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, agreement morphology may be computed in a series of steps, one of which is partly independent from syntactic hierarchy.

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 conjuncted, the verb can sometimes agree with the linearly closest one (even if it is the second NP). Constructions 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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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) 

\[
\text{jučer su odštampane molbe i rješenja, yesterday were printed. N.PL, request.F.PL and decision.N.PL.}
\]

ii) 

\[
\text{Molbe i rješenja su ovjereni pčemom, “Requests (F.PL) and decisions were certified.”}
\]

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 *Preved jek ovijen pećatom*, “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 ovijeni-i/-a/-e pećatom*, “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. 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
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 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&M], 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
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 Reklama 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 Reklama koje su postavili slušaoci su emitovani na radiju, “The question that the listeners had asked were broadcasted on the radio.” The “question (N.SG) that” has been overwhelmingly shown to be no 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. 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).](image)

![Fig. 7. Acceptability ratings for agreement as controlled by the closest (M), default, closest (P 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.](image)

![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.](image)
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 overruled 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 highly relevant for semantics of both nominal and verbal interpretations (34). 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 overruled by linear factors, precisely because of the specific kind of headedness at stake in &Ps.

**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-

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

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

**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, β = 1.72, t = 7.01, P < 0.0001). Distal agreement in VS is rated significantly higher than it is in VS (3.02 vs. 2.00, fully crossed and centered mixed-effects linear model in lme4, β = 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 correct responses. Materials were presented on the screen using ibexFarm (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 were administered off-line.

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SUPPLEMENTARY MATERIALS

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December 20, 2017

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 Subject-verb model sentence
VS Verb-subject model sentence
(Gender1+Gender2) Replacement phrase

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 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:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Model sentence</th>
<th>Replacement phrase</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Korektor je stavljen u pernicu. white-out&lt;sub&gt;SG&lt;/sub&gt; be&lt;sub&gt;SG&lt;/sub&gt; put&lt;sub&gt;SG&lt;/sub&gt; in pencil-case</td>
<td>olovke i gumice pencil&lt;sub&gt;PL&lt;/sub&gt; and eraser&lt;sub&gt;PL&lt;/sub&gt; ‘pencils and erasers’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roman je nagraen na festivalu. novel&lt;sub&gt;SG&lt;/sub&gt; be&lt;sub&gt;SG&lt;/sub&gt; awarded&lt;sub&gt;SG&lt;/sub&gt; on festival</td>
<td>filmovi i serije movie&lt;sub&gt;PL&lt;/sub&gt; and series&lt;sub&gt;PL&lt;/sub&gt; ‘movies and series’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boca je oprana u mašini. bottle&lt;sub&gt;SG&lt;/sub&gt; be&lt;sub&gt;SG&lt;/sub&gt; washed&lt;sub&gt;SG&lt;/sub&gt; in machine</td>
<td>tri lonca three pot&lt;sub&gt;PL&lt;/sub&gt; ‘three pots’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prijateljice su izašle u grad. girlfriend&lt;sub&gt;PL&lt;/sub&gt; be&lt;sub&gt;PL&lt;/sub&gt; went-out&lt;sub&gt;PL&lt;/sub&gt; in city</td>
<td>neženja bachelor&lt;sub&gt;SG&lt;/sub&gt; ‘bachelor’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Klima je postavljena u ured. air-condition&lt;sub&gt;SG&lt;/sub&gt; be&lt;sub&gt;SG&lt;/sub&gt; put&lt;sub&gt;SG&lt;/sub&gt; in office</td>
<td>svjetla koja su kupili vlasnici light&lt;sub&gt;PL&lt;/sub&gt; which&lt;sub&gt;PL&lt;/sub&gt; be&lt;sub&gt;PL&lt;/sub&gt; bought&lt;sub&gt;PL&lt;/sub&gt; owner&lt;sub&gt;PL&lt;/sub&gt; ‘lights which were bought by the owners’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model sentence</td>
<td>Tulum je organiziran u kući.</td>
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<td>----------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Replacement phrase</td>
<td>party&lt;sub&gt;SG&lt;/sub&gt; be&lt;sub&gt;SG&lt;/sub&gt; organized&lt;sub&gt;SG&lt;/sub&gt; in house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'The party was organized at home.'</td>
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<table>
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<tr>
<th>Experimental items:</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>SV</strong></td>
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<td><strong>VS</strong></td>
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<td>proposal be passed at council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘The proposal was passed at the council meeting.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>at council be passed proposal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘The proposal was passed at the council meeting.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MPL+MPL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rule and legal act</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘rules and legal acts’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>holiday started on Friday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘The holiday has started on Friday.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>on Friday be started holiday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘The holiday has started on Friday.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MPL+MPL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>job and agreement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘jobs and agreements’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>law passed at meeting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘The law was passed at the meeting.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>at meeting be passed law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘The law was passed at the meeting.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FPL+FPL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>decision and verdict</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘decisions and verdicts’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>receipt enclosed with application</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘The receipt was enclosed with the application.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>with application be enclosed receipt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘The receipt was enclosed with the application.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FPL+FPL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>confirmation and supplement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘confirmations and supplements’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paper submitted for competition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘The work was submitted for competition.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>for competition be submitted paper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘The work was submitted for competition.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FPL+FPL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>photo and sketch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘photos and sketches’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| SV          | Potres je doveo do odrona. | earthquake<sub>M.SG</sub> be<sub>M.SG</sub> led<sub>M.SG</sub> to landslide
          | ‘The earthquake led to a landslide.’ |
| VS          | Do odrona je doveo potres. | to landslide be<sub>M.SG</sub> led<sub>M.SG</sub> earthquake<sub>M.SG</sub>
          | ‘The earthquake led to a landslide.’ |
| FPL+FPL     | bujice i poplave            | torrent<sub>F.PL</sub> and flood<sub>F.PL</sub>
          | ‘torrents and floods’             |
| SV          | Članak je izašao u novinama. | article<sub>M.SG</sub> be<sub>M.SG</sub> came out<sub>M.SG</sub> in newspapers
          | ‘The article has come out in the newspapers.’ |
| VS          | U novinama je izašao članak. | in newspapers be<sub>M.SG</sub> came out<sub>M.SG</sub> article<sub>M.SG</sub>
          | ‘The article has come out in the newspapers.’ |
| FPL+FPL     | zahvale i čestitke           | acknowledgment<sub>F.PL</sub> and congratulation<sub>F.PL</sub>
          | ‘acknowledgments and congratulations’ |
| SV          | Bor je dominirao krajolikom. | pine tree<sub>M.SG</sub> be<sub>M.SG</sub> dominated<sub>M.SG</sub> landscape
          | ‘The pine tree has dominated the landscape.’ |
| VS          | Krajolikom je dominirao bor. | landscape be<sub>M.SG</sub> dominated<sub>M.SG</sub> pine tree<sub>M.SG</sub>
          | ‘The pine tree has dominated the landscape.’ |
| FPL+FPL     | planine i rijeke            | mountain<sub>F.PL</sub> and river<sub>F.PL</sub>
          | ‘mountains and rivers’             |
| SV          | Kvar je popravljen u garaži. | malfunction<sub>M.SG</sub> be<sub>M.SG</sub> repaired<sub>M.SG</sub> in garage
          | ‘The malfunction was repaired in the garage.’ |
| VS          | U garaži je popravljen kvar. | in garage be<sub>M.SG</sub> repaired<sub>M.SG</sub> malfunction<sub>M.SG</sub>
          | ‘The malfunction was repaired in the garage.’ |
| NPL+NPL     | jedra i vesla               | sail<sub>N.PL</sub> and oar<sub>N.PL</sub>
          | ‘sails and oars’                   |
| SV          | Okoliš je zagaen otpadom.   | environment<sub>M.SG</sub> be<sub>M.SG</sub> polluted<sub>M.SG</sub> with-waste
          | ‘The environment was polluted with waste.’ |
| VS          | Otpadom je zagaen okoliš.   | with-waste be<sub>M.SG</sub> polluted<sub>M.SG</sub> environment<sub>M.SG</sub>
          | ‘The environment was polluted with waste.’ |
| NPL+NPL     | jezera i mora               | lake<sub>N.PL</sub> and sea<sub>N.PL</sub>
          | ‘lakes and seas’                   |
The abstract was submitted for review.

The ice has cracked under pressure.

‘chapters and reports’

September started with a storm.

‘summers and springs’

‘The tram has burnt in the fire.’

‘museums and galleries’
SV Razgovor je održan u dvorani.
interview₁ₛ₉ be₁ₛ₉ held₁ₛ₉ in hall
‘The interview was held in the hall.’

VS U dvorani je održan razgovor.
in hall be₁ₛ₉ held₁ₛ₉ interview₁ₛ₉
‘The interview was held in the hall.’

MPL+FPL ispiti i predstave
exam₁₃₅ and performance₁₃₅
‘exams and performances’

SV Izložak je ukraden iz spremišta.
exhibit₁ₛ₉ be₁ₛ₉ stolen₁ₛ₉ from depot
‘The exhibit was stolen from the depot.’

VS Iz spremišta je ukraden izložak.
from depot be₁ₛ₉ stolen₁ₛ₉ exhibit₁ₛ₉
‘The exhibit was stolen from the depot.’

MPL+FPL časopisi i knjige
journal₁₃₅ and book₁₃₅
‘journals and books’

SV Vjetar je puhao na mahove.
wind₁ₛ₉ be₁ₛ₉ blew₁ₛ₉ in gusts
‘The wind was blowing in gusts.’

VS Na mahove je puhao vjetar.
in gusts be₁ₛ₉ blew₁ₛ₉ wind₁ₛ₉
‘The wind was blowing in gusts.’

MPL+FPL uragani i bure
hurricane₁₃₅ and bora₁₃₅
‘hurricanes and boras’

SV Portret je nastao u ateljeu.
portrait₁ₛ₉ be₁ₛ₉ created₁ₛ₉ in studio
‘The portrait was created in the studio.’

VS U ateljeu je nastao portret.
in studio be₁ₛ₉ created₁ₛ₉ portrait₁ₛ₉
‘The portrait was created in the studio.’

MPL+FPL aktovi i skulpture
nude₁₃₅ and sculpture₁₃₅
‘nudes and sculptures’

SV Kamion je skrenuo s ceste.
truck₁ₛ₉ be₁ₛ₉ pulled₁ₛ₉ off road
‘The truck has pulled off the road.’

VS S ceste je skrenuo kamion.
off road be₁ₛ₉ pulled₁ₛ₉ truck₁ₛ₉
‘The truck has pulled off the road.’

MPL+FPL traktori i cisterne
tractor₁₃₅ and water bowser₁₃₅
‘tractors and water bowsers’
SV Ručnik je obješen u kupaoni.
'towel hung in the bathroom.'

VS U kupaoni je obješen ručnik.
'the towel was hung in the bathroom.'

MPL+NPL posteri i ogledala
'posters and mirrors'

SV Doček je organiziran u školi.
'reception organized at school.'

VS U školi je organiziran doček.
'reception organized at school.'

MPL+NPL plesovi i druženja
'dances and gatherings'

SV Grkljan je operiran u sali.
'larynx operated in operating-room'

VS U sali je operiran grkljan.
'larynx operated in operating-room'

MPL+NPL zglobovi i stopala
'wrists and feet'

SV Jarbol je pomogao u plovidbi.
'mast helped in sailing'

VS U plovidbi je pomogao jarbol.
'mast helped in sailing'

MPL+NPL mobiteli i računala
'mobile phones and computers'

SV Proizvod je dospio na tržište.
'product released on market'

VS Na tržište je dospio proizvod.
'product released on market'

MPL+NPL mobiteli i računala
'mobile phones and computers'
Novac je nestao s računa. money\textsubscript{SG} be\textsubscript{SG} disappeared\textsubscript{SG} from account. ‘The money has disappeared from the account.’

S računa je nestao novac. from account be\textsubscript{SG} disappeared\textsubscript{SG} money\textsubscript{SG} ‘The money has disappeared from the account.’

poticaji i sredstva incentive\textsubscript{PL} and fund\textsubscript{PL} ‘incentives and funds’

Sastav je utvren na sastanku. lineup\textsubscript{SG} be\textsubscript{SG} established\textsubscript{SG} at meeting. ‘The lineup was established at the meeting.’

Na sastanku je utvren sastav. At meeting be\textsubscript{SG} established\textsubscript{SG} the lineup\textsubscript{SG} ‘The lineup was established at the meeting.’

granice i prijelazi border\textsubscript{PL} and border crossing\textsubscript{PL} ‘borders and border crossings’

Rektorat je zatvoren ljeti. rectorate be\textsubscript{SG} closed\textsubscript{SG} in-summer. ‘The rectorate is closed in the summer.’

Ljeti je zatvoren rektorat. in-summer be\textsubscript{SG} closed\textsubscript{SG} rectorate\textsubscript{SG} ‘The rectorate is closed in the summer.’

škole i instituti school\textsubscript{PL} and institute\textsubscript{PL} ‘schools and institutes’

Predmet je odslužan u bloku. course\textsubscript{SG} be\textsubscript{SG} listen\textsubscript{SG} in block. ‘The course was done in a block.’

U bloku je odslužan predmet. in block be\textsubscript{SG} listen\textsubscript{SG} course\textsubscript{SG} ‘The course was done in a block.’

vjezbe i seminari practice\textsubscript{PL} and seminar\textsubscript{PL} ‘recitations and seminars’

Jedrenjak je uplovio u zaljev. sailing-ship\textsubscript{SG} be\textsubscript{SG} sailed\textsubscript{SG} into bay. ‘The sailing ship has sailed into the bay.’

U zaljev je uplovio jedrenjak. into bay be\textsubscript{SG} sailed\textsubscript{SG} sailing-ship\textsubscript{SG} ‘The sailing ship has sailed into the bay.’

jedrilice i gliseri sailboat\textsubscript{PL} and speedboat\textsubscript{PL} ‘sailboats and speedboats’
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+FPL sirupi i tablete

SV Dogovor je pomaknut na petak.

VS Na petak je pomaknut dogovor.

FPL+NPL sjednice i vijeća

SV Prijevod je ovjeren pećatom.

VS Pećatom je ovjeren prijevod.

FPL+MPL molbe i projekti

SV Buket je uručen na pozornici.

VS Na pozornici je uručen buket.

FPL+NPL nagrade i priznanja
SV Prijedlog je prošao na vijeću.
proposalm_{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} proposalm_{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.
perfumem_{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} perfumem_{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.
partym_{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.
slogamm_{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} slogann_{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 <sub>SG</sub> be <sub>SG</sub> served <sub>SG</sub> on terrace  
‘The dessert was served on the terrace.’ |
| VS | Na terasi je poslužen desert.  
on terrace be <sub>SG</sub> served <sub>SG</sub> dessert <sub>SG</sub>  
‘The dessert was served on the terrace.’ |
| NPL+MPL | pića i sendviči  
drink <sub>PL</sub> and sandwich <sub>PL</sub>  
‘drinks and sandwiches’ |
| SV | Kofer je stigao na vrijeme.  
suitcase <sub>SG</sub> be <sub>SG</sub> arrived <sub>SG</sub> in time  
‘The suitcase has arrived in time.’ |
| VS | Na vrijeme je stigao kofer.  
in time be <sub>SG</sub> arrived <sub>SG</sub> suitcase <sub>SG</sub>  
‘The suitcase has arrived in time.’ |
| NPL+MPL | pisma i paketi  
letter <sub>PL</sub> and package <sub>PL</sub>  
‘letters and packages’ |
| SV | Semafor je pomagao u vožnji.  
traffic-lights <sub>SG</sub> be <sub>SG</sub> helped <sub>SG</sub> in driving  
‘The traffic lights were helpful for driving.’ |
| VS | U vožnji je pomagao semafor.  
in driving be <sub>SG</sub> helped <sub>SG</sub> traffic-lights <sub>SG</sub>  
‘The traffic lights were helpful for driving.’ |
| NPL+MPL | upozorenja i savjeti  
warning <sub>PL</sub> and tip <sub>PL</sub>  
‘warnings and tips’ |
| SV | Branik je napuknuo u nesreći.  
bumper <sub>SG</sub> be <sub>SG</sub> cracked <sub>SG</sub> in accident  
‘The bumper has cracked in the accident.’ |
| VS | U nesreći je napuknuo branik.  
in accident be <sub>SG</sub> cracked <sub>SG</sub> bumper <sub>SG</sub>  
‘The bumper has cracked in the accident.’ |
| NPL+MPL | stakla i retrovizori  
window <sub>PL</sub> and rear-view-mirror <sub>PL</sub>  
‘windows and rear-view mirrors’ |
| SV | Doručak je naručen u sobu.  
breakfast <sub>SG</sub> be <sub>SG</sub> ordered <sub>SG</sub> in room  
‘The breakfast was ordered to the room.’ |
| VS | U sobu je naručen doručak.  
in room be <sub>SG</sub> ordered <sub>SG</sub> breakfast <sub>SG</sub>  
‘The breakfast was ordered to the room.’ |
| NPL+FPL | jaja i salate  
egg <sub>PL</sub> and salad <sub>PL</sub>  
‘eggs and salads’ |
**SV** Pjenušac je serviran u čaši.
sparkling-wine<sub>MSG</sub> be<sub>SG</sub> served<sub>MSG</sub> in glass
‘The sparkling wine was served in the glass.’

**VS** U čaši je serviran pjenušac.
in glass be<sub>SG</sub> served<sub>MSG</sub> sparkling-wine<sub>MSG</sub>
‘The sparkling wine was served in the glass.’

**NPL+FPL** vina i rakije
wine<sub>N.PL</sub> and brandy<sub>F.PL</sub>
‘wines and brandies’

**SV** Izlet je zakazan za proljeće.
excursion<sub>MSG</sub> be<sub>SG</sub> scheduled<sub>MSG</sub> for spring
‘The excursion was scheduled for the spring.’

**VS** Za proljeće je zakazan izlet.
for spring be<sub>SG</sub> scheduled<sub>MSG</sub> excursion<sub>MSG</sub>
‘The excursion was scheduled for the spring.’

**NPL+FPL** putovanja i konferencije
trip<sub>N.PL</sub> and conference<sub>F.PL</sub>
‘trips and conferences’

**SV** Sastanak je započeo u svai.
meeting<sub>MSG</sub> be<sub>SG</sub> started<sub>MSG</sub> with row
‘The meeting has started with a row.’

**VS** U svai je započeo sastanak.
with row be<sub>SG</sub> started<sub>MSG</sub> meeting<sub>MSG</sub>
‘The meeting has started with a row.’

**NPL+FPL** natjecanja i utakmice
competition<sub>N.PL</sub> and match<sub>F.PL</sub>
‘competitions<sub>N.PL</sub> and matches’

**SV** Napad je utihnuo pred zoru.
attack<sub>MSG</sub> be<sub>SG</sub> calmed-down<sub>MSG</sub> before dawn
‘The attack has calmed down before the dawn.’

**VS** Pred zoru je utihnuo napad.
before dawn be<sub>SG</sub> calmed-down<sub>MSG</sub> attack<sub>MSG</sub>
‘The attack has calmed down before the dawn.’

**NPL+FPL** nevremena i poplave
storm<sub>N.PL</sub> and flood<sub>F.PL</sub>
‘storms and floods’

**SV** Plakat je nestao u selidbi.
poster<sub>MSG</sub> be<sub>SG</sub> disappeared<sub>MSG</sub> in move
‘The poster went missing in the move.’

**VS** U selidbi je nestao plakat.
move be<sub>SG</sub> disappeared<sub>MSG</sub> poster<sub>MSG</sub>
‘The poster went missing in the move.’

**NPL+FPL** platna i skulpture
canvas<sub>N.PL</sub> and sculpture<sub>F.PL</sub>
‘canvases and sculptures’
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fillers:</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| SV | Kaput je kupljen na rasprodaji.  
coat<sub>M.SG</sub> be<sub>SG</sub> purchased<sub>M.SG</sub> on sale  
‘The coat was purchased on sale.’ |
| VS | Na rasprodaji je kupljen kaput.  
on sale be<sub>SG</sub> purchased<sub>M.SG</sub> coat<sub>M.SG</sub>  
‘The coat was purchased on sale.’ |
| Numeral | dva šešira  
two hat<sub>M.Pauc</sub>  
‘two hats’ |
| SV | Poklon je zamotan u papir.  
gift<sub>M.SG</sub> be<sub>SG</sub> wrapped<sub>M.SG</sub> in paper  
‘The gift was wrapped in the paper.’ |
| VS | U papir je zamotan poklon.  
in paper be<sub>SG</sub> wrapped<sub>M.SG</sub> gift<sub>M.SG</sub>  
‘The gift was wrapped in the paper.’ |
| Numeral | tri paketa  
three package<sub>M.Pauc</sub>  
‘three packages’ |
| SV | Kolač je stavljen u pečnicu.  
cake<sub>M.SG</sub> be<sub>SG</sub> put<sub>M.SG</sub> in oven  
‘The cake was put in the oven.’ |
| VS | U pečnicu je stavljen kolač.  
in oven be<sub>SG</sub> put<sub>M.SG</sub> cake<sub>M.SG</sub>  
‘The cake was put in the oven.’ |
| Numeral | četiri krumpira  
four potato<sub>M.Pauc</sub>  
‘four potatoes’ |
| SV | Pijetao je očerupan u dvorištu.  
rooster<sub>M.SG</sub> be<sub>SG</sub> pluck<sub>M.SG</sub> in yard  
‘The rooster was plucked in the yard.’ |
| VS | U dvorištu je očerupan pijetao.  
in yard be<sub>SG</sub> pluck<sub>M.SG</sub> rooster<sub>M.SG</sub>  
‘The rooster was plucked in the yard.’ |
| Hybrid | perad  
fowl<sub>F.SG</sub>  
‘fowl’ |
| SV | Učenik je počeo iz početka  
student<sub>M.SG</sub> be<sub>SG</sub> started<sub>M.SG</sub> from beginning  
‘The student started from the beginning.’ |
| VS | Iz početka je počeo učenik.  
from beginning be<sub>SG</sub> started<sub>M.SG</sub> student<sub>M.SG</sub>  
‘The student started from the beginning.’ |
| Hybrid | sluga  
servant<sub>F.SG</sub>  
‘servant’ |
| SV | Vojnik je krenuo u napad. soldier<sub>MG</sub> be<sub>SG</sub> joined<sub>MG</sub> attack. ‘The soldier joined the attack.’ |
| VS | U napad je krenuo vojnik. attack be<sub>SG</sub> joined<sub>MG</sub> soldier<sub>MG</sub> ‘The soldier joined the attack.’ |
| Hybrid | voa leader<sub>F,SG</sub> ‘leader’ |
| SV | Neboder je izgraen u centru. skyscraper<sub>MG</sub> be<sub>SG</sub> built<sub>MG</sub> in centre ‘The skyscraper was built in the centre.’ |
| VS | U centru je izgraen neboder. in centre be<sub>SG</sub> built<sub>MG</sub> skyscraper<sub>MG</sub> ‘The skyscraper was built in the centre.’ |
| Rel. cl. | igralište koje su isprojektirali arhitekti playground<sub>N,SG</sub> that<sub>N,SG</sub> be<sub>SG</sub> designed<sub>M,PL</sub> architect<sub>M,PL</sub> ‘the playground that was designed by architects’ |
| SV | Dvoboj je otkazan zbog nevremena. duel<sub>MG</sub> be<sub>SG</sub> canceled<sub>MG</sub> due to weather ‘The duel was canceled due to the weather.’ |
| VS | Zbog nevremena je otkazan dvoboj. due to weather be<sub>SG</sub> canceled<sub>MG</sub> duel<sub>MG</sub> ‘The duel was canceled due to the weather.’ |
| Rel. cl. | putovanje koje su osmislili vodiči trip<sub>N,SG</sub> that<sub>N,SG</sub> be<sub>PL</sub> designed<sub>M,PL</sub> tourguide<sub>M,PL</sub> ‘the trip designed by tourguides.’ |
| SV | Prijedlog je odobren na sastanku. proposal<sub>MG</sub> be<sub>SG</sub> approved<sub>MG</sub> at meeting ‘The proposal was approved at the meeting.’ |
| VS | Na sastanku je odobren prijedlog. at meeting be<sub>SG</sub> approved proposal<sub>MG</sub> ‘The proposal was approved at the meeting.’ |
| Rel. cl. | napredovanje koje su podržali profesori promotion<sub>N,SG</sub> that<sub>N,SG</sub> be<sub>PL</sub> supported<sub>M,PL</sub> professor<sub>M,PL</sub> ‘the promotion supported by professors’ |
| SV | Novčanici su pronaeni na cesti. wallet<sub>M,PL</sub> be<sub>PL</sub> found<sub>M,PL</sub> on street ‘The wallets were found on the street.’ |
| VS | Na cesti su pronaeni novčanici. on street be<sub>PL</sub> found<sub>M,PL</sub> wallet<sub>M,PL</sub> ‘The wallets were found on the street.’ |
| Numeral | dva ključa two key<sub>M,Pauc</sub> ‘two keys’ |
| SV | Roštilji su očišćeni od čae.  
   | barbecue, cleaned of charcoal  
   | ‘The barbecues were cleaned of charcoal.’ |
| VS | Od čae su očišćeni roštilji.  
   | of charcoal cleaned barbecue  
   | ‘The barbecues were cleaned of charcoal.’ |
| Numeral | tri kamina  
   | three fireplace  
   | ‘three fireplaces’ |
| SV | Branici su stavljeni na auto.  
   | bumper, put on car  
   | ‘The bumpers were put on the car.’ |
| VS | Na auto su stavljeni branici.  
   | on car put bumper  
   | ‘The bumpers were put on the car.’ |
| Numeral | četiri kotača  
   | four wheel  
   | ‘four wheels’ |
| SV | Kozlići su odvedeni na ispašu.  
   | goat-kid, taken to graze  
   | ‘The goat kids were taken to graze.’ |
| VS | Na ispašu su odvedeni kozlići.  
   | to graze taken goat-kid  
   | ‘The goat kids were taken to graze.’ |
| Hybrid | telad  
   | calf  
   | ‘calves’ |
| SV | Dječaci su pokupljeni nakon škole.  
   | boy, collected after school  
   | ‘The boys were collected after school.’ |
| VS | Nakon škole su pokupljeni dječaci.  
   | after school collected boy  
   | ‘The boys were collected after school.’ |
| Hybrid | djeca  
   | child  
   | ‘children’ |
| SV | Studenti su povezani preko interneta.  
   | student, connected over internet  
   | ‘The students are connected over the Internet.’ |
| VS | Preko interneta su povezani studenti.  
   | over internet connected student  
   | ‘The students are connected over the Internet.’ |
| Hybrid | braća  
   | brother  
   | ‘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’
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SV</th>
<th>Bilježnica je stavljena u fascikl. notebook&lt;sub&gt;F.SG&lt;/sub&gt; be&lt;sub&gt;SG&lt;/sub&gt; put&lt;sub&gt;F.SG&lt;/sub&gt; in folder 'The notebook was put in a folder.'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>VS</td>
<td>U fascikl je stavljena bilježnica. in folder be&lt;sub&gt;SG&lt;/sub&gt; put&lt;sub&gt;F.SG&lt;/sub&gt; notebook&lt;sub&gt;F.SG&lt;/sub&gt; 'The notebook was put in a folder.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Numeral</td>
<td>četiri papira four paper&lt;sub&gt;M.Pauc&lt;/sub&gt; 'four pieces of paper'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SV</td>
<td>Kokoš je kupljena na sajmu. hen&lt;sub&gt;F.SG&lt;/sub&gt; be&lt;sub&gt;SG&lt;/sub&gt; bought&lt;sub&gt;F.SG&lt;/sub&gt; at fair 'The hen was bought at the fair.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VS</td>
<td>Na sajmu je kupljena kokoš. at fair be&lt;sub&gt;SG&lt;/sub&gt; bought&lt;sub&gt;F.SG&lt;/sub&gt; hen&lt;sub&gt;F.SG&lt;/sub&gt; 'The hen was bought at the fair.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hybrid</td>
<td>prasad pig&lt;sub&gt;F.SG&lt;/sub&gt; 'pigs'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SV</td>
<td>Plemkinja je šetala po dvoru. noblewoman&lt;sub&gt;F.SG&lt;/sub&gt; be&lt;sub&gt;SG&lt;/sub&gt; walked&lt;sub&gt;F.SG&lt;/sub&gt; along palace 'The noblewoman was walking around the palace.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VS</td>
<td>Po dvoru je šetala plemkinja. along palace be&lt;sub&gt;SG&lt;/sub&gt; walked&lt;sub&gt;F.SG&lt;/sub&gt; noblewoman&lt;sub&gt;F.SG&lt;/sub&gt; 'The noblewoman was walking around the palace.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hybrid</td>
<td>gospoda gentlemen&lt;sub&gt;F.SG&lt;/sub&gt; 'gentlemen'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SV</td>
<td>Kraljica je zasjela na tron. queen&lt;sub&gt;F.SG&lt;/sub&gt; be&lt;sub&gt;SG&lt;/sub&gt; taken&lt;sub&gt;F.SG&lt;/sub&gt; on throne 'The queen has taken the throne.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VS</td>
<td>Na tron je zasjela kraljica. on throne be&lt;sub&gt;SG&lt;/sub&gt; was sitting&lt;sub&gt;F.SG&lt;/sub&gt; queen&lt;sub&gt;F.SG&lt;/sub&gt; 'The queen has taken the throne.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hybrid</td>
<td>vojvoda duke&lt;sub&gt;F.SG&lt;/sub&gt; 'duke'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SV</td>
<td>Zakletva je prekršena bez razloga. oath&lt;sub&gt;F.SG&lt;/sub&gt; be&lt;sub&gt;SG&lt;/sub&gt; broken&lt;sub&gt;F.SG&lt;/sub&gt; without reason 'The oath was broken for no reason.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VS</td>
<td>Bez razloga je prekršena zakletva. without reason be&lt;sub&gt;SG&lt;/sub&gt; broken&lt;sub&gt;F.SG&lt;/sub&gt; oath&lt;sub&gt;F.SG&lt;/sub&gt; 'The oath was broken for no reason.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rel. cl.</td>
<td>obećanje koje su dali doktori promise&lt;sub&gt;n.SG&lt;/sub&gt; that&lt;sub&gt;n.SG&lt;/sub&gt; be&lt;sub&gt;PL&lt;/sub&gt; given&lt;sub&gt;M.PL&lt;/sub&gt; doctor&lt;sub&gt;M.PL&lt;/sub&gt; 'the promise that was given by the doctors'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 radij.  
  advertisment$_{F.SG}$ be$_{SG}$ played$_{F.SG}$ on radio  
  ‘The advertisment was played on the radio.’

VS  Na radiju je puštena reklama.  
  on radio be$_{SG}$ played$_{F.SG}$ advertisment$_{F.SG}$  
  ‘The advertisment 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.’

Numer  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.’

Numer  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.’

Numer  četiri tanjura  
  four plate$_{M.Pauc}$  
  ‘four plates’
Krave su puštene na livadu.
'Cows were released onto the meadow.'

Na livadu su puštene krave.
'Cows were released onto the meadow.'

Na livadu su puštene krave.
'Cows were released onto the meadow.'

Gospoe su sjedile u loži.
'The ladies was sitting in the box.'

Gospoe su sjedile u loži.
'The ladies was sitting in the box.'

Gospoe su sjedile u loži.
'The ladies was sitting in the box.'

Profesorice su pomagale u odlukama.
'The professors have helped with the decision-making.'

Profesorice su pomagale u odlukama.
'The professors have helped with the decision-making.'

Profesorice su pomagale u odlukama.
'The professors have helped with the decision-making.'

Primjedbe su odbačene na sudu.
'The remarks were rejected in court.'

Primjedbe su odbačene na sudu.
'The remarks were rejected in court.'

Primjedbe su odbačene na sudu.
'The remarks were rejected in court.'

Grane su istrunule pod snijegom.
'The branches have rotted under the snow.'

Grane su istrunule pod snijegom.
'The branches have rotted under the snow.'

Grane su istrunule pod snijegom.
'The branches have rotted under the snow.'
Mreže su prebačene preko zida. 'The nets were thrown over the wall.'

Preko zida su prebačene mreže. 'The nets were thrown over the wall.'

'Uže koje su ispleli ribari'

Rope that was woven by the fishermen

More je naslikano na platnu. 'The sea was painted on the canvas.'

Na platnu je naslikano more. 'The sea was painted on the canvas.'

'Two boats'

Mlijeko je stavljeno na stol. 'The milk was placed on the table.'

Na stol je stavljeno mljeko. 'The milk was placed on the table.'

'Three bread rolls'

Napajanje je priključeno na mrežu. 'The power supply was connected to the network.'

Na mrežu je priključeno napajanje. 'The power supply was connected to the network.'

'Four printers'

Pile je odvojeno od majke. 'The chick was separated from the mother.'

Od majke je odvojeno pile. 'The chick was separated from the mother.'

'Young bull-heifers'
<p>| SV | Strāšilo je osuenu na samoču. | scarecrow \textsubscript{N,SG} be \textsubscript{SG} destined \textsubscript{N,SG} to life of solitude | ‘The scarecrow was destined for a life of solitude.’ |
| VS | Na samoču je osuenu strāšilo. | to life of solitude be \textsubscript{SG} destined \textsubscript{N,SG} scarecrow \textsubscript{N,SG} | ‘The scarecrow was destined for a life of solitude.’ |
| Hybrid | ubojica | murderer \textsubscript{F,SG} | ‘murderers’ |
| SV | Izaslanstvo je pozvano na razgovor. | delegation \textsubscript{N,SG} be \textsubscript{SG} called \textsubscript{N,SG} for talks | ‘The delegation was called for talks.’ |
| VS | Na razgovor je pozvano izaslanstvo. | for talks be \textsubscript{SG} called \textsubscript{N,SG} delegation \textsubscript{N,SG} | ‘The delegation was called for talks.’ |
| Hybrid | kolega | colleague \textsubscript{F,SG} | ‘colleague’ |
| SV | Promaknuče je prikazano na vijestima. | promotion \textsubscript{N,SG} be \textsubscript{SG} shown \textsubscript{N,SG} on news | ‘The promo was shown on the news.’ |
| VS | Na vijestima je prikazano promaknuče. | on news be \textsubscript{SG} shown \textsubscript{N,SG} promotion \textsubscript{N,SG} | ‘The promo was shown on the news.’ |
| Rel. cl. | natjecanje koje su podržali sportaši | competition \textsubscript{N,SG} that \textsubscript{N,SG} be \textsubscript{PL} supported \textsubscript{M,PL} athlete \textsubscript{M,PL} | ‘the competition that was supported by the athletes’ |
| SV | Ravnalo je spremljeno u ladicu. | ruler \textsubscript{N,SG} be \textsubscript{SG} stored \textsubscript{N,SG} in drawer | ‘The ruler was stored in the drawer.’ |
| VS | U ladicu je spremljeno ravnalo. | in drawer be \textsubscript{SG} stored \textsubscript{N,SG} ruler \textsubscript{N,SG} | ‘The ruler was stored in the drawer.’ |
| Rel. cl. | pismo koje su poslali obožavatelji | letter \textsubscript{N,SG} that \textsubscript{N,SG} be \textsubscript{PL} sent \textsubscript{M,PL} fan \textsubscript{M,PL} | ‘the letter that was sent by the fans’ |
| SV | Kuhalo je stavljeno u prodaju. | cooker \textsubscript{N,SG} be \textsubscript{SG} was put-up \textsubscript{N,SG} for sale | ‘The cooker was put up for sale.’ |
| VS | U prodaju je stavljeno kuhalo. | for sale be \textsubscript{SG} put-up \textsubscript{N,SG} cooker \textsubscript{N,SG} | ‘The cooker was put up for sale.’ |
| Rel. cl. | ljepilo koje su zatražili kupci | glue \textsubscript{N,SG} that \textsubscript{N,SG} be \textsubscript{PL} requested \textsubscript{M,PL} customer \textsubscript{M,PL} | ‘the glue that was requested by the customers’ |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SV</th>
<th>Otkrića su predstavljena na konferenciji.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>discovery$<em>{N,PL}$ be$</em>{PL}$ presented$_{N,PL}$ at conference</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘The discoveries were presented at the conference.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VS</td>
<td>Na konferenciji su predstavljena otkrića.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>at conference be$<em>{PL}$ presented$</em>{N,PL}$ discovery$_{N,PL}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘The discoveries were presented at the conference.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Numeral</td>
<td>dva postera</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>two poster$_{M,Pauc}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘two posters’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SV</td>
<td>Rebra su popucala prilikom pada.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>rib$<em>{N,PL}$ be$</em>{PL}$ cracked$_{N,PL}$ during fall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘Their ribs got broken when they fell.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VS</td>
<td>Prilikom pada su popucala rebra.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>during fall be$<em>{PL}$ cracked$</em>{N,PL}$ rib$_{N,PL}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘Their ribs got broken when they fell.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Numeral</td>
<td>tri prsta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>three finger$_{M,Pauc}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘three fingers’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SV</td>
<td>Pomagala su kupljena za učionicu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>teaching-aid$<em>{N,PL}$ be$</em>{PL}$ purchased$_{N,PL}$ for classroom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘The teaching aids were purchased for the classroom.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VS</td>
<td>Za učionicu su kupljena pomagala.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>for classroom be$<em>{PL}$ purchased$</em>{N,PL}$ teaching-aid$_{N,PL}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘The teaching aids were purchased for the classroom.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Numeral</td>
<td>četiri kruha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>four bread$_{M,Pauc}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘four breads’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SV</td>
<td>Ministarstva su ukazala na propust.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ministry$<em>{N,PL}$ be$</em>{PL}$ highlighted$_{N,PL}$ oversight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘The ministries have highlighted the oversight.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VS</td>
<td>Na propust su ukazala ministarstva.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>oversight be$<em>{PL}$ highlighted$</em>{N,PL}$ ministry$_{N,PL}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘The ministries have highlighted the oversight.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hybrid</td>
<td>poglavica</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>chief$_{F,SG}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘chief’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SV</td>
<td>Tržišta su propala zbog recesije.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>markets$<em>{N,PL}$ be$</em>{PL}$ collapsed$_{N,PL}$ due-to recession</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘The markets collapsed due to the recession.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VS</td>
<td>Zbog recesije su propala tržišta.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>due-to recession be$<em>{PL}$ collapsed$</em>{N,PL}$ markets$_{N,PL}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘The markets collapsed due to the recession.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hybrid</td>
<td>gazda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>landlord$_{F,SG}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘landlord’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SV</td>
<td>VS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Čuda su otkrivena pred javnošću.</td>
<td>Pred javnošću su otkrivena čuda.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>miracle&lt;sub&gt;N,PL&lt;/sub&gt; be&lt;sub&gt;PL&lt;/sub&gt; revealed&lt;sub&gt;N,PL&lt;/sub&gt; before public</td>
<td>before public be&lt;sub&gt;PL&lt;/sub&gt; revealed&lt;sub&gt;N,PL&lt;/sub&gt; miracle&lt;sub&gt;N,PL&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘The miracles were revealed before the public.’</td>
<td>‘The miracles were revealed before the public.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gradilišta su opasna po život.</td>
<td>Po život su opasna gradilišta.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>construction-site&lt;sub&gt;N,PL&lt;/sub&gt; be&lt;sub&gt;PL&lt;/sub&gt; dangerous&lt;sub&gt;N,PL&lt;/sub&gt; to life</td>
<td>to life be&lt;sub&gt;PL&lt;/sub&gt; dangerous&lt;sub&gt;N,PL&lt;/sub&gt; construction-site&lt;sub&gt;N,PL&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘The construction sites are life-threatening.’</td>
<td>‘Construction sites are life-threatening.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Istraživanja su objavljena u časopisu.</td>
<td>U časopisu su objavljena istraživanja.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>research&lt;sub&gt;N,PL&lt;/sub&gt; be&lt;sub&gt;PL&lt;/sub&gt; published&lt;sub&gt;N,PL&lt;/sub&gt; in journal</td>
<td>in journal be&lt;sub&gt;PL&lt;/sub&gt; published&lt;sub&gt;N,PL&lt;/sub&gt; research&lt;sub&gt;N,PL&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘The research was published in the journal.’</td>
<td>‘The research was published in the journal.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sela su izbrisana s karte.</td>
<td>S karte su izbrisana sela.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>village&lt;sub&gt;N,PL&lt;/sub&gt; be&lt;sub&gt;PL&lt;/sub&gt; erased&lt;sub&gt;N,PL&lt;/sub&gt; from map</td>
<td>from map be&lt;sub&gt;PL&lt;/sub&gt; erased&lt;sub&gt;N,PL&lt;/sub&gt; village&lt;sub&gt;N,PL&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘The villages were erased from the map.’</td>
<td>‘The villages were erased from the map.’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.
<p>| 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 dobrodošao odrona.       |
| VS   | Do odrona je dobrodošao 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         |</p>
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<th>VS</th>
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<td>Pod pritiskom je popucao led.</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>VS</td>
<td>U vožnji je pomogao semafor.</td>
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<td>VS</td>
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<td>VS</td>
<td>U sobu je naručen doručak.</td>
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<td>VS</td>
<td>U čašu je natočen šampanjac.</td>
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**Fillers:**

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<td>Voa</td>
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SV Neboder je izgraen u centru.
VS U centru je izgraen neboder.
Rel. clause Igrali ˇste koje su isprojektovali arhitekti
SV Dvoboj je otkazan zbog nevremena.
VS Zbog nevremena je otkazan dvoboj.
Rel. clause Putovanje koje su osmislieli vodiči
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 Jariči su odvedeni na ispašu.
VS Na ispašu su odvedeni jarići.
Hybrid Telad
SV Djeca 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 ˇcamca
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 Unapređenje je prikazano na vijestima.
VS Na vijestima je prikazano unapređenje.
Rel. clause Takmičenje koje su podržali sportišti
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
The lists of sentences used in Novi Sad and Niš were identical.
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
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
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 Eksponat je ukraden iz muzeja.
VS Iz muzeja je ukraden eksponat.
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 | Kompassi i kormila |
| SV   | Proizvod je dospeo na tržište. |
| VS   | Na tržište je dospeo proizvod. |
| MPL+NPL | Telefoni i pomagala |
| SV   | Novac je nestao s računa. |
| VS   | S računa je nestao novac. |
| MPL+NPL | Krediti 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 proveri. |
| VS   | Na proveri 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
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 pomagao u vožnji.
VS U vožnji je pomagao semafor.
NPL+MPL Upozorenja i saveti
SV Branik je napukao u nesreći.
VS U nesreći je napukao branik.
NPL+MPL Stakla i retrovizori
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
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 istražao iz mraka.
VS Iz mraka je istražao 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 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 Obеćanje 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 stavljenе na policu.
VS Na policu su stavljenе 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 stavljen na sto.
VS Na sto je stavljen 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 Unapređenje je prikazano na vestima.
VS Na vestima je prikazano unapređenje.
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 stavljen u prodaju.
VS U prodaju je stavljen kuvalo.
Rel. clause Gudalo koje su zatražili kupci
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 suknič.
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 spletan iz volne.
VS  Iz volne je spletan 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
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SV</th>
<th>VS</th>
<th>MPL+FPL</th>
<th>MPL+NPL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Davek je vključen v ceno.</td>
<td>V ceno je vključen davek.</td>
<td>Stroški in takse</td>
<td>Stroški in takse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pouk je odpovedan do preklica.</td>
<td>Do preklica je odpovedan pouk.</td>
<td>Koncerti in predstave</td>
<td>Koncerti in predstave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lokal je zaprt ob sredah.</td>
<td>Ob sredah je zaprt lokal.</td>
<td>Uradi in banke</td>
<td>Uradi in banke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prelaz je vodil na sever.</td>
<td>Na sever je vodil prelaz.</td>
<td>Kolovozi in ceste</td>
<td>Kolovozi in ceste</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ogenj je odseval na gladini.</td>
<td>Na gladini je odseval ogenj.</td>
<td>Oblaki in zvezde</td>
<td>Oblaki in zvezde</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pretok je narasel po dežju.</td>
<td>Po dežju je narasel pretok.</td>
<td>Potoki in reke</td>
<td>Potoki in reke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prevod je poslan v pregled.</td>
<td>V pregled je poslan prevod.</td>
<td>Zapisniki in poročila</td>
<td>Zapisniki in poročila</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Virus je ustvarjen v laboratoriju.</td>
<td>V laboratoriju je ustvarjen virus.</td>
<td>Strupi in zdravila</td>
<td>Strupi in zdravila</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avto je uvožen z Irske.</td>
<td>Z Irske je uvožen avto.</td>
<td>Motorji in kolesa</td>
<td>Motorji in kolesa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greben je nastal iz koral.</td>
<td>Iz koral je nastal greben.</td>
<td>Otoki in otočja</td>
<td>Otoki in otočja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zid je sivel zaradi vlage.</td>
<td>Zaradi vlage je sivel zid.</td>
<td>Temelji in stopnišča</td>
<td>Temelji in stopnišča</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Izlet je potekal v petek.</td>
<td>V petek je potekal izlet.</td>
<td>Sestanki in srečanja</td>
<td>Sestanki in srečanja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koš je napolnjen s smetmi.</td>
<td>S smetmi je napolnjen koš.</td>
<td>Škatle in zaboji</td>
<td>Škatle in zaboji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vlačilec je zasidran ob pomolu.</td>
<td>Ob pomolu je zasidran vlačilec.</td>
<td>Ladje in čolni</td>
<td>Ladje in čolni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jopič je narejen iz bombaže.</td>
<td>Iz bombaže je narejen jopič.</td>
<td>Srajce in plašči</td>
<td>Srajce in plašči</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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
<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SV</td>
<td>Vrt je pripravljen za setev.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VS</td>
<td>Za setev je pripravljen vrt.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NPL+FPL</td>
<td>Polja in njive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SV</td>
<td>Denar je nakazan na račune.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VS</td>
<td>Na račune je nakazan denar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NPL+FPL</td>
<td>Sredstva in finance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SV</td>
<td>Blok je urejen za najem.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VS</td>
<td>Za najem je urejen blok.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NPL+FPL</td>
<td>Poslopja in stavbe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SV</td>
<td>Sklad je sodeloval pri prenovi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VS</td>
<td>Pri prenovi je sodeloval sklad.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NPL+FPL</td>
<td>Podjetja in ustanove</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SV</td>
<td>Projekt je potekal v tajnosti.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VS</td>
<td>V tajnosti je potekal projekt.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NPL+FPL</td>
<td>Srečanja in delavnice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SV</td>
<td>Klavir je stal v kotu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VS</td>
<td>V kotu je stal klavir.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NPL+FPL</td>
<td>Trobila in violine</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Fillers:**

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SV</td>
<td>Kostim je kupljen na razprodaji.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VS</td>
<td>Na razprodaji je kupljen kostim.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Numeral</td>
<td>Dva plašča</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SV</td>
<td>Račun je prispel do plačnika.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VS</td>
<td>Do plačnika je prispel račun.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Numeral</td>
<td>Trije paketi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SV</td>
<td>Led je popustil pod pritiskom.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VS</td>
<td>Pod pritiskom je popustil led.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Numeral</td>
<td>Štirje žebli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SV</td>
<td>Lovec je hodil po gozdu.</td>
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<tr>
<td>VS</td>
<td>Po gozdu je hodil lovec.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hybrid</td>
<td>Jelenjad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SV</td>
<td>Hišnik je potrkal na vrata.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VS</td>
<td>Na vrata je potrkal hišnik.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hybrid</td>
<td>Sirotka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SV</td>
<td>Trener je vpil na otroke.</td>
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<tr>
<td>VS</td>
<td>Na otroke je vpil trener.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hybrid</td>
<td>Vodja</td>
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<tr>
<td>SV</td>
<td>Stadion je zgrajen na robu mesta.</td>
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<tr>
<td>VS</td>
<td>Na robu mesta je zgrajen stadion.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rel. clause</td>
<td>Igrisče, ki so ga plačali sponzorji,</td>
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<tr>
<td>SV</td>
<td>Ukrep je naletel na neodobranje.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VS</td>
<td>Na neodobranje je naletel ukrep.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rel. clause</td>
<td>Poročilo, ki so ga oddali poslanci,</td>
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<tr>
<td>SV</td>
<td>Nakit je izginil iz sefa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VS</td>
<td>Iz sefa je izginil nakit.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rel. clause</td>
<td>Imetje, ki so ga hranili sosedje,</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
SV Aparati so narejeni po naročilu.
VS Po naročilu so narejeni aparat.
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 odvrgrli 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 boleni.
VS Zaradi bolezni 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 prenovo.
VS Na prenovo 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 čuvali,
SV Veje so padle na tla.
VS Na tla so padle veje.
Numeral Dva sadeža
SV Knjige so namenjene za izposojo.
VS Za izposojo 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 Jaglje je skočilo preko ograde.
VS Preko ograde je skočilo jaglje.

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 Kopalnišče, ki ga uredili potapljači,
SV Darilo je prispelo po poštiti.
VS Po poštiti je prispelo darilo.

Rel. clause Voščilo, ki ga podpisali sošolci,
SV Pecivo je uvoženo iz tujine.
VS Iz tujine je uvoženo pecivo.

Rel. clause Sladilo, ki 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
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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Practice</th>
<th>Anchoring</th>
<th>Fillers</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Warning and advice helped while driving.</td>
<td>Festival was expectedly successful.</td>
<td>The broadcast was interrupted for two hours yesterday.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Warnings and advice helped while driving.</td>
<td>The festival was expectedly successful.</td>
<td>The broadcast was interrupted for two hours yesterday.</td>
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<td>Festival was interrupted for two hours yesterday.</td>
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</table>
‘Schools and institutes are closed in the summer.’

Skulpture su pažljivo izraene iz mramorom. 
‘Sculptures were carefully crafted out of marble.’

Vrtlari su ga prekučer okopali motikom. 
‘Gardeners had entrenched it the day before yesterday with a hoe.’

U sobi su provedeni testovi i istraživanja. 
‘Exams and research were held in the room.’

Preko ljeta su pročitane knjige i stripovi. 
‘Books and comics were read over the summer.’

Preko interneta su naručena ormari i police. 
‘The cupboards and shelves were ordered over the internet.’

Sestre su ga odmah pripremile za operaciju. 
‘The nurses had him immediately prepared for the operation.’

Uzduž obalom su pravilno rasporeene plaže. 
‘The beaches are orderly distributed along the coast.’

Šalovi i kravate su kupljene na rasprodaji. 
‘The scarves and ties were bought on sale.’

Na plakatu prepoznatljivo boje su i slova. 
‘The colors and letters are recognizable on the poster.’

Kamionom su dostavljena ogledala i slike. 
‘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.’
Sjednice i vijeća su pomaknuta na petak. The meetings and councils were rearranged for Friday.

Olovke i rumenila su stigla na skladište. The eye pencils and blushes have arrived at the warehouse.

Nagrade i priznanja su uručeni na bini. The awards and recognitions were presented on stage.

Teorije i pravila su smišljeni preko praznika. The theories and rules were thought up during holidays.

Odluke i rješenja su ovjerene pećatom. The decisions and verdicts were certified with a stamp.

Diskusije i druženja su potrajale do jutra. The discussions and parties have lasted until the morning.

Muzeji i galerije su otvorena za javnost. The museums and galleries are open to the public.

Ispiti i predstave su održana u dvorani. The exams and performances were held in the hall.

Granice i prijelazi su utvrena u roku. The borders and border crossings were established on time.

Škole i instituti su zatvorena u kolovozu. The schools and institutes were closed in August.

Vježbe i seminari su odslušane u roku. The recitations and seminars were taught 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
Posteri 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. "The rules and advice have contributed to the safety."

SV Posteri i ogledala su obješena na zid. "The posters and mirrors were hung on the wall."

SV Poticaji i sredstva su nestala s računa. "The incentives and funds have disappeared from the account."

SV Muzeji i galerije su otvorene za javnost. "The museums and galleries are open to the public."

SV Časopisi i knjige su ukradene iz knjižnice. "The journals and books were stolen from the library."

VS Za vjenčanje su naručena pečenja i salate. "The roasts and salads have been ordered for the wedding."

VS Pred zoru su utihnula nevremena i poplave. "The storms and floods have calmed down before the dawn."

VS Za ljeto su zakazani putovanja i konferencije. "The trips and conferences were scheduled for the spring."

VS U svai su započeli natjecanja i utakmice. "The competitions and matches have started with a row."

VS Nakon sastanka su servirane vina i rakije. "The wines and brandies were served after the meeting."
VS U selidbi su izgubljene platna i skulpture. in move be<sub>PL</sub> missing<sub>F,PL</sub> canvas<sub>N,PL</sub> and sculpture<sub>F,PL</sub> ‘The canvases and sculptures went missing in the move.’

VS Na petak su pomaknuta sjednice i vijeća. to Friday be<sub>PL</sub> moved<sub>N,PL</sub> meeting<sub>F,PL</sub> and council<sub>N,PL</sub> ‘The meetings and councils were rearranged for Friday.’

VS Na skladište su stigla olovke i rumenila. to warehouse be<sub>PL</sub> arrived<sub>N,PL</sub> eye-pencil<sub>F,PL</sub> and blush<sub>N,PL</sub> ‘The eye pencils and blushes have arrived to the warehouse.’

VS Na bini su uručeni nagrade i priznanja. on stage be<sub>PL</sub> presented<sub>M,PL</sub> award<sub>F,PL</sub> and recognition<sub>N,PL</sub> ‘The awards and recognitions were presented on the stage.’

VS Preko praznika su smišljeni teorije i pravila. during holidays be<sub>PL</sub> thought-off<sub>M,PL</sub> theory<sub>F,PL</sub> and rule<sub>N,PL</sub> ‘The theories and rules were thought off during holidays.’

VS Pečatom su ovjerene odluke i rješenja. stamp be<sub>PL</sub> certified<sub>F,PL</sub> decision<sub>F,PL</sub> and verdict<sub>N,PL</sub> ‘The decisions and verdicts were certified with a stamp.’

VS Do jutra su potrajale diskusije i druženja. until morning be<sub>PL</sub> lasted<sub>F,PL</sub> discussion<sub>F,PL</sub> and party<sub>N,PL</sub> ‘The discussions and parties have lasted until the morning.’

VS Za javnost su otvorena muzeji i galerije. to public be<sub>PL</sub> open<sub>N,PL</sub> museum<sub>M,PL</sub> and gallery<sub>F,PL</sub> ‘The museums and galleries are open to the public.’

VS U dvorani su održana ispit i predstave. in hall be<sub>PL</sub> held<sub>N,PL</sub> exam<sub>M,PL</sub> and performance<sub>F,PL</sub> ‘The exams and performances were held in the hall.’

VS U roku su utvrena granice i prijelazi. in time be<sub>PL</sub> established<sub>N,PL</sub> border<sub>F,PL</sub> and border-crossing<sub>M,PL</sub> ‘The borders and border crossings were established in time’

VS U kolovozu su zatvorena škole i instituti. in august be<sub>PL</sub> closed<sub>N,PL</sub> school<sub>F,PL</sub> and institute<sub>M,PL</sub>
The schools and institutes were closed in August.

Recitations and seminars were done in time.

The sailboats and speedboats have sailed into the bay.

The entertainment and celebrations have lasted until the morning.

The pills and syrups have passed the check.

The posters and mirrors were hung in the bathroom.

The dances and parties were organized at the school.

The drinks and sandwiches were served on the terrace.

The letters and packages were delivered on time.

The questions and problems were written on the board.

The events and concerts were canceled due to rain.
U nesreći su uništeni stakla i retrovizori. ‘The windows and rear-view mirrors were destroyed in the accident.’

Sigurnosti su doprinijeli pravila i savjeti. ‘The rules and advice have contributed to the safety.’

Na zid su obješena posteri i ogledala. ‘The posters and mirrors were hung on the wall.’

S računa su nestala poticaji i sredstva. ‘The incentives and funds have disappeared from the account.’

Za javnost su otvorene muzeji i galerije. ‘The museums and galleries are open to the public.’

Iz knjižnice su ukradene časopisi i knjige. ‘The journals and books were stolen from the library.’

Kaput je nedavno kupljen na rasprodaji. ‘The coat was recently purchased on sale.’

Ključevi su prekjučer pronaeni na cesti. ‘The keys were found on the street the day before yesterday.’

Košulja je spretno obješena na vješalicu. ‘The shirt was nattily hung on the hanger.’

Knjige su pažljivo stavljene na policu. ‘The books were carefully placed on the shelf.’
The sea was immaculately painted on the canvas.

The skyscrapers have been recently built in the centre.

The branches have recently rotted under the snow.

The construction site is extremely dangerous.

The coat was recently purchased on sale.

The key was found on the street day before yesterday.

The shirt was nattily hung on the hanger.
The shirt was nattily hung on the hanger.

The book was carefully placed on the shelf.

The salesmen have carefully wrapped it in the paper.

His clams have swiftly sunk to the bottom.

Her wallets have recently fell to the ground.

The girlfriends have just put him to bed.

The workers have thrown it onto the pile with both hands.

The lawyers have expertly defended him in the court.

The bankers have secretly stored it in the drawer.

The editors have published it this morning in the journal.

The salesmen have carefully wrapped it in the paper.
f Školjke mu su u trenu potonule na dno.
  clam_{PL} him be_{PL} swiftly sank_{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 sprešili 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 pečnicu.
  cake_{SG} be_{SG} beforehand put_{SG} in oven_{ACC}
  ‘The cake was beforehand put in the oven.’

f Računalo je upravo uključeno u struju.
  computer_{SG} be_{SG} just connected_{SG} to power_{ACC}
  ‘The computer has just been connected to the power.’

f Reklama je zasigurno puštena na radiju.
  advertisement_{SG} be_{SG} certainly played_{SG} on radio_{DAT}
  ‘The advertisement was certainly played on the radio.’

f Tave su temeljito izribane deterdžentom.
  pan_{PL} be_{PL} thoroughly scrubbed_{PL} detergent_{INSTR}
‘The pans have been thoroughly scrubbed with detergent.’

‘The proposal has been passed this morning at the meeting.’

‘The movies were shown again on the television.’

‘The notebook was already put last night in the bag.’

‘The nets were carefully thrown over the wall.’

‘The cake was beforehand put in the oven.’

‘The computer has just been connected to the power.’
Reklama je zasigurno puštena na radiom. ‘The advertisement was certainly played on the radio.’

Tave su temeljito izribane deterdžentovi. ‘The pans have been thoroughly scrubbed with detergent.’

Sjenila su i tablete dospjela na tržište. ‘The eye pencils and tablets have reached the market.’

Pitanja su i vježbe napisano na ploču. ‘The questions and exercises were written on the board’

Knjige su i pomagala korištene u nastavi. ‘The books and teaching aids were used in the class.’

Ruke su i koljena ozlijeeno u sudaru. ‘Hands and knees were damaged in the collision.’

Cisterne su i traktori skrenule s ceste. ‘The water bowsers and tractors have turned off the road.’

Jezera su i potoci prenatrpana otpadom. ‘The lakes and streams were full of waste.’

Potvrde su i pravilnici odobreno pećatom. ‘The certificates and rules were approved by seal.’

Stakla su i retrovizori popucalo u nesreći. ‘The windows and rear-view mirrors have cracked in the accident.’

Na tržište dospjeli sjenila su i tablete. ‘The eye pencils and tablets have reached the market.’
‘The eye pencils and tablets have reached the market.’

Na ploču napisano pitanja su i vježbe. ‘The questions and exercises were written on the board’

U nastavi korišteni knjige su i pomagala. ‘The books and teaching aids were used in the class.’

U sudaru ozlijeeno ruke su i koljena. ‘Hands and knees were damaged in the collision.’

S ceste skrenuli cisterne su i traktori. ‘The water bowsers and tractors have turned off the road.’

Otpadom zagaivani jezera su i potoci. ‘The lakes and streams were polluted with waste.’

Pečatom odobreni potvrde su i pravilnici. ‘The certificates and rules were approved by seal.’

U nesreći popucali stakla su i retrovizori. ‘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:**

**SV:**

**VS:**
Za vjenčanje su naručena pečenja i salate. Pred zoru su utihnule 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 smisljeni 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 predstave.
U roku su utvrena granice i prelazi.
U augustu su zatvorene škole i instituti.
U roku su odsušane vježbe i seminari.
U zaljevu su uplovile jedrilice i gliseri.
Do jutra su potrajali zabave i svatovi.
Na testiranju su prošli tableti i sirupi.
U kuponici su obješene posteri i ogledala.
U školi su organizovane plesove 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 neformalnim druženjima su uništeni stakla i retrovizori.
Sigurnosti su doprinijeli pravila i savjeti.
Za javnost su otvorene muzeji i galerije.
Iz biblioteke su ukradene časopisi i knjige.

Fillers:
Kaput je nedavno kupljen na rasprodaji.
Ključevi su prekjučeni 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 naslikano na platnu.
Neboder je nedavno izgraeni u centru.
Grana je odavno istrunula pod snijegom.
Gradilište je izuzetno opasno po život.
Kaput je nedavno kupljen na rasprodaji.
Ključ je prekjučen na cesti.
Košulja je spretno obješena na vješalicu.
Knjiga je pažljivo stavljena na policu.
Prodavači su ga pažljivo zamotali u papir.
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 prekjuće 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 prekjuć poslane poštom.
Professor 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 utihhula pred zoru.
Putovanja i konferencije su zakazani za leto.
Takmičenja i utakmice su započeli u svaui.
Vina i rakije su servirane nakon sastanka.
Platna i skulpture su izgubljene u selidbi.
Sednice i veča su pomerena na petak.
Olovke i rumenila su stigla na skladište.
Nagrade i priznanja su uručeni na bini.
Teorije i pravila su mišljeni 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 utvrjena 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.
Posteri i ogledala su obešene u kupatilu.
Plesovi i druženja su organizovane u šcoli.
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.
Posteri i ogledala su obešena na zid.
Podsticaji i sredstva su nestala s računa.
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 svaju su začeli 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 utvrena granice i prelazi.
U avgustu su zatvorena škole i instituti.
U roku su odlučene vežbe i seminari.
Na terasi su ukradene časopisi i knjige.
Za javnost su otvorene muzeji i galerije.
U kupatilu su obešene posteri i ogledala.
U skoli su organizovane plesove i druženja.
Na terasi su ukradene pića i sendviči.
Na vremenu su dostavljene pisma i paketi.
Na terasi su ukradene časopisi i knjige.

Fillers:
Kaput je nedavno kupljen na rasprodaji.
Ključevi su prekjučeni na ulici.
Košulja je predbolj 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 opasno po život.
Kaput je nedavno kupljeni na rasprodaji.
Ključ je prekijuće 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 oberuće bacili na gomilu.
Pravnice su ga stručno održale na sudu.
Bankari su ga potajno spremljali u ladicu.
Urednice su ga jutros objavile u časopisu.
Prodavači su ga pažljivo zamotali u papir.
Naočare su mu u trenu potonule na dno.
Novčanici joj iznenada pali na zemlju.
Prijateljice su ga upravo stavile u krevet.
Radnici su ga oberuće bacili na gomilu.
Pravnice su ga stručno odbranile na sudu.
Bankari su ga potajno spremljali u ladicu.
Urednice su ga jutros objavile u časopisu.
Kolač je prethodno stavljen u rernu.
Kuvalo je upravo uključeno u struju.
Reklama je ispočetka puštena na radiju.
Šerpe su temeljno oprane deterdžentii.
Predlog je jutros odobren na sastanku.
Filmovi su iznovo prikazani na televiziji.
Beležnica je još sinoć stavljena u torbu.
Mreže su pažljivo prebačene preko zida.
Predlog je jutros odobren na sastankom.
Filmovi su iznovo prikazani na televizijom.
Beležnica je još sinoć stavljena u torbom.
Mreže su pažljivo prebačene preko zidom.
Kolač je prethodno stavljen u rernom.
Kuvalo je upravo uključeno u strujom.
Reklama je ispočetka puštena na radiom.
Šerpe su temeljno oprane deterdženti.
Sredstva su i tablete dostavljene na tržište.
Pitanja su i vežbe napisano na ploču.
Knjige su i pomagala korišćene u nastavi.
Ruke su i kolena povređene 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 popucaj u nesreći.
Na tržište dospeli sredstva su i tablete.
Na plati napisano pitanja su i vezbe.
U nastavi korišćeni knjige su i pomagala.
U sudaru povrzeno 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 popucaj 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 proslave.
V angleščini so izšla zgodbe in romanji.
Obleke so skrbeno sešite po naročilom.
Včeraj so ga s palicami pretepljali neznanci.
Ob nedeljah so zaprti uradi in sodišča.
Obleke in šalji so spletene iz volne.

Experimental items:

Anchoring:
Po poštji so prispela tonerji in kartuše.
Sošolke so ga zvečer pospremile na zabavo.
Zaradi potresa so uničena mesta in ceste.
Avtocesta je načrtno zgradjena ob mejih.
Rokavice in šalji so spletene iz volne.

SV
Polja in njive so pripravljena za setev.
Podjetja in tovarne so ostala brez vodstva.
Oblačila in rjuhi so oprani z mehčalcem.
Srečanja in delavnice so potekali v šoli.
Poslopja in stavbe so urejene za najem.
Trobla in violine so čakale na koncert.
Cvetice in zelišča so rastla 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.
Šrajce 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 postavljena za preplah.
Obzidja in gradovi so stale na vzpetini.
Ozvezdja in planeti so zgrajena iz prahu.
Jezeri in ribniki so zamrznili 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 stopnici so prekriti s prahom.
 oblake in zvezde so odsevale na gladini.
Hudourniki in reke so narasle po dežju.

**Fillers:**
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.

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Shannon entropy and reaction times by condition:

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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, $\beta = 3.63$, $t = 11.72$, $p < .0001$).

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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.
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.

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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, $\beta = 1.72$, $t = 7.01$, $p < .001$). 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, $\beta = 1.02$, $t = 8.92$, $p < .0001$).

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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,
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


Table S1: Summary of PCA Loadings

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