Bare Noun (Pseudo-Incorporated) Antecedents and Anaphora: Preference for Singular Interpretation

Pseudo-Incorporated Nominals (PINs)
- Key properties:
  - Reduced syntactic structure
  - non-specific, number-neutral interpretation
- Example Bare noun objects in Persian:
  - *Sara ibn- ra kharid.* Sara yek ibn kharid. IDF Sara ibn kharid. PIN
- Theoretical proposals for the semantics of PINs:
  - refer to properties (McNally & van Geenhoven 1998)
  - do not fill but restrict argument slots (Chung & Ladusaw 2003)
- refer to kinds (Aguilar-Guevara & Zwarts 2010 for weak deictics)

Anaphoric potential of PINs
- Common assumptions:
  - O: do not license anaphora (discourse-opaque):
    - Dayal 1999, Asudeh & Mikkelson 2000, Massam 2001, ...
  - A: license anaphora fully (disc.-transparent): (van Geenhoven 1998...)
  - B: license anaphora to reduced/variant degree (disc.-translucent)
- Farkas & de Swart 2003, Dayal 2011, Law & Syrett 2017

- A*: Modarresi 2014:
  - PINs introduce number-neutral discourse referents (DRs)
    \[ x_1 \{ x_2 = \text{Sara, apple(s)(x)}, \text{bought}(x_2, x_3) \} \]
  - \( x_2 \) can be picked up by number-neutral anaphor, or singular / plural anaphora, if this is epistemically likely

  - PINs introduce dependent closure within existential discourse
    \[ x_1 \{ x_2 = \text{Sara, } x_3 = \{ x_4 = \text{apple(s)(x)}, x_5 = \text{bought}(x_2, x_3) \} \}
    \]
  - \( x_5 \) cannot be picked up directly, only after creation of DR via abstraction and summation (Kamp & Reyle 1993)

Hypotheses supporting B*
1. PINs can be picked up by pronouns (A/B against O)
2. PINs are picked less often than IDFs by pronouns (B against A).
3. PINs are not as good antecedents as IDFs (B against A)
4. PINs have no preference for null anaphora (B* against A*) in neutral epistemic contexts
5. PINs have a preference for singular interpretation, as summation \( \Sigma \) is cognitively simpler if \( x \{ x \} \) can be anchored to only one entity

Experiment 1: Forced choice of anaphor
- Task: Read sentence, choose among given continuations
  - Stimuli:
    - anaphoric type: either PIN or IDF (yek-marked)
    - epistemic bias type: singular, neutral or plural interpretation
    - uptake with singular, null or plural anaphora
  - \*Sara \{ yek / \text{O} \} \{ \text{television / ketab / hasj} \} kharid.
    "Sara \{ ID / EN / TV \} book bought"
    "Baad tu ye moinin gozakh-\text{O} \{ \text{gazacht-\text{O} \text{gazacht-eh-\text{O}}} \text{gazacht-eh-\text{O}} \}
    then in EZ car put them put EZ car"
  - 6 conditions (3 bias types x 2 anaphoric types)
    36 items + 8 fillers, randomized in 12 lists using Latin square design, 357 participants in an online experiment.

Experiment 2: Free completion task
- Free completion of a preceding sentence, a natural production task
- Leila \{ yek / \text{O} \} \{ \text{television / ketab / hasj} \} kharid va baad
  - Leila \{ ID / EN / TV \} book bought and then
  - 6 conditions (3 bias types x 2 anaphoric types)
    252 native speakers, 36 items, 8 fillers, randomized in 8 lists, Latin square, online.

Discussion
- PINs are less often picked up by anaphora than IDF, supporting (3).
- PINs have no preference for null over singular (except plural bias), supp. (4).
- PINs are picked up quite often (> 50%), supporting (1).
- PIN antecedents often with SG pronouns in Neutral Bias – supporting (5).

Epistemic bias has an effect for PINs, compatible with A* and B*.
- Null anaphora for PIN, IDF quite similar, tends to support (4) (?).
- PIN antecedents often with SG pronouns in Neutral Bias – supporting (5) (?).

Experiment 3: Free completion task
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  - Leila \{ ID / EN / TV \} book bought and then
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- PINs less often picked up by anaphora than IDF, supporting (3).
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- PINs are picked up quite often (> 50%), supporting (1).
- PIN antecedents often with SG pronouns in Neutral Bias – supporting (5).
- Unclear: Why less anaphoric uptake (NR) with SG and PL bias?

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ELM 1 – Experiments in Linguistic Meaning
Virtual Conference, September 16-18 2020, Philadelphia