

Questionnaire for connectives

LiSU team

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Language: Modern Hebrew

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Contexts

A. Conjunctive contexts

A1. No contrast

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>Suzi</i>	<i>hi</i>	<i>rof?a</i>	<i>ve-hi</i>	<i>mora.</i>
S.	she	doctor.F	CONN -she	teacher.F

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

? *Suzi hi rof?a hi mora.*

Comment: Not so great (same as in English)

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.

<i>Pol cofe</i>	<i>b-a-televizia</i>	<i>ve(-hu)</i>
Pn watch.prs.sg.m	in-def-television	CONN -he

megahec et ha-xulc-ot šel-o.
 iron.prs.sg.m acc def-shirt-pl poss.3sg.m

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

Comment: Same as in English (kind of weird, but not quite as weird as the above one because it doesn't sound contradictory)

A2. Contrast

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.

Suzi hi rofʔa aval hi ani-a.
 S. she doctor.f **CONN** she poor-sg.f

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.

Jen kanta glida aval hi kanta ot-a bišvil mišehu axer.
 J. buy.pst.3sg.f ice.cream **CONN** she buy.pst.3sg.f acc-3sg.f for someone else

A3. Contrast - negated conjunct

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.

Pol hu lo rofe ela pkid kabala.
 P. he neg doctor **CONN** clerk.of reception

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.

Jen lo kanta glida ela šokolad.
J. neg buy.pst.3sg.f ice.cream **CONN** chocolate

Comment: the *ela* reading is slightly harder to get when full clauses are conjoined (in English)

Consultant's comment: with *ela* conjoining full clauses is not so good in this context

B. Disjunctive contexts

B1. With speaker knowledge about which clause is true

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.

Ha-tšuva hi (o) alef o bet
def-answer she **CONN** A **CONN** B

O *še-ha-tšuva hi alef o še-hi bet*
CONN comp-def-answer she A **CONN** comp-she B

Consultant's comment: Here, both *o*'s are required

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.

O *še-pol hu rofe o še-jon hu rofe*
CONN comp-Paul he doctor **CONN** comp-pn he doctor

(*Pol hu rofe o jon hu rofe*)

P. he doctor **CONN** J. he doctor

Consultant's comment: probably wouldn't choose this one (above) [but volunteered]

O *pol* **o** *jon* *hu rofe*
CONN P. **CONN** J. he doctor

B2. Without speaker knowledge about which clause is true

B2-1. Within a statement

B2-1.1 exclusive/unspecified

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.

O *še-hiš?arti* *et* *ha-telefon* *šel-i* *b-a-avoda*
CONN comp-leave.pst.1sg acc def-telephone poss-1sg in-def-work
o *še-hu* *nafal* *l-i* *b-a-derex* *ha-bayt-a*.
CONN comp-he fall.pst.3sg.m dat-1sg in-def-way def-house-allative

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 *še-jon* *rofe* **o** *še-hu sofer*.
CONN comp-J. doctor **CONN** comp-he writer

Jon *hu* **o** *rofe* **o** *sofer*.
J. he **CONN** doctor **CONN** writer

B2-1.2 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:

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

Jon hu rofe o sofer (ulay šney-hem)
J. he doctor **CONN** writer (maybe two.of-3pl.m)

B2-2. Within a question

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?

Hiš?arta et ha-telefon šel-xa b-a-avoda
leave-pst.2sg.m acc def-telephone poss-2sg.m in-def-work
o (še-)hiš?arta ot-o b-a-otobus?
CONN (comp-)leave-pst.2sg.m acc-3sg.m in-def-bus

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?

Xanut alef moxeret et ha-mutag ha-ze o xanut bet
shop A sell.prs.sg.f acc def-brand def-this **CONN** shop B
moxeret et ha-mutag ha-ze?
sell.prs.sg.f acc def-brand def-this

C. Others

C1. Both clauses are false

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.

Pol hu lo rofe ve-lo ax.
P. he neg doctor **CONN**-neg nurse

Pol hu lo rofe o ax.
 P. he neg doctor **CONN** nurse

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.

Mayk lo kana glida ve-lo natan ot-a
 M. neg buy.pst.3sg.m ice.cream **CONN**-neg give.pst.3sg.m acc-3sg.f
 le-axot-o.
 to-sister-3sg.m

Comment: variant with o not very good in this context

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.

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

Pol yaxol leʔexol (o) kapkeyk o ugiya.
 P. can.prs.3sg.m eat.inf **CONN** cupcake **CONN** cookie

Pol yaxol leʔexol kapkeyk o še-hu yaxol leʔexol ugiya.
 P. can.prs.3sg.m eat.inf cupcake **CONN** comp-he can.prs.3sg.m eat.inf cookie

Consultant's comments:

- the complementiser is needed in the second example
- no second "o še-" in the clausal disjunction (this would block the FC reading)

C3. Disjunction under negation

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

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.)

Not elicited

Context	Coordinator(s) elicited
A1 Conjunctive, no contrast	ve-
A2 Conjunctive, contrast	aval
A3 Conjunctive, contrast, negated conjunct	ela
B1 Disjunctive, with speaker knowledge	(o) ... o ... o ... o ...
B2-1.1 Disjunctive w/o speaker knowledge, statement, exclusive/unspecified	o ... o ...
B2-1.2 Disjunctive w/o speaker knowledge, statement, inclusive	o
B2-2 Disjunctive w/o speaker knowledge, question	o
C1 both clauses false	lo ... ve-lo lo... o [“lo” = negation]
C2 free choice	(o) ... o ... o
C3 negation	<i>not elicited</i>