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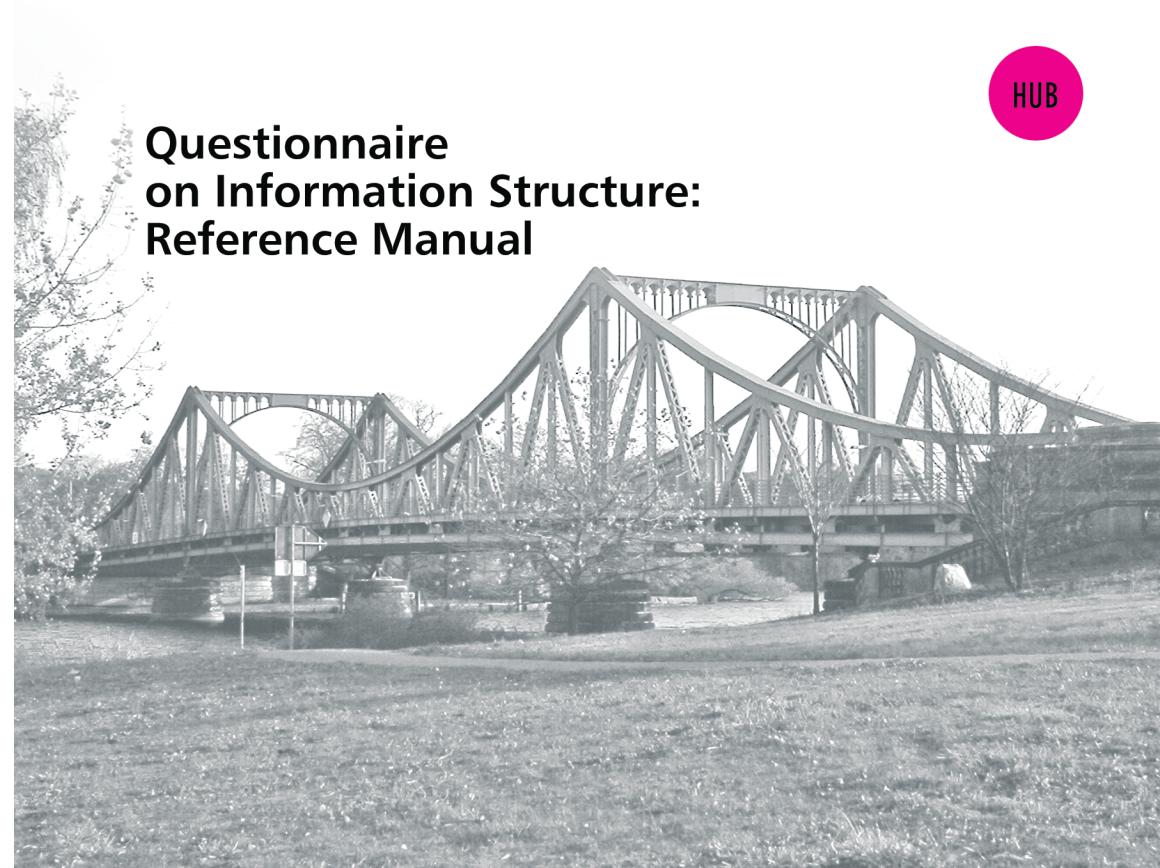
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## Questionnaire on Information Structure: Reference Manual



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# Questionnaire on Information Structure (QUIS): Reference Manual

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## Chapter 1. Introduction

This bulky manual contains a questionnaire for the investigation of information structure from a typological perspective. It provides a tool for the collection of natural linguistic data, both spoken and written, and, secondly, for the elaboration of grammars of information structure in genetically diverse languages.

### 1 Information Structure

Information structure is concerned both with ‘mental states’ of speakers and hearers and with linguistic means used to convey these mental states. In other words, the linguist interested in information structure (IS), deals simultaneously with formal and communicative aspects of language. The main contrasts concern ‘new’, ‘accessible’ and ‘given’, as well as ‘topic’, focus,’ and ‘background’, though finer divisions are also used below. A focus for instance can be wide or narrow, it can be ‘out of the blue’, informational, contrastive, selective or corrective, etc. For Clark & Haviland (1977:3), *given* is “information [the speaker] believes the listener already knows and accepts as true”, and *new* is “information [the speaker] believes the listener does not yet know”. In a similar line of thought, Chafe (1976) speaks about ‘information packaging’ and considers hypotheses about the receiver’s assumptions as crucial to discourse structure. These are hypotheses about the status of the referent of each linguistic expression, as represented in the mind of the receiver at the moment of utterance. Thus it is the way the information is transmitted that is crucial, rather than the lexical or propositional content of a sentence, around which grammar usually centers. Prince (1981:224) defines information structure (packaging of information) in the following way:

“The tailoring of an utterance by a sender to meet the particular assumed needs of the intended receiver. That is, information packaging in natural language reflects the sender’s hypotheses about the receiver’s assumptions and beliefs and strategies.”

‘Givenness’ has been attributed a formal status by Schwarzschild (1999) who claims that a given constituent is one which is entailed by the preceding discourse. This use of givenness is of course restricted to text-givenness, as opposed to context-givenness.

‘Topic’ or ‘given’ are often used interchangeably. The reason for this interchangeability is that many authors, like Kuno (1972), Lambrecht (1994) and others, comprehend topic as a phenomenon of consciousness and saliency, in addition to acknowledging the individual function of each concept as linguistic categories. For example, the following scale of ‘activation’ has been widely used in the literature: an active concept is given (it is then a topic), and an inactive one is new.

*Activation*: knowledge vs. consciousness (Lambrecht 1994, Chafe 1976):

- active concept: one that is currently lit up, a concept in a person’s focus of consciousness at a particular moment.
- semi-active (accessible) concept: one that is in a person’s peripheral consciousness, background consciousness
- inactive concept: one that is in a person’s long-term memory, neither focally nor peripherally active.

In the questionnaire, we regard a ‘topic’ as a referent which the remainder of the sentence is about (cf. Gundel 1988), possibly contrasting with other referents under dispute, and crucially followed by comment, typically containing a focus element. The topic has often been previously introduced into the discourse, but does not have to have been. We keep the notions of ‘topic’ and ‘given’ apart. We also use the notion of ‘accessibility’, although we are aware of the

difficulties attached to this notion when it comes to cultural peculiarities, since what is accessible or inferable in one culture may be inaccessible in another.

‘New’ may be understood as the complement of ‘given’ and ‘accessible’, whereas ‘focus’ is the complement of ‘background’ and ‘topic’ that of ‘comment’. These concepts are not excluding each other, because a given element may be focused, and a new element can appear as the topic of a sentence.

According to Rooth’s alternative semantics (1985, 1992), a focused constituent is expressed with a ‘focus semantic value’, which is an additional semantic value,  $[Mary]^f$ , besides the ordinary semantic value  $[Mary]^o$ . The alternatives to the focus play a central role in interpreting focus semantically. In the case of a contrast, as in (1b), it is the contrasting element *Anna* from the set of possible values of  $x$  in ‘ $x$  likes Sue’.

- (1) a.  $[Mary]_F$  likes Sue  
 b. No,  $[ANNA]_F$  likes Sue.

(Who likes Sue?: {Bill likes Sue, Mary likes Sue, Anna likes Sue})

The focus semantic value of a sentence is a set of alternatives from which the ordinary semantic value is drawn, or a set of propositions which potentially contrast with the ordinary semantic value. It is important to note that the ordinary semantic value is always an element of the focus semantic value.

Summing up, for the sake of the present questionnaire, it is important to distinguish between the status of referents in the mental states of interlocutors, which can be new (inactive at the point of their introduction into the discourse) or given (active), and the linguistic means which serve to distinguish between focused elements (designated expression in a set of alternatives), and backgrounded elements (like anaphoric or phonetically repeated expressions), as well as between topics (serving as the main referent for the remainder of the sentence) and their comment including focal information.

## **2 Grammatical Correlates of Information Structure**

This section reviews the grammatical means for the expression of the main information structural concepts. These means are varied: they can involve the prosody, or even the segmental phonology, the morphology and the syntax. In the case of prosody, pitch accents are used to express focus and topic, especially in intonation languages; other changes in  $F_0$ , such as boundary tones, register and tone scaling are widely used in different types of languages. In syntax, it is word order and changes in the grammatical functions of the arguments which are often used: cleft-sentences, topicalization and the like are syntactic strategies, motivated only by special information structural requirements. In morphology, particles for special kinds of focus are found in all languages. Some non-intonational languages identify narrow focus by means of special inflectional markers on the arguments themselves or on the verb. In some languages such particles have been shown to be the result of grammaticalization of auxiliaries.

The primary indicator of focus in intonation languages like English and German has repeatedly been claimed to be a falling accent, with topics being realized with a rising accent (Büning 1997, Steedman 2000, Jackendoff 1972, Selkirk 1995). A backgrounded element, that is an element which is neither a topic nor a focus, is generally deaccented (Schwarzschild 1999, Ladd 1980). Also crucial as a grammatical marker of newness vs. givenness is the use of articles: a new referent is introduced with an indefinite article and a given one with a definite article. The third factor which is often said to play a role for the marking of information structure in Germanic languages is word order. Several researchers find that the most common order is new after given (Hawkins 1994, Arnold et al. 2000, Clark & Haviland 1977).

Jacobs (2001) identifies German constructions which usually, and prototypically, express ‘topic-comment’ (left dislocation, hanging topic left dislocation, free topic, I-topicalization) and identifies grammatical devices widely used in expressing this distinction. In addition, he distinguishes properties of these prototypical topic-comment constructions: separation and predication are easier to classify as grammatical devices than addressation and frame-setting; a rising accent is an important component of a topic construction, as exemplified by the notion of ‘I-topicalization’, where ‘I’ stands for intonation. Büring (1997) goes a step further, and identifies a rising tone on the topic in German (see also Jackendoff 1972 and Steedman 2000 who also associate information structural elements with their prototypical intonation for English). Frey (2000), following Rizzi (1997) and many others, relates a topic with a syntactic position. For Frey, a topic is always located in a syntactically specific position that he calls ‘Topic-Phrase’ and which is situated above the I-Phrase. Büring (1997) and Krifka (1999) have a semantic approach to this notion: a topic is that referent which provides a partial and disputable answer to a question. Lambrecht (1994) insists on the referentiality of ‘topics’ and shows that discourse referents may be either entities or (less commonly) propositions.

### 3 Structure of the Questionnaire

The publication of the questionnaire<sup>1</sup> is divided into six chapters. After an introductory chapter, chapter 2 provides an instrument to deal with the grammar of languages to be investigated. A set of questions bearing on the phonological, morphological, syntactic and semantic structure have to be filled in by the

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<sup>1</sup> There have been preliminary versions of this questionnaire: a first version in 2003, and a second one was released in June 2004. Both versions have circulated and served as basis for research in several languages.

researcher, who is in the ideal case a native speaker of the language. These questions lean on a long tradition of typological questionnaires such as Comrie & Smith (1977), and recent archives of typological features (Bickel & Nichols 2000, Brown et al. 2006, Corbett et al. 2006, König et al. 2006, to cite just a few). The aim of these questionnaires is to allow for cross-linguistic comparisons in terms of more or less standardized sets of grammatical properties.

Chapter 3 contains experimental tasks that are described in detail. Since they make up the main part of the research agenda, they are addressed further in the next section of this introduction. The manual contains descriptions of tests aimed at eliciting spontaneous sentences or short dialogues with specific information structural content. Different kinds of material accompany the experimental tasks: pictures, playing cards, and short films. The tasks have different forms and different functions. Some of them elicit just one sentence, while others trigger a whole dialogue.

Chapter 4 of the questionnaire contains translational tasks, i.e. sets of sentences to be translated both orally and in written form, completing the experimental tasks. The aim of this part is to provide a complete list of the different ways of expressing information structure, and in particular any strategies which may not have been used spontaneously by the informants while performing the experimental tasks. It thus provides a systematic control of the range of linguistic means used to express different information structural notions, and complements the results obtained from spontaneous production.

Elicitation through translation has largely been used in language typology, from the beginning of language comparative studies (see for instance the translation tasks of Bouquiaux & Thomas, 1987, for languages without literary tradition) up to recent typological studies (see Dahl 2000). Several viewpoints about the validity of data collected through translation in Newman & Ratcliff

(2001) highlight the potential priming effects of the contact language on the resulting data, as well as the qualitative differences between data elicited in this way and real spontaneous communication. Nevertheless, translation remains a valuable method of eliciting data for comparative purposes, and proposals have also been made about means to restrict the methodological disadvantages (especially with respect to priming effects, see Dahl 2000).

Chapter 5 is devoted to the interpretation of the data set collected through the QUIS. It provides some hints which grammatical forms can be expected to express certain information structural categories.

The questionnaire ends with chapter 6 containing information concerning the performance of the tasks in the field, and forms for documentation of field sessions (field session metadata; informant's agreement).

## 4 Experimental Tasks<sup>2</sup>

The experimental tasks listed in Chapter 3 of this manual are very much inspired by psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic research, as well as by tools for linguistic fieldwork such as those developed by the Cognitive Anthropology Research Group at the MPI in Nijmegen. The tasks use non-verbal stimuli for the collection of comparable data across languages.<sup>3</sup> Of particular importance for our aim is the absence of priming as to which module(s) of grammar (prosody, word order, morphological markers) are to be used in a particular situation.

---

<sup>2</sup> A summary table of the experimental tasks is provided in Table 1 below.

<sup>3</sup> Although not included in our questionnaire, we acknowledge the *pear stories* (Chafe 1980) that have been used for the study of information flow in narratives, as well as the *fish film* (Tomlin 1997) designed to investigate passive sentences.

The main types of tasks are:

- *Description of single situations.* This type of task is especially used for the elicitation of all new sentences through the description of pictures (see experimental task 10).
- *Description of sequences of situations.* A first picture, introducing a context situation, is presented to the informant, and then, in a second step, a picture showing the target situation. The informant's task is to give a short oral account of the sequence. In this setting, the discourse status of the referents in the target situation is manipulated through the choice of context situations (see experimental tasks 7, 3, 4, etc.). Similar manipulations are performed with short films instead of pictures (see experimental tasks 2, 23) and power point presentations (see experimental task 6).
- *Narration (of sequential events).* The informant narrates a story according to a picture series (in realis as well as in irrealis, see experimental tasks 1, 16, 19).
- *Picture discrimination game.* This is a collaborative task with two informants, one person in the role of the leader and a second person in the role of the matcher. The leader describes a situation and the matcher has to choose among alternative situations presented in different stimuli following the description of the leader (see experimental task 26).
- *Questions/answers.* The informant has to answer a question about a visual stimulus (picture or short film). Context conditions are established through different types of question: *wh*- questions, truth value questions, questions inducing correction, alternative questions, multiple constituent questions, etc. (see experimental tasks 1, 16, 17, 18, 16, 19, etc.).

- 
- *Stimuli-matching games.* In an interactive game, two informants see slightly different stimuli and perform tasks targeting the differences. Experimental task 16 uses short films and picture series which differ in one or more crucial details. Experimental task 20 is a traditional map task.
  - *Instructing games.* In another type of interactive game, one informant (= leader) plays the role of an instructor, and another person (= matcher) performs a collaborative task. E.g., in experimental task 8, the leader describes a spatial configuration. The matcher is instructed to configure her/his cards according to the description.
  - *Role-playing games.* In this type of task, the informants are instructed to play the role of an individual in a story presented either through pictures (see experimental tasks 1, 9, 21, 19) or through films (see experimental tasks 16, 21) and to perform some conversational task.

The design of the experimental tasks follows current standards in the factorial organization of experimental items. Each experimental task is based on a number of *conditions*, which correspond to the discourse situations that are empirically compared. These conditions are implemented in an equal number of items, such as different pictures presenting different situations, in order to reduce the possibility of the resulting generalizations being influenced by situation-specific or stimulus-specific effects.

The experimental tasks of Chapter 3 are divided into four field sessions. In this way, each informant is confronted with each experimental item only once.

Table 1: Experimental tasks (by type of task and information structure category).

		<i>information status</i>	<i>focus</i>	<i>topic</i>
<i>descriptions</i>	<i>single situations</i>		10 Event Cards	
	<i>sequences</i>	1 Changes 2 Giving 3 Visibility 4 Locations 5 Sequences 6 Dynamic Localization	11 Anima 12 Contrast 13 Animal Game 14 Properties	22 Events in Places (C) 23 Path Descriptions 24 Groups 25 Connections 26 Indirect
<i>narration</i>			15 Eventives (C) 16 Tell a Story (A/B)	19 Fairy Tale (A/D)
<i>question &amp; answer</i>		7 Birthday Party	15 Eventives (A/B/D) 16 Tell a Story (D) 17 Focus Cards 18 Who does what? 19 Fairy Tale (A/B/C)	22 Events in Places (A) 27 Surprises 28 Doing
<i>games</i>	<i>picture discrimination</i>			(26 Indirect)
	<i>stimuli-matching</i>		16 Tell a Story (C)	
	<i>instruction-giving</i>	8 Static Localization		
	<i>role-playing</i>	9 Guiding	15 Eventives (A) 19 Fairy Tale (B/C)20 Map Task 21 Drama	

## 5 Technicalities

- *Equipment.* All tasks are conducted orally using a good quality recorder (DAT, Minidisc, MP3).
- *Preparing the field sessions.* Questions or context sentences are provided online by the interviewer if she/he is a native speaker, or recorded before the performance of the session.
- *Duration of field sessions.* A field session takes about one hour. Obviously, the actual duration of the session depends on the individual performance and the situation (for instance, the need to translate online increases the time it takes to perform the tasks).
- *Documenting the session.* A form called “field session metadata” gives information about time, place, and informants (see Chapter 6).

## 6 Archiving

All collected data are gathered in a database. Part of the data are to be transcribed and annotated according to a separate annotation manual (<http://www.ling.uni-potsdam.de/~goetze/sfb/guidelines.html>). Annotated data is saved in XML format using the editor EXMARaLDA (see Schmidt 2004) and together with the audio files it is accessible in the database ANNIS (see <http://www.sfb632.uni-potsdam.de/annis/>; see Dipper et al. 2004). In ANNIS, a large (and expandable) number of annotation layers are available: information structure is the crucial part, but phonological features with special emphasis on intonation, morphological transcription, part-of-speech tagging, constituent structure, and semantic properties like animacy or quantification, are also annotated. Current typological conventions have been consulted, such as the guidelines for morphosyntactic glossing in Eurotyp (see König 1993) and LGR (see Bickel et. al. 2004) and current standards for the annotation of corpora such

as EAGLES. The results are available for the linguistic community under certain conditions of best practice, with citation and intellectual property being the main issues.

## 7 Acknowledgments

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Following artists have contributed to the development of stimuli for QUIS: Pär Wrestling (pictures in task 1: items 1-2; task 9: item 1; task 19: item 1; task 28), Paul Starzmann (pictures in task 9: items 2-4; task 16: items 5-8), Annelies Schwarz (pictures in task 15: items 3-4; task 19: item 2), Stephane Leonard & Claudio Pfeiffer (movie ‘The broken vase’ in task 21: item 2). All other pictures have been made with the software *Poser* (Version 5.0).

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## Chapter 2. General Questions

Chapter 2 contains questions about the grammatical structure of the object language. It captures the most important typological properties in phonology, morphology and syntax that may have an interaction with the ways of encoding information structure. This part of the questionnaire is filled in on the basis of the available knowledge about the grammar of the object language.

### 1 General Information

#### 1.1 Language name

- (1) The language name is:

- (2) The language code according to Ethnologue is:

#### 1.2 Population

- (1) The number of native speakers is:

- less than 10,000 ☐
- between 10,000 and a million ☐
- more than 1 million ☐

#### 1.3 Language use

- (1) Is the language used in schools? yes ☐ no ☐
- (2) Is the language used in administrative communication? yes ☐ no ☐

- (3) Please add any relevant information as to the situations in which the language is used (e.g., if the language has a written form, if writing is broadly used by the community, etc.).

## 2 Phonology

### 2.1 Phoneme inventory

- (1) Does the language have long consonants? yes ☐ no ☐
- (2) Does the language have long vowels? yes ☐ no ☐
- (3) Does the language have diphthongs? yes ☐ no ☐

### 2.2 Phonotactics

- (1) Is there a distinction between major and minor syllables (e.g., major syllables can have any vowel, while minor syllables only have schwa)? yes ☐ no ☐
- (2) Can consonant clusters occur in the onset? yes ☐ no ☐
- (3) Can consonant clusters occur in the coda in non-word-final position? yes ☐ no ☐
- (4) Can consonant clusters occur in word-final position? yes ☐ no ☐
- (5) Does the language have vowel harmony? yes ☐ no ☐
- (6) Does the language have consonant harmony? yes ☐ no ☐

### 2.3 Stress

- (1) Does the language have word stress? yes ☐ no ☐
- (If not, go to section 2.4.)

- 
- (2) If so, what is the stress domain, i.e., which syllable(s) can get the stress?
- initial ☐
  - second ☐
  - antepenultimate ☐
  - penultimate ☐
  - ultimate ☐
- (3) Is stress assignment dependent on weight, i.e., if there is a heavy syllable in the stress domain, does it get the stress? yes ☐ no ☐  
(If not, go to question (6))
- (4) If there are two heavy syllables in the stress domain, which one gets the stress?
- first ☐
  - last ☐
- (5) If there is no heavy syllable in the stress domain, which syllable gets the stress?
- first ☐
  - last ☐
- (6) If stress assignment is not dependent on weight, which syllable is stressed by default?
- initial ☐
  - second ☐
  - antepenultimate ☐
  - penultimate ☐
  - ultimate ☐
  - irregular ☐
- (7) Does stress change under affixation? yes ☐ no ☐

## 2.4 Register

- (1) Does the language have a (phonological) register system yes ☐ no ☐  
(e.g., two registers with different voice quality, vowel quality  
and/or pitch)?
- (2) If so, describe the system:

## 2.5 Tone

- (1) Does the language have lexical pitch accent (as in Japanese)? yes ☐ no ☐
- (2) Does the language have lexical tone? yes ☐ no ☐
- (3) If so, which (surface) tones occur?

_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____

- (4) What is the Tone Bearing Unit?
- segment ☐
  - mora ☐
  - syllable ☐
  - word ☐
- (5) Are contour tones analyzed as combinations of level tones? yes ☐ no ☐
- (6) Does the language have toneless syllables? yes ☐ no ☐
- (7) Does the language have floating tones? yes ☐ no ☐
- (8) Does the language have downstep? yes ☐ no ☐
- (9) Does the language have tone sandhi? yes ☐ no ☐

## 2.6 Intonation

(1) How is phonological phrasing primarily marked?

- break ☐
- boundary tone ☐
- segmental phenomena ☐
- tonal phenomena ☐

(2) Does the language have intonational pitch accents? yes ☐ no ☐

(3) If so, which pitch accents occur?


(4) Can pitch accents occur in non-phrase-final position? yes ☐ no ☐

(5) What is the intonation pattern of statements?

(6) What is the intonation pattern of yes-no questions?

(7) What is the intonation pattern of *wh*-questions?


## 2.7 Morphophonology

(1) Are there any assimilation processes occurring beyond word level? yes ☐ no ☐

(2) Are there any dissimilation processes occurring beyond word level? yes ☐ no ☐

(3) Are there any metathesis processes occurring beyond word level? yes ☐ no ☐

(4) Does reduplication occur at or beyond the word level? yes ☐ no ☐

### 3 Morphology and Syntax

#### 3.1 Word classes

- (1) Indicate the word classes that are formally distinguishable in the language:

nouns	<input type="checkbox"/>
verbs	<input type="checkbox"/>
copula	<input type="checkbox"/>
auxiliaries	<input type="checkbox"/>
adjectives	<input type="checkbox"/>
adverbs	<input type="checkbox"/>
adpositions	<input type="checkbox"/>
articles	<input type="checkbox"/>
pronouns	<input type="checkbox"/>
particles	<input type="checkbox"/>
complementizers	<input type="checkbox"/>
conjunctions	<input type="checkbox"/>
classifiers	<input type="checkbox"/>
_____ (other)	<input type="checkbox"/>

#### 3.2 Word order

- (1) The canonical position of subject, object, verb is:

SVO	<input type="checkbox"/>
SOV	<input type="checkbox"/>
VSO	<input type="checkbox"/>
VOS	<input type="checkbox"/>
OVS	<input type="checkbox"/>
OSV	<input type="checkbox"/>

### 3.3 Case

(1) Is there case marking? yes ☐ no ☐

(2) If so, specify which cases are distinguished:

_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____

(3) Is case visible on all nominal elements? yes ☐ no ☐

(4) If not, specify below on which nominal elements it is visible.

--

### 3.4 Alignment

(1) Give an overall characterization of the argument structure:

nominative-accusative alignment ☐

ergative-absolutive alignment ☐

active-stative alignment ☐

(2) Are there splits in clause structure? yes ☐ no ☐

(3) If so, then which factor determines the respective splits?

Specify the exact condition below:

aspect

person

clause type

animacy

others


### 3.5 Voice

#### 3.5.1 Passive

- (1) Is there a passive/active distinction? yes ☐ no ☐
- (2) Which verbs can be passivized?
- transitive verbs ☐
- unergative verbs, e.g., *laugh, cry, sleep, work, lie* ☐
- unaccusative verbs, e.g., *die, fall, arrive, come* ☐
- (3) Is it possible to apply passivization with elements besides the direct object? yes ☐ no ☐
- (4) If so, specify below which elements allow passivization:

#### 3.5.2 Antipassive

- (1) Is there an antipassive? yes ☐ no ☐

#### 3.5.3 Applicative

(non-subject is promoted to object)

- (1) Is it possible to form an applicative through verbal affixes (e.g., Kinyarwanda *a-ra-som-er-a* ‘he-T-read-APPL-IPFV’)? yes ☐ no ☐
- (2) If so, which elements may be promoted to direct objects?
- instrument ☐
- benefactive ☐
- location ☐

#### 3.5.4 Causative

(the causer becomes the subject, the agent/causee becomes the direct object of the verb)

(1) Is causativization expressed through:

affixes ☐

syntactic constructions ☐

### 3.6 Word order flexibility

(1) Do subjects, objects and verbs appear in other positions than yes ☐ no ☐

the canonical ones (cf. section 3.2, question (1))?

(2) Are there any restrictions as to which constituents may occur in which position? If so, specify which constituents are possible in each position:

	only subject	only object	only locative	other
sentence initial	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____
sentence final	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____
preverbal	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____
postverbal	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____
_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____

### 3.7 Noun phrase

(1) Is the noun an obligatory constituent of a noun phrase? yes ☐ no ☐

(2) Which lexical categories appear in NPs?

nouns ☐

adjectives ☐

numerals ☐

quantifiers ☐

classifiers ☐

demonstratives ☐

articles ☐

- 
- \_\_\_\_\_ (other) ☐
- (3) Is a determiner obligatorily present in the NP? yes ☐ no ☐
- (4) Which numbers are available?
- singular ☐
- plural ☐
- dual ☐
- trial ☐
- paucal ☐
- \_\_\_\_\_ (other) ☐
- (5) Does number marking occur in all nominal elements? yes ☐ no ☐
- (6) If not, specify below which nominal elements are marked for number:
- 
- (7) Is there a number that is not morphologically marked? yes ☐ no ☐
- (8) If so, specify which:
- 
- (9) Is there a contrast between count and non-count nouns? yes ☐ no ☐
- (10) If so, how is it marked? Via:
- restrictions on quantifiers/determiners ☐
- restrictions on plural formation ☐
- special classifiers ☐
- morphological marking ☐
- agreement ☐
- (11) May count nouns appear in singular without determiners? yes ☐ no ☐

- 
- (12) If so, specify in which positions bare NPs (i.e., NPs without determiners) are possible:
- preverbal ☐
- postverbal ☐
- (13) Are bare NPs possible when the noun is modified by some other element, i.e., can a noun appear without a determiner when it is modified by one of the following elements?
- adjectives ☐
- relative clauses ☐
- PPs ☐
- \_\_\_\_\_ (other) ☐
- \_\_\_\_\_ (other) ☐
- (14) Is there a distinction between definite and indefinite NPs?    yes ☐    no ☐
- (15) If so, specify how it is encoded:
- 
- (16) Is there a separate marker (apart from definiteness markers) for specificity?    yes ☐    no ☐
- (17) What is the unmarked order within NPs?
- DET ADJ NOUN ☐
- DET NOUN ADJ ☐
- ADJ NOUN DET ☐
- NOUN DET ADJ ☐
- NOUN ADJ DET ☐
- ADJ DET NOUN ☐
- (18) Is it possible to change the unmarked order specified in (17)?    yes ☐    no ☐

- (19) Is it possible to separate the noun from the other (rest) elements within the DP (“split constructions”)? yes ☐ no ☐

### 3.8 Pronoun

- (1) Which classes of pronouns are available?
- |               |                          |
|---------------|--------------------------|
| personal      | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| reflexive     | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| demonstrative | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| relative      | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| interrogative | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| expletive     | <input type="checkbox"/> |
- (2) Are there separate indefinite pronouns? yes ☐ no ☐
- (3) Is there a distinction between indefinite and interrogative pronouns? yes ☐ no ☐
- (4) Are indefinite and interrogative pronouns morphologically related to one another (e.g., interrogative pronouns are formed on the basis of indefinite pronouns through affixation)? yes ☐ no ☐
- (5) Is there a distinction between obviative and proximate? yes ☐ no ☐
- (6) Are interrogative pronouns used in situ in questions?
- |              |                          |
|--------------|--------------------------|
| sometimes    | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| obligatorily | <input type="checkbox"/> |

### 3.9 Quantifier

- (1) Which kinds of quantifiers are available?
- |   |                          |
|---|--------------------------|
| adverbial: local (e.g., <i>everywhere</i> )                   | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| adverbial: temporal (e.g., <i>always</i> , <i>sometimes</i> ) | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| determiners (“DET-quantifiers”)                               | <input type="checkbox"/> |

- (2) Are nouns possible complements of DET-quantifiers? yes ☐ no ☐
- (3) If so, are singular nouns allowed in such a function? yes ☐ no ☐
- (4) Can definite NPs be used as complements of DET-quantifiers? yes ☐ no ☐
- (5) If so, what is the order between Q and DET?
- $Q \prec DET$  ☐
- $DET \prec Q$  ☐
- (6) Does the presence of adverbial quantifiers have an influence on the word order of the sentence? yes ☐ no ☐
- (7) If so, is there a special position for quantifiers? yes ☐ no ☐

### 3.10 Verb

#### 3.10.1 Agreement

- (1) Is there agreement between the verb and one or more arguments in the clause? yes ☐ no ☐
- (2) If so, specify which element(s) the verb may agree with (e.g., agent, nominative, etc.):

- (3) Is agreement obligatory? yes ☐ no ☐
- (4) If not, is agreement influenced by the discourse status of the corresponding element? For example, the agreement affix is used only for given referents, or the agreement affix is deleted for focused referents, etc. yes ☐ no ☐

#### 3.10.2 Auxiliaries

- (1) Is there a distinction between lexical and functional verbs? yes ☐ no ☐
- (2) Are there copula verbs? yes ☐ no ☐

### 3.10.3 Verbal categories

(1) Are aspectual distinctions overtly marked on the verb? yes ☐ no ☐

(2) If so, specify which:

_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____

(3) Is there an aspectual value that is not morphologically marked? yes ☐ no ☐

(4) If so, specify which:

_____
-------

(5) Are temporal distinctions marked on the verb? yes ☐ no ☐

(6) If so, specify which:

_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____

(7) Is there a temporal value that is not morphologically marked? yes ☐ no ☐

(8) If so, specify which:

_____
-------

(9) Is it possible to mark the verb according to the perspective from which a given situation/event is presented (e.g., to mark where the evidence comes *from—to* employ evidentiality markers)? yes ☐ no ☐

### 3.11 Subordination

(1) Is there a difference between the main and the subordinate clause? yes ☐ no ☐

(2) What is the unmarked order between main and subordinate clauses?

- 
- main clause  $\prec$  subordinate clause ☐
- subordinate clause  $\prec$  main clause ☐
- (3) Is the order in (2) obligatory? yes ☐ no ☐

### 3.12 Relative clauses

- (1) Is the nominal head of the relative clause:
- external? ☐
- internal? ☐
- (2) If it is external, what is the unmarked order?
- noun  $\prec$  relative clause ☐
- relative clause  $\prec$  noun ☐
- (3) Is the order specified in (2) obligatory? yes ☐ no ☐
- (4) Is it possible to use relative clauses without the governing noun? That is, are there so-called “free relative clauses” (e.g., *I like whatever you like*)? yes ☐ no ☐
- (5) If so, is there a distinction between free relative clauses and interrogative sentences? yes ☐ no ☐

### 3.13 Cleft sentences

- (1) Is it possible to highlight a constituent by means of a cleft sentence? yes ☐ no ☐
- (2) If so, which constituents may be clefted:
- subjects ☐
- direct objects ☐
- indirect objects ☐
- adjectives ☐
- adverbs ☐
- verbs ☐

- 
- VPs ☐
- (3) Is the use of a copula obligatory in a cleft construction? yes ☐ no ☐
- (4) Is the use of an expletive pronoun in a cleft construction:
- not possible ☐
- possible/not obligatory ☐
- obligatory ☐
- (5) Are there other similar constructions, apart from cleft sentences, such as pseudo-clefts, in which the order of the highlighted constituent and the relative clause is changed? yes ☐ no ☐
- (6) If so, give a short description of these constructions:
- 
- (7) Is the same relative pronoun used in these constructions and in cleft sentences (if any)? yes ☐ no ☐

### 3.14 Pro-drop

- (1) Must all verbal arguments be obligatorily realized? yes ☐ no ☐
- (2) If not, which arguments may be not realized?
- subjects ☐
- direct objects ☐
- indirect objects ☐
- (3) Does the realization of the arguments correlate with the discourse status of the respective constituents? yes ☐ no ☐
- (4) If an argument is not expressed in certain discourse statuses (e.g., as background), is the absence of it obligatory? yes ☐ no ☐

### 3.15 Question and answer

- (1) Must the answer to a question always be a complete yes ☐ no ☐

---

sentence?

- (2) If not, is it possible to answer with just the questioned constituents? yes ☐ no ☐
- (3) Do the questioned constituents in the answer bear a special marking (e.g., special particles)? yes ☐ no ☐
- (4) Is it possible to form questions for the following constituents?

NP	<input type="checkbox"/>
subject	<input type="checkbox"/>
direct object	<input type="checkbox"/>
indirect object	<input type="checkbox"/>
verb	<input type="checkbox"/>
adverb	<input type="checkbox"/>
adjective	<input type="checkbox"/>
PP	<input type="checkbox"/>
whole sentence	<input type="checkbox"/>



---

## Chapter 3. Experimental tasks

Chapter 3 contains 29 experimental tasks which are based on the manipulation of discourse conditions that have an impact on the information structure of the produced sentence. This manual contains a documentation of the goals of each experimental task as well as the procedure, and the materials used. For the performance of these tasks in the field the project provides a set of “field session manuals” in which the individual tasks are distributed and randomized in order to be performed in field sessions.

### 1 Changes (Given/New in Intransitives and Transitives)

type of task:	description of sequences of situations
participants:	1 informants
materials:	10 picture sequences
objectives:	given/new in intransitives and transitives

#### Outline

The goal of this experimental task is to elicit different syntactic and prosodic means of marking given and new information in events with one and two involved participants. This task is an adaptation of the cards game for the elicitation of narrow focus within NPs (cf. Swerts et al. 2002), in order to elicit effects of the given/new distinction in simple sentences with transitive and intransitive verbs. The conditions are the following:

- Condition A:      event with one participant  
                         all new
- Condition B:      event with one participant  
                         participant=new

Condition C:	event with one participant action/state=new
Condition D:	event with an agent and a patient all new
Condition E:	event with an agent and a patient agent=new
Condition F:	event with an agent and a patient patient=new
Condition G:	event with an agent and a patient action=new

### **Procedure**

Events that are assumed to happen subsequently are presented in sets of four pictures. The informant looks at each picture and describes what is happening. After he finishes his description, he receives the next picture.

There are two series of pictures presenting two types of events: events with one participant (Conditions A-C) and events with two participants (Conditions D-G). The first scene in each sequence induces an all new description (Conditions A and D). In the subsequent scenes one component of the event (either the action/state or one participant) is changing, inducing new information focus on the corresponding constituent.

The following instruction is used:

“You will be shown some pictures that belong together, that is, they belong to the same story. Imagine that the first scene takes place first and the next scene some time later, e.g., after five minutes. What is interesting for us are the figures and actions in the foreground of the picture – you do not need to describe details about the pictures or the individual figures. Please give just a short description of each scene.”

## Materials

Events are presented in sequences of four scenes. The exact conditions and their implementation in two items are presented in the following table. Note that the third picture in each sequence is identical to the other sequences of the same item, in order to allow for comparability across conditions.

sequence	condition	new	event	part1	part2	event	part1	part2
a	A	all	sit	girl		run	woman	
	B	single	sit	boy		run	boy	
	B	single	sit	woman		run	girl	
	B	single	sit	man		run	man	
b	A	all	run	woman		lay	girl	
	C	V	fall	woman		stand	girl	
	C	V	sit	woman		run	girl	
	C	V	go	woman		sit	girl	
c	D	all	kick	man	ball	push	boy	table
	E	A	kick	boy	ball	push	woman	table
	E	A	kick	woman	ball	push	man	table
	E	A	kick	girl	ball	push	girl	table
d	D	all	kick	woman	pot	push	man	car
	F	P	kick	woman	bottle	push	man	box
	F	P	kick	woman	ball	push	man	table
	F	P	kick	woman	lamp	push	man	couch
e	D	all	pick up	woman	ball	pull	man	table
	G	V	hold	woman	ball	kick	man	table
	G	V	kick	woman	ball	push	man	table
	G	V	throw	woman	ball	pick up	man	table

### Sequence a

#### Item 1: Woman sitting



#### Item 2: Girl running

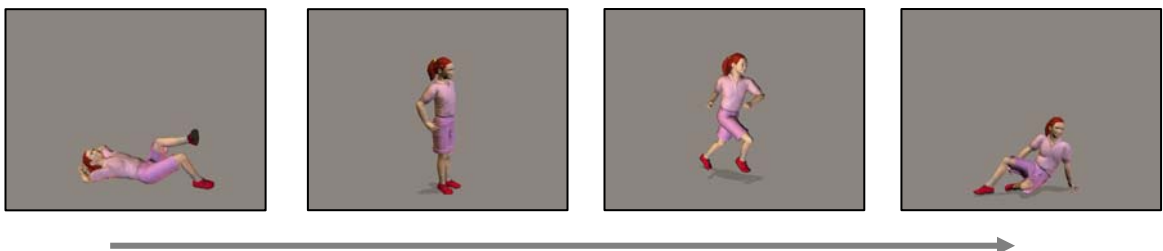


### Sequence b

#### Item 1: Woman sitting



#### Item 2: Girl running



## Sequence c

Item 3: Woman kicking ball

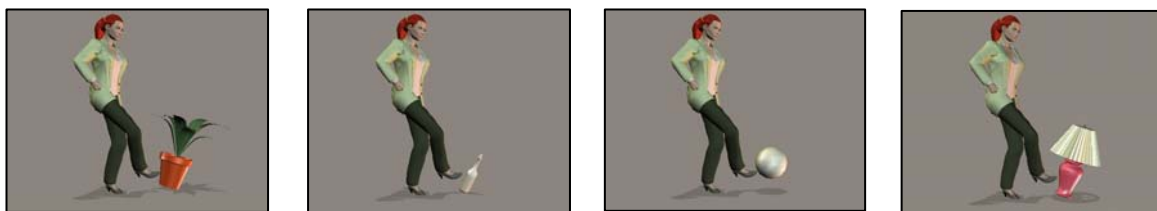


Item 4: Man pushing table



## Sequence d

Item 3: Woman kicking ball

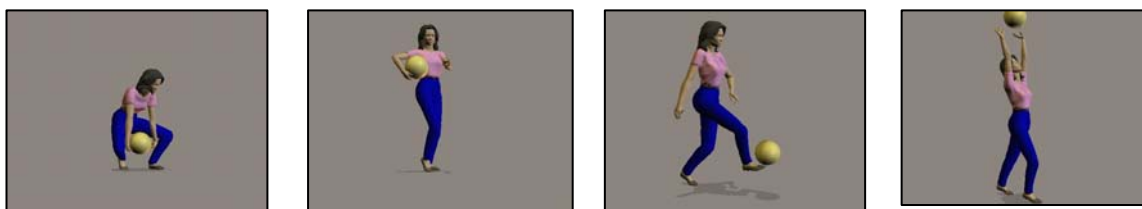


Item 4: Man pushing table



## Sequence e

## Item 3: Woman kicking ball



## Item 4: Man pushing table



Distribution in sessions (letter=sequence; number=item)

	task 1	task 2	task 3	task 4	task 5	task 6	task 7	task 8	task 9	t. 10
session 1	c1	a2	d1	b2	e1	c2	b1	d2	a1	e2
session 2	a2	d1	b2	e1	c1	b1	d2	a1	e2	c2
session 3	d1	b2	e1	c1	a2	d2	a1	e2	c2	b1
session 4	b2	e1	c1	a2	d1	a1	e2	c2	b1	d2

## 2 Giving (Given/New in Ditransitives)

type of task:	description of sequences of situations
participants:	1 informant
materials:	4 short films
objectives:	given/new in ditransitives

### Outline

This experimental task is devoted to ditransitives. It consists of a series of short films that are used for the elicitation of controlled narratives. These films

present a situation in which three individuals are involved under different given/new configurations:

- Condition A: all new
- Condition B: given agent
- Condition C: given theme
- Condition D: given recipient

### **Procedure**

The instructor shows to the informant a short film twice. At the first time, the informant just watches the film. At the second time, she narrates the story while she looks at the scenes.

The following instruction is used:

“You are going to see a short film twice. At the first time, you have to watch the scenes very carefully. At the second time, you will give a short description of what is happening. Your description has to be short: just give a summary of every scene in the story. You do not need to give any details, e.g., what the people look like, etc.; just tell us briefly what is going on in each scene.”

### **Materials**

- Condition A: all new
  - film title: “DonationAllNew.avi”
  - scene 1: A man gives a stick to a woman.
  - scene 2: The woman hits the man with the stick.
- Condition B: given agent
  - film title: “DonationMan.avi”
  - scene 1: A man moves towards a tree.
  - scene 2: The man gives a stick to a woman.

scene 3: The woman hits the man with the stick.

Condition C: given theme

film title: "DonationStick.avi"

scene 1: A stick falls down from a tree.

scene 2: A man gives the stick to a woman.

scene 3: The woman hits the man with the stick.

Condition D: given recipient

film title: "DonationWoman.avi"

scene 1: A woman moves towards a tree.

scene 2: A man gives a stick to the woman.

scene 3: The woman hits the man with the stick.

Distribution in sessions (letters=conditions; numbers=items)

	task 1
session 1	A
session 2	B
session 3	C
session 4	D

### 3 Visibility (Given/New, Animacy and Type/Token Reference)

type of task:	description of sequences of situations
participants:	1 informant
materials:	64 picture sequences
objectives:	given/new, animacy and type/token reference

#### Outline

This experimental task explores the impact of givenness and animacy on clause structure. With respect to givenness, three conditions are examined: (a) the referent is new, (b) the referent is token-given, and (c) the referent is type-given (see Gundel et al. 1993). With respect to animacy, the experimental task includes conditions in which both referents are symmetric (both animate), conditions in which the agent is animate and the patient is inanimate, and conditions in which the agent is inanimate and the patient animate (see Nice and Dietrich 2003, Prat-Sala and Branigan 2000). The eight conditions are presented in the following table.

Condition A:	agent = animate, new, token-identifiable patient = animate, given
Condition B:	agent = animate, new, type-identifiable patient = animate, given
Condition C:	agent = animate, new, token-identifiable patient = inanimate, given
Condition D:	agent = animate, new, type-identifiable patient = inanimate, given
Condition E:	agent = animate, given patient = animate, new
Condition F:	agent = animate, given patient = inanimate, new

Condition G:       agent = inanimate, new

                          patient = animate, given

Condition H:       agent = inanimate, given

                          patient = animate, new

The expectations on the data primarily concern the choice of word order and the choice of voice, if the language allows for voice alternations. When the agent is less given than the patient (Conditions A to D, G), patient fronting (e.g., in Georgian) or passivization (e.g., in German) is often used. Conditions E-F are the control conditions that allow to measure the impact of givenness. When the agent is only type-identifiable (Conditions B and D), some languages use impersonal constructions (e.g., Greek), other languages use passivization. The animacy variable is used to explore the animate-first and animate-subject preferences in several languages.

The discourse manipulation for the elicitation of type-identifiable referents is based on a similar experiment designed by Rainer Dietrich.

### **Procedure**

The instructor shows the first picture to the informant. The informant may give a free, unconstrained description of it. When the description of the first picture is completed, the instructor shows the second picture which is described as a subsequent scene.

The following instruction is used:

“You will be shown two pictures that belong together, that is, they belong to the same story. Imagine that the first scene takes place first and the second scene some time later, e.g., after five minutes. What is interesting for us are the figures and actions in the foreground of the picture – you do not need to describe details about the pictures or the individual figures. Please give just a short description of each scene.”

## Materials

Condition A: agent = animate, new, token-identifiable

patient = animate, given

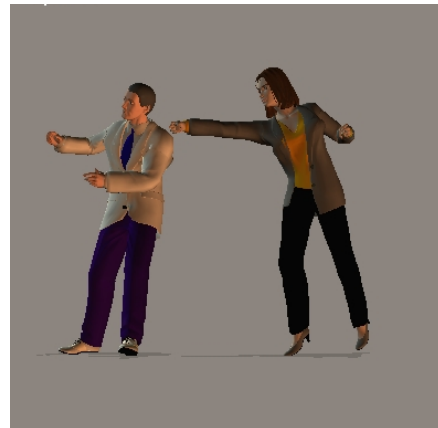
Item 1: Kicking (inam. hitting)



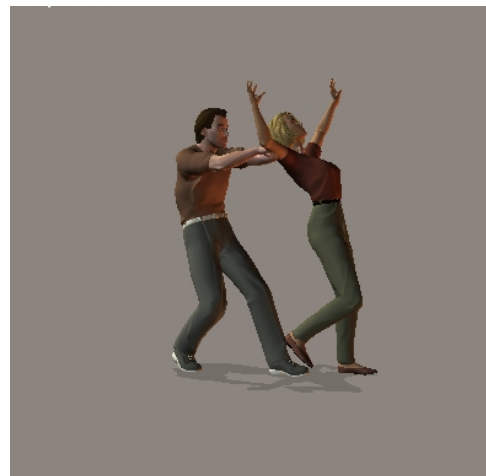
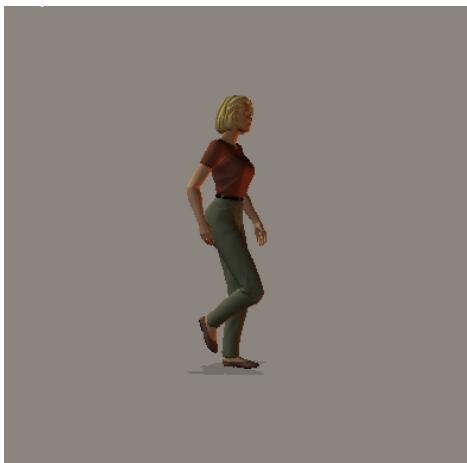
Item 2: Pushing 1



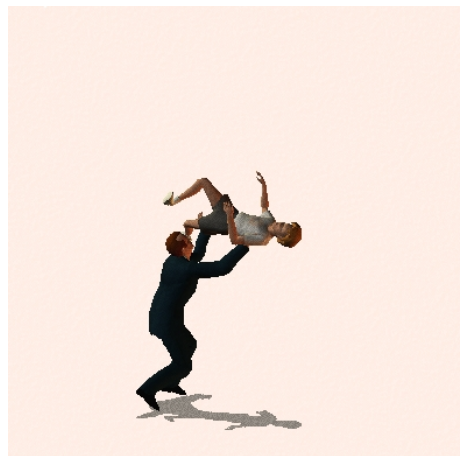
Item 3: Hitting



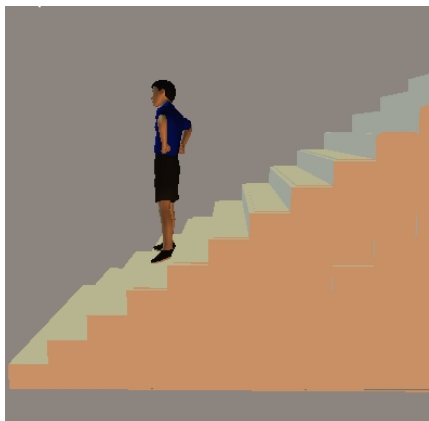
Item 4: Pulling (inan. pushing)



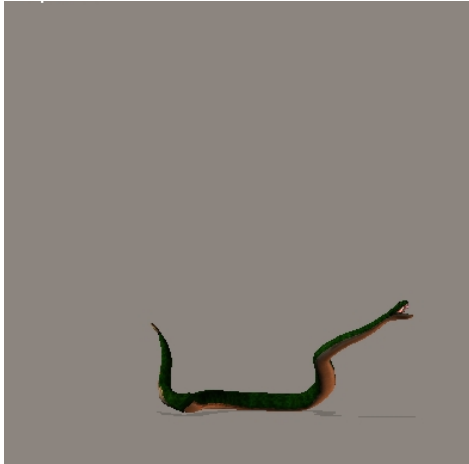
## Item 5: Lifting



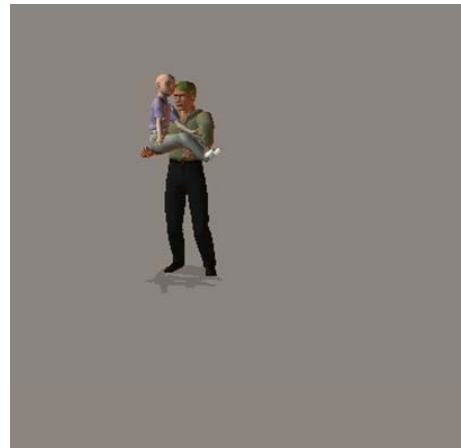
## Item 6: Pushing 2



Item 7: Biting (inan. hitting)



Item 8: Holding (inan. falling on)



Condition B: agent = animate, new, type-identifiable

patient = animate, given

Item 1: Kicking (inam. hitting)



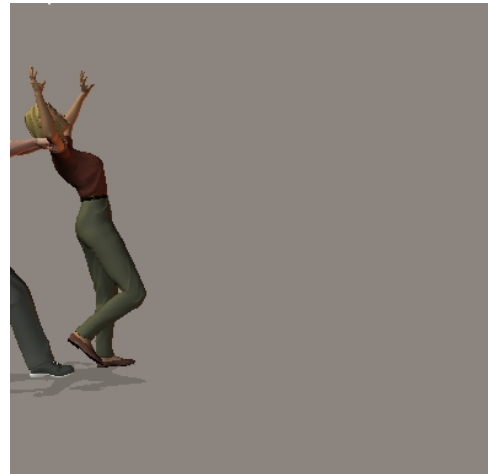
Item 2: Pushing 1



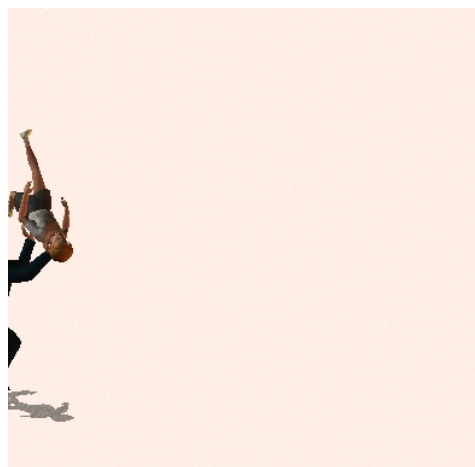
## Item 3: Hitting



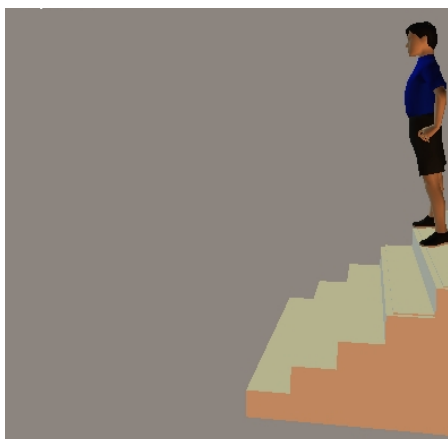
## Item 4: Pulling (inan. pushing)



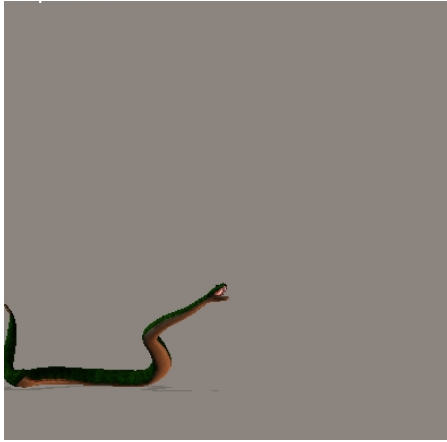
## Item 5: Lifting



## Item 6: Pushing 2



Item 7: Biting (inan. hitting)

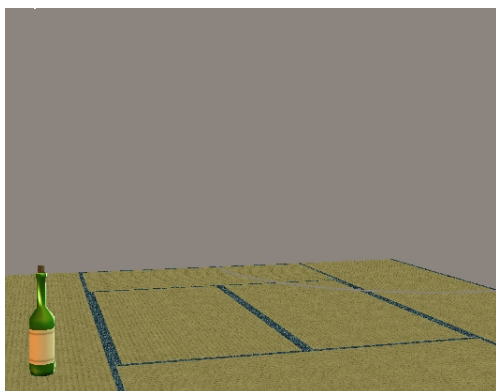


Item 8: Holding (inan. falling on)



Condition C:      agent = animate, new, token-identifiable  
                         patient = inanimate, given

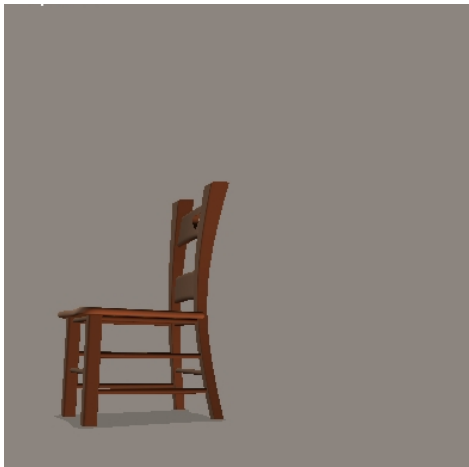
Item 1: Kicking (inam. hitting)



Item 2: Pushing 1



## Item 3: Hitting



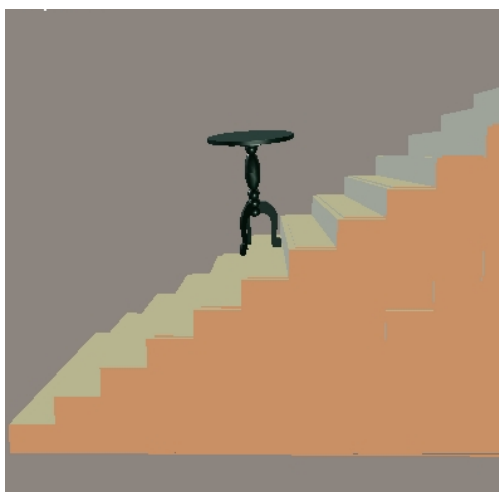
## Item 4: Pulling (inan. pushing)



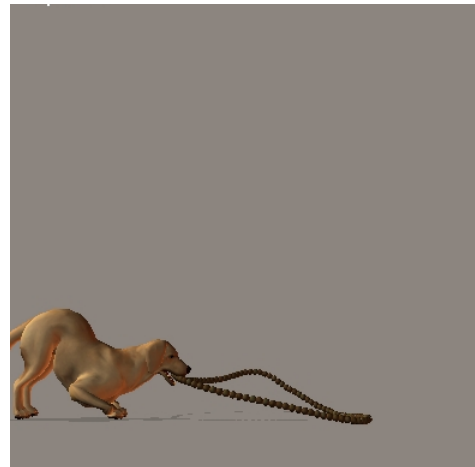
## Item 5: Lifting



## Item 6: Pushing 2



Item 7: Biting (inan. hitting)

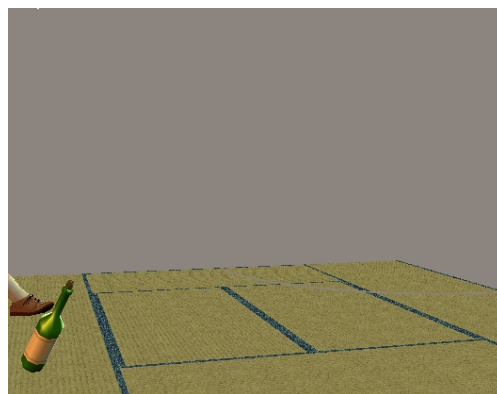
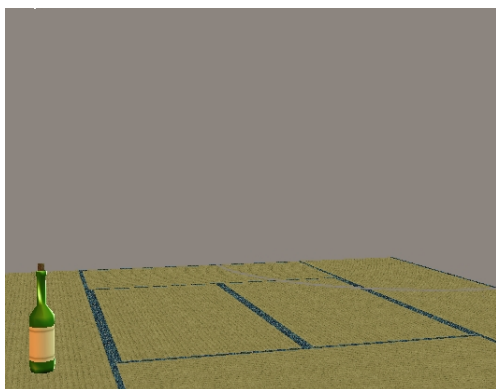


Item 8: Holding (inan. falling on)

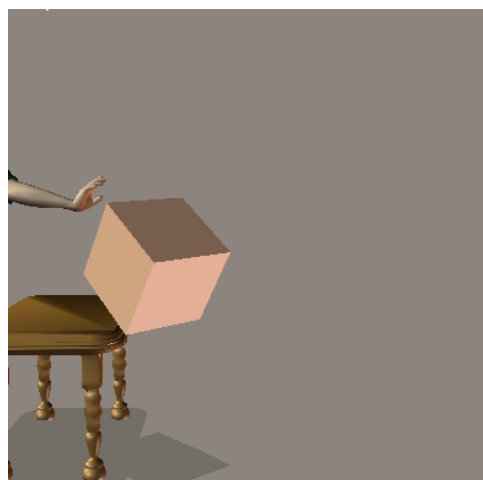


Condition D:      agent = animate, new, type-identifiable  
                         patient = inanimate, given

Item 1: Kicking (inam. hitting)



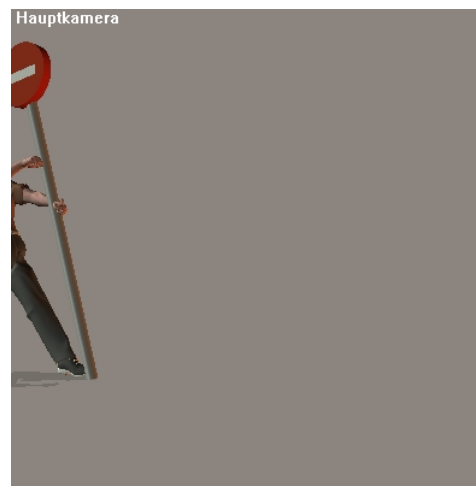
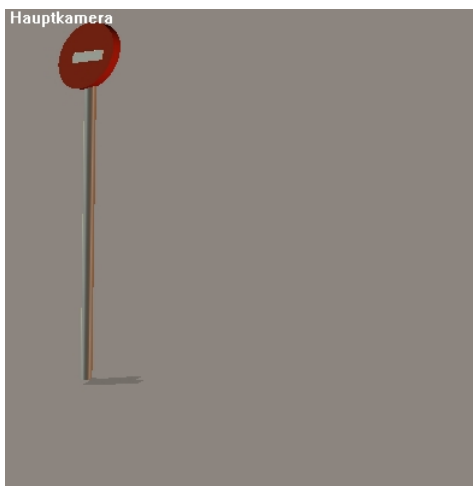
Item 2: Pushing 1



## Item 3: Hitting



## Item 4: Pulling (inan. pushing)



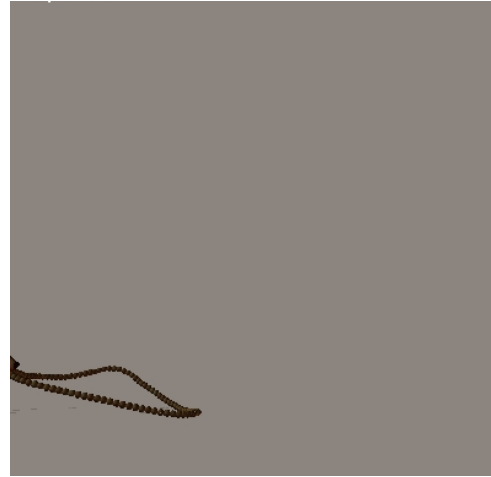
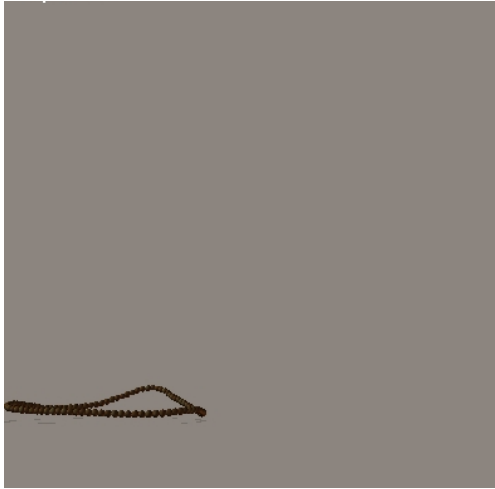
## Item 5: Lifting



## Item 6: Pushing 2



Item 7: Biting (inan. hitting)



Item 8: Holding (inan. falling on)



Condition E:       agent = animate, given  
                          patient = animate, new

Item 1: Kicking (inam. hitting)



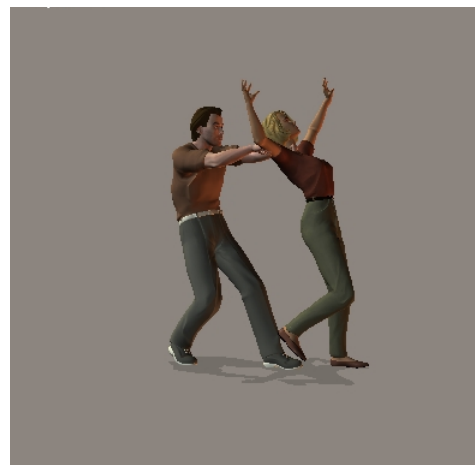
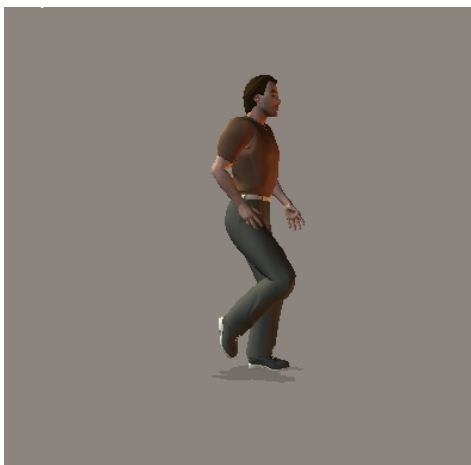
Item 2: Pushing 1



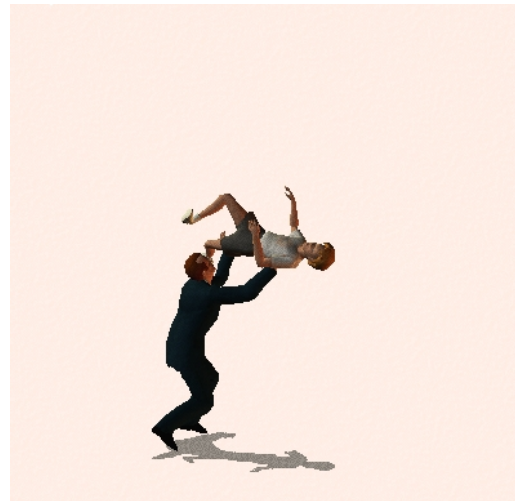
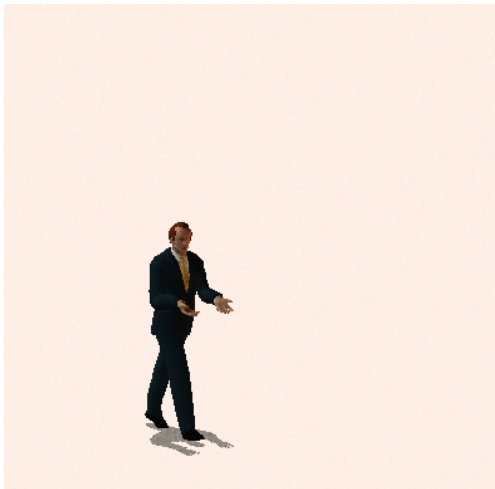
## Item 3: Hitting



## Item 4: Pulling (inan. pushing)



## Item 5: Lifting



## Item 6: Pushing 2



Item 7: Biting (inan. hitting)



Item 8: Holding (inan. falling on)



Condition F:      agent = animate, given  
                         patient = inanimate, new

Item 1: Kicking (inan. hitting)



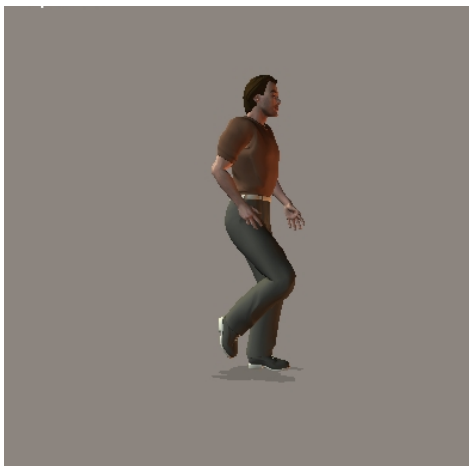
Item 2: Pushing 1



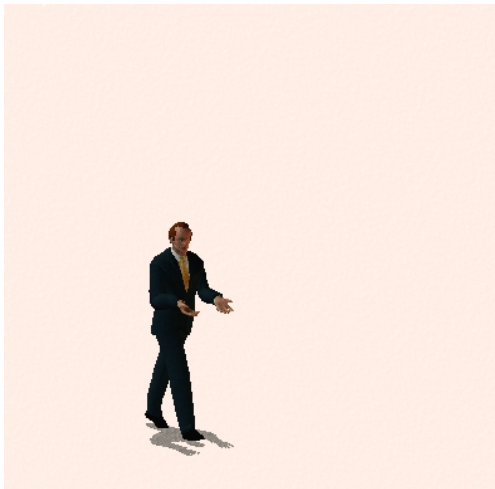
Item 3: Hitting



Item 4: Pulling (inan. pushing)



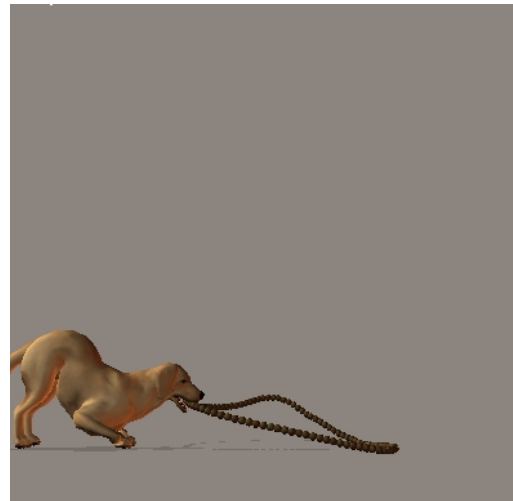
## Item 5: Lifting



## Item 6: Pushing 2



Item 7: Biting (inan. hitting)



Item 8: Holding (inan. falling on)



Condition G:      agent = inanimate, new  
                         patient = animate, given

Item 1: Kicking (inan. hitting)



Item 2: Pushing 1



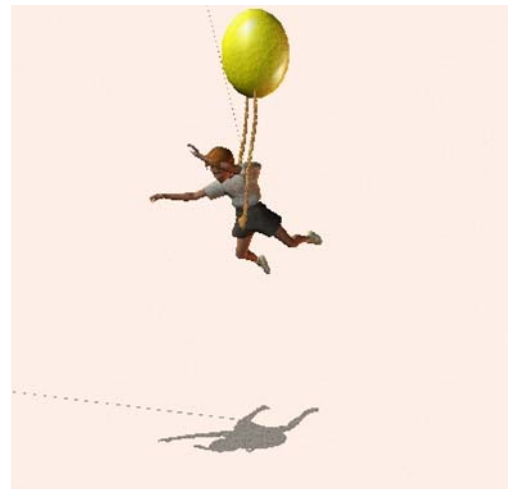
## Item 3: Hitting



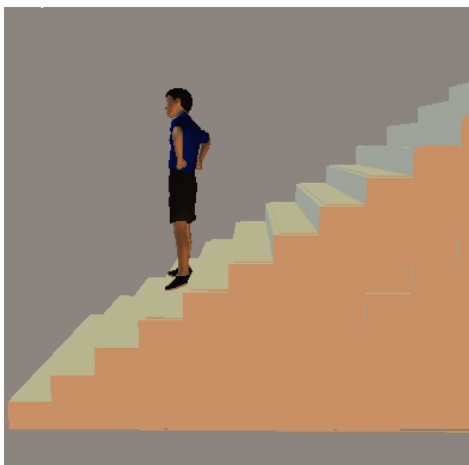
## Item 4: Pulling (inan. pushing)



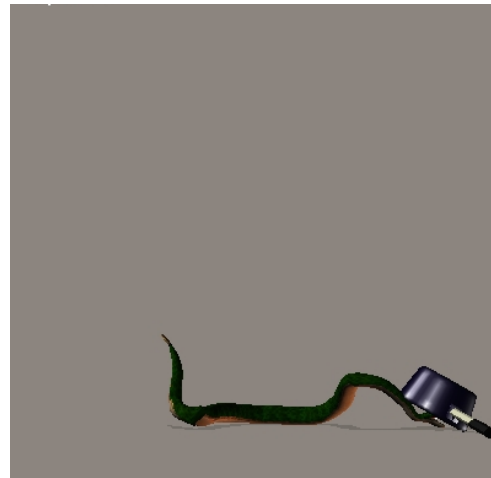
## Item 5: Lifting



## Item 6: Pushing 2



Item 7: Biting (inan. hitting)

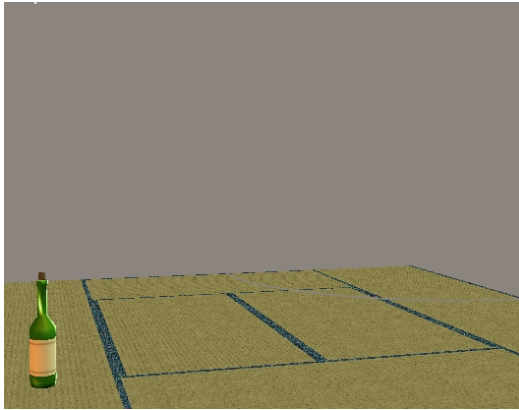


Item 8: Holding (inan. falling on)

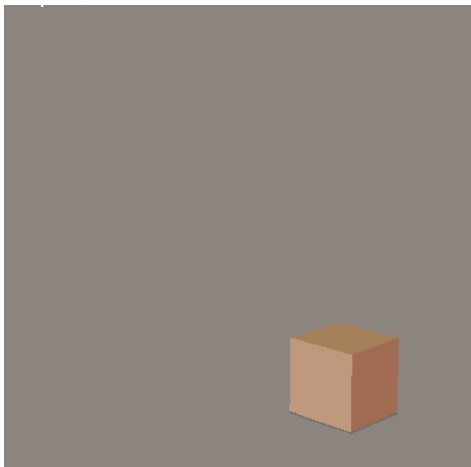


Condition H:      agent = inanimate, given  
                         patient = animate, new

Item 1: Kicking (inan. hitting)



Item 2: Pushing 1



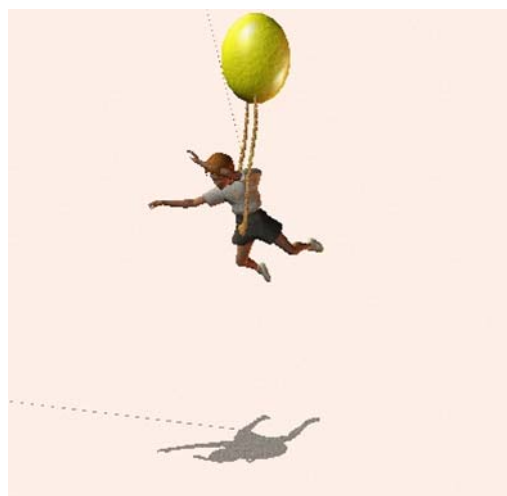
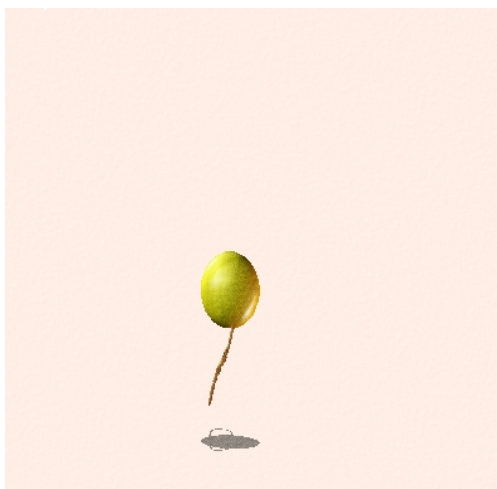
Item 3: Hitting



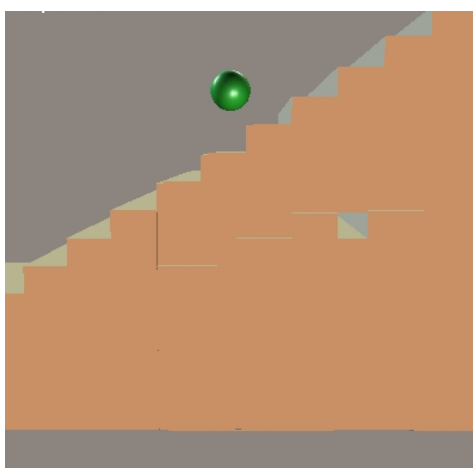
Item 4: Pulling (inan. pushing)



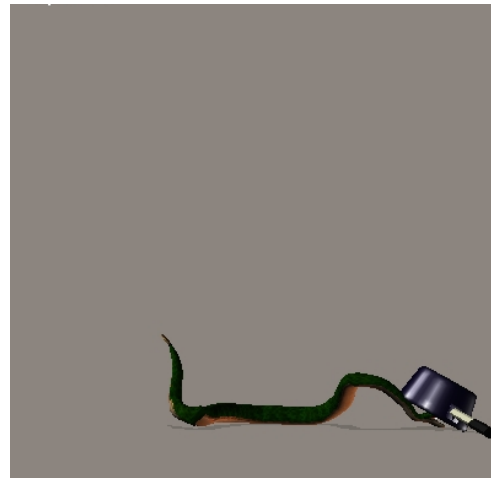
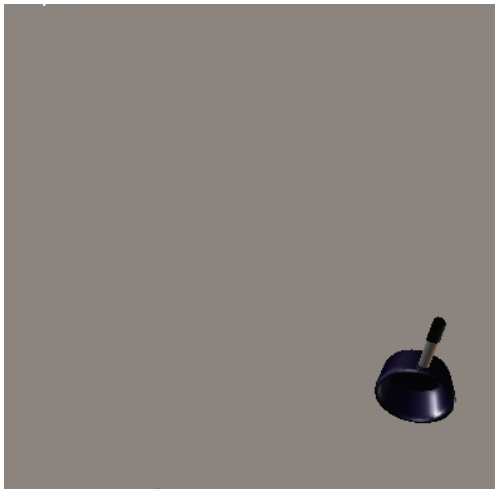
## Item 5: Lifting



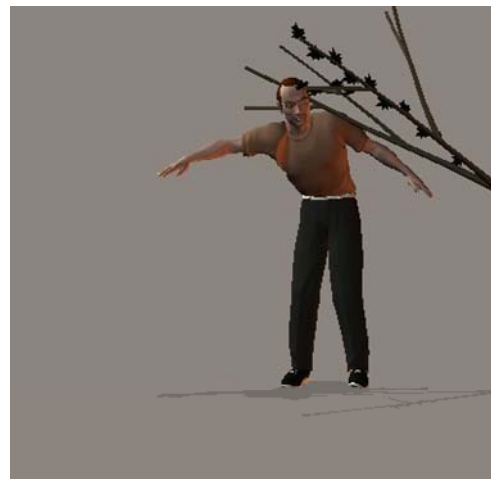
## Item 6: Pushing 2



Item 7: Biting (inan. hitting)



Item 8: Holding (inan. falling on)



Distribution in sessions (letter=condition; number=item)

	task 1	task 2	task 3	task 4	task 5	task 6	task 7	task 8
Session 1.1	A1	B2	C3	D4	E5	F6	G7	H8
Session 2.1	B1	C2	D3	E4	F5	G6	H7	A8
Session 3.1	C1	D2	E3	F4	G5	H6	A7	B8
Session 4.1	D1	E2	F3	G4	H5	A6	B7	C8
Session 1.2	E1	F2	G3	H4	A5	B6	C7	D8
Session 2.2	F1	G2	H3	A4	B5	C6	D7	E8
Session 3.2	G1	H2	A3	B4	C5	D6	E7	F8
Session 4.2	H1	A2	B3	C4	D5	E6	F7	G8

#### 4 Locations (Given/New in Locative Expressions)

type of task:	description of sequences of situations
participants:	1 informant
materials:	36 picture sequences
objectives:	new locatum, new relatum, new spatial relation

#### Outline

The aim of this experimental task is to induce means of encoding given and new information in spatial descriptions (see Klein 1991). A spatial description contains: (a) a locatum, i.e. the referent whose location in space is expressed, (b) a relatum, i.e. the referent with respect to which the locatum is located in space, and (c) a relation, i.e. the spatial relation between locatum and relatum. The conditions of this experimental task are the following:

- Condition A: all new
- Condition B: new locatum
- Condition C: new relatum
- Condition D: new relation

This experimental task has been developed in collaboration with Robin Hörnig und Thomas Weskott.

## Procedure

The informant sees four pictures that present spatial relations subsequently and gives a description of each picture separately.

The following instruction is used:

“You will see a sequence of pictures in which objects are placed relative to other objects. We want you to describe each picture by indicating the placement of one of the objects relative to the other one. Every time you notice a change in the placement, please give an account of the changed arrangement.”

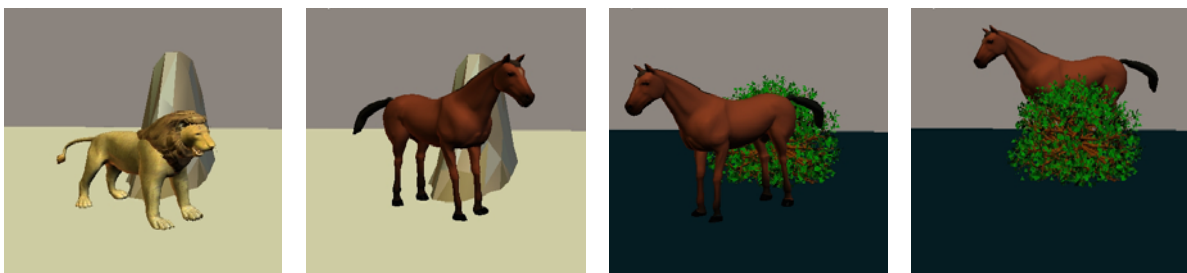
## Materials

The first picture induces an all-new description (Condition A). The subsequent three pictures induce the Conditions B-D in different orders. There are six possible orders of the four conditions.

	1 <sup>st</sup> picture	2 <sup>nd</sup> picture	3 <sup>rd</sup> picture	4 <sup>th</sup> picture
order A	all new	new locatum	new relatum	new relation
order B	all new	new locatum	new relation	new relatum
order C	all new	new relatum	new locatum	new relation
order D	all new	new relatum	new relation	new locatum
order E	all new	new relation	new locatum	new relatum
order F	all new	new relation	new relatum	new locatum

Six items are presented in the six orders above, resulting in thirty six picture sequences. In following, we give six illustrative examples:

Item 1: Stone and tree (order A)



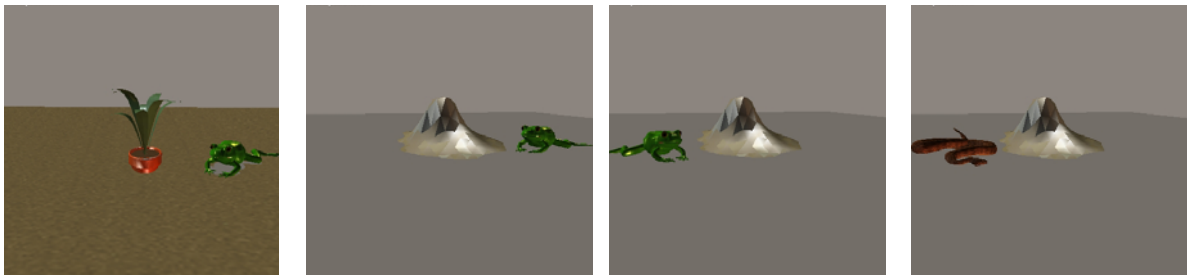
## Item 2: Well and fence (order B)



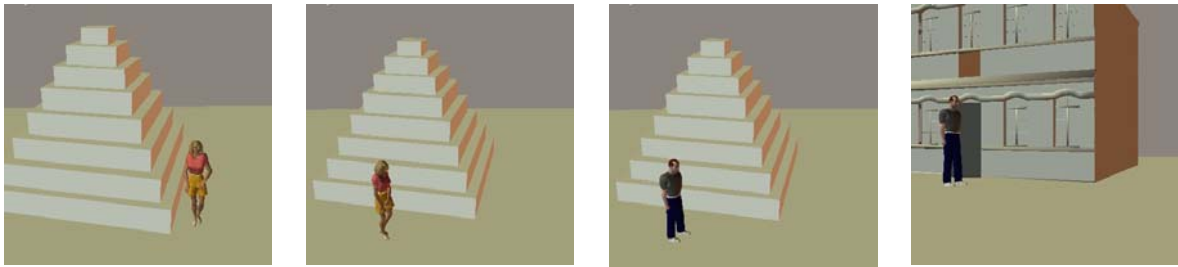
## Item 3: House and tree (order C)



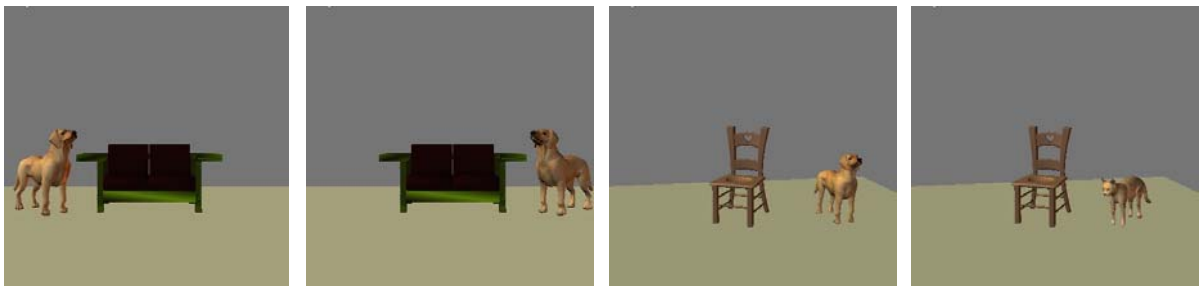
## Item 4: Plant and stone (order D)



Item 5: Pyramid and house (order E)



Item 6: Couch and chair (order F)



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Distribution in sessions (letters=orders; numbers=items)

	task 1	task 2	task 3	task 4	task 5	task 6
session 1	A1	B2	C3	D4	E5	F6
session 2	B1	C2	D3	E4	F5	A6
session 3	C1	D2	E3	F4	A5	B6
session 4	D1	E2	F3	A4	B5	C6
session 1.2	E1	F2	A3	B4	C5	D6
session 2.2	F1	A2	B3	C4	D5	E6

## 5 Sequences (Given/New/Contrast in Transitives)

type of task:	description of sequences of situations
participants:	1 informant
materials:	8 picture sequences, 2 single pictures
objectives:	given/new and contrast in transitive sentences

### Outline

The goal of this experimental task is to elicit simple transitive expressions in different information structural conditions. Conditions A to D elicit a sequential description of two pictures which constitute a short narrative. The picture sequences in Conditions A-B provide different given/new constellations of the same event, while those of Conditions C-D are contrastive. Condition E contains simple descriptions of pictures in which everything is new.

Condition A:	given agent, new patient
Condition B:	new agent, given patient
Condition C:	agent in contrast, given patient
Condition D:	given agent, patient in contrast
Condition E:	new agent, new patient

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## Procedure

Condition A-D: The instructor shows the first picture to the informant. The informant may give a free, unconstrained description of it. When the description of the first picture is completed, the instructor shows the second picture which is described as a subsequent scene.

“You will be shown two pictures that belong together, that is, they belong to the same story. Imagine that the first scene takes place first and the second scene some time later, e.g., after five minutes. What is interesting for us are the figures and actions in the foreground of the picture – you do not need to describe details about the pictures or the individual figures. Please give just a short description of each scene.”

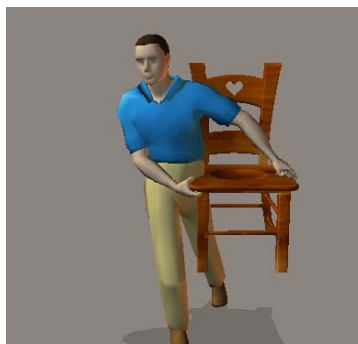
Condition E: The instructor shows a single picture to the informant and asks:

“What is going on in this scene?”

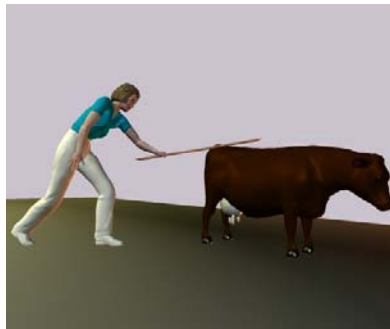
## Materials

Condition A: given agent, new patient

Item 1: Man carrying chair



Item 2: Woman hitting cow

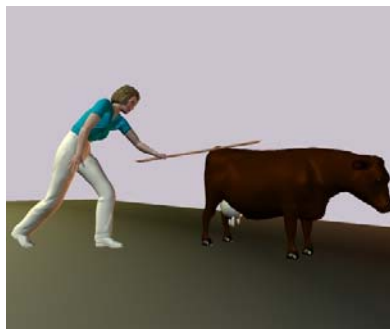
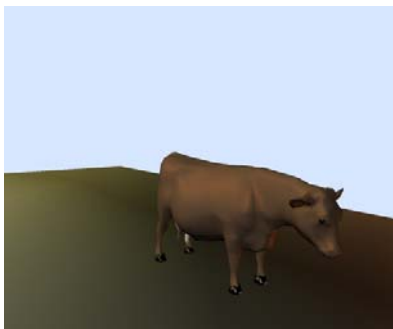


Condition B:        new agent, given patient

Item 1: Man carrying chair



Item 2: Woman hitting cow

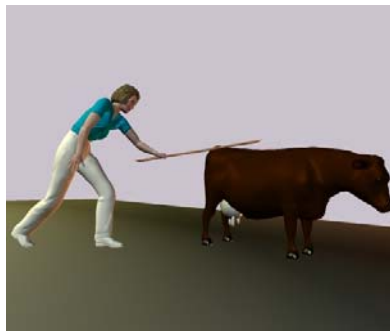
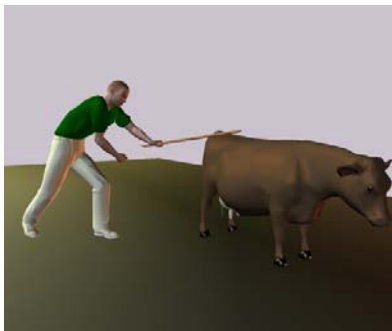


Condition C:        agent in contrast, given patient

Item 1: Man carrying chair



Item 2: Woman hitting cow

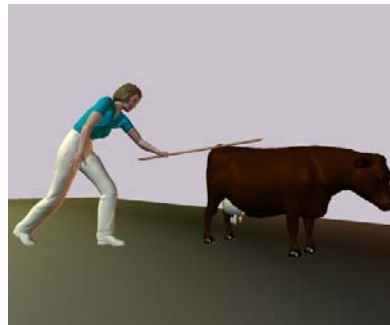


Condition D:        given agent, patient in contrast

Item 1: Man carrying chair



Item 2: Woman hitting cow

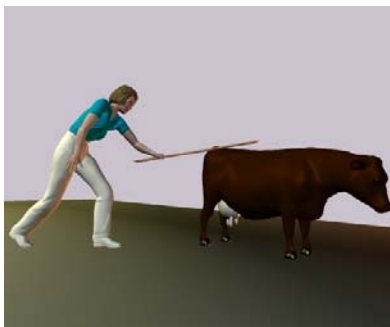


Condition E: new agent, new patient

Item 1: Man carrying chair



Item 2: Woman hitting cow



Distribution in sessions (letters=conditions; numbers=items)

	task 1	task 2	task 3	task 4	task 5
session 1	E4	A1	B2	C3	D4
session 2	E1	A2	B3	C4	D1
session 3	E2	A3	B4	C1	D2
session 4	E3	A4	B1	C2	D3

## 6 Dynamic Localization (Given/New in Dynamic Loc. Descriptions)

type of task:	description of sequences of situations
participants:	1 informant
materials:	1 power point presentation
objectives:	given/new in spatial descriptions

### Outline

The aim of this task is to show the impact of given/new asymmetries on the formation of spatial descriptions (see Klein 1991). The informant describes a sequence of spatial situations that are presented through a power point presentation. The entities used in these presentations are inherently symmetrical (several animals). The following conditions are used in the sequences:

- Condition A:      entity  $e_1$  and entity  $e_2$  are new  
                          location of entity  $e_1$  and location of entity  $e_2$  are new
- Condition B:      entity  $e_1$  is given and entity  $e_2$  is new  
                          location of entity  $e_1$  is given and location of entity  $e_2$  is new
- Condition C:      entity  $e_1$  is given and entity  $e_2$  is previously (but not immediately mentioned)  
                          location of entity  $e_1$  is given and location of entity  $e_2$  is new
- Condition D:      entity  $e_1$  and entity  $e_2$  are given  
                          location of entity  $e_1$  is given and location of entity  $e_2$  is new

The impact of the given/new asymmetry is potentially observed at several layers of linguistic structure: it determines the choice of subject and prepositional object in the spatial description, in some languages influences the word order (given first), and in some languages influences the prosodic realization of the sentence (e.g., deaccentuation of given information) (Clark & Haviland 1977, Ladd 1996). This experimental task was designed by Robin Hörnig and Caroline Féry.

### Procedure

The informant sees a power point presentation in which animal cards appear in different positions. He describes what happens.

The following instruction is used:

“You will see a presentation in which different animals appear in several places in relation to other animals. The different positions appear one after the other, and your task is to describe them. Every time you see a change in the presentation, you have to give an accurate description of what changes in the picture and exactly at which place in relation to the other animals. I will not tell you if your description is accurate or not, because you have to use your own expressions. But if you are not satisfied with your descriptions, please feel free to correct yourself. It is also important that you express yourself in a natural way, so try to be spontaneous!”

### Material

Item 1= file “OLdynamic.ppt”

- (1) 

crocodile	gorilla
-----------	---------

 \_\_\_\_\_
- (2) 

crocodile	gorilla	horse
-----------	---------	-------

 \_\_\_\_\_

(3) 

gorilla	horse	lion
---------	-------	------

 \_\_\_\_\_

(4) 

gorilla	horse	bear
---------	-------	------

 \_\_\_\_\_

(5) 

zebra	horse	bear
-------	-------	------

 \_\_\_\_\_

(6) 

horse	bear	dog
-------	------	-----

 \_\_\_\_\_

(7) 

horse
bear

 \_\_\_\_\_

(8) 

horse
bear
gorilla

 \_\_\_\_\_

(9) 

horse
bear
cow

 \_\_\_\_\_

(10) 

leopard
horse
bear

 \_\_\_\_\_

(11) 

pig
leopard
horse

 \_\_\_\_\_

(12)

leopard	horse
---------	-------

Distribution in sessions (numbers=items)

	task 1
session 1	1
session 2	1
session 3	1
session 4	1

## 7 Birthday Party (Weight and Discourse Status)

type of task:	question/answer
participants:	2 informants
materials:	24 picture pairs
objectives:	weight and discourse status

### Outline

The aim of this task is to determine the influence of discourse status and grammatical complexity on constituent order in Dative Alternation, using 'give' as the verb. The task is adapted from Arnold et al. (2000).

The conditions are the following:

Condition A:	given agent, new light theme
Condition B:	given agent, new heavy theme
Condition C:	new agent, given light theme
Condition D:	new agent, given heavy theme

### Procedure

Informant A receives a card, which contain three objects, three animals and arrows that indicate which object is to be given to which animal. Informant B also receives a card, that contains either the corresponding objects or the

corresponding animals. He is instructed to ask his partner in order to gain the missing information (he has to ask about all three objects). For example, if informant B's card shows a picture of three monkeys, he would ask 'What about the red monkey, the yellow monkey, and the blue monkey?'. Informant A is instructed to reply to this question using the information in his card.

The following instructions are used:

(To both informants:) "A birthday party! Our three animal friends will each get a present. But who gets what?"

(To informant A): "Please answer the question of the second informant. You must tell him what to give to whom."

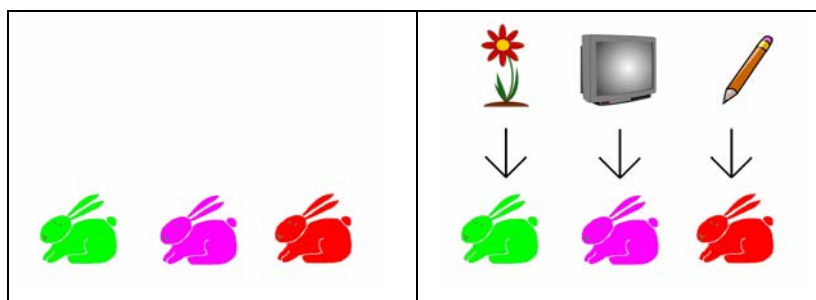
(To informant B): "It is your task to give the presents to our three animal friends. But you don't know yet who gets what. You will see a card which shows either three animals or three objects. You must ask the director for instructions. You must ask about all three animals or all three objects at the same time!"

## Materials

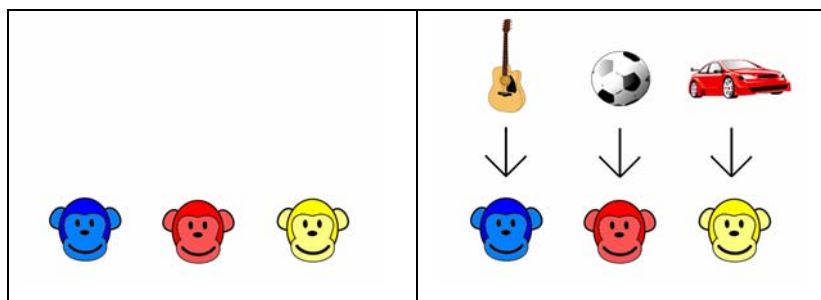
Note that the cards come in pairs: card A (on the left side) is for informant B, and card B (on the right side) for informant A.

Condition A: given agent, new light theme

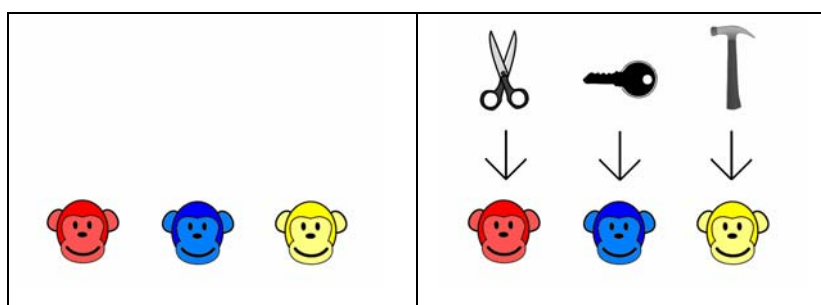
Item 1: Rabbit/flower



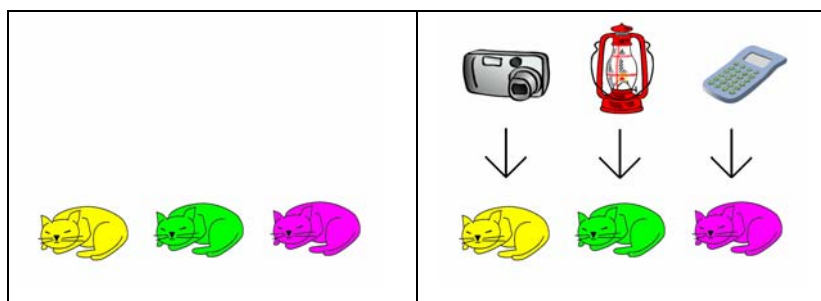
Item 2: Monkey/guitar



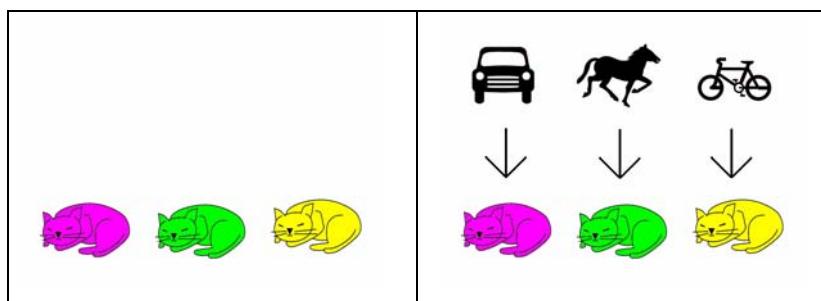
Item 3: Monkey/key



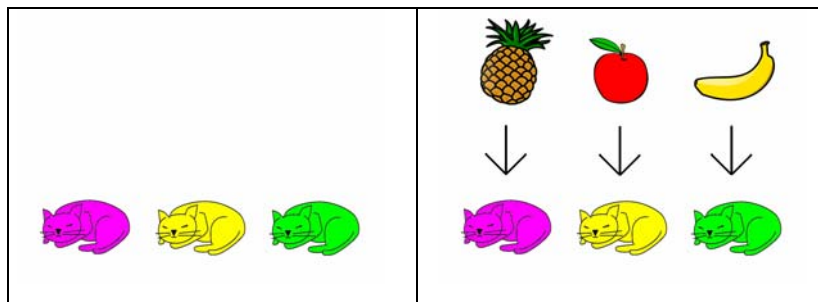
Item 4: Cat/lamp



Item 5: Cat/horse

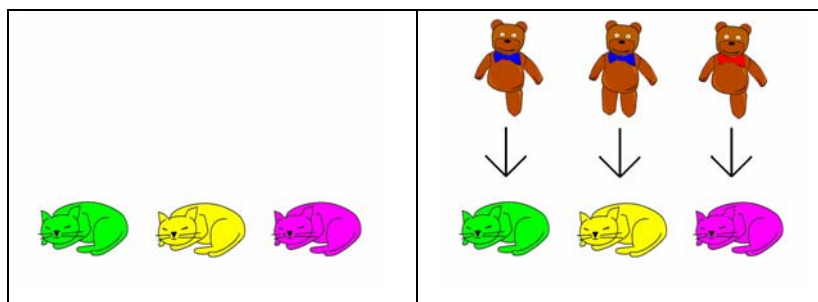


Item 6: Cat/banana

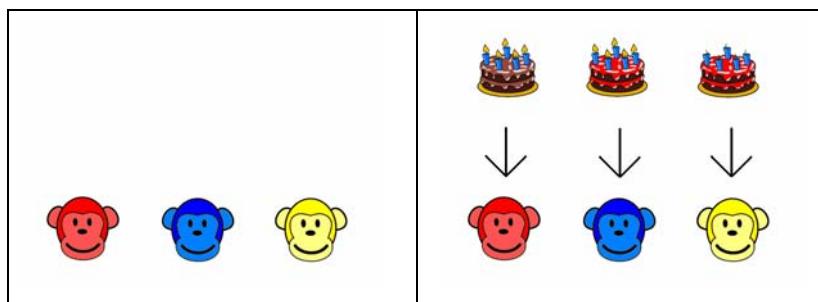


Condition B:        given agent, new heavy theme

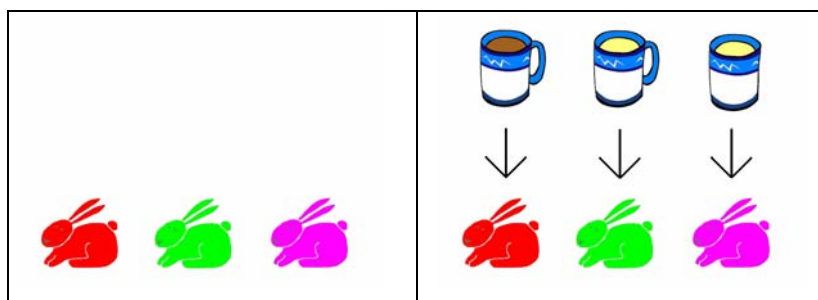
Item 7: Cat/bear



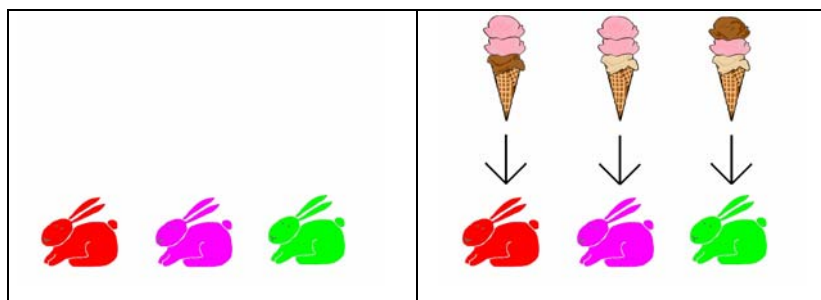
Item 8: Monkey/cake



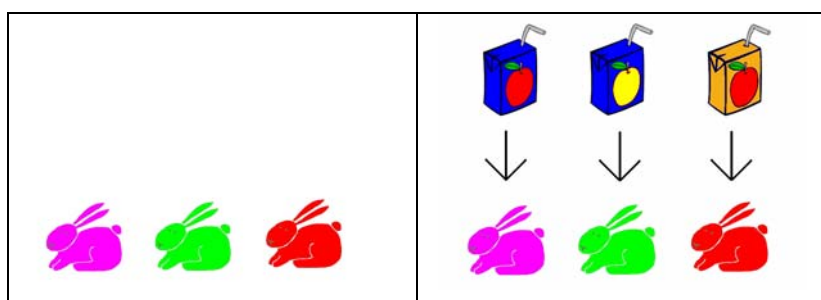
Item 9: Rabbit/coffee



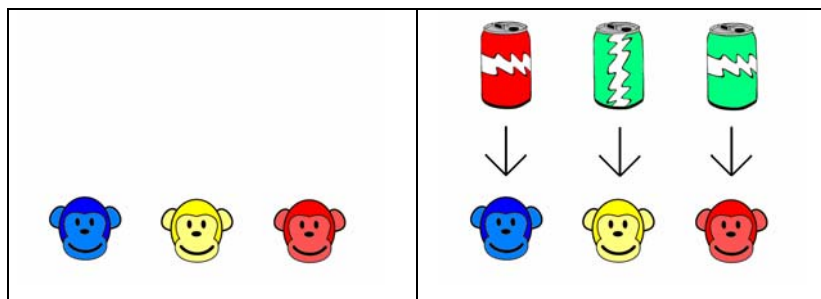
Item 10: Rabbit/ice



Item 11: Rabbit/juice

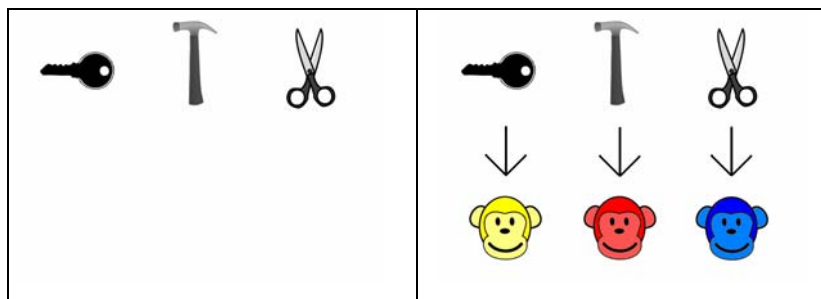


Item 12: Monkey/coke



Condition C: new agent, given light theme

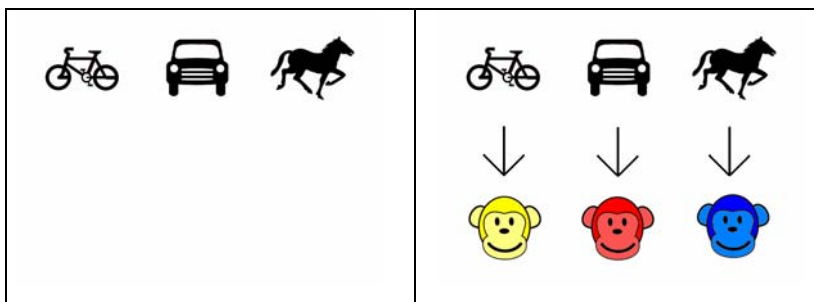
Item 13: Monkey/key



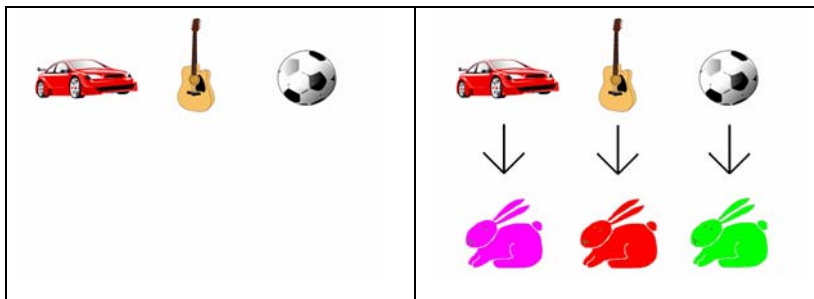
Item 14: Rabbit/lamp



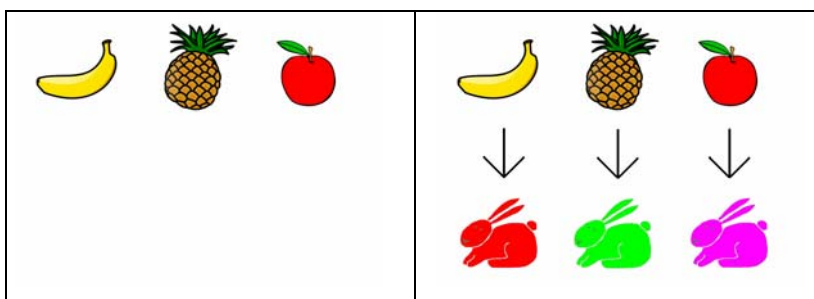
Item 15: Monkey/horse



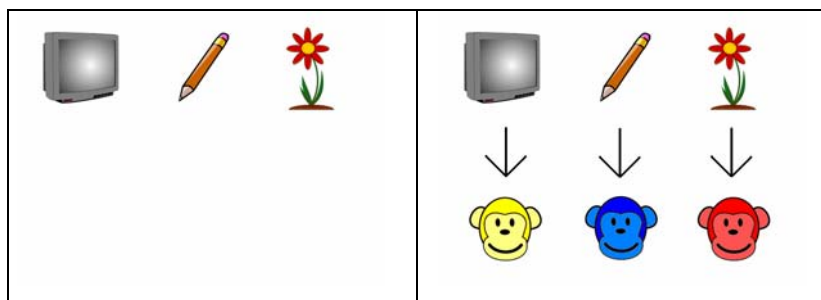
Item 16: Rabbit/guitar



Item 17: Rabbit/banana



Item 18: Monkey/flower

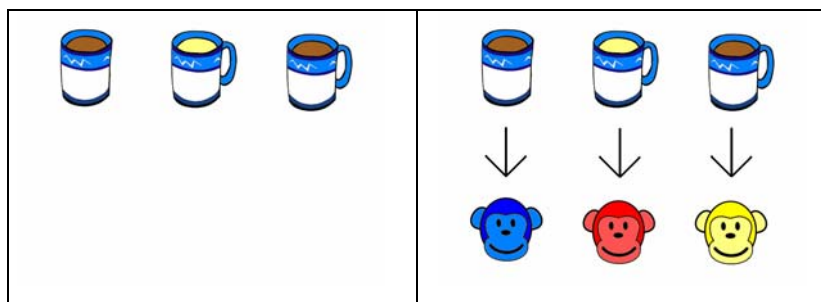


Condition D: new agent, given heavy theme

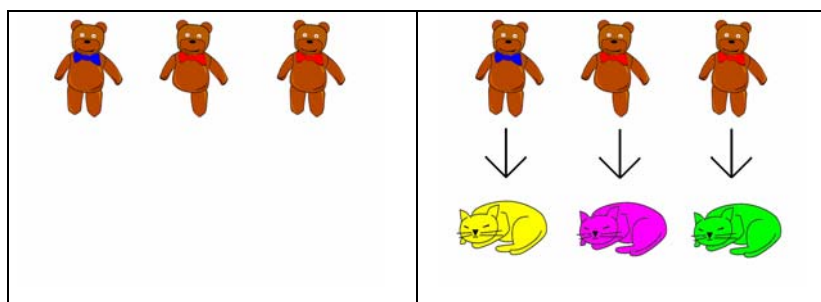
Item 19: Cat/cake



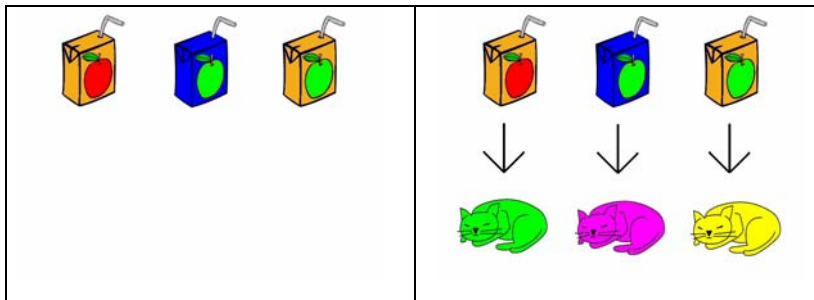
Item 20: Monkey/coffee



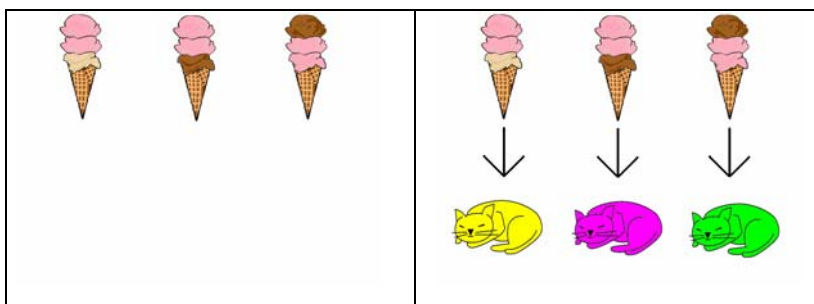
Item 21: Cat/bear



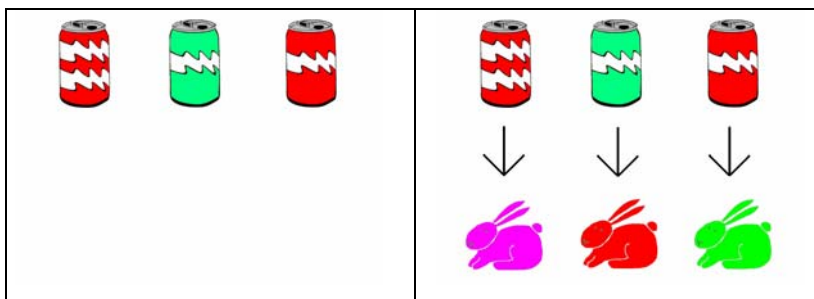
Item 22: Cat/juice



Item 23: Cat/ice



Item 24: Rabbit/coke



Distribution in sessions (letter=condition; number=item)

	task 1	task 2	task 3	task 4	task 5	task 6
session 1	B11	A3	D19	D20	A4	C17
session 2	C18	B10	A5	C16	D21	B12
session 3	A6	B8	D22	B9	C13	C14
session 4	D24	C15	B7	A2	D23	A1

## 8 Static Localization (Macro-Planning and Given/New in Locatives)

type of task:	instructing game
participants:	2 informants
materials:	2 power point slides, 10 animal cards
objectives:	macro-planning and given/new in locatives

### Outline

The aim of this experimental task is to observe (a) the macro-planning of a complex task containing several spatial descriptions and (b) the impact of givenness on the form of the elicited spatial descriptions. In the task, the speaker chooses his own strategy to describe the spatial arrangement of 10 cards. This experimental task was designed by Robin Hörnig und Caroline Féry.

### Procedure

Informant A sees a static power point presentation in which animal cards are arranged in space. A second informant is given the cards shown in the presentation, but he does not see the presentation. The task of informant A is to give an accurate description of the arrangement in the presentation, so that informant B can reconstruct the same arrangement with his cards on a table. After each description informant A may check what informant B has done and may correct him if necessary.

The following instruction is used:

“Informant A will see a presentation in which 10 animal cards are arranged in the space. Informant B is not allowed to see the screen, but has 10 animal cards which are identical to the ones in the computer presentation. A has to give a description of what he sees on the screen and B has to repeat this arrangement with his own cards. Questions are allowed if something is not clear. But: The performance of A will be a successful one if A manages to give such an exact description that B can arrange the cards correctly without needing any further information. At the end of the task A may check B’s arrangement and see if it is identical to that on the screen. We will play this game twice, each time with a different arrangement of the same figures.”

### Material

Use file “OLstatic.ppt”; For informant B, please cut out the corresponding cards in the picture set.

(1)

		lion		
		horse		
gorilla	pig	zebra	bear	dog
cow		crocodile		
leopard				

(2)

	horse		lion	
crocodile	bear	dog	pig	
	gorilla		zebra	leopard
			cow	

---

Distribution in sessions (numbers=items)

	task 1	task 2
session 1	1	2
session 2	2	1
session 3	1	2
session 4	2	1

## 9 Guiding (Presentational Utterances)

type of task:	role-playing game
participants:	1 informant
materials:	4 picture sequences
objectives:	presentational sentences

### Outline

This task explores the “presentational” subtype of thetic sentences by which entities or situations are introduced into a discourse world (Lambrecht 1988a, Lambrecht 1988b). The entities and situations tested here by several guidance tasks are of different semantic types and vary to elicit as many presentational formulas as possible.

### Procedure

The informant imagines a particular guidance task:

Item 1: Blind grandmother

She is accompanying her blind grandmother on her walk to town. They pass by certain places which are shown to her in pictures by the instructor. She tells her grandmother what she finds important to communicate.

Item 2: Family members

She is having a friend over for a visit. She is showing her around the house introducing the family members which are displayed on pictures presented by the instructor.

Item 3: Tourist guide

She is showing her home town to some friends from out of town. She and her friends are taking a walk through town, so the friends get to see some of the sights. The instructor displays pictures which show some of these sights. The informant presents the places the pictures show to her friends.

Item 4: Work place

She is working at a hospital, and a friend is visiting her at work. The friend is interested to see her work place and to meet her colleagues. The instructor shows pictures which indicate what the friend gets to see during the visit. The informant introduces her co-workers and their duties to her friend.

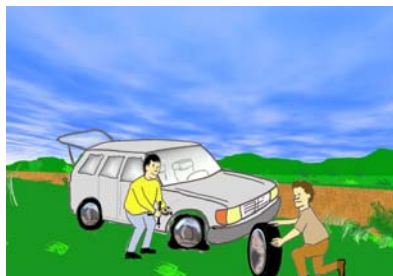
The situations for each item are displayed in three pictures. The pictures are shown and taken away one after the other.

The instruction is as follows:

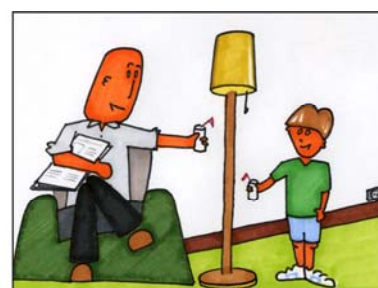
“Please imagine that you have to guide your blind grandmother to town / your friend through your home / your friends through your town / your friend at your work place. I will show you pictures indicating where you are passing. Please tell her/them what you find necessary and appropriate.”

## Materials

### Item 1: Blind grandmother



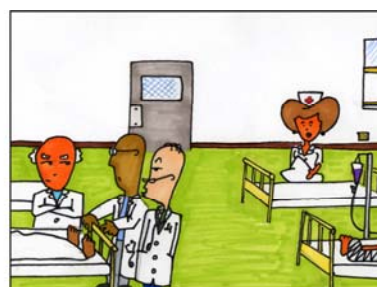
### Item 2: Family members



### Item 3: Tourist guide



### Item 4: Work place



---

Distribution in sessions (numbers=items)

	task 1
session 1	1
session 2	2
session 3	3
session 4	4

## 10 Event Cards (All New)

type of task:	description of single situation
participants:	1 informant
materials:	12 pictures
objectives:	all new

### Outline

It is known that languages vary in the expression of event sentences, that is, sentence-focus or all-new sentences (Lambrecht 1994). This simple task elicits event sentences through the description of pictures.

### Procedure

The instructor shows a card to the informant and asks a question. The following instruction is used:

“You will see a picture and hear a question about this picture. Please give a spontaneous reply to this question.”

## Materials

Item 1: House on fire

Item 2: Man cutting tree

Item 3: Boy at computer

Item 4: Swimming cat

Item 5: Volcano erupting

Item 6: Man diving into water

Item 7: Sleeping baby

Item 8: Mother reads a book for the child

Item 9: Woman riding horse

Item 10: Man playing a trumpet

Item 11: Man and woman kiss each other

Item 12: People on strike

Distribution in sessions (numbers=questions)

	task 1	task 2	task 3
session 1	1	2	3
session 2	4	5	6
session 3	7	8	9
session 4	10	11	12

## 11 Anima (Focus types and Animacy)

type of task:	question/answer
participants:	1 informant
materials:	4 four picture sheets.
objectives:	focus types, animacy

## Outline

This experimental task compares the expression of different focus types induced by different questions (following Dik 1981, 1997). Three factors are manipulated through the form of the question and the expected answer.

The first factor is the focused constituent:

Condition A:        focused agent

Condition P:        focused patient

The second factor covers several types of focus (according to the classification by Simon Dik):

Condition F:        confirmative focus

Condition M:        completive focus

Condition S:        selective focus

Condition R:        corrective focus

The third factor is the animacy of the patient. This factor is assumed to have an impact to the word order (animate first), and to pronominalization and ellipsis (animates are more likely to be pronominalized or elided than inanimates).

Condition N:        animate patient

Condition I:        inanimate patient

## **Procedure**

The instructor gives a sheet with 4 pictures to the informant. The informant observes the pictures. After 30 seconds the instructor takes the pictures back and asks the informant four questions (one question per picture).

The following instruction is used:

“We are going to do a memory test. You may look at these pictures for 30 seconds. After this very short time, I will take the pictures back, and I will ask you about different details in them. Please try to answer my questions in full sentences, and not in short answers, e.g., “yes”, “no”, “the boy”, etc.”

## Materials

Sheet 1: Woman hitting man, girl hitting boy, man kicking chair, man pushing car



Sheet 2: Man pulling woman, woman hitting tree, man pushing man, man carrying pot



Sheet 3: Man looking at girl, man carrying girl, man pulling table, man cutting melon



Sheet 4: Man looking at lamp, man kicking man, girl hitting car, man killing man



## Sheet 1, questions for session 1

- |     |                               |  |
|-----|-------------------------------|--|
| (1) | There, where the blue sky is: | Is <u>a woman</u> hitting the man?           |
| (2) | In the room:                  | Is the man kicking <u>a table</u> ?          |
| (3) | In the garden:                | Is the girl hitting <u>a girl or a boy</u> ? |
| (4) | In front of the well:         | <u>Who</u> is pushing the car?               |

## Sheet 1, questions for session 2

- |     |                               |   |
|-----|-------------------------------|---|
| (5) | There, where the blue sky is: | Is <u>a man or a woman</u> hitting the man? |
| (6) | In the room:                  | <u>What</u> is the man kicking?             |
| (7) | In the garden:                | Is the girl hitting <u>a girl</u> ?         |
| (8) | In front of the well:         | Is <u>a man</u> pushing the car?            |

## Sheet 1, questions for session 3

- |      |                               |   |
|------|-------------------------------|---|
| (9)  | There, where the blue sky is: | Is <u>a man</u> hitting the man?            |
| (10) | In the room:                  | Is the man kicking <u>a chair</u> ?         |
| (11) | In the garden:                | <u>Whom</u> is the girl hitting?            |
| (12) | In front of the well:         | Is <u>a man or a woman</u> pushing the car? |

## Sheet 1, questions for session 4

- |      |                               |  |
|------|-------------------------------|--|
| (13) | There, where the blue sky is: | <u>Who</u> is hitting the man?                 |
| (14) | In the room:                  | Is the man kicking <u>a chair or a table</u> ? |
| (15) | In the garden:                | Is the girl hitting <u>a boy</u> ?             |
| (16) | In front of the well:         | Is <u>a woman</u> pushing the car?             |

## Sheet 2, questions for session 1

- |      |                               |  |
|------|-------------------------------|--|
| (17) | There, where the blue sky is: | <u>What</u> is the woman hitting?            |
| (18) | In front of the well:         | Is <u>a man</u> pushing the man?             |
| (19) | In front of the bridge:       | Is <u>a man or a woman</u> carrying the pot? |

---

(20) In front of the blue wall: Whom is the man pulling?

Sheet 2, questions for session 2

- (21) There, where the blue sky is: Is the woman hitting a tree?
- (22) In front of the well: Is a man or a woman pushing the man?
- (23) In front of the bridge: Is a woman carrying the pot?
- (24) In front of the blue wall: Is the man pulling a woman?

Sheet 2, questions for session 3

- (25) There, where the blue sky is: Is the woman hitting a tree or a flower?
- (26) In front of the well: Is a woman pushing the man?
- (27) In front of the bridge: Who is carrying the pot?
- (28) In front of the blue wall: Is the man pulling a woman or a man?

Sheet 2, questions for session 4

- (29) There, where the blue sky is: Is the woman hitting a flower?
- (30) In front of the well: Who is pushing the man?
- (31) In front of the bridge: Is a man carrying the pot?
- (32) In front of the blue wall: Is the man pulling a man?

Sheet 3, questions for session 1

- (33) There, where the cloudy sky is: Who is looking at the girl?
- (34) In front of the bridge: Is the man carrying a girl?
- (35) In front of the blue wall: Is the man pulling a table or a chair?
- (36) Inside the house: Is a woman cutting the watermelon?

Sheet 3, questions for session 2

- (37) There, where the cloudy sky is: Is a man looking at the girl?

- 
- (38) In front of the bridge: Is the man carrying a girl or a boy?
- (39) In front of the blue wall: Is the man pulling a chair?
- (40) Inside the house: Who is cutting the watermelon?

## Sheet 3, questions for session 3

- (41) There, where the cloudy sky is: Is a man or a woman looking at the girl?
- (42) In front of the bridge: Is the man carrying a boy?
- (43) In front of the blue wall: What is the man pulling?
- (44) Inside the house: Is a man cutting the watermelon?

## Sheet 3, questions for session 4

- (45) There, where the cloudy sky is: Is a woman looking at the girl?
- (46) In front of the bridge: What is the man carrying?
- (47) In front of the blue wall: Is the man pulling a table?
- (48) Inside the house: Is a man or a woman cutting the watermelon?

## Sheet 4, questions for session 1

- (49) There, where the cloudy sky is: Who is looking at the lamp?
- (50) In the room with the green doors: Is the man kicking a man?
- (51) In front of the fence: Is the girl hitting a tree or a car?
- (52) Inside the stone house: Is a woman killing the man?

## Sheet 4, questions for session 2

- (53) There, where the cloudy sky is: Is a man looking at the lamp?
- (54) In the room with the green doors: Is the man kicking a woman or a man?
- (55) In front of the fence: Is the girl hitting a tree?
- (56) Inside the stone house: Who is killing the man?

## Sheet 4, questions for session 3

- (57) There, where the cloudy sky is: Is a man or a woman looking at the lamp?
- (58) In the room with the green doors: Is the man kicking a woman?
- (59) In front of the fence: What is the girl hitting?
- (60) Inside the stone house: Is a man killing the man?

## Sheet 4, questions for session

- (61) There, where the cloudy sky is: Is a woman looking at the lamp?
- (62) In the room with the green doors: Whom is the man kicking?
- (63) In front of the fence: Is the girl hitting a car?
- (64) Inside the stone house: Is a man or a woman killing the man?

Distribution in sessions (1=confirmation, 2=selection, 3=correction, 4=completion; A=symmetric.agent, B=symmetric.patient, C=asymmetric.agent, D=asymmetric.patient)

	Sheet 1				Sheet 2				Sheet 3				Sheet 4			
session 1	1A	2B	3C	4D	2A	3B	4C	1D	3A	4B	1C	2D	4A	1B	2C	3D
session 2	2B	3C	4D	1A	3B	4C	1D	2A	4B	1C	2D	3A	1B	2C	3D	4A
session 3	3C	4D	1A	2B	4C	1D	2A	3B	1C	2D	3A	4B	2C	3D	4A	1B
session 4	4D	1A	2B	3C	1D	2A	3B	4C	2D	3A	4B	1C	3D	4A	1B	2C

## 12 Contrast (Contrast in pairing events)

type of task:	description of sequences of situations
participants:	1 informant
materials:	4 picture sequences, 2 single pictures
objectives:	contrast in pair-lists

### Outline

The goal of this experimental task is to elicit descriptions of pairing events in different discourse conditions established in a short narrative. The results of this experimental task may be compared to the results of experimental task 18 “Who does what?”, in which the same structures are elicited through questions. The conditions are the following:

- Condition A: pairing event, given agent
- Condition B: pairing event, given patient
- Condition C: pairing event, all new

### Procedure

Conditions A-B: The instructor shows the first picture to the informant. The informant may give a free, unconstrained description of it. When the description of the first picture is completed, the

instructor shows the second picture which is described as a subsequent scene.

“You will be shown two pictures that belong together, that is, they belong to the same story. Imagine that the first scene takes place first and the second scene some time later, e.g., after five minutes. What is interesting for us are the figures and actions in the foreground of the picture – you do not need to describe details about the pictures or the individual figures. Please give just a short description of each scene.”

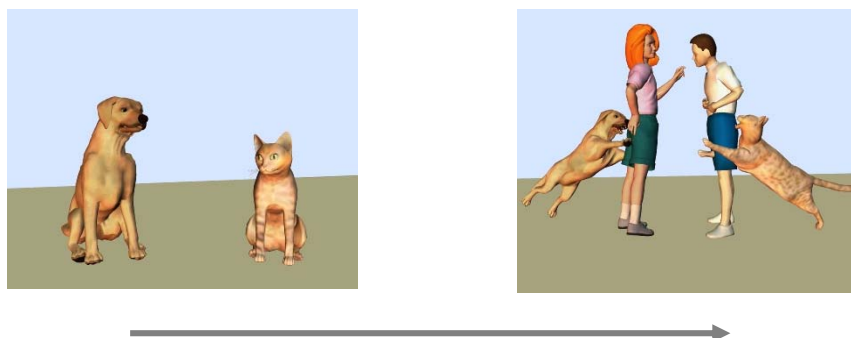
Condition C: The instructor shows a single picture to the informant and asks:

“What is going on in this scene?”

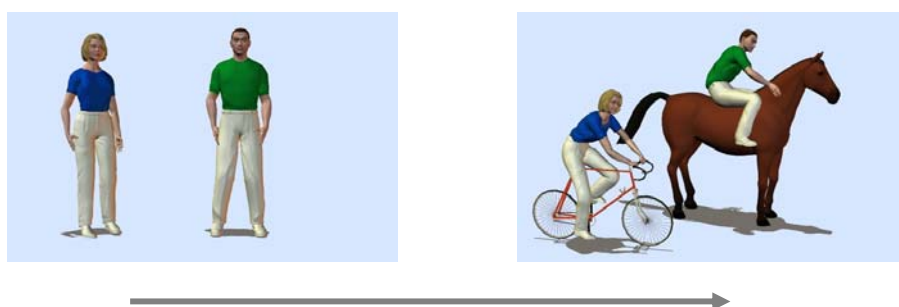
## Materials

Condition A: pair-list, given agent

Item 1: Dog biting girl, cat biting boy

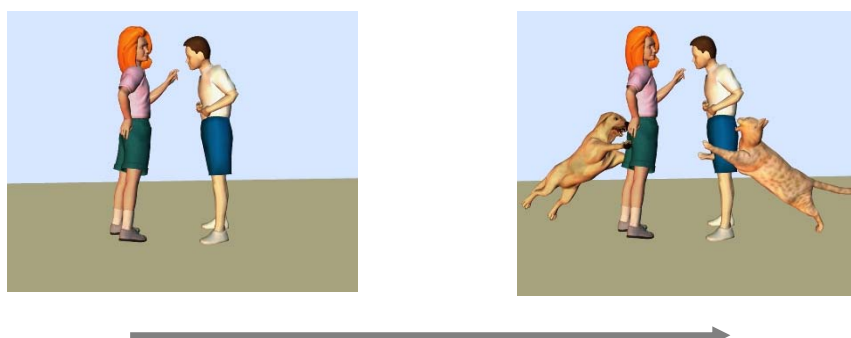


Item 2: Woman on bike, man on horse

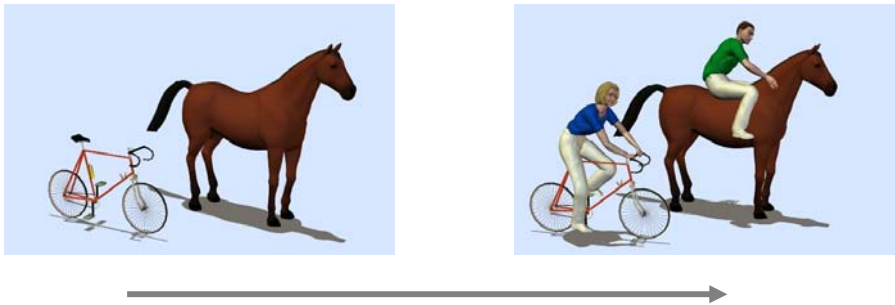


Condition B: pair-list, given patient

Item 1: Dog biting girl, cat biting boy

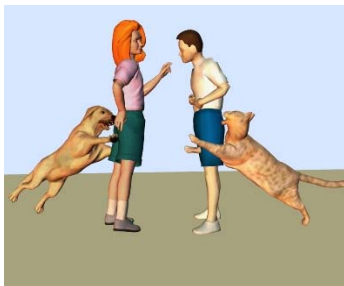


Item 2: Woman on bike, man on horse



Condition C: pair-list, all new

Item 1: Dog biting girl, cat biting boy



Item 2: woman on bike, man on horse



Distribution in sessions (letters=conditions; numbers=items)

	task 1	task 2
session 1	C1	
session 2	B1	C2
session 3	A1	B2
session 4	A2	

### 13 Animal Game (Broad/Narrow Focus in NP)

type of task:	description of sequences of situations
participants:	1 informant (Condition A) 2 informants (Condition B)
materials:	8 picture sets
objectives:	broad and narrow focus in NP

#### Outline

This task examines +/– contrastive heads and modifiers within noun phrases. More specifically, the accentual patterns of the language are investigated, that is, the relation between narrow focus and accent placement within a noun phrase. The experimental task is based on the description of picture sequences (cf. Swerts et al. 2002). Each picture sequence is designed to manipulate the discourse status of a referent (an animal) and of one or two of its properties (color, size, color and number, color and size).

The description of the pictures is elicited with two different procedures that correspond to two different textual modalities (monologue/dialogue):

Condition A: monologue

Condition B: dialogue

#### Procedure

Condition A: The informant receives a card set consisting of twelve cards. The cards should be in the order given below. The informant must describe the cards one by one.

“You will see a number of different animals. Please describe what you see on each card in a succinct way; you do not need to use a full sentence.”

Condition B: The card set is divided between the two informants. The cards should be in the order given below. The first informant

receives cards 1, 3, 5, etc., and the second informant cards 2, 4, 6, etc. The informants take turns describing the cards.

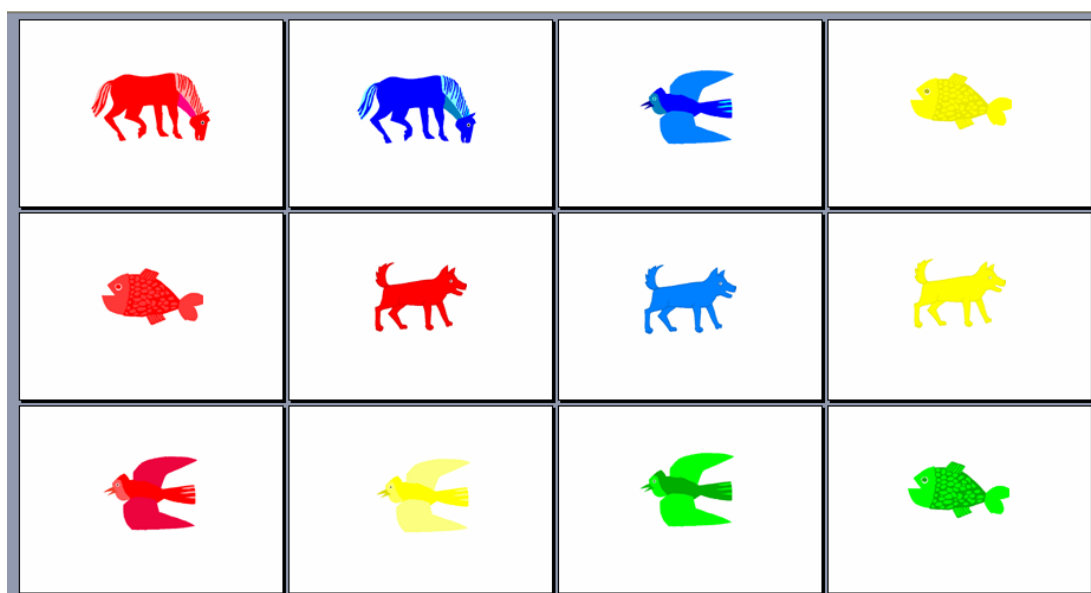
“Each of you has a number of different animals. Please take turns and describe only one picture each time. Describe what you see on each card in a succinct way; you do not need to use a full sentence.”

(Note for the instructor: Take care that the informants do not use a ‘list intonation’, in which every item ends in a high tone (as when listing a large number of items).

## Materials

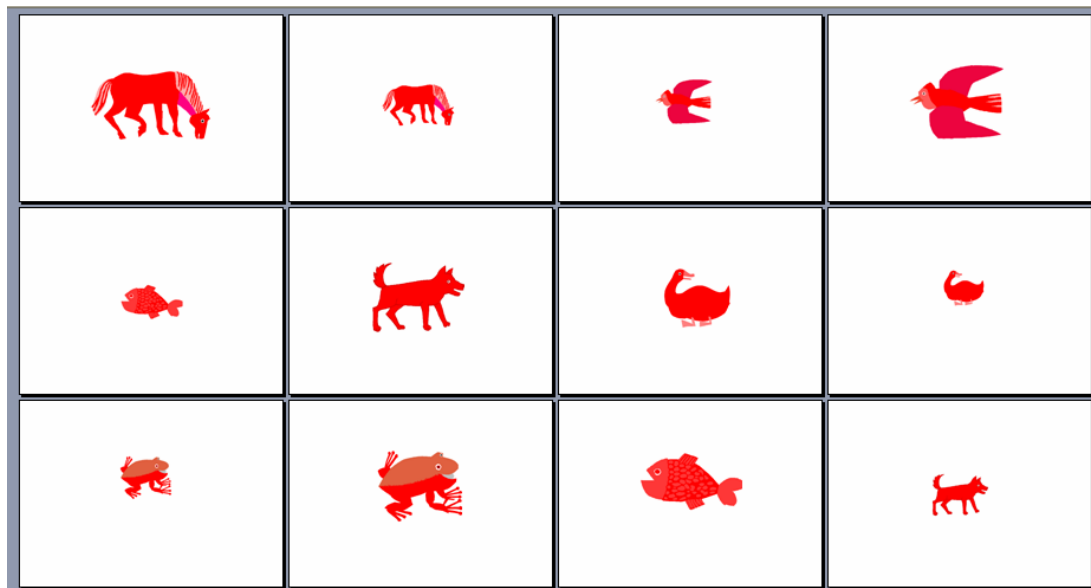
Sequence 1: Animals and colors

picture	property 1	property 2	referent
big red horse	new	new	new
big blue horse	given	new	given
big blue bird	given	given	new
big yellow fish	given	new	new
big red fish	given	new	given
big red dog	given	given	new
big blue dog	given	new	given
big yellow dog	given	new	given
big red bird	given	new	new
big yellow bird	given	new	given
big green bird	given	new	given
big green fish	given	given	new



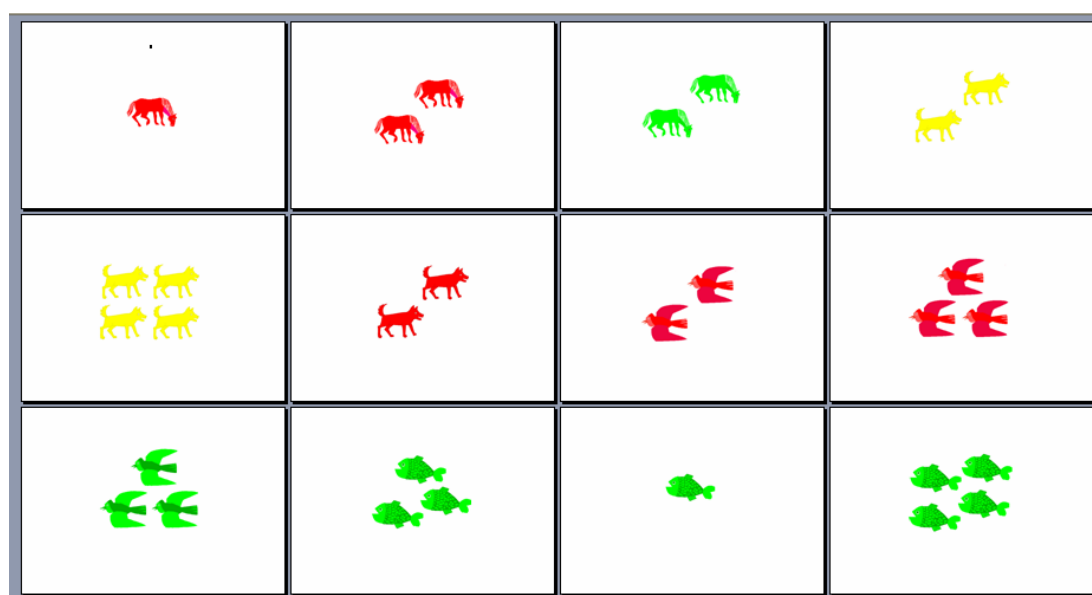
## Sequence 2: Animals and sizes

picture	property 1	property 2	referent
big red horse	new	new	new
small red horse	new	given	given
small red bird	given	given	new
big red bird	new	given	given
small red fish	new	given	new
big red dog	new	given	new
big red duck	given	given	new
small red duck	new	given	given
small red frog	given	given	new
big red frog	new	given	given
big red fish	given	given	new
small red dog	new	given	new



## Sequence 3: Animals, colors, and numbers

picture	property 1	property 2	referent
one red horse	new	new	new
two red horses	new	given	given
two green horses	given	new	given
two yellow dogs	given	new	new
four yellow dogs	new	given	given
two red dogs	new	new	given
two red birds	given	given	new
three red birds	new	given	given
three green birds	given	new	given
three green fishes	given	given	new
one green fish	new	given	given
four green fishes	new	given	given



## Sequence 4: Animals, colors, and sizes

picture	property 1	property 2	referent
small green horse	new	new	new
big green horse	new	given	given
big red horse	given	new	given
big yellow fish	given	new	new
small yellow fish	new	given	given
big green fish	new	new	given
small yellow dog	new	new	new
small red dog	given	new	given
big red dog	new	given	given
big green dog	given	new	given
big green bird	given	given	new
big red bird	given	new	given



---

Distribution in sessions (letters=conditions; numbers=items)

	task 1
session 1	B1
session 2	A2
session 3	B3
session 4	A4

## 14 Properties (Focus on Property and Possessor)

type of task:	question/answer
participants:	1 informant
materials:	16 pictures, 32 questions
objectives:	focus within NP

### Outline

The aim of this task is the elicitation of focus on parts of NP-constituents. Two types of complex NPs are considered:

- Conditions A-D: possessive complex NPs containing a possessor and a possessum.
- Conditions E-H: property assigning NPs containing an exponent of property (e.g., an adjective) and the nominal head.

The conditions include two focus types (confirmation focus – corrective focus) that occur either on the head or on the dependent of the complex NP. The resulting conditions are the following (the focused constituent of the question is underlined):

Condition A:	possessum: confirmation focus
	Is the dog biting the boy's <u>[trousers]</u> <sub>FOC</sub> ?
	Yes, it's biting the boy's <u>[trousers]</u> <sub>FOC</sub> .
Condition B:	possessum: corrective focus

- 
- Is the dog biting the boy's [hand]<sub>FOC</sub>?  
 No, it's biting the boy's [trousers]<sub>FOC</sub>.
- Condition C:      possessor: confirmation focus
- Is the dog biting the [boy's]<sub>FOC</sub> trousers?  
 Yes, it's biting the [boy's]<sub>FOC</sub> trousers.
- Condition D:      possessor: corrective focus
- Is the dog biting the [girl's]<sub>FOC</sub> trousers?  
 No, it's biting the [boy's]<sub>FOC</sub> trousers.
- Condition E:      referent: confirmation focus
- Is the boy taking the black [spade]<sub>FOC</sub>?  
 Yes, the boy's taking the black [spade]<sub>FOC</sub>.
- Condition F:      referent: corrective focus
- Is the boy taking the black [bucket]<sub>FOC</sub>?  
 No, the boy's taking the black [spade]<sub>FOC</sub>.
- Condition G:      property: confirmation focus
- Is the boy taking the [black]<sub>FOC</sub> spade?  
 Yes, the boy's taking the [black]<sub>FOC</sub> spade.
- Condition H:      property: corrective focus
- Is the boy taking the [white]<sub>FOC</sub> spade?  
 No, the boy's taking the [black]<sub>FOC</sub> spade.

## Procedure

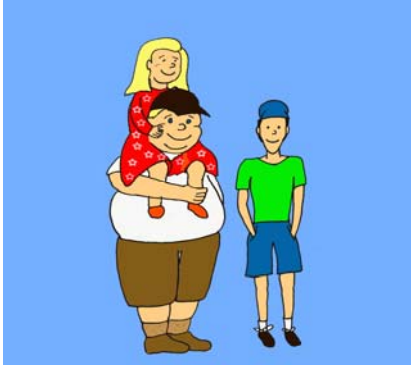
The instructor shows the picture to the informant and asks a question which focuses either on the possessor/property exponent or on the possessum/referent that is identified by the property.

The following instruction is used:

“You will see a picture and hear a question about this picture. Please give a spontaneous reply to this question.”

## Materials

Item 1: Fat boy's shoulders



Item 2: Boy's trousers



Item 3: Woman's hand



Item 4: Girl's head



Item 5: Fat and thin



Item 6: Black and white



Item 7: Big and small



Item 8: Old and young



Condition A: possessum, confirmation focus

- (1) Is the girl sitting on the fat boy's shoulders? (Item 1)
- (2) Is the dog biting the boy's trousers? (Item 2)
- (3) Is the child holding the woman's hand? (Item 3)
- (4) Is the bird sitting on the girl's head? (Item 4)

Condition B: possessum, corrective focus

- (5) Is the girl sitting on the fat boy's head? (Item 1)
- (6) Is the dog biting the boy's hand? (Item 2)
- (7) Is the child holding the woman's leg? (Item 3)
- (8) Is the bird sitting on the girl's shoulder? (Item 4)

Condition C: possessor, confirmation focus

- (9) Is the girl sitting on the fat boy's shoulders? (Item 1)
- (10) Is the dog biting the boy's trousers? (Item 2)
- (11) Is the child holding the woman's hand? (Item 3)
- (12) Is the bird sitting on the girl's head? (Item 4)

Condition D:        possessor, corrective focus

- (13) Is the girl sitting on the thin boy's shoulders? (Item 1)  
(14) Is the dog biting the woman's trousers? (Item 2)  
(15) Is the child holding the man's hand? (Item 3)  
(16) Is the bird sitting on the man's head? (Item 4)

Condition E:        referent, confirmation focus

- (17) Is the cat sitting in front of the fat man? (Item 5)  
(18) Is the boy taking the black spade? (Item 6)  
(19) Is the girl taking the big glass? (Item 7)  
(20) Is the bird sitting on the young man? (Item 8)

Condition F:        referent, corrective focus

- (21) Is the cat sitting in front of the fat woman? (Item 5)  
(22) Is the boy taking the black bucket? (Item 6)  
(23) Is the girl taking the big bottle? (Item 7)  
(24) Is the bird sitting on the young woman? (Item 8)

Condition G:        property, confirmation focus

- (25) Is the cat sitting in front of the fat man? (Item 5)  
(26) Is the boy taking the black spade? (Item 6)  
(27) Is the girl taking the big glass? (Item 7)  
(28) Is the bird sitting on the young man? (Item 8)

Condition H:        property, corrective focus

- (29) Is the cat sitting in front of the thin man? (Item 5)  
(30) Is the boy taking the white spade? (Item 6)  
(31) Is the girl taking the little glass? (Item 7)

(32) Is the bird sitting on the old man? (Item 8)

Distribution in sessions (letter=condition; number=item)

	task 1	task 2	task 3	task 4	task 5	task 6	task 7	task 8
session 1	A1	B2	C3	D4	E5	F6	G7	H8
session 2	D1	A2	B3	C4	H5	E6	F7	G8
session 3	C1	D2	A3	B4	G5	H6	E7	F8
session 4	B1	C2	D3	A4	F5	G6	H7	E8

## 15 Eventives (Thetic and Categorical Utterances)

type of task:	role-playing game (Condition A) question/answer (Conditions A, B, D) narration (Conditions C)
participants:	2 informants (Conditions A, B) 1 informant (Conditions C, D)
materials:	4 picture series
objectives:	thetic versus categorical utterances

### Outline

In most languages, canonical sentences reflect a topic-comment structure, i.e. categorical utterances (in subject-prominent languages, typically containing an unmarked topic, cf. Li & Thompson 1976). Responsible for grammatical deviation from the canonical sentence can be the lack of a topic (thetic utterance) as it often happens in all-new sentences (for the thetic / categorical distinction compare Sasse 1987, 1995). This experiment is meant to elicit thetic sentences (Condition A) and comparative material by categorical utterances (B, C & D).

Condition A: thetic sentence  
What happened?

Condition B: categorical sentence in answer

---

What happened to X?

Condition C: categorical sentence in narration

Tell me the story the pictures show!

Condition D: categorical sentence in potential

What do you think could happen to X?

### **Procedure**

Condition A: thetic sentence

The picture series is shown to informant A. Informant B has only the last picture of the set and asks, “What happened?”. Informant A replies.

The instruction addressing informant A is as follows:

“Please look at the pictures which tell a short story. Your partner has only the last picture and will ask you a question. Please answer in a natural way and in one sentence only.”

The instruction addressing informant B is as follows:

“Please look at this picture. Imagine that you are travelling and passing by this scene at the road side. Your partner is already standing here among the people and knows what has happened. Please ask her what has happened.”

Condition B: categorical sentence in answer

The picture series is shown to informants A and B. Informant B’s task is to ask “What happened to X?” (X = boy (Item 1), cars (Item 2), house (Item 3), crates of bottles (Item 4)). Informant A replies.

The instruction addressing informant A is as follows:

“Please look at the pictures which tell a short story. Your partner will ask you a question. Please answer in a natural way and in one sentence only.”

The instruction addressing informant B is as follows:

“Please look at picture 2. Please ask your partner what has happened to the object I am pointing to.”

Condition C: categorical sentence in narration

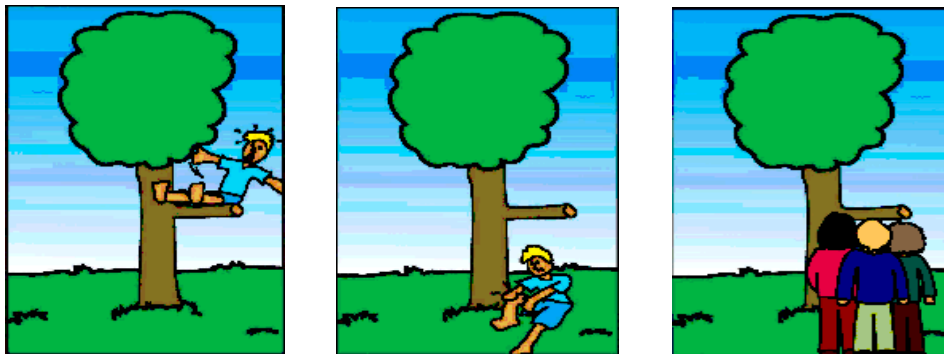
The picture series is shown to the informant, who is instructed to briefly narrate the story illustrated.

Condition D: categorical sentence in potential

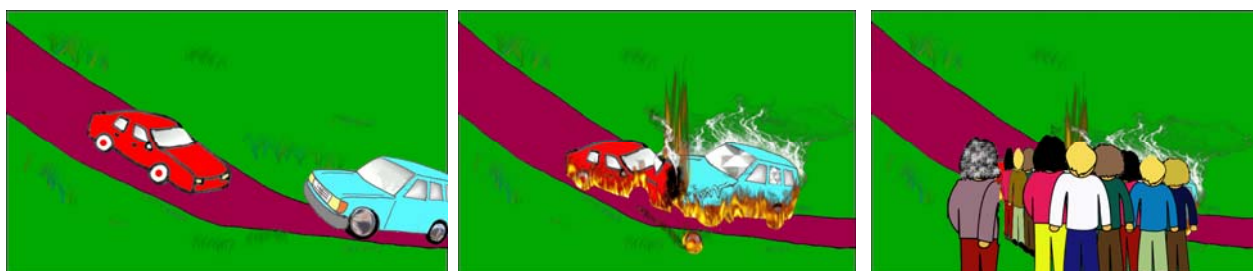
The first picture of each series is shown to the informant, who is asked to indicate what could happen to X (X = boy (Item 1), cars (Item 2), house (Item 3), crates of bottles (Item 4)).

## Materials

Item 1: Tree climber



Item 2: Car crash



Item 3: Burning house



## Item 4: Lost crates of bottles



Distribution in sessions (letters=conditions; numbers=items)

	task 1	task 2	task 3	task 4
session 1	C3	D4	A1	B2
session 2	D3	C2	B1	A4
session 3	C1	D2	A3	B4
session 4	D1	C4	B3	A2

## 16 Tell a Story (Contrast in Text)

type of task:	narration (Conditions A, B) stimuli-matching game (Condition C) question/answer (Condition D)
participants:	1 informant (Conditions A, B) 2 informants (Conditions C, D)
materials:	4 pairs of short films, 4 pairs of picture sets, 40 questions
objectives:	contrastive focus

### Outline

Contrast may refer to pragmatic categories like focus and topic and is sometimes linguistically heavily marked (Molnar 2002). The aim of this experimental task

is to induce expressions of contrast by comparison in monologue and dialogue (Conditions A and C respectively). Parallel non-contrastive material (Conditions B and D) is elicited for comparison.

- Condition A: monologue, contrastive narration  
 Condition B: monologue, non-contrastive narration  
 Condition C: dialogue, contrastive answers induced by yes/no-questions  
 Condition D: dialogue, non-contrastive answers induced by questions

### **Procedure**

The visual material consists of film and picture series pairs which provoke contrastive expressions (Condition A and C). For the non-contrastive comparison, only the second part of the pair is presented to the informant (Condition B and D).

- Condition A: monologue, contrastive narration  
 The first short film or picture series is presented to the informant. She is asked to narrate it.  
 After the narration, the second short film/picture series is presented to her. This time, she is again asked to narrate it, paying special attention to the deviations from the similar first story.
- Condition B: monologue, non-contrastive narration  
 The second short film or picture series is presented to the informant. She is asked to narrate it.
- Condition C: dialogue, contrastive answers induced by yes/no-questions  
 Each informant gets one of the two versions (either two short films or two picture series). They are instructed to play a game in order to find the differences between the two versions.

The instruction is as follows: “I will present you two pictures / two short films that are similar but not identical. Please watch / look at them carefully. At the end we will play a game. Each of you should ask the other questions requiring a yes- or no-answer in order to identify the differences. When the answer is "no", please do not reply just NO, but tell the other player what exactly is different. The player who can find more differences with these questions is the winner. After you have seen the short films / picture series, I will give you a first question after which you should continue asking each other on your own.”

Condition D: dialogue, non-contrastive answers induced by questions  
One informant gets the second version of the short film or picture series, the other one gets questions to ask. These are answered on the basis of the short film/picture series.

## Materials

The different types of contrastive expressions are induced with two kinds of visual stimuli, short films and pictures. All stimuli are available in pairs with small differences which induce the contrastive expressions.

### Item 1: Film pair ‘The Stolen Watch’

‘The Stolen Watch 1’	‘The Stolen Watch 2’
<p>Film description: The man is the thief</p> <p>There is a meeting at the office. Two women are already sitting at a table. One person comes in late. When he enters the room and sits down, his colleagues look at their watches. The late-comer has no watch and looks at the watch of the woman at his side. Now, they can start their working session.</p>	<p>Film description: The woman is the thief</p> <p>There is a meeting at the office. Two women are already sitting at a table. One person comes in late. When he enters the room and sits down, his colleagues look at their watches. The late-comer has no watch and looks at the watch of the woman at his side. Now, they can start their working session.</p>

When the meeting is finished, two of the people get up and go to their desks. One of the women takes the empty glasses in order to wash them. She puts her watch on the table and leaves the room. When she is washing the glasses in a neighboring room, the phone rings and she starts talking. The other two are working at their places not far from the meeting table with the watch.

Meanwhile, the man comes from his desk to the meeting table and looks through the papers lying there. Some time later, the woman also comes from her desk to the meeting table and takes a cookie. The woman leaves the room and her colleague is left alone for a short while.

When alone, the man realizes that the watch is still lying on the meeting table. He puts it into his bag, looks towards the door and continues his work as if nothing had happened.

After some time, the woman who has been washing the glasses and talking on the phone comes back to the main office. She puts the glasses on the table and realizes that her watch is missing. Incredulously, she looks at the empty spot on the table and asks her colleagues whether they have seen her watch. Both don't seem to know where it is and only shake their heads.

When the meeting is finished, two of the people get up and go to their desks. One of the women takes the empty glasses in order to wash them. She puts her watch on the table and leaves the room. When she is washing the glasses in a neighboring room, the phone rings and she starts talking. The other two are working at their places not far from the meeting table with the watch.

Meanwhile the man comes from his desk to the meeting table and looks through the papers lying there. Some time later, the woman also comes from her desk to the meeting table and takes a cookie.

At the same time, she quickly takes the watch lying there and puts it into the pocket of her shirt, before returning to the desk near her busy working colleague.

The woman leaves the room and her colleague is left alone for a short while.

After some time, the woman who has been washing the glasses and talking on the phone comes back to the main office. She puts the glasses on the table and realizes that her watch is missing. Incredulously, she looks at the empty spot on the table and asks her colleagues whether they have seen her watch. Both don't seem to know where it is and only shake their heads.

### Condition C:

(1) Were there people gathering for a meeting?

Condition D:

*Questions without contrast:*

- (2) How many people took part in the meeting?
- (3) Who was late for the meeting?
- (4) Who ate a cookie?

*Question with contrast:*

- (5) Who stole the watch?

Item 2: Film pair 'Journal'

'Journal 1'	'Journal 2'
Two men are reading. One of them wants to borrow a newspaper from the other one, who then gives it to him.	Two men are reading. One of them wants to borrow a newspaper from the other one. But this proposal is not well received: the man refuses to give it to him.

Condition C:

- (6) Were there some people sitting in the waiting room?

Condition D:

*Questions without contrast:*

- (7) How many people were sitting in the waiting room at the beginning?
- (8) Who was called into the office?
- (9) What were the men doing in the waiting room?

*Question with contrast:*

- (10) Did the man give his newspaper to the other person?

## Item 3: Film pair 'Seat'

'Seat 1'	'Seat 2'
A waiting room. Two men and a woman are waiting. The woman is called in. The men stay where they are.	A waiting room. Two men and a woman are waiting. The woman is called in. One of the men moves to another seat.

## Condition C:

(11) Were there some people sitting in the waiting room?

## Condition D:

*Questions without contrast*

(12) Did someone call the waiting woman in?

(13) At which side were the men sitting at the beginning of the film?

(14) Were the people in the waiting room talking to each other?

*Question with contrast*

(15) Did anyone in the room move to a different seat?

## Item 4: Film pair 'Whose Cell Phone'

'Whose Cell Phone 1'	'Whose Cell Phone 2'
A man and a woman are each sitting on a chair. The man is reading a newspaper, while the woman is reading a book and at the same time listening to some loud music on a walkman. Then a telephone rings. The man tries to find his cell phone, while the woman continues listening to the music. The man looks in his bag, and then finally finds the cell phone in the pocket of his jacket. But the sound of the telephone continues. It appears that it is another cell phone that is ringing. The man gently taps the woman on the shoulder. The woman takes off her headphones, but at that moment the sound of the telephone stops. The man waves his hand, and continues reading. The woman	A man and a woman are each sitting on a chair. The woman is reading a book and the man is listening to some loud music on a walkman. Then a telephone rings. The woman tries to find her cell phone, while the man continues listening to the music. The woman looks in her pockets, and then finally finds the cell phone in her bag. But the sound of the telephone continues. It appears that it is another cell phone that is ringing. The woman gently taps the man on the knee. The man looks at the woman (but does not take off his headphones). At that moment the sound of the telephone stops. The woman waves her hand, and continues reading. The man shrugs his shoulders and continues listening to the

<p>shrugs her shoulders and continues listening to the music.</p> <p>Then the telephone rings again. The man taps the woman on the shoulder somewhat more roughly. The woman takes off her headphones and looks angrily at the man. The telephone continues to ring. The woman looks at the man for some time, then puts on her headphones again. Embarrassed, the man tries to find his cell phone again. Just when he finds it again, it stops ringing. The man swears loudly, while the woman continues listening to music.</p>	<p>music.</p> <p>Then the telephone rings again. The woman gives the man a poke in the ribs. The man takes off his headphones and looks surprised at the woman. The telephone continues to ring. The man looks at the woman for some time, then puts on his headphones again. Embarrassed, the woman tries to find her cell phone again. Just when she finds it again, it stops ringing. The woman swears loudly. The man looks in amusement at the woman.</p>
--	--

### Condition C:

(16) Were there two people sitting in the waiting room?

### Condition D:

#### *Questions without contrast*

(17) Who is reading a book?













(18) What is suddenly ringing?

(19) How often is the phone ringing?

#### *Question with contrast*

(20) Who is listening to music, the man or the woman?

## Item 5: Picture series 'Nasty Dog'

'Nasty Dog 1'	'Nasty Dog 2'
 	 
 	 
 	 

Condition C:

(21) Is the man running through a forest?

Condition D:

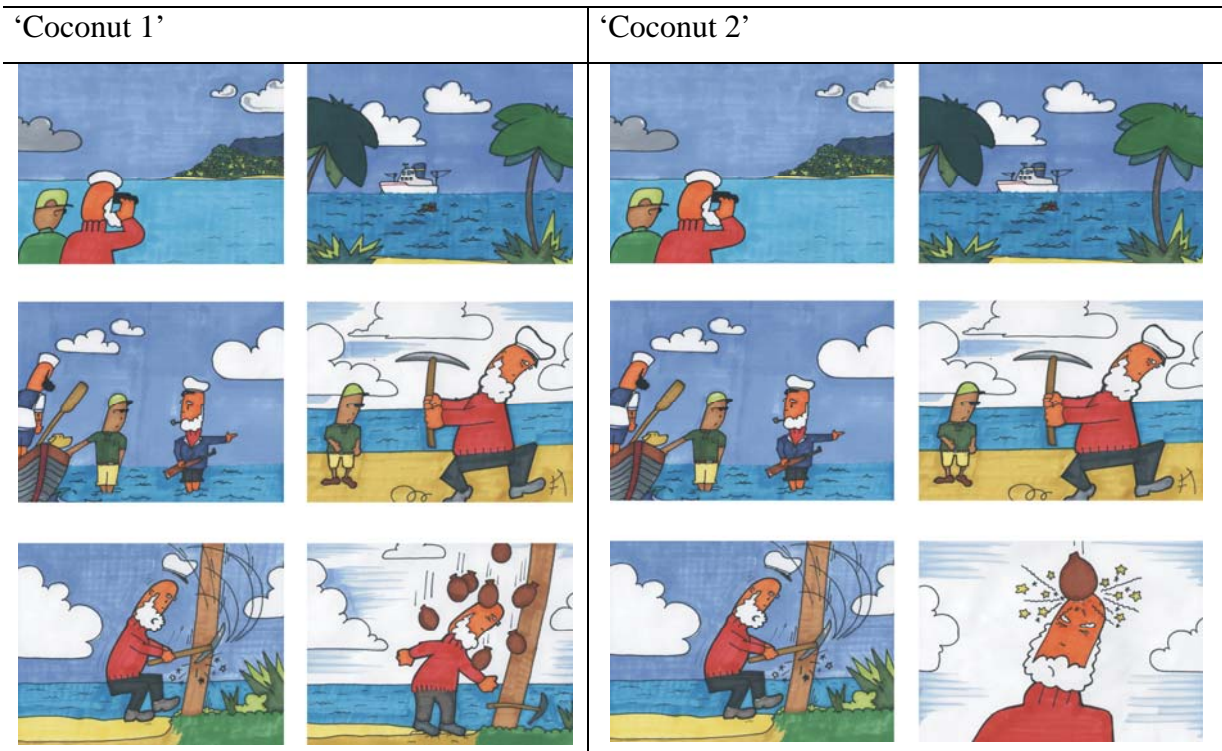
*Questions without contrast:*

- (22) Why is the man running through the forest?
- (23) Is he jumping or climbing over the tree trunk?
- (24) What does the dog have around his neck?

*Question with contrast:*

- (25) Who is stopped by a tree?

## Item 6: Picture series 'Coconut'



Condition C:

(26) Are there two people looking at the coast from a ship?

Condition D:

*Questions without contrast:*

(27) Where is the row boat heading for?


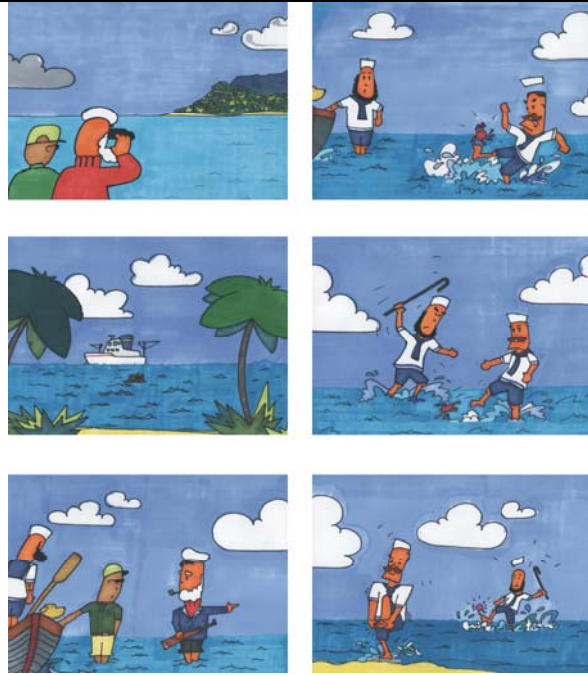
(28) How many people have gotten out?

(29) What is the captain doing on the beach?

*Question with contrast:*

(30) What is falling from the tree?

## Item 7: Picture series 'Beach'

'Beach 1'	'Beach 2'
	

Condition C:

(31) Are there two people looking at the coast from a ship?

Condition D:

*Questions without contrast:*

(32) Where is the row boat heading for?

(33) How many people have gotten out?

(34) What animal is disturbing the sailors?

*Question with contrast:*

(35) What is hurting the sailors' feet?

## Item 8: Picture series 'Elephant'

## 'Elephant 1'



## 'Elephant 2'



## Condition C:

(36) Is there a man and his dog entering a forest?

## Condition D:

*Questions without contrast:*

(37) Is there a man and his dog entering a forest?

(38) Whom do they meet?

(39) Is the elephant vicious?

*Question with contrast:*

(40) What is the elephant doing with the man?

---

Distribution in sessions (letter=condition, number=item)

	task 1	task 2	task 3	task 4	task 5	task 6	task 7	task 8
session 1	A1	B2	A5	B6	C3	D4	C7	D8
session 2	A2	B3	A6	B7	C4	D1	C8	D7
session 3	A3	B4	A7	B8	C1	D2	C5	D5
session 4	A4	B1	A8	B5	C2	D3	C6	D6

## 17 Focus Cards (Selective, Restrictive, Additive, Rejective Focus)

type of task:	question/answer
participants:	1 informant
materials:	15 cards with objects, 2 person sheets
objectives:	different focus types

### Outline

The goal of this experiment is to elicit a variety of focus structures (Dik 1981). The instructor assigns cards showing different figures to a person and asks a question. The questions used are chosen to induce several types of answer: confirmation, rejection, addition and restriction.

### Procedure

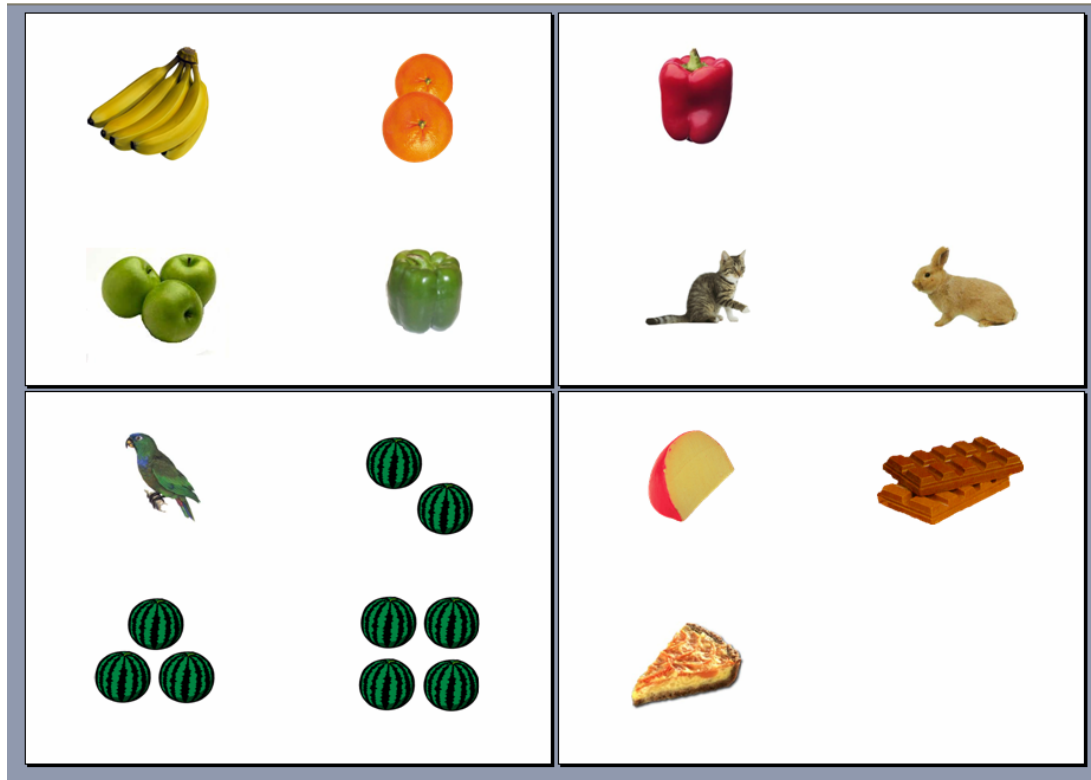
The instructor assigns one or two focus cards to one or two people, and asks a question. The informant answers then the question with a full sentence.

The following instruction is used:

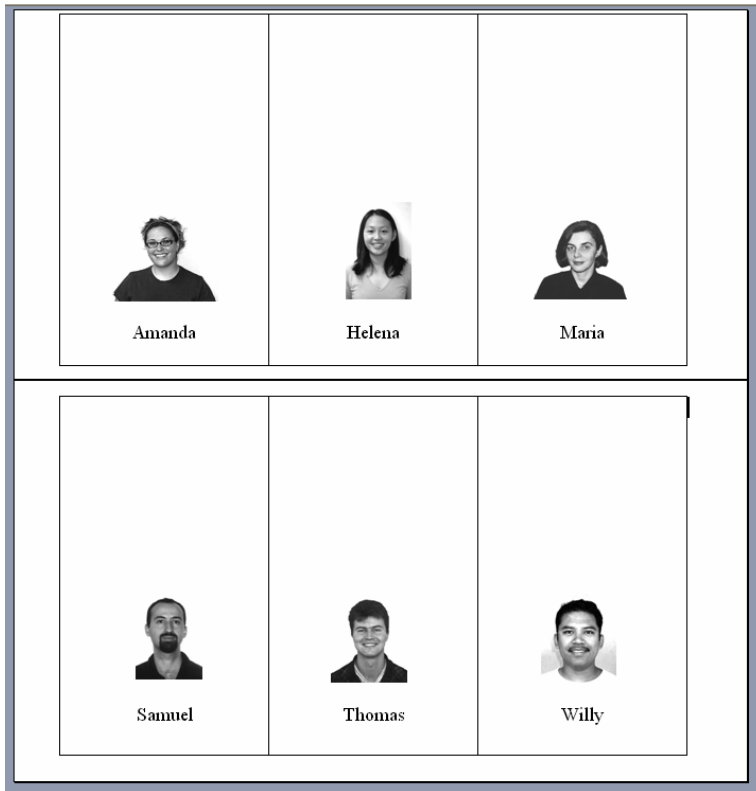
“Answer all questions with a full sentence, not just a single word. Use only one sentence in your answer.”

**Materials**

15 cards with images of objects (full color):



2 person sheets, each with three images of people and their names in the object language:



If the given names are not suitable in the object language, then change the names and print out the two sheets of paper. For intonational analysis, the names should not be too short and should not contain voiceless consonants.

Assign a parrot to Samuel

- (1) Who has a parrot, Samuel or William? (selection)

Assign a red pepper to Amanda and a yellow pepper to Maria

- (2) Describe what you see! (contrast)

Assign three melons to William

- (3) Does William have four melons? (rejection)

Assign a rabbit to Maria

- (4) Does Maria have a rabbit and a parrot? (restriction)

Assign a rabbit and a cat to Thomas

- 
- (5) Does Thomas have a cat? (addition)  
Assign a red pepper to Amanda and a green pepper to Helena
- (6) Who has the green pepper, Amanda or Helena? (selection)  
Assign cheese to Helena
- (7) Does Helena have soup? (rejection)  
Assign a rabbit to Amanda and a parrot to Maria
- (8) Does Amanda have a rabbit? (affirmation)  
Assign cheese and soup to William
- (9) Does William have cheese? (addition)  
Assign bananas and oranges to Samuel and apples to William
- (10) Describe what you see! (contrast)  
Assign a red pepper to Helena
- (11) Does Helena have a red pepper? (affirmation)  
Assign cheese to Samuel
- (12) What about the cheese? (aboutness)  
Assign a yellow pepper to Maria
- (13) Does Maria have a red pepper? (rejection)  
Assign a green pepper to Samuel
- (14) Does Samuel have a green pepper and a red pepper? (restriction)  
Assign four melons to William
- (15) Does William have four melons? (affirmation)  
Assign a rabbit to Helena
- (16) What about the rabbit? (aboutness)  
Assign a red pepper and a yellow pepper to Maria
- (17) Does Maria have a red pepper? (addition)  
Assign four melons to Thomas and three melons to William
- (18) Describe what you see! (contrast)  
Assign a rabbit to Maria

- 
- (19) What does Maria have, a rabbit or a cat? (selection)  
Assign chocolate to Amanda
- (20) Does Amanda have chocolate and cheese? (restriction)  
Assign oranges to William
- (21) What about William? (aboutness)  
Assign oranges to Samuel and apples to Thomas
- (22) Does Samuel have oranges? (affirmation)  
Assign bananas and apples to Helena
- (23) Does Helena have apples? (addition)  
Assign soup to Thomas
- (24) What does Thomas have, cheese or soup? (selection)  
Assign bananas to Amanda
- (25) What about Amanda? (aboutness)  
Assign apples to William
- (26) Does William have bananas and apples? (restriction)  
Assign cheese to Helena and chocolate to Maria
- (27) Describe what you see! (contrast)  
Assign a rabbit to Thomas
- (28) Does Thomas have a cat? (rejection)

---

Distribution in sessions (numbers=questions)

	tasks 1-7
session 1	(1)-(7)
session 2	(8)-(14)
session 3	(15)-(21)
session 4	(22)-(28)

## 18 Who does What (Answers to Multiple Constituent Questions)

type of task:	question/answer
participants:	1 informant
materials:	16 pictures, 64 questions
objectives:	answers to multiple constituent questions

### Outline

This task is bearing on elicitation of double foci (see Büring 2003, Roberts 1996). The aim of this task is to inspect the grammatical devices used to express double foci cross-linguistically (see Féry and Samek-Lodovici 2006), as compared to the devices used in situation where only one focus is needed. The conditions are the following:

- Condition A: Multiple constituent question, parallel events
- Condition B: Coordinated questions with agent focus, parallel events
- Condition C: Coordinated questions with patient focus, parallel events
- Condition D: All new question, parallel events
- Condition E: Multiple constituent question question, single event
- Condition F: Single question with agent focus, parallel events
- Condition G: Single question with patient focus, parallel events
- Condition H: All new question, single event

### Procedure

The instructor shows the picture to the informant and asks a question.

The following instruction is used:

You will see a picture and hear a question about this picture. Please give a spontaneous reply to this question.”

### Materials

Each item contains (a) a parallel event picture (for Conditions A, B, C, D, F and G) and (b) a single event picture (for Conditions E and H).

Item 1: Drinking



Item 1s: Drinking



Item 2: Eating



Item 2s: Eating



Item 3: Holding



Item 3s: Holding



Item 4: Throwing



Item 4s: Throwing



Item 5: Carrying



Item 5s: Carrying



Item 6: Hitting



Item 6s: Hitting



Item 7: Pushing



Item 7s: Pushing



Item 8: Looking



Item 8s: Looking



Condition A: Multiple constituent question, parallel events

- |                           |          |
|---------------------------|----------|
| (1) Who is drinking what? | (Item 1) |
| (2) Who is eating what?   | (Item 2) |
| (3) Who is holding what?  | (Item 3) |

- 
- |     |                         |          |
|-----|-------------------------|----------|
| (4) | Who is throwing what?   | (Item 4) |
| (5) | Who is carrying what?   | (Item 5) |
| (6) | Who is hitting what?    | (Item 6) |
| (7) | Who is pushing what?    | (Item 7) |
| (8) | Who is looking at what? | (Item 8) |

Condition B: Coordinated questions with agent focus, parallel events

- |      |   |          |
|------|---|----------|
| (9)  | Who is drinking the coke and who is drinking the wine?        | (Item 1) |
| (10) | Who is eating the apple and who is eating the banana?         | (Item 2) |
| (11) | Who is holding the spoon and who is holding the knife?        | (Item 3) |
| (12) | Who is throwing the ball and who is throwing the umbrella?    | (Item 4) |
| (13) | Who is carrying the table and who is carrying the chair?      | (Item 5) |
| (14) | Who is hitting the box and who is hitting the ball?           | (Item 6) |
| (15) | Who is pushing the couch and who is pushing the table?        | (Item 7) |
| (16) | Who is looking at the hammer and who is looking at the plant? | (Item 8) |

Condition C: Coordinated questions with patient focus, parallel events

- |      |  |          |
|------|--|----------|
| (17) | What is the man drinking and what is the woman drinking?     | (Item 1) |
| (18) | What is the man eating and what is the woman eating?         | (Item 2) |
| (19) | What is the woman holding and what is the man holding?       | (Item 3) |
| (20) | What is the boy throwing and what is the girl throwing?      | (Item 4) |
| (21) | What is the boy carrying and what is the girl carrying?      | (Item 5) |
| (22) | What is the man hitting and what is the woman hitting?       | (Item 6) |
| (23) | What is the man pushing and what is the woman pushing?       | (Item 7) |
| (24) | What is the man looking at and what is the woman looking at? | (Item 8) |

Condition D: All new question, parallel events

- |      |                    |          |
|------|--------------------|----------|
| (25) | What is happening? | (Item 1) |
|------|--------------------|----------|

- 
- |                         |          |
|-------------------------|----------|
| (26) What is happening? | (Item 2) |
| (27) What is happening? | (Item 3) |
| (28) What is happening? | (Item 4) |
| (29) What is happening? | (Item 5) |
| (30) What is happening? | (Item 6) |
| (31) What is happening? | (Item 7) |
| (32) What is happening? | (Item 8) |

Condition E: Multiple constituent question question, single event

- |                              |           |
|------------------------------|-----------|
| (33) Who is drinking what?   | (Item 1s) |
| (34) Who is eating what?     | (Item 2s) |
| (35) Who is holding what?    | (Item 3s) |
| (36) Who is throwing what?   | (Item 4s) |
| (37) Who is carrying what?   | (Item 5s) |
| (38) Who is hitting what?    | (Item 6s) |
| (39) Who is pushing what?    | (Item 7s) |
| (40) Who is looking at what? | (Item 8s) |

Condition F: Single question with patient focus, parallel events

- |                                    |          |
|------------------------------------|----------|
| (41) Who is drinking the coke?     | (Item 1) |
| (42) Who is eating the banana?     | (Item 2) |
| (43) Who is holding the spoon?     | (Item 3) |
| (44) Who is throwing the ball?     | (Item 4) |
| (45) Who is carrying the chair?    | (Item 5) |
| (46) Who is hitting the ball?      | (Item 6) |
| (47) Who is pushing the table?     | (Item 7) |
| (48) Who is looking at the hammer? | (Item 8) |

---

Condition G: Single question with patient focus, parallel events

- (49) What is the man drinking? (Item 1)
- (50) What is the man eating? (Item 2)
- (51) What is the man holding? (Item 3)
- (52) What is the boy throwing? (Item 4)
- (53) What is the girl carrying? (Item 5)
- (54) What is the man hitting? (Item 6)
- (55) What is the man pushing? (Item 7)
- (56) What is the man looking at? (Item 8)

## Condition H: All new question, single event

- (57) What is happening? (Item 1s)
- (58) What is happening? (Item 2s)
- (59) What is happening? (Item 3s)
- (60) What is happening? (Item 4s)
- (61) What is happening? (Item 5s)
- (62) What is happening? (Item 6s)
- (63) What is happening? (Item 7s)
- (64) What is happening? (Item 8s)

Distribution in sessions (letter=condition; number=item; s=single event picture)

	task 1	task 2	task 3	task 4	task 5	task 6	task 7	task 8
session 1	A1	B2	C3	D4	E5s	F6	G7	H8s
session 2	B1	C2	D3	E4s	F5	G6	H7s	A8
session 3	C1	D2	E3s	F4	G5	H6s	A7	B8
session 4	D1	E2s	F3	G4	H5s	A6	B7	C8

## 19 Fairy Tale (Topic and Focus in Coherent Discourse)

type of task:	narration (Conditions A, D) role-playing game (Conditions B, C) question/answer (Conditions A, B, C)
participants:	1 informant
materials:	2 picture series, 32 questions
objectives:	topic and focus in coherent discourse

### Outline

Information structural means and their degree of markedness are unlikely to be independent of text type. A text type that is found universally is the ‘fairy tale’ narrative type, which usually has special stylistic characteristics (Givón 1983). This task (Item 1: ‘Tomato Story’, Item 2: ‘Giant Tree Story’) explores typical means of encoding focus (verb focus and others) and topic (new, shifting, contrastive topic) in texts of the ‘fairy tale’ narrative type. The story is told from different narrator-perspectives (off voice in Conditions A and D; participant in Conditions B and C) and includes real and unreal sequential events (real: Condition A, unreal: Condition D).

Condition A:	fairy tale (realis) and question/answer pairs narrator = off voice
Condition B:	personal report and question/answer pairs narrator = 1SG (youngest child)
Condition C:	personal report and question/answer pairs narrator = 1SG (mother or father)
Condition D:	completing the story (irrealis) narrator = off voice

**Procedure**

Condition A: fairy tale (realis) and question/answer pairs

narrator = off voice

The informant is asked to look at a picture series which tells a story. After the instructor has given a short description of the pictures, the informant is asked to narrate them.

After the narration, the instructor asks questions to the informant.

Condition B: personal report and question/answer pairs

narrator = 1SG (youngest child)

The informant is asked to look at a picture series which tells a story. After the instructor has given a short description of the pictures, the informant is asked to narrate them as if she were the youngest child.

After the narration, the instructor asks questions to the informant.

Condition C: personal report and question/answer pairs

narrator = 1SG (mother or father)

The informant is asked to look at a picture series which tells a story. After the instructor has given a short description of the pictures, the informant is asked to narrate them as if she were the mother/father of the children.

After the narration, the instructor asks questions to the informant.

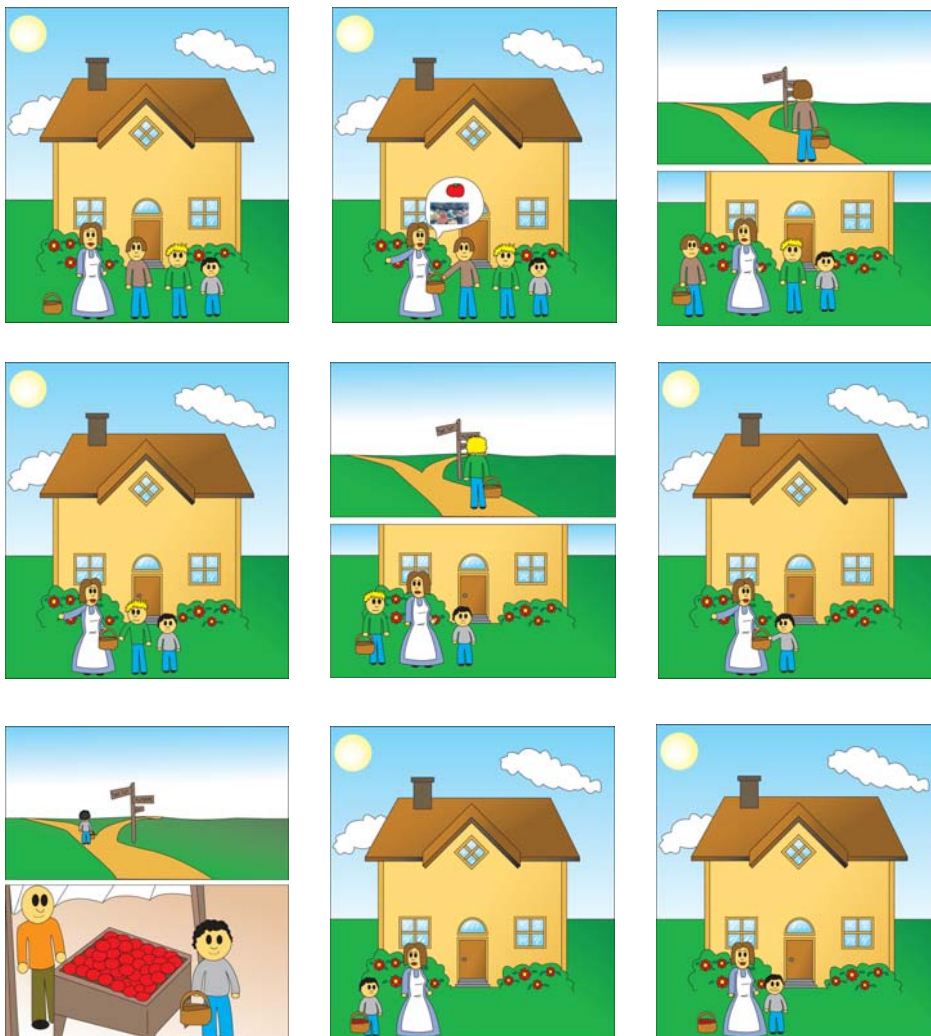
Condition D: completing the story (irrealis)

narrator = off voice

The informant is asked to look at a picture series which tells the beginning of a story. After the instructor has briefly described the pictures, the informant is asked to complete the story in the way she expects it to continue.

## Materials

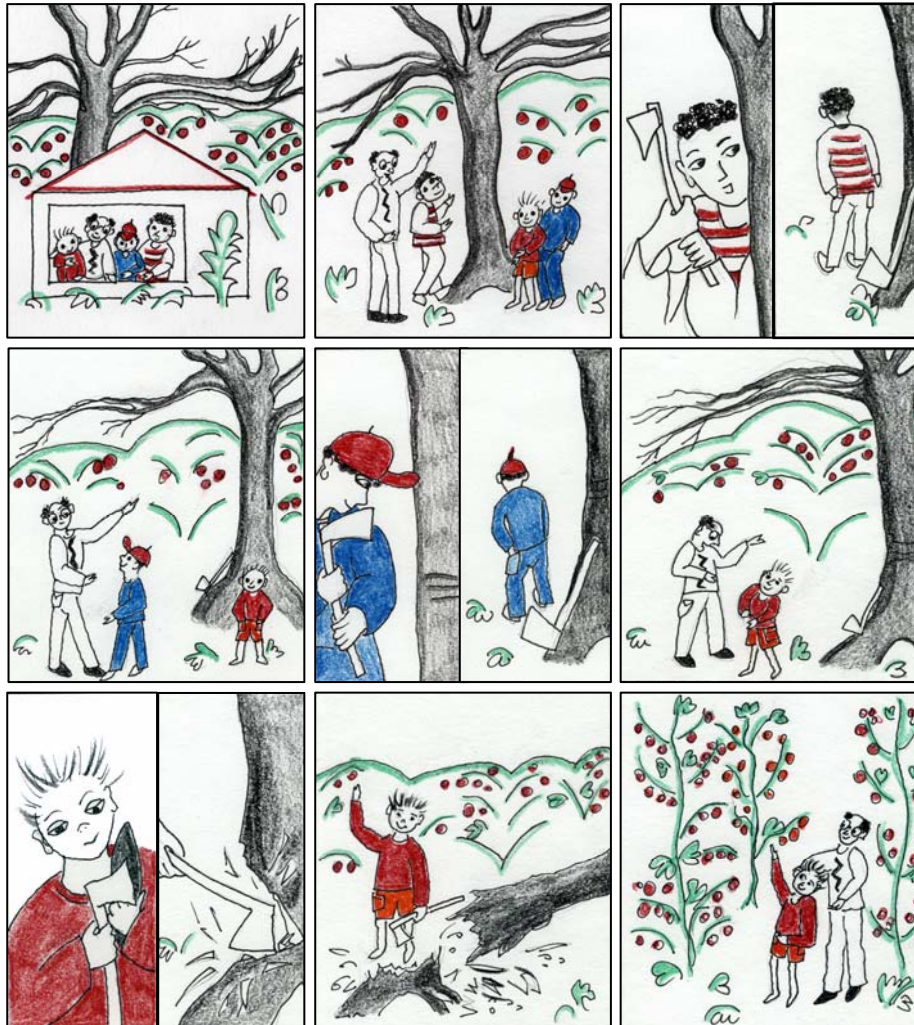
### Item 1: Tomato Story



Once upon a time, a mother had three children. One market day, she sent her eldest child to the market to buy tomatoes, because she wanted to cook tomato soup. The child took a basket and set off to the market. But it couldn't find the right road and came back without the tomatoes. Then the mother sent the second child (end of story in Condition D). This child,

too, set off, lost its way and came back without tomatoes. So the mother sent her youngest child to the market. This child found the right way. It arrived at a market stall, bought tomatoes and came back to its mother. They were very happy and the mother cooked the tomato soup.

### Item 2: Giant Tree Story



Once upon a time, a father lives with his three children in a house with a big garden, where they grow fruit trees. One year, a giant old tree which no longer bears fruit has become so big that it is disturbing the growth of the other trees. The father decides to cut it down and tells his eldest son to do it. The eldest child tries, but since the axe is dull, he doesn't manage. The father tells his second child to cut down the tree (end of story in Condition D), but this child also tries without success. Finally the father tells his youngest child to cut down the tree. This child sharpens the axe first so it can cut the wood. The youngest child cuts down the tree. He and his father are happy and the other plants can grow well now.

---

Condition A

## Item 1: Tomato Story

- (1) Who was asked by his mother to go and buy tomatoes first?
- (2) Why did the mother ask another child to go and buy tomatoes?
- (3) What did the second child bring home?
- (4) Which child brought the tomatoes home?
- (5) At the end of the story, are the mother and the youngest child happy or sad?

## Item 2: Giant Tree Story

- (6) Who was asked by his father to cut down the big tree first?
- (7) Why did the father ask another child to cut down the tree?
- (8) Was the second child more successful than his elder brother?
- (9) Which child cut down the tree?
- (10) At the end of the story, were the father and the youngest child happy or sad?

## Condition B

## Item 1: Tomato Story

- (11) Who was asked first by your mother to go and buy tomatoes?
- (12) Why did your mother ask her second child to go and buy tomatoes?
- (13) What did the second child bring home?
- (14) Who brought home tomatoes?
- (15) Are you and your mother now happy or sad?

## Item 2: Giant Tree Story

- (16) Who was asked first by your father to cut down the tree?
- (17) Why did your father ask the second child to cut down the tree?

- (18) Was the second child more successful than his eldest?
- (19) Who cut down the tree?
- (20) Are you and your father now happy or sad?

### Condition C

#### Item 1: Tomato Story

- (21) Who did you ask first to go and buy tomatoes?
- (22) Why did you ask another child to go and buy tomatoes?
- (23) What did the second child bring home?
- (24) Which child brought home tomatoes?
- (25) Are you and the youngest child now happy or sad?

#### Item 2: Giant Tree Story

- (26) Who did you ask first to cut down the tree?
- (27) Why did you ask another child to cut down the tree?
- (28) Was the second child more successful than your eldest?
- (29) Which child cut down the tree?
- (30) Are you and the youngest child now happy or sad?

### Condition D

(four first pictures of Item 1 and of Item 2)

#### Item 1: Tomato Story

- (31) What will the mother do after the eldest child has come back unsuccessful?

#### Item 2: Giant Tree Story

- (32) What will the father do after the eldest child hasn't been successful?

Distribution in sessions (letters=conditions; numbers=items)

	task 1	task 2
session 1	A1	B2
session 2	B1	C2
session 3	C1	D2
session 4	D1	A2

## 20 Map Task (Contrastive and Selective Focus in Spontaneous Dialogue)

type of task:	stimuli-matching game
participants:	2 informants
materials:	2 map pairs
objectives:	spontaneously produced contrastive/selective focus

### Outline

This task is a game played by two informants who receive two slightly different maps (cf. Anderson et al. 1991). Informant A describes a route on his map and informant B is instructed to follow the route on his own map. The mismatch means that when B encounters differences between A's description and the figures on his own map, B will usually interrupt and ask questions in order to find out the exact route. Map tasks are especially useful for the elicitation of selective and corrective focus in a near-spontaneous discourse setting.

### Procedure

The two subjects are seated opposite of each other, and each receives a map. They should not be able to see each other's maps.

Informant A must convey to informant B the route that is marked by pink dots on his map without mentioning the direction in which to go, i.e., without using words such as 'left' or 'right'. Informant B should be able to follow this route.

Informant A should mention each object or animal that he encounters on his way. Informant B must ask for clarification as soon as something is unclear.

The following instructions are used:

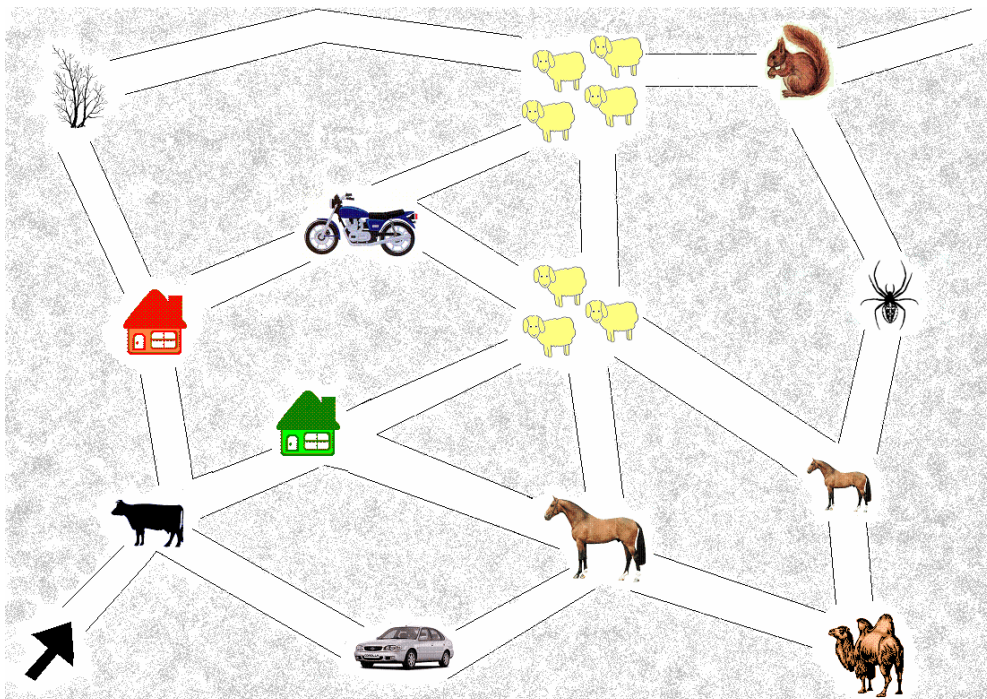
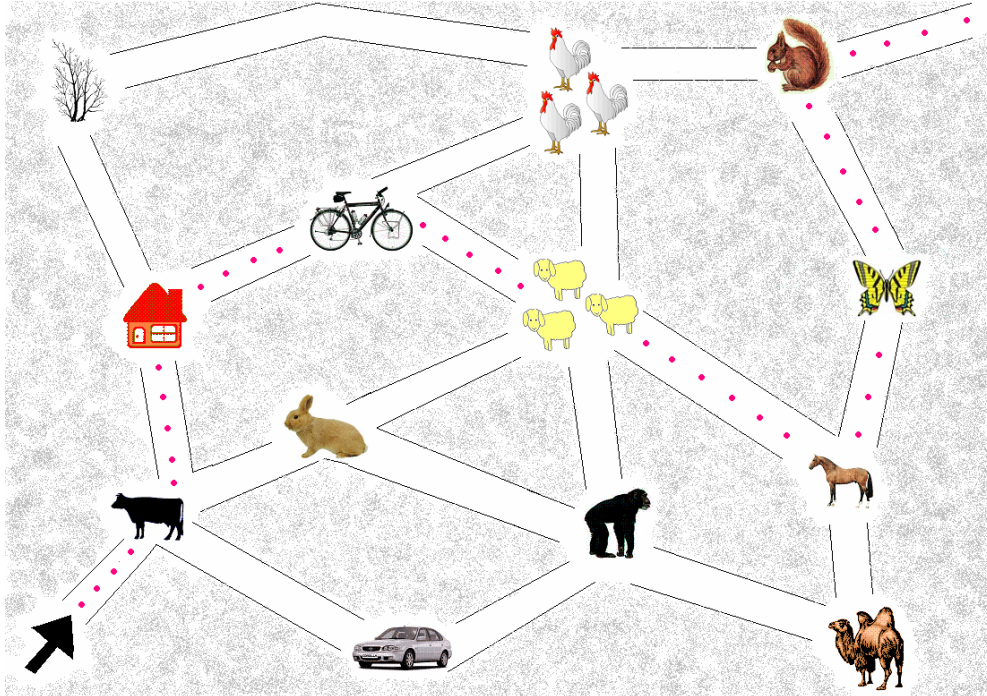
(Addressing informant A) “You must convey to your partner the route that is marked by pink dots on your map without mentioning the direction in which to go, i.e., without using words such as ‘left’ or ‘right’. You should mention each object or animal that you encounter on your way.”

(Addressing informant B) “You should follow the route that your partner is describing with your finger on the map. If anything is unclear you should immediately ask him for clarification.”

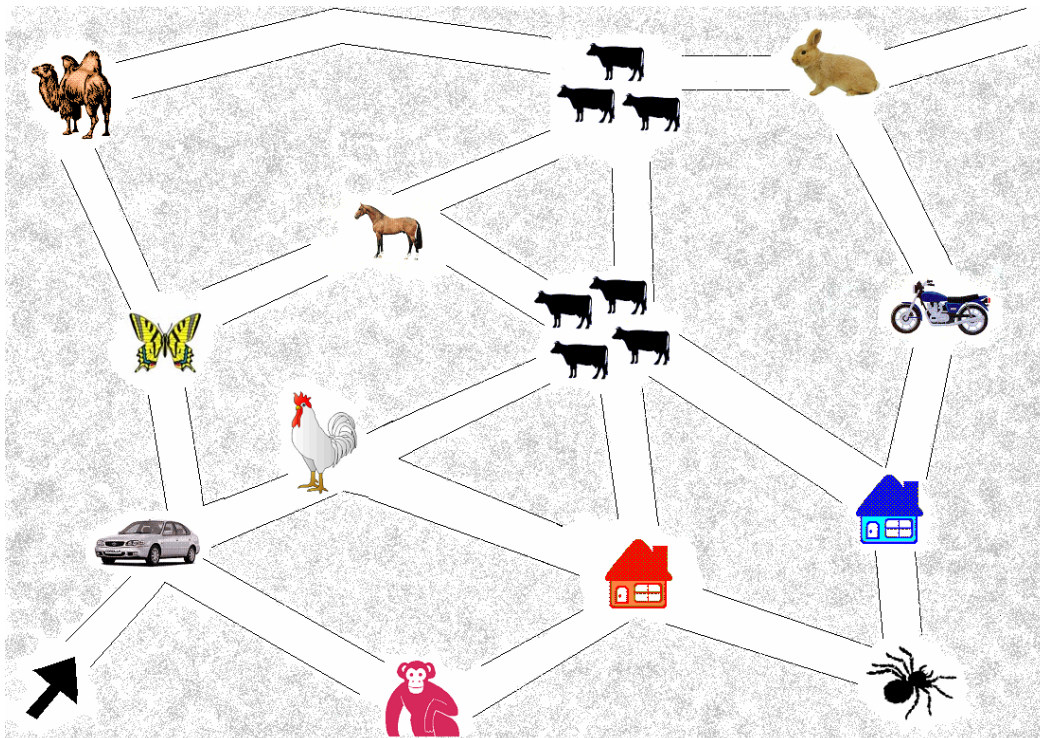
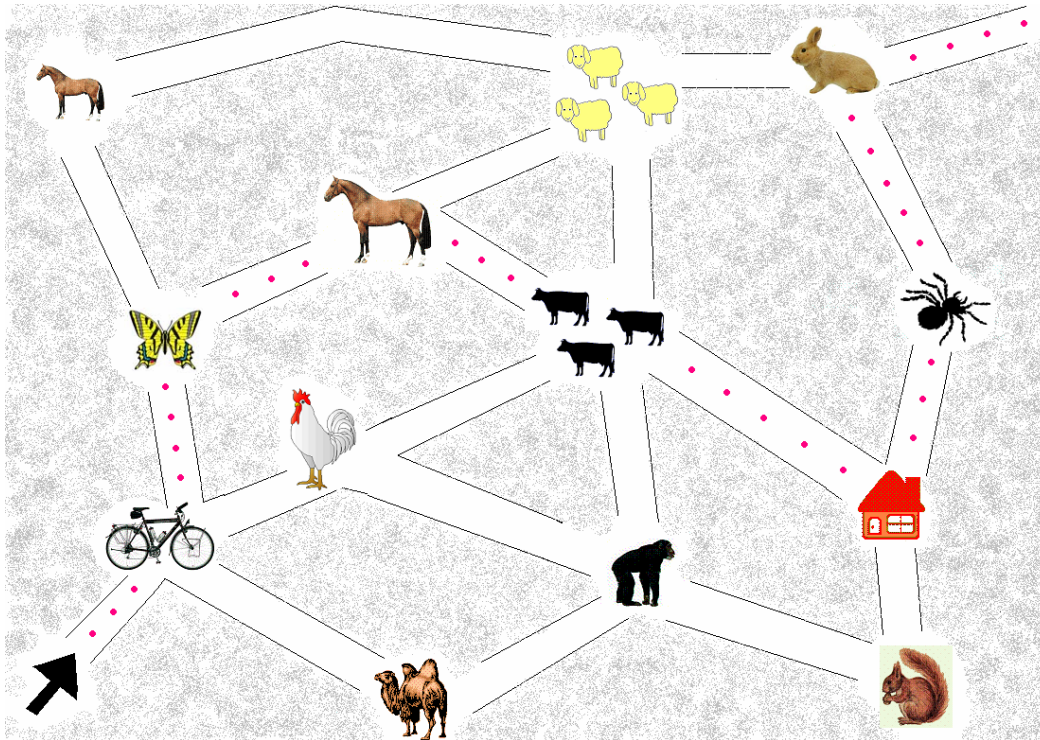
(Addressing both informants) “The roads on both maps are the same, but there may be some small differences between the objects or animals.”

## Materials

### Item 1: Map pair 1



## Item 2: Map pair 2





The instruction is as follows:

“Please watch the film carefully. Afterwards, I want you to take over the roles of the two persons who are suspected to have stolen the watch / broken the vase (condition A) / of the lawyers (condition B) and to converse with each other. In order to defend yourself (condition A) / your client (condition B), each of you should accuse the other one (condition A) / the other’s client (condition B). Argue with each other and supply some arguments for your (client’s) innocence and the other’s (client) guilt.”

## **Materials**

Item 1: Short film ‘The Stolen Watch 0’

(\* Either the man or the woman could be the thief \*)

There is a meeting at the office. Two women are already sitting at a table. One person comes in late. When he enters the room and sits down, his colleagues look at their watches. The late-comer has no watch and looks at the watch of the woman at his side. Now, they can start their working session.

When the meeting is finished two of the people get up and go to their desks. One of the women takes the empty glasses in order to wash them. She puts her watch on the table and leaves the room. When she is washing the glasses in a neighboring room, the phone rings and she starts talking. The other two are working at their places not far from the meeting table with the watch.

Meanwhile, the man comes from his desk to the meeting table and looks through the papers lying there. Some time later, the woman also comes from her desk to the meeting table and takes a cookie. The woman leaves the room and her colleague is left alone for a short while.

After some time, the woman who has been washing the glasses and talking on the phone comes back to the main office. She puts the glasses on the table and realizes that her watch is missing. Incredulously, she looks at the empty spot on the table and asks her colleagues whether they have seen her watch. Both don’t seem to know where it is and only shake their heads.

The film ends with the question: “Who is the thief?”

Item 2: Short film ‘The Broken Vase’

(\* Either the girl’s boyfriend or the waiter could have broken the vase \*)

A guy is waiting in a cafe for his girlfriend. When she arrives with a bunch of flowers he immediately suspects she has a secret lover. He gets angry and accuses her of playing around. They both have a row.

The bar tender puts the flowers in a vase at the end of the bar. The moment the girl goes to the lavatory her jealous boyfriend tries to push the vase over the edge of the bar but the waiter catches the vase before it falls.

The waiter is utterly clumsy and gets moaned and shouted at by the bar tender who is building a house out of cards because of his spilling drinks or stumbling over his own feet all the time. On his way in and out of the kitchen he passes the vase and more than once he almost knocks it over.

The house of cards is almost finished when all of a sudden a noise as of breaking glass is heard. The house of cards collapses and the vase has fallen off the bar. Everyone is surprised but the question is: “Who broke the vase?”

Distribution in sessions (letters=condition; numbers=items)

	task 1	task 2
session 1	A1	B2
session 2	B1	A2
session 3	A1	B2
session 4	B1	A2

## 22 Events in Places (Spatial, Temporal and Complex Topics)

type of task:	question/answer (Conditions A, B) description of single situations (Condition C)
participants:	1 informant
materials:	10 picture sheets
objectives:	spatial, temporal and complex topics

### Outline

Aim of this task is to induce sentences with spatial, temporal and complex topics (see Jacobs 2001). The conditions cover the following cases:

Condition A: Simple spatial or temporal topics

*Under the tree, there is a man standing.*

Condition B: Multiple topics (spatial and temporal)

*In the night, under the tree, there is a man sitting.*

Condition C: Exhaustive topics

*Only in front of the well, there is a girl sitting.*

---

## Procedure

- Condition A: The instructor shows the stimulus to the informant and reads the instruction, which contains the spatial or temporal entities that are assumed to be appropriate topics.  
“You see X, Y, Z (locations or times). Give me a short description of what is going on in this scene”.
- Condition B: The instructor shows the stimulus to the informant and reads the instruction, which contains the spatial or temporal entities that are assumed to be appropriate topics.  
“In these scenes, you see what is going on during the day and at night. Give me a short description of what is going on.”
- Condition C: The instructor shows a sheet containing four situations taking place at four different locations. The informant has to find out the scene in which something special is happening.  
“You see four locations in the scenes. If you look carefully, you will notice that only in one of them is something unique happening. Tell me about it.”

## Materials

- Condition A: Simple spatial or temporal topics

Item 1: Fence, tree, well



(1) You see a fence, a tree, and a well. Give me a short description of what is going on in this scene.

Item 2: Rock, tree, well



(2) You see a rock, a tree, and a well. Give me a short description of what is going on in this scene.

Item 3: Holding, day and night



(3) Here you see what is going on during the day and at night. Give me a short description of what is going on.

## Item 4: Children, day and night



(4) Here you see what is going on during the day and at night. Give me a short description of what is going on.

Condition B: Multiple topics (spatial and temporal)

## Item 5: Three locations, day and night



## Item 6: Persons, day and night



## Condition C: Exhaustive topics

Item 7: Car, house, tree, well



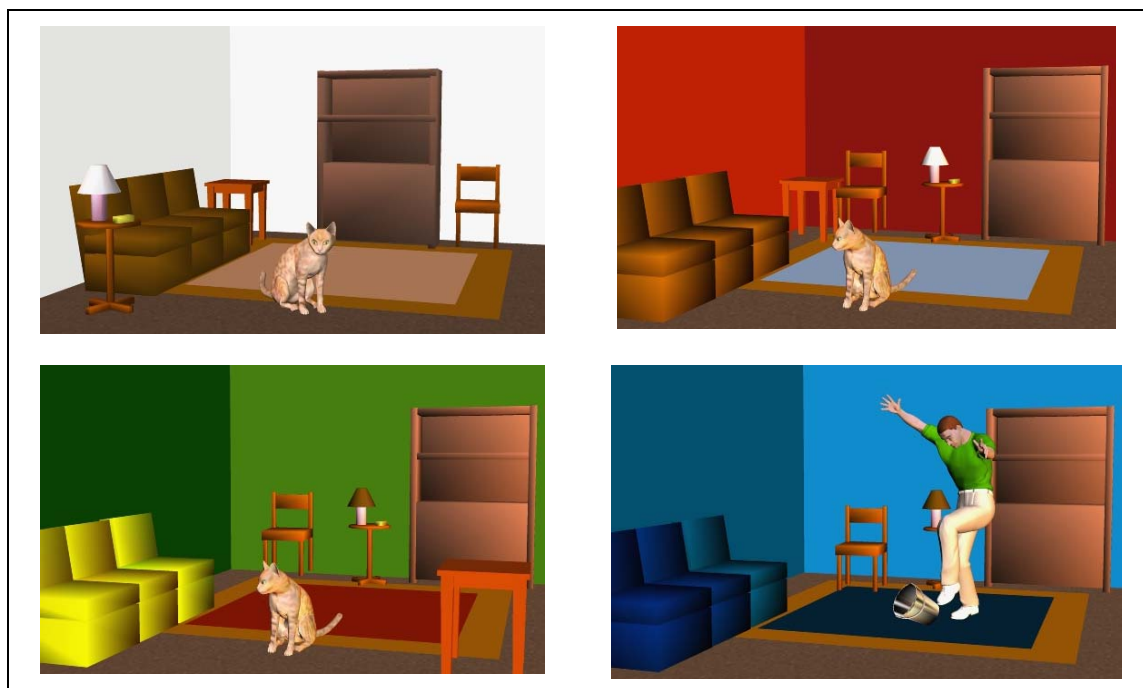
## Item 8: Rooms



## Item 9: Places



## Item 10: Colored rooms



Distribution in sessions (letters=conditions; numbers=items)

	task 1	task 2	task 3
session 1	A1	B2	C3
session 2	A2	B1	C4
session 3	A3	B2	C1
session 4	A4	B1	C2

## 23 Path Descriptions (Topic Change in Narrative)

type of task:	description of sequences of situations
participants:	1 informant
materials:	4 short films
objectives:	topic change

### Outline

The aim of this task is to elicit longer narratives that contain similar manipulations of the discourse status of referents to the controlled tasks that output one-two sentences. The elicitation is based on short films designed to

provide comparable data. The scenarios are based in four situations: with one entity involved (X sits), with two entities involved (X waters Y, X hits Y), with two entities involved (X gives Y to Z). These situations are presented in the following discourse conditions:

- Condition A: all new, discourse initially
- Condition B: all new, discourse internally
- Condition C: given agent
- Condition D: given patient

### **Procedure**

The instructor shows the film to the informant twice. When the informant sees the film for the second time, she recounts what is happening in the film during the film breaks.

The following instruction is used:

“I am going to show you a film that presents a short story. You will see the film two times. The second time, we will take short breaks at certain points in the film (namely at the points when the screen goes blank). During these breaks, I would like you to recount what has happened in the film. You should retell exactly what is going on. Be as precise as possible as to the things you have seen in the film.”

### **Materials**

- Scenario 1 (at the tree) girl sits on a hat;  
boy enters; girl hits the boy;  
(inside the house) man waters flower;  
(at the lake) man gives fish to woman
- Scenario 2 (at the house) man waters flower;  
woman enters; man gives a fish to woman;

(inside the house) girl hits boy;

(at the tree) girl sits on hat

### Scenario 3

(at the rock) girl hits boy;

boy enters & brings hat; girl sits on hat;

(inside the house) man gives fish to woman;

(at the house) man waters flower

### Scenario 4

(at the lake) man gives fish to woman;

woman enters & brings flower; man waters flower;

(inside the house) girl sits on hat;

(at the stone) girl hits boy

Distribution in sessions (letters=conditions; numbers=items)

	task 1
session 1	1
session 2	2
session 3	3
session 4	4

## 24 Groups (Partial Topic)

type of task:	question/answer (Condition A), description of sequences of situations (Conditions B, C)
participants:	1 informant
materials:	4 picture sequences, 4 single pictures, 4 questions
objectives:	partial topic

### Outline

Aim of this task is to elicit expressions of partial topic (see Buring 1997). The stimuli present individuals that may be grouped in subsets sharing some salient

inherent property (e.g., men vs. women). Moreover, the subsets of individuals differ as to the events in which they are involved.

- Condition A: Question induced partial topics  
Condition B: Partial topics induced in narrative, given agent  
Condition C: Partial topics induced in narrative, given patient

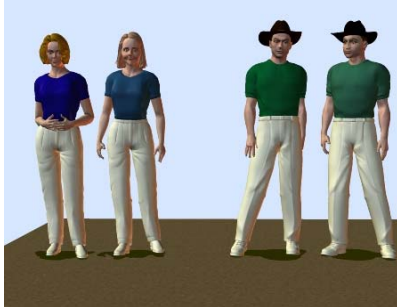
### **Procedure**

- Condition A: The instructor shows the picture and asks the corresponding question.  
“You will see a picture and hear a question about this picture. Please give a spontaneous reply to this question.”
- Conditions B-C: The instructor shows the first picture to the informant. The informant may give a free, unconstrained description of it. When the description of the first picture is completed, the instructor shows the second picture which is described as a subsequent scene.  
“You will be shown two pictures that belong together, that is, they belong to the same story. Imagine that the first scene takes place first and the second scene some time later, e.g., after five minutes. What is interesting for us are the figures and actions in the foreground of the picture – you do not need to describe details about the pictures or the individual figures. Please give just a short description of each scene.”

## Materials

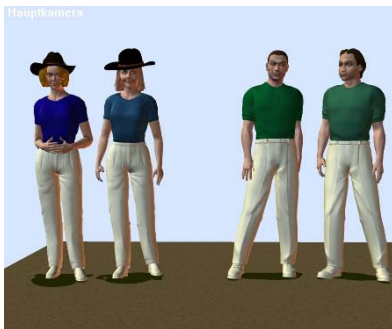
Condition A: Question induced partial topics

Item 1: Only men wearing hats



(1) Are these people wearing hats?

Item 2: Only women wearing hats



(2) Are these people wearing hats?

Item 3: Only children holding frogs



(3) What animals are the people holding?

## Item 4: Children/men holding frogs/fishes



(4) What animals are the people holding?

Condition B: Partial topics induced in narrative, given agent

## Item 5: Women and boys

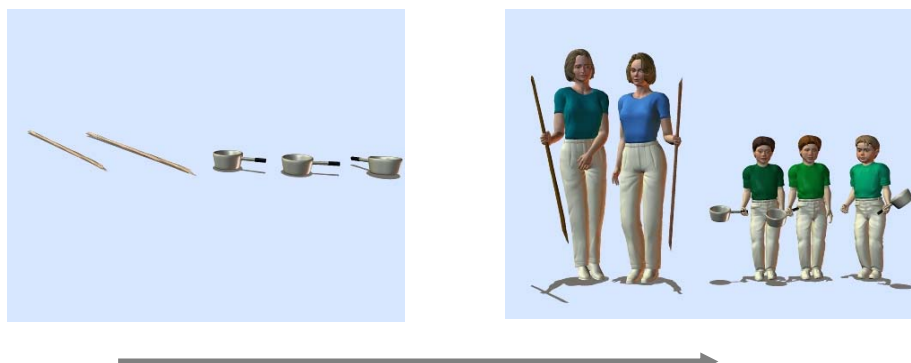


## Item 6: Men and girls

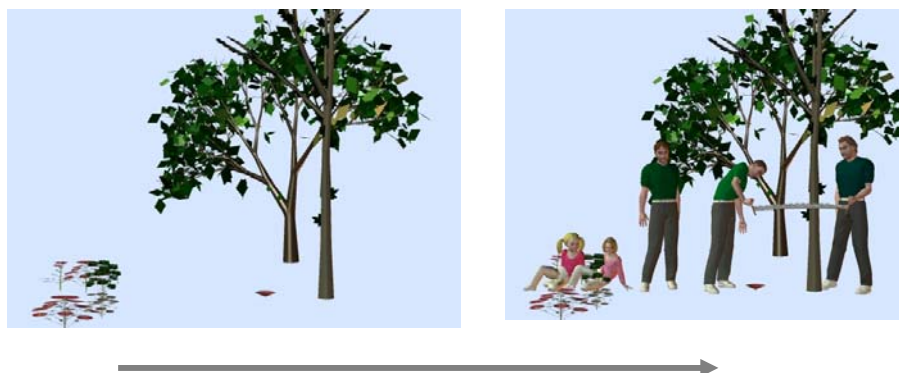


### Condition C: Partial topics induced in narrative, given patient

#### Item 5: Women and boys



#### Item 6: Men and girls



Distribution in sessions (letters=conditions; numbers=items)

	task 1	task 2
session 1	A1	C6
session 2	A2	B5
session 3	A3	B6
session 4	A4	C5

## 25 Connections (Bridging Topic)

type of task:	description of sequences of situations
participants:	1 informant
materials:	30 picture sequences
objectives:	bridging topic

### Outline

The aim of this experimental task is to investigate the impact of referential bridging on the expression (see Prince 1981, Clark and Haviland 1977). Referents that are referentially linked to the common ground are encoded as definite (if definiteness is encoded); in word order, inferred referents show a preference to be encoded early in the utterance.

Condition A:       the referent is new/inferable from the context

Condition B:       the referent is new/not inferable from the context

Condition C:       the referent is given

### Procedure

The instructor shows the first picture to the informant. The informant may give a free, unconstrained description of it. When the description of the first picture is completed, the instructor shows the second picture which is described as a subsequent scene.

The following instruction is used:

“You will be shown two pictures that belong together, that is, they belong to the same story. Imagine that the first scene takes place first and the second scene some time later, e.g., after five minutes. What is interesting for us are the figures and actions in the foreground of the picture – you do not need to describe details about the pictures or the individual figures. Please give just a short description of each scene.”

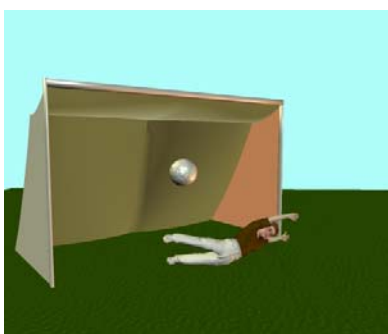
## Materials

Condition A: the referent is new/inferable from the context

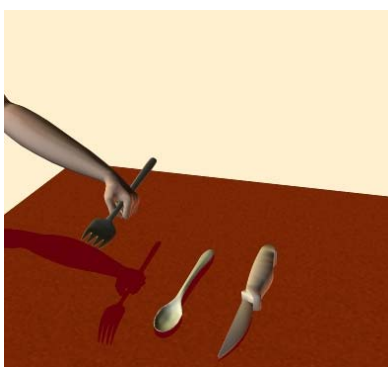
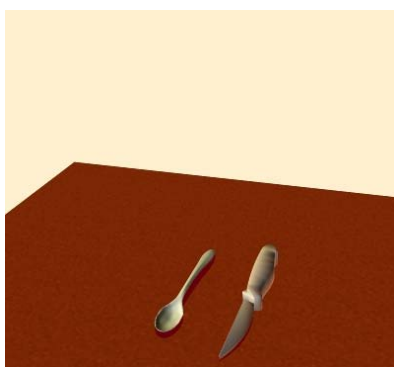
Item 1: Cook



Item 2: Ball



Item 3: Fork



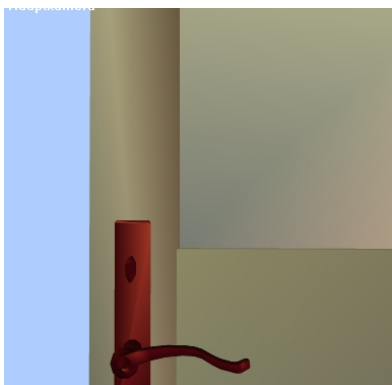
Item 4: Light bulb



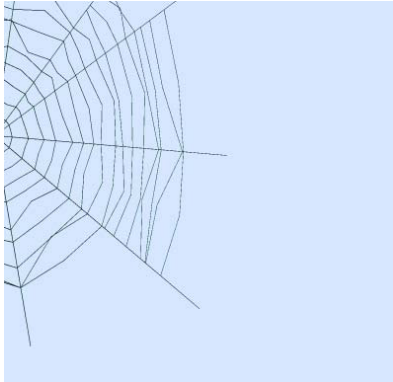
Item 5: Baby



Item 6: Keys



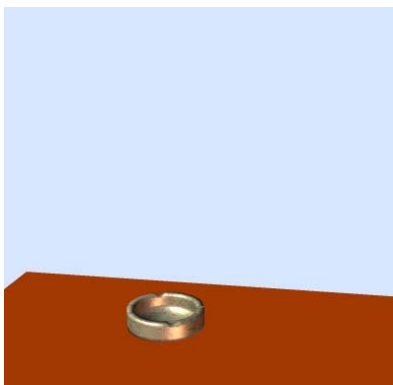
Item 7: Fly swatter



Item 8: Paddle



Item 9: Cigarette



## Item 10: Tire

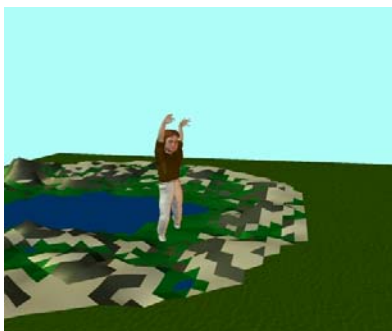


Condition B: the referent is new/not inferable from the context

## Item 1: Cook



## Item 2: Ball



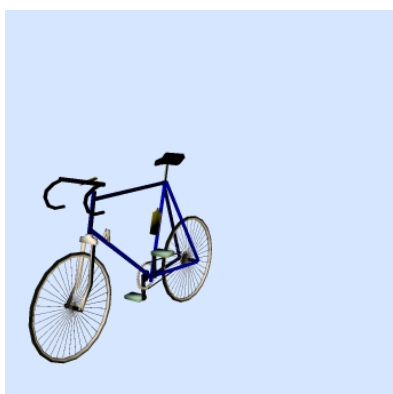
Item 3: Fork



Item 4: Light bulb



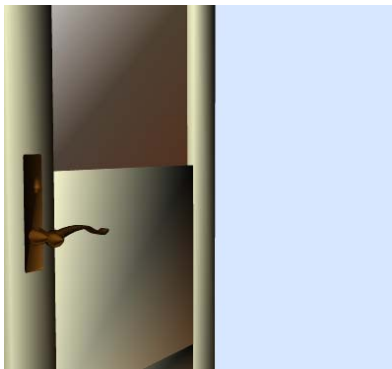
Item 5: Baby



Item 6: Keys



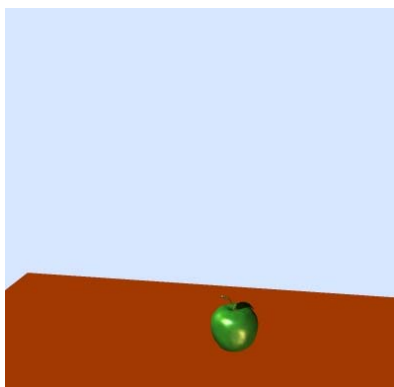
Item 7: Fly swatter



Item 8: Paddle



## Item 9: Cigarette



## Item 10: Tire

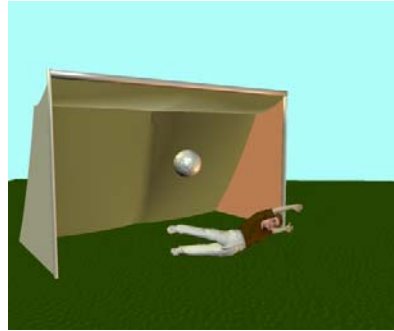


Condition C:        the referent is given

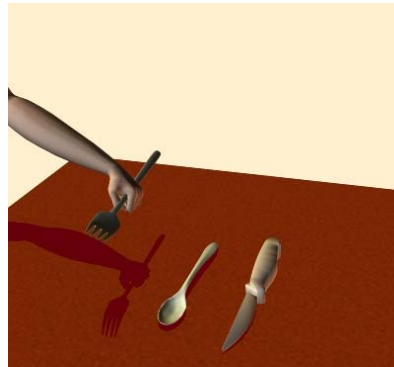
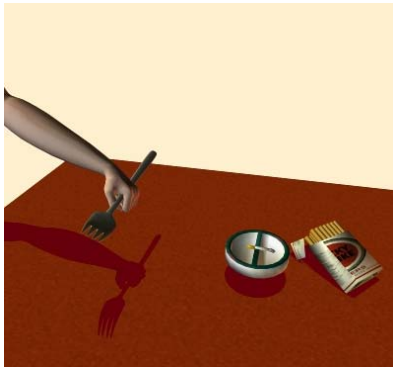
## Item 1: Cook



Item 2: Ball



Item 3: Fork



Item 4: Light bulb



## Item 5: Baby



## Item 6: Keys



## Item 7: Fly swatter



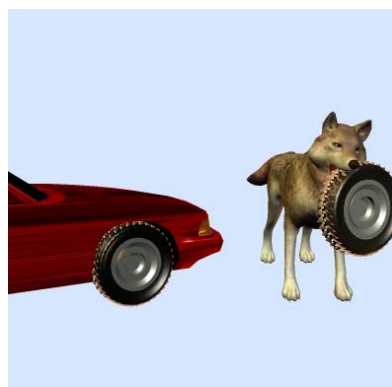
## Item 8: Paddle



## Item 9: Cigarette



## Item 10: Tire



Distribution in sessions (letters=conditions; numbers=items)

	task 1	task 2	task 3	task 4	task 5	task 6	task 7	task 8
session 1	A1	B3	C4	A5	B7	C8	A9	
session 2	B2	C3	A4	B6	C7	A8	B10	
session 3	B1	C2	A3	B5	C6	A7	B9	C10
session 4	C1	A2	B4	C5	A6	B8	C9	A10

## 26 Indirect (Implicational Topic)

type of task:	question/answer (Condition A) picture discrimination game (Conditions B-D)
participants:	1 informant (condition A) 2 informants (condition B-D)
materials:	3 single pictures, 9 double picture sheets
objectives:	implicational topic

### Outline

The experimental task on implicational topic seeks to show if a language can mark topics implicationally (see Büring 1997) and, if so, how (particles, intonation). The realization of implicational topic is tested only for the main arguments (agent/patient).

One means of encoding implicational topic, known from European languages, is the “elliptical contrastive topic construction”. Assuming a situation, in which a man and a woman are involved, the sentence *The woman/ is not\ smoking* may imply with the appropriate intonation that the man is smoking. So, contrastive intonation for a single constituent implies a contrasted counterpart that is implicit. In order to verify this, the tasks on implicational topic are combined with comparable tasks that induce simple contrastive topic expressions.

In this experimental task, two types of implication are induced: (a) negative implication (it is only  $x$  that  $p$ ) and (b) positive implication (it is also  $x$  that  $p$ ). The conditions are the following:

- Condition A:        implicational topic (without contrasted situation)  
                              schematically: *Only the man does not have a hat on.*
- Condition B:        implicational topic (negative)  
                              schematically: *Only the man does not have a hat on.*
- Condition C:        implicational topic (positive)  
                              schematically: *(Also) the man does not have a hat on.*
- Condition D:        non-implicational  
                              schematically: *The man does not have a hat on.*

Conditions A-B are alternative implementations of the same discourse condition.

## Procedure

- Condition A:        The instructor shows the stimulus to the informant. Then he poses a question concerning one of the individuals in the stimulus.
- Condition B-D:     The instructor gives: (a) a sheet with two pictures, one of which is marked by a circle, to informant A; (b) a sheet with two pictures without any marking to informant B. Informant A has to answer the question of the instructor in such a way that informant B will understand which picture is highlighted.

The instructions for this elicitation are item specific, so they are given below. Inducing implications is a very difficult task and many informants will not fulfill the task as specified in the instruction. If the informants are not able to understand the instructions and to produce an implicational topic in a natural

way, please try to find out through discussion with the informant if the language under investigation can express “implicational topic” in the situations shown in the pictures (a) by means of intonation, (b) by other means.

### Materials

Condition A:        implicational topic (without contrasted situation)

Item 1: Woman (not man) with hat



(1) “Please reply to the following question without mentioning the woman. Just mention the man and say it in a way so that I can understand what is going on with the woman: Who has a hat on?”

Item 2: Boy (not girl) on the boat



(2) “Please reply to the following question without mentioning the boy. Just mention the girl and say it in a way so that I can understand what is going on with the boy: Who is on the boat?”

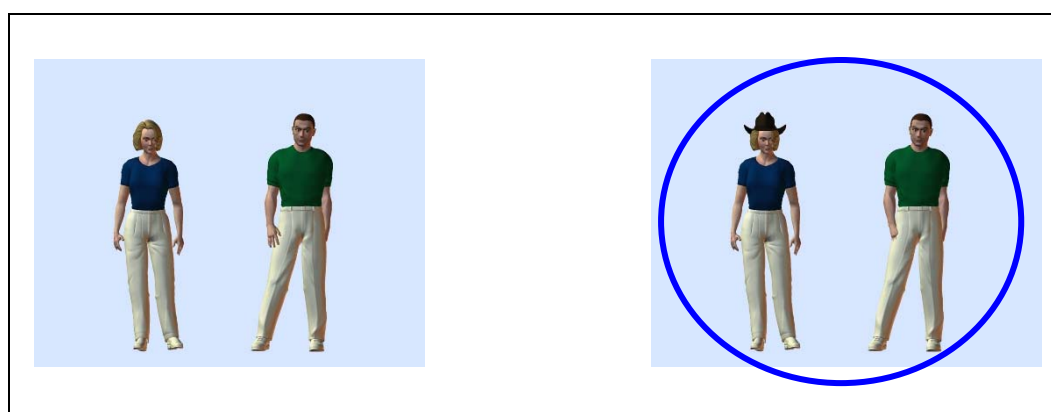
## Item 3: Woman (not man) reading



(3) “Please reply to the following question without mentioning the woman. Just mention the man and say it in a way so that I can understand what is going on with the woman. Who is reading a book?”

Condition B:            implicational topic (negative)

## Item 1: Woman (not man) with hat (sheet for informant A)



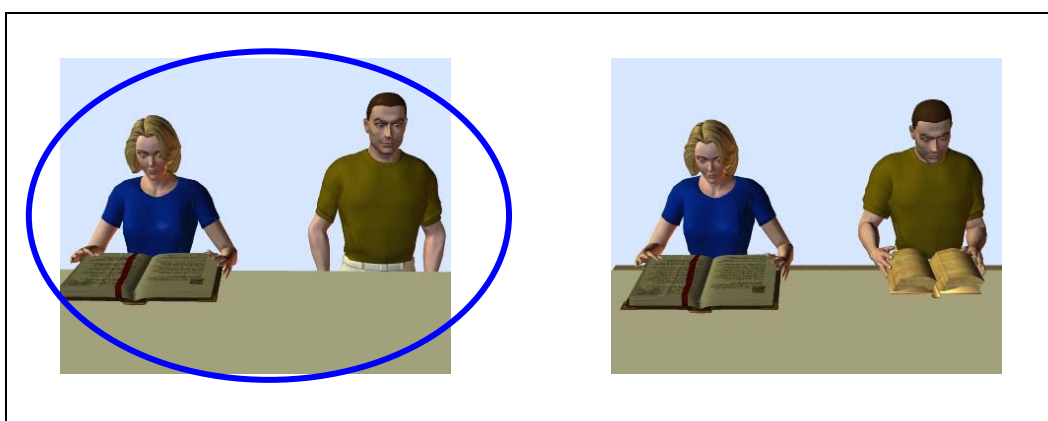
(4) (Addressing informant A) “Your partner has the same pictures as you. In your pair one picture is circled. Your partner has to find out which picture is circled and in order to do that he will ask you if the man in the circled picture has a hat. You will reply that he doesn’t, which is clear in both pictures. Your task is to pronounce your reply in such a way that your partner will understand whether the other person in the picture has a hat or not and correspondingly he will understand which is the circled picture.” (Addressing informant B) “Please ask your partner if the man has a hat.”

## Item 2: Boy (not girl) on the boat (sheet for informant A)



(5) (Addressing informant A) “Your partner has the same pictures as you. In your pair one picture is circled. Your partner has to find out which picture is circled and in order to do that he will ask you if the boy in the circled picture is on the boat. You will reply that he is, which is clear in both pictures. Your task is to pronounce your reply in such a way that your partner will understand whether the other person in the picture is on the boat or not and correspondingly he will understand which is the circled picture.” (Addressing informant B) “Please ask your partner if the boy is on the boat.”

## Item 3: Woman (not man) reading (sheet for informant A)

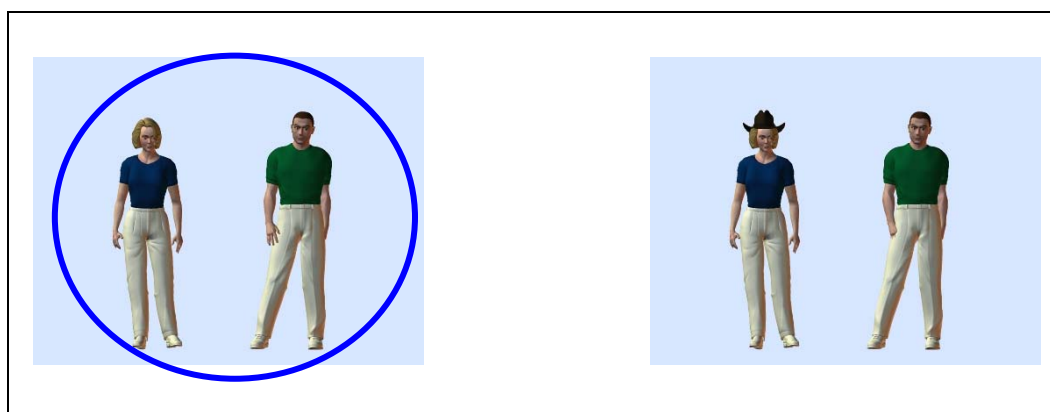


(6) (Addressing informant A) “Your partner has the same pictures as you. In your pair one picture is circled. Your partner has to find out which picture is circled and in order to do that he will ask you if the woman in the circled picture is reading a book. You will reply that she is, which is clear in both pictures.

Your task is to pronounce your reply in such a way that your partner will understand whether the other person in the picture is also reading or not and correspondingly he will understand which is the circled picture.” (Addressing informant B) “Please ask your partner if the woman is reading a book.”

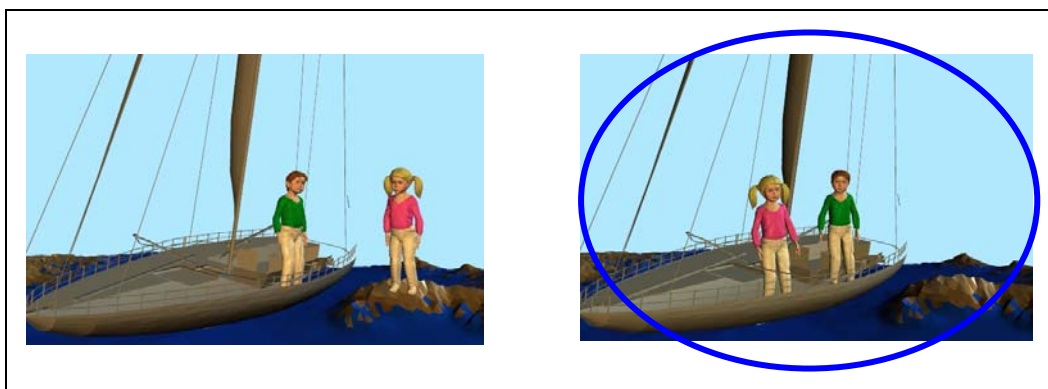
Condition C:            implicational topic (positive)

Item 1: Woman (also man) without hat (sheet for informant A)



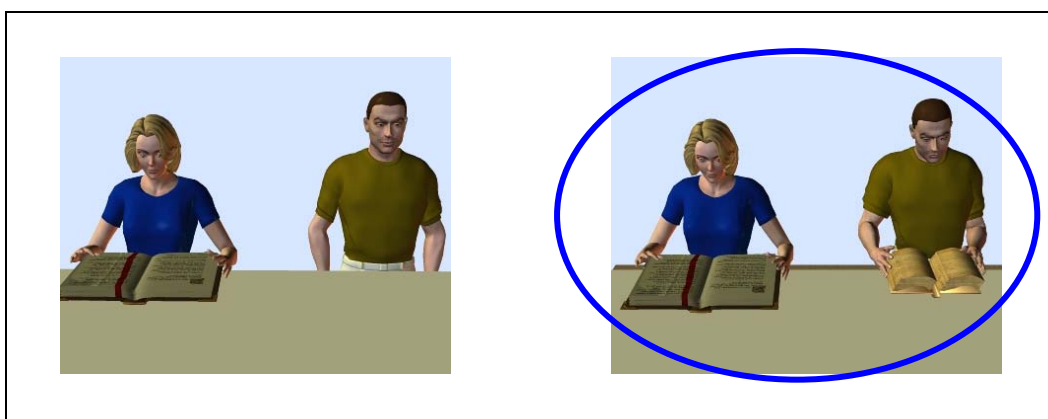
(7) (Addressing informant A) “Your partner has the same pictures as you. In your pair, one picture is circled. Your partner has to find out which picture is circled and in order to do that he will ask you if the man in the circled picture has a hat. You will reply that he doesn’t, which is clear in both pictures. Your task is to pronounce your reply in such a way that your partner will understand whether the other person in the picture has a hat or not and correspondingly he will understand which is the circled picture.” (Addressing informant B) “Please ask your partner if the man has a hat.”

## Item 2: Boy (also girl) on the boat (sheet for informant A)



(8) (Addressing informant A) “Your partner has the same pictures as you. In your pair, one picture is circled. Your partner has to find out which picture is circled and in order to do that he will ask you if the boy in the circled picture is on the boat. You will reply that he is, which is clear in both pictures. Your task is to pronounce your reply in such a way that your partner will understand whether the other person in the picture is on the boat or not and correspondingly he will understand which is the circled picture.” (Addressing informant B) “Please ask your partner if the boy is on the boat.”

## Item 3: Woman (also man) reading (sheet for informant A)

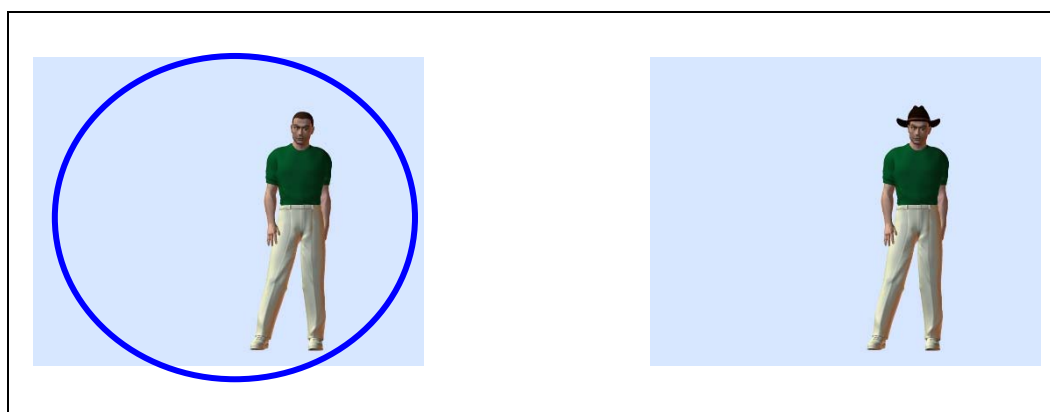


(9) (Addressing informant A) “Your partner has the same pictures as you. In your pair one picture is circled. Your partner has to find out which picture is circled and in order to do that he will ask you if the woman in the circled picture is reading a book. You will reply that she is, which is clear in both pictures.

Your task is to pronounce your reply in such a way that your partner will understand whether the other person in the picture is also reading a book or not and correspondingly he will understand which is the circled picture.” (Addressing informant B) “Please ask your partner if the woman is reading a book.”

Condition D: non-implicational

Item 1: Man without hat (sheet for informant A)



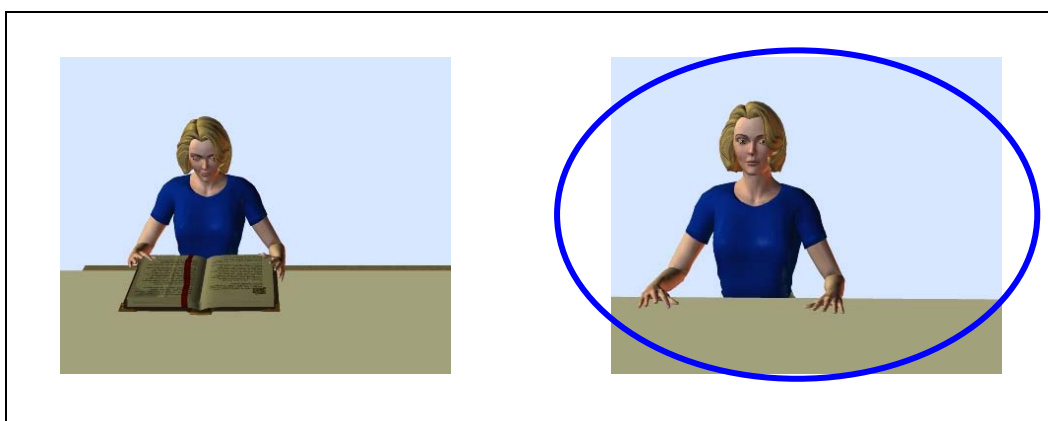
(10) (Addressing informant A) “Your partner has the same pictures as you. In your pair one picture is circled. Your partner has to find out which picture is circled and in order to do that he will ask you if the man in the circled picture has a hat. You will reply with a complete sentence so that your partner will understand which is the circled picture.” (Addressing informant B) “Please ask your partner if the man has a hat.”

## Item 2: Boy (also girl) on the boat (sheet for informant A)



(11) (Addressing informant A) “Your partner has the same pictures as you. In your pair one picture is circled. Your partner has to find out which picture is circled and in order to do that he will ask you if the boy in the circled picture is on the boat. You will reply with a complete sentence so that your partner will understand which is the circled picture.” (Addressing informant B) “Please ask your partner if the boy is on the boat.”

## Item 3: Woman (also man) reading (sheet for informant A)



(12) (Addressing informant A) “Your partner has the same pictures as you. In your pair one picture is circled. Your partner has to find out which picture is circled and in order to do that he will ask you if the woman in the circled picture is reading a book. You will reply with a complete sentence so that your partner will understand which is the circled picture.” (Addressing informant B) “Please ask your partner if the woman is reading a book.”

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Distribution in sessions (letters=conditions; numbers=items)

	task 1	task 2	task 3
session 1	A1	B2	C3
session 2	A2	B3	D1
session 3	A3	C1	D2
session 4	B1	C2	D3

## 27 Surprises (Subject-Topic Interrelation)

type of task:	question/answer (Conditions A, B, C, D)
participants:	1 informant
materials:	2 short films, 4 questions
objectives:	subject as marked topic / unmarked topic / no topic / new information

### Outline

Subjects typically represent unmarked topics in subject-prominent languages (Li & Thompson 1976). This task investigates the subject under different topic properties (Conditions A and B) and compares it with non-topical subjects (Conditions C and D).

Condition A:	contrastive subject (marked topic)
Condition B:	subject as unmarked topic
Condition C:	non-topical subject in all-new sentence (broad focus)
Condition D:	non-topical subject as new information (narrow focus)

### Procedure

Condition A:	contrastive subject (marked topic)
	The informant is asked to watch a short film (Item 1 or 2) in which something happens that does not happen in normal

life. After she has watched it, she is asked to tell what kind of living being she expects to do what she has seen.

Condition B: subject as unmarked topic

The informant is asked to watch a short film (Item 1 or 2) in which the actor is doing something strange; she is then asked to tell in one sentence what the actor is doing.

Condition C: non-topical subject in all-new sentence (broad focus)

The informant is asked to watch a short film (Item 1 or 2). After she has seen it, she is asked to tell in one sentence what is happening.

Condition D: subject as new information (narrow focus)

The informant is asked to watch a short film (Item 1 or 2). After she has seen it, she is asked to tell in one sentence what is happening.

## Materials

Item 1: Short film: 'Ball'

Description: A cow is playing with a ball.

Item 2: Short film: 'Fish'

Description: A fish in a bowl. A cat arrives. It appears that he wants to eat the fish. The fish barks and the cat runs away.

## Condition A

- (1) What kind of living being do you expect to do the action you have seen in the film? (Please form the sentence in the same style as this one: 'Birds fly, snakes don't.')

**Condition B**

(2) What is the cow (Item 1) / fish (Item 2) doing?

**Condition C**

(3) What is going on in the film?

**Condition D**

(4) Who is playing ball? (Item 1) / Who is barking? (Item 2)

Distribution in sessions (letter=condition; number=item)

	task 1	task 2
session 1	A1	B2
session 2	B1	C2
session 3	C1	D2
session 4	D1	A2

**28 Doing (Action Given, Action Topic)**

type of task:	question/answer
participants:	1 informant
materials:	6 picture sheets, 8 questions
objectives:	action given, action topic, action in contrast

**Outline**

The following questions may be used in a memory task. The items contain as representative cases two intransitives and two transitives (without overt object). The underlying assumption is that they are not differentiated in this construction. In languages that mark object elision, transitives will be marked as antipassives.

**Condition A: Action topic**

This condition is expected to elicit expressions with verb-topic (schematically: “swimming, the child does it”) or deaccentuated verbs, depending on language.

**Condition B: Action given**

A question with an experiential predicate is used in this condition. It is expected to induce expressions with verb-topic (schematically: “swimming, the child likes it”), verb-nominalization, or deaccentuated verbs, depending on language.

**Procedure**

The instructor gives the informant a sheet with two or three pictures and she reads a question. The following instruction is used:

“You will see some pictures and hear a question. Please give a natural answer.”

**Materials****Condition A: Action topic**

Item 1: Swimming, walking/running



(1) I will name an activity and you will tell me which person is doing it. What about swimming?

## Item 2: Drinking, smoking/eating



(2) I will name an activity and you will tell me which person is doing it. What about drinking?

## Item 3: Walking, swimming/running

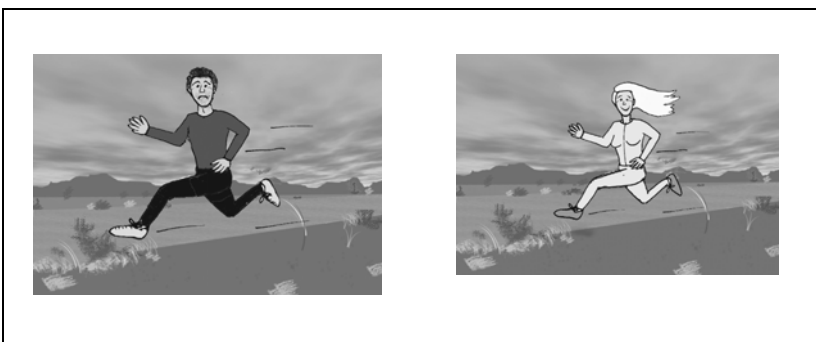


(3) I will name an activity and you will tell me which person is doing it. What about walking?

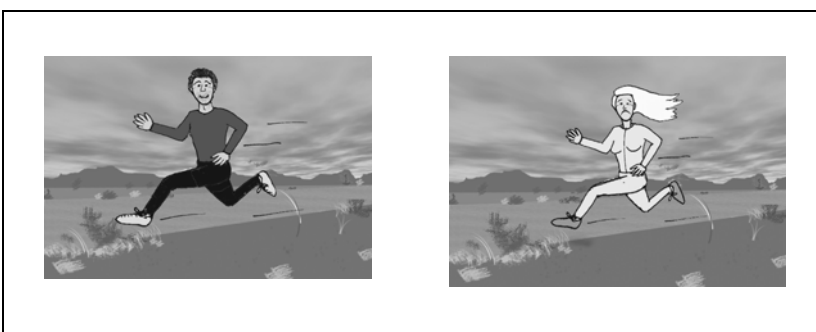
## Item 4: Eating, drinking/smoking



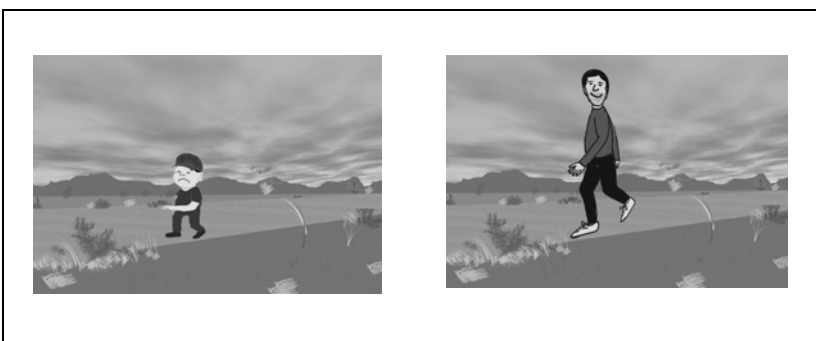
(4) I will name an activity and you will tell me which person is doing it. What about eating?

**Condition B: Action given****Item 5: Woman enjoying running**

(5) In these scenes you see people running. Can you tell me who is enjoying it?

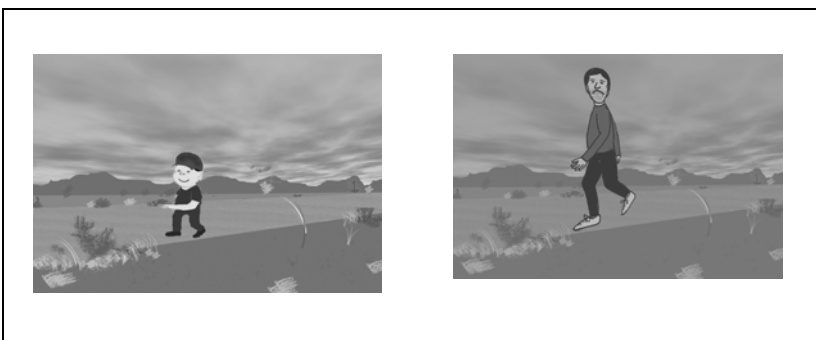
**Item 6: Man enjoying running**

(6) In these scenes you see people running. Can you tell me who is enjoying it?

**Item 7: Man enjoying walking**

(7) In these scenes you see people walking. Can you tell me who is enjoying it?

Item 8: Boy enjoying walking



(8) In these scenes you see people walking. Can you tell me who is enjoying it?

Distribution in sessions (letters=conditions; numbers=items)

	task 1	task 2
session 1	A1	B2
session 2	A2	B3
session 3	A3	B4
session 4	A4	B1

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## 29 Influences (Question Priming)

type of task:	question/answer
participants:	1 informant
materials:	4 pictures, 16 questions
objectives:	impact of question's structure on the answer

### Outline

The aim is to examine the impact of the structure of the question on the resulting answer. This experimental task will test the syntactic priming of the question by using questions of different types:

- Condition A: simple active interrogative sentence
- Condition B: simple passive interrogative sentence
- Condition C: clefted active interrogative sentence
- Condition D: clefted passive interrogative sentence

### Procedure

The instructor shows the picture to the informant and asks a question.

The following instruction is used:

“You will see a picture and hear a question about this picture. Please give a spontaneous reply to this question.”

## Materials

Item 1: Hitting



Item 2: Kicking



Item 3: Pulling



Item 4: Pushing



Condition A: simple active interrogative sentence

- |     |                           |          |
|-----|---------------------------|----------|
| (1) | Who is the woman hitting? | (Item 1) |
| (2) | Who is the girl kicking?  | (Item 2) |
| (3) | Who is the boy pulling?   | (Item 3) |
| (4) | Who is the woman pushing? | (Item 4) |

Condition B: simple passive interrogative sentence

- |     |                                  |          |
|-----|----------------------------------|----------|
| (5) | Who is being hit by the woman?   | (Item 1) |
| (6) | Who is being kicked by the girl? | (Item 2) |

(7) Who is being pulled by the boy? (Item 3)

(8) Who is being pushed by the woman? (Item 4)

Condition C: clefted active interrogative sentence

(9) Who is it that the woman is hitting? (Item 1)

(10) Who is it that the girl is kicking? (Item 2)

(11) Who is it that the boy is pulling? (Item 3)

(12) Who is it that the woman is pushing? (Item 4)

Condition D: clefted passive interrogative sentence

(13) Who is it that is being hit by the woman? (Item 1)

(14) Who is it that is being kicked by the girl? (Item 2)

(15) Who is it that is being pulled by the boy? (Item 3)

(16) Who is it that is being pushed by the woman? (Item 4)

Distribution in sessions (letter=condition; number=item)

	task 1	task 2	task 3	task 4
session 1	A1	B2	C3	D4
session 2	D1	A2	B3	C4
session 3	C1	D2	A3	B4
session 4	B1	C2	D3	A4



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## Chapter 4. Translation tasks

This Chapter contains four questionnaires for the elicitation of single sentences, question/answer pairs, and statement/reaction pairs through translation. The sentences should be translated into the object language by a native speaker and be recorded. The first section contains a number of elementary sentences for the identification of the basic intonational properties of the language. The second and third sections are devoted to focus and topic respectively. The last section is a questionnaire on quantifiers.

### 1 Basic Intonational Properties

This questionnaire was developed by the Split Noun Phrase Project (University of Potsdam). The words and sentences used in the following tasks are designed to reveal the basic intonational properties of the language, such as stress and phrasing, and at least some of the basic information structural properties, such as focus and topic. They should be pronounced with clearly realized accents and phrase boundaries, in a slow rhythm, but without being unnatural. Feel free to change the word order, or to add particles if this renders the sentences better.

#### 1.1 Word

Pronounce a few monosyllabic, disyllabic, trisyllabic and longer words alone. If the language has lexical stress or tones, please give all possibilities for the location of lexical stress, as well as all tones.

#### 1.2 Intransitive sentence

(1) The child is laughing (or, The woman slept, or, The man dances...).

Provide different intonational patterns as answers to different questions:

Focus-eliciting:

- (2) Who is laughing?
- (3) What is the child doing?
- (4) What is happening?

Topic-eliciting:

- (5) There is a child and a woman in the context. What are they doing?  
(Answer with a contrastive topic: the child is laughing but the woman is crying)

### **1.3 Transitive sentence**

- (6) A woman is drinking water (or, The lion killed the antelope, or, The dog chases the cat...).

Focus-eliciting:

- (7) Who is drinking water?
- (8) What is the woman doing?
- (9) What is the woman drinking?
- (10) What is happening?

Topic-eliciting:

- (11) There is a woman and a man in the context. What are they doing?  
(Answer with a contrastive topic: the woman is drinking water but the man is sleeping)

### **1.4 Ditransitive sentence**

- (12) A woman is giving a book to her mother (or, A man is taking fruit from a tree, Mary is introducing her husband to her friend...).

Focus-eliciting:

- (13) Who is giving a book to her mother?
- (14) What is the woman doing?

(15) What is the woman giving to her mother?

(16) To whom is the woman giving a book?

(17) Who is giving what to her mother?

(18) Who is giving what and to whom?

(19) What is happening?

Topic-eliciting:

(20) There is a book and an umbrella in the context. What is happening?

(Answer with a contrastive topic: it is a book that the woman is giving to her mother but it is an umbrella that the man is giving to his)

### **1.5 Sentence with adjuncts and modifiers**

(21) A tall man is smoking by the river.

Focus-eliciting:

(22) Who is smoking by the river?

(23) What is the man doing?

(24) Where is the man smoking?

(25) Who is smoking and where?

(26) What is happening?

Topic-eliciting:

(27) There is a tall man and a short man in the context. What are they doing?

(Answer with a contrastive topic: the tall man is smoking by the river but the short man has already gone)

### **1.6 *Only* as a focus operator**

(28) Only John has eaten a banana.

(29) John has only bought the book (he did not write it).

(30) John has only watered the plants (he watered only the plants and not the trees).

**1.7 *Also* as a focus operator**

- (31) John also has eaten a banana.
- (32) John has also bought the book (on top of reading it).
- (33) John has also watered the plants (John fed the animals earlier).
- (34) John has also watered the plants (he watered the trees earlier).

**1.8 *Even* as a focus operator**

- (35) Even John has eaten a banana (Mary and Bill also ate a banana).
- (36) John has even bought the book (after having written it).
- (37) John has even watered the plants (he did a lot in the house earlier).
- (38) John has even watered the plants (he watered the trees, the vegetables, the flowers...)

**1.9 Negation**

- (39) The child is not sleeping
- (40) Neither the woman nor the man is giving a book to their mother
- (41) There is no man smoking by the river
- (42) John did not also buy the book

**1.10 Subordinate clause**

- (43) When Peter was a child, he used to meet his friends after school and play with them for hours.
- (44) Mary has heard the rumor that John will become the president

**1.11 Questions**

- (45) Who came?
- (46) What did Mary drink?
- (47) Who gave what to whom?

- 
- (48) Where did the man smoke?  
(49) Did Mary come?  
(50) Is it raining?  
(51) Do you want coffee or tea?

## **2 Focus Translation**

This translation task is meant as a tool to get an idea about the basics of focus expressions in the object language. Furthermore, it provides comparative material for the data collection gathered through the experimental tasks.

The focus translation is structured mainly according to information structural categories. In the short first part (I.), which is constructed as a monologue, context information that is needed for the appropriate packaging of the sentence is given in brackets. It is not necessary to translate it. In the major second part (II.), which is constructed as a dialogue between two speakers, the linguistic context (i.e. the first sentence) always has to be translated. It is provided either by a question (II.I) or by a statement (II.II). In order to avoid interference from the English structure, the salient part of the reply is given as keyword and only sometimes provided with an example. It is important that it does not suffice to translate just the keyword, rather the interviewer should pay attention to get always natural expressions in the target language. If elliptic reactions are considered as most appropriate (like “What did you eat?” “Rice with beans.”), they should be elicited, but a more complete reply should be added, too (like “What did you eat?” “I ate rice with beans.”). The data should be recorded.

The focus translation cannot consider every relevant question concerning information structure and it cannot foresee the specific properties of the object languages. Therefore, it has to be developed further according to these

properties and specific research interests. For example, the following criteria can be tested more systematically, because in some languages they affect focus expressions (Dik 1997, Drubig and Schaffar 2001):

- tense / aspect / mood / polarity (the focus translation contains utterances mainly in the perfective / past)
- discourse roles (participants, referents) (the focus translation part contains mainly referents / 3<sup>rd</sup> person sg.)
- animacy hierarchy
- referentiality

## **2.1 Monologue**

### **2.1.1 All new/presentation**

- (1) Once upon a time, there was an old man. (He lived alone in his house. One day, somebody knocked at his door.)
- (2) (You are talking about the profession of your family members: parents, grandparents, sister)  
And now for my brother, he is a teacher in [major town].
- (3) Once upon a time, there was a man with five wives.
- (4) (You are working at a radio station reading the news) There was major flooding in Germany. Many people have lost their houses.
- (5) (Your car has broken down and you see your friend at the other side of the road) Hey [name], please come here and help me. My car has broken down.
- (6) There is a book on the table.

### 2.1.2 Parallel Contrast

- (7) An African farmer met a European farmer.
- (8) The dancing competition will be held between a group of male students and a group of female students.

## 2.2 Dialogue

### 2.2.1 Question-answer

#### New information

- (9) What happened?  
My car broke down.
- (10) What happened?  
A child was born.
- (11) What is happening?  
[children are eating fruit, the girls bananas, the boys oranges]
- (12) What is happening?  
[boys are carving wood]
- (13) What is happening?  
[a dog is chasing a boy]
- (14) What happened?  
[a man played with a ball]
- (15) What happened?  
[a cow played with a ball]
- (16) What happened?  
[the woman bought oranges for her child]
- (17) What is happening?  
[a dog is biting a man]

- (18) What is happening?  
[a fat boy is carrying a girl]
- (19) What is happening?  
[two boys are carrying a log]
- (20) What happened?  
[somebody jumped into water]
- (21) What happened?  
[a glass has fallen down and broken]
- (22) What happened?  
[the old house collapsed]
- (23) What happened?  
[my child fell sick]
- (24) What happened?  
[they stole the computer]
- (25) What will happen?  
[the boy will fall off the tree]
- (26) What could happen?  
[the dog might catch the boy]
- (27) What happened?  
[a woman ate the beans]
- (28) What happened?  
[the woman ate unripe beans and got sick]
- (29) What happened?  
[The woman called someone]
- (30) What happened yesterday?  
[They beat my friend's child]
- (31) What happened yesterday?  
[They cut down the tree]

- 
- (32) What happened yesterday?  
[they killed a dog]
- (33) What happened?  
[a woman hit Peter]
- (34) What happened?  
[Mary hit Peter]
- (35) What happened to Peter?  
[Mary slapped him on his cheek]
- (36) What happened during the last rainy season?  
[many houses collapsed]
- (37) What happened?  
[I turned off the computer]
- (38) What's that?  
[a book]
- (39) What's that over there?  
[a house]
- (40) Who ate the beans?  
[a woman]
- (41) Who ate the beans?  
[the woman]
- (42) Who ate the beans?  
[that woman (over there)]
- (43) Who ate the beans?  
[the tall woman]
- (44) Who ate the beans?  
[two women]
- (45) Who ate the beans?  
[all women]

- (46) Who ate the beans?  
[the woman's goat]
- (47) Who ate the beans?  
[Mary]
- (48) What did the woman eat?  
[beans]
- (49) What did the woman eat?  
[unripe beans]
- (50) What did the woman eat?  
[George's beans]
- (51) Whose trousers have been torn?  
[the boy's (trousers)]
- (52) Whom did the woman call?  
[George]
- (53) Who called George?  
[a woman]
- (54) Where did the woman go to?  
[to Europe]
- (55) Who are you washing the car for?  
[for my father]
- (56) What do you need the bricks for?  
[for the house we are going to build]
- (57) What do you need the bricks for?  
[for the new house]
- (58) How many brothers do you want to buy school uniforms for?  
[for four brothers]
- (59) Whose child is the ticket for?  
[for my friend's (child)]

- 
- (60) Who's the letter for?  
[for Mary]
- (61) Whose child has been beaten?  
[my friend's (child)]
- (62) When did the woman eat the last time?  
[yesterday]
- (63) When did the woman eat?  
[before her husband came home]
- (64) When did the woman eat?  
[after her husband came home]
- (65) What did the woman eat with?  
[with a spoon]
- (66) Where did the woman eat yesterday?  
[on the road]
- (67) Where did the woman have dinner?  
[in that restaurant (over there)]
- (68) Where did the woman eat?  
[in a cheap restaurant]
- (69) How did the woman eat?  
[greedily]
- (70) Why did the woman eat the beans?  
[because she was hungry]
- (71) What did the woman do?  
[ate beans]
- (72) Has she eaten yet or will she eat?  
[will (eat)]
- (73) Is he bringing the table or sending it?  
[is sending]

**New information: multiple**

- (74) Who hit whom?  
[Mary hit Peter.]
- (75) Who hit whom?  
[Mary hit Jenny's brother.]
- (76) Who hit Peter where?  
[Mary hit him on his cheek.]
- (77) Who hit Peter where?  
[Mary hit him in the kitchen.]
- (78) Who did what?  
[Mary hit Peter.]
- (79) Whom did Mary hit where?  
[She hit Peter in his face.]
- (80) What did Mary do to whom?  
[She hit Peter.]
- (81) What did Mary do when?  
[She hit Peter yesterday.]

**New information: embedded sentence**

- (82) What did she say?  
[they cut down a tree (Ex. She said they cut down a tree.)]
- (83) Who, she said, cut down a tree?  
[they]
- (84) What, she said, did they do to a tree?  
[cut down]
- (85) What, she said, did they cut down?  
[a tree]

(86) The woman said they hit John.

[No, she said she is going to leave.]

### **Parallel contrast**

(87) I know that Sue and Agnes bought a Toyota and a Benz. But who bought what?

[Sue bought the Toyota, Agnes bought the Benz.]

(88) What about your children, what subjects do they like?

[The older one likes math, the younger one likes literature.]

### **Selection**

(89) (A new-born child): What is it, a boy or a girl?

[a boy]

(90) Who broke the pot, you or your brother?

[my brother]

(91) Which house collapsed, the new one or the old one?

[the old (one)]

(92) How many houses collapsed during the last rainy season?

[many (houses)]

(93) Which tire burst, the tire of your bike or of your car?

[(the tire) of my car]

(94) Who fell sick, your child or your wife?

[(my) child]

(95) Who hit Peter, Mary or Susan?

[Mary]

(96) Who hit Peter, Mary or Susan?

[Mary didn't hit (Peter), Susan didn't hit (him) either. /

Neither (of them hit him).]

(97) Do you want tea or coffee?

[tea]

(98) Who do you like better, me or him?

[him]

(99) Do you want this one here or that one over there?

[that one over there]

(100) Do you want the white or the black clothes?

[the white (clothes)]

(101) Do you want two or three pieces of sugar?

[two]

(102) Do you prefer his or my car?

[his (car)]

(103) Do you prefer his shirt or his trousers?

[(his) shirt]

(104) Did you hit Peter or John?

[John]

(105) When did she buy the beans, on Monday or on Tuesday?

[on Monday]

(106) Where do you buy dresses at a good price, in a shop or at the market?

[at the market]

(107) Are the boys and girls eating fruit in the early or in the late morning?

[in the early (morning)]

(108) Did the football player score two or three times?

[two times]

(109) Are the boys and girls eating the fruit slowly or quickly?

[slowly]

(110) Why are you carrying the bricks into town - for building or selling?

[for selling]

(111) Are the boys carrying or pushing the log?

[are carrying]

(112) Did he win or lose the game?

[won]

(113) Are they killing the dog or have they killed it?

[are killing]

(114) Did you switch the computer on or off?

[off]

(115) Is the book on or under the table?

[under (the table)]

(116) Did you put the eggs on or inside the bag?

[on (the bag)]

**Truth value: confirmation/contradiction**

(117) This woman ate the beans.

[not this (woman)]

(118) The woman hit her husband.

[not her husband]

(119) He limped (, didn't he)?

a) [yes (Ex: He did limp.)]

b) [no (Ex: No, he didn't limp.)]

(120) They stole it (, didn't they)?

a) [yes (Ex: They did (steal it).)]

b) [no (Ex: No, they didn't (steal it).)]

(121) They didn't steal it (, did they)?

a) [yes (Ex: They didn't (steal it).)]

b) [no (Ex: No, they did (steal it).)]

(122) The woman ate the beans (, didn't she)?

a) [yes]

b) [no]

(123) The woman ate the beans (, didn't she)?

[not ate, but cooked]

(124) Did you turn the computer on?

a) [yes]

b) [no]

(125) Did the woman eat the beans?

a) [yes]

b) [no]

(126) Did they steal the computer?

a) [yes]

b) [no]

### **2.2.2 Statement-Reaction**

#### **Rejection/correction**

(127) The woman ate the beans.

[her sister (Ex: No, her sister ate them.)]

(128) She ate the beans.

[I]

(129) This woman ate the beans.

[not this woman, but I (Ex: No, this woman didn't eat the beans, I did.)]

(130) This woman ate the beans.

[not this (woman)]

(131) The short woman ate the beans.

[not the short (woman), but the tall (one)]

---

(132) Two women ate the beans.

a) [not two (women)]

b) [three (women)]

(133) Mary ate the beans.

[not Mary, but John.]

(134) The woman ate the beans.

[the rice]

(135) The woman ate these beans.

[those (beans over there)]

(136) The woman ate the black beans.

[not the black (beans), but the red (ones)]

(137) The woman ate few beans.

[many]

(138) The woman cooked the beans for her child.

[not for him/her child, but for Mary]

(139) The woman cooked the beans for her child.

[not for her child, but for her husband]

(140) The woman cooked the beans for him.

[not for him, but for us]

(141) The woman cooked the beans for that child.

[not for that (child), but for this (child)]

(142) The woman cooked the beans for him.

[for herself]

(143) The woman cooked the beans for the small child.

[for the tall (child)]

(144) The woman cooked the beans for the small child.

[for the small dog]

(145) The woman cooked the beans for her sister's child.

[for her friend's child]

(146) The woman cooked the beans for her sister's child.

[for her sister's husband]

(147) The woman ate the beans yesterday.

[the day before yesterday]

(148) The woman bought the beans in this store.

[in that (store) over there]

(149) The woman bought the beans in the new store.

[not in the new (store), but in the old (store)]

(150) The woman found the beans easily.

[with difficulty]

(151) The woman ate the beans when it was dark.

[before it got dark]

(152) They ate the beans.

[not ate (the beans), but drank the water]

(153) The boy fell off a roof.

[no, off a tree]

(154) The boy's trousers have been torn.

[no (his/the boy's) shirt]

(155) The black horse is leading now.

[the white (horse)]

(156) Two girls are reading a book.

[a boy and a girl]

(157) Two girls are reading a book.

[three (girls)]

(158) My father's house is big.

[not your his/father's house, but his car]

(159) My father's house is bigger than your father's house.

[not your father's house, but your uncle's (house)]

(160) The man took the girl's book.

[the boy's (book)]

(161) The man took the girl's book.

[the (girl's) bag]

(162) The woman hit Peter.

[John (Ex. The woman hit John.)]

(163) The woman hit Peter.

[called]

(164) The woman has hit Peter.

[not yet]

(165) The woman has hit Peter.

[will hit]

(166) Did you switch the computer on?

[not on, but off]

### **Restriction**

(167) The girl and the woman bought the beans.

[only the girl]

(168) The woman bought the oranges and the beans.

[only the beans]

(169) The woman bought the oranges and the beans for her child.

[only oranges]

(170) The woman bought the beans for the children and the elders.

[only for the elders]

(171) The woman bought the beans yesterday and today.

[only today]

(172) The woman bought the beans at the market and at the supermarket.

[only at the supermarket]

(173) The woman pushed and hit Peter.

[only pushed]

(174) The woman switched the computer on and off.

[only off]

(175) The woman washed the beans three times.

[only two times]

### **Expansion**

(176) The woman ate the beans.

[the girl too]

(177) The woman ate the oranges.

[the beans too]

(178) The woman cooked rice for her child.

[beans too]

(179) The woman cooked the beans for her child.

[for the elders too]

(180) The woman cooked the beans yesterday.

[today too]

(181) The woman bought the beans at the market.

[at the supermarket too]

(182) The woman cooked the beans for four children.

[for more than four children]

(183) The woman hit Peter.

[she also pushed]

**Truth value: confirmation/contradiction**

(184) They didn't steal it.

a) [yes (Ex: Yes, they did not steal it.)]

b) [no (Ex: No, they did steal it.)]

(185) They didn't eat the beans.

a) [yes (Ex: Yes, they didn't eat them.)]

b) [no (Ex: No, they did eat them.)]

(186) The woman ate the beans.

a) [yes (Ex: Yes, she did eat them.)]

b) [no (Ex: No, she didn't eat them.)]

(187) My father's house is big.

a) [no]

b) [yes]

(188) My father's house is bigger than your father's house.

a) [yes]

b) [no]

(189) The woman hit Peter.

a) [yes]

b) [no]

**3 Topic Translation**

Please translate the following sentences. Take care that the unit that is marked 'topic' is indeed interpreted as a topic, that is, what one considers the sentence to be about (Reinhart 1981).

**3.1 Hypernymic topic**

(1) What did your grandmother do? [The lady]<sub>TOP</sub> made lamb curry.

- 
- (2) What about the lamb curry? [That dish]<sub>TOP</sub> was cooked by my grandmother.
- (3) What happened to your son? [The boy]<sub>TOP</sub> stumbled on a rock.

### 3.2 Repeated topic

- (4) What did the lady do? [The lady]<sub>TOP</sub> made lamb curry.
- (5) What about that dish? [That dish]<sub>TOP</sub> was cooked by my grandmother.
- (6) What happened to the boy? [The boy]<sub>TOP</sub> stumbled on a rock.

### 3.3 Pronoun topic

- (7) What did your grandmother do? [She]<sub>TOP</sub> made lamb curry.
- (8) What about the lamb curry? [It]<sub>TOP</sub> was cooked by my grandmother.
- (9) What happened to your son? [He]<sub>TOP</sub> stumbled on a rock.

### 3.4 Topic change in narration

- (10) We had a really delicious dinner. [The lady]<sub>TOP</sub> made lamb curry.
- (11) Small wonder you had an upset stomach. [That dish]<sub>TOP</sub> was cooked by my grandmother.
- (12) That playground is not safe. [The boy]<sub>TOP</sub> stumbled on a rock.

### 3.5 Parallel and partial topic

- (13) The Joneses know how to make a delicious meal. [The lady]<sub>TOP</sub> made lamb curry, and [her husband]<sub>TOP</sub> prepared a fruit salad.
- (14) These dishes are both delicious. [That dish]<sub>TOP</sub> was cooked by my grandmother, and [this dish]<sub>TOP</sub> was prepared by Maria.
- (15) Our kids got hurt. [The boy]<sub>TOP</sub> stumbled on a rock, and [the girl]<sub>TOP</sub> was stung by a bee.

### 3.6 Partial and implicational topic

- (16) Did those people all cook something? [The lady]<sub>TOP</sub> made lamb curry.  
{implying that the other people did not cook anything}
- (17) Who cooked all the dishes? [That dish]<sub>TOP</sub> was cooked by my grandmother. {implying that she did not cook the other dishes}
- (18) I heard that the kids got hurt. [The boy]<sub>TOP</sub> stumbled on a rock. {implying that the other kids did not get hurt}

### 3.7 Topic in embedded clauses

- (19) I went to visit my grandmother. I was delighted that [the lady]<sub>TOP</sub> made lamb curry.
- (20) I thought that the lamb curry was made by a professional cook. I was astonished that [that dish]<sub>TOP</sub> was cooked by my grandmother.
- (21) He told me that his son was very athletic. I was surprised that [the boy]<sub>TOP</sub> stumbled on a rock.

### 3.8 Bridging topic

- (22) She was brought to the hospital. [The doctor]<sub>TOP</sub> told her it was nothing serious. {A hospital implies the existence of a doctor.}
- (23) He doesn't like his job anymore. [His boss]<sub>TOP</sub> told him he doesn't work hard enough. {A job implies the existence of a boss.}
- (24) She studied math at the university. [The professor]<sub>TOP</sub> told her she was brilliant. {A university implies the existence of a professor.}

### 3.9 Double topic

- (25) Why is the boy angry at the rock? [The rock]<sub>TOP</sub>, [the boy]<sub>TOP</sub> stumbled on (it).

### 3.10 Some further constructions

- (26) [Elephants]<sub>TOP</sub>, their trunks are big.
- (27) [That child]<sub>TOP</sub>, he bought tomatoes.
- (28) [That child]<sub>TOP</sub>, his mother bought tomatoes.
- (29) [Music]<sub>TOP</sub>, my brother prefers Bach.
- (30) [Tea]<sub>TOP</sub>, my brother prefers ice tea.
- (31) [Yesterday]<sub>TOP</sub>, I bought tomatoes.
- (32) [When you called]<sub>TOP</sub>, I was taking a bath.
- (33) [In the city]<sub>TOP</sub>, you can buy medicine.
- (34) [In my dream]<sub>TOP</sub>, my father was a tiger.
- (35) [At school]<sub>TOP</sub>, I like to study mathematics.
- (36) [School]<sub>TOP</sub>, I like to study mathematics.
- (37) [Physically]<sub>TOP</sub>, he appears to be fine.

## 4 Quantifiers

This test only works for languages that mark topics morphologically (or unambiguously syntactically) or by a specific topic construction (e.g., left dislocation in German, see below). The target sentences below have to be translated into the respective language to be tested. The subject is then asked to mark whether the sentences are grammatical or not. The target structures are the following:

- (weak) wide scope quantifier sg: a cat TOP sleeps.
- (weak) wide scope quantifier pl: 3 cats TOP sleep.
- strong (collective) wide scope quantifier: all TOP cats sleep.
- weak non-ws quantifier mon. increasing: more than 3 cats TOP sleep.
- weak non-ws quantifier mon. decreasing: less than 3 cats TOP sleep.
- weak non-ws quantifier non-monotonic: exactly 3 cats TOP sleep.

- strong non-ws quantifier: almost all cats TOP sleep.

This task was developed by Cornelia Endriss and Stefan Hinterwimmer.

## 4.1 Task A

Translate the following sentences into the object language using topic constructions.

There are some cats in the garden...

- (1) A cat sleeps.
- (2) 3 cats sleep.
- (3) All cats sleep.
- (4) More than 3 cats sleep.
- (5) Less than 3 cats sleep.
- (6) Exactly 3 cats sleep.
- (7) Almost all cats sleep.

Are these sentences grammatical?

Illustrative translation in German	Grammaticality
Eine Katze, die schläft.	ok
Drei Katzen, die schlafen.	ok
Alle Katzen, die schlafen.	?
Mehr als drei Katzen, die schlafen.	*
Weniger als drei Katzen, die schlafen.	*
Genau drei Katzen, die schlafen.	*
Ungefähr alle Katzen, die schlafen.	*

## 4.2 Task B

Adverbial quantification is tested. How do these languages realize different scope readings, which in English are encoded by information structure? Translate the following sentences (+ interpretative questions, see below).

(1) A dog usually has green EYES.

Is (1) a possible answer to the following question: “What property does a dog usually have?”

Can (1) also answer the following question: “Which animal usually has green eyes?”

(2) A DOG usually has green eyes.

Is (2) a possible answer to the following question: “Which animal usually has green eyes?”

Can (2) also answer the following question: “What property does a dog usually have?”

(3) Politicians are usually corRUPT.

Is the following interpretation possible for (3)? “Most politicians are corrupt.”

Can (3) also be interpreted as: “Most corrupt people are politicians.”

(4) PoliTiCians are usually corrupt.

Is the following interpretation possible for (4): “Most corrupt people are politicians.”

Can (4) also be interpreted as: “Most politicians are corrupt.”

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## Chapter 5. Information structure summary survey

The aim of this short information structure survey is to facilitate interpretation of syntactic, morphological and prosodic aspects of the data collected using the main questionnaire (the experimental and translation tasks).

### 1 Preliminaries

The summary survey provides an overview of the range of possible reflexes of information structure that have been observed in the world's languages and invites the researcher to reflect on possible uses of these reflexes in their language.

The survey points out possible typologically relevant categories into which a language may fall (such as a language with or without 'fixed word order') and directs the researcher to which parts of the questionnaire should provide evidence to help decide into which typological category their language falls in each case. The possible reflexes treated are syntactic, morphological and prosodic. To conclude, a set of information structure categories is provided (such as different nuances of focus or topic), so that the researcher can draw up a consolidated list of which information structure strategies (syntactic, morphological and prosodic) are used in their language to express each information structure category.

The summary survey thus aims to provide an initial indication of the mapping between form and function in the expression of information structure in a particular language, as observed in the data collected using QUIS.

## 2 Syntax

### 2.1 Constituent order

Languages can be classified as those that have rigid constituent order and those that have flexible constituent order (Van Valin 1999). If a language allows for different orders, there are different possible ways in which these orders may be influenced by information structure that have to be distinguished on the basis of the empirical evidence:

- Some positions in the clause are used to express particular pragmatic functions, e.g., topic positions or focus positions.
- Information structure may influence word order not by means of designated positions, but by imposing certain constraints on the ordering of information, such as ‘given information precedes new information’, or, ‘focused arguments appear adjacent to the verb’.
- Some word orders may not be induced by a single pragmatic feature on one constituent (e.g., focus on the agent), but by a combination of features on more than one constituent (e.g., focus on the agent and given patient).

A change of constituent order may not be obligatory in order to encode a particular information structural function, since some functions can be also (or only) encoded in situ (see examples on focus in Drubig 2003).

The following types of deviation from canonical constituent order should be distinguished (for discussion and illustrative examples see Ward & Birner 2004):

- *preposing/postposing*: some constituent appears to the left or to the right of its canonical position.
- *dislocation*: some constituent appears outside the clause boundaries (either to the left or to the right); the criteria for identifying clause boundaries are language specific, but a common criterion for dislocation

is the occurrence of a coreferential pronoun in the canonical position of the constituent. An interesting question with respect to dislocation is the degree of syntactic integration of the dislocated constituent to the clause; the test for syntactic integration is case marking: does the dislocated constituent bear the same case that it would have within the clause?

- *reversal*: mutual change of position between two constituents, i.e. the one constituent takes the position of the other.

### Questions:

How do you characterize the object language with respect to the above typology? Which deviations from the canonical word order are attested in the corpus and in which discourse conditions do they occur?

The following experiments of the QUIS can help you to identify the word order properties of your language:

### Givenness and word order

- *Visibility*. Does givenness influence constituent order?
- *Eventives; Surprises; Event Cards; Guiding*. Do ‘all new’ sentences differ from canonical constituent order? (a phenomenon observed in some non-verb-initial languages is a preference for verb initial constructions in this context, for example.)
- *Giving; Birthday party*. Is the constituent order of ditransitives influenced by givenness?
- *Locations; Static localization; Dynamic localization*. Is the constituent order of locative expressions influenced by givenness?

### Focus and word order

- *Anima; Contrast; Drama; Focus Cards; Fairy Tale; Map task; Tell a Story*. What is the impact of focus on constituent order? Are there differences between contrastive and new information focus? Is there evidence of

exhaustivity as a factor (exhaustive answers may be triggered through alternative questions)?

### **Topic types and word order**

Do the following types of topic have different constituent order properties than the familiarity topics?

- *Fairy Tale; Path descriptions; Surprises*. Do unmarked and marked topics occupy the same position in the sentence?
- *Fairy Tale; Surprises; Who does what?* Are contrastive topics encoded in a salient position in the sentence?
- *Groups*. Are partial topics encoded in a salient position in the sentence?
- *Indirect*. Are implicational topics encoded in a salient position in the sentence?
- *Connections*. Are bridging topics encoded in a salient position in the sentence?
- *Events in places*. What is the position of topical adjuncts?

For each observation, please give one or more examples from the database (Data Number).

## **2.2 Voice**

Voice is a means to change the subcategorization frame of the verb. Voice is relevant for the study of information structure to the degree that the choice of voice is determined by pragmatic factors. In this respect, two voice oppositions are here at issue: the passive/active opposition (see Keenan 1987, Siewierska 1984) and the inverse/direct voice opposition (see Aissen 1997, 1999).

It has been observed that choice of subject and consequently of voice is determined by the discourse status of the involved participants (due to the

preference for given subjects, see Chafe 1976). The choice of subject interferes with the choice of order, i.e. – at least for some languages – the choice of voice is determined by the “given first” preference without needing to establish an independent “given subject” principle. Hence, it is an interesting empirical issue for languages in which subjects are not (or not always) sentence initial to identify the principles that determine the choice of voice.

### Questions:

After giving a structural description of the voice opposition in the object language, please answer the following questions:

#### Passive voice:

- *Visibility*. Do the conditions “given patient”, “inanimate agent”, and “unidentifiable agent” induce passive sentences?

#### Pragmatic inverse voice:

- *Visibility*. Do the conditions “given patient”, “inanimate agent”, and “unidentifiable agent” induce inverse sentences?
- *Anima; Focus Cards*. Is inverse voice produced whenever the agent is less given than the patient?

What is the interaction between choice of voice and choice of word order? Does choice of voice also imply choice of word order in your data?

Please give one or more examples of this phenomenon from the database (Data Number).

## 2.3 Cleft constructions

In cleft sentences, the focused information is placed in the matrix clause and the background information is expressed through the relative clause. Cleft

constructions may have different structural properties (e.g. it-clefts vs. pseudo-clefts) and information structural functions (see Drubig 2003, Lambrecht 2001).

**Questions:**

After giving a structural description of the types of cleft constructions that are available in the object language, please identify their information structural properties by observing their occurrence in the data set.

Do the constructions at issue equally occur with all arguments or are there subject-object asymmetries?

Please give one or more examples of this phenomenon from the database (Data Number).

**2.4 Further phenomena**

A number of related phenomena are not accounted for in this survey:

- noun incorporation,
- definiteness,
- pronominalization,
- ellipsis.

**Question:**

Are there any further phenomena in your data set that show the influence of information structure?

Please give one or more examples of this phenomenon from the database (Data Number).

### 3 Morphology

Several morphological phenomena interact with information structure, e.g. case (see case drop and case spreading in East Asian languages etc.), agreement (drop of agreement markers in Mayan languages, pragmatic conditioning of agreement in some Daghestanian languages, in Bantu languages, etc.), obligatory topic marking in East Asian languages, nominal templates in polysynthetic languages, etc. General morphological marking of focal information (sometimes also / rather of background information) is especially known from African languages (Wolof, Somali, Gur, Kwa, etc.) and displays a high diversity with regard to position of focus marking, occurrences and restrictions and possible semantic components. Furthermore, focus sensitive particles (like restrictive “only”) can be found in all languages of the world.

#### Questions:

After giving a structural description of the morphological marking of information structure, please consider the following parts of the experimental data in order to identify its function:

#### **Morphological marking of information status:**

- *Changes; Giving; Visibility; Locations; Sequences; Dynamic Localization.* Does the status of givenness influence the morphological shape of information (definite or background marker, etc.)?

#### **Morphological marking of focus:**

- *Anima; Drama; Fairy Tale; Focus Cards; Map Task; Tell a Story.* Do contexts triggering contrastive and new information focus equally generate the occurrence of the focus marker? Do you have evidence for exhaustivity (see answers to alternative questions)?

**Morphological marking of topic:**

- *Visibility; Changes; Anima; Focus Cards*. Does givenness induce topic marking?
- *Fairy Tale; Who does what?* Does the topic marker apply with contrastive topics?
- *Groups; Indirect; Connections*. Does the topic marker apply with not afore mentioned but inferred information (partial topics, implicational topics, bridging topics)?

Does the morphological marking apply to other parts of the sentences than the topic or focus element? Which kind of restrictions operate on the morphological marking (check different moods, polarity, etc.)?

For the morphological markers you identified so far, are there any correlations with particular word order phenomena (see Section 2.1)? (e.g., topic suffixes may delimit only sentence initial constituents).

For each observation, please give one or more examples from the database (Data Number).

**4 Prosody**

The prosodic reflexes of information structure can be identified from the perceptual intuitions and interpretations of native speakers and from systematic inspection of speech data in the form of an F0 contour and spectrogram extracted from sound files. There are at least four ways in which languages have been observed to use intonational prosody to express information structure categories:

- (a) Presence vs. absence of intonational pitch accents
- (b) Different types of intonational pitch accent

- (c) Variation in the pitch range of pitch accents/lexical tones
- (d) Changes in prosodic phrasing

Although variation in a) (presence vs. absence of pitch accents) is mostly only seen in intonation languages, variation in b), c) and d) (use of ‘special’ pitch accents or tones, and changes in pitch range or phrasing) are observed in languages of *all prosodic types*, including tone languages and lexical pitch accent languages.

An intonational pitch accent is a pitch movement in an intonation language which is associated with the stressed syllable of an accented word. Prosodic phrasing is commonly marked by tonal cues such as special ‘phrase tones’ at the beginning and/or end of a phrase, lengthening of the stressed syllable of phrase-final words and perhaps ‘final lowering’ of the final pitch accent in a phrase (Pierrehumbert and Beckman 1988). In addition in many languages the segmental phonology displays sensitivity to prosodic phrasing, such as failure of a phonological process to apply across a phrase boundary (Nespor and Vogel 1986).

Prosodic reflexes of information structure have been observed for the expression of different types of *focus* and *topic*, to distinguish *categorical* utterances (topic-comment) from *thetic* utterances where the information is presented as a single information structural unit, as well as to indicate the distinction between *given/new*. Any of the above reflexes (or all of them, or indeed none of them) may be observed in the target language on any information structure category.

#### 4.1 Presence vs. absence of pitch accents

In many intonation languages the presence of a pitch accent is an indication of phrase-level prominence or ‘phrasal stress’. The main prominence in a phrase, sometimes called the *nucleus*, may have a fixed position or may be allowed to

occur anywhere in the phrase. Usually, if the nuclear prominence moves, it moves to indicate focus on a particular word (or on a constituent phrase which that word is part of). Alternatively, in some languages information structure can be expressed by *failing* to put a pitch accent on a word which ordinarily you would expect to bear an accent. For example if usually the last word in a phrase always bears an accent, ‘de-accenting’ of that word can be used to indicate its information status. Variation in the distribution of pitch accents has also been shown to vary cross-linguistically inthetic vs. categorical sentences. (See Ladd 1996 for an overview).

**Question:**

Can you think of information structure relevant instances where the distribution of pitch accents is altered, by adding, moving or deleting accents? In which contexts do these alterations occur?

**For movement of nuclear prominence and/or de-accenting:**

- *Animal Game; Birthday Party; Properties*. Look for movement of the main prominence of a phrase from its usual position onto a focussed word. Look at words which are given (repeated from a previous picture in a sequence), is there any evidence (f0 contour, auditory impression) that words in this position are de-accented or are less prominent?
- *Visibility; Changes; Anima; Focus Cards*. Is there any evidence (f0 contour, auditory impression) of movement of the main prominence on to a focussed word, or of de-accenting following a focused word? Are there differences between contrastive focus and information focus? Is the prosodic strategy used only with canonical word order (when there is no syntactic movement) or is there a shift in the position of main prominence as well as a change in word order to express focus? Does any prosodic strategy apply in addition to morphological information structural marking?

- *Eventives; Event Cards; Surprises*. Is there any evidence (f0 contour, auditory impression) of variation in the positioning of pitch accents or of the main prominence between thematic and categorical sentences?

### **Near-naturalistic discourse**

- *Drama; Fairy Tale; Guiding; Map Task; Path Descriptions; Tell a Story*. Do you see any of the generalizations from the controlled tasks above in the data gained in more naturalistic tasks?

For each observation, please give one or more examples from the database (Data Number).

## **4.2 Different types of intonational pitch accent**

Another way to express information status using intonational pitch accents, which has been observed particularly in Romance languages, is a choice of different types of pitch accent to express different types of focus. The phonetic difference between the two pitch accents is often a difference in the *alignment* of the peak of the pitch movement relative to the stressed syllable of the accented word. For example in European Portuguese contrastively focussed nuclear falls have an earlier peak than information focus nuclear falls (Frota 2000), and in Spanish, contrastively focussed pre-nuclear rising accents have an earlier peak than their information focus counterparts (Face 2002).

Note also that many languages, both intonation and tone languages, use special tonal morphemes to mark information structural categories. For example Basque has a focal H\* accent inserted on a focused word (Gussenhoven 2004).

Finally, in some languages a special intonation contour is associated with certain types of topic (for example, a special fall-rise accent is used in English on a contrastive topic; see Jackendoff 1972, Büring 1997).

**Question:**

Are you aware of any information structural distinctions expressed by what seems to be ‘a pitch accent with a different shape’, or a ‘special’ pitch accent of some kind? In what ways are the ‘special’ accents different from ‘normal’ accents? In which contexts do they occur?

**For different pitch accent types to express narrow and/or contrastive focus:**

- *Animal Game; Birthday Party; Properties*. Look for use of a different pitch accent on contrastively focussed words.
- *Eventives; Visibility; Changes; Anima; Focus cards*. Do you see or hear evidence of use of a different pitch accent on focussed words? Are there differences between contrastive focus and information focus? Is the special pitch accent used only with canonical word order (when there is no syntactic movement) or is the special pitch accent used *as well as* a change in word order to express focus? Does any prosodic strategy apply in addition to morphological information structural marking?

**For different pitch accent types to mark a topic:**

Is there any evidence of a different pitch accent type used on some or all types of topic?

- *Visibility; Changes; Anima; Focus Cards*. Does a ‘topic’ pitch accent occur with given information and/or information introduced via a context question?
- *Surprises; Who does what?* Does a ‘topic’ pitch accent occur on contrastive topics?
- *Groups; Indirect; Connections*. Does a ‘topic’ pitch accent occur on not afore mentioned but inferred information (partial topics, implicational topics, bridging topics)?

**Near-naturalistic discourse**

- *Drama; Fairy Tale; Guiding; Map Task; Path Descriptions; Tell a Story.* Do you see any of the generalizations from the controlled tasks above in the data gained in more naturalistic tasks?

For each observation, please give one or more examples from the database (Data Number).

**4.3 Variation in the pitch range of pitch accents/lexical tones**

All pitch movements are produced within a certain pitch range (the F0 excursion from the lowest point of the pitch movement to its highest point). This is true in languages of all prosodic types, so some of these generalizations may apply in tone or lexical pitch accent languages as well as intonation languages. In many languages focus can be expressed by increasing the pitch range of a particular pitch accent, so that it starts at a lower pitch or reaches a higher pitch or both (pitch range expansion).

Decreased pitch range (pitch range compression) has been observed as a way of expressing information structure also. This is often hard to distinguish from ‘de-accenting’ since it is not easy to decide whether a very small pitch movement should be interpreted as a compressed pitch accent or as just residual F0 variation associated with the lexical stress of a word. Linguistic use of F0 compression is likely to be localized in particular parts of the sentence, rather than extending across a whole utterance. F0 expansion and compression may be used in combination to express different information structure in different parts of a sentence. For a summary of discussion about use of pitch range see Ladd (1996).

**Question:**

Are you aware of the use of F0 expansion or F0 compression in information structure contexts? What sorts of contexts are marked in this way? Are expansion and compression used in combination or alone?

**For expansion/compression of pitch range on/after a focus:**

- *Animal Game; Birthday Party; Eventives; Properties*. Look for expansion of pitch range on a focussed word, and compression of pitch range on words which follow the focus or which are themselves given (repeated from a previous picture in the sequence).
- *Visibility, Changes, Anima, Focus cards*. Do you see or hear evidence of use of a different pitch accent on focussed words? Are there differences between contrastive focus and information focus? Are changes in pitch range used only with canonical word order (when there is no syntactic movement) or are pitch range changes used *as well as* a change in word order to express focus? Does any prosodic strategy apply in addition to morphological information structural marking?

**Near-naturalistic discourse**

- *Drama; Fairy Tale; Guiding; Map task; Path descriptions; Tell a Story*. Do you see any of the generalizations from the controlled tasks above in the data gained in naturalistic tasks?

For each observation, please give one or more examples from the database (Data Number).

**4.4 Changes in prosodic phrasing**

Changes to prosodic phrasing have been observed in many languages as a reflex of information structure, in tone and lexical pitch accent languages as well as in

intonation languages (Yip 2002). Both insertion and deletion of phrase boundaries are observed as a reflex of focus: for example, in Chichewa a phrase boundary is inserted directly after a focused word (Kanerva 1990) whereas in Japanese a phrase boundary following a focused word is deleted (Pierrehumbert and Beckman 1988). In a similar way, topicalisation is often obligatorily accompanied by insertion of a higher level boundary (usually thought to be at the Intonational Phrase level).

Insertion of a boundary in intonation languages will often be marked by a ‘phrase tone’ (such as a H- rising tone), or by a reset of global pitch range so that the declination line of the peaks of successive pitch accents is re-set up to a higher level than the last pitch peak in the preceding phrase. Other cues to a phrase boundary include lengthening of the stressed syllable of the phrase-final word and ‘final lowering’ of the final pitch accent in a phrase (so that the last pitch peak in the phrase is at a much lower height than would be expected from the effects of declination alone). Phrase boundaries are sometimes accompanied by an audible pause between phrases, but not always, and pauses are rarely the most reliable cue to phrasing, and may also occur due to speaker hesitation or disfluency.

**Question:**

Are you aware of changes in phrasing in information structure contexts? What sorts of contexts are marked in this way? Are phrase boundaries inserted or deleted? What sorts of cues occur at the edge(s) of a prosodic phrase in the target language?

**For changes in prosodic phrasing express narrow and/or contrastive focus:**

- *Animal Game; Birthday Party; Properties*. Look for insertion (or deletion) of a phrase boundary before or after focussed words.

- *Anima, Changes; Eventives; Focus Cards; Visibility*. Do you see or hear evidence of a change in phrasing before or after focussed words? Are there differences between contrastive focus and information focus? Are phrasing changes used only with canonical word order (when there is no syntactic movement) or are phrasing changes used *as well as* a change in word order to express focus? Does any prosodic strategy apply in addition to morphological information structural marking?

**For changes in prosodic phrasing to mark a topic:**

Is there any evidence of a change in phrasing (perhaps marked with a special boundary tone) after some or all types of topic?

- *Visibility; Changes; Anima; Focus Cards*. Does a change in phrasing occur with given information and/or information introduced via a context question?
- *Surprises; Who does what?* Does a change in phrasing occur after contrastive topics?
- *Groups; Indirect; Connections*. Does a change in phrasing occur after not-afore-mentioned but inferred information (partial topics, implicational topics, bridging topics)?

**Near-naturalistic discourse:**

- *Drama; Fairy Tale; Guiding; Map Task; Path Descriptions; Tell a Story*. Do you see any of the generalizations from the controlled tasks above in the data gained in naturalistic tasks?

For each observation, please give one or more examples from the database (Data Number).

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## 5 Summary: Information structure

For each information structural concept below:

- Information status
    - Given information
    - New information
  
  - Focus
    - New information focus
    - Contrastive focus
  
  - Topic
    - Aboutness/Familiarity topic
    - Contrastive topic
    - Inferable topic (implicational topic, partial topic, bridging topic)
- 
- (a) make a list of the strategies available to encode each concept in the object language;
  - (b) describe any interaction between the available strategies (e.g. do certain word orders occur with certain pitch accents, or does choice of voice imply choice of word order?);
  - (c) identify the information structural difference between the available strategies.

This survey is restricted to observations that have already been gathered from previously studied languages. Are there any *other* factors (such as degree of activation, or salience/predictability of a referent, etc.) that appear to play a role in the choice of information structure in your data?



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## Chapter 6. Performance of Experimental Tasks in the Field

This Chapter contains practical information concerning the performance of the experimental tasks of Chapter 4 in field sessions. Section 1 outlines the general principles that have been used for the design of the field sessions, section 2 provides a form for the documentation of the field sessions, and section 3 a form for the informant's agreement. The exact structure of the field sessions is provided by the project in separate manuals, the "Field session manuals".

### 1 Field sessions

The experimental tasks presented in Chapter 4 are performed in four field sessions, distributed according to the tables "distribution in field sessions" that accompany each experimental task. The exact structure of the field sessions is described in special documents, the "Field session manuals" that contain the procedure and the instructions for each task in the order they have to be performed in the field.

The following general principles have been taken into account for the design of the field sessions:

- ACQUAINTANCE WITH THE TASKS: In general, tasks are given in an order from simple to complex. At the beginning of the session, consultants are involved in solving simple tasks and they are introduced step-by-step to the most complex ones. The highest level of complexity may be reached at the end of the first quarter of the session. From this point on, easier and difficult parts of the elicitation program are used interchangeably.

- **REPLICATION EFFECTS:** The gained data may contain strong replication effects, if the informant repeatedly receives tasks of the same kind. In the prosodic realization, this can result in the elicitation of list intonation. In order to accommodate this counter-effect in the field session, the type of tasks is constantly changed. In the field sessions, the tasks of the different experimental tasks are used as fillers to each other.
- **ACROSS-TASK-REFERENCE EFFECTS:** Informants may build a discourse background across different tasks and refer to that within tasks that are not related for the purpose of the investigator. For example, a picture introducing a man that was used in another task could be described as “again another man...”. These effects are avoided through the appropriate ordering of the tasks.

It is better to translate and record the questions before the session. The informants can hear the questions from a recorder or a personal computer. The spontaneous translation of the questions during the session will introduce additional variance to the elicited data.

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## 2 Field Session Metadata

### Recording session

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Researcher

Language

Session no.

Date

Address

Country

Instructor

Informant 1

Informant 2

Description (what did  
you record exactly  
during this session?)

Technical problems

Comments

---

---

**Instructor**

---

Name

Anonymized

yes / no

Ethnic group

Date of birth

Age

Sex

male / female

Education

Occupation

Address

Born/raised in

Also lived in

Mother tongue

Primary language

(if not mother tongue)

Other languages

spoken

Language of mother

Language of father

Language of spouse

---

---

**Informant 1**

---

Name

Anonymized

yes / no

Ethnic group

Date of birth

Age

Sex

male / female

Education

Occupation

Address

Born/raised in

Also lived in

Mother tongue

Primary language

(if not mother tongue)

Other languages

spoken

Language of mother

Language of father

Language of spouse

---

---

**Informant 2**

---

Name

Anonymized

yes / no

Ethnic group

Date of birth

Age

Sex

male / female

Education

Occupation

Address

Born/raised in

Also lived in

Mother tongue

Primary language

(if not mother tongue)

Other languages

spoken

Language of mother

Language of father

Language of spouse

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### 3 Informants' Agreement

Informants that have participated in the experimental tasks are requested to fill out the attached form:

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#### Interview agreement

Name:

Surname:

I agree that the data resulting from the interview will be used for scientific research and made public via internet.

Signature

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