- (1) a. Which book did Kim read? [eng]
 - b. *Which did Kim read book? [eng]
- (2) a. Kakuju knigu Masha dala Ivanu? which book.ACC Masha.NOM gave Ivan.DAT 'Which book did Masha give to Ivan?' [rus]
 - b. Kakuju Masha dala Ivanu knigu?
 which Masha.NOM gave Ivan.DAT book.ACC
 'Which book did Masha give to Ivan?' [rus]

- (3) V kakom, ty govorish, oni prijehali chasu? at which you say they arrived hour 'At what time you are saying that they arrived?' [rus]
- (4) ??V kakom ty znaech, chto oni prijehali chasu? at which you know that they arrived hour 'At what time you do you know that they arrived?' [rus]

- (1) a. Who did what?
 - b. Who went where?
 - c. What happened to whom?
 - d. What did you give to whom?
- (2) a. *What did who do?
 - b. *Where did who go?
 - c. *To whom did what happen?
 - d. *To whom did you give what? / *Who did you give what to?
- (5) *What did who?
- (6) *Where went who?

- (5) a. Who broke what?
 - b. *What did who break?
 - c. I know that among all the disasters in that kitchen, Jane scorched the beans and Lydia put salt in the ice tea; but whát did whó bréak? I know somebody broke something, so stop evading my question.

Superiority effects

(3) a. Koj kogo običa ?
who whom loves
'Who loves whom?'
b. *Kogo koj običa ?
whom who loves

(7) Kogo kto vidit? who.ACC who.NOM sees? 'Who sees whom?' [rus]

for the DELPH-IN summit Cambridge, UK

- (35) a. Wer glaubte, daß der Peter ihr wen vorstellte ?
 who.NOM believed that the Peter her.DAT whom.ACC introduced
 'Who believed that Peter introduced whom to her?'
 SUBJ ≺ OBJ
 - b. ?*Wen glaubte wer, daß der Peter ihr vorstellte ? whom.ACC believed who.NOM that the Peter her.DAT introduced OBJ ≺ SUBJ

- (36) a. Ko koga voli ? who whom loves 'Who loves whom?' SUBJ ≺ OBJ
 - b. Koga ko voli ? whom who loves OBJ≺SUBJ
- (35) a. Ko koga kažeš da je istukao? who whom say that is beaten 'Who do you say beat whom?' SUBJ ≺ OBJ
 - b. *Koga ko kažeš da je istukao ? whom who say that is beaten obj≺subj