

Appendix of Gonzalez et al. (2023)

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1. Presupposition projection from embedded declaratives

1.1. Presupposition trigger = *also*

1.1.1. Honest attitude holder

The attitude holder but not the speaker believes the presupposition coming with the embedded clause.

- (1) *Max thinks Lou bought a bottle of milk, but I don't think she did. Then he sees another one, and thinks that Zoé bought it, even though I don't think that can be the case either.*
- a. Max me dit que Zoé **aussi** a acheté du lait. (French)
Max me says that Zoé also has bought of.the milk
'Max says to me that Zoé **also** bought some milk.'
- b. Max sagt mir, dass Zoe **auch** Milch gekauft hat. (German)
Max says me that Zoé also milk bought has
'Max says to me that Zoé **also** bought some milk.'
- c. Max mi dice che **anche** Zoe ha comprato del latte. (Italian)
Max to.me says that also Zoé has bought of.the milk
'Max says to me that Zoé **also** bought some milk.'

The speaker but not the attitude holder believes the presupposition coming with the embedded clause.

- (2) *I bought some milk this morning. As I open the fridge I see that Max also bought some. Max didn't see the milk I bought, and thinks he's the only one who bought milk.*
- a. #Il va voir Zoé et il lui dit que lui **aussi** a acheté du lait. (French)
he goes see Zoe and he her says that he also has bought of.the milk
'He goes to Zoe and he says to her that he **also** bought milk.'
- b. #Er geht zu Zoé und sagt ihr, dass er **auch** Milch gekauft hat. (German)
he goes to Zoe and says her that he also milk bought has
'He goes to Zoe and he says to her that he **also** bought milk.'
- c. #Va da Zoe e le dice che **anche** lui ha comprato del latte. (Italian)
goes to Zoé and to.her says that also he has bought of.the milk
'He goes to Zoé and he says to her that he **also** bought milk.'

1.1.2. Lying attitude holder

The attitude holder has the presupposition triggered by 'also' in their fake beliefs; the speaker does not believe this presupposition.

- (3) *When I left my apartment this morning, there was no milk left in the fridge. Max, as always, has decided to lie, and tells me he bought milk. But he doesn't stop lying there:*
- a. Max me dit que Zoé **aussi** a acheté du lait. (French)
Max me says that Zoé also has bought of.the milk
'Max says to me that Zoé **also** bought some milk.'
 - b. Max sagt mir, dass Zoé **auch** Milch gekauft hat. (German)
Max says me that Zoé also milk bought has
'Max says to me that Zoé **also** bought some milk.'
 - c. Max mi dice che **anche** Zoe ha comprato del latte. (Italian)
Max to.me says that also Zoé has bought of.the milk
'Max says to me that Zoé **also** bought some milk.'

The presupposition triggered by 'also' is in the lying attitude holder's actual beliefs, but not in their fake beliefs; the speaker believes this presupposition.

- (4) *Max bought a bottle of milk, but he lies and says he didn't, and instead blames Zoé.*
- a. #Max me dit que Zoé **aussi** a acheté du lait. (French)
Max me says that Zoé also has bought of.the milk
'Max says to me that Zoé **also** bought some milk.'
 - b. #Max sagt mir, dass Zoé **auch** Milch gekauft hat. (German)
Max says me that Zoé also milk bought has
'Max says to me that Zoé **also** bought some milk.'
 - c. #Max mi dice che **anche** Zoe ha comprato del latte. (Italian)
Max to.me says that also Zoé has bought of.the milk
'Max says to me that Zoé **also** bought some milk.'

1.2. Presupposition trigger = clefts

1.2.1. Honest attitude holder

The attitude holder but not the speaker believes the presupposition coming with the embedded clause.

- (5) *I know no-one bought milk, but Max is delusional and convinced someone did. He then says he found out who.*
- a. Max me dit que **c'est** Zoé **qui** a acheté du lait. (French)
Max me says that it's Zoé who has bought of.the milk
'Max says to me that **it's** Zoé **who** bought some milk.'
 - b. Max sagt mir, dass **es** Zoé **ist, die** Milch gekauft hat. (German)
Max says me that it Zoé is who milk bought has
'Max says to me that **it's** Zoé **who** bought some milk.'
 - c. Max mi dice che **è** Zoe **che** ha comprato del latte. (Italian)
Max to.me says that is Zoé that has bought of.the milk
'Max says to me that **it's** Zoé **who** bought some milk.'

The speaker but not the attitude holder believes the presupposition coming with the embedded clause.

Presupposition projection from the scope of *say*

- (6) *Lou and I see in the fridge that someone bought a bottle of milk. We suspect Zoé did. Lou went to ask Max about what he knows of this, but Max was away and doesn't know that anyone bought milk, so what's for sure is that*
- a. ?Max ne lui dira pas que **c'est** Zoé **qui** a acheté du lait. (French)
Max NE her say.FUT not that it's Zoé who has bought of.the milk
? 'Max will not say to her that **it's** Zoé **who** bought milk.'
- b. ?Max wird ihr nicht sagen, dass **es** Zoé **ist**, **die** Milch gekauft hat. (German)
Max NE her say.FUT not that it's Zoé who has bought of.the milk
? 'Max will not say to her that **it's** Zoé **who** bought milk.'
- c. ?Max non le dirà che **è** Zoe **che** ha comprato del latte. (Italian)
Max not to.her say.FUT that is Zoé that has bought of.the milk
? 'Max will not say to her that **it's** Zoé **who** bought milk.'

1.2.2. Lying attitude holder

The attitude holder has the presupposition triggered by the cleft in their fake beliefs; the speaker does not believe this presupposition.

- (7) *When I left my apartment this morning, there was no milk left in the fridge. Max, as always, has decided to lie, and tells me someone bought milk. But he doesn't stop lying there:*
- a. Max me dit que **c'est** Zoé **qui** a acheté du lait. (French)
Max me says that it's Zoé who has bought of.the milk
'Max says to me that **it is** Zoé **who** bought some milk.'
- b. Max sagt mir, dass **es** Zoé **ist**, **die** Milch gekauft hat. (German)
Max says me that it Zoé is who milk bought has
'Max says to me that **it is** Zoé **who** bought some milk.'
- c. Max mi dice che **è** Zoe **che** ha comprato del latte. (Italian)
Max to.me says that is Zoé that has bought of.the milk
'Max says to me that **it is** Zoé **who** bought some milk.'

The presupposition triggered by the cleft is in the lying attitude holder's actual beliefs, but not in their fake beliefs; the speaker believes this presupposition.

In such a context, the cleft as a presupposition trigger cannot be used, because 'Zoé bought some milk' (the at-issue content of the prejacent) entails the presupposition of the cleft 'someone bought some milk', so it is not possible to create a context in which the at-issue content of the prejacent is in the fake beliefs, but not the cleft's presupposition.

2. Presupposition projection from embedded interrogatives

2.1. Polar questions + *also*

The (honest) attitude holder but not the speaker believes the presupposition triggered by 'also'.

- (8) *Max thinks Lou bought a bottle of milk, but I don't think she did. I think that only Zoé bought some. I will ask Max about it.*
- a. #Max me dira si Zoé **aussi** a acheté du lait. (French)
Max me say.FUT if Zoé also has bought of.the milk
'Max will say to me whether Zoé **also** bought some milk.'

- b. #Max wird mir sagen, ob Zoé **auch** Milch gekauft hat. (German)
 Max will me say if Zoe also milk bought
 #‘Max will say to me whether Zoé **also** bought some milk.’
- c. #Max mi dirà se **anche** Zoe ha comprato del latte. (Italian)
 Max to.me say.FUT if also Zoé has bought of.the milk
 #‘Max will say to me whether Zoé **also** bought some milk.’

The speaker but not the attitude holder believes the presupposition triggered by ‘also’.

- (9) *I bought a bottle of milk this morning, but I didn’t tell Max yet. As I open the fridge I see that someone else bought one. I suspect Zoé did. I will ask Max about it, because he stays at home all day and witnesses all comings and goings.*
- a. Max me dira si Zoé **aussi** a acheté du lait. (French)
 Max me say.FUT if Zoé also has bought of.the milk
 ‘Max will say to me whether Zoé **also** bought some milk.’
- b. Max wird mir sagen, ob Zoé **auch** Milch gekauft hat. (German)
 Max will me say if Zoé also milk bought has
 ‘Max will say to me whether Zoé **also** bought some milk.’
- c. Max mi dirà se **anche** Zoe ha comprato del latte. (Italian)
 Max to.me say.FUT if also Zoé has bought of.the milk
 ‘Max will say to me whether Zoé **also** bought some milk.’

2.2. Polar questions + clefts

The (honest) attitude holder believes the presupposition triggered by the cleft, but not the speaker. A minimal pair in (11) shows that it is indeed the false presupposition that makes the sentence odd.

- (10) *I am upset because there is no milk left in the fridge. Max is delusional and convinced that someone bought milk, and suspects Zoé did. Then, still delusional, he claims he found out, but doesn’t want to tell me about it. I obviously don’t care, but he eventually will tell me anyways, and*
- a. #il me dira si **c’est** Zoé **qui** en a acheté. (French)
 he pro say.fut whether it=is Zoé who some has bought
 #‘he will say to me whether **it is** Zoé **who** bought some.’
- b. #er wird mir sagen, ob **es** Zoé **ist, die** welche gekauft hat. (German)
 he will me say whether it Zoé is who some bought has
 #‘he will say to me whether **it is** Zoé **who** bought some.’
- c. #mi dirà se **è** Zoe **che** ne ha comprato. (Italian)
 to.me say.fut whether is Zoé who some has bought
 #‘he will say to me whether **it is** Zoé **who** bought some.’
- (11) *I am upset because there is no milk left in the fridge. Max is delusional and convinced that someone bought milk, and suspects Zoé did. Then, still delusional, he claims he found out, but doesn’t want to tell me about it. I obviously don’t care, but he eventually will tell me anyways, and*
- a. il me dira si **c’est** le cas que Zoé en a acheté. (French)
 he pro say.fut whether it=is the case that Zoé some has bought
 ‘he will say to me whether it’s the case that Zoé bought some.’

Presupposition projection from the scope of *say*

- b. er wird mir sagen, ob es der Fall ist, dass Zoé welche gekauft hat. (German)
 he will me say whether it the case is that Zoé some bought has
 ‘he will say to me whether it’s the case that Zoé bought some.’
- c. mi dirà se è vero che Zoe ne ha comprato. (Italian)
 to.me say.fut whether is true that Zoé some has bought
 ‘he will say to me whether it’s the case that Zoé bought some.’

The (honest) attitude holder does not believe the presupposition triggered by the cleft, but the speaker does.

- (12) *Lou and I see in the fridge that someone bought a bottle of milk this morning. We suspect Zoé. Lou went to ask Max about what he knows of this, but Max was away and doesn’t know that anyone bought milk, so what’s for sure is that*
- a. il ne lui dira pas si c’est Zoé qui a acheté du lait. (French)
 he neg her.dat say.fut neg whether it=is Zoe who has bought of.the milk
 ‘he will not say to her whether **it is** Zoe **who** bought milk.’
- b. er wird ihr nicht sagen, ob es Zoe ist, die Milch gekauft hat. (German)
 he will her neg say whether it Zoe is who milk bought has
 ‘he will not say to her whether **it is** Zoe **who** bought milk.’
- c. non le dirà se è Zoe che ha comprato del latte. (Italian)
 not to.her say.fut whether is Zoe that has bought of.the milk
 ‘he will not say to her whether **it is** Zoe **who** bought milk.’

Note that the judgments in (10) are not as sharp as the ones with additive presupposition triggers in (8). This may be due to differences between these two types of presupposition triggers, that are beyond the scope of this paper. Albeit subtle, we do believe there is a contrast between (10) and (11), as well as between (10) and (12), which are the ones that are crucial to proving our point.

2.3. *Wh*-questions

The (honest) attitude holder believes the presupposition coming with the *wh*-question, but not the speaker.

- (13) *When I left my apartment this morning, there was no milk left in the fridge. Unlike Max, I think that no-one bought milk. He tries to convince me, and*
- a. #il me dit qui en a acheté. (French)
 he me says who of.it has bought
 # ‘he says to me **who** bought some.’
- b. #er sagt mir, wer welche gekauft hat. (German)
 he says me who some bought has
 # ‘he says to me **who** bought some.’

The (honest) attitude holder does not believe the presupposition coming with the *wh*-question, but the speaker does.

- (14) *I believe that someone bought a new milk carton. Max heard one of his flatmates talk about it, but he doesn't believe them. I ask Max about the milk.*
- a. Max ne me dit pas **qui** a acheté du lait, parce qu'il pense que
Max NE me says that who has bought of.the milk because=he thinks that
personne n'en a acheté.
no-one NE=it has bought. (French)
'Max doesn't say to me **who** bought milk, because he thinks that no-one bought
any.'
- b. Max sagt mir nicht, **wer** Milch gekauft hat, weil er denkt, dass niemand
Max says me not who milk bought has because he thinks that no-one
welche gekauft hat.
some bought has. (German)
'Max doesn't say to me **who** bought milk, because he thinks that no-one bought
any.'

References

- Gonzalez, A., P. Jeretič, C. Dal Farra, and J. Hein (2023). Presupposition projection from the scope of 'say'. In *Proceedings of Sinn und Bedeutung*, Volume 27, pp. 253–271.