

# **On discourse referential properties of bare singulars in Spanish**

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Carolina Oggiani

Utrecht University

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Supervisor:

Professor Henriëtte de Swart

Second reader:

MA. Ana Aguilar-Guevara

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*Abstract*

Spanish as a Romance language has a determiner system, but also allows for the presence of nominals without determiners. Some recent literature (Espinal and McNally, 2009; Espinal, 2010) accounts for the difference between Spanish bare nominals and singular indefinites and claims that whereas BNs denote properties of types of individuals, regular indefinites denote entities. The aim of this thesis is to explore the manifestation of this semantic distinction in terms of the discourse referential properties of BNs and regular indefinites. Three experiments are carried out in which their capacity to introduce referential expressions in discourse is examined. Two of the experiments are pen and paper questionnaires and the third experiment is a corpus study. Results show that BNs and regular indefinites present dissimilar behaviors under different forms in discourse. Such results go along with the initial hypothesis that BNs are not able to introduce discourse referents, whereas regular indefinites are.

## **Organization of the paper**

The organization of the thesis is as follows. In the first chapter I will review the literature that discusses the semantic differences between BNs and DPs. Based on such differences, chapter two deals with an experiment that aims to test BNs' and regular indefinite's discourse referential properties. Chapter three is divided in two main sections. The first section discusses the data gathered from Corpus del Español (2002- ) that looks at the frequency of occurrence of BNs and regular indefinites. In the second section I formulate a set of variables and predictions to test BNs' and regular indefinite's behavior in discourse. Given the results from the corpus search, chapter four presents a new experiment consisting of a written production task to assess BNs and regular indefinites' discourse behavior. Chapter five discusses the results of the two experiments and the corpus search and proposes some ideas about the discourse behavior of the items in question

### **1. Introduction: Why Spanish allows for the distinction between BNs and regular indefinites**

In this chapter I will first explore the semantics of BNs in contrast to the semantics of regular definites and regular indefinites. I will proceed to discuss the properties of BNs as proposed by the literature (Espinal and McNally, 2009; Espinal, 2010) differentiating their behavior from that of regular indefinites.

#### **1.1. Definite and indefinite articles and bare nominals**

##### **1.1.1. Definite and indefinite phrases**

In this section I pose the question why a language like Spanish allows for the presence of a BN in object position when a definite or indefinite article already occurs in object position. In other words, the question is the following: how does a theory of grammar account for the distribution of definite and indefinite articles on the one hand, and BNs on the other. In order to answer these questions I will first provide a description of the semantics of definite and indefinite articles and then establish a contrast between that information and the different semantics of BNs.

Furthermore, the interest of the topic concerns the issue of why some languages like Spanish, present a definite and an indefinite article in their determiner system, but also allows for a nouns without determiners. In Chierchia's typology (1998) Romance languages are argued to be [-arg, +pred]. This means that count BNs are not considered to behave as arguments but as predicates, and as such they are not able to denote classes or concrete entities. The reason is that they do not project a D category, so the empty D of the BN changes the semantic category of an argument into a predicate. Then, a semantic theory should show whether this claim correlates with the actual distribution and interpretation of the forms in question.

Heim (to appear) characterizes regular definite noun phrases in terms of uniqueness. The author claims that a definite noun phrase refers to a specific, unique entity in a particular context that presents an added presupposition of existence. (cf. Russell 1905; Strawson 1950; Hawkins 1991) That is, the definite noun phrase presupposes that there is exactly one individual in the given context that satisfies its description.

Alternatively, a regular indefinite noun phrases introduces a new individual and is then characterized as an expression which refers to a non-unique entity. As shown below, sentence (1)

refers to a unique entity of which existence we already know, namely *the cat*. Instead, the noun phrase in (2) introduces a new entity, namely *a cat*. Notice that a *cat* is not interpreted as being a unique cat, but rather one entity among the set of cats that belongs to the universe of cats.

(1) The cat is on the carpet.

(2) A cat is on the carpet.

From a Fregean perspective, the added presupposition of existence and the uniqueness factor of (1) makes it entail (2). In other words, if (1) is true (2) is also true. But if (2) is true, (1) is not necessarily true; then (2) gets no truth value and hence can never be false (cf. Frege, 1892; Strawson, 1950). Also, the classical semantics view adds an amended observation called *Maximality*. This notion refers to the fact that in the extension of a singular count noun every element is a maximal element. Still, this claim does not affect the presuppositions of a singular count noun, since the singular noun has always one unique maximal element.

With respect to the indefinite article, we must note that it is also confined to count singular nouns (Heim, to appear). As stated, the crucial aspect is that indefiniteness expresses existential quantification but does not presuppose the existence of the referent.

From a classical syntactic view (Chierchia, 1998; Longobardi 2001), nominal expressions such as *the cat* or *a cat* in languages with number morphology and determiners have the structure presented in (3).

(3) [DP D [NumP Num [NP N]]]

The remaining question concerns the classification of nominal phrases that lacks a determiner. Are these structures considered part of the class of definites or of the class of indefinites? Which are their main characteristics and why does Spanish display this possibility if there are already regular definites and indefinites. These questions will be answered in the subsection below.

### 1.1.2 Bare nominals

The main point of this subsection is that Spanish displays the possibility of BNs and regular or regular indefinites because they convey different meanings. In other words, if Spanish displays two different forms, namely a determiner and a determinerless phrase, it must be because these forms have a different meaning (de Swart and Zwart, 2009). Then, Spanish has two forms because whereas BNs refer to properties of types of individuals, regular definites or indefinites refer to entities. This is what I discuss below.

In the first place, as pointed in the literature (Espinal and McNally, 2009; Espinal, 2010) Spanish BNs can only occur in object position (cf. Schmitt and Munn, 1999; Doron, 2003).

(4) \*Niño vive en la montaña.  
'child lives in the mountain.'

(5) Juan tiene auto.

Juan has car.  
'Juan has a car.'

In the second place, BNs are neither singular nor plural. That is, object nominals in Spanish are argued to lack a specification of definiteness and a specification of singularity or plurality. This means that for instance, the bare object in (4) is not referring to any particular number of cars so in this respect BNs are number neutral. Then, BNs are able to both introduce an atom that satisfies the property expressed by the noun and also more than one atom that satisfies its property. Thus, given this observation BNs are different from indefinites and bare plurals, in that the former refer to an atomic individual and the latter to a non-atomic plurality of individuals.

Due to the inherent number neutrality, the argument structure of BNs takes the form in (6). As seen, the category NumP is missing:

(6) [<sub>NP</sub> N auto]

There is some evidence showing that BNs are not singular (Espinal and McNally, 2009; Espinal, 2010). First BNs are claimed to be able to only combine with adjectives that denote the subtype of entity which the N plus the modifier is predicated form. The examples below show that the adjectives are indeed modifying kinds of individuals.

(7) Juan tiene pareja formal.  
Juan has partner formal  
'Juan has a long-term partner.'

For the same reason BNs do not seem to combine with qualitative and descriptive adjectives, given that these adjectives modify entities and not kind-denoting expressions.

(8) \*Juan tiene pareja alta.  
Juan has partner tall  
'Juan has a tall partner.'

Furthermore, we find some more evidence that shows that BNs are not singular if we compare them with indefinites and bare plurals:

- (9) a. Juan tiene apartamento en distintas ciudades.  
Juan has apartment in different cities  
'Juan has an apartment in different cities.'
- b. Juan tiene un apartamento en distintas ciudades.  
Juan has an apartment in different cities  
'Juan has an apartment in different cities.'
- c. Juan tiene apartamentos en distintas ciudades  
Juan has apartments in different cities  
'Juan has apartments.'

Sentence (9a) can have a distributive meaning but also a cumulative one., This means that it is true



in a situation in which Juan has more than one apartment, namely one in Amsterdam,, but one in Berlin and maybe more than one in Paris. Instead (9b) has only a distributive interpretation; it is true only when Juan has one apartment in each city. By contrast, sentence (9c) has a distributive reading, namely one apartment in each city but it can also have a cumulative reading, in which Juan has more than one apartment in any of the cities. The difference between (9a) and (9c) is that (9a) introduces a characterizing predicate and as pointed by Espinal (2010: 990) *there is no necessary commitment on the number of apartments Juan has*. Example (9c) only allows for a reference of sums of apartments.

Espinal (2010) claims that the presence of temporal modifiers and of the episodic past simple tense allow for an existential reading for the BN. The example provided is in Catalan, where the existential interpretation becomes clearly available. We know that the BN yields an existential meaning because an accusative clitic anaphor refers back to the the BN and not a partitive anaphor. Notice that this is not possible to show in Spanish, given that Spanish does not have two different anaphors to differentiate between an existential reading and a property reading. We will come back to this in Experiment 1.

- (10) Excepcionalment **ahir** **a la tarde** **va** portar rellotge  
 exceptionally yesterday in the afternoon PAST wear watch  
**El** va portar fins a la nit  
 acc.clitic PAST wear until to the night.  
 ‘Exceptionally, yesterday afternoon (s)he wore a watch. (S)he wore it until nightfall.’

Another property of BNs is that they only take narrow scope with respect to negation and intensional operators. By contrast, singular indefinites allow for a wide-scope reading.

- (11) a. Juan quiere comprar auto. (maybe more than one car)  
 Juan wants buy car  
 ‘Juan wants to buy a car.’  
 b. Juan quiere comprar un auto. (only one)  
 Juan wants buy a car  
 ‘Juan wants to buy a car.’

Furthermore, the occurrence of BNs is only possible in an atelic environment, due to its property-type denotation. Yet, singular indefinites are compatible with both a telic and an atelic modifiers.

- (12) a. Juan va a buscar apartamento durante un año/#en un año.  
 Juan goes to look for apartment for a year/# in one year  
 ‘Juan is going to look for an apartment for a year/#for a year’  
 b. Juan va a buscar un apartamento durante un año/en un año  
 Juan goes to look for an apartment for a year/in one year  
 ‘Juan is going to look for an apartment for a year/for a year.’

Additionally, BNs in object position only appear with verbs that entail a possessive or locative relation,. They are called *have-predicates* and some examples are *comprar* “buy”, *tener* “have”,

*vender* “sell”. These predicates are lexically described as entailing the existence of a have relation that characterizes the external argument. In other words, have-predicates distinguish between individuals which possess certain properties and individuals that do not. Among this class we also include intensional verbs such as *necesitar* “need” and others like *usar* “use” and *llevar* “wear”. For this reason (13a) is a good sentence, and (13b) is ungrammatical because the BN combines with a causative verb.

- (13) a. Juan lleva sombrero.  
Juan carries hat  
'Juan carries a hat.'
- b. \*Juan rompió vaso.  
Juan broke glass  
'Juan broke a glass.'

The last observation is about the idea that BNs denote a property of atomic kinds and singular indefinites denote entities. Espinal (2010) argues that BN constructions characterize the kind of thing that satisfies the have-relationship, namely “have-car”. Then, the N modifies the verbal predicate it combines with and forms a complex predicate with the V (Carlson, 2003; Dayal, 2003; Espinal and McNally, 2009). Put it differently, BNs denote properties of kinds of individuals and are thus of type  $\langle e, t \rangle$ .

On the other hand, a regular indefinite noun phrase identifies the object argument of the have-predicate as a nominal that denotes any singular object individual. This object individual is of type  $\langle e \rangle$ . In this case, it creates a syntactic unit with the verb in which it is the internal syntactic and semantic argument of the verb.

To sum up, all the information presented above confirms de Swart and Zwart's claim (2009) that different forms map into a different meanings. Then, if Spanish displays a form DP and a determinerless NP it is because they correlate with two different meanings. Namely the regular indefinite denotes an individual and the BN denotes a property of a type of an individual. As pointed by Espinal (2010), a BN construction displays the least informative interpretation with respect to a DP construction. Namely, by choosing a BN the speaker is not being specific whether the BN denotes an atom or a sum of atoms. Rather (s)he introduces a verb modifier that characterizes the kind of an individual. Thus, BNs come into play because they fill in a gap between a full DPs which denotes an atom, and a BP that denotes a sum of atoms.

In this section we have outlined the main characteristics of BNs in contrast to those of full DPs. As already stated, BNs and singular indefinites differ in terms of their capacity to refer to either properties of kinds of individuals or entities. The next chapter focuses on experimentally capturing such semantic differences in discourse. More specifically, we will explore the discourse referential properties of BNs and regular indefinites. Given that BNs and regular indefinites denote different things in the world and as such differ in terms of number neutrality, scope and the kinds of modifiers they combine with, it is expected that BNs will elicit full DPs as their anaphoric expression and that a regular indefinite will elicit clitic pronouns as their anaphoric expression.

## 2. Discourse referential properties of BNs

In this chapter I will look at the referential properties of Spanish BNs and regular indefinites. More specifically I will assess the capacity of BNs and regular indefinites to elicit different kinds of anaphoric expressions, namely pronouns and DPs. The chapter is organized as follows. First I will introduce the theoretical background which underlies the assumptions of the experiment setting. Next I will introduce the predictions about the behavior of BNs and regular indefinites and finally I will present the set up of the experiment and a discussion.

### 2.1. Background on referentiality

Within the literature there seems to be agreement on the correlation between referential expressions and the level of salience of their antecedents (Arnold, 1998; Kaiser and Vihman, 2006). There is general consensus in that the more reduced an anaphoric expression is, the more salient its antecedent has to be. In this respect, Arnold (1998) claims that *“pronouns are used most often when the referent is represented in a prominent way in the minds of the discourse participants, but more fully specified forms are needed when the representation of the referent is less prominent”* (Arnold 1998:4). The hierarchy below represents the correlations of referential forms (Kaiser and Vihman, 2006).

accessible referents    Null > Pronouns > Demonstratives > full NPs    non-accessible referents

In other words, given that null pronouns and pronouns are the most reduced forms as anaphoric expressions, they are argued to elicit prominent expressions to behave as their discourse antecedents. Alternatively, demonstratives and full NPs are not reduced forms and thus they are argued to elicit less accessible expressions in discourse. This hypothesis has been verified for Estonian and Finish (Kaiser and Vihman, 2006) and for Dutch (Scholen-Aguilar-Guevara, 2010).

This correlation raises a main question: what forms are good candidates to refer back to Spanish BNs and regular indefinites. More specifically, I want to explore whether a BN or as a regular indefinite will better behave as a discourse antecedent of a reduced anaphoric expression or a full anaphoric expression. For this purpose I will focus on the differential property between BNs and singular indefinites that have been claimed to influence reference resolution and I will address their behavior of antecedents of pronouns or DPs.

In order to assess the referential properties of BNs and regular indefinites, I translate Kaiser and Vihman's (2006) hierarchy into an expected hierarchy for Spanish:

<b>Elicited items</b>	pronouns	(demonstratives)	DPs
<b>accessible referents</b>			<b>non-accessible referents</b>
<b>singular paradigm</b>	indefinites.....BNs....		

Table 1. Hierarchy for BNs' and regular indefinites' referentiality

As already mentioned, BNs are claimed to be number neutral, non-referential and lacking deictically definite use (Espinal and McNally, 2009). Due to the claim that they refer to properties of a kind of an individual and not to an entity, I expect them to elicit full anaphoric expressions such as DPs to behave as their discourse antecedents. In this sense, BNs are considered to be less predominant than regular indefinites because they cannot introduce the reference of an entity. Thus, their lack of referentiality is expected to be compensated by the combination with a full anaphoric expression. Instead, given that singular indefinites are referential and thus denote entities I expect them to elicit reduced anaphoric expressions such as pronouns to behave as their discourse antecedents. Put differently:

Prediction 1: Based on the referential properties of regular indefinites (Heim to appear; Strawson, 1952), I predict that pronouns are more likely to behave as their anaphoric expressions.

Prediction 2: Based on the non-referential properties of BNs (Espinal and McNally, 2009; Espinal, 2010), I predict that full DPs are more likely to behave as their anaphoric expressions.

## 2.2. Experiment 1

### 2.2.1. Experimental set up

Experiment 1 will test the capacity of BNs and regular indefinites to elicit different kinds of anaphoric NPs. Participants are presented with a brief discourse text containing one of the two test items followed by suspension points. In the second sentence participants find three possible continuations for the first sentence. Each of the three optional sentences presents a different anaphoric expression, which refers back to the test item, namely the BN or regular indefinite. Participants have to choose among the following items: (a) accusative clitic, (b) an indefinite DP with the same noun of the BN, (c) an indefinite DP with a synonym of the noun of the BN (c).

Subjects: 120 native Spanish-speaking students from Universidad de la República, Uruguay.

Design: Materials are presented in a paper-and-pencil questionnaire. The experiment has a within-subject design and it involves three conditions: accusative clitics (a), a repetition of the tested BN but in a DP structure (b), and a synonym of the tested BN also in a DP structure (c). Materials are divided into two lists that have the same number of items for the three conditions. All the target sentences and fillers are randomized, as is the order of the options that participants will choose.

Every participant is presented with both lists. This type of design allows the possible exclusion of the second list for every participant if it turns out that the participants show some type of learning effect.

Materials: The items consist of 8 short situations (4 for BNs and 4 for regular indefinites) which are composed of two sentences. In the first sentence the test item is introduced as an internal argument, namely a direct object. Participants have to choose the most suitable sentence out of the three optional sentences that contain either the noun or synonym in a DP structure or the clitic pronoun.

Items are integrated into a set of 8 fillers, also containing three possible sentences. Participants have to choose a suitable continuation of the same target noun phrase that refers back to the test items.

To avoid a lengthy questionnaire, the items are divided among three separate questionnaires. Each participant is presented with 4 sentences of BNs and 4 of regular indefinites. Test sentences are counterbalanced by 8 filler sentences. The recruitment of 120 participants allows for a statistically valid number of 40 judgments for each test item.

### **2.2.2 The construction of test items**

All sentences occur in past tense. In the first line the first sentence is constructed with the have-predicate in past tense and the test item in object position. In the same line a second sentence follows which starts with a phrase such as “suddenly”, “after that”. Then suspension points follow. The second line is the continuation of the second sentence which gives three options. Namely, a continuation sentence with a causative verb in past tense combined with a clitic in preverbal position, or a synonym or the same noun in a DP in post-verbal position. Notice that the reason why the verb of the second sentence is not the same as the have predicate is to prevent test options to inherit the same semantic properties of the first sentence. Then, we selected causative predicates which move the story forward in a coherent and cohesive way, and where test options are used to refer back to any of the test items.

With regard to the 9 fillers, there are no have-predicates in any of the sentences. Test options in the continuation sentence occur in object and subject position.

### **2.2.3 Results**

A chi-square test of independence was performed to examine the relation between BNs and regular indefinites and the anaphoric expressions they elicit. Contrary to our expectations, results do not show a statistically significant relationship between BNs or regular indefinites and their anaphoric expressions ( $\chi^2(2, N=120) = 0.157, p=0.924$ ). Results show that participants preferred the clitic pronoun as the anaphoric expression almost with the same proportion for BNs and regular indefinites. The data is illustrated in the table below:

Condition * Result Crosstabulation				
	clitic pronoun	repeated DP	synonym DP	total
BN	358	48	74	480
reg.indef.	360	50	70	480
total	718	98	144	960

Table 1. Distribution of test options for BNs and regular indefinites.

Results clearly show that the definite preferred option to behave as a discourse antecedent of BNs and regular indefinites is the clitic pronoun. In the second place, participants preferred to repeat the noun in a DP structure and in the third place they replaced it with a synonym also in a DP structure. Also notice that there is a minimal difference of frequency between the last two variables. Interestingly, this fact seems to correlate with Scholten and Aguilar-Guevara's work (2010), who found out that Dutch speakers prefer to repeat the noun instead of using a synonym.

The data from Experiment 1 is conclusive in the sense that predictions are not satisfied. The next step in this paper is to ask what these results actually mean. That is, why is it that BNs and regular indefinites behave almost indistinctly by eliciting the same anaphoric expression, if they are claimed to have different semantic properties (Espinal and McNally, 2009; Espinal, 2010). This will be discussed in the following section.

#### 2.2.4 Discussion

As shown, the data does not appear to suit the expected behaviour of BNs and regular indefinites. Then, in this section I will comment on the possible factors that may have influenced the selection of clitic pronouns as the discourse antecedents of both test items. In other words, I will discuss the reasons because the experiment may have not been powerful enough to capture the discourse referential properties of BNs and regular indefinites.

The first factor that may have affected results is concerned with the nature of Spanish pronouns. Longa's et al. (1996) offer an explanation that attends to the interpretation of Spanish pronouns and which may be helpful to understand why speakers preferred the clitic pronoun instead of the DPs option. They argue that Northwestern Iberian languages such as Spanish present a *recycling mechanism*, which is a last resort strategy that extends the use of an element of the clitic paradigm to fill in a gap. This strategy they call *Clitic Recycling Strategy* and it consists of using the most unmarked clitic to fill in the blanks of a paradigm. Then, while Catalan uses partitive and locative clitics and Galician and Asturian use recycled clitics, Spanish exhibits no surface clitics. For instance, in the following example (13) the authors argue that there is an abstract partitive element which has no surface form.

- (14) Las mujeres estaban en la pista, pero los hombres no [abstract clitic] estaban.  
 the women were on the dance floor, but the men no were.  
 'Women were on the dance floor, but men were not.'

Thus, the fact that BNs are further picked up in discourse by clitic pronouns now finds a plausible explanation. Given that the Spanish paradigm presents a reduced number of clitics, we may be inclined to argue that the clitic picked up by a BN may indeed be a partitive pronoun which refers

to a property and not to an entity. Then, Spanish may be recycling its accusative clitic for different functions.

Notice that this claim does not presuppose an abstract partitive element, as proposed by Longa et al. (1998) for Spanish. Rather, this claim extends the notion of recycled clitics for Asturian and Galician. That is, the fact that the BN selects for a pronoun as its anaphor may not necessarily mean that it is selecting an accusative clitic. In other words, the accusative clitic inventory may be used to fill the gap of partitivity, given that Spanish does not have a specific element to serve this function.

If we follow this argument, we may be tempted to believe that the design of the experiment to test BNs and regular indefinites' behavior was not at all felicitous. If BNs denote a property of a type of an individual and thus yields a partitive meaning they may pick a pronoun which is superficially an accusative but inherently a partitive. Then there should be no surprise when BNs pick more pronouns than DPs as their anaphoric expressions. In fact, clitic pronouns in Spanish may serve at least two functions but we cannot discern which function it is, since there is only one form.

Additionally, it is relevant to point out that the literature (Espinal and McNally, 2009; Espinal, 2010) does not explicitly mention the possibility that BNs combine with clitic pronouns. Nevertheless, it is argued that BNs in object position serve as antecedents to property-type anaphors. The example proposed in the literature comes from Catalan, that has the element *en* which yields a partitive meaning. Then, this observation goes along the lines with the hypothesis I propose, namely that given the lack of a type anaphor for Spanish, the clitic pronoun come to fill in this gap.

Another fact that may have influenced results is the nature of causative verbs. As pointed out in the set up, a causative verb combines with any of the three test options in the second sentence. Recall that these verbs differ from the verbs in the first sentence (have-predicates) in which the target item is presented. The reason for doing so was to prevent BNs and singular indefinites from inheriting the semantics of the first sentence when combining with any of the test options in the second sentence. Nevertheless, having introduced causatives may have negatively influenced the data. Espinal (p.c.)<sup>1</sup> argues that causative verbs only select for tokens so the presence of this type of predicate may induce the the pronoun refer to a token and not to a property. Because of this fact, Espinal (p.c.) suggests that a future follow-up should not only look at the nature of the element that refers back to the test item, but also at the type of predicate that selects for them.

The third observation deals with the selection of the synonym DPs. While some synonyms seemed to be more clearly associated with BNs and singular indefinites, others seem to have been less accessible and thus chosen with a lower frequency. In other words, we are inclined to think that not all synonyms were equally identified as synonyms of the test options. Such an external factor may have influenced speakers' choices in selecting the synonym DP in some cases and the repetition of the DP in others.

Furthermore, the way in which the mini discourse is presented may have favored the BN's interpretation as an entity due to an accommodation process (Espinal, 2009). In relation to this point, Espinal (2009: 1001) claims that whenever a speaker selects for a BN, it is because (s)he does not want to commit her/himself to a specific interpretation denoting an atom or a sum of atoms. The accommodation process occurs when the context forces the BN to refer to a specific individual

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1. I thank Espinal for her suggestions during my internship at Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 2010.

instead of a predicate modifier. In this case, the episodic environment created by the past tense in the first sentence may have induced an existential reading (Espinal, 2009: 990). Besides, the lack of distinction between type and token anaphora in the second sentence may have induced speakers accommodate the semantics of a BN for the interpretation of an entity. A text introducing the BN as the central element and forcing the speaker relate it to the second sentence may be crucial evidence to agree with the point that BNs are actually accommodated in this type of discourse.

The design of the fillers also deserves some consideration. Even though in the majority of the cases participants chose pronouns to refer back to test options, the picture was not the same for fillers. Fillers are designed to distract subjects from finding out the point of the test. However, although fillers' results are less homogeneous in the selection of pronouns, the pronoun was still frequently selected. This may be a relevant factor to consider for a future experiment because in this experiment they may have not been sufficient distraction to confuse participants' choices. Even though they did choose other options, it would have been better if they had chosen fewer pronouns.

Finally, results suggest that the hierarchy proposed by Kaiser and Vihman (2006) may need some revision, because it cannot account for the Spanish pronoun paradigm. As stated, Spanish pronouns do not seem to establish a correlation with highly accessible referents only. Indeed, the experiment shows that pronouns are used as anaphors of accessible referents such as DPs, and also as referents that have low accessibility in discourse such as BNs. Thus, future research should look more deeply at the relations established by pronouns with different types of referents and explore the properties that pronouns must have in order to be combined with one or the other type of referent.

To sum up, Experiment 1 has not identified different discourse referential properties for BNs and regular indefinites. As suggested, the reasons to explain why predictions were not satisfied may be due to the recycled Spanish pronoun mechanism, to the nature of causative verbs and to an accommodation process favoured by the episodic tense. Thus, this experiment has shown a first picture of the factors that should not play a role in a future follow-up that aims at testing discourse properties of BNs and regular indefinites. So far we have seen that such a manipulated context may not be an adequate environment to test the properties in question. Instead, we need to find an alternative view that is able to experimentally capture the behaviour of BNs and regular indefinites. This new proposal will be presented in the next chapter.



### 3. Towards an alternative way to test the behavior of BNs and regular indefinites

The aim of this chapter is to assess the discourse properties of BNs and regular indefinites from a different perspective as it was done for Experiment 1. In order to explore their discourse behavior and see to what extent BNs are different from regular indefinites, I carry out a corpus search which is presented in this section.

As indicated, Experiment 1 has not properly captured a difference in the behavior of BNs and regular indefinites. Based on these results, I propose an alternative way to assess their discourse properties that may tell us how they behave in discourse and thus how their referential properties are manifested in discourse. The core hypothesis remains that BNs and regular indefinites are semantically different and thus must show a different behavior in discourse. For this study the number of variables examined and the corresponding predictions will be increased. Besides looking at anaphoric relations I will also look at the relations that BNs and regular indefinites establish with other elements in the sentence.

The chapter is organized as follows. First, I will recapitulate on the main behavior of BNs and regular indefinites. Second, I will introduce some variables that will be used to analyze the data and then I will establish the predicted behavior for the test items. Third, I will analyze the data of the corpus search by applying the variables just mentioned. A section for discussion will follow.

#### 3.1 Back to literature: the behavior of BNs and regular indefinites

In this chapter I review the main properties that distinguish the behavior of BNs and regular indefinites (Espinal and McNally, 2009; Espinal, 2010). The aim is to establish the baseline under which assumptions and predictions will be added and reformulated.

The literature claims (Espinal and McNally 2009; Espinal 2010) that some modifiers are able to combine with BNs but others are not. In particular, BNs can only be modified by adjectives that modify kinds of individuals. On the contrary, determinate phrases combine with adjectives that modify a set of individual entities whose properties are contributed by the noun. They are so called descriptive and qualitative adjectives. As shown below, sentence (15) is good because the modifier *formal* applies to a kind of an individual, namely *pareja* “partner”. However, sentence (16) sounds odd because the modifier *alta* describes the property of an individual which cannot be expressed by a BN.

(15) Juan busca pareja formal.  
Juan looks for partner formal  
‘Juan looks for a formal partner.’

(16) #Juan busca pareja alta.  
#Juan looks for partner tall.  
‘Juan looks for a tall partner.’

A second piece of evidence showing BNs to be different from regular indefinites derives from their lack of existentiality whenever there is no specific quantification introduced in the discourse. Then, Espinal (2010) claims that BNs denote information about types or properties but not about token

individuals. As mentioned in the previous sections, this is clearly seen in Catalan, where the BN can only combine with the partitive pronoun *en* but not with the accusative pronoun *el*. Recall that in accordance with this claim, we postulate that these functions in Spanish are covered by the same form, namely the accusative pronoun. Examples are presented below:

- (17) *Porta rellotge. En/ #el porta cada dia.*  
 wears watch. PART it-ACC wears every day.  
 ‘(S)he is wearing a watch. (S)he wears one every day.’

However, whenever a temporal modifier is added to the sentence and the verb is conjugated in the episodic past tense, an existential reading for the nominal expression may become available. As a consequence, the clitic pronoun is possible.

- (18) *Excepcionalment ahir a la tarda va portar rellotge.*  
 exceptionally yesterday in the afternoon PAST wear watch  
*#En/el va portar fins a la nit.*  
 PART/ it-ACC PAST wear until to the night  
 ‘Exceptionally, yesterday afternoon (s)he wore a watch. (S)he wore it until nightfall.’

Notice that this piece of evidence suits only partially in Spanish. As attested in Experiment 1, due to the nature of the Spanish pronominal system, the accusative pronoun may be recycled into a partitive pronoun. In this sense, it is not possible to apply the first part of the explanation since Spanish does not present different pronouns to determine the interpretation of a BN as a property or as an entity.

With respect to the presence of temporal modifiers, it may not be entirely clear how to account for the fact that its presence may also license an existential reading of the BN. The reason is that different from Catalan, Spanish cannot establish a contrast between the combination of a temporal modifiers such as *ahir a la tarda* “yesterday in the afternoon” and a different pronoun. However, we may still find a clue to shed light on the behavior of Spanish BNs. Indeed, Espinal (2010) claims that BNs only combine with temporal expressions with are -telic. The reason to only combine with -telic modifiers is that the BN introduces an unboundedness effect on the predicate denotation due to the property-type denotation of the BN. By contrast, regular indefinites combine both with telic and atelic expressions. This is illustrated below:

- (19) *Juan buscó apartamento #en una semana/ durante un año.*  
 Juan looked for apartment #in one week/ for a year.  
 ‘Juan looked for an apartment for a year.’

- (20) *Juan buscó un apartamento en una semana/ durante un año.*  
 Juan looked for an apartment in one week/ for one year.  
 ‘Juan looked for an apartment for a week (and by the end of the week he had found one)/ for a year (and he has possibly not yet found one.)’

Nevertheless, Espinal and Dobrovie-Sorin (2005) also comment on the fact that BNs may also occur within a telic context, as also observed by Laca (1999). The presence of the telic marker does not alter the number neutrality reading of the sentence. That is, the BN is compatible with either a singularity implicature or a plurality implicature. The example below is from Laca (1999:25):

- (21) Buscó piso en pocos días.  
looked for apartment in few days.  
'He looked for an apartment in a few days.'

Implicature 1: Piso=1

Implicature 2: piso>1

This piece of evidence suggests that the telicity distinction may not be a clear cut notion. Indeed, +telic and -telic modifiers seem to overlap with the combination of BNs and regular indefinites.

The next observation that argues for a difference in the behavior of BNs vs. that of regular indefinites is made in Espinal and McNally (2009). In this paper they give examples in Catalan and state that secondary predicates and locative modifiers can combine with regular indefinites but are incompatible with BNs. Even though they do not give examples in Spanish, they seem to be proposed for both languages. I add the Spanish version, which seems to be the same as the Catalan version.

- (22) En Joan porta motxilla (\*a la m`a)  
DET Joan carries backpack at the hand.  
'Joan carries a backpack in his hand.'

- (23) Juan lleva mochila (\*en la mano).  
Juan carries backpack at the hand  
'Juan carries a backpack in his hand.'

- (24) Tinc cotxe (\*al garatge).  
have car at-the garage  
'I have a car in the garage.'

- (25) Tengo coche (\*en el garage).  
have car in the garage  
'I have a car in the garage.'

To sum up, in this section we find some observations that show the main differences between the behavior of BNs and regular indefinites at the sentential level. In the next section I intend to find some observations that motivate the semantics for BNs proposed by Espinal (2010) and Espinal and McNally (2009). In the following paragraphs I will define the variables to be used for the analysis of the data in the next experiments. On the basis of these variables and the literature I propose a main hypothesis and predictions about BNs' and regular indefinites' behavior.

### 3.2. Hypothesis and predictions

In this section I will present the predictions on the discourse behavior of BNs and regular indefinites, which derive from the theory of the semantics of BNs (Espinal and McNally, 2009; Espinal, 2010), presented in the previous section. In order to see whether predictions are satisfied, I will propose a series of variables. Such variables are intended to measure the behavior of BNs and regular indefinites in discourse.

The general hypothesis under which variables and predictions are built is the claim that for two

different forms BNs and regular indefinites, there must be two different meanings (de Swart and Zwart, 2009). As already stated, the literature discloses that whereas BNs refer to properties of kinds of individuals, regular indefinites refer to entities.

Predictions are presented below:

Predictions
1. Episodic tenses are less likely to combine with BN than with regular indefinites constructions.
2. Atelic modifiers are most likely to combine with BNs, while both telic and atelic modifiers are likely to combine with regular indefinite constructions.
3. Locative modifiers are less likely to combine with BNs than with regular indefinites constructions.
4. Descriptive and qualitative modifiers are most likely to combine with regular indefinite constructions.
5. Modifiers of kinds are most likely to combine with BN constructions.
6. BNs are likely to be combined with a periphrasis composed of an intensional verb and a have predicate.
7. BNs are less likely to be salient in discourse and regular indefinites are more likely to be salient in discourse.
8. BNs are more likely to behave as discourse antecedents of anaphoric expressions-DPs.
9. Regular indefinites are more likely to behave as antecedents of clitic anaphors.

Table 2. Predictions for BNs and regular indefinites behavior.

The following table presents the variables that will be used to measure the behavior of BNs and regular indefinites. Notice that variables correlate with the predictions presented in Table 2. Thus, by applying such variables to the analysis of the data, we will see whether predictions are denied or satisfied.

Sentential level
1. Tense
2. Telic modifier
3. Locative modifier
4. Descriptive/ qualitative modifier
5. Modifier of a kind
6. Combination with intentional verbs
Extra sentential level
7. Saliency in discourse
8. Anaphoric relations
-Antecedent of a clitic pronoun
- Antecedent of a noun in a DP

Table 3. Variables for corpus search

Before focusing on the description of each variable, it can be observed that variables are classified within two categories, *sentential* and *extrasentential*. Whereas the proposal for sentential variables derives from the literature review, extrasentential variables find their basis in the assumptions of Experiment 1. On sentential level, we take into consideration phenomena that occurs inside the sentence and on the extra sentential level we will look at the phenomena that occurs between two

subsequent sentences. Additionally, this type of study will provide a qualitative picture of the nature of BNs and regular indefinites rather than quantitative one, given the small size of the data set.

With respect to variable 1. *Tense*, the purpose is to find out whether tense may influence on the occurrence of a BNs or a regular indefinite. In other words, we intend to see to what extent tense establishes a correlation with an existential reading or with an interpretation of a property. The justification for raising such a question comes from Espinal and McNally (2007) and Espinal (2010) who claim that an episodic past simple tense licenses an existential reading of the nominal expression. To illustrate this I repeat the example (18) presented in the previous section.

- (26) Excepcionalment ahir a la tarda va portar rellotge.  
excepcionally yesterday in the afternoon PAST wear watch  
#En/el va portar fins a la nit.  
PART/ it-ACC PAST wear until to the night  
'Exceptionally, yesterday afternoon (s)he wore a watch. (S)he wore it until nightfall.'

Thus, the existential reading is clearly seen in Catalan due to the presence of a subsequent accusative anaphor in discourse. As previously mentioned, the drawback for Spanish is that anaphors cannot evince on whether tense gives an existential meaning to the interpretation of the BN. However, we could still find a hint to illuminate this point. Namely, if episodic tense yields an existential meaning, we may expect such type of tense to occur more frequently with regular indefinites and less frequently with BNs.

Variable 2. *Telic modifier* is also intended to shed light on the interpretation of the behavior of BNs and regular indefinites. As argued by Espinal (2010), BNs are expected to combine with atelic modifiers and regular indefinites are able to combine both with telic and atelic modifiers. General intuition tells us that telic predicates have a specific end-point and are quantized, whereas atelic predicates are cumulative and thus non-quantized. Additionally, the quantized/non-quantized status of the predicate is determined by the quantized/non-quantized status of the direct object (Rothstein, 2008). This is an idea that goes along the lines of the nature of BNs; they are non-quantized precisely because they do not refer to an atomic entity nor to a sum of atomic entities.

The purpose behind variable 3. *Locative modifiers* concerns the claim that they are able to combine with regular indefinites but not with BNs (Espinal and McNally, 2009; Espinal, 2010)

With respect to variables 4 and 5, we have already pointed out the claim made by Espinal (2010) that *Descriptive* and *qualitative modifiers* combine with regular indefinites and *Modifiers of a kind* combine with BNs.

For variable 6. *Combination with intensional verb*, it has also been argued by Espinal (2010) that BNs are selected by verbs of possession have-predicates but also by intensional verbs, such as *buscar* "look for", *querer* "want". It would then be interesting to find out whether BNs are likely to combine with a periphrasis with an intensional verb and have predicates.

Up to this point I have accounted for sentential variables. That is, the question under discussion up until now has been to answer how different types of modifiers or tenses at the sentential level contribute to clarifying the contrast between the semantic of BNs and regular indefinites. In the next paragraphs I will focus on extra sentential variables, which are based on previous assumptions made

for Experiment 1 and its results. In this case the focus will be on the relations established between the sentences with BNs or regular indefinites and subsequent sentences.

For variable 7. *Saliency*, from the claim that BNs refer to properties and regular indefinites refer to entities, we derive the hypothesis that the latter may be more salient in discourse than the former. What we want to suggest is that the reference of an entity is expected to be more salient in discourse than the property of a type of an individual. For the purpose of this work we will define saliency as the co-reference relation between the subject or object of the target sentence with the subject or object of the continuation sentence. In this sense, we may be able to see whether the subject or object (BN or regular indefinite) will be further picked up in the following sentence. Along the same lines, the notion of saliency could be complemented with the idea of *aboutness* (Bosch,1983), in the sense that the prominence of an element is related to what the sentence is about at a particular moment. Then, in order to define which element is salient in a given context, apart from looking at co-reference I will also look at the *aboutness* of the sentence.

For the analysis of the data we will consider either the subject or object to be salient in discourse. If there is a prominent subject then the continuation sentence will be about the subject of the previous sentence. Instead, if there is a prominent object the continuation sentence will be about either the BN or regular indefinite. Furthermore, it is possible that the *aboutness* of the sentence may neither be the subject nor object, but some other element previously introduced in discourse. Then, three elements will be possibly salient in discourse, namely the subject, the object or other, which could be any other element or situation except for the subject or object.

The last observation about variable 7. *Saliency* concerns the limits of what we have so far called *target sentence* and *continuation sentence*. By target sentence we clearly refer to the sentence that contains the have-predicate + BN/regular indefinite. However, the continuation sentence will not be determined only by the presence of a full stop but by a coma, coordination marker, etc.

Variable 8. *Anaphoric relations* is also concerned with saliency, but from a different perspective. Indeed this variable will center the attention on the elements that refer back to BNs and regular indefinites. If we adhere to the claim that Spanish clitic pronouns serve various functions, it will be worth testing whether a clitic will take a BN as a discourse antecedent as often as a regular indefinite when the provided setting does not force speakers to choose among any specific options. More specifically, variable 8 will look at whether the BN or regular indefinite behaves as a discourse antecedent of a clitic pronoun or a DP. Furthermore, differently from Experiment 1, no distinctions will be made for DPs whose N is a synonym of or the same N as the BN.

Then, the behavior of BNs and regular indefinites will be measured in terms of the 8 variables just mentioned. Depending on the behavior these variables show of BNs and regular indefinites, we will be able to determine which predictions are confirmed and which are not.

### 3.3. Corpus search

In this section I discuss the behavior of BNs and regular indefinites through the study of a corpus. The primary reason for doing a corpus search is to have a first overview of their behavior before designing a second experiment. That is, a corpus search will be carried out in order to check whether variables and predictions properly account for the data and whether results are promising for establishing a semantic difference between BNs and regular indefinites.

The section is divided as follows. First, I will look at the frequency of occurrence of BNs combined with different have-predicates and intensional verbs and I will contrast these results the the frequency of occurrence of regular indefinites. The reason to look at frequency is to make sure that they are indeed productive structures, different from regular indefinites (Espinal 2010). Secondly, I will take a random sample of the the data to analyze it by applying the variables and predictions presented in the previous section.

### 3.3.1. Introduction

The search is divided in two parts. In the first part, I will look at the combinations of BNs with have-predicates *tener* “have”, *comprar* “buy”, *alquilar* “rent”, *encontrar* “find”, *llevar* “carry” and with the intensional verb *buscar* “look for” in infinitive, present and past tense. As mentioned, the aim is to look at the frequency and nature of BNs that are selected by the predicates in question. Then, the data will be compared regular indefinites' occurrences.

In the second part I will focus on the context of occurrence of BNs and regular indefinites. In order to do so I will take a random sample of BNs and regular indefinites and will apply the variables and predictions proposed in the previous section.

The corpus that will be used to gather the data is Corpus del Español (2002- )|100 million words| 2002| tagged. Another corpus available online, which is usually use for these purposes is Ancora Corpus | 500.000 words| 2007| tagged. In this case we will not make use of this corpus due to the small amount of data on BNs that it gives. Besides it presents technical difficulties to work with the interface and to obtain linear sentences from the online site.

### 3.3.2 Number and frequency of bare nominals

In order to show all possible combinations of BNs with have-predicates and with the intensional verb *buscar* “look for”, we present Table 4.

Before looking at the table, it is crucial for the analysis to explain how the search for Corpus del Español was done. In the first place it is worth mentioning that this corpus only gives the first 100 occurrences per search so this fact suggests that the list of occurrences of BNs will not be exhaustive. Additionally, the corpus cannot restrict the search for BNs only. Instead, the search gives any type of noun that lacks a determiner. Then, the nouns given in the search are: bare plurals, bare count nouns and bare mass nouns. Thus, if the search command is any possible conjugation of a particular have-predicate followed by any noun without a determiner, the result of BNs in principle will be a very limited list. The reason for this is not only because BNs are mixed with with other types of nouns, but also because the corpus will only give the first 100 occurrences.

In order to get a more precise search of how BNs behave, I will do two searches in different steps. The first step of the search is presented in Table 4 below. What the table shows is the result of a separate search that was done for each person conjugation of every have-predicate combined with a noun without a determiner. Then, by implementing a search per each verbal conjugation we get more chances of occurrence of BNs within the first 100 entries provided by this corpus. Therefore, all columns of the table provide the first 100 occurrences of first person singular, second person

singular and so on of a given have-predicate followed by a count BN<sup>2</sup>. The number next to each BN is then the sum of all persons singular and plural of each verb conjugation.

Infinitive		Present		Past Simple		Present Perfect		Imperfect	
tener (have)	occ.	tener (have)	occ.	tener (have)	occ.	tener (have)	occ.	tener (have)	occ.
contrato (contract)	3	padre (father)	7	carta (letter)	4	conflicto (conflict)	1	padre (father)	1
		coche (car)	3	casa (house)	3	novio (boyfriend)	1	casa (house)	10
		mujer (woman)	2	novio (boyfriend)	3	madre (mother)	1	madre (mother)	6
		novia (girlfriend)	2	crédito (credit)	2			mujer (woman)	4
		casa (house)	2	marido (husband)	1			alojamiento (hotel)	1
		título (title)	9					llave (key)	1
		guitarra (guitar)	1					novio (boyfriend)	1
		teléfono (telephone)	3					residencia (residence)	2
		televisión (TV)	3					televisión (TV)	3
		escuela (school)	1					concierto (concert)	1
		capitán (captain)	1					capilla (church)	1
		esposa (wife)	1						
comprar (buy)	occ.	comprar	occ.	comprar (buy)	occ.	comprar (buy)	occ.	comprar (buy)	occ.
casa (house)	2	huerta (orchard)	1	carro (car)	1			auto (car)	1
radio (radio)	1	casa (house)	1	camisa (shirt)	1				
				casa (house)	2				
				silla (chair)	2				
				yate (yacht)	1				
alquilar (rent)	occ.	alquilar (rent)	occ.	alquilar (rent)	occ.	alquilar (rent)	occ.	alquilar (rent)	occ.
balcón (balcony)	1	casa (house)	1						
casa (house)	1	sala (room)	1						
consultorio (office)	1								
llevar (carry)	occ.	llevar (carry)	occ.	llevar (carry)	occ.	llevar (carry)	occ.	llevar (carry)	occ.
uniforme (uniform)	2	chaleco (vest)	1			uniforme (uniform)	1	camisa (shirt)	3
sombrero (hat)	1	uniforme (uniform)	3					sombrero (hat)	4
		pantalón (trousers)	3					espada (sword)	1
		paraguas (umbrella)	1						
encontrar (find)	occ.	encontrar (find)	occ.	encontrar (find)	occ.	encontrar (find)	occ.	encontrar (find)	occ.
marido (husband)	3	novio (boyfriend)	3	comprador (buyer)	2	abrigo (jacket)	1		
taxi (taxi)	2	editor (editor)	1	novio (boyfriend)	2				
		refugio (cottage)	2	marido (husband)	1				
				camisa (shirt)	1				
				enemigo (enemy)	1				
buscar (look for)	occ.	buscar (look for)	occ.	buscar (look for)	occ.	buscar (look for)	occ.	buscar (look for)	occ.
albergue (hostal)	7	mujer (woman)	1	balcón (balcony)	1			profesora (teacher)	1
solución (solution)	5	casa (house)	4	piso (apartment)	1			albergue (hostal)	1
casa (house)	2	pareja (couple)	3	sombrero (hat)	1				
esposa (wife)	2	solución (solution)	1	solución (solution)	1				
novia (girlfriend)	2								
excusa (excuse)	2								

Table 4. Frequency of combination of [VP[V have predicate/intensional verb] [count BN]]  
First 100 occurrences of a particular person conjugation plus a noun without a determiner.

2. Notice that mass BNs are discarded under the intuitive notion that mass nouns cannot be pluralized. Please see the appendix where a random list of mass BNs is presented.



From this first set of data it is not easy to determine whether frequency of occurrence of BNs is low or high, as the search does not exclusively give occurrences of count BNs. However, the data is still useful to make the point that the constructions in question seem to be productive in Spanish. Indeed, BNs combine with all have-predicates and some of them combine with more than one predicate, suggesting that they are indeed used in language production.

In order to take a closer look at the nouns that typically occur in a bare construction, I present Table 5 below. As seen, I classify them in terms of +/- animate but notice that for the rest of the study I will only consider -animate count BNs. The reason to do this is to follow Espinal (2010), who only takes into account -animate BNs.

BNs -animate	occ.	BNs -animate	occ.	BNs +animate	occ.
casa (house)	28	conflicto (conflict)	1	novia/o (boy/girlfriend)	14
título (title)	9	guitarra (guitar)	1	padre (father)	8
solución (solution)	7	escuela (school)	1	madre (mother)	7
televisión (TV)	6	alojamiento (hotel)	1	mujer (woman)	6
sombrero (hat)	6	laboratorio (laboratory)	1	marido (husband)	4
camisa (shirt)	5	yate (yacht)	1	esposa (wife)	3
carta (letter)	4	sala (room)	1	pareja (couple)	3
pantalón (trousers)	3	concierto (concert)	1	capitán (captain)	1
uniforme (uniform)	3	capilla (church)	1	comprador (buyer)	2
coche (car)	3	huerta (orchard)	1	enemigo (enemy)	1
teléfono (telephone)	3	carro (car)	1	editor (editor)	1
contrato (contract)	3	paraguas (umbrella)	1	profesora (teacher)	1
refugio (cottage)	2	auto (car)	1		
taxi (taxi)	2	balcón (balcony)	1		
silla (chair)	2	consultorio (office)	1		
llave (key)	1	abrigo (jacket)	1		
radio (radio)	1	espada (sword)	1		
pisos (apartment)	1	albergue (hostal)	1		

Table 5. count +/- animate BNs combined with have-predicates and intensional verb *buscar* “look for”

Concerning lexical properties of BNs, they seem to make reference to family members, professions, clothes, personal belongings, such as *house*, *car*, *radio*, *telephone*. This finding confirms the arguments made by Espinal and Dobrovie-Sorin (2005). Additionally, notice that these type of nouns do not vary with the different have-predicates.

The next question we want to raise is the following: why only these kinds of BNs are selected by have-predicates and not others? Is there a reason to believe that -animate personal belonging nominals are typically selected by have-predicates? In relation to this, Brucart (p.c.)<sup>3</sup> points out that there are stereotypical factors that determine the combination of have-predicate with BNs. He argues that language use seems to restrict the frequency and combinations of count BNs in have-predicate constructions. That is, even when *Tengo cocodrilo* “I have a crocodile” is a well formed sentence in Spanish, it is pragmatically odd because a crocodile is something one does not stereotypically possess. In this sense Brucart argues that BNs are things one usually has in this actual world. Thus, *tengo casa* “I have a house” is a good sentence because general knowledge tells us that a person may usually have one or more than one house. Along the same lines, Laca (1999: 919)

3. I thank Brucart for his suggestions during my internship at Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 2010.

states that the absence of a determiner depends on *cultural expectations* because the relation of possession between the noun and the subject is somehow expected from a shared pragmatic context.

Thus, parallel to a theory that explains why a given language has a definite, an indefinite and a bare construction, it may also be relevant to look at how the lexical level bounds the production of the structures in question. That is, even though all possible combinations are in principle possible, in actual speech production Spanish only allows for a restricted set of BNs with specific lexical characteristics.

So far we have reviewed two things. First we looked at the frequency of occurrence of BNs and second we have looked at their lexical nature. However, concerning frequency, up until now we have not gone far into arguing whether BNs occur with a high or low frequency. In order to do so we should make a comparison between BNs and their counterparts, regular indefinites.

Then, for the second step of the corpus search I will compare the frequency of occurrence of BNs and regular indefinites. The search will be implemented by taking a random list of 15 BNs and looking at their frequency of combination with the have-predicates and the intensional verb *buscar* “look for”. I will then follow the same procedure for the same nouns but preceded by a regular indefinite article. This way it will be possible get a clearer picture of how frequent BNs constructions indeed are.

Notice that this is a second new search that will not consider the results obtained in the first search. The difference is that per search we ask for any possible tense conjugation of a given have-predicate or intensional verb followed by a particular BN or regular indefinite. This means that 15 different searches for 15 different nouns was carried out, either for BNs or regular indefinites. Results are presented below:

	tener (have)		comprar (buy)		alquilar (rent)		llevar (carry)		encontrar (find)		buscar (look for)		total	
	BN	DP	BN	DP	BN	DP	BN	DP	BN	DP	BN	DP	BN	DP
casa (house)	70	35	21	72	3	33	x	x	7	17	21	7	122	154
título (title)	24	20	x	1	x	x	1	2	x	x	2	2	27	25
solución (solution)	32	8	x	x	x	x	x	x	11	39	20	23	63	90
televisión (TV)	7	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	7	0
camisa (shirt)	10	4	1	1	x	x	6	2	2	x	x	x	19	7
carta (letter)	20	8	x	x	x	x	4	17	2	5	x	x	26	40
sombrero (hat)	1	3	x	5	x	x	16	10	x	x	1	x	18	18
pantalón (jeans)	2	0	x	x	x	x	6	5	x	x	x	x	8	5
uniforme (uniform)	4	1	x	x	x	x	16	x	x	x	x	x	20	1
albergue (hostel)	4	1	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	1	6	x	10	4
piso (apartment)	4	10	1	7	x	11	x	x	1	x	4	x	6	28
guitarra (guitar)	1	3	x	1	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	1	4
auto (car)	3	2	2	3	x	x	x	x	x	2	x	1	5	8
silla (chair)	2	1	2	4	2	x	3	2	x	x	x	5	9	12
taxi (taxi)	x	x	x	x	x	1	x	x	2	7	1	2	3	10

Table 6. Frequency of occurrence of have predicates and intensional verb *buscar* “look for” with 15 random nouns in a bare construction and with regular indefinites.

100 first occurrences of any verb tense conjugation + BN/regular indefinite.

Interestingly, the data shows that BN constructions are a bit less frequent than regular indefinite constructions. As indicated in the column “total” the number of occurrences is almost even for both

test items. In some cases nouns do not combine with some of the predicates simply because it would give a pragmatically anomalous meaning (such as *alquilar camisa* “rent shirt”)

Indeed, the data suggest once again that BNs are productive constructions in Spanish and they occur almost as frequently as indefinite noun phrases. Now the next question we want to pose regards their distribution in context. That is, the corpus search has shown that Spanish offers a productive mechanism to combine two different forms, namely a BN and an irregular indefinite, with particular types of predicates. The next step is to test whether their behavior in discourse reveals something about their semantic nature and thus about their capacity to refer to entities or properties of types of individuals. Put in different words, we want to find out the correlations of two forms with their corresponding two different meanings.

The next step in the corpus search deals with the context of occurrence of BNs and regular indefinites. More specifically, we will apply the variables and predictions presented in Table 2 and 3 in order to study the discourse properties of a random sample of BNs and regular indefinites.

### **3.3.3 The context of BNs and regular indefinites**

The aim of this section is to get a first picture of BNs' and regular indefinites' discourse properties by looking at real language production. To do so we will look at the context of occurrence of a random sample of 20 BNs, which will be taken from Table 4. We will contrast their behavior with 20 counterparts of the same nominals but preceded by a regular indefinite.

Moreover, this study is intended to be a trial for testing the adequacy and force of the variables and predictions presented in Table 2 and 3. The reason to consider this study a first approximation to the subject matter lies in the fact that the corpus data comes from different sources, different type of speakers, different registers and sometimes even different time periods. Certainly a second step will be needed in order to equate the conditions under which the productions of BNs and regular indefinites occur..

The section is presented as follows. First, we will go through the list of variables and apply them to the data in question. Afterwards we will explore to what extent predictions are satisfied. Finally a discussion will follow.

### **3.3.4. Analysis of the data**

Before turning to the analysis, I will recap the predictions and variables to be used for the analysis of the data.

**Predictions**

1. Episodic tenses are less likely to combine with BN than with regular indefinites constructions.
2. Atelic modifiers are most likely to combine with BNs, while both telic and atelic modifiers are likely to combine with regular indefinite constructions.
3. Locative modifiers are less likely to combine with BNs than with regular indefinites constructions.
4. Descriptive and qualitative modifiers are most likely to combine with regular indefinite constructions.
5. Modifiers of kinds are most likely to combine with BN constructions.
6. BNs are likely to be combined with a periphrasis composed of an intensional verb and a have predicate.
7. BNs are less likely to be salient in discourse and regular indefinites are more likely to be salient in discourse.
8. BNs are more likely to behave as discourse antecedents of anaphoric expressions-DPs.
9. Regular indefinites are more likely to behave as antecedents of clitic anaphors.

Table 2. Predictions of BNs' and regular indefinites' behavior.

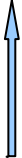
<b>Sentential level</b>
1. Tense
2. Telic modifier
3. Locative modifier
4. Descriptive/ qualitative modifier
5. Modifier of a kind
6. Combination with intentional verbs
<b>Extra sentential level</b>
7. Saliency in discourse
8. Anaphoric relations
-Antecedent of a clitic pronoun
- Antecedent of a noun in a DP

Table 3. Variables Corpus search and written task.

1. Tense

The data do not show any correlation for tense distribution with BNs or regular indefinites. As Table 6 shows, either BNs or regular indefinites equally combine with infinite, present or past tense. So in this sense episodicity, as argued by Espinal (2010) does not seem to play a role among test items.

-episodic



Tense	BN	reg. indef.
infinitive	6	5
present	8	7
past	6	8

+episodic<sup>4</sup>

Table 7. Distribution of tense for BNs and regular indefinites

In order to make sure that +/- episodic tenses indeed do not correlate with a specific test item, we also looked at the presence of operators, such as modals, negation, intensionality, that may cancel the episodicity of the sentence. As tables 7 and 8 indicate, there is no difference between the number of +/-episodic sentences, nor for the operators that occur with BNs and regular indefinites.

	BN	reg.indef.
-episodic	16	14
+episodic	4	6

Table 8. Variable 1-Tense; episodic sentences

	BN	reg.indef.
negation	3	2
modals	2	3
intensionals	2	2

Table 9. Variable 1-Tense and operators

Results do not seem to agree with the idea that +episodic tense yields an existential meaning and thus +episodic tenses are less likely to combine with BNs (Espinal, 2010). However, due to the small size of the data set, a second stage will be necessary in order to obtain a more solid tendency regarding this pattern.

## 2. Telic modifier

There are no occurrences of modifiers expressing telicity that combine with either BNs or regulate indefinites. This fact again suggests that a larger set of data is necessary to study their discourse behaviour and to see the verifiability of prediction 2.

## 3. Locative modifier

Only one locative modifier was found for a regular indefinite construction.

- (27) Se compró una casa en Mallorca.  
 clitic bought a house in Mallorca  
 ‘He bought a house in Mallorca.’

This fact again suggests that more data will be necessary to draw solid conclusions and to see whether prediction 3 finds justification.

4. I establish the correlation between episodicity and tenses based on Farkas and de Swart (2007). I call -episodic tenses to tenses that refer to an iterated event and thus they also refer to non incidental facts about the world. However, +episodic tenses refer to finite regular events.

## 4. Descriptive modifier; 5. Qualitative modifier

Table 10 below shows results for the modifiers that occur with BNs and regular indefinites.

	reg. Indef.	BN
secondary predicate	7	
relative clause	2	
descriptive/qualitative	7	1
no modification	4	18
modifier of a kind		1

Table 10. Variables 4 and 5. Modifiers of regular indefinites and BNs

As predicted, regular indefinites seem to combine with descriptive (28) and qualitative modifiers (29). Yet, even though variable 4 only covered descriptive and qualitative modifiers, we have observed that they also tend to be modified by secondary predicates (30), relative clauses (31), and in also in some cases they lack modification (32).

The respective examples are shown below:

- (28) No habría forma de encontrar un sitio no tan miserable como ese que nos ha contado usted?  
no there was way of find-INF a place not so miserable as that that clitic has told you?  
'Wasn't there a way to find a not so miserable place like that one that you told us about?'
- (29) Él mismo está sumado (...) a encontrar una solución integral a este tema.  
he himself is committed find-INF a solution integral to this subject  
'He has committed himself to find an integral solution to this subject.'
- (30) Tiene un contrato vigente por otros tres años.  
has a contract valid for three years.  
'He has a contract valid for three years.'
- (31) Se compró una casa que modificó a su gusto y que escandalizó bastante  
Clitic buy a house that modified to her taste and that scandalized enough  
al vecindario.  
to-the neighbourhood  
'He bought a house that he remodelled as he wished and scandalized his neighborhood a great deal.'
- (32) por agencia también podéis alquilar un piso.  
by agency too can rent-INF an apartment.  
'Through an agency you can also rent an apartment.'

The data suggest that apart from descriptive and qualitative modifiers, regular indefinites combine with secondary predicates and relative clauses. With respect to secondary predicates, Espinal (2010) already mentions this to be a characteristic that distinguishes the behavior of regular indefinites from that of BNs. Yet, even though relative clauses are not mentioned in her work, we could still argue that the reason they occur with regular indefinites and not with BNs is their capacity to delimit the range of potential referents. Precisely, because BNs do not denote referents we will not expect this type of modification. Thus, even though the data seems to fit with Prediction 4, Variable

4 may need some revision given that other modifiers also appear to combine with regular indefinites.

With respect to BNs, recall that Espinal (2010) argues that they combine with modifiers of kind. In this set of data BNs do not occur with modifiers. In effect, they appear without modification in 18 of 20 cases. In the remaining two cases they combine once with a descriptive modifier and once with a modifier of a kind. Examples with no modification (33), with a descriptive modifier (34) and a modifier of a kind (35) are given below:

- (33) En 20 mins paso por ti. Llevo paraguas.  
in 20 minutes go for you. Take umbrella  
'I will pick you up in 20 minutes. I will carry an umbrella.'
- (34) Yo llevo casco blanco.  
I carry helmet white  
'I am wearing a white helmet.'
- (35) No puedo llevar chaleco antibalas si los demás no lo llevan.  
no can carry-INF vest bulletproof if the others no it-ACC carry  
'I can't wear a bulletproof vest when the others don't wear one.'

In general terms, the data seems to suggest that BNs may occur with a modifier, but more frequently they may occur without modification. In some sense this seems to follow from the fact that BNs are already modifiers of the verb so they do not easily combine with other modifiers. This is certainly an area that needs more exploration and consequently more data will be necessary to shed light on this matter. Along these lines, Espinal (2010) does not consider have-predicate + BN construction a morphological nor a syntactic unit, which precisely suggests the capacity of BNs to be modified. Yet, with such a small sample of data we cannot go further into discussion.

Then, as for Prediction 5 BNs do not seem to combine with modifiers of kind, nor with other types of modifiers because in most of the cases they occur without any modification. Then, we would need more data for a second step that could give more insight into the aspect of BN modification.

#### 6. Combination with intensional verb

No combination with an intensional verb was found for any of the test items.

#### 7. Saliency in discourse

Variable 7 appears to be a useful tool to assess the prominence of test items. As indicated below, Table 7 shows that in regular indefinite constructions the object (the regular indefinite itself) tends to be the most frequent element to be further picked up in the continuation sentence. However, regular indefinites also seem to give raise to object and "other" saliency in some other cases.

The picture for BN constructions seems a bit diffuse, due to the small amount of data and uniform results. A more cautious argument would suggest that BNs are at least not as salient as their counterpart constructions. As shown, there is an even number of occurrences for object and "other" saliency, which is barely half of what we find for regular indefinites. Additionally, there is a relatively higher number of occurrence for subject saliency.

prominence	reg.indef. Constr.	BN constr.
subject	6	9
object	11	5
other	3	6

Table 11. Variable 7. Discourse saliency of regular indefinites and BNs

Note that we have added the condition “other” to the variable. The data shows that in some cases neither the subject nor the object is again picked up in the discourse, but instead a situation or a referent previously introduced in some passage of the discourse is. Note that this third condition may be an interesting fact that reinforces the lack of prominence of BNs. In other words, given a sentence that contains a BN, it looks as if prominence is taken by either the subject of the sentence or any other element, but the BN does not necessarily win over the other conditions.

Examples for BNs are presented below, namely subject prominence (36), object prominence (37) and “other” (38):

(36) ...un día de estos regresa y se compra casa. En cambio yo aquí en la ruleteada,  
 one day of these comes back and clitic buy house. However I here in the work  
 ‘One of these days (s)he comes back and buys her/himself a house. However, I’m here just working.’

(37) Con este pensamiento salí a buscar casa, y hallé una muy hermosa  
 with this thought went to look for house, and found one very nice.  
 ‘With this thought in mind I went to look for a house and found a very nice one.’

(38) Ya los niños tienen luz, tienen televisión. Hemos hecho muchas más casetas.  
 Already the kids have light, have television. Have done many more houses.  
 ‘The kids already have light, they have a television. We have built many more houses.’

For regular indefinites, subject prominence (39), object prominence (40) and “other” (41) is presented below:

(39) ...Pepe Vera que tenía una guitarra en la mano y cantaba: Una mujer andaluza tiene sus ojos...  
 Pepe Vera that had a guitar in hand and sang: a woman Andalusian has her eyes...  
 ‘Pepe Vera who had a guitar in his hand and sang: an Andalusian woman has her eyes...’

(40) Yo también llevo un paraguas pequeño, lo escurro antes de entrar.  
 I also carry an umbrella small, it-ACC drain before of enter  
 ‘I also carry a small umbrella, I drain it before I get in.’

(41) Lleva un chaleco atado alrededor de la cintura, ajustando sus caderas anchas. No siempre  
 carries a vest tied around of the waist, fitting her hips wide. Not always  
 fueron así.  
 were so  
 ‘She wears a vest tied around her waist that fits her wide hips. They were not always like that.’

Then, the data for Prediction 7 seems to follow the predictions. As expected, regular indefinite constructions seem to give rise to either subject, object or “other” saliency. For BN constructions



subject saliency is the most frequent construction. In this sense, this is an expected behavior given that BNs are predicted to lack saliency in discourse. Additionally, there is another argument that seems to go along with our predictions. Namely that object saliency is almost as frequent as the “other” element. This fact again suggests that that in BN constructions, the object does not appear to be the most frequently salient element with respect to other elements in the sentence.

### 8. Anaphoric relations

As previously noted, Variable 7 explored whether the subject or the object of any of the test constructions is more prominent. Now Variable 8 looks at the form and position of the anaphoric expression, namely the object BN or regular indefinite, in the continuation sentence. In other words, this variable will explore the anaphoric relations between BNs or regular indefinites and either clitics or DPs. Results are shown below:

discourse antecedent	reg. indef.			BN		
	subject	object	adjunct	subject	object	adjunct
clitic pronoun		3			2	
PRO	3					
demonstrative		1				
synonym/hyperonym	1		1	1		
accusative pronoun					2	
adverb of place			2			

Table 12. Variable 8. Anaphoric expressions of discourse antecedents regular indefinites and BNs

It is worth pointing out that the data in Table 11 revealed a tendency in which saliency in BN constructions is shared by object, subject and “other” saliency. The data suggests that there may not be a prominent winner over the rest of the elements in a given sentence. This fact suggests that at least BNs are not as likely to be further picked as regular indefinites (See Table 11). What Table 12 shows, is that in those cases where BNs were further picked up, they seem to be recovered by clitic and accusative pronouns and DPs.

Even though the study of this variable is based on a very limited set of data, results seem consistent with our predictions. That is, either semantically full expressions will be antecedents of BNs or clitic pronouns, which are claimed to display a partitive meaning (see Experiment 1). Then, because BNs do not denote entities, we expect them to pick full expressions to refer back to them. Although the data does not allow us to go further, it provides a hint of the results that may arise in the upcoming experiment.

Sentences below show an example of clitic pronoun (42), DP (43) and accusative pronoun (44) as the anaphoric expressions of BNs.

(42) Compró casa; con decoro en ella la hizo habitar  
 bought house; with love in her it made inhabit  
 ‘(S)he bought a house; with passion she made it inhabit.’

(43) Otras personas se desesperaban al no encontrar sitio para aparcar el auto, pues el  
 Other people pronoun desperate to no find place for park-INF the car, then the  
 estacionamiento ... estaba a tope.  
 parking slot was full

‘Other people were desperate because they couldn’t find a place to park the car, then the parking slot was completely full.’

- (44) Con este pensamiento salí a buscar casa, y hallé una muy hermosa.  
with this thought went to look for house, and found one very beautiful  
‘With this thought in mind I went to look for a house and I found a beautiful one.’

For regular indefinites, the variable turned out to be insufficient to account for all the possible forms under which they are further picked up. For this reason, we present a more precise table with the forms under which anaphoric expressions have occurred: namely, in subject and object position and as an adjunct. Thus far, the data suggests that they will take the form of PROs, demonstratives, hyperonyms and synonyms, accusative pronouns, and adverbs of place.

Furthermore, note that in comparison with regular indefinites, where the anaphoric expression is materialized as the subject, object or adjunct, in BN constructions the anaphoric expression remains in object position. This may agree with the idea that BNs are not salient in the given discourse and thus maintain their original position in the continuation sentence, but do not change to a canonically more prominent position as it is in subject position. This notion will be explored in the following sections.

Example below shows subject saliency for regular indefinite constructions with anaphoric expressions PRO (45), a synonym (46), a clitic (47), a demonstrative (48) and as an adjunct (49).

- (45) ...tiene un contrato vigente por otros tres años que - y en ésto sí se ha acertado  
has a contract valid for other three years that -and in this yes pronoun has asserted-  
ha de ser PRO ratificado  
has of be PRO has ratified  
‘(S)he has a contract which is valid for three more years -and with regard to this, it has been indeed asserted- it will be ratified.’

- (46) Yo llevo un casco con doble visera, clara y oscura. Esta protección tiene la visera  
I carry a helmet with double eyeshade, light and dark. This protection has the eyeshade  
clara que se sube y baja  
light that pronoun goes up and goes down  
‘I wear a helmet with a double eyeshade, light and dark. This protection has a light eyeshade that goes up and down.’

- (47) Yo también llevo un paraguas pequeño, lo escurro antes de entrar.  
I also carry an umbrella small, it-ACC drain before of enter  
‘I also carry a small umbrella, I drain it before I get in.’

- (48) No habría forma de encontrar un sitio no tan miserable como ese que nos ha contado usted?  
no will be way of find a place no so miserable as that-DEM that us have told you  
‘There wouldn’t be a way to find a not so miserable place like that one you have told us about.’

- (49) Con la gigantesca suma que le pagaron se compró una casa en Mallorca y en 1956  
with the huge sum that clitic payed pronoun bought a house in Mallorca and in 1956  
fundó allí una revista.

founded there a magazine

‘With the the huge sum of money that he was payed, he bought a house in Mallorca and in 1956 he founded a magazine.’

Prediction 8 cannot yet be confirmed. The prediction that DPs are more likely to behave as anaphoric expressions of BNs cannot yet be confirmed, due to the small size of the data set: 2 occurrences for clitics, 2 for accusative pronouns and 1 for a DP.

With respect to Prediction 9, the claim that regular indefinites are likely to behave as discourse antecedents of clitic anaphors seems to be insufficient given the range of other anaphoric expressions that have not been taken into account. Therefore Prediction 9 may need some revision. Yet, it could be still argued that an accessible referent such as a regular indefinite is more likely to behave as a discourse antecedent of a reduced referring expressions such as a clitic, PRO, or a demonstrative.

### 3.3.5 Discussion

In this section we looked at the lexical nature of nouns that occur in a BN construction. Then we looked at their frequency of occurrence by comparing it with the behavior of regular indefinites. Afterwards we selected a random set of BNs' and regular indefinites' constructions and we tested whether the variables and predictions proposed for the analysis are powerful enough to account for their discourse properties. Results show that even when the data is not large enough to get a definite picture of their behaviour, it certainly offers a general view of the pattern that we may find within a bigger set of data.

Furthermore, the analysis shows that some variables, but not all, account for a different behaviour in discourse for BNs and regular indefinites. In fact, we have seen that predictions for variable 4. *Descriptive/qualitative modifiers* and; variable 5. *Modifiers* are satisfied. With respect to variables 7. *Saliency in discourse* and 8. *Anaphoric relations*, they promise to show some interesting pattern but they may need some adjustment in order to go further into the discussion. With respect to variables 2. *Telic modifiers*, 3. *Locative modifiers* and 6. *Combination with intensional verbs* we cannot not draw any conclusions given that the number of occurrences was zero. For variable 1. *Tense* results suggest that there is not any correlation between +/- episodic tenses and the combination with BNs or regular indefinites .

This way of analyzing data appears to be a successful tool to uncover discourse referential properties of BNs and regular indefinites, even though a larger set of data is needed to show more solid trends. So far, variables suggest that some of them may establish the expected correlation between a semantic theory of BNs and regular indefinites (Espinal and McNally, 2009; Espinal 2010) and their behavior in discourse.

Nevertheless, some drawbacks to the corpus search were encountered. The fact that the corpus data contains different types of speech (oral, written, formal, informal) may have been detrimental for the quality of the data we gathered. Additionally, the texts for our corpus data ranged from 1800 to 1900 which also may also have impacted on the quality data. Even though all the texts seemed to give well formed constructions, a future follow up should preferably analyse a more homogeneous set of data.

To sum up, the general idea driven from the corpus search suggests that a proposal of this kind may illuminate on the differences between BNs' and regular indefinites' behaviour. Precisely, this seems to go along the lines with the semantic theory of BNs (Espinal and McNally, 2009; Espinal, 2010). Also the idea that different forms correspond to different meanings (de Swart and Zwarts, 2009) seems to get support within this study. In the next chapter we will adjust the variables and predictions and we will present a new experiment that aims to assess more adequately BNs' and regular indefinites' discourse referential properties.

## 4. Experiment 2: Discourse properties of BNs.

In this chapter I will present a different approach to further explore the discourse properties of BNs and regular indefinites. The new proposal consists of collecting actual written data of these constructions from native Spanish speakers. More specifically, the task will ask participants to write two short texts including one construction per text. The goal is to obtain similar texts for both type of constructions. For this new experiment we aim to have stronger control over the output data in order to establish a more fair comparison between BN and regular indefinite constructions.

This section is organized as follows. First I will report on a pilot study that was done to get a preview of possible results. Next, I will focus on the reformulation of variables and predictions and afterwards I will focus on the setup, design and results of Experiment 2. A subsection for discussion will follow.

### 4.1. The setup of the pilot study

The goal of this study is to experimentally test how BNs and regular indefinite constructions behave in discourse. The task will consist in a proposal of a creative written production task. Given that there is no previous literature that has experimentally tested their behavior in discourse, we propose the pilot study as an exploratory work to test whether a semantic theory of BNs can materialize in actual discourse behavior.

Furthermore, recall that we consider the pilot study to be the preamble of the experiment. Given that at this point the primary interest is in the quality of the data that such a task could provide, the data is not analyzed by applying all the variables and predictions that were introduced for the corpus study. The pilot study is based only on the general hypothesis that BNs and regular indefinites are semantically different elements and as such are expected to behave differently in discourse.

For now we will report on whether such a design and methodology is a sufficiently powerful tool to make these semantic differences visible in a written text. If the written production test turns out to capture semantic differences, we will set it up as a definite experiment.

#### 4.1.2. Design

The pilot study consists of presenting speakers with a creative task, where they are asked to come up with a short story and either include the phrase *Juan alquila apartamento* “Juan rents apartment” or “*Juan alquila un apartamento*” *Juan rents an apartment*. Since this is basically a free condition task, the only rule participants need to follow is to include the target sentence in the middle of the story, neither at the beginning nor at the end of it. This to later see the relations with previous and subsequent sentences in discourse.

With respect to the alternation *Juan rents apartment/ Juan rents an apartment*, their selection was based on the idea that these structures have a high frequency use. Then, we expect participants to find them natural sentences and thus writing a paragraph with one of the sentences should be an easy task to perform.

As the sentence is presented in present tense, to reduce variability as much as possible, we will not consider tense as a possible variable.

Below is the text participants were given:

<b>Tarea creativa</b>
El objetivo de esta tarea es estudiar la creaci3n de un texto narrativo. <i>The aim of this task is to study the creation of a narrative text.</i>
Por favor, escriba un breve texto narrativo de aproximadamente 10 l3neas, utilizando la siguiente oraci3n: <i>Please write a short narrative text of approximate 10 lines, using the following sentence:</i>
<b><i>Juan alquila apartamento.</i></b> <b><i>Juan rents apartment.</i></b>
Hay algunas condiciones para la creaci3n del texto: <i>There are some restrictions to create the text:</i>
Debe incluir la oraci3n en el texto tal como se le presenta (sin cambios en la conjugaci3n, sin agregar otras palabras, etc) <i>You must include the sentence of the text without any modification (no changes in the conjugation, no extra words, etc)</i>
Debe incluir la oraci3n en alg3n pasaje del texto, pero no al principio y tampoco al final. <i>You must include the sentence somewhere in the text, but not at the beginning nor at the end.</i>
Muchas gracias:)

Table 13. written task for pilot study

A total of 10 native Uruguayan Spanish speakers participated in the pilot study. That is, 5 subjects were given the construction have-predicate + BN and 5 subjects were given the construction have-predicate + regular indefinite.

#### 4.1.3. Results

The expected behavior for the pilot study that BNs and regular indefinites occur in different contexts seems to be satisfied. Overall, texts show that a have-predicate + BN and a have-predicate + regular indefinite convey different meanings and for this reason they are used in different discourse contexts.

First, it is worth pointing out that even though speakers were instructed not to make any modification to the sentence, some did so. However, in the end it turned out to work well because it provided insight into the data. Although the theory predicts the use of locative modifiers only for regular indefinites, the data show that it may be possible for BNs to occur with locative modifiers. Examples are indicated below:

- (50) Juan alquila apartamento en la zona este de Par3s.  
Juan rents apartment in the one east of Paris  
'Juan rents an apartment in the east zone of Paris.'

- (51) Juan alquila apartamento en Euskalerría.  
Juan rents apartment in Euskalerría.  
'Juan rents an apartment in Euskalerría.'

This fact needs to be explored in greater detail. Recall that the corpus search shows only one occurrence of a locative modifier for a regular indefinite construction, which follows from Espinal's claim (2010). However, the pilot suggests that BN constructions may also accept locative modifiers, which is not argued by Espinal (2010). Thus, a larger data set will be needed to see to what extent this constitutes a regularity or just an exception.

The second observation concerns saliency and it goes along with the corpus search findings. As argued by Espinal (2010) BNs refer to properties of types of individuals and not to entities. When we correlate this fact to discourse saliency, we suggest that they are less likely to introduce referents in discourse. Then, we would expect either the subject, another element in the sentence or an element previously introduced in discourse to be salient instead of the object-BN element. In fact, the data show that the subject is the element to be further picked up in the continuation of the sentence. In other words, the subject seems to be the prominent entity that becomes again available in the next sentence. This is shown in the fragments below. The speakers seem to direct the attention on how renting the apartment may affect Juan and not on the apartment itself.

- (52) ...hasta que un día Juan alquila apartamento. Al principio no se adapta, extraña al gato...  
until that one day Juan rents apartment. To-the beginning no clitic adapt, misses the cat...  
'Finally one day Juan rents an apartment. At first he doesn't adapt, he misses the cat...'

- (46) Juan alquila apartamento porque tampoco le gustan las casas.  
Juan rents apartment because either clitic like the houses  
'Juan rents an apartment because he doesn't like houses either.'

Notice that this partially follows from the results found in the corpus search. Recall that in BN constructions saliency seemed to be shared by all possible candidates of the sentence. Given that the pilot only gives 5 occurrences, we can only suggest that this may be a factor worth looking at in the real experiment.

For regular indefinites the attention seems to be centered either on the subject or the object. Again, more data will be necessary to test this behavior. Recall that even when the corpus search showed a preference for object prominence, there was also an important number of occurrences for subject prominence.

As we can see in example (47) there is object prominence and in example (48) there is subject prominence.

- (47) Juan alquila un apartamento. A Pedro se le ocurrió pedirle que le alquile el lugar.  
Juan rents an apartment. To Pedro clitic clitic thought ask-clitic that clitic rent the place.  
'Juan rents an apartment. Pedro thought he could ask him to rent the place.'

- (48) Juan alquila un apartamento. Su vida cambió tanto que se olvidó de la búsqueda de aquel  
Juan rents an apartment. His life changed so that clitic forgot of t he seek of that  
objeto.

object

‘Juan rents an apartment. His life changed so much that he forgot about the search for that object.’

In example (47) *un apartamento* “an apartment” is further picked up in the next sentence under the synonym *el lugar* “the place”. One interprets the sentence as if though Pedro wants to rent Juan's apartment and so the prominent entity seems to be the thing possessed by Juan. In example (48) it is less clear to assert what entity is more prominent, namely, whether it is Juan or an apartment, which in this case is expressed under the synonym *aquel objeto* “that object”. Then, either Juan's life or the search of an apartment could in principle be the prominent element of the next sentence.

#### 4.1.4. Discussion of the pilot study

Even though the analysis of the pilot study is based on a small data set, this task seems to be productive for obtaining information about the differences in the behavior of BNs and regular indefinites.

The data suggests that the notion of saliency may be a promising tool to shed light on the semantics of BNs and regular indefinites. That is, within a larger set of data we may be able to establish tendencies, namely, whether it is possible to identify different discourse behaviors for BNs and regular indefinites that give evidence of the fact that they refer to different things in the world.

The kind of texts that participants wrote may also provide insightful data to explore the form of the anaphoric expression that either refers back to the BN (when it happens that the BN is further picked up) or the regular indefinite. That is, given a context that has not been manipulated, we would expect more elements than clitics or DPs to become available in discourse.

In sum, the pilot study suggests that a task in which participants have to write a fragment using one of the test items in question may be a more suitable approach to explore their discourse referential behavior. We will do this in the next section, where Experiment 2 will be presented.

#### 4.2. Experiment 2: written production task

This section presents the implementation of Experiment 2, which will measure BNs and regular indefinites' discourse properties. The study of such test items is based on the proposal of 7 variables, which derive from results of the corpus study. As for the corpus search and the pilot study, the main hypothesis remains. Namely the starting point is that BNs and regular indefinites are semantically different (Espinal and McNally, 2009; Espinal, 2010) and so we expect them to show a different behavior in discourse.

The section is organized as follows. First the set up of Experiment 2 will be presented. Then, some changes to the variables and predictions will be introduced. Afterwards the analysis of the data, its results and discussion will follow.



### 4.2.1 Design of the experiment

The experiment consists of presenting participants with a creative task. They are asked to write two short paragraphs and they have to integrate a verb phrase with a have-predicate + BN and a have-predicate + regular indefinite in each paragraph.

A sample of the task is presented below:

<b>Tarea creativa</b> <b>Creative task</b>
<p>El objetivo de esta tarea es estudiar la creación de un texto narrativo. Por favor escriba dos historias breves de aproximadamente 7 líneas usando las frases que verá mas abajo: The aim of this task is to study the creation of a narrative text. Please write two short stories of approximately 7 lines, using the phrases presented below:</p>
<p>Primero lea y siga las instrucciones con atención: First read and follow the instructions carefully:</p>
<p>-Conjugué el verbo en cualquier tiempo. Conjugate the verb in any tense.</p>
<p>-Agregue las palabras que desee alrededor de la frase con el fin de enriquecer su contexto. Add any words to the phrase in order to enrich its context.</p>
<p>-No agregue ninguna palabra en el interior de la frase. (Por ejemplo si la frase es <i>escuchar radio</i>, no escriba algo como ...Ayer de tarde escuché la radio... Sí escriba algo como ...En mi trabajo tengo permiso para escuchar radio...) Do not add any word in the interior of the phrase. (E.g if the phrase is <i>listen radio</i>, do not write something like ...Yesterday evening I listened to the radio... Write something like ...In my work I'm allowed to listen radio)</p>
<p>-No convierta el sustantivo de la frase a plural. Do not convert the noun of the phrase into a plural.</p>
<p>-No utilice discurso directo. (Por ejemplo si la frase es <i>comprar la comida</i>, no escriba algo como ...Leí el artículo "comprar la comida" en el diario y fui corriendo a la tienda.... Sí escriba algo como ...El lunes compré la comida porque no tenía nada en la heladera...) Do not use direct speech. (E.g if the phrase is <i>buy the food</i>, do not write something like ...I read the article "buy the food" in the newspaper and went to the store.... Write something like ...On Monday I bought the food because I had nothing in the fridge...)</p>
<p><i>Muchas gracias:)</i> Thank you</p>
<p>(1) tener casa have house</p>
<p>(2) llevar una chaqueta carry a jacket</p>

Table 14- Written task for Experiment 2

Some observations need to be made with regard to the type of task. First, as we want to explore the relation of test sentences with previous and subsequent discourse, participants are asked to integrate it into any passage of the text, but neither at the beginning nor at the end. Second, the reason to provide structures in the infinitive form is to see whether there may be any correlation between

tense and test items. Third, notice that participants are now encouraged to add words to the structure in order to make modifiers available in the structure. Fourth, participants are not allowed to use direct speech constructions because test structures have to be integrated within the text as much as possible.

With respect to participants, 80 native Spanish speakers with a university education background participated in the experiment.

Items consist of 18 verb phrases: 6 have-predicate + BN constructions and 2 intensional verbs + BN with their regular indefinite counterparts. Verb phrases are classified in 4 types: 2 activity, 2 accomplishment, 2 achievement and 2 intensional verbs, which are also counterbalanced with regular indefinites.

In order to present participants with a short task, items are divided so that each participant receives one test item and one control item. A total of 80 participants will be needed and thus a total of 10 occurrences per test item will be collected.

#### 4.2.2. Construction of the items

All items, BNs and regular indefinites occur within a verb phrase structure.

Items to be tested are presented below:

test item: have-predicate + BN	control item: regular indefinite	verb type
1. tener casa (have house)	9. tener una casa	activity
2. llevar chaqueta (wear jacket)	10. llevar una chaqueta	activity
3. alquilar garage (rent garage)	11. alquilar un garage	accomplishment
4. comprar auto (buy car)	12. comprar un auto	accomplishment
5. recibir mail (get mail)	13. encontrar un apartamento	achievement
6. encontrar apartamento (find apartment)	14. encontrar un apartamento	achievement
7. necesitar bufanda (need scarf)	15. necesitar una bufanda	intensional
8. buscar estacionamiento (find parking space)	16. buscar un estacionamiento	intensional

Table 15. Items Experiment 2

As indicated in the table above, the experiment deals with a reduced number of test items. Notice that each predicate is followed by a different noun that was selected on a high frequency use basis (Corpus del Español, 2000-). Also the selection was made on adequacy correlation between the BN and regular indefinite construction. Then, while *tener computadora* “have computer” vs. *tener una computadora* “have a computer” are both potentially possible structures, *tener novio* “have boyfriend” vs. *tener un novio* “have a boyfriend” are not because an indefinite article is not used with this type of structure. In other words, these sentences do not seem to occur in complementary distribution.

Furthermore, the reason to include two predicates for each type of verb, namely activity, accomplishment, achievement and intensional is to provide a representative sample of verbs. Also, this distinction may eventually allow to see differences with respect to the behavior of BNs and the

the nature of the predicates they combine with.

Additionally, intensional predicates are included as part of the data. Even though they have not been analyzed in previous analysis, they will be for this experiment. Anyhow, they are expected to manifest a similar behavior as have-predicates. Recall that the literature claims that both intensional and have-predicates are claimed to select for BNs (Espinal and McNally, 2009; Espinal, 2010). For this reason, we will take a closer look at them and see to what extent we can compare their behavior to have-predicates.

These facts suggests that results for Experiment 2 will be of qualitative content rather than quantitative. In other words, due to the amount of data studied results will show tendencies of test items' behavior in discourse.

### 4.2.3. Variables and predictions

Overall, the variables and predictions that were proposed for the corpus search and the pilot study will remain. Yet, based on the results already mentioned, some adjustments will be made so that the scope of the analysis is well defined. The arrow next to the table below indicates the variables that will be modified in Experiment 2.

#### Variables

	<b>Sentential level</b>
	1. Tense
	2. Telic modifier
	3. Locative modifier
→	4. Modifiers
	5. Combination with intentional verbs
	<b>Extra sentential level</b>
	6. Saliency in discourse
→	7. Anaphoric relations

Table 16. Variables for Experiment 2.

The first change change deals with the unification of the previous variables *Descriptive/qualitative modifier* and *Modifier of a kind* into the variable *Modifiers*, which will look at the modifiers treated in the literature (Espinal and McNally, 2009; Espinal, 2010) but it will also focus on those modifiers that became available in the corpus search. Recall that the corpus search has shed some light on this pattern, suggesting that some modifiers other than descriptive modifiers or modifiers of kind may combine with test items. As the results of the corpus search has shown, besides descriptive and qualitative modifiers, secondary predicates and relative clauses also seem to modify regular indefinites. Indeed the literature (Espinal, 2010) predicts this behavior for secondary predicates but it does not analyze the role of relative clauses. Then, based on the literature and on the corpus search variable 4 will now consider these other conditions.

With respect to BNs the corpus search suggests that they combine with a modifier of a kind, which is also predicted by (Espinal 2010). However, in most of the cases they are not followed by any

modifier at all. Then, in order to capture this observation we will also propose the condition *no modifier*, which may reveal some common behavior of BNs.

Thus, variable 4 *Modifiers* will explore how modifiers of a kind, descriptive and qualitative modifiers, secondary predicates and also the absence of any modifier may be combined with either a BN or a regular indefinite.

For variable 7 *Anaphoric relations*, the corpus search suggests that some elements other than clitics or DPs may serve as anaphoric expressions of the test items (see Table 12). We have noted that anaphoric expressions occur either in subject or object position, which have been shown to be realized under clitic pronouns, accusative pronouns, synonyms or hyperonyms, demonstratives, PROs, and adverbs of place. Based on Kaiser and Vihman (2006) this set of anaphoric expressions could be grouped as *reduced referring expressions* or *fuller referring expressions*. Then, clitic pronouns, accusative pronouns, demonstratives, PROs, and adverbs of place would belong to the first category, while synonyms and hyperonyms would belong to the second category. The question regarding this variable remains, namely which expressions refer back to BNs and regular indefinites and whether reduced and fuller referring expressions combine with different anaphoric expression, as argued by Kaiser and Vihman (2006).

The table below presents the predictions, which have been reformulated according to the modifications for the variables.:

<b>Predictions</b>
1. Episodic tense is less likely to combine with BNs than with regular indefinite constructions.
2. Atelic modifiers are most likely to combine with BNs, while both telic and atelic modifiers are likely to combine with regular indefinite constructions.
3. Locative modifiers are less likely to combine with BNs than with regular indefinites constructions.
4. Descriptive, qualitative modifiers, relative clauses and secondary predicates are most likely to combine with regular indefinite constructions.
5. BNs are likely to combine with modifiers of kinds or they may co-occur with no modifiers at all.
6. BNs are likely to be combined with intensional verbs.
7. BNs are less likely to be salient in discourse and regular indefinites are more likely to be salient in discourse.
8. BNs are more likely to behave as discourse antecedents of anaphoric expressions-DPs and accusative clitics, whereas regular indefinites are more likely to behave as antecedents of clitic anaphors, PROs, demonstratives, relative pronouns and adverbs of place.
9. BNs are more likely to be further picked up by anaphoric expressions that occur in object position, whereas regular indefinites are expected to be further picked up by anaphoric expressions that occur in any syntactic position.

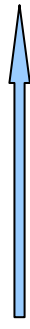
Table 17. Predictions for Experiment 2

#### 4.2.4. Analysis

##### Variable 1. Tense

For this variable we want to find out whether tense determines the selection of any of the test items. That is, we wanted to see whether episodic tenses occur more frequently with indefinites constructions than with BNs constructions (Espinal, 2010). Results are shown below.

-episodic



	BN	reg.indef.
infinitive	26	27
future	3	4
present	9	4
future perfect	1	3
present perfect	1	0
imperfect	6	8
pluscuamperfect	2	2
perfect	11	11
TOTAL	59	59

+episodic

Table 18. Variable 1. Tense

Results seem to indicate that episodicity does not trigger the selection of a specific test item. Then, it looks like +/- episodic predicates are not decisive in a sentence to select either a BN or a regular indefinite. Notice that for the extremes of the +/- episodicity line, the frequency of tense combination with test items is almost the same. That is, neither the prototypically episodic tense nor the least prototypically episodic tense seem to play a role on selecting any of the test items.

Yet, a factor that may have affected the high frequency of infinitives may be related to the type of sentence participants were given. It may be likely that participants used infinitives because they did not want to modify the structure they were given. However, occurrences for the rest of the tenses are almost even for BN and regular indefinite constructions. Then, even when the high use of infinitives was a side effect of the experiment proposal, the rest of the data show that there is no difference for tense distribution.

In order to look at episodicity in more detail, we also looked at the presence of operators (negation, interrogation, modality) to see whether +episodic tenses had their episodicity cancelled by the presence of any operator. The picture does not change. As seen in table 19 BNs and regular indefinites behave similarly when combining with +/-episodic sentences. This data again suggests that participants do not make any distinction when they use BNs or regular indefinites in a +/-episodic context. Results and examples are shown below:

	BN	reg.indef.
-episodic	30	27
+episodic	15	18
TOTAL	45	45

Table 19. Variable 1-Tense: episodic context

- (49) Pues sí que tengo casa, le explico. [3]<sup>5</sup>  
 well, yes that have house, clitic explain.  
 ‘Well, I explain to him that I do have a house.’
- (50) Hablé con Ramón que si el perro tuviera casa, al gato no le sería tan fácil...  
 talked with Ramón that if the dog had house, to-the cat no clitic would be so easy  
 ‘I talked to Ramón that if the dog had a house, it would be so easy for the cat...’ [7]
- (51) Le llevé una chaqueta que él olvidó. [57]  
 clitic carried a jacket that he forgot  
 ‘I carried to him a jacket that he forgot.’
- (52) Llevar una chqueta a la playa es perjudicial. [112]  
 carry-INF a jacket to the beach is harmful  
 ‘To carry a jacket to the beach is harmful.’

Notice that the total number of items for this table is 45 and not 59 due to their inherent -episodic nature, all intensional verbs were discarded. Then, from the 59 items, 14 intensionals were subtracted and so the number remained 45. Furthermore, there is no special relation between the type of operators and test items. Again, occurrences are almost even for BNs and regular indefinites. Data is presented below:

	BNs	reg.indef
modality	6	10
intensional	3	5
interrogation		2
negation	5	5
TOTAL	14	24

Table 20. Variable 1-Tense: operators

The following sentences show BN constructions with a modal (53) and a negative operator (54), which are the most frequent operators for both test items.

- (53) Seguramente si tuviese un auto tendría que alquilar garage [15]  
 probably if had a car had that rent-INF garage  
 ‘Probably, if I had a car I would have to rent a garage.’
- (54) Así que no podía recibir mail ni trabajar de forma efectiva rápida. [26]  
 so that no could get email nor work-INF of way effective fast  
 ‘So that I couldn't get emails nor work in an effective and fast way.’

Sentences below show a modal (55) and a negative (56) operator for regular indefinite constructions.

- (55) Desde que era niña siempre quise tener una casa [55]

5 . The number between brackets corresponds to the classification of the texts in database analysis. Please see Appendix 3.f

since that was child always wanted have-INF a house  
 ‘Ever since I was a child I always wanted to have a house.’

- (56) Paco no encuentra un apartamento que le resulte adecuado. [82]  
 Paco no finds an apartment that clitic results appropriate  
 ‘Paco doesn't find an apartment appropriate for him.’

As a result, neither prediction 1 nor prediction 2 seem to be satisfied. The tendency indicates that both test items combine in the same manner with +/-episodic tenses and operators.

## 2. Telic modifier

With respect to variable 2, the small amount of data does not allow for any discussion about the type of modifiers that combine with test items. Thus, prediction 3 cannot be satisfied nor conformed. Examples with atelic modifiers are also presented below the table.

	BN	reg.indef.
telic	0	0
atelic	2	1

Table 21. Variable 2-Telic modifier

- (57) Estar buscando apartamento durante cuarenta minutos no es nada agradable. [51]  
 be-INF looking for apartment during forty minutes no is nothing nice  
 ‘To look for an apartment during forty minutes is not nice at all.’
- (58) Se ofrece a los habitantes alquilar un garage .... por cuarenta años. [64]  
 clitic offers to the habitants rent-INF a garage for forty years.  
 ‘People are offered to rent a garage for forty years.’

## 3. Locative modifier

The situation for variable 3 is similar to that of the previous variable, namely the number of occurrences are not at all significant. Still, the relation of locatives between test items appears to follow the predicted behavior. That is, locatives tend to combine more often with regular indefinites than with BNs. Thus, there is a slight tendency that may imply prediction 4 to be satisfied although we cannot draw any more conclusions. Results and examples are presented below:

	BN	reg.indef.
locative	4	9

Table 22. Variable 3-Locative modifier

- (59) Hacía ya más de una semana que alquilamos garage cerca de la estación. [13]  
 was already more than a week that rent garage near the station  
 ‘It had been more than a week already that we rented a garage near the station.’
- (60) Él necesitaba alquilar un apartamento en el centro de la ciudad ... [88]

he needed    rent-INF an apartment    in the center of the city  
 ‘He needed to rent an apartment in the center of the city.’

#### 4. Intensional verb

Intensional verbs do not frequently occur with any of the test items. Furthermore, the difference between test items is not relevant and there is still a small tendency towards regular indefinites being combined with intensionals. Then prediction 5 is not likely to be satisfied nor confirmed. First because the number of occurrences is not significant and second because there is even a tendency for regular indefinites to be combined with more intensionals than BNS. Results and examples are presented below:

	BN	reg.indef.
intensional verb	3	6

Table 23. Variable 4-Intensional verb

(61) Necesito comprar auto de segunda mano en buen estado. [19]  
 need buy-INF car of second hand in good condition  
 ‘I need to buy a second hand car in good condition.’

(62) Pensó en llevar una chaqueta liviana, que no ocupara demasiado sitio. [56]  
 thought in take-INF a jacket light,  
 ‘He thought of taking a light jacket, so that he wouldn't need such big space for it.’

#### 5. Modifiers

The table below sums up the distribution and combination of different modifiers with BNs and regular indefinites:

	BN	reg.indef.
descriptive/qualitative	0	8
secondary predicate	3	7
relative pronoun	1	9
kind modifier	5	2
no modifier	50	23
TOTAL	59	50

Table 24. Variable 5- Modifiers

As indicated above, modifiers show a clear distribution when selecting BNs or regular indefinites. Notice that regular indefinites are modified by all modifiers, which was indeed an expected behavior. This is possible because they introduce entities in discourse and entities accept any type of modification. As predicted, regular indefinites are modified by descriptive/qualitative modifiers, secondary predicates and relative clauses. It also combines with a kind modifier but only twice, also as predicted.

Sentences below show regular indefinite constructions with a descriptive/qualitative modifier (63), a secondary predicate (64), a relative pronoun (65), a kind modifier (66) and no modifier (67)

(63) El año pasado compré un auto pequeño, útil para ir a trabajar y muy económico. [71]



the year last bought a car small, useful for go-INF to work and very economic  
'Last year I bought a small car, useful to go to work and very economic.'

- (64) Se ofrece a los habitantes alquilar un garage en un nuevo parking en el centro. [64]  
pronoun offers to the inhabitants rent-INF a garage in a new parking space in the center  
'People are offered to rent a garage in a new parking place in the city center.'
- (65) Fue ahí que se nos ocurrió alquilar un garage que habíamos visto a la altura de Isla de Flores y Salto. [65]  
Flores and Salto  
'It was there where we got the idea to rent a garage that we seen in Isla de Flores and Salto.'
- (66) Llevaba una chaqueta de cuero de oveja. [10]  
wore a jacket of leather of sheep  
'(S)he was wearing a sheep leather jacket.'
- (67) Encontrar un apartamento es prácticamente imposible en la ciudad donde resido [80]  
find-INF an apartment is practically impossible in the city where live  
'To find an apartment in the city where I live is practically impossible.'
- On the other hand, BNs combine with kind modifiers, also as predicted and in a few cases they combined with secondary predicates and relative pronouns, although the number of occurrences is too low to draw conclusions. Sentences below show BN constructions with a secondary predicate (68), a relative pronoun (69), a kind modifier (70) and no modifier (71):
- (68) Finalmente recibió mail de su prima Andrea [27]  
finally received mail of her cousin Andrea  
'Finally (s)he got an email from her cousin Andrea.'
- (69) El otro día recibí mail de una amiga en el que me pedía que le hiciera un favor [25]  
the other day received mail of a friend in the that pronoun asked that clitic did a favor  
'The other day I got an email from a friend in which she asked me to to her a favor.'
- (70) Tener casa propia significa tener un espacio de uno [1]  
have-INF house own means have-INF a space of one  
'To have an own house means to have a space of own's own.'
- (71) Antes que comprar un auto es más importante tener casa [6]  
before that buy-INF a car is more important have-INF house  
'Before buying a house it is more important to have a house.'

The interesting trend concerns the absence of modifiers, which turns out to be the most frequent pattern for both test items. A possible explanation of such behavior may be a side effect of the experimental methodology, namely that participants prefer not to modify the given infinitival phrase. However, even when they may have been affected by the type of structure they were provided with, there is a significant difference between absence of modifiers for BNs and regular indefinites. In 50 cases out of 59 BNs occur without any type of modification, in comparison to

regular indefinites that present this behavior in 23 instances.

Additionally, this pattern resembles the one found in the corpus search, where BN constructions also occurred without modification (cf. Table 10). There, it looks as if BN constructions do not tend to be modified. A plausible reason for the absence of modifiers may be that BN form a unity together with the verb where they are already modifiers of the verb. Then, given that BNs already describe a property of the predicate, there is no need for another modifier. In this sense we could claim that BNs may block the presence of other modifiers.

Thus, predictions 4 and 5 are satisfied. As seen, BNs are combined with kind modifiers or no modifiers at all, and regular indefinites combine with different modifiers.

### 6. Saliency in discourse

The aim of this variable is to see which element of the target sentence, the subject or the object, is salient in discourse. In order to explore saliency, we have looked at the continuation sentence to determine which element in the target sentence is further picked up. Overall, the data in table 25 shows that in regular indefinite constructions the object (the regular indefinite) is salient. However, for BN constructions saliency corresponds in the first place to the “other” element, which is described as any element from previous discourse or from the target sentence that is -subject and -object. In the second place there is object saliency, which is almost half of what corresponds to regular indefinites. Results are shown in Table 25. below:

<b>prominence</b>	<b>reg.indef. Constr.</b>	<b>BN constr.</b>
subject	11	5
object	26	14
VP prominence	0	6
other	15	26
TOTAL	52	52

Table 25. Variable 6- Saliency in discourse<sup>6</sup>

Examples for BNs subject (72), object (73) , VP prominence (74) and “other” (75) prominence are presented below:

(72) Hablábamos con Ramón que si el perro tuviera casa al gato no le sería tan  
 would talk with Ramón that if the dog had house to-the cat no clitic would be so  
 fácil seguir provocándolo. [7]  
 easy continue-INF provoke-it  
 ‘We would talk with Ramón that if the dog had a house the cat wouldn't have it easy to bother  
 it.’

(73) Comencé a buscar estacionamiento, y me fue casi imposible. Al encontrarlo  
 Started to look for parking space, and pronoun was almost impossible. to-the find-it pronoun  
 me di cuenta que ...[46]  
 realized that...

6. Notice that the number of occurrences for this table is lower than 59 because in some texts the target sentences did not present any continuation sentence. Even though some participants did not follow this instruction, we still included these texts within the data for the experiment.

‘I started to look for a parking space and it was almost impossible. As soon as I found it I realized that...’

(74) En esta ciudad es muy difícil alquilar garage para tu carro. Para alquilar garage te piden  
in this city is very difficult rent-INF garage for your car. For rent-INF garage acc.cl. ask  
copia de tu pasaporte. [17]  
copy of your passport  
‘It is difficult to rent a garage for your car in this city. In order to rent a garage they ask you for  
a copy of your passport.’

(75) La idea es que uno elija una tarjeta que contiene acciones concretas (por ejemplo robar  
the idea is that one chooses a card that contains actions concrete (for example steal-INF  
pan, romper vidrio, comprar auto) y a través de mímicas, su grupo lo adivine  
bread, break-INF glass, buy-INF car) and through of mimic, his group clitic guess-SUBJ en  
español. [21]  
in Spanish  
‘The idea is to choose a card with concrete actions (for example steal bread, break glass, buy car)  
and through mimicry your group has to guess what they are in Spanish.’

Examples for regular indefinites subject (76), object (77) and “other” (78) prominence are presented below:

(76) Aunque ni siquiera llevaba una chaqueta, no parecía estar incómoda. [58]  
even though carried a jacket, no seemed be-INF uncomfortable  
‘Even though she was carrying a jacket, she didn't seem to feel uncomfortable.’

(77) Ahora que me compré un auto tengo que alquilar un garage. Encontré un garage pero está a  
now that clitic bought a car have to rent-INF a garage. found a garage but is to  
tres cuerdas de mi casa. [66]  
three streets of my house.  
‘Now that I bought a car I have to rent a garage. I found a garage but it is three blocks from  
home.’

(78) Me di cuenta que iba a necesitar una bufanda de las verdaderas .... Y no solo eso, sino también  
realized that go to need a scarf of the true ... and not only that, but also  
unos guantes. [93]  
some gloves  
‘I realized that I was going to need a real scarf. ... And not only that, but also a pair of gloves.’

By taking a closer look, we see that in regular indefinite constructions, the object (namely the regular indefinite itself) is salient in most of the continuation sentences. This is an expected behavior, given that they introduce discourse referents so they are likely to be further picked up in discourse.

However, saliency in BN constructions is mostly taken by an “other” element. In other words, it is an element that was either previously introduced in discourse or a new element which is not present in the target sentence. This is an interesting finding, which is indeed consistent with our predictions. That is, in BNs constructions another element other than the BN is more salient in discourse. Also

notice that as shown in Table 25, BNs are salient in fewer cases than regular indefinites.

Furthermore, for Table 25 we have added a row for “VP saliency”, which was not considered neither for the corpus search, nor for the pilot study. The data shows some cases, in which not only the BN is salient, but the whole VP. That is, in the continuation sentence the BN is preceded by the same predicate as it was presented in the target sentence. Then, the strategy to make the BN salient is to repeat the whole structure in which the BN occurs, namely the VP. This fact suggests that the BN itself is not able to be prominent. Rather, it needs to occur with its have-predicate. Indeed, this goes along the lines with the argument that BNs do not denote entities and as such they may not be able to introduce discourse referents.

What is more, as expected VP saliency is only present in BN constructions. When regular indefinites are salient, they usually occur with another verb, but not necessarily with the have-predicate. As we will see in the analysis of the next variable, they are further picked up under different forms apart from the repetition of the same indefinite.

Then, saliency in discourse seems to be a differentiating factor between the behavior of BNs and regular indefinites. Regular indefinites are the most frequent element to be prominent in the continuation sentence. By contrast, in BN constructions it is the “other” element that is most frequently prominent. Nevertheless, the data also show an important number of BNs that are further picked up. As pointed out, some BNs are picked up but within their VP construction, which is indeed an argument that the semantic theory would predict (Espinal and McNally, 2009; Espinal 2010). However, in other cases they appear to be salient in the continuation sentence. Yet, the question that remains to be answered concerns the form taken by the element that refers back to the BN. This will be done within the study of the next variable.

Thus, prediction 7 seems to be satisfied. The data show that regular indefinites are predominantly salient in discourse. BNs are salient in fewer cases and as such an “other” element seems to be more salient in BN constructions.

### 7. Anaphoric relations

Variable 7 focuses on the anaphoric expression that refers to the object, either in BN or regular indefinite constructions. We will concentrate on those cases where the object is further picked up and analyze the form that BN and regular indefinite anaphoric expressions take. In other words, this variable will concentrate on the “object” row of the previous table. Table 26 below shows the results for both test items:

discourse antecedent	reg. indef.			BN		
	subject	object	adjunct	subject	object	adjunct
clitic pronoun		3				4
PRO	5	1		4 (2pl)		
demonstrative						
synonym/hyperonym	(4pl.) 5	5	1	(1pl, 1mass)	4	
repetition of test item in DP		4				2
accusative pronoun		2				
<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>26</b>			<b>14</b>	

Table 26. Variable 7-Anaphoric relations

As a first overview, we see that regular indefinites are further picked up by anaphoric expressions occurring in different syntactic positions. This is an expected behavior; regular indefinites are full expressions that introduce entities in discourse, so any anaphoric expression can in principle refer back to it. As shown in Table 26, they are frequently picked up by PRO, a pronoun without phonetic properties. The second frequent forms for regular indefinites' anaphoric expressions are synonyms/hyperonyms and the repetition of the test item in a DP. This behavior was not expected; rather we expected semantic full expressions to be antecedents of reduced anaphoric expressions such as demonstratives, accusative pronouns and clitics. Even though this is also the case, it did not occur as frequently as expected. A possible reason for such a behavior may rely on the fact that in written texts one usually uses a repetition that is associated with a more formal register. Thus, anaphoric expressions of regular indefinites take various forms and most of them occur in object position, although some take a more prominent position in the continuation sentence, namely subject position.

Examples for the most frequent salient forms are presented below, namely PRO and a repetition of test item DP:

(79) Llevar una chaqueta a la playa es perjudicial, PRO podría ensuciarse con la arena y el mar. [112]  
 take-INF a jacket to the beach is harmful, PRO could get dirty with the sand and the sea  
 'To take a jacket to the beach is harmful, it could get dirty with the sand and sea.'

(80) Voy a comprar un auto; pero aún no decido la marca. Busco un auto pequeño... [116]  
 go to buy a car; but still no decide the brand. look for a car small  
 'I'm going to buy a car but I still don't know which brand. I am looking for a small car...'

On the other hand, anaphoric expressions of BNs occur mainly in object position and they appear under the form of synonyms/hyperonyms in DPs or as a repetition of the test item in a DP. This was indeed an expected behavior, given that BNs are not considered to introduce referents in discourse, but properties. Then, they need to be further picked up by full referential expressions.

An interesting fact worth mentioning is that in some cases anaphoric expressions, PROs and synonyms seem to refer back to plural BNs and/or to mass nouns. This pattern looks as if the speaker needs to accommodate the BN into a bare plural or mass noun in order to establish an anaphoric relation that allows for reference interpretation. Examples are presented below:

(81) Llegué a tiempo y busqué estacionamiento... Pero no encontré espacio. [47]  
 arrived later and looked for parking space.. but no found space  
 'I arrived late and I looked for a parking space... But I didn't find space.'

(82) Odio buscar estacionamiento en el centro, PRO son caros y casi siempre malos. [44]  
 hate look for-INF parking in the center, PRO are expensive and almost always bad  
 'I hate to look for a parking space in the center, they are expensive and usually bad.'

With respect to clitics, their presence is not surprising. We have already argued that they are recycled pronouns and as such they seem to combine with expression that refer to properties or entities. Notice that they occur as frequent with BNs as with regular indefinites.

In sum, BN anaphoric relations show a slight difference with respect to those of regular indefinites. As expected, any form is able to refer back to regular indefinites. Instead, BNs behave mainly as antecedents of full expressions such as synonyms/hyperonyms DPs or a repetition of the test item but in a DP construction. Also anaphoric expressions may take the form of a mass noun or they may reinterpret the BN as a bare plural and so they may take the plurality form.

These facts suggest that when BNs are not further picked up by DPs, they must go through some accommodation or reinterpretation process in order to make an anaphoric relation possible. In this sense prediction 8 is satisfied because even though in some cases BNs are further picked up by reduced referring expressions, they do not behave in the same way as for regular indefinites. Finally, predictions for regular indefinites are satisfied because they are picked up by different anaphoric expressions occurring in different syntactic positions.

#### 4.4. Discussion

Results of experiment 2 show that some variables are able to account for a difference between the discourse behavior of BNs and regular indefinites. In this sense, it is partially possible to correlate this set of data with a semantic theory that argues for a difference between them namely that BNs denote properties of types of individuals and regular indefinites denote entities (Espinal and McNally, 2009; Espinal, 2010)

The data has revealed the role of episodicity to be irrelevant for the BN/regular indefinite distinction. That is, both test items occur with the same type of tenses being either +/-episodic. The variables for locative modifiers, intensional verbs and +/- telic modifiers are not testable, for there is not enough data to reach any conclusions.

The positive piece of evidence to suggest that BNs and indefinites are different and thus display a different behavior in discourse concerns modifiers. As pointed out (see Table 24), BNs are only modified by modifiers of kind or by no modifier, whereas regular indefinites appear to accept different modifiers, such as descriptive and qualitative modifiers, second predicates, relative clauses and even no modifiers at all. This piece of evidence shows that there is in fact some difference between both forms. That is to say, for some reason speakers may not add any modifiers to BN constructions but may decide to add different modifiers to regular indefinite constructions.

Additionally, the second piece of evidence that shows a difference between the behavior of BNs and regular indefinites is that that in BN constructions BNs are not always salient in discourse. In regular indefinite constructions the object is more frequently prominent, and there is an almost even distribution between subject and “other” saliency. This is a predicted behavior, for we expected any element of a regular indefinite construction to be further picked up in the continuation sentence.

However, in BN constructions the “other” element is more prominent than the rest of the elements of the sentences. This is an expected behavior because we predicted BNs not to be salient and this seems to be the case. Additionally, the data show some examples in which the hole VP is prominent. This only occurs with BN constructions and is also an expected behavior. That is, BNs are not believed to be salient because they do not introduce discourse referents. For this reason, when they become salient they come along with their have-predicate and thus the salient element is the phrasal verb.

When it is the case that BNs are salient, they are generally further picked up by DPs in the continuation sentence, either synonyms/hyperonyms or a repetition of the test item in a DP construction. This is also an expected behavior, then they are picked up by full expressions (Kaiser and Vihman, 2006). What is more, we have shown that BNs are in some cases further picked up either by plural forms or mass nouns. This again suggests, that they may go under some accommodation process in order to become salient in discourse.

In sum, Experiment 2 shows some correlation between the speech production of BNs and regular indefinites and the semantic theory proposed by Espinal and McNally (2009) and Espinal (2010). The general pattern for Experiment 2 is that BNs are less salient in discourse than regular indefinites. Also, when BNs are further picked up, they seem to be picked up by full expressions, whereas regular indefinites generally behave as antecedents of reduced referring expressions. The other pattern that shows a different behavior is modifiers. As shown (see Table 24), BNs usually combine with modifiers of kinds or no modifiers, whereas regular indefinites tend to combine with any modifier.

## 5. General discussion and conclusion

The main goal of the thesis was to experimentally test whether BNs and regular indefinites present a different discourse behavior, given that they are argued to present different semantics. As pointed out, recent literature has claimed that BNs denote properties of types of individuals and regular indefinites denote concrete entities in the world (Espinal and McNally, 2009; Espinal, 2010). Given that they are two different forms, we expected them to convey two different meanings in discourse.

The first attempt to test whether the different semantics of BNs and regular indefinites leads to a different behavior in discourse was to test their anaphoric relations (see Chapter 2). In order to do so, we conducted an offline experiment in which participants had to choose among three anaphoric expressions for BNs and regular indefinites: namely a clitic pronoun, a noun of the BN in a regular indefinite DP, a synonym of the BN in a regular indefinite DP. Predictions are based on a Kaiser and Vihman (2006) proposal, who establish a correlation between the accessibility of a referent and the expressions used to refer to it. Then, we expected that more reduced referring expressions such as pronouns would behave as anaphoric expressions of accessible referents such as regular indefinites. We expected full expressions such as DPs to behave as anaphoric expressions of less accessible referents like BNs.

Results show that there is no significant difference between the type of anaphoric expressions for BNs and regular indefinites. That is, both BNs and regular indefinites behave as discourse antecedents of clitic pronouns. In this respect results appear to be negative, as they do not show any difference between test items. However, negative results may be due to the implementation of the experiment. As discussed, we may not have captured any difference for two main reasons. The first reason deals with an accommodation process. That is, participants may have picked up on clitics because it is the easiest option and because in this context there is not any possible confusion between clitics and DPs. In this sense the BN may have been accommodated in discourse and thus interpreted in the same manner as regular indefinites. The second reason deals with a pronoun recycling mechanism. Based on Longa et al. (1998) we claim that the clitic pronoun is recycled in Spanish and so it serves various functions. This may be the reason why it indistinctly combines with BNs and regular indefinites.

The second attempt to explore the nature of BNs and regular indefinites consists of analyzing their behavior thorough written texts, so that any manipulation of context could be avoided (see Chapter 3 and 4). For this reason we carried out a corpus search and a written production task. The aim of both proposals was to find a correlation between the semantics of BNs and regular indefinites and their behavior in discourse at the sentential and extrasentential level. In order to do so, we determined a set of variables that derive from the literature review and results of the first experiment; and we also proposed predictions.

Results for both the corpus search and the written production show some significant differences between the discourse behavior of BNs and regular indefinites. With respect to noun modifiers, the data show that BNs either combine with kind modifiers or with no modifiers at all. This is indeed predictable if we consider a BN construction to be a closed unit. For regular indefinites, they combined with any type of modifier.

Regarding anaphoric expressions, in regular indefinite constructions either the subject, the object (the regular indefinite itself) or any other element in the sentence can be salient in discourse. For



BN constructions, saliency is mostly taken by the “other” element. This is an expected behavior, then given the argument that properties of types of individuals may not be salient in discourse, we predicted either the subject or other element to be more salient than BNs. Furthermore, there are some cases of VP saliency, which is not present for regular indefinite constructions. This is also an interesting point, then the predominant element is the BN together with the have-predicate. In this sense, the whole phrasal verb works as a unit and is further picked up in the continuation sentence.

Additionally, when we look at the form of anaphoric expressions, we see that regular indefinites behave as antecedents of any form (see Table 12), while BNs behave as discourse antecedents of a limited set of forms, namely DPs, plural forms and mass nouns. This is also an expected behavior that argues in favor of the claim that full expressions such as DPs combine with less accessible referents, and BNs may belong to this class. Also notice that some cases of plurals and mass nouns have been observed to be anaphoric expressions of BNs. Even though we cannot get strong conclusions from such a minor set of data, we could suggest that these anaphoric expressions must undergo some kind of accommodation process in order to allow for BN saliency.

Negative data comes episodicity, which does not seem to play a role within the distinction of BNs and regular indefinites. With respect to telic and locative modifiers and intensional verbs the data was simply not enough to drop any conclusions.

In sum, both the corpus search and the written task show some correlation between a semantic theory of BNs (Espinal and McNally, 2009; Espinal, 2010) and actual language production. The data seems to provide some empirical evidence that BNs and regular indefinites have different behaviors in discourse. However, a bigger size of data would certainly be necessary to further deepen on their semantic properties and discourse behavior.

## Appendices

### Appendix 1: Corpus search

#### 1.1. Random list of mass nouns (Corpus del Español, 2002-)

Mass BNs	
miedo (fear)	valor (value)
hambre (hunger)	tiempo (time)
razón (intellect)	información (information)
necesidad (necessity)	gobierno (government)
dinero (money)	tierra (land)
confianza (confidence)	comida (food)
frío (cold)	juventud (youth)
prisa (hurry)	instrucción (knowledge)
familia (family)	sangre (blood)
vida (life)	maíz (corn)

#### 1.2. Link to the texts of the corpus search

[https://docs.google.com/document/d/1wjdGMdpORLejayqwdg9q4MiJIntSxM\\_8ppMpE29D40U/edit?authkey=CJSKmcSK&hl=en](https://docs.google.com/document/d/1wjdGMdpORLejayqwdg9q4MiJIntSxM_8ppMpE29D40U/edit?authkey=CJSKmcSK&hl=en)

## Appendix 2. Experiment 1. Anaphoric expressions of BNs and regular indefinites

### 2.1. Items for Experiment 1

Test items: BNs

1. Ayer Alberto compró yate. Enseguida...

Yesterday Alberto bought yacht. Right away...

Yesterday bought a yacht. Right away...

a. reparó el barco para navegar el fin de semana.

repaired the ship to sail the end of week.

they repaired the ship to sail next weekend.

b. lo reparó para navegar el fin de semana.

it repaired to sail the end of week.

they repaired it to sail next weekend.

c. reparó el yate para navegar el fin de semana.

repaired the yacht to sail the end of week.

they repaired the yacht to sail next weekend.

2. Berta alquiló apartamento. En un día...

Berta rent apartment. In one day...

Berta rent an apartment. A week later...

a. pintó el apartamento para mudarse lo antes posible.

painted the apartment for move acc. clitic before possible.

she painted the apartment so that she could move in as soon as possible.

b. pintó el piso para mudarse lo antes posible.

painted the apartment (syn) for move acc. clitic before possible.

she painted the apartment (syn) so that she could move in as soon as possible.

c. lo pintó para mudarse lo antes posible.

it painted for move acc. clitic before possible.

she painted it so that she could move in as soon as possible.

3. Fabio llevó puesto sombrero. En la reunión...

Fabio carried hat. In the meeting...

Fabio carried a hat. In the meeting...

a. lo dejó al lado del perchero.

it left next to the hanger.

he left it next to the hanger.

b. dejó el sombrero al lado del perchero.

left the hat next to the hanger.

he left the hat next to the hanger.

c. dejó el gorro al lado del perchero.  
left the hat (syn) next to the hanger.  
he left the hat (syn)next to the hanger.

4. Fernando y Carla encontraron auto. Primero...  
Fernando and Carla found car. First...  
Fernando and Carla found a car. First ...

a. lo llevaron al taller para arreglar el volante.  
it took to-the repair shop to repair the driving wheel.  
they took it to the repair shop to repair the driving wheel.

b. llevaron el auto al taller para arreglar el volante.  
took the car to-the repair shop to repair the driving wheel.  
they took the car to-the repair shop to repair the driving wheel.

c. llevaron el vehículo al taller para arreglar el volante.  
took the vehicle to-the repair shop to repair the driving wheel.  
they took the vehicle to-the repair shop to repair the driving wheel.

5. La señora Gutiérrez contrató traductor. Recién al mes...  
The lady Gutiérrez contracted translator. Just to-the month  
Mrs. Gutiérrez contracted a translator. Only after a month...

a. llamó al hombre para pagarle su comisión.  
called to-the man for pay-him his commission.  
she called the man to pay him the commission.

b. lo llamó para pagarle su comisión.  
him called for pay-him his commission.  
she called him to pay him the commission.

c. llamó al traductor para pagarle su comisión.  
called to-the translator for pay-him his commission.  
she called him to pay him the salary.

6. Alicia recibió carta. Enseguida...  
Alicia received letter. Right away...  
Alicia received a letter. Right away...

a. la abrió para saber de quién era .  
it opened to know of who was.  
she opened it to know from whom it was.

b. abrió el sobre para saber de quién era  
opened the envelope to know of who was

she opened the envelope to know from whom it was

- c. abrió la carta para saber de quién era.  
opened the letter to know of who was.  
she opened the letter to know from whom it was.

7. Pedro llevó puesta chaqueta. Cuando entró al salón...  
Pedro carried jacket. When entered to-the hall...  
Pedro was wearing a jacket. As soon as he entered the hall...

- a. colgó la prenda en el perchero.  
hung the garment in the hanger.  
he hung the garment in the hanger.

- b. la colgó en el perchero.  
it hung in the hanger.  
hung it in the hanger.

- c. colgó la chaqueta en el perchero.  
hung the jacket in the hanger.  
hung the jacket in the hanger.

8. Esteban y Ernesto encontraron hotel. Al final...  
Esteban and Ernesto found hotel. Finally...  
Esteban and Ernesto found a hotel. Finally...

- a. eligieron el hotel porque está frente al mar.  
chose the hotel because is in front of-the sea.  
they chose the hotel because it is in front of the sea.

- b. lo eligieron porque está frente al mar.  
it chose because is in front of-the sea.  
they chose it because it is in front of the sea.

- c. eligieron el lugar porque está frente al mar.  
chose the place because is in front of-the sea.  
they chose the place because it is in front of the sea.

9. Juan obtuvo diploma. Finalmente...  
Juan got diploma. Finally...  
Juan got a diploma. Finally...

- a. lo encuadró en un marco muy bonito.  
It put in a frame in a frame very nice.  
He put it in a very nice frame.

- b. encuadró el papel en un marco muy bonito.  
put in a frame the paper in a frame very nice.

He put the paper in a very nice frame.

c. encuadró el diploma en un marco muy bonito.  
put in a frame the diploma in a frame very nice.  
He put the diploma in a very nice frame.

10. Ernesto recibió medalla. Cuando...  
Ernesto received medal. When...  
Ernesto received a medal. When...

a. sostuvo el premio, estaba muy emocionado.  
holded the prize, was very excited.  
he holded the prize, he was very excited.

b. la sostuvo, estaba muy emocionado.  
it held, was very excited  
he held, he was very excited

c. sostuvo la medalla, estaba muy emocionado.  
held the medal, was very excited.  
he held the medal, he was very excited.

11. Francisco llevó puesto chaleco. Al llegar a la cena...  
Francisco carried vest. To arrive to the dinner...  
Francisco carried a vest. When he arrived to the dinner...

a. se quitó la prenda porque tenía mucho calor.  
Refl. Clitic take off the vest (syn) because had much hot.  
he took off his vest because he was very hot.

b. se quitó el chaleco porque tenía mucho calor.  
Refl. Clitic take off the vest because had much hot.  
he took off his vest because he was very hot.

c. se lo quitó porque tenía mucho calor  
Refl. Clitic it take off because had much hot.  
he took it off because he was very hot.

12. Cecilia encontró casa. Antes del verano...  
Cecilia found house. Before of-the Summer...  
Cecilia found a house. Before the Summer...

a. la fumigó para matar todos los insectos.  
it fumigated for to kill all the insects.  
she fumigated it in order to kill all the insects.

b. fumigó la vivienda para matar todos los insectos.

fumigated the house (syn) for to kill all the insects.  
she fumigated the house (syn) in order to kill all the insects.

c. fumigó la casa para matar todos los insectos.  
fumigated the house for to kill all the insects.  
she fumigated the house in order to kill all the insects.

Control items: Indefinites

13. Ayer Alberto compró un yate. Enseguida...  
Yesterday Alberto bought a yacht. Right away...  
Yesterday Albert bought a yacht. Right away...

a. reparó el barco para navegar el fin de semana.  
repaired the ship to sail the end of week.  
they repaired the ship to sail next weekend.

b. lo reparó para navegar el fin de semana.  
it repaired to sail the end of week.  
they repaired it to sail next weekend.

c. reparó el yate para navegar el fin de semana.  
repaired the yacht to sail the end of week.  
they repaired the yacht to sail next weekend.

14. Berta alquiló un apartamento. En un día...  
Berta rent an apartment. In one day...  
Berta rent an apartment. A week later...

a. pintó el apartamento para mudarse lo antes posible.  
painted the apartment for move acc. clitic before possible.  
she painted the apartment so that she could move in as soon as possible.

b. pintó el piso para mudarse lo antes posible.  
painted the apartment (syn) for move acc. clitic before possible.  
she painted the apartment (syn) so that she could move in as soon as possible.

c. lo pintó para mudarse lo antes posible.  
it painted for move acc. clitic before possible.  
she painted it so that she could move in as soon as possible.

15. Fabio llevó puesto un sombrero. En la reunión...  
Fabio carried a hat. In the meeting...  
Fabio carried a hat. In the meeting...

a. lo dejó al lado del perchero.  
it left next to the hanger.  
he left it next to the hanger.

b. dejó el sombrero al lado del perchero.  
left the hat next to the hanger.  
he left the hat next to the hanger.

c. dejó el gorro al lado del perchero.  
left the hat (syn) next to the hanger.  
he left the hat (syn)next to the hanger.

16. Fernando y Carla encontraron un auto. Primero...

Fernando and Carla found a car. First...  
Fernando and Carla found a car. First ...

a. lo llevaron al taller para arreglar el volante.  
it took to-the repair shop to repair the driving wheel.  
they took it to the repair shop to repair the driving wheel.

b. llevaron el auto al taller para arreglar el volante.  
took the car to-the repair shop to repair the driving wheel.  
they took the car to-the repair shop to repair the driving wheel.

c. llevaron el vehículo al taller para arreglar el volante.  
took the vehicle to-the repair shop to repair the driving wheel.  
they took the vehicle to-the repair shop to repair the driving wheel.

17. La señora Gutiérrez contrató un traductor. Recién al mes...

The lady Gutiérrez contracted a translator. Just to-the month  
Mrs. Gutiérrez contracted a translator. Only after a month...

a. llamó al hombre para pagarle su comisión.  
called to-the man for pay-him his commission.  
she called the man to pay him the commission.

b. lo llamó para pagarle su comisión.  
him called for pay-him his commission.  
she called him to pay him the commission.

c. llamó al traductor para pagarle su comisión.  
called to-the translator for pay-him his commission.  
she called him to pay him the commission.

18. Alicia recibió una carta. Enseguida...

Alicia received a letter. Right away...  
Alicia received a letter. Right away...

a. la abrió para saber de quién era .  
it opened to know of who was.



it was.

b. abrió el sobre para saber de quién era  
opened the envelope to know of who was  
she opened the envelope to know from whom it was

c. abrió la carta para saber de quién era.  
opened the letter to know of who was.  
she opened the letter to know from whom it was.

19. Pedro llevó puesto una chaqueta. Cuando entró al salón...  
Pedro carried a jacket. When entered to-the hall...  
Pedro was wearing a jacket. As soon as he entered the hall...

a. colgó la prenda en el perchero.  
hung the garment in the hanger.  
he hung the garment in the hanger.

b. la colgó en el perchero.  
it hung in the hanger.  
hung it in the hanger.

c. colgó la chaqueta en el perchero.  
hung the jacket in the hanger.  
hung the jacket in the hanger.

20. Esteban y Ernesto encontraron un hotel. Al final...  
Esteban and Ernesto found a hotel. Finally...  
Esteban and Ernesto found a hotel. Finally...

a. eligieron el hotel porque está frente al mar.  
chose the hotel because is in front of-the sea.  
they chose the hotel because it is in front of the sea.

b. lo eligieron porque está frente al mar.  
it chose because is in front of-the sea.  
they chose it because it is in front of the sea.

c. eligieron el lugar porque está frente al mar.  
chose the place because is in front of-the sea.  
they chose the place because it is in front of the sea.

21. Juan obtuvo un diploma. Finalmente...  
Juan got a diploma. Finally...  
Juan got a diploma. Finally...

a. lo encuadró en un marco muy bonito.  
It put in a frame in a frame very nice.

He put it in a very nice frame.

b. encuadró el papel en un marco muy bonito.  
put in a frame the paper in a frame very nice.  
He put the paper in a very nice frame.

c. encuadró el diploma en un marco muy bonito.  
put in a frame the diploma in a frame very nice.  
He put the diploma in a very nice frame.

22. Ernesto recibió una medalla. Cuando...

Ernesto received a medal. When...  
Ernesto received a medal. When...

a. sostuvo el premio, estaba muy emocionado.  
holded the prize, was very excited.  
he holded the prize, he was very excited.

b. la sostuvo, estaba muy emocionado.  
it held, was very excited  
he held it, he was very excited

c. sostuvo la medalla, estaba muy emocionado.  
held the medal, was very excited.  
he held the medal, he was very excited.

23. Francisco llevó puesto un chaleco. Al llegar a la cena...

Francisco carried a vest. To arrive to the dinner...  
Francisco carried a vest. When he arrived to the dinner...

a. se quitó la prenda porque tenía mucho calor.  
Refl. Clitic take off the vest (syn) because had much hot.  
he took off his vest because he was very hot.

b. Se quitó el chaleco porque tenía mucho calor.  
Refl. Clitic take off the vest because had much hot.  
he took off his vest because he was very hot.

c. Se lo quitó porque tenía mucho calor.  
Refl. Clitic it take off because had much hot.  
he took it off because he was very hot.

24. Cecilia encontró una casa. Antes del verano...

Cecilia found a house. Before of-the Summer...  
Cecilia found a house. Before the Summer...

a. la fumigó para matar todos los insectos.  
it fumigated for to kill all the insects.

she fumigated it in order to kill all the insects.

b. fumigó la vivienda para matar todos los insectos.  
fumigated the house (syn) for to kill all the insects.  
she fumigated the house (syn) in order to kill all the insects.

c. fumigó la casa para matar todos los insectos.  
fumigated the house for to kill all the insects.  
she fumigated the house in order to kill all the insects.

#### Fillers

1. Martín habló con la chica. Sin pensarlo...  
Martín talked with the girl. Whithout thinking-it...  
Martín talked to the girl. Without thinking about it...

a. besó a la chica cuando fueron a la pista de baile.  
kissed to the girl when went to the floor of dance  
he kissed the girl as they went to the dance floor.

b. besó a la mujer cuando fueron a la pista de baile.  
kissed to the woman when went to the floor of dance  
he kissed the girl as they went to the dance floor.

c. la besó cuando fueron a la pista de baile.  
her kissed when went to the floor of dance  
he kissed the girl as they went to the dance floor.

2. Carlos se mudó a la ciudad. Después de que...  
Carlos himslef moved to the city. After of that...  
Carlos moved to the city. After...

a. se mudó, fue mucho más feliz.  
himself moved, was much more happy.  
He moved, he felt much happier.

b. se mudó a la ciudad, fue mucho más feliz.  
himself moved to the city, was much more happy.  
He moved to the city, he felt much happier.

c. se mudó a la capital, fue mucho más feliz.  
himself moved to the capital city, was much more happy.  
He moved to the capital city, he felt much happier.

3. Xavier obtuvo la licencia después de tres meses de práctica. Si bien...  
Xavier got the driving license after of three months of practice. Even though...  
Xavier got his driving license after three months of practicing. Even though...

a. el permiso salió caro finalmente pudo conducir su propio coche.  
the driving licence was expensive finally could drive his own car

the driving license was expensive, he could finally drive his own car.

b. salió cara finalmente pudo conducir su propio coche.  
was expensive finally could drive his own car.  
It was expensive, he could finally drive his own car.

c. la licencia salió cara finalmente pudo manejar su propio coche.  
the licence (syn) was expensive finally could drive his own car.  
the driving license was expensive, he could finally drive his own car.

4. Estela y María comieron chocolate. En la pausa...

Estela and María eat chocolate. In the break...  
Estela and María eat chocolate. In the break...

a. compraron chocolate porque tenían ganas de algo dulce.  
bought chocolate because felt like of something sweet.  
they bought chocolate because they felt like eating something sweet.

b. Estela y María compraron chocolate porque tenían ganas de algo dulce.  
Estela and María bought chocolate, because felt like of something sweet.  
Estela and María bought chocolate because they felt like eating something sweet.

c. las chicas compraron chocolate porque tenían ganas de algo dulce  
the girls bought chocolate, because felt like of something sweet.  
The girls bought chocolate because they felt like eating something sweet.

5. Alicia visitó el parque nacional esta tarde. Decidió ir porque...

Alicia visited the park national this evening. Decided to go because...  
Alice visited the national park this evening. She decided to go there because...

a. es muy completo en cuanto a vegetación silvestre.  
is very complete with concern to vegetation wild.  
It's very complete with concern to wild vegetation.

b. el parque nacional es muy completo en cuanto a vegetación silvestre.  
the park national is very complete with concern to vegetation wild.  
the national park is very complete with concern to wild vegetation.

c. el lugar es muy completo en cuanto a vegetación silvestre  
the place is very complete with concern to vegetation wild.  
the place is very complete with concern to wild vegetation.

6. Susana colgó la máscara en el cuarto. Aunque...

Susana hung the mask in the room. Although...  
Susana hung the mask in the room. Although

a. estaba recién pintado no pasó nada porque se secó muy rápido.

was just painted no happened nothing because itself dried very fast.  
It was just painted, nothing happened because it got dry very fast.

b. el cuarto estaba recién pintado no pasó nada porque se secó muy rápido.  
the room (syn) was just painted no happened nothing because itself dried very fast.  
The room was just painted, nothing happened because it got dry very fast.

c. la habitación estaba recién pintada no pasó nada porque se secó muy rápido.  
the room was just painted no happened nothing because itself dried very fast.  
the room was just painted, nothing happened because it got dry very fast.

7. Carla rompió la jarra. Al recordar que...

Carla broke the jar. To remember that...  
Carla broke the jar. As soon as she remembered that...

a. la vasija tenía mucho valor porque era de su abuela, se puso a llorar.  
the vase had much value because was of her grandmother, refl.clitic put to cry.  
the vase was of great value because it had been her grandmother's, she broke into tears.

b. tenía mucho valor porque era de su abuela, se puso a llorar.  
had much value because was of her grandmother, refl.clitic put to cry.  
It was of great value because it had been her grandmother's, she broke into tears.

c. la jarra tenía mucho valor porque era de su abuela, se puso a llorar.  
the jar had much value because was of her grandmother, refl.clitic put to cry.  
the jar was of great value because it had been her grandmother's, she broke into tears.

8. La niña tomó jugo de frutas. Al llegar de la escuela...

The girl drank juice of fruits. To come of the school...  
The girl drank fruit juice. As soon as she arrived from school...

a. la niña terminó el jugo de frutas que quedaba en la nevera.  
the girl finished the juice of fruits that was left in the fridge.  
the girl drank all the fruit juice that was left in the fridge.

b. terminó el jugo de frutas que quedaba en la nevera.  
finished the juice of fruits that was left in the fridge.  
she drank all the fruit juice that was left in the fridge.

c. la pequeña terminó el jugo de frutas que quedaba en la nevera.  
the girl (syn) finished the juice of fruits that was left in the fridge.  
The girl (syn) drank all the fruit juice that was left in the fridge.

## 2.2 Sample of questionnaire for Experiment 1. Anaphoric expressions of BNs and regular indefinites

### Cuestionario

Marque con una cruz la opción que considere correcta como continuación de la primera oración. Es importante que se guíe por su intuición. Para eso puede serle útil decir en voz alta las diferentes opciones. El objetivo del cuestionario es saber cómo hablan español las personas, no tanto cómo lo escriben. No hay una única respuesta posible, simplemente señale la respuesta que le resulte mas apropiada.

1. Ayer Alberto compró yate. Enseguida...
  - a. reparó el barco para navegar el fin de semana.
  - b. lo reparó para navegar el fin de semana.
  - c. reparó el yate para navegar el fin de semana.
  
2. Carla rompió la jarra. Al recordar que...
  - a. la vasija había sido de su abuela, se puso a llorar.
  - b. había sido de su abuela, se puso a llorar.
  - c. la jarra había sido de su abuela, se puso a llorar.
  
3. Martín habló con la chica. Sin pensarlo...
  - a. besó a la chica cuando fueron a la pista de baile.
  - b. besó a la mujer cuando fueron a la pista de baile.
  - c. la besó cuando fueron a la pista de baile.
  
4. Carlos se mudó a la ciudad. Después de que...
  - a. se mudó, fue mucho más feliz.
  - b. se mudó a la ciudad, fue mucho más feliz.
  - c. se mudó a la capital, fue mucho más feliz.
  
5. Fernando y Carla encontraron auto. Primero...
  - a. lo llevaron al taller para arreglar el volante.
  - b. llevaron el auto al taller para arreglar el volante.
  - c. llevaron el vehículo al taller para arreglar el volante.
  
6. Berta alquiló apartamento. En un día...
  - a. pintó el apartamento para mudarse lo antes posible.
  - b. pintó el lugar para mudarse lo antes posible.
  - c. lo pintó para mudarse lo antes posible.
  
7. La señora Gutiérrez contrató un traductor. Recién al mes...
  - a. llamó al hombre para pagarle su comisión.
  - b. lo llamó para pagarle su comisión.
  - c. llamó al traductor para pagarle su comisión.
  
8. Alicia recibió una carta. Enseguida...
  - a. la abrió para saber de quién era.
  - b. abrió el sobre para saber de quién era.

c. abrió la carta para saber de quién era.

9. Pedro llevó puesta una chaqueta. Cuando entró al salón...

a. colgó la prenda en el perchero.

b. la colgó en el perchero.

c. colgó la chaqueta en el perchero.

10. Susana colgó la máscara en el cuarto. Aunque...

a. estaba recién pintado no pasó nada porque se secó muy rápido.

b. el cuarto estaba recién pintado no pasó nada porque se secó muy rápido.

c. la habitación estaba recién pintada no pasó nada porque se secó muy rápido.

11. Esteban y Ernesto encontraron un hotel. Al final...

a. eligieron el hotel porque está frente al mar.

b. lo eligieron porque está frente al mar.

c. eligieron el lugar porque está frente al mar.

12. La niña tomó jugo de frutas. Al llegar de la escuela...

a. la niña terminó el jugo de frutas que quedaba en la heladera.

b. terminó el jugo de frutas que quedaba en la heladera

c. la pequeña terminó el jugo de frutas que quedaba en la heladera.

13. Xavier obtuvo la licencia después de tres meses de práctica. Si bien...

el permiso salió caro finalmente pudo manejar su coche.

salió cara finalmente pudo manejar su coche.

la licencia salió cara finalmente pudo manejar su coche.

14. Estela y María comieron chocolate. En la pausa...

a. compraron chocolate para la hora del té.

b. Estela y María compraron chocolate para la hora del té.

c. las chicas compraron chocolate para la hora del té.

15. Esta tarde Alicia visitó el parque nacional. Decidió ir porque...

a. es muy completo en vegetación silvestre.

b. el parque nacional es muy completo en vegetación silvestre.

c. el lugar es muy completo en vegetación silvestre

16. Fabio llevó puesto sombrero. En la reunión...

a. lo dejó al lado del perchero.

b. dejó el sombrero al lado del perchero.

c. dejó el gorro al lado del perchero.

## 2.3. Table with items and predicates of the continuation options

Test items BNs	Test items Indefinites	Predicates in test options
Exp.A		
comprar yate (to buy yacht)	comprar un yate (to buy a yacht)	reparar (to repair)
alquilar apartamento (to rent apartment)	alquilar un apartamento (to rent an apartment)	pintar (to paint)
llevar puesto sombrero (to carry hat)	llevar puesto un sombrero (to carry a hat)	dejar (to leave)
encontrar auto (to find car)	encontrar un auto (to find a car)	
Exp.B		
contratar traductor (to contract translator)	contratar un traductor (to rent a translator)	contratar (to contract)
recibir carta (to receive letter)	recibir una carta (to receive a letter)	abrir (to open)
llevar puesto chaqueta (to carry a jacket)	llevar puesto una chaqueta (to carry a jacket)	colgar (to hang)
encontrar hotel (to find a hotel)	encontrar un hotel (to find a hotel)	elegir (to choose)
Exp.C		
obtener diploma (to get diploma)	obtuvo una matrícula (to get a diploma)	encuadrar (to frame)
recibir medalla (to receive medal)	recibir una medalla (to receive a medal)	sostener (to hold)
llevar puesto chaleco (to wear vest)	llevar puesto un chaleco (wear a vest)	poner (to put)
encontrar casa (to find house)	encontrar una casa (to find a house)	fumigar (to fumigate)



### Appendix 3: Experiment 2. Discourse properties of BNs and regular indefinites

#### 3.1. Pilot study

##### Tarea creativa

El objetivo de esta tarea es estudiar la creación de un texto narrativo.

Por favor, escriba un breve texto narrativo de aproximadamente 10 líneas, utilizando la siguiente oración:

*Juan alquila apartamento.*

Hay algunas condiciones para la creación del texto:

Debe incluir la oración en el texto tal como se le presenta (sin cambios en la conjugación, sin agregar otras palabras, etc)

Debe incluir la oración en algún pasaje del texto, pero no al principio y tampoco al final.

Muchas gracias:)

.....

.....

.....

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#### 3.2. Link to the texts of the pilot study

[https://docs.google.com/document/d/1Q3joeX1Vkbahn1h8M3gOx\\_ryp5j5v5UsJSm-wqXfVhY/edit?authkey=CLS3ocAG&hl=en#](https://docs.google.com/document/d/1Q3joeX1Vkbahn1h8M3gOx_ryp5j5v5UsJSm-wqXfVhY/edit?authkey=CLS3ocAG&hl=en#)

### 3.3. Written task of Experiment 2

Nacionalidad .....
Fecha de nacimiento .....
Profesión .....

#### Tarea creativa

El objetivo de esta tarea es estudiar la creación de un texto narrativo. Por favor escriba dos historias breves de aproximadamente 7 líneas usando las frases que verá mas abajo:

Primero lea y siga las instrucciones con atención:

- Conjuge el verbo en cualquier tiempo.
- Agregue las palabras que desee alrededor de la frase con el fin de enriquecer su contexto.
- No agregue ninguna palabra en el interior de la frase. (Por ejemplo si la frase es *escuchar radio*, no escriba algo como ...Ayer de tarde escuché la radio... Sí escriba algo como ...En mi trabajo tengo permiso para escuchar radio...)
- No convierta el sustantivo de la frase a plural.
- No utilice discurso directo. (Por ejemplo si la frase es *comprar la comida*, no escriba algo como ...Leí el artículo “comprar la comida” en el diario y fui corriendo a la tienda.... Sí escriba algo como ...El lunes compré la comida porque no tenía nada en la heladera...)

*Muchas gracias:)*

(1) tener casa

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

(2) llevar una chaqueta

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

### 3.4. List of BNs and predicates used in Experiment 2

test item: have-predicate + BN	control item: regular indefinite	verb type
1. tener casa (have house)	tener una casa	activity
2. llevar chaqueta (carry a jacket)	llevar una chaqueta	activity
3. alquilar garage (rent garage)	alquilar un garage	accomplishment
4. comprar auto (buy car)	comprar un auto	accomplishment
5. recibir mail (get mail)	encontrar un apartamento	achievement
6. encontrar apartamento (find apartment)	encontrar un apartamento	achievement
7. necesitar bufanda (need scarf)	necesitar una bufanda	intensional
8. buscar estacionamiento (find parking space)	buscar un estacionamiento	intensional

### 3.5. Link to the texts of the written task

[https://docs.google.com/document/d/13AvrpIWY\\_98McvF1sOrwIP4NhhEvsg2SEWDiq0d3ybM/edit?authkey=CJqTkM4M&hl=en#](https://docs.google.com/document/d/13AvrpIWY_98McvF1sOrwIP4NhhEvsg2SEWDiq0d3ybM/edit?authkey=CJqTkM4M&hl=en#)

### 3.6. Link to the database of the written task

<https://spreadsheets.google.com/ccc?key=0AgDWSjLHqusTdFpaWEMzYVpRc2R3UFRwVkh0NXdSWEE&authkey=CMm34YAH&hl=en#gid=0>

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