This talk discusses a puzzle from the West-Chadic language Ngamo concerning the marking of definiteness and indefiniteness. In Ngamo, bare nouns receive either a definite or an indefinite interpretation. In addition, there are determiners marking novelty (1) and familiarity (2).

(1) (Ngo rino.) Ngo=i yo'oto rino.
  person enter.pfv.vent person=lnk indf.m enter
  "A man entered. Another man entered"

(2) (Ngo rino.) Ngo=i imu lakd'u.
  person enter.pfv.vent person=def.det.m do.1pl.dep greet.nmlz
  "A man entered. The man greeted us."

The phenomenon that will be discussed in this talk concerns the determiner yo'oto, encoding novelty, and the determiner i/i'e, encoding familiarity, can cooccur. The resulting DP refers to a new individual, related to a familiar individual of the same kind:

(3) a siyasa=i yo'oto ye'e
  one.who.is politician=lnk indf def
  "the other politician"

I argue that the Ngamo data is evidence for Schwarz (2009)’s analysis of familiarity definites, in particular for his proposal of a relational familiarity determiner.