

Questionnaire for connectives

LiSU team

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Language: Greek

Consultant: Native language is Greek. Standard Modern Greek. Grew up in Crete, but did not grow up speaking the Crete dialect although can understand it.

Age: mid 20s

Contexts

A. Conjunctive contexts

A1. No contrast

- 1) *Context (stative)*: Susie works as a doctor in a hospital. In her spare time, she gives classes at the local college.

Target sentences:

Susie is a doctor and she is a teacher.

*I Susie einai giatros **kai** einai daskala*

Det Susie is doctor conj is teacher

Susie is a doctor; she is a teacher. (check of whether juxtaposition is possible)

I Susie einai giatros ; einai daskala.

Det Susie is doctor is teacher

- Comment: it's possible (but it's not totally ok, the subject of 2nd sentence could be understood as another person)
 - Needs list-like intonation
- 2) *Context (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.

Target sentences:

Paul is watching TV and he is ironing his shirts.

*O Paul vlepi tileorasi **kai** sideroni ta pukamisa tu.*

Det Paul watch TV conj iron Det shirt his

Paul is watching TV; he is ironing his shirts. (juxtaposition)

O Paul vlepi tileorasi; sideroni ta pukamisa tu.

Det Paul watch TV iron Det shirt his

A2. Contrast

- 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:

Target sentence: Susie is a doctor but she is poor.

*I Susie einai giatros **alla/ omos** einai ftohi.*

Det Susie is doctor disj is poor

- 4) *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.

Target sentence: Jen bought ice cream but she bought it for a stranger.

*I Jen agorase pagoto, **alla/omos** to agorase gia enan agnosto.*

Det Jen bought ice.cream, disj it bought for a stranger

A3. Contrast - negated conjunct

- 5) *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!

Target sentence: Paul is not a doctor but he is a receptionist.

*O Paul dhen einai giatros, **alla/*omos** (einai) receptionist.*

Det Paul Neg is doctor, but (is) receptionist

O Paul dhen einai giatros, einai receptionist.

Det Paul Neg is doctor, is receptionist

- 6) *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.

Target sentence: Jen didn't buy ice cream but she bought chocolate.

*I Jen dhen agorase pagoto, **alla/ omos** agorase sokolata.*

Det Jen neg bought ice.cream but bought chocolate

B. Disjunctive contexts

B1. With speaker knowledge about which clause is true

- 7) *Context:* On a multiple choice maths test, it asks "5x5" and lists two options (A) 24 and (B) 25. The teacher says to the student:

Target sentence: (Either) the answer to the question is A or the answer to the question is B.

I apandisi stin erotisi einai A 'i i apandisi stin erotisi einai B.

the answer of.det question is A conj the answer of.det question is B

Ite i apandisi stin erotisi einai A ite i apandisi stin erotisi einai B.

either the answer of.det question is A or the answer of.det question is B

- Comment: like 'either...or...' in English

- 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:

Target sentence: (Either) Paul is a doctor or John is a doctor.

Ite o Paul einai giatros ite o John einai giatros
either det Paul is doctor or det John is doctor

O Paul einai giatros 'i o John einai giatros
det Paul is doctor or det John is doctor

B2. Without speaker knowledge about which clause is true

B2-1. Within a statement

B2-1.1 exclusive/unspecified

- 9) *Context:* You have lost your phone. You remember it at your work office desk before cycling home.

Target sentence: I left my phone at work or I dropped it on my way home.

Afis-a to kinito mu stin dhulia 'i mu epese ston dromo gia to spiti.
left-1sg det phone 1sg.gen at.det work or 1sg.gen fell to.det road
for det home

Ite afis-a to kinito mu stin dhulia ite mu epese ston dromo gia to spiti.
either left-1sg det phone 1sg.gen at.det work or 1sg.gen fell to.det
road for det home

- 10) *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.

Target sentence: John is a doctor or he is a writer.

O John einai giatros 'i (einai) singrafeas.
det John is doctor or (is) writer

*ite ite

- Comment: if we use 'ite' here, it will cancel the implicature that John is both

B2-1.2 inclusive

- 11) 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:

Target sentence: John is a doctor or he is a writer (maybe both).

O John einai giatros 'i (einai) singrafeas
det John is doctor or (is) writer

*ite ite

B2-2. Within a question

- 12) Context: You come home from work and realise that you have lost your phone. You tell your friend, whom you called from your office right before you left work. Your friend asks you:

Target sentence: Did you leave your phone at work or did you leave it on the bus?

Afis-es to kinito su stin dhulia 'i to afis-es sto leoforio?
left-2sg det phone 2sg.gen at.det work or det left-2sg on.det bus

*ite ... ite

- 13) Context: You really want a particular brand of sauce for something you plan on cooking later, but you're not sure which supermarket would sell it. You ask your housemate:

Target sentence: Would Shop A sell this brand or would Shop B sell this brand?

Tha puluse to Katastima A aftin tin marka 'i tha puluse to katastima B aftin tin marka?

Would sell det shop A this det brand or would sell det shop B this det brand?

C. Others

C1. Both clauses are false

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

Target sentence: Paul is neither a doctor nor is he a nurse.

*O Paul **dhen** einai (ute) giatros, **ute** (einai) nosokomos.*
det Paul neg is (UTE) doctor UTE (is) nurse

dhen is obligatory if *ute* is dropped in the first conjunct.

**O Paul einai ute giatros, ute nosokomos.*

*O Paul **ute** einai giatros, **ute** nosokomos.*

det Paul UTE is doctor UTE nurse

- Comment: if we drop 'dhen', the word order will change

*O Paul **dhen** einai **ute** giatros, **dhen** einai **ute** nosokomos.*
det Paul neg is UTE doctor neg is UTE nurse

15) *Context (episodic)*: Mike's mother told him to go to the supermarket to buy some ice cream for his sister, but Mike stole it instead and ate it himself.

Target sentence: Mike didn't buy ice cream nor did he give it to his sister.

*O Mike **ute** agorase pagoto **ute** to edose stin aderfi tu.*
det Mike UTE bought ice.cream UTE det gave to sister his

*O Mike **dhen** agorase pagoto **ute** to edose stin aderfi tu.*
det Mike neg bought ice.cream UTE det gave to sister his

C2. Free choice

16) *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.

Target sentence: Paul can eat a cupcake or he can eat a cookie.

O *Paul bori na fai **ite** ena cupcake **ite** ena biskoto.*
det Paul can subj.C eat either a cupcake or a cookie

O *Paul bori na fai ena cupcake 'i (bori na fai) ena biskoto.*
det Paul can subj.C eat a cupcake or (can subj.C eat) a cookie

Intonation determines whether the sentence has an exclusivity inference. Without a stress on 'i, the particle effectively functions as a conjunction.

C3. Disjunction under negation

– can be skipped if 14)/15) elicit explicit/separate negation (rather than a dedicated connective)

17) *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.)

Context	Coordinator(s) elicited
A1 Conjunctive, no contrast	kai
A2 Conjunctive, contrast	alla omos
A3 Conjunctive, contrast, negated conjunct	alla omos
B1 Disjunctive, with speaker knowledge	'i ite ... ite ... <i>[corresponds to 'either or' in English]</i>
B2-1.1 Disjunctive w/o speaker knowledge, statement, exclusive/unspecified	'i ite ... ite ...
B2-1.2 Disjunctive w/o speaker knowledge, statement, inclusive	'i
B2-2 Disjunctive w/o speaker knowledge, question	'i
C1 both clauses false	dhen ... (ute) ute ... <i>[dhen is obligatory if ute is dropped in the first conjunct.]</i> ute ... ute dhen ute dhen ... ute ... <i>['dhn' = negation]</i>
C2 free choice	ite ... ite ... 'i <i>[Without a stress on 'i, the particle effectively functions as a conjunction.]</i>
C3 negation	<i>not elicited</i>