

Questionnaire for connectives

LiSU team

Follow-up questionnaire Q2

Language: Cantonese

Date: 13/10/2023

Inventory of connectives elicited in Q1

Context	Coordinator(s) elicited
A1 Conjunctive, no contrast	<i>jau</i> [stative example] (corrected from “yau”) <i>jat lou ... jat lou</i> [episodic example, translated as “while”]
A2 Conjunctive, contrast	<i>daanhai</i> [stative example] <i>batgwo</i> [episodic example]
A3 Conjunctive, contrast, negated conjunct	<i>jik</i> [stative example, dispreferred to juxtaposition] <i>batgwo</i> [episodic example]
B1 Disjunctive, with speaker knowledge	<i>jat-hai ... jat-hai</i> <i>waakze</i> [NP disjunction]
B2-1.1 Disjunctive w/o speaker knowledge, statement, exclusive/unspecified	<i>jat-hai ... jat-hai</i>
B2-1.2 Disjunctive w/o speaker knowledge, statement, inclusive	<i>jau honang ... jik jau honang</i> [modal expression added: “jau honang” ~ have possibility]
B2-2 Disjunctive w/o speaker knowledge, question	<i>dinghai</i>
C1 both clauses false	<i>m ... jik m</i> [m = negation] <i>jau m ... jau m</i> <i>mou ... jik mou</i> [episodic example, mou = different negative element, glossed as “not.have”]
C2 free choice	<i>waakze</i> [again NP disjunction]

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:

(juxtaposition example)

- see Q1

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 hai go jisang **jau** hai go lousi*

Susie COP CL doctor **CONN** COP CL 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 hai go jisang **jau** hai go lousi*

Comment: This would mean that she has two jobs.

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 hai go jisang **jau** hai go lousi*

Comment: see above

1d) *Context (both clauses 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 hai go jisang **jau** hai go lousi*

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)

- see Q1

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 **jat lou** tong saam **jat lou** tai dinsì*

Paul while iron clothes while watch TV

Comment: Would be felicitous only if she's actually lying, means: "Paul is ironing clothes while watching TV."

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 **jat lou** tong saam **jat lou** tai dinsì*

Comment: see above, means he's doing both at the same time, but could be felicitous

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 **jat lou** tong saam **jat lou** tai dinsi

Comment: again, means that he is doing both, not that he is doing either

2d) Context (both clauses are 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 **jat lou** tong saam **jat lou** tai dinsi

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:

(juxtaposition example)

? Susie hai go jisang, keoi mou cin

Susie COP CL doctor, 3SG not.have money

Comment: This feels like two separate ideas, would be better with "daanhai"

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 hai go jisang, **daanhai** keoi mou cin

Susie COP CL doctor, **CONN** 3SG not.have money

Comment: The sentence asserts that Susie is a doctor

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 hai go jisang, **daanhai** keoi mou cin*

Comment: [see above](#)

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 hai go jisang, **daanhai** keoi mou cin*

Comment: [see above, also: the contrast isn't there](#)

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 hai go jisang, **daanhai** keoi mou cin*

Context (episodic): 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.

(juxtaposition)

Jen maai-zo syutgou, keoi hai maai bei go maksang-jan ge

Jen buy-PERF [ice cream] 3SG COP buy give CL strange-person COMP

Comment: that's ok, but with a break between clauses (full stop more appropriate)

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). - for Cantonese (constructed - took eventive examples from conjunctive/ no contrast in 2 above and replaced connective):

3'a) 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 xem TV là áo.
Paul watch TV iron shirt

3'b) 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 tong saam **batgwo** Paul tai dinsi

3'c) 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 tong saam **batgwo** Paul tai dinsi

3'd) 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 tong saam **batgwo** Paul tai dinsi

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!

(juxtaposition)

- see Q1 (possible and preferred)

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.

(juxtaposition)

Jen mou maai dou syutgou, keoi maai-zo zyukulik

Jen not.have buy achieve/get [ice cream], 3SG buy-PERF 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).

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 hai go jisang **jik** hai go lousi*

Susie COP CL doctor **CONN** COP CL teacher

Comment: okay, means: Susie is a doctor while (also) being a teacher

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

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 hai go jisang jik mou cin

Susie COP CL doctor **CONN** not.have money

4a) Context (disjunction with speaker knowledge)

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 (hai jisang) jik John hai jisang*

Paul **CONN** John COP doctor

Comment: This is not well-formed, *jik* wants the same subject

4b) Context (disjunction without speaker knowledge)

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 hai go jisang jik hai go zokga

Comment: The sentence asserts that J. is doing both jobs

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

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 jau honang hai go jisang jik jau honang hai go zokga

John have possibility COP CL doctor **CONN** have possibility COP CL writer

Comment: Ok, that's possible

John hai go jisang jik hai go zokga

Comment: This one is not felicitous in the context, it means that John is both a doctor and a writer at the same time.

4d) Context (both false):

Paul works in a hospital. He is not a doctor and he is not a nurse. He works at the reception.

Paul **m** hai jisang **jik** hai wusi

Paul not COP doctor CONN COP nurse

Comment: Would be possible if “m hai” was added to the second conjunct

Paul hai jisang **jik** hai wusi

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 hai jisang, John hai jisang

Paul COP doctor John COP doctor

Comment: This would need sth. like “previously” in the second clause

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:

Paul **waakze** John hai jisang

Jathai Paul **jathai** John hai jisang

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:

Paul waakze John hai jisang

Jathai Paul jathai John hai jisang

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:

Paul waakze John hai jisang

Jathai Paul jathai John hai jisang

Comment: Possible in this context. Not perfect though, sounds more like an answer to "Which one of them is a doctor?"

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:

? *Paul waakze John hai jisang*

Jathai Paul jathai John hai jisang

Comment: exclusive readings slightly stronger for the second sentence
Volunteered in a follow-up:

Paul **waakze** John dou **jau honang** hai jisang

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:

Paul **waakze** John hai jisang

Jathai Paul **jathai** John hai jisang

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 Cantonese (*jathai* in both)

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)

Ngo lau-zo go dinwaa hai gongsi, ngo faan ukkei ge sihau dit-zo

1SG leave-PERF CL phone LOC office 1SG return home COMP time rop-PERF

Comment: The sentence means that both happened.

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 hai jisang, John hai zokga

John COP doctor John COP writer

Follow-up judgement on felicity in this (exclusive) context:

John **jau honang** hai go jisang **jik jau honang** hai go zokga.

“John is a doctor or he is a writer.”

Comment: sentence is ok in the context

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

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)

*Nei hai mai lau-zo go dinwa hai gongsi, **dinghai** lau-zo hai basi*

2SG COP not.COP leave-PERF CL phone LOC office, **CONN** leave-PERF LOC bus

Comment: This one is okay.

*? Nei hai mai lau-zo go dinwa hai gongsi, **waakze** lau-zo hai basi*

Comment: “waakze” doesn’t work so well here

*# Nei hai mai lau-zo go dinwa hai gongsi, **jik** lau-zo hai basi*

Comment: This would mean on the bus and in the office

*? Nei hai mai **jathai** lau-zo go dinwa hai gongsi, **jathai** lau-zo hai basi*

Comment: *jathai* ... *jathai* is also not great in questions

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 m hai jisang m hai wusi*

Paul not COP doctor not COP nurse

Comment: This could work, but doesn't feel quite complete... would need a third conjunct saying what he actually is.

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 m hai jisang jik m hai wusi

Paul not COP doctor CONN not COP nurse

Comment: This would only work if it means sth. like "Paul is not strictly speaking a doctor and not strictly speaking a nurse.", but not in the conjunctive meaning intended in the context

Paul jau m hai jisang jau m hai wusi

Paul CONN not COP doctor CONN not COP nurse

Comment: same as above

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 m hai jisang jik m hai wusi

Paul jau m hai jisang jau m hai wusi

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 **m** hai jisang **jik m** hai wusi

Paul **jau m** hai jisang **jau m** hai wusi

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 **m** hai jisang **jik m** hai wusi

Paul **jau m** hai jisang **jau m** hai wusi

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 **m** hai jisang **jik m** hai wusi

Paul **jau m** hai jisang **jau m** hai wusi

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 **jathai** hoji sik go daangou **jathai** hoji sik fai cukkei

Paul CONN can eat CL cake CONN can eat CL cookie

Comment: “jathai” and “hoji” sound a bit odd together, but that’s more about syntax than felicity. “Jathai” might be more of a VP connective.

*Paul hoji sik go daangou **jik** hoji sik fai cukkei*

Comment: that's ok in this form

*# Paul hoji sik go daangou **dinghai** (hoji sik) fai cukkei*

Comment: This sounds like a question “Is he allowed to eat a cake or (is he allowed to choose) a cookie?”

C3. Disjunction under negation

Context: Susie always wanted to be a doctor, and she always loved running. When she was a kid, she dreamt of a double-career as a doctor and a professional runner. Unfortunately for Susie, neither of these plans worked out. She works a job she doesn’t like and she has no time for running.

Target sentence: Susie isn’t a doctor or a runner. (= It’s not the case that Susie is a doctor or that Susie is a runner.)

same as in C1

Summary table

core form	full form	negation	A1	A2	A3	B1	B2-1.1	B2-1.2	B2-2	C1	C2	C3	notes
jau	jau	neither	1*	N/A	N/A	0	0	0	N/A	0	N/A	N/A	elicited only in the stative context
daa nhai	daa nhai	neither	N/A	1*	N/A	0	0	0	N/A	0	N/A	N/A	elicited only in the stative context
batg wo	batg wo	neither	N/A	1*	1*	0	0	0	N/A	0	N/A	N/A	elicited only in the episodic context
jik	jik	neither	1	0	1*	0	0	0	0	0	1	N/A	elicited only in the stative context
jik	jau hon ang ... jik jau hon ang	neither	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	1	1*	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	construction seems to be restricted to disjuncts with the same subject
jat-hai	jat-hai ... jat-hai	neither	0	0	N/A	1*	1*	0	?	0	?	N/A	
waa kze	waa kze	neither	0	0	N/A	1*	1	?	?	0	1*	N/A	NP disjunction, seems compatible with inclusive reading when a modal is added
ding hai	ding hai	neither	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	1*	N/A	0	N/A	
jik	m ... jik m	below	0	0	N/A	0	0	0	N/A	1*	N/A	1*	
jau	jau m ... jau m	below	0	0	N/A	0	0	0	N/A	1*	N/A	1*	
jik	mou ... jik	below	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	1*	N/A	N/A	elicited only in the episodic

	mou												context
∅	∅	neither	?	?	1*	0	0	N/A	N/A	?	N/A	N/A	preferred in A3

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.