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Clause typing in Germanic

A questionnaire and its results

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Preface

The aim of the questionnaire presented here was to investigate the left periphery of various finite clauses in Germanic languages, with particular attention paid to clause-typing elements and the combinations thereof. The investigation was funded by the German Research Fund (DFG) as part of the project “The syntax of functional left peripheries and its relation to information structure” (BA 5201/1-1). The questionnaire was distributed online via the “SoSci Survey” platform.

The questionnaire is mostly concerned with clause typing in embedded clauses, but main clause counterparts are also considered for comparative purposes. The chief aim was to achieve comparable results across languages, specifically Germanic languages, though the standardised questionnaire may also be helpful in the study of other languages, too. Most questions examine the availability of various complementisers and clause-typing operators, and in some cases the movement of verbs to the left periphery is also taken into account. The questionnaire is split into seven major parts according to the types of clauses under scrutiny.

The questionnaire was written in English and the individual questions either concern translations of given sentences from English into the target language, and/or they ask for specific details about the constructions in the target language. The basis of the questionnaire is a set of numbered sentences: the numbers always have three digits, the first indicating the relevant part of the questionnaire and the last two digits being the question number within that part. The English sentences are always grammatical, though some of the configurations may be non-standard and/or subject to variation. Apart from this, many questions contain sentences that serve to illustrate what the question is asking for about the target language: these English sentences are given as “Examples” and they are in most cases not grammatical in English.

The present document contains the questionnaire itself (together with the instructions given at the beginning of the questionnaire and at the beginning of the individual sections, as well as the questions asking for personal data), the sociolinguistic data of the speakers, and the actual results for the individual languages. To date, we have results from five Germanic languages: Dutch, Danish, Icelandic, Norwegian and Swedish. (No data collection was necessary for English and German.) For each language, we recruited 2 informants; most of the informants were MA students with some background in linguistics, as some level of knowledge is necessary to fill out the questionnaire. The informants were paid. Given the small number of informants, the present study serves as a qualitative investigation and as a basis for further, quantitative and experimental studies.

Since the present document aims at reflecting the actual responses of the speakers, we have not altered the original answers. The sentences given by the speakers in the target languages are numbered consistently and are glossed, the glosses containing relevant morphological information and reflecting the etymological connections between

individual elements in Germanic languages. Question marks (? , ?? or even more) stand for markedness, asterisks (*) for ungrammaticality, and the hash (#) for infelicity. Unless the speakers provided explicit grammaticality judgements themselves, there are no markers appearing in the examples as we refrained from altering the original answers. The texts written by the informants as parts of the answers indicate the judgements quite clearly and these should be taken into consideration when evaluating the individual responses.

We would like to thank the informants for filling out the questionnaire. We definitely owe many thanks to the following fellow linguists for their help in recruiting the informants: Johan Rooryck (Dutch), Gunlög Josefsson and Jacob Thaisen (Danish), Jóhannes Gísli Jónsson (Icelandic), and Ida Larsson (Norwegian and Swedish). Finally, we would like to thank Gisbert Fanselow and Marta Wierzba for their helpful comments regarding the questionnaire itself.

The questionnaire

The questionnaire contains numbered sentences to be translated into [target language]. The sentences are given in English, preceded by a short description of the exact task you are supposed to do. Apart from translating the sentences, there are questions concerning particular elements in the constructions, as well as questions regarding other possible ways to form the same sentence. If the constructions given in the numbered sentences are not possible in [target language], please still provide a verbatim translation of these and indicate that the construction is ungrammatical. If the sentence is not entirely bad but not really good either (somewhere between grammatical and ungrammatical), please specify that, too.

Sometimes it is not possible to provide grammatical English versions of these: in order to give you a better idea of what the questions ask for, such constructions are illustrated in English and labelled as “examples” rather than being numbered like the sentences that are to be translated directly.

Some of the sentences are accompanied by relevant contexts in square brackets [] that do not have to be translated. Words/phrases in brackets () are optional: it is recommended that you try constructing examples in your language both with and without them.

Note that I am primarily interested in the variety/varieties of [target language] that you speak. Hence, please feel free to provide any translation that you find good, use regularly etc., even if you think it is not accepted by all speakers, or it is something that is generally avoided in formal writing: forms belonging to everyday spoken language, the regional variety of the standard language, or a regional dialect are all welcome. If the varieties you speak express the same sentence in different ways, please provide all the options in your answers. On the other hand, you are naturally not required to provide a full list of all the possible answers that may occur in other varieties of [target language]: it is enough that you concentrate on your own variety (or varieties).

The primary goal of the questionnaire is to detect which subordinating elements can appear in various types of embedded clauses, and whether they have an effect on the internal structure of the embedded clause. The investigation concentrates on finite embedded clauses, including embedded declaratives, interrogatives, relative clauses, degree clauses, as well as equative and comparative clauses. In some cases, you will be asked about variation (within your variety/varieties): in these cases, please provide all the versions clearly (if applicable), or state explicitly that no variation is possible.

In some cases, you may notice that word order variation is possible: you may provide information on this in the translations, especially if you feel it is relevant for the specific questions investigated here (see above), but it is by no means required to do so: it is perfectly enough if you provide the most natural translation and answer the specific questions regarding these, and/or the possibilities of variants especially asked for.

1. **Your name**
2. **Your email address (in case we need to get back to you)**
3. **In which year were you born?**
4. **In which city/area did you grow up (predominantly)?**
Your answer would be helpful to determine whether there is any geographical variation, even if you are not a dialect speaker.
5. **In which city/area did your parents grow up (predominantly)?**
Again, your answer would be helpful to determine whether there is any geographical variation.

1 Interrogatives

This section contains questions about interrogative clauses, with special attention paid to embedded interrogatives. In some cases, it is possible that your language/variety allows more than one word order with similar meaning. It is enough to provide the most natural one of these, but of course you are welcome to provide other possible variants (if so, please specify whether they differ in their acceptability, meaning, or style).

6. **Please translate the following sentence into [target language].**

(101) Does Mary like books?

7. **Please consider the [target language] version of (101). Is it possible to have a question particle in the clause, and if so, is the result an ordinary variant of (101), or is its use more restricted?**

Example: Whether Mary likes books?

8. **Please translate the following sentence into [target language].**

(102) Peter asked if Mary liked books.

9. **Please list all the elements that can correspond to “if” in (102) in [target language]. Please specify whether these may combine with each other or with an element like “that”, too.**

10. **Please translate the following sentence.**

(103) Peter doesn't know if Mary likes books.

11. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “if” in (103) in [target language]. Please specify whether these may combine with each other or with an element like “that”, too.

12. Please translate the following sentence.

(104) Who likes books?

13. Please translate the following sentence.

(105) What does Mary like?

14. Please translate the following sentence.

(106) When did Mary arrive?

15. Please look at the [target language] versions of the items in (104)–(106). Could a topicalised element appear in front of the WH-element?

Example: To Susan what did Mary give?

16. Please translate the following sentence.

(107) Peter asked who liked books.

17. Please translate the following sentence.

(108) Peter asked what Mary liked.

18. Please translate the following sentence.

(109) Peter asked when Mary arrived.

19. Please look at the [target language] versions of the items in (107)–(109). Can a complementiser appear before/after the WH-element?

Example 1: Peter asked that what Mary liked.

Example 2: Peter asked if what Mary liked.

Example 3: Peter asked who that liked books.

20. Please translate the following sentence.

(110) Peter doesn't know who likes books.

21. Please translate the following sentence.

(111) Peter doesn't know what Mary likes.

22. Please translate the following sentence.

(112) Peter doesn't know when Mary arrived.

23. Please look at the [target language] versions of the items in (110)–(112). Can a complementiser appear before/after the WH-element?

Example 1: Peter doesn't know who that likes books.

Example 2: Peter doesn't know that who likes books.

Example 3: Peter doesn't know what that Mary likes.

Example 4: Peter doesn't know that what Mary likes.

Example 5: Peter doesn't know when that Mary arrived.

Example 6: Peter doesn't know that when Mary arrived.

24. Please look at the [target language] versions of the items in (102)–(103) and (107)–(112). Can the subordinate clause appear before the matrix clause?

Example: If Mary likes books, Peter asked.

25. Please look at the [target language] versions of the items in (102)–(103) and (107)–(112). Can the subject or the object be topicalised in front of “if” or a WH-element (and, if applicable, in between a complementiser like “that” and “if”/the WH-element)?

Example 1: Peter asked (that) Mary if likes books.

Example 2: Peter doesn't know (that) books who likes.

26. Is it possible to have ellipsis with a single subject remnant following the element(s) corresponding to “if”? (Please consider whether it is possible with verbs other than “like” as well, e.g. “know” and “think”.)

Example: I know someone likes books but I don't know if Mary.

27. Is it possible to have ellipsis with a single object remnant following the element(s) corresponding to “if”? (Please consider whether it is possible with verbs other than “like” as well, e.g. “know” and “think”.)

Example: I know someone Mary likes something but I don't know if books.

28. Is it possible to have ellipsis with a single WH remnant? (Please consider whether it is possible with verbs other than “like” or “arrive” as well.)

Example 1: I know someone likes books but I don't know who.

Example 2: I know Mary likes something but I don't know what.

Example 3: I know Mary has arrived but I don't know when.

29. Is it possible to have ellipsis with multiple WH remnants? If so, is the order of the WH-elements fixed? (Please consider whether it is possible with verbs other than “like” as well.)

Example: I know someone likes something but I don't know who what.

2 Declaratives

This section contains questions about (embedded) declarative clauses. In some cases, it is possible that your language/variety allows more than one word order with similar meaning. It is enough to provide the most natural one of these, but of course you are welcome to provide other possible variants (if so, please specify whether they differ in their acceptability, meaning, or style).

30. Please translate the following sentence into [target language].

(201) Mary likes books.

31. Please translate the following sentence.

(202) Peter says (that) Mary likes books.

32. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “that” in (202) in [target language]. Please specify whether these may combine with each other, too.

33. Please translate the following sentence.

(203) Peter knows (that) Mary likes books.

34. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “that” in (203) in [target language]. Please specify whether these may combine with each other, too.

35. Please translate the following sentence.

(204) Peter thinks (that) Mary likes books.

36. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “that” in (204) in [target language]. Please specify whether these may combine with each other, too.

37. Please translate the following sentence.

(205) It is surprising (that) Mary likes books.

38. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “that” in (205) in [target language]. Please specify whether these may combine with each other, too.

39. Please look at the [target language] versions of the items in (202)–(205). Can the clauses introduced by “that” be fronted, and if so, is the element corresponding to “that” obligatory?

Example: (That) Mary likes books is surprising.

40. Please look at the [target language] versions of the items in (204)–(205). Can the subject or the object be topicalised in front of “that” (or, if applicable, in between two complementisers)?

Example 1: Peter says Mary that likes books.

Example 2: Peter says that Mary that likes books.

Example 3: Peter says books that Mary likes.

Example 4: Peter says that books that Mary likes.

41. Is it possible to have ellipsis with a single subject remnant following the element(s) corresponding to “that” (see “B” below)? (Please consider whether it is possible with verbs other than “like” as well, e.g. “know” and “think”.)

Example:

A: Who likes books?

B: Peter says that Mary.

42. Is it possible to have ellipsis with a single object remnant following the element(s) corresponding to “that” (see “B” below)? (Please consider whether it is possible with verbs other than “like” as well, e.g. “know” and “think”.)

Example:

A: What does Mary like?

B: Peter says that books.

3 Relative clauses

This section contains questions about relative clauses. In some cases, it is possible that your language/variety allows more than one word order with similar meaning. It is enough to provide the most natural one of these, but of course you are welcome to provide other possible variants (if so, please specify whether they differ in their acceptability, meaning, or style).

43. Please translate the following sentence into [target language].

(301) This is the student who invited Mary.

44. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “who” in (301) in [target language], including complementisers like “that” and the absence of any overt relative pronoun or complementiser. Please specify whether the overt elements may combine with each other, too.

45. Please translate the following sentence.

(302) This is the book which Mary bought.

46. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “which” in (302) in [target language], including complementisers like “that” and the absence of any overt relative pronoun or complementiser. Please specify whether the overt elements may combine with each other, too.

47. Please translate the following sentence.

(303) This is the city where I was born.

48. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “where” in (303) in [target language], including complementisers like “that” and the absence of any overt relative pronoun or complementiser. Please specify whether the overt elements may combine with each other, too.

49. Please translate the following sentence.

(304) That was the year when Mary arrived.

50. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “when” in (304) in [target language], including complementisers like “that” and the absence of any overt relative pronoun or complementiser. Please specify whether the overt elements may combine with each other, too.

51. Please translate the following sentence.

(305) I will invite whoever you recommend.

52. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “whoever” in (305) in [target language], including combinations with complementisers like “that”.

53. Please translate the following sentence.

(306) I will hire whoever is qualified.

54. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “whoever” in (306) in [target language], including combinations with complementisers like “that”.

55. Please translate the following sentence.

(307) I will do whatever you recommend.

56. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “whatever” in (307) in [target language], including combinations with complementisers like “that”.

57. Please translate the following sentence.

(308) I will go wherever I find linguists.

58. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “wherever” in (308) in [target language], including combinations with complementisers like “that”.

59. Please translate the following sentence.

(309) I will go whenever it suits you.

60. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “whenever” in (309) in [target language], including combinations with complementisers like “that”.

61. Please look at the [target language] versions of the items in (301)–(309). Can the relative clause appear before the matrix clause?

Example: Where I was born, I am going to that city.

62. Please look at the [target language] versions of the items in (301)–(309). Can a topicalised element appear before the relative pronoun (or the relative complementiser)?

Example: This is the student Mary who invited.

63. Is it possible for the relative pronoun to be a single remnant of ellipsis?

Example: Well, Mary lives where. (Meaning: ‘Mary lives wherever she does.’)

4 Degree clauses

This section contains questions about (interrogative) degree clauses. In some cases, it is possible that your language/variety allows more than one word order with similar meaning. It is enough to provide the most natural one of these, but of course you are welcome to provide other possible variants (if so, please specify whether they differ in their acceptability, meaning, or style).

64. Please translate the following sentence into [target language].

(401) How did you open the bottle?

65. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “how” in (401) in [target language].

66. Please translate the following sentence.

(402) How old is Mary?

67. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “how” in (402) in [target language].

68. Please look at the [target language] versions of the item in (402). Can the adjective appear in a non-adjacent position to the element(s) corresponding to “how”?

Example: How is Mary old? (With the intended meaning ‘how old is Mary?’.)

69.<original question identical to Question 68>

70. Please translate the following sentence.

(403) How many books does Mary read a year?

71. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “how many” in (403) in [target language].

72. Please look at the [target language] versions of the item in (403). Can the noun appear in a non-adjacent position to the element(s) corresponding to “how many”?

Example: How many does Mary read books a year?

73. Please translate the following sentence.

(404) How much sugar do we need for the cake?

74. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “how much” in (404) in [target language].

75. Please look at the [target language] versions of the item in (404). Can the noun appear in a non-adjacent position to the element(s) corresponding to “how much”?

Example: How much do we need sugar for the cake?

76. Please translate the following sentence.

(405) How long a book did Mary read?

77. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “how” in (405) in [target language].

78. Please look at the [target language] versions of the item in (405). Can the string “how long” follow the article, as in the example below, or precede it, as in (405) in English?

Example: A how long book did Mary read?

79. Please look at the [target language] versions of the item in (405). Can the noun appear in a non-adjacent position to the element(s) corresponding to “how long”?

Example: How long did Mary read a book? (With the intended meaning ‘how long a book did Mary read?’.)

5 Equative clauses

This section contains questions about equative clauses. In some cases, it is possible that your language/variety allows more than one word order with similar meaning. It is enough to provide the most natural one of these, but of course you are welcome to provide other possible variants (if so, please specify whether they differ in their acceptability, meaning, or style).

80. Please translate the following sentence.

(501) Mary is as old as Peter.

81. Please list all the elements that can correspond to the second “as” (the one immediately before “Peter”) in (501) in [target language]. Can these elements combine with each other or with elements like “that” or “what”?

Example 1: Mary is as old as that Peter (is).

Example 2: Mary is as old as what Peter (is).

82. Please look at the [target language] versions of the item in (501). Can a full clause appear after the element corresponding to “as”, hence containing an overt copula and/or an adjective? Please consider all possibilities for the element “as”, too.

Example 1: Mary is as old as Peter is.

Example 2: Mary is as old as Peter is old.

83. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of “as”.

(502) Mary is as old as Peter was last year.

84. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of “as”.

(503) Mary is as old as how old Peter was last year.

85. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “how” in (503) in [target language], if any, and note whether these elements have to be adjacent to the adjective “old”, or whether “old” can appear elsewhere in the sentence. Please also consider all possible realisations of “as”, too.

86. If a string like “how old” is permitted after “as” in [target language], can the clause be elliptical?

Example: Mary is as old as how old Peter.

87. If a string like “how old” is possible in items like (503) in [target language], can “as” be omitted?

Example: Mary is as old how old Peter (is).

88. Please translate the following sentence.

(504) Mary has as many books as Peter.

89. Please list all the elements that can correspond to the second “a” (the one immediately before “Peter”) in (504) in [target language]. Can these elements combine with each other or with elements like “that” or “what”?

Example 1: Mary has as many books as that Peter (has).

Example 2: Mary has as many books as what Peter (has).

90. Please look at the [target language] versions of the item in (504). Can a full clause appear after the element corresponding to “as”, hence containing a verb and/or a noun? Please consider all possibilities for the element “as”, too.

Example 1: Mary has as many books as Peter has.

Example 2: Mary has as many books as Peter has books.

91. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide possibilities for the realisation of “as”.

(505) Mary has as many books as how many books Peter has.

92. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “how many” in (505) in [target language], if any, and note whether these elements have to be adjacent to the noun “books”, or whether “books” can appear elsewhere in the sentence. Please also consider all possible realisations of “as”, too.

93. If a string like “how many books” is permitted after “as” in items like (505) in [target language], can the clause be elliptical?

Example: Mary has as many books as how many books Peter.

94. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of “as”.

(506) Mary has read as long a book as Peter.

95. Please list all the elements that can correspond to the second “as” (the one immediately before “Peter”) in (506) in [target language]. Can these elements combine with each other or with elements like “that” or “what”?

Example 1: Mary has read as long a book as that Peter (has).

Example 2: Mary has read as long a book as what Peter (has).

96. Please look at the [target language] versions of the item in (506). Can a full clause appear after the element corresponding to “as”, hence containing a verb and/or a noun and/or and adjective? Please consider all possibilities for the element “as”, too.

Example 1: Mary has read as long a book as Peter has.

Example 2: Mary has read as long a book as Peter has a long book.

97. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of “as”.

(507) Mary has read as long a book as how long a book Peter has read.

98. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “how (long)” in (507) in [target language], if any, and note whether these elements have to be adjacent to the nominal expression “a book”, or whether “a book” can appear elsewhere in the sentence. Please also consider all possible realisations of “as”, too.

99. If a string like “how long a book” is permitted after “as” in [target language], can the clause be elliptical?

Example: Mary has read as long a book as how long a book Peter.

100. Please translate the following sentence. (A context is given below, but you do not have to translate that.) Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of “as”.

[Context: I was on holiday for two weeks and my father took care of my cat. Unfortunately, he gave her way too much food. Now my cat can barely get into the house on its own.]

(508) The cat is as fat as the cat flap is wide.

101. Please look at the [target language] versions of the item in (508). Can an element like “how wide” appear, either with or without the element(s) corresponding to “as”? Please consider all possibilities for the element “as”, too.

Example 1: The cat is as fat as how wide the cat flap is.

Example 2: The cat is as fat how wide the cat flap is.

102. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of “as”.

(509) Mary reads as many books a year as Peter does articles.

103. Please look at the [target language] versions of the item in (509). Can an element like “how many books” appear, either with or without the element(s) corresponding to “as”? Please consider all possibilities for the element “as”, too.

Example 1: Mary reads as many books a year as how many articles Peter does.

Example 2: Mary reads as many books a year how many articles Peter does.

104. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of “as”.

(510) We need as much sugar for the cake as we need flour.

105. Please look at the [target language] versions of the item in (510). Can an element like “how much flour” appear, either with or without the element(s) corresponding to “as”? Please consider all possibilities for the element “as”, too.

Example 1: We need as much sugar for the cake as how much flour we do.

Example 2: We need as much sugar for the cake how much flour we do.

106. Is it possible to have an element like “as how” as an attribute of a noun? Please consider all possibilities for the element “as”, too.

Example 1: Mary bought as fat a cat as how wide a cat flap Peter did.

Example 2: Mary bought as fat a cat how wide a cat flap Peter did.

6 Comparative clauses

This section contains questions about comparative clauses. In some cases, it is possible that your language/variety allows more than one word order with similar meaning. It is enough to provide the most natural one of these, but of course you are welcome to provide other possible variants (if so, please specify whether they differ in their acceptability, meaning, or style).

107. Please translate the following sentence.

(601) Mary is older than Peter.

108. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “than” in (601) in [target language]. Can these elements combine with each other or with elements like “that” or “what”?

Example 1: Mary is older than that Peter (is).

Example 2: Mary is older than what Peter (is).

109. Please look at the [target language] versions of the item in (601). Can a full clause appear after the element corresponding to “than”, hence containing an overt copula and/or an adjective? Please consider all possibilities for the element “than”, too.

Example 1: Mary is older than Peter is.

Example 2: Mary is older than Peter is old.

110. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of “than”.

(602) Mary is older than Peter was last year.

111. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of “than”.

(603) Mary is older than how old Peter was last year.

112. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “how” in (603) in [target language], if any, and note whether these elements have to be adjacent to the adjective “old”, or whether “old” can appear elsewhere in the sentence. Please also consider all possible realisations of “than”, too.

113. If a string like “how old” is permitted after “than” in [target language], can the clause be elliptical?

Example: Mary is older than how old Peter.

114. If a string like “how old” is possible in items like (603) in [target language], can “than” be omitted?

Example: Mary is older how old Peter (is).

115. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possible word orders.

(604) Mary has more books than Peter.

116. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “than” in (604) in [target language]. Can these elements combine with each other or with elements like “that” or “what”?

Example 1: Mary has more books than Peter (has).

Example 2: Mary has more books than what Peter (has).

117. Please look at the [target language] versions of the item in (604). Can a full clause appear after the element corresponding to “than”, hence containing a verb and/or a noun? Please consider all possibilities for the element “than”, too.

Example 1: Mary has more books than Peter has.

Example 2: Mary has more books than Peter has books.

118. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of “than”.

(605) Mary has more books than how many books Peter has.

119. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “how many” in (605) in [target language], if any, and note whether these elements have to be adjacent to the noun “books”, or whether “books” can appear elsewhere in the sentence. Please also consider all possible realisations of “than”, too.

120. If a string like “how many books” is permitted after “than” in items like (605) in [target language], can the clause be elliptical?

Example: Mary has more books than how many books Peter.

121. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of “than”.

(606) Mary has read a longer book than Peter.

122. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “than” in (606) in [target language]. Can these elements combine with each other or with elements like “that” or “what”?

Example 1: Mary has read a longer book than that Peter (has).

Example 2: Mary has read a longer book than what Peter (has).

123. Please look at the [target language] versions of the item in (606). Can a full clause appear after the element corresponding to “than”, hence containing a verb and/or a noun and/or and adjective? Please consider all possibilities for the element “than”, too.

Example 1: Mary has read a longer book than Peter has.

Example 2: Mary has read a longer book than Peter has a long book.

124. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of “than”.

(607) Mary has read a longer book than how long a book Peter has read.

125. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “how (long)” in (607) in [target language], if any, and note whether these elements have to be adjacent to the nominal expression “a book”, or whether “a book” can appear elsewhere in the sentence. Please also consider all possible realisations of “than”, too.

126. If a string like “how long a book” is permitted after “than” in [target language], can the clause be elliptical?

Example: Mary has read a longer book than how long a book Peter.

127. Please translate the following sentence. (A context is given below, but you do not have to translate that.) Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of “than”.

[Context: I was on holiday for two weeks and my father took care of my cat. Unfortunately, he gave her way too much food. Now my cat cannot get into the house on its own at all.]

(608) The cat is fatter than the cat flap is wide.

128. Please look at the [target language] versions of the item in (608). Can an element like “how wide” appear, either with or without the element(s) corresponding to “than”? Please consider all possibilities for the element “than”, too.

Example 1: The cat is fatter than how wide the cat flap is.

Example 2: The cat is fatter how wide the cat flap is.

129. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of “than”.

(609) Mary reads more books a year than Peter does articles.

130. Please look at the [target language] versions of the item in (609). Can an element like “how many books” appear, either with or without the element(s) corresponding to “than”? Please consider all possibilities for the element “than”, too.

Example 1: Mary reads more books a year than how many articles Peter does.

Example 2: Mary reads more books a year how many articles Peter does.

131. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of “than”.

(610) We need more sugar for the cake than we need flour.

132. Please look at the [target language] versions of the item in (610). Can an element like “how much flour” appear, either with or without the element(s) corresponding to “than”? Please consider all possibilities for the element “than”, too.

Example 1: We need more sugar for the cake than how much flour we do.

Example 2: We need more sugar for the cake how much flour we do.

133. Is it possible to have an element like “than how” as an attribute of a noun? Please consider all possibilities for the element “than”, too.

Example 1: Mary bought a fatter cat than how wide a cat flap Peter did.

Example 2: Mary bought a fatter cat how wide a cat flap Peter did.

7 Non-canonical comparison

This section contains questions about various types of comparative constructions. In some cases, it is possible that your language/variety allows more than one word order with similar meaning. It is enough to provide the most natural one of these, but of course you are welcome to provide other possible variants (if so, please specify whether they differ in their acceptability, meaning, or style).

134. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of “as”.

(701) Mary is tired, as is Peter.

135. Please look at the [target language] versions of the item in (701). Can an element like “too” appear in the clause introduced by “as”? Please consider all possibilities for the element “than”, too.

136. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of “as”.

(702) Mary, as we all know, doesn't like cats.

137. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of “as”.

(703) Mary is as tall as her brother.

138. Please look at the [target language] versions of the item in (703). What case can the remnant (“her brother”) be in? Please take into consideration other nouns, as well as pronouns. Please consider all possibilities for the element “as”, too.

Example 1: Mary is as tall as he.

Example 2: Mary is as tall as him.

139. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of “than”.

(704) Mary is taller than her brother.

140. Please look at the [target language] versions of the item in (704). What case can the remnant (“her brother”) be in? Please take into consideration other nouns, as well as pronouns. Please consider all possibilities for the element “than”, too.

Example 1: Mary is taller than he.

Example 2: Mary is taller than him.

141. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of “as”.

- (705) I saw as tall a man as my brother.
(With the intended meaning: ‘I saw as tall a man as my brother is’, NOT with the meaning ‘I saw as tall a man as my brother saw.’.)

142. Please look at the [target language] versions of the item in (705). What case can the remnant (“her brother”) be in? Please take into consideration other nouns, as well as pronouns. Please consider all possibilities for the element “as”, too.

Example 1: I saw as tall a man as he.

Example 2: I saw as tall a man as him.

143. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of “than”.

- (706) I saw a taller man than my brother.
(With the intended meaning: ‘I saw a taller man than my brother is’, NOT with the meaning ‘I saw a taller man than my brother saw.’.)

144. Please look at the [target language] versions of the item in (706). What case can the remnant (“her brother”) be in? Please take into consideration other nouns, as well as pronouns. Please consider all possibilities for the element “than”, too.

Example 1: I saw a taller man than he.

Example 2: I saw a taller man than him.

145. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of “as”.

- (707) I am talking to you as a friend, not as your boss.

146. Please look at the [target language] versions of the item in (707). What case can the nominal expression “your boss” be in? Please take into consideration other nouns as well (in case “your boss” does not show case distinction while other nouns do). Please consider all possibilities for the element “as”, too.

147. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of “as”.

- (708) I like Mary a lot, but I see her only as a friend.

148. Please look at the [target language] versions of the item in (708). What case can the nominal expression “a friend” be in? Please take into consideration other nouns as well (in case “a friend” does not show case distinction while other nouns do). Please consider all possibilities for the element “as”, too.

149. Please translate the following sentence.

(709) Mary would be frightened if she saw a ghost.

150. Please look at the [target language] versions of the item in (709). Please list all alternatives for the realisation of “if”, including verb movement, if applicable.

151. Please translate the following sentence.

(710) Mary was pale, as if she had seen a ghost.

152. Please look at the [target language] versions of the item in (710). Please list all alternatives for the realisation of “as if”, including verb movement, if applicable.

153. Please look at the [target language] versions of the item in (710). Can the clause introduced by “as if” be fronted? Please provide all possible realisations of “as if”.

Example: As if she had seen a ghost, Mary was (so) pale.

Speaker data

1 Dutch

	Gender	Year born	Area where the speaker grew up	Area where parents grew up
Speaker 1	Male	1995	Haaksbergen	Arnhem
Speaker 2	Female	1988	From the age of 0–12 in Amersfoort/Nijkerk (center of the Netherlands), then from the age of 12–25 in Drachten, Friesland (north of the Netherlands, bilingual area)	Both parents predominantly in Drachten, Friesland. Both parents spoke a different variety at home (standard Dutch and dialect of Groningen), and both do not speak Frisian.

2 Danish

	Gender	Year born	Area where the speaker grew up	Area where parents grew up
Speaker 1	Male	1978	Malmö, Sweden	Virum, Denmark
Speaker 2	Female	1993	Hvidovre	Sydhavn and Brøndby Øster

3 Icelandic

	Gender	Year born	Area where the speaker grew up	Area where parents grew up
Speaker 1	Female	1993	East of Iceland, a town called Djupivogur	The same area as the speaker, the East side of Iceland
Speaker 2	Female	1990	Reykjavík	Bakkafjörður, north-eastern Iceland

4 Norwegian

	Gender	Year born	Area where the speaker grew up	Area where parents grew up
Speaker 1	Male	1990	Vikeså, municipality of Bjerkreim, Rogaland county, Norway	Father: Tengesdal, municipality of Bjerkreim, Rogaland county, Norway. Mother: Barstad, municipality of Sokndal, Rogaland county, Norway
Speaker 2	Male	1975	Lyngdal, Vest-Agder	The speaker's mother grew up near Flekkefjord, Vest-Agder, and the speaker's father grew up in Hammerfest, Finnmark.

5 Swedish

	Gender	Year born	Area where the speaker grew up	Area where parents grew up
Speaker 1	Male	1984	Municipal: Färgelanda kommun, Högsäter, Country: Sweden	Stockholm (mother), Högsäter (father)
Speaker 2	Female	1982	Göteborg	Värnamo

Dutch

1 Interrogatives

6. Please translate the following sentence into Dutch.

(101) Does Mary like books?

Speaker 1:

(101) a. Houdt Mary van boeken?
holds Mary of books
'Does Mary like books?'

Speaker 2:

(101) b. Houdt Mary van boeken?
holds Mary of books
'Does Mary like books?'

7. Please consider the Dutch version of (101). Is it possible to have a question particle in the clause, and if so, is the result an ordinary variant of (101), or is its use more restricted?

Example: Whether Mary likes books?

Speaker 1: It is possible to say: "Of Mary van boeken houdt?", which is an ordinary variant of (101).

(i) Of Mary van boeken houdt?
if Mary of books holds
'Does Mary like books?'

Speaker 2: You could say "Of Mary van boeken houdt?" to show that you are reflecting on the answer to the question. In that case, you are just repeating the question out loud while thinking about what to say, because you are not sure. This is restricted to that purpose, because it has to be a response to another question and not as an isolated closed question.

(ii) Of Mary van boeken houdt?
if Mary of books holds
'Does Mary like books?'

8. Please translate the following sentence into Dutch.

(102) Peter asked if Mary liked books.

Speaker 1:

(102) a. Peter vroeg of Mary van boeken houdt.
Peter asked.3SG if Mary of books holds
'Peter asked if Mary liked books.'

Speaker 2: Peter vroeg of Marie van boeken hield. In Dutch I would say: "Peter vroeg of Marie van boeken houdt" in which 'houdt' is in the present tense. Otherwise, it feels like if Mary has deceased. In terms of word order, "Peter vroeg of Marie boeken leuk vindt/vond" and "Peter vroeg of Marie houdt/hield van boeken" are also equally accepted and have the same meaning.

(102) b. Peter vroeg of Marie van boeken hield.
Peter asked.3SG if Mary of books held.3SG
'Peter asked if Mary liked books.'

(102) c. Peter vroeg of Marie van boeken houdt.
Peter asked.3SG if Mary of books holds
'Peter asked if Mary liked books.'

(102) d. Peter vroeg of Marie boeken leuk vindt.
Peter asked.3SG if Mary books likeable finds
'Peter asked if Mary liked books.'

(102) e. Peter vroeg of Marie boeken leuk vond.
Peter asked.3SG if Mary books likeable found.3SG
'Peter asked if Mary liked books.'

(102) f. Peter vroeg of Marie houdt van boeken.
Peter asked.3SG if Mary holds of books
'Peter asked if Mary liked books.'

(102) g. Peter vroeg of Marie hield van boeken.
Peter asked.3SG if Mary held.3SG of books
'Peter asked if Mary liked books.'

9. Please list all the elements that can correspond to "if" in (102) in Dutch. Please specify whether these may combine with each other or with an element like "that", too.

Speaker 1: "waarom", "hoeveel", "hoezeer", which all cannot be combined with an element like "that".

Speaker 2: just "of", and in informal speech "of dat" also occurs and is more or less accepted. "Peter vroeg of dat Mary houdt van boeken". Also, 'als' occurs but is more accepted in Friesland than outside of it, because it is considered grammatical in Frisian: "Peter vroeg als Marie van boeken houdt"

- (i) Peter vroeg of dat Mary houdt van boeken.
Peter asked.3SG if that Mary holds of books
'Peter asked if Mary liked books.'
- (ii) Peter vroeg als Marie van boeken houdt.
Peter asked.3SG as Mary of books holds
'Peter asked if Mary liked books.'

10. Please translate the following sentence.

(103) Peter doesn't know if Mary likes books.

Speaker 1:

(103) a. Peter weet niet of Mary van boeken houdt.
Peter knows not if Mary of books holds
'Peter doesn't know if Mary likes books.'

Speaker 2:

(103) b. Peter weet niet of Marie van boeken houdt.
Peter knows not if Mary of books holds
'Peter doesn't know if Mary likes books.'

(103) c. Peter weet niet of Marie boeken leuk vindt.
Peter knows not if Mary books likeable finds
'Peter doesn't know if Mary likes books.'

11. Please list all the elements that can correspond to "if" in (103) in Dutch. Please specify whether these may combine with each other or with an element like "that", too.

Speaker 1: "waarom", "hoeveel", "hoezeer", which all cannot be combined with an element like "that".

Speaker 2: Like in question 9: "of", "of dat", "als".

12. Please translate the following sentence.

(104) Who likes books?

Speaker 1:

(104) a. Wie houdt er van boeken?
who holds of.them of books
'Who likes books?'

Speaker 2:

- (104) b. Wie houdt van boeken?
who holds of books
'Who likes books?'
- (104) c. Wie vindt boeken leuk?
who finds books likeable
'Who likes books?'

13. Please translate the following sentence.

- (105) What does Mary like?

Speaker 1:

- (105) a. Waar houdt Mary van?
what holds Mary of
'What does Mary like?'

Speaker 2:

- (105) b. Waar houdt Mary van?
what holds Mary of
'What does Mary like?'
- (105) c. Wat vindt Mary leuk?
what finds Mary likeable
'What does Mary like?'

14. Please translate the following sentence.

- (106) When did Mary arrive?

Speaker 1:

- (106) a. Wanneer kwam Mary aan?
when came.3SG Mary on
'When did Mary arrive?'

Speaker 2:

- (106) b. Wanneer kwam Mary aan?
when came.3SG Mary on
'When did Mary arrive?'
- (106) c. Wanneer is Mary aangekomen?
when is Mary on.come.PTCP
'When did Mary arrive?'

15. Please look at the Dutch versions of the items in (104)–(106). Could a topicalised element appear in front of the WH-element?

Example: To Susan what did Mary give?

Speaker 1: That's only possible for (104) and (105). (104) Boeken, wie houdt ervan?
(105) Mary, waar houdt zij van?

- (i) Boeken, wie houdt ervan?
books who holds of.it
'Who likes books?'
- (ii) Mary, waar houdt zij van?
Mary what holds she of
'What does Mary like?'

Speaker 2: Yes, in sentences like "Mary kwam wanneer?", if you want to know when Mary is coming and that you were already expecting her, and this word order is only accepted if the time of arrival of Mary was already announced by someone and you want to inform about it again. It is kind of an impatient way to put it like this, but accepted in that context.

- (iii) Mary kwam wanneer?
Mary came.3SG when
'When did Mary arrive?'

16. Please translate the following sentence.

(107) Peter asked who liked books.

Speaker 1:

- (107) a. Peter vroeg wie er van boeken hield.
Peter asked.3SG who of.them of books held.3SG
'Peter asked who liked books.'

Speaker 2: All equally accepted and with the same meaning. Personally I find the first one easier to pronounce, and mostly the second part is in the present tense, although the question may have been asked in the past.

- (107) b. Peter vroeg wie van boeken houdt.
Peter asked.3SG who of books holds
'Peter asked who liked books.'
- (107) c. Peter vroeg wie van boeken hield.
Peter asked.3SG who of books held.3SG
'Peter asked who liked books.'
- (107) d. Peter vroeg wie houdt van boeken.
Peter asked.3SG who holds of books
'Peter asked who liked books.'

- (107) e. Peter vroeg wie hield van boeken.
Peter asked.3SG who held.3SG of books
'Peter asked who liked books.'
- (107) f. Peter vroeg wie boeken leuk vond.
Peter asked.3SG who books likeable found.3SG
'Peter asked who liked books.'
- (107) g. Peter vroeg wie boeken leuk vindt.
Peter asked.3SG who books likeable finds
'Peter asked who liked books.'

17. Please translate the following sentence.

- (108) Peter asked what Mary liked.

Speaker 1:

- (108) a. Peter vroeg waar Mary van hield.
Peter asked.3SG what Mary of held.3SG
'Peter asked what Mary liked.'

Speaker 2:

- (108) b. Peter vroeg wat Mary leuk vond.
Peter asked.3SG what Mary likeable found.3SG
'Peter asked what Mary liked.'
- (108) c. Peter vroeg wat Mary leuk vindt.
Peter asked.3SG what Mary likeable finds
'Peter asked what Mary liked.'

18. Please translate the following sentence.

- (109) Peter asked when Mary arrived.

Speaker 1:

- (109) a. Peter vroeg wanneer Mary aankwam.
Peter asked.3SG when Mary on.came.3SG
'Peter asked when Mary arrived.'

Speaker 2: "aankwam" if Mary has already arrived, but also when Mary was already expected but hasn't arrived yet. "aankomt" if you want to know a more exact time of arrival.

- (109) b. Peter vroeg wanneer Mary aankwam.
Peter asked.3SG when Mary on.came.3SG
'Peter asked when Mary arrived.'

- (109) c. Peter vroeg wanneer Mary aankomt.
 Peter asked.3SG when Mary on.comes
 ‘Peter asked when Mary arrived.’

19. Please look at the Dutch versions of the items in (107)–(109). Can a complementiser appear before/after the WH-element?

Example 1: Peter asked that what Mary liked.

Example 2: Peter asked if what Mary liked.

Example 3: Peter asked who that liked books.

Speaker 1: No, it can't.

Speaker 2: No, a complementiser before the WH-element would be unacceptable in my opinion. “Peter vroeg dat wat Marie leuk vindt” would mix an indirect question (wat) and a subordinate (dat). In (109) you could say ‘Peter vroeg wie of er boeken leuk vindt’ or even “Peter vroeg wie dat er boeken leuk vindt” because that is an open question and allows the construction “of er” or “dat er” after the WH-element. Nonetheless, that is quite informal. Not usual in my variety.

- (i) Peter vroeg dat wat Marie leuk vindt.
 Peter asked.3SG that what Mary likeable finds
 ‘Peter asked what Mary liked.’
- (ii) Peter vroeg wie of er boeken leuk vindt.
 Peter asked.3SG who if of.them books likeable finds
 ‘Peter asked who liked books.’
- (iii) Peter vroeg wie dat er boeken leuk vindt.
 Peter asked.3SG who that of.them books likeable finds
 ‘Peter asked who liked books.’

20. Please translate the following sentence.

- (110) Peter doesn't know who likes books.

Speaker 1:

- (110) a. Peter weet niet wie er van boeken houdt.
 Peter knows not who of.them of books holds
 ‘Peter doesn't know who likes books.’

Speaker 2:

- (110) b. Peter weet niet wie boeken leuk vindt.
 Peter knows not who books likeable finds
 ‘Peter doesn't know who likes books.’

21. Please translate the following sentence.

- (111) Peter doesn't know what Mary likes.

Speaker 1:

- (111) a. Peter weet niet waar Mary van houdt.
Peter knows not what Mary of holds
'Peter doesn't know what Mary likes.'

Speaker 2:

- (111) b. Peter weet niet wat Mary leuk vindt.
Peter knows not what Mary likeable finds
'Peter doesn't know what Mary likes.'

22. Please translate the following sentence.

- (112) Peter doesn't know when Mary arrived.

Speaker 1:

- (112) a. Peter weet niet wanneer Mary aankwam.
Peter knows not when Mary on.came.3SG
'Peter doesn't know when Mary arrived.'

Speaker 2:

- (112) b. Peter weet niet wanneer Mary aankwam.
Peter knows not when Mary on.came.3SG
'Peter doesn't know when Mary arrived.'

23. Please look at the Dutch versions of the items in (110)–(112). Can a complementiser appear before/after the WH-element?

Example 1: Peter doesn't know who that likes books.

Example 2: Peter doesn't know that who likes books.

Example 3: Peter doesn't know what that Mary likes.

Example 4: Peter doesn't know that what Mary likes.

Example 5: Peter doesn't know when that Mary arrived.

Example 6: Peter doesn't know that when Mary arrived.

Speaker 1: In (111), it is possible to say: Peter weet niet datgene waar Mary van houdt. So the complementiser can appear before the WH-element. But in (110) and (112), that is not possible.

- (i) Peter weet niet datgene waar Mary van houdt.
Peter knows not that.which what Mary of holds
'Peter doesn't know what Mary likes.'

Speaker 2: in (110): 'Peter weet niet wie of er boeken leuk vindt' is acceptable. In (111), only 'Peter weet niet wat of Mary leuk vindt' would sound acceptable, without 'er' because it is an open question. In (112) I would say 'Peter weet niet wanneer of Mary aankwam' if Mary hasn't arrived yet, or 'Peter weet niet wanneer dat Mary aankwam' if

she has already arrived.

- (ii) Peter weet niet wie of er boeken leuk vindt.
Peter knows not who if of.them books likeable finds
'Peter doesn't know who likes books.'
- (iii) Peter weet niet wat of Mary leuk vindt.
Peter knows not what if Mary likeable finds
'Peter doesn't know what Mary likes.'
- (iv) Peter weet niet wanneer of Mary aankwam.
Peter knows not when if Mary on.came.3SG
'Peter doesn't know when Mary arrived.'
- (v) Peter weet niet wanneer dat Mary aankwam.
Peter knows not when that Mary on.came.3SG
'Peter doesn't know when Mary arrived.'

24. Please look at the Dutch versions of the items in (102)–(103) and (107)–(112). Can the subordinate clause appear before the matrix clause?

Example: If Mary likes books, Peter asked.

Speaker 1: Yes, that is possible.

Speaker 2: 'Of Mary boeken leuk vindt, vroeg Peter'. I think that is possible, if the purpose is to repeat the question that Peter asked in case someone did not hear that Peter asked the question. But it might come across as impatient if you put it that way.

- (i) Of Mary boeken leuk vindt, vroeg Peter.
if Mary books likeable finds asked.3SG Peter
'Peter asked if Mary liked books.'

25. Please look at the Dutch versions of the items in (102)–(103) and (107)–(112). Can the subject or the object be topicalised in front of "if" or a WH-element (and, if applicable, in between a complementiser like "that" and "if"/the WH-element)?

Example 1: Peter asked (that) Mary if likes books.

Example 2: Peter doesn't know (that) books who likes.

Speaker 1: No, that is not possible.

Speaker 2: No, I wouldn't know how to produce an acceptable sentence with an object in front of 'if' or a WH-element. 'Peter vroeg dat Mary of boeken leuk vindt' is not acceptable.

- (i) *Peter vroeg dat Mary of boeken leuk vindt.
Peter asked.3SG that Mary if books likeable finds
'Peter asked of Mary likes books.'

26. Is it possible to have ellipsis with a single subject remnant following the element(s) corresponding to “if”? (Please consider whether it is possible with verbs other than “like” as well, e.g. “know” and “think”.)

Example: I know someone likes books but I don’t know if Mary.

Speaker 1: No, that is not possible.

Speaker 2: This would be considered incomplete, certainly if it is an affirmative clause. I would think it is a weird sentence.

27. Is it possible to have ellipsis with a single object remnant following the element(s) corresponding to “if”? (Please consider whether it is possible with verbs other than “like” as well, e.g. “know” and “think”.)

Example: I know someone Mary likes something but I don’t know if books.

Speaker 1: No, that is not possible.

Speaker 2: No, I don’t think so because after ‘if’ a subject is necessary I guess, as it is a subordinate clause. I have never heard or said anything like this.

28. Is it possible to have ellipsis with a single WH remnant? (Please consider whether it is possible with verbs other than “like” or “arrive” as well.)

Example 1: I know someone likes books but I don’t know who.

Example 2: I know Mary likes something but I don’t know what.

Example 3: I know Mary has arrived but I don’t know when.

Speaker 1: Yes, that is possible.

Speaker 2: Yes, that is a common thing to do, also with other verbs than “like” or “arrive” as long as the WH remnant refers to any of the aspects within the main clause.

29. Is it possible to have ellipsis with multiple WH remnants? If so, is the order of the WH-elements fixed? (Please consider whether it is possible with verbs other than “like” as well.)

Example: I know someone likes something but I don’t know who what.

Speaker 1: Yes, that is possible. And yes, the order is fixed, first the subject (who) and then the object (what).

Speaker 2: No because you would repeat the indicative after the WH remnant: Ik weet dat iemand iets leuk vindt, maar ik weet niet wie wat leuk vindt. The order is always “who” and then “what”/“when”/“who”. So subject first. Other verbs are also allowed, for example “wants”, “gives”, “knows” instead of “likes”

- (i) Ik weet dat iemand iets leuk vindt, maar ik weet niet
I know.1SG that someone something likeable finds but I know.1SG not
wie wat leuk vindt.
who what likeable finds
'I know someone likes something but I don’t know who likes what.'

2 Declaratives

30. Please translate the following sentence into Dutch.

(201) Mary likes books.

Speaker 1:

(201) a. Mary houdt van boeken.
Mary holds of books
'Mary likes books.'

Speaker 2:

(201) b. Mary vindt boeken leuk.
Mary finds books likeable
'Mary likes books.'

31. Please translate the following sentence.

(202) Peter says (that) Mary likes books.

Speaker 1:

(202) a. Peter zegt dat Mary van boeken houdt.
Peter says that Mary of books holds
'Peter says that Mary likes books.'

Speaker 2:

(202) b. Peter zegt dat Mary boeken leuk vindt.
Peter says that Mary books likeable finds
'Peter says that Mary likes books.'

32. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “that” in (202) in Dutch. Please specify whether these may combine with each other, too.

Speaker 1: “waarom”, “hoeveel”, “hoezeer”, which all cannot be combined with “that”.

Speaker 2: “dat”. I wouldn't know any other element in indirect style, other than 'dat'.

33. Please translate the following sentence.

(203) Peter knows (that) Mary likes books.

Speaker 1:

(203) a. Peter weet dat Mary van boeken houdt.
Peter knows that Mary of books holds
'Peter knows that Mary likes books.'

Speaker 2:

- (203) b. Peter weet dat Mary boeken leuk vindt.
Peter knows that Mary books likeable finds
'Peter knows that Mary likes books.'

34. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “that” in (203) in Dutch. Please specify whether these may combine with each other, too.

Speaker 1: “waarom”, “hoeveel”, “hoezeer”, which all cannot be combined with “that”.
Speaker 2: “dat”. It is the only one that links a main clause with a subordinate clause in Dutch and this is also in indirect style.

35. Please translate the following sentence.

- (204) Peter thinks (that) Mary likes books.

Speaker 1:

- (204) a. Peter denkt dat Mary van boeken houdt.
Peter thinks that Mary of books holds
'Peter thinks that Mary likes books.'

Speaker 2:

- (204) b. Peter denkt dat Mary boeken leuk vindt.
Peter thinks that Mary books likeable finds
'Peter thinks that Mary likes books.'

36. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “that” in (204) in Dutch. Please specify whether these may combine with each other, too.

Speaker 1: None.

Speaker 2: Also, only “dat”.

37. Please translate the following sentence.

- (205) It is surprising (that) Mary likes books.

Speaker 1:

- (205) a. Het is verrassend dat Mary van boeken houdt.
it is surprising that Mary of books holds
'It is surprising that Mary likes books.'

Speaker 2:

- (205) b. Het is verrassend dat Mary boeken leuk vindt.
it is surprising that Mary books likeable finds
'It is surprising that Mary likes books.'

38. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “that” in (205) in Dutch. Please specify whether these may combine with each other, too.

Speaker 1: “waarom”, “hoeveel”, “hoezeer”, which all cannot be combined with “that”.

Speaker 2: “dat”, after the temporary subject “het” you don’t really have a choice but to use “dat”. Elements like “if” are not relevant, only when the verb expresses a question, like “asks”.

39. Please look at the Dutch versions of the items in (202)–(205). Can the clauses introduced by “that” be fronted, and if so, is the element corresponding to “that” obligatory?

Example: (That) Mary likes books is surprising.

Speaker 1: Yes, the clauses introduced by “that” can be fronted, and the element corresponding to “that” is obligatory. For example, (205) would be:

- (i) Dat Mary van boeken houdt is verrassend.
that Mary of books holds is surprising
'That Mary likes books is surprising.'

Speaker 2: Yes, this is grammatical. “that” has to have the meaning “dat” because the word “surprising” expresses a known fact.

- (ii) Dat Mary boeken leuk vindt is verrassend.
that Mary books likeable finds is surprising
'That Mary likes books is surprising.'

40. Please look at the Dutch versions of the items in (204)–(205). Can the subject or the object be topicalised in front of “that” (or, if applicable, in between two complementisers)?

Example 1: Peter says Mary that likes books.

Example 2: Peter says that Mary that likes books.

Example 3: Peter says books that Mary likes.

Example 4: Peter says that books that Mary likes.

Speaker 1: No, that is not possible.

Speaker 2: No, not topicalised and not in between two complementisers: Peter zegt Mary dat boeken leuk vindt, Peter zegt dat Mary dat boeken leuk vindt, Peter zegt boeken dat Mary leuk vindt, Peter zegt dat boeken dat Mary leuk vindt. In all cases, the subordinate after the final “that” misses a subject or an object.

- (i) Peter zegt Mary dat boeken leuk vindt.
Peter says Mary that books likeable finds
'Peter says that Mary likes books.'
- (ii) Peter zegt dat Mary dat boeken leuk vindt.
Peter says that Mary that books likeable finds
'Peter says that Mary likes books.'
- (iii) Peter zegt boeken dat Mary leuk vindt.
Peter says books that Mary likeable finds
'Peter says that Mary likes books.'
- (iv) Peter zegt dat boeken dat Mary leuk vindt.
Peter says that books that Mary likeable finds
'Peter says that Mary likes books.'

41. Is it possible to have ellipsis with a single subject remnant following the element(s) corresponding to “that” (see “B” below)? (Please consider whether it is possible with verbs other than “like” as well, e.g. “know” and “think”).

Example:

A: Who likes books?

B: Peter says that Mary.

Speaker 1: No, that is not possible.

Speaker 2: No, the subordinate is incomplete and misses an object. That is the same for the verbs “know” and “think” because they require an object. would be repeated after “that”. The only option is to leave out “that”:

- (i) A: Wie houdt van boeken?
who holds of books
'Who likes books?'
B: Peter zegt “Mary”
Peter says Mary
'Peter says Mary likes books.'

42. Is it possible to have ellipsis with a single object remnant following the element(s) corresponding to “that” (see “B” below)? (Please consider whether it is possible with verbs other than “like” as well, e.g. “know” and “think”).

Example:

A: What does Mary like?

B: Peter says that books.

Speaker 1: No, that is not possible.

Speaker 2: No, the subordinate is incomplete and misses a subject. That is the same for the verbs “know” and “think” because they require a subject and would be repeated after “that”. The only option is to leave out “that”:

- (i) A: Waar houdt Mary van?
 what holds Mary of
 ‘What does Mary like?’
 B: Peter zegt “boeken”.
 Peter says books
 ‘Peter says that Mary likes books.’

3 Relative clauses

43. Please translate the following sentence into Dutch.

(301) This is the student who invited Mary.

Speaker 1:

- (301) a. Dit is de student die Mary uitnodigde.
 this is the.M/F student who Mary invited.PST.3SG
 ‘This is the student who invited Mary.’

Speaker 2:

- (301) b. Dit is de student die Mary uitnodigde.
 this is the.M/F student who Mary invited.PST.3SG
 ‘This is the student who invited Mary.’

44. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “who” in (301) in Dutch, including complementisers like “that” and the absence of any overt relative pronoun or complementiser. Please specify whether the overt elements may combine with each other, too.

Speaker 1: “that” can correspond to “who” in (301) in Dutch.

Speaker 2: “die” is the only possibility in (301). It is used when the subject carries the article “de” in Dutch (de student).

45. Please translate the following sentence.

(302) This is the book which Mary bought.

Speaker 1:

- (302) a. Dit is het boek dat Mary meebracht.
 this is the.N book which Mary with.brought.PST.3SG
 ‘This is the book which Mary bought.’

Speaker 2:

- (302) b. Dit is het boek dat Mary kocht.
this is the.N book which Mary bought.PST.3SG
'This is the book which Mary bought.'

46. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “which” in (302) in Dutch, including complementisers like “that” and the absence of any overt relative pronoun or complementiser. Please specify whether the overt elements may combine with each other, too.

Speaker 1: “that” can correspond to “which” in (302) in Dutch.

Speaker 2: “dat” is the only possibility in (302). It is used when the object carries the article “het” in Dutch (dat boek).

47. Please translate the following sentence.

- (303) This is the city where I was born.

Speaker 1:

- (303) a. Dit is de stad waarin ik geboren ben.
this is the.M/F city in.which I born am
'This is the city where I was born.'

Speaker 2:

- (303) b. Dit is de stad waar ik ben geboren.
this is the.M/F city whre I am born
'This is the city where I was born.'

48. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “where” in (303) in Dutch, including complementisers like “that” and the absence of any overt relative pronoun or complementiser. Please specify whether the overt elements may combine with each other, too.

Speaker 1: “in which” (‘waarin’) can correspond to “where” in (303) in Dutch.

Speaker 2: “waar” is the only possibility in (303) because it refers to a geographical place.

49. Please translate the following sentence.

- (304) That was the year when Mary arrived.

Speaker 1:

- (304) a. Dat was het jaar dat Mary aankwam.
that was the.N year which Mary arrived.PST.3SG
'That was the year when Mary arrived.'

- (304) b. Dat was het jaar waarin Mary aankwam.
that was the.N year in.which Mary arrived.PST.3SG
'That was the year when Mary arrived.'

Speaker 2:

- (304) c. Dat was het jaar dat Mary aankwam.
that was the.N year which Mary arrived.PST.3SG
'That was the year when Mary arrived.'

50. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “when” in (304) in Dutch, including complementisers like “that” and the absence of any overt relative pronoun or complementiser. Please specify whether the overt elements may combine with each other, too.

Speaker 1: “that” or “during which” (‘waarin’) can correspond to “when” in Dutch.

Speaker 2: “dat”, “waarin”, “waar”. All three are possible, but not combined with each other.

51. Please translate the following sentence.

- (305) I will invite whoever you recommend.

Speaker 1:

- (305) a. Ik zal iedereen die jij aanbeveelt uitnodigen.
I shall everyone who you recommend.2SG invite.INF
'I will invite whoever you recommend.'

Speaker 2:

- (305) b. Ik zal uitnodigen wie je ook maar aanbeveelt.
I shall invite.INF who you also just recommend.2SG
'I will invite whoever you recommend.'

52. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “whoever” in (305) in Dutch, including combinations with complementisers like “that”.

Speaker 1: “whoever” in (305) can correspond to “everybody + who” or “everybody + that” in Dutch. So in Dutch it would be: “I will invite everybody who/that you recommend.”

Speaker 2: “wie dan ook”, “wie ook”, “iedereen die”, “wie dat je ook”, “wie ook maar”

53. Please translate the following sentence.

- (306) I will hire whoever is qualified.

Speaker 1:

- (306) a. Ik zal iedereen die gekwalificeerd is aannemen.
I shall everyone who qualified is take.INF
'I will hire whoever is qualified.'

Speaker 2:

- (306) b. Ik zal aannemen wie ook maar is gekwalificeerd.
I shall take.INF who also just is qualified
'I will hire whoever is qualified.'

54. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “whoever” in (306) in Dutch, including combinations with complementisers like “that”.

Speaker 1: “whoever” in (306) can correspond to “everybody + who” or “everybody + that” in Dutch. So in Dutch it would be: “I will hire everybody who/that is qualified.”

Speaker 2: “wie ook maar”, “iedereen die”, “wie ook”, “wie dan ook”

55. Please translate the following sentence.

- (307) I will do whatever you recommend.

Speaker 1:

- (307) a. Ik zal alles doen wat jij aanbeveelt.
I shall everything do.INF what you recommend.2SG
'I will do whatever you recommend.'

Speaker 2:

- (307) b. Ik zal doen wat je ook maar aanbeveelt.
I shall do.INF what you also just recommend.2SG
'I will do whatever you recommend.'

56. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “whatever” in (307) in Dutch, including combinations with complementisers like “that”.

Speaker 1: “whatever in (307) can correspond to “everything + what” or “everything + that” in Dutch. So in Dutch it would be: “I will do everything what/that you recommend.”

Speaker 2: “wat ook maar”, “alles, wat”, “wat ook”, “alles, dat”

57. Please translate the following sentence.

- (308) I will go wherever I find linguists.

Speaker 1:

- (308) a. Ik zal overal heengaan waar ik taalkundigen vind.
I shall everywhere away.go.INF where I linguists find.1SG
'I will go wherever I find linguists.'

Speaker 2:

- (308) b. Ik zal overal heen gaan waar ik taalkundigen vind.
I shall everywhere away go.INF where I linguists find.1SG
'I will go wherever I find linguists.'

58. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “wherever” in (308) in Dutch, including combinations with complementisers like “that”.

Speaker 1: “wherever” in (308) can correspond to “everywhere + where” in Dutch, which is a bit dual. So in Dutch it would be: “I will go everywhere where I find linguists.”

Speaker 2: “overal... waar ook maar”, “overal... waar”

59. Please translate the following sentence.

- (309) I will go whenever it suits you.

Speaker 1:

- (309) a. Ik zal gaan wanneer het jou dan ook uitkomt.
I shall go.INF when it you.ACC then also out.comes
'I will go whenever it suits you.'

Speaker 2:

- (309) b. Ik zal op elk moment gaan dat het je uitkomt.
I shall on each moment go.INF which it you out.comes
'I will go whenever it suits you.'

60. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “whenever” in (309) in Dutch, including combinations with complementisers like “that”.

Speaker 1: “whenever” in (309) can correspond to “when” (wanneer) in Dutch, which can be combined with ‘dan’ (then) + ‘ook’ (as well)

Speaker 2: “op elk moment”, “wanneer dan ook”, “wanneer ook”, “wanneer dat het ook”

61. Please look at the Dutch versions of the items in (301)–(309). Can the relative clause appear before the matrix clause?

Example: Where I was born, I am going to that city.

Speaker 1: In (301)–(304), that is not possible. However, in (305)–(309), it is well possible for the relative clause to appear before the matrix clause.

Speaker 2: Yes that is possible, but the word order of the main clause changes: waar ik ben geboren, naar die stad ga ik. Wat je ook maar aanbeveelt, dat zal ik doen/ik zal het

doen. Waar ik taalkundigen vind, daar ga ik naartoe.

- (i) Waar ik ben geboren, naar die stad ga ik.
where I am born to that.M/F city go.1SG I
'I am going to the city where I was born.'
- (ii) Wat je ook maar aanbeveelt, dat zal ik doen.
what you also just recommend.2SG that shall I do.INF
'I will do whatever you recommend.'
- (iii) Wat je ook maar aanbeveelt, ik zal het doen.
what you also just recommend.2SG I shall it do.INF
'I will do whatever you recommend.'
- (iv) Waar ik taalkundigen vind, daar ga ik naartoe.
where I linguists find.1SG there go.1SG I towards
'I will go wherever I find linguists.'

62. Please look at the Dutch versions of the items in (301)–(309). Can a topicalised element appear before the relative pronoun (or the relative complementiser)?

Example: This is the student Mary who invited.

Speaker 1: No, that is not possible.

Speaker 2: No, that is not possible. "dit is de student Mary die uitnodigde" is a weird sentence.

- (i) Dit is de student Mary die uitnodigde.
this is the.M/F student Mary who invited.PST.3SG
'This is the student who invited Mary.'

63. Is it possible for the relative pronoun to be a single remnant of ellipsis?

Example: Well, Mary lives where. (Meaning: 'Mary lives wherever she does.')

Speaker 1: That is only possible for the items in (305)–(309).

Speaker 2: No, you would have to specify, otherwise the sentence is not finished and has no meaning.

4 Degree clauses

64. Please translate the following sentence into Dutch.

- (401) How did you open the bottle?

Speaker 1:

- (401) a. Hoe heb jij de fles opengemaakt?
how have.2SG you the.M/F bottle open.made.PTCP
'How did you open the bottle?'

Speaker 2:

- (401) b. Hoe maakte je de fles open?
how made.PST.2SG you the.M/F bottle open
'How did you open the bottle?'

65. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “how” in (401) in Dutch.

Speaker 1: “when”, “where”, “why”

Speaker 2: “hoe”, “op welke manier”

66. Please translate the following sentence.

- (402) How old is Mary?

Speaker 1:

- (402) a. Hoe oud is Mary?
how old is Mary
'How old is Mary?'

Speaker 2:

- (402) b. Hoe oud is Mary?
how old is Mary
'How old is Mary?'

67. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “how” in (402) in Dutch.

Speaker 1: None.

Speaker 2: “hoe”

68. Please look at the Dutch versions of the item in (402). Can the adjective appear in a non-adjacent position to the element(s) corresponding to “how”? Example: How is Mary old? (With the intended meaning ‘how old is Mary?’.)

Speaker 1: No, that is not possible.

Speaker 2: No, that is not possible: “hoe is Mary oud?”. Because “hoe” and “oud” have to be adjacent. If not, you ask in what ‘way’ Mary is old, but there are no multiple ways to be old.

- (i) Hoe is Mary oud?
how is Mary old
'How is Mary old?'

69.<original question identical to Question 68>

70. Please translate the following sentence.

- (403) How many books does Mary read a year?

Speaker 1:

- (403) a. Hoeveel boeken leest Mary per jaar?
how.many books reads Mary per year
'How many books does Mary read a year?'

Speaker 2:

- (403) b. Hoeveel boeken leest Mary per jaar?
how.many books reads Mary per year
'How many books does Mary read a year?'

71. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “how many” in (403) in Dutch.

Speaker 1: None.

Speaker 2: “Hoeveel”

72. Please look at the Dutch versions of the item in (403). Can the noun appear in a non-adjacent position to the element(s) corresponding to “how many”?

Example: How many does Mary read books a year?

Speaker 1: No, that is not possible.

Speaker 2: If you say “hoeveel leest Mary boeken per jaar”, “hoeveel” does not refer directly to the books but possibly to a certain (implicit) amount of time (which is not the purpose). That is not common in this context.

- (i) Hoeveel leest Mary boeken per jaar?
how.much reads Mary books per year
'How much does Mary read books a year?'

73. Please translate the following sentence.

- (404) How much sugar do we need for the cake?

Speaker 1:

- (404) a. Hoeveel suiker hebben we nodig voor de cake?
how.much sugar have.1PL we necessary for the.M/F cake
'How much sugar do we need for the cake?'

Speaker 2:

- (404) b. Hoeveel suiker hebben we nodig voor de taart?
how.much sugar have.1PL we necessary for the.M/F cake
'How much sugar do we need for the cake?'

74. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “how much” in (404) in Dutch.

Speaker 1: None.

Speaker 2: “hoeveel”

75. Please look at the Dutch versions of the item in (404). Can the noun appear in a non-adjacent position to the element(s) corresponding to “how much”?

Example: How much do we need sugar for the cake?

Speaker 1: No, that is not possible.

Speaker 2: No, because if you say ‘hoeveel heb je suiker nodig voor de taart’ you ask how big the need for sugar is, or something. The meaning of the sentence changes and even to say in that way how much someone needs sugar is odd.

- (i) Hoeveel heb je suiker nodig voor de taart?
how.much have.2SG you sugar necessary for the.M/F cake
'How much do you need sugar for the cake?'

76. Please translate the following sentence.

- (405) How long a book did Mary read?

Speaker 1:

- (405) a. Hoe lang is het boek dat Mary heeft gelezen?
how long is the.N book which Mary has read.PTCP
'How long a book did Mary read?'

Speaker 2: Hoe lang was het boek dat Mary las (with the meaning: hoe lang las Mary een boek?)

- (405) b. Hoe lang was het boek dat Mary las?
how long was the.N book which Mary read.PST.3SG
'How long a book did Mary read?'

77. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “how” in (405) in Dutch.

Speaker 1: None.

Speaker 2: “hoe”

78. Please look at the Dutch versions of the item in (405). Can the string “how long” follow the article, as in the example below, or precede it, as in (405) in English?

Example: A how long book did Mary read?

Speaker 1: I’m not sure whether it is grammatically acceptable, but in spoken language you hear it quite often.

Speaker 2: ‘Een hoe lang book las Mary’ is not a possible sentence in Dutch. The article cannot be separated from the noun. “hoe lang” cannot directly precede “een boek” because the indicative and subject have to be in between.

- (i) Een hoe lang book las Mary?
a how long book read.PST.3SG Mary
‘How long a book did Mary read?’

79. Please look at the Dutch versions of the item in (405). Can the noun appear in a non-adjacent position to the element(s) corresponding to “how long”?

Example: How long did Mary read a book? (With the intended meaning ‘how long a book did Mary read?’.)

Speaker 1: No, that is not possible. It would refer to the time it took for Mary to read a book, instead of referring to the number of pages the book contains.

Speaker 2: The noun has to be in non-adjacent position to “how long”, any other possibility is not grammatical in Dutch: ‘hoe lang las Mary een boek’ is grammatical but ‘hoe lang een boek las Mary’ is not. (I don’t understand the intended meaning ‘how long a book did Mary read’).

- (i) Hoe lang las Mary een boek?
how long read.PST.3SG Mary a book
‘How long a book did Mary read?’
- (ii) Hoe lang een boek las Mary?
how long a book read.PST.3SG Mary
‘How long a book did Mary read?’

5 Equative clauses

80. Please translate the following sentence.

(501) Mary is as old as Peter.

Speaker 1:

- (501) a. Mary is even oud als Peter.
Mary is just.as old as Peter
'Mary is as old as Peter.'

Speaker 2:

- (501) b. Mary is even oud als Peter (is).
Mary is just.as old as Peter is
'Mary is as old as Peter.'
- (501) c. Mary is even oud als dat Peter is.
Mary is just.as old as that Peter is
'Mary is as old as Peter.'

81. Please list all the elements that can correspond to the second “as” (the one immediately before “Peter”) in (501) in Dutch. Can these elements combine with each other or with elements like “that” or “what”?

Example 1: Mary is as old as that Peter (is).

Example 2: Mary is as old as what Peter (is).

Speaker 1: “As” is the only possible element in this position. But it is possible to combine “as” with “that” in Dutch:

- (i) Mary is even oud als dat Peter is.
Mary is just.as old as that Peter is
'Mary is as old as Peter.'

82. Please look at the Dutch versions of the item in (501). Can a full clause appear after the element corresponding to “as”, hence containing an overt copula and/or an adjective? Please consider all possibilities for the element “as”, too.

Example 1: Mary is as old as Peter is.

Example 2: Mary is as old as Peter is old.

Speaker 1: It is possible to say in Dutch “Mary is as old as Peter is”, but it is not possible to say “Mary is as old as Peter is old. So, a full clause can appear after the element corresponding to “as”, but only if it contains an overt copula.

Speaker 2: Mary is even oud als Peter is; Mary is even oud als Peter oud is. Both are possible grammatically, but the second construction is used more often with oppositions like “Mary is even oud als Peter jong is”. When “as” is translated as “als dat” both possibilities are also correct: “Mary is even oud als dat Peter is”, “Mary is even oud als dat Peter oud is”.

- (i) Mary is even oud als Peter is.
Mary is just.as old as Peter is
'Mary is as old as Peter.'

- (ii) Mary is even oud als Peter oud is.
Mary is just.as old as Peter old is
'Mary is as old as Peter.'
- (iii) Mary is even oud als Peter jong is.
Mary is just.as old as Peter young is
'Mary is as old as Peter is young.'
- (iv) Mary is even oud als dat Peter is.
Mary is just.as old as that Peter is
'Mary is as old as Peter.'
- (v) Mary is even oud als dat Peter oud is.
Mary is just.as old as that Peter old is
'Mary is as old as Peter.'

83. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of "as".

- (502) Mary is as old as Peter was last year.

Speaker 1: "As" can also be realised as "less... than".

- (502) a. Mary is even oud als Peter vorig jaar was.
Mary is just.as old as Peter last year was
'Mary is as old as Peter was last year.'
- (502) b. Mary is even oud als dat Peter vorig jaar was.
Mary is just.as old as that Peter last year was
'Mary is as old as Peter was last year.'

Speaker 2:

- (502) c. Mary is even oud als Peter vorig jaar was.
Mary is just.as old as Peter last year was
'Mary is as old as Peter was last year.'
- (502) d. Mary is even oud als dat Peter vorig jaar was.
Mary is just.as old as that Peter last year was
'Mary is as old as Peter was last year.'

84. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of "as".

- (503) Mary is as old as how old Peter was last year.

Speaker 1: "As" can also be realised as "less... than".

- (503) a. Mary is even oud als hoe oud Peter vorig jaar was.
Mary is just.as old as how old Peter last year was
'Mary is as old as Peter was last year.'

Speaker 2: Mary is even oud als hoe oud Peter vorig jaar was; “als dat” is not possible because of the word “how”

- (503) b. Mary is even oud als hoe oud Peter vorig jaar was.
Mary is just.as old as how old Peter last year was
'Mary is as old as Peter was last year.'

85. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “how” in (503) in Dutch, if any, and note whether these elements have to be adjacent to the adjective “old”, or whether “old” can appear elsewhere in the sentence. Please also consider all possible realisations of “as”, too.

Speaker 1: In (503), there aren't any elements in Dutch that can correspond to “how”.
Speaker 2: “hoe”, has to be adjacent to “old” because it refers to a scalar relation between ‘how’ and ‘old’. If ‘how’ is non-adjacent to ‘old’, it is interpreted as ‘a way in which you can be old’. ‘Mary is even oud als hoe Peter vorig jaar oud was’ is a strange sentence.

- (i) Mary is even oud als hoe Peter vorig jaar oud was.
Mary is just.as old as how Peter last year old was
'Mary is as old as the way Peter was old last year.'

86. If a string like “how old” is permitted after “as” in Dutch, can the clause be elliptical?

Example: Mary is as old as how old Peter.

Speaker 1: No, that is not possible.

Speaker 2: ‘Mary is even oud als hoe oud Peter.’ In this case no, the indicative has to be repeated because of the word ‘how’ in the sentence. If you leave out ‘how’ the sentence can be elliptical: ‘Mary is even oud als Peter’.

- (i) *Mary is even oud als hoe oud Peter.
Mary is just.as old as how old Peter
'Mary is as old as Peter.'
- (ii) Mary is even oud als Peter.
Mary is just.as old as Peter
'Mary is as old as Peter.'

87. If a string like “how old” is possible in items like (503) in Dutch, can “as” be omitted?

Example: Mary is as old how old Peter (is).

Speaker 1: No, “as” can't be omitted.

Speaker 2: “Mary is even oud hoe oud Peter is”. No, because “as” expresses the comparison and cannot be omitted.

- (i) *Mary is even oud hoe oud Peter is.
 Mary is just.as old how old Peter is
 ‘Mary is as old as Peter.’

88. Please translate the following sentence.

(504) Mary has as many books as Peter.

Speaker 1:

- (504) a. Mary heeft evenveel boeken als Peter.
 Mary has just.as.many books as Peter
 ‘Mary has as many books as Peter.’

Speaker 2:

- (504) b. Mary heeft evenveel boeken als Peter.
 Mary has just.as.many books as Peter
 ‘Mary has as many books as Peter.’

89. Please list all the elements that can correspond to the second “a” (the one immediately before “Peter”) in (504) in Dutch. Can these elements combine with each other or with elements like “that” or “what”?

Example 1: Mary has as many books as that Peter (has).

Example 2: Mary has as many books as what Peter (has).

Speaker 1: “As” is the only possible element in this position, but it is possible to combine it with an element like “that”, as shown in example 1. It is not possible to combine “as” in (504) with an element like “what” in Dutch.

Speaker 2: In a comparative sentence with ‘as many’ (‘evenveel’) only ‘als’ or ‘als dat’ can follow. So “as” can be combined with “that” also, but not with other elements.

- (i) Mary heeft evenveel boeken als dat Peter heeft.
 Mary has just.as.many books as that Peter has
 ‘Mary has as many books as Peter.’

90. Please look at the Dutch versions of the item in (504). Can a full clause appear after the element corresponding to “as”, hence containing a verb and/or a noun? Please consider all possibilities for the element “as”, too.

Example 1: Mary has as many books as Peter has.

Example 2: Mary has as many books as Peter has books.

Speaker 1: A full clause can only appear after the element corresponding to “as” when it contains a verb, like in example 1.

Speaker 2: ‘Mary heeft evenveel boeken als Peter heeft’ is fine. So it is possible to have a full clause with a verb after ‘as’. If ‘as’ is translated as ‘als dat’, then the verb is obligatory because that makes the full clause a subordinate: ‘Mary heeft evenveel boeken

als dat Peter heeft'. Adding a noun is possible: 'Mary heeft evenveel boeken als Peter boeken heeft' but to repeat the word 'books' is superflu and this construction is more likely to be used if the nouns differ: 'Mary heeft evenveel boeken als Peter tijdschriften heeft', for example.

- (i) Mary heeft evenveel boeken als Peter heeft.
Mary has just.as.many books as Peter has
'Mary has as many books as Peter.'
- (ii) Mary heeft evenveel boeken als dat Peter heeft.
Mary has just.as.many books as that Peter has
'Mary has as many books as Peter.'
- (iii) Mary heeft evenveel boeken als Peter boeken heeft.
Mary has just.as.many books as Peter books has
'Mary has as many books as Peter.'
- (iv) Mary heeft evenveel boeken als Peter tijdschriften heeft.
Mary has just.as.many books as Peter journals has
'Mary has as many books as Peter has journals.'

91. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide possibilities for the realisation of "as".

(505) Mary has as many books as how many books Peter has.

Speaker 1: "As" can also be realised as "more... than", or "less... than".

- (505) a. Mary heeft evenveel boeken als het aantal boeken dat Peter heeft.
Mary has just.as.many books as the.N number books which Peter has
has
'Mary has as many books as Peter.'

Speaker 2:

- (505) b. Mary heeft evenveel boeken als hoeveel boeken Peter heeft.
Mary has just.as.many books as how.many books Peter has
'Mary has as many books as Peter.'

92. Please list all the elements that can correspond to "how many" in (505) in Dutch, if any, and note whether these elements have to be adjacent to the noun "books", or whether "books" can appear elsewhere in the sentence. Please also consider all possible realisations of "as", too.

Speaker 1: In (505), there aren't any elements that can correspond to "how many" in Dutch.

Speaker 2: 'hoe veel', has to be adjacent to 'books' because 'how many' refers to 'books' and nothing else, and 'books' cannot appear elsewhere: 'Mary evenveel boeken heeft als hoeveel boeken Peter heeft' is not a grammatical sentence. In this comparative sentence,

only ‘als’ is possible as translation of “as”.

- (i) Mary evenveel boeken heeft als hoeveel boeken Peter heeft.
Mary just.as.many books has as how.many books Peter has
‘Mary has as many books as Peter.’

93. If a string like “how many books” is permitted after “as” in items like (505) in Dutch, can the clause be elliptical?

Example: Mary has as many books as how many books Peter

Speaker 1: No, that is not possible.

Speaker 2: No, that is not possible because after ‘how’ you need a verb. “Mary heeft evenveel boeken als hoeveel boeken Peter heeft”: The verb ‘heeft’ is necessary there.

- (i) Mary heeft evenveel boeken als hoeveel boeken Peter heeft.
Mary has just.as.many books as how.many books Peter has
‘Mary has as many books as Peter.’

94. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of “as”.

- (506) Mary has read as long a book as Peter.

Speaker 1:

- (506) a. Mary heeft een evenlang boek gelezen als Peter.
Mary has a just.as.long book read.PTCP as Peter
‘Mary has read as long a book as Peter.’

Speaker 2:

- (506) b. Mary heeft net zo lang een boek gelezen als Peter.
Mary has just so long a book read.PTCP as Peter
‘Mary has read as long a book as Peter.’

95. Please list all the elements that can correspond to the second “as” (the one immediately before “Peter”) in (506) in Dutch. Can these elements combine with each other or with elements like “that” or “what”?

Example 1: Mary has read as long a book as that Peter (has).

Example 2: Mary has read as long a book as what Peter (has).

Speaker 1: “As” is the only element that is possible in this position. However, it can be combined with an element like “that”, just like in example 1.

Speaker 2: ‘als’, ‘als dat’. ‘als’ could combine with ‘dat’ (optional)

96. Please look at the Dutch versions of the item in (506). Can a full clause appear after the element corresponding to “as”, hence containing a verb and/or a noun and/or and adjective? Please consider all possibilities for the element “as”, too.

Example 1: Mary has read as long a book as Peter has.

Example 2: Mary has read as long a book as Peter has a long book.

Speaker 1: A full clause can only appear after the element corresponding to “as” when it contains a verb. When it contains an noun in combination with and adjective, like in example 2, it is not possible.

Speaker 2: Yes, it is possible: ‘Mary heeft net zo lang een boek gelezen als (dat) Peter heeft’. The sentence ‘Mary heeft net zo lang een boek gelezen als (dat) Peter een lang boek heeft’ is maybe grammatically possible but doesn’t mean anything and it also a weird comparison (“long books” vs “reading for a long time”).

- (i) Mary heeft net zo lang een boek gelezen als (dat) Peter heeft.
Mary has just so long a book read.PTCP as that Peter has
‘Mary has read as long a book as Peter.’
- (ii) Mary heeft net zo lang een boek gelezen als (dat) Peter een lang boek heeft.
Mary has just so long a book read.PTCP as that Peter a long book has
‘Mary has read as long a book as Peter.’

97. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of “as”.

(507) Mary has read as long a book as how long a book Peter has read.

Speaker 1: this grammatical construction is odd in Dutch though

- (507) a. Mary heeft een evenlang boek gelezen als het lange boek dat
Mary has a just.as.long book read.PTCP as the.N long book which
Peter heeft gelezen.
Peter has read.PTCP
‘Mary has read as long a book as Peter.’

Speaker 2: I have trouble translating ‘how long a book’ in good Dutch, books cannot be long.

- (507) b. Mary heeft net zo lang een boek gelezen als (hoe lang) Peter een
Mary has just so long a book read.PTCP as how long Peter a
boek heeft gelezen.
book has read.PTCP
‘Mary has read as long a book as Peter.’

98. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “how (long)” in (507) in Dutch, if any, and note whether these elements have to be adjacent to the nominal expression “a book”, or whether “a book” can appear elsewhere in the sentence. Please also consider all possible realisations of “as”, too.

Speaker 1: In (507) in Dutch, there aren't any elements that can correspond to “how (long)”.

Speaker 2: ‘hoe lang’. It cannot be adjacent to ‘een boek’ because it refers to the amount of time someone has read a book, and not to the longitude (?) of the book. ‘Hoe lang Peter een boek heeft gelezen’ is a fine sentence, but ‘Hoe lang een boek Peter heeft gelezen’ is not possible.

- (i) Mary heeft net zo lang een boek gelezen als hoe lang Peter een boek heeft gelezen.
Mary has just so long a book read.PTCP as how long Peter a book has read.PTCP
‘Mary has read as long a book as Peter.’
- (ii) *Mary heeft net zo lang een boek gelezen als hoe lang een boek Peter heeft gelezen.
Mary has just so long a book read.PTCP as how long a book Peter has read.PTCP
‘Mary has read as long a book as Peter.’

99. If a string like “how long a book” is permitted after “as” in Dutch, can the clause be elliptical?

Example: Mary has read as long a book as how long a book Peter.

Speaker 1: No, that is not possible.

Speaker 2: I think “how long a book” is not permitted after “as” in Dutch. Just ‘as Peter’:

- (i) Mary heeft net zo lang een boek gelezen als Peter.
Mary has just so long a book read.PTCP as Peter
‘Mary has read as long a book as Peter.’

100. Please translate the following sentence. (A context is given below, but you do not have to translate that.) Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of “as”.

[Context: I was on holiday for two weeks and my father took care of my cat. Unfortunately, he gave her way too much food. Now my cat can barely get into the house on its own.]

- (508) The cat is as fat as the cat flap is wide.

Speaker 1:

- (508) a. De kat is even dik als dat het kattenluik wijd is.
the.M/F cat is just.as fat as that the cat.flap wide is
'The cat is as fat as the cat flap is wide.'

Speaker 2:

- (508) b. De kat is even dik als het kattenluik wijd is.
the.M/F cat is just.as fat as the cat.flap wide is
'The cat is as fat as the cat flap is wide.'

101. Please look at the Dutch versions of the item in (508). Can an element like “how wide” appear, either with or without the element(s) corresponding to “as”? Please consider all possibilities for the element “as”, too.

Example 1: The cat is as fat as how wide the cat flap is.

Example 2: The cat is as fat how wide the cat flap is.

Speaker 1: An element like “how wide” can only appear with the element corresponding to “as”, or “less... than”, like in example 1.

Speaker 2: I think “how wide” cannot appear in a comparative sentence like in example 1, because it cannot combine with the first ‘as’: ‘de kat is net zo dik als hoe wijd het kattenluik is’. In this type of comparatives, equatives, only the translation ‘als’ is possible.

- (i) de kat is net zo dik als hoe wijd het kattenluik is.
the.M/F cat is just so fat as how wide the.N cat.flap is
'The cat is as fat as the cat flap is wide.'

102. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of “as”.

- (509) Mary reads as many books a year as Peter does articles.

Speaker 1: “As” can also be realised as “less... than” or “more... than”.

- (509) a. Mary leest evenveel boeken per jaar als dat Peter artikelen leest.
Mary reads just.as.many books per year as that Peter articles reads
'Mary reads as many books a year as Peter does articles.'

Speaker 2: Only ‘als’ is possible for equative sentences like this.

- (509) b. Mary leest evenveel boeken per jaar als Peter artikelen (leest).
Mary reads just.as.many boks per year as Peter articles reads
'Mary reads as many books a year as Peter does articles.'

103. Please look at the Dutch versions of the item in (509). Can an element like “how many books” appear, either with or without the element(s) corresponding to “as”? Please consider all possibilities for the element “as”, too.

Example 1: Mary reads as many books a year as how many articles Peter does.

Example 2: Mary reads as many books a year how many articles Peter does.

Speaker 1: An element like “how many books” can only appear with the element corresponding to “as”, or “less... than”, or “more... than”.

Speaker 2: I think that this is not possible, the combination of ‘as’ and ‘how many’ is strange:

- (i) Mary leest evenveel boeken als hoeveel artikelen Peter leest.
Mary reads just.as.many books as how.many articles Peter reads
‘Mary reads as many books a year as Peter does articles.’

104. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of “as”.

- (510) We need as much sugar for the cake as we need flour.

Speaker 1: “As” can also be realised as “less... than” or “more... than”.

- (510) a. We hebben evenveel suiker als bloem nodig voor de cake.
we have.1PL just.as.much sugar as flour necessary for the.M/F cake
‘We need as much sugar for the cake as we need flour.’

Speaker 2: Only ‘als’ is possible for “as”, or “als dat”.

- (510) b. We hebben evenveel suiker nodig voor de taart als (dat)
we have.1PL just.as.much sugar necessary for the.M/F cake as that
we bloem nodig hebben.
we flour necessary have.1PL
‘We need as much sugar for the cake as we need flour.’

105. Please look at the Dutch versions of the item in (510). Can an element like “how much flour” appear, either with or without the element(s) corresponding to “as”? Please consider all possibilities for the element “as”, too.

Example 1: We need as much sugar for the cake as how much flour we do.

Example 2: We need as much sugar for the cake how much flour we do.

Speaker 1: An element like “how much flour” can only appear with the element corresponding to “as”, “less... than”, or “more... than”.

Speaker 2: The combination of ‘as much...as how much’ (evenveel...als hoeveel) is strange, I don’t think you can say that. Only ‘als’ is possible for “as”, of “als dat”.

106. Is it possible to have an element like “as how” as an attribute of a noun? Please consider all possibilities for the element “as”, too.

Example 1: Mary bought as fat a cat as how wide a cat flap Peter did.

Example 2: Mary bought as fat a cat how wide a cat flap Peter did.

Speaker 1: Yes, that is possible, but only if it appears with the element corresponding to “as”, like in example 1. Example 2 is not grammatically correct in Dutch.

Speaker 2: ‘als hoe wijd een kattenluik Peter kocht’ is not possible, that is strange. I don’t think ‘as how’ can be an attribute of a noun, because ‘how wide’ refers to something scalar.

6 Comparative clauses

107. Please translate the following sentence.

(601) Mary is older than Peter.

Speaker 1:

(601) a. Mary is ouder dan Peter.
Mary is older than Peter
‘Mary is older than Peter.’

Speaker 2:

(601) b. Mary is ouder dan Peter.
Mary is older than Peter
‘Mary is older than Peter.’

108. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “than” in (601) in Dutch. Can these elements combine with each other or with elements like “that” or “what”?

Example 1: Mary is older than that Peter (is).

Example 2: Mary is older than what Peter (is).

Speaker 1: In (601) in Dutch, “than” is the only possible element to make a comparative clause. It is possible to combine “than” with an element like “that”, as in example 1.

Speaker 2: “Mary is ouder dan dat Peter is.” ‘dan’ could combine with ‘dat’ in spoken language. You could also say ‘als’ or ‘als dat’, which is used often in spoken language but considered incorrect grammatically.

(i) Mary is ouder dan dat Peter is.
Mary is older than that Peter is
‘Mary is older than Peter.’

109. Please look at the Dutch versions of the item in (601). Can a full clause appear after the element corresponding to “than”, hence containing an overt copula and/or an adjective? Please consider all possibilities for the element “than”, too.

Example 1: Mary is older than Peter is.

Example 2: Mary is older than Peter is old.

Speaker 1: In (601) in Dutch, it is possible that a full clause appears after “than”, but only if it contains an overt copula, like in example 1.

Speaker 2: For example 1, it is possible: Mary is ouder dan Peter is. For the second example, it is possible to have an overt copula and/or adjective, but then the adjective is different from the first adjective of the comparison (so no 2x ‘old’) in order for the clause to be a meaningful comparison.

- (i) Mary is ouder dan Peter is.
Mary is older than Peter is
‘Mary is older than Peter.’

110. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of “than”.

(602) Mary is older than Peter was last year.

Speaker 1: “Than” can also be realised as “than that” in Dutch.

- (602) a. Mary is ouder dan dat Peter vorig jaar was.
Mary is older than that Peter last year was
‘Mary is older than Peter was last year.’

Speaker 2: ‘Dan’: Mary is ouder dan Peter vorig jaar was. ‘Als dat’: Mary is ouder als dat Peter vorig jaar was (common in spoken language, in certain dialects, but considered incorrect grammatically).

- (602) b. Mary is ouder dan Peter vorig jaar was.
Mary is older than Peter last year was
‘Mary is older than Peter was last year.’
- (602) c. Mary is ouder als dat Peter vorig jaar was.
Mary is older as that Peter last year was
‘Mary is older than Peter was last year.’

111. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of “than”.

(603) Mary is older than how old Peter was last year.

Speaker 1: “Than” (dan) is the only possible element in this context.

- (603) a. Mary is ouder dan hoe oud Peter vorig jaar was.
Mary is older than hoe old Peter last year was
'Mary is older than Peter was last year.'

Speaker 2: That is not permitted in Dutch. 'Dan', 'als dat' (see above). 'dan + hoe' is not possible in Dutch, 'hoe' is used for questions.

- (603) b. *Mary is ouder dan hoe oud Peter vorig jaar was.
Mary is older than hoe old Peter last year was
'Mary is older than Peter was last year.'

112. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “how” in (603) in Dutch, if any, and note whether these elements have to be adjacent to the adjective “old”, or whether “old” can appear elsewhere in the sentence. Please also consider all possible realisations of “than”, too.

Speaker 1: In (603) in Dutch, “how” is the only possible element.

Speaker 2: “how”: hoe. Appears in combination with adjectives, always adjacent. It is not possible to separate them because ‘hoe’ expresses a measure for the adjective. You cannot say: ‘hoe is Peter oud.’ That is odd and has a different meaning (the way in which Peter is old, but there are not many ways to be old). “than” and “how” together are not possible in a comparison.

113. If a string like “how old” is permitted after “than” in Dutch, can the clause be elliptical?

Example: Mary is older than how old Peter.

Speaker 1: No, that is not possible.

Speaker 2: it is not permitted.

114. If a string like “how old” is possible in items like (603) in Dutch, can “than” be omitted?

Example: Mary is older how old Peter (is).

Speaker 1: No, that is not possible.

Speaker 2: that combination is not permitted, and in a comparison you can't omit the element that expresses the comparison.

115. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possible word orders.

- (604) Mary has more books than Peter.

Speaker 1:

- (604) a. Mary heeft meer boeken dan Peter.
Mary has more books than Peter
'Mary has more books than Peter.'

Speaker 2:

- (604) b. Mary heeft meer boeken dan Peter.
Mary has more books than Peter
'Mary has more books than Peter.'
- (604) c. Meer boeken dan Peter heeft Mary.
More books than Peter has Mary
'Mary has more books than Peter.'

116. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “than” in (604) in Dutch. Can these elements combine with each other or with elements like “that” or “what”?

Example 1: Mary has more books than Peter (has).

Example 2: Mary has more books than what Peter (has).

Speaker 1: “Than” is the only possible element in (604) in Dutch. It is possible to combine “than” with an element like “that”:

- (i) Mary heeft meer boeken dan dat Peter heeft.
Mary has more books than that Peter has
'Mary has more books than Peter.'

Speaker 2: ‘dan’. It can combine with ‘dat’ in spoken language if the indicative is repeated in the subordinate, but that is not always accepted in every dialect (not standard).

- (ii) Mary heeft meer boeken dan dat Peter heeft.
Mary has more books than that Peter has
'Mary has more books than Peter.'
- (iii) Mary heeft meer boeken dan Peter.
Mary has more books than Peter
'Mary has more books than Peter.'

117. Please look at the Dutch versions of the item in (604). Can a full clause appear after the element corresponding to “than”, hence containing a verb and/or a noun? Please consider all possibilities for the element “than”, too.

Example 1: Mary has more books than Peter has.

Example 2: Mary has more books than Peter has books.

Speaker 1: A full clause can appear after “than” or “than that” when it contains a verb, like in example 1. This is not possible with a noun.

Speaker 2: Both are possible, but in the second example ‘books’ is redundant. Other nouns than ‘books’ would make more sense. “than” can only mean ‘dan’

118. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of “than”.

- (605) Mary has more books than how many books Peter has.

Speaker 1:

- (605) a. Mary heeft meer boeken dan het aantal boeken dat Peter heeft.
Mary has more books than the.N number books that Peter has
'Mary has more books than Peter.'

Speaker 2: The combination of 'dan' and 'hoe' is not possible.

- (605) b. *Mary heeft veel meer boeken dan hoeveel boeken Peter heeft.
Mary has much more books than how.many books Peter has
'Mary has more books than Peter.'

119. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “how many” in (605) in Dutch, if any, and note whether these elements have to be adjacent to the noun “books”, or whether “books” can appear elsewhere in the sentence. Please also consider all possible realisations of “than”, too.

Speaker 1: “How many” can correspond to “het aantal dat” (the amount of), which has to be adjacent to the noun “books”.

Speaker 2: 'hoeveel' for 'how many', and 'dan' for 'than'. Always adjacent to 'books'. It is not possible to separate them because 'hoe' expresses a measure for the adjective. If separated, you would ask in what way Peter has books, but there are not many ways to own books.

120. If a string like “how many books” is permitted after “than” in items like (605) in Dutch, can the clause be elliptical?

Example: Mary has more books than how many books Peter.

Speaker 1: No, that is not possible.

Speaker 2: “how many books” is not permitted after “than” in this sentence.

121. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of “than”.

- (606) Mary has read a longer book than Peter.

Speaker 1: “Than” is the only possible realisation in a comparative clause like this.

- (606) a. Mary heeft een langer boek gelezen dan Peter.
Mary has a longer book read.PTCP than Peter
'Mary has read a longer book than Peter.'

Speaker 2: Mary leest een langer (?) boek dan Peter. 'dan' is the only possibility for 'than'.

- (606) b. Mary leest een langer boek dan Peter.
Mary reads a longer book than Peter
'Mary is reading a longer book than Peter.'

122. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “than” in (606) in Dutch. Can these elements combine with each other or with elements like “that” or “what”?

Example 1: Mary has read a longer book than that Peter (has).

Example 2: Mary has read a longer book than what Peter (has).

Speaker 1: “Than” in (606) in Dutch can combine with an element like “that”, like in example 1.

Speaker 2: ‘than that’ means ‘dan dat’: Mary heeft een langer boek gelezen dan dat Peter heeft (gelezen). ‘than what’ means ‘dan wat’: Mary heeft een langer boek gelezen dat wat Peter heeft.

(i) Mary heeft een langer boek gelezen dan dat Peter heeft.
Mary has a longer book read.PTCP that that Peter has
‘Mary has read a longer book than Peter.’

(ii) Mary heeft een langer boek gelezen dat wat Peter heeft.
Mary has a longer book read.PTCP that what Peter has
‘Mary has read a longer book than Peter.’

123. Please look at the Dutch versions of the item in (606). Can a full clause appear after the element corresponding to “than”, hence containing a verb and/or a noun and/or and adjective? Please consider all possibilities for the element “than”, too.

Example 1: Mary has read a longer book than Peter has.

Example 2: Mary has read a longer book than Peter has a long book.

Speaker 1: A full clause can appear after “than” when it contains a verb. This is not possible with a noun or an adjective.

Speaker 2: yes, the first example is possible but the second example doesn’t make any sense because it is not a comparison between equal elements. “than” can only mean ‘dan’.

124. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of “than”.

(607) Mary has read a longer book than how long a book Peter has read.

Speaker 1: “Than” is the only possible realisation in a comparative clause like this.

(607) a. Mary heeft een langer boek gelezen dan het lange boek dat Peter
Mary has a longer book read.PTCP than the.N long book that Peter
heeft gelezen.
has read.PTCP
‘Mary has read a longer book than Peter.’

Speaker 2: I cannot translate ‘how long a book’.

- (607) b. Mary heeft langer een boek gelezen dan Peter een boek heeft
 Mary has longer a book read.PTCP than Peter a book has
 gelezen.
 read.PTCP
 ‘Mary has read a longer book than Peter.’

125. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “how (long)” in (607) in Dutch, if any, and note whether these elements have to be adjacent to the nominal expression “a book”, or whether “a book” can appear elsewhere in the sentence. Please also consider all possible realisations of “than”, too.

Speaker 1: In (607) in Dutch, “how (long)” is the only possible element.

Speaker 2: “how long” means ‘hoe lang’. It cannot be adjacent to ‘a book’ because a book cannot be long. So ‘a book’ has to appear elsewhere in the sentence, and then ‘how long’ can express an amount of time, not a quality of the book.

126. If a string like “how long a book” is permitted after “than” in Dutch, can the clause be elliptical?

Example: Mary has read a longer book than how long a book Peter.

Speaker 1: No, that is not possible.

Speaker 2: It is not permitted.

127. Please translate the following sentence. (A context is given below, but you do not have to translate that.) Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of “than”.

[Context: I was on holiday for two weeks and my father took care of my cat. Unfortunately, he gave her way too much food. Now my cat cannot get into the house on its own at all.]

- (608) The cat is fatter than the cat flap is wide.

Speaker 1: In Dutch, “than” is being realised as “than that”.

- (608) a. De kat is dikker dan dat het kattenluik wijd is.
 the.M/F cat is fatter than that the.N cat.flap wide is
 ‘The cat is fatter than the cat flap is wide.’

Speaker 2: ‘than’ means ‘dan’ or ‘dan dat’ (spoken language)

- (608) b. De kat is dikker dan het kattenluik wijd is.
 the.M/F cat is fatter than the.N cat.flap wide is
 ‘The cat is fatter than the cat flap is wide.’

128. Please look at the Dutch versions of the item in (608). Can an element like “how wide” appear, either with or without the element(s) corresponding to “than”? Please consider all possibilities for the element “than”, too.

Example 1: The cat is fatter than how wide the cat flap is.

Example 2: The cat is fatter how wide the cat flap is.

Speaker 1: An element like “how wide” can only appear with the element corresponding to “than”, as in example 1.

Speaker 2: Example 1: ‘dan’ + ‘hoe’ is not possible. Example 2: ‘than’ cannot be omitted, it expresses the comparison. ‘Than’ means ‘dan’

129. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of “than”.

(609) Mary reads more books a year than Peter does articles.

Speaker 1: In Dutch, “than” is being realised as “than that”.

(609) a. Mary leest meer boeken per jaar dan dat Peter artikelen leest.
Mary reads more books per year than that Peter articles reads
‘Mary reads more books a year than Peter does articles.’

Speaker 2: Mary leest per jaar meer artikelen dan Peter doet met (?) artikelen. ‘dan’, ‘dan dat’.

(609) b. Mary leest per jaar meer artikelen dan Peter doet met artikelen.
Mary reads per year more articles than Peter does with articles
‘Mary reads more articles a year than Peter does.’

130. Please look at the Dutch versions of the item in (609). Can an element like “how many books” appear, either with or without the element(s) corresponding to “than”? Please consider all possibilities for the element “than”, too.

Example 1: Mary reads more books a year than how many articles Peter does.

Example 2: Mary reads more books a year how many articles Peter does.

Speaker 1: An element like “how many books” can only appear with the element corresponding to “than”.

Speaker 2: Example 1: ‘dan’ + ‘hoe’ is not possible. Example 2: ‘than’ cannot be omitted, it expresses the comparison. ‘Than’ means ‘dan’.

131. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of “than”.

(610) We need more sugar for the cake than we need flour.

Speaker 1: In Dutch, “than” is being realised as “than that”.

- (610) a. We hebben meer suiker nodig voor de cake dan dat we
 we have.1PL more sugar necessary for the.M/F cake than that we
 bloem nodig hebben.
 flour necessary have.1PL
 ‘We need more sugar for the cake than we need flour.’

Speaker 2: ‘dan’, ‘dan dat’

- (610) b. We hebben meer suiker nodig voor de taart dan we bloem
 we have.1PL more sugar necessary for the.M/F cake than we flour
 nodig hebben.
 necessary have.1PL
 ‘We need more sugar for the cake than we need flour.’

132. Please look at the Dutch versions of the item in (610). Can an element like “how much flour” appear, either with or without the element(s) corresponding to “than”? Please consider all possibilities for the element “than”, too.

Example 1: We need more sugar for the cake than how much flour we do.

Example 2: We need more sugar for the cake how much flour we do.

Speaker 1: An element like “how much flour” can only appear with the element corresponding to “than”.

Speaker 2: Example 1: ‘dan’ + ‘hoe’ is not possible. Example 2: ‘than’ cannot be omitted, it expresses the comparison. ‘Than’ means ‘dan’

133. Is it possible to have an element like “than how” as an attribute of a noun? Please consider all possibilities for the element “than”, too.

Example 1: Mary bought a fatter cat than how wide a cat flap Peter did.

Example 2: Mary bought a fatter cat how wide a cat flap Peter did.

Speaker 1: I think that is possible, at least I can say that example 1 would be acceptable in Dutch.

Speaker 2: ‘how wide a cat flap’ is not possible. ‘Than’ still means ‘dan’ or ‘dan dat’.

7 Non-canonical comparison

134. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of “as”.

- (701) Mary is tired, as is Peter.

Speaker 1: There are three possible realisations of “as” in (701) in Dutch. (1) Mary is moe, net als Peter. (2) Mary is moe, net zoals Peter. (3) Mary is moe, evenals Peter.

- (701) a. Mary is moe, net als Peter.
Mary is tired just as Peter
'Mary is tired, as is Peter.'
- (701) b. Mary is moe, net zoals Peter.
Mary is tired just so.as Peter
'Mary is tired, as is Peter.'
- (701) c. Mary is moe, evenals Peter.
Mary is tired just.as Peter
'Mary is tired, as is Peter.'

Speaker 2: "as" means 'als' or 'als dat'

- (701) d. Mary is net zo moe als Peter is.
Mary is just so tired as Peter is
'Mary is just as tired as Peter is.'
- (701) e. Mary is net zo moe als dat Peter is.
Mary is just so tired as that Peter is
'Mary is just as tired as Peter is.'

135. Please look at the Dutch versions of the item in (701). Can an element like "too" appear in the clause introduced by "as"? Please consider all possibilities for the element "than", too.

Speaker 1: Yes, an element like "too" can appear in the clause introduced by "as".

Speaker 2: No, 'too' is not possible in a comparison with 'as': Mary is net zo moe als Peter ook is. It is a double message, because Mary and Peter are already compared as tiredness is concerned, so adding 'too' is redundant.

- (i) Mary is net zo moe als Peter ook is.
Mary is just as tired as Peter also is
'Mary is tired, as is Peter.'

136. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of "as".

- (702) Mary, as we all know, doesn't like cats.

Speaker 1:

- (702) a. Mary, zoals we allemaal weten, houdt niet van katten.
Mary so.as we all know.1PL holds not of cats
'Mary, as we all know, doesn't like cats.'

Speaker 2: 'als', 'zoals'

- (702) b. Mary, zoals we allemaal weten, houdt niet van katten.
 Mary so.as we all know.1PL holds not of cats
 ‘Mary, as we all know, doesn’t like cats.’

137. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of “as”.

- (703) Mary is as tall as her brother.

Speaker 1:

- (703) a. Mary is even lang als haar broer.
 Mary is just.as tall as her.NOM/ACC brother
 ‘Mary is as tall as her brother.’

- (703) b. Mary is net zo lang als haar broer.
 Mary is just so tall as her.NOM/ACC brother
 ‘Mary is as tall as her brother.’

Speaker 2: The first ‘as’: ‘net zo’. The second ‘as’: ‘als’.

- (703) c. Mary is net zo groot als haar broer.
 Mary is just so tall as her.NOM/ACC brother
 ‘Mary is as tall as her brother.’

138. Please look at the Dutch versions of the item in (703). What case can the remnant (“her brother”) be in? Please take into consideration other nouns, as well as pronouns. Please consider all possibilities for the element “as”, too.

Example 1: Mary is as tall as he.

Example 2: Mary is as tall as him.

Speaker 1: It is possible to say: Mary is even lang als hij (Mary is as tall as he). It is not possible, or at least not recommended to say: Mary is even lang als hem (Mary is as tall as him)

- (i) Mary is even lang als hij.
 Mary is just.as tall as he.NOM
 ‘Mary is as tall as he is.’

- (ii) Mary is even lang als hem.
 Mary is just.as tall as he.ACC
 ‘Mary is as tall as he is.’

Speaker 2: Mary is net zo groot als hij. The case has to be subject, not ‘hem’, ‘haar’, ‘ons’. Because ‘as’ cannot be combined with an object in Dutch. Pronouns are possible: “Mary is even groot als Peter” but you cannot say ‘Mary is even groot als hem’.

- (iii) Mary is net zo groot als hij.
 Mary is just so tall as he.NOM
 ‘Mary is as tall as he is.’

- (iv) Mary is even groot als Peter.
 Mary is just.as tall as Peter.NOM/ACC
 ‘Mary is as tall as Peter is.’
- (v) Mary is even groot als hem.
 Mary is just.as tall as he.ACC
 ‘Mary is as tall as her is.’

139. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of “than”.

(704) Mary is taller than her brother.

Speaker 1: In this context, “than” is the only possible element.

- (704) a. Mary is langer dan haar broer.
 Mary is taller than her.NOM/ACC brother
 ‘Mary is taller than her brother.’

Speaker 2: ‘dan’

- (704) b. Mary is langer dan haar broer.
 Mary is taller than her..NOM/ACC brother
 ‘Mary is taller than her brother.’

140. Please look at the Dutch versions of the item in (704). What case can the remnant (“her brother”)(be in? Please take into consideration other nouns, as well as pronouns. Please consider all possibilities for the element “than”, too.

Example 1: Mary is taller than he.

Example 2: Mary is taller than him.

Speaker 1: It is possible to say: Mary is langer dan hij (Mary is taller than he). It is not possible, or at least not recommended to say: Mary is langer dan hem (Mary is taller than him)

- (i) Mary is langer dan hij.
 Mary is taller than he.NOM
 ‘Mary is taller than he is.’
- (ii) Mary is langer dan hem.
 Mary is taller than he.ACC
 ‘Mary is taller than he is.’

Speaker 2: Mary is groter dan hij/zij/ik/Peter/etc. The case has to be subject, not ‘hem’, ‘haar’, ‘ons’, because ‘than’ cannot be combined with an object in Dutch. Pronouns are possible: ‘Mary is groter dan Peter’ but you cannot say ‘Mary is groter dan hem’.

- (iii) Mary is groter dan hij.
Mary is taller than he.NOM
'Mary is taller than he is.'
- (iv) Mary is groter dan zij.
Mary is taller than she.NOM
'Mary is taller than she is.'
- (v) Mary is groter dan ik.
Mary is taller than I.NOM
'Mary is taller than I am.'
- (vi) Mary is groter dan Peter.
Mary is taller than Peter.NOM/ACC
'Mary is taller than Peter is.'
- (vii) *Mary is groter dan hem.
Mary is taller than he.ACC
'Mary is taller than he is.'

141. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of “as”.

- (705) I saw as tall a man as my brother.
(With the intended meaning: 'I saw as tall a man as my brother is', NOT with the meaning 'I saw as tall a man as my brother saw'.)

Speaker 1:

- (705) a. Ik zag een man net zo lang als mijn broer.
I saw.1SG a man just as tall as my.NOM/ACC brother
'I saw as tall a man as my brother is.'
- (705) b. Ik zag een even lange man als mijn broer.
I saw.1SG a just.as tall man as my.NOM/ACC brother
'I saw as tall a man as my brother is.'

Speaker 2: 'Ik zag een man die net zo lang is als mijn broer' would be the best option, however the construction 'as tall a man' sounds incorrect.

- (705) c. Ik zag een man die net zo lang is als mijn broer.
I saw.1SG a man who just as tall is as my.NOM/ACC brother
'I saw as tall a man as my brother is.'

142. Please look at the Dutch versions of the item in (705). What case can the remnant (“her brother”) be in? Please take into consideration other nouns, as well as pronouns. Please consider all possibilities for the element “as”, too.

Example 1: I saw as tall a man as he.

Example 2: I saw as tall a man as him.

Speaker 1: It is possible to say: Ik zag een man net zo lang als hij (I saw as tall a man as

he). It is not possible, or at least not recommended to say: Ik zag een man net zo lang als hem (I saw as tall a man as him)

- (i) Ik zag een man net zo lang als hij.
I saw.1SG a man just so tall as he.NOM
'I saw as tall a man as he is.'
- (ii) Ik zag een man net zo lang als hem.
I saw.1SG a man just so tall as he.ACC
'I saw as tall a man as her is.'

Speaker 2: After 'als' the remnant has to be in the nominative (hij/zij/Peter...) and not the accusative (hem/haar/ons...).

143. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of "than".

- (706) I saw a taller man than my brother.
(With the intended meaning: 'I saw a taller man than my brother is', NOT with the meaning 'I saw a taller man than my brother saw'.)

Speaker 1:

- (706) a. Ik zag een man die langer is dan mijn broer.
I saw.1SG a man who taller is than my.NOM/ACC brother
'I saw a taller man than my brother is.'

Speaker 2: Ik zag een langere man dan mijn broer. "than" means dan' or 'dan dat': Ik zag een langere man dan dat mijn broer is.

- (706) b. Ik zag een langere man dan mijn broer.
I saw.1SG a taller man than my.NOM/ACC brother
'I saw a taller man than my brother is.'
- (706) c. Ik zag een langere man dan dat mijn broer is.
I saw.1SG a taller man than that my.NOM/ACC brother is
'I saw a taller man than my brother is.'

144. Please look at the Dutch versions of the item in (706). What case can the remnant ("her brother") be in? Please take into consideration other nouns, as well as pronouns. Please consider all possibilities for the element "than", too.

Example 1: I saw a taller man than he.

Example 2: I saw a taller man than him.

Speaker 1: It is possible to say: Ik zag een man die langer is dan hij (I saw a taller man than he). It is not possible, or at least not recommended to say: Ik zag een man die langer is dan hem (I saw a taller man than him)

- (i) Ik zag een man die langer is dan hij.
 I saw.1SG a man who taller is than he.NOM
 'I saw a taller man than he is.'
- (ii) Ik zag een man die langer is dan hem.
 I saw.1SG a man who taller is than he.ACC
 'I saw a taller man than he is.'

Speaker 2: After 'than' the remnant has to be in the nominative (hij/zij/Peter...) and not the accusative (hem/haar/ons...).

145. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of "as".

- (707) I am talking to you as a friend, not as your boss.

Speaker 1:

- (707) a. Ik praat tegen jou als een vriend, niet als jouw baas.
 I talk.1SG to you.ACC as a friend not as your.NOM/ACC boss
 'I am talking to you as a friend, not as your boss.'

Speaker 2: "as" means "als", always. In this case it is an expression of the role the speaker has.

- (707) b. Ik praat tegen je als een vriend, niet als je baas.
 I talk.1SG to you.ACC as a friend not as your.NOM/ACC boss
 'I am talking to you as a friend, not as your boss.'

146. Please look at the Dutch versions of the item in (707). What case can the nominal expression "your boss" be in? Please take into consideration other nouns as well (in case "your boss" does not show case distinction while other nouns do). Please consider all possibilities for the element "as", too.

Speaker 1: "Your boss" doesn't show case distinction. However, in (707) in Dutch, it is possible to omit "your" in the nominal expression "your boss". It is possible to say: Ik praat tegen jou als een vriend, niet als baas. (I'm talking to you as a friend, not as boss)

- (i) Ik praat tegen jou als een vriend, niet als baas.
 I talk.1SG to you.ACC as a friend not as boss
 'I am talking to you as a friend, not as your boss.'

Speaker 2: You could say 'your boss' but also 'your mother', 'your father', etc. You cannot say 'as your him' or 'your Peter'. The expression can only contain nouns. "as" can only mean 'als' like 'in de hoedanigheid van'.

147. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of “as”.

(708) I like Mary a lot, but I see her only as a friend.

Speaker 1:

(708) a. Ik vind Mary erg aardig, maar ik zie haar alleen als een vriend.
I find.1SG Mary very nice, but I see.1SG her only as a friend
'I like Mary a lot, but I see her only as a friend.'

Speaker 2:

(708) b. Ik vind Mary heel leuk, maar ik zie haar alleen als een vriend.
I find.1SG Mary very nice, but I see.1SG her only as a friend
'I like Mary a lot, but I see her only as a friend.'

148. Please look at the Dutch versions of the item in (708). What case can the nominal expression “a friend” be in? Please take into consideration other nouns as well (in case “a friend” does not show case distinction while other nouns do). Please consider all possibilities for the element “as”, too.

Speaker 1: “A friend” doesn't show case distinction. However, in (708) in Dutch, it is possible to omit “a” in “a friend”. It is possible to say: Ik vind Mary erg aardig, maar ik zie haar alleen als vriend. (I like Mary a lot, but I only see her as friend)

(i) Ik vind Mary erg aardig, maar ik zie haar alleen als vriend.
I find.1SG Mary very nice but I see.1SG her only as friend
'I like Mary a lot, but I see her only as a friend.'

Speaker 2: You could say 'een vriend' but also 'een moeder', 'een vader', etc. but you cannot say 'een hem' or 'een haar' or 'een Mary'. In Dutch, nouns do not show case distinction.

149. Please translate the following sentence.

(709) Mary would be frightened if she saw a ghost.

Speaker 1:

(709) a. Mary zou bang zijn als ze een geest zag.
Mary would frightened be as she a ghost saw.3SG
'Mary would be frightened if she saw a ghost.'

Speaker 2:

- (709) b. Mary zou doodsbang zijn wanneer ze een spook zag.
Mary would frightened be when she a ghost saw.3SG
'Mary would be frightened if she saw a ghost.'

150. Please look at the Dutch versions of the item in (709). Please list all alternatives for the realisation of “if”, including verb movement, if applicable.

Speaker 1: “if” (als) can also be realised as “when”, ‘wanneer’ in Dutch.

Speaker 2: ‘if’ as in the hypothetical case where she saw a ghost: ‘als’. ‘if’ as in the possibility that she saw a ghost: ‘wanneer’.

151. Please translate the following sentence.

- (710) Mary was pale, as if she had seen a ghost.

Speaker 1:

- (710) a. Mary was bleek, alsof ze een geest gezien had.
Mary was pale as.if she a ghost seen had.3SG
'Mary was pale, as if she had seen a ghost.'

Speaker 2:

- (710) b. Mary was bleek, alsof ze een spook had gezien.
Mary was pale as.if she a ghost had.3SG seen
'Mary was pale, as if she had seen a ghost.'

152. Please look at the Dutch versions of the item in (710). Please list all alternatives for the realisation of “as if”, including verb movement, if applicable.

Speaker 1: ‘alsof’ (‘as if’), can also be realised by ‘net alsof’ (‘just as if’)

Speaker 2: ‘alsof’. Verbs are at the end of the sentence: ‘alsof ze had gezien een spook’ is not possible in Dutch.

- (i) *Mary was bleek, alsof ze had gezien een spook.
Mary was pale as.if she had.3SG seen a ghost
'Mary was pale, as if she had seen a ghost.'

153. Please look at the Dutch versions of the item in (710). Can the clause introduced by “as if” be fronted? Please provide all possible realisations of “as if”.

Example: As if she had seen a ghost, Mary was (so) pale.

Speaker 1: In Dutch, it would be possible to say: “Alsof ze een geest had gezien, zo bleek was Mary” (As if she had seen a ghost, that’s how pale Mary was). In Dutch, it is not

possible to literally say: “As if she had seen a ghost, Mary was (so) pale”. That would be an incorrect word order.

- (i) Alsof ze een geest had gezien, zo bleek was Mary.
as.if she a ghost had.3SG seen so pale was Mary
'Mary was so pale, as if she had seen a ghost.'

Speaker 2: That is possible, but then the word order of 'Mary was zo bleek' changes: “alsof ze een spook had gezien, zo bleek was Mary.” You would also have to add 'zo' to the sentence, because 'Alsof ze een spook had gezien, bleek was Mary.' is a strange sentence. 'as if' only means 'alsof'.

- (ii) Alsof ze een spook had gezien, zo bleek was Mary.
as.if she a ghost had.3SG seen so pale was Mary
'Mary was so pale, as if she had seen a ghost.'
- (iii) Alsof ze een spook had gezien, bleek was Mary.
as.if she a ghost had.3SG seen pale was Mary
'Mary was pale, as if she had seen a ghost.'

Danish

1 Interrogatives

6. Please translate the following sentence into Danish.

(101) Does Mary like books?

Speaker 1:

(101) a. Kan Mary godt lide bøger?
can Mary well suffer books
'Does Mary like books?'

Speaker 2:

(101) b. Kan Mary lide bøger?
can Mary suffer books
'Does Mary like books?'

7. Please consider the Danish version of (101). Is it possible to have a question particle in the clause, and if so, is the result an ordinary variant of (101), or is its use more restricted?

Example: Whether Mary likes books?

Speaker 1: You need the particle in Danish

Speaker 2: Yes, it is ordinary.

8. Please translate the following sentence into Danish.

(102) Peter asked if Mary liked books.

Speaker 1:

(102) a. Peter spurgte hvis Mary godt kunne lide bøger.
Peter asked whether Mary good can suffer books
'Peter asked if Mary liked books.'

Speaker 2:

- (102) b. Peter spurgte om Mary kunne lide bøger.
Peter asked if Mary can suffer books
'Peter asked if Mary liked books.'

9. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “if” in (102) in Danish. Please specify whether these may combine with each other or with an element like “that”, too.

Speaker 1: You could also use “om”, combining them ie “Han spurgte om hvis Mary...” is awkward but maybe acceptable if you want to stress an uncertainty about the answer maybe? I wouldn't use it but I could see it. “Han spurgte om at Mary” is acceptable if the speaker knows the answer that Mary does like books, while “Han spurgte hvis at” is ungrammatical.

- (i) Peter spurgte om hvis Mary godt kunne lide bøger.
Peter asked if whether Mary good can suffer books
'Peter asked if Mary liked books.'
- (ii) Peter spurgte om at Mary godt kunne lide bøger.
Peter asked if that Mary good can suffer books
'Peter asked if Mary liked books.'
- (iii) *Peter spurgte hvis at Mary godt kunne lide bøger.
Peter asked whether that Mary good can suffer books
'Peter asked if Mary liked books.'

Speaker 2: 'om', 'hvorvidt' – it is possible to combine these two, e.g. “Peter spurgte om hvorvidt Mary kunne lide bøger”. or “Peter spurgte hvorvidt Mary kunne lide bøger”

- (iv) Peter spurgte om hvorvidt Mary kunne lide bøger.
Peter asked if whether Mary can suffer books
'Peter asked if Mary liked books.'
- (v) Peter spurgte hvorvidt Mary kunne lide bøger.
Peter asked whether Mary can suffer books
'Peter asked if Mary liked books.'

10. Please translate the following sentence.

- (103) Peter doesn't know if Mary likes books.

Speaker 1:

- (103) a. Peter ved ikke hvis Mary godt kan lide bøger.
Peter knows not whether Mary well can suffer books
'Peter doesn't know if Mary likes books.'

Speaker 2:

- (103) b. Peter ved ikke om Mary kan lide bøger.
Peter knows not if Mary can suffer books
'Peter doesn't know if Mary likes books.'

11. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “if” in (103) in Danish. Please specify whether these may combine with each other or with an element like “that”, too.

Speaker 1: I don't think there are any grammatical options to “hvis” here, and I would never combine it with “at” in a sentence like this.

Speaker 2: 'om', 'hvorvidt' – again, possible to combine, e.g.:

- (i) Peter ved ikke om hvorvidt Mary kan lide bøger.
Peter knows not if whether Mary can suffer books
'Peter doesn't know if Mary likes books.'

12. Please translate the following sentence.

- (104) Who likes books?

Speaker 1:

- (104) a. Hvem kan godt lide bøger?
who can well suffer books
'Who likes books?'

Speaker 2:

- (104) b. Hvem kan lide bøger?
who can suffer books
'Who likes books?'

13. Please translate the following sentence.

- (105) What does Mary like?

Speaker 1:

- (105) a. Hvad kan Mary godt lide?
what can Mary well suffer
'What does Mary like?'

Speaker 2:

- (105) b. Hvad kan Mary lide?
what can Mary suffer
'What does Mary like?'

14. Please translate the following sentence.

- (106) When did Mary arrive?

Speaker 1:

- (106) a. Hvornår kom Mary?
when came Mary
'When did Mary arrive?'

Speaker 2:

- (106) b. Hvornår ankom Mary?
when arrived Mary
'When did Mary arrive?'

15. Please look at the Danish versions of the items in (104)–(106). Could a topicalised element appear in front of the WH-element?

Example: To Susan what did Mary give?

Speaker 1: Not topicalized but you could left dislocate ie:

- (i) Mary, hvornår kom hun?
Mary when came she
'As for Mary, when did she come?'

Speaker 2: Usually, one would add a comma before hv (wh) words, so it would become separate clauses, e.g. "Til fødselsdagen, hvornår ankom Mary?", so I guess I'd have to answer no. I don't believe it is possible to have a topicalised element before WH-elements in Danish.

- (ii) Til fødselsdagen, hvornår ankom Mary?
to the.birthday when arrived Mary
'As for the birthday, when did Mary arrive?'

16. Please translate the following sentence.

- (107) Peter asked who liked books.

Speaker 1:

- (107) a. Peter spurgte hvem der godt kunne lide bøger.
Peter asked who that well can suffer books
'Peter asked who liked books.'

Speaker 2:

- (107) b. Peter spurgte hvem der kunne lide bøger.
Peter asked who that can suffer books
'Peter asked who liked books.'

17. Please translate the following sentence.

- (108) Peter asked what Mary liked.

Speaker 1:

- (108) a. Peter spurgte til hvad Mary godt kunne lide.
Peter asked to what Mary well can suffer
'Peter asked what Mary liked.'

Speaker 2:

- (108) b. Peter spurgte hvad Mary kunne lide.
Peter asked what Mary can suffer
'Peter asked what Mary liked.'

18. Please translate the following sentence.

- (109) Peter asked when Mary arrived.

Speaker 1:

- (109) a. Peter spurgte til hvornår Mary kom.
Peter asked to when Mary came
'Peter asked when Mary arrived.'

Speaker 2:

- (109) b. Peter spurgte hvornår Mary ankom.
Peter asked when Mary arrived
'Peter asked when Mary arrived.'

19. Please look at the Danish versions of the items in (107)–(109). Can a complementiser appear before/after the WH-element?

Example 1: Peter asked that what Mary liked.

Example 2: Peter asked if what Mary liked.

Example 3: Peter asked who that liked books.

Speaker 1: Possibly in (109) that I would accept “Peter spurgte til hvornår at Mary kom” but I have no idea why you would put it like that. Definitely not in (107)–(108).

- (i) Peter spurgte til hvornår at Mary kom.
Peter asked to when that Mary came
‘Peter asked when Mary arrived.’

Speaker 2: it would be possible to add ‘om’ or ‘hvorvidt’

20. Please translate the following sentence.

(110) Peter doesn’t know who likes books.

Speaker 1:

- (110) a. Peter ved ikke hvem det er der kan lide bøger.
Peter knows not who that.DEM is that can suffer books
‘Peter doesn’t know who likes books.’

Speaker 2:

- (110) b. Peter ved ikke hvem der kan lide bøger.
Peter knows not who that can suffer books
‘Peter doesn’t know who likes books.’

21. Please translate the following sentence.

(111) Peter doesn’t know what Mary likes.

Speaker 1:

- (111) a. Peter ved ikke hvad det er Mary kan lide.
Peter knows not what that.DEM is Mary can suffer
‘Peter doesn’t know what Mary likes.’

Speaker 2:

- (111) b. Peter ved ikke hvad Mary kan lide.
Peter knows not what Mary can suffer
‘Peter doesn’t know what Mary likes.’

22. Please translate the following sentence.

(112) Peter doesn’t know when Mary arrived.

Speaker 1:

- (112) a. Peter ved ikke hvornår det er Mary kommer.
Peter knows not when that.DEM is Mary comes
'Peter doesn't know when Mary is coming.'

Speaker 2:

- (112) b. Peter ved ikke hvornår Mary ankom.
Peter knows not when Mary arrived
'Peter doesn't know when Mary arrived.'

23. Please look at the Danish versions of the items in (110)–(112). Can a complementiser appear before/after the WH-element?

Example 1: Peter doesn't know who that likes books.

Example 2: Peter doesn't know that who likes books.

Example 3: Peter doesn't know what that Mary likes.

Example 4: Peter doesn't know that what Mary likes.

Example 5: Peter doesn't know when that Mary arrived.

Example 6: Peter doesn't know that when Mary arrived.

Speaker 1: Had to think about “der” in (110) but no.

Speaker 2: The ‘der’ in sentence (110) is equivalent to ‘that’ in this sentence. Colloquially speaking, Danes may add ‘at’ in sentence (111) or (112), but strictly speaking, it would be grammatically incorrect.

24. Please look at the Danish versions of the items in (102)–(103) and (107)–(112). Can the subordinate clause appear before the matrix clause?

Example: If Mary likes books, Peter asked.

Speaker 1: No

Speaker 2: Yes, that is possible.

25. Please look at the Danish versions of the items in (102)–(103) and (107)–(112). Can the subject or the object be topicalised in front of “if” or a WH-element (and, if applicable, in between a complementiser like “that” and “if”/the WH-element)?

Example 1: Peter asked (that) Mary if likes books.

Example 2: Peter doesn't know (that) books who likes.

Speaker 1: No

Speaker 2: No, not unless a referent is added, e.g. Peter asked Mary if SHE liked books:

- (i) Peter spurgte Mary om HUN kunne lide bøger.
Peter asked Mary if she can suffer books
'Peter asked Mary if she liked books.'

26. Is it possible to have ellipsis with a single subject remnant following the element(s) corresponding to “if”? (Please consider whether it is possible with verbs other than “like” as well, e.g. “know” and “think”.)

Example: I know someone likes books but I don't know if Mary.

Speaker 1: None of the verbs

Speaker 2: No, I'd say that you would have to add the modal at the end of the sentence (as one usually does in English as well)

27. Is it possible to have ellipsis with a single object remnant following the element(s) corresponding to “if”? (Please consider whether it is possible with verbs other than “like” as well, e.g. “know” and “think”.)

Example: I know someone Mary likes something but I don't know if books.

Speaker 1: None of the verbs

Speaker 2: Still no.

28. Is it possible to have ellipsis with a single WH remnant? (Please consider whether it is possible with verbs other than “like” or “arrive” as well.)

Example 1: I know someone likes books but I don't know who.

Example 2: I know Mary likes something but I don't know what.

Example 3: I know Mary has arrived but I don't know when.

Speaker 1: Yes, for example:

- (i) Jeg ved godt at Mary kan lide noget, men jeg ved ikke hvad (Mary I know well that Mary can suffer something but I know not what Mary kan lide).
can suffer
'I know Mary likes something but I don't know what (Mary likes).'

Speaker 2: Yes, that is indeed possible.

29. Is it possible to have ellipsis with multiple WH remnants? If so, is the order of the WH-elements fixed? (Please consider whether it is possible with verbs other than “like” as well.)

Example: I know someone likes something but I don't know who what.

Speaker 1: Confusing to think about, but intuition says no.

Speaker 2: Not directly linked – there would have to be an 'or', e.g. “hvem ELLER hvad”

2 Declaratives

30. Please translate the following sentence into Danish.

(201) Mary likes books.

Speaker 1:

- (201) a. Mary kan godt lide bøger.
Mary can well suffer books
'Mary likes books.'

Speaker 2:

- (201) b. Mary kan lide bøger.
Mary can suffer books
'Mary likes books.'

31. Please translate the following sentence.

- (202) Peter says (that) Mary likes books.

Speaker 1:

- (202) a. Peter siger (at) Mary godt kan lide bøger.
Peter says that Mary well can suffer books
'Peter says (that) Mary likes books.'

Speaker 2:

- (202) b. Peter siger, at Mary kan lide bøger.
Peter says that Mary can suffer books
'Peter says (that) Mary likes books.'

32. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “that” in (202) in Danish. Please specify whether these may combine with each other, too.

Speaker 1: Nothing else springs to mind.

Speaker 2: 'at'. I honestly cannot think of any other alternatives.

33. Please translate the following sentence.

- (203) Peter knows (that) Mary likes books.

Speaker 1:

- (203) a. Peter ved (at) Mary godt kan lide bøger.
Peter knows that Mary well can suffer books
'Peter knows (that) Mary likes books.'

Speaker 2:

- (203) b. Peter ved, at Mary kan lide bøger.
Peter knows that Mary can suffer books
'Peter knows (that) Mary likes books.'

34. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “that” in (203) in Danish. Please specify whether these may combine with each other, too.

Speaker 1: Here you could replace with “hvis” and “om”, but no combinations.

Speaker 2: Still, ‘at’ is the only one.

35. Please translate the following sentence.

(204) Peter thinks (that) Mary likes books.

Speaker 1:

(204) a. Peter mener (at) Mary godt kan lide bøger.
Peter thinks that Mary well can suffer books
‘Peter thinks (that) Mary likes books.’

Speaker 2:

(204) b. Peter tror, at Mary kan lide bøger.
Peter thinks that Mary can suffer books
‘Peter thinks (that) Mary likes books.’

36. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “that” in (204) in Danish. Please specify whether these may combine with each other, too.

Speaker 1: None.

Speaker 2: ‘at’

37. Please translate the following sentence.

(205) It is surprising (that) Mary likes books.

Speaker 1:

(205) a. Det er overraskende (at) Mary godt kan lide bøger.
it is surprising that Mary well can suffer books
‘It is surprising (that) Mary likes books.’

(205) b. Det er overraskende, at Mary kan lide bøger.
it is surprising that Mary can suffer books
‘It is surprising (that) Mary likes books.’

38. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “that” in (205) in Danish. Please specify whether these may combine with each other, too.

Speaker 1: None.

Speaker 2: 'at'

39. Please look at the Danish versions of the items in (202)–(205). Can the clauses introduced by “that” be fronted, and if so, is the element corresponding to “that” obligatory?

Example: (That) Mary likes books is surprising.

Speaker 1: With different word order like “Mary kan godt lide bøger, siger Peter” sure. In (205) you could front to “At Mary godt kan lide bøger (det) er overraskende” here you need “At” but “det” is superfluous.

- (i) At Mary godt kan lide bøger (det) er overraskende.
that Mary well can suffer books it is surprising
'That Mary likes books is surprising.'

Speaker 2: Yes, it is possible and yes, the 'at' would be obligatory.

40. Please look at the Danish versions of the items in (204)–(205). Can the subject or the object be topicalised in front of “that” (or, if applicable, in between two complementisers)?

Example 1: Peter says Mary that likes books.

Example 2: Peter says that Mary that likes books.

Example 3: Peter says books that Mary likes.

Example 4: Peter says that books that Mary likes.

Speaker 1: No

Speaker 2: Still no.

41. Is it possible to have ellipsis with a single subject remnant following the element(s) corresponding to “that” (see “B” below)? (Please consider whether it is possible with verbs other than “like” as well, e.g. “know” and “think”.)

Example:

A: Who likes books?

B: Peter says that Mary.

Speaker 1: You could maybe do A like “Hvem der godt kan lide bøger?” in certain pragmatic contexts but on it's own it is vacuous.

- (i) Hvem der godt kan lide bøger?
who that well can suffer books
'Who likes books?'

Speaker 2: No, you would have to add “. . .likes books”

42. Is it possible to have ellipsis with a single object remnant following the element(s) corresponding to “that” (see “B” below)? (Please consider whether it is possible with verbs other than “like” as well, e.g. “know” and “think”.)

Example:

A: What does Mary like?

B: Peter says that books.

Speaker 1: “Hvad Mary godt kan lide?” is ok ish but has wrong word order for a proper question. Again maybe in certain pragmatic circumstances.

- (i) Hvad Mary godt kan lide?
 what Mary well can suffer
 ‘What does Mary like?’

Speaker 2: No. But it would be possible without the ‘that’ (or ‘at’), e.g. Peter says books

3 Relative clauses

43. Please translate the following sentence into Danish.

- (301) This is the student who invited Mary.

Speaker 1:

- (301) a. Det her er studenten der inviterede Mary.
 it here is the.student that invited.PST Mary
 ‘This is the student who invited Mary.’

Speaker 2:

- (301) b. Dette er den studerende, der inviterede Mary.
 this is the student that invited.PST Mary
 ‘This is the student who invited Mary.’

44. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “who” in (301) in Danish, including complementisers like “that” and the absence of any overt relative pronoun or complementiser. Please specify whether the overt elements may combine with each other, too.

Speaker 1: Som

Speaker 2: ‘der’, ‘som’, but never combined – it’s either or.

45. Please translate the following sentence.

- (302) This is the book which Mary bought.

Speaker 1:

- (302) a. Det her er bogen som Mary købte.
it here is the.book that Mary bought.PST
'This is the book which Mary bought.'

Speaker 2:

- (302) b. Dette er bogen som Mary købte.
this is the.book that Mary bought.PST
'This is the book which Mary bought.'

46. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “which” in (302) in Danish, including complementisers like “that” and the absence of any overt relative pronoun or complementiser. Please specify whether the overt elements may combine with each other, too.

Speaker 1: Could also have zero realization

- (i) Det her er bogen Mary købte.
it here is the.book Mary bought.PST
'This is the book which Mary bought.'

Speaker 2: 'som'. In this instance, it cannot be exchanged with 'der'. Normally, I'd actually exclude it altogether, e.g.

- (ii) Dette er bogen Mary købte.
this is the.book Mary bought.PST
'This is the book which Mary bought.'

47. Please translate the following sentence.

- (303) This is the city where I was born.

Speaker 1:

- (303) a. Det her er byen hvor jeg er født.
it here is the.city where I was born
'This is the city where I was born.'

Speaker 2:

- (303) b. Dette er byen, hvor jeg blev født.
this is the.city where I was born
'This is the city where I was born.'

48. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “where” in (303) in Danish, including complementisers like “that” and the absence of any overt relative pronoun or complementiser. Please specify whether the overt elements may combine with each other, too.

Speaker 1: “som jeg er født i” but needs the “i”, which “hvor” does not for some reason.

Speaker 2: In this particular example, I’d maybe use ‘hvor’, but strictly speaking, that would translate to ‘wherein’, so it is not directly transferable.

49. Please translate the following sentence.

(304) That was the year when Mary arrived.

Speaker 1:

(304) a. Det var det år som Mary kom.
it was the year that Mary came
‘That was the year when Mary arrived.’

Speaker 2:

(304) b. Dette var året, hvor Mary ankom.
this was the year where Mary arrived.PST
‘That was the year when Mary arrived.’

50. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “when” in (304) in Danish, including complementisers like “that” and the absence of any overt relative pronoun or complementiser. Please specify whether the overt elements may combine with each other, too.

Speaker 1: “da Mary kom” or zero

(i) Det var det år da Mary kom.
it was the year when Mary came
‘That was the year when Mary arrived.’

(ii) Det var det år Mary kom.
it was the year Mary came
‘That was the year when Mary arrived.’

Speaker 2: ‘hvor’, ‘da’ – never combined

51. Please translate the following sentence.

(305) I will invite whoever you recommend.

Speaker 1:

- (305) a. Jeg inviterer alle dem du rekommenderer.
I invite all they.OBL you recommend
'I will invite whoever you recommend.'

Speaker 2:

- (305) b. Jeg vil invitere hvem end du anbefaler.
I will invite.INF who any you recommend
'I will invite whoever you recommend.'

52. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “whoever” in (305) in Danish, including combinations with complementisers like “that”.

Speaker 1: “alle som”

Speaker 2: Again, not directly transferable as whoever actually translated into a phrase rather than a single word “hvem end”. “Hvem end” could, however, be substituted by “hvem som helst”. I’d say that the use of these phrases could be regarded as idiomatic, yet it is possible to inflect them.

53. Please translate the following sentence.

- (306) I will hire whoever is qualified.

Speaker 1:

- (306) a. Jeg ansætter hvem som helst der er kvalificeret.
I employ whoever that is qualified
'I will hire whoever is qualified.'

Speaker 2:

- (306) b. Jeg vil ansætte hvem end der er kvalificeret.
I will employ who any that is qualified.
'I will hire whoever is qualified.'

54. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “whoever” in (306) in Danish, including combinations with complementisers like “that”.

Speaker 1: “alle der”

Speaker 2: The answer is the same as above – no difference.

55. Please translate the following sentence.

- (307) I will do whatever you recommend.

Speaker 1:

- (307) a. Jeg kommer til at gøre hvad du nu rekommenderer.
I come to to do.INF what you now recommend
'I will do whatever you recommend.'

Speaker 2:

- (307) b. Jeg gør hvad end du anbefaler.
I do what any you recommend
'I will do whatever you recommend.'

56. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “whatever” in (307) in Danish, including combinations with complementisers like “that”.

Speaker 1: “alt det”

Speaker 2: Interestingly, the same rules apply to “hvad end” as in “hvem end”. could also be replaced by “hvad som helst”

57. Please translate the following sentence.

- (308) I will go wherever I find linguists.

Speaker 1:

- (308) a. Jeg vil gå til de steder hvor jeg finder sprogvidere.
I will go.INF to the.PL places where I find linguists
'I will go wherever I find linguists.'

Speaker 2:

- (308) b. Jeg går hen, hvor end jeg finder lingvister.
I go towards where any I find linguists
'I will go wherever I find linguists.'

58. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “wherever” in (308) in Danish, including combinations with complementisers like “that”.

Speaker 1: No good ones

Speaker 2: ‘hvor end’, ‘hvor’

59. Please translate the following sentence.

- (309) I will go whenever it suits you.

Speaker 1:

- (309) a. Jeg går når det passer dig.
I go when it suits you.OBL
'I will go whenever it suits you.'

Speaker 2:

- (309) b. Jeg går hvornår det passer dig.
I go when it suits you.OBL
'I will go whenever it suits you.'

60. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “whenever” in (309) in Danish, including combinations with complementisers like “that”.

Speaker 1: “Hvornår det er at”

Speaker 2: ‘hvornår’ ‘hvornår end’ ‘når end’

61. Please look at the Danish versions of the items in (301)–(309). Can the relative clause appear before the matrix clause?

Example: Where I was born, I am going to that city.

Speaker 1: No

Speaker 2: Technically, but you would have to reverse the syntax, e.g. “Hvor end jeg finder lingvister, går jeg hen” or “Hvornår end det passer dig, går jeg”

- (i) Hvor end jeg finder lingvister, går jeg hen.
where any I find linguists go I towards
'I will go wherever I find linguists.'
- (ii) Hvornår end det passer dig, går jeg.
when any it suits you.OBL go I
'I will go whenever it suits you.'

62. Please look at the Danish versions of the items in (301)–(309). Can a topicalised element appear before the relative pronoun (or the relative complementiser)?

Example: This is the student Mary who invited.

Speaker 1: No

Speaker 2: No – the relative pronoun would have to appear before the topicalised element in the example above.

63. Is it possible for the relative pronoun to be a single remnant of ellipsis?

Example: Well, Mary lives where. (Meaning: ‘Mary lives wherever she does.’)

Speaker 1: Not that I can think of

Speaker 2: It would not be correct at least, but I have heard it a few times in colloquial language. However, it is uncommon and would sound weird, though it'd be understand-

able.

4 Degree clauses

64. Please translate the following sentence into Danish.

(401) How did you open the bottle?

Speaker 1:

(401) a. Hvordan åbnede du flasken?
how.ADV opened you the.bottle
'How did you open the bottle?'

Speaker 2:

(401) b. Hvordan åbnede du flasken?
how.ADV opened you the.bottle
'How did you open the bottle?'

65. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “how” in (401) in Danish.

Speaker 1: “Hvilken måde” “På hvilken måde”

Speaker 2: ‘hvordan’ ‘hvorledes’

66. Please translate the following sentence.

(402) How old is Mary?

Speaker 1:

(402) a. Hvor gammel er Mary?
how old is Mary
'How old is Mary?'

Speaker 2:

(402) b. Hvor gammel er Mary?
how old is Mary
'How old is Mary?'

67. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “how” in (402) in Danish.

Speaker 1:

- (i) Hvad er Marys alder?
what is Mary's age
'What is Mary's age?'
- (ii) Hvor mange år er Mary?
how many year is Mary
'How many years old is Mary?'

Speaker 2: 'hvor'. If one was to say "What age is Mary" it'd be:

- (iii) Hvilken alder har Mary?
which age has Mary
'What age does Mary have?'

68. Please look at the Danish versions of the item in (402). Can the adjective appear in a non-adjacent position to the element(s) corresponding to "how"?
Example: How is Mary old? (With the intended meaning 'how old is Mary?'.)

Speaker 1: No, "Hvor er Mary gammel" is not a question

Speaker 2: No, it is fixed.

69.<original question identical to Question 68>

70. Please translate the following sentence.

- (403) How many books does Mary read a year?

Speaker 1:

- (403) a. Hvor mange bøger om året læser Mary?
how many books of year reads Mary
'How many books does Mary read a year?'

Speaker 2:

- (403) b. Hvor mange bøger læser Mary årligt?
how many books reads Mary yearly
'How many books does Mary read a year?'

71. Please list all the elements that can correspond to "how many" in (403) in Danish.

Speaker 1: You could express it semi-awkwardly with "Hvilket antal bøger" but I don't know anyone who would say it like that naturally.

Speaker 2: 'hvor mange'. It would be possible to say "hvilken mængde", but technically, that would translate to "what amount"

72. Please look at the Danish versions of the item in (403). Can the noun appear in a non-adjacent position to the element(s) corresponding to “how many”?

Example: How many does Mary read books a year?

Speaker 1: No

Speaker 2: No

73. Please translate the following sentence.

(404) How much sugar do we need for the cake?

Speaker 1:

(404) a. Hvor meget sukker skal vi bruge til kagen?
how much sugar shall we need to the.cake
'How much sugar do we need for the cake?'

Speaker 2:

(404) b. Hvor meget sukker skal vi bruge til kagen?
how much sugar shall we need to the.cake
'How much sugar do we need for the cake?'

74. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “how much” in (404) in Danish.

Speaker 1: Hvor meget

Speaker 2: 'hvor meget' + (hvilken mængde)

75. Please look at the Danish versions of the item in (404). Can the noun appear in a non-adjacent position to the element(s) corresponding to “how much”?

Example: How much do we need sugar for the cake?

Speaker 1: You can say “Hvor meget skal vi bruge sukker til kagen” but it expresses a different proposition (same as the english one ie “How necessary is sugar to the cake?”)

(i) Hvor meget skal vi bruge sukker til kagen?
how much shall we need sugar to the.cake
'How much do we need sugar for the cake?'

Speaker 2: Normally, I would say no, but it would be possible to say “hvor meget skal vi bruge til kagen af sukker?” – it would be considered a weird structure and technically, it would translate to “How much do we need for the cake of sugar”

(ii) Hvor meget skal vi bruge til kagen af sukker?
how much shall we need to the.cake of sugar
'How much do we need sugar for the cake?'

76. Please translate the following sentence.

(405) How long a book did Mary read?

Speaker 1:

(405) a. Hvor lang en bog læste Mary?
how long a book read.PST Mary
'How long a book did Mary read?'

Speaker 2:

(405) b. Hvor lang en bog læste Mary?
how long a book read.PST Mary
'How long a book did Mary read?'

77. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “how” in (405) in Danish.

Speaker 1: “Hvor”

Speaker 2: ‘hvor’

78. Please look at the Danish versions of the item in (405). Can the string “how long” follow the article, as in the example below, or precede it, as in (405) in English?

Example: A how long book did Mary read?

Speaker 1: “En hvor lang bog læste Mary?” yes, grammatical.

(i) En hvor lang bog læste Mary?
a how long book read.PST Mary
'How long a book did Mary read?'

Speaker 2: Yes – both variants are possible.

79. Please look at the Danish versions of the item in (405). Can the noun appear in a non-adjacent position to the element(s) corresponding to “how long”?

Example: How long did Mary read a book? (With the intended meaning ‘how long a book did Mary read?’.)

Speaker 1: No

Speaker 2: Only if it is divided by a verb, e.g. “hvor lang var bogen Mary læste?” – “How long was the book Mary read”. Apart from that, no.

- (i) Hvor lang var bogen Mary læste?
 how long was the.book Mary read.PST
 ‘How long was the book Mary read?’

5 Equative clauses

80. Please translate the following sentence.

- (501) Mary is as old as Peter.

Speaker 1:

- (501) a. Mary er lige så gammel som Peter.
 Mary is like.DEF so old as Peter
 ‘Mary is as old as Peter.’

Speaker 2:

- (501) b. Mary er lige så gammel som Peter.
 Mary is like.DEF so old as Peter
 ‘Mary is as old as Peter.’

81. Please list all the elements that can correspond to the second “as” (the one immediately before “Peter”) in (501) in Danish. Can these elements combine with each other or with elements like “that” or “what”?

Example 1: Mary is as old as that Peter (is).

Example 2: Mary is as old as what Peter (is).

Speaker 1:

- (i) Mary er lige gammel med Peter.
 Mary is like.DEF old with Peter
 ‘Mary is as old as Peter.’

Speaker 2: ‘som’. ‘som’ can be combined with ‘hvad’, e.g. “som hvad”, but it sounds a bit clumsy and it wouldn’t usually be used in that manner.

82. Please look at the Danish versions of the item in (501). Can a full clause appear after the element corresponding to “as”, hence containing an overt copula and/or an adjective? Please consider all possibilities for the element “as”, too.

Example 1: Mary is as old as Peter is.

Example 2: Mary is as old as Peter is old.

Speaker 1: Yes, “Mary er lige så gammel som Peter er” and “...som Peter er gammel.” both fine. “Mary er lige gammel med Peter” does not take embedded clause

- (i) Mary er lige så gammel som Peter er.
 Mary is like.DEF so old as Peter is
 ‘Mary is as old as Peter.’
- (ii) Mary er lige gammel med Peter.
 Mary is like.DEF old with Peter
 ‘Mary is as old as Peter.’

Speaker 2: Yes, it is possible to have the copular ‘er’ (is), but not with the added adjective – it would change the meaning of the sentence.

83. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of “as”.

(502) Mary is as old as Peter was last year.

Speaker 1:

- (502) a. Mary er lige så gammel som Peter var sidste år.
 Mary is like.DEF so old as Peter was last year
 ‘Mary is as old as Peter was last year.’
- (502) b. Mary er lige gammel med hvor gammel Peter var sidste år.
 Mary is like.DEF old with how old Peter was last year
 ‘Mary is as old as Peter was last year.’

Speaker 2:

- (502) c. Mary er lige så gammel som Peter var sidste år.
 Mary is like.DEF so old as Peter was last year
 ‘Mary is as old as Peter was last year.’
- (502) d. Mary er lige så gammel som hvad Peter var sidste år.
 Mary is like.DEF so old as what Peter was last year
 ‘Mary is as old as Peter was last year.’

84. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of “as”.

(503) Mary is as old as how old Peter was last year.

Speaker 1:

- (503) a. Mary er lige så gammel som hvor gammel Peter var sidste år.
 Mary is like.DEF so old as how old Peter was last year
 ‘Mary is as old as how old Peter was last year.’
- (503) b. Mary er lige gammel med hvor gammel Peter var sidste år.
 Mary is like.DEF old with how old Peter was last year
 ‘Mary is as old as how old Peter was last year.’

Speaker 2:

- (503) c. Mary er lige så gammel som hvor gammel Peter var sidste år.
Mary is like.DEF so old as how old Peter was last year
'Mary is as old as how old Peter was last year.'

85. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “how” in (503) in Danish, if any, and note whether these elements have to be adjacent to the adjective “old”, or whether “old” can appear elsewhere in the sentence. Please also consider all possible realisations of “as”, too.

Speaker 1: “hvor”, you could say “hvor Peter var gammel sidste år” but feels somewhat forced. Maybe not as forced after some reflection?

- (i) Mary er lige så gammel som hvor Peter var gammel sidste år.
Mary is like.DEF so old as how Peter was old last year
'Mary is as old as how old Peter was last year.'

Speaker 2: ‘hvor’ and yes – it has to be adjacent to ‘old’. ‘as’: ‘som’

86. If a string like “how old” is permitted after “as” in Danish, can the clause be elliptical?

Example: Mary is as old as how old Peter.

Speaker 1: No

Speaker 2: No, it has to end with the copular ‘is’ (er)

87. If a string like “how old” is possible in items like (503) in Danish, can “as” be omitted?

Example: Mary is as old how old Peter (is).

Speaker 1: No

Speaker 2: No – it is already uncommon to phrase it as “Mary er lige så gammel som hvor gammel Peter var sidste år.” - it would simply be incorrect to omit the ‘as’

- (i) Mary er lige så gammel som hvor gammel Peter var sidste år.
Mary is like.DEF so old as how old Peter was last year
'Mary is as old as how old Peter was last year.'

88. Please translate the following sentence.

- (504) Mary has as many books as Peter.

Speaker 1:

- (504) a. Mary har lige så mange bøger som Peter.
Mary has like.DEF so many books as Peter
'Mary has as many books as Peter.'

Speaker 2:

- (504) b. Mary har lige så mange bøger som Peter.
Mary has like.DEF so many books as Peter
'Mary has as many books as Peter.'

89. Please list all the elements that can correspond to the second “a” (the one immediately before “Peter”) in (504) in Danish. Can these elements combine with each other or with elements like “that” or “what”?

Example 1: Mary has as many books as that Peter (has).

Example 2: Mary has as many books as what Peter (has).

Speaker 1: “som Peter” maybe also “med hvad Peter har” but I don’t like the last one for whatever reason.

Speaker 2: ‘som’. And I would not combine it with either ‘that’ (at) or ‘what’ (hvad)

90. Please look at the Danish versions of the item in (504). Can a full clause appear after the element corresponding to “as”, hence containing a verb and/or a noun? Please consider all possibilities for the element “as”, too.

Example 1: Mary has as many books as Peter has.

Example 2: Mary has as many books as Peter has books.

Speaker 1: Yes to both with “som”, no to both with “med”

Speaker 2: it is possible to have a verb after the element corresponding to ‘as’, but not a full sentence

91. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide possibilities for the realisation of “as”.

- (505) Mary has as many books as how many books Peter has.

Speaker 1: First “as” can also be “lige”.

- (505) a. Mary har så mange bøger som så mange bøger Peter har.
Mary has so many books as so many books Peter has
'Mary has as many books as Peter.'

Speaker 2:

- (505) b. Mary har lige så mange bøger som hvor mange bøger Peter har.
Mary has like.DEF so many books as how many books Peter has
'Mary has as many books as Peter.'

92. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “how many” in (505) in Danish, if any, and note whether these elements have to be adjacent to the noun “books”, or whether “books” can appear elsewhere in the sentence. Please also consider all possible realisations of “as”, too.

Speaker 1: “Så mange”, “hvor mange”. They both have to be adjacent to “bøger”.

Speaker 2: ‘hvor mange’ ‘mængden af’. they have to be adjacent to ‘books’. ‘as’: the first appears as ‘lige så’ and the next as ‘som’. The translated meaning of ‘as’ only fit in their ascribed position above.

93. If a string like “how many books” is permitted after “as” in items like (505) in Danish, can the clause be elliptical?

Example: Mary has as many books as how many books Peter.

Speaker 1: No.

Speaker 2: No. The sentence above is already irregular and, frankly, it would never be formulated as listed above. therefore, it would make it even less coherent, should the sentence be elliptical.

94. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of “as”.

(506) Mary has read as long a book as Peter.

Speaker 1: Mary har læst lige så lang en bog som Peter. If you remove “lige” you get a weird gapping of “lang” like “Mary har læst så lang en bog som Peter (er lang)”

(506) a. Mary har læst lige så lang en bog som Peter.
Mary has read.PTCP like.DEF so long a book as Peter
‘Mary has read as long a book as Peter.’

(506) b. Mary har læst så lang en bog som Peter (er lang).
Mary has read.PTCP so long a book as Peter is long
‘Mary has read as long a book as Peter is long.’

Speaker 2:

(506) c. Mary har læst lige så lang en bog som Peter.
Mary has read.PTCP like.DEF so long a book as Peter
‘Mary has read as long a book as Peter.’

95. Please list all the elements that can correspond to the second “as” (the one immediately before “Peter”) in (506) in Danish. Can these elements combine with each other or with elements like “that” or “what”?

Example 1: Mary has read as long a book as that Peter (has).

Example 2: Mary has read as long a book as what Peter (has).

Speaker 1:

- (i) Mary har læst så lang en bog som den Peter (har) læst.
Mary has read.PTCP so long a book as that Peter has read.PTCP
'Mary has read as long a book as Peter.'
- (ii) Mary har læst så lang en bog som hvad Peter (har) læst.
Mary has read.PTCP so long a book as what Peter has read.PTCP
'Mary has read as long a book as Peter.'

Speaker 2: the meaning is quite fixed in this example, so I would say that no other instance than 'som' would be permissible in this example. The 'that' or 'at' would be permissible, but not 'what'-'hvad'.

96. Please look at the Danish versions of the item in (506). Can a full clause appear after the element corresponding to "as", hence containing a verb and/or a noun and/or and adjective? Please consider all possibilities for the element "as", too.

Example 1: Mary has read as long a book as Peter has.

Example 2: Mary has read as long a book as Peter has a long book.

Speaker 1: Yes to both.

Speaker 2: It would be possible to add the verb 'has' – 'har', but no more than that.

97. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of "as".

- (507) Mary has read as long a book as how long a book Peter has read.

Speaker 1:

- (507) a. Mary har læst så lang en bog som så lang en bog Peter har læst.
Mary has read.PTCP so long a book as so long a book Peter has read.PTCP
'Mary has read as long a book as Peter.'

Speaker 2:

- (507) b. Mary har læst lige så lang en bog som hvor lang en bog Peter har læst.
Mary has read.PTCP like.DEF so long a book as how long a book Peter has read.PTCP
'Mary has read as long a book as Peter.'

98. Please list all the elements that can correspond to "how (long)" in (507) in Danish, if any, and note whether these elements have to be adjacent to the nominal expression "a book", or whether "a book" can appear elsewhere in the sentence. Please also consider all possible realisations of "as", too.

Speaker 1: I would not use any other than “så lang”, it needs to be next to the “en bog”
 Speaker 2: ‘hvor lang’. it has to be adjacent to book. the first instance of ‘book’ can appear after ‘read’, e.g. “Mary har læst en boglige så lang som ...”. Still, this sentence is very irregular and would not usually be formulated in this manner – possibly disturbing the intended meaning of the sentence.

- (i) Mary har læst en boglige så lang som hvor lang en bog Peter har læst.
 Mary has read.PTCP a bookish so long as how long a book Peter has read.PTCP
 ‘Mary has read a bookish one as long as Peter read a book.’

99. If a string like “how long a book” is permitted after “as” in Danish, can the clause be elliptical?

Example: Mary has read as long a book as how long a book Peter.

Speaker 1: Yes, but not pretty.
 Speaker 2: No, definitely not.

100. Please translate the following sentence. (A context is given below, but you do not have to translate that.) Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of “as”.

[Context: I was on holiday for two weeks and my father took care of my cat. Unfortunately, he gave her way too much food. Now my cat can barely get into the house on its own.]

- (508) The cat is as fat as the cat flap is wide.

Speaker 1: Katten er lige så fed som katteflappen er bred. or “...som hvor bred katteflappen er”

- (508) a. Katten er lige så fed som katteflappen er bred.
 the.cat is like.DEF so fat as the.cat.flap is wide
 ‘The cat is as fat as the cat flap is wide.’
 (508) b. Katten er lige så fed som hvor bred katteflappen er.
 the.cat is like.DEF so fat as how wide the.cat.flap is
 ‘The cat is as fat as the cat flap is wide.’

Speaker 2:

- (508) c. Katten er lige så fed som kattelømmen er bred.
 the.cat is like.DEF so fat as the.cat.flap is wide
 ‘The cat is as fat as the cat flap is wide.’

101. Please look at the Danish versions of the item in (508). Can an element like “how wide” appear, either with or without the element(s) corresponding to “as”? Please consider all possibilities for the element “as”, too.

Example 1: The cat is as fat as how wide the cat flap is.

Example 2: The cat is as fat how wide the cat flap is.

Speaker 1: It cannot.

Speaker 2: ‘how wide’ cannot appear without the ‘as’ following. The first example however, is viable, and would correspond to “hvør bred”

102. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of “as”.

(509) Mary reads as many books a year as Peter does articles.

Speaker 1:

(509) a. Mary læser lige så mange bøger om året som Peter læser artikler.
Mary reads like.DEF so many books per year as Peter reads articles
‘Mary reads as many books a year as Peter does articles.’

Speaker 2:

(509) b. Mary læser lige så mange bøger om året som Peter læser artikler.
Mary reads like.DEF so many books per year as Peter reads articles
‘Mary reads as many books a year as Peter does articles.’

103. Please look at the Danish versions of the item in (509). Can an element like “how many books” appear, either with or without the element(s) corresponding to “as”? Please consider all possibilities for the element “as”, too.

Example 1: Mary reads as many books a year as how many articles Peter does.

Example 2: Mary reads as many books a year how many articles Peter does.

Speaker 1: No.

Speaker 2: ‘how many books’ could appear adjacent to the element corresponding to the second ‘as’: ‘som’, but not the first ‘lige så’

104. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of “as”.

(510) We need as much sugar for the cake as we need flour.

Speaker 1: “Vi har brug for lige så meget sukker til kagen som vi har brug for mel.” or
“...lige meget sukker med hvor meget mel vi skal bruge.”

- (510) a. Vi har brug for lige så meget sukker til kagen som vi har brug
 we have need for like.DEF so much sugar to the.cake as we have need
 for mel.
 for flour
 ‘We need as much sugar for the cake as we need flour.’
- (510) b. Vi har brug for lige meget sukker med hvor meget mel vi skal
 we have need for like.DEF much sugar with how much flour we shall
 bruge.
 need
 ‘We need as much sugar for the cake as we need flour.’

Speaker 2:

- (510) c. Vi skal bruge lige så meget sukker til kagen som vi skal bruge
 we shall need like.DEF so much sugar to the.cake as we shall need
 mel.
 flour
 ‘We need as much sugar for the cake as we need flour.’

105. Please look at the Danish versions of the item in (510). Can an element like “how much flour” appear, either with or without the element(s) corresponding to “as”? Please consider all possibilities for the element “as”, too.

Example 1: We need as much sugar for the cake as how much flour we do.

Example 2: We need as much sugar for the cake how much flour we do.

Speaker 1: No.

Speaker 2: Example 1 is viable, but example 2 is not.

106. Is it possible to have an element like “as how” as an attribute of a noun? Please consider all possibilities for the element “as”, too.

Example 1: Mary bought as fat a cat as how wide a cat flap Peter did.

Example 2: Mary bought as fat a cat how wide a cat flap Peter did.

Speaker 1: No.

Speaker 2: the element ‘as how’ cannot be used as an attribute of a noun – it would however be viable in other parts of the sentence, e.g. “Mary bought a cat as fat as how wide a cat flap”

6 Comparative clauses

107. Please translate the following sentence.

- (601) Mary is older than Peter.

Speaker 1:

- (601) a. Mary er ældre end Peter.
Mary is older than Peter.
'Mary is older than Peter.'

Speaker 2:

- (601) b. Mary er ældre end Peter.
Mary is older than Peter.
'Mary is older than Peter.'

108. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “than” in (601) in Danish. Can these elements combine with each other or with elements like “that” or “what”?

Example 1: Mary is older than that Peter (is).

Example 2: Mary is older than what Peter (is).

Speaker 1: No elements can replace “end”.

Speaker 2: It is possible to combine it with ‘what’ but not ‘that’. In this instance, the construction is quite fixed between the elements ‘ældre’ and ‘end’.

109. Please look at the Danish versions of the item in (601). Can a full clause appear after the element corresponding to “than”, hence containing an overt copula and/or an adjective? Please consider all possibilities for the element “than”, too.

Example 1: Mary is older than Peter is.

Example 2: Mary is older than Peter is old.

Speaker 1: Yes.

Speaker 2: Example one is viable – example two is not.

110. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of “than”.

- (602) Mary is older than Peter was last year.

Speaker 1:

- (602) a. Mary er ældre end hvad Peter var sidste år.
Mary is older than what Peter was last year
'Mary is older than Peter was last year.'

Speaker 2:

- (602) b. Mary er ældre end Peter var sidste år.
Mary is older than Peter was last year
'Mary is older than Peter was last ear.'

111. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of “than”.

(603) Mary is older than how old Peter was last year.

Speaker 1:

(603) a. Mary er ældre end hvor gammel Peter var sidste år.
Mary is older than how old Peter was last year
'Mary is older than how old Peter was last year.'

(603) b. Mary er ældre end hvor gammel Peter var sidste år.
Mary is older than how old Peter was last year
'Mary is older than how old Peter was last year.'

112. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “how” in (603) in Danish, if any, and note whether these elements have to be adjacent to the adjective “old”, or whether “old” can appear elsewhere in the sentence. Please also consider all possible realisations of “than”, too.

Speaker 1: “hvor” but also “så gammel som”. Yes, has to be adjacent.

Speaker 2: The word order is fixed as shown in the translated example above. Also, ‘how’ may only appear as ‘hvor’ in this particular example.

113. If a string like “how old” is permitted after “than” in Danish, can the clause be elliptical?

Example: Mary is older than how old Peter.

Speaker 1: No.

Speaker 2: No, it cannot.

114. If a string like “how old” is possible in items like (603) in Danish, can “than” be omitted?

Example: Mary is older how old Peter (is).

Speaker 1: No.

Speaker 2: No, ‘ældre end’ is fixed and the ‘than’ cannot be omitted.

115. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possible word orders.

(604) Mary has more books than Peter.

Speaker 1:

(604) a. Mary har flere bøger end Peter (har).
Mary has more books than Peter has
'Mary has more books than Peter.'

- (604) b. Flere bøger end Peter har Mary.
more books than Peter has Mary
'Mary has more books than Peter.'

Speaker 2:

- (604) c. Mary har flere bøger end Peter.
Mary has more books than Peter
'Mary has more books than Peter.'

116. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “than” in (604) in Danish. Can these elements combine with each other or with elements like “that” or “what”?

Example 1: Mary has more books than Peter (has).

Example 2: Mary has more books than what Peter (has).

Speaker 1: No options.

Speaker 2: Example 2 is viable – than can combine with what: “end hvad”. Example 1 is not.

117. Please look at the Danish versions of the item in (604). Can a full clause appear after the element corresponding to “than”, hence containing a verb and/or a noun? Please consider all possibilities for the element “than”, too.

Example 1: Mary has more books than Peter has.

Example 2: Mary has more books than Peter has books.

Speaker 1: Yes.

Speaker 2: It is possible to add the verb ‘has’ – ‘har’ as shown in example 1. Example 2 is not viable.

118. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of “than”.

- (605) Mary has more books than how many books Peter has.

Speaker 1:

- (605) a. Mary har flere bøger end hvor mange bøger Peter har.
Mary has more books than how many books Peter has
'Mar has more books than how many books Peter has.'

Speaker 2:

- (605) b. Mary har flere bøger end hvor mange bøger Peter har.
Mary has more books than how many books Peter has
'Mar has more books than how many books Peter has.'

119. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “how many” in (605) in Danish, if any, and note whether these elements have to be adjacent to the noun “books”, or whether “books” can appear elsewhere in the sentence. Please also consider all possible realisations of “than”, too.

Speaker 1: “hvor mange bøger” “så mange bøger som Peter har” both have to be adjacent.
Speaker 2: ‘hvor mange’ or ‘mængden af’, but ‘mængden af’ translates directly into ‘amount of’, so it would not have the same exact meaning.

120. If a string like “how many books” is permitted after “than” in items like (605) in Danish, can the clause be elliptical?

Example: Mary has more books than how many books Peter.

Speaker 1: No

Speaker 2: No, it cannot.

121. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of “than”.

(606) Mary has read a longer book than Peter.

Speaker 1:

(606) a. Mary har læst en længere bog end hvad Peter har.
Mary has read.PTCP a longer book than what Peter has
‘Mary has read a longer book than Peter.’

Speaker 2:

(606) b. Mary har læst en længere bog end Peter.
Mary has read.PTCP a longer book than Peter
‘Mary has read a longer book than Peter.’

122. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “than” in (606) in Danish. Can these elements combine with each other or with elements like “that” or “what”?

Example 1: Mary has read a longer book than that Peter (has).

Example 2: Mary has read a longer book than what Peter (has).

Speaker 1: “end hvad”, could also be just “end” or “end hvor lang en bog Peter har læst”

(i) Mary har læst en længere bog end hvor lang en bog Peter har
Mary has read.PTCP a longer book than how long a book Peter has
læst
read.PTCP
‘Mary has read a longer book than Peter.’

Speaker 2: ‘end’. can be combined with ‘what’ – ‘hvad’.

123. Please look at the Danish versions of the item in (606). Can a full clause appear after the element corresponding to “than”, hence containing a verb and/or a noun and/or and adjective? Please consider all possibilities for the element “than”, too.

Example 1: Mary has read a longer book than Peter has.

Example 2: Mary has read a longer book than Peter has a long book.

Speaker 1: Yes. “end hvor lang en bog Peter har læst”

- (i) Mary har læst en længere bog end hvor lang en bog Peter har læst
Mary has read.PTCP a longer book than how long a book Peter has read.PTCP
‘Mary has read a longer book than Peter.’

Speaker 2: Example 1 is possible, not example 2.

124. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of “than”.

- (607) Mary has read a longer book than how long a book Peter has read.

Speaker 1:

- (607) a. Mary har læst en længere bog end hvor lang en bog Peter har læst.
Mary has read.PTCP a longer book than how long a book Peter has read.PTCP
‘Mary has read a longer book than Peter.’

Speaker 2:

- (607) b. Mary har læst en længere bog end hvor lang en bog Peter har læst.
Mary has read.PTCP a longer book than how long a book Peter has read.PTCP
‘Mary has read a longer book than Peter.’

125. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “how (long)” in (607) in Danish, if any, and note whether these elements have to be adjacent to the nominal expression “a book”, or whether “a book” can appear elsewhere in the sentence. Please also consider all possible realisations of “than”, too.

Speaker 1: “hvor lang”, needs to be adjacent.

Speaker 2: ‘hvor lang’. it has to be adjacent to book.

126. If a string like “how long a book” is permitted after “than” in Danish, can the clause be elliptical?

Example: Mary has read a longer book than how long a book Peter.

Speaker 1: No.

Speaker 2: No, it cannot.

127. Please translate the following sentence. (A context is given below, but you do not have to translate that.) Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of “than”.

[Context: I was on holiday for two weeks and my father took care of my cat. Unfortunately, he gave her way too much food. Now my cat cannot get into the house on its own at all.]

(608) The cat is fatter than the cat flap is wide.

Speaker 1:

(608) a. Katten er federe end flappen er bred.
the.cat is fatter than the.cat.flap is wide
'The cat is fatter than the cat flap is wide.'

Speaker 2:

(608) b. Katten er federe end kattelommen er bred.
the.cat is fatter than the.cat.flap is wide
'The cat is fatter than the cat flap is wide.'

128. Please look at the Danish versions of the item in (608). Can an element like “how wide” appear, either with or without the element(s) corresponding to “than”? Please consider all possibilities for the element “than”, too.

Example 1: The cat is fatter than how wide the cat flap is.

Example 2: The cat is fatter how wide the cat flap is.

Speaker 1: No.

Speaker 2: It can appear with ‘than’ – ‘end’, but not without it.

129. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of “than”.

(609) Mary reads more books a year than Peter does articles.

Speaker 1:

(609) a. Mary læser mer bøger per år end Peter læser artikler.
Mary reads more books per year than Peter reads articles
'Mary reads more books a year than Peter does articles.'

Speaker 2:

- (609) b. Mary læser flere bøger om året end Peter læser artikler.
Mary reads more books per year than Peter reads articles
'Mary reads more books a year than Peter does articles.'

130. Please look at the Danish versions of the item in (609). Can an element like “how many books” appear, either with or without the element(s) corresponding to “than”? Please consider all possibilities for the element “than”, too.

Example 1: Mary reads more books a year than how many articles Peter does.

Example 2: Mary reads more books a year how many articles Peter does.

Speaker 1: No, it needs the “end”.

Speaker 2: Example 1 is possible – not example 2.

131. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of “than”.

- (610) We need more sugar for the cake than we need flour.

Speaker 1:

- (610) a. Vi skal bruge mere sukker til kagen end vi skal bruge mel.
we shall need.INF more sugar for the.cake than we shall need.INF flour
'We need more sugar for the cake than we need flour.'

Speaker 2:

- (610) b. Vi skal bruge mere sukker til kagen end vi skal bruge mel.
we shall need.INF more sugar for the.cake than we shall need.INF flour
'We need more sugar for the cake than we need flour.'

132. Please look at the Danish versions of the item in (610). Can an element like “how much flour” appear, either with or without the element(s) corresponding to “than”? Please consider all possibilities for the element “than”, too.

Example 1: We need more sugar for the cake than how much flour we do.

Example 2: We need more sugar for the cake how much flour we do.

Speaker 1: No.

Speaker 2: Example 1 is viable – not example 2.

133. Is it possible to have an element like “than how” as an attribute of a noun? Please consider all possibilities for the element “than”, too.

Example 1: Mary bought a fatter cat than how wide a cat flap Peter did.

Example 2: Mary bought a fatter cat how wide a cat flap Peter did.

Speaker 1: Yes.

Speaker 2: No, that would not make sense.

7 Non-canonical comparison

134. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of “as”.

(701) Mary is tired, as is Peter.

Speaker 1: Mary er træt, ligesom Peter OR ...det er Peter også

(701) a. Mary er træt, ligesom Peter.
Mary is tired, like Peter
'Mary is tired, as is Peter.'

(701) b. Mary er træt, det er Peter også.
Mary is tired, that is Peter also
'Mary is tired, as is Peter.'

Speaker 2:

(701) c. Mary er træt, ligeledes er Peter.
Mary is tired, likewise is Peter
'Mary is tired, as is Peter.'

135. Please look at the Danish versions of the item in (701). Can an element like “too” appear in the clause introduced by “as”? Please consider all possibilities for the element “than”, too.

Speaker 1: Yes.

Speaker 2: the combination ‘as too’ would translate to ‘ligeledes så’, which would technically be possible, but seeing as the two words are synonymous, it would be highly unlikely and an unnecessary addition.

136. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of “as”.

(702) Mary, as we all know, doesn't like cats.

Speaker 1: Mary, som vi alle ved, kan ikke lide katte. OR Mary, hvilket vi...

(702) a. Mary, som vi alle ved, kan ikke lide katte.
Mary, as we all know can not suffer.INF cats
'Mary, as we all know, doesn't like cats.'

- (702) b. Mary, hvilket vi alle ved, kan ikke lide katte.
Mary, which we all know can not suffer.INF cats
'Mary, as we all know, doesn't like cats.'

Speaker 2:

- (702) c. Mary, som vi alle ved, kan ikke lide katte.
Mary, as we all know can not suffer.INF cats
'Mary, as we all know, doesn't like cats.'

137. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of “as”.

- (703) Mary is as tall as her brother.

Speaker 1: Mary er lige så lang som hendes bror OR Mary er lige lang med hendes bror.

- (703) a. Mary er lige så lang som hendes bror.
Mary is like so tall as her.NOM/OBL brother
'Mary is as tall as her brother.'

- (703) b. Mary er lige lang med hendes bror.
Mary is like tall with her.NOM/OBL brother
'Mary is as tall as her brother.'

Speaker 2:

- (703) b. Mary er lige så høj som sin bror.
Mary is like so tall as her.M/F.NOM/OBL brother
'Mary is as tall as her brother.'

138. Please look at the Danish versions of the item in (703). What case can the remnant (“her brother”) be in? Please take into consideration other nouns, as well as pronouns. Please consider all possibilities for the element “as”, too.

Example 1: Mary is as tall as he.

Example 2: Mary is as tall as him.

Speaker 1: With “som”, both nom and acc. With “med” only acc.

Speaker 2: ‘Him’ (ham) is possible. Example 1 could only work, if it was followed by ‘is’, i.e. ‘han er’

139. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of “than”.

- (704) Mary is taller than her brother.

Speaker 1:

- (704) a. Mary er længere end sin bror.
Mary is taller than her.M/F.NOM/OBL brother
'Mary is taller than her brother.'

Speaker 2:

- (704) b. Mary er højere end sin bror.
Mary is taller than her.M/F.NOM/OBL brother
'Mary is taller than her brother.'

140. Please look at the Danish versions of the item in (704). What case can the remnant (“her brother”) be in? Please take into consideration other nouns, as well as pronouns. Please consider all possibilities for the element “than”, too.

Example 1: Mary is taller than he.

Example 2: Mary is taller than him.

Speaker 1: Only acc.

Speaker 2: ‘Him’ (ham) is possible. Example 1 could only work, if it was followed by ‘is’, i.e. ‘han er’

141. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of “as”.

- (705) I saw as tall a man as my brother.
(With the intended meaning: ‘I saw as tall a man as my brother is’, NOT with the meaning ‘I saw as tall a man as my brother saw’.)

Speaker 1:

- (705) a. Jeg så en mand ligeså lang som min bror.
I saw a man like tall as my.M/F.NOM/OBL brother
'I saw as tall a man as my brother.'

Speaker 2: Jeg så så høj en mand som min bror. (it would be more natural to switch the word order to “jeg så en mand så høj som min bror” = “I saw a man as tall as my brother”)

- (705) b. Jeg så så høj en mand som min bror.
I saw so tall a man as my.M/F.NOM/OBL brother
'I saw as tall a man as my brother.'

- (705) c. Jeg så en mand så høj som min bror.
I saw a man so tall as my.M/F.NOM/OBL brother
'I saw as tall a man as my brother.'

142. Please look at the Danish versions of the item in (705). What case can the remnant (“her brother”) be in? Please take into consideration other nouns, as well as pronouns. Please consider all possibilities for the element “as”, too.

Example 1: I saw as tall a man as he.

Example 2: I saw as tall a man as him.

Speaker 1: I think only acc but perhaps it could work with nom as well.

Speaker 2: ‘Him’ (ham) is possible. Example 1 could only work, if it was followed by ‘is’, i.e. ‘han er’

143. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of “than”.

(706) I saw a taller man than my brother.
(With the intended meaning: ‘I saw a taller man than my brother is’, NOT with the meaning ‘I saw a taller man than my brother saw.’)

Speaker 1:

(706) a. Jeg så en mand længere end min bror.
I saw a man taller than my.M/F.NOM/OBL brother
‘I saw a taller man than my brother.’

Speaker 2:

(706) b. Jeg så en højere man end min bror.
I saw a taller man than my.M/F.NOM/OBL brother
‘I saw a taller man than my brother.’

144. Please look at the Danish versions of the item in (706). What case can the remnant (“her brother”) be in? Please take into consideration other nouns, as well as pronouns. Please consider all possibilities for the element “than”, too.

Example 1: I saw a taller man than he.

Example 2: I saw a taller man than him.

Speaker 1: Only acc

Speaker 2: ‘Him’ (ham) is possible. Example 1 could only work, if it was followed by ‘is’, i.e. ‘han er’

145. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of “as”.

(707) I am talking to you as a friend, not as your boss.

Speaker 1:

- (707) a. Jeg taler til dig som en ven, ikke som din chef.
I talk to you as a friend not as your boss
'I am talking to you as a friend, not as your boss.'

Speaker 2:

- (707) b. Jeg taler til dig som en ven, ikke som din chef.
I talk to you as a friend not as your boss
'I am talking to you as a friend, not as your boss.'

146. Please look at the Danish versions of the item in (707). What case can the nominal expression “your boss” be in? Please take into consideration other nouns as well (in case “your boss” does not show case distinction while other nouns do). Please consider all possibilities for the element “as”, too.

Speaker 1: Only acc

Speaker 2: I would not place this particular expression in any other group than genitive (provided that I have understood the question correctly)

147. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of “as”.

- (708) I like Mary a lot, but I see her only as a friend.

Speaker 1:

- (708) a. Jeg kan meget godt lide Mary, men jeg ser hende kun som en
I can much well suffer.INF Mary but I see her only as a
ven.
friend
'I like Mary a lot, but I see her only as a friend.'

Speaker 2:

- (708) b. Jeg kan lide Mary meget, men jeg anser hende kun som en
I can suffer.INF Mary much, but I consider her only as a
ven.
friend
'I like Mary a lot, but I see her only as a friend.'

148. Please look at the Danish versions of the item in (708). What case can the nominal expression “a friend” be in? Please take into consideration other nouns as well (in case “a friend” does not show case distinction while other nouns do). Please consider all possibilities for the element “as”, too.

Speaker 1: Only acc

Speaker 2: I am not entirely sure I understand the nature of the question. In any instance, I would express ‘a friend’ as ‘en ven’ – not in any other manner – an indefinite variant.

149. Please translate the following sentence.

(709) Mary would be frightened if she saw a ghost.

Speaker 1:

(709) a. Mary ville blive bange hvis hun så et spøgelse.
Mary would become.INF frightened if she saw a ghost
‘Mary would be frightened if she saw a ghost.’

Speaker 2:

(709) b. Mary ville blive skræmt hvis hun så et spøgelse.
Mary would become.INF frightened if she saw a ghost
‘Mary would be frightened if she saw a ghost.’

150. Please look at the Danish versions of the item in (709). Please list all alternatives for the realisation of “if”, including verb movement, if applicable.

Speaker 1: Hm... You can reverse the order at least

(i) Hvis Mary så et spøgelse, ville hun blive bange.
if Mary saw a ghost, would she become.INF frightened
‘Mary would be frightened if she saw a ghost.’

Speaker 2: ‘hvis’ ‘i tilfælde af’ ‘såfremt’

151. Please translate the following sentence.

(710) Mary was pale, as if she had seen a ghost.

Speaker 1:

(710) a. Mary var bleg som om hun havde set et spøgelse.
Mary was pale as if she had.PST seen a ghost
‘Mary was pale, as if she had seen a ghost.’

Speaker 2:

(710) b. Mary var bleg, som hvis hun havde set et spøgelse
Mary was pale as if she had.PST seen a ghost
‘Mary was pale, as if she had seen a ghost.’

152. Please look at the Danish versions of the item in (710). Please list all alternatives for the realisation of “as if”, including verb movement, if applicable.

Speaker 1: “ligesom om hun...”, no movement that seems good to me here.

Speaker 2: ‘hvis’ ‘i tilfælde af’ ‘såfremt’

153. Please look at the Danish versions of the item in (710). Can the clause introduced by “as if” be fronted? Please provide all possible realisations of “as if”.

Example: As if she had seen a ghost, Mary was (so) pale.

Speaker 1: “Som om hun havde set et spøgelse, var Mary bleg” maybe but awkward (probably not)

- (i) Som om hun havde set et spøgelse, var Mary bleg.
as if she had.PST seen a ghost was Mary pale
‘Mary was pale, as if she had seen a ghost.’

Speaker 2: ‘hvis’ ‘i tilfælde af’ ‘såfremt’ – and yes, it would be possible to place either of these elements as the first element of the clause.

Icelandic

1 Interrogatives

6. Please translate the following sentence into Icelandic.

(101) Does Mary like books?

Speaker 1:

(101) a. Líkar Maríu bækur?
likes Mary.DAT books
'Does Mary like books?'

Speaker 2:

(101) b. Líkar Maríu bækur?
likes Mary.DAT books
'Does Mary like books?'

7. Please consider the Icelandic version of (101). Is it possible to have a question particle in the clause, and if so, is the result an ordinary variant of (101), or is its use more restricted?

Example: Whether Mary likes books?

Speaker 1: No, this is not possible.

Speaker 2: The sentence "Whether Mary likes books" would translate to "Hvort Maríu líkar bækur" and that's okay but it can't stand on its own, it would have to be a part of something bigger like "No one knew whether Mary likes books" "Enginn vissi hvort Maríu líkaði bækur"

(i) Enginn vissi hvort Maríu líkaði bækur.
nobody knew.3SG whether Mary.DAT liked.3SG books
'No one knew whether Mary liked books.'

8. Please translate the following sentence into Icelandic.

(102) Peter asked if Mary liked books.

Speaker 1:

- (102) a. Pétur spurði hvort Maríu líkaði bækur.
Peter asked.3SG whether Mary.DAT liked.3SG books
'Peter asked if Mary liked books.'

Speaker 2:

- (102) b. Pétur spurði hvort Maríu líkaði bækur.
Peter asked.3SG whether Mary.DAT liked.3SG books
'Peter asked if Mary liked books.'

9. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “if” in (102) in Icelandic. Please specify whether these may combine with each other or with an element like “that”, too.

Speaker 1: You could use “að” (that) after “hvort” but you could not use just “að”.

Speaker 2: The elements that can correspond to “if” are either “hvort” or “hvort að” (að=that). So you can either say “Pétur spurði hvort Maríu líkaði bækur” or “Pétur spurði hvort að Maríu líkaði bækur”. Both are equally acceptable to me

- (i) Pétur spurði hvort Maríu líkaði bækur.
Peter asked.3SG whether Mary.DAT liked.3SG books
'Peter asked if Mary liked books.'
- (ii) Pétur spurði hvort að Maríu líkaði bækur.
Peter asked.3SG whether that Mary.DAT liked.3SG books
'Peter asked if Mary liked books.'

10. Please translate the following sentence.

- (103) Peter doesn't know if Mary likes books.

Speaker 1:

- (103) a. Pétur veit ekki hvort Maríu líki bækur.
Peter knows not whether Mary.DAT likes books
'Peter doesn't know if Mary likes books.'

Speaker 2:

- (103) b. Pétur veit ekki hvort Maríu líkar bækur.
Peter knows not whether Mary.DAT likes books
'Peter doesn't know if Mary likes books.'

11. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “if” in (103) in Icelandic. Please specify whether these may combine with each other or with an element like “that”, too.

Speaker 1: You could use “að” with “hvort” but not just “að”.

Speaker 2: Same as in question 9, you can either use “hvort” or “hvort að” (að=that). When you have the negation in the sentence I think it’s more “normal” to just use “hvort” and not “hvort að” but both are okay with me.

12. Please translate the following sentence.

(104) Who likes books?

Speaker 1:

(104) a. Hverjum líkar bækur?
who likes books
'Who likes books?'

Speaker 2:

(104) b. Hverjum líkar bækur?
who likes books
'Who likes books?'

13. Please translate the following sentence.

(105) What does Mary like?

Speaker 1:

(105) a. Hvað líkar Maríu?
what likes Mary.DAT
'What does Mary like?'

Speaker 2:

(105) b. Hvað líkar Maríu?
what likes Mary.DAT
'What does Mary like?'

14. Please translate the following sentence.

(106) When did Mary arrive?

Speaker 1:

(106) a. Hvenær kom María?
when came.3SG Mary
'When did Mary arrive?'

Speaker 2:

- (106) b. Hvenær mætti María?
when came.3SG Mary
'When did Mary arrive?'

15. Please look at the Icelandic versions of the items in (104)–(106). Could a topicalised element appear in front of the WH-element?

Example: To Susan what did Mary give?

Speaker 1: No

Speaker 2: Sentence (106) would be “María mætti hvenær?” if you topicalize the subject and that’s okay though it has more restrictions than sentence the translation in (106). Sentence (105) would be “Maríu líkar hvað?” and the same thing goes, it’s okay though it’s more restraint. Sentence (104) would be “Bækur líkar hverjum/líkar bækur hverjum?” and that is definitely not okay for me.

- (i) María mætti hvenær?
Mary came.3SG when
'When did Mary arrive?'
- (ii) Maríu líkar hvað?
Mary.DAT likes what
'What does Mary like?'
- (iii) Bækur líkar hverjum?
books likes who
'Who likes books?'
- (iv) Líkar bækur hverjum?
likes books who
'Who likes books?'

16. Please translate the following sentence.

- (107) Peter asked who liked books.

Speaker 1:

- (107) a. Pétur spurði hverjum líkaði bækur.
Peter asked.3SG who liked.3SG books
'Peter asked who liked books.'

Speaker 2:

- (107) b. Pétur spurði hverjum líkaði bækur.
Peter asked.3SG who liked.3SG books
'Peter asked who liked books.'

17. Please translate the following sentence.

(108) Peter asked what Mary liked.

Speaker 1:

(108) a. Pétur spurði hvað Maríu líkaði.
Peter asked.3SG what Mary.DAT liked.3SG
'Peter asked what Mary liked.'

Speaker 2:

(108) b. Pétur spurði hvað Maríu líkaði.
Peter asked.3SG what Mary.DAT liked.3SG
'Peter asked what Mary liked.'

18. Please translate the following sentence.

(109) Peter asked when Mary arrived.

Speaker 1:

(109) a. Pétur spurði hvenær María kæmi.
Peter asked.3SG when Mary came.3SG
'Peter asked when Mary arrived.'

Speaker 2:

(109) b. Pétur spurði hvenær María mætti.
Peter asked.3SG when Mary came.3SG
'Peter asked when Mary arrived.'

19. Please look at the Icelandic versions of the items in (107)–(109). Can a complementiser appear before/after the WH-element?

Example 1: Peter asked that what Mary liked.

Example 2: Peter asked if what Mary liked.

Example 3: Peter asked who that liked books.

Speaker 1: No, not at all.

Speaker 2: Rather before. Sentence 1 is closest to being okay for me. Then it would be:

(i) Pétur spurði þess hvað Maríu líkaði.
Peter asked.3SG it.GEN what Mary.DAT liked.3SG
'Mary asked what Mary liked.'

20. Please translate the following sentence.

(110) Peter doesn't know who likes books.

Speaker 1:

- (110) a. Pétur veit ekki hverjum líkar bækur.
Peter knows not who likes books
'Peter doesn't know who likes books.'

Speaker 2:

- (110) b. Pétur veit ekki hverjum líkar bækur.
Peter knows not who likes books
'Peter doesn't know who likes books.'

21. Please translate the following sentence.

- (111) Peter doesn't know what Mary likes.

Speaker 1:

- (111) a. Pétur veit ekki hvað Maríu líkar.
Peter knows not what Mary.DAT likes
'Peter doesn't know what Mary likes.'

Speaker 2:

- (111) b. Pétur veit ekki hvað Maríu líkar.
Peter knows not what Mary.DAT likes
'Peter doesn't know what Mary likes.'

22. Please translate the following sentence.

- (112) Peter doesn't know when Mary arrived.

Speaker 1:

- (112) a. Pétur veit ekki hvenær María kom.
Peter knows not when Mary came.3SG
'Peter doesn't know when Mary arrived.'

Speaker 2:

- (111) b. Pétur veit ekki hvenær María mætti.
Peter knows not when Mary came.3SG
'Peter doesn't know when Mary arrived.'

23. Please look at the Icelandic versions of the items in (110)–(112). Can a complementiser appear before/after the WH-element?

Example 1: Peter doesn't know who that likes books.

Example 2: Peter doesn't know that who likes books.

Example 3: Peter doesn't know what that Mary likes.

Example 4: Peter doesn't know that what Mary likes.

Example 5: Peter doesn't know when that Mary arrived.

Example 6: Peter doesn't know that when Mary arrived.

Speaker 1: Only example 5 is available.

Speaker 2: Rather before the WH-element. Examples 4 and 6 are closest to being okay for me. Sentence 4 would be “Pétur veit ekki það hvað Maríu líkar” and sentence 6 would be “Pétur veit ekki það hvenær María mætti”. Still, I'd always skip the complementiser in these sentences.

- (i) Pétur veit ekki það hvað Maríu líkar.
Peter knows not it what Mary.DAT likes
'Peter doesn't know what Mary likes.'
- (ii) Pétur veit ekki það hvenær María mætti.
Peter knows not it when Mary came.3SG
'Peter doesn't know when Mary arrived.'

24. Please look at the Icelandic versions of the items in (102)–(103) and (107)–(112). Can the subordinate clause appear before the matrix clause?

Example: If Mary likes books, Peter asked.

Speaker 1: No.

Speaker 2: Yes. It would be:

- (i) Hvort Maríu líkaði bækur, spurði Pétur.
whether Mary.DAT liked.3SG books asked.3SG Peter
'Peter asked if Mary liked books.'

25. Please look at the Icelandic versions of the items in (102)–(103) and (107)–(112). Can the subject or the object be topicalised in front of “if” or a WH-element (and, if applicable, in between a complementiser like “that” and “if”/the WH-element)?

Example 1: Peter asked (that) Mary if likes books.

Example 2: Peter doesn't know (that) books who likes.

Speaker 1: No.

Speaker 2: No, the meaning of the sentences would change in both cases.

26. Is it possible to have ellipsis with a single subject remnant following the element(s) corresponding to “if”? (Please consider whether it is possible with verbs other than “like” as well, e.g. “know” and “think”.)

Example: I know someone likes books but I don’t know if Mary.

Speaker 1: No, I don’t think so.

Speaker 2: It doesn’t work with “if” but it’s okay if you use “with” instead of it. “Ég veit um einhvern sem líkar bækur en ég er ekki viss með Maríu”. If you use “if” the sentence would be “Ég veit um einhvern sem líkar bækur en ég er ekki viss ef María (nominative)”. Then you would have to use “likes books/líkar bækur” after the “if/ef”.

- (i) Ég veit um einhvern sem líkar bækur en ég er ekki viss með Maríu.
I know about someone that likes books but I am not sure with Mary.DAT
'I know someone likes books, but I’m not sure about Mary.'
- (ii) Ég veit um einhvern sem líkar bækur en ég er ekki viss ef María.
I know about someone that likes books but I am not sure if Mary
'I know someone likes books, but I’m not sure if Mary likes books.'

27. Is it possible to have ellipsis with a single object remnant following the element(s) corresponding to “if”? (Please consider whether it is possible with verbs other than “like” as well, e.g. “know” and “think”.)

Example: I know someone Mary likes something but I don’t know if books.

Speaker 1: No, not at all.

Speaker 2: No

28. Is it possible to have ellipsis with a single WH remnant? (Please consider whether it is possible with verbs other than “like” or “arrive” as well.)

Example 1: I know someone likes books but I don’t know who.

Example 2: I know Mary likes something but I don’t know what.

Example 3: I know Mary has arrived but I don’t know when.

Speaker 1: Yes, all of those would do in Icelandic. As well with “like” and “arrive”

Speaker 2: Sentences 1 and 2 are normal to me, and also if you change the verb like to think or know. Sentence 3 is not as good; “Ég veit að María er mætt en ég veit ekki hvenær” . . . You would have to add “. . .Ég veit að María er mætt en ég veit ekki hvenær hún kom”. If you change the verb “arrive” to past tense “mætti”; “Ég veit að María mætti en ég veit ekki hvenær” then it’s okay.

- (i) Ég veit að María er mætt en ég veit ekki hvenær.
I know that Mary is come.PTCP but I know not when
'I know Mary has arrived, but I don’t know when.'
- (ii) Ég veit að María er mætt en ég veit ekki hvenær hún kom.
I know that Mary is come.PTCP but I know not when she came.3SG
'I know Mary has arrived, but I don’t know when.'

- (iii) Ég veit að María mætti en ég veit ekki hvenær.
I know that Mary came.3SG but I know not when
'I know Mary has arrived, but I don't know when.'

29. Is it possible to have ellipsis with multiple WH remnants? If so, is the order of the WH-elements fixed? (Please consider whether it is possible with verbs other than “like” as well.)

Example: I know someone likes something but I don't know who what.

Speaker 1: No, this is not possible.

Speaker 2: No, you would have to add the verb in between “who-what”/“hverjum-hvað”

2 Declaratives

30. Please translate the following sentence into Icelandic.

- (201) Mary likes books.

Speaker 1:

- (201) a. Maríu líkar bækur.
Mary.DAT likes books
'Mary likes books.'

Speaker 2:

- (201) b. Maríu líkar bækur.
Mary.DAT likes books
'Mary likes books.'

31. Please translate the following sentence.

- (202) Peter says (that) Mary likes books.

Speaker 1:

- (202) a. Pétur sagði að Maríu líkaði bækur.
Peter said.3SG that Mary.DAT liked.3SG books
'Peter said that Mary liked books.'

Speaker 2:

- (201) b. Pétur segir að Maríu líki bækur.
Peter says that Mary.DAT likes.SBJV books
'Peter says that Mary likes books.'

32. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “that” in (202) in Icelandic. Please specify whether these may combine with each other, too.

Speaker 1: Nothing can correspond here.

Speaker 2: That can be “að” or “það að” (it, that) and if you use “það” you have to combine it with “að”.

33. Please translate the following sentence.

(203) Peter knows (that) Mary likes books.

Speaker 1:

(203) a. Pétur veit að Maríu líkar bækur.
Peter knows that Mary.DAT likes books
'Peter knows that Mary likes books.'

Speaker 2:

(203) b. Pétur veit að Maríu líkar bækur.
Peter knows that Mary.DAT likes books
'Peter knows that Mary likes books.'

34. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “that” in (203) in Icelandic. Please specify whether these may combine with each other, too.

Speaker 1: No nothing.

Speaker 2: “That” can be “að” or “það að” (it, that) and if you use “það” you have to combine it with “að”.

35. Please translate the following sentence.

(204) Peter thinks (that) Mary likes books.

Speaker 1:

(204) a. Pétur heldur að Maríu líki bækur.
Peter thinks that Mary.DAT likes.SBJV books
'Peter thinks that Mary likes books.'

Speaker 2:

(204) b. Pétur heldur að Maríu líkar bækur.
Peter thinks that Mary.DAT likes books
'Peter thinks that Mary likes books.'

36. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “that” in (204) in Icelandic. Please specify whether these may combine with each other, too.

Speaker 1: Nothing.

Speaker 2: “That” can be “að” or “það að” (that, it) and if you use “það” you have to combine it with “að”.

37. Please translate the following sentence.

(205) It is surprising (that) Mary likes books.

Speaker 1:

(205) a. Það er óvænt að Maríu líki bækur.
it is surprising that Mary.DAT likes.SBJV books
'It is surprising that Mary likes books.'

Speaker 2:

(205) b. Það kemur á óvart að Maríu líki bækur.
it comes by surprise that Mary.DAT likes.SBJV books
'It is surprising that Mary likes books.'

38. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “that” in (205) in Icelandic. Please specify whether these may combine with each other, too.

Speaker 1: Nothing.

Speaker 2: In sentence (205) you can only use “að” because “það” appears in the front of the sentence (as a “dummy subject”)

39. Please look at the Icelandic versions of the items in (202)–(205). Can the clauses introduced by “that” be fronted, and if so, is the element corresponding to “that” obligatory?

Example: (That) Mary likes books is surprising.

Speaker 1: Only with sentence (205), and yes, “that” is obligatory.

Speaker 2: The clause introduced by “that” can be fronted but “að” is obligatory, you would have to say “Að Maríu líki bækur kemur á óvart”, you can't say “Maríu líki bækur kemur á óvart”. In this case I believe that it's more “normal” to say “Það að Maríu líki bækur kemur á óvart”, that is to use “það að” (that, if) instead of only “if”, though it works on its own.

(i) Að Maríu líki bækur kemur á óvart.
that Mary.DAT likes.SBJV books comes by surprise
'It is surprising that Mary likes books.'

(ii) *Maríu líki bækur kemur á óvart.
Mary.DAT likes.SBJV books comes by surprise
'It is surprising that Mary likes books.'

- (iii) Það að Maríu líki bækur kemur á óvart.
 it that Mary_{DAT} likes_{SBJV} books comes by surprise
 ‘It is surprising that Mary likes books.’

40. Please look at the Icelandic versions of the items in (202)–(205). Can the subject or the object be topicalised in front of “that” (or, if applicable, in between two complementisers)?

Example 1: Peter says Mary that likes books.

Example 2: Peter says that Mary that likes books.

Example 3: Peter says books that Mary likes.

Example 4: Peter says that books that Mary likes.

Speaker 1: No, not possible with and of those sentences.

Speaker 2: Example 1. You could say “Pétur segir að það sé María sem líkar bækur”– “Peter says that it is Mary that likes books”. I chose to use “það að” together, but you could say “Pétur segir það sé María sem líkar bækur”. You can also use “sem” or “sem að”, “Pétur segir að það sé María sem að líkar bækur”. Sentence 2: “Pétur segir að það sé María sem líkar bækur”. Here it is the same, you can use “að það” or just “það” ; “Pétur segir það sé María sem líkar bækur”. It is also the same with sem, you can use “sem” or “sem að”. Example 3: “Pétur segir að það séu bækur sem Maríu líkar”.– “Peter says that it is books that Mary likes” . Also the same, you can use just “það” or “að það” but I believe that “það að” is more normal. Also, you can say “sem” or “sem að” In my opinion, you can not have the object topicalised in front of “that”. Example 4: “Pétur segir það bækur sem Maríu líkar”. Here you would have to have the object after the “það” in my opinion.

- (i) Pétur segir að það sé María sem líkar bækur.
 Peter says that it is.SBJV Mary that likes books
 ‘Peter says that it is Mary who likes books.’
- (ii) Pétur segir það sé María sem líkar bækur.
 Peter says it is.SBJV Mary that likes books
 ‘Peter says that it is Mary who likes books.’
- (iii) Pétur segir að það sé María sem að líkar bækur.
 Peter says that it is.SBJV Mary that that likes books
 ‘Peter says that it is Mary who likes books.’
- (iv) Pétur segir að það séu bækur sem Maríu líkar.
 Peter says that it are.SBJV.3PL books that Mary.DAT likes
 ‘Peter says that it is Mary who likes books.’
- (v) Pétur segir það bækur sem Maríu líkar.
 Peter says it books that Mary.DAT likes
 ‘Peter says that it is Mary who likes books.’

41. Is it possible to have ellipsis with a single subject remnant following the element(s) corresponding to “that” (see “B” below)? (Please consider whether it is possible with verbs other than “like” as well, e.g. “know” and “think”.)

Example:

A: Who likes books?

B: Peter says that Mary.

Speaker 1: No, not possible.

Speaker 2: No.

42. Is it possible to have ellipsis with a single object remnant following the element(s) corresponding to “that” (see “B” below)? (Please consider whether it is possible with verbs other than “like” as well, e.g. “know” and “think”.)

Example:

A: What does Mary like?

B: Peter says that books.

Speaker 1: No.

Speaker 2: Here you would have to say:

- (i) Pétur segir það vera bækur.
Peter says it be books
'Peter says it is books.'

3 Relative clauses

43. Please translate the following sentence into Icelandic.

(301) This is the student who invited Mary.

Speaker 1:

- (301) a. Þetta er nemandinn sem bauð Maríu.
this is the.student that invited.3SG Mary.DAT
'This is the student who invited Mary.'

Speaker 2:

- (301) b. Þetta er nemandinn sem bauð Maríu.
this is the.student that invited.3SG Mary.DAT
'This is the student who invited Mary.'

44. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “who” in (301) in Icelandic, including complementisers like “that” and the absence of any overt relative pronoun or complementiser. Please specify whether the overt elements may combine with each other, too.

Speaker 1: It is possible to have “that” with “who” = “sem að” og only “sem” like I do in (301). No absence is available.

Speaker 2: “sem” corresponds to “who” in this sentence. You could also say “Þetta er nemandinn sem að bauð Maríu”, so “sem að” can correspond to “who” as well when it’s combined like that.

- (i) Þetta er nemandinn sem að bauð Maríu.
this is the.student that that invited.3SG Mary.DAT
‘This is the student who invited Mary.’

45. Please translate the following sentence.

(302) This is the book which Mary bought.

Speaker 1:

- (302) a. Þetta er bókin sem María keypti.
this is the.book that Mary.DAT bought.3SG
‘This is the book which Mary bought.’

Speaker 2:

- (302) b. Þetta er bókin sem María keypti.
this is the.book that Mary.DAT bought.3SG
‘This is the book which Mary bought.’

46. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “which” in (302) in Icelandic, including complementisers like “that” and the absence of any overt relative pronoun or complementiser. Please specify whether the overt elements may combine with each other, too.

Speaker 1: You can also say “sem að” = “which that”.

Speaker 2: “sem” and “sem að”; “Þetta er bókin sem að María keypti” and translation in (302).

- (i) Þetta er bókin sem að María keypti.
this is the.book that that Mary.DAT bought.3SG
‘This is the book which Mary bought.’

47. Please translate the following sentence.

(303) This is the city where I was born.

Speaker 1:

- (303) a. Þetta er borgin þar sem ég fæddist.
this is the.city there that I was.born
'This is the city where I was born.'

Speaker 2:

- (303) b. Þetta er borgin sem ég fæddist í.
this is the.city that I was.born in
'This is the city where I was born.'

48. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “here” in (303) in Icelandic, including complementisers like “that” and the absence of any overt relative pronoun or complementiser. Please specify whether the overt elements may combine with each other, too.

Speaker 1: You can also say “þar sem að” = “where that”

Speaker 2: “sem” and “sem að”, “Þetta er borgin sem að ég fæddist í” and “Þetta er borgin sem ég fæddist í”. You could also say “Þetta er borgin þar sem ég fæddist í” where “þar sem” corresponds to “where”. If you use that you have to combine “þar” og “sem”.

- (i) Þetta er borgin sem að ég fæddist í.
this is the.city that that I was.born in
'This is the city where I was born.'
- (ii) Þetta er borgin sem ég fæddist í.
this is the.city that I was.born in
'This is the city where I was born.'
- (iii) Þetta er borgin þar sem ég fæddist í.
this is the.city there that I was.born in
'This is the city where I was born.'

49. Please translate the following sentence.

- (304) That was the year when Mary arrived.

Speaker 1:

- (304) a. Þetta var árið sem María kom.
this was the.year that Mary came.3SG
'This was the year when Mary arrived.'

Speaker 2:

- (304) b. Þetta var árið sem María mætti.
this was the.year that Mary arrived.3SG
'This was the year when Mary arrived.'

50. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “when” in (304) in Icelandic, including complementisers like “that” and the absence of any overt relative pronoun or complementiser. Please specify whether the overt elements may combine with each other, too.

Speaker 1: You can also say “sem að” = “when that”

Speaker 2: “sem” and “sem að”. if you use “að”, it has to be combined with “sem”. You could also say “Það var árið þegar María mætti”, where “þegar” corresponds to “when”. If you use “þegar” I believe you cannot use it with “að” ; “Þetta var árið þegar að María mætti” but I believe some speakers would accept “þegar að” in this sentence.

- (i) Það var árið þegar María mætti.
it was the.year when Mary arrived.3SG
'This was the year when Mary arrived.'
- (ii) Þetta var árið þegar að María mætti.
this was the.year when that Mary arrived.3SG
'This was the year when Mary arrived.'

51. Please translate the following sentence.

(305) I will invite whoever you recommend.

Speaker 1:

- (305) a. Ég mun bjóða hverjum þeim sem þú mælir með.
I will invite.INF who they.DAT that you say.2SG with
'I will invite whoever you recommend.'

Speaker 2:

- (305) b. Ég mun bjóða hverjum sem þú mælir með.
I will invite.INF who that you say.2SG with
'I will invite whoever you recommend.'

52. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “whoever” in (305) in Icelandic, including combinations with complementisers like “that”.

Speaker 1: You could also say “hverjum þeim sem að” = “whoever that”

Speaker 2: “hverjum sem” and “hverjum sem að”; “Ég mun bjóða hverjum sem að þú mælir með”. Both are good but I’d rather skip the “að” here.

- (i) Ég mun bjóða hverjum sem að þú mælir með.
I will invite.INF who that that you say.2SG with
'I will invite whoever you recommend.'

53. Please translate the following sentence.

(306) I will hire whoever is qualified.

Speaker 1:

- (306) a. Ég mun ráða hvern þann sem er hæfur.
I will hire.INF whoever that is qualified
'I will hire whoever is qualified.'

Speaker 2:

- (306) b. Ég mun ráða hvern þann sem er hæfur.
I will hire.INF whoever that is qualified
'I will hire whoever is qualified.'

54. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “whoever” in (306) in Icelandic, including combinations with complementisers like “that”.

Speaker 1: The same here, you can add “that” with “whoever” = “whoever that”

Speaker 2: “hvern þann sem” and “Hvern þann sem að”; “Ég mun ráða hvern þann sem að er hæfur”. In this case I would definitely skip the “að” but it is okay to use it when it’s combined with “sem”.

- (i) Ég mun ráða hvern þann sem að er hæfur.
I will hire.INF whoever that that is qualified
'I will hire whoever is qualified.'

55. Please translate the following sentence.

- (307) I will do whatever you recommend.

Speaker 1:

- (307) a. Ég mun gera hvað sem þú mælir með.
I will do.INF what that you say.2SG with
'I will do whatever you recommend.'

Speaker 2:

- (307) b. Ég mun gera hvað sem þú mælir með.
I will do.INF what that you say.2SG with
'I will do whatever you recommend.'

56. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “whatever” in (307) in Icelandic, including combinations with complementisers like “that”.

Speaker 1: You can say “whatever that” = “hvað sem að”

Speaker 2: “hvað sem” and “hvað sem að”. “allt sem” and “allt sem að” can also be used, “Ég mun gera allt sem þú mælir með” and “Ég mun gera allt sem að þú mælir með”. Here I believe it’s better to combine “allt sem” with “að” but both are okay.

- (i) Ég mun gera allt sem þú mælir með.
I will do.INF everything that you say.2SG with
'I will do everything you recommend.'
- (ii) Ég mun gera allt sem að þú mælir með.
I will do.INF everything that that you say.2SG with
'I will do everything you recommend.'

57. Please translate the following sentence.

(308) I will go wherever I find linguists.

Speaker 1:

(308) a. Ég mun fara þangað sem ég finn málfræði.
I will go.INF there that I find.1SG grammar
'I will go wherever I find linguists.'

Speaker 2:

(308) b. Ég mun fara hvert sem er þar sem ég finn málfræðinga.
I will go.INF where that is there that I find.1SG linguists
'I will go wherever I find linguists.'

58. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “wherever” in (308) in Icelandic, including combinations with complementisers like “that”.

Speaker 1: The same here, “that” = “wherever that”

Speaker 2: “hvert sem er þar sem” and everything has to be combined in my opinion. I can't find another elements that can correspond to “wherever” in this sentence.

59. Please translate the following sentence.

(309) I will go whenever it suits you.

Speaker 1:

(309) a. Ég mun fara hvenær sem það hentar þér.
I will go.INF when that it suits you.DAT
'I will go whenever it suits you.'

Speaker 2:

(309) b. Ég mun fara hvenær sem hentar þér.
I will go.INF when that suits you.DAT
'I will go whenever it suits you.'

60. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “whenever” in (309) in Icelandic, including combinations with complementisers like “that”.

Speaker 1: Same here, “that” is possible with “whenever”

Speaker 2: “hvenær sem” or “hvenær sem að” (að=that). “Ég mun fara hvenær sem að hentar þér”

- (i) Ég mun fara hvenær sem að hentar þér.
I will go.INF when that that suits you.DAT
‘I will go whenever it suits you.’

61. Please look at the Icelandic versions of the items in (301)–(309). Can the relative clause appear before the matrix clause?

Example: Where I was born, I am going to that city.

Speaker 1: No.

Speaker 2: The sentence would be “Þar sem ég fæddist, ég er að fara til þeirrar borgar”. It’s not ungrammatical but it’s very unusual and I don’t think anyone would say that (though you could possibly see this kind of sentence in a poem or as a lyric to a song). The same thing goes to all of the sentences from (301)–(309) in my opinion, they are not horrible and ungrammatical (in my opinion) but very unusual.

- (i) Þar sem ég fæddist, ég er að fara til þeirrar borgar.
where that I born I am to go.INF to that.DEM city
‘I am going to that city where I was born.’

62. Please look at the Icelandic versions of the items in (301)–(309). Can a topicalised element appear before the relative pronoun (or the relative complementiser)?

Example: This is the student Mary who invited.

Speaker 1: No!

Speaker 2: This sentence would be “Þetta er nemandinn Maríu sem bauð”. It’s not okay with me at all and the same goes for all of the sentences in (301)–(309) and I would say they are not grammatical.

- (i) Þetta er nemandinn Maríu sem bauð.
this is the.student Mary.DAT that invited.3SG
‘This is the student who invited Mary.’

63. Is it possible for the relative pronoun to be a single remnant of ellipsis?

Example: Well, Mary lives where. (Meaning: ‘Mary lives wherever she does.’)

Speaker 1: No this does not work in Icelandic

Speaker 2: No, definitely not.

4 Degree clauses

64. Please translate the following sentence into Icelandic.

(401) How did you open the bottle?

Speaker 1:

(401) a. Hvernig opnaðir þú flöskuna?
how.ADV opened.2SG you the.bottle
'How did you open the bottle?'

Speaker 2:

(401) b. Hvernig opnaðiru flöskuna?
how.ADV opened.2SG the.bottle
'How did you open the bottle?'

65. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “how” in (401) in Icelandic.

Speaker 1: Nothing can correspond here.

Speaker 2: I believe you can only use “hvernig” here.

66. Please translate the following sentence.

(402) How old is Mary?

Speaker 1:

(402) a. Hversu gömul er María?
how old.F is Mary
'How old is Mary?'

Speaker 2:

(402) b. Hversu gömul er María?
how old.F is Mary
'How old is Mary?'

67. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “how” in ic402 in Icelandic.

Speaker 1: You could also use “hvað” (what) but then you would have to change the word order to:

(i) Hvað er María gömul?
what is Mary old.F
'How old is Mary?'

Speaker 2: “hversu”, “hve” as in “Hve gömul er María”, using “hve” is more formal to me but it is completely acceptable to me.

- (ii) Hve gömul er María?
how old.F is Mary
'How old is Mary?'

68. Please look at the Icelandic versions of the item in (402). Can the adjective appear in a non-adjacent position to the element(s) corresponding to “how”?

Example: How is Mary old? (With the intended meaning ‘how old is Mary?’.)

Speaker 1: No, this would not work.

Speaker 2: No

69.<original question identical to Question 68>

70. Please translate the following sentence.

- (403) How many books does Mary read a year?

Speaker 1:

- (403) a. Hversu margar bækur les María á ári?
how many books reads Mary in year.DAT
'How many books does Mary read a year?'

Speaker 2:

- (403) b. Hversu margar bækur les María á ári?
how many books reads Mary in year.DAT
'How many books does Mary read a year?'

71. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “how many” in (403) in Icelandic.

Speaker 1: you could also say “hvað” = “what” instead of “hversu”, but I don't know if all people in Iceland would allow that.

Speaker 2: “Hversu margar” and “hve margar”

72. Please look at the Icelandic versions of the item in (403). Can the noun appear in a non-adjacent position to the element(s) corresponding to “how many”?

Example: How many does Mary read books a year?

Speaker 1: No, this is not possible.

Speaker 2: no

73. Please translate the following sentence.

(404) How much sugar do we need for the cake?

Speaker 1:

(404) a. Hversu mikinn sykur þurfum við fyrir kökuna?
how much sugar need.1PL we for the.cake
'How much sugar do we need for the cake?'

Speaker 2:

(404) b. Hversu mikinn sykur þurfum við í kökuna?
how much sugar need.1PL we in the.cake
'How much sugar do we need for the cake?'

74. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “how much” in (404) in Icelandic.

Speaker 1: You could also say “hvað mikinn” = “what much”, but I am not sure if everyone would allow that for their language in Iceland. I can say this.

Speaker 2: “hversu mikinn” and “hve mikinn”

75. Please look at the Icelandic versions of the item in (404). Can the noun appear in a non-adjacent position to the element(s) corresponding to “how much”?

Example: How much do we need sugar for the cake?

Speaker 1: This is not entirely wrong, I am sure that some people can say this. I wouldn't, I think, but I'm sure someone would.

Speaker 2: Yes, you could say:

(i) Hversu mikið þurfum við af sykri í kökuna?
how much need.1PL we of sugar in the.cake
'How much sugar do we need for the cake?'

76. Please translate the following sentence.

(405) How long a book did Mary read?

Speaker 1:

(405) a. Hversu langa bók las María?
how long book read.3SG Mary
'How long a book did Mary read?'

Speaker 2:

- (405) b. Hversu langa bók las María?
how long book read.3SG Mary
'How long a book did Mary read?'

77. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “how” in (405) in Icelandic.

Speaker 1: You can also say “hvað” = “what”

Speaker 2: “Hversu” and “hve”

78. Please look at the Icelandic versions of the item in (405). Can the string “how long” follow the article, as in the example below, or precede it, as in (405) in English?

Example: A how long book did Mary read?

Speaker 1: This “A” does not belong in the Icelandic sentence, it falls out. So this is kind of a weird sentence.

Speaker 2: I think that no matter whether the English sentence is “how long a book did Mary read’ or “A how long book did Mary read” .. The Icelandic translation can only be:

- (i) Hversu langa bók las María?
how long book read.3SG Mary
'How long did Mary read a book?'

79. Please look at the Icelandic versions of the item in (405). Can the noun appear in a non-adjacent position to the element(s) corresponding to “how long”?

Example: How long did Mary read a book? (With the intended meaning ‘how long a book did Mary read?’.)

Speaker 1: No, the meaning changes into for a how long time Mary reads the books.

Speaker 2: No, not with that meaning. Translation of the example below this question would be “Hversu lengi las María bók?” but the meaning would always be about the time it took to read the book, not about the book length.

- (i) Hversu lengi las María bók?
how long.ADV read.3SG Mary book
'How long did Mary read a book?'

5 Equative clauses

80. Please translate the following sentence.

- (501) Mary is as old as Peter.

Speaker 1:

- (501) a. *María er jafn gömul og Pétur.*
Mary is equal old.F and Peter
'Mary is as old as Peter.'

Speaker 2:

- (501) b. *María er jafn gömul og Pétur.*
Mary is equal old.F and Peter
'Mary is as old as Peter.'

81. Please list all the elements that can correspond to the second “as” (the one immediately before “Peter”) in (501) in Icelandic. Can these elements combine with each other or with elements like “that” or “what”?

Example 1: Mary is as old as that Peter (is).

Example 2: Mary is as old as what Peter (is).

Speaker 1: No, those examples are not possible. You could however lose the second “as” and no “that” or “what” and then the sentence would be:

- (i) *María er jafn gömul Pétri.*
Mary is equal old.F Peter.DAT
'Mary is as old as Peter.'

Speaker 2: Example 1: *María er jafn gömul og það sem Pétur er.* “og það sem” or “og það sem að” corresponds to the second as. Example 2: “*María er jafn gömul því sem Pétur er*” with “*því sem*” or “*því sem að*” would correspond to the second “as”.

- (ii) *María er jafn gömul og það sem Pétur er.*
Mary is equal old.F and that.DEM as Peter is
'Mary is as old as Peter.'
- (iii) *María er jafn gömul því sem Pétur er.*
Mary is equal old.F that.DAT as Peter is
'Mary is as old as Peter.'

82. Please look at the Icelandic versions of the item in (501). Can a full clause appear after the element corresponding to “as”, hence containing an overt copula and/or an adjective? Please consider all possibilities for the element “as”, too.

Example 1: Mary is as old as Peter is.

Example 2: Mary is as old as Peter is old.

Speaker 1: Yes. This is possible.

Speaker 2: Yes, Example 1 would be “*María er jafn gömul og Pétur er*” and that’s okay. Example 2 would be “*María er jafn gömul og Pétur er gamall*” but semantically that doesn’t work. I believe you can only translate “as old” to “*jafn gömul*” in Icelandic but that means “at the same age” so you couldn’t say “*María is at the same age as Peter is old*”.

- (i) María er jafn gömul og Pétur er.
Mary is equal old.F and Peter is
'Mary is as old as Peter.'
- (ii) María er jafn gömul og Pétur er gamall.
Mary is equal old.F and Peter is old.M
'Mary is as old as Peter.'

83. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of “as”.

(502) Mary is as old as Peter was last year.

Speaker 1:

- (502) a. María er jafn gömul og Pétur var í fyrra.
Mary is equal old.F and Peter was last.year
'Mary is as old as Peter was last year.'
- (502) b. María er jafn gömul eins og Pétur var í fyrra.
Mary is equal old.F like and Peter was last.year
'Mary is as old as Peter was last year.'

Speaker 2:

- (502) c. María er jafn gömul og Pétur var í fyrra.
Mary is equal old.F and Peter was last.year
'Mary is as old as Peter was last year.'

84. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of “as”.

(503) Mary is as old as how old Peter was last year.

Speaker 1: María er jafn gömul og hversu gamall Pétur var í fyrra. (This is not a good sentence...) / María er jafn gömul eins og hversu gamall Pétur var í fyrra (a better one)

- (503) a. María er jafn gömul og hversu gamall Pétur var í fyrra.
Mary is equal old.F and how old.M Peter was last.year
'Mary is as old as Peter was las year.'
- (503) b. María er jafn gömul eins og hversu gamall Pétur var í fyrra.
Mary is equal old.F like and how old.M Peter was last.year
'Mary is as old as Peter was last year.'

Speaker 2:

- (503) c. María er jafn gömul því sem Pétur var í fyrra.
Mary is equal old.F that.DAT as Peter was last.year
'Mary is as old as Peter was last year.'

- (503) d. *María er jafn gömul og það sem Pétur var í fyrra.*
 Mary is equal old.F and that.DEM as Peter was last.year
 ‘Mary is as old as Peter was last year.’

85. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “how” in (503) in Icelandic, if any, and note whether these elements have to be adjacent to the adjective “old”, or whether “old” can appear elsewhere in the sentence. Please also consider all possible realisations of “as”, too.

Speaker 1: This is not a good sentence at all, but it works. You could also have “old” come after “var”= “...how Peter was old last year”. This would do but not a pretty sentence. Also, you could have “what” instead of “how” but not everyone would say that is ok.

Speaker 2: “how” corresponds to “sem”, you could also say “*María er jafn gömul því sem að Pétur var í fyrra*” and then the “sem að” corresponds to “how”. The elements do not need to be adjacent to the adjective “old”, like you see in the translation in (503) because “*því*” (as) is in between. You could also say “*María er jafngömul og það sem Pétur var í fyrra*”, where “*og það sem*” corresponds to “how”. You can also add “*að*”, “*og það sem að*”. “Old” – *Gömul* can not appear elsewhere in the sentence in my opinion.

- (i) *María er jafn gömul því sem að Pétur var í fyrra.*
 Mary is equal old.F that.DAT as that Peter was last.year
 ‘Mary is as old as Peter was last year.’
- (ii) *María er jafn gömul og það sem Pétur var í fyrra.*
 Mary is equal old.F and that.DEM as Peter was last.year
 ‘Mary is as old as Peter was last year.’

86. If a string like “how old” is permitted after “as” in Icelandic, can the clause be elliptical?

Example: Mary is as old as how old Peter.

Speaker 1: No, this is not possible.

Speaker 2: no, that is not possible.

87. If a string like “how old” is possible in items like (503) in Icelandic, can “as” be omitted?

Example: Mary is as old how old Peter (is).

Speaker 1: No, not possible.

Speaker 2: no, the sentence would be “*María er jafn gömul hve gamall Pétur er*” and that is not possible.

- (i) **María er jafn gömul hve gamall Pétur er.*
 Mary is equal old.F how old.M Peter is
 ‘Mary is as old as Peter.’

88. Please translate the following sentence.

(504) Mary has as many books as Peter.

Speaker 1:

(504) a. María á jafn margar bækur og Pétur.
Mary has equal many books and Peter
'Mary has as many books as Peter.'

Speaker 2:

(504) b. María á jafn margar bækur og Pétur.
Mary has equal many books and Peter
'Mary has as many books as Peter.'

89. Please list all the elements that can correspond to the second “as” (the one immediately before “Peter”) in (504) in Icelandic. Can these elements combine with each other or with elements like “that” or “what”?

Example 1: Mary has as many books as that Peter (has).

Example 2: Mary has as many books as what Peter (has).

Speaker 1: Nothing corresponds here.

Speaker 2: “og” corresponds to the second “as”. Example 1 would be “María á jafn margar bækur og þær sem Pétur á”, when the element “og” combines with “þær” (that in feminine plural because “bækur” is a plural feminine word in Icelandic). If you use “þær” you also have to combine it with “sem” and you can combine “sem” við “að” =“sem að” but it is optional and the “að” is not needed there. Example 2 would be “María á jafn margar bækur og það sem Pétur á”. I don't think that is as “good” as example 1 when you use “það” instead of “þær”.

(i) María á jafn margar bækur og þær sem Pétur á.
Mary has equal many books and they.F as Peter has
'Mary has as many books as Peter has.'

(ii) María á jafn margar bækur og það sem Pétur á.
Mary has equal many books and that.DEM as Peter has
'Mary has as many books as Peter has.'

90. Please look at the Icelandic versions of the item in (504). Can a full clause appear after the element corresponding to “as”, hence containing a verb and/or a noun? Please consider all possibilities for the element “as”, too.

Example 1: Mary has as many books as Peter has.

Example 2: Mary has as many books as Peter has books.

Speaker 1: Example 1 is good and possible in Icelandic. Example 2 is weird, I would understand it but I would never say it.

Speaker 2: Example 1 would be “María á jafn margar bækur og Pétur á” (á=eiga=verb) and that is okay. Example 2 would be “María á jafn margar bækur og Pétur á bækur”

but that doesn't work.

- (i) María á jafn margar bækur og Pétur.
Mary has equal many books and Peter
'Mary has as many books as Peter.'
- (ii) *María á jafn margar bækur og Pétur á bækur.
Mary has equal many books and Peter has books
'Mary has as many books as Peter.'

91. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide possibilities for the realisation of “as”.

(505) Mary has as many books as how many books Peter has.

Speaker 1:

- (505) a. María á jafn margar bækur og (hversu margar bækur) Pétur á.
Mary has equal many books and how many books Peter has
'Mary has as many books Peter.'
- (505) b. María á jafn margar bækur eins og (hversu margar bækur) Pétur á.
Mary has equal many books like and how many books Peter has
'Mary has as many books as Peter.'

Speaker 2: María á jafn margar bækur og þær sem að Pétur á. “og” corresponds to the second “as”. “jafn” corresponds to the first “as”. I feel like you can only refer to the many books with a pronoun though.

- (505) c. María á jafn margar bækur og þær sem að Pétur á.
Mary has equal many books and they.F as that Peter has
'Mary has as many books as Peter.'

92. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “how many” in (505) in Icelandic, if any, and note whether these elements have to be adjacent to the noun “books”, or whether “books” can appear elsewhere in the sentence. Please also consider all possible realisations of “as”, too.

Speaker 1: No, I think this sentence can not be said another way, it is a bad sentence.

Speaker 2: “jafn margar” and it has to be adjacent to the noun books

93. If a string like “how many books” is permitted after “as” in items like (505) in Icelandic, can the clause be elliptical?

Example: Mary has as many books as how many books Peter.

Speaker 1: No.

Speaker 2: no

94. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of “as”.

(506) Mary has read as long a book as Peter.

Speaker 1:

(506) a. María hefur lesið jafn langa bók og Pétur.
Mary has read.PTCP equal long.F.ACC book and Peter
'Mary has read as long a book as Peter.'

Speaker 2:

(506) b. María hefur lesið jafn langa bók og Pétur.
Mary has read.PTCP equal long.F.ACC book and Peter
'Mary has read as long a book as Peter.'

95. Please list all the elements that can correspond to the second “as” (the one immediately before “Peter”) in (506) in Icelandic. Can these elements combine with each other or with elements like “that” or “what”?

Example 1: Mary has read as long a book as that Peter (has).

Example 2: Mary has read as long a book as what Peter (has).

Speaker 1: “as” is the only option. Example 1 and 2 are not possible.

Speaker 2: “og” corresponds to the second “as”. You could also say “María hefur lesið jafn langa bók og þá sem Pétur las” where “og þá sem” corresponds to the second “as”. You can also add “að” “og þá sem að”

(i) María hefur lesið jafn langa bók og þá sem Pétur las.
Mary has read.PTCP equal long.F.ACC book and then as Peter read.PST
'Mary has read as long a book as Peter has.'

96. Please look at the Icelandic versions of the item in (506). Can a full clause appear after the element corresponding to “as”, hence containing a verb and/or a noun and/or and adjective? Please consider all possibilities for the element “as”, too.

Example 1: Mary has read as long a book as Peter has.

Example 2: Mary has read as long a book as Peter has a long book.

Speaker 1: Example 1 is good, Example 2 is not possible.

Speaker 2: Yes, you could say “María hefur lesið jafn langa bók og Pétur hefur (gert)” (one or two verbs). Example 2 doesn't work, that would be “María hefur lesið jafn langa bók og Pétur hefur langa bók” and that is not right at all.

(i) María hefur lesið jafn langa bók og Pétur hefur (gert).
Mary has read.PTCP equal long.F.ACC book and Peter has done
'Mary has read as long a book as Peter.'

- (ii) *María hefur lesið jafn langa bók og Pétur hefur langa bók.
Mary has read.PTCP equal long.F.ACC book and Peter has long.F.ACC book
'Mary has read as long a book as Peter.'

97. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of “as”.

(507) Mary has read as long a book as how long a book Peter has read.

Speaker 1:

- (507) a. María hefur lesið jafn langa bók (eins) og bókin sem
Mary has read.PTCP as long.F.ACC book like as the.book as
Pétur hefur lesið.
Peter has read.PTCP
'Mary has read as long a book as Peter.'

Speaker 2:

- (507) b. María hefur lesið jafn langa bók og þá löngu bók
Mary has read.PTCP equal long.F.ACC book and then long.F.ACC book
sem Pétur las.
as Peter read.PST
'Mary has read as long a book as Peter.'
- (507) c. María hefur lesið jafn langa bók og þá sem Pétur
Mary has read.PTCP equal long.F.ACC book and then as Peter
las.
read.PST
'Mary has read as long a book as Peter.'
- (507) d. María hefur lesið jafn langa bók og þá löngu bók
Mary has read.PTCP equal long.F.ACC book and then long.F.ACC book
sem Pétur hefur lesið.
as Peter has read.PTCP
'Mary has read as long a book as Peter.'

98. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “how (long)” in (507) in Icelandic, if any, and note whether these elements have to be adjacent to the nominal expression “a book”, or whether “a book” can appear elsewhere in the sentence. Please also consider all possible realisations of “as”, too.

Speaker 1: This sentence is bad in the first place, I would not translate it with “how long a book” but only with “a book that Peter has read”.

Speaker 2: “og þá” and it has to be combined and adjacent to “a book”. You can skip the latter “long book” en refer it by “þá sem”:

- (i) María hefur lesið jafn langa bók og þá sem Pétur las.
Mary has read.PTCP equal long.F.ACC book and then as Peter read.PST
'Mary has read as long a book as Peter has.'

99. If a string like “how long a book” is permitted after “as” in Icelandic, can the clause be elliptical?

Example: Mary has read as long a book as how long a book Peter.

Speaker 1: No, not possible.

Speaker 2: no

100. Please translate the following sentence. (A context is given below, but you do not have to translate that.) Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of “as”.

[Context: I was on holiday for two weeks and my father took care of my cat. Unfortunately, he gave her way too much food. Now my cat can barely get into the house on its own.]

- (508) The cat is as fat as the cat flap is wide.

Speaker 1:

- (508) a. Kötturinn er jafn feitur og kattahurðin er breið.
the.cat is equal fat and the.cat.flap is wide
'The cat is as fat as the cat flap is wide.'
- (508) b. Kötturinn er jafn feitur eins og kattahurðin er breið.
the.cat is equal fat like and the.cat.flap is wide.
'The cat is as fat as the cat flap is wide.'

Speaker 2:

- (508) c. Kötturinn er jafn feitur og kattarhurðin er breið.
the.cat is equal fat and the.cat.flap is wide
'The cat is as fat as the cat flap is wide.'

101. Please look at the Icelandic versions of the item in (508). Can an element like “how wide” appear, either with or without the element(s) corresponding to “as”? Please consider all possibilities for the element “as”, too.

Example 1: The cat is as fat as how wide the cat flap is.

Example 2: The cat is as fat how wide the cat flap is.

Speaker 1: Example 1 is OK if you use “eins og” for “as”. Example 2 is not possible.

Speaker 2: no, not possible

102. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of “as”.

(509) Mary reads as many books a year as Peter does articles.

Speaker 1:

(509) a. María les jafn margar bækur á ári og Pétur les greinar.
Mary reads equal many books in a.year and Peter reads articles
'Mary reads as many books a year as Peter does articles.'

(509) b. María les jafn margar bækur á ári eins og Pétur les greinar.
Mary reads equal many books in a.year like and Peter reads articles
'Mary reads as many books a year as Peter does articles.'

Speaker 2: María les jafn margar bækur á ári og Pétur skrifar greinar. Here I feel “sem” doesn't fit.

(509) c. María les jafn margar bækur á ári og Pétur skrifar greinar.
Mary reads equal many books in a.year and Peter writes articles
'The number of books Mary reads a year is equal to the number of articles Peter writes a year.'

103. Please look at the Icelandic versions of the item in(509). Can an element like “how many books” appear, either with or without the element(s) corresponding to “as”? Please consider all possibilities for the element “as”, too.

Example 1: Mary reads as many books a year as how many articles Peter does.

Example 2: Mary reads as many books a year how many articles Peter does.

Speaker 1: Example 1 is good, Example 2 not possible!

Speaker 2: nop

104. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of “as”.

(510) We need as much sugar for the cake as we need flour.

Speaker 1:

(510) a. Við þurfum jafn mikinn sykur í kökuna og við þurfum hveiti.
we need.1PL equal much sugar in the.cake and we need.1PL flour
'We need as much sugar for the cake as we need flour.'

(510) b. Við þurfum jafn mikinn sykur í kökuna eins og við þurfum
we need.1PL equal much sugar in the.cake like and we need.1PL
hveiti.
flour
'We need as much sugar for the cake as we need flour.'

Speaker 2:

- (510) c. Við þurfum jafn mikinn sykur í kökuna og við þurfum hveiti.
we need.1PL equal much sugar in the.cake and we need.1PL flour
'We need as much sugar for the cake as we need flour.'

105. Please look at the Icelandic versions of the item in (510). Can an element like “how much flour” appear, either with or without the element(s) corresponding to “as”? Please consider all possibilities for the element “as”, too.

Example 1: We need as much sugar for the cake as how much flour we do.

Example 2: We need as much sugar for the cake how much flour we do.

Speaker 1: Example 1 is better with “eins og” (like as). Example 2 is not possible.

Speaker 2: no

106. Is it possible to have an element like “as how” as an attribute of a noun? Please consider all possibilities for the element “as”, too.

Example 1: Mary bought as fat a cat as how wide a cat flap Peter did.

Example 2: Mary bought as fat a cat how wide a cat flap Peter did.

Speaker 1: No! Not possible.

Speaker 2: no

6 Comparative clauses

107. Please translate the following sentence.

- (601) Mary is older than Peter.

Speaker 1:

- (601) a. María er eldri en Pétur.
Mary is older than Peter
'Mary is older than Peter.'

Speaker 2:

- (601) b. María er eldri en Pétur.
Mary is older than Peter
'Mary is older than Peter.'

108. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “than” in (601) in Icelandic. Can these elements combine with each other or with elements like “that” or “what”?

Example 1: Mary is older than that Peter (is).

Example 2: Mary is older than what Peter (is).

Speaker 1: “en” is the only element possible. No, they can not be combined with those.

Speaker 2: “en” corresponds to “than”. You could also say like in example two “María er eldri en það sem Pétur er”, where “en það sem” corresponds to “than”. You can also add “að” to that, “en það sem að”.

- (i) María er eldri en það sem Pétur er.
 Mary is older than that.DEM as Peter is
 ‘Mary is older than Peter.’

109. Please look at the Icelandic versions of the item in (601). Can a full clause appear after the element corresponding to “than”, hence containing an overt copula and/or an adjective? Please consider all possibilities for the element “than”, too.

Example 1: Mary is older than Peter is.

Example 2: Mary is older than Peter is old.

Speaker 1: Example 1 is good, example 2 is not possible.

Speaker 2: You can say like in example 1, María er eldri en það sem Pétur er, where “en það sem” corresponds to “than”. Example 2 does not work, “María er eldri en það sem Pétur er gamall”.

- (i) María er eldri en það sem Pétur er.
 Mary is older than that.DEM as Peter is
 ‘Mary is older than Peter.’
- (ii) *María er eldri en það sem Pétur er gamall.
 Mary is older than that.DEM as Peter is old.M
 ‘Mary is older than Peter.’

110. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of “than”.

(602) Mary is older than Peter was last year.

Speaker 1:

- (602) a. María er eldri en Pétur var í fyrra.
 Mary is older than Peter was last.year
 ‘Mary is older than Peter was last year.’

Speaker 2:

- (602) b. María er eldri en Petur var í fyrra.
Mary is older than Peter was last.year
'Mary is older than Peter was last year.'
- (602) c. María er eldri en það sem Pétur var í fyrra.
Mary is older than that.DEM as Peter was last.year
'Mary is older than Peter was last year.'
- (602) d. María er eldri en það sem að Pétur var í fyrra.
Mary is older than that.DEM as that Peter was last.year
'Mary is older than Peter was last year.'

111. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of “than”.

- (603) Mary is older than how old Peter was last year.

Speaker 1:

- (603) a. María er eldri en hversu gamall Pétur var í fyrra.
Mary is older than how old.M Peter was last.year
'Mary is older than Peter was last year.'

Speaker 2: María er eldri en það sem Pétur var gamall í fyrra. (“how old” – “var gamall” doesn’t work here in my opinion though, I’d just say “María er eldri en það sem Pétur var í fyrra”).

- (603) b. María er eldri en það sem Pétur var gamall í fyrra.
Mary is older than that.DEM as Peter was old.M last.year
'Mary is older than Peter was last year.'
- (603) c. María er eldri en það sem Pétur var í fyrra.
Mary is older than that.DEM as Peter was last.year
'Mary is older than Peter was last year.'

112. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “how” in (603) in Icelandic, if any, and note whether these elements have to be adjacent to the adjective “old”, or whether “old” can appear elsewhere in the sentence. Please also consider all possible realisations of “than”, too.

Speaker 1: Nothing can come instead or with “how” but it would be possible to have “old” come after “was”.

Speaker 2: “það”, “það sem” “það sem að”. These elements all have to be adjacent to the adjective “old” but like I said the translation to “how old” in the sentence in (603) doesn’t work in my opinion.

113. If a string like “old” is permitted after “than” in Icelandic, can the clause be elliptical?

Example: Mary is older than how old Peter.

Speaker 1: No.

Speaker 2: no

114. If a string like “how old” is possible in items like (603) in Icelandic, can “than” be omitted?

Example: Mary is older how old Peter (is).

Speaker 1: No.

Speaker 2: no

115. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possible word orders.

(604) Mary has more books than Peter.

Speaker 1:

(604) a. María á fleiri bækur en Pétur.
Mary has more books than Peter
'Mary has more books than Peter.'

Speaker 2:

(604) b. María á fleiri bækur en Pétur.
Mary has more books than Peter
'Mary has more books than Peter.'

(604) c. María á fleiri bækur en Pétur á.
Mary has more books than Peter has
'Mary has more books than Peter.'

116. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “than” in (604) in Icelandic. Can these elements combine with each other or with elements like “that” or “what”?

Example 1: Mary has more books that Peter (has).

Example 2: Mary has more books than what Peter (has).

Speaker 1: Example 1 is not possible but example 2 is ok, but not pretty, “has” is obligatory then.

Speaker 2: “en” corresponds to “than” in sentence (604). You can also say “María á fleiri bækur en þær sem Pétur á” where “en þær sem” (than those who) corresponds to “than”, you can also add “að” to “en þær sem að” (than those who that)

- (i) María á fleiri bækur en þær sem Pétur á.
Mary has more books than they.F as Peter has
'Mary has more books than Peter.'

117. Please look at the Icelandic versions of the item in (604). Can a full clause appear after the element corresponding to “than”, hence containing a verb and/or a noun? Please consider all possibilities for the element “than”, too.

Example 1: Mary has more books than Peter has.

Example 2: Mary has more books than Peter has books.

Speaker 1: Example 1 is good, example 2 is not possible.

Speaker 2:

- (i) María á fleiri bækur en Pétur á.
Mary has more books than Peter has
'Mary has more books than Peter.'
- (ii) María á fleiri bækur en þær sem að Pétur á.
Mary has more books than they.F as that Peter has
'Mary has more books than Peter.'

118. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of “than”.

- (605) Mary has more books than how many books Peter has.

Speaker 1:

- (605) a. María á fleiri bækur en hversu margar bækur Pétur á.
Mary has more books than how much books Peter has
'Mary has more books than Peter.'

Speaker 2: This is a rather odd sentence in Icelandic. Direct translation would be “María á fleiri bækur en hversu margar bækur Pétur á”. In Icelandic I would always say “María á fleiri bækur en Pétur.”

- (605) b. María á fleiri bækur en hversu margar bækur Pétur á.
Mary has more books than how much books Peter has
'Mary has more books than Peter.'
- (605) c. María á fleiri bækur en Pétur.
Mary has more books than Peter
'Mary has more books than Peter.'

119. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “how many” in (605) in Icelandic, if any, and note whether these elements have to be adjacent to the noun “books”, or whether “books” can appear elsewhere in the sentence. Please also consider all possible realisations of “than”, too.

Speaker 1: Nothing corresponds.

Speaker 2: “hversu margar” corresponds to “how many” but like i said this doesn’t really fit in Icelandic. You would always just say “María á fleiri bækur en Pétur” or “María á fleiri bækur en þær sem að Pétur á” where “en” or “en þær sem að” corresponds to “how many”, but in the latter example “þær” is used instead of “books”. If you use “books” it has to be adjacent to the elements which corresponds to “how many”.

- (i) María á fleiri bækur en Pétur.
Mary has more books than Peter
'Mary has more books than Peter.'
- (ii) María á fleiri bækur en þær sem að Pétur á.
Mary has more books than they.F as that Peter has
'Mary has more books than Peter.'

120. If a string like “how many books” is permitted after “than” in items like (605) in Icelandic, can the clause be elliptical?

Example: Mary has more books than how many books Peter.

Speaker 1: No.

Speaker 2: no, not possible

121. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of “than”.

- (606) Mary has read a longer book than Peter.

Speaker 1:

- (606) a. María hefur lesið lengri bók en Pétur.
Mary has read.PTCP longer book than Peter
'Mary has read a longer book than Peter.'

Speaker 2:

- (606) b. María hefur lesið lengri bók en Pétur.
Mary has read.PTCP longer book than Peter
'Mary has read a longer book than Peter.'

122. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “than” in (606) in Icelandic. Can these elements combine with each other or with elements like “that” or “what”?

Example 1: Mary has read a longer book than that Peter (has).

Example 2: Mary has read a longer book than what Peter (has).

Speaker 1: No, not possible!

Speaker 2: “en” corresponds to “than” in the translation in question sentence (606). You could also say “María hefur lesið lengri bók en þá sem Pétur hefur lesið” where “en þá

sem” (than that which) corresponds to “than”. You can also add “að” ,“en þá sem að”

- (i) María hefur lesið lengri bók en þá sem Pétur hefur lesið.
Mary has read.PTCP longer book than then as Peter has read.PTCP
'Mary has read a longer book than Peter.'

123. Please look at the Icelandic versions of the item in (606). Can a full clause appear after the element corresponding to “than”, hence containing a verb and/or a noun and/or and adjective? Please consider all possibilities for the element “than”, too.

Example 1: Mary has read a longer book than Peter has.

Example 2: Mary has read a longer book than Peter has a long book.

Speaker 1: Example 1 is good, example 2 is not possible.

Speaker 2: Yes, example 1 would be “María hefur lesið lengri bók en Pétur hefur (gert)” (1 or 2 verbs) and that is good. Example 2 would be “María hefur lesið lengri bók en Pétur hefur langa bók” and that doesn't work. So a clause which contains a verb (1 or more) can appear after the element corresponding to “than” but not a noun and/or an adjective.

- (i) María hefur lesið lengri bók en Pétur hefur (gert).
Mary has read.PTCP longer book than Peter has done
'Mary has read a longer book than Peter.'
- (ii) *María hefur lesið lengri bók en Pétur hefur langa bók.
Mary has read.PTCP longer book than Peter has long.F.ACC book
'Mary has read a longer book than Peter.'

124. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of “than”.

- (607) Mary has read a longer book than how long a book Peter has read.

Speaker 1: Not a good sentence.

- (607) a. María hefur lesið lengri bók en hversu langa bók Pétur
Mary has read.PTCP longer book than how long.F.ACC book Peter
hefur lesið.
has read.PTCP
'Mary has read a longer book than Peter.'

Speaker 2: The same goes here as in question 118, the “than how long book” doesn't seem to work in Icelandic here.

- (607) b. *María hefur lesið lengri bók en hversu langa bók Pétur
Mary has read.PTCP longer book than how long.F.ACC book Peter
hefur lesið.
has read.PTCP
'Mary has read a longer book than Peter.'

125. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “how (long)” in (607) in Icelandic, if any, and note whether these elements have to be adjacent to the nominal expression “a book”, or whether “a book” can appear elsewhere in the sentence. Please also consider all possible realisations of “than”, too.

Speaker 1: Nothing can change here.

Speaker 2: “en” seems to be the only element which corresponds to “how (long)” here because like I said in question 124, this sentence doesn’t work in this form in Icelandic

126. If a string like “how long a book” is permitted after “than” in Icelandic, can the clause be elliptical?

Example: Mary has read a longer book than how long a book Peter.

Speaker 1: No!

Speaker 2: no

127. Please translate the following sentence. (A context is given below, but you do not have to translate that.) Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of “than”.

[Context: I was on holiday for two weeks and my father took care of my cat. Unfortunately, he gave her way too much food. Now my cat cannot get into the house on its own at all.]

(608) The cat is fatter than the cat flap is wide.

Speaker 1:

(608) a. Kötturinn er feitari en kattahurðin er breið.
the.cat is fatter than the.cat.flap is wide
‘The cat is fatter than the cat flap is wide.’

Speaker 2:

(608) b. Þessi köttur er feitari en kattarhurðin er breið.
this cat is fatter than the.cat.flap is wide
‘The cat is fatter than the cat flap is wide.’

128. Please look at the Icelandic versions of the item in (608). Can an element like “how wide” appear, either with or without the element(s) corresponding to “than”? Please consider all possibilities for the element “than”, too.

Example 1: The cat is fatter than how wide the cat flap is.

Example 2: The cat is fatter how wide the cat flap is.

Speaker 1: Example 1 is OK, example 2 not possible.

Speaker 2: no

129. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of “than”.

(609) Mary reads more books a year than Peter does articles.

Speaker 1:

(609) a. María les fleiri bækur á ári en Pétur les greinar.
Mary reads more books in a.year than Peter reads articles
'Mary reads more books a year than Peter does articles.'

Speaker 2:

(609) b. María les fleiri bækur á ári en Pétur les greinar.
Mary reads more books in a.year than Peter reads articles
'Mary reads more books a year than Peter does articles.'

130. Please look at the Icelandic versions of the item in (609). Can an element like “how many books” appear, either with or without the element(s) corresponding to “than”? Please consider all possibilities for the element “than”, too.

Example 1: Mary reads more books a year than how many articles Peter does.

Example 2: Mary reads more books a year how many articles Peter does.

Speaker 1: Example 1 is good, example 2 not possible.

Speaker 2: no

131. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of “than”.

(610) We need more sugar for the cake than we need flour.

Speaker 1:

(610) a. Við þurfum meiri sykur í kökuna en við þurfum hveiti.
we need.1PL more sugar in the.cake than we need.1PL flour
'We need more sugar for the cake than we need flour.'

Speaker 2:

(610) b. Við þurfum meiri sykur í kökuna en við þurfum af hveiti.
we need.1PL more sugar in the.cake than we need.1PL of flour
'We need more sugar for the cake than we need flour.'

132. Please look at the Icelandic versions of the item in (610). Can an element like “how much flour” appear, either with or without the element(s) corresponding to “than”? Please consider all possibilities for the element “than”, too.

Example 1: We need more sugar for the cake than how much flour we do.

Example 2: We need more sugar for the cake how much flour we do.

Speaker 1: Example 1 is good, Example 2 is not possible.

Speaker 2: no

133. Is it possible to have an element like “than how” as an attribute of a noun? Please consider all possibilities for the element “than”, too.

Example 1: Mary bought a fatter cat than how wide a cat flap Peter did.

Example 2: Mary bought a fatter cat how wide a cat flap Peter did.

Speaker 1: No!

Speaker 2: no, both examples are impossible

7 Non-canonical comparison

134. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of “as”.

(701) Mary is tired, as is Peter.

Speaker 1:

(701) a. María er þreytt, sömuleiðis Pétur.
Mary is tired likewise Peter
'Mary is tired, as is Peter.'

Speaker 2:

(701) b. María er þreytt, sömuleiðis er Pétur það.
Mary is tired likewise is Peter it
'Mary is tired, as is Peter.'

135. Please look at the Icelandic versions of the item in (701). Can an element like “too” appear in the clause introduced by “as”? Please consider all possibilities for the element “than”, too.

Speaker 1: Yes, too could be introduced by as.

Speaker 2: yes, you could say “María er þreytt, sömuleiðis er Pétur það líka” or “María er þreytt, sömuleiðis er Pétur það einnig” (líka/einnig=too)

- (i) María er þreytt, sömuleiðis er Pétur það líka.
Mary is tired likewise is Peter it too
'Mary is tired, as is Peter.'
- (ii) María er þreytt, sömuleiðis er Pétur það einnig.
Mary is tired likewise is Peter it also
'Mary is tired, as is Peter.'

136. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of “as”.

(702) Mary, as we all know, doesn't like cats.

Speaker 1:

- (702) a. Maríu, eins og við öll vitum, líkar ekki við ketti.
Mary like and we all know.1PL likes not with cats.ACC
'Mary, as we all know, doesn't like cats.'
- (702) b. Maríu, líkt og við öll vitum, líkar ekki við ketti.
Mary like and we all know.1PL likes not with cats.ACC
'Mary, as we all know, doesn't like cats.'

Speaker 2: Both options are good but I would rather use the first one.

- (702) c. María, eins og við vitum öll, er ekki hrifin af köttum.
Mary as we know all is not enchanted.PTCP of cats.DAT
'Mary, as we all know, doesn't like cats.'
- (702) d. Maríu, eins og við vitum öll, líkar ekki kettir.
Mary as we know all likes not cats.DAT
'Mary, as we all know, doesn't like cats.'

137. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of “as”.

(703) Mary is as tall as her brother.

Speaker 1:

- (703) a. María er jafn há og bróðir sinn.
Mary is equal tall and brother.NOM her.M.NOM
'Mary is as tall as her brother.'

Speaker 2: María er jafn há og bróðir hennar (nominative). María er jafn há bróður sínum (dative)

- (703) b. María er jafn há og bróðir hennar.
Mary is equal tall and brother.NOM she.GEN
'Mary is as tall as her brother.'

- (703) c. María er jafn há bróður sínum.
 Mary is equal tall brother.DAT her.M.DAT
 ‘Mary is as tall as her brother.’

138. Please look at the Icelandic versions of the item in (703). What case can the remnant (“her brother”) be in? Please take into consideration other nouns, as well as pronouns. Please consider all possibilities for the element “as”, too.

Example 1: Mary is as tall as he.

Example 2: Mary is as tall as him.

Speaker 1: María er jafn há og (e. as) bróðir (nominative) sinn. The sentence can also be “María er jafn há bróður sínum”, then we skip “as” and “brother” gets dative case. If we look at example 1 here, If we use “as” then brother is in nominative case. Example 2 would not be possible unless we omit “as”, then him is in dative and the sentence is good.

- (i) María er jafn há og bróðir sinn.
 Mary is equal tall and brother.NOM her.M.NOM
 ‘Mary is as tall as he is.’
- (ii) María er jafn há bróður sínum.
 Mary is equal tall brother.DAT her.M.DAT
 ‘Mary is as tall as he is.’

Speaker 2: Example 1: María er jafn há og hann (hann=nominative). Example 2: Maria er jafn há honum (honum=dative). Both are good

- (iii) María er jafn há og hann.
 Mary is equal tall and he.NOM/ACC
 ‘Mary is as tall as he is.’
- (iv) María er jafn há honum.
 Mary is equal tall he.DAT
 ‘Mary is as tall as he is.’

139. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of “than”.

- (704) Mary is taller than her brother.

Speaker 1:

- (704) a. María er hærr en bróðir sinn.
 Mary is taller than brother.NOM her.M.NOM
 ‘Mary is taller than her brother.’

Speaker 2:

- (704) b. María er hærri en bróðir hennar.
Mary is taller than brother.NOM she.GEN
'Mary is taller than her brother.'

140. Please look at the Icelandic versions of the item in (704). What case can the remnant (“her brother”) be in? Please take into consideration other nouns, as well as pronouns. Please consider all possibilities for the element “than”, too.

Example 1: Mary is taller than he.

Example 2: Mary is taller than him.

Speaker 1: Here you can not omit “than” like you could do before. Here the only case possible for the remnant is nominative case.

Speaker 2: Example 1: María er hærri en hann (hann=nominative). Example 2: María er hærri honum (honum=dative). Here only example 1 works, not the pronoun in dative. Same goes for other nouns here.

- (i) María er hærri en hann.
Mary is taller than he.NOM/ACC
'Mary is taller than he is.'
- (ii) *María er hærri en honum.
Mary is taller than he.DAT
'Mary is taller than he is.'

141. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of “as”.

- (705) I saw as tall a man as my brother.
(With the intended meaning: 'I saw as tall a man as my brother is', NOT with the meaning 'I saw as tall a man as my brother saw'.)

Speaker 1:

- (705) a. Ég sá jafn háan mann (eins) og bróður minn.
I saw.1SG equal tall man like and brother.ACC my.M.NOM/ACC
'I saw as tall a man as my brother.'

Speaker 2: Ég sá jafn háan mann og bróðir minn er. (bróðir=nominative). Here you need the verb “er”, otherwise the meaning of the sentence would be “I saw as tall a man as my brother saw”. But it’s okay when you use the verb “er” ... Ég sá jafn háan mann og bróður minn (bróður=accusative)

- (705) b. Ég sá jafn háan mann og bróðir minn er.
I saw.1SG equal tall man and brother.NOM my.NOM/ACC is
'I saw as tall a man as my brother.'

- (705) c. Ég sá jafn háan mann og bróður minn.
 I saw.1SG equal tall man and brother.ACC my.M.NOM/ACC
 ‘I saw as tall a man as my brother.’

142. Please look at the Icelandic versions of the item in (705). What case can the remnant (“her brother”) be in? Please take into consideration other nouns, as well as pronouns. Please consider all possibilities for the element “as”, too.

Example 1: I saw as tall a man as he.

Example 2: I saw as tall a man as him.

Speaker 1: The remnant would have to be in accusative case if the meaning is as you say in (705).

Speaker 2: Example 1: Ég sá jafn háan mann og hann (hann=accusative) Example 2: Ég sá jafn háan mann og honum (honum=dative) but example 2 does not work. In the translation of the sentence in (705) both nominative and accusative works but when you have pronouns you can only use accusative

- (i) Ég sá jafn háan mann og hann.
 I saw.1SG equal tall man and he.NOM/ACC
 ‘I saw as tall a man as he is.’
- (ii) Ég sá jafn háan mann og honum.
 I saw.1SG equal tall man and he.DAT
 ‘I saw as tall a man as he is.’

143. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of “than”.

- (706) I saw a taller man than my brother.
 (With the intended meaning: ‘I saw a taller man than my brother is’, NOT with the meaning ‘I saw a taller man than my brother saw.’)

Speaker 1:

- (706) a. Ég sá hærri mann en bróður minn.
 I saw.1SG taller man than brother.ACC my.M.NOM/ACC
 ‘I saw a taller man than my brother.’

Speaker 2: Ég sá hærri mann en bróðir minn er. (bróðir=nominative) Ég sá hærri mann en bróður minn (bróður=accusative)

- (706) b. Ég sá hærri mann en bróðir minn er.
 I saw.1SG taller man than brother.NOM my.M.NOM/ACC is
 ‘I saw a taller man than my brother.’
- (706) c. Ég sá hærri mann en bróðir minn.
 I saw.1SG taller man than brother.ACC my.M.NOM/ACC
 ‘I saw a taller man than my brother.’

144. Please look at the Icelandic versions of the item in (706). What case can the remnant (“her brother”) be in? Please take into consideration other nouns, as well as pronouns. Please consider all possibilities for the element “than”, too.

Example 1: I saw a taller man than he.

Example 2: I saw a taller man than him.

Speaker 1: The same here, the remnant would have to be in accusative case.

Speaker 2: Her brother can be in nominative and accusative but when you have pronouns you can only use accusative.

145. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of “as”.

(707) I am talking to you as a friend, not as your boss.

Speaker 1:

(707) a. Ég er að tala við þig sem vin, ekki sem yfirmaður
I am to talk.INF with you.ACC as a.friend.ACC not as boss
þinn.
your.M.NOM/ACC
'I am talking to you as a friend, not as your boss.'

Speaker 2:

(707) b. Ég er að tala við þig sem vinur, ekki sem yfirmaður
I am to talk.INF with you.ACC as a.friend.ACC not as boss
þinn.
your.M.NOM/ACC
'I am talking to you as a friend, not as your boss.'

146. Please look at the Icelandic versions of the item in (707). What case can the nominal expression “your boss” be in? Please take into consideration other nouns as well (in case “your boss” does not show case distinction while other nouns do). Please consider all possibilities for the element “as”, too.

Speaker 1: It can only be in nominative case, also if I use another nouns.

Speaker 2: it can only be in nominative, whether you use nouns or pronouns.

147. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of “as”.

(708) I like Mary a lot, but I see her only as a friend.

Speaker 1:

- (708) a. Mér líkar mjög mikið við Maríu, en ég horfi bara á hana sem vin.
I.DAT like.1SG very much with Mary.ACC but I look.1SG only at she.ACC as a.friend.ACC
'I like Mary a lot, but I see her only as a friend.'

Speaker 2: Mér líkar María (nominative), en ég sé hana aðeins sem vin. Mér líkar við Maríu (accusative), en ég sé hana aðeins sem vin.

- (708) b. Mér líkar María, en ég sé hana aðeins sem vin.
I.DAT like.1SG Mary but I see.1SG she.ACC only as a.friend.ACC
'I like Mary a lot, but I see her only as a friend.'
- (708) c. Mér líkar við Maríu, en ég sé hana aðeins sem vin.
I.DAT like.1SG with Mary.ACC but I see.1SG she.ACC only as a.friend.ACC
'I like Mary a lot, but I see her only as a friend.'

148. Please look at the Icelandic versions of the item in (708). What case can the nominal expression “a friend” be in? Please take into consideration other nouns as well (in case “a friend” does not show case distinction while other nouns do). Please consider all possibilities for the element “as”, too.

Speaker 1: Accusative case.

Speaker 2: it can only be in accusative, whether you use pronouns or nouns.

149. Please translate the following sentence.

- (709) Mary would be frightened if she saw a ghost.

Speaker 1:

- (709) a. Maríu myndi verða hrædd ef hún sæi draug.
Mary.DAT would.3SG become.INF frightened.F if she saw.SBJV.3SG a.ghost.ACC
'Mary would be frightened if she saw a ghost.'

Speaker 2:

- (709) b. María væri hrædd ef hún myndi sjá draug.
Mary was.SBJV frightened.F if she would.3SG see.INF a.ghost.ACC
'Mary would be frightened if she saw a ghost.'

150. Please look at the Icelandic versions of the item in (709). Please list all alternatives for the realisation of “if”, including verb movement, if applicable.

Speaker 1: I'm not sure.

Speaker 2: I believe only “ef” works here.

151. Please translate the following sentence.

(710) Mary was pale, as if she had seen a ghost.

Speaker 1:

(710) a. María var föl, eins og hún hafi séð draug.
Mary was pale.F like and she has.SBJV seen a.ghost.ACC
'Mary was pale, as if she had seen a ghost.'

Speaker 2:

(710) b. María var föl, eins og hún hefði séð draug.
Mary was pale.F like and she had.SBJV.3SG seen a.ghost.ACC
'Mary was pale, as if she had seen a ghost.'

152. Please look at the Icelandic versions of the item in (710). Please list all alternatives for the realisation of “as if”, including verb movement, if applicable.

Speaker 1: you could also use “líkt og”

Speaker 2: “eins og” “rétt eins og” “líkt og”

153. Please look at the Icelandic versions of the item in (710). Can the clause introduced by “as if” be fronted? Please provide all possible realisations of “as if”.

Example: As if she had seen a ghost, Mary was (so) pale.

Speaker 1: No.

Speaker 2: I don't believe you could say that even though the sentence is not ungrammatical in my opinion. This is not a normal word order.

(i) Eins og hún hefði séð draug, María var svo föl.
like and she had.SBJV.3SG seen a.ghost.ACC Mary was so pale.F
'Mary was so pale, as if she had seen a ghost.'

Norwegian

1 Interrogatives

6. Please translate the following sentence into Norwegian.

(101) Does Mary like books?

Speaker 1: (written in Nynorsk, as it is more close to my dialect than Bokmål.)

(101) a. Likar Mary bøker?
likes Mary books
'Does Mary like books?'

Speaker 2:

(101) b. Liker Mary bøker?
likes Mary books
'Does Mary like books?'

7. Please consider the Norwegian version of (101). Is it possible to have a question particle in the clause, and if so, is the result an ordinary variant of (101), or is its use more restricted?

Example: Whether Mary likes books?

Speaker 1: Yes. (This holds true for my dialect and at least other dialects in Rogaland, but I think it is ungrammatical in Eastern Norwegian. I think it is less frequent than the one in 101, and perhaps restricted to/more prominent in some specific discourse situations, although I have not investigated this personally. See e.g. Stig Rognes's MA thesis: V2, V3, V4 (and maybe even more). The syntax of questions in the Rogaland dialects of Norwegian, from UiO for more information – available here: <https://www.duo.uio.no/handle/10852/26341>.)

(i) Om Mary likar bøker?
if Mary likes books
'Does Mary like books?'

Speaker 2: It is possible to say "Om Mary liker bøker?", but it does not seem fully equal to (101), maybe pragmatically restricted, possibly being used as a repeated question.

- (ii) Om Mary liker bøker?
 if Mary likes books
 ‘Does Mary like books?’

8. Please translate the following sentence into Norwegian.

(102) Peter asked if Mary liked books.

Speaker 1:

- (102) a. Peter spurde om Mary lika bøker.
 Peter asked.PST if Mary liked.PST books
 ‘Peter asked if Mary liked books.’

Speaker 2:

- (102) b. Peter spurte om Mary likte bøker.
 Peter asked.PST if Mary liked.PST books
 ‘Peter asked if Mary liked books.’

9. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “if” in (102) in Norwegian. Please specify whether these may combine with each other or with an element like “that”, too.

Speaker 1: Only “om”, I think. It can be combined with the equivalent of “that” – ‘at’ (in my dialect: att(e)):

- (i) Peter spurte om at Mary lika bøker.
 Peter asked.PST if that Mary liked.PST books
 ‘Peter asked if Mary liked books.’

Speaker 2: I might use “hvorvidt” or the combined form “om hvorvidt”, but both options are extremely bookish. In everyday speech I would only use “om”.

- (ii) Peter spurte hvorvidt Mary likte bøker.
 Peter asked.PST whether Mary liked.PST books
 ‘Peter asked if Mary liked books.’
- (iii) Peter spurte om hvorvidt Mary likte bøker.
 Peter asked.PST if whether Mary liked.PST books
 ‘Peter asked if Mary liked books.’

10. Please translate the following sentence.

(103) Peter doesn’t know if Mary likes books.

Speaker 1:

- (103) a. Peter veit ikkje om Mary likar bøker.
Peter knows not if Mary likes books
'Peter doesn't know if Mary likes books.'

Speaker 2:

- (103) b. Peter veit ikke om Mary liker bøker.
Peter knows not if Mary likes books
'Peter doesn't know if Mary likes books.'

11. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “if” in (103) in Norwegian. Please specify whether these may combine with each other or with an element like “that”, too.

Speaker 1: Also here I think only “om” is possible. It can possibly be combined with ‘at’:

- (i) ??Peter veit ikkje om at Mary likar bøker.
Peter knows not if that Mary likes books
'Peter doesn't know if Mary likes books.'

Speaker 2: Here I can also use “hvorvidt” instead (“Peter veit ikke hvorvidt Mary liker bøker”), but once again it is very stylistically marked (“bookish”). The combined form “om hvorvidt” is not possible.

- (ii) Peter veit ikke hvorvidt Mary liker bøker.
Peter knows not whether Mary likes books
'Peter doesn't know if Mary likes books.'

12. Please translate the following sentence.

- (104) Who likes books?

Speaker 1:

- (104) a. Kven likar bøker?
who likes books
'Who likes book?'

Speaker 2:

- (104) b. Hvem liker bøker?
who likes books
'Who likes books?'

13. Please translate the following sentence.

- (105) What does Mary like?

Speaker 1:

- (105) a. Kva likar Mary?
what likes Mary
'What does Mary like?'

Speaker 2:

- (105) b. Hva liker Mary?
what likes Mary
'What does Mary like?'

14. Please translate the following sentence.

- (106) When did Mary arrive?

Speaker 1:

- (106) a. Kva tid kom Mary?
what time came Mary
'When did Mary arrive?'

Speaker 2:

- (106) b. Når kom Mary?
when came Mary
'When did Mary arrive?'

15. Please look at the Norwegian versions of the items in (104)–(106). Could a topicalised element appear in front of the WH-element?

Example: To Susan what did Mary give?

Speaker 1: I think topicalised elements in these contexts sound weird in my dialect.

Speaker 2: No, topicalised elements in front of the WH-elements would sound ungrammatical to me.

16. Please translate the following sentence.

- (107) Peter asked who liked books.

Speaker 1:

- (107) a. Peter spurde om kven som likar bøker.
Peter asked.PST if who that liked.PST books
'Peter asked who liked books.'

Speaker 2: Peter spurte hvem som likte bøker / Peter spurte om hvem som likte bøker.

(Both equally fine.)

- (107) b. Peter spurte hvem som likte bøker.
Peter asked.PST who that liked.PST books
'Peter asked who liked books.'
- (107) c. Peter spurte om hvem som likte bøker.
Peter asked.PST if who that liked.PST books
'Peter asked who liked books.'

17. Please translate the following sentence.

(108) Peter asked what Mary liked.

Speaker 1:

- (108) a. Peter spurde kva Mary lika.
Peter asked.PST what Mary liked.PST
'Peter asked what Mary liked.'

Speaker 2: Peter spurte hva Mary likte / Peter spurte om hva Mary likte (Both equally fine). Peter spurte hva som Mary likte / Peter spurte om hva som Mary likte (Not so good, but I guess both are possible.)

- (108) b. Peter spurte hva Mary likte.
Peter asked.PST what Mary liked.PST
'Peter asked what Mary liked.'
- (108) c. Peter spurte om hva Mary likte.
Peter asked.PST if what Mary liked.PST
'Peter asked what Mary liked.'
- (108) d. Peter spurte hva som Mary likte.
Peter asked.PST what that Mary liked.PST
'Peter asked what Mary liked.'
- (108) e. Peter spurte om hva som Mary likte.
Peter asked.PST if what that Mary liked.PST
'Peter asked what Mary liked.'

18. Please translate the following sentence.

(109) Peter asked when Mary arrived.

Speaker 1:

- (109) a. Peter spurde om kva tid Mary kom.
Peter asked.PST if what time Mary came
'Peter asked when Mary arrived.'

Speaker 2: Peter spurte om når Mary kom. (Good) Peter spurte når Mary kom. (Less

good, but possible. Sounds like the subordinate clause collides with the temporal adverbial clause, stating when Peter did his asking)

- (109) b. Peter spurte om når Mary kom.
Peter asked.PST if when Mary came
'Peter asked when Mary arrived.'
- (109) c. Peter spurte når Mary kom.
Peter asked.PST when Mary came
'Peter asked when Mary arrived.'

19. Please look at the Norwegian versions of the items in (107)–(109). Can a complementiser appear before/after the WH-element?

Example 1: Peter asked that what Mary liked.

Example 2: Peter asked if what Mary liked.

Example 3: Peter asked who that liked books.

Speaker 1: Yes, in all sentences it is possible. (107) and (109) already have 'om'. (107) also has 'som' after the WH-element. Additionally, in (108) it is possible to include 'om' before 'kva', but the usage may be different. The one in (108) suggests that Peter asked Mary directly/personally, while "Peter spurde om kva Mary lika." might suggest that Peter asked another person about what Mary liked. In this alternative case of (108), I think it is even possible to include 'som' (pronounced as [so] or [so:] in my dialect): "Peter spurde om kva som Mary lika."

- (i) Peter spurde om kva Mary lika.
Peter asked.PST if what Mary liked.PST
'Peter asked what Mary liked.'
- (ii) Peter spurde om kva som Mary lika.
Peter asked.PST if what that Mary liked.PST
'Peter asked what Mary liked.'

Speaker 2: Example 1 would be ungrammatical, I can't say "Peter spurte at hva...". Example 2 is fine, as stated above ("Peter spurte om hva Mary likte"), and 3 is also fine with "som" for "that" ("Peter spurte hvem som likte bøker")

- (iii) Peter spurte om hva Mary likte.
Peter asked.PST if what Mary liked.PST
'Peter asked what Mary liked.'
- (iv) Peter spurte hvem som likte bøker
Peter asked.PST who that liked.PST books
'Peter asked who liked books.'

20. Please translate the following sentence.

- (110) Peter doesn't know who likes books.

Speaker 1:

- (110) a. Peter veit ikkje kven som likar bøker.
Peter knows not who that likes books
'Peter doesn't know who likes books.'

Speaker 2:

- (110) b. Peter veit ikke hvem som liker bøker.
Peter knows not who that likes books
'Peter doesn't know who likes books.'

21. Please translate the following sentence.

- (111) Peter doesn't know what Mary likes.

Speaker 1:

- (111) a. Peter veit ikkje kva Mary likar.
Peter knows not what Mary likes
'Peter doesn't know what Mary likes.'

Speaker 2: Peter veit ikke hva Mary liker. Peter veit ikke hva som Mary liker (maybe less good than the former).

- (111) b. Peter veit ikke hva Mary liker.
Peter knows not what Mary likes
'Peter doesn't know what Mary likes.'
- (111) c. Peter veit ikke hva som Mary liker.
Peter knows not what that Mary likes
'Peter doesn't know what Mary likes.'

22. Please translate the following sentence.

- (112) Peter doesn't know when Mary arrived.

Speaker 1:

- (112) a. Peter veit ikkje kva tid Mary kom.
Peter knows not what time Mary came
'Peter doesn't know when Mary arrived.'

Speaker 2:

- (112) b. Peter veit ikke når Mary kom.
Peter knows not when Mary came
'Peter doesn't know when Mary arrived.'

23. Please look at the Norwegian versions of the items in (110)–(112). Can a complementiser appear before/after the WH-element?

Example 1: Peter doesn't know who that likes books.

Example 2: Peter doesn't know that who likes books.

Example 3: Peter doesn't know what that Mary likes.

Example 4: Peter doesn't know that what Mary likes.

Example 5: Peter doesn't know when that Mary arrived.

Example 6: Peter doesn't know that when Mary arrived.

Speaker 1: Yes, as can be seen in (110), 'som' can appear after. It might possibly work in (111) too: "Peter veit ikkje kva som Mary likar", but it might be an infrequent construction. In (112), I do not think it is possible, "? Peter veit ikkje kva tid som Mary kom." sounds strange.

- (i) Peter veit ikkje kva som Mary likar.
Peter knows not what that Mary likes.
'Peter doesn't know what Mary likes.'
- (ii) ?Peter veit ikkje kva tid som Mary kom.
Peter knows not what time that Mary came
'Peter doesn't know when Mary arrived.'

Speaker 2: If "that" is translated with "som", then 1 and 3 are fine (as stated above), but translated with "at" they are ungrammatical. 2, 4, 5 and 6 are all ungrammatical.

24. Please look at the Norwegian versions of the items in (102)–(103) and (107)–(112). Can the subordinate clause appear before the matrix clause?

Example: If Mary likes books, Peter asked.

Speaker 1: Yes, it can appear before the matrix clause in all the examples, but this construction is marked and probably infrequent (they sound a bit weird to me). In (108), I think it only works in the case with 'om' "va Mary lika, spurde Peter om". Other examples work like this: (102) "Om Mary lika bøker, spurde Peter (om)."; (103) "Om Mary likar bøker, veit ikkje Peter."; (107) "Kven som lika bøker, spurde Peter om"; (109) "Kva tid Mary kom, spurde Peter om"; (110) "Kven som likar bøker, veit ikkje Peter"; (111) "Kva Mary likar, veit ikkje Peter"; (112) "Kva tid Mary kom, veit ikkje Peter".

- (i) Kva Mary lika, spurde Peter om.
what Mary liked.PST asked.PST Peter if
'Peter asked what Mary liked.'
- (ii) Om Mary lika bøker, spurde Peter (om).
if Mary liked.PST books asked.PST Peter if
'Peter asked if Mary liked books.'
- (iii) Om Mary likar bøker, veit ikkje Peter.
if Mary likes books knows not Peter
'Peter doesn't know if Mary likes books.'
- (iv) Kven som lika bøker, spurde Peter om.
who as liked.PST books asked.PST Peter if
'Peter asked who liked books.'

- (v) Kva tid Mary kom, spurde Peter om.
what time Mary came asked.PST Peter if
'Peter asked when Mary arrived.'
- (vi) Kven som likar bøker, veit ikkje Peter.
who as likes books knows not Peter
'Peter doesn't know who likes books.'
- (vii) Kva Mary likar, veit ikkje Peter.
what Mary likes knows not Peter
'Peter doesn't know what Mary likes.'
- (viii) Kva tid Mary kom, veit ikkje Peter.
what time Mary came knows not Peter
'Peter doesn't know when Mary arrived.'

Speaker 2: In (102) I might be able to do so ("Om Mary likte bøker, spurte Peter"), but all the others are bad.

- (ix) Om Mary likte bøker, spurte Peter.
if Mary liked.PST books asked.PST Peter
'Peter asked if Mary liked books.'

25. Please look at the Norwegian versions of the items in (102)–(103) and (107)–(112). Can the subject or the object be topicalised in front of “if” or a WH-element (and, if applicable, in between a complementiser like “that” and “if”/the WH-element)?

Example 1: Peter asked (that) Mary if likes books.

Example 2: Peter doesn't know (that) books who likes.

Speaker 1: No, I do not think this is a possibility in my dialect.

Speaker 2: No, it's completely ungrammatical in all cases.

26. Is it possible to have ellipsis with a single subject remnant following the element(s) corresponding to “if”? (Please consider whether it is possible with verbs other than “like” as well, e.g. “know” and “think”.)

Example: I know someone likes books but I don't know if Mary.

Speaker 1: I do not think this is possible; it would in any case be very marked and sound weird.

Speaker 2: No, I cannot have ellipsis with a single subject remnant here, I have to add at least a verb (either the pro-verb “gjøre” (...men jeg veit ikke om Mary gjør) or in the case of “know” possibly a repeated verb (...men jeg veit ikke om Mary veit))

- (i) (...) men jeg veit ikke om Mary gjør.
but I know not if Mary does
'(...) but I don't know if Mary does.'

- (ii) (...) men jeg veit ikke om Mary veit.
 but I know not if Mary knows
 ‘(...) but I don’t know if Mary knows.’

27. Is it possible to have ellipsis with a single object remnant following the element(s) corresponding to “if”? (Please consider whether it is possible with verbs other than “like” as well, e.g. “know” and “think”.)

Example: I know someone Mary likes something but I don’t know if books.

Speaker 1: I do not think this is possible in my dialect.

Speaker 2: No, it’s ungrammatical in all cases.

28. Is it possible to have ellipsis with a single WH remnant? (Please consider whether it is possible with verbs other than “like” or “arrive” as well.)

Example 1: I know someone likes books but I don’t know who.

Example 2: I know Mary likes something but I don’t know what.

Example 3: I know Mary has arrived but I don’t know when.

Speaker 1: Yes, this is possible. “Eg kjenner nokon som likar bøker, men eg veit ikkje kven.”; “Eg veit (at) Mary likar noko, men eg veit ikkje kva.”; “Eg veit (at) Mary har kome, men eg veit ikkje kva tid.” Other verbs: “drikka” (to drink): “Eg veit (at) Mary drikk noko, men eg veit ikkje kva.” (‘I know Mary drinks something but I don’t know what.’); “reise (to go/travel): “Eg veit (at) Mary har reist, men eg veit ikkje kva tid.” (I know Mary has gone but I don’t know when.)

- (i) Eg kjenner nokon som likar bøker, men eg veit ikkje kven.
 I know someone that likes books but I know not who
 ‘I know someone likes books but I don’t know who.’
- (ii) Eg veit (at) Mary likar noko, men eg veit ikkje kva.
 I know that Mary likes something but I know not what
 ‘I know Mary likes something but I don’t know what.’
- (iii) Eg veit (at) Mary har kome, men eg veit ikkje kva tid.
 I know that Mary has come.PTCP but I know not what time
 ‘I know Mary has arrived but I don’t know when.’
- (iv) Eg veit (at) Mary drikk noko, men eg veit ikkje kva.
 I know that Mary drinks something but I know not what
 ‘I know Mary drinks something but I don’t know what.’
- (v) Eg veit (at) Mary har reist, men eg veit ikkje kva tid.
 I know that Mary has gone.PTCP but I know not what time
 ‘I know Mary has gone but I don’t know when.’

Speaker 2: Yes, it seems to be fully alright in all cases.

29. Is it possible to have ellipsis with multiple WH remnants? If so, is the order of the WH-elements fixed? (Please consider whether it is possible with verbs other than “like” as well.)

Example: I know someone likes something but I don’t know who what.

Speaker 1: No, I do not think this is possible in my dialect.

Speaker 2: No, I cannot do that without adding a pro-verb or a repeated verb (+ “som” after the subject WH-element), i.e. “Jeg veit noen liker noe, men jeg ikke hvem som gjør/liket hva”.

- (i) Jeg veit noen liker noe, men jeg ikke hvem som gjør/liket hva.
I know some like something but I not who that does/likes what
'I know someone likes something but I don't know who likes what.'

2 Declaratives

30. Please translate the following sentence into Norwegian.

(201) Mary likes books.

Speaker 1:

- (201) a. Mary likar bøker.
Mary likes books
'Mary likes books.'

Speaker 2:

- (201) b. Mary liker bøker.
Mary likes books
'Mary likes books.'

31. Please translate the following sentence.

(202) Peter says (that) Mary likes books.

Speaker 1:

- (202) a. Peter seier (at) Mary likar bøker.
Peter says that Mary likes books
'Peter says (that) Mary likes books.'

Speaker 2:

- (202) b. Peter sier (at) Mary liker bøker.
Peter says that Mary likes books
'Peter says (that) Mary likes books.'

32. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “that” in (202) in Norwegian. Please specify whether these may combine with each other, too.

Speaker 1: At.

Speaker 2: “At” is the only option I have for a subjunction here.

33. Please translate the following sentence.

(203) Peter knows (that) Mary likes books.

Speaker 1:

(203) a. Peter veit (at) Mary likar bøker.
Peter knows that Mary likes books
'Peter knows (that) Mary likes books.'

Speaker 2:

(203) b. Peter veit (at) Mary liker bøker.
Peter knows that Mary likes books
'Peter knows (that) Mary likes books.'

34. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “that” in (203) in Norwegian. Please specify whether these may combine with each other, too.

Speaker 1: At.

Speaker 2: “At” is the only option I have for a subjunction here.

35. Please translate the following sentence.

(204) Peter thinks (that) Mary likes books.

Speaker 1:

(204) a. Peter trur (at) Mary likar bøker.
Peter thinks that Mary likes books
'Peter thinks (that) Mary likes books.'

Speaker 2:

(204) b. Peter tror (at) Mary liker bøker.
Peter thinks that Mary likes books
'Peter thinks (that) Mary likes books.'

36. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “that”, in (204) in Norwegian. Please specify whether these may combine with each other, too.

Speaker 1: At.

Speaker 2: “At” is the only option I have for a subjunction here.

37. Please translate the following sentence.

(205) It is surprising (that) Mary likes books.

Speaker 1:

(205) a. Det er overraskende at Mary likar bøker.
it is surprising that Mary likes books
'It is surprising (that) Mary likes books.'

Speaker 2: Det er overraskende at Mary liker bøker. (I cannot leave out "at" here). At Mary liker bøker er overraskende (equally good).

(205) b. Det er overraskende at Mary liker bøker.
it is surprising that Mary likes books
'It is surprising that Mary likes books.'

(205) c. At Mary liker bøker er overraskende.
that Mary likes books is surprising
'It is surprising that Mary likes books.'

38. Please list all the elements that can correspond to "that" in (205) in Norwegian. Please specify whether these may combine with each other, too.

Speaker 1: At. I think it is mandatory in this case.

Speaker 2: "At" is the only option I have for a subjunction here.

39. Please look at the Norwegian versions of the items in (202)–(205). Can the clauses introduced by "that" be fronted, and if so, is the element corresponding to "that" obligatory?

Example: (That) Mary likes books is surprising.

Speaker 1: I think the sentences (202)–(204) can be fronted, and the "at" might even be optional. However, I think fronting in these contexts sound weird and perhaps reserved for writing. In (205) the "at"/"that" element seems obligatory.

Speaker 2: In (205) it is fully all right to front the subordinate clause, as stated above, but I cannot leave out "at". In (202), (203) and (204) the subordinate clause can only appear in front without "at" if it is a direct speech construction, in which the subordinate clause becomes a main clause (as shown by adding a sentence adverb like "ikke", i.e. "Mary liker ikke bøker, sier Peter", but not *"Mary ikke liker bøker, sier Peter". If the subordinate clauses are to be fronted as subordinate clauses, they must keep "at" ("At Mary liker bøker, sier Peter"), but fronting here does still sound weird, although possible in some emphatic or contrastive pragmatic context.

(i) Mary liker ikke bøker, sier Peter.
Mary likes not books says Peter
'Peter says that Mary doesn't like books.'

- (ii) *Mary ikke liker bøker, sier Peter.
 Mary not likes books says Peter
 ‘Peter says that Mary doesn’t like books.’
- (iii) At Mary liker bøker, sier Peter.
 that Mary likes books says Peter
 ‘Peter says that Mary doesn’t like books.’

40. Please look at the Norwegian versions of the items in (202)–(205). Can the subject or the object be topicalised in front of “that” (or, if applicable, in between two complementisers)?

Example 1: Peter says Mary that likes books.

Example 2: Peter says that Mary that likes books.

Example 3: Peter says books that Mary likes.

Example 4: Peter says that books that Mary likes.

Speaker 1: No, I do not think this is possible, at least in my dialect.

Speaker 2: No, it’s ungrammatical in all cases.

41. Is it possible to have ellipsis with a single subject remnant following the element(s) corresponding to “that” (see “B” below)? (Please consider whether it is possible with verbs other than “like” as well, e.g. “know” and “think”.)

Example:

A: Who likes books?

B: Peter says that Mary.

Speaker 1: No, I do not think this is possible, including “know” and “think”.

Speaker 2: No, it’s ungrammatical in all cases.

42. Is it possible to have ellipsis with a single object remnant following the element(s) corresponding to “that” (see “B” below)? (Please consider whether it is possible with verbs other than “like” as well, e.g. “know” and “think”.)

Example:

A: What does Mary like?

B: Peter says that books.

Speaker 1: No, I do not think this is possible, including “know” and “think”. However, if one in B exclude the “that” element, it might in fact be possible: “A: Kva likar Mary? B: Peter seier bøker.” Maybe this has another syntactic explanation, though.

- (i) A: Kva likar Mary?
 what likes Mary
 ‘What does Mary like?’
- B: Peter sier bøker.
 Peter says books
 ‘Peter says (that she likes) books.’

3 Relative clauses

43. Please translate the following sentence into Norwegian.

(301) This is the student who invited Mary.

Speaker 1: Dette er studenten som ([so] in my dialect) inviterte Mary.

(301) a. Dette er studenten som inviterte Mary.
this is the.student that invited.PST Mary
'This is the student who invited Mary.'

Speaker 2:

(301) b. Dette er studenten som inviterte Mary.
this is the.student that invited.PST Mary
'This is the student who invited Mary.'

44. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “who” in (301) in Norwegian, including complementisers like “that” and the absence of any overt relative pronoun or complementiser. Please specify whether the overt elements may combine with each other, too.

Speaker 1: ‘Som’ pronounced as [so(:)] is prototypical in my dialect, corresponding both with ‘who’ and ‘that’. I can also use ‘som’ ([som]), which is a variant that is influenced by media/orthography and/or convergence with the dialects in the Oslo area.

Speaker 2: “Som” is the only option I have here, and it cannot be left out.

45. Please translate the following sentence.

(302) This is the book which Mary bought.

Speaker 1: Dette er boka som (/so/) Mary kjøpte.

(302) a. Dette er boka som Mary kjøpte.
this is the.book that Mary bought.PST
'This is the book which Mary bought.'

Speaker 2: Dette er boka som Mary kjøpte. Dette er boka Mary kjøpte (Equally fine.)

(302) b. Dette er boka som Mary kjøpte.
this is the.book that Mary bought.PST
'This is the book which Mary bought.'

(302) c. Dette er boka som Mary kjøpte.
this is the.book that Mary bought.PST
'This is the book which Mary bought.'

46. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “which” in (302) in Norwegian, including complementisers like “that” and the absence of any overt relative pronoun or complementiser. Please specify whether the overt elements may combine with each other, too.

Speaker 1: As in 44.: ‘Som’ pronounced as [so(:)] is prototypical in my dialect, corresponding both with ‘which’ and ‘that’. I can also use ‘som’ ([som]), which is a variant that is influenced by media/orthography and/or convergence with the dialects in the Oslo area.

Speaker 2: “Som” is the only option I have here, but I can drop it (as stated above).

47. Please translate the following sentence.

(303) This is the city where I was born.

Speaker 1: Dette er byen der (/dæ:r/) eg vart fødd.

(303) a. Dette er byen der eg vart fødd.
this is the.city where I was born
‘This is the city where I was born.’

Speaker 2: Dette er byen der jeg blei født. Dette er byen hvor jeg blei født. Dette er byen som jeg blei født i. Dette er byen jeg blei født i. (All 4 equally fine.)

(303) b. Dette er byen der jeg blei født.
this is the.city which I was born
‘This is the city where I was born.’

(303) c. Dette er byen hvor jeg blei født.
this is the.city where I was born
‘This is the city where I was born.’

(303) d. Dette er byen som jeg blei født i.
this is the.city that I was born in
‘This is the city where I was born.’

(303) e. Dette er byen jeg blei født i.
this is the.city I was born in
‘This is the city where I was born.’

48. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “where” in (303) in Norwegian, including complementisers like “that” and the absence of any overt relative pronoun or complementiser. Please specify whether the overt elements may combine with each other, too.

Speaker 1: “Der” is the prototypical corresponding element in my dialect. Surrounding dialects, maybe especially in Stavanger, also allow “kor”. My intuition tells me that I can combine “der” with “som”, but only with my dialectal pronunciation [so]: “Dette er byen der som (= /dæ:r so/) eg vart fødd.” However, this construction with the combined elements sounds a bit weird to me.

- (i) Dette er byen der som eg vart fødd.
this is the.city which that I was born
'This is the city where I was born.'

Speaker 2: Der, hvor, som (+ stranded preposition). With the stranded preposition I can drop "som" (as stated above).

49. Please translate the following sentence.

- (304) That was the year when Mary arrived.

Speaker 1:

- (304) a. Det var året då Mary kom.
that was the.year when Mary came
'That was the year when Mary arrived.'

Speaker 2: Det var året da Mary kom. Det var året når Mary kom. Det var året at Mary kom. Det var året Mary kom. (All 4 equally fine)

- (304) b. Det var året da Mary kom.
that was the.year when Mary came
'That was the year when Mary arrived.'

- (304) c. Det var året når Mary kom.
that was the.year when Mary came
'That was the year when Mary arrived.'

- (304) d. Det var året at Mary kom.
that was the.year that Mary came
'That was the year when Mary arrived.'

- (304) e. Det var året Mary kom.
that was the.year Mary came
'That was the year when Mary arrived.'

50. Please list all the elements that can correspond to "when" in (304) in Norwegian, including complementisers like "that" and the absence of any overt relative pronoun or complementiser. Please specify whether the overt elements may combine with each other, too.

Speaker 1: "Då" is the prototypical corresponding element in my dialect ("da" in Bokmål). It cannot be combined with "that" and other complementisers, as far as I know.

Speaker 2: Da, når, at, 0.

51. Please translate the following sentence.

- (305) I will invite whoever you recommend.

Speaker 1:

- (305) a. Eg vil invitere kvar og ein som du tilrår/anbefaler.
I will invite.INF whoever that you recommend
'I will invite whoever you recommend.'
- (305) b. Eg kjem til å invitere kvar og ein som du tilrår/anbefaler.
I come to to invite.INF whoever that you recommend
'I will invite whoever you recommend.'

Speaker 2:

- (305) c. Jeg skal invitere hvem du enn måtte foreslå.
I will invite.INF who you any may suggest.INF
'I will invite whoever you recommend.'
- (305) d. Jeg skal invitere dem (som) du måtte foreslå.
I will invite.INF those.ACC that you may suggest.INF
'I will invite whoever you recommend.'
- (305) e. Jeg skal invitere den (som) du måtte foreslå.
I will invite.INF that.DEM.M/F that you have suggest.INF
'I will invite whoever you recommend.'
- (305) f. Jeg skal invitere alle (som) du måtte foreslå.
I will invite.INF all that you may suggest.INF
'I will invite whoever you recommend.'
- (305) g. Jeg skal invitere enhver (som) du måtte foreslå.
I will invite.INF anyone that you may suggest.INF
'I will invite whoever you recommend.'

52. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “whoever” in (305) in Norwegian, including combinations with complementisers like “that”.

Speaker 1: I had to check this word in a dictionary, because it is very infrequent at least in my idiolect. It sounds very formal and my thoughts are that it is primarily used in written language. The dictionary suggests “hvem som enn” (= “kven som enn” in Nynorsk), “enhver som” (= “kvar og ein som” in Nynorsk) and “hver den som” (= “kvar den som” in Nynorsk). It appears that the combination with “som”/“that” is obligatory.
Speaker 2: Hvem, dem (som), den (som), alle (som), enhver (som)

53. Please translate the following sentence.

- (306) I will hire whoever is qualified.

Speaker 1: Eg vil/kjem til å tilsetja den som ([so]) er

- (306) a. Eg vil til å tilsetja den som er kvalifisert.
I will to to add.INF that.DEM.M/F that is qualified
'I will hire whoever is qualified.'

- (306) b. Eg kjem til å tilsetja den som er kvalifisert.
I come to to add.INF that.DEM.M/F that is qualified
'I will hire whoever is qualified.'

Speaker 2:

- (306) c. Jeg ansetter den som er kvalifisert.
I employ that.DEM.M/F that is qualified
'I will hire whoever is qualified.'
- (306) d. Jeg ansetter dem som er kvalifisert.
I employ those.ACC that is qualified
'I will hire whoever is qualified.'
- (306) e. Jeg ansetter dem som måtte være kvalifisert.
I employ those.ACC that may be qualified
'I will hire whoever is qualified.'
- (306) f. Jeg ansetter alle som er kvalifisert.
I employ all that is qualified
'I will hire whoever is qualified.'
- (306) g. Jeg ansetter alle som måtte være kvalifisert.
I employ all that may be qualified
'I will hire whoever is qualified.'
- (306) h. Jeg ansetter enhver som er kvalifisert.
I employ anyone that is qualified
'I will hire whoever is qualified.'
- (306) i. Jeg ansetter enhver som måtte være kvalifisert.
I employ anyone that may be qualified
'I will hire whoever is qualified.'

54. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “whoever” in (306) in Norwegian, including combinations with complementisers like “that”.

Speaker 1: I think one has to specify “den som” in this case in order to single out a “one person” meaning instead of many persons. The associations I get from the alternatives given in 52. are those of several/many/all people, and hiring all qualified people as in (306) is not the intended meaning, I guess.

Speaker 2: Den som, dem som, alle som, enhver som.

55. Please translate the following sentence.

- (307) I will do whatever you recommend.

Speaker 1:

- (307) a. Eg vil til å gjera kva enn du tilrår.
I will to to do.INF what any you recall
'I will do whatever you recommend.'

- (307) b. Eg kjem til å gjera kva enn du anbefaler.
 I come to to do.INF what any you recommend
 ‘I will do whatever you recommend.’

Speaker 2:

- (307) c. Jeg skal gjøre hva du enn måtte foreslå.
 I shall do.INF what you any may suggest.INF
 ‘I will do whatever you recommend.’
- (307) d. Jeg skal gjøre det (som) du måtte foreslå.
 I shall do.INF that.DEM.N that you may suggest.INF
 ‘I will do whatever you recommend.’
- (307) e. Jeg skal gjøre alt (som) du måtte foreslå.
 I shall do.INF all that you may suggest.INF
 ‘I will do whatever you recommend.’

56. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “whatever” in (307) in Norwegian, including combinations with complementisers like “that”.

Speaker 1: “Kva enn” (without “som”), “kva som helst (som)”, “alt det” (without “som”), “alt som”. These are some of the possibilities listed in a dictionary.

Speaker 2: Hva, det som, alt som.

57. Please translate the following sentence.

- (308) I will go wherever I find linguists.

Speaker 1:

- (308) a. Eg vil til å gå kvar enn eg finn lingvistikk.
 I will to to go.INF where any I find linguistics
 ‘I will go wherever I find linguists.’
- (308) b. Eg kjem til å gå kvar enn eg finn lingvistikk.
 I come to to go.INF where any I find linguistics
 ‘I will go wherever I find linguists.’

Speaker 2:

- (308) c. Jeg drar hvor enn jeg finner lingvister.
 I go where any I find linguists
 ‘I will go wherever I find linguists.’
- (308) d. Jeg drar der (som/hvor) jeg finner lingvister.
 I go there that/where I find linguists
 ‘I will go wherever I find linguists.’
- (308) e. Jeg drar overalt hvor jeg finner lingvister.
 I go everywhere where I find linguists
 ‘I will go wherever I find linguists.’

- (308) f. Jeg drar overalt der (som) jeg finner lingvister.
 I go everywhere there that I find linguists
 ‘I will go wherever I find linguists.’

58. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “wherever” in (308) in Norwegian, including combinations with complementisers like “that”.

Speaker 1: “Kvar enn”, “kvar som helst (der)”, “overalt kvar”. I think I prefer “kvar (= /kor/ <kor> in my dialect) enn”, although such constructions are infrequent, at least in my production.

Speaker 2: Hvor, der (som/hvor), overalt hvor, overalt der (som/hvor).

59. Please translate the following sentence.

- (309) I will go whenever it suits you.

Speaker 1:

- (309) a. Eg vil til å gå kor tid som helst det passar (for) deg.
 I will to to go what time that best it suits for you
 ‘I will go whenever it suits you.’
- (309) b. Eg kjem til å gå kor tid som helst det passar (for) deg.
 I come to to go what time that best it suits for you
 ‘I will go whenever it suits you.’
- (309) c. Je drar når (enn) det måtte passe deg.
 I go when any it may suit.INF you
 ‘I will go whenever it suits you.’

60. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “whenever” in (309) in Norwegian, including combinations with complementisers like “that”.

Speaker 1: “Kor tid som (helst)”, “kva tid som helst” (written, Nynorsk), “når som helst” (written, Nynorsk and Bokmål). I cannot think of others.

Speaker 2: Når.

61. Please look at the Norwegian versions of the items in (301)–(309). Can the relative clause appear before the matrix clause?

Example: Where I was born, I am going to that city.

Speaker 1: The relative clauses in (305)–(309) can appear before the matrix clauses: (305) “Kvar og ein som du tilrår vil eg invitera.”; (306) “Den som er kvalifisert vil eg tilsetja.”; (307) “Kva enn du tilrår vil eg gjera.”; (308) “Kvar enn eg finn lingvistikk vil eg gå.”; (309) “Kor tid som helst det passar (for) deg vil eg gå.” It does not work in (301)–(304), I think.

- (i) Kvar og ein som du tilrår vil eg invitera.
 whoever that you recall will I invite.INF
 ‘I will invite whoever you recommend.’
- (ii) Den som er kvalifisert vil eg tilsetja.
 the that is qualified will I add.INF
 ‘I will hire whoever is qualified.’
- (iii) Kva enn du tilrår vil eg gjera.
 what any you recommend will I do.INF
 ‘I will do whatever you recommend.’
- (iv) Kvar enn eg finn lingvistikk vil eg gå.
 where any I find linguistics will I go.INF
 ‘I will go wherever I find linguists.’
- (v) Kor tid som helst det passar (for) deg vil eg gå.
 what time that best it suits for you will I go.INF
 ‘I will go whenever it suits you.’

Speaker 2: This is impossible in (301)–(304), but fine in (305)–(309) (but I have to move both words in combinations like “det som” “der hvor”, etc. “Der hvor jeg finner lingvister, drar jeg” “Hvem du enn måtte foreslå, skal jeg ansette”)

- (vi) Der hvor jeg finner lingvister, drar jeg.
 there where I find linguists go I
 ‘I will go wherever I find linguists.’
- (vii) Hvem du enn måtte foreslå, skal jeg ansette.
 who you any may suggest.INF shall I employ.INF
 ‘I will employ whoever you recommend.’

62. Please look at the Norwegian versions of the items in (301)–(309). Can a topicalised element appear before the relative pronoun (or the relative complementiser)?

Example: This is the student Mary who invited.

Speaker 1: No, I do not think this is possible.

Speaker 2: No, it’s ungrammatical in all cases.

63. Is it possible for the relative pronoun to be a single remnant of ellipsis?

Example: Well, Mary lives where. (Meaning: ‘Mary lives wherever she does.’)

Speaker 1: No, I do not think this is possible.

Speaker 2: No, it’s ungrammatical in all cases.

4 Degree clauses

64. Please translate the following sentence into Norwegian.

(401) How did you open the bottle?

Speaker 1:

(401) a. Korleis opna du flaska?
how.ADV opened.PST you the.bottle
'How did you open the bottle?'

Speaker 2:

(401) b. Hvordan åpna du flaska?
how.ADV opened.PST you the.bottle
'How did you open the bottle?'

65. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “how” in (401) in Norwegian.

Speaker 1: “Korleis” (written, Nynorsk), “koss” (/kus/) or “kossen” (/kus'n/) (the main element in my dialect), and several others in Bokmål and other dialects (“assen”, “hvorledes”, etc.) – I do not use these.

Speaker 2: Hvordan.

66. Please translate the following sentence.

(402) How old is Mary?

Speaker 1:

(402) a. Kor gamal er Mary?
how old is Mary
'How old is Mary?'

Speaker 2:

(402) b. Hvor gammel er Mary?
how old is Mary
'How old is Mary?'

67. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “how” in (402) in Norwegian.

Speaker 1: “Kor” in my dialect and Nynorsk, and also “ko/kå” in my dialect. “Hvor” in Bokmål. Several other forms in other dialects, e.g. “å” or “hå”.

Speaker 2: Hvor.

68. Please look at the Norwegian versions of the item in (402). Can the adjective appear in a non-adjacent position to the element(s) corresponding to “how”?

Example: How is Mary old? (With the intended meaning ‘how old is Mary?’.)

Speaker 1: No, I do not think this is possible.

Speaker 2: No, it’s ungrammatical.

69.<original question identical to Question 68>

70. Please translate the following sentence.

(403) How many books does Mary read a year?

Speaker 1:

(403) a. Kor mange bøker les Mary årleg?
how many books reads Mary annually
‘How many books does Mary read a year?’

b. Kor mange bøker les Mary på eit år?
how many books reads Mary in a year
‘How many books does Mary read a year?’

Speaker 2:

(403) c. Hvor mange bøker Leser Mary i året?
how many books reads Mary a year
‘How many books does Mary read a year?’

71. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “how many” in (403) in Norwegian.

Speaker 1: “Kor mange” in my dialect and Nynorsk. “Hvor mange” in (written) Bokmål, other dialects allow forms as “å mange”, “hå mange” and other variations.

Speaker 2: Hvor mange.

72. Please look at the Norwegian versions of the item in (403). Can the noun appear in a non-adjacent position to the element(s) corresponding to “how many”?

Example: How many does Mary read books a year?

Speaker 1: I do not think this is possible.

Speaker 2: No (or not unless “books” is made the complement of a partitive preposition, i.e. “Hvor mange Leser Mary av bøker i året”, but this is still not very good, although better with “mye” (“much”) instead of “mange”).

- (i) Hvor mange leser Mary av bøker i året?
how many reads Mary of books a year
'How many books does Mary read a year?'

73. Please translate the following sentence.

- (404) How much sugar do we need for the cake?

Speaker 1: Kor mykje (= /kur mø:je/) sukker treng me til (/te/) kaka?

- (404) a. Kor mykje sukker treng me til kaka?
how much sugar need I for the.cake
'How much sugar do I need for the cake?'

Speaker 2:

- (404) b. Hvor mye sukker trenger vi i kaka?
how much sugar need we in the.cake
'How much sugar do we need for the cake?'

74. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “how much” in (404) in Norwegian.

Speaker 1: “Kor mykje” and “kor mye” in my dialect and Nynorsk, and “hvor mye” in Bokmål. Also there are dialects with “å mye, hå mye” etc.

Speaker 2: Hvor mye.

75. Please look at the Norwegian versions of the item in (404). Can the noun appear in a non-adjacent position to the element(s) corresponding to “how much”?

Example: How much do we need sugar for the cake?

Speaker 1: I do not think this is possible.

Speaker 2: No (or not unless “sukker” is made the complement of a partitive preposition, i.e. “Hvor mye trenger vi av sukker i kaka?”)

- (i) Hvor mye trenger vi av sukker i kaka?
how much need we of sugar in the.cake
'How much sugar do we need for the cake?'

76. Please translate the following sentence.

- (405) How long a book did Mary read?

Speaker 1: Kor lang (ei) bok las Mary? (Using “ei” here sounds weird.)

- (405) a. Kor lang (ei) bok las Mary?
 how long a book read.PST Mary
 ‘How long a book did Mary read?’

Speaker 2:

- (405) b. Hvor lang bok leste Mary?
 how long book read.PST Mary
 ‘How long a book did Mary read?’

77. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “how” in (405) in Norwegian.

Speaker 1: “Kor” in my dialect and Nynorsk, and also “ko/kå” in my dialect. “Hvor” in Bokmål, and again other variants as “å” and “hå” in other dialect.

Speaker 2: Hvor.

78. Please look at the Norwegian versions of the item in (405). Can the string “how long” follow the article, as in the example below, or precede it, as in (405) in English?

Example: A how long book did Mary read?

Speaker 1: I think this is possible: “Ei kor lang bok las Mary?” – but it sounds weird. Perhaps my intuition has been influenced by learning other languages. As mentioned in 76., using “ei” following “how long” sounds weird.

- (i) Ei kor lang bok las Mary?
 a how long book read.PST Mary
 ‘How long a book did Mary read?’

Speaker 2: It cannot precede it (or it would sound stylistically extremely marked, as if reciting an old song or poem, “Hvor lang ei bok leste Mary?”), but it could follow the article (“Ei hvor lang bok leste Mary?”), but I think the articleless option is much better.

- (ii) Hvor lang ei bok leste Mary?
 how long a book read.PST Mary
 ‘How long a book did Mary read?’

- (iii) Ei hvor lang bok leste Mary?
 a how long book read.PST Mary
 ‘How long a book did Mary read?’

79. Please look at the Norwegian versions of the item in (405). Can the noun appear in a non-adjacent position to the element(s) corresponding to “how long”?

Example: How long did Mary read a book? (With the intended meaning ‘how long a book did Mary read?’.)

Speaker 1: I do not think this is possible.

Speaker 2: No, it's ungrammatical.

5 Equative clauses

80. Please translate the following sentence.

(501) Mary is as old as Peter.

Speaker 1: Mary er så gamal som (/so/) Peter. (Or: Mary er like gamal som (/so/) Peter.)

(501) a. Mary er så gamal som Peter.
Mary is so old as Peter
'Mary is as old as Peter.'

(501) b. Mary er like gamal som Peter.
Mary is like old as Peter
'Mary is as old as Peter.'

Speaker 2:

(501) c. Mary er så gammel som Peter.
Mary is so old as Peter
'Mary is as old as Peter.'

81. Please list all the elements that can correspond to the second “as” (the one immediately before “Peter”) in (501) in Norwegian. Can these elements combine with each other or with elements like “that” or “what”?

Example 1: Mary is as old as that Peter (is).

Example 2: Mary is as old as what Peter (is).

Speaker 1: “Som” (either pronounced as /so/ or /som/ – the latter in more formal or orthographically influenced speech). Seeing as the element is corresponding to “that” in form, they cannot be combined. “What” cannot be combined either.

(i) *Mary er så gamal som som Peter (er).
Mary is so old as that Peter is
'Mary is as old as Peter is.'

(ii) *Mary er så gamal som kva Peter (er).
Mary is so old as what Peter is
'Mary is as old as Peter is.'

Speaker 2: In addition to “Mary er så gammel som Peter.”, I can also say “Mary er så gammel som Peter er” and “Mary er så gammel som det Peter er”, but without the added copula “er”, only “som” is possible, not “som det”.

- (iii) Mary er så gammel som Peter.
Mary is so old as Peter
'Mary is as old as Peter is.'
- (iv) Mary er så gammel som Peter er.
Mary is so old as Peter is
'Mary is as old as Peter is.'
- (v) Mary er så gammel som det Peter er.
Mary is so old as it Peter is
'Mary is as old as Peter is.'

82. Please look at the Norwegian versions of the item in (501). Can a full clause appear after the element corresponding to “as”, hence containing an overt copula and/or an adjective? Please consider all possibilities for the element “as”, too.

Example 1: Mary is as old as Peter is.

Example 2: Mary is as old as Peter is old.

Speaker 1: Yes, both overt copula and an adjective are possible, but the case with the adjective sounds weird. So:

- (i) Mary er så gamal som Peter er.
Mary is so old as Peter is
'Mary is as old as Peter is.'
- (ii) Mary er så gamal som Peter er gamal.
Mary is so old as Peter is old
'Mary is as old as Peter is.'

Speaker 2: As stated above, I can say “Mary er så gammel som Peter er” and “Mary er så gammel som det Peter er”. I might also say “Mary er så gammel som Peter er gammel” (but it sounds weird), but not * “Mary er så gammel som det Peter er gammel”.

- (iii) Mary er så gammel som Peter er.
Mary is so old as Peter is
'Mary is as old as Peter is.'
- (iv) Mary er så gammel som det Peter er.
Mary is so old as it Peter is
'Mary is as old as Peter is.'
- (v) Mary er så gammel som Peter er gammel.
Mary is so old as Peter is old
'Mary is as old as Peter is.'
- (vi) *Mary er så gammel som det Peter er gammel.
Mary is so old as it Peter is old
'Mary is as old as Peter is.'

83. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of “as”.

(502) Mary is as old as Peter was last year.

Speaker 1: Mary er så gamal som (/so/) Peter var sist år.

(502) a. Mary er så gamal som Peter var sist år.
Mary is so old as Peter was last year
'Mary is as old as Peter was last year.'

Speaker 2:

(502) b. Mary er så gammel som Peter var i fjor.
Mary is so old as Peter was last.year
'Mary is as old as Peter was last year.'

(502) c. Mary er så gammel som det Peter var i fjor.
Mary is so old as it Peter was last.year
'Mary is as old as Peter was last year.'

84. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of “as”.

(503) Mary is as old as how old Peter was last year.

Speaker 1: Mary er så gamal som (/so/) kor gamal Peter var sist år. (This sentence sounds very weird to me, maybe even ungrammatical.)

(503) a. Mary er så gamal som kor gamal Peter var sist år.
Mary is so old as how old Peter was last year
'Mary is as old as Peter was last year.'

Speaker 2: It's ungrammatical.

(503) b. *Mary er så gammel som hvor gammel Peter var i fjor.
Mary is so old as how old Peter was last.year
'Mary is as old as Peter was last year.'

85. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “how” in (503) in Norwegian, if any, and note whether these elements have to be adjacent to the adjective “old”, or whether “old” can appear elsewhere in the sentence. Please also consider all possible realisations of “as”, too.

Speaker 1: “Kor” in my dialect and Nynorsk, “ko/kå” in my dialect. “Hvor” in Bokmål, and “å, hå” etc. in other dialects. I do not think that this sentence works even if the element is adjacent to the adjective or not. I cannot think of other possible realisations of “as”.

Speaker 2: As said above, the construction is ungrammatical for me, so there are no

options.

86. If a string like “how old” is permitted after “as” in Norwegian, can the clause be elliptical?

Example: Mary is as old as how old Peter.

Speaker 1: I do not think this is possible.

Speaker 2: As said above, the construction is ungrammatical for me, so there are no options.

87. If a string like “how old” is possible in items like (503) in Norwegian, can “as” be omitted?

Example: Mary is as old how old Peter (is).

Speaker 1: I do not think this is possible.

Speaker 2: As said above, the construction is ungrammatical for me, so there are no options.

88. Please translate the following sentence.

(504) Mary has as many books as Peter.

Speaker 1: Mary har så mange bøker som Peter (har). (The sentence that includes “har” in the end is preferred according to my intuition.) Alternative: “Mary har like mange bøker som Peter (har).”

(504) a. Mary har så mange bøker som Peter (har).
Mary has so many books as Peter has
'Mary has as many books as Peter has.'

(504) b. Mary har like mange bøker som Peter (har).
Mary has like many books as Peter has
'Mary has as many books as Peter has.'

Speaker 2:

(504) c. Mary har så mange bøker som Peter.
Mary has so many books as Peter
'Mary has as many books as Peter has.'

89. Please list all the elements that can correspond to the second “as” (the one immediately before “Peter”) in (504) in Norwegian. Can these elements combine with each other or with elements like “that” or “what”?

Example 1: Mary has as many books as that Peter (has).

Example 2: Mary has as many books as what Peter (has).

Speaker 1: “Som” (either pronounced as /so/ or /som/, cf. 81. I do not think they can be combined with corresponding elements like “som”/“that” and “kva”/“what”. If they were to be combined, I think “Mary har så mange bøker som kva Peter (har)” sounds a bit

more acceptable, but very weird.

- (i) Mary har så mange bøker som kva Peter (har).
Mary has so many books as what Peter has
'Mary has as many books as Peter has.'

In addition to “Mary har så mange bøker som Peter”, I can also say “Mary har så mange bøker som Peter har” and “Mary har så mange bøker som det Peter har” (but not * “Mary har så mange bøker som det Peter.”)

- (ii) Mary har så mange bøker som Peter har.
Mary has so many books as Peter has
'Mary has as many books as Peter has.'
- (iii) Mary har så mange bøker som det Peter har.
Mary has so many books as it Peter has
'Mary has as many books as Peter has.'
- (iv) *Mary har så mange bøker som det Peter.
Mary has as many books as it Peter
'Mary has as many books as Peter has.'

90. Please look at the Norwegian versions of the item in (504). Can a full clause appear after the element corresponding to “as”, hence containing a verb and/or a noun? Please consider all possibilities for the element “as”, too.

Example 1: Mary has as many books as Peter has.

Example 2: Mary has as many books as Peter has books.

Speaker 1: Yes: “Mary har så/like mange bøker som Peter har.”; “Mary har så/like mange bøker som Peter har bøker.” According to my intuition, the first one is preferred, and the second, with a noun, sounds very weird (maybe even not grammatical after all).

- (i) Mary har så/like mange bøker som Peter har.
Mary has so/like many books as Peter has
'Mary has as many books as Peter has.'
- (ii) ?Mary har så/like mange bøker som Peter har bøker.
Mary has so/like many books as Peter has books
'Mary has as many books as Peter has.'

Speaker 2: As said above, I can say “Mary har så mange bøker som Peter har” and “Mary har så mange bøker som det Peter har”. I might also say “Mary har så mange bøker som Peter har bøker” (though it sounds weird), but not * “Mary har så mange bøker som det Peter har bøker”

- (iii) Mary har så mange bøker som Peter har.
Mary has so many books as Peter has
'Mary has as many books as Peter has.'
- (iv) Mary har så mange bøker som det Peter har.
Mary has so many books as it Peter has
'Mary has as many books as Peter has.'

- (v) Mary har så mange bøker som Peter har bøker.
 Mary has so many books as Peter has books
 ‘Mary has as many books as Peter has.’
- (vi) *Mary har så mange bøker som det Peter har bøker.
 Mary has so many books as it Peter has books
 ‘Mary has as many books as Peter has.’

91. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide possibilities for the realisation of “as”.

- (505) Mary has as many books as how many books Peter has.

Speaker 1: Mary har så/like mange bøker som kor mange bøker Peter har. (I do not think this sentence is possible in my dialect.)

- (505) a. Mary har så/like mange bøker som kor mange bøker Peter har.
 Mary has so/like many books as how many books Peter has
 ‘Mary has as many books as Peter has.’

Speaker 2: It’s ungrammatical.

- (505) b. *Mary har så mange bøker som hvor mange bøker Peter har.
 Mary has so many books as how many books Peter has
 ‘Mary has as many books as Peter has.’

92. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “how many” in (505) in Norwegian, if any, and note whether these elements have to be adjacent to the noun “books”, or whether “books” can appear elsewhere in the sentence. Please also consider all possible realisations of “as”, too.

Speaker 1: “Kor mange” in my dialect and Nynorsk, “ko/kå mange” in my dialect. I do not think neither “kor mange” nor “bøker” in this position is possible at all.

Speaker 2: As said above, the construction is ungrammatical for me, so there are no options.

93. If a string like “how many books” is permitted after “as” in items like (505) in Norwegian, can the clause be elliptical?

Example: Mary has as many books as how many books Peter.

Speaker 1: I do not think this is possible.

Speaker 2: As said above, the construction is ungrammatical for me, so there are no options.

94. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of “as”.

- (506) Mary has read as long a book as Peter.

Speaker 1: Mary har lese så lang ei bok som Peter. (I think this sentence is reserved for written Norwegian and in situations like story-telling.)

- (506) a. Mary har lese så lang ei bok som Peter.
Mary has read.PTCP so long a book as Peter
'Mary has read as long a book as Peter.'

Speaker 2:

- (506) b. Mary har lest ei like lang bok som Peter.
Mary has read.PTCP a like long book as Peter
'Mary has read as long a book as Peter.'

95. Please list all the elements that can correspond to the second “as” (the one immediately before “Peter”) in (506) in Norwegian. Can these elements combine with each other or with elements like “that” or “what”?

Example 1: Mary has read as long a book as that Peter (has).

Example 2: Mary has read as long a book as what Peter (has).

Speaker 1: “Som” (either pronounced as /so/ or /som/, cf. 81. and 89. There is a slight possibility that the last alternative with “what” might be possible: “Mary har lese så lang ei bok som kva Peter (har).” It sounds very weird, though, and I am in doubt whether it is actually grammatical.

- (i) Mary har lese så lang ei bok som kva Peter (har).
Mary has read.PTCP so long a book as what Peter has
'Mary has read as long a book as Peter has.'

Speaker 2: In addition to “Mary har lest ei like lang bok som Peter”, I can also say “Mary har lest ei like lang bok som Peter har” and “Mary har lest ei like lang bok som det Peter har” (but not * “Mary har lest ei like lang bok som det Peter”)

- (ii) Mary har lest ei like lang bok som Peter.
Mary has read.PTCP a like long book as Peter
'Mary has read as long a book as Peter. has'
- (iii) Mary har lest ei like lang bok som Peter har.
Mary has read.PTCP a like long book as Peter has
'Mary has read as long a book as Peter has.'
- (iv) Mary har lest ei like lang bok som det Peter har.
Mary has read.PTCP a like long book as it Peter has
'Mary has read as long a book as Peter has.'
- (v) *Mary har lest ei like lang bok som det Peter.
Mary has read.PTCP a like long book as it Peter
'Mary has read as long a book as Peter has.'

96. Please look at the Norwegian versions of the item in (506). Can a full clause appear after the element corresponding to “as”, hence containing a verb and/or a noun and/or and adjective? Please consider all possibilities for the element “as”, too.

Example 1: Mary has read as long a book as Peter has.

Example 2: Mary has read as long a book as Peter has a long book.

Speaker 1: I think only the first alternative with a verb is possible: “Mary har lese så lang ei bok som Peter har.” The other alternatives with nouns or adjectives do not seem grammatical.

- (i) Mary har lese så lang ei bok som Peter har.
Mary has read.PTCP so long a book as Peter has
‘Mary has read as long a book as Peter has.’

Speaker 2: As said above, I can say both “Mary har lest ei like lang bok som Peter har” and “Mary har lest ei like lang bok som det Peter har”. I cannot add “ei lang bok” to the subordinate clause here.

- (ii) Mary har lest ei like lang bok som Peter har.
Mary has read.PTCP a like long book as Peter has
‘Mary has read as long a book as Peter has.’
- (iii) Mary har lest ei like lang bok som det Peter har.
Mary has read.PTCP a like long book as it Peter has
‘Mary has read as long a book as Peter has.’

97. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of “as”.

- (507) Mary has read as long a book as how long a book Peter has read.

Speaker 1: Mary har lese så lang ei bok som kor lang ei bok Peter har lese. (I do not think this is possible in my dialect.)

- (507) a. Mary har lese så lang ei bok som kor lang ei bok Peter har
Mary has read.PTCP so long a book as how long a book Peter has
lese.
read.PTCP
‘Mary has read as long a book as Peter has.’

Speaker 2: It’s ungrammatical.

- (507) b. *Mary har lest ei like lang bok som hvor lang (ei) bok Peter har
Mary has read.PTCP a like long book as how long a book Peter has
lest.
read.PTCP
‘Mary has read as long a book as Peter has.’

98. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “how (long)” in (507) in Norwegian, if any, and note whether these elements have to be adjacent to the nominal expression “a book”, or whether “a book” can appear elsewhere in the sentence. Please also consider all possible realisations of “as”, too.

Speaker 1: “Kor (lang)”, “ko/kå (lang)” (cf. other answers for the full possibilities). I do not think this construction is grammatical in my dialect, hence it cannot appear adjacent to the nominal expression “a book” or not.

Speaker 2: As said above, the construction is ungrammatical for me, so there are no options.

99. If a string like “how long a book” is permitted after “as” in Norwegian, can the clause be elliptical?

Example: Mary has read as long a book as how long a book Peter.

Speaker 1: I do not think this is possible.

Speaker 2: As said above, the construction is ungrammatical for me, so there are no options.

100. Please translate the following sentence. (A context is given below, but you do not have to translate that.) Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of “as”.

[Context: I was on holiday for two weeks and my father took care of my cat. Unfortunately, he gave her way too much food. Now my cat can barely get into the house on its own.]

(508) The cat is as fat as the cat flap is wide.

Speaker 1: Katten er så feit som (/so/ or /som/) kattedøra er brei/vid. (I am unsure whether the sentence is OK.)

(508) a. Katten er så feit som kattedøra er brei/vid.
the.cat is so fat as the.cat.flap is wide
'The cat is as fat as the cat flap is wide.'

Speaker 2:

(508) b. Katten er så feit som kattedøra er vid.
the.cat is so fat as the.cat.flap is wide
'The cat is as fat as the cat flap is wide.'

(508) c. Katten er så feit som det kattedøra er vid.
the.cat is so fat as it the.cat.flap is wide
'The cat is as fat as the cat flap is wide.'

101. Please look at the Norwegian versions of the item in (508). Can an element like “how wide” appear, either with or without the element(s) corresponding to “as”? Please consider all possibilities for the element “as”, too.

Example 1: The cat is as fat as how wide the cat flap is.

Example 2: The cat is as fat how wide the cat flap is.

Speaker 1: No, I do not think these are possible in my dialect.

Speaker 2: Katten er så feit som hvor vid kattedøra er. (Maybe slightly weird.)

- (i) Katten er så feit som hvor vid kattedøra er.
the.cat is so fat as how wide the.cat flap is
'The cat is as fat as how wide the cat flap is.'

102. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of “as”.

- (509) Mary reads as many books a year as Peter does articles.

Speaker 1: Mary les så mange bøker årleg/på eit år som (/so/ or /som/) Peter gjer artiklar. (I am unsure whether the sentence is OK.)

- (509) a. Mary les så mange bøker årleg som Peter gjer artiklar.
Mary reads so many books annualy as Peter does articles
'Mary reads as many books a year as Peter does articles.'
- (509) b. Mary les så mange bøker på eit år som Peter gjer artiklar.
Mary reads so many books in a year as Peter does articles
'Mary reads as many books a year as Peter does articles.'

Speaker 2: Mary leser så/like mange bøker i året som Peter leser artikler. Mary leser så/like mange bøker i året som det Peter leser artikler. (Note that I cannot use a pro-verb in the subordinate clause when the verb is transitive.)

- (509) c. Mary leser så/like mange bøker i året som Peter leser artikler.
Mary reads so/like many books a year as Peter reads articles
'Mary reads as many books a year as Peter does articles.'
- (509) d. Mary leser så/like mange bøker i året som det Peter leser artikler.
Mary reads so/like many books a year as it Peter reads articles
'Mary reads as many books a year as Peter does articles.'

103. Please look at the Norwegian versions of the item in (509). Can an element like “how many books” appear, either with or without the element(s) corresponding to “as”? Please consider all possibilities for the element “as”, too.

Example 1: Mary reads as many books a year as how many articles Peter does.

Example 2: Mary reads as many books a year how many articles Peter does.

Speaker 1: No, I do not think these are possible in my dialect.

Speaker 2: It's ungrammatical.

- (i) *Mary leser så/like mange bøker i året som hvor mange bøker Peter leser/gjør.
Mary reads so/like many books a year as how many books Peter reads/does
'Mary reads as many books a year as Peter does articles.'

104. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of "as".

- (510) We need as much sugar for the cake as we need flour.

Speaker 1: Me treng så mykje sukker til kaka som me treng kveitemjøl. (I think this sentence perhaps is OK in my dialect.)

- (510) a. Me treng så mykje sukker til kaka som me treng kveitemjøl.
I need so much sugar for the.cake as I need flour
'I need as much sugar for the cake as we need flour.'

Speaker 2: Vi trenger så/like mye sukker i kaka som vi trenger mel. (Here the "som det" option seems to be ungrammatical.)

- (510) b. Vi trenger så/like mye sukker i kaka som vi trenger mel.
we need so/like much sugar for the.cake as we need flour
'We need as much sugar for the cake as we need flour.'

105. Please look at the Norwegian versions of the item in (510). Can an element like "how much flour" appear, either with or without the element(s) corresponding to "as"? Please consider all possibilities for the element "as", too.

Example 1: We need as much sugar for the cake as how much flour we do.

Example 2: We need as much sugar for the cake how much flour we do.

Speaker 1: No, I do not think these are possible in my dialect.

Speaker 2: It's ungrammatical.

- (i) *Vi trenger så/like mye sukker i kaka som hvor mye vi gjør/trenger mel.
we need so/like much sugar for the.cake as how much we do/need flour
'We need as much sugar for the cake as how much we need flour.'

106. Is it possible to have an element like "as how" as an attribute of a noun? Please consider all possibilities for the element "as", too.

Example 1: Mary bought as fat a cat as how wide a cat flap Peter did.

Example 2: Mary bought as fat a cat how wide a cat flap Peter did.

Speaker 1: No, I do not think these are possible in my dialect.

Speaker 2: It's ungrammatical.

- (i) *Mary kjøpte en like feit katt som hvor vid kattedør Peter kjøpte/gjorde.
 Mary bought.PST a like fat a.cat as how wide a.cat.flap Peter bought.PS/did
 ‘The cat that Mary bought was as fat as the cat flap that Peter bought was wide.’

6 Comparative clauses

107. Please translate the following sentence.

- (601) Mary is older than Peter.

Speaker 1:

- (601) a. Mary er eldre enn Peter.
 Mary is older than Peter
 ‘Mary is older than Peter.’

Speaker 2:

- (601) b. Mary er eldre enn Peter.
 Mary is older than Peter
 ‘Mary is older than Peter.’

108. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “than” in (601) in Norwegian. Can these elements combine with each other or with elements like “that” or “what”?

Example 1: Mary is older than that Peter (is).

Example 2: Mary is older than what Peter (is).

Speaker 1: “Enn”. It can also be combined with “ke” (“kva” in Nynorsk, corresponding to “what”) in my dialect, with a verb in the end: “Mary er eldre enn kva Petter er.” I do not think this construction is frequent.

- (i) Mary er eldre enn kva Petter er.
 Mary is older than what Peter is
 ‘Mary is older than Peter is.’

Speaker 2: In addition to “Mary er eldre enn Peter” I can also say “Mary er eldre enn Peter er”, “Mary er eldre enn det Peter er”, and possibly also “Mary er eldre enn hva Peter er.” When the copula “er” is not added, only “enn” alone is possible.

- (ii) Mary er eldre enn Peter er.
 Mary is older than Peter is
 ‘Mary is older than Peter is.’
- (iii) Mary er eldre enn det Peter er.
 Mary is older than that.DEM.N Peter is
 ‘Mary is older than Peter is.’

- (iv) Mary er eldre enn hva Peter er.
 Mary is older than what Peter is
 ‘Mary is older than Peter is.’

109. Please look at the Norwegian versions of the item in (601). Can a full clause appear after the element corresponding to “than”, hence containing an overt copula and/or an adjective? Please consider all possibilities for the element “than”, too.

Example 1: Mary is older than Peter is.

Example 2: Mary is older than Peter is old.

Speaker 1: Yes: “Mary er eldre enn Peter er.” I do not think that the case with an adjective is possible: “*Mary er eldre enn Peter er gamal.”

- (i) Mary er eldre enn Peter er.
 Mary is older than Peter is
 ‘Mary is older than Peter is.’
- (ii) *Mary er eldre enn Peter er gamal.
 Mary is older than Peter is old
 ‘Mary is older than Peter is.’

Speaker 2: I have given all the options with an added copula “er” under question 108. It’s ungrammatical for me to repeat the adjective in any case.

- (iii) *Mary er eldre enn (det/hva) Peter er gammel.
 Mary is older than that.DEM.N/what Peter is old
 ‘Mary is older than Peter is.’

110. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of “than”.

- (602) Mary is older than Peter was last year.

Speaker 1:

- (602) a. Mary er eldre enn Peter var sist år.
 Mary is older than Peter was last year
 ‘Mary is older than Peter was last year.’
- (602) b. Mary er eldre enn Peter var i fjor.
 Mary is older than Peter was last.year
 ‘Mary is older than Peter was last year.’

Speaker 2:

- (602) c. Mary er eldre enn Peter var i fjor.
 Mary is older than Peter was last.year
 ‘Mary is older than Peter was last year.’

- (602) d. Mary er eldre enn det Peter var i fjor.
 Mary is older than that.DEM.N Peter was last.year
 ‘Mary is older than Peter was last year.’
- (602) e. ??Mary er eldre enn hva Peter var i fjor.
 Mary is older than what Peter was last.year
 ‘Mary is older than Peter was last year.’

111. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of “than”.

- (603) Mary is older than how old Peter was last year.

Speaker 1:

- (603) a. Mary er eldre enn kor gamal Peter var sist år.
 Mary is older than how old Peter was last year
 ‘Mary is older than Peter was last year.’
- (603) b. Mary er eldre enn kor gamal Peter var i fjor.
 Mary is older than how old Peter was last.year
 ‘Mary is older than Peter was last year.’

Speaker 2: It’s either ungrammatical or not very good.

- (603) c.???Mary er eldre enn hvor gammel Peter var i fjor.
 Mary is older than how old Peter was last.year
 ‘Mary is older than Peter was last year.’

112. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “how” in (603) in Norwegian, if any, and note whether these elements have to be adjacent to the adjective “old”, or whether “old” can appear elsewhere in the sentence. Please also consider all possible realisations of “than”, too.

Speaker 1: “Kor” in my dialect and Nynorsk, or “ko/kå” in my dialect. “Hvor” in Bokmål, “å, hå” etc. in other dialects. I think it has to be adjacent to the adjective “gamal”/“old”.

Speaker 2: If it’s possible at all, only “hvor”, and no other options in terms of word order.

113. If a string like “how old” is permitted after “than” in Norwegian, can the clause be elliptical?

Example: Mary is older than how old Peter.

Speaker 1: No, I do not think this is possible.

Speaker 2: It’s ungrammatical.

- (i) *Mary er eldre enn hvor gammel Peter.
 Mary is older than how old Peter
 ‘Mary is older than Peter is.’

114. If a string like “how old” is possible in items like (603) in Norwegian, can “than” be omitted?

Example: Mary is older how old Peter (is).

Speaker 1: No, I do not think this is possible.

Speaker 2: It’s ungrammatical.

- (i) *Mary er eldre hvor gammel Peter (er).
Mary is older how old Peter is
‘Mary is older than Peter (is).’

115. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possible word orders.

(604) Mary has more books than Peter.

Speaker 1:

- (604) a. Mary har fleire bøker enn Peter.
Mary has more books than Peter
‘Mary has more books than Peter.’

Speaker 2:

- (604) b. Mary har flere bøker enn Peter.
Mary has more books than Peter
‘Mary has more books than Peter.’

116. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “than” in (604) in Norwegian. Can these elements combine with each other or with elements like “that” or “what”?

Example 1: Mary has more books than that Peter (has).

Example 2: Mary has more books than what Peter (has).

Speaker 1: “Enn”. It can also be combined with “ke” (“kva” in Nynorsk, corresponding to “what”) in my dialect, with a verb in the end: “Mary har fleire bøker enn kva Petter har.” As with 108., I do not think this construction is frequent.

- (i) Mary har fleire bøker enn kva Petter har.
Mary has more books than what Peter has
‘Mary has more books than Peter has.’

Speaker 2: In addition to “Mary har flere bøker enn Peter” I can also say “Mary har flere bøker enn Peter har”, “Mary har flere bøker enn det Peter har”, and possibly also “Mary har flere bøker enn hva Peter har.” When “har” is not added, only “enn” alone is possible.

- (ii) Mary har flere bøker enn Peter.
Mary has more books than Peter
‘Mary has more books than Peter has.’

- (iii) Mary har flere bøker enn Peter har.
Mary has more books than Peter has
'Mary has more books than Peter has.'
- (iv) Mary har flere bøker enn det Peter har.
Mary has more books than that.DEM.N Peter has
'Mary has more books than Peter has.'
- (v) Mary har flere bøker enn hva Peter har.
Mary has more books than what Peter has
'Mary has more books than Peter has.'

117. Please look at the Norwegian versions of the item in (604). Can a full clause appear after the element corresponding to “than”, hence containing a verb and/or a noun? Please consider all possibilities for the element “than”, too.

Example 1: Mary has more books than Peter has.

Example 2: Mary has more books than Peter has books.

Speaker 1:

- (i) Mary har fleire bøker enn Peter har.
Mary has more books than Peter has
'Mary has more books than Peter has.'
- (ii) *Mary har fleire bøker enn Peter har bøker.
Mary has more books than Peter has books
'Mary has more books than Peter has.'

Speaker 2: I have given all the options with an added “har” under question 116. In addition I can say “Mary har flere bøker enn Peter har bøker” and possibly also “Mary har flere bøker enn det Peter har bøker” (but not with “enn hva”).

- (iii) Mary har flere bøker enn Peter har bøker.
Mary has more books than Peter has books
'Mary has more books than Peter has.'
- (iv) Mary har flere bøker enn det Peter har bøker.
Mary has more books than that.DEM.N Peter has books
'Mary has more books than Peter has.'

118. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of “than”.

- (605) Mary has more books than how many books Peter has.

Speaker 1:

- (605) a. Mary har fleire bøker enn kor mange bøker Peter har.
Mary has more books than how many books Peter has
'Mary has more books than Peter has.'

Speaker 2: It's either ungrammatical or not very good.

- (605) b???Mary har flere bøker enn hvor mange bøker Peter har.
Mary has more books than how many books Peter has
'Mary has more books than Peter has.'

119. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “how many” in (605) in Norwegian, if any, and note whether these elements have to be adjacent to the noun “books”, or whether “books” can appear elsewhere in the sentence. Please also consider all possible realisations of “than”, too.

Speaker 1: Other variations of the same as “kor mange” (dialect and Nynorsk): “ko/kå mange” in my dialect. “Hvor” in Bokmål, “å, hå” etc. in other dialects. I think “kor/ko/kå mange” has to be adjacent to the noun “bøker”/“books”.

Speaker 2: If it's possible at all, only “hvor mange”, and no other options in terms of word order.

120. If a string like “how many books” is permitted after “than” in items like (605) in Norwegian, can the clause be elliptical?

Example: Mary has more books than how many books Peter.

Speaker 1: No, I do not think this is possible.

Speaker 2: It's ungrammatical.

- (i) *Mary har flere bøker enn hvor mange bøker Peter.
Mary has more books than how many books Peter
'Mary has more books than Peter has.'

121. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of “than”.

- (606) Mary has read a longer book than Peter.

Speaker 1:

- (606) a. Mary har lese ei lengre bok enn Peter.
Mary has read.PTCP a longer book than Peter
'Mary has read a longer book than Peter has.'

Speaker 2:

- (606) b. Mary har lest ei lengre bok enn Peter.
Mary has read.PTCP a longer book than Peter
'Mary has read a longer book than Peter has.'

122. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “than” in (606) in Norwegian. Can these elements combine with each other or with elements like “that” or “what”?

Example 1: Mary has read a longer book than that Peter (has).

Example 2: Mary has read a longer book than what Peter (has).

Speaker 1: “Enn”. It can also be combined with “ke” (“kva” in Nynorsk, corresponding to “what”) in my dialect, with a verb in the end: “Mary har lese ei lengre bok enn kva Petter har.” As with 108. and 116., I do not think this construction is frequent.

- (i) Mary har lese ei lengre bok enn kva Peter.
 Mary has read.PTCP a longer book than what Peter
 ‘Mary has read a longer book than Peter has.’

Speaker 2: In addition to “Mary har lest ei lengre bok enn Peter” I can also say “Mary har lest ei lengre bok enn Peter har”, “Mary har lest ei lengre bok enn det Peter har.”, and possibly also “Mary har lest ei lengre bok enn hva Peter har.” When “har” is not added, only “enn” alone is possible.

- (ii) Mary har lest ei lengre bok enn Peter.
 Mary has read.PTCP a longer book than Peter
 ‘Mary has read a longer book than Peter has.’
- (iii) Mary har lest ei lengre bok enn Peter har.
 Mary has read.PTCP a longer book than Peter has
 ‘Mary has read a longer book than Peter has.’
- (iv) Mary har lest ei lengre bok enn det Peter har.
 Mary has read.PTCP a longer book than that.DEM.N Peter has
 ‘Mary has read a longer book than Peter has.’
- (v) Mary har lest ei lengre bok enn hva Peter har.
 Mary has read.PTCP a longer book than what Peter has
 ‘Mary has read a longer book than Peter has.’

123. Please look at the Norwegian versions of the item in (606). Can a full clause appear after the element corresponding to “than”, hence containing a verb and/or a noun and/or and adjective? Please consider all possibilities for the element “than”, too.

Example 1: Mary has read a longer book than Peter has.

Example 2: Mary has read a longer book than Peter has a long book.

Speaker 1:

- (i) Mary har lese ei lengre bok enn Peter har.
 Mary has read.PTCP a longer book than Peter has
 ‘Mary has read a longer book than Peter has.’
- (ii) *Mary har lese ei lengre bok enn Peter har ei lang bok.
 Mary has read.PTCP a longer book than Peter has a long book
 ‘Mary has read a longer book than Peter has.’

Speaker 2: I have given all the options with an added copula “er” under question 122. It’s not grammatical for me to add “ei lang bok” to the subordinate clause.

124. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of “than”.

(607) Mary has read a longer book than how long a book Peter has read.

Speaker 1: This sentence sounds very weird to me.

(607) a. Mary har lese ei lengre bok enn kor lang ei bok Peter har
Mary has read.PTCP a longer book than how long a book Peter has
lese.
read.PTCP
‘Mary has read a longer book than Peter has.’

Speaker 2: It’s ungrammatical.

(607) b. *Mary har lest ei lengre bok enn hvor lang (ei) bok Peter har
Mary has read.PTCP a longer book than how long a book Peter has
lest.
read.PTCP
‘Mary has read a longer book than Peter has.’

125. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “how (long)” in (607) in Norwegian, if any, and note whether these elements have to be adjacent to the nominal expression “a book”, or whether “a book” can appear elsewhere in the sentence. Please also consider all possible realisations of “than”, too.

Speaker 1: Other variations of the same as “kor (lang)” (dialect and Nynorsk): “ko/kå/(and “ke”?) lang” in my dialect. “Hvor” in Bokmål, “å, hå” etc. in other dialects. I think “kor/ko/kå/(and “ke”?) lang” has to be adjacent to the nominal expression “ei bok”.

Speaker 2: As it is ungrammatical, there are no options.

126. If a string like “how long a book” is permitted after “than” in Norwegian, can the clause be elliptical?

Example: Mary has read a longer book than how long a book Peter.

Speaker 1: No, I do not think this is possible.

Speaker 2: As it is ungrammatical, there are no options.

127. Please translate the following sentence. (A context is given below, but you do not have to translate that.) Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of “than”.

[Context: I was on holiday for two weeks and my father took care of my cat. Unfortunately, he gave her way too much food. Now my cat cannot get into the house on its own at all.]

(608) The cat is fatter than the cat flap is wide.

Speaker 1: This sentence sound very weird, possibly ungrammatical. Is this due to what I suppose are two different parameters (“fatter” and “wide”)?

(608) a. ??Katten er feitare enn kattedøra er brei/vid.
the.cat is fatter than the.cat.flap is wide
'The cat is fatter than the cat flap is wide.'

Speaker 2:

(608) b. Katten er feitere enn kattedøra er vid.
the.cat is fatter than the.cat.flap is wide
'The cat is fatter than the cat flap is wide.'

128. Please look at the Norwegian versions of the item in (608). Can an element like “how wide” appear, either with or without the element(s) corresponding to “than”? Please consider all possibilities for the element “than”, too.

Example 1: The cat is fatter than how wide the cat flap is.

Example 2: The cat is fatter how wide the cat flap is.

Speaker 1: Possibly, with doubt (maybe better than in (608)): “Katten er feitare enn kor brei/vid kattedøra er.” No, not possible: “*Katten er feitare kor brei kattedøra er.”

(i) Katten er feitare enn kor brei/vid kattedøra er.
the.cat is fatter than how wide the.cat.flap is
'The cat is fatter than the cat flap is wide.'

(ii) *Katten er feitare kor brei kattedøra er.
the.cat is fatter how wide the.cat.flap is
'The cat is fatter than the cat flap is wide.'

Speaker 2:

(iii) Katten er feitere enn hvor vid kattedøra er.
the.cat is fatter than how wide the.cat.flap is
'The cat is fatter than the cat flap is wide.'

129. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of “than”.

(609) Mary reads more books a year than Peter does articles.

Speaker 1: This sounds very weird, maybe even ungrammatical.

- (609) a. Mary les fleire bøker på eit år enn Peter gjer artiklar.
Mary reads more books in a year than Peter does articles
'Mary reads more books a year than Peter does articles.'
- (609) b. Mary les fleire bøker årleg enn Peter gjer artiklar.
Mary reads more books annually than Peter does articles
'Mary reads more books a year than Peter does articles.'

Speaker 2: The "enn hva" option seems ungrammatical here. Note that I cannot use a pro-verb in the subordinate clause.

- (609) c. Mary Leser flere bøker i året enn Peter Leser artikler.
Mary reads more books a year than Peter reads articles
'Mary reads more books a year than Peter does articles.'
- (609) d. Mary Leser flere bøker i året enn det Peter Leser artikler.
Mary reads more books a year than that Peter reads articles
'Mary reads more books a year than Peter does articles.'

130. Please look at the Norwegian versions of the item in (609). Can an element like "how many books" appear, either with or without the element(s) corresponding to "than"? Please consider all possibilities for the element "than", too.

Example 1: Mary reads more books a year than how many articles Peter does.

Example 2: Mary reads more books a year how many articles Peter does.

Speaker 1:

- (i) Mary les fleire bøker på eit år enn kor mange artiklar Peter gjer.
Mary reads more books in a year than how many articles Peter does
'Mary reads more books a year than Peter does articles.'
- (ii) Mary les fleire bøker årleg enn kor mange artiklar Peter gjer.
Mary reads more books annually than how many articles Peter does
'Mary reads more books a year than Peter does articles.'
- (iii) *Mary les fleire bøker på eit år kor mange artiklar Peter gjer.
Mary reads more books in a year how many articles Peter does
'Mary reads more books a year than Peter does articles.'
- (iv) *Mary les fleire bøker årleg kor mange artiklar Peter gjer.
Mary reads more books annually how many articles Peter does
'Mary reads more books a year than Peter does articles.'

Speaker 2: It's ungrammatical.

- (v) *Mary Leser flere bøker i året enn hvor mange artikler Peter Leser/gjør.
Mary reads more books in year than how many articles Peter reads/does
'Mary reads more books a year than Peter does articles.'

131. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of “than”.

(610) We need more sugar for the cake than we need flour.

Speaker 1:

(610) a. Me treng meir sukker til kaka enn me treng kveitemjøl.
I need more sugar for the.cake than I need flour
'I need more sugar for the cake than I need flour.'

Speaker 2: Here both “enn det” and “enn hva” seem ungrammatical.

(610) b. Vi trenger mer sukker i kaka enn vi trenger mel.
we need more sugar for the.cake than we need flour
'We need more sugar for the cake than we need flour.'

132. Please look at the Norwegian versions of the item in (610). Can an element like “how much flour” appear, either with or without the element(s) corresponding to “than”? Please consider all possibilities for the element “than”, too.

Example 1: We need more sugar for the cake than how much flour we do.

Example 2: We need more sugar for the cake how much flour we do.

Speaker 1: No, probably not (in doubt, sounds very weird):

(i) *Me treng meir sukker til kaka enn kor mykje kveitemjøl me gjer.
I need more sugar for the.cake than how much flour I do
'I need more sugar for the cake than I need flour.'

(ii) *Me treng meir sukker til kaka kor mykje kveitemjøl me gjer.
I need more sugar for the.cake how much flour I do
'I need more sugar for the cake than I need flour.'

Speaker 2: It's either ungrammatical, or very weird.

(iii)???Vi trenger mer sukker i kaka enn hvor mye mel vi trenger.
we need more sugar for the.cake than how much flour we need
'We need more sugar for the cake than we need flour.'

133. Is it possible to have an element like “than how” as an attribute of a noun? Please consider all possibilities for the element “than”, too.

Example 1: Mary bought a fatter cat than how wide a cat flap Peter did.

Example 2: Mary bought a fatter cat how wide a cat flap Peter did.

Speaker 1:

- (i) *Mary kjøpte ein feitare katt enn kor brei kattedør Peter gjorde.
Mary bought.PST a fatter cat than how wide a.cat.flap Peter did
'The cat that Mary bought was fatter than the cat flap that Peter bought was wide.'
- (ii) *Mary kjøpte ein feitare katt kor brei ei kattedør Peter gjorde.
Mary bought.PST a fatter cat how wide a cat.flap Peter did
'The cat that Mary bought was fatter than the cat flap that Peter bought was wide.'

Speaker 2: It's ungrammatical.

- (iii) *Mary kjøpte en feitere katt enn hvor vid (ei) kattedør Peter
Mary bought.PST a fatter cat than how wide a cat.flap Peter
kjøpte/gjorde.
bought.PST/did
'The cat that Mary bought was fatter than the cat flap that Peter bought was wide.'

7 Non-canonical comparison

134. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of “as”.

(701) Mary is tired, as is Peter.

Speaker 1: ???Mary er trøytt, som Peter er. (I do not think I would use any construction like this. Rather, I would say something like “Mary er trøytt, det same er Peter.” (Literally “Mary is tired, the same is Peter.”))

- (701) a.???Mary er trøytt, som Peter er.
Mary is tired as Peter is
'Mary is as tired, as is Peter.'
- (701) b. Mary er trøytt, det same er Peter.
Mary is tired that.DEM.N same is Peter
'Mary is as tired, as is Peter.'

Speaker 2: It's ungrammatical with a subordinate clause, I would either have to use a coordinated main clause (“Mary er trøtt, og det er Peter òg”), or a construction without a verb in the comparisson (“Mary er trøtt, og det samme med Peter”).

- (701) c. Mary er trøtt, og det er Peter òg.
Mary is tired and that.DEM.N is Peter too
'Mary is as tired, as is Peter.'

- (701) d. Mary er trøtt, og det samme med Peter.
 Mary is tired and that.DEM.N same with Peter
 ‘Mary is as tired, as is Peter.’

135. Please look at the Norwegian versions of the item in (701). Can an element like “too” appear in the clause introduced by “as”? Please consider all possibilities for the element “than”, too.

Speaker 1: “Mary er trøtt, som au Peter er.” (I am in doubt whether this sentence is OK (or even what you are asking for), but the sequence “som au”/“as too” is possible in my dialect.)

- (i) Mary er trøtt, som au Peter er.
 Mary is tired as too Peter is
 ‘Mary is tired, as is Peter.’

Speaker 2: In the main clause version, a word meaning “too” has to be used.

136. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of “as”.

- (702) Mary, as we all know, doesn’t like cats.

Speaker 1: Mary, som (/so/ or /som/) me alle veit, likar ikkje kattar.

- (702) a. Mary, som me alle veit, likar ikkje kattar.
 Mary as we all know likes not cats
 ‘Mary, as we all know, doesn’t like cats.’

Speaker 2:

- (702) b. Mary, som vi alle veit, liker ikke katter.
 Mary as we all know likes not cats
 ‘Mary, as we all know, doesn’t like cats.’

137. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of “as”.

- (703) Mary is as tall as her brother.

Speaker 1: Mary er så høg som (/so/ or /som/) bror sin.

- (703) a. Mary er så høg som bror sin.
 Mary is so tall as brother her.NOM/OBL
 ‘Mary is as tall as her brother.’

Speaker 2:

- (703) b. Mary er så/like høy som broren sin.
Mary is so/like tall as brother her.NOM/OBL
'Mary is as tall as her brother.'

138. Please look at the Norwegian versions of the item in (703). What case can the remnant ("her brother") be in? Please take into consideration other nouns, as well as pronouns. Please consider all possibilities for the element "as", too.

Example 1: Mary is as tall as he.

Example 2: Mary is as tall as him.

Speaker 1: "Mary er like høg som han." (In written Høgnorsk, I would write: "Mary er like høg som honom." Bokmål: "Mary er like høy som ham/han." The case with "han vs. honom/ham" is special because of an ongoing merger into "han". "Ho/hun" vs. "henne" is still possible for "she/her", at least in my dialect: "Mary er like høg som ho." or "Mary er like høg som henne (/na/ in the reduced, non-emphatic form, or /hena/ in full, possibly emphatic form).". I prefer the "honom" and "henne" forms (or 'oblique' forms in general), perhaps because of formal/prescriptive instruction in school and by other authorities.

- (i) Mary er like høg som han.
Mary is like tall as he.NOM/OBL
'Mary is as tall as he is.'
- (ii) Mary er like høg som honom.
Mary is like tall as he.OBL
'Mary is as tall as he is.'
- (iii) Mary er like høy som ham.
Mary is like tall as he.NOM/OBL
'Mary is as tall as he is.'
- (iv) Mary er like høg som ho.
Mary is like tall as she.NOM/OBL
'Mary is as tall as she is.'
- (v) Mary er like høg som henne.
Mary is like tall as she.OBL
'Mary is as tall as she is.'

Speaker 2: Cases only exist in pronouns in my Norwegian. It would be most natural with the accusative here ("Mary er så høy som deg"), but the nominative is also possible ("Mary er så høy som du").

- (vi) Mary er så høy som deg.
Mary is so tall as you.OBL
'Mary is as tall as you are.'
- (vii) Mary er så høy som du.
Mary is so tall as you.NOM
'Mary is as tall as you are.'

139. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of “than”.

(704) Mary is taller than her brother.

Speaker 1:

(704) a. Mary er høgare enn bror sin.
Mary is taller than brother her.NOM/OBL
'Mary is taller than her brother.'

Speaker 2:

(704) b. Mary er høyere enn broren sin.
Mary is taller than brother her.NOM/OBL
'Mary is taller than her brother.'

140. Please look at the Norwegian versions of the item in (704). What case can the remnant (“her brother”) be in? Please take into consideration other nouns, as well as pronouns. Please consider all possibilities for the element “than”, too.

Example 1: Mary is taller than he.

Example 2: Mary is taller than him.

Speaker 1: “Mary er høgare enn han.” (Merger in my dialect. Written preference: “honom” (Høgnorsk) or “ham” (Bokmål).) The same goes for “she vs. her”: “Mary er høgare enn ho” and “Mary er høgare enn henne.” My preference is the oblique form “henne”.

- (i) Mary er høgare enn han.
Mary is taller than he.NOM/OBL
'Mary is taller than he.'
- (ii) Mary er høgare enn ho.
Mary is taller than she.NOM/OBL
'Mary is taller than she.'
- (iii) Mary er høgare enn henne.
Mary is taller than her.OBL
'Mary is taller than her.'

Speaker 2: Cases only exist in pronouns in my Norwegian. It would be most natural with the accusative here (“Mary er høyere enn deg”), but the nominative is also possible (“Mary er høyere enn du”).

- (iv) Mary er høyere enn deg.
Mary is taller than you.OBL
'Mary is taller than you.'

- (v) Mary er høyere enn du.
 Mary is taller than you.NOM
 ‘Mary is taller than you.’

141. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of “as”.

- (705) I saw as tall a man as my brother.
 (With the intended meaning: ‘I saw as tall a man as my brother is’, NOT with the meaning ‘I saw as tall a man as my brother saw’.)

Speaker 1: Eg såg så høg ein mann som (/so/ or /som/) bror min. (Sounds like a very formal, written wording, perhaps as used in fairy-tales.)

- (705) a. Eg såg så høg ein mann som bror min.
 I saw so tall a man as brother my.NOM/OBL
 ‘I saw as tall a man as my brother.’

Speaker 2:

- (705) b. Jeg så en like høy mann som broren min.
 I saw a like tall man as brother my.NOM/OBL
 ‘I saw as tall a man as my brother.’

142. Please look at the Norwegian versions of the item in (705). What case can the remnant (“her brother”) be in? Please take into consideration other nouns, as well as pronouns. Please consider all possibilities for the element “as”, too.

Example 1: I saw as tall a man as he.

Example 2: I saw as tall a man as him.

Speaker 1: Eg såg så høg ein mann som (/so/ or /som/) han. (Cf. earlier notes about oblique forms; I prefer them here too: “honom” (Høgnorsk) or “ham” (Bokmål) in written Norwegian, but I say “han” in any case orally. I would prefer “henne” in the case of e.g. “my sister”: “Eg såg så høg ei dame som henne.”)

- (i) Eg såg så høg ein mann som han.
 I saw so tall a man as he.NOM/OBL
 ‘I saw a man as tall as he is.’

- (ii) Eg såg så høg ei dame som henne.
 I saw so tall a woman as her.OBL
 ‘I saw a woman as tall as she is.’

Speaker 2: Cases only exist in pronouns in my Norwegian. It would be most natural with the accusative here (“Jeg så enn like høy mann som deg”), but the nominative might also be possible, but maybe less so here (“Jeg så en like høy mann som du”).

- (iii) Jeg så enn like høy mann som deg.
 I saw than like tall man as you.OBL
 'I saw a man as tall as you are.'
- (iv) Jeg så en like høy mann som du.
 I saw than like tall man as you.NOM
 'I saw a man as tall as you are.'

143. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of “than”.

- (706) I saw a taller man than my brother.
 (With the intended meaning: 'I saw a taller man than my brother is', NOT with the meaning 'I saw a taller man than my brother saw.')

Speaker 1:

- (706) a. Eg såg ein høgare mann enn bror min.
 I saw a taller man than brother my.NOM/OBL
 'I saw a taller man than my brother.'

Speaker 2:

- (706) b. Jeg så en høyere mann enn broren min.
 I saw a taller man than brother my.NOM/OBL
 'I saw a taller man than my brother.'

144. Please look at the Norwegian versions of the item in (706). What case can the remnant (“her brother”) be in? Please take into consideration other nouns, as well as pronouns. Please consider all possibilities for the element “than”, too.

Example 1: I saw a taller man than he.

Example 2: I saw a taller man than him.

Speaker 1: Eg såg ein høgare mann enn han. (Cf. earlier notes about oblique forms; I prefer them here too: “honom” (Høgnorsk) or “ham” (Bokmål) in written Norwegian, but I say “han” in any case orally. I would prefer “henne” in the case of e.g. “my sister”: “Eg såg ei høgare dame enn henne.”, but “ho” would work too in my dialect, I guess.)

- (i) Eg såg ein høgare mann enn han.
 I saw a taller man than he.NOM/OBL
 'I saw a taller man than he is.'
- (ii) Eg såg ei høgare dame enn henne.
 I saw a taller woman than her.OBL
 'I saw a taller woman than she is.'

Speaker 2: Cases only exist in pronouns in my Norwegian. It would be most natural with the accusative here (“Jeg så en høyere mann enn deg”), but the nominative might also be possible, but maybe less so (“Jeg så en høyere mann enn du”).

- (iii) Jeg så en høyere mann enn deg.
I saw a higher man than you.OBL
'I saw a taller man than you are.'
- (iv) Jeg så en høyere mann enn du.
I saw a taller man than you.NOM
'I saw a taller man than you are.'

145. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of “as”.

- (707) I am talking to you as a friend, not as your boss.

Speaker 1: Eg snakkar til deg som (/so/ or /som/) ein ven, ikkje som (/so/ or /som/) sjefen din.

- (707) a. Eg snakkar til deg som ein ven, ikkje som sjefen din.
I talk to you as a friend not as boss your
'I am talking to you as a friend, not as your boss.'

Speaker 2:

- (707) b. Jeg snakker til deg som en venn, ikke som din sjef.
I talk to you as a friend not as your boss
'I am talking to you as a friend, not as your boss.'

146. Please look at the Norwegian versions of the item in (707). What case can the nominal expression “your boss” be in? Please take into consideration other nouns as well (in case “your boss” does not show case distinction while other nouns do). Please consider all possibilities for the element “as”, too.

Speaker 1: According to my understanding there is no case marking in Norwegian nominal expressions like “your boss”, only definiteness. So: “ein sjef” (ind.sg.) - “sjefen” (def.sg.). The possessive determiner “din” does not change the form of the noun “sjefen”. There is nominative and accusative/oblique case in pronouns like “du” vs. “deg”. Genitive “case” appears as -s: “sjefens venn” (“the boss’s friend”). Some dialects still have dative case, but not mine. I do not know if this answer is satisfactory.

Speaker 2: It is very difficult to find a good pronoun in this context, as third person pronouns do not distinguish case in my dialect. First or second person pronouns do not sound natural here. I can’t answer this question.

147. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of “as”.

- (708) I like Mary a lot, but I see her only as a friend.

Speaker 1: Eg likar Mary (veldig) godt, men eg ser på henne berre som (/so/ or /som/) ein ven.

- (708) a. Eg likar Mary (veldig) godt, men eg ser på henne berre som ein ven.
 I like Mary very well but I see on her only as a friend
 ‘I like Mary a lot, but I see her only as a friend.’

Speaker 2:

- (708) b. Jeg liker Mary veldig godt, men jeg ser bare på henne som en venn.
 I like Mary very well but I see only on her as a friend
 ‘I like Mary a lot, but I see her only as a friend.’

148. Please look at the Norwegian versions of the item in (708). What case can the nominal expression “a friend” be in? Please take into consideration other nouns as well (in case “a friend” does not show case distinction while other nouns do). Please consider all possibilities for the element “as”, too.

Speaker 1: Cf. 146. I do not think there is any case here per se.

Speaker 2: If I replace “a friend” with the second person pronoun, only the accusative is alright.

- (i) Jeg liker Mary veldig godt, men jeg ser bare på henne som deg.
 I like Mary very well but I see only on her as you
 ‘I like Mary a lot, but I see her only as I do you.’

149. Please translate the following sentence.

- (709) Mary would be frightened if she saw a ghost.

Speaker 1:

- (709) a. Mary hadde vorte skremd om ho såg eit spøkjelse.
 Mary had.SBJV become.PTCP frightened if she saw a ghost
 ‘Mary would be frightened if she saw a ghost.’

Speaker 2:

- (709) b. Mary hadde blitt skremt om hun hadde sett et spøkelse.
 Mary had.SBJV become.PTCP frightened if she had seen a ghost
 ‘Mary would be frightened if she saw a ghost.’
- (709) c. Mary hadde blitt skremt hvis hun hadde sett et spøkelse.
 Mary had.SBJV become.PTCP frightened if she had seen a ghost
 ‘Mary would be frightened if she saw a ghost.’
- (709) d. Mary hadde blitt skremt dersom hun hadde sett et
 Mary had.SBJV become.PTCP frightened if she had seen a
 spøkelse.
 ghost
 ‘Mary would be frightened if she saw a ghost.’

- (709) e. Mary hadde blitt skremt, hadde hun sett et spøkelse.
 Mary had.SBJV become.PTCP frightened had she seen a ghost
 ‘Mary would be frightened if she saw a ghost.’

150. Please look at the Norwegian versions of the item in (709). Please list all alternatives for the realisation of “if”, including verb movement, if applicable.

Speaker 1: “Om”, “dersom” (primarily used written, I think), “viss (Nynorsk and Bokmål)/hvis (Bokmål)”. I think that “om” is preferred in this hypothetical construction, but “viss” is also OK. I do not think it is possible with verb movement.

Speaker 2: Om, hvis, dersom, and as a fourth option, no subjunction, but verb initial word order, as stated above.

151. Please translate the following sentence.

- (710) Mary was pale, as if she had seen a ghost.

Speaker 1:

- (710) a. Mary var bleik, som om ho hadde sett eit spøkjelse.
 Mary was pale as if she had seen a ghost
 ‘Mary was pale, as if she had seen a ghost.’

Speaker 2:

- (710) b. Mary var bleik, som om hun hadde sett et spøkelse.
 Mary was pale as if she had seen a ghost
 ‘Mary was pale, as if she had seen a ghost.’

152. Please look at the Norwegian versions of the item in (710). Please list all alternatives for the realisation of “as if”, including verb movement, if applicable.

Speaker 1: “Som om” is the prototypical, almost conventionalised alternative. One can say “som viss” too, but it sounds quite weird. No verb movement is possible, I think.

Speaker 2: I might use a subjunctionless version with verb initial word order, but it is stylistically marked, sounding very bookish.

- (i) Mary var bleik, som hadde hun sett et spøkelse.
 Mary was pale as had she seen a ghost
 ‘Mary was pale, as if she had seen a ghost.’

153. Please look at the Norwegian versions of the item in (710). Can the clause introduced by “as if” be fronted? Please provide all possible realisations of “as if”.

Example: As if she had seen a ghost, Mary was (so) pale.

Speaker 1: I think so, yes: “Som om ho hadde sett eit spøkjelse, var Mary bleik.” The following sounds weird: “Som viss ho hadde sett eit spøkjelse, var Mary bleik.”

- (i) Som om ho hadde sett eit spøkjelse, var Mary bleik.
as if she had seen a ghost was Mary pale
'Mary was pale, as if she had seen a ghost.'
- (ii) Som viss ho hadde sett eit spøkjelse, var Mary bleik.
as if she had seen a ghost was Mary pale
'Mary was pale, as if she had seen a ghost.'

Speaker 2: It sounds weird with the “som om”-clause fronted, but it might be possible in some context. The verb initial word order would remain as bookish as in 152.

Swedish

1 Interrogatives

6. Please translate the following sentence into Swedish.

(101) Does Mary like books?

Speaker 1: Trans.: “Gillar Mary böcker?” (Gloss: Like.pres Mary books?) is a perfectly fine translation. However, I believe that one would rather put the question in a direction oriented towards the actual reading, as in Trans: “Gillar Mary att läsa (böcker)?” (Gloss: Like.pres Mary to read books). The object (i.e. books), is usually presupposed. – Note: I will use some notation whenever I find it helpful, as the abbreviation (pres.) for present tense in this example. I will also use the asterisk (*) for ungrammatical sentences, the hashtag (#) for semantically odd sentences, and the questionmark (?) for more questionable cases.

(101) a. Gillar Mary böcker?
likes Mary books
'Does Mary like books?'

(101) b. Gillar Mary att läsa (böcker)?
likes Mary to read books
'Does Mary like books?'

Speaker 2:

(101) c. Tycker Mary om böcker?
likes Mary of books
'Does Mary like books?'

7. Please consider the Swedish version of (101). Is it possible to have a question particle in the clause, and if so, is the result an ordinary variant of (101), or is its use more restricted?

Example: Whether Mary likes books?

Speaker 1: I am not entirely sure as of what you are requesting here, but I will do my best to answer it anyhow. If you are thinking about question particles as in Polish “Czy.particle Ania ma lody?”, then no. Swedish uses word order to signal the differences between a question (VSO-order) and e.g. a statement (SVO). There is no special particle to mark this distinction as far as I know.

Speaker 2: ungrammatical

- (i) *Huruvida Mary tycker om böcker?
whether Mary likes of books
'Does Mary like books?'

8. Please translate the following sentence into Swedish.

(102) Peter asked if Mary liked books.

Speaker 1:

- (102) a. Peter frågade om Mary gillade böcker.
Peter asked.PST if Mary liked.PST books
'Peter asked if Mary liked books.'

Speaker 2:

- (102) b. Peter frågade om Mary tyckte om böcker.
Peter asked.PST if Mary liked.PST of books
'Peter asked if Mary liked books.'

9. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “if” in (102) in Swedish. Please specify whether these may combine with each other or with an element like “that”, too.

Speaker 1: I do not believe that there is a corresponding element (wordlike?) to the Swedish “if” (Swe. “om”) here. But, we do have the possibility of excluding the subjunction “if” with a reversed word order in the subordinate clause, i.e. “Peter frågade, gillade Mary böcker?” (Gloss: Peter asked, like.past Mary books).

- (i) Peter frågade, gillade Mary böcker?
Peter asked.PST liked.PST Mary books
'Peter asked if Mary liked books.'

Speaker 2: om, huruvida (can not be combined with each other or “that”)

10. Please translate the following sentence.

(103) Peter doesn't know if Mary likes books.

Speaker 1:

- (103) a. Peter vet inte om Mary gillar böcker.
Peter knows not if Mary likes books
'Peter doesn't know if Mary likes books.'

Speaker 2:

- (103) b. Peter vet inte om Mary tycker om böcker.
Peter knows not if Mary likes of books
'Peter doesn't know if Mary likes books.'

11. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “if” in (103) in Swedish. Please specify whether these may combine with each other or with an element like “that”, too.

Speaker 1: Here there is some room for variation with only a slight change in meaning:

- (i) Peter vet huruvida Mary gillar böcker eller ej.
Peter knows not whether Mary likes books or not
'Peter doesn't know whether or not Mary likes books.'

Speaker 2: om, huruvida, ifall (can not be combined with each other or “that”)

12. Please translate the following sentence.

- (104) Who likes books?

Speaker 1:

- (104) a. Vem gillar böcker?
who likes books
'Who likes books?'

Speaker 2:

- (104) b. Vem tycker om böcker?
who likes of books
'Who likes books?'

13. Please translate the following sentence.

- (105) What does Mary like?

Speaker 1:

- (105) a. Vad gillar Mary?
what likes Mary
'What does Mary like?'

Speaker 2:

- (105) b. Vad tycker Mary om?
what likes Mary of
'What does Mary like?'

14. Please translate the following sentence.

(106) When did Mary arrive?

Speaker 1: (i) (Register: formal) Trans: “När anlände Mary?” Gloss: “When arrive.pret Mary?”, (ii) (Register: informal) Trans: “När kom Mary?” Gloss: “When come.pret Mary?”, (iii) (Register: Neutral) Trans: “När kom Mary fram?” Gloss: “When come.pret Mary forward.v(erb)-part(icle)?”

(106) a. När anlände Mary?
when arrived.PST Mary
‘When did Mary arrive?’

(106) b. När kom Mary?
when came Mary
‘When did Mary arrive?’

(106) c. När kom Mary fram?
when came Mary forward
‘When did Mary arrive?’

Speaker 2:

(106) d. När anlände Mary?
when arrived.PST Mary
‘When did Mary arrive?’

15. Please look at the Swedish versions of the items in (104)–(106). Could a topicalised element appear in front of the WH-element?

Example: To Susan what did Mary give?

Speaker 1: These are the topicalizations with grammaticality judgements: (104) Trans. #“Böcker gillar vem?”, Gloss: “Books likes who?”, (105) Trans: “Mary gillar vem?” Gloss: “Mary likes whom” (There is a change of meaning in (105). According to my experience it is no longer a question, but rather a mirative exclamative, but I guess it could also be used as a follow up question in case the listener didn’t catch the answer the first time. (106) Trans: “Mary anlände när?” Gloss: “Mary arrive.pret when?” (Same explanation as for (ii)).

(i) #Böcker gillar vem?
books likes who
‘Who likes books?’

(ii) Mary gillar vem?
Mary likes who
‘Who does Mary like?’

(iii) Mary anlände när?
Mary arrived.PST when
‘When did Mary arrive?’

Speaker 2: No.

16. Please translate the following sentence.

(107) Peter asked who liked books.

Speaker 1:

(107) a. Peter frågade vem gillar böcker.
Peter asked.PST who likes books
'Peter asked who liked books.'

Speaker 2: *Peter frågade vem tyckte om böcker. (ungrammatical) I would prefer "Peter frågade vem/vilka som tyckte om böcker." (This is not ungrammatical, but it's not quite right either. I would prefer the verb "undrade" 'wondered'.)

(107) b. *Peter frågade vem tyckte om böcker.
Peter asked.PST who liked.PST of books
'Peter asked who liked books.'

(107) c. Peter frågade vem som tyckte om böcker.
Peter asked.PST who that liked.PST of books
'Peter asked who liked books.'

(107) d. Peter frågade vilka som tyckte om böcker.
Peter asked.PST which that liked.PST of books
'Peter asked who liked books.'

17. Please translate the following sentence.

(108) Peter asked what Mary liked.

Speaker 1:

(108) a. Peter frågade vad Mary gillade.
Peter asked.PST what Mary liked.PST
'Peter asked what Mary liked.'

Speaker 2:

(108) b. Peter frågade vad Mary tyckte om.
Peter asked.PST what Mary liked.PST of
'Peter asked what Mary liked.'

18. Please translate the following sentence.

(109) Peter asked when Mary arrived.

Speaker 1:

- (109) a. Peter frågade när Mary anlände.
Peter asked.PST when Mary arrived.PST
'Peter asked when Mary arrived.'

Speaker 2: Peter frågade när Mary anlände. (This is a verbatim translation. It's not ungrammatical but to me it means that he was asking at the time she arrived. I would rather say "undrade" 'wondered' instead of "frågade" to get the meaning right, or change to one of the following: Peter frågade vilken tid Mary anlände. Peter frågade hur dags Mary anlände.)

- (109) b. Peter frågade när Mary anlände.
Peter asked.PST when Mary arrived.PST
'Peter asked when Mary arrived.'
- (109) c. Peter frågade vilken tid Mary anlände.
Peter asked.PST what time Mary arrived.PST
'Peter asked when Mary arrived.'
- (109) d. Peter frågade hur dags Mary anlände.
Peter asked.PST what.time Mary arrived.PST
'Peter asked when Mary arrived.'

19. Please look at the Swedish versions of the items in (107)–(109). Can a complementiser appear before/after the WH-element?

Example 1: Peter asked that what Mary liked.

Example 2: Peter asked if what Mary liked.

Example 3: Peter asked who that liked books.

Speaker 1: Here follows translations and grammaticality judgements: (i) Trans: *"Peter frågade att vad Mary gillade" Gloss: "Peter asked that what Mary liked". (This is not a complete sentence in Swedish). (ii) Trans: "Peter frågade om vad Mary gillade", Gloss: "Peter asked if what Mary liked" (The Swedish translation is grammatical and can be translated into something like the following in English: "Peter asked (someone) about what Mary liked.") (iii) Trans: *"Peter frågade vem att gillade böcker" Gloss: "Peter asked who that liked books." (This is not a grammatical sentence in Swedish)

- (i) *Peter frågade att vad Mary gillade.
Peter asked.PST that what Mary liked.PST
'Peter asked what Mary liked.'
- (ii) Peter frågade om vad Mary gillade.
Peter asked.PST of what Mary liked.PST
'Peter asked what Mary liked.'
- (iii) *Peter frågade vem att gillade böcker.
Peter asked.PST who that liked.PST books
'Peter asked who liked books.'

Speaker 2: (108)–(109): No. (107): See answer to question 16. It would also be possible to say "Peter frågade vem det var som tyckte om böcker", but I don't know if that is the

same thing as you are asking for.

- (iv) Peter frågade vem det var som tyckte om böcker.
Peter asked.PST who it was that liked.PST of books
'Peter asked who liked books.'

20. Please translate the following sentence.

(110) Peter doesn't know who likes books.

Speaker 1:

- (110) a. Peter vet inte vem som gillar böcker.
Peter knows not who that likes books
'Peter doesn't know who likes books.'

Speaker 2: *Peter vet inte vem tycker om böcker. (ungrammatical) I would say: Peter vet inte vem/vilka som tycker om böcker. Or: Peter vet inte vem/vilka det är som tycker om böcker.

- (110) b. *Peter vet inte vem tycker om böcker.
Peter knows not who likes of books
'Peter doesn't know who likes books.'
- (110) c. Peter vet inte vem som tycker om böcker.
Peter knows not who that likes of books
'Peter doesn't know who likes books.'
- (110) d. Peter vet inte vilka som tycker om böcker.
Peter knows not which that likes of books
'Peter doesn't know who likes books.'
- (110) e. Peter vet inte vem det är som tycker om böcker.
Peter knows not who it is that likes of books
'Peter doesn't know who likes books.'
- (110) f. Peter vet inte vilka det är som tycker om böcker.
Peter knows not which it is that likes of books
'Peter doesn't know who likes books.'

21. Please translate the following sentence.

(111) Peter doesn't know what Mary likes.

Speaker 1:

- (111) a. Peter vet inte vad Mary gillar.
Peter knows not what Mary likes
'Peter doesn't know what Mary likes.'

Speaker 2:

- (111) b. Peter vet inte vad Mary tycker om.
Peter knows not what Mary likes of
'Peter doesn't know what Mary likes.'

22. Please translate the following sentence.

- (112) Peter doesn't know when Mary arrived.

Speaker 1:

- (112) a. Peter vet inte när Mary anlände.
Peter knows not when Mary arrived.PST
'Peter doesn't know when Mary arrived.'

Speaker 2:

- (112) b. Peter vet inte när Mary anlände.
Peter knows not when Mary arrived.PST
'Peter doesn't know when Mary arrived.'
- (112) c. Peter vet inte vilken tid Mary anlände.
Peter knows not what time Mary arrived.PST
'Peter doesn't know when Mary arrived.'
- (112) d. Peter vet inte hur dags Mary anlände.
Peter knows not what.time Mary arrived.PST
'Peter doesn't know when Mary arrived.'

23. Please look at the Swedish versions of the items in (110)–(112). Can a complementiser appear before/after the WH-element?

Example 1: Peter doesn't know who that likes books.

Example 2: Peter doesn't know that who likes books.

Example 3: Peter doesn't know what that Mary likes.

Example 4: Peter doesn't know that what Mary likes.

Example 5: Peter doesn't know when that Mary arrived.

Example 6: Peter doesn't know that when Mary arrived.

Speaker 1: (i) Trans: “*Peter vet inte vem att gillar böcker” Gloss: “Peter know.pres not who that likes books.” (ii) Trans: “#Peter vet inte att vem gillar böcker” Gloss: “Peter know.pres not that who likes books.” (This sentence might work in situations where one is either flabbergasted or in an interrogative while requesting information about the book-likee.) (iii) Trans: “*Peter vet inte vad att Mary gillar.”, Gloss: “Peter know.pres not what that Mary likes.”, (iv) Trans: “*Peter vet inte att vad Mary gillar.” Gloss: “Peter know.pres not that what Mary likes”, (v) Trans: “*Peter vet inte när att Mary anlände” Gloss: “Peter know-pres not when that Mary arrived”, (vi) Trans: “*Peter vet inte att när Mary anlände” Gloss: “Peter know.pres not that when Mary arrived.”

- (i) *Peter vet inte vem att gillar böcker.
Peter knows not who that likes books
'Peter doesn't know who likes books.'
- (ii) #Peter vet inte att vem gillar böcker.
Peter knows not that who likes books
'Peter doesn't know who likes books.'
- (iii) *Peter vet inte vad att Mary gillar.
Peter knows not what that Mary likes
'Peter doesn't know what Mary likes.'
- (iv) *Peter vet inte att vad Mary gillar.
Peter knows not that what Mary likes
'Peter doesn't know what Mary likes.'
- (v) *Peter vet inte när att Mary anlände.
Peter knows not when that Mary arrived.PST
'Peter doesn't know when Mary arrived.'
- (vi) *Peter vet inte att när Mary anlände.
Peter knows not that when Mary arrived.PST
'Peter doesn't know when Mary arrived.'

Speaker 2: (111)–(112): No. (110): see answer to question 20.

24. Please look at the Swedish versions of the items in (102)–(103) and (107)–(112). Can the subordinate clause appear before the matrix clause?

Example: If Mary likes books, Peter asked.

Speaker 1: (102) Trans: “Om Mary gillade böcker, frågade Peter” Gloss: “If Mary liked books, asked Peter” (This clause inversion is acceptable in echo-questions in reported quotative clauses, i.e. “(Are you asking me) if Mary likes books (?), Peter asked.”), (103) Trans: “?Om Mary gillar böcker, vet Peter inte.” Gloss: “If Mary likes books. knows Peter not.” (I believe that such a sentence is possible in certain contexts, but it would sound a bit artificial and odd in many other situations), (107) Trans: “Vem gillade böcker, frågade Peter.” Gloss: “Who liked books, asked Peter.”, (108) Trans: “Vad gillade Mary, frågade Peter.” Gloss: “What liked Mary, asked Peter”, (109) Trans: “När anlände Mary, frågade Peter.” Gloss: “When arrived Mary, asked Peter”, (110) Trans: “Vem som gillar böcker, vet inte Peter.” Gloss: “Who that relativizer likes books, know not Peter” (A narrator-sounding(looking) sentence), (111) Trans: “Vad Mary gillar, vet inte Peter.” Gloss: “What Mary likes, know not Peter” (Another narrator-sounding(looking) sentence), (112) Trans: “När Mary anlände, vet inte Peter” Gloss: “When Mary arrived, know not Peter” (yet another narrator-sounding(looking) sentence).

- (i) Om Mary gillade böcker, frågade Peter.
if Mary liked.PST books asked.PST Peter
'Peter asked if Mary liked books.'
- (ii) ?Om Mary gillar böcker, vet Peter inte.
if Mary likes books knows Peter not
'Peter doesn't know if Mary likes books.'

- (iii) Vem gillade böcker, frågade Peter.
who liked.PST books asked.PST Peter
'Peter asked who liked books.'
- (iv) Vad gillade Mary, frågade Peter.
what liked.PST Mary asked.PST Peter
'Peter asked what Mary liked.'
- (v) När anlände Mary, frågade Peter.
when arrived.PST Mary asked.PST Peter
'Peter asked when Mary arrived.'
- (vi) Vem som gillar böcker, vet inte Peter.
who that likes books knows not Peter
'Peter doesn't know who liked books.'
- (vii) Vad Mary gillar, vet inte Peter.
what Mary likes knows not Peter
'Peter doesn't know what Mary likes.'
- (viii) När Mary anlände, vet inte Peter.
when Mary arrived.PST knows not Peter
'Peter doesn't know when Mary arrived.'

Speaker 2: (102)–(103): Yes, but the subject of the matrix clause has to move to the position after the verb. (107)–(112): No.

25. Please look at the Swedish versions of the items in (102)–(103) and (107)–(112). Can the subject or the object be topicalised in front of “if” or a WH-element (and, if applicable, in between a complementiser like “that” and “if”/the WH-element)?

Example 1: Peter asked (that) Mary if likes books.

Example 2: Peter doesn't know (that) books who likes.

Speaker 1: The answer is no, with one (questionable) exception: (102) Trans: “*Peter frågade att om Mary gillade böcker”, (103) Trans: “*Peter vet inte att om Mary gillar böcker.”, (107) Trans: “Peter frågade att vem gillar böcker.” Gloss: “Peter asked that who likes books” (Informal register, works in reported speech), (108) Trans: “*Peter frågade att vad Mary gillade.”, (109) Trans: “*Peter frågade när Mary anlände.”, (110) Trans: “*Peter vet inte att vem som gillar böcker.”, (111) Trans: “*Peter vet inte att vad Mary gillar.”, (112) Trans: “*Peter vet inte att när Mary anlände”

- (i) *Peter vet inte att om Mary gillar böcker.
Peter knows not that if Mary likes books
'Peter doesn't know if Mary likes books.'
- (ii) *Peter vet inte att om Mary gillar böcker.
Peter knows not that if Mary likes books
'Peter doesn't know if Mary likes books.'
- (iii) Peter frågade att vem gillar böcker.
Peter asked.PST that who likes books
'Peter asked who likes books.'

- (iv) Peter frågade att vad Mary gillade.
Peter asked.PST that what Mary liked.PST
'Peter asked what Mary liked.'
- (v) *Peter frågade när Mary anlände.
Peter asked.PST when Mary arrived.PST
'Peter asked when Mary arrived.'
- (vi) *Peter vet inte att vem som gillar böcker.
Peter knows not that who that likes books
'Peter doesn't know who likes books.'
- (vii) *Peter vet inte att vad Mary gillar.
Peter knows not that what Mary likes
'Peter doesn't know what Mary likes.'
- (viii) *Peter vet inte att när Mary anlände.
Peter knows not that when Mary arrived.PST
'Peter doesn't know when Mary arrived.'

Speaker 2: No.

26. Is it possible to have ellipsis with a single subject remnant following the element(s) corresponding to “if”? (Please consider whether it is possible with verbs other than “like” as well, e.g. “know” and “think”.)

Example: I know someone likes books but I don't know if Mary.

Speaker 1: Trans: “*Jag vet/tänker att någon gillar böcker, men jag vet inte om Mary.”
Gloss: “I know/think that someone likes books, but I know not if Mary.” (I would say that this ellipsis is ungrammatical. But, one could use a “do so” construction here, e.g. Trans: “Jag vet att någon gillar böcker, men jag vet inte om Mary gör det.” Gloss: “I know that someone likes books, but I don't know if Mary does.”

- (i) *Jag vet att någon gillar böcker, men jag vet inte om Mary.
I know that someone likes books but I know not if Mary
'I know that someone likes books, but I don't know if Mary does.'
- (ii) *Jag tänker att någon gillar böcker, men jag vet inte om Mary.
I think that someone likes books but I know not if Mary
'I think that someone likes books, but I don't know if Mary does.'
- (iii) Jag vet att någon gillar böcker, men jag vet inte om Mary gör det.
I know that someone likes books but I know not if Mary does it
'I know that someone likes books but I don't know if Mary does so.'

Speaker 2: No (with all verbs).

27. Is it possible to have ellipsis with a single object remnant following the element(s) corresponding to “if”? (Please consider whether it is possible with verbs other than “like” as well, e.g. “know” and “think”.)

Example: I know someone Mary likes something but I don't know if books.

Speaker 1: This is word salad in Swedish

- (i) Jag vet att någon Mary gillar något men jag vet inte om böcker.
I know that someone Mary likes something but I know not if books
'I know that Mary likes something, but I don't know if she likes books.'
- (ii) Jag tänker att någon Mary gillar något men jag vet inte om böcker.
I think that someone Mary likes something but I know not if books
'I know that Mary likes something, but I don't know if she likes books.'

Speaker 2: Perhaps, it sounds neither really good or really bad.

28. Is it possible to have ellipsis with a single WH remnant? (Please consider whether it is possible with verbs other than “like” or “arrive” as well.)

Example 1: I know someone likes books but I don't know who.

Example 2: I know Mary likes something but I don't know what.

Example 3: I know Mary has arrived but I don't know when.

Speaker 1:

- (i) Jag vet att någon gillar böcker, men jag vet inte vem.
I know that someone likes books but I know not who
'I know that someone likes books, but I don't know who.'
- (ii) Jag vet att någon uppskattar böcker, men jag vet inte vem.
I know that someone appreciates books but I know not who
'I know that someone appreciates books, but I don't know who.'
- (iii) Jag vet att någon läser böcker, men jag vet inte vem.
I know that someone reads books but I know not who
'I know that someone reads books, but I don't know who.'
- (iv) Jag vet att någon bränner böcker, men jag vet inte vem.
I know that someone burns books but I know not who
'I know that someone burns books, but I don't know who.'
- (v) Jag vet att Mary gillar något, men jag vet inte vad.
I know that Mary likes something but I know not what
'I know that Mary likes something, but I don't know what.'
- (vi) Jag vet att Mary läser något, men jag vet inte vad.
I know that Mary reads something but I know not what
'I know that Mary reads something, but I don't know what.'
- (vii) Jag vet att Mary skapar något, men jag vet inte vad.
I know that Mary creates something but I know not what
'I know that Mary creates something, but I don't know what.'
- (viii) Jag vet att Mary har anlänt, men jag vet inte när.
I know that Mary has arrived but I know not when
'I know that Mary arrived, but I don't know when.'
- (ix) Jag vet att Mary har sovit, men jag vet inte när.
I know that Mary has slept but I know not when
'I know that Mary slept, but I don't know when.'

- (x) Jag vet att Mary har rest, men jag vet inte när.
I know that Mary has travelled but I know not when
'I know that Mary has travelled, but I don't know when.'

Speaker 2: Yes (with all verbs).

29. Is it possible to have ellipsis with multiple WH remnants? If so, is the order of the WH-elements fixed? (Please consider whether it is possible with verbs other than “like” as well.)

Example: I know someone likes something but I don't know who what.

Speaker 1: Intuition says no. Swedish corpora seem to support that intuition (as far as I can tell). But there might be some exceptions unknown to me.

Speaker 2: No (with all verbs), unless “eller” is placed between the WH-elements:

- (i) Jag vet att någon tycker om något, men jag vet inte vem eller vad.
I know that someone likes of something but I know not who or what
'I know someone likes something but I don't know who likes what.'

2 Declaratives

30. Please translate the following sentence into Swedish.

- (201) Mary likes books.

Speaker 1:

- (201) a. Mary gillar böcker.
Mary likes books
'Mary likes books.'

Speaker 2:

- (201) b. Mary tycker om böcker.
Mary likes of books
'Mary likes books.'

31. Please translate the following sentence.

- (202) Peter says (that) Mary likes books.

Speaker 1:

- (202) a. Peter säger att Mary gillar böcker.
Peter says that Mary likes books
'Peter says that Mary likes books.'

Speaker 2:

- (202) b. *Peter säger Mary tycker om böcker.
Peter says Mary likes of books
'Peter says that Mary likes books.'
- (202) c. Peter säger att Mary tycker om böcker.
Peter says that Mary likes of books
'Peter says that Mary likes books.'

32. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “that” in (202) in Swedish. Please specify whether these may combine with each other, too.

Speaker 1: If I interpret the meaning of “correspond” correctly, there is no substitution for “that” (Swe. “att”) besides ellipsis in reported speech:

- (i) Peter säger 'Mary gillar böcker'.
Peter says Mary likes books
'Peter says: “Mary likes books.”'

Speaker 2: att, det att

33. Please translate the following sentence.

- (203) Peter knows (that) Mary likes books.

Speaker 1:

- (203) a. Peter vet att Mary gillar böcker.
Peter knows that Mary likes books
'Peter knows that Mary likes books.'

Speaker 2:

- (203) b. *Peter vet Mary tycker om böcker.
Peter knows Mary likes of books
'Peter knows that Mary likes books.'
- (203) c. Peter vet att Mary tycker om böcker.
Peter knows that Mary likes of books
'Peter knows that Mary likes books.'

34. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “that” in (203) in Swedish. Please specify whether these may combine with each other, too.

Speaker 1: If I interpret the meaning of “correspond” correctly, there is no substitution for “that” (Swe. “att”) in the valency of “know”.

Speaker 2: att

35. Please translate the following sentence.

(204) Peter thinks (that) Mary likes books.

Speaker 1:

(204) a. Peter tror att Mary gillar böcker.
Peter thinks that Mary likes books
'Peter thinks that Mary likes books.'

Speaker 2:

(204) b. *Peter tror Mary tycker om böcker.
Peter thinks Mary likes of books
'Peter thinks that Mary likes books.'

(204) c. Peter tror att Mary tycker om böcker.
Peter thinks that Mary likes of books
'Peter thinks that Mary likes books.'

36. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “that” in (204) in Swedish. Please specify whether these may combine with each other, too.

Speaker 1: If I interpret the meaning of “correspond” correctly, there is no substitution for “that” (Swe. “att”) in the valency of “believe”. However, there are other (informal register in speech) examples where a speaker might omit the subordinator such as:

(i) Hon tror han sover.
she thinks he sleeping
'She thinks he is sleeping.'

Speaker 2: att

37. Please translate the following sentence.

(205) It is surprising (that) Mary likes books.

Speaker 1:

(205) a. Det är förvånande att Mary gillar böcker.
it is surprising that Mary likes books
'It is surprising that Mary likes books.'

Speaker 2:

(205) b. *Det är överraskande Mary tycker om böcker.
it is surprising Mary likes of books
'It is surprising that Mary likes books.'

- (205) c. Det är överraskande att Mary tycker om böcker.
 it is surprising that Mary likes of books
 ‘It is surprising that Mary likes books.’

38. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “that” in (205) in Swedish. Please specify whether these may combine with each other, too.

Speaker 1: If I interpret the meaning of “correspond” correctly, there is no substitution for “that” (Swe. “att”) in this construction.

Speaker 2: att

39. Please look at the Swedish versions of the items in (202)–(205). Can the clauses introduced by “that” be fronted, and if so, is the element corresponding to “that” obligatory?

Example: (That) Mary likes books is surprising.

Speaker 1: (202) Trans: “(Att) Mary gillar böcker, säger Peter.” Gloss: “(That) Mary like.pres books, say.pres Peter” (Both cases with or without “that” is of course something that Peter could say; if someone would say it is a different story. The case with the omitted complementizer would – I believe – be the most frequent in Swedish corpora. Please note that this is still a reporting clause), (203) Trans: “Att Mary gillar böcker, vet Peter” Gloss: “That Mary like.pres books, know.pres Peter” (Obligatory “that” (“att”)), (204) Trans: “(Att) Mary gillar böcker, tror Peter.” Gloss: “That Mary like.pres books, believe Peter” (I would say that this fronting sounds strange with “that” (“att”). (205) Trans: “Att Mary gillar böcker är förvånande.” Gloss: “That Mary like.pres books be.pres surprising” (obligatory “that”).

- (i) (Att) Mary gillar böcker, säger Peter.
 that Mary likes books says Peter
 ‘Peter says that Mary likes books.’
- (ii) Att Mary gillar böcker, vet Peter.
 that Mary likes books knows Peter
 ‘Peter knows that Mary likes books.’
- (iii) (Att) Mary gillar böcker, tror Peter.
 that Mary likes books thinks Peter
 ‘Peter thinks that Mary likes books.’
- (iv) Att Mary gillar böcker är förvånande.
 that Mary likes books is surprising
 ‘It is surprising that Mary likes books.’

Speaker 2: (202): Yes, and it sounds better without “att”. (203): Yes, “att” is obligatory. (204): Yes, and it sounds better without “att”. In (202)–(204) the subject of the main clause must move to the position after the verb. (205): No, not unless “det” is removed from the sentence. “Att” is then obligatory.

40. Please look at the Swedish versions of the items in (204)–(205). Can the subject or the object be topicalised in front of “that” (or, if applicable, in between two complementisers)?

Example 1: Peter says Mary that likes books.

Example 2: Peter says that Mary that likes books.

Example 3: Peter says books that Mary likes.

Example 4: Peter says that books that Mary likes.

Speaker 1: (202) Trans: “*Peter säger Mary att gillar böcker.” (subject raising), Trans: “*Peter säger böcker att Mary gillar.” (object raising), (203) Trans: “*Peter vet Mary att gillar böcker” (subject raising) Trans: “*Peter vet böcker att Mary gillar” (object raising), (204) Trans: “*Peter tror Mary att gillar böcker.” (subject raising), Trans: “*Peter tror böcker att Mary gillar.” (object raising), (205) Trans: “*Det är förvånande Mary att gillar böcker.” (subject raising) Trans: “*Det är förvånande böcker att Mary gillar.” (object raising)

- (i) *Peter säger Mary att gillar böcker.
Peter says Mary that likes books
'Peter says that Mary likes books.'
- (ii) *Peter säger böcker att Mary gillar.
Peter says books that Mary likes
'Peter says that Mary likes books.'
- (iii) *Peter vet Mary att gillar böcker.
Peter knows Mary that likes books
'Peter knows that Mary likes books.'
- (iv) *Peter vet böcker att Mary gillar.
Peter knows books that Mary likes
'Peter knows that Mary likes books.'
- (v) *Peter tror Mary att gillar böcker.
Peter thinks Mary that likes books
'Peter thinks that Mary likes books.'
- (vi) *Peter tror böcker att Mary gillar.
Peter thinks books that Mary likes
'Peter thinks that Mary likes books.'
- (vii) *Det är förvånande Mary att gillar böcker.
it is surprising Mary that likes books
'It is surprising that Mary likes books.'
- (viii) *Det är förvånande böcker att Mary gillar.
it is surprising books that Mary likes
'It is surprising that Mary likes books.'

Speaker 2: No.

41. Is it possible to have ellipsis with a single subject remnant following the element(s) corresponding to “that” (see “B” below)? (Please consider whether it is possible with verbs other than “like” as well, e.g. “know” and “think”.)

Example:

A: Who likes books?

B: Peter says that Mary.

Speaker 1: (i) Trans: A: “Vem gillar böcker?” B: “*Peter säger att Mary.” (cf. “Peter säger Mary”) Gloss: (Equivalent). Furthermore, the grammaticality of the ellipsis in the B-reply does not depend upon or vary because of the verb in the A-question in Swedish examples of A involving “know” and “think”.

- (i) A: Vem gillar böcker?
who likes books
'Who likes books?'
- B: *Peter säger att Mary.
Peter says that Mary
'Peter says that Mary likes books.'

Speaker 2: No.

42. Is it possible to have ellipsis with a single object remnant following the element(s) corresponding to “that” (see “B” below)? (Please consider whether it is possible with verbs other than “like” as well, e.g. “know” and “think”.)

Example:

A: What does Mary like?

B: Peter says that books.

Speaker 1: The answer is the same as in question 41 above.

Speaker 2: No.

3 Relative clauses

43. Please translate the following sentence into Swedish.

(301) This is the student who invited Mary.

Speaker 1:

- (301) a. Det här är studenten som bjöd in Mary.
this here is the.student who invited.PST in Mary
'This is the student who invited Mary.'
- (301) b. Detta är studenten som bjöd in Mary.
this is the.student who invited.PST in Mary
'This is the student who invited Mary.'

Speaker 2:

- (301) c. Det här är studenten som bjöd in Mary.
this here is the.student who invited.PST in Mary
'This is the student who invited Mary.'

44. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “who” in (301) in Swedish, including complementisers like “that” and the absence of any overt relative pronoun or complementiser. Please specify whether the overt elements may combine with each other, too.

Speaker 1:

- (i) Detta är studenten vilken bjöd in Mary.
this is the.student which invited.PST in Mary
'This is the student who invited Mary.'
- (ii) Detta är studenten som bjöd in Mary.
this is the.student who invited.PST in Mary
'This is the student who invited Mary.'
- (iii) Detta är studenten vilken som bjöd in Mary.
this is the.student which who invited.PST in Mary
'This is the student who invited Mary.'

Speaker 2: som

45. Please translate the following sentence.

- (302) This is the book which Mary bought.

Speaker 1:

- (302) a. Det här är boken som Mary köpte.
this here is the.book that Mary bought.PST
'This is the book which Mary bought.'
- (302) b. Dett är boken som Mary köpte.
this is the.book that Mary bought.PST
'This is the book which Mary bought.'

Speaker 2:

- (302) c. Det här är boken som Mary köpte.
this here is the.book that Mary bought.PST
'This is the book which Mary bought.'

46. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “which” in (302) in Swedish, including complementisers like “that” and the absence of any overt relative pronoun or complementiser. Please specify whether the overt elements may combine with each other, too.

Speaker 1: The answer is the same as in question 44, with the addition of a possibility to omit the relativizer, e.g.:

- (i) Detta är boken Mary köpte.
this is the.book Mary bought.PST
'This is the book that Mary bought.'

Speaker 2: som, vilken. These can be absent, but not combined with each other.

47. Please translate the following sentence.

- (303) This is the city where I was born.

Speaker 1:

- (303) a. Det här är staden där jag föddes.
this here is the.city where I was.born
'This is the city where I was born.'
- (303) b. Detta är staden där jag föddes.
this is the.city where I was.born
'This is the city where I was born.'
- (303) c. Det här är staden där jag är född.
this here is the.city where I am born
'This is the city where I was born.'
- (303) d. Detta är staden där jag är född.
this is the.city where I am born
'This is the city where I was born.'

Speaker 2:

- (303) e. Det här är stan där jag föddes.
this here is the.city where I was.born
'This is the city where I was born.'

48. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “where” in (303) in Swedish, including complementisers like “that” and the absence of any overt relative pronoun or complementiser. Please specify whether the overt elements may combine with each other, too.

Speaker 1:

- (i) Det här är staden som jag är född i.
this here is the.city that I am born in
'This is the city where I was born.'
- (ii) Detta är staden som jag är född i.
this is the.city that I am born in
'This is the city where I was born.'

- (iii) Det här är staden som jag föddes i.
this here is the.city that I was.born in
'This is the city where I was born.'
- (iv) Detta är staden som jag föddes i.
this is the.city that I was.born in
'This is the city where I was born.'
- (v) Det här är staden i vilken jag föddes i.
this here is the.city in which I was.born in
'This is the city where I was born.'
- (vi) Detta är staden i vilken jag föddes i.
this is the.city in which I was.born in
'This is the city where I was born.'
- (vii) Det här är staden i vilken jag är född i.
this here is the.city in which I am born in
'This is the city where I was born.'
- (viii) Detta är staden i vilken jag är född i.
this is the.city in which I am born in
'This is the city where I was born.'
- (ix) Det här är staden jag föddes i.
this here is the.city I was.born in
'This is the city where I was born.'
- (x) Detta är staden jag föddes i.
this is the.city I was.born in
'This is the city where I was born.'
- (xi) Det här är staden jag är född i.
this here is the.city I am born in
'This is the city where I was born.'
- (xii) Detta är staden jag är född i.
this is the.city I am born in
'This is the city where I was born.'

Speaker 2: där, i vilken. They can not combined with each other.

49. Please translate the following sentence.

- (304) That was the year when Mary arrived.

Speaker 1:

- (304) a. Det var året som Mary anlände.
the was the.year that Mary arrived.PST
'This was the year when Mary arrived.'
- (304) b. Detta var året som Mary anlände.
this was the.year that Mary arrived.PST
'This was the year when Mary arrived.'

Speaker 2:

- (304) c. Det var året då Mary kom.
this was the.year then Mary came
'This was the year when Mary arrived.'

50. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “when” in (304) in Swedish, including complementisers like “that” and the absence of any overt relative pronoun or complementiser. Please specify whether the overt elements may combine with each other, too.

Speaker 1:

- (i) Detta var året då Mary anlände.
this was the.year then Mary arrived.PST
'This was the year when Mary arrived.'
- (ii) Detta var året när Mary anlände.
this was the.year when Mary arrived.PST
'This was the year when Mary arrived.'
- (iii) Detta var året Mary anlände.
this was the.year Mary arrived.PST
'This was the year when Mary arrived.'

Speaker 2: då, när, som. They can not combined with each other.

51. Please translate the following sentence.

- (305) I will invite whoever you recommend.

Speaker 1:

- (305) a. Jag bjuder in vem du än rekommenderar.
I invite in who you any recommend
'I will invite whoever you recommend.'
- (305) b. Jag ska bjuda in vem du än rekommenderar.
I will invite.INF in who you any recommend
'I will invite whoever you recommend.'
- (305) c. Jag ska bjuda vem du än rekommenderar.
I will invite.INF who you any recommend
'I will invite whoever you recommend.'

Speaker 2:

- (305) d. Jag kommer att bjuda in vem helst du rekommenderar.
I come to invite.INF in whoever you recommend
'I will invite whoever you recommend.'

52. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “whoever” in (305) in Swedish, including combinations with complementisers like “that”.

Speaker 1:

- (i) Jag bjuder in vem helst du rekommenderar.
I invite in whoever you recommend
'I will invite whoever you recommend.'
- (ii) Jag ska bjuda vem helst du rekommenderar.
I will invite.INF whoever you recommend
'I will invite whoever you recommend.'
- (iii) Jag ska bjuda in vem helst du rekommenderar.
I will invite.INF in whoever you recommend
'I will invite whoever you recommend.'

Speaker 2: vem helst, vem som helst (som). They can not combined with each other.

53. Please translate the following sentence.

(306) I will hire whoever is qualified.

Speaker 1:

- (306) a. *Jag anställer vem helst är kvalificerad.
I hire whoever is qualified
'I will hire whoever is qualified.'

Speaker 2: This doesn't sound quite natural to me. I would rather rephrase the whole sentence.

- (306) b. Jag kommer att anställa vem som helst som är kvalificerad.
I come to hire.INF whoever that is qualified
'I will hire whoever is qualified.'

54. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “whoever” in (306) in Swedish, including combinations with complementisers like “that”.

Speaker 1: There are subordinating multiwords like “vem helst” or comparative “vem än” but I rarely if ever use these. My intuition on these are therefore not reliable. I am afraid I can't be of much help on these ones, besides saying that these expressions sound very formal, and to my ear somewhat archaic.

Speaker 2: vem som helst som

55. Please translate the following sentence.

(307) I will do whatever you recommend.

Speaker 1:

- (307) a. Jag ska göra vad du än rekommenderar.
I will do.INF what you any recommend
'I will do whatever you recommend.'

Speaker 2: Jag kommer att göra vad helst du rekommenderar. Jag kommer att göra vad du än rekommenderar. (Last sounds a bit more informal and maybe a bit "forced".)

- (307) b. Jag kommer att göra vad helst du rekommenderar.
I come to do.INF whatever you recommend
'I will do whatever you recommend.'

- (307) c. Jag kommer att göra vad du än rekommenderar.
I come to do.INF what you any recommend
'I will do whatever you recommend.'

56. Please list all the elements that can correspond to "whatever" in (307) in Swedish, including combinations with complementisers like "that".

Speaker 1: No variation. There might be some archaic or formal examples but they don't reside in my mental lexicon.

Speaker 2: vad helst, vad du än

57. Please translate the following sentence.

- (308) I will go wherever I find linguists.

Speaker 1: Register: formal.

- (308) a. Jag ska gå varhelst jag finner lingvister.
I will go.INF wherever I find linguists
'I will go wherever I find linguists.'

Speaker 2: Sounds a bit unnatural, like "svengelska"; I wouldn't say so.

- (308) b. Jag kommer att gå vart som helst (där) jag hittar språkvetare.
I come to go.INF wherever there I find linguists
'I will go wherever I find linguists.'

58. Please list all the elements that can correspond to "wherever" in (308) in Swedish, including combinations with complementisers like "that".

Speaker 1: Trans: "Jag ska gå dit/dit som jag finner lingvister." Gloss: "I will.pres. go.inf. there/there which I find.pres. linguists." ("dit som" less formal than "varhelst", and "dit" is less formal than "dit som".)

- (i) Jag ska gå dit jag finner lingvister.
I will go.INF there I find linguists
'I will go wherever I find linguists.'

- (ii) Jag ska gå dit som jag finner lingvister.
 I will go.INF there that I find linguists
 ‘I will go wherever I find linguists.’

Speaker 2: vart som helst, varthelst (varthelst is a bit more formal)

59. Please translate the following sentence.

- (309) I will go whenever it suits you.

Speaker 1: Register: Formal.

- (309) a. Jag ska gå närhelst det passar dig.
 I will go.INF whenever it suits you
 ‘I will go whenever it suits you.’

Speaker 2:

- (309) b. Jag kommer att gå när som helst det passar dig.
 I come to go.INF anytime it suits you
 ‘I will go whenever it suits you.’

60. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “whenever” in (309) in Swedish, including combinations with complementisers like “that”.

Speaker 1:

- (i) Jag går när det passar dig.
 I go when it suits you
 ‘I will go whenever it suits you.’
- (ii) Jag går då det passar dig.
 I go then it suits you
 ‘I will go whenever it suits you.’

Speaker 2: när som helst det, närhelst det (närhelst det is a bit more formal)

61. Please look at the Swedish versions of the items in (301)–(309). Can the relative clause appear before the matrix clause?

Example: Where I was born, I am going to that city.

Speaker 1: Yes this is possible but not as a modifier to the matrix verb, only as an longdistance apposition-like element connected to “city”, e.g. (Swe) “[SubC Där jag föddes]/MD, jag ska [AdvP dit]/HD imorgon.” Gloss: “[SubC Where I born.pres.pass.], I will.pres. [AdvP there]/HD tomorrow.”

- (i) Där jag föddes, jag ska imorgon.
 where I born I will tomorrow
 ‘Tomorrow, I will go where I was born.’

Speaker 2: Yes, if you change the order of subject – verb to verb – subject in the main-clause.

62. Please look at the Swedish versions of the items in (301)–(309). Can a topicalised element appear before the relative pronoun (or the relative complementiser)?

Example: This is the student Mary who invited.

Speaker 1: (301) Trans: “*Det här/detta är studenten Mary som bjöd in.” Gloss: “This here/this be.pres student.def Mary who invite.pret in.v-part.” (302) Trans: “*Det här/detta är boken Mary som köpte.” Gloss: “This here/this be.pres book.def Mary which buy.pret.” (303) Trans: “*Det här/detta är staden jag där föddes/är född.” Gloss: “This here/this be.pres city.def. I where born.V.passive/be.pres. born.Adj.” (304) Trans: “*Det/detta var året Mary som anlände.” Gloss: “This be.pret year.def. Mary which.rel arrive.pret.” (305) Trans: “*Jag bjuder in/ska bjuda/ska bjuda in du vem än rekommenderar.” Gloss: “I invite.pres. in.v-part./will.pres. invite.inf./will.pres invite.inf. in.v-part. you who ever.comparative.subj. recommend.pres.” (306) Doesn’t apply; there is nothing nominal to raise, besides any non-nominal raising would lead to ungrammaticality. (307) Trans: “*Jag ska göra du vad än rekommenderar” Gloss: “I will.pres do.inf. you what ever.comparative. recommend.pres.” (308) Trans: “*Jag ska gå jag varhelst finner lingvister.” Gloss: “I will.pres. go.inf. I wherever find.pres linguists.” (309) Trans: “*Jag ska gå det närhelst passar dig.” Gloss: “I will.pres. go.inf. it whenever suit.pres. you”

- (i) *Det här är studenten Mary som bjöd in.
this here is the.student Mary that invited.PST in
‘This is the student who Mary invited.’
- (ii) *Detta är studenten Mary som bjöd in.
this is the.student Mary that invited.PST in
‘This is the student who Mary invited.’
- (iii) *Det här är boken Mary som köpte.
this here is the.book Mary that bought.PST
‘This is the book which Mary bought.’
- (iv) *Detta är boken Mary som köpte.
this is the.book Mary that bought.PST
‘This is the book which Mary bought.’
- (v) *Det här är staden jag där föddes.
this here is the.city I where was.born
‘This is the city where I was born.’
- (vi) *Det här är staden jag där är född.
this here is the.city I where am born
‘This is the city where I was born.’
- (vii) *Detta är staden jag där föddes.
this is the.city I where was.born
‘This is the city where I was born.’
- (viii) *Detta är staden jag där är född.
this is the.city I where am born.
‘This is the city where I was born.’

- (ix) *Det var året Mary som anlände.
The was the.year Mary which.REL arrived
'This was the year when Mary arrived.'
- (x) *Detta var året Mary som anlände.
this was the.year Mary which.REL arrived
'This was the year when Mary arrived.'
- (xi) Jag bjuder in du vem än rekommenderar.
I invite in you who any recommend
'I will invite whoever you recommend.'
- (xii) Jag ska bjuda du vem än rekommenderar.
I will invite.INF you who ever.COMP.SUBJ recommend
'I will invite whoever you recommend.'
- (xiii) Jag ska bjuda in du vem än rekommenderar.
I will invite.INF in you who any recommend
'I will invite whoever you recommend.'
- (xiv) *Jag ska göra du vad än rekommenderar.
I will do.INF you what any recommend
'I will do whatever you recommend.'
- (xv) *Jag ska gå jag varhelst finner lingvister.
I will go.INF I wherever find linguists
'I will go wherever I find linguists.'
- (xvi) *Jag ska gå det närhelst passar dig.
I will go.INF it whenever suits you
'I will go whenever it suits you.'

Speaker 2: No. (Not sure I understand.)

63. Is it possible for the relative pronoun to be a single remnant of ellipsis?

Example: Well, Mary lives where. (Meaning: 'Mary lives wherever she does.')

Speaker 1: I think I see what you're getting at. Hmm... One may say, (Swe) "Tja, Mary bor där" meaning 'Well Mary lives there' with "there" having an anaphorical reference to some previous location in the discourse. This example – I believe – is not what you are referring to. The examples I think you are looking for would not exist in Swedish. If I try to say "Tja, Mary bor där" with an intonation pattern suggesting an omitted subordinate clause, the outcome just don't make sense to me. It suggests, I guess, that this phenomenon does not appear in the Swedish language.

- (i) Tja, Mary bor där.
well Mary lives there
'Well, Mary lives there.'

Speaker 2: No. (Not sure I understand.)

4 Degree clauses

64. Please translate the following sentence into Swedish.

(401) How did you open the bottle?

Speaker 1:

(401) a. Hur öppnade du flaskan?
how opened.PST you the.bottle
'How did you open the bottle?'

Speaker 2:

(401) b. Hur öppnade du flaskan?
how opened.PST you the.bottle
'How did you open the bottle?'

65. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “how” in (401) in Swedish.

Speaker 1:

(i) På vilket sätt öppnade du flaskan?
in which manner opened.PST you the.bottle
'How did you open the bottle?'

Speaker 2: Hur, på vilket sätt (no difference)

66. Please translate the following sentence.

(402) How old is Mary?

Speaker 1:

(402) a. Hur gammal är Mary?
how old is Mary
'How old is Mary?'

Speaker 2:

(402) b. Hur gammal är Mary?
how old is Mary
'How old is Mary?'

67. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “how” in (402) in Swedish.

Speaker 1:

- (i) Hur pass gammal är Mary?
how old is Mary
'How old is Mary?'

Speaker 2: hur

68. Please look at the Swedish versions of the item in (402). Can the adjective appear in a non-adjacent position to the element(s) corresponding to “how”?
Example: How is Mary old? (With the intended meaning ‘how old is Mary?’.)

Speaker 1: No.

Speaker 2: No.

69.<original question identical to Question 68>

70. Please translate the following sentence.

- (403) How many books does Mary read a year?

Speaker 1:

- (403) a. Hur många böcker läser Mary på ett år?
how many books reads Mary in one year
'How many books does Mary read a year?'

Speaker 2:

- (403) b. Hur många böcker läser Mary per år?
how many books reads Mary per year
'How many books does Mary read a year?'

71. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “how many” in (403) in Swedish.

Speaker 1:

- (i) Hur pass många böcker laser Mary på ett år?
how many books reads Mary on one year
'How many books does Mary read a year?'

Speaker 2: Hur många

72. Please look at the Swedish versions of the item in (403). Can the noun appear in a non-adjacent position to the element(s) corresponding to “how many”?

Example: How many does Mary read books a year?

Speaker 1: One could actually front or postpone “books” here in order to get an apposition (but otherwise I see no such flexibility).

- (i) Böcker, hur många läser Mary på ett år?
books how many reads Mary on one year
'How many books does Mary read a year.'
- (ii) Hur många läser Mary på ett år, böcker (alltså)?
how many reads Mary on one year books that is
'How many books does Mary reads a year?'

Speaker 2: No

73. Please translate the following sentence.

- (404) How much sugar do we need for the cake?

Speaker 1:

- (404) a. Hur mycket socker behöver vi för kakan?
how much sugar need we for the.cake
'How much sugar do we need for the cake?'

Speaker 2:

- (404) b. Hur mycket socker behöver vi till kakan?
how much sugar need we to the.cake
'How much sugar do we need for the cake?'

74. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “how much” in (404) in Swedish.

Speaker 1:

- (i) Hur pass mycket socker behöver vi för kakan?
how much sugar need we for the.cake
'How many sugar do we need for the cake?'

Speaker 2: Hur mycket

75. Please look at the Swedish versions of the item in (404). Can the noun appear in a non-adjacent position to the element(s) corresponding to “how much”?

Example: How much do we need sugar for the cake?

Speaker 1: The answer provided for question 72 works here as well, e.g. “Sugar, how much do we need?”

Speaker 2: No

76. Please translate the following sentence.

- (405) How long a book did Mary read?

Speaker 1:

- (405) a. Hur lång bok läste Mary?
how long book read.PST Mary
'How long a book did Mary read?'

Speaker 2: Doesn't sound quite right, I would rather rephrase.

- (405) b. Hur lång bok läste Mary?
how long book read.PST Mary
'How long a book did Mary read?'

77. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “how” in (405) in Swedish.

Speaker 1: Again, in addition to simple “hur”:

- (i) Hur pass lång bok läste Mary?
how long book read.PST Mary
'How long a book did Mary read?'

Speaker 2: Hur

78. Please look at the Swedish versions of the item in (405). Can the string “how long” follow the article, as in the example below, or precede it, as in (405) in English?

Example: A how long book did Mary read?

Speaker 1: There is no article in the Swedish translation of (405), and examples like it.

Speaker 2: It can follow the article, but not precede it. If it follows the article it sounds emphasized.

79. Please look at the Swedish versions of the item in (405). Can the noun appear in a non-adjacent position to the element(s) corresponding to “how long”?

Example: How long did Mary read a book? (With the intended meaning 'how long a book did Mary read?'.)

Speaker 1: No.

Speaker 2: No

5 Equative clauses

80. Please translate the following sentence.

- (501) Mary is as old as Peter.

Speaker 1:

- (501) a. Mary är lika gammal som Peter.
Mary is like old as Peter
'Mary is as old as Peter.'

Speaker 2: No difference:

- (501) b. Mary är lika gammal som Peter.
Mary is like old as Peter
'Mary is as old as Peter.'

- (501) c. Mary är så gammal som Peter.
Mary is so old as Peter
'Mary is as old as Peter.'

- (501) d. Mary är jämnårig med Peter.
Mary is of.equal.age with Peter
'Mary is as old as Peter.'

81. Please list all the elements that can correspond to the second “as” (the one immediately before “Peter”) in (501) in Swedish. Can these elements combine with each other or with elements like “that” or “what”?

Example 1: Mary is as old as that Peter (is).

Example 2: Mary is as old as what Peter (is).

Speaker 1: There are no variations as far as I know to the second comparative “as”, only the Swedish “som”. However, when it comes to “what” and “that” things get a little more interesting. I believe that there are regional variations concerning these. I could for instance say “Mary är äldre/längre än vad Peter är” Gloss: “Mary be.pres. older/taller than what Peter be.pres.”, but I have never heard anyone say: “*Mary är äldre än att Peter är”. Gloss: “Mary be.pres. older than that Peter is”. I would call that ungrammatical.

- (i) Mary är äldre än vad Peter är.
Mary is older than what Peter is
'Mary is older than Peter.'
- (ii) Mary är längre än vad Peter är.
Mary is taller than what Peter is
'Mary is older than Peter.'
- (iii) *Mary är äldre än att Peter är.
Mary is older than that Peter is
'Mary is older than Peter.'

Speaker 2: Som, som vad (last sounds a bit informal). No.

82. Please look at the Swedish versions of the item in (501). Can a full clause appear after the element corresponding to “as”, hence containing an overt copula and/or an adjective? Please consider all possibilities for the element “as”, too.

Example 1: Mary is as old as Peter is.

Example 2: Mary is as old as Peter is old.

Speaker 1: Absolutely! These comparative constructions are, as far as I can tell, rather wild in Swedish. For that reason, I usually don't consider the as-subordinated material as a clause in a strict sense, even if it has all the necessary clause elements needed for such. But, to the issue, yes a full clause can appear after the as-element. So one could choose between the following statements: (i) “Mary är lika gammal som Peter är gammal”, Gloss: “Mary be.pres as old as.comparative. Peter be.pres old” (ii) “Mary är lika gammal som Peter är”, Gloss: “Mary be.pres as old as.comparative. Peter be.pres” (iii) “Mary är lika gammal som Peter”, Gloss: “Mary be.pres as old as.comparative. Peter” (Note interest: There is an explicit comparative construction in Swedish, i.e. “jämför med”, but this is usually considered to be lexical (if one would assume such a divide between lexicon and grammar). Anyhow, whether or not it being a grammatical or lexical (or both) type of construction, here is an example: Swe: “Mary är lång jämfört med (vad) Peter (är).” Gloss: “Mary be.pres tall compared to (what) Peter (is).”

- (i) Mary är lika gammal som Peter är gammal.
Mary is like old as Peter is old
'Mary is as old as Peter.'
- (ii) Mary är lika gammal som Peter är.
Mary is as old as Peter is
'Mary is as old as Peter.'
- (iii) Mary är lika gammal som Peter.
Mary is as old as Peter
'Mary is as old as Peter.'
- (iv) Mary är lång jämfört med (vad) Peter (är).
Mary is tall compared with what Peter is
'Mary is old, compared to Peter.'

Speaker 2: Yes, both are possible with “som”. Only ex 1 is possible with “som vad”.

83. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of “as”.

(502) Mary is as old as Peter was last year.

Speaker 1:

- (502) a. Mary är lika gammal som Peter var förra året.
Mary is like old as Peter was last year
'Mary is as old as Peter was last year.'

Speaker 2: –

84. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of “as”.

(503) Mary is as old as how old Peter was last year.

Speaker 1: This sounds ungrammatical to me. However, I find four occurrences of this construction in Swedish corpora (but, out of millions of tokens).

(503) a. *Mary är lika gammal som hur gammal Peter var förra året.
Mary is like old as how old Peter was last year
'Mary is as old as Peter was last year.'

Speaker 2: Mary är lika gammal som så gammal Peter var ifjol. (It's grammatical but sounds unnatural. I would rather say “Mary är så gammal som Peter var förra året”.)

(503) b. Mary är lika gammal som så gammal Peter var ifjol.
Mary is like old as so old Peter was last year
'Mary is as old as Peter was last year.'

(503) c. Mary är så gammal som Peter var förra året.
Mary is so old as Peter was last year
'Mary is as old as Peter was last year.'

85. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “how” in (503) in Swedish, if any, and note whether these elements have to be adjacent to the adjective “old”, or whether “old” can appear elsewhere in the sentence. Please also consider all possible realisations of “as”, too.

Speaker 1: None, hence the answer provided for question 84.

Speaker 2: Så, but I would rather skip it (see 84). It has to be adjacent to “gammal”.

86. If a string like “how old” is permitted after “as” in Swedish, can the clause be elliptical?

Example: Mary is as old as how old Peter.

Speaker 1: –

Speaker 2: No

87. If a string like “how old” is possible in items like (503) in Swedish, can “as” be omitted?

Example: Mary is as old how old Peter (is).

Speaker 1: –

Speaker 2: No

88. Please translate the following sentence.

(504) Mary has as many books as Peter.

Speaker 1:

- (504) a. Mary har lika många böcker som Peter.
Mary has like many books as Peter
'Mary has as many books as Peter.'

Speaker 2:

- (504) b. Mary har lika många böcker som Peter.
Mary has like many books as Peter
'Mary has as many books as Peter.'
- (504) c. Mary har så många böcker som Peter.
Mary has so many books as Peter
'Mary has as many books as Peter.'

89. Please list all the elements that can correspond to the second “a” (the one immediately before “Peter”) in (504) in Swedish. Can these elements combine with each other or with elements like “that” or “what”?

Example 1: Mary has as many books as that Peter (has).

Example 2: Mary has as many books as what Peter (has).

Speaker 1: The comparative construction seems to be extremely flexible in Swedish. The answer provided for question 82 above is also relevant here.

Speaker 2: som, som vad (last sounds informal)

90. Please look at the Swedish versions of the item in (504). Can a full clause appear after the element corresponding to “as”, hence containing a verb and/or a noun? Please consider all possibilities for the element “as”, too.

Example 1: Mary has as many books as Peter has.

Example 2: Mary has as many books as Peter has books.

Speaker 1: The comparative construction seems to be extremely flexible in Swedish. The answer provided for question 82 above is also relevant here.

Speaker 2: Yes, both elements work with ex 1. Only “som” works with ex 2.

91. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide possibilities for the realisation of “as”.

- (505) a. Mary has as many books as how many books Peter has.

Speaker 1:

- (505) a. *Mary har lika många böcker som hur många böcker Peter har.
Mary has like many books as how many books Peter has
'Mary has as many books as Peter has.'

Speaker 2: This is ungrammatical.

- (505) b. *Mary har lika många böcker som så många böcker Peter har.
Mary has like many books as so many books Peter has
'Mary has as many books as Peter has.'

92. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “how many” in (505) in Swedish, if any, and note whether these elements have to be adjacent to the noun “books”, or whether “books” can appear elsewhere in the sentence. Please also consider all possible realisations of “as”, too.

Speaker 1: Ungrammatical. No variation.

Speaker 2: så många. It has to be adjacent.

93. If a string like “how many books” is permitted after “as” in items like (505) in Swedish, can the clause be elliptical?

Example: Mary has as many books as how many books Peter.

Speaker 1: Ungrammatical. Unrelevant here.

Speaker 2: –

94. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of “as”.

- (506) Mary has read as long a book as Peter.

Speaker 1:

- (506) a. Mary har läst en lika lång bok som Peter.
Mary has read.PTCP a like long book as Peter
'Mary has read as long a book as Peter.'

Speaker 2:

- (506) b. Mary har läst en lika lång bok som Peter.
Mary has read.PTCP a like long book as Peter
'Mary has read as long a book as Peter.'

95. Please list all the elements that can correspond to the second “as” (the one immediately before “Peter”) in (506) in Swedish. Can these elements combine with each other or with elements like “that” or “what”?

Example 1: Mary has read as long a book as that Peter (has).

Example 2: Mary has read as long a book as what Peter (has).

Speaker 1: The comparative construction seems to be extremely flexible in Swedish. The answer provided for question 82 above is also relevant here.

Speaker 2: som. It can be combined with “den” or “vad”. This sounds less natural and more informal.

- (i) Mary har läst en lika lång bok som den Peter har.
 Mary has read.PTCP a like long book as that Peter has
 ‘Mary has read as long a book as that Peter.’
- (ii) Mary har läst en lika lång bok som vad Peter har.
 Mary has read.PTCP a like long book as what Peter has
 ‘Mary has read as long a book as that Peter.’

96. Please look at the Swedish versions of the item in (506). Can a full clause appear after the element corresponding to “as”, hence containing a verb and/or a noun and/or and adjective? Please consider all possibilities for the element “as”, too.

Example 1: Mary has read as long a book as Peter has.

Example 2: Mary has read as long a book as Peter has a long book.

Speaker 1: The comparative construction seems to be extremely flexible in Swedish. The answer provided for question 82 above is also relevant here.

Speaker 2: Both elements work with ex 1. None with ex 2.

97. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of “as”.

- (507) Mary has read as long a book as how long a book Peter has read.

Speaker 1:

- (507) a. Mary har läst en lika lång bok som hur lång bok Peter har
 Mary has read.PTCP a like long book as how long book Peter has
 läst.
 read.PTCP
 ‘Mary has read as long a book as Peter has.’

Speaker 2: Ungrammatical.

- (507) b. *Mary har läst en lika lång bok som hur lång bok Peter har
 Mary has read.PTCP a like long book as how long book Peter has
 läst.
 read.PTCP
 ‘Mary has read as long a book as Peter has.’

98. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “how (long)” in (507) in Swedish, if any, and note whether these elements have to be adjacent to the nominal expression “a book”, or whether “a book” can appear elsewhere in the sentence. Please also consider all possible realisations of “as”, too.

Speaker 1: Ungrammatical. No variation.

Speaker 2: how = hur, så; as = lika, så

99. If a string like “how long a book” is permitted after “as” in Swedish, can the clause be elliptical?

Example: Mary has read as long a book as how long a book Peter.

Speaker 1: Ungrammatical. Unrelevant here.

Speaker 2: –

100. Please translate the following sentence. (A context is given below, but you do not have to translate that.) Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of “as”.

[Context: I was on holiday for two weeks and my father took care of my cat. Unfortunately, he gave her way too much food. Now my cat can barely get into the house on its own.]

(508) The cat is as fat as the cat flap is wide.

Speaker 1:

(508) a. Katten är lika fet som kattluckan är bred.
the.cat is like fat as the.catflap is wide
'The cat is as fat as the cat flap is wide.'

Speaker 2:

(508) b. Katten är så tjock som (vad) kattluckan är bred.
the.cat is so fat as what the.catflap is wide
'The cat is as fat as the cat flap is wide.'

(508) c. Katten är lika tjock som (vad) kattluckan är bred.
the.cat is as fat as what the.catflap is wide
'The cat is as fat as the cat flap is wide.'

101. Please look at the Swedish versions of the item in (508). Can an element like “how wide” appear, either with or without the element(s) corresponding to “as”? Please consider all possibilities for the element “as”, too.

Example 1: The cat is as fat as how wide the cat flap is.

Example 2: The cat is as fat how wide the cat flap is.

Speaker 1: This question is related to the answer provided for question 84. According to my intuition, Example 1 is possible in Swedish but highly uncommon. I find only four examples on the search string [lika _word adjective _wordclass som _word hur _word adjective _wordclass]. I find Example 2 ungrammatical in Swedish.

Speaker 2: No, for all.

102. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of “as”.

(509) Mary reads as many books a year as Peter does articles.

Speaker 1:

- (509) a. Mary läser lika många böcker på ett år som Peter läser artiklar.
Mary reads like many books in one year as Peter reads articles
'Mary reads as many books a year as Peter reads articles.'
- (509) b. ?Mary läser så många böcker på ett år som Peter läser artiklar.
Mary reads so many books in one year as Peter reads articles
'Mary reads as many books a year as Peter reads articles.'

Speaker 2:

- (509) c. Mary läser lika många böcker per år som Peter läser artiklar.
Mary reads like many books per year as Peter reads articles
'Mary reads as many books a year as Peter reads articles.'
- (509) d. Mary läser lika många böcker per år som Peter läser artiklar.
Mary reads as like books per year as Peter reads articles
'Mary reads as many books a year as Peter reads articles.'

103. Please look at the Swedish versions of the item in (509). Can an element like “how many books” appear, either with or without the element(s) corresponding to “as”? Please consider all possibilities for the element “as”, too.

Example 1: Mary reads as many books a year as how many articles Peter does.

Example 2: Mary reads as many books a year how many articles Peter does.

Speaker 1: No.

Speaker 2: No for both.

104. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of “as”.

- (510) We need as much sugar for the cake as we need flour.

Speaker 1:

- (510) a. Vi behöver lika mycket socker för kakan som vi behöver mjöl.
we need like much sugar for the.cake as we need flour
'We need as much sugar for the cake as we need flour.'
- (510) b. Vi behöver så mycket socker för kakan som vi behöver mjöl.
we need so much sugar for the.cake as we need flour
'We need as much sugar for the cake as we need flour.'

Speaker 2:

- (510) c. Vi behöver så mycket socker till kakan som vi behöver mjöl.
we need so much sugar to the.cake as we need flour
'We need as much sugar for the cake as we need flour.'

- (510) d. Vi behöver lika mycket socker till kakan som vi behöver mjöl.
we need like much sugar to the.cake as we need flour
'We need as much sugar for the cake as we need flour.'

105. Please look at the Swedish versions of the item in (510). Can an element like “how much flour” appear, either with or without the element(s) corresponding to “as”? Please consider all possibilities for the element “as”, too.

Example 1: We need as much sugar for the cake as how much flour we do.

Example 2: We need as much sugar for the cake how much flour we do.

Speaker 1: No. *

Speaker 2: No for all

106. Is it possible to have an element like “as how” as an attribute of a noun? Please consider all possibilities for the element “as”, too.

Example 1: Mary bought as fat a cat as how wide a cat flap Peter did.

Example 2: Mary bought as fat a cat how wide a cat flap Peter did.

Speaker 1: I'm not entirely sure of what you are suggesting here. But again, since the examples in Swedish on this phenomenon (four examples) is scarce, I would not dare to say anything about these with certainty anyhow.

Speaker 2: No

6 Comparative clauses

107. Please translate the following sentence.

- (601) Mary is older than Peter.

Speaker 1:

- (601) a. Mary är äldre än Peter.
Mary is older than Peter
'Mary is older than Peter.'

Speaker 2:

- (601) b. Mary är äldre än Peter.
Mary is older than Peter
'Mary is older than Peter.'

108. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “than” in (601) in Swedish. Can these elements combine with each other or with elements like “that” or “what”?

Example 1: Mary is older than that Peter (is).

Example 2: Mary is older than what Peter (is).

Speaker 1: “än” (“than”) is the only one I know of. Example 1 would be ungrammatical in Swedish, but Example 2 would be grammatical.

(i) *Mary är äldre än att Peter (är).
Mary is older than that Peter is
'Mary is older than Peter.'

(ii) Mary är äldre än vad Peter är.
Mary is older than what Peter is
'Mary is older than Peter.'

Speaker 2: än (cannot be used like ex 1 and 2), än vad (“än vad” can only be used with a full clause)

109. Please look at the Swedish versions of the item in (601). Can a full clause appear after the element corresponding to “than”, hence containing an overt copula and/or an adjective? Please consider all possibilities for the element “than”, too.

Example 1: Mary is older than Peter is.

Example 2: Mary is older than Peter is old.

Speaker 1:

(i) Mary är äldre än (vad) Peter är gammal.
Mary is older than what Peter is old
'Mary is older than Peter.'

Speaker 2: See answer above

110. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of “than”.

(602) Mary is older than Peter was last year.

Speaker 1:

(602) a. Mary är äldre än (vad) Peter var förra året.
Mary is older than what Peter was last year
'Mary is older than Peter was last year.'

Speaker 2:

- (602) b. Mary är äldre än vad Peter var ifjol.
Mary is older than what Peter was last.year
'Mary is older than Peter was last year.'

111. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of “than”.

- (603) Mary is older than how old Peter was last year.

Speaker 1:

- (603) a. *Mary är äldre än hur gammal Peter var förra året.
Mary is older than how old Peter was last year
'Mary is older than Peter was last year.'

Speaker 2: Ungrammatical.

- (603) b. *Mary är äldre än hur gammal Peter var ifjol.
Mary is older than how old Peter was last.year
'Mary is older than Peter was last year.'

- (603) c. *Mary är äldre än så gammal Peter var ifjol.
Mary is older than so old Peter was last.year
'Mary is older than Peter was last year.'

112. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “how” in (603) in Swedish, if any, and note whether these elements have to be adjacent to the adjective “old”, or whether “old” can appear elsewhere in the sentence. Please also consider all possible realisations of “than”, too.

Speaker 1: None that is relevant. The construction is ungrammatical in Swedish.

Speaker 2: hur, så. All placements are ungrammatical.

113. If a string like “how old” is permitted after “than” in Swedish, can the clause be elliptical?

Example: Mary is older than how old Peter.

Speaker 1: Irrelevant. The construction is ungrammatical in Swedish.

Speaker 2: –

114. If a string like “how old” is possible in items like (603) in Swedish, can “than” be omitted?

Example: Mary is older how old Peter (is).

Speaker 1: Irrelevant. The construction is ungrammatical in Swedish.

Speaker 2: –

115. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possible word orders.

(604) Mary has more books than Peter.

Speaker 1:

(604) a. Mary har fler böcker än Peter.
Mary has more books than Peter
'Mary has more books than Peter.'

Speaker 2:

(604) b. Mary har fler böcker än Peter.
Mary has more books than Peter
'Mary has more books than Peter.'

116. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “than” in (604) in Swedish. Can these elements combine with each other or with elements like “that” or “what”?

Example 1: Mary has more books than Peter (has).

Example 2: Mary has more books than what Peter (has).

Speaker 1: Example 1 is semantically odd. Trans: “Mary har fler böcker som Peter har.” Gloss: “Mary have.pres. more books that Peter have.pres.” I might be mistaken but isn't this that-clause attributive to books, in the sense that ‘Mary has additional books but these are currently in the possession of Peter.’ Example 2 is grammatical: Trans: “Mary har fler böcker än vad Peter har” Gloss: “Mary have.pres. more books than what Peter have.pres.” (has is obligatory if the comparative clause is initiated by “what”.)

(i) Mary har fler böcker som Peter har.
Mary has more books than Peter has
'Mary has more books than Peter has.'

(ii) Mary har fler böcker än vad Peter har.
Mary has more books than what Peter has
'Mary has more books than Peter.'

Speaker 2: än, än vad (“än vad” can only be used with a full clause)

117. Please look at the Swedish versions of the item in (604). Can a full clause appear after the element corresponding to “than”, hence containing a verb and/or a noun? Please consider all possibilities for the element “than”, too.

Example 1: Mary has more books than Peter has.

Example 2: Mary has more books than Peter has books.

Speaker 1: Yes to Example 1., but Example 2 would be grammatical if “than” was immediately followed by “what” (“vad”).

- (i) Mary har fler böcker än Peter har.
Mary has more books than Peter has
'Mary has more books than Peter.'
- (ii) *Mary har fler böcker än Peter har böcker.
Mary has more books than Peter has books
'Mary has more books than Peter has.'

Speaker 2: Yes for both elements. Ex 2 isn't ungrammatical but doesn't sound quite right.

118. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of “than”.

- (605) Mary has more books than how many books Peter has.

Speaker 1:

- (605) a. *Mary har fler böcker än hur många böcker Peter har.
Mary has more books than how many books Peter has
'Mary has more books than Peter.'

Speaker 2: Ungrammatical.

- (605) b. *Mary har fler böcker än hur många böcker Peter har.
Mary has more books than how many books Peter has
'Mary has more books than Peter.'
- (605) c. *Mary har fler böcker än så många böcker Peter har.
Mary has more books than so many books Peter has
'Mary has more books than Peter.'

119. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “how many” in (605) in Swedish, if any, and note whether these elements have to be adjacent to the noun “books”, or whether “books” can appear elsewhere in the sentence. Please also consider all possible realisations of “than”, too.

Speaker 1: None. Ungrammatical.

Speaker 2: hur, så. All placements are ungrammatical.

120. If a string like “how many books” is permitted after “than” in items like (605) in Swedish, can the clause be elliptical?

Example: Mary has more books than how many books Peter.

Speaker 1: Such a sentence would be ungrammatical in Swedish.

Speaker 2: –

121. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of “than”.

(606) Mary has read a longer book than Peter.

Speaker 1:

(606) a. Mary har läst en längre bok än Peter.
Mary has read.PTCP a longer book than Peter
'Mary has read a longer book than Peter.'

Speaker 2:

(606) b. Mary har läst en längre bok än Peter.
Mary has read.PTCP a longer book than Peter
'Mary has read a longer book than Peter.'

122. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “than” in (606) in Swedish. Can these elements combine with each other or with elements like “that” or “what”?

Example 1: Mary has read a longer book than that Peter (has).

Example 2: Mary has read a longer book than what Peter (has).

Speaker 1:

(i) *Mary har läst en längre bok än att Peter har.
Mary has read.PTCP a longer book than that Peter has
'Mary has read a longer book than Peter.'

(ii) Mary har läst en längre bok än vad Peter har.
Mary has read.PTCP a longer book than what Peter has
'Mary has read a longer book than Peter.'

Speaker 2: än, än vad (“än vad” can only be used with a full clause).

123. Please look at the Swedish versions of the item in (606). Can a full clause appear after the element corresponding to “than”, hence containing a verb and/or a noun and/or and adjective? Please consider all possibilities for the element “than”, too.

Example 1: Mary has read a longer book than Peter has.

Example 2: Mary has read a longer book than Peter has a long book.

Speaker 1:

(i) Mary har läst en längre bok än Peter har.
Mary has read.PTCP a longer book than Peter has
'Mary has read a longer book than Peter.'

(ii) *Mary har läst en längre bok än Peter har en lång bok.
Mary has read.PTCP a longer book than Peter has a long book
'Mary has read a longer book than Peter.'

Speaker 2: Yes for both elements, but ex 2 is ungrammatical.

124. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of “than”.

(607) Mary has read a longer book than how long a book Peter has read.

Speaker 1:

(607) a. *Mary har läst en längre bok än hur lång bok Peter har
Mary has read.PTCP a longer book than how long book Peter has
läst.
read.PTCP
'Mary has read a longer book than Peter.'

Speaker 2: Ungrammatical.

(607) b. *Mary har läst en längre bok än hur lång bok Peter har
Mary has read.PTCP a longer book than how long book Peter has
läst.
read.PTCP
'Mary has read a longer book than Peter.'

(607) c. *Mary har läst en längre bok än så lång bok Peter har
Mary has read.PTCP a longer book than so long book Peter has
läst.
read.PTCP
'Mary has read a longer book than Peter.'

125. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “how (long)” in (607) in Swedish, if any, and note whether these elements have to be adjacent to the nominal expression “a book”, or whether “a book” can appear elsewhere in the sentence. Please also consider all possible realisations of “than”, too.

Speaker 1: There are no such elements. It is an ungrammatical sentence in Swedish.

Speaker 2: hur, så. All placements are ungrammatical.

126. If a string like “how long a book” is permitted after “than” in Swedish, can the clause be elliptical?

Example: Mary has read a longer book than how long a book Peter.

Speaker 1: This sentence is ungrammatical in Swedish, but if the Swedish equivalent to “how long a book” were permitted after “than” in Swedish, then the clause could by all means be elliptical. But still, it is not.

Speaker 2: –

127. Please translate the following sentence. (A context is given below, but you do not have to translate that.) Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of “than”.

[Context: I was on holiday for two weeks and my father took care of my cat. Unfortunately, he gave her way too much food. Now my cat cannot get into the house on its own at all.]

(608) The cat is fatter than the cat flap is wide.

Speaker 1:

(608) a. Katten är fetare än kattluckan är bred.
the.cat is fatter than the.cat.flap is wide
'The cat is fatter than the cat flap is wide.'

Speaker 2:

(608) b. Katten är tjockare än (vad) kattluckan är bred.
the.cat is fatter than what the.cat.flap is wide
'The cat is fatter than the cat flap is wide.'

128. Please look at the Swedish versions of the item in (608). Can an element like “how wide” appear, either with or without the element(s) corresponding to “than”? Please consider all possibilities for the element “than”, too.

Example 1: The cat is fatter than how wide the cat flap is.

Example 2: The cat is fatter how wide the cat flap is.

Speaker 1: Generally no.

(i) *Katten är fetare än hur bred kattluckan är bred.
the.cat is fatter than how wide the.cat.flap is wide
'The cat is fatter than the cat flap is wide.'

(ii) *Katten är fetare än hur bred kattluckan är.
the.cat is fatter than how wide the.cat.flap is
'The cat is fatter than the cat flap is wide.'

Speaker 2: No

129. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of “than”.

(609) Mary reads more books a year than Peter does articles.

Speaker 1:

(609) a. Mary läser fler böcker på ett år än Peter läser artiklar.
Mary reads more books on one year than Peter reads articles
'Mary reads more books a year than Peter does articles.'

Speaker 2:

- (609) b. Mary läser fler böcker per år än (vad) Peter läser artiklar.
Mary reads more books per year than what Peter reads articles
'Mary reads more books a year than Peter does articles.'

130. Please look at the Swedish versions of the item in (609). Can an element like “how many books” appear, either with or without the element(s) corresponding to “than”? Please consider all possibilities for the element “than”, too.

Example 1: Mary reads more books a year than how many articles Peter does.

Example 2: Mary reads more books a year how many articles Peter does.

Speaker 1: No.

- (i) *Mary läser fler böcker på ett år än hur många artiklar Peter läser.
Mary reads more books on one year than how many articles Peter reads
'Mary reads more books a year than Peter does articles.'
- (ii) *Mary läser fler böcker på ett år hur många artiklar Peter läser.
Mary reads more books on one year how many articles Peter reads
'Mary reads more books a year than Peter does articles.'

Speaker 2: No

131. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of “than”.

- (610) We need more sugar for the cake than we need flour.

Speaker 1:

- (610) a. Vi behöver mer socker för kakan än vi behöver mjöl.
we need more sugar for the.cake than we need flour
'We need more sugar for the cake than we need flour.'

Speaker 2:

- (610) b. Vi behöver mer socker till kakan än (vad) vi behöver mjöl.
we need more sugar to the.cake than what we need flour
'We need more sugar for the cake than we need flour.'

132. Please look at the Swedish versions of the item in (610). Can an element like “how much flour” appear, either with or without the element(s) corresponding to “than”? Please consider all possibilities for the element “than”, too.

Example 1: We need more sugar for the cake than how much flour we do.

Example 2: We need more sugar for the cake how much flour we do.

Speaker 1: No.

- (i) *Vi behöver mer socker för kakan än hur mycket mjöl vi behöver.
we need more sugar for the.cake than how much flour we need
'We need more sugar for the cake than we need flour.'
- (ii) *Vi behöver mer socker för kakan hur mycket mjöl vi behöver.
we need more sugar for the.cake how much flour we need
'We need more sugar for the cake than we need flour.'

Speaker 2:No

133. Is it possible to have an element like “than how” as an attribute of a noun? Please consider all possibilities for the element “than”, too.

Example 1: Mary bought a fatter cat than how wide a cat flap Peter did.

Example 2: Mary bought a fatter cat how wide a cat flap Peter did.

Speaker 1: It might very well be possible to find something like this in Swedish, but I doubt one would find it in Swedish corpora. Sentences like these are certainly not stored in my grammar (but who knows after today).

- (i) *Mary köpte en fetare katt än hur bred kattluckan Peter köpte.
Mary bought.PST a fatter cat than how wide the.cat.flap Peter bought.PST
'The cat that Mary bought was fatter than the cat flap that Peter bought was wide.'
- (ii) *Mary köpte en fetare katt hur bred kattluckan Peter köpte.
Mary bought.PST a fatter cat how wide the.cat.flap Peter bought.PST
'The cat that Mary bought was fatter than the cat flap that Peter bought was wide.'

Speaker 2: No

7 Non-canonical comparison

134. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of “as”.

(701) Mary is tired, as is Peter.

Speaker 1:

- (701) a. Mary är trött, så också Peter.
Mary is tired so also Peter
'Mary is tired, as is Peter.'
- (701) b. Mary är trött, så även Peter.
Mary is tired so also Peter
'Mary is tired, as is Peter.'

- (701) c. Mary är trött, likaså Peter.
Mary is tired also Peter
'Mary is tired, as is Peter.'

Speaker 2: Mary är trött, så är Peter. This sounds unnatural, like "svengelska". I would rather say: Mary är trött, så även Peter.

- (701) d. Mary är trött, så är Peter.
Mary is tired so is Peter
'Mary is tired, as is Peter.'

- (701) e. Mary är trött, så även Peter.
Mary is tired so also Peter
'Mary is tired, as is Peter.'

135. Please look at the Swedish versions of the item in (701). Can an element like "too" appear in the clause introduced by "as"? Please consider all possibilities for the element "than", too.

Speaker 1: Yes. There are the examples provided for question 134. But there is also the possibility for inversion in the non-canonical comparison, such as:

- (i) Mary är trött, Peter också.
Mary is tired Peter also
'Mary is tired, as is Peter.'
- (ii) Mary är trött, Peter likaså.
Mary is tired Peter also
'Mary is tired, as is Peter.'

Speaker 2: Yes, but I would rather omit the verb then (see above)

136. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of "as".

- (702) Mary, as we all know, doesn't like cats.

Speaker 1: Ohh ... my knowledge in English punctuation rules is crumbling. I can't solve disambiguate the modification (sorry). Does the comparison refer to the fact that (1) Mary is someone we all know or to the fact that (2) Mary doesn't like cats which is something we all know. Belts and braces, I'll provide both readings.

- (702) a. Mary, som vi alla känner väl, gillar inte katter.
Mary as we all know well likes not cats
'Mary, as we all know, doesn't like cats.'

- (702) b. Mary, som vi alla vet, gillar inte katter.
Mary as we all know likes not cats
'Mary, as we all know, doesn't like cats.'

Speaker 2:

- (702) c. Mary, som vi alla vet, gillar inte Katter.
Mary as we all know likes not cats
'Mary, as we all know, doesn't like cats.'

137. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of "as".

- (703) Mary is as tall as her brother.

Speaker 1:

- (703) a. Mary är lika lång som sin bror.
Mary is like tall as her.NOM/OBL brother
'Mary is as tall as her brother.'

Speaker 2:

- (703) b. Mary är lika lång som sin bror.
Mary is like tall as her.NOM/OBL brother
'Mary is as tall as her brother.'

138. Please look at the Swedish versions of the item in (703). What case can the remnant ("her brother") be in? Please take into consideration other nouns, as well as pronouns. Please consider all possibilities for the element "as", too.

Example 1: Mary is as tall as he.

Example 2: Mary is as tall as him.

Speaker 1: Both variations are used in Swedish. It is worth to mention that the object-alternation has been considered ungrammatical by some. Corpus-data, on the other hand, supports both variations, if I am not entirely mistaken.

- (i) Mary är lika lång som han.
Mary is like tall as he.NOM
'Mary is as tall as he.'
- (ii) Mary är lika lång som honom.
Mary is like tall as he.OBL
'Mary is as tall as him.'

Speaker 2: Nominative and accusative, but it sounds better with accusative with third person pronouns.

139. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of "than".

- (704) Mary is taller than her brother.

Speaker 1:

- (704) a. Mary är längre än hennes bror.
Mary is taller than her.NOM/OBL brother
'Mary is taller than her brother.'
- (704) b. Mary är längre än sin bror.
Mary is taller than her.NOM/OBL brother
'Mary is taller than her brother.'

Speaker 2:

- (704) c. Mary är längre än sin bror.
Mary is taller than her.NOM/OBL brother
'Mary is taller than her brother.'

140. Please look at the Swedish versions of the item in (704). What case can the remnant (“her brother”) be in? Please take into consideration other nouns, as well as pronouns. Please consider all possibilities for the element “than”, too.

Example 1: Mary is taller than he.

Example 2: Mary is taller than him.

Speaker 1: Note: Nouns are not a problem for this construction:

- (i) Mary är längre än jag.
Mary is taller than I.NOM
'Mary is taller than I am.'
- (ii) Mary är längre än han.
Mary is taller than he.NOM
'Mary is taller than he is.'
- (iii) Mary är längre än hon.
Mary is taller than she.NOM
'Mary is taller than she is.'
- (iv) Mary är längre än vi.
Mary is taller than we.NOM
'Mary is taller than we are.'
- (v) Mary är längre än mig.
Mary is taller than I.OBL
'Mary is taller than I am.'
- (vi) Mary är längre än honom.
Mary is taller than he.OBL
'Mary is taller than he is.'
- (vii) Mary är längre än henne.
Mary is taller than she.OBL
'Mary is taller than she is.'

- (viii) Mary är längre än oss.
Mary is taller than we.OBL
'Mary is taller than we are.'
- (ix) Bilen är större än vägen.
the.car is bigger than the.road.NOM/OBL
'The car is bigger than the road is.'

Speaker 2: Nominative and accusative, but it sounds better with accusative with third person pronouns.

141. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of “as”.

- (705) I saw as tall a man as my brother.
(With the intended meaning: 'I saw as tall a man as my brother is', NOT with the meaning 'I saw as tall a man as my brother saw'.)

Speaker 1:

- (705) a. Jag såg en lika lång man som min bror.
I saw a like tall man as my.NOM/OBL brother
'I saw as tall a man as my brother.'

Speaker 2:

- (705) b. Jag såg en lika lång man som min bror.
I saw a like tall man as my.NOM/OBL brother
'I saw as tall a man as my brother.'
- (705) c. Jag såg en man (som var) lika lång som min bror.
I saw a man that was like tall as my.NOM/OBL brother
'I saw as tall a man as my brother.'

142. Please look at the Swedish versions of the item in (705). What case can the remnant (“her brother”) be in? Please take into consideration other nouns, as well as pronouns. Please consider all possibilities for the element “as”, too.

Example 1: I saw as tall a man as he.

Example 2: I saw as tall a man as him.

Speaker 1:

- (i) Jag såg en lika lång man som han.
I saw a like tall man as he.NOM
'I saw a man as tall as he is.'
- (ii) Jag såg en lika lång man som honom.
I saw a like tall man as he.OBL
'I saw a man as tall as he is.'

Speaker 2: Nominative(?) and accusative, but it sounds better with accusative with third

person pronouns. I'm not so sure about nominative here.

143. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of “than”.

- (706) I saw a taller man than my brother.
(With the intended meaning: ‘I saw a taller man than my brother is’, NOT with the meaning ‘I saw a taller man than my brother saw.’)

Speaker 1:

- (706) a. Jag såg en längre man än min bror.
I saw a taller man than my.NOM/OBL brother
‘I saw a taller man than my brother.’

Speaker 2: Jag såg en längre man än min bror. Doesn't sounds quite right. I would say:
Jag såg en man som var längre än min bror.

- (706) b. Jag såg en längre man än min bror.
I saw a taller man than myNOM/OBL brother
‘I saw a taller man than my brother.’
- (706) c. Jag såg en man som var längre än min bror.
I saw a man that was taller than myNOM/OBL brother
‘I saw a taller man than my brother.’

144. Please look at the Swedish versions of the item in (706). What case can the remnant (“her brother”) be in? Please take into consideration other nouns, as well as pronouns. Please consider all possibilities for the element “than”, too.

Example 1: I saw a taller man than he.

Example 2: I saw a taller man than him.

Speaker 1: Both cases:

- (i) Jag såg en längre man än han.
I saw a taller man than he.NOM
‘I saw a taller man than he is.’
- (ii) Jag såg en längre man än honom.
I saw a taller man than he.OBL
‘I saw a taller man than he is.’

Speaker 2: Nominative(?) and accusative, but it sounds better with accusative with third person pronouns. I'm not so sure about nominative here.

145. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of “as”.

- (707) I am talking to you as a friend, not as your boss.

Speaker 1:

- (707) a. Jag talar till dig som en vän, inte som din chef.
I speak to you as a friend not as your boss
'I am talking to you as a friend, not as your boss.'

Speaker 2: Jag pratar med dig som vän, inte som din chef. I would prefer: Jag pratar med dig som din vän, inte som din chef.

- (707) b. Jag pratar med dig som vän, inte som din chef.
I talk with you as friend not as your boss
'I am talking to you as a friend, not as your boss.'
- (707) c. Jag pratar med dig som din vän, inte som din chef.
I talk with you as your friend not as your boss
'I am talking to you as a friend, not as your boss.'

146. Please look at the Swedish versions of the item in (707). What case can the nominal expression “your boss” be in? Please take into consideration other nouns as well (in case “your boss” does not show case distinction while other nouns do). Please consider all possibilities for the element “as”, too.

Speaker 1: No case distinction.

Speaker 2: Case is only marked in pronouns and it's difficult to use a pronoun in this sentence. But if I would probably use accusative.

147. Please translate the following sentence. Please provide all possibilities for the realisation of “as”.

- (708) I like Mary a lot, but I see her only as a friend.

Speaker 1:

- (708) a. Jag gillar Mary mycket, men jag ser henne endast som en vän.
I like Mary much but I see her only as a friend
'I like Mary a lot, but I see her only as a friend.'

Speaker 2:

- (708) b. Jag tycker mycket om Mary, men jag ser henne bara som (en) vän.
I like much of Mary but I see her only as a friend
'I like Mary a lot, but I see her only as a friend.'

148. Please look at the Swedish versions of the item in (708). What case can the nominal expression “a friend” be in? Please take into consideration other nouns as well (in case “a friend” does not show case distinction while other nouns do). Please consider all possibilities for the element “as”, too.

Speaker 1: No case distinction.

Speaker 2: Case is only marked in pronouns and it's difficult to use a pronoun in this sentence. But if I would probably use accusative.

149. Please translate the following sentence.

(709) Mary would be frightened if she saw a ghost.

Speaker 1:

(709) a. Mary skulle bli rädd om hon såg ett spöke.
Mary would become.INF scared if she saw a ghost
'Mary would be frightened if she saw a ghost.'

Speaker 2:

(709) b. Mary skulle bli skrämmd om hon såg ett spöke.
Mary would become.INF scared if she saw a ghost
'Mary would be frightened if she saw a ghost.'

150. Please look at the Swedish versions of the item in (709). Please list all alternatives for the realisation of "if", including verb movement, if applicable.

Speaker 1:

- (i) Mary skulle bli rädd om hon såg ett spöke.
Mary would become.INF scared if she saw a ghost
'Mary would be frightened if she saw a ghost.'
- (ii) Mary skulle bli rädd ifall hon såg ett spöke.
Mary would become.INF scared in.case she saw a ghost
'Mary would be frightened if she saw a ghost.'
- (iii) Mary skulle bli rädd utifall hon såg ett spöke.
Mary would become.INF scared in.case she saw a ghost
'Mary would be frightened if she saw a ghost.'
- (iv) Mary skulle bli rädd om så hon såg ett spöke.
Mary would become.INF scared if so she saw a ghost
'Mary would be frightened if she saw a ghost.'

Speaker 2: om, ifall

151. Please translate the following sentence.

(710) Mary was pale, as if she had seen a ghost.

Speaker 1:

- (710) a. Mary var blek, som om hon hade sett ett spöke.
Mary was pale as if she had.PST seen a ghost
'Mary was pale, as if she had seen a ghost.'

Speaker 2:

- (710) b. Mary var blek, som (om) hon hade sett ett spöke.
Mary was pale as if she had.PST seen a ghost
'Mary was pale, as if she had seen a ghost.'

152. Please look at the Swedish versions of the item in (710). Please list all alternatives for the realisation of “as if”, including verb movement, if applicable.

Speaker 1: I have no examples on variation here.

Speaker 2: som (om)

153. Please look at the Swedish versions of the item in (710). Can the clause introduced by “as if” be fronted? Please provide all possible realisations of “as if”.

Example: As if she had seen a ghost, Mary was (so) pale.

Speaker 1: Note: these might occur more often in novels, poetry and such. They strike me as less common in everyday language.

- (i) ?Som om hon hade sett ett spöke, var hon (så) blek.
As if she had.PST seen a ghost was she so pale
'Mary was (so) pale, as if she had seen a ghost.'

Speaker 2: No