



When linearity prevails over hierarchy in syntax

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Hierarchical structure has been cherished as a grammatical universal. We use experimental methods to show where linear order is also a relevant syntactic relation. An identical methodology and design were used across six research sites on South Slavic languages. Experimental results show that in certain configurations, grammatical production can in fact favor linear order over hierarchical structure. However, these findings are limited to coordinate structures and distinct from the kind of production errors found with comparable configurations such as “attraction” errors. The results demonstrate that agreement morphology may be computed in a series of steps, one of which is partly independent from syntactic hierarchy.

experimental syntax | syntactic agreement | elicited language production | coordinated noun phrases | South Slavic languages

In this article we study the phenomenon of syntactic agreement, a core linguistic dependency relation that is found across human languages and governed by regular, widespread, and consistent principles of grammatical organization (1, 2).

Since the demonstration of patterns of auxiliary inversion in English highlighted by ref. 3 and later by ref. 4, it has been a staple of the field that syntax refers to hierarchical, not linear order as learners prefer hierarchically based generalizations. For example, when forming a yes–no question based on the declarative sentence “The woman who has coffee is happy,” the verb that moves to the beginning of the sentence is the hierarchically highest, and not the linearly closest, thus forming “Is the woman who has coffee happy?” and not the ungrammatical “Has the woman who coffee is happy?” Nonetheless, in work such as ref. 5, it was shown that South Slavic languages can show agreement based on linear order: When the subject contains two noun phrases (NPs) that are conjoined, the verb can sometimes agree with the linearly closest one (even if it is the second NP). Coordinations therefore offer an opportunity to examine whether agreement morphology may operate with its own principles, partially distinct from those of other syntactic relations, where the norm is reliance on hierarchical relations.

The structure of coordinated phrases has a long history in the language sciences, where in the philosophy of language and semantic theory, it is treated as a symmetric operator (6, 7), whereas research in syntactic theory has developed extensive evidence that the internal structure of coordinations is asymmetric and hierarchical (8–11) (Fig. 1). Given this latter structure and the scarcity of purely linear-order relations within syntax, it is expected that the two conjoined noun phrases would not be equally possible agreement controllers. Yet a number of studies have recently argued (12–15) that linear order is a relevant relation for syntactic operations specifically when it comes to coordinated phrases, as they are headed by neither one of the conjuncts.

In parallel within the field of psycholinguistic studies of agreement in language production, ref. 16 found that English speakers

show cases of agreement based on linear order, called “attraction,” with the plural complement of noun phrases (e.g., the key to the cabinets are missing), a set of findings later replicated in comprehension and across a variety of other languages and considered partly grammar based but partly the result of error. The question we set out to investigate, therefore, was how experimentally robust is linear conjunct agreement in South Slavic morphosyntax? Given the important consequences of linear order mattering for the computation of agreement, it is imperative to show that the relevant patterns in South Slavic cannot be reduced to “performance errors.”

In South Slavic languages with three genders, when feminine (F) and neuter (N) are combined in a preverbal subject (as in example *ii*), there are two potential nondefault controllers of agreement, thereby posing a grammatical conflict in terms of whether verbal morphology should reflect hierarchically based or linearly based agreement. South Slavic languages are also an ideal set of languages to address this question because of the variable position the subject can take relative to the verb (as shown in examples *i* and *ii*). Closest conjunct agreement—i.e., verbal agreement with the linearly closer of two conjuncts in a coordinated noun phrase, in cases such as example *i*—has been widely attested for postverbal subject noun phrases that are coordinated (17, 18), but there is much less cross-linguistic evidence

Significance

Syntactic distance is standardly measured hierarchically only by counting the nodes in a tree-like structure. The dominance of hierarchy over the other logically possible measure of distance—e.g., counting words in a linear order—stems from a large body of research. We show a strong preference for the linear strategy in coordination structures in South Slavic languages, with a design comparing agreement controllers that can come either before or after their target. A large-scale study over six geographically and linguistically distinct varieties discovered remarkable uniformity in this preference. Variation discovered was mostly intraindividual, strongly suggesting that a language can entertain synchronous “multiple grammars,” the most striking of which is the one requiring direct reference to linear order.

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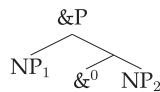


Fig. 1. Hierarchical structure of coordination (9–11).

for closest-conjunct agreement in preverbal cases such as example *ii*. In South Slavic languages, both are possible, as shown in these examples from Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian:

- i) Jučer su odštampane molbe i rješenja.
yesterday were printed.F.PL request.F.PL and decision.N.PL
'Yesterday, requests and decisions were printed out.'
- ii) Molbe i rješenja su odštampana jučer.
request.F.PL and decision.N.PL were printed.N.PL yesterday
'Requests and decisions were printed out yesterday.'

N.PL, neuter plural; F.PL, feminine plural.

An earlier study (14) demonstrated that all three options—agreement with the first conjunct, agreement with the second conjunct, and default masculine plural agreement—are used in Slovenian. Here we broaden the scope of investigation to the entire western South Slavic linguistic branch shown in Fig. 2 to verify the robustness and replicability of the phenomenon. These languages are an ideal testbed for comparison of language distances and changes in progress as they include Slovenian as well as three varieties that until recently were considered a single language (Serbo-Croatian or Croato-Serbian), but with the dissolution of former Yugoslavia have become official national languages with independent prescriptive norms that occasionally aim to widen the gap between neighboring varieties, typically in the domain of the lexicon.

Experiments

Three experiments were conducted. The methodology used in experiments 1a and 1b, elicited production, involved coordinated noun phrases. In elicited production, participants first see a model sentence, such as *Prevod je ovjeren pečatom*, "The translation [masculine singular (M.SG)] was authenticated (M.SG) by seal." They then see a replacement noun phrase, a coordinated phrase (&P) in the target conditions, displayed onscreen, as *Molbe i rješenja*, "requests (F.PL) and decisions (N.PL)." After seeing the replacement noun phrase, they were asked to substitute the subject of the model sentence with the replacement phrase and produce the new complete sentence, e.g., *Molbe i rješenja su ovjeren-i-a/-e pečatom*, "Requests (F.PL) and decisions (N.PL) were authenticated (M.PL/N.PL/F.PL) by seal," where the dependent variable is the gender ending they place on the verb in this new production. Responses were recorded, classified, and tabulated. Additionally, production latency until they continued to the next item was measured.

As an independent variable we included all nine &P combinations of the three genders, with six items per condition. The NPs involved were always inanimate and plural, and the dependent variable was the gender agreement on the participle. Inanimates were chosen to allow all three genders to potentially control agreement based on their position, without interference of semantic preferences for animacy-based gender. Plurals were chosen to ensure a match between the number of each individual conjunct and that of conjunction as a whole. We used 54 distractor items (18 relative clauses, e.g., "the table that was broken"; 18 quantified noun phrases, e.g., "12 chairs"; and 18 "hybrid" nouns, e.g., ones with mismatching morphological and semantic gender). Experiment 1a focused on SV configurations (preverbal subject NPs), with 30 participants at each of the six sites as shown in Fig. 2. Experiment 1b focused on VS configurations (postverbal subject NPs) of the same conditions, again with $n = 30$ at six sites.

Experiment 2 was a speeded acceptability judgment test where participants were presented with a total of 138 sentences. Sixty-four were experimental stimuli, alongside 64 distractor items and an additional 10 anchoring items to allow participants to establish clear endpoints of the grammaticality scale. Half of the experimental items were SV and the other half VS. There were eight conditions placed in both SV and VS configurations [all gender combinations except masculine (M)+M] and two sentences per condition. The stimuli were identical to those elicited in the production study. Twenty native speakers at each of six sites, with the same criteria outlined above, rated each agreement structure with a judgement from 1 to 5 for its degree of acceptability.

The design and methodology of the three experiments were identical across sites, with local adaptation of vocabulary and morphosyntax orthogonal to agreement. Participants were ages 18–22 y, were not linguistics students, and were native speakers who grew up in the region tested.

Results

The "default" value for conjuncts with mixed genders is M plural, and this is an option that is often suggested in prescriptive grammars, presumably avoiding the choice of privileging the gender of either conjunct and rather opting for a default (or "last resort") value for the conjunction as a whole. Thus, for example, when an &P in preverbal position has a combination such as N + M, and we see M agreement on the verb, we cannot tell whether it is default or closest conjunct agreement. However, in the combinations N + F and F + N, there are three distinct options: first-conjunct agreement (hierarchical), closest-conjunct agreement (linear), and default agreement. Note that in postverbal (VS) contexts, the first conjunct is the closest conjunct. In SV contexts, therefore, linear agreement favors the second conjunct, while hierarchical agreement favors the first conjunct, as shown in Fig. 3, *Left*. In VS contexts, neither strategy favors the second conjunct, as shown in Fig. 3, *Right*.

Linear Agreement Is Robust Across All Sites. The results showed that linear agreement was robustly found across all sites, as shown in Fig. 4 for the preverbal [N&F] and [F&N] conditions. In fact, linear agreement trumps hierarchical agreement at least three times to one, across all six sites.

These results establish that closest conjunct agreement is greatly preferred to highest conjunct agreement. As noted above, however, default agreement (e.g., M plural) is an additional last resort strategy available to speakers alongside highest and

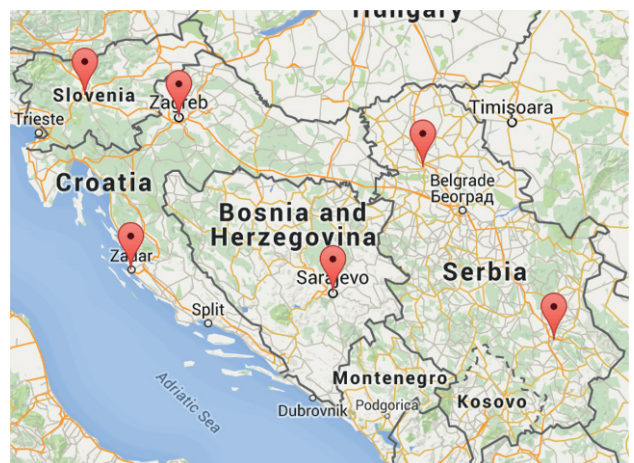


Fig. 2. Research sites for the South Slavic comparison. Map was created with R's ggmap package, using Google Maps data.

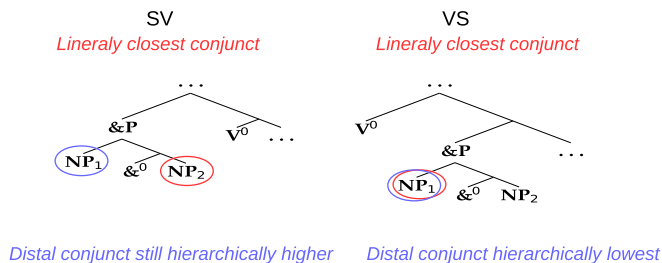


Fig. 3. Highest (blue) vs. closest (red) agreement in &Ps. In SV (Left) (preverbal), these two strategies are distinct, whereas in VS (Right) (postverbal) they converge.

closest conjunct agreement (thereby responsible for the additional rates of responses adding up to 100%). Our research question is specifically on hierarchical vs. linear choices among the two conjuncts as nondefault strategies.

For the phenomenon of production of choosing a conjunct for agreement, linear agreement controllers are often preferred to hierarchically based ones. Within the same study, we measured the production latencies for all nine conditions. Suppose that all three options (highest, closest, and default) are compared in terms of Shannon entropy computed over the production responses, whereby the greatest uniformity of production is found in [M&M] configurations with the lowest Shannon Entropy of 0.002, as for this condition, linear, hierarchical, and default strategies all yield the same outcome. The next level of complexity is MN, NM, MF, FM, where default always matches one other strategy. Finally, FN/NF is the most divergent situation. We compared the overall average production time in milliseconds for each of the nine conditions and found an overall strong correlation $\rho = 0.90$, $P < 0.005$ for the SV conditions. These results are compatible with models in which participants, when they have more than one choice of agreement controller, literally take more time to choose among them. Thus, the [N&F] and [F&N] conditions have the highest overall average for production latency, as shown in Fig. 5. These results are compatible with claims such as ref. 19, where grammatical flexibility is found to increase latency, and more generally indicative of models whereby individual speakers entertain simultaneous “multiple grammars” that compete during real-time production (20–23).

Let us consider two alternative interpretations for the apparent preference for linearity over hierarchy in agreement controllers given coordination. One would be to analyze default agreement (e.g., M plural in N + F or F + N combinations) as a kind of hierarchically based choice, reflecting the features that are computed by the coordination as a whole on the basis of each conjunct in cases of conflict (24), rather than as a last resort (as proposed herein). However, empirically we found that the rate of default agreement drastically plummets in postverbal conditions, as Fig. 6 shows. By hypothesis, this is because “hierarchical” agreement and “linear” agreement as used here refer to the conjuncts within the coordination themselves. As these two agreement controller strategies both converge on the first conjunct in postverbal structures, there are two distinct production strategies that both yield first-conjunct, i.e., nondefault, agreement. The rate of default agreement is much lower in postverbal structures than it is in preverbal structures, confirming that linear agreement truly wins out—and that default M plural agreement is not a hierarchically based choice. The second interpretation would be to claim that there is no particular preference for linear vs. hierarchical agreement in terms of conjuncts themselves, but that the first conjunct wins out in preverbal cases because it is the very first item in the sentence. However, the extremely high rate of linear agreement in postverbal structures provides evidence that there is no particularly special role for the first item in

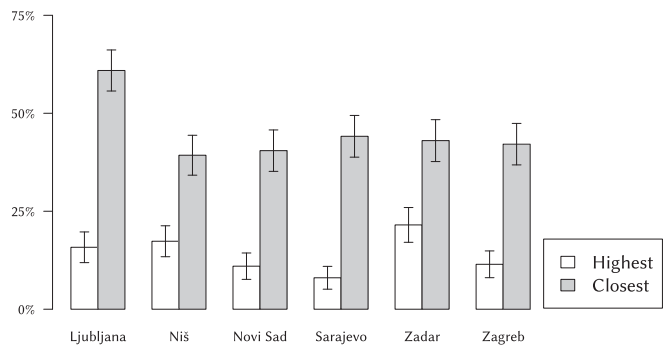


Fig. 4. Rates of hierarchically based (highest) vs. linearly based (closest) agreement for [N&F] and [F&N] conditions, preverbally ($n = 180$), with average percentage of choice shown per site with SE of mean bars.

the sentence as a privileged controller and rather that the choice is between highest and closest within the coordinated noun phrase itself.

Production studies offer a direct view of the grammatical strategies speakers arguably prefer. Nonetheless, it is important to confirm that the results of production studies line up with speakers’ judgments of what would actually be acceptable. Therefore, we conducted experiment 2, a rating study. The results, shown for the SV conditions in Fig. 7, show that linearly based conjunct agreement is most highly rated—particularly when the controller of agreement is also an M noun, as in the [F&M] and [N&M] conditions, where either closest agreement or default agreement would deliver the result of M agreement on the verb. The next highest-rated strategies are default agreement and closest conjunct agreement with a second conjunct that is either F or N, as in the [N&F], [F&N], [M&N], and [M&F] conditions. The third highest-rated strategy, lower than all of these previous ones, is in fact highest conjunct agreement, confirming the production results that, at least for preverbal conjunct agreement, hierarchical controller generally loses out to a linearly closest controller. Nonetheless, as Fig. 7 shows, hierarchical agreement is still rated more highly compared with agreement with a feature completely absent from the conjunct altogether, indicating that the former is indeed a grammatically possible strategy.

Linear Agreement Is Distinct from Attraction. As stated above, the finding that a linearly closer controller for agreement is chosen over a hierarchically closer one is surprising, given the

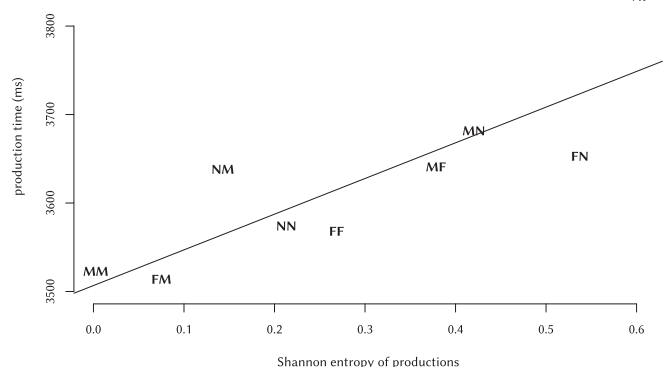


Fig. 5. Production time is significantly correlated with uniformity of productions for the nine gender combinations in the SV condition (where highest and closest agreement diverge), $n = 180$. In a fully crossed mixed-effects regression, Shannon entropy of responses significantly predicts production time, $\beta = 86$, $t = 4.10$, $P < 0.0001$.

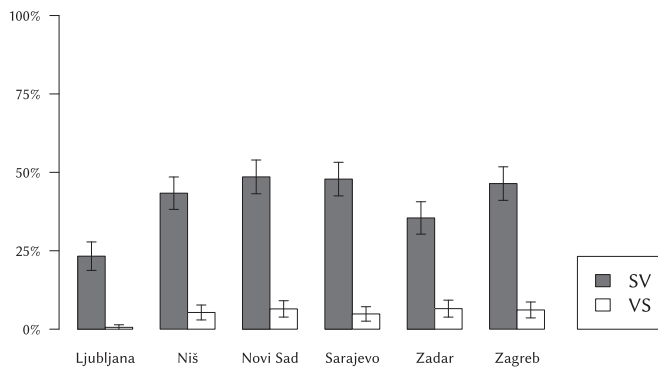


Fig. 6. Rates of default agreement in SV (preverbal coordination) vs. VS (postverbal coordination) structures. Default agreement is produced significantly more often in SV structures than it is in VS structures (41% vs. 5%, fully crossed and centered logistic mixed-effects linear model, $t = 11.72$, $p < 0.0001$).

longstanding demonstration that syntactic operations, and indeed learners, typically prefer hierarchical over linear generalizations. At first blush, it might be tempting to relate our findings to the kind of performance errors found in agreement-attraction production studies such as “The key to the cabinets are missing” (16, 25); see also ref. 26 for an overview of comprehension studies. However, the rate of linear agreement obtained in our results is much higher than that usually found in production studies of attraction [around 13%, in a metaanalysis of 16 studies (27)], suggesting it is a distinct phenomenon. In fact, we included attraction configurations as well, to compare the two kinds of structures, using the same elicited production technique; for example, the model sentence *Reklama je emitovana na radiju*, “The advertisement (F.SG) was broadcasted (F.SG) on the radio,” was paired with a replacement phrase featuring a postverbal subject in a relative clause, such as *Pitanje koje su postavili slušaoci*, “The question (N.SG) that had asked (M.PL) the listeners (M.PL),” where the M plural is linearly most rightward, but not hierarchically highest. The substitution could thereby potentially result in linearly based attraction, such as *Pitanje koje su postavili slušaoci su emitovan-i na radiju*, “The question that the listeners (M.PL) had asked (M.PL) were broadcasted (M.PL) on the radio.” Nonetheless, as Fig. 8 shows, linear agreement is greatly overshadowed by hierarchical agreement in these attraction configurations, in stark contrast to the conjunct agreement results in Fig. 4. Comparison of the rate of highest conjunct agreement in coordination structures vs. its rate in attraction configurations was significant in a fully crossed mixed-effects logistic regression ($z = 28.92$, $P < 0.0001$), consistent with the interpretation that linear agreement is distinct from agreement attraction in these languages and possibly beyond.

Why should attraction show the expected preference for hierarchical effects, whereas conjunction shows a preference for linear effects? We contend that the crucial factor is that the first conjunct in an &P is not the head of the &P and that hierarchy “fails” given the details of the structure of the &P. The two structures are compared in Fig. 9, where it can be seen that given a coordination structure, the higher NP₁ is not the head of the whole phrase, and there is thus no reason for agreement to respect the hierarchy. By contrast, in an attraction structure based on a relative clause, the noun projecting the higher NP₁ is the head of the whole phrase, and agreement is therefore forced to respect the hierarchical structure. In short, the difference is that an &P is not headed by NP₁, whereas an attraction structure is headed by the noun projecting NP₁, and that makes all of the difference.

However, at this point, the fact that NP₂ has been overwhelmingly chosen as a controller for agreement over NP₁ with pre-

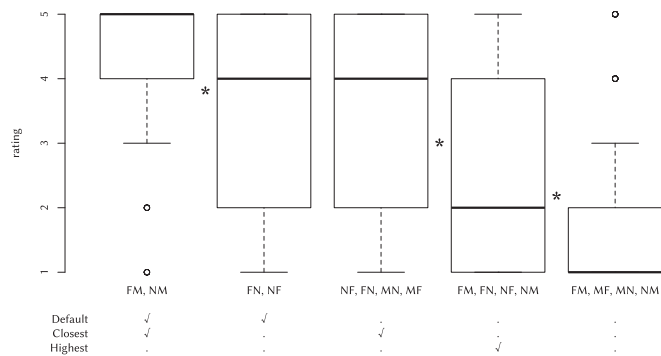


Fig. 7. Acceptability ratings for agreement as controlled by the closest (M), default, closest (F or N), highest, or no conjunct ($n = 120$), modeled as a fully crossed mixed-effects regression with a five-level Helmert-coded predictor. The combination of default and closest agreement is rated significantly higher than default agreement only. Closest agreement is rated significantly higher than agreement with highest, which in turn is rated higher than the baseline lack of agreement. All significant differences marked with * between the relevant columns.

verbal subjects (compare Fig. 4) might lead one to ask whether &Ps have any internal hierarchical structure at all. Indeed, if &Ps lacked internal hierarchical structure, the entire question of whether linearity trumps hierarchy becomes moot. However, there is incontrovertible evidence based on our results that &Ps have internal hierarchical structure, as found in the comparisons between SV (preverbal) and VS (postverbal) structures. To see why this is so, consider what the results would be like if &Ps were flat structures, as shown in Fig. 10. If &Ps were flat, there should be no difference in the rate of agreement with NP₁ in preverbal structures vs. the rate of agreement with NP₂ in postverbal structures, as both are distal conjuncts (i.e., linearly farther away from the verb than the other conjunct), but both are “equally far” from the verb. By contrast, given a hierarchical structure for &Ps as in Fig. 1, there should be a difference in the rate of agreement with NP₁ in preverbal structures, which are still hierarchically favored, vs. the rate of agreement with NP₂ in postverbal structures, which are neither linearly nor hierarchically favored.

The results demonstrate an asymmetry: NP₁ agreement in SV structures is greatly preferred to NP₂ agreement in VS structures. Hierarchical structure is the way to encode asymmetry: Without hierarchy, structures would be flat, symmetric, and equally (dis)preferable for the distal conjunct, and recall that in the elicited production design, participants saw the entire conjunction separately before producing VS agreement. Nonetheless, in both production and perception, NP₁ agreement in SV

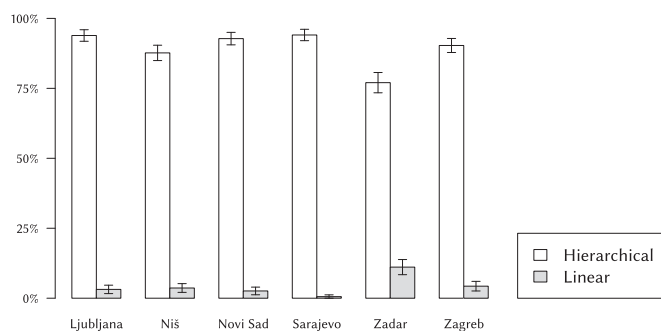


Fig. 8. Rate of hierarchically based (highest) vs. linearly based (closest) agreement for attraction configurations, with average percentage of choice shown per site with SE of mean bars.

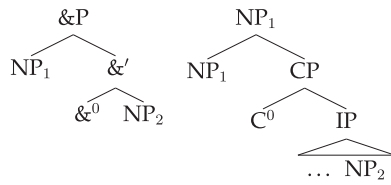


Fig. 9. Comparison of the relative positions of NP₁ and NP₂ in coordination (Left) vs. attraction (Right) structures.

structures is greatly preferred to NP₂ agreement in VS structures, as shown in Fig. 11.

Thus, while linear agreement is preferred over hierarchical agreement, as shown in Fig. 4, nonetheless, there is still a role for hierarchical agreement, as shown in Fig. 11. Coordination involves a hierarchical structure, but one that can nonetheless be overturned by linear factors, precisely because of the specific kind of headedness at stake in &Ps.

Discussion

Where can linearity override hierarchy? At least in one principled corner of the grammar, in one small corner of the world, it can. While postverbal closest-conjunct agreement has been well documented (28, 29), in preverbal position it is demonstrably a case where linear factors override hierarchical ones, and we have argued this is due to the specific structure of coordinations. Experimentally elicited results of this type lend credence to the necessity of admitting linear effects into syntactic computations of distance; see also refs. 13, 30, and 31 for closest-conjunct agreement in gender. For coordinations, linearly based agreement proved the most common, the most readily available, and the highest-rated agreement pattern. As such, it is a clearly different phenomenon than attraction errors. A current research focus is how to model the variability in agreement strategies within a restricted model of possibilities, with some efforts entirely within classic models of hierarchical syntax (32, 33). We contend that the results favor an approach according to which agreement is a syntactic operation that is split into multiple stages of operations (14, 27). In particular, suppose that one earlier stage of the computation, relevant for the interface of syntax with semantics and logical form, establishes a grammatical link only between two phrases, while the second stage, relevant for the interface of syntax with morphological form, then copies the features from a controller to the target to realize its specific phonological form, during a later stage of computation. If other operations, in particular, determination of linear order, may vary in where it is applied with respect to these two stages, this accounts for the individual variation in the order of operations yielding the multiple agreement patterns outlined above. As such, these results are compatible with models of grammar in which linear information enters only very late into syntactic computations (34).

Such a model allows us to address the question of why linearly based agreement occurs only for gender. Number information is highly relevant for semantics of both nominal and verbal interpretation (35, 36) and can be deterministically computed in a conjunction, whereby two singulars compose a plurality. Grammatical gender, on the other hand—particularly for inanimate nouns, the stimuli used herein—has no semantic import whatsoever and can therefore be delayed until this second stage of the agreement computation, at the interface to morphophonology, where linear order becomes more predominant in representation and processing.

Materials and Methods

Research Institutions. The three experiments (1a, 1b, and 2) were carried out at six research institutions: University of Nova Gorica (tested also at Uni-

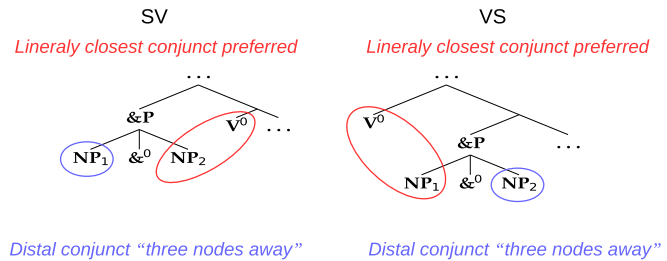


Fig. 10. Expected differences between SV and VS conditions if &Ps were flat.

versity of Ljubljana), Slovenia; University of Zagreb and University of Zadar, Croatia; University of Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina; and University of Novi Sad and University of Niš, Serbia. A single experimental design and procedure was implemented across all six research institutions, each of which conducted their experiments under the general institutional approval for behavioral experiments with healthy adult individuals tested for linguistics and the language sciences.

Language. The language used in the experiment was adapted to the research institutions' local neutral varieties. Experimental material was first created in the neutral variety of Zagreb Croatian and was later adapted to the target language variety, i.e., those of Zadar, Sarajevo, Niš, and Novi Sad. The adaptations were minimal to ensure uniformity across research locations. They were mostly lexical due to variation in gender of specific lexical items. For Slovenian, a parallel set of materials was created to avoid any gender mismatches that could have resulted from literal translation.

Participants. In experiment 1, 30 first- or second-year students [sex: females (F) = 75%, males (M) = 25%] (age: mean = 18.65 y) participated in the experiments at each of the six research institutions. Each participant was tested on experiment 1a and experiment 1b in two experimental sessions 1 wk apart, with the exception of Slovenian, where for logistical reasons different participants were recruited for experiments 1a and 1b. They were all native speakers of the local language variety, attended the local secondary school, and were not pursuing a university degree in the study of the local language. Either their participation was voluntary or they received course credits for their participation. For experiment 2, we recruited altogether 133 undergraduate students (between 20 and 25 per site) of comparable demographics (sex: F = 64%, M = 36%) (age: mean = 20.28 y).

Design and Materials. Experiments 1a and 1b tested nine gender combinations preverbally (experiment 1a) and postverbally (experiment 1b). Three genders (masculine, feminine, and neuter) were entered in a 3 × 3

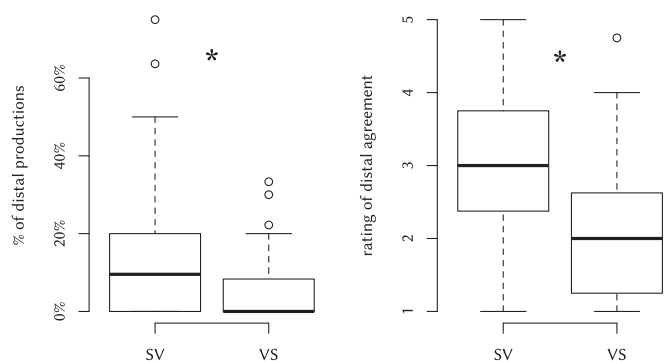


Fig. 11. Percentage of distal productions (Left) and ratings of distal agreement (Right) for preverbal vs. postverbal structures. Distal agreement in SV is produced significantly more often than it is in VS (14% vs. 3%, fully crossed and centered logistic mixed-effects linear model in lme4, $\beta = 1.72$, $t = 7.01$, $P < 0.0001$). Distal agreement in SV is rated significantly higher than it is in VS (3.02 vs. 2.00, fully crossed and centered mixed-effects linear model in lme4, $\beta = 1.02$, $t = 8.92$, $P < 0.0001$).

factorial design with the two conjuncts as factors. For each condition, 6 experimental items were created, amounting to a total of 54 stimulus items. Only inanimate plural count nouns were used in coordinations to ensure control over the number feature while manipulating gender and to avoid differences between neuter and nonneuter genders in the potential influence of biological gender. The nouns that were conjoined were from the same semantic field and each one was individually compatible with the predicate in the model sentence. Nouns were carefully chosen not to form idiomatic coordinations or collocations with the verb or each other (see *SI Appendix, Experiment 1* for the full list of examples). An additional 54 fillers were used in the experiment that did not involve conjoined noun phrases. Participants were first presented a model sentence that used a simple nonconjoined masculine singular noun with a zero suffix both on the noun and on the agreeing verbal participle. All model sentences were made on the same template: Subject(Noun) + Aux + Participle + Preposition + Noun for experiment 1a and Preposition + Noun + Aux + Participle + Subject(Noun) for experiment 1b. Prepositional phrases (adjuncts) were added at the beginning or the end of the model sentence to fill in the slot in the intonation contour taken by the subject in the other condition and to make the postverbal condition sound natural. The mean length in characters of the model sentence and the conjuncts was the same across all nine conditions (model sentence mean, 28 characters with spaces/10 syllables; conjunction mean, 18 characters with spaces/8 syllables). Eighteen comprehension questions appeared after the replacement phrase to keep participants engaged. The number of comprehension questions was balanced across conditions.

Experiment 2 was a rating study in which 128 sentences were presented in random order, with 64 experimental items and 64 fillers. For the experimental items, the sentences from experiments 1a and 1b were chosen as the basis of design (see *SI Appendix, Experiment 2* for the full list of examples). There were 32 experimental conditions (16 postverbally, 16 preverbally), with 2 sentences for each. On top of the genders of the two conjuncts, another factor was the gender agreement shown on the verb. Participants were shown the sentence for 3,500 ms and were then asked to give an acceptability judgment for it on the next screen.

Procedure. In experiments 1a and 1b, participants were tested individually. Each participant was seated in a sound-isolated or quiet room. Examples were displayed on a monitor in black on a white background in 12-point font size. Materials were presented on the screen using IbxFarm (37), a free on-line experimental tool and platform. Participants were asked to read and produce the experimental sentences with a loud and clear pronunciation and were encouraged to speak at a natural pace. Response production was recorded by Audacity, using a built-in microphone, onto the computer in a .wav format. The digitally recorded responses were hand coded by native speakers according to their agreement endings and agreement features. Responses were coded as correct responses when the model sentence was correctly repeated and contained the inflected participle, the exact participle used in the model sentence, or a semantically similar one. Any second production of an inflected participle that differed from the first one as a result of autocorrection was transcribed but these were not considered in the analysis. Responses were coded as agreement errors when the sentence produced met all of the above criteria for correct responses but the participant produced ambiguous or unintelligible agreement. Responses were coded under miscellaneous responses when incorrect words were produced, the sentence was interrupted, word order was changed, or when no response was provided. Only uniquely correct responses were considered in the analysis.

Experiment 2 was conducted simultaneously by all participants at each site in a computer lecture room. Experimental trials were preceded by eight practice examples and 10 anchoring items varying in grammaticality. Anchoring items were used to allow participants to create a benchmark of grammaticality to be used on the experimental items that followed. For all experiments, consent forms and a comprehensive biographic questionnaire aimed to obtain information about the participants' native language variety were administered off-line.

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When linearity prevails over hierarchy in syntax

SUPPLEMENTARY MATERIALS

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In this file we provide the stimuli used in Experiments 1a, 1b, and 2, alongside additional statistics. For each of these experiments, four lists of sentences were used, constructed as follows. A single list of sentences was prepared for Zagreb that was later adapted for the other five sites, though Zagreb and Zadar used the same list of sentences and so did Novi Sad and Niš.

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1 Experiment 1

Experiment 1 consisted of a model sentence followed by a replacement phrase. Each participant was asked to read aloud a model sentence in which the subject noun phrase either preceded or followed the verb, as shown in (1). After reading the model sentence, they pressed a key to progress to the next screen where the replacement phrase appeared, e.g. (2). Replacement phrases in the preverbal Experiment 1a were followed by a blank line while the replacement phrases in postverbal Experiment 1b were preceded by a blank line to remind the participants that the missing part of the sentence either precedes or follows the replacement phrase. (1) and (2) were used as practice items in the Nova Gorica experiment. Experiment 1 started with six practice items to ensure the participants understood the task. Practice items were followed by 108 experimental items.

- (1) a. **Stol** je narejen iz lesa.
chair_{SG.M} be_{SG} made_{SG.M} from wood
'The chair is made of wood.'
- b. Iz lesa je narejen **stol**.
from wood be_{SG} made_{SG.M} chair_{SG.M}
'The chair is made of wood.'
- (2) a. Mize in omare -----
table_{PL.F} and wardrobe_{PL.F}
'tables and wardrobes'
- b. ----- mize in omare.
table_{PL.F} and wardrobe_{PL.F}
'tables and wardrobes'

Their task was to replace the subject from the model sentence, given in boldface, with the new replacement subject to create and ultimately produce a sentence like (3) or (4).

- (3) **Mize in omare** so narejene iz lesa.
table_{PL.F} and wardrobe_{PL.F} be_{PL} made_{PL.F} from wood
'Tables and wardrobes are made of wood.'
- (4) Iz lesa **so narejene mize in omare**.
from wood be_{PL} made_{PL.F} table_{PL.F} and wardrobe_{PL.F}
'Tables and wardrobes are made of wood.'

The entire experimental session was recorded using Audacity® and later coded for the gender and number value of the agreement used on the participle. The sentences used in Experiment 1 are presented below in the following order:

SV	<i>Subject-verb model sentence</i>
VS	<i>Verb-subject model sentence</i>
(Gender1+Gender2)	<i>Replacement phrase</i>

All model sentences in the experimental conditions had a simple bare noun subject, where the noun was singular masculine. Model sentences for fillers had different-number/gender subjects. Fillers were all non-conjoined. Fillers included nouns modified by a numeral, nouns modified by a relative clause, and hybrid nouns (i.e. with masculine or plural reference but with feminine singular morphology; [1]). Experimental stimuli only included inanimate nouns, while fillers also

included 50% animate nouns. In the lists below, we gloss hybrids uniformly as feminine singular in line with their morphosyntactic value.

Examples were always written using the local standard written language and presented in Latin script. Participants were instructed to produce the sentences using their own regional language rather than trying to produce the sentences in the supposed normative variety. Participants were further explained that their answers would not be evaluated as right or wrong, as our research focused on what they produce and use rather than in what they think is correct in the standard language. They were explicitly told the experiment is anonymous.

1.1 Zadar & Zagreb

The two lists used in Zagreb and Zadar were identical.

Practice items:

Model sentence	Korektor je stavljen u pernicu. white-out _{M.SG} be _{SG} put _{M.SG} in pencil-case 'White-out is put in the pencil case.'
Replacement phrase	olovke i gumice pencil _{F.PL} and eraser _{F.PL} 'pencils and erasers'
Model sentence	Roman je nagraen na festivalu. novel _{M.SG} be _{SG} awarded _{M.SG} on festival 'The novel was awarded at the festival.'
Replacement phrase	filmovi i serije movie _{M.PL} and series _{F.PL} 'movies and series'
Model sentence	Boca je oprana u mašini. bottle _{F.SG} be _{SG} washed _{F.SG} in machine 'The bottle was washed in the machine.'
Replacement phrase	tri lonca three pot _{M.Pauc} 'three pots'
Model sentence	Prijateljice su izašle u grad. girlfriend _{F.PL} be _{PL} went-out _{F.PL} in city 'Girlfriends went out to the city.'
Replacement phrase	neženja bachelor _{M.SG} 'bachelor'
Model sentence	Klima je postavljena u ured. air-condition _{F.SG} be _{SG} put _{F.SG} in office 'AC was installed in the office.'
Replacement phrase	svjetla koja su kupili vlasnici light _{N.PL} which _{N.PL} be _{PL} bought _{M.PL} owner _{M.PL} 'lights which were bought by the owners'

Model sentence	Tulum je organiziran u kući. party _{M.SG} be _{SG} organized _{M.SG} in house 'The party was organized at home.'
Replacement phrase	krštenja i proslave baptism _{N.PL} and celebration _{F.PL} 'baptisms and celebrations'

Experimental items:

SV	Ugovor je potpisan u utorak. contract _{M.SG} be _{SG} signed _{M.SG} on Tuesday 'The contract was signed on Tuesday.'
VS	U utorak je potpisan ugovor. on Tuesday be _{SG} signed _{M.SG} contract _{M.SG} 'The contract was signed on Tuesday.'
MPL+MPL	dokumenti i indeksi document _{M.PL} and transcript _{M.PL} 'documents and transcripts'
SV	Brak je sklopljen na brzinu. marriage _{M.SG} be _{SG} declared _{M.SG} on speed 'The marriage was declared in haste.'
VS	Na brzinu je sklopljen brak. in haste be _{SG} declared _{M.SG} marriage _{M.SG} 'The marriage was declared in haste.'
MPL+MPL	sporazumi i ugovori agreement _{M.PL} and contract _{M.PL} 'agreements and contracts'
SV	Hotel je smješten u centru. hotel _{M.SG} be _{SG} located _{M.SG} in city-center 'The hotel is located in the city center.'
VS	U centru je smješten hotel. in city center be _{SG} located _{M.SG} hotel _{M.SG} 'The hotel is located in the city center.'
MPL+MPL	muzeji i paviljoni museum _{M.PL} and pavilion _{M.PL} 'museums and pavilions'
SV	Avion je krenuo na vrijeme. plane _{M.SG} be _{SG} departed _{M.SG} on time 'The plane has departed on time.'
VS	Na vrijeme je krenuo avion. on time be _{SG} departed _{M.SG} plane _{M.SG} 'The plane has departed on time.'
MPL+MPL	autobusi i vlakovi bus _{M.PL} and train _{M.PL} 'buses and trains'

SV	Prijedlog je prošao na vijeću. proposal _{M.SG} be _{SG} passed _{M.SG} at council 'The proposal was passed at the council meeting.'
VS	Na vijeću je prošao prijedlog. at council be _{SG} passed _{M.SG} proposal _{M.SG} 'The proposal was passed at the council meeting.'
MPL+MPL	pravilnici i akti rule _{M.PL} and legal act _{M.PL} 'rules and legal acts'
SV	Odmor je započeo u petak. holiday _{M.SG} be _{SG} started _{M.SG} on Friday 'The holiday has started on Friday.'
VS	U petak je započeo odmor. on Friday be _{SG} started _{M.SG} holiday _{M.SG} 'The holiday has started on Friday.'
MPL+MPL	poslovi i dogovori job _{M.PL} and agreement _{M.PL} 'jobs and agreements'
SV	Zakon je donesen na sjednici. law _{M.SG} be _{SG} passed _{M.SG} at meeting 'The law was passed at the meeting.'
VS	Na sjednici je donesen zakon. at meeting be _{SG} passed _{M.SG} law _{M.SG} 'The law was passed at the meeting.'
FPL+FPL	odluke i presude decision _{F.PL} and verdict _{F.PL} 'decisions and verdicts'
SV	Račun je priložen uz prijavu. receipt _{M.SG} be _{SG} enclosed _{M.SG} with application 'The receipt was enclosed with the application.'
VS	Uz prijavu je priložen račun. with application be _{SG} enclosed _{M.SG} receipt _{M.SG} 'The receipt was enclosed with the application.'
FPL+FPL	potvrde i dopune confirmation _{F.PL} and supplement _{F.PL} 'confirmations and supplements'
SV	Rad je prijavljen na natječaj. paper _{M.SG} be _{SG} submitted _{M.SG} for competition 'The work was submitted for competition.'
VS	Na natječaj je prijavljen rad. for competition be _{SG} submitted _{M.SG} paper _{M.SG} 'The work was submitted for competition.'
FPL+FPL	fotografije i skice photo _{F.PL} and sketch _{F.PL} 'photos and sketches'

SV	Potres je doveo do odrona. earthquake _{M.SG} be _{SG} led _{M.SG} to landslide 'The earthquake led to a landslide.'
VS	Do odrona je doveo potres. to landslide be _{SG} led _{M.SG} earthquake _{M.SG} 'The earthquake led to a landslide.'
FPL+FPL	bujice i poplave torrent _{F.PL} and flood _{F.PL} 'torrents and floods'
SV	Članak je izašao u novinama. article _{M.SG} be _{SG} came out _{M.SG} in newspapers 'The article has come out in the newspapers.'
VS	U novinama je izašao članak. in newspapers be _{SG} came out _{M.SG} article _{M.SG} 'The article has come out in the newspapers.'
FPL+FPL	zahvale i čestitke acknowledgment _{F.PL} and congratulation _{F.PL} 'acknowledgments and congratulations'
SV	Bor je dominirao krajolikom. pine tree _{M.SG} be _{SG} dominated _{M.SG} landscape 'The pine tree has dominated the landscape.'
VS	Krajolikom je dominirao bor. landscape be _{SG} dominated _{M.SG} pine tree _{M.SG} 'The pine tree has dominated the landscape.'
FPL+FPL	planine i rijeke mountain _{F.PL} and river _{F.PL} 'mountains and rivers'
SV	Kvar je popravljen u garaži. malfunction _{M.SG} be _{SG} repaired _{M.SG} in garage 'The malfunction was repaired in the garage.'
VS	U garaži je popravljen kvar. in garage be _{SG} repaired _{M.SG} malfunction _{M.SG} 'The malfunction was repaired in the garage.'
NPL+NPL	jedra i vesla sail _{N.PL} and oar _{N.PL} 'sails and oars'
SV	Okoliš je zagaen otpadom. environment _{M.SG} be _{SG} polluted _{M.SG} with-waste 'The environment was polluted with waste.'
VS	Otpadom je zagaen okoliš. with-waste be _{SG} polluted _{M.SG} environment _{M.SG} 'The environment was polluted with waste.'
NPL+NPL	jezera i mora lake _{N.PL} and sea _{N.PL} 'lakes and seas'

SV	Sažetak je predan na čitanje. abstract _{M.SG} be _{SG} submitted _{M.SG} for review 'The abstract was submitted for review.'
VS	Na čitanje je predan sažetak. for review be _{SG} submitted _{M.SG} abstract _{M.SG} 'The abstract was submitted for review.'
NPL+NPL	poglavlja i izvješća chapter _{N.PL} and report _{N.PL} 'chapters and reports'
SV	Led je popucao pod pritiskom. ice _{M.SG} be _{SG} cracked _{M.SG} under pressure 'The ice has cracked under pressure.'
VS	Pod pritiskom je popucao led. under pressure be _{SG} cracked _{M.SG} ice _{M.SG} 'The ice has cracked under pressure.'
NPL+NPL	ogledala i stakla mirror _{N.PL} and pane of glass _{N.PL} 'mirrors and panes of glass'
SV	Rujan je započeo nevremenom. September _{M.SG} be _{SG} started _{M.SG} with-storm 'September started with a storm.'
VS	Nevremenom je započeo rujun. with-storm be _{SG} started _{M.SG} September _{M.SG} 'September started with a storm.'
NPL+NPL	ljeta i proljeća summer _{N.PL} and spring _{N.PL} 'summers and springs'
SV	Tramvaj je izgorio u požaru. tram _{M.SG} be _{SG} burned _{M.SG} in fire 'The tram has burnt in the fire.'
VS	U požaru je izgorio tramvaj. in fire be _{SG} burned _{M.SG} tram _{M.SG} 'The tram has burnt in the fire.'
NPL+NPL	naselja i imanja village _{N.PL} and estate _{N.PL} 'villages and estates'
SV	Arhiv je otvoren za javnost. archive _{M.SG} be _{SG} open _{M.SG} to public 'The archive is open to the public.'
VS	Za javnost je otvoren arhiv. to public be _{SG} open _{M.SG} archive _{M.SG} 'The archive is open to the public.'
MPL+FPL	muzeji i galerije museum _{M.PL} and gallery _{F.PL} 'museums and galleries'

SV	Razgovor je održan u dvorani. interview _{M.SG} be _{SG} held _{M.SG} in hall 'The interview was held in the hall.'
VS	U dvorani je održan razgovor. in hall be _{SG} held _{M.SG} interview _{M.SG} 'The interview was held in the hall.'
MPL+FPL	ispiti i predstave exam _{M.PL} and performance _{F.PL} 'exams and performances'
SV	Izložak je ukraden iz spremišta. exhibit _{M.SG} be _{SG} stolen _{M.SG} from depot 'The exhibit was stolen from the depot.'
VS	Iz spremišta je ukraden izložak. from depot be _{SG} stolen _{M.SG} exhibit _{M.SG} 'The exhibit was stolen from the depot.'
MPL+FPL	časopisi i knjige journal _{M.PL} and book _{F.PL} 'journals and books'
SV	Vjetar je puhao na mahove. wind _{M.SG} be _{SG} blew _{M.SG} in gusts 'The wind was blowing in gusts.'
VS	Na mahove je puhao vjetar. in gusts be _{SG} blew _{M.SG} wind _{M.SG} 'The wind was blowing in gusts.'
MPL+FPL	uragani i bure hurricane _{M.PL} and bora _{F.PL} 'hurricanes and boras'
SV	Portret je nastao u ateljeu. portrait _{M.SG} be _{SG} created _{M.SG} in studio 'The portrait was created in the studio.'
VS	U ateljeu je nastao portret. in studio be _{SG} created _{M.SG} portrait _{M.SG} 'The portrait was created in the studio.'
MPL+FPL	aktovi i skulpture nude _{M.PL} and sculpture _{F.PL} 'nudes and sculptures'
SV	Kamion je skrenuo s ceste. truck _{M.SG} be _{SG} pulled _{M.SG} off road 'The truck has pulled off the road.'
VS	S ceste je skrenuo kamion. off road be _{SG} pulled _{M.SG} truck _{M.SG} 'The truck has pulled off the road.'
MPL+FPL	traktori i cisterne tractor _{M.PL} and water bowser _{F.PL} 'tractors and water bowsers'

SV	Ručnik je obješen u kupaoni. towel _{M.SG} be _{SG} hung _{M.SG} in bathroom 'The towel was hung in the bathroom.'
VS	U kupaoni je obješen ručnik. in bathroom be _{SG} hung _{M.SG} towel _{M.SG} 'The towel was hung in the bathroom.'
MPL+NPL	poster i ogledala poster _{M.PL} and mirror _{N.PL} 'posters and mirrors'
SV	Doček je organiziran u školi. reception _{M.SG} be _{SG} organized _{M.SG} at school 'The reception was organized at the school.'
VS	U školi je organiziran doček. at school be _{SG} organized _{M.SG} reception _{M.SG} 'The reception was organized at the school.'
MPL+NPL	plesovi i druženja dance _{M.PL} and gathering _{N.PL} 'dances and gatherings'
SV	Grkljan je operiran u sali. larynx _{M.SG} be _{SG} operated on _{M.SG} in operating-room 'The larynx was operated on in the operating room.'
VS	U sali je operiran grkljan. in operating-room be _{SG} operated _{M.SG} larynx _{M.SG} 'The larynx was operated on in the operating room.'
MPL+NPL	zglobovi i stopala wrist _{M.PL} and foot _{N.PL} 'wrists and feet'
SV	Jarbol je pomogao u plovidbi. mast _{M.SG} be _{SG} helped _{M.SG} in sailing 'The mast helped when sailing.'
VS	U plovidbi je pomogao jarbol. in sailing be _{SG} helped _{M.SG} mast _{M.SG} 'The mast helped when sailing.'
MPL+NPL	kompasi i kormila compass _{M.PL} and rudder _{N.PL} 'compasses and rudders'
SV	Proizvod je dospio na tržište. product _{M.SG} be _{SG} released _{M.SG} on market 'The product was released to market.'
VS	Na tržište je dospio proizvod. on market be _{SG} released _{M.SG} product _{M.SG} 'The product was released on the market.'
MPL+NPL	mobiteli i računala mobile-phone _{M.PL} and computer _{N.PL} 'mobile phones and computers'

SV	Novac je nestao s računa. money _{M.SG} be _{SG} disappeared _{M.SG} from account 'The money has disappeared from the account.'
VS	S računa je nestao novac. from account be _{SG} disappeared _{M.SG} money _{M.SG} 'The money has disappeared from the account.'
MPL+NPL	poticaji i sredstva incentive _{M.PL} and fund _{N.PL} 'incentives and funds'
SV	Sastav je utvren na sastanku. lineup _{M.SG} be _{SG} established _{M.SG} at meeting 'The lineup was established at the meeting.'
VS	Na sastanku je utvren sastav. At meeting be _{SG} established _{M.SG} the lineup _{M.SG} 'The lineup was established at the meeting.'
FPL+MPL	granice i prijelazi border _{F.PL} and border crossing _{M.PL} 'borders and border crossings'
SV	Rektorat je zatvoren ljeti. rectorate be _{SG} closed _{M.SG} in-summer 'The rectorate is closed in the summer.'
VS	Ljeti je zatvoren rektorat. in-summer be _{SG} closed _{M.SG} rectorate _{M.SG} 'The rectorate is closed in the summer.'
FPL+MPL	škole i instituti school _{F.PL} and institute _{M.PL} 'schools and institutes'
SV	Predmet je odslušan u bloku. course _{M.SG} be _{SG} listen _{M.SG} in block 'The course was done in a block.'
VS	U bloku je odslušan predmet. in block be _{SG} listen _{M.SG} course _{M.SG} 'The course was done in a block.'
FPL+MPL	vježbe i seminari practice _{F.PL} and seminar _{M.PL} 'recitations and seminars'
SV	Jedrenjak je uplovio u zaljev. sailing-ship _{M.SG} be _{SG} sailed _{M.SG} into bay 'The sailing ship has sailed into the bay.'
VS	U zaljev je uplovio jedrenjak. into bay be _{SG} sailed _{M.SG} sailing-ship _{M.SG} 'The sailing ship has sailed into the bay.'
FPL+MPL	jedrilice i gliseri sailboat _{F.PL} and speedboat _{M.PL} 'sailboats and speedboats'

SV	Roendan je prošao u pjesmi. birthday _{M.SG} be _{SG} passed _{M.SG} in song 'The birthday passed in singing.'
VS	U pjesmi je prošao roendan. in song be _{SG} passed _{M.SG} birthday _{M.SG} 'The birthday passed in singing.'
FPL+MPL	zabave i svatovi party _{F.PL} and wedding-party _{M.PL} 'parties and weddings'
SV	Lijek je prošao na provjeri. medicine _{M.SG} be _{SG} passed _{M.SG} on check 'The medicine has passed the check.'
VS	Na provjeri je prošao lijek. on check be _{SG} passed _{M.SG} medicine _{M.SG} 'The medicine has passed the check.'
MPL+FPL	sirupi i tablete syrup _{M.PL} and pill _{F.PL} 'syrups and pills'
SV	Dogovor je pomaknut na petak. deal _{M.SG} be _{SG} moved _{M.SG} to Friday 'The deal was rearranged for Friday.'
VS	Na petak je pomaknut dogovor. to Friday be _{SG} moved _{M.SG} deal _{M.SG} 'The deal was rearranged for Friday.'
FPL+NPL	sjednice i vijeća meeting _{F.PL} and council _{N.PL} 'meetings and councils'
SV	Prijevod je ovjeren pečatom. translation _{M.SG} be _{SG} certified _{M.SG} with-stamp 'The translation was certified with a stamp.'
VS	Pečatom je ovjeren prijevod. with-stamp be _{SG} certified _{M.SG} translation _{M.SG} 'The translation was certified with a stamp.'
FPL+MPL	molbe i projekti request _{F.PL} and project _{M.PL} 'requests and projects'
SV	Buket je uručen na pozornici. bouquet _{M.SG} be _{SG} presented _{M.SG} on stage 'The bouquet was presented on the stage.'
VS	Na pozornici je uručen buket. on stage be _{SG} presented _{M.SG} bouquet _{M.SG} 'The bouquet was presented on the stage.'
FPL+NPL	nagrade i priznanja award _{F.PL} and recognition _{N.PL} 'awards and recognitions'

SV	Prijedlog je prošao na vijeću. proposal _{M.SG} be _{SG} passed _{M.SG} at council 'The proposal has been passed at the council.'
VS	Na vijeću je prošao prijedlog. at council be _{SG} passed _{M.SG} proposal _{M.SG} 'The proposal has been passed at the council.'
FPL+NPL	ideje i pravila idea _{F.PL} and rule _{N.PL} 'ideas and regulations'
SV	Parfem je stigao u dućan. perfume _{M.SG} be _{SG} arrived _{M.SG} in shop 'The perfume has arrived in the shop.'
VS	U dućan je stigao parfem. in shop be _{SG} arrived _{M.SG} perfume _{M.SG} 'The perfume has arrived in the shop.'
FPL+NPL	olovke i rumenila eye-pencil _{F.PL} and blush _{N.PL} 'eye pencils and blushes'
SV	Provod je potrajao do jutra. party _{M.SG} be _{SG} lasted _{M.SG} until morning 'The party has lasted until the morning.'
VS	Do jutra je potrajao provod. until morning be _{SG} lasted _{M.SG} party _{M.SG} 'The party has lasted until the morning.'
FPL+NPL	diskusije i druženja discussion _{F.PL} and party _{N.PL} 'discussions and parties'
SV	Koncert je otkazan zbog kiše. concert _{M.SG} be _{SG} canceled _{M.SG} due-to rain 'The concert was canceled due to rain.'
VS	Zbog kiše je otkazan koncert. due-to rain be _{SG} canceled _{M.SG} concert _{M.SG} 'The concert was canceled due to rain.'
MPL+MPL	festivali i turniri festival _{M.PL} and tournament _{M.PL} 'festivals and tournaments'
SV	Slogan je napisan na ploču. slogan _{M.SG} be _{SG} written _{M.SG} on board 'The slogan was written on the board.'
VS	Na ploču je napisan slogan. on board be _{SG} written _{M.SG} slogan _{M.SG} 'The slogan was written on the board.'
NPL+MPL	pitanja i problemi question _{N.PL} and problem _{M.PL} 'questions and problems'

SV	Desert je poslužen na terasi. dessert _{M.SG} be _{SG} served _{M.SG} on terrace 'The dessert was served on the terrace.'
VS	Na terasi je poslužen desert. on terrace be _{SG} served _{M.SG} dessert _{M.SG} 'The dessert was served on the terrace.'
NPL+MPL	pića i sendviči drink _{N.PL} and sandwich _{M.PL} 'drinks and sandwiches'
SV	Kofer je stigao na vrijeme. suitcase _{M.SG} be _{SG} arrived _{M.SG} in time 'The suitcase has arrived in time.'
VS	Na vrijeme je stigao kofer. in time be _{SG} arrived _{M.SG} suitcase _{M.SG} 'The suitcase has arrived in time.'
NPL+MPL	pisma i paketi letter _{N.PL} and package _{M.PL} 'letters and packages'
SV	Semafor je pomagao u vožnji. traffic-lights _{M.SG} be _{SG} helped _{M.SG} in driving 'The traffic lights were helpful for driving.'
VS	U vožnji je pomagao semafor. in driving be _{SG} helped _{M.SG} traffic-lights _{M.SG} 'The traffic lights were helpful for driving.'
NPL+MPL	upozorenja i savjeti warning _{N.PL} and tip _{M.PL} 'warnings and tips'
SV	Branik je napuknuo u nesreći. bumper _{M.SG} be _{SG} cracked _{M.SG} in accident 'The bumper has cracked in the accident.'
VS	U nesreći je napuknuo branik. in accident be _{SG} cracked _{M.SG} bumper _{M.SG} 'The bumper has cracked in the accident.'
NPL+MPL	stakla i retrovizori window _{N.PL} and rear-view-mirror _{M.PL} 'windows and rear-view mirrors'
SV	Doručak je naručen u sobu. breakfast _{M.SG} be _{SG} ordered _{M.SG} in room 'The breakfast was ordered to the room.'
VS	U sobu je naručen doručak. in room be _{SG} ordered _{M.SG} breakfast _{M.SG} 'The breakfast was ordered to the room.'
NPL+FPL	jaja i salate egg _{N.PL} and salad _{F.PL} 'eggs and salads'

SV	Pjenušac je serviran u čaši. sparkling-wine _{M.SG} be _{SG} served _{M.SG} in glass 'The sparkling wine was served in the glass.'
VS	U čaši je serviran pjenušac. in glass be _{SG} served _{M.SG} sparkling-wine _{M.SG} 'The sparkling wine was served in the glass.'
NPL+FPL	vina i rakije wine _{N.PL} and brandy _{F.PL} 'wines and brandies'
SV	Izlet je zakazan za proljeće. excursion _{M.SG} be _{SG} scheduled _{M.SG} for spring 'The excursion was scheduled for the spring.'
VS	Za proljeće je zakazan izlet. for spring be _{SG} scheduled _{M.SG} excursion _{M.SG} 'The excursion was scheduled for the spring.'
NPL+FPL	putovanja i konferencije trip _{N.PL} and conference _{F.PL} 'trips and conferences'
SV	Sastanak je započeo u svai. meeting _{M.SG} be _{SG} started _{M.SG} with row 'The meeting has started with a row.'
VS	U svai je započeo sastanak. with row be _{SG} started _{M.SG} meeting _{M.SG} 'The meeting has started with a row.'
NPL+FPL	natjecanja i utakmice competition _{N.PL} and match _{F.PL} 'competitions _{N.PL} and matches'
SV	Napad je utihnuo pred zoru. attack _{M.SG} be _{SG} calmed-down _{M.SG} before dawn 'The attack has calmed down before the dawn.'
VS	Pred zoru je utihnuo napad. before dawn be _{SG} calmed-down _{M.SG} attack _{M.SG} 'The attack has calmed down before the dawn.'
NPL+FPL	nevremena i poplave storm _{N.PL} and flood _{F.PL} 'storms and floods'
SV	Plakat je nestao u selidbi. poster _{M.SG} be _{SG} disappeared _{M.SG} in move 'The poster went missing in the move.'
VS	U selidbi je nestao plakat. move be _{SG} disappeared _{M.SG} poster _{M.SG} 'The poster went missing in the move.'
NPL+FPL	platna i skulpture canvas _{N.PL} and sculpture _{F.PL} 'canvases and sculptures'

Fillers:	
SV	Kaput je kupljen na rasprodaji. coat _{M.SG} be _{SG} purchased _{M.SG} on sale 'The coat was purchased on sale.'
VS	Na rasprodaji je kupljen kaput. on sale be _{SG} purchased _{M.SG} coat _{M.SG} 'The coat was purchased on sale.'
Numeral	dva šešira two hat _{M.Pauc} 'two hats'
SV	Poklon je zamotan u papir. gift _{M.SG} be _{SG} wrapped _{M.SG} in paper 'The gift was wrapped in the paper.'
VS	U papir je zamotan poklon. in paper be _{SG} wrapped _{M.SG} gift _{M.SG} 'The gift was wrapped in the paper.'
Numeral	tri paketa three package _{M.Pauc} 'three packages'
SV	Kolač je stavljen u pećnicu. cake _{M.SG} be _{SG} put _{M.SG} in oven 'The cake was put in the oven.'
VS	U pećnicu je stavljen kolač. in oven be _{SG} put _{M.SG} cake _{M.SG} 'The cake was put in the oven.'
Numeral	četiri krumpira four potato _{M.Pauc} 'four potatoes'
SV	Pijetao je očerupan u dvorištu. rooster _{M.SG} be _{SG} pluck _{M.SG} in yard 'The rooster was plucked in the yard.'
VS	U dvorištu je očerupan pijetao. in yard be _{SG} pluck _{M.SG} rooster _{M.SG} 'The rooster was plucked in the yard.'
Hybrid	perad fowl _{F.SG} 'fowl'
SV	Učenik je počeo iz početka student _{M.SG} be _{SG} started _{M.SG} from beginning 'The student started from the beginning.'
VS	Iz početka je počeo učenik. from beginning be _{SG} started _{M.SG} student _{M.SG} 'The student started from the beginning.'
Hybrid	sluga servant _{F.SG} 'servant'

SV	Vojnik je krenuo u napad. soldier _{M.SG} be _{SG} joined _{M.SG} attack. 'The soldier joined the attack.'
VS	U napad je krenuo vojnik. attack be _{SG} joined _{M.SG} soldier _{M.SG} 'The soldier joined the attack.'
Hybrid	voa 'leader _{F.SG} 'leader'
SV	Neboder je izgraen u centru. skyscraper _{M.SG} be _{SG} built _{M.SG} in centre 'The skyscraper was built in the centre.'
VS	U centru je izgraen neboder. in centre be _{SG} built _{M.SG} skyscraper _{M.SG} 'The skyscraper was built in the centre.'
Rel. cl.	igralište koje su isprojektirali arhitekti playground _{N.SG} that _{N.SG} be _{SG} designed _{M.PL} architect _{M.PL} 'the playground that was designed by architects'
SV	Dvoboj je otkazan zbog nevremena. duel _{M.SG} be _{SG} canceled _{M.SG} due to weather 'The duel was canceled due to the weather.'
VS	Zbog nevremena je otkazan dvoboj. due to weather be _{SG} canceled _{M.SG} duel _{M.SG} 'The duel was canceled due to the weather.'
Rel. cl.	putovanje koje su osmislili vodiči trip _{N.SG} that _{N.SG} be _{PL} designed _{M.PL} tourguide _{M.PL} 'the trip designed by tourguides.'
SV	Prijedlog je odobren na sastanku. proposal _{M.SG} be _{SG} approved _{M.SG} at meeting 'The proposal was approved at the meeting.'
VS	Na sastanku je odobren prijedlog. at meeting be _{SG} approved proposal _{M.SG} 'The proposal was approved at the meeting.'
Rel. cl.	napredovanje koje su podržali profesori promotion _{N.SG} that _{N.SG} be _{PL} supported _{M.PL} professor _{M.PL} 'the promotion supported by professors'
SV	Novčanici su pronaeni na cesti. wallet _{M.PL} be _{PL} found _{M.PL} on street 'The wallets were found on the street.'
VS	Na cesti su pronaeni novčanici. on street be _{PL} found _{M.PL} wallet _{M.PL} 'The wallets were found on the street.'
Numeral	dva ključa two key _{M.Pauc} 'two keys'

SV	Roštilji su očišćeni od čae. barbecue _{M.PL} be _{PL} cleaned _{M.PL} of charcoal 'The barbecues were cleaned of charcoal.'
VS	Od čae su očišćeni roštilji. of charcoal be _{PL} cleaned _{M.PL} barbecue _{M.PL} 'The barbecues were cleaned of charcoal.'
Numeral	tri kamina three fireplace _{M.Pauc} 'three fireplaces'
SV	Branici su stavljeni na auto. bumper _{M.PL} be _{PL} put _{M.PL} on car 'The bumpers were put on the car.'
VS	Na auto su stavljeni branici. on car be _{PL} put _{M.PL} bumper _{M.PL} 'The bumpers were put on the car.'
Numeral	četiri kotača four wheel _{M.Pauc} 'four wheels'
SV	Kozlići su odvedeni na ispašu. goat-kid _{M.PL} be _{PL} taken _{M.PL} to graze 'The goat kids were taken to graze.'
VS	Na ispašu su odvedeni kozlići. to graze be _{PL} taken _{M.PL} goat-kid _{M.PL} 'The goat kids were taken to graze.'
Hybrid	telad calf _{F.SG} 'calves'
SV	Dječaci su pokupljeni nakon škole. boy _{M.PL} be _{PL} collected _{M.PL} after school 'The boys were collected after school.'
VS	Nakon škole su pokupljeni dječaci. after school be _{PL} collected _{M.PL} boy _{M.PL} 'The boys were collected after school.'
Hybrid	djeca child _{F.SG} 'children'
SV	Studenti su povezani preko interneta. student _{M.PL} be _{PL} connected _{M.PL} over internet 'The students are connected over the Internet.'
VS	Preko interneta su povezani studenti. over internet be _{PL} connected _{M.PL} student _{M.PL} 'The students are connected over the Internet.'
Hybrid	braća brother _{F.SG} 'brothers'

SV	Sanduci su potonuli na dno. container _{M.PL} be _{PL} sank _{M.PL} to bottom 'The containers sank to the bottom.'
VS	Na dno su potonuli sanduci. to bottom be _{PL} sank _{M.PL} container _{M.PL} 'The containers sank to the bottom.'
Rel. cl.	sidro koje su bacili mornari anchor _{N.SG} that _{N.SG} be _{PL} thrown _{M.PL} sailor _{M.PL} 'the anchor that was thrown by the sailors'
SV	Balvani su bačeni na hrpu. timber _{M.PL} be _{PL} thrown _{M.PL} onto pile 'The timbers were thrown onto the pile.'
VS	Na hrpu su bačeni balvani. onto pile be _{PL} thrown _{M.PL} timber _{M.PL} 'The timbers were thrown onto the pile.'
Rel. cl.	stablo koje su posjekli ljudi tree _{N.SG} that _{N.SG} be _{PL} cut-down _{M.PL} people _{M.PL} 'the tree that was cut down by people'
SV	Dokumentarci su prikazani na televiziji. documentary _{M.PL} be _{PL} shown _{M.PL} on television 'The documentaries were shown on the television.'
VS	Na televiziji su prikazani dokumentarci. on television be _{PL} shown _{M.PL} documentary _{M.PL} 'The documentaries were shown on the television.'
Rel. cl.	otvorenje koje su organizirali slikari opening _{N.SG} that _{N.SG} be _{PL} organised _{M.PL} painter _{M.PL} 'the opening organised by painters'
SV	Košulja je obješena na vješalicu. shirt _{F.SG} be _{SG} hung _{F.SG} on hanger 'The shirt was hanging on a hanger.'
VS	Na vješalicu je obješena košulja. on hanger be _{SG} hung _{F.SG} shirt _{F.SG} 'The shirt was hanging on a hanger.'
Numeral	dva sakoa two jacket _{M.Pauc} 'two jackets'
SV	Ulica je zatvorena za promet. street _{F.SG} be _{SG} closed _{F.SG} for traffic 'The street was closed for traffic.'
VS	Za promet je zatvorena ulica. for traffic be _{SG} closed _{F.SG} street _{F.SG} 'The street was closed for traffic.'
Numeral	tri trga three square _{M.Pauc} 'three squares'

SV	Bilježnica je stavljena u fascikl. notebook _{F.SG} be _{SG} put _{F.SG} in folder 'The notebook was put in a folder.'
VS	U fascikl je stavljena bilježnica. in folder be _{SG} put _{F.SG} notebook _{F.SG} 'The notebook was put in a folder.'
Numeral	četiri papira four paper _{M.Pauc} 'four pieces of paper'
SV	Kokoš je kupljena na sajmu. hen _{F.SG} be _{SG} bought _{F.SG} at fair 'The hen was bought at the fair.'
VS	Na sajmu je kupljena kokoš. at fair be _{SG} bought _{F.SG} hen _{F.SG} 'The hen was bought at the fair.'
Hybrid	prasad pig _{F.SG} 'pigs'
SV	Plemkinja je šetala po dvoru. noblewoman _{F.SG} be _{SG} walked _{F.SG} along palace 'The noblewoman was walking around the palace.'
VS	Po dvoru je šetala plemkinja. along palace be _{SG} walked _{F.SG} noblewoman _{F.SG} 'The noblewoman was walking around the palace.'
Hybrid	gospoda gentlemen _{F.SG} 'gentlemen'
SV	Kraljica je zasjele na tron. queen _{F.SG} be _{SG} taken _{F.SG} on throne 'The queen has taken the throne.'
VS	Na tron je zasjele kraljica. on throne be _{SG} was sitting _{F.SG} queen _{F.SG} 'The queen has taken the throne.'
Hybrid	vojvoda duke _{F.SG} 'duke'
SV	Zakletva je prekršena bez razloga. oath _{F.SG} be _{SG} broken _{F.SG} without reason 'The oath was broken for no reason.'
VS	Bez razloga je prekršena zakletva. without reason be _{SG} broken _{F.SG} oath _{F.SG} 'The oath was broken for no reason.'
Rel. cl.	obećanje koje su dali doktori promise _{N.SG} that _{N.SG} be _{PL} given _{M.PL} doctor _{M.PL} 'the promise that was given by the doctors'

SV	Tvornica je propala zbog nemara. factory _{F.SG} be _{SG} go under _{F.SG} due to negligence 'The factory went under due to negligence.'
VS	Zbog nemara je propala tvornica. due to negligence be _{SG} go under _{F.SG} factory _{F.SG} 'The factory went under due to negligence.'
Rel. cl.	tržište koje su vodili menadžeri trading-place _{N.SG} that _{N.SG} be _{PL} led _{M.PL} manager _{M.PL} 'the trading place that was led by the managers'
SV	Reklama je puštena na radiju. advertisement _{F.SG} be _{SG} played _{F.SG} on radio 'The advertisement was played on the radio.'
VS	Na radiju je puštena reklama. on radio be _{SG} played _{F.SG} advertisement _{F.SG} 'The advertisement was played on the radio.'
Rel. cl.	pitanje koje su postavili slušatelji question _{N.SG} that _{N.SG} be _{PL} asked _{M.PL} listener _{M.PL} 'the question that was asked by the listeners'
SV	Grane su pale na zemlju. branch _{F.PL} be _{PL} fell _{F.PL} to ground 'The branches fell to the ground.'
VS	Na zemlju su pale grane. to ground be _{PL} fell _{F.PL} branch _{F.PL} 'The branches fell to the ground.'
Numeral	dva lista two leaf _{M.Pauc} 'two leaves'
SV	Knjige su stavljene na policu. book _{F.PL} be _{PL} placed _{F.PL} on shelf 'Books were placed on the shelf.'
VS	Na policu su stavljene knjige. on shelf be _{PL} placed _{F.PL} book _{F.PL} 'Books were placed on the shelf.'
Numeral	tri fascikla three folder _{M.Pauc} 'three folders'
SV	Tave su oprane deterdžentom. pan _{F.PL} be _{PL} washed _{F.PL} with detergent 'The pans were washed with detergent.'
VS	Deterdžentom su oprane tave. with detergent be _{PL} washed _{F.PL} pan _{F.PL} 'The pans were washed with detergent.'
Numeral	četiri tanjura four plate _{M.Pauc} 'four plates'

SV	Krave su puštene na livadu. cow _{F,PL} be _{PL} released _{F,PL} onto meadow 'Cows were released onto the meadow.'
VS	Na livadu su puštene krave. onto meadow be _{PL} released _{F,PL} cow _{F,PL} 'Cows were released onto the meadow.'
Hybrid	janjad lamb _{F,SG} 'lambs'
SV	Gospoe su sjedile u loži. lady _{F,PL} be _{PL} sitting _{F,PL} in box 'The ladies was sitting in the box.'
VS	U loži su sjedile gospoe. in box be _{PL} sitting _{F,PL} lady _{F,PL} 'The ladies was sitting in the box.'
Hybrid	vlastela nobelman _{F,SG} 'nobelmen'
SV	Profesorice su pomagale u odlukama. professor _{F,PL} be _{PL} helped _{F,PL} with decision-making 'The professors have helped with the decision-making.'
VS	U odlukama su pomagale profesorice. with decision-making be _{PL} helped _{F,PL} professor _{F,PL} 'The professors have helped with the decision-making.'
Hybrid	starješina elder _{F,SG} 'elder'
SV	Primjedbe su odbačene na sudu. remark _{F,PL} be _{PL} rejected _{F,PL} in court 'The remarks were rejected in court.'
VS	Na sudu su odbačene primjedbe. in court be _{PL} rejected _{F,PL} remark _{F,PL} 'The remarks were rejected in court.'
Rel. cl.	glasanje koje su nadzirali promatrači voting _{N,SG} that _{N,SG} be _{PL} monitored _{M,PL} observer _{M,PL} 'the voting that was monitored by the observers'
SV	Grane su istrunule pod snijegom. branch _{F,PL} be _{PL} rotted _{F,PL} under snow 'The branches have rotted under the snow.'
VS	Pod snijegom su istrunule grane. under snow be _{PL} rotted _{F,PL} branch _{F,PL} 'The branches have rotted under the snow.'
Rel. cl.	drvo koje su posadili vrtlari Tree _{N,SG} that _{N,SG} be _{PL} planted _{M,PL} gardener _{M,PL} 'the tree that was planted by the gardeners'

SV	Mreže su prebačene preko zida. net _{F.PL} be _{PL} thrown _{F.PL} over wall 'The nets were thrown over the wall.'
VS	Preko zida su prebačene mreže. over wall be _{PL} thrown _{F.PL} net _{F.PL} 'The nets were thrown over the wall.'
Rel. cl.	uže koje su ispleli ribari rope _{N.SG} that _{N.SG} be _{PL} woven _{M.PL} fisherman _{M.PL} 'the rope that was woven by the fishermen'
SV	More je naslikano na platnu. sea _{N.SG} be _{SG} painted _{N.SG} on canvas 'The sea was painted on the canvas.'
VS	Na platnu je naslikano more. on canvas be _{SG} painted _{N.SG} sea _{N.SG} 'The sea was painted on the canvas.'
Numeral	dva čamca two boat _{M.Pauc} 'two boats'
SV	Mlijeko je stavljeno na stol. milk _{N.SG} be _{SG} placed _{N.SG} on table 'The milk was placed on the table.'
VS	Na stol je stavljeno mljeko. on table be _{SG} placed _{N.SG} milk _{N.SG} 'The milk was placed on the table.'
Numeral	tri peciva three bread-roll _{M.Pauc} 'three bread rolls'
SV	Napajanje je priključeno na mrežu. power-supply _{N.SG} be _{SG} connected _{N.SG} to network 'The power supply was connected to the network.'
VS	Na mrežu je priključeno napajanje. to network be _{SG} connected _{N.SG} power-supply _{N.SG} 'The power supply was connected to the network.'
Numeral	četiri printera four printer _{M.Pauc} 'four printers'
SV	Pile je odvojeno od majke. chick _{N.SG} be _{SG} separated _{N.SG} from mother 'The chick was separated from the mother.'
VS	Od majke je odvojeno pile. from mother be _{SG} separated _{N.SG} chick _{N.SG} 'The chick was separated from the mother.'
Hybrid	junad young bull-heifer _{F.SG} 'young bull-heifers'

SV	Strašilo je osueno na samoću. scarecrow _{N.SG} be _{SG} destined _{N.SG} to life of solitude 'The scarecrow was destined for a life of solitude.'
VS	Na samoću je osueno strašilo. to life of solitude be _{SG} destined _{N.SG} scarecrow _{N.SG} 'The scarecrow was destined for a life of solitude.'
Hybrid	ubojica murderer _{F.SG} 'murderers'
SV	Izaslanstvo je pozvano na razgovor. delegation _{N.SG} be _{SG} called _{N.SG} for talks 'The delegation was called for talks.'
VS	Na razgovor je pozvano izaslanstvo. for talks be _{SG} called _{N.SG} delegation _{N.SG} 'The delegation was called for talks.'
Hybrid	kolega colleague _{F.SG} 'colleague'
SV	Promaknuće je prikazano na vijestima. promotion _{N.SG} be _{SG} shown _{N.SG} on news 'The promo was shown on the news.'
VS	Na vijestima je prikazano promaknuće. on news be _{SG} shown _{N.SG} promotion _{N.SG} 'The promo was shown on the news.'
Rel. cl.	natjecanje koje su podržali sportaši competition _{N.SG} that _{N.SG} be _{PL} supported _{M.PL} athlete _{M.PL} 'the competition that was supported by the athletes'
SV	Ravnalo je spremljeno u ladicu. ruler _{N.SG} be _{SG} stored _{N.SG} in drawer 'The ruler was stored in the drawer.'
VS	U ladicu je spremljeno ravnalo. in drawer be _{SG} stored _{N.SG} ruler _{N.SG} 'The ruler was stored in the drawer.'
Rel. cl.	pismo koje su poslali obožavatelji letter _{N.SG} that _{N.SG} be _{PL} sent _{M.PL} fan _{M.PL} 'the letter that was sent by the fans'
SV	Kuhalo je stavljeno u prodaju. cooker _{N.SG} be _{SG} was put-up _{N.SG} for sale 'The cooker was put up for sale.'
VS	U prodaju je stavljeno kuhalo. for sale be _{SG} put-up _{N.SG} cooker _{N.SG} 'The cooker was put up for sale.'
Rel. cl.	ljepilo koje su zatražili kupci glue _{N.SG} that _{N.SG} be _{PL} requested _{M.PL} customer _{M.PL} 'the glue that was requested by the customers'

SV	Otkrića su predstavljena na konferenciji. discovery _{N.PL} be _{PL} presented _{N.PL} at conference 'The discoveries were presented at the conference.'
VS	Na konferenciji su predstavljena otkrića. at conference be _{PL} presented _{N.PL} discovery _{N.PL} 'The discoveries were presented at the conference.'
Numeral	dva postera two poster _{M.Pauc} 'two posters'
SV	Rebra su popucala prilikom pada. rib _{N.PL} be _{PL} cracked _{N.PL} during fall 'Their ribs got broken when they fell.'
VS	Prilikom pada su popucala rebra. during fall be _{PL} cracked _{N.PL} rib _{N.PL} 'Their ribs got broken when they fell.'
Numeral	tri prsta three finger _{M.Pauc} 'three fingers'
SV	Pomagala su kupljena za učionicu. teaching-aid _{N.PL} be _{PL} purchased _{N.PL} for classroom 'The teaching aids were purchased for the classroom.'
VS	Za učionicu su kupljena pomagala. for classroom be _{PL} purchased _{N.PL} teaching-aid _{N.PL} 'The teaching aids were purchased for the classroom.'
Numeral	četiri kruha four bread _{M.Pauc} 'four breads'
SV	Ministarstva su ukazala na propust. ministry _{N.PL} be _{PL} highlighted _{N.PL} oversight 'The ministries have highlighted the oversight.'
VS	Na propust su ukazala ministarstva. oversight be _{PL} highlighted _{N.PL} ministry _{N.PL} 'The ministries have highlighted the oversight.'
Hybrid	poglavica chief _{F.SG} 'chief'
SV	Tržišta su propala zbog recesije. markets _{N.PL} be _{PL} collapsed _{N.PL} due-to recession 'The markets collapsed due to the recession.'
VS	Zbog recesije su propala tržišta. due-to recession be _{PL} collapsed _{N.PL} markets _{N.PL} 'The markets collapsed due to the recession.'
Hybrid	gazda landlord _{F.SG} 'landlord'

SV	Čuda su otkrivena pred javnošću. miracle _{N.PL} be _{PL} revealed _{N.PL} before public 'The miracles were revealed before the public.'
VS	Pred javnošću su otkrivena čuda. before public be _{PL} revealed _{N.PL} miracle _{N.PL} 'The miracles were revealed before the public.'
Hybrid	kukavica coward _{F.SG} 'coward'
SV	Gradilišta su opasna po život. construction-site _{N.PL} be _{PL} dangerous _{N.PL} to life 'The construction sites are life-threatening.'
VS	Po život su opasna gradilišta. to life be _{PL} dangerous _{N.PL} construction-site _{N.PL} 'Construction sites are life-threatening.'
Rel. cl.	dvorište koje su zapustili vlasnici yard _{N.SG} that _{N.SG} be _{PL} abandoned _{M.PL} owners _{M.PL} 'the courtyard that has been abandoned by the owners'
SV	Istraživanja su objavljena u časopisu. research _{N.PL} be _{PL} published _{N.PL} in journal 'The research was published in the journal.'
VS	U časopisu su objavljena istraživanja. in journal be _{PL} published _{N.PL} research _{N.PL} 'The research was published in the journal.'
Rel. cl.	ispitivanje koje su provodili psiholozi experiment _{N.SG} that _{N.SG} be _{PL} run _{M.PL} psychologist _{M.PL} 'the experiment that was carried out by psychologists'
SV	Sela su izbrisana s karte. village _{N.PL} be _{PL} erased _{N.PL} from map 'The villages were erased from the map.'
VS	S karte su izbrisana sela. from map be _{PL} erased _{N.PL} village _{N.PL} 'The villages were erased from the map.'
Rel. cl.	polje koje su zauzeli razbojnici field _{N.SG} that _{N.SG} be _{PL} occupied _{M.PL} bandit _{M.PL} 'the field that was occupied by the bandits'

1.2 Sarajevo

The list used in Sarajevo was minimally modified as certain lexical items used in Croatia are not so common in Bosnia and Hercegovina.

SV	Ugovor je potpisan u utorak.
VS	U utorak je potpisan ugovor.
MPL+MPL	Dokumenti i indeksi
SV	Brak je sklopljen na brzinu.
VS	Na brzinu je sklopljen brak.
MPL+MPL	Sporazumi i ugovori
SV	Hotel je smješten u centru.
VS	U centru je smješten hotel.
MPL+MPL	Muzeji i paviljoni
SV	Avion je krenuo na vrijeme.
VS	Na vrijeme je krenuo avion.
MPL+MPL	Autobusi i vozovi
SV	Prijedlog je prošao na vijeću.
VS	Na vijeću je prošao prijedlog.
MPL+MPL	Pravilnici i propisi
SV	Odmor je započeo u petak.
VS	U petak je započeo odmor.
MPL+MPL	Poslovi i dogovori
SV	Zakon je donesen na sjednici.
VS	Na sjednici je donesen zakon.
FPL+FPL	Odluke i presude
SV	Račun je priložen uz prijavu.
VS	Uz prijavu je priložen račun.
FPL+FPL	Potvrde i dopune
SV	Rad je prijavljen na konkurs.
VS	Na konkurs je prijavljen rad.
FPL+FPL	Fotografije i skice
SV	Potres je doveo do odrona.
VS	Do odrona je doveo potres.
FPL+FPL	Bujice i poplave
SV	Članak je izašao u novinama.
VS	U novinama je izašao članak.
FPL+FPL	Zahvale i čestitke
SV	Bor je dominirao krajolikom.
VS	Krajolikom je dominirao bor.
FPL+FPL	Planine i rijeke
SV	Kvar je popravljen u garaži.
VS	U garaži je popravljen kvar.
NPL+NPL	Jedra i vesla
SV	Okoliš je zagaen otpadom.
VS	Otpadom je zagaen okoliš.
NPL+NPL	Jezera i mora
SV	Sažetak je predan na čitanje.
VS	Na čitanje je predan sažetak.
NPL+NPL	Poglavlja i uputstva

SV	Led je popucao pod pritiskom.
VS	Pod pritiskom je popucao led.
NPL+NPL	Ogledala i stakla
SV	Rujan je započeo nevremenom.
VS	Nevremenom je započeo rujan.
NPL+NPL	Ljeta i proljeća
SV	Tramvaj je izgorio u požaru.
VS	U požaru je izgorio tramvaj.
NPL+NPL	Naselja i imanja
SV	Arhiv je otvoren za javnost.
VS	Za javnost je otvoren arhiv.
MPL+FPL	Muzeji i galerije
SV	Razgovor je održan u dvorani.
VS	U dvorani je održan razgovor.
MPL+FPL	Ispiti i predstave
SV	Ekspонат je ukraden iz muzeja.
VS	Iz muzeja je ukraden ekspонат.
MPL+FPL	Časopisi i knjige
SV	Vjetar je puhao na mahove.
VS	Na mahove je puhao vjetar.
MPL+FPL	Uragani i bure
SV	Portret je nastao u ateljeu.
VS	U ateljeu je nastao portret.
MPL+FPL	Aktovi i skulpture
SV	Kamion je skrenuo s ceste.
VS	S ceste je skrenuo kamion.
MPL+FPL	Traktori i cisterne
SV	Peškir je obješen u kupaonici.
VS	U kupaonici je obješen peškir.
MPL+NPL	Poster i ogledala
SV	Doček je organizovan u školi.
VS	U školi je organizovan doček.
MPL+NPL	Plesovi i okupljanja
SV	Grkljan je operisan u sali.
VS	U sali je operisan grkljan.
MPL+NPL	Zglobovi i stopala
SV	Jarbol je pomogao u plovidbi.
VS	U plovidbi je pomogao jarbol.
MPL+NPL	Kompasi i kormila
SV	Proizvod je dospio na tržište.
VS	Na tržište je dospio proizvod.
MPL+NPL	Mirisovi i sjenila
SV	Novac je nestao s računa.
VS	S računa je nestao novac.
MPL+NPL	Poticaji i sredstva

SV	Sastav je utvren na sastanku.
VS	Na sastanku je utvren sastav.
FPL+MPL	Granice i prelazi
SV	Rektorat je zatvoren ljeti.
VS	Ljeti je zatvoren rektorat.
FPL+MPL	Škole i instituti
SV	Predmet je odslušan u bloku.
VS	U bloku je odslušan predmet.
FPL+MPL	Vježbe i seminari
SV	Jedrenjak je uplovio u zaliv.
VS	U zaliv je uplovio jedrenjak.
FPL+MPL	Jedrilice i gliseri
SV	Roendan je prošao u pjesmi.
VS	U pjesmi je prošao roendan.
FPL+MPL	Zabave i svatovi
SV	Lijek je prošao na provjeri.
VS	Na provjeri je prošao lijek.
MPL+MPL	Sirupi i tablete
SV	Dogovor je pomaknut na petak.
VS	Na petak je pomaknut dogovor.
FPL+NPL	Sjednice i vijeća
SV	Prevod je ovjeren pečatom.
VS	Pečatom je ovjeren prevod.
FPL+NPL	Molbe i rješenja
SV	Buket je uručen na pozornici.
VS	Na pozornici je uručen buket.
FPL+NPL	Nagrade i priznanja
SV	Projekat je nastao preko noći.
VS	Preko noći je nastao projekat.
FPL+NPL	Teorije i pravila
SV	Parfem je stigao u dućan.
VS	U dućan je stigao parfem.
FPL+NPL	Olovke i rumenila
SV	Provod je potrajao do jutra.
VS	Do jutra je potrajao provod.
FPL+NPL	Diskusije i druženja
SV	Koncert je otkazan zbog kiše.
VS	Zbog kiše je otkazan koncert.
MPL+MPL	Festivali i turniri
SV	Slogan je napisan na tablu.
VS	Na tablu je napisan slogan.
NPL+MPL	Pitanja i problemi
SV	Dezert je poslužen na terasi.
VS	Na terasi je poslužen dezert.
NPL+MPL	Pića i sendviči

SV	Kofer je stigao na vrijeme.
VS	Na vrijeme je stigao kofer.
NPL+MPL	Pisma i paketi
SV	Semafor je pomogao u vožnji.
VS	U vožnji je pomogao semafor.
NPL+MPL	Upozorenja i savjeti
SV	Branik je napuknuo u nesreći.
VS	U nesreći je napuknuo branik.
NPL+MPL	Stakla i retrovizori
<hr/>	
SV	Doručak je naručen u sobu.
VS	U sobu je naručen doručak.
NPL+FPL	Jaja i salate
SV	Šampanjac je natočen u čašu.
VS	U čašu je natočen šampanjac.
NPL+FPL	Vina i rakije
SV	Izlet je zakazan za proljeće.
VS	Za proljeće je zakazan izlet.
NPL+FPL	Putovanja i konferencije
SV	Sastanak je započeo u svai.
VS	U svai je započeo sastanak.
NPL+FPL	Takmičenja i utakmice
SV	Napad je utihnuo pred zoru.
VS	Pred zoru je utihnuo napad.
NPL+FPL	Nevremena i poplave
SV	Plakat je nestao u selidbi.
VS	U selidbi je nestao plakat.
NPL+FPL	Platna i skulpture
<hr/>	
Fillers:	
SV	Kaput je kupljen na rasprodaji.
VS	Na rasprodaji je kupljen kaput.
Numeral	Dva šešira
SV	Poklon je zamotan u papir.
VS	U papir je zamotan poklon.
Numeral	Tri paketa
SV	Kolač je stavljen u rernu.
VS	U rernu je stavljen kolač.
Numeral	Četiri krompira
SV	Pijetao je očerupan u dvorištu.
VS	U dvorištu je očerupan pijetao.
Hybrid	Perad
SV	Učenik je čitao od početka.
VS	Od početka je čitao učenik.
Hybrid	Sluga
SV	Vojnik je krenuo u napad.
VS	U napad je krenuo vojnik.
Hybrid	Voa

SV Neboder je izgraen u centru.
 VS U centru je izgraen neboder.
 Rel. clause Igralište koje su isprojektovani arhitekti
 SV Dvoboj je otkazan zbog nevremena.
 VS Zbog nevremena je otkazan dvoboj.
 Rel. clause Putovanje koje su osmislili vođiđi
 SV Prijedlog je odobren na sastanku.
 VS Na sastanku je odobren prijedlog.
 Rel. clause Napredovanje koje su podržali profesori
 SV Ključevi su pronaeni na cesti.
 VS Na cesti su pronaeni ključevi.
 Numeral Dva novčanika
 SV Roštilji su očišćeni od čai.
 VS Od čai su očišćeni roštilji.
 Numeral Tri kamina
 SV Brisači su stavljeni na auto.
 VS Na auto su stavljeni brisači.
 Numeral Četiri točka
 SV Jarići su odvedeni na ispašu.
 VS Na ispašu su odvedeni jarići.
 Hybrid Telad
 SV Dječaci su okupljeni ispred škole.
 VS Ispred škole su okupljeni dječaci.
 Hybrid Djeca
 SV Studenti su povezani preko interneta.
 VS Preko interneta su povezani studenti.
 Hybrid Braća
 SV Sanduci su potonuli na dno.
 VS Na dno su potonuli sanduci.
 Rel. clause Sidro koje su bacili mornari
 SV Balvani su stavljeni na hrpu.
 VS Na hrpu su stavljeni balvani.
 Rel. clause Stablo koje su posjekli ljudi
 SV Dokumentarci su prikazani na televiziji.
 VS Na televiziji su prikazani dokumentarci.
 Rel. clause Otvorenje koje su organizovali slikari
 SV Košulja je obješena na vješalicu.
 VS Na vješalicu je obješena košulja.
 Numeral Dva sakoa
 SV Ulica je zatvorena za saobraćaj.
 VS Za saobraćaj je zatvorena ulica.
 Numeral Tri trga
 SV Sveska je stavljena u folder.
 VS U folder je stavljena sveska.
 Numeral Četiri papira

SV Kokoš je kupljena na pijaci.
 VS Na pijaci je kupljena kokoš.
 Hybrid Prasad
 SV Princeza je šetala po dvoru.
 VS Po dvoru je šetala princeza.
 Hybrid Gospoda
 SV Kraljica je zasjela na tron.
 VS Na tron je zasjela kraljica.
 Hybrid Vojvoda
 SV Zakletva je prekršena bez razloga.
 VS Bez razloga je prekršena zakletva.
 Rel. clause Obećanje koje su dali doktori
 SV Fabrika je propala zbog nemara.
 VS Zbog nemara je propala fabrika.
 Rel. clause Tržište koje su vodili menadžeri
 SV Reklama je emitovana na radiju.
 VS Na radiju je emitovana reklama.
 Rel. clause Pitanje koje su postavili slušaoci
 SV Grane su pale na zemlju.
 VS Na zemlju su pale grane.
 Numeral Dva lista
 SV Knjige su stavljene na policu.
 VS Na policu su stavljene knjige.
 Numeral Tri foldera
 SV Tave su oprane deterdžentom.
 VS Deterdžentom su oprane tave.
 Numeral Četiri tanjira
 SV Krave su puštene na livadu.
 VS Na livadu su puštene krave.
 Hybrid Janjad
 SV Gospoe su sjedile u loži.
 VS U loži su sjedile gospoe.
 Hybrid Vlastela
 SV Profesorice su pomagale u odlukama.
 VS U odlukama su pomagale profesorice.
 Hybrid Starješina
 SV Primjedbe su odbačene na sudu.
 VS Na sudu su odbačene primjedbe.
 Rel. clause Glasanje koje su nadzirali posmatrači
 SV Grane su istrunule pod snijegom.
 VS Pod snijegom su istrunule grane.
 Rel. clause Drvo koje su posadili vrtlari
 SV Mreže su prebačene preko zida.
 VS Preko zida su prebačene mreže.
 Rel. clause Uže koje su ispleli ribari

SV More je naslikano na platnu.
 VS Na platnu je naslikano more.
 Numeral Dva čamca
 SV Mlijeko je stavljeno na sto.
 VS Na sto je stavljeno mlijeko.
 Numeral Tri soka
 SV Napajanje je priključeno na mrežu.
 VS Na mrežu je priključeno napajanje.
 Numeral Četiri printera
 SV Pile je odvojeno od majke.
 VS Od majke je odvojeno pile.
 Hybrid Junad
 SV Strašilo je ostavljeno u podrumu.
 VS U podrumu je ostavljeno strašilo.
 Hybrid Ubica
 SV Izaslanstvo je pozvano na razgovor.
 VS Na razgovor je pozvano izaslanstvo.
 Hybrid Kolega
 SV Unapreenje je prikazano na vijestima.
 VS Na vijestima je prikazano unapreenje.
 Rel. clause Takmičenje koje su podržali sportisti
 SV Šiljalo je stavljeno u ladicu.
 VS U ladicu je stavljeno šiljalo.
 Rel. clause Pismo koje su poslali obožavatelji
 SV Kuhalo je pušteno u prodaju.
 VS U prodaju je pušteno kuhalo.
 Rel. clause Ljepilo koje su zatražili kupci
 SV Otkrića su predstavljena na konferenciji.
 VS Na konferenciji su predstavljena otkrića.
 Numeral Dva eksperimenta
 SV Rebra su pukla pri padu.
 VS Pri padu su pukla rebra.
 Numeral Tri prsta
 SV Pomagala su kupljena za učionicu.
 VS Za učionicu su kupljena pomagala.
 Numeral Četiri stola
 SV Ministarstva su ukazala na propust.
 VS Na propust su ukazala ministarstva.
 Hybrid Poglavica
 SV Tržišta su propala zbog recesije.
 VS Zbog recesije su propala tržišta.
 Hybrid Gazda
 SV Čuda su otkrivena pred javnošću.
 VS Pred javnošću su otkrivena čuda.
 Hybrid Kukavica

SV	Gradilišta su opasna po život.
VS	Po život su opasna gradilišta.
Rel. clause	Dvorište koje su zapustili vlasnici
SV	Istraživanja su objavljena u časopisu.
VS	U časopisu su objavljena istraživanja.
Rel. clause	Ispitivanje koje su provodili psiholozi
SV	Sela su izbrisana s karte.
VS	S karte su izbrisana sela.
Rel. clause	Polje koje su zauzeli razbojnici

1.3 Novi Sad & Niš

The lists of sentences used in Novi Sad and Niš were identical.

SV	Ugovor je potpisan u utorak.
VS	U utorak je potpisan ugovor.
MPL+MPL	Dokumenti i indeksi
SV	Brak je sklopljen na brzinu.
VS	Na brzinu je sklopljen brak.
MPL+MPL	Sporazumi i ugovori
SV	Hotel je smešten u centru.
VS	U centru je smešten hotel.
MPL+MPL	Muzeji i paviljoni
SV	Konvoj je krenuo na vrijeme.
VS	Na vrijeme je krenuo konvoj.
MPL+MPL	Autobusi i vozovi
SV	Predlog je prošao na veću.
VS	Na veću je prošao predlog.
MPL+MPL	Pravilnici i akti
SV	Odmor je započeo u petak.
VS	U petak je započeo odmor.
MPL+MPL	Poslovi i dogovori
SV	Zakon je izmenjen na sjednici.
VS	Na sjednici je izmenjen zakon.
FPL+FPL	Odluke i presude
SV	Račun je priložen uz prijavu.
VS	Uz prijavu je priložen račun.
FPL+FPL	Potvrde i dopune
SV	Rad je prijavljen na konkurs.
VS	Na konkurs je prijavljen rad.
FPL+FPL	Fotografije i skice

SV	Potres je doveo do odrona.
VS	Do odrona je doveo potres.
FPL+FPL	Bujice i poplave
SV	Članak je izašao u novinama.
VS	U novinama je izašao članak.
FPL+FPL	Zahvale i čestitke
SV	Bor je dominirao pejzažom.
VS	Pejzažom je dominirao bor.
FPL+FPL	Planine i reke
<hr/>	
SV	Kvar je popravljen u garaži.
VS	U garaži je popravljen kvar.
NPL+NPL	Jedra i vesla
SV	Vazduh je zagaen od otpada.
VS	Otpadom je zagaen vazduh.
NPL+NPL	Jezera i mora
SV	Sažetak je predan na čitanje.
VS	Na čitanje je predan sažetak.
NPL+NPL	Poglavlja i pitanja
SV	Led je popucao pod pritiskom.
VS	Pod pritiskom je popucao led.
NPL+NPL	Ogledala i stakla
SV	Film je počinjao grmljavinom.
VS	Grmljavinom je počinjao film.
NPL+NPL	Leta i proleća
SV	Tramvaj je izgoreo u požaru.
VS	U požaru je izgoreo tramvaj.
NPL+NPL	Naselja i imanja
<hr/>	
SV	Arhiv je otvoren za javnost.
VS	Za javnost je otvoren arhiv.
MPL+FPL	Muzeji i galerije
SV	Razgovor je održan u dvorani.
VS	U dvorani je održan razgovor.
MPL+FPL	Ispiti i predstave
SV	Ekspонат je ukraden iz muzeja.
VS	Iz muzeja je ukraden ekspонат.
MPL+FPL	Časopisi i knjige
SV	Vetar je duvao na mahove.
VS	Na mahove je duvao vetar.
MPL+FPL	Uragani i bure
SV	Portret je nastao u ateljeu.
VS	U ateljeu je nastao portret.
MPL+FPL	Aktovi i skulpture
SV	Kamion je skrenuo s puta.
VS	S puta je skrenuo kamion.
MPL+FPL	Traktori i cisterne

SV	Peškir je obešen u kupatilu.
VS	U kupatilu je obešen peškir.
MPL+NPL	Posteri i ogledala
SV	Doček je organizovan u školi.
VS	U školi je organizovan doček.
MPL+NPL	Plesovi i druženja
SV	Grkljan je operisan u sali.
VS	U sali je operisan grkljan.
MPL+NPL	Zglobovi i stopala
SV	Jarbol je pomogao u plovidbi.
VS	U plovidbi je pomogao jarbol.
MPL+NPL	Kompasi i kormila
SV	Proizvod je dospeo na tržište.
VS	Na tržište je dospeo proizvod.
MPL+NPL	Telefoni i pomagala
SV	Novac je nestao s računara.
VS	S računara je nestao novac.
MPL+NPL	Kredit i sredstva
SV	Sastav je utvren na sastanku.
VS	Na sastanku je utvren sastav.
FPL+MPL	Granice i prelazi
SV	Rektorat je zatvoren leti.
VS	Leti je zatvoren rektorat.
FPL+MPL	Škole i instituti
SV	Predmet je položen u roku.
VS	U roku je završen nacrt.
FPL+MPL	Vežbe i seminari
SV	Jedrenjak je uplovio u zaliv.
VS	U zaliv je uplovio jedrenjak.
FPL+MPL	Jedrilice i gliseri
SV	Roendan je prošao u pesmi.
VS	U pesmi je prošao roendan.
FPL+MPL	Zabave i svatovi
SV	Lek je prošao na proveru.
VS	Na proveru je prošao lek.
MPL+MPL	Sirupi i tablete
SV	Dogovor je otkazan u petak.
VS	U petak je otkazan dogovor.
FPL+NPL	Sednice i veća
SV	Prevod je overen kod beležnika.
VS	Kod beležnika je overen prevod.
FPL+NPL	Molbe i uputstva
SV	Buket je uručen na pozornici.
VS	Na pozornici je uručen buket.
FPL+NPL	Nagrade i priznanja

SV	Projekt je nastao preko noći.
VS	Preko noći je nastao projekt.
FPL+NPL	Smernice i pravila
SV	Parfem je stigao u salon.
VS	U salon je stigao parfem.
FPL+NPL	Olovke i rumenila
SV	Provod je potrajao do jutra.
VS	Do jutra je potrajao provod.
FPL+NPL	Diskusije i druženja
<hr/>	
SV	Koncert je otkazan zbog kiše.
VS	Zbog kiše je otkazan koncert.
MPL+MPL	Festivali i turniri
SV	Slogan je napisan na ploči.
VS	Na ploči je napisan slogan.
NPL+MPL	Pitanja i problemi
SV	Desert je poslužen na terasi.
VS	Na terasi je poslužen desert.
NPL+MPL	Pića i sendviči
SV	Kofer je stigao na vreme.
VS	Na vreme je stigao kofer.
NPL+MPL	Pisma i paketi
SV	Semafor je pomogao u vožnji.
VS	U vožnji je pomogao semafor.
NPL+MPL	Upozorenja i saveti
SV	Branik je napukao u nesreći.
VS	U nesreći je napukao branik.
NPL+MPL	Stakla i retrovizori
<hr/>	
SV	Doručak je naručen u sobu.
VS	U sobu je naručen doručak.
NPL+FPL	Jaja i salate
SV	Šampanjac je serviran u čaši.
VS	U čaši je serviran šampanjac.
NPL+FPL	Vina i rakije
SV	Izlet je zakazan za proleće.
VS	Za proleće je zakazan izlet.
NPL+FPL	Putovanja i konferencije
SV	Sastanak je započeo u svai.
VS	U svai je započeo sastanak.
NPL+FPL	Takmičenja i utakmice
SV	Napad je utihnuo pred zoru.
VS	Pred zoru je utihnuo napad.
NPL+FPL	Nevremena i poplave
SV	Plakat je nestao u selidbi.
VS	U selidbi je nestao plakat.
NPL+FPL	Platna i skulpture

Fillers:	
SV	Kaput je kupljen na rasprodaji.
VS	Na rasprodaji je kupljen kaput.
Numeral	Dva šešira
SV	Poklon je zamotan u papir.
VS	U papir je zamotan poklon.
Numeral	Tri paketa
SV	Kolač je stavljen u rernu.
VS	U rernu je stavljen kolač.
Numeral	Četiri krompira
SV	Petao je očerupan u dvorištu.
VS	U dvorištu je očerupan petao.
Hybrid	Živina
SV	Pobunjenik je istrčao iz mraka.
VS	Iz mraka je istrčao pobunjenik.
Hybrid	Sluga
SV	Vojnik je krenuo u napad.
VS	U napad je krenuo vojnik.
Hybrid	Voa
SV	Soliter je izgraen u centru.
VS	U centru je izgraen soliter.
Rel. clause	Igralište koje su projektovali graevinari
SV	Dvoboj je otkazan zbog nevremena.
VS	Zbog nevremena je otkazan dvoboj.
Rel. clause	Putovanje koje su osmislili vodiči
SV	Zahtev je usvojen na sastanku.
VS	Na sastanku je prošao zahtev.
Rel. clause	Napredovanje koje su podržali profesori
SV	Ključevi su pronaeni na ulici.
VS	Na ulici su pronaeni ključevi.
Numeral	Dva novčanika
SV	Prozori su pocrneli od čai.
VS	Od čai su pocrneli prozori.
Numeral	Tri kamina
SV	Brisači su stavljeni na auto.
VS	Na auto su stavljeni brisači.
Numeral	Četiri točka
SV	Jarići su odvedeni na ispašu.
VS	Na ispašu su odvedeni jarići.
Hybrid	Telad
SV	Dečaci su okupljeni ispred škole.
VS	Ispred škole su okupljeni dečaci.
Hybrid	Deca
SV	Studenti su povezani preko interneta.
VS	Preko interneta su povezani studenti.
Hybrid	Braća

SV Sanduci su potonuli na dno.
 VS Na dno su potonuli sanduci.
 Rel. clause Sidro koje su bacili mornari
 SV Balvani su bačeni na gomilu.
 VS Na gomilu su bačeni balvani.
 Rel. clause Stablo koje su posekli ljudi
 SV Dokumentarci su prikazani na televiziji.
 VS Na televiziji su prikazani dokumentarci.
 Rel. clause Otvorenje koje su organizovali slikari
 SV Košulja je obešena na vešalicu.
 VS Na vešalicu je obešena košulja.
 Numeral Dva sakoa
 SV Ulica je zatvorena za saobraćaj.
 VS Za saobraćaj je zatvorena ulica.
 Numeral Tri trga
 SV Beležnica je stavljena u fasciklu.
 VS U fasciklu je stavljena beležnica.
 Numeral Četiri papira
 SV Kokoš je kupljena na sajmu.
 VS Na sajmu je kupljena kokoš.
 Hybrid Prasad
 SV Gospoica je šetala po ulici.
 VS Po ulici je šetala gospoica.
 Hybrid Gospoda
 SV Kraljica je zasela na tron.
 VS Na tron je zasela kraljica.
 Hybrid Vojvoda
 SV Reč je prekršena bez razloga.
 VS Bez razloga je prekršena reč.
 Rel. clause Obećanje koje su dali doktori
 SV Fabrika je propala zbog nemara.
 VS Zbog nemara je propala fabrika.
 Rel. clause Tržište koje su vodili menadžeri
 SV Reklama je puštena na radiju.
 VS Na radiju je puštena reklama.
 Rel. clause Pitanje koje su postavili slušaoci
 SV Grane su pale na zemlju.
 VS Na zemlju su pale grane.
 Numeral Dva lista
 SV Knjige su stavljene na policu.
 VS Na policu su stavljene knjige.
 Numeral Tri papira
 SV Šerpe su oprane deterdžentom.
 VS Deterdžentom su oprane šerpe.
 Numeral Četiri tanjira

SV Krave su puštene na livadu.
 VS Na livadu su puštene krave.
 Hybrid Jagnjad
 SV Gospoe su sedele u loži.
 VS U loži su sedele gospoe.
 Hybrid Vlastela
 SV Profesorke su pomagale u odlukama.
 VS U odlukama su pomagale profesorke.
 Hybrid Starešina
 SV Primedbe su odbačene na sudu.
 VS Na sudu su odbačene primedbe.
 Rel. clause Glasanje koje su nadzirali posmatrači
 SV Grane su istrunule pod snegom.
 VS Pod snegom su istrunule grane.
 Rel. clause Drvo koje su posadili radnici
 SV Mreže su prebačene preko zida.
 VS Preko zida su prebačene mreže.
 Rel. clause Uže koje su ispleli ribari
 SV More je naslikano na platnu.
 VS Na platnu je naslikano more.
 Numeral Dva čamca
 SV Mleko je stavljeno na sto.
 VS Na sto je stavljeno mleko.
 Numeral Tri bokala
 SV Napajanje je priključeno na mrežu.
 VS Na mrežu je priključeno napajanje.
 Numeral Četiri štampača
 SV Pile je odvojeno od majke.
 VS Od majke je odvojeno pile.
 Hybrid Junad
 SV Strašilo je osueno na samoću.
 VS Na samoću je osueno strašilo.
 Hybrid Ubica
 SV Izaslanstvo je pozvano na razgovor.
 VS Na razgovor je pozvano izaslanstvo.
 Hybrid Kolega
 SV Unapreenje je prikazano na vestima.
 VS Na vestima je prikazano unapreenje.
 Rel. clause Takmičenje koje su podržali sportisti
 SV Ogledalo je ostavljeno u ladicu.
 VS U ladicu je ostavljeno ogledalo.
 Rel. clause Pismo koje su poslali obožavaoci
 SV Kuvalo je stavljeno u prodaju.
 VS U prodaju je stavljeno kuvalo.
 Rel. clause Gudalo koje su zatražili kupci

SV	Otkrića su predstavljena na konferenciji.
VS	Na konferenciji su predstavljena otkrića.
Numeral	Dva eksperimenta
SV	Rebra su povreena od udara.
VS	Od udara su povreena rebra.
Numeral	Tri prsta
SV	Pomagala su kupljena za učionicu.
VS	Za učionicu su kupljena pomagala.
Numeral	Četiri stola
SV	Ministarstva su ukazala na propust.
VS	Na propust su ukazala ministarstva.
Hybrid	Poglavica
SV	Tržišta su propala zbog recesije.
VS	Zbog recesije su propala tržišta.
Hybrid	Gazda
SV	Čuda su otkrivena pred javnošću.
VS	Pred javnošću su otkrivena čuda.
Hybrid	Kukavica
SV	Gradilišta su ograena za tren.
VS	Za tren su ograena gradilišta.
Rel. clause	Dvorište koje su pomeli ubrari
SV	Istraživanja su objavljena u časopisu.
VS	U časopisu su objavljena istraživanja.
Rel. clause	Ispitivanje koje su sproveli psiholozi
SV	Sela su izbrisana s karte.
VS	S karte su izbrisana sela.
Rel. clause	Polje koje su zauzeli razbojnici

1.4 Nova Gorica/Ljubljana

The list used in Nova Gorica/Ljubljana was different in terms of lexical items, though the design was identical.

SV	Zid je zgrajen iz granita.
VS	Iz granita je zgrajen zid.
MPL+MPL	Mostovi in gradovi
SV	Nasad je uničen zaradi žleda.
VS	Zaradi žleda je uničen nasad.
MPL+MPL	Travniki in gozdovi
SV	Suknjič je pospravljen v omari.
VS	V omari je pospravljen suknjič.
MPL+MPL	Jopiči in plašči

SV	Taksi je ustavil na postaji.
VS	Na postaji je ustavil taksi.
MPL+MPL	Avtobusi in vlaki
SV	Kozarec je padel s pulta.
VS	S pulta je padel kozarec.
MPL+MPL	Lonci in krožniki
SV	Izroček je ležal na mizi.
VS	Na mizi je ležal izroček.
MPL+MPL	Časopisi in učbeniki
SV	Pokal je postavljen v vitrini.
VS	V vitrini je postavljen pokal.
FPL+FPL	Medalje in značke
SV	Prstan je narejen iz zlata.
VS	Iz zlata je narejen prstan.
FPL+FPL	Verižice in zapestnice
SV	Šal je spleten iz volne.
VS	Iz volne je spleten šal.
FPL+FPL	Kape in rokavice
SV	Dnevnik je izšel pri založbi.
VS	Pri založbi je izšel dnevnik.
FPL+FPL	Knjige in revije
SV	Urad je deloval brez vodstva.
VS	Brez vodstva je deloval urad.
FPL+FPL	Občine in klinike
SV	Prostor je dišal po kavi.
VS	Po kavi je dišal prostor.
FPL+FPL	Gostilne in kavarne
SV	Razpis je objavljen na spletu.
VS	Na spletu je objavljen razpis.
NPL+NPL	Pravila in navodila
SV	Park je poplavljen v celoti.
VS	V celoti je poplavljen park.
NPL+NPL	Naselja in polja
SV	Odcep je označen s tablami.
VS	S tablami je označen odcep.
NPL+NPL	Plazišča in melišča
SV	Stroj je delal brez težav.
VS	Brez težav je delal stroj.
NPL+NPL	Dvigala in stikala
SV	Center je ostal pod nadzorom.
VS	Pod nadzorom je ostal center.
NPL+NPL	Sodišča in volišča
SV	Senik je zgorel v požaru.
VS	V požaru je zgorel senik.
NPL+NPL	Polena in drevesa

SV	Davek je vključen v ceno.
VS	V ceno je vključen davek.
MPL+FPL	Stroški in takse
SV	Pouk je odpovedan do preklica.
VS	Do preklica je odpovedan pouk.
MPL+FPL	Koncerti in predstave
SV	Lokal je zaprt ob sredah.
VS	Ob sredah je zaprt lokal.
MPL+FPL	Uradi in banke
SV	Prelaz je vodil na sever.
VS	Na sever je vodil prelaz.
MPL+FPL	Kolovozi in ceste
SV	Ogenj je odseval na gladini.
VS	Na gladini je odseval ogenj.
MPL+FPL	Oblaki in zvezde
SV	Pretok je narasel po dežju.
VS	Po dežju je narasel pretok.
MPL+FPL	Potoki in reke
SV	Prevod je poslan v pregled.
VS	V pregled je poslan prevod.
MPL+NPL	Zapisniki in poročila
SV	Virus je ustvarjen v laboratoriju.
VS	V laboratoriju je ustvarjen virus.
MPL+NPL	Strupi in zdravila
SV	Avto je uvožen z Irske.
VS	Z Irske je uvožen avto.
MPL+NPL	Motorji in kolesa
SV	Greben je nastal iz koral.
VS	Iz koral je nastal greben.
MPL+NPL	Otoki in otočja
SV	Zid je sivel zaradi vlage.
VS	Zaradi vlage je sivel zid.
MPL+NPL	Temelji in stopnišča
SV	Izlet je potekal v petek.
VS	V petek je potekal izlet.
MPL+NPL	Sestanki in srečanja
SV	Koš je napolnjen s smetmi.
VS	S smetmi je napolnjen koš.
FPL+MPL	Škatle in zaboji
SV	Vlačilec je zasidran ob pomolu.
VS	Ob pomolu je zasidran vlačilec.
FPL+MPL	Ladje in čolni
SV	Jopič je narejen iz bombaža.
VS	Iz bombaža je narejen jopič.
FPL+MPL	Srajce in plašči

SV	Ponatis je izšel v zbirki.
VS	V zbirki je izšel ponatis.
FPL+MPL	Zgodbe in romani
SV	Kruh je stal v vitrini.
VS	V vitrini je stal kruh.
FPL+MPL	Žemlje in kolači
SV	Tornado je divjal nad morjem.
VS	Nad morjem je divjal tornado.
FPL+MPL	Nevihte in orkani
SV	Regrat je nabran na polju.
VS	Na polju je nabran regrat.
FPL+NPL	Rože in zelišča
SV	Obrok je skuhan v menzi.
VS	V menzi je skuhan obrok.
FPL+NPL	Malice in kosila
SV	Svinčnik je kupljen v papirnici.
VS	V papirnici je kupljen svinčnik.
FPL+NPL	Radirke in peresa
SV	Krožnik je zletel s pladnja.
VS	S pladnja je zletel krožnik.
FPL+NPL	Sklede in cedila
SV	Blok je ostal brez strehe.
VS	Brez strehe je ostal blok.
FPL+NPL	Zgradbe in poslopja
SV	Časopis je prispel iz tiska.
VS	Iz tiska je prispel časopis.
FPL+NPL	Vizitke in vabila
SV	Okvir je narejen iz lesa.
VS	Iz lesa je narejen okvir.
NPL+MPL	Stojala in podstavki
SV	Komet je sestavljen iz prahu.
VS	Iz prahu je sestavljen komet.
NPL+MPL	Ozvezdja in planeti
SV	Kip je izklesan iz marmorja.
VS	Iz marmorja je izklesan kip.
NPL+MPL	Korita in okvirji
SV	Potok je zamrznil sredi zime.
VS	Sredi zime je zamrznil potok.
NPL+MPL	Jezera in ribniki
SV	Alarm je poskrbel za preplah.
VS	Za preplah je poskrbel alarm.
NPL+MPL	Neurja in nalivi
SV	Mlin je stal na samem.
VS	Na samem je stal mlin.
NPL+MPL	Obzidja in gradovi

SV	Vrt je pripravljen za setev.
VS	Za setev je pripravljen vrt.
NPL+FPL	Polja in njive
SV	Denar je nakazan na račune.
VS	Na račune je nakazan denar.
NPL+FPL	Sredstva in finance
SV	Blok je urejen za najem.
VS	Za najem je urejen blok.
NPL+FPL	Poslopja in stavbe
SV	Sklad je sodeloval pri prenovi.
VS	Pri prenovi je sodeloval sklad.
NPL+FPL	Podjetja in ustanove
SV	Projekt je potekal v tajnosti.
VS	V tajnosti je potekal projekt.
NPL+FPL	Srečanja in delavnice
SV	Klavir je stal v kotu.
VS	V kotu je stal klavir.
NPL+FPL	Trobila in violine
Fillers:	
SV	Kostim je kupljen na razprodaji.
VS	Na razprodaji je kupljen kostim.
Numeral	Dva plašča
SV	Račun je prispel do plačnika.
VS	Do plačnika je prispel račun.
Numeral	Trije paketi
SV	Led je popustil pod pritiskom.
VS	Pod pritiskom je popustil led.
Numeral	Štirje žebli
SV	Lovec je hodil po gozdu.
VS	Po gozdu je hodil lovec.
Hybrid	Jelenjad
SV	Hišnik je potrkal na vrata.
VS	Na vrata je potrkal hišnik.
Hybrid	Sirota
SV	Trener je vpil na otroke.
VS	Na otroke je vpil trener.
Hybrid	Vodja
SV	Stadion je zgrajen na robu mesta.
VS	Na robu mesta je zgrajen stadion.
Rel. clause	Igrišče, ki so ga plačali sponzorji,
SV	Ukrep je naletel na neodobranje.
VS	Na neodobranje je naletel ukrep.
Rel. clause	Poročilo, ki so ga oddali poslanci,
SV	Nakit je izginil iz sefa.
VS	Iz sefa je izginil nakit.
Rel. clause	Imetje, ki so ga hranili sosede,

SV Aparati so narejeni po naročilu.
 VS Po naročilu so narejeni aparati.
 Numeral Dva ključa
 SV Strešniki so padli na pločnik.
 VS Na pločnik so padli strešniki.
 Numeral Trije zidaki
 SV Puloverji so viseli v omari.
 VS V omari so viseli puloverji.
 Numeral Štirje obešalniki
 SV Petelini so tekali po dvorišču.
 VS Po dvorišču so tekali petelini.
 Hybrid Perjad
 SV Plezalci so prispeli v bazni tabor.
 VS V bazni tabor so prispeli plezalci.
 Hybrid Šerpa
 SV Delavci so grozili s stavko.
 VS S stavko so grozili delavci.
 Hybrid Delovodja
 SV Trajekti so potonili sredi morja.
 VS Sredi morja so potonili trajekti.
 Rel. clause Sidro, ki so ga odvrgli mornarji,
 SV Travniki so obdani z gozdom.
 VS Z gozdom so obdani travniki.
 Rel. clause Posestvo, ki so ga odkupili kmetje,
 SV Festivali so potekali na prostem.
 VS Na prostem so potekali festivali.
 Rel. clause Srečanje, ki so ga pripravili dijaki,
 SV Žarnica je pregorela zaradi napake.
 VS Zaradi napake je pregorela žarnica.
 Numeral Dva robota
 SV Tekma je odpovedana zaradi bolezn.
 VS Zaradi bolezn je odpovedana tekma.
 Numeral Trije tečaji
 SV Omara je napolnjena s šaro.
 VS S šaro je napolnjena omara.
 Numeral Štirje predali
 SV Košuta je stekla na cesto.
 VS Na cesto je stekla košuta.
 Hybrid Srnjad
 SV Županja je prišla na obisk.
 VS Na obisk je prišla županja.
 Hybrid Vojvoda
 SV Študentka je šla na zabavo.
 VS Na zabavo je šla študentka.
 Hybrid Zborovodja

SV	Novica je zaokrožila med poslušalci.
VS	Med poslušalci je zaokrožila novica.
Rel. clause	Obvestilo, ki so ga odobrili uredniki,
SV	Garaža je čakala na preново.
VS	Na preново je čakala garaža.
Rel. clause	Letališče, ki so ga prevzeli vojaki,
SV	Planota je vključena v krožno pot.
VS	V krožno pot je vključena planota.
Rel. clause	Barje, ki so ga zavarovali čuvaji,
SV	Veje so padle na tla.
VS	Na tla so padle veje.
Numeral	Dva sadeža
SV	Knjige so namenjene za izposojno.
VS	Za izposojno so namenjene knjige.
Numeral	Trije učbeniki
SV	Figurice so narejene iz keramike.
VS	Iz keramike so narejene figurice.
Numeral	Štirje krožniki
SV	Medvedke so prilomastile izza grmovja.
VS	Izza grmovja so prilomastile medvedke.
Hybrid	Zverjad
SV	Banke so bogatele s provizijami.
VS	S provizijami so bogatele banke.
Hybrid	Računovodja
SV	Poslanke so pričele z delom.
VS	Z delom so pričele poslanke.
Hybrid	Starešina
SV	Novinarke so ostale brez odgovora.
VS	Brez odgovora so ostale novinarke.
Rel. clause	Vprašanje, ki so ga postavili učenci,
SV	Gore so prepletene s stezami.
VS	S stezami so prepletene gore.
Rel. clause	Pogorje, ki so ga preplezali alpinisti,
SV	Pisarne so poslovale z dobičkom.
VS	Z dobičkom so poslovale pisarne.
Rel. clause	Podjetje, ki so ga ustanovili bratje,

SV	Omizje je rezervirano za starejše.
VS	Za starejše je rezervirano omizje.
Numeral	Dva sedeža
SV	Vabilo je viselo na oglasni deski.
VS	Na oglasni deski je viselo vabilo.
Numeral	Trije plakati
SV	Glasbilo je pristalo na odpadu.
VS	Na odpadu je pristalo glasbilo.
Numeral	Štirje avtomati
SV	Jagnje je skočilo preko ograde.
VS	Preko ograde je skočilo jagnje.
Hybrid	Divjad
SV	Strašilo je stalo sredi polja.
VS	Sredi polja je stalo strašilo.
Hybrid	Panda
SV	Vedro je padlo čez ograjo.
VS	Čez ograjo je padlo vedro.
Hybrid	Knjigovodja
SV	Morje je primerno za kopanje.
VS	Za kopanje je primerno morje.
Rel. clause	Kopališče, ki so ga uredili potapljači,
SV	Darilo je prispelo po pošti.
VS	Po pošti je prispelo darilo.
Rel. clause	Voščilo, ki so ga podpisali sošolci,
SV	Pecivo je uvoženo iz tujine.
VS	Iz tujine je uvoženo pecivo.
Rel. clause	Sladilo, ki so ga uporabili kuharji,
SV	Kolesa so čakala na popravilo.
VS	Na popravilo so čakala kolesa.
Numeral	Dva motorja
SV	Okna so umazana že dolgo.
VS	Že dolgo so umazana okna.
Numeral	Trije lonci
SV	Drevesa so zrasla sredi parka.
VS	Sredi parka so zrasla drevesa.
Numeral	Štirje hrasti
SV	Teleta so zbežala v gozd.
VS	V gozd so zbežala teleta.
Hybrid	Priča
SV	Letala so pripravljena na vojno.
VS	Na vojno so pripravljena letala.
Hybrid	Vojskovodja
SV	Vozila so skrenila s poti.
VS	S poti so skrenila vozila.
Hybrid	Pismonoša

SV	Krožišča so okrašena z zelenjem.
VS	Z zelenjem so okrašena krožišča.
Rel. clause	Dvorišče, ki so ga uredili lastniki.
SV	Dela so razstavljena v galeriji.
VS	V galeriji so razstavljena dela.
Rel. clause	Platno, ki so ga poslikali otroci,
SV	Naselja so oživila po prenovi.
VS	Po prenovi so oživila naselja.
Rel. clause	Središče, ki so ga zasedli gostinci,

2 Experiment 2

The majority of the sentences used in Experiment 2 were sentences from Experiments 1a and 1b, where new sentences were created due to differences in design between production and grammaticality judgement tasks. Experiment 2 was a speeded grammaticality judgment task, in which participants were asked to read a sentence shown to them for 3500 msec. On the second screen they had to click on a number from 1 to 5, for which they had 3500 msec. A blank separator screen that followed each trial had a button that allowed the participants to advance to the next sentence manually. The experimental session started with 8 practice items, through which the subjects familiarized themselves with the task. Practice items were followed by 10 anchoring items, half of which were starkly ungrammatical (because of the wrong use of cases, because of word-order etc.), notated as au below, and the other half fully grammatical, notated as ag below. Anchoring items were used to allow participants to create a scale of grammaticality for the experimental items that followed.

2.1 Zadar & Zagreb

Zagreb and Zadar sites shared the same list of experimental items. (p=Practice items; a=Anchoring items (au=ungrammatical, ag=grammatical); f=Fillers; SV=Subject-verb experimental items; VS=Verb-subject experimental items)

p Upozorenja i savjeti su pomagale u vožnji.
 warning_{N.PL} and advice_{M.PL} be_{PL} help_{F.PL} in drive
 'Warnings and advice helped while driving.'

p Festival je očekivano postigao uspjeh.
 festival_{M.SG} be_{SG} expectedly gained_{M.SG} success
 'The festival was expectedly successful.'

p Na dva sata je jučer prekinuto emitiranje.
 on two hours be_{SG} yesterday interrupted_{N.SG} broadcast_{N.SG}
 'The broadcast was interrupted for two hours yesterday.'

p Preko ljeta su zatvorena škole i instituti.
 over summer be_{PL} closed_{N.PL} school_{F.PL} and institute_{M.PL}

'Schools and intitutes are closed in the summer.'

p Skulpture su pažljivo izraene iz mramorom.
sculpture_{F.PL} be_{PL} carefully made_{F.PL} from marble
'Sculptures were carefully crafted out of marble.'

p Vrtlari su ga prekjučer okopali motikom.
gardener_{M.PL} be_{PL} it the-day-before-yesterday entrenched_{M.PL} hoe
'Gardeners had entrenched it the day before yesterday with a hoe.'

p U sobi su provedeni testovi i istraživanja.
in room be_{PL} held_{M.PL} exam_{M.PL} and research_{N.PL}
'Exams and research were held in the room.'

p Preko ljeta su pročitane knjige i stripovi.
over summer be_{PL} read_{F.PL} book_{F.PL} and comic_{M.PL}
'Books and comics were read over the summer.'

au Preko interneta su naručena ormari i police.
over internet be_{PL} ordered_{N.PL} cupboard_{M.PL} and shelf_{F.PL}
'The cupboards and shelves were ordered over the internet.'

ag Sestre su ga odmah pripremile za operaciju.
nurse_{F.PL} be_{PL} him immediately prepared_{F.PL} for operation
'The nurses had him immediately prepared for the operation.'

au Uzduž obalom su pravilno rasporeene plaže.
along coast be_{PL} orderly distributed_{F.PL} beach_{F.PL}
'The beaches are orderly distributed along the coast.'

ag Šalovi i kravate su kupljene na rasprodaji.
scarf_{M.PL} and tie_{F.PL} be_{PL} bought_{F.PL} on sale
'The scarves and ties were bought on sale.'

au Na plakatu prepoznatljivo boje su i slova.
on poster recognizable_{N.SG} color_{F.PL} be_{PL} and letter_{N.PL}
'The colors and letters are recognizable on the poster.'

ag Kamionom su dostavljena ogledala i slike.
truck be_{PL} delivered_{N.PL} mirror_{N.PL} and painting_{F.PL}
'The mirrors and paintings were delivered by the truck.'

au Razglednica je prekjučer poslane poštom.
postcard_{F.SG} be_{PL} day-before-yesterday sent_{F.PL} post
'The postcard was sent by post the day before yesterday.'

au Profesor je ga ponovo opomenuli na satu.
professor_{M.SG} be_{SG} him again warned_{M.PL} in class
'The professor has warned him again in the class.'

ag Računala i ploče su postavljeni u učionicu.
computer_{M.PL} and blackboard_{M.PL} be_{PL} installed_{M.PL} in classroom
'The computers and blackboards were installed in the classroom.'

ag Ispod jastuka su jutros pronaene narukvice.
under pillow be_{PL} this-morning found_{F.PL} bracelet_{F.PL}
'The bracelets were found yesterday under the pillow.'

SV Pečenja i salate su naručena za vjenčanje.
roast_{N.PL} and salad_{F.PL} be_{PL} ordered_{N.PL} for wedding
'The roasts and salads were ordered for the wedding.'

SV Nevremena i poplave su utihnula pred zoru.
storm_{N.PL} and flood_{F.PL} calmed down_{N.PL} before dawn
'The storms and floods have calmed down before the dawn.'

SV Putovanja i konferencije su zakazani za ljeto.
trip_{N.PL} and conference_{F.PL} be_{PL} scheduled_{M.PL} for spring
'The trips and conferences were scheduled for the spring.'

SV Natjecanja i utakmice su započeli u svai.
competition_{N.PL} and match_{F.PL} be_{PL} started_{M.PL} with row
'The competitions and matches have started with a row.'

SV Vina i rakije su servirane nakon sastanka.
wine_{N.PL} and brandy_{F.PL} be_{PL} served_{F.PL} after meeting
'The wines and brandies were served after the meeting.'

SV Platna i skulpture su izgubljene u selidbi.
canvas_{N.PL} and sculpture_{F.PL} be_{PL} missing_{F.PL} in move
'The canvases and sculptures went missing in the move.'

- SV Sjednice i vijeća su pomaknuta na petak.
meeting_{F.PL} and council_{N.PL} be_{PL} moved_{N.PL} to Friday
'The meetings and councils were rearranged for Friday.'
-
- SV Olovke i rumenila su stigla na skladište.
eye-pencil_{F.PL} and blush_{N.PL} be_{PL} arrived_{N.PL} to warehouse
'The eye pencils and blushes have arrived at the warehouse.'
-
- SV Nagrade i priznanja su uručeni na bini.
award_{F.PL} and recognition_{N.PL} be_{PL} presented_{M.PL} on stage
'The awards and recognitions were presented on the stage.'
-
- SV Teorije i pravila su smišljeni preko praznika.
theory_{F.PL} and rule_{N.PL} be_{PL} thought-up_{M.PL} during holidays
'The theories and rules were thought up during holidays.'
-
- SV Odluke i rješenja su ovjerene pečatom.
decision_{F.PL} and verdict_{N.PL} be_{PL} certified_{F.PL} stamp
'The decisions and verdicts were certified with a stamp.'
-
- SV Diskusije i druženja su potrajale do jutra.
discussion_{F.PL} and party_{N.PL} be_{PL} lasted_{F.PL} until morning
'The discussions and parties have lasted until the morning.'
-
- SV Muzeji i galerije su otvorena za javnost.
museum_{M.PL} and gallery_{F.PL} be_{PL} open_{N.PL} to public
'The museums and galleries are open to the public.'
-
- SV Ispiti i predstave su održana u dvorani.
exam_{M.PL} and performance_{F.PL} be_{PL} held_{N.PL} in hall
'The exams and performances were held in the hall.'
-
- SV Granice i prijelazi su utvorena u roku.
border_{F.PL} and border-crossing_{M.PL} be_{PL} established_{N.PL} on time
'The borders and border crossings were established on time.'
-
- SV Škole i instituti su zatvorena u kolovožu.
school_{F.PL} and institute_{M.PL} be_{PL} closed_{N.PL} in August
'The schools and institutes were closed in August.'
-
- SV Vježbe i seminari su odslušane u roku.
recitation_{F.PL} and seminar_{M.PL} be_{PL} taught_{F.PL} in time

'Recitations and seminars were done in time.'

SV Jedrilice i gliseri su uplovile u zaljev.
sailboat_{F.PL} and speedboat_{M.PL} be_{PL} sailed_{F.PL} into bay
'The sailboats and speedboats have sailed into the bay.'

SV Zabave i svatovi su potrajali do jutra.
entertainment_{F.PL} and celebration_{M.PL} be_{PL} lasted_{M.PL} until morning
'The entertainment and celebrations have lasted until the morning'

SV Tablete i sirupi su prošli na testiranju.
pill_{F.PL} and syrup_{M.PL} be_{PL} passed_{M.PL} on check
'The pills and syrups have passed the check.'

SV Poster i ogledala su obješene u kupaonici.
poster_{M.PL} and mirror_{N.PL} be_{PL} hung_{F.PL} in bathroom
'The posters and mirrors were hung in the bathroom.'

SV Plesovi i druženja su organizirane u školi.
dance_{M.PL} and party_{N.PL} be_{PL} organized_{F.PL} at school
'The dances and parties were organized at the school.'

SV Pića i sendviči su poslužene na terasi.
drink_{N.PL} and sandwich_{M.PL} be_{PL} served_{F.PL} on terrace
'The drinks and sandwiches were served on the terrace.'

SV Pisma i paketi su dostavljene na vrijeme.
letter_{N.PL} and package_{M.PL} be_{PL} delivered_{F.PL} on time
'The letters and packages were delivered on time.'

SV Pitanja i problemi su napisana na ploču.
question_{N.PL} and problem_{M.PL} be_{PL} written_{N.PL} on board
'The questions and problems were written on the board'

SV Dogaanja i koncerti su otkazana zbog kiše.
event_{N.PL} and concert_{M.PL} be_{PL} canceled_{N.PL} due-to rain
'The events and concerts were canceled due to rain.'

SV Stakla i retrovizori su uništeni u nesreći.
window_{N.PL} and rear-view-mirror_{M.PL} be_{PL} destroyed_{M.PL} in accident
'The windows and rear-view mirrors were destroyed in the accident.'

- SV Pravila i savjeti su doprinijeli sigurnosti.
rule_{N,PL} and advice_{M,PL} be_{PL} contribute_{M,PL} safety
'The rules and advice have contributed to the safety.'
-
- SV Poster i ogledala su obješena na zid.
poster_{M,PL} and mirror_{N,PL} be_{PL} hung_{N,PL} on wall
'The posters and mirrors were hung on the wall.'
-
- SV Poticaji i sredstva su nestala s računa.
incentive_{M,PL} and fund_{N,PL} be_{PL} disappeared_{N,PL} from account
'The incentives and funds have disappeared from the account.'
-
- SV Muzeji i galerije su otvorene za javnost.
museum_{M,PL} and gallery_{F,PL} be_{PL} open_{F,PL} to public
'The museums and galleries are open to the public'
-
- SV Časopisi i knjige su ukradene iz knjižnice.
journal_{M,PL} and book_{F,PL} be_{PL} stolen_{F,PL} from library
'The journals and books were stolen from the library.'
-
- VS Za vjenčanje su naručena pečenja i salate.
for wedding be_{PL} ordered_{N,PL} roast_{N,PL} and salad_{F,PL}
'The roasts and salads have been ordered for the wedding.'
-
- VS Pred zoru su utihnula nevremena i poplave.
before dawn be_{PL} calmed-down_{N,PL} storm_{N,PL} and flood_{F,PL}
'The storms and floods have calmed down before the dawn.'
-
- VS Za ljeto su zakazani putovanja i konferencije.
for Spring be_{PL} scheduled_{M,PL} trip_{N,PL} and conference_{F,PL}
'The trips and conferences were scheduled for the spring.'
-
- VS U svai su započeli natjecanja i utakmice.
with row be_{PL} started_{M,PL} competition_{N,PL} and match_{F,PL}
'The competitions and matches have started with a row.'
-
- VS Nakon sastanka su servirane vina i rakije.
after meeting be_{PL} served_{F,PL} wine_{N,PL} and brandy_{F,PL}
'The wines and brandies were served after the meeting.'
-

- VS U selidbi su izgubljene platna i skulpture.
 in move be_{PL} missing_{F.PL} canvas_{N.PL} and sculpture_{F.PL}
 'The canvases and sculptures went missing in the move.'
-
- VS Na petak su pomaknuta sjednice i vijeća.
 to Friday be_{PL} moved_{N.PL} meeting_{F.PL} and council_{N.PL}
 'The meetings and councils were rearranged for Friday.'
-
- VS Na skladište su stigla olovke i rumenila.
 to warehouse be_{PL} arrived_{N.PL} eye-pencil_{F.PL} and blush_{N.PL}
 'The eye pencils and blushes have arrived to the warehouse.'
-
- VS Na bini su uručeni nagrade i priznanja.
 on stage be_{PL} presented_{M.PL} award_{F.PL} and recognition_{N.PL}
 'The awards and recognitions were presented on the stage.'
-
- VS Preko praznika su smišljeni teorije i pravila.
 during holidays be_{PL} thought-off_{M.PL} theory_{F.PL} and rule_{N.PL}
 'The theories and rules were thought off during holidays.'
-
- VS Pečatom su ovjerene odluke i rješenja.
 stamp be_{PL} certified_{F.PL} decision_{F.PL} and verdict_{N.PL}
 'The decisions and verdicts were certified with a stamp.'
-
- VS Do jutra su potrajale diskusije i druženja.
 until morning be_{PL} lasted_{F.PL} discussion_{F.PL} and party_{N.PL}
 'The discussions and parties have lasted until the morning.'
-
- VS Za javnost su otvorena muzeji i galerije.
 to public be_{PL} open_{N.PL} museum_{M.PL} and gallery_{F.PL}
 'The museums and galleries are open to the public.'
-
- VS U dvorani su održana ispiti i predstave.
 in hall be_{PL} held_{N.PL} exam_{M.PL} and performance_{F.PL}
 'The exams and performances were held in the hall.'
-
- VS U roku su utvorena granice i prijelazi.
 in time be_{PL} established_{N.PL} border_{F.PL} and border-crossing_{M.PL}
 'The borders and border crossings were established in time'
-
- VS U kolovozu su zatvorena škole i instituti.
 in august be_{PL} closed_{N.PL} school_{F.PL} and institute_{M.PL}

'The schools and institutes were closed in August.'

VS U roku su odslušane vježbe i seminari.
in time *be_{PL}* taught_{F,PL} recitation_{F,PL} and seminar_{M,PL}
'Recitations and seminars were done in time.'

VS U zaljev su uplovile jedrilice i gliseri.
into bay *be_{PL}* sailed_{F,PL} sailboat_{F,PL} and speedboat_{M,PL}
'The sailboats and speedboats have sailed into the bay.'

VS Do jutra su potrajali zabave i svatovi.
until morning *be_{PL}* lasted_{M,PL} entertainment_{F,PL} and celebration_{M,PL}
'The entertainment and celebrations have lasted until the morning'

VS Na testiranju su prošli tablete i sirupi.
on check *be_{PL}* passed_{M,PL} pill_{F,PL} and syrup_{M,PL}
'The pills and syrups have passed the check.'

VS U kupaonici su obješene posteri i ogledala.
in bathroom *be_{PL}* hung_{F,PL} poster_{M,PL} and mirror_{N,PL}
'The posters and mirrors were hung in the bathroom.'

VS U školi su organizirane plesovi i druženja.
at school *be_{PL}* organized_{F,PL} dance_{M,PL} and party_{N,PL}
'The dances and parties were organized at the school.'

VS Na terasi su poslužene pića i sendviči.
on terrace *be_{PL}* served_{F,PL} drink_{N,PL} and sandwich_{M,PL}
'The drinks and sandwiches were served on the terrace.'

VS Na vrijeme su dostavljene pisma i paketi.
on time *be_{PL}* delivered_{F,PL} letter_{N,PL} and package_{M,PL}
'The letters and packages were delivered on time.'

VS Na ploču su napisana pitanja i problemi.
on board *be_{PL}* written_{N,PL} question_{N,PL} and problem_{M,PL}
'The questions and problems were written on the board'

VS Zbog kiše su otkazana događanja i koncerti.
due-to rain *be_{PL}* canceled_{N,PL} event_{N,PL} and concert_{M,PL}
'The events and concerts were canceled due to rain.'

VS U nesreći su uništeni stakla i retrovizori.
in accident be_{PL} destroyed_{M.PL} window_{N.PL} and rear-view-mirror_{M.PL}
'The windows and rear-view mirrors were destroyed in the accident.'

VS Sigurnosti su doprinijeli pravila i savjeti.
safety be_{PL} contribute_{M.PL} rule_{N.PL} and advice_{M.PL}
'The rules and advice have contributed to the safety.'

VS Na zid su obješena posteri i ogledala.
on wall be_{PL} hung_{N.PL} poster_{M.PL} and mirror_{N.PL}
'The posters and mirrors were hung on the wall.'

VS S računa su nestala poticaji i sredstva.
from account be_{PL} disappeared_{N.PL} incentive_{M.PL} and fund_{N.PL}
'The incentives and funds have disappeared from the account.'

VS Za javnost su otvorene muzeji i galerije.
to public be_{PL} open_{F.PL} museum_{M.PL} and gallery_{F.PL}
'The museums and galleries are open to the public'

VS Iz knjižnice su ukradene časopisi i knjige.
from library be_{PL} stolen_{F.PL} journal_{M.PL} and book_{F.PL}
'The journals and books were stolen from the library.'

f Kaput je nedavno kupljen na rasprodaji.
coat_{M.SG} be_{SG} recently purchased_{M.SG} on sale
'The coat was recently purchased on sale.'

f Ključevi su prekjučer pronaeni na cesti.
key_{M.PL} be_{PL} day-before-yesterday found_{M.PL} on street
'The keys were found on the street the day before yesterday.'

f Košulja je spretno obješena na vješalicu.
shirt_{F.SG} be_{SG} nattily hung_{F.SG} on hanger
'The shirt was nattily hung on the hanger.'

f Knjige su pažljivo stavljene na policu.
book_{F.PL} be_{PL} carefully placed_{F.PL} on shelf
'The books were carefully placed on the shelf.'

- f More je besprijeckorno naslikano na platnu.
sea_{N.SG} be_{SG} immaculately painted_{N.SG} on canvas
 'The sea was immaculately painted on the canvas.'
-
- f Neboderi su nedavno izgraeni u centru.
skyscraper_{M.PL} be_{PL} recently built_{M.PL} in centre
 'The skyscrapers have been recently built in the centre.'
-
- f Grane su odavno istrunule pod snijegom.
branch_{F.PL} be_{PL} recently rotted_{F.PL} under snow
 'The branches have recently rotted under the snow.'
-
- f Gradilište je iznimno opasno po život.
construction-site_{N.SG} be_{SG} extremely dangerous_{N.SG} to life
 'The construction site is extremely dangerous.'
-
- f More je besprijeckorno naslikana na platnu.
sea_{N.SG} be_{SG} immaculately painted_{N.PL} on canvas
 'The sea was immaculately painted on the canvas.'
-
- f Neboder je nedavno izgraeni u centru.
skyscraper_{M.SG} be_{SG} recently built_{M.PL} in centre
 'The skyscraper was recently built in the centre.'
-
- f Grana je odavno istrunule pod snijegom.
branch_{F.SG} be_{SG} recently rotted_{F.PL} under snow
 'The branch has recently rotted under the snow.'
-
- f Gradilište je iznimno opasna po život.
construction-site_{N.SG} be_{SG} extremely dangerous_{N.PL} to life
 'The construction site is extremely life-threatening.'
-
- f Kaput je nedavno kupljeni na rasprodaji.
coat_{M.SG} be_{SG} recently purchased_{M.PL} on sale
 'The coat was recently purchased on sale.'
-
- f Ključ je prekjučer pronaeni na cesti.
key_{M.SG} be_{SG} day-before-yesterday found_{M.PL} on street
 'The key was found on the street day before yesterday.'
-
- f Košulja je spretno obješene na vješalicu.
shirt_{F.SG} be_{SG} nattily hung_{F.PL} on hanger

'The shirt was nattily hung on the hanger.'

- f Knjiga je pažljivo stavljene na policu.
book_{F.SG} be_{SG} carefully placed_{F.PL} on shelf
'The book was carefully placed on the shelf.'
-

- f Prodavači su ga pažljivo zamotali u papir.
salesman_{M.PL} be_{PL} him carefully wrapped_{M.PL} in paper
'The salesmen have carefully wrapped it in the paper.'
-

- f Školjke su mu u trenu potonule na dno.
clam_{F.PL} be_{PL} him swiftly sunk_{F.PL} to bottom
'His clams have swiftly sunk to the bottom.'
-

- f Novčanici su joj nenadano pali na zemlju.
wallet_{M.PL} be_{PL} her recently fell_{M.PL} to ground
'Her wallets have recently fell to the ground.'
-

- f Prijateljice su ga upravo stavile u krevet.
girlfriend_{F.PL} be_{PL} him just put_{F.PL} to bed
'The girlfriends have just put him to bed.'
-

- f Radnici su ga objeručke bacili na hrpu.
worker_{M.PL} be_{PL} it with-both-hands thrown_{M.PL} onto pile
'The workers have thrown it onto the pile with both hands.'
-

- f Pravnice su ga stručno obranile na sudu.
lawyer_{F.PL} be_{PL} him expertly defended_{F.PL} in court
'The lawyers have expertly defended him in the court.'
-

- f Bankari su ga potajno spremili u ladicu.
banker_{M.PL} be_{PL} him secretly stored_{M.PL} in drawer
'The bankers have secretly stored it in the drawer.'
-

- f Urednice su ga jutros objavile u časopisu.
editor_{F.PL} be_{PL} him this-morning published_{F.PL} in journal
'The editors have published it this morning in the journal.'
-

- f Prodavači ga su pažljivo zamotali u papir.
salesman_{M.PL} him be_{PL} carefully wrapped_{M.PL} in paper
'The salesmen have carefully wrapped it in the paper.'
-

- f Školjke mu su u trenu potonule na dno.
clam_{F.PL} him be_{PL} swiftly sank_{F.PL} to bottom
'Clams have swiftly sank to the bottom on him.'
-
- f Novčanici joj su nenadano pali na zemlju.
wallet_{M.PL} her be_{PL} recently fell_{M.PL} to ground
'Her wallets have recently fell to the ground.'
-
- f Prijateljice ga su upravo stavile u krevet.
girlfriend_{F.PL} him be_{PL} just put_{F.PL} to bed
'The girlfriends have just put him to bed.'
-
- f Radnici ga su objeručke bacili na hrpu.
worker_{M.PL} it be_{PL} with-both-hands thrown_{M.PL} onto pile
'The workers have thrown it onto the pile with both hands.'
-
- f Pravnice ga su stručno obranile na sudu.
lawyer_{F.PL} him be_{PL} expertly defended_{F.PL} in court
'The lawyers have expertly defended him in the court.'
-
- f Bankari ga su potajno spremili u ladicu.
banker_{M.PL} him be_{PL} secretly stored_{M.PL} in drawer
'The bankers have secretly stored it in the drawer.'
-
- f Urednice ga su jutros objavile u časopisu.
editor_{F.PL} him be_{PL} this-morning published_{F.PL} in journal
'The editors have published it this morning in the journal.'
-
- f Kolač je prethodno stavljen u pećnicu.
cake_{M.SG} be_{SG} beforehand put_{M.SG} in oven_{ACC}
'The cake was beforehand put in the oven.'
-
- f Računalo je upravo uključeno u struju.
computer_{N.SG} be_{SG} just connected_{N.SG} to power_{ACC}
'The computer has just been connected to the power.'
-
- f Reklama je zasigurno puštena na radiju.
advertisement_{F.SG} be_{SG} certainly played_{F.SG} on radio_{DAT}
'The advertisement was certainly played on the radio.'
-
- f Tave su temeljito izribane deterđentom.
pan_{F.PL} be_{PL} thoroughly scrubbed_{F.PL} detergent_{INSTR}

'The pans have been thoroughly scrubbed with detergent.'

- f Prijedlog je jutros odobren na sastanaku.
proposal_{M.SG} be_{SG} this-morning passed_{M.SG} at meeting_{DAT}
'The proposal has been passed this morning at the meeting.'
-

- f Filmovi su ponovo prikazani na televiziji.
movie_{M.PL} be_{PL} again shown_{M.PL} on television_{DAT}
'The movies were shown again on the television.'
-

- f Bilježnica je još sinoć stavljena u torbu.
notebook_{F.SG} be_{SG} already last-night put_{F.SG} in bag_{ACC}
'The notebook was already put last night in the bag.'
-

- f Mreže su pažljivo prebačene preko zida.
net_{F.PL} be_{PL} carefully thrown_{F.PL} over wall_{GEN}
'The nets were carefully thrown over the wall.'
-

- f Prijedlog je jutros odobren na sastanakom.
proposal_{M.SG} be_{SG} this-morning passed_{M.SG} at meeting_{INSTR}
'The proposal has been passed this morning at the meeting.'
-

- f Filmovi su ponovo prikazani na televizijom.
movie_{M.PL} be_{PL} again shown_{M.PL} on television_{INSTR}
'The movies were shown again on the television.'
-

- f Bilježnica je još sinoć stavljena u torbom.
notebook_{F.SG} be_{SG} already last-night put_{F.SG} in folder_{INSTR}
'The notebook was already put last night in the bag.'
-

- f Mreže su pažljivo prebačene preko zidom.
net_{F.PL} be_{PL} carefully thrown_{F.PL} over wall_{INSTR}
'The nets were carefully thrown over the wall.'
-

- f Kolač je prethodno stavljen u pećnicom.
cake_{M.SG} be_{SG} beforehand put_{M.SG} in oven_{INSTR}
'The cake was beforehand put in the oven.'
-

- f Računalo je upravo uključeno u strujom.
computer_{N.SG} be_{SG} just connected_{N.SG} to power_{INSTR}
'The computer has just been connected to the power.'
-

- f Reklama je zasigurno puštena na radiom.
 advertisement_{F.SG} be_{SG} certainly played_{F.SG} on radio_{INSTR}
 'The advertisement was certainly played on the radio.'
-
- f Tave su temeljito izribane deterdžentovi.
 pan_{F.PL} be_{PL} thoroughly scrubbed_{F.PL} detergent_{NOM}
 'The pans have been thoroughly scrubbed with detergent.'
-
- f Sjenila su i tablete dospjela na tržište.
 eye-pencil_{N.PL} be_{PL} and tablets_{F.PL} reached_{N.PL} on market
 'The eye pencils and tablets have reached the market.'
-
- f Pitanja su i vježbe napisano na ploču.
 question_{N.PL} be_{PL} and exercise_{F.PL} written_{N.SG} on board
 'The questions and exercises were written on the board'
-
- f Knjige su i pomagala korištene u nastavi.
 book_{F.PL} be_{PL} and teaching-aid_{N.PL} used_{F.PL} in class
 'The books and teaching aids were used in the class.'
-
- f Ruke su i koljena ozlijeeno u sudaru.
 hand_{F.PL} be_{PL} and knee_{N.PL} damaged_{N.SG} in collision
 'Hands and knees were damaged in the collision.'
-
- f Cisterne su i traktori skrenule s ceste.
 water-bowser_{F.PL} be_{PL} and tractor_{M.PL} turned_{F.PL} off road
 'The water bowsers and tractors have turned off the road.'
-
- f Jezera su i potoci prenatrpana otpadom.
 lake_{N.PL} be_{PL} and stream_{M.PL} full_{N.PL} waste
 'The lakes and streams were full of waste.'
-
- f Potvrde su i pravilnici odobreno pečatom.
 certificate_{F.PL} be_{PL} and rule_{M.PL} approved_{N.SG} seal
 'The certificates and rules were approved by seal.'
-
- f Stakla su i retrovizori popucalo u nesreći.
 window_{N.PL} be_{PL} and rear-view-mirrors_{M.PL} cracked_{N.SG} in accident
 'The windows and rear-view mirrors have cracked in the accident.'
-
- f Na tržište dospjeli sjenila su i tablete.
 on market reached_{M.PL} eye-pencil_{N.PL} be_{PL} and tablets_{F.PL}

'The eye pencils and tablets have reached the market.'

- f Na ploču napisano pitanja su i vježbe.
on board written_{N.SG} question_{N.PL} be_{PL} and exercise_{F.PL}
'The questions and exercises were written on the board'
-

- f U nastavi korišteni knjige su i pomagala.
in class used_{M.PL} book_{F.PL} be_{PL} and teaching-aid_{N.PL}
'The books and teaching aids were used in the class.'
-

- f U sudaru ozlijeeno ruke su i koljena.
in collision damaged_{N.SG} hand_{F.PL} be_{PL} and knee_{N.PL}
'Hands and knees were damaged in the collision.'
-

- f S ceste skrenuli cisterne su i traktori.
off road turned_{M.PL} water-bowser_{F.PL} be_{PL} and tractor_{M.PL}
'The water bowsers and tractors have turned off the road.'
-

- f Otpadom zagaivani jezera su i potoci.
waste polluted_{M.PL} lake_{N.PL} be_{PL} and stream_{M.PL}
'The lakes and streams were polluted with waste.'
-

- f Pečatom odobreni potvrde su i pravilnici.
seal approved_{M.PL} certificate_{F.PL} be_{PL} and rule_{M.PL}
'The certificates and rules were approved by seal.'
-

- f U nesreći popucali stakla su i retrovizori.
in accident cracked_{M.PL} window_{N.PL} be_{PL} and rear-view-mirror_{M.PL}
'The windows and rear-view mirrors have cracked in the accident.'

2.2 Sarajevo

The list used in Sarajevo was minimally changed to the local variant by replacing only a few lexical items.

Practice items:

Upozorenja i savjeti su pomagale u vožnji.

Festival je očekivano postigao uspjeh.

Emitovanje je jučer prekinuto na dva sata.

Škole i instituti su zatvorena preko ljeta.

Skulpture su pažljivo izraene iz mramorom.

Vrtlari su ga prekjučer otkopali motikom.

U sobi su provedeni testovi i istraživanja.

Preko ljeta su pročitane knjige i stripovi.

Experimental items:

Anchoring:

Ormari i police su naručena preko interneta.
Sestre su ga odmah pripremile za operaciju.
Plaže su pravilno rasporeene uzduž obalom.
Šalovi i kravate su kupljene na rasprodaji.
Na plakatu prepoznatljivi su boje i slova.
Ogledala i slike su dostavljena kamionom.
Razglednica je prekjučer poslana poštom.
Profesor je ga ponovo opomenuo na času.
U učionicu su postavljeni pomagala i ploče.
Narukvice su jutros pronaene ispod jastuka.

SV:

Pečenja i salate su naručena za vjenčanje.
Nevremena i poplave su utihnula pred zoru.
Putovanja i konferencije zakazani za ljeto.
Takmičenja i utakmice su započeli u svai.
Vina i rakije su servirane nakon sastanka.
Platna i skulpture su izgubljene u selidbi.
Sjednice i vijeća su pomaknuta na petak.
Olovke i rumenila su stigla na skladište.
Nagrade i priznanja su uručeni na bini.
Teorije i pravila su smišljeni preko praznika.
Odluke i rješenja su ovjerene pečatom.
Diskusije i druženja su potrajale do jutra.
Muzeji i galerije su otvorena za javnost.
Ispiti i predstave su održana u dvorani.
Granice i prelazi su utvorena u roku.
Škole i instituti su zatvorena u augustu.
Vježbe i seminari su odslušane u roku.
Jedrilice i gliseri su uplovile u zaljev.
Zabave i svatovi su potrajali do jutra.
Tablete i sirupi su prošli na testiranju.
Poster i ogledala su obješene u kupaonici.
Plesovi i druženja su organizovane u školi.
Pića i sendviči su poslužene na terasi.
Pisma i paketi su dostavljene na vrijeme.
Pitanja i problemi su napisana na ploču.
Dogaanja i koncerti su otkazana zbog kiše.
Stakla i retrovizori su uništeni u nesreći.
Pravila i savjeti su doprinijeli sigurnosti.
Poster i ogledala su obješena na zid.
Poticaji i sredstva su nestala s računa.
Muzeji i galerije su otvorene za javnost.
Časopisi i knjige su ukradene iz biblioteke.

VS:

Za vjenčanje su naručena pečenja i salate.
Pred zoru su utihnula nevremena i poplave.

Za ljeto su zakazani putovanja i konferencije.
U svai su započeli takmičenja i utakmice.
Nakon sastanka su servirane vina i rakije.
U selidbi su izgubljene platna i skulpture.
Na petak su pomaknuta sjednice i vijeća.
Na skladište su stigla olovke i rumenila.
Na bini su uručeni nagrade i priznanja.
Preko praznika su smišljeni teorije i pravila.
Pečatom su ovjerene odluke i rješenja.
Do jutra su potrajale diskusije i druženja.
Za javnost su otvorena muzeji i galerije.
U dvorani su održana ispiti i predstave.
U roku su utvorena granice i prelazi.
U augustu su zatvorena škole i instituti.
U roku su odslušane vježbe i seminari.
U zaljev su uplovile jedrilice i gliseri.
Do jutra su potrajali zabave i svatovi.
Na testiranju su prošli tablete i sirupi.
U kupaonici su obješene poster i ogledala.
U školi su organizovane plesovi i druženja.
Na terasi su poslužene pića i sendviči.
Na vrijeme su dostavljene pisma i paketi.
Na ploču su napisana pitanja i problemi.
Zbog kiše su otkazana događanja i koncerti.
U nesreći su uništeni stakla i retrovizori.
Sigurnosti su doprinijeli pravila i savjeti.
Na zid su obješena poster i ogledala.
S računara su nestala poticaji i sredstva.
Za javnost su otvorene muzeji i galerije.
Iz biblioteke su ukradene časopisi i knjige.

Fillers:

Kaput je nedavno kupljen na rasprodaji.
Ključevi su prekjučer pronaeni na cesti.
Košulja je spretno obješena na vješalicu.
Knjige su pažljivo stavljene na policu.
More je besprijekorno naslikano na platnu.
Neboderi su nedavno izgraeni u centru.
Grane su odavno istrunule pod snijegom.
Gradilište je izuzetno opasno po život.
More je besprijekorno naslikana na platnu.
Neboder je nedavno izgraeni u centru.
Grana je odavno istrunule pod snijegom.
Gradilište je izuzetno opasna po život.
Kaput je nedavno kupljeni na rasprodaji.
Ključ je prekjučer pronaeni na cesti.
Košulja je spretno obješene na vješalicu.
Knjiga je pažljivo stavljene na policu.
Prodavači su ga pažljivo zamotali u papir.

Naočale su mu u trenu potonule na dno.
Novčanici su joj nenadano pali na zemlju.
Prijateljice su ga upravo stavile u krevet.
Radnici su ga objeručno bacili na hrpu.
Pravnice su ga stručno odbranile na sudu.
Bankari su je potajno stavili u ladicu.
Urednice su je jutros objavile u časopisu.
Prodavači ga su pažljivo zamotali u papir.
Naočale mu su u trenu potonule na dno.
Novčanici joj su nenadano pali na zemlju.
Prijateljice ga su upravo stavile u krevet.
Radnici ga su objeručno bacili na hrpu.
Pravnice ga su stručno odbranile na sudu.
Bankari ga su potajno stavili u ladicu.
Urednice ga su jutros objavile u časopisu.
Kolač je prethodno stavljen u rernu.
Kuhalo je upravo uključeno u struju.
Reklama je ispočetka puštena na radiju.
Tave su pošteno izribane deterdžentom.
Prijedlog je jutros odobren na sastanku.
Filmovi su ponovo prikazani na televiziji.
Sveska je još sinoć stavljena u torbu.
Mreže su pažljivo prebačene preko zida.
Prijedlog je jutros odobren na sastanakom.
Filmovi su ponovo prikazani na televizijom.
Sveska je još sinoć stavljena u torbom.
Mreže su pažljivo prebačene preko zidom.
Kolač je prethodno stavljen u rernom.
Kuhalo je upravo uključeno u strujom.
Reklama je ispočetka puštena na radiom.
Tave su pošteno izribane deterdžentovi.
Sjenila su i tablete dospjela na tržište.
Pitanja su i vježbe napisane na ploču.
Knjige su i pomagala korištene u nastavi.
Noge su i stopala povrijeena u sudaru.
Cisterne su i traktori skrenule s ceste.
Jezera su i potoci zagaivana otpadom.
Potvrde su i pravilnici odobreni pečatom.
Stakla su i retrovizori popucali u nesreći.
Na tržište dospjela sjenila su i tablete.
Na ploču napisani pitanja su i vježbe.
U nastavi korišteni knjige su i pomagala.
U sudaru povrijeene noge su i stopala.
S ceste skrenuli su cisterne i traktori.
Otpadom zagaivana su jezera i potoci.
Pečatom odobrene su potvrde i pravilnici.
U nesreći popucali su stakla i retrovizori.

2.3 Novi Sad & Niš

The lists used in Novi Sad and Niš were identical.

Practice items:

Upozorenja i saveti su pomagale u vožnji.
Festival je očekivano postigao uspeh.
Na dva sata je juče prekinuta emitovanje.
Preko leta su zatvorena škole i instituti.
Skulpture su pažljivo napravljene od glinom.
Baštovani su ga prekjuče okopali motikom.
U sobi su sprovedeni testovi i istraživanja.
Preko leta su pročitane knjige i stripovi.

Experimental items:

Anchoring:

Preko interneta su naručena ormari i police.
Sestre su ga odmah pripremile za operaciju.
Duž obalom su pravilno rasporeene plaže.
Šalovi i kravate su kupljene na rasprodaji.
Na plakatu prepoznatljivo boje su i slova.
Kamionom su dostavljena ogledala i slike.
Razglednica je prekjuče poslana poštom.
Profesor je ga ponovo opomenuo na času.
Pomagala i ploče su postavljeni u učionicu.
Ispod jastuka su jutros pronaene narukvice.

SV:

Pečenja i salate su naručena za venčanje.
Nevremena i poplave su utihnula pred zoru.
Putovanja i konferencije su zakazani za leto.
Takmičenja i utakmice su započeli u svai.
Vina i rakije su servirane nakon sastanka.
Platna i skulpture su izgubljene u selidbi.
Sednice i veća su pomerena na petak.
Olovke i rumenila su stigla na skladište.
Nagrade i priznanja su uručeni na bini.
Teorije i pravila su smišljeni tokom praznika.
Odluke i rešenja su overene pečatom.
Diskusije i druženja su potrajale do jutra.
Muzeji i galerije su otvorena za javnost.
Ispiti i predstave su održana u dvorani.
Granice i prelazi su utvorena u roku.
Škole i instituti su zatvorena u avgustu.
Vežbe i seminari su odslušane u roku.
Jedrilice i gliseri su uplovile u zaliv.
Zabave i svatovi su potrajali do jutra.
Tablete i sirupi su prošli na testiranju.
Poster i ogledala su obešene u kupatilu.
Plesovi i druženja su organizovane u školi.
Pića i sendvići su poslužene na terasi.

Pisma i paketi su dostavljene na vreme.
Pitanja i problemi su napisana na ploči.
Dešavanja i koncerti su otkazana zbog kiše.
Stakla i retrovizori su uništeni u nesreći.
Pravila i saveti su doprineli sigurnosti.
Poster i ogledala su obešena na zid.
Podsticaji i sredstva su nestala s računara.
Muzeji i galerije su otvorene za javnost.
Časopisi i knjige su ukradene iz biblioteke.

VS:

Za venčanje su naručena pečenja i salate.
Pred zorom su utihnula nevremena i poplave.
Za leto su zakazani putovanja i konferencije.
U svai su započeli takmičenja i utakmice.
Nakon sastanka su servirane vina i rakije.
U selidbi su izgubljene platna i skulpture.
Na petak su pomerena sednice i veća.
Na skladište su stigla olovke i rumenila.
Na bini su uručeni nagrade i priznanja.
Tokom praznika su smišljeni teorije i pravila.
Pečatom su overene odluke i rešenja.
Do jutra su potrajale diskusije i druženja.
Za javnost su otvorena muzeji i galerije.
U dvorani su održana ispiti i predstave.
U roku su utvarena granice i prelazi.
U avgustu su zatvorena škole i instituti.
U roku su odslušane vežbe i seminari.
U zaliv su uplovile jedrilice i gliseri.
Do jutra su potrajali zabave i svatovi.
Na testiranju su prošli tablete i sirupi.
U kupatilu su obešene poster i ogledala.
U školi su organizovane plesovi i druženja.
Na terasi su poslužene pića i sendvići.
Na vreme su dostavljene pisma i paketi.
Na ploči su napisana pitanja i problemi.
Zbog kiše su otkazana dešavanja i koncerti.
U nesreći su uništeni stakla i retrovizori.
Sigurnosti su doprineli pravila i saveti.
Na zid su obešena poster i ogledala.
S računara su nestala podsticaji i sredstva.
Za javnost su otvorene muzeji i galerije.
Iz biblioteke su ukradene časopisi i knjige.

Fillers:

Kaput je nedavno kupljen na rasprodaji.
Ključevi su prekjuče pronaeni na ulici.
Košulja je spretno obešena na vešalicu.
Knjige su pažljivo stavljene na policu.
More je besprekorno naslikano na platnu.

Soliteri su nedavno izgraeni u centru.
Grane su odavno istrunule pod snegom.
Gradilište je izuzetno opasno po život.
More je besprekorno naslikana na platnu.
Soliter je nedavno izgraeni u centru.
Grana je odavno istrunule pod snegom.
Gradilište je izuzetno opasna po život.
Kaput je nedavno kupljeni na rasprodaji.
Ključ je prekjuče pronaeni na ulici.
Košulja je spretno obešene na vešalicu.
Knjiga je pažljivo stavljene na policu.
Prodavači su ga pažljivo zamotali u papir.
Naočare su mu u trenu potonule na dno.
Novčanici su joj iznenada pali na zemlju.
Prijateljice su ga upravo stavile u krevet.
Radnici su ga oberučke bacili na gomilu.
Pravnice su ga stručno odbranile na sudu.
Bankari su ga potajno spremili u ladicu.
Urednice su ga jutros objavile u časopisu.
Prodavači ga su pažljivo zamotali u papir.
Naočare mu su u trenu potonule na dno.
Novčanici joj su iznenada pali na zemlju.
Prijateljice ga su upravo stavile u krevet.
Radnici ga su oberučke bacili na gomilu.
Pravnice ga su stručno odbranile na sudu.
Bankari ga su potajno spremili u ladicu.
Urednice ga su jutros objavile u časopisu.
Kolač je prethodno stavljen u rernu.
Kovalo je upravo uključeno u struju.
Reklama je ispočetka puštena na radiju.
Šerpe su temeljno oprane deterdženti.
Predlog je jutros odobren na sastanku.
Filmovi su iznova prikazani na televiziji.
Beležnica je još sinoć stavljena u torbu.
Mreže su pažljivo prebačene preko zida.
Predlog je jutros odobren na sastankom.
Filmovi su iznova prikazani na televizijom.
Beležnica je još sinoć stavljena u torbom.
Mreže su pažljivo prebačene preko zidom.
Kolač je prethodno stavljen u rernom.
Kovalo je upravo uključeno u strujom.
Reklama je ispočetka puštena na radiom.
Šerpe su temeljno oprane deterdženti.
Sredstva su i tablete dospela na tržište.
Pitanja su i vežbe napisano na ploču.
Knjige su i pomagala korišćene u nastavi.
Ruke su i kolena povreeno u sudaru.
Cisterne su i traktori skrenule s ulice.

Jezera su i potoci zagaena otpadom.
Potvrde su i pravilnici odobreno pečatom.
Stakla su i retrovizori popucalo u nesreći.
Na tržište dospeli sredstva su i tablete.
Na ploči napisano pitanja su i vežbe.
U nastavi korišćeni knjige su i pomagala.
U sudaru povreeno ruke su i kolena.
S ulice skrenuli cisterne su i traktori.
Otpadom zagaivani jezera su i potoci.
Pečatom odobreno potvrde su i pravilnici.
U nesreći popucalo stakla su i retrovizori.

2.4 Nova Gorica/Ljubljana

The list used in Nova Gorica/Ljubljana required lexical modification.

Practice:

Korita in okvirji so izklesane iz kamna.
Avtobus je prehitro vozil po avtocesti.
Zaradi dežja je spet prekinjene proslava.
V angleščini so izšla zgodbe in romani.
Obleke so skrbno sešite po naročilom.
Včeraj so ga s palicami pretepli neznanci.
Ob nedeljah so zaprti uradi in sodišča.
Rokavice in šali so spletene iz volne.

Experimental items:

Anchoring:

Po pošti so prispela tonerji in kartuše.
Sošolke so ga zvečer pospremle na zabavo.
V celoti so sestavljene stene iz lesom.
Dokumenti in pogodbe so shranjene v mapi.
K steni postavljeni so omare in ogledala.
Zaradi potresa so uničena mesta in ceste.
Avtocesta je načrtno zgrajene ob meji.
Reševalec je ga previdno položil na tla.
Društva in ustanove so skrbele za podporo.
Tokrat so z zamudo prispele pošiljke.

SV

Polja in njive so pripravljena za setev.
Podjetja in tovarne so ostala brez vodstva.
Oblačila in rjuhe so oprani z mehčalcem.
Srečanja in delavnice so potekali v šoli.
Poslopja in stavbe so urejene za najem.
Trobila in violine so čakale na koncert.
Cvetlice in zelišča so rastle na polju.
Sklede in cedila so zletela s pladnja.
Kuverte in pisma so pristali v nabiralniku.
Zgradbe in poslopja so ostali brez strehe.

Radirke in peresa so kupljene v papirnici.
Vizitke in vabila so prispele iz tiska.
Stroški in takse so vključena v storitev.
Koncerti in predstave so potekala na trgu.
Škatle in zaboji so napolnjena s smetmi.
Ladje in čolni so zasidrana ob pomolu.
Srajce in plašči so narejene iz bombaža.
Nevihte in orkani so divjale nad morjem.
Žemlje in kolači so zaviti v embalažo.
Ceste in kolovozi so vodili proti severu.
Zapisniki in poročila so oddani v pregled.
Sirupi in zdravila so narejeni iz zelišč.
Neurja in nalivi so poskrbele za preplah.
Obzidja in gradovi so stale na vzpetini.
Ozvezdja in planeti so zgrajena iz prahu.
Jezera in ribniki so zamrznila sredi zime.
Stojala in podstavki so narejeni iz lesa.
Kolesa in motorji so uvoženi iz Nemčije.
Otoki in otočja so nastali na prelomnici.
Zidovi in stopnišča so prekriti s prahom.
Oblaki in zvezde so odsevale na gladini.
Hudourniki in reke so narasle po dežju.

VS:

Za setev so pripravljena polja in njive.
Brez vodstva so ostala podjetja in tovarne.
Z mehčalcem so oprani oblačila in rjuhe.
V šoli so potekali srečanja in delavnice.
Za najem so urejene poslopja in stavbe.
Na koncert so čakale trobila in violine.
Na polju so rastla cvetlice in zelišča.
S pladnja so zletela sklede in cedila.
V nabiralniku so pristali kuverte in pisma.
Brez strehe so ostali zgradbe in poslopja.
V papirnici so kupljene radirke in peresa.
Iz tiska so prispele vizitke in vabila.
V storitev so vključena stroški in takse.
Na trgu so potekala koncerti in predstave.
S smetmi so napolnjena škatle in zaboji.
Ob pomolu so zasidrana ladje in čolni.
Iz bombaža so narejene srajce in plašči.
Nad morjem so divjale nevihte in orkani.
V embalažo so zaviti žemlje in kolači.
Proti severu so vodili ceste in kolovozi.
V pregled so oddani zapisniki in poročila.
Iz zelišč so narejeni sirupi in zdravila.
Za preplah so poskrbele neurja in nalivi.
Na vzpetini so stale obzidja in gradovi.
Iz prahu so zgrajena ozvezdja in planeti.

Sredi zime so zamrznila jezera in potoki.
Iz lesa so narejeni stojala in podstavki.
Iz Nemčije so uvoženi kolesa in motorji.
Na prelomnici so nastala otoki in otočja.
S prahom so prekriti zidovi in stopnišča.
Na gladini so odsevale oblaki in zvezde.
Po dežju so narasle hudourniki in reke.

Fillers:

Telefon je ponovno ostal brez signala.
Žblji so hitro popustili pod pritiskom.
Vitrina je popolnoma napolnjena s šaro.
Knjige so vseskozi namenjene za izposajo.
Posestvo je popolnoma obdano z gozdom.
Festivali so poleti potekali na prostem.
Ceste so ponoči poledenele zaradi mraza.
Igrišče je namenoma zgrajeno ob parku.
Posestvo je popolnoma obdana z gozdom.
Festival je poleti potekali na prostem.
Cesta je ponoči poledenele zaradi mraza.
Igrišče je namenoma zgrajena ob parku.
Telefon je ponovno ostali brez signala.
Žebelj je hitro popustili pod pritiskom.
Vitrina je popolnoma napolnjene s šaro.
Knjiga je vseskozi namenjene za izposajo.
Policisti so ga spet odvedli pred sodnika.
Sorodniki so jo vedno vabili na zabave.
Sošolke so jo včasih pospremile do doma.
Otroci so jo večkrat presenetili z darili.
Sosedji so ga večkrat obiskali v bolnišnici.
Učenci so ga zelo kritizirali zaradi ocen.
Zdravniki so ga takoj napotili na pregled.
Sestre so ji pogosto priskočile na pomoč.
Policisti ga so spet odvedli pred sodnika.
Sorodniki jo so vedno vabili na zabave.
Sošolke jo so včasih pospremile do doma.
Otroci jo so večkrat presenetili z darili.
Sosedji ga so večkrat obiskali v bolnici.
Učenci ga so spet kritizirali zaradi ocen.
Zdravniki ga so takoj napotili na pregled.
Sestre ji so pogosto priskočile na pomoč.
Skedenj je popolnoma pogorel v požaru.
Ohišje je varno priključeno na omrežje.
Verižica je zagotovo narejena iz zlata.
Rokavice so garantirano narejene iz usnja.
Roman je verjetno izšel v samozaložbi.
Mostovi so najbrž zgrajeni iz granita.
Tekma je znova odpovedana zaradi bolezni.
Figurice so ročno narejene iz keramike.

Roman je verjetno izšel v samozaložbo.
 Mostovi so najbrž zgrajeni iz granitom.
 Tekma je znova odpovedana zaradi boleznijo.
 Figurice so ročno narejene iz keramiko.
 Skedenj je popolnoma pogorel v požarom.
 Ohišje je varno priključeno v omrežjem.
 Verižica je zagotovo narejena iz zlatom.
 Kape so garantirano narejene iz usnjem.
 Naselja so in ceste poplavljeni v celoti.
 Dvigala so in stopnice zarisano v načrtu.
 Tablete so in zdravila shranjene v omarici.
 Novice so in obvestila krožilo po spletu.
 Banke so in zavodi poslovale z izgubo.
 Darila so in paketi čakala pod smrečico.
 Pogodbe so in dokumenti shranjeno v sefu.
 Stojala so in podstavki narejeno iz lesa.
 V celoti poplavljeni naselja so in ceste.
 V načrtu zarisano dvigala so in stopnice.
 V omarici shranjeni tablete so in zdravila.
 Po spletu krožilo novice so in obvestila.
 Z izgubo poslovali banke so in zavodi.
 Pod smrečico čakali darila so in paketi.
 V sefu shranjeno pogodbe so in dokumenti.
 Iz lesa narejeno stojala so in podstavki.

3 Additional figures and statistics

3.1 Figure 4

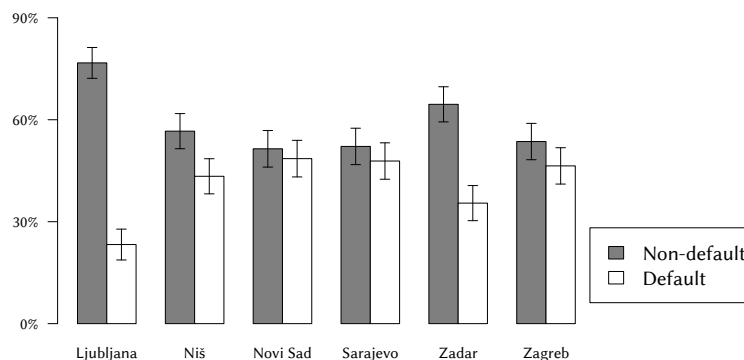


Figure S1: Rates of default vs. nondefault (highest plus closest, summed) agreement for [N&F] and [F&N] conditions, preverbally (n=180), average percentage choice shown per site with standard error of mean bars.

The results in Figure 4 in the main text establish that South Slavic languages coordination structures can involve verbal agreement that is controlled by the linearly closest conjunct, a pattern that

is typologically underdocumented and theoretically significant. Figure S1 compares default vs. added non-default productions in Experiment 1. As shown, for all six sites non-default agreement was more frequent than default agreement. In addition, Figure 6 in the main text shows that default agreement is even less frequent in the postverbal (i.e. VS) condition.

3.2 Figure 5

Production time is significantly correlated with Shannon entropy of productions for each of nine gender combinations in the SV condition (where highest and closest agreement diverge), $n=180$. In a fully-crossed mixed-effects regression using lme4 [2], entropy is a significant predictor of production time.

	β	SE	t
(Intercept)	3628.02	50.41	71.98
entropy	85.50	20.42	4.19

Shannon entropy and reaction times by condition:

condition	entropy	RT
FF	.268	3568
FM	.075	3513
FN	.537	3652
MF	.378	3640
MM	.002	3522
MN	.420	3681
NF	.605	3833
NM	.143	3638
NN	.213	3574

3.3 Figure 6

The effect of word order (SV vs. VS) on trials without a masculine conjunct. The dependent variable is the selection of masculine agreement (i.e. default agreement), which is produced significantly more often in SV than it is in VS (41% vs. 5%, fully crossed and centered logistic mixed-effects linear model in lme4, $\beta = 3.63$, $t = 11.72$, $p < .0001$).

	β	SE	z	p
(Intercept)	-2.40	0.25	-9.57	<.0001
word order	3.63	0.31	11.72	<.0001

3.4 Figure 7

Acceptability ratings for agreement as controlled by the closest (M), default, closest (F or N), highest, or no conjunct ($n = 120$). Modeled with lme4 as a fully crossed mixed-effects regression with a five-level Helmert-coded predictor. The combination of default and closest agreement is rated significantly higher than default agreement only. The three conditions of default & closest, default only, and closest only, considered together, are significantly higher than agreement with highest, and all of these together are in turn rated higher than the baseline lack of agreement.

	β	SE	t
(Intercept)	3.09	.08	39.72
Default & closest vs. default	-.55	.11	-4.92
the above vs. closest	-.14	.07	-1.92
the above vs. highest	-.26	.04	-6.19
the above vs. no agreement	-.33	.03	-10.78

3.5 Figure 8

Comparison of highest conjunct agreement responses in conjunction (Figure 4) vs. hierarchical responses in attraction (Figure 8) using a centered fully-crossed mixed-effects logistic regression.

	β	SE	z	p
(Intercept)	.31	.08	3.98	
highest vs. hierarchical	4.62	.16	28.92	<.0001

3.6 Figure 11

Percentage of distal productions (left) and ratings of distal agreement (right) for preverbal vs. postverbal structures. Distal agreement in SV is produced significantly more often than it is in VS (14% vs. 3%, fully crossed and centered logistic mixed-effects linear model in lme4, $\beta = 1.72$, $t = 7.01$, $p < .0001$). Distal agreement in SV is rated significantly higher than it is in VS (3.02 vs. 2.00, fully crossed and centered mixed-effects linear model in lme4, $\beta = 1.02$, $t = 8.92$, $p < .0001$).

	β	SE	z	p
(Intercept)	-2.89	.14	-20.89	<.001
word order	1.72	.25	7.01	<.001

	β	SE	t
(Intercept)	2.51	.08	32.18
word order	1.02	.11	8.92

3.7 Principal Component Analysis

It is also of interest to examine the clustering of differences. Within the traditional approach to classification of South Slavic languages there are two isoglosses used to group varieties into clusters: the word for ‘what’ (which can be one of the three lexical items *što/kaj/ča*), and the phonetic reflex of the historical vowel ‘jat’, as varying across words like ‘milk’ (i.e. *mliko, mleko, mljeko*).

These traditional isoglosses classify language clusters based on a single lexical item or on the realization of a particular vowel, and do not make use of morphosyntactic properties. However, a recent trend in microcomparative research investigates the extent to which abstract morphosyntactic rules can be used to measure language distance across time and space (e.g. [3], [4]). As the production results from the SV and VS conditions constitute a corpus of syntactic productions (albeit an experimentally-elicited one) that can be classified by site, we conducted an investigation of plotting linguistic distance among sites based on experimental results using Principal Component Analysis, as shown in Figure S2.

The results demonstrate the emergence of a kind of morphosyntactic ‘atlas’ based on this one small corner of the grammar: how conjunct agreement is determined. This is arguably a more revealing metric of linguistic distance than one based on lexical items, which are explicitly above the limen of consciousness and often subject to interference by language academies, by contrast,

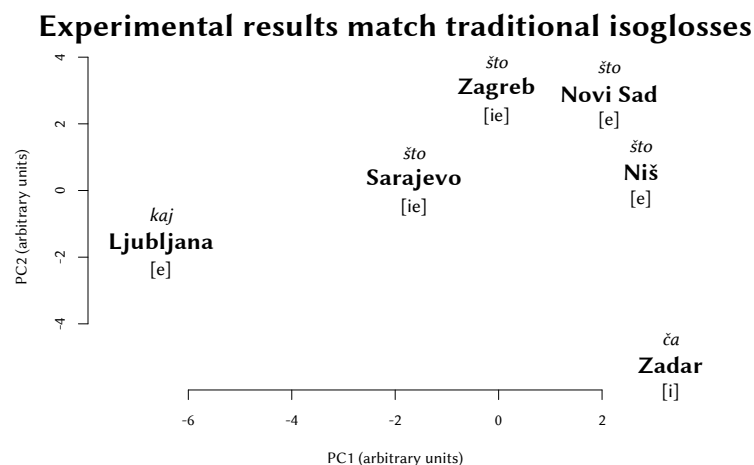


Figure S2: Results of PCA analysis.

no language academy insists on closest conjunct agreement as a distinct marker of, say, Bosnian linguistic identity. In fact, the results in Figure S2 line up well with traditional isoglosses: PC1 groups [ie] vs. [e] vs. [i] as the reflex of the jat-vowel, and PC2 groups *kaj* vs *ča* vs *što* as the words for ‘what’. Slovenian, known to be linguistically more distant from Bosnian, Croatian, and Serbian varieties, is distant with respect to the experimental results as well, and the three more geographically northern-central cities of Sarajevo, Zagreb, and Novi Sad are closer in terms of their morphosyntactic production strategies as well. Such results bring to a head the general question about languages and dialects of this region. For example, given this PCA the variant of Zadar (officially a dialect of Croatian) is further away from the variant of Zagreb (the Croatian capital) than from the variant of Niš, officially a dialect of Serbian. Research into classification of language distance that addresses the thorny problems of language vs dialect can only benefit from increased quantitative morphosyntactic comparisons across closely-controlled corpora, especially in domains of grammar where great variation is observed as is the case of agreement with coordinated subjects.

The table S1 below provides the loadings of the Principal Component Analysis (PCA) reported accompanying Figure S2. The principal component analysis, using the `prcomp` function in R, was provided with mean rates of masculine and feminine agreement by site and condition in Experiments 1a and 1b. The principal component analysis was provided with masculine and feminine responses only; neuter responses are predictable from the other two and thus redundant. The first two components, PCA1 and PCA2, account for .39 and .28 of the variance in the data, respectively.

References

- [1] G. Corbett, Hierarchies, Targets and Controllers: Agreement patterns in Slavic, London: Croom Helm (1983).
- [2] Bates, Douglas, Martin Mächler, Ben Bolker & Steve Walker (2015). Fitting linear mixed-effects models using lme4. *Journal of Statistical Software* 67. 1–48. R package version 0.999999-4.
- [3] G. Longobardi and C. Guardiano, Evidence for syntax as a signal of historical relatedness, *Lingua* 119 (2009), pp. 1679–1706.

Table S1: Summary of PCA Loadings

Word order	Gender combination	agreement	PC1	PC2	PC3	PC4	PC5	PC6
SV	FF	m	.18	.21	.04	.03	-.22	-.02
SV	FM	m	-.14	-.06	.16	.38	-.06	.06
SV	FN	m	.18	.16	.21	-.09	-.01	-.10
SV	MF	m	.16	.23	.04	.10	.20	.02
SV	MM	m	.06	-.02	-.33	.27	.16	-.68
SV	MN	m	-.06	.18	-.28	-.04	-.30	.05
SV	NF	m	.14	.24	.16	-.08	-.08	-.08
SV	NM	m	-.09	.12	-.03	.32	-.39	-.02
SV	NN	m	.25	.11	.02	.10	.01	0
VS	FF	m	.23	-.11	.12	.02	-.20	-.07
VS	FM	m	.22	-.08	-.20	.08	0	.08
VS	FN	m	.21	-.13	.19	.01	-.15	-.09
VS	MF	m	-.15	.23	.17	.03	-.02	.26
VS	MM	m	-.20	.19	.11	.01	.03	-.44
VS	MN	m	-.23	.03	-.16	-.19	-.05	-.34
VS	NF	m	.18	.21	.02	.12	.19	.02
VS	NM	m	.18	.14	-.23	-.14	-.04	.05
VS	NN	m	.23	-.09	-.13	-.10	-.12	0
SV	FF	f	-.18	-.21	-.05	-.05	.19	.06
SV	FM	f	.12	.07	-.19	-.37	.13	.01
SV	FN	f	.11	-.12	-.35	-.06	-.02	.12
SV	MF	f	-.20	-.17	-.08	-.11	-.21	0
SV	MN	f	-.18	-.14	-.02	.12	-.35	0
SV	NF	f	-.22	-.12	-.18	.01	-.09	.07
SV	NM	f	.05	-.20	.31	-.09	-.10	-.14
SV	NN	f	.06	.14	-.28	0	-.38	.07
VS	FF	f	-.24	.08	-.06	.01	.24	.19
VS	FM	f	-.23	.06	.20	-.11	0	-.03
VS	FN	f	-.23	.11	-.12	.03	.17	.01
VS	MF	f	.17	-.23	-.08	-.07	.12	.02
VS	MM	f	.12	-.27	.06	.16	.04	0
VS	MN	f	.06	.24	.02	.33	.01	.04
VS	NF	f	0	-.06	.23	-.40	-.18	-.17
VS	NM	f	.12	-.27	.06	.16	.04	0
VS	NN	f	.04	-.30	0	.19	.03	.02

- [4] S. Barbiers et al, Dynamic Syntactic Atlas of the Dutch dialects (DynaSAND). Amsterdam, Meertens Institute. URL: <http://www.meertens.knaw.nl/sand/>, (2006).