What's in a bare noun?
On the silence of determiners

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Two types of definiteness

(1) **Anaphoric definites:**
Definites pick out an individual that has been introduced by a previous expression in the context.

$\Rightarrow$ Mary bought [a book]$_i$. [The book]$_i$ was expensive.

(2) **Uniqueness definites:**
Definites refer to things that have a role or property that is unique (relative to some contextual domain).

$\Rightarrow$ the desk (uttered in a room with only one desk)
$\Rightarrow$ the prime minister (uttered in the UK)
$\Rightarrow$ the moon

Two types of definiteness

German marks the distinction between anaphoric and unique definites via contraction with prepositions (Hartmann 2013; Krifka 1984; Haberland 1985; Eisenberg et al. 1998; Schwarz 2009).

(3) Hans hat einen Schriftsteller und einen Politiker interviewt.
Hans has a writer and a politician interviewed

Er hat #**vom** **Politiker** / **von** **dem** **Politiker** keine
He has from-the politicians / from the politician no

interessanten Antworten bekommen.
interesting answers gotten

'Hans interviewed a writer and a politician. He didn't get any interesting answers from the politician.' (Schwarz 2009)

(4) Armstrong flog als erster **zum** **Mond** / #**zu** **dem** **Mond**.
Armstrong flew as first.one to-the moon / to the moon

'Armstrong was the first one to fly to the moon.' (Schwarz 2009)

Two types of definiteness

In Mauritian Creole, anaphoric definites are marked with *la* but unique definites are formed with bare nouns (Wespel 2008; Schwarz 2013).

(5) Enn garson ek enn tifi ti pe lager. **Garson la** ti
one boy and one girl PST PROG argue boy DEF PST
paret an koler, **tifi la** ti res kalm.
appear in rage girl DEF PST stay calm

'A boy and a girl were arguing. The boy seemed furious, the girl stayed calm.'

(6) **Later** turn otur soley.
earth revolve around sun

'The earth moves around the sun.'

Topic of this talk

- According to Schwarz (2009), anaphoric definites are semantically richer than uniqueness based definites.
  - Does the semantics match the morpho-syntax?
  - If so, how universal is this match?

- In this talk, I will focus on bare argument languages, i.e. languages in which definite determiners are not necessarily used to express definiteness.
  - How much structure is in a bare noun?
  - How can we identify the difference between a type-shifter and a silent determiner?

Outline

Acknowledgements

- If not otherwise indicated, all data is based on original fieldwork. We thank five Akan speakers and one Ewe speaker who additionally contributed their judgements.
- This work was developed within the DFG-funded Network: **Definiteness across domains**. Feel free to check out our network here: https://www.definiteness-across-domains.org/

Markedness bias for definites

Form matches meaning

(7) **Markedness bias for definites:**
If a language marks anaphoric definites differently from uniqueness based definites, anaphoric definites will always show more morpho-syntactic marking than uniqueness based definites.

Two types of definiteness

	uniqueness	*anaphoricity*	SOURCES
Fering	DEF$_1$ NOUN	DEF$_2$ NOUN	Ebert (1971)
German[1]	P-DEF NOUN	P DEF NOUN	Schwarz (2009)
Korean	NOUN(-CASE)	NOUN-CASE	Driemel and Lee (2022)
Tamil	NOUN(-CASE)	NOUN-CASE	Driemel (2023)
Marka Dafing	NOUN=DEF	IDX NOUN=DEF	Jenks and Konate (2022)
Chuj	CL NOUN	CL NOUN IDX	Royer (2022)
Mandarin	NOUN	DEM CL NOUN	Jenks (2018)
Thai	NOUN	DEM CL NOUN	Jenks (2015)
Mongolian	NOUN	DEM NOUN	Guntsetseg (2016)
Ga	NOUN (DEF)	NOUN DEF	Renans et al. (2022)
Ngamo	NOUN	NOUN=DEF	Grubic (2015)

[1] German subvarieties also show two paradigms for definite articles: Rhineland dialect (Heinrichs 1954; Hartmann 1967), the Mönchen-Gladbach dialect (Hartmann 1982), the Cologne dialect (Himmelmann 1997), Bavarian (Scheutz 1982; Schwager 2007).

Form matches meaning

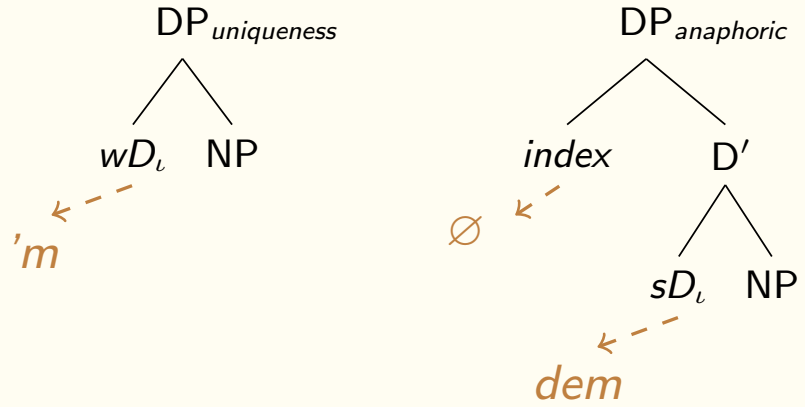
The markedness bias dovetails with Schwarz' account of definiteness: both types of definites encode uniqueness via D; anaphoric definites additionally take a silent pronoun (*index*) as an argument.

(8) Schwarz (2009) semantics:

a. $[\![wD_\iota]\!] = \lambda P : \exists!x[P(x)].\iota x[P(x)]$

b. $[\![sD_\iota]\!] = \lambda P \lambda y : \exists!x[P(x) \wedge x = y].\iota x[P(x) \wedge x = y]$

c. *Syntax*:



Form matches meaning

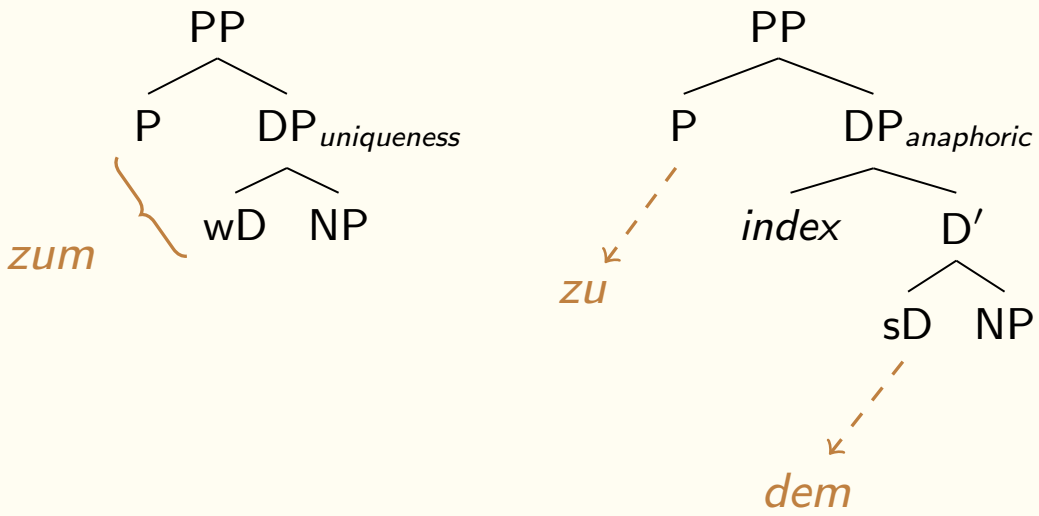
Schwarz (2009) argues that coalescence with the preposition in German happens with the weak determiner since no index argument intervenes.[2]

(9) Schwarz (2009) semantics:

a. $[\![wD_\iota]\!] = \lambda P : \exists!x[P(x)].\iota x[P(x)]$

b. $[\![sD_\iota]\!] = \lambda P \lambda y : \exists!x[P(x) \wedge x = y].\iota x[P(x) \wedge x = y]$

c.



[2] A more detailed morpho-syntactic proposal (and a slightly different syntax) is provided in Hanink (2018).

The focus of this talk

We will focus on the Kwa languages **Akan** and **Ewe**. These languages display a definite determiner which is required in anaphoric contexts, in contrast to uniqueness contexts.

	uniqueness	*anaphoricity*	SOURCES
Fering	DEF$_1$ NOUN	DEF$_2$ NOUN	Ebert (1971)
German	P-DEF NOUN	P DEF NOUN	Schwarz (2009)
Korean	NOUN(-CASE)	NOUN-CASE	Driemel and Lee (2022)
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Mongolian	NOUN	DEM NOUN	Guntsetseg (2016)
Ga	NOUN (DEF)	NOUN DEF	Renans et al. (2022)
Ngamo	NOUN	NOUN=DEF	Grubic (2015)

Language profiles

The 2 languages belong to the Kwa language family and are spoken in West Africa.

Ewe

- spoken in Ghana (Volta & Oti regions) and Togo (southern) by about 2.5 million people.
- data is from the Ewedome dialect
- SVO language
- tonal marking is high/low

Akan

- spoken in Ghana by about 11 million speakers
- data is from Asante Twi dialect
- SVO language
- tonal marking is high/low

Figure: West Africa

Strong definites in Akan

Akan disposes of a definite determiner *nó* that is argued to encode familiarity (Bombi 2018; Bombi et al. 2019; cf. Arkoh and Matthewson 2013). Anaphoric definites require the definite marker **nó**.

(10) Mɛ̀-tɔ̀-ɔ̀ àtààdéɛ́ bí ńnórà ...
1SG-buy-PST dress INDEF yesterday
'I bought a dress yesterday.'

a. ... **àtààdéɛ́ nó** yɛ́ fɛ̀.
dress DEF COP nice
'The dress is nice.'

b. #... **àtààdéɛ́** yɛ́ fɛ̀.
dress COP nice
'The dress is nice.' (Bombi 2018)

Weak definites in Akan

For a globally unique noun, Owusu (2021, 2022) provides contexts where the definite marker in Akan is not licensed.

(11) *Context: The beginning of a documentary on the solar system...*

a. #**Ewia** **nó** yɛ́ nsoroma.
sun DEF is star
'The sun is a star.'

b. **Ewia** yɛ́ nsoroma.
sun is star
'The sun is a star.'

Strong definites in Ewe

Anaphoric contexts enforce the use of the definite marker **la**. (Not much is known about the definiteness system in Ewe, all our data come from fieldwork.)

(12) Me tù nyɔnuvi kple ŋutsuvi aɖe ...
1SG met woman.DIM and man.DIM INDEF
'I met a boy and a girl.'

a. ... me ga kpɔ **ŋutsuvi la** ŋukeke la me
1SG REP see man.DIM DEF day.break DEF inside
'I saw the boy again the next day.'

b. #... me ga kpɔ **ŋutsuvi** ŋukeke la me
1SG REP see man.DIM day.break DEF inside
'I saw the boy again the next day.'

Weak definites in Ewe

Recall that in Akan the context in (13) enforces the use of a bare noun. In Ewe, the definite marker becomes optional, but is still possible.[3]

(13) *Context: The beginning of a documentary on the solar system...*

a. **ŋdɔ ɔ** nye ɣleti
sun DEF is star
'The sun is a star.'

b. **ŋdɔ** nye ɣleti
sun is star
'The sun is a star.'

[3]The form of the determiner *la* changes depending on the phonological context. It can be *ɔ* as in the example above but it can also be *ɛ* as in *ɖevi ɛ* 'the child'. Also the determiner can be *a* in rapid speech.

Demonstratives in Akan and Ewe

The two language also have demonstratives. In Akan, the definite marker forms a subcomponent of the distal demonstrative.

Akan (data from Amfo 2007):

(14) a. Mè-pɛ́ **sàá àtààdéɛ́ nó**.
I-like DEM dress DEF
'I like that dress.'

b. Fá tó **ɛ́pónó yí** só.
take put table DEM on
'Put it on this table'

Ewe:

(15) a. **Ati ma** mù.
tree DEM fall
'That tree fell.'

b. **Ati ke** mù.
tree DEM fall
'This tree fell.'

Definites in Akan and Ewe

What could be the reason for this markedness effect for the Kwa languages **Akan** and **Ewe**?

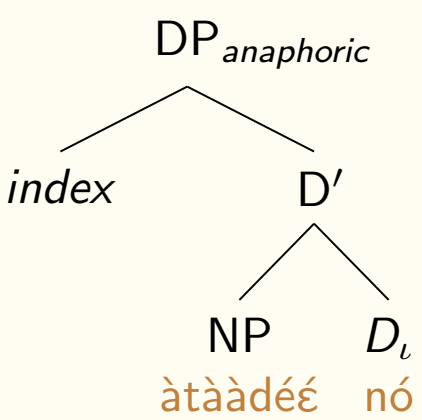
	uniqueness	*anaphoricity*	SOURCES
Akan	NOUN	NOUN DEF	Arkoh and Matthewson (2013)
Ewe	NOUN (DEF)	NOUN DEF	fieldwork

We can entertain at least 3 hypotheses for the nominal structure of Kwa languages like Akan and Ewe ...

The DP-hypothesis

The DP-hypothesis posits that all noun phrases are headed by determiners (Abney 1987; Szabolcsi 1987; Longobardi 1994; Salzmann 2020). For Ewe and Akan, we would have to postulate zero D heads for uniqueness based definites.[4]

(16) a.



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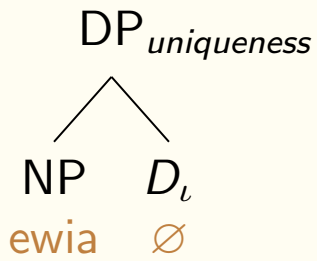
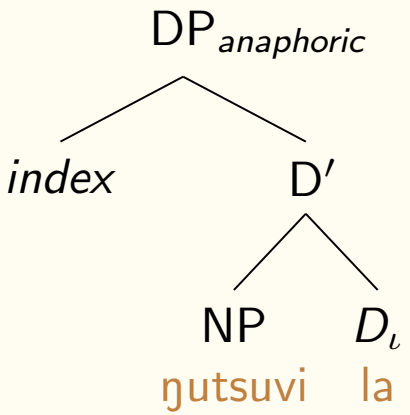


Akan

(17) a.



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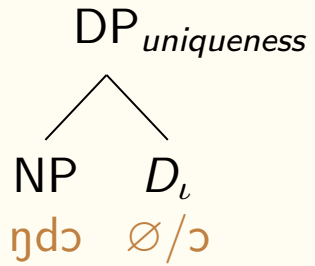


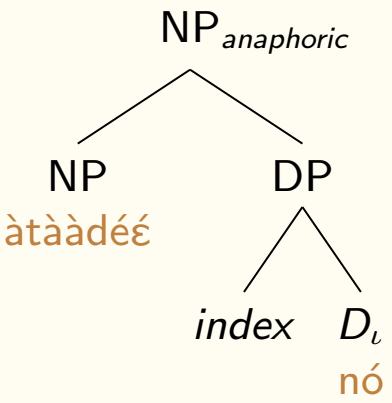
Ewe

[4] This is compatible with the semantics proposed for D heads in Schwarz (2009).

The NP-hypothesis

According to the NP-hypothesis, determiners adjoin to NP (Bruening 2009; Bruening et al. 2018; Bruening 2020; Georgi and Müller 2010).[5] For the semantics, anaphoric Ds would have to introduce the index, and presumably if there is no visible determiner, type-shifting takes care of the formation of an argument.

(18) a.



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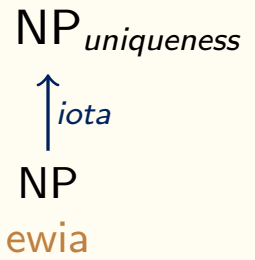
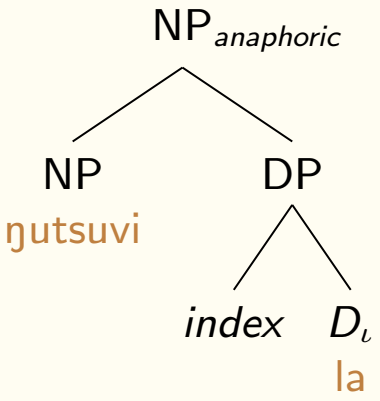


Akan

(19) a.



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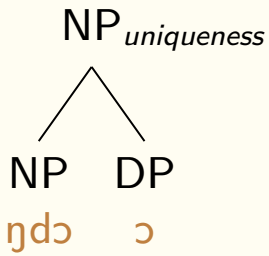

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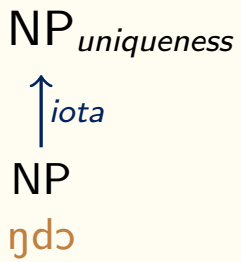


Ewe

[5] See also Bošković (2005, 2008); Despić (2013) for a parametrized view.

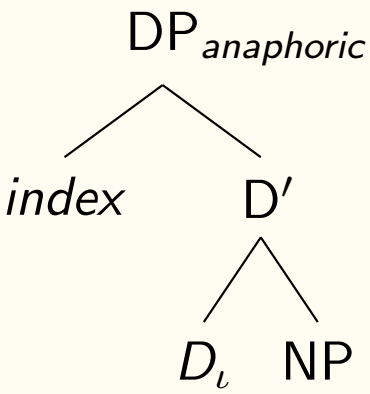
The mixed view

One could also entertain a mixed view: anaphoric definites are DPs but uniqueness definites are NPs. Indeed, Jenks (2015, 2018) proposed the structures in (21a) and (21b) for Mandarin/Thai, reflecting the observation that unique definites are expressed as bare nouns and anaphoric definites always occur with a demonstrative.

(20) a. $[\![\textit{iota}]\!] = \lambda s_r \lambda P : \exists! x P(x)(s_r).\iota x[(P)(x)(s_r)]$ *weak*

b. $[\![D_\iota]\!] = \lambda s_r \lambda P \lambda Q : \exists! x[P(x)(s_r) \wedge Q(x)].\iota x[P(x)(s_r)]$ *strong*

(21) a.



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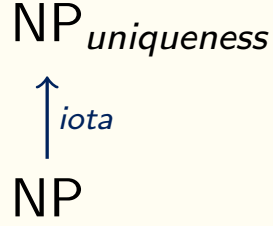
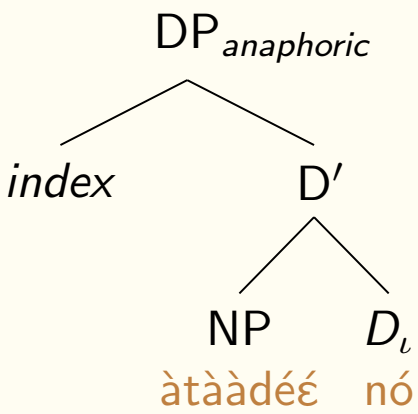


This view raises some issues for syntactic c-selection.

The mixed view

Applied to Ewe and Akan, the following structures could be postulated under the mixed view.

(22) a.



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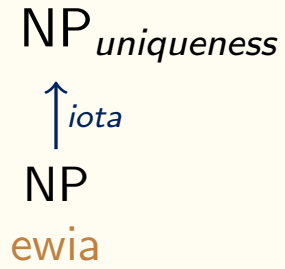
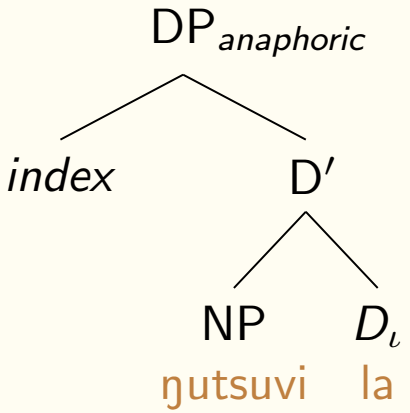


Akan

(23) a.



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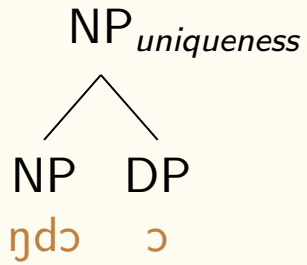

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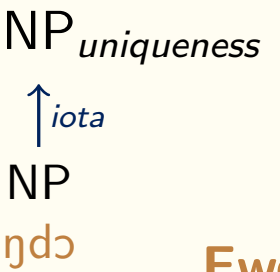


Ewe

Form matches meaning

Akan and Ewe follow the markedness bias for definites:

(24) **Markedness bias for definites:**
If a language marks anaphoric definites differently from uniqueness based definites, anaphoric definites will always show more morpho-syntactic marking than uniqueness based definites.

In how far do the 3 hypotheses derive the markedness bias?

1. **DP-hypothesis**: All nominal arguments are DPs.
   - 👎 no derivation of markedness bias due to zero morphemes
2. **NP-hypothesis**: In Ewe and Akan, all nominal arguments are NPs.
   - 👍 derivation of markedness bias (no zero morphemes)
3. **Mixed view**: Anaphoric definites are DPs, uniqueness definites are NPs.
   - 👍 derivation of markedness bias (no zero morphemes)
   - 👎 potential issue with c-selection

DP/NP diagnostics

In the following, we will investigate the **NP-hypothesis** for Ewe and Akan based on four DP/NP diagnostics, which were originally established for English vs. Slavic languages (mostly BCS, sometimes Polish). In other words, a DP language vs. an NP language.

1. the possibility of Left Branch Extraction (Bošković 2008)

   ✗ DP ✓ NP

2. word order flexibility in the nominal domain (Bošković 2005)

   ✗ DP ✓ NP

3. the possibility of a double possessor structure (Bošković 2008)

   ✓ DP ✗ NP

4. violations of Binding Principle B (Despić 2013)

   ✗ DP ✓ NP

DP/NP diagnostic: Left Branch Extraction

NP languages allow LBE but DP languages disallow it.

(25) Left Branch Extraction (Bošković 2008)

a. *Expensive$_i$/those$_i$ he saw [__ $_i$ cars]. English (DP)

b. Skupa$_i$/ta$_i$ je vidio [__ $_i$ kola]. BCS (NP)
expensive/that is seen car

'He saw an expensive/that car.'

The logic behind the diagnostic:

1. DP is a phase and extraction out of phases happens via movement through Spec,DP due to the PIC (Chomsky 2000).
2. This movement is too local,[6] so extraction is blocked in DP languages.

(26) a. expensive$_1$ he saw [$_{DP}$ t$_1$ $\varnothing_D$ [$_{NP}$ t$_1$ cars]] English (DP)

b. expensive$_1$ he saw [$_{NP}$ t$_1$ car] BCS (NP)

[6] A'-movement from the Specifier of XP must cross a maximal projection other than XP (Erlewine 2016).

DP/NP diagnostic: Left Branch Extraction

Both Akan and Ewe behave like a DP-language. In other words, LBE is unacceptable.

(27) *Context: What was the color of the car that Ama saw?*

a. [**ɛhyɛn** **kɔkɔɔ** nó]$_i$ na Ama hu-uyɛ __ $_i$. **Akan**
car red DEF FOC Ama see-PST
'It's the red car Ama saw.'

b.*__kɔkɔɔ__$_i$ na Ama hu-u [**ɛhyɛn** __ $_i$ (nó)].
red FOC Ama see-PST car DEF
'It's the red car Ama saw.'

(28) *Context: I'm talking to Kofi and I know that Ama saw a red car. Kofi is uncertain but thinks it's a green car. Then I can say to Kofi:*

a. [**ʋu** **dzé** la]$_i$ yé Ama kpɔ __ $_i$. **Ewe**
car red DEF FOC Ama see
'It's the red car Ama saw.'

b.*__dzé__$_i$ yé Ama kpɔ [**ʋu** __ $_i$ (la)].
red FOC Ama see car DEF
'It's the red car Ama saw.'

DP/NP diagnostic: word order flexibility

NP languages have a flexible word order inside the nominal phrase, in contrast to DP languages.

(29) Word order (Bošković 2009)

a. John's former house vs. *former John's house English

b. Jovanova bivša kuća vs. bivša Jovanova kuća BCS
Jovan.GEN former house former Jovan.GEN house
'Jovan's former house'

The assumption behind the diagnostic:

- If not prohibited by the semantics, modifiers should be able to attach in either order in NP languages.
- For DP languages there is an order determined by some kind of functional sequence.

DP/NP diagnostic: word order flexibility

Both Ewe and Akan do not permit different word orders for adjective and possessor.

(30) a. Kofi ne **ɛhyɛn** **fɛɛfɛ**
Kofi POSS car beautiful
'Kofi's beautiful car'

b.* **fɛɛfɛ** Kofi ne **ɛhyɛn**
beautiful Kofi POSS car
'Kofi's beautiful car'

Akan

(31) a. Kofi ʃe **ʊu** **xɔ asi**
Kofi POSS car expensive
'Kofi's expensive car'

b.* **xɔ asi** Kofi ʃe **ʊu**
expensive Kofi POSS car
'Kofi's expensive car'

Ewe

Again, both languages pattern with DP languages.

DP/NP diagnostic: word order flexibility

We also tested word order in post nominal position only. The order between an adjective and a determiner is also fixed.

(32) a. **ɛhyɛn** **kɔkɔɔ** nó
car red DEF
'the red car'

b.* **ɛhyɛn** nó **kɔkɔɔ**
car DEF red
'the red car'

Akan

(33) a. **ʋu** **dzé** la
car red DEF
'the red car'

b.* **ʋu** la **dzé**
car DEF red
'the red car'

Ewe

Again, both languages pattern with DP languages.

DP/NP diagnostic: double possessor structure

DP languages allow double genitives but NP languages disallow it.

(34) Double genitives (Bošković 2012)

a. Hannibal-s Eroberung Rom-s — German (DP)
Hannibal-GEN conquest Rome-GEN

'Hannibal's conquest of Rome'

b.* odkrycie Ameryki Kolumba — Polish (NP)
discovery America.GEN Columbus.GEN

'Columbus' discovery of America'

The assumption behind the diagnostic (Bošković 2008):

- Each head can only license one genitive phrase.[7]
- In NP languages, there is only N. In DP-languages, there is D and N.

[7] Realized by genitive case or *of*-insertion.

DP/NP diagnostic: double possessor structure

Both Ewe and Akan allow for double possessor structures.

(35) a. [Kofi ne kraman ho **suro**] yɛ me nwonwa. **Akan**
Kofi POSS dog SELF fear COP me surprise
'Kofi's fear of dogs surprised me.'

b. [Kofi ƒe **vɔ́-vɔ́** na àvù-wó] wɔ nuku na-m. **Ewe**
Kofi POSS fear-RED of dog-PL make surprise for-me
'Kofi's fear of dogs surprised me.'

It looks like Ewe and Akan behave like English/German (DP-languages) in that they can license more than one possessor. Though this conclusion is dependent on the analysis of the particles we call "prepositions" for now.

DP/NP diagnostic: Binding Principle B

In contrast to DP languages, NP languages do not act in accordance with Binding Principle B, when it comes to possessor structures. In other words, pronouns cannot corefer with possessors in their binding domain.

(36) Binding Principle B (Despić 2013)

a. John$_i$'s parrot bit him$_{i/k}$ yesterday. English

b. Jovanov$_i$ papagaj ga$_{*i/k}$ je juče ugrizao. BCS
John.GEN parrot him is yesterday bitten

'John's parrot bit him yesterday.'

The assumption behind the diagnostic:

- Principle B: A pronoun must not be bound in its local clause.
- Binding requires c-command.
- In NP languages, possessors adjoin and thus c-command out of their NP.
- In DP languages, possessors constitute the specifier of a DP and thus do not c-command out of the DP.

DP/NP diagnostic: Binding Principle B

Ewe and Akan behave like English: pronouns can co-refer with their possessor antecedents. This is in accordance with Principle B under the assumption that the possessor does not c-command the pronoun.

(37) a. Ama$_i$ ne kraman a-ka nó$_{i/k}$. **Akan**
Ama POSS dog PRF-bite 3SG
'Ama's dog has bitten her.'

b. Ama$_i$ ʃe avu ɖu i$_{i/k}$. **Ewe**
Ama POSS dog bite 3SG
'Ama's dog has bitten her.'

Hence, both languages pattern with DP languages.

DP/NP diagnostics: summary

1. the possibility of Left Branch Extraction (Bošković 2008)

   ✗ DP ✓ NP ✗ Akan, Ewe

2. word order flexibility in the nominal domain (Bošković 2008)

   ✗ DP ✓ NP ✗ Akan, Ewe

3. the possibility of a double possessor structure (Bošković 2008)

   ✓ DP ✗ NP ✓ Akan, Ewe

4. violations of Binding Principle B (Despić 2013)

   ✗ DP ✓ NP ✗ Akan, Ewe

Interim conclusion

Given that all four diagnostics indicate that Akan and Ewe behave like a DP language, we conclude that the NP-hypothesis is wrong.

1. **DP-hypothesis**: All nominal arguments are DPs.
2. ~~**NP-hypothesis**: In Ewe and Akan, all nominal arguments are NPs.~~
3. **Mixed view**: Anaphoric definites are DPs, uniqueness definites are NPs.

This leaves the DP-hypothesis and the mixed view.

In the following, we will investigate both hypotheses by considering patterns of resumption in Akan and Ewe.

Resumption in Akan

Akan produces resumptive pronouns in subject and object position (Saah 1994; Ameka 2010; Korsah 2016), e.g., in focus environments. Animacy plays a role for resumption.

(38) a. [**ɔbaa** **no**]$_i$ na me huu **no**$_i$.
woman DEF FOC 1SG saw 3SG.RES
'I saw the WOMAN.'

b. [**adaka** **no**]$_i$ na me huui __ $_i$.
box DEF FOC 1SG saw
'I saw the BOX.' (Saah 1994)

(39) [**aduane** **nó**]$_i$ na Kofí pɛ̀ **no**$_i$ anɔpá.
food DEF FOC Kofi like 3SG.RES morning
'It's the food that Kofi likes in the morning.'
(Korsah and Murphy 2020)

Resumption in Akan

Hein and Georgi (2021) document semantic effects with resumptive pronouns apart from animacy: focused objects leave gaps if they are non-referential, shown here with non-specific indefinites.

(40) *Context: You're a new student at a school and you tell a classmate that you're planning to rent a school uniform instead of buying one. However, you don't know if that's possible. Your classmate asks: 'Will you ask the headmaster?' But you didn't want to bother the headmaster with this so you say:*

Daabi.	**ɔkyerɛ̀kyeɛ̀ni**$_i$	na	me-be-bisa	__ $_i$	kane.
no	teacher	FOC	1SG-FUT-ask		first

'No. I will ask a (random) TEACHER first.' (one of the many teachers around)

Resumption in Akan

Hein and Georgi (2021) argue that resumption in Akan comes about via partial lower copy deletion. Chain reduction for movement chains only deletes NP. Non-specific indefinites are NPs, hence the gap. But for DP-arguments the D head remains.

(41) a. [**ɔbaa** **no**]$_i$ na me huu **no**$_i$
woman DEF FOC I saw 3SG.RES

'I saw the WOMAN.'

b. [$_{DP}$ [$_{NP}$ **ɔbaa**] **no**]$_i$ na me huu [$_{DP}$ ~~[$_{NP}$ ɔbaa]~~ **no**]$_i$

(42) a. **ɔkyerɛ̀kyeɛ̀ni**$_i$ na me-be-bisa __ $_i$ kane.
teacher FOC 1SG-FUT-ask first

'I will ask a (random) TEACHER first.'

b. [$_{NP}$ **ɔkyerɛ̀kyeɛ̀ni**]$_i$ na me-be-bisa ~~[$_{NP}$ ɔkyerɛ̀kyeɛ̀ni]$_i$~~ kane

Resumption in Akan

We can show that the gap/pronoun difference correlates with the type of definite in Akan (Driemel et al. 2024).

We created anaphoric contexts in focus scenarios (correction focus). Anaphoric definites leave a resumptive pronoun as expected.

(43) *Context: We both talk about Yaw and that he met a boy and a girl yesterday. I think I heard that the boy needed some help, so Yaw helped him. But you disagree and tell me:*

Dààbí.	[**Àbáaáyéwá**	**nó**]$_i$	nà	Yaw	bóá-à	**nó**$_i$		ɛ̀nórà.
no	girl		DEF	FOC	Yaw	help-PST	3SG.RES	yesterday

'No. Yaw helped the GIRL yesterday.'

Resumption in Akan

Uniqueness definites leave a gap. This holds for inanimate and animate objects. This is expected if uniqueness definites are NPs.

(44) *Context: I showed you a documentary of the solar system. You were not wearing your glasses and now you keep telling me how much you learned about the sun. But I tell you:*

Dààbí.	**Bòsómé**$_i$	nà	wó	hú-ùì	__ $_i$	ènórà.
no	moon	FOC	2SG	see-PST		yesterday

'No. You saw the MOON yesterday.'

(45) *Context: My friend is glancing through a magazine. She sees a nice man but does not know who he is. She says "I like this man!". I exclaim:*

Éìì!	**Pope**$_i$	nà	wó	pɛ́	__ $_i$	sèèséí?
PRT	pope	FOC	2SG	like		now

'Hey. You like the POPE now?'

Resumption in Ewe

Ameka (2010) shows that resumptive pronouns appear in Ewe if indirect objects are moved for focus (and direct objects of ICV-verbs).[8] This is shown below with the focus movement of a pronoun.

(46) **nye**$_i$-é mamá ná ga **-i**$_i$. (Ameka 2010)
1SG-FOC grandmother give money -3SG.RES
'It's me to which grandma gave money.'

[8] Unfortunately, resumption does not happen for direct objects more generally in Ewe, which is why we cannot provide a better comparison to Akan (where we tested direct objects).

Resumption in Ewe

We took the ditransitive verb and put an anaphoric definite in the focus position. The result is in line with our expectation that anaphoric definites are DPs (like in Akan).

(47) *Context: A boy and a girl are at home. Someone delivered a package and we are arguing who the package was given to. So I go and check. I find out that they gave it to the girl. So I say:*

[**nyɔnuvi la**]$_i$ yé wó tsɔ package a na **è**$_i$.
woman.DIM DEF FOC 3PL take package DEF give 3SG.RES

'It's the girl they gave the package to.'

Resumption in Ewe

We then tested a focus scenario with uniqueness definites. We used 'headmaster' as it is common knowledge that every school has only one headmaster. Both 'headmaster' and the Ewe term for it require resumption. Additionally the presence of the determiner does not make a difference.

(48) *Context: You and me fight about who should get the job. You think I encouraged my teacher. And I tell you:*

a. Ao, **headmaster**$_i$ yé me de-dzi-ƒo **è**$_i$.
no headmaster FOC 1SG put-heart-IC 3SG.RES

'No, it's the headmaster I encouraged.'

b. Ao, [**sukuu-ta-tɔ** **la**]$_i$ yé me de-dzi-ƒo **è**$_i$.
no school-head-own DEF FOC 1SG put-heart-IC 3SG.RES

'No, it's the headmaster I encouraged.'

So Ewe behaves differently from Akan, as uniqueness definites always require resumption if they are moved for focus. We conclude that this is because they are DPs.

Resumption in Ewe

We also tested focus movement with indefinites and found that they always lead to resumption, independent of specificity.[9]

(49) *Context: I'm expecting a package but I didn't receive it. My friend tells me who they gave it to. He says:*

[**nyɔnuvi** **aɖe**]$_i$ yé wó tsɔ package a na **è**$_i$.
woman.DIM INDEF FOC 3PL take package DEF give 3SG.RES
'It's a girl they gave the package to.'

(50) *Context: I'm expecting a package but I didn't receive it. I think my neighbor might have received the package. But my neighbor tells me they didn't give it to him. But he heard a female voice in the building talking to the postman. So he tells me instead:*

[**nyɔnuvi** **aɖe**]$_i$ yé wó tsɔ package a na **è**$_i$.
woman.DIM INDEF FOC 3PL take package DEF give 3SG.RES
'It's a (random) girl they gave the package to.'

[9] Also note that non-specific indefinites do not seem to be expressed with a bare noun in Ewe (in contrast to Akan).

Resumption in Ewe

Is focus movement licensed with a bare noun? Yes, but we still get a resumptive pronoun (and the interpretation is definite).

(51) *Context: I'm expecting a package but I didn't receive it. I have only two neighbours: a boy (guy) and a girl (lady). My friend doesn't know that I have only 2 neighbours. My friend tells me who they gave it to. He says:*

nyɔnuvi$_i$ yé wó tsɔ package a na **è**$_i$.
woman.DIM FOC 3PL take package DEF give 3SG.RES

'It's the girl they gave the package to (not the boy).'

Resumption summary

Assumption: In Kwa languages, chain reduction deletes NPs.

(52)

	indefinite	**anaphoric**	**unique**
Akan	gap	pronoun	gap
Ewe	pronoun	pronoun	pronoun

(53) **Pronoun:**

(54) **Gap:**

- In Akan, arguments can be DPs or NPs depending on the meaning.
- In Ewe, all arguments are DPs.

Conclusion

We've gained two insights:

- Classic DP/NP diagnostics provide evidence against the NP-hypothesis for Ewe and Akan.
- When it comes to resumption, the languages show different patterns. For Akan, a subset of nouns (global uniqueness definites) constitute NPs.

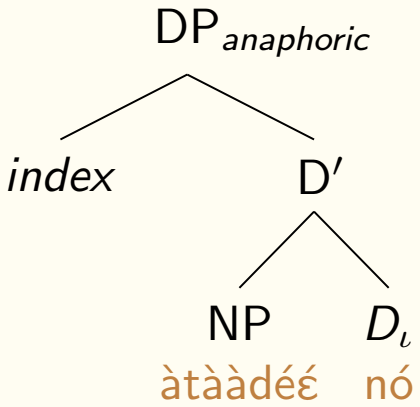
Thus, we conclude the following for now:

1. **DP-hypothesis**:
   ~~All nominal arguments are DPs.~~
   In **Ewe**, all arguments are DPs.
2. ~~**NP-hypothesis**~~:
   ~~In Ewe and Akan, all nominal arguments are NPs.~~
3. **Mixed view**:
   ~~Anaphoric definites are DPs, uniqueness definites are NPs.~~
   In **Akan**, anaphoric definites are DPs, uniqueness definites are NPs.

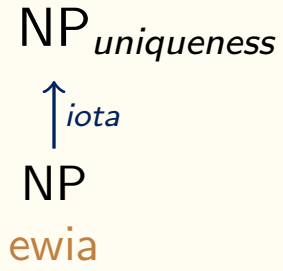
Conclusion

The final structures we propose:

(55) a.

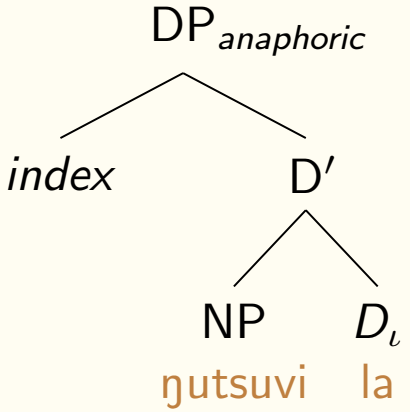


b.

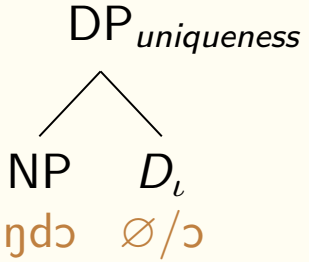


Akan

(56) a.



b.



Ewe

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