

APPENDIX A: Experiment sentences

For each target sentence, two context questions are provided. The questions in (1a)–(10a) trigger focus inside the VP and the questions in (1b)–(10b) trigger focus inside the subject. Note that the subject and VP are not coextensive with the focus, but the questions are designed to trigger a nuclear accent either on the last word of the subject or on the last word of the VP.

Tone accent 1 (item 1–5)

(1) Item 1

a. Triggers VP-focus:

Vilken färg har impregnerad näver från träd i norra Norge?
which color has weatherproof birch bark from trees in northern Norway
'What is the color of weatherproof birch bark from trees in northern Norway?'

b. Triggers subject-focus:

Vilken impregnerad näver är grå?
which weatherproof birch bark is grey
'Which weather proof birch bark is grey?'

c. Target sentence:

Impregnerad näver från träd i norra Norge är grå.
weather proof birch bark from trees in northern Norway is grey
'Weather proof birch bark from trees in northern Norway is grey.'

(2) Item 2

a. Triggers VP-focus:

Vem tillhör den lila bilen med breda gula ränder?
who belong to the purple car with wide yellow stripes
'Who does the purple car with wide yellow stripes belong to?'

b. Triggers subject-focus:

Vilken av de lila bilarna tillhör punkaren?
Which of the purple cars belongs to punk.the
'Which of the purple cars belongs to the punk?'

c. Target sentence:

Den lila bilen med breda gula ränder tillhör punkaren.
the purple car with wide yellow stripes belongs to punk
'The purple car with wide yellow stripes belongs to the punk.'

(3) Item 3

a. Triggers VP-focus:

För vilka företag kan regionala regler för rättvis laglig
for which companies can regional rules for fair legal
handel ställa till problem?
trade cause problems
'For which companies can regional rules for fair legal trade cause problems?'

- b. Triggers subject-focus:
 Vilken typ av regionala regler kan ställa till problem för
 which type of regional rules can cause trouble for
 multinationella företag?
 multinational companies?
 'Which type of regional rules can cause trouble for multinational companies?'
- c. Target sentence:
 Regionala regler för rättvis laglig handel kan ställa till problem
 regional rules for fair legal trade can cause problems
 för multinationella företag.
 for multinational companies.
 'Regional rules for fair legal trade can cause problems for multinational companies.'

(4) Item 4

- a. Triggers VP-focus:
 Vad ska hända med de hundra lammen på högra bortre ängen?
 what will happen with the hundred lambs on rightmost farthest meadow
 'What will happen to the one hundred lambs on the rightmost meadow that is farthest away?'
- b. Triggers subject-focus:
 Vilka hundra lamm ska säljas?
 which hundred lambs will be sold?
 'Which hundred lambs will be sold?'
- c. Target sentence:
 De hundra lammen på högra bortre ängen ska säljas.
 the hundred lambs on rightmost farthest meadow will be sold
 'The hundred lambs on the rightmost meadow that is farthest away will be sold.'

(5) Item 5

- a. Triggers VP-focus:
 Var ligger det en mager iller av billigt konstgjort läder?
 where lies there a skinny ferret of cheap fake leather
 'Where is there a skinny ferret made of cheap fake leather?'
- b. Triggers subject-focus:
 Vilken sorts mager iller ligger under bilen?
 what kind of skinny ferret lies under car.the
 'What kind of skinny ferret is lying under the car?'
- c. Target sentence:
 En mager iller av billigt konstgjort läder ligger under bilen.
 a skinny ferret of cheap fake leather lies under car.the
 'A skinny ferret made of cheap fake leather lies under the car.'

Tone accent 2 (item 6–10)

(6) Item 6

- a. Triggers VP-focus:
Vilken brun hare bor in parken?
which brown hare lives in park.the
‘Which brown hare lives in the park?’
- b. Triggers subject-focus:
Var bor den bruna haren med många söta ungar?
where lives the brown hare with many cute kids?
‘Where does the brown hare with many cute kids live?’
- c. Target sentence:
Den bruna haren med många söta ungar bor i parken.
the brown hare with many cute kids lives in park.the
‘The brown hare with many cute kids lives in the park.’

(7) Item 7

- a. Triggers VP-focus:
Vems är den rena behå i nedre vänstra lådan?
whose is the clean bra in lowest leftmost drawer.the
‘Who does the clean bra in the lowest leftmost drawer belong to?’
- b. Triggers subject-focus:
Vilken av de rena behåarna är Annas?
which of the clean bras is Anna’s
‘Which of the clean bras is Anna’s?’
- c. Target sentence:
Den rena behå i nedre vänstra lådan är Annas.
the clean bra in lowest leftmost drawer is Anna’s
‘The clean bra in the lowest leftmost drawer is Anna’s’

(8) Item 8

- a. Triggers VP-focus:
Vilken av de vilda lamorna flyttades till nationalparken?
which of the wild llamas was moved to national park.the
‘Which of the wild llamas was moved to the national park?’
- b. Triggers subject-focus:
Vart flyttades den vilda laman från trånga norra Lima?
where was moved the wild llama from narrow northern Lima
‘To where was the wild llama from narrow northern Lima moved?’
- c. Target sentence:
Den vilda laman från trånga norra Lima flyttades till nationalparken.
the wild llama from narrow northern Lima was moved to national park.the
‘The wild llama from narrow northern Lima was moved to the national park.’

(9) Item 9

- a. Triggers VP-focus:
Vilken av de väna älvorna bor i en svamp?
which of the kind fairies lives in a mushroom?
'Which kind fairy lives in a mushroom?'
- b. Triggers subject-focus:
Var bor den väna älvan med långa tunna vingar?
where lives the kind fairy with long thin wings?
'Where does the kind fairy with long thin wings live?'
- c. Target sentence:
Den väna älvan med långa tunna vingar bor i en svamp.
the kind fairy with long thin wings lives in a mushroom
'The kind fairy with long thin wings lives in a mushroom.'

(10) Item 10

- a. Triggers VP-focus:
Var står den höga urnan med stora gula blommor?
where stands the tall urn with large yellow flowers
'Where does the tall urn with large yellow flowers stand?'
- b. Triggers subject-focus:
Vilken hög urna står vid entrén?
which tall urn stands at entrance.the
'Which tall urn stands at the entrance?'
- c. Target sentence:
Den höga urnan med stora gula blommor står vid entrén.
the tall urn with large yellow flowers stands at entrance.the
'The tall urn with large yellow flowers stands at the entrance.'

APPENDIX B: Interspeaker variation

The tables below show how many times different phrasing patterns were realized by each speaker. Only patterns that were attested more than 5 times by a single speaker have been included. Patterns with ‘?’ on any word have been excluded. As seen in the rightmost column, the patterns presented here cover the vast majority of the recorded data, between 98% for subjects with 2 ω and 86% for words with 4 ω. The maximum for each table is 300 (300 sentences of each subject length were recorded). Focus placement is not represented here.

2 ω	sp. 1	sp. 2	sp. 3	sp. 4	sp. 5	tot.
a. (den BRUNA) (HAREN)	3	6	5	14	4	32
b. (den BRUNA haren)	27	27	27	6	23	110
c. (den bruna HAREN)	29	27	24	39	32	151
						293 98%

3 ω						
a. (den BRUNA) (HAREN) (med UNGAR)	1	8	0	4	1	14
b. (den BRUNA haren) (med UNGAR)	17	22	28	19	23	109
c. (den BRUNA haren med ungar)	16	9	22	1	6	54
d. (den bruna haren med UNGAR)	18	15	6	33	26	98
						275 92%

4 ω						
a. (den BRUNA) (HAREN) (med många UNGAR)	0	18	0	0	3	21
b. (den BRUNA haren) (med MÅNGA ungar)	6	0	6	0	2	14
c. (den BRUNA haren) (med många UNGAR)	16	15	19	18	28	96
d. (den BRUNA haren med många ungar)	17	3	12	3	9	44
e. (den bruna HAREN) (med många UNGAR)	6	9	2	10	3	30
f. (den bruna haren med många UNGAR)	6	8	5	25	9	53
						258 86%

5 ω						
a. (den BRUNA) (HAREN) (med många söta UNGAR)	1	13	0	4	1	19
b. (den BRUNA haren) (med MÅNGA söta) (UNGAR)	7	1	19	1	1	29
c. (den BRUNA haren) (med MÅNGA söta ungar)	26	0	16	0	0	42
d. (den BRUNA haren) (med många söta UNGAR)	13	23	7	18	37	98
e. (den BRUNA haren med många söta ungar)	1	4	5	0	13	23
f. (den bruna HAREN) (med många söta UNGAR)	3	10	2	16	3	34
g. (den bruna haren med många söta UNGAR)	2	1	2	15	4	24
						269 90%