

Questionnaire for connectives

LiSU team

Follow-up questionnaire Q2

Language: Russian

Inventory of connectives elicited in Q1

Context	Coordinator(s) elicited
A1 Conjunctive, no contrast	i...i, i, a
A2 Conjunctive, contrast	no
A3 Conjunctive, contrast, negated conjunct	a
B1 Disjunctive, with speaker knowledge	<i>libo...libo</i>
B2-1.1 Disjunctive w/o speaker knowledge, statement, exclusive/unspecified	<i>ili...ili</i>
B2-1.2 Disjunctive w/o speaker knowledge, statement, inclusive	<i>ili...ili</i>
B2-2 Disjunctive w/o speaker knowledge, question	ili
C1 both clauses false	ni...ni
C2 free choice	ili, libo...libo
C3 negation	

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!)

**Suzi vrah učitel.*

#Suzi vrah a učitel.

"Suzi is a doctor but a teacher"

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 i vrah i učitel.

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 i vrah i učitel.

Comment: the sentence is awkward, but it is better than the previous.

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 i vrah i učitel.

Comment: the sentence needs a modal verb for it to be felicitous in the context.

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 i vrač i učitel.

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.

Modified context: Paul is watching the TV, and Anna is ironing.

**i Pavel smotrit televizor, i Anna gladit odeždu.*

#Pavel smotrit televizor, i Anna gladit odeždu.

(Here: *i* is infelicitous, but it is not because of the eventive/stative distinction, but rather it is about the contrast/non-contrast. *a*: contrastive, *i*: non-contrastive. In fact, the following—eventive and non-contrastive *i*—is felicitous.)

*(*i) Pavel smotrit televizor, i gladit odeždu.*

"Pavel is watching TV and is ironing"

(juxtaposition example)

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

=> skipped for Russian

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:

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:

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:

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:

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 vrač, u nee net deneg.*

*Suzi vrač, **no** u nee net deneg.*

Suzi doctor CONJ at her neg money

*#Suzi vrač, **a** u nee net deneg.*

Suzi doctor CONJ at her neg money

Comment: the sentence with *a* would be felicitous if Suzi in fact earns a lot of money but in fact is poor (doesn't have money) because of irresponsible spending.
Concessive-type meaning?

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 vrač, **no** u nee net deneg.*

Suzi doctor CONJ at her neg money

(This would be felicitous/true if there was a modal verb in the first clause.)

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 vrač, **no** u nee net deneg.*

Suzi doctor but at her neg money

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 vrač, **no** u nee net deneg.*

Suzi doctor but at her neg money

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 vrač, **no** u nee net deneg.*

Suzi doctor but at her neg money

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)

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 for Russian

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)

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).

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 vrač a učitel.**

Suzi doctor CONJ teacher

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 vrač, a u nee net deneg.

Suzi doctor CONJ at her neg money

Comment: grammatical but infelicitous.

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:

**Pavel vrač a Ivan.*

Pavel doctor CONJ Ivan

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.

**Ivan vrač a učitel.*

Ivan doctor CONJ teacher

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:

**Ivan vrač a pisatel, a mozet i to i drugoe.*

Ivan doctor a writer but maybe and that and another

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.

*Pavel rabotaet **ni** vračom **a** **ni** medbratom.

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)

**Pavel vrač Ivan vrač.*

Pavel doctor Ivan 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:

#**Libo** Pavel vrač **libo** Ivan.

Or Pavel doctor or Ivan

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:

#**Libo** Pavel vrač **libo** Ivan.

Or Pavel doctor or Ivan

8c) *Context (disjunctive, without speaker knowledge; excl/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:

✓**Libo** Pavel *vrač* **libo** Ivan.

Or Pavel doctor or Ivan

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:

#**Libo** Pavel *vrač* **libo** Ivan.

Or Pavel doctor or Ivan

✓**Libo** Pavel *vrač* **libo** Ivan **libo** oba.

Or Pavel doctor or Ivan or 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:

#**Libo** Pavel *vrač* **libo** Ivan.

Or Pavel doctor or Ivan

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)

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.

*Ivan vrah učitel.
Ivan doctor teacher

Conjunction: Ivan is a doctor and a teacher

#Ivan ili vrah ili učitel.

Contrast: Ivan is a doctor and he should not have time for another job, but in fact he is also a teacher.

#Ivan ili vrah ili učitel.

Disj with speaker knowledge: you are playing a game of guessing people's jobs. Your friend is trying to guess Ivan's job, but has no idea. You know that he is a doctor but not a teacher. You give them a hint:

✓Ivan ili vrah ili učitel.

Both false: Ivan is neither a doctor nor a teacher.

#Ivan ili vrah ili učitel.

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)

Ty zabyla telefon na rabote ili ostavila v avtobuse?

You forgot phone on work or left in bus

**libo*

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:

**Pavel rabotaet vračom, medbratom.*

Pavel works doctor, medical.brother

Pavel ne rabotaet ni vračom, ni medbratom.

Pavel NEG works NEG doctor, neg medical.brother

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:

#Pavel ne rabotaet ni vračom, ni medbratom.

Pavel works NEG doctor, neg medical.brother

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:

Pavel ne rabotaet ni vračom, ni medbratom.

Pavel works NEG doctor, neg medical.brother

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:

#Pavel ne rabotaet **ni** vračom, **ni** medbratom.

Pavel NEG works NEG doctor, neg medical.brother

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:

Pavel ne rabotaet **ni** vračom, **ni** medbratom.

Pavel NEG works NEG doctor, neg medical.brother

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:

Pavel ne rabotaet **ni** vračom, **ni** medbratom.

Pavel NEG works NEG doctor, neg medical.brother

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.

(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)

all 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
i	i...i	neither	1*	N/A	N/A	0	0	0	N/A	0	N/A	
no	no	neither		1*	0	0	0	0	N/A	0	N/A	
a	a	neither	0	1?	1*	0	0	0	N/A	0	N/A	a seems to be a conjunctive particle associated contrastive focused elements
libo	libo...libo	neither	0	0	N/A	1*	1	1	0	0	1*	
ili	ili...ili	neither	0	0	N/A	1	1*	1*	N/A	0	N/A	
ili	ili	neither	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	1*	0	1*	
ni	ni...ni	below	0	0	N/A	0	0	0	N/A	1*	N/A	
∅	∅	neither	0	0	0	0	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	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. 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.