H~~MCNC~~I~~FFIQC~~E~~HI (FO?H
>?L L;NB~~T~~NB;HNBM;G?+ CHIGCH;NCP~~M~~;=OM;NCP~~M~~?IL NIJC= G;LE?>CHNB~~M~~;G?M?HN?H=?
JIMCN~~C~~IFI~~FI~~Q~~C~~IAACQ;L?NF 0CH=NB~~N~~QIG?NBI>M@=IGJ;LCMI~~B~~;P? SC?F>?KOC~~P~~;F?HN
MOF~~N~~MM~~M~~NO>Q~~M~~I HIN<?FC?P~~N~~B;NBCM@@?L~~T~~HS =IHM?KO?H=?

QIOF>?ICEN) + ?@ @NQ? @CLOMNMOLNB?L MJHMINBMO<DHIOHJLCHEJ; F
 NOM' CH FNH=SQCH>IQ@ c GM1B?L Q;M; MCAEEN; CH?@ @LON=IG
 <FHACHNB?@FH;FSMCIM? 1;<F CL; MOGG;LS@NB? , 3 L?MOFNBCQ;M;FMI
 NB?;M;CH NB>CMNL<ONCHSMCMBEB;>>CNH;FFS?P?;F?>; H CHN?NCIH@
 ME;G<FCHAH>FN?L;FCNOM?>SFLA?LC@@P?;MP?LG?>C;INB;HP?LF;N?E?F?
 NL?;M;MQ?IF;M; G; LACHCHN?NCIH@M;G<FCHAB?GCMJB?IF;N?L;FCNS;HN?
 ICICN\$BCNOLQ;S CHN?NCIHJ; LMI B;P?<?H?OM?>SNB@;NNB;NBP?ANCP?
 L2MJHMQ;MF;IA?MIN?L; HN2CILP?>NLI>PBNBF?@N>C;FLS #CA
 4? H?RNG?;MOL?NB?L;MJHMCN F;NP=SQCH>IQ@ c GMJIMN MNCGOFOM
 IHMNI@NB? MO<DHIOHJLCHEJ;NOM': CHNB?IQL>M c GMJIMN MNCGOFOM
 IHMNI@NB@IFIQCHAQIL> eMBII GEN' (< <ONQCNBION<;MCHCHAB?L?Q; M
 ; A;G; G;CH?@@N@M=G<FCHACHINB NB@OFF;FSMCIM NB>CMNL<ONCHSMC
 MCMQ?F; M; NBLQ;S CHN?NCIH@M;G<FCHAB?GCMJB?LH>F;N?EONS;OM?
 <S NB F;LA>@@@?H=IP?L LCAEN>CF;H> F;N?L;FH> F?@N?>C;F?F?>N?L?MNBN
 IP?LF?@N;L;F?F?=NLI#CA !
 %IQ? P?L QB?HQ? L?<M?FCHNB?/- MNINB M?H>QIL> eM=BIIEN', NBH?A
 ; NCP?@?N?M;J?;L?>CHINBNB@OFF>NB?>CMN;ONCIH;FSMCIM NB?@IL?>
 =C?>NIM? C@Q;MJIMMC<NNL;NNB H?A;NCP;CNSMJHMNINB M?NQIQL>MM
 MOMIN? CHH;NOL;MQ? B;> CH@N; H?C;N?>;H> G?; MD? CN@IG c GM
 JIMNM\$OONHNM?@JLCH=ENOM' 1BCM?MOFNCH;MCHC@C;ON?@ @C;INB
 NB@OFF+, 3 ;H>NB>CMN;ONCIH;FSMCIM?>CMNLCH;ONCH;FSMCIM;C?F?>
 ; G; LA@;FCHN;=NH I@ME;G<FCHAB>FN?L;FCNS O?NI; F;LA?LC@@P?<?NQ?>H
 =IH>CINHMP?LG?>C;INB;HP?LF;N?L;FL?A@H@N@NB M;F;H>; G;LACHCHN?NCIH
 I@ME;G<FCHAB?GCMJB? ;H> F;N?L;FCNIBCMQ; M;A;CHFC?FS;OM? <S NB F;LA?L
 >C@?H? IP?LL@B@>C;F;H>F?@N>C;F?F?=NLI>NBB;HP?LF?@NN?E
 ?F?NLI>M#CA !

c MS POST-ONSET OF 'JLCH=CJNOM'			
FULL ANALYSIS	M=L;G<FCHA	F	p
DISTRIBUTIONAL ANALYSIS	M=L;G<FCHA;N?L;FCNS	F	p
	M;L;G<FCHAB?GCMJB?IF;N?L;FCNS;IN?LCILCNS	F	p
c MS POST-ONSET OF 'JLCH=CJNOM' QCNB?<M?FCHNBH?RQIL>			
FULL ANALYSIS	M=L;G<FCHA	F	p
DISTRIBUTIONAL ANALYSIS	M=L;G<FCHA;GCMJB?IF;N?L;FCNS	F	p
c MS POST-ONSET OF 'JLCH=CJNOM' QCNB?<M?FCHNBH?RQIL>			
FULL ANALYSIS	M=L;G<FCHA	F	H M
DISTRIBUTIONAL ANALYSIS	M=L;G<FCHA	F	H M
c MS POST-ONSET of cJLCH=CJNOM'			
FULL ANALYSIS	M=L;G<FCHA	F	p
DISTRIBUTIONAL ANALYSIS	M=L;G<FCHA;N?L;FCNS	F	p
	M;L;G<FCHAB?GCMJB?IF;N?L;FCNS	F	p

TABLE #CFM@?HN?HQ@NBMQCNBIONL;G<FCHA

1B?L?Q?L MIGQB;NMOLCIMCHAIFSMO<KO?HN->C@ @?EMH?CNB?LNH
 M@N + HIL; F;N JIMCNIPMIJM?NINBQIL>MCGG?>CNFSJL?>CHayngsa-
 ey e?P?HNIf IL@IFIQCHAchotayhay-ss-ta eCHPCNST DECL', NB;NNB M?HN?H@H@
 G; CHFOMP?I< NB?JOLJILN?A;J JIMCNHCHML;G<F?>MPN?HM? <



Canonical word order — NB;N ECH>?LIAN?HEN
Scrambled word order J; L?HN~~MC~~ NB;N ECH>?LIAN?HEN

JLCHEJ;F+, *
JLCHEJ;F+, *

FIGURE \$L;H>;P?L;A?"/- Q;P?@ILG~~Q~~H ?MJIHM~~N~~=;HIHC=;MIFCECH?; ;H> M=L;G<F?>INN?> FCH~~ggg~~QIL>IL>?LM?HN?H~~N~~M~~B~~HIGCH;NCP; G;LE?>;FFNQ?HNS MER-NLI~~N~~CN?M\$L;H>P?L;A? "/- Q;P?@ILGM~~Q~~IL=;HIHC=;R ;H> M=L;G<F?gggQIL>IL>?LM~~N~~NB~~F~~?@N>C;F@LIHN~~N~~F=NLI>NB? ?F?=NLI~~C~~NB?>INN?MKO;ICH IJIAL;JBC=M=;FCMIPIFN;@I@NBG?;H>C@@@?L;NeJLCH=CJ;F NOMf M=L;G<F?>;HIHC=;QIL>IL>?L=IH>CNCIHM c GM ! IJIAL;JBC=M=;FCMIPIFN;@I@ NBG?;H>C@@@?L;NeM=BII~~E~~N' M=L;G<F?>;HIHC=;QIL>IL>?L=IH>CNCIHM c GMIMN MNCG~~Q~~HONK@eJLCH=CN~~B~~M'

ERP RESULTS FOR SR AND OR SENTENCES. M ; H CFFQ~~M~~IH@NB IP?L;FH;NN?LH #CAOL?MBI~~Q~~NB?/- L?MJIHM~~P~~FC=CN~~N~~F@N;N?E ?F?NLI~~N~~S ,/M PM0/M CH NB~~M~~?HN? CH~~E~~L2F;NCPTF;OM?ACI~~H~~@NB MNGCO~~E~~ONL~~C~~;FI~~IH~~=FO>CN~~B~~B?;> HIOHNB~~E~~M~~Q~~IL>I@NB?P?L;A? 3CMO~~E~~HM~~H~~NCIMOAA?M~~B~~~~M~~/M ?FCGN?AL?;N?L H?A;N~~C~~NNBH0/ MNNQIM?HN?HHMCNCI~~H~~ M?H>;H> NBCIQIL>M@NB~~J~~L? HIGCH;E F~~N~~? =FOM?eJO<FCMB?L M?E?ISf M?I; <F? ;H> ;A; CH N~~B~~?B?> HIOHeMH;NIL"+ f "; =BI@NB?M?@@N~~M~~CM=OM~~G~~?NCIEHQ~~B~~;N@IFFIQ~~M~~CHA / - L2MJIHM~~T~~~~N~~CH?IP?LNB?HNCB?;

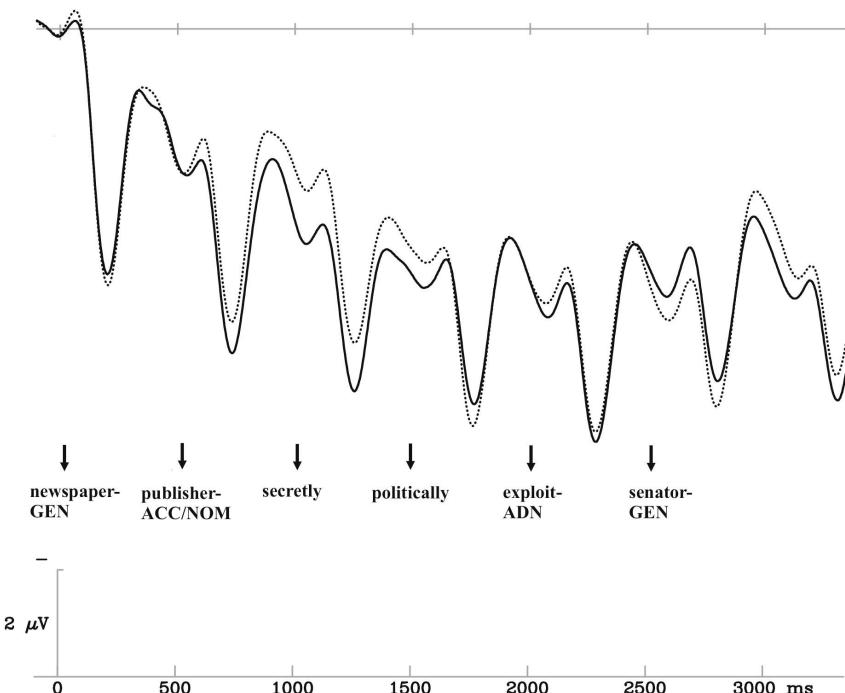
Left lateral frontal

FIGURE \$L;H>;P?L;A?"/- Q;P?@ILG~~M~~H?MJIHM~~N~~I+- ACC/NOM CHMO<D?e~~N~~<FCMB~~Q~~C M?=L?NFS JIFCNC=;FRS~~F~~IC~~N~~DN M?H;N~~E~~N' MIF~~E~~CH? ;H>I<D?=N?F;NCPF;OM?M~~O~~<FCMB~~Q~~M M?=L?NFS JIFCNC=;FRS~~F~~IC~~N~~DN M?H;N~~E~~N' >INN?FCH~~E~~ggNNBF?@N?L;@LIHN~~H~~?=NLI>?

RELATIVE CLAUSE REGION PRIOR TO THE RELATIVE CLAUSE VERB. /?= ;FFNB~~M~~NLO=NOL? I@NB?LF;N~~R~~?=FOM?1; <F? 4 Q; M FQSM; HIOCHA?KCNCP~~M~~?MMI=C;N~~Q~~ENB 4 QBEB,JJ?;L?> CHNB~~H~~IGH;NCP@N?L?F;NCP~~F~~;OMA;J Q;MNB~~M~~O<D?@N 3CMO~~G~~HMJ?=N~~Q~~H NB?/ -MCHL?MJIHM~~N~~B? JIMCNC~~M~~? 1;<F? LP?;F?; F;LA?L~~I~~;@ @LIHN;F H?A;NCP~~S~~NNB?, / eJO<FCMB~~Q~~M', NB;HNINB@/ =IH>N~~C~~I~~H~~JO<FCMB~~Q~~C', J; IN~~C~~FLS;NF;N?F?F?NLI~~N~~ 1B~~C~~M@@N~~H~~HNCO?@BLIOABION@L~~M~~JIHM~~N~~ 4 eM?LNFS;MMBIQ~~K~~CH#CAOL? II =ILLI<IL;N?JJ; L?HN LFS@@NM CA G?; HPIFN;AC?;MOL?Q~~L~~?N;E?K~~H~~ NB? c GM;H>- c GMF;N?H~~E~~QCH>IQMB?M~~G~~?;MOL?Q~~L~~? MO<N? N <INB @OFH>CMNLC<ONG~~H~~;FOM+,3M M?@I;<F? @IL MOGG;LS I@NB? +, 3 L?MOFN~~M~~NB?H;FSM~~C~~NE? c GMCHN?LP,NB?LQ;MHI MCAHC@C =HN@@N~~C~~B?LCHNB@OFH;FSM~~C~~VFNC~~P~~F;OMNSJ?h ?F?NLI>?NL CHNB>CM NC<ON~~H~~F; H;IS~~M~~CLF;NCP~~F~~;OMNSJ?h B?GCMJB?h F;N?L;FCN~~H~~N?LCILC~~A~~SNB L?A;L?N?JJ;L?HN ?@ @NMCHNB? c GMCHN?IP?S =IHN~~M~~NNB?LQ;M; MCA~~H~~NG;CH?@?=N@LF;NCP~~F~~;OMNSJ?CH~~I~~NBNB?@F~~E~~H>NB?CMNLC<ONCIH;F ;H;IS~~M~~CHC=;N~~H~~ANB;NB?/ =IH>CN~~C~~HA;HNI?FC=C;NFSH?A;NCP~~D~~N~~L~~ GO=B@ NB~~M~~;FJ

0/M ;H>,/M >C~~H~~IN~~C~~@@MCAHC@C;N~~H~~NSHHS I@NB~~N~~CGQCH>IQM@ c GMF
H M c GMF H M c GMF H M c GMF H M
IL c GMF H M

FULL ANALYSIS	c	MS POST-ONSET OF 4 / NSJ?	eJO<FCMB?C/NOM' F	H M
FULL ANALYSIS	c	MS POST-ONSET OF 4 / NSJ?	eJO<FCMB?C/NOM' F	p
DISTRIBUTIONAL ANALYSIS	/ NSJ?	F	p	
FULL ANALYSIS	c	MS POST-ONSET OF 4 / NSJ?	eJO<FCMB?C/NOM' F	H M
DISTRIBUTIONAL ANALYSIS	/ NSJ?	F	H M	
FULL ANALYSIS	c	MS POST-ONSET OF 4 / NSJ?	eJO<FCMB?C/NOM' F	H M
DISTRIBUTIONAL ANALYSIS	/ NSJ?	F	H M	
FULL ANALYSIS	c	MS POST-ONSET OF 4 / NSJ?	eJO<FCMB?C/NOM' F	H M
DISTRIBUTIONAL ANALYSIS	/ NSJ?	F	H M	
FULL ANALYSIS	c	MS POST-ONSET OF 4 / NSJ:h ?F?=NLIM? F	p	
DISTRIBUTIONAL ANALYSIS	/ NSJ:h ;HN?LCILCNS	p		
LEFT LATERAL FRONTAL ELECTRODE	/ NSJ?	F	p	
RIGHT LATERAL FRONTAL ELECTRODE	/ NSJ?	F	p	

TABLE 0/ PM,/ ?RJ?LCG?HN?PHN?H=EM;NCPP;OM??ACIHCININBL?F;NCPP;OMP?L<

II KO;HNF;NL?@?=NM @CMN?; MOLNB?MJIHMNP?; =BQIL>MP;L;N?FSMQ?
 B;>IH? CHNB M=L;G<FCH@J;LCMIHFNBIOA? B;>:=NCFSHIN?RJ?=N? ; MOM
 N;H?>H?A;NCP@CH?MJHMINBL?F;NCP=F;OM?ACIH@IOL?RJ?LCG?HN?PHN?H=?M
 _ Q? B;>;FFIQ?>CLCNM; FIACEJIMMC<CFCNS? NB?@ILG?;MOL??:=BI@
 NB@QI QIL>MeJO<FCMB?L?M?=Nf NBN JJ?; L?>NI?CE@NHN@LH?A;NCPNSHNB?
 L?FNCP?F;OM?ACIH#CA @IMN;H@>+ ?@@N@H F;N?HS-QCH>IQ@ c
 GMH> c GMJIMN MNCG@H@eJO<FCMB?+, * f L?M=M?IS C ?QC@ION
 L?<MCHCH@NB?M?=IHQIL> eM?=NFSf%IQ?P?L H?CN@NB?M?;MOIG?HNM
 JLI>O?> MCA@CHN@?@?C@N@NB@NB@FH NB?CMNLC<ON@F@SMC
 4? NB?@IL=IH>O=N?H ; H;FSMCM NCGQCH>IQ@ c GMJIMN MNCGOFOM
 IHM?@eJO<FCB?N@M@accf CHL>?LNI?H=IGJ;MMINBQIL>MMCGOFN;H?IOM@FS
 MOH@NB H?A;NCP@SCHNEM?;S SCF>? ; MCAHC@CH@?NCI@L?F;NCPP;OMNSJ?
 ;H>?F@NL? CHNB @O@FSMCM@ ; =ILPMJH>CH@?NCI@L?F;NC@=F;OMNSJ?
 ;H> ; HN@L@SCHNB?CMNLC<ON@F@SMC@C@Q;M@O?NIGIL;JLIHOH@>H?A;NCP
 CN@H?MJIHMN ,M I?LF;NL;F@IHN;E@ACIHM@NB?M=EJ #CA ON;NCM@NC=;
 ;H;FSMM@NB?MCR@CHCPC>D?F?NLI?>CH=FO>CHNB?CMN<ONCI@H@FSMCM
 P?F?> MCA@CH@G;CH@?@N@L F;NCP=F;OMNSJ?;NF?N@NL;F@LIHN@F@ICAB@NN
 ?L;F@JHN@F?F=NL?M ;FHNB?EM #CA
 ,P? L;FF NB?@?=N@H>C@N@B;N/M?FC=CM@L? ; HN@CIH?A;NCP@BS@M CH
 NB@L?FNCP?F;OM?ACIH MCA@H@NG; CH@?@NCHNB? NCGQCH>IQCH>C@;N?>
 NB;N@CH@A;NCP@SCH?MJIHMN@M N?H?NIIHMN?;LFS U GM MCAHC@CH;HN
 N?L@N@MCH@?FIHA?NCGQCH>IQ@ c GMCH>ON@NB;N@B?A;NCP@NS
 =G? GIL? @HN;FS@CMN@ON@F;N?CHNB?JI=B
 RELATIVE CLAUSE VERB AND HEAD NOUN REGION. 3CMO@HJM?=?N@H@NB?P?
 @IL@MOAA?M@CESQC>?MJ@?H?A;NCP@H@MJIHMN@NB?@> HIOH@NB?/
 =IH>CH@=IGJ;L?>NINB@?> HIOH@NB@/ =IH>CNCI@H ;H>?NMIG? ?MJ?
 =CH@IS ICAB@NN@?L ?F?=NLIM@F@H@MC@N@P?@NCP@H@MJIHMN@NB@L@F;NCP?
 =FOMP@L@?@NB?/ =IH>CNC@MQ?FF#CAOL? II =IGJ; L?N@M@?M@H@MC?@NF

0/M ;H>/M >CHIN>C@@MCAHC@C;N@H@NFS-P- CGG?>C;N?HS?=?>CH@B? P?L<CH@IS@NB?
 NCGQCH>IQ@ c GMF H M c GMF H M c GMF H M c GMF
 H M c GMF H M IL c GMF H M

) +\$2 \$" 3,)2* " +2* "/

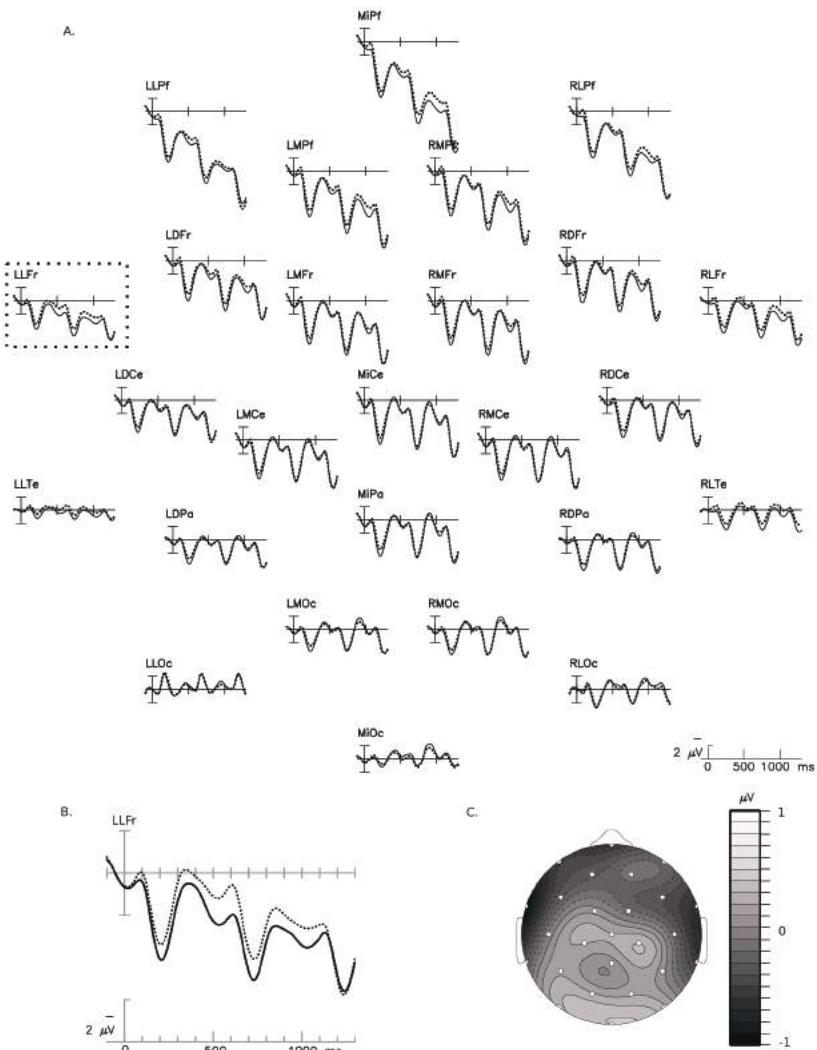


FIGURE SL;H>P?L;A?"/- Q;P?@ILGMIH?MJIHNH+- ACC/NOM CHMO<D?eN<FCMB@L
M?=L?NHSIFC@CH?- ;H>I<D?=N?F;NCPP;OM?MO<FCMB?IM M?=L?NEBNN?ECH@gggN;FF
NQ?HNS M@R;NLI>MCN?MSL;H>P?L;A?"/- Q;P?@ILG@II/M — ;H>/M ggggNNB?
F?@NN?L@LIHNH?NLI>NB?F?=NL;CHNB?INN?MKO;ICH IIJIAL;JBC=M;FJ
CMIPIFN;@J I@NBG?;H>C@@?L?H=?c 0/ =IH>CNCIHM c GM

NINBIM@2 ?HI ;H> \$;LHMS? ;H ;H;FSM@CLMH>O=NTH NB?/-M NI
NB@FNCP?FOMP?L< H>NB@?> HIOHIMCNC@NB@FNCP?F;OMP?L<e?RFICNdnf M?@;<F?
c GMJIMNMNCGO@NB@FNCP?F;OMP?L<e?RFICNdnf M?@;<F?
CL ; MOG; LSI@NB?+,3 LMOFN@?l? Q; M; MCA@E@;CH?@ @N@L?F;NCP?
=F;OM@J? CH@NB@O@H;FSM@NB@CMNLC<ON@CH@SMC@?L?Q?L? HI INB?L
MCA@CHN@?@=N@FFM
4 BCF@NB@? Q;MCHA?H@;FGIL? H?A;NCS@INB@?F;NCP@F;OMP@?L< ;H>B?;> HIOH
JIM@CNH@H@B? , / =IH>CNCI@NB@?B;><?HCH@?HI ;H>\$;LHMS@M MNO@Q
' ; J;H?M@?NP? =FOM?MN@?/- L?MJIHM@NB?MNQIM?HN?HHMCNC@M@Q>

	C	MS POST-ONSET OF 'RJFICNDN'		
FULL ANALYSIS	/	NSJ?	F	p
DISTRIBUTIONAL ANALYSIS	/	NSJ?	F	p
	C	MS POST-ONSET OF e?RJFICNDN'		
DISTRIBUTIONAL ANALYSIS	/	NSJ?	F	p
LEFT ANTERIOR REGION	/	NSJ?	F	p
LEFT POSTERIOR REGION	/	NSJ?	F	H M
RIGHT ANTERIOR REGION	/	NSJ?	F	H M
RIGHT POSTERIOR REGION	/	NSJ?	F	H M
	C	MS POST-ONSET OF e?RJFICNDN'		
FULL ANALYSIS	/	NSJ?	F	p
DISTRIBUTIONAL ANALYSIS	/	NSJ?	F	p
	/	NSJ? h B?GCMJB?L;F;N?L;FCNSF h ;HN?LCILCNS		p
	C	MS POST-ONSET of eM?H;NIEN' (L?<;M?FCH?>		
FULL ANALYSIS	/	NSJ?	F	H M
DISTRIBUTIONAL ANALYSIS	/	NSJ?	F	H M
LEFT ANTERIOR QUADRANT	/	NSJ?	F	p
	C	MS POST-ONSET of 'M?H;NIEN' (BCABMM@CFN?L;CNB@CNBIQM?FCHCHA		
FULL ANALYSIS	/	NSJ?	F	p
DISTRIBUTIONAL ANALYSIS	/	NSJ?	F	p

TABLE 0/ PM,/ ?RJ?LCG?HMPHNB?L?E?F;NCPF;OMP?L<H>B?>HIOH

>@@@PHNCMSNEMMOAMNCNB;NB'S Q?L?HIHC>?HNCM HIN?JL?POMF\$NB?
H?A;NCSNN NB?L?NCP?FOMP?L;<JJ?;L?>NIB;P?; ICABIMMN?LGERCCOG #CA
QBCFNB H?A;NCPONNB B?> HIOHQ; MQC?IS >CMNLC<DN2NB'M=;FJH>
GIL?JLIHIOH?>;N@IHN;MCN#CA ! *IL ?IP?L IP?LF?N@LIHN;PAIHM@NB?
M=F NB?L?MJIHMNINBLF;NCPF;OMP?L<CHNB?/ =IH>CNCQHMH@;=NMCNCPH
JIF;LNS#CAM ;H>
1BOMM?JL;NMNMINCH;FSM?L? OH>NE?HI@NB?M?QI; JJ;L?HNFM?JL;N?
?@ @NM&H F;NP=SQCH>IQ@ c GMJIMMNCGOHOPN@NB?L?F;NCPF;OMP?L<NB?L?E?L Q; MCAHCON@NCHNB@OFF;FSM?ON G; LACH?CH?@@N@
L?NCP?F;OMNSJ?CHNB?CMN?ONCIHFFSM?CM?>NCH?L;FIAL;N?IH?A;NCPONS
NB?L?NCP?FOMP?L<CHNB? / NB?CHNB?/ =IH>ONCIH?CA %IQ?P?L KO;>
L;H;H;FSM?CHNB?M;G?F;N?H?QCH>IQLP?;F?>; G; LACH?G; CH@@N@L?F;NCP?
=FOMNSJ?P?LNB?F?@NN?CIL?ACIHQB?LNB?L?MJIHM?M;=NO;FESL?JIMCNCP?
NIN?L?F;N?P?FOMP?L<CHNB?/ NB?CHNB?/ =IH>CNCIB?L?Q?L?HI MCAHCON
?@ @NM?LINB?L?ACIH?NB?FJ
&H F;NP=SQCH>IQ@ c GMJIMMNCGOHOPN@NB?L?F;NCPF;OMP?L<
e?RJFICNDN' C? c GMJIMMNCGOHOPN@NB?L?F;NCPF;OMP?L<NB?L?E?L Q?L?MCAHCON;CH@@N@L?F;NCPF;OMP?L<NB?L?E?L
@FJH>CM?ONCIHFF;FSM?MQ?FFM; G; LACH?CH?N?ONCIH?L?F;NCPF;OMP?L<
B?GCMJB?F NLFNS;H>;HN?CIL?ONB?CMNLC<ONCIHFF;FSM?CM;LACH;@IOL
Q;S CH?N?Q;M=;OM?>SMNLIA@@NN?F@NN?E;H>LCAEN>C;FF?N?L?M
IP?L;HN?CIL?ACIH@NB?KO;>JHNH;FSM?CM>HI MCAHCON@NN?HNB?IKO;>L;HN?FF

) +\$2 \$" 3,)2*"" +2* "/

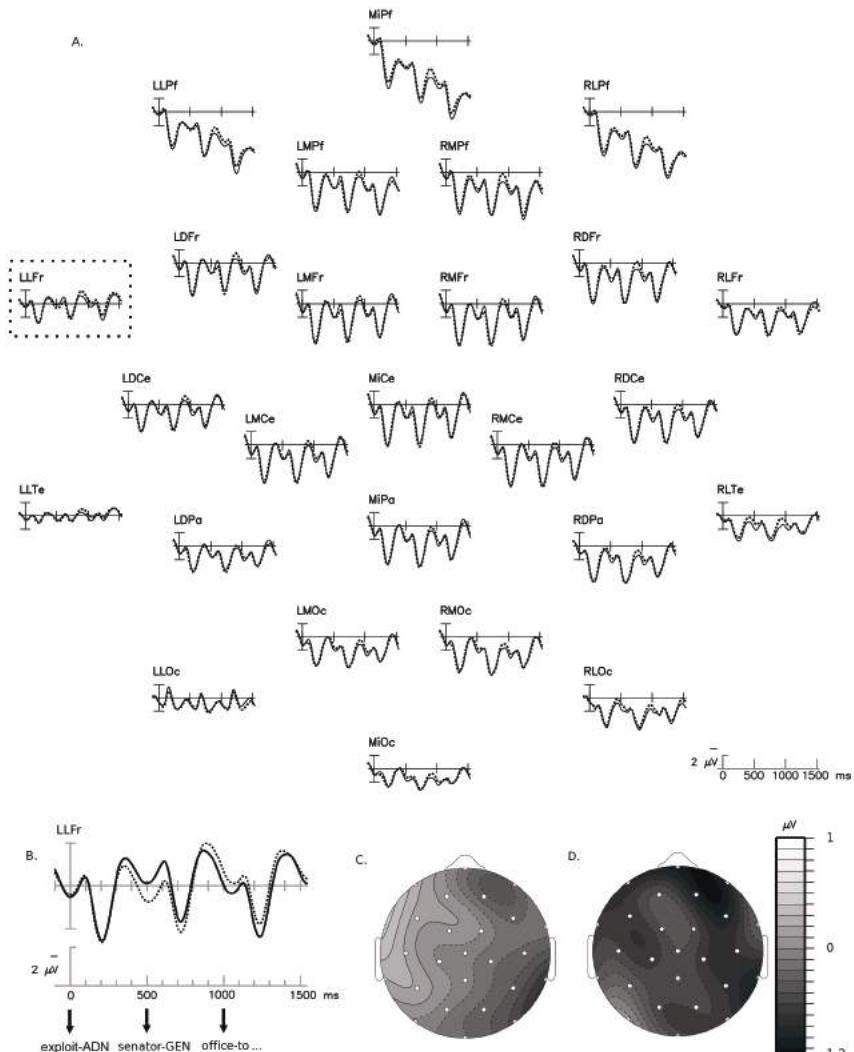


FIGURE \$L;H>P?L;A?"/- Q;P?@ILGMH?MJIHMNNB?F;NCPP;OMP?L<H>B?;>HIOHIMCNCIHM e?RJFICNdN M?H;NKEen I@@C=? NIMHO<D?MFCECH?;H>I-D?=N?F;NCPF;OM?MNN?FCHggggN ;FENQ?HNS MCRNLIMCN?MSL;H>P?L;A?"/- Q;P?@ILGMID; — ;H>/ ggggIH>CNCEINMB?@N F;N?L;@LIHN?F?=NLI>NB?F?=NLLCHNB?INN?MKO;ICH IIJIAL;JBC=M=;FCMIPIFN;G? I@NB? G?;H>C@?@?L?NHNBL?F;NCPF;OMP?L<./ c 0/ =IH>CNCIHM c GM ! IIJIAL;JBC=M=FJ CMIPIFN;G? I@NBG?;H>C@?@?L?NNBB?>HIOH,/ c 0/ =IH>CNCIHM c GM JIMN MNCGOHON@NB?F;NCPP;OMP?L<

FM 4 ? B@BJ;MM@CFN10L>;N;;N % TQCNBIO?M?FCH@IAGNB?@ACHHCHA I@NB?HM=?CHL>LNI;PIC>NB?CM;M@EHCHIA<F?G;NNBB?>HIOHIMCNCI@CM JI=?>OL?A;CH?C?F?>?MCAHC@G;CH?@?@N@L?F;NCPP;OMNSJ?CH@N@NB@OFF ;H>@M@L@N@F;H;FSM@H F;NE-SQH>IQI@ c GM JIMN MNCGOHON@NB? B?> HIOH=IH@CCCHAB@NB?MJIHM@ ,/M Q;MGIL?H?A;NCNB;HNBL?MJIHM@ 0/ M1B?L?Q?L?HI CHN@N@CIHQCNBF;NCPP?F;OMNSJ?;FFFM

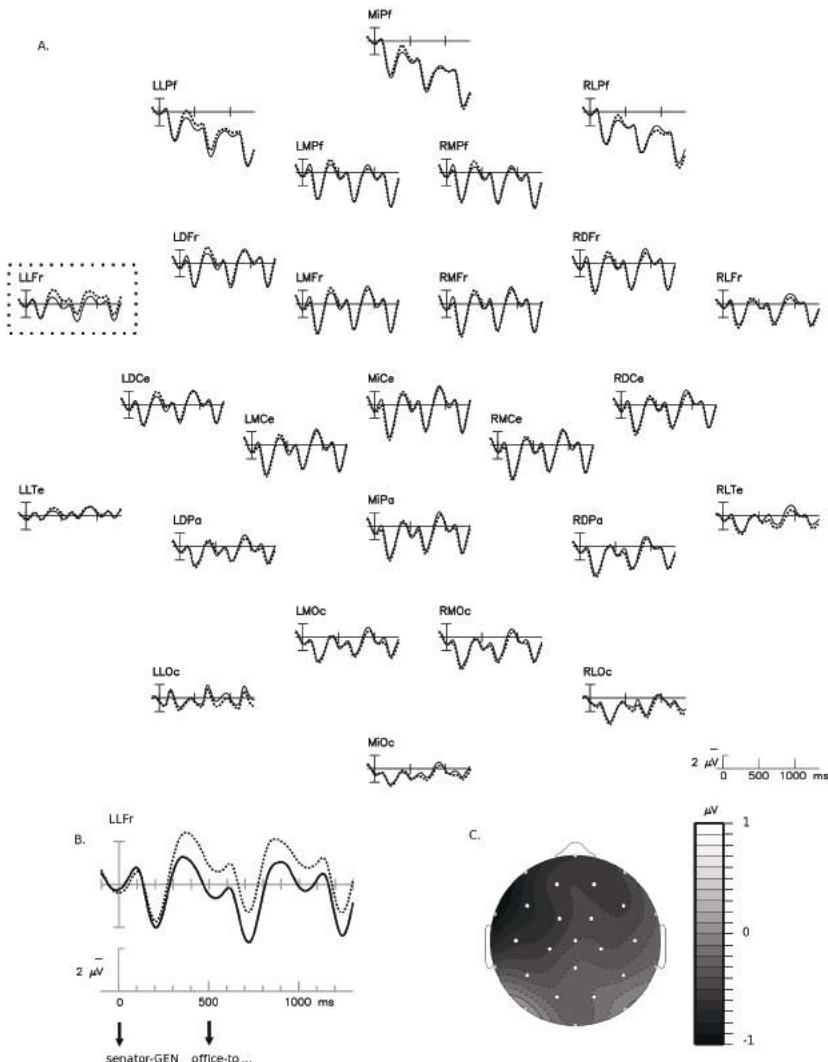


FIGURE \$L;H>P?@ILGMH?MJIHMNBB?>HIOH:H>@IFFIQCQH>ejel eM?H;NIL
GEN I@@C=? MCNMO<D?MFCECH?> ;H>I<D?>N?F;NCPF;OM?MNN?FCH~~ggg~~N;FNQ?HNS MCF;NLI>?
MCNQCNB?<:M?FCHHAL;H> :P?L;A?> - Q;P?@ILGM@H0/ — ;H> ./ gggg-IH>CNCHNMFB?@N
F;N?L;@LIHNHF=NLI>NB?F?=NLI<CHNB?INN?MKO;ICH~~I~~JIAL;JBC=M=;FCMIPIFN;GJ I@NB?
G?;H>C@?L?NNBB?>HIOH,/ c 0/ =IH>CNCHIM c GM

MAIN CLAUSE VERB REGION. 1B?L?Q; MHI ?@@NL F;N? NIL F;NCPF;OMNSJ?CHNBCM
L?AI@ 0/ MH>/ MQ?L?HIMCAHC@C<~~H~~ENIG?;=BINB?ICHHSNCQQCH>IQ

3. DISCUSSION. 1B? AI;FI@NBMNO;Q MNICHP?MNCAIQB;N?RN?HNB?IAHC
NCPH?OIJFJLI=?MM?M>ESCHABJLI=?MMCH?AIMNHIGCH?F;NCPF;OMCH;H
AOA?ME? "HARMB!ONB ;H>\$?LG; HL2M?G<FNBMOMH>ESCHABJLI=?MMCH?A
JL?HIGH;FL2FNCP?F;OM?M?> @CHFF;HAOA?MFCE? IL?;H 4? ;FMIQ;HN?NICH
P?M?A;N?B? ?@@N@J;L;G? NC?P;LC;NC?HHMCMNB?HN>H?MM;H?M? ;H>(I
L?;H =M?G; IECHAJ;H? M?H> (IL?;H ;H>LF;NCP?F;OM?;LECHABCH?H>

(IL?;H :=IHMNB?" ; MNMCHFHAQA?MI ;>LMMB?MKO?MNCDFMFMP;GCH?> NB?JLI=?MMCHA<;MFCH?FCHAOCN?CNCJOF;NCIHM?G?FSM?HN?HNB;NIHN;CH?> JBL;M?MNOEOLPCIF;NCIHM?G;HNC=JHADCN?CIF;NCIHM>eME;G<F?F=IHMNO?HN M?NBM?>N;Q?L?H??>?><?=OM?;NNB?CG I@NB MNO>SI ?F=NLIJBSMCIFIAC=F M;L=BB;>JL?PDOMFS?H>IH?IH (IL?;H 1B?MNBE?NSJ?M@G; HCJOF;NCIHC?CN?> MN>L> + ; H> + L?MJIHM?MJ?NCP?EIGJ; LCM?IHNLM?H NH?MQN?H MSH?NCP?F;NCIHM?G;HNC?PCIF;NCIHM?G;G<F?F=IHMNC?N? QCN?HIE;FOHM?G;F?QIL>IL?L 1B?L?MJIHM?Q?L?MCGC?NL?PCIO?E JILN?@=?N?HNB?CGILJBIFIASF;N?H?S>CMN?ONCIB?CMOAA?MB?MB?/- L?MJIHM?FECN?HNB?JLI=?MMCH?AL?;H M?HN?H?EMH>C@?H?M?G NBIM? MEP? CHNB?LFHAQA?M

, P?L;FF (IL?;H L?FNC?FOM?FC=CN?> ?@?NKO?CNC?G?N?B?F?C?N?> "HAF?B?F;N?C?M(CHA (ON;M M CHHAFCM?BNBL?F;NCP?OM?ACI?H/M ?FC?N; H?A;N?C?JI N?HNE?QCNB?;HNL?L?RCGO?Q?H?IGJ;L?> NI0/M M?>CM =OMM?C?H NNB?>HIOH?MCNC?H?;H, / MA;CHFC=CN?H?A;NCP?N?H NE?QCN?H;HNL?L?RCGO?G;H?@?N?GCF;IN?KOCP;F?HNGJ;LCM?IHM?HAF?CMB (CHA (ON;M NL;HMQ?HN?@?N;H?';J;H?M?L?F?NCP?MHI \$; LHM?S MOM?H?A;N?P?S MN?N?C?AG NB?L?>CHA P?L?;H>=IHN?CH?N?H?AO?AB?@?F FIQ?C?B?>HIOH S =IHN?MN IL?;H,/ M?C?H?N?FC=CN IL P;L?HNNB?L?I?N MP?N?H?=?JIM?G?M?FIQ?C?H?B?>HIOH; @CH>C?A@?I?@HNNB;N@2? HI;H> \$;LHM?S 1B?M?N@?L?M?M?MOGG;CT>CH1;<F? CMCM=OMM?FIQ?H?N?LGM I@NB?@?N?M@G;DILNSJIFIAC@?;N?M?CH?FO>CHA? PMJIMNHIG?C?;?F;NCP? =F;OM?M?G?GILJBIFIAC=E;G; LECH?H J;LM?CH?N?AC?M

3.1. EFFECTS WITHIN THE RELATIVE CLAUSE REGION PRIOR TO THE EMBEDDED VERB.
 4CN?HNB?L?F?P?F=OM?ACI?H/M eJO?FCMB?N?M' ?FC?N?> MOMN;CH?N? ICIH?AN?RCN?H=IGJ; LCM?H?0/M eJO?FC?N?L?ACC' 1B?>CMN?ONC?C?M?Q?JI NP?N?C?@?N?M?B?MP;LC?>=LIMM?D?CM?F?N?H?N?L?C?E;RCGO? (FO?H?>L (ON;M ; < (FO?H?>L *^HN? #C?;=B?N?F #?F?M?N?F MSGG?NLC?;F ; HN?L?G; R?GO? (CHA (ON;M 2?H?I (FO?H?>L -BCFFC?J?N?F MFC?B?N?A?B?N?IFCT?;HN?L?=?HNE?G;RCGO?*^FF?L?N?F 2?H?I (FO?H?>L NB?O?A?B?S?CHA?H?L?F?C?N?I?F;H> C?E;N?L?F?C?TOMO;F?N?SB?F?N? 1B?OM?C?M?GMNB;N?B?HN?L?C?H?A;N?C?N?FC=C?S?;M ; NNB?G;CH?LAOG?H?N?NB? L?F?NCP?FOM?4 eJO?FCMB?M?M?I;<F? B;M?H IHM?R?N?H?;H> ; M;F?J>CM NC?<ON?H?IGJ;N?C?QCN?B?HN?C?H?A;N?C?N?C?M?N?I?OLM=L;G<F?M?HN?H#CA %IQ?P?L?N?C?M@?N?QCN?B?H?L?F;NCP?F;OM?ACI?C?M?T?F?C?A M?P?L?E?;M?H?M #C?L?M?W <?A;HQC?N?B?;J;L?H?N?F?H?H?I?H?C?=?M?H?N?H?H?C?N?C?F?A?C?Q?B?C?F? ; /M <?A;HQC?N?B? NOM, ;H> NB?M?M?HN?>M?H?N?H?E?P?G?CHA?F?H?I?H?C?F?

1B? IH?>C@?L?C?P?C?I?M?LP?;MN?F;=EI@;HS;J;L?HNL?MJIHM?N?B?A;J JIMCN?H?OL M?L;G<F?@CF?M?H?N?H?=?M CH?IHN?;M?N?JILN?N?L?HMC?;H?N 2?H? (FO?H?>L ;H? - ?@?@?=?N?M?I (FO?H?>L %;ACQ;L?N?F ?FC?C?N?S?Q?I?L?>MMOLLIOH>@H?JIMCN?C?I?H?I? ;J;H?M? M?L;G<F?M?HN?H?=?M?B?P?H?L?>S?R?F;H;N?C?I?N?B?C?M?L?HN=LIMMFCHA?C?M?C?I?H?N?N?B?C?M?G?

1BC?A=EI@;F;N?JIMCN?C?I?SM?J?H?N?B?M?=?H?F?G?H?NC?N?B?>HIOH?@<:=EQ;L?A;J @CFF?L >?J?H?>H?S?CH?J?L?H?G?CH?H?L?>H L?F;NCP?F;OM?I?HNL;M?N?M?FF?Q?C?N?B?L?JILN?F;N?J?IMCN?C?P?C?N?S? L?MJIHM?N?B?M?=?H?F?G?H?NC?N?B?A;J CH?@ILQ;L?@CFF?L A?J?H?>H?S?CH?J;H?M? M?L;G<F?CHA =IHN?R?N?H?I (FO?H?>L %;ACQ;L?N?F M?L?JILN?>IP? CH? BIQ?P?L?Q? I?M?L?P?> HI>C@?L?CH?N?B?>M N?N?B?Q?I?L?>ML?=?>CHA?ayngsa-ey e?P?HN N?I?L @IFFI?Q?CH?otayhay-ss-ta e?CH?P?C?N?Y DECL' N?B?A;JM?CH?OL(IL?;H M?L;G<F?M?HN?H?=?M

RELATIVE CLAUSE REGION							
		4	4	4	4		
0/	:: i	MCHGQOHM; OS H?QMJ; J?I GEN	M;=;HA <i>il</i> JO<FCMB <i>il</i> C	JCGCFFC?S M?=L?NFS	=?HA=BC=?EOF JIFCNC=;FFS		
/		MCHGQOHM; OS H?QMJ; J?I GEN	M;=;HA JO<FCMB <i>il</i> M	:: i M?=L?NFS	JCGCFFC?S =?HA=BC=?EOF JIFCNC=;FFS		
RC region MOMN;CHN?LCH?A;NCPCNS							
↑							
RC VERB		MAIN CLAUSE REGION					
0/ /	4	4	4	4	4	4	
	CSIHAB; H ?RFIGNE	OSQIH OS M?H; NIEEN	M;GQOMCF ?S I@C=? NI	EE; HAJB; S E; A; HANOM	NOFC=BS?MMN; ;NN; =E?>		
Head noun region NL;HMC;HN?LCH?A;NCPCNS							
↑							

- 0/ e\$;HAMNN;=E?NB!@ @ C@NB M?H;N!QBI M?=L?N!FSE;>P;HN;A!@NBJO<FCMB@NB H?QMJ;J?L
@IIFCNC@J!LJIM?M
. e\$;HAMNN;=E?NB!@ @ C@NB M?H;N!QBI NBJO<FCMB@NB H?QMJ;J?IM?=L?N!FSE;>P;HN;A!@
@IIFCNC@J!LJIM?M

TABLE 00GG;LSI@L?MOFN

QIL>IL>?LMNNCAQCNCB MO<D?=NPCIOM- RJ?LCG?HNCPLG; H;H>';J;H?M?
B;P? MBIQHNBNM=L;G<FM?HN?HMN;LNQEHBIH;HIHC=?D?=NWC=CN +
IL; QC>MJL> H?A;NCBCNHGJ;LCMIHNIM?HN?;WNNCNCQNB;HIHCF MO<D?=NM
/ \MF2N F *;NTE??NF 0=BF?M?QESN F 2?HI (FO?H>?L
%;AQ; L; ?N F 4IF@?N F ;H>NB M=IG<FCIAH>CNCCHOL@CEM?H
N?H=MF;N? NB?ML?MOENHL?; H #CA &HFCABC@BCNB H?A;NCBCNBI
;HNLCIG;RCOG CH?MJMHN/M QCNHCHC - nom M?GMOLJLCMCHA
,H? JIMMCNCNB;NB?;HN?CIIH?A;NCPCNSEN?>S NB L?FNCP?F;OM?ACIH@
IOL, / ?RJ?LG?HNF M?HN?M CMNNLC<ONNI; MN?ACHLI=?MMCHA@NMJ?
=@CNCNB?Q; S CHQBC=IOL?RJ?LCGHNQ;MLO@ONQBC=BIHNB?F?MMFC=?NME?
JL?PCIOMM?L-BL?@LL?NICHNB@CJN, NAL;JBI@BCM?=?NCBHNB?QIL>MC@BCM
;:=IOHNMHL?=?NCNCH?CN?MBNNB MNACHLI=?MMCHA@NQ; MF;N? NINBCH
NIHMC@@CJSN MMI=C;NQCNBLI=?MMCNBA;J @CFE?L?H>H=SCHHI<D>?ALF
NCP?FOM?OJ?=C@;FFSHN?NB;NB?CMNQ QIL>Mejel CHOL?RJ?LCG?HN;@/
M?HN?M Q?L?;FQ;SM- GEN +- ACC QBCFB@CMNQIQL>MCHPRJ?LCG?HN;F
. / MHNH?M Q?L?;FQ;SM- GEN +- NOM M?H ;H>H \$CP?HNB H;
NOI@IOL>?MCA@CM?;HMNB;LNC=CHNM;Q@ILN@P@M@?;=B1@NB?M;N
N?LHMON@?FF@IG _ NB;NB@MNOQSMLOH=OLHNRQCNB@HNB?PRJ?LCG?HN
CHQBCB J; LN@J; HNM;Q;HINB?I@ILN&D?NL?F;NCPT@QBC=NB@CLN@QIL>M
Q?L?; FMIFQ; SM- GEN +- nom. 1B? =IGJ;LCMIH>CNCCHNB;NRJ?LCG?HN
M@N?I@CLNSGCHCG;F;CLMPIN=MH@HN;CHCH@DOH=N?;OMP=F;OM@NB;NFMI
<?A;HQCNB- GEN +- nom ;MNB?S FMHHN;CH?>LIJ?> I<D?;LAOG?HN@OM
IP?L;FFH?LFSIH? NBC@NB M?HN?M NB;NLNC=CN@;Q>OLCH@J?LC
G?HNFMMMC@HN;CH?HI<D?NA;J @CEMKO?H=P@MIG?ECH>QBC=BIL?IP?L
;IQ;SM<?A;HQCB+- GEN +- nom M?;FMH &NB?M?;JJ?;LMNB;NB@H?P?L
J; LN@;HNM@NB M?KO?H+- GEN +- nom CHOLMNCGOE@NL;FMB?SB?>
P?LSL?MIHN?RJ?=NNBNMO=B M?HN?QIOF>IHN;CHI<D?;N;J @CFE?L?H
>H=SL2MIP?>IQHMNL?;CNNB MO<MO?HN;CH=F;OMMO<DN?> <?FC?PNB;NB?

H?A;NCPSNIC=CNCNBGIG J; LCMQCBCHNB?L?F;NC=F;OM?ACI@;M;H CH>?R@
 NB@PRJ?=NCIH M@=??; LFCMNOMB;P?>?GIHMNL;N@B;NMIIH;MNB?L;CH@;M
 L?;MIHN<?F@? OM@FS S PCLN@?N@HF?=?;M@G;LECHANB;NB?LCMH I?D?=?N?
 J?H>HS I@;HS NSJ?N@LI=?MNB?L?CMH@;NC PIFNA?>?@F?=NC@H;NC@I=H>C
 NCIMNBN>I HIN=IHN;C@MO=B>?J?H>HS (FO?H>L *^HN? 2?HI
 (FO@>?L &IMIG?MP@M@NB@HCH@>JL>C=N;<CF@NB@CHCN@M? G;LECHA
 GILJBIFIAS CHOL;<=EQ;L>A;J @CF@M@HN?H@G;S B;P? J@L@I@?> ; JLI=?MMCHA
 @H@N@HMG@;LN@ NBN@; @CEFH @IQ; L>@CEFA;J>?J?H>HS H;G?FSNIMCAH;F
 NB@JL@MPI=?I@;H I?D?N?J?H>HS
 JIMMF@JLI<FG @INBC@IOHN@NB?HN2CIH?ANCP@HS?MJIHN@NB@L?F;
 NC=F@OM@L@ACI@/ ?RJ?LCG@H@MP@H=M@MB;NB?NBCLNS @H@N@L@?HN?H=?M
 ; @L@IOLN@C@CP@CF@M@L@G<F? M?H@N?M< ; FM@?A;HQCNB- GEN +-
 NOM ;H>IH?=?;HL?;MIH@FSQIH?>LQBSC@NB@M@I@<FCH@H>CNC@QBC=B
 ?RBC<CN>@@@H@N@QIL>IL>L C ?+- GEN +- ACC) QIOF>FC=@N@?N?HN?LCIL
 H?A;NCPSNC@N@?M@?_ ;H>#CA 4? <?FC?PNB;NB@M@S ;A;CH?>O?NINB?
 @=NNB;NNB@M@O@L@I@M@B@MP@H=M@?=?;G? ;JJ;L?HN;=I@M@B@IOLM@NB@R
 J?LG?HN@M?MMCM@P@NB@ME;G<FCH@AHN@L@?HN?H=?M ;FQ;SM<?A;HQCNB
 eNB@- GEN +- NOM' LNB?INB;HQCN@?L@FSe+- GEN +- NOM' ;MQ;MNB@?M@CH
 I?D?N@;J @CP@>?J?H>?H@M@I?D=N@F;NC@P@H@;HS =;M?NCMF@L@NB;M@=G<F?>
 MP@H@=M@QBC=EQ;S;SM<?A;HOH;G<CAOM@QCN@- ACC NB@- GEN +- NOM',
 =F?LFSMCA@P@>NB@JL@M@=?@;H I?D?N@- MB;P? <?HME;G<F?>CH@LH@HIGCH;NC@?LE?> MO?D?=?N
 + -M <INB@CH\$?LG;H /MF@L@N@F *; NE? ?N@F 0=BF?M?QM@SF
 ;H>CH@;J;H?M?2 ?H (FO@>?L %;ACQ;L@N@F 4IF@ @N@F
 &H@MOG@LS (IL@;H I?D?N@L@F;NC@P@F;OM?M@C=CN <CF;N@L@H@N@CHOI@H@N@CIL
 H?A;NCPSN@IG;J;L@? NI@M L@?G;LE;<S@M@G@NI@?@N@M@P@CH@HAFCM@B@>CH@?
 MJIHN@ M@G<F?> MP@H@=M@CH@ IL@;H FF@NB@?M@HN?HN@S@?M@IHN;CH@D?N@?
 J?H>H@M@<ON@QBCF@HAFCM@B@?N@L@N@P@? =F@OM?M@> (IL@;H M@I@<F?>M@HN?H=?M
 =IHN@?I@;L@?@E@IA;J >?J?H>?H@M@ (IL@;H I?D?=?N@F;NC@P@M@HN;CH@EQ;L>A;J
 @P@>?J?H>?H=C?&H@>CNC@H@ ?;H I?D?=?N@F;NC@P@M@> M=L;G<F@M@HN?H@C@I@?
 CHNB@IM@HN@=? H@NC@;M@G;LECHA@I@J@LNC@M@H@M@JCN@;FFI@NB?MMOL@F@P@?F
 >C@L@H@?MCHM@HN?HN@S@?=?;M@G;LECHA@>F;HAO;A@;CCFSNB@L@CHM@?G@MIL?
 MJIH@>IHM@H@N@S@?I@<D?N@?J?H>?H=I@;HS NSJ@1BCMJ@; LN@I@?; NNLC@ON@N@F?

&NCMF@IIMMC@FB;NB@H@A;NCPSN@M@ + GEN +- NOM CHNB@L@F;NC@P@;OM?ACI@;ML@F;N@>
 NJLI=?MMCH@ @C@;M@N@S@C;N@QCNB@HIGCH;NC@P@G;LE@?> +IGCH;NC@P@G;LE@?> M CH@J;H?M? ;H>
 (IL@;H B;P? <?HMBI@QHNI@;OM@JLI=?MMCH@ @C@QHNS@ ; ?M@J?=?C@F@SH@F;OM?@H@N@CH@N@Q@I
 HIGCH;NC@P@G;LE@?> M KIL@;H (CG (QIH ; 'J;H?M? 6;G;MBCN; *CS;GINI).
 OO?D?=?N@M@LP@MM@HN?H@N@C@=M@CH@LN@);HA;=?E@L NB@N@JL@?M@H@N@CH@ILG;N@CH@
 NB@M@H@N@<?L@J@> CH@L@?H@;H@?J;H?M? CH@L@?H@ I@MO?D?=?N@L@J@> (CG 4B@H
 MO?D?=?N@=OLQCNB@HIGCH;NC@P@LE@?L@QBC@NSJC@;F@P@I@?>M@?Q@CH@ILG;NC@H@L@?H@ BIC
 NBC@MS@JLIP@ NI?>GIL? >C@ @C@N@D@N@?M@N@C@P@?HNB;NB@?G;CH@H@N@NB@?HNB@?H@?>C@;N@M
 IP@LNB@MO?D?=?N@?CHB@LN@ MO?=?M@I@?P@M@C@N@B@MO?D?=?N@JL@?>C@;N@C@H@L@?M@H@<FS
 L@KOCNB@MO?D?N@?GIL? >?JFS@H@I@?>NB;HNB@?LAOG@H@N@M@> NBC@M@F@?> NI@RNLQILECHA
 G@GILS@>G;H@M@CH@M@ + NOM @I@J@=?MMCH@ @C@H@F@K@S@F@?RMO?D?=?N@M@AFCM@?@FO@H@?L
 %I@Q@P@?L@;H@=?IOHN@;M@?I@JL@=?MMCH@N@MF@N@?N@M@?H@?C@H@N@CH@;NC@P@M@G;LECHA
 >I@?M@H@N@RJF;C@QBSNB@?L@C@M@?/- ?@ @?@?H@N@?MJIH@?C@H@N@?H@?C@H@N@CH@;FIHC@Q@L@>IL@?L@C@ ?;
 M@HN@?H@? CH@N@C@F CH@M@ ;MQ;MNB@?M@CH@?MJIH@N@IOL@CF@M@L@G<F@M@HN@?H@?M #CA

NB?IG GIH QILEHAG?GILS >?G;H>M@JL=?MMCH?NCFHMH>NB?CLMMI=C;N?>A;JMCLPMJ?NCP?I@INB?INSJIFIACEP;LC;<FM4? L?NOINBN@ICHN?FIQ

3.2. EFFECTS AT THE EMBEDDED VERB AND THE HEAD NOUN REGION. /M ;FMI
 ?E?N?>MCACNHSAL;N?IH'A;NCBCNHNHGJ; LCMNHO/M QB?HG?;MOIG?HNM
 Q?L?NE?H;=IIMNIBL2F;NCP?FOMP?L<H>B?;> HIOHJIMCNCINM?NB?B?H NB?
 "/ - L2MJIHMNINB?L2F;NCP?F;OMP?L<H>NINB?B?> HIOHQ?L?G?;MOL?M?J;
 L;NIS QCBCBCLMQ Q IL>;P?L;A? NB;KMQCNBION;MFCHCINB?@@NNOLHTON
 NI?<MINHA>;NNBB?;> HIOHJIMCNCINHMC>ESQ?;E?L;H>M?F@ =IHCNIS
 ;NBB?L?FNCNP?FOMP?L<JIMCNHNB?Q; M G;LACH;CH?@@N@H?A;NCPCNS?>
 >CMLCONCH;FSMCNOCIOMFH?@@N@H?A;NCPCNS?LCABMN2CIKO;>
 L;HNQB?L CNJJ?L?> G; RCGF #CAM ;H> QCNBG; LACF?@@T@IMCNSPCN
 CHB? F?@; HNCILKO;>IHNCHMN?1BCNMOAA?MNB;NNB?B?;> HIOHJIMCNCINM
 >LPCHIANB?P?L; FH?A;NC?2MJIHMNINB?H>I@NB?L2F;NCP?F;OM?S?NQB?HQ?L?
 <M?FC?>;NNB?B?;> HIOHJIMCNCINM?CA NB?@@N?LMCMNIESCHNB?@N
 N?ILCKO>LHN H;FSMCNMOAENBGMOF; FMIB;P? <??H;H ;LNC@I@N?<MCCHCHA
 A?HNB?G; LA@;FSMCNAHCN?E?@NN?IL JIMCNCNSHNB?LCL?J=B CH?MJIHMN
 NB?L?F?C? =FOMP?L<M?>?FMH II =IGJ ?HM;N@IINBCQ? BCA; MCEN?L?
 IOL>;N;M@SHA@LGNB?>ACHHCH?NBM?HN?>QCNCBQ?N?FGHACBCMA;CH?
 MOE?CH MCA?CHNG;CH?@@N@AL;N?LH?A;NCPCNL?MJIHMNII<D?=N?F;NCP;NM
 NBB?;> HIOHJIMCNCINM?P? L;FF;MNB?QMM JF;HH?>IGJ;LCMHN; M?HN?HMCNCNIH
 QB?L?Q? B?>JL?>EN?>) + @@@N < ;H>@IOHMCNAHC@TCPCHNH=R@CH@IOL
 I@NB?@P?Q;SMHQBC=R? G?; MOL CNQ? =H=FO>NB;NB?@@NCM?FC;<F?

1B?ENH-S;H>CMLCOND?ENBCM@N? =IGJ; NC<FCNBBN@HMC?HN@NHN?
 LIL H?AN?CML?EN?>NIL NCP;FI@@FFMNA;J JIMCNHMH/- MNO>C@?ILQ?>
 @?EL AJ >?J?H>H=C?MIMMHAO;AM"HAFCMBO?H>L (ON;M ; (CHA
 (ONM ! ON=BIM?NF \$?LG; H #?FM?N F 'J; H?M?2?HI (FO?H
 >?L 1BOM?MJCNC@@?P?MCH@CEFA;JIL?>?CHA;=EQ;L>AJ @CFFMMI=C;NCIH
 CHIL?;HLF?E?>F;OM?MC=CNMMC?HN+ L?MJIHMN;N?MNLCECIAESEH
 H;NOLNINBIM?FECN?S @ILQ?>@CFIA?L; MMI=C;N?IMMFCHAOE?N?C?@IL
 ; =IGJ; LCMI?QCNBPHI ;H>\$;LHM?SM MNO?; J;H?M?

IHM?LBIQ <:=EQ;L>M;L=BGCABINL;NCH (IL?H A;J @FF?L?J?H>H=S;H>
 BIQ NBCMII=?MNCABINMOE?C@?HNCQILECH?>GILS =IMN?IL/M PM0/ M
 OCH?NB?<?ACHHAI@NB?>J?H>?HS CMING; LE?>S ; @CEFB?LCMII JIMMC<CFCNS
 I@?E?IL2;=NC?N? %IQ?P?L NB?>HIGCH;IG; LE?L(nu)n ;NN;B?>NINB?G<?>?>
 P?L<H(IL?; HMCNAH;N?NB?OLIEN?F;OMN?P?M M; GI>C@C?L? =@ IL =IG
 JF?G?HN? =@ NB?@FFIQCH?N?H?&NBL?F;NCIHM?H? I@GI>C@CNCIHN?B?
 B?> HIOHNB?;LM?CMIGJ?FF?>NIJMCNA;J IL ; HCH=IGJF?N?J?H>H=S ;H>
 B;M?L NC?P?;H OH?FF?LAOG?HMCNC?LIGL?PCIOMFS?L?G;N?LC?H>LNI
 ;MMI=?CNBNA;J QCNBB?QFS;P; CR?F?@CEFO=B A;J JIMCNCHAL?NLC?P;EOLM
 CH?INB/M ;H>/M ONL?NLC?PCN?COMH@CEFA?OG?HMCNC?LIGL?PCIOMFS
 J; LM?G; NL?F IL L?NLC?P?H?H=IGJF?N?SH?N?C?JL?M?N?C?H@;FL?>SJ;LM?>

HN?LCI?H?A;NCPCNS?N?I@IOLMFMI?>H?FC=CNC?L?MJIHMN?B;M?MNLO?N?GILJBIMSHN;=NC=
 PCIF;NCI?N;M %CFFS;L> +?PCFF?N;F #LC?>?LC?MF ,MN?LBION?I?F?S
 \$OHN?N;F IOFMH?N;F ^?HN? %?CHT?N;F %?IQ?P?L NB?AL;GG;NC=?C?N?B?>
 ;H>/ ?RJ?LCG?HN?PHN?H?C?MB?JL?M?H?NO?N?Q?F;FMNB?C?LSMC?G?H?OMC<CFCN?M ;H>
 =IGJL?B?HMC?H?OL;=SM=IL?M PM MOAA?N?N?B?HN?LCH?A;NCPCNS=C?NN?NB?B?;> HIOH
 JIMCNC?H?GIL? FCE?FS?F;N?N?I?NB?QILECH?>GILS =IMN?MMI=C;N?QCN?BLI=?MMCH?@CFF?L A;J
 >?J?H>H=S;FO?H>L (ON;M ; (CHA (ON;M

G; NICF @ IJOLJIM?M@A; J @ CFF; MMICIH =IOE CH=OAL; N?LQILECH&?GILS =IMNCH /MN; HCH@/M CL NB@IFFIQCH@MIHM 4CNHC MO@ENL?FNCP?FOM?NB MNLO=NOIL; ?M?HN; NC@NB P?L<JBL; M?CM =IGJF?N?MCH<INBNB!<D?N>NB P?L; C ?eJO<FCMB@E?RJFICADN' B; P? ;F L?; >S ?HN@>NB J; LM?QB?HNB?G<>>?>P?L<JIMCNCMH=IOHN?L@BOMCHNBCM =M? MG; HN@CH@NLN; NICI@NB P?L<JBL; M?CNI?>CFSP; CF; <F?; H>; NNB'B?> HIOHH@NB J; LM?IMCGJF@?>MN?MN; <FCM@EMO<ENL?>C=; N2?F; NCH@P NQ?HN@B?> HIOHH>NB L F; NCP?FOM? NB?G<>>?>P?L<JIMCNCMH=IOHN?L@BOMCHNBCM <S =JHN@MNNB M?GHNC@H@N?L@N@H@NB P?L<JBL; M?; HHIN? =IGJF?N?> <=?; OM@B?I<D=NCM@RCMM@PAHQB@HNB B?> HIOH@?=IG?M; P; CF; <FCM@M? G; HN@CENCIHQCB@NB L?FNCP?FOM@M@N@M@CAB@L@Q; L>QB?H=IGJ; L?> NINB? MO<ENL?>C=; N2?F; NC@H@/M &H/M NB J; LM?L@MLEJLI=?>MHNQIMN?J@CLMN CB; MN; MMICN@B?> HIOHQCNB@B@GCM@CHAOG@H@H@M@P?L<JBL; M?; H>IHFS; @NNB; N =H CN?NLGCH@NB? IP?L; FFMO<D?N@C@N@L@F; NC@QCNH@B?L@F; NCP?F; OM@S; N N@BCH@B?L@F; NC@P?F; OM@O<EN1BC@RNLMN?; IMMI=C; NC@B@B?> HIOHQCNB@B? GCM@CHAOG@H@H@M@C@NB@B- G; S @GJIM? AL?; N?LQILECH&?GILS =IMNM@CH >?R?><S; F; IA?IN@HMC@HN NI; /M

3.3. IMPLICATIONS FOR PROCESSING MODELS. %?L@ Q? >CM=ON@TCFC=;NCI@H@B? 0/ PM, / JLI=?MM@C@C@P@M?M@N@H_ CH@LGM@NB@NB@JL?NC@E?FML? MP@N@CH@NB@H@N@>O=NC@H_ Q? HIN?NB@;CF@O@CH?;L@N?GJIL; F@M@GI>?FM I@MP@N@=JLI=?MM@C@H@N@I@HN@I@NB@/ JLI=?MM@C@H@N@A@CH@J; H? M? H>(I L?; H@; H>CH?L@H@I@NB@P; CF@F@BCH?MM@NO>C?M?F; N?G?GILS < M?GI>?FCM NB@M@N@A? =IM@G?GILS ;=IOHN@&MIH@ ON@A? =IM@G?GILS < M?> NB@LC@M@L?>C=N@ /; >P; HN; A@QCNB@NB@L@F; NC@P@F; OM@?ACI@H@> H@ />P; HN; A? ; NNB@B?> HIOH@H@B?> @CH@H@AO@?M@E? 'J; H?M? ; H> (IL?; H \$C<MIH@ 4O 1BC@M@M?@H@NB@N@GJIL; S@G<CAOD@S@J; H?M?; H>(IL?; H I<D?=@N@F; NCP? F; OM@?M@J?@C@=; FS <=?; OM@H I<D?N@L@F; NC@P@M@N@L@Q@NB@M?@GCHA@SH@H@C@F@+- NOM@H>CH@B?L@Q@GIL? FCE?@H@<? CH@N@L@N?@MNB@G@CH=F@OM@?NB@M@H@N?H@? MG@F@L@H@G?@L@I@MSH@N@CB?>M@L@CH@NC@F@SK@O@ NI=IGJF?N?; AL@GG; NC@=; F M@O@N@L@O@<D?N@F@CP@M@S@I@H@N@M@M@N@QCNB@H@H@; H@I@C@F@+- ACC FNB@O@AB (IL?; H@; F@Q@M@LA@O@P@N@>L@I@S@C@<MI@H@> 4O MOAA@NB@H@ HOFF@H@N@M@P@ N@P@? CH@C@F@+- ACC CH@C@E?@S@INCAA@L@F; NC@P@F; OM@?>CH@M@B?@CH@C@N@CH@N@L@N@; NICI@1BOMH@NB@C@M=IOHN@M@; L@JL@>CN@ NI< GIL?>C@ @C@N@D@E@?M@Q@CNB@NB@? L@F@NCP?@F@M@L@A@ ; MGIL? MSH@N@CB?>MGOM@N@JL@>CN@ NI=IGJF?N?; AL@G G; N@F@MKO@H@C@H@/M@H@CH@M@ &H@IH@N@M@N@B@?> HIOH@JMCNC@H@M@ ; L? JL@>CN@ NI< GIL?>C@ @C@N@B@R@N@M@; MNB@CH@C@E@HF@OM@CH@N@L@N@NC@I@O@/M@Q@CH@H@?> NI< L?P@M@?>

&NC@C@C@ON@ M?BIQ@NB@JL?>C=NC@NB@C@M@IOHN@; H< G; JJ?> MNL; CABN@IL Q; L>FSI@N@NB@JL?M@H@N@N@L?MO@N@=N@L@F; NC@P@?H@?H@?FC=CN@; LA?@GJFCNO?> H@A; NC@S@N@?L@H@N@C@L@?ACI@H@NB@M@F@J@CH@?M@J@H@N@NB@L@F; NC@P@OM@?ACI@C@MF@M@Q@F@M@N@NB@B?> HIOH@&L@N?@H@?L@H@?A; NC@P@C@N@S@R@N@B@L@?LOC@N@?@ ;>>C@N@C@F@P@L@<F@QILECH&?GILS L@M@O@M@M@C@M@G@GI@H@FS@MM@G@N@B@H@I@D?=@N@F@ ; NC@P@Q@L?@=IHM@N@H@G@FS@>C@ @C@N@D@E@?M@M@N@B@Q@NB@L@F; NC@P@OM@?ACI@H@ ; H@; NNB@B?> HIOH@JMCNC@H@<MI@H@> 4O CHMN@JL?>C=N@MC@JLI=?MM@CH@ I@I<D?N@F@NP@?M@N@B@L@F; NC@P@OM@?ACI@H@?>OM@N@B@JL?M@H@I@; M?HN@H@? CHC@N@C@F@+- NOM@M@B@O@F@H@=IO@A?NB@G@CM@J@M@I@H@ /> ; MNB@G@CH=F@OM@B@J; NN@L@I@O@L@2M@O@N@M@N@=IHM@C@M@Q@T@N@B@J@M@>C=N@H@

M>C~~NOMMCH~~ C~~NFMJIMMC~~~~NEN~~;LNC=CJ;I~~NMLMNO~~>G? NIL?;FC~~TNB~~;N
 NBM?HN? CH~~NE~~+- GEN +- NOM MKO?H=CHOL?RJ?IC?HN;E;N?LC;~~EMFC~~<~~ES~~
 NLI>O?; HI<D?N?J?H?H=S"P?H~~C@LNCE~~J;H~~NQ~~?L?; <F?N?RNL;~~NNCH~~@ILG;NCIH
 MNNAE;FS ; H>~~BOMINF~~?>NIGCMCH~~NTH~~ I<D?=NF;NCP?F;OM;MNBG;CH=F;OM?
 I@NB~~MPINH~~=? IOLL?MOFN~~NNMCH~~=IGJNC<F~~CNBMNIA~~?=IM?GILS <; M?;= =
 =IOHNMCPI~~CNL~~?>C=~~NM~~0/ , / JLI=?MMCH~~MSGG~~?NL~~QB~~?HNB?L~~ENH~~ M~~NE~~NOL;F
 ;G <AO~~CS~~&H; L~~N~~=OF;S<MI~~H~~4 O JL?>C=N~~B~~;N~~MPIN~~?H=CHCNG;FGEN
 +- ACC M?KOP? CH; HOF~~HN~~?RMBIORNLCAA?L?@P~~L~~ L?F;NCP?F;OM?;?>CHA
 MNNAE~~JLI~~=?MM&SIOL;LNC=CJ;I~~NMFCE~~?QCBP?C?>H~~NC~~@H+- GEN +- NOM
 M?KO?H=M L?FC;<H?F;NCP?F;OMMNLO=N~~OBG~~?>INEMO<D?H>I<D?N?F;
 NCP?H~~NH~~?MQIOF>B;P?<?HC>H~~NC~~?C;MMO=H~~CHCNCHN~~L?N;NC~~H~~>NB~~HOG~~
 <?L@MSH~~NNC~~B?>ML?K~~CP~~ NI=IGF?N? ALGG; NC~~EM~~N~~OE~~NOQ?OF>NB?L~~I~~@B;P?
 <?HNB~~MG~~? @ID/M;H>, /M ; L?FNCPI~~F~~;OMP?L? ; B?> HIOH GCHF;OMMO<D?
 ;H>; G; CHP?L? 1BC~~M~~?>CN~~MB~~;N/M;H>/M MBIOB;P? <?H?KOFFS-C@@C~~DFN~~
 JLI=?MMNBB?>HIOHIMCN~~G~~HON;A;CHNB~~QMHINN~~B?; NN~~EL~~?L?MOEN~~OL~~>N;
 ./ MIC~~EN~~ AL; NLH?A;NCP~~NE~~0/ M~~NNBB~~?>HIOH

#ONBEGL ? P?HQB?HMNLO~~F~~;G<CAOC~~NM~~?GIP?>NBLIO~~AB~~?>>CNCI~~QJL~~?
 =>CH=IHN~~RN~~;M~~CHIOL~~?S? NL~~ECH~~MNO>S QIH ?N; F NB~~JLI~~=?MMCH~~CM~~:
 P;H~~NA~~? CL I<D?=N?F;N~~OL~~G;CHM F~~NIF~~>MNL;A?IMG?GILS <;M? NB~~ILC~~?M~~I~~
 HINJJ?; L?>KO;NNI;==IOHN@INB?R~~CMNCMA~~@>;N;J; NN~~EM~~IG NB~~JLI~~=?MM&
 I@IL ?; HL F~~NE~~?=F;OM?M

1B? =LOEFJLI=?MMCH~~A~~@~~QH~~?<?NQ?H0/M;H>, /M CHMN~~M~~?G~~MI~~?< L?F;N?>
 NINB?>@~~COFSN~~@A;J @CFF~~MMI~~=C;N~~QHCM~~=OM~~NNB~~?H>I@_ MG; HN~~CHN~~L?
 JL?N~~HI~~ I@NB~~P~~?L JBL;M~~CN~~?>CFSP; CR?P ;N~~B~~?L?F;NC=F;OMP?L<JIM~~CH~~H
 0/M<O~~INCH~~/M 1BOM~~CHN~~L~~NNCIH~~@NB~~B~~?>HIOH~~CH~~IL?MNL;CABN@~~Q~~QM
 NB;IC~~H~~/ M_ &H@NNB~~JLI~~=?MM&?P;HN;A?@0/M=ICH=C?Q~~QNE~~?>C=NCIHM
 I@B?;:=?MM~~CH~~CBC?L=BS (? ?H;H IGLC? ; H> NB~~JBL~~;MM~~NE~~NOL;EM
 N;H=BSJINB~~MC~~Mf\$L>S M??FMI_ ,<D?=NA;JML;HE FIQ?LNB;HMO<D?
 A;JM~~CH~~NB?=?MM~~CFCE~~S?L;=BS H>L? GIL?>?JFS?G?>?> CHNB~~JBL~~;M?M~~IO~~=
 NOLE?JL?MPIN~~NH~~ NB;HMO<D~~NA~~;JM;MMBIQ~~ICH~~ ;H>#CA L?MJ~~NE~~P?FSFN~~BIO~~AB
 NB?M~~QI~~ BSJINB?M?M?<;M?;H>C~~QI~~H~~NJLI~~ ;=B~~MNINB~~MNO~~QF~~ HAO;A~~NB~~?= =?
 =?MM~~EN~~SB~~CL~~;L~~BSNL~~?;N~~ALGG~~; NC~~FL~~?F;NC~~HL~~CGCNC~~P~~?M~~OJF~~?>@LIG;LNC=O
 F;LM~~GIN~~;IC=M~~QI~~OL?M~~QBCF~~?L;>S~~MN~~B~~IL~~FC?M~~II~~ NB~~MN~~?>L JBL;MM~~NE~~NOL?
 L?JL?M~~HN~~ I@A~~LG~~;NC=FL?FNCIHM~~JN~~?>CHA?H?NCPAL~~GG~~; LM<INBL?>C=N
 ;H 0/ JLI=?MMCH~~A~~;HN;A~~HINHFS~~ ; ? A "HAEMB~~ONF~~ CH~~3~~ ? A (IL?;H
 F;HAO?MM?%;F? CL>CM=OMM~~CH~~HAOC~~MNCH~~?G?> J;LMCH~~A~~?>FM
 1B? S @L~~B~~MOAA~~N~~N~~ICG~~?;- ?@@N~~MH~~?MJIH~~MN~~ICFE?A;J;MMI=C;N~~CH~~B?
 L?NCP?FOM?H>G;CH=F;OM?ACI~~CH~~IL?; H;H>"HAFCM~~OF~~>CH>??>?@IMCG
 CF;L?;MIHM~~CH~~INB "HAFCM~~B~~ (IL?;H @CFF?L AL; A;J @CFF;MMI=C;N~~CH~~ =IH
 MOG GIL? QILE~~HAG~~?GILS L~~MIOL~~MQB~~H~~ NB~~MNLO~~=N~~QI~~ ;?M~~HN~~CIH@; A;J CM
 GIL?=IGF?R ;M~~NC~~CH~~M~~/M

1B?) + CH?MJIH~~MN~~B~~B~~?>HIOH@/M C~~NFM~~IGJ;NC<F~~QCN~~B~~H~~=L?G?H~~NE~~ JL?>C=N~~CH~~M
 CH~~A~~;G;MBCN; ONOLN LI=E?L FNG;HH (>GC? *CS;GINI (>GC? ?NF
 <OM?;?LCN=B?NN @IL>C@@?P~~TH~~ \$CP?HNB0.3 QIL>IL>?IL?;H NB~~PH~~=;H~~HC~~=NF?HN?H=?
 CHCNG;Facc CH~~0~~/M MCAH;F~~CMCM~~CH~~D~~?EN; A;J ;H>; NL;HMCN~~NH~~2O=N~~PH~~?>?@ILNB~~LLCP~~?@
 NB~~P~~?L<=@(GC? ?NF &H~~M~~ <S=IHNL;N~~B~~?L?;H I=IGJ;L;<F?=O?MINB?R;=NMNLO=N~~QI~~;F
 L?M?HN;N~~OH~~N~~B~~?G?>>?>P?L<JIMCNC~~IB~~? M?HN?H=? CHCNG~~GM~~ MCAH;H~~MCNB~~?IGCMM~~CH~~AO
 G?HNC ?;H I<D?=N;J HIL; NL;HMCN~~NH~~2O=N~~QI~~ N~~OH~~N~~B~~?G?>>?>P?L<JIMCNC~~IB~~;N~~B~~?;LM?L

3.4. LANGUAGE UNIVERSALS AND UNIVERSAL PARSING STRATEGIES. &HNB@CHNLI>O=N
N@H N@B@CMLN=F Q? >CM@MM@B? JIN?HNE? @ @N@NSJIFIAC@P;LC;NC@HQIL>
IL>L@H M@N?H@JLI=MMC@ACHE@=OMC@J@JLI=?MMCH@KO@?HNCHPIFP?@H
JL? PMJIMNHIGH;E F;N@? =F;OMC@B?; >CHC@;F;H>B?; >C@;F;3 F;HAO;AM
4? ;FMI@C@MMG;DILGILJBIFIAC@>@@@?H=M@=LIM@CH?M?;J; H?M?H>(I
I2;H NBG; L@I@HIOHBL;M@I@;M@H(IL?; H; H>; J;H?M?H>I@B?LAB@A?
I@L@FNC@?F;OM@B@BCH?M;H>(IL?;H ?FIQ Q? >CM=ONB@GJF@N@CIH@NB?M?
=LIM@AOC@?H=M@I@OL@CH>CH@AM@CL@N@M@NB@JLI=?MMCH@N@ACT@
FIHA>CM@? >J?H>H@?H@?M@?@?H@?N@SJIIFIAC@;P;LC@CIH@QIL>IL>?L C? JL?
PMJIMNIGH;F@FNP? =F;OM?M?@IL@? =IG; L?"/- L?M@N@M@NB@L?F;NCP?
=F;OMMN@CH";M@MC;HF;HAOA?M@CN@L@HIGCH@L@F;NCP@F;OM@(IL?;H JL?M
?HN@NO>SJ;H?M? 2? HI \$;LHMS ;H> BCH@?6;HA ?NF

TYPLOGICAL VARIATION IN WORD ORDER AND ITS EFFECT ON PROCESSING STRATEGIES. %?L?Q? =IG;L? ?RJ?LC@H;E@M@N@IG NB@JLI=?M@HA@;<:=EQ;L>A;J @CFF?L
>J?H>H=C@MCH@IL?; HLF;NCP@F;OM@QCN@?M@F@N@NB@JLI=?MMCH@?@IL@?>
@CPEA;J >J?H>H=C@M@?; >CHC@L@F;C@P@?F;OM?M@KO?MNCE@HMM=L;G<FC@EN
JL@P@OMM@NO>C@M@CH@M@I@CH@L@M@?@<:=EQ;L>A;J @CFF@J?H>H=C@M@CH>
?PC@P@=?@L@I@HFS@N@I@NB@N@B@?@IAHC@N@CLI=?MM@? C@HNC@CH@L@Q;L@>@CFF?L
A;J >J?H>H=C@M@?; H@OH?KOC@P@=IH@FOMC@P@?H=@I@HFS@I@?H@NB@?

S Q; S I@H;HAS@N@NB@JLI=?MMCH@?@IL@Q;>@CFF@L>J?H>H=C@M@ MOAA?MN?>
NB@H <:=EQ;L>A;J @CFF@J?H>H=C@M@?; M@M@N@?; HN@L@C@?ANCP@Q@OF<>?
?FC@N@QCB@C@B@?L@FNC@P@;OMC@?M@J@H@N@?H@I@CH@B@J@M@?H@I@; A;J CH@QILE
CH@?GIL@C@; N@HMC@?H@N@?@?N@CH@>?RCH@ACP@;FI@; A;J NI;MMI=C;N@CN@B@?
@CPEQ@OE<?@I@C@>;NNB@?>HIOHIM@CH@;H>CC@;N@J@M@CP@Q@OF<>?FC@G@?
;NNB@?>HIOHIM@C@N@CH@RCH@?C@F@;J@CH@?A@I@H@N@?J@L@?>C@NC@N@P@?L@J
J?;L@?NI?>?PC@H@?@IL@; H>CC@?O@N@N@CC@N@?Q@;MAL@N@?IM@M@N@;CH@L@CIH@A
;NC@N@CH@?M@J@H@N@NB@L@F;N@? =F;OM?@A@CH@?@/M@;H@>; NL@HMO@H@N@?O@H@F@N@?
J@M@C@P@?F@C@N@;NNB@?>HIOHIM@C@N@?@/M@

%IQ?P?L NB?JJ; L?HN@P@>?H=@IL@ G; S B;P? <?H@H@L@N@C@N@?@M@N@;N@?M@C@
=?M@M@<S@I@J@;L@C@J@H@N@M@>CM=OM@M@ 0CH@I@D@?N@J@H@?H=C@M@N@B@M@?H
N@H@?CH@C@?+ - GEN + - NOM M@KO?H@I@H@M@N@C@N@N@?>N@CL@I@J@I@?RJ?LC@H@N@F
M@M@O@M@M@P@H@?M@N@?;L@F@?@=N@;H@N@L@I@H@?A@N@C@P@Q@N@B@N@B@L@?F;NCP@;OM@?
ACI@H@I@O@B@P@<??H@; G@L@CH@R@I@N@B@?@=IAH@C@N@C@I@N@B@?@?M@M@N@;N@B@M@
G; S B;P? <??H@N@?@=M@?; MG; HS@J@P@C@I@M@N@>C@P@M@ MB@Q@H@N@;G@I@L@B@I@M@SH@N@=?N@
=?O@M@N@NB@J@L@?H@I@; FIHA >C@M@?I@D@?N@?J@H@?H@?H@?N@A@?C@GG@?C@N@?M@J@H@M@?M@
I@M@O@H@>;H@N@C@I@H@?A@N@C@P@?@;L@?F@M@M@H@P@C@H@?N@B@N@B@I@M@J@H@M@?I@OF@B@P@?
<??H@N@C@A@?@?M@F@?S@N@B@J@?M@?@=I@; AJ@Q@C@H@I@J@B@I@?N@C@G@I@L@B@I@M@SH@N@=?N@
N@B@; N@C@H@?I@;N@C@H@N@B@?>N@C@H@Q@B@G@I@?P@?L@=I@O@?;M@H@?P@<??H@; G@L@?
CH@N@?I@;LAO@G@H@?I@ J@ A;J CH@<:=EQ;L>>?J@H@?H@=C@M@C@G@J@F@S@M@C@H@N@F@=?
B@F@>L@CH@N@B@M@N@?@N@FL@J@M@?H@N@C@H@N@B@?G@N@C@H@?@I@N@C@H@?I@N@B@A;J =IG@?M@I@G

L@?=IAH@CT@?M@C@M@C@H@O@G@?H@N@>J@M@NO@F@N@?M@L@H@M@C@M@N@P@O@=N@M@L@><?M@?H@NB@?LAO@G@?H@N@LO@N@L@?
I@NB@P@L@<I@H@M@?K@?H@N@A@?@CF@EM@I@-C@N@N@B@?>HIOHIM@C@N@CH@?OF@>?G@I@?>C@@?C@O@N@NB@H@
CH@M@<?=;OMP@M@J@C@F@I@P@?@?@?N@M@G@N@B@J@?>?CH@G@<?>>?P@?L@<J@M@C@N@C@I@M@CH@>?R@?>S@N@B@?+ .H@?
J@I@<F@?G@Q@C@N@B@?S@J@N@B@?M@C@M@?P@?L@C@M@B@N@B@?L@Q@;M@H@I@?F@?;L@?>?@?@?;N@M@I@C@;N@Q@N@B@?@=IAH@CT@CH@
G@C@M@C@H@O@G@?H@N@>NB@J@L@?D@?N@I@?P@?L@?F@?;N@C@P@?@?N@B@N@B@I@?P@?L@?F@?;N@C@P@?@?N@B@N@B@I@?P@?L@?F@?
L@?F@;NCP@;OMP@?L@<J@M@C@N@C@H@M@>F@N@B@I@?P@?L@?F@?;N@C@P@?@?N@B@N@B@I@?P@?L@?F@?;N@C@P@?@?N@B@N@B@I@?P@?L@?F@?
L@?F@;NCP@;OMP@?L@<J@M@C@N@C@H@M@>F@N@B@I@?P@?L@?F@?;N@C@P@?@?N@B@N@B@I@?P@?L@?F@?;N@C@P@?@?N@B@N@B@I@?P@?L@?F@?
G;H@ GO=B@CH@N@B@Q@; S@I@?M@I@O@?N@B@N@C@H@N@B@M@?H@N@?H@=?M@C@M@S@H@N@?

NB_LF_{NCP}F_{OMP}?L<QBCBI==OLMCABN_L?NB_B?> HIOHJIMCNCIH>L?@?H
NC_HG;NCIH=IG?M@LG NB_B?> HIOHCN_MBC_MMC_CHN@LIC@IQ;L>@E_L
A;J >?J?H>?HE?MCHQBC=BH>CHA @CFIC_HQILECH_A?GILS ;M; JBIHIFIAC=;F
;H>IL MG; HNCOHC_NPIC>I@NB?GNC;H>AL;GG;NCF_LF;NCIH_EH_G;NCIH?
KOICM?>€;N_S QILECH_A?GILS L MIOLOCH?IOLL MOF_NCB?A;L NINBCMCHN
Q?L?=IH_EH>?>SNB_JIMMC_CFSNLAC_HLI=?MMCBAQ?P?L @CH;E_DO>C_NCIH
I@BC_NMMQ_CFB?P NI;Q; C_NH_Q>;N;

4? Q?L_G CH; HS=;M HINMOL_M NBNNB_L?Q; MHI CH>RI@>C@L_GHNCA_H @CFIC_H
N?ANCIHMN_MBB?@IG I@; F_N JIMCNDP?MJIHM_NNB_B?> HIOHJIMNOF;NC_H
OH;G<CAOIOM_HHNCA;J <?IG? MJIMMC_CFS;NNB_B?> HIOHCNM?EBC_H/M
;H>/M ;M>C_MOMM_CH

&NB_{OM}?GMNB;NB?IHSIJ? L;NCIN_NFSL KOCL_EHN_B J; LMQ;ML?NLC?P@NB?
JL?PCIOMF?N?> GCMM_CHAO_EHN@NB P?L<CL ;MMI_NNCI_CQCN_B?@CF_ENC_H
>R?><SNJHMEH + ;NNB_B?> HIOHJIMCNCDDM_M; JL?P_{OM}FS=OLCH_EFF?L
CMLNPP?> @ILMMI=C;NCI_EHN_B A;J CH @ILQ> @CF_E2L>?J?H>?H=S(IL?;H
. / MQCNB;=EQ;L>A;J @CEE?J?H>?HE_EFC=CN) + ?@?@NQB?H=IGJ;L?> NI
0/M;NNB_CFLA;J ;MMI=NE JIMCNCNB_B?> HIOH DOM_ECH_EIGJ;LCMIHM_M
NI0/M;NNB_G; CH_EF;OMP?L<I@@ILQ;>@CF_E2L>?J?H>H=C?VHHAEMBF;NC
=FOMM(CHA (ON;M *^FF?L?N F 4?= E?LFS (ON;M

&HMOGQ? B;P OH?KOCPE?F?NLIBSMCIFIAC_CP>?H@=IL_C@C_HNC_EI=?MM
CHA@<;EQ L>A;J @CF_E2J?H>H=C?VHIL? ;H MO<DN_EMI <D=?N?F;NC_EF;OM?M
CH>RCHA LHNQILECH_A?GILS =IMN_EF;N?NINB?IGJF?RCN_EI?L;NCIHM_H
PIPF?> CH_LNC_EHA; JL?>CH_AG<CAOIOM_H J ;H>;MMI=CH_CNCQCNB_CFF?L_BCM
=IGJF_ERCSNCM?NLGCH?CN_B?S NB_E;HMJ;LH_S I@NB_{JL}?>C=;NCI_E;NCI_H?NQ??H
NBB?> HIOH H>NB?L_F;NC_E=F;OM? IL<SNB_MNIN_E=IGJF?RCN_EN_B?A;J CH
NB_L?NCP?=FOM?M??_ d IL J?LB;JM<INBMCGOFN_EOMFS? >C>HIN BIQ?P?L
@C=F?L?PC>H=?I@MNJA; IL CHN?ANCIHMN_MFN?NINB_A;J 1B_CMM??G_MPL
@?EN=IGJ; NC_EQCN_A?H?IEHNCIHM_HCH?D?HN;E;LM_CA;M;JJFC?>NIB?> @CH;F
F;HAOA?M;MQ?IF;MQC_B=OL?HNO?<M?>?) QCM 3; MC_MBB)?Q CM?N;F
IL=IHN_EIN ;>IMM;<F?= "FL?? GL>FM@P?L<FQILECH_A?GILS

3.5. MORPHOLOGICAL DIFFERENCES AMONG EAST ASIAN LANGUAGES AND THEIR EFFECTS ON THE PROCESSING OF PRENOMINAL RELATIVE CLAUSES. M MB_IQICH BC
H?M?; J;H?M?;H>(IL ?;H;L?C_G;HS Q;SMNSJIFIAC_CFSMC_GCF;IMNL?F?P;H_NINB_C
M_NSCMB_GLJBIFIAC=?G; LECHA HIOHM>P?L<MB?MNSJIFIAC=?FCGCF;IMTNC
;H>>C@L_H?MB;P?CGG?>C;NC_GJF_CNCIHM_HCH_NENCH_B?/- L?MOE_EMI;H>
\$;LHMSfM M_NSI @;J; H?M?M 6;HA ;H>IFF?;AO_Mf MNOI_EBC_H?M?
/ M ;H>NB?JL?M?H_NNOI_G(IL ?;H/M &INB_C=NC_EPI; NN?G_NNL?H=CN_B?R
J?LG?H_NFL M_NW_NLIMMB_NBL_NNO_M?=C@EES@INB?IGJ;LCMIH@NB?J;H
?M?H>(IL ?;H?RJ?ICG?HN_EPMOFQ_MR;GCH_NB_EIMMC<CN_ENSB_MMOMN;C_E2HN;F
H?A;NC_ESN_NNB?G?<?>?>P?L<JIMCNDP_EHN_ECH? HI \$;LHM?S =ILEMJIH>M
NINB?MOMN?@HN;H?A;NCPQ_CNSB_EHL_EF;NCP?F;OM?A CH_ECH_NB_EJL?M?H_NNO>S
4? NB_EHN_ELN_E; >CM=OMM_CBB_EG; DIL>C@C_E2CH_EHN_E?RJ?ICG?HN_E?MOE_EMM
M_NC_M?M? JL?M?H=E_L; <MH=?I@F;N_JIMCNCPC_NS =LIMMF_CMSC@C_E2NB;NM
JIN?HN_EFS; MMC_N?C ?G;LECHA B_LCAB_N?I@NB_LF;NCP?F;OM?

MARKING OF NOUNS AND THE SUSTAINED FRONTAL NEGATIVITY. /?=;FFNB;NH_J;
H_MNBAE; NL;HN_ECIH_A;NCPC_NSN?<S, /M MN;LNN_NNB?G?<?>?>P?I< NB;NM
BEFORE NB_B?> HIOH @CEEJIMCNCIH>NB?@?@N NNB_B?> HIOHJIMCNCQ_EMHIN
MNCNCFFS?IC<F?;H>NB_EMI?G_MN?<?; =IHNCH_ECIH@NB;NPIE?><S NB_{JL}PC_{OM}

QIL> NB?/ P?L& 2?HI \$; LHM?S 1B?L?L? NQIJIMMC<CPH?LJL?N;NCIHM
 I@NB@?@NHL?F;NCINB@CH>CH@NB@JL?MHNMO>S @CLONB;NB?@@GN
 2?HI \$; LHM?MHN>J?H>HN@NB@JL?M?H@?; @CF@L>?J?H>?H=S FN BIOA@
 NCILH?A;NCP@NQ;MI<MLP?>N; >@@PHN?HN?H@MCNC@NB@NQIMNO>CCM
 2?HI ; H>\$;LHM?MMNO>S@NB@L?F;NCP@OMP?L<8 +- ACC NOM 3?L<9 JL?M?HN
 MNO>S@NB?P?L<C;BBL@M@ +- ACC/NOM >P- 3?L<ADN9 CH<INB MNO>CBM@
 @=NQ;MI<M?LP?CGG?>CN?F@IFFIQCHA+- NOM. TBCMOAA?MB@NB?@@NCH
 2?HI ; H>\$;LHM?MMNO>S@OF?>?; L?@FH@I@H?I@NB@NSJIFIAC@MCGF;IM@NC
 NQ?H?J; H?M?H>(IL? ; H H;G?FS=M?G;LECH@HIOHJBL;M@;H>;H CH>?R@NB?
 =MN@MMIE@N QCN@NB@JLI=?MMC@P?LNIGCH;NC@?LE?>+MCHNB?MHAO;A?M
 M?H

HIN@JIMM@CENS@NB;NB?HN@CIH?A;NCP@NB?G<?>?>P?L<CH?HI
 \$;LHM?S C@NB?L?MOR@JL?C@NCP@H>MNL;N?AC@MC@H@C@L@N@NB?@@?=N
 QC@NB@L?FNP?>FOM@NB@JL?MHNMO>S 4BCF@? ;H>, / @IAG?HN+-
 NOM/ACC 3?L<CH@J;H? M?;HNB?INC=F@H>NNB@P?L@JIMC@C@M; GIHI=F;OM;F
 MP@N@=?;FFI@NB?MP@N@=?MOM?>S 2?HI ; H>\$;LHM?Q?L?;NF?;M@C@L@N@>MFIHA
 ; H>NB@L?FNP?>FOM@P?L<Q; MIFSNB@CL@L@>CH@HSACP?M?HN?H&HPC?Q@
 NB@C?HI ; H>\$;LHM?S=FCG? NBNL?>?IM@?L?FCE?F@I@?RJ?>NNB@IHNCHO;N@CH
 NB@M?HN?; @N?NB@L?F;NCP@F;OMP?L<*IL? CGJILN;HNF@M?>JH ; HILGCH@MNO>S
 CH@QBCBJ;LN@CJ;HN@NGJF?N?; MP@N@=?@IAG@H@N@JNBL@O@NB? P?L<M@L?F;
 N@?F;OM@MP@N@?H@C@?NB;H I@NB@C@G? 2?HI ; H>\$;LHM@S;LAO?NB;N@LNC=C
 J; HN@Q@L?FE?F@I?<?RJ?>N@CH@?FNC@?F;OM@N@L@N@>P?L<1B?L@Q; M
 ; FM@H?/- L?MJH@N@M?HN?H@HC@I@H@=;H@I@?RJ?>IL?>?LC?; M?HN?H@HC@NC@F
 + - ACC CH@MO@E@N@F;NCP@M@? HI ; H>\$;LHM?MMNO>S@NB@JL?M?HNMO>S
 FH@NB@MOAA?MB@NB?HN@CIH?A;NCP@SC@C@S@NB@L?F;NCP@F;OM@?CH@I@
 I@D@N@L@F;NCP@H@<INB@M@C@N@L@C@ON@N@F@N@L;N?AC@JL?>I@N@C@P@M@C@H@? OH
 CH@N@>JL?>C@N@FCN@NB@M?HN?HN@N@O@<?M?>I@NB?;M?G;LECH@+@-M CH
 ?RJ?IC@H@N@M?HN?H@CH@NB@MNO>C@M@B@P? ?FC@CN@?LI=?MMC@AH=N@C@G@L
 N@B;N@; C@L@Q@L@ @CE@A@>?J?H>H@S

MARKING OF RELATIVE CLAUSE VERBS AND (SUSTAINED) LATE POSITIVITY. /?=@FFNB;N
 CH? HI ; H>\$;LHM@M@?MNO@?;J;H? M@L@F;N@?F;OM@NB@?L@;M;H?@@N@?@
 F@N@JIMC@P@S@N@NB@?B?> HIOHJIMCNC@I@<D?@NF;NCP@MM CH@L@?H?FC@C@N@P@F
 ;) + BIQ?P?L@D@M@N@H@HAFC@M@;N@?F;OM@?QCN@I@F;N@JIMC@N@P@S@N@NB@?B?>
 B?> HIOHJIMC@I@H@1BC@C@?H@?HOE?>?O?N@NB@F@=E@G@IL@JB@I@F@=?G;LECH@
 ; NB@?L@B@N@A?I@L@F;NCP@F;OM@?H@?J;H?M?&H@J;H? M@NB@J;LM@B;M@I@H@N@NO@
 ; H?G<?>?>=FOM@NNB@L@F;NCP@?H@?RJ?>B?> HIOHJIMCNC@M@C@NB@?L@C@M@I@
 ?RJ@C@G@IL@JB@I@F@=?O?@I@L@F;NCP@F;OM@NB@F@;HAO;A? FN BIO@ABC@M@NC@=OF;L
 MSH@N@C@JL?M?HN@CIH@;S@B;P?<?H@CH@>PL@N@H@N@SAH@;F@S@NB@H@NO@NB@M@NC@G
 OFOM@N@C@F@M@>C@MM@C@NB@JL?>CH@?N@C@B@?M@S M@C@F@G@I@?C@
 @C@?F@N@B@H@N@B@J@LM@M@C@G@H@N@I@M@S@M@N@I@H@N@A@? G@I@?>?J@F@G@<?>?>A;J C ?
 ; HI<D@=NA;J QCN@NB@B?> HIOH2?HI \$;LHM@S \$ CPP@NB;N@JIMC@N@P@C@N@S@B;M@?@
 H@N@H@N@JL?N@;M@H@C@R@I@MSH@N@C@N@L@=?MMC@I@?C@M@F@N@S@NB@P@N@L@>
 F@N@JIMC@N@C@S@I@C@N@?C@>S@, / M@CH? HI ; H>\$;LHM@S@M@N@O@C@A@N@B@N@B@O@M@N@;N@L@>
 NB@MSH@N@C@H@N@?A@N@C@H@C@@C@J@O@N@H@N@?S@B?> HIOH@M@> CH@L@N@C@O@N@B@B?>
 HIOH@N@I@<D@=NL?FNC@?F;OM@?O? N@NB@F@=E@I@LC@N@B@?>A@LECH@L@F;NCP@?F;OM@?H@?J;H?M?
 1BC@M@C@?H@?I@N@B@J@LI=?MMC@I@?A@I@?H@?L@F;NCP@F;OMP@L@<F@;LF@M@CAH@N@H@N@H@O@H@Q@C@F@
 @FFI@Q@N@B@?O@L@H@N@F;OM@?H@?NB@Q@M@?> HIOH@M@R@J?>N?>

1B? IH? "- M_NSI@BCHMLF, N_C?=F; OM_M6, HA?N_F ; P; CF<P CHNBFCN
 ?L; N_O; NNB?NC? I@NBQMLCNCHAMHINFFIQ; >?NCF?>IGJ; LCM_M@NB?@ @NM
 QCBCHB? L?FNCP?=F; OM_M?ACIHQCNEBIM@NB?L?M?HNNO>O?NINB?IGJF?R
 MIN=NOI@NB?RJ?LCG?MFPHN?HMC ?=?HN?LG<?>>? 0/M PM=?HN?L?G<?>>
 A:L>H J; NB?, /M %IQ? P?L BCH?MM?GMIP?L; FENIJ; NN_EGIL? =FIM?FQCNBI
 L?; HNBHQCNB?H?M? NB?LCM@LIHNHNL?OMN; CHPA; NCP_MS /M CH?IGJ; L
 C_M NI0/M ; NNB?B?> HOHJIMCNC_MH MO<M?KOP@ @N@F; N_EJIMCNCPCBISM
 MGIFLCN_MHNB?/- L?MJHNNINB?> HIOHM@IL? ; H; H> BCH?M?/M CHCE?FS
 >O?N_M NB?@=NNBNL?F; NCPF; OM_ML?G; LE? ; NNB?CABNA?CHINBF; HAO; A?BCM
 JLIPC?>MOLN_MLPC?>H=N; NNB?C@L?H?MCHNB?/-M NINB?> HIOHM@IL?; H
 ; H>'; J; H?M? M_L?>O?NINB?C@H?=?CHGILJBIFIAC=; G; LECHA@NB_ML?F; NCP?
 =>FOM?S?M_M(IL ?; H HI CH_M; H?M?

MIXED RESULTS ACROSS SEVERAL CHINESE STUDIES. ,H? L?G; CHCH_MO?MN_MQBS
 NB?LCMMIGO=B P; LC; NC_MHNB?RJ?LCG_MN; EMOF_MBCH?M?H? JIMMC<CE_MN
 NB?GCR? L_MOMN_MLIMMC@Q_MMNO>C_MMFNB_MGCR?B?>?H?M_M BCH?M? M
 >M=OMM_M> I@3, F; HAO?MFMB; P? B?> CHC_MOMNIGCH; E?F; NCP?
 =>FOMM_MH BCH?M_MMBMIF?R?JNCI_M LS?L &NMIN=F; OM?MBC<CN
 QIL>IL>L C ? B?> CHCNC_MONCNMF_MCP?=F; OM?N_ML?JL?HIGCH; FC ? B?> @CH_M
 8 b9 %?>+IOH 4CNBNBM_MQI J; NN_MMBCH?M?/M@IFFI_M; HHC=; QIL>IL>?L
 8 03:: 9 de , NB?IHFS>C@CH_M? @IG ; LIIN=F; OM_MWB_ML?H=R@NB?H_M=
 de ; NNB?CABNA?I@NB_ML?F; NCPF; OM?IL?R; GJF? ; M=; H<? L?> ?P?HI@NB?
 "HAEM_MBFIMMNB?/ CH =ICH=CM_MR; =NFQCN_MB?; HHC_M QIL>IL>LCHLIIN
 =>FOMM03, QB_M?NB_M/ CH >?MHIN

8AkH_MDZBi>? SZSOVH 0/
 ;NN=EL?JILNLDE M_M; NIL
 8SZSOVAkH_MD?9DZTBi ,/
 M?NIL; NNE DE L?JIINL

1B? ; P; C_MCFNS@NB?LIIN=F; OM_MHNL?N; NCH_MOF>JIMCNCP?EON_M NB?; LMCH_M@ @C
 =CH=SI@/ MCE? MCH_M?>?LNB; P? B?> ; GJF? ?RJMOLNINB; N_MNC=OFQIL>
 IL>L&H>>CHN?P?HQB_MLF; NCPF; OM_ML?CH_MFFGCM; H_MST?> MLIIN=F; OM?M
 >O?NIF; E I@CH_M L?FNCP?F; OM?IOH>LSG; LECH_MBCH?M?%; QECHM
 - NB?JLI=?MMCH_MA<D?N?F; NCP?IOF?>? @=CFCN; N_MCP_MNB_MCHNL?N; NC_MQ
 NB_MCHCFGCM; H_MSMCM? NB?; HHC_M QIL>IL>?L; H; FSM_MOM>?HNCN_MNB; N@NB?
 L?P_M?M_MONOLCHN?LGM@eQBI>C>QB; NNIQBIGf_M BCH?MI<D?=N?F; NCP?M_M
 ; HHI 6C *; NNBQM /? =; FFB; N_MON@MCRNS 10_M; F; HAO; A?MOL
 P?S?><S !LS?L BCH_MQ; MN_MHFSIH? QCNE_MHIGCH_M B?> @CH_MPF; NCP?
 =>FOMM1BONQBCF%; QECHM MOAMNNB; N_MHAO; A_ML? MB?> CH Q; S NB; N
 @; H_MCM_M?@CEHN; LMCAH; H>NB_MJL?HIGCH; F B?> @CH_MPF; NCP?F; OM_ML? NB?L
 @IL?M_MJL@L?> =LIMMFCHAOCNNBCL_MPNMCH_MNNM_MOB=MNLO=NOHB_MH?
 =>IOF?< G_MAN? <S NB?@NNBN<D?NLF; NCP; H>LIIN=F; OM?NRBC<NB?R; =N
 M; G QIL>IL>?L; H><S NB?F?LGILJBIFIAC=; G; LECHA_M NB_MCABNA?I@; FFBC
 H_ML2FNCP?>FOM?M

&HMOGNB_MGCR?>L?MOEN_M>CHIAF; NCP?F; OM_MMSGG_MCHNB?BCH?M_MI
 =>M_MAFN_M; NOIG; S <?>O?NINB?C@CH_MPF; NCP?CABNCHAMP?L; @; =N_MLB; N
 CMNB L?FNCP??; M_M!@NB_MCHNGCMCHN_MN; NC_MH> MO<M?KOP?H; FSM_MOM/M
 =>IOF?ACP_M?G ; JLI=?MMCH_MHNA?CHMIG?MNO>Q_MBCFNB_MFCHAOCNNC?R
 CNSCM=OMM_M =>IOF_M MOEN_M0/ JLI=?MMCH_M; HN; A@IOH_MHNB?MNO>C?M

4. CONCLUSIONS. 1BCMLNC=PHP?MNCANB?L;CH?MJIHM?FC=CN?S L?F;NCP?F;OM?HMS?NMCNCHIL?;H H;G?FSMOMEN?;HN?LCH?A;NCP?CNS?MJIHM?INB?L?FNCP?=FOML?A?H;H>NI?MEN?HNL?L H A;NCP?CNS?B?;>HIOHJIMCN?BCF?NB?L?MJIHM?=OLCH?ALFSCHNB?L?F;RC=F;OMG;S B;P?<?HCH>O=?S MN?ACJL=?MMC?GAHANB?J;LN?CJ;HN?HOLMNO?SNIH?NB?F?MGIHMNL;NM?MMIIH;MNB?J;LM?H?C=CN?MH OJ=IGCHA?D?=?N?J?H>?H=S H CGG?>C;N?L?CHL?MJIHM?I@MOMEN?>H?A;NCP?CNS?FC?N?IP?L;HN?L?ACIHM?NB?M=;FJ1BCMTMIHCMCM?HNQCN?HOGLIOMMD?C?MHN?FC?N?L?MQ?FF;MQCN?BOLIQ H M=L;G<FCH?AMOFNM4CN?NB?;MN MC;H?HAO;AMNB?NL;H?M?L?MJIHM?INB?B?;>HIOHJIMCN?CHOL>N;M?G?>GIM?GCF?INBN?FC=CN?S B?CH?M?F?;NCPF?OM?M MOAA?M?N?N?NB?Q?M<?OM?NB?L?FNCP?F;OM?HINHIS JL?=?>?MNB?B?;>HIOH?ONCM?FMGILJBIFIA?F?G;LE?>;NCN?CABNA?CHIL?;H ;H> B?CH?M?F?IP? L NB?M?M?M?N=F?LFS?>GIHM?N?MC?G?C?HNB?JL?=?MMC?H?A?;=EQ;L>;H>@IL?Q;>>J?H>H=C?M?CH?FNCP?=F;OM?M?NS?JFIA?FFS?>MN?C?H?HAOA?M=IGJ;L?>NI?KOCP?F?H?N? (IL?;H / M C ? <:=EQ;L> A;J @CFF?U?H>H=C?M?F?C?N?>INB?MOMN;CH?N?L?CIL H?A;NCP?CNS?B?L?FNCP?F;OM?P?ACIHH>N?HMC?H?N?C?I?H?A;NCP?CNS?NB?A;J @E?L;MMI?ACIHH?M?N?B?>HIOH?DOM?HAF?C?M? C ? @I?Q;L>@CEFA;J?>J?H>H?C?M?F?C?M?OM?N?C?H?N?L?C?I?H?A;NCP?CNS?B?@CEFA;J ;MMI?C;N?D?M?C?N?C?N?B?G;CH?F;OM?P?L<QB?H?IGJ;L?>NI?M?P?L/M CH?N?B?N?S?J?N?@?J?H>H=C?M?B?C?M?P?H?N?A?;H<?CHN?L?N?CH?Q?>C?@?H?N?SM?CN?B?H?N?L?G?M?N?B?M?N?L?O=N?O?G?F?R?C?N?S?N?B?A;J CH?N?B?L?F;N?C?F?OM?I?L CH?N?L?G?M?@N?B?J?L?>C?N?C?I?H?F?N?C?I?B?;N?F?>M?N?Q?H?N?B?B?>HIOH?H>NB?L?G;CH?A?G?N?L?C?H?N?B?L?F?N?C?P?F?OM?J?O?L?R?J?IC?G?H?N?E?M?O?N?P?L;F?I?M?O?J?J?L?JL?=?MMC?G?A?F?M?K?M?I?H?F?HAO;A?O?H?C?L?N?M?N?B?=?=?MMC?C?S?C?L?B?S (??H;H IG?L?C?;H>N?B?J?B?L?M?M?N?L?N?O?E?>C?M?H?=?BS?J?B?N?B?M?I?f \$L;>S

-"!+ !&5 01*&2)& 20! ! & 1%" " 5-"/ &*"+1

- 0/ 소아과 의사를 비겁하게 경찰서에 고소한 운전기사의 회사에서 난리가 났다
- / 소아과 의사가 비겁하게 경찰서에 고소한 운전기사의 회사에서 난리가 났다
- 0/ 부띠끄의 디자이너를 우연히 레스토랑에서 마주친 배우의 소속사에 사람들이 몰렸다
- / 부띠끄의 디자이너가 우연히 레스토랑에서 마주친 배우의 소속사에 사람들이 몰렸다
- 0/ 마을의 노인을 사심없이 친절하게 도와준 청년의 집에서 경사가 났다
- / 마을의 노인이 사심없이 친절하게 도와준 청년의 집에서 경사가 났다
- 0/ 홍보부 팀장을 이유없이 매우 싫어한 실장의 차에 고양이가 솟어들었다
- / 홍보부 팀장이 이유없이 매우 싫어한 실장의 차에 고양이가 솟어들었다
- 0/ 교회 목사를 언제나 깊이 신뢰한 장로의 건물에서 바자회가 열렸다
- / 교회 목사가 언제나 깊이 신뢰한 장로의 건물에서 바자회가 열렸다
- 0/ 도서실의 사서를 오랫동안 깊이 짹사랑한 선생님의 집에서 파티가 열렸다
- / 도서실의 사서가 오랫동안 깊이 짹사랑한 선생님의 집에서 파티가 열렸다
- 0/ 국회 의장을 공공연히 정면으로 공격한 총장의 집에 기자들이 몰렸다
- / 국회 의장이 공공연히 정면으로 공격한 총장의 집에 기자들이 몰렸다
- 0/ 부띠끄의 미용사를 우연히도 자주 마주친 여가수의 차에서 폭탄이 터졌다
- / 부띠끄의 미용사가 우연히도 자주 마주친 여가수의 차에서 폭탄이 터졌다
- 0/ 신문사의 사장을 비밀리에 정치적으로 이용한 의원의 사무실에 깡패가 들이쳤다
- / 신문사의 사장이 비밀리에 정치적으로 이용한 의원의 사무실에 깡패가 들이쳤다
- 0/ 유치원 교사를 내심 오랫동안 흠모해온 교생의 자전거에 나뭇잎이 떨어졌다
- / 유치원 교사가 내심 오랫동안 흠모해온 교생의 자전거에 나뭇잎이 떨어졌다
- 0/ 재개발 책임자를 토론자 회의장에서 대면한 시민들의 아파트에서 싸움이 일어났다
- / 재개발 책임자가 토론자 회의장에서 대면한 시민들의 아파트에서 싸움이 일어났다
- 0/ 프로그램의 작가를 개인적으로 매우 존경한 연출자의 집에서 화재가 발생했다
- / 프로그램의 작가가 개인적으로 매우 존경한 연출자의 집에서 화재가 발생했다

- 0/ 중국집 배달원을 평소에 동생처럼 아낀 미용사의 가게에 화분이 배달됐다
 ./ 중국집 배달원이 평소에 동생처럼 아낀 미용사의 가게에 화분이 배달됐다
- 0/ 아파트 관리인을 어이없이 술자리에서 폭행한 경비의 지갑에서 돈이 없어졌다
 ./ 아파트 관리인이 어이없이 술자리에서 폭행한 경비의 지갑에서 돈이 없어졌다
- 0/ 고위급 공무원을 오랫동안 비밀리에 지원해온 재경인의 회사에 감사가 있었다
 ./ 고위급 공무원이 오랫동안 비밀리에 지원해온 재경인의 회사에 감사가 있었다
- 0/ 회사 이사를 내심 오랫동안 견제해온 상무의 정원에서 문서가 발견됐다
 ./ 회사 이사가 내심 오랫동안 견제해온 상무의 정원에서 문서가 발견됐다
- 0/ 프로그램의 진행자를 매우 높게 평가한 여배우의 소속사에 전화가 빗발쳤다
 ./ 프로그램의 진행자가 매우 높게 평가한 여배우의 소속사에 전화가 빗발쳤다
- 0/ 인기 여가수를 공개적으로 톡톡히 망신준 축구선수의 대학교에서 콘서트가 열렸다
 ./ 인기 여가수가 공개적으로 톡톡히 망신준 축구선수의 대학교에서 콘서트가 열렸다
- 0/ 교회의 목사를 매주 정기적으로 찾아간 장애인의 집으로 선물이 배달됐다
 ./ 교회의 목사가 매주 정기적으로 찾아간 장애인의 집으로 선물이 배달됐다
- 0/ 미국의 심리학자를 학술적으로 매우 존경한 교수의 대학에서 학회가 열렸다
 ./ 미국의 심리학자가 학술적으로 매우 존경한 교수의 대학에서 학회가 열렸다
- 0/ 이사회 실장을 회의장에서 친절히 안내한 스님의 가방에서 목탁이 없어졌다
 ./ 이사회 실장이 회의장에서 친절히 안내한 스님의 가방에서 목탁이 없어졌다
- 0/ 연구소의 소장을 은근히 내심 시기한 교수의 연구실에 경보장치가 설치됐다
 ./ 연구소의 소장이 은근히 내심 시기한 교수의 연구실에 경보장치가 설치됐다
- 0/ 시민 단체를 공공연하게 적극 후원한 정치인의 자택에 관련자들이 모였다
 ./ 시민 단체가 공공연하게 적극 후원한 정치인의 자택에 관련자들이 모였다
- 0/ 소속사 매니저를 계속해서 공공연히 헐뜯은 배우의 집에서 회의가 열렸다
 ./ 소속사 매니저가 계속해서 공공연히 헐뜯은 배우의 집에서 회의가 열렸다
- 0/ 연속극의 작가를 너무나 깊이 신뢰한 감독의 별장에서 행사가 진행됐다
 ./ 연속극의 작가가 너무나 깊이 신뢰한 감독의 별장에서 행사가 진행됐다
- 0/ 무명의 화가를 부담없이 자주 찾아간 작가의 고향에 신도시가 건설됐다
 ./ 무명의 화가가 부담없이 자주 찾아간 작가의 고향에 신도시가 건설됐다
- 0/ 유명 소설가를 파티에서 처음 만난 시인의 마을에 빛꽃이 한창이다
 ./ 유명 소설가가 파티에서 처음 만난 시인의 마을에 빛꽃이 한창이다
- 0/ 홍보부 과장을 속으로 매우 미워한 차장의 책상에 서류가 놓여있다
 ./ 홍보부 과장이 속으로 매우 미워한 차장의 책상에 서류가 놓여있다
- 0/ 행사장 진행자를 거리에서 우연히 마주친 모델의 집으로 꽃다발이 배달됐다
 ./ 행사장 진행자가 거리에서 우연히 마주친 모델의 집으로 꽃다발이 배달됐다
- 0/ 신인 정치가를 부당하게 낮게 평가한 기자의 신문사에서 회의가 소집됐다
 ./ 신인 정치가가 부당하게 낮게 평가한 기자의 신문사에서 회의가 소집됐다
- 0/ 영화의 스태프들을 여러모로 살뜰히 챙긴 여배우의 정원에 장미꽃이 만발했다
 ./ 영화의 스태프들이 여러모로 살뜰히 챙긴 여배우의 정원에 장미꽃이 만발했다
- 0/ 위원회의 임원을 겨우 간신히 기억해낸 회계사의 회사에서 파티가 있었다
 ./ 위원회의 임원이 겨우 간신히 기억해낸 회계사의 회사에서 파티가 있었다
- 0/ 성가대 지휘자를 후에 다시 만나게된 피아니스트의 자가용에 진흙이 튀었다
 ./ 성가대 지휘자가 후에 다시 만나게된 피아니스트의 자가용에 진흙이 튀었다
- 0/ 구역의 동반장을 몰래 뒤에서 욕한 주부의 부엌에 물이 넘쳤다
 ./ 구역의 동반장이 몰래 뒤에서 욕한 주부의 부엌에 물이 넘쳤다
- 0/ 항공사의 직원을 이유없이 노골적으로 깔본 일병의 배낭에서 지갑이 떨어졌다
 ./ 항공사의 직원이 이유없이 노골적으로 깔본 일병의 배낭에서 지갑이 떨어졌다
- 0/ 시민 단체를 항상 재정적으로 후원해온 예술가의 집에서 바자회가 열렸다
 ./ 시민 단체가 항상 재정적으로 후원해온 예술가의 집에서 바자회가 열렸다
- 0/ 항공사 과장을 작년에 친구로부터 소개받은 여선생의 가방에서 여권이 없어졌다
 ./ 항공사 과장이 작년에 친구로부터 소개받은 여선생의 가방에서 여권이 없어졌다
- 0/ 운전학원의 강사를 은근히 몰래 짹사랑한 여직원의 신발에 빗물이 고였다
 ./ 운전학원의 강사가 은근히 몰래 짹사랑한 여직원의 신발에 빗물이 고였다
- 0/ 공원의 청소부를 언제나 성심껏 도와준 정원사의 동네에 소나기가 내렸다
 ./ 공원의 청소부가 언제나 성심껏 도와준 정원사의 동네에 소나기가 내렸다
- 0/ 정보부장을 비밀리에 배후에서 조종하는 외교관의 나라에 기름값이 폭등했다
 ./ 정보부장이 비밀리에 배후에서 조종하는 외교관의 나라에 기름값이 폭등했다
- 0/ 신문사의 편집장을 끊임없이 집요하게 협박한 총장의 집에서 도둑이 잡혔다
 ./ 신문사의 편집장이 끊임없이 집요하게 협박한 총장의 집에서 도둑이 잡혔다

- 0/ 인접국의 외교관을 사적으로 특실에서 접견한 장관의 자동차에 폭탄이 장치됐다
 ./ 인접국의 외교관이 사적으로 특실에서 접견한 장관의 자동차에 폭탄이 장치됐다
 0/ 마을의 이장을 가까스로 위험에서 구해낸 악사의 가게에서 사람들이 모였다
 ./ 마을의 이장이 가까스로 위험에서 구해낸 악사의 가게에서 사람들이 모였다
 0/ 영화사의 감독을 오랫동안 비밀리에 위협한 연출자의 가방에서 금품이 발견됐다
 ./ 영화사의 감독이 오랫동안 비밀리에 위협한 연출자의 가방에서 금품이 발견됐다
 0/ 당시 지도부를 대놓고 마구 비방한 의장의 사무실에 기자들이 도착했다
 ./ 당시 지도부가 대놓고 마구 비방한 의장의 사무실에 기자들이 도착했다
 0/ 대기업의 회장을 어제 간담회에서 소개한 방송인의 마을에서 잔치가 열렸다
 ./ 대기업의 회장이 어제 간담회에서 소개한 방송인의 마을에서 잔치가 열렸다
 0/ 쿠데타의 주동자들을 당일 전국에 지명수배한 수상의 저택에 폭탄이 떨어졌다
 ./ 쿠데타의 주동자들이 당일 전국에 지명수배한 수상의 저택에 폭탄이 떨어졌다
 0/ 대학의 노교수를 항상 건성으로 대접한 총장의 고향에 냄비 건설됐다
 ./ 대학의 노교수가 항상 건성으로 대접한 총장의 고향에 냄비 건설됐다
 0/ 노조의 대표를 토론자 출로 만난 이사의 우편함에서 편지가 사라졌다
 ./ 노조의 대표가 토론자 출로 만난 이사의 우편함에서 편지가 사라졌다
 0/ 유명 가수를 취중에 심하게 폭행한 배우의 집에서 기자회견이 열렸다
 ./ 유명 가수가 취중에 심하게 폭행한 배우의 집에서 기자회견이 열렸다
 0/ 부대의 사병을 몰래 잔혹하게 죽이려한 소설가의 자가용에 바위가 떨어졌다
 ./ 부대의 사병이 몰래 잔혹하게 죽이려한 소설가의 자가용에 바위가 떨어졌다
 0/ 학원의 원장을 공식적으로 행사에 초대한 동장의 손가락에서 반지가 없어졌다
 ./ 학원의 원장이 공식적으로 행사에 초대한 동장의 손가락에서 반지가 없어졌다
 0/ 부처의 본부장을 공개적으로 심하게 헐책한 부서장의 사무실에 불이 났다
 ./ 부처의 본부장이 공개적으로 심하게 헐책한 부서장의 사무실에 불이 났다
 0/ 공장의 직공을 일산으로 친절히 안내한 운전수의 택시에서 지문이 채취됐다
 ./ 공장의 직공이 일산으로 친절히 안내한 운전수의 택시에서 지문이 채취됐다
 0/ 대학의 학자를 언제나 자주 찾아갔던 연구원의 연구실에서 회의가 진행됐다
 ./ 대학의 학자가 언제나 자주 찾아갔던 연구원의 연구실에서 회의가 진행됐다
 0/ 정당의 사무장을 여러번 우연히 마주친 상무의 별장에서 파티가 열렸다
 ./ 정당의 사무장이 여러번 우연히 마주친 상무의 별장에서 파티가 열렸다
 0/ 위원회의 임원을 연달아서 심하게 질책한 위원장의 거처에서 총소리가 들렸다
 ./ 위원회의 임원이 연달아서 심하게 질책한 위원장의 거처에서 총소리가 들렸다
 0/ 우체국의 부장을 강력히 부처에 추천한 경찰관의 숙소에서 화재가 발생했다
 ./ 우체국의 부장이 강력히 부처에 추천한 경찰관의 숙소에서 화재가 발생했다
 0/ 공병대의 병사를 너무나 혹독하게 고문한 하사의 잠자리에서 서적이 발견됐다
 ./ 공병대의 병사가 너무나 혹독하게 고문한 하사의 잠자리에서 서적이 발견됐다
 0/ 국회 의장을 공개적으로 전폭적으로 지지한 총리의 관저에서 시민들이 데모했다
 ./ 국회 의장이 공개적으로 전폭적으로 지지한 총리의 관저에서 시민들이 데모했다
 0/ 수도원의 수녀를 너무나 정성껏 치료해준 수도사의 복장속에 빵이 들어있었다
 ./ 수도원의 수녀가 너무나 정성껏 치료해준 수도사의 복장속에 빵이 들어있었다
 0/ 천재적 발명가를 항상 여러모로 도와준 과학자의 실험실에서 생쥐가 죽었다
 ./ 천재적 발명가가 항상 여러모로 도와준 과학자의 실험실에서 생쥐가 죽었다
 0/ 공원의 정원사를 비겁하게 카드판에서 속이려한 경비의 가슴에 꽃이 달려있었다
 ./ 공원의 정원사가 비겁하게 카드판에서 속이려한 경비의 가슴에 꽃이 달려있었다
 0/ 기업의 사장을 조용히 비밀리에 살해하려한 이사장의 빌라에서 싸움이 있었다
 ./ 기업의 사장이 조용히 비밀리에 살해하려한 이사장의 빌라에서 싸움이 있었다
 0/ 병원의 의사를 수술실로 급하게 호출한 간호사의 사물함에서 마약이 발견됐다
 ./ 병원의 의사가 수술실로 급하게 호출한 간호사의 사물함에서 마약이 발견됐다
 0/ 지역구의 의원을 검찰에 즉시 고발한 시민단체의 사무소에 소포가 배달됐다
 ./ 지역구의 의원이 검찰에 즉시 고발한 시민단체의 사무소에 소포가 배달됐다
 0/ 관리부의 직원을 재빨리 경찰에 신고한 경리의 서랍에서 수표가 발견되었다
 ./ 관리부의 직원이 재빨리 경찰에 신고한 경리의 서랍에서 수표가 발견되었다
 0/ 회사의 홍보실장을 비밀리에 호텔에서 만난 국장의 서재에서 거래가 이루어졌다
 ./ 회사의 홍보실장이 비밀리에 호텔에서 만난 국장의 서재에서 거래가 이루어졌다
 0/ 아파트의 건설주를 년간 비밀리에 협박해온 중개업자의 자택에서 협상이 이루어졌다
 ./ 아파트의 건설주가 년간 비밀리에 협박해온 중개업자의 자택에서 협상이 이루어졌다
 0/ 연구소의 소장을 특별히 공청회에 초대한 정치가의 당사무소에서 여기가 쓰러졌다
 ./ 연구소의 소장이 특별히 공청회에 초대한 정치가의 당사무소에서 여기가 쓰러졌다
 0/ 학교의 설립자를 무조건 완전히 내쫓으려했던 이사진의 모임에서 해결책이 논의되었다
 ./ 학교의 설립자가 무조건 완전히 내쫓으려했던 이사진의 모임에서 해결책이 논의되었다

- 0/ 공사의 감독관을 공개적으로 크게 질책한 건축가의 회사에 투서가 배달됐다
 ./ 공사의 감독관이 공개적으로 크게 질책한 건축가의 회사에 투서가 배달됐다
 0/ 교향악단의 지휘자를 오페라에 공식적으로 초대한 시의원의 좌석에 오물이 던져졌다
 ./ 교향악단의 지휘자가 오페라에 공식적으로 초대한 시의원의 좌석에 오물이 던져졌다
 0/ 극단의 매니저를 너무나 깊이 사모한 무용수의 연습실에서 행사가 치뤄졌다
 ./ 극단의 매니저가 너무나 깊이 사모한 무용수의 연습실에서 행사가 치뤄졌다
 0/ 공장의 경비사를 오전에 텀미널에서 배웅한 미용사의 미용실에서 친구들이 모였다
 ./ 공장의 경비사가 오전에 텀미널에서 배웅한 미용사의 미용실에서 친구들이 모였다
 0/ 콩쿨의 시험관을 우연히 술집에서 알게된 화가의 화실에서 여인이 울고있었다
 ./ 콩쿨의 시험관이 우연히 술집에서 알게된 화가의 화실에서 여인이 울고있었다
 0/ 관제탑의 요원을 언제나 진심으로 아끼운 조종사의 호텔에 전보가 배달됐다
 ./ 관제탑의 요원이 언제나 진심으로 아끼운 조종사의 호텔에 전보가 배달됐다
 0/ 탄광의 광부를 산속에서 극적으로 발견한 농부의 마을에서 고마들이 뛰어놀았다
 ./ 탄광의 광부가 산속에서 극적으로 발견한 농부의 마을에서 고마들이 뛰어놀았다
 0/ 상대팀의 응원단을 무례하게 마구 조롱한 선수들의 훈련장에 아이들이 낙서했다
 ./ 상대팀의 응원단이 무례하게 마구 조롱한 선수들의 훈련장에 아이들이 낙서했다
 0/ 논밭의 지주를 수차례 직접 방문한 농부들의 뒷마루에서 아낙네들이 식사했다
 ./ 논밭의 지주가 수차례 직접 방문한 농부들의 뒷마루에서 아낙네들이 식사했다

"/ "# " / " + " 0

- ALTMANN, GERRY T., ;H> YUKI KAMIDE. . &H=L?G?H~~N~~H~~N~~~~N~~NCIHP?L<M?MN~~C~~N
 CHANB?>IG;CHI@M0<MKO?HN@P~~H~~=? Cognition c .
 ARNON, INBAL. / ?F;NCP;F;OM?>KO~~C~~M~~C~~~~N~~H<LQ IIQ; L>MJLI=?MMCHA ILC?HN?>
 ;=IOHNProceedings of the Boston University Conference on Language Development
 c
 BADER, MARKUS, ;H> MICHAEL MENG. 00<D~~N~~I<D~~N~~; G<CAOCNC~~H~~MLG;H ?G
 <?>>?=FOMM H ;=LIMM NB?L>IGJ; LCMLJournal of Psycholinguistic Research
 c
 BERWICK, ROBERT, ;H> AMY WEINBERG. 1B?II~~F~~?I@AL;GG;LM~~H~~G>?FM@F;HAO;A?
 OM Cognition c
 BRESNAN, JOAN, ;H> RONALD KAPLAN. &H~~N~~=NCIEL; GG; LM MG?HN~~E~~LJL?M?H
 N~~T~~H~~M~~@F;HAO;A The mental representation of grammatical relations ?> <S 'I;H
 L~~M~~H;H R~~P~~G~~E~~CC; G<LC>A? *&1 -L?NM
 CAPLAN, DAVID; NATHANIEL ALPERT; ;H> GLORIA WATERS. "@@NM@MSHNNC= =
 MN~~O~~L?H>JL?JIMCNCH~~H~~OG<L~~H~~J;NN~~H~~M@L?ACIH<FII> @FIQJournal of Cog-
 nitive Neuroscience c
 CAPLAN, DAVID; NATHANIEL ALPERT; ;H> GLORIA WATERS. - "1 MNOMC@MSHNNC= =
 JLI=?MM~~C~~AQCN~~B~~>CNIL~~M~~?HN?JL?M?HN;NCI~~H~~roImage c
 CAPLAN, DAVID; NATHANIEL ALPERT; GLORIA WATERS; ;H> ANTHONY OLIVIERI. =
 NP; NCIH@L I=;fM;L? <S MSHNNC~~H~~I=?NCI~~H~~O>L=IH>CNCI~~H~~OH=OLI~~H~~NLC=O
 F~~M~~H Human Brain Mapping c
 CAPLAN, DAVID; SUJITH VIJAYAN; GINA KUPERBERG; CAROLINE WEST; GLORIA WATERS;
 DOUG GREVE; ;H> ANDERS M. DALE. 3;M=OF;IL MJIH~~N~~NIMSHNNC~~H~~I=?MMCHA
 P?HNL?HN?>@?& MNOI~~H~~L;F;NCP;F;OMHuman Brain Mapping c
 CAPLAN, DAVID; LOUISE STANCZAK; ;H> GLORIA WATERS. 0SHN~~N~~C~~H~~>NB?G;NC= =
 JH~~N~~EC~~H~~N@?@NMH <FII> IRS~~A~~H;NCI~~H~~P?E?J?H>HMCA~~H~~,IL?FNMI@=IGJL?
 B~~H~~MI~~H~~@L?F;NCP;FOM?Mburnal of Cognitive Neuroscience c
 CARREIRAS, MANUEL; JON ANDONI DUNABEITIA; MARTA VERGARA; IRENE DE LA CRUZ-
 PAVIA; ;H> ITZIAR LAKA. 00<D~~N~~L?F;R~~C~~=F;OM?M?HINOHC~~P~~MF~~S~~;MC?NI
 JLI=?MM" PC?H=@LIG ; MKO Cognition c
 CHEN, BAOGUO; AIHUA NING; HONGYAN BI; ;H> SUSAN DUNLAP. BCH?MMO<D?=N
 LF;NP?>FOMM~~L~~? GIL? >C@CFNILLI=?MMB~~H~~NB~~I~~<D?N IF;NCP;F;OM?Mcta Psy-
 chologica c
 CHEN, EVAN; W. CAROLINE WEST; GLORIA WATERS; ;H> DAVID CAPLAN. !N?LGC
 H;HNI@<IF>MCAH~~H~~LF;NM@JLI=?M~~O~~HA<D?N RNLN? L?FNC~~P~~?FOM~~M~~Cortex
 c
 CHEN, ZHONG; QIANG LI; KUE-LAN KUO; ;H> SHRAVAN VASISHTH. - LI=?MMC~~B~~A
 H~~M~~L?FNC~~P~~?FOM?MPC>H? @INB~~D~~HCPM;IMO<D~~J~~?@L~~H~~?=&NB;; +6 ILH?FF

- 2HCP?MCS!;FC;H !;FC;H2HCP?MCN@?=BHIFIAS H>- INMG 2HCPLMCNSINM
>;G ms.
- CHOI, HYE-WON. 1IJC=;H> @IOMCHIL? ;H 1B? CH@ILNCIHLNCNGISJBL;M?
MLOL ;H> GILJBIFIAS *Japanese/Korean linguistics* 6 ?> <S %I GCH0IBH ;H>
'IBH %;CA c 0NH@IL> 0)&-O<FCNCIHM
- CLEMENS, LAUREN EBY; JESSICA COON; PEDRO MATEO PEDRO; ADAM MORGAN; MARIA
POLINSKY; GABRIELLE TANDET ;H> MATT WAGERS " IA;NCPCNSNB?IGJF?R
CSN@?RNENCIH PC?Q@LIG;S; H ;G<L C>A?* *;&1 *IHNL;F *= \$CFEHC
P?IMC;H>0;HN; LOT2HCPLMCNSFC@ILH0;HN;LOT MS.,HFCH?BNNJ FCHA ;O@
HNCIAOTT
- COHEN, LAURENT, ;H> JACQUES MEHLER. FCE GIHCNILCHRCMENH IH FCH?
MD>SI@MHN?P=IGJL?B?HMCIH*Memory & Cognition* c
- CONSTABLE, R. TODD; KENNETH R. PUGH; ELLA BERROYA; W. EINAR MENCL; MICHAEL
WESTERVELD; WEIJIA NI; ;H> DONALD SHANKWEILER. 0?HN?H=IGJF?RCN@>
CHJOSGI>;FCNS@?@NMCHMPH=? =IGJL?B?HMCIH @*/& MNO>EuroImage
c
- COOKE, AYANNA; EDGAR B. ZURIF; CHRISTIAN DEVITA; DAVID ALSOP; PHYLLIS KOENIG;
JOHN DETRE; JAMES GEE; MARIA PINANGO; JENNIFER BALOGH; ;H> MURRAY GROSS-
MAN. +?OL;F;MCN@L M@N?H=IGJL?B?HMCIH;GG; NCF; H> MBILN N?LG
G?GILS =IGJH?HNM*Human Brain Mapping* c
- COULSON, SEANA; JONATHAN W. KING; ;H> MARTA KUTAS. . "RJ?=NNB@H?RJ?=N?
"P?HN@F;N?>L;CH?MJIHMNIGILJBIMSHN;=NCIHCN@IHM*Language and Cognitive
Processes* c .
- DIXON, ROBERT M. W. Ergativity ;G<L C>A?; G<LC>A2HCPLMCNSMM
- DRYER, MATTHEW S. 1B? \$L?>H<?AC;HQIL>IL>L=ILLF;NCIHM*Language* c
- FELSER, CLAUDIA; HARALD CLAHSEN; ;H> THOMAS F. MÜNTE. 0NILA?;H> CHN?AL
NCH@H?JLI=?MCHA@@CEF@J >?J?H>H?MH "-/ MNO@NIJC;FC;NCIHM
wh GIP?G?HNCIHS?LG;H *Brain and Language* c
- FIEBACH, CHRISTIAN J.; MATTHIAS SCHLESEWSKY; ;H> ANGELA D. FRIEDERICI. 0?J
;L;NCIHSN;=NCGILS=IMNM>MSHN;=NCN@L;NCIHMOLCH@LMCH@?JLI
=?NCIAC@?LG; Hwh KOMNCIHM*Journal of Memory and Language* c
- FODOR, JANET DEAN. - ;LMCN@LAC?M>=IHMN@HNNNIHM@ILNCIHM*linguistic
Inquiry* c
- FODOR, JANET DEAN. -BL;M@N@NOLP; LMCH@>NB@MF;H@HMNL;CHNM*Linguistics
and Philosophy* c
- FODOR, JERRY A.; THOMAS G. BEVER; ;H> MERRILL F. GARRETT. *The psychology of
language: An introduction to psycholinguistics and generative grammar* +?Q 6ILE
*= \$L;Q %CFF
- FRAUENFELDER, ULLI; JUAN SEGUI; ;H> JACQUES MEHLER. *IHCNILCH@OH>NB?
LT;NCIHS=F;OM*Journal of Verbal Learning and Verbal Behavior* c
- FRAZIER, LYN. OSHN;NCIHS?GJF?RCNS*natural language parsing: Psychological, com-
putational, and theoretical perspectives* ?> <S !;PC> / !QNS); OLG LNNOH;H@
LHIF> * 7QC=ES c ; G<LC>A? G<LC>A2HCP?MCNSMM
- FRAZIER, LYN. OSHN;NCIHS=?MMCH@AC>H@? @LIGON@B *Natural Language and
Linguistic Theory* c
- FRAZIER, LYN, ;H> CHARLES CLIFTON, JR. OO=?MMCP@FC=CN@NB@I@GG;L ;H>
NB@LM?L*Language and Cognitive Processes* c
- FRIEDERICI, ANGELA D.; ERDMUT PFEIFER; ;H> ANJA HAHNE. "P?HN IFN?>L;CH@
NP@SF@OCH@;NQEMJ?@BJLI=?MMCH@?@N@M?GHNCIGILJBIFIAC@; H> MSH
N;NC@P@F;NCIHM*Cognitive Brain Research* c
- FRIEDMANN, NAAMA, ;H> RAMA NOVOGORODSKY. 1B? ;=KOCMCN@I@F;NCP@F;OM?
=IGJL?B?HMCIH%?<LQ MNO@O& ;H> HIIG;F >?P?FIJG?HN*Journal of Child
Language* c
- GIBSON, EDWARD / ?=?H@S JL?@?H=;H> A;L>H J;NB?@ @NM*Proceedings of the
twelfth annual conference of the Cognitive Science Society* c
- GIBSON, EDWARD.)CHAOCM@GJF?RCNS@= ;FCNS@MSHN@C>?J?H>H=C?Mogni-
tion c

- GIBSON, EDWARD. 1B? >?J?H>?H=SF=;FCN\$B?IL>>CMN? <;M> NB?IL\$@FCH
~~AOMN~~=IGJF?RCN\$Image, language, brain: Papers from the first Mind Articulation
 Project symposium ?> <S F=? - *; L;HNT; MOMB; MBCN; H> 4; SH?, f+?CF
 c ;G<LC>A?* *;&1 - LMM
- GIBSON, EDWARD, ;H> IRIS WU. -LI=?MMC\$B\$HM LF;NCP;FOM?@H HN?RAn-
 guage and Cognitive Processes c
- GOUVEA, ANA; COLIN PHILLIPS; NINA KAZANINA; ;H> DAVID POEPPEL 1B? FCHAOCM
~~NE~~JLI=?MNMOH?TSCHNB? Language and Cognitive Processes c
- GREENBERG, JOSEPH H. OIG? OHCP?LM;EM;GG;LQCNB LNOFLL@L?H=NINB?
 IL>?LI@G?;HCHAOF?GHNMUniversals of language ?> <S 'TM?JB % \$L??H<LA
 c ;G<L C>A?* *;&1 - LMM
- GUNTER, THOMAS C.; LAURIE A. STOWE; ;H> GIJSBERTUS MULDER. 4B?H MSHN;
 G??NMG;HNC=Mychophysiology c
- HAGIWARA, HIROKO; TAKAHIRO SOSHI; MASAMI ISHIHARA; ;H> KUNIYASU IMANAKA
 NJIAL;JBC=FNNOSIH NB?P?HN IF;N?JIN'HNE;ILL;F;N?M@M=IG<F> QIL>IL>?L
 GH'; J;H?M=IGJF?RMPIH=MJournal of Cognitive Neuroscience c
- HAGOORT, PETER; COLIN BROWN; ;H> JOLANDA GROOTHUSEN. 1B?MSH\$NCHMCNCP?
 NBC@O-0 ;M;H "- G?;MOLI@MSH\$NCHLI=?MMCHAlanguage and Cognitive
 Processes c .
- HALE, JOHN. 2H=?IN;CHN\$IONNB?L?M?ONBMPIN?H=Cognitive Science c
- HAWKINS, JOHN A. Word order universals +?Q 6LE = ;>?GC= LMM
- HAWKINS, JOHN A. J; LMCN@?IL\$@QIL>IL>LOHCP;FM Linguistic Inquiry
 c
- HAWKINS, JOHN A. -LI=?MMCHAAGJF?RCN\$> @FF?LJA>?J?H>H=OF=;LIMAL;G
 G; LMLanguage c
- HAWKINS, JOHN A. Efficiency and complexity in grammars ,R@L> ,R@IL>2HCP?L
 MCN-L?MM
- HEWITT, GEORGE B Abkhaz GMN?L>;G+I LN\$IFF;H>
- HOLMES, VIRGINIA M., ;H> J. KEVIN O'REGAN. "S? @RC;NCIHN\$HMOLOAHNB?>
 CHAI@L?F;NCP;FOMM?HN?M Journal of Verbal Learning and Verbal Behavior
 c
- HSIAO, FRANNY, ;H> EDWARD GIBSON. -LI=?MMCHA,NCP;FOM?@HBCH?M Cogni-
 tion c
- HUYNH, HUYNH, ;H> LEONARD S. FELDT. "MNCG;NC\$NB?IR=ILL?@CIH@IL?>
 AE?M@@??>IG @IG MGJF?>N;CH;H>IGCT?<FI@E;H>MJF@N>?MCAHMrnal
 of Educational Statistics c
- ISHIZUKA, TOMOKO; KENTARO NAKATANI; ;H> EDWARD GIBSON. /? F;NCP?F;OMR
 NL;NTH=IGJF?RCN\$H J;H?M?- IMN\$JL M?HN\$NB?NB ;HHOF 2+6 IH@L?H=?
 IH % OGH 0?HN?H=LI=?MMCHA&1
- ISHIZUKA, TOMOKO; KENTARO NAKATANI; ;H> EDWARD GIBSON. -LI=?MMCHA&1?M?
 LF;N?P? =F;ONMCH@HN?RN;J? LJL;M?HN?NNB? NB ;HHO;F2+6 IH@L?H=TH
 % OGH 0?HN?H=LI=?MMCHA&1+6
- JHA, AMISHI P., ;H> GREGORY McCARTHY. 1B?CH@?H=P@G?GIL\$FI;>OJIH>?F;S
 @HNL;P;F;=NCP;CQ QILECHA G?G@LNME H ?P?HN IF;N? @ON@CIH;F/& MNO>S
 Journal of Cognitive Neuroscience c
- JUST, MARCEL A.; PATRICIA A. CARPENTER; TIMOTHY A. KELLER; WILLIAM F. EDDY; ;H>
 KEITH R. THULBORN. L;CH;=NCP;NCH-OFN?>S M@N?H=IGJL?B?HMCIH
 Science c
- KAAN, EDITH; ANTHONY HARRIS; EDWARD GIBSON; ;H> PHILIP HOLCOMB 1B? -
 ;M; H @H>?RI@MSH\$NCEH\$AL;NCIHC@C=OFN Language and Cognitive Processes
 c
- KAHRAMAN, BARIS; ATSUSHI SATO; HAJIME ONO; ;H> HIROMU SAKAI /?F;NCP?
 F;OM?MLI=?MMCHA&@ILNB?B?> HIOH " PC>P? @IMNLIH@ILQ;>JL>C=NC@H
 10IE@MBMIT Working Papers in Linguistics (Proceedings of the 6th Workshop on Al-
 taic Formal Linguistics (WAFL6)) c
- KAMIDE, YUKI; CHRISTOPH SCHEEPERS; ;H> GERRY T. M. ALTMANN &HN?ACIH@
 N\$HN;@H> MG;HNCEH@HNCIHC@?C=NC@I=?MMCHAMM FCHAOC@NCH=?
 @IG \$?LG;H ;H> " HAFCMBurnal of Psycholinguistic Research c

- KANNO, KAZUE. #; =NIM @?NCHNB JLI=?MMCHA; J; HMLF;NCPF;OM?MS) F?IH?MStudies in Second Language Acquisition c
- KANNO, KAZUE, ;H> MICHIKO NAKAMURA. - LI=?MMCHA;L F;NCP?FOM?MS ' ;J; H'M H;NCP?MJ?E?IM; H>) F?LH?MJournal of the Canadian Association for Japanese Language Education c
- KEENAN, EDWARD L., ;H>BERNARD COMRIE. +IOHJBL,M?==?MMC<CFCS>HCPML;F ALGG;L Linguistic Inquiry c
- KIM, YOUNG-JOO. OO<D?N I<D?N>LIJ CHNB?=KOCMCN@IH?; H =IIMM FCHAOCMNC= =IGJ;LCM Journal of East Asian Linguistics c
- KIM, YOUNGJIN. 1B? ?@@NM@=;M?G;LECH&H@ILG;NCHIL?; H MPIN= ?JLI =?MCALanguage and Cognitive Processes c
- KING, JONATHAN, ;H> MARCEL ADAM JUST. &H>CPC@C@CH=MCHMSHN;=MC= =?MCIA 1B? II F?I@QILECHA?GILS Journal of Memory and Language c
- KING, JONATHAN, ;H> MARTA KUTAS. 4 BI >C>QB; N; H>QB?H 2MCH@IL> ;H> =FOMFP?F' / -MNGIHCNIQILECHA?GILS OM;A@H?>CHAJournal of Cognitive Neuroscience c
- KLUENDER, ROBERT. L ? MO<ENCME>NMO<ENNI; JLI=?MMCHA@OHNWest Coast Conference on Formal Linguistics (WCCFL) c
- KLUENDER, ROBERT, ;H> MARTA KUTAS. : LC>ACHNB@J " PC>?H@=LIG/-M IH NB JLI=?MMCHA@OH<IOH>?J?H>H=CNJournal of Cognitive Neuroscience c
- KLUENDER, ROBERT, ;H> MARTA KUTAS. < OO<D;?H=S; M JLI=?MMCHA@HIG?HIH Language and Cognitive Processes c
- KLUENDER, ROBERT, ;H> THOMAS F. MÜNTE. "/- MNIAL;GG;NCF; H>OHALGG;NC =;FwH KO?NCIHM? LG;H 0O<D?N I<D?N>MSGG?NIM-IMNEJLMPIN?>NNB?NB ;HHO;F 2+6 IH@L2H? IH %OG;H0?HN?H=?LI=?MMCHA?Q; LE+' KUTAS, MARTA, ;H> STEVEN HILLYARD "P?HN IFN? <L,CHIN?HN>MNIAL;GG;NC =;F?LILMH> MG; HNC@HIG;FCMMemory & Cognition c
- KWON, NAYOUNG ; J; LMCHA;>IR CHB?> @CHE@HAOA?M%?> >LC@PMCH=L? G?HNFJ;LMCHA@North East Linguistic Society (NELS) c
- KWON, NAYOUNG < Processing of syntactic and anaphoric gap-filler dependencies in Korean: Evidence from self-paced reading time, ERP and eye-tracking experiments 0;H ! C?AI2HCP?MCNS@ ;FC@ILHCH!C?AI>CM@MCNSCIH
- KWON, NAYOUNG; YOUNHYOUNG LEE; PETER C. GORDON; ROBERT KLUENDER; ;H> MARIA POLINSKY IAHCNC@H>FCHAOCMNCN@@NCHMO<EN I<D?N>MSGG?NLS H ?S? NECH@NNO@S@JL?HIGCHFL?F;NCPF;OM?MHIL? ;H Language c
- KWON, NAYOUNG; MARIA POLINSKY; ;H>ROBERT KLUENDER. OO<D?NL?@?L?HGH (IL? ;H West Coast Conference on Formal Linguistics (WCCFL) c
- LANGACKER, RONALD W. Foundations of cognitive grammar, vol. 2: Descriptive application 0N;H@IL> 0N;H@I2HCP?MCNS?MM
- LEHMANN, CHRISTIAN Der Relativsatz 1^<CH@?SOHN2+; LL
- LEWIS, RICHARD L., ;H> SHRAVAN VASISHTH H ;=NCP;NC@H? GI>? FI@MPIN?H=? JLI=?MCHA;MNECF@?GILS L'NLP@F Cognitive Science c
- LEWIS, RICHARD L.; SHRAVAN VASISHTH; ;H> JULIE A. VAN DYKE IGJON;NCIHF; JLCH=IF?M@QILECHA?GILS CHMPIN?H=IGJL?B@HMC@Hrends in Cognitive Sciences c
- LIN, CHIEN-JER CHARLES, ;H> THOMAS G. BEVER. OO<D?NL?@?L?H=?CHNB JLI=?MM CHA@L?F;NCPF;OM?MHBCM? West Coast Conference on Formal Linguistics (WCCFL) c
- LIN, YOWYU Comprehending Mandarin relative clauses: Ambiguity, locality, and expectation 2L<;H; B;GJ;CAH2HCP?MCNS&FFCH@TM;H; B; GJ; CAHCMN@NCIHF LIN, YOWYU, ;H> SUSAN M. GARNSEY. -F;OMC<CH@NNSB@LMIFON@ON?GJ@ELS ;G <AC@NSCH@F;NCPF;OM?IGJL?B@HMC@H;H>; LCHProceedings of the 20th annual CUNY Conference on Human Sentence Processing
- MALLINSON, GRAHAM, ;H> BARRY BLAKE Language typology: Crosslinguistic studies in syntax GMNL>G +ILNB@IFF;H>
- MATZKE, MIKE; HEINKE MAI; WIDO NAGER; JASCHA RÜSSELER; ;H> THOMAS MÜNTE. 1B?=IMNC@L>IG H "/- MNO@SHIH =HIC;FM?HN@MClinical Neurophysiology c

- McELREE, BRIAN. 4ILECHAG?GILS ;H> @I;F ;NNHNCI *Journal of Experimental Psychology: Learning, Memory, and Cognition* c
- MCLAUGHLIN, JUDITH; LEE OSTERHOUT; ;H> ALBERT KIM. . +?OL;F=ILL?F;N?M^Q
M=IH>FAHOA;A?QIL>F?LHCHÄCHCGFCHNLÖCHLI>O?ML;JC>=B;HA? *Nature Neuroscience* c
- MECKLINGER, AXEL; HERBERT SCHRIEFERS; KARSTEN STEINHAUER; ;H> ANGELA D.
FRIEDERICI. -LI=?MMCHÄNCP;FOM?MLSCHI MSHNCH>MG; HNC?CG?H
NCIHMH ;H;FSMCQMNBP?HN?E;N?JIN?HNC;FM^{emory & Cognition} c
- MILLER, GEORGE A., ;H> NOAM CHOMSKY. #CHCN;GS?FM@F;FAOA?OM?LM^{and}
book of mathematical psychology PIF ?> <S / OH;H>O=? /I< LN OMB;H>
" OA?H\$;F;HN?L c +?Q 6ILE 4CF'S
- MIYAMOTO, EDSON T. ; MG; LE?LÄ=F;OM?IOH>S CH>OEMTH J;H?M? *Journal of Psycholinguistic Research* c
- MIYAMOTO, EDSON T., ;H> MICHIKO NAKAMURA 00<D?IND?N; MSGGNLCCNFB?
JLI=?MMCAI@LF;NCP;OMCHJ; H'M? *West Coast Conference on Formal Linguistics (WCCFL)* c
- MÜLLER, HORST M.; JONATHAN W. KING; ;H> MARTA KUTAS. "P? HN IEN?>JIN?H
NCMHC><SMIE?HLF;NCP;OM?M^{cognitive Brain Research} c
- MÜNTE, THOMAS F.; HANS-JOCHEN HEINZE; ;H> GEORGE R. MANGUN. !CMMC;NCI
I@<I;CH ;=NCPNS?F;N?>NI MSHNCH>H> MG;HNC;MJ?NM@F;FAOA? *Journal of Cognitive Neuroscience* c
- MÜNTE, THOMAS F.; HANS-JOCHEN HEINZE; MIKE MATZKE; BERNARDINA M. WIERINGA;
;H> SÖNKE JOHANNES L;CHIN?HNEMH>MSHNCPCIF;NCIHNPCMCNP ?P
C?H=?@IMJ=?C@CNSNBMSHNCPCIF;NCIHNPCMCNP ?P
C?H=?@IMJ=?C@CNSNBMSHNCPCIF;NCIHNPCMCNP ?P
- MÜNTE, THOMAS F.; KOLJA SCHILTZ; ;H> MARTA KUTAS. . 4 B?HNGJIL; FN?GM<?FC?
JH=?JNO;FIL?>LN^{nature} c
- MÜNTE, THOMAS F.; O. SCHWIRTZ; BERNADETTE M. WIERINGA; MIKE MATZKE; ;H>
SÖNKE JOHANNES "F?ENLJBSMCIFIAIGJF?R?LOWWT "L?CAHCMEHC?LN?
NHISF? ;O@?L4 ILNOH>0; NT <?H? *Zeitschrift für Elektroenzephalographie, Elektromyographie und verwandte Gebiete* c
- NAKAMURA, MICHIKO -LI=?MMCHÄL?F;NCP;OM? JMSBIFCHAOCMNO?&
;>ONH;M? MJ?;E?LN@?; J;H?M? *University of Hawaii Working Papers in Linguistics*
c
- NEVILLE, HELEN; JANET L. NICOL; ANDREW BARSS; KENNETH I. FORSTER; ;H> MERRILL F.
GARRETT. 0SHN;NCFFS;M> M?HN?>JLI=?MMCHÄMNP' PC>H? @LIGP?HN
L?F N><L;CHIN?HNEM *Journal of Cognitive Neuroscience* c
- O'GRADY, WILLIAM. Syntactic development BC=AI 2HCP;LMCNSBC=;AI-L?MM
O'GRADY, WILLIAM. / ?F;NCP;F;OM?MLI=?MMCHÄ;=KOCMCNC^H acquisition of
relative clauses: Functional and typological perspectives ?> <S " P;H (C>) c
G MN?E;G 'IBH ?HDGCHM
- OSTERHOUT, LEE, ;H> PHILLIP J. HOLCOMB. . "P? HN IEN?>L;CHIN?HNEMFIC=CNS
MSH;ENHIG;FS *Journal of Memory and Language* c
- OSTERHOUT, LEE, ;H> LINDA A. MOBLEY "P? HN IEN?>L;CHIN?HNC;PMC=CNS
@DOP N ;AI? *Journal of Memory and Language* c
- PHILLIPS, COLIN; NINA KAZANINA; ;H> SHANI H. ABADA. "-?@@NM@NB?JLI
=?MCHAI@MSH;=NEHHA >CMN?>J?H>H=CM *Cognitive Brain Research* c
- POLINSKY, MARIA. /? ;H;FSMC?>OF?LCN?;FAHOA;A?=?Q ?PC>H=?CHMOJJIN@
;NLCH *Studies in Second Language Acquisition* c
- POLINSKY, MARIA; CARLOS GÓMEZ GALLO; PETER GRAFF; ;H>EKATERINA KRAVTCHEKO
OO<D?JN?C?H? ;H>?IA;NCPCLN^{agua} c
- PRITCHETT, BRADLEY L %?> JIMCNC;H>J;LMCHÄ<CAOC *Journal of Psycholinguistic Research* c
- QIAO, XIAOMEI; LIYAO SHEN; ;H> KENNETH FORSTER. /? F;NCP;F;OM?LI=?MMCHÄ
* ;H>IHC "PC>?H=?CIG NB?G; T?N;M^{language and Cognitive Processes} c
- REINHART, TANYA Pragmatics and linguistics: An analysis of sentence topics
FIIGCHANIR>H>H; 2HCP;LMCNSCHAOCMFO?M
- RÖSLER, FRANK; THOMAS PECHMANN; JUDITH STREB; BRIGITTE RÖDER; ;H>ERWIN HEN-
NIGHAUSEN -;LMCH@MPN?HMCH F;FAOA?QCNB;LSCH?AIL>IL>L 4IL>

- <S QIL> P;LC;NCIHCJLI=?MMCHAG; H>ML?L?P?F?> <S ?P?HNL?FN?> <LCHIN?H
NCFM*Journal of Memory and Language* c
RÖSLER, FRANK; PETER PÜTZ; ANGELA FRIEDERICI; ;H>ANJA HAHNE. . " P?HN?E;N?>
<LCHIN?HNC;EFCFH?JOHNTHAM?G;HNC> MSHANC=HMNTHNCINCIHNC*Bur-
nal of Cognitive Neuroscience* c .
- SCHLESEWSKY, MATTHIAS; INA BORNKESSEL; ;H>STEFAN FRISCH. 1B? H?OLIBSMCI
FIA&F<MCN@QIL>IL>?LP;LCNCIHM?LG; H *Brain and Language* c
SCHRIEFERS, HERBERT; ANGELA D. FRIEDERICI; ;H>KATJA KUHN 1B? JLI=?MMCHIA
FI=?HS ;G<CAOM?F;NCP?F;OMCH?LG; H *Journal of Memory and Language*
c
SCHWARTZ, FLORIAN. - II=?MMCHAMOJIM?>=IHN?H*Journal of Semantics* c
- SHELDON, AMY. 1B? LIF?@J; L;FF?@ONCIEHNB?=KOCMCN@HF;NCP?FOM?WH
"HAFCMB*Journal of Verbal Learning and Verbal Behavior* c
STROMSWOLD, KARIN; DAVID CAPLAN; NATHANIEL ALPERT; ;H>SCOTT RAUCH.) I
=?J;NCIHI@MSHN?NC=IGJL?B;HMCIS JMCNLIGCMMCHGIAL;JBS*Brain and
Language* c
STURT, PATRICK, ;H> MATTHEW W. CROCKER *JHINIHC=MSHN?NCJLI=?MMCHA
=ILMNTHAONOMO>S@;NNBG?HN?H>L?;H;FSMCM*Language and Cognitive Processes*
c
TRAXLER, MATTHEW J.; ROBIN K. MORRIS; ;H>RACHEL E. SEELY -LI=?MCHMO<D?=N
;H> I<D=N?F;NCP?F;OM?WH J;H?M?Language and Cognitive Processes c
UEENO, MIEKO, ;H> SUSAN M. GARNSEY. H "/- MNO?NB?JLI=?MMCHAMO<D?=N
;H> I<D=N?F;NCP?F;OM?WH J;H?M?Language and Cognitive Processes c
UEENO, MIEKO, ;H> ROBERT KLUENDER " P?HN?E;N? <LCHCH>CMI@'; J;H?M?
ME;G<ICHA*Brain and Language* c
UEENO, MIEKO, ;H> ROBERT KLUENDER ,H NB?JLI=?MMCHAMO; HM wh KO?MNCIHM
H "/ - MNO?NB?JLI=?MMCHAMO; HM wh KO?MNCIHM
VOS, SANDRA H.; THOMAS C. GUNTER; HERMAN H. J. KOLK; ;H> GIBERTUS MULDER.
4 ILECH&?GILS =IHMNCNIM MSHN?NCJLI=?MMCHA ?F?NLIBSMCIAC=F;F
CHPNCIA;NCIP*Psychophysiology* c
WARREN, TESSA, ;H> EDWARD GIBSON 1B?CH?@?H@?C@?HNE?ILI=?MMCHAMH
NPI?=?IGJF?RCN*Cognition* c
WECKERLY, JILL, ;H> MARTA KUTAS H ?F?NLIBSMCIAC=F;FSMCM?HCG;=S?@
@?MCHNB?JLI=?MCH@I<D?N?F;NCP?HN?H*Psychophysiology* c
WOLFF, SUSANN; MATTHIAS SCHLESEWSKY; MASAKO HIROTANI; ;H>INA BORNKESSEL-
SCHLESEWSKY 1B? H?OEG?=B;HCMG?QIL>IL>?LJLI=?MMCHACMEN?=
NLIBSMCIAC=F;PC>H=?@LQ; J; H?M?Brain and Language c
YAMASHITA, HIROKO Processing of Japanese and Korean IFOG<OM1B?,BCI 0N;N?
2HCP?MCS-CMIN;NCIH
YAMASHITA, HIROKO 1B? ?@?N@QIL>IL>?L;H>=?M?G; LECH&@HNCIHH NB?
JLI=?MCH@I'; J; H?M?Journal of Psycholinguistic Research c
YANG, CHIN LUNG; CHARLES A. PERFETTI; ;H> YING LIU. 0?HN?=?CHN?NCIH
JLI=?MCH@I'; H "/ - MNO?NB?BCH?M?HN?H=IGJL?B?HMC@CNBF;NCP?F;OM?M
Brain and Language c
YIP, VIRGINIA, ;H> STEPHEN MATTHEWS /? F;NCP?F;OMCH; HNIH?M? "HAFCMB
<CHAO;EBCF?H 1SJIFIAC=F=B;FFHA?MH> JLI=?MCH&INCNCIHM*Studies in Sec-
ond Language Acquisition* c
ZAKSAS, DANIEL, ;H> TATIANA PASTERNAK !CL?=?NCIHMCA@?HNCNB?JL?@?HN;EIL
NR; H>H;L?; * 1 >OLCH&ILECH&?GILS @?PCM@?INCNCIHM*Journal of Neuro-
science* c
- (QIH
!J;LNG?HN@?HAFCMB
0=BIIFI@%OG;HCNCIHM@I=C;F0=C?H=?M
(IHEOE2HCP?LMCNS
+?OHA>IHA LI \$Q;HADCH AO
0?IOF(IL?;
8H;SIOHAEQIH EIHEOE := EL9
8/?=?CP?> !?=?G<?L
;==?JN?=?H>CH@?PCMCIHM@AOMN
L?PCM@?H?CP?> *;L=B
;==?JN?> JLCF 9

SUBJECT/OBJECT PROCESSING ASYMMETRIES IN KOREAN RELATIVE CLAUSES

(FO?H>?L
!J;LNG?HN@)CHAOCMNØØ+M
8EFO?H>?L FCHA O=M> ?>O9

(ON;M
!J;LNG?HN@IAHCNCB?C?H=2 0!
8GEON;M O=M> ?>O9

-IFCHMES
!J;LNG?HN@CHAOCMNØCLML>2HCP?LMCNS
8JIFCHMES @;M B;LP;L> ?>O9