

## Appendix: Materials for Experiments 1 and 2

### 1 Experiment 1

The sixteen sentences below illustrate the “overt subject, adverbial” condition, taking the verb *shèfǎ* “try” as an example. The other three conditions can be constructed by removing the adverbial phrases (bolded) and/or embedded cpro subjects (underlined).

Glosses used: 3SG: third person singular pronoun, CLF: classifier; DE: the particle *de*, PL: plural *men*

Note that cpro is translated here as an adjunct phrase “by himself/herself” instead of as a subject NP, for idiomaticity. The pronoun 他 *tā* is translated as “him”.

- (1) a. 这个示威者设法下午警卫们交班时他一个人混入国会大厦。

Zhè ge shìwēizhě shèfǎ xiàwǔ jǐngwèi-men jiāobān shí tā yī ge  
this CLF demonstrator try afternoon guard-PL change.duty time 3SG one CLF  
rén hùnrù guóhuì-dàshà.  
person sneak.into parliament-building

‘This demonstrator tried to sneak into the parliament building by himself when the guards were changing shift in the afternoon.’

- b. 这个刺客设法夜深后他一个人刺杀国王。

Zhè ge cìkè shèfǎ yè shēn hòu tā yī ge rén cìshā guówáng.  
this CLF assassin try night dark after 3SG one CLF person assassinate king

‘This assassin tried to assassinate the king by himself after night fell.’

- c. 这个绑匪设法傍晚时分他一个人绑走女歌手。

Zhè ge bǎngfěi shèfǎ bàngwǎn shífèn tā yī ge rén bǎngzǒu nǚ  
this CLF kidnapper try evening time 3SG one CLF person kidnap female  
gēshǒu.  
singer

‘This kidnapper tried to kidnap the female singer by himself in the evening.’

- d. 这名侍女设法在公主们回来前她一个人找回丢失的首饰。

Zhè míng shìnú shèfǎ zài gōngzhǔ-men huílái qián tā yī ge rén zhǎohuī  
this CLF maid try at princess-PL return before 3SG one CLF person find  
diūshī de shǒushì.  
lost DE jewelry

‘This maid tried to find the missing jewelry by herself before the princesses returned.’

- e. 这名卧底设法天黑以后他一个人潜入敌军总部。

Zhè míng wòdǐ shèfǎ tiān hēi yǐhòu tā yī ge rén qiánrù dǐjūn  
this CLF spy try sky dark after 3SG one CLF person infiltrate enemy  
zǒngbù.  
headquarters

‘This spy tried to infiltrate the enemy headquarters by himself after night fell.’

- f. 这名突击队员设法半夜时分他一个人救出这群人质。

Zhè míng tújídùiyuán shèfǎ **bànyè** **shífèn** tā yī ge rén jiùchū zhè qún  
this CLF commando try midnight time 3SG one CLF person rescue this group  
rénzhì.  
hostage

‘This commando tried to rescue these hostages by himself at midnight.’

- g. 这名间谍设法下午散会后他一个人偷走机密文件。

Zhè míng jiàndié shèfǎ **xiàwǔ** **sàn huì** **hòu** tā yī ge rén tōuzǒu  
this CLF spy try afternoon end meeting after 3SG one CLF person steal  
jīmì wénjiàn.  
secret document

‘This spy tried to steal the secret documents by himself after the meeting ended in the afternoon.’

- h. 这名黑客设法周六晚上他一个人入侵银行网站。

Zhè míng hēikè shèfǎ **zhōuliù** **wǎnshàng** tā yī ge rén rùqīn yínháng  
this CLF hacker try Saturday night 3SG one CLF person attack bank  
wǎngzhàn.  
website

‘This hacker tried to attack the bank website by himself on Saturday night.’

- i. 这名情报人员设法一个星期内他一个人完成这项任务。

Zhè míng qíngbào rényuán shèfǎ **yī** **ge** **xīngqí nèi** tā yī ge rén  
this CLF intelligence staff try one CLF week within 3SG one CLF person  
wánchéng zhè xiàng rènwù.  
finish this CLF mission

‘This intelligence agent tried to finish this mission by himself in a week.’

- j. 这名谈判专家设法清晨时分他一个人与劫机者通电话。

Zhè míng tánpàn zhuānjiā shèfǎ **qīngchén** **shífèn** tā yī ge rén yǔ  
this CLF negotiation expert try dawn time 3SG one CLF person with  
jiéjīzhě tōngdiànhuà.  
plane.hijacker have.phone.conversation

‘This negotiator tried to speak with the plane hijackers by himself at dawn.’

- k. 这名士兵设法下午长官们不注意时他一个人溜出营房。

Zhè míng shìbīng shèfǎ **xiàwǔ** **zhǎngguān-men** **bù zhùyì** **shí** tā yī  
this CLF soldier try afternoon officer-PL not pay.attention when 3SG one  
ge rén liū-chū yíngfáng.  
CLF person slip-out barracks

‘This soldier tried to slip out of the barracks by himself when the officers were not paying attention in the afternoon.’

- l. 这名被告设法在警方发出拘捕令之前他一个人潜逃出境。

Zhè míng bèigào shèfǎ zài jǐngfāng fāchū jūbǔ-lìng zhīqián tā yī ge  
this CLF accused try at police release arrest-warrant before 3SG one CLF  
rén qiántáochūjìng.  
person flee.country

‘This accused tried to flee the country by himself before the police released the warrant of arrest.’

- m. 这个军官设法天黑以后他一个人从战俘营中逃出来。

Zhè ge jūnguān shèfǎ tiān hēi yǐhòu tā yī ge rén cóng zhànfú-yíng  
this CLF army.officer try sky dark after 3SG one CLF person from POW-camp  
zhōng táochūlái.  
inside escape

‘This army officer tried to escape from the POW camp by himself after it got dark.’

- n. 这个囚犯设法天亮前他一个人越狱逃走。

Zhè ge qiúfàn shèfǎ tiān liàng qián tā yī ge rén yuèyù  
this CLF criminal try sky bright before 3SG one CLF person escape.from.prison  
táozǒu.  
flee

‘This criminal tried to escape from prison before daybreak.’

- o. 这个小偷设法夜深人静时他一个人偷走这幅名画。

Zhè ge xiǎotōu shèfǎ yè-shēn-rén-jìng shí tā yī ge rén tōuzǒu zhè  
this CLF thief try night-deep-people-quiet time 3SG one CLF person steal this  
fú mínghuà.  
CLF famous.painting

‘This thief tried to steal this famous painting by himself when it was all quiet at night.’

- p. 这个窃贼设法午夜时分他一个人逃出拘留所。

Zhè ge qièzéi shèfǎ wǔyè shífèn tā yī ge rén táochū jūliú-suǒ.  
this CLF burglar try midnight time 3SG one CLF person escape detention-center

‘This burglar tried to escape from the detention center by himself at midnight.’

Verbs were each paired with four frames, as listed below:

- 打算 *dǎsuàn* “plan,” 计划 *jìhuà* “plan”: frames a-d
- 准备 *zhǔnbèi* “try,” 尝试 *chángshì* “try”: e-h
- 设法 *shèfǎ* “try,” 企图 *qǐtú* “try”: i-l
- 有意 *yǒuyì* “intend,” 试图 *shìtú* “try”: m-p

Adverbials used:

- Clause-like: a, b, d, e, g, k, l, m, n
- Simple: c, f, h, i, j, p, o (note: o is an idiom, and so even though it ostensibly has clause-like syntax, it is classified as a simple adverbial)

## 2 Experiment 2

The sixteen sentences below illustrate the “belief verb, overt subject” condition, taking the verb *rènwéi* “think” as an example. The other three conditions can be constructed by removing the embedded cpro subject (underlined) and/or replacing the main verb (bolded) with a control verb. The modal auxiliary *kěyǐ* “can” is also removed, when the main verb is a control verb.

- (2) a. 这个示威者认为下午警卫们交班时他一个人可以混入国会大厦。

Zhè ge shìwēizhě **rènwéi** xiàwǔ jǐngwèi-men jiāobān shí tā yī ge  
this CLF demonstrator think afternoon guard-PL change.duty time 3SG one CLF  
rén kěyǐ hùnrù guóhuì-dàshà.  
person can sneak.into parliament-building

‘This demonstrator thought he alone could sneak into the parliament building when the guards were changing shift in the afternoon.’

- b. 这个刺客认为夜深后他一个人可以刺杀国王。

Zhè ge cìkè **rènwéi** yè shēn hòu tā yī ge rén kěyǐ cìshā  
this CLF assassin think night dark after 3SG one CLF person can assassinate  
guówáng.  
king

‘This assassin thought he alone could assassinate the king after night fell.’

- c. 这个绑匪认为傍晚时分他一个人绑走女歌手。

Zhè ge bǎngfěi **rènwéi** bàngwǎn shífèn tā yī ge rén kěyǐ bǎngzǒu  
this CLF kidnapper think evening time 3SG one CLF person can kidnap  
nǚ gēshǒu.  
female singer

‘This kidnapper thought he alone could kidnap the female singer in the evening.’

- d. 这名侍女认为在公主们回来前她一个人找回丢失的首饰。

Zhè míng shìniǚ **rènwéi** zài gōngzhǔ-men huílái qián tā yī ge rén kěyǐ  
this CLF maid think at princess-PL return before 3SG one CLF person can  
zhǎo huí diūshī de shǒushì.  
find lost DE jewelry

‘This maid thought she alone could find the missing jewelry before the princesses returned.’

- e. 这名卧底认为天黑以后他一个人可以潜入敌军总部。

Zhè míng wòdǐ **rènwéi** tiān hēi yǐhòu tā yī ge rén kěyǐ qiánrù dǐjūn  
this CLF spy think sky dark after 3SG one CLF person can infiltrate enemy  
zǒngbù.  
headquarters

‘This spy thought he alone could infiltrate the enemy headquarters after night fell.’

- f. 这名突击队员认为半夜时分他一个人可以救出这群人质。

Zhè míng tújídùiyuán **rènwéi** bàn yè shí fèn tā yī ge rén kě yǐ jiù chū zhè  
this CLF commando think midnight time 3SG one CLF person can rescue this  
qún rén zhì.  
group hostage

‘This commando thought he alone could rescue these hostages at midnight.’

- g. 这名间谍认为下午散会后他一个人可以偷走机密文件。

Zhè míng jiàndié **rènwéi** xià wǔ sǎn huì hòu tā yī ge rén kě yǐ  
this CLF spy think afternoon end meeting after 3SG one CLF person can  
tōu zǒu jī mì wén jiàn.  
steal secret document

‘This spy thought he alone could steal the secret documents after the meeting ended in the afternoon.’

- h. 这名黑客认为周六晚上他一个人入侵银行网站。

Zhè míng hēi kè **rènwéi** zhōu liù wǎn shàng tā yī ge rén kě yǐ rù qīn  
this CLF hacker think Saturday night 3SG one CLF person can attack  
yín háng wǎng zhàn.  
bank website

‘This hacker thought he alone could attack the bank website on Saturday night.’

- i. 这名情报人员认为一个星期内他一个人可以完成这项任务。

Zhè míng qíng bào rényuán **rènwéi** yī ge xīng qí nèi tā yī ge rén  
this CLF intelligence staff think one CLF week within 3SG one CLF person  
kě yǐ wán chéng zhè xiàng rèn wù.  
can finish this mission

‘This intelligence agent thought he alone could finish this mission in a week.’

- j. 这名谈判专家认为清晨时分他一个人可以与劫机者通电话。

Zhè míng tán pàn zhuān jiā **rènwéi** qīng chén shí fèn tā yī ge rén kě yǐ  
this CLF negotiation expert think dawn time 3SG one CLF person can  
yǔ jié jī zhě tōng diàn huà.  
with plane.hijacker have.phone.conversation

‘This negotiator thought he alone could speak with the plane hijackers at dawn.’

- k. 这名士兵认为下午长官们不注意时他一个人可以溜出营房。

Zhè míng shì bīng **rènwéi** xià wǔ zhǎng guān-men bù zhùyì shí tā yī  
this CLF soldier think afternoon officer-PL not pay.attention when 3SG one  
ge rén kě yǐ liū-chū yíng fáng.  
CLF person can slip-out barracks

‘This soldier thought he alone could slip out of the barracks when the officers were not paying attention in the afternoon.’

- l. 这名被告认为在警方发出拘捕令之前他一个人可以潜逃出境。

Zhè míng bèigào **rènwéi** zài jǐngfāng fāchū jūbǔ-lìng zhīqián tā yī ge  
 this CLF accused think at police release arrest-warrant before 3SG one CLF  
 rén kěyǐ qiántáochūjìng.  
 person can flee.country

‘This accused thought he alone could flee the country before the police released the warrant of arrest.’

- m. 这个军官认为天黑以后他一个人可以从战俘营中逃出来。

Zhè ge jūnguān **rènwéi** tiān hēi yǐhòu tā yī ge rén kěyǐ cóng  
 this CLF army.officer think sky dark after 3SG one CLF person can from  
 zhànfú-yíng zhōng táochūlái.  
 POW-camp inside escape

‘This army officer thought he alone could escape from the POW camp after it got dark.’

- n. 这个囚犯认为天亮前他一个人可以越狱逃走。

Zhè ge qiúfàn **rènwéi** tiān liàng qián tā yī ge rén kěyǐ  
 this CLF criminal think sky bright before 3SG one CLF person can  
 yuèyù táozǒu.  
 escape.from.prison flee

‘This criminal thought he alone could escape from prison before daybreak.’

- o. 这个小偷认为夜深人静时他一个人可以偷走这幅名画。

Zhè ge xiǎotōu **rènwéi** yè-shēn-rén-jìng shí tā yī ge rén kěyǐ  
 this CLF thief think night-deep-people-quiet time 3SG one CLF person can  
 tōuzǒu zhè fú mínghuà.  
 steal this CLF famous.painting

‘This thief thought he alone could steal this famous painting when it was all quiet at night.’

- p. 这个窃贼认为午夜时分他一个人可以逃出拘留所。

Zhè ge qièzéi **rènwéi** wǔyè shífēn tā yī ge rén kěyǐ táochū  
 this CLF burglar think midnight time 3SG one CLF person can escape  
 jūliú-suǒ.  
 detention-center

‘This burglar thought he alone could escape from the detention centre at midnight.’

Verbs were each paired with the frames as below:

- 打算 *dǎsuàn* “plan,” 计划 *jìhuà* “plan,” 说 *shuō* “say,” 认为 *rènwéi* “think”: frames a-d
- 准备 *zhǔnbèi* “try,” 尝试 *chángshì* “try,” 觉得 *juéde* “feel,” 以为 *yǐwéi* “falsely believe”: e-h
- 设法 *shèfǎ* “try,” 企图 *qǐtú* “try,” 表明 *biǎomíng* “make clear,” 知道 *zhīdào* “know”: i-l
- 有意 *yǒuyì* “intend,” 试图 *shìtú* “try,” 声称 *shēngchēng* “claim,” 表示 *biǎoshì* “say”: m-p

Adverbials are the same as in Experiment 1.