

Appendix A

Complete list of items for the completion norming studies and Experiment 1. Items 1-24 were included in both the norming and reading studies. Items 25 through 30 appeared only in the norming study. A complete sextet is shown for item 1; conditions for the remaining items are compressed into a single sentence with the manipulation provided in the first brackets (No Matrix PP / Compatible PP / Incompatible PP). The second brackets show the PP or VP remnant. The PP Sprouting case is provided in (1a) and represented as \odot in the remaining items.

1. a. John doesn't want to eat out, much less on Tuesday, so I guess we'll be staying in.
 b. John doesn't want to eat out on Saturday, much less on Tuesday, so I guess we'll be staying in.
 c. John doesn't want to eat out at a steakhouse, much less on Tuesday, so I guess we'll be staying in.
 d. John doesn't want to eat out, much less go dancing, so I guess we'll be staying in.
 e. John doesn't want to eat out on Saturday, much less go dancing, so I guess we'll be staying in.
 f. John doesn't want to eat out at a steakhouse, much less go dancing, so I guess we'll be staying in.
2. Melinda doesn't read books { \odot / at work / for pleasure}, much less {at home / critique them}, though she has opinions about famous authors.
3. The candidate wouldn't discuss his strategy { \odot / with reporters / on television}, much less {with his opponent / give interviews}, and his campaign is driven by the polls.

4. The teenager wouldn't go in the store {⊗ / alone / during the day}, much less {with his parents / ask for help}, and she spent her time chatting online.
5. Sam hardly listens to music {⊗ / in the house/for fun}, much less {in the car / sings along}, so I was surprised by his expensive stereo system.
6. The new assistant couldn't focus {⊗ / for an hour / in the office}, much less {for an afternoon / finish the report}, and spent her time chatting online.
7. Oliver never really traveled {⊗ / with anyone / outside the state}, much less {outside the country / gone camping}, but he was excited about the trip with his in-laws.
8. The plumber couldn't replace the pipes {⊗ / by next week / on his own}, much less {by tomorrow / explain the problem}, and he didn't inspire much confidence.
9. Ryan never discussed politics {⊗ / with his neighbors / at church}, much less {with his father-in-law / handed out leaflets}, so it was a surprise when he plastered his lawn with political signs.
10. The students didn't study {⊗ / for the quizzes / during the week}, much less {for the final / write their final papers}, even though they needed good grades.
11. Sally doesn't want to talk {⊗ / with her co-workers / about work}, much less {with her boss / host a company picnic}, but she is now totally stuck.
12. Ricky wouldn't watch baseball {⊗ / with his friends / at the stadium}, much less {by himself / play a sport}, as he had no interest in athletics.
13. We can't rent a cabin {⊗ / during the winter break / for the whole family}, much less {during the summer / buy a condo}, unless we win the lottery.
14. Dave has never tried to make a cake {⊗ / from a box / with icing}, much less {from scratch / decorate pastries}, although he says he wants to learn.

15. Joe had never caught a fish {⊗ / with a rod / in a pond}, much less {with his bare hands / gutted anything}, so we viewed his story with some suspicion.
16. Diana had never even tried dancing salsa {⊗ / in sneakers / competitively}, much less {in high heels / performed in public}, but she was looking forward to the challenge.
17. Melanie couldn't solve the puzzle {⊗ / for fun / on her own}, much less {for a grade / explain it}, and she generally avoids games.
18. Jeremy wouldn't even sing {⊗ / in the chorus / for his parents}, much less {in a leading role / star in the show}, as he gets too nervous.
19. Sonya never agreed to speak {⊗ / to the new employees / by herself}, much less {for the whole year / train them}, although she is good at the work behind the scenes.
20. Alex would never swim {⊗ / in a pool/ with flippers}, much less {in the ocean / enter a competition}, since he is afraid of water.
21. Jack never thought he would be hired {⊗ / for an entry-level position / in the mailroom}, much less {for his dream job / be promoted}, and he was grateful for his good fortune.
22. James wouldn't ride a scooter {⊗ / on a country road / without a helmet}, much less {on the highway / buy a motorcycle}, as he really doesn't like taking risks.
23. Marcus has never attended a book signing {⊗ / with his classmates / for charity}, much less {with his friends / organized an event}, so his recent interest is very surprising.
24. Laura usually doesn't send holiday cards {⊗ / to her parents / on time}, much less {to her extended family / buy any gifts}, so this year was a nice surprise for everyone.
25. Jessica couldn't rent a house {⊗ / on the water / for her parents}, much less {by the lake / buy a houseboat}, no matter what her second husband wanted.

26. It's too dangerous to drive there {⊗ / in the daytime / alone}, much less {at midnight / walk by yourself}, so we should find another plan.
27. Drew didn't feel like showing up {⊗ / at the party / before the other guests}, much less {at the after-party / making drinks}, but he felt obligated to his best friend.
28. Nobody has time to buy lunch {⊗ / for themselves / on a slow day}, much less {for someone else / make anything}, and I'm surprised you even asked.
29. The director didn't impress the actors {⊗ / with his style / at the auditions}, much less {with his ideas / intimidate them}, though he was a big name in Chicago.
30. The baristas didn't get many compliments {⊗ / in the afternoon / on their coffee}, much less {in the morning / make any money}, although they were always very cheerful.

Appendix B.

Items from Experiment 2. Contexts shown for all items in the order Supporting then Neutral, as labeled for item 1.

1. a. Supporting: Some analysts suggested that the leading candidate would discuss his campaign strategy with reporters and his opponent today.

 b. Neutral: Some analysts suggested that the leading candidate would discuss his campaign strategy publicly today.

 Target: However, he wouldn't discuss his strategy {⊗ / with reporters}, much less with his opponent, and his campaign is going strong.
2. Context: I thought I saw Frank at the mall just now. He might be here with friends or his parents. / I thought I saw Frank's parents at the mall just now. He might be here with them.

 Target: Then again, Frank wouldn't go to the mall {⊗ / with his friends}, much less with his parents, as he really hates shopping.
3. Context: I wanted to get Sam an album for his birthday, but didn't know if he listens to music mainly in the house or the car. / I wanted to get Sam an album for his birthday, but didn't know how much he likes music.

 Target: Apparently, Sam hardly listens to music {⊗ / in the house}, much less in the car, so I won't get him anything related to music.
4. Context: The boss has a very important task for the new assistant, and asked me if she can focus on the project for an afternoon. / The boss has a very important task for the new assistant, and asked me if she can focus on the project.

Target: Personally, I doubt she can focus for an hour, much less {⊗ / for an afternoon}, but we don't have anyone else to do it.

5. Context: It surprised his friends that Oliver was about to take a long vacation outside the country. / It surprised his friends that Oliver was showing a new interest in traveling.

Target: He hadn't traveled {⊗ / outside the state}, much less outside the country, until he met his wife.

6. Context: Sue said that the plumbing has broken again, and asked if the plumber will replace the pipes by tomorrow. / Sue said that the plumbing has broken again, and wanted to know how long it would take the plumber to replace the pipes.

Target: The plumber probably can't replace the pipes {⊗ / by next week}, much less by tomorrow, and she'll have to make due.

7. Context: My parents wanted to rent a house on the lake for a family reunion. / My parents wanted to rent a house for a family reunion.

Target: Unfortunately, they couldn't find a house {⊗ / on the water}, much less by the lake, no matter how hard they looked.

8. Context: The end of the term was approaching quickly, and I had hoped that the students studied for the final this year. / The end of the term was approaching quickly, and I had hoped that the students would do well this year.

Target: Unfortunately, the students didn't study {⊗ / for the quizzes}, much less for the final, even though they all wanted good grades.

9. Context: Linda asked us to pick her up at a club in a bad part of town at midnight. / Linda asked us to pick her up at a club in a bad part of town.

Target: It's too dangerous to drive there {⊗ / in the daytime}, much less at midnight, so we should find another plan.

10. Context: The crew invited the director along to the after-party. / The crew invited the director to celebrate with them.

Target: He didn't feel like showing up {⊗ / at the party}, much less at the after-party, but he felt obligated to the crew.

11. Context: Sally looks miserable at the party, talking with her boss. / Sally looks miserable at the work party.

Target: I guess she doesn't want to talk {⊗ / with her co-workers}, much less with her boss, but she is now totally stuck.

12. Context: Kathy couldn't use her ticket to a baseball game, and wanted to see if Ricky wanted to go by himself. / Kathy couldn't use her ticket to a baseball game, and wanted to see if Ricky wanted it.

Target: However, Ricky wouldn't watch baseball {⊗ / with his friends}, much less by himself, as he had no interest in sports.

13. Context: Julia wanted to stay in a cabin, but was worried that it would be expensive to rent during the summer. / Julia wanted to stay in a cabin, but was worried that it would be expensive to rent.

Target: Apparently, it's too expensive to rent a cabin {⊗ / during the winter break}, much less during the summer, unless she shares it with friends.

14. Context: Dave claims he made a cake from scratch for Tamara's birthday tonight. / Dave claims he made a cake for Tamara's birthday tonight.

Target: I'm sure Dave can't make a cake {⊗ / from a box}, much less from scratch, so I'd skip dessert tonight.

15. Context: Joe bragged that he can easily catch fish with his bare hands. / Joe bragged that he can easily survive in the wilderness, living on fish.

Target: But obviously, Joe hasn't even caught a fish {⊗ / with a rod}, much less with his bare hands, so we didn't believe him.

16. Context: It looks like Diana is signed up for the formal dance competition, and she'll need to dance in high heels. / It looks like Diana is signed up for the formal dance competition.

Target: Diana can't dance {⊗ / in sneakers}, much less in high heels, though she is looking forward to the challenge.

17. Context: The music director discovered that Jeremy has a great voice, and wants him for a leading role in the musical. / The music director discovered that Jeremy has a great voice, and wants him to try out for the musical.

Target: However, Jeremy wouldn't even sing {⊗ / in the chorus}, much less in a leading role, as he gets too nervous.

18. Context: We were all going to take a dip in the ocean after lunch, but Alex wouldn't come. / We're all going to take a dip after lunch, but Alex won't come.

Target: He said he wouldn't swim {⊗ / in a pool}, much less in the ocean, since he is afraid of water.

19. Context: Brett wanted to ride his scooter on the highway to the beach with his friend James. / Brett wanted to ride his scooter to the beach with his friend James.

Target: But James wouldn't ride a scooter {⊗ / on a country road}, much less on the highway, as he really doesn't feel safe.

20. Context: Her boyfriend said that Laura bought a bunch of cards to send to her extended family for the holidays. / Her boyfriend said that Laura bought a bunch of cards to send around for the holidays.

Target: Apparently, Laura rarely sends cards {⊗ / to her parents}, much less to her extended family, so this year was a nice surprise.