

Questionnaire for connectives

LiSU team

Follow-up questionnaire Q2

Language: Modern Hebrew

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Inventory of connectives elicited in Q1

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>

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!)

- 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:

Suzi hi rof?a ve-hi mora.

S. she doctor.F **CONN**-she teacher.F

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:

Suzi hi rof?a vehi mora.

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:

Suzi hi rof?a vehi mora.

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:

Suzi hi rof?a vehi mora.

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

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

- skipped for Hebrew:

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)

Suzi hi rof?a, hi ani-a.

S. she doctor.f she poor-sg.f

Comment: sounds a bit weird

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:

*Suzi hi rof?a **aval** hi ani-a.*

S. she doctor.f **CONN** she poor-sg.f

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:

*Suzi hi rof?a **aval** hi ania.*

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:

*Suzi hi rof?a **aval** hi ania.*

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:

*Suzi hi rof?a **aval** hi ania.*

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 kanta glida, hi kanta ot-a bišvil mišehu axer.

J. buy.pst.3sg.f ice.cream she buy.pst.3sg.f acc-3sg.f for someone else

Comment: would be ok as a clarification

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 Hebrew

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)

Pol hu lo rofe, hu pkid kabala.

P. he neg doctor he clerk.of reception

Comment: That's ok, but the pronoun has to be there.

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 lo kanta glida hi kanta šokolad.

J. neg buy.pst.3sg.f ice.cream buy.pst.3sg.f chocolate

Comment: s.a.

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).

- for Hebrew:

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:

Suzi hi rof?a ela (hi) mora.

S. she doctor.F **CONN** she teacher.F

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:

*Suzi hi rof?a **ela** hi ani-a.*

S. she doctor.f **CONN** she poor-sg.f

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:

*Pol hu rofe **ela** jon hu rofe*

Paul he doctor **CONN** John he doctor.

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.

*Jon hu rofe **ela** (hu) sofer.*

John he doctor **CONN** he writer.

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:

*Jon hu rofe **ela** (hu) sofer (ulay šney-hem)*

J. he doctor **CONN** he writer (maybe two.of-3pl.m)

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.

*Pol hu lo rofe **ela** ax.*

P. he neg doctor he nurse

Comment: well-formed but false in the context

*Pol hu rofe **ela** ax.*

P. he doctor he nurse

Comment: generally bad without negation in the first conjunct

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)

še-pol hu rofe še-jon hu rofe

comp-Paul he doctor comp-john he doctor

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:

***O** še-pol hu rofe **o** še-jon hu rofe*

CONN comp-Paul he doctor **CONN** comp-john he doctor

Comment: means that only one of them is a doctor

Pol hu rofe o jon hu rofe

Comment:

- grammatical, but a little weird
- might be good in certain contexts, but it would have the same meaning as the above sentence

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:

O še-pol hu rofe o še-jon hu rofe

Pol hu rofe o jon hu rofe

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:

O še-pol hu rofe o še-jon hu rofe

Comment: this is ok

?/# *Pol hu rofe o jon hu rofe*

Comment: a bit awkward (conjoining two clauses w/o the complementizer), corrected to:

O Pol o Jon hu rofe.

Comment: the following structure is also not good (not quite clear about grammaticality):

? *Pol hu rofe o še-jon hu rofe*

Comment: single 'o' seems unnatural in this example, not quite clear why, might be because of the copular/pronoun

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:

O še-pol hu rofe **o** še-jon hu rofe

Comment (example above): strongly exclusive interpretation

O še-pol hu rofe **o** še-jon hu rofe (ulay šney-hem)

Comment (example above): this sounds a bit like you're changing your mind (afterthought)

Pol hu rofe **o** jon hu rofe

Comment: the following sounds better, but not sure:

Pol hu rofe **o** jon hu rofe (ulay šney-hem)

The following was volunteered as the best version for this example (better with 'o ... o' than only one 'o'):

O Pol **o** Jon hu rofe (ulay šney-hem)

Comment: The following can be inclusive (difference might be about the tense/predicate type):

Pol **o** jon yavou
P. conn J. fut.come

Comment: with 'o ... o' it would more likely be interpreted exclusively (but the difference between single 'o' and 'o ... o' might also be related to number marking)

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:

Ō še-pol hu rofe o še-jon hu rofe

Pol hu rofe o jon hu rofe

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)

še-hiš?arti et ha-telefon šel-i b-a-avoda ...

comp-leave.pst.1sg acc def-telephone poss-1sg in-def-work

še-hu nafal l-i b-a-derex ha-bayt-a.

comp-he fall.pst.3sg.m dat-1sg in-def-way def-house-allative

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)

* *še-jon rofe, še-hu sofer.*

comp-J. doctor comp-he writer

Jon hu rofe hu sofer.

J.he doctor he writer

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)

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

Comment: this is ok

O (še-)hiš?arta et ha-telefon šelxa baavoda **o** (še-)hiš?arta oto baotobus?

Comment: this is not good in a 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:

(juxtaposition)

Pol hu lo rofe, hu lo ax.
P. he neg doctor, he neg nurse

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:

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

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:

Pol hu lo rofe ve-lo ax.

P. he neg doctor **CONN**-neg nurse

Comment: could be ok if it means that he's sth. in between, but not in a conjunctive reading

Pol hu lo rofe o ax.

P. he neg doctor **CONN** nurse

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:

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

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:

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

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:

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

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.

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

Comment: this is ok

O še-Pol yaxol leʔexol kapkeyk o še-hu yaxol leʔexol ugiya.

Comment:

- *this doesn't have the FC reading*
- means you're not sure which one he is allowed to eat

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	comment
ve	ve	neither	1*	n/a	n/a	0	0	0	n/a	0	n/a	
ve	lo ... ve-lo	below	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	n/a	1*	n/a	lo = negation
aval	aval	neither	n/a	1*	n/a	0	0	0	n/a	0	n/a	lo = negation
ela	ela	neither	0	0	1*	0	0	0	n/a	0	n/a	
o	o	neither	0	0	n/a	1*	?	1*	1*	0	1*	use might be structurally restricted
o ... o	o ... o	neither	0	0	n/a	1*	1*	?	0	0	0	C2 (free choice) possible only with NP disjunction
o	lo ... o	above	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	n/a	1*	n/a	lo = negation
∅	juxtaposition	neither	0	0	1	0	0	n/a	n/a	0	n/a	

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.