



Questionnaire

Consequences of Head Argument Order for Syntax, SFB 1287, University of Potsdam, Germany

fifth version
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Name, affiliation, and contact data of the researcher(s) providing the data:

Period of data collection:

Information about the informants: Where did they grow up? Which languages do they regularly use? (Please do not enter personal information that would make it possible to identify the informants.)

Please indicate what notation system you use for examples below (e.g., standard orthography, IPA).

What additional references are used, if any?

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A. Background Information

What is the name of the language?

What is the Glottocode, if available? (<https://glottolog.org/>)

Where is the language spoken and how many speakers are there?

What is the rough affiliation and classification of the language, if known?

What is the dominant order of object (O) and finite verb (V) in transitive clauses and of subject (S) and finite V in intransitive clauses, as measured by corpus frequency, if known?

B Data Collection

0. Data collection guideline

This questionnaire investigates the relative order of object (O) and verb (V) as well as a set of features that are known or suspected to correlate with this. In principle, we do not wish to impose strict rules as to the precise details of the data collection, but here are some guidelines that should be followed if possible:

- i. Much of the data we collect is heavily influenced by the context of the utterance, so please make sure that the informants judge/produce the data relative to the context prompt indicated.
- ii. You could have the informant translate the English sentence into his/her language as a response to the context prompt. You would then present the informant with the alternative ordering possibilities indicated in the questionnaire and have him/her judge the alternative orders in the context of the prompt. These alternatives could be pre-constructed by yourself, or be arranged on the fly based on the informant's translation. Please make sure that, unless indicated otherwise, the sentences are not produced/judged involving any sort of contrastive reading.
- iii. If the context prompt or the English target sentences we provide do not work for the language you are investigating, replace them by other material with the same information structure possibilities. Please do not replace our items by sentences with a different grammatical form (e.g., please do not use a sentence with an oblique O instead of a direct O).
- iv. **Please provide examples for ALL the orders that are possible in the given context. Include negative data, i.e., data on what is not possible in the language!**
- v. Please complement the examples with a word-by-word gloss (if possible, using the Leipzig Glossing Rules, <https://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/resources/glossing-rules.php>) and a translation.
- vi. Judgments should be classified as acceptable, unacceptable (indicated by an asterisk *), unacceptable in this context (indicated by a hash #), and unclear (the informant is not sure about the answer, indicated by a question mark ?).
- vii. If the language shows an alternation between O-V and V-O order (as in West African S-Aux-O-V / S-V-O languages) or shows a difference between main and embedded clauses, apply the tests relative to the position of the lexical V when an Aux is present/in embedded clauses. If in doubt, feel free to contact us anytime!
- viii. If the data is already clear from the literature or your own previous work, there is no need to collect the data once more. Please just insert the relevant information into the questionnaire, indicating the source of the information.

1. The Order of Verbs and Arguments

1.1. Verb and object in neutral contexts

The data in this section allow us to classify the language according to the O-V vs. V-O distinction.

- (1) What is the context-neutral order of object (O) and verb (V) in simple transitive clauses (without an auxiliary) in a wide focus context?

Alternatives to be checked: O-V / V-O

a) Indefinite O

Prompt: *What has happened?*

*My father **bought a new car.*** (V-O)

My father **a new car bought.* (O-V) Replace by a different tense if necessary

--

b) Definite O

Prompt: *What has happened?*

*My father **sold his car.*** (V-O)

My father **his car sold.* (O-V) Replace by a different tense if necessary

--

Explanation: Use a wide focus context, such as induced by ‘What’s new?’ or ‘What happened?’, as a prompt and check word order in the possible responses. The aim is to obtain a “thetic” all-new context, uttered “out of the blue”, i.e., without preceding discourse. Feel free to change the tense if the past is periphrastic in your language. Please exclude contrastive focus or topic constructions as well as pronominal arguments.

- (2) What is the context-neutral order of O and non-finite V in transitive clauses with a periphrastic tense in neutral contexts if applicable?

Alternatives to be checked:

$V_{fin}-V_{nonfin}-O$ / $V_{nonfin}-V_{fin}-O$ / $O-V_{fin}-V_{nonfin}$ / $O-V_{nonfin}-V_{fin}$ / $V_{fin}-O-V_{nonfin}$ / $V_{nonfin}-O-V_{fin}$

Please make sure the sentence contains a finite and a non-finite verb. The finite verb can be a tense auxiliary, a modal verb, or else.

a) Indefinite O

Prompt: *What has happened?*

*My father **has bought** a new car. Or: My father **wants to buy** a new car.* ($V_{fin}-V_{nonfin}-O$)

My father **bought has a new car. Or: *My father **to buy wants** a new car.* ($V_{nonfin}-V_{fin}-O$)

My father a new car **has bought. Or: *My father a new car **wants to buy.*** ($O-V_{fin}-V_{nonfin}$)

My father a new car **bought has. Or: *My father a new car **to buy wants.*** ($O-V_{nonfin}-V_{fin}$)

My father **has a new car **bought**. Or: *My father **wants** a new car **to buy**. (V_{fin}-O-V_{nonfin})*

My father **bought a new car **has**. Or: *My father **to buy** a new car **wants**. (V_{nonfin}-O-V_{fin})*

b) Definite O

Prompt: *What has happened?*

*My father **has sold** his car. Or: My father **wants to sell** his car. (V_{fin}-V_{nonfin}-O)*

My father **sold has his car. Or: *My father **to sell wants** his car. (V_{nonfin}-V_{fin}-O)*

My father his car **has sold. Or: *My father his car **wants to sell**. (O-V_{fin}-V_{nonfin})*

My father his car **sold has. Or: *My father his car **to sell wants**. (O-V_{nonfin}-V_{fin})*

My father **has his car **sold**. Or: *My father **wants** his car **to sell**. (V_{fin}-O-V_{nonfin})*

My father **sold his car **has**. Or: *My father **to sell** his car **wants**. (V_{nonfin}-O-V_{fin})*

Explanation: Please try to re-use the lexical material of (1) if possible, so that we get minimal pairs. Also use the same type of context prompt as in (1) for both (2a) and (2b) but changing the tense as necessary. Please use the same periphrastic tense in (2a) and (2b). Please exclude contrastive focus or topic constructions as well as pronominal arguments.

Background: Checking for possible effects of finite second constructions in the language, as in S-Aux-O-V / S-V-O languages of Western Africa or Germanic languages.

(3) What is the context-neutral order of O and finite V in embedded transitive clauses?

Please skip if there is no difference with respect to non-embedded examples.

Alternatives to be checked: O-V / V-O

Prompt: *What did Mary say?*

*Mary said that my father **bought a new car**. (V-O)*

Mary said that my father **a new car bought. (O-V)*

Explanation: Please try to re-use the lexical material of (1) if possible, so that we get minimal pairs. If you have found variation with respect to the definiteness of the O in (1) and (2), please check the orders with both definites and indefinites. Please try for complement clauses. If there is variability in the presence of complementizers, please check both with and without complementizers. Please exclude contrastive focus or topic constructions as well as pronominal arguments.

Background: In some languages (West Germanic), the linear order in embedded and main clauses is different, in others, a normal order can only be established for the embedded clause.

(4) What is the context-neutral order of O and non-finite V in embedded transitive clauses, if available?

Alternatives to be checked:

$V_{fin}-V_{nonfin}-O$ / $V_{nonfin}-V_{fin}-O$ / $O-V_{fin}-V_{nonfin}$ / $O-V_{nonfin}-V_{fin}$ / $V_{fin}-O-V_{nonfin}$ / $V_{nonfin}-O-V_{fin}$

As in (2) above, please make sure the sentence contains a finite and a non-finite verb. The finite verb can be a tense auxiliary, a modal verb, or else.

Prompt: What does Mary think?

Mary thinks that my father has bought a new car.	($V_{fin}-V_{nonfin}-O$)
*Mary thinks that my father bought has a new car.	($V_{nonfin}-V_{fin}-O$)
*Mary thinks that my father a new car has bought .	($O-V_{fin}-V_{nonfin}$)
*Mary thinks that my father a new car bought has .	($O-V_{nonfin}-V_{fin}$)
*Mary thinks that my father has a new car bought .	($V_{fin}-O-V_{nonfin}$)
*Mary thinks that my father bought a new car has .	($V_{nonfin}-O-V_{fin}$)

Explanation: Please try to re-use the lexical material and the periphrastic tense of (2) if possible, so that we get minimal pairs. If you have found variation with respect to the definiteness of the O, please check both definite and indefinite Os. Please exclude contrastive focus or topic constructions as well as pronominal arguments.

(5) What is the position of adverbs (Adv) with respect to O and V in transitive clauses in a wide focus context?

Alternatives to be checked: $O-Adv-V$ / $Adv-O-V$ / $V-O-Adv$ / $V-Adv-O$ / $Adv-V-O$ / $O-V-Adv$

a) Frequentative (*frequently, daily, often*)

Prompt: What's new?

*Mary a new portrait frequently paints.	($O-Adv-V$)
*Mary frequently a new portrait paints.	($Adv-O-V$)
Mary paints a new portrait frequently .	($V-O-Adv$)
*Mary paints frequently a new portrait.	($V-Adv-O$)
Mary frequently paints a new portrait.	($Adv-V-O$)
*Mary a new portrait paints frequently .	($O-V-Adv$)

b) Place (*here, there*)

Mary painted a new portrait **there**.

- c) Manner (*slowly, carefully*)

*Mary painted a new portrait **carefully**.*

- d) Time (*yesterday, today*)

*Mary painted a new portrait **yesterday**.*

Explanation: Please check all 6 alternatives in (a–d). Also check with both definite and indefinite O, should you notice a difference. Please exclude contrastive focus or topic constructions as well as pronominal arguments. If you use different lexical material, make sure that adverb and verb are compatible (e.g. ^{OK}*drive carefully* vs. [#]*buy carefully*).

- (6) What is the position of obliques (X) with respect to O and V in transitive clauses in a wide focus context?**

Alternatives to be checked: O-X-V / X-O-V / V-O-X / V-X-O / X-V-O / O-V-X

- a) Instrument (*with a brush, with a pencil*)

Prompt: *What's new? / What has happened?*

Mary a portrait [with a brush**] painted.* (O-X-V)

Mary [with a brush**] a portrait painted.* (X-O-V)

*Mary painted a portrait [**with a brush**].* (V-O-X)

Mary painted [with a brush**] a portrait.* (V-X-O)

Mary [with a brush**] painted a portrait.* (X-V-O)

Mary a portrait painted [with a brush**].* (O-V-X)

- b) Place (*in the park, at the market*)

*Mary painted a portrait [**in the park**].*

- c) Direction (*to the market, towards the hills*)

*Mary carried a portrait [**to the market**].*

Explanation: Please try to re-use the lexical material of (5) if possible, so that we get minimal pairs. When selecting the oblique, please choose one of the following: adjuncts, adverbial elements, or noun phrases or adpositional phrases marked with adpositions or peripheral case

markers that are neither direct nor indirect Os. Please exclude contrastive focus or topic constructions as well as pronominal arguments.

Background: Languages with V-O order usually also show V-O-X order. V-X-O order is unattested and X-V-O order is exceedingly rare (e.g., Mandarin). O-V order shows much more variation: O-X-V / X-O-V / O-V-X.

(7) What is the relative order of Goal (G), Theme (T) and V in ditransitive clauses in a wide focus context?

Alternatives to be checked: G-T-V / T-G-V / G-V-T / T-V-G / V-G-T / V-T-G

Prompt: *What has happened?*

*Mary **my father my book** gave. / *Mary **to my father my book** gave. (G-T-V)

*Mary **my book my father** gave. / *Mary **my book to my father** gave. (T-G-V)

*Mary **my father** gave **my book**. / *Mary **to my father** gave **my book**. (G-V-T)

*Mary **my book** gave **my father**. / *Mary **my book** gave **to my father**. (T-V-G)

Mary gave **my father my book**. / *Mary gave **to my father my book**. (V-G-T)

*Mary gave **my book my father**. / Mary gave **my book to my father**. (V-T-G)

Explanation: These are the abbreviations used in typology (e.g., Bickel). G(ol) is typically the recipient or beneficiary (e.g., dative, indirect object), T(heme) is usually the patient argument (e.g., accusative, direct object).

When there are more ways of expressing a goal argument (as in English), please provide the data for all of them. Please exclude contrastive focus or topic constructions as well as pronominal arguments.

Background: In some languages (e.g., some S-O-V-X languages of Western Africa) “direct” and “indirect” objects show up on different sides of V.

1.2. Verb and subject in neutral contexts

The data in this section allow us to establish whether the subject appears in a structurally high or low position in the language.

(8) Can the S- or A-arguments follow V in intransitive and transitive clauses in wide focus contexts?

Alternatives to be checked:

V-S vs. S-V (intransitive)

V-A-O / V-O-A / O-V-A vs. A-O-V / O-A-V / A-V-O (transitive)

Prompt: *What happened?*

a) Transitive verbs (*kill, beat, pull, stroke*)

*My father (reluctantly) **killed** the spider.* (A-V-O)
(Reluctantly) **killed the spider my father.* (V-O-A)
(Reluctantly) **killed my father the spider.* (V-A-O)
(Reluctantly) the spider **killed my father.* (O-V-A) (*my father* as A)

b) Verbs of appearance (*appear, arrive, leave, vanish*)

*My father (suddenly) **arrived**.* (S-V)
****Arrived** (suddenly) my father.* (V-S)

c) Unaccusative Verbs (*melt, die explode*)

*The ice (slowly) **melted**.* (S-V)
****Melted** (slowly) the ice.* (V-S)

d) Unergative Verbs (*work, run, dance, pray*)

*My father **worked** (slowly).* (S-V)
****Worked** (slowly) my father.* (V-S)

Explanation: These are the labels used in typology (e.g., Bickel, Dixon). An S stands for the single (“subject”) core argument in intransitive clauses. An A stands for the most agentive (“subject”) argument in transitive clauses.

If the language requires additional material, such as adverbs, feel free to add this. Please exclude contrastive focus or topic constructions as well as pronominal arguments.

(9) Can a theme marked as an S argument follow another argument in a wide focus context?

Alternatives to be checked: S-X vs. X-S

Prompt: *What did Mary tell you?*
The car pleases my father. (S-X)
**My father pleases the car.* (X-S)

German examples

a) Psychological V (*please, frighten, amuse, surprise*)

Meinem	Vater	<i>gefällt</i>	das	Auto.
my.DAT	father	please.PRS.3SG	the.NOM	car

‘The car pleases my father.’ (X-S)

b) Unaccusative V (*suit, fit*)

Meinem	Vater	<i>steht</i>	der	Anzug.
my.DAT	father	fit.PRS.3SG	the.NOM	suit

‘The suit fits my father.’ (X-S)

c) Passive construction

Meinem	Vater	<i>wurde</i>	der	Anzug	<i>geschenkt.</i>
my.DAT	father	was	the.NOM	suit	given

‘The suit was given to my father (as a present).’ (X-S)

Explanation: The theme should be marked like an S argument (sole core argument in an intransitive clause). With psych verbs, the *theme* is the stimulus, i.e., only *frighten*-type verbs, not *fear*-type verbs. The stimulus should be inanimate to avoid an agentive reading, such as ‘Peter pleases the crowd’ with *Peter* as an agent instead of a stimulus. Please exclude contrastive focus or topical constructions as well as pronominal arguments.

(10) What is the position of temporal adverbs (Temp) with respect to “subjects” (S or A arguments) in intransitive and transitive clauses in wide focus contexts?

Alternatives to be checked:

S-Temp-V / Temp-S-V / Temp-V-S / S-V-Temp / V-Temp-S / V-S-Temp (intransitive)

A-Temp-V / Temp-A-V / Temp-V-A / A-V-Temp / V-Temp-A / V-A-Temp (transitive)

a) Transitive verbs (*kill, beat, pull, stroke*)

Prompt: *What was the secret that John revealed to you?*

*My father **yesterday** killed the spider. (A-Temp-V)

#**Yesterday** my father killed the spider. (Temp-A-V, grammatical only as topic)

***Yesterday** killed the spider my father. (Temp-V-A)

*My father killed **yesterday** the spider. / My father killed the spider **yesterday**. (A-V-Temp)

* Killed the spider **yesterday** my father. (V-Temp-A)

*Killed the spider my father **yesterday**. (V-A-Temp)

b) Verbs of appearance (*appear, arrive, leave, vanish*)

My father arrived yesterday. (S-V-Temp)

c) Unaccusative verbs (*melt, die, explode*)

The ice melted yesterday. (S-V-Temp)

d) Unergative verbs (*work, run, dance, pray*)

My father worked yesterday. (S-V-Temp)

Explanation: If the language requires additional material, such as adverbs, feel free to add this. Please exclude contrastive focus or topic constructions as well as pronominal arguments.

(11) What is the position of periphrastic TAM markers (tense/aspect/mood) with respect to “subjects” (S or A arguments) and verbs in intransitive and transitive declarative clauses, if available?

Alternatives to be checked:

S-TAM-V / TAM-S-V / S-V-TAM / TAM-V-S / V-TAM-S / V-S-TAM (intransitive)

A-TAM-V / TAM-A-V / A-V-TAM / TAM-V-A / V-TAM-A / V-A-TAM (transitive)

a) Transitive verbs (*kill, beat, pull, stroke*)

Prompt: *Are there any news?*

*My father **will/should** kill the spider*. (A-TAM-V)

***Will/should** my father kill the spider*. (TAM-A-V, grammatical only as a question)

****Will/should** kill the spider my father*. (TAM-V-A)

My father kill **will/should the spider*. / **My father kill the spider **will/should***. (A-V-TAM)

Kill the spider **will/should my father*. (V-TAM-A)

Kill the spider my father **will/should*. (V-A-TAM, only for Yoda)

b) Verbs of appearance (*appear, arrive, leave, vanish*)

My father will/should arrive. (S-TAM-V)

c) Unaccusative verbs (*melt, die, explode*)

The ice will/should melt. (S-TAM-V)

d) Unergative verbs (*work, run, dance, pray*)

My father will/should work. (S-TAM-V)

Explanation: TAM refers to auxiliary verbs or particles indicating tense, aspect, or mood categories. Please exclude modes other than declarative (interrogative, imperative etc.), as indicated above with *grammatical only as a question*. If the language requires additional material, such as adverbs, feel free to add this. Please exclude contrastive focus or topic constructions as well as pronominal arguments.

1.3. Word order variation in non-neutral contexts

This data allows us to establish whether there is a correlation between O-V order and the degree of freedom of order among the arguments. We are interested in the effects of information focus, givenness, and contrastive focus and contrastive topicality on word order.

Please make sure your informants judge/produce the sentences always relative to the context relevant for the question.

(12) Is there word order variation in which the O precedes the A in transitive clauses that are marked for information structure?

Alternatives to be checked: A-O-V / A-V-O / V-A-O vs. O-A-V / O-V-A / V-O-A

a) questioned A

Prompt: **Who** bought a new car?

My father bought a new car. (A-V-O)

*A new car **my father** bought. (O-A-V)

*A new car bought **my father**. (O-V-A)

*Bought a new car **my father**. (V-O-A)

b) questioned O

Prompt: ***What** did your father buy?*
*My father bought **a new car**.* (A-V-O)

--

c) contrastive topic, A

Prompt: *What did **my father** buy?*
*I don't know, but **Mary** bought a dog.* (A-V-O)

--

d) contrastive topic, O

Prompt: *Who bought **the cat**?*
*I don't know, but **the dog** Mary bought.* (O-A-V)

--

e) contrastive focus, correction, A

Prompt: ***John** bought a dog.*
*No, **Mary** bought a dog.* (A-V-O)

--

f) contrastive focus, correction, O

Prompt: *John bought **a dog**.*
*No, John bought **a cat**.* (A-V-O)

--

Explanation: Please check whether an O can precede an A argument that is marked as topic, contrast, or focus, independent of whether any additional elements can occur in the construction (e.g., adverbs). Avoid mass nouns as objects.

Background: This question addresses the freedom of word order.

(13) Is there word order variation in examples with a theme marked as an S argument that is marked for information structure?

Alternatives to be checked: S-X-V / X-S-V / S-V-X / X-V-S / V-S-X / V-X-S

Psychological verbs

- a) questioned theme argument

Prompt: ***What** pleases your father?*
***The car** pleases my father. (S-V-X)*

--

- b) questioned non-theme argument

Prompt: ***Who** does the car please?*
*The car pleases **my father**. (S-V-X)*

--

- c) theme is contrastive topic

Prompt: *Who does **the car** please?*
*I don't know, but **the garden** pleases my mother. (S-V-X)*

--

- d) non-theme is contrastive topic

Prompt: *What pleases **your father**?*
*I don't know, but the garden pleases **my mother**. (S-V-X)*

--

- e) theme is contrastive focus

Prompt: ***The car** pleases your mother.*
*Not at all! **The garden** pleases my mother. (S-V-X)*

--

- f) non-theme is contrastive focus

Prompt: *The car pleases **your father**.*
*Not at all! The car pleases **my mother**. (S-V-X)*

--

Unaccusative verbs

- g) questioned theme argument

Prompt: ***What** fits your father?*
***The suit** fits my father. (S-V-X)*

--

h) questioned non-theme argument

Prompt: **Who** does the suit fit?
*The suit fits **my father**.* (S-V-X)

i) theme is contrastive topic

Prompt: Who does **the suit** fit?
*I don't know, but **the skirt** fits my mother.* (S-V-X)

j) non-theme is contrastive topic

Prompt: What fits **your father**?
*I don't know, but the skirt fits **my mother**.* (S-V-X)

k) theme is contrastive focus

Prompt: **The suit** fits your father.
*Not at all! **The coat** fits my father.* (S-V-X)

l) non-theme is contrastive focus

Prompt: The suit fits **your father**.
*Not at all! The suit fits **my brother**.* (S-V-X)

Passive constructions

m) questioned theme argument

Prompt: **What** was given (to) my father?
***The suit** was given (to) my father.* (S-V-X)

n) questioned non-theme argument

Prompt: ***Who** was given the suit (to)?*

*The suit was given (to) **my father**.* (S-V-X)

--

o) theme is contrastive topic

Prompt: *Who was given **a suit** (to)?*

*I don't know, but **the skirt** was given (to) my mother.* (S-V-X)

--

p) non-theme is contrastive topic

Prompt: *What was given (to) **your father**?*

*I don't know, but the skirt was given (to) **my mother**.* (S-V-X)

--

q) theme is contrastive focus

Prompt: ***The suit** was given (to) your father.*

*Not at all! **The coat** was given (to) my father.* (S-V-X)

--

r) non-theme is contrastive focus

Prompt: *The suit was given (to) **your father**.*

*Not at all! The suit was given (to) **my brother**.* (S-V-X)

--

Explanation: Please try to re-use the lexical material of (9) if possible, so that we get minimal pairs.

Background: This question addresses possibilities of scrambling and freedom of word order.

(14) Is there word order variation in ditransitive clauses that is marked for information structure?

Alternatives to be checked: G-T-V / T-G-V / G-V-T / T-V-G / V-G-T / V-T-G

a) questioned T argument

Prompt: **What** did Mary give to your father?

Mary gave **a book** to my father. (V-T-G)

b) questioned G argument

Prompt: **Who** did Mary give a book **to**?

Mary gave a book **to my father**. (V-T-G)

Explanation: These are the abbreviations used in typology (e.g., Bickel). G is typically the recipient or beneficiary (e.g., dative), T is usually the patient argument (e.g., accusative).

Please try to re-use the lexical material of (7) if possible, so that we get minimal pairs.

(15) Is there word order variation in the positioning of obliques (X) with respect to O and V in transitive clauses that is marked for information structure?

Alternatives to be checked: O-X-V / X-O-V / V-O-X / V-X-O / X-V-O / O-V-X

Instrument

a) questioned O argument

Prompt: **What** did Mary paint with a brush?

Mary painted **a portrait** with a brush. (V-O-X)

b) questioned X

Prompt: **With what** did Mary paint a portrait?

Mary painted a portrait **with a brush**. (V-O-X)

Place

c) questioned O argument

Prompt: **What** did Mary paint in the park?

Mary painted **a portrait** in the park. (V-O-X)

d) questioned X

Prompt: *Where did Mary paint a portrait?*

*Mary painted a portrait **in the park**. (V-O-X)*

Direction

e) questioned O argument

Prompt: *What did Mary carry to the market?*

*Mary carried **the portrait** to the market. (V-O-X)*

f) questioned X

Prompt: *Where did Mary carry the portrait (to)?*

*Mary carried the portrait **to the market**. (V-O-X)*

Explanation: Obliques include adverbial elements or oblique Os marked with adpositions or peripheral case markers.

Please try to re-use the lexical material of (6) if possible, so that we get minimal pairs.

(16) Is there word order variation in the positioning of temporal and locative adverbs that is marked for information structure?

Alternatives to be checked:

V-Temp-Loc / V-Loc-Temp / Temp-Loc-V / Loc-Temp-V / Temp-V-Loc / Loc-V-Temp

a) neutral context

Prompt: *What secret did John reveal?*

?*Mary lit a candle **yesterday here**. (V-Temp-Loc)*

*Mary lit a candle **here yesterday**. (V-Loc-Temp)*

Mary **yesterday here lit a candle. (Temp-Loc-V)*

Mary **here yesterday lit a candle. (Loc-Temp-V)*

?*Mary **yesterday** lit a candle **here**. (Temp-V-Loc)*

Mary **here lit a candle **yesterday**. (Loc-V-Temp)*

b) questioned Temp

Prompt: **When** did Mary light a candle here?

?Mary lit a candle **yesterday** here. (V-Temp-Loc)

Mary lit a candle here **yesterday**. (V-Loc-Temp)

*Mary **yesterday** here lit a candle. (Temp-Loc-V)

*Mary here **yesterday** lit a candle. (Loc-Temp-V)

Mary **yesterday** lit a candle here. (Temp-V-Loc)

*Mary here lit a candle **yesterday**. (Loc-V-Temp)

c) questioned Loc

Prompt: **Where** did Mary light a candle yesterday?

Mary lit a candle yesterday **here**. (V-Temp-Loc)

Mary lit a candle **here** yesterday. (V-Loc-Temp)

*Mary yesterday **here** lit a candle. (Temp-Loc-V)

*Mary **here** yesterday lit a candle. (Loc-Temp-V)

?Mary yesterday lit a candle **here**. (Temp-V-Loc)

*Mary **here** lit a candle yesterday. (Loc-V-Temp)

Explanation: If there are no adverbs, try phrases with adpositions or peripheral cases instead (*in the morning, in the church*).

Background: The relative order of temporal and locative expressions has often been claimed to correlate with the O-V/V-O distinction.

(17) Is there word order variation in the positioning of temporal and manner adverbs that is marked for information structure?

Alternatives to be checked: V-Temp-Manner / V-Manner-Temp /
Temp-Manner-V / Manner-Temp-V /
Temp-V-Manner / Manner-V-Temp

a) neutral context

Prompt: What did John tell you?

#Mary lit a candle **yesterday carefully**. (V-Temp-Manner)

Mary lit a candle **carefully yesterday**. (V-Manner-Temp)

Mary **yesterday carefully** lit a candle. (Temp-Manner-V)

*Mary **carefully yesterday** lit a candle. (Manner-Temp-V)

?Mary **yesterday** lit a candle **carefully**. (Temp-V-Manner)

Mary **carefully** lit a candle **yesterday**. (Manner-V-Temp)

b) questioned Temp

Prompt: *When did Mary light a candle carefully?*

?Mary lit a candle **yesterday** carefully. (V-Temp-Manner)
 Mary lit a candle carefully **yesterday**. (V-Manner-Temp)
 #Mary **yesterday** carefully lit a candle. (Temp-Manner-V)
 ?Mary carefully **yesterday** lit a candle. (Manner-Temp-V)
 #Mary **yesterday** lit a candle carefully. (Temp-V-Manner)
 Mary carefully lit a candle **yesterday**. (Manner-V-Temp)

c) questioned Manner

Prompt: *How did Mary light a candle yesterday?*

Mary lit a candle yesterday **carefully**. (V-Temp-Manner)
 Mary lit a candle **carefully** yesterday. (V-Manner-Temp)
 #Mary yesterday **carefully** lit a candle. (Temp-Manner-V)
 ?Mary **carefully** yesterday lit a candle. (Manner-Temp-V)
 Mary yesterday lit a candle **carefully**. (Temp-V-Manner)
 Mary **carefully** lit a candle yesterday. (Manner-V-Temp)

Background: This is a control check for (16).

(18) Can objects of an embedded transitive clause occur in the matrix clause?

Alternatives to be checked:

O_{embedded}-S_{matrix}-V-embedded clause / S_{matrix}-O_{embedded}-V-embedded clause /
 S_{matrix}-O_{embedded}-(X_{matrix})-embedded clause-V / O_{embedded}-S_{matrix}-(X_{matrix})-embedded clause-V

Prompt: *The teacher said yesterday [that the children should bring **pencils** for the exam].*

*No, **pens** the teacher said yesterday, [that the children should bring for the exam].

*No, the teacher **pens** said yesterday, [that the children should bring for the exam].

*No, the teacher **pens** yesterday [that the children should bring for the exam] said.

*No, **pens** the teacher yesterday [that the children should bring for the exam] said.

Russian examples

Vchera	uchitel'nica	skazala,	[ehto	studenty	dolzheny
yesterday	teacher.FEM	say.PST.3SG.FEM	that	student.PL	need.PL
prinesti	karandash	na	ekzamen].		
bring.INF	pencil	on	exam		

‘Yesterday the teacher said that the students should bring a pencil to the exam.’

Net,	ruchku	vchera	uchitel'nica	skazala,	[ehto	studenty
no	pen.ACC	yesterday	teacher.FEM	say.PST.3SG.FEM	that	student.PL

dolzhy prinsti — na ekzamen].
 need.PL bring.INF on exam

‘No, it was the pen that the teacher said yesterday that the students should bring to the exam.’

Explanation: Please use a context where the object is in a contrastive focus position.

(19) Does the language have the “wh-scope marking” construction?

a) Plain example

Context: The police is investigating in a criminal case.

**What* does the detective think [*who* the criminal killed yesterday]?

Intended: ‘Who does the detective think, that the criminal killed yesterday?’

b) Embedded example

Context: The police is investigating in a famous criminal case.

*A journalist knows, *what* the detective thinks [*who* the criminal killed yesterday].

Intended: ‘The journalist knows, who the detective thinks that the criminal killed yesterday.’

Explanation: Working definition of “wh-scope marking”: A dummy interrogative (often ‘what’ but also ‘how’ etc.) can be used in the matrix clause to question a constituent from an embedded clause. Make sure that the embedded interrogative is morphologically distinct from the possible dummy element. This is not grammatical in English, but, e.g., is in Hindi.

Siitaa-ne kyaa socaa [ki ravii-ne kisko dekhaa?]
 Sita-ERG what thought [that Ravi-ERG who saw]

‘Who did Sita think that Ravi saw?’

Not: ‘What did Sita think? Who did Ravi see?’ (Fanselow)

Background: Wh-scope marking constructions seem to be restricted to O-V languages.

(20) Can a subconstituent of an NP be discontinuous from the head of the NP?

a) displaced part of NP is **given information**, displacement to the left

If $O = ({}_{NP} X_1 \mathbf{B} X_2)$

Alternatives to be checked: $\mathbf{B}-(Y)-S-(\text{object } X_1-X_2)-V$ / $S-\mathbf{B}-(Y)-(\text{object } X_1-X_2)-V$ /
 $\mathbf{B}-(Y)-S-V-(\text{object } X_1-X_2)$ / $S-\mathbf{B}-(Y)-V-(\text{object } X_1-X_2)$

B = extracted element; Y = optional elements, such as adverbs

Prompt: [*What kind of book about birds*] did the professor buy yesterday?

**About birds* (yesterday) the professor [*an encyclopedia* ____] bought. (B-(Y)-S-(obj X₁-X₂)-V)

**The professor* (yesterday) *about birds* [*an encyclopedia* ____] bought. (S-B-(Y)-(obj X₁-X₂)-V)

?**About birds* (yesterday) the professor bought [*an encyclopedia* ____]. (B-(Y)-S-V-(obj X₁-X₂))

**The professor* (yesterday) *about birds* bought [*an encyclopedia* ____]. (S-B-(Y)-V-(obj X₁-X₂))

German

[*ein Lexikon über Vögel*]

a encyclopedia about birds (unmarked word order)

Über Vögel hat der Professor [*ein Lexikon* ____] gekauft.

about birds has the professor a encyclopedia bought

‘The professor bought an encyclopedia about birds.’

b) displaced part of NP is **contrastive topic**, displacement to the left

Prompt: Did the professor buy [*a magazine about cats*] yesterday?

I do not know, but...

*...*about birds* (yesterday) the professor [*a book* ____] bought. (B-(Y)-S-(obj X₁-X₂)-V)

*...*the professor* (yesterday) *about birds* [*a book* ____] bought. (S-B-(Y)-(obj X₁-X₂)-V)

?*...*about birds* (yesterday) the professor bought [*a book* ____]. (B-(Y)-S-V-(obj X₁-X₂))

*...*the professor* (yesterday) *about birds* bought [*a book* ____]. (S-B-(Y)-V-(obj X₁-X₂))

German

Das weiß ich nicht, aber über Vögel hat der Professor

that know I not but about birds has the professor

[*ein Buch* ____] gekauft.

a book bought

‘That I do not know but the professor bought a book about birds.’

c) displaced part of NP is **contrastive focus**, displacement to the left

Prompt: *The professor* bought [*a book about cats*] yesterday.

**No! About birds* (yesterday) the professor [*a book* ____] bought. (B-(Y)-S-(obj X₁-X₂)-V)

**No! The professor* (yesterday) *about birds* [*a book* ____] bought. (S-B-(Y)-(obj X₁-X₂)-V)

?**No! About birds* (yesterday) the professor bought [*a book* ____]. (B-(Y)-S-V-(obj X₁-X₂))

**No! The professor* (yesterday) *about birds* bought [*a book* ____]. (S-B-(Y)-V-(obj X₁-X₂))

German

Nein! Über Vögel hat der Professor [ein Buch ____] gekauft.

no about birds has the professor a book bought

‘No! The professor has bought a book about birds.’

d) displaced part of NP is **given information**, displacement to the right

Alternatives to be checked: S-(_{object} X₁-X₂)-V-(Y)-B / S-(_{object} X₁-X₂)-(Y)-V-B /
S-(_{object} X₁-X₂)-(Y)-B-V / S-V-(_{object} X₁-X₂)-(Y)-B

Prompt: [**What kind of book about birds**] did the professor buy yesterday?

*The professor [**a book** ____] bought (yesterday) **about birds**. (S-(_{obj} X₁-X₂)-V-(Y)-B)

*The professor [**a book** ____] (yesterday) bought **about birds**. (S-(_{obj} X₁-X₂)-(Y)-V-B)

*The professor [**a book** ____] (yesterday) **about birds** bought. (S-(_{obj} X₁-X₂)-(Y)-B-V)

The professor bought [**a book** ____] (?*yesterday) **about birds**. (S-V-(_{obj} X₁-X₂)-(Y)-B)

German

? Gestern hat der Professor [**ein Buch** ____] gekauft

yesterday has the professor a book bought

über Vögel.

about birds

‘Yesterday the professor bought a book about birds.’

e) displaced part of NP is **contrastive topic**, displacement to the right

Prompt: [**What kinds of books about animals**] did the professor buy yesterday?

*The professor [**a book** ____] bought (yesterday) **about birds**... (S-(_{obj} X₁-X₂)-V-(Y)-B)

*The professor [**a book** ____] (yesterday) bought **about birds**... (S-(_{obj} X₁-X₂)-(Y)-V-B)

*The professor [**a book** ____] (yesterday) **about birds** bought... (S-(_{obj} X₁-X₂)-(Y)-B-V)

The professor bought [**a book** ____] (?*yesterday) **about birds**... (S-V-(_{obj} X₁-X₂)-(Y)-B)

...and [**a comic about cats**].

German

Gestern hat der Professor [**ein Lexikon** ____] gekauft **über**

yesterday has the professor a encyclopedia bought about

Vögel und [einen Comic über Katzen].

birds and a.ACC comic about cats

‘Yesterday the professor bought an encyclopedia about birds and a comic about cats.’

Explanation: Please check for the displacement of adpositional phrases and NPs with peripheral cases (e.g., locative). Make sure that the adpositional phrase cannot be (mis-)interpreted as an adjunct of V (as it could be in *the woman wrote (a book) about plants*).

Alternative examples that could be used:

*the child found [a letter **from his grandfather**]*

*the king resented [a question **about the lost war**]*

2. Pronominals

2.1 Obligatoriness

(21) Can referential subject pronouns be omitted?

The crucial subject position should be part of an embedded clause, if possible.

- a) Coreference with a previously mentioned person

Prompt: Which languages does **the new teacher** speak?

*I think that **she** speaks Chinese, Hindi, and English.*

**I think that $\emptyset$ speaks Chinese, Hindi, and English.*

- b) Binding by the matrix subject

Prompt: What does **Zhangshan** think about **himself**?

*Zhangshan thinks that **he** is very clever.*

**Zhangshan thinks that $\emptyset$ is very clever.*

(22) Can referential O pronouns be omitted?

- a) Coreference with a previously mentioned entity

Prompt: Is **the new furniture** already there?

*Yes, I believe that the delivery company brought **it** yesterday.*

**Yes, I believe that the delivery company brought $\emptyset$ yesterday.*

- b) Binding by the matrix subject

Prompt: Who expects to be successful in the school competition?

***Gülçan** says that the math teacher will nominate **her** for the prize.*

****Gülçan** says that the math teacher will nominate $\emptyset$ for the prize.*

- c) Semantic binding

Prompt: Who expects to be successful in the school competition?

Everyone says that the math teacher will nominate **them** for the prize.

***Everyone** says that the math teacher will nominate $\emptyset$ for the prize.

Background: Omission of objects has been claimed to correlate with S-O-V order.

2.2 Impersonal constructions

(23) Are there active predicates lacking any contentful argument?

Alternatives to be checked: subjectless / expletive subject pronoun / pseudo argument / other

English

It is raining. (expletive subject pronoun)

Italian

Piov-e.

rain-3SG.PRS

‘It is raining.’ (Literally ‘rains’) (subjectless)

Manchu (Tungusic)

aga aga-mbi.

rain rain-IPFV

‘It is raining.’ (literally ‘rain rains’) (pseudo argument)

Explanation: Try for atmospheric predicates such as ‘to rain’ or ‘to snow’.

(24) Are there active predicates with one contentful argument that does not, however, bear the subject role?

Alternatives to be checked: subjectless / expletive subject pronoun / other

German examples

a) Experiential verb

Mich *friert.*

1SG.ACC freezes

‘I feel cold.’ / ‘I am freezing.’ (Fanselow)

b) Intransitive verb

Es hat ihn hingehauen.
 it has 3SG.ACC down.struck
 'He fell.' (Fanselow)

c) Existential

Es gibt einen Fisch im Teich.
 it gives a.ACC fish in.the.DAT pond
 'There is a fish in the pond.' (Fanselow)

Explanation: What is the structure these predicates are constructed with?

(25) What happens with the subject position if the subject does not appear in its canonical position (displaced subject)?

a) Displaced (extraposed) sentential subject

Alternatives to be checked: canonical subject position left unfilled / insertion of expletive pronoun / other

Plain: *[To teach linguistics] is fun.*
 **Is fun [to teach linguistics].* (subject position unfilled)
It is fun [to teach linguistics]. (insertion of expletive pronoun)

Plain: *[That Bill won the prize] does not matter to me.*
 **Does not matter to me [that Bill won the prize].* (subject position unfilled)
It does not matter to me [that Bill won the prize]. (insertion of expletive pronoun)

Plain: *[That you have come] pleases me.*
 **Pleases me [that you have come].* (subject position unfilled)
It pleases me [that you have come]. (insertion of expletive pronoun)

Plain: *[Learning German] annoys me.*
 **Me annoys [learning German].* (subject position unfilled)
 **It annoys me [learning German].* (insertion of expletive pronoun)

b) Dislocated noun phrase subject (in focal contexts)

Alternatives to be checked: canonical subject position left unfilled / insertion of expletive pronoun / insertion of locative pronoun / other

Prompt: *What happened thereafter? / What's new?*

Plain: [A zebra] was shot.

*Was shot [a zebra]. (subject position unfilled)

It was shot [a zebra]. (insertion of expletive pronoun)

There was [a zebra] shot. (insertion of locative pronoun)

Plain: [A man from India] came in.

There came in [a man from India]. (insertion of locative pronoun)

Plain: [An apple cake] stands on the table.

There stands [an apple cake] on the table. (insertion of locative pronoun)

c) Impersonal passives

Does the language have a passive construction? yes / no

If yes, can passivisation lead to a constellation without a contentful subject? yes / no

If yes, alternatives to be checked: without subject / with an expletive subject / other

German

dass dem Kind geholfen worden ist

that the.DAT child helped been is

'that the child was helped' (without subject)

French

il a été dansé

it has been danced

'There was dancing.' (literally: 'It was danced.') (with an expletive subject)

(26) Reconstruction of binding: How do subject and object interact with respect to the interpretation of pronominals?

Alternatives to be checked:

Possessor = non-pronominal NP / personal possessive pronoun / reflexive pronoun

a) Can the possessor of a subject be coreferential with the object?

*I believe that **his**_i doctor killed John_i.* (possessor = personal possessive pronoun)

*I believe that John's_i doctor killed **him**_i.* (possessor = non-pronominal NP)

- b) Can the possessor of an object be coreferential with the subject?

*I believe that the doctor_i killed **his_i** patient.* (possessor = personal possessive pronoun)

I believe that **she_i killed Mary's_i doctor.* (possessor = non-pronominal NP)

(27) What is the connection between order and grammatical function in the binding of possessives?

Alternatives to be checked: pronominal possessor / reflexive possessor / other

- a) Subject before object, possessor part of object

*I believe that **every person_i** loves **his/her/their_i** mother.*

- b) Subject before object, possessor part of subject

I believe that **his_i mother loves **every person_i**.*

(‘For every person: I believe that his mother loves him.’)

- c) **If possible**; Object before subject, possessor part of subject

German

*Ich glaube, dass **jeden** **Menschen_i** **seine_i** Mutter liebt.*
 I believe that every.ACC person.ACC his mother loves
 ‘For every person: I believe that his mother loves him.’

- d) **If possible**; Object before subject, possessor part of object

German

*Ich glaube, dass **seine** Mutter **jeder** **Mensch** liebt.*
 I believe that his mother every.NOM person loves
 ‘For every person: I believe that every person loves his mother.’

Explanation: Please use an embedded construction if possible.

3. Operators and Movement: Content Questions

(28) Placement of interrogatives in content questions

Alternatives to be checked:

movement of the interrogative phrase to the left periphery /
movement to the left, but not necessarily to the periphery /
interrogative phrase remains *in situ* /
interrogative phrase in preverbal position /
displacement to the right (often connected with a cleft-like structure)

- a) Asking for a subject in a transitive clause

Who painted a portrait yesterday?

--

- b) Asking for a subject in an intransitive clause

Who worked yesterday?

--

- c) Asking for a direct object

What did Mary paint yesterday?

--

- d) Asking for an indirect object

Who did Mary give the portrait **to**?

--

- e) Time adverbial

When did Mary paint the portrait?

--

- f) Manner adverbial

How did Mary paint the portrait?

--

Background: This addresses movement (and scrambling) of interrogative phrases, which is more common in V-O languages than in O-V languages (except for perhaps South America and Australia).

(29) Multiple questions

- a) Can more than one constituent be questioned in the same clause?

Prompt: *I know that several things were proposed at the meeting yesterday. Please tell me more: **Who** proposed **what**?*

If (29.a.) has a positive answer:

- b) Can an object interrogative precede a subject interrogative?

German

Prompt: *I see so many gifts! Tell me:*

Was *hat* **wer** *mitgebracht?*
what[.ACC] has who.NOM brought

- c) What is the order of manner and object interrogative?

Alternatives to be checked: object > manner / manner > object / other

Prompt: *I have heard that Anna has several techniques of fixing different kinds of things. Tell me:*

What does Anna fix **how**? (Object > Manner)

How does Anna fix **what**? (Manner > Object)

Explanation: Make sure, e.g., by using a context of the sort given above, that neither of the question words has an echo-question interpretation. Other constructional types include, e.g., coordination (*what did she fix, and how?*).

Please use only interrogative pronouns, not complex expressions (such as *which person*).

If interrogative phrases go to the right in the language, please check in what order the two phrases can be arranged.

Background: Presence/absence of superiority effects in S-V-O vs. S-O-V languages

(30) Weak Crossover: Can a fronted interrogative phrase bind a pronoun?

- a) Interrogative phrase = subject; pronoun embedded in the object

Who_i betrayed even his_i mother in the civil war?

- b) Interrogative phrase = object; pronoun embedded in the subject

**Who_i did even his_i mother betray?*

German

Wen_i *hat* *sogar* **seine_i** *Mutter* *verraten?*
who.ACC has even his mother betrayed
(‘Who was even betrayed by his mother?’)

(31) Questioning parts of objects

- a) Can an object be extracted from an object complement clause?

What did Harry say [that Anna had bought ___]?

- b) Can a subject be extracted from an object complement clause?

**Who did Harry say [that ___ had bought an umbrella]?*

- c) Can a possessor be extracted from an object NP?

**Whose did Mary buy [___ book]?*
(cf. *Mary bought Peter’s book.*)

- d) Can a PP be extracted from an object NP?

German

Von wem *hat* *Anna* [*die* *Eltern* ___] *getroffen?*
of whom has Anna the parents met
‘Who did Anna meet the parents of?’

Über wen hat Anna [ein Buch ____] gekauft?
about whom has Anna a book bought
'Who did Anna buy a book about?'

(32) Can an object be extracted from a transitive adjunct clause?

- a) ***What** did Mary weep [after she had lost ____ on her trip]?
(cf. Mary wept [after she had lost her wedding ring on her trip].)

- b) ***What** would Peter weep [if he lost ____]?
(cf. Peter would weep [if he lost his wedding ring].)

(33) Subject islands

If the language allows extractions from object clauses (31a)

- a) Can an object be moved out of a subject clause that sits in its canonical position?

***What** did [that Jane bought ____] please you?
(cf. That Jane bought **a cat** pleased me.)

***What** would [to have to bring ____] create a problem for you?
(cf. To have to bring **a cat** would create a problem for me.)

- b) Can an object be moved out of a subject clause that does not sit in its canonical position?

What did it please you [that Jane bought ____]?
(cf. That Jane bought **a cat** pleased me.)

What would it create a problem for you [to have to bring ____]?
(cf. To have to bring **a cat** would create a problem for me.)

If a possessor can be extracted from an NP (31c)

- c) Can a possessor be extracted from a subject in its canonical position?

**Whose did __ dog chase the sheep?*
(cf. *Whose dog chased the sheep?*)

- d) Can a possessor be extracted from a subject that is **not** in its canonical position?

**Whose did (there) bark __ dog?*
(cf. *Whose dog barked?*)

If a PP can be extracted from an NP (31d)

- e) Can a PP be extracted from a subject in its canonical position?

- i. **Of whom did the parents __ complain to the principal?*
(cf. *The parents of Harold complained to the principal.*)

- ii. **About what did a book __ appear?*
(cf. *A book about grammar appeared.*)

- f) Can a PP be extracted from a subject that is **not** in its canonical position?

- i. **Of whom did (there) complain to the principal the parents __?*
(cf. *The parents of Harold complained to the principal.*)

- ii. **About what will there have a book __ appeared?*
(cf. *A book about grammar will have appeared.*)

Background: Languages with V-O order often display a subject-object asymmetry with respect to extraction.

4. Contrastive Focus

(34) Movement of contrastive focus: Can a contrastively focused object be moved to the left periphery?

Prompt: *Mary bought a cat yesterday.*

*No! A **computer** Mary bought __ yesterday.*

If you could establish islandhood and crossover constraints in section 3 already, you can skip this section and move on to (39). Otherwise, if the language can (optionally) front a contrastive focus:

(35) Can a contrastively focused argument bind a pronoun (weak crossover)?

a) Contrast = subject; pronoun embedded in the object

Prompt: *I had already heard some stories about parents betraying their children, but I was really shocked to learn that **Bill** betrayed his daughter.*

*No! **John** betrayed his daughter.*

b) Contrast = object; pronoun embedded in the subject

Prompt: *I had already heard some stories about children betraying their parents, but I was really shocked to learn that his own daughter betrayed **Bill**.*

No! **John his daughter betrayed.*

(36) Contrasting parts of objects

a) Can an object be extracted from an object complement clause?

Prompt: *Bill must have believed [that Mary bought a cat at the market].*

*No! A **dog** he believed [that Mary bought __ at the market].*

b) Can a subject be extracted from an object complement clause?

Prompt: *Bill must have believed [that Mary bought a cat at the market].*

No! **Jane he believed [that __ bought a cat at the market].*

c) Can a possessor be extracted from an object NP?

Prompt: *Bill bought [Mary's bike] at the market.*

No! **Jane's Bill bought [__ bike] at the market.*

d) Can a PP be extracted from an object NP?

Prompt: *Mary has met the parents of Fritz.*

German

- i. *Nein! **Von Hans** hat Mary [die Eltern __] getroffen.*
no of Hans has Mary the parents met
‘No, Mary met the parents of Hans.’

Prompt: *Mary has bought a book about birds.*

German

- ii. *Nein! **Über Katzen** hat Mary [ein Buch __] gekauft.*
no about cats has Mary a book bought
‘No, Mary bought a book about cats.’

(37) Can an object be extracted from an adjunct clause?

- a) Prompt: *Mary wept [after she had lost her wedding ring on her trip].*

No! **Her mother's necklace Mary wept [after she had lost __ on the trip].*

- b) Prompt: *Peter would weep [if he lost his wedding ring].*

No! **His father's watch Peter would weep [if he lost __].*

(38) Subject islands

Only if the language allows extractions of contrastive foci from object clauses (36a)

- a) Can an object be moved out of a subject clause that sits in its canonical position?

- i. Prompt: *[That Jane bought a cat] pleased her children.*

No! **A dog (last year) [that Jane bought __] pleased her children.*

- ii. Prompt: *[To have to bring some wine] created a problem for Bill.*
*No! **Some beer** (last year) *[to have to bring __] created a problem for Bill.*

- b) Can an object be moved out of a subject clause that does **not** sit in its canonical position?

- i. Prompt: *It pleased her children [that Jane bought a cat].*
*No! **A dog** *it pleased her children [that Jane bought __].*

- ii. Prompt: *It created a problem for Bill [to have to bring some wine].*
*No! **Some beer** *it created a problem for Bill [to have to bring __].*

If a possessor can be extracted from an NP (36c)

- c) Can a possessor be extracted from a subject in its canonical position?

- Prompt: *The priest's dog chased the sheep.*
*No! **The shopowner's** (yesterday) *[__ dog] chased the sheep.*

- d) Can a possessor be extracted from a subject that is **not** in its canonical position?

- Prompt: **There chased the sheep [the priest's dog].* (grammatical in some languages)
*No! **The shopowner's** *there chased the sheep [__ dog].*

If a PP can be extracted from an NP (36d)

- e) Can a PP be extracted from a subject in its canonical position?

- i. Prompt: *[The parents of Harold] complained to the principal.*
No! **Of Emma** *[the parents __] complained to the principal.*

- ii. Prompt: *[A book about grammar] appeared!*
No! **About logic** *[a book __] appeared.*

f) Can a PP be extracted from a subject that is **not** in its canonical position?

- i. Prompt: **There complained to the principal [a brother of Harry].*
No! **Of William there complained to the principal [a brother ____].*

- ii. Prompt: *There appeared [a book about grammar].*
*No! **About logic** there appeared [a book ____].*

Background: Languages with (S-)V-O order often display a subject-object asymmetry with respect to extraction.

5. Formation of Relative Clauses

(39) Are there relative pronouns and if yes, are they placed in the clausal periphery?

Alternatives to be checked: yes / no; if yes, please specify

- a) Subject relativized in object NP

*We met a man [**who** came from India].*

- b) Object relativized in object NP

*The students read the book [**which** the teacher had recommended].*

(40) Are there correlative relative clauses (or any other internally headed relative clauses)?

Alternatives to be checked: yes / no; if yes, please specify

Korku (Austroasiatic)

[**jo** **kitaabo** *tebal-à-lij-en* *ɖoò-k-en*]
 which book table-GEN-on-LOC put/keep-INTNSV-ITR.PST
ɖii (**kitaabo**) *ij-à?* *hoy.*
 that book 1SG-GEN COP
 ‘The book put/kept on the table is mine.’ (Zide)

Explanation: Working definition of correlative relative clauses: an internally headed restrictive relative clause in the left periphery, followed by a main clause with a resumptive element (bi-clausal construction). Please exclude non-restrictive cases as well as cases without head nouns (e.g., *The more the merrier.*). For English, this is only attested in a variety in South Africa:

South African Indian English (Mesthrie & Dunne)

*But now, [**which-one principal** came here], **she**'s just cheeky like the other one.*

Background: Both correlative relative clauses (only common in South Asia and West Africa) and internally headed relative clauses (common in North America) show some cross-linguistic connection to O-V order.

6. The Verbal Domain

6.1. The VP

(41) Can the verb be fronted alone in a periphrastic tense/modal construction when it is contrasted or given?

As in questions (2) and (4), please make sure the sentence contains a finite and a non-finite verb. The finite verb can be a tense auxiliary, a modal verb, or else.

a) Given verb

Prompt: *What will/must Bill **steal** from who?*

?**Steal** Bill will/must ___ a book from Mary. or

Prompt: *Bill will/must certainly **steal** a computer from Jane.*

?No! **Steal** Bill will/must ___ a book from Mary. or

Prompt: *Bill wanted/had to **steal** a book from Mary, and ...*

?**steal** Bill will/must ___ a book from Mary.

German

Bill wird der Maria ein Buch **stehlen**.

Bill will the.DAT Mary a.ACC book steal

'Bill will steal a book from Mary.'

Stehlen wird Bill der Maria ein Buch ____.

Steal will Bill the.DAT Mary a.ACC book

b) Contrasted verb

Prompt: *Bill will/must certainly **buy** the book from Mary.*

*No! **Steal** Bill will/must ___ the book from Mary

German

Stehlen *wird* *Bill* *der* *Maria* *das* *Buch!*
 steal will Bill the Mary the book

Explanation: Here and in the other cases of this section, please try to make sure that the various constructions are not the result of the combination of independent reorderings of, e.g., verb and object, but stem from a single process affecting a VP constituent.

Please make sure that the fronted verb contains no tense-related material such as finite inflection or an independent infinitive marker such as English *to*.

In some languages, the fronting may imply the insertion of a dummy verb:
Read, he **did a book.*

In some languages, we may see a doubling of verb:
Read, he **read the book.*

Background: This is to test whether the VP forms a constituent to the exclusion of the subject. In S-V-O languages, the subject is expected to not be part of the VP.

(42) Can the verb be fronted together with the direct object in a periphrastic/modal construction when it is contrasted or given?

As in questions (2) and (4), please make sure the sentence contains a finite and a non-finite verb. The finite verb can be a tense auxiliary, a modal verb, or else.

a) Given verb

Prompt: *Who will/must steal the book?*

Steal the book, *Bill will/must* ____ or

Prompt: *Bill will/must certainly steal the book from Mary.*

****No! Steal the book*** *Bill will/must from* ____ *Jane.* or

Prompt: *Bill wanted to steal a book from Mary, and ...*

****steal a book*** *Bill will/must* ____ *from Mary.*

German

Das **Buch** **stehlen** *wird* *Bill* *der* *Maria.*
 the.ACC book steal will Bill the.DAT Maria

b) Contrasted verb

Prompt: *Bill will/must send the book to Mary!*

****No! Steal the book*** *Bill will/must* ____ *from Mary.*

German

Das **Buch** **stehlen** *wird* *Bill* *der* *Maria.*
 the.ACC book steal will Bill the.DAT Maria

(43) Can the verb be fronted together with all objects in a periphrastic/modal construction when it is contrasted or given?

As in questions (2) and (4), please make sure the sentence contains a finite and a non-finite verb. The finite verb can be a tense auxiliary, a modal verb, or else.

a) Given verb

Prompt: *Who will/must give the book to Mary?*

Give the book to Mary, John will/must ____.

or

Prompt: *Bill will/must certainly give the book to Mary tomorrow.*

***No! Give the book to Mary** Bill will/must ____ only next week.

or

Prompt: *Bill wanted to give a book to Mary, and ...*

***give a book to Mary** Bill will/must ____.

German

Das **Buch** **der** **Maria** **stehlen** *wird* *Bill* ____.
 the.ACC book the.DAT Mary steal will Bill

b) Contrasted verb

Prompt: *Bill will/must steal the book from Mary!*

***No! Give the book to Mary**, Bill will/must.

German

Das **Buch** **der** **Maria** **stehlen** *wird* *Bill* ____.
 the.ACC book the.DAT Mary steal will Bill

(44) Can a passivized verb be fronted together with a subject in a periphrastic/modal construction when it is contrasted or given?

a) Given subject

Prompt: *To whom was the book given?*

***Given the book** was to Mary.

***The book given** was to Mary.

or

Prompt: *The book was certainly given to Mary.*

No! **Given the book was to Jane.*

No! **The book given was to Jane.* or

Prompt: *The book needs to be given to Mary and ...*

****given the book** will be to Mary.*

****the book given** will be to Mary.*

German

Das **Buch gestohlen** ist mir noch nie worden

the.ACC book stolen is me yet never been

'The book has never been stolen from me.'

b) Contrasted subject

Prompt: *A book was stolen from Mary!*

No! **Stolen a cat was from Mary.*

No! **A cat stolen was from Mary.*

German (regional)

Das **Buch gestohlen** ist der Maria worden.

the.ACC book stolen is the.DAT Mary been

'The book has been stolen from Mary.'

(45) Can an unaccusative verb be fronted together with the subject in a periphrastic/modal construction when it is contrasted or given?

As in questions (2) and (4), please make sure the sentence contains a finite and a non-finite verb. The finite verb can be a tense auxiliary, a modal verb, or else.

a) Given verb and subject

Prompt: *Will/can there arise any problems?*

****Problems arise** will/can there certainly not.* or

Prompt: *There certainly will/can arise many problems!*

No! **Problems arise will/can there never.* or

Prompt: *Problems could certainly arise in such a constellation, and ...*

****Problems arise** there will/must.*

German

Probleme entstehen (sagte sie) werden dabei sicher nicht.
 problems arise said she will.3PL therewith certainly not
 ‘She said that problems will certainly not arise with that.’

b) Contrasted verb and subject

Prompt: *Certainly, there will/must arise a good opportunity for profit when temperatures rise!*
 *No! **Catastrophes happen** will/must there often in such a case.

German

Ein Unglück geschehen wird in so einem Fall öfter.
 a catastrophe happen will in such a case occasionally
 ‘A catastrophe will occasionally occur in such a case.’

(46) Can a transitive verb be fronted together with the subject in a periphrastic/modal construction when it is contrasted or given?

a) Given verb and subject

Prompt: *Will/could a dog ever bite him?*
 *No, **a dog bite** will/can (there) him never.

German

Ein Hund beißen (sagte er) wird ihn nie.
 a.NOM dog bite said he will him never
 ‘He said that he has never been bitten by a dog.’

b) Contrasted verb and subject

Prompt: *I am sure that cats will/can scratch him in the animal shelter all the time.*
 *No! **Dogs bite** will/can him (there) all the time.

(47) Is there ellipsis of the non-finite verb and its object?

Mary will **write a book** and John will **write a book** too.
 Mary will **write a book** and John will ___ too.
 Mary will **write a book** and John will **do so**, too. Replace by a different tense if necessary

Explanation: Can non-finite verb + object be elided as a constituent, to the exclusion of the subject? Is there a pro-form replacing the verb + object constituent?

Background: This addresses the constituency of object and verb.

6.2. Restructuring verbs

(48) What is the position of TAM marking words and the lexical V relative to each other when there are three such elements in the clause?

T1 = finite TAM-word, selecting

T2 = non-finite TAM-word, selecting

Y = any additional element that can be inserted

V = (non-finite) verb

a) What are the options in a main clause?

	T1	T2	V	
<i>Linda</i>	<i>may</i>	<i>have</i>	<i>seen</i>	<i>a cat.</i>
<i>Linda</i>	<i>will</i>	<i>have</i>	<i>seen</i>	<i>a cat.</i>
<i>Linda</i>	<i>must</i>	<i>have</i>	<i>seen</i>	<i>a cat.</i>

Alternatives to be checked:

T1 (Y) T2 (Y) V /

T1 (Y) V (Y) T2 /

T2 (Y) T1 (Y) V /

T2 (Y) V (Y) T1 /

V (Y) T2 (Y) T1 /

V (Y) T1 (Y) T2

German

Linda **wird** *das* *Buch* **lesen** **müssen**.

Linda *will* *the* *book* *read* *must*

T1 Y V T2

‘Linda will have to read the book.’

b) What are the options in an embedded clause?

Alternatives to be checked:

[T1 (Y) T2 (Y) V] /

[T1 (Y) V (Y) T2] /

[T2 (Y) T1 (Y) V] /

[T2 (Y) V (Y) T1] /

[V (Y) T2 (Y) T1] /

[V (Y) T1 (Y) T2]

		T1	T2	V	
<i>I think</i>	[<i>that</i>	<i>Linda</i>	<i>may</i>	<i>have</i>	<i>seen a cat</i>].

German

Ich denke, [dass Linda das Buch lesen müssen wird].

I	think	that	Linda	the	book	read	must	will
					V	T2	T1	

‘I think that Linda will have to read the book.’

--

c) What are the options in an infinitive clause?

Alternatives to be checked:

[T1 (Y) T2 (Y) V] /
[T1 (Y) V (Y) T2] /
[T2 (Y) T1 (Y) V] /
[T2 (Y) V (Y) T1] /
[V (Y) T2 (Y) T1] /
[V (Y) T1 (Y) T2]

Es ist schön [das Buch lesen gedurft zu haben].

it is nice the book read be.allowed to have

V T2 T1

‘It is nice to have been allowed to read the book.’

Explanation: In some languages, different results arise for tense and modal elements, as in German. If adjacency is required for any pair of T1, T2, and V in (48.a-c.), please specify.

(49) What is the relative order of the Vs in a construction with a main V selecting a non-finite clause? (Restructuring vs. non-restructuring Vs)

Alternatives to be checked: V1-(Y) V2 / V2-(Y) V1

If the language shows no alternation of V placement between main and embedded clause, please only work with main clause constructions as in (49.a.ii.). Otherwise, apply the test with the embedded version, as in (49.a.i). This applies to all examples in (49).

a) *to try*

i. I think that Mary **tries** **to win** the race.
V1 V2

--

ii. Mary **tries** **to win** the race.
V1 V2

b) to begin

I think that Mary **begins** **to read** the book.
V1 V2

c) to dare

I think that Mary **dares** **to read** the book.
V1 V2

d) to want

I think that Mary **wants** **to read** the book.
V1 V2

e) to promise

I think that Mary **promises** **to read** the book.
V1 V2

f) to seem

I think that Mary **seems** **to read** the book.
V1 V2

g) to see

I think that Mary **saw** Bill **read** the book.
V1 (Y) V2

h) *to let*

I think that Mary **lets** *Bill* **read** *the book.*
 V1 (Y) V2

i) *to make*

I think that Mary **makes** *Bill* **read** *the book.*
 V1 (Y) V2

j) *to regret*

I think that Mary **regrets** **to have read** *the book.*
 V1 V2

Explanation: There may be more than one order, as in German:

Ich *glaube,* [*dass* *Mary* *das* *Rennen* **zu** **gewinnen** **versucht**].
 I believe that Mary the race to win tries

Ich *glaube,* [*dass* *Mary* *das* *Rennen* **versucht** **zu** **gewinnen**].
 I believe that Mary the race tries to win

‘I believe that Mary tries to win the race.’

(50) In a periphrastic TAM construction, can V1 and V2 move as a unit for a transitive V2?

Peter *has* *tried* *to* *read* *a* *book.*
 TAM V1 V2

Please always try both prompts.

a) *to try*

Prompt 1: *I think Peter has tried to read a magazine!*

Prompt 2: *I think Peter read a book.*

*No! **Tried to read** Peter has a book!

b) *to begin*

Prompt 1: *I think Peter has begun to read a magazine!*

Prompt 2: *I think Peter finished a book.*

No! **Begun to read Peter has a book!*

--

c) *to dare*

Prompt 1: *I think Peter has dared to read a magazine!*

Prompt 2: *I think Peter gave away a book.*

No! **Dared to read Peter has a book!*

--

d) *to want*

Prompt 1: *I think Peter has wanted to read a magazine!*

Prompt 2: *I think Peter gave away a book.*

No! **Wanted to read Peter has a book!*

--

e) *to promise*

Prompt 1: *I think Peter has promised to read a magazine!*

Prompt 2: *I think Peter has read a book.*

No! **Promised to read Peter has a book!*

--

f) *to seem*

Prompt 1: *I think Peter has seemed to read a magazine!*

Prompt 2: *I think Peter has certainly not read a book.*

No! **Seemed to read Peter has a book!*

--

g) *to see*

Prompt 1: *I think Linda has seen Peter read a magazine!*

Prompt 2: *I think Linda heard a rumour that he Peter a book.*

No! **Seen read Linda has Peter a book!*

--

h) *to let*

Prompt 1: *I think Linda has let Peter read a magazine!*

Prompt 2: *I think Linda has forbidden Peter to read a book.*

No! **Let read Linda has Peter a book!*

i) *to make*

Prompt 1: *I think Linda has made Peter read a magazine!*

Prompt 2: *I think Linda has forbidden Peter to read a book.*

No! **Made read Linda has Peter a book!*

j) *to regret*

Prompt 1: *I think Linda has regretted to read a magazine!*

Prompt 2: *I think Linda has always loved reading a book.*

No! **Regretted to read Linda has a book.*

Explanation: When V1 and V2 move together, the object should be left behind.

Recall that some languages may want to insert a dummy in this context (**Tried to read, he has **done** a book*) or resort to doubling (*Tried to read, he has **tried to read** a book*). Please control for this option in all examples of (50).

(51) Can an argument A2 of V2 be separated from V2 by an argument/adjunct A1 of V1, or by V1 itself?

<i>He has</i>	<i>several times</i>	<i>tried</i>	<i>to kill</i>	<i>the rat.</i>
	A1	V1	V2	A2

Try to make the matrix adverb as incompatible as possible with the embedded verb.
There should be no contrastive focus on the direct O.

Please note that A1 is an argument or adjunct of V1; and A2 is an argument or adjunct of V2.

Alternatives to be checked:

A2-A1-V1-V2 /

A2-A1-V2-V1 /

A2-V1-A1-V2 /

A2-V1-V2-A1 /

A1-A2-V1-V2 /

V1-A2-A1-V2 /

V2-V1-A2-A1 /

V2-A1-A2-V1 /
V2-V1-A1-A2 /
V1-V2-A1-A2 /
V2-A1-V1-A2 /
A1-V2-V1-A2

a) *to try*

Prompt: *Has Bill forgotten about the rat?*

No! Bill has **the rat several times tried **to kill**. (A2-A1-V1-V2)*

German

Bill hat **die Ratte** mehrfach **zu töten** versucht.
Bill has the.ACC rat several.times to kill tried
'Bill tried to kill the rat several times.' (A2-A1-V2-V1)

b) *to begin*

Prompt: *Has Bill forgotten about the dirty kitchen?*

No! Bill has **the dirty kitchen already begun **to clean**. (A2-A1-V1-V2)*

c) *to dare*

Prompt: *Has Bill never dared to invite the king?*

Sure! Bill has **the king never dared **to invite**. (A2-A1-V1-V2)*

d) *to want*

Prompt: *Has Bill often wanted to kill the king?*

Sure! Bill has **the king often wanted **to kill**. (A2-A1-V1-V2)*

e) *to promise*

Prompt: *Whom did Bill promise to eat the cake?*

Bill has **the cake promised his daughter **to eat**. (A2-V1-A1-V2)*

f) *to seem*

Prompt: *To whom may Bill seem to eat the cake?*

Bill may **the cake seem to his daughter **to eat**. (A2-V1-A1-V2)*

g) *to see*

Prompt: *Whom will Bill see eat the cake?*

Bill will **the cake see his daughter **eat**. (A2-V1-A1-V2)*

h) *to let*

Prompt: *Whom will Bill let eat the cake?*

Bill will **the cake let his daughter **eat**. (A2-V1-A1-V2)*

i) *to make*

Prompt: *Whom will Bill make eat the cake?*

Bill will **the cake make his daughter **eat**. (A2-V1-A1-V2)*

(52) Can negation (Neg) scope over the matrix verb V1 when it is placed between V2 and an argument of V2?

<i>He (has)</i>	<i>never tried</i>	<i>(several times)</i>	<i>to kill</i>	<i>the rat.</i>
	Neg V1 A1		V2	A2

Please note that A1 is an argument or adjunct of V1; and A2 is an argument or adjunct of V2.

Alternatives to be checked:

A2-Neg-V2-V1 / V2-Neg-A2-V1 / V1-A2-Neg-V2 / V1-V2-Neg-A2

a) *to try*

Prompt: *Bill tried to kill the rat.*

*No. Bill (has) **never tried** to kill the rat.*

No. Bill (has) the rat **never to kill **tried**. (A2-Neg-V2-V1)*

No. Bill (has) to kill **never the rat **tried**. (V2-Neg-A2-V1)*

No. Bill (has) **tried the rat **never** to kill. (V1-A2-Neg-V2)*

No. Bill (has) **tried to kill **never** the rat. (V1-V2-Neg-A2)*

German

Bill hat die Ratte **nie** zu töten **versucht**.

Bill has the.ACC rat never to kill tried

'Bill never tried to kill the rat.' (A2-Neg-V2-V1)

b) to begin

Prompt: Bill has forgotten to clean the dirty kitchen.

No. Bill has **never forgotten** to clean the dirty kitchen.

*No! Bill has the dirty kitchen **never** to clean **forgotten**. (A2-Neg-V2-V1)

c) to dare

Prompt: Bill has dared to invite the king.

No. Bill **never dared** to invite the king.

*No. Bill has the king **never** to invite **dared**. (A2-Neg-V2-V1)

d) to want

Prompt: Bill (often) wanted to kill the king?

No. Bill never wanted to kill the king.

*No. Bill the king **never** to kill **wanted**. (A2-Neg-V2-V1)

e) to promise

Prompt: Bill promised (his daughter) to eat the cake.

No. Bill **never promised** (his daughter) to eat the cake.

*No. Bill the cake **never** to eat **promised** (his daughter). (A2-Neg-V2-V1-(A1))

f) to seem

Prompt: Bill may seem (to his daughter) to eat the cake.

No. Bill never seemed (to his daughter) to eat the cake.

*No. Bill may the cake **never** to eat **seem** (to his daughter). (A2-Neg-V2-V1-(A1))

g) *to see*

Prompt: *Bill will see (his daughter) eat the cake.*

*No. Bill will **never see** his daughter eat the cake.*

No. Bill will the cake **never eat **see** (his daughter). (A2-Neg-V2-V1-(A1))*

h) *to let*

Prompt: *Bill will let (his daughter) eat the cake.*

No. Bill will never let (his daughter) eat the cake.

No. Bill will the cake **never eat **let** (his daughter). (A2-Neg-V2-V1-(A1))*

i) *to make*

Prompt: *Bill will make (his daughter) eat the cake.*

No. Bill will never make (his daughter) eat the cake.

No. Bill will the cake **never eat **make** (his daughter). (A2-Neg-V2-V1-(A1))*

Explanation: Try to avoid cases in which the negator does not have scope over V1. For instance, the following German example is grammatical, but the negation has scope over V2 instead:

<i>Bill</i>	<i>hat</i>	<i>versucht</i>	<i>die</i>	<i>Ratte</i>	<i>nie</i>	<i>zu</i>	<i>töten.</i>
Bill	has	tried	the.ACC	rat	never	to	kill

‘Bill (has) tried to never kill the rat.’

(53) Does the language allow raising?

[That Peter cooks well] **tries to please you.*

*[That Peter cooks well] **seems** to please you.*

Explanation: Please check for typical raising verbs, such as ‘to seem’ or ‘to appear’.

Background: Raising might be connected to V-O.

6.3. Further issues

(54) Are there light verb constructions?

Alternatives to be checked: yes / no; if yes, please add examples

Persian

sar ***kardan***
head/start do
'to begin'

darost ***kardan***
right do
'make correct, prepare'

az *bar* ***kardan***
from memory do
'learn by heart' (Windfuhr & Perry)

Explanation: Light verbs refer to semantically bleached verbs used productively with a wide range of different nouns, such as Persian *kardan* 'to do, to make'.

Background: There is a potential connection to difference in vocabulary size, with O-V possibly using more light verbs to compensate for a smaller vocabulary (cf. Polinsky).

(55) Are there serial verb constructions?

Alternatives to be checked: yes / no; if yes, please add examples

Mandarin

wǒ ***zuò*** *chē* *qù* ***mǎi*** *shū*.
1SG sit car go buy book
'I take a bus to go and buy books.'

Explanation: Working definition of serial verb construction: "a monoclausal series consisting of multiple independent verbs with no element linking them and with no predicate argument relation between the verbs" (Haspelmath)

Background: There might be a correlation with V-O order.

(56) How are adverbial subordinate clauses marked?

Alternatives to be checked: subordinator / "converb" / other

Do the subordinate clauses precede or follow the main clause? Sub-Main / Main-Sub

Evenki (Tungusic)

[*D'u-la-vi* *eme-mi*] *ulle-ve* *dev-d'enge-s*.
house-ALL-POSS come-CVB meat-ACC eat-FUT-2SG
'**When/If** (you) come home, (you) will eat meat.'
'(You) will eat meat **when/if** (you) come home' (Nedjalkov)

Evenki: converb, Sub-Main

English: subordinator, Sub-Main/Main-Sub

Explanation: Working definition of “converb” (CVB): “a nonfinite verb form whose main function is to mark adverbial subordination” (Haspelmath). Please include verbal suffixes independent of whether they are referred to as “converbs” in the literature (other terms include “gerunds” etc.).

Please note whether there is an additional distinction of “switch reference”. For example, the Evenki converb suffix *-mi* is of the “same subject” type.

Background: There might be a correlation of converbs as defined here with O-V order. The order of subordinate clause and main clause might correlate with O-V/V-O.

(57) How is the coordination of clauses accomplished?

Alternatives to be checked: conjunction / clause chaining / juxtaposition / other

If there is a dependent clause, does it precede or follow the main clause? Sub-Main / Main-Sub

Evenki (Tungusic)

<i>Etyrken</i>	<i>(bira-tki</i>	<i>ngene-d'ene)</i>	<i>[umnet</i>	<i>dylgan-ma</i>	<i>doldy-ksa]</i>
old.man	river-ALL	go-CVB	suddenly	voice-ACC	hear-CVB
<i>[ugiski</i>	<i>iche-ksa]</i>	<i>[il-la-n].</i>			
upwards	look.at-CVB	stand.up-NFUT-3SG			

‘The old man (while going to the river) suddenly heard the voice, (**and**) looked upwards, **and** stood still.’ (Nedjalkov)

Evenki: clause chaining, preceding

English: conjunctions, no dependent clause

Explanation: Working definition of “clause chaining”: The coordination of clauses is accomplished not with conjunctions, such as *and*, but with the help of special verb forms that are not fully finite (e.g., Longacre). These are also sometimes referred to as “Asian converbs” (e.g., Bickel).

In Evenki, the fully specified verb is *il-la-n*, which is marked for tense and person. The dependent and non-fully specified verbs are marked with the “converb” *-ksa*, only indicating anteriority and “same subject”.

If the language uses “converbs” for both clause chaining and adverbial subordination (56), please describe whether this is accomplished with the same or different forms.

Background: There might be a correlation of clause chaining with O-V order. The order of dependent clause and main clause might also correlate with O-V/V-O.

(58) How are alternative questions formed?

Alternatives to be checked: disjunction / one marker on each alternative / both / other

Evenki (Tungusic)

Inmek-tu-s *burduka-vu*, *kolobo-vu*?

bag-DAT-2SG.POSS flour-Q bread-Q

‘Is there flour **or** bread in your bag?’ (Nedjalkov)

Explanation: Please check whether the disjunction can also be used outside of alternative questions (as in English). If there is one marker occurring on each alternative, please check whether this has other functions, such as being used for polar questions (as in Evenki).

Background: There might be a correlation of O-V with one marker on each alternative and of V-O with disjunctions.

(59) Are there “mermaid” constructions?

Alternatives to be checked: yes / no

Form: [[Clause] Noun Copula]

Japanese (Japonic)

[*Ima Hanako=ga* *dekake-ta*] *tokoro=da*.

now Hanako=NOM go.out-PST place=COP.NPST

‘Hanako has just gone out now.’

Literally: ‘[Hanako went out now] a place is.’ (Tsunoda)

Explanation: According to Tsunoda, mermaid constructions are (a) mono-clausal despite having an embedded clause and usually have the form [[Clause] Noun Copula] as in the Japanese example. They are furthermore characterized by the following features:

“(b) The Noun is an independent word (not a clitic) that is a noun.

(c) The subject of the Clause and the Noun are non-coreferential.

(d) The Clause can be used as a sentence by itself.

(e) The Clause is not the subject of the ‘Noun + Copula’.”

Please check for nouns such as ‘plan’, ‘place’, or ‘appearance’.

Background: Mermaid constructions are almost exclusively attested in languages with (S-)O-V order and largely restricted to Eurasia. Please also include quasi-mermaid constructions that might differ from the prototype in several respects (e.g., using existentials instead of copulas).

7. Clausal Arguments

(60) Can complement clauses be finite with adverbial/object/subject function?

Alternatives to be checked: yes / no; if yes, please specify

*I am not sure [when he **will come**].*

*I have seen [that he **came** yesterday].*

*[That he **has never opened** a newspaper] is entirely unsurprising.*

Explanation: Please check for different types of complement clauses.

Background: Languages with O-V order are suspected to be more likely to prescribe the choice of non-finite (“deranked”) verb forms than V-O-languages.

(61) Can/must a clausal argument be extraposed?

German

plain

<i>dass</i>	<i>ich</i>	<i>dir</i>	<i>[dass</i>	<i>Maria</i>	<i>Portraits</i>	<i>malt]</i>
that	I	you.DAT	that	Mary	portraits	paint.PRS.3SG
<i>schon</i>		<i>tausendmal</i>		<i>gesagt</i>	<i>habe</i>	
already		thousand.times		said	have	

‘that I already told you a thousand times that Mary paints portraits’

extraposed

<i>dass</i>	<i>ich</i>	<i>dir</i>	<i>schon</i>	<i>tausendmal</i>	<i>gesagt</i>	<i>habe</i>
that	I	you.DAT	already	thousand.times	said	have
<i>[dass</i>	<i>Maria</i>		<i>Portraits</i>	<i>malt]</i>		
that	Mary		portraits	paint.PRS.3SG		

(62) Can/must a clausal argument be fronted?

Prompt: *What has happened?*

German

fronted

<i>#[Dass sein</i>	<i>Vater ein</i>	<i>Auto gekauft</i>	<i>hat]</i>	<i>hat</i>	<i>Frank zugegeben.</i>
that	his	father a.ACC	car	bought	has
					has
					Frank

‘That his father bought a car, Frank admitted.’

cf. non-fronted

**Frank* *hat* [*dass sein Vater ein Auto gekauft hat*] *zugegeben.*
 Frank has that his father a.ACC car bought has admitted

8. Marking and Properties of Nominal Arguments

(63) What type of marking is there for nominal arguments?

Alternatives to be checked: head-marking / dependent-marking / both / unmarked

a) intransitive

nominal argument

The man walks (up the stairs). (head-marking)

pronominal argument

He walks (up the stairs). (head- and dependent-marking)

b) transitive

nominal argument

Mary hates Peter. (head-marking)

pronominal argument

He hates me. vs. *I hate him.* (head- and dependent-marking)

c) ditransitive

nominal argument

The man gives a dog to the boy. / The man gives the boy a dog. (head- and dependent-marking)

pronominal argument

He gives a dog to him. / He gives him a dog. (head- and dependent-marking)

Explanation: Dependent marking mostly refers to case marking (e.g., accusative, ergative, dative etc.) and adpositions while head-marking refers to verbal agreement indicating person or number (Nichols).

English has morphological dependent-marking in pronouns (e.g., *he* vs. *him*) only and head-marking only in third person.

(64) What is the type of alignment comparing intransitive and transitive clauses?

Alternatives to be checked: accusative / ergative / neutral / tripartite

a) nominal arguments

The man walks (up the stairs).

S

The man buys a dog.

A

O

accusative alignment: S marked like A (head-marking)

--

b) pronominal arguments

***He** walks (up the stairs).*

S

***He** hates **me**.*

A

O

accusative alignment: S marked like A (head- and dependent-marking), O is different (dependent-marking)

--

Explanation: Accusative alignment refers to the same marking of S and A (e.g., nominative, unmarked), while O has a different marking (e.g., accusative). In ergative alignment, S is marked like O (e.g., absolutive, unmarked), while A has a different marking (e.g., ergative). In a neutral alignment, all three (S, A, O) remain unmarked morphologically. In tripartite alignment, all three have different marking.

Please check for both head-marking (verbal agreement) and dependent-marking (case marking) and indicate whether there is a difference in alignment of the two.

Please indicate whether there is some sort of split phenomenon in which pronouns or a set of nouns behave differently.

Background: Ergativity seems to be more common in languages with O-V order.

(65) What type of “pivot” does the language have, if any?

Alternatives to be checked: S/A-pivot / S/O-pivot

a) English has an S/A-pivot

<i>The man</i>	<i>walks around the corner</i>	<i>and</i>	<i>(the man)</i>	<i>sees</i>	<i>a cat.</i>
S					
A			(A)		O

b) English has no S/O-pivot

<i>*The man</i>	<i>walks around the corner</i>	<i>and</i>	<i>a cat</i>	<i>sees</i>	<i>(the man).</i>
S					
O			A		(O)

Explanation: This is the terminology used by Dixon for alignment in the combination of two clauses (intransitive and transitive). Due to ellipsis of the identical element in the (coordinated) clauses, the first occurrence has a double role of S and either A or O, depending on the language. English has an S/A-pivot. Passive (or antipassive) in the transitive clause often allows otherwise impossible combinations (e.g., ... *and (the man) is seen by a cat.*).

(66) Is there differential object marking?

Spanish

veo [la casa]

‘I see the house.’

veo [a la mujer]

‘I see the woman.’

Explanation: Please check for O-splits (differential object marking) and similar phenomena for other grammatical relations, including S, A, T, and G. For instance, English has a split based on word class (pronouns vs. nouns), Spanish based on animacy of the noun, Turkish based on definiteness etc.

(67) Is there any overt marking for information structure?

a) Topic

Miyako (Japonic, Hayato Aoi)

kure=*e* *ngi.*

this=TOP umbrella.tree

‘As for this, (it) is an umbrella tree.’

b) Focus

kur=ga=du *ngi.*
this=NOM=FOC umbrella.tree
'THIS is an umbrella tree.'

Explanation: Please indicate whether there is any split in these markings depending on, for example, clause type.

(68) Are there articles and if yes, what is the relative position of article and head noun?

Alternatives to be checked: yes / no
if yes: Art-N / N-Art

a dog, the dog

Explanation: Please indicate whether there is a distinction of definite and indefinite articles.

Article is defined as an element which accompanies a noun and has indefinite or definite function. It can be either bound (affix) or unbound (free morpheme).

Please indicate if the indefinite article is identical to the numeral 'one'.

Background: There is a weak correlation of the presence of articles in V-O languages. Additionally, there is a weak correlation of Art-N with V-O and of N-Art with O-V.

(69) Is modification by adjectives iterable in the NP?

Alternatives to be checked: yes / no; if yes, please specify

I enjoy large, fresh, creamy vanilla cakes.

(70) Can the nominal head of an NP be discontinuous from a demonstrative, numeral, or quantifier?

Alternatives to be checked: yes / no; if yes, please specify

German

drei Bücher

three books

‘three books’

Bücher *habe* *ich* **drei** — *gekauft.*
 books have.1SG.PRS I three — bought
 ‘Books, I bought three.’

Explanation: Please check for demonstratives (*this, these*), numerals (*two, three*), and quantifiers (*all, many*).

9. Additional Background Information

This part concerns additional background information on the order of head and dependent in different areas of the language. Most of the features are known to correlate with the relative order of O and V (e.g., Dryer).

If this is already available in grammar books, please indicate potential references and **skip** all parts that are unproblematic.

(71) Is there a class of adjectives and if yes, what is their relative order with respect to the head noun?

Alternatives to be checked: yes / no

if yes: Adj-N / N-Adj

(a) *yellow hat* (Adj-N)

*(a) *hat yellow* (N-Adj)

Background: Probably no correlation with O-V/V-O, but Eurasia often has O-V and Adj-N.

(72) What is the relative order of adnominal demonstrative, quantifier, and head noun?

a) Demonstratives

Alternatives to be checked: Dem-N / N-Dem

this book (Dem-N)

**book this* (N-Dem)

Background: Probably no correlation with O-V/V-O, but Eurasia often has O-V and Dem-N.

b) Demonstratives and quantifiers

Alternatives to be checked: Quant-Dem-N / Dem-Quant-N / Dem-N-Quant /
Quant-N-Dem / N-Dem-Quant / N-Quant-Dem

all these books (Quant-Dem-N)
**these all books* (Dem-Quant-N)
**these books all* (Dem-N-Quant)
**all books these* (Quant-N-Dem)
**books these all* (N-Dem-Quant)
**books all these* (N-Quant-Dem)

Background: There might be a correlation of O-V with N-Quant and possibly of V-O with Quant-N outside of Africa. Furthermore, in languages with V-O order, the quantifier is often placed outside of the demonstrative (further away from the head noun).

(73) What is the relative order of numeral, (classifier,) and head noun?

Alternatives to be checked:
Num-N / N-Num (without classifier)
Num-Clf-N / Clf-Num-N / N-Num-Clf / N-Clf-Num (with classifier)

three books (Num-N)
**books three* (N-Num)

Mandarin
sān běn shū
three CLF book
'three books' (Num-Clf-N)

Explanation: If the language has classifiers, please also indicate the relative order of numeral and classifier and whether classifiers are obligatory. Num-N-Clf and Clf-N-Num are unattested.

Background: Probably no correlation with O-V/V-O, but Eurasia often has O-V and Num-N.

(74) What is the relative order of adnominal demonstratives, adjectives, and numerals in a noun phrase?

Alternatives to be checked: Dem-Adj-Num-N, ...

these three green books (Dem-Num-Adj-N)

**three these green books, ...*

Background: This addresses the cross-categorical “harmony” and mirror image effects before and after the head noun.

(75) What is the relative order of adnominal interrogative and head noun?

Alternatives to be checked: Int-N / N-Int

what/which book (Int-N)

**book what/which* (N-Int)

Background: Correlations are still unclear, yet O-V & Int-N is common in Eurasia.

(76) What is the relative position of genitive and noun?

Alternatives to be checked: Gen-N / N-Gen

English (Dryer)

the box's cover (Gen-N)

**the cover the box's* (N-Gen)

the cover of the box (N-Gen)

**of the box the cover* (Gen-N)

Background: O-V tends to Gen-N order and V-O to N-Gen; languages with S-V-O order show no such correlation, although S-V-O & N-Gen is common in Africa.

(77) What is the relative position of adposition and noun phrase?

Alternatives to be checked: Adp-NP / NP-Adp

in the house (Adp-NP)

**the house in* (NP-Adp)

Explanation: If there are both pre- and postpositions, what is the semantic distribution? For example, are locative adpositions preposed?

Background: O-V correlates with NP-Adp and V-O with Adp-NP.

(78) What is the relative position of complementizer and clause?

Alternatives to be checked: Clause-Comp / Comp-Clause

(She knows) [that] [this man loves her]. (Comp-Clause)

**(She knows) [this man loves her] [that].* (Clause-Comp)

--

Background: V-O correlates with Comp-Clause and O-V with Clause-Comp.

(79) What is the relative order of copula and copula complement in copula clauses?

Alternatives to be checked: CC-Cop / Cop-CC

(This) is a book. (Cop-CC)

**(This) a book is.* (CC-Cop)

(The book) is yellow. (Cop-CC)

**(The book) yellow is.* (CC-Cop)

--

Explanation: CC is the copula complement (Dixon), also referred to as “predicate”.

Background: O-V correlates with CC-Cop and V-O with Cop-CC.

(80) Is there a sentence-initial or -final polar question marker?

Alternatives to be checked: yes / no

If yes: Clause-Q / Q-Clause

Mandarin

nǐ chī fàn le ma?

2SG eat rice PFV Q

‘Have you eaten (yet)?’ (yes; Clause-Q)

--

Explanation: Not to be confused with question tags (e.g., *right?*) or interrogative pronouns (e.g., *who*).

Background: O-V correlates with Clause-Q and V-O with Q-Clause, but S-V-O shows a mixed pattern.

(81) Are there externally headed relative clauses and if yes, what is their position with respect to the head noun?

Alternatives to be checked: yes/no

if yes: Rel-N / N-Rel

the car [that was just stolen] (yes; N-Rel)

**[that was just stolen] the car* (Rel-N)

--

Background: V-O correlates with N-Rel while no such correlation exists for O-V.

(82) What is the relative order of standard, marker, and adjective in comparative constructions?

Alternatives to be checked: (1) St-Ma / Ma-St, (2) St-Adj / Adj-St

better than me (Adj-Ma-St)

**than better me* (Ma-Adj-St)

**me better than* (St-Adj-Ma)

**better me than* (Adj-St-Ma)

**than me better* (Ma-St-Adj)

**me than better* (St-Ma-Adj)

--

Explanation: “Marker” refers to, for example, English *than* and not to any form of comparative marking on the adjective, such as *-er* or *more*, e.g. [*more expensive*] [*than*] [*Switzerland*].

Background: Usually, word orders are Adj-Ma-St in V-O languages and St-Ma-Adj in O-V, but the two variables can be independent of each other (e.g., Ma-St-Adj in Mandarin). It is more appropriate to say that Adj-St & Ma-St correlate with V-O and St-Adj & St-Ma with O-V.

(83) What is the relative order of subordinate and main/matrix clause?

Alternatives to be checked: Sub-Main / Main-Sub

Because it is snowing, I will stay at home. (Sub-Main)

I will stay at home because it is snowing. (Main-Sub)

--

Background: Sub-Main correlates with O-V and Main-Sub with V-O, although there is some freedom.

(84) What is the relative order of plural word and head noun, if available?

Alternatives to be checked: Pl-N / N-Pl

Abui (Timor-Alor-Pantar)

neng loku

man PL

‘the men’ (N-Pl) (Kratochvíl)

Background: V-O shows no clear correlation to this feature, but O-V correlates with N-Pl. In English only available for pronouns.

(85) What is the relative order of subordinator and clause, if available?

Alternatives to be checked: Sub-Clause / Clause-Sub

... *since* the accident happened ... (Sub-Clause)

*... the accident happened *since* ... (Clause-Sub)

Explanation: Please check for ‘since’, ‘when’, or ‘because’.

Background: Sub-Clause correlates with V-O, Clause-Sub slightly less so with O-V.

(86) What is the word order in appositions?

Alternatives to be checked: N_{specific}-N_{schematic} / N_{schematic}-N_{specific}

a) Title

King George (N_{schematic}-N_{specific})

**George King* (N_{specific}-N_{schematic})

b) Relation

my friend Tom (N_{schematic}-N_{specific})

**Tom my friend* (N_{specific}-N_{schematic})

c) Toponym

river Danube ($N_{\text{schematic}}-N_{\text{specific}}$)

Danube river ($N_{\text{specific}}-N_{\text{schematic}}$)

--

Background: Hackstein assumes a correlation of O-V with $N_{\text{specific}}-N_{\text{schematic}}$ order in appositions.