

# Questionnaire for connectives

LiSU team

Follow-up questionnaire Q2

Language: Farsi

## Inventory of connectives elicited in Q1

Context	Coordinator(s) elicited
A1 Conjunctive, no contrast	<b>va</b>
A2 Conjunctive, contrast	<b>amma</b> <b>vali</b> [no difference between the connectives in Q1, “amma” may be a loan from Arabic]
A3 Conjunctive, contrast, negated conjunct	<b>nV ... balke</b> <b>nV ... bejash</b> [nV = negation, beja(sh) ~ instead of, only elicited in the episodic example]
B1 Disjunctive, with speaker knowledge	<b>ya ... va ya</b> <b>ya ... ya</b>
B2-1.1 Disjunctive w/o speaker knowledge, statement, exclusive/unspecified	<b>ya ... ya</b>
B2-1.2 Disjunctive w/o speaker knowledge, statement, inclusive	<b>ya ... ya</b>
B2-2 Disjunctive w/o speaker knowledge, question	<b>ya</b>
C1 both clauses false	<b>na ... na</b>
C2 free choice	<b>ya ... ya</b>
C3 negation	<b>ya (... ya)</b>

## 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, add in all contexts!)

? Susie doktor ast, moalem ast

Comments:

- maybe works as a list, but a bit weird
- would need an additive

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 doktor ast **va** moalem ast

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 doktor ast **va** moalem ast

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 doktor ast **va** moalem ast

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 doktor ast **va** moalem ast

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 television mi-bin- $\emptyset$ -ad, pirhan-esh ro otu mi-kon- $\emptyset$ -ad  
Paul TV impf-see-pres-3sg, shirt-her/his acc iron impf-do-pres-3sg

Comment: a bit worse than the first juxtaposition example (because of the simultaneity, list reading not salient)

General note: this is a different kind of intuition than in the cases that are just clearly false

(possibly skip if stative and eventive examples elicited the same coordinator)

skipped for Farsi

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 television mi-bin- $\emptyset$ -ad **va** pirhan-esh ro otu mi-kon- $\emptyset$ -ad

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 television mi-bin-Ø-ad **va** pirhan-esh ro otu mi-kon-Ø-ad

*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 television mi-bin-Ø-ad **va** pirhan-esh ro otu mi-kon-Ø-ad

*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 television mi-bin-Ø-ad **va** pirhan-esh ro otu mi-kon-Ø-ad

## 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 doktor ast, faghir ast  
Susie doctor be.pres.3sg poor be.pres.3sg

*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 doktor ast **amma** faghir ast

# Susie doktor ast **vali** faghir ast

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 doktor ast **amma** faghir ast

# Susie doktor ast **vali** faghir ast

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 doktor ast **amma** faghir ast

# Susie doktor ast **vali** faghir ast

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 doktor ast **amma** faghir ast

# Susie doktor ast **vali** faghir ast

*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.

*(juxtaposition)*

Jen bastani xar-id, be ye qharibe dad-esh

Jen ice-cream buy-pfv.past.3sg but to a stranger give.pfv.past.3sg-it

**Comment:** that's okay, sounds like a sequence of events

**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 Farsi

### 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)*

Paul doktor ni-st, monshi ast

Paul doctor neg-be.pres.3sg receptionist be.pres.3sg

**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.

*(juxtaposition)*

Jen bastani na-xar-id, shokolat xar-id

Jen ice-cream neg-buy-pfv.past.3sg chocolate buy-pfv.past.3sg

**Comment:** that's ok too

**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 doktor ast **balke** moalem ast

# Susie doktor nist **balke** moalem ast

Comment: *bejash* is bad here too (also in the examples below)

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 doktor ast **balke** faghir ast

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 doktor ast **balke** John doktor ast

# Paul doktor nist **balke** John doktor ast

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 doktor ast **balke** nevisande ast

# John doktor nist **balke** nevisande ast

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 doktor ast **balke** nevisande ast (shayad ham har do).

# John doktor nist **balke** nevisande ast (shayad ham har do).

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 doktor ast **balke** parastar ast

# Paul doktor nist **balke** parastar ast

## 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 doktor ast, John doktor ast

Paul doctor be.pres.3sg, John doctor be.pres.3sg

Comment: That's fine, but would be much better with an additive

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:

# **Ya** Paul doktor ast **ya** John doktor ast

# **Ya** Paul doktor ast **va ya** John doktor ast

# Paul doktor ast **va ya** John doktor ast

# Paul doktor ast **ya** John doktor ast

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:

# **Ya** Paul doktor ast **ya** John doktor ast

# **Ya** Paul doktor ast **va ya** John doktor ast

# Paul doktor ast **va ya** John doktor ast

# Paul doktor ast **ya** John doktor ast

Comment: the versions with **ya ... va ya** generally sound a bit less natural, needs a pause between the disjuncts

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:

**Ya** Paul doktor ast **ya** John doktor ast

? **Ya** Paul doktor ast **va ya** John doktor ast

? Paul doktor ast **va ya** John doktor ast

Comment: first sentence preferred, second and third sentences a bit weird

? Paul doktor ast **ya** John doktor ast

Comment: Only with a certain intonation, this is okay

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

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:

# **Ya** Paul doktor ast **ya** John doktor ast (shayad ham har do)

**Ya** Paul doktor ast **va ya** John doktor ast (shayad ham har do)

Comment: okay, better than the first sentence, but still seems to suggest that only one disjunct is true

Paul doktor ast **va ya** John doktor ast (shayad ham har do)

? Paul doktor ast **ya** John doktor ast (shayad ham har do)

Comment:

- the intuitions are a bit unclear, all of the sentences feel a bit weird
- most natural way to express this would be with modality ("maybe Paul, maybe John, maybe both")

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:

# **Ya** Paul doktor ast **ya** John doktor ast

# **Ya** Paul doktor ast **va ya** John doktor ast

# Paul doktor ast **va ya** John doktor ast

# Paul doktor ast **ya** John doktor ast

## 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).

### 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)

# Gushi-m ro sar-e kar ja gozasht-am, tu-ye rah oftade ast

Phone-my acc head-ez work place put.pfv.past-1sg in-ez way drop.pst.ptcp  
be.pres.3sg

Comment: This is contradictory

*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 doktor ast, nevisande ast

Comment: This is in no way a disjunction

### 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:

Gushi-t ro sar-e kar ja gozasht-i **ya** tu-ye otubus ja gozasht-i?

Mobile-your acc head-ez work place put.pfv.past-2sg **CONN** in-ez bus place  
put.pfv.past-2sg

*Comment:* This is good

# Gushi-t ro **ya** sar-e kar ja gozasht-i **ya** tu-ye otubus ja gozasht-i?

*Comment:* You wouldn't put 2 "ya"s in a question

# Gushi-t ro **ya** sar-e kar ja gozasht-i **va ya** tu-ye otubus ja gozasht-i?

*Comment:* sounds like weird yes/no question

## 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 doktor ast, parastar ast.

# Paul doktor nist, parastar ast.

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 **na** doktor ast **na** parastar ast

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 **na** doktor ast **na** parastar ast

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 **na** doktor ast **na** parastar ast

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 **na** doktor ast **na** parastar ast

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 **na** doktor ast **na** parastar ast

## 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.

(test all disjunctive connectives if several disjunctive connectives were elicited in Q1, if conjunctive connective elicited in Q1, follow up to check for disjunctive unless already tested in Q1)

Paul **ya** mi-tavan-∅-ad kapkeik ro bo-xor-ad **ya** mi-tavan-ad koluche ro bo-xor-ad

Paul **ya** mi-tavan-∅-ad kapkeik ro bo-xor-ad **va ya** mi-tavan-ad koluche ro bo-xor-ad

\* Paul **ya** mi-tavan-∅-ad kapkeik ro bo-xor-ad mi-tavan-ad koluche ro bo-xor-ad

? Paul mi-tavan-∅-ad kapkeik ro bo-xor-ad **ya** mi-tavan-ad koluche ro bo-xor-ad

*Comment:* you can't blame Paul if he takes both (FC reading but not exclusive)

### 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.)

## Summary table

core form	full form	negation	A1	A2	A3	B1	B2-1.1	B2-1.2	B2-2	C1	C2	comments
va	va	neither	1*	n/a	n/a	0	0	0	n/a	0	n/a	
amm a	amm a	neither	n/a	1*	n/a	0	0	0	n/a	0	n/a	
vali	vali	neither	n/a	1*	n/a	0	0	0	n/a	0	n/a	
balk e	balk e	neither	0	0	1*	0	0	0	n/a	0	n/a	
beja sh	beja sh	neither	0	0	1*	0	0	0	n/a	0	n/a	elicited only in episodic ex. in A3
ya	ya	neither	0	0	n/a	?	?	?	1*	0	?	? in C2 because the context is exclusive (FC reading available)
ya ... ya	ya ... ya	neither	0	0	n/a	1*	1*	1*	0	0	1*	elicited in B2-1.2 in Q1 but rejected in Q2, inclusive reading might depend on the syntactic position of the first “ya”
ya ... va ya	ya ... va ya	neither	0	0	n/a	1*	?	1	0	0	1	
va ya	va ya	neither	0	0	n/a	?	?	1	n/a	0	n/a	this form was not elicited in Q1
na ... na	na ... na	neither	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	n/a	1*	n/a	
∅	juxtaposition	neither	?	1	1*	?	0	n/a	n/a	0	n/a	ok in A2 only in the episodic context

## 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. The juxtaposition case is listed as the  $\emptyset$  item.

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

Note:

- For connectives elicited in A3 (i.e. the *sondern*-type connective), we have “neither” as the value since the negation only shows up in the first conjunct and not in the second.

### 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.