How projective is projective content?
Gradience in projectivity and at-issueness[*]

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Abstract

Projective content is utterance content that a speaker may be taken to be committed to even when the expression associated with the content occurs embedded under an entailment-canceling operator (e.g., Chierchia and McConnell-Ginet 1990). It has long been observed that projective content varies in how projective it is (e.g., Karttunen 1971; Simons 2001; Abusch 2010), though preliminary experimental research has been able to confirm only some of the intuitions about projection variability (e.g., Smith and Hall 2011; Xue and Onea 2011). Given the sparse empirical evidence for projection variability, the first goal of this paper was to investigate projection variability for projective content associated with 19 expressions of American English. The second goal was to explore the hypothesis, called the Gradient Projection Principle, that content projects to the extent that it is not at-issue. The findings of two pairs of experiments provide robust empirical evidence for projection variability and for the Gradient Projection Principle. We show that many analyses of projection cannot account for the observed projection variability and discuss the implications of our finding that projective content varies in its at-issueness for an empirically adequate analysis of projection.

1 Introduction

Projective content is utterance content that the speaker may be taken to be committed to even when the expression associated with the content occurs in the syntactic scope of an entailment-canceling operator (see, e.g., Chierchia and McConnell-Ginet 1990). To illustrate, consider the examples in (1) and (2). Since (1) entails the content of the complement of *discover*, that Mike visited Alcatraz, the speaker of (1) is taken to be committed to this content. The so-called Family-of-Sentences variants of (1) given in (2a-d) do not entail this content because *discover* is embedded under entailment-canceling operators: negation in (2a), the polar question operator in (2b), the epistemic possibility modal *perhaps* in (2c) and the antecedent of a conditional in (2d). Since speakers who utter the sentences in (2a-d) may nevertheless be taken to be committed to the content of the complement, this content, by virtue of being able to 'project' over the entailment-canceling operators, is considered projective content.

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(1)   Felipe discovered that Mike visited Alcatraz.

(2)   a. Felipe didn't discover that Mike visited Alcatraz.

     b. Did Felipe discover that Mike visited Alcatraz?

     c. Perhaps Felipe discovered that Mike visited Alcatraz.

     d. If Felipe discovered that Mike visited Alcatraz, he'll get mad.

Why does projective content project? One of the most successful and widely adopted answers to this question is that projective content projects by conventionally being required to be entailed by or satisfied in the common ground of the interlocutors (e.g., Heim 1983; van der Sandt 1992; Geurts 1999). On such 'conventionalist' approaches, the lexical entry of *discover* specifies that the content of its clausal complement is required to be entailed by or satisfied in the common ground of the interlocutors, thereby ensuring that the speaker is taken to be committed to the content. Since conventionalist approaches only distinguish projective and non-projective content, such approaches are challenged by the long-standing observation that some projective content is less projective than other such content. In the early 1970s already, Karttunen (1971) pointed out that the content of the complement of *regret* in (3a) is more projective than the content of the complement of *discover* in (3b); following Karttunen 1971, predicates like *discover* have been referred to as 'semi-factive', in contrast to their 'factive' counterparts like *regret* (and 'non-factive' predicates like *believe*). Schlenker (2010) referred to the predicate *announce* as a 'part-time trigger' because the content of its complement may, but often does not, project.

(3)   a. John didn't discover that he had not told the truth.

     b. John didn't regret that he had not told the truth.   (Karttunen 1971:63)

Similarly, Simons (2001:432) noted, partially based on examples from Chierchia and McConnell-Ginet 1990 and Geurts 1994, that the projection of "some – but crucially, not all" projective content to the common ground of the interlocutors may be suppressed in explicit ignorance contexts. Example (4a), for instance, shows that the projective content associated with *win* in the antecedent of the conditional, that John participated in the race, need not be part of the common ground of the interlocutors, i.e., need not project. On the other hand, the existential implication of the cleft in (4b), that there is an individual who read the letter, must be part of the common ground of the interlocutors, i.e., must project. Expressions like *win* are referred to as 'soft triggers', in contrast to 'hard triggers' like the cleft (see also, e.g., Abusch 2010; Abrusán 2016).[1] Similar observations about projective contents "differ[ing] from each other...in that some appear more robust than others" are found in Kadmon 2001:ch.11. There is, however, disagreement about how projective particular projective contents are: the pre-state implication of *stop*, for instance, is typically considered a 'soft trigger' (e.g., Simons 2001; Chemla 2009; Romoli 2015), but Kadmon (2001:222) takes it to be a "hard-core presupposition" and Abrusán (2011, 2016) considers it to be more projective than 'soft trigger' implies.

(4)   a. I have no idea whether John ended up participating in the Road Race yesterday. But if he won it, then he has more victories than anyone else in history.   (Abusch 2010:39)

     b. #I have no idea whether anyone read that letter. But if it is John who read it, let's ask him to be discreet about the content.   (Abusch 2010:40)

Experimental research has provided preliminary evidence for projection variability. Xue and Onea (2011) observed that the content of the complement of German *wissen* 'know' is less projective than the

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[1]In this paper, we do not use the term 'trigger' to refer to expressions associated with projective content since this term evokes conventionalist theories of projection. To remain neutral about how projective content comes to be projective, we instead use 'expression associated with projective content'.

content of the complement of *erfahren* 'find out', both of which are less projective than the relevant projective contents of sentences with *auch* 'too' (that a parallel event is contextually salient) and *wieder* 'again' (that the relevant event has happened before). Similarly, Smith and Hall (2011) found that the projective contents of *win* and *know* are less projective than the content implication of English definite noun phrases (e.g., for *the queen*, that the referent is a queen). Interestingly, they also found that the existential implication of cleft sentences, considered a hard trigger, was numerically less projective than the relevant contents of the soft triggers *win* and *know*. Thus, the sparse experimental evidence confirms some but not all of the intuitions about projection variability reported in the literature.[2]

Observations about projection variability challenge any approach to projection that does not offer an explanation for why some projective content seems to be systematically less projective than other such content. Under conventionalist approaches, for instance, the lexical specifications of expressions like *regret, discover, win*, clefts and definite noun phrases predict that their relevant contents can project, but do not predict differences in projectivity. And although the process of local accommodation allows conventionalist approaches to capture that a particular utterance content does not project to the common ground of the interlocutors, this process is not understood well-enough to capture systematic differences between projective contents associated with distinct expressions. Thus, referring to expressions associated with projective content as 'semi-factive' or 'soft triggers', as opposed to 'factive' or 'hard triggers', provides a way of pigeon-holing projectively variable constructions, but does not address the challenge that this variability poses for conventionalist approaches to projection. Given the sparse empirical evidence for projection variability, a first goal of this paper is to explore projection variability for a broad range of projective content, to better understand the extent to which projective content varies in projectivity and what an empirically adequate analysis of projective content must be able to account for.[3]

One possible explanation for projection variability is that projectivity derives from a property that projective content shares, but shares to varying degrees. Simons et al. (2010) proposed that 'at-issueness' is implicated in projectivity (see also Abrusán 2011): utterance content projects if and only if it is not at-issue with respect to the Question Under Discussion addressed by the utterance (on the Question Under Discussion see, e.g., Roberts 2012). This hypothesis was formulated as the Projection Principle in Beaver et al. 2017:280:[4]

(5) **Projection Principle:** If content *C* is expressed by a constituent embedded under an entailment-canceling operator, then *C* projects if and only if *C* is not at-issue.

To illustrate the Projection Principle, consider the question-answer pair in (6). In B's answer utterance, the content of the non-restrictive relative clause (NRRC) is not at-issue with respect to A's question whereas

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[2]Other experimental research also hints at projection variability. In Just and Clark 1973, the projective content associated with the negative predicates *forget* and *to be thoughtless*, embedded in the antecedent of a conditional, took longer to verify than that of the positive predicates *remember* and *to be thoughtful*, respectively. In Harris 1974b, the extent to which the projective content associated with eight change of state predicates and motion verbs embedded under negation was judged to be true was reported to be variable. In Harris 1974a, the content of the complement of 'factive' predicates was found to be more projective than the content of the complement of 'non-factive' predicates. Finally, Tiemann et al. (2011) noted that projective content differs in how acceptable it was judged in contexts that did not entail the relevant content.

[3]Non-conventionalist approaches to projection derive the projectivity of projective content from the meaning of the uttered sentence, general conversational principles and other mechanisms (e.g., Stalnaker 1974; Kempson 1975; Levinson 1983; Simons 2001; Abusch 2010; Simons et al. 2017). Utterances in which projective content is not a commitment of the speaker are generally taken to be unproblematic for such approaches (see, e.g., Levinson 1983:ch.4, Kadmon 2001:ch.11). We return to the implications of our findings for analyses of projection in section 4.

[4]According to Simons et al. 2010:315, there is a causal relation between projection and at-issueness: utterance content projects not just *when* but *because* it is not-at-issue. The Projection Principle as formulated in Beaver et al. 2017 is neutral about whether not-at-issueness causes or merely predicts projection. The experiments we report on here were designed to test only whether not-at-issueness predicts projection. We leave the question of whether there is a causal relationship between not-at-issueness and projection to future research. For first evidence for such a causal relationship see Tonhauser 2016.

the content that Mike is interested in the history of prisons is at-issue with respect to A's question. The Projection Principle predicts that the content of the NRRC projects from B's utterance in (6), i.e., is content that B is committed to. The content that Mike is interested in the history of prisons, on the other hand, is not predicted to project but is interpreted in the scope of the possibility modal.

(6) A: What is Mike interested in?

B: It's possible that Mike, who visited Alcatraz, is interested in the history of prisons.

The Projection Principle as formulated in (5) does not consider projection variability and seems to assume that projective content either projects or does not project. In this paper, we take the projectivity of projective content to be a gradient property of content, rather than a binary, categorical one. This assumption is motivated by the aforementioned intuitions and experimental findings about projection variability. There are at least two interpretations of what it means for projectivity to be a gradient property. On a first interpretation, a listener's (or reader's) judgment that a content is projective to a certain extent means that the listener takes the speaker (or writer) to be committed to the content to that extent. On this interpretation, projectivity being a gradient property is a consequence of speaker commitment being a gradient property. On a second interpretation, a listener's judgment that a content is projective to a certain extent reflects the probability with which they believe the speaker to be committed to the content. On this interpretation, speaker commitment may be a binary, categorical property and projection variability arises from the listener's uncertainty about the whether the speaker is committed. In this paper, we remain agnostic about the underlying interpretation of projectivity as a gradient property, though our discussion of projection variability will be in line with the first interpretation.

Given the hypothesis that projective content varies in how projective it is, we propose the Gradient Projection Principle in (7):

(7) **Gradient Projection Principle:** If content C is expressed by a constituent embedded under an entailment-canceling operator, then C projects to the extent that it is not at-issue.

The Gradient Projection Principle predicts that utterance content that is more not-at-issue is more projective. Compare, for instance, the content of NRRCs, which is generally taken to be highly not-at-issue (Potts 2005)[5] and the content of the complement of *discover*, which can be at-issue and not-at-issue (Simons 2007), as shown by the examples in (8). The Gradient Projection Principle thus predicts that the content of NRRCs is more projective than the content of the complement of *discover*.

(8) a. A: Why is Henry in such a bad mood?

B: He discovered that Harriet had a job interview at Princeton.

b. A: Where was Harriet yesterday?

B: Henry discovered that she had a job interview at Princeton. (Simons 2007:1035)

As summarized in (9), the second goal of this paper is to test the Gradient Projection Principle:

(9) **Research questions**

a. Does projective content vary in how projective it is?

b. Are not-at-issueness and projectivity correlated, as predicted by the Gradient Projection Principle?

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[5] Syrett and Koev (2015) show that the content of NRRCs can be the target of direct denial, which may be taken to suggest that this content can be at-issue. We return to differences between diagnostics for at-issueness in section 3.3.

The two research questions in (9) are explored in this paper on the basis of two pairs of experiments, which jointly serve to identify empirical generalizations that an empirically adequate analysis of projection needs to account for. In exploring the first research question (Exps. 1a and 1b, section 2), we expand on and improve on previous experimental research on projection variability. In Xue and Onea 2011 and Smith and Hall 2011, projection variability was explored for 4 German and 6 English expressions associated with projective content, respectively. Exps. 1a and 1b significantly broaden our understanding of projection variability by considering the projective content associated with 19 American English expressions.

Our experiments also take into consideration that world knowledge may influence projection: a speaker might, for instance, be more likely to be taken to be committed to a content conveyed by an expression that describes an event of Alexander flying to New York than to a content conveyed by an expression that describes an event of Alexander flying to the moon, simply because people are more likely to fly to New York than the moon. Thus, the projectivity of content may depend on the prior probability of the event described by the expression that conveys the content, such that content conveyed by expressions that describe more a priori likely events may be more likely to project.[6] If this is right, then, for example, the content of the clausal complement of *discover* in an utterance of *Did Bill discover that Alexander flew to New York?* should be more projective than that in an utterance of *Did Bill discover that Alexander flew to the moon?*.

In this paper, we do not systematically manipulate the prior probabilities of events but we do introduce event-type variability by including expressions that describe a wide variety of events. In our experiments, the lexical content conveyed by these expressions instantiate projective contents, like the projective content associated with *discover* (the content of the clausal complement). In the remainder of the paper, the term 'lexical content' refers to the description of a particular event and the term 'projective content' refers to an abstract characterization of the projective content associated with an expression. For instance, in a sentence like *Did Bill discover that Alexander flew to New York?*, the relevant expression is *discover*, the projective content is the content of its clausal complement, and the lexical content (of the projective content) describes the event of Alexander flying to New York. Thus, our experiments consider that the lexical content that instantiates projective content may matter for the extent to which the projective content is projective and at-issue. The projective content associated with the 6 expressions explored in Smith and Hall 2011 was only instantiated by one lexical content each and a distinct lexical content instantiated each projective content. Our experiments, in contrast, included a total of 37 lexical contents and the projective content associated with each expression was instantiated by up to 20 lexical contents. Furthermore, to facilitate comparison across different projective contents and the expressions associated with the projective content, the projective contents of distinct expressions were instantiated with the same lexical contents: overall, each of the 37 lexical contents instantiated up to 12 projective contents.

Our research on the second research question also builds on and significantly expands previous experimental work. Using a direct dissent diagnostic for at-issueness, Amaral et al. (2011) found that speakers of British English judged direct dissent with the projective content associated with *only* (the prejacent) to be more acceptable than direct dissent with the projective content associated with *continue* and *stop* (the pre- and post-state implications, respectively). These findings suggest that the prejacent of *only* is more at-issue than the post- and pre-state implications of *continue* and *stop*, respectively. (See also Cummins et al. 2012, and Amaral and Cummins 2015 for similar results on Spanish.) Xue and Onea (2011) found that speakers of German were more likely to directly dissent with the content of the complement of *wissen* 'know' than with the content of the complement of *erfahren* 'find out' and, in turn, more likely to directly dissent with these contents than with projective contents of *auch* 'too' and *wieder* again'. These results suggest that the projective content associated with *wissen* 'know' is more at-issue than the projective content associated with *erfahren* 'find out', which in turn is comparatively more at-issue than the projective contents associated with

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[6]World knowledge, i.e., subjective prior probabilities assigned to events, has been shown to affect interpretation in ways captured by models of language use that treat interpretation as Bayesian reasoning about an observed utterance (see, e.g., Franke and Jäger 2016; Goodman and Frank 2016).

auch 'too' and *wieder* again'. These experimental findings provide empirical support for our assumption that at-issueness is a gradient property of content, like projectivity, as reflected in the Gradient Projection Principle.[7] Interestingly, comparing the relative projectivity and not-at-issueness of the projective contents across their two experiments, Xue and Onea (2011:180) point to "a clear correlation between projection and not-at-issueness", in line with the Gradient Projection Principle. Our Exps. 1a and 1b improve on Xue and Onea's (2011) study by exploring the projectivity and at-issueness of projective content as within-item and within-participant factors. The design of these experiments therefore allows us to quantify the correlation between not-at-issueness and projectivity, and to consider by-item and by-participant variability.

The diagnostics for at-issueness employed in the literature rely on different assumptions about how at-issue and not-at-issue content differ. In Exps. 1a and 1b (section 2), we rely on a diagnostic that assumes that the context set is more likely to be partitioned by at-issue content and its negation, than by not-at-issue content and its negation. For other applications of diagnostics that rely on this assumption see, e.g., Amaral et al. 2007 and Tonhauser 2012. To make sure that the at-issueness results in Exps. 1 are not just an artifact of the at-issueness diagnostic used, a second pair of experiments, Exps. 2a and 2b (section 3), explore the at-issueness of the projective contents of the first pair of experiments, Exps. 1a and 1b, using a different diagnostic for at-issueness. Specifically, the diagnostic used in Exps. 2a and 2b relies on the assumption that at-issue and not-at-issue content differ in the extent to which it is up for debate and can be directly assented/dissented with. For previous uses of diagnostics that rely on this assumption see, e.g., Amaral et al. 2007; Xue and Onea 2011; Murray 2014; AnderBois et al. 2015; Destruel et al. 2015; Tonhauser 2012 and Syrett and Koev 2015. We return to the issue of adequately operationalizing at-issueness in section 2.

2 Experiment 1

Exps. 1a and 1b explored the research questions in (9), repeated here for convenience.[8]

(9) **Research questions**

    a. Does projective content vary in how projective it is?
       Are not-at-issueness and projectivity correlated, as predicted by the Gradient Projection Principle?

To explore these questions, we collected projectivity and at-issueness judgments for 19 projective contents that were instantiated by different lexical contents. The expressions associated with the projective contents were embedded in polar questions. Each participant rated both the projectivity and the at-issueness for a given item, which allowed us to test whether at-issueness predicts projectivity while controlling for between-participant variability. Exps. 1a and 1b differed only in the set of projective contents tested.

The diagnostics for projection and at-issueness we used were developed for the experiments reported on in this paper. Previous research on projection has employed a variety of response tasks, including asking theoretically untrained speakers whether the negation of the relevant content is compatible with an utterance

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[7]Interpretations of at-issueness as a gradient property require a precise characterization of at-issueness. According to the characterizations in Simons et al. 2010 and Beaver et al. 2017, the at-issueness of utterance content is determined relative to the Question Under Discussion (QUD) addressed by the utterance. Given that a listener's determination of the QUD of an utterance requires the integration of prosodic, lexical and structural cues from the uttered sentence as well as cues from high-level properties of discourse (Simons et al. 2017; Tonhauser 2016; Beaver et al. 2017) and given that our experiment stimuli provided only limited cues to the QUD, variable at-issueness can be assumed to reflect listeners' uncertainty about which QUD the speaker is addressing. On the characterization of at-issueness proposed in, e.g., Murray 2014 and AnderBois et al. 2015 (see section 3.3), a different interpretation of at-issueness as a gradient property may be possible.

[8]The data and R code for generating the figures and analyses of the experiments reported on in this paper are available at `https://github.com/judith-tonhauser/how-projective`. This repository also includes information on pilot studies conducted to explore different diagnostics for projection and at-issueness.

of a Family-of-Sentences variant (Xue and Onea 2011), how surprised they would be to learn the relevant content after reading a Family-of-Sentences variant (Smith and Hall 2011) or whether some individual would perform a particular action after hearing an utterance of a Family-of-Sentences variant ('indirect implication judgment', Tonhauser et al. 2013). The diagnostic for projection used in Exps. 1 more directly assesses speaker commitment by asking participants to judge the extent to which the speaker is certain of the content of interest. The same diagnostic has since been used in experiments in which the expressions associated with projective content were embedded under other entailment-canceling operators, namely the epistemic possibility adverb *perhaps* (Tonhauser 2016) and negation (Stevens, de Marneffe, Speer, and Tonhauser 2017).

The assumption that underlies our diagnostic for at-issueness in Exps. 1 is that a polar question is more likely to partition the context set by at-issue content and its negation, than by not-at-issue content and its negation. Amaral et al. (2007) operationalized this assumption about at-issue content using acceptability judgments, as illustrated in (10): judgments of acceptability for the responses in B are taken to show that the content 'Edna has started the descent' is at-issue in A's question, and judgments of unacceptability for the responses in B′ are taken to show that the content 'Edna is a fearless leader' is not at-issue in A's question. For a diagnostic that relies on a similar operationalization of the same assumption see Tonhauser 2012.

(10) A: Has Edna, a fearless leader, started the descent?
      B: Yes (she has started). / No (she hasn't started).
      B′: #Yes, she's fearless. / #No, she's not fearless.   (Amaral et al. 2007:731)

Our operationalization of this assumption about at-issue content does not rely on acceptability judgments but on participants' assessment of the extent to which the speaker is asking about a particular content. Both our diagnostic for projection and for at-issueness are illustrated in (11) on the basis of Patrick's polar question with the nominal appositive. The content of interest here is the content of the nominal appositive, that Martha's new car is a BMW.

(11) Patrick asks: *Was Martha's new car, a BMW, expensive?*

      a. 'certain that' question (projectivity): Is Patrick certain that Martha's new car is a BMW?
      b. 'asking whether' question (at-issueness): Is Patrick asking whether Martha's new car is a BMW?

In what follows, we refer to the diagnostic for projection as the 'certain that' diagnostic and to the diagnostic for at-issueness as the 'asking whether' diagnostic.

2.1   Experiment 1a

In Exp. 1a participants provided projectivity and at-issueness judgments for projective contents associated with syntactically heterogeneous target expressions.

2.1.1   Methods

Participants.   250 participants with U.S. IP addresses and at least 97% of previous HITs approved were recruited on Amazon's Mechanical Turk platform (ages: 19-71; median: 33). They were paid $1 for participating in the experiment.

Materials.   The projective content associated with 9 syntactically heterogeneous target expressions were tested in Exp. 1a. The 9 target expression/projective content pairs are shown in (12).

(12) **Target expression / projective content pairs**

1. Sentence-medial NRRCs / content of the NRRC
   e.g., *These muffins, which have blueberries in them, are gluten-free and low-fat.* / 'These muffins have blueberries in them.'
2. Sentence-medial nominal appositives / appositive content
   e.g., *Martha's new car, a BMW, was expensive.* / 'Martha's new car is a BMW'
3. Posessive noun phrases / possession implication
   e.g., *Martha's new BMW was expensive.* / 'Martha's new car is a BMW'
4. *be annoyed* / content of the clausal complement
   e.g., *Martha's neighbor is annoyed that Martha has a new BMW.* / 'Martha has a new BMW'
5. *discover* / content of the clausal complement
   e.g., *Mary discovered that her daughter has been biting her nails.* / 'Mary's daughter has been biting her nails'
6. *know* / content of the clausal complement
   e.g., *Billy knows that Martha has a new BMW.* / 'Martha has a new BMW'
7. *only* / prejacent
   e.g., *These muffins only have blueberries in them.* / 'These muffins have blueberries in them'
8. *stop* / pre-state implication
   e.g., *Mary's daughter stopped biting her nails.* / 'Mary's daughter has been biting her nails'
9. *be stupid to* / prejacent
   e.g., *Mary's daughter is stupid to be biting her nails.* / 'Mary's daughter has been biting her nails'

These 9 target expression/projective content pairs share the property of not imposing a Strong Contextual Felicity constraint on the utterance context (Tonhauser et al. 2013). What this means is that utterances with the target expressions are judged to be acceptable in contexts in which the projective content is not already part of the common ground of the interlocutors when the expression is uttered. For instance, B's utterance in (6), repeated below, is acceptable even if A did not previously know the content of the NRRC, that Mike visited Alcatraz. An expression/projective content pair that is associated with a Strong Contextual Felicity constraint is the pronoun *they* and the projective content that there is a uniquely salient plurality of individuals (to which the pronoun refers). Use of *they* in (13) is judged to be unacceptable because the projective content associated with the pronoun is not part of the common ground of the interlocutors, i.e., the utterance context does not entail the existence of a uniquely salient plurality of individuals to which the pronoun could refer.

(6) A: What is Mike interested in?
     B: It's possible that Mike, who visited Alcatraz, is interested in the history of prisons.

(13) At a bus stop, one woman asks another one, with no other people around:
      #Did they visit Alcatraz?

Including only expression/projective content pairs not associated with a Strong Contextual Felicity constraint was motivated by our goal of exploring the relative projectivity and at-issueness of the projective contents associated with the target expressions. It is well-known that the context in which an expression associated with a projective content occurs influences whether the projective content projects (see, e.g., the examples in (4) as well as Simons 2001 and Beaver 2010). In our experiments, all of the target expressions were therefore presented in the same, minimal context, namely one that clarified the situation in which the expression was uttered but otherwise minimized information that might influence the projectivity or at-issueness of the relevant content.[9] Including expression/projective content pairs associated with a Strong

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[9]As discussed in section 4, the minimal contexts in which the stimuli were presented also have the property of not plausibly licensing local accommodation (Heim 1983; van der Sandt 1992), the process that allows conventionalist approaches to projection to account for projective content not projecting.

Contextual Felicity constraint would have forced us to choose between (i) presenting these expressions in contexts in which they might be judged to be unacceptable, or (ii) adjusting the context to make sentences with such expressions judged to be acceptable. Neither option seemed ideal: we worried that projectivity and at-issueness ratings might be influenced by relative acceptability, under the first option, and by differing contexts, under the second option. We therefore opted to postpone study of the projectivity of contents associated with a Strong Contextual Felicity constraint to future work.

Aside from all being able to be used in minimal contexts, the 9 target expression/projective contents pairs explored in Exp. 1a are a diverse set. First, they include contents that are typically referred to as conventional implicatures (see, e.g., Potts 2005), such as the content of NRRCs and nominal appositives, as well as contents typically called presuppositions (see, e.g., Heim 1983; Abrusán 2011), such as the pre-state implication of *stop* or the content of the complement of *know*. And among those typically referred to as presuppositions, there are ones that are associated with 'hard triggers' or 'factive' predicates, such as the content of the complement of *annoyed*, as well as ones that are associated with 'soft triggers' or 'semi-factive' predicates, such as the content of the complement of *discover* (e.g., Karttunen 1971; Simons 2001; Potts 2005; Abusch 2010; Beaver 2010). The inclusion of a diverse set of contents in Exp. 1a allows us to assess whether existing classifications match the observed differences or whether, as Kadmon (2001:223) suggested, "[t]here is a whole continuum of [presuppositions] of various degrees of robustness, a continuum on which no point of qualitative difference in robustness can be found".[10]

The 9 projective contents in (12) were instantiated by 17 lexical contents. Recall that we use the term 'projective content' to refer to the abstract characterization of the projective content associated with an expression (e.g., for *stop*, the pre-state content) and the term 'lexical content' to refer to the lexical content with which the projective content is instantiated. The pre-state content of *stop*, for instance, was instantiated by 3 lexical contents: 'Jack was playing outside with the kids', 'Mary's daughter has been biting her nails' and 'Ann used to dance ballet'. See Appendix A for the other 14 lexical contents that the projective contents of the target expressions were instantiated by. Each of the 9 projective contents was instantiated by 3-8 of the 17 lexical contents. As discussed in section 1, different projective contents were instantiated by the same lexical contents (e.g., the lexical content 'muffins' instantiated the projective content associated with NRRCs and *only*) to test for independent contributions of target expressions and lexical contents to variability in projectivity. Each lexical content instantiated between 2 and 4 projective contents.

The target stimuli were polar questions asked by a speaker, as shown in (14a) and (14b), in which the lexical content 'Richie is a stuntman' instantiates the projective contents of a nominal appositive and of *be stupid to*, respectively. Speaker names were randomly selected (also in the other experiments reported in this paper).

(14) a. Ronald asks: Did Richie, a stuntman, break his leg?
      b. Linda asks: Is Richie stupid to be a stuntman?

The experiment also included 17 control stimuli, which were polar questions formed from the 17 lexical contents: a sample control stimulus, formed from the lexical content 'Richie is a stuntman', is shown in (15). The control stimuli were included to confront participants with contents that are at-issue and not projective, and to assess whether participants were attending to the task. The full set of stimuli of Exp. 1a is provided in Appendix A.

(15) Susan asks: Is Richie a stuntman?

Each participant saw a random set of 15 polar questions. Each set contained a target polar question for each of the 9 projective contents (each instantiated by a unique lexical content) and 6 control polar questions

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[10]The set of expression/projective content pairs included in our experiments do not allow us to compare our findings to Zeevat's 1992 distinctions among presuppositions.

(with unique lexical contents as well), for a total of 15 unique lexical contents. Each participant saw their 15 polar questions twice, for a total of 30 trials: in one block, participants responded to 'certain that' questions to assess projectivity and, in the other block, participants responded to 'asking whether' questions to assess at-issueness. Block order and within-block trial order were randomized.

Procedure. Participants were told to imagine that they are at a party and that, upon walking into the kitchen, they overhear somebody ask another person a question. On each trial, participants read the polar question produced by a random speaker as well as the corresponding response question, and then gave their response on a slider marked 'no' at one end and 'yes' at the other, as shown in Fig. 1 for a trial in an 'asking whether' at-issueness block.
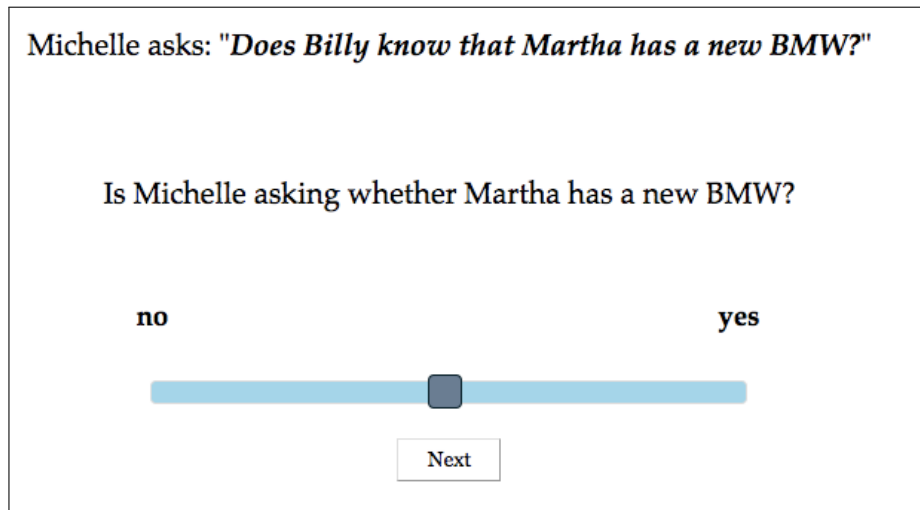

Figure 1: A sample (at-issueness) trial in Exp. 1

A 'yes' response to a 'certain that' question was taken to indicate that the person who uttered the polar question (e.g., Michelle in the sample trial) was committed to the relevant lexical content, i.e., that the lexical content projects, whereas a 'no' response was taken to indicate that the lexical content did not project. For the 'asking whether' questions, a 'yes' response was taken to indicate that the speaker was asking about the relevant lexical content, i.e., that it was at-issue, whereas a 'no' response was taken to indicate that the lexical content was not at-issue. To explore the hypothesis that projectivity and not-at-issueness are positively related, 'yes' responses to 'certain that' questions and 'no' responses to 'asking whether' questions were coded as 1; accordingly, 'no' responses to 'certain that' questions and 'yes' responses to 'asking whether' questions were coded as 0.

After completing the experiment, participants filled out a short optional survey about their age, their native language(s) and, if English is their native language, whether they are a speaker of American English (as opposed to, e.g., Australian or Indian English). To encourage them to respond truthfully, participants were told that they would be paid no matter what answers they gave in the survey.

Data exclusion. Prior to analysis, the data from 29 participants who did not self-identify as native speakers of American English were excluded. For the remaining 221 participants, we inspected their response means to the 'certain that' and 'asking whether' questions to the main clause controls: for these stimuli, we expect low responses to both types of questions since main clause contents are expected to be at-issue and not project. The response means of 11 participants were more than 3 standard deviations above the group means

for at least one type of question (the group means were .07 for 'certain that' and .04 for 'asking whether' questions). Closer inspection revealed that these participants' responses to the control polar questions were systematically higher than the group means and involved 16 of the 17 lexical contents, suggesting that these participants did not attend to the task or interpreted the task differently. The data from these 11 participants were also excluded, leaving data from 210 participants (ages 19-68; median: 33).

2.1.2 Results

We begin by addressing the two research questions in (9), namely whether there is projection variability across the projective contents of the target expressions and whether not-at-issueness is correlated with projectivity, as predicted by the Gradient Projection Principle.
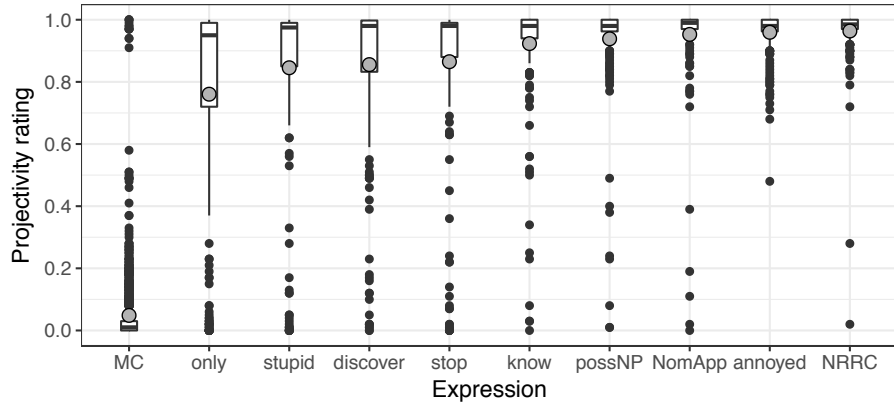
Projection variability across projective contents. By-projective content variability can be seen in Fig. 2a: while median projectivity ratings were all close to ceiling (suggesting that for each projective content at least half of the participants took it to be highly projective), the variable mean responses, box sizes and whisker lengths provide evidence of variability in projectivity across target expressions. For example, the mean projectivity of the prejacent of *only* was relatively low at .76, while the mean projectivity of the projective contents of NRRCs and *be annoyed* was close to ceiling at .96. Fig. 2b shows that about one third of participants took the 9 projective contents they judged to be highly projective. For the remaining participants, the decreasing means (from right to left) reveal a decrease in the overall projectivity of the 9 projective contents and the increasingly larger error bars reveal an increase in projection variability among the 9 projective contents. In sum, there is projection variability across the 9 projective contents.

To determine which projective contents differed from each other in projectivity, we conducted post hoc pairwise comparisons using Tukey's method (allowing for by-participant variability), using the `lsmeans` package (Hothorn et al., 2008) in R (R Core Team, 2016). P-values for each pair of expression/projective content are displayed in Table 1. These results suggest no difference in the projectivity of the projective contents associated with NRRCs, *annoyed*, nominal appositives, possessive NPs, and *know*. The projective contents associated with the other target expressions differed from each other in projectivity, except for the pairs *discover/know* (which displayed only a marginally significant difference), *discover/stop*, *be stupid to/discover*, and *be stupid to/stop*.

	NRRC	annoyed	NomApp	possNP	know	stop	discover	stupid
annoyed	*ns*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
NomApp	*ns*	*ns*	-	-	-	-	-	-
possNP	*ns*	*ns*	*ns*	-	-	-	-	-
know	*ns*	*ns*	*ns*	*ns*	-	-	-	-
stop	***	***	**	**	.	-	-	-
discover	***	***	***	**	*	*ns*	-	-
stupid	***	***	***	***	**	*ns*	*ns*	-
only	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	**

Table 1: P-values associated with pairwise comparison of projective content projectivity means using Tukey's method. '***' indicates significance at .0001, '**' at .01, '*' at .05, '.' marginal significance at .1, and *n.s* indicates no significant difference in means.

This brings us to our second research question: is not-at-issueness correlated with projectivity, as predicted by the Gradient Projection Principle?

(a) Boxplot of projection variability by expression, including main clause controls and collapsing across lexical contents. Grey dots indicate means and notches indicate medians. 'MC' abbreviates main clause.
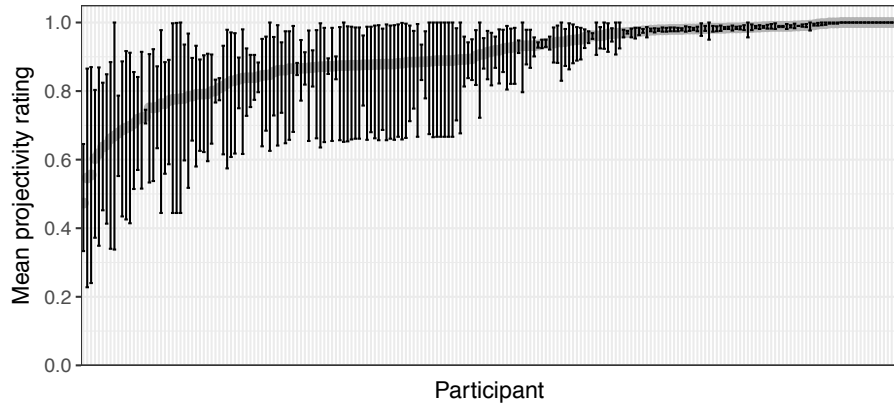
(b) Projectivity means (as grey dots) by participant (excluding main clause controls). Error bars indicate bootstrapped 95% confidence intervals.

Figure 2: Projectivity by expression (top panel) and by participant (bottom panel)

At-issueness. Mean projectivity ratings for each target expression are visualized as a function of their mean not-at-issueness ratings in Fig. 3 ($r = .85$; when not collapsing across lexical contents $r = .45$). There is a clear relationship between at-issueness and projectivity: projective contents that received higher projectivity ratings were also considered to be more not-at-issue.

This qualitative observation about the relation between at-issueness and projectivity was borne out statistically. We conducted a mixed-effects linear regression predicting projectivity rating from a centered fixed effect of at-issueness rating. In order to control for block order effects, the model also included a centered fixed effect of block order and the interaction of block order and at-issueness. The model included the maximal random effects structure justified by the data and the theoretical assumptions: random by-expression intercepts (capturing differences in projectivity between target expressions), random by-lexical content intercepts (capturing differences in projectivity between lexical contents), random by-participant intercepts (capturing differences in projectivity between participants) and random slopes for at-issueness by target expression, lexical content, and participant (capturing that the effect of at-issueness may vary across target expressions, lexical contents, and participants). Here and in the remainder of the paper, p-values were obtained by likelihood ratio tests of the full model with the effect in question against the model without the effect in question. The analysis was conducted on target (non-main-clause) trials only (1,890 data points)
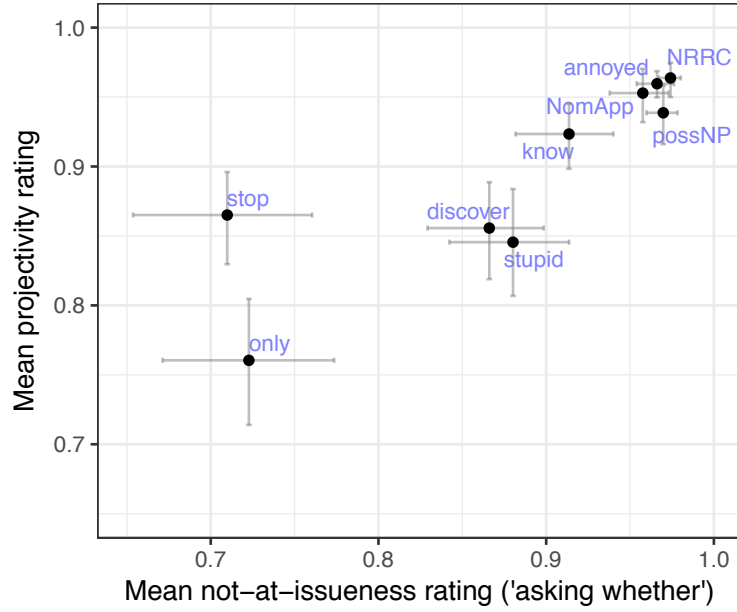
12

Figure 3: Mean projectivity against mean not-at-issueness by target expression/projective content. Error bars indicate bootstrapped 95% confidence intervals.

| | Intercepts | | | Slopes for at-issueness | | |
Target expression	Lexical content	Participant	Target expression	Lexical content	Participant
.04	.02	.06	.22	.19	.39
< .0001	< .003	< .0001	< .0001	< .0001	< .0001

Table 2: Standard deviations (first row) and p-values (second row, $\chi^2(2)$) for random effects in Exp. 1a model.

because we were specifically interested in variability in projectivity for contents that have the potential to project. Analyses were conducted using the `lme4` package (Bates et al., 2015).

There was a significant main effect of at-issueness such that more not-at-issue items received higher projectivity ratings ($\beta = 0.37$, $SE = 0.10$, $t = 3.70$, $\chi^2(1) = 9.20$, $p < .003$). This finding suggests that not-at-issueness is correlated with projectivity, as predicted by the Gradient Projection Principle. Likelihood ratio tests revealed that each random effect was justified (see Table 2 for standard deviations and p-values); that is, there was by-participant, by-expression and by-lexical content variability in projectivity, as well as variability in the at-issueness effect across participants, target expressions and lexical contents. Thus, in addition to at-issueness, the projectivity of the projective content was also influenced by the participant who gave the rating, the expression associated with the projective content and the lexical content that instantiated the projective content. The block effect did not reach significance ($\beta = -0.02$, $SE = 0.01$, $t = -1.56$, $\chi^2(1) = 2.39$, $p > .12$), nor did the interaction term ($\beta = 0.08$, $SE = 0.08$, $t = 0.98$, $\chi^2(1) = 0.96$, $p > .32$), suggesting that the order in which participants completed the tasks (projectivity, at-issueness) did not affect their judgments in a systematic way.

We emphasize that our findings show that at-issueness predicts projectivity not only at the level of the projective contents (i.e., collapsing over participants and lexical contents), but also at the levels of the

individual participants and items (projective content/lexical content pairings). That is, because participants rated both the at-issueness and the projectivity of each of their items, we are able to show that the at-issueness rating a participant gave to an item predicts their projectivity rating of the item. We illustrate the item-level ratings by visualizing, in Fig. 4, each participants' projectivity rating against their at-issueness rating for two items, one with a small amount of by-participant variability (the appositive content of a NRRC instantiated by the lexical content 'Janet has a sick aunt') and one with a large amount of by-participant variability (the prejacent content of *be stupid to* instantiated by the lexical content 'Raul cheated on his wife'). The full set of item-level ratings is provided in Appendix B.
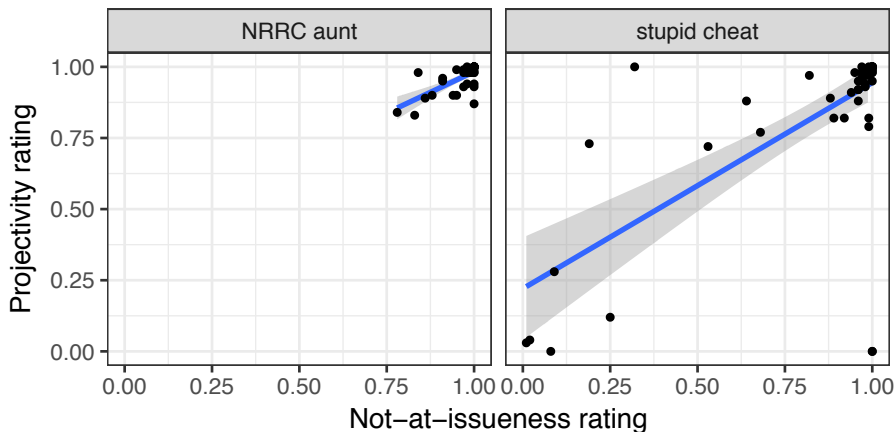

Figure 4: Projectivity ratings against not-at-issueness ratings in Exp. 1a for the appositive content of NRRCs instantiated with the lexical content 'aunt' (left panel) and for the prejacent content of *be stupid to* instantiated with the lexical content 'cheat' (right panel). Each dot represents one participant's ratings. Linear smoothers with 95% confidence intervals overlaid.

2.1.3 Discussion

Exp. 1a was designed to explore projection variability for projective contents associated with a set of heterogeneous target expressions and to test the Gradient Projection Principle, which holds that the projectivity of projective content is predicted by at-issueness. The experiment provided robust empirical evidence for projection variability across the 9 projective contents. Furthermore, the experiment provided evidence for projection variability across participants. This finding suggests that speakers of American English differ in the extent to which they take the projective contents associated with the 9 target expressions to project. Finally, the experiment also showed that the lexical content that instantiates a projective content plays a role in the extent to which the projective content projects. We discuss the implications of this finding in section 2.3, after presenting the findings of Exp. 1b. A methodological implication of these latter two findings is that research on projective content must be sensitive to potential inter-speaker and inter-lexical content differences.

The experiment also provided empirical support for the Gradient Projection Principle because at-issueness was a significant predictor of the projectivity of projective content: the more projective content was judged to be not-at-issue in a speaker's utterance, the more the speaker was taken to be committed to the content. The experiment also showed that the target expressions differ in the extent to which the projective content they are associated with projects. This finding suggests that both the at-issueness of the projective content and the conventional meaning of the target expressions may play a role the extent to which a speaker

is taken to be committed to a projective content. We discuss implications of this finding in section 4, after presenting the findings of Exps. 2.

2.2 Experiment 1b

The task in Exp. 1b was identical to that in Exp. 1a. Participants provided projectivity and at-issueness ratings for the projective contents associated with a set of syntactically homogenous target expressions, namely the contents of the clausal complements of 12 attitude predicates.

2.2.1 Methods

Participants. 250 participants with U.S. IP addresses and at least 97% of previous HITs approved were recruited on Amazon's Mechanical Turk platform (ages: 18-74; median: 32). They were paid $1 for participating in the experiment.

Materials. The projective content explored in Exp. 1b was the content of the clausal complement of 12 predicates that denoted different types of attitudes: the emotive predicates *be amused* and *be annoyed*, the cognitive predicates *be aware, discover, find out, notice, realize, learn* and *establish*, the sensory predicate *see*, and the communication predicates *confess* and *reveal*. Compared to Exp. 1a, the target expressions are syntactically homogenous, but differ in how projective their projective contents have been reported to be. The predicates *be annoyed* and *discover* were included in both Exps. 1a and 1b to be able to directly compare the results of the experiments.

The 12 projective contents were instantiated by 20 lexical contents, which are provided in Appendix C. Each of the 12 projective contents was instantiated by each of these 20 lexical contents, for a total of 240 target stimuli. The target stimuli were (past and present tense)[11] polar questions formed from sentences with one of the 12 predicates, a clausal complement formed from one of the 20 lexical contents and a random proper name subject (the names used for the subjects did not occur in the clausal complements or as the speakers). Two sample target stimuli are given in (16): the complement clause in both stimuli is instantiated by the lexical content 'Raul was drinking chamomile tea'.

(16)   a. Emily asks: Is Shirley aware that Raul was drinking chamomile tea?
   b. Gary asks: Did Samuel discover that Raul was drinking chamomile tea?

The experiment also included 20 control stimuli, which were (past tense) polar questions formed from sentences conveying the 20 lexical contents; a sample control polar question, formed from the lexical content 'Raul was drinking chamomile tea', is shown in (17). The control stimuli were included to confront participants with contents that are at-issue and not projective, and to assess whether participants were attending to the task.

(17)   Timothy asks: Was Raul drinking chamomile tea?

For each participant, a set of 20 polar question stimuli was randomly created: each set contained a target polar question for each of the 12 target expressions (each instantiated by a unique lexical content) and 8 control polar questions (with unique lexical contents as well, for a total of 20 unique lexical contents). Each participants saw their 20 polar question stimuli twice, for a total of 40 trials: in one block, participants responded to 'certain that' questions to assess projectivity; in the other block, participants responded to 'asking whether' questions to assess at-issueness. Block order and within-block trial order were randomized.

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[11]The main clauses of stimuli with *be amused, be aware* and *be annoyed* were realized in the present tense; the main clauses of stimuli with the other predicates were realized in the past tense.

Procedure.   The procedure of Exp. 1b was the same as for Exp. 1a, described in section 2.1.1, except that participants responded to 20 'certain that' and 20 'asking whether' questions. (There are more trials in Exp. 1b than in Exp. 1a because each participant judged the projectivity and at-issueness of 20 rather than 15 contents.)

Data exclusion.   Prior to analysis, we excluded the data from 3 participants who did not self-identify as native speakers of American English. For the remaining 247 participants, we inspected their response means to the 'certain that' and 'asking whether' questions to the main clause controls. The response means of 12 participants were more than 3 standard deviations above the group means for at least one type of question (the group means were .08 for 'certain that' and .04 for 'asking whether' questions). Further inspection revealed that these participants' responses to the control questions were systematically higher than the group means and involved all 20 lexical contents, suggesting that these participants did not attend to the task or interpreted the task differently. The data from these 12 participants were also excluded, leaving data from 235 participants (ages 18-74; median: 33).

2.2.2   Results

Projection variability across projective contents.   We begin by addressing the research question in (9a), whether the projective contents associated with the 12 target expressions exhibit projection variability. Variability in how projective the contents of the clausal complements of the 12 predicates are can be seen in Fig. 5a. The median projectivity ratings are at ceiling for the contents of the clausal complements of most of the predicates, suggesting that at least half of the participants took these contents to be highly projective. The exceptions are the predicates *establish, confess* and *reveal*, for which the medians are not at ceiling, suggesting that the speaker was less likely to be taken to be committed to the contents of the complements of these predicates than for the other 9 predicates. Variability in how projective the contents of the clausal complements of the 12 predicates are is also suggested by variable mean responses, box sizes and whisker lengths across the projective contents of the 12 predicates. Fig. 5b shows that relatively few participants took the contents of the complements of all 12 predicates to be highly projective. The mean responses suggest that there is by-participant variability in how projective the contents of the complements of the 12 predicates were taken to be.

   As in Exp. 1a, we conducted post hoc pairwise comparisons using Tukey's method to determine which of the projective contents associated with the 12 target expressions differed from each other in projectivity. P-values for each pair of target expression/projective content are displayed in Table 3. The results suggest no difference in the projectivity of the projective contents of *be annoyed, notice, be aware, realize, be amused, see*, and *find out*. The projective contents of the other predicates differed from each other in projectivity, with the exception of the pairs *discover/see, discover/find out*, and *discover/learn*. Furthermore, *discover* was marginally different from *be aware, realize*, and *be amused*.

   As for the observed variability in Exp. 1a, we now ask: is not-at-issueness correlated with projectivity, as predicted by the Gradient Projection Principle?

At-issueness.   Mean projectivity ratings for the projective content associated with each target expression are visualized in Fig. 6 as a function of their mean not-at-issueness ratings ($r = .99$; when not collapsing across lexical contents $r = .44$). There is a clear relationship between at-issueness and projectivity: projective contents that received higher not-at-issueness ratings were considered to be more projective.

   This qualitative observation about the relation between at-issueness and projectivity was again borne out statistically. We conducted an appropriately adjusted variant of the mixed-effects linear regression analysis of Exp. 1a. The model predicted projectivity rating from centered fixed effects of at-issueness rating, block order, and the interaction of block order and at-issueness. The model included the maximal random
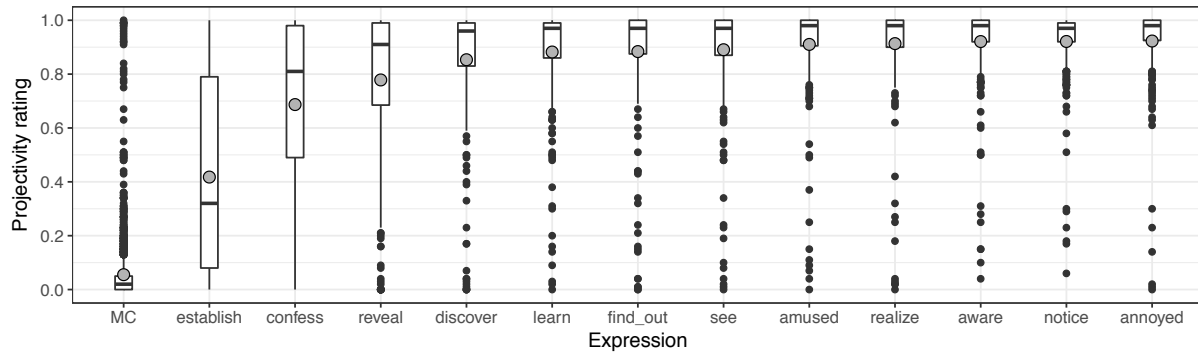
(a) Boxplot of projection variability by expression, including main clause controls and collapsing across lexical contents. Grey dots indicate means and notches indicate medians. 'MC' abbreviates main clause.
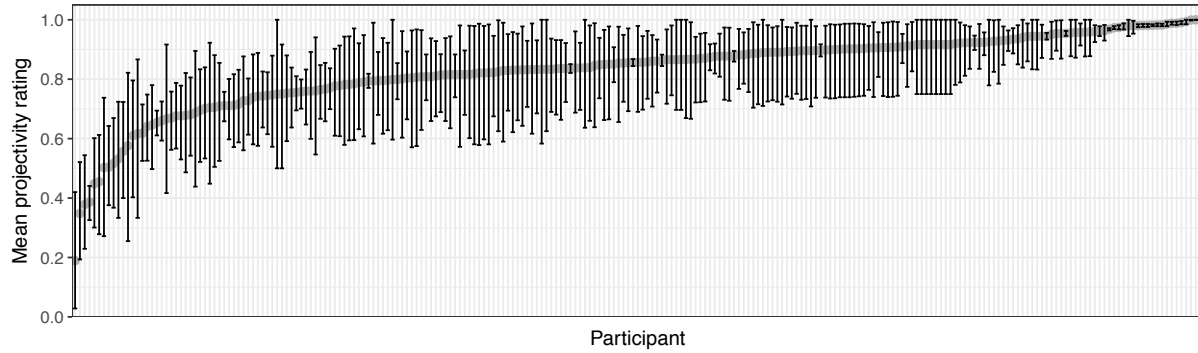
(b) Projectivity means (as grey dots) by participant (excluding main clause controls). Error bars indicate bootstrapped 95% confidence intervals.

Figure 5: Projectivity by expression (top panel) and by participant (bottom panel)

effects structure that allowed the model to converge: random by-expression intercepts (capturing differences in projectivity between target expressions), random by-participant intercepts (capturing differences in projectivity between participants), and random slopes for at-issueness by target expression, lexical content, and participant (capturing that the effect of at-issueness may vary across target expressions, lexical contents, and participants). In contrast to the model reported in the previous section, the current model did not contain random by-lexical content intercepts because there was no by-lexical content intercept variability. As before, the analysis was conducted on target (non-main-clause) trials only (2,820 data points).

We observed a significant main effect of at-issueness, such that more not-at-issue items received higher projectivity ratings ($\beta = 0.34$, $SE = 0.04$, $t = 9.31$, $\chi^2(1) = 31.36$, $p < .0001$). This finding suggests again that the at-issueness of a projective content is related to its projectivity, as predicted by the Gradient Projection Principle. (For a visualization of the item-level ratings see Figure B in the GitHub repository referenced in footnote 8.) Likelihood ratio tests revealed that, of the included random effects, by-lexical content and by-expression slopes for at-issueness were not justified (see Table 4 for standard deviations and p-values); that is, there was by-participant and by-expression variability in projectivity, as well as variability in the at-issueness effect across participants, but in contrast to the data collected in Exp. 1a, there was no variability in the at-issueness effect across target expressions and lexical contents. Together, these findings suggest again that there are target expression-specific effects in projectivity, but overall less random variability, especially across lexical contents.

The block effect did not reach significance ($\beta = -0.02$, $SE = 0.01$, $t = -1.43$, $\chi^2(1) = 2.02$, $p > .15$), but the interaction term did ($\beta = 0.21$, $SE = 0.05$, $t = 3.83$, $\chi^2(1) = 14.09$, $p < .0002$). Simple effects analysis

	be annoyed	notice	be aware	realize	be amused	see	find out	learn	discover	reveal	confess
notice	n.s	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
be aware	n.s	n.s	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
realize	n.s	n.s	n.s	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
be amused	n.s	n.s	n.s	n.s	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
see	n.s	n.s	n.s	n.s	n.s	-	-	-	-	-	-
find out	n.s	n.s	n.s	n.s	n.s	n.s	-	-	-	-	-
learn	n.s	n.s	n.s	n.s	n.s	n.s	n.s	-	-	-	-
discover	**	*	.	.	.	n.s	n.s	n.s.	-	-	-
reveal	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	**	-	-
confess	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	-
establish	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***

Table 3: P-values associated with pairwise comparison of projective contents associated with target expressions using Tukey's method. '***' indicates significance at .0001, '**' at .01, '*' at .05, '.' marginal significance at .1, and *n.s* indicates no significant difference in means.
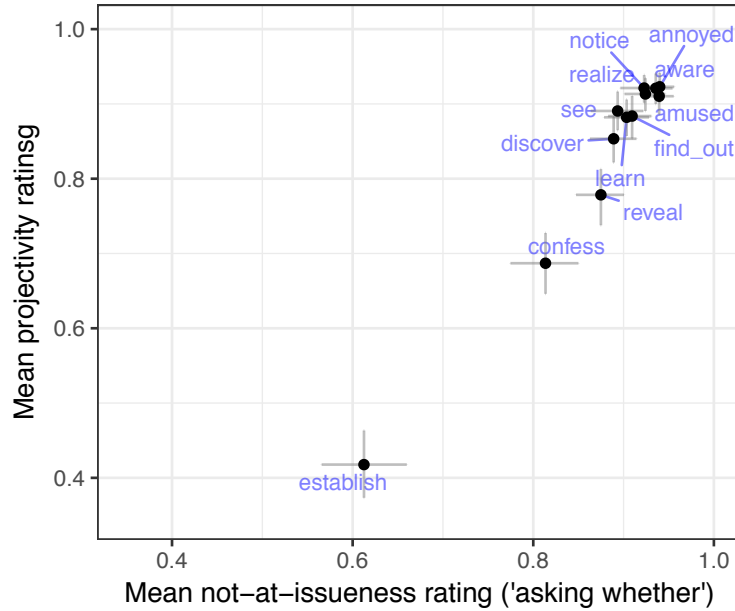

Figure 6: Mean projectivity against mean not-at-issueness by target expression. Error bars indicate bootstrapped 95% confidence intervals.

revealed that this was due to a difference in slope: while there was an effect of at-issueness on projectivity in the predicted direction regardless of block order, the effect was greater in the group of participants who performed the projectivity task first ($\beta = 0.44$, $SE = 0.05$, $t = 9.33$) than in the group who performed the at-issueness task first ($\beta = 0.24$, $SE = 0.04$, $t = 5.46$).

	Intercepts		Slopes for at-issueness		
	Target expression	Participant	Target expression	Lexical content	Participant
	.12	.09	.06	.04	.23
	< .0001	< .0001	> .20	> .50	< .0001

Table 4: Standard deviations (first row) and p-values (second row, $\chi^2(2)$) for random effects in Exp. 1b model.

2.2.3 Discussion

Exp. 1b was designed to explore projection variability of the contents of the clausal complements of 12 attitude predicates and to further test the Gradient Projection Principle. Exp. 1b replicated the key findings of Exp. 1a: there is evidence for variability in the extent to which projective content projects and for a clear role for at-issueness in projectivity.

Like Exp. 1a, Exp. 1b revealed both by-expression and by-participant projection variability, but there was no evidence in Exp. 1b of by-lexical content variability. This difference between the experiments may be due to a number of factors. First, different lexical contents were included in the two experiments and it is possible that the lexical contents in Exp. 1a were more heterogeneous than those in Exp. 1b. Second, whereas the lexical contents of Exp. 1b all instantiated contents of clausal complements, the lexical contents of Exp. 1a instantiated the projective contents of a heterogeneous set of expressions. Third, recall that in Exp. 1b, each lexical content was paired with every target expression, whereas in Exp. 1a, each lexical content was paired with only a subset of target expressions. As a result, there were 3-21 data points per lexical content/projective content pairing in Exp. 1b, but 12-78 data points per lexical content/projective content pairing in Exp. 1a. This difference in number of ratings obtained may have contributed to the observed difference between the two experiments in by-lexical content variability. The role of the lexical contents in projectivity merits further investigation, which we leave to future research.

The results of Exp. 1a and 1b also differed in the effects of block order on ratings: block order mattered in Exp. 1b, but not in Exp. 1a. The intricate ways in which task demands affect subsequent tasks deserve further investigation, which we also leave to future research.

A final comparison of the two experiments concerns the ratings obtained for the predicates *discover* and *be annoyed*, which were included in both experiments. Taking into account confidence intervals, the projectivity and at-issueness ratings for each predicate were indistinguishable in Exps. 1a and 1b: the projectivity means were .86 and .85 for *discover* for .96 and .92 for *be annoyed*, respectively; the at-issueness means were .87 and .89 for *discover* and .97 and .94 for *be annoyed*, respectively. Furthermore, the small but significant difference in the projectivity of the contents of the clausal complements of the two predicates was maintained across the two experiments. This observation suggests that participants' responses were not substantially influenced by the other items they encountered, and that the 'certain that' and 'asking whether' diagnostics are stable methods for estimating projectivity and at-issueness, respectively.

2.3 Summary and discussion of Experiments 1a and 1b

Exps. 1a and 1b were designed to explore projection variability and the relation between projection and at-issueness for 19 projective contents associated with American English expressions, as per the two research questions in (9). Regarding the first research question, the two experiments provided robust empirical evidence for projection variability across the 19 projective contents. In Exp. 1a, the projective contents associated with NRRCs, nominal appositives, *be annoyed*, possessive noun phrases and *know* were highly

projective and indistinguishable from one another in their projectivity. The projective contents associated with *stop, discover* and *be stupid to* were significantly less projective than the aforementioned projective contents (marginally so for the *stop/know* pair). And the prejacent of *only* was significantly less projective than all other projective contents. In Exp. 1b, the contents of the complements of *be annoyed, be amused, notice, be aware, realize, see, find out* and *learn* were highly projective and indistinguishable from one another in their projectivity, and the content of the complement of *discover* was slightly less projective than the aforementioned 8 predicates. The contents of the complements of *reveal, confess* and *establish* were significantly less projective than that of the other 9 predicates, and also less projective than each other.

How well do the observed differences in projectivity align with previously made distinctions between projective contents? As mentioned in section 2.1.1, the 9 projective contents in Exp. 1a include both conventional implicatures and presuppositions. Formal analyses of conventional implicatures as content that is contributed to a separate dimension of not-at-issue meaning (e.g., Potts 2005) or as a non-negotiable update of the common ground (e.g., Murray 2014; AnderBois et al. 2015) predict that conventional implicatures are highly projective. This prediction was borne out in Exp. 1a, where the relevant contents associated with NRRCs and nominal appositives were among the most projective, with means close to ceiling.[12]

The presuppositions in Exps. 1 included both 'hard triggers' and 'soft triggers', as well as 'factive' and 'semi-factive' predicates. Some of the observed projectivity differences align with such commonly-assumed distinctions. For instance, the content of the complement of the 'semi-factive' predicate *discover* and the pre-state implication of *stop*, both often considered 'soft triggers', were significantly less projective than the content of the complement of the emotive 'factive' predicates *be annoyed* and *be amused*, typically considered 'hard triggers' (e.g., Abusch 2010, though see the discussion in Abrusán 2011, 2016). Furthermore, the predicate *know* is often considered 'factive' but has also been suggested to show some parallels with 'semi-factives' and 'soft triggers' (see, e.g., Kiparsky and Kiparsky 1971; Levinson 1983; Simons 2001; Chemla 2009; Geurts and Beaver 2014). Even though in Exp. 1a the content of the complement of *know* was more projective than the content of the complement of *discover*, and statistically indistinguishable in projectivity from the content of the complement of the 'hard' triggering 'factive' *be annoyed*, the mean projectivity of the content of the complement of *know* (.92) was at least numerically lower than that of *be annoyed* (.97).

Overall, however, the results of Exps. 1 do not provide empirical support for the binary categorical distinctions in projectivity that is suggested by the aforementioned classifications. For one, the projective contents were divided by their relative projectivity into more than just two classes in both experiments. Second, even if the projective content in the two experiments could be divided up into just two classes, the observed distinctions in projection variability do not reflect the aforementioned classifications. For instance, the prejacent of *only* was significantly less projective than the projective content associated with other expressions typically taken to be 'soft triggers'. And the projectivity of the contents of the complements of the 'hard triggering' emotive 'factive' predicates *be annoyed* and *be amused* was indistinguishable in Exp. 1b from that of the contents of the complements of the 'soft triggering' 'semi-factive' predicates *notice, be aware, realize, see, find out* and *learn*. Furthermore, the contents of the complements of the predicates *reveal, confess* and *establish* were significantly less projective than those of the previously mentioned 'semi-factive' predicates, as well as each other, further suggesting that the projectivity of the content of the complement of attitude predicates is gradient, not binary.[13] In sum, the observed projection variability does not provide

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[12]Conventional implicatures as well as the possession implication of possessive noun phrases were argued in Tonhauser et al. 2013 to not have Obligatory Local Effect, and content that does not have Obligatory Local Effect is not at-issue content according to Beaver et al.'s 2017 definition of at-issueness. The finding of Exp. 1a that conventional implicatures and the possession implication were highly not-at-issue is in line with Beaver et al.'s 2017 definition of at-issueness.

[13]While the content of the complement of *reveal* has generally been considered entailed and projective content (Hooper 1974; Melvold 1991), the previous literature is not always in agreement about the status of the contents of the complements of *confess* and *establish*. For *establish*, Wyse (2010) took the content of its complement to be projective, but Swanson (2012) classified the content as entailed, but not projective – interestingly, he proposed the same for *discover*. The results of Exp. 1b suggest that the content of the complement of *establish* is projective content, compared to, for instance, non-projective main clauses – and likewise

empirical support for the commonly assumed categorical binary distinctions among presuppositions (see also Jayez et al. 2015).

Kadmon (2001) not only suggested that projectivity is a continuum (p.223), but also proposed that "hard-core presuppositions" (among which she included the pre-state implication of *stop*) are more projective than "factive presuppositions" (like the contents of the complements of *know* or *discover*), which in turn are more projective than unentailed projective contents, including conversational implicatures (p.222). Although the findings of Exps. 1 may support Kadmon's idea that the projectivity of projective content forms a continuum, our findings neither support the assumption that the pre-state implication of *stop* is more projective than the contents of the complements of 'factive' predicates, nor that the projectivity of the contents of the complements of 'factive' predicates is similar. In sum, the findings of Exps. 1 do not support Kadmon's distinctions among presuppositions either.

Finally, we compare our findings about projection variability in American English to those of Xue and Onea 2011 for German. Recall that Xue and Onea (2011) found that the content of the complement of the German predicate *wissen* 'know' was less projective than that of *erfahren* 'find out'. In our experiments, by contrast, the mean projectivity ratings of the contents of the complements of *discover* and *find out* were lower than that of the content of the complement of *know* (*discover*: .86 Exp. 1a, .85 Exp. 1b; *find out*: .88 Exp. 1b; *know*: .92 Exp. 1a). While these findings may be suggestive of cross-linguistic variation, it is important to note that there are several differences between Xue and Onea's (2011) experiment and ours: in their study, the attitude predicates were embedded in the antecedents of conditionals rather than in polar questions; participants were asked to judge whether it is possible that the content of the complement is false rather than whether the speaker is certain of the content of the complement; and, finally, the projective contents were instantiated by different lexical contents. Exploring potential cross-linguistic variation in projectivity is an important area for future research.

Regarding the second research question, whether at-issueness plays a role in projectivity, Exps. 1a and 1b both provided empirical support for such a role, as predicted by the Gradient Projection Principle. Specifically, we found that the at-issueness of the 19 projective contents tested was related to the projectivity of these contents. This finding substantiates the "clear correlation between projection and not-at-issueness" that was suggested in Xue and Onea 2011:180 based on two pilot experiments involving four German expressions associated with projective content. Furthermore, the findings of Exps. 1a and 1b both suggest that the projectivity of projective content is also influenced by the expression that the projective content is associated with, by the lexical content that the projective content is instantiated by and by the participant that judges whether the speaker is committed to the relevant content. Thus, in sum, the findings of Exps. 1a and 1b suggest that the projectivity of utterance content is a function of several factors. We discuss the implications of these findings for analyses of projection in section 4, after further testing the Gradient Projection Principle in Exps. 2.

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for *discover*. For *confess*, authors generally take the content of its complement to be projective (e.g., Reis 1973; Melvold 1991; Schultz 2003; Swanson 2012; Karttunen 2016; cf. Wyse 2010), but Swanson (2012) suggested that the content of the complement is not entailed, giving a variant of the example in (i). (In Swanson's original example, *confess* had a *to*-infinitive as complement.)

(i)   She confessed that she took the money, but later recanted. It turned out that she had been trying to cover up a friend's mistake.   (adapted from Swanson 2012:1540)

Swanson's example is reminiscent of examples like (ii), which are discussed in the literature on whether the content of the complement of *know* is entailed:

(ii) Everyone knew that stress caused ulcers, before two Australian doctors in the early 80s proved that ulcers are actually caused by bacterial infection.   (Hazlett 2010:501)

The question of whether '(semi-)factive' attitude predicates differ in the extent to which the content of their clausal complement is entailed is interesting, but outside the scope of this paper.

3   Confirming the role of at-issueness in projectivity

Our exploration of the Gradient Projection Principle in Exps. 1 relied on exploring the at-issueness of projective content using the 'asking whether' diagnostic. This diagnostic was chosen to assess at-issueness because i) its underlying assumption about at-issue content also underlies diagnostics used in previous research on at-issueness (e.g., Amaral et al. 2007; Tonhauser 2012) and ii) the diagnostic is suitable to diagnose the at-issueness of projective content associated with expressions that are realized in polar questions. The 'asking whether' diagnostic for at-issueness and the independently motivated 'certain that' diagnostic for projection thereby allowed us to collect judgments of at-issueness and projectivity for each item. A potential worry, however, is that the 'asking whether' diagnostic and the 'certain that' diagnostic seem to mirror each other. After all, if Patrick, after uttering the polar question in (11), is taken to be certain that Martha's new car is a BMW, then he is presumably not asking whether her new car is a new BMW, and if he is taken to be asking whether Martha's new car is a BMW, then he is presumably not certain that her new car is a BMW.

(11)   Patrick asks: *Was Martha's new car, a BMW, expensive?*

    a.   'certain that' question: Is Patrick certain that Martha's new car is a BMW?

    b.   'asking whether' question: Is Patrick asking whether Martha's new car is a BMW?

Recall that the assumption that underlies the 'asking whether' diagnostic is that a polar question is more likely to partition the context set by the at-issue content and its negation, than by some not-at-issue content and its negation. One way to address the aforementioned worry would be to use a different operationalization of this assumption, like the diagnostic used in Amaral et al. 2007, which was illustrated with the examples in (10). In this paper, we chose to instead address the worry by using a diagnostic that is based on a different assumption about at-issueness and to thereby show that the empirical support for the Gradient Projection Principle obtained in Exps. 1 is not merely an artifact of the at-issueness diagnostic used. Using this second diagnostic, we collected at-issueness judgments for the same 19 projective contents as in Exps. 1, and related these judgments to the projectivity judgments collected in Exps. 1. Exps. 2a and 2b differed only in the set of projective contents tested, parallel to Exps. 1a and 1b.

At-issueness was explored in Exps. 2 with a diagnostic that relies on the assumption that at-issue and not-at-issue content differ in the extent to which it is up for debate and can be directly assented/dissented with. For previous uses of diagnostics that rely on this assumption see, e.g., Amaral et al. 2007; Xue and Onea 2011; Murray 2014; AnderBois et al. 2015; Destruel et al. 2015; Tonhauser 2012 and Syrett and Koev 2015. The 3-turn dialogue in (18) illustrates how the diagnostic was set up, using the appositive content associated with nominal appositives as an example. The speaker of the first turn, here Fred, utters an indicative sentence with the target expression, here a nominal appositive, and thereby commits himself to various utterance contents, including the appositive content that Martha's new car is a BMW. The speaker of the second turn, here Carla, utters the question *Are you sure?*, thereby challenging some content of the first speaker's utterance. In the third turn, the speaker of the first turn utters an indicative sentence in which the content to be diagnosed for at-issueness, here the appositive content of the first turn, realizes the content of the clausal complement of *sure*, thereby identifying it as the content that they took the second speaker to be challenging.

(18)   Fred: Martha's new car, a BMW, was expensive.

        Carla: Are you sure?

        Fred: Yes, I am sure that Martha's new car is a BMW.

To assess whether participants took the 19 projective contents to be at-issue, i.e., up for debate and a possible target of the second speaker's dissent, we asked them to respond to the question of whether the first speaker

answered the question of the second speaker, using a slider from 'no' to 'yes'. In (18), for instance, the question that participants responded to was: *Did Fred answer Carla's question?*. A 'no' response was taken to indicate that the participant took Carla to have challenged a different content and Fred to therefore not have answered Carla's question; in this case, the projective content was not at-issue. A 'yes' response, on the other hand, was taken to indicate that the participant took Carla to have challenged the projective content and Fred to have answered Carla's question, and, therefore, that the projective content was at-issue.[14]

The at-issueness diagnostic used in Exps. 2 thus differs from the one used in Exps. 1 in several ways: i) the target expressions are realized in indicative sentences rather than in polar questions, i.e., not embedded under an entailment-canceling operator; ii) the diagnostic relies on the assumption that at-issue and not-at-issue content differ in the extent to which it is up for debate and can be dissented with, rather than in the extent to which it and its negation partition the context set; and iii) participants were asked to rate whether an interlocutor's utterance answered another interlocutor's question, rather than whether a speaker is asking about a particular content. Because the target expressions in Exp. 2 are not realized in the scope of an entailment-canceling operator, we cannot collect projectivity ratings for the projective contents associated with the target expressions. To assess whether the at-issueness of the 19 projective contents under this second diagnostic plays a role in their projectivity, we collected at-issueness ratings for the same combinations of target expressions and lexical contents as in Exps. 1, and then related the mean at-issueness rating of each combination to the mean projectivity rating of the same combination from Exps. 1. If not-at-issueness predicts projectivity, we expect this second, substantially different, diagnostic to confirm the relation between projectivity and at-issueness observed in Exp. 1. We present the results of Exps. 2a and 2b in sections 3.1 and 3.2, and then discuss the results and compare the two at-issueness diagnostics in section 3.3.

3.1 Experiment 2a

Exp. 2a explored the at-issueness of the 9 projective contents that we explored in Exp. 1a, i.e., the contents of NRRCs and nominal appositives, the possession implication of possessive noun phrases, the prejacents of *only* and *be stupid to*, the pre-state implication of *stop* and the contents of the clausal complements of *be annoyed, discover* and *know*, using the *Are you sure?* diagnostic introduced above.

3.1.1 Methods

Participants. 250 participants with U.S. IP addresses and at least 97% of previous HITs approved were recruited on Amazon's Mechanical Turk platform (ages: 20-77; median: 30). They were paid 30 cents for their participation.

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[14]As mentioned above, our second at-issueness diagnostic relies on the assumption that at-issue and not-at-issue content differ in the extent to which it is up for debate and can be directly assented/dissented with. Our diagnostic differs from diagnostics used in prior research based on the same assumption because we wanted to explore the at-issueness of a broader set of projective contents and, in particular, ones that are not independent of the main clause content. Xue and Onea (2011), for instance, presented participants with indicative sentences with the target expressions, as did we, but asked participants to choose between (German versions of) 'Yes, and ...' followed by a clause that denies the relevant content and 'No, (but) ...' followed by a clause that denies the relevant content. Syrett and Koev (2015) also presented participants with indicative sentences with the target expressions, but asked participants to choose between a direct dissent utterance 'No, ...' followed by a clause that denies the relevant content and a direct dissent utterance 'No, ...' followed by a clause that denies the main clause content. These diagnostics are unsuitable for expressions that entail the projective content they are associated with: for instance, these diagnostics are not suitable for an indicative sentences with *know*, like *Billy knows that Martha has a new BMW*, because it is not possible to agree with the truth of the main clause content and simultaneously deny the truth of the content of the complement clause (one of the response options in Xue and Onea's 2011 diagnostic) and because denying the truth of the content of the complement also denies the truth of the main clause content (one of the response options in Syrett and Koev's 2015 diagnostic).

Materials. Stimuli consisted of written 3-turn dialogues between two individuals, as in (18). In the target stimuli, the first turn of each dialogue consisted of an indicative sentence that realized one of the 9 target expressions. The projective contents of these 9 target expressions were instantiated by the same 17 lexical contents as in Exp. 1a (see section 2.1.1). Thus, there were a total of 43 indicative sentences with target expressions that realized the first turn of the target stimuli. The second turn of the target stimuli consisted of a second speaker's *Are you sure?* question and the third turn consisted of an utterance by the first speaker in which *Yes, I am sure that* was followed by a clause that realized the projective content to be diagnosed.

As in Exp. 1a, there were 17 control stimuli in Exp. 2a: in the control stimuli, the first turn consisted of an indicative sentence that realized one of the 17 lexical contents and, in the third turn, the clause that realized the lexical content was the complement of *sure*. A sample control dialogue is shown in (19). The full set of stimuli of Exp. 2a is provided in Appendix A.

(19) Sandra: Martha has a new BMW.
     Carl: Are you sure?
     Sandra: Yes, I am sure that Martha has a new BMW.

For each participant, a set of 15 stimuli was randomly created: each set contained a target stimulus for each of the 9 target expressions (each instantiated by a unique lexical content) and 6 control stimuli (with unique lexical contents as well, for a total of 15 unique lexical contents). Trial order was randomized for each participant.

Procedure. Participants were told to imagine that they are at a party and, upon walking into the kitchen, overhear a short conversation between two people. Participants were then presented with the 15 stimuli in random order and were asked to assess, for each stimulus, whether the speaker of the first/third turn answered the question of the speaker of the second turn. Participants gave their responses on a slider marked 'no' at one end and 'yes' at the other, as shown in Figure 7. A 'yes' response was taken to indicate that the relevant content was at-issue and a 'no' response that the relevant content was not at-issue. To explore the hypothesis that projectivity and not-at-issueness are positively related, 'yes' responses were coded as '0' and 'no' responses as '1'.

After completing the experiment, participants filled out the same optional survey as in Exps. 1 about their age, their native language(s) and, if English is their native language, whether they are a speaker of American English (as opposed to, e.g., Australian or Indian English). To encourage them to respond truthfully, participants were told that they would be paid no matter what answers they gave in the survey.

Data exclusion. Prior to analysis, we excluded the data from 6 participants who did not self-identify as native speakers of American English. Inspection of the response means of the remaining 244 American-English speaking participants to the 6 control stimuli revealed 6 participants whose response means were more than 3 standard deviations above the group mean (which was .04). Further inspection revealed that these participants' responses were systematically higher than the group mean and involved 14 of the 17 lexical contents, suggesting that these participants did not attend to the task or interpreted the task differently. The data from these 6 participants were also excluded, leaving data from 238 participants (ages 20-77; median: 30).

3.1.2 Results

Mean projectivity ratings obtained for target expression/lexical content combinations in Exp. 1a are shown in Fig. 8 as a function of their mean not-at-issueness ratings obtained in Exp. 2a ($r = .84$; when not collapsing across lexical contents $r = .6$). There is a clear relationship between at-issueness and projectivity: the more

Figure 7: A sample trial in Exp. 2

not-at-issue a projective content is, as measured by the second at-issueness diagnostic, the more projective it is.
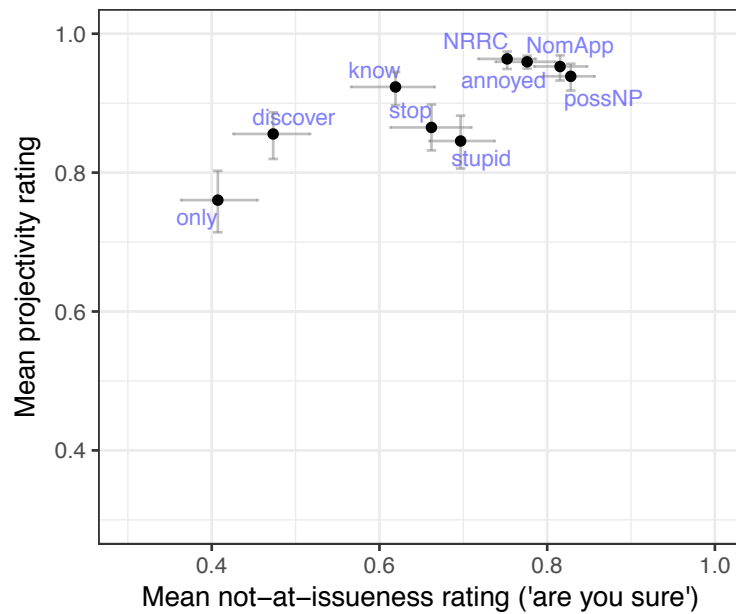

Figure 8: Mean projectivity against mean not-at-issueness by target expression. Error bars indicate bootstrapped 95% confidence intervals.

The observed relationship was borne out statistically. We conducted a similar mixed-effects linear regression analysis as we did for Exp. 1a, predicting projectivity from a centered fixed effect of at-issueness

and random by-lexical content intercepts. This model differed from that in Exp. 1a in the following three ways: i) because we predicted projectivity ratings given by one group of participants (Exp. 1a) from at-issueness ratings given by another group of participants (Exp. 2a), by-participant random effects were not included. Instead, the model predicted projectivity *means* from at-issueness *means* (collapsing across participants but not lexical contents or target expressions, yielding 43 data points); ii) there was no fixed effect of block because block was not manipulated; iii) by-expression random effects and random by-lexical content slopes for at-issueness were not included because likelihood ratio tests revealed that the only random effect justified by the data was that of by-lexical content intercepts ($SD = .04$, $p < .05$). The model we report here thus only contained one fixed effect (at-issueness) and one random effect (by-lexical content intercepts).

We observed a significant main effect of at-issueness, such that more not-at-issue items received higher projectivity ratings ($\beta = 0.29$, $SE = 0.06$, $t = 5.21$, $\chi^2(1) = 20.94$, $p < .0001$), replicating the at-issueness effect observed in the previous experiments.[15]

3.2 Experiment 2b

Exp. 2b explored the at-issueness of the same 12 projective contents explored in Exp. 1b, namely the contents of the clausal complements of the attitude predicates *be amused, be annoyed, be aware, see, discover, notice, find out, realize, learn, establish, confess* and *reveal*, using the *Are you sure?* diagnostic.

3.2.1 Methods

Participants. 250 participants with U.S. IP addresses and at least 97% of previous HITs approved were recruited on Amazon's Mechanical Turk platform (ages: 18-77; median: 29). They were paid 30 cents for their participation.

Materials. As in Exp. 2a, the stimuli consisted of 3-turn dialogues between two individuals. In the target stimuli, the first turn of each dialogue consisted of an indicative sentence that realized one of the 12 predicates, as shown in (20). The contents of the complements of these predicates were instantiated by the same 20 lexical contents as in Exp. 1b (see section 3.1.1), for a total of 240 target stimuli. The third turn of the target stimuli consisted of the first speaker's utterance of *Yes, I am sure that*, with the relevant projective content realized as the content of the complement of *sure*.

(20) Sandra: Shirley is aware that Raul was drinking chamomile tea.

      Carl: Are you sure?

      Sandra: Yes, I am sure that Raul was drinking chamomile tea.

As in Exp. 1b, there were 20 control stimuli in Exp. 2a: in the control stimuli, the first turn consisted of an indicative sentence that realized one of the 20 lexical contents and, in the third turn, the clause that realized the lexical content was the complement of *sure*. A sample control stimulus is shown in (21).

(21) Sandra: Raul was drinking chamomile tea.

      Carl: Are you sure?

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[15]In the model with the full random effects structure (random by-lexical content and by-expression intercepts and slopes for at-issueness), the effect of at-issueness was only marginally significant ($\beta = 0.25$, $SE = 0.08$, $t = 3.15$, $\chi^2(1) = 3.51$, $p < .07$). A post hoc power analysis using the simr package (Green and MacLeod, 2016) revealed that this model had only 60.4% power to detect an effect size of $\beta = .25$, while the model with the simplified random effects structure had 99.8% power to detect an effect size of $\beta = .29$. This means that the dataset is not large enough to jointly estimate the effects of at-issueness and the random effects. However, the fact that at-issueness is a marginally significant predictor of projectivity even in this low-powered dataset provides further evidence for the relation between at-issueness and projectivity.

Sandra: Yes, I am sure that Raul was drinking chamomile tea.

For each participant, a set of 20 stimuli was randomly created: each set contained a target stimulus for each of the 12 target expressions (each instantiated by a unique lexical content) and 8 control stimuli (with unique lexical contents as well, for a total of 20 unique lexical contents). Trial order was randomized for each participant.

Procedure. The procedure was the same as in Exp. 2a, described in section 3.1.1, except that participants completed 20 trials instead of 15.

Data exclusion. Prior to analysis, we excluded the data from 6 participants who did not self-identify as native speakers of American English. Inspection of the response means of the remaining 244 American-English speaking participants to the 8 control stimuli revealed 6 participants whose response means were more than 3 standard deviations above the group mean (which was .05). Further inspection revealed that these participants' responses were systematically higher than the group mean and involved 18 of the 20 lexical contents, suggesting that these participants did not attend to the task or interpreted the task differently. The data from these 6 participants were also excluded, leaving data from 238 participants (ages 18-77; median: 30).

3.2.2 Results

Mean projectivity ratings obtained for target expression/lexical content combinations in Exp. 1b are shown in Fig. 9 as a function of their mean not-at-issueness ratings obtained in Exp. 2b ($r = .54$; when not collapsing across lexical contents $r = .28$). While there appears to be an overall increase in projectivity with increasing not-at-issueness, as predicted by the Gradient Projection Principle, the relationship is clearly not linear, unlike in the previous experiments.
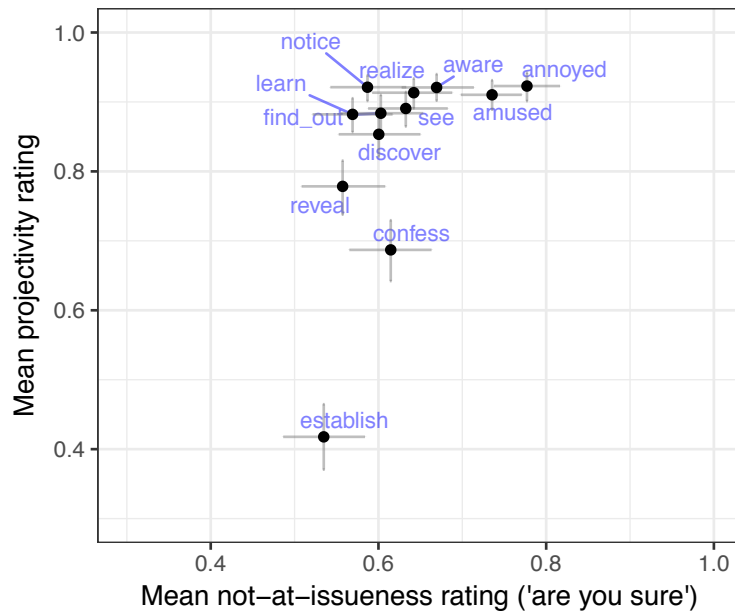

Figure 9: Mean projectivity against mean not-at-issueness by target expression. Error bars indicate bootstrapped 95% confidence intervals.

A mixed effects linear regression predicting 240 mean projectivity ratings from mean at-issueness and random by-expression intercepts (the only random effect term justified in likelihood ratio tests, $SD = .07$, $p < .0001$) yielded no significant effect of at-issueness ($\beta = 0.03$, $SE = 0.04$, $t = 0.83$, $\chi^2(1) = 0.68$, $p > .4$), but the sign of the coefficient went in the predicted direction.[16] We discuss this null result below.

3.3   Summary and discussion of Experiments 2a and 2b

Exps. 2a and 2b were designed to further test the Gradient Projection Principle (research question 9b) by exploring the at-issueness of the 19 projective contents using a second diagnostic for at-issueness. We found that at-issueness was a significant predictor of the projectivity of the 9 projective contents in Exp. 2a but not of the projectivity of the 12 projective contents in Exp. 2b. Because Exps. 1 allowed for analysis at individual participants' data points (1,890 and 2,820 data points) whereas Exps. 2 only allowed for analysis at the item-wise means (43 and 240 data points), the findings of Exps. 1 carry more weight than those of Exps. 2. Thus, as summarized in the second column of Table 5, we have obtained empirical support for the Gradient Projection Principle for a broad range of projective contents in three out of four experiments, using two distinct diagnostics for at-issueness.

The two experiments also differed in which other factors were found to play a role in projectivity: as summarized in the remaining columns of Table 5 we observed random lexical content variability in Exp. 2a but not in Exp. 2b, and random target expression variability in Exp. 2b but not in Exp. 2a. These two findings further confirm what Exps. 1 already suggested, namely that the projectivity of a projective content is not merely predicted by its at-issueness, but also by the lexical content that instantiates the projective content and by the expression that the projective content is associated with.

| Exp. (# of data points)	At-issueness	Intercepts			Slopes for at-issueness		
		Expression	Content	Participant	Expression	Content	Participant
1a (1,890)	**	***	**	***	***	***	***
1b (2,820)	***	***	*n.s.*	***	*n.s.*	*n.s.*	***
2a (43)	***	*n.s.*	*	–	*n.s.*	*n.s.*	–
2b (240)	*n.s.*	***	*n.s.*	–	*n.s.*	*n.s.*	–

Table 5: Summary of findings in Exps. 1 and 2. 'Expression' abbreviates target expression, 'Content' abbreviates lexical content. '***' indicates significance at .0001, '**' at .01, '*' at .05, *n.s* indicates no significance and '–' indicates 'not applicable'.

The implications of these findings for analyses of projection are discussed in section 4. In the remainder of this section, we compare the two at-issueness diagnostics.

Comparison of the at-issueness diagnostics used in Exps. 1 and 2.   The two diagnostics for at-issueness yielded different results in Exp. 1b and 2b about the relationship between at-issueness and projectivity. A comparison of the at-issueness of the 9 projective contents in Exps. 1a and 2a based on Fig. 10 reveals further differences. First, the contents generally received higher ratings on the 'asking whether' diagnostic than on the *Are you sure?* diagnostic (despite the main clause controls receiving roughly comparable ratings, with a mean rating of .02 on the 'asking whether' and a mean rating of .03 on the *Are you sure?* diagnostic).

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[16] A power analysis revealed that this model had 99% power to detect an effect size for at-issueness of $\beta = .29$ (i.e., an effect size comparable to that from Exp. 2a). However, Fig. 9 suggests that the relation between at-issueness and projectivity in this experiment may not be linear. A more principled analysis of the functional relationship between at-issueness and projectivity measures merits exploration, but is beyond the scope of this paper.

Second, there is greater variability in the not-at-issueness ratings on the *Are you sure?* diagnostic than on the 'asking whether' diagnostic. Third, the spread of the mean ratings is greater on the *Are you sure?* diagnostic than on the 'asking whether' diagnostic. And, finally, the relative not-at-issueness of some of the contents differs: the prejacent of *stop*, for instance, is the least not-at-issue content on the 'asking whether' diagnostic but not on the *Are you sure?* diagnostic. Similar differences emerge from a comparison of the results of the two at-issueness diagnostics in Exp. 1b and 2b, shown in Appendix D.
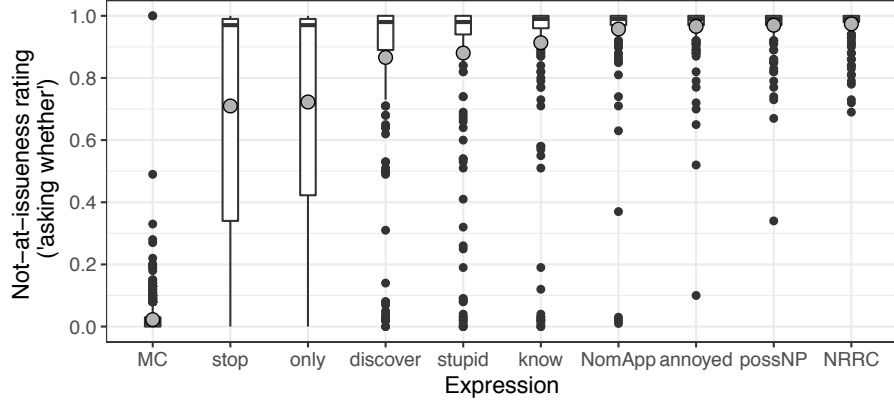
(a) Boxplot of not-at-issueness ratings in Exp. 1a.
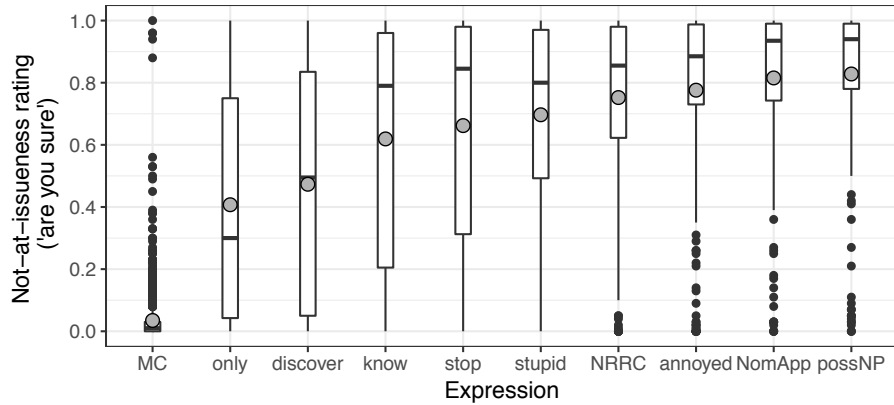
(b) Boxplot of not-at-issueness ratings in Exp. 2a.

Figure 10: Not-at-issueness ratings by expression, including main clauses (abbreviated 'MC') and collapsing across lexical contents, in Exp. 1a (top panel) and Exp. 2a (bottom panel). Grey dots indicate means and notches indicate medians.

The fact that both diagnostics for at-issueness, despite these differences, provide evidence for the relationship between at-issueness and projectivity further strengthens the empirical support for the Gradient Projection Principle. Furthermore, there is also evidence that the two ways of operationalizing at-issueness measure the same underlying concept. Consider Fig. 11, which shows mean at-issueness ratings for target expressions obtained in Exps. 1 as a function of their mean at-issueness ratings obtained in Exps. 2. There is a clear relationship between the two at-issueness diagnostics: the more not-at-issue projective content is on the *Are you sure?* diagnostic, the more not-at-issue it is on the 'asking whether' diagnostic. The correlation at the target expression level (collapsing across contents) was $r = .62$. Not collapsing across contents, i.e., taking into account variability between lexical contents, the correlation was still $r = .31$. The corre-

lation was greater for the heterogeneous target expressions (Exps. a, $r = .70$) than for the homogeneous target expressions (Exps. b, $r = .56$).[17] In short, these findings are compatible with the two diagnostics both measuring at-issueness, though the imperfect correlation suggests that other factors are also contributing to participants' ratings.
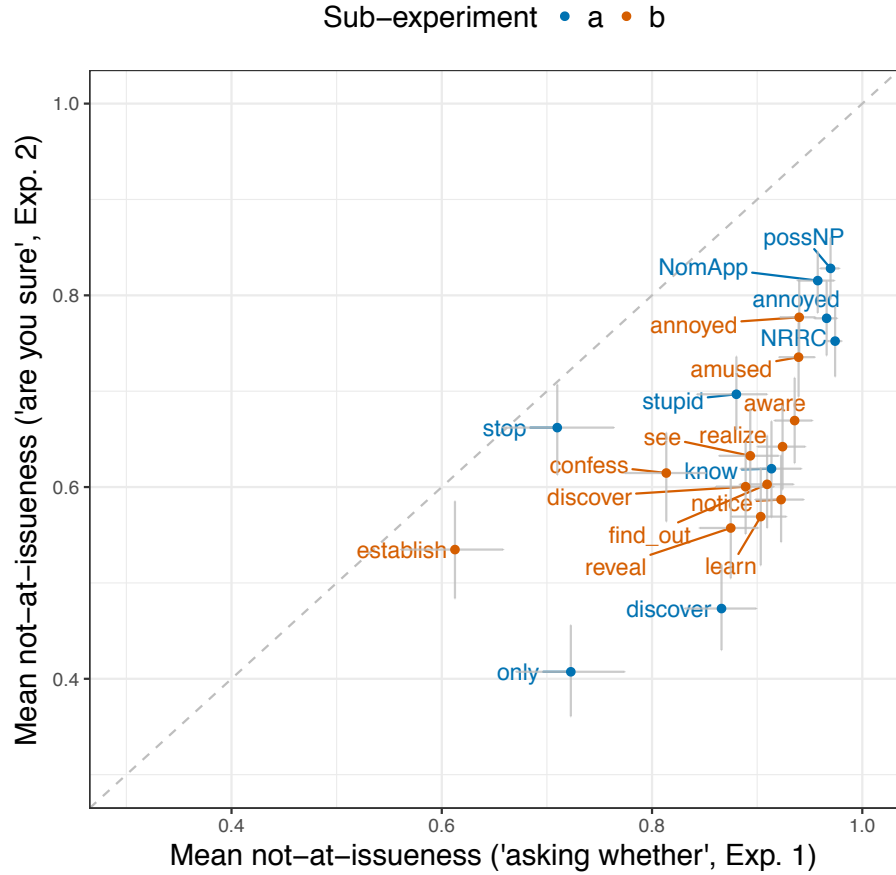

Figure 11: Mean not-at-issueness ratings for each target expression in Exps. 1 and 2. Colors indicate the subexperiment that the target expression occurred in (blue for subexperiments a and red for subexperiments b). Error bars indicate bootstrapped 95% confidence intervals.

To assess the observed differences, what needs to be evaluated is the extent to which the two diagnostics measure the theoretical concept of at-issueness, i.e., the extent to which the experimental tasks constitute reasonable operationalizations of at-issueness. And this is where the trouble starts: in an ideal world, diagnostics for at-issueness or, rather, the assumptions about at-issue versus not-at-issue content that underlie the

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[17]The observed relationship was also borne out statistically in a mixed effects linear regression predicting mean at-issueness in Exps. 2 (collapsing across participants but not across target expressions or lexical contents) from centered fixed effects of mean at-issueness in Exps. 1, centered sub-experiment (a vs. b), their interaction, and random by-lexical content random intercepts. There was a significant main effect of at-issueness ($\beta = 0.38$, $SE = 0.07$, $t = 5.58$, $p < .0001$), suggesting that the at-issueness measures are indeed good predictors of one another. The main effect of sub-experiment did not reach significance ($\beta = -0.03$, $SE = 0.02$, $t = -1.51$, $p < .13$). However, there was a significant interaction between Exps. 1 at-issueness and sub-experiment ($\beta = -0.47$, $SE = 0.21$, $t = -2.27$, $p < .05$). Simple effects analysis revealed that this interaction was due to a difference in slope between sub-experiments: Exp. 1a at-issueness was a better predictor of Exp. 2a at-issueness ($\beta = 0.77$) than Exp. 1b at-issueness was of Exp. 2b at-issueness ($\beta = 0.31$), capturing the correlations reported above. There was no random by-lexical content variation ($SD = 0.00$).

diagnostics, would have been derived from a theoretical characterization of the concept of at-issueness. But research on at-issueness did not proceed in this orderly fashion and formal characterizations of at-issueness that go beyond calling at-issue content the 'main point' and not-at-issue content 'backgrounded' or 'secondary' have only recently been developed. On one prominent characterization, at-issue content is proposed to be added to the common ground, whereas not-at-issue content is imposed on the common ground (e.g., Murray 2014; AnderBois et al. 2015); on another, at-issue utterance content is (minimally) relevant to the Question Under Discussion of the utterance (e.g., Simons et al. 2010; Beaver et al. 2017). We must therefore leave an evaluation of the diagnostics in relation to a theoretical characterization of at-issueness to future research.

We are not aware of experimental research that uses an at-issueness diagnostic that relies on the assumption of our 'asking whether' diagnostic, that at-issue and not-at-issue content differ in the extent to which it and its negation partition the context set. Our *Are you sure?* diagnostic, by contrast, relies on the assumption that at-issue and not-at-issue content differ in the extent to which it is up for debate and can be dissented with. Where comparison is possible, our findings on this diagnostic are similar to those of other experimental research that used diagnostics that relied on this assumption. As reported in section 1, Amaral et al. (2011) found that the prejacent of *only* is more at-issue than the post- and pre-state implications of *continue* and *stop*, respectively. (See also Cummins et al. 2012.) On our *Are you sure?* diagnostic, the prejacent of *only* was also more at-issue than the pre-state implication of *stop*. Syrett and Koev (2015) used a direct dissent diagnostic to explore the at-issueness of the contents of sentence-medial and sentence-final NRRCs and nominal appositives. They found that although both contents "are largely not at issue, they *can*…contribute at-issue content" (p.543, emphasis in original). This finding was replicated in our Exp. 2a where the contents of sentence-medial NRRCs and nominal appositives, though among the most not-at-issue of the contents tested, received ratings that suggest that these contents can be taken to be up for debate and directly challenged.

In closing, important questions for future research on at-issueness include the question of which formal characterization and empirical operationalizations of the concept are appropriate and whether the assumptions that underlie the diagnostics for at-issueness currently used in the literature, including the two used in this paper, can be derived from these theoretical characterizations of at-issueness. Tackling these questions is well outside the scope of this paper.

4   Discussion

Our two main findings are that i) there is variability in the projectivity of the 19 projective contents explored (for a summary see section 2.3) and that ii) the at-issueness of projective content predicts its projectivity, as predicted by the Gradient Projection Principle (for a summary see section 3.3). In this section, we discuss implications of our findings for analyses of projective content, starting with the first finding. As discussed in section 2.3, analyses of conventional implicatures (e.g., Potts 2005; Murray 2014; AnderBois et al. 2015) correctly predict that the appositive content of NRRCs and nominal appositives is highly projective. For the remaining 17 projective contents, which are typically referred to as presuppositions, as we noted above, many analyses of projection that have been developed cannot account for the observed projection variability:

- On Karttunen's (1973) analysis, a presupposition projects to the common ground of the interlocutors unless it is blocked by a plug or a filter. Since the 17 target expressions in our experiments were not realized in the syntactic scope of a plug or a filter, the projective contents associated with these expressions are all predicted to be highly projective, contrary to fact.

- On Gazdar's (1979a,b) analysis, a presupposition projects to the common ground of the interlocutors unless it conflicts with information in the common ground, or with entailments or conversational implicatures of the uttered sentence. Since no such conflicts arose in our experiments, the 17 projective

contents are all predicted to be highly projective, contrary to fact.

- On conventionalist analyses like those in Heim 1983, van der Sandt 1992, Beaver and Krahmer 2001 and van der Sandt and Geurts 2001, a presupposition that is not entailed by or satisfied in the common ground of the interlocutors is accommodated (Lewis 1979). Although global accommodation (i.e., in the common ground of the interlocutors) is the default, presuppositions can be locally accommodated (e.g., under the polar question operator) to avoid contradiction, uninformativity or problems with binding. Since the default is not overridden in the utterances in our experiments, the 17 projective contents are falsely predicted to all be globally accommodated, i.e., to all be highly projective.

- Non-conventionalist analyses derive projectivity from the meaning of the uttered sentence, general conversational principles and other mechanisms (e.g., Stalnaker 1974; Kempson 1975; Levinson 1983; Simons 2001; Abusch 2010; Simons et al. 2017). Although utterances in which projective content is not a commitment of the speaker are generally taken to be unproblematic for such approaches (see, e.g., Levinson 1983:ch.4, Kadmon 2001:ch.11), there currently is no non-conventionalist analysis on the market that applies to the 17 projective contents and derives the observed projection variability.

- Some works (have proposed to) derive the projectivity of the presuppositions of 'hard triggers' conventionally and that of the presuppositions of 'soft triggers' non-conventionally (e.g., Kadmon 2001; Simons 2001; Abusch 2002, 2010; Abbott 2006; Chemla 2009; Romoli 2015). Such works thereby predict that the presuppositions of 'soft triggers' are less projective than those of 'hard triggers' (while differing on which expressions belong to which class). They do not, however, lead us to expect the differences between 'soft triggers' observed in our experiments because the utterances that realized the 'soft triggers' all occurred in the same, minimal contexts.

In short, the analyses summarized above fail to account for the observed projection variability because the projectivity of the 17 projective contents is assumed to be more homogenous than is warranted.

Analyses that have the potential to account for more projection variability are those developed in Abrusán 2011 and Abrusán 2016. The former analysis distinguishes 'soft triggers' and 'hard triggers' (like analyses subsumed under the last bullet point above) but also explicitly recognizes the role of at-issueness in predicting projection: according to Abrusán 2011, "the most direct answer to the (grammatically signaled) background question" is not presupposed (p. 511), i.e., is not taken as a commitment of the speaker. Abrusán (2011) discussed how focus marking (Beaver 2010) and evidential verbs (Simons 2007) signal background questions, but our finding that projective content varies in its at-issueness may be taken to further suggest that the expression that the projective content is associated with grammatically signals the likelihood with which the projective content is the answer to a background question.[18] Under this interpretation of our second finding, Abrusán's (2011) analysis can be taken to predict projection variability among projective contents associated with 'soft triggers'. Further research is needed to explore whether this is a reasonable interpretation.

Abrusán (2016) rejected the division between 'soft' and 'hard' triggers, and instead maintained that all presuppositions are "fundamentally the same type" (p. 168). Projection variability is derived from "the complex interaction of the triggers (and the sentences that contain them) with focus, anaphoricity, the discourse context, and the particular mechanism by which presuppositions are triggered" (*ibid.*). For instance, the same mechanism identifies as a presupposition the content of the complement of *discover* and the parallel content implication of the additive particle *too*. However, only clausal complement of *discover* can be

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[18]It is not clear whether Abrusán (2016) would welcome this interpretation. For 'factive' predicates, for instance, she assumed that "in the absence of additional contextual information, the complement . . . will be presupposed" (p.171), which may be taken to suggest that variable default at-issueness does not play a role. At the same time she hypothesized (p.173) that differences in the projectivity of the contents of the complements of emotive and cognitive 'factives' can be attributed to "how easily the complement of the verb can be focused" (p.173), which may be taken to suggest that attitude predicates inherently differ in how easily their complement can be focused, i.e., be at-issue.

focused, making its content at-issue and hence less projective. Because the parallel content implication of *too* is not realized by lexical material, it cannot become at-issue through focusing. Thus, in general, because projective content differs in anaphoricity, how it is triggered and how it interacts with focus and the discourse context, Abrusán's (2016) analysis predicts that the relevant contents of additive particles like *too* and *again*, and the existential implication of *it*-clefts is more projective than the contents of the complements of 'factive' predicates and the existential implication of focus. Since our experiments were not designed to test Abrusán's (2016) analysis and did not include many of the expressions she considered, future research will need to determine whether the observed projection variability (in our experiments, and others) is predicted.

One projective content for which the predictions of Abrusán's (2011, 2016) analyses may not agree with the projection variability observed in our experiments is the pre-state implication of *stop*. In Abrusán 2011, this implication is triggered as a presupposition by the same mechanism as the projective content associated with other (what Abrusán called) 'verbal triggers', including emotive 'factives' (e.g., *be annoyed*), cognitive 'factives' (e.g., *know*) and cognitive change of state verbs (e.g., *discover*). As discussed above, the projection variability we observed can perhaps be attributed to differences in default at-issueness. Abrusán (2016), however, did not apply this mechanism to *stop* and argued that the pre-state implication of *stop* "cannot be suspended that easily" (p.193). In our Exp. 1a, the pre-state implication of *stop* was significantly less projective than the content of the complement of the emotive 'factive' *be annoyed* and indistinguishable from the content of the complement of the cognitive change of state verb *discover*. In short, our findings about the pre-state implication of *stop* do not appear to be fully predicted by Abrusán's analyses.

This brings us to the implications of our second main finding: this paper has shown that projective content differs in its at-issueness and that the at-issueness of projective content predicts its projectivity. While this paper has not shown that variable at-issueness is *causally* linked to variable projectivity, our finding provides strong impetus for considering how to incorporate at-issueness in theories of projection and for exploring the hypothesis that projective content exhibits variable projectivity *because* it exhibits variable at-issueness.

Of course, other hypotheses about the source of projection variability are also compatible with our current understanding of projective content. In principle, projection variability can be due to three sources: differences between projective content, differences between the utterances that give rise to projective content, and a combination of the two. Regarding the first possible source, this paper has shown that projective content differs in at-issueness, but projective contents also differ from one another on other properties that may be implicated in projection variability:

(22) **Properties that projective content differs on**
    a. Anti-backgrounding (Potts 2005)
    b. Strong Contextual Felicity (Tonhauser et al. 2013)
    c. Obligatory Local Effect (Tonhauser et al. 2013)
    d. At-issueness (this paper)
    e. Expression associated with projective content (this paper)
    f. . . .

The second possible source of projection variability are properties of utterances of sentences with expressions associated with projective content, as summarized in (23). For instance, per (23a), a projective content may be taken to be a commitment of the speaker if they utter a sentence in one context, but not in another, or, per (23d), if the sentence is prosodically realized in one way, but not in another.

(23) **Utterance properties implicated in projection variability**
    a. Contextual information, including the common ground (e.g., Gazdar 1979a,b)

b. Entailments and conversational implicatures (e.g., Gazdar 1979a,b)

c. Embedding environment (e.g., Smith and Hall 2014)

d. Prosody (e.g., Abrusán 2011; Cummins and Rohde 2015; Tonhauser 2016; Stevens et al. 2017)

e. Perceived degree of reliability of the subject of an attitude verb (Schlenker 2010)

f. Prior probability of events / lexical content (this paper)

g. Interpreters (this paper)

h. . . .

The third source of projection variability are interactions between properties of projective content and properties of utterances. It is possible, for instance, that the expression that is associated with the projective content influences the extent to which the lexical content that instantiates the projective content plays a role in projectivity (see the discussion of Exp. 1a). It is also possible that less not-at-issue projective content is relatively more influenced by the prosodic realization of the utterance than highly not-at-issue projective content. And it is possible that anaphoric projective content (or: content associated with a Strong Contextual Felicity constraint) is conventionally specified to be projective, while the projectivity of other content is derived non-conventionally (see also Beaver et al. 2017).

Although we are still far from understanding the role these factors play in projection and, thereby, in projection variability, our experiment findings already have some implications for empirically adequate analyses of projection while also sharpening open questions:

- The observed projection variability, with significant differences not just between conventional implicatures and presuppositions, but also among presuppositions, supports the assumption that a unified analysis of projection may not be possible. How many different analyses are needed, and which of the factors in (22) and (23) are implicated in analyses of projection, is an open question.

- Our experiments suggest that the conventional meaning of expressions is implicated in the projectivity of associated projective content. Whether the conventionality implicated in projection is due to a conventional specification of projection (e.g., Heim 1983; van der Sandt 1992), other conventional aspects of the meanings of the expressions (as in non-conventionalist approaches), or a combination of the two (e.g., Abrusán 2011, 2016) is an open question.

- For projective content that was highly projective in our experiments, with little by-lexical content and by-participant variability, conventionalist analyses of projection make empirically adequate predictions, in contrast to currently available non-conventionalist analyses. How conventionalist analyses of projection can incorporate the influence of prosody on projection (see (23d)) is an open question.

- For projective content that was not highly projective in our experiments, or that exhibited by-lexical content and by-participant variability, the lexical specification of projection under conventionalist analyses would either need to be very fine-grained, or allow for other factors to influence projectivity (as in Abrusán 2011, 2016). Alternatively, the projectivity of such projective content may better be given a non-conventionalist analysis (see also Kadmon 2001 for discussion).

From a psycholinguistic perspective, our findings are compatible with constraint-based approaches to semantics/pragmatics (Degen and Tanenhaus 2015), which highlight that the interpretation a listener arrives at is the result of integrating multiple sources of information, some conventional and some non-conventional. These approaches advocate for identifying, systematically quantifying, and formally modeling the cues that listeners use in interpretation. We view this as an exciting avenue for future research.

5 Conclusions

There is a long-standing intuition in the literature that projective content varies in its projectivity (e.g., Karttunen 1971; Simons 2001; Abusch 2010). This assumed projection variability has given impetus to the development of analyses of projection according to which the projective content associated with so-called 'soft triggers' is less projective than that of so-called 'hard triggers'. In light of the sparse experimental evidence for projection variability, this paper explored projection variability for a broad set of projective content. Using a novel diagnostic for projection – the 'certain that' diagnostic – we found robust empirical evidence for projection variability, but also that the observed projection variability only partially aligns with commonly-made distinctions between 'hard' and 'soft triggers', or 'factive' and 'semi-factive' predicates.

Using two distinct at-issueness diagnostics, this paper also provided empirical evidence for the Gradient Projection Principle, which is based on the hypothesis that the at-issueness of projective content plays a role in its projectivity (Simons et al. 2010; Beaver et al. 2017). This finding suggests that the at-issueness of projective content predicts its projectivity and thereby can account for (at least some) projection variability. We observed that analyses of projection that are sensitive to at-issueness seem to fare better in accounting for the observed projection variability. In general, our experimental findings suggest that a unified analysis of projective content is not empirically adequate and that multiple factors are involved in predicting whether a speaker is taken to be committed to projective content. The next step, which we leave to future research, is to establish whether at-issueness is causally implicated in projection and projection variability, and to identify the interplay between factors that influence projection and projection variability.

A Materials used in Experiments 1a and 2a

The materials used in Exp. 1a are grouped below by the 17 lexical contents. For each content, the first line provides the label of the content (e.g., 'muffins', for the first content). The second line ('Lexical content') identifies the lexical content. The remaining lines of each of the 17 lexical contents identify the expressions whose (projective) content was instantiated by the lexical content (e.g., 'muffins' instantiated main clause control stimuli, the content of NRRCs and the prejacent of *only*). In Exp. 2a, indicative sentence variants of the polar questions were used. Below this list, Table A1 provides an overview of the pairings of target expressions and lexical contents.

1. muffins:
   Lexical content: these muffins have blueberries in them
   Control stimulus: Do these muffins have blueberries in them?
   NRRC: Are these muffins, which have blueberries in them, gluten-free and low-fat?
   only: Do these muffins only have blueberries in them?

2. pizza:
   Lexical content: this pizza has mushrooms on it
   Control stimulus: Does this pizza have mushrooms on it?
   only: Does this pizza only have mushrooms on it?
   annoyed: Is Sam annoyed that this pizza has mushrooms on it?
   discover: Did Sam discover that this pizza has mushrooms on it?

3. play:
   Lexical content: Jack was playing outside with the kids
   Control stimulus: Was Jack playing outside with the kids?
   stop: Did Jack stop playing outside with the kids?

know: Does Daria know that Jack was playing outside with the kids?
discover: Did Paula discover that Jack was playing outside with the kids?

4. veggie:
   Lexical content: Don is a vegetarian
   Nominal appositive: Is Don, a vegetarian, going to find something to eat here?
   NRRC: Is Don, who is a vegetarian, going to find something to eat here?
   Control stimulus: Is Don a vegetarian?

5. cheat:
   Lexical content: Raul cheated on his wife
   Control stimulus: Did Raul cheat on his wife?
   know: Does Daria know that Raul cheated on his wife?
   stupid: Was Raul stupid to cheat on his wife?

6. nails:
   Lexical content: Mary's daughter has been biting her nails
   Control stimulus: Has Mary's daughter been biting her nails?
   discover: Did Mary discover that her daughter has been biting her nails?
   stop: Has Mary's daughter stopped biting her nails?
   stupid: Is Mary's daughter stupid to be biting her nails?

7. ballet:
   Lexical content: Ann used to dance ballet
   Control stimulus: Did Ann use to dance ballet?
   Nominal appositive: Is Ann, a former ballet dancer, limping?
   stop: Did Ann stop dancing ballet?

8. kids:
   Lexical content: John's kids were in the garage
   only: Were John's kids only in the garage?
   Control stimulus: Were John's kids in the garage?
   stupid: Were John's kids stupid to be in the garage?

9. hat:
   Lexical content: Samantha has a new hat
   Control stimulus: Does Samantha have a new hat?
   Possessive NP: Was Samantha's new hat expensive?
   know: Does Daria know that Samantha has a new hat?
   annoyed: Is Joyce annoyed that Samantha has a new hat?

10. bmw:
    Lexical content: Martha has a new BMW
    Control stimulus: Does Martha have a new BMW?
    Possessive NP: Was Martha's new BMW expensive?
    Nominal appositive: Was Martha's new car, a BMW, expensive?
    annoyed: Is Martha's neighbor annoyed that Martha has a new BMW?
    know: Does Billy know that Martha has a new BMW?

11. boyfriend:
    Lexical content: Betsy has a boyfriend

Control stimulus: Does Betsy have a boyfriend?
NRRC: Is Betsy, who has a boyfriend, flirting with the neighbor?
Possessive NP: Is Betsy's boyfriend from around here?

12. alcatraz:
Lexical content: Mike visited Alcatraz
Control stimulus: Did Mike visit Alcatraz?
NRRC: Is Mike, who visited Alcatraz, a history fan?
discover: Did Jane discover that Mike visited Alcatraz?
know: Does Jane know that Mike visited Alcatraz?

13. aunt:
Lexical content: Janet has a sick aunt
Control stimulus: Does Janet have a sick aunt?
NRRC: Is Janet, who has a sick aunt, very compassionate?
know: Does Melissa know that Janet has a sick aunt?
Possessive NP: Has Janet's sick aunt been recovering?

14. cupcakes:
Lexical content: Marissa brought the cupcakes
Control stimulus: Did Marissa bring the cupcakes?
NRRC: Is Marissa, who brought the cupcakes, a good baker?
know: Does Max know that Marissa brought the cupcakes?

15. soccer:
Lexical content: the soccer ball has a hole in it
Control stimulus: Does the soccer ball have a hole in it?
NRRC: Was the soccer ball, which has a hole in it, a gift from Uncle Bill?
annoyed: Is Mandy annoyed that the soccer ball has a hole in it?
discover: Did Mandy discover that the soccer ball has a hole in it?
know: Does Mandy know that the soccer ball has a hole in it?

16. olives:
Lexical content: this bread has olives in it
Control stimulus: Does this bread have olives in it?
annoyed: Is Barbara annoyed that this bread has olives in it?

17. stuntman:
Lexical content: Richie is a stuntman
Control stimulus: Is Richie a stuntman?
Nominal appositive: Did Richie, a stuntman, break his leg?
stupid: Is Richie stupid to be a stuntman?

lexical content	Target expression								
	NRRC	NomApp	possNP	*discover*	*know*	*annoyed*	*stop*	*only*	*stupid*
muffins	✓							✓	
kids								✓	✓
pizza				✓		✓		✓	
play				✓	✓		✓		
nails				✓			✓		✓
ballet		✓					✓		
cheat					✓				✓
stuntman		✓							✓
bmw		✓	✓			✓	✓		
vegetarian	✓	✓							
hat			✓			✓	✓		
boyfriend	✓		✓						
aunt	✓		✓			✓			
alcatraz	✓			✓	✓				
soccer	✓			✓	✓	✓			
olives							✓		
cupcakes	✓				✓				

Table A1: Lexical contents instantiating the projective contents associated with the 9 target expressions in Exps. 1a and 2a. Abbreviations: NRRC = non-restrictive relative clause, NomApp = nominal appositive, possNP = possessive noun phrase.
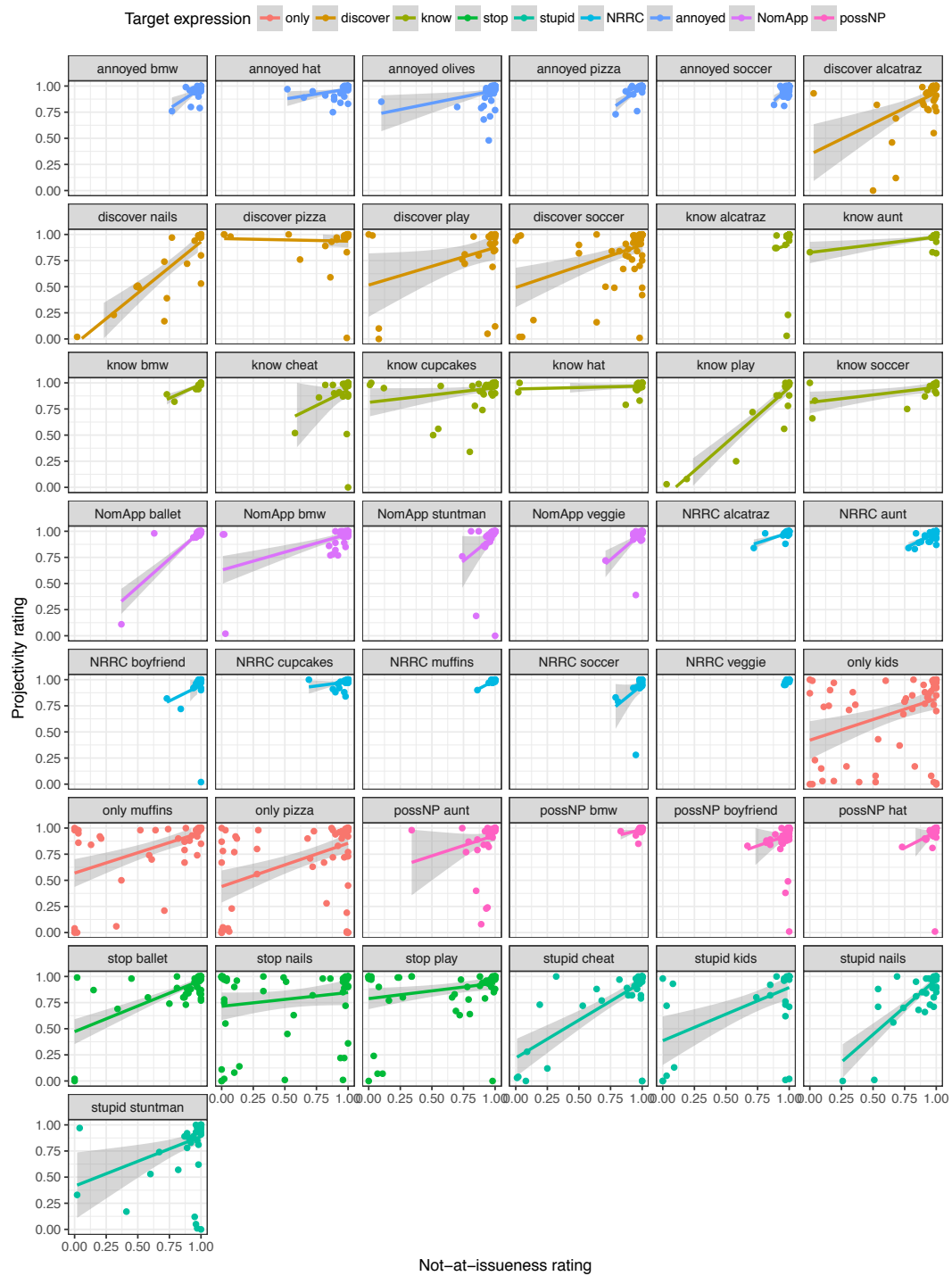
B   Individual-level correlations in Experiment 1a

Figure A1: Projectivity ratings against not-at-issueness ratings in Exp. 1a for each of the 43 projective content/lexical content pairings. Each dot represents one participant's ratings. Linear smoothers with 95% confidence intervals overlaid.

C   20 lexical contents used in Exps. 1b and 2b

1. Raul was drinking chamomile tea
2. Jack played frisbee with the kids
3. John was hiding in the garage
4. Mike visited the zoo
5. Zach dyed his hair purple
6. Marissa brought almond cupcakes
7. Chad put up a swing in his backyard
8. Greg drove his car into a ditch
9. Kate fell from her horse
10. Joyce got a poodle
11. Carl wrote a poem for his wife
12. Bea posted a family picture on Facebook
13. Janet moved into a damp apartment
14. Samantha bought a fur hat
15. Don ate a chili dog
16. Mary was biting her nails
17. Richie jumped into the pool
18. Martha came in her new BMW
19. Ann was dancing in the corner
20. Sue was doing yoga in the yard

D   Comparison of at-issueness diagnostics in Exps. 1b and 2b
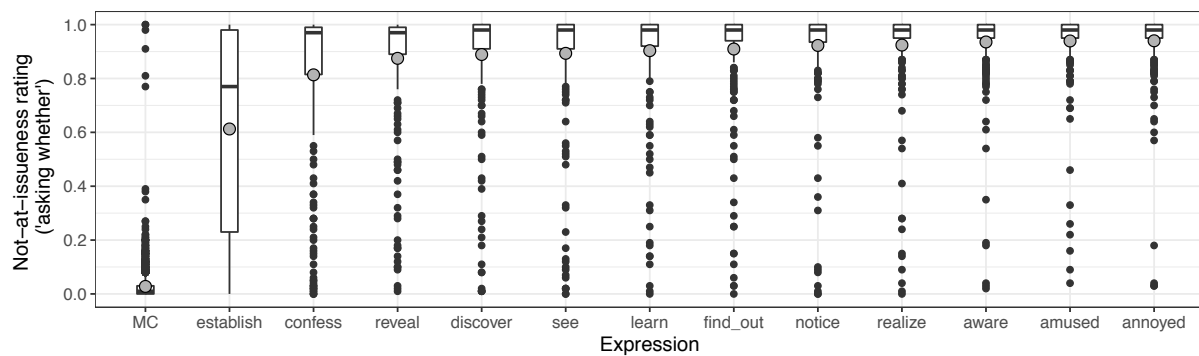
(a) Boxplot of not-at-issueness ratings in Exp. 1b.
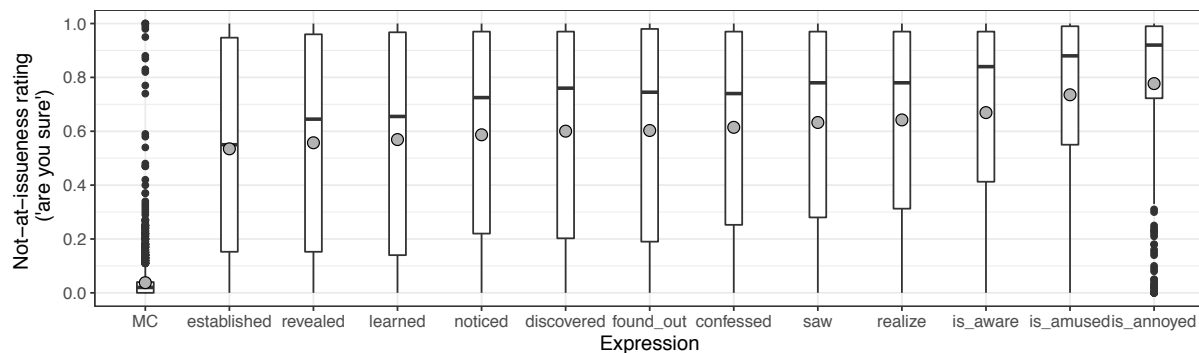
(b) Boxplot of not-at-issueness ratings in Exp. 2b.

Figure A2: Not-at-issueness ratings by expression, including main clauses and collapsing across lexical contents, in Exp. 1b (top panel) and Exp. 2b (bottom panel). Grey dots indicate means and notches indicate medians.

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