

Clause typing in Frisian

A questionnaire and its results

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Preface

The aim of the questionnaire presented here was to investigate the left periphery of various finite clauses in Frisian, with particular attention paid to clause-typing elements and the combinations thereof. The questionnaire is partly a replication of the original questionnaire carried out on five other Germanic languages (Dutch, Danish, Swedish, Norwegian, and Icelandic), published as: Bacskai-Atkari, Julia & Lisa Baudisch (2018) *Clause typing in Germanic: A questionnaire and its results* (available at: <https://publishup.uni-potsdam.de/frontdoor/index/index/docId/40681>) and the follow-up questionnaire for Afrikaans, published as: Bacskai-Atkari, Julia (2022) *Clause typing in Afrikaans: A questionnaire and its results* (available at: <https://kops.uni-konstanz.de/handle/123456789/58881>). The investigation for the original questionnaire was funded by the DFG, as part of the project “The syntax of functional left peripheries and its relation to information structure” (BA 5201/1). The present questionnaire, which has a special focus on relative clauses, was also funded by the DFG, as part of the project “Asymmetries in relative clauses in West Germanic” (BA 5201/2). The questionnaire was distributed online via the “SoSci Survey” platform.

The questionnaire is mostly concerned with clause typing in embedded clauses, but main clause counterparts are also considered for comparative purposes. The chief aim was to achieve comparable results with other Germanic languages, though the standardised questionnaire may also be helpful in the study of other languages, too. Most questions examine the availability of various complementisers and clause-typing operators, and in some cases the movement of verbs to the left periphery is also taken into account. The questionnaire is split into six major parts according to the types of clauses under scrutiny: unlike the original questionnaire, the last section on non-canonical comparison was not included; instead, novel questions on relative clauses were added to section 3. The additional question in section 3 were numbered 63.1–63.20, so that the original numbering from section 4 remains the same as in the original questionnaire.

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

The present document contains the questionnaire itself (together with the instructions given at the beginning of the questionnaire and at the beginning of the individual sections, as well as the questions asking for personal data), the sociolinguistic data of

the speakers, and the actual results for the individual languages. Just as in the original questionnaire, 2 informants were recruited. The informants were paid. Given the small number of informants, the present study serves as a qualitative investigation and as a basis for further, quantitative and experimental studies.

Since the present document aims at reflecting the actual responses of the speakers, the original answers have not been altered. The sentences given by the speakers in Frisian are numbered consistently and are glossed, the glosses containing relevant morphological information and reflecting the etymological connections between individual elements in Germanic languages. Question marks (? , ?? or even more) stand for markedness, asterisks (*) for ungrammaticality, and the hash (#) for infelicity. Unless the speakers provided explicit grammaticality judgements themselves, there are no markers appearing in the examples as I refrained from altering the original answers. The texts written by the informants as parts of the answers indicate the judgements quite clearly and these should be taken into consideration when evaluating the individual responses.

I would like to thank the informants for filling out the questionnaire. I definitely owe many thanks to Fenna Bergsma for her help in recruiting the informants.

The questionnaire

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

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

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

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

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

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

3. In which year were you born?

4. In which city/area did you grow up (predominantly)?

Your answer would be helpful to determine whether there is any geographical variation, even if you are not a dialect speaker.

5. In which city/area did your parents grow up (predominantly)?

Again, your answer would be helpful to determine whether there is any geographical variation.

1 Interrogatives

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

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

(101) Does Mary like books?

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

Example: Whether Mary likes books?

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

(102) Peter asked if Mary liked books.

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

10. Please translate the following sentence.

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

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

12. Please translate the following sentence.

(104) Who likes books?

13. Please translate the following sentence.

(105) What does Mary like?

14. Please translate the following sentence.

(106) When did Mary arrive?

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

Example: To Susan what did Mary give?

16. Please translate the following sentence.

(107) Peter asked who liked books.

17. Please translate the following sentence.

(108) Peter asked what Mary liked.

18. Please translate the following sentence.

(109) Peter asked when Mary arrived.

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

Example 1: Peter asked that what Mary liked.

Example 2: Peter asked if what Mary liked.

Example 3: Peter asked who that liked books.

20. Please translate the following sentence.

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

21. Please translate the following sentence.

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

22. Please translate the following sentence.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Example: If Mary likes books, Peter asked.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2 Declaratives

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

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

(201) Mary likes books.

31. Please translate the following sentence.

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

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

33. Please translate the following sentence.

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

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

35. Please translate the following sentence.

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

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

37. Please translate the following sentence.

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

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

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

Example: (That) Mary likes books is surprising.

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

Example 1: Peter says Mary that likes books.

Example 2: Peter says that Mary that likes books.

Example 3: Peter says books that Mary likes.

Example 4: Peter says that books that Mary likes.

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

Example:

A: Who likes books?

B: Peter says that Mary.

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

Example:

A: What does Mary like?

B: Peter says that books.

3 Relative clauses

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

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

(301) This is the student who invited Mary.

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

45. Please translate the following sentence.

(302) This is the book which Mary bought.

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

47. Please translate the following sentence.

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

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

49. Please translate the following sentence.

(304) That was the year when Mary arrived.

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

51. Please translate the following sentence.

(305) I will invite whoever you recommend.

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

53. Please translate the following sentence.

(306) I will hire whoever is qualified.

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

55. Please translate the following sentence.

(307) I will do whatever you recommend.

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

57. Please translate the following sentence.

(308) I will go wherever I find linguists.

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

59. Please translate the following sentence.

(309) I will go whenever it suits you.

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

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

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

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

Example: This is the student Mary who invited.

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

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

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

(310) This is the book which describes the system.

63.2. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “which” in (310) in [target language], including complementisers like “that” and the absence of any overt relative pronoun or complementiser. Please specify whether the overt elements may combine with each other, too.

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

(311) This is the student who Mary invited.

63.4. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “who” in (311) in [target language], including complementisers like “that” and the absence of any overt relative pronoun or complementiser. Please specify whether the overt elements may combine with each other, too.

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

(312) This is the student who we gave the book.

63.6. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “who” in (312) in [target language], including complementisers like “that” and the absence of any overt relative pronoun or complementiser. Please specify whether the overt elements may combine with each other, too.

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

(313) This is the company which we sent the letter.

63.8. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “which” in (313) in [target language], including complementisers like “that” and the absence of any overt relative pronoun or complementiser. Please specify whether the overt elements may combine with each other, too.

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

(314) This is the student for whom we wrote the recommendation.

63.10. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “whom” in (314) in [target language], including complementisers like “that” and the absence of any overt relative pronoun or complementiser. Please specify whether the overt elements may combine with each other, too. Can the preposition corresponding to “for” also appear at the end of the clause?

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

(315) This is the student who we wrote the book with.

63.12. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “whom” in (315) in [target language], including complementisers like “that” and the absence of any overt relative pronoun or complementiser. Please specify whether the overt elements may combine with each other, too. Can the preposition corresponding to “with” also appear in front of “who”?

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

(316) This is the wardrobe in which we keep the dresses.

63.14. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “which” in (316) in [target language], including complementisers like “that” and the absence of any overt relative pronoun or complementiser. Please specify whether the overt elements may combine with each other, too. Can the preposition corresponding to “in” also appear at the end of the clause?

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

(317) This is the book which we were talking about.

63.16. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “which” in (317) in [target language], including complementisers like “that” and the absence of any overt relative pronoun or complementiser. Please specify whether the overt elements may combine with each other, too. Can the preposition corresponding to “about” also appear in front of “which”?

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

(318) This is the professor whose student won the competition.

63.18. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “whose” in (318) in [target language], including complementisers like “that” and the absence of any overt relative pronoun or complementiser. Please specify whether the overt elements may combine with each other, too.

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

(319) This is the film whose title you have forgotten.

63.20. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “whose” in (319) in [target language], including complementisers like “that” and the absence of any overt relative pronoun or complementiser. Please specify whether the overt elements may combine with each other, too.

4 Degree clauses

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

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

(401) How did you open the bottle?

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

66. Please translate the following sentence.

(402) How old is Mary?

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

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

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

69.<original question identical to Question 68>

70. Please translate the following sentence.

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

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

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

Example: How many does Mary read books a year?

73. Please translate the following sentence.

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

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

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

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

76. Please translate the following sentence.

(405) How long a book did Mary read?

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

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

Example: A how long book did Mary read?

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

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

5 Equative clauses

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

80. Please translate the following sentence.

(501) Mary is as old as Peter.

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

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

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

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

Example 1: Mary is as old as Peter is.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Example: Mary is as old as how old Peter.

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

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

88. Please translate the following sentence.

(504) Mary has as many books as Peter.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

6 Comparative clauses

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

107. Please translate the following sentence.

(601) Mary is older than Peter.

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

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

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

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

Example 1: Mary is older than Peter is.

Example 2: Mary is older than Peter is old.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Example: Mary is older than how old Peter.

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

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

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

(604) Mary has more books than Peter.

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

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

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

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

Example 1: Mary has more books than Peter has.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Speaker data

Frisian

	Year born	Area where the speaker grew up	Area where parents grew up
Speaker 1	1998	Burgum	Burgum
Speaker 2	1998	Drachten	Surhuisterveen

Frisian

1 Interrogatives

6. Please translate the following sentence into Frisian.

(101) Does Mary like books?

Speaker 1:

(101) a. Hâldt Mary fan boeken?
holds Mary of books
'Does Mary like books?'

Speaker 2:

(101) b. Fynt Mary boeken leuk?
finds Mary books likeable
'Does Mary like books?'

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

Example: Whether Mary likes books?

Speaker 1: *Oft Mary fan boeken hâldt?* This can for example be heard when you ask confirmation (did you hear that correctly) and is just as grammatical as (101).

(i) Oft Mary fan boeken hâldt?
if.that Mary of books holds
'Does Mary like books?'

Speaker 2: *Oft Mary boeken leuk fynt?* More used as a clarifying question.

(ii) Oft Mary boeken leuk fynt?
if.that Mary books likeable finds
'Does Mary like books?'

8. Please translate the following sentence into Frisian.

(102) Peter asked if Mary liked books.

Speaker 1:

- (102) a. Peter frege oft Mary fan boeken hâldt.
Peter asked.3SG if.that Mary of books holds
'Peter asked if Mary liked books.'

Speaker 2:

- (102) b. Peter frege oft Mary boeken leuk fynt.
Peter asked.3SG if.that Mary books likeable finds
'Peter asked if Mary liked books.'

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

Speaker 1: *oft, of, as* (which feels slightly more ungrammatical but can be heard sometimes). To me, these cannot combine with each other or with other elements.

Speaker 2: *of(t)*. So it can be combined.

10. Please translate the following sentence.

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

Speaker 1:

- (103) a. Peter wit net oft Mary fan boeken hâldt.
Peter knows not if.that Mary of books holds
'Peter doesn't know if Mary likes books.'

Speaker 2:

- (103) b. Peter wit net oft Mary boeken leuk fynt.
Peter knows not if.that Mary books likeable finds
'Peter doesn't know if Mary likes books.'

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

Speaker 1: *oft, of, as*. Idem question 7.

Speaker 2: *of(t), as(t)*. can be combined

12. Please translate the following sentence.

- (104) Who likes books?

Speaker 1:

- (104) a. Wa hâldt fan boeken?
who holds of books
'Who likes books?'

Speaker 2:

- (104) b. Wa fynt boeken leuk?
who finds books likeable
'Who likes books?'

13. Please translate the following sentence.

- (105) What does Mary like?

Speaker 1: *Wa fynt Mary leuk?* nota bene *leuk* is a bit frowned upon as a loanword in official contexts, but 100% acceptable in casual conversation

- (105) a. Wat fynt Mary leuk?
what finds Mary likeable
'What does Mary like?'

Speaker 2:

- (105) b. Wat fynt Mary leuk?
what finds Mary likeable
'What does Mary like?'

14. Please translate the following sentence.

- (106) When did Mary arrive?

Speaker 1:

- (106) a. Wannear kaam Mary oan?
when came.3SG Mary on
'When did Mary arrive?'

Speaker 2:

- (106) b. Wannear kaam Mary oan?
when came.3SG Mary on
'When did Mary arrive?'

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

Example: To Susan what did Mary give?

Speaker 1: To me, this feels ungrammatical.

- (i) *Oan Susan wat joech Mary?
to Susan what gave.3SG Mary
'What did Mary give to Susan?'

Speaker 2: Not really

16. Please translate the following sentence.

(107) Peter asked who liked books.

Speaker 1: *Peter frege wa't (= wa oft) fan boeken hold.*

- (107) a. Peter frege wa't fan boeken hold.
Peter asked.3SG who.if.that of books held.3SG
'Peter asked who liked books.'

Speaker 2:

- (107) b. Peter frege wa't boeken leuk fûn.
Peter asked.3SG who.if.that books likeable found.3SG
'Peter asked who liked books.'

17. Please translate the following sentence.

(108) Peter asked what Mary liked.

Speaker 1:

- (108) a. Peter frege wat Mary leuk fûn.
Peter asked.3SG what Mary likeable found.3SG
'Peter asked what Mary liked.'

Speaker 2:

- (108) b. Peter frege wat Mary leuk fûn.
Peter asked.3SG what Mary likeable found.3SG
'Peter asked what Mary liked.'

18. Please translate the following sentence.

(109) Peter asked when Mary arrived.

Speaker 1: 'Peter frege wannear't (= wannear oft) Mary oankaam.'

- (109) a. Peter frege wannear't Mary oankaam.
Peter asked.3SG when.that Mary on.came.3SG
'Peter asked when Mary arrived.'

Speaker 2:

- (109) b. Peter frege wannear't Mary oankaam wie.
Peter asked.3SG when.that Mary on.come.PTCP was
'Peter asked when Mary arrived.'

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

Example 1: Peter asked that what Mary liked.

Example 2: Peter asked if what Mary liked.

Example 3: Peter asked who that liked books.

Speaker 1: Yes. *Peter frege dat wat Mary leuk fûn* is possible. *Peter Frege wa dat Mary leuk fûn*. Other complementisers are a bit more troublesome: **Peter frege of (=if) wat Mary leuk fûn*.

- (i) Peter frege dat wat Mary leuk fûn.
Peter asked.3SG that what Mary likeable found.3SG
'Peter asked what Mary liked.'
- (ii) Peter frege wa dat Mary leuk fûn.
Peter asked.3SG who that Mary likeable found.3SG
'Peter asked who Mary liked.'
- (iii) *Peter frege of wat Mary leuk fûn.
Peter asked.3SG if what Mary likeable found.3SG
'Peter asked what Mary liked.'

Speaker 2: I do not think so.

20. Please translate the following sentence.

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

Speaker 1:

- (110) a. Peter wit net wa't boeken leuk fynt.
Peter knows not who.that books likeable finds
'Peter doesn't know who likes books.'

Speaker 2:

- (110) b. Peter wit net wa't boeken leuk fynt.
Peter knows not who.that books likeable finds
'Peter doesn't know who likes books.'

21. Please translate the following sentence.

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

Speaker 1:

- (111) a. Peter wit net wat Mary leuk fynt.
Peter knows not what Mary likeable finds
'Peter doesn't know what Mary likes.'

Speaker 2:

- (111) b. Peter wit net wat Mary leuk fynt.
Peter knows not what Mary likeable finds
'Peter doesn't know what Mary likes.'

22. Please translate the following sentence.

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

Speaker 1:

- (112) a. Peter wit net wannear't Mary oankomt.
Peter knows not when.that Mary on.comes
'Peter doesn't know when Mary arrived.'

Speaker 2:

- (112) b. Peter wit net wannear't Mary oankaam is.
Peter knows not when.that Mary on.come.PTCP is
'Peter doesn't know when Mary arrived.'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Speaker 1: In (111) it feels possible, but not 100% correct: *Peter wit net dat wat Mary leuk fynt*. So for the most part, no.

- (i) Peter wit net dat wat Mary leuk fynt.
Peter knows not that what Mary likeable finds
'Peter doesn't know what Mary likes.'

Speaker 2: Not without changing the order of the other elements.

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

Example: If Mary likes books, Peter asked.

Speaker 1: Yes: *Oft Mary fan boeken hâldt, frege Peter.* Or: *Wa't boeken leuk fynt, wit Peter net.* This actually feels totally normal to me and is quite common to hear.

- (i) Oft Mary fan boeken hâldt, frege Peter.
if.that Mary of books holds asked.3SG Peter
'Peter asked if Mary liked books.'
- (ii) Wa't boeken leuk fynt, wit Peter net.
who.that books likeable finds knows Peter not
'Peter doesn't know who likes books'

Speaker 2: yes this is possible

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

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

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

Speaker 1: I don't think this is applicable to Frisian. 1 **Peter frege dat Mary oft fan boeken hâldt.* This feels totally strange to me :)

- (i) *Peter frege dat Mary oft fan boeken hâldt.
Peter asked.3SG that Mary if.that of books holds
'Peter asked if Mary likes books'

Speaker 2: I would say that this is not possible.

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

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

Speaker 1: This does not feel grammatical to me in Frisian and I have never heard it. It would be something like **Ik kin ien dy't fan boeken hâldt mar ik wit net oft Mary.* With other verbs this also is not possible I think.

- (i) *Ik kin ien dy't fan boeken hâldt mar ik wit net oft Mary.
I know.1SG someone who.that of books holds but I know not if.that Mary
'I know someone likes books but I don't know if Mary.'

Speaker 2: To me the sentence would not be complete like this. I would never make a construction like that.

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

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

Speaker 1: Idem previous question. Does not feel possible to me. Even more impossible than 24.

- (i) *Ik kin ien dy’t Mary leuk fynt ien mar ik wit net
 I know.1SG someone who.that Mary likeable finds someone but I know not
 oft boeken.
 if.that books
 ‘I know someone Mary likes something but I don’t know if books.’

Speaker 2: Elements would be missing

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

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

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

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

Speaker 1: Yes. 1 *Ik wit dat ien fan boeken hâldt mar ik wit net wa.* 2 *Ik wit dat Mary wat leuk fynt mar ik wit net wat.* 3 *Ik wit dat Mary oankaam is mar ik wit net wannear.*
 For other verbs, this is also possible: I know Mary lives here but i don’t know where =
Ik wit dat Mary hjir wennet mar ik wit net wêr

- (i) Ik wit dat ien fan boeken hâldt mar ik wit net wa.
 I know.1SG that someone of books holds but I know.1SG not who
 ‘I know someone likes books but I don’t know who.’
- (ii) Ik wit dat Mary wat leuk fynt mar ik wit net wat.
 I know.1SG that Mary something likeable finds but I know.1SG not what
 ‘I know Mary likes something but I don’t know what.’
- (iii) Ik wit dat Mary oankaam is mar ik wit net wannear.
 I know.1SG that Mary on.come.PTCP is but I know.1SG not when
 ‘I know Mary has arrived but I don’t know when.’
- (iv) Ik wit dat Mary hjir wennet mar ik wit net wêr.
 I know.1SG that Mary here lives but I know.1SG not where
 ‘I know Mary lives here but I don’t know where’

Speaker 2: This would be possible yes.

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

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

Speaker 1: This feels grammatical!

- (i) Ik wit dat ien wat leuk fynt mar ik wat net wa
I know.1SG that someone something likeable finds but I know.1SG not who
wat.
what
'I know someone likes something but I don't know who what.'

Speaker 2: Yes this would be possible in less formal language. Like:

- (ii) Ik wit dat wy moarn fuortgean, mar ik wit net hoe wat
I know.1SG that we tomorrow forth.go.1PL but I know.1SG not how what
wa wannear.
who when
'I know that we leave tomorrow but I don't know how, what, who, when.'

2 Declaratives

30. Please translate the following sentence into Frisian.

- (201) Mary likes books.

Speaker 1:

- (201) a. Mary fynt boeken leuk.
Mary finds Books likeable
'Mary likes books.'

Speaker 2:

- (201) b. Mary fynt boeken leuk.
Mary finds Books likeable
'Mary likes books.'

31. Please translate the following sentence.

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

Speaker 1:

- (202) a. Peter seit dat Mary boeken leuk fynt.
Peter says that Mary books likeable finds
'Peter says that Mary likes books.'

Speaker 2:

- (202) b. Peter seit dat Mary boeken leuk fynt.
Peter says that Mary books likeable finds
'Peter says that Mary likes books.'

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

Speaker 1: *dat*. This can combine with elements like ‘who that’ = *wa’t* or ‘where that’ = *wêr’t*.

Speaker 2: *dat*

33. Please translate the following sentence.

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

Speaker 1:

- (203) a. Peter wit dat Mary boeken leuk fynt.
Peter knows that Mary books likeable finds
'Peter knows that Mary likes books.'

Speaker 2:

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

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

Speaker 1: only *dat*

Speaker 2: *dat*

35. Please translate the following sentence.

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

Speaker 1:

- (204) a. Peter tinkt dat Mary boeken leuk fynt.
Peter thinks that Mary books likeable finds
'Peter thinks that Mary likes books.'

Speaker 2:

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

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

Speaker 1: again only *dat*

Speaker 2: *dat*

37. Please translate the following sentence.

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

Speaker 1:

- (205) a. It is bysûnder dat Mary boeken leuk fynt.
it is special that Mary books likeable finds
'It is surprising that Mary likes books.'

Speaker 2:

- (205) b. It is ferrassend dat Mary boeken leuk fynt.
it is surprising that Mary books likebale finds
'It is surprising that Mary likes books.'

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

Speaker 1: again only *dat*

Speaker 2: *dat*

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

Example: (That) Mary likes books is surprising.

Speaker 1: This is possible and feels totally acceptable to me: *Dat Mary boeken leuk fynt is bysûnder*. The element ‘dat’ is 100% obligatory in this construction.

- (i) Dat Mary boeken leuk fynt is bysûnder.
that Mary books likeable finds is special
'That Mary likes books is surprising.'

Speaker 2: Is possible especially for (205). In some contexts (202) as well, as a repetition. I would say no for (203) and (204). The element does not have to be named explicitly but has to be there in some way. ex.

- (ii) Dat Mary dat leuk fynt is ferrassend.
that Mary that likeable finds is surprising
'That Mary likes that is surprising.'

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

Example 1: Peter says Mary that likes books.

Example 2: Peter says that Mary that likes books.

Example 3: Peter says books that Mary likes.

Example 4: Peter says that books that Mary likes.

Speaker 1: Only example 3 here feels grammatical when translated into Frisian: *Peter seit boeken dy't Mary leuk fynt*. In this case though, the nature of the subordinate clause has changed a bit :). So: this is not possible: **Peter seit Mary dat boeken leuk fynt*

- (i) Peter seit boeken dy't Mary leuk fynt.
Peter says books who.that Mary likeable finds
'Peter says that Mary likes books.'
- (ii) *Peter seit Mary dat boeken leuk fynt.
Peter says Mary that books likeable finds
'Peter says that Mary likes books.'

Speaker 2: Not possible.

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

Example:

A: Who likes books?

B: Peter says that Mary.

Speaker 1: No.

- (i) A: Wa fynt boeken leuk?
who finds books likeable
'Who likes books?'
- B: *Peter seit dat Mary.
Peter says that Mary
'Peter says that Mary likes books.'

Speaker 2: No, would not be sufficient.

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

Example:

A: What does Mary like?

B: Peter says that books.

Speaker 1: Not really, but it feels slightly more possible than the previous question. *Wat fynt Mary leuk? *Peter seit dat boeken.* In this particular case, the answer could be: *Peter seit fan boeken.*

- (i) A: Wat fynt Mary leuk?
what finds Mary likeable
'What does Mary like?'
- B: *Peter seit dat boeken.
Peter says that books
'Peter says that Mary likes books.'
- (ii) A: Wat fynt Mary leuk?
what finds Mary likeable
'What does Mary like?'
- B: Peter seit fan boeken.
Peter says of books
'Peter says that Mary likes books.'

Speaker 2: To me it does not sound correct.

3 Relative clauses

43. Please translate the following sentence into Frisian.

(301) This is the student who invited Mary.

Speaker 1:

(301) a. Dit is de studint dy't Mary útnûge hat.
this is the.M/F student who.dat Mary invited.PTCP has
'This is the student who invited Mary.'

Speaker 2:

(301) b. Dit is de studint dy't Mary útnûge hat.
this is the.M/F student who.dat Mary invited.PTCP has
'This is the student who invited Mary.'

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

Speaker 1: *dy't, wa't*. Both are combinations of a pronoun with a “bynwurdlike t” (there is some research on this btw, Dijkstra et al 2017 and Geart Van der Meer 1991). Forms without this *t* can be heard very often in speech, but is not often omitted in writing. The forms with *w-* are actively taught in Frisian education to be Dutch influence, but will be heard/seen everywhere.

Speaker 2: *dy, wa*. Both to be combined with *'t*.

45. Please translate the following sentence.

(302) This is the book which Mary bought.

Speaker 1:

(302) a. Dit is it boek dat Mary kocht hat.
this is the.N book that Mary bought.PTCP has
'This is the book which Mary bought.'

Speaker 2:

(302) b. Dit is it boek dat Mary kocht hat.
this is the.N book that Mary bought.PTCP has
'This is the book which Mary bought.'

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

Speaker 1: *dat, wat*

Speaker 2: *dat, wat*

47. Please translate the following sentence.

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

Speaker 1:

(303) a. Dit is de stêd dêr't ik berne bin.
this is the.M/F city there.that I born am
'This is the city where I was born.'

Speaker 2:

- (303) b. Dit is de stêd dêr't ik berne bin.
this is the.M/F city there.that I born am
'This is the city where I was born.'

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

Speaker 1: *dêr't, wêr't*.

Speaker 2: *dêr, wêr*. should be combined with *'t*.

49. Please translate the following sentence.

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

Speaker 1:

- (304) a. Dat wie it jier dat Mary oankaam.
that was the.N year that Mary on.came.3SG
'That was the year when Mary arrived.'

Speaker 2:

- (304) b. Dat wie it jier dat Mary oankaam.
that was the.N year that Mary on.came.3SG
'That was the year when Mary arrived.'

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

Speaker 1: *dat*, possibly *wannear't* but this word feels a little unnatural in this specific context.

Speaker 2: *dat, wannear*.

51. Please translate the following sentence.

- (305) I will invite whoever you recommend.

Speaker 1:

- (305) a. Ik sil wa't jim mar oanriede útnûgje.
I shall.1SG who.that you.PL just recommend.2PL invite.INF
'I will invite whoever you recommend.'

Speaker 2:

- (305) b. Ik sil útnûgje wa'tst my oanbefeelst.
I shall.1SG invite.INF who.that.2SG me recommend.2SG
'I will invite whoever you recommend.'

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

Speaker 1: I might miss some options here, but most often: *wa ek mar*, *wa dan ek mar*.
Speaker 2: *wa'tst*

53. Please translate the following sentence.

- (306) I will hire whoever is qualified.

Speaker 1:

- (306) a. Ik sil wa't ek mar kwalifisearre is oannimme.
I shall.1SG who.that also just qualified is on.take.INF
'I will hire whoever is qualified.'

Speaker 2:

- (306) b. Ik sil oannimme wa't kwalifisearre is.
I shall.1SG on.take.INF who.that qualified is
'I will hire whoever is qualified.'

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

Speaker 1: *wa ek mar*, *wa dan ek mar*, possible also simply *wa* (but feels like some of the context is lost in this translation)
Speaker 2: *wa't*

55. Please translate the following sentence.

- (307) I will do whatever you recommend.

Speaker 1: *Ik sil dwaan watsto ek mar oanriedst*. (note the inclusion of the second person pronoun in *wat*)

- (307) a. Ik sil dwaan watsto ek mar oanriedst.
I shall.1SG do.INF what.2SG also just recommend.2SG
'I will do whatever you recommend.'

Speaker 2:

- (307) b. Ik sil dwaan wat'st my oanbefeelst.
I shall.1SG do.INF what.2SG me recommend.2SG
'I will do whatever you recommend.'

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

Speaker 1: *wat ek mar, wat dan ek mar, wat* (same as q52).

Speaker 2: *wat'st*

57. Please translate the following sentence.

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

Speaker 1: Very difficult to translate (future tense of to go in Frisian is troublesome for me, most often use present tense to indicate future intent). Possibly:

- (308) a. Ik sil nei wêr't taalkundigen ek mar binne.
I shall.1SG to where.that linguists also just are.3PL
'I will go wherever I find linguists.'

Speaker 2:

- (308) b. Ik sil gean nei wêr't ik linguisten fine kin.
I shall.1SG go.INF to where.that I linguists find.INF can.1SG
'I will go wherever I find linguists.'

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

Speaker 1: *wêr ek mar, wêr dan ek mar, wêr* (same as q52)

Speaker 2: *wêr't, dêr't*

59. Please translate the following sentence.

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

Speaker 1:

- (309) a. Ik gean fuort wannear't it dy útkomt.
I go.1SG forth when.that it you.ACC out.comes
'I will go whenever it suits you.'

Speaker 2:

- (309) b. Ik sil gean wannear't it dy past.
I shall.1SG go.INF when.that it you.ACC suits
'I will go whenever it suits you.'

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

Speaker 1: *wannear* feels most natural here. *wannear ek mar* is also possible.

Speaker 2: *wannear't, as*

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

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

Speaker 1: Yes. For example (306):

- (i) Wa't ek mar kwalifisearre is, sil ik oannimme.
who.that also just qualified is shall.1SG I on.take.INF
'I will hire whoever is qualified.'

Speaker 2: Yes this is possible.

- (ii) Wannear't it dy past, sil ik gean.
when.that it you.ACC suits shall.1SG I go.INF
'I will go whenever it suits you.'

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

Example: This is the student Mary who invited.

Speaker 1: Yes.

- (i) Dit is de studint dy't Mary útnûge hat.
this is the.M/F student who.that Mary invited.PTCP has
'This is the student who invited Mary.'

Speaker 2: No.

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

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

Speaker 1: Not possible.

- (i) *No, Mary wennet wêr.
now Mary lives where
'Well, Mary lives where.'

Speaker 2: No.

63.1. Please translate the following sentence into Frisian.

(310) This is the book which describes the system.

Speaker 1:

(310) a. Dit is it boek dat it systeem beskriuwt.
this is the.N book that the.N system describes
'This is the book which describes the system.'

Speaker 2:

(310) b. Dit is it boek dat it systeem beskriuwt.
this is the.N book that the.N system describes
'This is the book which describes the system.'

63.2. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “which” in (310) in Frisian, including complementisers like “that” and the absence of any overt relative pronoun or complementiser. Please specify whether the overt elements may combine with each other, too.

Speaker 1: *dat, wat*

Speaker 2: *dat, wat*

63.3. Please translate the following sentence into Frisian.

(311) This is the student who Mary invited.

Speaker 1:

(311) a. Dit is de studint dy't Mary útnûge hat.
this is the.M/F student who.that Mary invited.PTCP has
'This is the student who Mary invited.'

Speaker 2:

(311) b. Dit is de studint dy't Mary útnûge hat.
this is the.M/F student who.that Mary invited.PTCP has
'This is the student who Mary invited.'

63.4. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “who” in (311) in Frisian, including complementisers like “that” and the absence of any overt relative pronoun or complementiser. Please specify whether the overt elements may combine with each other, too.

Speaker 1: possibly also

- (i) Dit is de studint wa't Mary útnúge hat.
 this is the.M/F student who.that Mary invited.PTCP has
 'This is the student who Mary invited'

Speaker 2: *dy't, wa't*

63.5. Please translate the following sentence into Frisian.

- (312) This is the student who we gave the book.

Speaker 1:

- (312) a. Dit is de studint dy't wy in boek joegen.
 this is the.M/F student who.that we a book gave.1PL
 'This is the student who we gave the book.'

Speaker 2:

- (312) b. Dit is de studint oan wa't wy it boek jûn hawwe.
 this is the.M/F student on who.that we the.N book given have.1PL
 'This is the student who we gave the book.'
- (312) c. Dit is de studint dêr't wy it boek oan jûn hawwe.
 this is the.M/F student there.that we the.N book on given have.1PL
 'This is the student who we gave the book.'

63.6. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “who” in (312) in Frisian, including complementisers like “that” and the absence of any overt relative pronoun or complementiser. Please specify whether the overt elements may combine with each other, too.

Speaker 1: *wa't* does not feel possible in this sentence

Speaker 2: *wa. dêr't*

63.7. Please translate the following sentence into Frisian.

- (313) This is the company which we sent the letter.

Speaker 1:

- (313) a. Dit is it bedriuw dat wy de brief stjoert ha.
 this is the.N company that we the.M/F letter sent.PTCP have.1PL
 'This is the company which we sent the letter.'

Speaker 2:

(313) b. Dit is it bedriuw dêr't wy de brief nei tastjoerd
this is the.N company there.that we the.M/F letter to sent.PTCP
hawwe.
have.1PL

'This is the company which we sent the letter.'

(313) c. Dit is it bedriuw oan wa't wy de brief stjoerd hawwe.
this is the.N company on who.that we the.M/F letter sent.PTCP have
'This is the company which we sent the letter.'

63.8. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “which” in (313) in Frisian, including complementisers like “that” and the absence of any overt relative pronoun or complementiser. Please specify whether the overt elements may combine with each other, too.

Speaker 1: *dat, wat*

Speaker 2: *dêr't, wa't*

63.9. Please translate the following sentence into Frisian.

(314) This is the student for whom we wrote the recommendation.

Speaker 1:

(314) a. Dit is de studint foar wa't wy in oanbefelling skreaun
this is the.M/F student for who.that we a recommendation written
hawwe.
have.1PL

'This is the student for whom we wrote the recommendation.'

Speaker 2:

(314) b. Dit is de studint foar wa't wy de oanrekommendaasje
this is the.M/F student for who.that we the.M/F recommendation
skreaun hawwe.
written have.1PL

'This is the student for whom we wrote the recommendation.'

(314) c. Dit is de studint dêr't wy de oanrekommendaasje foar
this is the.M/F student there.that we the.M/F recommendation for
skreaun hawwe.
written have.1PL

'This is the student for whom we wrote the recommendation.'

63.10. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “whom” in (314) in Frisian, including complementisers like “that” and the absence of any overt relative pronoun or complementiser. Please specify whether the overt elements may combine with each other, too. Can the preposition corresponding to “for” also appear at the end of the clause?

Speaker 1: also possible: *Dit is de studint dêr't wy in oanbefelling foar skreaun hawwe.* In principle, since the verb cluster comes at the end of the relative sentence, the preposition ‘foar’ cannot be in a completely final position, though it is relatively stranded in this example.

- (i) Dit is de studint dêr't wy in oanbefelling foar skreaun hawwe.
 this is the.M/F student there.that we a recommendation for written have.1PL
 ‘This is the student for whom we wrote the recommendation.’

Speaker 2: *wa't, dêr't.* In the second version *foar* has gone more to the back. But it will not be at the end of the clause.

63.11. Please translate the following sentence into Frisian.

- (315) This is the student who we wrote the book with.

Speaker 1:

- (315) a. Dit is de studint dêr't wy it boek mei skreaun hawwe.
 this is the.M/F student there.that we the.N book with written have.1PL
 ‘This is the student who we wrote the book with.’

Speaker 2:

- (315) b. Dit is de studint dêr't wy it boek mei skreaun hawwe.
 this is the.M/F student there.that we the.N book with written have.1PL
 ‘This is the student who we wrote the book with.’

- (315) c. Dit is de studint mei wa't wy it boek skreaun hawwe.
 this is the.M/F student with who.that we the.N book written have.1PL
 ‘This is the student who we wrote the book with.’

63.12. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “whom” in (315) in Frisian, including complementisers like “that” and the absence of any overt relative pronoun or complementiser. Please specify whether the overt elements may combine with each other, too. Can the preposition corresponding to “with” also appear in front of “who”?

Speaker 1: I don't see the *-m* in (315), but to me this is the only translation. Preposition in this case cannot appear in front of the ‘who’.

Speaker 2: *Dêr't, wa't.* In the second version *mei* (with) is in front of *wa* (who).

63.13. Please translate the following sentence into Frisian.

- (316) This is the wardrobe in which we keep the dresses.

Speaker 1:

- (316) a. Dit is de kleankast dêr't wy de jurken yn hâlde.
this is the.M/F wardrobe there.that we the.PL dresses in hold.1PL
'This is the wardrobe in which we keep the dresses.'

Speaker 2:

- (316) b. Dit is de kast dêr't wy de jurken yn opberge.
this is the.M/F box there.that we the.PL dresses in away.put.1PL
'This is the wardrobe in which we keep the dresses.'

63.14. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “which” in (316) in Frisian, including complementisers like “that” and the absence of any overt relative pronoun or complementiser. Please specify whether the overt elements may combine with each other, too. Can the preposition corresponding to “in” also appear at the end of the clause?

Speaker 1: *dêr't, wêr't*. *Yn* cannot appear in the end, since the verb needs to be there.

Speaker 2: *dêr't*. *Yn* has been moved further back.

63.15. Please translate the following sentence into Frisian.

- (317) This is the book which we were talking about.

Speaker 1:

- (317) a. Dit is it boek dêr't wy oer praten.
this is the.N book there.that we about talked.1PL
'This is the book which we were talking about.'

Speaker 2:

- (317) b. Dit is it boek dêr't wy oer praten.
this is the.N book there.that we about talked.1PL
'This is the book which we were talking about.'

63.16. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “which” in (317) in Frisian, including complementisers like “that” and the absence of any overt relative pronoun or complementiser. Please specify whether the overt elements may combine with each other, too. Can the preposition corresponding to “about” also appear in front of “which”?

Speaker 1: *dêr't, wêr't*. *Oer* cannot appear in front of those two.

Speaker 2: *dêr't*. In my opinion *oer* cannot appear in front of *dêr't*.

63.17. Please translate the following sentence into Frisian.

- (318) This is the professor whose student won the competition.

Speaker 1: *Dit is de professor waans studint de kompetysje won* (note: you would almost always here a Dutch loan ‘wiens’ instead of waans). Less verbatim but more common translation: *Dit is de professor fan wa in studint de kompetysje won*.

- (318) a. Dit is de professor waans studint de kompetysje won.
this is the.M/F professor whose student the.M/F competition won.3SG
‘This is the professor whose student won the competition.’
- (318) b. Dit is de professor fan wa in studint de kompetysje
this is the.M/F professor from who a student the.M/F competition
won.
won.3SG
‘This is the professor whose student won the competition.’

Speaker 2:

- (318) c. Dit is de professor wa’t syn studint de wedstriid
this is the.M/F professor who.that his student the.M/F competition
wûn hat.
won.PTCP has
‘This is the professor whose student won the competition.’

63.18. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “whose” in (318) in Frisian, including complementisers like “that” and the absence of any overt relative pronoun or complementiser. Please specify whether the overt elements may combine with each other, too.

Speaker 1: *waans, fan wa*

Speaker 2: *wa’t, fan wa*.

63.19. Please translate the following sentence into Frisian.

- (319) This is the film whose title you have forgotten.

Speaker 1:

- (319) a. Dit is de film dêr’tst de titel fan fergetten bist.
this is the.M/F film there.that.2SG the.M/F title from forgotten are.2SG
‘This is the film whose title you have forgotten.’

Speaker 2:

- (319) b. Dit is de film dêr’tst de titel fan fergetten bist.
this is the.M/F film there.that.2SG the.M/F title from forgotten are.2SG
‘This is the film whose title you have forgotten.’

63.20. Please list all the elements that can correspond to “whose” in (319) in Frisian, including complementisers like “that” and the absence of any overt relative pronoun or complementiser. Please specify whether the overt elements may combine with each other, too.

Speaker 1: *dêr'tst, wêr'tst*

Speaker 2: *dêr'tst, werfan'st*

4 Degree clauses

64. Please translate the following sentence into Frisian.

(401) How did you open the bottle?

Speaker 1:

(401) a. Hoe hasto de fesse iepen makke?
how have.2SG the.M/F bottle open made.PTCP
'How did you open the bottle?'

Speaker 2:

(401) b. Hoe hasto de fles iepen makke?
how have.2SG the.M/F bottle open made.PTCP
'How did you open the bottle?'

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

Speaker 1: *Hoe*

Speaker 2: *Hoe, Op hokker wize*

66. Please translate the following sentence.

(402) How old is Mary?

Speaker 1:

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

Speaker 2:

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

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

Speaker 1: *Hoe.*

Speaker 2: *Hoe.*

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

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

Speaker 1: No.

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

Speaker 2: no

69.<original question identical to Question 68>

70. Please translate the following sentence.

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

Speaker 1:

- (403) a. Hoefolle boeken lêst Mary it jier?
how.many books reads Mary the.N year
'How many books does Mary read a year?'

Speaker 2:

- (403) b. Hoefolle boeken lêst Mary yn in jier?
how.many books reads Mary in a year
'How many books does Mary read a year?'

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

Speaker 1: *Hoefolle* (might be spelled with a space in between *hoe* and *folle*, not sure).

Speaker 2: *Hoefolle, Hoe'n soad, hoe protte.*

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

Example: How many does Mary read books a year?

Speaker 1: Not possible.

- (i) *Hoefolle lêst Mary boeken it jier?
how.many reads Mary books the.N year
'How many books does Mary read a year?'

Speaker 2: no

73. Please translate the following sentence.

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

Speaker 1:

- (404) a. Hoefolle sûker ha wy nedich foar de cake?
how.much sugar have.1PL we necessary for the.M/F cake
'How much sugar do we need for the cake?'

Speaker 2:

- (404) b. Hoefolle sûker hawwe wy nedich foar de cake?
how.much sugar have.1PL we necessary for the.M/F cake
'How much sugar do we need for the cake?'

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

Speaker 1: *Hoefolle*.

Speaker 2: *Hoefolle, hoe'n soad, hoe protte*.

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

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

Speaker 1: Not possible.

- (i) *Hoefolle ha wy sûker nedich foar de cake?
how.much have.1PL we sugar necessary for the.M/F cake
'How much sugar do we need for the cake?'

Speaker 2: no

76. Please translate the following sentence.

(405) How long a book did Mary read?

Speaker 1:

(405) a. Hoe'n lang boek hat Mary lêzen?
how.a long book has Mary read.PTCP
'How long a book did Mary read?'

Speaker 2:

(405) b. Hoe lang wie it boek dat Mary lêzen hat?
how long was the.N book that Mary read.PTCP has
'How long a book did Mary read?'

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

Speaker 1: *hoe'n (=hoe in)*

Speaker 2: *Hoe, Wat (wie de lengte fan...).*

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

Example: A how long book did Mary read?

Speaker 1: I think this is possible, but not very common.

- (i) In hoe lang boek hat Mary lêzen?
a how long book has Mary read.PTCP
'How long a book did Mary read?'
- (ii) Hoe lang in boek hat Mary lêzen?
how long a book has Mary read.PTCP
'How long a book did Mary read?'

Speaker 2: only in a kind of repetative sentence of disbelief.

- (iii) In hoe lang boek hat Mary lêzen?!
a how long book has Mary read.PTCP
'How long a book did Mary read?'

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

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

Speaker 1: No.

- (i) *Hoe'n lang hat Mary in boek lêzen?
how.a long has Mary a book read.PTCP
'How long a book did Mary read?'

Speaker 2: no, it gets a different meaning

5 Equative clauses

80. Please translate the following sentence.

- (501) Mary is as old as Peter.

Speaker 1:

- (501) a. Mary is like âld as Peter.
Mary is like old as Peter
'Mary is as old as Peter'

Speaker 2:

- (501) b. Mary is like âld as Peter.
Mary is like old as Peter
'Mary is as old as Peter'
- (501) c. Mary is krekt sa âld as Peter.
Mary is just as old as Peter
'Mary is as old as Peter'

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

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

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

Speaker 1: Only *as*. This can combine with Frisian ‘dat’, but not with *wat*:

- (i) Mary is like âld as dat Peter is.
Mary is like old as that Peter is
'Mary is as old as Peter'

Speaker 2: *as*. Yes *dat* or *wat* can be added. But then the last ‘is’ is obligatory.

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

Example 1: Mary is as old as Peter is.

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

Speaker 1: Yes.

- (i) Mary is like âld as dat Peter is.
Mary is like old as that Peter is
'Mary is as old as Peter'
- (ii) Mary is like âld as dat Peter âld is.
Mary is like old as that Peter old is
'Mary is as old as Peter'

Speaker 2: Yes this would be acceptable.

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

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

Speaker 1:

- (502) a. Mary is like âld as Peter foarich jier wie.
Mary is like old as Peter last year was
'Mary is as old as Peter was last year.'

Speaker 2:

- (502) b. Mary is krekt sa âld as dat Peter foarich jier wie.
Mary is just as old as that Peter last year was
'Mary is as old as Peter was last year.'

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

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

Speaker 1:

- (503) a. Mary is like âld as hoe âld Peter foarich jier wie.
Mary is like old as how old Peter last year was
'Mary is as old as Peter was last year.'

Speaker 2:

- (503) b. Mary is krekt sa âld as hoe âld Peter foarich jier wie.
Mary is just as old as how old Peter last year was
'Mary is as old as Peter was last year.'

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

Speaker 1: only *hoe. âld* can only appear adjacent to *hoe*

Speaker 2: *hoe*, you could delete *hoe* and make the sentence [...] *as Peter foarich jier âld wie*.

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

Example: Mary is as old as how old Peter.

Speaker 1: No.

- (i) *Mary is like âld as hoe âld Peter.
Mary is like old as how old Peter
'Mary is as old as Peter.'

Speaker 2: No.

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

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

Speaker 1: No.

- (i) *Mary is like âld hoe âld Peter is.
Mary is like old how old Peter is
'Mary is as old as Peter.'
- (ii) *Mary is like âld hoe âld Peter.
Mary is like old how old. Peter
'Mary is as old as Peter'

Speaker 2: No.

88. Please translate the following sentence.

- (504) Mary has as many books as Peter.

Speaker 1:

- (504) a. Mary hat like folle boeken as Peter.
Mary has like many books as Peter
'Mary has as many books as Peter.'

Speaker 2:

- (504) b. Mary hat krekt sa folle boeken as Peter.
Mary has just as many books as Peter
'Mary has as many books as Peter.'

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

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

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

Speaker 1: Only *as*. This can be combined with *that*: *Mary hat like folle boeken as dat Peter hat*. In this case, the second *hat* is obligatory.

- (i) Mary hat like folle boeken as dat Peter hat.
Mary has like many books as that Peter has
'Mary has as many books as Peter.'

Speaker 2: *as*, yes just like the examples in Frisian you could add 'dat' (*as dat Peter hat*)

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

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

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

Speaker 1: Yes.

- (i) Mary hat like folle boeken as dat Peter boeken hat.
Mary has like many books as that Peter books has
'Mary has as many books as Peter.'

Speaker 2: This would be possible.

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

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

Speaker 1:

- (505) a. Mary hat like folle boeken as hoe folle boeken Peter hat.
Mary has like many books as how many books Peter has
'Mary has as many books as Peter.'

Speaker 2:

- (505) b. Mary hat krekt sa folle boeken as dat Peter hat.
Mary has just as many books as that Peter has
'Mary has as many books as Peter.'
- (505) c. Mary hat krekt sa folle boeken as hoefolle boeken Peter hat.
Mary has just as many books as how many books Peter has
'Mary has as many books as Peter.'

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

Speaker 1: *hoe folle*, has to be adjacent to *books*.

Speaker 2: *boeken* has to be right after *hoefolle*.

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

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

Speaker 1: No.

- (i) *Mary hat like folle boeken as hoe folle boeken Peter.
Mary has like many books as how many books Peter
'Mary has as many books as Peter.'

Speaker 2: No, it needs the verb.

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

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

Speaker 1:

- (506) a. Mary hat in like lang boek lêzen as Peter.
Mary has a like long book read.PTCP as Peter
'Mary has read as long a book as Peter.'

Speaker 2:

- (506) b. Mary hat krekt sa'n lang boek lêzen as dat Peter dien hat.
Mary has just as.a long book read.PTCP as that Peter done has
'Mary has read as long a book as Peter.'
- (506) c. Mary hat krekt sa'n lang boek lêzen as Peter.
Mary has just as.a long book read.PTCP as Peter
'Mary has read as long a book as Peter.'

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

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

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

Speaker 1: only *as*. Can combine with *dat*: *Mary hat in like lang boek lêzen as dat Peter hat*. In this case, the second *hat* is again obligatory.

- (i) Mary hat in like lang boek lêzen as dat Peter hat.
Mary has a like long book read.PTCP as that Peter has
'Mary has read as long a book as Peter.'

Speaker 2: My first translation shows me already adding *dat*, so that is possible.

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

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

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

Speaker 1: Yes. *Mary hat in like lang boek lêzen as dat Peter lêzen hat*. I just realized this is exactly what I gave as a sentence in the previous question though.

- (i) Mary hat in like lang boek lêzen as dat Peter lêzen hat.
Mary has a like long book read.PTCP as that Peter read.PTCP has
'Mary has read as long a book as Peter.'

Speaker 2: Yes this is possible.

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

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

Speaker 1: *Mary hat in like lang boek lêzen as dat Peter in lang boek lêzen hat.* Note that this sentence feels quite uncommon.

- (507) a. Mary hat in like lang boek lêzen as dat Peter in lang boek
Mary has a like long book read.PTCP as that Peter a long book
lêzen hat.
read.PTCP has
'Mary has read as long a book as Peter.'

Speaker 2:

- (507) b. Mary hat krekt sa'n lang boek lêzen as hoe lang it boek wie
Mary has just as.a long book read.PTCP as how long the.N book was
dat Peter lêzen hat.
that Peter read.PTCP has
'Mary has read as long a book as Peter.'

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

Speaker 1: no real verbatim counterpart

Speaker 2: *boek* needs to be directly after *hoe lang*.

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

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

Speaker 1: not applicable I think

Speaker 2: no, it needs the verb

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

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

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

Speaker 1:

- (508) a. De kat is like grou as dat it kattelûk wiid is.
the.M/F cat is like fat as that the.N cat.flap wide is
'The cat is as fat as the cat flap is wide.'

- (508) b. De kat is like grou as it kattelûk wiid.
the.M/F cat is like fat as the.N cat.flap wide
'The cat is as fat as the cat flap is wide.'

Speaker 2:

- (508) c. De kat is sa dik as it kattenlûk wiid.
the.M/F cat is as fat as the.N cat.flap wide
'The cat is as fat as the cat flap is wide.'

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

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

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

Speaker 1: Yes:

- (i) De kat is like grou as hoe wiid it kattelûk is.
the.M/F cat is like fat as how wide the.N cat.flap is
'The cat is as fat as the cat flap is wide.'

Speaker 2: Yes this would be possible in Frisian. It needs all the elements.

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

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

Speaker 1:

- (509) a. Mary lêst like folle boeken it jier as Peter artikelen.
Mary reads like many books the.N year as Peter articles
'Mary reads as many books a year as Peter does articles.'
- (509) b. Mary lêst like folle boeken it jier as dat Peter artikelen lêst.
Mary reads like many books the.N year as that Peter articles reads
'Mary reads as many books a year as Peter does articles.'

Speaker 2:

- (509) c. Mary lêst krekt sa folle boeken per jier as dat Peter artikelen lêst.
Mary reads just as many books per year as that Peter articles reads
'Mary reads as many books a year as Peter does articles.'

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

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

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

Speaker 1: Not without the ‘as’.

- (i) *Mary lêst like folle boeken hoe folle artikelen Peter.
 Mary reads like many books how many articles Peter
 ‘Mary reads as many books as Peter does articles.’

Speaker 2: No.

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

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

Speaker 1:

- (510) a. Wy ha like folle sûker foar de cake nedich as dat wy
 we have.1PL like much sugar for the.M/F cake necessary as that we
 bloem nedich ha.
 flour necessary have.1PL
 ‘We need as much sugar for the cake as we need flour.’

Speaker 2:

- (510) b. Wy hawwe krekt sa folle sûker nedich foar de cake as dat
 we have.1PL just as much sugar necessary for the.M/F cake as that
 wy bloem nedich hawwe.
 we flour necessary have.1PL
 ‘We need as much sugar for the cake as we need flour.’

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

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

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

Speaker 1: No.

- (i) *Wy ha like folle sûker nedich dat wy bloem nedich ha.
 we have.1PL like much sugar necessary that we flour necessary have.1PL
 ‘We need as much sugar for the cake as we need flour.’

Speaker 2: It can but it needs the verbs. *as hoefolle bloem wy nedich hawwe.*

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

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

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

Speaker 1: I think this is not possible: **Mary kocht in like grouwe kat hoe wiid in kattelûk Peter kocht.* It feels possible when: *Mary kocht in like grouwe kat as hoe wiid in kattelûk Peter kocht.*

- (i) *Mary kocht in like grouwe kat hoe wiid in kattelûk Peter kocht.
Mary bought.3SG a like fat cat how wide a cat.flap Peter bought.3SG
'Mary bought as fat a cat as Peter did a wide cat flap.'
- (ii) Mary kocht in like grouwe kat as hoe wiid in kattelûk Peter kocht.
Mary bought.3SG a like fat cat as how wide a cat.flap Peter bought.3SG
'Mary bought as fat a cat as Peter did a wide cat flap.'

Speaker 2: Yes.

6 Comparative clauses

107. Please translate the following sentence.

(601) Mary is older than Peter.

Speaker 1:

- (601) a. Mary is âlder as Peter.
Mary is older as Peter
'Mary is older than Peter.'

Speaker 2:

- (601) b. Mary is âlder as Peter.
Mary is older as Peter
'Mary is older than Peter.'

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

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

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

Speaker 1: *as*, sometimes you hear 'dan' but this is regarded as Dutch influence.

Speaker 2: *As*. Yes you could change it into *as dat Peter is*.

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

Example 1: Mary is older than Peter is.

Example 2: Mary is older than Peter is old.

Speaker 1: I feel this is not completely ungrammatical, but slightly:

- (i) Mary is âlder as Peter âld is.
Mary is older as Peter old is
'Mary is older than Peter.'

Speaker 2: no, only when *dat* is added like in question 108.

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

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

Speaker 1:

- (602) a. Mary is âlder as Peter foarich jier wie.
Mary is older as Peter last year was
'Mary is older than Peter was last year.'

Speaker 2:

- (602) b. Mary is âlder as dat Peter foarich jier wie.
Mary is older as that Peter last year was
'Mary is older than Peter was last year.'

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

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

Speaker 1:

- (603) a. Mary is âlder as hoe âld Peter foarich jier wie.
Mary is older as how old Peter last year was
'Mary is older than Peter was last year.'

Speaker 2:

- (603) b. Mary is âlder as hoe âld Peter foarich jier wie.
Mary is older as how old Peter last year was
'Mary is older than Peter was last year.'

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

Speaker 1: *hoe*. This has to be adjacent (in front of) to *âld*.

Speaker 2: *âld* needs to be directly after *hoe*

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

Example: Mary is older than how old Peter.

Speaker 1: No.

- (i) *Mary is *âlder as hoe âld* Peter.
Mary is older as how old Peter
'Mary is older than Peter.'

Speaker 2: No.

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

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

Speaker 1: No.

- (i) *Mary is *âlder hoe âld* Peter.
Mary is older how old Peter
'Mary is older than Peter.'

Speaker 2: No.

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

(604) Mary has more books than Peter.

Speaker 1:

- (604) a. Mary hat mear boeken as Peter.
Mary has more books as Peter
'Mary has more books than Peter.'

Speaker 2:

- (604) b. Mary hat mear boeken as Peter.
Mary has more books as Peter
'Mary has more books than Peter.'

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

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

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

Speaker 1: *as, as dat*. Can be combined with *dat*:

- (i) Mary hat mear boeken as dat Peter hat.
Mary has more books as that Peter has
'Mary has more books than Peter.'

Speaker 2:

- (ii) Mary hat mear boeken as dat Peter hat.
Mary has more books as that Peter has
'Mary has more books than Peter.'

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

Example 1: Mary has more books than Peter has.

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

Speaker 1: Only subordinate clauses I think. **Mary hat mear boeken as Peter hat boeken*, but totally fine: *Mary hat mear boeken as dat Peter boeken hat*.

- (i) *Mary hat mear boeken as Peter hat boeken.
Mary has more books as Peter has books
'Mary has more books than Peter.'
- (ii) Mary hat mear boeken as dat Peter boeken hat.
Mary has more books as that Peter books has
'Mary has more books than Peter.'

Speaker 2: Yes this is possible, just like in 133.

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

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

Speaker 1:

- (605) a. Mary hat mear boeken as hoe folle boeken Peter hat.
Mary has more books as how many books Peter has
'Mary has more books than Peter has.'

Speaker 2:

- (605) b. Mary hat mear boeken as hoe folle boeken Peter hat.
Mary has more books as how many books Peter has
'Mary has more books than Peter has.'

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

Speaker 1: *hoe folle*. Has to be in front of 'boeken'.

Speaker 2: In my opinion *boeken* has to come right after *hoe folle*.

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

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

Speaker 1: No.

- (i) *Mary hat mear boeken as hoe folle boeken Peter.
Mary has more books as how many books Peter
'Mary has more books than Peter has.'

Speaker 2: No.

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

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

Speaker 1:

- (606) a. Mary hat in langer boek lêzen as Peter.
Mary has a longer book read.PTCP as Peter
'Mary has read a longer book than Peter.'
- (606) b. Mary hat in langer boeken lêzen as dat Peter hat.
Mary has a longer book read.PTCP as that Peter has
'Mary has read a longer book than Peter.'

again in this case the 'hat' feels obligatory to me

Speaker 2:

- (606) c. Mary hat in langer boek lêzen as Peter.
Mary has a longer book read.PTCP as Peter
'Mary has read a longer book than Peter.'

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

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

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

Speaker 1: *as, as dat*

Speaker 2: You could add to become: *as dat [Peter] hat*.

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

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

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

Speaker 1: No.

- (i) *Mary hat in langer boek lêzen as Peter hat in lang boek.
Mary has a longer book read.PTCP as Peter has a long book
'Mary has read a longer book than Peter.'

Speaker 2: Yes this is possible. But example 2 is not possible.

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

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

Speaker 1:

- (607) a. Mary hat in langer boek lêzen as hoe'n lang boek Peter lêzen
Mary has a longer book read.PTCP as how.a long book Peter read.PTCP
hat.
has
'Mary has read a longer book than Peter.'

Speaker 2:

- (607) b. Mary hat in langer boek lêzen as hoe lang it boek wie dat
Mary has a longer book read.PTCP as how long the.N book was that
Peter lêzen hat.
Peter read.PTCP has
'Mary has read a longer book than Peter.'

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

Speaker 1: *as*. Has to be in front of *boek*.

Speaker 2: *boek* needs to be directly after *hoe lang*.

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

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

Speaker 1: No.

- (i) *Mary hat in langer boek lêzen as hoe lang in boek Peter.
Mary has a longer book read.PTCP as how long a book Peter
'Mary has read a longer book than Peter.'

Speaker 2: no

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

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

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

Speaker 1:

- (608) a. De kat is grouwer as dat it kattelûk wiid is.
the.M/F cat is fatter as that the.N cat.flap wide is
'The cat is fatter than the cat flap is wide.'
- (608) b. De kat is grouwer as it kattelûk wiid is.
the.M/F cat is fatter as the.N cat.flap wide is
'The cat is fatter than the cat flap is wide.'

Speaker 2:

- (608) c. De kat is dikker as it kattelûk wiid is.
the.M/F cat is fatter as the.N cat.flap wide is
'The cat is fatter than the cat flap is wide.'

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

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

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

Speaker 1: No.

- (i) *De kat is grouwer it kattelûk wiid is.
the.M/F cat is fatter the.N cat.flap wide is
'The cat is fatter than the cat flap is wide.'

Speaker 2: Yes example 1 would translate well into Frisian.

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

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

Speaker 1:

- (609) a. Mary lêst mar boeken it jier as Peter artikelen lêst.
Mary reads mor books the.N year as Peter articles reads
'Mary reads more books a year than Peter does articles.'
- (609) b. Mary lêst mear boeken it jier as dat Peter artikelen lêst.
Mary reads more books the.N year as that Peter articles reads
'Mary reads more books a year than Peter does articles.'

Speaker 2:

- (609) c. Mary lêst mear boeken per jier as dat Peter artikelen lêst.
Mary reads more books per year as that Peter articles reads
'Mary reads more books a year than Peter does articles.'

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

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

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

Speaker 1: No.

- (i) *Mary lêst mear boeken it jier hoe folle artikelen Peter lêst.
Mary reads more books the.N year how many articles Peter reads
'Mary reads more books a year than Peter does articles.'

Speaker 2: No not possible.

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

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

Speaker 1:

(610) a. Wy hawwe mear sûker foar de cake nedich as dat wy bloem
we have.1PL more sugar for the.M/F cake necessary as that we flour
nedich hawwe.
necessary have.1PL

‘We need more sugar for the cake than we need flour.’

(610) b. Wy hawwe mear sûker nedich foar de cake as bloem.
we have.1PL more sugar necessary for the.M/F cake as flour
‘We need more sugar for the cake than we need flour.’

Speaker 2:

(610) c. Wy hawwe mear sûker nedich foar de cake as dat wy bloem
we have.1PL more sugar necessary for the.M/F cake as that we flour
nedich hawwe.
necessary have.1PL

‘We need more sugar for the cake than we need flour.’

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

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

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

Speaker 1: No.

(i) *Wy hawwe mear sûker nedich foar de cake hoe folle bloem wy nedich
we have.1PL more sugar necessary for the cake how much flour we necessary
hawwe.
have.1PL

‘We need more sugar for the cake than we need flour.’

Speaker 2: no not possible

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

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

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

Speaker 1: I don't think so. **Mary kocht in grouwere kat hoe wiid in kattelûk Peter kocht.*
Same as the last question on the previous section.

- (i) *Mary kocht in grouwere kat hoe wiid in kattelûk Peter kocht.
Mary bought.3SG a fatter cat how wide a cat.flap Peter bought
'Mary bought a fatter cat than how wide a cat flap Peter bought.'

Speaker 2: example 1 is possible