

How many types of definites? Evidence from typology

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Background: Referential functions and article types

Relevant referential functions (Becker 2021) I

- A **deictic** referent R_{dei} is identifiable because it is linked to a perceivable object present in the discourse situation.
*Look at **that beautiful house!***
- An **anaphoric** referent R_{ana} is identifiable based on its shared identity with a previously mentioned referent.
*A: Did you like the movie last night? B: **The movie** was great!*
- A **recognitional** referent R_{recog} is identifiable based on experience or knowledge previously shared by the speaker and the hearer.
*What happened to **the cat** (we used to have)?*
- An **establishing** referent R_{est} is marked as identifiable and thus constructed as such.
*Did you hear **the news**? They are going to close the museum.*
- A **relational bridging** $R_{\text{rel-brid}}$ referent is identifiable based on its relation to another previously mentioned referent, allowing for an anaphoric relation between the two referents.
*Eva bought a book. **The author** is French.* (relational anaphora)

Relevant referential functions (Becker 2021) II

- A **situationally unique** referent $R_{\text{sit.u}}$ is identifiable because it is the only salient referent of its kind in the immediate discourse situation.
Beware of the dog. (immediate situation use)
- A **contextually unique** referent $R_{\text{cont.u}}$ is identifiable because it is constructed as the only salient referent of its kind in a larger context.
What's the best way to the center? (larger situation use)
- A **unique bridging** referent $R_{\text{u-brid}}$ is identifiable based on its relation to another previously mentioned referent, which allows to construct the u-bridging referent as contextually unique.
I saw an old house in the village. The roof had been severely damaged. (part-whole bridging)
- A **specific** referent R_{spec} is not identifiable but linked to a particular referent of its kind.
I met a strange new neighbor yesterday.
- A **nonspecific** referent R_{nspec} corresponds to a single but no particular referent of its kind.
Do you have a pen? Any pen will do.

Article types in the world's languages

The 10 article types with their referential functions

article	definite domain							indefinite domain	
	R_{anaph}	R_{recog}	R_{establ}	$R_{rel-bridge}$	$R_{sit.unique}$	$R_{cont.unique}$	$R_{u-bridge}$	R_{spec}	R_{nspec}
DEF	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		
DEF _{STRONG}	✓	✓	✓	(✓)	(✓)				
DEF _{WEAK}					✓	✓	✓		
RECOG		✓	(✓)						
INDEF								✓	✓
EXSPEC								✓	
NSPEC									✓
INSPEC	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
INSPEC _{WEAK}					✓	✓	✓	✓	
REF	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

Strong definite articles

Typological evidence for strong definite articles

- strong definite articles are common across languages
- **15** out of **104** languages in the sample have strong definite articles (Becker 2021)
- they are the second most frequent types following definite articles (**25** out of **104**)

- many strong definite articles are also used for establishing and recognitional functions

Strong definite articles with establishing functions

Teiwa (Timor-Alor-Pantar, Indonesia)

- (1) a. ana' maan si ki uwaad nuk yaa / **bif** ga'an tu'uk.
long.time NEG SIM eagle big ART:PRES descend **child** 3SG knock
'Not long [after that] a big eagle comes down and picks the child.'
- b. [Bif **waal**] ta ba'-an yaa / ...
child **ART:ANA** TOP fall-REAL descend ...
'That child falls down, ...'
Teiwa (Klamer 2010: 431)
- (2) ... [dei **waal** la na gaal-an] pin ma ...
... bird **ART:ANA** FOC 1SG shoot-REAL hold come ...
'... that bird I just shot I bring ...'
Teiwa (Klamer 2010: 410)

Strong definite articles with recognitional functions

Mongsen Ao (Ao Naga, India)

- Coupe (2007: 111) writes:
“While its most common function is to mark the noun phrases of recurring referents in narrative texts, the anaphoric nominal demonstrative can also be used to determine noun phrases in ordinary everyday conversation if the **speaker believes** that the interlocutor(s) can **uniquely identify** a referent from a **remembered event** or **shared knowledge**.”

- (3) [hmapa təmáŋ sə] tʃhəniŋ-aŋ.
work all **ART:ANA** do.work-IMP
‘Do all that work [i.e. that we have previously discussed].’
Mongsen Ao (Coupe 2007: 111)

Weak definite articles

Typological evidence for weak definite articles

- Germanic: Fering, German (various varieties), Icelandic (Ebert 1971a; Ebert 1971b; Schwarz 2009; Ingason 2016; Schwarz 2019)
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- Ma'di (Dryer 2014)
 - ☞ rather a topic marker
- Urama
 - ☞ potential candidate for a weak definite article

The potential weak definite article

- *ki(ŋ)*
- rather a definite article (used in both uniqueness and familiarity contexts)

The potential strong definite article

- *k'uŋ*
- an additional anaphoric marker

Lakota

- The following examples are the basis for the analysis of *kiŋ* as a weak definite article:

(4) *eya'* [maḥpíya naŋ makhá **kiŋ** lená] tḥoká-káŋa-pi k'uŋ hé
well sky and earth **ART:DEF** DEM.PL first-create-PASS ANA DEM
eháŋ ma-tḥúŋ-pe ló.

then 1SG-born-PASS ASSERT

'Well, I was born at the time when the sky and earth were created.'

Lakota (Schwarz (2013: 546) from O'Gorman (2011: 4))

(5) *tókša* [nazúŋspe **kiŋ** lé] uŋ wa-káḥuḥuŋiŋ kte, eyá
eventually axe **ART:DEF** DEM:PROX using 1SG-smash.up IRR said
kéye'.

QUOT

'In due time I will smash it up with the ax, she said.'

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- unclear what exactly the function of *kiŋ* is, as it occurs together with the demonstrative

Lakota: examples of *kiŋ*

- here *kiŋ* occurs without the demonstrative, and it indeed marks a uniqueness-based definite (part-whole bridging)
- ☞ this is an expected context for weak definite articles

- (6) yaŋkǎŋ **blé** waŋ šmá glakíŋyaŋ ħpáya [óhuta **kiŋ**] él
then **lake** ART:EXSPEC deep across.her.way lay shore **ART:DEF** to
inážiŋ.
stand
'Then a deep lake lay across her path. He stood at the shore.'
Lakota (Schwarz (2013: 547) from O'Gorman (2011: 9-10))

Lakota: *kiŋ* in anaphoric contexts

- however, *kiŋ* is used to mark anaphoric referents

- (7) a. el **wikhoškalaka** waŋ wiyaŋ wašte čha lila waštekilapi.
there **young.woman** ART:EXSPEC woman good such very loved.her
'There lived a girl who was very beautiful and greatly loved.'
- b. k'eyaš [wikhoškalaka **kiŋ**] echuŋ chiŋšni yuŋkhaŋ
but young.woman **ART:DEF** to.do.it she.was.not.willing and.then
hechena wichaša kiŋ lila chaŋze naŋ el iyotaka.
at.once man ART:DEF very angry and there sit
'She didn't care to do that, and immediately he became very angry,
saying "Do it".'
Lakota (Curl 1999: 4-5)

Lakota: *kiŋ* in anaphoric contexts

- (8) a. Tok'á wetu ki lehaŋl hoksila ki wanhiŋkpe ikikcupi na heyatakiya
first be.spring ART:DEF then boy ART:DEF arrow take.POSS.PL and mountain.LOC
witka ole ai ...
egg seek go.3PL ...
'At the beginning of spring the boys would take their bows and go away from camp hunting eggs ...'
- b. ... s'a na **witka** oc'aje ki oyas'ij kinil mnayanpi na tuktektel huŋku
... ITER and **egg** kind ART:DEF all almost collect.PL and sometimes mother.his
ki akignag yuŋka k'eš hoŋpi ogeya ac'ab iheyapi.
ART:DEF place.POSS lie although nest whole stabbing shoot.PL
'... and would collect almost all types of eggs and sometimes their arrows would pierce the mother bird also, who was hatching the eggs, the arrow going through the nest.'
- c. na [witka **ki**] nakuŋ tuktektel oyas'ij kahuhugapi is' c'ijpi c'aŋna oyas'ij
and egg **ART:DEF** also sometimes all break.PL FOC want.PL when all
aglipi na iyohpewic'akiciyapi c'aŋna taŋtaŋtuŋyan glutapi s'a na nakuŋ ziŋtkala
bring.PL and cook.3PL.BEN when excessively eat.POSS.PL ITER and also bird
ol'ota wic'aopi.
many shoot.3PL
'And sometimes also, if they wanted to, they brought home the eggs all broken and cooked them and ate them to excess and shot many kinds of birds.'
Lakota (Ingham 2003: 95-96)

Lakota: *k'uŋ* as a strong definite article?

- The following examples are the basis for the analysis of *k'uŋ* as a strong definite article:

(9) akícita **k'uŋ hína**

soldier **ANA DEM.PL**

'the soldiers mentioned before'

Lakota (Schwarz (2013: 547) from Buechel (1939: 97))

(10) [Wísimnaye **k'uŋ he**] kaíyuzeya nájin.

tax.collector **ANA DEM.SG** remote stand

'The (that) publican stood afar off.'

Lakota (Schwarz (2013: 547) from Buechel (1939: 327))

(11) iglúštaŋ naŋ heháŋl wik'hóškalaka kiŋ [wóyapte **č'uŋ hená**]

finish.a.meal and then young.woman ART:DEF leftovers **ANA DEM.PL**

wičhák'u ške'e.

collect.gave QUOT

'He finished his meal and then gave the leftovers to the young woman.'

Lakota (Schwarz (2013: 548) from O'Gorman (2011: 10))

- the contexts look appropriate, but:
- *k'uŋ* co-occurs with a demonstrative in all examples

Lakota: *k'uŋ* as a strong definite article?

- *k'uŋ* is preferred with referents that have not been mentioned for a while
- it is also associated with topic shifts

- (12) a. naŋ iš eya wana [cheyakthuŋpi **k?u he**] aliwachiŋ
and he too now bridge **ANA DEM** to.step.on.he.tried
'[The Double-Face stopped at the shore,] and then he too tried to walk on the bridge.'
- b. k'eyaš lila ocik'ayela kiŋ uŋ iwanyak ħ?aŋhiya u
but very narrow ART:DEF on.account.of carefully slowly he.came
'but because it was very narrow he had to walk very slowly, picking his way with care.'
- c. chaŋke khohaŋ [chapala **k?uŋ he**] thahenataŋhaŋ g.lužužu
so meantime little.beaver **ANA DEM** from.this.side taking.apart.his.own
ayiŋ na chokaya u ħcehaŋl okapsakya chaŋke
he.went and midway he.was.coming just.then he.caused.it.to.break.in so
m.ni t'a.
water he.died
'so the beaver meantime started to undo the bridge at his end. When the Double-Face was halfway across, it broke down, dropping the man into the midst of the lake where he drowned.'
Lakota (Curl 1999: 11)

Potential weak definite article

- Urama has a definite article =*i*
- in especially anaphoric contexts, it usually co-occurs with an additional anaphoric marker *aro'o*
- ☞ one could argue that the definite article is actually a weak definite article

Potential strong definite article

- one could argue that the combination of both markers, i.e. *aro'o* NOUN=*i* is a strong definite article

Urama: =i in uniqueness-based contexts

- (13) a. aro'o go'oto=i tabo p-emidio vadio dubu ata.
ART:ANA village=ART:DEF LOC REMPST-live HAB man certain
'In that village there lived a certain man.'
- b. [Nu moto=i] umu hiro-hia ka.
3SG house=ART:DEF dog many-very PRS
'At his home there were a lot of dogs.'
- Urama (Brown et al. 2016: 85-86)
- (14) Kaukua hini tabo [iana nu'a=i] ka, ata nu'a ata otidioi haka
ok here LOC final tree=ART:DEF PRS other tree other standing NEG
kekai.
side
'And then, from there that's the last tree; there's no other tree standing
beside it.'
- Urama (Brown et al. 2016: 90)

Urama: =i in part-whole bridging

- (15) Ita **umu gema=i** ro nu hete vapo=**i** ha p-ema'ai.
then **dog big=ART:DEF** NOM 3SG dance tail=**ART:DEF** EMPH REMPST-give
'And then the big dog gave him a big wag of his tail.'
Urama (Brown et al. 2016: 95)

- (16) **Hi'o beha=i** ha horo~horo=**i** ikedui ri.
meat only=ART:DEF EMPH bones=**ART:DEF** PL.OBJ.throw.away COMP
'Just the meat only – throw away the bones.'
Urama (Brown et al. 2016: 78)

Urama: *aro'o* NOUN=*i* in anaphoric contexts

- as expected of a strong definite article, *aro'o* NOUN=*i* marks anaphoric referents as definite

(17) **Nu'a** huna ata Iroroma vati kekai ta; [**aro'o** nu'a=**i**] modobo
tree big some Iroroma place near LOC **ART:ANA** tree=**ART:DEF** can
ka pe ededeai ri.
PRS canoe make COMP
'There's a big tree near Iroroma's place; that tree could make a canoe.'
Urama (Brown et al. 2016: 22)

Urama: =i in anaphoric contexts

- however, =i alone can occur with anaphoric referents, even though this appears to be rather rare

- (18) a. Ka ata hivio=i nu aro'o umu to'o=i tuiai ta **ga'ubo**
and one day=ART:DEF 3SG those dog lots=ART:DEF among LOC **one**
umu ata nu aro'o umu=i nu huna-hia gema ka.
dog certain 3SG ART:ANA dog=ART:DEF 3SG big-very big PRS
'Then one day among all those dogs there was one dog who was a very
big dog.'
- b. Ka [**aro'o umu gema=i**] ro p-ivoroho vadio [umu
and **ART:ANA dog big=ART:DEF NOM REMPST-PL.OBJ.lead HAB [dog**
keke=i] ka nu davarai ivodau=i.
small=ART:DEF] and 3SG beach PL.OBJ.take=NMLZ
'And that big dog used to lead the smaller ones and take them to the
beach.'
- Urama (Brown et al. 2016: 86)

Recognitional markers

- The recognitional marker can be used with referents that are familiar to the addressee based on cultural knowledge

(19) xanəp xəp-tu-pa dus jox a [ninan **max**]
person die-PFV-REMPST.PL inside ART:DEF HESIT bush.kumu **ART:RECOG**
suxu-m d-sxe.
collect-SEQ eat-REMPST.PL.HAB
‘In the midst of the famine, we used to collect and eat that (inedible) *ninan*.’
Oksapmin (Loughnane 2009: 246)

- The recognitional marker can be used with referents that are familiar to the addressee based on personal knowledge

(20) nox [natan oxe kol **max=a**] p-ti-p.
1SG Nathan POSS:3SG.M sister **ART:RECOG=EMPH** tell-PFV-REMPST.SG
‘I told him, “I’m, you know, Nathan’s sister.” ’
Oksapmin (Loughnane 2009: 248)

Other relevant determiners in Oksapmin

- deictic demonstrative

- (21) ox mǝ=tǝx pa se gno-m
3SG.M **DEM:PROX**=place taro INFER grow-SEQ
pt-sux=li.
be-HAB.EVID.REMPST=REPORT
'I guess he must have stayed here [this place] growing taro.'
Oksapmin (Loughnane 2009: 110)

- definite article

- (22) tom jox lum p-d-m edi-pla=o [ake
water ART:DEF a.lot CAUS-eat-SEQ stay.PFV-REMFUT.SG=QUOT stomach
jox] ox=o tom=wi xtiplox=xejox
ART:DEF 3SG.M=QUOT water=only be.PFV.HODFUT.SG=because
n-pli-nuŋ.
o:2-tell-EVID.HODPST.SG
'Don't give her too much water! Her stomach will fill up with water. (I
saw that) she told me.'
Oksapmin (Loughnane 2009: 480)

Extended uses of recognitional markers

- recognitional markers also occur in afterthoughts, where they reactivate a referent that had been mentioned a while back

(23) Ba-yerrng-yiga-ni ba-djoleng-m-inj
3.PST-WOOD-FETCH-PST.IPFV 3.PST-COOKED-INCH-PST.PFV
ba-ru-y [nawu gunj].
3.PST-COOK-PST.PFV **ART:RECOG.M** kangaroo
'While she (emu) was getting wood it got cooked and ready, that kangaroo.'
Bininj Kun-Wok (Evans 2003: 298)

- recognitional markers can also be used in the function to establish a referent as definite

(24) [wati **panya**] mungartji ngalya-yanku-nytja-lu mutaka kati-ngu.
man **ART:RECOG** yesterday this.way-go-NMLZ-ERG car.ACC take-PST
'The man (who) came yesterday took the car.'
Yankunytjatjara (Goddard 1985: 78)

Inclusive-specific articles

- inclusive-specific articles occur with definite and specific indefinite referents
- they do not occur with non-specific referents

Ayoreo article exponents

		inclusive-specific	nonspecific
FEM	SG	-a/-ia/-∅	-raque/-taque/-naque
	PL	-die/-i	-rigi/-tigi/-niŋi
MASC	SG	-i	-tique/-rique/-nique
	PL	-ode	-tigo/-rigo/-niŋo

- the inclusive-specific article in a definite context (situationally unique, anaphoric)

- (25) a. Mu ujeta ore ch-amurase **da-boca-die**
but COMP 3PL 3-put.down **3.REFL-fire.weapon-ART:INSPEC.PL.F**
nga que pit-ode ore.
COORD NEG fear-ART:INSPEC.PL.M 3PL
'But in order for them to put down their own rifles, they should not have fear.'
- b. Yoqui-todo-die u nanique ore
1PL-fears-ART:INSPEC.PL.F COP time.back 3PL
i-boca-**die**.
3-fire.weapon-ART:INSPEC.PL.F
'In those days, their rifles were our (cause for) fear.'
Ayoreo (Bertinetto 2009: 54)

Ayoreo

- the inclusive-specific article in a uniqueness-based definite context

(26) Jebasa nga, ayore-**ode** cojñ-**one** ore
then COORD person-**ART:INSPEC.PL.M** gringo-**ART:INSPEC.PL.M** 3PL
todo ujno(jo) yoc-orachade.
fear.3 those 1PL-weapons
‘Therefore, the Ayoreos and the gringos were afraid of those weapons
of ours.’
Ayoreo (Bertinetto 2009: 54)

- the inclusive-specific article in a specific indefinite context

(27) [l-guijna queru-**i**] deji Tumichucua ome
3-house.M big-**ART:INSPEC.SG.M** 3.EXIST Tumichucua PREP
d-achid-ode cuchabasu-cho.
REFL-instrument-**ART:INSPEC.SG.M** airplane-**ART:INSPEC.PL.M**
‘In Tumichucua there is a hangar for the airplanes.’
Ayoreo (Ciucci 2016: 486)

- Ayoreo uses a separate non-specific article in non-specific contexts

(28) María pota nona ata-**tique** / *ata-**i** mu
María wants accompanies rich-**ART:NSPEC.SG.M** / rich-**ART:INSPEC.SG.M** but
cama chimó.
not.yet sees
‘María wants to marry a rich man, but she has not yet met him.’
Ayoreo (Bertinetto 2009: 46-47)

Tongan may have what we could call a weak inclusive-specific article.

Inclusive-specific article

- *(h)e* is used in uniqueness-based definite and specific indefinite contexts

Strong definite article

- *(he)* + “definite accent” on the noun, marked by ´ on the final syllable in (at least recent) texts
- this construction with the definite accent is preferred with familiarity-based definite referents

Nonspecific article

- *ha* occurs with nonspecific referents

- (h)e marks uniqueness-based definite referents

(29) Ko [e taimi si'i taha] kete ngaue totonu'aki 'a e
PRT ART:INSPEC time small most to work correctly ABS ART:INSPEC
NRT koe uike 7.
NRT PRT.ART:INSPEC week 7
'The smallest time for the NRT (Nicotine Replacement Therapy) to work
correctly is seven weeks.'
Tongan (Hendrick 2005: 911)

Tongan

- the inclusive-specific article (*h*)*e* is also used to mark referents as specific indefinite

(30) Ko Mele 'oku ne ngaau'e 'i [**he** fale mahaki].

PRED Mele PRES 3SG work DAT **ART:INSPEC** house sick

'Mele works in a hospital.'

Tongan (MacDonald 2014: 53)

(31) Na'e 'i ai [**e** ongo mātu'a ko Tafi mo Ongo'alupe].

PST in there **ART:INSPEC** DU parents PRT Tafi and Ongo'alupe

'Once there was a couple named Tafi and Ongo'alupe.'

Tongan (Hendrick 2005: 913)

Tongan

- the strong definite article construction (*h*)e + DA seems preferred to mark anaphoric referents

(32) Ko e tokotaha kotoa pē 'oku pole ke ne fakahoko
PRT ART:INSPEC individual whole whatever PRES challenge to 3SG implement
[ha **liliu**] 'o ha fa'ahinga Tui, Tokateline pē Fa'unga
ART:NSPEC **change** of ART:NSPEC religion doctrine or structure
Faka-Politikale kuopau ke ne ma'u 'a e ngaahi nāunau 'o
political PERF.certain PRT 3SG get ABS ART:INSPEC PL resource of
[e feinga **liliú**].

ART:INSPEC try change.**ART:ANA**

'Anyone who dares to change a religion, doctrine, or political structure must have the means to make that change.'

Tongan (Hendrick 2005: 915)

(33) Ko Mele 'oku ne ngaau'e 'i [he fale **mahakí**].
PRED Mele PRES 3SG work DAT **ART:INSPEC** house sick.**ART:ANA**

'Mele works in the hospital.'

(the only one possible, based on shared knowledge, or the one we have been speaking about)

Tongan (MacDonald 2014: 53)

Tongan

- the strong definite article construction is also used for referents that are situationally unique

(34) na'a ku sio hifo ki [**he fonuá**] lolotonga 'eku
PST 1SG see down ALL **ART:INSPEC land.ART:ANA** while POSS:1SG
puna [**he vakapuna**].
fly **ART:INSPEC** airplane
'I looked down to the land while I was flying.'
Tongan (Völkel 2010: 117)

- the construction can also be used to establish a referent as definite

(35) Ko [**e me'alele kulokula na'e fakatau 'e Sioné**].
PRED **ART:INSPEC** car red PST buy ERG Sione.**ART:ANA**
'It's the red car that Sione bought last year.'
Tongan (Anderson and Otsuka 2006: 24)

- the inclusive-specific article (*h*)e can establish referents as definite

(36) Na'a ne fakapuliki 'a [e pousikaati na'e 'omai 'e hono
PST 3SG lose ABS **ART:INSPEC** postcard PST give ERG O:3SG.GEN
kaume'a nofo 'i Ha'amoia].
friend reside LOC Samoa
'She lost the postcard that her friend living in Samoa sent.'
Tongan (Ahn 2016: 12)

Potentially interesting issues

- ? What is the use of weak / strong definite markers in recognitional and establishing functions?
- My data suggests that those contexts are rather expressed by strong definites.
- ? Recognitional markers: how common are they, can they have other extended uses?
- My data suggests that they can be used to establish referents as definite.
- ? How do the two types of bridging pattern with weak, strong and other types of definites?
- ? Can we find more / first examples of weak definite, weak inclusive-specific or even a weak referential article?

Thank you!

References I

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Articles, definiteness & referential hierarchies

- (37) **Definiteness hierarchy** (Croft 2003: 132)
definite > specific > nonspecific
- (38) **Referentiality scale** (von Stechow 2008: 5)
personal pronoun > **proper noun** > **definite NP** > indefinite specific NP > indefinite non-specific NP > non-referential
- (39) **Reference hierarchy** (Dryer 2014):
anaphoric definite > **non-anaphoric definite** > pragmatically specific indefinite > semantically specific indefinite > semantically nonspecific indefinite
- (40) **Referential scale** (Becker 2021)
deictic > **anaphoric** > **recognitional, establishing, rel-bridging** > **situationally unique** > **contextually unique, u-bridging** > specific > nonspecific > non-referential

Hausa: the relevant markers

The potential weak definite article

- segmental suffix with a floating low tone, realized as $-r̃$ with feminine nouns ending in $-a(a)$ or as $-ñ$ with other feminine, masculine, or plural nouns
- the marker resembles a linker that occurs between NPs, but the linker does not have the floating low tone (Newman 2000: 302)
- 👉 the distribution of $-n$ rather suggests an analysis as an anaphoric definite article (Becker 2021: 197-202)

The potential strong definite article

- realized as $d̃n$, following the noun
- additional anaphoric marker

The following examples are the basis for the analysis of *-n* as a weak definite article:

- (41) yàayàa gàrî-**n** / #gàrii **dîn**?
how town-**ART:ANA** / town **DEM**
[Context: A arrives in B's place, and he first asks B:]
'How's the town?'
Hausa (Buba 1997: 43)
- (42) yàayàa gàrii **dîn** / #gàrî-**n**?
how town **DEM** / town-**ART:ANA**
[Context: Speaker asks addressee about his journey]
'How's the town [that you've visited]?'
Hausa (Buba 1997: 43)

- *-n* marks a situationally unique referent
- and *dîn* an anaphoric referent

Hausa: *-n* in anaphoric contexts

- if *-n* were a weak definite article, it should not be used in anaphoric contexts

Hausa: *-n* in anaphoric contexts

- if *-n* were a weak definite article, it should not be used in anaphoric contexts
- however, the examples from the literature show that it is used quite consistently with anaphoric referents

- (43) a. Su-na nan zaune, sai ga **cinya-r** **mutum**
they-IMPV there.LOC sit.STAT then behold **thigh-LNK man.SBJ**
ta fado kasa tim, har da jini.
it.PFV fall to.the.ground.LOC bump even with blood.ASSOC
'They were sitting there when a man's thigh fell to the ground
with a bump, blood and all.'
- b. Yusha'u ya dubi cinya-r, ya ce ...
Yusha'u.SBJ he.PFV look.at thigh-ART:ANA he.PFV say ...
'Yusha'u looked at the thigh and said ...'
Hausa (Jaggar 1985: 167)

Hausa: *-n* in anaphoric contexts

- (44) a. To, ashe ya bar **hula-r-sa** a wuri-n da aka
OK really he.PFV leave **cap-LNK-OBJ** at place-ART:ANA REL IMPERS.PVF
yi karo-n,
do collision-ART:ANA
- b. sai wani yaro ya ga hula-r.
then INDEF boy he.PFV see cap-**ART:ANA**
'OK, he (the boy on the bike) had left his cap where the collision had
happened, then a boy saw the cap.'
Hausa (Jaggar 1985: 153)

Hausa: *-n* used to establish a definite referent

- (45) Gã [mōtā-ř dà mukà sàyā jiyà].
PRESENT car-**ART:ANA** REL 1PL.FOC.PFV buy yesterday
'Here's the car that we bought yesterday.'
Hausa (Jaggar 2001: 527)
- (46) a. Kaa san [mutàane-**n** dà sukà shigoô-**n**]?
2SG know people-**ART:ANA** REL 3PL enter-**ART:ANA**
'Do you know the people who have come in?'
- b. Kaa san [mutàane-**n** dà sukà shigoo **ďîn**]?
2SG know people-**ART:ANA** REL 3PL enter **DEM**
'Do you know the people who have come in?'
Hausa (Buba 1997: 41)

Hausa: *-n* extends to situationally unique referents

- the examples so far have rather suggested that *-n* is in fact a strong definite article
- however, its use extends to situationally unique contexts

- (47) Tô, kãwō kudî-**n**.
OK bring money-**ART:ANA**
[Context: Said after a bargain has been sealed.]
'OK, give (bring) me the money.'
Hausa (Jaggar 2001: 318)
- (48) Yâyâ uwařgidâ-**n**?
how wife-**ART:ANA**
'How's the wife?'
Hausa (Jaggar 2001: 318)