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The unbearable lightness of clitics

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Appendix A: Serbo-Croatian

Listed below are the experimental dialogues used in the survey on Serbo-Croatian second position clitics discussed in chapter 3.

- (1) Q: Da li znate da li su Novak i Milan ovde? Da li ih je neko video?
Do you know if Novak and Milan are here? Have anyone seen them?
A: Mi smo ih videli, a i oni su (ih), takodje.
We saw them and they did, too.
- (2) Q: Milan me je zvao juče! Ko mu je dao moj broj?
Milan called me yesterday! Who gave him my number?
A: Mi smo mu ga dali, a i oni su (mu ga), takodje.
We gave it to him and they did, too.
- (3) Q: Ne mogu pronaci pokloni za baku! Da li je neko ih kupio?
I can't find gifts for Grandma! Did anyone buy them?
A: Mi ih nismo kupili, a oni (ih) jesu.
We didn't buy them but they did.
- (4) Q: Zašto je Miloš tako srećan? Da li ga je Ana poljubila na zabavi?
Why is Miloš so happy? Did Ana kissed him at the party?
A: Ana ga nije poljubila, a Jelena (ga) jeste.
Ana didn't kiss him but Jelena did.
- (5) Q: Milan me je zvao juče! Ko mu je dao moj broj?
Milan called me yesterday! Who gave him my number?
A: Mi (mu ga) nismo, a oni mu ga jesu dali.
We didn't but they did give it to him.

- (6) Q: Zašto je Miloš tako srećan? Da li ga je Ana poljubila na zabavi?
Why is Miloš so happy? Did Ana kissed him at the party?
A: Ana (ga) nije, a Nada ga jeste poljubila.
Ana didn't but Nada did kiss him.
- (7) Q: Da li je Ana sreła Milana na aerodromu?
Has Ana met Milan at the airport?
A: Ana ga nije sreła, a Nada je rekla da (ga) jeste.
Ana didn't meet him but Nada said that she did.
- (8) Q: Da li znate da li su Novak i Milan ovde? Da li ih je neko video?
Do you know if Novak and Milan are here? Have anyone seen them?
A: Mi ga nismo videli, a oni su rekli da (ga) jesu.
We didn't see him but they said that they did.
- (9) Q: Da li znate kada su rođjaci i policajci vide lopove?
Do you know when the parents and the police saw the thieves?
A: Rodjaci su ih videli ujutro, a policajci (ih) uveče.
The parents saw them in the morning and the police in the evening.
- (10) Q: Ko je šta dao Milanu za rođendan?
Who gave what to Milan for his birthday?
A: Ana mu je dala knjigu, a Nada (mu) šolju.
Ana gave him a book and Nada a cup.
- (11) Q: Da li znaš kada su deca izgubila ključeve?
Do you know when the kids lost the keys?
A: Znam kada smo ih mi izgubili, ali ne znam kada su (ih) deca.
I know when we lost them, but I don't know when the kids did.
- (12) Q: Da li znaš šta su gosti dali Mariji za rođendan?
Do you know what the guests gave Marija for her birthday?
A: Znam šta su joj prijatelji dali, ali ne znam šta su (joj) rođjaci.
I know what her friends gave to her but I don't know what her parents did.

Appendix B: Slovenian

Listed below are the experimental dialogues used in the survey on Slovenian second position clitics introduced in chapter 4.

Predicate ellipsis

- (1) Q: Ali veš, če so glasbeniki že tukaj? Ali jih je kdo videl?
Do you know if the musicians are here already? Have anyone seen them?
A: Maja jih je videla in jaz sem (jih) tudi.
Maja has seen them and I have seen them too.
- (2) Q: Ali boste obiskali prijatelje, medtem ko ste tukaj?
Are you going to visit your friends while you are here?
A: Ja. Marija nas je povabila na večerjo in Ana (nas) je tudi.
Yes. Marija invited us for dinner and Ana did too.
- (3) Q: Kje je vse vino? Ga je kdo včeraj spil?
Where is all the wine? Did anyone drink it yesterday?
A: Slišal sem, da (ga) je Ana.
I've heard that Ana did.
- (4) Q: Ali poznaš Janeza? Ne morem verjeti, da ga Mojca ni nikoli srečala!
Do you know Janez? I can't believe Mojca has never met him!
A: Ne morem verjeti, da (ga) tudi Ana ni!
I can't believe that neither did Ana!

- (5) Q: Why is Anton so happy? Have Maja kissed him?
Zakaj je Anton tako srečen? Ga je Maja poljubila?
A: Maja (ga) ni, Nada pa ga je poljubila.
Maja didn't but Nada did kiss him.
- (6) Q: Ali so vaši učenci včeraj končali članek?
Did your students finish the article yesterday?
A: Marija (ga) je, Ana pa ga še ni končala.
Marija did but Ana didn't finish it yet.
- (7) Q: Ali boste obiskali prijatelje, medtem ko ste tukaj?
Are you going to visit your friends while you are here?
A: Ja. Marija nas vabi na večerjo in Ana (nas) na kosilo.
Yes. Marija invited us for dinner and for lunch.
- (8) Q: Ali so vaši učenci včeraj končali članek?
Did your students finish the article yesterday?
A: Marija ga je končala včeraj, Ana pa (ga) danes. Marija finished it yesterday but Ana today.

Clitic answers

- (9) Q: Si videl vino? Ali veš, če ga je Ana kupila?
Have you seen the wine? Do you know if Ana bought it?
A: Mislím, da ga je.
A': Mislím, da ga.
A'': Mislím, da je.
I think she did.
- (10) Q: Si videl vino? Ali veš, če ga je Ana kupila?
Have you seen the wine? Do you know if Ana bought it?
A: Ja, ga je.
A': Ja, ga.
Yes.
- (11) Q: Ali vas je Marija povabila na večerjo?
Have Marija invited you for dinner?
A: Nas je.
A': Nas.
A'': Je.
Yes.

- (12) Q: Ali vas je Marija povabila na večerjo?
Have Marija invited you for dinner?
A: Ni nas.
A': Ni.
A'': Nas ni.
No.
- (13) Q: Ali veš, če so glasbeniki že tukaj? Si jih videl?
Do you know if the musician are already here? have you seen them?
A: Sem jih.
A': Sem.
A'': Jih.
Yes.
- (14) Q: Ali veš, če so glasbeniki že tukaj? Si jih videl?
Do you know if the musician are already here? have you seen them?
A: Nisem jih.
A': Nisem.
- (15) Q: Si ze končal delo?
Have you finished the work?
A: Predvčerajšnjim še ne, včeraj pa sem ga.
A': Predvčerajšnjim še ne, včeraj pa sem.
The day before yesterday, I haven't, yesterday, I have.
- (16) Q: Si mu ga dal?
Did you give it to him?
A: Se mu ga.
A': Mu ga.
A'': Ga.
Yes.
- (17) Q: Ali so vaši učenci končali članek?
Did your students finish the article?
A: Marija ga je včeraj.
A': Marija je včeraj.
A'': Marija ga včeraj.
Marija did yesterday.

Appendix C: Russian

Listed below are the experimental dialogues used in the survey on P-omission under sluicing in Russian introduced in chapter 5.

- (1) Q: A: Objasni mne, otkuda voodšče fokusnik vzjal éti časy?
Explain it to me, where from did the magician get this watch
in the first place?
A: Dolžno byt', on nezametno snjal ih s kogo-to, no ja ne videl,
kogo.
Probably, he imperceptibly took it off <from> somebody, but
I didn't see who.
- (2) Q: Počemu Vladimir Vladimirovič zapersja v svoëm kabinete?
Why has Vladimir Vladimirovich locked himself up in his of-
fice?
A: On gotovitsja k čemu-to, no my ne znaem, čemu.
He is preparing for something, but we don't know what.
- (3) Q: Počemu segonja vse govorjat o Ruslane?
Why is everyone talking about Ruslan today?
A: On kupil kol'co dlja kogo-to, no nikto ne znaet, kogo.
He bought a ring for someone, but nobody knows who.
- (4) Q: Tatjana uže dva časa smotrit v okno. Vsë xorošo?
Tatiana has been looking out of the window for 2 hours now.
Is everything fine?
A: Ona toskuet po komu-to, no ne govorit, komu.
She misses <on> somebody, but she is not saying who.

- (5) Q: Tvoj brat kupil novuju mašinu? Otkuda on vzjal stol'ko deneg?
Have your brother bought a new car? Where from did he get so much money?
A: Vrode by on zanjat ix u kogo-to, no ja ne znaju, kogo.
Probably he borrowed it from somebody, but I don't know who.
- (6) Q: On byl odin, kogda ty k nemu podošel?
Was he alone when you approached him?
A: Da, i on mazal vsled komu-to, no ja ne videl, komu.
Yes, and he was waving to somebody, but I didn't see who.
- (7) Q: Počemu tvoego otca uvolili?
Why was your father fired?
A: On progolosoval protiv kogo-to, no my ne znaem, kogo.
He voted against something, but we don't know what.
- (8) Q: Počemu segonja vse govorjat o Ruslane?
Why is everyone talking about Ruslan today?
A: Govorjat, on ženilsja nazlo komu-to, no ja ne znaju, komu.
They say he got married to spite somebody, but we don't know who.
- (9) Q: Začem Ivanovy priezžali k Maše?
Why did the Ivanovs come to Masha?
A: Oni sovetovali' nasčet čego-to, no ja ne znaju, čego.
The consulted about something, but I don't know what.
- (10) Q: Ty ne znaješ, gde Andrej?
Do you know where Andrej is?
A: Von on, stoit okolo kogo-to, no ja ne vižu, kogo.
There he is, standing near somebody, but I don't see who.
- (11) Q: Počemu ix svad'ba prošla tajno?
Why did they marry each other secretly?
A: Oni ženilis' vopreki komu-to, no ja ne pomnu, komu.
They married despite somebody, but I don't remember who.
- (12) Q: Počemu on v itoge ne stal vydvigat' obvinenija?
Why didn't he press charges in the end?
A: On pošel navstreču komu-to, no ja ne znaju, komu.
He bended before (lit: came towards) somebody, but I don't know, who.

- (13) Q: Začem Ivanovy priezžali k Maše?
Why did the Ivanovs come to Masha?
A: Oni sovetovali's' po povodu čego-to, no ja ne znaju, čego.
The consulted about something, but I don't know what.
- (14) Q: Počemu ona pešila stat' balerinoj v Bolšom Teatre?
Why did she decide to become a ballerina in the Bolshoy theatre?
A: Iznčal'no ona popala tuda blagodarja komu-to, no ja ne pomnu, komu.
Initially she got into it because of somebody, but I don't remember who.
- (15) Q: Aleksandr Vladimirovič govoril čto-nibud' vo vremja kruglogo stola?
Did Alexander Vladimirovich say something during the round table? .
A: Da, on vyskazalsja otnositel'no čego-to, no ja ne pomnu, čego.
Yes, he spoke about something, but I do not remember what.

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