

Questionnaire for connectives

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Language: Japanese

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 sentence:

Susie is a doctor and she is a teacher.

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

1. Suzi-wa isya-**de** kanojo-wa sensee-demoaru

Suzi-Top doctor-**Cop.Conj** she-Top teacher-Cop.Additive

2. Suzi-wa isya-de {**katsu/mata/soshite/sorekara**} sensee-demoaru

Suzi-Top doctor-Cop.Conj Connective teacher-Cop.Additive

Comment: (1) is most natural option, (2) the additive particle “mo” similar to English as “too”. All the connectives in (2) are possible.

- 2) *Context (episodic)*: 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 sentence:

Paul is watching TV and he is ironing his shirts.

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

1. Poru-wa terebi-o mi-**te**, syatsu-ni airon-o kaketa.

Paul-Top TV-Acc see-**Conj** shirt-Dat iron-Acc put.on

2. Poru-wa terebi-o mi-**te**, {**katsu/mata/#soshite/#sorekara**} syatsu-ni airon-o kaketa.

Paul-Top TV-Acc see-Conj shirt-Dat iron-Acc put.on

(2) suggests that he has finished watching TV. not simultaneous

- 2'. Poru-wa terebi-o mi-{**nagara/tsutsu**} syatsu-ni airon-o kaket-eiru.

Paul-Top TV-acc see-while shirt-Dat iron-Acc put.on-Asp

2''. Poru-wa terebi-o mi-teiru-**shi** {**#katsu/mata/#soshite/#sorekara**} syatsu-ni airon-o kaket-eiru.

Paul-Top TV-acc see-Asp-**Conj** __ shirt-Dat iron-Acc put.on-Asp

(2') is subordination rather than coordination

(2'') -*shi* a conjugation in conjunctive contexts. If you don't have it, you'd just have a full stop and start the second conjunct.

It is an extra-conjuncting marking on the first conjunct.

A2. Contrast

- 3) *Context (stative)*: Susie works as a doctor. She mainly treats patients who cannot pay for their treatment, so Susie earns much less money than other doctors.

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

Suzi-wa isya-da-**ga** kanojo-wa binboo-da.
Sizi-Top doctor-Cop-but she-Top poor-Cop

#-shi, fine if just listing information. "She is a doctor and she is poor" (naively).
Infelicitous if there is an expectation that's been violated

- de (da-te). Most neutral wrt. connection between conjuncts -

Ga has the implication that there is a contrast:

- Ga/shi/te are the verbal markings/engings. These are compulsory

Suzi-wa isya-da-**ga** ({**shikashi/tokoroga/demo**}) kanojo-wa binboo-da.
Sizi-Top doctor-Cop-but **however** she-Top poor-Cop

- These extra coordinators are optional. Reasons for use - who knows.
- Demo, less formal. Tokoroga, more formal. Register isn't the only distinguishing factor

- 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.

Jen-wa ais-u-o katta-**ga** ({**shikashi/tokoroga/demo**}) kanojo-wa sore-o shiranai hito-ni age-ta.

Jen-Top ice.cream-Acc bought-**GA** however she-Top it-Acc unknown person-Dat give-Past

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.

Poru-wa isya-de-wa-nai-**ga** ({**shikashi/tokoroga/demo**}) kare-wa uketsuke-da.
Paul-Top doctor-Cop-Top-Neg-**GA** ____ he-Top reception-Cop.

- Paul's not being a doctor doesn't imply/entail that he is a receptionist. Because of this, it wouldn't be good to use the coordinators
- 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.

Jen-wa aisu-o kaw-ana-katta-**ga** ({shikashi/tokoroga/demo}) kanojo-wa tyoko-o kat-ta.

Jen-Top ice-Acc buy-Neg-Past-**GA** ____ she-Top chocolate-Acc buy-Past.

General pattern:

-(ga/shi/te) + (shikashi/tokoroga/demo) -> these act to mark a contrast between proposition 1 and 2

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 the student: [exclusive]

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

Mondai-no kotae-wa A *(**ka**) (**matawa**) sono kotae-wa B(-ka)-da
Question-Gen answer-Top A **KA or** its answer-Top B-KA-Cop

- 8) *Context:* You know that Paul is a doctor, and that John used to be a doctor but is not anymore. (additional background that makes the target pragmatically felicitous) Your friend doesn't know that John is not a doctor anymore, and you are not allowed to tell her. But you really want to send her to one of your doctor friends to do a health check-up, so you tell her:

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.

Poru-ga isya-**ka** (**matawa**) John-ga isya(-ka)-da.
Paul-Nom doctor-**KA or** John-Nom doctor-KA-Cop

B2. Without speaker knowledge about which clause is true

B2-1. Within a statement

9) *Context:* 0

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

Watashi-wa shigotoba-ni denwa-o wasureta-**ka** (matawa) kaeru tochuu-de *pro* otoshita.

I-Top work.place-Dat phone-Acc forgot-KA or return middle-Loc pro dropped

10) *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.

Target Sentence: John is a doctor or he is a writer now.

Jon-wa ima isya-**ka** (matawa) sakka(-ka)-da.

John-Top now doctor-**KA** or writer(-KA)-Cop

11) John used to be a doctor and a professional writer, but he might have quit one of the professions. You're not sure though, he might be a doctor now, he might be a writer, he might also be both. Your friend asks you what John does for a living, you say:

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

B2-2. Within a question

12) *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:

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

A) Denwa-wa shigotoba-ni wasureta-no, (**soretomo**) basu-ni wasureta-no? phone-Top work.place-Dat forgot-Q, **or** bus-Dat forgot-Q

- *No* and *ka* are both Q particles

B) Denwa-wa shigotoba-ni wasure-mashita-ka, (soretomo) basu-ni wasure-mashita-ka?
phone-Top work.place-Dat forget-pol.Past-Q or bus-Dat forget-pol.Past-Q

- Difference is in politeness. A) is casual, B) is polite.

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?

A) Mise A-ga kono burando-o oiteru-**no** (**soretomo**) Mise B-ga kono burando-o oiteru-no

Shop A-Nom this brand-Acc deal.with-**Q** or shop B-Nom this brand-Acc deal.with-Q [CASUAL]

B) Mise A-ga kono burando-o oite-imasu-**ka** (**soretomo**) Mise B-ga kono burando-o oite-imasu-ka

Shop A-Nom this brand-Acc deal.with-**Pol-Q** or shop B-Nom this brand-Acc deal.with-Pol-Q [FORMAL]

(Does Shop A have this brand or does Shop B have this brand?) -> exclusive expectation as some sort of implicature

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.

Poru-wa isya-de-mo nai-**shi** ({mata/sorekara/soshite}) kangoshi-de-mo nai.

Paul-Top doctor-Cop-Additive Neg-**SHI** coordinator nurse-Cop-Additive Neg

Poru-wa isya-de-wa nai-**shi** ({mata/sorekara/soshite}) kangoshi-wa-mo nai.

Paul-Top doctor-Cop-Top Neg-**SHI** coordinator nurse-Cop-Top Neg

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.

Maiku-wa aisu-o kawa-nakatta-**shi** ({mata/??sorekara/soshite}) imooto-ni age-nakatta.

Mike-Top ice-Acc buy-Neg.Past-**SHI** coordinator younger.sister-Dat give-Neg.Past

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.

Poru-wa kappukeki-o tabete-mo ii-**shi** ({mata/soshite}) kukkii-o tabete-mo ii.

Paul-Top cupcake-Acc eat-Additive good-SHI coordinator cookie-Acc eat-Additive good.

???Poru-wa kappukeki-o tabete-mo ii-**ka** kukkii-o tabete-mo ii.

- He's allowed to eat one of them, I don't know which
- He doesn't have a choice as to which one he can have

C3. Negative context

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 1: It's not the case that Susie is a doctor or that Susie is a runner.

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.)

Suzi-wa isya-de-**mo** ranna de-**mo** nai.
Susie-Top doctor-Cop-additive runner Cop-additive Neg

- Impossible to have ka under negation to express something like that. PPI
- Mo is some sort of counterpart of ka. Mo conjunctive (and), ka disjunctive (or)