

Supplementary on-line content

Table B. *The background and target sentences for the referential choice study.*

Warm up sentences(a) *Two background sentences:*

Tässä on iso/pieni siili
 Here is-3sg-pres big/small hedgehog-NOM
 ‘Here is a big hedgehog’, ‘Here is a small hedgehog’

Target:

Anna mulle iso siili
 Give-2ps-imp I-ALL big hedgehog-ACC
 ‘Give me the big hedgehog’

**Note that the accusative form of the head noun in the target sentences is identical to the nominative form. This is the case for each target head noun in Study 2.*

(b) **Tässä on ruskea/valkoinen kana**
 Here is-3ps-pres brown/white chicken-NOM
 ‘Here is a brown chicken’, ‘Here is a white chicken’

Anna mulle valkoinen kana
 Give-2ps-imp I-ALL white chicken-ACC
 ‘Give me the white chicken’

Animate Subject RCs

(1) **Tää tiikeri pajjaa/jahtaa norsua**
 This tiger-NOM stroke/chase-3ps-pres elephant-PART

‘This tiger strokes the elephant’, ‘This tiger chases the elephant’

Anna **mulle** **se tiikeri** **kuka** **jahtas** **norsua**
 Give-2ps-imp I-ALL that tiger-ACC who-NOM chase-3ps-past elephant-PART
 ‘Give me the tiger who chased the elephant’

- (2) **Tää** **apina** **pesee/halaa** **sutta**
 This monkey-NOM wash/hug-3ps-pres wolf-PART
 ‘This monkey washes the wolf’, ‘This monkey hugs the wolf’

Anna **mulle** **se apina** **kuka** **halasi** **sutta**
 Give-2ps-imp I-ALL that monkey-ACC who-NOM hug-3ps-past wolf-PART
 ‘Give me the monkey who hugged the wolf’

- (3) **Tää** **karhu** **paijaa/kampaa** **leijonaa**
 This bear-NOM stroke/comb-3ps-pres lion-PART
 ‘This bear strokes the lion’, ‘This bear combs the lion’

Anna **mulle** **se karhu** **kuka** **paijas** **leijonaa**
 Give-2ps-imp I-ALL that bear-ACC who-NOM stroke-3ps-past lion-PART
 ‘Give me the bear who stroked the lion’

- (4) **Tää** **kissa** **kutittaa/lyö** **siliä**
 This cat-NOM tickle/hit-3ps-pres hedgehog-PART
 ‘This cat tickles the hedgehog’, ‘This cat hits the hedgehog’

Anna **mulle** **se kissa** **kuka** **kutitti** **siliä**
 Give-2ps-imp I-ALL that cat-ACC who-NOM tickle-3ps-past hedgehog-PART
 ‘Give me the cat who tickled the hedgehog’

Inanimate Subject RCs

- (5) **Tää kenkä puristaa/kutittaa tyttöä**
 This show-NOM rub/tickle-3ps-pres girl-PART
 ‘This shoe rubs the girl’, This shoe tickles the girl’
- Anna mulle se kenkä mikä puristi tyttöä**
 Give-2ps-imp I-ALL that shoe-ACC which-NOM rub-3ps-past girl-PART
 ‘Give me the shoe which rubbed the girl’
- (6) **Tää lapanen lentää pöydälle / putoaa pöydältä**
 This mitten-NOM fly table-ALL / drop-3ps-pres table-ABL
 ‘This mitten flies on the table’ ‘This mitten drops from the table’
- Anna mulle se lapanen mikä putos pöydältä**
 Give-2ps-imp I-ALL that mitten-ACC which-NOM drop-3ps-past table-ABL
 ‘Give me the mitten which dropped from the table’
- (7) **Tää mekko roikkuu kaapissa / menee kaappiin**
 This dress-NOM hang wardrobe-INN/ go-3ps-pres wardrobe-ILL
 ‘This dress hangs in the wardrobe’, ‘This dress goes(belongs) in the wardrobe’
- Anna mulle se mekko mikä meni kaappiin**
 Give-2ps-imp I-ALL that dress-ACC which-NOM go-3ps-past wardrobe-ILL
 ‘Give me the dress which went in the wardrobe’
- (8) **Tää pallo pyörii/pomppii lautasella**
 This ball-NOM spin/bounce-3ps-pres plate-ADE
 ‘This ball spins on the plate’, ‘This ball bounces on the plate’

Anna **mulle** **se pallo** **mikä** **pyöri** **lautasella**
 Give-2ps-imp I-ALL that ball-ACC which-NOM spin-3ps-past plate-ADE
 ‘Give me the ball which spun on the plate’

Animate Object RCs

(9) **Kirahvi** **puree/pesee** **tät hiirtä**
 Giraffe-NOM bite/wash-3ps-pres this mouse-PART
 ‘The giraffe bites this mouse’, ‘The giraffe washes this mouse’

Anna **mulle** **se hiiri** **mitä** **kirahvi** **puri**
 Give-2ps-imp I-ALL that mouse-ACC that-PART giraffe-NOM bite-3ps-past
 ‘Give me the mouse that the giraffe bit’

(10) **Possu** **pussaa/syöttää** **tätä lammasta**
 Pig-NOM kiss/feed-3ps-pres this sheep-PART
 ‘The pig kisses this sheep’, ‘The pig feeds this sheep’

Anna **mulle** **se lammas** **mitä** **possu** **syötti**
 Give-2ps-imp I-ALL that sheep-ACC that-PART pig-NOM feed-3ps-past
 ‘Give me the sheep that the pig fed’

(11) **Kirahvi** **syöttää/kampaa** **tätä sammakkoa**
 Giraffe-NOM feed/comb-3ps-pres this frog-PART
 ‘The giraffe feeds this frog’, ‘The giraffe combs this frog’

Anna **mulle** **se sammakko** **mitä** **kirahvi** **kampas**
 Give-2ps-imp I-ALL that frog-ACC that-PART giraffe-NOM comb-3ps-past
 ‘Give me the frog that the giraffe combed’

- (12) **Koira** **työntää/nuolee** **tätä lehmää**
 Dog-NOM push/lick-3ps-pres this cow-PART
 ‘The dog pushes this cow’, ‘The dog licks this cow’

Anna **mulle** **se lehmä** **mitä** **koira** **työnsi**
 Give-2ps-imp I-ALL that cow-ACC that-PART dog-NOM push-3ps-past
 ‘Give me the cow that the dog pushed’

Inanimate Object RCs

- (13) **Mummo** **silittää/pesee** **tätä paitaa**
 Granny-NOM iron/wash-3ps-pres this shirt-PART
 ‘The old lady irons this shirt’, ‘The old lady washes this shirt’

Anna **mulle** **se paita** **mitä** **mummo** **pesi**
 Give-2ps-imp I-ALL that shirt-ACC that-PART old lady-NOM wash-3ps-past
 ‘Give me the shirt that the old lady washed’

- (14) **Vaari** **lyö/potkaisee** **tät lentokonetta**
 Granddad-NOM hit/kick-3ps-pres this aeroplane-PART
 ‘The old man hits this aeroplane’, ‘The old man kicks this aeroplane’

Anna **mulle** **se lentokone** **mitä** **vaari** **potkas**
 Give-2ps-imp I-ALL that aeroplane-ACC that-PART granddad-NOM kick-3ps-past
 ‘Give me the aeroplane that the old man kicked’

- (15) **Äiti** **syö/leipoo** **tätä synttärikakkua**
 Mother-NOM eat/bake-3ps-pres this birthday cake-PART
 ‘The mother eats this birthday cake’, ‘The mother bakes this birthday cake’

Anna **mulle** **se synttärrikakku** **mitä** **äiti** **söi**
 Give-2ps-imp I-ALL that birthday cake-ACC that-PART mother-NOM eat-3ps-past
 ‘Give me the birthday cake that the mother ate’

- (16) **Vauva** **koskettaa/puree** **tätä kynää**
 Baby-NOM touch/bite-3ps-pres this pen-PART
 ‘The baby touches this pen’, ‘The baby bites this pen’

Anna **mulle** **se kynä** **mitä** **vauva** **kosketti**
 Give-2ps-imp I-ALL that pen-ACC that-PART baby-NOM touch-3ps-past
 ‘Give me the pen that the baby touched’

Animate Oblique1 RCs

- (17) **Tyttö** **leipoo/piirtää** **tälle kukolle**
 Girl-NOM bake/draw-3ps-pres this cockerel-ALL
 ‘The girl bakes for this cockerel’, ‘The girl draws for this cockerel’

Anna **mulle** **se kukko** **kelle** **tyttö** **piirsi**
 Give-2ps-imp I-ALL that cockerel-ACC who-ALL girl-NOM draw-3ps-past
 ‘Give me the cockerel for whom the girl drew’

- (18) **Poika** **laulaa/lukee** **tälle käärmeelle**
 Boy-NOM sing/read-3ps-pres this snake-ALL
 ‘The boy sings for this snake’, ‘The boy reads for this snake’

Anna **mulle** **se käärme** **kelle** **poika** **lauloi**
 Give-2ps-imp I-ALL that snake-ACC who-ALL boy-NOM sing-3ps-past

‘Give me the snake for whom the boy sang’

- (19) **Vaari** **vilkuttaa/taputtaa** **tälle hepalle**
 Granddad-NOM wave/clap-3ps-pres this horsie-ALL
 ‘The old man waves at this horsie’, ‘The old man claps at this horsie’

Anna **mulle** **se heppa** **kelle** **vaari** **vilkutti**
 Give-2ps-imp I-ALL that horsie-ACC who-ALL granddad-NOM wave-3ps-past
 ‘Give me the horsie at/for whom the old man waved’

- (20) **Lapsi** **soittaa/irvistää** **tälle palomiehelle**
 Child-NOM ring/grin-3ps-pres this fireman-ALL
 ‘The child rings this fireman’, ‘The child grins at this fireman’

Anna **mulle** **se palomies** **kelle** **lapsi** **irvisti**
 Give-2ps-imp I-ALL that fireman-ACC who-ALL child-NOM grin-3ps-past
 ‘Give me the fireman at whom the child grinned’

Inanimate Oblique RCs

- (21) **Palomies** **seisoo/istuu** **täs kupissa**
 Fireman-NOM stand/sit-3ps-pres this cup-INN
 ‘The fireman stands in this cup’, ‘The fireman sits in this cup’

Anna **mulle** **se kuppi** **missä** **palomies** **istui**
 Give-2ps-imp I-ALL that cup-ACC which-INN fireman-NOM sit-3ps-past
 ‘Give me the cup in which/where the fireman sat’

- (22) **Ankka** **pyörii/yskii** **tässä laatikossa**

Duck-NOM spin/cough-3ps-pres this box-INN
 ‘The duck spins in this box’, ‘The duck coughs in this box’

Anna mulle se laatikko missä ankka yski
 Give-2ps-imp I-ALL that box-ACC which-INN duck-NOM cough-3ps-past
 ‘Give me the box in which/where the duck coughed’

- (23) **Karhu keinuu/nukkuu tässä tuolissa**
 Bear-NOM rock/sleep-3ps-pres this chair-INN
 ‘The bear rocks in this chair’, ‘The bear sleeps in this chair’

Anna mulle se tuoli missä karhu keinu
 Give-2ps-imp I-ALL that chair-ACC which-INN bear-NOM rock-3ps-past
 ‘Give me the chair in which /where the bear rocked’

- (24) **Orava itkee/laulaa tässä hatussa**
 Squirrel-NOM cry/sing-3ps-pres this hat-INN
 ‘The squirrel cries in this hat’, ‘The squirrel sings in this hat’

Anna mulle se hattu missä orava itki
 Give-2ps-imp I-ALL that hat-ACC which-INN squirrel-NOM cry-3ps-past
 ‘Give me the hat in which/where the squirrel cried’

Animate Oblique2 RCs

- (25) **Siili hyppii/juoksee tän norsun kaa**
 Hedgehog-NOM jump/run-3ps-pres this elephant-GEN with
 ‘The hedgehog jumps with this elephant’, ‘The hedgehog runs with this elephant’

Anna mulle se norsu kenen kaa siili hyppi

Give-2ps-imp I-ALL that elephant-ACC who-GEN with hedgehog-NOM jump-3ps-past
 ‘Give me the elephant with whom the hedgehog jumped’

- (26) **Kana** **pyörii/nauraa** **tän pupun** **kaa**
 Chicken-NOM spin/laugh-3ps-pres this bunny-GEN with
 ‘The chicken spins with this bunny’, ‘The chicken laughs with this bunny’

Anna **mulle** **se pupu** **kenen** **kaa** **kana** **pyöri**
 Give-2ps-imp I-ALL that bunny-ACC who-GEN with chicken-NOM spin-3ps-past
 ‘Give me the bunny with whom the chicken spinned’

- (27) **Kukko** **nukkuu/seisoo** **tän koiran** **kaa**
 Cockerel-NOM sleep/stand-3ps-pres this dog-GEN with
 ‘The cockerel sleeps with this dog’, ‘The cockerel stands with this dog’

Anna **mulle** **se koira** **kenen** **kaa** **kukko** **nukku**
 Give-2ps-imp I-ALL that dog-ACC who-GEN with cockerel-NOM sleep-3ps-past
 ‘Give me the dog with whom the cockerel slept’

- (28) **Kissa** **halii/törmää** **tän hirven** **kaa**
 Cat-NOM hug/bump-3ps-pres this moose-GEN with
 ‘The cat hugs with this moose’, ‘The cat bumps with this moose’

Anna **mulle** **se hirvi** **kenen** **kaa** **kissa** **törmäs**
 Give-2ps-imp I-ALL that moose-ACC who-GEN with cat-NOM bump-3ps-past
 ‘Give me the moose with whom the cat bumped’

Inanimate Oblique2 RCs

- (29) **Pupu** **ui/kiipeää** **tän pullon** **sisään**

Bunny-NOM swim/climb-3ps-pres this bottle-GEN in-ILL
 ‘The bunny swims in this bottle’, ‘The bunny climbs in this bottle’

Anna mulle se pullo minkä sisään pupu ui
 Give-2ps-imp I-ALL that bottle-ACC which-GEN in-ILL bunny-NOM swim-3ps-past
 ‘Give me the bottle in which the bunny swam’

(30) **Lehmä tanssii/hyppii tän kannun sisään**
 Cow-NOM dance/jump-3ps-pres this jug-GEN in-ILL
 ‘The cow dances into this jug’, ‘The cow jumps into this jug’

Anna mulle se kannu minkä sisään lehmä tanssi
 Give-2ps-imp I-ALL that jug-ACC which-GEN in-ILL cow-NOM dance-3ps-past

(31) **Pupu kävelee/ryömii tän talon sisään**
 Bunny-NOM walk/crawl-3ps-pres this house-GEN in-ILL
 ‘The bunny walks in this house’, ‘The bunny crawls in this house’

Anna mulle se talo minkä sisään pupu ryömi
 Give-2ps-imp I-ALL that house-ACC which-GEN in-ILL bunny-NOM crawl-3ps-past
 ‘Give me the house in which the bunny crawled’

(32) **Mies juoksee/piiloutuu tän sukan sisään**
 Man-NOM run/hide-3ps-pres this sock-GEN in-ILL
 ‘The man runs in this sock’, ‘The man hides in this sock’

Anna mulle se sukka minkä sisään mies piiloutui
 Give-2ps-imp I-ALL that sock-ACC which-GEN in-ILL man-NOM hide-3ps-past
 ‘Give me the sock in which the man hid’

Table C. *Test and filler sentences used in the sentence repetition study.*

Animate Subject RCs

Tuo on se täti kuka halasi äsken koiraa
 That is that lady-NOM who-NOM hug-3ps-past a moment ago dog-PART
 ‘That is the lady who hugged a dog a moment ago’

Tuo on se setä kuka pesi pyörän aamulla
 That is that man-NOM who-NOM wash-3ps-past bike-ACC morning-ADE
 ‘That is the man who washed a bike in the morning’

Toi on se poika kuka auttoi pappaa metsässä
 That is that boy-NOM who-NOM help-3ps-past granddad-PART forest-INN
 ‘That is the boy who helped a granddad in the forest’

Tuo on se mummo kuka heitti leivän pois eilen
 That is that granny-NOM who-NOM throw-3ps-past bread-ACC away yesterday
 ‘That is the granny who threw a loaf of bread away yesterday’

Inanimate Subject RCs

Tossa on se laiva mikä työnsi äsken jäätä
 There is that ship-NOM which-NOM push-3ps-past a moment ago ice-PART
 ‘There is the ship which pushed ice a moment ago’

Tossa on se kynä mikä piirsi äsken pöytään
 That is that pen-NOM which-NOM draw-3ps-past a moment ago table-ILL
 ‘That is the pen which drew on a table a moment ago’

Toi on se mehu mikä yskitti vauvaa eilen
 That is that juice-NOM which-NOM make cough-3ps-past baby-PART yesterday

‘That is the juice which made a baby cough yesterday’

Toi	on	se auto	mikä	veti	lentokonetta
That	is	that car-NOM	which-NOM	pull-3ps-past	aeroplane-PART
‘That is the car which pulled the aeroplane’					

Animate Object RCs

Toi	on	se kana	mitä	poika	kiusasi	eilen
That	is	that chicken-NOM	that-PART	boy-NOM	tease-3ps-past	yesterday
‘That is the chicken that a boy teased yesterday’						

Tossa on	se lintu	mitä	mies	usein	paijasi
There is	that bird-NOM	that-PART	man-NOM	often	stroke-3ps-past
‘There is the bird that a man often stroked’					

Tossa on	se koira	mitä	apina	halasi
There is	that dog-NOM	that-PART	monkey-NOM	hug-3ps-past
‘There is the dog that a monkey hugged’				

Toi on	se pupu	mitä	nainen	syötti	pihalla
That is	that bunny-NOM	that-PART	woman-NOM	feed-3ps-past	garden-ADE
‘That is the bunny that a woman fed in the garden’					

Inanimate Object RCs

Tossa on	se kakku	mitä	poika	söi	illalla
That is	that cake-NOM	that-PART	boy-NOM	eat-3ps-past	evening-ADE
‘That is the cake that a boy ate in the evening’					

Tää on se auto mitä pappa eilen maalasi
 This is that car-NOM that-PART granddad-NOM yesterday paint-3ps-past
 ‘This is the car that a granddad painted yesterday’

Tää on se ruoka mitä täti teki uunissa
 This is that food-NOM that-PART lady-NOM make-3ps-past oven-INN
 ‘This is the food that a lady made in the oven’

Toi on se talo mitä mummo eilen siivosi
 That is that house-NOM that-PART granny-NOM yesterday clean-3ps-past
 ‘That is the house that a granny cleaned yesterday’

Animate Oblique1 RCs

Tossa on se tyttö kelle mummo luki usein
 There is that girl-NOM who-ALL granny-NOM read-3ps-past often
 ‘There is the girl for whom a granny read often’

Tossa on se lapsi kelle kiltti täti leipoi
 There is that child-NOM who-ALL nice lady-NOM bake-3ps-past
 ‘There is the child for whom a nice lady baked’

Tossa on se pappa kelle tyttö eilen lauloi
 There is that granddad-NOM who-ALL girl-NOM yesterday sing-3ps-past
 ‘There is the granddad for whom a girl sang yesterday’

Tossa on se hassu vauva kelle setä nauroi
 There is that funny baby-NOM who-ALL man-NOM laugh-3ps-past
 ‘There is the funny baby at whom a man laughed’

Inanimate Oblique1 RCs

Tossa on se talo missä tyttö äsken leikki
 There is that house-NOM which-INN girl-NOM a moment ago play-3ps-past
 ‘There is the house where/in which a girl played a moment ago’

Toi on se kauppa missä mies siivosi kovasti
 That is that shop-NOM which-INN man-NOM clean-3ps-past hard
 ‘That is the shop where/in which a man cleaned a lot’

Toi on se sänky missä kissa nukkui illalla
 That is that bed-NOM which-INN cat-NOM sleep-3ps-past evening-ADE
 ‘That is the bed where/in which a cat slept in the evening’

Tossa on se kuppi missä hiiri seisoi äsken
 There is that cup-NOM which-INN mouse-NOM stand-3ps-past a moment ago
 ‘There is the cup where/in which a mouse stood a moment ago’

Animate Oblique2 RCs

Toi on se kissa kenen kaa kettu tanssi eilen
 That is that cat-NOM who-GEN with fox-NOM dance-3ps-past yesterday
 ‘That is the cat with whom a fox danced yesterday’

Tossa on se pöllö kenen kaa pupu pussasi
 There is that owl-NOM who-GEN with bunny-NOM kiss-3ps-past
 ‘That is the owl with whom a bunny kissed’

Toi on se possu kenen kaa lammas juoksi ulos
 That is that big-NOM who-GEN with sheep-NOM run-3ps-past out
 ‘That is the big one with whom a sheep ran out’

‘That is the big with whom a sheep ran outside’

Toi	on	se ankka	kenen	kaa	kukko	äskän	leikki
That	is	that duck-NOM	who-GEN	with	cockerel-NOM	a moment ago	play-3ps-past

‘That is the duck with whom a cockerel played a moment ago’

Inanimate Oblique2 RCs

Tossa on	se paita	minkä	sisään	purkka	tippui
There is	that top-NOM	that-GEN	in-ILL	chewing gum-NOM	fall-3ps-past

‘There is the top in which a chewing gum fell’

Toi on	se sukka	minkä	sisään	hiiri	kiipesi
That is	that sock-NOM	that-GEN	in-ILL	mouse-NOM	climb-3ps-past

‘That is the sock in which a mouse climbed’

Toi on	se kauppa	minkä	sisään	leijona	käveli
That is	that shop-NOM	that-GEN	in-ILL	lion-NOM	walk-3ps-past

‘That is the shop in which a lion walked’

Tossa on	se kaappi	minkä	sisään	pallo	pyöri
There is	that closet-NOM	that-GEN	in-ILL	ball-NOM	roll-3ps-past

‘There is the closet in which a ball rolled’

Fillers

Susi ulvoo

‘A wolf is howling’

Pelle törmää tolppaan

‘A clown bumps into a pole’

Poliisi pysäyttää auton
Maassa on lunta
Siinä on äitipanda ja vauvapanda
Taikuri taikoo
Nalle on pissillä
Ulkona sataa
Pelle syö sateenvarjoa
Äiti tiskaa
Kynttilät palaa
Siinä on kaksi junaa
Isä lukee lehteä
Karuselli pyörii

'A policeman stops a car'
 'There's snow on the ground'
 'There's a Mummy-panda and a baby-panda'
 'A magician is doing magic'
 'A teddy is having a pee'
 'It's raining outside'
 'A clown is eating an umbrella'
 'Mummy is doing the dishes'
 'Candles are lit'
 'There are two trains there'
 'Daddy is reading the paper'
 'A merry-go-round is going round'

Warm-up sentences

Siinä on nostokurki
Siinä on palapeli
Lattialla on erivärisiä palikoita
Lastenhuoneessa on paljon leluja
Isi filmaa Turrea
Isi ajaa autoa

'That is a crane'
 'That is a jigsaw puzzle'
 'There are different coloured blocks on the floor'
 'There are a lot of toys in the children's room'
 'Daddy is filming Rover'
 'Daddy is driving a car'