

Definitely a question: definiteness markers in Akan ex-situ questions

It has been demonstrated that the Akan definiteness marker **nò** occurs in typical nominal domains, such as (1), as well as outside of the nominal domain, such as ex-situ questions, as in (2).

1. Papa **nò** ba-a ha.
man DEF come-PST here
'The man came here.'
2. Hena na Kofi kɔ hyia-a no (**nò**)
who FOC. Kofi go meet-PST 3SG.OBJ DEF
'Who did Kofi meet?'

This paper contributes to the emerging literature on cross-categorial definite determiners—determiners that appear in non-DP contexts—by investigating the semantic analysis of the clause-final marker **nò** in (2). I argue that clause-final **nò** in Akan ex-situ wh-questions presupposes familiarity of the existential closure of the question nucleus. I demonstrate that questions with and without the clause-final **nò** are both information-seeking questions but differ in the kind of possible answers they allow. Clause-final **nò** wh-questions are analogous to cleft questions in terms of semantics. They encode a hard existence presupposition which cannot be suspended by the speaker nor cancelled in cross-speaker dialogues. The analysis aims at showing how the definiteness involved in the use of nominal **nò** connects to the contributions of clausal **nò**.