

## Pilot studies to identify response tasks for at-issueness and projectivity

This document provides details on the pilot studies that we ran to identify response tasks for at-issueness (section 1) and projectivity (section 2).

### 1 At-issueness

#### **Pilot 1: Response options: No, not p. (AI) / No, and not p. (NAI)**

Stimuli / implications:

1. **Main clause:** Mary brought a fruit salad. No, (and) she didn't bring a fruit salad
2. **Main clause:** Sue, a teacher, works even on Sundays. No, (and) she doesn't work on Sundays
3. **Nominal appositive:** Phillip, a yoga teacher, came wearing sweat pants. No, (and) he's not a yoga teacher.
4. **NRRC:** Jack, who works for a bank, is giving out investment tips. No, (and) he doesn't work for a bank.
5. **Complement of "glad":** Raul is glad that he left his wife at home. No, (and) he didn't leave her at home.
6. **Complement of "annoyed":** Tamara is annoyed that the pizza is gone. No, (and) it's not gone.
7. **Complement of "discover":** Paula discovered that her husband is cheating. No, (and) he's not cheating.
8. **Presupposition of "again":** Carl brought his dog again. No, (and) he didn't bring it before.
9. **Main clause of "discover":** Andrew discovered that his neighbor is getting a divorce. No, (and) he didn't discover that.
10. **Main clause of "glad":** Eve is glad that her husband didn't come to the party. No, (and) she's not glad.
11. **Main clause of "annoyed":** Susi is annoyed that nobody is dancing. No, (and) she is not annoyed.
12. **Scalar implicature:** The soup is warm. No, (and) it is hot.

Instructions: In this experiment, we ask you to imagine that you are at a party. You walk into the kitchen and overhear Debby, the party host, say something to another guest. We ask you to choose the response this other guest gives to Debby: You will be given two options and are asked to choose one of the two options.

Please don't think too long about your choice and just answer based on your first impression.

There are a total of 12 sentences for which you will choose a response.

Participants: 40 Turkers participated, 5 gave NAI responses to main clause content, 9 only gave AI responses, 29 Turkers remain.

Results (% NAI):

14/24	nominal appositive	58%
13/24	ps of again	54%
12 of 24	NRRC	50%
11 of 24	complement of "glad"	46%
9 of 24	complement of "annoyed"	38%
7 of 24	main clause "discover"	29%
5 of 24	complement of "discover"	21%
3 of 24	main clause of "glad"	13%
1 of 24	main clause of "annoyed"	4%
0 of 24	implicature	0%

**Discussion:** The relative not-at-issueness of the contents makes a lot of sense, but the not-at-issue status is not very clear for nominal appositives (58%).

**Pilot 2: Response options: No, not p. (AI) / No, and, by the way, not p. (NAI)**

Stimuli / implications: Same as in pilot 1, except that the second main clause stimulus was “Sue works even on Sundays” instead of “Sue, a teacher, works even on Sundays.”

Instructions: In this experiment, we ask you to imagine that you are at a party. You walk into the kitchen and overhear Debby, the party host, say something to another guest. The other guest always denies Debby's utterance. We ask you to choose the denial response this other guest gives to Debby: You will be given two options and are asked to choose the option that sounds best to you.

There are a total of 12 sentences for which you will choose a response.

Participants: 40 Turkers participated, 6 gave only AI responses, 5 gave NAI responses to main clause, removed data from 1 for skipping an answer, 28 Turkers remain

Results (% NAI):

20 of 28	71%	Nominal appositive
16 of 28	57%	again
13 of 28	46%	Complement of "glad", NRRC
10 of 28	36%	Complement of "annoyed"
7 of 28	25%	Main clause of "discovered, complement of "discovered"
6 of 28	21%	Main clause of "glad"
5 of 28	18%	Main clause of "annoyed"
1 of 28	4%	Implicature

**Discussion:** Adding “by the way” to the NAI response has led to higher NAI responses for nominal appositives. The relative not-at-issueness of the various contents makes a lot of sense.

**Pilot 3: Response options: No, that’s not true, not p. (AI) / No, and, by the way, not p. (NAI)**

Stimuli: As in pilot 2, except that responses are now “No, (and, by the way,) she is not annoyed about that” instead of “No, (and) she is not annoyed.” And “No, (and, by the way,) she’s not glad about that” instead of “No, (and) she’s not glad.”

Instructions: As in pilot 2.

20 participants were run with the AI response presented before the NAI response, and 20 participants were run with the response options in the reverse order.

Participants AI-NAI: 20 Turkers participated, 3 only gave AI responses, 3 responded NAI to main clause, 14 Turkers remain.

Participants NAI-AI: 20 Turkers participated, 3 only gave AI responses, 5 responded NAI to main clauses, 12 Turkers remain

Results AI-NAI (% NAI):

12 of 14	86%	Nominal appositive
9 of 14	64%	again
8 of 14	57%	NRRC
6 of 14	43%	Complement of "glad", complement of "annoyed"
3 of 12	25%	Main clause "annoyed"
2 of 14	14%	Main clause "discover", complement of "discover"
1 of 14	7%	Main clause of "glad"
0 of 14	0%	Implicature

Results NAI-AI (% NAI):

9 of 12	75%	NRRC
5 of 12	42%	Nominal appositive, complement of "annoyed"
4 of 12	33%	Complement of "glad", complement of "discover"
3 of 11	27%	Main clause of "annoyed"
3 of 12	25%	Main clause of "glad", again
2 of 12	17%	Implicature, main clause of "discover"

**Discussion:** Presenting the AI response before the NAI response gives clearer results. The NAI responses are again a bit higher than in pilot 2.

**Pilot 4: Response options: I agree with you: p (AI) / Right – and, yeah, p (NAI)**

Stimuli / implications:

1. **Main clause:** Mary brought a delicious fruit salad. I agree with you: she brought a delicious fruit salad. / Right – and, yeah, she brought a delicious fruit salad.
2. **Main clause:** Sue, a teacher, works even on Sundays. I agree with you: she works even on Sundays. / Right – and, yeah, she works even on Sundays.
3. **Nominal appositive:** Phillip, a yoga teacher, is wearing an inappropriate outfit. I agree with you: he is a yoga teacher. / Right – and, yeah, he is a yoga teacher.
4. **NRRC:** Jack, who works for an untrustworthy bank, is giving out investment tips. I agree with you: he works for an untrustworthy bank. / Right – and, yeah, he works for an untrustworthy bank.
5. **Complement of “glad”:** Raul is glad that he left his wife at home. I agree with you: Raul left her at home. / Right – and, yeah, Raul left her at home.
6. **Complement of “annoyed”:** Tamara is annoyed that the pizza is gone. I agree with you: the pizza is gone. / Right – and, yeah, the pizza is gone.
7. **Complement of “discover”:** Paula discovered that her husband is cheating. I agree with you: her husband is cheating. / Right – and, yeah, her husband is cheating.
8. **Presupposition of “again”:** Carl brought his dog again. I agree with you: Carl has brought the dog before. / Right – and, yeah, Carl has brought the dog before.
9. **Main clause of “discover”:** Andrew discovered that his neighbor is getting a divorce. I agree with you: Andrew discovered that. / Right – and, yeah, Andrew discovered that.
10. **Main clause of “glad”:** Eve is glad that her husband didn't come to the party. I agree with you: Eve is glad about that. / Right – and, yeah, Eve is glad about that.
11. **Main clause of “annoyed”:** Susi is annoyed that nobody is dancing. I agree with you: she is annoyed about that. / Right – and, yeah, she is annoyed about that.
12. **Scalar implicature:** The soup is warm. I agree with you: it isn't hot. / Right – and, yeah, it isn't hot.

Instructions: Imagine you're at a party. You walk into the kitchen and overhear Debby, the party host, say something.

You agree with what Debby said!

We give you two options for expressing your agreement. **Please consider both responses and choose the one that sounds best to you.**

There are 12 statements for which you will choose a response. Please make sure you don't skip one.

Participants: 40 Turkers, 2 only gave AI responses, 13 gave NAI responses to main clause content, 25 Turkers remain.

Results (% NAI):

18 of 25	72%	Nominal appositive
17 of 25	68%	Complement of annoyed
15 of 25	60%	Again
14 of 25	56%	Complement of glad
13 of 25	52%	NRRC, Complement of discover
8 of 25	32%	Main clause discover
6 of 25	24%	Implicature
5 of 25	20%	Main clause annoyed
4 of 25	16%	Main clause of glad

**Discussion:** Positive responses do not yield a clear division between AI and NAI content.

### **Pilot 5: Really? Judging misunderstanding**

Stimuli / implications:

1. **Debby:** *Mary brought a fruit salad.*  
**Harry:** *Really?*  
**Debby:** *Yes, she really brought a fruit salad.*
2. **Debby:** *Jack, who works for a bank, is giving out investment tips.*  
**Harry:** *Really?*  
**Debby:** *Yes, he really works for a bank.*
3. **Debby:** *That idiot Larry just fell into the pool.*  
**Harry:** *Really?*  
**Debby:** *Yes, he really is an idiot.*
4. **Debby:** *Andrew discovered that his brother is getting a divorce.*  
**Harry:** *Really?*  
**Debby:** *Yes, he really discovered that.*
5. **Debby:** *Sue, a teacher, runs three times a week.*  
**Harry:** *Really?*  
**Debby:** *Yes, she really runs three times a week.*
6. **Debby:** *Raul is glad that he left his wife at home.*  
**Harry:** *Really?*  
**Debby:** *Yes, he really left her at home.*
7. **Debby:** *Phillip, a yoga teacher, is wearing jeans.*  
**Harry:** *Really?*  
**Debby:** *Yes, he really is a yoga teacher.*
8. **Debby:** *Tamara is annoyed that the pizza is gone.*  
**Harry:** *Really?*  
**Debby:** *Yes, the pizza really is gone.*
9. **Debby:** *Eve is glad that her husband didn't come to the party.*  
**Harry:** *Really?*  
**Debby:** *Yes, she really is glad about that.*

10. **Debby:** *Carl brought his dog again.*  
**Harry:** *Really?*  
**Debby:** *Yes, he really brought it to the last party already.*
11. **Debby:** *Paula discovered that her husband is cheating.*  
**Harry:** *Really?*  
**Debby:** *Yes, he really is cheating.*
12. **Debby:** *Susi is annoyed that nobody is dancing.*  
**Harry:** *Really?*  
**Debby:** *Yes, she really is annoyed about that.*

Instructions: Imagine you are at a party. You walk into the kitchen and overhear a small dialogue between Debby, the party host, and another guest, Harry. Here's an example:

**Debby:** *My dog is playing in the garden.*  
**Harry:** *Really?*

Debby now responds to Harry's "Really?" question. If she responds with "Yes, he really is playing in the garden", it sounds like she correctly understood his question. But if she responds "Yes, I really have a dog", it sounds like she misunderstood his question.

We ask you to read 12 dialogues between Debby and Harry. In each dialogue, Harry asks "Really?" and Debby responds to Harry's "Really?" question. We ask you to identify, for each dialogue, whether Debby misunderstood Harry's "Really?" question or not.

**To make sure you are paying attention, we have included some dialogues for which we know the right answer. If you read the dialogues carefully, you will definitely get those right.**

Participants: 40 Turkers, 2 only gave AI responses, 10 gave NAI responses to main clause (8 gave NAI responses to Q1, 9 gave NAI response to Q5), 28 Turkers remain

Results (% NAI):

27 of 28	96%	nominal app
23 of 28	82%	expressive, complement of annoyed
21 of 28	75%	NRRC, complement of glad
15 of 28	54%	main clause discover
14 of 28	50%	again
8 of 28	29%	complement of discover
6 of 28	21%	main clause of annoyed
1 of 28	4%	main clause of glad

### **Pilot 6: Are you sure? Judging whether the question was answered**

Stimuli / implications:

1. **Debby:** *Mary brought a fruit salad.*  
**Harry:** *Are you sure?*  
**Debby:** *Yes, I am sure that she brought a fruit salad.*
2. **Debby:** *Jack, who works for a bank, is giving out investment tips.*  
**Harry:** *Are you sure?*  
**Debby:** *Yes, I am sure that he works for a bank.*
3. **Debby:** *That idiot Larry went to the store to get more beer.*  
**Harry:** *Are you sure?*  
**Debby:** *Yes, I am sure that he is an idiot.*
4. **Debby:** *Andrew discovered that his brother is getting a divorce.*  
**Harry:** *Are you sure?*  
**Debby:** *Yes, I am sure that he discovered that.*
5. **Debby:** *Sue, a teacher, runs three times a week.*  
**Harry:** *Are you sure?*  
**Debby:** *Yes, I am sure that she runs three times a week.*
6. **Debby:** *Sam was stupid to post his social security number on Facebook.*  
**Harry:** *Are you sure?*  
**Debby:** *Yes, I am sure that he posted the number on Facebook.*
7. **Debby:** *Raul is glad that he left his wife at home.*  
**Harry:** *Are you sure?*  
**Debby:** *Yes, I am sure that he left her at home.*
8. **Debby:** *Phillip, a yoga teacher, is wearing jeans.*  
**Harry:** *Are you sure?*  
**Debby:** *Yes, I am sure that he is a yoga teacher.*
9. **Debby:** *Tamara is annoyed that the pizza is gone.*  
**Harry:** *Are you sure?*  
**Debby:** *Yes, I am sure that the pizza is gone.*
10. **Debby:** *Rose was smart to learn Spanish before moving to Spain.*  
**Harry:** *Are you sure?*  
**Debby:** *Yes, I am sure that she learned Spanish before her move.*
11. **Debby:** *Eve is glad that her husband didn't come to the party.*  
**Harry:** *Are you sure?*  
**Debby:** *Yes, I am sure that she is glad about that.*
12. **Debby:** *Carl brought his dog again.*  
**Harry:** *Are you sure?*  
**Debby:** *Yes, I am sure that he brought it to the last party.*
13. **Debby:** *Paula discovered that her husband is cheating.*  
**Harry:** *Are you sure?*  
**Debby:** *Yes, I am sure that he is cheating.*
14. **Debby:** *Susi is annoyed that nobody is dancing.*  
**Harry:** *Are you sure?*  
**Debby:** *Yes, I am sure that she is annoyed about that.*

In this pilot, a box for Turkers to (optionally) leave comments was added.

Instructions: Imagine you are at a party. You walk into the kitchen and overhear a small dialogue between Debby, the party host, and another guest, Harry. Here's an example:

**Debby:** *My dog is playing in the garden.*

**Harry:** *Are you sure?*

Debby now responds to Harry's "*Are you sure?*" question. If she responds with "*Yes, I am sure that he is playing in the garden*", it sounds like she answered Harry's question. But if she responds "*Yes, I am sure that I have a dog*", it sounds like she didn't answer Harry's question.

We ask you to read 14 dialogues between Debby and Harry. In each dialogue, Harry asks "*Are you sure?*" and Debby responds to Harry's question. We ask you to identify, for each dialogue, whether Debby answered Harry's question, or not.

**To make sure you are paying attention, we have included some dialogues for which we know the right answer. If you read the dialogues carefully, you will definitely get those right.**

Question to participants:

Did Debby answer Harry's question?

Yes

No

Participants: 40 Turkers participated, 0 gave only AI responses, 0 gave NAI responses to Q1 (main clause, no appositive), 0 gave NAI response to Q5 (main clause with nom app); data from all 40 Turkers

Results (% NAI):

39 out of 40	98%	expressive, sentence-medial nominal appositive
37 out of 40	93%	sentence-medial NRRC
31 out of 40	78%	complement of annoyed
29 out of 40	73%	complement of glad
25 out of 40	63%	again
19 out of 40	48%	main clause of discover
18 out of 40	45%	complement of discover
13 out of 40	33%	VP implication of smart
9 out of 40	23%	VP implication of stupid
3 out of 40	8%	main clause of annoyed, main clause of glad
0 out of 40	0%	main clauses



## **Pilot 7: What does “no” mean?**

Stimuli:

1. Dialogue #1  
**Debby:** *Did Mary bring a fruit salad?*  
**Jane:** *No.*  
Is Jane saying that Mary did not bring a fruit salad?
2. Dialogue #2  
**Debby:** *Is Jack, who works for a bank, giving out investment tips?*  
**Jane:** *No.*  
Is Jane saying that Jack does not work for a bank?
3. Dialogue #3  
**Debby:** *Did Larry stop dancing?*  
**Jane:** *No.*  
Is Jane saying that Larry has not been dancing?
4. Dialogue #4  
**Debby:** *Did Paula discover that her husband is cheating?*  
**Jane:** *No.*  
Is Jane saying that Paula's husband is not cheating?
5. Dialogue #5  
**Debby:** *Does Sue, a teacher, run three times a week?*  
**Jane:** *No.*  
Is Jane saying that Sue does not run three times a week?
6. Dialogue #6  
**Debby:** *Was Sam stupid to post his social security number on Facebook?*  
**Jane:** *No.*  
Is Jane saying that Sam did not post his social security number on Facebook?
7. Dialogue #7  
**Debby:** *Is Phillip, a yoga teacher, wearing sweat pants?*  
**Jane:** *No.*  
Is Jane saying that Phillip is not a yoga teacher?
8. Dialogue #8  
**Debby:** *Did Eve dance terribly?*  
**Jane:** *No.*  
Is Jane saying that Eve did not dance?
9. Dialogue #9  
**Debby:** *Is Tamara annoyed that the pizza is gone?*  
**Jane:** *No.*  
Is Jane saying that the pizza is not gone?
10. Dialogue #10  
**Debby:** *Is Carl getting drunk again?*  
**Jane:** *No.*  
Is Jane saying that Carl has not gotten drunk before?
11. Dialogue #11  
**Debby:** *Is Susan flirting with her neighbor?*

**Jane:** *No.*

Is Jane saying that Susan does not have a neighbor?

12. Dialogue #12

**Debby:** *Is the soup warm?*

**Jane:** *No.*

Is Jane saying that the soup is hot?

13. Optional: Do you have any comments? We appreciate them!

Instructions: Imagine you are at a party. You walk into the kitchen and overhear Debby, the party host, ask a question. Her friend Jane responds "*No*", as in this example:

**Debby:** *Does Frank's brother own a dog?*

**Jane:** *No.*

We ask you to judge what Jane's "no" means. For example, we might ask you to judge whether Jane is saying that Frank's brother does not own a dog. You would select "Yes" since, presumably, that **is** what Jane is saying.

Or we might ask you to judge whether Jane is saying that Frank does not have a brother. You would select "No" since, presumably, that is **not** what Jane is saying.

There are 12 dialogues between Debby and Jane.

**To make sure you are paying attention, we have included some dialogues for which we know the right answer. If you read the dialogues carefully, you will definitely get those right.**

Participants: 30

- Every Turker gave between 7 and 10 not-at-issue responses ("no")
- 1 Turker gave a not-at-issue response to Q1 (main clause1)
- 3 Turkers gave a not-at-issue response to Q5 (main clause2)
- 1 Turker skipped the last question

Results (% NAI):

Results (out of 30, except for scalar impl which is out of 29)

30	100%	possNP
		main clause of manner adverb, pre-state of stop, NRRC, C of
29	97%	annoyed
28	97%	scalar implicature
27	90%	again, VP of stupid
21	70%	C of discover
3	10%	main clause2
1	3%	main clause 1

Results with Turker who got both main clauses wrong excluded:

Results (out of 29, except for scalar implicature which is out of 28)

29	100%	NRRC, nomapp, possNP
28	97%	pre-state of stop, manner main clause, C of annoyed
28	100%	scalar implicature
27	93%	VP stupid
26	90%	again
20	69%	C of discover
2	7%	main clause2
0	0%	main clause1

### **Pilot 8: “What is Debby wondering about?”**

Stimuli:

- Question #1  
**Debby:** *Did Mary bring a fruit salad?*  
  
Is Debby wondering whether Mary brought a fruit salad?
- Question #2  
**Debby:** *Is Jack, who works for a bank, giving out investment tips?*  
  
Is Debby wondering whether Jack works for a bank?
- Question #3  
**Debby:** *Did Larry stop dancing?*  
  
Is Debby wondering whether Larry has been dancing?
- Question #4  
**Debby:** *Did Paula discover that her husband is cheating?*  
  
Is Debby wondering whether Paula's husband is cheating?
- Question #5  
**Debby:** *Does Sue, a teacher, run three times a week?*  
  
Is Debby wondering whether Sue runs three times a week?
- Question #6  
**Debby:** *Was Sam stupid to post his social security number on Facebook?*  
  
Is Debby wondering whether Sam posted his social security number on Facebook?
- Question #7  
**Debby:** *Is Phillip, a yoga teacher, wearing sweat pants?*  
  
Is Debby wondering whether Phillip is a yoga teacher?

- Question #8  
**Debby:** *Did Eve dance terribly?*  
  
Is Debby wondering whether Eve danced?
- Question #9  
**Debby:** *Is Tamara annoyed that the pizza is gone?*  
  
Is Debby wondering whether the pizza is gone?
- Question #10  
**Debby:** *Is Carl getting drunk again?*  
  
Is Debby wondering whether Carl got drunk before?
- Question #11  
**Debby:** *Is Susan flirting with her neighbor?*  
  
Is Debby wondering whether Susan has a neighbor?
- Question #12  
**Debby:** *Is Raul glad that he left his wife at home?*  
  
Is Debby wondering whether Raul left his wife at home?
- Optional: Do you have any comments? We appreciate them!

Instructions: Imagine you are at a party. You walk into the kitchen and overhear Debby, the party host, ask a question. Here's an example:

**Debby:** *Does Frank's brother own a dog?*

We ask you to judge what Debby is wondering about. For example, we might ask you if Debby is wondering whether Frank's brother owns a dog. (You answer "Yes" or "No".) Or we might ask you if Debby is wondering whether Frank has a brother. (Again, you answer "Yes" or "No".)

There are 12 questions we ask you to judge.

**To make sure you are paying attention, we have included some questions for which we know the right answer. If you read the questions carefully, you will definitely get those right.**

Participants: 30 Turkers

- None gave only AI or only NAI responses
- 2 gave NAI response to main clause1 (Q1)
- 0 gave NAI response to main clause2 (Q5)

Results (out of 30, except for "glad", which is out of 29, % NAI):

30                      100%    possNP

	29	97%	c of annoyed
	28	93%	NRRC
27 out of 29		93%	c of glad
27 out of 30		90%	nomapp, main clause with manner adverb
	26	87%	again, VP of stupid
	24	80%	stop
	23	77%	c of discover
	2	7%	main clause1
	0	0%	main clause2

Results (out of 28, except for complement of glad which is out of 27, % NAI)

	28	100%	possNP
	27	96%	NRRC, c of annoyed
26 out of 27		96%	c of glad
26 out of 28		93%	nomapp
	25	89%	main clause w manner adv, again
	24	86%	VP of stupid
	23	82%	stop
	21	75%	c of discover
	0	0%	main clause1, main clause2

### **Pilot 9: “What is Debby asking about?”**

Stimuli:

- Question #1  
**Debby:** *Did Mary bring a fruit salad?*  
  
Is Debby asking whether Mary brought a fruit salad?
- Question #2  
**Debby:** *Is Jack, who works for a bank, giving out investment tips?*  
  
Is Debby asking whether Jack works for a bank?
- Question #3  
**Debby:** *Did Larry stop dancing?*  
  
Is Debby asking whether Larry has been dancing?
- Question #4  
**Debby:** *Did Paula discover that her husband is cheating?*  
  
Is Debby asking whether Paula's husband is cheating?
- Question #5  
**Debby:** *Does Sue, a teacher, run three times a week?*  
  
Is Debby asking whether Sue runs three times a week?

- Question #6

**Debby:** *Was Sam stupid to post his social security number on Facebook?*

Is Debby asking whether Sam posted his social security number on Facebook?

- Question #7

**Debby:** *Is Phillip, a yoga teacher, wearing sweat pants?*

Is Debby asking whether Phillip is a yoga teacher?

- Question #8

**Debby:** *Did Eve dance terribly?*

Is Debby asking whether Eve danced?

- Question #9

**Debby:** *Is Tamara annoyed that the pizza is gone?*

Is Debby asking whether the pizza is gone?

- Question #10

**Debby:** *Is Carl getting drunk again?*

Is Debby asking whether Carl got drunk at a previous party?

- Question #11

**Debby:** *Is Susan flirting with her neighbor?*

Is Debby asking whether Susan has a neighbor?

- Question #12

**Debby:** *Is Raul glad that he left his wife at home?*

Is Debby asking whether Raul left his wife at home?

- Question #13

**Debby:** *Was it Jack who brought a coat?*

Is Debby asking whether Jack is the only person who brought a coat?

- Optional: Do you have any comments? We appreciate them!

Instructions: Imagine you are at a party. You walk into the kitchen and overhear Debby, the party host, ask a question. Here's an example:

**Debby:** *Does Frank's brother own a dog?*

Your job is to judge what Debby is asking about. For example: Is Debby asking whether Frank's brother owns a dog? (You answer "Yes" or "No".) Or is Debby asking whether Frank has a brother? (Again, you answer "Yes" or "No".)

There are 13 questions we ask you to judge.

**To make sure you are paying attention, we have included some questions for which we know the right answer. If you read the questions carefully, you will definitely get those right.**

Participants: 30 Turkers

- Everybody gave between 6 and 11 “no” responses (out of 13 possible), i.e. nobody gave only AI or only NAI responses.
- Nobody gave AI response to main clause 1 (Q1) or main clause 2 (Q5)

Results (out of 30, except for cleft which is out of 29, % NAI):

30	100%	NRRC, nomapp
29	97%	possNP, complement of glad
28	93%	main clause with manner adverb, complement of annoyed, again
26	87%	stop, complement of discover
25	83%	VP of stupid
15	52%	cleft
0	0%	main clause1, main clause2

## **2. Projectivity**

### **Pilot 1: “Is Debby sure that p?”**

Instructions: Imagine you are at a party. You walk into the kitchen and overhear Debby, the party host, ask a question, like this one:

**Debby:** *Does Frank's brother own a dog?*

We ask you to judge what Debby is sure of, given what she asks. For example, we might ask you to judge whether Debby is sure that Frank has a brother. (Presumably she is sure that he does, given her question.)

Or we might ask you to judge whether Debby is sure, given what she asks, that Frank's brother owns a dog. (Presumably Debby isn't sure about that.)

There are 12 questions total.

**To make sure you are paying attention, we have included some questions for which we know the right answer. If you read Debby's questions carefully, you will definitely get those right.**

Stimuli:

1. **Main clause:** Did Mary bring a fruit salad? / Is Debby sure that Mary brought a fruit salad?

2. **NRRC**: Is Jack, who works for a bank, giving out investment tips? / Is Debby sure that Jack works for a bank?
3. **Change of state implication of “stop”**: Did Larry stop dancing? / Is Debby sure that Larry has been dancing?
4. **Complement of “discover”**: Did Paula discover that her husband is cheating? / Is Debby sure that Paula’s husband is cheating?
5. **Main clause**: Does Sue, a teacher, work on Sundays? / Is Debby sure that Sue works on Sundays?
6. **VP implication of “stupid”**: Was Sam stupid to post his social security number on Facebook? / Is Debby sure that Sam posted his social security number on Facebook?
7. **Nominal appositive**: Is Phillip, a yoga teacher, wearing sweat pants? / Is Debby sure that Phillip is a yoga teacher?
8. **Main clause with manner adverb**: Did Eve dance terribly? / Is Debby sure that Eve danced?
9. **Complement of “annoyed”**: Is Tamara annoyed that the pizza is gone? / Is Debby sure that the pizza is gone?
10. **Presupposition of “again”**: Is Carl getting drunk again? / Is Debby sure that Carl got drunk before?
11. **Possessive implication**: Is Susi flirting with her neighbor? / Is Debby sure that Susi has a neighbor?
12. **Scalar implicature**: Is the soup is warm? / Is Debby sure that the soup is not hot?

5 was mistakenly presented as an assertion: *Sue, a teacher, runs three times a week*. Turkers were asked whether Debby is sure that Sue runs three times a week. (Expected answer is yes.)

30 participants:

- Every Turker gave between 4 and 10 projective answers (for a total of 12 stimuli)
- Unexpected answers:
  - 1 Turker gave “yes” response to main clause stimulus 1 (interrogative).
  - 1 Turker gave a “no” response to stimulus 5, which was a main clause assertion (not question, see coding error comment above).

“yes” responses (projection) were coded as ‘1’; “no” responses (no projection) were coded as ‘0’.

Results: (based on the data from all 30 Turkers; % projective)

29	97%	again, main clause assertion
28	93%	NRRC, nom app, complement of annoyed
26	87%	VP of stupid
23	77%	pre-state of stop, possNP
22	73%	complement of discover
17	57%	main clause with manner adverb
1	3%	main clause interrogative, scalar implicature



## **Pilot 2: “Is Debby certain that p?”**

Instructions: Imagine you are at a party. You walk into the kitchen and overhear Debby, the party host, ask a question. Here's an example:

**Debby:** *Does Frank's brother own a dog?*

Your job is to judge what Debby is certain of, given what she asks. For example: Given what Debby asks, is she certain that Frank has a brother? (You answer "Yes" or "No".) Or: Is Debby certain that Frank's brother owns a dog? (Again, you answer "Yes" or "No".)

There are 14 questions total that we ask you to judge.

**To make sure you are paying attention, we have included some questions for which we know the right answer. If you read Debby's questions carefully, you will definitely get those right.**

Stimuli:

1. **Main clause:** Did Mary bring a fruit salad? / Is Debby certain that Mary brought a fruit salad?
2. **NRRC:** Is Jack, who works for a bank, giving out investment tips? / Is Debby certain that Jack works for a bank?
3. **Change of state implication of “stop”:** Did Larry stop dancing? / Is Debby certain that Larry has been dancing?
4. **Complement of “discover”:** Did Paula discover that her husband is cheating? / Is Debby certain that Paula's husband is cheating?
5. **Main clause:** Does Sue, a teacher, run three times a week? / Is Debby certain that Sue runs three times a week?
6. **VP implication of “stupid”:** Was Sam stupid to post his social security number on Facebook? / Is Debby certain that Sam posted his social security number on Facebook?
7. **Nominal appositive:** Is Phillip, a yoga teacher, wearing sweat pants? / Is Debby certain that Phillip is a yoga teacher?
8. **Main clause with manner adverb:** Did Eve dance terribly? / Is Debby certain that Eve danced?
9. **Complement of “annoyed”:** Is Tamara annoyed that the pizza is gone? / Is Debby certain that the pizza is gone?
10. **Presupposition of “again”:** Is Carl getting drunk again? / Is Debby certain that Carl got drunk before?
11. **Possessive implication:** Is Susan flirting with her neighbor? / Is Debby certain that Susan has a neighbor?
12. **Complement of “glad”:** Is Raul glad that he left his wife at home? / Is Debby certain that Raul left his wife at home?

13. **Cleft:** Was it Jack who brought a coat? / Is Debby certain that Jack is the only person who brought a coat?
14. **Scalar implicature:** Is the soup is warm? / Is Debby certain that the soup is not hot?

Participants: 30 Turkers

- Every Turker gave between 6 and 11 “no” responses (out of 14 possible).
- Nobody gave projection response to main clause 1 (Q1)
- Nobody gave projection response to main clause 2 (Q2)

Results:

30	100%	NRRC, C of annoyed, again, possNP
28	93%	nomapp, C of glad
26	87%	pre-state stop, VP of stupid
23	77%	manner with main clause
16	53%	C of discover
5	17%	cleft
1	3%	scalar impl
0	0%	main clause1, main clause2

### **Pilot 3: “Does Debby think that p?”**

Instructions: Imagine you are at a party. You walk into the kitchen and overhear Debby, the party host, ask a question. Here's an example:

**Debby:** *Does Frank's brother own a dog?*

Your job is to judge what Debby thinks, given what she asks. For example:  
Given what Debby asks, does she think that Frank has a brother? (You answer "Yes" or "No".) Or: Does Debby think that Frank's brother owns a dog? (Again, you answer "Yes" or "No".)

There are 14 questions total that we ask you to judge.

**To make sure you are paying attention, we have included some questions for which we know the right answer. If you read Debby's questions carefully, you will definitely get those right.**

Stimuli:

1. **Main clause:** Did Mary bring a fruit salad? / Does Debby think that Mary brought a fruit salad?
2. **NRRC:** Is Jack, who works for a bank, giving out investment tips? / Does Debby think that Jack works for a bank?
3. **Change of state implication of “stop”:** Did Larry stop dancing? / Does Debby think that Larry has been dancing?

4. **Complement of “discover”**: Did Paula discover that her husband is cheating? / Does Debby think that Paula’s husband is cheating?
5. **Main clause**: Does Sue, a teacher, run three times a week? / Does Debby think that Sue runs three times a week?
6. **VP implication of “stupid”**: Was Sam stupid to post his social security number on Facebook? / Does Debby think that Sam posted his social security number on Facebook?
7. **Nominal appositive**: Is Phillip, a yoga teacher, wearing sweat pants? / Does Debby think that Phillip is a yoga teacher?
8. **Main clause with manner adverb**: Did Eve dance terribly? / Does Debby think that Eve danced?
9. **Complement of “annoyed”**: Is Tamara annoyed that the pizza is gone? / Does Debby think that the pizza is gone?
10. **Presupposition of “again”**: Is Carl getting drunk again? / Does Debby think that Carl got drunk before?
11. **Possessive implication**: Is Susan flirting with her neighbor? / Does Debby think that Susan has a neighbor?
12. **Complement of “glad”**: Is Raul glad that he left his wife at home? / Does Debby think that Raul left his wife at home?
13. **Cleft**: Was it Jack who brought a coat? / Does Debby think that Jack is the only person who brought a coat?
14. **Scalar implicature**: Is the soup is warm? / Does Debby think that the soup is not hot?

Participants: 30 Turkers

- One Turker responded “no”/0 to everything
- 16 gave “yes” response to main clause 1 (Q1)
- 14 gave “yes” response to main clause 2 (Q2)

Results (out of 29)

		NRRC, compl of discover, nomapp, compl of
29	100%	annoyed, again
28	97%	compl of glad
27	93%	pre-state stop, VP stupid, manner main
26	90%	possNP
18	62%	cleft
16	55%	main clause
14	48%	main clause (with app)
9	31%	scalar implicature