

Questionnaire for connectives

LiSU team

Follow-up questionnaire Q2

Language: Igbo

Date: 02/02/2024

Inventory of connectives elicited in Q1

Context	Coordinator(s) elicited
A1 Conjunctive, no contrast	<i>-kwa</i> <i>na</i> [only NP conjunction?]
A2 Conjunctive, contrast	<i>mana</i>
A3 Conjunctive, contrast, negated conjunct	<i>mana</i>
B1 Disjunctive, with speaker knowledge	<i>nwere ike ... ma o bu</i> [<i>nwere ike</i> = possibility, <i>ma</i> = additive?]
B2-1.1 Disjunctive w/o speaker knowledge, statement, exclusive/unspecified	<i>nwere ike ... ma o bu</i>
B2-1.2 Disjunctive w/o speaker knowledge, statement, inclusive	<i>nwere ike ... nwere ike ... ma o bu</i>
B2-2 Disjunctive w/o speaker knowledge, question	<i>ka o bu</i>
C1 both clauses false	<i>-ghi ... -ghi-kwa</i> [<i>ghi</i> = negation]
C2 free choice	<i>nwere ike ... ma o bu</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 bu dokita, o bu onyenkuzi
Susie cop doctor, 3sg cop teacher

*Susie bu dokita **na** o bu onyenkuzi

*Susie bu dokita **ma** o bu onyenkuzi

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 bu dokita o bu-**kwa** onyenkuzi

??Susie bu dokita **na** onyenkuzi

Comment: would prefer to have the verb in the second conjunct, also: na is not good here

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 bu dokita o bu-**kwa** onyenkuzi

Susie **nwere ike** ibu dokita **ma o bu** onyenkuzi.

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 bu dokita o bu-**kwa** onyenkuzi

#Susie bu dokita **na** onyenkuzi

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 bu dokita o bu-**kwa** onyenkuzi

#Susie bu dokita **na** onyenkuzi

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.

Paul na-ene TV na-edede akwa.

Comment: ok, this works

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

=> skipped for Igbo

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 na-ene TV na-edede-**kwa** akwa

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 na-ene TV na-edekwa akwa

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 na-ene TV na-edekwa akwa

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 na-ene TV na-edekwa akwa

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 bu dokita, o nwe-ghi ego
S cop doctor she have-neg money

Comments:

- "mana" should be added, but the above could be uttered in some situations
- "ma" is not possible here

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 bu dokita **mana** o nwe-ghi ego

Comment: "ma o bu" also wouldn't work here

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 bu dokita **mana** o nwe-ghi ego

corrected to:

Susie **nwere ike** buru dokita **ma o (nwere ike)** buru na o nwe-ghi ego

Comment: "o" in "ma o" refers to Susie here

*Susie **nwere ike** buru dokita **ma o bu (nwere ike)** buru na o nwe-ghi ego

Comment [AM]: not quite clear why this is not good

additional examples (unconnected to the context above):

Susie bu-bu dokita

Susie cop-prior

Susie amaghi **ma** [**o bu** ya ga-aga ulo taa] .
Susie know.NEG MA it is her fut-go house today

Susie amaghi **maobu** ya ga-aga ulo taa

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 bu dokita **mana** o nwe-ghi ego

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 bu dokita **mana** o nwe-ghi ego

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.

*Jen zu-ru ice cream, o zu-nye-re S
Jen buy-rV ice cream she buy-give-rV S

corrected to:

Jen zu-ru ice cream nye S
Jen buy-rV ice cream give S

Jen zu-ru ice cream, o nye-re ya S
Jen buy-rV ice cream, ... he give-rV it S

Jen zu-nye-re S ice cream.
Jen buy-give-rV S ice cream

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 Igbo

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 abu-ghi dokita, o bu receptionist.

Paul cop-neg doctor he cop receptionist

Comment: That's okay

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.

J azu-ghi ice cream o zu-ru chocolate.

J buy-neg ice-cream she buy-rV chocolate

Comment: That works, too

*J azu-ghi ice cream **mana** chocolate.

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 Igbo

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:

*O **nwe-re ike** bu-ru na Paul bu dokita **ma o bu** John bu dokita.

corrected to:

O **nwe-re ike** bu-ru na Paul bu dokita **ma o bu** buru na John bu dokita.

*O **nwe-re ike** bu-ru na Paul bu dokita buru na John bu dokita.

It have-rv strength cop-rv that Paul cop doctor John cop doctor

O **nwe-re ike** bu-ru na Paul bu dokita **ma** John buru-kwa dokita.

Comment [AM]: This might mean something different (maybe double-check)

*O bu-ru na Paul bu dokita John buru na dokita.

*O bu-ru na Paul bu dokita **ma o bu** John bu dokita.

*Paul bu dokita **ma o bu** John bu dokita.

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 **nwe-re ike** bu-ru na Paul bu dokita **ma o bu** buru na John bu dokita.

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 **nwe-re ike** bu-ru na Paul bu dokita **ma o bu** buru na John bu dokita.

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 **nwe-re ike** bu-ru na Paul bu dokita **ma o bu** buru na John bu dokita.

Comment: ok, that works

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:

O **nwe-re ike** bu-ru na Paul bu dokita **ma o bu** buru na John bu dokita.

Comment: that's fine

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:

O **nwe-re ike** bu-ru na Paul bu dokita **ma o bu** buru na John bu dokita.

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 the case in Igbo

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:

O **nwe-re ike** bu-ru na m hapu-ru fonu m na oru **ma o bu** na m tufu-ru ya n' uzo

Comment: that's ok

*O **nwe-re ike** bu-ru na m hapu-ru fonu m na oru na m tufu-ru ya n' uzo

It have-rv strength that I leave-rv phone my at work that i lose-rV at way

*O **nwe-re ike** bu-ru na m hapu-ru fonu m na oru **nwere ike** na m tufu-ru ya n' uzo

*O bu-ru na m hapu-ru fonu m na oru **ma o bu** na m tufu-ru ya n' uzo

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 **nwe-re ike** bu-ru dokita, o **nwe-re ike** bu-ru ode akwukwo.

John have-rv strength cop-rv doctor he have-rv strength cop-rv write book

Comment: This is fine, but would be better with an additive.

John **nwe-re ike** bu-ru dokita **ma o bu** bu-ru ode akwukwo.

Comment: that's good

*John **nwe-re ike** bu-ru dokita, o bu-ru ode akwukwo.

*John bu-ru dokita, o **nwe-re ike** bu-ru ode akwukwo.

*John bu-ru dokita, o bu-ru ode akwukwo.

#John bu dokita, o bu-kwa ode akwukwo.

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:

I hapu-ru fonu gi n' oru **ka o bu** na i hapu-ru ya n'ime ugbo?

you.Q leave-rv phone your prep-work KA O BU that you.Q leave-rv it P-inside vehicle

Comment that's fine

*I hapu-ru fonu gi n' oru **ma o bu** na i hapu-ru ya n'ime ugbo?

I **nwe-re ike** ihapu fonu gi n' oru **ka o bu** na i hapu-ru ya n'ime ugbo?

Comment:

- means something like "Is it possible that you leave your phone at work..." "
(slightly different meaning)
- "nwere ike" could be repeated in the second clause, doesn't seem to change the meaning

*I **nwe-re ike** ihapu fonu gi n' oru **ma o bu** na i hapu-ru ya n'ime ugbo?

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 abu-**ghi** dokita, o bu-**ghi** nursi

Paul cop-neg doctor he cop-neg nurse

Comment: a bit weird, sounds a bit like a puzzle or a riddle

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 abu-**ghi** dokita, o bu-**ghi-kwa** nursi
Paul cop-neg doctor he cop-neg-KWA 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:

Paul abu-**ghi** dokita, o bu-**ghi-kwa** nursi

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 abu-**ghi** dokita, o bu-**ghi-kwa** nursi

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 abu-**ghi** dokita, o bu-**ghi-kwa** nursi

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 abu-**ghi** dokita, o bu-**ghi-kwa** nursi

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 **nwe-re ike** i-ri cupcake **ma o bu** o rie cookie

Paul have-rV strength eat cupcake MA O BU he eat cookie

Comment: that's ok

Paul **nwe-re ike** i-ri cupcake, o **nwe-re ike** rie cookie

Comment: not bad, but would be better with additive "kwa"

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	notes
-kwa	-kwa	neither	1*	N/A	N/A	0	0	0	N/A	0	N/A	
na	na	neither	1*	N/A	N/A	0	N/A	0	N/A	0	N/A	only NP conjunction
mana	mana	neither	N/A	1*	1*	0	0	0	N/A	0	N/A	cannot be used for NP conjunction
nwere ike ... ma o bu	nwere ike ... ma o bu	neither	0	0	N/A	1*	1*	1	0	0	1*	nwere ike = possibility; another version w/o “o bu” volunteered in Q2 (exs. 3a, 8); interpretation not quite clear
nwere ike ... ma o bu	nwere ike ... nwere ike ... ma o bu	neither	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	1*	N/A	N/A	N/A	elicited in an inclusive context containing the continuation “... or both”
ka o bu	ka o bu	neither	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	1*	N/A	N/A	version with “nwere ike” tested in B2-2: doesn’t seem to have an alternative question interpretation
-kwa	-ghi ... -ghi-kwa	below	0	0	N/A	0	0	0	N/A	1*	N/A	ghi = negation
∅	juxtaposition	neither	1	?	1	0	1	N/A	N/A	?	1	elicited only in the episodic context in A1; in B2-1.1 and C2 ok with the modal (nwere ike) in both disjuncts

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.