

Questionnaire for connectives

LiSU team

Follow-up questionnaire Q2

Language: Akan

Date: 06/10/2023

Inventory of connectives elicited in Q1

Context	Coordinator(s) elicited
A1 Conjunctive, no contrast	<i>ɛna ... (-sane) ...</i> <i>["-sane" = additive, it is omitted in NP conjunction]</i>
A2 Conjunctive, contrast	<i>nanso</i>
A3 Conjunctive, contrast, negated conjunct	<i>(na) emom</i>
B1 Disjunctive, with speaker knowledge	<i>(either) (sɛ) anaa (sɛ)</i> <i>["either" can be used in Akan as well, not clear if "sɛ ... anaa sɛ is a grammatical variant]</i>
B2-1.1 Disjunctive w/o speaker knowledge, statement, exclusive/unspecified	<i>anaa sɛ</i>
B2-1.2 Disjunctive w/o speaker knowledge, statement, inclusive	<i>anaa sɛ</i>
B2-2 Disjunctive w/o speaker knowledge, question	<i>anaa sɛ</i>
C1 both clauses false	<i>-n- ... anaa sɛ ...</i> <i>-n- ... nso ... -n- ...</i> <i>["-n-" = negation]</i> <i>["nso" = additive]</i>
C2 free choice	<i>anaa sɛ</i>

A. Conjunctive connectors:

A1. Connector elicited in the no contrast context

1) *Context (stative, conjunctive, no contrast)*: Susie works as a doctor in a hospital. In her spare time, she gives classes at the local college. You tell your friend about Susie:

Susie ye dɔkɔta ɔ-**sane** ye ɔkyerɛkyerɛni
 Susie is doctor 3sg-ADD is teacher

Susie ye dɔkɔta, ɔ ye ɔkyerɛkyerɛni
 Susie is doctor 3sg is teacher

Comment: These are okay

1a) *Context (disjunctive, with speaker knowledge)*:

You and your friend are playing a game guessing what Susie's job is. Your friend has no clue, and she asks you for a hint. You know that Susie is a doctor, and that she doesn't have any other profession. This is your hint:

Susie ye dɔkɔta **ɛna** (ɔ-**sane** ye) ɔkyerɛkyerɛni
 Susie is doctor **CONN** 3sg-ADD is teacher

1b) *Context (disjunctive, without speaker knowledge)*:

Your friend asks you what Susie's job is. As far as you know, Susie might be a doctor. You're not sure though, it's also possible that she's a teacher. You say to your friend:

Susie ye dɔkɔta **ɛna** (ɔ-**sane** ye) ɔkyerɛkyerɛni

1c) *Context (disjunctive, without speaker knowledge, inclusive):*

Your friend asks you what Susie's job is. You're not sure. As far as you know, she might be a doctor now, she might be a teacher, she might also be both. You say to your friend:

Susie yɛ dɔkɔtɔ **ɛna** (ɔ-**sane** yɛ) ɔkyerɛkyerɛni

1d) *Context (both false):*

Your friend asks you what Susie's job is, but you don't know. However, you know for sure that Susie is not a doctor and that Susie is not a teacher, so you tell your friend:

Susie yɛ dɔkɔtɔ **ɛna** (ɔ-**sane** yɛ) ɔkyerɛkyerɛni

2) *Context (conjunctive, eventive):* Paul needs to do some ironing, but he finds it boring, so he turns on the TV to watch his favourite program while he irons.

(juxtaposition example)

Paul re-hwɛ TV, ɔ-re-to n'ataadeɛ
Paul ipfv-watch TV 3sg-ipfv-iron poss.clothes

Comment: This is ok, grammatical and good in the context

2a) *Context (disjunctive, with speaker knowledge):*

Paul's mother told him to iron his shirts, but Paul is not doing that. Instead, he is watching TV. Paul's sister knows that Paul is watching TV, and when their mother asks her what Paul is doing, she is in a difficult situation. She doesn't want to lie but she also doesn't want to snitch on Paul, so she says that he is doing one of those two things:

Paul re-hwɛ TV **ɛna** ɔ-re-to n'ataadeɛ
Paul ipfv-watch TV **CONN** 3sg-ipfv-iron poss.clothes

2b) *Context (disjunctive, without speaker knowledge):*

Paul needs to iron his shirts, but he would much rather watch his favourite TV programme. Paul's sister knows that he is definitely doing one of these things, but she doesn't know which of the two things Paul decided to do. So when her mother asks her what Paul is doing, Paul's sister says:

Paul re-hwɛ TV **ɛna** ɔ-re-to n'ataadeɛ

2c) Context (disjunctive, without speaker knowledge, inclusive):

Paul needs to iron his shirts, but he would much rather watch his favourite TV programme. Paul's sister knows that he is doing one of these things, but he might also be doing both, as Paul is very good at multitasking. So when her mother asks her what Paul is doing, Paul's sister says:

Paul re-hwε TV **εna** ɔ-re-to n'ataadeε

Comment: That's okay

2d) Context (both false):

Paul needs to iron his shirts, but he would much rather watch his favourite TV programme. Paul's mother asks his sister which of these things Paul is doing, but the sister knows that Paul is not ironing and he is not watching TV. She actually saw Paul sleeping on the sofa! Paul's sister says:

Paul re-hwε TV **εna** ɔ-re-to n'ataadeε

A2. Connector elicited in the contrast context:

3) Context (stative): You live in a place where doctors are wealthy. Susie works as a doctor. She mainly treats patients who cannot pay for their treatment, so Susie earns much less money than other doctors do. You tell your friend about Susie:

Susie yε dokota, a-hia no
Susie is doctor pfv-poor s/he

Comment: That's okay, means "Susie is a doctor and she is poor."

3a) Context (disjunctive, with speaker knowledge):

You live in a place where doctors as well as people who don't have much money get discounts on public trains. Your friend asks you why Susie paid so little for her last train ride. You know that Susie is not a doctor and that Susie is very poor, but she doesn't want people to know that. Since you don't want to embarrass Susie and you also don't want to lie, you mention two possible reasons for Susie's discount:

Susie yε dokota **nanso** a-hia no
Susie is doctor **CONN** pfv-poor s/he

3b) *Context (disjunctive, without speaker knowledge):*

You live in a place where doctors get paid very well and are highly appreciated, and where poor people get a lot of support. For example, doctors as well as people who don't have much money get discounts on public trains. Your friend asks you why Susie paid so little on her last train ride. You don't know anything about Susie, but you can think of two possible reasons:

Susie yɛ dɔkɔta **nanso** a-hia no

3c) *Context (disjunctive, without speaker knowledge, inclusive):*

You live in a place where some doctors earn very little money and accumulate a lot of debt to finish their studies. So doctors sometimes struggle financially, but they are highly appreciated. Therefore, all doctors get discounts on public trains no matter how much money they have. Besides, all poor people get discounts on trains as well. Your friend asks you why Susie paid so little on her last train ride. You don't know much about Susie, but you can imagine that Susie might be a doctor, she might be poor, she might also be both. You say to your friend:

Susie yɛ dɔkɔta **nanso** a-hia no

3d) *Context (both false):*

You live in a place where all doctors get paid very well and are highly appreciated, and where poor people get a lot of support. In fact, doctors as well as people who don't have much money get discounts on public trains. Your friend asks whether Susie will get a discount. You know that Susie doesn't meet either condition for a discount, so you say:

Susie yɛ dɔkɔta **nanso** a-hia no

Context (eventive): Jen bought a big ice cream cone. Instead of eating it herself though, she gave it to a sad-looking stranger who was sitting by himself on a bench.

Jen tɔ-ɔ ice cream, ɔ-tɔ-maa obi a o-n-nim no

Jen buy-pst ice cream, 3sg-buy-"for" someone rel.marker 3sg-neg-know them

Comments:

- sounds like she intentionally bought it for the stranger
- verb "buy" would be changed to "give":

Jen tɔ-ɔ ice cream ɛ-de-maa obi a o-n-nim no
it-give...

Comment: “ε” refers to the ice cream

Note: If in a language the contrast/stative and contrast/eventive contexts in Q1 elicited different coordinators, additional contexts should be constructed for the episodic cases (and added here). - not the case in Akan

A3. Connector elicited in the contrast - negated conjunct context:

Context: Paul told his grandmother that he works in a hospital and now his grandma tells everyone that Paul is a doctor. But this is not true, Paul actually works at the reception!

Paul εn-yε dɔkɔta, ɔ-yε receptionist
Paul neg-be doctor 3sg.be receptionist

Comment: That's ok

Context: Jen was planning to buy herself some ice cream after work, but the store was all out of ice cream! So Jen decided to buy some chocolate instead.

Jen a-n-tɔ ice cream, ɔ-tɔ-ɔ chocolate
Jen pfv-neg-buy ice cream 3sg-buy-pst chocolate

Comment: That's ok

Note: If in a language the contrast and contrast/negated conjunct contexts in Q1 elicited different coordinators, additional contexts should be constructed for the negated conjunct cases (and added here).

- for Akan:

4a) Context (stative, conjunctive, no contrast): Susie works as a doctor in a hospital. In her spare time, she gives classes at the local college. You tell your friend about Susie:

# Susie yε dɔkɔta	(na) emom	ɔ-yε	ɔkyerεkyerɛni
Susie is doctor	CONN	is	teacher

4a) Context (conjunction; contrast; no negation in the first disjunct)

Context (stative): You live in a place where doctors are wealthy. Susie works as a doctor. She mainly treats patients who cannot pay for their treatment, so Susie earns much less money than other doctors do. You tell your friend about Susie:

Susie ye dɔkɔta (**na**) emom a-hia no
Susie is doctor **CONN** pfv-poor s/he

Comment: That's ok, means "Susie is a doctor but she is poor."

4a) Context (disjunction with speaker knowledge)

Context: You and your friend are playing a game guessing the jobs of Paul and John. She can't think of the answer, and she asks you for a hint. You know that Paul is a doctor, and that John used to be a doctor but is not anymore. So you say:

Paul ɛ-ye dɔkɔta (**na**) emom John ɛ-ye dɔkɔta
Paul asp-be doctor **CONN** John asp-be doctor

4b) Context (disjunction without speaker knowledge)

Context: Your friend asks you what John's job is. As far as you know, John might be a doctor. You're not sure, though. It's also possible that he's a writer.

John ɛ-ye dɔkɔta (**na**) emom ɔ-ye ɔ-twerɛtwerɛni
John asp-be doctor **CONN** 3sg-be 3sg-writer

Comment: not good because the context says that you're not sure

4c) Context (disjunctive, without speaker knowledge, inclusive):

Context: Your friend asks you what John's job is. You're not sure: he might be a doctor, he might be a writer, he might also be both. You say:

John ɛ-ye dɔkɔta (**na**) emom ɔ-ye ɔ-twerɛtwerɛni, ebia ɔ-ye nemmienu
John asp-be doctor **CONN** 3sg-be 3sg-writer maybe 3sg-be the.two

4d) Context (both false):

Context (*stative*): Paul works in a hospital. He is not a doctor and he is not a nurse. He works at the reception.

Paul ε-n-ye dɔkɔta (na) emom nurse ni
Paul asp-neg-be doctor CONN nurse

Paul ε-ye dɔkɔta (na) emom nurse ni

B. Disjunctive coordinators:

Test all connectives elicited in sections B1 and B2 in the 1st questionnaire (including within question if there is a different one)!

B1. Connector elicited in the disjunctive context with speaker knowledge about which clause is true:

8) Context: You and your friend are playing a game guessing the jobs of Paul and John. She can't think of the answer, and she asks you for a hint. You know that Paul is a doctor, and that John used to be a doctor but is not anymore. So you say:

(juxtaposition)

Paul ε-ye dɔkɔta, John ε-ye dɔkɔta
Paul asp-be doctor John asp-be doctor

8a) Context (*conjunctive, no contrast*):

Your friends Paul and John both work as doctors in a hospital. Your sister asks you what Paul and John do for a living. You say:

Either sε Paul ε-ye dɔkɔta anaa sε John ε-ye dɔkɔta
Either CONN Paul asp-be doctor CONN John asp-be doctor

Comment: not good because the context says they are both doctors

*Sε Paul ε-ye dɔkɔta anaa sε John ε-ye dɔkɔta

Paul ε-ye dɔkɔta **anaa sɛ** John ε-ye dɔkɔta

Paul ε-ye dɔkɔta **anaa** John ε-ye dɔkɔta

8b) *Context (conjunctive, contrast):*

Paul and John are brothers but they used to have very different interests when they were young. Paul was good at science and interested in medicine. John loved art and wrote poems. You are surprised when I tell you that they actually chose the same profession:

Either **sɛ** Paul ε-ye dɔkɔta **anaa sɛ** John ε-ye dɔkɔta

* **Sɛ** Paul ε-ye dɔkɔta **anaa sɛ** John ε-ye dɔkɔta

Paul ε-ye dɔkɔta **anaa sɛ** John ε-ye dɔkɔta

Paul ε-ye dɔkɔta **anaa** John ε-ye dɔkɔta

8c) *Context (disjunctive, without speaker knowledge):*

Your sister asks you what Paul and John do for a living. You know one of them is a doctor but you don't know which one. You say:

Either **sɛ** Paul ε-ye dɔkɔta **anaa sɛ** John ε-ye dɔkɔta

Comment: That's okay

* **Sɛ** Paul ε-ye dɔkɔta **anaa sɛ** John ε-ye dɔkɔta

Comment: The form of the sentence is not good

Paul ε-ye dɔkɔta **anaa sɛ** John ε-ye dɔkɔta

Comment: That's okay

? Paul ε-ye dɔkɔta **anaa** John ε-ye dɔkɔta

Comment: That's ok, but sounds more like a question

8d) *Context (disjunctive, without speaker knowledge, inclusive):*

Your sister asks you what Paul and John do for a living. You know at least one of them is a doctor. You can't quite remember though, maybe John is a doctor, maybe Paul is a doctor, maybe both of them are doctors. You say:

Either **sε** Paul ε-ye dɔkɔta **anaa sε** John ε-ye dɔkɔta

***Sε** Paul ε-ye dɔkɔta **anaa sε** John ε-ye dɔkɔta

Paul ε-ye dɔkɔta **anaa sε** John ε-ye dɔkɔta

Paul ε-ye dɔkɔta **anaa** John ε-ye dɔkɔta

Comment: sentences 1 and 3 are okay in principle, but only true if not both are doctors, 4 sounds more like a question (see above)

8e) *Context (both false):*

Paul and John are brothers, and their parents always wished that they would become doctors. Now Paul is a writer and John is a linguist. Their mother says, with disappointment in her voice:

Either **sε** Paul ε-ye dɔkɔta **anaa sε** John ε-ye dɔkɔta

***Sε** Paul ε-ye dɔkɔta **anaa sε** John ε-ye dɔkɔta

Paul ε-ye dɔkɔta **anaa sε** John ε-ye dɔkɔta

Paul ε-ye dɔkɔta **anaa** John ε-ye dɔkɔta

B2. Connector elicited in the disjunctive context without speaker knowledge about which clause is true

Note: If in a language the disjunctive with speaker knowledge and disjunctive without speaker knowledge contexts in Q1 elicited different coordinators, additional contexts should be constructed for the disjunctive without speaker knowledge cases (and added here). - not the case in Akan

B2-1-1. Within a statement (exclusive/unspecified)

Context: You have lost your phone. You remember it at your work office desk before cycling home. You tell your friend:

(juxtaposition)

Me-gya-a	me	phone no	wɔ	adwuma	mu,
1sg-leave-pst	my	phone det	locative	work	in
me	gya-a	ɛmerɛ	a	me-re-kɔ	(e)fiɛ no
I	leave-pst	at.the.time	rel	1sg-ipfv-go	house det

Comment: That's ok, means "I left my phone at work, I left it at the time I was leaving for home." (~ conjunctive reading)

Context: John used to be a doctor and a professional writer, but he recently quit (only) one of the professions. You don't know which profession he quit.

(juxtaposition)

John ɛ-yɛ dɔkɔta, ɔ-yɛ ɔ-twerɛtwerɛni
John asp-be doctor 3sg-be 3sg-writer

Comment: not good, he would have to be both

B2-1-2. Within a statement (inclusive)

(see 8d)

B2-2. Within a question

13a) *Context:*

You have lost your phone. You tell a friend that you remember having it last either on the bus coming home from work, or at your work office desk. Your friend asks you:

(test disjunctive connectors not elicited in Q)

- not elicited (same connective as in statements)

C. Other connectors:

C1. Connector elicited in the context where both clauses are false

14) *Context*: Paul works in a hospital. He is not a doctor and he is not a nurse. He works at the reception. When your friend asks you what Paul's job is, you tell her:

(juxtaposition)

* Paul ε-n-yε dɔkɔta, nurse ni
Paul asp-neg-be doctor nurse

Comment: The second part doesn't mean anything

Paul ε-n-yε dɔkɔta ɔno a ɔ-n-yε nurse ni
Paul asp-neg-be doctor he rel 3sg-neg-be nurse

Comment: This one is ok, means "Paul is not a doctor, he is also not a nurse."

14a) *Context (conjunctive, no contrast)*:

Paul works in a hospital. In this hospital, it is normal that qualified doctors like Paul also do the work of nurses, so all doctors are nurses at the same time. When your friend asks you what Paul does for a living, you say:

Paul ε-n-yε dɔkɔta anaa sɛ nurse ni
Paul asp-neg-be doctor CONN nurse

Paul ε-n-yε dɔkɔta ɔno nso a ɔ-n-yε nurse ni
Paul asp-neg-be doctor heADD rel 3sg-neg-be nurse

14b) *Context (conjunctive, contrast)*:

Paul works as a doctor in a hospital. The hospital is terribly understaffed. Now there is a huge crisis because several nurses have quit their jobs at the same time. In addition to his normal tasks as a doctor, Paul now also has to do the nurse's jobs. Paul's sister never gets to see him anymore, she tells you:

Paul ε-n-yε dɔkɔta anaa sɛ nurse ni

Paul ε-n-yε dɔkɔta ɔno nso a ɔ-n-yε nurse ni

14c) Context (*disjunctive, with speaker knowledge*):

You and your friend are playing a game guessing the jobs of different people. She can't guess what Paul does, and she asks you for a hint. You know that Paul works as a doctor (and nothing else), so this is your hint:

Paul ε-n-yε dɔkɔta anaa sɛ nurse ni

Paul ε-n-yε dɔkɔta ɔno nso a ɔ-n-yε nurse ni

14d) Context (*disjunctive, without speaker knowledge*):

Your friend asks you what Paul does for a living. You always confuse Paul with his brother Peter. One of them is a nurse and one is a doctor, but you can't remember which of the two professions Paul has. You say:

Paul ε-n-yε dɔkɔta anaa sɛ nurse ni

Paul ε-n-yε dɔkɔta ɔno nso a ɔ-n-yε nurse ni

14e) Context (*disjunctive, with speaker knowledge, inclusive*):

Paul works in a hospital. In this hospital, some qualified doctors also do the work of nurses, so some doctors are nurses at the same time. But there are also employees who only work as doctors as well as employees who only work as nurses. You don't remember which of these arrangements applies to Paul. As far as you know, Paul might be a doctor, he might be a nurse, he might also be both. When your friend asks you what Paul does for a living, you say:

Paul ε-n-yε dɔkɔta anaa sɛ nurse ni

Paul ε-n-yε dɔkɔta ɔno nso a ɔ-n-yε nurse ni

C2. Free choice

Context: There are two sweets on the table. A cupcake and a cookie. Paul can choose either one of them but not both. You don't care which one he chooses.

Paul be-tumi a-di cupcake **anaa sɛ** o-be-tumi a-di cookie

Paul will-able pfv-eat cupcake **CONN** 3sg-will-able pfv-eat cookie

[Comment: That's ok](#)

Sε Paul be-tumi a-di cupcake **anaa sε** (o-be-tumi a-di) cookie

Comment: This sounds like a question (but grammatical as a question, preferably with the bracketed part omitted)

Either sε Paul be-tumi a-di cupcake **anaa sε** o-be-tumi a-di cookie

Comment: That's ok as well

C3. Disjunction under negation

not elicited

Summary table

core form	full form	negation	A1	A2	A3	B1	B2-1.1	B2-1.2	B2-2	C1	C2	notes
εna	εna ... (-sane) ...	neither	1*	N/A	N/A	0	0	0	N/A	0	N/A	
εna	εna	neither	1*	N/A	N/A	0	0	1	N/A	0	N/A	
nanso	nanso	neither	N/A	1*	N/A	0	0	0	N/A	0	N/A	
(na)emo m	(na)emo m	neither	0	1	1*	0	0	0	N/A	0	N/A	
anaa	eithe r sε ... anaa sε	neither	0	0	N/A	1*	1	0	N/A	0	1	
anaa	anaa sε	neither	0	0	N/A	N/A	1*	1*	1*	0	1*	exclusive implicature must be explicitly cancelled for B2-1.2
anaa	anaa	neither	0	0	N/A	1*	?	0	N/A	0	N/A	
anaa	-n- ... anaa sε ...	above	0	0	N/A	0	0	0	N/A	1*	N/A	
nso	-n- ... nso ... - n- ...	below	0	0	N/A	0	0	0	N/A	1*	N/A	
∅	∅	neith	1*	1	1	0	0	N/A	N/A	1	N/A	

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Instructions:

The table has connective expressions as rows and their properties (compatibility with specific contexts and other syntactic properties) as columns. **Mark the items that are elicited in Q1 with an asterisk * in the original context in which it was elicited.**

Core/full form columns

If an expression consists of multiple morphosyntactic elements, we identify the core element among them. The core element is entered under the “core form” column while the full form is entered under the “full form” column.

There are some (soft) principles for identifying the core element:

- Choose an element that is more specific in terms of the semantic coverage (in terms of the contexts it is compatible with) as the core element.
- When choosing between a particle that attaches to component clauses (conjuncts/disjuncts) and an element that intervenes between clauses, choose the latter as the core element.

The Negation column

Under the negation column, one enters information about the presence of negation in the full form. The possible response options are:

- Above: negation appears syntactically above the coordination
- Below: negation appears in each conjunct/disjunct
- Neither: otherwise

Columns A3-C2

Under these columns, one enters either 1 or 0 to indicate the compatibility of the full form with the contexts.

Remarks about specific columns:

A3. Contrast - negated conjunct

This is relevant only if the language has a contrast between the connective elicited in A2 and A3 (the *aber/sondern* contrast in German) in the Q1 results. If it turns out that the language does

not have this contrast, we enter 1 under the A3 column for the connective that has been elicited in Q1, and enter N/A in other rows.

C2. Free choice

It is considered given that the elicited form involves a modal *scoping above* the coordination. So, do *not* consider a full form involving a modal. This means that, in English for example, the core form *or* is marked as 1 under C2, in light of examples like “Paul can eat a cookie or a cake”.

C3. Disjunction under negation

This context is used only if there is a dedicated connective found to be compatible with C1. Otherwise, there is no need to create a column for this context.