THE USE OF KAŋA AS A SPECIFICITY MARKER IN DAGAARE DISCOURSE

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ABSTRACT

This thesis discusses the use of ‘kaŋa’ as a specificity marker in Dagaare discourse. The thesis also explores the status of ‘kaŋa’ in various syntactic positions and contexts of occurrence in utterances and the interpretations it elicits in Dagaare discourse.

DEDICATION

To the four pillars of my life: God, my wife, my mom and my dad. Without you, my life would fall apart. Sometimes, I have no idea where life's road will lead me, but walking with you, and putting my faith in you, God, through this journey has given me the mental fortitude and inner strength to go a step further, anytime I feel like giving up. Thank you God!

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Table 1: Dagaare Noun Classes

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

E.g.	Examples
i.e.	That is
NP	Noun Phrase
N	Noun
PERF	Perfective Aspect
DET	Determiner
DEF	Definite Marker
CONJ	Conjunction
PRO/PRON	Pronoun
V	Verb
INDEF	Indefinite Marker
SPEC	Specificity Marker
ADV	Adverb
ADJ	Adjective
QUANT	Quantifier
PART	Particle
AFFMT	Affirmative Marker
NEG	Negative
DEM	Demonstrative
FOC	Focus Marker
INTS	Intensifier
STAT	Stative Aspect

HUM..... Human

NUM..... Numeral

PL..... Plural

SG..... Singular

LOC..... Locative Marker

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CHAPTER 1: GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.1 Purpose of the Study

This thesis concerns the Dagaare word 'kaŋa'. Specifically the thesis analyses data on the use and various contexts of understanding 'kaŋa' from naturally occurring discourse in Dagaare. My working hypothesis is that 'kaŋa' is a specificity marker.

The use of lexical units in a language is generally governed by the rules of grammar in the language. The syntactic configuration of the Dagaare noun phrase is governed by rules that determine the constituents that combine with the head noun and where they occur within the noun phrase. This thesis examines the syntactic properties of 'kaŋa' in the Dagaare noun phrase.

The goal of this thesis is to find out the lexical semantics of 'kaŋa' and look at how the various contexts in which it co-occurs affects its interpretation.

I also survey various definitions of the notion of specificity discussed in the literature and to determine which of these definitions 'kaŋa' expresses in the Dagaare language. These forms of specificity include (i) referential specificity (ii) scopal specificity (iii) epistemic specificity (iv) partitive specificity (v) topical specificity (vi) noteworthiness as specificity (vii) discourse prominence as specificity plus (vii) the cognitive status 'referential' proposed by Gundel et al (1993).

To achieve this, the following objectives have been set around some core research questions for this work:

- To find out the semantic content of 'kaŋa' and whether it is underlyingly one lexical unit or not.
- To examine the definitions of the notion of specificity in the research literature that are expressed by 'kaŋa'.
- To find out the interaction between the use of 'kaŋa' with the definite and demonstrative determiners in Dagaare.

- To find out where ‘kaŋa’ occurs in the NP and what interpretations it evokes in the various syntactic positions.

- To present examples of how ‘kaŋa’ is used in discourse.

1.2 Motivation of the Study

In recent times, linguistic research has been steadily growing up across the world. This steady growth has had positive impact on many languages, especially those which may be referred to as ‘under-reseached languages’. Dagaare has benefitted from this growing research.

Despite the increasing research work in the Dagaare language, there is no known work on ‘kaŋa’ in particular, though Bodomo’s (1997/2000) study of the nominal morphology of Dagaare makes a transient mention of ‘kaŋa’ as an indefinite form. My research will therefore contribute to the study of Dagaare in general as well as the study of ‘kaŋa’ and specificity in particular.

Hopefully this work will not only provide new data on the the specificity of ‘kaŋa’ but also inspire imminent researchers within the field of linguistics to carry out similar research in their own language or any other language of the world they might be interested in.

1.3 Previous Literature

Dagaare has become an increasingly important area of language research. Researchers like Swadesh et al (1996), Bendor Samuel (1971), Naden (1989), Wilson (1962), Kennedy (1966), Hall (1977), Rattray (1932), Callow (1969), Bodomo (1988, 1994), Saanchi (2003), Dakubu (2005), Ali (2006), Dansieh (2008) among others have generally examined the grammar, syntax, phonology, and morphology of the language.

However, the field of semantics and pragmatics is understudied. Besides, there is no detailed study of ‘kaŋa’ in the field of specificity although one can find some information on definiteness and referentiality in Dagaare mentioned briefly in Bododmo (1997\2000).

1.4 The Dagaare Language

Dagaare is a language mainly spoken in the north-western part of Ghana and also in the adjoining areas of Burkina Faso and Cote d’Ivoire. The area being defined is between latitude 9° N and 11° N and longitude 2° W and 3° W. Dagaare is the major language spoken in the Upper West Region of Ghana. According to population data collected during the 1960 census, there were 201,680 native speakers of Dagaare living in Ghana. It was estimated that 90,000 speakers live in Burkina Faso and Cote d’Ivoire.

There is no current statistics on the number of speakers in the three countries. This is because unlike the 1960 census, subsequent population counts did not include ethnic or tribal identities in the questionnaires. It can however be estimated against the background of 4% population growth rate in Ghana that the number of Dagaare speakers in Ghana may have risen to more than one million people. It is also estimated that native speakers of Dagaare in Burkina Faso and Cote d'Ivoire may be put at about 500,000 people basically due to increased migration in search of greener pastures. Therefore in terms of native speakers, Dagaare may be the fourth largest indigenous language after Akan, Ewe and Dagbani. The indigenous speakers of Dagaare are called the Dagaaba (also nicknamed Dagarti). The Dagaare language is related to Gurene, Dagbane, Mampruli, Kusaal, Buli and Moore. (see Bendor Samuel 1971)

Other languages spoken in the Upper West Region are Sisalla and Chakale, but these languages are spoken by a minority of people, especially Chakale which is almost becoming extinct. Sisalla is spoken in the Tumu-Sisalla district which is to the east of the region. The main towns enclosed by the Dagaare language are Tuna, metropolitan Wa, Kaleo, Daffiama, Nadowli, Jirapa, Lawra, Nandom and Hamile. In Burkina Faso, Dagaare speaking communities include Dano, Diebougou, Dissin and Gaoua (Bodomo 1997).

As a result of the spate of social and geographical mobility of native speakers, Dagaare has spread to many parts of Ghana such as Accra, Kumasi, Techiman, and Obuasi among other places. Although these Dagaare speaking communities are constantly in contact with other languages, the history and nativity of Dagaare as a language is significantly preserved probably due to the desire to be loyal custodians of the culture of the Dagaabas.

The language has been genetically classified as a member of the western Oti-volta group of the Gur branch of the Niger-Congo language family also called 'Mabia' languages- a term referring to the notion of sister or daughter languages (Swadesh et al 1966, Bendor Samuel 1971, Naden 1989).

1.4.1 The Dialects of Dagaare

The language has four main dialects namely; the Northern dialect, Central dialect, Southern dialect and Western dialect, (Bodomo 1994). Alternatively, these dialects- Northern, Central, Southern and Western, are also known as Dagara (Lobr), Dagaare, Waale and Birifor, respectively.

The Northern dialect is spoken in and around Lawra, Eremon, Nandom, Hamile, Gaoua, Dissin and Diebougou. Central Dagaare is spoken in Daffiama, Nadowli, Jirapa Ullo and their surrounding villages like Sombo, Serekpere, Sankana and Goli. Western Dagaare is spoken in Tuna and communities along the western side of the Black Volta River in Burkina Faso and La Côte d'Ivoire.

There are considerable degrees of intelligibility among the dialects because the dialects on the continuum shade into each other, but the dialects at the extreme ends of the continuum have reduced levels of mutual intelligibility. As a result there are consistent recognizable speech features that are peculiar to these dialects and to sub-dialects in some major dialect speaking communities that are mutually exclusive.

My illustrations, analysis and conclusions will be done based on data from the central dialect of Dagaare (also called 'Dagaare'). This is because as pointed out by Dakubu (1982), the central dialect is linguistically central due to the fact that it is the version of Dagaare used for publishing church and educational literature and for purposes of mass communication. These dialect abstractions are mainly based on the geographical location of the native speakers and the linguistic properties of each dialect.

1.5 Methodology

The data was collected mainly from three sources- naturally occurring data, interviews and examples based on native speaker intuition. In collecting the naturally occurring examples I arranged and sat in classroom sessions with Dagaare students of Wa Senior High School and Jujeida Yiri Junior High School. During these sessions I recorded poetry recitations, traditional folktale narratives, and text readings to see the occurrence of 'kaŋa'. In each of these sessions about 25 occurrences of 'kaŋa' were targeted and where this was not met, more recordings were made to meet the target.

I also studied extracts from an unpublished script compiled by the Dagaare language teacher of Wa Senior High School.

Also I conducted interviews with native scholars and educationists as well as students and other ordinary speakers and users of the language about their understanding of the use of 'kaŋa'. I presented my informants with utterances involving the use of 'kaŋa' and they

provided me with information about possible meanings and interpretations. During these sessions the responses were mostly recorded by video coverage and later transcribed.

I also relied on my intuitions as a native speaker and formal knowledge of the Dagaare language to produce examples with 'kaŋa' and judge its acceptability in some contexts of occurrence.

The data I use in this thesis have been annotated and documented in Typecraft- an online linguistic annotation tool. (http://typecraft.org/tc2wiki/Main_Page).

1.6 Phenomenon to be Investigated

The thesis seeks to propose a more accurate meaning of the form 'kaŋa' than previously described. Consider the examples (a) and (b) below:

(a)**Pɔgɔ kaŋa wa la kyɛ**

"A certain woman came here"

Pɔgɔ	kaŋa	wa	la	kyɛ
pɔgɔ	kaŋa	wa	la	kyɛ
woman		*come*.PERF	AFFMT	*here*
N	ADJ	V	PART	ADV

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(b)**Pɔgɔ wa la kyɛ**

"woman came here"

Pɔgɔ	wa	la	kyɛ
pɔgɔ	wa	la	kyɛ
woman	*come*.PERF	AFFMT	*here*
N	V	PART	ADV

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Both (a) and (b) above can be interpreted to mean that there is a woman such that she came to the given place. The difference between (a) and (b) however is that a felicitous use of (a) necessarily requires the condition of identifiability of a referent by the speaker and or both the speaker and hearer. "*Pɔgɔ kaŋa*" therefore implies that there is a specific woman whose identity is tied to a "non-trivial identifying property" (Farkas 2002).

I propose in this thesis that 'kaŋa' marks specificity in Dagaare discourse and therefore the focus of this thesis is to investigate whether this claim is supported by data in the Dagaare language. A sub-goal of the thesis is to find out which semantic realizations of specificity as discussed in the research literature 'kaŋa' expresses.

Further, in the light of the central hypothesis, I propose that 'kaŋa' is better glossed as 'specific' than 'indefinite', in that the latter has less significant semantic content. Henceforth in this thesis, I gloss the meaning of 'kaŋa' as SPEC meaning specific and ADJ meaning adjective or PRON meaning pronoun, except for examples other than my own[1].

1.7 Important Linguistic Categories

Since it is my working hypothesis that 'kaŋa' marks specificity in Dagaare, various linguistic notions of specificity will form the theoretical backbone of the investigation.

There are several definitions of specificity in the semantic literature. These notions as presented in von Heusinger (forthcoming) include (i) referential specificity, (ii) scopal specificity, (iii) epistemic specificity, (iv) partitive specificity, (v) topical specificity, (vi) noteworthiness specificity and (vii) discourse prominence specificity. An additional notion related to specificity, which I discuss, is the cognitive status referential proposed by Gundel et al. 1993. I will say more about this in chapter 2.

1.8 Thesis Outline

The thesis is organized as follows: In chapter 1, I outline the purpose and motivation for the study. I also indicate the main phenomenon to be investigated and the linguistic categories that form the theoretical background for the study. Additionally, I mention some previous works done in the Dagaare language in general and present information on the language, its dialects and speakers. In chapter 2, I present a literature review of the various notions of specificity plus the cognitive status 'referential', with the view to establishing an initial approximation of possible correlation between these notions and 'kaŋa' as specificity marker in Dagaare discourse. In chapter 3, I present the syntax and semantics of 'kaŋa'. Chapter four summarises and integrates the insights from chapter 2 and chapter 3. Chapter 5 concludes the thesis.

[1] I gloss 'kaŋa' as either adjective or pronoun because of its use and position of occurrence in the Dagaare NP.Although these gloss indices need to be investigated further in order to make them more adequate and conventional descriptions of 'kaŋa' in the Dagaare grammar, this initial observation presupposes that there are at least two forms of 'kaŋa'. I will say more about this in the next chapters.

CHAPTER 2: NOTIONS OF SPECIFICITY

2.1 Introduction

It is the central hypothesis of this thesis that the form 'kaŋa' is a specificity marker. The category of specificity is a semantic-pragmatic category that differentiates various readings or uses of indefinite noun phrases. The notion deals with why a speaker's choice and use of an indefinite noun phrase to refer to a specific object invariably relates to his "referential intention".

It is common place in the research literature (see Fodor & Sag 1982; Farkas 2002; von Heusinger (to appear)) to assume that indefinites are characteristically ambiguous regarding the specific/non-specific distinction. This has made the notion of specificity a widely discussed topic of linguistic investigation and has resulted in a broad variety of proposals regarding what information is associated with specific and non-specific interpretation of NPs in general.

The use and interpretation of indefinites is particularly unique in Dagaare due to the presence of the form 'kaŋa' which can be used as a part of indefinite expressions (see Bodomo 2000). In this chapter I present a literature review of the various notions of specificity to see which defined notion, if any, fits the use and interpretation of 'kaŋa' as a specificity marker in the Dagaare Noun Phrase (NP). Since specificity is compatible with both definiteness and indefiniteness, I will also examine the extent to which there is an interaction between the use of 'kaŋa' and definite descriptions including demonstratives in Dagaare.

There is quite a substantial volume of research aimed at fine tuning the notion of specificity and its various types in the literature. This means that it is difficult to have a clear-cut outline of the notion. The various theories on the specific and non-specific divide of indefinite noun phrases as presented in von Heusinger (forthcoming) can be categorized in to seven classes. These include (i) referential specificity, (ii) scopal specificity, (iii) epistemic specificity, (iv) partitive specificity, (v) topical specificity, (vi) noteworthiness specificity and (vii) discourse prominence as specificity. In addition, I will present the cognitive status "referential" (see Gundel et al 1993), which is closely related to specificity. Below, I make a first approximation regarding whether these notions correlate with the use of 'kaŋa' or not.

2.2 Referential Specificity

This type of specificity is also known as specificity in opaque contexts and relates to an interpretation of indefinite noun phrases that license existential entailment and show a two-way contrast similar to the *de re* and *de dicto* interpretations of definite noun phrases. According to von Heusinger (forthcoming), the example in (1) could have two important interpretations, as illustrated in (2) and (3) below:

(1) Paula believes that Bill talked to an important politician

(2) Paula believes that Bill talked to an important politician - (there is an important politician, e.g., Angela Merkel) - *de re reading.*

(3) Paula believes that Bill talked to an important politician- (there is no important politician) - *de dicto reading*

The interpretation in (2) is the *de re* or specific interpretation of the indefinite noun phrase where the speaker has a particular referent in mind at the time of speaking and indicates that Paula believes that Bill talked to this referent, Angela Merkel. However, in the *de dicto* (or non-specific) reading of the NP in (3), the speaker communicates a general assumption, that is, that Paula believes that Bill engaged an important politician in a talk exchange in a general sense.

Taking the *de re* interpretation of (2) into consideration, via a pragmatic inferential process, at least two implicated premises can be derived, (6) and (7) below, leading to the implicated conclusion in (8):

(5) Paula believes that Bill talked to an important politician.

(6) There is an important politician.

(7) An important politician is Angela Merkel

(8) Paula believes that Bill talked to Angela Merkel.

We can logically infer (6) from (5), which indicates that there is an entailment relationship between them. The statement of identity in (7) means that "Angela Merkel" can substitute "an important politician" in (6), resulting in the implicature in (8). With the *de dicto* interpretation in (3), on the other hand, an inferential process cannot result in the derivation of the implicature in (8) above.

We can observe a distinction between *de re* and *de dicto* interpretations of indefinites from the phrases above. In the *de re* interpretation in (2), the speaker attributes a particular proposition about a particular individual, (Angela Merkel), to the subject (Paula) of the propositional attitude verb "believe".

This has two possible implications; either that the particular referent picked out, Angela Merkel, is known to both the speaker and Paula who is the subject of the attitude verb "believe" or that only one of them knows the individual referent.

On the other hand, the *de dicto* interpretation in (3) is an attribution of an existential belief to the subject referent. Here the speaker does not have a specific person in mind and does not intend to convey a propositional belief about a particular individual.

In Dagaare, one cannot derive a d*e re* interpretation of an indefinite NP without 'kaŋa' occurring. Its absence has a semantic-pragmatic implication on the meaning of the NP. Example (9) below illustrates this:

(9)Dery bʊɔrɔ la ka Ayuo anê polisi dɔɔ nenkpɛn kaŋa nyɛ taa

"Dery desires that Ayuo meets with a certain influential\authoritative policeman"

Dery	bʊɔrɔ	la	ka	Ayuo	anê	polisi	dɔɔ
dery	bʊɔrɔ	la	ka	ayuo	anê	polisi	dɔɔ
Dery.HUM	*want\desire*.PERF	AFFMT	*that*	*Ayuo*	*and*	*police*	*man*
N	V	PART	COMP	N	CONJ	N	N

nenkpɛn	kaŋa	nyɛ	taa
nenkpɛn	kaŋa	nyɛ	taa
elderly	SPEC	*see*	REFL
A	ADJ	V	N

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The presence of 'kaŋa' intuitively signals that the speaker has a referent in mind and the indefinite phrase refers to this referent. Thus, the pragmatic inferential process that derived the implicature in (8) from (5) will similarly account for the *de re* interpretation of (9) rephrased in (10) when the identity of the referent is Saana Daplaa and Saana Daplaa is an authoritative policeman:

(10)Dery bʊɔrɔ la ka Ayuo anê Saana Daplaa nyɛ taa

"Dery desires that Ayuo meets with Saana Daplaa"

Dery	bʊɔrɔ	la	ka	Ayuo	anê	Saana	Daplaa
dery	bʊɔrɔ	la	ka	ayuo	anê	saana	daplaa
Dery.HUM	*want\desire*.PERF	AFFMT	*that*	*Ayuo*	*and*	*Saana*	*Daplaa*
N	V	PART	COMP	N	CONJ	N	N

nyɛ	taa
nyɛ	taa
see	REFL
V	N

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If 'kaŋa' is not present in (9) "*polisi dɔɔ nenkpɛn*" will get a *de dicto* interpretation as illustrated in (11):

(11)Dery bʊɔrɔ la ka Ayuo anê polisi dɔɔ nenkpɛn nyɛ taa

"Dery desires that Ayuo meets (an) authoritative police man"

Dery	bʊɔrɔ	la	ka	Ayuo	anê	polisi	dɔɔ	nenkpɛn
dery	bʊɔrɔ	la	ka	ayuo	anê	polisi	dɔɔ	nenkpɛn
HUM	*want\desire*.PERF	AFFMT	*that*	*Ayuo*	*and*	*police*	*man*	*elderly*
N	V	PART	COMP	N	CONJ	N	N	A

nyɛ	taa
nyɛ	taa
see	REFL
V	N

Generated in TypeCraft.

Dagaare differs from English with respect to the derivations of impicatures from the examples in (1), (5) and (9) which correspond to the specific interpretation of the phrases. In English the specific interpretation is only derived through pragmatic inferences, whereas in Dagaare this is encoded in the language. In other words, some of the assumed implicated premises that are inferred in English are part of the explicature in Dagaare.

2.3 Scopal Specificity

Scopal specificity is defined as the ability of indefinites to be interpreted outside the scope of certain operators, e.g. escape so-called "scope islands". The possibility for indefinites to take wide scope is illustrated in (12).

(12) Five boys in this street are in love with a girl in this street.

The expression 'a girl in this street' has two possible interpretations. On the wide scope (specific) interpretation, there is just one girl whom all five boys are in love with, in which case the existential quantifier has scope over the quantifier corresponding to 'five'. On the non-specific narrow scope interpretation of 'a girl in this street' each of the five boys are in love with some girl or other, in which case the identity of the girl varies with the identity of the boy. This is triggered by the presence of other quantifiers such as the universal quantifier 'every' as illustrated in (13) below:

(13) Five boys in this street are in love with every girl in this street.

Fodor and Sag (1982) claim that specific indefinites are not only able to take wide scope, but even escape scope islands. Scope islands, according to Fodor and Sag (1982), is created by *that*-complements (with lexical heads) or by conditionals. In example (14), the indefinite NP can escape the scope island, while this does not hold for the universal quantifier *each* in (15).

(14) John overheard the rumor that each of my students had been called before the dean.

(15) John overheard the rumor that a student of mine had been called before the dean.

(15) can be interpreted as: "There is a student in my class, and John overheard the rumour that this student had been called before the dean". In this case the indefinite has scope over the operator associated with the *that-clause*. On the other hand, there is no corresponding wide scope specific interpretation of 'each' saying that for each of the student John heard the rumor that this student had been called before the dean. The only possible interpretation of (14) is that John overheard a rumour that concerned all his students – i .e. the narrow scope interpretation.

In Dagaare, the presence of *zaa* in (16), corresponding to the universal quantifier, has to have narrow scope. The presence of 'kaŋa' in (17), on the other hand, enforces the wide scope interpretation of the indefinite expression:

(16) **Bipɔlɔ ata be la a sakuuri ŋa a nvn bi-pɔgɔ kaŋa ang be a sakuuri ŋa**

"Three boys in this school are in love with a (certain) girl in this school"

Bipɔlɔ	ata	be	la	a	sakuuri	ŋa	a
bipɔlɔ	ata	be	la	a	sakuuri	ŋa	a
boys	*three*.NUM>N	*are*.PRES	AFFMT	*and*	school	*this*.DEF	*the*.DEF
N	QUANT	V	PART	CONJ	N	PRON	DET

nvn	bipɔgɔ	kaŋa	ang	be	a	sakuuri	ŋa
nvn	bi pɔgɔ	kaŋa	ang	be	a	sakuuri	ŋa
love	girl	SPEC		*is*.PRES	*the*.DEF	school	*this*.DEF
V	N	ADJ	PRON	V	DET	N	PRON

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(16) cannot be interpreted such that three boys love three different girls. In other words 'kaŋa' enforces the wide scope interpretation when it occurs together with a noun.

In (17), the determiner 'zaa' (every) occurs.

(17) **Bipɔlɔ ata be la a sakuuri ŋa a nvn bi-pɔgɔ zaa ang be a sakuuri ŋa**

"Three boys in this school are in love with every girl in this school"

Bipɔlɔ	ata	be	la	a	sakuuri	ŋa	a
bipɔlɔ	ata	be	la	a	sakuuri	ŋa	a
boys	*three*.NUM>N	*are*.PRES	AFFMT	*the*.DEF	school	*this*.DEF	*and*
N	QUANT	V	PART	DET	N	PRON	CONJ

nvn	bipɔgɔ	zaa	ang	be	a	sakuuri	ŋa
nvn	bi pɔgɔ	zaa	ang	be	a	sakuuri	ŋa
love	girl	*all*		*is*.PRES	*the*.DEF	school	*this*.DEF
V	N	QUANT	PRON	V	DET	N	PRON

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In this case, the universal quantifier has to have narrow scope. In other words, each of the three boys is in love with some girl or other, in which case the identity of the girl varies with the identity of the boy.

Now, let us see what happens when ‘kaŋa’ co-occurs with ‘zaa’. It might be expected that it would be counter-intuitive to combine ‘kaŋa’ with ‘zaa’ as in (18):

(18) **Bipɔlɔ ata be la a sakuuri ŋa a nvn bi-pɔgɔ kaŋa zaa ang be a sakuuri ŋa**

“Three boys in this school are in love with each girl in this school.”

Bipɔlɔ	ata	be	la	a	sakuuri	ŋa	a
bipɔlɔ	ata	be	la	a	sakuuri	ŋa	a
boys	*three*.NUM>N	*is*.PRES	AFFMT	*the*.DEF	school	*this*.DEF	*the*.DEF
N	QUANT	V	PART	DET	N	PRON	DET

nvn	bipɔgɔ	kaŋa	zaa	ang	be	a	sakuuri
nvn	bi pɔgɔ	kaŋa	zaa	ang	be	a	sakuuri
love	girl	SPEC	*all*		*is*.PRES	*the*.DEF	school
V	N	ADJ	QUANT	PRON	V	DET	N

ŋa
ŋa
this.DEF
PRON

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The free translation above shows that the syntactic occurrence of *kaŋa* and the quantifier *zaa* together semantically correspond to *each* in English and create a quantificational expression that licenses a narrow scope interpretation.

We can observe from the foregoing examples that ‘kaŋa’ does not enforce a wide scope interpretation of the phrase it modifies; rather that it affects its interpretation so that in some cases, a wide scope interpretation occurs (or is preferred) as a result.

2.4 Epistemic Specificity

This notion of specificity deals with the cases where the speaker has an individual referent in mind and communicates his intention to talk about this entity in the real world. Epistemic specificity distinguishes between the speaker’s knowledge of the referent of an indefinite NP on one hand and on the other hand, the lack of awareness of any such referent. This is paraphrased by Karttunen (1920:20) as “the speaker has a particular individual in mind”. The term “epistemic specificity” is used by Farkas (1994) to exemplify the contrasts that are

available in discourse contexts where other operators are absent. Example (19) illustrates Karttunen's view:

(19a) I talked with a logician.

(19b) I talked with Rudolf.

(19c) I talked with a famous philosopher.

(19d) I talked with the author of Meaning and Necessity.

(19e)...., and not with a linguist.

(19f) ...., therefore I now understand the first and second syllogism.

The specific interpretation of (19a) follows from an answer to the question "Who did you talk with this morning?" According to Karttunen (1968:14), "the speaker has a certain referent in mind: and, in his knowledge, there also are some properties associated with that particular individual. Any of these properties could presumably be used to describe the individual." Therefore if the speaker has talked to Rudolf Carnap, a famous philosopher and the author of Meaning and Necessity, and the speaker has this referent in mind, then the specific reading of (19a) is favoured by (19b-d). The non-specific interpretation on the other hand is an answer to "What kind of person did you talk with this morning?" and thus illustrated by the extensions of (19) in (19e-f).

The distinction between specific and non-specific interpretations according to the epistemic specificity definition is illustrated in the classical examples of Fordor and Sag (1982) in (20) and (21).

(20) A student in syntax 1 cheated on the final exam. It was the guy who sits in the very back.

(21) A student in syntax 1 cheated on the final exam. I wonder which student it was

The phrase in (20) allows for a specific interpretation where the speaker makes a proposition about an individual referent he has in mind. However, in (21) the speaker's assertion is not about an individual referent picked out; rather the indefinite phrase points to a constituted set of students in the syntax class where an act of cheating was carried out on the final exam.

In Dagaare, the correspondence of (20) will be constructed with 'kaŋa' and (21) most likely without 'kaŋa' as illustrated in (22) and (23) below:

(22) **Sakuuri bie kaŋa ɔɛ la. A bidɔɔɔ na ang mang zenge a puori na la**

"A (certain) student failed. It is the boy who sits at the back"

Sakuuri	bie	kaŋa	ɔɛ	la	A	bidɔɔɔ	na
sakuuri	bie	kaŋa	ɔɛ	la	a	bidɔɔɔ	na
school	*child*	SPEC	*failed*.PERF	AFFMT	*the*.DEF	*boy*	
N	N	ADJ	V	PART	DET	N	DEM

ang	mang	zenge	a	puori	na	la
ang	mang	zenge	a	puori	na	la
	ITER	*sit*	*the*.DEF	*back*.LOC		AFFMT
PRON		V	DET	N	DEM	PART

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When knowledge of a referent is specific, the noun phrase always tends to select 'kaŋa' to indicate that. (22) therefore signals that the speaker has a particular individual in mind and this individual sits at the back of the class. This is however not the case in (23) below, where 'kaŋa' is absent.

(23) **Sakuuri bie ɔɛ la. N teɛrɛ la nɪɛ na ang la**

"Student failed. I am wondering who it was"

Sakuuri	bie	ɔɛ	la	N	teɛrɛ	la	nɪɛ
sakuuri	bie	ɔɛ	la	n	teɛrɛ	la	nɪɛ
school	*child*	*failed*.PERF	AFFMT	*I*.1SG	*think*.PERF	AFFMT	*person*
N	N	V	PART	PRON	V	PART	N

na	ang	la		
na	ang	la		
		AFFMT		
DEM	PRON	PART		

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The difference in the conditions for the use of the two indefinite NPs in Dagaare above is that there is more descriptive content in (22) than in (23) and the descriptive material provides sufficient information that helps the addressee to identify the referent referred to by the

speaker. The indefinite in (22) therefore has an epistemic specific interpretation and the indefinite in (23) is the epistemic non-specific counterpart.

The contrast between the two indefinites in (22) and (23) corresponds to the referential versus attributive interpretation of definite NPs traced back to Donnellan (1966). According to Donnellan (1966), the definite description in (24) can have two interpretations: a referential interpretation rephrased in (24a) and an attributive interpretation rephrased in (24b):

(24) The murderer of Smith is insane

(24a) Jones Petterson is insane.

(24b) Anyone who has killed Smith must be insane.

For the reading paraphrased in (24a), the speaker has a particular referent in mind and the definite description is used to pick out this individual about whom the speaker makes the assertion that he is insane. When the speaker utters (24) with the interpretation in (24b) in mind, the definite description is non-specific.

Definite expressions in Dagaare are expressed when the definite marker '*a*' co-occurs with the noun. The phrase "*The murderer of Smith is insane*" will be translated literally in Dagaare as in (25)

(25a)**A Smith kννrↄ yaarang**

"The murderer of Smith is crazy"

A	Smith	kννrↄ	yaarang
a	smith	kννrↄ	yaarang
the.DEF		*murderer*.V>N	*mad*
DET	N	N	ADJ

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The subject phrase in (25a) can only be interpreted as the subject phrase in (24a). That of (24b) will correspond to the Dagaare counterpart below in (25b):

(25b) **Nιɛ zaa nang kυ Smith yaarang**

"Anyone who killed Smith is insane"

Nıɛ	zaa	nang	kʊ	Smith	yaarang
nıɛ	zaa	nang	kʊ	smith	yaarang
person	*all*	*which*.REL	*kill*		*mad*
N	QUANT	PRO	V	N	ADJ

The contrast between the referential interpretation of the definite description in (24a) and the attributive interpretation in (24b) is motivated by the difference in the type of attribution the speaker makes with the definite descriptions. In (24a) it is singular proposition and in (24b) it is a general proposition.

In Dagaare, however, the difference between the attributive and referential interpretation of the indefinites will be encoded by 'kaŋa'. For instance, if we assume a context where all the pupils in a school show signs of ill-health, so their teacher calls the health centre to solicit assistance. After the call he hangs up and says (26a) below:

(26a) **Dokita na wa kaa la a biiri**

" Doctor will come and attend to the children"

Dokita	na	wa	kaa	la	a	biiri	
dokita	na	wa	kaa	la	a	bi	iri
	FUT	*come*.PERF	*see*.PERF	AFFMT	*the*.DEF	*child*	PL
N		V	V	PART	DET	N	

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In the context of the utterance above, the indefinite description is used attributively. The hearer is expected to understand that some medical doctor or other will come and attend to the children. Now let us consider another context where Dery knows that Ayuo has been looking forward to going to the movies with her cousin who returned from the United Kingdom a few weeks earlier. Ayuo agrees with her cousin to meet in front of the cinema near her (Ayuo's) house. Dery is aware of this arrangement and looking out of the window, he says (26b):

(26b) **Fo dogrɔ kaŋa kyɛnlɛ fo la a cine dieu sıɛ**

"A certain relative of yours is waiting for you beside the cinema"

Fo	dogrɔ	kaŋa	kyɛnlɛ	fo	la	a	cine	dieu

fo	dogrɔ	kaŋa	kyɛnlɛ	fo	la	a	cine	dieu
2SG	*relative*	SPEC		2SG	AFFMT	*the*.DEF		*room*
PRON	N	ADJ	V	PRON	PART	DET	N	N

sɪɛ
sɪɛ
waist
N
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In this context, the hearer is intended to understand that it is her cousin who is waiting for her. Here, the speaker uses the indefinite description " Fo dogrɔ kaŋa" referentially, to pick out a particular individual referent. Notice that, in the attributive interpretation of the indefinite, it is felicitous to utter (26a) without 'kaŋa'. However, in the referential interpretation as in (26b), 'kaŋa' is obligatory.

Since epistemic specificity relates to the knowledge states of the salient agents of the discourse, one question that arises is; who identifies the referent; the speaker, hearer or some other important discourse agent? Von Heusinger et al (2007) argue that it is not always the case that the speaker is "responsible" for the referent but also the hearer or some other salient agent in the discourse context or the subject of the verb in the sentence. For instance, in the example below, the indefinite phrase *a certain* can be used felicitously in the corresponding context:

(27) Jerry claims that he saw a certain professor from Crenshaw College in the morning.

Context: Jerry tells speaker whom he saw in a chat with the speaker. Speaker is reporting what Jerry told him to addressee in (27).

In the given context, neither the speaker nor the addressee is familiar with the referent of the indefinite phrase *a certain.* It is only Jerry, the subject of the attitude verb *claim* who knows or is familiar with the referent.

This means that the referent of an epistemic specific indefinite can be located in the speaker's assertions or the hearer's representation or in the discourse itself. The presupposition therefore is that in epistemic specificity, specific indefinite NPs locate the referent in the knowledge world of the speaker and this speaker-given referent is thus introduced into the discourse.

A similar example of (27) in Dagaare is given in (28) below where the presence of 'kaŋa' in the phrase "dokita kaŋa'" means 'a certain doctor' when translated into English:

(28)Nana yele ka ʊ nyɛ la dokita kaŋa nang yi Sombo

"Nana said that he saw a certain doctor from Sombo"

Nana	yele	ka	ʊ	nyɛ	la	dokita	kaŋa	nang	yi
nana	yele	ka	ʊ	nyɛ	la	dokita	kaŋa	nang	yi
nana	say	*that*		*see*	AFFMT	doctor	SPEC	*which*	*house*
N	V	COMP	PRO	V	PART	N	ADJ	PRO	N

Sombo
sombo

N

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The example above is felicitous in a context where the speaker does not know the particular doctor in question but Nana does.

2.5 Partitive Specificity

Indefinite NPs have a general behaviour of introducing new discourse referents. In partitive specificity, a non-empty discourse group is introduced that is cognitively familiar and the partitive expression is used to pick out one referent of this familiar discourse group.

In discussing the phenomenon of direct object marking in Turkish, Enç (1991) proposes a definition of specificity which includes partitive interpretations. Enç argues that the difference in object marking in Turkish, illustrated in (29) and (30), creates a distinction in the interpretation of indefinites.

(29) Odam-a birkaç çocuk girdi

My room-DAT several child entered

'Several children entered my room'

(30) Iki kɪz-ɬ taniyordum

two girls-ACC I-knew

'I knew two girls'

(31) Iki kız taniyordum

two girls I-knew

'I knew two girls'

(32) Kız-lar-dan iki-sin-i taniyordum

two Pl-Abl two-Agr-Acc I-knew

'I knew two of the girls'

In the examples above where (29) is the first to be uttered and followed by (30) or (31), one can observe a crucial differences in the two indefinite phrases. The syntactic composition of the two phrases differs in terms of the grammatical marking of case, where the object phrase in (30) is marked in the accusative case whereas the object in (31) is not. This difference in the morpho-syntax of the two phrases correlates with a differences in their semantic interpretations. Example (29) is an assertion about two girls who are included as subsets of the given set of children. The object NP in (30) with accusative case therefore semantically parallels the explicit partitive NP in (32). Example (31), on the other hand, with no case marking on 'kız', is about two girls eliminated from the given unique set of children.

Enç (1991) observes that all epistemic indefinites, all definites, and all universally quantified NPs in Turkish are necessarily marked with accusative case and thus develops a notion of specificity, discourse-linking, which includes all these cases in addition to partitives.

von Heusinger & Kornfilt (2005:32), in von Heusinger (forthcoming), however claim that Turkish partitive indefinites could have both specific and non-specific interpretations where the case-marked accusative in (29) has an (epistemic) specific reading and the non-case marked accusative in (30) only licenses a non-specific reading. Contrary to Enç (1991), von Heusinger (forthcoming) concludes that "partitive indefinites are not specific indefinites, although both show a kind of discourse anchoring. He further argues that "partitives are

discourse anchored by their superset that is given, while specific indefinites are discourse anchored by the referential intention of the speaker (or some other agent)".

In Dagaare, an example of a partitive construction is (32a):

(32a)**A bi-pɔgba kaŋa wa la kyɛ**

"One of the girls came here"

A	bipɔgba	kaŋa	wa	la	kyɛ
a	bi pɔgba	kaŋa	wa	la	kyɛ
the.DEF	*girl*	SPEC	*come*.PERF	AFFMT	*here*
DET	N	ADJ	V	PART	ADV

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Example (32a) is however a case of overt partitive in Dagaare, created by the presence of the definite article 'a' in combination with the word order. An example of a covert partitive is illustrated in (32b):

(32b)**Bi-pɔgba kaŋa wa la kyɛ**

"One of the girls came here"

Bipɔgba	kaŋa	wa	la	kyɛ	
bi pɔgba	kaŋa	wa	la	kyɛ	
girl	SPEC	*come*.PERF	AFFMT	*here*	
N	ADJ	V	PART	ADV	

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In (32b), the speaker has a referent in mind, whom he picks out from a set of unique girls. Both (32a) and (32b) can be used in the context created by utterance (29) earlier. Thus, in both (32a) and (32b), there is a familiar discourse group mentioned in the phrase, namely the given girls, and 'kaŋa' picks out one member of this group, who is the referent the speaker has in mind. However, if the speaker just wants to tell how many of the girls came, in which case the interpretation of the phrase will equal a non-epistemic interpretation, it will be counter-intuitive to utter (32b). 'Kaŋa' will be absent in such situations, as is illustrated in (33):

(33) **Bi-pɔgɔ wa la kyɛ**

"(uncertain) girl came here"

Bipɔgɔ	wa	la	kyɛ
bipɔgɔ	wa	la	kyɛ
girl	*come*.PERF	AFFMT	*here*
N	V	PART	ADV

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From the data above we can observe a preliminary difference between Dagaare and Turkish. It is not obligatory for 'kaŋa' to modify a definite NP in Dagaare. In other words, a definite NP may or may not be modified by 'kaŋa', as will be shown in detail in the syntactic configuration of 'kaŋa' in chapter 3. This is however not the case in Turkish.

2.6 Topical Specificity

The linguistic phenomenon of topic basically has to do with the core thing that is talked about in a clause or discourse. The topical element can be syntactically positioned at the left or right edge of the clause or sentence depending on the type of language. Topicality and specificity are seen as closely related in that topical phrases either have to or tend to be interpreted specifically. Topical specificity can therefore be understood as allowing for the topical element in the phrase or discourse to be interpreted as specific. This is illustrated with the examples below adapted from von Heusinger (forthcoming):

(34) Some ghosts live in the basement; others live in the hall.

(35) There are some ghosts in the house.

In (34) the phrase *some ghosts* is topical and therefore interpreted as specific. This can be rephrased as "some particular ghosts live in the basement- the quiet ones; but the others (noisy ones) live in the hall". (35) only expresses the existence of ghosts in a broader and rather non-specific sense.

On the identification of the topical element which licenses the specificity contrasts, von Heusinger et al (2007), argues that a speaker is intuitively likely to introduce the topic by a speech act independent of the assertions he makes in the sentence. However, some researchers disagree that though topic shows contrasts similar to specificity contrasts in some sense, the two are different and independent notions as concluded by von Heusinger et al (2007).

Topical constructions in Dagaare are expressed by the use of the particle *la*, which is conventionally used to mark focus (see Dakubu 2005).

2.7 Noteworthiness as Specificity

Specificity as noteworthiness relates to the forward referential ability of indefinite NPs (see von Heusinger 2010). This has to do with the indefinites introducing a hearer-new referent and the possibility of referring to that referent in the discourse. This type of specificity accounts for the indefinite use of *this* in English as an introducer of a new discourse referent. The use of indefinite *this* is acceptable if the referent is noteworthy or becomes the topic of the ensuing discourse. The examples below from von Heusinger (forthcoming) illustrate this:

(36) He put *a\this* 31 cent stamp on the envelope, and only realised later that it was worth a fortune because it was unperforated.

(37) He put *a\#this* 31 cent stamp on the envelope, so he must want it go airmail.

In both sentences above a new discourse referent is introduced but what is significantly different about the two sentences is that the indefinite in (36) introduces into the common ground a salient theme for the succeeding discourse that will receive re-mention at relevant points in the discourse flow.

Indefinite *this* indicates a specific, interesting and novel referent that is not known until the time of mention. In the unmarked or basic use of the indefinite in (37) on the other hand, the new referent is just indicated as having more or less important properties. Thus, the referent of (36) is noteworthy specific whereas the referent of 'a 31 cent stamp' in (37) is not.

In Dagaare, 'kaŋa' is used to mark noteworthiness, especially in traditional folktales. The narrator often uses 'kaŋa' to identify and introduce a certain referent who is later mentioned in the story in relation to the unfolding sequence of events. The example (38) illustrates this:

(38) **Bie kaŋa la gaa ka ɴ te dugi kɴɔ ka a kɴɔ de ɴ**

"There was this child and he went to swim in the river but the river drowned him"

Bie	kaŋa	la	gaa		ka	ɴ	te	dugi	kɴɔ	ka
bie	kaŋa	la	ga	a	ka	ɴ	te	dugi	kɴɔ	ka
child	SPEC	AFFMT	*go*	PERF	*and*	*he*	*to*		*water*	*and*
N	ADJ	PART	V		CONJ	PRO	PREP	V	N	CONJ

a	kʋɔ	de	ʋ
a	kʋɔ	de	ʋ
the.DEF	*water*	*took*.PERF	*him*
DET	N	V	PRO

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The pronouns ‘he’ and ‘him’ in the ensuing discourse refer to ‘this child’.

As for examples such as (37) above, ‘kaŋa’ parallels *this*, and it is dispreferrred in the sentence.

2.8 Discourse Prominence as Specificity

This refers to the referential potential of an indefinite NP to introduce a hearer-new or discourse-new referent that will be referred to later in the discourse and might even become a topical element (see von Heusinger (to appear)). This aspect of discourse prominence is referred to as “topic shift” or “referential persistence” in the literature (Givón 1983). The examples below, adapted from von Heusinger (2010), illustrate this type of specificity:

(39) There lived a man and the man had a wife and he loved his wife dearly.

(40) There lived a man and the season was very short and hot.

In (39), the indefinite *a man* introduces a salient referent who becomes the topic of the ensuing discourse. Later reference is made to this referent such that it does not only correlate with the referential intentions of the speaker but also hearer identifiable as the discourse progresses.

In (40), on the other hand, only an existential claim is made about the referent and it does not become salient in terms of repeated mention in the discourse. The contrast created by the persistence of the referent and topical progression of the referent in the course of the discourse distinguishes the specific interpretation of (39) from the non-specific interpretation of (40).

In Dagaare, a new discourse referent can be introduced at different time points in stories and ‘kaŋa’ can be used to introduce this referent. The identity of this new referent can be sustained by repeated mention in relation to some significant aspects of the discourse. The

example in (41) illustrates this case whereas (42) does not because the indefinite 'dɔɔ kaŋa' does not have referential progression in the discourse:

(41) **Dɔɔ kaŋa la zenge ka ɴ taa pɔgba kyɛ ka ba zaa nɔna ɴ**

"There lived a man and he had wives but they all loved him"

Dɔɔ	kaŋa	la	zenge	ka	ɴ	taa	pɔgba	kyɛ	ka
dɔɔ	kaŋa	la	zenge	ka	ɴ	taa	pɔgba	kyɛ	ka
man	SPEC	AFFMT	*sit*		*he*	*have*	*wives*	*but*	*and*
N	ADJ	PART	V	CONJ	PRO	V	N	CONJ	CONJ

ba	zaa	nɔna	ɴ
ba	zaa	nɔna	ɴ
3PL	*all*	*love*	*him*
PRON	QUANT	V	PRO

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(42)**Dɔɔ kaŋa la be be ka wagri wa ta ka saa né**

"There lived a man and a time came and it rained."

Dɔɔ	kaŋa	la	be	be	ka	wagri	wa	ta
dɔɔ	kaŋa	la	be	be	ka	wagri	wa	ta
man	SPEC	AFFMT	*is*.PRES	*there*	*and*	*time*	*come*.PERF	*arrive*
N	ADJ	PART	V	ADV	COMP	N	V	V

ka	saa	né
ka	saa	né
and	*rain*	*fall*
COMP	N	V

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In example (41), the referent picked out by the indefinite that 'kaŋa' is part of, is mentioned progressively in the discourse. However, in (42), the referent picked out by the indefinite does not persist in reference beyond the first mention. Therefore the use of 'kaŋa' does not fully correlate with this notion of specificity.

2.9 The Cognitive Status Referential

The Givenness Hierarchy is a theoretical framework propounded by Gundel et al (1993) to account for the use of various referring expressions. The cognitive status 'referential' is one of six implicationally related cognitive statuses in the framework. The theory endorses the view that the form of referring expression depends on the assumed cognitive status of the referent in the addressee, i.e. on the assumption that a cooperative speaker can reasonably make regarding the addressee's knowledge and attention state in the particular context in which the expression is used.

The various statuses in the Givenness Hierarchy correlate with different forms of referring expressions in that they restrict the conditions necessary for the appropriate use and interpretation of them. The six statuses are assumed to be relevant for referring expressions across all languages. Below are the six cognitive statuses and their relevant parallel English forms as proposed by Gundel et al. (1993):

in focus *it* > activated *this; this* N*; that* > familiar *that* N >uniquely identifiable *the* N >

referential indefinite-*this* N > type identifiable *a* N

A nominal with the cognitive status 'referential' refers to a particular object or objects. In order to understand such an expression, the addressee does not only have to be able to access an appropriate type representation, he must also be able to either retrieve an existing representation of the referent or construct a new representation of it by the time the sentence has been processed. Gundel et al (1993) suggest that this status is necessary for the appropriate use of all definite expressions and that it is sufficient for the use of indefinite *this* in colloquial English, as in the example below in (43):

(43) I talked to this preacher who wanted to adopt my child.

Thus the noun phrase *this preacher* suggests that the speaker does not only intend to refer to a type of entity but to a particular preacher. The referential status implies that reference is to a particular token of an entity. In the Dagaare example below, use of 'kaŋa' suggests that the referent has the status 'referential'.

(44)Te pɔg la dɔɔ kaŋa nang bɔ wagri a taa te gaa a naa yiri

"We met this man who made time and took us to the chief's house"

Te	pɔg	la	dɔɔ	kaŋa	nang	bɔ	wagri	a
te	pɔg	la	dɔɔ	kaŋa	nang	bɔ	wagri	a
we.1PL	*meet*.PERF	AFFMT	*man*	SPEC	*who*	*find*.PERF	*time*	*and*
PRON	V	PART	N	ADJ	PRO	V	N	CONJ

taa	te	gaa	a	naa	yiri	
taa	te	ga a	a	naa	yiri	
took.PERF	*us*.2PL	*go* PERF	*the*.DEF	*chief*	*house*	
V	PRON	V	DET	N	N	

Generated in TypeCraft.

The speaker suggests in the example above that a particular man is referred to and not just a random man.

But even though 'kaŋa' seems to require that its referent is at least 'referential' in Gundel et al's sense, the cognitive status 'referential' cannot alone be what determines its use, the reason being that 'kaŋa' can also occur in definite phrases. First, consider the definite counterpart of (44), which is illustrated in (45) below:

(45) **Te pɔg la dɔɔ ŋa nang bɔ wagri a taa te gaa a naa yiri**

"We met this man who made time and took us to the chief's house"

Te	pɔg	la	dɔɔ	ŋa	nang	bɔ	wagri	a
te	pɔg	la	dɔɔ	ŋa	nang	bɔ	wagri	a
we.1PL	*meet*.PERF	AFFMT	*man*	*this*DEF	*who*	*find*.PERF	*time*	*and*
PRON	V	PART	N	DET	PRO	V	N	CONJ

taa	te	gaa	a	naa	yiri	
taa	te	ga a	a	naa	yiri	
took.PERF	*us*.2PL	*go* PERF	*the*.DEF	*chief*	*house*	
V	PRON	V	DET	N	N	

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It is also possible to have definites co-occurring with 'kaŋa' in the Dagaare NP. Definite descriptions are basically expressed by the definite determiner 'a' or the demonstrative determiners 'ŋa' and 'na'. 'Kaŋa' may co-occur with any of these expressions, or with a combination of the definite determiner plus one demonstrative. We will see more such cases in chapter 3. For the sake of illustration here, look at (46). '

(46) **Kaŋa + a + na**

A bie kaŋa na wa la kyɛ
"That specific child came here"

A	bie	Kaŋa	na	wa	la	kyɛ
a	bie	kaŋa	na	wa	la	kyɛ
the.DEF	*child*	SPEC	*that*.DEF	*come*.PERF	AFFMT	*here*
DET	N	ADJ	DEM	V	PART	ADV

Next, consider (47) below:

(47) **A bie na wa la kyɛ**

"That child came here"

A	bie	na	wa	la	kyɛ
a	bie	na	wa	la	kyɛ
the.DEF	*child*	DEF	*come*.PERF	AFFMT	*here*
DET	N	DEM	V	PART	ADV

Generated in TypeCraft.

The difference between (46) and (47) lies in the syntax of the NPs and not the semantics in that they both can be taken to indicate a specific reference.

As we can see, 'kaŋa' can occur, or not occur, in definite as well as indefinite phrases. This means that even though the referent of 'kaŋa' is perhaps always referential in Gundel et al.'s sense, the cognitive status 'referential' cannot be used to explain its full distribution. Since the higher cognitive statuses in the hierarchy entail the lower ones, this means that the referent of all definite phrases is supposed to always be referential, per definition. And if Dagaare definite expressions, like the one in (46) has a referent that is referential, then what does 'kaŋa' add in (47)? This means that the distribution of 'kaŋa' cannot unilaterally be explained by the cognitive status 'referential'.

2.10 Summary

In this chapter, I have presented a review of the various notions associated with specificity as presented in von Heusinger (forthcoming), in addition to the cognitive status 'referential' proposed by Gundel et al (1993). The notions in von Heusinger's (forthcoming) include

referential specificity, scopal specificity, epistemic specificity, partitive specificity, topical specificity, noteworthiness specificity, and discourse prominence as specificity. I have illustrated with some examples the extent to which 'kaŋa' encodes specificity in Dagaare, against the background of these notions in the research literature as follows:

- **Referential specificity/ the de re/de dicto interpretation**: In Dagaare, one cannot have a *de re* interpretation without 'kaŋa'. When 'kaŋa' is absent, the interpretation is *de dicto.*

- **Scopal specificity**: I have shown that existential indefinites introduced with 'kaŋa' will be interpreted as having wide scope (see (16)), but that 'kaŋa' also can modify phrases with narrow scope (cf. (18). The meaning of 'kaŋa' therefore cannot be accounted for in terms of scope behaviour and thus does not encode scope specificity in Dagaare.

- **Epistemic specificity**: In Dagaare, when knowledge of a referent is specific, the noun phrase always tends to select 'kaŋa' to indicate that. Such phrases normally have descriptive information that indicates that the speaker has a particular individual in mind as the referent, and in some cases, the hearer will be able to identify this referent (see (22)).

- **Noteworthiness**: In Dagaare, 'kaŋa' is used to mark noteworthiness, especially in traditional folktales, where the narrator often uses 'kaŋa' to identify and introduce a certain referent who is later mentioned in the story in relation to the unfolding sequence of events as illustrated in (38).

- **Topicality**: In Dagaare, topicality is not expressed with 'kaŋa', rather it is expressed by placing the topic marker 'la' immediately after the constituent that is topicalized, which could be any word in the phrase or the phrase itself. A topical indefinite will not automatically be marked with 'kaŋa' in Dagaare.

- **Partitivity**: Regarding partitive interpretations, I have shown that 'kaŋa' can be used to pick out a member of the discourse familiar superset that is given, whether overtly or covertly as in (32a) and (32b) respectively, whereas in non-partitive interpretations, 'kaŋa'is absent as in (33).

- **Discourse prominence**: Also in terms of discourse prominence, the presence of 'kaŋa' does not exclusively signal that a speaker intends a specific referent in this sense. As shown in (42), 'kaŋa' can occur even if the referent of the phrase is not mentioned subsequently.

- Finally, 'kaŋa' seems to signal the **cognitive status 'referential'** when its usage corresponds to the indefinite *this* in colloquial English, as illustrated in example (44). But 'kaŋa' can also co-occur with definite forms to signal the speaker's intention to refer to a particular object, as can be seen in example (46). Since the referent of a definite expression is always supposed to be referential in Gundel's sense, this status cannot be used to account for the use of 'kaŋa' in definite phrases.

In sum, there is evidence in this chapter that 'kaŋa' signals that the referent intended is specific in some sense or other. Conversely, when 'kaŋa' is absent, the NPs tend to have an unspecific interpretation. This supports my hypothesis that 'kaŋa' is more of a specificity marker than simply an indefiniteness marker, as has been described so far. What remains to be done, though, is to determine exactly what kind of specificity 'kaŋa' encodes. This will also determine whether 'kaŋa' has many surface forms or is one lexical item. This will be investigated further in the next chapters.

CHAPTER 3: SYNTAX AND SEMANTICS OF KAŋA

3.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is two-fold: first to examine the semantic content of 'kaŋa' and whether it is underlyingly one lexical unit or not and secondly to find out where 'kaŋa' occurs in the NP and what interpretations it evokes in the various syntactic positions. To achieve these aims, I discuss the syntax of 'kaŋa' within the Dagaare NP and its semantic interpretations relative to various syntactic positions and discourse contexts. The chapter is divided into two sections.

The first section briefly illustrates the structure of the Dagaare NP, reviews relevant literature on the noun phrase of Dagaare and its constituent parts as well as relevant aspects of functional grammatical marking within the noun phrase. The second section deals with the syntax and semantics of 'kaŋa' in the Dagaare noun phrase.

3.2 The Dagaare NP

The noun phrase is conventionally described as a part of the sentence headed by a noun or pronoun. Though the basic structure of the Dagaare NP still requires extensive research, there have been a number of research works in the past on the nominal system of the language.

In his study of the noun phrase of Gur languages of which Dagaare is a member, Bendor-Samuel (1971) proposes that the head noun cannot be followed by more than one adjective. His arguments are in favour of a rather simple NP of Dagaare and other Gur languages without any possibility of exhibiting a sequence of adjectives. The example below illustrates the claim above:

(1) **A dɔɔ zɪɛ waɛ kyɛ**

"The red man came here"

A	dɔɔ	zɪɛ	waɛ	kyɛ
a	dɔɔ	zɪɛ	waɛ	kyɛ
the.DEF	*man*	red	*come*.PERF	*here*
DET	N	ADJ	V	ADV

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In the phrase above, the head *dɔɔ* is followed by only one adjective *zɪɛ*. Bendor-Samuel also notes that in noun phrase constructions in Gur languages, categories such as definite determiners, articles and modifiers may co-occur with the head noun.

Angkaaraba (1980) takes a different position from Bendor- Samuel (1971), claiming that the head noun can be followed by as many as four adjectives in addition to quantifiers, demonstratives, locatives and intensifiers. He further maintains that there are categories such as modifiers, modifying NPs, and articles which are positioned after the head noun within the phrase. The example below illustrates this:

(2)A n bie ŋa skuuli gan bil zi wog sonne ata ama zaa paa poɔ[2]

"Among all these three small red long good school books of this my child"

A	n	bie	ŋa	skuuli	gan	bil	zi	wog	sonne	ata	ama	zaa	paa	poɔ
a	n	bie	ŋa	skuuli	gan	bil	zi	wog	sonne	ata	ama	zaa	paa	poɔ
the.DEF	*my*.1SG	*child*	*this*.DEF	*school*	*book*	*small*	*red*	*long*	*good*.PL	*three*.NUM>N	*these*.DEF	*all*	INTS	LOC
DET	PRO	N	DEM	N	N	ADJ	ADJ	ADJ	ADJ	QUANT	DEM	QUANT		

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In the sentence above, the head is '*gan*' (book) and is followed by as many as four adjectives. The example also shows the categories that can occur in the NP, either before or after the head as stated earlier.

Bodomo (1993) builds on Angkaaraba (1980) and proposes that there could be more than four adjectives following the head noun as illustrated in the example below:

(3)A gan bil zi wog baal sonne na[3]

"Those small, red, long, slender, good books."

A	gan	bil	zi	wog	baal	sonne	na
a	gan	bil	zi	wog	baal	sonne	na
the.DEF	*book*	*small*	*red*	*long*	*slender*	*good*.PL	*that*.DEF
DET	N	ADJ	ADJ	ADJ	ADJ	ADJ	DEM

The phrase above contains a string of five adjectives following the head noun.

Further work by Bodomo and Oostendorp (1993) showed more complexities of the Dagaare noun phrase in terms of serial verb nominalisation and attempted a formalisation of the

[2] '*n*' is glossed as 1SG PRON but is used in this example as a form of the possessive as in English *my child.*The font size for this examples and some others in the thesis have been reduced to make the word forms and their glosses uniform.

[3] One interesting observation about the example (3) above is that Bodomo translates *a gan* as *those books* and not the unmarked translation *the books.* In this thesis, *a* is glossed as DEF and translated as *the*.

Dagaare noun phrase structure within the determiner phrase hypothesis of the Government and Binding Theory.

Their arguments are supported by data illustrating that, apart from the head noun, nominalised verbs can occur in the DP where the last of the series of verbs gets the nominalised suffix. In this case, the Dagaare NP or DP reveals a complex structure including a sequence of nominalised verbs as illustrated in the example below:

(4)A tangma zo gaa di iu

"Running there in order to eat the shea fruits."

A	tangma	zo	gaa	di	iu
a	tangma	zo	ga a	di	iu
the.DEF	*sheafruits*	*run*	*go* PERF	*eat*.PERF	NOM
DET	N	V	V	V	V

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These earlier studies on the noun phrase of Dagaare do not present any information about the form 'kaŋa', its syntactic position and semantic salience within the Dagaare NP except for a transient mention in Bodomo (2000:16/21). According to Bodomo, 'kaŋa' is a form associated with indefinite marking and as an item that combines with a noun like 'nɪɛ' (person) to denote the meaning of the English indefinite pronoun 'somebody'. He glosses 'kaŋa' as INDEF in his example illustrating as shown below:

(5)nɪɛ kaŋa waɛ la

"Someone has come."

nɪɛ	kaŋa	waɛ	la
nɪɛ	kaŋa	waɛ	la
person	*one*.INDEF	*come*.PERF	AFFMT
N	DET	V	PART

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3.3 Current Study

In this section of the thesis, I present what constitutes the Dagaare NP and show which grammatical elements occur before and after the head noun in the noun phrase. I also briefly discuss some aspects of grammatical marking within the noun phrase such as number, definiteness, referentiality, gender, case and possession.

The noun phrase of Dagaare, like any other language, is headed by a noun. The head can be preceded or followed by a set of grammatical categories. These categories that can occur before the head noun include the definite determiner, personal or possessive pronouns and possessive NPs. The examples below illustrate this:

(6) A bie gaa la yiri

"The child has gone home"

A	bie	gaa	la	yiri
a	bie	ga a	la	yiri
the.DEF	*child*	*go* PERF	AFFMT	*house*
DET	N	V	PART	N

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The definite determiner '*a*' precedes the head noun '*bie*' in (6). Next, consider (7):

(7) N bie gaa la yiri

"My child has gone home"

N	bie	gaa	la	yiri
n	bie	ga a	la	yiri
I.1SG	*child*	*go* PERF	AFFMT	*house*
PRON	N	V	PART	N

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The head noun in the example above is 'bie' and it is preceded by the possessive element 'n'. It is important to mention that Dagaare does not make a distinction between personal pronouns and possessive pronouns, unlike English personal pronouns and their possessive counterparts. The pronoun 'n' is therefore used both as a possessive pronoun and as the first person singular pronoun in Dagaare.

In (8) below, the head noun is 'bie' and it is preceded and modified by the proper name 'Bayuo' which is interpreted as the possessor of the child without any overt morphological marking of case:

(8) Bayuo bie gaa la yiri

"Bayuo's child has gone home"

Bayuo	bie	gaa	la	yiri
bayuo	bie	ga a	la	yiri
HUM	*child*	*go* PERF	AFFMT	*house*
N		V	PART	N

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The explanation above underscores a possessor position in the Dagaare NP which can be filled by any NP including a proper name like 'Bayuo'. This further supports the argument in favour of analysing 'n' in example (2) as a pronoun since pronouns can also fill this possessor position of the Dagaare NP.

As noted by Angkaaraba (1980) and Bodomo (1993), the Dagaare post-head position can be made up of other grammatical categories. These categories function as modifiers of the head noun and provide extra information on the head. They include adjectives, numerals, quantifiers, intensifiers, demonstratives, locatives, articles and other nouns as in the example below:

(9)A bie kaŋa skuuli gan sonne ata na zaa paa poɔ[4]

"Among all the three good school books of the child"

A	bie	kaŋa	skuuli	gan	sonne	ata	na	zaa	paa	poɔ
a	bie	kaŋa	skuuli	gan	sonne	ata	na	zaa	paa	poɔ
the.DEF	*child*	*one*.INDEF	*school*	*book*	*good*.PL	*three*.NUM>N	DEF	*all*	INTS	LOC
DET	N	DET	N	N	ADJ	QUANT	DEM	QUANT		

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We see from the phrase above that the following categories occur after the head noun '*gan*' (book):

- the indefinite form '*kaŋa*';
- the adjective '*sonne*' (good);
- the numeral '*ata*' (three);
- the demonstrative '*na*' (that),
- the quantifier '*zaa*' (all);
- the intensifier '*paa*';
- and the locative '*poɔ*' (among)

There are some cases of noun + noun compound constructions in Dagaare where the meaning of the compound follows compositionally from the meaning of each noun, whereas in other cases, the meaning of the compound is lexicalized, so that its meaning cannot be

[4] The gloss tags used in this example are Bodomo's; I have used TypeCraft to generate them.

compositionally derived from the meaning of each individual component. The examples in (10) and (11) illustrate this:

(10)kuruu dau

"Bicycle"

kuruu	dau
kuruu	dau
metal	*tree*
N	N

Generated in TypeCraft.

The meaning of the individual words in the phrase above does not have any direct relation to the meaning of the compound.

(11)dau kogo

"wooden chair"

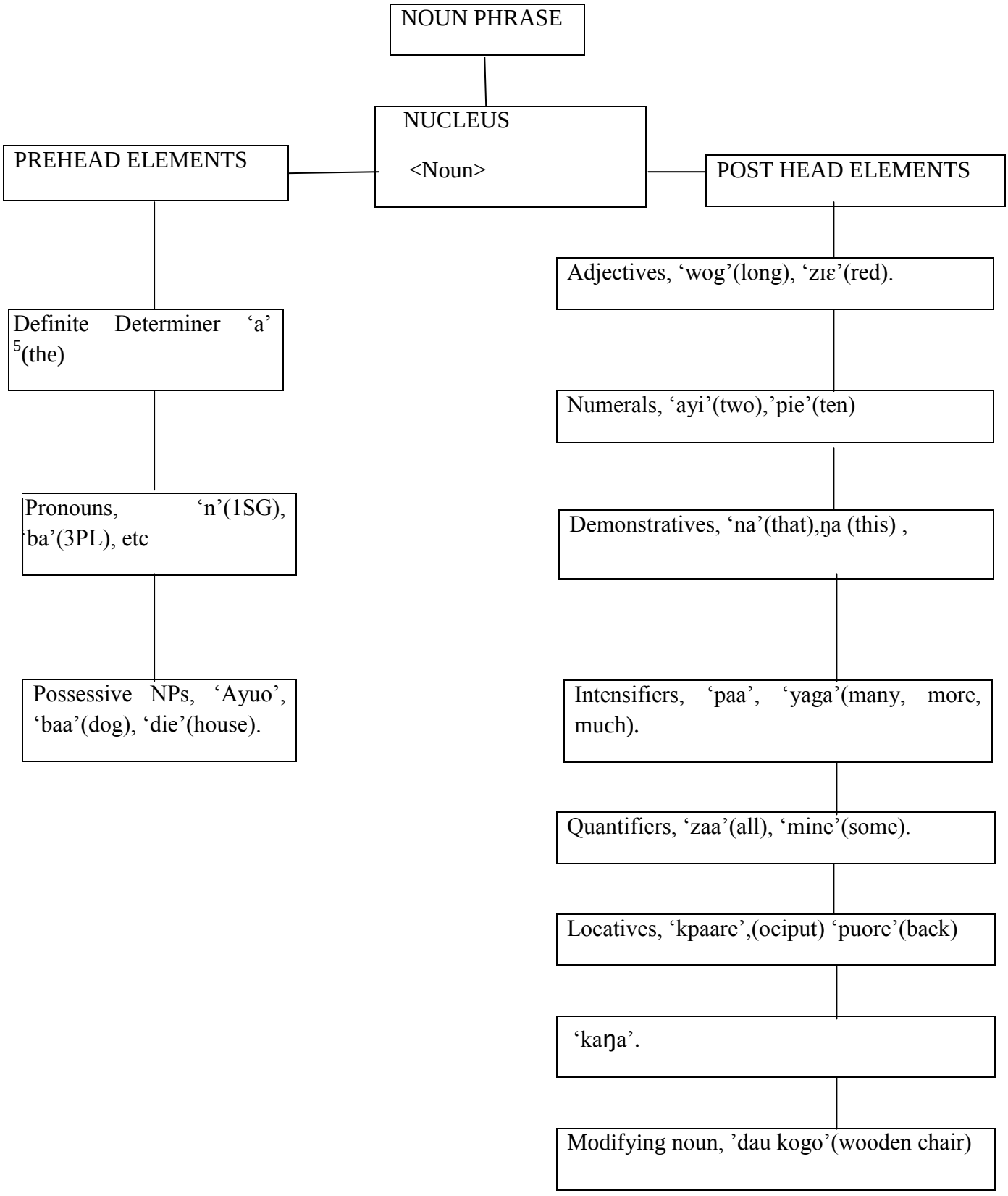
dau	kogo
dau	kogo
tree	*chair*
N	N

Generated in TypeCraft.

Unlike (10), the lexical meaning of the words in (11) 'dau' (tree) and 'kogo' (chair) correlate to the transparent translation "*wooden chair*".

In the pictogram above I present a graphic composition of the Dagaare noun phrase:

Figure 1.



[5] The head noun may also be preceded by the definite article 'a' and the imperfective form of the verb in what may be called a determiner phrase.e.g. 'a kuuro dunni' ('the killing animals') meaning *hunting game* or *game hunting.*

3.4 Morphological Marking in Dagaare NPs

Dagaare is not a rich morphological language compared to Bantu languages such as Ruyankore-Rukyiga or Semitic languages such as Amharic. However, there are cases of morphological marking on some of the categories.

3.4.1 Number

According to Bodomo (2000)[6], number is the basic noun class system in Dagaare and it is overtly marked in the language. The singular and plural alternation of nouns is realised for most nouns by morphological suffixation. In the examples below, the noun 'bie' is singular and its plural counterpart is 'biiri' as can be seen in (12) and (13).

(12) A bie gaa la yiri

"The child has gone home"

A	bie	gaa		la	yiri
a	bie	ga	a	la	yiri
the.DEF	*child*	*go*	PERF	AFFMT	*house*
DET		V		PART	N

Generated in TypeCraft.

(13) A biiri gaa la yiri

"The children have gone home"

A	biiri	gaa		la	yiri
a	biiri	ga	a	la	yiri
the.DEF	*children*	*go*	PERF	AFFMT	*house*
DET		V		PART	N

Generated in TypeCraft.

The morpheme '*-ri*' is a plural morpheme suffixed to all nouns labelled as class two in the Dagaare noun class system proposed by Bodomo (1997a) and Bodomo (2000).

[6] The claim that number is the basic noun class system in Dagaare does not seem adequate since having a singular-plural distinction is usually not sufficient for assuming that noun class is a relevant category in the language.

3.4.2 Case

Bodomo (2004) claims that the grammatical category of case is not overtly marked in Dagaare. In example (14a) and (14b), there is no morphological difference in the two occurrences of the noun phrase ‘a bie gane’ (the child’s book) though it occurs in different syntactic positions, that is, subject and object positions:

(14a) N dà dé lá a bíé gáné

“I took the child's book”

N	dà	dé	lá	a	bíé	gáné
n	dà	dé	lá	a	bíé	gáné
I.1SG	PAST	*take*	FOC	DEF	*child*	*book*
PRON	PART	V	PART	DET	N	N

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(14b)A bíé gáné é lá gán-vílàà

“The child's book is a good book”

A	bíé	gáné	é	lá	gánvílàà	
a	bíé	gáné	é	lá	gán	vílàà
the.DEF	child	*book*	*is*.STAT	FOC	*book*.N>A	*good*.N>A
DET	N	N	V	PART	ADJ	

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However, with the first person singular personal pronouns in Dagaare, there is a distinction between the nominative case and accusative case forms. ‘N’ is the nominative case and ‘ma’ is the accusative counterpart of the first person pronoun in Dagaare.This is exemplified in (15) below:

(15)N yele ka ʋ da kparʋʋ kʋ ma

“I said that s/he should buy me a shirt”

N	yele	ka	ʋ	da	kparʋʋ	kʋ	ma
n	yele	ka	ʋ	da	kparʋʋ	kʋ	ma
I.NOM	*say*.PERF	*that*	3SG	*buy*	*shirt*	*give*	*me*.ACC
PRON	V	COMP	PRO	V	N	V	PRO

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3.4.3 Gender

Gender is also not marked overtly in Dagaare , unlike for example, French where gender distinctions are made between masculine and feminine gender. For example, *Il* and *ils* are masculine pronouns, *elle* and *elles* are feminine pronouns in French and their use is triggered by the grammatical gender of their antecedent nouns. Dagaare however does not make such (morphological) distinctions, as for example, in the case of the third person pronoun 'ʊ', which is the same for masculine and feminine gender.

3.4.4 Noun Classes in Dagaare

Dagaare is a noun class language. Dagaare nouns are categorised into a ten-class system based on similarity in singular and plural affixes (see Bodomo 1997). Number is therefore the basic criterion for distinguishing noun classes in Dagaare. According to Bodomo (1997/2000), nouns may be grouped into the following ten classes as in the table below:

Table1.

Class	Stem	Singular	Gloss	Plural
1.	pɔg-	/ pɔg-ɔ/	'woman'	/pɔg(ɪ)bɔ/
2.	zi-	/zi-e/	'place'	/zii-ri/
3.	gy-i	/gyi-li/	'xylophone'	/gyi-le/
4.	pɪ-	/pɪ-rʊʊ/	'sheep'	/pɪɪ-rɪ/
5.	zu-	/zu-ø/	'head'	/zu-ri/
6.	bi-	/bi-ri/	'seed'	/bi-e/
7.	gan-	/ganɪ/	'book'	/ga-ma/
8.	gbingbil-	/gbingbil-aa/	'drying spot'	/gbingbil-li/
9.	di-	/di-iu/	'food'	(no plural)
10.	buul-	(no singular)	'porridge'	/buul-ung/

It can be observed from the illustration above that for each classification, the stem is first established, followed by the corresponding singular and plural affixation based on their morphophonemic similarities.

3.5 Definiteness and Referentiality

Like many languages, Dagaare NPs express definiteness and referentiality. The two, however, are separate categories and have independent statuses in the linguistic literature. The focus of this chapter is not to discuss in detail these notions but to show how the language expresses these semantic categories.

3.5.1 Definiteness

In Dagaare, definite noun phrases are preceded by the definite determiner *'a*' as in (1) above. The indefinite counterpart is either constituted by a bare noun or marked with the specificity marker 'kaŋa' as in (16) and (17) respectively.

(16) Bie gaa la yiri

"A child has gone home"

bie	gaa		la	yiri
bie	ga	a	la	yiri
child	*go*	PERF	AFFMT	*house*
	V		PART	N

Generated in TypeCraft.

(17) Bie kaŋa wa la kyɛ

"A (certain) child came here"

Bie	Kaŋa	wa	la	kyɛ
bie	kaŋa	wa	la	kyɛ
child	SPEC	*come*.PERF	AFFMT	*here*
N	ADJ	V	PART	ADV

Generated in TypeCraft.

The difference between example (1) and the pair of examples (16) and (17) above is the presence of the definite article 'a' in (1), which suggests that the referent intended by the speaker is uniquely identifiable.

3.5.2 Referentility

Bodomo (2000) argues that referentiality in Dagaare is marked when the definite article 'a' combines with the bare noun and the demonstrative 'na' (distal)[7] to indicate reference to a particular thing. This Bodomo claims illustrates reference to a specific thing in Dagaare as can be seen in (18)[8]:

(18).A bie na wa la kyɛ

"That child came here"

A	bie	na	wa	la	kyɛ
a	bie	na	wa	la	kyɛ
the.DEF	*child*	*that*.DEF	*come*.PERF	AFFMT	*here*
DET	N	DEM	V	PART	ADV

The presence of the distal demonstrative '*na*' also indicates spatial deixis and points to the location of the referent of 'a bie na' relative to the speaker's position. The referent's spatial location will be considered as far from the speaker because he/she is not within the immediate speech or discourse environment of the speaker relative to the context.

Contrary to Bodomo's claim, the central assumption of this thesis, however, is that, 'kaŋa' encodes specificity and its presence signals the referential intentions of a speaker using an indefinite NP in Dagaare.

3.6 The Syntax and Semantics of *kaŋa* in the Dagaare Noun Phrase

As can be seen in the pictorial representation of the Dagaare NP in figure 1, 'kaŋa' occurs to the right of the head noun and appears in the same position as modifiers of the head noun. The modifier position of the head noun is occupied by 'kaŋa' and other categories including adjectives, demonstratives, quantifiers, locatives, numerals and modifying nouns.

All these categories provide descriptive information, supplementing the meaning of the head noun in the phrase. However, I argue that 'kaŋa' behaves differently from these categories classified as modifiers in the syntax of the Dagaare NP. For instance, 'kaŋa' is the only member of the group that can occur in multiple syntactic environments with multiple uses. I propose that there are two 'kaŋa's' in relation to its use and syntactic occurrence: the

[7] Though Bodomo does not make mention of the proximal demonstrative 'ŋa', it can be safely inferred that the definite NP plus the proximal demonstratives 'ŋa' can also indicate referentiality in the sense that Bodomo proposes.

[8] Bodomo's notion of referentiality differs a bit from what is common in the literature, and in (18) the referent is not only referential, but actually familiar to the addressee.

pronominal use and the adjective use, which I gloss as PRON and ADJ respectively in the examples. When 'kaŋa' occurs in subject position as head of the NP it equals the pronominal use of 'kaŋa'. When it occurs as a modifier of the head noun, it is an adjective. In the next section, I present 'kaŋa' in different syntactic positions within the Dagaare noun phrase and I show how this conditions its interpretation. The examples I present will also show whether 'kaŋa' is used pronominally or as an adjective in the NPs.

3.6.1 Position 1-Kaŋa + N

One of the uses of 'kaŋa' is cases where it is simply preceded by a noun. This position of 'kaŋa' corresponds to different interpretations of the indefinite. Below, I illustrate with utterances and their corresponding contexts how these different meanings are expressed with 'kaŋa' in this position.

3.6.1.1 Referent known to speaker but Hearer-hidden

'Kaŋa' plus N can be used in accordance with contexts where the speaker has a particular referent in mind and not the hearer as in the examples below:

(19).Bie kaŋa wa la kyɛ ?

"A certain child came here?"

Bie	kaŋa	wa	la	kyɛ
bie	kaŋa	wa	la	kyɛ
child	SPEC	*come*.PERF	AFFMT	*here*
N	ADJ	V	PART	ADV

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Context 19: The speaker returns from town and tries to find out if a certain child came looking for him in his absence. He then utters the interrogative above.

Here, the use of 'kaŋa' is with particular reference to a child who might not be known to the addressee but is known to the speaker. The question posed by the speaker also expresses the speaker's anticipation of a child whom he expected to meet. The free translation "A certain child" therefore means that the speaker knows of a child who exists and at the time of speech was thinking about this child, though addressee may not share in this knowledge.

It is also felicitous to utter (19) in a context where the speaker has been looking after a large school class, one of them is missing, and he asks his wife (addressee) whether one of the children came by the house? This nonspecific, but partitive use is possible with just 'bie

kaŋa' in Dagaare. Dagaare is thus different from Turkish in this sense because in Enç's (1991) definition of specificity, partitive expressions are necessarily treated as specific.

However, the bare noun alone could occur without 'kaŋa' in which case the utterance is simply an indefinite one as illustrated below in (20):

(20).Bie wa la kyɛ

"A child came here"

Bie	wa	la	kyɛ
Bie	wa	l	kyɛ
Child	*come*.PERF	AF MT	*here*
N	V	PART	ADV

Context 20: Speaker is merely informing the addressee that a child came around. In the above Context of the utterance in (20), without 'kaŋa', the referent is not known either to speaker or addressee. It could be any child. This is in contrast to the utterance in (19) where the referent is known to at least one of the speech participants or both in certain contexts.

Also example (21) illustrates the use of 'kaŋa' where it is preceded by a noun.

(21).Daare kaŋa ʊ wa gɛrɛ la

"One day s/he was passing/ A certain day s/he was passing"

Daare	kaŋa	ʊ	wa	gɛrɛ	la
daare	kaŋa	ʊ	wa	gɛrɛ	la
day	SPEC		*come*.PE F	*going*.PERF	AFFMT
N	ADJ	PRO	V	V	PART

Context 21: The utterance in (21) was part of a story a student was telling to the rest of the class. The story is about a boy who was rejected by his parents because of his ugly looks. As a result this boy was confined to a secluded area outside the village along the only path connecting to the next village. The poor lonely boy will sing anytime traders used the pathway. One woman in the next village who was told by her colleagues how the poor boy sang melodious but sad songs decided to use the pathway in order to hear the boy sing. She used the path on three occasions but did not see or hear the boy. One sunny afternoon as the

woman was using the pathway, the poor boy sang a popular dirge as if he had lost his family. The above utterance therefore makes reference to that day. In (21), the story-teller has a particular day in mind and this particular day is mentioned later in the unfolding plot, though the reader may not know exactly what day it is. From the given context above, it can be inferred that other important events took place on this particular day such as the woman consoling the orphan and subsequently adopting him. The use of 'kaŋa' here has specific interpretations.

Next, consider (22):

(22).Day kaŋa bang wa para

"A certain day they were passing by"

Day	kaŋa	bang	wa	para
day	kaŋa	bang	wa	para
day	SPEC	*they*	*come*.PERF	*passing*.PERF
N	ADJ	PRO	V	V

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Context 22: The utterance is from a story about an orphan who has no siblings and is hated so much by his peers that they refuse to hang out with him. Somehow, he manages to follow them out one day. Out of extreme hatred, they plan and attempt to kill this orphan the next time he follows them. The day of the execution of this devilish plan was this day when they were passing and the orphan followed them. From the narrator's point of view, 'Day kaŋa' refers to a particular day in the plot of the story the orphan was to be killed. The reader, on the other hand, does not know at this point what day it is.

Consider next, example (23) below:

(23).Ka dɔɔ kaŋa a kyɪɛrɛ dau [9]

"And some man was felling trees"

Ka	dɔɔ	kaŋa	a	kyɪɛrɛ	dau
ka	dɔɔ	kaŋa	a	kyɪɛrɛ	dau
	man	SPEC	*the*.DEF	*cutting*.PERF	*tree*
CONJ	N	ADJ	DET	V	N

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[9] The phrase 'a kyɪɛrɛ dau' means the man was tree-felling or in the woods.

Context 23: This example is part of a folktale narrated by a Junior High School pupil. In the story, an orphan was drowned in a river by a group of young men who hated his company. While in the river, he sang a song so loud and a man who was felling trees heard him and rescued him.

In the context above, the man mentioned in the story is contextually salient to the story. It is this man who will later rescue the boy. The story-teller therefore has this particular referent in mind, the man who was tree-felling, as the rescuer of the boy. This corresponds to the specific indefinite in (23) in the sense of epistemic specificity.

Observe (24) next:

(24).Pɔɔ kaŋa ka kʊɔ pʊɔ zumbʊ a lɪɛ nɪɛ a wa kuli u

"Fish from the river turned into a human being and married a certain woman"

Pɔɔ	kaŋa	ka	kʊɔ	pʊɔ	zumbʊ		lɪɛ	nɪɛ	a	wa	kuli	u
pɔɔ	kaŋa	ka	kʊɔ	pʊɔ	zumbʊ	a	lɪɛ	nɪɛ	a	wa	kuli	u
woman	SPEC	*and*	*water*	*inside*	*fish*	*the*.DEF	*turned*.PERF	*person*	DEF	*come*.PERF	*marry*.PERF	*she\he*.3SG
N	ADJ	CONJ	N	PREP	N	DET	V	N	DET	V	V	PRO

Context 24: This utterance is part of a traditional didactic story in Dagaare. The story is about a young woman who refuses all her suitors because they are not rich. In her determination to marry only a rich man, this woman gets for a husband one who is described by the utterance in (24). Though the woman referred to in the utterance in (24) is not familiar or unique when mentioned the first time, later on in the story a more specific reference is made to her. This means that the story-teller had a particular woman in mind from the beginning. This is similar to the referential use of indefinites from the point of view of speaker reference (Gundel et al 1993).

3.6.2 Referent uniquely identifiable by both speaker and hearer

'Kaŋa' plus N is also used when both speaker and the hearer can uniquely identify the referent as in (25) and (26)

(25).Dɔɔ kaŋa wa la kyɛ

"A certain man came here"

Dɔɔ	kaŋa	wa	la	kyɛ

dɔɔ	kaŋa	wa	la	kyɛ
man	SPEC	*come*.PERF	AFFMT	*here*
N	ADJ	V	PART	ADV

Context 25: Before husband leaves for work in the morning he discusses with his wife the likelihood that his business partner may come looking for him in the course of the day. A man comes around later in the day and the wife asks him whether he is business partner to her husband. The husband returns from town and his wife utters (25) because the business partner has been there.

Given this background, the use of 'kaŋa' is with particular reference to a man who is known to the addressee and the speaker. The speaker and addressee had an expectation of one specific man who was to come around. "A certain man" therefore used to express that the speaker knows of a man who exists and at the time of speech was thinking about this man.

Next, consider (26) below:

(26a)Taŋa kaŋa yuori nang di hira

"A certain mountain that is called Hira"

Taŋa	kaŋa	yuori	nang	di	Hira
taŋa	kaŋa	yuori	nang	di	hira
mountain	SPEC	*name*	*which*.REL	*eat*.PERF	
N	ADJ	N	PRO	V	N

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Context 26a: The utterance is an answer to the question "where did the prophet Mohammed of Islam receive his call as a prophet from Allah?" (26a) is an NP with a subordinate relative clause and according to Fodor & Sag (1982), relative clauses tend to make NPs specific, especially for the subject of verbs of saying and thinking.

The NP shows that the speaker has a specific mountain in mind that can be identified in the world by the name Hira. The descriptive content provided by the NP above is enough background information for the addressee to identify the referent uniquely. Thus, the referent is uniquely identifiable to both speaker and addressee.

However, without ‘kaŋa’ in the phrase, it is not likely that the speaker has a particular referent in mind. It could simply refer to a hypothetical mountain. This is illustrated in (26b) below:

(26b) **Taŋa yuori nang di hira**

“(A) moutain that is called Hira”

Taŋa	yuori	nang	di	hira
taŋa	yuori	nang	di	hira
mountain	*name*	*which*.REL	*eat*.PERF	
N	N	PRO	V	N

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3.5.1.3 Referent visually available

‘Kaŋa’ plus N can also be used in contexts where the referent is visually available, as in (27).

(27a).Yiri kaŋa

“A certain house”

Yiri	kaŋa
yiri	kaŋa
house	SPEC
N	ADJ

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Context 27a: The NP occurred as an independent utterance as part of a story where a mother decides to look for a man with abundance of wealth for her daughter to marry. She embarks on a long and tiresome journey that looks hopeless because there was no specific direction of travel. Suddenly she sees a house, one she did not expect, after almost giving up. She then exclaims (27a), referring to this house. In this case, the woman was not familiar with the house beforehand, but she has a particular house in mind in the sense that she can see it.

3.6.2.1 Kaŋa as indefinite pronoun

‘Kaŋa’ plus N can also be used to express the meaning of the English indefinite pronouns ‘someone’ or ‘somebody’ when it co-occurs with the noun ‘nɪɛ’, which means ‘person’. The example below illustrates this:

(27b) Nıɛ kaŋa waɛ la

"Someone has come."

nıɛ	kaŋa	waɛ	la
nıɛ	kaŋa	waɛ	la
person	SPEC	come.PERF	AFFMT
N	PRON	V	PART

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We see from the above examples in this section that 'kaŋa' follows the head noun in the Dagaare NP. We also see that relative to different discourse contexts, its position could elicit specific interpretation or non-specific interpretation corresponding to the referential-attributive distinctions of indefinite NPs.

Kaŋa plus N is used in accordance with contexts where the speaker has a particular referent in mind and not the hearer as in (19)-(24). It is also used when both speaker and the hearer can uniquely identify the referent as in (25) and (26). It can also be used in contexts where the referent is visually available, as in (27a). 'Kaŋa' + N is also used to express the meaning of the indefinite pronouns 'someone' or 'somebody' as in (27b).

3.6.3 Position 2- NP + Kaŋa

A number of combinations are possible with this syntactic layout, which I categorise below.

3.6.3.1 Definite Article + N + Kaŋa

'Kaŋa' can be preceded by a definite article and a noun. The following examples in (28a) and (29a) and their corresponding contexts illustrate this syntactic structure of the noun phrase:

(28a).A biiri kaŋa wa la kyɛ

"One of the children came here/A certain child came here"

A	biiri	Kaŋa	wa	la	kyɛ
a	biiri	kaŋa	wa	la	kyɛ
the.DEF	*children*	SPEC	*come*.PERF	AFFMT	*here*
DET	N	ADJ	V	PART	ADV

Context 3: Speaker is wife to addressee who is coach of a sports contingent training for an upcoming regional competition. An athlete in the sports contingent (a group known to both speaker and addressee) promises to pay his coach a visit but does not meet him when he comes. Upon addressee's return, speaker utters (28a).

In this context, with the common background information between speaker and addressee, the referent will be known to both of them. Both of them are aware that that particular athlete will come to look for him. The child in this context is familiar to the addressee and uniquely identifiable by the speaker. 'Kaŋa' will therefore have a referential interpretation in this usage. However, if both speaker and addressee do not know before the time of the utterance that an athlete is likely to visit them, 'a biiri kaŋa', though definite, will be non-specific and could refer to any child from a contextually given set of children.

Dagaare differs in this regard from Turkish because in Turkish, specificity marking is obligatory in cases where we do not know who the exact referent is but we know that there exists a subset, one element, of a given set of referents who could turn out to fit the description of the NP (in the attributive sense of Donnellan 1966).

We would have also expected from (28a), an extended interpretation of 'a biiri kaŋa' to mean 'the children' due to the presence of the definite determiner 'a' in the phrase. However, this is not the case in Dagaare with respect to (28a). The presence of 'kaŋa' necessitates an interpretation that means one of the children, even if we had a context where all the children came to look for the coach.

Another example that illustrates the syntactic position of kaŋa in this section is shown below in (29a):

(29a).A tuma Biiri Kaŋa zu la a lebie.

"One of the workers stole the money"

A	tuma	biiri	kaŋa	zu	la	a	lebie
A	tuma	biiri	kaŋa	zu	la	a	lebie
DEF	w*ork children*		SPEC	*stole*.PERF	AFFMT	DEF *money*	

DET	N	ADJ	V	PART	DET	N

In the definite sentence above, we can have both specific and non-specific interpretations relative to the speaker's communicative intention. In the specific reading, the entire phrase could refer to a worker existing and known to the speaker but not the hearer, say Dery, who stole the money. Here then, the speaker uses 'kaŋa' to pick out the referent. In the non-specific interpretation, the referent could be anyone who fits the description.

If we had similar but singular noun constructions of (28a) and (29a), there will still not be any difference in the relevant interpretation of the NPs as illustrated in (28b) and (29b) below:

(28b).A bie kaŋa wa la kyɛ

"One of the children came here/A certain child came here"

A	bie	Kaŋa	wa	la	kyɛ
a	bie	kaŋa	wa	la	kyɛ
the.DEF	*child*	SPEC	*come*.PERF	AFFMT	*here*
DET	N	ADJ	V	PART	ADV

(29b).A tuma Bie Kaŋa zu la a lebie.

"One of the workers stole the money"

A	tuma bei	kaŋa	zu	la	a	lebie
A	tuma bie	kaŋa	zu	la	a	lebie
DEF	w*ork child*	SPEC	*stole*.PERF	AFFMT	DEF	*money*
DET	N	ADJ	V	PART	DET	N

The examples (28a) and (29a) do not differ in meaning from (28b) and (29b) in Dagaare. The latter also mean 'one of ...', and this is caused by the presence of the definite determiner 'a'. Its presence in the singular noun constructions above presupposes that there is a (one) default group and the referent is a subset of that group. In the plural constructions, however, more than one group is implied, out of which the referent is picked out. The interpretation of the NPs in the absence of 'a' will be indefinite and unspecific, as we shall see later in the discussion in this chapter.

On the other hand, without ‘kaŋa’ in the phrase, as in (30a) and (30b), the utterances are simply definite constructions with uniquely identifiable referents:

(30a).A bie wa la kyɛ

“The child came here”

A	bie	wa	la	kyɛ
A	bie	wa	la	kyɛ
the.DEF	*child*	*come*.PERF	AFFMT	*here*
DET	N	V	PART	ADV

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(30b).A biiri wa la kyɛ

“The children came here”

A	biiri	wa	la	kyɛ
a	biiri	wa	la	kyɛ
the.DEF	*children.* PL	*come*.PERF	AFFMT	*here*
DET	N	V	PART	ADV

3.6.3.2 Plural Pronouns + Kaŋa

Plural forms of personal pronouns can also co-occur with ‘kaŋa’.In this case, there are two reference acts going on: one reference to a group of people signalled by ‘ba’ (they) and one reference to one entity of that group picked out by ‘kaŋa’. These two reference acts mean two Noun Phrases, and that means that 'kaŋa' is a pronoun (an NP that can stand alone). In such occurrences, the phrase has a partitive interpretation. The examples below illustrate this:

(31a)Ba kaŋa

“One of them”

Ba	kaŋa
ba	kaŋa
They.3PL	SPEC
PRO	PRON

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(31b) Te kaŋa

"One of us"

Te	kaŋa
te	kaŋa
we.1PL	SPEC
PRON	PRON

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(31c) yɛ kaŋa

"One of you"

yɛ	kaŋa
yɛ	kaŋa
you.2PL	SPEC
PRON	PRON

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It is however grammatically ill-formed for 'kaŋa' to co-oocur with the singular forms of personal pronouns in Dagaare as in the examples (31d-f) below:

(31d) N kaŋa

*"*One of I/my/mine"*

N	kaŋa
n	kaŋa
I.1SG	SPEC
PRON	PRON

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(31e) Fo kaŋa

*"*One of you/your"*

Fo	kaŋa
fo	kaŋa

2SG	SPEC
PRON	PRON

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(31f) Ʊ kaŋa

*"*One of she/he/it"*

Ʊ	kaŋa
ʊ	kaŋa
she\he.3SG	SPEC
PRO	PRON

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3.6.4 Position 3- N + Kaŋa + Demonstrative na

In the Dagaare noun phrase, 'kaŋa' can also occur after a noun and followed by the demonstrative "na". The examples in (32a) and (32b) illustrate this structure of the noun phrase:

(32a).Bie kaŋa na wa la kyɛ

"That child came here"

Bie	kaŋa	na	wa	la	kyɛ
bie	kaŋa	na	wa	la	kyɛ
child	SPEC	*that*.DEF	*come*.PERF	AFFMT	*here*
N	ADJ	DEM	V	PART	ADV

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Context 32a: Speaker informs addressee that a child who came looking for him (addressee) has come again to seek him. This usage of 'kaŋa' requires that both the addressee and the speaker have shared knowledge about the referent. 'Kaŋa' in this context refers to that child and therefore has a referential interpretation.

However, given that the addressee does not have any common knowledge with the speaker, the referent that the phrase 'bie kaŋa na' picks out will still not be known to the addressee. In this sense, 'kaŋa' will have a non-referential interpretation from addressee point of view but

not the speaker. The demonstrative ‘na’ in this context will not have a familiar interpretation as proposed by Gundel et al 1993.

Not only is the sentence in (32b) (without ‘kaŋa’) below differ syntactically from (32a) above in terms of its constituents, it is also slightly different in meaning. In (32a), the syntax of ‘kaŋa’ can give a specific reading of the utterance relative to the discourse context and the speaker’s intention or a non-specific interpretation where the addressee does not know the referent of ‘bie kaŋa’.

However, in (32b), in the absence of ‘kaŋa’, the demonstrative determiner ‘na’ suggests that the addressee shares in the background knowledge of the speaker and therefore implies that the referent ‘bie’ is recognizable or familiar both to the speaker and addressee. This interpretation corresponds to the cognitive status “Familiar” proposed by Gundel et al 1993.

(32b).Bie na wa la kyɛ

“That child came here”

Bie	na	wa	la	kyɛ
bie	na	wa	la	kyɛ
child	*that*.DEF	*come*.PERF	AFFMT	*here*
N	DEM	V	PART	ADV

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Position 4- Definite Determiner + N + kaŋa + Demonstrative na

‘Kaŋa’ also can be preceded by the definite article ‘a’ and a noun and followed by a demonstrative ‘na’. This is illustrated in example (33) below:

(33).A bie Kaŋa na wa la kyɛ

“That specific/particular child came here”

A	bie	Kaŋa	na	wa	la	kyɛ
a	bie	kaŋa	na	wa	la	kyɛ
the.DEF	*child*	SPEC	*that*.DEF	*come*.PERF	AFFMT	*here*
DET	N	ADJ	DEM	V	PART	ADV

Context 33: A certain child came to look for addressee yesterday. The same child has come again to see the addressee today.

Here in example (33) the referent is known both to speaker and addressee, unlike example (32a) where the referent could be known by only the speaker and thus invokes the cognitive status familiar because of the presence of the demonstrative "na".

3.6.5 Position 5- Demonstrative na + kaŋa

'Kaŋa' can also co-occur with the demonstrative 'na' in the Dagaare NP. This corresponds to the cognitive status 'uniquely identifiable' because it suggests that the intended referent is represented in memory (in long-term memory if it has not been recently mentioned or in short term memory if it has). The examples in (34a) and (34b) below and their appropriate contexts illustrate this:

(34a)Kaŋa na la kpi [10]

"That one has died"

Kaŋa	na	la	kpi
kaŋa	na	la	kpi
SPEC	*that*.DEF	AFFMT	*die*.PERF
PRON	DEM	PART	V

Context 34a: Speaker and addressee are talking about Ayuo's children who have been very sick. Addressee asks the question "what about Sofo?" And speaker answers "That one has died".

(34b).Kaŋa na wa la kyɛ

"That one came here"

Kaŋa	na	wa	la	kyɛ
kaŋa	na	wa	la	kyɛ
SPEC	*that*.DEF	*come*.PERF	AFFMT	*here*
PRON	DEM	V	PART	ADV

Context (34b): Speaker and addressee are discussing about friends who have visited them lately. Addressee poses the question "how about Nana?" and speaker responds by saying "That one came here".

[10] One cannot omit 'kaŋa' in this phrase to have only 'na la kpi' as an independent phrase in Dagaare. 'Na' does not begin an NP in Dagaare.

The utterance in (34b) means "one of a given set of friends" came to look for the speaker. 'Kaŋa' therefore gives a partitive reading to the entire phrase and given the discourse background, both the speaker and addressee have knowledge of the specific referent of the phrase.

From the examples in 34a and 34b, 'kaŋa' occurs with the demonstrative 'na'. The referent of 'kaŋa na' is anchored to a previous discourse and can be replaced by the pronoun 'she'. In Both NPs, (34a) and (34b), pick as their reference, a subset of a given entity corresponding to a partitive interpretation. 'Kaŋa' can also occur in object position in the phrase as in example (34c) below:

(34c) Dery taa la sakiri kyɛ n boɔrɛɛ kaŋa na

"Dery has a bicycle but I want that one"

Dery	taa	la	sakiri	kyɛ	n	boɔrɛɛ	kaŋa	na
dery	taa	la	sakiri	kyɛ	n	boɔrɛɛ	kaŋa	na
Dery	*have*	AFFMT	*bicycle*	*here*	1SG	*want*	SPEC	*that*.DEF
N	V	PART	N	CONJ	PRO	V	PRON	DEM

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The use of 'kaŋa'in object position in (34c), relative to the discourse context suggests that the referent of 'kaŋa na' is not partitive but rather picks out a specific type of thing as its reference in (34c). When 'kaŋa' co-occurs with the demonstrative 'na' in object position, it is intuitive to interpret it as referring to a type of thing rather than expressing partitivity.

It is important to note that in Dagaare, the demonstrative 'na', either as a determiner or pronoun, cannot occur in subject and object position without kaŋa in the examples (34a), (34b) and (34c). The following constructions in 34d, 34e and 34f are therefore ungrammatical:

(34d) Na la kpi

*"*That has died"*

Na	la	kpi
na	la	kpi
That	AFFMT	*die*
DEM	PART	V

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(34e) Na la wa kyɛ

*"*That came here"*

Na	la	wa	kyɛ
na	la	wa	kyɛ
That	AFFMT	*come*.PERF	*here*
DEM	PART	V	ADV

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(34f) Dery taa la sakiri kyɛ n boɔrɛɛ na

" Dery has a bicycle but I want that"*

Dery	taa	la	sakiri	kyɛ	n	boɔrɛɛ	na
dery	taa	la	sakiri	kyɛ	n	boɔrɛɛ	na
Dery	*have*	AFFMT	*bicycle*	*but*	1SG	*want*	*that*
N	V	PART	N	CONJ	PRO	V	DEM

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Though 'na' cannot occur in object position as a determiner, unlike English '*that*', the word 'lɛ' which means '*that*' is used. For instance, in the English phrase 'I want that', the demonstrative 'that' is the object of the verb 'want'. The Dagaare equivalent is in (34g):

(34g) N boɔrɛɛ lɛ

"I want that"

N	boɔrɛɛ	lɛ
n	boɔrɛɛ	lɛ
I.1SG	*want*.STAT	*that*
PRON	V	DEM

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However 'na' may occur after the head noun without 'kaŋa' as in examples (35a) and (35b):

(35a)A die na

"That house"

A	die	na
a	die	na
the.DEF	*house*	*that*.DEF
DET	N	DEM

(35b) Die na

"That house"

Die	na
die	na
house	*that*.DEF
N	DEM

In the examples above, 'na' occurs as a demonstrative determiner with a definite reference. The syntactic difference between the set of example 34a, 34b and 34c with 'kaŋa' and example 35a and 35b without 'kaŋa' also show some difference in the readings of the NPs. The former are indefinite and specific and the latter, are definite and specific.

3.6.6 Position 6- Indefinite pronoun

'Kaŋa' can also be used as an indefinite pronoun and has the meaning similar to 'someone' or 'somebody' in English. Here, 'kaŋa' may occur at the beginning of the NP without the head noun. This is shown in the example below:

(36).Kaŋa wa la kyɛ

"One came here"

Kaŋa	wa	la	kyɛ
kaŋa	wa	la	kyɛ
SPEC	*come*.PERF	AFFMT	*here*
PRON	V	PART	ADV

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Context 36: Speaker tells addressee she met a group of homeless children on the streets and one came back with her.

(37).Kaŋa kpie la

"One is dead"

Kaŋa	Kpie	la
kaŋa	kpie	la
SPEC	*die*.PERF	AFFMT
PRON	V	PART

Context 37: The sentence in (37) above can occur after the utterance: Have you heard the terrible news that Bayuo's three children have been in hospital?

In (36) and (37), 'kaŋa' occurs in subject position and has the meaning akin to "*one*" in English. Here 'kaŋa' picks out a subset of a given linguistic category which is mentioned in previous discourse. The use of 'kaŋa' in subject position is possible only if it is in anaphoric reference to a member of a set mentioned in the ongoing discourse.

'Kaŋa' also can function as the object of the verb and thus have an anaphoric reference to a kind of entity. The context and corresponding utterance below illustrates the view above:

Context 38: It is Ayuo's birthday and she gets a mobile phone as a gift from her dad. Jealous Dery wants a phone too and goes to complain to the mother:

(38) Ayuo taa la fone.N bʊɔrɛ kaŋa

"Ayuo owns a mobile phone,I want one."

Ayuo	taa	la	fone.N	bʊɔrɛ	kaŋa
ayuo	taa	la	fone.n	bʊɔrɛ	kaŋa
Ayuo	*have*	AFFMT		*want*.PERF	SPEC
N	V	PART	N	V	PRON

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The NP above is similar in meaning to example (34c) mentioned earlier.

3.6.7 Position 7- Kaŋa + Numerals

'Kaŋa' can occur with numerals. In the Dagaare counting system, 'kaŋa' is used to index 'one'. For example in counting numbers from 1-10, sometimes Dagaare speakers tend to start with 'kaŋa'as a preferred term rather than 'yeni'. However, it can be observed also, in Dagaare that 'kaŋa' may co-occur with other numerals such as 'ayi', 'ata', anaare' etc, that is,

two, three, and four respectively. This happens in contexts where those numerals indicate the numeric composition of a group. This can be illustrated with the examples below:

(39) **Biiri bayi kaŋa wa la kyɛ**

"A group/set of two boys came here"

Biiri	bayi	kaŋa	wa	la	kyɛ
biiri	bayi	kaŋa	wa	la	kyɛ
		SPEC	*come*.PERF	AFFMT	*here*
N	NUM	ADJ	V	PART	ADV

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(40)**Nanyig-ba anaare kaŋa la wa gaa te zu ba**

"A group of four armed robbers went to rob them"

Nanyigba		anaare	kaŋa	la	wa	gaa	te
nanyig	ba	anaare	kaŋa	la	wa	ga a	te
thieves	PL	*four*	SPEC	AFFMT	*come*.PERF	*go* PERF	*to*
N		NUM	ADJ	PART	V	V	PREP

zu	ba
zu	ba
steal.PERF	*them*.3PL
V	PRON

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3.6.8 Position 8- Kaŋa + Quantifier *zaa*

It is also possible to see 'kaŋa' occurring together with the quantifier "zaa" (all). In such occurrence 'kaŋa' takes "zaa" as its modifier. The example above is part of a story.

(41).Pɔɔ ka u yuori ba di kaŋa zaa

"woman said she is not called any of the names"

Pɔɔ	ka	u	yuori	ba	di	kaŋa	zaa
pɔɔ	ka	u	yuori	ba	di	kaŋa	zaa
woman	*and*	*she\he*.3SG	*name*	NEG	*eat*.PERF	SPEC	*all*
N	CONJ	PRO	N		V	ADJ	ADV

Context: A woman poses a puzzle to a young greedy boy and places a reward on the answer. The task of the greedy boy is to mention the woman's name. He mentions so many names but none is the woman's name. The utterance is therefore the woman's response to the boy's futile efforts. Here the interpretation of 'kaŋa' in the utterance simply means "none of all" the names mentioned by the boy specifically designates the woman.

In the utterance below in (42), the speaker is answering a question posed by the addressee in an ongoing discourse. The addressee, who is the headmaster of the school, wants to find out from the sports master whether the other teachers came to lend their support to the school's sports team in the finals of the sports completion. The sports master's response is the utterance below:

(42)Ba kaŋa zaa ba wa

"None of them came\ Not one of them came"

Ba	kaŋa	zaa	ba	wa
ba	kaŋa	zaa	ba	wa
They.SBJ	SPEC	*all*	NEG	*come*.PERF
PRO	ADJ	QUANT	PART	V

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From (41) and (42), 'kaŋa' picks out any member from a set of members of a definite group whose specific reference is not known by the speaker. The referent could be the Physics master or the Biology master or any other teacher in the school who did not show up at the competition.

3.7 Summary

'Kaŋa' is a category in the nominal domain of the Dagaare NP. It occurs in the Dagaare NP as a modifier of the head noun and always follows the head. This is equal to the adjective use of 'kaŋa'. 'Kaŋa' may also occur as the head of the NP when there is no other noun standing as the head of the phrase, paralleling its pronominal use. In this chapter, I have presented the syntax of 'kaŋa' in the Dagaare NP and its related meanings based on various discourse contexts. I examined eight different syntact environments where 'kaŋa' may occur in the Dagaare NP. I have argued that there are two main uses of 'kaŋa' corresponding to two

lexical forms. The syntactic environment of 'kaŋa' exemplified in Position 6 correlates to the pronominal use of 'kaŋa'. The pronominal uses of 'kaŋa' also include the partitive interpretations in section 3.6.3.2. Positions 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7 and 8 also show the modifier uses of 'kaŋa' as adjective.The position of 'kaŋa' in the Dagaare NP, in relation to other categories in the phrase including the head noun, shows important semantic distinctions such as partitivity and epistemic specificity.

'Kaŋa' can also occur in the subject and object positions of the Dagaare NP. In the subject position it may stand alone as a pronoun (indefinite) that heads the NP. Here 'kaŋa' may be substituted by either 'he' or 'she' depending on the relevant discourse context. It may also co-occur with other prehead elements and the head noun in the subject position of a sentential constituent. On the other hand, as a modifying adjective, it functions as a qualifier of the head noun and always follows the head. In such modifier contexts, 'kaŋa' is not obligatory in the NP but contributes to the meaning and interpretation of the phrase.

Together with the various positions of 'kaŋa' in the Dagaare NP, I also discussed semantic interpretations of 'kaŋa'. Two interpretations can be distinguished in relation to the use of 'kaŋa' in the Dagaare NP based on the salient discourse contexts- specific and non-specific interpretation. The specific (referential) interpretation of 'kaŋa' is in accordance with contexts where either speaker or both speaker and addressee have a particular referent in mind, in the sense of epistemic specificity. This is contrasted with the non-specific interpretation where 'kaŋa' is absent in the phrase or where its co-occurrence with the quantifier 'zaa' does not escape scope islands, equaling a non-specific narrow-scope interpretation.

CHAPTER 4: IN FAVOUR OF KAŋA AS SPECIFICITY MARKER

4.1 Introduction

In line with the central hypothesis of this thesis that 'kaŋa' encodes specificity in Dagaare, this chapter mainly focuses on how the use of 'kaŋa' in the Dagaare NP can be seen to correlate with partitive and epistemic specificity (in a general sense).

In chapter two, I reviewed the various notions of specificity discussed in von Heusinger (forthcoming), with the aim of making a first approximation regarding whether these notions in any way correlate or not with the use of 'kaŋa' as a specificity marker in Dagaare discourse. I showed that, some of the notions of specificity cannot fully account for the distribution of 'kaŋa'. Of the eight notions presented, including Gundel et al's cognitive status referential, partitivity and epistemic specificity, in the light of the data, could account for the full distribution of 'kaŋa'. I treat referentiality, noteworthiness and discourse prominence as subclasses of epistemic specificity.

4.2 Full Distribution of the Specificity of Kaŋa

The full distribution of 'kaŋa', in the light of the discussion so far, can be seen to show in partitive and more generally epistemic interpretations. This does not however mean that 'kaŋa' has two forms in relation to specificity; one with a partitive interpretation and the other with epistemic interpretation. This presupposes some commonality or other between partitive specificity and epistemic specificity for which I assume a unitary analysis of the two notions in this chapter.

This also seems the case in Turkish as the two notions co-occur (see chapter 2 section 2.5). This is justified in Enç's conclusion (1991:24) that "specificity involves a weak link, that of being a subset of or standing in some recoverable relation to a familiar object"- viz partitive or epistemic respectively. A further justification, which also lends support to this unitary account of the two notions, is fromVon Heusinger's (2002) organization of the different discussions on specificity into two dimensions: scope and referentiality, with the latter, referentiality, subsuming partitivity and epistemicity. For the sake of the analysis here, I propose the category SPEC for specific that includes partitive and epistemic specificity since in both cases, at least the speaker of the utterance has a particular referent in mind. I separately illustrate this with appropriate examples and relevant context below.

4.2.1 Kaŋa in Partitive Interpretations

In general, the use of 'kaŋa' shows that the speaker has a referent in mind. This means that when 'kaŋa' is used, some individual or other is able to identify the referent of the indefinite NP. In partitive specificity, a non-empty discourse group is introduced that is cognitively familiar and the partitive expression is used to pick out one referent of this familiar discourse group.

In Dagaare, it is obligatory to have 'kaŋa' present in the NP if the speaker intends to make reference to a member of a given set. Its absence necessarily triggers an interpretation that is not partitive. We can see this in the covert partitive constructions below, where 'kaŋa' is a single-element picker of a member of the discourse given set.

(43) **lɛ na ka pɔgba kaŋa sagi ka ν na kaa la a bi-kpiiba**

"And so one woman agreed that she will take care of the orphan"

lɛ	na	ka	pɔgba	kaŋa	sagi	ka	ν
lɛ	na	ka	pɔgba	kaŋa	sagi	ka	ν
PART	FUT	*and*	*woman*PL	SPEC	*agreed*.PERF	*that*	
	PART	CONJ	N	ADJ	V	COMP	PRO

na	kaa	la	a	bikpiiba	
na	kaa	la	a	bi	kpiiba
FUT	*see*.PERF	AFFMT	*the*.DEF	*child*	*orphan*
	V	PART	DET	N	

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In (43) above, the referent of the NP is a subset of a given set. This is also the case with example (32b) cited here as (44), where the girls mentioned in the phrase is a familiar group given in the previous discourse, and 'kaŋa' picks out one member of this group. This is shown above:

(44)**Bi-pɔgba kaŋa wa la kyɛ**

"One of the girls came here"

Bipɔgba	kaŋa	wa	la	kyɛ
bi pɔgba	kaŋa	wa	la	kyɛ
girls	SPEC	come.PERF	AFFMT	*here*
N	ADJ	V	PART	ADV

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Since partitive interpretations parallel the English "one of", it is easy to assume that the superset has to be plural, as in 'women' in (43) and 'girls' in (44), so that 'kaŋa' picks out one member out of the group. However, in Dagaare, it is possible to have a partitive interpretation when the noun denoting the given superset is singular. This can be seen in the examples (45) and (46) below:

(45)A baa kaŋa kpie la

"One of the dogs is dead"

A	baa	kaŋa	kpie		la
a	baa	kaŋa	kpi	e	la
the.DEF	*dog*	SPEC	*die*	PERF	AFFMT
DET	N	ADJ	V		PART

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(46)Baa kaŋa kpi la a yiri ŋa

"One dog is dead in this house"

Baa	kaŋa	kpi	la	a	yiri	ŋa
baa	kaŋa	kpi	la	a	yiri	ŋa
dog	SPEC	*die*	AFFMT	*the*.DEF	*house*	*this*.DEF
N	ADJ	V	PART	DET	N	PRON

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The difference between (45) and (46) is that the former is a case of covert partitive and the latter is overt. Example (45) is always interpreted as partitive. However, the overt partitive (46), can also have an epistemic reading, in accordance with a context where, in a story, there was a dog and this particular dog died on a certain day.In both phrases, the speaker is making an assertion about one dog which is a member of a group of dogs and has died. Though the superset nouns are in the singular, compared to (43) and (44), the examples in (45) and (46) can be felicitously uttered in the same contexts as (43) and (44) because they intuitively signal that there is a group of dogs and reference is being made to a constituent of this given set whom the speaker has in mind.

A similar construction in Norwegian as (45) above is

(46b) **Ene hunden**

"One dog"

ene	hunden
ene	hunden
	DEF
DET	N

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(46b) in Norwegian is necessarily interpreted partitively.

'Kaŋa' will be absent if the intention is to mention some random element, in which case the interpretation will not be partitive. This is illustrated in (47) and (48) below:

(47)Baa kpi la a yiri ŋa

"dog is dead in this house"

Baa	kpi	la	a	yiri	ŋa
baa	kpi	la	a	yiri	ŋa
dog	*die*	AFFMT	*the*.DEF	*house*	*this*.DEF
N	V	PART	DET	N	PRON

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(48)Pɔgba mine sagi la bi-kpiiba

"Some women accepted an orphan"

Pɔgba	mine	sagi	la	bikpiiba	
pɔgba	mine	sagi	la	bi	kpiiba
women	*some*	*agreed*.PERF	AFFMT	*child*	*orphan*
N	ART	V	PART	N	

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In line with Enç (1991), the presence of 'kaŋa' in the examples above make a presupposition of the existence of the subclass element it picks out from the given superset. In the singular constructions in (45) and (46), the assumption is that 'kaŋa' operates on a discourse given set that is inferentially retrieved. It is the retrieval of this information that makes a partitive interpretation possible in those cases.

Partitive readings of indefinite phrases in Dagaare come out handy in natural discourse such as story-telling. In the examples below, excerpted from traditional stories I collected on the field, the presence of 'kaŋa', in most cases, tend to intuitively indicate that there is a contextually given group out of which the speaker picks out one:

(49)Daare kaŋa ʊ wa gɛrɛ la

"One of the days s/he was passing"

Daare	kaŋa	ʊ	wa	gɛrɛ	la	
daa e	kaŋa	ʊ	wa	gɛrɛ	la	
day	SPEC		*come*.PERF	*going*.PERF	AFFMT	
N	ADJ	PRO	V	V	PART	

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Context 49: Speaker narrates a story where a boy orphaned at a tender age was consigned to the outskirts of the village for fear he carried a curse. He soon made a home

by the trade route leading to the next village and attracted a lot of sympathy from one of the passers-by who used the route every day. Speaker makes the above utterance to refer to the day at which a significant event that took place, i.e., when this sympathetic passer-by was passing

(50)Ka a duŋo kaŋa tanne

"And one of the animals thundered"

Ka	a	duŋo	kaŋa	tanne
ka	a	duŋo	kaŋa	tanne
And	*the*.DEF	*animal*.PL	SPEC	*thunder*.PERF
CONJ	DET	N	ADJ	V

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Context 50: Also part of a story. Speaker tells of the experience of two disobedient boys who defied the odds and went hunting in the night in the forest. After a fruitless adventure, they abandoned their hunting expedition out of a growing fear of what might happen to them. The utterance above explains why they eventually ran out of the forest for their lives.

We can recall also in chapter three that 'kaŋa's' position in the Dagaare NP influences the interpretation of the phrase. When 'kaŋa' occurs in subject position and heads the phrase, the interpretation is partitive. This can be illustrated with examples (36) and (37) captured here as (51) and (52) respectively:

(51)Kaŋa wa la kyɛ

"One came here"

Kaŋa	wa	la	kyɛ
kaŋa	wa	la	kyɛ
SPEC	*come*.PERF	AFFMT	*here*
PRON	V	PART	ADV

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Context 51: Speaker tells addressee she met a group of homeless children on the streets and one came back with her.

(52).Kaŋa kpie la

"One is dead"

Kaŋa	kpie	la
kaŋa	kpie	la
SPEC	*die*.PERF	AFFMT
PRON	V	PART

Context 52: The sentence here can occur after the utterance: Have you heard the terrible news that Bayuo's three children have been in hospital?

As mentioned earlier concerning the occurrence of 'kaŋa' in subject position, we can see that 'kaŋa' can be interpreted to mean "*one"* in English. What 'kaŋa' does here is that it picks out a subset of the contextually given linguistic category anchored to the previous discourse, thus 'kaŋa' anaphorically refers to a group mentioned in the discourse and picks out a member of that given set. This is a case of implicit partitivity and thus interpreted as specific.

'Kaŋa' can also have an anaphoric reference paralleling a partitive interpretation when it occurs as the object of the verb in a context where the superset class is given. The context and corresponding utterance below illustrates the view above:

Context 53: It is Ayuo and Dentaa's's birthday and they get a laptop each as a gift from their dad. Jealous Dery wants a laptop too and goes to complain to the mother:

(53)Ayuo anê Dentaa taa la computari N bɒɔrɛɛ kaŋa

"Ayuo and Dentaa have laptops. I want one of them"

Ayuo	anê	Dentaa	taa	la	computari	N	bɒɔrɛɛ	kaŋa
ayuo	anê	dentaa	taa	la	computari	n	bɒɔrɛɛ	kaŋa
Ayuo	*and*		*have*	AFFMT	*computer*	*I.*1SG	*want*	SPEC
N	CONJ	N	V	PART	N	PRON	V	PRON

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Example (53) could also be interpreted to mean "one specific type" in accordance with a context where it has anaphoric reference to a kind of entity and not a superset class. The interpretation of the phrase in this context will not be partitive.

Also in the syntactic relation NP + 'kaŋa', we observe that when plural personal pronouns co-occur with 'kaŋa', the interpretation of the phrase is always partitive. It has the meaning "one of". This can be seen in example (31) numbered (54) below:

(54a)Ba kaŋa

"One of them"

Ba	kaŋa
ba	kaŋa
They.3PL	SPEC
PRO	PRON

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(54b)Te kaŋa

"One of us"

Te	kaŋa
te	kaŋa
we.1PL	SPEC
PRON	PRON

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In the examples above, the phrases have a partitive interpretation and the referent of 'kaŋa' is one of the members of the set of entities denoted by the antecedent pronoun. The referential index of 'kaŋa' is in an inclusive relationship with the referential indices of the antecedent pronouns 'ba' and 'te' respectively. These are explicitly expressed partitive constructions based on the syntax of the noun phrase, and are treated as specific expressions. Not only will

the NPs involving 'kaŋa' in the discourse contexts above would have been used partitively from speaker point of view, but also that the hearer will have taken them to be partitively used and interpret them as such.

4.2.2 Kaŋa in Epistemic Interpretations

Epistemic specificity, generally, concerns the way in which the use of an indefinite NP is related to the knowledge states of the speaker who uses it. It involves the selection of particular individuals as intended referents about whom a proposition is made. (see Kamp & Bende Farkas 2006).

The question is whether the referent the speaker has in mind, about whom he makes a proposition will be interpreted by the hearer as the exact attribution of the speaker-given referent? My claim in this chapter is that the use of 'kaŋa' in Dagaare discourse shows epistemic contrasts equal to the *de re* and *de dicto* interpretation of specific indefinites.

Below I illustrate further, how the use of 'kaŋa' indicates that the speaker has a referent in mind and how the contextual information provided by 'kaŋa' can enable the hearer to conceive the NP as epistemically used and to interpret it as referring to that specific entity in the mind of the speaker at the time of making the utterance.

These examples, however, are in the light of the earliest discussions of epistemic specificity that concerned the use of indefinite NPs occurring as constituents of the complements of propositional attitude verbs such as *believe, want, desire,* etc. A first example is (55):

(55)Dery sagidieng ka u pɔgɔ sɛnɛɛ lebidaaana kaŋa

"Dery believes that his wife is seeing (flirting with) a (certain) richman."

Dery	sagidieng	ka	u	pɔgɔ	sɛnɛɛ	lebidaaana
dery	sagidieng	ka	u	pɔgɔ	sɛnɛɛ	lebidaaana
HUM	*believes*	*that*	*her*.3SG	*woman\wife*	*flirting*.IMPF	*richman*
N	V	COMP	PRO	N	V	N

kaŋa

SPEC

ADJ

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(55) can be understood as expressing a belief which attributes to some particular rich man the property that Dery's wife is flirting with this person, equalling a *de re* interpretation of the NP. Such *de re* interpretations of the NP 'lebidaaana kaŋa' is simultaneously an instance of epistemic specific interpretations.

Next consider the example below:

(56).Dɔɔ kaŋa wa la kyɛ

"A certain man came here"

Dɔɔ	kaŋa	wa	la	kyɛ
dɔɔ	kaŋa	wa	la	kyɛ
man	SPEC	*come*.PERF	AFFMT	*here*
N	ADJ	V	PART	ADV

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Context 56: Before husband leaves for work in the morning he discusses with his wife the likelihood that his business partner may come looking for him in the course of the day. A man comes around later in the day and the wife asks him whether he is business partner to her husband. The husband returns from town and his wife utters (56) because the business partner has been there.

Given this background, the use of 'kaŋa' is with particular reference to a man who is known to the addressee and the speaker. The speaker and addressee had an expectation of one specific man who was to come around. "A certain man" therefore is used to express that the speaker knows of a man who exists and at the time of speech was thinking about this man.

In (56), given the discourse context, the cognitive states of the speech participants, i.e., the speaker and hearer can be clearly assessed to have a common acquaintance of the referent of the indefinite NP 'Dככ Kaŋa'. Thus, the NP will be interpreted as epistemically specific in this sense.

Next, consider (57) below:

(57)Sakuuri kaŋa yuori nang di Oxfordi

"A certain school that is called Oxford"

Sakuuri	kaŋa	yuori	nang	di	Oxford
Sakuuri	kaŋa	yuori	nang	di	oxford
School	SPEC	*name*	*which*.REL	*eat*.PERF	
N	ADJ	N	PRO	V	N

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Context 57: The utterance is an answer to the question "where did Dery acquire his doctoral degree?" (57) is an NP with a subordinate relative clause which according to Fodor & Sag (1982) tend to make NPs specific, especially for the subject of verbs of intention.

The NP shows that the speaker has a specific school in mind that can be identified in the world by the name Oxford. The descriptive content provided by the NP above is enough information for the addressee to identify the referent uniquely. Thus, the referent is uniquely identifiable to both speaker and addressee, which is highly compatible with an epistemically specific interpretation of the NP 'Sakuuri kaŋa'.

4.3 Summary

The aim of the chapter has been to present the extent to which the specificity of 'kaŋa' in Dagaare can be accounted for in relation to notions of specificity in the research literature. Two notions of specificity, namely, partitive specificity and more generally epistemic specificity correlated with 'kaŋa's' use in the Dagaare NP to mark specificity.

In both cases, that is, partivity and epistemicity, the speaker of the utterance has a particular

referent in mind; with epistemic specificity a specific entity referred to; with partitivity, a specific superset of entities, from which one element is drawn.

Both the speaker and hearer can also have a common knowledge of the referent of the indefinite phrase in the relevant discourse context - a situation that makes it safe to explain the full account of 'kaŋa' as a specificity marker in the Dagaare NP with partitive specificity and epistemic specificity.

It is important to mention at this point the reason why I chose to subsume other notions of specificity such as referentiality, noteworthiness and discourse prominence under the more general term of epistemic specificity. This is because, somehow, they point to the fact that the use of 'kaŋa' in such cases of specificity is felicitous to the extent that the speaker of the utterance has a referent in mind. For instance, it is felicitous for a speaker to naturally use 'kaŋa' in a context where the identity of the referent is specific as in (9). Aslo, when the speaker uses a noun phrase that is noteworthy or discourse prominent and is referred to later in the discourse; he has a particular individual in mind and therefore felicitously uses 'kaŋa' to introduce this noteworthy referent. (see chapter 2 example(38)).

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSIONS AND SUMMARY

5.1 Summary

This thesis is an attempt to provide a more accurate meaning to the form 'kaŋa' than observed in earlier works on the Dagaare NP. My hypothesis that 'kaŋa' is a specificity marker was confirmed by the data analysis.

To test the claim that 'kaŋa' is a specificity marker in Dagaare discourse, I sought to find answers to certain core research questions I set for this work, including the following:

- To find out the semantic content of 'kaŋa' and whether it is underlyingly one lexical unit or not.

  In chapter 3, where I explored the syntax and semantics of 'kaŋa', my finding was that, 'kaŋa' certainly has more meaning than previously associated to it. 'Kaŋa' was previously glossed as indefinite by Bodomo (see Bodomo 2000) but in this thesis, I have presented examples on the grammatical meaning of 'kaŋa'. Sometimes it equalled the English adjective 'certain' and sometimes as a pronoun. The pronoun has the meaning of an indefinite pronoun, and appears to introduce a new referent of a given kind of thing. The adjective, on the other hand, has several different interpretations, either epistemic specific or partitive. This confirms my observation in chapter 2 that the semantics of 'kaŋa' shows well in specificity.

  Two main syntactic positions can be distinguished with respect to 'kaŋa's' occurrence in the NP. It may occur in the Dagaare NP as a modifier of the head noun, where it always follows the head. Also 'kaŋa' may occur as the head of the NP when there is no other noun standing as the head of the phrase. This latter occurrence equals the pronominal use of 'kaŋa' and the former the adjective use in Dagaare. My proposal, at this point, is that there are two grammatical forms of 'kaŋa'- one that is used as a pronoun and the other that is a modifying adjective. This assumption receives support in the light of the illustrations presented on 'kaŋa' in the thesis but I consider that one has to undertake a thorough and separate study on the lexical semantics of 'kaŋa' in order to conclude on a more systematic characterization of 'kaŋa'.

- To look at which definitions of the notion of specificity in the research literature are expressed by ‘kaŋa’.

  With data illustrations and various discourse contexts, it was observed in chapter 2, where I explored the various notions of specificity,that partitive specificity and more generally epistemic specificity correlated with the specificity of ‘kaŋa’ in Dagaare discourse. I observed that common to both partitive and epistemic specificity is that the speaker of the utterance has a particular referent in mind. Only that with epistemic specificity a specific entity is referred to and with partitivity, reference is made to a specific superset of entities, from which one element is drawn.

  The plausibility of assuming that there exists a supercategory for partitive and epistemic specificity is supported by the fact that this category seems relevant in two such different languages as Turkish and Dagaare.

  We also realised that referential specificity, noteworthiness specificity and discourse prominence also correlated with the use of ‘kaŋa, however, I chose to subsume these notions under epistemic specificity since they signal that a speaker has a referent in mind. Mention of epistemic specificity here should therefore be taken to include referential specificity, noteworthiness and discourse prominence.

  The use of ‘kaŋa’ however does not correlate fully with topical specificity, scopal specificity and the cognitive status referential proposed by Gundel et al 1993.

- To find out the interaction between definiteness and specificity in terms of the use of ‘kaŋa’.

  In chapter 3 where I presented examples of various syntactic constellations of ‘kaŋa’, it was realised that ‘kaŋa’ can occur in definite phrases and indefinite phrases. Dagaare definite phrases, like other languages, are by default specific. When ‘kaŋa’ occurs in definite descriptions, it is the definite determiner and or demonstrative it co-occurs with that triggers referentiality which equals a specific interpretation of the phrase in the sense of Gundel et al (1993) (see examples 42-46 in chapter 2 and section 3.6.4). The absence of ‘kaŋa’ in definite NPs does not have constraints on the semantic interpretation of the phrase as specific or not. However, we observe that with indefinite

phrases, reference is assigned to the phrase which 'kaŋa' is a part of. (see examples under sections 2.2, 4.2.1 and 4.2.2). 'Kaŋa' can therefore co-occur with definite and demonstrative determiners to signal a speaker's intention to refer to a particular referent as well as occur in indefinite phrases to signal the referential intentions of a speaker. Thus, I noted that specificity well suits definiteness or indefiniteness; in the former 'kaŋa' is just compatible and optional but in the latter it is obligatory.

- To find out where 'kaŋa' occurs in the NP and what interpretations it evokes in the various syntactic positions.

In discussing the syntax and semantics of 'kaŋa' in chapter 3, I observed that 'kaŋa' can occur in eight positions that can be grouped into two: the pronominal use of 'kaŋa', where it is the subject of the phrase and the modifier use where it is an adjective and could be in the object position of an intentional or attitude verb (see section 3.5). When 'kaŋa' is used as a pronoun and occurs in subject position, it stands as the head of the NP and has the meaning akin to "*one*" in English. What 'kaŋa' does here is that it picks out a subset of the contextually given linguistic category anchored to the previous discourse, thus 'kaŋa' anaphorically refers to a group mentioned in the discourse and picks out a member of that given set. In such uses, 'kaŋa' elicits partitive specificity. We also saw that 'kaŋa' can have an anaphoric reference paralleling a partitive interpretation when it occurs as the object of the verb in a context where the superset class is given. (see examples in sections 3.6.6 and 4.2.1).

However when 'kaŋa' occurs as a modifier, it functions as an adjective that qualifies the head noun and always follows the head. In such modifier contexts, 'kaŋa' is not obligatory in the NP but contributes to the meaning and interpretation of the phrase. (see sections 3.6.1-3.6.2). In its modifier function, relative to the relevant discourse context, reference assigned to the phrase 'kaŋa' is a part of signals that the speaker has a specific referent in mind. This corresponds more generally to the epistemic specific uses of 'kaŋa' as can be seen in (19)-(24) where the speaker has a particular referent in mind and not the hearer; in (25) and (26) when both speaker and the hearer can uniquely identify the referent; in (27a) where the referent is visually available.

- Finally to present examples of how 'kaŋa' is used in discourse.

In Chapters 2, 3 and 4, I presented in detail various examples of the use of 'kaŋa' in

Dagaare discourse. These examples showed where ‘kaŋa’ occurs in the phrase and what it means.

5.2 Conclusion

The issues I have explored in all four chapters have helped to find answers to my research goals and most of all test my main hypothesis for this thesis. In the light of the data illustrations and analysis, one can conclude that ‘kaŋa’ has more meaning than previously noticed by the glossing ‘indefinite’ and that its meaning shows more accurately in specificity. I have further illustrated that there are two grammatical ‘kaŋa’s’; one that is a pronoun and the other that is an adjective. The gloss ‘indefinite’ was misleading since ‘kaŋa’ can also occur in definite phrases. Whereas specificity is fully compatible with definiteness or indefiniteness, ‘indefinite’ and ‘definite’ are mutually excluding categories.

I have not fully exhausted all there is to discuss on the topic in this thesis but I am convinced that this thesis opens up the possibility of further study of specificity in Dagaare in general and ‘kaŋa’ and specificity in particular.

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