

Appendix A: Experimental stimuli

Some target word forms in Exp. 1 and Exp. 2 cover more than one use, so we manually corrected the frequency measures to only include the relevant instances. For instance, the word *ens* has a frequency of 5123 in KorpusDK (DSL, 2007). In our study, *ens* carried a pronominal meaning ('one's'), but *ens* can also mean 'alike' as in *de er ens* 'they are alike'. To only include relevant pronominal uses in our frequency measure, we extracted 500 random occurrences of *ens* from KorpusDK, counted the number of tokens that were relevant to our study (i.e. omitting the *alike* uses) and were left with 339 relevant pronominal tokens. The fraction of relevant tokens was then multiplied by the total number of *ens* in the KorpusDK frequency count (5123). Similarly, the target word *dit* was used as a pronominal pronoun in our study meaning 'your', but the total count of *dit* in KorpusDK also includes irrelevant non-pronominal uses, such as *valget er dit* ('the choice is yours') and *dit og dat* ('this and that'). Using the same procedure as for *ens*, we therefore manually corrected the frequency measures to only include only relevant uses. For frequency calculations of *ens*, *denne*, *dette*, *dit*, *mange*, *meget*, *nogle* and *noget*, only pronominal uses were considered relevant. For *det*, *den*, *en*, *et*, only grammatical uses were considered relevant, and for the verbs *haft*, *blevet*, *været* and *fået* we did separate calculations for auxiliaries and full verbs.

Table A.1: List of matched item pairs used in Exp. 1 (letter detection task)

<i>Target letter</i>	<i>Grammatical</i>	<i>Lexical</i>	<i>Context</i>	<i>Frequency (relevant use)</i>
<i>n</i>	<i>en</i> indefinite article singular common gender	<i>ens</i> 3 rd person singular possessive pronoun	<i>men (lige netop)</i> <i>en/ens handske</i> <i>but (exactly)</i> <i>a/one's glove</i>	968292/3487
<i>n</i>	<i>en</i> indefinite article singular common gender	<i>Sten</i> male proper name	<i>en mand/Sten,</i> <i>a man/Sten</i> (Focus manipulation: cleft)	968292/697
<i>t</i>	<i>et</i> indefinite article singular neuter gender	<i>Ediths</i> female proper name	<i>(kun) et/Ediths</i> <i>skrantede helbred</i> <i>(only) a/Edith's</i> <i>ailing health</i>	335146/16
<i>n</i>	<i>den</i> definite article singular common gender	<i>denne</i> demonstrative adjective common gender	<i>den/denne</i> <i>saftiggrønne,</i> <i>nyklippede plæne</i> <i>the/this juicy-green</i> <i>freshly mown grass</i> (Focus manipulation: cleft)	510375/6468 2
<i>n</i>	<i>den</i> definite article singular common gender	<i>denne</i> demonstrative adjective common gender	<i>(netop) den/denne</i> <i>nærmest</i> <i>underudviklede</i> <i>højrearm</i> <i>(exactly) the/this</i> <i>almost</i> <i>underdeveloped</i> <i>right arm</i>	510375/6468 2
<i>n</i>	<i>den</i>	<i>denne</i>	<i>(især) al den/denne</i>	510375/6468

	definite article singular common gender	demonstrative adjective common gender	<i>gamle snak</i> (especially) all the/this old talk	2
<i>t</i>	<i>det</i> definite article singular neuter gender	<i>dette</i> demonstrative adjective neuter gender	(<i>netop</i>) <i>det/dette</i> <i>legemlige besvær</i> (exactly) the/this bodily discomfort	315315/3458 0
<i>t</i>	<i>det</i> definite article singular neuter gender	<i>dit</i> 2 nd person singular possessive pronoun neuter gender	(<i>lige præcis</i>) <i>det/dit</i> <i>blomstrede krus</i> (exactly) the/your floral mug	315315/6537
<i>t</i>	<i>noget</i> indefinite adjective singular neuter gender	<i>meget</i> 'much' neuter gender	<i>noget/meget</i> <i>skammeligt stads</i> some/much gross stuff (Focus manipulation: cleft)	75004/11320 4
<i>n</i>	<i>nogle</i> indefinite adjective plural	<i>mange</i> 'many'	<i>nogle/mange timer</i> some/many hours (Focus manipulation: cleft)	59771/96469
<i>n</i>	<i>nogle</i> indefinite adjective plural	<i>mange</i> 'many'	<i>nogle/mange spøjse</i> <i>ting</i> some/many weird things (Focus manipulation: cleft)	59771/96469
<i>t</i>	<i>haft</i> 'had' as auxiliary	<i>haft</i> 'had' as full verb	<i>Jeg har engang</i> (<i>netop</i>) <i>haft</i> <i>plantet/haft en</i> <i>hasselbusk som</i> <i>den.</i>	365/16067

			I have once (exactly) had planted/had a hazel bush like that.	
<i>t</i>	<i>blevet</i> 'been'/'become' e' as auxiliary	<i>blevet</i> 'been'/'stayed' as full verb	<i>Det er</i> (<i>udelukkende</i>) <i>blevet omtalt/blevet</i> <i>mellem vejens</i> <i>kvinder.</i>	22316/16329
			Is has (solely) been discussed/stayed among the women in the street.	
<i>t</i>	<i>blevet</i> 'been'/'become' e' as auxiliary	<i>blevet</i> 'been'/'stayed' as full verb	<i>Anne er (bare)</i> <i>blevet</i> <i>boende/blevet hos</i> <i>sin mor.</i>	22316/16329
			Anne has (just) been living/been with her mum.	
<i>t</i>	<i>været</i> 'been' as auxiliary	<i>været</i> 'been' as full verb	<i>Den har vist (kun)</i> <i>været</i> <i>parkeret/været i</i> <i>deres indkørsel</i>	12127/67499
			It seems it has (only) been parked/been in their driveway	
<i>t</i>	<i>fået</i> 'got' as auxiliary	<i>fået</i> 'got' as full verb	<i>Jeg har (kun) fået</i> <i>købt/fået et par nye</i> <i>krus.</i> I have (only) got bought/got a pair of new mugs.	4238/21192

Table A.2. List of matched item pairs used in Exp 2. (text-change study). To avoid learning effects, each participant saw each item pair with four different kinds of context (cf. Christensen 2015a for a detailed description of the stimuli). Only the context used in version A is shown here, but there was also a version B, C and D which featured the same target word and the same focus particle, but with different words in the context surrounding the target word (cf. the materials section for Exp. 2). These versions were distributed between participants. For instance, one group of participants would read item 1 in version A with *også en* ('also a'), the second group of participants would read item 1 in version A with *også ens* ('also one's'), the third group would read version A with *en* ('a' without a focus particle) and the fourth group of participants would read version A with *ens* ('one's' without a focus particle).

<i>Target</i>	<i>Lexical</i>	<i>Version A</i>	<i>Frequency (relevant use)</i>
<i>en</i> indefinite article, singular, common gender	<i>ens</i> one's	<i>Hvis man som studerende afleverer skriftlige opgaver, skal (også) en/ens censor inddrages i bedømmelsen.</i> If as a student you submit written assignments, (also) an/one's external examiner must be involved in the assessment.	968292/3487
<i>et</i> (a/an) indefinite article, singular, neuter gender	<i>Eas</i> Ea's	<i>Peter har brugt frøken Jensens køgebog og (også) et/Eas spækbræt under tilberedningen af spaghetti med kødsovs.</i> Peter has used miss Jensens' cookbook and (also) a/Ea's chopping board during the preparation of spaghetti & meatballs.	335146/2

<i>nogle</i> Some	<i>mange</i> many	<i>Drengene fra byen gav landmandens høns (netop) nogle/mange grønne æbler på deres årlige æblerov.</i>	59771/96469
		The town boys gave the farmer's hens (just) some/many green apples while scrumping.	
<i>noget</i> some	<i>meget</i> much	<i>Der er blevet konfiskeret (især) noget/meget udeklareret vin på gårsdagens razzia som skattevæsnet har foretaget.</i>	75004/113204
		(Epecially) some/much wine was confiscated during yesterday's raid undertaken by the tax authorities.	
<i>det</i> definite article, singular, neuter gender	<i>dette</i> demonstrative pronoun, singular, neuter gender	<i>Enkelte af hans bekendte var vidner til (netop) det/dette blændende vid hos komponisten i hans store jugendinspirerede hjem.</i>	315315/34580
		Some of his acquaintances witnessed (exactly) the/that brilliant wit of the composer in his Art Nouveau-inspired home.	
<i>den</i> definite article,	<i>din</i> possessive	<i>Men (lige præcis) den/din lille mor på</i>	510375/15906

singular, common gender	pronoun, singular, common gender	<i>plejehjemmet har du glemte at invitere og så på juleaften, råbte Petras far rasende.</i>	
		But you have forgotten to invite (exactly) the/your little mother at the nursery home even though it is Christmas eve, Petra's dad yelled furiously.	
<i>de</i> definite article, plural	<i>disse</i> demonstrative pronoun, plural	<i>Når deres kristne elever ytrer (præcis) de/disse radikale ideer, slår flere skolelærere alarm for at undgå ballade.</i>	552474/34836
		When their Christian students utter (precisely) the/these radical ideas, the teachers sound the alarm to avoid trouble.	
<i>fået</i> got (past participle auxiliary verb)	<i>fået</i> got (past participle full verb)	<i>Fordi hun (ikke) har fået (købt) en, er pigen der er med sin far i Tivoli meget interesseret i sælgerens fine balloner.</i>	4238/21192
		Because she has (not) accomplished buying/received one, the girl who is with her dad in Tivoli, is very much interested in the salesman's fine	

		ballons.	
<i>haft</i> had (past participle auxiliary verb)	<i>haft</i> had (past participle full verb)	<i>Bogen om hjernens anatomi har professoren (ikke) haft (læst), men han synes også der er mange andre bøger der er lige så interessante.</i>	365/16067
		The professor has (not) accomplished reading/owned the book about brain anatomy, but he also thinks many other books are just as interesting.	
<i>blevet</i> auxiliary in passive construction	<i>blevet</i> stayed (past participle)	<i>Ifølge Ib der bor ved havnen, burde lystjollerne fra kapsejladsen (ikke) være blevet (søsat) der, og fiskerne burde kunne fiske i den.</i>	22316/16329
		According to Ib, who lives by the harbor, the dinghies from the sailing race should (not) have been (launched) there, and the fishers should be allowed to fish there.	