Demonstratives, Definites, Bare Nouns:
What Competes with What

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I: Setting the Stage

1.1. The Challenge of Definite Bare Nominals

What is the strong-weak article distinction?

> In its simplest form: a **weak** definite article   is   a **uniqueness**-based definite
> a **strong** definite article   is   an **anaphoric** definite
>
> <div align="right">Schwarz (2009)</div>

Is the bare nominal (NP or DP with a null D) a definite?

> Languages without definite articles certainly allow definite readings for bare nominals (Hindi)
> Even languages with determiners can allow definite readings for bare nominals (Akan)

What challenges, from a cross-linguistic perspective, do definite readings of bare nouns pose?

> Empirically demarcating the precise distribution of the main players: Nominals with definite determiners, Nominals with demonstratives, and Nominals with no overt D.
>
> Nailing down the types of competition that regulate distribution.

1.2. Theoretical Assumptions

What principles regulate competition?

Blocking (Chierchia 1998): Lexical exponents block covert counterparts

(lexical exponent: a determiner/demonstrative or a structural position with lexical manifestation; covert counterpart: an NP with no D or a DP with a null D)

1a. Some children came in. #(The) children seemed happy.   *Blocking by overt determiner*

1b.

tin	ʈe	tʃʰatro	eʃe tʃʰilo.	du	ʈo	tʃʰatro	boʃlo
three	CL	student	came	two	CL	student	sat

tin	ʈe	tʃʰatro	eʃe tʃʰilo.	#tʃʰatro	du	ʈo	boʃlo
three	CL	student	came	student	two	CL	sat

"Three students came. Two (of the) students sat down."

Dayal 2012. See also Bhattacharya 1999   *Blocking by NP → D Raising*

The base order allows for the partitive specific reading typical of indefinites (as shown in the translation) but not the maximal reading that a definite in this context should have: "the three students".

<u>Maximize Presupposition</u> (Heim 1991, see also Hawkins?): a presuppositional item is favored over a non-presuppositional item in contexts that satisfy the relevant presupposition.

1c. The/#A sun is shining.

$\llbracket \text{the}_{\text{SING}} \rrbracket = \lambda P_{<e,t>} \, \lambda Q: |P| = 1. \, \exists x \, [P(x) \wedge Q(x)].$

$\llbracket a \rrbracket = \quad\quad \lambda P \, \lambda Q \quad\quad\quad\quad\quad \exists x \, [P(x) \wedge Q(x)].$

<u>Note</u>: competition is dependent on some structural kinship between exponents. ACC case on Hindi bare NP (arguably → definite reading) does **not** block definiteness on the caseless form (Dayal 2011).

1d. anu   kitaab/kitaab-ko   paRhegii

Anu book   book-ACC read-FUT

"Anu will read a book/the book."   ***kitaab***: *def/indef*   ***kitaab-ko***: *def*

Non-competing Partners: Near synonymous pairs that do not compete, though they give rise to preferences:

$[\![\text{Demonstrative}]\!] = \lambda P. \lambda R. \iota x: \forall y\ [P(y) \wedge R(y) \leftrightarrow y \sqsubseteq x]$ Ahn 2022

$[\![\text{Def Det}]\!] = \lambda P: |P| = 1.\ \iota x\ [P(x)]$ Link 1983

The two may bump up against each other but do not compete directly because they involve distinct functions, demonstratives are functions from a property and an index, definites from just a property – if that were not so, Maximize Presupposition would rule out the demonstrative in deictic and anaphoric contexts:

1e. Kim has read that/the book.   *In a context with just one salient book.*

1f. Kim bought a book and a pen.
     She put that/the book on the shelf.   *Anaphoric contexts.*

But without anti-uniqueness we won't get the contrast between (1e)/(1f) and (1de')/(1f'):

1e'. Kim is sitting in the sun/*that sun. **1f'.** There is one sun and one moon..the moon/*that moon.

And in Italian: La Maria/#Quella Maria pianse.

1.2. Demonstratives and the Presupposition of Anti-uniqueness

Bare plurals and definites

- Standard positions: Bare plurals are kind terms, definites presuppose uniqueness (whether they are lexically encoded or not).
- I also assume a nearly equivalent version for the definite readings of kind terms, using simply the extension of the kind in the context of evaluation.
- I focus on the singular form for definites/demonstratives, but generalizable to the plural.

$[\![\text{Bare Plural}]\!] = \cap: \lambda P: \lambda s \; \iota x \; [P_s(x)]$ *Chierchia 1998*

$[\![D_{\text{WEAK/REGULAR}}]\!] = \lambda P: |P_s| = 1. \; \iota x \; [P_s(x)]$ *Link 1983; Sharvy 1980*

$[\![D_{\text{STRONG}}]\!] = \lambda P. \; \iota x \; [P(x) \wedge R(x)]$

$[\![\text{Dem}]\!] = \lambda P \; \lambda i: \exists j \; \iota x[P(x) \wedge \text{at-}j(x)] \neq \iota x[P(x) \wedge \text{at-}i(x)]. \; \iota x[P(x) \wedge \text{at-}i(x)]$

If i is a degree and P is λx[x=mary], then the anti-uniqueness will be modalized: the property of being Mary-like ie those individuals that are maximally like Mary in the actual world but for the degree of tallness etc. – this will be needed to capture the ameliorative effect of exclamation.

Take-away*: Demonstratives include a presupposition of anti-uniqueness (contrast potential), that cannot be satisfied by nouns that have uniqueness built into them (functional nouns, proper names, globally unique nouns that may be covertly functional – sun/moon (of our earth)), except under exclamation.*

2. The Strong-Weak Article Distinction

2.1. Claims about the Strong-Weak Distinction

Claims in the Literature:

	Def-weak	Def-strong
German & Fering	[Prep+Def] A-article	[Prep Def] D-article
English	The	The
Mandarin	Bare NP	Demonstrative
Akan	Bare NP	*-no*

Fering & German – Ebert 1971, Schwarz 2009; English – Jenks 2018 (and to some extent Schwarz 2009).
Mandarin – Jenks 2018; Akan – Arkoh and Matthewson 2013.

Schwarz (2019) also lists
Icelandic	Thai
Lakhota	Hausa
Korean	Mauritian Creole
Czech	Ngamo,
Upper Silesian	Upper Sorbian
Lithuanian	American Sign Language

My Claims:

- The claim of a strong-weak distinction in article systems has been overstated.
- Three languages for which such a claim has been made turn out not to have this distinction: ***English***, ***Mandarin***, ***Akan***.
- I am ***not*** arguing against the possibility of a strong-weak distinction in article systems in natural language -- ***German & Fering*** clearly do -- only against its universality.

2.2. Cross-linguistic Variation – Course Correction

- English *the* is not ambiguous between Def-strong and Def-weak *(Dayal & Jiang 2021)*
- Mandarin bare NPs are not just "weak definite articles", they are also "strong definite articles" *(Dayal & Jiang 2021, Bremmers et al 2021)*
- Akan *no* is not Def-strong *(Owusu 2022)*

2.2.1. English 'the' is not ambiguous between Def-strong and Def-weak *(Dayal and Jiang 2021)*

Two properties of German Def-strong not in English *the* does not: pronominal uses & |N| > 1

4a. Peter hat bei **dem** (**Mann**) called
Peter has by the$_{strong}$ man called
"Peter has called him/the man." Schwarz (2009: 22)
b. *Peter has called **the** / Peter has called **the man**.

5a. Hans ist in [**dem**]$_F$ **Auto** *[→at car 1]* gekommen, nicht in [**dem**]$_F$ **Auto** *[→ to car 2]*
Hans is in the$_{strong}$ car come not in the$_{strong}$ car
b. #Hans came in [**the**]$_F$ **car** *[pointing car 1]*, not in [**the**]$_F$ **car** *[pointing car 2]*
Intended: "Hans came in that car, not in that car."
Noted in Schwarz 2009:34, similar examples to (5b) also in Roberts 2002

Take-away: English *the* is **not** ambiguous between **the$_{strong}$** & **the$_{weak}$**
There is no evidence beyond anaphora for the claim of **the$_{strong}$**

2.2.2. Akan 'no' is not Def_{strong} (Owusu 2022)

Similar to English *the*, and unlike German Def_{strong}, *no* does not participate in contrastive statements. On data like (6), Owusu argues against the claim in Arkoh and Matthewson.

6.

a. \#Abofra **nó**   nim   adeɛ paa ɛna   abofra **nó**   abɔn.
    child   DEF know thing INT. CONJ child   DEF not.smart

    'The child is very intelligent and the child is not smart.'

b. \#Me-pɛ   car **nó**   nanso me-m-pɛ   car **nó** .
    1SG-like car DEF but   1SG-NEG-like car DEF
    'I like that car [pointing at Audi] but I don't like that car [pointing at Renault].'

    (Bombi, 2018, p. 152)

Owusu (2022: 22-23)

- But bare NPs and NP–*no* carve up the space of possible definite readings: do uniqueness-based nouns have to be bare; anaphoric nouns have to have *no?* (section 3).

Take-away: Akan -*no* is <u>not</u> **the_{strong}**. Apart from the few cases of anaphora, there is no evidence for the claim.

2.2.3 *Mandarin bare NPs are not just Def$_{weak}$, they are also anaphoric (though not Def$_{strong}$)*

Since Yang (2001): bare NPs admit definite readings. *Blocking* does not apply as there is no lexical definite to block *iota* from applying covertly.
Jenks' claim is undercut by examples in Bremmers et al (2021) & Dayal and Jiang (2021):

7. Jiaoshi   li   zuo-zhe yi ge   nanshenge he   yi ge   nusheng
    Classroom inside sit-prog one CLF boy   and one CLF girl

    nusheng zuotian   yudao **nansheng**
    girl   yesterday meet   boy

    'A girl and a boy were sitting in the classroom. The girl met the boy yesterday.'

(7) is a minimal variant of the key example from Jenks & shows that bare NPs in subject <u>as well as non-subject</u> positions can be anaphoric.

Take-away:
   Mandarin bare N is **not** exclusively **the$_{weak}$.**
   Mandarin na-CL-N has properties that demonstratives are expected to have.

Summary so far:

Schwarz's claim of a strong-weak distinction in the article system has resonated widely and it is standardly thought that such a distinction exists universally, whether it is lexically manifested or not.

We have seen that this claim does not stand up to scrutiny as far as *English*, *Mandarin* and *Akan* are concerned.

However, it does exist in some languages: *German* and *Fering*, for example.

But the distribution of bare NPs and lexical alternatives is restricted and if the strong-weak distinction doesn't capture those restrictions, what does?

III: PREDICTING THE DISTRIBUTION

3.1. Overview

Two types of nouns: $\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad$ $|dog_W| > 1$ $\quad\quad\quad$ $|sun_W| = 1$

Two types of contexts: $\quad$ Context 1: $\quad |dog_C| = 1$ $\quad\quad\quad$ $|sun_W| = 1$

$\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad$ Context 2: $\quad |dog_C| > 1$ $\quad\quad\quad$ $|sun_W| = 1$

We will see on the next slide that once blocking is factored in:

Mandarin has a **2-way** lexical distinction (bare vs. demonstrative)

English has a **3-way** lexical distinction (bare plural, demonstrative, definite),
$\quad\quad\quad$ but reduces to a **2-way** distinction (demonstrative, definite) wrt definite readings

Akan seems to have a **3-way** lexical distinction, but has in fact a **2-way** distinction

The Facts
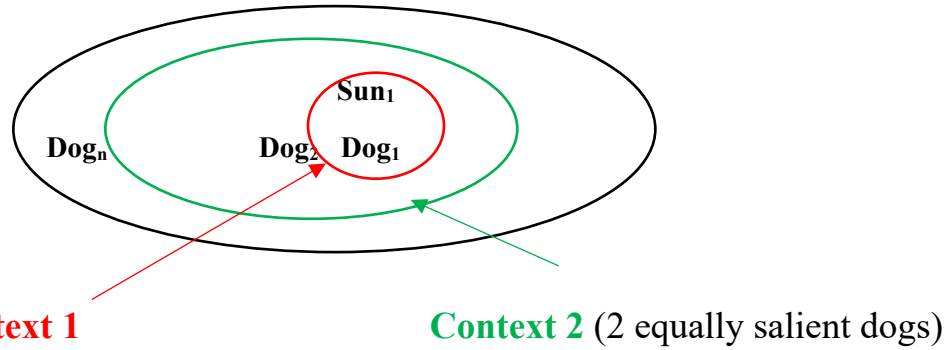
Context 1 **Context 2** (2 equally salient dogs)

	Context 1			Context 2 (2 equally salient dogs)		
	Demonstrative	**Definite**	**Bare**	**Demonstrative**	**Definite**	**Bare**
Mandarin						
Dog	√	--	√	√	--	X
Sun	X	--	√	X	--	√
English						
Dog	√	√	X	√	X	X
Sun	X	√	X	X	√	X
Akan						
Dog	--	√	X	--	X	X
Sun	--	X	√	--	X	√

3.2: Predicting the distribution - Mandarin

Context 1 (red)   **Context 2** (2 equally salient dogs) (green)

Labels in diagram: Sun$_1$, Dogn, Dog$_2$, Dog$_1$
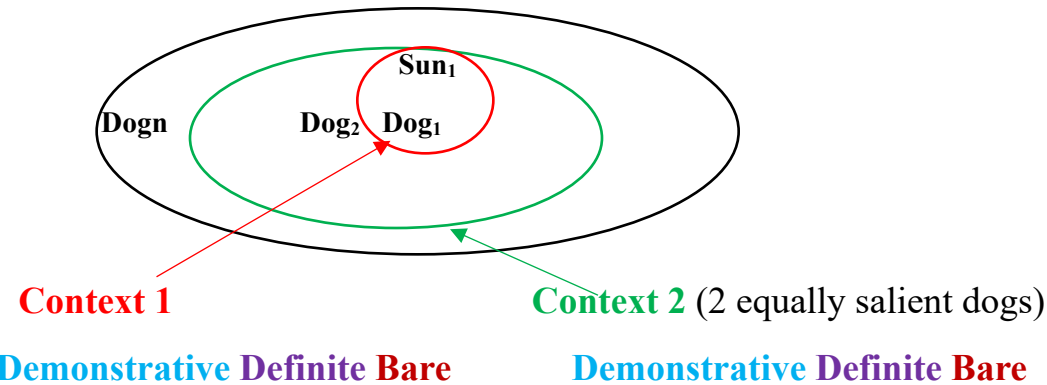
	Demonstrative **Definite** **Bare**			**Demonstrative** **Definite** **Bare**		
Mandarin						
Dog	√	--	√	√	--	X
Sun	X	--	√	X	--	√

The NP DEM-CL-N (N a noun like 'dog') satisfies the AU of demonstratives in both contexts:
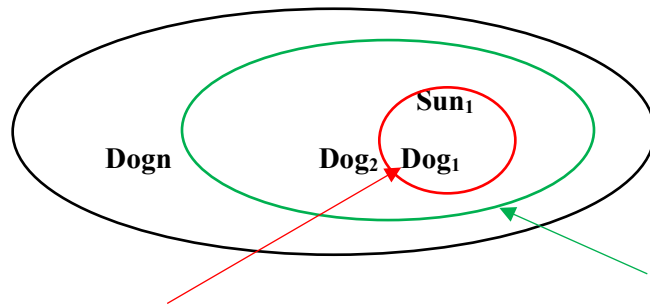⇒ deictic reading in Context 1; contrastive reading in Context 2.

The NP DEM-CL-N (N a noun like 'sun' or 'mayor (of this city)') violates Anti-Uniqueness of demonstratives in both contexts

There is no NP DEF-N: no lexical definite determiner

The bare NP N (N a noun like 'dog') satisfies the PUniqueness of *iota* in context 1 but not 2.

The bare NP N (N a noun like 'sun' or 'mayor (of this city)') satisfies the PUniqueness of *iota* in both contexts.

3.3: Predicting the distribution - English

Context 1   **Context 2** (2 equally salient dogs)

Demonstrative Definite Bare   **Demonstrative Definite Bare**

English

	Demonstrative	Definite	Bare	Demonstrative	Definite	Bare
Dog	√	√	X	√	X	X
Sun	X	√	X	X	√	X

The NP DEM-CL-N (N a noun like 'dog') satisfies the Anti-U of demonstratives in both contexts:
       ⇒ deictic reading in Context 1; contrastive reading in Context 2

The NP DEM-CL-N (N a noun like 'sun' or 'mayor (of this city)') violates AU of demonstratives in both contexts.

The NP DEF-N (N a noun like 'dog') satisfies the PU of *iota* only in context 1.
       Context 2: √[the [dog there$_1$] is black] but [the [dog there$_2$] is white]
The NP DEF-N (N a noun like 'sun' or 'mayor (of this city)') satisfies the PU of *iota* in both contexts.

The bare NP N (N a noun like 'dog') satisfies the PU of *iota* in context 1 but not 2
       but the bare N is blocked by the lexical exponent *the* for def readings.

The bare NP N (N a noun like 'sun' or 'mayor (of this city)') is similarly blocked by the lexical exponent *the*.

3.4: Predicting the distribution - Akan

Context 1   **Context 2** (2 equally salient dogs)

Demonstrative Definite Bare   **Demonstrative Definite Bare**

Akan
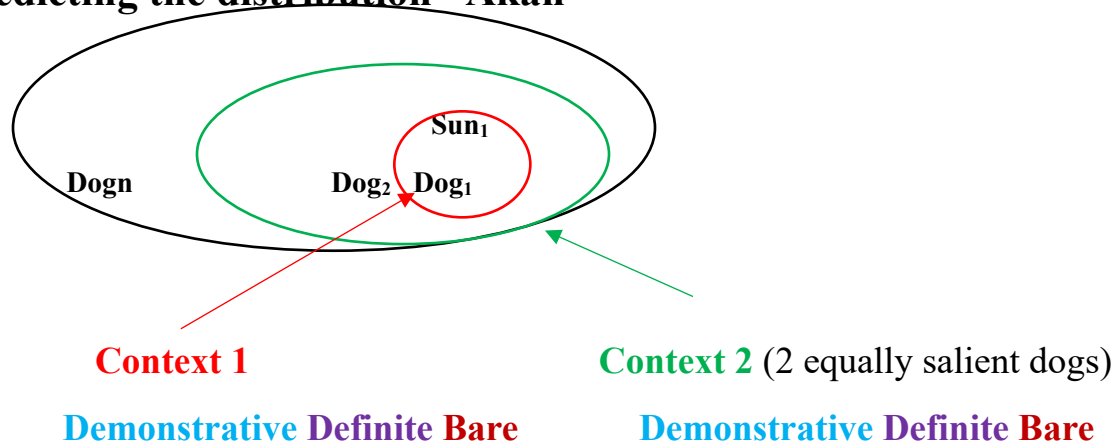
	Demonstrative	Definite	Bare		Demonstrative	Definite	Bare
Dog	--	√	X		--	X	X
Sun	--	X	√		--	X	√

Claims: There is no demonstrative determiner in Akan.

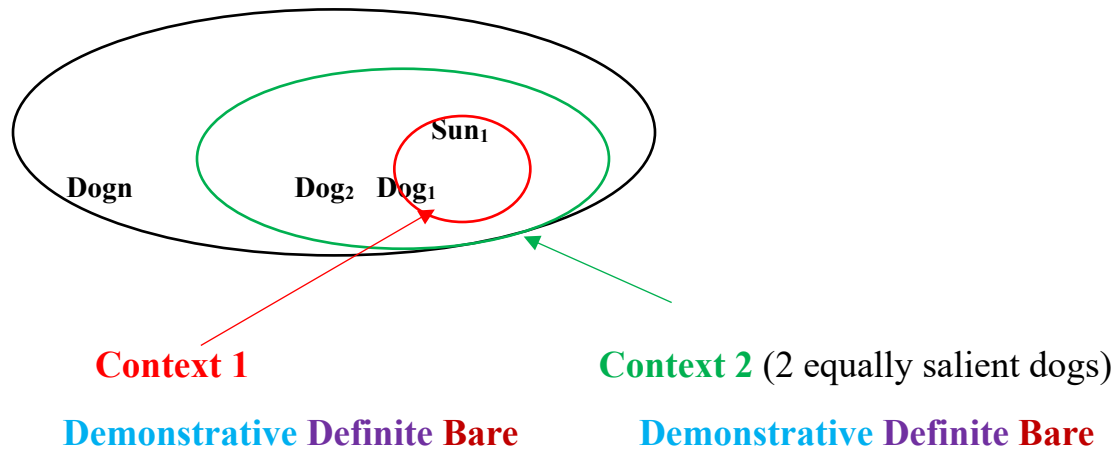The lexical definite determiner has 2 presuppositions: anti-uniqueness (contrast) & Uniqueness

The bare NP has only one, the presupposition of Uniqueness and it is not blocked
     by the lexical determiner *–no* because *–no* is not the lexicalization of *iota.*

There is no noun phrase with DEM-N: no lexical demonstrative determiner

The noun phrase DEF-N (N a noun like 'dog') satisfies AU & PU but only in context 1.

The noun phrase DEF-N (N a noun like 'sun' or 'mayor (of this city)') satisfies the PU of
     iota in both contexts but does not satisfy the AU in either context.

Akan contd.

Sun₁

Sun_1

Dogn   Dog₂   Dog₁

Context 1   **Context 2** (2 equally salient dogs)

Demonstrative Definite Bare   **Demonstrative Definite Bare**

Akan

	Demonstrative	Definite	Bare		Demonstrative	Definite	Bare
Dog	--	√	X		--	X	X
Sun	--	X	√		--	X	√

The bare noun phrase N (N a noun like 'dog') satisfies the PU of *iota* in context 1 but not 2.
        Context 1: Maximize Presupposition favors DEF-N.
        Context 2: A locational modifier is needed to express the contrastive reading: [the [dog there₁] is black].

The bare noun phrase N (N a noun like 'sun' or 'mayor (of this city)') satisfies the PU of
        iota in both contexts. Since DEF-N incurs a AU violation and is
        ruled out, the bare noun becomes the available option in both contexts.

Akan: has an apparent 3-way lexical distinction – bare NPs, definites and demonstratives
(putatively a close kin of German-Fering pattern)

- Akan bare NPs are kind terms and must be used for globally unique nouns.

8a.

N-kraman ho   a-yɛ   na.
PL-dog   PERF-do extinct
'Dogs are extinct.'   Owusu (2022: 187)

b. Owusu (2022: 4)

ɔsram a-yera,   me-n-hu   – bio.
moon PERF-be.lost 1SG-NEG-see   again
'The moon has vanished, I see it no more.'   (Korsah, 2017, p. 29)

- Akan *–no* is a definite determiner that is required for anaphoricity (bare NP unacceptable).

Ama hu-u   ɔkyerekyereni bi   ne   sogyani bi.   ɔ-kyea-a
Ama see-PST teacher   INDEF CONJ soldier INDEF 3SG.SUBJ-greet-PST

sogyani **nó**.

9a. teacher DEF
'Ama saw a teacher and soldier. He greeted the soldier. '

- But (like English/Mandarin) anaphora respects the status of the antecedent: bare NPs are required for anaphora with uniquely denoting nouns, *no* for others.

10a. Owusu (2022: 35)

Kwame maame ne   ne   nua   ba-a   ha...
Kwame mother CONJ 3SG.POSS sibling come-PST here
'Kwame's mother and his sister/brother came here.'

b.

Na ne   maame (*nó) yɛ   tumtum.
PRT 3SG.POSS mother DEF COP. dark.skin

"His mother was dark-skinned"

b'.

Na ne   nua   **nó** yɛ   tumtum.
PRT 3SG.POSS sibling DEF COP. dark.skin

"His sibling was dark-skinned."

- Contrastive readings are not possible with *N-no*, only with *saa-N-no*.

11a/b. Akan (Owusu 2022: 22-23)

#Me-pɛ   car **nó** nanso me-m-pɛ   car **nó** .
 1SG-like car DEF but   1SG-NEG-like car DEF
 'I like that car [pointing at Audi] but I don't like that car [pointing at Renault].'

(Bombi, 2018, p. 152)

Saa abofra **nó** nim adeɛ paa ɛna **saa** abofra **nó** abɔn.
 DEM child DEM know thing INT. CONJ DEM child DEM not.smart
 'That child is very intelligent and that child is not smart.'

Owusu's conclusions: *no* is not a strong definite – it has an anti-uniqueness presupposition.

                       no is not a Det; *iota* applies independently of *no*.

                       saa is in D & narrows down the domain of quantification

Translating Owusu's analysis into the terms introduced here and departing slightly:

Akan bare nouns: λx_K: $|{}^{\cup}x_C| = 1$. $\iota y\, [{}^{\cup}x_C(y)]$ *kind based definite reading*

Akan –*no*: λP: $|P_C| = 1 \wedge |P_W| > 1$. $\iota x[P_C(x)]$ *uniqueness in context*

                                                         & contrast potential

Akan *saa-*: $\lambda P.\, \lambda i.\, \lambda x\, [P(x) \wedge \text{loc-}i(x)]$ a locational modifier like

                                                         English 'there',

                                                         introducing a subdomain

                                                         of the context of

                                                         evaluation.

- Wrt to the specific ingredients contributed by –*no* and *saa-* I more or less follow Owusu (2022) but see Owusu for motivations for composing the pieces differently.

Evidence for the locative demonstrative analysis of **Akan** *saa*

- *Saa* is optional, *no* is not -- the structure of *saa-N-no* is the one in (21c).

12. Owusu pg. 54-56 – (21a) also Owusu (p.c.)

a. saa car *(no)   ye Toyota
DEM car DEF COP Toyota
That car is a Toyota.

b. (saa) car no   ye Toyota
DEM car DEF COP Toyota
'That/the car is a Toyota".

c. [DP [NP (saa) [NP N]] no]   *similar to English*   [DP the [NP N there]]

Note: Saa- is prenominal, while *no,* like other determiners, is post-nominal. However, this does not say anything about its status as a modifier because adjectives are also post-nominal.

13a. [DP [NP saa [child] no]

Saa abofra **nó**   nim   adeɛ paa ɛna   **saa** abofra **nó**   abɔn.
DEM child   DEM know thing INT. CONJ DEM child   DEM not.smart
'That child is very intelligent and that child is not smart.'

b. [[saa₁ abofra] -no]

c. ιx [child (x) ∧ in-location₁ (x)]] $|child_c| \geq 1;$ $|child\text{-}in\text{-}loc_1| = 1$

Conclusion: Akan has only a **2-way** distinction: NP–*no* & bare NP (*saa-* is not a true demonstrative in D, it is a locational demonstrative that can modify NPs).

It turns out that not all languages have true determiner demonstratives.

4. What about German and Fering?

$\llbracket\text{Def}_{\text{weak}}\rrbracket = \lambda P: |P_C| = 1.\ \iota x\ [P(x)]$ *same as English 'the'*

$\llbracket\text{Def}_{\text{strong}}\rrbracket = \lambda P.\ \iota x\ [P(x) \wedge R(x)]$ *tentative : the indexical piece is Not at issue Content (a backgrounded assertion)*

$\llbracket\text{Demonstrative}\rrbracket = \lambda i\ \lambda P: \exists j\ [\iota x[P(x) \wedge f(j, x)] \neq \iota x[P(x) \wedge f(i, x)])].$ *Anti-uniqueness +*

$\iota x[P(x) \wedge f(\iota,x)]$ *indexicality*

Diachronic development: Demonstrative $\rightarrow$ Def$_{\text{strong}}$ $\rightarrow$ Def$_{\text{weak}}$ *Pace Lyons 1999: 329*

Demonstrative: indexicality,
presupposition of anti-uniqueness

Strong Definite: indexicality present but backgrounded ?
no presuppositions (why does it not compete with the demonstrative?)

Weak Definite/Regular Definite no indexicality,
presupposition of uniqueness

Given that the difference in meaning between a strong article definite and a demonstrative is so slight, it ceases to be surprising that strong articles are not pervasive across the world's languages (contrary to the claim in Schwarz 2009 and much work inspired by his discussion of the German strong-weak article system).

Consequences:

(i) Maximize Presupposition will favor Def$_{weak}$ in contexts where uniqueness is guaranteed: superlatives like **(14)** and many others from Schwarz (2009).

14a. Hans tanzt   am   besten.
  Hans dances on-the$_{weak}$ best   (Schwarz 2009:21)

 b. Sie ging √zum   / #zu dem   / # zu diesem   hoechsten Berg
  She went   to-the$_{weak}$ to the$_{strong}$ to that   tallest   Mountain

(ii) The strong article does not have uniqueness presuppositions, at least qua the common noun property P, so it can occur with predicates denoting singleton sets **(15)** or with predicates denoting non-singleton sets **(16a).**

15a. They asked me what I thought of the color red/#that color red.

 b. √Zur   / √zu der   Farbe rot   Fällt mir nichte ein
   For--the$_{weak}$ for the$_{strong}$ color red …
   "As for the color red, nothing comes to mind."   (Schwarz 2009:70)

 c. #Zu dieser Farbe rot fällt mir nichte ein
  "As for this color red, nothing comes to mind."   (Ross 2022)

  16a. Hans ist in [**dem**]$_F$ **Auto** *[pointing at car 1]* gekommen, nicht in [**dem**]$_F$ **Auto** *[pointing to car 2]*
    Hans is in the$_{strong}$ car   come   not   in the$_{strong}$ car
                          (Schwarz 2009)
  b.   *acceptable without prosodic emphasis with demonstratives.*

- There is no sustained discussion of the differences between strong article definites and demonstratives in Schwarz (2009), see Ross (2022).

Standard definites cannot yield contrastive statements (noted by Schwarz 2009):

17a. * I came in [**the**]_F car, not in [**the**]_F car.

b. * Mary kai   che, bu shi   che
Mary drove car   not copula car
Literally: "Mary drove car, not car."   *Yuyang Liu (p.c.)*

<u>*Note*</u>: the problem is not related to the possibility of focusing, at least in English. Prosodic focus evokes alternatives related to the presupposition of uniqueness:

18a. I spoke to [THE person in charge], not to [A person in charge]. $\{|P| = 1, |P| \geq 1\}$

b.   I spoke to [A person in charge], not [THE person in charge].   *The   A*

V. What about the diagnostic of *Anaphora*?

The diagnostics of *global-uniqueness/proper names*, *deixis*, and *contrast* define types of definites in terms of <u>presupposition of uniqueness</u> and/or <u>presupposition of contrast potential/anti-uniqueness</u>.

Distribution reveals categorical choices, based on <u>Maximize Presupposition</u> and <u>Blocking of Covert Type-shifts</u>.

The diagnostic of *anaphora* does not test for the *nature of the definite*. It can only reveal preferences between otherwise acceptable definites: Anapahoric contexts do not override constraints on definite readings.

19. Maria went to see the$_{Weak}$ mayor and the county executive. She received a warm welcome from √the$_{Weak}$ / #the$_{Strong}$ mayor.

Schwarz (2009:54)

19'a. The earth revolves around the sun. It takes #that/ the earth 365 days to do it.

b. Mary bought some books and some pens.   *Iota(N$_{PL}$)

   She had read √those books/√the books/*books earlier.   *the ≈ that?*

   She put √those books/√the books/*books in her bag.   *the > that?*

20a. Zongtong zhengzai yi ge buzhang shuohua. Buzhang wen (#na ge) zontong… √*Iota(N$_{PL}$)*
 President Prog-with one CL minister talk.   Minister ask   that CL president
 "The President was talking to a minister. The minister was asking the/*that president…"

b. Jiaoshi   li   zuo-zhe yi ge nanshenge he yi ge   nusheng
 Classroom inside sit-prog one CLF boy   and one CLF girl
 nusheng zuotian   yudao (na-liang) nansheng   *∅ > that?*
 girl   yesterday meet   that-CLF boy   *∅ ≈ that?*
 "A girl and boy were in the classroom. The girl met that/the boy yesterday."

An anaphoric context can also provide the conditions for satisfying the presuppositions of a definite that might otherwise be infelicitous: |giraffe| = 2

21a. #The giraffe is smiling.
 b. There is a giraffe next to the lion. The giraffe is smiling.

The antecedent sentence makes one of the giraffes salient and in the updated context, uniqueness is satisfied: |giraffe next to the lion| = 1. *Dynamic binding*.

Genuine cases of an anaphoric definite that defies uniqueness are hard to find.

Schwarz (2009:244) notes the relative improvement as 'salience' enters the picture. *These judgments are for definite NPs, not pronouns (cf. If a bishop meets a bishop, he blesses him is relatively good)*:

22a. If a bishop meets a bishop, the bishop blesses the bishop.   *

  b. If a bishop meets another bishop, the bishop blesses the bishop.   ??

  c. If a bishop meets another bishop, the bishop blesses the other bishop.   ?

On the Elbournesque view that a pronoun is a definite with an N elided under identity:

    $[_{DP}$ pro$_n$ $\cancel{N}] \Rightarrow$ he/her   does not seem to require a unique salient antecedent

    $[_{DP}$ the N]   does seem to require a unique salient antecedent

Take-away:

To divide up the set of definite determiners in terms of uniqueness-based and anaphora-based does not seem to be on the right track.