

Questionnaire for connectives

LiSU team

Follow-up questionnaire Q2

Language: Mandarin Chinese

Inventory of connectives elicited in Q1

Context	Coordinator(s) elicited
A1 Conjunctive, no contrast	<i>erqie + hai</i> ('also') <i>bingqie + hai</i> "juxtaposition": $\emptyset + hai$ "juxtaposition": $\emptyset + ye$ <i>bingqie + ye</i> <i>(bingqie) yucitongshi + hai/ye</i> <i>[yucitongshi ~ 'simultaneously', elicited in the eventive example]</i>
A2 Conjunctive, contrast	<i>danshi</i> (stative example) <i>buguo</i> (eventive example)
A3 Conjunctive, contrast, negated conjunct	<i>qishi</i> ('actually') <i>er</i> <i>?danshi/buguo</i> (eventive example) ¹ <i>?ran'er</i> <i>?keshi</i>
B1 Disjunctive, with speaker knowledge	<i>yaome - P, yaome-Q</i> <i>huo(zhe)</i>
B2-1.1 Disjunctive w/o speaker knowledge, statement, exclusive/unspecified	<i>yaome - P, yaome-Q</i> <i>huozhe</i>
B2-1.1 Disjunctive w/o speaker knowledge, statement, inclusive	<i># yaome - P, yaome-Q</i> <i>huozhe</i>

¹ dispreferred to a non-clausal construction with 'er' because the sentences don't fully convey the contrast intended in the stimuli

B2-2 Disjunctive w/o speaker knowledge, question	<i>haishi</i> <i>#huozhe</i> ²
C1 both clauses false	<i>bu ... ye ... bu</i> (stative ex.) [bu = NEG, ye ~ 'also'] <i>mei ... ye ... mei</i> (eventive ex.) [mei = NEG, ye ~ 'also']
C2 free choice	<i>huozhe</i> / <i>#haishi</i> ³ / <i>#yaome</i>
C3 negation	not elicited

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!)

- elicited in this context (Q1)

1a) *Context (conjunctive, contrast)*:

Susie works as a doctor. This is a full-time job and normal people can't do another job in addition. However, Susie is not normal people, she gets by on 3 hours of sleep and has a lot of energy. You are still surprised when your friend tells you:

i) Suxi shi yiming yisheng. Ta **hai** shi yiming laoshi.

- ok

ii) # Suxi shi yiming yisheng. Ta shi yiming laoshi.

- bad without "hai"

iii) Suxi shi yiming yisheng **erqie** ta **hai** shi yiming laoshi.

- ok

² both connectors are fine if they conjoin two separate questions/interrogative speech acts

³ 'haishi' can be used in a fronting construction that involves the particle 'dou' in the main clause, see Q1

- iv) Suxi shi yiming yisheng **erqie** ta **ye** shi yiming laoshi.
 - ok
- v) Suxi shi yiming yisheng **erqie** ta shi yiming laoshi.
 - ok (not clear whether surprise is conveyed, also for previous ones)
- vi) Suxi shi yiming yisheng **bingqie** ta **hai** shi yiming laoshi.
 - ok
- vii) Suxi shi yiming yisheng **bingqie** ta **ye** shi yiming laoshi.
 - ok
- viii) Suxi shi yiming yisheng **bingqie** ta shi yiming laoshi.
 - ok (also w/o additive particle, see also v., but possibly more natural with additive)

non-contrastive conjunctives ok in contexts designed to elicit contrastive conjunctions

1b) 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:

- i) # Suxi shi yiming yisheng. Ta **hai** shi yiming laoshi.
- ii) # Suxi shi yiming yisheng. Ta shi yiming laoshi.
 - independently bad (lacking additive)
- iii) # Suxi shi yiming yisheng **erqie** ta **hai** shi yiming laoshi.
- iv) # Suxi shi yiming yisheng **erqie** ta **ye** shi yiming laoshi.
- v) # Suxi shi yiming yisheng **erqie** ta shi yiming laoshi.
- vi) # Suxi shi yiming yisheng **bingqie** ta **hai** shi yiming laoshi.
- vii) # Suxi shi yiming yisheng **bingqie** ta **ye** shi yiming laoshi.
- viii) # Suxi shi yiming yisheng **bingqie** ta shi yiming laoshi.

non-contrastive conjunctives infelicitous in context designed to elicit (exclusive) disjunction with speaker knowledge

1c) Context (disjunctive, without speaker knowledge):

Your friend asks you what Susie's job is. You know that Susie used to be a doctor and a teacher, but she recently quit one of the professions. You don't know which profession she quit. You say to your friend:

- i) # Suxi shi yiming yisheng. Ta **hai** shi yiming laoshi.
- ii) # Suxi shi yiming yisheng. Ta shi yiming laoshi.

- see ii) above
- iii) # Suxi shi yiming yisheng **erqie** ta **hai** shi yiming laoshi.
- iv) # Suxi shi yiming yisheng **erqie** ta **ye** shi yiming laoshi.
- v) # Suxi shi yiming yisheng **erqie** ta shi yiming laoshi.
- vi) # Suxi shi yiming yisheng **bingqie** ta **hai** shi yiming laoshi.
- vii) # Suxi shi yiming yisheng **bingqie** ta **ye** shi yiming laoshi.
- viii) # Suxi shi yiming yisheng **bingqie** ta shi yiming laoshi.

non-contrastive conjunctives infelicitous in context designed to elicit (exclusive) disjunction without speaker knowledge

(researcher comment: 'now' missing in the target sentences, possibly problematic for tenseless languages)

1d) Context (disjunctive, without speaker knowledge, inclusive):

Your friend asks you what Susie's job is. You know that Susie used to be a doctor and a teacher. She might have quit one of the professions, but you're not sure about it. 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:

- i) # Suxi shi yiming yisheng. Ta **hai** shi yiming laoshi.
- ii) # Suxi shi yiming yisheng. Ta shi yiming laoshi.
- iii) # Suxi shi yiming yisheng **erqie** ta **hai** shi yiming laoshi.
- iv) # Suxi shi yiming yisheng **erqie** ta **ye** shi yiming laoshi.
- v) # Suxi shi yiming yisheng **erqie** ta shi yiming laoshi.
- vi) # Suxi shi yiming yisheng **bingqie** ta **hai** shi yiming laoshi.
- vii) # Suxi shi yiming yisheng **bingqie** ta **ye** shi yiming laoshi.
- viii) # Suxi shi yiming yisheng **bingqie** ta shi yiming laoshi.

comments:

- see comment above (tenseless language)
- might be accommodated to be a guess, otherwise not appropriate bc. maxim of quality

non-contrastive conjunctives infelicitous in context designed to elicit inclusive disjunction without speaker knowledge

1e) 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:

- i) # Suxi shi yiming yisheng. Ta **hai** shi yiming laoshi.
- ii) # Suxi shi yiming yisheng. Ta shi yiming laoshi.
- iii) # Suxi shi yiming yisheng **erqie** ta **hai** shi yiming laoshi.
- iv) # Suxi shi yiming yisheng **erqie** ta **ye** shi yiming laoshi.
- v) # Suxi shi yiming yisheng **erqie** ta shi yiming laoshi.
- vi) # Suxi shi yiming yisheng **bingqie** ta **hai** shi yiming laoshi.
- vii) # Suxi shi yiming yisheng **bingqie** ta **ye** shi yiming laoshi.
- viii) # Suxi shi yiming yisheng **bingqie** ta shi yiming laoshi.

non-contrastive conjunctives infelicitous in context so designed that both clauses are false

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)

- elicited in Q1

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

=> skipped for Chinese

2a) Context (conjunctive, contrast):

Paul is ironing his shirt. His mother told him to focus on this chore and turn the TV off. However, the TV is still on while Paul is ironing. Paul's mother asks his sister what Paul is doing. The sister says:

2b) 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:

2c) 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:

2d) 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:

2e) 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:

A2. Connector elicited in the contrast context:

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 do. You tell your friend about Susie:

Suxi shi yiming yisheng. Ta hen qiong.

- ok, but not very natural (with 'danshi' or even 'erqie' it would be better)

juxtaposition ok in a context designed to elicit contrastive conjunction

?Suxi shi yiming yisheng. Ta hai hen qiong.

- comment: "almost suggests that being a doctor makes you poor", a bit weird but not unacceptable

(juxtaposition example)

3a) *Context (conjunctive, no contrast):*

Susie is a doctor. Unfortunately, she lives in a place where doctors earn very little money and accumulate a lot of debt to finish their studies. So doctors often struggle financially. Therefore, you are not surprised when I tell you:

- i) Suxi shi yiming yisheng **danshi** ta hen qiong.
 - ok
- ii) Suxi shi yiming yisheng **buguo** ta hen qiong.
 - ok
- iii) Suxi shi yiming yisheng **ran'er** ta hen qiong.
 - ok
- iv) Suxi shi yiming yisheng **keshi** ta hen qiong.
 - ok

Comment: prosodic break before connectives

- v) Suxi shi yiming yisheng **er** ta hen qiong.

- comment: the construction itself is not very natural (better with different subjects, see Q1)
- 'er' is more neutral than the other connectives (doesn't convey contrast)

contrastive conjunctives felicitous in context designed to elicit conjunction without contrast (context might need to be improved, though)

3b) *Context (disjunctive, with speaker knowledge):*

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. 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 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 don't want to lie, you mention two possible reasons for Susie's discount:

- i) # Suxi shi yiming yisheng **danshi** ta hen qiong.
- ii) # Suxi shi yiming yisheng **buguo** ta hen qiong.
- iii) # Suxi shi yiming yisheng **ran'er** ta hen qiong.
- iv) # Suxi shi yiming yisheng **keshi** ta hen qiong.

- v) # Suxi shi yiming yisheng **er** ta hen qiong.
- see comment on v) above

contrastive conjunctives infelicitous in context designed to elicit disjunction

3c) Context (disjunctive, without speaker knowledge):

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. 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:

- i) # Suxi shi yiming yisheng **danshi** ta hen qiong.
- ii) # Suxi shi yiming yisheng **buguo** ta hen qiong.
- iii) # Suxi shi yiming yisheng **ran'er** ta hen qiong.
- iv) # Suxi shi yiming yisheng **keshi** ta hen qiong.
- v) # Suxi shi yiming yisheng **er** ta hen qiong.

contrastive conjunctives infelicitous in context designed to elicit disjunction

3d) 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:

- i) # Suxi shi yiming yisheng **danshi** ta hen qiong.
- ii) # Suxi shi yiming yisheng **buguo** ta hen qiong.
- iii) # Suxi shi yiming yisheng **ran'er** ta hen qiong.
- iv) # Suxi shi yiming yisheng **keshi** ta hen qiong.
- v) # Suxi shi yiming yisheng **er** ta hen qiong.

contrastive conjunctives infelicitous in context designed to elicit disjunction

3e) *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:

- i) # Suxi shi yiming yisheng **danshi** ta hen qiong.
- ii) # Suxi shi yiming yisheng **buguo** ta hen qiong.
- iii) # Suxi shi yiming yisheng **ran'er** ta hen qiong.
- iv) # Suxi shi yiming yisheng **keshi** ta hen qiong.
- v) # Suxi shi yiming yisheng **er** ta hen qiong.

contrastive conjunctives infelicitous in context designed so that both clauses are false

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.

Jian maile bingqiling. Ta shi gei yige moshengren mai de.

- ok if she first saw the stranger and then bought it for him
(reading different from the originally elicited sentence, no contrast)

(juxtaposition)

juxtaposition okay in a context designed to elicit contrastive conjunction if non-contrastive reading is accommodated

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)

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 mei mai bingqiling. Ta maile qiaokeli.

- ok

juxtaposition of negative and positive sentence ok in contrastive context

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.

i) Jen mei mai bingqiling, **danshi** ta maile qiaokeli.

- ok

ii) Jen mei mai bingqiling, **buguo** ta maile qiaokeli.

- ok, fits well in the context

iii) Jen mei mai bingqiling, **ran'er** ta maile qiaokeli.

- ok, more formal and maybe a bit less natural than buguo

iv) Jen mei mai bingqiling, **keshi** ta maile qiaokeli.

- ok
- comment: sounds like Jen is not supposed to buy either

v) ?Jen mei mai bingqiling, **er** ta maile qiaokeli.

- comment: s.a., not great with same subject, but right interpretation

contrastive connectives in contrastive context with negated conjunct (double-checked)

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:

Baoluo shi yisheng, Yuehan hai shi yisheng.

- note: 'hai' can mean 'still', cannot associate with the subject (the example would be clearer but still infelicitous with 'ye')

Baoluo shi yisheng, Yuehan shi yisheng.

- bad w/o additive particle anyway

(juxtaposition)

juxtaposition infelicitous in context designed to elicit (exclusive) disjunction with speaker knowledge

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:

i) # **Yaome** baoluo shi yisheng **yaome** Yuehan shi yisheng.

- comment: definitely exclusive (false because of exclusivity)

ii) # Baoluo shi yisheng **huozhe** Yuehan shi yisheng.

- comment: uninformative

iii) *Baoluo shi yisheng **haishi** Yuehan shi yisheng.

disjunctive infelicitous in conjunctive context

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:

i) # **Yaome** baoluo shi yisheng **yaome** yuehan shi yisheng.

ii) # Baoluo shi yisheng **huozhe** yuehan shi yisheng.

iii) * Baoluo shi yisheng **haishi** yuehan shi yisheng.

disjunctive infelicitous in conjunctive context

8c) *Context (disjunctive, without speaker knowledge, exclusive/unspecified):*

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:

i) **Yaome** baoluo shi yisheng **yaome** yuehan shi yisheng.

- ok, you know that it's exactly one of them

ii) Baoluo shi yisheng **huozhe** yuehan shi yisheng.

- ok, infer that it's probably only one of them

iii)* Baoluo shi yisheng **haishi** yuehan shi yisheng.

disjunctive elicited with speaker knowledge felicitous in conjunctive context w/o speaker knowledge

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:

i) **# Yaome** baoluo shi yisheng **yaome** yuehan shi yisheng.

- cannot be continued with 'and maybe both', Chinese continuation:

ye you keneng lianggeren dou shi yisheng

YE have possibility two.CL.people DOU be doctor

and it is possible that the two of them are both doctors

ii) Baoluo shi yisheng **huozhe** yuehan shi yisheng.

- ok when continued with 'and maybe both' (see above)

iii) * Baoluo shi yisheng **haishi** yuehan shi yisheng.

'yaome'-disjunction infelicitous with inclusive disjunction reading, 'huozhe' felicitous (when followed up by 'and maybe both')

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:

- i) # **Yaome** baoluo shi yisheng **yaome** yuehan shi yisheng.
- ii) # Baoluo shi yisheng **huozhe** yuehan shi yisheng.
- iii) *Baoluo shi yisheng **haishi** yuehan shi yisheng.

disjunctive connectives infelicitous in contexts where both clauses are false

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).

- doesn't seem to be the case in Chinese

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:

Wo ba dianhua la zai le bangongshi. Dianhua diao zai wo huijia de lushang.

(juxtaposition)

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.

Xianzai Yuehan shi yisheng. Ta shi zuojia.

- false and bad w/o additive
(juxtaposition)

juxtaposition infelicitous for exclusive disjunction w/o speaker knowledge

B2-1-2. Within a statement (inclusive)

subset of disjunctors elicited in the exclusive case (see table/ Q1)

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:

Yaome ni ba nide dianhua la zai le bangongshi **yaome** ni ba ta la zai le gongongqiche shang?

comment: not an alternative question

- could work as a rising declarative

(disjunctive connectors not elicited in Q)

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:

Baluo bu shi yisheng. Ta bu shi hushi.

- needs an additive particle ('ye', not 'hai')

-

(juxtaposition)

- skip this in Chinese (no designated connective)

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:

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:

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:

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:

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:

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.

?**Yaome** Baoluo keyi chi beizidangao, **yaome** ta keyi chi binggan.

- ok with the epistemic reading
- the epistemic reading is salient, but in principle compatible with the FC context (wide scope coordination)

??Baoluo **keyi** [**yaome** chi beizidangao **yaome** chi binggan]

- not coordinating full clauses
- sounds very weird, but not totally clear whether it is ungrammatical (perhaps some other people say it?)

This is ok (subclausal coordination with 'huozhe'):

Baoluo keyi chi [beizidangao huozhe binggan]

(test all disjunctive connectives if several disjunctive connectives were elicited in Q1, if conjunctive connective elicited in Q1, follow up to check for disjunctive unless already tested in Q1)

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
hai	ø + hai	neither	1	1	N/A	0	0	0	?	0	?	
erqie	erqie + (hai/ye)	neither	1	1	N/A	0	0	0	?	0	?	
bingqie	bingqie + (hai/ye)	neither	1	1	N/A	0	0	0	?	0	?	
yucitongshi	(bingqie) yucitongshi	neither	1	1	N/A	?	?	?	?	?	?	eventive temporal coordination “at the same time”
danshi	danshi	neither	1	1	N/A	0	0	0	?	0	?	
buguo	buguo	neither	1	1	N/A	0	0	0	?	0	?	
qishi	qishi	neither	?	?	1	?	?	?	?	?	?	discourse marker? “actually”
er	er	neither	1	?	1	0	0	0	?	0	?	
ran'er	ran'er	neither	1	?	N/A	0	0	0	?	0	?	
keshi	keshi	neither	1	?	N/A	0	0	0	?	0	?	
yaome	Yaome P, yaome Q	neither	0	0	N/A	1	1	0	1	0	0	
huozhe	huozhe	neither	0	0	N/A	1	1	1	1	0	1	
haishi	haishi	neither	0	0	N/A	0	0	0	1	0	0	
ye	NEG ye NEG	below	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	1	N/A	
ø	ø	neither	1*	1	1	0	0	N/A	N/A	0	N/A	juxtaposition is okay in a context designed to elicit contrastive conjunction if non-contrastive reading is accommodated

Instructions:

The table has connective expressions as rows and their properties (compatibility with specific contexts and other syntactic properties) as columns.

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 (either scoping below or 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.