

# Definite Marking in Guébie (Kru): First data and a preliminary analysis

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## 1. Introduction

Project History: Dinner conversation on definites in Guébie with Hannah Sande during ALS 2022 in Porto Novo (Benin); draft of a short questionnaire that Hannah took to Côte d'Ivoire immediately after ALS. Discussion of empirical data over email/zoom; more online elicitations; participation of Peter in the discussion of theoretical implications. ALL ERRORS ARE MINE!

- **Goals:**

- i. Extend empirical coverage of DEF-marking in West African languages, here on Kru.
- ii. Preliminary analysis of the data

- **Central Observations:**

- i. Guébie exhibits at least two ways of marking definiteness:<sup>1</sup>
  - overt -a-marker: marks indexicality, i.e. a strong definite à la Schwarz (2009)
  - bare NP: can be used to express uniqueness (among other interpretations, e.g. unspecific indefiniteness)
- ii. Overall system similar to the analysis of Akan in Arkoh & Matthewson (2013); possible differences to the analysis of Akan in Owusu (2022)

- **Structure of the talk**

§2 Background on weak/strong definiteness & empirical diagnostics (Jenks 2018)

§3 The Guébie Data

§4 Preliminary Analysis

## 2. Background: Indexical (strong) vs uniqueness-based (weak) definites

- Since Schwarz (2009), the distinction between familiarity-based (strong) definites and uniqueness-based (weak) definites is generally accepted in theoretical circles
- For West African languages, explicit DEF-markers have long been argued to code familiarity, rather than mere uniqueness: Hausa (Newman 2000, Zimmermann 2008); Akan (Arkoh & Matthewson 2013, Owusu 2022; pace Bombi 2018), ...
- Owusu (2022): Akan DEF *nó* is a modifier and codes familiarity + non-uniqueness of NP-restriction

$$(1) \llbracket n\acute{o}y \rrbracket^g = \lambda s. \lambda P. \exists! x [P(x)(s) \wedge x = g(y)]. \quad \iota x [P(x)(s) \wedge x = g(y)]$$

(A&M 2013, Schwarz 2009)

$$(2) \llbracket n\acute{o}y \rrbracket^g = \lambda P. \lambda x. \lambda s. x = g(y) \wedge \exists s' [s \leq s' \wedge |\{x \mid P(x)(s')\}| > 1]. \quad P(x)(s)$$

(Owusu 2022:48)

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<sup>1</sup> There seems to be a third strategy involving an overt pronoun/indexical the distribution and uncton of which we do not yet understand.

- ⇒ presupposes that x is familiar and that the cardinality of P in an extended situation (s') is greater than 1; uniqueness of x is contributed by covert iota-operator

## 2.1 Diagnostics for anaphoric (strong) definites (Jenks 2018)

In Mandarin, the demonstrative marker *na* 'that' is used to mark anaphoric definites, i.e. DPs that contain an index and refer to some unique contextually salient individual of the NP-kind.

⇒ Such indexical (anaphoric) references is found the following environments:

i. Narrative sequences with anaphoric reference:

- (3) a. *jiāoshì lǐ zuò-zhe yī ge nánshēng hé yī ge nǚshēng,*  
classroom inside sit-PROG one CLF boy and one CLF girl,  
'There is a boy and a girl sitting in the classroom ...'  
b. *Wǒ zuótiān yùdào #(na ge) nánshēng*  
I yesterday meet that CLF boy  
'I met the boy yesterday.'

⇒ Bare NP optionally possible in subject position (under topicality): iota-shift

ii. Donkey Sentences:

- (4) *mei ge [you yi zhi shuiniu de] nongfu dou hui da #(na zhi) shuiniu.*  
every CLF have one CLF buffalo REL farmer all will hit that CLF buffalo  
'Every farmer that has a buffalo hits that buffalo.'

iii. Producer-Product bridging:

- (5) *Paul renwei na shou shi hen youmei, jishi ta bu renshi*  
Paul think that CLF poem very beautiful although he NEG know  
 *#(na wei) shiren*  
that CLF poet  
'Paul thinks that poem is very beautiful although he doesn't know of the poet.'

## 2.2 Diagnostics for uniqueness/weak definites (no index)

In Mandarin, reference to situationally unique non-indexical entities is expressed by bare NPs:

iv. Larger-situation definites (globally unique)

- (6) a. *Yueliang sheng shang lai le.*  
moon rise up come PERF  
'The moon has risen.' (Chen 2004, p. 1165)  
b. *(#Na/#zhe ge) Taiwan (de) zongtong hen shengqi*  
that/this CLF Taiwan MOD president very angry  
'The president of Taiwan is very angry.'

v. Immediate-situation definites = uniqueness definites that rely on context-specific knowledge that is shared by speaker and hearer

- (7) *Hufei he-wan-le tang.*  
 Hufei drink-finish-PERF soup  
 'Hufei finished the soup.'
- vi. Quantificationally bound situations:
- (8) *Obama mei dao yi ge chengshi ta dou gen (#zhe wei) shizhang ji anmi an*  
 obama every arrive one CLF city, he all with this CLF mayor meet  
 'In every city that Obama visited, he met with the mayor (of that city).'
- vii. Part-Whole Bridging:
- (9) *Chezi bei jingcha lanjie le yinwei mei you tiezhi zai*  
 Car ADV.PAS police intercept PRF because NEG have sticker at  
*paizhao shang*  
 license plate on  
 'The car was intercepted by the police because there wasn't a sticker on the license plate.'

### 2.3 Summary on indexical and uniqueness definites in Mandarin

“Unique definite environments are distinguished from anaphoric definite environments in that **they do not involve prior mention in the discourse**. A likely explanation for the unavailability of  $t^x$  in unique definite environments, then, is that the index that distinguishes  $t^x$  from  $t$  is **only licensed by explicit prior mention in the discourse**.” (Jenks 2018, my highlighting, MZ)

⇒ Index-licensing seems subject to the same mechanism underlying ellipsis-licensing and the licensing of pronouns: **Introduction of DR with linguistic means**

This still leaves open the option for non-anaphoric, exophoric occurrences of indexical definites iff the unique referent is contextually salient, e.g., through strong perceptual evidence or shared background knowledge!

- (10) Context: Isabell and Sally are waiting for Kasimir, as on any other day:  
 I to S: He's late again!
- (11) Isabell and Sally are watching Kasimir acting in a funny way, yelling and hopping.  
 I to S: Er nu' wieder! [German]  
 'Him again!'

### 3. The Guébie data: A first glimpse

Guébie is an Eastern Kru language spoken by about 7000 people in the Gagnoa prefecture of Côte d'Ivoire; see Sande (2020) for a language snapshot and references:

Word order: SVO /S Aux OV; 4-height tone system; 3way count-mass system; ...

- ⇒ All of the data comes from face-to-face and online elicitations with a single speaker, Badiba Olivier Agodio
- ⇒ Data can/will be found at: Olivier Agodio, Sylvain Bodji, Serikpa Emil, and Hannah Sande. Guébie Fieldwork Collection, 2014-15, *California Language Archive*, Survey of California and Other Indian Languages, University of California, Berkeley, <http://dx.doi.org/doi:10.7297/X208639V>.



## ii. Donkey sentences:

- with animate NPs: =a optional or obligatory

(15) kəkɔ<sup>4.4</sup> mɛ<sup>3</sup> e<sup>4</sup> ka<sup>3</sup> ɓabɛrɛ<sup>3.3.3</sup> ɛja<sup>3.1</sup> woli<sup>4.4</sup> dabara<sup>4.4.4</sup> kɔ<sup>3</sup>  
 everyday in 1SG.NOM IRR sheep and goat market at  
 jɔku-ni-ni<sup>2.3.4.2</sup> woli(=a)<sup>4.4</sup> e<sup>14</sup> pja<sup>31</sup> (= a optional)  
 part-see-appl goat=DEF 1SG.NOM buy

‘Every time I see a sheep and a goat at the market, it's the goat that I buy.’

(16) jɔkpɔ<sup>3.1</sup> jɔkpɔ<sup>3.1</sup> kwala<sup>2.2</sup> goji<sup>3.1</sup> ne<sup>2</sup> li-ə<sup>2.2</sup> goji\*(=a)<sup>3.1.1</sup>  
 person person take.care dog REL eat.IPFV-CAUS dog=DEF

‘Every person who has a dog feeds the dog.’ (**bad without -a in this context!**)

⇒ also possible, and maybe preferred, is using the SG pronoun ‘it’ or plural ‘dogs’ clause-finally. Also really preferred “Every person feeds his dog(s)” to any of the above.

- With inanimate NPs: =a infelicitous or optional

(17) kəkɔ<sup>4.4</sup> mɛ<sup>3</sup> e<sup>4</sup> ka<sup>3</sup> dɪano<sup>2.3.1</sup> ɛja<sup>3.1</sup> bak<sup>wa</sup><sup>4.2</sup> dabara<sup>4.4.4</sup>  
 everyday in 1SG.NOM IRR machete and knife market  
 kɔ<sup>3</sup> jɔku-ni-ni<sup>2.3.4.2</sup> dɪano(=#a)<sup>2.3.1.1</sup> e<sup>4</sup> pja<sup>31</sup> (=a infelicitous)  
 at part-see-APPL machete=DEF 1SG.NOM buy  
 Every time I see a machete and a knife at the market, I buy the machete.

(18) kɔkɔ<sup>4.4</sup> kɔ<sup>2</sup> mɛ<sup>3</sup> la<sup>2</sup> da<sup>2</sup> e<sup>4</sup> ni<sup>4</sup> la<sup>2</sup> magɔ-bə<sup>4.1.1</sup>  
 every time in GEN place 1SG.NOM see.IPFV there mangoes-SG  
 ɛja<sup>3.1</sup> dioɓə<sup>1.1.3</sup> jɔku<sup>2.3</sup> mago-bə(-a)<sup>4.1.1</sup> e<sup>4</sup> pja<sup>21</sup>  
 and pineapples-SG PART mango-SG-DEF 1SG.NOM buy.IPFV

‘Every time I see a pineapple and a mango there (at the market) I buy the mango.’

⇒ **Good both with and without -a on mango.** Speaker says these are both good and offered that they ‘express the same specificity’.

⇒ (15) to (18) may exhibit an **animacy contrast**: DEF =a is better/required with animates and less good/bad with inanimates in these contexts; cf. also Cisneros (2019).

iii. Producer-Product Bridging: no =a!!!

(19) jaci<sup>23.1</sup> wa<sup>1</sup> bago<sup>4.2</sup> ne<sup>2</sup> ma<sup>2</sup> mɛmsi ɔ<sup>3</sup> ma<sup>3</sup> cɛli-ɲɔ<sup>3.2.2</sup> wa<sup>1</sup>  
 Djatchi like book this but even.though.fr 3SG.NOM IRR.NEG write-AGT like  
 ‘Djatchi likes this book even though he doesn't like the author.’ (**given without DEF; questionable with -a on ‘writer’**)

(20) jaci<sup>23.1</sup> pja<sup>31</sup> bago<sup>4.2</sup> ma<sup>2</sup> bago=a<sup>4.2.2</sup> la<sup>2</sup> cɛli-ɲɔ<sup>3.2.2</sup> gɛwa<sup>4.1</sup> la<sup>2</sup> jo<sup>4</sup> mo<sup>2</sup>  
 Djatchi buy.PFV book but book=DEF assoc write-AGT Gagnoa GEN child be.EMPH  
 ‘Djatchi bought a book. The author of the book was from Gagnoa. (**given without DEF; questionable with -a on ‘writer’, but ‘the book’ is anaphoric DEF-marked**)

⇒ Then Hannah suggested the same clause with *-a*:

(20') Jaci<sup>23.1</sup> pja<sup>31</sup> bago<sup>3.2</sup> la<sup>2</sup> lilelu<sup>3.3.1</sup> ɔ<sup>3</sup> wa<sup>3</sup> cɛli-ŋɔ(#-a)<sup>3.3.2.2</sup> ja<sup>31</sup>  
 Djatchi buy.PFV book GEN new 3SG.NOM like write-AGT-DEF because  
 ‘Djatchi bought a new book because he likes the author’

⇒ “Speaker corrected me and took off the *-a*. I then asked again if it’d be okay with *-a* on ‘author’ and he said no.”

### 3.3 Distribution of *-a* and bare NP II: Plain uniqueness contexts

iv. Larger situations (globally unique: *sun, moon, president*): **no =a!**

“Overt definiteness markers are dispreferred here. Some speakers think they’re okay/optional and others disallow them. All of these examples were first given w/o an over definite, but when asked if it’s okay, this speaker said it’s okay and repeated the examples. He offers extra [anaphoric or salient, MZ] context to explain where you’d use the definite marker.”

(21) a. **jiro-je**<sup>2.3.1</sup> pɔ<sup>1</sup>  
 sun-SG shine  
 ‘The sun is shining.’

b. **jiro-je=a**<sup>2.3.1.1</sup> pɔ<sup>1</sup>  
 sun-SG=DEF shine  
 ‘The sun (that we were waiting for) is shining.’

(22) a. e<sup>4</sup> ɓɛli<sup>3.1</sup> e<sup>4</sup> ka<sup>3</sup> **co-je**<sup>4.2</sup> joku-ni<sup>2.3.4</sup>  
 1SG.NOM can 1SG.NOM IRR moon-SG PART-see  
 I can see the moon.

b. e<sup>4</sup> ɓɛli<sup>3.1</sup> e<sup>4</sup> ka<sup>3</sup> **co-je=a**<sup>4.2.2</sup> joku-ni<sup>2.3.4</sup>  
 1SG.NOM can 1SG.NOM IRR moon-SG=DEF PART-see  
 ‘I can see the moon (in the context where there are clouds and it’s hard to see, and you’re pointing out that you can suddenly see the moon again).’

⇒ **Bare NPs express uniqueness definiteness in larger situation contexts**

⇒ Exceptions to this may be triggered by situational salience (sensu Barlew 2014) or anaphoricity; cf. (13), (14) above.

v. Immediate situation uniqueness: **no =a!**

(23) You arrive at the hospital and the staff tells you “The doctor will meet with you soon”/  
 You say “We want to talk to the doctor”

dɔtɔrɪŋɔ<sup>2.3.3.2</sup> ji<sup>3</sup> ŋwateji<sup>4.1.1</sup> sɔ<sup>4</sup> mɛ<sup>3</sup> ji<sup>3</sup>  
 doctor FUT minutes two in come  
 ‘The doctor will come in 2 minutes’

⇒ *-a* okay on ‘doctor’ if we’ve been talking about the specific doctor before; else weird!

(24) A father is visiting a new school for his son and someone says, ‘The teacher will come to talk to you.’

sukulu-masi<sup>1.1.3.4.1</sup> ɔ<sup>3</sup> ji<sup>3</sup> mɛ-salɛ=da<sup>4.2.3.2</sup> kɔ<sup>3</sup> ji<sup>3</sup>  
 school-master 3.SG.NOM FUT PART-talk=place.NMLZ to come

⇒ Weird with DEF if there's more than one teacher or if you haven't already been talking about a specific teacher.

(24') same context:

dirɛtɛ(=a)<sup>4.1.1.1</sup> ɔ<sup>3</sup> lɔpɛ<sup>2.1</sup> ɓɔ<sup>3</sup>  
 director.FR=DEF 3SG.NOM speak.IPFV finish  
 'The director is coming to talk to you.'

⇒ Only okay with DEF to distinguish between multiple different schools/directors of different schools. Given first without DEF.

⇒ **Bare NPs express uniqueness definiteness in immediate situation contexts; irrespective of grammatical function (SUBJ (21) vs OBJ (22) or IS-function (SUBJ (21) vs left-dislocated topical subject (24, 24'))**

vi. Quantificationally bound situations: **no =a (expected), but also no bare SG NPs!**

(25) a. In every church we visited, we spoke with the priest

lagɔ<sup>3.1</sup> ɓitɔ<sup>2.2</sup> mɛ<sup>3</sup> tu<sup>4.1</sup> la<sup>2</sup> mɔ<sup>2</sup> e<sup>4</sup> jɛralɪ<sup>3.2.2</sup> anɛ<sup>2.2</sup>  
 god house in all of place 1SG.NOM visit REL  
 e-a<sup>4.1</sup> mɔna<sup>2.2</sup> (lagɔ-ŋw-a<sup>3.1.2</sup>) galɪ<sup>3.1</sup> lɔpɛ<sup>3.1</sup>  
 1SG.NOM-PST ?? god-AGT-PL elder.PL speak

'In every church I visited, I spoke with the elders'

⇒ bad to use SG NP 'elder' here; -a is okay on 'elder' only if you visited one church and spoke to one elder there, and it's someone you know about or have been talking about already.

b. In every village we visited, we spoke with the chief.

gabɔ<sup>1.1</sup> d-i<sup>3.2</sup> ɓɔ<sup>2</sup> tu<sup>4.1</sup> e<sup>4</sup> jɛralɪ<sup>3.2.2</sup> kɔ<sup>3</sup> anɛ<sup>2.2</sup>  
 Guebie village-PL all all 1SG.NOM visit PART REL  
 e-a<sup>4.1</sup> mɔna<sup>2.2</sup> cifi-ŋw-a<sup>4.1.2</sup> lɔpɛ<sup>3.1</sup>  
 1SG.NOM-PST ?? chief-AGT-PL speak

'In every village I visited, I spoke with the chief'

⇒ chief can't be singular if we visited multiple villages; weird with DEF

vii. Part-Whole Bridging: =a possible

(26) e<sup>4</sup> pa=a<sup>3.1</sup> balɔ̃<sup>4.1</sup> ne<sup>4</sup> sara<sup>2.2</sup> ɓitɔ<sup>2.3</sup> ne<sup>4</sup>  
 1sg.nom throw.PFV=PST ball and.1SG.NOM build.PFV house and  
 gbɔlɔ=a<sup>2.3.3</sup> lɛtikpa<sup>3.3.1</sup> lie<sup>3.2</sup> mɔ<sup>2</sup>  
 door=DEF metal DEM.PRO be.EMPH

'I played soccer and built a house. The door (of it) was metal.'

### 3.4 Summary of preliminary results

	Mandarin	Akan	Guébie
<b>Anaphoric sequences</b>	DEM	nó	=a
<b>Donkey sentences</b>	DEM	nó	=a
<b>Product-Producer</b>	DEM	nó	?=a, Bare NP
<b>Larger situation</b>	Bare NP	Bare NP	Bare NP
<b>Immediate situation</b>	Bare NP	Bare NP	Bare NP
<b>Situation binding</b>	Bare NP	???	*=a, *bare SG NP
<b>Part-Whole</b>	Bare NP	Bare NP	=a possible

⇒ Preliminary evidence for an indexical/familiarity DEF-marker =a, and bare NPs as uniqueness definites, but the data on situation binding and bridging are still unclear.

- Possible confounds in the bridging cases:
    - i. PART-WHOLE may also be reanalysed as relational: *the house's door*  
(false positive)
    - ii. NP=a in bridging contexts is often dispreferred against pro=NP: *its door; its author*  
(false negative)
  - Possible account of absence of =a/bare SG NP with situation binding:
    - i. No situation binding with Q-antecedent = no co-varying situations ⇒ no uniqueness:  
#bare NP-SG
    - ii. No explicit antecedent in context ⇒ no index: #=a
- ⇒ To be further investigated: **Comments welcome!**

### 3.5 No demonstrative use of =a! There are no demonstratives!

- A curious fact: Guébie seems to have no demonstratives

(27) TRIGGER: ‘Do you want this bowl (pointing) or that bowl (pointing)’

⇒ Hannah: “Never got this exact context. Situation: Edwige asks you for a dish, but there are two on the table, so you ask “Do you want this dish or this dish?”. Lots of alternatives were given to avoid the demonstratives, including “Which dish do you want?” My favorite, Olivier said “You could say “Do you want dish-a?” (holding one dish up). Then if she says “no”, you know she wants the other one.” I tried giving the sentence “Do you want dish-a or dish-a” but he didn’t like it; instead gave “**dish-a be here Q or it/one be here Q?**” literally, “The dish that’s here or the dish that’s here?”

(28) #goji=a<sup>3.1.1</sup>    ηɔŋɔ<sup>2.2</sup>    ne4    goji=a<sup>3.1.1</sup>    sa    kpəli  
 dog=DEF    sleep.IPFV    and    dog=DEF    make.IPFV    noise  
 intended: ‘This dog sleeps and that dog makes noise.’

- “This was judged as bad/weird unless a single dog is sleeping while making noise and we already know which dog we’re talking about, *but the speaker gave a context involving pointing to two different dogs* and said it could be okay. I was surprised by this judgment because in the past the same speaker has said that this is weird/bad when referring to two different dogs. Maybe he was trying to force this to be good in some context?”

- Fairly parallel facts obtain in Akan (Bombi 2018: 152, Owusu 2022: 21ff.)

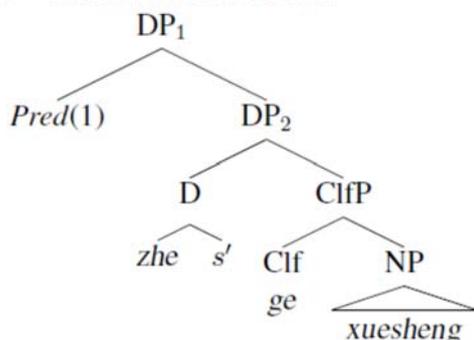
- (29) a. #**Abofra nó** nim adeε paa εna **abofra nó** abɔn.  
 child DEF know thing INT CONJ child DEF not.smart  
 intended: ‘This child is smart, and that child is not smart.’
- b. # Me-pε **car nó** nanso me-m-pε **car nó**  
 1PL-want car DEM NEG-COP 1SG-NEG-like car DEM  
 intended: ‘I like that car [pointing at Audi] but I don’t like that car [pointing at Renault].’
- c. Me-pε **car nó** n-yε **car yi**  
 1PL-want car DEM NEG-COP car DEM  
 ‘I like that car [pointing at Audi] but not this car [pointing at Renault].’

- (30) **Saa abofra nó** nim adeε paa εna **saa abofra nó** abɔn.  
 DEM child DEF know thing INT INT DEM child DEF not.smart  
 ‘This child is smart, and that child is not smart.’ (Owusu 2022: 22, ex. (28))

⇒ Evidence for Jenks’ (2018) implementation of anaphoric definites as uniqueness operators with a predicational indexical restriction.

- (31) a.  $\llbracket \text{nó} \rrbracket = \llbracket \iota^x \rrbracket = \lambda s_r. \lambda P_{\langle e, \langle s, t \rangle \rangle}. \lambda Q_{\langle e, t \rangle}. \exists! x [P(x)(s_r) \wedge Q(x)]. \iota x [P(x)(s_r)]$

b. ANAPHORIC DEFINITE



- c.  $\text{saa}_1 \approx \text{Pred}(1)$

⇒ plus some constraint on index resolution (in Akan): Different index predications require different linguistic carriers, i.e. the same form *nó* cannot be used to introduce two different indexical restrictions (*this one here, this one there*).

⇒ Why is this interesting? (for Cornelia and Stefan at least ☺)

- Non-linguistic pointing gestures seem to be in need of linguistic carriers.
- Index-referring expressions must differ formally in their domain of discourse = sign languages

besides:

- possible reason for the emergence distal/proximal-distinctions in demonstrative systems and for the emergence of *la NP la*-structures for anaphoric definites in West African varieties of French?

#### 4. Preliminary analysis & Further questions

##### 4.1 Analysis of -a and bare NPs

- =a marks a Schwarz/Jenks-style anaphoric definite containing a pronominal index.

$$(32) \text{ a. } \llbracket =a_y \rrbracket^g = \lambda s. \lambda P: \exists! x [P(x)(s) \wedge x = g(y)]. \iota x [P(x)(s) \wedge x = g(y)]$$

$$\text{ b. } \llbracket =a \rrbracket = \lambda s_r. \lambda P_{\langle e, \langle s, t \rangle \rangle}. \lambda Q_{\langle e, t \rangle}. \exists! x [P(x)(s_r) \wedge Q(x)]. \iota x [P(x)(s_r)]$$

- Two possible analyses of bare NPs

i. Type  $\langle et \rangle$  -predicate plus covert iota- or  $\exists$ -typeshift in the absence of overt markers of uniqueness and unspecific indefiniteness (Chierchia 1998):

(33) a. IOTA( $\llbracket [NP] \rrbracket$ ) (with singleton NPs)  $\Rightarrow$  uniqueness; cf. Owusu (2022)

b.  $\exists(\llbracket [NP] \rrbracket)$   $\Rightarrow$  unspecific indefiniteness

(NB: Guébie does have a way of marking specific indefinites)

ii. Anti-presupposition (Heim 1991, 2011) from MaxPres:

(34) a. =a marks anaphoric definiteness, i.e. familiarity/indexicality

b. Bare NPs denote existentially quantified NPs (Philipp 2022 on Akan)

$\Rightarrow$  absence of =a triggers an entailment in the form of an anti-presupposition to the effect that the DP-referent is not anaphoric:

- non-familiar + singleton NP-restriction (sun, president, moon): unique DEF

- non-familiar + non-singleton NP-restriction (table, dog, ...): INDEF

$\Rightarrow$  **Input requested!**

##### 4.2 Anti-uniqueness restriction (Owusu 2022, Dayal & Jiang 2020)?

We do not think that Owusu's (2022) analysis can account for the Guébie facts:

- Conceptual argument:

$$(35) \llbracket [no_y] \rrbracket^g = \lambda P. \lambda x. \lambda s: x = g(y) \wedge \exists s' [s \leq s' \wedge |\{x \mid P(x)(s')\}| > 1]. P(x)(s)$$

$\Rightarrow$  The statement that there be a super-situation in which the NP-restriction has a larger cardinality than 1 is trivially true for most entities in the world (perhaps with the exception of world, universe, BigBang, ...)

$\Rightarrow$  Prediction: =a/no should be licit (and required by MaxPres) on allegedly 'singleton'-denoting NPs such as 'sun' as well (given familiarity); i.e. (35) does not really do any work in distinguishing between definites with different NP-restrictions

- Empirical argument: =a-marking possible on anaphoric singleton-denoting NPs, such as 'sun' in (14) and 'president' in (13), and also with the topic-situationally salient/unique 'doctor' in (23):

$\Rightarrow$  Anti-uniqueness does not seem to be a necessary condition for using =a

### 4.3 Optionality and the animate/inanimate split

The observable variability in the licensing of =*a* with animate and inanimate NPs in the donkey sentences in (15) to (18) opens up the possibility that the anaphoric index refers to properly established discourse referents in a dynamic discourse representation (DRT), and not just to some existentially quantified individuals in the truth-conditional model:

- ⇒ If animate NPs are more likely to introduce DRs than inanimates, the preference/requirement for =*a* with animate NPs would be accounted for.
  - ⇒ Sensitivity of pronoun/index-resolution to DR-hood observed for other grammatical phenomena, such as PN-incorporation (Driemel 2020) and nominal compounding.
- (36) a. Bill was lion<sub>1</sub>-hunting and got scared. #They<sub>1</sub> were surrounding him.  
 b. Bill was hunting lions<sub>1</sub> and got scared. They<sub>1</sub> were surrounding him.

- *Prediction:*

If this is really about DR-hood rather than animacy than very salient/narratively important inanimates (e.g. the necklace your mother gave you) should still be able to trigger =*a* !!!

### 5. Conclusion

- i. Guébie has a by now fairly familiar two-way system of marking definiteness, involving an explicit marker =*a* of anaphoric definiteness, and bare NPs for marking uniqueness definiteness.
- ii. Anti-uniqueness does not seem to play a role in licensing the anaphoric definite marker
- iii. Guébie does not seem to have a dedicated demonstrative determiner, in violation of one of the Greenbergian universals.
- iv. The data would need to be corroborated with more speakers.
- v. Puzzles remain regarding: (i.) the third form of marking definiteness with NP+pronoun; (ii.) the observable variability of =*a*-placement in donkey sentences; (iii.) the infelicity of =*a* and bare SG NPs with situation binding; among many other things.

**More to come!**

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