



Questionnaire

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

fifth, shortened version
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<https://www.sfb1287.uni-potsdam.de/en/overview/>

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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

- (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

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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

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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.

(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.

(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?*

<i>Mary thinks that my father has bought a new car.</i>	(V _{fin} -V _{nonfin} -O)
<i>*Mary thinks that my father bought has a new car.</i>	(V _{nonfin} -V _{fin} -O)
<i>*Mary thinks that my father a new car has bought.</i>	(O-V _{fin} -V _{nonfin})
<i>*Mary thinks that my father a new car bought has.</i>	(O-V _{nonfin} -V _{fin})
<i>*Mary thinks that my father has a new car bought.</i>	(V _{fin} -O-V _{nonfin})
<i>*Mary thinks that my father bought a new car has.</i>	(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?*

<i>*Mary a new portrait frequently paints.</i>	(O-Adv-V)
<i>*Mary frequently a new portrait paints.</i>	(Adv-O-V)
<i>Mary paints a new portrait frequently.</i>	(V-O-Adv)
<i>*Mary paints frequently a new portrait.</i>	(V-Adv-O)
<i>Mary frequently paints a new portrait.</i>	(Adv-V-O)
<i>*Mary a new portrait paints frequently.</i>	(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.

(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(oal) 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.

1.2. Verb and subject in neutral contexts

(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) removed

(10) removed

(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

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.

(13) removed

(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*).

(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)

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

Alternatives to be checked:

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

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

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

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

<i>Net,</i>	<i>ruchku</i>	<i>vchera</i>	<i>uchitel'nica</i>	<i>skazala,</i>		<i>[chto</i>	<i>studenty</i>
no	pen.ACC	yesterday	teacher.FEM	say.PST.3SG.FEM		that	student.PL
<i>dolzheny</i>	<i>prinesti</i>	—	<i>na</i>	<i>ekzamen].</i>			
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)

(20) removed

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.

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

a) Experiential verb

German

Mich friert.

1SG.ACC freezes

'I feel cold.' / 'I am freezing.' (Fanselow)

- b) removed
- c) removed

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

- a) removed
- b) removed
- c) Impersonal passives

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

<i>dass</i>	<i>dem</i>	<i>Kind</i>	<i>geholfen</i>	<i>worden</i>	<i>ist</i>
that	the.DAT	child	helped	been	is

‘that the child was helped’ (without subject)

French

<i>il</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>été</i>	<i>dansé</i>
it	has	been	danced

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

(26) removed

(27) removed

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?

(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.

(30) removed

(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) removed

d) removed

(32) removed

(33) removed

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.

(35) removed

(36) removed

(37) removed

(38) removed

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-liŋ-en qoð-k-en*]
 which book table-GEN-on-LOC put/keep-INTNSV-ITR.PST

qii (kitaabo) iŋ-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.*).

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.*

(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

<i>Das</i>	<i>Buch</i>	<i>stehlen</i>	<i>wird</i>	<i>Bill</i>	<i>der</i>	<i>Maria.</i>
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

<i>Das</i>	<i>Buch</i>	<i>stehlen</i>	<i>wird</i>	<i>Bill</i>	<i>der</i>	<i>Maria.</i>
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) removed

(45) removed

(46) removed

(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?

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	
Linda	may	have	seen	a cat.
Linda	will	have	seen	a cat.
Linda	must	have	seen	a cat.

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 think	[that	Linda	may	have	seen a cat].

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] /

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?

He 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) removed

c) removed

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) removed

f) removed

g) removed

h) removed

i) removed

j) removed

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) removed

(52) removed

(53) removed

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’.

(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)

(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.

(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)

Etyrken (*bira-tki* *ngene-d'ene*) [*umnet* *dylgan-ma* *doldy-ksa*]
old.man river-ALL go-CVB suddenly voice-ACC hear-CVB

[*ugiski* *iche-kse*] [*il-la-n*].

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.

(58) removed

(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’.

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.

(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>mal</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</i>	<i>zugegeben.</i>
that	his	father a.ACC	car bought	has	has	Frank admitted

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

cf. non-fronted

* <i>Frank</i>	<i>hat</i>	[<i>dass sein</i>	<i>Vater ein</i>	<i>Auto gekauft</i>	<i>hat]</i>	<i>zugegeben.</i>
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.

(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’.

(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

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)

(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)

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)

(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.

(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, ...*

(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)

(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)

(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?

(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)

(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”.

(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*).

(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)

(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*].

(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)

(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)

(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’.

(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_{schematic}-N_{specific})

Danube river (N_{specific}-N_{schematic})

