

Questionnaire for connectives

LiSU team

Follow-up questionnaire Q2

Language: Dutch

Date: 14/9/23

Inventory of connectives elicited in Q1

| Context | Coordinator(s) elicited |
|--|---|
| A1 Conjunctive, no contrast | <i>en</i> |
| A2 Conjunctive, contrast | <i>maar</i> |
| A3 Conjunctive, contrast, negated conjunct | <i>maar</i> |
| B1 Disjunctive, with speaker knowledge | (<i>of</i>) ... <i>of</i> [the doubling of “of” corresponds to “either...or”, probably not related to speaker knowledge] |
| B2-1.1 Disjunctive w/o speaker knowledge, statement, exclusive/unspecified | <i>of</i> |
| B2-1.2 Disjunctive w/o speaker knowledge, statement, inclusive | <i>of</i> |
| B2-2 Disjunctive w/o speaker knowledge, question | <i>of</i> |
| C1 both clauses false | geen ... <i>en</i> ... geen geen ... <i>noch</i> geen ... <i>en</i> och niet [geen = negative quantifier/no] [och = additive/also] [niet = negation/not] |
| C2 free choice | <i>of</i> |
| C3 negation | geen ... <i>en</i> ... geen niet ... <i>of</i> niet ... <i>noch</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 is een dokter, (ze is) een lerares.

Comment: needs a conjunction

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 is een dokter en (ze is) een lerares.

Comment: The sentence is grammatical but wrong, because she is not a 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 is een dokter en (ze is) een lerares.

Comment: This doesn't make much sense, would use "of".

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 is een dokter en (ze is) een lerares.

Comments:

- feels way more sure that she is both
- you could say "en/of"

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 is een dokter en (ze is) een lerares.

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)

not possible (elicited in 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 kijkt TV en strijkt zijn shirts.

Comment: This means that he's doing both.

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 kijkt TV en strijkt zijn shirts.

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 kijkt TV en strijkt zijn shirts.

Comment: This could work, but it sounds like he is doing both (doesn't have to be true).

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 kijkt TV en strijkt zijn shirts.

Comment: not true in the context

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 is een dokter, ze is arm.

Comment: Ok, that would work.

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 is een dokter maar ze is arm.

Comment: You're doing the opposite.

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 is een dokter maar ze is arm.

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 is een dokter maar ze is arm.

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 is een dokter maar ze is arm.

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 kocht een ijsje, ze kocht het voor een vreemde.

Comment: Not really ... implies that she intended to buy it for them in the first place.

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 Dutch

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 is geen dokter, hij is een receptionist.

Comment: Ok, that works.

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 heeft geen ijs gekocht, ze heeft chocolade gekocht.

Comment: Also works.

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). - not the case in Dutch

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:

Paul is een dokter, John is een dokter.

Of Paul is een dokter of John is een dokter.

Comment: This works.

Paul is een dokter of John is een dokter.

Comment: Also ok.

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:

Of Paul is een dokter of John is een dokter.

Paul is een dokter of John is een dokter.

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:

Of Paul is een dokter of John is een dokter.

Paul is een dokter of John is een dokter.

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:

Of Paul is een dokter of John is een dokter.

Paul is een dokter of John is een dokter.

Comment: Both work fine.

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:

Of Paul is een dokter of John is een dokter.

?? Paul is een dokter of John is een dokter.

Comment: 2nd version slightly better (1st one explicitly “either ... or”) but both don’t work, corrected to:

Paul is een dokter en/of John is een dokter.

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:

Of Paul is een dokter of John is een dokter.

Paul is een dokter of John is een dokter.

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 quite sure about Dutch here. But should be covered by testing both “of” and “Of ... of” in the original context again (see above)

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:

Ik ben mijn telefoon op werk vergeten, ik heb hem onderweg laten vallen.

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.

John is een dokter, hij is een auteur.

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

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 is een dokter of hij is een auteur.

Comment: Ok, that works.

Of John is een dokter of hij is een auteur.

Comment: That works too, but emphasises that it is only one of these things.
exclusive reading!

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:

#/ Of heb je je telefoon op werk laten liggen of heb je hem in de bus laten liggen?*

Comment: This would only make sense if the friend had already listed other options, maybe in a kind of enumeration ("Did you leave it at A or at B or at C...?")

[!Follow up comment by the consultant suggests that the question is actually ungrammatical](#)

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:

Paul is een dokter, hij is een verpleger.

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 is geen dokter en hij is geen verpleger.

Paul is geen dokter noch is hij verpleger.

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 is geen dokter en hij is geen verpleger.

Paul is geen dokter noch is hij verpleger.

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 is geen dokter en hij is geen verpleger.

Paul is geen dokter noch is hij verpleger.

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 is geen dokter en hij is geen verpleger.

Paul is geen dokter noch is hij verpleger.

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 is geen dokter en hij is geen verpleger.

Paul is geen dokter noch is hij verpleger.

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 kan een cupcake eten of hij kan een koekje eten.

Of Paul kan een cupcake eten of hij kan een koekje eten.

Comment: Ok, both would work.

Summary table

| core form | full form | negation | A1 | A2 | A3 | B1 | B2-1.1 | B2-1.2 | B2-2 | C1 | C2 | C3 | notes |
|-----------|--------------------------|----------|-----|-----|-----|-----|--------|--------|------|-----|-----|-----|---|
| en | en | neither | 1* | N/A | N/A | 0 | 0 | 0 | N/A | 0 | N/A | N/A | |
| maarr | maarr | neither | N/A | 1* | 1* | 0 | 0 | 0 | N/A | 0 | N/A | N/A | |
| of | (of) ... of | neither | 0 | 0 | N/A | 1* | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | N/A | |
| of | of | neither | 0 | 0 | N/A | 1 | 1* | 1* | 1* | 0 | 1* | N/A | exclusive implicature must be explicitly cancelled for B2-1.2 |
| en | geen ... en ... geen ... | below | 0 | 0 | N/A | 0 | 0 | N/A | 0 | 1* | N/A | 1* | |
| noch | geen ... noch ... | above | 0 | 0 | N/A | 0 | 0 | N/A | 0 | 1* | N/A | N/A | |
| en | geen ... en och niet ... | below | N/A | N/A | N/A | N/A | N/A | N/A | N/A | 1* | N/A | N/A | |
| of | niet ... of ... | above | N/A | N/A | N/A | N/A | N/A | N/A | N/A | N/A | N/A | 1* | |
| noch | niet ... noch ... | above | N/A | N/A | N/A | N/A | N/A | N/A | N/A | N/A | N/A | 1* | only refers to the "It's not the case..."se |

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|----------------|---------|---|---|---|---|---|-----|-----|---|-----|-----|------------------------|
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | ntences elicited in C3 |
| ∅ | juxta position | neither | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | N/A | N/A | 0 | N/A | N/A | |

Note (AM): The table might be more informative if the rows are ordered by the connectives/ core forms rather than by appearance in Q1? (i.e have all uses “en”, “of” etc. occur together?) But that’s only relevant if these tables are supposed to remain in the questionnaire rather than just put into a spreadsheet.

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.